

THE JUDEAN WAR

CHAPTER 1 [Life:1-16]

Now in my case, my race is not undistinguished, instead its origin is traced to ancient priests. But in the same way that the basis of noble birth is different among various *people*, so also among us, membership in the priesthood is a certain proof of an illustrious race. **2** Now in my case, my race is not merely from priests, but it is also from the first of the twenty-four courses (now this is an enormous distinction), but also from the most eminent of the divisions within this *course*. But I also have a share of royal race from my mother; for the boys of Hasimoni, of whom she was a descendent,¹ both served as chief-priests and exercised the kingship of our nation for a very long time.

3 Now I shall state the succession: Our chief father was Simon, who was surnamed 'The Stutterer'. This *man* lived in a period when the boy of the chief-priest Simon served as chief-priest, who was the first of the chief-priests named Hyrkanos. **4** Now Simon the Stutterer had nine boys. *One* of these was Matthijah, called 'the Ephaios'.²

This *man* married the daughter of the chief-priest Jonathan. *Jonathan* was the first boy of Hasimoni's race to serve as a chief-priest, and was the brother of Simon the chief-priest. Then in the first year that Hyrkanos was chief, *Matthijah* had a boy named Matthijah, surnamed 'The Rounded'.

5 *Matthijah the Rounded's* son, Joseph, was born in the ninth year of Alexandra's government.

Now Joseph *begat* Matthijah in the tenth year of Archelaos' reign.

Now Matthijah *begat* me in the first year of Gaius Caesar's leadership.

Now I have three boys: indeed, the eldest, Hyrkanos was *born* in the fourth year; but Justus in the eighth year; but Agrippa in the ninth year of the leadership of Vespasianus Caesar.

6 This is indeed how I present the succession of our race, as I have found it recorded in the public registers, sending a greeting to those who try to slander us.

7 But my father Matthijah was not only distinguished because of his noble birth, instead he was praised even more on account of his righteousness, being a very eminent man among the Jerusalemites—the greatest city we have.

8 Now I myself was jointly educated with my brother named Matthijah (for he was a legitimate *brother*, born from both parents), but I progressed ahead of him into a great *amount* of discipline, gaining a reputation for both an excellent memory and intelligence. **9** Now while I was still a mere boy, about fourteen years old, I was commended by everyone because I loved to *read* documents. Because of this, the chief-priests and principal *men* of the city would often meet with me *in order* to understand the laws more precisely.

10 Now when I was about sixteen years old, I chose to gain expertise in the several sects which are among us. Now there are three of these: indeed the first, is the Pharisees; and the second, the Zadokim; but the third, the Essenes. For I thought that, if I was able to examine them all, I would be able to choose the best. **11** Therefore, I submitted myself to hard training and laborious exercises, and passed through the three of them.

And I was not content with the resulting expertise. *So* when I heard about a certain man named Binnui,³ who made his life in the wilderness, indeed wearing only clothing *made* from trees, but scavenging food which grew on its own, but washing frequently for purification with frigid water day and night, I became his devotee. **12** So when I had lived with him for three years, and had accomplished my purpose, I returned to the city.

Now, at the age of nineteen, I also began to involve myself in public life, according to the rules of the Pharisees, a sect which is similar to the one called Stoic among the Hellenes.

13 But after my twenty-sixth year, it also fell to my lot to go up to Roma for the cause which shall *now* be described:

At the time when Félix was administering Judah, there were certain priests, close associates of mine and excellent men, whom he had bound and sent to Roma on a minor and incidental cause, in order to render an account to Caesar. **14** I desired to find some means of saving these *men*, but especially when I discovered that, even in their wretched circumstances, they had not abandoned piety toward the Deity, but were subsisting on figs and nuts.

So I reached Roma, after having faced many dangers at sea. **15** For our boat was immersed in the middle of the Adriatic Sea; and we, being about 600 in number, floated ourselves through the entire night. And about daybreak, by God's

foresight, a Kyrenian boat appeared before us. *So* both I and some others, about 80 in all, overtook the rest and were taken up into the boat.

16 Now after we had come safely to Dikaiarchia, which the Italians call Puteoli, I formed a friendship with Aliturus.⁴ Now this man was a mime-actor, especially loved by Nerō, and a Judean by race. And through him I became known to Poppaea, the wife of Caesar. Then, as soon as possible, I made provision, appealing to her to free the priests. Now having received this favor from Poppaea, in addition to enormous gifts *from her*, I returned home.

CHAPTER 2 [War2:284-308]

Now at this time, it also happened that the Hellenes⁵ of Caesarea had won from Nerō the *right* to retain control of the city, and they had brought back the documents of the verdict. And now the war had its beginning, indeed in the twelfth year of the leadership of Nerō, but in the seventeenth of the reign of Agrippa, in the month of Artemisios.

2 But given the magnitude of the calamities *which arose* from it, it did not have a worthy justification. For the Judeans in Caesarea had a congregation adjoining a site whose owner was a certain Caesarean Hellene. Indeed, they had frequently endeavored to acquire the spot, offering a price many times its worth. **3** But he himself disdained their appeals, and with added insult, began to build across the site by constructing workshops. He left them a passageway that was both narrow and constrained in every direction.

Indeed, at first, the more hot-headed youths plunged ahead and attempted to hinder the construction. **4** Now although Florus kept restraining them from violence, the powerful Judeans, which included Johanan the tax-collector, were completely at a loss *as what to do*; so they persuaded Florus with eight talents of silver to prevent the project.

5 But he, being *interested* only in the taking of *money*, promised that he would do everything they desired, but then absconded from Caesarea to Sebasté, and abandoned the civil strife to its own devices, as if he had sold the Judeans a license to fight.

6 Now on the next day, which was the seventh, when the Judeans had gathered in their congregation, a certain Caesarean agitator turned over a belly-vase at their entryway, and began sacrificing birds *on it*. This provoked the Judeans beyond remedy, indeed on the ground that their laws had been outraged, but their site desecrated.

7 Therefore indeed, the stable and mild *Judeans* considered it proper to resort to the leaders; but the factious *ones*, having also become inflamed by the virtue of their youth, were burning for a fight. Now the insurgents among the Caesareans also stood ready; for this had been a scheme of theirs to send forward the man performing the sacrifices. And so an engagement soon came about.

8 But Jucundus, the horse-chief, who was assigned to intervene, came forward; he both removed the belly-vase, and kept endeavoring to put an end to the civil strife. But he was unable to overcome the violence of the Caesareans. *So* the Judeans seized their *copies of the laws* and withdrew to Nabata—this is what one of their districts is called, lying 60 stadia from Caesarea.

9 But twelve of the powerful *men* of Johanan's party went to Florus at Sebasté, and began bitterly lamenting about what had been done, and begged him for his help, and discreetly reminded him about the eight talents. But he arrested and confined the men, incriminating them with having removed the laws from Caesarea.

10 This roused indignation among those in Jerusalem, however they restrained their fury. But Florus, as if he had been contracted to fan the flames of the war, sent to the temple storehouse and extracted seventeen talents, pretending that *it was* for Caesar's needs.

11 But confusion began to immediately grip the populace, and they ran together into the temple; and with piercing shouts, they kept calling upon the name of Caesar, and begged him to liberate them from Florus' tyranny. **12** But some of the insurgents shouted the most shameful insults upon Florus; and carrying around a reed-basket, they demanded bits of change for him as though he were destitute and needy.

These *insults* did not restrain his love-of-silver; instead, they only drove him by rage to pursue more money. **13** Accordingly, he should have gone to Caesarea in order to extinguish the fire of the war which was beginning from there, and to dispose of the causes of the disturbance (it was on this account that he had taken compensation). But he rushed against Jerusalem with an army of both cavalry and infantry, so that he might work what he wanted⁶ with Roman weapons, and strip the city through anxiety and threats.

14 But the populace, wishing to forestall his rush and make him ashamed, came out to meet his soldiers with adulation, and prepared themselves to

¹ [Life] PRA / MW "child"

² [Life] R "Ephlios" / AMW "Ephlios" (uncertain, may possibly be the name "Ephah")

³ [Life] Hebrew / PR "Bannus" / AMW "Banus"

⁴ [Life] it is possible that the Greek name was actually "Halitros"

⁵ that is, the "Greeks"

⁶ [War] C adds / Latin instead reads "infantry, which he intended to use"

attentively welcome Florus. **15** Yet he sent the centurion Capito ahead with fifty cavalrymen to direct them to withdraw, and not to feign courtesies now toward one whom they had shamefully insulted. **16** “For if you truly are noble and outspoken, it is indeed necessary for you to mock him when he is present; and to show yourselves to be lovers-of-freedom, not only in your words, but also with your weapons.”

17 The multitude was taken aback by these words. And, at the same time, Capito and his cavalry were charging into their midst, dispersing them before they had an opportunity either to greet Florus or to make their submissiveness clear to the soldiers. But they withdrew to their houses, passing the night in anxiety and humiliation.

18 Now at that time, Florus indeed took up residence in the royal grounds; but on the next day, he set a platform before them, and took his seat. Then both the chief-priests, and the powerful men, as well as the most eminent men in the city arrived and stood by the platform. **19** Florus directed them to deliver up to them those who had insulted him, asserting that they would partake of his vengeance if they failed to bring the criminals forward.

20 But they indeed made it clear that the populace was peaceably disposed, but they sought pardon for those who had muttered careless things. **21** “For it is hardly surprising that, in such a large multitude, there are indeed men who are rather bold and foolish on account of their age. But it is infeasible to make a distinction¹ to isolate those who are at fault, as everyone is now changing their minds and disowning what he has done. **22** Yet however, if your concern is for the peace of the nation, and if you wish to preserve the city for the Romans, it is necessary for you to pardon the few offenders for the sake of the many who are blameless, rather than to trouble such a large populace of non-incriminated people on account of a few wicked individuals.”

23 This speech provoked Florus even more, and he began shouting at the soldiers to thoroughly plunder what was called the Upper Market, and to kill those whom they encountered. But in their lust for gain, they drew strength from this authoritative exhortation, and not only plundered the place which they had been sent against, but instead, bursting into every residence, they began slaughtering its residents. **24** Now the citizens rushed through the alleyways, and those who were caught were murdered; but no manner of plundering was omitted. And they arrested many of the esteemed citizens, and brought them up to Florus. He had them first tortured with lashes, and then crucified.

25 Now the total number of those killed that day, including women and children (for they did not hold back even from the infants), was about 630.² **26** But this new method of Roman savagery made the calamity more burdensome; for at that time, Florus ventured to do what no one had done before, that is, to have men of the equestrian legion both whipped in front of his platform, and then nailed to the cross. And although their race was Judean, their status was certainly Roman.

CHAPTER 3 [War2:309–332]

At about this very time, King Agrippa had indeed gone to Alexandria, in order to celebrate with Alexandros, who had been sent to manage Egypt, which had also been entrusted to him by Nerō. **2** But terrible suffering overcame his sister Bereniké, who was present in Jerusalem and was observing the criminality of the soldiers. And often she would send both her own horse-chiefs and bodyguards to Florus, and would plead with him to put an end to the murder. **3** And indeed, he wanted to hear nothing about either the multitude of those being done away with, or the nobility of the woman who made the appeal; instead, he was distracted solely by the profits from this plundering.

4 But the soldiers’ assault was rabid even against the queen. Accordingly, they were not only torturing and utterly-destroying the captives before her eyes; instead, they would also have done away with her, had she not managed to take refuge in the royal palace. And having become anxious about the soldiers’ attack, she passed the night there with her guards.

5 Now she was staying in Jerusalem in order to fulfill a vow³ to God. For it is customary for those who are suffering from a sickness or by some other stresses to pray, and, for thirty days before they were going to offer sacrifices, to both abstain from wine, and to shave the hair on their head. **6** And it was while she was fulfilling these very things that Bereniké, both barefoot and in front of Florus’ platform, kept begging him. And in addition to not being met with respect, she put her very life in danger. **7** Therefore, these things indeed happened on the sixteenth day of the month of Artemisios.

Now indeed on the next day, the multitude, being extremely upset, streamed together into the Upper Market; and, with enormous shouts concerning those who

had been destroyed, they broke into wailing; but the preponderance of their cries was also hostile against Florus.

8 Alarmed at this *outburst*, the powerful men, along with the chief-priests, rent their clothes; and each one fell down at their feet, pleading with them to stop, and, considering what they had already suffered, not to provoke Florus into some incurable action. **9** Now the multitude promptly complied, both out of respect for those who made the appeal, and in the hope that Florus would no longer act illegally against them.

10 But Florus was troubled that the disturbance had been quelled; and endeavoring to reignite it, he summoned the chief-priests along with the notables. And he declared, that the populace had but one sure way of proving that they were not going to continue to foment revolution: if they would go out and meet the soldiers coming up from Caesarea; for two cohorts were approaching.

11 But while they were calling the multitude together, he sent ahead and instructed the cohort centurions to transmit a message to those under them that they were not to greet the Judeans in return; and that if the Judeans so much as uttered a word against him, they were to make use of their weapons.

12 Now the chief-priests, after gathering the multitude into the temple, began appealing that they go out to meet the Romans and to welcome the cohorts, before incurable suffering would come upon them. The seditious men would not comply with them; and the multitude, on account of those who had been destroyed, was inclining toward the bolder ones.

13 Then indeed every priest and every servant of God brought out the holy vessels, and donned the ornamentation in which it was a custom of theirs to be performing-public-service. Both the cithara-players, as well as the singers with their instruments, fell prostrate and began supplicating them to protect the consecrated ornamentation for them, and not to provoke the Romans into plundering the divine treasures.

14 But the chief-priests themselves were able to be seen, indeed heaping dust on their heads, but bare-chested; their clothes having been rent. Now they were begging each of the notables by name, and the multitude in common, that they would not, by the slightest error of judgment, hand over their fatherland to those who were yearning to destroy it.

15 “For what benefit will the soldiers gain by receiving a greeting from us Judeans? Or what amendment can we obtain for what has happened if we refuse to go out now? **16** But if they certainly welcome those who go out to approach them, as is the custom, the occasion for the war will indeed be cut away from Florus, but we will gain our fatherland and suffer nothing more. And besides, if we comply with a few seditious persons, it will show a terrible lack of control, especially when we, being a populace of such strength, should rather be compelling them to share in our own good sense⁴ as well.”

17 By these persuasions, they succeeded in soothing the multitude. And at the same time, they indeed repulsed some of the insurgents with threats, but others with shame. Then, leading them out with silence, but also with ornamentation, they went to meet the soldiers. And when they had come up to them, they offered greetings. But when the soldiers made no answer at all, the insurgents began shouting against Florus.

18 This was the agreed signal that had been given for striking against them. Accordingly, the soldiers immediately surrounded them and began beating them with clubs; and the cavalry chased after anyone who fled, trampling them. Now many indeed fell beneath the blows of the Romans, but more by suffering violence from their own companions.

19 Now there was a terrible crushing around the gates. And while each one was eager to pass in first, the rush became slower for everyone; but the destruction of those who had been thrown down was terrible. For they were suffocated and broken by a multitude of those who were stepping on top of them, and disappeared; even their own relatives could not recognize them enough to give them burial.

20 But then the soldiers fell upon those whom they caught up with, beating them without restraint; and they kept pushing the multitude back through what was called Beth-Eza,⁵ trying to force their way through and take control of the temple, as well as Antōnia.

Since Florus was also intent on taking possession of these places, he led the soldiers which were with him out of the royal palace, and was struggling to reach the fortress. **21** Yet truly, he failed in his offensive. For the populace, having been turned back upon him, blocked his charge; and standing at intervals on the roofs, they kept throwing stones⁶ at the Romans. But the Romans were worn out after a long struggle with the projectiles from above, and became too weak to cut through the multitude which had blocked up the alleyways; so they began to withdraw into their encampment at the royal palace.

¹ [War] MLVRC, Latin add

² [War] PAML, Latin / VRC “3,600”

³ usually translated elsewhere “prayer”

⁴ [War] M, L-margin / PAL “to share in their own well-being” / VR “to not agree with them”

⁵ [War] P / A “Bethaza” / MVRC “Bezetha” / L “Bethzetha” / Latin “Bezeta”

⁶ [War] Latin / Greek omits “stones”

22 But the insurgents were worried that Florus might attack again *and* take control of the temple through Antōnia. *So* they immediately climbed upon the temple porticoes which connected to Antōnia, *and* cut through *them*. 23 This cooled Florus' greed; for since he was intent on the treasures of God, and for that reason, was longing to enter Antōnia, as soon as the porticoes were torn down, his charge was hindered.

So he summoned both the chief-priests and the council. Indeed, he told them that he himself was departing from the city, but that he would leave behind for them as much of a garrison as they thought suitable.

24 Now they promised *they would do* everything (to *maintain* security, and to not foment future revolution), provided he would leave them with one cohort; however, not the one which had fought *against them*, for the multitude harbored animosity toward that one, on account of what they had suffered *from it*. So he exchanged the cohort as they thought suitable; *and*, with the remainder of the force, he returned to Caesarea.

CHAPTER 4 [War2:333-344]

But contriving an alternate way to instigate the war, *Florus* sent a letter to Cestius, falsely alleging that the Judeans had begun a rebellion. He also imputed the beginning of the *previous* battle to them, and said, that they themselves had committed *the crimes*, which they *in fact* had *actually* suffered. Truly, the chiefs of Jerusalem did not remain silent. Instead, both they and Bereniké wrote to Cestius about what Florus had done illegally against the city.

2 But after reading both their *reports*, Cestius took counsel with his leaders. Therefore indeed, some of them thought it best that Cestius should go back with an army, either to exact retribution for the rebellion (if it had happened), or to support any Judeans who were more steadfast and persevering *in their allegiance*. But he *thought it best* to send out one of his companions¹ to investigate the circumstances, and to carry back a faithful message *telling about* the minds of the Judeans.

3 Indeed,² he sent one of the tribunes, Neapolitanus. At Jabneh he fell in with King Agrippa, who was returning from Alexandria, and explained both who it was that had sent *him*, and the reasons *for doing so*.

4 And here both the Judean chief-priests along with the powerful *men*, and the council, presented themselves to welcome the king. But after paying homage to him, they turned to bitterly lament their own calamities, as well as the savage treatment which they were undergoing from Florus.

5 At this, Agrippa indeed became indignant, but like a general, transferred his anger toward those whom he really pitied, the Judeans, desiring to tear down their high minds, and, by not supposing that they had suffered unrighteously, to dissuade them from revenge.

6 Therefore indeed, they were distinguished men, and, as property-owners, longed for peace. *So* they understood that the king's reprimand was intended for their good. But the populace went out 60 stadia from Jerusalem, greeting Agrippa and Neapolitanus. 7 But the wives of those who had been slaughtered poured out and began shrieking.

And when the populace heard their wail, they responded with lamentations, *and* kept begging Agrippa to provide assistance. They were also shouting at Neapolitanus, *telling him about* everything which they had suffered from Florus; and after they had passed into the city, they showed to them both the desolated market and the residences which had been ravaged.

8 Then, by means of Agrippa, they persuaded Neapolitanus to go around the city with a single attendant as far as Shiloah. *This was* in order that he would realize that the Judeans had submitted to all the rest of the Romans, but were being roused to hostility only in the case of Florus, due to the excessive savagery with which he had treated them.

Now he traversed *the city*, making a sufficient test of their mildness; *then he* went up into the temple. 9 He summoned the multitude there, and he indeed vigorously commended them for their faithfulness to the Romans, and *also* vigorously exhorted them to maintain the peace. And after bowing down before God at *the place* where the holy *acts* were permitted, he returned to Cestius.

10 But as for the Judean multitude, they turned both to the king and to the chief-priests, *and* kept pressing them to send elders to Nerō against Florus; and that they would not, by holding their silence about such a great murder, afford *to leave* themselves under a suspicion of rebellion; for if they did not take the lead to identify the one who had begun *this war*, they would appear to have begun the hostilities themselves. 11 But it was clear that they were not about to acquiesce if anyone would block the body of elders.

Now Agrippa indeed thought that *the task of* electing *men* to go as Florus' accusers would generate a grudge against him, but standing by and watching the

Judeans, who had fanned the flames of a war, did not appear in his interest either. 12 But he summoned the multitude into the covered-colonnade, *and* placed his sister Bereniké alongside in plain view atop the house of the Hasimonians (for this *building* was above the covered-colonnade at the transition to the Upper City; and the covered-colonnade was connected to the temple by a bridge). *Then* Agrippa spoke the following:

CHAPTER 5 [War2:345-407]

"Had I indeed found that all of you were rushing to make war on the Romans, and not that the purest and most-pristine *part* of the populace was preferring to make peace, I would neither have come to you here, nor been so bold as to give you counsel. For any speech in support of the necessary policy is superfluous whenever all the hearers unanimously *favor* the worse *course*."

2 "But I see that, indeed, some are stirred up because of their *young age*, inexperienced in the evils which accompany war; but that some *are stirred up* by an irrational hope of freedom; but a few by a certain greed, and from the profit of those who are weaker, in the event that your affairs become confounded. *So* in order to both recall these very *persons* to their senses in order to reverse *their* course, and that the good *citizens* might not reap the harvest of the ill-counsel of a few, I thought it proper to gather all of you together in the same place, to tell you what I consider to be for your benefit.

3 "But let no one create a disturbance against me if what he hears is not to his liking! For indeed, those who have begun rushing incurably into the rebellion, will, following my exhortation, still have the freedom to retain their same mind; but unless you all keep silent, my words will fall to the ground, even for those who wish to hear *them*."

4 "Therefore, I indeed know that there are many who are waxing tragic on the abuses of the procurators, and with encomiums on freedom. But before probing who you are, and against whom you are undertaking to make war, I shall first unravel this entanglement of pretexts. 5 For if, indeed, you are avenging yourselves on those who are causing *you* injury, why do you extol freedom? But if it is *the state* of being enslaved that you consider intolerable, then blaming the leaders is superfluous; for even if they were showing restraint, being enslaved would *still* be equally shameful!"

6 "But closely examine how minute the case is for making war, even on the grounds of each of these *arguments*. Yet first, let us even *consider* the charges against the procurators. For it is necessary to cultivate, not to provoke, the authorities. 7 But whenever you fashion exaggerated reproaches for minor sins, you only prosecute the objects of reproach to your own detriment; so after ceasing to harm you covertly, they, with shame, ruin you openly. But there is nothing which repels the blows as well as tolerating them; and the quietness of those against whom unrighteousness is inflicted becomes a distraction to those who inflict the unrighteousness."

8 "But let us take it for granted that the Roman underlings are incurably harsh, it does not follow that all Romans have acted unrighteously against you. Certainly not Caesar, against whom you are choosing war. For it is not by their instructions that any wicked *governor* has come *to us*. Yet those from the evening-land *in the west* are not looking closely upon those under the rising sun *in the east*; instead, is it not easy *for them* there to quickly hear *reports* from here."

9 "Now it is also deviant to make war against many on account of one, and to do so against such great *people* on account of trifling causes, and *especially* when they do not even know what we are blaming them for! 10 And indeed, what we complain about might be swiftly rectified; for the same procurator does not remain forever, and it is probable that the successors to come will be more restrained. But once a war has been ignited, it is not easy either to lay it aside, nor to sustain it without calamities."

11 "No truly, the longing for freedom now is yet untimely; it would have been necessary to have struggled in the past so that it might never have been thrown away. For the experience of slavery is certainly harsh, and the struggle to avoid it is righteous. 12 But the one who has once been subdued, *and* then resists, is not a lover-of-freedom, but an obstinate slave."

"So at that time, when Pompeius was setting foot in the country, it would have been necessary to do everything to prevent the Romans from being admitted. 13 Instead, our³ ancestors and their kings (who were better positioned than you, in money, and in bodies, and in souls), indeed did not hold out against *even* a small portion of the Roman force. But yet you, who have indeed inherited submission as a tradition, but who are so much *more* inferior in your affairs than those who first submitted *themselves*, are setting yourselves against the entire Roman leadership?"

14 "And the Athénians, indeed, in order *to preserve* the freedom of the Hellenes, at one time consigned their city even to a fire. When the arrogant Xerxes had sailed across land and made a footpath across the sea (and indeed, not

¹ [War] AMLVRC / P "send out from his companions the one"

² [War] VRC / PAML omit "indeed" / Latin "Therefore"

³ [War] PMVRC / AL, Latin "your"

yielding to the depths, but leading the army that was broader than Europa), they pursued him like a fugitive on a single ship, but broke Asia so mighty near tiny¹ Salamis. Even they are now enslaved to the Romans; and the city which is the leader of Hellas² is administered by orders *sent* from Italia.

15 “But the Lakedaimōnians, after Thermopylai and Plataia, and *after* Agésilaos had explored Asia, are content to *serve* the same masters. 16 And the Makedonians, though still conjuring up Philippos and envisioning their leadership of the inhabited *earth* being disseminated by Alexandros, tolerate such a great reversal and bow down before those to whom fortune has advanced. 17 Instead, there are tens of thousands of other nations who, swelling with greater pride in the assertion of their freedom, have nevertheless yielded. But will you alone scorn to be enslaved by those who have subdued everything?”

“In what sort of army, in what sort of weapons do you depend on? Where indeed is your force that will seize the Roman seas? But where are the treasures which will be fully sufficient for the offensives? 18 Do you suppose, as it seems, that you are igniting this war against Egyptians and against Arabians? Will you not fully survey the Roman leadership? Will you not take the measure of your own feebleness? Have we³ indeed not often been weaker even than the neighboring nations, while *the Romans’* strength is invincible throughout the entire inhabited *earth*?”

19 “But they sought something even more than this. For the whole Euphrates⁴ on the east is not at all sufficient for them; nor the Istros on the north; nor even Libyé on the south, which had been explored all the way to the uninhabited *regions of the earth*; and Gadir on the west. Instead, they sought another inhabited *earth* beyond Oceanos, and they carried their weapons all the way to the previously unexplored Britons and Germans.⁵

20 “What, then? Are you richer than the Galatians? Stronger than the Germans? More intelligent than the Hellenes? More numerous than everyone throughout the inhabited *earth*? What persuasive force has propelled you against the Romans?”

21 “Someone will say, ‘Being a slave is painful!’ How much more for the Hellenes? *For* they are first⁶ in nobility of all those under the sun; and although they have a great country apportioned among themselves, they give way to six⁷ *bundles* of Roman rods. But the Makedonians also *give way* to the same number, whose reason to contend for freedom is more righteous than yours. 22 But what about the 500 cities of Asia? Do they not bow down before one leader and the consular *bundle of rods*; and *this*, even without a garrison?”

“Need I speak of both the Héniochians and the Kolchians, and the tribe of the Tauri, both *the* Bosporans and nations dwelling around the Pontos,⁸ and the Maiōtis? 23 Indeed, in the past, not a *single* master of their own was recognized among them, but now they are subject to 3,000 heavy-armed *soldiers*; and 40 long ships⁹ pacify the formerly unnavigable and wild sea.

24 “How much do Bithynia, and Kappadokia, and the Pamphylian nation, both Lukians and Kilikians, have to say in behalf of freedom? *For* they are subject to tribute *even* without weapons.¹⁰ And what about the Thrakians, who have seized a region, indeed five days in breadth but seven in length, both more rugged than yours, and extremely more secure, and able to drive back attacking armies with its deep frost? Do they not submit to 2,000 Roman guards?”

25 “But after these, the Illyrians, who inhabit the *region* as far as Dalmatia, and are cut off by *the* Istros. Do they not give way to only two legions, by which they themselves drive back the assaults made by the Dacians? 26 But the Dalmatians, who have so often reared their manes *to toss off* the yoke *for the sake of freedom*; and for this *reason* alone, whenever they had been subdued in those days, they always marshaled their strength to rebel again. *Yet*, do they not now keep quiet under a single Roman legion?”

27 “No truly, if there are yet any *people* who might be understandably provoked by certainly great circumstances toward rebellion, it should obviously have been the Galatians, who have been enwalled by nature in the following way: indeed, on the east by the Alps,¹¹ but on the north by the Rhénos River, but on the south by the Pyrénéan Mountains, but on the west by Oceanos. 28 Instead, they indeed have further been encompassed by such great defenses, but also abound with 305 nations, but have (as one might say) the springs of prosperity within the country itself, and their goodness is flooding-over nearly the whole

inhabited *earth*—they tolerate being¹² revenue to the Romans, and serving as a paymaster for their very own domestic prosperity. 29 And they put up with this, not because of any softness in their minds or lack of nobility (having yet persevered in war for eighty years in behalf of freedom); instead, *they do so* in connection with the Romans’ power, and being astonished at their fortune which brings them success more than their weapons. For that very reason, they are enslaved under 1,200 soldiers, when they have almost more cities than that!

30 “Nor, with the Ibérians, did the gold which was being dug up suffice at all for the war in behalf of freedom. Nor could such a great distance by land and sea from the Romans *suffice* for the Ares-mad peoples of the Lusitanians and Cantabrians; nor did neighboring Oceanos *suffice*, even while inflicting a surging tide which instills fear even in the locals. 31 Instead, after extending their weapons beyond the Monuments of Hercules, and traversing the Pyrénéan Mountains through masses-of-clouds, the Romans also enslaved these *people*. Now a single legion was¹³ a sufficient garrison for these, who were so hard to fight and living so remote.

32 “Who is there among you who has not heard about the multitude of Germans? For indeed, you have often seen the strength and size of their bodies, since the Romans have their captives everywhere. 33 Instead, these men, who, truly indeed, apportion a boundless land among themselves, but who have minds bigger than their bodies, and, indeed, a soul which scorns death, but who have furies more fierce than those of the most-savage beasts, have the Rhénos as a boundary for their impetuosity. And being curbed by eight Roman legions, those indeed who have been conquered are enslaved *by them*, while their nation as a whole is preserving itself by flight.

34 “But you who depend on the walls of Jerusalem, also consider the wall of the Britons. For the Romans sailed *there* and enslaved even those *people* who are surrounded by Oceanos, and *who* inhabit an island no smaller than our part of the inhabited *earth*; but four legions closely guard such a big island.

35 “And need I say much *more*, when even the Parthians (that most warlike people, who are chiefs of so many nations and have equipped themselves with such a large force) send hostages to the Romans, and in Italia it is possible to see (with peace as its justification) the nobility of the east enslaved to them?”

36 “While almost everyone under the sun is bowing down before the Romans’ weapons, will you alone go to war? And *this*, without considering the fate of the Carthaginians, who, though boasting of the great Hannibal and of their nobility from the Phoinikians, fell beneath the right hand of Scipio? 37 But neither have *the* Kyrénéans (Lakedaimōnians by race), nor *the* Marmaridai (the *people* extending all the way to the parched *land*), nor *the* Surtians (instilling-fear even in those hearing *about them*), nor both *the* Nasamones, and *the* Maurians, and the countless multitude of Numidians, been able to resist the Romans’ excellence.

38 “But they have subdued this entire third part of the inhabited *earth*, whose nations are not easily enumerated, and which is marked off by both the Atlantic Sea and the Monuments of Hercules, and sustain the countless Ethiopians as far as the Red Sea. 39 But apart from their annual harvests, which feed the multitude in Roma for eight months, they are also subject to every kind of tribute; and they hand over their prepared tax levies for the services of the leadership. Nor do they, like you, consider any of the commands to be an outrage, even though a single legion remains with them.

40 “And why is it necessary to show to you far off examples of the Romans’ power, when it is easy *to learn it* from neighboring Egypt? 41 It stretches-forth as far as Ethiopia and the prosperous Arab, *and* is also a mooring for India. It has 7,500,000 humans, besides the inhabitants of Alexandria, as may be clearly proven from the tax levy on each head. *Yet*, it does not scorn the Roman leadership, although it has Alexandria as a great spur for rebellion, both on account of *its* multitude of men and wealth, but *also* its size—42 yet indeed, its length is 30 stadia, but its breadth no less than 10. But it hands over more tax to the Romans in one month, than you do in a *single* year; and besides the money, *it supplies* grain for Roma for four months. But it is enwalled on every side, *either* by impassable deserts, or by harborless seas, or by rivers, or by marshes. 43 Instead, none of these *barriers* has been found stronger than the Romans’ fortune. But two legions stationed in the city bridle both deeper Egypt, together with the nobility of the Makedonians.

44 “Therefore, where will your auxiliaries in the war come from? From the uninhabited *regions*? For indeed, all those in the inhabited *earth* are Romans; unless some of you extend your hopes beyond the Euphrates,¹⁴ and suppose that your fellow-tribesmen from Hadyab are joining the defense. 45 But they will not embroil themselves with so serious a war for *such* an irrational cause. Nor would the Parthian grant permission to anyone who had decided to take such ill-counsel—for he shows concern for *maintaining* the truce with the Romans; and if

¹ [War] AMVR [GREEK]: “mikros” / P [GREEK]: “smikros”

² that is, “Greece”

³ [War] PAVR / MLC, Latin “you”

⁴ Greek / from Persian “Ufratu” / Hebrew “Furat”

⁵ L adds

⁶ P / AMLVRC, Latin “reputed”

⁷ PAML “the”

⁸ may also be translated “or around the Sea”

⁹ MLVRC / PA “ship” (however, the singular word is often used in a plural sense)

¹⁰ may be understood as either “without *constraint of weapons*” or “without *resorting to weapons*”

¹¹ that is “the Alps”

¹² PA “giving”

¹³ Latin “is”

¹⁴ Greek / from Persian “Ufratu” / Hebrew “Furat”

one of those under him were to move against the Romans, he would regard it as violating that treaty.

46 “Therefore, *all* that remains to resort to is the assistance of God. Instead, even this has been marshaled on the side of the Romans. For without God, it is not possible to put together such a formidable leadership. 47 But consider how hard it *will be* to manage the purity of your religious practices, even if you were to make war on easy victims. And how can you hope to have the assistance of God *on your side*, if, by being compelled to violate these *very* things on which you fervently place *this hope*, you make him turn away *from you*? 48 Yet truly, by observing the custom of the seventh *day*, and by initiating no activities whatsoever *on it*, you will be easily conquered, exactly as your fathers were by Pompeius, who was especially active for the siege on these days, on which the besieged *Judeans* were inactive. 49 But if you are violating the law of *your fathers* in the war, I fail to understand what object you have for further hostilities. For your one aim is not to relinquish anything of your fathers. 50 But how will you call upon the Deity for defense, when you have willfully violated your devotion toward him?”

“Now all those who embark on war have come to trust in either divine or human assistance. But whenever probability cuts off both, those who make war are choosing evident capture. 51 What is there preventing you from *executing* your children and women with your own hands, and from incinerating this most exceptionally beautiful fatherland? For, by behaving madly in this way, you will at least spare yourselves the reproach of defeat. 52 O friends, as long as the seacraft is still in a mooring, it is beautiful to first consider the impending winter-storm, and not to be put out into the middle of the squalls, to perish.¹ For indeed, those who fall into *unforeseen* terrors are at least to be pitied, but the one who has rushed into foreseen destruction attracts only reproaches.

53 “Do not let anyone imagine that you can make war according to *some* treaty, and that the Romans will show restraint after taking control of you, and will instead not, as an example to the other nations, indeed incinerate the consecrated city but do away with your entire tribe. For if you do survive, you will find no place of refuge, since everyone has, or is terrified to have, the Romans as their masters. 54 But the danger is not only for those who are here; instead, it is also for those residing in the other cities; for there is not a populace in the inhabited *earth* who does not have a portion of us *among them*. 55 If you go to war, your opponents will slaughter all of them; and because of the ill-counsel of a few men, every city will be filled with Judean murder. And pardon will indeed come to those who have done this. But if it does not take place, consider how impious *it would be* to move weapons against those who are so humane.

56 “But have compassion, if not on your children and women, instead on this metropolis and the consecrated enclosures. Spare the temple, and preserve the inner-sanctum for yourselves, along with *what is* holy. For after taking control of these, the Romans will no longer hold back; since they have been shown ingratitude in exchange for having previously spared them. 57 But I myself indeed call to testify *on my behalf*: your holy *things*, and the consecrated messengers of God, and our common fatherland, that I have not betrayed anything conducive to your salvations. But if you will indeed take counsel to do what is necessary, you will hold the peace in common with me; but if you continue to be led on by your fury, you will face the peril without me.”

58 When he had spoken these things in this way, both he and his sister wept. Through these tears, he repressed much of the *multitude's* violence. But they continued to cry out that they were not at war with the Romans, *but* instead with Florus, on account of what they had suffered *from him*.

59 At this, King Agrippa declared, “No, these actions are the same as making war with the Romans. For you have not given your tribute to Caesar, and you have severed the colonnades of Antōnia. 60 But if you both reattach these *colonnades*, and pay your tax-levies, you will unload the responsibility of the revolt. For the fortress does not yet belong to Florus, nor will you be giving the money to Florus.”

61 The populace was persuaded by these *words*; and, along with both the king and Bereniké, they went up into the temple in order to begin the reconstruction of the colonnades. But both the chiefs and *the* councilors were assigned to the villages in order to collect the taxes. Now they quickly gathered the 40 talents (for that is how much *tax* remained).

62 And Agrippa indeed suppressed the threat of war at that time, but he kept endeavoring again to persuade the multitude to submit to Florus until a successor was sent by Caesar to replace him. At this, they were provoked, and reproached the king, and proclaimed his banishment from the city. But some of the insurgents even ventured to throw stones at him.

63 Now the king saw that the passion of the revolutionaries was uncontrollable, and was very embittered that he had been trampled in the mud by

them. Indeed, he sent their chiefs, along with the powerful *men*, to Florus at Caesarea, in order that *Florus* might appoint some of their number to levy tribute on the country, while *Agrippa* himself withdrew to his own kingdom.

CHAPTER 6 [War2:408–432 / Life:17–20]

At this time, some of the primary *individuals* who wanted to set the war in motion, got together *and* rushed against a certain fortress called Masada. And seizing it by stealth, they indeed slaughtered the Roman guards, but replaced *it* with others of their own *party*.

2 But Eleazar, son of the chief-priest Hananiah, who was a very bold youth, was also serving as general at that time; *he* induced the *ones* who were performing-public-service of the worship to accept no gift or sacrifice from any outsider. Now this *action* was a founding of the war against the Romans; for they rejected the sacrifice *which was offered* on behalf of them and Caesar. 3 And although both the chief-priest and the notables constantly appealed to them not to omit this custom *which was offered* on behalf of the leaders, they would not give way. And indeed, they relied too much on their multitude (for even the most vigorous revolutionaries were collaborating with them), but they were *also* looking intently to Eleazar as their general.

4 Accordingly, the powerful *men* came together with the chief-priests, into the same *place* along with the notable Pharisees. Believing that their calamities were already incurable, they began to take counsel about the whole situation, to determine how to subject the insurgents to a trial with words. *So* they gathered the populace together in front of the bronze gate, which was the one belonging to the inner temple facing the sunrise.

5 And, first, they expressed the great bitterness which they had at the brazenness of the rebellion, and for having incited such a great war in the fatherland. Then, they turned to utterly refuting the irrationality of its justification, stating that, “Indeed, our ancestors furnished the inner-sanctum mainly from the foreigners, always welcoming the gifts from outside nations. 6 And not only had they never prohibited *the* sacrifices of certain *people* (for this is indeed most impious), instead, they also *allowed* them to dedicate votive-offerings around the temple, which can be seen, and have remained in their place for a long time.

7 “But now, you are irritating the Romans to take up arms; and, while courting a war with them, *you* are excavating a strange religion. And, besides this danger, they have voted to condemn the city for impiety, if it is only among *the* Judeans where an outsider is neither allowed to sacrifice nor *to* worship. 8 Indeed, if such a law is introduced in the case of merely a single individual, they² will be indignant at the inhumanity of the exclusion. But you stood by, watching as *the* Romans and Caesar were put outside the libation.

9 “However, we are anxious that, by casting aside the sacrifices on behalf of those people, we might also be prevented from sacrificing on our own behalf, and that our city will become outside the libation of the leadership—unless we quickly come to our senses and restore the sacrifices, and make amends for the outrage, before this report reaches those whom we have outraged.”

10 While they were saying these things, they brought forward the priests who were experts in *the traditions of the fathers*, who explained that all of their fathers had accepted the sacrifices from strangers.

11 Therefore, I endeavored to restrain the insurgents, and to persuade them to change their minds, that they should first place before their eyes those whom they were about to war against—for they were inferior to the Romans, not only in military expertise, *but* instead even in good fortune—12 and that they should not, rashly and most foolishly, risk bringing ultimate ruin upon their fatherlands, and their families, and themselves.

13 But I said these things even persistently with dissuasive pleading, foreseeing that the outcome of the war would be utterly disastrous for us. Truly, I was certainly not convincing. For the frenzy of these desperate men prevailed; 14 but not one of the revolutionaries would heed *what was being said*; instead, the brigands³ would not allow⁴ *it*, and *thereby* furnished the founding of the war.

15 Therefore, once the powerful *men* comprehended that the civil strife was already beyond them to contain, and that the danger from the Romans would come upon them first, they tried to discharge the responsibility and sent elders. Indeed, the chief of some of *these* was Simon son of Hananiah; *they were sent* to Florus. But others, among whom were the distinguished Saul and Antipas and Kostobar, who were connected to the king by race, *were sent* to Agrippa. 16 But they pleaded for them both to come up into the city with a force and dismember the sedition before it became uncontrollable.

17 Therefore indeed, this terrible *news* was a good-message for Florus; and since he had resolved to kindle the war, he gave no answer to the elders. 18 But Agrippa was equally concerned, both for those who were rebelling and for those

¹ PA / MVRC “squalls from a harbor”

² may also be translated “he”

³ PAM / LVRC, M-margin, Latin, Pseudo-Hegesippus “attendants”

⁴ PAVR / LMC, Latin “support”

who the war was being stirred up against. He also desired to save: indeed, the Judeans for the Romans, but the temple and the metropolis for the Judeans. Instead, understanding that the disturbance would not be for his own advantage, he sent 2,000 cavalry from both the Hawranites and Bashanites and the Trachonites for the defense of the populace. Indeed, *all these were placed* under Darayahus, as horse-chief, and Philippos son of Joakim, as general.

19 Encouraged by these *developments*, the powerful *men*, together with the chief-priests and all the multitude who desired peace, seized the Upper City; for the insurgents had control of the Lower City and the temple. 20 Therefore they indeed incessantly used sling-stones and far-throwers; and there was a continuous discharge of projectiles from each of the slopes. And sometimes, companies made sallies, and they would fight. Indeed, the insurgents were conspicuous for their audacity, but the royal *soldiers* for their expertise.

21 And indeed, the main objective of the royal *soldiers* was to take control of the temple, and to drive out those who were polluting the inner-sanctum. But the main objective of Eleazar's party of insurgents was to also take the Upper City in addition to what they already held. Therefore indeed, for seven days, there was a vast murder on both sides; and neither would yield up a part of what they had taken.

22 Now the next day was the Festival of Wood-Carrying, when it was a custom for everyone to bring wood to the altar, in order that there might be an unfailling supply of fuel for the fire (for it is continuing perpetually inextinguishable). Indeed, on *this day*, Eleazar's party shut out their opponents from this religious-observation. But after they had added many of the Sicarii to their number (for this is what they called the brigands who kept short-swords under their folds), who had flowed in together with the feeble citizens, they carried out their undertaking with greater confidence.

23 Now the royal *soldiers* were inferior both in numbers and audacity, and yielded the Upper City to the ones who had dislodged them. But the victors attacked, also setting fire to the residence of Hananiah the chief-priest, as well as the royal *properties* of Agrippa and Bereniké. 24 Afterward, they carried the fire to the archives, hurrying to obliterate the moneylenders' contracts, and to cut off the collection of the debts. *This was done*, so that they might accumulate a horde of grateful debtors, and that they might raise up, without any terror, the deprived against the wealthy. But after the document-officers had fled, they lit the fire.

25 But after they had incinerated the sinews of the city, they advanced against their enemies. At this, some of the powerful *men* and the chief-priests indeed tried to escape notice by dropping down into the underground-passages; 26 while others took refuge in the royal *palace* along with the royal *soldiers*, and shut the gates. Among these were Hananiah the chief-priest, as well as his brother Hezekiah, and the elders who had been sent to Agrippa. Therefore, the *insurgents* were indeed presently satisfied with their victory and with what had been set on fire; so they rested.

27 But on the next day, which was the fifteenth of the month Lōios, they rushed out against Antōnia. And after besieging the guards within for two days, they captured and slaughtered them, and set the fortress on fire.

28 Then they changed direction for the court, where the royal *soldiers* had escaped inside. And after dividing themselves into four units, they made attempts against the walls. Now due to the *size of* the multitude ranging against them, none of those inside had the courage to sally out. But distributing themselves along the parapets and the towers, they were able to hit those who were approaching; and large numbers of the brigands fell beneath the walls. 29 But neither by night, nor by day, did the engagement let up. Indeed, the insurgents supposed that those inside would call it off due to a lack of food, while those inside *supposed* that the besiegers would due to weariness.

30 Therefore, since I had been incessantly *endeavoring to dissuade the insurgents*, I became anxious that I might incur hatred and suspicion of having conspired with our foes, and that I would risk being taken and done away with by them. Since Antōnia fortress was already in their possession, I retreated into the inner temple.

CHAPTER 7 [War2:433-456 / Life:21-23]

And at this time, there was a certain Menahem son of Judah (the one called the Galilean), a most formidable wise-man; and back in the time of Quirinius, he had berated the Judeans because they were subjecting themselves to the Romans after God. *This man* took his acquaintances and withdrew to Masada. 2 There he broke open King Héródés' armory, and fully-armed the different brigands as well as the commoners. Also making use of these *men* as his spearmen,¹ he returned to Jerusalem like a king. And after becoming the leader of the sedition, he began organizing the siege.

3 But there was a shortage of weapons; and being hit from above by missiles, it was impractical to undermine the wall. *So beginning* at a great distance away, they dug an underground-passage as far as one of the towers, and propped it up. Then, after setting fire to the supporting woodwork, they moved away. 4 But when the foundations had burned down, the tower suddenly collapsed, but only to reveal a different wall which had been built from inside.

For having perceived the plot beforehand, and because the tower *could be seen* quivering while it was being undermined, those *inside* had prepared a second fortification for themselves. 5 At this unexpected sight, a panic arose among those *on the outside*, who had been convinced that they were already in control.

Now those inside kept sending *word* to both Menahem and the chief-initiators of the sedition, asking *permission* to depart under the protection of a truce. And this was granted, *but only* to the royal *soldiers* and the countrymen, who indeed began coming out.

6 But the Romans, being the only ones left behind, were disheartened. For they were unable to dislodge such a great multitude, and they were ashamed to ask for their right hand *in pledge for security*—and even if they were given it, they could not trust it. 7 So they abandoned their encampment, since it was easily captureable, and retreated to the royal towers: the one called Hippikos, and Fazael, and Miriam.

8 But Menahem's party burst into the *place* where the soldiers had evacuated, and destroyed all those whom they were able to apprehend, who had not been far enough ahead to run away. And they plundered the baggage and set fire to the encampment.

Therefore, these things were indeed done on the sixth *day* of the month Gorpaios.

9 But on the following day, the chief-priest Hananiah, while trying to hide near the canal of the royal *palace*, was captured and done away with by the brigands, together with his brother Hezekiah. And the insurgents, now facing² the towers, kept a close watch so that none of the soldiers might escape.

10 But the reduction of the secure places and the death of the chief-priest Hananiah deluded Menahem to the point of savagery. And thinking that he had no rival in the *conduct of affairs*, he became an unbearable tyrant.

11 But Eleazar's party rose up against him. And they passed an account to one another, that after rebelling from the Romans out of a desire for freedom, they should not throw this *freedom* away to a domestic populace and tolerate a master who, even if he were to abstain from violence, was instead altogether more base than they themselves. For even if it were necessary for someone to be directing the affairs, anyone would be more suited than him.

So they got themselves together, and made an attempt on him in the temple. 12 For he had gone up there to worship, a pompous³ man decked out in royal clothing, and drawing his armed zealots after him.

13 But Eleazar's party rushed against him, as well as the rest of the populace; and because of their anger, they grabbed stones and kept throwing them at the wise-man, believing that if he was eliminated, they would divert the entire sedition. 14 Menahem's party held out for a while; *but* when they saw that the whole multitude had rushed against them, they ran in whichever direction each was able to. And indeed, those who were apprehended were murdered, but those who concealed themselves were searched for. 15 And a few came through safely after stealthily running off to Masada. Among them was Eleazar son of Jair, who was of Menahem's race, and who afterwards became the tyrant of Masada.

16 Now as for Menahem himself, he had taken refuge in the *place* called Ophel, where he lay ignominiously concealed. *But* they captured him alive, dragging him out into the open. And after tormenting him with many tortures, they did away with him. Now they also did the same to the leaders under him, and to the tyrant's most significant underling Apsalom.

17 Now after the doing away with of Menahem and the principle men of the brigand brigade, I had ventured out of the temple, holding discussions with the chief-priests and the principal Pharisees. 18 But no moderate fear took hold of us when we saw the populace in arms. But we were uncertain of what action to take, and were unable to halt the revolutionaries. But given the obvious and imminent danger to ourselves, we indeed said, that we concurred with their opinions. But we counseled them to stand fast, even if the foes had withdrawn,⁴ so that they should be given credit for righteously taking up arms in defense. 19 Now we did these things, hoping that it would not be long before Cestius would come up with a large force and halt the revolution.

20 Therefore, the populace had indeed collaborated in these *matters*, hoping for some amendment to the sedition; but it was those who had no desire to terminate the war, *but* instead to wage it with less terror, who had done away with

² Latin "surrounding"

³ most, Latin / PA have an adverbial form of this word

⁴ RAMW / P "advanced"

¹ may also be translated "bodyguard"

Menahem. **21** The populace repeatedly appealed for the soldiers to put a stop to the siege, but *Eleazar's party* applied themselves even more vigorously.

*This only lasted until Metilius*¹ party (for *Metilius* was the Roman prefect) was unable to hold out any longer. So he sent word to Eleazar's party, asking, under the protection of a truce, for no more than their souls, but saying that they would surrender their weapons and the rest of their belongings.

22 But the others also seized on their plea, and sent up to them Gorion son of Nikomédés, and Hananiah Zadoki, and Judah son of Jonathan, to give them both their right hand *in pledge* and oaths.

After they had come, Metilius led his soldiers down. **23** But indeed, as long as these *soldiers* were in arms, none of the insurgents laid a hand on them, *and* none showed any hint of a plot. But as soon as they, in accordance with the pacts, had all lay-aside their oblong-shields and short-swords, and began to withdraw without suspecting anything else, **24** Eleazar's party rushed at them; and after surrounding them, they did away with them—*men* who neither defended themselves, nor pleaded, but only shouted out, “The pacts!” and “The oaths!”

25 Therefore, this was indeed how they were all savagely slaughtered, with an exception of Metilius; for he alone was preserved, having made pleas and promised to Judaize, *and even* to be circumcised. But for *the* Romans, indeed this suffering was slight, since no more than a few were lost out of a boundless force. But for the Judeans, it seemed to be a prelude to capture.

26 And having perceived indeed that the causes of the war were already incurable, but that the city had been defiled with a pollution so great that it made it reasonable to expect some demonic visitation in consequence, if not even the vengeance of the Romans, they began a public mourning. So the city was indeed full of despondency, but each of the reasonable *men* was troubled that he would be righteously-punished on account of the insurgents. **27** For it even happened that the murder was committed on a sabbath, *a day* on which they observe a respite even from the most sacred of activities for the sake of worship.

CHAPTER 8 [War2:457-465, 481b / Life:24c-25, 46b-53]

And another such cause presented itself: *For* on the same day and at the same time, as if under some demonic foresight, the Caesareans began to do away with the Judeans among them. Now *this was the situation prior to the slaughter*:

2 Philippos son of Joakim and prefect of King Agrippa, had been unexpectedly saved from the besieged royal *palace* in Jerusalem. And as he fled, he fell into another danger: he would have been done away with by Menahem and his brigands. **3** But some of his Babelian relatives prevented the brigands from accomplishing *their purposes*. Therefore, Philippos stayed there for four days. *Then* on the fifth, he fled, using a disguise in order to avoid being obvious. After he had reached a certain one of his own villages in the mountains, lying near Gamala fortress, he sent *word* to some of those under him, ordering them to meet him.

4 Now although Philippos was making these plans, it was to his advantage to have them hindered by the Deity. For if this had not happened, he would have certainly perished. For being immediately seized by a fever, he wrote letters to the boys of Agrippa and Bereniké, and gave them to one of his freedmen to bring to Varus.² **5** Now this man was governing the kingdom at that time. For Agrippa *and* the *other* royalties had gone off to Beirut³ with the desire to meet with Cestius Gallus. **6** But to administer his affairs, he had delegated and left behind Varus, who was a companion of his.

7 Therefore, when Varus received the documents from Philippos, and discovered that he had escaped, he became depressed; *for* he supposed that, once Philippos had arrived, he himself would seem to have no further use. Therefore, he *took the man* who had brought the letters, *and led him* out before the multitude, and charged *him* with forgery. He also alleged, that the *man* was lying in having brought a message *stating* that Philippos had fought the Romans in Jerusalem alongside the Judeans. *So* he had him killed.

8 When the freedman did not return, Philippos was uncertain of the cause. *So* he dispatched a second *man* with letters, in order to send a message back to him *stating* what had happened to the previous *one*, because he had delayed so long.

9 But when this man arrived, Varus made mischievous allegations *against him* too, *and had him* done away with. For even he was aroused by the Syrians in Caesarea to be great minded. Indeed, they were saying that Agrippa would be done away with by the Romans because of the crimes committed by the Judeans,⁴ *and* Varus, being of royal descent, would receive the government. For even Varus was, admittedly, of royal race, a grandson of the Suhaym who had been tetrarch⁵ of Lebanon.

10 Therefore, because of this, Varus was deluded. Indeed, he kept the letters to himself, *machinating* that the king would not peruse the documents. But he set about having all the exits guarded, so that no one might escape in order to bring a message to the king about what was taking place. And in order to gratify the Syrians in Caesarea, he killed-off many of the Judeans.

11 Indeed, within a single hour, more than 20,000 were slaughtered, but all Caesarea was emptied of Judeans; for even the fugitives were arrested by Florus, *and* taken down into the dockyards as prisoners. **12** Those who lived in the cities throughout Syria arrested the Judeans among them, including women and children, and did away with them without citing any incrimination against them. For they had neither contemplated any revolution or revolt from the Romans, nor enmity against *the Syrians* themselves, nor were they plotting to.

13 But at this blow from Caesarea, the entire *Judean* nation was brutalized. And they formed themselves into units, and began ravaging both the villages of the Syrians and the adjacent cities: Philadelpheia, and Heshbon, and Gerasa, and Pehel, and Skythopolis. **14** Then, after attacking Gader, and Hippos, and Golan (indeed, sacking them, but *then* burning them), they advanced against Kedesh⁶ of the Zorites, and Ptolemais, as well as Geba,⁷ and Caesarea. **15** But neither were Sebasté nor Ashkelon able to hold out against their rage. Instead, after destroying them by fire, they demolished Anthédôn and Gaza. But many villages in the regions of each of these cities were also taken by storm; and the murder of the men who were being captured was endless.

16 Truly, the Judean multitude done away with by the Syrians was no less; instead, they also slaughtered those whom they had taken into their cities; not solely out of hatred, as previously, *but* instead, also anticipating *future* risk to themselves. **17** But a terrible disturbance was gripping all of Syria, and every city had been divided⁸ into two armed encampments; but salvation for one side lay in anticipating the other. **18** And indeed, they spent their days in bloodshed, but the more difficult nights *were spent* in dread. For even though they all believed that they had rid themselves of the Judeans, still, each continued to hold the Judaizers in suspicion. And while no one was yet ready to do away with this ambiguous *element* in the various *places*, each *man* feared a mixed *person* as though *he* were an actual foreigner.

19 But it was greed that kept inviting the slaughtering of their opponents, even those who had *for a long time* seemed to be the most mild. For they, without terror, would pillage the belongings of those who had been done away with; and they would transfer the spoils of those who had been done away with to their own houses, as if they had been the result of a pitched-battle. And the man who gained the most was held in honor, like one who had overcome the greatest number of *his enemies*.

20 But it was *possible* to see the cities filled with unburied bodies, and *the* corpses of old men scattered together with infants; also women without a covering for modesty. And indeed, the entire province was filled with indescribable calamities, yes, but still greater than what had been committed in each of these cases was the tension over⁹ what was still being threatened.

CHAPTER 9 [War2:466-480 / Life:26]

But the Skythopolitans behaved in the most impious and lawless manner of all. Indeed, up until these *events*, the Judeans' assaults had *only* been against the foreigners, but while they were overrunning Skythopolis, they encountered Judean foes among them.¹⁰ **2** For when the Skythopolitans were attacked from outside by these Judean foes, they forced the Judeans living among them to take up arms *and* join battle against their *own* fellow-tribesmen (which is unlawful for us to do). So regarding their own safety as more important than their shared race, *the Judeans living among the Skythopolitans* fell alongside them; and by joining together, they overcame the attackers.

3 But as soon as they were victorious, *the Skythopolitans* deliberately forgot the faithfulness which *the Judeans among them* had borne toward their neighbors *and* allies. For the extreme ardor they had was so great, that they had even been brought under suspicion. **4** Accordingly, the Skythopolitans became anxious that *the Judeans among them* might, in order to make amends to their own *brothers* for their defection, make an attempt on the city and inflict a great calamity.

So the Skythopolitans directed them, that if they wanted to confirm their unity and demonstrate their trustworthiness to those of other nations, to move together with their families into the grove. **5** Now they did what had been ordered, without suspicion.

Indeed, the Skythopolitans remained quiet for two days, baiting their trust. But on the third night, having closely observed that they were indeed unguarded but

¹ Greek, Pseudo-Hegesippus / Latin “Mutilius”

² [Life] always spell the name “Varus” // [War] always spells it “Noarus”

³ [Life] // [War] “Antiochia”

⁴ R “Romans on the indictment of the Judeans”

⁵ [Life] // [War] “king”

⁶ some “Kasada”

⁷ some “Gebel” / one “Gaia”

⁸ AM, Lat “city was being divided”

⁹ Eusebius / PAML “was the uprising against” / VRC “was the removal against”

¹⁰ MVRC “Judeans in that place”

sleeping, they slaughtered them all. The number they rid of exceeded 13,000.¹ But they plundered everyone's possessions.

6 But one who suffered was Simon son of Saul, a man of rather distinguished race. Now although he excelled in vigor of body and audacity, he abused both gifts to the detriment of his fellow-tribesmen. **7** Accordingly, day after day, he had ventured out, indeed, doing away with many of the Judeans who were against Skythopolis; but often, he had routed them all, single-handedly tipping the scales of the pitched-battle.

8 But a just penalty overtook this relative-murderer. For when the Skythopolitans had surrounded those throughout the grove, and were shooting them down with javelins, he drew his short-sword. Indeed, he did not charge at any of his foes; for even he saw their endless multitude. But instead, he shouted out with great emotion:

9 "Yet I am suffering justly for what I have done on your side,² Skythopolitans, because³ I⁴ have proven our goodwill toward you⁵ by such a great slaughter of our blood-relatives. Indeed, for that very reason, we have experienced the untrustworthiness of foreigners, but have desecrated our own kinsmen to the utmost degrees.⁶

"Let me die by my⁷ own hands, as under a curse, for it is not fitting to die by those of our foes. **10** But at the same time, this should be both a just penalty for my pollution, and a praise for my manliness, in order that none of my enemies might boast about having slaughtered me, or glory over me as I fall."

11 After saying these things, with eyes full of pity and fury, he carefully surveyed his own family, which consisted of a wife and children, and aged parents. **12** But first, he indeed drew up his father by his gray hairs, thrusting him through with his short-sword; after him, the willing mother; after these, both the wife and the children—each one almost rushing out to greet the short-sword, and in haste to anticipate their foes.

13 But he went through all of his family, and stood in plain view upon their bodies. And raising up his right hand so as to conceal it from no one, he completely immersed his short-sword into his own slaughter. Indeed, he was a youth, who deserves to be pitied on account of his strength of body and determination of soul, but because of his faithfulness toward foreigners, he met the consequent suffering.

14 But in addition to this ruin at Skythopolis, each of the remaining cities rose up against the Judeans among them: And indeed, the Ashkelonites did away with 2,500, but the Ptolemeans 2,000; and they put not a few into confinement. **15** And the Zorites indeed lay their hands on large numbers, but they kept guard over most of them in prison. Both the Hippenes and the Gaderites likewise rid themselves of the bolder ones, but held the more timid ones in custody, as did the remaining cities of Syria, each making their decision according to whether it had feelings of hatred or terror against the Judeans among them. **16** But only the Antiocheians, and Zidonians, and Apameians spared their residents, and did not support either doing away with or confining certain Judeans. **17** The Geraseans also did nothing to offend those who had decided to remain where they were; and they escorted those, who had expressed a desire to emigrate, as far as the borders.⁸

CHAPTER 10 [War2:481a, 482-486 / Life:54-61]

Now Varus also planned to lay a plot against the Judeans in Agrippa's kingdom, by taking up arms with the Trachonites in Bashan, and to attack the Babelian Judeans (for this is what they are called) who were in Ekbatana (*that is, Acmetha*). **2** Therefore, he summoned the twelve most respected Judeans in Caesarea, ordered them to proceed to Ekbatana, and to speak to their fellow-tribesmen there:

"Varus has heard that you are intending to attack the king. And because he does not believe this report, he has sent us to persuade you to lay down your weapons. For this will also serve as certain proof to him that he was right not to believe those who are talking about you."

3 Now he also ordered that their principal men should send seventy men to defend them against the alleged incrimination.

Therefore, the twelve came to their fellow-tribesmen in Ekbatana (*that is, Acmetha*). And when they found on their arrival that they were not contemplating revolution, they also persuaded them to send the seventy. **4** But they sent them off, not suspecting what would happen. Now these seventy men from Bashan, the most highly esteemed of the citizens by reason of race and ability, went down to Caesarea together with the twelve elders.

5 When they arrived, they requested for an army, so that if any commotion might also involve them, they would have a guard strong enough to prevent the attackers. **6** Therefore, Varus came out to meet them with the royal force by night, and dispatched some of the royal heavy-armed soldiers, and had all of the seventy killed⁹ along with the elders. Indeed, he had ventured upon this deed without Agrippa's knowledge; but because of an exorbitant love-of-silver, he had chosen to behave impiously against his fellow-tribesmen, thereby utterly-destroying the kingdom.

7 Then he began to make his way against the Judeans who were in Ekbatana (*that is, Acmetha*). But one of the seventy men who was saved overtook him, and brought them a message concerning this. So they took up arms, and with their women and children, withdrew to Gamala fortress, leaving behind villages filled with many good things and stocked with many tens of thousands of cattle.

8 But when Philippos discovered these things, he also came to Gamala fortress. Now upon his arrival, the multitude cried out, appealing to him to become their chief and to make war on Varus and the Syrians in Caesarea. For it was widely believed that the king had died at the hands of these men.

9 But Philippos tried to restrain their passion. Both reminding them of the benefits which the king had bestowed upon them, and describing the magnitude of the Romans' power ("It would not be productive," he said, "to undertake a war with them."), he finally convinced them.

10 Now Varus continued to act savagely against the nation, violating the law, until King Agrippa discovered that, in a single day, Varus was indeed about to do away with the Judeans living in Caesarea, who were many tens of thousands, including their women and children. So he summoned him. Indeed, Agrippa was ashamed to do away with him on account of Suhaym, but he put an end to his procuratorship, having sent Aequus Modius as his successor. Now Philippos kept Gamala fortress and the surrounding country standing firm in faithfulness to the Romans.

11 Now the insurgents took possession of a certain fortress. Indeed, it was called Kypros, but sat above Jericho. Indeed, they slaughtered the guards, but tore its fortifications down to the ground.

12 But also during these same days, the Judean multitude in Machairous persuaded the Romans who were guarding it to abandon the fortress and hand it over to themselves. **13** But since the Romans were wary of being removed by force, they agreed to terms with them: that they would march out under the protection of a truce. So after receiving the assurances, they handed over the fortress, which the Macherites began to hold securely, asserting their control with a garrison.

CHAPTER 11 [War2:487-499a]

Now in Alexandria, there was indeed always sedition among the countrymen against the Judeans, which had existed ever since Alexandros; for after this man had used very eager Judeans against the Egyptians, he gave them, as a reward for being his auxiliaries, privileges in the city equal to the Hellenes. **2** Now this honor of theirs even endured with his successors, who also marked off for them a place of their own, so that, by less intermingling with the foreigners, they might maintain their rules more purely; and they also permitted them to take the title of 'Makedonians'. Also, after the Romans took possession of Egypt, neither the first Caesar, nor any who came after him, undertook to diminish the honors which Alexandros had bestowed upon the Judeans.

3 But their engagements with the Hellenes were perpetual. And although the leaders chastised many from both sides, yet day after day, the sedition became even more provoked. **4** But at that time, since disorder was also among the others, the disorders among these became even more inflamed.

And while the Alexandreians were holding an assembly to deliberate about a body of elders which they were about to send off to Nerō, indeed, large numbers of Judeans flocked together into the amphitheater along with the Hellenes. **5** But when their opponents recognized them, they immediately began to shout out, saying, "Foes!" and "Spies!" Then they jumped up and laid hands on them. Therefore indeed, the remainder was done away with¹⁰ while trying to escape; but there were three men whom they caught and dragged off to have them incinerated alive.

6 But all the Judeans were roused for the defense. And indeed, at first, they threw stones at the Hellenes, but soon, they grabbed torches and rushed into the amphitheater, threatening to incinerate the populace down to the last man. And they would have quickly done this, had not Tiberius Alexandros, the leader of the city, restrained their fury.

7 Yet truly, in trying to recall them to their senses, this man did not begin by resorting to arms; instead, he secretly sent in among them the notable men, who

¹ [War] // [Life] "The number was many tens of thousands."

² Greek / Latin, Pseudo-Hegesippus omit "on your side"

³ MLVRC, Latin, Pseudo-Hegesippus / PA " , who"

⁴ MVRC, Latin, Pseudo-Hegesippus / PAL "we"

⁵ Latin, Pseudo-Hegesippus / Greek omits "you"

⁶ LVRC / M "to the utmost degree" / PA omit altogether

⁷ PAMVRC, Pseudo-Hegesippus / L "let us die by our"

⁸ RC, Latin, Pseudo-Hegesippus / PMVL (some "hills" / others "curds")

⁹ [Life] // [War] "done away with"

¹⁰ [War] Lat "was scattered"

kept appealing them to desist and not to provoke the Roman army against themselves. But the seditious *men*, while jeering at this appeal, kept reviling Tiberius.

8 Since he fully understood that nothing but great calamity would cause the revolutionaries to desist, he let loose upon them the two Roman legions which were in the city, and *together* with them, 2,000¹ soldiers from Libyé (who were present by chance), for the ruin of the Judeans. Now he permitted *them* not only to do away with *the Judeans*, but instead to even plunder their possessions and to incinerate their houses.

9 Now they rushed into what is called 'Delta' (for this is where the Judeans had been joined to the city), and fulfilled their instructions, though truly not without bloodshed. For the Judeans, who had formed themselves up and positioned their own best-armed *soldiers* at the front, held out for a long time. But once they gave way,² they were utterly-destroyed without restraint.

10 And their ruin took various forms: indeed, some were taken down in the plain; but some were driven together into their houses. But the Romans, after thoroughly plundering what was inside, even set them on fire. And there was neither pity for the infants, nor respect for the aged; 11 instead, they advanced through *people* of every age, killing, until the entire country was indeed flooded-over with blood, but 50,000 corpses were heaped up. But had the remainder not resorted to supplications, *even* they would not have survived.

But Alexandros was moved with compassion for them, and directed the Romans to withdraw. 12 Therefore indeed, they stopped murdering at a mere gesture (being accustomed to obedience); but the Alexandreian populace, due to their overwhelming hatred, was difficult to call off, and could scarcely be dragged away from the bodies.

13 This indeed was the calamity which transpired in Alexandria.

CHAPTER 12 [War2:499b-512 / Life:24a]

Now Cestius no longer thought it proper to remain idle while war was being made against the Judeans on all sides. 2 Now he took from Antiocheia the entire twelfth legion, but also 2,000 picked *men* from each of the others, both six cohorts of infantry and four swarms of cavalry, and advanced to Ptolemais.

2 In addition to these, *he took* auxiliaries from the kings:

Indeed, from Antiochos: 2,000 cavalry and 3,000 infantry, all archers.

But from Agrippa: indeed, the same number of infantry, but fewer than 2,000 cavalry.³

But Suhaym also followed with 4,000; of which a third were cavalry, and the majority⁴ archers.

3 Now there were vast numbers of allied-troops recruited from the cities; indeed, their expertise was certainly inferior to the soldiers, but their lack of skill was compensated with feelings of ardor and hatred against the Judeans. But also present with Cestius was Agrippa himself, who both was leading them along the route and was to provide what would benefit *the army*.

4 Now Cestius took a part of this force with him and rushed against Zebulon,⁵ a stalwart city of Galilee, which is called 'of Men,'⁶ but it divides Ptolemais from the Judean nation. 5 And when he seized it, he indeed found it deserted of men, because the multitude had retreated into the mountains; but it was full of all kinds of money. Indeed, he allowed his soldiers to plunder these. But although he was amazed at the beauty of the town (it had residences constructed like those in Zor and Zidon and Beirut), he set it on fire. 6 Then he overran the country and indeed plundered everything which came in his path, but incinerated the surrounding villages. *Then* he returned to Ptolemais.

7 But while the Syrians, and especially the Beirutians, were busy plundering, the Judeans regained their courage; for even they understood that Cestius had marched off. *So* they unexpectedly attacked those who had been left behind, and utterly-destroyed about 2,000 of them.

8 But after Cestius had decamped from Ptolemais, he himself indeed reached Caesarea. But he sent a section of his army on ahead to Japho. He gave order, that indeed if the city was capable of being captured, to garrison it; but if *those inside* detected the approach beforehand, to wait for both him and the remaining force.

9 Now indeed, some of them pressed on by sea, but others by land; and they easily took the city from both sides. And since its residents were unable to flee past them, nor had they even prepared for a battle, *the Romans* attacked them and did away with them all, along with their families, and then plundered the city and set it on fire. Now the number of those murdered was 8,400.

10 But similarly, *Cestius* also sent larger numbers of cavalry to the Nabatenean toparchy,⁷ which shared a border with Caesarea. Truly, they both cut through the land and utterly-destroyed of a vast multitude of the countrymen, both plundering their possessions, and incinerating their villages.

11 But *Cestius* sent Caesennius Gallus, leader of the twelfth legion, into Galilee, and handed over to *him* as many of his force as he considered would suffice against the nation. 12 Tzippori, the most stalwart city of Galilee, welcomed this *man* with an acclamation; and the remaining cities, *acting* on the wise advice of this one, remained placid. But the insurgents and brigands in *the district* fled to the center-most mountain in Galilee, which indeed lies opposite Tzippori but is called Atzmon. *So* Gallus led his force against them.

13 Now indeed, as long as these *men* were higher up, they easily fended off the advancing Romans, and did away with about 200 of them. But when the Romans had gone around and gained the higher elevations, the others were quickly defeated. And since they were light-armed *men*, they could neither sustain the heavy-armed *soldiers* in close combat, nor, when routed, escape the cavalry. Consequently, a few indeed escaped notice in the rough terrain, but over 2,000 were done away with.

CHAPTER 13 [War2:513-555 / Life:24a]

Therefore indeed, Gallus, since he could see no further signs of revolution in Galilee, returned with the army to Caesarea. But Cestius decamped with his entire force and entered Antipatris. And when he learned that a considerable force of Judeans was gathered in a certain tower called Aphek, he sent men on ahead to engage *them*. 2 But before it came to hand-to-hand combat, anxiety of *them* thoroughly scattered the Judeans; but after coming upon their deserted encampment and the surrounding villages, they set them on fire.

3 But Cestius proceeded from Antipatris to Lod, where he seized the city empty of men; for on account of the Festival of Booths, the whole multitude had gone up to Jerusalem. 4 But the fifty of those who did show themselves, he utterly-destroyed. And after burning down their town, he resumed his advance. And he went up through Beth-Horon, and encamped at a certain place called Gibeon, 50 stadia away from Jerusalem.

5 But when the Judeans realized that the war was now drawing near the metropolis, they abandoned the festival and took themselves to arms. And taking great confidence in their multitude, they sprang forward into the battle in disarray *but*⁸ with a great shout. *They did this* without any consideration of the seventh day rest, for a sabbath was certainly their most important religious commitment.

6 Now the fury which had shaken them out of their piety made them also strain for the battle. Accordingly, they attacked the Romans with such passion that they tore through their ranks and advanced through their middle, doing away with *them*. 7 But had not both, the cavalry and the *part* of the infantry which was not becoming desperately weary, supported the slackening phalanx by wheeling around, Cestius with his entire force would have been in danger.

Now 515 of the Romans died: 400 which were infantry, but the remainder cavalry; while the Judeans *lost only* 22. 8 Now *the Judeans* considered their most noble *men* to be both Monobaz and Kenedaios, who were the relatives of Monobaz, the king of Hadyab; after them, Niger the Peraian; as well as Silas the Babelian, who had deserted from King Agrippa to the Judeans, for he had served in his army.

9 Therefore, when the Judeans were indeed repelled from the front, they returned to the city; but Simon *son* of Giora attacked the Romans from behind as they were ascending at Beth-Horon and mauled much of their rearguard. And he dragged off large quantities of the baggage train, conducting it into the city.

10 Now while Cestius retained his position for three days, the Judeans seized the heights and kept watch on the access routes; but clearly they were not about to remain idle once the Romans began to move.

11 Now Agrippa, having fully recognized that the Romans' situation was not free of danger while a countless multitude of their foes was occupying the mountains, decided to subject the Judeans to a trial by words. For either he would persuade all of them to desist from warring, or he would cause the part which was not in agreement to defect from those who were arrayed in opposition. 12 Therefore, he sent to them the most conspicuously notable *men* whom he had with him, both Barkai⁹ and Phoibos, and promised them that Cestius would both give them his right hand *in pledge* and a sure pardon from the Romans for the offenses they had committed, if they would throw down their weapons and return to them.

13 But the insurgents, becoming anxious that the entire multitude, in the hope of amnesty, might return to Agrippa, rushed to do away with his sent elders. 14 *So* they indeed utterly-destroyed Phoibos before he even uttered a word; but Barkai was wounded, *yet* able to run ahead to escape. But any of the populace who were

¹ [War] PAM / LVRC, Lat "5,000"

² [War] PAL / MVRC "they turned aside"

³ [War] Lat "infantry and 1,000 cavalry"

⁴ [War] V "and 3,000"

⁵ [War] Greek, Latin, Pseudo-Hegesippus / possible emendation "Kabul"

⁶ [War] Pseudo-Hegesippus omits "which is called 'of Men'"

⁷ [War] PAL, Lat / MVRC "province"

⁸ [War] PAL / others add

⁹ [War] Hebrew emendation / some "Borcus" / others "Borecus"

indignant *at this*, they herded back into the town, striking them with stones and sticks.

15 But when Cestius saw that their disturbances against one another afforded him an opportunity for a strike, he brought up his whole force; and after *he* had routed them, he pursued them as far as Jerusalem. 16 Now he encamped on what is called Skopos, which is seven stadia away from the city. But for three days, he made no attempt on the city, expecting that those inside might make a quick surrender. But in the meantime, he dispatched many of his soldiers into the surrounding villages in order to plunder their grain.

But on the fourth *day*, which was the thirtieth of the month Hyperberetaios, he drew up his army, leading it into the city. 17 Therefore, indeed, the populace was kept imprisoned by the insurgents; but the insurgents themselves were struck with astonishment at the Romans' orderliness; indeed, they abandoned the suburbs, while they withdrew into the interior city and into the temple. 18 But when Cestius had passed into the city, he set fire both to Beth-Eza¹ (also called the 'New City') and to what is called the 'Timber Market'. Then, when he had come to the Upper City, he encamped opposite the royal *palace*.

19 And if, at that very hour, he had been willing to force his way through the walls, he would have instantly taken the city, and the war would have been terminated at once. For instead, both Tyrannius Priscus, the camp-prefect, along with most of the horse-chiefs, had been corrupted² with money by Florus; so they dissuaded him from the undertaking. 20 And it was certainly for this reason, both that the war lasted so long, and that the Judeans were filled up with irremediable calamities.

21 Now many of the most notable *men* of the populace, having been persuaded by Hanan (a boy of Jonathan), kept calling Cestius, *saying* that they were going to open up the gates for him.

22 But, again and again, he kept coming to the verge of acceptance, but never did. And this was partly because he disdained *them* in his anger, and partly because he did not entirely trust *them*. This lasted until the insurgents perceived the betrayal. Indeed, they threw Hanan's party off the wall; and pelting them with stones, they herded them into their homes; but they themselves positioned themselves at intervals on the towers, where they bombarded those who were attempting to scale the wall.

23 Therefore indeed, for five days the Romans maintained their efforts from every direction, but the assault proved infeasible. But on the following day, Cestius, taking with him large numbers of both the picked *men* and the archers, began making attempts on the temple's northern side. 24 But the Judeans kept blocking *them* from the portico, and repeatedly repulsed those who had reached the wall. But finally, *the Judeans*, driven back by the multitude of projectiles, withdrew.

25 Now the Roman vanguard wedged their oblong-shields against the wall; and those who were behind did likewise, placing theirs down upon these in a series. And so, they secured what they call 'the tortoise', from which projectiles, as they fell, glanced off without effect. Now the soldiers, suffering no injury at all, continued undermining³ the wall and preparing to set fire to the temple gate.

26 But terrible anxiety seized the insurgents. Now many of them were already running out of the city in the belief that it was on the verge of being captured. But it happened that the populace was encouraged by this; and the more the wicked *men* relented, the closer they approached the gates, with the intention of opening *them* and welcoming Cestius as a benefactor.

27 Accordingly, since Cestius had not comprehended either the despair of the besieged, nor the state of mind among the populace, he suddenly recalled his soldiers. And having renounced his hopes, he most astonishingly decamped from the city without a single blow.

28 But at this unexpected retreat of his, the brigands, having regained their courage, sallied out against those at the rear and utterly-destroyed large numbers of cavalry and infantry. 29 Therefore indeed, at the present, Cestius passed that night in his encampment at Skopos; but on the following day, by separating himself further, he invited his foes to follow *him* even more. And concentrating their force on the rear, *the brigands* began to utterly-destroy them. And distributing themselves on either *side* of the road, *the brigands* kept hurling javelins at their flanks.

30 But supposing that some countless multitude was chasing *them*, the *Romans* at the back did not have the courage to turn themselves toward those who were wounding them from behind. Indeed, because they were weighed down by their arms, and were anxious about breaking ranks, but because the Judeans were lightly armed and ready for sudden raids, they refused to stand fast to repel those who were putting pressure on their flanks.

The result was that *the Romans* suffered considerable injury, without inflicting any retaliatory harm at all on their enemies. 31 But all along the road, they were continually hit, and shaken out of their phalanx, and falling down. So many were disposed of: indeed, Priscus, the army-chief of the sixth legion; but also Longinus, a tribune, but also Aemilius Jucundus, the prefect of a swarm of cavalry. So after abandoning the bulk of their equipment, they, with difficulty, finally made it to their former camp at Gibeon.

32 Indeed, Cestius lingered here for two days, at a loss as to what he should do. But on the third day, when he observed his foes in much greater numbers, and that every place in the vicinity was filled with Judeans, he realized that he had loitered against his own *interests*, but that if he continued to remain any longer, he would have to deal with more enemies.

33 Now in order that he might deal with a more focused escape, he gave orders to cut away whatever was impeding the army. Now both the mules and donkeys, but even the beasts of burden, were utterly-destroyed, with an exception of those which transported the projectiles and the machines. For these they carefully preserved, both on account of need, and, especially, because they were anxious that these *weapons* might be captured by the Judeans and used against them. Then he led the force toward Beth-Horon.

34 Now since the Judeans indeed applied less pressure in the open spaces, but *the Romans* had become crowded together into the narrow spaces and the descent,⁴ those *Judeans* who had gone ahead indeed blocked their egress, while others drove those at the rear down into the ravine. But with the whole *Judean* multitude strung out above the neck of the road, they kept coating the phalanx with projectiles.

35 And here, since the infantry was at a loss as to how to assist themselves, the predicament was even more precarious for the cavalry. For, while being bombarded, they were unable to proceed down the road in *military* order, and the ascent up to their foes was unfit for horses. 36 But on either side, were cliffs and ravines, into which they fell and were obliterated. And there was neither a place for escape, nor a plan for defense. Instead, they, utterly at a loss, were reduced to wailing and lamentation in their despair. But in response, encouragement sang out from the Judeans, along with a yell from those who were rejoicing and were enraged.

37 Now they almost carried away the entire *Roman* force, including Cestius, but night intervened. Indeed, at this time, the Romans fled into Beth-Horon; but the Judeans, who had occupied every place in the vicinity, kept watch for their egress.

38 At this place, Cestius, now despairing of the clearly visible road, was taking counsel concerning his flight. So he singled out about 400 of the most courageous⁵ soldiers and placed them on roofs of the houses. Then he gave orders for *them* to keep calling out the watchwords of the encampment guards, in order that the Judeans would be made to believe that the entire force still remained in that place, while he himself took the remainder with him and stealthily proceeded another 30 stadia.

39 But at daybreak, when the Judeans perceived that *the Romans'* quarters were deserted, they rushed upon the 400 who had deceived them. Indeed, they quickly shot them down with javelins, but then began to pursue Cestius. 40 But he had made considerable gains during the night; and now that it was day, he was fleeing even more quickly, to the extent that the soldiers, in consternation and anxiety, abandoned both the city-destroyers⁶ and the sharpened-bolt-launchers, and the majority of their other weapons, which the Judeans then took and immediately began using against those who had left them behind.

41 Now they advanced, pursuing the Romans as far as Antipatris. Then, failing to overtake *them*, they turned around, beginning both to gather the machines, and to rob the corpses; they also collected the spoils which had been abandoned. And with songs of victory, they ran back to the metropolis.

42 Indeed, *the Judeans* suffered only a few losses, but had done away with 5,300 infantry of the Romans and their auxiliaries, as well as 480⁷ cavalry. Therefore, this *defeat* indeed happened on the eighth of the month Dios, in the twelfth year of the leadership of Nerō.

CHAPTER 14 [War2:556-569a / Life:27, 24b, 28-29]

Now after the calamity which befell Cestius, many of the eminent Judeans began to swim away from the city, as if from a sinking⁸ ship. Accordingly, Kostobar and Saul, who were brothers; along with Philippos son of Joakim, who was the camp-prefect of King Agrippa—fled from the city and went off to Cestius. 2 Now

⁴ [War] PAL, Lat / MVRC "together downward into the narrow descent"

⁵ literally "the most good-souled"

⁶ the largest type of Roman siege-tower

⁷ [War] PL / AMVRC "380"

⁸ literally "immersing"

¹ [War] P / A "Bethaza" / MVRC "Bezetha" / L "Bethzetha" / Latin "Bezeta"

² [War] PAMVRC, Lat / L "bribed"

³ [War] MLVRC / PA "undermined"

Antipas, who was besieged in the royal *palace* with these *men*, disdained escape, and was later utterly destroyed by the insurgents.

3 But Cestius dispatched Saul's party up to Achaia to Nerō, in order that they might explain to him the straits to which they were reduced, and, also, to direct responsibility for the war at Florus. For Cestius hoped that Nerō's anger against that man would diminish any risk to himself.

4 But also the Damasekians, once they had learned about the ruin which had befallen the Romans, were eager to do away with the Judeans who were living among themselves in Damasek. 5 And being prompted by suspicions, the Damasekians had indeed already cooped them up in the school for naked-athletics, where they had been gathered together for a long time. Because of this, they supposed that this project would present no difficulty. But they had grown worried about their own women, who all but a few, had been attracted by the Judean religion. 6 Consequently, the biggest struggle for them was to elude being noticed by their women.

Now they struck the Judeans; and since their victims were in a confined space and all of them unarmed, the Damasekians, without any terror, slaughtered a total of 10,500.

7 But Cestius' previously-mentioned misstep and defeat became a misfortune for our entire nation. For when those who had pursued Cestius had returned to Jerusalem, those who were devoted to war were even more elated by this; and, having been victorious over the Romans, they hoped to continue victorious to the end. 8 So they began to bring over to their side those who were still Romanizing, indeed some by force, but others by persuasion. And after gathering together in the temple, they began appointing additional generals for the war.

9 Now both Joseph son of Gorion and the chief-priest Hanan were chosen, both to be emperors of everything throughout the city, and, in particular, to raise the city's walls higher. 10 For although Eleazar son of Simon had taken possession of the Romans' plunder and the money which had been seized from Cestius, together with a great part of the public treasuries, they nevertheless did not assign him an office. This was because they had observed, both that he was tyrannical, and that the devotees under him were beginning to conduct themselves as if they were his spearmen. 11 Yet gradually, both their need for the money and Eleazar's bewitching duped the populace; the result was that they obeyed him in all matters.

12 But they selected different generals for Edom:

Jeshua son of Sapphijah one of the chief-priests.

And Eleazar son of the younger¹ chief-priest.

But also Niger, who was a chief of Edom at that time. Now he was called 'the Peraian' because his race originated from Peraia across the Jordan. And they ordered him to submit to the generals.

13 But they did not neglect the other country:

Instead, Joseph son of Simon was indeed sent into Jericho.

But Manasseh was sent into Peraia.

But Johanan the Essean was to be general for the toparchy of Timnah. Now allotted to him were Lod, and Japho, and Hammat.

14 But Johanan son of Hananiah was appointed leader of the Gufninite and Akrobat regions.

And I, Joseph son of Matthijah, was appointed leader of each of the two Galilees. But also Gamala, the strongest of the cities in this region, was included under my generalship.

15 Therefore indeed, for their part, each of these generals administered what had been entrusted to him with the eagerness or shrewdness which each man possessed.

16 Now the principal men of the Jerusalemites had indeed observed that the brigands, together with the revolutionaries, were well-equipped with weapons. But they became anxious that, standing unarmed themselves, they might be left to the mercy of their enemies (which is also what subsequently happened). And they discovered that Galilee had not yet entirely revolted from the Romans, but that a portion of it was still tranquil.

17 So they sent me, along with two other good, fine men who were priests: Joezer and Judah, in order to persuade the wretches to lay down their weapons, and to teach them that it was preferable to reserve these weapons for the nation's most elite men. Now it was agreed that these elites would indeed always have

their weapons ready for the future, but would wait patiently to learn what the Romans would do.

CHAPTER 15 [Life:30-46a, 341, 346a, 349-350 / War2:585b-589]

Therefore, with these preliminaries, I arrived in Galilee. 2 Of the cities in Galilee, the greatest are Tzippori and Tiberias. Instead, Tzippori, indeed situated in the very center of Galilee, and having numerous villages around it, and powerful enough to have been audacious against the Romans if it had brazenly desired, had determined to stand firm in faithfulness to its masters. 2 And indeed, I found the Tzipporites holding fast in a major struggle for their fatherland; for the Galileans were determined to take it as plunder on account of the Tzipporites' friendship toward the Romans, and because they had given their right hand in pledge and their faithfulness to Cestius Gallus, who was the leader of Syria.

3 Instead, I delivered all of them from fear, by persuading the multitude on their behalf, and by permitting them as often as they desired to send messages to their relatives in Dor who were being held as hostages to Cestius. (Now Dor is a city in Phoiniké.)

4 Now Tiberias is situated by Lake Genusar; and is indeed 30 stadia away from Hippos, but 60 from Gader, but 120 from Skythopolis (which supported the king); but it is situated nowhere near a Judean city. 5 But on my arrival, I found that those living in Tiberias had already proceeded, not only to take arms, but were even making war on the Ten-Cities of Syria (this had started even before I had been appointed as general of Galilee by the commonality of the Jerusalemites). 6 Now this city could easily have preserved its faithfulness to the Romans, if it had desired to do so; for the city and its populace had plenty of weapons. But it had revolted for the following reason:

7 There were three factions in this city:

Now the first consisted of elegant men, but was headed by Julius Capellus. 8 And these were his followers: Hérōdés son of Miaros, and Hérōdés son of Gamalos, and Komposos son of Komposos (for his brother Crispus, who had formerly been prefect of the Great King, happened to be in his own estates beyond the Jordan). 9 Therefore, at that time, he and all these previously mentioned men gave counsel, that they should stand firm in their faithfulness to the Romans and to the king. But Pistos did not concur with this decision, having been influenced by his boy Justus; besides, he had a strain of madness in his nature.

