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ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Δ'

1 (i. 1) "Οσοι δὲ μετὰ τὴν Ἰωταπάτων ἀλωσιν Γαλιλαίου Ῥωμαίων ἀφεστήκεσαν, οὕτω τῶν ἐν Ταριχαιαίς ἦττηθέντων προσεχώρουν, καὶ παρέλαβον πάντα Ῥωμαίοι τὰ φρούρια καὶ τὰς πόλεις πλὴν Γισχάλων καὶ τῶν τὸ 'Ἰταβύριον ὄρος κατειληφότων. συνέστη δὲ τούτως καὶ Γάμαλα πόλις Ταριχαιῶν ἀντικρυ ύπὲρ τὴν λίμνην κειμένη. τῆς δ' Ἀγρίππα λήξεως αὐτῆ τε ἦν καὶ Σωγάνη καὶ Σελεύκεια, καὶ αἱ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Γαυλανίτιδος ἀμφότεραι· τοῦ γάρ ἄνω καλουμένου Γαυλανά μέρος ἦν ἡ Σωγάνη, τοῦ κάτω δὲ ἡ Γάμαλα. Σελεύκεια δὲ πρὸς τῇ Σεμεχωνίτων λίμνη. ταύτη τριάκοντα μὲν εὐρὸς, ἐξήκοντα δὲ μῆκος στάδιον·

a Usually identified with Kulat el Hοsn, close to the E. side of the lake, opposite Tiberias; by others with Dschamle, a day's journey E. of the lake, Schürer, G.J. V., i. 615 f. At the opening of the war it kept its allegiance to Rome, under the influence of Agrippa's officer Philip, Vita 46-61; afterwards it joined the insurgents.
HISTORY OF THE JEWISH WAR AGAINST THE ROMANS

BOOK IV

(i. 1) Such Galilaeans as after the fall of Jotapata still remained in revolt from Rome now, on the reduction of Tarichaeae, surrendered; and the Romans received the submission of all the fortresses and towns except Gischala and the force which had occupied Mount Tabor. Gamala was also in league with these rebels, a city situated on the other side of the lake, opposite Tarichaeae. Gamala formed part of the territory allotted to Agrippa, like Sogane and Seleucia; Gamala and Sogane were both in Gaulanitis, the latter belonging to what is known as Upper, the former to Lower, Gaulan; Seleucia was near the lake Semechonitis. That lake is thirty furlongs in breadth and sixty in length; but its

b Sogane (in Gaulan, unidentified; distinct from S. in Galilee) and Seleucia (Selukiyyeh, N.E. of Bethsaida Julias) are mentioned together in Vita 187, B. ii. 574, as places fortified by Josephus.

c Baheiret el Huleh, the little lake N. of Gennesaret; B. iii. 515. Its length as here given (60 " stades" = nearly 7 miles) must include part of the northern marshes; the dimensions on the modern map are 4 miles by 3 (at its broadest part).
diateînei ὃ' αὐτῆς τὰ ἐλη μέχρι Δάφνης¹ χωρίον τά τε ἄλλα τρυφεροῦ καὶ πηγὰς ἔχοντος, αἱ τρέφουσαι τὸν μικρὸν καλοῦμενον Ἰορδανοὺν² ὑπὸ τὸν τῆς χρυσῆς βοὸς νεῶν προπέμπουσι τῷ μεγάλῳ. 4 τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Σωγάνης καὶ Σελευκείας³ ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρχην τῆς ἀποστάσεως δεξιὰς Ἀγρίππας προσηγάγετο, Γάμαλα δ' οὐ προσεχώρει πεποιθεία 5 τῇ δυσχωρίᾳ πλέον τῶν ᾠνταπάτων. τραχὺς γάρ αὐχὴν ἄφ᾽ ὑψηλὸν κατατείνων ὄρους μέσου ἐπαίρει τένοντα, μηκύνεται δ' ἐκ τῆς ὑπεροχῆς εἰς τοῦμπροσθεὶν ἐκκλίνων ὀσον κατόπιν, ὡς εἰκάζεσθαι καμήλω τὸ σχῆμα, παρ᾽ ἦν ὀνόμαστα, τὸ τρανὸν τῆς κλήσεως οὐκ ἐξακριβοῦντων τῶν 6 ἐπιχωρίων. κατὰ πλευρὰς μὲν δὴ καὶ πρόσωπον εἰς φάραγγας ἀβάτους περισχίζεται, τὸ κατ᾽ οὐρὰν δ᾽ ὄλιγον ἀναφεύγει τὰς ⁶ δυσχωρίας, θετεὶ ἀπήρτηται τοῦ ὄρους καὶ τοῦτο δ᾽ ἐπικαρσία παρακόψαντες τάφρῳ δύσβατον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι κατ᾽ ἐσκεύασαι. πρὸς ὀρθίως δὲ τῇ λαγὸν δεδομέναι πεπύκνωστο δεινὸς ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλαις αἱ οἰκίαι, κρημνιζομένῃ τε ἡ πόλις ἑοικοῦ κατέτρεχεν εἰς ⁸ ἑαυτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀξύτητος. καὶ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν μὲν ἐκλινεὶ, ὁ νότιος δ' αὐτῆς ὀχθὸς εἰς ἄπειρον ὄψος ἀνατείνων ἀκρα τῆς πόλεως ἦν, ἀτείχιστος

¹ Δανῆς Reland; cf. A. viii. 226.  
² PA (as in A. vii. 210 +): Ἰορδάνην the rest.  
³ Niese: ἐπὶ Σωγάνην κ. Σελεύκειαν mss.  
⁴ L: ἐπὶ PA: παρὰ the rest.  
⁵ A Lat.: πλευρὰν the rest.  
⁶ Niese: τῆς mss.  

* Probably Khurbet Dufna, a little S. of Dan (Laish), the source of one tributary of the Jordan.
marshes extend as far as Daphne, a delightful spot with springs which feed the so-called little Jordan, beneath the temple of the golden cow, and speed it on its way to the greater river. Now Sogane and Seleucia had quite early in the revolt been induced by Agrippa to come to terms; but Gamala refused to surrender, relying even more confidently than Jotapata upon the natural difficulties of its position. From a lofty mountain there descends a rugged spur rising in the middle to a hump, the declivity from the summit of which is of the same length before as behind, so that in form the ridge resembles a camel; whence it derives its name, the natives pronouncing the sharp sound of that word inaccurately. Its sides and face are cleft all round by inaccessible ravines, but at the tail end, where it hangs on to the mountain, it is somewhat easier of approach; but this quarter also the inhabitants, by cutting a trench across it, had rendered difficult of access. The houses were built against the steep mountain flank and astonishingly huddled together, one on top of the other, and this perpendicular site gave the city the appearance of being suspended in air and falling headlong upon itself. It faced south, and its southern eminence, rising to an immense height, formed the citadel:

b One of the two golden calves erected by Jeroboam at Dan and Bethel respectively (1 Kings xii. 29, Jos. A. viii. 226).

c The eastern stream descending from Caesarea Philippi, Banias.

d i.e. they slurried the sharp (lit. "clear") K into T, calling it Gamala, not Kamala. The remark is made purely from the Greek point of view; "camel" both in Hebrew (Gāmāl) and in Aramaic (Gamlā’) has initial G.
JOSEPHUS

[ὄ]¹ δὲ ὑπ'² αὐτῇ³ κρημνὸς εἰς τὴν βαθυτάτην κατατείνων φάραγγα: πηγὴ δ' ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους, ἐφ' ἥν τὸ ἀστυ κατέληγεν.