10 But the second faction, comprised of the most insignificant, was determined to make war.

11 But Justus the boy of Pistos was the principal man of the third faction. Indeed, he kept pretending to be in doubt about the war; but in reality, he longed for revolutionary activities, intending to manufacture power for himself out of the upheaval. 12 Therefore, he came into their midst, trying to teach the multitude, "This city has always been the capital of Galilee since the times of its founder, Hérōdés the tetrarch, whose intention was for the city of the Tzipporites to submit to the city of the Tiberians. But even under King Agrippa the father, you did not relinquish this primacy, but it even remained until Félix was set over Judah.

13 "But now," he said, "you yourselves have had the misfortune of being handed over to Agrippa the younger as a gift from Nerō! For indeed, because it submitted to Roma, Tzippori immediately became the capital of Galilee; but both the royal bank and the archives, having been removed, are with them."

14 These and many other things he said to them against King Agrippa, for the sake of provoking the populace to defect. He added, "Now is the time to take up arms and to join with the Galileans as allies. For due to the hatred they have toward the Tzipporites for maintaining their faithfulness to the Romans, they are willing to begin, and with a mighty hand, to bring retribution upon them."

15 By saying these things, he won over the multitude. For he was rather good at manipulating the populace; and, by his witchcraft and through the accounts of delusion, he was rather good at overcoming his opponents, even though their arguments were better. For he was even not unacquainted in the discipline of the Hellenes; and on these attainments, he audaciously took it upon himself to also compose the history of these events, as if he could overcome the truth itself by means of this speech-craft. 16 Instead, concerning this man, my narration shall indeed explain how base his lifestyle became, and how he was, together with his brother, the cause of almost complete ruin.

17 But at that time, Justus, having persuaded the citizens to take up arms, but having even compelled many to do so against their will, came out with all of these men and set fire to the villages of both the Gaderites and the Hippenes, which lay on the frontier between Tiberias and the territory of the Skythopolitans. 18 And an attendant of Justus' fell during this pitched-battle.

And these were indeed the straits that Tiberias was in.

19 But at Gish-Halav, the situation was as follows:

There was a certain schemer, a man from Gish-Halav, named Johanan son of Levi. Indeed, he was the shiftest and most deceitful of all those who were distinguishing themselves in wicked-behaviors during these times. But he was

¹ Lat. Pseudo-Hegesippus omit "younger"

poor at the first, and his lack of means had been a lengthy impediment to his evil. **20** Indeed, he was a ready liar, but was clever at furnishing belief for what he had lied about; he regarded his delusion as an excellence, and would *even* use this against those dearest to him. He was a pretender to kindness, and extremely bloodthirsty when there was hope of gain. **21** Indeed, he always yearned for great things, but nourished these hopes by his abased knaveries.

For he was a solitary brigand, and later, he found companions for his impudent deeds. Indeed, at first, they were but few, but they grew with his success. **22** Now he was careful not to partner with anyone who could be easily captured, instead he selected those who excelled in condition of body, and determination of soul, and expertise in wars. And he welded together a band of as many as 400 men, who were mostly fugitives from the region of Zor and its villages. **23** Through them, he began plundering all Galilee and harassing many, who were in suspense over the impending war.

24 When Johanan saw that some of the citizens were grandly contemplating secession from the Romans, he kept trying to restrain them and urging them to maintain their faithfulness *to them*. **25** Truly, despite his utmost determination, he was not able. For the surrounding nations, *the Gaderites, and Bar-Aganaians,¹ and Zorites,* amassed a great force, and fell upon the Gish-Halavites, taking Gish-Halav by storm. And after burning it with fire, but then undermining it, they decamped to their homes.

26 But at this, Johanan became provoked, *and* armed all those who were with him. And after he had brought them together against the previously mentioned nations which he conquered by storm,² and had rebuilt a stronger Gish-Halav, he began to fortify its walls for the sake of its future security.

27 But *due to the previous situation with Philippos,* Gamala stood firm in its faithfulness to the Romans.

CHAPTER 16 [Life:62-69 / War2:569b]

Now as soon as I arrived in Galilee, I learned about these things from those who brought messages about them. And *my* first care was to win the goodwill of the countrymen, knowing that with it *I* would be able to set most things straight, even if I would completely fail in other respects. **2** So I wrote to the Jerusalemite congress, and I asked what they would direct me to do. Now they appealed to me to remain there, and that, if my fellow-elders were willing, to retain them; and to make provision for Galilee.

3 But my fellow-elders, having amassed considerable money from the tenths given to them, which they collected as their due because they were priests, decided to return home. But when I appealed to them to remain until we could establish matters, they were persuaded.

4 Therefore, after I set out, together with them, from the city of the Tziporites, I came to a certain village called Beth-Meon, four stadia away from Tiberias. And from there, I sent to the Tiberian council, appealing to the principal *men* of the populace to join me.

5 And when they arrived (now Justus had come along with them), I started saying that I had been sent to them as an elder along with these *men* by the Jerusalemite commonality, in order to persuade them that the house of Héródés the tetrarch, which had been constructed containing forms of living creatures (the laws forbid such construction), should be demolished. And I appealed to them to give us permission to deal with this matter at once.

6 Therefore indeed, for a long time, Capella³ and the principal *men* refused to yield; but, after receiving pressure from us, they finally assented. But Jeshua *the* boy of Sapphijah (whom we previously mentioned as the principal *man* of a rebel faction of sailors and ingrates), preempted us. For he observed that the roofs of some of the buildings had been made of gold; and intending to amass considerable money from it, he took along some Galileans *and* set fire to all of it. **7** And having acted contrary to our intention, they seized a great deal of plunder.

For we, after our conversation with Capella⁴ and the principal *men* of the Tiberians, had withdrawn from Beth-Meon into upper Galilee. But Jeshua's party disposed of all the Hellenic residents as well as everyone else who had been their enemies prior to the war.

8 But when I discovered these events, I was utterly provoked. And I went down to Tiberias to provide care for the royal furnishings, to secure as much as possible from the plunderers. Now there were Korinthian candlesticks, and royal tables, and a large stash of uncoined silver. But all of it, whatever I took, I determined to keep for the king. **9** Therefore, I sent for the ten principal *men* of the council and Capella⁵ son of Antyllos, *and* handed the furnishings over to

them, *also* transmitting a message to them that they should give these *things* to no one else except me.

CHAPTER 17 [Life:70-79 / War2:585a, 590-592, 570-572a, 576-584]

Now as *I* was administering the affairs of Galilee in this way, Johanan son of Levi stood up against *me*. **2** Indeed, he was already aspiring to be a general *and* setting himself upon greater things, but a lack of resources was holding him back. But when he observed that *I* was greatly enjoying his activity, he persuaded *me*, indeed, first, to entrust him with rebuilding the wall of his fatherland, a *project* in which he would make a large profit at the expense of the wealthy citizens.

3 Now *I had* proceeded with my fellow-elders from Tiberias to Gish-Halav, to see Johanan, because I wanted to ascertain his intentions. But I soon found him bent on revolutionary activities and harboring a powerful yearning for the government. **4** For he requested that I authorize him to make off with the grain belonging to Caesar which was lying in the villages of Upper Galilee. For he said that he wanted to spend *the proceeds* on the repair of the walls of his fatherland.

5 But since I had detected his design and what he intended to do, I did not give him my consent. For I had in mind to reserve the grain either for the Romans or for my own use, now that I had been entrusted with authority over activities there by the Jerusalemite commonality.

6 But when he was unable to persuade me about these matters, he turned to my fellow-elders. For even they were careless about the consequences and quite prepared to take *bribes*. Now he corrupted them with money in exchange for their vote that all the grain lying within his province should be handed over to him. Alone and defeated by two, I kept quiet.

7 And then, Johanan complemented this knavish trick by contriving a second very shrewd trick. *He first insisted* that all the Judeans of Syria should avoid using olive-oil unless it had been dispensed by a fellow-tribesman. For there were Judeans living in Philippi-Caesarea, who had been confined by the order of the king's viceroy *and were* liable to judgment.⁶ **8** And Johanan claimed that *these Judeans*, since they had no pure olive-oil available to use,⁷ had sent a request to him *asking* that he make provision for them by furnishing a solution, so that they would not violate the legal standards by having to use the Hellenic variety. So he applied for *permission* to send it to them at the frontier.

9 Now Johanan did not say these things out of regard for piety, but on account of the most blatant, disgusting greed. For he knew that among those in Caesarea, two sextarii *of olive oil* were sold for one drachma, but in Gish-Halav 80 sextarii (that is, four amphoras) *were sold* for four Attic drachmas.

So he sent for as much oil as *there* was there, even appearing to have received authority from me *to do so*. **10** For I did not agree to this willingly, instead out of fear of the multitude; if I had refused, I would have been stoned to death. Now therefore, with my consent, Johanan used Zorian coinage to buy what four Attic *drachmas* could buy and he would *then* sell a half-amphora for the same price.

11 Now since Galilee is particularly productive with olives, and at that time had certainly been very productive; and since a large amount had been sent to those who needed it; and since he was the sole *supplier*, he gained considerable money from this sordid business. **12** And he immediately began to use this uncountable hoard of resources against the one who had furnished him with the task.

13 Now after I had dismissed my fellow-elders from Gish-Halav to Jerusalem, I began to make provision both for arms and for the preparation of fortified cities. Now I sent for the most intimidating of the brigands. Indeed, I realized that disarming them would be impossible, but I persuaded the multitude to provide them with wages.

"It is better," I said, "to give a little bit voluntarily, than to helplessly stand watching our possessions being plundered by them."

14 And after I had bound them by oaths not to come back into the country, unless they were summoned or in the event that they did not receive their pay, I dismissed them, *and* transmitted a message, *ordering* them not to make war either on the Romans or on their neighbors. For my primary concern was to keep peace in Galilee.

15 Now I realized that, indeed, *I* could win the powerful *Galileans* over to my side if *I* shared authority with them; but the entire multitude, if *I* issued general orders through countrymen and familiar *men*. Indeed, I selected seventy of the most prudent of the aged-men, establishing them as chiefs of all Galilee; **16** but *I established* seven *others* in each city as judges of less significant disputes. For *I* directed that the larger matters and the murder trials be sent up to *me* and the seventy.

¹ possibly "sons of the Aganeans"

² R adds

³ [Life] RAMW "Capellus"

⁴ [Life] RAMW "Capellus"

⁵ [Life] AMW "Capellus" / R "Capyllus"

⁶ possible emendation "viceroy Modius"

⁷ R "available with which to anoint themselves"

17 Now I wanted, although under a pretext of friendship, to retain these seventy Galilean magistrates as hostages of *their* faithfulness. So I designated them to be both my friends and my travel companions. I also used to take them along *with me* when I tried cases, and I used to render verdicts in accord with their decisions, endeavoring not to pervert the rightful-punishment through haste, and to also remain pure of any material profit in these matters.

18 Now this was how I settled the legal issues for each city, pertaining to *the people's dealings with one another*.

19 Now I also enlisted a force of more than 100,000 youths out of Galilee. While training them, I equipped them with the old weapons which had been collected. 20 Then I realized that the Romans owed their invincible strength primarily to prompt obedience and armed exercise. Indeed, I abandoned the teaching obtained by practice; but seeing that *the Romans'* prompt obedience was due to the multitude of their leaders, I divided my army in Roman fashion and appointed more squadron-chiefs. 21 For I both created distinctions among the soldiers, and indeed put them under decurions, and centurions,¹ and then tribunes; above these, there were leaders in charge of bulkier legions.

22 Now I taught them how to transmit signals, and *how to sound* both the advances and the retreats on the trumpet, as well as the *sounds signaling* both assaults and wheeling movements on the horn; and how it is necessary, indeed, for the part that is making headway to turn back toward the one that is becoming weary, but to share the sufferings of the part that is laboring.

23 Also, whatever was conducive to the fortitude of soul, or endurance of body, I would expound. But above all, I was disciplining them for the war by constantly² describing the orderliness of the Romans; and that they would be fighting against men, who through their strength of body and determination of soul, had nearly possessed the entire inhabited earth.

24 But I declared that, even before *they went into* a pitched-battle, I would test their obedience to the war command, whether they would abstain from the familiar acts of unrighteousness, *such as* from both theft and brigandage and plunder, and from both defrauding their fellow-tribesmen, and regarding the harm of their own closest friends as personal gain. 25 For the wars which are conducted most fairly are those in which all³ those enlisted in military service have a good conscience; but those who are base 'inside the house' have to contend, not only with their enemies who confront them, but instead also with God as a foe.

26 These were the ways in which I persistently encouraged them. And indeed, *the force* which was ready for battle, which I had welded together, was indeed comprised of 60,000 infantry, but 350⁴ cavalry; now apart from these, about 4,500 mercenaries, in whom I had particular confidence; but I also had a picked bodyguard of 600 men.

27 Now the cities began readily maintaining the rest of the army, with an exception of the mercenaries. For each *of the cities* sent out a half of its men, and retained the rest for procuring them with supplies. This was how they separated: indeed, some to arms, but others to work. And those who sent the grain were furnished with protection from the heavy-armed *soldiers* in exchange.

CHAPTER 18 [Life:80-103 / War2:614-623]

I was, accordingly,⁵ about thirty years old. At this age, even if one restrains his lawless yearnings, it is difficult, especially in a position of great authority, to escape the slanders derived from envy. Indeed, I preserved every woman unmolested, but disdained all gifts as unnecessary. Instead, *even* the tenths which were due to me as a priest, I did not accept from those who brought them. 2 However, I did take a share of the spoils after I was victorious over the Syrians residing in the surrounding cities; and I confess to having sent these to my relatives in Jerusalem. 3 But indeed, I had captured the Tzipporites by storm twice, the Tiberians four times, and the Gabarenes⁶ once; and I had Johanan at my mercy after he had repeatedly plotted against me. *But even then* I did not punish either him or any of those named communities, as the following account will establish. 4 I suppose it was for this reason that God delivered me from their hands (for those who fulfill their obligations do not escape his notice), and, after these things had happened to me, brought me safely through many other dangers.

5 Now the goodwill and faithfulness of the Galilean multitude toward me were such that, when their cities were taken by storm, but both *their* women and children enslaved, even still their lamentations over their own misfortunes were not as deep as their concern for my salvation.

6 But when Johanan saw this, his envy grew even more intense, and he crafted a second plot against *me*. So he feigned sickness and wrote to me, requesting that I would permit him to go down and make use of the hot-baths at Tiberias for the sake of bodily refreshment.

7 Now since I did not suspect that he had any malicious intentions, I did not prevent him. But I even wrote to the subordinate-chiefs in the city of Tiberias to whom I had entrusted its administration, each by name, that they should both prepare a lodging for Johanan and those who might accompany him, and ungrudgingly supply him with hospitality and everything necessary. Now at this time, I was living in a village of Galilee which is known as Kanah.

8 Now Johanan arrived in the city of the Tiberians. After having taken full advantage of these *favours of mine* for two days, he began to accomplish the objective of his visit. And indeed, ruining some by his delusions, but others with his *quantities* of money, he kept inducing the humans to revolt from *me* and to join him. 9 And many, ever craving for revolutions, and by nature favorably disposed toward upheavals, and delighting in seditions, gladly accepted his invitation. 10 But Justus and his father Pistos, in particular, were quick to revolt from me in order to be counted with Johanan.

11 But I, having anticipated this, prevented them. For when Silas (whom I had appointed as general of Tiberias to guard the city) realized these things, he immediately wrote to *me* about the matters related to the plot formed against me. And a messenger came to me from Silas, bringing a message *to me* about the Tiberians' intention and requesting that I would come quickly, for the city was gradually falling under another's authority.

12 Now therefore, having received and perused Silas' letters, I gathered 200 men and traveled strenuously all night. I sent a messenger in advance to signal my imminent arrival to those in Tiberias. 13 And early the next morning, as I neared the city of the Tiberians, indeed the rest of the multitude came out to meet me. But Johanan, suspecting that *my* visit had to do with him, *did not come out at first*; however, *he* sent one of his notables and feigned feebleness; and being bed-ridden, he said that his respects would have to wait. 14 *Later, however*, Johanan came with them. And he greeted me in a very perplexed manner, having become anxious that once his behavior was investigated, he would run the risk of being destroyed. So he quickly withdrew to his own lodging.

15 Now I gathered the Tiberians in the stadium. But after I had come down there, I dismissed my bodyguard which was around me, with the exception of one man whom I retained along with ten heavy-armed *soldiers*. Then I was persuaded by the Tiberian multitude to make a public speech. Now I stood on a certain bank six cubits high to address the populace, and began trying to discuss with them what had been in the letters, and I appealed to them not to defect so quickly. 16 For the upheaval would bring them a poor reputation, and that someone set over them in the future would have justifiable suspicion that they would not maintain their faithfulness to him either.

17 But before I could speak everything I wanted, I heard one of my attendants directing me to come down, "For this is not a *proper* time for you to be concerned with the goodwill of the Tiberians, but instead about your own salvation, and how to elude your enemies."

18 Now Johanan, having discovered that I had been isolated with my attendants, selected the most trustworthy of the heavy-armed *soldiers* surrounding him out of the thousands who were with him. And he ordered those whom he secretly sent to do away with me. 19 But when these *men* who had been sent arrived, and the populace had caught sight of them drawing their short-swords, they raised a shout.

20 But at this yelling, I turned around. And when I noticed the iron blade already set for the slaughter, I leapt off the bank toward the shore with my bodyguard Jacob, and was supported by a Tiberian named Hérōdés. (*Johanan's men would certainly* have accomplished their mission had I not quickly leapt down.) 21 And being led by this man to the lake, I leapt up onto an anchored seacraft and took *the* boat. Then I embarked, escaping with my two bodyguards into the middle of the lake. And this is how I unexpectedly escaped from my enemies and made it to Tarichea.

22 Now when the residents of that city discovered the Tiberians' unfaithfulness, they became utterly provoked. But therefore, *my* soldiers quickly seized their weapons, and kept appealing to me to lead them against *the Tiberians*. For they said, "We desire to take vengeance upon them for the sake of our general." 23 But they also were sending messages about what had transpired to those living throughout all of Galilee, in order to hastily incite these *people* against the Tiberians as well. They also appealed to vast numbers to unite and join them, so that with their general's assent they might do what seemed best.

24 Therefore, the Galileans came from everywhere in large numbers with their weapons and began to advance against the plotters. And they kept appealing to me to strike Tiberias, both to capture it by storm, and, having demolished it to its foundation, to sell its residents into slavery along with their women and children. Now the counsel they gave was shared even by my friends, who had been saved from Tiberias.

¹ [Ant] PAML, Lat omit "and centurions"

² some omit "constantly"

³ VRC, Lat omit "all" / AM place it differently

⁴ VRC, Lat "250"

⁵ may also be translated "at least"

⁶ P / RAMW "Gaderites"

25 But I could not give my consent, as I was terrified at the thought of initiating a civil war; and I grew anxious that if a civil war was set in motion on account of the envy of a few *men*, it might bring the city to ruin. For I thought that this love-of-strife should proceed no further than words.

26 And indeed, I sent a messenger to *my* own men, truly telling them that this action would be counterproductive, for the Romans were only waiting to see them destroyed by mutual conflicts; *and* telling them to provide only for their own safety, but neither to kill anyone nor to prosecute those responsible.

27 Now by saying these things, I managed to still the Galileans' anger. And indeed, they indeed held their peace, obeying the transmitted-message. But when those in the surrounding country learned of both the plot and the one who had orchestrated it, they started gathering against Johanan.

28 But Johanan outstripped them. For after his plot had proven ineffective, he became anxious for his *life*; and packing up the heavy-armed *soldiers* around him, he fled from Tiberias to his fatherland of Gish-Halav. And he wrote to me concerning what had been done, defending himself as if everything had been done without his knowledge; he also begged me not to be suspicious of him, adducing oaths and some terrible imprecations, by which he thought to gain credit for what he expressed.

29 But now the Galileans, perceiving that the human was a wicked *individual* and an oath-breaker, were streaming together from each city (for many others too, from the whole region had now been arrayed with weapons), *and they came* toward *me*. And the many tens-of-thousands of heavy-armed *soldiers* who appeared were shouting that they had come for Johanan the common plotter. For they appealed to me to lead them against him, professing that *they* would completely obliterate and incinerate him together with Gish-Halav, the fatherland¹ which had admitted him.

30 Now therefore, I indeed confessed my gratitude to them for their eagerness; I affirmed that I accepted their goodwill, and was *even* professing that I would surpass it. But I appealed to them to restrain themselves, and insisted that they cooperate with me; for I had resolved to quell the disturbances without bloodshed, preferring to subdue *my* enemies by diplomacy rather than by killing them.

And having persuaded the Galilean multitude *and* restraining their rage, I went to Tzippori.

CHAPTER 19 [Life:104-125, 346b / War2:593-594]

Now the inhabitants of this city had determined to remain faithful to the Romans, but they were anxious at my arrival. So they sought to free themselves from this anxiety and to shut me out of their city by diverting my attention to a different matter. 2 And they sent Jeshua, the chief-brigand who was on the frontier of Ptolemais, promising to give him lots of money if he would initiate a war against us with the force that was with him, which were 800 in number.

3 Now having accepted the promises, he wanted to fall upon us unprepared and without prior warning. Accordingly, he sent to me, asking to receive authority to come and greet me. But since I had no prior knowledge of the plot formed against me, I gave him my consent. At this, he gathered up his contingent of the brigands *and* made haste against me.

4 Truly, his malicious purpose did not attain its end. For when he was close upon me, one of his *men* deserted *him* and came to me, *and* told me about his design. On receiving this information, I went ahead into the marketplace *and* pretended to be ignorant of the plot. Now I brought along with me many heavy-armed Galileans, but also some Tiberians. 5 Next, I ordered for all the roads to be strictly guarded; *and* I transmitted a message to the guards at the gates to admit no one but Jeshua *and* his principal *men* when he arrived, but to exclude the rest, but to beat *back* any who *tried* to force their way in.

6 Now my orders were carried out, *and* Jeshua entered with a few others. And I directed him to throw down his weapons immediately, "For if you refuse to comply, you will die." When he saw the heavy-armed *soldiers* surrounding him from every direction, he fearfully complied. But when his excluded followers were informed about his arrest, they fled.

7 I *then* called Jeshua aside privately, declaring to him, "I am not ignorant of the plot which you have contrived against me, nor of those who have sent you. But despite this, I am willing to forgive your actions if you change your mind and prove your faithfulness to me."

8 Now having promised to do all these things, I let him go, allowing him to regather those men whom he had formerly led. But I threatened to bring a rightful-punishment upon the Tzipporites if they did not abandon their foolish conduct.

9 About this time, two great *men*, who were under the authority of the king, came to me from the country of the Trachonites, bringing their own horses and

weapons, but *also* bringing along some money. 10 The Judeans kept trying to compel them to be circumcised as a condition to live among them, *but* I did not permit any compulsion to be put upon them, declaring, "Each person ought to worship God in accordance with his own inclinations, instead of under constraint. But these *men*, having fled to us for protection, should not change their mind."

Now when the multitude had been persuaded, I generously supplied the men who had come with everything *necessary* for their customary manner of life.

11 Now King Agrippa sent a force, with Aequus Modius as the general over them, to destroy the fortress of Gamala. But the *soldiers* who had been sent were insufficient to encompass the fortress *completely*, but they lay in wait on open ground and attempted to besiege it.

12 Now a decurion, Aebutius, had been entrusted with the protection of the Great Plain. He heard that I was at Shimoniah, a village lying on the frontier of Galilee and 60 stadia away from him. So he drew up the 100 cavalry whom he had with him, along with about 200 infantry, and enlisted the inhabitants of the city of Geba as auxiliaries. *And* by night, he marched *and* came to the village where I was dwelling.

13 Now I stood in hostile array against him with a large force. Indeed, Aebutius, since he relied primarily on his cavalry, endeavored to lure us down into the plain. Truly, we refused to accommodate him. For when I realized the advantage which his cavalry would have over us if we descended into the plain (for we were composed entirely of infantry), I determined to engage our foes on my own ground.

14 And indeed, for a time, Aebutius' party made a gallant stand. But when he saw that his cavalry were useless in such surroundings, he decamped to the city of Geba, having failed in his objective *and* losing three men in the battle.

15 But I followed close behind on foot with 2,000 heavy-armed *soldiers*. And when I reached the vicinity of the city of Beth-Shearim where Aebutius was dwelling (which indeed lay on the borders of Ptolemais, but 20 stadia from Geba), I posted my men outside the village. And I gave orders to keep strict guard on the roads in order to prevent interference from our foes while we were removing the grain. 16 For a large quantity of this *grain*, which belonged to Queen Bereniké, had been collected from the neighboring villages *and* stored in Beth-Shearim. So I loaded the camels and donkeys, which I had brought with me in large numbers, *and* dispatched the grain off into Galilee.

17 Now after I had done this, I challenged Aebutius to a battle. But when he declined it (for he was struck with astonishment by our readiness and courage), I turned against Neapolitanus; for I had heard that he was ravaging the country of Tiberias. 18 Now this Neapolitanus was the prefect of a swarm of cavalry, but he had been commissioned to protect Skythopolis from their foes. Therefore, once I had prevented him from doing further injury to Tiberias, I devoted my attention to the welfare of Galilee.

19 Now when Johanan *the* boy of Levi, who was now dwelling at Gish-Halav, heard how everything was proceeding according to my purpose, and, indeed that I was highly favored by those under my authority, but that I caused consternation in my foes, he was not well-pleased. But supposing that my success involved his own ruin, he ran-aground into extreme envy; and he supposed that, if he could eliminate *me*, he would obtain *the* leadership of Galilee.

20 Indeed, he first ordered the brigands under him to press their acts of plunder more vigorously, in order that, with many *people* stirring up revolution throughout the country, he might either waylay *me* somewhere as I marched out to provide assistance; or, if I stood by *and* overlooked the brigands, he might slander *me* before the countrymen.

21 Then, he hoped to obstruct my good fortune by inciting hatred among those under my leadership. So he tried to induce the inhabitants of Tiberias and of Tzippori, but also of Gabarah (which were the three chief cities of Galilee) to abandon their allegiance to me and to join him; for he claimed that he would be a better general for them than I was. 22 And he spread a report from abroad that I would betray their affairs to the Romans. So he busied himself with many such things in order to eliminate *me*.

23 And indeed, the Tzipporites (for they had chosen the Romans as their masters) refused to devote themselves to either one of us, and *even* prohibited any of its citizens from enlisting in the army with the Judeans.

24 But the Tiberians indeed declined the suggestion of revolt, but consented to become his friends; while the inhabitants of Gabarah joined themselves to Johanan; but it was Simon (indeed, a leading citizen, but a friend and companion of Johanan) who had persuaded them to do so. 25 Therefore, they indeed did not openly endorse their defection; for their great anxiety of the Galileans (of whose goodwill toward me they had frequently experienced) was too great a deterrent. But they secretly laid their plots against me, watching for a favorable opportunity to execute them. And for this reason, I certainly incurred the greatest danger.

CHAPTER 20 [Life:126-144 / War2:595-610a]

At this time, some audacious youths from the village of Daberath, who were guards posted in the Great Plain, had closely observed the wife of Ptolemais, the

¹ PAML / VRC "city"

procurator of King Agrippa and Bereniké; and they laid an ambush. She was traveling through the Great Plain from a country subject to the royal jurisdiction into that of Roman dominion. And she had with her great provision and was protected by an escort of cavalry. **2** And indeed, *these men* suddenly fell upon them *and* compelled the woman to flee, but plundered all the baggage which was being escorted.

But being unable to secretly dispose of what they had stolen, they brought all of it to me at Tarichea, with four mules laden with no small *quantity* of expensive garments and *other* articles. But there were even a multitude of silver goblets and 500¹ pieces of gold.

3 Now I wanted to preserve these spoils for Ptolemaios (for even he was a fellow-tribesmen), but *also* because it is forbidden by our laws to rob even an enemy. Now I reprimanded the bearers for this act of violence done against the royalties, indeed, declaring to them, “These things must be kept to sell, in order that their proceeds may be devoted to the repair of the walls of Jerusalem.”

4 But the youths were indignant; indeed, it was hard for them to accept that they would not be receiving their expected share of the plunder, but also because they perceived *my* intention beforehand to present *the fruits* of their labors to the royalties. So they went to the villages around Tiberias by night, saying to everyone that I intended to betray their country to the Romans. **5** For *they said* that my claim about keeping what had been procured from the raid for the repair of the city walls of Jerusalem was merely a clever trick against them, but *that* I had decided to restore them to their owner.

6 And yet, they did not mistake my intention. For once they had left, I sent for two of the principal *men*, who were close friends of the king: Dassion; and Jannai,² son of Levi, who was the most powerful *man* of Tarichea. I committed the plundered articles *to them* and directed them to return these things to their legitimate owners when an opportunity should present itself. *And* I threatened them with the death penalty if they sent a message to anyone *regarding* these matters. This *action* exposed *me* to the greatest danger.

7 Now the plunderers also raised a great disorder in all the neighboring cities. But when the rumor had spread throughout all Galilee that I was intending to betray their country to the Romans, everyone was stirred up against me to bring retribution upon me. The youths’ statements were credited even by the inhabitants of Tarichea. **8** The result was, that at daybreak, 100,000 heavy-armed *soldiers* gathered together. And indeed, the multitude gathered together in the hippodrome at Tarichea, making loud and angry clamors. And some cried out that the traitor should be stoned to death, but others to have him burned alive.

9 They urged my bodyguards and heavy-armed *soldiers* to leave me while I was asleep *and* come at once to the hippodrome, in order to come *and* take counsel on the conduct of me, their general. **10** Therefore indeed, *my* friends and bodyguards, struck with astonishment at the crowd’s rage, were prevailed upon; all of them fled with the exception of four. **11** But when the *men* joined the gathering, they found that a large crowd had already gathered together, who had unanimously shouted *that* they should chastise the *man* who was so wicked as to betray them.

12 Now Johanan instigated a great many; but Jeshua son of Sapphijah³ was the primary instigator. At that time, he was a chief of Tiberias, a wicked human, and who had a natural disposition for disrupting serious affairs, and who was unrivalled in fomenting both sedition and revolution.

And at that time, he took the laws of Moses into his hands, and came into the center, declaring, **13** “Citizens, if you are even unable to hate Joseph for your own sakes, fix your eyes on your country’s laws, which your principal general is about to betray. And for their sakes, hate the wicked *man* and wreak vengeance on the insolent man!”

14 After he had said this, the multitude applauded him. And he gathered up some of the heavy-armed *soldiers* and hurried to the house where I was lodging, intending to do away with me. But I, being entirely unaware in advance, had, from fatigue, succumbed to *sleep* before the *start* of the riot.

15 Now of the four bodyguards who remained with *me*, Simon, who had been entrusted with the protection of my body, was the only one who stayed with me *the entire time*. And when he saw the citizens rushing toward me, he awoke me at the moment when *my* enemies were about to set fire to the house, and sent out a message to me *regarding* the imminent danger I was in.

16 And those four urged *me* to flee. But *Simon* entreated me, “Die nobly by your own hand, as a general, before your enemies arrive *and* compel you *to do so*, or kill you *themselves*.” **17** This was indeed how he spoke to me. But I, undaunted by the desertion or by the multitude of *my* opponents, committed my affairs to God and made haste to go out to the multitude.

18 Therefore, I put on a black garment; indeed, I rent *my* garment, but sprinkled dust on *my* head; and I hung my short-sword from my neck by its ridge. Now with *my* hands behind *my* back, I proceeded to the hippodrome by another route, on which I expected that no foe would encounter me. There I suddenly appeared, both rushing out and falling face down, and wet the ground with my tears.

19 At this sight, *my* friends, especially the Taricheans, were all filled with pity. But those from the country and those in the vicinity who regarded *me* as a nuisance, reproached *me*. They also directed *me* to instantly produce the public money and confess *my* agreement to betray them. **20** For they concluded from *my* demeanor that I would deny none of the suspected *crimes*, *and* instead that I had only made this entire pitiable exhibition of *myself* in order to obtain pardon.

21 But this humble appearance was merely part of *my* stratagem, and it was designed to make *my* indignant *opponents* dissolve into seditions against each other. **22** *So* when I perceived the multitude’s reversal, I endeavored to create further disagreement in their opinions before the heavy-armed *soldiers* returned from my house. *So* I promised⁴ that I would confess everything, and I admitted that, according to their view of the matter, I had indeed committed an unrighteous *action*. But I entreated them to *first* allow me to inform them for what purpose I was reserving the money obtained by the raid; then I would die, if they directed it.

23 Then when the multitude permitted, *indeed*, directed, me to speak, the heavy-armed *soldiers* appeared; and, at the sight of me, they rushed forward to kill me. But the multitude directed them to hold off. They complied, expecting that I would confess having kept the money for the king, *and then* they would do away with me after I had confessed the betrayal.

24 Therefore, when everyone had fallen into silence, I spoke⁵ the following to them: “Men of my tribe, I indeed do not refuse to die, if that is righteous! But before I come-to-my-end, I desire to tell you the truth. **25** I had no intention of sending this money back to Agrippa, nor of gaining it myself. For I could never consider one of your opponents to be a friend, or for my advantage to incur a disadvantage for you.

26 “Now therefore, I know, citizens of Tarichea, the lavish hospitality of this city and that it is crowded with vast numbers of men who have left their *own* fatherlands in order to become common partakers of our fortune. But I saw that your city, above all *the rest*, needed to be secured with fortifications, and that it lacked money in order to construct a wall. But I was anxious that the populace of Tiberias and of the other cities had their eyes *set* on these spoils. *So* I decided to privately retain this money, in order to use it to construct walls to encompass you—*this money* about which you are now so angry over, though it was to be expended on building them.

27 “If this does not meet with your approval, I am prepared to produce what was brought to me, and leave it to be plundered. *But* if I have not taken counsel for your best interests, chastise your benefactor!”

28 Indeed, at this, the Taricheans and the aliens among them indeed applauded and expressed their gratitude, and urged me to be of good-courage. But the Galileans and Tiberians still maintained their fury, reproaching and violently-threatening me, so that a sedition arose among them. Now the two parties left *me* alone *and instead* fell to quarrelling with one another. Indeed, some vilified and threatened to chastise me, but some to disregard *me*.

29 Taking courage in those who were already on *my* side, which were the Taricheans who numbered about 40,000, I proceeded to address the whole multitude more freely. **30** And I severely reprimanded them for their rashness. But I indeed professed to them that I would use this money to enwall⁶ Tarichea and Tiberias, and furnish similar protection for any of their other cities which needed them. “For money will not be lacking if all of you will only agree on *who your enemy is*, against whom it is necessary to furnish *this protection*, and not become provoked against the *man* who is furnishing it.”

31 Indeed, when the majority of the deluded multitude came to trust me because of this, they returned to their own homes, however, they were *still* angry. *So* having, beyond all expectation, escaped from this danger which I have described, I returned to my house, accompanied by my friends and twenty heavy-armed *soldiers*.

CHAPTER 21 [Life:145-154 / War2:610b-613]

Now the brigands and the promoters of the sedition, terrified that they might receive a rightful-punishment from me for what they had done, made an assault upon *me* with 2,000 armed *men*. And I outran them, reaching *my* residence before they did. *So* they gathered up 600 heavy-armed *soldiers*, *and* came to the house where I was dwelling in order to set it on fire. *But* they threatened *me* from outside.

¹ [Life] // [War] “600”

² [Life] // [War] “Annai”

³ [War] some / others “Samphia”, “Sappa”, “Aphia”, “Taffan” // [Life] “Sapithas”

⁴ [War] C / most omit “I promised”

⁵ [Life] // [War] “declared”

⁶ [War] // [Life] “to construct walls for”

2 Now when a message about this impending assault reached me, I indeed considered it undignified to flee, but I decided to risk a rather courageous course of action. Therefore I resorted to a second delusion. For I ordered the doors of the house to be shut, *and* I went up to the upper level. And from the top, I motioned with *my* right hand for them to be silent.

3 I declared to them, "I have no idea what you want, for your confused shouting prevents me from hearing you! But I will comply with all your directions, if you will send in some of your *men*, to discuss things with me quietly *and* to receive the money." For I thought that this declaration was the way to allay their anger.

4 On hearing this, the notables, along with the chiefs, entered the house. But I drew them to the innermost part of the house and shut the outer door. Then I had them whipped until they were flayed to their innards. Now after I had tormented the most audacious one among them with whips, I directed one of his hands to be severed and hung about his neck.

5 Now the multitude remained standing around the house, and supposed that the *men* who had entered were engaged in a prolonged argumentation. 6 But suddenly, I threw open the doors *and* dismissed the men to those who had sent them, all covered with blood. And this *spectacle* instilled consternation, *coupled with* horror and no moderate fear, into those who threatened me. For they supposed that inside I had a force greater than their own. Therefore, becoming anxious, that if they remained, they would also suffer the same *fate* themselves, they immediately dropped their weapons *and* fled. This was the stratagem which I used to elude this second plot formed against me.

7 But there were still some who kept rousing the crowd to anger against me, and said that the great *men* of the king (who had come to me) ought not to live because they refused to conform to the customs of those with whom they had sought refuge. They also slandered them as being sorcerers¹ and preventers² near the Romans. But the multitude was quickly convinced, deluded by these specious assertions spoken to win their favor.

8 Now when I was informed of this, I once again instructed the populace that those who had fled to them for refuge should not be persecuted. But I ridiculed the absurdity of the allegation of sorceries,³ telling them that the Romans would not maintain so many tens of thousands of soldiers if they could defeat their foes by sorcerers.⁴

9 The effect of my words was indeed temporary. But after their departure, they were again roused to anger by the wicked *men* against the great *men*; and on one occasion they made an armed assault on their house in Tarichea, intending to do away with them. 10 Now when I was informed of this, I was anxious that, if such an abominable crime was committed, *the place* would be unavailable for *future* refugees.

11 Therefore, I went with some others to the house where these great *men* dwelt *and* locked it up. Then I made a passage leading from the house to the lake, and sent for a boat. Then I embarked with them, *and* we crossed over to the frontiers of the Hippenes. And I paid them the price of their horses (for the conditions of our flight made it impossible for me to bring *the animals* along). Then I departed, having earnestly encouraged them to nobly bear the fate which was about to befall them.

12 I was also deeply distressed at being driven to put these refugees back into the *territory* of their foe. But I thought it was better for them to perish (if that should befall them) among the Romans rather than in my country. But in the end they escaped. For they obtained forgiveness from King Agrippa for their sins. And this was indeed the end of what involved these *men*.

CHAPTER 22 [Life:155-178 / War2:632b-645a]

But a few days later, Tiberias again defected. For the residents of the city of the Tiberians had written to King Agrippa with an appeal for him to send a force to protect their country, since they wanted to attach themselves to him. 2 But although they wrote these things to him, when I came to them, they wanted me to build walls for them in fulfillment of my promise; now they had heard that Tarichea had already been enwalled. Therefore I agreed; and having prepared everything necessary for building, I directed the architects to begin work.

3 But on the third day, as I was making my way to Tarichea, which is 30 stadia away from Tiberias, some Roman cavalry were sighted on the march not far from the city. And since *Agrippa* did not arrive at the appointed time (which was this day), this created an impression that the royal force was approaching. 4 Accordingly, *the Tiberians* immediately, indeed let loose cries full of praises for the king, but curses upon me; *and* they issued a proclamation excluding me from the city.

5 And a certain man immediately ran over to me at Tarichea, bringing me a message *describing* their disposition *toward* me, that they had determined to defect from me. 6 Now when I heard this, I was very disturbed; for I had *already* dismissed all my heavy-armed *soldiers* from Tarichea to their homes to forage grain, because the next day was a sabbath; for I did not want the Taricheans to be harassed by a multitude of soldiers. 7 Accordingly, whenever I dwelt among them, I never made provision for the protection of my own body, having received so many proofs of the inhabitants' faithfulness.

8 But since my present company was comprised of only seven heavy-armed *soldiers* and some friends, I was at a loss what to do; for I could neither go out alone to face the insurgents, nor afford to remain idle. I was reluctant to recall my force, since the present day was almost spent; for even if it had arrived, it would have been impossible for them to take up arms on the following day, since the restrictions of the laws prevented us from taking action on a sabbath, despite the urgency of the apparent necessity.

9 But if, on the other hand, I were to permit the Taricheans and the foreigners among them to turn back in order to seize the city, I would have found *my* force insufficient. I *also* would have found my delay to be far too long, because the royal force would have profited by it *and* entered the city ahead of me; and I expected them to prevent me from entering, and *that* I would be excluded from the city.

10 Therefore, I took counsel on whether to use some sort of deceit in order to circumvent the insurgents. So, indeed I immediately directed the gates of Tarichea to be shut, to prevent any information about *my* scheme from reaching my targets in advance. I *also* posted my most-trusted friends at the gates in order to keep a strict watch on anyone who wanted to leave.

11 Then, I collected all the seacrafts which I could find on the lake, which numbered 230. And I summoned the heads of families *and* directed each of them to launch a boat, and to embark with no more than four sailors in each (including a pilot), and follow me to the city of the Tiberians. 12 So I myself, along with my friends and the seven heavy-armed *soldiers* previously mentioned, embarked, quickly setting sail for Tiberias.

13 But when I was nearing, I also kept far enough away from the city to prevent the Tiberians from easily detecting that *my* boats were empty of *men* on board. Indeed, I directed the pilot to cast anchor at some distance from the land, letting the fishing-boats float around on the offing; while I, *myself*, with only seven of *my* bodyguards, unarmed, advanced closely, so as to be seen.

14 But when the Tiberians understood that a force had not arrived from the king, but saw the whole lake full of boats, they became anxious about the city. And when my rivals, who were still reviling me, saw me from the walls, and supposed that the ships⁵ were full of heavy-armed *marines*, they were struck with *astonishment* and completely changed their intentions. 15 Therefore, throwing down their weapons, they came out to meet me with their women and little-ones. And imagining that I did not know about their intentions, they showered me with acclamations; and waving branches of supplication, they besought me to spare the city.

16 Now I drew near in a certain boat and began to severely threaten and reprimand *the people*, indeed first for their folly, that after taking up arms against the Romans, they would waste their strength beforehand on seditions among their own kinsmen and so fulfill their enemies' greatest desires. Then I *reprimanded* them for their readiness to abandon their faithfulness to me, the protector of their security, without any righteous excuse whatever; and their shamelessness in closing their city to me, *the very man* who had enwalled it. 17 But even still, despite these things, I promised them that I was ready to forgive them in the time to come, if they would send me ten of the multitude's foremost *men* to apologize for their actions, and through whom I might secure the city.

18 Now they readily accepted this proposal, and they sent me those ten most powerful *men* of Tiberias, who came down to me. And these I indeed put on board one of the fishing-boats *and* sent them far off to be kept under guard at Tarichea. But I required fifty more to come forward, the most notable *men* of the council, as if I were intending to give them a pledge *for their security*. 19 Then, inventing one new pretext after another, I called forth one party after another, as if to ratify the agreement. 20 Now I directed the pilots of the *boats* which had been filled in this manner to quickly set sail to Tarichea and to confine these men in prison. Now in the end, by this stratagem, I indeed arrested the whole council of 600 members, but *also* about 2,000⁶ of the principal men of the populace, *and* shipped them off to Tarichea⁷ in seacrafts part by part.

21 But when the multitude who remained saw into what great ruin they had come, they kept shouting that the one primarily responsible for the defection was a certain man named Kleitos, a youth who was both audacious and reckless. And

¹ may also be translated "druggists"

² [Life] RA / MW "and preventing" / P omits altogether

³ may also be translated "drugs"

⁴ [Life] AMW / P "sorceries" [may also be translated as "druggists" / "drugs"]

⁵ [Life] / [War] "seacrafts"

⁶ [War] "about 2,000" // [Life] "who were no fewer than the others"

⁷ [War] // [Life] "to the previously mentioned city"

they kept urging for me to wreak vengeance and to fix *my* anger upon this author of the defection.

22 Now I was indeed determined to do away with no one (*for* I did not consider it pious to kill a man who was a fellow-tribesman), but facing the necessity to chastise him, I ordered¹ one of the bodyguards around me,² named Levi, to step forward³ and cut off Kleitos' hands.⁴ 23 But this man, despite being directed to do this, became anxious to step forward alone into such a swarming multitude of enemies, *and* declared, "No."

I did not want the soldier's anxiety to be obvious to the Tiberians, so I called to Kleitos himself, saying, "Since you deserve to have both your hands cut off for your ungratefulness to me, be your own executioner, so that you will not suffer a more terrible retribution."

24 Now since Kleitos could see *me* on the seacraft fuming about the setback, and prepared to leap out *myself* in order to exact vengeance, he repeatedly implored me from the shore to spare him one of his hands.⁵ 25 I grudgingly consented to this, on the condition that he cut off the other himself. *So* in order to prevent the loss of both, he gladly drew his saber⁶ with his right hand *and* cut off the left. Such was the degree of terror into which *I* had led him. And this *action* brought the sedition to an end.

26 This was indeed *how*, on this occasion, *I* captured the populace and again brought Tiberias back to *myself*, with empty seacrafts and seven spearmen.

27 Now once I arrived in Tarichea, the Tiberians perceived the *type* of generalship which I had employed against them, and they were awestruck at how I had ended their foolishness without bloodshed. 28 But now I sent for those of the Tiberian multitude who were in prison. Now among these were Justus and his father Pistos, and I made them my dinner guests.

And after the banquet, I said to them, "I myself know very well that the power of the Romans is surpassing everything, however, I have kept quiet about it because of the brigands." 29 Now I also counseled them to do the same, to wait patiently for the proper time, and to not become intolerant with me as *their* general, for they would not be able to easily find someone else who was as mild as myself.

30 But I also reminded Justus that, before I came along from Jerusalem, the Galileans had cut off his brother's hands on *an accusation* of forging documents prior to the war; and *also* how, following Philippos' withdrawal, the Gamalites had risen against the Babelians and disposed of Philippos' relative Charés, 31 and how they had, with greater moderation, chastised Jeshua, that man's brother and the husband of Justus' sister. These were the things I discussed with Justus' party after the banquet. In the morning, I directed that all the prisoners should be released.

CHAPTER 23 [Life:179-189, 347 / War2:572b-575]

Now before these things, it happened that Philippos *son* of Joakim had departed from Gamala fortress under the following circumstances:

2 When Philippos discovered that, indeed Varus had been replaced by King Agrippa, but that Modius Aequus (a man who had been his old friend and comrade) had arrived as his successor, he wrote to him, sending a message about his own fortunes, and requesting him to *take* the documents which had been *previously* sent from him, *and* have them dispatched to the royalties.

3 And when Modius received the letters, he was very delighted once he had realized from them that Philippos had escaped. So he sent the documents to the royalties, who were in the vicinity of Beirut. 4 Now, as soon as King Agrippa realized that the rumor about Philippos was false (*for* word had spread that he had become a general of the Judeans for the war against the Romans), he sent cavalry to escort Philippos.

5 And when he arrived, *Agrippa* welcomed him with a loving-mind, and kept demonstrating to the Roman leaders that this was *the very* Philippos about whom an account was circulating that he had revolted from the Romans.

Now he directed him to take some cavalry *and* proceed quickly to Gamala fortress, to escort all members of the household out of that place, and to resettle the Babelians in Bashan. 6 But he also transmitted a message *ordering him* to take every precaution so that there would be no hint of revolution among his subjects. Therefore, when the king had enjoined these things, Philippos indeed made haste to do what he had commanded.

7 Now Joseph, *the son* of a female-healer, induced many audacious youths to join him. And he exerted pressure upon the principal *men* at Gamala, and persuaded them to defect from the king *and* to take up weapons, so that with these

¹ [Life] // [War] "directed"

² [Life] // [War] "of my own guards"

³ [Life] // [War] "to go out"

⁴ [War] // [Life] "off one of his hands"

⁵ [War] // [Life] "him his other hand"

⁶ [Life] // [War] "short-sword"

they might regain their freedom. So they indeed forced some into compliance, while those who did not concur with their decisions, they did away with. 8 But they also killed Charés, and along with him they did away with Jeshua, one of his relatives and the brother⁷ of Justus of Tiberias.

Now they also wrote to me, exhorting me to send a force of heavy-armed *soldiers* to them, and workmen to rebuild the walls of their city; *and* I did not refuse either of their requests.

9 Now the country of Golan also revolted from the king, as far as the village of Salem. So I proceeded to take measures for their external security. 10 But in Golan, I also fortified *the following villages* by building walls *for them*: Seleukeia and Suginin and Gamala, villages which were naturally very secure.

11 And recognizing that Galilee would bear the Romans' opening assault, *I* began enwalling at the appropriate locations. 12 Now in Lower Galilee, I also fortified the cities of Tarichea, and Tiberias and Tzippori; also the villages of Beersheba, and Salameh, and Jodphat; also Kefar-Akko,⁸ and Sigoph,⁹ and Japhia,¹⁰ and Mount Tabor.¹¹ But in addition to these, *I* enwalled the caves around the shore of Genusar; *one of these is* Arbel Cave. 13 But the inhabitants of Tzippori, in order that their security measures would be *in place* against us, deluded me into authorizing them alone to erect a wall on their own accord, because *I* saw that they were affluent with resources and eager for the war *even* without an order.

14 Now I also similarly enwalled villages throughout Upper Galilee, even those with very rocky surroundings; their names are: Tzfat,¹² and Jabneh, and Meroth,¹³ and a rock called Akbara.¹⁴

15 In these places I also laid-aside plenty of grain and weapons for their future security.

16 Now the hatred which Johanan *son* of Levi bore toward me because of my success grew more intense. Therefore, having determined to have me removed by any means, he, of his own accord, indeed similarly enwalled¹⁵ his fatherland, Gish-Halav, which was done as *I* directed. But all the other fortifications were built when *I* was present, laboring alongside *them* and issuing orders.

CHAPTER 24 [Life:190-203 / War2:626-628, 629b]

Accordingly, *Johanan* now sent his brother Simon, and Jonathan *son* of Sisenna, with about 100 heavy-armed *soldiers*, as secret messengers to Simon *son* of Gamaliel in Jerusalem to slander *me* on account of *my* great power *and* insist that *I* would be coming very shortly to the metropolis as a tyrant, unless *I* was prevented. 2 *These men also came* in order to entreat *Simon* to induce the Jerusalemite commonality to deprive me of the government over the Galileans, *and* to vote that authority to him. 3 (Indeed, although the populace already knew these *things*, they did not take them seriously. But some of the powerful *men*, along with some of the chiefs, were motivated by envy.)

4 Now Simon was indeed from the city of Jerusalem, but of a very illustrious race, but *also* of the sect of the Pharisees, who have the reputation of being unrivalled by any in their precision regarding the laws of their fathers. 5 Now he was a man of great intelligence and reason; and by his sensibleness, he was able to rectify an unfortunate situation in *state* affairs. Now he was an old friend and associate of Johanan, but at that time, was at variance with me.

6 Therefore, as soon as he had received the appeal, he tried to persuade the chief-priests Hanan, and Jeshua *son* of Gamaliel,¹⁶ along with some others of their faction, to cut me down, and not permit my glory to soar to its pinnacle. *So* he said to them, "It will be to your advantage if he is removed from Galilee." But *he* urged Hanan's party, "Act without delay, otherwise he might learn about all this in advance *and* march against the city with a large force."⁷ This was indeed what Simon counseled.

But the chief-priest Hanan represented to them that this action would not be easy to accomplish, "for many of the chief-priests and foremost *men* of the multitude testify to his decency as a general. But to make an accusation against a man whom no righteous charge is able to be brought is a deed of base *men*."

8 Now when Simon heard these things from Hanan, he indeed requested those men to keep silent and not to divulge these discussions to the public; for he declared, "I myself will make provision to have him speedily removed from Galilee." Now after he summoned Johanan's brother, he ordered him to send gifts

⁷ [Life] P / AR "sister"

⁸ [War] // [Life] "Kefar-Ath, Komos" (Text uncertain. "Komos" is possibly a corrupt form of the Greek word for "village", or it is a part of the previous name, making it something such as "Kefar-athkomos" which would be closer to the version found in War.)

⁹ [War] // [Life] "Suginin" (Gk. Soganai) (Though it might be partly corrupted with the previous variant.)

¹⁰ [War] // [Life] "Paphia"

¹¹ [Life] // [War] "and the mountain called Tabor"

¹² Greek "Sepph"

¹³ [Life] R / others "Ameroth" // [War] "Mero"

¹⁴ [Life] AMW "Kabara"

¹⁵ [War] // [Life] "constructed walls for"

¹⁶ [Life] emendation (see Ant20.213) / manuscripts "Gamalas"

to Hanan's party; for he declared, "In this way, I will induce them to change their opinions."

9 And in the end, Simon accomplished what he had aimed at. For Hanan and those with him were corrupted by the money, *and so* they conspired to expel me from Galilee without anyone else in the city knowing about this. *So* on their own initiative, they also voted to recall *me* from the generalship.

10 Truly, since they did not expect this directive to be sufficient, they also thought it necessary to send four of their eminent men, who indeed differed in respect to race, but were similar in respect to their discipline. 11 Now indeed, two of them, Judah *son* of Jonathan, and Hananiah *son* of Zadoki, were from the populace *and* of the sect of the Pharisees. But the third, Joezer¹ *son* of Nomikos was of priestly race, and he was also a Pharisee. But Simon *son* of Jonathan, the youngest of them, was from the chief-priests. All were very able speakers with the objective of undermining the goodwill *which I had built up*.

12 These *men* were directed to approach the Galilean multitude in order to ascertain the reason why they loved me. If they said that, it was because I was a Jerusalem native, they were to say that, so were all four of them. And if *they said that*, it was because of my expertise in their laws, they were to declare that, neither were they ignorant of the customs of their fathers. But if *they said that*, they loved me because of the priesthood, they were to answer that, two of them were also priests.

13 Once they had established these terms, they gave Jonathan's party 40,000 pieces of silver out of the public money. 14 But when they heard that a certain Galilean named Jeshua was staying in Jerusalem, who had with him a company of 600 heavy-armed *soldiers*, they summoned him, and gave him three months' pay, *and* directed him to accompany Jonathan's party and to submit to them. But they also gave silver to 300 men who were citizens, for the maintenance of *them* all, *and* ordered them to follow the elders. 15 Therefore, once they had consented and been arrayed for departure, Jonathan's party set out with them, also taking along Johanan's brother and 100 heavy-armed *soldiers*. *The total number of heavy-armed soldiers* whom they dispatched amounted to 2,500.

16 They had received instructions from those who sent them that, indeed, in the event I would voluntarily lay down my weapons and come with them to render an account, they were to allow *me to do so and* send me alive to the city of the Jerusalemites; but if I arrayed against them in order to remain, they were to treat *me* as a foe and kill me without *any* anxiety; for the order had come from them.

17 Now they had also written to Johanan to prepare for war against me, *and* secretly sent money to him in order to enable him to collect mercenaries. They issued orders to the residents of both Tzippori and Gabarah, and to Tiberias to send auxiliaries to Johanan. 18 (Consequently, and since I had taken no precautions, four cities would immediately revolt to *my opponents* as soon as they appeared: Tzippori, and Gabarah, and Gish-Halav, and Tiberias.)

CHAPTER 25 [Life:204-215 / War2:629a]

Now Jeshua *son* of Gamaliel, who had been present in that same council, who was my friend and associate, divulged these matters to my father, *saying* indeed that an army was on its way to the region, but could not clarify the reason, as *my* enemies had conducted to take *their* counsels in secret.

2 After *my father* wrote to me about this, I was deeply distressed, *for* I realized that it was because of envy that the citizens had become so ungrateful to me to the point that they would order me to be done away with. So my father kept earnestly requesting me in his documents to come to him; for he longed to behold his son before he came-to-his-end.

3 I told my friends about these things, and that in three days I would leave their country behind in order to go to my fatherland. Now sorrow gripped everyone who heard *this*; and with tears, they kept beseeching me not to abandon them to the ruin which awaited them if *I were* deprived of my generalship.

4 But I did not consent to their supplications; instead, I was concerned for my own salvation. *So* the Galileans, growing anxious that my departure would leave them an easy prey for the brigands, sent *men* throughout all Galilee to signal my intended escape. 5 But once they had also heard about this, many gathered from every place, along with their women and children. It seemed that they did this, not so much out of their affection for me, but out of anxiety for themselves. For they assumed that as long as I remained, they would suffer no evil. 6 Therefore, they all came into the Great Plain where I was living, which is named Shikhin.

7 But that night I beheld a marvelous dream-vision. For when I had retired to bed, sorrowful and disturbed by what had been written to *me*, 8 a certain individual appeared standing over me *and* said, "O suffering one! Cease from sorrowing in your soul, but let go of all fear. For what now sorrows you will produce greatness and good-fortune in every respect. Now you will set straight

not only these matters, *but* instead many others as well. Do not exhaust yourself, but remember that you must also make war with the Romans."

9 But after I had seen this dream-vision, I got up, ready to descend into the plain. Now at my appearance, the whole multitude of Galileans, which included both women and little-ones, threw themselves on their faces, and with tears pleaded for me not to abandon them to their foes, nor to depart *and* permit their country to become a victim of outrage to their enemies.

10 But when I was not persuaded by their requests, they kept trying with oaths to coerce me into staying with them. They also bitterly inveighed against the Jerusalemite populace, for not allowing their country to remain in peace.

11 And as I listened to these things and saw the despondency of the multitude, I was moved with compassion. I considered it worthwhile to endure even the obvious dangers for the sake of such a vast multitude. *So* I consented to remain *with them*. And after I had directed that 5,000 heavy-armed *soldiers* from among them were to join me, bringing *with them* their own food-supplies, I dismissed the rest to their homes.

12 Now when those 5,000 arrived, I drew them up together with the 3,000 infantry already with me and 80 cavalry, *and* marched to Cabul, a village situated on the frontiers of Ptolemais. There I kept my forces together, feigning to be making preparations for a war with Placidus. 13 Now this man had been sent by Cestius Gallus, with two cohorts of infantry and one swarm of cavalry, to burn the Galilean villages near Ptolemais. While he was throwing up a palisade in front of the city of *the* Ptolemeans, I made an encampment about 60 stadia from the village.

14 Therefore, we indeed frequently led out our forces as if going into a battle, but did nothing more than fire some projectiles. For as soon as Placidus understood that I was eager for a battle, he was intimidated *and* declined it. However, he did not withdraw from Ptolemais itself.

CHAPTER 26 [Life:216-232]

Now about this time, Jonathan and his fellow-elders arrived; they had been sent from Jerusalem by Simon's party and the chief-priest Hanan. For not daring to take me into *his* hand openly, he was plotting to take me in an ambush. 2 Now he wrote to me the following letter:

Jonathan and his companions, who have been sent by the Jerusalemites, to Joseph, greetings.

The principal *men* in Jerusalem, having heard that Johanan of Gish-Halav has often plotted against you, have sent us to reprimand him and to exhort him to submit to you from now on. 3 Now because we desire to take counsel with you about what is proper to be done, we request that you come to us quickly, *but* with only a few men, for this village is not able to accommodate a multitude of soldiers.

4 Now they wrote these things, expecting one of two outcomes: Either I would come without weapons *and* they would have me at their mercy; or, I would bring along many others, *and* they could judge me to be a foe.

5 Now the letter was brought to me by a cavalryman. He was an audacious youth, one of those who had formerly served in the royal army. Now it was the second hour of the night, *and* I was dining with my friends and the principal *men* of the Galileans. 6 When my household-slave brought a message to me that a certain Judean cavalryman had arrived, I directed him to be called in. Indeed, he did not salute me at all; but he held out a letter, saying, "This letter has been sent to you by those who have come from Jerusalem. And quickly write a reply, for I am under pressure to return to them."

7 Therefore, indeed, those who were reclining *at table* were astonished at the soldier's boldness. But I requested that he sit down and join us for dinner. But he declined. Indeed, I kept the letter in my hands as I had received it, but conversed with my friends about other matters. 8 But a while later, I got up, and indeed dismissed the rest to their beds, but directed only four of my closest friends to stay, and ordered my boy to ready *some* wine.

Then, when no one could notice, I unrolled the letter, and at a glance, understood the *writer's* design; *then* I revealed it. 9 And instead, I held it in my hands as though I had not yet read it. *And* I ordered 20 drachmas to be given to the soldier for his travel-supply. Now he accepted this *money* and thanked me for it.

Perceiving his shameful greed, I also found this to be the primary means of beguiling him. *So* I declared, "Instead, if you will but drink with us, you shall receive a drachma for every ladle."

Now he gladly assented. 10 And in order to win more silver, he indulged himself so freely in the wine that he was intoxicated and was no longer able to conceal his secrets. Instead, he told me, without *even* being asked, both about the plot that had been contrived *against me*, and how I had been condemned to death by them.

11 On hearing this, I wrote the following reply:

¹ [War] // [Life] "Gozer"

Joseph to Jonathan and his companions, greetings.

I am delighted to discover that you have arrived in Galilee in good health; but, especially, because I shall now be able to hand over to you the care of local affairs *and* return to my fatherland—for this I have also long desired to do.

12 Therefore, I indeed ought to have gone, not merely to Chesulloth, *but* instead further, to wait upon you, even without your directions. But I must request that you excuse me for my inability to do so, as I am here at Cabul, keeping watch on Placidus, who is meditating to go up into Galilee. Therefore, when you have received this letter, come to me.

Farewell.

13 When I had written this *letter and* handed it to the soldier, I sent him off, accompanied by 30 Galileans of the highest esteem, whom I indeed enjoined to greet those *men*, but not to say anything else. But I arranged for a chaperon to accompany each of those trustworthy heavy-armed *soldiers*, to watch them in order to see that no conversation would take place between those whom I sent and Jonathan's party. So they indeed went off.

14 But foiled in their first attempt, Jonathan's party sent me another letter as follows:

Jonathan and his companions, to Joseph, greetings.

We transmit this message, *ordering* you to join us three days from now, without *any* heavy-armed *soldiers*, at the village of Gabaroth, so that we may give a hearing to the complaints you have made against Johanan.

15 After they had written this *letter and* greeted the Galileans whom I had sent, they went on to Japhia, the largest village in Galilee. It had very strong walls and was completely full of inhabitants. Now there the multitude came out to meet them, along with women and children; and they kept crying out, directing them to leave, and not to begrudge them their good general.

16 Now Jonathan's party was irritated by these outcries. And indeed, they did not dare to reveal their anger, but they made no answer, *and* proceeded on their route to the other villages. But similar outcries met them on all sides, *the people* saying, "No one shall induce us to change our minds about having Joseph for our general!"

17 But unsuccessful, Jonathan's party departed *and* went to Tzippori, the largest city in Galilee. Now here, the humans, whose minds were inclined toward the Romans, went to meet them. Indeed, they did not praise me; but they did not revile me either.

CHAPTER 27 [Life:233-265]

Now when they went down from Tzippori to Shikkin, *the people* from there kept crying out against them, much like the Japhians had done. But unable to restrain their anger any longer, they directed the heavy-armed *soldiers* with them to beat the outcriers with clubs. But when they arrived at Gabarah, Johanan met them with 3,000 heavy-armed *soldiers*.

2 But having already understood from the letter that they were determined to make war against me, I went up from Cabul with 3,000 heavy-armed *soldiers*. I left the most-trustworthy of my friends in *command* of the encampment. Because I wanted to be near them, I went to Jodphat, which is about 40 stadia away.

And from there I wrote them the following:

3 If you seriously want me to come to you, there are 204 cities and villages in Galilee. I will come to whichever of these you desire, with an exception of Gabarah and Gish-Halav. Indeed, the one is Johanan's fatherland, but the other is his ally and friend.

4 When Jonathan's party had received these documents, they indeed no longer wrote back, but they convened a congress of their friends. And after inviting Johanan to join them, they took counsel on how they would get me into *their* hand.

5 And indeed, Johanan was of the opinion that they should write to all the cities and villages in Galilee, "For in each one, there should certainly be at least one or two who are at variance with him. And these persons should be summoned as if against a foe. I further recommend that a copy of this resolution be sent to the city of the Jerusalemites, in order that its citizens, once they know that he has been judged a foe by the Galileans, might be induced to pass a similar vote. For once this is completed," he stated, "even the Galileans who think so highly of him, will abandon him in fear." 6 When Johanan had given them this counsel, what he said was highly approved by the rest of them.

7 Now about the third hour of the night, these proceedings were brought to my attention by a certain Zakkai, who was with them, who deserted to me and

brought *me* a message *which told about* their attempt to get me into *their* hand. So I perceived that there was no time to be lost. 8 Now determining that Jacob, a faithful heavy-armed *soldier* of my bodyguard, was worthy, I directed him to take 200 *men* in order to guard the exits leading from Gabarah into Galilee, and to arrest those who came out *and* send them to me, but especially anyone caught with documents on them.

9 Now I also dispatched Jeremiah, another of my friends, with 600 heavy-armed *soldiers* to the frontier of Galilee, to watch the roads leading from there to the city of the Jerusalemites; I *also* gave him the order to arrest anyone found traveling with letters on them. And indeed, such men were to be kept in chains on site, but the documents were to be forwarded to me.

10 After I had given these instructions, I sent a message to the Galileans, directing them to join me on the following day at the village of Gabaroth, and to take up arms and three days' provisions. Now I divided my heavy-armed *soldiers* into four units, *and then* formed a bodyguard for myself consisting of those who were the most faithful. I appointed squadron-chiefs, and directed them to take care that not a *single* unfamiliar soldier intermixed with them.

11 Now on the following day at the fifth hour, when I was at Gabaroth, I found the entire plain in front of the village covered with heavy-armed *soldiers* from Galilee, who, in obedience to the messages which I had transmitted, had rallied to assist me. But another large crowd from the villages was also hurrying out.

12 But as soon as I stood up *and* began to speak, they all greeted me with acclamations, calling me *the* benefactor and savior of their country. After I thanked them, I counseled them neither to make war against anyone, nor to dirty their hands by plunder, instead, to pitch their tents in the plain *and* to be content with their travel-supplies; for I told them that my desire was to quell these disturbances without bloodshed.

13 Now on that very day, it came to pass that Johanan's couriers who were carrying letters, fell into the hands of the guards posted by me on the roads. And indeed, the men were guarded at the sites in accordance with the messages which I had transmitted, but I perused the documents, which were full of revilements and lies. So without mentioning a word about these matters to anyone, I decided to advance to meet them.

14 Now as soon as Jonathan's party heard about my arrival, they gathered up all of their own *friends* along with Johanan, *and* retired to Jeshua's house. Now this *place* was a great castle, and not at all inferior to a summit-city. Therefore, here they concealed an ambush of heavy-armed *soldiers*, and locked up all the doors but for one which they left open. *Then* they invited me to come in off the road in order to pay my salutations. 15 And they gave instructions to the heavy-armed *soldiers* to permit only me to enter when I arrived, *and* to exclude *any* others. For in this way, they imagined that I would easily be at their mercy. But they were deceived in their expectation.

16 For having detected the plot *beforehand*, I pretended to go to sleep directly opposite them, as if I had put up for the night after arriving from the road. 17 So Jonathan's party, supposing that I was actually resting *and* asleep, hastened down into the plain¹ to persuade them that I was inefficient as a general. 18 But the opposite happened to them.

For as soon as they appeared, the Galileans immediately raised a shout expressing goodwill toward me as their general; they also blamed Jonathan's party for coming when they had indeed suffered no harm, but as though they would overturn their affairs. And they kept requesting them to leave, for they would never be persuaded to have another foremost *man* in place of me.

19 When a message *telling* about these things was brought to me, I did not hesitate to go down into their midst. Therefore, I straightaway went down to them in order to hear what Jonathan's party was saying. Now as soon as I appeared, there was immediate applause, accompanied by shouts of praise and adulations from the entire multitude, who confessed their thanks for my generalship.

20 But when Jonathan's party heard these things, they began to fear that they were in danger of dying if the Galileans, out of gratitude toward me, might make a rush upon them. Therefore, they contemplated a flight. But since they were unable to leave (for I required them to stay), they stood with their gaze to the ground during *my* speech. 21 Therefore, I indeed ordered the multitude to restrain their adulation and posted the most trustworthy of my heavy-armed *soldiers* on the roads to guard against any surprise attack from Johanan. But I also advised the Galileans to take up arms, so that if their foes suddenly appeared, they would not be disturbed by them.

22 *Then* I began by first reminding Jonathan's party about their letter, how they had written that they had been sent by the Jerusalemite commonality to settle my quarrels with Johanan, and how they had invited me to come to them. 23 And

¹ [Life] PRA / MW "down to the multitude"

as I related these things, I held out the letter in their midst so that they could deny nothing, the documents themselves reproving them.

24 Then I declared, “Now look, Jonathan, and you, his fellow-elders. If I was judged according to my behavior in comparison to Johanan, and had brought some two or three fine, good *men* as witnesses,¹ it is evident that you would have been compelled, after also examining their character, to acquit me of these charges. 25 Therefore, in order that you may know that I have acted fairly throughout Galilee, I indeed consider *even* three witnesses² too few for one who had lived fairly. Now I present you with all these. 26 Therefore, ask *them* how I have lived, whether I have conducted affairs here with all dignity and all excellence. And you, Galileans, I adjure *you* by oath to conceal nothing of the truth, but to say in the presence of these men, as before judges, whether there is anything that I have not done fairly.”

27 Before I had finished speaking, there were numerous voices from all sides calling me benefactor and savior. And they indeed testified to my past behavior, but exhorted me to continue to do so in the future. Indeed, they all swore that I had preserved the women unmolested, but that they had never received a single injury from me.

28 After this, I read aloud to the Galileans two of the letters dispatched by Jonathan’s party, which had been intercepted and forwarded to me by the men whom I had stationed as guards. These were full of revilements and fabrications, *stating* that I was acting more like a tyrant over them than a general, 29 as well as many other things in addition to these, including every variety of shameful falsehood. Now I told the multitude that these documents had been voluntarily surrendered to me by their couriers. For I did not wish for my opponents to know about the guards’ involvement, lest they should become anxious *and* refrain from writing.

30 When the multitude heard these things, they were so greatly provoked at Jonathan’s party that they rushed against them as though they would utterly-destroy them. And they would have done this, had I indeed not managed to repress the Galileans’ anger. But I declared to Jonathan’s party, “I will forgive you for the past on the condition that you will change your minds and go back to our fatherland, telling those who sent you the truth about my conduct of affairs.”

31 When I had said these things, I let them go, although I knew that they would fulfill none of their promises. Now the multitude was incited with anger against them, *and* requested that I give them permission to wreak vengeance on such insolent *men*. 32 Indeed, I tried every *possible* method to persuade them to spare the men, for I knew that all sedition was invariably fatal to the common welfare. But the multitude was *too* angered against them to be dissuaded, and they all rushed toward the house in which Jonathan’s party was being led.

33 But when I perceived that their rage was now beyond restraint, I leapt up onto a horse *and* directed the multitudes to follow me to Suginin, a village 20 stadia away from Gabarah. And by using this stratagem, I provided a way for me to avoid the imputation of initiating a civil war.

CHAPTER 28 [Life:266-308]

But when I came near Suginin, I halted the multitude. And I exhorted them not to be impetuously carried away by their anger, especially in this case involving irremediable retributions. *Then* I directed 100 of their principal men, who were already advanced in age, to prepare to travel to the city of the Jerusalemites in order to place blame on the populace for generating seditions in the country.

2 I declared, “If they are moved by your words, request that the commonality write to me *with orders* directing me to remain in Galilee, but Jonathan’s party to withdraw from there.”

3 After I had given these instructions and they had quickly prepared themselves, on the third day after the assembly, I also sent them off with 500 heavy-armed *soldiers*. 4 But I also wrote to my friends in Samaria to provide them safe passage. For Samaria was now subject to the Romans, and it was absolutely necessary for anyone who wanted to quickly travel to Jerusalem to pass through that *country*; from Galilee, it was possible to reach it in three days by using this route. 5 Now I accompanied the elders as far as the border of Galilee, posting guards on the roads to make it difficult for anyone to notice their departure. So when I had done this, I dwelt at Japhia.

6 Now Jonathan’s party, having failed miserably in their venture against me, dismissed Johanan to Gish-Halav. But they themselves went to the city of the Tiberians, expecting to have it at their mercy. And at about this time, Jeshua *the chief* had written to them, professing that he would persuade the multitude to welcome them if they came, and to choose to join with them. 7 Therefore, they indeed set out with such hopes.

But Silas, whom I had left as curator of Tiberias, sent me a message by letter *telling* me about these things, and requesting that I hurry there. I quickly complied with his advice *and* went there. And I exposed myself to the risk of destruction for the following reason:

8 Jonathan’s party had arrived among the Tiberians, and persuaded many who were at variance with me to rebel *against me*. When they heard about my arrival, they were anxious about their own safety. So they came to me *and* gave their salutations. They began to say, that they considered me to be a happy *man* on account of my exemplary conduct of affairs in Galilee. They also professed to be delighted at the honor in which I was held. 9 For they claimed that my reputation was an ornament to them, since they had been both my teachers and fellow-citizens.

They also kept saying that they preferred my friendship to Johanan’s. And indeed, they were eager to return home, but they would wait until they had placed Johanan at my mercy. 10 And while saying these things, they swore by the most dreadful oaths known to us. So I considered it improper to disbelieve them. And because the next day was a sabbath, they requested that I take up my lodging elsewhere; but they professed that the city of the Tiberians should not be burdened.

11 So I suspected nothing *and* departed for Tarichea. I left some *men* behind in the city to discover anything that was being said about us. But along the entire road from Tarichea to Tiberias, I posted many others so that they might relay to me any information obtained from those left behind in the city.

12 Therefore, on the following day, everyone gathered together into the prayer-house—a large building and capable of accommodating a large crowd. Now Jonathan went in. Indeed, he did not dare to speak openly of defection, but said that their city had need of a better general.

13 But Jeshua the chief held back nothing *and* said plainly, “Citizens, it is better for us to submit to four men rather than to one, especially to those of *such* an illustrious race and renowned for their intelligence.” Now he indicated Jonathan’s party.

14 At this, Justus came forward, commending him for what he had said; and he persuaded some of the populace. But the multitude was not convinced by what he had said. And they would certainly have proceeded to a riot had the meeting not been dissolved at the arrival of the sixth hour, at which time it is lawful for us to have lunch on the sabbaths. So Jonathan’s party adjourned the council until the next day, leaving without success.

15 Now when a message concerning these things was immediately brought to me, I determined to go to the city of the Tiberians in the morning. And on the following day, I arrived *there* from Tarichea at about the first³ hour. But on my arrival, I found the multitude already gathering into the prayer-house; but those who were gathering together did not *even* know why there was a meeting.

16 Now when Jonathan’s party unexpectedly saw me present, they were quite disturbed. At this, they schemed to spread an account that Roman cavalry were seen on the frontier, at a place called Homonoia (*which means ‘harmony’*), at a distance of 30 stadia from the city. 17 And when a message was brought to me about these things, Jonathan’s party kept appealing to me not to remain idle while their land was being plundered by the foe. But their objective in saying these things was to remove me *out of the way* on the pretext of an urgent call for aid, while they would set about changing things to *make sure that* that city was established as an enemy against me.

18 Now although I was fully aware of their design, I nevertheless complied so that I would not give the Tiberians the impression that I was failing to provide for their security. Therefore, I set out. And when I arrived at the place, I found no trace of the foe; so I returned as fast as I could.

19 And I found the whole council already gathered together along with the crowd of the populace. Jonathan’s party was also making a violent accusation against me, that I was someone who, while living in luxury, indeed neglected to lighten their *monetary* share of the war for them. 20 While saying these things, they produced four letters, purported to have been written to them by those on the frontier of Galilee, appealing to them to come to their aid, since a Roman force of both cavalry and infantry was about to plunder their country on the third day; they begged them to both hasten there, and not to remain idle.

21 When the Tiberians heard these things, which they believed to be true, they kept making outcries against me, saying, “He should not be sitting down there; instead, he should go off and give assistance to those of our own kind.”

22 Since I perceived the designs of Jonathan’s party, I stated that I would indeed readily comply, and professed that I would rush into the war without delay. But at the same time, I counseled them, “Since the documents indicate that the Romans will strike at four *different* locations, we should divide the force into five units, *and* appoint Jonathan’s party and his companions over each of these.

¹ literally “testifiers”

² literally “testifiers”

³ [Life] MW / PRA omit “first”

23 For it is fitting for good men, not only to *give* counsel, *but* instead, in case of pressing need, to lead the way in providing aid.” I declared, “For it is not possible for me to lead more than one unit.”

24 The multitude concurred with my counsel. Therefore, they compelled them to go out for the battle. But because what I had plotted had outgeneraled these men’s undertakings, causing their intentions to be proved ineffective, they suffered extreme embarrassment.

25 Now one of them was a wicked and mischievous man named Hananiah. He proposed to the multitude that a public fast before God be appointed on the following day. And he directed that, at about the same hour *and* in the same place, they should appear openly before God, unarmed; that if they were not able to receive assistance from him, all weaponry would be useless. **26** But he did not say these things out of piety; instead, *he said them* for the purpose of catching me and my *friends* unarmed. I complied out of necessity, so that I would not appear to disdain a pious admonition.

27 Therefore, as soon as we had withdrawn to our own places, indeed Jonathan’s party wrote to Johanan, directing him to come to them the next morning with as many soldiers as possible; for he could immediately have me at his mercy and do whatever he had prayed. Now when Johanan received this letter, he prepared to act accordingly.

28 Now on the following day, I directed two of my bodyguards, who were the most esteemed in manliness and had proven *their* faithfulness, to conceal daggers under their clothes (so that if an attack was made by our enemies, we would have a means of defense), *and* to go forward with me. But I myself took a breastplate, and strapped a saber underneath to be as inconspicuous as possible. Then I went into the prayer-house.

29 Now therefore, Jeshua the chief (for he had posted himself by the doors) indeed gave orders that all the *men* who were with me should be kept out, but only allowed me *and* my friends to enter. **30** Now while we were performing our lawful *duties* and directing ourselves to prayers, Jeshua stood up and began to interrogate me about the furniture [and the] uncoined silver which had been taken from the royal *palace* after it was burned, *and* which individual had them in his possession. Now he said these things *only* because he wanted to occupy the time until Johanan’s arrival.

31 I said, “Capella and the ten principle *men* of the Tiberians have everything. But question them,” I declared, “I am not lying.”

Now they said, “Yes, with us.”

But he said, “And the twenty gold pieces which you received from the sale of a certain stash of uncoined *silver*, what has become of that?”

32 And I declared, “I gave these as travel-supply to their elders who had been sent to Jerusalem.”

Indeed, Jonathan’s party declared, “He has not acted properly by paying the elders out of the public *fund*.”

33 Now these *statements* provoked the multitude. For they now detected the wickedness of these humans. *And* I realized that a sedition was about to be ignited.

So wishing to further irritate the populace against these humans, I said, “Yet instead, if I did not act correctly by paying your elders from the public *fund*, cease from your bitterness. For I shall pay back the twenty gold pieces myself.”

34 When I had said these things, indeed Jonathan’s party fell silent, but the populace grew even more provoked against them by this obvious demonstration of unrighteous ill-will toward me.

35 Now when Jeshua observed their upheaval, he indeed directed the populace to withdraw, but requested that the council remain. For it was impossible to conduct a careful examination of such actions amid such a tumult.

36 But as the populace was crying out that they would not leave me alone with them, a private message was brought to Jeshua’s party *stating* that Johanan was approaching with his heavy-armed *soldiers*. And at this, Jonathan’s party was unable to restrain themselves any longer. (And this was God’s foresight, in order to procure my salvation. For if it was not for this turn of events, I would have undoubtedly been utterly-destroyed by Johanan.)

37 And *Jonathan* declared, “O Tiberians, stop this interrogation about twenty gold pieces! For indeed, it is not because of these that Joseph deserves to die, but because he is aspiring to be a tyrant, and to seize the government for himself over the Galilean multitudes by deluding them with *his* words.”

While he was saying these things, they suddenly laid their hands on me *and* kept trying to do away with me. **38** But when my companions saw what was happening, they drew their sabers and threatened to strike if anyone offered violence. But as the populace picked up stones and was rushing to throw them at Jonathan, my *companions* snatched me away from the violence of my foes.

39 But I had not proceeded far when I almost encountered Johanan, who was advancing with his heavy-armed *soldiers*. Indeed, I anxiously turned aside, but was saved through a narrow passage to the lake. Then I seized a boat *and* embarked, crossing over to Tarichea. This was how I unexpectedly escaped this danger.

40 At once, I summoned the principal *men* of the Galileans, and told them how, after suffering a breach of faith by Jonathan’s party and the Tiberians, that I had been very nearly utterly-destroyed by them. **41** Now the Galilean multitude became angry at these things, *and* kept appealing to me to delay no longer in making war against them, *but* instead to authorize them to proceed against Johanan *and* to completely obliterate him, along with Jonathan’s party.

42 But despite their anger, I kept restraining them, *and* directed them to wait patiently until we were able to learn what message would be brought *back* from *the elders* whom they had sent to the city of the Jerusalemites. For I declared that the appropriate course was for them to act in accord with the decision of those *people*. **43** And these things were able to persuade them.

Also at this time, Johanan, having failed to accomplish his ambush, returned to Gish-Halav.

CHAPTER 29 [Life:309-335 / War2:645b-646a]

Now a few days later, our *elders* whom we had sent arrived back. And they brought a message *with them stating* that the populace had been utterly provoked at *both* Hanan’s party and Simon *son* of Gamaliel, because without any common decision, they had sent *elders* to Galilee and prepared for my expulsion from here.¹ **2** Now the elders declared, “The populace even rushed to set fire to their houses.” But they were also carrying documents in which the principal *men* of the Jerusalemites, at the urgent petition of their own populace, indeed confirmed that the leadership of Galilee was mine, but ordered Jonathan’s party to quickly return home.

3 Therefore, after I had perused these letters, I went to the village of Arbel. There I arranged a meeting of the Galileans *and* directed the elders to describe their anger and their hatred of the wicked things which had been done by Jonathan’s party, **4** and how *the principal Jerusalemites* had ratified my governorship of their country, and what had been written to Jonathan’s party concerning their recall. So I immediately sent them the letter, *and* directed its bearer to thoroughly investigate what they intended to do.

5 Now when those *men* had received the letter, they became extremely disturbed. So they summoned Johanan and the Tiberian council, as well as the principal *men* of Gabarah; and they convened a council, directing it to contemplate what they should do.

6 Therefore, indeed the Tiberians were of the opinion that the better course of action was to hold out. For they declared, “The city, having once gone over to them, should not be abandoned. And anyhow, *Joseph* is not going to hold himself back from them.” (For they fabricated *a story* that I had made this threat.)

7 Now Johanan was not only pleased with these words, but² he also counseled that two of them should go to accuse me before the multitude, *stating* that I was not managing the affairs of Galilee well. And he declared, “They will be easily persuaded, both on account of their dignity, and because every multitude is easily changeable.”

8 Therefore, when it seemed that Johanan had introduced the most compelling decision, it indeed seemed fitting to send off two *men* to the Jerusalemites, Jonathan and Hananiah, but leave the other two behind to remain in Tiberias. But they took along with them 100 heavy-armed *soldiers* as an escort.

9 But the Tiberians indeed made provision for the walls to be secured, but they directed for the residents to take up *their* arms. But they also sent for no few soldiers from Johanan, who would be auxiliaries to them against me, if need *arose*. But Johanan was now in Gish-Halav. **10** For that very reason, Jonathan’s party departed from Tiberias. As soon as they were reaching Daberath (a village lying at the limits of Galilee in the Great Plain), about *the middle of the night*, they fell among my guards. And after the *guards* directed them to lay down their weapons, they guarded them in chains at that place, exactly as I had instructed them.

11 Now Levi, to whom I had entrusted this guard-post, made these things clear to me in writing. Therefore, I allowed two days to elapse and I pretended that I had never known anything *about it*. Then I sent to the Tiberians *and* began counseling them to lay down their weapons *and* release those humans into their home.

12 But the *men* (for they imagined that Jonathan’s party had already reached Jerusalem) made abusive answers *to me*. Yet I was not struck-down *with astonishment*, but **I** was contriving a stratagem to be outgeneraling them. **13** Therefore, indeed, I did not suppose that it was pious to be kindling-forth a war against the citizens. But desiring to snatch them away from the Tiberians, I, after I selected 10,000 of my best heavy-armed *soldiers*, divided them into three units/ And I indeed ordered these to wait patiently in shelters,³ inconspicuously laying an ambush. **14** But I led another 1,000 into another village. It was indeed

¹ [Life] R / others omit “from here”

² [Life] P / others omit “but”

³ [Life] PMW “in shelters” / RA “in villages” / possible emendation “in Adamah”

mountainous, but four stadia away from Tiberias. *And* I directed them to descend immediately when they received a signal. But I myself, having advanced from the village, took a seat in plain view.

15 Now when the Tiberians observed *me*, they incessantly came running out of the city, hurling all sorts of abuse at me. Accordingly, their senselessness reached to such a height that they even prepared and brought out a *death-bed*. And standing around it, they began to mourn over me with childish-sport and laughter. But I kept my own soul composed, overlooking their stupidity with amusement.

16 Now, desiring to catch Simon in a snare, along with Joezer, I sent *and* appealed to them to come out a short distance from the city with many of their friends escorting them. For I declared that I wanted to come down and make a treaty with them, and apportion out the leadership of Galilee.

17 Therefore, Simon indeed, deluded both on account of his youth and a hope of gain, came without hesitation. But Joezer, suspected a snare and remained behind. *So* when Simon had come up with his friends escorting him, I both met him, greeting him with a loving-mind, and kept professing my gratitude that he had come up. **18** But not long after, walking along with him as if I wanted to say something to him privately, I drew *him* a considerable distance from his friends. *Then* I picked him up by the waist, *and gave him* to my friends who were with me in order to have *him* conducted off into the village. But directing my heavy-armed soldiers to come down, I, along with them, began to make an assault against Tiberias.

19 Now when serious fighting had begun between the two sides, the Tiberians were almost victorious over us. For my heavy-armed soldiers had already fled. When I saw what had happened, I encouraged those who were with me, *and* joined in pursuing the Tiberians into the city, *even* though they were already gaining the victory. But I sent in a different force via the lake, ordering them to set fire to the first house they seized, and gave my soldiers permission to thoroughly *plunder* the city. **20** When this happened, the Tiberians supposed that their city had been taken by storm. *So* they threw down their weapons in fear. But together with the women and children, they begged *me* to spare their city.

21 Now moved by these appeals, I restrained the soldiers from their rage, while I myself (for evening had already fallen) turned back from the siege, together with the heavy-armed soldiers, *and* retired to bodily refreshment. **22** Now I invited Simon to dine with me, *and* consoled him about what had happened. And I promised that I would convey him and his companions through to Jerusalem with complete security, *and* would give them travel-supplies.

23 Now on the following day, I entered Tiberias, bringing 10,000 heavy-armed soldiers along with me. And I summoned the principal men of the multitude into the stadium, *and* directed them to indicate who had been the instigators of the defection. **24** Now once they had identified the men, I indeed sent them off bound to the city of Jodphat. But I released Jonathan and Hananiah's party from their chains; and when I had given them travel-supplies, I sent them off with Simon and Joezer, and 500 heavy-armed soldiers to escort them to Jerusalem.

25 Now the Tiberians once again approached *me*, *and* kept appealing to me to pardon them for what they had done, saying that they would make amends for their failings through their future faithfulness to me. But on behalf of those who had lost possessions, they begged me to recover what remained from the plundering.

26 *So* I ordered those who held these things to bring everything into the middle. But when there was widespread non-compliance, *and* I observed one of the soldiers around me wearing a coat more splendid than ordinary, I interrogated him as to where he acquired it.

27 But when he said, "From the plundering of the city," I indeed chastised him with blows, but threatened to administer a worse retribution to the others if they failed to bring into the open whatever they had plundered. Now when much had been collected, I restored to each of the Tiberian citizens everything which they recognized.

CHAPTER 30 [Life:368-389 / War2:624-625, 632a, 645b-646]

Now when I had settled the affairs of Tiberias and convened a congress of my friends, I took counsel on what should be done about Johanan. It was indeed the opinion of all the Galileans that everyone should arm himself *and* march against Johanan and bring a rightful-punishment on him as being the one responsible for all the seditions. **2** But I, keeping my commitment to quell the disturbances without bloodshed, was not pleased with their decisions. *So* I exhorted them that utmost care should be exercised in discovering the names of those who were under Johanan. **3** Now from each city they obtained for me a list of names of those who had been drawn into the revolt together with Johanan; this information was readily given by their fellow-citizens.

4 Now when I had determined who these humans were, I issued a proclamation in which I extended a pledge and my right hand to those with Johanan who desired to have a change-of-mind. And I granted a period of twenty¹ days to those who desired to take counsel about what was advantageous for themselves. But I also threatened, both to burn² their homes with their families inside, and to confiscate their possessions if they did not throw down their weapons and abandon Johanan.

5 Now when the humans heard these things, they became extremely disturbed and they deserted Johanan. Indeed, immediately 4,000³ in number deserted *him*; and after throwing down their weapons at my feet, came over to me. **6** But only the citizens⁴ remained with Johanan, as well as 2,000 Syrian refugees (which included about 1,500 foreigners from the metropolis of Zor).

6 Therefore, indeed when Johanan saw that he had been outgeneraled by me in this way, he *and his followers* drew back from open plots in favor of covert schemes. *And* from this time onward, Johanan, out of great fear of me, remained in his fatherland, Gish-Halav, confined within its walls.

7 Now about this time, the Tzipporites, emboldened by the fortification of their walls and observing me *pre-occupied* with other pursuits,⁵ took up arms. *So* they sent to Cestius Gallus, who was the leader of Syria, urging him either to come quickly himself and take the city under his protection, or to send them a garrison. **8** Now Gallus indeed promised that he would come, but he did not clarify when this would be. As soon as I discovered these things, I myself took up the soldiers *who were* with me and attacked Tzippori, capturing their city by storm.

9 *Now I* wanted, by plundering them, to admonish them; but *then*, by the return of their money, to regain their goodwill. **10** But the Galileans also seized this opportunity as a proper time to vent their hatred; for they were also harboring animosity against this city. *So* they attacked as though they would completely obliterate everyone, including the settlers. **11** Therefore, they rushed in; *and* finding their houses uninhabited, they set them on fire. (For the humans had become anxious *and* fled to the summit-city.) But the Galileans looted everything and omitted no form of devastation against their fellow-tribesmen.

12 As I observed these things, I was very painfully distressed, and ordered them to cease, reminding them that it was not sacred to treat fellow-tribesmen in such ways.

13 But they would listen neither to my appeals nor to what I had ordered; for hatred was vanquishing my exhortations. *So* I directed the most trustworthy of my friends around me to spread the word that Romans were invading through a different part of the city with a large force. **14** Now I did these things, so that when the declaration spread abroad, I would both restrain the impulses of the Galileans, but preserve the city of the Tzipporites.

And in the end, this stratagem succeeded. **15** For when they heard this message, they feared for themselves. And leaving behind the plunder, they fled; but especially, when they found me, their general, doing these same things. For I supported the credibility of the declaration by pretending to share their distress.

Now this was how the Tzipporites were unexpectedly rescued by this contrivance of mine.

16 But Tiberias was also nearly plundered by the Galileans for the following reason:

The principal men from the council wrote to the king, appealing for him to come to them *and* take the city under his protection. **17** Now the king kept promising to come, and he wrote letters in reply which he gave to a certain man of his bedroom to carry to the Tiberians. Indeed, his name was Crispus, but he was a Judean by race. **18** When the Galileans discovered that this man had brought the documents, they arrested him and brought him to me. But when the entire multitude heard about this, they were provoked *and* took up arms.

19 Now on the following day, many gathered together from every quarter,⁶ *and* came into the city of Shikhin, where I was then lodging. And they made loud outcries, calling Tiberias a traitor and a friend of the king. They also asked me to authorize them to come down in order to altogether obliterate them. For even they were harboring animosity against the Tiberians, as they had against the Tzipporites.

20 Now when I heard about this, I was at a loss as to how I might spare Tiberias from the Galileans' anger. For I could not deny that the Tiberians had written an invitation to the king; for the responses he wrote to them exposed the

¹ [Life] // [War] "five"

² [Life] // [War] "incinerate"

³ [Life] // [War] "3,000"

⁴ [Life] MW / PRA "the armed men"

⁵ possible alternate translation "observing me near other places"

⁶ [Life] PMW "from many quarters"

truth. **21** Therefore, after being in deep thought for a while, I said, “The Tiberians have acted unrighteously, as I am well aware. Now I will not deter you from plundering their city, but even such things must be done with discretion. For the Tiberians were not the only betrayers of your freedom, instead, so were many of the most esteemed *men* in Galilee. **22** So wait until I can find out precisely who the instigators are. Then you will have them all at your mercy, along with as many as you are able to bring *forward* on your own *account*.”

23 By saying these things, I persuaded the multitude; and when they had stilled their anger, they disbanded. Now I directed, that the *man* who had been sent from the king be put in chains. A few days later I pretended that some pressing obligation of my own required me to leave the kingdom. So I summoned Crispus in secret, ordering him to intoxicate the soldier *who was his* guard, and then to flee to the king, for he would not be pursued. **24** And indeed, convinced by these commitments, he escaped.

Now this was how, when Tiberias was about to face obliteration for the second time, she escaped this imminent danger through my generalship and foresight.

CHAPTER 31 [LIFE7:390-406, 354b, 347 / War2:647-654]

Now it was about this time, that Justus *the* boy of Pistos eluded me and ran away to the king on account of his fear of me, on the following occasion:

2 At the beginning of the war made by the Judeans against the Romans, the Tiberians had determined to submit to the king and not to defect from the Romans. But Justus, bent on revolutionary-activities himself, and having hopes that he might be chief of both the Galileans and his own fatherland, persuaded them to take up arms.

3 Truly, none of these expectations happened. For the Galileans, out of wrath at what they had suffered from him before the war, harbored enmity toward the Tiberians. Because of this, they would not tolerate having Justus as a general over them. **4** But I myself, after being entrusted with the guardianship of Galilee by the commonality of the Jerusalemites, often reached such a degree of anger at Justus, that when I could no longer tolerate his baseness, it was almost necessary to kill him. Therefore, when he had grown anxious that my fury might reach fulfillment, he sent Crispus to the king, supposing that he could reside more securely with him.

5 Now after the Tzipporites had unexpectedly escaped the first danger, they sent word to Cestius Gallus (who was leading the Roman legions in Syria), appealing to him to come quickly in order to either take the city under his protection, or to send a force sufficient to repel their foe's incursions against them. And they finally persuaded Gallus to send them a considerable¹ force, both of cavalry and infantry, which they eagerly admitted when they arrived during the night. **6** Therefore they disdained me, although I was very powerful at that time, and was a source of terror to everyone.

7 But when the surrounding country was being devastated by the Roman army, I took up my party of soldiers, *and* came to the village of Gareis. There I threw up a palisade 20 stadia beyond the city of the Tzipporites. *Then* I advanced against it during the night, and assaulted its walls. **8** And after sending in a considerable number of soldiers by means of scaling-ladders, I found myself controlling the greater part of the city. But soon after, due to our ignorance of the terrain, we were forced to retreat, after we had indeed done away with 12 infantrymen² of the Romans, but *also* a few Tzipporites, while we ourselves lost only one *man*.

9 But when a battle later erupted between us and the cavalry in the plain, we, after much violence *and* having come through grave dangers, were defeated. For when the Romans surrounded us, those who were with me became anxious and escaped to the rear. Now in that pitched-battle, one of my most trusted bodyguards fell; his name was Justus, who had formerly held that same position with the king.

10 Now about this time, the force from the king arrived, both of cavalry and infantry, as well as Sulla, who was leader of the bodyguards. Therefore, this *man* established an encampment five stadia away from Julias. Also, in order to cut off supplies to the residents from Galilee, he posted a guard on the roads, both the one leading to Seleukeia and the one leading to Gamala fortress.

11 Now when I had discovered these things, I sent 2,000 heavy-armed *soldiers* along with Jeremiah as their general. And they threw up a palisade one stadium from Julias, near the Jordan River, but did nothing else besides fire some projectiles until I myself reached them, having taken up 3,000 soldiers.

12 But on the following day, after I posted an ambushade in a certain ravine not far from their palisade, I *then* provoked the royal *soldiers* to a battle. I exhorted my own soldiers to set their backs to them, until they were able to entice

the royal soldiers to go forward, which also happened. **13** For when Sulla figured that we were truly fleeing, he came forward *and* was ready to pursue us. But those *emerging* from the ambush took him from behind and threw them all into a great disorder.

14 But I suddenly wheeled my own force around, went to face the royal *soldiers*, and put them to flight. And my action that day would have succeeded, had not some demon hindered me. **15** For the horse from which I had fought, fell in the muddy terrain *and* deposited me with it onto the ground. But after I fractured the flat *part of my hand*, I was carried into a village named Kefar-Nahum.³ **16** Now when *my soldiers* heard about these things, they also became anxious, *thinking* that I had suffered something more serious. Indeed, they abandoned further pursuit, but they were returning, extremely agonizing about me. Therefore, I sent for healers. And after I was treated, I remained-behind that day after I had had a fever. Also that night, on the healers' supposition, I was conveyed into Tarichea.

17 Now when Sulla and his companions discovered what had happened to me, they once again took courage. And realizing that the guarding of our encampment was neglected, he, during the night, set an ambushade of cavalry on the far side of the Jordan. *And* when day came, he offered us a battle. **18** But when *my soldiers* accepted, they proceeded as far as the plain, where the ambushing cavalry suddenly appeared, and put *our men* to flight. Now although they killed six of our *men*, they truly did not lead this victory to completion. For when they heard that some heavy-armed *soldiers* had sailed from Tarichea to Julias, they became fearful and retreated.

19 Therefore, this was indeed how the disturbances in Galilee were brought to an end. And with the dissensions among their own kinsmen having ended, they turned their attention to preparations against the Romans.

20 Now in Jerusalem, both the chief-priest Hanan and the powerful *men* who were unwise concerning the Romans, were readying both the wall and many of the war weapons. **21** And throughout the entire city, while projectiles and full suits of armor were being forged, the multitude of the youth were *engaged* in irregular exercises, and everything was full of clamor. But the despondency of the reasonable *people* was terrible; and many, foreseeing the impending calamities, wailed loudly. **22** Also, there were divinations, which were seen as ill-reports⁴ among the lovers of peace; but among those who had kindled the war, they were being interpreted to suit their pleasure. And the city's condition, *even* before the Romans' attack, was that of a *place* about to be destroyed.

23 Yet truly, Hanan had the intention of gradually abandoning the preparations for the war, *and* of bending both the insurgents and the senselessness of the so-called Zealots to a more advantageous course; but he succumbed to the violence.

24 But in the toparchy of Akrobat, Simon *son* of Giora united many revolutionaries, *and* turned to plunder. And he not only tore down⁵ the houses of the rich; instead, he also terribly maltreated their bodies. But this plainly showed, even at that early date, that he was beginning to exercise tyranny.

25 But when Hanan and the chiefs sent an army against him, he fled with his band to the brigands who were at Masada. There he joined *them* in pillaging Edom, until Hanan and his other opponents were done away with. **26** As a result, due to the multitude of those being murdered and the continual raids, the chiefs of this nation mustered an army to have the villages garrisoned. And these were indeed the *affairs* of Judah in those *days*.

CHAPTER 32 [War3:1-8]

Now when Nerō was informed of the reverses sustained in Judah, he was filled, as was natural, with secret consternation and alarm, but in public, he manifested disdain and was angered, saying, **2** “Indeed, these unfortunate incidents were due to remiss generalship rather than to the excellence of our foes.” But the majesty of the leadership made him think it fit for him to treat such *misfortunes* with lofty contempt and to appear to possess a soul superior to all accidents. **3** Yet, truly, the perturbation in his soul was betrayed by his anxious countenance.

He deliberated: To whose souls he could entrust the East in its present commotion? *Whom* indeed *could he entrust* with the task of bringing retribution upon the Judean insurgents, while *also* preventing a revolt of the neighboring nations, which were already catching the contagion? **4** He could find no one but Vespasianus equal to the task and capable of undertaking a war of such a vast *scale*.

This man had, from his youth, grown old in his service in the army. And earlier in his career, he had already pacified and indeed restored the West to Roman rule, when it had been put into disorder by the Germans. But through

¹ [Life] RAW / P omits “considerable”

² [Life] P / others “of 10 infantrymen and 2 cavalrymen”

³ [Life] W (lit. “Kefar-Nomos”) / M “Kerfa-Nomos” / P “Kefar-Nokus” / R “Kefar-Nokos”

⁴ literally “ill-reporting” (adj)

⁵ VRC / PAML, Lat “harass”

arms, he had *also* obtained Britain (which until then was almost unknown); 5 and, in this way, he afforded *Nerō's* father Claudius the honors of a triumph without costing him any personal exertion.

6 *Nerō* also regarded this *account* as a favorable omen, and saw *Vespasianus* as a man with the steadiness resulting from years of experience, and that he had sons who would be sure hostages for his fidelity, and that his ripe manhood would act as the arm of their God's prudence. Perhaps he was also moved by foresight, which was already shaping the destinies of *the future emperor*.

7 *So Nerō* sent this man to take the leadership of the armies in Syria. At this urgent crisis, *Nerō* lavished upon him both soothing and flattering compliments, which are required by emergencies of this kind. 8 Now from Achaia, where he was in attendance on *Nerō*, *Vespasianus* indeed dispatched his son Titus to Alexandria in order to bring the fifteenth legion back from there. But he himself, after crossing the Hellespont, proceeded by land to Syria, where he concentrated both the Roman forces and numerous auxiliaries furnished by the kings of the neighboring districts.

CHAPTER 33 [War3:9-34 / Life:342-343, 348, 355-356, 407-411a]

Now that the Judeans had defeated Cestius, they were so elated by their unexpected success, that they were unable to restrain their ardor; and they, as though blown into activity by this gust of fortune, thought only of carrying the war further abroad. Accordingly, without a moment's delay, their most efficient-combatants mustered *and* marched upon Ashkelon.

2 This is an ancient city, 520 stadia from Jerusalem. *But* the hatred which the Judeans had always borne toward it, made the distance to that place, which was the first objective selected for attack, seem closer. 3 Now the incursion was led by three men of first-rate prowess and sagacity: Niger of Peraia, and Silas the Babelian, and Johanan the Essean. 3 Now Ashkelon indeed was solidly enwalled, but was almost *entirely* destitute of defenders, for its garrison consisted of only one cohort of infantry and one swarm of cavalry, governed by Antonius.

4 Therefore, indeed, the Judeans' ardor so accelerated their pace, that they reached the spot as though they had issued from a neighboring *base* at that exact moment. 5 But Antonius (for he was informed of their intended attack) was ready for them, *and* he led out his cavalry. And he, undaunted, either by the multitude or the audacity of their foes, firmly sustained their first attack and repulsed those who were rushing forward to the walls.

6 But this was a case of inexperienced *Judeans* against experienced warriors. And infantry against cavalry. Also ragged order against serried ranks. And casually armed *soldiers* against heavy-armed regulars. Also, their actions were directed by fury, rather than by a council; *and those* who arrayed against them were compliant to their general, performing everything by means of a *mere* nod.

7 For being outmatched in this way, *the Judeans* were soon thrown into disorder. Once their front phalanxes were broken by the cavalry, they were put to flight; and the fugitives fell upon those in their rear who were pressing forward to the wall, and became one another's own foes. This lasted until finally, the whole body, succumbing to the cavalry charges, were dispersed throughout the plain.

Now this *plain* was extensive and wholly adapted for cavalry maneuvers. 8 And this circumstance materially assisted the Romans and occasioned great murder among the Judeans. For *the cavalry* both advanced ahead of them, and made the fugitives turn back. Then breaking through those who were crowded together in flight, they did away with them in masses. But in whatever direction the *Judeans* fled, the *Romans* closed them in; and galloping around them, found them easy to shoot down with javelins. 9 And indeed, the Judeans, despite their great number, felt themselves isolated in their distress. While the Romans, few as they were, imagined, in their unbroken success, that they even outnumbered their foes.

10 And indeed, the *Judeans* continued to struggle on under their misfortunes, both ashamed of being so quickly routed, and in hopes of a return of fortune. But the *Romans* were indefatigable in pushing their success. Because of these things, the battle was prolonged until evening, when indeed 10,000 Judean men, along with two of their leaders, both Johanan and Silas, were done away with. 11 But the remainder, most of them wounded, took refuge with the one surviving leader, Niger, in a small city of Edom, called Chaallis.¹ 12 But the Romans, on their side, had but a few wounded in this pitched-battle.

13 Truly, the minds of the Judeans were far from being crushed by such a calamity; but their defeat only redoubled their audacity. Now disregarding the corpses at their feet, they were lured by the memory of former triumphs into receiving a second blow.

14 Accordingly, without even leaving time for wounds to heal, they gathered all their forces together again. And more inclined to anger and in far greater strength, they ran back to Ashkelon. 15 But, in consequence of the same

inexperience and the same military deficiencies, the same fortune attended them as before.

16 For Antonius had placed ambuscades in the passes; into these traps they unexpectedly fell. And before *the Judeans* could form up in battle order, they were surrounded by the cavalry; indeed, at least 8,000 of them fell. But all the remainder fled, including Niger, who distinguished himself in the retreat by numerous feats of courage. But being hard pressed by their foes, they were driven into a strong tower in a village called Belzedek.

17 But Antonius' party was unwilling either to expend their strength upon a tower that was almost impregnable, or to allow their foes' leader and bravest hero to escape alive. So they set fire to the walls. 18 Now on seeing the tower in flames, the Romans indeed retired rejoicing, believing that Niger had also perished with it. But he had leapt from the fortress, taking refuge in a cave in its recesses.

And three days later, his lamenting friends, while searching for him for burial, overheard his voice beneath them. 19 Now his reappearance filled all the Judeans with unexpected joy, as they thought that God's foresight had preserved him to be their general in conflicts to come.

20 Now Vespasianus had set in motion his forces which were gathered together at Antiocheia. This city is the metropolis of Syria. On account of both its magnitude and its prosperity, it unquestionably ranks third among the cities of the inhabited *earth* under the Romans. Here he had found, among others, King Agrippa, along with all his *own* forces, awaiting his arrival.

21 From Antiocheia, Vespasianus pushed on and arrived at Zor, accompanied by King Agrippa. But the Zorites began to insult the king, and called him an enemy of the Zorites and of the Romans. For they were saying that, Philippos, the camp-prefect, following his order, had betrayed the royal *palace* and the Roman forces that were in Jerusalem.

22 When Vespasianus heard this from them, he reprimanded them for having abused a man who was both a king and a friend of the Romans. But he exhorted the king to send Philippos to Roma to submit an account to *Nerō* about what had happened. Accordingly Philippos was dispatched but never came into *Nerō's* sight. For when he found out that *Nerō* was at his last on account of the disturbances which had occurred and the civil war, he returned to the king.

23 But when Vespasianus came to Ptolemais, the residents and chief men of the Ten-Cities of Syria loudly denounced Justus of Tiberias, because he had set their villages on fire, and requested him to authorize punishment of the instigator. So Vespasianus handed him over to the king to be executed by the subjects of the kingdom. 24 And *he* would have been punished at Vespasianus' direction, but King Agrippa, who had received the authority to kill *him*, was *averted from doing so* by the constant pleading of his sister Bereniké. So rather than disposing of *him*, the king preserved *his* soul, and *merely* detained him in chains, under guard, for a long time; and concealed what he had done from Vespasianus. 25 (*Later*, after all these crimes *Justus* had committed, *King Agrippa* entrusted *him* with the secretariat of correspondence; but he was detected once more in fraudulent practices and banished from his sight.)

26 And at this city, the only people of that province who displayed peaceable sentiments were the inhabitants of Tzippori in Galilee, who went out to meet Vespasianus and greeted him. So with an eye to their own security and a sense of the Roman's power, *the citizens* had already, even before Vespasianus' arrival, both given *pledges* of loyalty to Caesennius Gallus, and received his right hand *in pledge*. 27 Yet, truly, they admitted a Roman garrison.

At this time, they offered a friendly welcome to the leadership, promising him that they would ally *with him* against their own fellow-tribesmen. 28 At their request, the general provisionally assigned to them for their protection as many of both cavalry and infantry as he considered sufficient to repel incursions in the event that the Judeans should cause trouble. 29 For it even appeared to him that the loss of Tzippori would be a hazard gravely affecting the impending war; indeed, it was the largest city of Galilee, but it was a fortification in an exceptionally strong position *in the enemy's* country, and adapted to keep guard over the entire nation. 30 And even when our greatest city, Jerusalem, was *later* besieged, and the common temple of all was in danger of falling under the authority of the enemy, *the Tzipporites* did not send an allied force, because they were not willing to give the appearance of taking up arms against the Romans.

CHAPTER 34 [War3:35-58]

Now Galilee, with its two divisions known as both Upper and Lower Galilee, is indeed encompassed by both Phoiniké and Syria. Now its *western* borders, indeed toward the sunset, are the outlying country of Ptolemais, as well as Carmel (which is indeed a mountain once belonging to Galilee, but now to Zor). 2 Adjacent to Carmel is Geba, called the 'City of Cavalry', because the cavalry, upon being discharged by King Héródés settled in this city. 3 Now on the south, *the country is bounded* by both Samaria and Skythopolis up to the waters of the Jordan. Now on the east *it is bounded* by both Hippos and Gader, and Golan, and the border of

¹ PAM* / Lat "Challis" / others "Sallis"

Agrippa's kingdom. **4** Now on the north *it is bounded* by both Zor and the country of the Zorites.

And indeed, Lower Galilee extends in length from Tiberias to Cabul, which is not far from its neighbor Ptolemais-by-the-Sea. **5** Now in breadth *it extends* from Chesulloth Village in the Great Plain to Beersheba. And at this point begins Upper Galilee, which extends in breadth to Baka Village, which is the border of Zorian land. **6** Now in length, it reaches from Taliil Village near the Jordan to Meroth.

7 Now despite their size, and being surrounded by such powerful foreign nations, the two Galilees have always been able to resist any attempt to make war on them. **8** For from infancy, its inhabitants are made efficient for battle, and have at all times been numerous; never have the men been lacking of courage, or the country of men. Everywhere the land is so rich in both soil and pasturage, and produces such a variety of trees, that even the most indolent are tempted by these *advantages* to devote themselves to agriculture. **9** Accordingly, every inch of the soil has been cultivated by its inhabitants, and not one portion lies fallow. Instead, the cities are also thickly distributed; and even the multitude of villages, thanks to the fertility of the soil, are all so densely populated that the smallest of them contains over 15,000 inhabitants.

10 But in a word, if Galilee is considered inferior to Peraia on account of its size, it must be given the preference due to its abundant resources. For indeed, it is entirely under cultivation and produces crops from one end to the other. But Peraia, is indeed far more extensive, but for the most part is desert and rugged, and too wild to bring tender fruits to maturity. **11** Yet, truly, there are tracts of finer soil and it produces every kind of fruit; and its plains are covered with a variety of trees: *the olive-tree, and the vine, and the palm* are the ones which are primarily cultivated. It is watered both by torrents descending from the mountains; and by springs which never dry up, and *which* provide sufficient moisture when the torrents dwindle during the dog-days.

12 Therefore *Peraia* indeed extends in length from Machairous to Pehel, but in breadth from Philadelpheia to the Jordan. **13** And indeed, its northern border is Pehel. But its western *border* is the Jordan. Now on the south, it is bounded by the Moabites; and on the east by both Arab and Silbon,¹ but *also* by Philadelpheia and Gerasa.

14 Now the country of Samaria indeed lies between Galilee and Judah. For beginning at the village of Gannim in the Great Plain, it terminates at the toparchy of Akrobat. Now its character is entirely the same as Judah's. **15** For both *regions* are comprised of mountainous-*regions* and flat-*regions*, yielding a light and fertile soil for agriculture. *Both regions* are both thickly-wooded, and are full of mountainous and tame fruits. *Both owe* their nature to *the* entire absence of parched-lands, but they are heavily-rained upon. **16** Now all the running water is exceedingly sweet. And due to the multitude of excellent grass, the livestock yield more milk than those in other districts. Yet, truly, the greatest testimony to the excellence and abundance of each of *the countries* is that *they both have* a multiplying of men.

17 Now on the border separating *the two countries* lies the village called Ainah-Berkit,² which is the northern limit of Judah. Now its southern boundary, if one measures *the country* lengthwise, is marked by a village on the Arabian border, which the local Judeans call Jordan.³ Yet, truly, in breadth, it stretches from the Jordan River to Japho.

18 Now the city of Jerusalem lies at its very center; and for this reason, the town has sometimes, not inaptly, been called the 'navel' of the country. **19** But Judah is not cut off from the delights of the sea, because it slopes down toward the coast as far as Ptolemais. **20** Now it was divided into eleven portions; among which Jerusalem as the capital is indeed supreme, dominating the entire vicinity as the head towers above the body.

Now in the case of the other minor districts, the divisions coincide with the toparchies: **21** Gufnin is the second; and next is Akrobat; after them, Timnah and Lod, *then* Hammat and Pehel, and Edom, and Engedi, and Hérōdeion, and Jericho. **22** To these must be added: Jabneh and Japho, which have jurisdiction over the surrounding *localities*. Besides these are *the territories* of both Gamala and Golan, also Bashan and Trachōn, which also form part of Agrippa's kingdom.

23 Now this *last country*, beginning at Mount Lebanon and the springs of the Jordan, extends in breadth to Lake Tiberias; but in length, from a village called Arpha to Julias. Now it contains a mixed population of Judeans and Syrians.

24 This indeed, as concise as possible, is my description of both the Judean country and of their neighbors.

CHAPTER 35 [War3:59-69 / Life:411b]

¹ [War] others "Silon" / possible emendation "Heshbon"

² [War] Lat "Ainah, which is also called Berkit"

³ [War] C / others "Iorda"

Now the assistant-forces sent by Vespasianus which were accepted by the Tzipporites consisted of 1,000 cavalry and 6,000 infantry under the generalship of the tribune Placidus. After first encamping in the Great Plain, they divided. And indeed the infantry took up quarters in the city for its protection, while the cavalry remained in the camp. **2** Now *these two* divisions both made constant sallies and overran the surrounding country, causing serious trouble to both *me* and *my* men. If *we* remained stationary in *our* cities, *the Romans* ravaged the surrounding district; and whenever *we* ventured out, *the Romans* beat *us* back.

3 Yet, truly, *I* attempted to make an assault on the city in hopes of capturing it, although *I myself* had, prior to its abandonment of the Galilean cause, so strongly enwalled it as to render it practically impregnable even to the Romans. And failing in my hopes, *I* found it beyond *my* power either to compel or to persuade Tzippori to surrender.

4 Now *I* provoked the Romans to make the war fiercer upon the country. And they, angered at *my* enterprise, never ceased, night or day, to devastate the plains and to pillage the property of the country; and, indeed, invariably killing anyone who was capable of bearing arms, while reducing the insufficient to slavery. **5** Now Galilee from end to end was filled with fire and blood. Nor was it exempt from any *kind of* misery or calamity. For the only refuge the hunted inhabitants had was in the cities which *I* had enwalled.

6 Now Titus, after a swifter passage from Achaia to Alexandria than is usually permitted by the winter season, had indeed taken *command* of the forces which he had been sent to fetch. But by a forced march, he soon reached Ptolemais. **7** There he found his father together with the two legions, the most distinguished of all, the fifth and the tenth. To them, he joined the fifteenth *legion*, which he had brought himself. **8** These *legions* were followed by eighteen cohorts. But five more *cohorts*, along with one swarm of cavalry, came to join them from Caesarea, as well as five other *swarms of* cavalry from Syria. **9** Of the *twenty-three* cohorts, ten numbered 1,000 infantry each; but the remaining thirteen *cohorts* each had a strength of 600 infantry and 120 cavalry.

10 Now there was also a considerable *force of* auxiliaries which had been mustered by the *following* kings: Antiochos, and Agrippa, and Suhaym. Each *one* contributed 2,000 unmounted archers and 1,000 cavalry. But Melech the Arabian sent 1,000 cavalry, along with 5,000 infantry comprised mainly of archers. **11** This was how the total strength of the forces, both cavalry and infantry, including *all the auxiliaries* of the kings, amounted to 60,000. Now *this number* did not include the servants who followed in vast numbers; though, because they trained with the fighting *men*, they may properly be classified with them. Indeed, during times of peace, they took part in all their masters' maneuvers; but in times of war, they *took part* in their dangers, inferior to none but them in skill and prowess.

CHAPTER 36 [War3:110-131]

Indeed, *while* Vespasianus, simultaneously with his⁴ boy Titus, was spending *time* for-a-while at Ptolemais, he was putting his⁵ forces in order. But *while* Placidus was running-down Galilee, he indeed, had done-away with a vast multitude of the *ones who were being* overtaken by *him*. But this was the weaker *part of the* Galileans and *the part which was* being-exhausted by their flights. **2** But *while* he was seeing that the fighting *men* always fled-together into the cities *which* were enwalled by *me*, Joseph, he rushed against Jodphat, the most-fortified *city* of them *all*. Indeed, he was imagining that it would be easy to take it by a sudden assault, and, by this means, that he would procure for himself a high reputation among his leaders *and* would acquire a considerable advantage for their future *expedition*. For *he thought that* once the most-steadfast *city* had fallen, anxiety would induce the other cities to surrender.

3 Yet truly, he greatly failed in this *hope*. For being forewarned of his approach, the Jodphatians went outside the city where they awaited his coming, and burst unexpectedly upon the Romans. And being both a large body and well-prepared for battle, and kindled by the thought of the danger threatening their fatherland, and *their* women and children, **4** they quickly routed the Romans. Indeed, they wounded a large number of them; but they did away with only seven of them, because the *Roman* retreat was made in good order, and because their bodies, being completely protected, received only superficial wounds; while the Judean assailants, lightly equipped and opposed to heavy-armed regulars, kept their distance and did not venture to come to close quarters with them. **5** But three men on the Judean side fell, and a few were wounded. Indeed, Placidus, finding himself too feeble for an assault on the city, made a retreat.

6 But Vespasianus, impatient to invade Galilee himself, now set out from Ptolemais, after drawing up his army for the march in the customary Roman *order*. **7** Yet indeed, the light-armed allied-troops and the archers were directed to

⁴ literally "the:"

⁵ literally "the"

march in advance, to repel any sudden incursions from their foes, and to explore woodlands which looked suspicious and which were able to lie in wait to ambush. Then followed a division of heavy-armed Roman *soldiers*, both infantry and cavalry. **8** These were followed by a detachment composed of ten men from every hundred, carrying both their own baggage and the necessary instruments for marking out the camp. **9** And after these came the pioneers both to straighten crooks in the highway, in order to level the rough places, and to cut down obstructing woods, in order to spare the army the fatigues of a toilsome march.

10 Now behind these *Vespasianus* posted both his personal equipage and those of his leaders, along with a considerable number of their cavalry to protect them. **11** He himself rode behind with both the picked infantry and cavalry, and his spearmen. Now after these came the cavalry *units* of the legions; for 120 cavalry are attached to each legion. **12** Now these were followed by the mules carrying the city-destroyers and the other machines. **13** After these came both the leaders, and the prefects of the cohorts, *and* the tribunes, with an escort of picked soldiers.

14 Next came the ensigns surrounding the eagle, which is at the head of every Roman legion, because it is both the king and the strongest of all the birds of prey. And it is regarded by them as the symbol of dominion, and an omen of victory over whomever they march against. **15** Now these consecrated emblems were followed by the trumpeters. And behind them, came the phalanx, marching six abreast. A centurion, according to custom, accompanied them to oversee the order of the ranks.

16 But behind the infantry, the servants attached to each legion followed in body, conducting the mules and other beasts of burden which carried the soldiers' baggage. **17** But at the end of the legions came the crowd of the mercenaries. Last of all, for security, there was a rearguard composed of both infantry and heavy-armed *soldiers*, and a considerable number of cavalry.

18 Proceeding with his force in this manner, *Vespasianus* reached the borders of Galilee. Here he encamped *and* restrained the ardor of his soldiers, who were rushing into a war. He was content to parade his armies before their enemies, in order to strike them with consternation and to provide them with a season for a change-of-mind, to see whether they would come to a better frame of mind before a battle *should commence*. But at the same time, he also made preparations for besieging the strongholds.

19 Therefore indeed, the general's appearance aroused many to have a change-of-mind from their revolt, but caused everyone to be struck with consternation. **20** For indeed, when those who were under *my* leadership, who were encamping beside a city called Garis, not far from Tzippori, were informed both that the war was upon them, and that at any moment they might be attacked by the Romans, they dispersed and fled; not only before it came to a battle, *but* instead, *even* before our enemy had even come in sight.

21 Now *I*, Joseph, was left with a few companions. And *I* saw that *I* did not have a sufficient force to attack our foes, and that the minds of the Judeans were crestfallen, that the majority of them, if they could gain the confidence of our foes, would gladly withdraw. Indeed, already *I* feared for the success of the war. **22** But for the moment, *I* decided to remove *myself* as far as possible from the risk of conflict. Now with the remnant of *my troops*, *I* fled for refuge in Tiberias.

CHAPTER 37 [War3:132-154 / Life:412a]

Now *Vespasianus*' first objective was the city of Gader, which he took upon the first attack, finding it deprived of a multitude of effective combatants. **2** And entering into *the city*, he did away with all those from the youths upward, the Romans showing no mercy to old or young, so bitter was their hatred of the nation and their memory of the transgression which had been committed against Cestius. **3** Now *Vespasianus* was not content with setting fire to the city; instead, he also burned all of both the villages and small cities in the vicinity. Indeed, he found some completely deserted, but he reduced the inhabitants of others to slavery.

4 Now *my* arrival filled the city which *I* had chosen as *my* refuge with anxiety. But the Tiberians had never imagined that *I* would have fled, unless *I* had entirely despaired all hope of success in the war. **5** And yet, they were not incorrect in their interpretation of *my* opinion. For *I* indeed foresaw the final catastrophe for which the fortunes of the Judeans were heading, and recognized that their only hope of salvation lay in reforming *themselves*.

6 But as for *myself*, although *I* might have looked for pardon from the Romans, *I* rather preferred to suffer a thousand deaths than to betray *my* fatherland, and to disgracefully abandon the generalship which had been entrusted to *me*, in order to seek fortune among those against whom *I* had been commissioned to war against.

7 Therefore, *I* decided to write to the magistrates at Jerusalem *detailing* an exact account of the position of affairs, neither exaggerating the strength of our foes (which might subsequently lead *me* to be credited with cowardice), nor underrating it (for *fear* of encouraging them to hold out when they might possibly be inclined to change their minds). **8** Now if *the magistrates* intended to negotiate, *I* asked them to answer to that effect without delay. Or, if they were resolved to

continue the war, they should send *me* a force capable of dealing with the Romans. **9** Therefore, having indeed written about these things, *I* sent out swift *messengers* to carry the documents to Jerusalem.

10 Now *Vespasianus* was impatient to make an end of Jodphat. For he had been informed that it was the refuge to which a majority of their foes had retired, and moreover, that it was their stronghold. So he sent a body of both infantry and cavalry in advance to level the road leading to it, which was a rocky mountain track, and which was difficult for infantry *to traverse* but absolutely impracticable for cavalry. **11** Therefore indeed, in four days, their task was accomplished and a broad highway opened for the army.

But on the fifth *day*, which was the twenty-first *day* of the month Artemisios, *I* hastily left Tiberias *and* entered Jodphat. And *my* arrival raised the Judeans' dejected minds.

12 But a man, a deserter, brought *Vespasianus* a good-message about *my* relocation, and urged him to hasten to attack the city, because its fall, if he could but get *me* under his power, would amount to the capture of all Judah. **13** Now *Vespasianus* received this message as a token of great success, and believed that God's foresight had ordained this man, who was reputed to be the most prudent of his foes, to have deliberately shut himself up in a prison. Therefore, he indeed instantly dispatched Placidus, as well as the decurion Aebutius, a man of marked energy and ability, along with 1,000 cavalry, directing them to encompass the city in order to prevent *me* from secretly escaping.

14 Now the next day, *Vespasianus* followed them with his entire force; and marching until evening, he arrived before Jodphat. **15** But leading his army up to the north side of *the city*, he encamped on a certain ridge seven stadia from it, seeking a position as conspicuous as possible to their foes in order to intimidate *us*. **16** And this spectacle had such an instantaneous effect upon the Judeans, that none dared venture outside the walls.

17 Now after their full day's march, the Romans were certainly not prepared to make an immediate assault, but they surrounded the city with a double phalanx; and outside these, they posted a third *line* of cavalry, blocking all means of exit. **18** This *maneuver*, cutting off hope of salvation, stimulated the Judeans to be daring; for nothing makes *men* fight so desperately in war as necessity.

19 Now on the following day, an assault was made. Indeed, at first, the Judeans who were encamped opposite the Romans outside the walls, merely held their ground against *their foes*.¹ **20** But indeed, as *Vespasianus* brought up his archers and slingers, and all the multitude of the far-throwers, he permitted them to be shooting² at these *opponents*, while he himself with the infantry pushed up the slope at the point where the wall offered little difficulty.

I, Joseph, anxious about the city, made a sally, and the whole Judean multitude was with *me*. **21** But falling in a body upon the Romans, *we* drove them from the walls, and *we* exhibited many works with *our* hands and which were daring. **22** Yet truly, we suffered as much loss as we inflicted; for if the *Judeans* were emboldened by despair, the Romans were no less roused by shame. And they indeed had skill as well as strength, while *the Judeans* had recklessness for their armor, as well as fury for their general. **23** Now when *the battle* had lasted all day, *the combatants* were parted by the night. Of the Romans: indeed, a great many were wounded but thirteen were done away with. But of the Judeans: indeed, seventeen fell, but 600 were wounded.

CHAPTER 38 [War3:155-180 / Life:412a]

Now on the following day, when the Romans resumed the assault, *the Judeans*, from the confidence inspired by their unexpected successful resistance on the previous day, made a fresh sally and offered a much more stubborn resistance. Indeed, *the Romans* on their side proved more resolute opponents. **2** For they were enflamed to anger by shame, regarding a lack of instant victory as being equal to defeat. **3** So for five days, the Romans indeed incessantly renewed their assaults, while the garrison of Jodphat sallied out and made a more stubborn defense from the walls. And the Judeans were undaunted by the strength of their foes; nor were the Romans dismayed by their toils in the taking of the city.

4 Now Jodphat is almost entirely built on cliffs; indeed, it is surrounded on three sides by ravines so deep that sight fails in the attempt to fathom the depth. But *the city* is only accessible from the north side, where it has straggled sideways up a descending spur of the mountains. **5** Now when *I* had *previously* enwalled the city, *I* enclosed this quarter as well within *my wall*, in order to prevent our foes from occupying the mountain-summit which overlooked it. **6** Now *the city*, being concealed by other mountains which surround it, was absolutely unseen until one came right up to it. Therefore, this was indeed the strong position of Jodphat.

7 But *Vespasianus*, pitting his strength against the nature of the terrain and the determination of the Judeans, resolved to press the siege more vigorously. So he

¹ Lat "the Judeans merely held their ground opposite the Romans who were encamped outside the walls"

² literally "throwing"

summoned his leaders to take counsel with him about the assault. **8** Now it was decided to raise earthworks against the accessible portion of the wall. At this, the whole army was sent out to procure the necessary materials. And the mountain forests surrounding the city were stripped; besides the timber, enormous heaps of stones were collected.

9 Indeed, some of the soldiers spread screens of hurdles over palisades, as a cover for themselves from missiles from above. Protected by these means, they constructed the earthworks, suffering little or no injury from their assailants upon the walls. **10** But others pulled the adjacent barrows to pieces, keeping their comrades constantly supplied with earth. So with this triple division of labor, not a man was idle.

11 Now the Judeans also launched great boulders from the walls upon the Romans' hurdles, along with all sorts of projectiles. But even when these failed to penetrate, their crash was so loud and fearsome, that the workers were impeded.

12 Now Vespasianus had his artillery machines, which numbered 160 in all, brought into position around the city, directing them to fire upon the defenders on the walls. **13** But in one tremendous volley, the catapults sent lances whistling through the air, and the rock-launchers discharged blocks the weight of a talent, and firebrands flew together with a vast multitude of arrows, with the effect, not only of driving the Judeans from the walls, but instead, of rendering untenable all the space behind them which came within missile-range. **14** For even the artillery fire was also reinforced by a simultaneous volley from a host of Arabian archers, and both javeliniers and slingers.

15 Although the Judeans were kept from warding off the Romans from above, they did not remain inactive. For parties of them both sallied out in brigandic ambushes, and stripped off the enemy's hurdles, and assailed the exposed workmen. And wherever the workmen fell back, the Judeans demolished the earthworks and set fire to the palisades and hurdles.

16 Finally, Vespasianus traced the cause of this injury to the gaps between the earthworks; for these intervals afforded the Judeans a loophole for an assault. So he united the various hurdles and simultaneously closed up his force, with the result that further Judean encroachments were repressed.

17 Now that the embankment was rising and almost on a level with the parapets, I thought it would be shameful if I was unable to devise some counter-measure for the city's salvation. So I summoned masons and directed them to increase the height of the wall. **18** But when they protested that the building was impossible under such a hail of missiles, I invented the following protection for them:

19 At my directions, palisades were fixed to the wall; and over these were spread newly-flayed oxen hides, indeed, in order that the stones hurled by the machines would be caught in their folds, while the other projectiles would even glance off their surface, and their moisture would extinguish the firebrands. **20** Under this screen, the builders, working in safety both day and night, raised the wall to a height of 20 cubits. And indeed, they erected numerous towers, but crowned the wall with a stout parapet. **21** At this spectacle, the Romans, who imagined themselves already masters of the city, were greatly disheartened, and were struck with astonishment both by my design and the perseverance of its citizens.

22 Now Vespasianus was also provoked at the cleverness of this stratagem and at the audacity of the Jodphatians. **23** For emboldened by their newly built fortification, the citizens recommenced their sallies against the Romans. So every day, parties of them came into conflict with the Roman besiegers, both employing all the ruses of brigandic ambushes, and pillaging whatever fell in their path, as well as setting fire to the rest of the Roman works.

24 This continued until Vespasianus, ordering his army to cease battling, resolved to resort to a blockade in order to starve the city into surrender. **25** For he supposed that by their lack of provisions, the defenders would petition him for mercy, or, if they remained obdurate to the last, would perish of hunger. **26** Also, if it came to the battle, he concluded that he would conquer them far easier, if, after an interval, he renewed his attack upon famished opponents. So he directed his men to keep a strict guard on all the city exits.

CHAPTER 39 [War3:181-212 / Life:412a]

Now the besieged Judeans indeed had a multitude of grain and of all other necessaries (with an exception of salt), but they lacked water. Indeed, there are no springs within the city, but those who are living in it are being supplied by the rainshowers. But this region is rarely, if at any time, heavily-rained upon during the summer; **2** and this was precisely the hour when they were besieged.

The mere idea of thirst filled them with dire despondency, and already, they were vexed, as though water had entirely failed. **3** For I, seeing both the abundance of the city's other necessaries and the courage of its men, also being desirous to prolong the siege beyond Roman expectation, had put them on water rations from the beginning. **4** But this control system appeared to them harder than actual want; and the constraint of their freedom only increased their craving,

and they became as limp as though they had already reached the last extremity of thirst.

But the Romans were not ignorant of their plight. **5** For from the slopes above, over the wall, they could see the Judeans flocking to one place and having their water rationed out to them. Since their sharpened-bolt-launchers were able to reach the spot, they did away with a great many of them.

6 And indeed, Vespasianus expected that the water in the cisterns would be exhausted before long, and the city would be reduced to capitulation. **7** But to crush this hope, I directed a number of dripping-wet robes to be made, and for them to be hung along the parapets, with the result that the entire wall was suddenly seen streaming with water.

8 The Romans, at the sight of all this water being wasted as a jest by those whom they supposed did not even have enough for themselves to drink, were filled with dismay and consternation. So the Roman general himself, despairing of reducing the place by their lack of supplies, reverted to weapons and strength. **9** Now this was exactly what the Judeans desired. For having given up all hope for themselves and the city, they preferred a death in the war rather than perishing of famine and thirst.

10 However, after this stratagem, I devised yet another to procure myself an abundance of supplies. **11** Leading down to the ravine on the west side, there was a certain mountain-torrent so difficult to traverse, that it had been neglected by our enemy's guards. So by this route, I succeeded in sending documents by some of my men to the Judeans outside of the city with whom I desired to communicate. Now once I had received replies from them, I stocked the city with all necessaries by the same means when its supplies began to fail. **12** I directed them to creep past the guards on all fours and to cover their backs with fleeces, in order that, if they were spied at night, they might be taken for dogs. Eventually, the guards detected the design and blocked the mountain-torrent.

13 And when I indeed recognized that the city could not hold out for long, but that my own salvation would be endangered if I remained there, I took counsel with the powerful men about the means of flight. But the multitude discovered my intention, and they crowded around me, imploring me not to abandon them, since they depended on me alone. **14** "For if you remain, you will indeed be the sole hope of the city and salvation, because everyone, since you are with us, will contend with eagerness. But even if capture is in store for us, you will be our sole consolation. **15** But it would be unworthy of you to flee from your enemies, or to desert your friends, or to leap into the winter-storm from the ship on which you had embarked when it was calm. **16** For your departure will sink the city, because no one will have the courage to resist our foes any longer when the presence of the one who has given us courage is gone."

17 But suppressing any allusion to my own safety, I assured them that it was in their own interests that I had contemplated leaving. **18** For indeed, my presence in the city could not materially assist them if they were saved, and, if they were taken, what end would I serve by perishing with them? But if I were able to get clear of the siege, I would be able to render them the greatest service from outside; **19** for I would promptly both muster the Galileans from the country, and, by creating a diversion elsewhere, draw off the Romans from their city. **20** Now I failed to see how my presence at their side could be useful to them in the present circumstances, or have any other effect except to provoke the Romans to press the siege more vigorously than ever, as they attached such great importance to my capture; but if they were informed that I had fled the city, they would considerably relax their ferocity.

21 But they were not persuaded by these words; instead, the multitude only clung to me more ardently. Accordingly, little-ones and old men, and women with infants in their arms, all fell down weeping before me; and they embraced me by my feet, **22** and all of them implored me with lamentations to stay and share their fortune. And I think they did all this, not because they envied my chance of salvation, but instead because they thought of their own. For with me on the spot, they were convinced that no disaster could befall them.

23 Now I indeed suspected, that if I yielded, this insistence would not go beyond supplication; but that if I opposed their desires, constant watch would be over me. But my determination to abandon them was broken off by pity for their lamentations. So I decided to remain.

24 And making the common despair of the city into a weapon for myself, I said to them, "Now is the time to begin the battle, when there is no hope of salvation left. Brave it is to prefer renown before life, and by some glorious exploit to ensure in being remembered by our posterity!"

25 And suiting my actions to my words, I, advancing with my most efficient-combatants, both dispersed the guards, and penetrated as far as the Romans' encampment. And indeed, we tore up the skin-tents under which they were sheltered on the embankment, but set fire to their works. **26** I repeated this both the next day, and the day after that, and indefatigably continued the war for a series of days and nights.

27 Now the Romans suffered from these sallies; for they were ashamed to flee before the Judeans. And whenever they put the Judeans to flight, the weight of

their weapons impeded them in the pursuit; while the Judeans always performed some mischief before *the Romans* were able to retaliate, *and* then took refuge in the city.

28 Indeed, at this, Vespasianus directed his heavy-armed *soldiers* to shun these attacks and not to grapple with humans who were bent on death, *saying*, "For nothing is more valiant than despair. But when deprived of an objective, their impetuosity will be extinguished like fire for lack of fuel. **29** Yet truly, it is becoming even for Romans to think of safety as well as victory, since our reason for making war is not necessity; instead, it is to increase our dominions."

30 Now from then on, he relied primarily on his Arabian archers and the Syrian slingers, as well as the stone-launchers to repel the Judeans; but the multitude of his artillery also *fired* without intermission. **31** Now *the Judeans*, indeed suffering severely by these implements, gave way. But once past the reach of *their adversaries'* long-range projectiles, they flung themselves furiously on the Romans and fought desperately, without sparing *either* soul or body, one party after another relieving their exhausted comrades.

CHAPTER 40 [War3:213-252 / Life:412a]

Now the length of the siege and the *Judean* sallies made Vespasianus feel that the position was reversed *and* that he himself was *now* the besieged. So now that the earthworks were approaching the walls, he decided to bring up the Ram. **2** Now this is an immense beam, like the mast of a ship. But it is reinforced at its extremity with a mass of iron in the form of a ram's head, from which *the machine* derives its name. **3** Now *the Ram* is suspended at its middle by ropes, like the beam of a scale's balance, to another beam which is supported at either end by posts fixed into the ground. **4** Now a multitude of men first pull the Ram backward, *and* then, all of them pushing together with all their weight, heave it forward, so that with a mighty noise, it batters the wall with the projecting iron. **5** And there is no tower so strong, or enclosure so broad, able to withstand the repeated assaults of *this machine*, even though able to sustain the initial blow.

6 This was the experiment which the Roman general himself undertook, being impatient to carry the city by storm; since the long blockade, coupled with the Judean activity, was proving injurious. **7** Therefore indeed, *the Romans* brought forward the catapults and the rest of their artillery within range of *the Judeans* standing on the walls who were endeavoring to beat them off, *and* put these machines into action. But the archers and slingers simultaneously advanced. **8** While *this attack* prevented any of *the Judeans* from venturing onto the enclosures, another *Roman* party brought up the Ram, protected by a long line of hurdles, over which was a covering of skin, both for their own security, as well as that of their machine. **9** And at the first blow, the wall was indeed shaken, but a piercing cry arose from *the city's* interior, as though it had already been taken.

10 Now when *I* saw, under the repeated blows constantly aimed upon the same spot, that the wall was on the verge of collapsing, *I* devised a method of paralyzing the force of the machine for a while. **11** So *I* gave orders for sacks to be filled with chaff, *and* to be let down by ropes at the place where the Ram was seen continually battering. The objective was both to deflect the head and to deaden the force of the blow by *the soft cushion* which received it.

12 This *contrivance* seriously delayed the Romans. Indeed, wherever they turned their machine, the *Judeans* above retorted by moving their sacks *and* placing them opposite the blows, while the wall suffered no injury from the impact. **13** *This lasted only* until the Romans invented a counter-device consisting of long poles and with scythes attached to the ends, with which they cut *the cords supporting* the sacks. **14** Now this was how the city-destroyer recovered its efficacy.

And when the wall (for it was newly fixed) was already showing signs of giving way, *our* party, as a last resort, had recourse to fire. **15** Now snatching up all the dry wood which *we* could find, *we* rushed out from three quarters of *the city* and set fire both to the machines and the hurdles, and the stakes of the Romans' earthworks. **16** But *the Romans*, both stupefied by *our* audacity, and with the flames preventing any effort to rescue them, did little to save them. For fed by dry tinder, with the addition of bitumen and pitch, as well as sulfur, the fire immediately flew in all directions; *and the works* which had cost the Romans such severe labor, were consumed in one hour.

17 And on this occasion, a certain Judean who made his mark is worthy of an account and a remembrance. Indeed, his name was Eleazar *the boy* of Shemaijah; but his fatherland was Sheba in Galilee. **18** Now lifting an enormous rock, this man hurled it from the wall at the city-destroyer with such force that he broke off the machine's head. Then, leaping down, he took up the Ram's head from the midst of his foes, carrying it with perfect composure to the foot of the wall. **19** Now he became a target for all his enemies, and his defenseless body received their hits; indeed, he was pierced by five projectiles. **20** But ignoring these, he scaled the wall, and he stood in the sight of everyone as an instance of his great bravery. So, writhing under his wounds, he fell headlong with the Ram's head in his hands.

21 After him, those who distinguished themselves the most were two brothers, Netiras and Philippos, who were also Galileans and from the village of Rumah. Indeed, they dashed out against the *soldiers* of the tenth legion, but charged the Romans with such impetuosity and force that they both broke their ranks and put to flight everyone whom they encountered.

22 Following in the train of these men, both *I* and the rest of the multitude, with firebrands in *our* hands, sallied out once again and set fire to the machines from underneath, as well as the hurdles and earthworks belonging both to the fifth and to the tenth legion, which had been routed. But the others immediately buried those implements and all their combustible materials. **23** But about evening, *the Romans* re-erected the Ram and brought it up to the spot where the wall had been weakened by *its* previous blows.

24 At this moment, one of the *Judean* defenders hit Vespasianus with a projectile in the sole of his foot. And the wound was indeed slight, the distance having broken the missile's force. But the incident created a vast commotion among the Romans. **25** For the sight of blood alarmed those immediately surrounding *Vespasianus*; and, at once, it was declared through the whole army that the general was wounded. And most of the soldiers, abandoning the siege, came running toward their general in consternation and anxiety. **26** Now the first on the spot was Titus, with great anxiety for his father, so that the multitude was greatly agitated, both by their goodwill for their leader, and by the sight of his boy's anguish.

However, *Vespasianus* found little difficulty in allaying both the anxieties of his son and the tumult of the army. **27** For he mastered his pain and hastened to show himself to everyone who had trembled for his life. This roused them to wage war *against* the Judeans more fiercely than ever. For each was willing to be the first to brave danger in order to avenge their general; and, with shouts of mutual encouragement, they rushed for the walls.

28 But *our* party, though falling down one upon another under the hail of missiles from the catapults and rock-launchers, were still not driven from the wall. Instead, with fire, and iron *weapons*, and rocks, *we* continued to assail the soldiers who, under the protection of their hurdles, were propelling the Ram. **29** And, indeed, *our* efforts had little or no effect, but *we* were incessantly falling, because *the Romans* saw *us* without *themselves* being seen. **30** For *we* were both fully surrounded by the glare of *our* lights, and formed a conspicuous mark for our foes exactly as though *we* were in broad daylight. Also *we* found difficulty in avoiding the projectiles from the machines, which *we* were unable to see in the distance. **31** Therefore, in this way, the missiles from both the sharpened-bolt-launchers and the catapults came with such force as to strike down many at once; and the whizzing stones hurled by the machine carried away the battlements, and broke off the corners of the towers. **32** For indeed, there is no body of men, however strong, which the force of the mass of these stones is unable to lay low to the last phalanx.

33 Now some incidents of that night will give an idea of the power of this machine. For one of the *men* standing on the wall beside *me* had his head carried away by such a rock, and his skull was flung, as from a sling, to a distance of three stadia. **34** Also, a pregnant woman was struck in the belly at the moment she was leaving her house at daybreak, but the baby in her womb was flung half a stadium away. So mighty was the force of these stone-launchers.

35 Therefore, more fearsome than the implements was their noise, but so was the sound of the missiles. **36** Now there was the thud of the corpses falling one after another from the wall. And indeed, terrifying were the shrieks raised from the women within the city, which were mingled with the moans of the murdered victims. **37** But the entire enclosure in front of the battle line ran with blood, and the fallen-bodies formed an ascent to the wall's *summit*. **38** Now the echo from the mountains contributed to the fearsome din. And, in a word, nothing was lacking, in sound or appearance, which could strike consternation.

39 Yet indeed, multitudes of the Jodphat defenders fell in valiant fight. Multitudes were wounded. And it was not until toward the hour of the morning watch, that the wall, after incessant battering, succumbed to the machines. **40** But those within blocked the breach with their own bodies and their weapons, throwing up a makeshift defense before the Romans were able to lay the machines for the escalade.

CHAPTER 41 [War3:253-288 / Life:412a]

Now Vespasianus, having allowed his army a brief respite after the fatigues of the night, brought them together again soon after daybreak in order to take the city. **2** Now his objective was to draw off *the Judean* defenders from the breach *in the wall*. Indeed, with this intention, he had the bravest of his cavalry dismount, *and* marshaled them in three divisions opposite the ruined portions of the wall. Protected by armor from head to foot and with polearms in hand, they were to be the first to enter the city the moment the machines for the escalade were laid. **3** Now behind them, he placed the flower of the infantry. But as for the remainder of the cavalry, he deployed all of them along the mountainous *region* facing the

walls, in order to prevent the escape of *even* a single fugitive when the city was taken.

4 Now further in the rear, he posted the archers in a semicircle, directing them to have their arrows ready to shoot. But he also gave the same directions to the slingers and the machine-operators. 5 Now other *parties* were then ordered to bring up ladders *and* to plant them against the wall where it remained intact, indeed, so that *some of the besieged Judeans*, in their attempt to repel *the Romans'* escalade, might be induced to abandon the defense of the breach; but that the remainder, overwhelmed by a hail of missiles, might be forced to give way, affording his men entrance *into the city*.

6 But when *I* discovered this contrivance, *I* indeed entrusted the protection of the intact portions of the wall to the fatigued and older men, expecting that no harm would reach them there. But at the breach in the wall, *I* placed the most vigorous of *my* men. And at the head of each group, six men were selected by lot; and among these, *I* selected for *myself* the place to bear the brunt of the danger.

7 *I* also directed, "Indeed when the legion raises their war-cry, stop your ears, so that you will not be frightened. But when the multitude of missiles comes, crouch down! Cover yourselves with your oblong-shields! Also, fall back for a while, until the archers have emptied their quivers. 8 But the instant the machines are laid for the escalade, leap on to them yourselves and confront our foes by means of their own weapons.

"Also, let each *man* contend, not to save his own fatherland, *but* instead as its avenger, as though it were already lost. 9 Also, let each man himself imagine the slaughter of the old men, and the fate of children and women at the hands of the impending enemy. And let the anticipation of these threatened calamities arouse each man's concentrated fury; let him spend it upon the would-be perpetrators."

10 Therefore, by these means, *I* indeed disposed *my* two divisions. But when a multitude of non-combatant citizens, the women and little-ones, saw their city encircled by a triple phalanx (for none of the guards which *the Romans* had originally posted for the battle were removed)—but, when they saw their foes at the foot of the ruined walls with short-swords in hand, and above them the mountainous *region* gleaming with weapons, *and* higher still the arrows in the hands of the Arabian archers, they shrieked aloud a final shriek of their capture, as though the catastrophe were no longer imminent, *but* had instead already come upon them.

11 But afraid that the wailing of the women might unman the combatants, *I* indeed ordered them to be shut up in their houses, directing them with threats to hold their peace. But *I* took up *my* allotted position at the breach. 12 Therefore indeed, *I* disregarded the ladders which were being brought up elsewhere, but breathlessly awaited the impending shower of projectiles.

13 But now both the trumpeters of all the legions simultaneously sounded *their trumpets*, and the army raised a terrible sound. And at a given signal, arrows poured from all quarters, intercepting the light.

14 Yet truly, *my* party, mindful of *my* orders, both stopped up their ears from the shout, and covered their bodies from the arrows. 15 And since the machines were ready to work, *my* party dashed out onto them, before those who had placed them could set foot on them. 16 Now in the ensuing grappling with our ascending *foes*, *my* party exhibited all manner of actions, in hand and in soul, endeavoring in the depth of calamity to prove themselves no bit inferior to *men* who, without being in danger, were displaying so much manliness.

17 So not one *Judean* relaxed his struggle with a Roman until he had utterly-destroyed *his enemy*, or fell down himself. 18 But indeed, *the Judeans* were growing exhausted by the incessant combat, and had none to replenish their foremost *fighters*. While in the Roman ranks, the exhausted men were relieved by fresh *troops*; and when one party was driven back, another instantly took its place. The *Roman* assailants both cheered each other on, and indeed, side linked to side, but with their oblong-shields protecting them *from* above, they formed an unbreakable column. And with its united mass, like one solid body, it thrust the *Judeans* before them *and* already began to mount the wall.

19 Now in this critical situation, *I*, taking necessity as *my* counselor (ready as she is in invention when stimulated by despair), directed boiling oil to be poured upon this roof of close-locked oblong-shields. 20 Now *my* men had it ready; and at once, flooded the Romans with large quantities from all quarters; then they flung their vessels down upon them, still hissing from the heat of the fire. 21 This dispersed their formation. *And* the Romans, burning and in excruciating agony, rolled headlong down from the wall. 22 For indeed, the oil instantaneously penetrated beneath their full suits of armor from head to foot, spreading over the whole surface of their bodies and devouring the flesh like the fierceness of a flame. *For* the nature of this *liquid* made it quick to absorb heat, and its fatty properties made it slow to cool. 23 But encumbered with their breastplates and their helmets, the victims had no escape from the scalding oil. But leaping and writhing in anguish, they dropped from the bridges which they had laid. But those who turned to flee were blocked by their comrades who were pressing forward *for the assault*, *and* were easily wounded by those who were behind them.

24 But, in the midst of these trials, the Romans showed no lack of fortitude; nor did the *Judeans* lack resourcefulness. Instead, the *Romans*, though they saw their own comrades in tortures from the drenching oil, were still vehemently bent against those who poured it, each cursing the man in front of him for impeding the charge.

25 But the *Judeans*, on their side, invented a second deception to hinder their accession: they poured boiled fenugreek over the planks, on which *the Romans* slipped, stumbling backward. 26 And so, whether attempting to retreat or to advance, not a man could remain on his feet. Indeed, some collapsed backwards upon the machines on which they ascended *and* were crushed underfoot; but many fell down onto the earthworks, 27 but they were struck by *Judean* arrows. *For*, in consequence of the Romans being unable to maintain their footing, the *Judean* defenders, relieved from *hand-to-hand* fighting, were able to shower them with arrows.

28 Now toward evening, after having sustained severe losses in this assault, the general called off the soldiers. 29 But no few *Romans* fell, and a greater amount were wounded. But the *Jodphat* defenders indeed had only six deaths, but at least 300 were carried off wounded. 30 This pitched-battle indeed occurred on the twentieth *day* of the month *Daisios*.

31 Now at first, when *Vespasianus* sought to console his army for their recent experiences, he found them furious and calling, not for encouragement, *but* instead for action. 32 Indeed, he directed them to raise the height of the embankments; but to construct three towers, each 50 feet high, that should be covered entirely with sheet-iron, both to ensure their stability by their weight and to render them fireproof.

33 He had these towers erected upon the earthworks; also upon them, he mounted both javeliniers and archers, and the lighter artillery, but *also* the most-robust of *the* slingers. 34 These *troops*, being screened from view by the height of the towers and their parapets, opened fire on the besieged *Judeans* who were plainly visible to them on the wall.

35 Now *the Judeans* found no means of avoiding the projectiles aimed at their heads, nor of avenging themselves on an unseen *enemy*. And indeed, they perceived that these lofty towers were inaccessible to hand-tossed missiles, and protected against fire by their sheet-iron. *So* they abandoned the wall and made sallies against any who attempted to renew the assault. 36 And this was how *Jodphat* continued to hold out, while day by day many of its defenders fell; and powerless to retaliate against their foes, they could not keep them at bay without endangering themselves.

CHAPTER 42 [War3:289-315]

Now in the course of these days, *Vespasianus* dispatched *Trajanus*, the leader of the tenth legion, against the city of *Japhia* which lay in the vicinity of *Jodphat*. And *this city*, encouraged by the surprising resistance of their neighbors at *Jodphat*, had revolted. Now taking with him 1,000 cavalry and 2,000 infantry, 2 *Trajanus* indeed found that the city presented formidable difficulties. *For* in addition to its naturally strong situation, it was also enwalled by a double enclosure.

Now its inhabitants ventured to advance to meet him, prepared, as he saw, for battle. *So* he engaged them, and after a brief resistance, routed them *and* started in pursuit. 3 But as *the Judeans* burst into the first wall, the Romans, following closely, penetrated *into the wall* together with them. 4 But when the *Judean* fugitives endeavored to get within their second wall, their own fellow-citizens shut them out, terrified that their foes would force their way in at the same time.

5 Now it was certainly God who brought the Romans to the wretched *Galileans*. And it was he who, at this time, caused those in the city to be excluded by the hands of their own people, delivering them to their murderous enemies, to be completely exterminated. 6 *For* vainly did the swarming crowds batter the gates and implore the sentinels by their names to let them in; yet, they were slaughtered while their supplications were still on their lips. 7 And indeed, the first wall was closed to them by their foes, but the second by their own *comrades*.

8 Now enclosed *and* huddled together between the two enclosures, they were *killed* in great numbers; indeed, many impaled by the short-swords of their own comrades, but many by their own, while immense numbers were done away with by the Romans, without even having the heart to defend themselves. *For* to their consternation of their foes was added the betrayal of their own *comrades*, which crushed their souls. 9 As they were finally dying, they cursed not the Romans, *but* instead their own citizens, until they all perished, numbering 12,000.

10 Now *Trajanus*, judging that the city was bereft of combatants, but also that any who still remained within would be paralyzed by anxiety, decided to reserve the capturing of the place for his general. *So* he dispatched messengers to *Vespasianus*, requesting him to send his son *Titus* to complete the victory.

11 But *Vespasianus*, conjecturing that some work still remained to be done, sent with his son reinforcements, consisting of 500 cavalry and 1,000 infantry. 12 Now *Titus* quickly marched to the city and drew up his army for battle. Indeed, he

posted Trajanus on the left wing, while he himself took *command of the right, and led them to the siege.*

13 Now as the soldiers were bringing up ladders to be laid against every portion of the wall, the Galileans briefly defended that enclosure, *but finally abandoned it.* **14** But at this, Titus' party scaled the walls, indeed instantly becoming masters of the city.

But within the walls, where the inhabitants had rallied to meet them, a fierce battle ensued. **15** For even the powerful *men* fell upon the Romans in the narrow alleys, and the women threw at them whatever came to hand. **16** And indeed, the fight was sustained for six hours. But finally, the more efficient-combatants were exterminated, but the rest of the multitude was then slaughtered, *both in the open and within their houses, both young and old alike.* For no males were spared, except infants; these, along with the women, *the Romans* sold as slaves. **17** Therefore indeed, those who were done away with, whether in the city or in the previous action, amounted in all to 15,000. But the captives numbered 2,130. **18** This disaster befell the Galileans on the twenty-fifth day of the month Daisios.

19 But the Samaritans did not escape their share of calamity. For gathering together on their own holy mountain called Gerizim, they indeed did not move from the spot; but both this mustering of the clan and their determined minds contained a menace of war. **20** And they did not learn anything from their neighbors' calamities. But the successes of the Romans only made them ridiculously conceited of their own feebleness, and they were eagerly contemplating the prospect of revolt.

21 Now Vespasianus decided to anticipate their movement and to curb their ardor. For although all of Samaria was already occupied by garrisons, both this gathered multitude and their confederacy gave ground for fear. **22** Therefore, he dispatched Cerealius, prefect of the fifth legion, to the spot with a force of 600 cavalry and 3,000 infantry. **23** Indeed, because their foes had such strength on the summit, *Cerealius* considered it hazardous to ascend the mountain and engage them in battle. But he confined himself to surrounding the entire base of the mountain with his force, *and kept strict guard on them throughout the entire day.*

24 Now it happened that the Samaritans were destitute of water during a period of a violent heatwave; *for it was the height of summer and the multitude had not laid up their necessaries.* **25** Indeed, the result was that several died of thirst that very day, while many others, preferring to be enslaved to such a fate, deserted to the Romans. **26** By these, Cerealius concluded that the rest, who still held together, were broken down by their sufferings. *So he ascended the mountain.*

And having disposed his forces in a circle around his foes, he indeed began by exhorting them to take his right hand *and come to terms with him; and to save themselves, assuring them of security if they would lay down their weapons.* **27** But when these *overtures* proved ineffectual, he attacked *and killed them, numbering 11,600 in all.* This was done on the twenty-seventh day of the month Daisios. And these indeed were the catastrophes which overtook the Samaritans.

CHAPTER 43 [War3:316-338 / Life:412a]

Now on the forty-seventh day of the siege, as the Jodphat defenders still held out courageously, and bore up under their miseries beyond all expectation, the Roman earthworks indeed overtopped the wall.

2 But that same day, a deserter sent out a message to Vespasianus *stating how few were left in the city and how weak they were,* **3** and that, worn out with perpetual watching and continuous fighting, they would indeed be unable to further resist a powerful assault, and that they might be caught by a deception, if the attempt were made. **4** For about the watch of the night (an hour both when they expected some respite from their sufferings and when weary *men* easily succumb to morning slumber), the sentinels used to fall asleep. Now this was the hour when he counseled *the Romans* to make their attack.

5 But *Vespasianus* indeed knew both how loyal the Judeans were to one another and their indifference to chastisement; **6** so he regarded this deserter with suspicion. *For on a former occasion, a man of Jodphat who had been taken prisoner, had held out under every torture; and without betraying to his foes a word about the affairs of the city, even under trial by fire, he was finally crucified, meeting death with a smile.*

7 Yet truly, the probability of his account lent credit to what this deserter had spoken. And indeed, thinking that the man was probably speaking the truth, indeed, even if his story were a trap, that no serious risk would be suffered by acting upon it, *Vespasianus* directed them to take *the man* into custody. But he prepared his army for the capture of the city.

8 Now according to this resolution, at the given hour, they silently advanced to the walls. **9** And the first to mount them was Titus himself, with one of the tribunes, Domitius Sabinus; and they were followed by a few men of the fifteenth

legion. **10** Now after they slaughtered the guards, they entered into the city. With them¹ was a certain tribune, Sextus Calvarius, and Placidus, *both of who* were leading—in the *soldiers who* were having been assigned under themselves.

11 Now *with the citadel* having been overtaken, and *while their foes* were being turned toward a location in the midst of the city, but similarly *while it was not-yet day, it was then that* a sensing of the capture of the city reached the Judeans *who* were being overpowered. **12** For many² of them were both worn out with labor and had been dissipated with slumber; and of the ones who rose themselves up, a thick mist, which happened at the time to envelop the city, obscured their sight. **13** *This happened* until, after all the Roman army fell into the city, they rose-up-out of slumber, only to gain the sense of the evil things happening to them. And it was only while they were being done-away-with, that they were having-faith in their capture.

14 But the Romans, remembering the things which they had suffered during the siege, showed no measure of pity for sparing anyone; instead, *while they were pushing the people together down the precipice from the citadel, they were murdering them.* **15** Even those who were still able to fight at this time, found themselves deprived of the ability to defend themselves due to the difficulties of the terrain. For being compressed in the narrow alleys and slipping down the precipice, they were engulfed in the war which was from the citadel.

16 This situation even drove many of the picked men of my party to kill themselves with their own hands. For when they found themselves powerless to do away with a single Roman, they resolved to prevent themselves from being slain by Roman hands; and retiring together in great numbers to the outskirts of the city, there they were done away with, slaughtering themselves.

17 Yet truly, the moment it was known that the city was taken, the Judean guards who had succeeded in escaping, took refuge in one of the northern towers; indeed, here they defended themselves for some time. But being surrounded by a multitude of their foes, they finally gave their right hands and cheerfully offered their throats to be cut by their assailants.

18 Now the Romans might have boasted that this last phase of the siege had cost no loss of blood, had not one of them, a centurion named Antonius, fell when the city was taken. But he died by treachery. For one of the many Judean fugitives who had taken refuge in the cave, besought Antonius to extend his right hand in pledge both to assure his salvation and to assist him in getting up. **19** Now the centurion incautiously complied, extending his right hand. And immediately that Judean from below poked him beneath the groin with his spear, and immediately made an end of him.

20 So indeed on that day, the Romans did away with all of the multitude who openly showed themselves. But on the ensuing days, they searched the hiding-places, and wreaked their vengeance on those who had sought refuge in the underground-passages and in the caves. And they spared none, regardless of age, except for infants and women. **21** And indeed, the total number of prisoners was 1,200, while the total number of corpses, whether dying in the final assault or in the previous combats, came to 40,000. **22** But Vespasianus directed for the city to be entirely demolished and had all its fortresses burned to the ground. **23** Therefore, this was indeed how Jodphat was taken, in the thirteenth year of the imperial-reign of Nerō, on the first day of the month Panēmos.

CHAPTER 44 [War3:340-392 / Life:412b]

Now a search was instituted by the Romans to find *me*, to satisfy both their own anger toward *me*, and the love-of-honor possessed by their own general (for he considered that the issue of the war depended largely on my capture). *So both the corpses and the men in hiding were thoroughly-examined.* **2** But when the city was on the point of being taken, *I*, as if aided by some demon, had indeed succeeded in withdrawing myself from the midst of our foes, *and plunged into a deep pit.* But *this pit* gave access on one side to a broad cave, unseen to those above ground. **3** Indeed, there *I* found forty distinguished men in hiding, but they had a supply of provisions sufficient to last for more than a few days.

4 Therefore indeed, during the day, *I* lay hid, since our foes occupied every quarter of the city. But at night, *I* would come up in order to look for some passage for escape, and would reconnoiter their guards. But finding every spot guarded on my account, *and that there were no means of eluding detection, I* again descended into the cave. **5** Therefore indeed, for two days *I* continued in hiding.

But on the third day, my hiding-place was betrayed when a woman who had been with *us* was captured. And at this, Vespasianus immediately sent two tribunes, Paulinus and Gallicanus, and directed them to both offer their right hands to *me*, and urge *me* to come up.

6 Accordingly, when they reached the spot where *I* was, they pressed *me* to do so and gave *me* assurances about my salvation. *But they failed to persuade me.* **7**

¹ literally "whom"

² literally "the many"

For my suspicions were based, not on the mild-temper of those who had invited me, but on being conscious that I would suffer proportionately for everything which I had committed *against them*. The anxiety that I was being summoned to receive retribution persisted, until Vespasianus sent a third tribune, Nikanōr. *This man was well-known to me and an old acquaintance of mine.*

8 Now when he had arrived, he elaborated upon the innate generosity of the Romans toward those whom they had once subdued. And he assured me that my excellence made me rather an object of admiration, than of hatred, to the leaders. 9 He also told me that the general was desirous to have me brought up from my retreat, not for retribution (for he could inflict this even if I refused to come forth voluntarily), but instead because he wanted to save a brave man. 10 But he said that had Vespasianus intended to entrap me, he never would have sent one of my friends to me; nor to use the fairest of virtues, friendship, to cover over the foulest of crimes, perfidy; nor would he himself have consented to come to me in order to delude a man who was a friend.

11 While I still hesitated, even after Nikanōr's assurances, the angered soldiers indeed attempted to set fire to the cave, but were restrained by their war-chief, who was zealous to take me alive. 12 But both as Nikanōr was urgently pressing his proposals, and as I learned about the threats of the warring multitude, a remembrance of the dream-visions which I had had throughout the night was entering my mind—those through which God had been presignaling to me both the misfortunes which are going to happen to the Judeans and the things about the Roman kings.

13 Now I was also adequate in regards to my judgment of dream-visions, and understood the ambiguous sayings of the Deity. Yet truly, being both a priest myself and a grandson of priests, I was not ignorant of the prophecies in the consecrated books. 14 At that time, I became full-of-god; and recalling the dreadful phantasms in my dream-visions, I offered up a silent prayer to God, 15 declaring:

“Since it pleases you, you who have created the Judean race, to break your settlement, but since fortune has entirely passed over to the Romans, and since you have chosen my soul to announce future things, I indeed willingly surrender my hands to the Romans and consent to live. But I call you to testify on my behalf, that I go, not as a traitor, but instead as your minister.”

16 When I had said these things, I was about to surrender to Nikanōr. And when the Judeans who had fled with me understood that I was yielding to the entreaty, they surrounded me in a body, crying out, “Ah! May the laws of our fathers groan aloud, and God himself hide his face for grief—God who has created souls in the Judeans which scorn death! 17 Are you such a lover-of-life, Joseph, that you can even endure to see a light in a state of slavery? How quickly have you forgotten yourself! You have persuaded many to loose their lives for freedom! 18 False, indeed, was that reputation of manhood; but also false is that reputation for wisdom, if you can yet hope for salvation, indeed from those whom you have warred against so bitterly, or, supposing that they grant it, can be willing to have your life preserved by their hands. 19 Not only this, but if the fortune of the Romans has cast over you some strange forgetfulness of yourself, the care of our fathers' honor devolves upon us. We will lend you a right hand and a short-sword. But indeed, if you die willingly, you will have died as general of the Judeans; but if unwillingly, as a traitor.”

20 With these words, they pointed their short-swords at me and threatened to do away with me if I surrendered to the Romans.

21 Although fearing an attack, I held that I would be a betrayer of God's orders if I were to die before delivering the message. So in this emergency, I proceeded to reason philosophically with them. 22 I declared:

“O my friends, why do we have such a mind to slaughter ourselves? Why sunder soul and body, which are such dear companions? 23 One says that I have changed. No! The Romans know the truth about that.

“Yet another says, ‘It is honorable to die in war.’ Yes, but according to the law of war; that is to say, by the hand of the conqueror. Therefore, if I were indeed avoiding death from the short-sword of the Romans, I assuredly deserve to perish by my own sword and my own hand. But if they are moved to show mercy to a foe, how much more should we have mercy upon ourselves and spare ourselves? For it would certainly be foolish to inflict upon ourselves a treatment which we seek to avoid by quarreling with them.

24 “For another declares, ‘It is beautiful to die in behalf of the freedom.’ I concur, however on the condition that one dies fighting, and is done away with by the hands of those who are depriving us of it. But in the present case, they are neither coming to fight us nor to do away with us. Now it is similarly cowardly not to wish to die whenever it may be necessary for him to do so, as well as to wish to die whenever it may not be necessary. 25 But what are we even terrified about that prevents us from going up to the Romans? 26 It is not death? If so, shall we inflict upon ourselves a certain death, to avoid the uncertain death which we are terrified to receive from our enemies?

“‘No, it is slavery we fear,’ some will say. Are we accordingly altogether free at present?

27 “For someone will declare, ‘It is noble for a man to do away with himself.’ No indeed, but most ignoble. And in my opinion, there could exist a no more arrant coward than the pilot who, terrified of a winter-storm, deliberately immerses his own seacraft prior to the hurricane.

28 “No, suicide is most repugnant even to that nature which is shared by all living things, and an act of impiety toward God who created us. 29 Yet indeed, among all living things, there is not one that seeks to die deliberately, or by its own means. For the will to live is a law so firmly rooted in all of them. That is also why we deem those who would openly snatch it from us to be our foes, and those who clandestinely attempt to do so receive retribution. 30 But do you not think that God is indignant when a human treats his gift with outrage? For it is even from him that we have received our being, and it is to him that we should leave the decision to snatch it away from us.

31 “Yet indeed, the bodies of everyone are mortal, and are composed of corruptible matter; but the soul is immortal, and is a portion of God housed in our bodies. Indeed, if any human who destroys or abuses a deposit entrusted to him by a fellowman is counted a wicked villain, how can the human who casts out from his own body the deposit which God has placed there, hope to elude him against whom he has acted unrighteously in this way?

32 “And indeed, it is considered righteous to punish a fugitive slave, even though the master he flees from is a wicked man. But how shall we endeavor to flee from the best of masters, from God himself, and not be sentenced as impious?

33 “Do you not know that those who indeed depart this life in accordance with the law of nature, and repay the debt which they received from God at the time when he who lent it is pleased to reclaim it, indeed win perpetual renown? But that their houses and families are secure? But that their souls remain pure and obedient, being allotted a heavenly place which is holy, from where, in the revolution of the ages, they return to find a new habitation in pure bodies? 34 While the souls of those who have laid insane hands against themselves, are indeed received by the darkest regions of the Netherworld; but that God, their father, even brings retributions upon the posterity of those who committed outrageous acts? 35 That is why this crime, so hateful to God, is also punished by the wisest of lawgivers.

36 “Accordingly, it is ordained in our laws, that the bodies of those who do away with themselves should be exposed without burial until sunset, and furthermore it is considered lawful even to bury our foes. 37 Now the laws of other nations even direct that the right hand of the corpse, with which a suicide victim made war on himself, should be cut off, holding that, as the body was unnaturally severed from the soul, so the hand should be severed from the body.

38 “Therefore, my comrades, it would be right for us to listen to reason, and not to add to our human calamities the crime of impiety toward our Creator. 39 If we think we should save ourselves, let us save ourselves. For there is also nothing dishonorable in accepting this offer from those to whom we have given so many demonstrations of our excellence. But if to die, it is honorable to die under the power of those who have conquered us.

40 “But for my part, I shall never pass over to the ranks of our foes, in order to be a traitor to myself. For even if I did, I would certainly be far more foolish than those who desert to our foes, since they do it for salvation; but I would be going to destruction, yet even my own destruction. 41 However, I am praying that the Romans may prove faithless; for if, after offering me their right hand, they do away with me, I will die content, carrying with me a consolation better than victory, that their triumph has been sullied by faithlessness.”

42 Therefore indeed, by these and many similar arguments, I sought to deter these men from suicide. 43 But desperation had stopped their ears (since they had long since devoted themselves to this death) and they were infuriated with me. So they ran at me with short-swords in hand, one from one side, and another from another, and called me a coward. But as each one was on the point of striking me, 43 I addressed one of them by name, but fixed my eye like a general on another, but clasped the hand of a third, but shamed a fourth by entreaty. And being torn by all manner of emotions at this critical moment that enveloped me, I succeeded in warding off every one of their iron weapons from slaughtering me, like a beast encompassed by hunters on every side, who turns itself against whichever last assailed it.

44 But even in this extremity, they still held me, as their general, in reverence. Indeed, their right hands were powerless, but their short-swords glanced aside; and many, in the act of thrusting at me, spontaneously dropped their long-swords.

45 But in these straits, I was not destitute of my resource. Instead, putting faith in God's foresight, I put my life into hazard, 46 and declared, “Since we are resolved to die, come, let us allow the lot to decide the order in which we are to slaughter ourselves. 47 Now let the man to whom the lot falls first, be killed by the man who has the second lot. And in this way, fortune will take her course through everyone; but not one of us will have to die by our own right hand. For when the rest are gone, it would be unrighteous for anyone to change his mind in order to save himself.”

48 The things *I* said seemed to instill confidence, and they were persuaded to draw lots. Now *I* drew one for *myself* as well. The *man* who had the first lot presented his throat to the next, in the assurance that *I*, their general, would also immediately die with them. For to them, the thought of *sharing* death with *me* was sweeter than life. 49 Now whether it happened by fortune or by God's foresight, *I* was left alone with one other. And since this man desired neither to be condemned by the lot, nor to be left to the last in order to stain his hand with the murder of his fellow-tribesman, *I* persuaded him, under a pledge, to remain alive *as well*. Therefore this was indeed how *I* escaped both the war with the Romans, and *the war* with those who dwelled with *me*.

CHAPTER 45 [War3:393-408 / Life:412b / Apion1:48a]

Nikanōr led *me* to Vespasianus. But all the Romans flocked together to see *me*. And as the multitude crowded around *me*, their general, a tumult of discordant voices arose. Indeed, some exulted at *my* capture, but some threatened, but some pushed forward to obtain a closer view. 2 And indeed, the more distant spectators clamored for the punishment of their foe, while those who were closer recalled *my* exploits and marveled at such a reversal of fortune. 3 Now of the leaders, there was not one who, despite whatever past anger *they had toward me*, did not, at that time, relent at the sight of *me*.

4 But in particular, Titus was specially moved, both by the fortitude *I displayed* under *my* misfortunes, and by compassionate pity for *my* age. Also, when he recalled that only a short while ago *I* was a combatant, but now lay in the hands of *my* enemies, he was led to reflect on the power of fortune, and indeed the sharp tip of the scales of war, but the overall instability of human affairs. 5 So at the time, he indeed induced many *Romans* to share his compassion for *me*. And his pleading with his father was the main influence in *my* salvation. 6 However, Vespasianus strictly ordered *me* to be guarded with every precaution, intending shortly to send *me* to Nerō.

7 On hearing this, *I* expressed *my* desire for a private interview with him. So Vespasianus directed everyone to withdraw with an exception of his boy Titus, and two of his friends.

8 *I* declared, "Indeed, Vespasianus, you imagine, that in the person of Joseph you have taken a mere captive. But I come to you as a messenger of greater *things*. For if God had not been sending me to you, I know the Judean law and how it becomes a general to die.

9 "Are you sending me to Nerō? For what reason? Do you think that Nerō and those *who are next in line* to succeed him prior to you will remain alive? You, Vespasianus, are Caesar and emperor, you and your boy here. 10 Now bind me even more securely in chains and keep me for yourself; for indeed, you, Caesar, are master, not only over me, but over earth and sea, and all humans. But if I have dared to trifle with anything of God, I certainly desire to receive retribution by stricter custody."

11 Indeed, at the moment, Vespasianus seemed to attach little credibility to what *I* had spoken, but he supposed that it was a trick of *mine* intending to bring about *my own* salvation. 12 But it was not long before he was convinced and believed that what *I* had spoken was true. For God was already rousing in him thoughts of *obtaining the* leadership, and by other signs foreshadowing the *royal* scepter.

13 But he also found that *I* had proved to have had spoken truth in other matters. For one of the two friends in attendance at the private interview declared, "If these words are not a vain *invention* of the prisoner in order to avert the anger which he has raised against himself, I cannot but wonder why Joseph neither foretold the fall of Jodphat to its inhabitants, nor his own captivity."

14 But to this, *I* declared, "I did foretell to the Jodphatians that their city would be captured after forty-seven days, and that I myself would be taken alive by the Romans."

15 When Vespasianus had privately questioned the captives about these predictions, he found them to be true. So he began to believe what concerned himself. 16 Therefore, he indeed did not release *me* from *my* custody and chains, but he compelled me to be continually in attendance on them; but he bestowed *me* with clothing and other precious gifts, and continued to treat *me* with both kindness and solicitude, with Titus warmly supporting him in these honors.

CHAPTER 46 [War3:409-442 / Life:414]

Now on the fourth *day* of the month of Panēmos, Vespasianus went off to Ptolemais. From there, he came to Caesarea-by-the-Sea. This was both one of the largest cities of Judah and inhabited primarily by Hellenes. 2 Now the citizens received the army and its general with blessings and congratulations of every kind; and this was prompted, indeed partly by goodwill toward the Romans, but mainly by enmity of the vanquished *Judeans*. And this *resentment* showed itself in a clamoring demand for *my* punishment. 3 But by his silence, Vespasianus dissolved this petition which was emanating from an incompetent multitude. 4 And it was by his direction that *I* married one of the women taken captive at Caesarea, a virgin, a native of that place.

5 Now of his three legions, two he indeed established for their winter-quarters in Caesarea, having found the city suitable for the purpose. But the fifteenth *legion* he sent to Skythopolis, in order that he might not constrict Caesarea with his entire army. 6 Now since Caesarea is situated in the plain and on the coast, its climate, like Skythopolis, is as warm in winter, as it is suffocatingly burning hot in the summer.

7 Now the *Judeans*, both those who had been driven from the cities by sedition, and the refugees whose homes had been destroyed, had united into no small multitude. To provide themselves with a base of operations, they rebuilt Japho, which had been recently desolated by Cestius. 8 And then, finding themselves cut off from the country, which had passed into the hands of their foes, they resolved to take to the sea. 9 They also built themselves a great many piratical seacrafts and made raids on the traffic along the coast of both Syria and Phoiniké, and *the route to* Egypt, also rendering navigation in those seas quite impossible.

10 Now as soon as Vespasianus had learned of this *gang*, he dispatched both infantry and cavalry to Japho, who, finding the city unguarded at night, entered it. 11 But its inhabitants had indeed received news of the coming attack; and in their anxiety, they made no attempt to oppose the Romans, but *instead* sought refuge in their ships, where they passed the entire night out of reach of their arrows.