9 (2) Οὐτωσ οὖσαν φύσει δυσμήχανον⁴ τὴν πόλιν τειχίζων ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐποίησεν ὀχυρωτέραν ὕπο-

νόμοις τε καὶ διώρυξεν. οἱ δ' ἐν αὐτῇ φύσει μὲν τοῦ χωρίου θαρραλεότεροι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰωτα-

πάτην ἦσαν, πολὺ δ' ἐλάττους μάχιμοι, καὶ τῷ τόπῳ πεποιθότες οὔδε πλείονας ὕπελάμβανον.

πεπλήρωτο γὰρ ἡ πόλις διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα συμφυγόντων· παρὸ καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' Ἀγρίππα προ-

πεμφθείσων ἐπὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀντεῖχεν ἐπὶ μῆνας ἐπτά.

11 (3) Ὀυσπάσιανός δ' ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀμμαθοῦς, ἔνθα πρὸ τῆς Τιβεριάδος ἐστρατοπεδεύκει: μεθ-

ερρημισομένη δ' Ἀμμαθοῦς θερμὰ λέγοιτ' ἄν, ἔστι γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ πηγῆ θερμῶν ὕδατων πρὸς ἀκειν ἐπιτηδείων· ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὴν Γάμαλαν.

12 καὶ πάσαν μὲν κυκλώσασθαι φυλακῇ τὴν πόλιν οὐχ οἶος τε ἢν οὕτως διακειμένην, πρὸς δὲ τοῖς δυνατοῖς φρουροῖς καθίστησι καὶ τὸ ὑπερκείμενον

13 ὄρος καταλαμβάνεται. τειχισμένων δὲ ὡσπερ ἐθεος τῶν ταγμάτων ὑπέρ αὐτοῦ στρατόπεδα χωμάτων ἦρχετο κατ' οὐράν, καὶ τὸ μὲν κατ' ἀνατολάς αὐτῷ μέρος, ἦπερ δ' ἀνωτάτῳ τῆς πόλεως πύργος ἦν, ἑχοῦ⁵ τὸ πέμπτον καὶ δέκατον
tάγμα, τὸ πέμπτον δὲ <τὰ> κατὰ μέσην ἐξευργά-

1 ins. PAL.
2 Niese: ὑπὲρ mss., περὶ Destinon perhaps rightly (cf. § 74).
3 αὐτῇ L.
4 δ' ὅσμαχον C and perhaps Lat.
5 Destinon: ἐφ' ὁ δ' mss. The text of the next line is uncertain: I follow Niese, who inserts the bracketed τὰ.
below this an unwalled precipice descended to the deepest of the ravines. There was a spring within the walls at the confines of the town.

(2) This city, which nature had rendered so impregnable, Josephus had fortified with walls and secured still further by mines and trenches. Its occupants felt greater confidence in the nature of their site than did those of Jotapata, though far inferior to them in the number of combatants: indeed such trust had they in their position that they would admit no more. For the city was packed with fugitives owing to the strength of its defences, which had enabled it to hold out for seven months against the force previously sent by Agrippa to besiege it.

(3) Vespasian now broke up the camp which he had pitched in front of Tiberias at Ammathus (this name may be interpreted as "warm baths," being derived from a spring of warm water within the city possessing curative properties) and proceeded to Gamala. Finding the complete investment of a city in such a situation impossible, he posted sentries wherever this was practicable and occupied the mountain that overhung it. The legions having, according to custom, fortified their camps on these heights, Vespasian commenced the erection of earthworks at the tail end; those on the east of the ridge, over against the point where stood the highest tower in the town, were raised by the fifteenth legion, those opposite the centre of the city were undertaken by

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*a B. ii. 574.*

*b Under Aequus Modius, *Vita* 114.*

*c *Hammam*, between Tiberias (N.) and Tarichaeae (S.); cf. *B. iii.* 462, and for the warm baths *A. xviii.* 36.*
ζητο την πόλιν, τάς δὲ διώρυγας ἀνεπλήρου καὶ
14 τάς φάραγγας το δέκατον. καὶ τούτω προσελθόντα
τοῖς πείχεσιν Ὁγρίππαν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ περὶ
παραδόσεως τοῖς ἐφεστώσι πειρώμενον διαλέγεσθαι
βάλλει τις τῶν σφενδονητῶν κατὰ τὸν δεξιόν
15 ἁγκώνα λίθων, καὶ δὲ μὲν υπὸ τῶν οἰκείων θάττον
περιεσχέθη, ὉΡωμαίοις δὲ ἐπήγειρεν εἰς τὴν
πολιορκίαν ὄργη τε περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ περὶ
16 σφών αὐτῶν δέος, οὐ γὰρ ἀπολείψειν ὑμότητος
ὑπερβολή καὶ ἀλλοφύλων καὶ πολεμίων τοὺς
πρὸς ὁμόφυλον καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων αὐτοῖς
σύμβουλον οὕτως ἀγριωθέντας.
17 (4) Συντελεσθέντων οὖν τῶν χωμάτων θάττον
πλήθει χειρῶν καὶ τῶν πραττομένων ἐθεὶ προσήγον
18 τάς μηχανάς. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Χάρητα καὶ ὉἸω-
σηπον,1 οὕτοι γὰρ ἦσαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν
δυνατότατοι, καὶ περὶ καταπεπληγότας τοὺς ὀ-
πλίτας τάττουσιν, ἐπειδὴ μέχρι πολλοῦ πρὸς τὴν
πολιορκίαν ἀνθεέσθην οὐχ ὑπελάμβανον, ὅστις καὶ
19 τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτηδείοις μὴ διαρκούμενοι. παρα-
kρτήσαντες δὲ ὁμως ἐξήγαγον ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος,
καὶ πρὸς ὅλιγον μὲν ἀπημύναντο τοὺς προσάγοντας
τάς μηχανάς, βαλλόμενοι δὲ τοῖς καταπελτικοῖς
καὶ τοῖς πετροβόλοις ἀνεχώρουν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.
20 καὶ προσαγαγόντες2 οἱ ὉΡωμαῖοι τριχόθεν τοὺς
κριῶς διασειόυσι μὲν τὸ τείχος, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν
ἐρευνητέντων ἐφεχούμενοι μετὰ πολλοῦ σαλπίγγων
ἡχοῦ καὶ κτύπου τῶν ὀπλῶν αὐτοὶ τῇ ἐπαλαλάξοντες
21 συνεργήγυντο τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ τέως
μὲν κατὰ τὰς πρώτας εἰσόδους ἐνυστάμενοι
προσωτέρω χωρεῖν ἐκόλυνον καὶ καρπερῶς τοὺς
1 Ἰώσην L1; εἰς. § 66. 2 M: προσάγοντες the rest.
the fifth, while the tenth legion was employed in filling up the trenches and ravines. During these operations King Agrippa, who had approached the ramparts and was endeavouring to parley with the defenders about capitulation, was struck on the right elbow with a stone by one of the slingers. He was at once surrounded by his troops, but the Romans were thus stimulated to press the siege alike by resentment on the king's behalf and by concern for themselves, convinced that men who could so savagely attack a fellow-countryman, while advising them for their welfare, would shrink from no excess of cruelty towards aliens and enemies.