12 Now nature had not provided Japho with a port. For it terminates in a rugged shore, which indeed runs for nearly its whole length in a straight line, but is slightly curved at its two extremities in crescent fashion. 13 But these horns consist of deep cliffs and reefs jutting far out into the open-sea. 14 But the north-wind, fully beats upon the shore and dashes the surge high against the face of the rocks, rendering this mooring more perilous to *sailors* than a desert.

15 It was here where those of Japho were tossing in *the sea*, when, toward dawn, a violent spirit burst upon them; it is called a 'Black-Norther' by the navigators in those parts. 16 And indeed, some of the ships were dashed to pieces against each other on the spot, but others were shattered upon the rocks. But many of *the ships* were forcing themselves against a surge into the open-sea; for *the men* had been anxious to *come-to-shore*, both, because the shore was rocky, and their foes *were* on it; so after the wave was lifted-up in suspense, it was immersing them. 17 Now there was neither means to flee, nor hope of salvation if they remained where they were; indeed, the violence of the wind repelled them from the sea, while the Romans *repelled them* from the city. And piercing indeed were the shrieks as the seacrafts collided, but fearsome the crash as they broke in pieces.

18 And of the multitude, indeed some, being covered by the surges, were being utterly-destroyed; but many were being entangled by the pieces-of-wreckage. But some, regarding the iron *sword* as a lighter evil than the sea, *were* doing-away-with themselves before they could drown. 19 Yet truly, the majority, being carried-out to shore by the surges, were mangled against the precipices. Indeed, much of the open-sea was red with their blood, but the seacoast was being filled with corpses; for even the Romans lining the shore were utterly-destroying the *ones who were* being brought-out onto the shore. 20 Now the number of bodies which were thrown-out of *the sea* amounted to 4,200. But after the Romans took the city without-battle, they *were* completely demolishing it.

21 Therefore, this was indeed how, after a short time, Japho was conquered by the Romans for the second time. 22 But Vespasianus, in order to prevent these pirates from recongregating there, established an encampment on the summit-city and left the cavalry in it with a small body of infantry. 23 Indeed, the *infantry* was to remain in the place in order to guard the encampment, while the cavalry *was* to ravage the vicinity and destroy both the village and small cities around Japho. 24 Therefore indeed, in obedience to these orders, they daily scoured the country, both pillaging and reducing it to an utter desert.

25 Now when the message concerning Jodphat's misfortune reached Jerusalem, it was indeed received at first with overall disbelief, because of the magnitude of the calamity and because no eyewitness had come to confirm the report. 26 For not one *man* had escaped as a messenger of the news. Instead, rumor, with its natural propensity to black tidings, spontaneously declared the news of the city's fall. 27 But little by little, the truth made its way from place to place, and was soon regarded by everyone as established beyond doubt.

Yet truly, the facts were also embroidered by fiction. For a message was circulated that *I*, Joseph, had also died *when the city* had been captured. 28 Now this *message* filled Jerusalem with the profoundest grief. Yet, indeed, in every house and family, the relatives mourned for the ones they had lost; 29 but the lamentation for the general was public. And indeed, some mourned for a guest-friend, but others for a relative, but others for a friend, but others for a brother, but everyone mourned for *me*. 30 This was indeed how for thirty days, the lamentations never ceased in the city, but many of the mourners hired flute-players to accompany their funeral dirges.

31 But when time revealed the truth and everything which had certainly happened at Jodphat, *my* death was found to be a fiction; but it became known that *I* was alive and in Roman hands, and *that I* was being treated by the leaders with respect exceeding the common lot of a prisoner. At this, the demonstration of their anger was as loud as the former expressions of goodwill which they had shown toward *me* when they had believed *I* was dead. 32 And indeed, some abused *me* as a coward, but others as a traitor; throughout the city there both was overall indignation, and revilement toward *me*.

33 But *the citizens* were aggravated by their reverses, and their misfortunes only added fuel to the flames. Yet truly, a defeat, which induces caution in wise *men*, as well as care to provide against similar misadventures, only spurred them to further calamities; and the end of one distress was always the beginning of the next. 34 Accordingly, thinking that their revenge on the Romans would allow them to also take revenge on *me*, they were resolved to *attack them* with greater anger. 35 Therefore, this was indeed the state of agitation prevailing in Jerusalem.

CHAPTER 47 [War3:443-461 / Life:351-353]

Now Vespasianus had gone to visit Agrippa's kingdom. For the king had invited him to come with the double objective of entertaining the leader *and* his army with all the wealth of his household, and of using their aid to quell the disorders within his government.

So leaving Caesarea-by-the-Sea, *Vespasianus* traveled to the other Caesarea called Caesarea-Philippoi. 2 Indeed, there, for twenty days, he rested his army, and he himself feasted *and* rendered thanksgiving to God for the successes which he had obtained.

3 Therefore, *now* that *I* was under Roman custody, it was a proper time for all of *the Tiberians*, no longer having anything to fear from *me*, to discard *their* weapons, and to align *themselves* with the king and *the* Romans, in order to clearly *show* that it was not *their* own freewill, but instead under compulsion, that *they* had fallen into war against them. But *they did not*. (And even while *I* was being besieged in Jodphat, *the seditious Tiberians* had killed 185 of *their* own citizens.)

4 Now as soon as *Vespasianus* received a message stating that Tiberias was disaffected, but that Tarichea had already revolted (both cities being part of Agrippa's kingdom), he thought that now was the time to march against these rebels, in pursuance of his fixed intention of crushing the Judeans wherever they rose, and *also* to oblige Agrippa *and* to repay his hospitality by recalling these cities of his to *their allegiance*.

5 So he sent his son Titus to Caesarea to fetch the army quartered there, that he might march them to Skythopolis, the largest city of the Ten-Cities and in the vicinity of Tiberias. 6 And there, *Vespasianus* proceeded to receive his son. And then, advancing with three legions, he encamped 30 stadia from Tiberias, at a station called Sinnabra, which was well within the view of the revolutionaries.

7 Now from there, he sent the decurion Valerianus with fifty cavalry to make peaceful proposals to the citizens and to urge them to make a treaty; for he had heard that overall the populace indeed desired peace, but were overruled *and* had been driven into waging war by some of the seditious individuals.

8 Now Valerianus advanced on horseback; on approaching the wall, he both dismounted and directed his troops to do the same, in order to prevent any suspicion that they had come to fire projectiles. 9 Before any parley had taken place, the powerful men of the sedition sallied out in arms to meet them. Now their leader was a man named Jeshua *the* boy of Shaphat, the ringleader of this band of brigands.

10 But Valerianus thought that, regardless of the certainty of victory, it was imprudent to fight them in defiance of his general's instructions; and, moreover, that it was dangerous to face a large *army* equipped for battle with only a small and unprepared force. 11 And he was taken aback by the unexpected boldness of the Judeans. So he fled on foot, with five of his companions likewise abandoning their horses. Jeshua's party brought back these horses to the city in triumph, rejoicing as if they had taken them in a battle *and* not by a surprise attack.

12 Dreading the consequences of this *incident*, the aged and its more respected of the populace indeed fled to the Roman encampment. 13 Now after obtaining the king's support, they threw themselves down before Vespasianus, entreating him not to disregard them, nor to impute the madness of a few to the whole city; 14 but to spare a populace who had always had a friendly mind toward the Romans, and to bring retribution upon those who were responsible for the revolt, under whose power they themselves had been kept to this day, though they had long been desirous to give them their right hands *in security*.

15 The general, though angered at the whole city on account of the captured horses, complied with the king's entreaties, for he saw that Agrippa was seriously concerned about the city. 16 Now they accepted their right hands *in pledge*. At this, Jeshua's party, thinking themselves no longer safe at Tiberias, cast aside their weapons out of fear, and fled to Tarichea.

17 And the next day, Vespasianus sent Trajanus forward to the mountain-summit to discover whether the whole multitude was peaceably disposed. 18 Now

as soon as he was assured that the populace was of one mind with the petitioners, he then advanced with his force to the city.

Now when he had arrived, the citizens both opened their gates to him, and went out to meet him with acclamations, and hailed him as savior and benefactor. 19 But since the soldiers were incommoded by the narrowness of the entrances, Vespasianus directed for a part of the south wall to be broken down, *and so* opened a broad passage *for his soldiers*. However, in order to show favor to the king, he transmitted a message to them, *ordering them* to abstain from rapine and wanton-violence; also for the same reason, he spared the walls, after receiving a guarantee from Agrippa for the future *loyalty of the inhabitants*. So by these means, he revived a city which had been sorely afflicted by the sedition.

CHAPTER 48 [War3:462-505]

Vespasianus, then continuing his march, encamped between both Tiberias and Tarichea; he also enwalled *his camp* with more than ordinary care, in anticipation of being forced to remain there due to a prolonged war. 2 For all of the revolutionaries were flocking into Tarichea, relying upon both the strength of that place and its proximity to the lake, which the natives of that place call Genusar.

3 For indeed, the city itself is built like Tiberias, at the base of the mountains. In fact, with the exception of the side washed by *the* waves of the lake, *I* had completed fortified *this city* with walls, however not as strongly as the ones at Tiberias. 4 For indeed, *I* had fortified Tiberias at the beginning of the revolt, when *I* had plenty of money and great power, whereas Tarichea only obtained the remnants of *my* love-of-honor. 5 But *the inhabitants* had many seacrafts ready on the lake, to serve as a refuge in case they were defeated on land. And these were equipped for naval combat, in case they were required for that purpose.

6 But while the Romans were entrenching their encampment, Jeshua's party, undeterred by the great number and orderly discipline of their foes, made a sally *upon them*. 7 And at the first onset, they dispersed the workmen *and* pulled down a portion of the wall. But when they saw the heavy-armed *soldiers* mustering, they hastily retired back to their own party, before sustaining any loss.

But the Romans pursued them, driving them to their seacrafts. 8 And indeed, launching out *into the lake* only far enough to leave the Romans within bowshot, they then cast anchor. And closing their ships one against another like a phalanx, they fought their foes from the sea, who were on land. 9 But when Vespasianus heard that a great multitude of *Judeans* had gathered together in the plain outside the city, he sent his son there with 600 picked cavalry.

10 But when Titus perceived that his foes were very numerous, he indeed sent word to his father, informing him that more forces were required. But indeed he observed that most of his cavalry were burning for action and this without waiting for the arrival of the reinforcements, but there were some who betrayed secret dismay at this multitude of Judeans. So he stood in a place where he was audible to everyone, 11 declaring to them:

"O Romans! For it is proper for me, at the beginning of my address, to remind you of the name of your race, that you may keep in mind who you are *and* whom we must fight. 12 Yet truly, up to this point, there is no region in the inhabited *earth* which has succeeded in escaping our hands. But so far, the Judeans, to also give them their due, have staunchly refused to accept defeat. And if they, in their miseries, continue to stand fast, would it not be disgraceful for us to grow weary under our good-fortunes?

13 "Indeed, I rejoice to see in your faces such admirable ardor. But I am anxious that the multitude of our foes may have inspired some of you with unnoticeable consternation. 14 Let such a person reflect once more who he is, and against whom he is going into battle. Let him indeed remember that the Judeans, however dauntless and scorners of death they may be, are instead both undisciplined and unskilled in war, and deserved to be called a mere crowd, rather than an army.

"But of our experience and our discipline, is there any need to speak? However, this yet is the reason why we, alone of all *nations*, exercise ourselves in arms during time of peace, so that in time of war, we do not need to contrast our numbers with those of our rivals. 15 What would be the advantage of this perpetual military-training, if we must be equal in numbers to those who have not received it *even* before we array *ourselves* against them?

16 "But also consider, that you will be contending against light-armed *men*, while you are heavy-armed *soldiers*; and that you are cavalry against infantry; and that they are without a general, while you have a general. So indeed these advantages greatly multiply your effective strength, but our foes' disadvantages greatly detract from theirs.

17 "Now wars are not won by multitudes of humans, however efficient the *men*, but by manliness, however few the *men*. Yet indeed, small *forces* are also easily maneuvered and brought up to support one another, whereas unwieldy forces do themselves more injury than they receive from their *own* foes.

18 "Therefore indeed, Judeans are led on by audacity and temerity and despair; indeed, by emotions which are vigorous during success, but are extinguished by the slightest misstep. But we are led on by a valor, and a

discipline, and a heroism which, while certainly seen to perfection when favored by good-fortune, are never overthrown in failure.

19 "And not only this, but you will be contending for a higher cause than the Judeans. For although they face war on behalf of freedom and because their fatherland is in jeopardy, what higher motive could there be for us than glory; and the determination, that after having dominated the inhabited *earth*, not to allow the Judeans to be regarded as a rival for ourselves?"

20 "Nor should you forget that we have no incurable disaster to fear. For our reinforcements are numerous and at hand. But we are able to seize a victory *ourselves*, and we ought to anticipate the arrival of the auxiliaries now on their way from my father. For our triumph will be more glorious if unshared. 21 But I myself believe that in this hour, my father and I and you are all put to the trial; indeed it will be seen whether he is really worthy of his past successes, but whether I am worthy to be his son, but you to be my soldiers. For victory to him is even habitual; *but* how could I dare to return to him if defeated? 22 But how could you elude being shamed, if you fail to show equal courage with your leader who goes before you into danger? For I will certainly go before you, and will be the first to attack our foes. 23 Now do not fail me; have confidence that I have the assistance of God, and that he supports my ardor. Be assured that, beyond mere victory in this battle outside *the walls*, we shall achieve further success."

24 As Titus was saying these things, a demonic frenzy took possession of his men. And before the engagement, when Trajanus joined them with 400 cavalry, *his men* were vexed as though the credit for the victory would be robbed by the *arrival of these reinforcements from his father*.

25 Now at the same time, Vespasianus sent Antonius Silo with 2,000 archers, directing them to occupy the mountain opposite the city, *and* to repel those who were upon the wall. 26 And indeed, these *soldiers*, in accordance with these orders, prevented any who were attempting to assist *the Judean army outside*.

But Titus now led the charge, spurring his horse against his foes. And behind him, *his men* came with loud shouts, deploying themselves across the plain so as to fully cover their foes' front; and by these means, they appeared much more numerous than they really were.

27 Now the Judeans, though dismayed by both the impetuosity and good order of this attack, indeed resisted *the Roman* charges for a little while. But being poked by the *polearms* and being overthrown by the whizzing of cavalry, they fell, *and* were trampled underfoot. 28 Now when the plain was covered on all sides with murder-victims, they dispersed and fled to the city, as fast as each *man* was able.

29 Now Titus, hotly in pursuit, indeed did away with the laggards in the rear, but made lanes through their bunched masses. But riding ahead of them, he met them at the front and charged through them. But he dashed upon the groups which had fallen one upon another, trampling them to pieces. 30 Now in a word, he sought to intercept their retreat to the wall, and to steer them off into the plain; until finally, by superior numbers, *the Judeans* succeeded in forcing a way through and flinging themselves into the city.

31 But there a new *and* terrible sedition awaited them. For indeed, the indigenous inhabitants, intent on *preserving* their property and their city, had disapproved of waging war from the beginning; and now, after this defeat, were more opposed to it than ever. 32 But *the crowd* from outside the city, a numerous body, were only even more determined to hold them to it. So there were mutual angry recriminations *from within*, along with both shouts and uproar.

33 Now Titus overheard this commotion (for he was not far from the wall). So he cried out, "Fellow soldiers, now is the time! Why delay when God himself is delivering the Judeans into our hands? Hail the victory that is given to you. 34 Do you not hear that clamor? They are striving with one another—those men who have just slipped through our hands. The city is ours if we make haste. But besides haste, we need effort and resolution; for no great success comes without risk. 35 But we must not wait until concord is reestablished among our foes, for necessity will soon compel them to reconcile. And let us not wait for assistance from our own *men*, so that, few as we are, we may be victorious over such a great multitude and may take the city by ourselves alone."

36 As soon as *Titus* has said these things, he leapt onto his horse and rode down to the lake, marched through the water, and was the first to enter the city, soon followed by *his men*. 37 But terror-struck at his audacity, none of the *Judeans* upon the walls dared venture to fight or resist him. Indeed, everyone abandoned their posts *and* fled. But some of *Jeshua's* party fled across country, 38 while others ran down to the lake where they ran head-on into their foes; but others were killed, indeed while boarding their seacrafts, but others as they endeavored to swim out to their companions who had previously gained open water.

39 But there was also a great murder within the city itself, indeed without discrimination between the foreigners who had not succeeded in escaping and were now arraying *themselves* against them, and *between* the residents who offered none (for they had avoided fighting in hope of receiving his right hand *in security*, as well as out of a consciousness that they had never taken counsel to be

at war). 40 But finally, after the true culprits had been done away with, Titus took pity on the inhabitants of the place *and* stopped the murder. 41 And indeed, those who had taken refuge on the lake, when they saw that the city had been taken, sailed off, keeping as far as possible out of range of their foes.

42 Now Titus dispatched one member of his cavalry to convey the good-message of this achievement to his father. 43 Now *Vespasianus*, as was to be expected, was highly delighted at his boy's excellence and at the success of his actions, for these things seemed as if they were the termination of a serious part of the war. Indeed, he, instantly going there himself, directed *his men* to keep a strict guard around the city in order to prevent any from escaping, and to kill [any who attempted to do so].¹

44 Now on the next day, he went down to the lake *and* directed that rafts should be constructed for the pursuit of the fugitives. But with both an abundance timber and a multitude of artisans, *the rafts* were soon made ready.

CHAPTER 49 [War3:506-521]

Now Lake Genusar indeed derives its name from the adjacent country. Now its breadth is 40 stadia, and its length 140. Despite its extent, its waters are both sweet to the taste and drinkable. 2 For even clearer than marsh water with its thick sediment, it is perfectly pure; every edge *of the lake* ends in pebbly or sandy beaches. But when drawn, *the water* is temperate; indeed, it is more soothing than river or spring *water*, but due to the lake's great expanse, it is invariably cooler than one would be led to expect. 3 For indeed, when one exposes *this water* to the air, it becomes as cold as snow, as the people of the country are in the habit of doing during the summer nights. Now *the lake* contains several kinds of fish, differing both in taste and appearance from those found elsewhere.

4 Now the Jordan runs through the middle of the lake. And indeed, the apparent source of the Jordan is thought to be Paneion, but in reality, it rises from the pool called Phialé from which it passes by an unseen subterranean channel to *Paneion*. 5 Now *Phialé* is found 120 stadia away from Caesarea, on the right side of the road ascending to Trachōn and not far from it. 6 Therefore indeed, *the pool* derives its name Phialé from its form, circular like a wheel. But its water always fills the basin to the brim without ever subsiding or overflowing. 7 But it was long unknown that this was the true source of the Jordan. This fact was proved by Philippos, tetrarch of Trachōn; 8 for he had chaff thrown into Phialé *and* found it cast up at Paneion, where the ancients believed that the river had its origin. 9 Therefore indeed, the natural beauties of Paneion have been embellished by the royal liberality of Agrippa, *and* adorned at great expense.

10 Now after issuing from this cavern, the Jordan, whose course is now visible, indeed intersects the marsh-meadows and swamps of Lake Samchuna. Now after it runs another 120 stadia, it first passes below the city of Julias, *and* then runs through the middle of Lake Genusar, from which, after meandering through a long desert, it ends by falling into the Lake of Asphalt.

11 Now skirting Lake Genusar, lies a country bearing the same name; both its natural properties and beauty are very remarkable. For there is not one kind of tree which its fertile soil refuses to produce, and in fact, its cultivators grow all kinds of trees there. But the air is so well-tempered that it suits even the most opposite varieties. 12 Yet indeed, the walnut, *a tree* which delights in the coolest climate, flourishes there luxuriantly. There are *also* palm trees, which are nourishing in a hot climate; but *also* fig trees and olive trees, which require a milder climate. 13 One may call this place nature's love-of-honor, where it has forced the most discordant kinds to collect in a single spot; and that, by a happy rivalry, as if each of the seasons wished to claim this region for their own. For not only does *this country* have this surprising merit of producing such diverse kinds of fruits; instead, it also preserves them. 14 Yet indeed, throughout ten consecutive months, it supplies *men* with the principal fruits: both the grape and the fig. But the rest *of the fruits* ripen on the trees throughout the entire year.

For besides being favored by its good climate, the country is watered by a highly fertilizing spring, which the countrymen call Kefar-Nahum. 15 Because it produces a fish resembling the coracin found in a lake of the Alexandreians, some have thought this to be a branch of the Nile. 16 Now this region extends along the border of the lake which bears its name for a length of 30 stadia, and inland to a depth of 20. This is indeed the nature of this place.

CHAPTER 50 [War3:522-542]

But when his vessels were ready, Vespasianus put as much of his force onboard as he considered necessary to cope with the fugitives who were on the lake, *and then* launched after them. Now when *these Judeans* were surrounded, they could neither escape to land, where all were in arms against them, nor sustain a naval combat on equal terms. 2 For their seacrafts, being both small and built for piracy, were too weak to fight with *Vespasianus'* rafts; and each were manned by no

¹ Possible text restoration due to a conjectural lacuna.

more than a few men who were *too* terrified to draw near to the great numbers of Roman assailants. **3** But nevertheless they sailed around the rafts.

Now occasionally they even approached *the vessels*, throwing stones at the Romans from a distance, or coming alongside, struck them at close range. **4** But in both of these maneuvers, they sustained greater injury to themselves. For the stones they threw produced nothing but a continuous rattle; for they struck men who were well-protected by armor, while they were themselves exposed to the Romans' projectiles. And when they ventured to draw near to *the Romans*, they instantly suffered *even* before they could inflict any harm, and were immersed, together with their seacrafts.

5 But as for those who tried to break through the line, *the Romans*, indeed able to reach them with their polearms, ran many through. But sometimes, *the Romans* leaped upon their seacrafts with short-swords in hand. But other times, the rafts closed in and *the Romans* caught *the Judeans* between them, immediately capturing *both* the fishing-boats *and* the men within them.

6 But as for those who were immersed in the sea, if they rose to the surface, they were quickly killed by projectiles or overtaken by one of the rafts. And if in their despair they attempted to swim to their enemies, the Romans cut off their heads or their hands.

7 Indeed, these *Judeans* were destroyed on all sides in both countless numbers and in *countless* manners, until the survivors were routed *and* forced to land, while the fishing-boats surrounded them. **8** But as they streamed ashore, many were indeed repulsed, shot down by javelins while *still* in the lake; but many *others* sprang on land, where they were utterly-destroyed by the Romans. Now the entire lake could indeed be seen, red with blood, but covered with corpses; for not a *man* escaped.

9 Now during the following days, that region both reeked with a dreadful stench, and *displayed a dreadful* spectacle. For the shores were strewn with wrecks and swollen with bodies. But as the corpses were scorched *by the sun* and clammy in decay, they polluted the air, to the extent that the catastrophe which plunged the *Judeans* into mourning, instead even instilled those who hated them with disgust. **10** This was indeed the result of this naval-battle. Now those who died, including those who had previously fallen in the city, numbered 6,700.

11 Now after the battle, Vespasianus took his seat on his tribunal at Tarichea, but separated the countrymen from the strangers (for it was *the strangers* who had evidently signaled the war). Then he consulted with his leaders whether the lives of *the natives* should also be saved.

12 Now everyone unanimously declared, that their liberation would be pernicious. For once dismissed, these humans, who would indeed be deprived of their fatherlands, would never remain quiet. But they would also be able to compel those, with whom they fled, to wage war against them.

13 Indeed, Vespasianus acknowledged that they did not deserve to be saved, and that they would only abuse their freedom to the detriment of their liberators. But he *still* asked himself how he could do away with them. **14** For even if he killed them on the spot, he suspected that he would bitterly alienate the countrymen (for they would not tolerate the murder of so many who had supplicated him). And he could not bring himself to let them go, and then, after giving them his assurances, to advance upon them.

15 But in the end, his friends forcibly prevailed, by telling him that nothing done against the *Judeans* could raise a question of impiety, and that he ought to prefer expediency before propriety when the two were incompatible.

16 Therefore *Vespasianus* granted *these strangers* ambiguous amnesty, permitting them to leave the city only via a single route, the one leading to Tiberias. **17** But prompt to believe what they desired to be true, *these men* set out in complete confidence, carrying their effects without any disguise, in the prescribed direction. Indeed, the Romans seized the entire road leading to Tiberias, in order to prevent them from deviating from it; but on their arrival, they were shut up in the city.

18 Then Vespasianus arrived, *and* had them all removed to the stadium. And he indeed directed that the old, as well as the unserviceable men, who numbered 1,200, be done away with. **19** But from the youths, he selected 6,000 of the most robust, sending them to Nerō at the isthmus. And the remainder of the multitude, numbering 30,400, he sold, with an exception of those whom he made as a present to Agrippa. **20** For *Vespasianus* gave *Agrippa* permission to deal with the former subjects of his kingdom as he pleased; but the king also sold them. **21** Yet however, the remainder of the crowd consisted primarily of Trachonites, and Golanites, and Hippenes, and Gaderites; the majority being seditious individuals and fugitives, and whose careers were so infamous that they preferred war before peace. Now their capture took place on the eighth *day* of the month Gorpaios.

CHAPTER 51 [War4:1-30]

Now all those Galileans who still remained in revolt from the Romans after the fall of Jodphat, did, at the conquest of Tarichea surrender. And the Romans received the submission of all the fortresses and cities, with an exception of Gish-Halav and those who had occupied Mount Tabor. **2** But also Gamala, a city

situated on the other side of the lake opposite Tarichea was also in league with *these rebels*. Now *Gamala* formed part of *the territory* allotted to Agrippa, like both Suginin and Seleukeia, both of which were indeed in Golan. For *Suginin* was part of what is called Upper Golan, but *Gamala* of the Lower. Now Seleukeia was situated near Lake Samchuna. **3** Indeed, this lake is 30 stadia in breadth, but 60 in length. Now its marsh-meadows extend as far as Dafneh, which in other respects is a delightful place and has springs which feed what is called Little Jordan, beneath the inner-sanctum of the golden calf, *and* sends it on its way to the greater *river*.

4 Therefore indeed, at the very beginning of the revolt, Suginin and Seleukeia had been induced by Agrippa to come to terms; but *Gamala* refused to surrender, relying even more confidently than Jodphat upon the natural difficulties of its position. **5** For from a lofty mountain, a rugged spur descends, rising in the middle to a hump; but the declivity from *the hump's* summit is the same length on both sides, so that the ridge resembles the figure of a camel; this is the origin of its name.¹ **6** Indeed, its sides and face are completely surrounded by inaccessible ravines; but at the tail end, where it hangs on to the mountain, it is somewhat easier to approach. But this quarter has also been rendered difficult to access, since its inhabitants have cut a trench across it.

7 Now the houses were built against the steep *mountain* flank, terrifyingly huddled together, one on top of the other. This perpendicular site also gave the city the appearance of being suspended in air as if it would fall headlong upon itself. **8** And indeed it faces south; but its southern barrow, which rises to an immense height, formed the citadel. Now below this, an unwall'd cliff descended to a ravine of immense depth. Now there was a spring within the walls at the town limits.

9 This city, which nature had rendered so impregnable, *I* had enwalled, making it still stronger with underground-passages and trenches. **10** Now those who *lived* in it indeed had greater confidence in the nature of their place than the Jodphatians had been, but they were far inferior to them in the number of combatants. And such confidence did they have in *their position*, that they would admit no more. For due to the strength of the city's defenses, it was packed with fugitives; and on this account, they were enabled to hold out for seven months against those whom Agrippa had previously sent to besiege it.

11 Now Vespasianus left Hamath, where he had previously encamped before Tiberias. (Now Hamath may be interpreted as 'a warm bath'; for there is a fountain of warm water within *the city* possessing healing properties). He proceeded to Gamala. **12** And indeed, he found that the city's situation prevented him from completely encompassing it, but he posted guards wherever it was practicable, and occupied its overhanging mountain. **13** Now as the legions were, according to custom, enwalling their camps on these heights, *Vespasianus* also indeed commenced earthworks to be raised at the tail end. *The earthworks* on the east of the ridge, opposite the point where the city's highest tower stood, were raised by the fifteenth legion. And *the earthworks* opposite the city's center were undertaken by the fifth *legion*, while the tenth *legion* was employed in filling up the trenches and ravines.

14 And even during this time, King Agrippa approached the walls, and attempted to speak with the defenders about capitulation. *But* his right elbow was struck by a stone from one of the slingers. **15** And indeed, at once, his companions surrounded him. But the Romans, due both to anger on the king's behalf, as well as to their own anxiety, were stimulated to press the siege. **16** For they were convinced that *men* who could so savagely attack a fellow-tribesman, and one who was a counselor for *nothing but* what was for their own welfare, would shrink from no excess of cruelty toward foreigners and foes.

17 Therefore, with such a multitude of hands accustomed to such work, the earthworks were rapidly completed, and the machines were brought into position. **18** But Charés and Joseph (for they were the most powerful *men* in the city), drew up their heavy-armed *soldiers*; *but the men* were already frightened by the thought that, due to a deficiency of water and other necessities, they would be unable to withstand the siege for long.

19 But *their leaders* encouraged them *and* led them out upon the wall. And for a little *while*, they repelled those who were bringing up the machines, but the ammunition from the catapults and rock-launchers drove them back into the city. **20** Then the Romans applied the rams at three different quarters; indeed, they violently-shook the wall *and it collapsed*. But pouring through the breach with mighty trumpet-blasts, and clashing of weapons, *and* battle cries, they engaged those who were inside the city.

21 Now indeed when the Romans first entered, *these citizens* held their ground, preventing their further advance, and they stubbornly repulsed them. **22** But overpowered by numbers and by them pouring in on all sides, *the Romans*

¹ Deleted Remark "although the natives pronounce the sharp sound of *the name* inaccurately" [They slurred the sharp 'K' into 'I', calling it 'Gamala' not 'Kamala'. The remark is made purely from the Greek point of view. Camel, both in Hebrew (Gamal) and in Aramaic (Gamla) has an initial G.]

fled to the upper parts of the city. And there, wheeling around *to attack* their pursuing foes, *the citizens* thrust them downhill, doing away with them while they were compressed by the narrowness and difficulties of the terrain.

23 Now the *Romans* were unable, either to defend themselves from *the citizens* above them, or to force their way back through their own *men* who were pressing forward *from* behind. So they took refuge on the roofs of their foes' houses (for they were low to the ground). 24 But these *houses*, being crowded with *soldiers* and unable to bear their weight, suddenly caved-in. But when one house collapsed, it brought down several others beneath it, and these again carried away those further down. 25 This *disaster* was the ruin of multitudes of Romans; for although they saw the houses subsiding, they had nowhere else to turn, and they continued to leap onto the roofs. And indeed, many were buried by the ruins; but many who tried to escape from under them were pinned down by some part of their bodies; but even more were done away with, being suffocated by the dust.

26 The Gamalites, supposing this to be the cooperation of God, and neglecting the damage which was laid upon themselves, pressed forward. They both forced their foes, who were stumbling in the steep alleys, up onto the roofs; and with a continual fire from above, killed any of those who fell.

27 And indeed, the debris supplied them with enormous-rocks in abundance; but their foes' corpses supplied them with iron *blades*. For they wrested the short-swords from the fallen, using them to dispatch any *Romans* who were struggling against death.

28 Now when the houses were collapsing, many of *the Romans* flung themselves from the houses, dying from the fall. 29 But those who fled found flight no easy matter; for being so unacquainted with the roads, and because the *clouds of dust* were so thick, they failed to recognize each other, and fell *prey* to one another. 30 Therefore indeed, these fugitives, barely able to discover the ways out of the city, made their retreat.

CHAPTER 52 [War4:31-49a]

Now Vespasianus always kept close to his laboring *soldiers*; for he was anxious at the sight of the city falling in ruins upon his army. Forgetful of his own safety, he gradually and subconsciously advanced to the highest quarters of the city. Here he found himself left in the midst of danger with but a few followers. 2 For even his son Titus was not with him on this occasion, having been sent off at that time into Syria to Mucianus.

3 Therefore he indeed thought it was neither safe nor proper to turn back. But mindful of the hardships which he had borne from his youth and his innate excellence, he, like one inspired, linked his comrades together, with shields enveloping both bodies and full suits of armor, 4 but bore up against the attacks of his foes which streamed upon him from above. And so, undaunted by the multitude either of men or projectiles, he stood his ground, until his foes, impressed by his demonic soul, relaxed their ardor. 5 Now being less hard pressed, he retreated step by step, without turning his back, until he was outside the walls.

6 Therefore, indeed, in this battle, multitudes of Romans fell, including the decurion Aebutius, a man who had shown utmost nobility and inflicted the severest losses on the Judeans, not only in this battle in which he fell, but on all previous occasions.

7 Now there was a centurion named Gallus. When he, along with ten of his men (now he, like them, was a Syrian), were cut off in the fray, they indeed crept into a private house, 8 where he overheard the inmates taking counsel over supper concerning the populace's plans of attack on the Romans and of self-defense. So during the night, he arose and fell upon them and slaughtered them all, and, along with his men, made his way safely back to the Roman encampment.

9 But Vespasianus' army was despondent. This was due to their ignorance of reverses, and because they had never before met with such a disaster; yet truly, in addition to these *things*, they were even more ashamed of themselves since they had left their general to face the dangers alone.

10 Indeed, observing these things, he proceeded to console them. Lest he give the appearance that he was casting the slightest reflection upon them, he refrained from any mention of himself. But he said, "We ought to manfully bear misfortunes which are common to everyone; and *this*, by reflecting upon the nature of war, which never grants a victory without bloodshed; but how fortune is expendable for anyone, and returns to stand at hand.

11 "However, you have done away with tens of thousands of Judeans, *but* you yourselves have paid but a trifling contribution to the demon. 12 Now as it is a mark of vulgarity to be over-elated by success, so it is unmanly to be downcast in adversity; for the transition from one to the other is sudden; and the best *soldier* is the *man* who meets success with sobriety, so that he may still remain cheerful when contending with reverses. 13 However, what has now happened is attributable neither to any effeminacy on our part, nor to the excellence of the Judeans; instead, the sole cause of their superiority and of our failure was the difficulty of the terrain.

14 "In view of that, you might be blamed for your inordinate passion. For when our foes fled to higher ground, you should have restrained yourselves, and not, by pursuit, exposed yourselves to the dangers impending over your heads. But having mastered the lower city, you should have gradually lured the fugitives to a battle which was safe and on firm *ground*; but through your intemperate eagerness for the victory, you neglected your own safety.

15 "But thoughtlessness in war and mad passion are alien to us Romans, who owe all of our success to skill and discipline; instead, these things are barbaric, and to what the Judeans primarily owe their power. 16 Moreover, we ought to return to our *native* excellence; and to be moved, rather to fury than to despondency, by this unworthy reverse.

17 "But the best consolation should be sought by each *man* in his own right hand; for by this means, you will both avenge those who have been utterly-destroyed and requite those who have done away with them. 18 But for my part, I will try, as I have done, and will do in every battle, both to go first before you to face our foes, and to be the last to retire."

Therefore, by such words as these, *Vespasianus* indeed reanimated his armies.

CHAPTER 53 [War4:49b-83]

But the Gamalites indeed derived momentary courage from their great and unaccountable success. 2 But when they subsequently considered that they had deprived themselves of all hope of terms, and thought of the impossibility of escape (for their supplies had already failed them), they became terribly dejected and lost their souls. 3 Truly, they did not neglect to take what precautions they could for their salvation. Instead, even the bravest *among them* guarded the breaches *in the wall*, and the rest manned what still remained of the wall.

4 But when the Romans proceeded to strengthen their earthworks and attempted a second assault, many of *the citizens* began to flee from the city, either down through trackless ravines, where no guards were posted, or through the underground-passages. 5 Yet truly, everyone who stayed behind out of terror of being caught, were perishing from hunger; for every quarter had been ransacked for provisions, being reserved for those capable of bearing arms. 6 And these were indeed the difficult circumstances which *the Gamalites* endured to the end.

But Vespasianus, making a minor diversion from the siege, undertook the task of subduing the occupants of Mount Tabor. This *place* lies halfway between the Great Plain and Skythopolis. 7 Indeed, it rises to a height of 30 stadia, and is nearly inaccessible on its northern slope; but its summit is a plain 26 stadia long, *completely* enwalled. 8 Now *I* had erected this extensive enclosure in forty days, having been supplied from below with both other materials as well as water, for the settlers were even solely dependent on rain water.

9 Therefore, because a vast multitude had gathered together at this spot, Vespasianus dispatched Placidus there with 600 cavalry. 10 Indeed, *Placidus*, finding it impracticable to ascend the mountain, made peaceable overtures to *the multitude*, offering his right hand *in pledge*, and exhorting them to accept the offer.

11 Now they descended, *but* with counter-designs of their own. For although Placidus addressed them mildly, his objective was to capture them in the plain. So they came down ostensibly in compliance with his proposals, *but* with the real intention of falling upon him while he was off guard.

12 However, Placidus' craftiness surmounted their own. For when the Judeans began to battle, he feigned flight. And having drawn his pursuers far into the plain, he suddenly wheeled his cavalry around and routed them. But most of them were indeed done away with, but the remainder of the multitude was intercepted by him, and prevented from reascending *the mountain*. 13 So *these fugitives* indeed abandoned Mount Tabor, fleeing to Jerusalem. But the natives, under an assurance of protection, but *also* pressed by the failure of their water-supply, surrendered both the mountain and themselves to Placidus.

14 Now at Gamala, the bolder *citizens* were indeed stealthily escaping, while the feebler *ones* were being utterly-destroyed by a famine. 15 But the effective combatants continued to sustain the siege until the twenty-second *day* of the month Hyperberetaios. At that time, about morning watch, three soldiers of the fifteenth legion crept up to the base of a projecting tower opposite to them, and began quietly undermining it. 16 Now the guards stationed above failed to sense them (for it was night), either when they approached or after they had reached it. But these soldiers, with as little noise as possible, even succeeded in rolling away its five chief stones; and then they hastily returned.

17 But at this, the tower suddenly collapsed with a tremendous crash, and its guards were indeed carried headlong with it. But the guards at the other posts fled in bewilderment; 18 and many who ventured to cut their way out were utterly-destroyed by the Romans. And one of these was Joseph, who was done away with by a missile while making his escape across the breach in the wall.

19 Now those throughout the city, confounded by the crash, both ran here and there in great trepidation, and believed that all of their foes had fallen upon them. 20 And at the same moment, Charés, who was bedridden and in the hands of healers, departed, his anxiety largely contributing to the death caused by his

sickness. **21** Yet truly, the Romans, remembering their former disaster, deferred from entering *the city* until the twenty-third *day* of the month.

22 Now on that day, Titus (for he had now returned) was angry at the reverse which the Romans had sustained in his absence. *So* he selected 200 picked cavalry *and* a body of infantry, *and* quietly entered the city. **23** And the guards, indeed apprised of his entry, flew with shouts to arms.

But when the incursion was conspicuous to those *who were within the city*, indeed some, snatching up their children and dragging their wives after them, fled up to the citadel along with their wailing and weeping families. But those who faced Titus fell incessantly. **24** But any who lacked the means to run back to the top, were bewildered *and* fell into the hands of the Roman guards. Now on all sides, the ceaseless moan of those who were being murdered was *heard*, and the entire city had been flooding-over with blood pouring down the slopes. **25** But in order to aid *the attack* against those who had fled up the citadel, Vespasianus now brought in his entire force.

26 Now the summit was both completely rock-strewn and difficult to ascend; it towered to an immense height, and *was* surrounded with cliffs; everywhere yawned to the depth below. **27** Here the Judeans wreaked havoc among the advancing *enemy* with every species of projectiles, and with rocks which they rolled down upon them; while they, due to their height, were difficult to be hit by a projectile *from their enemies*.

28 But to seal their ruin, there arose such a demonic hurricane against their faces, that it indeed carried the Romans' projectiles against them, while reflecting and deflecting their own. **29** But due to the violence of the spirit, they were unable to retain a foothold firm enough to stand upon *the edge of the precipices*, nor to see their approaching *foes*.

30 Now the Romans mounted *the crest*, and indeed quickly surrounded them. Indeed, some *of the Judeans* resisted, but others held out their hands for surrender. But at the recollection of those who had been destroyed in the first incursion, *the Romans* whetted their fury against everyone.

31 But despairing of their salvation *and* surrounded on every side, many *of the Judeans* plunged themselves headlong off the precipices, along with their women and children, into the ravine. Now *this ravine* had been excavated to a vast depth beneath the citadel. **32** Now in comparison, the present anger of the Romans appeared to be more mild than the frantic self-immolation of the vanquished. Yet indeed, only 4,000 were slaughtered by the Romans, while those who threw themselves *over the cliff* were found to exceed 5,000.

33 But not a person escaped except for two women. Now they were daughters of Philippos' sister, but Philippos himself was *the son of Joakim*, a distinguished man who had been King Agrippa's tetrarch. **34** But these escaped, because at the time the city was taken, they had concealed themselves. For at that moment, the anger of the Romans was so *great* that they did not even spare infants; but time after time many were snatched up and slung *down* from the citadel.

35 This was indeed how Gamala was taken on the twenty-third *day* of the month Hyperberetaios, after a revolt which began on the twenty-fourth *day* of the month Gorpaios.

CHAPTER 54 [War4:84-120]

Now only Gish-Halav, a small city in Galilee, remained unsubdued. Indeed, its multitude was inclined to peace. For they were also primarily agricultural laborers, and whose entire hopes always depended on the fruits of the earth. But they had been afflicted by the invasion of numerous legions of brigands, from whom some members of the polity had caught the sickness.

2 Now it was Johanan son of Levi who had incited them to rebel and organized them for this purpose. He was a warlock and had a multi-colored character; indeed, he was always ready to indulge great hopes, but was an adept in bringing these hopes to realization. Now everyone knew that he was fond of the war in order to attain domination *for himself*. **3** Under him, the Gish-Halav insurgents marshaled themselves; and it was through their influence that the populace, who would otherwise probably have sent elders offering to surrender, now awaited the approach of the Roman war.

4 Now to meet these *insurgents*, Vespasianus indeed dispatched Titus with 1,000 cavalry, but he dismissed the tenth legion to Skythopolis. **5** But he himself, along with the two remaining *legions*, returned to Caesarea, both in order to refresh them after their incessant toil, and with the idea that the prosperity of the cities would both invigorate their bodies and impart fresh alacrity for future struggles.

6 For he foresaw that great hardship was in store for them around Jerusalem, seeing that it was not only the royal city and the capital of the whole nation, but the rendezvous to which all fugitives had flocked from the war. **7** Yet truly, the strength of its walls, both natural and artificial, caused him serious agony. But he conjectured that the manliness and boldness of its defenders would, even without walls, make it a difficult task to subdue them. **8** For this reason, he trained his soldiers, like athletes, for the undertaking.

9 Now Titus, as he rode up to Gish-Halav, indeed saw that the city might easily be taken by assault. But he knew that if it were taken by storm, the multitude would be utterly-destroyed by the soldiers. Now he was already satiated with murder, and pitied the majority who would be destroyed, without distinction, together with the criminals. *So* he preferred to induce the city to surrender to his terms.

10 And when he found the wall crowded with men, mainly of the corrupted legion, he declared to them, "On what are you depending, I wonder, since you alone have *dared* to stand out to face the Roman weapons, when every other city has been taken. **11** Especially when you have seen cities far stronger than your own overthrown by a single assault, while beholding the secure enjoyment of the possessions of everyone who has entrusted themselves to *the pledges offered* by the Romans' right hands, which I now extended to you without vindictive regard for your *former* obstinacy. **12** For hopes of freedom are pardonable, however there is no excuse for remaining in opposition under impossible conditions. **13** For, should you decline my humane proposals, and right hands *for security*, you will experience the relentlessness of my weapons and learn all too soon that your walls are a mere plaything for the Roman machines; because of your dependence on *these walls*, you alone of *all* the Galileans are displaying the obstinacy of prisoners."

14 Indeed, not one of the populace dared to answer this *speech*; instead, they were not *even* allowed to mount the wall; for its entirety had already been occupied by the brigands, and guards had been posted at the gates in order to prevent the rest from leaving to make terms, *as well as preventing* any of the cavalry from being admitted into the city.

15 But it was Johanan who answered, declaring, "I for my part, consent to these proposals; and I will either persuade or coerce obstinate *opponents*. **16** However, you, *Titus*, in deference to the Judean law, must permit us to *celebrate* this day (for it is the seventh *day*) on which we are forbidden, not only to resort to arms, but even to conclude a treaty of peace. **17** Now even you Romans are aware that the recurrence of the seventh day brings us repose from all labor. And the *man* who compels us to transgress this law is no less impious than those who are compelled to *transgress* it. But indeed, this delay can cause no injury; **18** for what counsel can be taken to *do anything* in a single night, except for flight, which you could completely prevent by encamping around the city? **19** Now there will be great gain for you if you spare us from transgressing our national customs. But, as the gracious bestower of an unexpected peace, the proper thing for you to do would be to watch over the laws as well as the salvation *of your beneficiaries*."

20 By such means, *Johanan managed* to trick Titus; for *Johanan* was not so much concerned about the seventh day as he was for his own salvation. But being anxious that he would be caught the instant the city was taken, he rested his hopes of life on fleeing during *the night*.¹

21 Now this was by the act of God, who was saving Johanan in order to bring ruin upon Jerusalem, that Titus was not only influenced by this pretext for delay, *but* instead even encamped farther from the city at Kedesh. **22** Now this strong inland village of the Zorites always had hatred and war against the Galileans, having both a multitude of inhabitants and stout defenses as travel-supplies behind it in its quarrel with the nation.

23 Now during the night, when Johanan saw no Roman guard about the city, he seized his opportunity; *and*, accompanied not only by his heavy-armed followers, *but* instead even by a huge number of non-combatants together with their families, he fled for Jerusalem. **24** Therefore, indeed, although for the first 20 stadia *the man* succeeded in dragging with him this crowd of women and children, he was goaded with fears of captivity and of losing his life. But after that point, he pushed on, leaving them behind; and terrifying were the lamentations of those whom he deserted.

25 For the farther each one was removed from his comrades, the nearer he believed himself to his foes. Also, believing that their captors were already upon them, they were panic-stricken and turned at every sound made by their *own comrades* in flight, under the impression that their pursuers had overtaken them. **26** Many of them strayed off the track; and on the highway, many were crushed in the struggle to keep ahead. **27** But pitiable was the destruction of the women and children. And some of them boldly called either their husbands or relatives to return, imploring them with lamentations to wait for them.

28 Instead, Johanan's orders prevailed. "Save yourselves!" he cried. "And flee to where you can have your revenge on the Romans if any who are left behind are caught by them!"

Therefore indeed, this multitude of fugitives straggled away, each one exerting the best strength *and* speed they had.

29 Now the next day, Titus came to the wall to conclude the treaty. **30** But the gates were opened to him by the populace; and they came out to him with their

¹ Literally "on night and flight"

women and children, hailing him as benefactor and the deliverer of their city from bondage. **30** For they proceeded to inform him about Johanan's flight, and besought him both to spare them, and to enter *the city* and punish the revolutionaries who remained.

31 But Titus, regarding the populace's petitions as of secondary importance, at once dispatched a squadron of cavalry in pursuit of Johanan. Indeed, they were unable to overtake him. For the fugitive had made a successful escape to Jerusalem. But of his fleeing companions, they indeed killed 6,000, but rounded up *and* brought back nearly 3,000 women and little-ones.

32 Now Titus was indeed mortified at failing to instantly wreak vengeance upon the delusion of Johanan. But with this multitude of prisoners and those who had been utterly-destroyed as a sufficient solace to his failed fury, he now entered the city amidst common acclamations. **33** And after directing his soldiers to pull down a small portion of the wall as a token of capture, he proceeded to repress the disturbers of the city's peace by threats *rather* than by punishment.

34 For he thought that, if he attempted to distinguish the offenders who deserved retribution, many out of private hatred and personal quarrels would inform against the guiltless. Now *he thought* it was better to leave the criminals in suspense *and* fear than to destroy them together with those who did not deserve it. **35** For indeed, the sinner might even learn wisdom through anxiety of chastisement *and* respect for the pardon granted to him for past offenses, whereas retributions *unjustly* inflicted could never be corrected.

36 However, he secured the city by placing a garrison within, calculated both to restrain the revolutionaries and to give confidence to those who had minds toward peace after he had left. Therefore, this was indeed how Galilee was entirely subdued, after affording the Romans a strenuous training before the impending Jerusalem *expedition*.

CHAPTER 55 [War4:121-161]

Now when Johanan entered the capital, the whole populace poured forth, and tens of thousands of them crowded around each of the fugitives, eagerly asking them what had happened abroad. **2** Now the newcomers were indeed betrayed by their shortness of breath, still hot and gasping, but they blustered under their misfortunes, declaring that they had not fled from the Romans, *but* had instead come to wage war against them on safe-ground.

3 For they said, "It would have been stupid and useless to recklessly risk our lives for Gish-Halav and such weak cities, when we should be laying up our weapons and energies for the metropolis, and combining to defend it." **4** Then they casually mentioned the capture of Gish-Halav and their own 'retreat', as they decently called it, though most of their hearers understood them to mean a flight.

5 However, when the populace was told about the prisoners, great consternation took possession of them; and they supposed that those things were plain indications of their own impending capture.

6 But Johanan was indeed little abashed at the desertion *of his friends*, but he went about among all the people, instigating them to the war by the hopes he raised. Indeed, he made out the Romans to be weak, while extolling their own power; **7** and he ridiculed the ignorance of the inexperienced.

"Even if they had wings, the Romans would never be able to surmount the walls of Jerusalem, *those men* who have *already* found such difficulty with *taking* the villages of Galilee, and have worn out their machines against their walls."

8 By these *words*, most of the youth were seduced into his service and incited to the war. But as for the sober and aged men, there was not one who failed to foresee the future *and* to lament for the city as if it had already vanished. **9** Therefore, this was indeed the confusion prevailing among the citizens.

But *even* before a sedition appeared in Jerusalem, it had already broken out among the multitude in the country. **10** For indeed, Titus moved from Gish-Halav to Caesarea, but Vespasianus proceeded from Caesarea to Jabneh and Ashdod. Having also reduced them both, and having stationed garrisons in them, he returned with a large multitude who had accepted his right hand *in security*.

11 But every city was *now* agitated by tumult and civil war. And the moment they had a respite from the Romans, they turned their hands against each other. Now between the enthusiasts for war and the desirers of peace, contention raged fiercely. **12** At the first, this love-of-strife indeed attacked those who had long been comrades. Then, the best of friends severed their connections; and joining those who shared their respective views, they arrayed themselves in an opposite multitude against one another from this point forward.

13 And indeed, seditions arose everywhere. But the revolutionaries and enthusiasts for war overpowered the old and sound-minded *men* by their youth and recklessness. **14** But first, the various groups indeed pillaged their neighbors. Then, banding together in companies, they carried their depredations throughout the country, to such an extent that in cruelty and transgression, the sufferers found no difference between fellow-tribesmen and Romans. And to be captured by the Romans seemed to be a lighter fate to the unfortunate victims.

15 Now the city garrisons, indeed from the reluctance to take risks, but *also* from their hatred of the nation, afforded little or no protection to the distressed *Judeans*. In the end, satiated with their pillage of the country, the chief-brigands of all these scattered contingents joined forces; and now merged into one compact-body of wickedness, they crept into Jerusalem, **16** a city without a general, and one which, indeed according to ancient custom, admitted everyone who was a fellow-tribesman without distinction. But it received these *wicked men* more readily at that moment, because it was universally believed that everyone who was pouring into it came out of goodwill to be its auxiliaries. **17** And it was this particular circumstance, which, irrespective of the sedition, was the direct cause of the city's immersion. For even supplies which might have sufficed for the combatants were squandered upon a useless *and* idle multitude. And in addition to the war, they brought upon themselves the miseries of both a sedition and a famine.

18 Also, fresh brigands from the country entered the city and joined the still more troublesome gang within, abstaining from *no kind* of terrible *deed* from that point on. **19** Yet, they did not restrict their audacity to raids and highway robberies; instead, they even proceeded to murders, which they did not commit under the cover of night or clandestinely or on ordinary men, *but* instead openly, in broad daylight, and with the most distinguished *men* as their earliest victims.

20 For indeed, *the first* was Antipas, a man of the royal family; and he carried such weight in the city that he was entrusted with the charge of the public storehouse. They took *and* imprisoned him. **21** After him there was Levias, one of the distinguished *men*, as well as Suphas son of Aregetos;¹ now both of these were also of royal blood. But besides these, *there were* other principal *men* throughout the country. **22** Now terrible consternation seized the populace; and no one cherished any thought but that of his personal salvation, as if the city had *already* been captured in the war.

23 But the brigands were not satisfied with having put their captives in chains; nor did they consider it safe to keep such powerful men in custody like this for long. **24** For indeed, these *men* also had numerous families who were quite capable of avenging them. Not only this, but they thought, that the populace might be moved by their outrageous action to rise against them. **25** Therefore, they decided to do away with their victims.

So for this purpose, they commissioned the most handy assassin among them, a certain Johanan, called in the native tongue 'the boy of a gazelle'.² He, along with ten men, entered the prison with short-swords in hand, and slaughtered the prisoners. **26** Now for such a monstrous crime, they invented just as monstrous of an excuse. For they asserted that their victims had conferred with the Romans concerning the surrender of Jerusalem, and had been done away with as traitors to the common freedom. In a word, they boasted of their audacious acts as though they had been the benefactors and saviors of the city.

27 Now in the end, the populace was indeed reduced to such abasement and terror, but the madness of these brigands to such heights, that they actually took upon themselves to elect a chief-priest. **28** Accordingly, once they had abrogated the claims of succession from those families out of which the chief-priests had always been made, they appointed ignoble and lowborn individuals *to that honor*, in order to gain accomplices in their impious *crimes*. **29** For those who had undeservedly attained to the highest dignity, were bound to obey those who had conferred it *upon them*.

30 Now by various contrivances and libelous statements, they set the magistrates at variance with one another, and gained their own opportunity *to do what they pleased* by the bickerings of those who should have restrained them. Finally, satiated with the unrighteous-deeds which they had done toward the humans, they transferred their outrages to the Deity himself, and invaded the holy-place with *their* polluted feet.

31 Now an insurrection of the multitude was ready. For it was instigated by Hanan, the senior of the chief-priests. He was a man of profound sanity, and who might have possibly saved the city, had he escaped the conspirators' hands. But at this threat, these *wicked men* converted the inner-sanctum of God into their fortress and refuge from any outbreak among the populace; and made the holy-place the headquarters of their tyranny.

32 But to these terrible *deeds*, they added a spice of mockery more intolerable than their actions. **33** For in order to test the populace's consternation and to make trial of their own strength, they undertook to appoint the chief-priests by lot, although the succession should have been by race. **34** Now as a pretext *for this scheme*, they indeed adduced ancient custom, even asserting that in old days the chief-priesthood had been determined by lot. But in reality, their action was the abrogation of established practice, and a trick to seize the government by getting these appointments into their own hands.

¹ [War] PA / L "Regetes" / Lat "Ragei" / others "Raguel"

² most (lit. 'dorcus' - which is Greek for "gazelle") / some "tabitha" (which is Hebrew for "gazelle")

35 So they summoned one of the priestly clans, called Enjakim,¹ and cast lots for a chief-priest. But by chance, the lot fell to one who proved to be a clear illustration of their depravity; for it fell upon an individual named Phinehas² son of Samuel, of the village of Aphthia. He was a man who not only was not descended from chief-priests, but instead was such a rustic that he scarcely knew what the chief-priesthood meant. 36 Accordingly, they dragged their reluctant victim out of the country; and dressing him up for his assumed part, as if he were a stage-actor, they put the sacred garments upon him, and taught him how to act in keeping with the occasion.

37 Now to them, this monstrous impiety was a subject for jesting and childish-fun; but the other priests, who beheld this mockery of their law from a distance, could not restrain their tears and bemoaned the degradation of the consecrated honors.

38 This latest insolence was more than the populace could bear; instead, everyone was roused, as if intending to overthrow that tyranny. 39 For their leaders of outstanding reputation were both Gorion son of Joseph, and Simeon son of Gamaliel; and both by public addresses to the whole assembly, and by private visits to individuals, these men encouraged them to delay no longer to punish these plagues of freedom and to purge the holy-place of its bloodstained polluters.

40 Their efforts were supported by Jeshua son of Gamala, as well as Hanan son of Hanan, who at their meetings vehemently upbraided the populace for their apathy, and incited them against the Zealots. 41 For this is what these men called themselves, as though they were zealous in virtuous undertakings, rather than vice in its basest and most extravagant form.

CHAPTER 56 [War4:162-195]

And now, the multitude convened an assembly, and everyone indeed expressed indignation toward the men who had occupied the holy-place, at both the raids and the murders. But due to the belief (not unfounded) that the Zealots would prove difficult to dislodge, no attempt at resistance had yet been made. So Hanan arose in their midst, and casting his gaze at the inner-sanctum with eyes filled with tears, spoke the following:

2 "Yet it would have been well for me to have died before I had seen the house of God laden with such abominations, and its unapproachable and holy places crowded with the feet of murderers! 3 Instead, I, who am clothed with the chief-priest's vestments, and who bear that most honored of venerated names, am alive; and I live with a love for my own soul, and do not brave a death which would be the glory of my old age. And if I must go alone, then I will; and as in utter desolation, I will additionally give up my soul for God's cause.

4 "For why should I live amongst a populace insensible to calamities, and who have lost the will to grapple with the troubles on their hands? Accordingly, when you are plundered, you submit! And when you are beaten, you are silent! And when people are murdered, no one dares groan audibly! 5 What bitter tyranny!

"Yes, but why do I blame the tyrants? For have they not been nourished by your silence and your forbearance? 6 For was it not you, who allowed those first recruits to combine? Then they were but a few. Was it not by your silence, that you allowed their numbers to swell; and by your inaction, when they were fully-arming themselves, that you drew those weapons upon yourselves? 7 You should have cut short their first attacks when they were assailing the nobles with abuse; but by your negligence, you incited the sinners to rapine.

"Then, when houses were pillaged, not a word was said. Consequently, they laid hands on their owners as well. And when these were dragged through the midst of the city, not one rose in their defense. 8 But then they proceeded to inflict the indignity of bonds upon those whom you had betrayed. The number and nature of these men I refrain to state; instead they certainly were unincriminated and uncondemned; and not a man assisted them in their bondage. 9 The natural consequence was to watch these same men be murdered. That spectacle we have also witnessed, when, as from a herd of beasts, one prize victim after another was dragged to the slaughter; yet not a voice, much less a right hand, was raised.

10 "Moreover, will you bear, will you bear to see your holy-place being trampled upon? And after you yourselves had laid each step of the ladder for the audacity of these profane wretches to mount, will you not pull them down from the attainment of their climax? For even by now, they could have proceeded to greater heights, had anything greater than the holy-place remained for them to overthrow. 11 Therefore, they have indeed mastered the strongest point in the city. For from now on, the temple must be spoken of as if it were a citadel or a fortress.

"But with such a tyrannical stronghold entrenched in your midst, and with the spectacle of your enemies above your heads, what purpose is it to take counsel?

And what further cherished hopes console your minds? 12 Will you wait for the Romans to protect your holy-places? Has the city indeed come to such a pass, and are we reduced to such misery, that even our foes must pity us?

13 "O, most wretched creatures! Will you never rise up and turn to meet the lash (as even the beast might be seen to turn) and retaliate upon those who struck you? Will you not call to mind, every one of you, your own personal calamities? Nor hold before your eyes everything that you have undergone? Will you not whet your souls for revenge upon them?

14 "Have you then lost the most honorable and that most instinctive of passions, the desire for freedom? But have we fallen in love with slavery and in love with our masters, as though submission were a heritage from our forefathers? 15 Yet instead, they even sustained a mighty struggle for freedom, and they did not yield either to the domination of Egyptians or the Medes, but they were determined to refuse obedience to a conqueror's directives.

15 "And what do I need to speak of the deeds of our forefathers? Instead, we are now at war with the Romans. I forbear to inquire whether such a war is profitable and expedient or the reverse, but what is its pretext? 16 Is it not freedom? Next, if we refuse to bow to the masters of the inhabited earth, are we to tolerate the tyrants of our own tribe? 17 Furthermore, subservience to the foreigner might indeed be attributed to foresight having once for all proved too strong for us, but to surrender to the wicked men of our own nation argues a base and deliberate servility.

18 "Now that I have mentioned the Romans, I will not conceal from you the thought which struck me while I was speaking and turned my mind to them. It is, that even if we might fall beneath their weapons (far be it that those words should ever be our lot!), we can but suffer no greater cruelty than what these men have already inflicted upon us.

19 "But how can we not shed tears, indeed when we see the votive-offerings of the Romans even in our temple, but while we see that our fellow-tribesmen have robbed our spoils, and have done away with the nobility of the metropolis, and have murdered men whom even the Romans, after they possessed the city, would spare? 20 And indeed, is it not lamentable, that, while the Romans never-at-any-time overstepped the limit fixed for the profane persons, nor-even transgressed one of the consecrated customs, but from afar, in awe, were seeing the enclosures of the holy-places, 21 some born in this very country and nurtured under our own institutions and who call themselves Judeans, are freely walking-around in the midst of the holy-places, with their hands still warm with the murder of their own fellow-tribesmen?

22 "Next, can anyone still be anxious of a war abroad, when our enemies, by comparison, are far more moderate to us than our own fellow inhabitants? For even if one must properly fit the phrase to the fact, it is the Romans who may well be found to have been upholders of the laws, but the ones within the walls to be warring against the laws.

23 "Instead, I am indeed confident that, even before you left your homes, that all of you were convinced of the abandoned character of these conspirators against freedom, and, that it would be impossible for anyone to conceive a rightful-punishment deserving of what they have done; and that, before I spoke this address, all of you were already driven to exasperation against them by those wicked actions of theirs from which you have suffered.

24 "But probably most of you have been struck-down with astonishment both by their multitude, and by their daring, but still by the advantage they have over us which they derive from their position. 25 But, as these circumstances arose through your negligence, so they will now continue to increase the longer you neglect them. For even their multitude is growing daily, as every wicked man flees to those like himself; 26 and their audacity is inflamed because they have, up till now met, with no obstruction. They also will doubtless make use of their superior position, with the added benefit of preparation, if we give them time.

27 "But, be assured, if we go up to fight them, conscience will humble them, and the advantage of superior height will be neutralized by reason. 28 Maybe the Deity himself, being outraged by them, will turn their missiles back upon themselves, and the impious wretches will be destroyed by their own projectiles. Only let us face them and they will come to nothing.

29 "But if the attempt should have any dangers, it would be a noble end to be dying at the temple gates and to be sacrificing our³ soul—if not even for the sake of our little-boys or women, instead in behalf of God and of the holy-place. 30 But I will preside-over you with both with resolve and hand. And there will not be any intention left behind aiming toward your security, neither will you see me sparing my⁴ body."

31 By these means, Hanan incited the multitude against the Zealots. He indeed knew full well how difficult it would be to exterminate them due to both their

¹ seems to be referring to "Jakim" in 1 Chronicles 24:12

² Aramaic sources / Josephus "Phanni"

³ literally "the"

⁴ literally "the"

numbers, as well as their youth and the courage of their souls. But above all, *he knew it would be difficult* due to their consciousness of their deeds; since in despair of obtaining pardon for everything they had committed, they would never give in *even to the end*. **32** But *Hanan* preferred to undergo whatever suffering might come upon him, *rather* than to allow affairs to remain in such confusion. **33** Now the multitude clamored for him to lead them against *the enemy* whom he urged them *to attack*, and each *man* was fully ready to brave the *first* danger.

CHAPTER 57 [War4:196-237]

But while *Hanan* was both enlisting and marshalling efficient-combatants, the Zealots learned about his *projected* attack. For they received a message about all the populace's proceedings. *So* they were provoked. *And* dashing out of the temple in both regiments and smaller units, they spared none who fell in their way.

2 Now at this, *Hanan* promptly collected the populace together, which, indeed was superior in numbers; but being inferior in weapons and with a lack of training, they were no match for the Zealots. **3** But ardor supplied the deficiencies of either party: Indeed, the citizens were armed with an anger more powerful than weapons, but those from the temple with a recklessness outweighing all numerical superiority. **4** And indeed, *the citizens* were persuaded that the city would be uninhabitable by them unless the brigands were eradicated, but the Zealots, that unless they were victorious, they would be spared from no form of retribution.

5 In this way, swayed by their passions, they met in conflict. Indeed, at first, there was a mutual discharge of stones from all parts of the city and from the front of the temple, and *men* contending against one another with javelins from afar. But when either party gave way, *the victors* employed their short-swords; and a great murder was made on both sides, and a great number were wounded.

6 And indeed, the injured populace was carried into the houses by their relatives. But when any Zealot was struck, he went up into the temple, staining its divine foundation with his blood; and it might be said that no blood but theirs *alone* defiled the holy-place.

7 Therefore indeed, in these engagements, the brigand sallies proved invariably successful. But the populace, roused to fury and continually growing in numbers, upbraided those who gave way; and those pressing forward in the rear refused passage to the fugitives. Finally, they indeed turned their whole force upon their opponents. **8** *And the brigands*, no longer able to withstand this pressure, gradually withdrew into the temple, while *Hanan's* party rushed in along with them. **9** But dismayed by the loss of the first enclosure, *the Zealots* fled into the inner *court* and instantly barred the gates.

10 Now *Hanan* indeed did not think fit to assail the consecrated gates, especially under the *enemy's* hail of missiles from above. But *even* if he was *victorious*, he considered it unlawful to introduce the multitude *into the temple* without previous purification. **11** Now by lot, he selected 6,000 heavy-armed *soldiers* from the whole number, posting them to guard the porticoes. **12** Now these *soldiers* were to be relieved by others, and every man was indeed bound to attend guard duty in rotation. But many of the worthy *men*, with permission of their chiefs, hired some of the lower classes and sent them to keep guard in their stead.

13 Now the subsequent destruction of this *entire party* was largely due to *Johanah*, whose escape from Gish-Halav has already been related. He was a man who was extremely deceitful, and who carried in his soul a dire passionate-desire for tyranny, *and had* long been plotting against the *state* affairs.

14 And at this time, he pretended to side with the populace. Indeed, he would accompany *Hanan* on his rounds, whether he was taking counsel with the powerful *men* by day or was visiting the guards by night; but he would send a message about his secrets to the Zealots. So through his agency, every idea proposed by the populace, even before they had thoroughly taken counsel about it, was made known to their enemies.

15 Now *machinating* how he might not be brought into suspicion, he displayed unbounded servility to both *Hanan* and the foremost *men* of the populace. **16** But this love-of-honor had the reverse effect. For his extravagant flatteries only brought more suspicion upon him, and his pervasive *and* uninvited presence produced the impression that he was betraying secrets. **17** For indeed, it was plainly observed that their enemies were aware of all their plans, but there was no one more open to the suspicion of sending a message *to others* about them than *Johanah*.

18 Therefore indeed, it was no easy matter to shake off the one who had gained such influence through his wickedness. He was also *a man* of eminence, and who had won many followers among those who sat in congress on overall affairs. Now it was decided to make him give them his assurance of his goodwill by oath. **19** Now *Johanah* promptly swore both that he would be well-inclined toward the populace, and that he would betray neither *the decisions of their* council nor *their* actions to their enemies, but would assist *them, both* with his hand and with his advice in putting down their attackers.

20 But relying on these oaths, *Hanan's* party now admitted him to their counsels without suspicion. And not only this, but they went so far as to send him as their elder to the Zealots to arrange a treaty. For they were anxious to preserve the temple from pollution in order that not a *single* one of their fellow-tribesmen should fall *down dead* within its walls.

21 But *Johanah*, as though his oath of goodwill had been made to the Zealots and not against them, went in; and standing in their midst, he declared to them:

"I have indeed often risked my life on your account, to keep you fully informed of all the secret counsels made against you by *Hanan's* party. **22** But now, I am exposing myself to the greatest danger, in which all of you will be involved, unless some demonic assistance intervenes to avert it.

23 "For *Hanan* is no longer delaying. Instead, he has indeed prevailed with the populace to send elders to *Vespasianus*, inviting him to come at once in order take possession of the city. But to your further injury, he has transmitted a message to hold a purification service for tomorrow, in order that his followers may obtain admission here, either by a religious-ritual or by force, and attack you. **24** But I cannot see how you are able to sustain either the present siege or an encounter against so many *enemies*.

"But it was by *God's* foresight that I was sent as an elder to negotiate a treaty; for *Hanan* is offering us terms, only to fall upon us when we are off guard.

25 "Therefore, if you wish to save your lives, you should either sue for mercy from your besiegers, or procure some external assistance. **26** But anyone who cherishes the hopes of being pardoned in the event of defeat, must either have forgotten their own daring deeds, or suppose that the perpetrators' changing their mind should be followed by the instant reconciliation of their victims. **26** Instead, those who indeed commit unrighteous-deeds, though they change their purpose, are often hated; and the anger of those who suffered the unrighteous-deeds is embittered by power. **27** But yet, the friends and relatives of those who were destroyed, and a large populace infuriated at the dissolution of their laws and courts-of-justice are watching for their opportunity to retaliate. In such a *crowd*, even if a part was to be moved to compassion, they would be crushed by an indignant majority."

28 This was indeed the embroidered tale which he told *them in order* to instill them with anxiety. And indeed he did not dare to say outright what "external assistance" was intended, but he hinted at the Edomites.

But in order to stimulate the personal feelings of the Zealots' leaders as well, he slandered *Hanan with a charge* of brutality, and asserted that his special threats were directed at them. **29** Now these *leaders* included Eleazar son of Gion;¹ and *he was* the most influential man of *the party*, due both to his ability to conceive appropriate measures, as well as carrying them into effect. But *the other leader* was Zechariah son of Avikalis.² *Both of them* were of priestly descent.

30 *These two men* had heard, not only the menaces against the whole *party* and those specially leveled at themselves, but how *Hanan's* party was summoning the Romans in order to secure supreme power for themselves (for even this was another of *Johanah's* falsehoods). Indeed, they hesitated for a long time on what action they should take, due to the fact that they were so hard pressed for time; **31** for indeed the populace was prepared to attack them very soon, but the suddenness of the scheme *against them* severed their chances of receiving auxiliaries from outside. For everything would be over before any of their allies would *even* be able to hear of their situation.

32 But they decided to summon the Edomites. So they wrote a concise letter stating that *Hanan* had indeed imposed on the populace *and* was proposing to betray the metropolis to the Romans; but that they themselves had revolted in the cause of freedom; **33** but that they were imprisoned within the temple; but that in a short time their fate would be decided; indeed, that unless *the Edomites* sent them immediate assistance, they would soon have succumbed to both *Hanan* and their enemies, and that the city would be in the possession of the Romans.

Now they instructed the messengers to communicate further details to the Edomite chiefs by word of mouth. **34** Now those selected for carrying this message were two active men, who were both eloquent and persuasive speakers on public affairs, but, what was still more useful, remarkably swift of foot. **35** For indeed, *the Zealots* knew that the Edomites would immediately comply, as they were a tumultuous and disorderly nation, both always on the watch for commotion, and delighting in revolutionary changes; and only needing a little flattery from their suitors, they would seize their weapons and rush into a pitched-battle as to a feast. **36** But speed was essential for carrying the message, in which the messengers were not lacking. Now both *messengers* had the *same* name, *Hananiah*. And they were soon in the presence of the Edomite chiefs.

37 Now these *chiefs*, astounded by the contents of the letter and the further statements of their visitors, both raced throughout the nation like madmen, and

¹ PAL, Lat / others "Eleazar Simon"

² Aramaic source / most Josephus "Amphicalleus" / Josephus(C,M2,V2) "Phalekum"

made proclamation of the expedition. **38** But the multitude mustered more quickly than *the time prescribed* in the transmitted-message, and all of them snatched up their weapons to defend the freedom of the metropolis. **39** Now 20,000 were drawn up for battle *and* marched to Jerusalem under *the command* of four leaders: both Johanan, and Jacob *the* boy of Sōsas, as well as Simon son of Thakeos, and Phinehas *son of* Klusoth.

40 Now the messengers' departure had indeed eluded the vigilance of Hanan and the guards, but the approach of the Edomites did not. For being forewarned of this, he both shut the gates against them and posted guards upon the walls. **41** Yet truly, he was unwilling to completely go to war with them; instead, he determined to try to persuade them with a proposal before having recourse to weapons.

CHAPTER 58 [War4:238-270]

Therefore, Jeshua, the chief-priest next in seniority to Hanan, stood upon the tower opposite to the Edomites, *and* declared the following:

"Among the many and manifold disorders which have fallen upon this city, nothing has astonished me more than the decree of fortune by which even the most unexpected things cooperate to assist the wicked. **2** Accordingly, I see that you have come to support the vilest of humans against us, *and* this, with so great alacrity as was hardly to be looked for even had the metropolis summoned you against barbarians. **3** And had I indeed perceived that your ranks were composed of men similar to those who invited you, I would not have thought such ardor unreasonable; for nothing so unites *men*'s goodwill as kinship.

"But now, if one were indeed to probe these *men* who invited you one by one, each would find deserving of ten thousand deaths. **4** For these are the very scum and trash of the whole city. After squandering their own substance and exercising their madness upon both the neighboring villages and cities, these pests have ended by stealthily streaming into the consecrated city. **5** They are brigands of such rank impiety as to pollute even that inviolable ground, who may now be seen recklessly intoxicating themselves in the holy-place and expending the spoils of their murdered-victims upon their insatiable bellies.

6 "But you, in your numbers and adorned with your weapons, present an appearance which would indeed become you had the metropolis' senate-house summoned you to be its auxiliaries against foreigners. Therefore, what can this be called but a spiteful sport of fortune, when one sees a whole nation armed on behalf of notorious scoundrels?"

7 "Indeed, I have long been wondering what motive could have even brought you so promptly. For never, without a grave cause, would you have donned yourself with full suits of armor for the sake of brigands, and against a kindred populace. **8** But now we have heard the words 'Romans' and 'treason' (for that was what some of you were clamoring about just now, and have said that they were here to protect the freedom of the metropolis). No other audacity of these scoundrels has amazed us more than this ingenious lie.

9 "For men *like yourselves* with an inborn passion for freedom, and on that account, willing, above all, to fight an external foe, could by no other means be infuriated against us than by the fabrication of a charge that we were betraying their precious freedom.

10 "Yet instead, you ought to consider both who are the authors of this slander and at whom it is aimed; and to form your opinion of the truth, not from fictitious tales, *but* rather from public affairs. **11** For what could even induce us to now sell ourselves to the Romans? It was within our power either to refrain from revolt at the first, or, having revolted, to promptly return to our allegiance, while the neighboring country was not yet laid waste. **12** For now, even if we desired it, a reconciliation with the Romans would indeed be no easy matter, now that their conquest of Galilee has made them contemptuous; but to endeavor to please them, now that they are at our doors, would bring upon us a disgrace even worse than death. **13** And as for myself, I certainly prefer peace to death; but having once declared war and entered the lists, I would prefer death with a good-reputation to a life as a captive.

14 "But do they say that we, the foremost *men* of the populace, have secretly communicated with the Romans; or even that the populace itself decided this by public decree? **15** Indeed, if we have done this, let them name the friends of ours whom we sent to *the* underlings who negotiated the betrayal. Has anyone been detected leaving on his errand, or caught on his return? Have any documents fallen into their hands? **16** But how could we have indeed concealed our action from all of our numerous fellow-citizens (with whom we are associating with every hour), while their small and watched party, unable even to advance one step into the city from the temple, were, it seems, able to be acquainted with these covert proceedings in the country? **17** But have they heard of them only now, when they must pay a rightful-punishment for their crimes? While they themselves felt secure, were any of us suspected of treason?"

18 "But if it is the populace whom they incriminate, it would have been necessary for them to have taken counsel concerning this matter publicly, *and* it would have been necessary for not one *individual* to have been absent from the assembly. In this case, a declaration would have brought you speedier and more

public intelligence than your private informer. **19** But would they not have been required to follow up their vote for capitulation by sending elders? And who was elected to that office? Let them tell us.

20 "No, this is indeed a mere pretext of die-hards, and of those who are struggling to avert impending retribution. For if foresight had determined for this city to be betrayed, no man would have ventured on the deed to save our present slanderers, who are lacking but one thing to make their impudent practices complete—treason.

21 "But now that you have already arrived in arms, the right which indeed has the highest claims upon you is to defend the metropolis and to join us in removing those tyrants who have annulled our courts-of-justice, who have trampled upon our laws, and who have passed sentence with the short-sword. **22** Accordingly, eminent men who have not been incriminated, they both have seized from the open marketplace, and have ignominiously placed them into irons; and refusing to listen to their voices, to their supplications, they utterly-destroyed them.

23 "Now you are at freedom to enter, though not by law of war, in order to behold the proofs of these statements. *So* behold houses desolated by their rapine, and poor widows and orphans of the slaughtered in black attire; but wailing and lamentation throughout the whole city. For there is not one who has not tasted the incursion of these unsacred *men*; **24** *men* who have yet run-*aground* into such a degree of madness,¹ as to not only transfer their brigandage from the country and the remote cities to this face and head of the whole nation, *but* instead even from the city to the temple.

25 "Accordingly, *this temple* has now become their base and refuge, as well as the fountainhead for their armament against us. But this place, which is revered by the inhabited *earth*, and honored by foreigners from the ends of *the earth* who have heard of its fame, is trampled on by these beasts engendered in this very place. **26** Also, in desperation, they wantonly proceed to set at variance both populace against populace, and city *against* city, and to enlist the nation to prey upon its own bowels.

27 "Indeed, as I declared before, the finest and most becoming course for you is to join *us* in removing these offenders, and to chastise them for this delusion which they have practiced on yourselves; that is, by daring to summon to assistance those whom they ought to have been terrified of as avengers.

28 "But if you still respect the appeals made to you by *men* such as these, it is instead surely open to you to lay down your weapons, and to enter the city in the guise of kinsmen, and to assume a neutral role, neither auxiliaries or foes, by becoming judges. **29** Furthermore, consider what these *men* will gain by being tried by you for such undeniable and flagrant offenses, whereas they *themselves* would not permit those who were unincriminated to speak a word in their *own* defense. But therefore, let them derive this benefit from your coming.

30 "But if you will neither share our indignation nor act as judges, a third course remains, namely to leave both parties to themselves, and neither to insult us in our calamities, nor to assist these conspirators against the metropolis. **31** For even though you strongly suspect some of us of having communicated with the Romans, you are in a position to watch the approaches *to the city*; and if anything with which we have been slandered is actually discovered to be true, you can then come and protect the metropolis, and to punish the detected criminals. For these foes could never take you by surprise while you are so near to the city.

32 "But if none of these proposals seems reasonable or fair to you, do not wonder why these gates are shut as long as you remain in arms."

33 This was indeed Jeshua's speech. But the multitude of Edomites paid no heed to it; instead, they were infuriated at not having obtained instant admission *into the city*. And their generals were indignant at the thought of laying down their weapons, accounting it as captivity to throw them away at any *man's* directive.

CHAPTER 59 [War4:271-304]

Now at this, Simon son of Kathlas,² one of their leaders, quelled the uproar among his men with great difficulty, and took his stand within hearing of the chief-priests, **2** *and* declared:

"I am no longer surprised that the champions of freedom are imprisoned within the temple, now that I also find that there are *men* who close *the gates* of our common city to this nation; **3** and *men* who are indeed prepared to admit the Romans (not only this, but perhaps crowning the gates with garlands), but who parley with Edomites from their towers and direct them to throw down the weapons which they have taken up in defense of freedom; **4** but *men* who, refusing to entrust the guarding of the metropolis to their kinsmen, would make them judges in their disputes; and not only this, *but* while they are accusing certain individuals of having killed others without trial, would themselves condemn the whole nation to dishonor.

¹ literally "loss-of-mind"

² VRC, Lat / M "Klathas" / others "Kaathas"

5 “Accordingly, this city, which once opened wide its gates to every foreigner for worship, is now walled-off by you against your own inhabitants. 6 For what reason? Because we were coming here in haste to slaughter and make war on our fellow-tribesmen? We, whose sole reason for haste was to preserve your freedom? 7 However, you have doubtless been guilty of similar acts of unrighteousness against your prisoners; and I suppose that your list of insinuations against them is equally plausible.

8 “Then, you have detained in custody everyone within *there* whose care is for the common welfare, and have indeed shut the gates of your city against whole nations who are your nearest kinsmen. But while you are directing such insulting orders to them, you profess to be tyrant-ridden, and attach the name of sovereignty to victims of your own tyranny!

9 “Who can tolerate such ironical words, which one can see are flatly contrary to the facts; unless it is even the Edomites who are now excluding you from the metropolis, *and* not you who are debarring them from the consecrated *traditions* of our fathers? 10 There is one complaint which might fairly be made against the men who are blockaded within the temple, that while they had the courage to punish those traitors whom you, as their partners in guilt, say are distinguished men and unincriminated, they did not begin with you, and at the outset, cut off the most vital members of this treasonable conspiracy.

11 “Instead, if *these men* were more merciful than they should have been, we Edomites will preserve God’s house and wage war to defend our common fatherland from both of her foes: the invaders from abroad, as well as the traitors within. 12 Here, before these walls, we will remain in arms, until the Romans grow weary of listening to you, or you reform, *returning* to the cause of freedom.”

13 This speech was indeed loudly applauded by the Edomites. But Jeshua, finding them opposed to all moderate advices but that the city was exposed to war from two sides, withdrew in sorrow. 14 But the minds of the Edomites were not at rest. For even infuriated at this insult offered to them in being excluded from the city, and seeing no assistance coming forth from the Zealots, whom they believed to be in considerable strength, they were sorely perplexed, and many changed *their* minds for having come. 15 But the shame of returning without accomplishing anything at all, so far overcame their change-of-purpose that they kept their ground, lodging before the wall under miserable conditions.

16 For in the course of the night, an inconceivable storm broke out: both violent winds with furious showers and continuous flashes-of-lightning, as well as horrible thunders and extraordinary rumblings of an earthquake. 17 But such a convulsion of the very fabric of the world made it clear that a destruction was coming upon humans, and the natural conjecture was that these were portents of no little calamity.

18 Now in this, the Edomites and the citizens were of one mind. Indeed, the *Edomites* believed that God was angry at their expedition and that they would not escape retribution for bearing arms against the metropolis. But Hanan’s party believed that they had won without a contest and that God was acting as their general. 19 But they *both* proved mistaken in their future predictions; and the fate which they predicted for their enemies was destined to befall them themselves. 20 For indeed, the Edomites, huddling their bodies together, kept each other warm; and connecting their oblong-shields above their heads, they were not seriously affected by the heavy-rains.

21 But the Zealots, more concerned for their allies than for their own danger, met to consider whether they could devise any means of relieving them. 22 Therefore indeed, the more ardent *men* advocated *the following plan*: “We can force a way through the guards at sword-point, but *then* plunge boldly into the middle of the city in order to open the gates to our auxiliaries. 23 Yet the guards, since they will be disconcerted by our unexpected attack, will give way, especially as the majority is both unarmed and has never been in a war. And the multitude of the citizens will not easily be gathered in force, since they are confined to their houses by the storm. 24 But even if this does involve danger, it would only be proper for us to suffer anything rather than to leave such a vast multitude to disgracefully perish on our account.”

25 But the more prudent *men* indeed disapproved of these violent measures. For they did not only see the guards surrounding them in full strength, but rather that the city-wall was also carefully being guarded on account of the Edomites. 26 Also, they supposed that Hanan would be everywhere, and looking-over the guards at all hours; 27 for this, indeed, had been his practice on other nights, but on this one it was omitted—not through any relaxation on *Hanan’s* part; instead, it was due to being outgeneraled by foresight, so that the multitude of the guards might be destroyed along with him.

28 So as that night advanced and the storm approached its climax, it was indeed *foresight* which lulled to sleep the guards posted at the portico, but which *also* suggested to the Zealots the thought of taking some of the temple saws in order to sever the bars of the gates. 29 Now they were aided by both the blustering wind and the successive peals of thunder, which prevented the noise from being heard.

30 Now secretly escaping from the temple, they reached the wall. And employing their saws once more, they opened the gate nearest to the Edomites. Now *the Edomites*, indeed supposing that they were being attacked by Hanan’s party, were at first seized with terror; every man’s right hand was upon his short-sword to defend himself. But as soon as they recognized their visitors, they entered *the city*.

31 Therefore indeed, the anger of *the Edomites* was so great, that had they then fallen upon the city, nothing could have prevented the populace, men and all, from being destroyed. But as it was, they now first made haste to liberate the Zealots from custody, having been earnestly entreated to *do so* by the *men* who had let them inside. *These particular Zealots* also urged, “Do not leave those, for whose sake you have come, in the midst of terror, nor expose us to a greater danger. 32 For indeed, once you have overpowered the guards, you will be able to easily march upon the city. But once the city is alarmed, you will never be able to overcome the *guards*; 33 for at the first sense, the citizens will fall into array and block every ascent.”

CHAPTER 60 [War4:305-333]

The Edomites yielded to this advice, and they ascended through the city to the temple. Now the Zealots, in suspense, were awaiting their arrival. And when *the Edomites* entered, *the Zealots* advanced from the inner temple. 2 Now joining with the Edomites, they fell upon the guards. And they indeed killed some of the outlying guards who were asleep. But when the *guards* who were awake cried out, the whole multitude was roused, and in consternation, snatched up their weapons *and* advanced to their own defense.

3 Therefore indeed, as long as they believed that the Zealots were their only assailants, they were of good-courage, hoping to overpower them by numbers. But when they saw others pouring in from outside, they understood that the Edomites had gotten inside. 4 And indeed, the majority of *the citizens* immediately flung their souls away, together with their weapons, and abandoned themselves to lamentations. But a few of the younger men, fencing themselves in, valiantly received the Edomites *in a battle*, and for a good while, protected a multitude of feeble men. 5 But the cries of others signified their distress to *their friends* within the city.

Indeed, learning that the Edomites had broken in, not one of these ventured to assist them. But they responded with futile shouts and lamentations on their side, and a great wail went up from the women, each having some relative among the guards who was in danger. 6 But the Zealots joined with the Edomite war cries; and the din from all quarters was rendered more fearsome by the howling of the storm.

Now the Edomites spared none. Naturally having a disposition which was both savage and murderous, they had been distressed by the storm *and* wreaked their fury upon those who had shut them out. 7 Now suppliants and combatants were treated in the same manner; and many, while both reminding them of their kinship and imploring them to respect their common temple, were run through by their short-swords.

8 Now there was indeed no room for flight, nor hope of salvation. But driven together upon one another in heaps, they were being cut-down. And the majority found themselves driven back until further retreat was impossible; but with their murderers closing upon them, they, in their helplessness, flung themselves down headlong into the city, devoting themselves to a fate more miserable, in my opinion, than from what they had fled. 9 So the entire exterior temple flooded-over with blood; and the day dawned upon 8,500 corpses.

10 But the fury of the Edomites remained unsatiated. Instead, they now turned to the city, indeed plundering every house, but killing everyone who crossed their path. 11 And indeed, they thought that their energies would be wasted on the other multitude, but they went to search for the chief-priests *instead*; and it was for them that the main rush was enacted. 12 But as soon as they caught them, they utterly-destroyed them.

Then, standing upon their corpses, they indeed scoffed at Hanan for his goodwill toward the populace, but at Jeshua for the speech which he had delivered from the wall. 13 Not only this, but they actually proceeded to such a degree of impiety as to cast out *the corpses* without burial, although the Judeans make provision for the burial of *men* to such an extent, that even the condemned who have been sentenced to crucifixion are both taken down and buried before sunset.

14 Now the city’s capture began with the death of Hanan. And the overthrow of the wall and the utter-destruction of the *state* affairs, dated from the day on which the Judeans beheld *the man*, who was their chief-priest and leader of their salvation, slaughtered in the middle of their city. 15 For on every account, *Hanan* was both venerable and righteous; and despite all the distinction of both his nobility and dignity, as well as the honors to which he had attained, he delighted to honor the lowest of *men* as his equals. 16 Both unique in his love-of-freedom, and an enthusiast for democracy, he also put the common welfare above his private interests on all occasions; and he *preferred* to make peace above everything. For he knew that the Romans were unconquerable. But when driven

to provide for a war, he endeavored to secure that, if the Judeans would not accept their right hand, the struggle should at least be skillfully conducted.

17 But in a word, had Hanan survived, they would undoubtedly have arranged terms; for he was both an effective speaker, and his words carried weight with the populace, but he was already gaining control even over those who opposed him. Or, if they had been at war, they would have greatly delayed the Romans under such a general as he was. 18 Now Jeshua was also joined with him. Indeed, he did not compare with *Hanan*, but he stood far above the rest.

19 Instead, I suppose, because God had condemned the city to destruction and desired to purge the holy-place by fire due to its pollutions, that he himself cut off those who clung to them with such tender affection. 20 Now those who had but shortly before worn the consecrated vestments, and who had led those ceremonies of cosmic significance, and who had been venerated by visitors to the city from every *region* of the inhabited *earth*, were now seen cast out naked, as food for dogs and beasts. 21 Instead, this was indeed the end of Hanan and Jeshua.

22 Now after these *men* were killed, both the *Zealots* and the *Edomite* multitude fell upon and slaughtered the people as though they had been a herd of unclean animals. 23 And indeed, the ordinary folk were utterly-destroyed on the spot where they were caught. But they arrested the young noblemen and cast them into prison in chains, and postponed doing away with them in the hope that some would come over to their party. 24 But not one listened to their overtures; instead, they all preferred the death rather than to side with these wicked *men* against their own fatherland. 25 But their refusal brought upon them terrible agonies. They were both scourged and racked; but only when their bodies could no longer sustain these tortures were they grudgingly consigned to the short-sword. 26 Now those whom they arrested by day were dispatched at night, and their corpses were cast forth to make room for fresh prisoners.

27 Now the populace was reduced to such consternation, that no one dared to weep openly for a corpse, nor to bury it. Instead, secretly shut up *in their houses*, their tears were shed and they were not *even* groaning without circumspection, lest any of their enemies might hear them. 28 For the mourner instantly suffered the same fate as the one mourned for. But only by night would they take a little dust in both hands and throw it upon the bodies, though some venturesome persons even did this by day. 29 So 12,000 of the youthful noblemen were utterly-destroyed in this manner.

CHAPTER 61 [War4:334-365]

But now, having come to loathe indiscriminate murder, the *Zealots* instituted mock courts-of-justice and judgments. 2 And they determined to kill Zechariah son of Birah,¹ one of the most eminent of *the citizens*. Now the man had provoked them by his pronounced hatred-of-wickedness and love-of-freedom; but because he was also rich, they not only hoped to plunder his property, *but* instead, of also getting rid of a human who was powerful enough to dissolve them.

3 Indeed, they enjoined seventy of the public magistrates to convene in the temple, but assigned to them, as in a play, the role of judges without having authority. *Then* they accused Zechariah of betraying the *state* affairs to the Romans and of holding treasonable communications with Vespasianus. 4 Now they adduced no evidence or proof in support of what he was being accused of; instead, they declared that they were fully convinced of his guilt themselves and claimed this as sufficient evidence.

5 Yet truly, when Zechariah was aware that no hope of salvation was left for him (for he had been treacherously summoned to a prison *rather* than a court-of-justice), he did not allow despair of life to deprive him of his freedom of speech. Instead, he rose, indeed ridiculing the probability of what he was accused of, and in a few words absolved the incriminations laid against him. 6 But, turning his speech upon his accusers, he went over all their transgressions in order, and bitterly lamented the confusion of *state* affairs.

7 But the *Zealots* were in an uproar and could scarce refrain from drawing their short-swords, although they were bent on playing out their part in this farce court-of-justice to the end. And they desired to try the judges, *to see* whether they would put considerations of righteousness above their own danger.

8 Now the seventy *judges* brought in a unanimous verdict for the defendant, and preferred to come-to-their-end with him *rather* than be held answerable for his death.² 9 But at this, the *Zealots* raised an outcry at his acquittal, and indeed they were all indignant with the judges for not understanding that the authority entrusted to them was a mere pretext.

9 Now two of the boldest of them fell upon Zechariah, utterly-destroying him in the middle of the temple. And as he fell down *dead*, they jeered *and* declared, "Now you have our verdict also, and a more certain release."³ Then they immediately cast him out of the temple into the ravine below.

10 But they insolently struck the judges with the backs of their short-swords, driving them from the enclosures. Now they were spared from being slaughtered for the sole reason that, when they were dispersed through the city, they might become messengers proclaiming to everyone the slavery to which they were reduced.

11 But now, the *Edomites* began to change their purpose of having come, and took offense at these proceedings. 12 But one of the *Zealots*, who had come to them privately, gathered them together, and pointed out the transgressions which they had committed in conjunction with those who had summoned them, and gave a detailed account of the situation of the metropolis.

12 He told them, "For indeed, you have enlisted under the belief that the chief-priests were betraying the metropolis to the Romans. But you have indeed discovered no evidence of treason, whereas its professed defenders were themselves the daring perpetrators of acts of war and tyranny. 13 Therefore, you *Edomites* should have indeed investigated these proceedings at the outset. But now that you have become their partners and plunged into civil war, you should at least put a stop to your sins and no longer continue to lend support to *men* who are subverting the *traditions* of our forefathers.

14 "For even if *any of you* are still grieved that the gates were shut against you, and that you had been refused prompt admission while bearing arms, instead, those who had excluded you have now been punished. And indeed, Hanan is dead; but in one night almost the entire population has been utterly-destroyed.

15 "I perceive that such actions have indeed changed the minds of many of you. But among those who invited you, I see nothing but unmeasured brutality, without the slightest respect for those who saved them. 16 Accordingly, under the very eyes of their auxiliaries, they have even dared to commit the foulest atrocities; and their transgressions of the law would be attached to you *Edomites*, as long as no one vetoed or dissociated himself from these proceedings.

17 "Therefore, since the charge of treason has indeed been shown to be slander, but that no invasion of the Romans is expected, but that the city is built with a sovereignty not easily to be overthrown, your duty is to return home, and, by severing your connection with these base *men*, to make some defense for all the crimes in which you have been duped into taking a part."

18 Complying with this advice, the *Edomites* indeed first liberated the citizens confined in the prisons, numbering about 2,000, who immediately fled from the city and joined Simon (of whom we shall speak of presently). Then, *the Edomites* left Jerusalem and returned home.

19 And their departure produced an unexpected effect on both parties. For the populace, unaware of the changed-mind of *the Edomites*, recovered momentary confidence, as if relieved of *their* enemies. 20 But the *Zealots* grew even more insolent, not as though they had been abandoned by their auxiliaries, *but* instead as if freed of critics who discountenanced and sought to deter them from their transgressions.

21 Accordingly, they made no further delay or deliberation about their unrighteous-deeds; instead they devised their plans with lightning rapidity. But in each case, they put their decisions into effect even more swiftly than they devised them. 22 But their thirst was mainly after the blood of both the brave and the men of nobility. Indeed, they murdered *the nobles* out of envy, but *the brave* out of anxiety. For they imagined that their own safety depended solely on leaving no powerful *men* alive.

23 Accordingly, they did away with Gorion. He was indeed *a* man of prominent dignity and race; but he also favored democracy and his mind was laden with liberality, if ever a Judean was. But his outspokenness, in addition to his other advantages, was the main reason that he was utterly-destroyed.

24 Nor did Niger the Peraian escape their hands. He was a man who had shown exceptional gallantry while warring with the Romans. And both vehemently protesting and pointing to his scars, this veteran was dragged through the middle of the city. 25 But when he was brought outside the gates, he, despairing of his salvation, besought them to grant him a burial. But they threatened beforehand that they would not grant him the one desire of his heart, a share of land *for a grave*. So they proceeded to murder him.

26 Now as they were doing away with him, Niger made this imprecation, that the vengeance of the Romans would fall upon them, that both famine and pestilence would be added to the horrors of the war, and above all, that they would *kill* one another with their *own* hands. 27 All these imprecations were ratified by God by these impious men, even including that most righteous fate, by which they were doomed long before to taste their own madness in mutual seditions against one another.

28 Therefore, when Niger was indeed done away with, their fears of being deposed from power were relieved; but there was no portion of the people for whose destruction some pretext was not devised. 29 For, indeed, anyone who had ancient quarrels *with them*, were utterly-destroyed. But those who had given them no opposition during times of peace, were watched for an opportunity to invent suitable incriminations against them. And, indeed, the *man* who never approached them was suspected of pride. But the *man* who approached them with liberality

¹ Hebrew equivalent (Gk "Baris") // Variant "Baruch"

² literally "his doing away with"

³ The Greek word here means both "acquittal" and "decease"

was counted as treating them with contempt. But the *man* who courted them, was presumed to be a conspirator. **30** But the one retribution for charges, whether of the gravest or the most trifling nature, was death. And no one escaped, except for those whose lowness of birth put them utterly beneath notice, or on account of fortune.

CHAPTER 62 [War4:366-388]

Now indeed, the Roman leaders, regarding the sedition among their foes' ranks to be to their great advantage, were very eager to march against the city. And they urged Vespasianus, as their lord of all, to take this course. *And* they said, "God's foresight has come to our assistance by turning our enemies against each other. **2** However, *the situation* may suddenly change, and the Judeans may quickly return to unanimity through weariness or changing *their mind and ceasing* from their civil strife."

3 But Vespasianus declared, "You are gravely mistaken as to what is the proper procedure, *and* are anxious to make a theatrical, though hazardous, display of both your hands and weapons, instead of having regard for expediency and safety. **4** For indeed, if I were to attack the city straightaway, the mere effect would be reuniting our foes and converting their forces in fullest strength against myself. But by waiting, I shall find fewer *foes*, after they have consumed their numbers in their sedition.

5 "For indeed, God is a better general than myself. He is delivering the Judeans to us Romans without any exertion on our part, and bestowing victory upon us without risk to our army. **6** Consequently, while our enemies are being utterly destroyed by their own hands and suffering from that worst of calamities—sedition—our part is rather to sit as distant spectators of their dangers, *rather* than to fight *hand-to-hand* with humans who court death and are raging against each other.

7 "But if anyone imagines that the glory of the victory will be stale without a battle, let him learn that success quietly obtained is more fruitful than when won by the uncertainty of arms. **8** For even those who attain the same ends by self-restraint and sagacity should be deemed no less famous than those who distinguish themselves by their actions. However, while our foes' numbers are diminishing, our own army shall refresh its strength, *which has been depleted* from our continual labors, *and* be reinvigorated for service.

9 "But even above all, this is not the proper time for aspiring to the honors of a brilliant victory. **10** For the Judeans are not being busily employed in forging weapons, or building walls, or collecting allied-troops. And in a case such as that, delay would be detrimental to those who granted it. Instead, they are risking their necks in a war among their own kinsmen and *in* dissensions; *and* they are daily enduring greater miseries than we ourselves would inflict upon them after defeating them, if we advanced to *the assault*.

11 "Therefore, *regardless* whether we look to the path of safety, these *Judeans* ought to be left to continue to consume themselves; or whether we consider the success which would bring the greater glory, we ought by no means to attack patients afflicted by their own domestic disorders. For if we conquered them now, it would be said, with reason, that we owned our victory, not to ourselves, *but* instead to the sedition."

12 The leaders concurred with Vespasianus' observations; and the soundness of the general's judgment was soon made evident. Accordingly, every day, many *Judeans* deserted and fled from the Zealots. **13** But flight was difficult. *For* guards were posted at every outlet; and anyone caught there, for whatever business, was slain on the assumption that he was going over to the Romans. **14** Yet truly, if he gave them money, he was allowed to go; and only the *man* who offered nothing was considered a traitor. So the result was that the wealthy purchased their escape, *and* the poor alone were slaughtered.

15 Now along all the highways, corpses were piled in heaps. And many who had been eager to desert, changed their minds, choosing to receive destruction within *the city*; for the hopes of burial made death in their fatherland appear more tolerable. **16** But the *Zealots* carried cruelty to such a degree as to grant burial to no one, whether done away with in the city or on the roads. **17** Instead, as if they had made a covenant to annul the laws of nature along with those of their own fatherland, and to also add pollution of the Deity himself to their acts of unrighteousness upon the humans, they left the corpses to putrefy under the sun. **18** Now the penalty for burying a relative was also the same *penalty* as for desertion: death. So one who granted this favor to another instantly stood in need of it himself.

19 But in a word, there was no other noble emotion so utterly lost amid the miseries of those days, as mercy. For what should have roused their compassion, only provoked these offenders, and they indeed alternately transferred their anger from the living to those who were done away with, but from the corpses to the living. **20** And such terror prevailed that the survivors considered the lot of the earlier victims as happy, who were now at rest, while the tortured in the prisons pronounced even the unburied prosperous in comparison with themselves.

21 Therefore indeed, these *men* tramped every human institution underfoot, but ridiculed every law of the Deity. And as for the oracles of the prophets, they scoffed at them as impostors' fables. **22** But the predictions of these *prophets* contained much concerning excellence and evil, which being transgressed by the Zealots, occasioned the fulfillment of those prophecies which were directed against their own fatherland. **23** For there was an ancient account of those men, that the city would be taken and the holy-place incinerated by law of war, at the time when a sedition should visit *them*, and their own hand should be the first to defile God's sacred-precincts. *Now* although the Zealots did not disbelieve this, they still lent themselves to be ministers for its accomplishment.

CHAPTER 63 [War4:389-439]

But by this time, Johanan was aspiring to tyranny, *and* began to disdain the position of mere equality in honors with his peers. And gradually gathering around him a group of the most wicked *men*, he broke away from the contingent. **2** Now indeed invariably disregarding the decisions of the rest, but issuing imperious orders of his own, it was obvious that he was laying claim to absolute monarchy.

3 Now some indeed yielded to him through anxiety, but others from goodwill (for he was an expert in gaining support by delusion and speech). But a large number thought that it would be conducive to their own safety if the causes for their daring crimes should from then on rest upon one individual *rather* than upon many. **4** Yet truly, his energy, both of body and mind, procured him not a few spearmen.

5 But he was abandoned by a large party of antagonists. Indeed, they were even partly influenced by envy (*for* they scorned being subjected to one who was formerly their equal); but mainly, they were deterred by dread of the monarchy. **6** For they could not expect to easily depose him once he had obtained power, and they thought that they would have an excuse for themselves if they opposed him at the start. But each man preferred a war, despite any sufferings it might entail, to voluntary enslavement *and* perishing later.

7 Therefore, this was indeed how the sedition was split in two; and Johanan confronted *his adversaries* as a rival king. **8** Instead, they indeed *merely* watched one another; and when they fired projectiles, they were never, or at least seldom, armed. But they were rival oppressors of the populace, and vied with each other over which of them should carry off the larger spoils.

9 Now while the city was struggling under the three greatest of distresses—war, and tyranny, and sedition—for the populace, the war was comparatively the mildest. **10** So they fled from their countrymen to take refuge with foreigners, and obtained from the Romans the salvation which they despaired of finding among their own *people*.

11 But now a fourth evil arose in order to consummate the nation's dissolution. **12** Not far from Jerusalem was a steadfast fortress, which had been built by the first kings as a repository for their property and a secret refuge for their bodies during the turning of the scale in a war. It was called Masada. **13** Those who were called Sicarii had taken possession of this *fortress*. Indeed, up till this time, they had confined themselves to raiding the neighboring countries, merely with the objective of procuring supplies; **14** for anxiety restrained them from further ravages.

But now, when they were informed that the Roman army was inactive, but also that the Judeans in Jerusalem were distracted by a sedition and tyranny, they embarked on more ambitious enterprises. **15** And in this way, during the Festival of the Unleavened, a festival which had been celebrated by the Judeans in thanksgiving for salvation ever since they were sent down to the *country of their forefathers* after their release from Egyptian slavery, these assassins, using the cover of night to elude those who might have obstructed them, made a raiding descent upon a small city called Engedi.

16 There were indeed citizens who were capable of resisting them; *but* before they could seize their weapons and gather together, they were dispersed and driven out of the city. But those who were unable to flee, both women and little-ones numbering more than 700, were done away with.

17 Afterward, they both plundered the houses and seized the ripest of the fruits, carrying off their spoil to Masada. **18** And they indeed made similar raids on all the villages surrounding the fortress, and laid waste the whole country. They were daily joined by numerous dissolute recruits from every quarter.

19 Now also throughout the other regions of Judah, the predatory bands, which until now had been at rest, began to bestir themselves. But exactly as in the body, when inflammation attacks the principal member, all the members catch the infection, **20** accordingly the sedition and disorder in the metropolis gave the scoundrels in the country free license to ravage. And after each gang had pillaged their own villages, they made off into the wilderness.

21 Both joining forces and swearing mutual allegiance, they would proceed by companies (indeed, smaller than an army, but larger than a mere band of robbers) *and* fall upon temples and cities. **22** And indeed, the unfortunate victims of their attacks suffered the *same* miseries as war captives, but were deprived of the

chance of retaliation, because their *enemies*, in robber fashion, immediately decamped with their prey. But there was no portion of Judah which was not destroyed together with the most exalted city.

23 Vespasianus received a message concerning these things from deserters. For although the insurgents guarded every exit and utterly-destroyed anyone who approached them for whatever reason, there were still some who evaded them, who, fleeing to the Romans, urged the general to protect the city and rescue the remnant of its populace. **24** For they assured him that it was due to *the people's* goodwill toward the Romans that so many had both been done away with and the survivors were in danger.

25 Now *Vespasianus* had already pitied their misfortunes. Indeed, he collected *his men* with the apparent purpose of taking Jerusalem by siege, but in reality, to deliver it from a siege. **26** Indeed, it was first necessary to overthrow any remaining places, so as to leave no external impediment to hinder the siege.

Therefore, he marched on Gader, the metropolis of Peraia and a city of strength, and entered it on the fourth day of the month Dystros. **27** For unknown to the insurgents, the powerful *men* had also sent a body of elders to him offering to capitulate. This desire was born out of both a desire for peace, as well as out of concern for their property, for Gader had many wealthy residents.

28 The opposing party was ignorant of *this* body of elders, but only discovered it as Vespasianus was approaching. And indeed, they despaired of their ability to hold the city themselves. This was due both to their inferiority in numbers to their enemies within *the city*, as well as the proximity of the Romans, who were visible not far outside the city. But they determined to flee, and scorned to do so without shedding blood and bringing retributions upon those responsible for their situation.

29 So they seized Dolesos (for he was not only first in dignity and race in the city; instead, he was also regarded as *the one* responsible for the body of elders). And they both killed him, and in their violent anger mangled his corpse, and then ran out of the city.

30 But as the Roman force was now appearing, the populace of Gader also admitted Vespasianus with acclamation receiving his right hand *in security*, together with a garrison of both cavalry and infantry to guard them against the fugitives' incursions. **31** For on their own accord, they had pulled down their own wall without requisition from the Romans, showing, that even if they wished, they were powerless to make war, thereby testifying their love of peace.

32 But Vespasianus indeed sent Placidus with 500 cavalry and 3,000 infantry to pursue those who had fled from Gader, while he himself returned to Caesarea with the remainder of his army. **33** But as soon as the fugitives caught sight of the pursuing cavalry, and before it came to *hand-to-hand combat*, they swarmed into a village called Beth-Nimrah. **34** Here they found no small multitude of youths; and fully-arming them, some indeed by consent, but others by force, they dashed out upon Placidus' party.

35 Now indeed, at the first charge, the *Romans* fell back a little, maneuvering to entice them further from the wall. But when he had drawn them to a suitable spot, they both rode around them, and shot them down with javelins. And indeed, the cavalry intercepted their flight, while the infantry vigorously utterly-destroyed their entangled *masses*.

36 However, the Judeans were utterly-destroyed after a display of mere audacity. For as they flung themselves upon the Romans, who were in their serried ranks, and who were enwalled as it were, by their full suits of armor, they were indeed unable to find any loophole for their projectiles and were powerless to break the phalanx. **37** Now at the same time, their own men were transfixed by their *enemy's* projectiles, and, like the wildest of beasts, rushed upon *the iron blade*. Now they were indeed utterly-destroyed, some struck through the mouth by their *enemies'* short-swords, while others were dispersed by the cavalry.

38 For Placidus was eager to intercept their flight for the village, and kept riding his cavalry past them in that direction, then, wheeling around, with one and the same well-aimed projectiles, kept doing away with those who were nearing *the village*, and intimidated and beat back those further off. In the end, the most noble *men* cut their way through and escaped for the wall.

39 But here the guards were at a loss what to do. For they could not bring themselves to exclude the Gaderites because of their own *men among them*; and if they admitted them, they expected to be destroyed together with them. **40** And this is what happened. For as the fugitives were crowded at the wall, indeed, the Roman cavalry very nearly burst in with them. Instead, the guards actually succeeded in shutting the gates *ahead of them*, when Placidus made an assault on them. And by a noble struggle lasting until afternoon, he became master of the wall and of those in the village. **41** Therefore, the helpless multitude was indeed utterly-destroyed, but the more powerful *men* fled. But the soldiers plundered the houses and then set the village on fire.

42 Now the fugitives stirred up the country; and indeed, by exaggerating their own calamities, but saying that the entire Roman army was upon them, they drove everyone from their homes in widespread anxiety. And with *the whole* multitude,

they fled for Jericho. **43** For there was no other place remaining strong enough, at least in virtue of its numerous inhabitants, to encourage hopes of salvation.

44 But Placidus, relying on his cavalry and emboldened by his previous success, pursued them, and indeed did away with everyone whom he overtook as far as the Jordan. But having driven the whole multitude up to the river, where they were blocked by the stream (for it, having been swollen by the rain, was unfordable), he drew up *his soldiers in line* opposite them. **45** Now since flight was impossible, necessity provoked the *fugitives* to a battle; and deploying themselves as far as possible along the banks, they met the projectiles and the charges of the cavalry, who struck and drove many down into the current. **46** And indeed, 15,000 were utterly-destroyed in *hand-to-hand combat*, while the number of those who were forced to voluntarily fling themselves into the Jordan was incalculable. **47** Now about 2,200 were taken prisoners, together with vast spoils of both donkeys and sheep, and camels and oxen.

48 Therefore this destruction was indeed the greatest that had befallen the Judeans, and appeared even greater than it actually was. And the whole country through which they fled was filled with murder, nor could the Jordan be crossed due to the corpses, but even the Lake of Asphalt was filled with bodies, a whole multitude which was carried down into it by the river.

49 Now Placidus, after his great success, hastened to attack both the small cities and villages in the vicinity. He also took Abel, and Julias, and Beth-Shimoth, as well as everything as far as the Lake of Asphalt. He posted the deserters in each of them as he thought suitable. **50** Then he embarked his soldiers on seacrafts, and captured those who had taken refuge on the lake. And indeed, in this way, all of Peraia, as far as Machairous, either surrendered or were subdued.

CHAPTER 64 [War4:440-485]

Now messages arrived stating that there was uprising in Galatia, and that Vindex, together with the powerful *men* of that country, had revolted from Nerō. (These events are more fully described elsewhere.) **2** Now this message stimulated Vespasianus to prosecute the war more vigorously, since he already foresaw the impending civil wars and the danger to the whole leadership. So he thought that, in the circumstances, by an early pacification of the east, he would allay Italia's fears. **3** Therefore indeed, while he was shut out by the winter, he employed himself to secure both *the* villages and smaller cities, which had been reduced by placing garrisons within them. Indeed, he posted decurions *in the* villages, but centurions *in the* cities. But he also rebuilt many places which had been devastated.

4 Now at the beginning of spring, he marched his full force from Caesarea to Antipatris, where he spent two days restoring order in that city. Then, on the third day, he advanced, laying waste and burning all the surrounding places. **5** Now once he had laid waste the vicinity of the toparchy of Timmah, he moved to Lod and Jabneh. And since both of these districts were already subdued, he placed in them a large number of inhabitants who had complied with him, and then passed to Hammat.

5 Now in *Hammat*, he occupied the inroads to its metropolis. After both enwalling an encampment, and leaving the fifth legion there, he advanced with the rest of his force to the toparchy of Beth-Leptenpha. **6** But after devastating both this place and the neighboring district and the outskirts of Edom with fire, he built fortresses in suitable places. **7** But once he had taken two villages which were in the very midst of Edom, Beth-Gubrin, and Kefar-Tebi, he indeed killed over 10,000 of the inhabitants, **8** but he captured over 1,000, and expelled the rest of the multitude. Then he stationed a large division of his own force in *the district*, who overran and laid waste the entire mountainous *region*.

9 Now he returned with the rest of his force to Hammat. From there, by the way of Samaria, and passing Neapolis (or as the natives call it 'Mabarta'), he descended to Corea, where he encamped on the second day of the month Daisios. **10** Now on the following day, he reached Jericho. On that day, he was joined there by Trajanus, one of his leaders, along with a force which he had led from Peraia, everything beyond the Jordan being now subjugated.

11 Therefore indeed, a great multitude, anticipating their arrival, came out of Jericho, fleeing to the mountainous *region* opposite of Jerusalem. But of those who were left behind, no small number were utterly-destroyed. **12** Now the city itself was found deserted.

Indeed, *Jericho* is situated in a plain. But above it, hangs a bare and barren mountain, which is *the* tallest. **13** For it extends northwards as far as the land of Skythopolis, but southwards as far as the country of Sodom and the extremities of the Lake of Asphalt. Now this *area* is both completely rugged, and due to its barrenness, uninhabited. **14** Now lying opposite to it and flanking the Jordan, lies a *second* mountain, which begins at Julias and the northern regions;¹ but it extends parallel to *the first mountain* southwards as far as Zemaraim, which

¹ may also be translated "slopes"

borders Petra in Arab. Now this *mountain* also includes what is called the Iron Mountain, which stretches laterally as far as Moab.

15 Now the country enclosed between these two mountains is called the Great Plain. This *plain* extends from the village of Ginnabra to the Lake of Asphalt. **16** Now its length is indeed 1,200 stadia, but its breadth 120. And it is intersected in the middle by the Jordan. It also contains two lakes, both that of Asphalt and that of the Tiberians, contrary in their nature: For indeed, the first is salty and sterile, but *the one* of the Tiberians is sweet and fertile.

17 Now in *the* summer, this plain is parched, and the excessive drought renders the surrounding atmosphere pestilential. **18** For with an exception of the Jordan, it is completely destitute of water; and indeed, *this river* is the reason why the palm trees on its banks are more flourishing and productive, while those that are farther off are more inferior.

19 However, despite this, there is a copious spring near Jericho which is plentiful and very rich for irrigations. It gushes up near the old city, which was the first one in *the* land of the Chana'anites to be won by the spear of Joshua *the* boy of Nun, general of the Hebrews. **20** It is reported that this spring originally did not only blight the fruits of *the* earth and the trees, *but* instead also caused women to miscarry, and that is was both pestilential and destructive to everything alike; but that it was reclaimed and converted into a most salubrious and fertilizing source by the prophet Elisha. Now he was the disciple and successor of Elijah.

21 Having been the guest of those of Jericho *and* having been treated by the humans there with extreme kindness, he requited their kindness by conferring a perpetual favor upon both them and their country. **22** For he went out to this spring and cast into the stream an earthenware vessel full of salt. Then, raising his righteous right hand into a heaven, *and* pouring propitiatory libations upon a *part* of *the* earth, he indeed besought *the* earth to mollify the stream and to open sweeter channels, **23** but for it to release waters with more temperate and fertile airs, and to bestow the countrymen with plenty of fruits of the earth, and a succession of children, *and* an unfailling supply of water conducive to their production, as long as they remained righteous. **24** By these prayers, he, supplemented by various skillful operations of his hands, changed the spring's nature; and the water, which had previously been a cause of orphanhood and famine for them, from that time forward became a source of fecundity and plenty.

25 Accordingly, its power of irrigation is so great, that if it even skims the region, it is more nourishing than still waters which soak *into* the ground. **26** And for this reason, the benefit derived from other *streams*, even though they are used more plentifully, is slight; but *the benefit* of *this water* is plentiful *even* in little quantities. **27** Accordingly, *this* water irrigates more area than all the others, and it permeates a plain indeed 70 stadia in length but 20 in breadth; but within *that area*, it fosters gardens which are both *the* most beautiful *and* the thickest.

28 Now of the date-palms watered by it, there are numerous varieties differing in taste and in medicinal properties. The richer sort of this fruit, when pressed under foot, even yields copious honey, not much inferior to that of bees; **29** and *these insects* are abundant in this country. Now here too grow the juicy balsam, which is the most precious of all the local fruits, as well as the cypress and the myrobalan; so to describe this place as divine would be no mistake, in which the rarest and most beautiful trees are produced in abundance.

30 For indeed, with regard to *its* other fruits, it would be difficult to find another region¹ in the inhabited *earth* comparable to this; so manifold are the returns from whatever is sown. **31** I attribute these results to the warmth of the atmosphere and to the bracing² effects of the water; indeed, the warmth calls forth and diffuses the sprouts, while the moisture enables every one of them to take firm root and supplies them with vitality in the summer, when the surrounding area is so parched that one can scarcely venture outdoors. **32** Now if the water is drawn before sunrise, and after that is exposed to the air, it becomes exceedingly cold, assuming a nature contrary to the surrounding atmosphere; but in winter, it is warm and quite pleasant to bathe in. **33** Now the surrounding atmosphere is even so temperate that the inhabitants wear linen *even* when snow is falling throughout the rest of Judah.

34 Now this region is indeed 150 stadia away from Jerusalem, but 60 from the Jordan. And indeed, *the* country from Jericho to Jerusalem is desert and rocky. But from the Jordan to the Lake of Asphalt, the ground is indeed lower, but it is equally desert and barren. **35** Instead, enough has indeed been said about Jericho, that most prosperous spot.

36 Now the natural properties of the Lake of Asphalt are also worth describing. Indeed, its waters are bitter and sterile. But due to their buoyancy, they bear up to the surface even the heaviest of objects cast into them; but it is difficult, even purposefully, to sink to the bottom. **37** Accordingly, when Vespasianus came to explore *the lake*, he ordered certain persons who were

unable to swim to be flung into the deep water with their hands tied behind them; and the result was that everyone rose to the surface *and* floated, as if impelled upward by a spirit.

38 Now another marvelous feature of this *lake* is its change of color. For three times a day it changes its appearance and throws off a different reflection of the solar rays.

39 However, in many parts, it casts up black masses of bitumen; now these float on the surface of the water, and in both their shape and size resemble headless bulls. **40** Now when the laborers on the lake row up to these, and catch hold of the lumps, they haul them into their ships. But when the seacrafts are full, it is no easy task to detach their cargo; instead, due to its tenacious *and* glutinous nature, it clings to the seacraft until it is loosened by female menstrual blood and urine, to which it alone yields. **41** But *this bitumen* is also useful, not only for caulking ships; instead *it is* also used for the healing of the body. Accordingly, it forms an ingredient in many drugs.

42 The length of this lake is indeed 580 stadia, measured in a line extending as far as Zoar in Arab; but its breadth is 150. **43** Now adjacent to it is Sodom. Indeed, in days of old it was a prosperous land, both for its fruits as well as the wealth of its various cities, but now everything is burned up. **44** For due to the impiety of its inhabitants, it was incinerated by lightning. Accordingly, remnants of the divine fire, and indeed faint traces of the five cities, are still visible. But one may still see ashes reproduced in the fruits, which, indeed from their outward appearance, would be thought edible, but on being plucked with the hand, they dissolve into smoke and ashes. **45** These are indeed the things related about the land of Sodom born by ocular evidence.

CHAPTER 65 [War4:486-494, 496-544]

Now Vespasianus, intending to build a wall around Jerusalem on all sides, erected encampments at both Jericho and Haditha. Then he placed a garrison in each one, a contingent *formed* out of both the Romans and *his* auxiliaries. **2** But he also sent Lucius Annius to Gerasa with a squadron of cavalry and a considerable number of infantry. **3** Therefore indeed, when *Annius* had taken the city by onslaught, he indeed killed 1,000 of the youths who had not already escaped, but made prisoners of families, and permitted his soldiers to plunder the property. Then, he set fire to the houses *and* advanced against the adjoining villages. **4** Now the powerful *men* fled, and the feeble *ones* met destruction; but everything left behind was set on fire.

5 And now that the war had embraced the entire region, both the entire mountainous *region* and the plain, all egress from Jerusalem was cut off. Yet indeed, those who desired to desert were closely watched by the Zealots; while those who were not *yet* on the side of the Romans were confined by the army which encompassed the city on every side.

6 Now Vespasianus had returned to Caesarea and was preparing to march the entire force upon Jerusalem itself, when a message reached him *stating* that Nerō had been done away with, after having reigned thirteen years and eight days.

7 The accounts concerning *Nerō's* wanton-abuse of the government by entrusting the administration to the most wicked *of men*, Nymphidius and Tigellinus, **8** the most worthless of freemen; and how they conspired against him: indeed, how he was abandoned by all his guards, but escaped with four faithful freedmen, doing away with himself in the suburbs; and how, before long, a rightful-punishment overtook those who had caused his overthrow; **9** also, how the war in Galatia ended; and how Galba was made emperor *and* returned to Roma from Spania—are described by numerous historians, both Hellenic and Roman.

10 Moreover, when indeed the news first came, Vespasianus deferred his expedition against Jerusalem, waiting to see in which direction the scale of the rule would tip after *Nerō's* death. **11** But when he subsequently heard that Galba was made emperor, he refused to undertake anything until he had received further instructions from him concerning the war. But he also sent his son Titus to *the new emperor* both to salute him and to receive his instructions concerning the Judeans. Now King Agrippa also embarked with Titus to Galba on the same errand.

12 And before they reached their destination, and while they were sailing in long ships by Achaia (for it was winter), a charge of humble-mindedness was brought against *Galba* by the soldiers, and he was treacherously done away with in the middle of the Roman forum after having reigned seven months and as many days. Otho succeeded him as emperor, the rival claimant to the leadership.

13 Therefore, Agrippa, indeed by no means deterred by this change of affairs, decided to proceed to Roma. **14** But Titus, under a demonic impulse, sailed back from Hellas to Syria and hastened to rejoin his father at Caesarea. **15** And indeed, since the Roman leadership itself was shaking, the two were both in suspense about these momentous matters. So on account of a fear which they had for their own fatherland, they neglected their expedition against the Judeans, regarding an attack on the foreigners as unseasonable.

¹ may also be translated "slope"

² variant "fertilizing"

16 But now, another war was impending at Jerusalem. There was a certain Simon, son of Giora, who was a Geresean by race, indeed, a youth less cunning than *the* Johanan who had already taken possession of the city, but was superior in bodily strength and audacity. 17 And this *audacity* had led to his expulsion by the chief-priest Hanan from the toparchy of Akrobat, which was once under *his command*; in consequence, he had joined the brigands who had seized Masada.

18 Therefore indeed, at first they regarded him with suspicion. Accordingly, they permitted him, along with the women whom he brought with him, access only to the lower part of the fortress, while they themselves occupied the upper quarters. 19 But afterwards, as a *man* of congenial disposition and apparently to be trusted, he was accordingly allowed to accompany them when they ravaged *places*, and helped *them* to destroy the *country* surrounding Masada.

20 Truly, his efforts to tempt them to undertake greater enterprises were still unsuccessful. For they had indeed grown accustomed to dwell in the fortress, 21 bearing anxiety to venture far from their lair. But he was aspiring to tyranny and cherishing high ambitions. And after he heard of the end of Hanan, he withdrew into the mountainous *regions*. And there he preached before *them*: indeed freedom to *the* slaves, but a prerogative for *the* free *men*, and was gathering-together the wicked *men* from-every-quarter.

22 Now, having collected a steadfast contingent of *men*, he first overran the villages in the mountainous *region*; but as more and more *men* came to him, he was emboldened to descend into the lowlands. 23 Since he had become a terror to the cities, many powerful *men*, on account of his strength and career of unbroken success, were seduced into joining him. So his army was no longer composed of slaves and brigands; instead, it even included numerous recruits from the populace who were subservient to him as to a king.

24 Now he overran both the toparchy of Akrobat and the whole district extending as far as greater Edom. For at a village called Nain, he erected a wall, using *the place* as a fortress to secure his position. 25 But at a ravine called Pheretai, he indeed widened many of the caves, but found many others *already* adapted for his purpose; these he used as storehouses and repositories for plunder. 26 But here he also laid up his spoils of fruit, and here most of his *soldiers* were quartered. Now *his objective* was evident, that he was both training his contingent beforehand and making all these preparations for *an attack* on Jerusalem.

27 In consequence, the Zealots, anxious at his designs and wishing to forestall one whose growing strength was to their injury, went out with their main *body* under arms. But Simon met them; and drawing up into formation, he indeed did away with many of them, but drove the remainder into the city. 28 But misgivings about his force indeed deterred him from an assault on the walls. But first, he resolved to subdue Edom, and now marched toward the borders of that country with 20,000 heavy-armed *soldiers*.

29 Now the Edomite chiefs hastily mustered the most efficient-combatants from the country, which numbered about 25,000. But leaving the majority of *the population* to protect their property against the incursions of the Sicarii in Masada, they had been receiving Simon at the borders. 30 There he engaged them. And after they waged-war throughout that whole day, he left neither as a victor or as one vanquished. So he indeed withdrew into Nain, but the Edomites dispersed to their home.

31 And not long after this, Simon again invaded their country with a yet greater force. But encamping at a certain village called Tekoa, he sent one of his companions named Eleazar to the guards in Hérôdeion, which was not far off, to persuade them to hand over that fortification.

32 These guards, being ignorant of the intent of his visit, promptly admitted him. But as soon as he vocalized about a surrender, they drew their short-swords and pursued him, until he found no place to flee. So he hurled himself down from the wall into the ravine which lay below; 33 and indeed, he immediately came-to-his-end. But the Edomites, now gravely afraid of Simon's strength, decided to reconnoiter their foes' army before risking an engagement with them.

34 Now for this service, Jacob, one of their leaders, promptly volunteered, *but* had it in his mind to betray them. 35 Accordingly, he set out from Halhul (for this was the village where the Edomite army had gathered) and came to Simon. 36 And after first receiving an assurance on oath that he would always hold some *post* of honor, he made a compact with him to deliver up his own fatherland; but he also promised to assist him in the subjugation of all of Edom.

37 At these things, he was hospitably entertained by Simon and elated with dazzling promises. So when he returned to his own men, he indeed began by immensely exaggerating the strength of Simon's army. 38 Then, by giving his right hand *in assurance* to both the leaders and to the whole multitude, in small parties, he instigated them to surrender the whole government up to him without a battle.

39 But while these negotiations proceeded, he also sent his messengers to invite Simon to come, promising to disperse the Edomites, a promise which he duly fulfilled. 40 For as soon as the army was approaching, he was the first to mount his horse and flee, followed by his corrupted *accomplices*. 41 Now at this, a panic fell upon the whole multitude; and before it came to hand-to-hand combat,

they broke their ranks and every one retired to his own home. 42 Now in this way, Simon unexpectedly marched into Edom without bloodshed, and made a surprise assault upon the city of Hebron and captured it. He took possession of lots of spoil, but plundered a vast quantity of fruit.

43 Now according to the information of its inhabitants, Hebron is a city of greater antiquity, not only than any other in that country, *but* instead even *greater* than Memphis in Egypt. Accordingly, it is calculated to be 2,300 years old. 44 Now they also relate that it was there that Abraham, the progenitor of the Judeans, took up his abode after his migration from Mesopotamia; also, that it is from here that his boys went down into Egypt. 45 And their memorials are shown in this small city to this day, composed of very fine marble and wrought out of a love-of-honor. 46 Now at a distance of six stadia from the town, there is also shown a huge terebinth-tree, which is reported to have stood there since the creation.

47 From Hebron, Simon progressed throughout all of Edom. And *he* did not confine his ravages to villages and cities, but lay waste the entire country, since provisions proved insufficient for such a multitude; for, apart from his heavy-armed *soldiers*, he had 40,000 followers. 48 But besides this lack of provisions, he was both cruel and had anger against the race; *both of which* contributed to the devastation of Edom.

49 Now in the same way that a forest in the wake of locusts may be seen stripped bare of its leaves, so nothing remained behind Simon's army except for a desert. 50 And indeed, some places they burnt, but others they demolished. But all the vegetation throughout the country vanished, either trodden underfoot or consumed. And their marching rendered the cultivated land harder and more untraceable than barren soil. Now overall, it may be said that there was no sign remaining of those places which had been laid waste, as if they had never existed.

51 These proceedings roused the Zealots afresh. And though they were terrified to stand in hostile array against Simon, they laid ambushes in the passes, and captured his wife along with a considerable number of her attendants. 52 Then, as if they had taken Simon himself captive, they returned to the city rejoicing, and expected that he would instantly lay down his weapons and come to make supplication for his wife.

53 But *rather* than arousing merciful affection, they instead aroused anger at them for snatching away his wife. So he advanced to the wall of Jerusalem like some wounded beast which was unable to catch those who wounded him, and vented his fury upon everyone whom he met. 54 Accordingly, anyone who ventured outside the gates to gather herbs or sticks, who were unarmed and aged individuals, he seized. *Then* he tormented and utterly-destroyed them; and in the extravagance of his indignation, almost gnawing the very bodies of their corpses.

55 Now he also cut off the hands of many others, sending them back into *the city*: first, to strike his enemies with astonishment; and *second*, to cause the populace to form a sedition against the responsible *parties*. 56 But he enjoined them to say that Simon had sworn by God, the overseer of all, that unless they immediately restored his wife to him, he would break down the wall and inflict similar punishment upon all of the citizens, sparing neither young nor old, and making no distinction between the innocent and the guilty.

57 These threats struck not only the populace with such astonishment, *but* instead even the Zealots, that they sent his wife back to him. And at this, he indeed momentarily mollified, pausing from his ceaseless murder for a time.

CHAPTER 66 [War4:545-584, 495a]

Now at this time, a sedition and civil war were not *only* confined to Judah; instead, it was *also rampant* in Italia. 2 For indeed, Galba had been done away with in the middle of the Roman forum. Now once Otho had become emperor, he warred against Vitellius, who now aspired to be *emperor* as well; for the legions in Germania had elected him.

3 And an engagement broke out at Bedriacum in Galatia against Vitellius' generals: both Valens and Caecinna. Indeed, on the first day, Otho gained the advantage; but on the second day, Vitellius' soldiers did. 4 And so great was the murder, that indeed when Otho, who was at Brixellum, had been informed of this defeat, he slew himself. So he held the reins of the government for three months and two days. 5 Now *Otho's* army went over to the generals of Vitellius, and he came down in person upon Roma with his entire force.

6 But Vespasianus had also removed from Caesarea on the fifth *day* of the month Daisios, and advanced against those districts of Judah which had not yet been overthrown. 7 Now he ascended into the mountainous *region* and subdued two toparchies, those which were called Gufnin and Akrobat. Next, he captured the small cities of Bethel and Ephraim. After leaving garrisons in them, he rode with his cavalry as far as Jerusalem. But he brought ruin upon many of those whom he encountered on the route, and took numerous prisoners.

8 Now Cerealius, one of his leaders, took a detachment of cavalry and infantry, and laid waste to what is known as Upper Edom. And here he indeed attacked Kefar-Atra (a pretended small city), burning it down in the first attack.

Now he assaulted another city called Kefar-Abus and proceeded to besiege it. 9 Now its wall was exceptionally strong. And although he anticipated a prolonged

delay, those who were inside suddenly opened their gates. Approaching him with olive-branches as suppliants, they surrendered to him.

10 Now after Cerealius had conquered them, he advanced on Hebron, another city of great antiquity. Now it was situated in the mountainous region not far from Jerusalem. But immediately after he had forced through the entrances, he indeed did away with a multitude there, the youth and older, but burned down the town.

11 So now every place was subdued, with an exception of Hérōdeion, and Masada, and Machairous; but these were held by the brigands. So Jerusalem was now the sole objective before the Romans.

12 But now that Simon had recovered his wife from the Zealots, he returned once more to the remnants of Edom. And harassing every quarter of the nation, he compelled the majority to flee to Jerusalem. 13 But from there, he himself also followed them to the city, and again encompassed the wall. Any of the workmen whom he caught going out into the country, he utterly-destroyed.

14 Now this Simon, who was outside the city, was more fearsome to the populace than the Romans themselves. But the Zealots within were more oppressive than either. So during this time, the mischievous ingenuity and audacity of the Zealots corrupted the Galileans' contingent; 15 for it was they who had promoted Johanan to power. From the position of authority which they had obtained for him, he requited them by permitting them to do whatever they desired.

16 But they were insatiable in their lust for plunder and in ransacking the houses of the wealthy; both the murdering of men and the violation of women were their sport. 17 They caroused on their spoils, together with blood to wash them down; and from mere satiety, they unscrupulously indulged in effeminate practices, arranging their hair and attiring themselves in women's garments, but drenching themselves with perfumes and painting their eyelids to enhance their comeliness. 18 But they did not only imitate the ornamentation; instead, they also imitated the passions of women, and devised, in their excess of lasciviousness, unlawful passionate-desires. Now they wallowed in the city as in a brothel, and entirely polluted it with their foul deeds. 19 But while they wore effeminate faces, their right hands were murderous; and approaching with an effeminate gait, they would suddenly become warriors; and drawing out their short-swords from under their dyed mantles, they ran through anyone whom they met.

20 But anyone who fled from Johanan had an even bloodier reception from Simon; so he who escaped the tyrant within the wall was utterly-destroyed by the other outside the gates. 21 Now in this way, every avenue of escape was cut off from those desiring to desert to the Romans.

22 But Johanan's force now raised a sedition against him. And all the Edomites within it broke away and made an attack on the tyrant. This was born both from their envy of his power, and from hatred of his cruelty. 23 Now in the ensuing engagement, they both did away with many of the Zealots, and drove the remainder into the royal palace which had been built by Graptés. Now this man was a relative of Izad, the king of Hadyab. 24 But rushing in along with them, the Edomites drove the Zealots out from there into the temple, and then proceeded to plunder Johanan's money; 25 for he had prescribed this place both as his residence, as well as his repository for the spoils of his tyranny.

26 Now the multitude of the Zealots who were dispersed throughout the city mustered to the fugitives in the temple. And Johanan prepared to lead them down against the populace and the Edomites. 27 Now the Edomites, being more efficient-combatants than them, had less fear of their attack than of their madness, lest they should sally out of the temple by night, and both utterly-destroy them and burn down the town.

28 Therefore, they held a meeting with the chief-priests in order to take counsel on how they should guard against the attack. 29 But it was God who perverted their judgment, and they devised a drug for their salvation which was more disastrous than the destruction itself. Accordingly, in order to overthrow Johanan, they decided to admit Simon, and with suppliant appeals, to introduce a second tyrant over their heads.

30 Now the decision of this council was carried into effect. And the chief-priest Matthijah was sent to beseech this Simon, of whom they had such terror, to enter the city. Now this request was backed by the Jerusalem natives who sought refuge from the Zealots, and who were desirous to preserve their homes and their possessions.

31 Now he haughtily consented to be their master, entering as one intending to rid the city of the Zealots. The populace acclaimed him as their savior and protector. 32 But once he had been admitted with his force, his sole concern was to secure his own authority; and he regarded the men who had invited him as no less his enemies than those whom he had been invited to oppose.

33 Indeed, in this way, Simon took possession of Jerusalem, in the third year of the war, in the month Xanthikos. Now Simon's party instantly plundered Johanan and his multitude of Zealots. So having lost these possessions of theirs in the city, and being debarred from all egress from the temple, they began to despair of their salvation.

34 But Simon attacked the temple, with the assistance of the populace. Their adversaries posted themselves on the porticoes and parapets in order to defend themselves from their assaults. 35 But many of Simon's party fell, and many went down as wounded men. For the Zealots from their higher ground were able to maintain an easy and well-directed missile fire.

36 But they also improved this positional advantage by erecting four huge towers in order to increase the height from which they discharged their missiles: 37 indeed, one at the northeast corner, but the second above the covered-colonnade, but the third at another corner opposite the lower city; 38 but the last was erected above the peak of the priests' chambers, at the point where it was the custom for one of the priests to stand in order to presignal with a trumpet during the afternoon of the approach of every seventh day, as well as on the evening of its close; indeed, sending out messages to the people regarding the respective hours for ceasing work and for resuming their work.

39 Now these men also set up their machines: both sharpened-bolt-launchers and stone-launchers, together with both archers and slingers. 40 Indeed, from that time forward, Simon's assaults grew less strenuous, as the majority of his men grew weary. But because his force was superior, he was able to hold against them. But the projectiles discharged from the machines, with their longer range, did away with many of the combatants.

CHAPTER 67 [War4:585-629]

Now about this very time, Roma was also beset by heavy calamities. 2 For indeed, Vitellius had arrived from Germania with his soldiers, dragging along with them a vast motley multitude. But unable to find enough room in the quarters which were assigned for the soldiers, he converted all of Roma into an encampment and filled every house with heavy-armed soldiers. 3 Now when these men beheld the wealth of the Romans with unaccustomed eyes, and found themselves surrounded on every side by the glitter of both silver and gold, they could scarcely restrain their avarice or refrain both from having recourse to plundering and from doing away with anyone who obstructed them. And this was indeed the condition of affairs in Italia.

4 Now after Vespasianus had overthrown all of the places near Jerusalem, he returned to Caesarea, where he was informed of the disturbances at Roma and that Vitellius was emperor. 5 Although he knew full well how to obey as well as how to govern, this news roused his indignation. And he was unwilling to glorify as his master a man who had laid mad hands upon the leadership as though it was destitute of a ruler. 6 Now this calamity caused him such great agony that he could not endure the torture it brought, or, while his own fatherland was being laid waste, to devote attention to other wars. 7 Instead, despite how much his fury impelled him to avenge his country, the thought of the distance no less deterred him. For fortune might forestall him by many a knavish trick before he could cross to Italia, especially considering that he would be required to set sail in the winter season. So this struggle restrained the anger which was already growing ripe.

8 Now both his leaders and soldiers met, in friendly-gatherings, and were already openly taking counsel about a change of government. And they indignantly cried out, "Indeed, these soldiers in Roma are living in luxury. And not even being able to bear hearing a rumor of a war, they are electing whomever they wish for our leaders, and in hopes of gain, creating emperors for themselves. 9 While we, who have undergone such numerous labors, and are growing gray beneath our helmets, are giving up this privilege to others, when all the time we even have among us one more worthy of the government.

10 "What more righteous return can we ever render to him for his kindness to us, if we fling away the present opportunity? But Vespasianus' claim to take the leadership is as far more righteous than Vitellius', as we ourselves are to the electors of that leader. 11 For, surely, we have waged wars no less arduous than those of Germania; nor are we inferior in arms to the soldiers who have brought this tyrant back from there.

12 "But there will be no need for a contest. For neither will the senate, nor the Roman populace, tolerate such a lascivious emperor as Vitellius in place of the temperance of Vespasianus; nor indeed, will they endure as president a most brutal tyrant in place of a good leader, nor a childless prince to a father; for the very best security for peace lies in a legitimate succession to the kingship.

13 "Therefore, if governorship calls for the experience of years, we have Vespasianus; if for the vigor of youth, there is Titus; for the two of them will combine the advantages of their respective ages. 14 Now the persons we choose will not be dependant solely on the strength we are able to supply, mustering as we can three legions and the auxiliaries furnished by the kings. They will have the further support, both of everyone in the east, and of everyone in Europa too remote to be intimidated by Vitellius; but they will also have the support of our auxiliaries in Italia, that is, a brother and another boy of Vespasianus. 15 Indeed, of these, the one will gain many recruits from the dignified youths, while the other has even been entrusted with the guardianship of the city; a fact of no small importance for any designs in obtaining the leadership.

16 “But overall, if there is any delay on our part, the senate will probably elect the very *man* whom his own soldiers, who have grown gray in his service, have dishonorably neglected.”

17 Such were the conversations current among the companies of soldiers. Then banding together and encouraging one another, they proclaimed Vespasianus emperor. And they urged him to save the endangered leadership.

18 Now *Vespasianus* had indeed long been concerned about the whole leadership, yet, truly, he had never purposed his own promotion. He was indeed conscious that his works would justify such a claim, but he preferred the security of a private life to the dangers of splendor. 19 But when he declined, the leaders pressed him more insistently. And the soldiers, flocking around him with drawn short-swords in their hands, threatened to do away with him if he refused to live with dignity. 20 But he forcibly represented to them his many reasons for rejecting a *position* in the government; but failing to convince them, he finally yielded to their solicitations.

21 Now he was urged both by Mucianus and the other leaders to act as emperor. And the rest of the army clamored to be led against all of *his* rivals. But his first objective was to secure a hold upon Alexandria. For he realized that the supreme importance of Egypt to the leadership was its granary. 22 If he was able to master it, he hoped, by persistence, to force Vitellius to surrender; for the multitude of Roma would never submit to starvation. He also desired to annex the two legions at Alexandria. 23 Now he also contemplated holding the country as a defense against the uncertainty of fortune.

For *Egypt* is both difficult to access by land, and is destitute of harbors on the sea. 24 Indeed, on the west, it is protected by the arid deserts of Libyē; but on the south, by the frontier separating it from Ethiopia: Swenett and the unnavigable cataracts of the River; but on the east by the Sea of Reeds, which extends as far north as Keft; 25 but its northern wall is *the* land reaching to Syria and the so-called Egyptian Sea, totally devoid of havens. 26 Indeed, in this way, Egypt is enwalled on every side.

Now its length from Pélousion to Swenett is 2,000 stadia, but the passage from Plinthine to Pélousion is 3,600 stadia. 27 Now the Nile is navigable as far as the city *which* is being called ‘of Elephants’,¹ the previously mentioned cataracts barring further progress.

28 Now *the* harbor of Alexandria is difficult for ships to approach even in *times* of peace; for the entrance is narrow, and submerged rocks cause *the ships* to divert from the straight course. 29 And indeed, on the left side, the channel is fenced in by handmade legs; but on the right side, the island called Pharos juts out from the entrance, and supports an enormous tower. *This tower* emits a light visible 300 stadia away to those sailing into *the harbor*, in order to warn them at night to anchor some distance off because of the difficulty of sailing ashore. 30 Immense handmade walls have been built around this island; but when the sea dashes straight against them and *its waves* are broken around the opposite piers, the navigation becomes very rough, and the entrance through the strait is rendered perilous. 31 Yet however, the harbor’s interior is perfectly safe and is 30 stadia in length. Now carried into *this harbor* are all the commodities which the country lacks for its welfare; and from *this port* the surplus of the local products are distributed throughout all the inhabited *earth*.

32 Therefore indeed, with good reason, Vespasianus was eager to obtain *control* of its *state* affairs, keeping in mind his objective: the stability of the whole leadership. Now he immediately sent to Tiberius Alexandros, who was governor of Egypt and Alexandria, informing him of the army’s eagerness, and how he, being forced to shoulder the burden of the leadership himself, was desirous to enlist his co-operation and assistance.

33 Now as soon as Alexandros had publicly read this letter, he promptly required both the legions and the multitude to take the oath of allegiance to *Vespasianus*; but this was a call to which they gladly obeyed, knowing the man’s excellence from his generalship in their vicinity. 34 And indeed, *Alexandros*, now having the interests of the government entrusted to his charge, made all preparations for *Vespasianus*’ arrival.

But quicker than thought, rumor sent the message about the new emperor to the east. And indeed, every city kept festivals on account of the good-messages and offered sacrifices on his behalf. 35 Now the legions which were in Musia and Pannonia, which had recently been exasperated by the audacity of Vitellius, were very glad to take the oath of allegiance to Vespasianus as their leader. 36 Now *Vespasianus* left Caesarea and proceeded to Beirut, where numerous elders, indeed from Syria but *also* from the other provinces, waited upon him, bringing crowns and congratulatory decrees from the various cities. 37 Mucianus, leader of the province, also came, bringing a message *telling* about the populace’s eagerness, and that every city had taken the oath of *allegiance* to him.

38 Now fortune everywhere succeeded to his wishes, and the circumstances had, for the most part, conspired in his favor. At this, Vespasianus considered that it was not without the foresight of a demon that he had been able to grasp the government, and instead that some righteous foresight had placed the whole *leadership* under his power. 39 For among many other signs, which had everywhere foretold that he would obtain the leadership, he even recalled the words which *I*, Joseph, had said to him when *I* had ventured, even in Nerō’s lifetime, to address him as emperor. 40 But he was shocked to think that *I* was still in chains with him.

So he summoned Mucianus, along with his other leaders and friends. Indeed, he first elaborated upon *my* efficaciousness, and *told them* about all the trouble which *I* had given them at Jodphat. 41 After-that, he related *my* soothsayings, which indeed at the time he himself had suspected of being fabrications prompted by terror, but which time and the event *itself* had disclosed to be divine.

42 “Therefore, it is disgraceful,” he declared, “that *this man* who has foretold *my* elevation to the government, and who was a minister of the voice of God, should still rank as a captive and endure a prisoner’s *misfortune*.”

So he called for *me*, and directed *me* to be liberated. 43 Therefore, the leaders were indeed hoping that such a requital of a foreigner also meant brilliant *honors* for themselves. But Titus, who was beside his father, 44 declared, “O father, righteousness demands that Joseph should lose his disgrace along with his fetters. For if, instead of loosing his chains, we sever them, he will be like *a man* who had never been bound at all.” For such is the practice in cases where a man has been unjustly bound.

45 *Vespasianus* approved of this advice. So an attendant came forward and severed the chain with an axe. Now in this way, *I* won *my* enfranchisement as the reward of *my* predictions; and *my* futurities were no longer discredited.

CHAPTER 68 [War4:630-663, 495b / Life:415-417a / Apion1:48b-49]

Now when Vespasianus had responded to the elders and had disposed of the various governorships with due regard to the claims of righteousness and the dignities of the candidates, he came to Antiocheia. 2 And *here* he took counsel on which direction to take, concluding that affairs in Roma were indeed more important than a march to Alexandria, because he saw that *Alexandria* was secured, whereas at Roma, Vitellius was creating overall disorder. 3 He dispatched Mucianus to Italia with a substantial force of both cavalry and infantry; but *Mucianus*, anxious of the risk of a sea voyage in the middle of the winter, led his army by land through Kappadokia and Phrygia.

4 Now Antonius Primus, along with the third legion from Musia (*for* he was now leading them), made haste to fight Vitellius. 5 But at this, Vitellius sent off Caecina Alienus with a strong force to oppose him, having great confidence in him on account of his victory over Otho.

Now *Caecina* marched out from Roma in great haste and met Antonius near Kremōna. Now *Kremōna* is a city in Galatia on the borders of Italia. 6 But when he perceived the multitude and discipline of his foes there, he indeed dared not engage them; but considering a retreat dangerous, he began to take counsel concerning betrayal. 7 Now he gathered together the centurions and tribunes who were under *his command*, urging them to go over to Antonius, indeed, by disparaging the resources of Vitellius but by extolling the strength of Vespasianus.

8 He also said, “Indeed, the one has only the name of the government; but the other, its power. But it is also better for you to anticipate necessity by gaining favor *now*. And, as we are likely to be beaten in arms, *it is better* to avert the danger beforehand. 9 For indeed, Vespasianus himself is capable, even without your aid, of acquiring what he has yet to win; while Vitellius, even with your support, is unable to retain what he already has.”

10 Caecina’s words, and many more in the same strain, prevailed, and he along with his force deserted to Antonius. 11 But that same night, the soldiers were overcome with a change-of-mind and terror of *Vitellius* who had sent them *into the field*, wondering *what their fate would be* should he prove stronger. Now drawing their short-swords, they rushed off to do away with Caecina; and they would have accomplished their purpose, had not the tribunes thrown themselves at the feet of their companies, imploring them to desist. 12 Now indeed *the soldiers* did not kill him, but they bound him as a traitor, and prepared to send him to Vitellius.

When Primus was informed of this, he instantly called up his *men* and led them in arms against the insurgents. 13 Now these *rebels* formed a battle line and indeed offered a brief resistance, but were soon routed and fled for Kremōna. But Primus took his cavalry and intercepted their entrance *into the city*; and he indeed encompassed the multitude before the city, utterly-destroying them; but forcing his way in with the remainder, he permitted his soldiers to pillage the town.

14 There indeed many of the foreign merchants, as well as many of the countrymen, were destroyed, but so was the whole army of Vitellius, which numbered 30,200 men. But Antonius lost 4,500 *of his soldiers* from Musia. 15 Now he released Caecina and sent him to carry a message about these events to

¹ i.e. “Elephantine”

Vespasianus. So on his arrival, he was both graciously received by *the emperor*, and covered the disgrace of his perfidy with unexpected honors.

16 Now when Sabinus in Roma also received a message about Antonius' approach, he regained courage; and mustering the legions of soldiers who kept the night-watch, he seized the Capitolium during the night. 17 But early the next day, he was joined by many distinguished *men*, including his brother's boy Domitianus, upon whom their hopes of success primarily rested.

18 Now at this time, Vitellius was indeed less concerned about Primus, but was infuriated at the insurgents who had supported Sabinus. And from innate cruelty thirsting for noble blood, he sent out the force of his army which had accompanied him, to fight against the Capitolium. 19 Therefore indeed, many gallant deeds were done by them, as well as by those who fought them from the temple.

But finally, by superior numbers, the Germans took possession of the ridge. 20 And there, Domitianus indeed, along with many Roman magistrates, were preserved by the power of a demon. But the rest of the multitude was entirely cut-down. And Sabinus himself, who was brought a prisoner to Vitellius, was done away with. But after the soldiers had plundered the inner-sanctum of its votive offerings, they set it on fire.

21 And a day later, Antonius indeed marched in with his force, but he was met by Vitellius; and engaging in three different quarters of the city, *Vitellius' forces* were destroyed. 22 Now Vitellius came out of the royal *palace* while he was getting-intoxicated; and knowing that the end had come, he was gorged with a banquet more lavish and luxurious than ever. 23 But after being dragged through the multitude and subjected to torments of every kind, he was finally slaughtered in the center of Roma. He had reigned eight months and five days. Had foresight prolonged his life, the very leadership, I imagine, would not have been sufficient for his lust. 24 Now of others, *their* corpses numbered more than 50,000. These *events* indeed took place on the third day of the month Apellaios.

25 Now on the following day, Mucianus entered with his army and restrained Antonius from further killing. For *his men* were still searching the houses, indeed doing away with many of Vitellius' soldiers, but *also* many of the populace; *for* being too violently premature in their fury for careful distinction, they supposed *many of the populace* to be of his party.

Now Mucianus brought forward Domitianus, recommending him to the multitude as their leader until his father's arrival. 26 But the populace, now freed from their fears, acclaimed Vespasianus as emperor, and celebrated one festival in honor of both his confirmation in the government and for the dissolution of Vitellius.

27 Now when Vespasianus had reached Alexandria, he was greeted by this good-message from Roma, and by elders who brought congratulation from every region of the inhabited earth, which was now his own. And though *Alexandria's* magnitude was second only to Roma, it proved too small to contain the multitude.

28 Now that the civil war suppressed, and *Vespasianus* was confirmed in the government, and the Roman *state* affairs were saved beyond expectation, Vespasianus turned his thoughts to what remained in Judah. 29 However, he himself was yet eager to sail for Roma as soon as the winter was over, and was now rapidly settling affairs in Alexandria. But he dispatched his son Titus with a picked force to take out Jerusalem.

30 Now *the virgin I married from Caesarea* did not remain with me for long. Instead, when I had obtained my freedom and traveled with Vespasianus to Alexandria, she was released. But in Alexandria, I took another woman for myself. 31 From there I was sent along with Titus to Jerusalem, where my life would frequently be put in danger, both from the Judeans, who were eager to get me into their hands to gratify their revenge, as well as from the Romans, who attributed every defeat they suffered to some betrayal on my part, and they were constantly clamoring toward the emperor, imploring him to chastise me as their betrayer. 32 But Titus Caesar, being well acquainted with the varying fortunes of war, would dissipate the soldiers' attacks on me by his silence. 33 Now during this *entire* time, *up till the end of the war*, none of the action escaped my knowledge; for I watched and carefully recorded what happened in the Roman encampment, and I alone understood what was reported by *Judean* deserters.

34 Now Titus proceeded by foot as far as Nikopolis. Now *this city* is at a distance of 20 stadia from Alexandria. There he embarked his army on long boats and sailed up the Nile into the Mendésian district to the city of Timai. 35 But here he disembarked. And resuming his march, he passed a night at a small city called Zoan.

His second day's march brought him to *the* city of Héraklés, and the third to Pélousion. 36 Now he halted here for two days to refresh his army. On the third day, he crossed the Pelusiatic river-mouths. And advancing a day's march through the desert, he encamped near the temple of the Kasion Zeus; but on the next day he encamped at Ostrakine. This station was destitute of water, but its inhabitants make use of water brought from other places.

37 After this, he rested at Rhinocourou. From there, he advanced to his fourth station, Raphiah; now this city is the beginning of Syria. 38 For his fifth station,

he encamped at Gaza. Next, he marched to Ashkelon; from there, to Jabneh; and next, to Japho. From Japho, he reached Caesarea, the rendezvous fixed on for the concentration of his forces.

CHAPTER 69 [Wars:1-46]

Indeed, when Titus had marched over the desert from Egypt to Syria, he arrived at Caesarea, the place where he had pre decided to marshal his forces before he began *the expedition*. 2 But already, while he was still at Alexandria, assisting his father in establishing the leadership (which God has recently committed into their hands), it so happened that a sedition at Jerusalem was revived, and it parted into three factions. And one of the factions had fought against itself—a discord, which, as between villains, might be called a good *thing* and a work of justice. 3 Now this present sedition might not be inaccurately described as a sedition bred within a sedition, and which, like some raving beast, for lack of food at length, preyed upon its own flesh.

4 Eleazar son of Simon was *the man* who had originally caused the Zealots to break from the populace and withdraw into the sacred-precincts. At this time, he succeeded from the party, in pretext from indignation at the daily insolent attempts perpetrated by Johanan (for *Johanan* did not cease these murders of his); but in reality, because he could not bear to submit to a tyrant junior to himself, craving both an absolute mastery and a dominion of his own.

5 He took with him Judah son of Hilkiah, and Simon son of Hezron, who were the most powerful *men*. Also with him was Hezekiah the boy of Chobareis, a *man* with no lack of distinction. 6 Now each of these had a no small following of Zealots. And they took possession of the enclosure of the inner-sanctum, and planted their weapons above the holy gates on the consecrated façades. 7 Therefore indeed, since they were amply supplied with necessaries, they were of good-courage; for there was even an abundance of consecrated articles for those who thought that there was yet nothing impious about using them; but since they were daunted by the scantiness of their numbers, they sat still, retaining their positions.

8 Now Johanan's numerical superiority of men was counterbalanced by the inferiority of his position. And with his foes over his head, he was unable to assault them without anxiety, nor would his anger allow him to remain inactive. 9 Now he suffered more injury than he inflicted upon Eleazar's party, but he would not desist; and this was how there were continual sallies and projectile showers; and the temple on every side was defiled with slaughter.

10 Now there was Simon son of Giora, whom the populace, in their straits, had summoned in hope of relief, only to impose upon themselves a further tyrant. He occupied both the upper city, and a great part of the lower city. Seeing that Johanan's party was being assaulted from above, Simon now waged war against them more vigorously; 11 but Simon was engaged in hand-to-hand combat with them from his position below, in the same way that Johanan was below his foes who were attacking him from higher above.

So waging war on two sides, Johanan received losses as easily as he inflicted them.¹ And the disadvantage from which he suffered by being lower than Eleazar was proportionate to his advantage over Simon on account of his higher position. 12 And with hand-thrown missiles he easily repelled the assaults from below, but he reserved his weapons to repulse those who were shooting them down with javelins from the temple above; 13 for he was amply supplied with sharpened-bolt-launchers, and catapults, and stone-launchers, which he used, not only to ward off his foes, but instead to also do away with many of those who were performing consecrated rites.

14 For although these frenzied men had stopped short of no impiety, they nevertheless admitted those who wished to offer sacrifices—indeed, the countrymen suspiciously and with precaution; but strangers after a thorough search.² Although they were ashamed of their cruelty at the entrances,³ they often became casual victims of the sedition. 15 For the projectiles from their weapons flew over with such force that they reached as far as the altar and the inner-sanctum, falling upon both the priests and those who were performing consecrated rites. 16 And many who had sped from the ends of the earth, to gather around this far-famed place, held holy by all humans, fell down in front of their own sacrificial victims themselves, and poured out their own blood as a drink-offering upon that altar which was venerated by all the Hellenes and the barbarians. 17 But the corpses of countrymen were kneaded together with those of foreigners, and those of priests together with those of the profane; and the blood of all sorts of carcasses formed stagnant pools in the divine enclosures.

18 O most wretched city! What misery so great as this have you suffered at the hands of the Romans, who entered to purge your internal

¹ literally "Johanan easily both received losses and inflicted them"

² [War] LC "the countryfolk after a suspicious and cautious search, but strangers with less apprehension."

³ meaning uncertain

pollutions with fire? For indeed, you were no longer God's place, nor could you survive, after you had become a sepulcher for *the* bodies of your own inhabitants, and made the inner-sanctum into a charnel-house of a civil war. But may there be hopes for an improvement of your lot, if even you would propitiate God who is the author of your destruction!

19 The conspirators against the city were divided into three camps: indeed, Eleazar's party, who kept the consecrated firstfruits, brought their intoxication against Johanan. But the *men* along with this *man* plundered the populace, and gathered together upon Simon. But this *Simon*, in order to meet the rival-factions, looked to the city for supplies.

20 Therefore indeed, when Johanan found himself attacked from both sides, he would face his *men* about in opposite directions: so indeed, on the one side, he shot them down with javelins from the porticoes upon those coming up from the city; but on the other side, he used his weapons to ward off those who were shooting down upon him from the temple. 21 But if, at any time, he was relieved from the pressure above (now intoxication and fatigue often produced a cessation of this fire), he would sally out, with less anxiety and in greater strength, against Simon's party. 22 Now, to whatever part of the city he turned his steps, his invariable practice was to set fire to the buildings stocked with grain and all kinds of provisions.

But the same *thing* was done by Simon, when, upon the other's retreat, he advanced against *the city as well*, as if they had purposely served the Romans by utterly-destroying what the city had laid up against the siege, and in this way, severing the sinews of their own power.

23 Accordingly, it indeed came to pass, that everything around the temple was burned to ashes, and the city was converted into a desolate no-man's *land* for their domestic warfare. But almost all the grain, which might have sufficed them for a siege of no few years, was completely burned up. 24 Accordingly, they were taken by means of a famine, a fate which would not have been possible, had they not prepared the way for it themselves.

25 Now as the city was being beset on all sides by these warring conspirators and their rabble, the populace, like a huge body, was torn in pieces. 26 But old men and woman, in their helplessness, were praying for the coming of the Romans and eagerly hoped for the external war to liberate them from their internal miseries. 27 But natives, for their part, were in terrifying consternation and anxiety, and had no opportunity of forming a council or of changing their conduct, nor hope of coming to terms, nor of flight, if they wanted to; 28 for guards were set at every place, and the chief-brigands, although divided against one another on everything else, yet agreed to do away with their common foes—those who were in favor of peace with the Romans, or who were suspected of an intention to desert. And they were unanimous in nothing but the slaughter of those who deserved their salvation.

29 And indeed, the shouts of the combatants rang incessantly both by day and by night; but more terrifying were the mourners' anxious lamentations. 30 And indeed, their calamities provided a successive cause for lamentations, but deep consternation locked their wailings within *their breasts*; but while the fear yet suppressed all outward emotion, they were inwardly tortured by stifled groans. 31 And regard was no longer paid to the living by their relatives, nor was any foresight taken to bury those who were destroyed—now these negligences were due to personal despair; for those who took no part in the sedition lost interest in everything, expecting that they would be destroyed very soon.

32 The rival parties fought against each other, trampling over the corpses which were heaped one upon another. And the frenzy inhaled from those who fell at their feet increased their savagery. 33 But ever inventing some new instrument of mutual destruction and putting every plan into practice without mercy, they left no method of torment or cruelty remaining.

34 Johanan misappropriated the consecrated timber, employing them for the construction of weapons. For the people and the chief-priests had, in the past, decided to underpin the inner-sanctum in order to raise it twenty cubits higher. Indeed, for that purpose, King Agrippa had, at immense labor and immense expense, brought down from Mount Lebanon the materials—beams that were a sight to see, due to both their straightness and their magnitude.

35 But with the war having interrupted the work, Johanan, finding them long enough to reach those who fought against him from the temple above *him*, had them cut and made into towers. 36 He also had these *towers* brought up and erected at the rear of the inner enclosure, opposite the western hall. And *this hall* alone was practicable, the other sides being cut off from approach by flights of steps. 37 And indeed, with the aid of the impiously constructed weapons, Johanan hoped to master his enemies. But God himself rendered his labor vain by bringing the Romans upon him before he had set a *single man* upon his towers.

38 For Titus, having indeed gathered together a part of his force, but having sent instructions to the rest to join him at Jerusalem, was now on the march from Caesarea. 39 Now he indeed had with him the three legions which had accompanied his father when he had previously ravaged Judah, together with the

twelfth *legion* which had once been defeated under Cestius. And this *legion*, bearing a remarkable reputation for its initiative, now, with the recollection of what it had suffered *from the Judeans*, advanced with a greater eagerness for revenge.

40 Therefore of these *legions*, he indeed directed the fifth to join him by the Hammat route, and the tenth to ascend by way of Jericho; while he himself set out with the rest, being further attended both by the auxiliaries of the kings, (who had increased *even* more in strength than before), and by a considerable body of Syrian allied-troops. 41 But the gaps in the four legions, caused by the drafts which Vespasianus had sent with Mucianus to Italia, were also filled by those who were brought by Titus. 42 For indeed, 2,000 picked men from the armies at Alexandria, but 3,000 guards from the Euphrates,¹ accompanied him. 43 Now with these came the most valuable of all his friends, on account of both *his* goodwill and sagacity: Tiberius Alexandros. *This man* had indeed formerly managed Egypt, 44 but now he was deemed worthy to be chief of the armies. The reason for this was because he had been the first to extend his right hand to the newly arising leadership, and with splendid faith, had attached himself to its fortunes while they were still uncertain. Yet truly, being preeminent both through age and experience as a counselor in the exigencies of war, he now accompanied *Titus*.

CHAPTER 70 [Wars:47-97]

Now as Titus advanced into his foes' *territory*, his vanguard indeed consisted of the *auxiliaries* of the kings along with the *rest* of the whole body of the auxiliaries. Following these were the pioneers and encampment-surveyors. Then came the leaders' baggage-train. And following the heavy-armed *soldiers* who protected these, came *Titus* himself, escorted by the spearmen and the other picked troops; but these were followed by the cavalry of that legion. 2 Now these were succeeded by the machines, and these by the tribunes and prefects of cohorts with a picked escort. But after them and surrounding the eagle came the ensigns; and before the ensigns came the trumpeters. Now behind them came the phalanx, the body of men being six wide. 3 But the servants attached to each legion followed after these; and they were preceded by the baggage-train. But last of all came the mercenaries, as well as a rear-guard to keep watch on them.

4 Now leading his force forward in this order, according to the Roman custom, *Titus* advanced through Samaria to Gufnin, a city that both had been formerly captured by his father and was now garrisoned by *Romans soldiers*. 5 After resting there one night, he set forward at dawn. And at the end of a full day's march, he encamped in the Valley of Thorns, which is close to a village named Gibeath-Saul (which means 'Saul's Ridge'), at a distance of about 30 stadia from Jerusalem.

6 Now from there, with some 600 picked cavalry, he rode forward both to reconnoiter the city's strength and to test the minds of the Judeans—whether, upon seeing him, if they would shrink in terror and surrender before it came to hand-to-hand combat. 7 For he had been informed, as was the fact, that the populace was indeed longing for peace, but were overawed by the insurgents and brigands; but being too weak to resist, they remained quiet.

8 Therefore, indeed, as long as he rode straight along the highway which led to the wall of *the city*, no one appeared outside the gates; 9 but when he diverged from the route and led his squadron of cavalry in an oblique line toward Zaphon Tower, the *Judeans* suddenly dashed out in immense numbers at a spot called 'The Women's Towers,' through the gate facing Helené's memorials. They broke through the cavalry; 10 and indeed placing themselves in front of those who were still galloping along the road, they prevented them from joining their *comrades* who had left it, but cut off Titus with a few men.

11 Now it was indeed impossible for *Titus* to proceed. For the ground around the wall was all cut up by trenches for gardening purposes and intersected by both cross walls and numerous fences. 12 But he saw that rejoining his own men was impracticable due to the intervening multitude of his foes, as well as the withdrawal of his comrades on the highway, most of who were unaware of the prince's danger; instead, they believed that he too had turned simultaneously, and was also in full retreat. 13 But perceiving that his salvation depended solely on his personal prowess, he both turned his horse about; and crying out to his companions to follow him, he dashed into the midst of his foes, struggling to cut his way through to his own party.

14 From this we may especially perceive, that even the hazards of war and the dangers of princes are under the care of God: 15 For of all the many projectiles discharged at Titus, who wore neither helmet nor breastplate (for he had gone forward not to fight, but instead to reconnoiter), not one touched his body; but, as if his *assailants* purposely missed their mark, all whizzed harmlessly past him. 16

¹ Greek / from Persian "Ufratu" / Hebrew "Furat"

But with his short-sword constantly dispersing those on his flank and overturning many who faced him, he rode his horse over his fallen *foes*.

17 Now at Caesar's intrepidity, the *Judeans* both shouted and cheered each other on against him. But wherever he turned his horse, there was flight and a widespread stampede. 18 But his *comrades*, who were partaking of the same danger as him, closed up to him, poked in *their* rears and in *their* sides; for each *man's* one hope of salvation lay in pushing through with Titus even before he was encircled by *his enemies*.

19 Accordingly, two *men* who were farther behind fell in the following manner: indeed, one with his horse was surrounded and shot down with a javelin; but the other, who dismounted, was utterly-destroyed, and his horse was carried off. But Titus escaped with the rest and safely reached the encampment. 20 This was indeed how the *Judeans*, being successful in their first attack, raised their thoughts with considerable hopes; and this temporary turn of the scales afforded them much confidence for the future.

21 But Caesar, being joined during the night by the legion from Hammat, moved from there the next day and advanced to Skopos, where they obtained both the first view of the city and the magnitude of the inner-sanctum gleaming afar. This spot, adjoining the northern region¹ of the city, is appropriately named Skopos.

22 Now here, at a distance of seven stadia from *the city*, Titus directed one combined encampment to be formed for two of the legions, but for the fifth *legion* to be stationed three stadia in their rear; for he considered that the *men* would be worn out with fatigue from the night's march, and deserved some protection in order to enwall themselves free from terror.

23 But scarcely had they begun to build when the tenth legion also arrived, having come by way of Jericho, where a party of heavy-armed *soldiers* had been posted to guard the pass which had previously been occupied by Vespasianus. 24 Now these *soldiers* had orders to encamp at a distance of six stadia from Jerusalem at the Mount of Olives, which lies opposite the city on the east; it is separated from the city by a deep intervening ravine called Kedron.

25 Now for the first time, the mutual dissension of the factions within the town, which up to this point were incessantly dashed against one another, was halted by the war from outside as it suddenly came in upon them. 26 And the insurgents, beholding with dismay the Romans forming three different encampments, began to form an awkward alliance, and said to one another, 27 "What are we waiting for? What has possessed us so that we have allowed ourselves to be choked by the erection of three fortifications? And free from terror, our foes were building themselves a rival city; while we, like spectators of excellent and advantageous operations, sat within our own walls with our hands and our full suits of armor idle!" 28 They shouted, "Is our nobleness to be displayed only against ourselves, while the Romans, through our sedition, gain the city without bloodshed?"

29 Encouraging each other with such words, they mustered together; and seizing their full suits of armor, they dashed out suddenly against the tenth legion. And racing across the ravine with an abnormal shout, they fell upon their foes as they were enwalling themselves. 30 But the *Romans*, in order to facilitate their several works, were divided into different groups, and on that account had laid aside most of their weapons. For they had imagined that the *Judeans* would never venture to make a sally upon them, and that, if moved to do so, their energies would be dissipated by their seditions. 31 So the *Romans* were taken by surprise and thrown into disorder. And abandoning their works, some indeed instantly retreated, but many, rushing for their weapons, were struck down before they could turn back upon their enemies.

32 Now the *Judeans*, encouraged by the good success of the first attackers, were continually being reinforced by others. And while they had such good fortune, they seemed both to themselves and to their foes to far exceed their actual numbers. 33 But their disorderly way of fighting at first disturbed the *Romans*, since their foes were *men* especially accustomed to being organized, and under order, and to obeying transmitted-messages. And for this reason, the *Romans* were caught unawares, and were forced to give way to the repeated charges made upon them.

34 And indeed, when any of these *Romans* were both overtaken and turned back upon the *Judeans*, they put a stop to the *Judean* rush and wounded many, who in the ardor of pursuit, were off their guard. But as more and more *Judeans* sallied out of the city, the *Romans'* disorder increased, until they were finally routed from their encampment. 35 And, in all probability, the entire legion would have been in danger, had not Titus, receiving a message stating their position, instantly come to their aid. And after reproaching them for their unmanliness, he indeed rallied the fugitives. 36 But falling upon the *Judeans'* flank with his band of picked men, he indeed did away with a considerable number, but wounded

even more. Now this was how he routed all of them, and forcibly compressed them down into the ravine.

37 Now these *Judeans* suffered greatly on the declivity of the ravine; but having reached the farther bank, they turned to face the *Romans*, and, with the mountain-torrent between them, contended with them. 38 Indeed, they continued to fight in this way until noon.

But shortly after noon, Titus, to prevent the *Judeans* from making further sallies, also deployed the remainder of the reinforcements which he had brought with himself, together with the cohorts; then he dismissed the remainder of the legion to the mountain-summit to enwall their camp.

39 But the *Judeans* mistook the *Roman* march to be a flight; and upon seeing the watchman, whom they had posted on the wall, giving a signal with the shake of his robe, another multitude of *Judeans*, perfectly fresh, sprang forth with such mighty violence, that their rush was comparable to that of the most-savage of beasts. 40 In fact, not one of the opposing line was able to sustain the their engagements; instead, as if they had been struck by a weapon, the *Roman* ranks were broken to pieces, which turned and fled up the mountain, 41 while leaving no one but Titus himself with a few followers, halfway up the acclivity.

And these few, who were his friends, stood their ground indifferent to danger, ashamed to leave their leader. 42 They earnestly exhorted him to retire before these death-courting *Judeans*, and not to risk his life for men who ought to have stayed with him. But they also extorted him to consider what his fortune was, and not, by acting the part of a common soldier, to venture to turn back upon their enemies so suddenly; and this, because he was master of the inhabited earth as well as the war, on whose preservation the public affairs of everyone depended.

43 Titus seemed to not even hear these advisers. But he withstood the *Judeans* who were rushing up at him; and striking their mouth, he did away with them as they pressed upon him. Also falling upon the multitude, he thrust them backward down the slope in heaps. 44 Now these men were so amazed at both his intrepidity and strength, that they did not flee up into the city; but inclining to either side to avoid him, they continued to pursue those who were fleeing upwards. But at this, he also assaulted their flank again, striving to restrain their passion.

45 And the *soldiers* who were enwalling their encampment saw their comrades below in flight. 46 Seeing this, they were once more seized with disorder and anxiety, and the whole legion scattered. Indeed, they imagined that the *Judean* sallies were irresistible, but that Titus himself had been routed. For the rest would never, they thought, have fled while he was holding his ground. 47 And in this way, like men encircled by terror, some dispersed in one way, and some in another, until some of them caught sight of their leader in the very middle of the war. And being greatly anxious on his account, they, with shouts, announced his danger to the whole legion.

48 But shame rallied them. And reproaching one another that they, by deserting Caesar, had done worse than take flight, they put forth their utmost energies against the *Judeans*. And declining from the straight declivity, they forcibly compressed them off the slope into the hollow. 49 Now the *Judeans* retired step by step fighting. And the *Romans*, having the advantage of the position by being above the *Judeans*, finally drove them all into the ravine.

50 But Titus, was still pressing upon his immediate opponents, and he indeed sent the legion back to resume enwalling their encampment, while he, and those who were previously with him, withstood their foes, preventing them from doing further mischief. 51 This was indeed how Caesar twice rescued the entire legion when in danger, and enabled them to encompass their encampment with walls free from terror.

CHAPTER 71 [Wars:98-135]

Now during this temporary cessation in the war outside the wall, the sedition within was revived. 2 And the day of The Unleavened came round on the fourteenth day of the month Xanthikos. (This day is the reputed anniversary of the *Judeans'* first liberation from the Egyptians). Indeed, on that day, Eleazar's party partly opened the gates of the temple, and admitted any of the populace who wanted to bow down to God within it.

3 But Johanan, making the festival a cloak for his treacherous designs, armed the less conspicuous of his followers, the greater part of whom were unpurified, with weapons concealed beneath their garments. And by his earnest endeavors, he got them stealthily passed into the temple in order to take possession of it. But once within, they cast off their garments and were suddenly revealed as heavy-armed soldiers. 4 Now the confines of the inner-sanctum were instantly a scene of utmost disorder and confusion. Indeed, the people, who had no connection with the sedition, supposed that this was an attack made upon everyone without distinction; but the Zealots supposed it was directed against themselves alone.

5 Instead, the Zealots indeed ceased guarding the gates any longer; and not waiting to engage in hand-to-hand combat with the intruders, leapt down from their parapets, taking refuge in the underground-passages of the temple. But at the same time, the populace, who stood trembling beside the altar, huddled together

¹ may also be translated "slope"

around the inner-sanctum, were trampled underfoot *and* beaten mercilessly with both wooden *instruments* and iron *weapons*. **6** Now many of the peaceable citizens from enmity and personal spite were done away with by their *adversaries* as if they were partisans of the opposite faction. And anyone who had in the past offended any one of these conspirators, being now recognized as *Zealots*, were now led away to torment. **7** But after doing terrible harm to the guiltless in this way, the *intruders* granted a truce to the criminals and let them go when they emerged from the underground-passages.

Now having also seized the inner temple and all the equipment within it, they had good courage to oppose Simon. **8** Therefore, this was indeed how the sedition, which had been divided into three factions, was now reduced to two.

9 Now Titus, deciding to abandon Skopos in order to encamp closer to the city, posted, opposite to the Judeans, as many of his picked cavalry and footmen as he deemed sufficient to prevent their sallies. But he ordered his whole force to level the intervening ground as far as the *city wall*. **10** Now they threw down every fence and palisade with which the inhabitants had enclosed their gardens and plantations. They also cut down every fruit tree which lay between them *and the city wall*. Indeed, they filled up all the hollows and gullies. **11** But they demolished the rocky precipices with iron tools. In this way, all the intervening space from Skopos as far as Héródés' memorials (which adjoined the place being called The Swimming-Pool of the Serpent) were made level.

12 And during this time, the Judeans contrived the following ambush against the Romans: **13** The more daring of the insurgents issued forth from the Women's Towers, as though they had been ejected from *the city* by the partisans of peace, and rambled about as if they were in terror of being assaulted by the Romans, and kept close together cowering in a bunch.

14 But their comrades lining the wall, feigned to be part of the populace. They cried out aloud for peace, and begged for their right hands, and called to the Romans, promising to open the gates to them. Now they shouted in this way, and threw stones at their own *people*, as if to drive them away from the gates. **15** The *targeted citizens* pretended to force an entry *within*, and to petition those who were within *to let them in*; but constantly rushing toward the Romans *and* again retreating, they showed signs of extreme agitation.

16 Therefore, their ruses indeed did not fail to *appear* credible to the *Roman* soldiers. Instead, indeed imagining that they had one party under their power whom they could punish as they pleased, but hoping that the other *party* would throw open the city, they were on the point of proceeding to action.

17 But Titus, on the contrary, viewed this surprising invitation with suspicion. For it was even one day earlier that he, after having invited them to terms through myself, had received no reasonable response *from them*. So for the present, he directed his soldiers to remain where they were.

18 But some of *his soldiers* who were stationed in the front of the works had, without awaiting orders, seized their weapons *and* rushed toward the gates. **19** Indeed, the pretended outcasts at first retired before them; but as soon as the *Romans* came between the gateway towers, they darted out, surrounding *the Romans* and attacking them in the rear; **20** while those who stood on the wall poured down a multitude of enormous stones and every species of projectile upon them, indeed, to the extent that they did away with a considerable number, but wounded most of *them*.