(4) With such a multitude of hands accustomed to the task, the earthworks were rapidly completed and the engines brought into position. Chares and Joseph, the most prominent leaders in the town, drew up their troops, though the men were dispirited by the thought that they could not long withstand a siege owing to a deficiency of water and other necessaries. Their generals, however, encouraged them and led them out to the ramparts, where for a while they kept at bay those who were bringing up the engines, but the fire of the catapults and stone-projectors drove them back into the town. The Romans then applying the battering-rams at three different quarters broke through the wall, and pouring through the breach with loud trumpet-blasts, clash of arms, and the soldiers' battle-cries, engaged the defenders of the town. The latter, when the first Romans entered, for a time held their ground, arrested their further advance and stubbornly re-

\[a\] Previously dug by Josephus, § 9.
22 Ἰρωμαῖοις ἀνείργοι, βιαζόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πάντοθεν τρέπονται πρὸς τὰ ψηλὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ προσκειμένοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς ἐπιπεσόντες συνώθουν εἰς τὸ κάταντες καὶ τῇ στενώτητι καὶ δυσχωρία θλιβομένους ἀν-23 ἄρουν. οἱ δὲ μῆτε τοὺς κατὰ κορυφὴν ἀμύνασθαι δυνάμενοι μῆτε διεκπαίειν τῶν σφετέρων πρόσω βιαζόμενων ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν πολεμίων, πρόσ-24 γειοί γὰρ ἦσαν, ἀνέφευγον. αἱ δὲ ταχέως κατηρεί-ποντο πληροῦμεναι καὶ τὸ βάρος μὴ στέγουσαι, κατέσειε δὲ πολλάς μία τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῆς 1 πεσοῦσα25 καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖναι τὰς ὑπ' αὐτᾶς. τοῦτο πλείστους διείθνειρ τῶν Ἰρωμάιων. ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀμηχανίας καίτοι συνιζανοῦσας ὀρῶντες ἐπεπήδουν ταῖς στέγαις, καὶ πολλοί μὲν κατεχώνυντο τοῖς ἐρειπίοις, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑποφεύγοντες μέρη τοῦ σώματος κατελαμβάνοντο, πλείστους δ' ὁ κοινορτὸς26 ἄγχων ἀνήρει. συνεργίαν θεοῦ τοῦτο Γαμαλείς ὑπελάμβανον καὶ τῆς κατὰ σφάς ἀμελοῦντες βλάβης ἐπέκειντο, πρὸς τε τὰ τέγη τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνωθόντες [καὶ τοῖς] 3 κατολίσθανονται ἐν ὀξέοι τοῖς στενωποῖς καὶ ἀεὶ τοὺς πίπτοντας ὑπέρθεν27 βάλλοντες ἐκτεινον. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἑρείπια χερσάδων πλέα ἢ 4 αὐτῶις, σίδηρον δὲ παρείχον οἱ τῶν πολεμίων νεκροί παρασπόντες γὰρ τὰ τῶν πεσόντων ἔφη κατὰ τῶν δυσθανατῶν ἔχρωντο.28 πολλοὶ δ' ἀπὸ πιπτόντων ἢδη τῶν δωμάτων σφάς

1 V²: the other mss. have αὐτὴν, αὐτοῖς. or αὐτῶν.
2 μέρει Dindorf with one ms.
3 Bracketed by Niese: the text is doubtful and the Lat. suggests that some words have fallen out.
4 πλέα ἢν] πλήθος L Lat.
5 δυσθάνατοντων PA.
pulsed them; then, overpowered by numbers pouring in on all sides, they fled to the upper parts of the town, where, rounding upon the pursuing enemy, they thrust them down the slopes and slew them while impeded by the narrowness and difficulties of the ground. The Romans, unable either to repel the enemy above them or to force their way back through their comrades pressing forward behind, took refuge on the roofs of the enemy's houses, which came close to the ground. These, being crowded with soldiers and unequal to the weight, soon fell in; one house in its fall brought down several others beneath it and these again carried away those lower down. This disaster was the ruin of multitudes of Romans; for, having nowhere to turn, although they saw the houses subsiding, they continued to leap on to the roofs. Many were buried by the ruins, many in trying to escape from under them were pinned down by some portion of their persons, and still more died of suffocation from the dust. Seeing in this the interposition of divine providence, the men of Gamala pressed their attack regardless of their own casualties; they forced the enemy, stumbling in the steep alleys, up on to the roofs and with a continual fire from above slew any who fell. The debris supplied them with boulders in abundance and the enemy's dead with blades; for they wrested the swords from the fallen and used them to dispatch any still struggling in death. Many flung themselves from the houses when in the act of collapsing and died from the fall.

a The "perpendicular" nature of the site (such as that of Clovelly or Rocca di Papa) has to be remembered, § 7: the roof at the end higher up the slope would be πρόσγειος, while its other end would be well above the ground.
29 αὐτοὺς βάλλοντες ἐθνησκον. ἢν δ' οὔδε τραπέντων ἢ φυγή ράδιος· κατὰ γὰρ ἄγνοιαν τῶν ὀδῶν καὶ παχύτητα τοῦ κοινορτοῦ μηδὲ ἄλληλος ἐπιγυνώσκοντες ἀνειλοῦντο καὶ περὶ σφᾶς ἐπιπτον.

30 (5) Οἳ μὲν οὖν μόλις εὐφρίσκοντες τὰς ἐξόδους ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. Οὐσπασιανῶς δ' ἄει προσμένων τοῖς πονομένοις, δεινῶν γὰρ τι πάθος αὐτῶν εἰσῆλθε κατερειπομένην ὀρῶντα περὶ τῶν στρατῶν τὴν πόλιν, ἐν λίθῃ τοῦ καθ' αὐτὸν ἄσφαλες γενόμενος λανθάνει κατὰ μικρὸν ἀνωτάτῳ τῆς πόλεως προελθὼν, ἐνθα μέσοις ἐγκατλείπεται τοῖς κυνδύνοις μετ' ολίγων παντελῶς.