21 For due to the *Roman* soldiers pressing in from behind, *the rest of these soldiers in front* were not able to easily escape. And *the shame* they were under for their error, and *the terror* of their leaders, impelled them to persevere in their blunder. **22** For this reason, they fought with their spears for a long time. And after receiving many wounds from the Judeans (though they certainly inflicted as much in return), they finally repelled their encircling *enemies*. But *even* as they were retiring, the Judeans followed them and threw missiles at them as far as Helené's memorial.

23 Indeed, after this, these *Judeans*, with vulgar abuse of their good fortune, jested at the Romans for being enticed by their delusion; and making sounds by the beating of their oblong-shields, danced with gladness and shouted with joy.

24 But the *Roman* soldiers, for their part, were met both by threats from their squadron-chiefs, and with irritation by Caesar himself, "Indeed, these Judeans, with madness for their only general, do everything with foresight and circumspection. Both their plans and ambushes are carefully ordered; but *their ambushes* are even favored by fortune, because of their obedience and both their mutual goodwill and faithfulness; **25** while Romans who, through orderly discipline and readily enslaving *themselves* to their leaders, and who have ever found even fortune to be their slave, are now brought to grief by contrary behavior. And unable to restrain their hands, they were caught, *and*—direst disgrace of all—while fighting without a general under the eyes of Caesar!

26 "Indeed," he declared, "the laws of the expedition cannot but groan greatly, but *as* greatly will my father when he hears of this blow which has been inflicted upon us. Since indeed, he, though grown gray in warfare, never made so great a mistake. But our laws even invariably punish *men* with death for the slightest

breach of discipline, while now, they have seen an entire army run into disorder! **27** Yet truly, these insolents shall learn immediately that, among Romans, even a victory without a transmitted-message being given is held under disgrace."

28 From such determined language to his leaders, it was evident that *Titus* intended to execute the law against all those whom it concerned. And indeed, these soldiers' souls sunk down in despair, expecting to quickly die rightfully. **29** But the *other* legions, flocking round Titus, made intercession for their fellow-soldiers, and implored him, in consideration of the better obedience of all the rest, to pardon the rashness of a few. For they assured him that they would make amends for their present error by behaving more excellent in the future.

30 Caesar complied both to their entreaties and for considerations of expediency. For he indeed held that, while in the case of an individual punishment should actually be carried into execution, but where a multitude is concerned it should not proceed beyond reproofs. **31** Therefore, he was indeed reconciled to his soldiers, strictly admonishing them to act more wisely in the future. But he was sensible, in order to best make a counter-measure against the Judeans for the plot which they had formed against them.

32 Now in four days, all the intervening ground between *the Romans* and the wall was leveled. *And* Titus, now wishing to secure a safe passage for the baggage and the rest of *the* multitude who followed, deployed the strongest part of his force to face the wall which lay on the northern quarter *of the city*, and to face the western part of it. His phalanx was made seven deep, with both the infantry in front and the cavalry in rear, **33** each of these in three rows, *while* the archers formed a seventh line in the middle.

34 Now that the Judeans were prevented, by such a great body of men, from making sallies upon the *Romans*, both the beasts of burden belonging to the three legions, along with the rest of the multitude, marched on without any terror. **35** Therefore, as for Titus himself, he was indeed situated about two stadia from the wall, at the corner opposite Zaphon Tower, where the circuit of the wall bends back from the north *and* extends to the west. **36** But the other division of the army enwalled itself opposite Hippikos Tower, likewise at a distance of two stadia from the city. **37** However, the tenth legion kept its position on the Mount of Olives.

CHAPTER 72 [Wars:136-183]

Now the city of *Jerusalem* was fortified by three walls, except where it was enclosed by impassable ravines; for in such places it had but a single enclosure. Indeed, *the city* was built upon two ridges, which, facing each other, are separated by a ravine, at which the rows of houses end.

2 Now of these ridges, the one indeed on which the upper city lay is both far higher and is straighter in length than the other. Accordingly, due to its strength, it was indeed called 'the fortress' by King David (*the father* of Solomon who was the first builder of the inner-sanctum); but we call it the 'Upper Marketplace'. But the second *ridge*, which bore the name 'the Akra' and supports the lower city, is gibbous.

3 Now opposite this was a third ridge, both naturally lower than Akra, and once divided from it by another broad ravine. **4** Yet truly, during the period when the Hasimonians reigned, they both filled up the ravine with the objective of uniting the city to the temple, and reduced the Akra's height by leveling *its summit*, in order that it might not also be superior to the temple.

5 Now the Ravine of the Cheesemakers, which divides the ridge of the upper city from that of the lower, extends as far as Shiloah (for that is the name of a fountain of water which is both sweet and abundant). **6** But on the exterior, the two ridges on which the city stood are encompassed by deep ravines; and due to the cliffs on either side of it, *the city* is rendered inaccessible everywhere.

7 Now of the three walls, indeed, the most ancient was nearly impregnable; this was due both to the surrounding ravines as well as the ridge above them on which it was built. **8** But besides the advantage of its position, it was also strongly built; this was because both David and Solomon, as well as the succeeding kings, had love-of-honor for this work.

8 Now *this wall*, began on the north at Hippikos Tower, and extended as far as the covered-colonnade; then, joining the council-hall, it ended at the western portico of the temple. **9** Now beginning at the same point, in the other direction, westward, it descended past the place called Beth-Soa (*which means 'House of Excrement'*) to the gate of the Essenes. *Then* it turned southwards above the fountain of Shiloah. From there it also inclined to the east toward The Swimming-Pool of Solomon. And after passing a spot which they call Ophel, it finally joined the eastern portico of the temple.

10 Now the second *wall* began from the gate in the first wall, which they called Gennath. But it surrounded only the northern region¹ of *the city*, going up as far as Antônia.

¹ may also be translated "slope"

11 Now the third *wall* began at Hippikos Tower, from where it stretched northwards to Zaphon Tower. Then, it descended opposite Helené's memorials (*she* was queen of Hadyab, *and* daughter of Izad) and proceeded past the royal caves, and then bent around a corner tower across from what is referred to as The Memorial of the Fuller. But joining the ancient enclosure, it ended into the *place* which is being called Kedron Ravine.

12 This *wall* was built by Agrippa to enclose the later additions to the city, which had been exposed. For as *the city* grew more populous, it had gradually crept-out of the enclosures. And *the growing population who inhabited* the region north of the temple, *eventually* joined it to the city; and this fourth ridge, called Bezetha, was inhabited all around. It lies opposite Antōnia, but is cut off from it by a deep trench. **13** For *this trench* was purposely dug to sever the foundations of Antōnia from the ridge, which *otherwise* would have been easier to take and had inferior height. **14** And the depth of the ditch materially increased the height of the towers. Now the recently built quarter was called Bezetha in our language (which might be translated as 'The New City').

15 Therefore, since its inhabitants were in need of a covering, Agrippa, the father and namesake of the present king, indeed began the previously mentioned wall. But due to the vast scale of the structure, he was anxious that Claudius Caesar might suspect that he had designs of revolution and sedition; *so* he desisted after merely laying the foundations. **16** For even had the wall been continued as it began, the city would have been impregnable.

For indeed, it was constructed by stones 20 cubits long and 10 cubits wide, which were joined so snugly that they could scarcely have been undermined by any iron tools or shaken by any implements. **17** But even the wall itself was 10 cubits wide, and it would indeed have attained a greater height than it did, had not the love-of-honor of its founder been hindered. **18** But although it was hurriedly erected by the Judeans, it rose to a height of 20 cubits, and indeed had parapets of two cubits, but turrets of three cubits high, bringing the total altitude up to 25 cubits.

19 Now above the wall rose towers, indeed 20 cubits in breadth, but 20 cubits in height. They were both quadrangular and solid even as was the wall itself; yet in the joinings and the beauty of the stones, they were no way inferior to *the inner-sanctum*. **20** Now above this solid masonry, which was 20 cubits in height, were magnificent apartments. And above these, were both upper chambers and cisterns to receive the heavy-rains. And each of their staircases were both spiraled and broad. **21** Therefore, the third wall indeed had 90 of these towers, but the intervals between them were each 200 cubits. But in the middle *wall* were 40 towers. But the ancient wall was divided by 60. **22** But the whole circumference of the city was 33 stadia.

Now the third wall was entirely wonderful, but even more was Zaphon Tower, which rose at its northwest corner, opposite to which Titus encamped. **23** For being 70 cubits high, it afforded a prospect embracing both Arab at sunrise, as well as the utmost limits of Hebrew territories as far as the sea. **24** But it was octagonal.

Now across from this was Hippikos Tower. And close to it were two others, indeed all erected into the ancient wall by King Héródés. But their magnitude, and beauty, and strength were without their equal throughout the inhabited *earth*. **25** For apart from his innate magnanimity and his pride about the city, the king sought in the extraordinance of these works, to gratify his own private affections. So he dedicated them to the memory of three persons who were dearest to him, after whom he named these towers: his brother, and his friend, and his wife. The last *one* he had indeed killed out of passionate-desire, but the others he had lost in war after contending nobly.

26 Therefore indeed, Hippikos, named after his friend, was indeed quadrangular; now its length and breadth were each 25 cubits, and its height was 30 cubits, *and* it was solid throughout. **27** But above this solid and compact mass of masonry was a reservoir 20 cubits deep, to receive the rainwater. **28** But above this was a two-storied chamber, 25 cubits in height, and divided by roofs of diverse colors. Above this were indeed battlements of two cubits, but turrets of three cubits high, bringing the total altitude up to 80 cubits.

29 Now the second tower, which he named Fazael after his brother, was indeed of equal length and breadth, 40 cubits each. But the height of its solid base was *also* 40 cubits. **30** Now above *and* around this ran a portico, 10 cubits high, which was protected by both breastworks and bulwarks. **31** Now above this, rising from the center of the portico was built another tower, apportioned into both magnificent apartments and a bath, in order that nothing might be lacking to give this tower the appearance of a royal *palace*. Now its summit¹ was crowned with battlements and turrets, **32** but its total altitude was about 90 cubits. And indeed, its form resembled Pharos, which emits a beacon of light to those sailing to

Alexandreia; but it was much larger than it in circumference. Yet, at this time, it had become the seat of Simon's tyranny.

33 Now the third tower, Miriam (for that was the queen's name), was solid to a height of 20 cubits; now its breadth was 20 cubits, and its length the same. **34** But its upper residential quarters were far more extravagant and varicolored than those of the other towers. For the king had considered it appropriate that one named after a woman should be so far superior in decoration than those called after men, as those were superior to the woman's tower in strength. The total altitude of this *last one* was 55 cubits.

35 Now while these were the proportions of these three towers, they seemed much larger due to the location on which they stood. **36** For the ancient wall in which they stood was itself built on a high ridge. And above the ridge, a peak, as it were, rose still 30 cubits higher. On this, the towers stood, *and* in this way, gained immensely in elevation.

37 Now even the dimensions of the stones were marvelous. For these were not composed of ordinary *stones* or rocks such as could be carried by humans, but were cut out of white marble. **38** And each stone was indeed 20 cubits in length, but 10 in breadth, and five in depth. Now they were joined to one another so exactly, that each tower appeared to be one single rock, but which had later been polished by the hands of craftsmen into shapes and corners. *So* the fitting of the joints appeared little, or not at all.

39 Now adjoining *and* on the inner side of these towers, which lay to the north of it, was the royal *palace*, which exceeds *all* description. **40** For in extravagance and construction no building surpassed it. Instead, it was indeed entirely enwalled to a height of 30 cubits, but was broken at equal intervals by ornamental towers, which contained both immense banqueting-halls and bedchambers for 100 guests a piece.

41 Indeed, in them was an indescribable variety of stones. For these, many of them being rare everywhere, were collected here in abundance. Now their ceilings² were wonderful, both for the length of the beams and the splendor of their glamorous ornamentation. **42** Now the number of apartments was great, and they had countless varieties of designs; yet truly, these were all amply furnished, and most of the objects within each of them were of both silver and gold. **43** Now all around were many circular porticoes, each one leading into another; and *the* pillars inside each were different; yet truly, they were all open to the air and there was greenery everywhere. **44** And indeed, there were groves of various trees, but which were intersected by long walks; and they were bordered by deep canals, as well as cisterns which were studded everywhere with bronze figures, through which the water was discharged. And around the flowing-waters were numerous towers for tame pigeons.

45 For instead, it is impossible to give a worthy description of the royal *palace*. **46** For it was not the Romans who incinerated it; instead, this was done by conspirators within *the walls* at the beginning of the sedition. Indeed, that conflagration began at Antōnia, but passed to the royal *palace*, and spread to the roofs of the three towers.

CHAPTER 73 [War5:184-247]

Now this temple was indeed built upon a strong ridge. But since the ground around it was very precipitous and steep, the level area of its summit was originally barely sufficient for both the inner-sanctum and the altar. **2** But when King Solomon, the actual founder of the inner-sanctum, had walled up the eastern side, a single portico was cast up on this made ground; and yet, on its other sides, the inner-sanctum remained exposed.

Now in future ages, through the constant additions the people made to the embankment, the ridge was leveled up *and* widened. **3** But they even broke down the north wall, *and*, in this way, took in an area as large as the whole temple enclosure later occupied. **4** Then they enwalled the ridge from its base on three sides, and accomplished a task greater than they could ever have hoped to achieve (indeed, a task upon which long ages were spent by them, as well as all their sacred treasures, which were still replenished by the tributes offered to God from every *region* of the inhabited *earth*).

After this, they surrounded the *original block* with both the upper enclosures and the lower temple. **5** The *lower temple enclosure*, where its foundations were the lowest, they built up from a depth of 300 cubits (but at some spots even more). However, the entire depth of the foundations was not apparent; for they filled up a considerable part of the ravines, desiring to level the narrow-alleys of the town. **6** Now rocks measuring 40 cubits were used in the building. For both an abundance of money and the people's love-of-honor led to incredible enterprises; and a task seemingly impossible was, through perseverance and time, *actually* achieved.

7 Now the works built upon them were worthy of such foundations. For indeed, the porticoes were all *in* double *rows*, and the columns which supported

¹ may also be translated "citadel"

² may also be translated "roofs"

them were 25 cubits in height. Each *column* was comprised of a single stone of the purest white marble; but they were ceilinged¹ with coffers of cedar. **8** Indeed, their natural magnificence, and their excellent polish, and the harmony of their joinings, presented a remarkable spectacle; but this, without being adorned with any work of painting or sculpture. **9** And indeed, the porticoes were 30 cubits in breadth, but their complete circuit, which also embraced Antōnia Tower, measured six stadia. Now the open court was, from end to end, variegated with paving stones of every kind.

10 Proceeding across this toward the second temple, it was enclosed by a stone balustrade, indeed three cubits in height, but of exquisite workmanship. **11** Now in it stood monuments at regular intervals, warning beforehand,² indeed, some in Hellenic, but some in Roman characters, of the law of purity, that no foreigner was permitted to enter the holy-place. **12** For the second temple was called 'the holy-place'.

And it was approached from the first *temple* by fourteen steps; but the area above was quadrangular, and screened by its own wall. **13** Indeed, its exterior height, being 40 cubits, was hidden by the steps; but its interior height was only 25 cubits. For since the staircase was built against rising ground, its entirety was not visible from within, a portion being concealed by the ridge itself.

14 Now beyond the fourteen steps, there was a space of 10 cubits between them and the wall, forming a level terrace. **15** From here, other flights of five steps each led up to the gates. Of these, there were indeed eight on the north and south (four on either side); but it was necessary to have two on the east.

For since this region had a special place of religious-worship which was walled off for the women, it was necessary to have a second gate for them; now this approach opened opposite to the first. **16** Now on the other sides, there was one gate on the south and one on the north which led into the women's court. For women were not permitted to enter by the other *gates*; instead, they were not *even* allowed to pass through their own *gate* beyond the wall which was between them. Yet truly, this court was allotted for all the women of our nation alike, whether our fellow-tribesmen or visitors from abroad.

17 Now the west end of the *building* had no gate; instead, the wall was unbroken on that side. But the porticoes between the gates, on the inner side of the wall in front of the treasuries, were supported by exceedingly beautiful and great columns. But these porticoes were single, and, with an exception of their magnitude, were in no way inferior to those in the lower *court*.

18 Now of the gates, indeed nine were completely overlaid with gold and silver, as were both their doorposts and lintels. But there was one *gate*, the one outside the inner-sanctum, which was of Korinithian bronze, and far exceeded in value those which were overlaid with silver and gold. **19** And each gate indeed had two doors, but each *door* was 30 cubits in height and 15 in breadth. **20** However, beyond and within the entrances the *gates* expanded, embracing on either side turret-like chambers; each were 30 cubits both in breadth and in length, but their height exceeded 40 cubits. Now each *chamber* was supported by two columns, 12 cubits in circumference.

21 And indeed, the dimensions of the other gates were all equal, but the one beyond the Korinithian *gate*, which opened from the *women's court* on the east, opposite the gate of the inner-sanctum, was far larger. **22** For its standing-up height was 50 cubits, and its doors were 40 cubits; and it was ornamented more richly, being overlaid with massive plates of both silver and gold. Now these nine gates were plated in this way by Alexandros, the father of Tiberius. **23** Now there were fifteen steps which led up from the women's court to the greater gate. For these steps were shallower than the five at each of the other *gates*.

24 Now the inner-sanctum itself, which was placed in the center of the holy temple, was approached by a flight of twelve steps. And indeed, the façade was equal both in height and breadth, each being 100 cubits, but the building behind was narrower by 40 cubits. For in front it had something like shoulders extending 20 cubits on either side.

25 Now the first gate was 70 cubits high and 25 cubits broad, but it had no doors. For it represented the unexcluded universal expanse of the heaven. But its entire face was overlaid with gold, and through it the first edifice was visible to an outside spectator in all its grandeur; and the surroundings of the inner gate all gleaming with gold fell beneath those who saw them.

26 But, whereas the inner-sanctum was divided into two sections within, it was only the first building which stood exposed to view. And from top to bottom it towered to a height of 90 cubits; indeed, its length was 50 cubits, but its breadth 20. **27** But the gate opening in the building was indeed completely overlaid with gold, as was the whole wall around it. But it also had those golden vines above it, from which clusters of grapes hung as tall as a man. **28** But since the inner-

sanctum was divided into two sections, it appeared lower within than from without. And it had golden doors 55 cubits in height, but 16 in breadth.

29 But before these *doors* hung a veil of equal length. It was of Babelian tapestry, embroidered with blue and fine linen, both of scarlet and purple, indeed, wrought with marvelous skill. But neither was this mixture of materials without its unseen meaning; instead, it was an image of the universe. **30** For indeed the scarlet seemed emblematical of fire, but the fine linen of the earth, but the blue of the air, and the purple of the sea; indeed, the comparison in two cases being suggested by their color, but in that of the fine linen and purple by their origin,³ indeed, as the one is produced by the earth but the other by the sea. **31** But on this tapestry was portrayed every heavenly view with an exception of the living creatures.

32 Now entering within, one would find themselves on the ground-floor of the inner-sanctum. Moreover, this was indeed 60 cubits in height, and the same in length, but 20 cubits in breadth. **33** But the 60 cubits of its length were again divided. And indeed, the first portion was partitioned off at 40 cubits and contained within it three things marvelous and famous among all humans: a lampstand, a table, and a censer.

34 Now the seven lamps (for this is the number of the branches from the lampstand) indeed signified the planets. Now the twelve loaves upon the table signified the circle of living creatures and the year. **35** But the censer, by its thirteen incenses with which it is replenished from the sea, both uninhabited and inhabited, signified that all things are of God and for him.

36 Now the innermost recess indeed measured 20 cubits, but was separated from the outer portion by a veil. But in this stood nothing at all. But it was unapproachable and inviolable, and invisible to all; but it was called the Holy of Holy.

37 Now around the sides of the lower portion of the inner-sanctum were numerous apartments, in three stories, connected with one another. And these were approached by entrances from either side of the gate. **38** But the upper part of the building had no similar apartments, because it was also proportionately narrower, but rose 40 cubits higher and in a severer style than the lower portion. For these 40 cubits, added to the 60 of the *ground-floor*, amount to a *total height* of 100 cubits.

39 Now the exterior face of the *temple* lacked nothing that could astound either soul or eye. For it was overlaid on all sides with massive plates of gold; and, at the first rising of the sun, it radiated a flash so fiery that persons straining to look at it were compelled to avert their eyes, exactly as from the sun's own rays. **40** Yet truly, to strangers who were approaching it from a distance, it appeared to be like a mountain covered with snow. For even everything that was not overlaid with gold was of purest white. **41** But from its summit protruded sharp golden spikes to prevent birds from roosting upon it and polluting the roof. Now some of the *building's* stones were 45 cubits in length, five in height, but six in breadth.

42 Now in front of the *temple* stood the altar, indeed 15 cubits in height; but with an equal breath and length of 50 cubits. Its figure was quadrangular, with horn-like projections at the corners; and the approach up to it from the south was a gentle sloping acclivity. But no iron *tool* was used in its construction, and neither did any iron *tool* ever touch it.

43 Now surrounding both the inner-sanctum and the altar was a low stone parapet, fair and graceful, about one cubit in height, and it separated the populace outside from the priests.

44 Indeed, persons afflicted with gonorrhoea or leprosy were excluded from the city altogether. But the temple was also closed to women during their menstruation; but even when free from *that* impurity, they were not permitted to pass the previously mentioned boundary. But men who were not thoroughly pure were prohibited from within. Even the priests themselves were prohibited when undergoing purification.

45 Now all who were of priestly lineage, but who were not performing-public-service due to some bodily defect, were also admitted within the parapet, along with those who were free from any imperfection, and shared the portions granted to them by birthright; yet truly, they continued to wear ordinary garments. For no one but the *one* who was performing-public-service was vesting himself with the consecrated *vestment*. **46** Now the priests who were without blemish went up to the sacrificial-altar and the inner-sanctum, indeed, clothed in fine linen; but they were especially sober from *any* undiluted *drink* out of terror for the religious-ritual, lest they would be guilty of any transgression in their public-service.

47 Now the chief-priest indeed accompanied them; indeed, not all on occasions, but on the seventh *days* and new moons, and on any of our fathers' national-festivals, or annual gathering of all the men. **48** Now when he was performing-public-service, he wore breeches which covered his thighs up to the

¹ may also be translated "roofed"

² literally "resignaling"

³ literally "birth/generation"

joins, also an under garment of linen, and over that a blue robe reaching to the feet, full *and* tasseled. But from the tassels hung an alternation of golden bells and pomegranates; indeed, the bells signified thunder, but the pomegranates lightning. **49** But the embroidered girdle which attached this robe to the breast consisted of five bands of variegated colors: both gold and purple, and scarlet, but *also* fine linen and blue, with which the veils of the inner-sanctum were also interwoven.

50 Now the ephod also had the same mixture of materials, *but* the gold was greater. Therefore, its form was indeed like an ordinary breastplate. Now it was fastened *to the robe* by two golden brooches, but these were set with sardonyxes which were both beautiful and large, on which were engraved the names of those after whom the tribes of the nation *were called*. **51** Now attached to the other side were twelve more stones, in four rows of three each: a sardius, a topaz, *and* an emerald; a carbuncle, a jasper, *and* a sapphire; an agate, an amethyst, *and* a jacinth; an onyx, a beryl, *and* a chrysolite. Upon each one was again engraved one of the previously mentioned names of the tribes.

52 Now his head was indeed encompassed by a tiara of fine linen, but which was wreathed with blue, around which there was another crown, of gold, on which the consecrated letters were worked in relief; now these are four vowels.

53 Therefore, these vestments were indeed not commonly worn by the chief-priest when he assumed a plainer custom, but only when he entered into the innermost-sanctuary. But this he entered alone once a year, on the day on which it was a custom for all of us to keep a fast to God.

54 Now Antōnia Tower indeed lay at the corner where two porticoes, both the western and the northern, of the first temple met. Now it was built upon a rock that was indeed 50 cubits high, but precipitous on all sides. But it was the work of King Hērōdēs, which especially demonstrated his innate great-mindedness.

55 For indeed, in the first place, the rock itself was covered from its base upwards with smooth stones, both for beauty and in order that anyone attempting to ascend or descend would not be able to get a foothold. **56** Then, in front of the actual edifice, there was a wall three cubits high; but behind this, Antōnia Tower majestically rose to a height of 40 cubits. **57** Now the interior resembled a royal *palace* in its spaciousness and form; for it was divided into apartments both of every kind and for every purpose, including both porticoes and baths, and broad courtyards for encampments—so that from its possession of every convenience, it seemed to be a city; but from its extravagance a royal *palace*.

58 But the overall structure resembled that of a tower with other towers at each of its four corners. Indeed, three of these turrets were 50 cubits high; but the one at the southeast corner was 70 cubits high, from which the entire temple could be viewed. **59** But at the point where it joined to the temple porticoes, there were stairs leading down to both of them, by which the guards descended **60** (for a Roman legion was permanently quartered there). And at the festivals they took up armed positions around the porticoes in order to watch the populace, to prevent any revolutionary-activities. **61** For the temple indeed lay as a fortress over the city, but Antōnia dominated the temple; but the occupants of that post were the guards of all three. And the upper city had its own fortress: Hērōdēs' royal *palace*.

62 But as for Bezetha Ridge, it was cut off from Antōnia; as the highest of all *the ridges*, it was encroached on by a part of the new city, and, on the north, formed the only obstruction to the view of the temple.

CHAPTER 74 [War5:248-290]

Now the strength of the combatants and multitude of the insurgents was as follows:

Indeed, Simon's party, apart from the Edomites, was 10,000. But over those 10,000 were fifty leaders, *Simon* himself being lord of all. **2** But his Edomites numbered 5,000 *and* had ten chiefs. Among these Jacob *son* of Sosa, and Simon *son* of Kathlas¹ ranked highest.

3 Now Johanan, at the time when he had seized the temple, had 6,000 heavy-armed *soldiers* under twenty leaders. But the Zealots who had now also come over to him, having abandoned their quarrel, were 2,400; but they were led by the same chief which they had even had previously, Eleazar, together with Simon *son* of Arinos.

4 Now (as we have previously declared) while these two factions were waging war against one another, the populace was their common prey. And the portion of those people who would not join with them in their unrighteous-deeds was plundered by both factions.

5 Now Simon indeed held both the upper city, and the great wall as far as Kedron, as well as a portion of the ancient wall from the point where it bent eastward at Shiloah until its descent to the court of Monobaz. (Now *Monobaz* was the king of Hadyab beyond the Euphrates²). **6** But *Simon* also held the fountain

and part of the Akra, which is the lower city. He *also* held everything as far as the royal *palace* of Helenē, the mother of Monobaz.

7 But Johanan held the temple and much of the adjoining regions; also Ophel and the Kedron Ravine.

But the regions in between they burned, leaving them as a space for them to wage war against one another.

8 For not *even* when the Romans were encamped beneath the very walls did the sedition slacken within. Now although they briefly returned to comparative sobriety at the first sally made upon them by the Romans, they relapsed to their former madness; and the parties divided, falling to fighting once more, and doing everything which their besiegers could pray for them to do. **9** Accordingly, they never suffered anything worse at the hands of the Romans than what they made each other suffer; nor following these *men's* actions was there any calamity endured by the city which could be esteemed new. Instead, *the city's* most cruel disaster indeed preceded her overthrow, while the kindness which her captors brought her outweighed the loss.

10 Yet truly, with this being the situation within *the city*, Titus, with some picked cavalry, went around the outside, looking for a proper place where he might assault the walls. **11** But since the ravines rendered access impossible, and beyond them the first wall seemed too solid for his weapons, he was at a loss. He *finally* thought it best to make his assault opposite the memorial of the chief-priest Johanan; **12** for there both the first fortification was on lower ground, and the second was not joined with it (the builders having neglected to enwall the sparsely populated portions of the new city). Instead, there was an easy approach to the third *wall*, through which his intention was to capture the upper city, and so, by way of Antōnia, the temple itself.

13 Now at this time, while *Titus* was riding round the city, *calamity befell* one of his friends, whose name was Nikanōr. Together with *myself*, he was endeavoring to discuss making peace with those upon the wall, for he was not unknown by them. *But* having approached too near *the wall*, he was hit by an arrow in the left shoulder.

14 This *incident* gave Caesar recognition of their passion, since they would not refrain from *assaulting even* those who approached them *on behalf* of their salvations; and they provoked him to undertake the siege.

At once, he both sent forth the legions to lay waste to the city, and directed them to collect timber in order to erect earthworks. **15** Now forming his army into three divisions for these operations, he both placed the javeliniers and the archers in the intervals between the embankments; and in front of them, he placed the machines: the sharpened-bolt-launchers, and the catapults, and the stone-launchers, in order both to hinder any sallies which their foes might make against their works, and to prevent any attempts from being made by those who were upon the wall. **16** Now the trees were felled; indeed, the suburbs were immediately stripped naked.

But while the timber was being collected for the earthworks *and* the whole army was busily engaged in their work, the Judeans on their side were not quiet. **17** Therefore indeed, the populace who were victims of rapine and murder now began to be of good-courage. For they both hoped to gain some respite while their oppressors were occupied with *their enemies* outside, and to exact a rightful-punishment on the criminals in case the Romans prevailed over them.

18 Now although Johanan's party was impatient to make a sally upon their foes outside, he did not stir out of terror of Simon. **19** Truly, Simon (for he was even nearer the besiegers) did not lie still, but he posted his artillery at appropriate distances upon the wall, both *the machines* which they had formerly taken from Cestius, and those which they had captured when they had overpowered the garrison which lay in Antōnia. **20** Instead, though these *machines* were indeed in their possession, they had so little skill in operating them, that they were almost completely useless to them; but a few *men*, who had been taught by the deserters how to operate these weapons, made a poor use of them. Now they threw both enormous-stones and arrows from the wall at those who were building the earthworks, and they *also* dashed out upon them by companies and grappled with them.

21 Now the *Roman* workmen were indeed protected from the projectiles by hurdles stretched over palisades, but from the *Judean* sallies by the artillery. Now *these pieces of artillery*, which indeed all the legions had prepared for them, were wonderfully constructed. But still more extraordinary, were the ones belonging to the tenth *legion*. Both their sharpened-bolt-launchers were more powerful and their stone-launchers larger, enabling them to repel not only the *Judean* sallies, *but* instead, to also drive those away who were upon the wall. **22** For indeed, the rocks which they threw weighed a talent, but also had a range of two stadia or more; but their impact was irresistible, not only to those who had first contact with them, but even by those who were considerably in the rear.

23 Yet truly, the Judeans were at first on their guard against the coming rock; for, being white, its approach was perceived not only to the ear by its whizzing, *but* instead even to the eyes by its brilliance. **24** Therefore, the watchmen who were posted on the towers gave warning whenever the weapon was fired and the

¹ [War] L "Katheas" / Lat "Catiates"

² Greek / from Persian "Ufratu" / Hebrew "Furat"

rock was in transit, by shouting in their native tongue, “The son is coming!”¹ Now those in the line of fire promptly made way and threw themselves down upon *the ground*. And due to these precautions, the rock passed harmlessly through, falling in their rear.

25 But the Romans in turn contrived to blacken *the rock*. For now that it was no longer equally discernible beforehand, they were able to hit their mark, and utterly-destroyed many with a single throw. **26** Instead, though under all these distresses, the *Judeans* did not permit the Romans to raise their earthworks free from terror, but they shrewdly and boldly exerted themselves, even night and day, to repel them *both*.

27 Now when the Roman works were completed, the workmen indeed measured the distance to the wall with lead and line, which they cast from the embankments. For since the *Judeans* were throwing *things down* at them from above, there was no other way to *possibly measure it*. But finding that the city-destroyers were able to reach *the wall*, they brought them up. **28** Then, after Titus posted his artillery at proper distances closer to the wall to prevent the *Judeans* from obstructing them, he directed them to strike.

29 But suddenly, from three different quarters, an extraordinary bang echoed all around; and suddenly, a great cry went up from those within the city; and no less terror fell even upon the insurgents themselves. Now at this, both parties, seeing themselves exposed to a common danger, now contrived to even make a common defense. **30** Now the rival factions shouted across to each other, *confessing* that they were acting entirely in concert with their foes; and *this*, when they should, even if God denied them lasting concord, in their present circumstances, to accordingly lay aside their love-of-strife in order to unite together against the Romans.

Indeed, Simon proclaimed that everyone could pass from the temple to the wall free of terror. But Johanan, though unable to believe that *Simon* was earnest, granted his own *men* the same permission. **31** Now both parties, dispersing their hatred and private quarrels, formed themselves into one body and indeed lined the wall. Also, having a vast number of firebrands with them, they hurled them down at the machines, and kept those who were impelling the city-destroyers, which were battering the wall, under incessant *projectile* fire. **32** But the more venturesome *Judeans*, dashing out in bands, tore up the hurdles protecting the machines, and, falling upon *the artilleryists*, beat them (indeed, this was done seldom through skill, but commonly through the audacity of their superiority in numbers).

33 But Titus invariably came in person to the assistance of those who were the hardest pressed; and posting both his cavalry and archers on either side of the weapons, he indeed kept the incendiaries at bay, but repelled those who threw *projectiles* at them from the towers, but brought the city-destroyers into action. **34** Truly, with all this, the wall did not succumb to these blows, with one exception: the fifteenth legion’s ram dislodged a corner of a tower, but the wall itself was unimpaired. **35** For *the wall* was not involved in immediate danger along with the tower, which projected far out, and the collapse of that part of the tower would not easily break down any part of the enclosure together with it.

36 Now the *Judeans* desisted from their sallies for a while. And the Romans, believing that the *Judeans* had retired from exhaustion and terror, dispersed themselves all throughout their works and in their several encampments. When the *Judeans* observed this, they suddenly all dashed out together through a concealed gate near Hippikos Tower, at the same time carrying with them firebrands to burn the works and determined to boldly advance as far as the Romans, to their very fortifications.

37 But at their cries, both the *soldiers* who were near them instantly came to their assistance, and those farther off came dashing after them. But here Judean boldness outstripped Roman discipline; and *the Judeans* routed those who *first* encountered them, and pressed on against the mustering *soldiers*.

38 Now a fierce battle ensued around the machines—indeed, the *Judeans* strived to set them on fire, while the *Romans* tried to prevent them. Confused cries arose from both sides, and many who were fighting on the vanguard fell. **39** But the furious assaults of the *Judeans*, which were made like madmen, proved superior against the *Romans*. And already, the fire was catching hold of the works. All of *these works* along with the weapons themselves, would probably have been incinerated, had not the picked troops from Alexandria opposed them to prevent it, displaying a manliness which exceeded their own *reputation* (for even in this battle, they surpassed regiments of greater renown).

This was the state of things until Caesar, bringing up the most stalwart of his cavalry, threw them at his foes. **40** And he indeed did away with twelve of the *Judean* vanguard by himself. But at this, the remainder of the *Judean* multitude gave way. He pursued them, driving them all into the city, and thereby saving the works from the fire.

41 Now it happened during this battle that a certain Judean was taken alive, whom Titus directed to be crucified before the wall, in hope that the spectacle might lead the rest to surrender in dismay.

42 Now after the *Judean* retreat, Johanan, the leader of the Edomites, while talking to a certain soldier whom he was acquainted with before the wall, was pierced in the breast by an arrow from an Arabian’s bow, and died on the spot. This loss left both profound grief to the Edomites and sorrow to the insurgents. For he was also a man of great eminence, both for his hand and his sound sagacity.

CHAPTER 75 [War5:291-330]

Now on the ensuing night, a surprising disturbance also fell upon the Romans. **2** For Titus had directed for the construction of three towers, fifty cubits high, to be erected on the respective embankments, in order that from them he might repel those upon the wall. And it happened that one of these towers fell down in the middle of the night. **3** But the crash was tremendous. Terror fell upon the army. And they, supposing that their foes were upon them, all rushed to arms. **4** Disorder and confusion pervaded the legions; and since no one was able to tell what had happened, they scattered far and wide in their perplexity. But sighting no foe, they became scared of one another. **5** And each *man* quickly demanded the password from his neighbor, as though the *Judeans* had invaded their encampments. They also behaved like men beset by terror, until a message was sent to Titus, *telling him* what had happened. He directed that this be made known to everyone. And this was how, with some difficulty, the disorder was allayed.

6 Yet truly, though the *Judeans* had held out very courageously against the *Romans*, they suffered severely from these towers. For even from these towers, they became targets for the lighter weapons, as well as the javeliniers and archers and stone-launchers. **7** But being so high up, these *assailants* were out of the *Judeans’* range. And there were no means of taking the towers. Their weight made them not easy to be overturned, and being covered with iron-plating it was impossible to set them on fire. **8** But if they withdrew out of projectile range, they could no longer hinder the impact of the rams, whose incessant blows were gradually prevailing against it. **9** But at length, the wall began to succumb to the Victor (for that is the name which the *Judeans* called the largest of the Roman city-destroyers, from its victory over all obstacles).

Indeed, they, having long grown weary with both fighting and guarding, had retired for the night to lodge at a distance from the city. **10** But through indolence and their invariably bad counsels, they decided that to defend this wall was superfluous, as two other fortifications still remained behind it. Because of these things, many of *them* were softened and withdrew. **11** And when the Romans mounted the breach which the Victor had made, all the *Judeans* ceased guarding *that wall* and fled up to the second wall. But those who had scaled *the wall* now opened the gates and admitted the whole army within.

12 And this was indeed how, on the fifteenth day of *the siege*, which was the seventh day of the month Artemisios, the Romans gained possession of the first wall. They also demolished a large part of it along with the northern quarter of the city, which had also been previously demolished by Cestius.

13 Now Titus shifted his encampment within *the city*, at the place called “Camp of the Assyrians”, occupying all the ground *from there* as far as the Kedron, but keeping far enough back to be out of *Judean* missile range from the second wall. But straightaway, he made his assaults.

14 Now the *Judeans* divided themselves into several bodies, maintaining a courageous defense from the *second* wall. Indeed, Johanan’s party fought the Romans from Antōnia, and from the northern portico of the temple, and in front of King Alexandros’ memorial. But Simon’s legion occupied the approach alongside the chief-priest Johanan’s memorial, and fortified it as far as the gate through which water was conveyed to Hippikos Tower.

15 But *the Judeans* would often wage war at close quarter from the gates. And when they were driven back to the walls, they were indeed defeated in these grapplings, because they lacked the Romans’ military skill; but when they fought from the walls, they were superior to *the Romans*. **16** And indeed, experience combined with strength was the *Romans’* encouragement; while daring, nourished by terror, along with their innate fortitude under calamities, sustained the *Judeans*. But they still cherished hopes of salvation, and the Romans of conquering them speedily.

17 But neither *army* grew weary; instead, assaults and battles at the wall, and incessant sallies by companies continued throughout the day; nor was any form of battle omitted. **18** Now beginning at dawn, night scarcely made them stop; but its hours were sleepless for both *sides*, and more difficult to deal with than the day. Indeed the *Judeans* were anxious every moment that the wall would be taken; and the *Romans*, that there would be a Judean sally upon their encampments. Both sides passed the night in this way, under arms; and at first light, were ready for a battle.

19 And indeed, among the *Judeans*, there was rivalry as to who should gratify their leaders by being the first to brave the danger. Now Simon in particular was

¹ ‘habben’, which means “the son” sounds similar to “ha-eben” which means “the stone”

regarded with reverence and terror; and such was the esteem in which he was held by everyone who was under his injunctions, that each was even prepared to *kill themselves* with their own hands had he given the directive.

20 But what gave the Romans such incentives to manliness were their usual custom of conquering and inexperience of defeat, both their continuous expeditions and perpetual battle training, and the magnitude of their leadership. But now their primary *incentive* was Titus, who was ever *and* everywhere present beside all. 21 For while Caesar was both with them and contending along with them, terror seemed monstrous; and the *soldier* who contended finely had, as a testifier of himself, one who would also reward it. But it was also an advantage to already be known by Caesar as noble. On this account, many, in their enthusiasm, displayed better eagerness than their strength warranted.

22 Accordingly, as the Judeans were drawn up in *battle* array outside the wall, and while both legions were yet contending against one another with javelins, a certain cavalryman *named* Longinus, leapt out of the Roman lines *and* dashed into the very midst of the Judean phalanx. 23 So breaking their ranks by his charge, he did away with two of their noblest men—indeed, piercing one in the front as he advanced to meet him; but as the other was turning to flee, he transfixed him through the side with the very spear which he drew up from the first. And after having done this, he escaped unscathed from the midst of his foes to his own lines. 24 Therefore indeed, his excellence gained him distinction, but led many to ambitiously emulate his manliness.

25 And indeed, the Judeans, unconcerned with what they had suffered from the *Romans*, thought only of the injury which they could inflict; but death itself seemed a trivial matter to them, if at the same time they could kill any one of their foes.

26 But Titus cared as much for his soldiers' safety as to have them overcome *their enemies*. And he indeed pronounced inconsiderate violence to be mere desperation, but that excellence was only true when joined with foresight. And he directed *his men* to display their own manliness without taking risks.

27 Now *Titus* brought up one of his city-destroyers against the central tower of the north part of the wall; here, a certain Judean man, a warlock, whose name was Castor, lay in ambush with ten others of like character, the rest having been routed by the archers. 28 Indeed, for some time, these men lay still, crouching beneath the breastworks.¹ But when the tower began to rock, they rose up; and Castor, stretching out his hands in suppliant pose, called upon Caesar, and in piteous tones implored him to have mercy upon them.

29 But Titus, in his simplicity, believed him to be earnest, and, hoping that the Judeans were finally changing *their* minds, stopped the battering of the ram, also forbidding the archers to shoot at the supplicants. But he directed Castor to say what was on his mind.

30 So *Castor* said, "I will come down, if you give me your right hand *in pledge*."

To which Titus declared, "Indeed, I am well-pleased with your sound-judgment. But I would be well-pleased if everyone were now of the same mind; and I am ready to offer security to the city."

31 Now five of *Castor's* ten companions indeed joined in this feigned supplication, but the rest loudly cried out that they would never be enslaved to the Romans, as long as it was in their power to die as free *men*.

32 And while these *men* had a prolonged dispute, the assault was indeed suspended. But *Castor* sent word to Simon, telling him, "Take your time in taking counsel on the necessary measures, because I am able to fool the Roman chief for a considerable time."

But while dispatching this *message*, he also openly appeared to be urging his obstinate comrades to accept Titus' right hand. 33 But they, on the other hand, pretended to be indignant at this; and both brandishing their naked short-swords above the breastworks, and striking their own breastplates, fell down as if they had been slaughtered. 34 But Titus and his party were amazed at the men's courage; and being unable to see exactly what had happened *from below*, they both admired their great courage and pitied their situation.

35 Now during this interval, a certain person hit *Castor* with an arrow, maiming him in the nose. He instantly pulled out the projectile, showed it to Titus, and complained that he was not being treated rightly. But Caesar sternly rebuked the archer *and* commissioned *me* (*I was* at his side) to offer *my* right hand to *Castor*. 36 Instead *I* (for *I* was convinced that these false suppliants meant no good), indeed not only declined to *go myself*, but also restrained any of *my* friends who were motivated to go to him.

Now *Aineas*, one of the deserters, declared that he would go to *Castor*. 37 But *Castor* called out, "Have someone take the money which I am bringing with me." This made *Aineas* the more eager to run forward, robes extended, to receive it. 38

But *Castor* picked up a rock *and* hurled it at him; and it missed *Aineas* who indeed managed to avoid it, but wounded another soldier who was coming up to him.

39 Now when *Caesar* understood that this was a delusion, he indeed decided that mercy in a war was a pernicious thing; for severe measures afforded less space for cunning tricks. But angered by this mockery, he made the city-destroyer strike more powerfully than before.

40 But when the tower began to give way, *Castor's* party set fire to it, and leapt through the flames into the hidden vault beneath. This again impressed the Romans, who imagined that they had plunged into the fire with a sense of great manliness.

CHAPTER 76 [War5:331-359]

Now at this spot, on the fifth day after the capture of the first wall, *Caesar* stormed this one. And when the Judeans had fled from him, he, with 1,000 heavy-armed *soldiers* and his own picked troops, entered into the new city where the wool-shops and the braziers' *smithies*, and the market-place for robes were located, but where the narrow-alleys descended obliquely to the wall.

2 But now, because *Titus* indeed hoped to shame the *Judeans* by his reluctance to injure them when he was in a position to do so, he did not widen the breach *in the wall* to facilitate a retreat. For he never supposed that after such treatment they would lay snares against their benefactor. 3 Accordingly, when he entered, he did not permit *his soldiers* to kill anyone caught, nor to set fire to the houses. Instead, he indeed gave permission to the insurgents to leave the city, without terror, to fight, if they wished, without causing harm to the populace; but he promised to the populace that he would restore their property. For his primary *objective* was to indeed save the city for himself, but the inner-sanctum for the city.

4 Therefore, the people had indeed been long ready even to comply with his proposals; but the combatants mistook his humaneness as *a mark of weakness*, and supposed that *Titus* had made these proposals due to his inability to capture the rest of the city. 5 But they threatened death to any of the populace who spoke *even a single* word about surrender, and slaughtered everyone who talked about peace. Then they attacked the Romans who had entered *within the wall*. Some they indeed confronted in the narrow-alleys, but some from the houses; while others suddenly sallied outside the wall by the upper gates. 6 Their *assault* caused enough commotion among the *Roman* guards on the wall, that they leapt down from the towers, withdrawing to their encampments. 7 Now great cries indeed *ascended* from those *Romans* who, *still* within, were surrounded on every side by their foes; but *these same cries ascended* from those *Romans* without, who were anxious for *their comrades* who had been left behind.

Now this was how the Judeans, constantly growing in numbers and having a great advantage *over the Romans* due to their full knowledge of those narrow-alleys, both wounded many of *their foes*, and, falling upon *the Romans*, thrust them out of the city.

8 Now these *Romans* were, at present, forced, mainly through sheer necessity, to continue to resist; for it was impossible for all of them to escape at once through the extremely narrow *breach* in the wall. Now the *invading force* would have been cut-down, had not *Titus* come to their aid. 9 For he posted his archers at the ends of the narrow-alleys, and he himself took up position where the greatest number of *his enemies* were the thickest. With *showers of projectiles*, he repulsed his foes. And with him was *Domitius Sabinus*, a man who proved his goodness in this battle as *he had done* in other *engagements*. 10 Now this was how *Caesar* stood his ground, incessantly shooting his arrows and hindering the advance of the Judeans, until all of his soldiers had retreated. 11 Indeed, in this way, having gained possession of the second wall, the Romans were ejected.

But within the town, the minds of *the* combatants were elated at their success, and they rose high. For they imagined that the Romans would never again venture into the city, or that, if they did, they themselves would prove invincible. 12 For due to their transgressions, God was blinding their thoughts; and they did not perceive how the strength *still* left to the Romans far outnumbered those whom had just been expelled, nor could they discern a famine stealthily creeping upon them. 13 For it was still possible to feed upon the public miseries and to drink of the city's blood; but the good *men* had long been seized by the pinch of want, and many had already departed *from this life* for lack of necessities.

14 But the insurgents regarded the destruction of the people as a relief to themselves; for they desired that no one be saved except for those who were *enemies* to peace and who determined to devote their lives to resisting *the* Romans. But *the insurgents* rejoiced as a multitude of their opponents wasted away, who were but a heavy burden *upon them*. 15 Indeed, such were their feelings toward those within *the city*; while in *the wall* which had been overthrown, they erected counter-fortifications with their own bodies, thereby hindering the Romans who were again attempting to gain entrance.

Indeed, for three days they held out against them with a staunch defense. But on the fourth day, they were unable to withstand a noble assault from *Titus*; instead, they were constrained and fled up to their former *refuge*. 16 Now *Titus*,

¹ may also possibly be translated "crouching in great fear beneath their breastplates"

once more repossessing the wall, indeed immediately demolished the entire northern portion. But placing a garrison in the towers in the southern quarter of the city, he formed plans on how he would assault the third wall.

17 Now at this time, *Titus* decided to suspend the siege for a while and to afford the insurgents an interval for a council, to see whether the demolition of the second wall, and the chance terror of a famine, might lead to any surrender; for the spoils of their rapine would be unable to suffice them for long. So he made full use of this *period* of remission for him himself.

18 For the appointed *day* had arrived for the distribution of the soldiers' wages. So he directed his leaders to put the force into *battle-array* and then to count out the money to each *man* in full view of their foes. 19 Now the *soldiers*, as was their custom, drew forth their weapons from the cases where they had remained sheltered until now, and advanced clad in mail, the cavalymen leading their horses in their ornamentations. 20 Now the area in front of the city gleamed far and wide with silver and gold; and nothing was more pleasing to the *Romans*, nor more fearsome to their foes, than that spectacle. 21 For both the entire ancient wall, and the north side of the temple, were thronged with spectators; also the houses were filled with those who saw them, and there was not a *single* spot visible in the city which was not covered by the multitude. 22 But a terrifying consternation fell upon even the hardest of the *Judeans* at the sight both of this full gathering of the forces, and the beauty of their weapons, and the admirable order of the men.

23 But the insurgents did not change their minds at this sight. But believing that death would be their chastisement if they did not make an end of *defending* the city, they thought that death in the war was much better. But foresight was also prevailing, so that the guiltless *ones* were to be destroyed with the criminals, and the city with the sedition.

24 Therefore indeed, in four days, the several Roman legions had all received their wages. But on the fifth *day*, when no signs of peace appeared to come from the *Judeans*, *Titus* formed his legions into *two* divisions and began raising earthworks both opposite *Antōnia*, and *Johanān's* memorial. Indeed, his design was to take the upper city at the memorial, but the temple by way of *Antōnia*; 25 for unless the temple was secured, it would be precarious even to hold the town itself. Now he erected two banks, *one* at each of these two quarters, assigning one to each of the *two* legions.

26 And indeed, those who worked alongside the memorial were impeded both by the Edomite sallies, and by *Simon's* heavy-armed *soldiers*. But those before *Antōnia* suffered obstruction from *Johanān's* party and the multitude of *Zealots* who were with them. 27 Now these *Judeans* were successful, not only with *hand-to-hand* combat, (because they stood upon higher ground), but even with their *own* weapons, which they had now learned to use; for daily practice had gradually fostered their skill. Now they possessed indeed 300 sharpened-bolt-launchers, but 40 stone-launchers, which by using, they seriously retarded the erection of the Roman earthworks.

CHAPTER 77 [War5:360-419]

But *Titus*, conscious that both saving the city and destroying it affected himself, did not only press the siege, but also did not overlook exhorting the *Judeans* to have a change-of-mind. 2 Now blending works with counsel, and being sensible that speeches are often more effectual than weapons, he not only personally exhorted them to seek to save themselves by the surrender of the city (which was already practically taken), but also sent *me* down to discourse with them in their native language; for *Titus* imagined that they might possibly give in to a fellow-tribesmen.

3 *I* went around the wall. And endeavoring both to keep out of projectile-range, and yet within earshot, *I* repeatedly implored them to indeed spare themselves and the populace, but to spare the fatherland and the temple, nor to display toward them a greater indifference than was shown by the foreigners themselves.

4 "Yet indeed, the *Romans*, although they have no relation with these things, even have reverence for the holy-things belonging to their foes; and for this reason, they have up till now far restrained their hands from them. While you, who have been brought up with them, and, were they preserved, would long enjoy them, are bent on their destruction. 5 Truly, you have indeed seen your strongest walls fall *prostrate*, but one still remains, though it is weaker than those which have *already* been taken. But you know that the might of the *Romans* is irresistible, and that to be enslaved to them is no new experience for yourselves.

6 "For if it was even noble to war for freedom, you should have done so at first. But, after having once succumbed and submitted to them for so long, to then seek to shake off the yoke is the work of *men* madly courting death, not those who are lovers-of-freedom. 7 It might, however, be legitimate to scorn inferior masters, but not those to whom all things are subject. For what is there that has escaped the *Romans*, unless it is a *region* useless due to its *extreme* heat or icy-cold?

8 "For it is evident that fortune has, from all quarters, passed over to them, and that God, when he has gone around the nations, bringing each in turn the chiefhood, now rests over *Italia*. Yet truly, there is a fixed law, even among strong beasts and among humans, 'Yield to the stronger,' and, 'The mastery is for those preeminent in arms.' 9 And this is the reason why their ancestors, *men* far superior to them both in their souls and in their bodies, but even in resources, had yielded to the *Romans*—a thing which would have been intolerable to them, had they not known that God was with the *Romans*.

10 "But as for yourselves, on what are you even depending by holding out like this, when indeed the main part of the city is already captured; but when those within it, even though their walls remain standing, are under miseries worse than being captured?

11 "For the *Romans* are not ignorant of a famine raging in the city; indeed, it is now consuming the populace, but will, in a short time, even consume the combatants. 12 For even if the *Romans* were to desist from the siege, not falling upon the city with short-swords in their hands, yet, you have at your doors an internal war with which none can fight; and it gains strength every hour, unless, indeed, you have been able to take arms and both: fight against famine itself, and, alone of *all men*, master its pangs."

13 But *I* further added, "You would do well to reform before incurable disaster befalls you, and, while you have the opportunity, to turn the scales toward advice which may save you. For even the *Romans* will not bear malice against you for your past *actions*, unless you persevere in your insolence to the end. For they are both naturally lenient in victory, and prefer what is expedient above their fury, 14 which does not consist in having on their hands a city empty of men, nor a devastated country.

"This is why, even now, that *Caesar* desires to offer you his right hand. For if he took the city by storm, he would not save a single one of you, and especially after you rejected the offers he made to you in your utmost distresses. 15 Yet truly, the fall of the *walls* which are already taken vouch that the third wall will quickly be taken *as well*. But even if that fortification is impregnable, the famine will fight for the *Romans* against you."

16 While *I* was making this exhortation to the *Judeans*, many of them indeed derided *me* from the wall, but many reviled *me*; but even threw *things* at me. But failing to persuade them by this direct counsel, *I* passed to *speaking* about the histories of our fellow-tribesmen, 17 and cried-out:

"Ah, terrible *creatures*! Are you so unmindful of your own true allies, that you would war against the *Romans* with weapons and *might* of hand? For what other *nation* have we ever been victorious over by such means? 18 But when did God, the Creator, fail to avenge the *Judeans* if they had been unrighteously-treated? Will you not turn your eyes to consider the place from where you fight with such violence, and look back to see how great a *heavenly* ally you have profaned? Will you not recall to mind your fathers' demonic works, as well as what mighty foes have been subdued for us by this holy place in days of old? 19 *I* myself indeed shudder at recounting God's works to unworthy ears; but, listen, that you may learn that you are warring not against the *Romans* only, but instead also against God himself.

20 "There was *Neco*, king of *Egypt*, but who was also called *Pharaoh*. He came down with countless hands to carry off *Sarah*, a queen, the mother of our race. 21 Therefore, what action did her husband *Abraham*, our forefather, take? Did he avenge himself on the outrager with his weapons? Furthermore, he indeed even had 318 subordinate-chiefs, while each *one* was in *command* of an immense force. Did he not indeed count these as nothing at all without God's assistance, but instead lift up pure hands toward this spot, which you have now polluted, to enlist the invincible ally on his side instead of levying an army? 22 Was not the queen indeed sent back to her husband the very next evening free of all defilement, while the *Egyptian*, in awe of this spot (which you have made-bloody by a murder of *your own* fellow-tribesmen), and trembling at phantasms in *the* night, fled, bestowing both silver and gold on the God-loved *Hebrews*?

23 "Shall I say nothing, or shall I mention the migration of our fathers to *Egypt* who were oppressed and in subjection to foreign kings for 400 years; and though they might have defended themselves by resorting to weapons and hands, did they not commit themselves to God? 24 Who is there who has not heard that *Egypt* was overrun with all *sorts* of beasts and corrupted with every sickness, how their land did not bring forth its fruit, how the *Nile* failed, about the ten successive plagues; how by those means, our fathers were sent forth under escort, without *any* bloodshed, without running *any* risk, God leading them to be the *future* custodians of his inner-sanctum?

25 "Instead, did not *Philistia* indeed, as well as their image *Dagon*, groan under the rape of our holy ark by the *Syrians*? But did not the entire nation of those raiders groan under the deed? 26 But were they not ulcerated in the hidden-recesses of their body and excreting their entrails together with their food, until the hands which stole it restored it with the sound of cymbals and tympanis, along with all manner of expiations in order to appease the holy-place? 27 It was God's

generalship which brought this triumph to our fathers, because, without resort to hand or weapon, they committed the issue to his decision.

28 “When Sennacherib, king of Assyria, with all Asia following in his train, encamped around this city, did he fall by human hands? 29 Were not those hands indeed at rest from weapons, raised in prayers, while a messenger of God did away with that countless army in a single night? And when the Assyrian *king* arose next morning, did he not find 185,000 corpses before him, while he, with the remainder of *his army*, fled from the Hebrews who were unarmed and who did not pursue *him*?

30 “And you know of the slavery in Babel, where our people passed seventy years in exile. They never reared their manes for freedom until God made Cyrus¹ his gracious instrument. Yes, it was through him that they were set free and reestablished the temple-worship of their *heavenly ally*.

31 “But in a word, there is no instance in which our fathers triumphed by weapons or failed of success without them when they committed their cause to God. Yet indeed, when they sat still, they conquered, as it pleased their Judge; but when they went out to fight, they always stumbled.

32 “Indeed, in this way, when the King of Babel besieged this *very city*, our King Zedekiah fought against him contrary to Jeremiah’s prophecies; Zedekiah was both immediately taken prisoner and saw the town with the inner-sanctum leveled to the ground. Furthermore, how much more moderate indeed was that king than your *present* leaders, but his people than you! 33 Yes, when Jeremiah loudly proclaimed how much enmity they had incurred from God for their faults against him, but that, unless they surrendered the city, they would be taken captive, neither the king nor the populace did away with him. 34 Instead, you (to pass over what you have done within *the city*, for it would be beyond me to adequately describe your enormities), *you* assail me with revilements as well as with missiles, the one who is only trying to exhort you to save yourselves. You are provoked at being reminded of your sins, and cannot bear the very mention of those *evil things* which you actually perpetrate every day.

35 “But again, when Antiochos, surnamed The Illustrious, was blockading this city *and* had grossly outraged the Deity, our fathers went forth in arms against him. Indeed, they were slaughtered in the battle, but this town was plundered by their foes, but the holy-place was made desolate for three years and six months.

“And why do I need to mention any more? 36 Instead, I implore you, who was it that incited the Romans to levy an army against our nation? Was it not the impiety of its countrymen? But from where did our slavery arise? 37 Was it not derived from sedition among our ancestors, when the madness of Aristoboulos and Hyrkanos and their mutual dissensions brought Pompeius against this city, and when God subjected those who were not worthy of freedom to the Romans? 38 Yes, after a three-month siege, they were forced to surrender, although they were innocent of such offenses as yours against the holy-place and against the laws, and this, while possessing far ampler resources for going to war.

39 “But do we not know the end of Antigonos *the boy* of Aristoboulos, in whose reign God struck the people for their failures by the capture of *this city*? Indeed, when Hérôdés *son* of Antipatros brought upon us Sossius, but Sossius brought upon us a Roman army—now they were encompassed and besieged for six months, until, as a rightful-punishment for their sins, they were captured and the city was plundered by their foes.

40 “This is how it appears that weapons were never given to our nation, but being at war has even been the sure signal for defeat. 41 For it is, I suppose, the duty of the inhabitants of this holy place to leave everything to God’s righteous-judgment, and to scorn the assistance of a human hand after having resigned themselves up to their judge above.

42 “But as for you, what have you done which is blest by the lawgiver? But what deed cursed by him have you left undone? But how much more impious are you than those who have been defeated *in the past*! 43 You have indeed not disdained secret sins, I mean, thefts, and treacheries, and adulteries; but in rapines and murders, you vie with each other in inventing new and unheard of paths of evil. But the temple itself has become the receptacle for everything, and native hands have stained that divine place, which even Romans have revered from afar, forgoing many of their own customs in deference to our law. 44 After all this, do you expect the one whom you have so impiously profaned to be your *heavenly ally*? Yes, righteous suppliants are all of you; and so pure are the hands with which you appeal to your *heavenly protector*!

45 “Did your king *Hezekiah* lift up such *hands* when he besought assistance against the Assyrian *king*, when God wounded that great army in a single night? But are the deeds of the Romans so similar to those of the Assyrian, that you even have reason to hope for similar vengeance upon them?

46 “Did *not that king* indeed accept money from our king on this condition: that he would not ravage the city, yet, in violation of his oaths, came down *and*

burned the inner-sanctum; while the Romans are but demanding the customary tribute, which our fathers paid to theirs? 47 And once they obtain this, they neither *aim* to ravage this city, nor touch the holy-places; they will even grant you everything else: your families shall be free, and your possessions enjoyed, and our consecrated laws saved. 48 It is plain madness to expect that God would show the same treatment to the righteous as to the unrighteous.

“But *God* also knows how, when it is proper, to inflict immediate vengeance. Yes, he broke *the power* of the Assyrians on the *very first* night they encamped. 49 And for this reason, if he had judged our generation worthy of freedom, or the Romans of chastisement, he would have, in the same way as the Assyrians, immediately visited *these Romans*: when Pompeius intermeddled with our nation, or when after him Sossius came up *against us*, or when Vespasianus ravaged Galilee, or lastly now, when Titus was *first* approaching this city. 50 Furthermore, Magnus indeed and Sossius, did not only suffer no injury, but took the city by storm. But in the same way, Vespasianus went from his war against us and received a kingdom.

“And as for Titus: Indeed, the very springs which had formerly almost dried up when under your powers, flow more copiously for him *than they did before*. 51 Accordingly, prior to his coming, as you know, both Shiloah, and all the *other* springs outside the town, were failing to the extent that water was sold by the amphora. But now they flow so freely for your foes, that not only is the water sufficient for themselves and their livestock, *but* instead even for *watering* plantations. 52 Yet truly, this *same* portent has been formerly experienced, when the previously-mentioned Babelian *king* advanced with his army against us, capturing *and* burning both the city and the inner-sanctum, although, I believe, the *Judeans* of that time were not as rankly impious as you. 53 So I indeed cannot but suppose that the Deity has indeed fled from the holy-place, but has now taken his stand on the side of your foes.

54 “Instead, a man, indeed, an honorable *one*, will flee from an impure house and will abhor its inmates. But can you persuade yourselves that God still remains with his household plunged in your evils? *For God* both sees every secret thing and hears what is buried in silence. 55 But, I implore you, what *crime* is there that is veiled in silence or secrecy among you? But what is there that has not been exposed even to your enemies? For you parade your transgressions, and daily contend *with one another* as to who shall be the worst, making a *public* exhibition of this unrighteousness as if it were an excellence.

56 “But there is still a way of salvation left for you, if you are willing *to accept it*; and the Deity is easily reconciled to those who confess and change their minds. 57 O iron-hearted men! Cast away your full suits of armor! Take compassion on your fatherland already tottering to its fall! Turn around and behold the beauty of what you are betraying: What a town! What a temple! What countless gifts from the nations! 58 What *man* would direct the flame against these things? What *man is there* who would want these things to be no more? And what could be more worthy of being saved than these things? O relentless creatures, and more stupid than stones!

59 “And if you cannot look upon these things with eyes of genuine affection, at least have pity on your families, and let every one of you set before your eyes your children, and women, and parents, who will be gradually consumed either by famine or by war.

60 “I know that I have a mother, and a wife, and a family which is by no means ignoble, and an ancient and illustrious house—all gripped by these dangers. And perhaps you think that it is *solely* on their account that I offer you my counsel. If that is the only reason, kill them. Not only that, but take my blood as the price of your own salvation! I too am prepared to die, if it will lead you to be of a sound mind.”

CHAPTER 78 [War5:420-445]

Even with tears, the insurgents would neither yield to *my* loud appeal, nor did they deem it safe to alter their course. But as for the populace, they were incited to desert to *the Romans*. 2 And indeed, for a trifling sum, some of them sold their entire property, but others their most precious treasures. Indeed the *gold received from these transactions*, they swallowed, in order to prevent them from being discovered by the brigands. *So* once they had escaped to the Romans, they would excrete, *and* have ample supplies for whatever they needed. 3 For Titus dismissed the majority of *the civilians* into the country, to wherever they pleased; and this fact induced *even more civilians* to desert, as they would indeed be relieved from the miseries within *the city*, but not be enslaved by the Romans. 4 However, the parties of Johanan and Simon kept a sharper watch on the egress of these refugees than they did on the ingress of the Romans. And anyone who afforded even a shadow of suspicion was slaughtered straightaway.

5 Yet truly, equal destruction was *in store* for the prosperous *ones* who remained *in the city*; for under pretext of desertion, *individuals* were done away with *by the brigands* for the sake of their property. But the insurgents’ recklessness augmented with the famine, and both of these terrors became more furiously inflamed with each successive day. 6 For indeed, grain was nowhere to

¹ Persian “Kurus”

be seen, but *the brigands* would rush in to search the houses; indeed, if they found any, they tormented the owners as having *purposefully* denied having any *in their possession*; but if they found none, they tortured them supposing that they had more carefully concealed it. **7** Now the bodies of these miserable wretches indicated whether they had *any grain* or not. Indeed, those *found* still prospering were presumed not to be in lack of food; but those *found* wasted away were passed over, and they thought it senseless to kill those who would soon die of starvation.

8 But many stealthily bartered their possessions for a single measure: indeed of wheat, if they were rich; but of barley, if they were poor. Then shutting themselves up in the most remote recesses of their houses, some indeed at the peak of hunger devoured the grain, but others baked it as both necessity and terror dictated. **9** And indeed, nowhere was any table laid; but they snatched the bread half-baked from the fire in order to hastily consume it.

10 But pitiful was the nourishment, and the sight worthy of bringing tears to the eyes—indeed, how the stronger seized more than their share, but how the weak were lamenting. Indeed, a famine overpowers all the emotions, and there is nothing that it destroys more in this way than modesty; for what was otherwise worthy of respect, it reduces into an object of contempt. **11** Accordingly, women would snatch the very morsels from their husbands, boys from their fathers, and (the most pitiable sight of all) mothers from the very mouths of their infants. And while the ones dearest to them were pining in their arms, they were not ashamed to rob them of the *very drops which might* preserve their lives.

12 But not *even* while eating in this manner did they escape detection. But everywhere the insurgents hovered, even over these wretches' prey. **13** For any house they spotted which was shut-up was a signal that those within had food in their possession. But straightaway breaking open the doors, they leapt in and forced the morsels *they were eating* almost up out of their very throats. **14** Now old men, clutching their morsels, were beaten. And women, concealing *food* in their hands, were dragged by the hair. There was no compassion for gray-hairs or infancy: instead, boys were actually lifted up *from the ground* together with the morsels they clung to *and* were dashed to the ground.

15 Now there were those who had anticipated *the insurgents'* raid and swallowed down their expected spoil *before they arrived*; to these, *the insurgents* were most brutal, as if they had been defrauded of their right. **16** But terrifying were the methods of torture which they invented in their search for food, indeed, blocking their *victim's* genital passages with pulse, and poking the anus with sharp rods. But one would even shudder at the mere recital of the pangs to which *their victims* were subjected to make them confess to the possession of a single loaf of *bread* and to reveal the hiding-place of a handful of barley-meal. **17** But these torturers committed these acts when they themselves were not even famished; for it would have been less *cruel* if they had been forced to it by necessity. But they were practicing their recklessness and preparing beforehand travel-supplies for themselves against the days to come.

18 Now if any one crept out to the Roman guards under the cover of night to gather wild herbs and grass, *the insurgents* would go to meet them. And at the moment when these *people* imagined themselves to have escaped their foes, *the insurgents* would snatch from them whatever they had procured. **19** And often their *victims* implored them, even invoking the awesome name of God, to return them a portion of what they had, at their own danger, obtained. But *the insurgents* would not give them a crumb. But they should be well contented that they were only robbed, and not additionally destroyed. **20** Indeed, these were the treatments which the lower classes suffered from these spearmen.

But as for worthy and rich *men*, they were brought before the tyrants themselves. Indeed, some of them, who were falsely charged with plotting against them, were utterly-destroyed; but others, of betraying the city to the Romans. But the most expedient way was this, to suborn an informer to state that they had determined to desert *to the enemy*. **21** Now the man who had been despoiled by Simon was passed on to Johanan. And the man who had been plundered by Johanan was taken over by Simon. But together they drank the blood of the populace and divided the carcasses of their unfortunate victims. **22** And indeed, as rivals for dominion, they were at discord; but in their impieties, unanimous—for even the one who refused to share with his comrade the proceeds of the miseries of others, was ranked as wicked; and the one who received no share was aggrieved at his exclusion from the brutality, as though defrauded of some good thing.

- 23** Never was there a city which suffered such *miseries*;
not since the beginning of the world,
has an age bred a race more prolific in evil.
- 24** Yet they finally even debased the race of the Hebrews,
making themselves seem less impious toward foreigners.
But they confessed what was true, what they were:
slaves, and rabble, and bastard scums of the nation.
- 25** Yet indeed, they themselves overthrew the city,

but compelled the Romans to register a melancholy triumph,
and attracted everything to the inner-sanctum, except for the
tardy flames.

- 26** When they beheld it burning from the upper city,
they neither grieved, nor shed a tear;
instead, throughout the Romans,
these emotions were discovered.

CHAPTER 79 [War5:446-490]

Now Titus' earthworks had indeed progressed, despite that his soldiers had been much distressed from the wall. But he sent a detachment of cavalry with directions to lie in wait for anyone who went out into the ravines in search of food. **2** Now these *escapees* also included some of the combatants, who were no longer satisfied with their plunder; but the majority were the poorer of the populace, who were deterred from deserting by anxiety for their families; **3** for they could not hope to elude the insurgents if they attempted to escape with their women and little-ones, and they could not endure to leave them to be slaughtered by the brigands on their behalf. **4** But *the severity* of the famine emboldened them to undertake these excursions *to leave the city*; and if they escaped from the city unobserved *from the brigands*, nothing remained for them but to be taken prisoners by their foes. But when caught, they were forced to defend themselves *from fear of punishment*; and after a battle, they thought that it was too late to make any supplications for mercy. So before their death, they were whipped and tortured with every sort of torment, *and then* were crucified before the wall.

5 Therefore Titus indeed found their fate pitiable, while each day 500, but *sometimes* even more *Judeans*, were captured; but he recognized that it was not safe to dismiss those who were captured by force, and that to place such large numbers under guard would render their guardians useless in *other affairs*. Yet truly, his main reason for not stopping the crucifixions was this: he hoped that the spectacle would perhaps induce the *Judeans* to give in, lest they suffer a similar treatment. **6** But the soldiers, out of anger and hatred, amused themselves by nailing their prisoners in different positions. And so great was their number, that space could not be found both for the crosses, and crosses for the bodies.

7 But the insurgents were far from relenting at *the sight* of these sufferings, and they deluded the remaining multitude by devising false² motives for *the crucified victims*. **8** For they dragged to the wall relatives of those who had deserted, together with any of the populace who were motivated to accept the assurances *from the Romans*, and displayed to them *the destiny* of those who had fled to the Romans for refuge. And the *insurgents* also *falsely* asserted that the captured *victims* were not captives *at all*, but were supplicants. **9** Until the truth became known, this *sight* restrained many of those *within the city* who were eager to desert. But some of them also instantly fled, as to certain retribution, esteeming a death by their foes to be rest in comparison with that by a famine.

10 Now Titus also directed to cut off the hands of several of the prisoners, so that they might not be mistaken for deserters and that their calamity might add credibility to their statements. *Then* he sent them in to Simon and Johanan with the following exhortation: that they would now at least pause, and not compel him to do away with the city, but by a change-of-purpose at the last *hour*, to preserve both their own souls, along with their magnificent fatherland, and an inner-sanctum unshared by others. **11** Now at the same time, *Titus* went around the embankments, urging on the workmen, with the intent to shortly follow up his threats by actions.

12 *In answer* to his *message*, the *Judeans* retorted from the walls by casting reproaches upon Caesar himself, as well as his father. And they cried out, "We indeed scorn death (for we honorably prefer it to slavery); but we will cause the Romans all the damage we can while we are *still* able to breathe. But since you have declared to us that we are going to be destroyed, we have no concern for our fatherland, and the world itself is a better inner-sanctum for God than this one. **13** Yet truly, *this inner-sanctum* will be saved by Him who dwells within *it*; and while we have him for our ally, we will deride every one of your threats which are *all* unsupported by actions. For *the outcome* of this issue rests with God."

This was what they shouted, interspersed with reproaches.

14 Now Antiochos the Illustrious also appeared on the scene. With him were a considerable number of other heavy-armed *soldiers*, and a body of *men* called the 'Makedonians'. They were all the same age, tall, newly emerged from adolescence, *and* both armed and disciplined in the Makedonian fashion, from which circumstance they also took their name. *Yet*, most of them lacked any claim to belong to that race. **15** For of all the kings owning allegiance to the Romans, the king of Kummuhu prospered more *than any of them*, before he experienced a

¹ some add

² literally "opposite/contrary"

reverse. But that *man* shone-forth in old age how *one* ought to be saying *that* no-one is happy before *his* death. (*Sirach 11:28*) **16** Yet instead, the father's fortunes were at their zenith at the time when his boy arrived, who expressed his surprise that a Roman *army* should shrink back from attacking the wall. Now he was something of a warrior himself who was naturally adventurous, and was also so robust that his daring seldom failed.

17 But Titus said with a smile, "The toil is *ours* in common."

Without further delay, Antiochos and his Makedonians made a sudden attack upon the wall. **18** Therefore indeed, his own strength and skill enabled him to avoid the Judean projectiles, while shooting his own arrows at them. But his striplings, with few exceptions, were all overpowered. For, out of respect for the undertaking, they emulously maintained the fighting. **19** And in the end, they withdrew, *but* not until there were many wounded-men, perceiving that even genuine Makedonians, if they are to conquer, must *also* have Alexandros' good fortune.

20 Now the Romans had begun to *raise* their earthworks on the 12th day of the month Artemisios. And after seventeen days of continuous toil, they were scarcely completed on the twenty-ninth day of the same month. **21** For the four embankments were immense. And indeed, the one at Antōnia was raised up by the fifth legion facing the middle of a swimming-pool which is being called Strouthion. But another was raised up by the twelfth legion about 20 cubits away from the first. **22** But at a considerable distance from these, the works of the tenth legion were in the northern region and facing the Almond-Tree Swimming-Pool. But 30 cubits from them, the fifteenth legion was at work opposite the chief-priest's memorial.

23 But now, while the *machines* were being brought up, indeed Johanan from within the city had undermined the ground from Antōnia as far as the earthworks themselves, and had supported the ground above the underground-passages with stakes; in this way, the Roman works were left suspended. Now having also introduced timber besmeared with pitch and bitumen, he touched them with fire. **24** And as the stakes were burned from below, the passage collapsed in a heap; and with a tremendous crash, the earthworks fell into the trench. **25** Therefore indeed, at first, as the fire was choked by the fall of the debris, dense volumes of smoke arose with clouds of dust; but as the suffocating materials were gradually eaten away, a vivid flame burst forth. **26** And at this sudden catastrophe, consternation indeed fell upon the Romans, but this inventiveness caused them to be disheartened. And this accident, coming upon them at the moment when they imaged that they had already prevailed, also damped their hopes of ultimate success. Now it seemed useless to ward off the fire; even if it was extinguished, their earthworks were already swallowed down.

27 Now two days later, Simon's party also launched an attack on the other earthworks, for the Romans had even brought up the city-destroyers upon them and were already battering the wall. **28** Now there was a certain Gephtheos of Garis (a city of Galilee), and a certain Magassaros, a royal henchman of Miriam. And with them was the son of a certain Nabataios from Hadyab; because of his misfortune, he was also named Haggera (this word means 'lame' in Aramaic). They snatched up torches and rushed out upon the machines. **29** Throughout this entire war, there were no men bolder than these three who sallied out of the city, or who inspired greater fear. **30** For, as though racing out to meet friendly ranks and not into a mass of foes, they neither slackened nor turned aside; instead, plunging through the midst of their enemies, they set fire to their machines from underneath. **31** But with missiles and short-swords pushing up from every side, nothing could shift them from the danger they were in until the fire had grasped hold of these weapons.

32 Now with the flame soaring aloft, the Romans indeed came rushing together from their encampments to salvage their machines, while the Judeans obstructed them from the wall. And utterly regardless of sparing their own bodies, they grappled with the Romans who were endeavoring to extinguish the conflagration. **33** And indeed, the Romans strived to pull the city-destroyers out of the fire, their wicker shelters all ablaze. But on the other side, the Judeans even took hold of the city-destroyers through the flame itself, clutching the red-hot iron and refusing to relinquish them. But the fire spread itself from the city-destroyers to the earthworks, and outstripped those who were defending them. **34** But the Romans, indeed enveloped in the flame and despairing of the salvation of their works, withdrew to their encampments.

35 But the Judeans were daring, their numbers continually augmented by fresh assistance from those within the city. And being of good-courage, they pressed on with uncontrolled anger. Now they, advancing as far as the fences of the enemy's camp, grappled with the sentries.

36 There is a body of soldiers, which took turns being stationed in front of every encampment; and these come under a severe Roman law, that he who quits his post for any cause whatsoever is put to death. **37** So these men, preferring a virtuous death, stood firm. And seeing the necessity of these men, many of the Romans who had fled, out of shame, turned back. **38** But after also posting the sharpened-bolt-launchers along the encampment wall, they kept the multitude at

bay, who, without a thought of safety or guarding of their bodies, were coming up from the city. For the Judeans grappled with anyone whom they encountered; and striking their enemies without any caution, their bodies fell upon their enemies' spear-points. **39** But the superiority of the Judeans was not due to them having better good-courage; and the Romans yielded to their audacity more than the miseries which they received from them.

40 But at that moment, Titus arrived from Antōnia, to where he had gone in order to inspect a place for raising fresh earthworks. And he debased his soldiers very much for having jeopardized their own fortifications while having mastered their foes' walls; and, by doing this, had sustained the misfortune of being besieged men, while the Judeans were allowed to sally out against them from their prison-house. Then he with his picked forces, himself at their head, encircled their foes and fell upon their flank. **41** Now although the Judeans were being struck in the mouth as well, they turned around to resolutely withstand Titus.

But in the mingling of the pitched-battle, indeed blinded by the dust but deafened by the noise, no longer could either side distinguish the friend from the enemy. **42** But the Judeans still held out, though not as much from their real strength as from their despair of salvation. And the Romans were braced by a regard both for glory and for their weapons, and because Caesar himself was bearing the brunt of the battle. **43** So the Judean multitude, anticipating the turn of the battle, retreated into the city. **44** But the Romans, seeing their earthworks demolished, were indeed deeply dejected, having lost in one hour the fruit of their long labor; and, indeed, many despaired of ever taking the city with their usual machines.

CHAPTER 80 [War5:491-526]

Now Titus took counsel with his leaders. And indeed, the more hot-tempered were of the opinion that he should bring up his entire force and storm the wall; for indeed, up till now, only separate fragments of the army had grappled with the Judeans, whereas under a mass attack, the Judeans would be powerless to resist their approach; for they would be overwhelmed by their projectiles. **2** But of those who were more cautious: indeed, some were of the opinion that the earthworks should be reconstructed, while others even advised that they should dispense with these earthworks and resort to a blockade, both guarding against the egress of the besieged Judeans, as well as preventing the introduction of fresh supplies, and thereby leaving the city to the famine, but avoiding direct conflict with their foes; **3** for there was no contending with desperate men whose prayer was to indeed fall by the iron sword, while an even more terrible misery was reserved for them.

4 But Titus indeed thought it undignified to remain totally inactive with such a large force, and thought that it was in vain to contend with men who would soon destroy one another. **5** But he pointed out the extreme difficulty of throwing up more earthworks with a lack of materials, as well as the ever greater difficulty of guarding against Judean sallies. "For to also encompass the entire city with soldiers will, by reason of its magnitude and the obstacles presented by the terrain, be no easy matter, but will expose us to enemy attacks. **6** Now although we might guard the city's obvious outlets, yet, the Judeans, born from both necessity and their experience of the locality, will contrive secret routes; but if any supplies are stealthily smuggled in, the siege will be still further protracted."

7 Titus was also anxious that the glory of success would be diminished by the delay, "for, indeed, time can accomplish everything, but rapidity is essential to gaining renown. **8** Yet truly, if we wish to combine speed and security, it is required to build a wall around the entire city. For it is in this manner alone that every exit can be blocked. Then the Judeans will either, in utter despair of salvation, surrender up the city; or, wasted by the famine, fall an easy prey. **9** For I myself will not remain altogether inactive; instead, once those who are hindering me are made weaker, I will also turn my attention to raising the earthworks. **10** But if anyone thinks that such a work is too great to finish without much difficulty, he should consider that it is not fit for Romans to undertake any small work, and that there is no great thing which is easy to accomplish."

10 Having convinced his leaders with these arguments, Titus directed them to distribute the work among the forces. Now at this, the soldiers were seized with a type of demonic fury; and when the work on the enclosure was distributed among them, not only did the legions strive with one another, **11** but instead so did their component companies. And indeed each soldier was ambitious¹ to please his decurion, but each decurion his centurion, but he his tribune. But the ambition² of the tribunes extended to the leaders. And in the rivalry between the leaders, Caesar himself was arbitrator; for he himself frequently went around every day to oversee the work.

12 Now beginning at the Assyrian camp, where he himself was encamped, he drew the wall toward the lower region of the new city. From there it went across

¹ literally "love-of-honorly"

² literally "love-of-honor"

the Kedron to the Mount of Olives. **13** Then, bending down to the south, he enclosed the mountain as far as Peristereōnos Rock (*which means, Dovecote Rock*), together with the adjoining ridge which overhangs the Shiloam Ravine. From there, it inclined westwards, descending into the Ravine of the Fountain. **14** Beyond *this ravine*, it ascended, facing the memorial of the chief-priest Hanan. And cutting across the mountain where Pompeius had *formerly* encamped, it turned northwards, **15** and proceeded as far as a village called 'House of Pulse'. And after passing *this village*, it encompassed Hērōdēs' memorial, and then joined the east side of Titus' own encampment from where it began. **16** Therefore indeed, the length of the wall was 39 stadia. But attached to its outer side were thirteen fortresses, and whose united circumferences amounted to ten stadia. **17** Now the entire *project* was completed in three days; indeed, it would naturally have required months, but was done with such speed that it was incredible.

18 Now when Titus enclosed the city with this wall and posted a force in the fortresses, he indeed encircled *the wall* during the first watch of the night in order to look-over everything. But the second *watch* he entrusted to Alexandros. But for the third, the leaders of the legions cast-lots. **19** Now the guards had their allotted hours of slumber, and all night long patrolled the intervals *between* the fortresses.

20 But every hope of salvation was cut off from the Judeans, along with all egress *from the city*. And the famine, deepening itself, devoured the populace by *entire* households and families. **21** And indeed, the roofs were filled with women and babies completely exhausted, but the narrow-alleys *were congested* with the corpses of the aged. But little-ones and youths, with figures swollen *with the famine*, roamed like apparitions through the marketplaces, collapsing wherever their calamity overtook them. **22** But the sick did not *even* have the strength to bury them, while those who were still left with vigor, were deterred *from doing it* both by the *great* multitude of the corpses, and by the uncertainty of their own fate. Accordingly, many died after burying others, but many went forth to their tombs *even* before their appointed time had come. **23** But amidst these calamities, there was neither lamentation nor wailing; instead, the famine stifled the emotions; but with dry eyes and mouths opened with clenched teeth, these slowly dying victims looked upon those who had gone to rest before them.

Now the city, wrapped in deep silence, and night, laden with death, was in the grip of a *foe* even more difficult to deal with: the brigands. **24** Accordingly, they broke open graves, which were no more than the houses, to strip the corpses; and stripping bare the veils over their bodies, they departed with laughter. They also tested the points of their short-swords on the carcasses; and in order to try the temper of the iron, they ran them through some of those who still lay alive *upon the ground*. **25** But as for those who implored them to lend them their right hand and their short-sword *to dispatch them*, they disdainfully left to the mercy of the famine. And each *victim* expired with his eyes fixed upon the inner-sanctum, averted from the insurgents whom he left alive.

26 Now indeed at first, the *insurgents* had ordered the corpses to be buried at the public expense, finding the stench intolerable; *but* afterwards, when incapable of continuing this *procedure*, they flung them down from the walls into the ravines.

27 Now when Titus was making his rounds, he beheld these valleys filled with the corpses, and the thick dripping ichor oozing from under the bodies. He both groaned, and lifting up his hands, called God to testify on his behalf that this was not his *own* doing. **28** This was indeed the situation within the city.

But the Romans, relieved from further sallies of the insurgents (for now, even these felt the grip of despondency and *the* famine) were very joyful, with abundant supplies of both grain, and other necessities out of Syria and the neighboring provinces. **29** Now many of them would approach the wall, and, displaying their great quantity of provisions, would inflame the pangs of the foes' famine by their superabundance.

30 But when the insurgents still remained unmoved by these sufferings, Titus, commiserating the remnants of the populace and eager to at least rescue the survivors, recommenced the raising of earthworks. Although at this time, timber was procured with difficulty. **31** For indeed, all the trees encircling the city had been felled for the previous works; but the soldiers were forced to collect fresh material from a distance of 90 stadia. And the new earthworks were raised in four sections, though only opposite Antōnia, and were much larger than the former.

32 Now Caesar made his rounds of the legions and expedited the works, plainly showing to the brigands that they were now in his hands. **33** But in these *men* alone, all remorse for evils was extinct; and dividing their soul from their body, they treated both as foreigners. **34** For neither could suffering tame their souls, nor anguish affect their bodies, seeing that they yet continued, like dogs, even to maul the very corpse of the populace, and to pack the prisons full with the feeble.

CHAPTER 81 [War5:527-572]

Accordingly, Simon did not *even* permit Matthijah, by whose means he possessed the city, to be done away with without being tortured. This *Matthijah* was *the* boy of Boēthos, and one of the chief-priests, who had gained great faithfulness and

honor from the populace. **2** At the time when the multitude was being maltreated by the Zealots, to whom even Johanan had not attached himself, he had persuaded the populace to admit Simon as one of their helpers,¹ without making any previous stipulation with him, nor anticipating *any* base *behavior* on his part. **3** But once *Simon* had entered, taking the city under his power, he considered the very man who had even been a counselor in his cause to be his enemy equally with the rest, as having *counseled him* solely out of simplicity.

4 But *Simon* had him brought before him, and accused him of siding with the Romans, not *even* thinking him worthy of making a defense. Indeed, he condemned him to death, *along* with three of his sons. For the fourth of *his sons* had already fled to Titus.

Now when *Matthijah* entreated to be done away with before his children, and begged that this favor be granted in exchange for having opened the city to him, *Simon* directed that he should be done away with last. **5** Therefore indeed, after being led out in view of the Romans, he was slaughtered over the bodies of his boys, who had been murdered before his eyes. For these were the orders which *Simon* had given to Hanan son of Bagadata, the most cruel of *all* his spearmen, with the ironical remark, "Let him see whether *his friends* to whom he intended to desert will come to help him."² He *also* refused to bury their bodies.

6 After these, a priest named Hananiah son of Masabalah, a person of distinction, along with Aristeus, the scribe of the council, a native of Hammat, and along with them fifteen illustrious *men* from among the populace were done away with.

7 Now they further detained *my* father in prison, but issued a *public* proclamation forbidding any citizen at all to converse or to congregate in one spot for terror of treason. And without examination, they did away with anyone taking part in joint lamentation *over these men*.

8 A spectator of these *scenes* was Judah son of Judah, one of *Simon's* subordinate-chiefs, who had been entrusted by him with the guarding of one of the towers. Indeed, perhaps even partly out of pity for those who were destroyed in this cruel manner, but more out of foresight for himself, **9** he called together ten of the men under him, those who were most faithful to him, declaring, "How long are we going to tolerate these evils? Or what hopes do we have of salvation if we keep faith with this wicked *man*? **10** Indeed, is not the famine already upon us? But is not the Roman army all but a little within the city? But has not *Simon* become treacherous even to his benefactors? And do we not have reason to be terrified that he will soon chastise us, while a Roman right hand can be trusted? **11** Come on, let us surrender the wall in order to save ourselves and the city! But *Simon* will not suffer anything terrible if, despairing of *his life*, he is brought to justice more quickly."