32 οὔδε γὰρ ὁ παῖς αὐτῶ Τίτος τότε συμπαρῆν, τηνικάυτα πρὸς Μονκιανὸν εἰς Συρίαν ἀπεστάλ-33 μένος. τραπῆναι μὲν οὖν οὐκέτ' ἄσφαλες οὔτε πρέπουν ἡγήσατο, μυρισθείς δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ νεότητος αὐτῶ πεποιημένων καὶ τῆς ἱδίας ἀρετῆς, ὡσπερ ἐνθοῦς γενόμενος, συνασπίζει μὲν τοὺς ἀμ' αὐτῶ

34 τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τᾶς παισπλίας, ἐνυψίσταται δὲ κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐπιρρέοντα τὸν πόλεμον καὶ οὔτε ἄνδρῶν πλῆθος οὔτε βελῶν ὑποπτήξας ἐπέμενε, μέχρι δαμιόνον τὸ παράστημα τῆς ψυχῆς συνονίσαντες οἱ πολέμιοι ταῖς ὀρμαῖς

35 ἐνέδραν. ἀτονώτερον δὲ προσκειμένων αὐτὸς ὑπὸ πόδα ἄνεχώρει, νῦτα μὴ δεικνύς ἔως ἔξω

36 τοῦ τείχους ἐγένετο. πλεῖστοι μὲν οὖν Ἔρωμαῖν κατὰ ταύτην ἐπεσον τὴν μάχην, ἐν οἷς ὁ δεκαδ-άρχης Λιβούτιος, ἀνὴρ οὐ μόνον ἐφ' ἣς ἐπέσε παρατάξεως, ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ καὶ πρότερον γενοιότατος φανείς καὶ πλείστα κακὰ Ἱουδαῖοις

1 P.A.L.: οὔτε the rest.
Even those who fled found flight no easy matter; since through their ignorance of the roads and the dense clouds of dust they failed to recognize their comrades and in their bewilderment fell foul of each other.

(5) Thus, with difficulty discovering the outlets, these fugitives beat a retreat from the town. Meanwhile Vespasian, always keeping close to his distressed troops, being deeply affected by the sight of the city falling in ruins about his army, had, forgetful of his own safety, gradually and unconsciously advanced to the highest quarters of the town. Here he found himself left in the thick of danger with a mere handful of followers: even his son Titus was not with him on this occasion, having been just sent off to Syria to Mucianus.\(^a\) Thinking it now neither safe nor honourable to turn, and mindful of the hardships which he had borne from his youth and his innate valour, he, like one inspired, linked his comrades together, with shields enveloping both body and armour, and stemmed the tide of war that streamed upon him from above; and so, undaunted by the multitude either of men or missiles, he stood his ground, until the enemy, impressed by such supernatural intrepidity, relaxed their ardour. Being now less hard pressed, he retreated step by step, not turning his back until he was outside the walls. In this engagement multitudes of Romans fell, including the decurion Aebutius, a man who had shown the utmost gallantry and inflicted the severest losses on the Jews, not only in the action in which he perished,

\(^a\) Governor (legatus) of Syria, and subsequently one of the strongest supporters of Vespasian's claims to the empire.
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37 ἐργασάμενος. ἐκατοντάρχης δὲ τις, Γάλλος ὄνομα, μετὰ στρατιωτῶν δέκα περισσεῦσι έν τῇ
38 παραχή κατέδυ μὲν εἰς τινος οἰκίαν, τῶν δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῇ διαλαλοῦντων παρὰ δείπνον ὅσα κατὰ τῶν Ἄρω-
μαίων ἡ περὶ σφῶν ὁ δήμος ἐβουλεύετο κατ- 
ακροσάμενος, ἡν δ᾽ αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῶι 
Σύροι, νύκτωρ ἐπανίσταται καὶ πάντας ἀποσφάξας 
μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰς τοὺς Ἄρωμαίους δια-
σώζεται.
39 (6) Ὀψεσπασιανὸς δ᾽ ἀθυμοῦσαν τὴν στρατιῶν 
ἀγνοίας1 πταισμάτων καὶ διότι τέωσ οὐδαμοῦ 
τηλικαύτης συμφορὰ κέχρητο, τὸ γε μὴν πλέον 
αιδουμένους ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν στρατηγῶν μόνον τοῖς 
40 κυνύνοις ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, παρεμνυθεῖτο, περὶ μὲν 
tοῦ καθ᾽ αὐτῶν ὑποστέλλομενος, ὡς μηδὲ τὴν 
ἀρχὴν μέμφεσθαι δοκοῖ, δεῖν δὲ τὰ κοινὰ 
λέγων ἀνδρείων φέρειν, τὴν τοῦ πολέμου φύσιν 
ἐννοοῦντας, ὡς οὐδαμοῦ τὸ νυκάν ἀναιμωτὶ 
περιγίνεται, παλίμπους δ᾽ ἡ τύχη παρίσταται.2 
41 τοσαύτας μὲντοι μυριάδας Ἰουδαίων ἀνελόντας 
αὐτοὺς ὀλίγην τῷ δαίμονι δεδωκέναι συμβολὴν. 
42 εἶναι δ᾽ ὦσπερ ἀπειροκάλων τὸ λίαν ἐπαίρεσθαι 
ταῖς ἐυπραγίαις, οὕτως ἀνάδρων τὸ καταπτήσειν 
ἐν τοῖς πταισμασιν ὕξεια γὰρ ἐν ἀμφοτέροις 
ἡ μεταβολή, κάκεινος ἀριστος ὁ καὶ τοῖς εὐτυχή-
μασιν νῆφων, ἴνα μένη καὶ δι᾽ ἐνθυμίας ἀνα-

2 παλίμπους κτλ. Niese (and so apparently the first hand of L): διαπανα δ᾽ ἡ τύχη τι καὶ παρίσταται PAM: ἡ γὰρ 
παλίμπους τύχη παρίσταται VRCM2.

Aebutius had skirmishes with Josephus in Galilee early in the war. Vita 115-120, and as "a man of marked energy
but on all previous occasions. One centurion, named Gallus, being cut off with ten of his men in the fray, crept into a private house, where he—a Syrian like his companions—overheard the inmates discussing at supper the citizens' plans of attack on the Romans and of self-defence; during the night he arose and fell upon them, slew them all, and with his men made his way safely back to the Roman camp.

(6) Vespasian, seeing his army despondent owing to their ignorance of reverses and because they had nowhere so far met with such a disaster, and still more ashamed of themselves for leaving their general to face danger alone, proceeded to console them. Refraining from any mention of himself, for fear of appearing to cast the slightest reflection upon them, he said that they ought manfully to bear misfortunes which were common to all, reflecting on the nature of war, which never grants a bloodless victory, and how Fortune flits back again to one's side. "After all," he continued, "you have slain myriads of Jews, but yourselves have paid but a trifling contribution to the deity. As it is a mark of vulgarity to be over-elated by success, so is it unmanly to be downcast in adversity; for the transition from one to the other is rapid, and the best soldier is he who meets good fortune with sobriety, to the end that he may still remain cheerful when

and ability" was selected for special duty at the outset of the siege of Jotapata, B. iii. 144.

b The rare word παλιμπόνας ("with returning foot" or "retrograde") occurs, together with another word, δυσπόντης, only attested elsewhere in Jos. A. xv. 208, in an epigram of Meleager of Gadara (Anth. Pal. v. 163), from which Josephus or his συνεργός not improbably borrowed it.

c i.e. the god of war (or Fortune), who demands blood.
43 παλαίων τὰ σφάλματα. τὰ μέντοι συμβεβηκότα νῦν οὔτε μαλακισθέντων ἡμῶν1 οὔτε παρὰ τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρετήν γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ κάκεινος τοῦ πλεονεκτήσας καὶ τοῦ διαμαρτεῖν ἡμῖν αὐτίων ἡ δυσχώρια. καθ’ ἴδιον τὰς ύμῶν μέμφαιτο τῆς ὀρμής τὸ ἀταμένον τὰς ἀναφυγόντων γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ ύψηλὰ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοὺς ὑποστέλλειν ἐχρῆν, καὶ μὴ κατὰ κορυφὴν ἰσταμένους τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐπεσθαί, κρατοῦντας δὲ τῆς κατ’ ἡμέρας καὶ ὀλίγων προκαλέσθαι τοὺς ἀναφεύγοντας εἰς ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ἑδραίαν μάχην. νυνὶ δὲ ἀκρατῶς ἐπὶ τὴν νύκην ἐπευγόμενοι τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἡμελήσατε. τὸ δ’ ἀπερίσκεπτον ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ τῆς ὀρμῆς μανιῶδες οὐ πρὸς Ὁρμαῖων, ὥσππα τὰ ἐμπερία καὶ τάξει κατορθοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ βαρβαροὶ καὶ ὃς μάλιστα Ἰουδαίοι κρατοῦνται. χρὴ τούτων ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν ἀναδραμεῖν καὶ θυμοῦσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ προσαθυμεῖν τῷ παρ’ ἄξιαν πταίσματι. τὴν δ’ ἀρίστην ἐκαστὸς ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας χειρὸς ἐπιζητεῖτω παραμυθίαν· οὔτω γὰρ τοῖς τε ἀπολολόσι τι- μωρήσεθε καὶ τοὺς ἀνελόντας ἀμυνεῖτθε. πειρά- σομαι δ’ ἐγώ, καθάπερ νῦν, ἐπὶ πάσης μάχης προάγεν τε ύμῶν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τελευ- ταῖος ἀποχωρεῖν.”

49 (7) Ὅ μὲν οὖν τοιώτα λέγων τὴν στρατιῶν ἀνελάμβανεν, τοῖς δὲ Γαμμαλεύσιν πρὸς ὀλίγον μὲν θαρρῆσαι τῷ κατορθῶματι παρέστη παρά-
50 λόγως τε συμβάντι καὶ μεγάλως, λογιζόμενοι δ’ ὑστερον ἀφηρήσθαι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ δεξιάς ἑλπίδας, τὸ τε μὴ δύνασθαι διαφεύγειν ἐννοοῦντες,

1 L Lat. : ὑμῶν the rest.
2 L: ἅγαν the rest: γ’ ἀν Destinon.
contending with reverses. What has now happened, to be sure, is attributable neither to any weakness on our part nor to the valour of the Jews; the one cause of their superiority and of our failure was the difficulty of the ground. In view of that, fault might be found with your inordinate ardour; for when the enemy fled to the higher ground, you should have restrained yourselves and not by pursuit exposed yourselves to the perils impending over your heads. Instead, having mastered the lower town, you should gradually have lured the fugitives to a safe combat on firm ground; whereas, through your intemperate eagerness for victory, you neglected your own safety. But incautiousness in war and mad impetuosity are alien to us Romans, who owe all our success to skill and discipline: they are a barbarian fault and one to which the Jews mainly owe their defeats. It behoves us therefore to fall back upon our native valour and to be moved rather to wrath than to despondency by this unworthy reverse. But the best consolation should be sought by each man in his own right hand: for so you will avenge the dead and punish those who slew them. For my part, it shall be my endeavour, as in this so in every engagement, to face the enemy at your head and to be the last to retire."

(7) By such words as these he reanimated his troops. The people of Gamala, on their side, derived a momentary confidence from their unlooked for and signal success; but when they subsequently reflected that they had deprived themselves of all hope of terms, and thought of the impossibility of escape (for
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ηδη γαρ ἐπέλιπε ταπιτήδεια, δεινῶς ἡθύμουν καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀναπεπτώκεσαν, οὐ μὴν εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν ἠμέλουν σωτηρίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ παραρρηχθέντα1 τοῦ τείχους οἱ γενναίοτατοι καὶ τὰ μένοντα περισχόντες ἐφύλασσον οἱ λοιποί. τῶν δὲ ῥωμαίων ἐπιρρωνυόντων2 τὰ χῶματα καὶ πάλιν πειρωμένων προσβολῆς οἱ πολλοὶ διεδίδρασκον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως κατὰ τε δυσβάτων φαράγγων, ἵππερ οὐκ ἐκείνο το φυλακαί, καὶ διὰ τῶν υπονόμων. οὔσι γε μὴν δεῖ τοῦ ληφθῆναι παρέμενον, [ἐν] ἐνδείᾳ διεσθείροντο: πανταχόθεν γὰρ τροφή τοῖς μάγεσθαι δυναμένοις συνηθροίζετο.

(8) Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τοιούτοις πάθεσι διεκαρτέρουν, ὑπεσπασιανὸς δὲ πάρεργον ἐποιεῖτο τῆς πολυρρίας τοὺς τὸ Ἰταβύρων κατειληφότας ὅρος, οἳ ἐστὶ τοῦ μεγάλου πεδίου καὶ Σκυθοπόλεως μέσον. οὐ τὸ μὲν ύψος ἐπὶ τριάκοντα σταδίους ἀνίσχει, μόλις προσβατῶν κατὰ τὸ προσάρκτιον κλίμα, πεδίον δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ κορυφὴ σταδίων ἕξ καὶ εἴκοσι, πάν τετειχισμένον. ἢγειρε δὲ τοσοῦτον ὑπά τοῦ περίβολον ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐν τεσσαράκοντα ἦμέραις τῇ τε ἀλλή χορηγούμενος ὑλή κάτωθεν καὶ ύδατι καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἐποίκοις μόνον ἡν ὀμβρίων. δὲ πολλοὶ οὖν πλήθους ἐπὶ τούτου συνειλεγμένον3

1 Herwerden: πειραρρηχθέντα mss.
2 ἐπιχωνυόντων MVRC.
3 πολλῆς οὖν πληθύνος ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου συνειλεγμένης Niese.
avoiding the double hiatus.