12 The ten assented to these proposals. *So* early the next morning, he dispatched the rest of the *men* under *his command* in various directions, in order to prevent what they had taken counsel about from being discovered. But about the third hour, he called to the Romans from the tower.

13 Now indeed, some of them pridefully disdained him, but others were incredulous; but the majority shrank *back from interfering*, believing that they would take possession of the city in a short time without any danger.

14 But when Titus was preparing to advance to the wall with a body of heavy-armed *soldiers*, *Simon* was informed of this prior to his arrival. And he both promptly occupied the tower in advance, and arresting these men, did away with them in full view of the Romans; and after mutilating their bodies, threw them over the wall.

15 And *I*, Joseph, (for I was unremitting in *my* exhortations) while making *my* rounds, was struck on the head with a stone and instantly dropped to *the ground* unconscious. Now the Judeans made a sally for *my* carcass. And *I* would have been dragged into the city, had not Caesar promptly dispatched men to cover me with their shields. **16** But as these men were fighting, *I* was indeed borne away, barely conscious of what was happening. Now the insurgents, supposing that they had done away with the *man* for whom they desired to have the most, shouted with delight. **17** Now a message *concerning this accident* was sent throughout the city, and the remaining multitude was deeply dejected, convinced that the man who gave them good-courage to desert had really died.

18 But when *my* mother heard in prison that her son was dead, she remarked to the guards, "Indeed, since Jodphat I was sure of it. For I had no joy of him even while he was alive." **19** But in private lamentation to her handmaids, she said, "This is the fruit that I reap of my blessed childbirth, that I am even denied being able to bury the son, by whom I hoped to have been buried."

¹ There is a wordplay here which cannot be translated. The Greek word for "helper" is "boethos" (which is similar to his father's name)

² There is a wordplay here which cannot be translated. The Greek word for "help" is "boetheo" (which is similar to his father's name)

20 For instead, neither the distress occasioned by this false report, nor the solace it brought to the brigands were of long duration. For *I* quickly recovered from the blow. And advancing forward, *I* shouted, that it would indeed not be long before they would receive a rightful-punishment for the wound which they had given *me*. Now *I* renewed *my* exhortations to the populace to accept the assurances. 21 But at *my* appearance, the people were greatly encouraged, and consternation fell upon the insurgents.

22 But as for the deserters, some indeed, having no alternative, hastily leapt down from the wall; but others, advanced out of the city with enormous-stones, as if for a battle, then immediately fled to the Romans. But here a worse fate pursued them than that of their comrades within the city, and they found satiety among the Romans to be a greater destruction than the famine which they had left. 23 For indeed, they arrived swollen from hunger, like persons afflicted with dropsy; and then, overflowing their empty stomachs, burst asunder. Some had learned by experience to restrain their appetites, and little by little administered nourishment to their bodies unaccustomed to the load.

24 But even those who were saved in this manner, were later overtaken by another catastrophe. For among the Syrian ranks, a certain refugee was discovered picking gold out of the excrements of his belly. Now prior to their departure, they had swallowed these pieces, because each one was searched by the insurgents; and gold was in such great quantity within the city. Accordingly, they could purchase for 12 Attic drachmas what was formerly worth 25. 25 Instead, when this artifice was detected in one instance, it was indeed declared throughout the encampments that the deserters had come to them full of gold. Now the Arabian multitude, along with the Syrians, proceeded to cut open the suppliants in order to search their bellies. 26 Accordingly, this cruel calamity resulted in no less than 2,000 Judeans being ripped up in a single night.

27 And when Titus learned of this transgression, he indeed almost nearly ordered his horse to surround the criminals and shoot them down with javelins. He was restrained from doing so because of the great number implicated, and since those required to be punished far outnumbered those whom they had done away with. 28 But he summoned the leaders of both the auxiliaries and of the legions (for some of his own soldiers had even been involved in the charge). Addressing both groups with great indignation, he said to them, 29 "Why indeed should any of the soldiers in my service be guilty of acts such as these for the sake of uncertain gain, without being ashamed of their own weapons, which are made of both silver and gold?"

30 But he expressed his wrath toward the Arabians and Syrians, first saying, "In a foreign war do you indeed give unrestrained license to your passions as you please?" Then, since some of his very own soldiers also shared their infamy, he said, "Should you induce Romans to lend their name to your own murderous brutality and hatred of the Judeans?"

31 Therefore, Titus indeed threatened these foreigners with death, should any be discovered to be so insolent as to repeat the crime. But he instructed his legions to search for suspected offenders and to have them brought up to him.

32 But love-of-money defies all fear of chastisement, and a terrible passionate-desire for gain is implanted within humans, no other passion being so headstrong as greed. 33 But it was God himself who had condemned the whole people, and who turned every avenue of salvation to their destruction. 34 Accordingly, what Caesar had prohibited with threats, men still furtively ventured to practice upon the Judean deserters. And these barbarians, advancing to meet the Judean fugitives before the Roman soldiers caught sight of their flight, would slaughter them; but then, looking around to make sure that no Roman eye was upon them, they would rip them up in order to extract the filthy gain from their bowels. 35 But the money was only found in a few of the Judeans, and the bare hope of finding any of it at all, caused the wanton destruction of most of the fugitives. Indeed, this calamity drove many of the Judean deserters back into the city.

36 But as for Johanan, when he could no longer plunder the populace, he had recourse to sacrilege, and he melted down many of the offerings which had been given to the inner-sanctum, but also many of the vessels necessary for the public-services, including bowls and plates and tables. But he did not even abstain from the vessels for pure wine which had been sent by the August-One and his wife.

36 Yet indeed, the Roman kings always both honored and added embellishment to this temple, but this Judean man pulled down even the donations of foreigners, 37 but said to his companions, "It is proper for us to have no terror of using divine things while fighting on the Deity's behalf. And those who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner-sanctum should be supported by it."

38 Johanan drew every drop of the consecrated wine and the olive-oil, which the priests kept for pouring on the holocausts but which stood in the inner temple; he distributed these to his multitude, who, without shuddering, were oiling themselves and drinking from them. 39 For these deeds testified to the production of a generation no less impious than the victims who were swallowed down by the chasm, or those who were swept away by a flood, or those who were struck by

thunderbolts in Sodom. Accordingly, the madness of these men caused the entire people to be destroyed together with them.

40 In these very days, Manneos son of Lazar, sought refuge with Titus, saying that between the fourteenth day of the month Xanthikos (when the Romans encamped beside their walls), and the first day of the month Panémos, that no less than 115,880 corpses had been carried out through the single gate which had been entrusted to him. 41 But all of these had been of the poorer multitude. And this man had not undertaken this charge himself; instead, being responsible for the payment of public funds, he was obligated to number the corpses. Now the remainder were buried by their relatives, but burial consisted merely of bringing them forth and tossing them out of the town.

42 Now this refugee was followed by many distinguished men, who reported that the corpses of the poor who had been thrown out through the gates amounted to a total of 600,000. But of the rest, it was impossible to discover the number.

43 Now they also said, "When we were no longer able to carry-out the destitute persons, we piled up the carcasses together into the largest houses, shutting them up within. 44 And indeed, a measure of grain had been sold for a talent. And later, when it was no longer possible to gather herbs because walls were built completely around the city, some were reduced to such terrible distress that they searched the sewers and old dunghills of cattle, eating the refuse from them. So what once would have disgusted them merely to look at, now became food."

45 Indeed, when the Romans heard about these things, they pitied them. But the insurgents, who even saw these things, did not change their minds; instead they were content to advance to these extremes. For they were castrated by necessity,¹ which was already coming both upon the city, as well as upon themselves.

CHAPTER 82 [War6:1-32]

Therefore, the sufferings of Jerusalem indeed grew worse and worse with each day. But the insurgents were even further provoked by the calamities which they were under. And the famine extended its ravages from the populace to themselves. 2 Yet truly, the multitude of carcasses which lay in heaps throughout the city presented both a horrible spectacle and emitted a pestilential stench, which were an impediment to the combatants who would make assaults out of the city. For like men inured to countless murder in a pitched-battle, they were compelled to trample over the bodies as they marched along. 3 But they set foot on them without a shudder, without pity, nor a thought that this outrage to the slaughtered could be any evil omen to themselves. 4 But with right hands stained with the murder of his fellow-tribesmen, they rushed forth to war against the foreigners, casting reproach upon the Deity himself, for his slowness in chastising them; for it was not the hope of a victory which emboldened them to the war, but despair of salvation.

5 Now the Romans, though sorely harassed in the collection of timber, had raised their earthworks in 21 days, having cleared all the trees from the entire country around the town to a distance of 90 stadia. 6 But pitiful too was the aspect of the land. For sites formerly beautified with trees and gardens were now reduced to an utter desert and stripped bare of timber. 7 No foreigner who had seen both the old Judah and the very-beautiful suburbs of the city, and now beheld her present desolation, could have refrained from tears or suppressed groaning at the greatness of the change. 8 For the war had ruined all the marks of the beauty. And anyone who knew it before, if they had suddenly come upon it now, would not have recognized it; instead, though standing right beside it, would have searched in vain for the city.

9 Now the completion of the earthworks proved to the Romans and to the Judeans, a beginning of anxiety. 10 For indeed, the Judeans thought that the city would be taken unless they could also burn these embankments, while the Romans thought that they would never be able to take it if these embankments were utterly-destroyed. 11 For there was also a shortage of materials, and indeed the soldiers' bodies were now sinking beneath their toils, but their souls were under a succession of reverses.

12 Yet truly, the calamities within the city caused more despondency to the Romans than to its citizens, for they found that the Judean combatants were not chastened in any way by their severe misfortunes; 13 instead, their own hopes were continually dashed: indeed, their earthworks mastered by their enemy's plans against them, but their weapons by the solidity of the wall, but their hand-to-hand battles by the daring of those who grappled against them. But worst of all, they also discovered that the Judeans possessed a fortitude of soul which was able to surmount such a host of calamities: both sedition and famine, and war. 14 The Romans assumed that both the passion of these men was irresistible, and their cheerfulness in misfortunes impregnable; for what would they not endure if

¹ may also be translated "fate"

holding the right hand of fortune, who were impelled to valor by *their very* miseries? Therefore indeed, for these reasons, the *Romans* kept a stronger guard upon the earthworks.

15 Now Johanan's party within Antōnia also took precautions for the future, in the event that the wall should be thrown down, and they set to work before the rams were brought up. 16 Yet, they truly did not succeed in their endeavor; instead, having advanced with torches, they returned colder than their hope, *even* before they had approached the earthworks.

17 For indeed, in the first place, there seemed to be no unanimity in their design. They dashed out in small parties at intervals, and hesitatingly under anxiety, and not like a Judean. For they had lacked the characteristics of our nation: daring, and passion, and the full simultaneous charge, and the refusal to retreat even when worsted. 18 But their own advance was abnormally relaxed, and they found the Romans drawn up in stouter array than usual. 19 Yet indeed, *the Romans* screened the earthworks with their bodies and full suits of armor on all sides, leaving no loophole for firebrands from any quarter at all; but each *Roman* soul was braced to death *rather* than to the desertion his post. 20 For if these works were also incinerated, not only would all their hopes be cut off, but the soldiers felt that it would be a dire disgrace that subtlety should indeed triumph over excellence, but desperation over weapons, but great numbers over experience, but Judeans over Romans.

21 Now the *Roman* artillery rendered assistance, reaching the sallying *Judean* parties with *their missiles*; and each *enemy* who fell became an obstacle to the man at his rear; the danger of advancing also damped their eagerness. 22 But some of *the Judeans* who indeed managed to penetrate beyond the reach of these projectiles, were struck with astonishment by the good-arrangement and serried ranks of their foes, while others did not run back again until they were poked by the points of the pikes. And finally, reproaching each other for their timidity, they withdrew, unsuccessful. This attempt upon them took place on the first *day* of the month Panēmos.

23 Now once the Judeans had retreated, the Romans brought up the city-destroyers, while having both rocks and fire thrown at them from Antōnia, along with iron *arrows* and every species of projectile which necessity had supplied the Judeans with. 24 For although these *Judeans* had *both* confident reliance on their wall, as well as contempt of the *Roman* weapons, yet they strove to prevent the Romans from bringing them up.

25 Now *the Romans* surmised that the urgency of the Judeans to save Antōnia from being struck arose from some weakness in the wall. So hoping that the foundations were rotten, they became lovers-of-strife. 26 Truly, *the tower* resisted the battering. Instead, the *Romans*, indeed under incessant missile *fire*, and undeterred by the dangers to which they were exposed from above, brought the city-destroyers effectively into action.

27 But they were at a disadvantage and crushed by the rocks *thrown down upon them*. So another party locked their oblong-shields over their bodies; and using their hands and crowbars, started undermining the foundations, and with perseverance, succeeded in dislodging four of its stones.

28 Now night suspended the labors of the combatants on both sides. And in the course of the night, the wall, having been so shaken by the rams and followed by the collapse of the passage, suddenly fell to the ground at the point where Johanan, in his previous designs against the former earthworks, had undermined it.

29 This incident had unexpected effects on the minds of *both* parties. 30 For indeed, the Judeans not having been prepared for this catastrophe, had taken no precautions to meet it, and they were quite confident because Antōnia itself was still standing. 31 But yet, *the Roman's* unexpected joy at the downfall *of the wall* was extinguished by the appearance of another wall which Johanan's party had built within it.

32 Yet truly, the assault of this *second* one looked easier than that of the first. For the ascent would yet be facilitated by *the debris* which had fallen down. And they imagined that the *second* wall was both far weaker than that of Antōnia, and that, being a temporary structure, it would be quickly demolished. Truly, none ventured to mount *up to this wall*, for foreseen destruction awaited the first *assailants*.

CHAPTER 83 [War6:33-53]

Now Titus, believing that the willingness of soldiers to wage war is best roused by hope and words, that both exhortations and promises often indeed make *men* forgetful of danger but sometimes even scornful of death, summoned the most stalwart of his *soldiers* together *and* tried these methods upon his men.

2 He said, "O Fellow-soldiers, indeed, to make an exhortation inciting *men* to do what involves no danger is to cast a direct slur on the persons addressed, while it even convicts the *man* who makes the exhortation of his own unmanliness. 3 Now, in my opinion, exhortation is needed only for dangerous affairs, yet in other circumstances *men* are to be expected to act of their own accord.

4 "So indeed, I myself grant you at the outset, that the scaling of this wall is a difficult task. But for those who desire excellence, it is proper for them to fight with difficulties; and it is beautiful to *come to your end* with renown, and the nobility of those who lead the way will not be fruitless. On these points I want to dwell.

5 "Therefore indeed, in the first place, let *what I have said* be an incentive to you, *instead* of what some might think to be a deterrent; I mean, the long-suffering of the Judeans and their fortitude in ill-plight. 6 For it would be shameful to you, who are both Romans and my own soldiers, and who in peace have indeed been trained for war, but who in war are accustomed to conquer, to be inferior to the Judeans, either in hand or soul; and especially when the final victory is in sight, and God himself is cooperating with us.

7 "For our reverses are due to the desperation of the Judeans, while their sufferings are due to both your excellent exploits and God's increasing cooperation. 8 For a sedition, and a famine, and a siege, and a fall of walls without machines—what can all these things be, but¹ indeed demonstrations of God's wrath against them but his assistance extended to us? 9 Moreover, to allow ourselves not merely to be surpassed by inferiors, *but* instead to even forsake the Divine Ally, would be beneath our dignity.

10 "But indeed, it would be disgraceful, that the Judeans, to whom defeat brings no serious discredit (since they have *already* learned to be slaves), should, in order to end *their slavery*, scorn death and constantly make sallies into our very midst—not from any hope of conquering, *but* instead for the sheer display of manliness; 11 but that *you* (who have taken possession of almost every land and sea, to whom not to have a victory over is a disgrace), should never once venture into our foes' ranks, 12 but sitting idle with weapons such as these, wait for the famine and the fortune to bring them down; and this, while, with this little hazard, we have it in our power to achieve everything!

13 "Yes, once Antōnia is mounted, the city is ours. For even if any further battle awaits us against those within (which I do not expect, since your position shall be above their heads, and you shall be able to sit upon our foes before they can recover their breath), this would ensure a complete *and* sudden victory.

14 "And as for myself, I shall indeed, on this occasion, refrain from making a laudation of those who *come to their end* in a war, and omit to speak of the immortality reserved for those who fall in the midst of battle. *But* for anyone who thinks otherwise, I cannot desist from imprecating that they may come to death in peace by sickness, since their bodies and souls are condemned together to the grave.

15 "For what good man does not indeed know that souls released from the flesh by an iron *weapon* in a pitched-battle are hospitably welcomed by the ether, that purest of elements, *and* placed among the stars; but that, as good demons and gracious heroes, they manifest their presence to their posterity? While *souls* which pine away in bodies wasted by sickness, 16 however pure they may be from stain or pollution, are obliterated in subterranean night and pass into deep oblivion—both their life, and their bodies, but still their memory, brought simultaneously to a close? 17 But if indeed humans are spun to an inevitable end, but *if* an iron *weapon* ministers it more gently than any sickness, surely it is ignoble to refuse to yield up to public service what we must surrender to necessity?²

18 "And this is indeed what I have spoken under the assumption that anyone who may attempt this feat will not be saved *in the attempt*. But those who act like a man have a chance to save themselves even through the most perilous undertakings. 19 For indeed, in the first place, the demolished *wall* will be easy to ascend; then, everything which has been built up will be easy to overthrow.

"Now all of you, summon courage for this task, and with growing numbers, give encouragement and aid to one another. So do this *and* your determination will soon break the minds of your foes. 20 And perhaps you may find your undertaking bloodless, if only you begin. For indeed, they will in all probability endeavor to hinder your ascent; but if you are unperceived and finally force a way through, their resistance may still break down, even if but a handful of you elude them.

21 "Now as for the *man* who leads the assault, I would be ashamed if I did not make him an enviable *man* through his awards. And indeed, the survivor shall be chief over those who are now *but* his equals;³ but the best-rewards of happiness shall even follow the fallen to *the grave*."

CHAPTER 84 [War6:54-92]

Following Titus' *discourse*, the multitude was indeed overall deterred by the gravity of the danger. But among the soldiers serving in the cohorts was a man named Sabinus, a Syrian by race, and who showed himself to be the bravest of men both in hand and soul. 2 Furthermore, anyone seeing him prior to *that day*,

¹ literally "instead"

² may also be translated "fate"

³ literally "who are now like him"

yet judging him from his bodily appearance, would not have thought him fit to be a soldier. For indeed, his skin was black, lean, his flesh gaunt; instead, within that slender body, far too narrow for its native prowess, there dwelt a heroic soul.

3 Accordingly, he was the first to rise up, declaring, "Caesar, I gladly offer myself up to you. 4 I am the first to scale the wall. And indeed I am praying that both my strength and my resolution may be attended by your good fortune. But should some nemesis grudge me of my intent, know that my failure will not surprise me, instead, that I have voluntarily preferred death for your sake."

5 And having spoken this, he extended his oblong-shield over his head with his left hand, but with his right hand, drew his short-sword, advancing toward the wall, almost exactly at the sixth hour of the day. 6 Now he was also followed by eleven others, who alone were found to emulate his manliness. But this principal man, possessed by some demon, far outstripped them all.

7 Now from the wall, the guards both shot them down with javelins and threw projectiles at them from all sides, and rolled down enormous rocks which swept away some of the eleven. 8 But as for Sabinus himself, he faced the projectiles; and though overwhelmed by them, he never slackened his pace until he had both reached the summit and routed his foes. 9 For the Judeans, dumbfounded at both his strength and the bravery of his soul, but also imagining that more had ascended *than what really had*, turned and fled.

10 Accordingly, at the moment when Sabinus¹ had attained his goal, he slipped; and stumbling over a large rock, he fell headlong upon it with a tremendous crash. But the Judeans, turning and seeing him both alone and strewn out on the ground, threw missiles at him from all sides. 11 But accordingly, rising upon his knee and screening himself with his oblong-shield, he indeed kept them at bay for awhile and wounded many of those who approached him. 12 But soon, burdened by a multitude of wounds, his hand was paralyzed. And in the end, before releasing his soul, he was buried under the projectiles.

12 Now as for the rest of his comrades, indeed, three were killed, being crushed together by the stones after reaching the summit. But the remaining eight, drawn down as wounded-men, were carried back to the encampment. Therefore, these events indeed took place on the third day of the month Panémos.

13 Now two days later, twenty of the guards on outpost duty at the earthworks came together; indeed, they enlisted the services of the standard-bearer of the fifth legion, along with two soldiers from the swarms of cavalry and one trumpeter. But at the ninth hour of the night, they indeed advanced noiselessly over the ruins toward Antōnia. Now the first guards whom they encountered were asleep; slaughtering them, they took possession of the wall and directed the trumpeter to sound his trumpet. 14 Indeed, at this, the other guards immediately took to their feet and fled before anyone could see the multitude of those who had ascended. For both their fear and the trumpet-call, led them to imagine that the entire multitude of their foes had mounted.

15 Now as soon as Caesar heard the signal, he both promptly called the force to arm themselves completely, and he himself was the first to ascend along with the leaders and his body of picked men. 16 But the Judeans had fled to the temple, which the Romans were also penetrating into via means of the passage which Johanan had undermined in order to reach the Roman earthworks.

17 And the insurgents of both Judean factions, both those of Johanan and those of Simon, drawn up in separate legions, sought to stem their advance, doing so with an extraordinary amount of strength and eagerness. 18 For all of them were certain that the entry of the Romans into the holy-place meant final capture, while the Romans regarded this as the beginning of their conquest.

19 Now the armies clashed in fierce battle near the temple entrances: indeed, the Romans were pressing on to take possession of the temple as well, while the Judeans were thrusting them back into Antōnia. 20 And projectiles and spears were useless to either side. But they drew their short-swords instead, and both sides grappled with each other. And since in the engagement, the men were indeed all jumbled together and intermingled in the confined space, it was impossible to discern which side either party was fighting against. But because of the loud din, their shouts fell unintelligibly upon the ear.

21 There was great slaughter on both sides, and both the bodies and full suits of armor of the fallen were trampled down and shattered by the combatants. 22 Now always, in whichever direction the tide of the war inclined, indeed, there were cheers among those who gained the advantage, but wailing among those who were routed. But there was no room for flight or pursuit; instead, dubious outcomes and shifting positions were the sole incidents in the jumbled pitched-battle. 23 But those in front had either to kill or die, there was no retreat; for those in the rear of either side pressed their comrades forward, leaving no intervening space between the combatants.

24 But in the end, Judean fury prevailed over Roman skill, and the entire battle-line began to waver. For they had been warring from the ninth hour of the

night until the seventh hour of the day. 25 Indeed, the Judeans, in full strength, also had the danger of the capture as an incentive² to manliness. But the Romans had only a portion of their force present, for the legions upon whom these fighters depended, had not yet ascended. So at the present, it was considered sufficient for the Romans to hold Antōnia.

26 Now there was a certain Julianus, a centurion who came from Bithynia (whom I had seen earlier in the war), a man of no insignificant reputation, one of the most distinguished both in his experience with weapons, and in prowess of body and desperate-courage of soul. 27 Now he was standing beside Titus on Antōnia. And seeing that the Romans were beginning to give way and that they were offering but a sorry resistance, he sprang forward and single-handedly drove back the Judeans (who were already victorious) to the corner of the inner temple. Now the multitude fled away from him in droves, regarding such strength and courage as superhuman. 28 But as they scattered, he dashed this way and that through the midst of their ranks, murdering everyone whom he overtook. And there was no spectacle which appeared more wonderful in Caesar's eyes, nor more horrible to the others.

29 But he too was to be pursued by necessity,³ which no mortal may escape. For like any other soldier, he wore shoes thickly studded with sharp nails. And while running across the pavement, he slipped, falling on his back. But the loud clash of his full suit of armor as he fell, caused the Judean fugitives to turn back. 30 And indeed, a cry of terror for the man went up from the Romans in Antōnia, while the Judeans encircled him, striking at him from all sides with both pikes and long-swords.

31 Now he indeed parried many iron weapons with his oblong-shield. But many times, while trying to raise himself up, he was thrown back by the multitude of the strikes. And though he was prostrate, nevertheless, many were poked by his short-sword. 32 For being protected in every vital part by both helmet and breastplate, and pulling his neck close to his body, he was not quickly slaughtered. In the end, when all his other limbs were hacked and no comrade ventured to his aid, he succumbed.

33 Now Caesar was terribly moved at the fall of a man so virtuous, and who was murdered in the sight of so many witnesses. And indeed, though he wanted to personally come to his assistance, he was debarred by his own situation, while those who could have done so were withheld by consternation. 34 Therefore, this was indeed how Julianus, after a hard struggle with death and letting but a few of those who killed him go unscathed, was slaughtered, but not without difficulty. And he left behind him the highest reputation, not only with the Romans and Caesar, instead even with his foes. 35 Now after also snatching up his corpse, the Judeans again routed the Romans and shut them up within Antōnia.

36 Now on the Judean side, those who most distinguished themselves in this battle were the following:

Indeed, in Johanan's legion: Alexas and Gephtheos.

But in Simon's party: both Malachijah, and Judah son of Merton; and Jacob son of Sosa, leader of the Edomites.

But of the Zealots: two brothers, both Simon and Judah, boys of Ari.⁴

CHAPTER 85 [War6:93-148]

Now Titus indeed ordered the soldiers who were with him to dig up the foundations of Antōnia and to prepare an easy ascent for the whole force to come up. 2 Now on that day, the seventeenth of Panémos, he was informed that, due to a lack of men, the perpetual sacrifice had ceased being offered to God, and that in consequence, the populace was terribly despondent. So he put me forward 3 with directions to repeat to Johanan exactly what I had even said before, "that if he is obsessed by a malicious passionate-desire for battle, he is allowed to come out with as many men as he chooses to wage war, without involving both the city and the inner-sanctum in his own destruction. However, that he should no longer pollute the holy-place, nor offend God; but that he has my permission to perform the discontinued sacrifices with the help of any Judeans whom he selects."

4 So I went and stood at a place where my words were able to reach, not only the ears of Johanan, but instead also those of the entire multitude. I proclaimed both Caesar's message to them in Hebrew, 5 as well as earnest appeals to spare the fatherland, and to disperse the fire which was already tasting the inner-sanctum, and to restore to God the expiatory-sacrifices.

6 Indeed, the populace received my words with dejection and silence. But the tyrant Johanan, after both uttering many reproaches and cursing me, concluded by adding, "I was never terrified of capture, for the city is God's!"

7 And in answer, I shouted-out with a loud voice, "Pure, indeed,¹ have you kept it for God! But the holy-place remains entirely undefiled! Your expected

² literally "travel-supply"

³ may also be translated "fate"

⁴ [War] others "Jairus"

¹ literally "the man"

heavenly ally has suffered no impiety from you, but still receives his customary sacrifices!

8 “Most impious wretch indeed! If anyone deprived you of your daily food, you would consider him a foe; but *yet*, you have hope that God, whom you have bereaved of his perpetual religious-worship, will be your ally in this war? 9 And you impute your sins to the Romans, who, *even* now, are concerned for our laws, and *who* are trying to force you to restore to God those *very* sacrifices which you have interrupted? 10 Who would not groan and bewail for the city at this amazing inversion? Yet indeed, *even* foreigners and foes are rectifying your impiety, while you, a Judean, nurtured in her laws, treat them more harshly even than them!

11 “Instead, Johanan, it is indeed never disgraceful to change *your* mind *and* cease from *your* misdeeds, even at the last. And, if you desire to save our fatherland, you have a noble example set before you in Jeconiah, king of the Judeans. 12 When his conduct had caused the Babelian army to advance against him, he, of his own freewill, left the city before it was taken; and with his family, he endured voluntary captivity, *rather* than deliver up these holy-places to their foes and see the house of God be burned up. 13 On this account, he is celebrated by all Judeans in consecrated song; and his memory has become a stream running down the ages ever fresh, passing him on to posterity immortal.

14 “This, Johanan, is a beautiful example, even if dangerous to follow; but I can warrant you even pardon from the Romans. 15 But remember, that I, who am urging you, am of the same tribe as you; that I, who am professing *this* message, am a Judean. And it is becoming for you to consider who is counseling you, and from where he comes. For may I never live to become a captive so slavish as to cease from my own race, or to forget the traditions of my fathers!

16 “Once again you are indignant and shout your abuse at me. And yet, I cannot deny that I deserve even harsher treatment *than all this*, because, in opposition to necessity,² I offer advice, and because I am struggling to save those whom God has condemned.

17 “Who is there who does not know the records of the ancient prophets, and that oracle which threatens this poor city *and* is even now being fulfilled? For they foretold that it would then be taken at the time when someone would instigate *the* murder of a fellow-tribesman of his. 18 But is not the city, yes, but even the entire temple, filled with your carcases? It is God, God himself, who, with the Romans, is bringing the purging fire and plucking up a city so laden with pollutions.”

19 As I spoke these *words* with lamentation and tears, *my* voice broke down with sobs. 20 Even the Romans both pitied *me* in *my* emotions and admired *my* resolution. But Johanan’s party was merely exasperated even more against the Romans, and was eager to get *me* into their power as well.

21 Yet truly, many of the nobles were moved by the speech. And indeed, some of these, dreading the insurgents’ guards, remained where they were; however, they were convinced that both they themselves and the city were doomed to destruction. But there were others who, watching for a proper opportunity for a safe escape, made off to the Romans.

22 Indeed, among them were chief-priests: both Joseph and Jeshua.

But certain sons of chief-priests: indeed, three *sons* of the Ishmael who was beheaded in Kyréné, and four *sons* of Matthijah, and one *son* of another Matthijah; the last had escaped after the destruction of his father, who was killed with three of his sons by Simon *son* of Giora.

But many other nobles also went over with the chief-priests.

23 Now Caesar not only received these *men* with all other courtesy, but, recognizing that they would find life distasteful amidst the customs of foreign men, sent them to Gufnin, advising them to remain there for the present. For he promised to restore every *man’s* property as soon as he had *the* leisure to do so after the war. 24 Therefore indeed, in perfect security, they gladly retired to the small city assigned to them. But when nothing further was seen of them, the insurgents circulated another *false* report that the deserters had been slaughtered by the Romans. Their evident intention was to deter the rest from attempting to escape, by fear of *suffering* similar treatment. 25 But this trick, like the one in the past, was successful for a while; for the terror deterred them from deserting.

26 But Titus subsequently recalled these men from Gufnin *and* directed them to go around the wall together with *me*, allowing for the populace to see them. At this, most of them fled to the Romans. 27 Now these *refugees* heaped together; and standing before the Romans, they implored the insurgents with lamentation *and* tears to freely admit the Romans into the city and to save the fatherland; 28 but that, if they failed to agree to heed *their* proposal, they would yet withdraw from the temple and preserve the inner-sanctum for them, for the Romans would never venture, except under the direst necessity, to incinerate the holy-places.

29 These appeals only excited fiercer opposition. And casting many reviling croaks upon the deserters, they ranged both their sharpened-bolt-launchers, and *their* catapults and stone-launchers, above the consecrated gates; so that indeed, due to the multitude of corpses, the ring of *the* temple resembled a common burial-ground, but the inner-sanctum itself a fortress.

30 Now these men, in their arms, rushed into those holy and inaccessible precincts, their hands yet hot with the murders of *their* fellow-tribesmen. And they progressed to such lengths of transgression, that the *very* same indignation which the Judeans might naturally have displayed against the Romans (had they treated them with such wanton-violence), the Romans now manifested against the Judeans for having acted impiously to their own *holy* places. 31 Yet indeed, there were none of the *Roman* soldiers who were not regarding the inner-sanctum with awe and bowing-down-before it; and they were praying that *the* brigands might change-their-minds before its calamity became incurable.

32 But Titus, who was *even* more grievously-distressed, *again* upbraided Johanan’s party, saying, “Was it not you, most abominable wretches, who placed this balustrade before your holy-place? 33 But was it not you who ranged monuments along it, those engraved in Hellenic characters and in our own, which transmit a message, *stating* that no one may pass beyond the low-parapet? 34 But did we not permit you to do away with anyone who passed it, even if he was a Roman? Therefore, you offenders, why do you now even trample corpses underfoot in it? But why do you defile your inner-sanctum with *the* blood of strangers and countrymen *alike*?”

35 “I call the gods of my fathers to testify, and any *deity* who once watched over this place (for indeed, I now suppose that there is none); but I even call my army, and the Judeans with me, and *even* you yourselves to witness, that it is not I who force you to sully these *precincts*. 36 And if you exchange the pitched-battle for another, not a single Roman shall approach or insult your holy places, but I will preserve the inner-sanctum for you, even against your own will.”

37 As I proclaimed this message from the mouth of Caesar, both the brigands and their tyrant attributed his exhortations to terror rather than to goodwill; in this way, they treated them with contempt. 38 But when Titus saw that these men had neither compassion for themselves nor regard for the inner-sanctum, he reluctantly resumed the war against them.

39 Therefore, due to the confined *nature* of the terrain, it was indeed impossible for him to bring up his entire force against them. Now *Titus* selected thirty of the best men from each hundred, and entrusted every 1,000 to a tribune. But appointing Cerealius as their leader, he gave orders to attack the guards at about the ninth hour of the night.

40 Now he himself was also in arms and prepared to descend with them; but, because of the greatness of the danger and the observations of the leaders, he was restrained by his friends. 41 For *his* leaders declared, “You will achieve more by sitting still in Antônia as president of the contest of your soldiers than by going down and exposing yourself in the battle. For under the eyes of Caesar, all will act like me.”

42 Caesar complied with this *advice*, and said to his soldiers, “My sole reason for remaining behind is that I might be able to judge your excellence, and that no good *soldier* might go unnoticed and unrewarded, nor that any coward might escape punishment; but that I, who am lord of the punishments and the rewards, might be a spectator and testifier of everything.”

43 Indeed, at the previously mentioned hour, he dispatched *the* soldiers to their work, while he himself advanced to Antônia, a spot from which he could see everything *below*, where he waited for the outcome of the event.

44 Yet truly, the sent *soldiers* did not find the guards asleep as they had hoped; instead, the *guards*, springing up with a shout, were straightaway required to grapple with them. Now as soon as their comrades heard the *guards’* shout, they dashed out in a dense body from within *the* temple.

45 Indeed, the Romans received the onrush of their vanguard, while those who followed them fell upon their own legion, and many treated their own companions as foes. 46 For indeed, voice recognition was rendered impossible by the confused din on either side, while ocular recognition was *rendered impossible* by the darkness of the night. And some were indeed so blinded by fury, but others by fear, that they struck indiscriminately at anyone. 47 Therefore indeed, because the Romans interlocked their shields *as one* body and sprung forward by companies, they suffered less from such ignorance; for each man also remembered the watchword.

48 But the Judeans, constantly scattering and making both their assaults and retreats at random, were frequently mistaken by each other for foes. For in the darkness, each one of them received a returning companion as if he was an advancing Roman. 49 Accordingly, more were wounded by their own *companions* than by their foes, until, with the dawn of day, the battle was, from that moment on, discerned by the eye. Then parting into their respective phalanx, they were able to both employ their missiles and maintain their defense in good order.

¹ literally “accordingly”

² may also be translated “fate”

50 But neither side gave way, nor grew weary. Instead, *the Romans*, as indeed under the eye of Caesar, contended man with *man* and company with *company*; and each believed that the day would lead to his promotion, if he but fought with nobleness.

51 But as an arbiter of their own daring deeds, the Judeans had fear both for themselves and for the temple, as well as the looming presence of the tyrant, who indeed also encouraged some, but roused others into action by the whips and by threats.

52 Now there was indeed no way to avoid having this battle confined to an *area* of no more than a stadium, but the maneuvers to and fro were limited to a narrow space and quickly ended; for neither side had room for either flight, nor for pursuit. 53 But on every occasion, an appropriate roar went up from *the Romans* at Antōnia: if their comrades were gaining, they shouted for them to press on courageously; if they were falling back, to stand fast. 54 Now it resembled a war on the stage, for nothing throughout the battle escaped the eyes of Titus, nor of those around him.

55 But at length, this engagement, which had begun at the ninth hour of the night, they broke off about the fifth hour of the day. Neither of the two *parties* had been able to seriously repel the other from that spot; instead, this victory remained undecided between them.

56 And indeed, of the Romans, there were many who distinguished themselves *in this battle*.

But of the Judeans, there were:

Indeed, of Simon's party: Judah *son* of Mareōtēs, and Simon *son* of Hoshijah

But of the Edomites: Jacob *son* of Sosa, and Simon *the boy* of Akatelas.¹

But of Johanan's party: Gephtheos and Alexas.

But of the Zealots: Simon *son* of Ari.²

CHAPTER 86 [War6:149-176]

Now the rest of the Roman force, having overthrown *the* foundations of Antōnia in seven days, had prepared a broad ascent to the temple. 2 Now the legions approached the first enclosure and began to raise embankments. Indeed, one *embankment* faced the northwest corner of the inner temple. But another was opposite the northern hall which stood between the two gates. 3 But there were two more: indeed, one was across from the western portico of the outer temple; but the other outside opposite the northern *portico*.

However, these works did not advance without causing the *Roman soldiers* great fatigue and hardship, since the timber was conveyed from a distance of 100 stadia. 4 But they also occasionally suffered from the plans which were formed against them due to *two reasons*: first, because of their freedom from terror, they were less on their guard; and second, the Judeans, because of their present despair of salvation, were more daring than before.

5 For whenever some of the cavalry went out to collect wood or fodder, *the Romans* used to remove the bridles from their horses and turn them loose to graze while they were foraging. But these Judeans, sallying out in companies, carried them off. 6 And when this had happened repeatedly, Caesar was correct in believing that these raids were due rather to the negligence of his own *men* than to the manliness of the Judeans. So he determined, by an act of unusual severity, to make the rest of *his men* more attentive to the care of their horses. 7 And he directed one of the soldiers whose *horse* had been carried off, to be destroyed by death. By this fearsome example, the remainder of *the soldiers* preserved their horses; for they no longer let them graze *by themselves*, but went forth on their errands, clinging to them as though *man* and *beast* were by nature inseparable.

8 Therefore indeed, in this way, the war carried on against the temple and the erection of the earthworks occupied *the Romans*.

9 Now on the day following the ascent of *the Roman legions*, the famine pressed so strongly upon the insurgents that the plunder which they had taken failed. So they joined forces. And at about the eleventh hour of the day, they attacked the Roman guards who were on the Mount of Olives. They expected first to find them off their guard, and secondly, to catch them while refreshing themselves, and, in this way, easily break through.

10 But the Romans were forewarned of their approach. And promptly rushing from the neighboring fortresses to that spot, they prevented *the Judeans'* forcible efforts to scale the circumvallation-wall, or to cut their way through it. 11 A severe engagement ensued, in which many noble feats were performed on both sides. Indeed, the Romans displayed war experience combined with strength, while the Judeans *fought with* reckless rage and unbridled fury. 12 Now the first indeed had shame as their general; but the other, necessity. For to the Romans it

also seemed most disgraceful to release the Judeans who were caught as it were in a net, while the *Judeans'* one hope of salvation lay in forcing their way through the wall.

13 And among other incidents, *there was* a cavalryman from one of the cohorts, named Pedanius. When the Judeans were finally repulsed and were being driven down into the ravine, he spurred his horse at top speed along their flank, snatched up one of the *fleeing* foes (a youth both of a robust body and fully-armed), grasping him by the ankle—14 so low did *Pedanius* indeed bend himself downward from his horse, even as he was galloping, but so great was the strength of his right hand and his body displayed, along with consummate horsemanship. 15 Therefore indeed, seizing upon his prey like some precious treasure, he carried his prize to Caesar.

Now Titus indeed expressed his admiration of the captor's strength, but directed for the captive to be chastised for his attack upon the *Roman* wall. Then *Titus* devoted his attention to the battle of the temple, and to the acceleration of the earthworks.

16 *Meanwhile*, the Judeans were sorely suffering from their engagements. As the war slowly and steadily, rose higher and higher, and crept toward the inner-sanctum, *the Judeans* cut off, as from a mortifying body, the limbs already infected, in order to prevent further spreading of the sickness. 17 For they set fire to that portion of the northwest portico which was also connected to Antōnia. Then they hacked away some 20 cubits of *that portion*, thereby beginning to burn the holy places with their own hands.

18 Now two days later, on the twenty-fourth day of the month of Panēmos,³ the Romans set fire to the adjoining portico. And when the fire had spread to a distance of 50 cubits, it was again the Judeans who cut away the roof, and (with no reverence at all for these artifices) severed the connection it formed with Antōnia. 19 And it was in their power to prevent *the building* from being set aflame; but when the fire attacked it, they remained motionless, merely measuring the extent of its spreading by their own advantage. 20 Indeed, the engagements around the temple raged incessantly, but the war proceeded by having small parties continuously sallying out against one another.

21 Now in the course of these days, a Judean named Jonathan, a man with both a puny body and despicable appearance, undistinguished by birth or otherwise, came forward opposite the memorial of the chief-priest Johanan. He both uttered many arrogant things against the Romans, and he challenged their best *man* to single combat.

22 Now at this point, the majority of those in the adverse ranks indeed regarded him with contempt, but some probably with anxiety; yet truly, others were influenced by the understandable consideration that it was wise to avoid conflict with one who desired to die. 23 For they were aware that *men* who despaired of their salvations had not only ungovernable passions but also had the Deity easily put out of countenance, and that to endanger oneself with such a person (even if victorious over, was no great exploit, and to be beaten would involve dishonor as well as be perilous), would be an act, not of manliness, but, instead, of exorbitant-audacity.

24 Now no one came forward. So the Judean (for he was extremely conceited and overweening against the Romans), continued to rail at them as cowards, until a soldier from one of the swarms of cavalry named Pudēs, disgusted at both his words and contumaciousness 25 (but also perhaps inconsiderately conceited on account of the puniness of his body), leapt forward. And *Pudēs* was indeed otherwise gaining on *his adversary* in the engagement, but he was betrayed by fortune: for he fell. And immediately Jonathan sprang upon him and slaughtered him. 26 Then, mounting the corpse, he both brandished his bloody short-sword and waved his oblong-shield with his left hand, while raising a war-cry against the *Roman* army, and boasting over the fallen *man* and jeering at his Roman spectators.

27 This only lasted, until in the midst of his dancing and buffoonery, Priscus, a centurion, bent his bow, piercing him with a projectile. This called forth simultaneous cries from both Judeans and Romans, but of contrary nature. 28 But *the victim*, writhing in agony, fell upon the body of his own foe, illustrating how suddenly in a war that vengeance overtakes irrational success.

CHAPTER 87 [War6:177-219]

But the insurgents within the temple never relaxed their undisguised daily efforts to repel the *Roman* soldiers who were on the earthworks. And moreover, on the twenty-seventh day of the month Panēmos,⁴ they prepared the following deception to ensnare them:

2 They filled the space between the rafters of the western portico, as well as the ceiling beneath them, with dry tinder, along with both bitumen and pitch; then,

¹ [War] PA / MVR "Nakatela" / L "Kaththaia" / C "Kathla"

² [War] others "Jairus"

³ lit. "of the previously mentioned month"

⁴ lit. "of the previously mentioned month"

feigning utter exhaustion, they withdrew. **3** Indeed, at this, many of the inconsiderate *Roman soldiers*, who were carried away by rage, started in pursuit of the fugitives; and, applying ladders, they sprang up them onto the portico. But the more prudent *soldiers*, suspecting the unaccountable retreat of the Judeans, remained where they were.

4 However, at the moment when the Judeans from below set *the whole building* on fire, the portico was packed with those who had gone up *the ladders*. But with the flame suddenly bursting out on every side, the Romans who were out of danger were seized with terrible consternation, and those who were in the midst of it were utterly helpless.

5 But surrounded by the flame, some indeed threw themselves down backwards into the city, but some into the midst of their foes; but many, in hope of salvation, leapt down among their own *companions*, fracturing their limbs; but most, in their rush to escape, were caught by the fire, and some prevented the flame *from reaching them* by *killing themselves with their own iron weapons*. **6** But the fire was spreading so far and wide, that it instantly enveloped *even* those who would have been destroyed *in some other way*.

Now Caesar was even filled with compassion for these perishing men, even though they had mounted *the portico* without *receiving* a transmitted-message *to do so*. **7** And though it was impossible for anyone to relieve them, it was at least a consolation to the perishing *men* to behold the grief of *the man* for whose sake they were releasing their own souls. For he both shouted out openly to them and rushed forward, and exhorted those around him to do their utmost to rescue them.

8 But every one of *these men* died cheerfully, carrying those words with him, along with this emotion of *Caesar*, like some brilliant obsequies. **9** Yet truly, some returned to the portico wall, which was broad, *and* were indeed saved from the fire, but were *then* surrounded by the Judeans. Indeed, although they maintained a prolonged resistance *against the Judeans*, they were wounded; but finally, all of them fell *dead*.

10 And the last of their survivors, a youth named Longus, shed luster on the whole tragedy; and while every single man who perished was worthy of memorial, this *man* proved himself the best of all. **11** Indeed, the Judeans, because of both their admiration of this *man's* prowess as well as being too weak to do away with him, besought him to come down to them, promising to give him their right hand.

But his brother Cornélius, on the contrary, implored him not to disgrace his own reputation nor that of the Roman army. Influenced by his words, and brandishing his short-sword in view of both legions, *Longus* did away with himself.

12 Now among those enveloped in the fire was a certain Artorius, who saved himself by means of an artifice. For with a loud voice, he called to Lucius, one of his fellow-soldiers with whom he shared a tent, declaring, "I leave you heir to my property, if you come and catch me!"

13 Now at this, *Lucius* ran up, ready to *catch him*. Indeed, *Artorius* threw himself down on top of him *and* lived, while *Lucius* who received him was dashed against the stone-pavement by his weight, dying on the spot.

14 This disaster indeed created temporary despondency among the Romans, but it nevertheless had a future beneficial effect by rendering them less responsive to such invitations; it also *caused them* to be more cautious against the delusions of *the Judeans*, since their injuries were mainly due to their ignorance of the terrain¹ as well as to the character of its men.

15 Now the portico was completely burned as far as the tower which Johanan, during his war with Simon, had built over the gates leading out above the covered-colonnade. But the remaining portion of *the portico* was hacked away by the Judeans after they had utterly-destroyed the *soldiers* who had mounted it. **16** Now the next day, the Romans also burnt down the whole northern portico as far as the east *portico*, where the corner connecting the two was built over the Kedron Ravine (and the depth at that point was consequently fearsome). And this indeed was the state around the temple.

17 Now the *victims* perishing of the famine throughout the city were dropping in a countless multitude, but the sufferings they endured were indescribable. **18** For in any house, the appearance of *even* a shadow of food was a signal for a war, and the dearest of relatives fell to brawling, snatching from each other the pitiful travel-supplies of the soul. **19** But those who were dying were not credited as being in want; instead, even those expiring were searched by the brigands incase any should be *found* concealing food in their garments *and* were feigning death. **20** But gaping with hunger, these ruffians went staggering and reeling along like mad dogs; and, both battering upon doors like *men who were* getting-intoxicated, and in their perplexity, they *even* burst into the same house twice or thrice within a single hour.

21 But necessity drove the *victims* to gnaw anything; and objects which *even* the filthiest of animals would reject, they condescended to collect *and* eat. Accordingly, this was how in the end, they did not abstain from belts and shoes, even stripping off *and* chewing the very leather of their oblong-shields. **22** But others devoured tufts of withered grass; for some who collected stalks sold a trifling quantity for four Attic *drachmas*.

23 Among the residents of the region beyond the Jordan *River* was a woman named Miriam, daughter of Eleazar, of the village of Beth-Ezob (which means 'House of Hyssop'). She was distinguished due to her race and *her* wealth. Having fled for refuge to Jerusalem with the rest of the multitude, she had become involved in the siege there. **24** Indeed, the bulk of her property, which she had packed up and brought with her from Peraia to the city of *Jerusalem*, had been plundered by the tyrants; while the remnants of her valuables, along with whatever food she had contrived to procure, had been carried off by their spearmen in their daily raids. **25** But this woman's *heart* was full of terrible indignation, and she constantly reproached and cursed these robbers, finally provoking them against her. **26** But none of them, either out of exasperation or pity did away with her.

And indeed, since she had become wearied of finding food for others (which it was now impossible to procure from any quarter), but because the famine coursed through her bowels and marrows, and because her fury flared to a degree beyond even that of the famine, she took anger *and* necessity as her only counselors, *and* proceeded to *commit* an unnatural act.

27 And snatching her child, who was but a boy under-the-breast, she spoke, "Miserable baby. Amidst war, and famine, and sedition, to what end will I keep you? **28** Indeed, in the presence of the Romans, slavery awaits us, if we might live until they come. But this famine will even destroy us before slavery; but more harsh than both are the insurgents. **29** Come on, be food for me, and be an avenging-fury² to the insurgents; and to the world we live in, a tale which is the only thing lacking to *complete* the calamities of the Judeans."

30 And with these words, she killed her son. Then, she indeed roasted him *and* devoured half of it, but she covered up *and* stored the remainder. **31** But at once, the insurgents were upon her, and smelling the horrid scent, threatened to slaughter her immediately unless she produced *the food* which she had prepared.

But as she answered, "I have saved a very fine portion for you also," she disclosed the remains of her child.

32 But seized straightaway with horror and stupefaction, even they stood paralyzed by the sight.

But she declared, "This is my own child, and this is my handiwork. **33** Eat, for I too have eaten. Do not pretend to be weaker than a woman, nor more sympathetic than a mother. But if you are so scrupulous, and shrink from my sacrifice, indeed, let what I have *already* eaten be your portion, but also leave the remainder for me."

34 Indeed, at this, the *men* went out trembling, being never so much terrified at any thing as they were at this—food which they barely left to the mother. Now the whole city instantly rang with the abomination. And each *person*, picturing the horror of this event, shuddered as though it had been perpetrated by themselves. **35** Now the famished individuals longed for death, and considered those who had preceded them to be happy, because they had not *lived* to hear or to behold such vast evils.

36 But a message *concerning* this *horrible event* also quickly reached the Romans. Now some of them were indeed incredulous, but others *were moved* to pity; but the effect it had on the majority was to intensify their hatred against the nation.

37 But as for Caesar, he even defended himself before God about this matter, asserting, "I indeed offered peace and independence to the Judeans, as well as a pardon for all past offenses. But instead, they preferred sedition to concord, **38** but peace to war, but famine to plenty and prosperity. Now they have taken the initiative to set fire to the temple with their own hands, *the temple* which we were preserving for them; and they are deserving of *eating* such food as this. **39** However, I shall bury this abomination of infant-cannibalism beneath the ruins of their fatherland itself, and shall not leave upon the inhabited *earth* for the sun to behold, a city in which mothers are fed in this manner. **40** However, such food is more fit for the fathers to eat than the mothers, since it is *the fathers* who, even after *undergoing* such horrors, still remain in arms *against us*."

41 And while expressing these sentiments, he kept in mind the desperation of these men; for he was convinced that such *men*, having already suffered all these things, were past being brought to a sound-mind, when they could have avoided this condition by reforming.

CHAPTER 88 [War6:220-270]

¹ literally "place"

² a type of evil spirit

Now on the eighth *day* of the month *Lōios*, two of the legions had completed their earthworks. At this, *Titus* directed the rams to be brought up opposite the western hall of the outer temple. **2** But before their arrival, the most formidable of all the city-destroyers had incessantly battered the wall for six days without effect; instead, even the magnitude and strong joints of the stones were superior to it as well as to the rest of the *machines*.

3 Now another party endeavored to undermine the foundations of the northern gate, and by great exertions, succeeded in extricating the stones in front. But the gate was supported by more *stones* within, and continued to stand firm. But finally, despairing of all attempts with their weapons and their crowbars, the *Romans* applied ladders to the porticoes.

4 Now the *Judeans* indeed made no haste to prevent this, but as soon as the *Romans* mounted, vigorously attacked them. And some they indeed thrust backwards, hurling them down headlong. But others who encountered them, they did away with. **5** But many, as they stepped off the ladders, were struck with their long-swords, before they could shield themselves with their oblong-shields. But some of the ladders, laden with heavy-armed *soldiers*, they tilted sideways from above, dashing them to the ground. **6** But the *Judeans* themselves also suffered no small murder.

Now the *Romans* who had brought up the ensigns warred fiercely around these, deeming their loss a dire disaster and disgrace. **7** But even these ensigns were eventually taken by the *Judeans*, who utterly-destroyed everyone who had ascended the *ladders*. But the remainder, dreading the misfortune of those who had perished, withdrew.

8 Therefore indeed, of the *Romans*, not a single one achieved anything before he died. But of the insurgents, those who had gained distinction in the previous engagements also fought nobly in this one, as did also Eleazar, nephew of the tyrant Simon.

9 But when *Titus* saw that his *endeavor* to spare the foreign temple had led only to the injury and murder of his soldiers, he issued orders to set fire to the gates from underneath.

10 Now two deserters had joined him, both Hanan of Hammat, the most bloodthirsty of Simon's spearmen, and Archelaos son of Magaddates. Leaving the *Judeans* at a moment of success, they hoped for pardon.

11 But *Titus* also objected to these men's action as a further cunning trick. And having learned about their overall brutality toward their own countrymen, he was motivated to kill each of them. For he observed that they had been driven to desertion by utmost necessity, not led by choice; and that *men* who had quickly escaped from their fatherland only when enveloped in the flames, for which they themselves were responsible, were not worthy of salvation. **12** But his good faith overcame his fury, and he dismissed the men; truly, he did not give them equal privileges as he had done with the rest.

13 Now the soldiers were bringing a *firebrand* to the gates; and the silver melting all around quickly admitted the flame to the woodwork, from where it spread in dense volumes, catching hold of the porticoes.

14 Now when the *Judeans* saw the ring of fire around them, their souls fell, together with their bodies. And doused by utter consternation, none of them indeed attempted to ward off or extinguish the *fire*; but paralyzed they stood, looking on. **15** Truly, dismayed by the ravage being wrought, they in fact learned no lesson with regard to what was to come. Instead, even as though the very inner-sanctum was now ablaze, they only whetted their fury against the *Romans*. **16** Therefore indeed, the fire prevailed throughout that day and the following night. For the *soldiers* were only able to burn portions of the porticoes from underneath, not the whole range at once.

17 Now on the following day, *Titus* directed one division of his force both to extinguish the fire and to make a road to the gates in order to facilitate the ascent of the legions, while he himself called his leaders together. **18** And six of his principal-officers came together:

Tiberius Alexandros, the prefect over all the armies,
and Sextus Cerealius, the leader of the fifth legion,
and Larcus Lepidus, the leader of the tenth,
and Titus Phrygius, the leader of the fifteenth,

19 and Fronto Haterius, the camp-prefect of the two legions from
Alexandria,
and Marcus Antonius Julianus, the procurator of Judah.

And after the procurators and tribunes were next gathered together, *Titus* brought forward before this council the subject of the inner-sanctum. **20** Therefore indeed, some were of the opinion that the laws of war should be enforced; for the *Judeans* would never cease from revolutionary-activities while the inner-sanctum remained, since it was the focus for concourse from every quarter.

21 But others were of the opinion that indeed if the *Judeans* abandoned it and did not place any weapons within it, it should be saved; but that if they mounted it for purposes of waging war, it should be incinerated, for it would no longer be an

inner-sanctum, but a fortress, and that the impiety of *burning it* would be chargeable, not to the *Romans*, but to those who forced them to *take such measures*.

22 But *Titus* declared, "Even if the *Judeans* were to mount it and wage war against us from it, we should not wreak vengeance upon soulless objects rather than upon men, nor under any circumstances incinerate such a magnificent work. For the loss will affect us *Romans*, inasmuch as it would be an ornamentation to the leadership if it stood."

23 Now instilled with good-courage by this *pronouncement*, Fronto, and Alexandros, and Cerealius agreed to *Titus*' opinion. **24** Therefore indeed, he dissolved the congress and directed his leaders that the rest of their forces should be given an interval of repose so that he might find them reinvigorated in this attack. So he ordered the picked *men* from the cohorts to open a road through the ruins and extinguish the fire.

25 Indeed, throughout that day, both the fatigue and consternation crushed the energies of the *Judeans*. But on the following day, at about the second hour, with both recruited strength and renewed courage, they sallied out through the eastern gate upon those who were guarding around the outer temple.

26 Now the *Romans* indeed stubbornly met their charge, and, by forming a screen in front with their oblong-shields like a wall, closed up their phalanx. But it was evident that they could not hold together for long, being no match for both the multitude and fury of their assailants.

27 Now when Caesar (for he was watching the scene from Antōnia) saw that they were about to be overcome, he brought up his picked cavalry to support them. **28** But the *Judeans* were not able to withstand their onset; instead, when the vanguard fell, the rest retreated.

29 And indeed, whenever the *Romans* retired, the *Judeans* returned to the attack, but only to flee once more when their opponents wheeled back around. This lasted until about the fifth hour of the day, indeed, when the *Judeans* were overpowered and shut up within the inner temple. **30** Now *Titus* then withdrew to Antōnia. There he determined to throw his entire force at them on the following day, and to surround the inner-sanctum.

31 Now as for that building, God had, indeed, long ago sentenced it to the fire. But according to the circuits of the times, that fated day had arrived: the tenth day of the month *Lōios*, the same day on which long ago it had been burned by the King of Babel. **32** But this time, the flames owed their origin and cause to its own inhabitants.

For upon the withdrawal of *Titus*, the insurgents, after a brief respite, attacked the *Romans* once more; and an engagement broke out between the inner-sanctum guards and the *soldiers* who were endeavoring to extinguish the fire in the inner temple. But these *Romans* routed the *Judeans*, pursuing them right up to the inner-sanctum itself.

33 At this moment, one of the soldiers, without waiting for a transmitted-message, and without any terror of attempting such an undertaking, but being possessed by some demon, indeed snatched a brand from the burning timber; but being hoisted up by a fellow-soldier, he flung the fire through a golden window, which gave access on the north side to the chambers around the inner-sanctum. **34** But as the flame shot upward, indeed a cry, as poignant as the tragedy, arose from the *Judeans*, and they flocked to its rescue. They lost all thought of sparing their lives, of conserving their strength, now that what they had previously been guarding was vanishing.

35 Now following the previous battle, *Titus* was resting in his tent, when a messenger rushed in with the news. At this, he quickly rose up in his current state, and ran to the inner-sanctum in order to stop the fire. **36** Now behind him followed all of his leaders, and following them the scared legions; but there was all the clamor and noise attending the disorderly movement of such a large force.

37 Therefore indeed, Caesar, both by his loud voice and his right hand, signaled to the combatants to extinguish the fire. But drowned in the louder noise which had already filled their ears, they did not hear his shouts; and indeed some, distracted by the war, but others by their anger, did not heed his signaling hand.

38 But as for the legions who came running into the fray, neither exhortation nor threat could restrain their rage; instead, fury was each man's only general. And crushed together about the temple entrances, many were indeed trampled down by their own companions; while many, stumbling on the still hot and smoldering ruins of the porticoes, suffered the same fate as those whom they had vanquished. **39** But as they drew closer to the inner-sanctum, they indeed pretended not even to hear Caesar's transmitted-messages, but recommended that those in front of them throw in the *firebrand*.

40 But as for the insurgents, they were indeed too powerless to help; but on every side was murder and flight. But most of the murdered were the populace, weak and unarmed people, each slaughtered where they were caught. And a multitude of corpses was heaping up around the altar. But down the steps of the inner-sanctum flowed a stream of blood, and the bodies of the murder-victims above the altar went sliding down to the bottom.

41 But Caesar, finding himself unable to restrain the rage of his inspired soldiers, and with the fire gaining the mastery, passed into the building along with his leaders *and* beheld the holy-place of the inner-sanctum and everything which it contained: indeed, things far exceeding the reports current among foreigners, but *which were* also not inferior to their glory which was enjoyed among its inhabitants.

42 But as the flame had not yet penetrated to the interior, but was *still* consuming the chambers around the inner-sanctum, *Titus* was correct in assuming that it was still possible to save the work. 43 So he rushed out, and, by personal appeals, endeavored to induce the soldiers to extinguish the fire. And at the same time, he directed *Liberalius*, a centurion of his bodyguard, to restrain any soldiers who disobeyed orders by *beating them with clubs*.¹

44 But even *then* their fury overpowered their respect for Caesar as well as their fear of *their leader* who was endeavoring to hinder them; and their hatred of the Judeans, and a rage to war against them were more turbulent *still*. 45 But most of them were stimulated by the hope of plunder, both imagining that the interior was full of money and actually seeing that *everything* around it was made of gold.

46 But when Caesar rushed out to restrain the soldiers, even one of those who had entered the building thrust a *firebrand* in the dark, into the hinges of the gate. 47 For a flame suddenly shot up from the interior, forcing both Caesar and his leaders to withdraw. And there was no one left to prevent those outside from setting it on fire from underneath. Therefore, this was indeed how, against Caesar's will, the inner-sanctum was burned.

48 But as deeply as one must lament the *destruction of the* most marvelous work which we have ever seen and heard of—both on account of its structure, and its magnitude, *and* still both the extravagance of its every *detail*, and the glory of its holy-places—we may draw very great consolation from the thought, that *this edict* was decreed by necessity,² a *force* inescapable not only to living creatures, but also to works of *art* and regions. 49 But one cannot but marvel at the precision of this circuit. And accordingly, this *destruction* happened on the very month and day on which in past times, the inner-sanctum had been burned by the Babelians.

CHAPTER 89 [War6:271-315]

While the inner-sanctum blazed, *the victors* indeed plundered everything which fell in *their path*, but those whom they caught *and* murdered were countless. And no pity was shown for age, nor reverence for rank. Instead, even boys and old men, even uninitiated and priests, were done away with in the same way. And every class was pursued *and* encompassed in the grasp of the war, both suppliants for mercy, and those offering resistance.

2 Now the roar of the flame streamed far *and* wide, mingled with the groans of the fallen; and indeed because of the height of the ridge and the magnitude of the burning pile, it appeared that³ the entire city was ablaze.

But nothing could be imagined that was more deafening or appalling than the din: 3 For there was both a shout from the Roman legions who marched onward all together, and the howls of the insurgents encircled by fire and iron, and the rush of the people who, cut off from above, both fled under consternation only to fall into the arms of their foes, and made wailings as they fell to this calamity. 4 Now the cries of the multitude in the city below blended with those who were upon the ridge. But when the many who were wasting away by the famine and moaning through closed lips beheld the inner-sanctum on fire, they gathered strength once more for lamentations and wailing. But both *Peraia* and the surrounding mountains contributed their echoes, augmenting the din.

5 But more fearsome than the uproar were the sufferings. Yet indeed, a man would have thought that the temple ridge itself was boiling over from its base, as if every part was full of fire, but that the stream of blood was more copious than the fire, and the murdered more numerous than the murderers. 6 For the ground was nowhere visible through the corpses; instead, the soldiers had to clamber over heaps of bodies in pursuit of the fugitives.

7 Therefore indeed, the multitude of the brigands succeeded in pushing through the Romans, *and*, with difficulty, forced their way into the temple court, *and* from there, to the city; while the remainder of the populace took refuge on the outer portico.

8 Now as for the priests, indeed some of them, at the first, pulled up both the spikes from the inner-sanctum, and their leaden sockets, hurling them at the Romans. 9 But afterwards, finding their efforts unavailing and the fire breaking out against them, they withdrew to the wall which was eight cubits broad, *and* there they remained. 10 Yet truly, two distinguished *persons*, who had the choice either of saving themselves by going over to the Romans or of holding out and sharing the fortune of the rest, plunged into the fire and were incinerated together

with the inner-sanctum. These were both *Meiros* son of *Bilgah*, and *Joseph son of Dalaiois*.

11 Now that the inner-sanctum was burning up, the Romans, judging that it was useless to spare the surrounding buildings, set fire to all of them. *This included* both the remnants of the porticoes and the gates with an exception of two: indeed, one on the east, but the other on the south. (These they also brought to the ground afterward.) 12 But they also set the treasuries ablaze, in which indeed were stored up an endless multitude of money, but endless piles of raiment and other valuables. Now this, in a word, was the common repository of the Judean wealth, where the prosperous *individuals* had consigned the contents of their dismantled houses.

13 But *the soldiers* also proceeded to the one remaining portico of the outer temple. Now here, the poor women and little-ones of the populace, along with a mixed crowd, had taken refuge, numbering 6,000. 14 But before Caesar had come to any decision or given directions to the leaders concerning these *people*, the soldiers, carried away by fury, set fire to the portico from underneath. And as a result, some were indeed utterly destroyed plunging out of the flame, while others perished amidst them; but out of them, not one was saved alive.

15 A false-prophet was the cause of these *people's* destruction, who on that *very* day, had proclaimed in the city, that God directed them to go up to the temple where they would receive miraculous signs of their salvation.

16 Now at this period, there were indeed many *false* prophets suborned by the tyrants to delude the populace, by sending out messages to them that they should wait for aid from God. This was done in order to prevent them from deserting, and that those who were above terror and precaution might be encouraged by hope. 17 Now a human in misfortune is easily persuaded, but when the deceiver makes him believe that he shall be delivered from prevailing terrors, then the sufferer wholly abandons himself to such expectation.

18 Accordingly, it was in this way that the miserable populace was indeed beguiled at this time by these cheats and impostors of God, while they neither heeded nor believed in the manifest portents which *plainly* presignaled the coming desolation; instead, as if thunderstruck and bereft of eyes and soul, they disregarded the plain warnings of God.

19 Indeed, there was a star, resembling a long-sword, which stood over the city; and a comet, which continued for an *entire* year.

20 But prior to the sedition and the commotion which led to war, at the time when the people were gathering together for the Festival of the Unleavened, which was on the eighth *day* of the month *Xanthikos*, at the ninth hour of the night, so brilliant a light shone around the altar and the inner-sanctum that it seemed to be broad daylight; and this continued for half an hour. 21 Indeed, by the inexperienced, this was regarded as a good sign; but by the temple-scribes,⁴ it was interpreted in accordance with the events which immediately followed it.

22 And at that same festival, indeed, a cow, which had been brought by someone to be sacrificed, gave birth to a lamb in the middle of the temple.

23 But the eastern gate of the interior inner-sanctum, which was indeed of brass and very massive, but could scarcely be moved by twenty humans when it was closed around evening; 24 and which, indeed, being fastened with iron-bound bars, but with bolts which were sunk very deep into a threshold consisting of a solid block of stone—*this gate* was observed to have opened of its own accord at the sixth hour of the night. 25 Now the temple guards ran *and* dispatched a message *stating* the matter to the general; *and* coming up, he, with difficulty, succeeded in shutting it *again*. 26 To the uninitiated, this indeed seemed to be the most beautiful of portents, for they supposed that God had opened to them the gate of blessings. 27 But the learned understood that the security of the inner-sanctum was dissolving of its own accord, and that the opening of the gate meant a present to their foes. Now they interpreted the sign in their own minds as indicating the coming desolation.

28 And a few days after the festival, on the twenty-first *day* of the month *Artemisios*, there appeared some demonic *and* greatly incredible phantom. Now this was stated by eyewitnesses and followed by calamities worthy of such signals. 29 For before the sun had set, throughout all the surrounding country, chariots were seen in the air, and armed phalanxes were darting through the masses-of-clouds and encircling the city.

30 Now at the Festival of the Fiftieth *Day*, as the priests were entering the inner temple by night, as their custom was in the discharge of their public-services, they indeed declared that they were conscious, first of a commotion and a crash; but after that, they heard a voice as of *people* amassed together, "We are departing from here."⁵

31 But there was another *portent* which was *even* more fearsome. For four years before the war *had begun*, when the city was enjoying profound peace and

¹ literally "wood"

² may also be translated "fate"

³ lit. "one would have thought that"

⁴ may also be translated "consecrated-scribes"

⁵ Some Josephus, Tacitus / variant "Let us depart from here."

prosperity, there was a certain Jeshua son of Hananiah, a rustic commoner. Coming to the Festival of Booths, he stood in the temple *and* suddenly began to cry aloud, **32** “A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds; a voice against Jerusalem and the inner-sanctum, a voice against bridegroom and bride, a voice against all the people!”

Day and night he went throughout all the narrow-alleys shouting this. **33** But some of the distinguished *men* of the populace, indignant at these ominous *words*, arrested the human and maltreated him with many severe blows. But he, without a word on his own behalf or for the private ear of those who struck him, only continued his cries as before.

34 Now at this, the chiefs, supposing, as the case proved to be, that the man was under some demonic *power*, brought him before the Roman prefect. **35** There he was whipped until his bones were laid bare; instead, he neither made supplication nor shed a tear, but turning his voice to the most lamentable tone possible, he answered every stroke *of the whip* with, “Woe to Jerusalem!”

36 But Albinus (for he was the prefect) asked him, “Who are you? And where are you from? And why are you uttering these cries?”

Indeed, he never answered him a word; but, he reiterated his dirge over the city unceasingly, until Albinus pronounced him a madman *and* released him.

37 Now during the whole time that passed up to the outbreak of the war, this *man* neither approached any of the citizens nor was seen talking to any of them. Instead, every day, even as a premeditated prayer, he repeated his lament, “Woe to Jerusalem!” **38** But he neither cursed any of those who beat him from day to day, nor blest those who offered him food; but that melancholy presage was his one answer to all men. **39** But he had shouted exceptionally at the festivals.

So for seven years and five months he continued his wail, his voice never growing hoarse nor his strength exhausted, until, having seen his presage fulfilled in the siege of *Jerusalem*, he ceased. **40** For while he was going round, he shouted in piercing tones from the wall, “Woe again to the city and to the people and to the inner-sanctum!” But at the moment he added a last word, “And woe to me also!” a stone hurled from a rock-launcher struck and killed him on the spot. Now with these presages still upon his lips, he discharged his soul.

41 Reflecting on these things, one will indeed find that God has a care for the humans, and by every *means* tries to presignal his own race the way of their salvation, while they owe their destruction to folly and miseries of their own choosing. **42** Yet, following the demolition of Antōnia, the Judeans reduced the temple to a square, although they had it recorded in their oracles that the city and the inner-sanctum would be taken when the temple should become quadrangular.

43 But what incited them to the war more than everything else was an ambiguous oracle which was also found in their consecrated documents, how at that time, one from their country would become ruler of the inhabited *earth*. **44** Indeed, they understood this *prediction* to mean one of their *fellow* inhabitants, and many of their wise *men* went astray in their interpretation of it. But in reality, the oracle signified the leadership of Vespasianus, who was appointed emperor in Judah.

45 For instead, it is not possible for humans to avoid what is necessary *to happen*, even though they foresee it. **46** But even some of these signs were indeed interpreted by *the Judeans* to please themselves, while others they treated with contempt, until both the ruin of their fatherland and their own destruction convicted them of their folly.

CHAPTER 90 [War6:316-357]

Now that the insurgents had indeed fled to the city for refuge, but the inner-sanctum itself and everything around it was ablaze, the Romans carried their ensigns into the temple court and set them up opposite the eastern gate. There they both offered sacrifices to them, and with the greatest acclamations of joy, hailed Titus as emperor. **2** Now each of the soldiers were so glutted with plunder that throughout Syria the standard-weight of gold was depreciated to half its former value.

3 But among the priests who were still holding out on the wall of the inner-sanctum was a boy; parched with thirst, he confessed *his condition* to the Roman guards *and* besought them to give him their right hands *in security*. **4** Now taking pity on his *young* age and his necessity,¹ they gave him their right hands. Now at this, he came down to drink. And after filling with water a vessel which he had brought with him, he raced back to his *companions* above. **5** But none of the guards were indeed able to catch him, but cursed his perfidy.

He declared, “I have broken no pacts. For taking your right hand did not bind me to stay with you. Instead, it merely permitted me to descend and to get water, both of which I did. So I think that I have been faithful *to my word*.” **6** Indeed, such cunning, especially in such a boy of such an age, caused *the Romans* whom he had outwitted to marvel at *him*.

Now on the fifth day, the priests were now famishing. *So* they came down and were conducted by the guards to Titus. They implored him to grant them salvation. **7** But he declared *to them*, “Indeed, the time for pardon is over. Now the one object for whose sake it might have been reasonable to save you is gone; but it is agreeable for priests to perish together with their inner-sanctum.” *So* he directed these men to be chastised.

8 But as for the tyrants’ parties, when they found themselves both being beaten on all sides in the war and having been surrounded with a wall which prevented any possibility of escape, they invited Titus to a parley. **9** But even anxious, with his innate humaneness, at all events to at least save the town alive, and instigated by his friends (for they supposed that the brigands had finally been brought to reason), *Titus* took up a position on the west *side* of the outer temple. **10** For at this point, there were gates opening above the covered-colonnade and a bridge which connected the upper city to the temple. **11** *This bridge* was currently dividing the tyrants and Caesar. Now the multitude on each side stood packed together: indeed, the Judeans of Simon and Johanan’s party were excited by hopes of pardon, while the Romans beside Caesar were eagerly waiting to hear their supplication.

12 Now Titus transmitted a message to his soldiers to restrain both their fury and their projectiles, and stationed an interpreter beside him. *Then* in token of his conquest, he proceeded to say to them first:

13 “O men, I hope that you are yet satiated with the miseries of your fatherland, you who, without bestowing a thought on either our strength or your own weakness, but have, through inconsiderate rage and madness, even lost both your populace and your city, even your inner-sanctum, but are even yourselves rightly *doomed* to be destroyed. **14** Indeed, *ever* since Pompeius first reduced you by force, you have never ceased from revolution, and have now ended by declaring open war upon the Romans.

15 “Yet, did you rely on *your* numbers? Truly *not*. Even a mere fraction of the Roman soldiery has proved your match.

“On the faithfulness of your auxiliaries? So I beg you to tell me, what nation beyond the limits of our leadership would prefer Judeans to Romans?”

16 “On bodily strength, instead? Truly *not*. Even you are *well* aware that the Germans themselves are enslaved to us.

“But on the solidity of your walls? And what wall could be a greater obstacle than Oceanos, which embraces the Britons, who yet give homage to the Roman weapons?”

17 “On *the* courage of soul and *the* sagacity of your generals? Truly *not*. Instead, you knew that even Carthaginians had been conquered *by us*.

18 “No, assuredly you were incited against the Romans by Roman humaneness. Indeed, to begin with, we allowed you to possess a land and set over you kings of your own tribe. **19** Then, we maintained the laws of your fathers *for you*, and not only permitted you to live as you wished among yourselves, *but* instead even in your dealings with others. **20** But above all, we permitted you both to exact tribute for God and to collect offerings, even without admonishing or prohibiting those who brought them—only that you might grow richer at our *own* expense and make preparations with our *own* money to attack us! **21** Then, in the enjoyment of such good *things*, you turned your superabundance against the donors; and like untamable creepers, spat your venom upon those who treated you righteously.

22 “Accordingly, you held Nerō’s slothfulness in contempt; and, like fractured or ruptured limbs you remained malignantly quiet for a time, only to reveal your true character on the outbreak of a more serious sickness, and let your ambitions soar unbounded to shameless expectations.

23 “My father came into this country, not to be an avenger against you for what you had done under Cestius, *but* instead to admonish you. **24** Accordingly, had he come to overthrow² the nation, he surely would have hastened to the fountain of your strength and have immediately laid this city waste. But he proceeded to ravage Galilee and the neighboring district, thereby giving you time for a change-of-purpose. **25** Instead, you took his humaneness for weakness, and you nursed your audacity upon our gentleness.

26 “When it was necessary for Nerō to go-away from this *life*, all of you acted like the most wicked *of men*. Emboldened by our civil troubles, and when both I and my father had departed for Egypt, you abused your opportunities by preparing for the war. And you were not ashamed to harass those who are now made emperors, and whose humaneness you tried when we were no more than generals.

27 “Accordingly, when the leadership found refuge in us, and, indeed, when universal tranquility dwelt throughout its length, but even foreign nations were sending elders who brought congratulation, it was then that you Judeans waged war against us. **28** And indeed, you sent elders to your friends beyond the

¹ may also be translated “fate”

² literally “standing-up”

Euphrates¹ to assist you in instigating a revolution; but new enclosing walls were being built; but also seditions, and love-of-strife between tyrants, and civil war—the only things befitting *men* so wicked.

29 “I still came to this city, a bearer of gloomy messages transmitted from my reluctant father. The news that the populace was disposed to peace rejoiced my heart. 30 As for you, before warring *even* began, I urged you to cease. *Even* after you had begun them, I spared you for a long time. I gave my right hand to deserters. I kept faith with them when they fled to me. Many were the prisoners whom I had pity upon, forbidding their oppressors to torture them. With reluctance I brought up my machines against your walls. I always restrained my own soldiers who thirsted for your blood. After every victory I invited you to peace, as if I myself had been *the one* defeated.

31 “When I approached the temple, I again deliberately forgot the laws of war, but beseeched you to spare your own holy-places and to save the inner-sanctum for yourselves. I offered you both egress free from terror, and assurance of salvation. But if you had wished, I even gave you an opportunity for a battle on some other region. 32 Yet, you scorned every one of my proposals, and have set fire to the temple with your own hands.

“Then after all this, most abominable *men*, do you now invite me to a parley? What do you have left to save in comparison to this inner-sanctum which is now lost? What salvation do you think you deserve after losing your own inner-sanctum? 33 Instead, even now, you stand in arms. And you cannot *even* bring yourselves to at least pretend to be supplicants *even* at your utmost extremity.

“O miserable *creatures*, on what do you depend? 34 Is not the populace a corpse? But your inner-sanctum gone? But your city at my mercy? But are not your very souls in my hands? Do you still deem it manliness to long for death?

35 “I, truly, will not be a lover-of-strife in your desperation. But throw down your weapons, and surrender your bodies, and I will grant you your lives, like a lenient household master: indeed, chastising the implacable, but saving the rest for my own use.”

36 To this *proposal*, they answered, “We indeed cannot accept your right hand, for we have sworn never to do so. But please grant us permission to pass through the circumvallation-wall, taking with us our women and children. For we will go-off into the desert and leave behind the city to you.”

37 At this, Titus was filled with indignation, that *men* who were in the position of captives should proffer proposals to him as if they had been the victors. Indeed, he directed a proclamation to be made to them: “You shall neither desert nor hope for my right hand any longer, for I shall not spare anyone; 38 instead, I will fight you with my entire force. So save yourselves as best as you can; for from this time forward, all of my actions shall be governed by the laws of war.”

But he gave his soldiers permission to burn and plunder the city. 39 Now that day, they indeed refrained from *doing this*; but on the following day, they set fire to both the archives, and the citadel, and the senate-house, and the region called Ophel from underneath. 40 And the fire spread as far as the royal *palace* of Helené, which was in the center of the citadel. But the narrow-alleys were also burned, along with the houses which were full of the corpses of those who had been utterly-destroyed by the famine.

41 On the same day, both *the* sons and brothers of King Izad, who were joined by many of the distinguished *men* of the populace, entreated Caesar to give them his right hand. Now although Titus was angry at all the survivors, he did not alter the morality of his character, but received these men. 42 And indeed, at that time, he kept them all in custody. But the king’s boys and kinsmen were subsequently brought up in chains to Roma as hostages for their *country’s* faithfulness to the Romans.

CHAPTER 91 [War6:358–373]

Now the insurgents rushed to the royal *palace*, in which, due to its solidity, many had laid-aside their property. They both drove away the Romans, and on the spot murdered the populace who had gathered together there, who numbered 8,400, and plundered the money.

2 But they also captured two Romans: indeed, one was a cavalryman, but the other an infantryman. And indeed, they immediately slaughtered the infantryman, dragging him throughout the city, as though they were revenging themselves on the whole body of *the* Romans through this *one person*.

3 Now when the cavalryman said that he had a suggestion to make conducive to their salvations, he was brought up to Simon. But having nothing to tell him, he was handed over to Ardalas, one of the leaders, to be chastised. 4 Now Ardalas bound his hands behind his back and bandaged his eyes, and then led him forward

in view of the Romans in order to be beheaded. But at the moment that the Judean *executioner* drew his short-sword, the prisoner managed to escape to the Romans.

5 After such an escape from his foes, Titus, indeed, could not bring himself to do away with him; but since he had been taken alive *by their enemies*, Titus judged him unworthy of being a Roman soldier. So he both deprived him and ejected him from the legion—which, to one with a sense of shame, this penalty was more severe than death *itself*.

6 Now on the following day, the Romans, having routed the brigands from the lower city, set everything on fire as far as Shiloah. Indeed, the consuming of the town delighted them, but they were failed of *obtaining* the plunder, because the insurgents had cleared out everything before they had withdrawn into the upper city.

7 For the *insurgents* indeed showed no change-of-mind for their evils, but bragged of them as good *things*. Accordingly, when they saw the city burning, they said with beaming countenances, that they cheerfully awaited the end. For when they saw the populace murdered, but the inner-sanctum ablaze, but the town burning up, they refused to leave anything to their foes.

8 Yet truly, *even* to the last, I never grew weary in entreating them on behalf of the city’s remnants. Instead, in return—indeed, for all my denunciation of their cruelty and their impiety, but for all the counsel I offered to secure their salvation—I received nothing but ridicule.

9 But due to their oath, they could not think of surrender. Nor, also being caged as in a prison-house, were they now capable of warring against the Romans on equal terms. But despite these things, their hands, through habit, still itched for murder. So they dispersed in front of the city, laying in wait among the ruins for any who were eager to desert to the Romans. 10 But many *deserters* were caught and all of them were slaughtered (for due to their deficiency, they did not have the strength to flee), and their corpses were thrown to the dogs.

11 But death in any form seemed more tolerable than the famine, so that although they despaired of ever *receiving* pity from the Romans, they nevertheless fled to them for refuge; and though the insurgents were murderous, they would even voluntarily fall among them. There was not a spot in the city left bare; instead, every corner was inhabited by a corpse, either *the victim* of famine or of the sedition. And everything was full of the corpses of those who had perished, either the victim of the sedition or of the famine.²

12 Now there remained a final cherished hope for both the tyrants and their brigand parties: a place of refuge in the underground-passages, where they expected that no search would be made for them. But after the complete capture of the city and the departure of the Romans, they intended to emerge in order to make their escape. 13 But this proved to be but a dream-vision, for they were not destined to escape-notice either of God or of the Romans.

14 Yet truly, for the time, they depended on these underground retreats, setting more places on fire than the Romans did. And they, without restraint, both killed and stripped everyone who fled for refuge from the flames into these passages. And if they ever found a *victim* with food, they snatched it from him and devoured it, all defiled with blood. 15 But finally, they even fought with one another over their spoils.

CHAPTER 92 [War6:374–408]

Now Caesar found it impracticable to take the upper city without *raising* earthworks *against it*, since the nature of the site was too precipitous. So on the twentieth day of the month Lōios, he apportioned the task among his force. 2 Now the conveyance of timber was a difficult task, since all the environs of the city within the distance of 100 stadia had been stripped bare from *raising* the former earthworks.

3 Therefore indeed, the works raised by the four legions were on the west side of the city, opposite the royal *palace*. 4 But at the same time, the multitude of auxiliaries and the rest of the crowd *raised their embankments* adjoining the covered-colonnade, and the bridge and the tower which Simon, while at war with Johanan, had built as a fortress for himself.

5 During these days, the Edomite leaders met in secret to take counsel about surrendering themselves. So they dispatched five men to Titus who entreated him to give them his right hand. 6 Now since the *Edomites* formed an important factor in the war, Titus hoped, that if they defected to him, the tyrants would also be induced to yield. Therefore instead, after some hesitation, he both consented to spare them and sent the *five* men back.

7 But as *these Edomites* were preparing to depart, Simon detected the plot. And immediately he had the five men who had been sent to Titus done away with; but he arrested and imprisoned their leaders, of whom the most distinguished was Jacob son of Sosa. 8 But as for the multitude of the Edomites, who were rendered

¹ Greek / from Persian “Ufratu” / Hebrew “Furat”

² one / most repeat this similar clause here

helpless by the loss of their leaders, *Simon* strictly watched them, and the wall was marked with more attentive guards.

9 Truly, the guards were powerless to prevent desertion. Instead, although most were murdered, more managed to escape. 10 Now the Romans received them all, because of two *reasons*: because Titus, out of clemency, disregarded his former transmitted-messages; and his *soldiers*, out of satiety and in hope of gain, abstained from killing. 11 For the populace alone was allowed to remain. The other crowd, with women and children, were each sold for a trifling price *per head*, due to both the glut of the market and the lack of purchasers.

12 But not holding to what he had previously preached, that no deserter should come alone (so that they might bring out their families with them), *Titus* received even such persons as these. However, he appointed *leaders* to differentiate from among them any who deserved chastisement. 13 And indeed, the number of those sold was immense. But of the populace, over 40,000 were saved, whom Caesar dismissed to wherever each of them was affected to go.

14 Now during these days, one of the priests, named *Jeshua* son of *Thebouthei*, also obtained an oath of security from Caesar that he would have salvation upon the *sole* condition that he should deliver up some of the temple¹ treasures. 15 So when he came out, he handed over to *him* the following things from the wall of the inner-sanctum: two lampstands similar to those deposited in the inner-sanctum, both tables, and bowls, and platters, all *made* of solid gold and bulky. 16 But he also handed over the veils, and the garments of the chief-priests, including the stones, and many other vessels used in the temple-services.

17 Now the temple treasurer, whose name was *Phinehas*, was also taken prisoner. He disclosed both the tunics and belts worn by the priests; along with an abundance of both purple and scarlet kept for necessary repairs to the veil; along with a mass of both cinnamon and cassia, and a large quantity of other spices, which they mixed and burned daily as incense to God. 18 But many other treasures were also handed over by him, along with no small amount of temple² ornamentation. In return for these services, this *man*, although taken *captive*, received the *same* pardon that was given to deserters.

19 Now on the seventh *day* of the month *Gorpiaios*, the earthworks were completed after eighteen days of labor. Indeed, the Romans brought up the machines. But as for the insurgents, some of them, indeed already despairing of *saving* the city, retired from the wall to the citadel; but others sunk down into the underground-passages; 20 but many positioned themselves in order to repel the *soldiers* who were bringing up the city-destroyers. But the Romans also overpowered these *men* by both numbers and force, and, above all, by the cheerfulness in which they faced the *Judeans* who were already disheartened and unnerved.

21 Now as soon as a portion of the wall broke down and some of the towers succumbed to the batterings of the rams, indeed, the defenders instantly took flight, but even the tyrants *themselves* were seized with a needlessly excessive terror. 22 For *even* before their foes had surmounted the breach, they were both stunned and on the verge of flight.

But those *men*, who had up till this point been so haughty and proud of their impious crimes, were then seen humbled and trembling, so that the change even in these wicked *men* was pitiable. 23 Therefore, they were indeed eager to make a dash for the circumvallation-wall, both to repel the guards and cut their way through in order to go outside; 24 but, indeed, when they could nowhere see their formerly faithful henchmen (for these had fled to wherever the crisis counseled *them to go*), but, indeed, when men came running up with messages *stating* that the western wall was entirely overthrown, while others *told* that the Romans had broken through and were now at hand in search of them, 25 while even others, whose eyes were bewildered by terror, told them that they could actually see their foes from the towers, *these impious men* fell upon their faces. They bemoaned their own mad folly, and were impotent to flee, as though their sinews had been cut from under them.

26 Here both the power of God over unsacred men and the fortune of the Romans were especially displayed. Yet indeed, these tyrants stripped themselves of their security, and, of their own accord, descended from those *very* towers on which the *Romans* indeed could never have taken by force, but on which a famine alone could have subdued. 27 Now after all the great pains spent on conquering the weaker walls, the Romans, by fortune, were able to master what was impregnable by their weapons. For the three towers would have defied every machine.

28 Having then abandoned these *towers*, or rather, having been driven down from them by God, they indeed found immediate refuge in the ravine below *Shiloah*. But after they had recovered slightly from their terror, they rushed upon the circumvallation-wall on that side. 29 But their courage proved unequal to the

occasion (for their strength was now broken in the same way by terror and affliction), *so* they were repulsed by the guards. And dispersing here and there, they sunk down into the underground-passages.