§ 9.
If "the Great Plain" means here, as usual, the plain of Esdraelon, the description above is inaccurate, as Mt. Tabor lies well to the N. of a line drawn through that plain, and its
their supplies had already failed them), they became sorely dejected and lost heart. Nevertheless, they did not neglect to take what precautions they could to protect themselves: the bravest guarded the breaches, the rest manned what still remained of the wall. But when the Romans proceeded to strengthen their earthworks and to attempt a fresh assault, the people began to run from the town, down trackless ravines, where no sentries were posted, or through the underground passages; while all who stayed behind from fear of being caught were perishing from hunger, as every quarter had been ransacked for provisions for those capable of bearing arms.

(8) While the people of Gamala under such straits were still holding out, Vespasian undertook, as a minor diversion from the siege, the reduction of the occupants of Mount Tabor. This lies midway between the Great Plain and Scythopolis, and rises to a height of thirty furlongs, being almost inaccessible on its northern face; the summit is a table-land twenty-six furlongs long, entirely surrounded by a wall. This extensive rampart was erected in forty days by Josephus, who was supplied from below with all materials, including water, the inhabitants depending solely on rain. To this spot, on which a vast multitude had assembled, Vespasian dispatched continuation, the valley of Jezreel, to Scythopolis. If the plain of Asochis (described as "the great plain in which my quarters lay" in *Vita* 207) is meant, the description is approximately correct.

These figures are absurdly inaccurate: the summit is only 1843 feet above the Plain of Esdraelon (1312 ft. from the base), the platform on the summit is 3000 ft. long and 1300 ft. at its greatest breadth (*Encycl. Bibl. s.v.*).

Tabor is mentioned in a list of places fortified by him in *Vita* 188.
Ουεσπασιανός Πλάκιδων σὺν ἵππευσιν ἐξακοσίοις 58 πέμπει. τούτῳ τὸ μὲν προσβαίνειν ἦπιχανον ἢν, ἐλπίδι δὲ δεξιών καὶ παρακλήσει 1 πρὸς εἰρήνην 59 τοὺς πολλοὺς προσεκαλεῖτο. 2 κατήσαν δὲ ἀντιπροθέουσιν: ὁ τε γὰρ Πλάκιδος ὤμιλει προστερον σπουδαζων αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ λαβεῖν, κάκεινοι κατήσαν ὡς πειθόμενοι δήθεν, ἢν 60 ἀφυλάκτω προσπέσωσιν. ἐνίκα μέντοι τὸ Πλακίδου παινοῦργον. ἀρξαμένων γὰρ τῶν ᾿Ιουδαίων μάχης φυγὴν ὑποκρίνεται καὶ διώκοντας ἐλκύσας ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ πεδίου τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐπίστρεφει, τρειβάμενος δὲ πλείστους μὲν αὐτῶν ἀναιρεῖ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ὑποτεμόμενος εἰργεῖ τῆς 61 ἀνόδου. καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ ᾿Ιταμβρον καταλιπόντες ὑπὶ ᾿Ιεροσολύμων ἐφευγον, οἱ δ’ ἐπιχώριοι πίστεις λαβόντες, ἐπιλειλοῦμε δ’ αὐτοὺς ὑδωρ, τὸ τε ὅρος καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Πλακίδως παρέδουσιν.

62 (9) Τῶν δ’ ἐπὶ τῆς Γαμάλας οἱ παραβολώτεροι μὲν φεύγοντες διελάνθανον, οἱ δ’ ἀσθενεῖς διεφθεί- 63 ρόντο λιμῷ. τὸ μάχημα δ’ ἀντείχεν τῇ πολυρκίᾳ, μέχρι δευτέρα καὶ εἰκάδι μηνὸς ᾿Ὑπερβερεταίῳ τρεις τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πέμπτου καὶ δεκάτου τάγματος στρατιῶται περὶ τῆς ἐωθικῆς φυλακῆς ὑποδύντες τῶν προύχοντα κατὰ τούτους πῦργον ὑπ- 64 ορύσσουσιν ἑσυχῆ. τοῖς δ’ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φύλαξιν οὔτε προσιόντων αἰσθήσεις, νῦς γὰρ ἦν, οὔτε προσε- ελθόντων ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται πειθόμενοι

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1 I.: παρακλήσεως the rest.
2 Destinon: προσεκαλεῖτο mss.

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a The tribune who had seen service in Galilee before Vespasian’s arrival (Vita 213) and after (ib. 411, B. iii. 59, 20
Placidus with six hundred horse. That officer, finding the ascent of the mountain impracticable, made peaceable overtures to the crowd, holding out hopes of terms and exhorting them to avail themselves of the offer. They descended accordingly, but with counter-designs of their own; for while the object of Placidus with his mild address was to capture them in the plain, they came down ostensibly in compliance with his proposal, but with the real intention of attacking him while off his guard. The craft of Placidus, however, won the day; for when the Jews opened hostilities he feigned flight and, having drawn his pursuers far into the plain, suddenly wheeled his cavalry round and routed them. Masses of them were slain; the remainder he intercepted and prevented from reascending the mountain. These fugitives abandoning Mount Tabor made off to Jerusalem; the natives, under promise of protection, and pressed by the failure of their water-supply, surrendered the mountain and themselves to Placidus.

(9) At Gamala, while the more adventurous were stealthily escaping and the feeblerr folk dying of famine, the effective combatants continued to sustain the siege until the twenty-second of the month Hyperberetaeus, when three soldiers of the fifteenth legion, about the time of the morning watch, crept up to the base of a projecting tower opposite to them and began secretly undermining it; the sentries on guard above failing, in the darkness, to detect them either when approaching or after they had reached it. These soldiers, with as little noise as

110, etc.), and who subsequently subdued Peraea (B. iv. 419 ff.).

* Resuming and partly repeating the narrative in §§ 52 f.
τοῦ ψόφου [καὶ] πέντε τοὺς κραταιωτάτους ἐκ-
65 κυλίσαντες λίθους ὑποπηδώσι. κατερείπτεται δ' ὁ πύργος ἐξαίφνης μετὰ μεγίστου ψόφου, καὶ 
συγκατακρημνίζονται μὲν οἱ φύλακες αὐτῶ, θορυ-
βηθέντες δὲ οἱ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας φυλακάς ἐφευγον.
66 καὶ πολλοὺς διεκπαίειν τολμῶντας οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι 
dιέφθειραν, ἐν οἷς καὶ 'Ιωσηφόν ὑπὲρ τὸ 
pαρερρημένον τοῦ τείχους ἐκδιδράσκοντα βαλὼν 
ἀναρεῖ. τῶν δὲ ἄνα τὴν πόλιν διασεισθέντων 
ὑπὸ τοῦ ψόφου διαδρομὴ τε ἡ καὶ πτού πολλή, 
καθάπερ εἰσπεπαικότων πάντων τῶν πολεμών.
68 ἔνθα καὶ Χάρης κατακείμενος καὶ νοσηλεύόμενος 
ἐκλείπει, πολλὰ τοῦδε δέους συνεργήσαντος εἰς 
θάνατον τῇ νόσῳ. 'Ρωμαῖοι γε μὴν μεμνημένοι 
τοῦ προτέρου πταίσματος οὐκ εἰσέβαλλον ἔως 
70 τρίτη καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ προειρημένου μηνὸς (10) 
Τίτος, ἣ δὴ γὰρ παρῆν, ὅργῃ τῆς πληγῆς ἡν 
παρ' αὐτὸν ἐπλήγησαν ἀπόντα 'Ρωμαῖοι, τῶν 
ἰππέων ἐπιλέξας διακοσίους, πρὸς οἷς πεζούς, εἰς-
71 ἔρχεται τὴν πόλιν ἰσχυρῆ, καὶ παρελθόντος οἱ 
μὲν φύλακες αἰσθόμενοι μετὰ θυρῆς ἐξώρουν ἐπὶ 
τὰ ὀπλα, δήλης δὲ τῆς εἰσβολῆς ταχέως καὶ τοῖς 
εἰσῳ γενομένης, οἱ μὲν ἀρπάζοντες τὰ τέκνα καὶ 
γυναῖκας ἐπισυρόμενοι πρὸς τὴν ἀκραν ἀνέφευγον 
μετὰ κωκυτοῦ καὶ βοῆς, οἱ δὲ τὸν Τίτον ὑπ-
72 αντιάζοντες ἀδιαλείπτως ἐπιπτον. ὁσοὶ δὲ ἀπ-
εκωλύθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν ἀναδραμεῖν ὑπ' 
ἀμηχανίας εἰς τὰς τῶν 'Ρωμαίων φρουρὰς ἐξ-
ἐπιπτον. ἅπειρος δ' ἦν πανταχοῦ φονευμένων ὁ

1 Niese: κατηρείπτετο ορ καταρρίπτεται mss.
2 Ἰωσήφ L Ὁ Lat.; cf. § 18.
3 πολλά τοῦ Niese: πολλοῦ mss.
possible, succeeded in rolling away the five chief stones and then leapt back; whereupon the tower suddenly collapsed with a tremendous crash, carrying the sentries headlong with it. The guards at the other posts fled in alarm; many who essayed to cut their way out were killed by the Romans, and among them Joseph, who was struck dead while making his escape across the breach. The people throughout the town, confounded by the crash, ran hither and thither in great trepidation, believing that the whole of the enemy had burst in. At that same moment Chares, who was bedridden and in the hands of physicians, expired, terror largely contributing to the fatal termination of his illness. The Romans, however, with the memory of their former disaster, deferred their entry until the twenty-third of the month.

(10) On that day Titus, who had now returned,\(^a\) indignant at the reverse which the Romans had sustained in his absence, selected two hundred cavalry and a body of infantry, and quietly entered the town. The guards, apprised of his entry, flew with shouts to arms. News of the incursion rapidly spreading to the interior of the town, some, snatching up their children and dragging their wives after them, fled with their wailing and weeping families up to the citadel; those who faced Titus were incessantly dropping; while any who were debarred from escape to the heights fell in their bewilderment into the hands of the Roman sentries. On all sides was heard the never ending moan of the dying, and

\(^a\) From his visit to Mucianus in Syria, § 32.

\(^4\) + \(\delta\) MSS. : omit Destinon and Niese (ed. min.).

\(^6\) A numeral has perhaps dropped out.
στόνος, καὶ τὸ αἷμα πᾶσαν ἐπέκλυζε τὴν πόλιν
73 κατὰ πρανοῦς χείμενον. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀνα-
φεύγοντας εἰς τὴν ἄκραν ἐπεβοήθει Οὐσσπασιανός
74 πᾶσαν εἰσαγαγῶν τὴν δύναμιν. ἦν δὲ ἤ 
τε κορυφὴ 
πάντοθεν πετρώθης καὶ δύσβατος, εἰς ἀπειρόν
ὕπος ἐπηρμένη, καὶ πανταχόθεν τοῦ ἧ 
βάθους
catέγεμεν περιελημμένη κρήμνοις [κατέτεμον
75 τε]. ἐνταῦθα τοὺς προσβαίνοντας οἱ Ἰουδαίοι
τοῖς τε ἀλλοις βέλεσι καὶ πέτρας κατακυλισθοῦντες
ἐκάκουν· αὐτοὶ δὲ δὲ ὑπὸς ἦσαν δυσέφικτοι βέλει.
76 γίνεται δὲ πρὸς ἀπώλειαν αὐτῶν ἀντικρος 
θύελλα 
δαιμόνιος, ἢ τὰ μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἐφερεν εἰς αὐτοὺς
βέλη, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνέστρεφεν καὶ πλάγια παρ-
77 ἔσυρεν. οὔτε δὲ τοῖς ὑποκρήμνοις ἐφίστασθαι διὰ
τὴν βίαν ἐδύναντο τοῦ πνεύματος, μηδὲν ἐδραίον
78 ἔχοντες, οὔτε τοὺς προσβαίνοντας καθόραν. ἐπανα-
βαίνονσι δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ περισχόντες οὐς μὲν
ἀμυνομένους ἐφθανον, οὐς δὲ χείρας προίσχοντας:
έτονο δὲ τὸν θυμὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πάντας ἡ μνήμη 
τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης εἰσβολῆς ἀπολωλότων.
79 ἀπογυμνώσκοντες δὲ τὴν σωτηρίαν πανταχόθεν οἱ
πολloi περισχόμενοι τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας αὐτοὺς 
τε κατεκρήμνιζον εἰς τὴν φάραγγα· βαθυτάτη δὲ
80 αὐτή κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν ὑπώρικτο. συνέβη δὲ τὴν
Ῥωμαίων ὄργην τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοῦ ἀπονόιας τῶν
ἀλόντων προστέραν φανήντας· τετρακισχίλιοι μὲν 
γε 
ὑπὸ τούτων ἐσφάγησαν, οἱ δὲ κέφαλι 
81 ύπὲρ πεντακισχίλιοι εὐρέθησαν. διεσώθη δὲ πλὴ 
δύο γυναικῶν οὐδείς· τῆς 
Φιλίππου δὲ ἦσαν
1 πλήθος LP2M2, "crowded with people": text doubtful: ί read πάθος, "fraught with tragedy." The words in brackets appear to be a doublet of catέγεμεν.
24
the whole city was deluged with blood pouring down the slopes. To aid the attack on the fugitives in the citadel Vespasian now brought up his entire force. The summit, all rock-strewn, difficult of access, towering to an immense height, and surrounded with precipices, everywhere yawned to depths below. Here the Jews worked havoc among the advancing enemy with missiles of all kinds and rocks which they rolled down upon them, being themselves from their elevated position no easy mark for an arrow. However, to seal their ruin, a storm miraculously arose which, blowing full in their faces, carried against them the arrows of the Romans and checked and deflected their own. Owing to the force of the gale they could neither stand on the edge of the precipices, having no firm foothold, nor see the approaching enemy. The Romans mounted the crest and quickly surrounded and slew them, some offering resistance, others holding out their hands for quarter; but the recollection of those who fell in the first assault whetted their fury against all. Despairing of their lives and hemmed in on every side, multitudes plunged headlong with their wives and children into the ravine which had been excavated to a vast depth beneath the citadel. Indeed, the rage of the Romans was thus made to appear milder than the frantic self-immolation of the vanquished, four thousand only being slain by the former, while those who flung themselves over the cliff were found to exceed five thousand. Not a soul escaped save two women;