30 But the Romans, now masters of the walls, both planted their ensigns on the towers, and, with applause and jubilation, raised a paean in honor of their victory. They had found the end of the war a much lighter *task* than its beginning. Accordingly, they could hardly believe that they had surmounted the last wall without bloodshed; and seeing no rival, they were truly perplexed.

31 But pouring into the narrow-alleys with short-swords in hand, they both indiscriminately murdered everyone whom they met, and set fire to the houses in which anyone had taken refuge, men and all. 32 Often in the course of their plundering, on entering within, they would find that entire families were corpses, and that the rooms were filled with the carcasses of the famine's victims. Then, standing in horror at this sight, they would retire *outside* empty-handed.

33 Truly, although they pitied those who had perished in this manner, they had no similar feelings for the living; instead, running everyone through *with their weapons*, they indeed choked the narrow-alleys with corpses, but flooded the entire city with blood, even to such a degree that many of the blazes were extinguished by the blood.³

34 And indeed, toward evening, they ceased killing. But when night fell, the fire prevailed. Now on the dawn of the eighth day of the month *Gorpiaios*, Jerusalem was ablaze—35 a city which had suffered so many calamities during the siege, that, had she enjoyed an equal share of good-things from *the time* of her foundation, would certainly have been liable to envy; truly, a city undeserving of these great misfortunes on any other ground, except that she produced a race such as this which brought about her overthrow.

CHAPTER 93 [War6:409-434/ Life:417b-419]

Now when Titus entered the city, he greatly marveled, not only at its strength, but at the towers, which the tyrants, in their mad-folly, had abandoned. 2 Accordingly, he beheld both their solid height, and the magnitude of each rock as well as the exactness of their joinings, and he indeed remarked how great was their breadth, and how extensive their height,⁴ declaring, "A god has yet been warring along with us, and it was a god who ejected the *Judeans* from these fortifications. For what power have human hands⁵ or machines against these towers?"

3 Therefore, he indeed made many similar observations to his friends at that time, but he *also* set free every one of the tyrants' prisoners who were found in the fortresses. 4 Now when, at a later period, he demolished the rest of the city and overthrew its wall, he left these towers as a memorial of his fortune, whose cooperation enabled him to conquer *defenses* which otherwise could not have been taken by him.

5 Now numerous *Judean* survivors still appeared, but since the soldiers were now growing weary of murdering, Caesar directed them to kill only those who were found in arms and opposing them with *hand-to-hand combat*, but to capture the rest of the multitude. 6 Now in addition to those specified in the messages which had been transmitted, the soldiers did away with both the aged and the feeble; but those who were in the prime of life and serviceable, they drove together into the temple, shutting them up in the court of the women.

7 And Caesar indeed appointed one of his freedmen as their guard, but *also* his friend *Fronto*, in order to determine each one's fortune based on their dignity. 8 Now *Fronto* indeed killed all the insurgents and brigands, who indicted each other. But he selected the tallest and most handsome of the youth, reserving them for the triumph.

9 Now as for the remaining multitude: those older than seventeen he sent in chains to the works in Egypt; but Titus sent a great number as presents to various provinces, to be destroyed in the theaters by iron *weapons* and beasts. But those who were under seventeen were sold.

10 Now during the days when *Fronto* was separating these *men*, 11,000 of the prisoners perished from starvation, indeed, due to the hatred bore to them by their guards, but *also* through their own refusal of it when it was offered. But the multitude was so vast that even grain failed to *sustain them*.

11 Now when the city of Jerusalem had been on the verge of being taken, Titus Caesar had repeatedly urged me to take whatever I wanted from the ruins of my fatherland, for he stated that I had his permission to *do so*. 12 But now that my fatherland had fallen, I had nothing precious enough to take and preserve as solace for my personal misfortunes. So I made a request to Titus, that some of the bodies of *my countrymen* might be granted freedom. I also received, by Titus' gracious favor, a gift of holy books. 13 But it was not long after this that I made petition for my brother and fifty friends, and my request was not denied.

¹ may also be translated "consecrated"

² may also be translated "consecrated"

³ may also be translated "murder"

⁴ literally "standing-up"

⁵ literally "hands of humans"

Now by permission of Titus, I also entered the temple, where a large multitude of prisoners, both women and children, had been shut in. I set free as many of my friends and acquaintances as I recognized, who numbered about 190. And I took no ransom for their release *and* restored them to their former fortune.

14 Therefore indeed, the total number of prisoners taken throughout the entire war amounted to 97,000.

But the number of those who perished during the entire siege amounted to 1,100,000.

15 Of these, the greater number were indeed of the same tribe, but not countrymen. For having gathered together from every part of the country for the Festival of the Unleavened, they found themselves suddenly enveloped in the war, with the result that this overcrowding indeed first produced a pestilential destruction, but later the additional and more rapid *scourge* of a famine.

16 Now that the city was capable of containing so many *people* is clear from the census which was taken under Cestius. Because Nerō had held the nation in contempt, *Cestius*, wishing to convince Nerō of the city's strength, entreated the chief-priests to take a census of the multitude, if it was possible to do so. 17 Now during the Passover Festival, the sacrifices are indeed slain from the ninth to the eleventh hour, but a small company gathers around each sacrifice. Since it is not lawful to feast alone, *these companies* are no fewer than ten in number, but the companies often include even as many as twenty. 18 Indeed, *these chief-priests* counted the *sacrificial* victims, which amounted to 256,600. 19 Allowing an average of ten men to feast on each *victim*, the total reaches 2,700,200 persons who were pure and holy. 20 For it was not lawful for those who were afflicted with leprosy or gonorrhoea, or menstruous women, or persons otherwise defiled, to partake of this sacrifice; 21 instead, *it is not even permitted* for foreigners, who are present for worship, *to partake of it*, even though a multitude of these gathered together from abroad.

22 Yet truly, the entire nation had been shut up by necessity¹ as in a prison; and when the war encircled the city, it was packed with men. 23 Accordingly, the fatalities of the multitude outnumbered those of any previous visitation, human or demonic.

Accordingly, when everyone who showed themselves had, indeed, been done away with or taken prisoner by the Romans, they instituted a search for those in the underground-passages; and, tearing up the ground, they killed everyone whom they met. 24 But here they found at least 2,000 corpses: indeed, some of them had been slaughtered by their own *hands*, but some by another's; but the majority had been utterly-destroyed by the famine.

25 But so horrible was the stench from the bodies which met the intruders, that, indeed, many instantly withdrew. But others, possessed by avarice, penetrated further, trampling over heaps of corpses. 26 For many precious objects were found in these passages, and the hope of gain legalized every way of acquiring it.

But many of the tyrants' prisoners were also brought up, for *the tyrants* did not abandon their cruelty *even* to the very last. 27 Yet truly, God visited both with deserving vengeance. And indeed, as for Johanan, perishing of hunger along with his brothers in the underground-passages, he begged the Romans to give him their right hand, a *pledge* which he had so often spurned. But as for Simon, after a long struggle with necessity, he surrendered. 28 Indeed, *Simon* was reserved for slaughtering at the triumph, while Johanan was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment.

Now the Romans set fire to the outlying quarters of the town and entirely-demolished its walls.

CHAPTER 94 [War6:435-442 / Ant10:276b-280, 267b]

This was indeed how, in the second year of the leadership of Vespasianus, on the eighth *day* of the month Gorpaios, Jerusalem was taken. Now it had also been taken on five previous occasions, though it was now the second time of its desolation. 2 For indeed, Shishak the king of Egypt, and after him Antiochos, then Pompeius, and after them Sossius in league with Hérōdés, took the city *but* preserved it. 3 But before their days, the King of Babel had conquered it and made it desolate.

4 For instead, neither its antiquity, nor its ample wealth, nor its nation diffused over the whole inhabited *earth*, nor even the great veneration of its religious-worship, were sufficient to avert its destruction.

5 Now Daniel wrote about the Roman leadership, and that Jerusalem would be taken by them and the temple made desolate. 6 For not only did he prophesy about future events (as did the other prophets); instead, he even determined the *exact* time of their accomplishment. 7 All these things, as God revealed them to him, he left behind in his writings, so that those who read them and observe how

they have come to pass must be amazed at the honor given to Daniel by God, and learn from *these facts* how deceived are the Epikoureans, 8 who both cast aside foresight from life and refuse to believe that God governs its affairs or that *the universe* is steered to the end by a blessed and incorruptible being so that its entirety may endure, but *who* say that the world runs along automatically without a driver or a curator. 9 If it were without a guardian in this fashion, it would be shattered through taking a blind course and so end in destruction, exactly as we also see ships go down when they lose their helmsmen or chariots overturn when they have no one holding the reins. 10 Therefore, it seems to me, in view of the things foretold by Daniel, that those who declare that God exercises no foresight at all over human affairs have gone far astray from holding a true opinion. For if it were the case, that the world goes on by some automatism, we would not have seen all these things happen in accordance with his prophecy.

11 This was indeed how the siege of Jerusalem came to its end.

CHAPTER 95 [War7:1-5,16-20/ Life:420-422a]

Now as soon as the army had no more *victims* to murder nor to plunder, because no objects remained on which to vent their fury (for they would certainly not have spared anything as long as there remained work to be done), Caesar directed both the entire city and the inner-sanctum to be demolished, indeed, leaving only the greatest of the towers (Fazael, Hippikos, and Miriam), but *also* the portion of the wall enclosing the city on the west. 2 Indeed, *this wall was spared* as an encampment for the garrison which was to remain; but the towers *were also spared* in order to provide indication to *future* posterity of the city's nature and of the strong defenses which had yielded to Roman manliness. 3 But all the rest of the wall which enclosed the city was so completely leveled to the ground that nothing was left for *future* visitors to believe that the spot had ever been inhabited. 4 Therefore, this was indeed the end to which *the follies* of the revolutionaries brought Jerusalem, that splendid city of renown among all humans.

5 Now Caesar indeed decided to leave the tenth legion *there* as a local garrison, along with some swarms of cavalry and companies of infantry.

But having administered everything relating to the war, he longed both to commend all of the armies at once for their great achievements, and to bestow the appropriate rewards upon those who had specially shown themselves to be the best. 6 Now when everyone had been rewarded as he judged each to have deserved, he made prayers on behalf of the whole army. *Then* he descended amidst many acclamations, and proceeded to *offer* a sacrifice of victory. And with a multitude of oxen being brought up beside the altars, he sacrificed them all *and* distributed them to the army for a feast.

7 Now after he had joined in the festivities for three days, he indeed dismissed the rest of the army to their several appropriate places. But he entrusted the tenth legion with the guardianship of Jerusalem, not sending them back to their former *station* beyond the Euphrates.²

8 Now when he recalled that the twelfth legion had, under the generalship of Cestius, succumbed to the Judeans, he indeed banished them from Syria altogether (for they had previously been quartered at Rafanijah), but sent them to the district called Meliténé, beside the Euphrates, which is within the confines of Armenia and Kappadokia.

9 But he thought it fit to retain two of *the legions* with him until his arrival in Egypt. *These were* the fifth and the fifteenth.

10 Now *about this time*, I was sent by Titus Caesar with Cerealius and 1,000 cavalry to a village called Tekoa, in order to prospect whether it was a suitable place for a palisade. On my return, I saw many prisoners who had been crucified, and I recognized three of my acquaintances among them. Now my soul was pained. And coming to Titus with tears, I told him *what I had seen*. 11 Now he immediately directed that they should be taken down and receive the most careful treatment. And indeed, two of them came-to-their-end in the healers' hands, but the third lived.

12 Now when Titus had brought an end to the disturbances in Judah, he conjectured that the properties which I held around Jerusalem would be unprofitable to me, because a Roman garrison was to be quartered there. *So* he gave me another country in a plain.

13 Then *Titus* descended with his army to Caesarea-by-the-Sea, where he both laid-aside the great quantity of his spoils and ordered that his prisoners should be kept in custody; for the winter season prevented him from sailing for Italia.

CHAPTER 96 [War7:21-36]

Now at the same time that Titus Caesar was assiduously besieging Jerusalem, Vespasianus embarked on a merchant's ship, sailing from Alexandria to Rhodos. 2 Now from there, he sailed on triremes. And after touching at all cities which lay

¹ may also be translated "fate"

² Greek / from Persian "Ufratu" / Hebrew "Furat" (also in verse 8)

on his route, he was received everywhere with votive-offerings. *Then* he passed over from Iōnia into Hellas. From there, he set sail from Kerkura to the Iapygian promontory. From there, he pursued his journey by land.

3 But as for Titus, he marched from Caesarea-by-the-Sea *and* passed to Caesarea Philippi, where he remained for a considerable time, exhibiting all kinds of spectacles. **4** Here many of the prisoners were utterly-destroyed: indeed, some were thrown to beasts, but others were *formed into* opposing multitudes *and* compelled to wage war against one another. **5** And it was here that *Titus* was informed of the capture of Simon *son* of Giora, which happened in the following way:

6 During the siege, this Simon had occupied the upper city. When the Roman army had entered within the walls *and* were laying the entire city waste, he, accompanied by his most faithful friends, let himself down with all his party into one of the secret underground-passages. And along with them were some stonecutters who had brought both the required iron *tools* for their occupation as well as provisions sufficient for many days

7 And indeed, they followed the old trench as far as it extended. But when they met with solid ground, they began mining, hoping to be able to proceed far enough to emerge *from underground* in a safe place, thereby escaping in this way. **8** But this laborious experiment proved this hope delusive. For the miners advanced both slowly and with difficulty. Also, the provisions, though distributed by measure, were nearly exhausted.

9 At this, *Simon* thought that he might be able to delude the Romans by creating a *source* of consternation. So he dressed himself in short white frocks and buckled a purple mantle over them. *Then* he arose out of the ground at the very spot where the temple had formerly stood.

10 Therefore indeed, at first, the spectators were aghast and remained motionless. But afterwards, they drew nearer, inquiring who he was. **11** And *Simon* indeed was not willing to *tell* them, but ordered them to summon their leader. And they promptly ran to fetch him, *whose name* was Terentius Rufus. For he had been left as chief of the army. Now when he arrived, *and* had ascertained the whole truth, he indeed kept *Simon* in chains, but informed Caesar how he was captured.

12 Therefore indeed, *Simon*, being rightfully-punished for his cruelty to his own citizens, whom he had mercilessly tyrannized, was delivered by God into the hands of his worst foes. **13** Without being subdued by force, *but* instead voluntarily delivering himself up to retribution, he emulated those many *Judeans* whom he himself had cruelly killed on false incriminations of going over to the Romans.

14 For wickedness does not escape the ire of God, nor is justice¹ weak. But not being chastised immediately, they expected that they were able to be delivered from it. But in due time, it tracks down those who have transgressed against it; and upon the wicked, it inflicts no inferior retribution. And *Simon* learned this *law* when he fell under the angry Romans.

15 Now at that time, his emergence from *the ground* also led to the discovery of a multitude of the other insurgents *who were hidden* in the underground-passages.

16 Now when Caesar returned to Caesarea-by-the-Sea, *Simon* was brought to him in chains. Indeed, he ordered the prisoner to be kept for the triumph which he was preparing to celebrate in Roma.

CHAPTER 97 [War7:37-62]

Now during his stay at Caesarea, *Titus* celebrated his brother's birthday with great splendor. And in his honor, he reserved for this festival much of the chastisement intended for his Judean captives. **2** For the number of those done away with either in battles with the beasts or in mutual-slaughters, or being burned to ashes, exceeded 2,500. However, despite the ten thousand countless ways in which their *victims* were destroyed, to the Romans, all this seemed to be *too* small a punishment.

3 After this, Caesar passed to Beirut. Now this city of Phoiniké was a Roman colony. His sojourn here was longer *than the previous one*, *and* he displayed an *even* greater magnificence on the occasion of his father's birthday, both in the costliness of the spectacles and in the ingenuity of the various other items of expenditure. **4** But multitudes of captives were destroyed in the same manner as before.

5 Now about this time, it also happened that the remnant of the Judeans at Antiocheia were under charges and in danger of destruction because the city of the Antiocheians was thrown into confusion against them. This was in consequence, both of the slanders now being laid to their charge, and of certain

incidents which had taken place not long before. **6** Of these, a brief account must be given, in order to make the narrative of the subsequent events easier to follow.

7 For the Judean race is indeed densely scattered among the countrymen of every *region* of the inhabited *earth*, but is particularly numerous in Syria, where intercourse between them is due to the proximity of *the two countries*. There were especially many at Antiocheia, due to the great *size* of that city, but mainly because the successors of King Antiochos had enabled them to settle there free from terror.

8 For Antiochos, surnamed The Illustrious, had indeed laid Jerusalem waste *and* plundered the inner-sanctum, but his successors in the kingdom restored all the votive-offerings which were made of brass to the Judeans of Antiocheia, to be laid up in their congregation. And *the Judeans* were granted civic-rights equal with the Hellenes themselves. **9** Now continuing to receive similar treatment from succeeding kings, *the Judean colony* both multiplied their multitude, and even furnished their temple with extravagance, making it splendid with votive-offerings. They were also constantly attracting a multitude of Hellenes to their religious-rituals, thereby, in some measure, making these *Hellenes* a part of themselves.

10 Now about the time when the war had been declared, but Vespasianus had recently sailed down to Syria, but when every *man's* hatred against the Judeans had reached its height, **11** there was a certain Antiochos, one of their own number. He was highly honored on account of his father (for *his father* was a chief of the Judeans in Antiocheia). When the populace was assembled together, he entered the theater, becoming an accuser to inform against both his own father and the other *Judeans*, accusing them of having taken counsel to burn the whole city to ashes in a single night. He even delivered up some visiting Judeans as accomplices to the plot.

12 Upon hearing this, the populace could not restrain their anger; instead, they indeed directed the *men* who had been delivered up to be instantly consigned to a fire. And all of them were incinerated on the spot in the theater. **13** But believing that the salvation of their fatherland depended on bringing prompt retribution upon the Judeans, they violently rushed upon the multitude.

14 But Antiochos further intensified their anger. Indeed, thinking to furnish proof of his conversion and of his detestation of the Judean customs, he sacrificed after the manner of the Hellenes. **15** Now he also recommended that the rest should be compelled to do the same, for he knew that the *true* conspirators would be exposed in this way by their refusal *to sacrifice*. But when the Antiocheians applied the experiment, indeed a few complied, but those who refused were done away with.

16 But as for Antiochos himself, he procured the aid of soldiers from the Roman leader, *and* domineered over his fellow *Judean* citizens with severity. He did not permit them to rest on the seventh *day*; instead, he compelled them to do everything exactly *as they did* on other days. **17** He also enforced obedience *to this mandate* so strictly, that the weekly day of rest was not only abolished at Antiocheia, *but* instead the example which was started there spread for a short time to the other cities as well. **18** Such were the misfortunes which the Judeans of Antiocheia experienced at that time.

After *these things*, a second misery befell them. **19** For a fire had broken out, which burned the quadrangular marketplace to ashes, both *the* chief-magistrates' quarters, and *the* archives, and the royal *palaces*. But the fire was prevented from spreading its raging-violence over the whole city, but not without difficulty. *But* Antiochos accused the Judeans of this deed.

20 Even if the Antiocheians had not even been previously embittered against *the Judeans*, the commotion produced by the accident would have caused them to be readily misled by *his* slander. *But* after what had previously occurred, they were now much more inclined to believe *Antiochos'* statements, imagining that they themselves had with their own eyes seen the Judeans lighting the fire. **21** So like maniacs, in an insane-passion, they all violently rushed upon the slandered *Judeans*.

22 But only with great difficulty, did Gnaeus Collega, the elder, succeed in restraining their rage, requesting permission to explain the situation to Caesar. For as it happened, Caesennius Paetus, who was the leader of Syria, had indeed already been sent out by Vespasianus, but had not yet arrived there.

23 Now by careful investigation, *Collega* discovered the truth: Not one of the Judeans whom Antiochos had brought incriminations against, had had any part in the affair; **24** but the whole *crime* was the work of some offending humans, who, under the constraint of debts, supposed that if they burned the market-place and the public documents to ashes that they would be liberated from *the demand of having to give it back*.

25 Therefore indeed, under great disorder *and* fear, the Judeans, with these incriminations hanging over them, continued to anxiously await the issue's *verdict*.

CHAPTER 98 [War7:96-162; partially abridged / Life:422b-423a / Ant12:121-124]

¹ literally "righteousness"

Now Titus Caesar indeed stayed for some time at Beirut. But after departing from there, he also both exhibited extravagant spectacles in all the cities of Syria through which he passed, and made his Judean captives serve to *publicly* display their own destruction.

2 In the course of his march, he saw a river. For indeed, it runs between Arka (a city within Agrippa's kingdom), and Rafanijah, but has an astonishing peculiarity. **3** For when it flows, it is a copious stream and has a current which is not sluggish. But then, all at once, its springs fail; and for the space of six days, it leaves a dry channel¹ which can be seen by anyone. **4** Again on the seventh day, as though it had undergone no change *at all*, it pours forth as it did before. And it has always been observed to strictly keep this order; and for this reason, they have called it the Sabbatical *River*, having named it after the consecrated seventh day of the Judeans.

5 But when the populace of the Antiocheians were informed that Titus was approaching, they were indeed so joyful that they could not bear to remain within their walls, but hastened to meet him; **6** and they advanced to a distance of over 30 stadia. This did not include the men only, *but* instead a multitude of women with their little-ones as well, streaming out from the city.

7 When they saw him approaching, they, lining either side of the road, both saluting him with *their* right hands, and, invoking all sorts of acclamations upon him, returned back with him. **8** But all their acclamations were accompanied by an entreaty to throw the Judeans out from their city. **9** Therefore, Titus indeed was unmoved by their petition; instead, he listened in silence to what was said. But the Judeans, uncertain of his opinion and intentions, were kept in great and distressing fear.

10 For Titus did not stay at Antiocheia; instead, he marched straightaway to Zeugma, which lies on the Euphrates.² And there, *some men* from Valash king of Parthia came to attend him, who brought him a golden crown in recognition of his victory over the Judeans. **11** After accepting *this and* providing a banquet for the royal *ambassadors*, he returned from there to Antiocheia.

12 Now the council and populace of the Antiocheians earnestly besought him to visit their theater, where the whole multitude was gathered together to receive him. So he humanely complied. **13** But once more they persistently pressed *him*, and continuously entreated him not to allow the Judeans to continue to have the rights of citizenship, and to expel them from the city.

He gave them this pertinent answer, **14** saying, "Yet how can this be done, since their own fatherland (to where, as being Judeans, they ought to be banished in that case) has been done away with, and no place remains which would now receive them?"

15 Therefore, the Antiocheians relinquished their first request, *and* turned to a second. For they petitioned him to remove the brazen tablets on which the Judeans' rights were inscribed.

16 Truly, Titus would not assent to this either. Instead, leaving the status of the Antiocheian Judeans exactly as it was before, he departed for Egypt. (A similar incident like this also later happened with the Alexandreians). **17** For despite having suffered great hardships in the war with the Judeans, and being bitter toward them because they had not handed over their weapons, but had persisted in warring to the very end, neither did Titus or Vespasianus deprive them of their citizenship. **18** For³ they even overcame their former anger, as well as the demands of *the* Antiocheians (and later the Alexandreians), who were powerful populaces, **19** so that, neither out of favor to these, nor out of hatred of *the people* whose wicked opposition they had warred against, did they yield to dismissing any of the ancient acts of humanities shown to the Judeans. Instead, they said that those who had taken up arms against them, and had engaged in a battle with them, had suffered retribution, *and* they would not allow those who had not sinned to be deprived of their *existing* rights.⁴

20 And on his way to *Egypt*, Titus visited Jerusalem. And he contrasted the mournful scene of desolation before his eyes with the former splendor of the city. And laying to remembrance the magnitude of its broken structures and their old beauty, he felt pity for its destruction. **21** Not boasting, as another might have done, of having taken such a large and great city by *his* might, he instead heaped curses upon the criminals who had been the cause of the revolt, and who had brought this retribution upon it. This was how plainly he showed that he could never have desired for the calamities attending their chastisement to be a demonstration of his excellence.

22 But of the vast wealth which had been in the city, *not even* a small portion remained to be discovered among the ruins. **23** For indeed, much of this the Romans dug up, but the greater part was possessed through the information of the

captives—that is, both *the* gold and silver, and other most precious articles which the owners had stored underground against the uncertain fortunes of war.

24 Now Titus proceeded on his proposed march into Egypt. And he swiftly traversed over the desert *and* reached Alexandria. **25** And here, having determined to sail for Italia, he dismissed the two legions, which had accompanied him, to their respective former stations: indeed, the fifth to Musia, but the fifteenth to Pannonia. **26** But as for the leaders of the captives, indeed, Simon and Johanan, together with 700 hundred men whom he had selected out of the rest as being remarkable for both their size and *their* handsome bodies, he ordered that they be instantly conveyed to Italia, desiring to produce them at the triumph. **27** Now on his departure for Roma, Titus took me as his sailing companion, assigning me every honor.

28 Now after a successful voyage, Roma gave him such a reception and welcome as it had given to his father; but what made it even more illustrious was that Titus was met and received by his father himself. **29** But the multitude of citizens conceived some demonic joy at the sight of the three princes now united together.

30 Now I was given every provision from Vespasianus. For he even gave me an apartment in the house which he had occupied prior to his leadership. He honored me both with Roman citizenship, and he assigned me a pension. And he continued to honor me up to the *time* of his departure from this life, without any abatement in his kindness toward me.

31 Now before many days had elapsed, *the three princes* decided to celebrate their achievements by one common triumph, despite that the council had decreed a separate triumph to each *one*. **32** Now at the break of dawn, on the day when the victory procession took place, Vespasianus and Titus came out, indeed, crowned with laurel and clad in the purple clothes of their fathers, and proceeded to the Octavian Walks. **33** Then Vespasianus withdrew to the gate which, in consequence of the triumphal *processions* always passing through it, has derived its name: *the Gate of Triumph*. **34** Here the *princes* both partook of food, and, having donned their triumphal clothes and having offered sacrifices to the gods who were placed beside the gate, they sent the triumph on its way, riding through the theaters in order to provide the multitudes with an easier view.

35 But among the *vast* procession itself, following many extravagant displays, were moving pageants, many of them being three or four stories high. **36** Now these portrayed the war in numerous representations, in separate sections, affording a very vivid picture of it. **37** For here indeed was to be seen a prosperous country devastated, but there whole phalanxes of their foes killed. And here indeed a *party* in flight, but there others led into captivity. But there were walls of surpassing height demolished by machines, and strong fortresses overpowered, and populous cities with citadels encompassed, **38** and an army pouring within *the* walls, and a region full of murder, and the hands of those incapable of resistance raised as suppliants; also temples set on fire, and houses pulled down over their owners' heads; **39** and after much desolation and dejection, rivers flowing, not over a cultivated land, nor supplying drink to humans or livestock, instead, across a land still being burnt up on every side. For such *sufferings* had happened to the Judeans for *plunging* into the war. **40** Now the art and magnificent workmanship of these *structures* now exhibited the incidents to those who had not seen them, as though they had been there *themselves*. **41** Now on each of the pageants was stationed the general of one of the captured cities in the manner in which it was taken. But many ships also followed.

42 Now indeed, the other spoils were carried in overflowing *heaps*; but the most prominent of them all were *the items* taken from within the Jerusalem temple. Now these consisted of both a golden table weighing many talents; and a lampstand, which was likewise made of gold, but constructed of a pattern completely different from those which we normally use; **43** for indeed, affixed to a pedestal was its central column, but extending from it were slender branches arranged in the fashion of a trident. A wrought lamp was attached to the end of each branch. Now these *lamps* were seven *in number*, indicating the honor of the number seven among the Judeans. **44** Now after these, the last of all the spoils was carried: the law of the Judeans.

45 After these followed many *men* carrying statues of victory, all made of ivory and gold. **46** Behind them, first drove Vespasianus, and then Titus; while Domitianus rode beside them, both in magnificent apparel and mounted on a horse which was a worthy spectacle.

47 Now the procession ended at the inner-sanctum of Zeus Capitolinus. When they reached this place, they halted. For it was an old *custom of their* fathers to wait there until a message was received *stating* that their foes' general had received death. **48** This was Simon son of Giora, who had presently been led in this triumph among the prisoners. Now with a noose thrown around him, *Simon* was tormented by his conductors while being drawn to the proper region in the Forum. Now this was *the place* where Roman law requires that malefactors condemned to death should be killed.

¹ literally "region"

² Greek / from Persian "Ufratu" / Hebrew "Furat"

³ P, Lat / FLAVW "Instead"

⁴ [Ant] P / others "penalty, and it was not right to deprive those who had not sinned"

49 Now after the message arrived that *Simon* had come-to-his-end, and everyone had shouted their applauses, *the princes* began the sacrifices, which had been offered with favorable omens, together with customary prayers. Once finished, they went to the royal *palace*. 50 And they entertained some of *the spectators* at a feast at their own table. 51 For this was a festival day in the city of Roma, indeed, on account of her victory in the expedition against her foes, but also on account of the termination of her native miseries, but also her dawning hopes of prosperity.

52 Now after the triumphs had concluded, and after the Roman leadership was established on the firmest foundation, Vespasianus decided to erect a sacred-precinct of Peace. Now this *temple* was very speedily completed, and in a style surpassing all human conception. 53 For now having demonical resources of wealth on which to draw, he also embellished it with both ancient paintings and sculptures. 54 For into that inner-sanctum were accumulated and stored all such rarities, which in the past, when they previously lay in various countries, humans had eagerly wandered over the whole inhabited earth to see them one after another. 55 Now here, he also laid up the golden vessels from the Judean temple, on which he magnified himself. 56 But their law and the purple veils of the shrine, he ordered to be laid-aside and kept in the royal *palace*.

CHAPTER 99 [War7:163-218 / Ant8:45-49a]

Now Lucilius Bassus had been dispatched to Judah as an elder. And receiving the army from Cerealius Vetilianus, he had reduced the fortress of Hérôdeion, together with its garrison, to surrender. 2 Now he mustered all of the soldiers who were there (now many of these were scattered into detachments, and included the tenth legion), and determined to march against Machairous.

For it was absolutely necessary to eradicate this fortress, lest its strength might be a means inducing many to form a defection. 3 For even the nature of the place was specially adapted to afford its occupants with the firmest hope of salvation, and to deter and instill terror in those who should attack it. 4 For indeed, the unwallled site is itself a rocky eminence, rising to such a great height that, on that account alone, its reduction would be difficult. But nature also machinated to render it inaccessible. 5 For it is ditched on all sides within ravines of a depth not easily perceived, nor easily able to be traversed, and utterly impossible to fill up. 6 For indeed, that *ravine* which hems it in on the west extends to 60 stadia, ending at the Lake of Asphalt. But somewhere in this direction, Machairous itself also reaches its highest overlooking peak. 7 Now the ravines on the north and south, are indeed less extensive than this, but they are equally impracticable for making an attack upon. 8 Now the ravine on the east is indeed found to be no less than 100 cubits in depth, but its limit is a mountain directly opposite of Machairous.

9 In the past, when Alexandros, king of the Judeans, noted these natural advantages of the site, he was the first to enwall it with a fortress, which was subsequently demolished by Gabinius who made war with Aristoboulos. 10 But when Hérôdés had become king, he regarded this place as supremely deserving of attention and of the strongest *fortress*. And this was especially due to its proximity to Arab; for since it faces that land, it is conveniently situated. 11 Therefore, he had indeed enclosed an extensive area with walls and towers, founding a city there, out of which an ascent led up to the mountain-summit itself. 12 Truly, he had built a wall around the peak and erected towers at the corners, each 60 cubits high. 13 But in the center of the enclosure, he had built a royal *palace* with both magnificently spacious and beautiful apartments. 14 Now he also provided numerous cisterns at the most convenient spots to receive the rainwater and to furnish an abundant supply, as if he were vying with nature and endeavoring by these manmade defenses to surpass its nearly impregnable strength which nature had bestowed upon the site. 15 For he even had stocked it with an abundance of projectiles and machines, and studied to make every preparation to enable its inhabitants to defy the longest siege possible.

16 Now within this place once grew a plant of rue of a marvelous size; for no fig-tree surpassed it, either in height or in thickness. 17 Now an account states that it had lasted until the times of Hérôdés (and it would probably have much longer), but it was cut down by the Judeans who later took possession of this place.

18 Now in the ravine which enclosed the city on the north side, there is a place called Ba'arah, which produces a root bearing the same name. 19 Indeed, its color is like that of a flame, but toward evening, it flashes forth a brilliant radiance. And it eludes the grasps of those who approach it with the intention of plucking it, instead, it shrinks up; and it can only be made to stand still by pouring either female urine or menstrual blood upon it. 20 Truly, even then, it is death to those who touch it, unless one succeeds in carrying off the root suspended from the hand.

21 But another danger-free method of capturing it is this: They dig a ring all around it, leaving only a minute portion of the root covered. 22 Then they tie a dog to it; and when the animal runs after the person who tied him, this root is easily plucked up, but the dog dies straightaway—a vicarious victim, as it were,

for the man who intended to do away with the plant; for after this, it is not necessary for anyone to fear handling it.

23 But with so-many dangers, it is eagerly sought after on account of one strength. For if-at-any-time this root alone might be brought to the ones who are-sick, the beings called demons (now these are spirits of wicked humans which crawl into the living men and kill the ones who are not obtaining help) are quickly driven-out.

24 For in the past, God had enabled King Solomon to learn the skill against demons for the benefits and treatments of men. He both composed incantations by which sicknesses are relieved, and left behind forms of adjurations with which those binding demons banish them so that they no longer return. 25 And this form of treatment remains very strong among us even now. For I became acquainted with a certain Eleazar of my own race, who, in the presence of Vespasianus and his sons, and his tribunes, and a multitude of his other soldiers, loosed those possessed by demons. Now this is his particular method of treatment:

26 Taking a ring which had a root from among those prescribed by Solomon under its seal, Eleazar would bring it up to the nose of the demoniac; then, as the demoniac smelled it, Eleazar would draw out the demonic presence through the nostrils. And when the man straightaway fell down, he bound-it-by-oath to return into him no-more, both making mention of Solomon and further speaking the incantations which he had composed.

27 Now Eleazar, wishing to persuade and convince those present that he had this power, first placed a drinking-cup or foot-basin filled with water a short distance away and ordered the demonic presence, which was now outside this man, to knock these over, and so cause the spectators to see that it had left the man. 28 Now when this happened, the sagacity and wisdom of Solomon became evident through this.

29 Now also throughout the place are flowing springs of warm waters, differing much from one-another in their taste. For indeed, some are bitter, but the others are lacking nothing of sweetness. 30 But there are many geysers of cold waters, which are not solely confined to the low-lying-ground, where the springs gush forth beside-one-another. 31 Instead, what is even more marvelous to be seen, is what is above a certain cave; for its cavity is not deep, but is covered by a projecting rock. Above this rock, there are two breasts, as it were, a little distance apart: and indeed, one yields running-water which is extremely cold, but the other extremely hot. When these waters are mixed together, they compose a most pleasant bath, also possessing general medicinal properties, but particularly, restoration to the sinews. But there are also sulfur and alum mines here.

32 Now after Bassus had reconnoitered this place on all sides, he decided to approach it by filling up the ravine on the eastern side. So he now applied himself to this task, laboring to raise the embankment as soon as possible, and thereby to facilitate the siege.

33 Now as for the Judeans who were shut up within there, they separated themselves from their foreign colleagues; and regarding those foreigners as a mere crowd, they indeed compelled them to remain in the lower city and to intercept the first dangers; 34 while they themselves seized and held the fortress above, both on account of the strength of its defenses, and to make a provision for their own salvation. For they conceived that they might obtain pardon, if they were to surrender that place to the Romans.

35 But first, they wanted to put to the test their hopes of escaping a siege. And they daily made eager sallies and grappled with those at work on the mound. Indeed, many of their own men died, but did away with many of the Romans.

36 But it was always the opportunity which presented itself which was the judge in deciding the victory for either side: indeed, of the Judeans, if they fell upon their enemies when they were off their guard; but of the Romans on the mounds, if they foresaw the Judean sally and received it in a formation of defense. 37 Instead, it was not these encounters which were destined to end the siege; but a casual and surprising incident forced the Judeans to surrender the fortress.

38 Among the besieged Judeans was a youth both of daring boldness and with an efficacious hand, whose name was Eleazar. 39 Now he had distinguished himself in the sallies by encouraging most of his comrades to come out and hinder the progress of the earthworks, and themselves in the battle by frequently making terrible havoc of the Romans, thereby easing the assault for everyone who ventured out with him, but covering their retreat by being the last to withdraw.

40 And on one occasion, when the battle was over and both sides had retired, Eleazar, haughty and assuming that none of their foes would resume the battle at that time, remained outside the gates conversing with his comrades on the wall, where his concentration was entirely devoted to them.

41 Now a soldier in the Roman encampment, whose name was Rufus, of Egyptian race, spied his opportunity. And making a sudden dash upon Eleazar, he lifted him up, weapons and all, while those who saw it from the wall were paralyzed with consternation. So he succeeded in transporting the fellow to the Roman encampment.

42 Now the Roman general directed *Eleazar* to be stripped and carried to the spot most exposed to the view of the onlookers in the city, where he was severely tormented by whips. The Judeans were profoundly affected by the youth's fate; and the city, with one voice, burst into such wailing and lamentation that seemed to far exceed what would be expected for the calamity of a mere individual.

43 Observing this, Bassus proceeded to formulate a stratagem against his foes, and was desirous to intensify their distress in order to compel them to purchase the man's salvation by the surrender of the fortress; in this hope, he was not disappointed. 44 For indeed, he ordered a cross to be erected, as though he were intending to have *Eleazar* immediately hung upon it. But at this sight, those in the fortress were seized with deeper dismay; and with piercing shrieks, they exclaimed that this was unbearable.

45 At this, *Eleazar* besought them not to abandon him to suffer the most miserable of deaths; and to concern themselves about their own salvation by yielding to the might and fortune of the Romans, who had subdued everyone.

46 But *these men* were also overcome by his appeals, which were even backed by many intercessors within the city (for he came from a great and extremely populous family). So they yielded to a compassion contrary to their nature. 47 And they immediately dispatched a deputation to discuss the surrender of the fortress, and their desire for permission to depart from there free from terror, taking *Eleazar* along with them.

48 Now when the Romans and their general accepted these terms, the multitude in the city below, heard about the separate agreement which had been made by the Judeans. So they determined on their part to make off secretly during the night. 49 But no sooner had they opened the gates, Bassus was informed about it by those who had made the treaty with him. It is uncertain as to whether *these Judeans* begrudged *Bassus'* salvation, or whether they were terrified of being held responsible for their flight.

50 Therefore indeed, the most courageous of the fugitives contrived to cut their way through and escape. But of those who were left in the city, indeed *the men*, numbering 1,700 were done away with, but *the women* and little-ones were enslaved. 51 But Bassus, holding himself bound to observe his agreement with *the Judeans* who had surrendered the fortress, both let them depart and restored *Eleazar*.

52 Now when Bassus had settled these affairs, he pushed on with his soldiers to the Jarden Forest. For he had received a message stating that many of those who had previously run away from Jerusalem and Machairous during the respective sieges had congregated there. 53 Therefore, on reaching the spot and finding the message correct, he indeed began by surrounding the whole place with his cavalry, in order to prevent the escape of any Judeans attempting to break through. But he ordered the infantry to cut down the trees among which the fugitives had taken cover.

54 Now in this way, the Judeans were reduced to the necessity of attempting some noble feat, in the hope that by contending desperately they might even possibly escape. But in a mass and with a shout, they dashed out and fell upon *their foes* who surrounded them. 55 Now *these Romans* received them stubbornly. And indeed, with much desperation on the one side, but love-of-strife on the other, indeed the battle lasted for no short time.

But the outcome did not turn out as expected for the contenders. 56 For indeed, the Romans lost but a total of twelve *men*, along with a few wounded; but not one of the Judeans escaped from that battle, instead, all of them, not less than 3,000 in number, died. 57 And among *the dead* was their general, Judah the boy of Arei,¹ who had been leading a company at the siege of Jerusalem, and who had secretly escaped from there through some of the underground-passages.

58 Now about the same time, Caesar sent instructions to Bassus and to the procurator Laberius Maximus, directing him to lease out all of the Judean land. 59 For he had not founded any city there, but reserved the place for himself. Now the only exception was Hammat, which is a distance of 30² stadia from Jerusalem, to where he assigned 800 *men*, who had been dismissed from the army, as a place for their habitation. 60 But on all the Judeans, wherever they resided, he imposed a poll-tax, directing each of them to send two drachmas annually into the Capitolium as they had formerly contributed to the Jerusalem inner-sanctum. And this was indeed *the state of* the Judean institution at this time.

CHAPTER 100 [War7:219a, 252-319]

But now, in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasianus, 2 it came to pass in Judah that Bassus had come-to-his-end, and Flavius Silva succeeded him as the leader. And indeed, when he saw that the whole country was now subdued in this war, but that there was only one fortress which was not *subdued*, he gathered together his entire force in the regions and advanced with his army against it.

Now this fortress was called Masada. 3 But *Eleazar*, a powerful *man*, was set over *the Sicarii* who had occupied it. *This man* was a descendant of *the Judah* who had induced no small amounts of Judeans to refuse to register themselves when Quirinius had been sent as censor to Judah. 4 For in those days, the *Sicarii* gathered together against *the Judeans* who consented to submit to Roma, and treated them as foes in every way: indeed, by plundering their property and rounding up their livestock, but by setting fire to their houses.

5 For *the Sicarii* asserted that such persons were no other than foreigners, who so ignobly sacrificed the freedom which the Judeans had battled for, and *who* confessed their preference for slavery under *the Romans*. 6 But in reality, this was but a pretext, put forward by them as a cloak for their cruelty and avarice, as was made evident by their own actions. 7 For indeed, *the people* did join with them in the defection and took their part in the war against the Romans, but only to suffer even worse atrocities at their hands. 8 When they were again convicted of falsehood in this pretext, they continued to further oppress those who had righteously reproached them for their wickedness.

9 For that period had, somehow, become so prolific of wickedness of every description amongst the Judeans, that no evil deed was left unperpetrated; nor was it possible to invent any new form of it, *even* if he wanted to devise it. 10 Everyone had the sickness, both in private and in community life; and they strove to outdo each other, both in acts of impiety toward God, and in unrighteous *deeds* toward their neighbors. Indeed, the powerful *men* injured the multitudes, but the many were eager to destroy the powerful *men*. 11 For indeed, the one part was bent on tyranny, but the other on violence and plundering the prosperous.

12 Therefore, the *Sicarii* were the first to set the example of this transgression of the law and cruelty toward their own kinsmen, leaving no reproachful word unspoken, nor any outrage untried, to the victims of their conspiracy.

13 Instead, even *these Sicarii* were shown to be more moderate than *Johanah* himself; for he not only did away with everyone who proposed righteous and beneficial counsel, treating such persons as his bitterest enemies among all the citizens, no, he, in his public capacity, even loaded the fatherland with ten thousand evils, as one might expect would be inflicted upon humans by one who had already dared to practice impiety even toward God. 14 For both the food that was set upon his table was unlawful, and he even abandoned the rules of purity established by our forefathers; so that it was no longer surprising to find that the human guilty of such mad impiety toward God failed to observe the offices of gentleness and communion with men.

15 Moreover, there was Simon *son of Giora*; what evil did he not commit? Or what outrage did he refrain from inflicting upon the very freemen who had set him up to be a tyrant? 16 But what friendship, but what kindred were there who did not make these men more audacious in their daily murders? For indeed, to injure a foreigner, they considered a work of ignoble wickedness; but to bring cruelty to their nearest relatives, they thought was a splendid demonstration.

17 But even their infatuation was outdone by the madness of the Edomites! For those most abominable wretches, slaughtered the chief-priests, so that no portion of impiety might be maintained. And after this, they proceeded to extirpate whatever remnant was left of our form of polity, and introduced complete lawlessness into every *department*.

18 For in this, the so-called Zealots excelled, a race which justified their name by their actions. 19 For they imitated every evil *work*, nor was there any previous villainy in remembrance which they failed to zealously emulate, 20 although they took their title from their professed zeal for what is good, either in mockery of those whom they treated unrighteously (so brutal was their nature), or by reckoning the greatest of evils as good.

21 For that very reason, each one of these found the fitting end, God deciding to bring deserved retribution upon them all. 22 For every punishment which a human's nature is capable of enduring descended upon them, even to the utmost end of their lifetime, dying amid the agonies of manifold torment. 23 Instead, one might truly say that they suffered less than they inflicted, for no rightfulness-punishment could match *what they deserved*.

24 For the Roman general led his forces against *Eleazar* and his band of *Sicarii* who held Masada. And indeed, while straightaway conquering the whole country, he established garrisons at the most suitable points. 25 He also threw up a wall in a ring around the fortress, in order to make it difficult for any of the besieged *Sicarii* to escape, and posted *men* to guard it.

26 Now he himself encamped at a region which he indeed selected as most convenient for the siege, *at a place* where the fortress' rocks abutted on the adjacent mountain, but which was troublesome to bring in an abundance of necessities. 27 For not only were supplies conveyed from a *great* distance, even entailing hard labor to the Judeans who were appointed to this duty, instead, even water had to be brought to the encampment, since there was no running-water in the vicinity.

¹ [War] C "Jairus"

² [War] some Greek, Latin / most Greek "60"

28 Therefore, when Silva had completed these preliminary arrangements, he turned his attention to the siege, a *siege* which demanded great skill and severe exertion, due to the strength of the fortress, whose nature is as follows:

29 A rock, not small in its circumference and high in length, abruptly ends on every side by deep ravines, the precipices rising sheer from below out of an unseen base. And it was inaccessible to the foot of any living-creature, except for two places where the rock subsides to permit a passage of no easy ascent. 30 Now of these roads: indeed, one leads from the Lake of Asphalt toward the sunrise; but the other, whose ascent is easier, from the west.

31 Now the one is called The Serpent, since it resembles that *reptile* in its narrowness and continual windings. For its *straight* course is broken by the prominences of the cliffs which it skirts around; and it returns frequently upon itself and gradually lengthens out again, thereby making painful headway. 32 Now the *man* traversing this route must firmly plant each foot alternately. But destruction is in full view before him; for on either side yawn cliffs with such a fearsome depth, that it is able to frighten the courage of everyone. 33 Therefore, after following this *route* for 30 stadia, one reaches the peak, which, instead of tapering to a sharp point, expands into a level summit.

34 On this *plateau*, the chief-priest Jonathan first built a fortress and called it Masada; but the subsequent rebuilding of the place employed the serious attention of King Hérodes. 35 For it was he who also first enclosed the entire peak with a stone wall: Indeed, its circuit measured seven stadia, but its height was 12 *cubits*, and its breadth eight cubits. 36 Now on it stood thirty-seven towers, *each* 50 cubits high, from which access was obtained to apartments constructed around the entire interior of the wall.

37 For the *actual* peak, composed of rich soil and softer than any plain, was reserved by the king for agriculture. He did this, so that there would never be a shortage of food *being brought in* from outside, nor might those who entrusted their salvation to the fortress suffer from it.

38 But he also built a royal *palace* here on the western slope, beneath the walls on the summit,¹ but inclining toward the north. Now the wall of the royal *palace* was strong and of great height, each of its four corners having a tower 60 cubits high.

39 The interior's fittings, both of the apartments, and of the colonnades, and of the baths, were of manifold variety and sumptuous: indeed, columns, each formed of a single stone, supported the building throughout; but the walls and floors of the apartments were laid with variegated stones.

40 Now at each spot used for habitation (both those above and around the royal *palace*, as well as before the wall), he had cut out of the rock numerous large tanks, as reservoirs for water. In this way, he was machining a supply of *water* as ample as where running-waters are available.

41 Now an excavated road led up from the royal *palace* to the peak of the summit, which could not be seen from without. Truly, it was not easy for foes to make use of even the plain approaches, 42 for indeed, the eastern road, as previously mentioned, was *nearly* impassable due to its nature. But as for the western *road*, Hérodes barred its narrowest point with a great tower, which *stood* at a distance no less than 1,000 cubits from the summit. Nor was it possible to *bypass* this tower, nor could it be easily captured. But passage was rendered difficult even for travelers who went along without any terror. 43 Therefore indeed, in this way had this fortress been fortified against a foe's onslaught, both by nature and the hands of men.

44 But the stores laid up within *this fortress* would have excited still more amazement on account of their lavish splendor and their durability. 45 For here large quantities of grain had been stored, amply sufficient to last for years. There was an abundance of both wine and olive-oil, along with every variety of pulse and piles of dates. 46 Now all these, Eleazar found in perfect condition when he, along with his Sicarii, occupied the fortress through deceit; and these *things* were no way inferior to the fruits which had been recently laid in, although from the date of storage to when the Romans' captured the place, close to a century had elapsed. Instead, even *the* Romans found the remains of the fruits to be undecayed. 47 But it would not be sinning to attribute such durability to the atmosphere, which, due to the height around the summit, makes it untainted by all earth-like and muddy material.

48 Now there was also found a multitude of weapons of every description, which had been hoarded up by the king, *and* which were sufficient for ten thousand men. Along with these were both unwrought iron, and brass, but also lead.

These preparations, in fact, had been made for severe reasons. 49 For it is said that Hérodes furnished this fortress as a refuge for himself, suspecting a twofold danger: indeed, from the Judean multitude, lest they should depose him in order to restore their former government to power; but the greater and more serious

danger arose from Kleopatra queen of Egypt. 50 For she never concealed her intention; instead, she was constantly importuning Antonius, indeed, urging him to do away with Hérodes, but entreating him to confer the kingdom of Judah upon her. 51 And, far from expecting him to refuse to gratify her, it is rather surprising that Antonius never obeyed her commands, basely enslaved as he was by his passionate-desire for her. 52 Indeed, it was such fears which drove Hérodes to furnish Masada, which he was destined to leave to the Romans as a final work in their war against the Judeans.

53 For the Roman leader, having now completed building a wall around the whole exterior of the place, and having taken the strictest precautions to prevent anyone from escaping, undertook the siege. He had discovered only a single spot capable of supporting earthworks. 54 For at the rear of the tower which barred the road leading from the west to the royal *palace* and the mountain-summit, there was a projection of rock of considerable breadth; and it jutted far out, but was still 300 cubits below the elevation of Masada. Now it was called White.

55 Therefore, Silva ascended and occupied this *rock*, *and* directed his army to raise an embankment. Now working with eagerness and with many hands, they raised a solid embankment 200 cubits in height. 56 Truly, this *embankment* was considered not to have sufficient stability nor dimensions for use as an ascent for the machines; instead, a platform of great stones fitted closely together was constructed on *its top*. The *platform* was 50 cubits, both in breadth and in height. 57 Now the construction of the other machines was similar to those which had first been devised by Vespasianus, but afterwards by Titus for their sieges. 58 And a 60 cubit tall tower was constructed entirely fortified with iron; from these, the Romans released missiles from many sharpened-bolt-launchers and rock-launchers which quickly beat off the combatants on the wall and prevented them from showing themselves.

59 Now simultaneously, Silva, having also furnished himself with a great *battering-ram*, directed it to be set against the wall without intermission. Therefore indeed, though with difficulty, he succeeded in breaking through *the wall*, and demolished a portion of it.

60 But the Sicarii had already hastily built up another wall inside, which was not liable to the same misfortune from the machines *as the former wall*. For this one was pliable and calculated to break the force of the impact. It was constructed in the following manner:

61 Great beams were laid together lengthwise, contiguous, *and* joined at their ends; but of these, there were two parallel rows a wall's breadth apart, and the intermediate space was filled with excavated-soil. 62 But to prevent the *soil* from spreading as the earthwork rose, they laid other transverse beams over them, thereby clamping the beams which lay lengthwise. 63 Therefore indeed, their work gave the illusion that it was authentic masonry. But the blows of the machines were weakened, battering upon a yielding material; and as *the materials* settled down under the concussion, they merely became more solid than before.

64 When Silva observed this, he thought it would be easier to destroy this wall by using fire. So he ordered his soldiers to hurl showers of burning torches at it. 65 Now since it was mainly made of wood, it quickly caught the fire. And due to its porousness, it was burned to its core, blazing up into a mighty flame.

66 Therefore indeed, at the first outbreak of the fire, a north wind blew in the faces of the Romans, making them fearful. For by diverting the flame from above, *the wind* drove it against them. And *fearing* that all their machines would be burned to cinders, they were almost reduced to despair. 67 But then, as if under the foresight of a demon, the wind suddenly veered to the south. And blowing with full force in the opposite direction, it wafted *and flung the flame* against the wall, and its entire core was now completely ablaze.

68 Therefore, the Romans, having God's assistance, returned to their encampment rejoicing, with the determination to attack the enemy on the very next day. And throughout that night, they kept stricter guard, lest any of *the Judeans* should secretly escape.

CHAPTER 101 [War7:320-388]

Truly, Eleazar himself did not contemplate fleeing, nor did he intend to permit anyone else to do so. 2 But indeed seeing the wall consumed by the fire, but being unable to devise any further means of salvation or strong endeavor, but setting before his eyes what the Romans, if victorious, would inflict on them, and their children and women, he took counsel regarding *the death* of all *of them*. 3 And judging that this was the best course to take in their present circumstances, he gathered together the most manly of his comrades *and* incited them to that deed by a speech which he made in the following manner:

4 "Long ago, my good men, we determined never to be enslaved to the Romans, nor to any other except for God, for he alone is *the* true and righteous master of humans. Now, the time has come which directs us to confirm that resolution by our actions.

5 "Let us not, at this crisis, disgrace ourselves—we, who in the past refused to submit even to a slavery involving no danger. But now, let us not, along with slavery, accept the irreparable retributions awaiting us if we are to fall alive under

¹ may also be translated "walls of the citadel"

the hands of the Romans. For we were both the very first to revolt, and are the last who are warring against them. **6** But I also believe, that it is God who has granted us this favor, that we still have it in our power to die beautifully and in freedom, a privilege denied to others who were defeated unexpectedly.

7 “But it is certain, that we will indeed be captured at daybreak. But, there is still the free choice of a noble death together with those whom we hold most dear. For our foes, though they are praying fervently to take us alive, can no more prevent this than we can now hope to have a victory over them in battle.

8 “For maybe, indeed, we ought to have conjectured God’s purpose from the very start, when, having chosen to assert our freedom, we invariably experienced such sore treatment from one another, and still worse from our foes; and to have recognized that the Judean race, once beloved of him, had been condemned to perdition. **9** For had he continued to be gracious, or at least moderately incensed, he would indeed never have overlooked the destruction of so many humans, while abandoning his most holy city to a fire and a demolition by our foes.

10 “But in truth, did we even hope that we alone of all the Judean nation would survive and preserve our freedom, as if we had been sinless toward God and without a hand in crime—we who had even taught the others?”

11 “For this reason, consider how he exposed the vanity of our expectations, by visiting us with such terrible distress exceeding everything that we could anticipate. **12** For not even the impregnable nature of this fortress had availed to bring us salvation. Instead, even ample foods are ours, and a multitude of weapons, and a superabundance of every other requisite, yet we have been deprived, manifestly by God himself, of all hope of salvation.

13 “For it was not of their own accord that the fire which was being driven against our foes turned back upon the wall which we constructed. Instead, all this is the effect of ire against us for the many unrighteous-deeds which we madly dared to inflict upon our fellow-tribesmen. **14** Let us not receive the rightful-punishment of these crimes from the Romans, but instead from God himself through the act of our own hands. Now this will be more tolerable than the other. **15** For in this way, let our women die unmolested, and our little-ones unacquainted with slavery. But once they have died, let us bestow that noble favor upon each other, guarding our freedom as a beautiful funeral shroud.

16 “But first, let us also destroy our money and the fortress by fire. For I am well-assured that the Romans will be grieved to lose our bodies, as well as our wealth. **17** Let us spare nothing but our food. For these will testify, once we are dead, that it was not want which subdued us, but instead, that, in accordance with our initial resolution, we preferred death to slavery.”

18 This was what Eleazar spoke to them. Truly, his words did not touch the mind of every hearer alike. Instead, some, indeed, were eager to respond and were all but filled with pleasure at the thought of such a beautiful death; **19** but others who were softer were moved with compassion for their women and families, but especially even by the vivid prospect of their own end. As they looked upon one another, their tears indicated their unwilling mind.

20 When Eleazar saw them terrified, and their souls dejected in face of such a prodigious proposal, he was afraid that their whimpers and tears might enfeeble even those who had listened to his speech with fortitude. **21** Therefore, far from slackening in his exhortation, he instead roused himself, and, filled with a mighty fervor, spoke a higher flight of oratory concerning the immortality of the soul. **22** Both indignantly protesting and with eyes intently fixed on those in tears, he said:

“I was deeply deceived in thinking that my associates in our struggles for freedom were good men, men who were determined to live beautifully, or else to die. **23** But it seems that you were no better than the common herd, either in excellence or in courage, you who are yet afraid even of that death which will deliver you from the direst miseries; for in such a cause you should neither hesitate an instant, nor wait for a counselor.

24 “For from of old, since the first dawn of intelligence, we have been continually disciplined by these precepts, of our fathers and of the Deity, confirmed by both the works and minds of our forefathers, that life, not death, is a misfortune to humans. **25** For indeed, it is death which gives freedom to a soul and permits it to depart to its own pure habitation, there to be free from all calamity. For as long as a soul is imprisoned in a mortal body and tainted with all its miseries, it is, in sober truth, dead; for the union of what is mortal to what is divine is ill befitting.

26 “Therefore, it is indeed true that a soul possesses great capacity, even while incarcerated in a body; for it makes the body its organ of perception, invisibly swaying it and directing it onward in its actions beyond the range of mortal nature. **27** Instead, when a soul is truly freed from the weight which drags it down to earth and which clings about it, a soul is restored to its proper place; at that time it enjoys a happy strength and a power incapable of being hindered on every side. It remains, like God himself, invisible to the human eyes. **28** For while in a body, it is unseen. For unperceived it comes, and unseen it again departs, indeed itself of a nature one and incorruptible, but one which is responsible for change to a body. **29** For whatever a soul may touch lives and has flourished, but whatever

it has been released from, that object, after being caused to fade-away, dies-off; so abundant is her wealth of immortality.

30 “But let the state of sleep furnish you with a most evident proof of what I say—sleep, in which the soul, not distracted by the body, indeed, enjoys perfect independence, the most delightful repose. But conversing with God on account of kinship with him, the soul indeed ranges everywhere, but foretells many things which are to come. **31** Why then should we be terrified of death, we who love the repose of sleep? But is it not surely foolish to pursue freedom in this life, and yet to begrudge ourselves of what is everlasting? **32** Therefore it was necessary for us (we, indeed who have been disciplined from our own home) to afford others an example of readiness for death.

33 “Instead, if we truly need a faith in this matter from foreign nations, let us look at those Indians who profess the practice of wisdom. For these good men, but indeed reluctantly endure the time of their life as some necessary public-service due to nature, **34** but hasten to release their souls from their bodies. And though no misery impels them nor drives them from the scene, indeed, from sheer preference for the immortal state, they announce to their comrades that they are about to depart; and no one hinders them. No, everyone calls them prosperous men, and each gives them commissions to be carried to his departed loved ones—**35** so certain and absolutely sincere is their belief that the souls converse with one another.

36 “But after hearing these instructions, they commit their bodies to a fire; and, in order that the souls may be separated from the body in the utmost purity, they come-to-their-end amidst hymns of praise. **37** For their dearest friends escort them to their death more readily than do the rest of humans their fellow-citizens when they are starting out on a very long journey. And they themselves indeed weep. But they consider them happy as now receiving an immortal rank.

38 “Therefore, are we not ashamed of being inferior to the Indians? And by our cowardice, of bringing shameful outrage upon the laws of our fathers, which are zealously-desired by all humans?”

39 “Yet instead, even if we had been originally disciplined in the opposite reasonings, teaching that the highest good for humans is life but that death is a calamity—accordingly, the time we are in calls upon us to bear it with a good-heart, since it is by God’s will and of necessity that we are to come-to-our-end. **40** For it is now evident that God has made this decree against the whole Judean race in common, that we must quit this life if we would not make proper use of it. **41** For do not attach the responsibility to yourselves, nor give the credit to the Romans, that this war with them has utterly-destroyed us all. For it was not their might which brought these things to pass; instead, it was the intervention of some more powerful cause which has afforded them the semblance of a victory.

42 “For what Roman weapons, I ask, slew the Judeans of Caesarea? **43** Instead, they had not even contemplated revolt, but were engaged in keeping their Seventh Day Festival, when the Caesarean multitude rushed upon them and slaughtered them along with their women and children, when they had not even lifted up a hand against them. This happened without even the slightest respect for the Romans, who regarded us as foes only when we had revolted.

44 “Instead some might say, that the Caesareans always had a standing quarrel with their Judean residents and seized that opportunity to satisfy their ancient hatred. **45** Therefore, what shall we say of the Judeans in Skythopolis? For they had the audacity to wage war on us on account of the Hellenes; instead, when we resisted the Romans, they refused to unite with us. **46** Moreover, you see how little they reaped from their goodwill and faithfulness to the men of Skythopolis! However, they were ruthlessly slaughtered by them, they and all their families. That was the recompense which they received for their assistance to the men of Skythopolis. **47** For the very same destruction which they had prevented from falling upon their neighbors at our hands, they suffered themselves, as though they themselves had desired to inflict it.

“Time does not permit me to presently name each instance individually; **48** for, as you know, there is not a city in Syria which did not slay its Judean inhabitants and which were not greater foes to us than were the Romans. **49** Yet, even the Damasekians, though unable to invent even a plausible pretext against us, flooded their city with the foulest murder, slaughtering 18,000² Judeans along with their women and families. **50** Now as for the multitude in Egypt, we were informed that those who perished in torments exceeded 60,000.

“Those Judeans, indeed, perished as they did, because they were in a foreign land, where they found nothing with which to rival their foes. But consider all those who have warred against the Romans in their own country; of everything, what did they lack which was able to give them reason of having the sure hopes of a victory? **51** For we even had weapons, and walls, and fortresses nearly impregnable, and a mind undaunted by dangers to be run in the cause of

¹ [War] sc. “to departed”

² [War] manuscripts // Hegesippus “8,000”

freedom—these things encouraged everyone to start a sedition. **52** Instead, these *advantages* availed for but a brief season; and after buoying us up with hopes, proved to be the origin of greater disasters. For all were taken, all succumbed to the enemy, as though rendering their victory *even* more glorious, *while* not *furnishing* the salvation of those who provided *those advantages*.

53 “And indeed, as for those *men* who fell in the battle, they may be fitly called prosperous. For they died defending, not betraying, freedom. But as for the multitude under the Romans, who would not pity them? Who would not hasten to die, before sharing the same fate as them?”

54 “Indeed, some of them have died on the racks or tormented by fire and whips. But others, half-devoured by beasts, have been preserved alive to provide them with a second repast, in order to afford laughter and sport for their foes. **55** Therefore indeed, most miserable of all to be considered are those still alive, who, frequently praying to receive the death, do not have it.

56 “But where is that great city now, or the metropolis of the whole Judean race—or indeed, enclosed behind all those walls, but screened by all those fortresses and massive towers, which could scarce contain her instruments of war, but which held all those tens of thousands of men to fight for her? **57** What has become of her who was believed to have God as her founder? Uprooted from her base, she has been swept away; and the sole memorial that she remains is those who have been done away with, still quartered¹ in her ruins. **58** But unfortunate old men sit beside the ashes of the sacred-precinct, and a few women, reserved by our foe for bitterly shameful reproach.

59 “Now which of us, taking these things to mind, could bear to behold the sun, even though he may live secure from danger? Who is there that is such an enemy to his fatherland, or so unmanly and such a lover-of-his-soul, as to not change his mind because he is even alive at this moment? **60** Instead, I cannot but wish that we had all died before we ever saw that consecrated city demolished by the hands of a foe, that holy inner-sanctum so profanely uprooted!”

61 “But seeing that we have been beguiled by a noble hope (as if we might perhaps find means of avenging her of her foes), but now that hope has vanished and left us alone in our distress, let us hasten to die honorably. Let us pity ourselves, and our children and our women, while it is *still* in our power to show pity. **62** For indeed, we were born for death, *we*, as well as those whom we have begotten; and this, not even the fortunate can escape.

63 “But as for wanton-violence, and slavery, and the sight of our women being led to shame along with their children, these are not necessary evils imposed by nature upon humans; instead, due to their own timidity, *these evils* befall those who, having the chance of forestalling them by death, are not willing to take it. **64** But we, priding ourselves on our manliness, revolted from the Romans; and now, at the *very* last, when they offered us salvation, we did not listen to them.

65 “Moreover, who can fail to foresee their fury if they take us alive? Wretched indeed will be the youths whose vigorous bodies are able to sustain many torments! But wretched will be those more advanced in years, whose age is incapable of sustaining such calamities! **66** Is a man to see his wife led off to violation? To hear the voice of his own son crying, ‘Father!’ when his own hands are bound?”

67 “Instead, while those hands are free and grasp the short-sword, let them render a chivalrous service. Indeed, unenslaved by the foe, let us die as free men. But let us depart this life together with our children and women! **68** This is what our laws direct! This is what our women and children implore of us! *Even* God himself has brought this necessity upon us. The Romans desire the reverse, and their terror is that a single one of us should die before we are taken *by them*.

69 “Therefore, let us make haste to leave them. *And instead* of their hoped-for enjoyment at subduing us, let us leave them with consternation at our death, and admiration of our fortitude.”

CHAPTER 102 [War7:389–406]

Eleazar would have still continued his exhortation, but he was cut short by his hearers; and overpowered by some uncontrollable impulse, they were all in haste to commit the deed. And demon-possessed, they went their way, each one striving to outdo one another and deeming it a signal proof of manliness and good-counsel not to be seen among the last. So great was the passionate-desires which had seized them to slaughter their women and little-ones, and themselves *as well*.

2 And truly, their *ardor* did not lose its edge, as might have been expected, when they approached the task *itself*. Instead, unwavering, they held to the *same* resolution which had been formed while listening to the speech. Indeed, tender-affection for themselves and their relatives remained, but their rationalization, which led them to believe that this was the best counsel which they could have taken for those dearest to them, prevailed over them.

3 For they caressed *and* hugged their women, and embraced their children, planting long kisses and shedding tears. **4** But at that same instant, as though served by hands other than their own, they accomplished their purpose. The only consolation they had for killing them was the thought of the miseries which they would *certainly* endure under their foes. **5** And in the end, not one shrank back from committing this daring-deed; but everyone carried this out upon their relatives.

Wretched victims indeed! Whose distress forced them to *kill* their own women and children with their own hands as being the lightest of evils!

6 Moreover, unable to endure the anguish of what they had done any longer, and feeling they would be acting unrighteously toward those whom they had done away with if they survived them for but a moment, they indeed quickly threw everything which they had acquired into heaps, *and* lit a fire.

7 But they chose by lot ten of them to slaughter the rest. And each laid himself down beside his prostrate wife and little-ones; and throwing their hand around them, they offered themselves in readiness to the slaughterers who accomplished that wretched service. **8** Now when those *ten* had indifferently murdered all of them, they ordained the same rule of *casting* the lot for one another, that the *man* on whom it fell should first kill the *other* nine, and then, last of all, himself. They had such mutual good-courage, that neither in acting nor in suffering would one differ from another.

9 So at the conclusion, the nine indeed placed themselves under the *final* slaughterer. And the last solitary survivor surveyed the prostrate multitude to see whether perhaps amid the shambles there were any still left who needed his hand. Indeed, finding that everyone had been done away with, he set fire to the royal *palace*. But collecting his strength, he drove his short-sword clean through him with his own hand, falling down beside his own family.

10 And indeed, these *people* had died in belief that they had not left a single soul alive among them to fall into Romans hands. **11** But there was an elderly-lady, a woman; and there was another, one of *Eleazar's* relatives, superior to most women in sensibleness and discipline, who along with five little-ones, escaped by concealing themselves in the underground-passages, water being brought there through the earth for them as drink, while the rest were absorbed in the slaughter of one another. **12** The *victims* numbered 960, including women and little-ones. **13** And the tragedy happened on the fifteenth *day* of the month Xanthikos.

13 Now the Romans, expecting a battle, were equipped by daybreak. And having used gangways to form bridges of approach from the earthworks to the *fortress*, they advanced for an assault. **14** But they did not see any of their foes; instead, *they only saw* an eerie solitude on every side, along with a fire within and *otherwise complete* silence. *So* they were at a loss to conjecture what had happened.

And finally, as if it had been a signal to shoot, they raised the war-cry, to see whether they could summon anyone who was within. **15** Now the shout was sensed by the women, who emerged from the underground-passages, *and* informed the Romans of what had been done. One of the two lucidly reported both the speech and how *the deed* was committed. **16** Truly, it was with difficulty that they listened to her, incredulous of such a desperate fortitude.

They also endeavored to extinguish the fire. And quickly cutting a passage through it, they entered the royal *palace*. **17** And here they encountered the multitude of the murdered. They did not exult over them as foes, but admired the nobility of their resolve and the unwavering scorn of death which so many had displayed by carrying it into action.

CHAPTER 103 [War7:407–422, 433–436]

Now that the fortress had been taken in this manner, the general indeed left a garrison in the place, while he himself departed with his force to Caesarea. **2** For not a foe remained throughout the country; instead, its entirety was now subdued by this protracted war, *a war* which had been felt by many even in the most remote parts, and which exposed them to a danger of disorder.

3 But even after this date, at Alexandria in Egypt, many Judeans died. **4** For certain *members* of the Sicarii, who had succeeded in fleeing there, were not content *merely* with having saved themselves, but they again embarked on new deeds, and sought to persuade many of their hosts to contend for their freedom, and to look upon the Romans as no better than themselves, but to esteem God alone as their *only* master. **5** But when certain reputable Judeans opposed them, *these Sicarii* indeed slaughtered them; but the rest they continued to press with solicitations to revolt.

6 But observing their infatuation, the principal *men* of the body of seniors thought that it was no longer safe for them to overlook their proceedings. Instead, they gathered together an assembly of the Judeans *and* exposed the madness of the Sicarii, proving them to have been responsible for all the evils which had come upon them.

7 They said, “And now, these *men*, discovering that even their flight has brought them no sure hope of salvation (for if recognized by the Romans they

¹ others “is the camp of those who destroyed her”

would be destroyed instantly), are seeking to involve in the calamity which belongs to them *alone*, persons who are wholly innocent of their sins.”

8 Moreover, they exhorted the multitude to beware of the ruin caused by these *men*, and about making their peace with the Romans by delivering these *men* up to them.

9 Realizing the greatness of the danger, the *people* complied with this proposal, and rushed furiously upon the Sicarii to seize them. **10** Now indeed, 600 of them were caught immediately. But as for all who escaped into Egypt and into the Egyptian Thebas, it was not long before they were arrested and brought back.

11 There was not a *person* who was not amazed at their endurance, and (call it what you will) desperation or strength of purpose, displayed by these *victims*. **12** For under every form of torture and maltreatment of their bodies devised for the sole objective of making them acknowledge Caesar as master, not a *single* one confessed, nor was brought to the verge of confessing. Instead, all of them maintained their resolve, triumphant over distress, meeting the tortures and the fire with bodies which seemed insensible of pain, and with the souls which nearly rejoiced in it. **13** But what was most astonishing of all to the spectators were the boys of tender age, for not one of them could be prevailed upon to call Caesar master. So far did the strength of courage prevail over the weakness of the body.

14 At that time, Lupus was leader of Alexandria. And without delay, he reported this commotion to Caesar. **15** Now *Caesar*, suspicious of the Judeans’ incessant tendency for a revolution, and terrified that they might once again collect together in force and drew others away with them, ordered Lupus to demolish the Judean inner-sanctum in the district of Honijah. **16** Now this is a *region* in Egypt which was colonized by Honijah son of Simon when he had fled from Antiochos, king of Syria. **17** Now Lupus, the leader of Alexandria, had received Caesar’s documents, and came to the temple of *Honijah*. And after carrying off some of the votive-offerings, he shut up the inner-sanctum itself.

18 Now Lupus came-to-his-end soon afterward, and Paulinus succeeded him in the leadership. This *man* completely stripped that place of its votive-offerings. For he violently-threatened the priests with severe penalties if they failed to produce all of them, nor did he permit anyone who wished to perform religious-observances to approach the sacred-precincts. **19** Instead, when he closed the gates, he debarred all access, leaving no trace of divine worship to remain in that place from that time forward. **20** The duration of this inner-sanctum from its erection to its closure was 343 years.

CHAPTER 104 [War7:437-454 / Life:423b-430]

But like a sickness, the madness of the Sicarii even reached as far as the cities around Kyréné. **2** For a certain Judean named Jonathan, a wicked human and who was by trade a weaver, took refuge in that city. He persuaded not a few of the poorer class, and led them forth into the desert, promising them a display of signs and phantoms.

3 And indeed, his knavish proceedings managed to escape overall detection, but the most worthy *men* among the Judeans of Kyréné brought a message, concerning his exodus and preparations, to Catullus, the leader of the Libyeian league of five cities. **4** So Catullus, sending out both cavalry and infantry, easily overpowered the unarmed *crowd*. And of these, indeed, many perished in hand-to-hand combat, but a few were also taken alive and brought up to Catullus.

5 But as for Jonathan, the leader of the plot, he indeed escaped for the time. But after a prolonged and extremely diligent search through the country, he was finally caught. And when he was brought before the leader, he indeed would machinate a way to elude the retribution himself, but afforded Catullus with an occasion for committing unrighteous-deeds. **6** For indeed, he falsely said that the wealthiest of the Judeans had been the teachers of what he had done.

7 But these slanders were readily entertained by *Catullus*, who invested the matter with serious importance, pompously exaggerating it, in order that he too might be thought to have won a Judean war. **8** But this was *even* more difficult to deal with. For he not only easily believed *his stories*, but actually was a teacher of the Sicarii in false-accounts. **9** Accordingly, he directed Jonathan to name a certain Alexandros (a Judean with whom he had formerly quarreled with, openly disclosing his hatred of him), and also named his wife Bereniké in the incriminations. These indeed were the first whom he did away with.

But after that, he murdered all the wealthy *Judeans* who had money whom he had induced to join him: 2,000¹ countrymen in all met destruction; **10** And this was a step which he thought that he could safely take, since he confiscated their property into Caesar’s revenues.

11 But to prevent any Judeans elsewhere from exposing his unrighteousness, he extended his falsehoods further, and persuaded Jonathan, as well as some others who had been arrested with him, to bring an accusation of a revolution against the most approved *men* of the Judeans both in Alexandria and Roma. **12**

Among those who were plotted against and incriminated in this way, was *I*, Joseph, the author of *this history*. For my privileged position had excited envy and, by it, exposed me to danger.

13 Truly, this fraud did not proceed according to Catullus’ expectation. For indeed, the leader of this country did come to Roma, bringing Jonathan’s party in chains to the emperor, in belief that *these* false-accounts brought up before him and at his instance would be the end of the inquiry. **14** At this time, *Jonathan* asserted that I had sent him with weapons and money.

15 But Vespasianus, truly undeceived by this falsehood, suspected the affair and investigated the facts. And when he discovered that the incrimination laid against these men was unrighteous, he indeed, on the intercession of Titus, acquitted them of the charges. Instead, he condemned *Jonathan* with death. Now Jonathan was handed over, where a rightful-punishment was brought upon him and he died. For he was first tortured, then completely-burned alive.

16 But on that occasion, indeed due to the lenience of the emperors, Catullus suffered nothing worse than a reprimand. But it was not long before he was attacked by a manifold and incurable sickness, departing from *this life* miserably. Not only was he chastised in his body; instead, he had an *even* more burdensome sickness in his soul. **17** For he was haunted by terrors and was continually crying out that he had seen the apparitions of his murdered-victims standing at his side. And, unable to restrain himself, he would leap up from his bed as if tortures and a fire were being applied to him. **18** But his distress continued to grow rapidly worse, and his intestines ulcerated, falling out. This was how he died, affording a demonstration, no less striking than any, how God in his foresight, inflicts a rightful-punishment on the wicked.

19 But even after these things, numerous accusations against me were often fabricated by persons who were envious of my good-fortune. *But*, by God’s foresight, I had escaped from them all.

Now from Vespasianus, I received a gift of a *piece* of land in Judah, which was not small. **20** During this time, I also divorced my wife, being displeased with her behavior. She had borne me three boys: indeed, two of them died; but one, whom I named Hyrkanos, is still around. **21** After these things, I took for myself a woman. Indeed, she had settled in Krété, but was of the Judean race. Her parents were the most noble and the most eminent in that country. In character she surpassed that of many women, as her subsequent life demonstrated. By her I had two boys: indeed, the elder was named Justus, but the next, Simonidés, surnamed Agrippa. **22** This indeed is my domestic history.

Now the *treatment* I received from the emperors continued unaltered. For after Vespasianus had come-to-his-end, Titus, who succeeded him in the government, showed the same honor for me as I had received from his father, and, though I was often accused, never credited *these accusations*.

23 Now Domitianus succeeded Titus and increased my honors. For he both chastised the Judeans who had accused me, and gave orders for a slave, a eunuch and my boy’s tutor, who had accused me, to be chastised. Now he exempted my country in Judah from taxation—a mark of the highest honor to the *privileged individual*. But Domitia, Caesar’s wife, also continued to benefit me in many ways.

24 These indeed are the events of my whole life. But from them, let others judge my character as they wish.

25 But having, most excellent Epaphroditos, rendered you a complete record of our antiquities, I shall here for the present conclude the history,² which we have promised would be related with every accuracy for the information of those who wish to learn how this war was waged by the Romans against the Judeans. **26** And indeed, its rendering must be left to the judgment of my readers. But I would not hesitate to boldly say that, throughout this entire composition, truth has been my single aim.

CHAPTER 105 [Ant20:224-251]

Now I think it is necessary and befitting in this history to provide details about the chief-priests: how they began, and who may lawfully participate in this honor, and how many there were up to the end of the war.

2 Therefore, it is indeed said that Aaron, the brother of Moses, was the first to act as chief-priest to God. But after he had come-to-his-end, his boys straightaway succeeded him. Thereafter, the honor remained permanently with all their descendants. **3** And for this reason, it is a tradition that no one should hold God’s chief-priesthood except for *the man* who is of Aaron’s blood; but that no one of another lineage, even if he were a king, should attain to the chief-priesthood.

4 Therefore, the total number of chief-priests beginning from Aaron up to Phinehas³ (who was appointed chief-priest by the revolutionary party during the war), is 83.

¹ [Life] // [War] “3,000”

² [War] // [Life] “account”

³ [Ant] // [War] “Phannias”

5 Of these, thirteen served as chief-priests from the sojourn in the wilderness in the days of Moses, when the Dwelling was standing which Moses constructed for God, until the arrival in Judah, when King Solomon erected the inner-sanctum to God. 6 For at first, they held the chief-priesthoods until *the* end of their lifetime, but afterwards also succeeded to it while their predecessors were living. Moreover, these thirteen, being descendants of Aaron's two boys, received the office in succession. Now their first constitution was indeed an aristocracy, but then a monarchy, but thirdly came the kings.

7 Now after these thirteen chief-priests, eighteen others held the chief-priesthood in succession from the time of Solomon, who was king in Jerusalem, until the time when Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babel, led his army against the city; indeed, he set fire to the inner-sanctum, but carried away our nation to Babel, and took the chief-priest Jehozadak captive. 8 During this time, the Judeans were governed by kings.

9 But after a period of seventy years of captivity under the Babelians, Cyrus,¹ king of the Persians, freed the Judeans from Babel, and permitted them to return to their own land and to rebuild the inner-sanctum. 10 At that time, Jeshua son of Jehozadak, who was one of the captives who returned,² assumed the office of chief-priest. Now he and his descendants, fifteen in all, *held the honor* until the reign of Antiochos the Noble-Father; but they lived under a democratic form of government.

11 But the previously mentioned Antiochos, and his general Lusias, were the first to depose anyone from the chief-priesthood. *They did this to* Honijah, surnamed Menelaos. *For they did away with him at* Beroia, and excluded *his son* from the succession, *and* appointed Joakim as chief-priest, *a man* who was indeed of Aaron's line, but not of the same family as Honijah.

12 And in consequence of this, Honijah (who was the nephew of the Honijah who had come-to-his-end, *and* who bore the same name as his father), made his way to Egypt. And there he won the friendship of Ptolemaios the Mother-lover and his wife Kleopatra, *and* persuaded them to build an inner-sanctum to God in the district of Héliopolis, *a temple* similar to the one at Jerusalem, *and* to appoint him as chief-priest.

13 Now Joakim came-to-his-end after holding the chief-priesthood for three years, but no one succeeded him. Instead, the city continued for seven years without a chief-priest. 14 But the descendents of *the* boys of Hasimoni were entrusted with the governorship of the nation; and after war had been waged against them, *and* they had taken the offensive against the Makedonians, they resumed the tradition, appointing Jonathan as chief-priest. He held the chief-priesthood for seven years.

15 Now when he came-to-his-end in a plot and ambush machinated by Truphōn, his brother Simon obtained the chief-priesthood. 16 But Simon was also killed by the deceit of his son-in-law at a banquet, after he had held the chief-priesthood one year longer than his brother. He was succeeded by his boy named Hyrkanos, who, after enjoying the office for thirty-one years, came-to-his-end in old age, leaving the succession to Judah, who was also called Aristoboulos.

17 Indeed, *Judah* came-to-his-end due to illness, but after having held the chief-priesthood for one year, together with the kingship; for Judah also put the diadem upon his head for a single year, being the first to hold both offices. Now his heir was also his brother Alexandros.

18 But *Alexandros* departed this life after holding the kingship, together with the chief-priesthood, for 27 years, entrusting his wife Alexandra with the appointment of a successor to the chief-priesthood. Now she indeed gave the chief-priesthood to Hyrkanos, but occupied the kingship herself for nine years, after which she came-to-her-end from this life.

Now her boy Hyrkanos held the chief-priesthood for an equal duration. 19 For after her death, *Hyrkanos'* brother Aristoboulos made war upon him, and was victorious over him, indeed depriving him of the government; but he himself became both king and chief-priest of the nation. 20 But in the third year of his reign and after as many months, Pompeius came and took the city of the Jerusalemites by storm; indeed, he sent him with his children to Roma in chains. But he restored the chief-priesthood to Hyrkanos; indeed, he permitted him to be in charge of the nation, but forbade him to wear a diadem. 21 Now Hyrkanos ruled for 24 years, in addition to the nine years of his previous *rule*.

But Barzafama³ and Pakor, the rulers of Parthia, crossed the Euphrates,⁴ and made war on Hyrkanos; indeed, they captured him alive, but appointed Antigonos son of Aristoboulos as king. 22 Now when he had ruled for three years and three months, both Sossius and Hērōdēs besieged him *and* captured him. But when he had been taken to Antiocheia, he was done away with by Antonius.

23 Now when Hērōdēs was made king by the Romans, he abandoned the practice of appointing those of Hasimonia lineage as chief-priests. Instead, with the exception of Aristoboulos alone, he even assigned the honor to some insignificant persons who were merely of priestly descent. 24 Now Hērōdēs appointed Aristoboulos as chief-priest, *who was* the grandson of that Hyrkanos who was taken captive by the Parthians. *And Hērōdēs* married *Aristoboulos'* sister Miriam, hoping to win the goodwill of the multitude for himself, thanks to their recollection of Hyrkanos. Then, fearing that everyone would incline to Aristoboulos, he did away with him at Jericho by machinating to have him strangled while swimming.

25 Moreover, after this, *Hērōdēs* ceased to entrust the chief-priesthood to the descendants of *the* boys of Hasimoni. But Hērōdēs' boy Archelaos also followed a similar policy in the appointment of chief-priests, and so did the Romans after him when they took over the Judean government.

26 Therefore, those who held the chief-priesthood from the times of Hērōdēs up to the day on which Titus captured *and* set fire to the inner-sanctum and the city, numbered 28 in all. 27 And indeed, some of these were the politicians during the reigns of Hērōdēs and his boy Archelaos. But after the end of them, the polity indeed became an aristocracy, but the chief-priests were entrusted with being in charge of the nation.

EPILOGUE [Life:361-367, 336-338, 357-360 / Apion1:47, 50-52, 55]

Now when I had leisure in Roma, *and* when all the work was prepared, having made use of some collaborators for the Hellenistic language, I also constructed my account of the events, writing a truthful account of the whole war and its individual details, having been present myself at all the events. But I was so confident of its truthfulness that I decided to use as testimonies, before everyone else, the emperors during the war: Vespasianus and Titus. 2 For being conscious that I had preserved the truth, I delivered the books to them first of all, when the deeds had barely passed out of view. *And* as I was expecting to receive their endorsement, I was not disappointed. 3 But after them, I immediately delivered and sold copies of the history to many Romans who had fought with them in the war; but *also* to many of our own *people*: men also steeped in Hellenistic wisdom, among whom were Julius Archelaos, the most distinguished Hērōdēs, *and* the most renowned King Agrippa himself, and certain relatives of his.

4 These all bore witnesses that I had carefully safeguarded the truth. They would not have held back and kept silent if, out of ignorance or bias, I had altered or omitted any of the facts. 5 For indeed, the emperor Titus so wished that the knowledge of these events should be transmitted to the humans from these *volumes* alone, that he signed them with his own hand, ordering their publication. 6 And the king, Agrippa, wrote sixty-two letters testifying to the truth of *the record*. And two of these I have subjoined:

7 King Agrippa to dearest Joseph, greetings.

I have perused the book with the greatest pleasure. And it seems to me that you have accurately described *the events* you have portrayed with superior care. But send me the rest also. Farewell.

8 King Agrippa to dearest Joseph, greetings.

From what you have written, you appear to stand in no need of instruction, enabling all of us to learn *everything from you* from the beginning. However, whenever you visit me next, I myself will also inform you of many things which are not known.

9 Now he was not flattering my finished history, nor was he using irony (for he was far above such bad character). Instead, he testified to the truth in the same way as all those have done who have perused these histories.

10 Now Justus of Tiberias *also* wrote a treatise concerning these things, who, indeed professed to write history, but had little regard for the truth and did not recoil from the false *even in unimportant details*.⁵ 11 For indeed, this type of procedure certainly resembles those who forge documents, but, having no terror of retribution, they disdain the truth. 12 Accordingly, when Justus took it upon himself to portray the events related to the war, he, indeed, told lies about me in order to have the appearance of being industrious, but did not even tell the truth about his own fatherland.

13 But I cannot but wonder at your shamelessness, that you dare to say that you have sent out a better message about this subject than everyone *else* who has written about it, though you have come to know nothing of what happened throughout Galilee. For at that time, you were in Beirut with the king. Nor did you

¹ Persian "Kurus"

² [Ant] E "Jehozadak, who had been taken captive, being one of those who returned"

³ Emendation based on earlier narrative (Gk "Barzaphranes") / manuscript "Barzabanes"

⁴ Greek / from Persian "Ufratu" / Hebrew "Furat"

⁵ [Life] A adds

follow what the Romans endured at the siege of Jodphat, or what they did to us. And you were unable to discover what I myself did during the siege, for all those who brought messages were utterly-destroyed in the pitched-battle.

14 Instead, you claim to have accurately portrayed what happened throughout Jerusalem. And how is that possible? For you were neither involved in the war, nor have you perused the commentaries of Caesar. But *of this, I have* the greatest proof. For the writing you composed is in opposition to what is in the commentaries of Caesar.

15 But if you are so confident to claim that you have portrayed things better than all others, why did you not publish your history while the emperors Vespasianus and Titus, who conducted the war, were living, and while King Agrippa was still around, along with those of his family—men who had reached the highest degree of Hellenistic discipline? **16** For you had it written twenty years ago, when it was also possible for you to have obtained the testimony of your accuracy. But now that those men are no longer with us, you become courageous, not imagining that you will be exposed.

17 But I wrote the history of the war, having indeed been personally involved in many events, but an eyewitness of most of them; but not in the slightest *bit* deficient in my knowledge of anything which was said or done.