* Literally "was full of depth": see critical note.

* See § 9.
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ἀδελφῆς θυγατέρες αὐταί, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Φιλίππος Ὀιαίμου τινὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐπισήμου, στραταρχήσαντος

82 Ἀγρίππας τῷ βασιλεῖ· διεσώθησαν δὲ τὰς παρὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν ὄργας Ῥωμαίων λαθοῦσαν· τότε γὰρ οὐδὲ νηπίων ἐφείδοντο, πολλὰ δὲ ἐκάστοτε ἄρπα-

83 ζοντες ἐσφενδόνων ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρας. Γάμαλα μὲν [οὖν]² οὖτως ἐάλω τρίτη καὶ εἰκάδι μηνὸς Υπερ-

βερεταῖον, τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀρξαμένης Γορτιαίου μηνὸς τετάρτη καὶ εἰκάδι.

84 (ii. 1) Μόνη δὲ Γίσχαλα πολίχνη τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀχείρωτος κατελείπετο, τοῦ μὲν πλῆθος εἰρήνικα φρονοῦντος, καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν τὸ πλέον γεωργοὶ καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν ἐλπίσιν ἂει προσανέχοντες, παρεισεφθαρμένου δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐκ ὁλίγου ληστρικοῦ τάγματος, ὡς τινες καὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ συνυπόσουν.

85 ἐνήγε δὲ τοῦτος εἰς τὴν ἀπόστασιν καὶ συν-

εκρότει Λητίου τινὸς υἱὸς Ἰωάννης, γόης ἀνήρ καὶ ποικιλώτατος τὸ ἱθὸς, πρόχειρος μὲν ἐλπίσαι μεγάλα, δεινὸς δὲ τῶν ἐλπισθέντων περιγενέσθαι, παντὶ τε ὦν δῆλος ἀγαπάν τὸν πόλεμον εἰς

86 δυναστείας ἐπίθεσιν. ὑπὸ τοῦτω τὸ στασιωδὲς ἐν τοῖς Γεσχάλους ἐτέτακτο, δι’ οὓς τάχ’ ἀν³ καὶ πρεσβευσάμενον περὶ παραδόσεως τὸ δημοτικὸν ἐν πολεμίῳ⁴ μοίρα τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐφοδίω ἐξεδέχετο.

87 Οὐδεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦτος Τίτων ἐκπέμπει

¹ τετραρχήσαντος PAL Lat.
² om. PA Lat.
³ τάχα ἀν L: τιχὼν the rest.
⁴ conj.: πολέμου mss. For the phrase ἐν πολεμίῳ μοίρα cf. Demosthenes 639.

² Vita 46, etc., B. ii. 421, 556. with note a on § 2 above.
³ El-Jish, in the north of Galilee.
these were nieces, on the mother’s side, of Philip, son of Jacimus, a distinguished man who had been commander-in-chief to King Agrippa. They owed their escape to their having concealed themselves at the time of the capture of the town; for at that moment the rage of the Romans was such that they spared not even infants, but time after time snatched up numbers of them and slung them from the citadel. Thus on the twenty-third of the month Hyperberetaeus was Gamala taken, after a revolt which began on the twenty-fourth of Gorpiaeus.

(ii. 1) Only Gischala, a small town in Galilee, now remained unsubdued. The inhabitants were inclined to peace, being mainly agricultural labourers, whose whole attention was devoted to the prospects of the crops; but they had been afflicted by the invasion of a numerous gang of brigands, from whom some members of the community had caught the contagion. These had been incited to rebel and organized for the purpose by John, son of Levi, a charlatan of an extremely subtle character, always ready to indulge great expectations and an adept in realizing them; all knew that he had set his heart on war in order to attain supreme power. Under him the malcontents of Gischala had ranged themselves and it was through their influence that the townsfolk, who would otherwise probably have sent deputies offering to surrender, now awaited the Roman onset in an attitude of defiance. To meet these rebels Vespasian dispatched Titus with a

\[ c. 10 \text{ Nov.} \]

\[ c. 12 \text{ Oct.} \]

\[ \text{Gischala incited to revolt by John.} \]
σὺν χιλίοις ἵππεσιν, τὸ δέκατον δὲ τάγμα ἀπαίρει
88 εἰς Σκυθόπολιν. αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν δυσὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπανηλθεὶς εἰς Καισάρειαν, τοῦ τε συνεχοῦς καμάτου διὸς ἀνάπαυσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ δὲ εὐθηνίαν τῶν πόλεων τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τὸ πρόθυμον ὑποθέτησεν.
89 οἱ ὁμονοός ἐπὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας ἁγώνας· οὐ γὰρ ὀλίγον αὐτῷ πόνον ἔφρα περὶ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμων λειπόμενον, ἀτε δὴ βασιλείοις μὲν οὐσίς τῆς πόλεως καὶ προανεχούσης ὅλου τοῦ ἔθνους, συρρεόντων δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου διδοδρασκόντων. τὸ γε μὴν φύσει <τε> ὀχυρὸν αὐτῆς καὶ διὰ κατασκευὴν τείχων ἁγωνίαν οὐ τὴν τυχούσαν ἐνεποίησε· τὰ δὲ φρονήματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὰς πόλιας δυσμεταχειριστοὺς καὶ δίκαια τείχων ὑπελάβανεν. διὸ δὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας καθάπερ ἀθλητὰς προῆσκε τῶν ἁγώνων.
90 (2) Τίτω δὲ προσπισαμένῳ τοῖς Γισχάλοις εὐπετές μὲν ἢν ἢς ἐφόδου τὴν πόλιν ἐλείν, εἰδὼς δὲ, εἰ βία ληφθείη, διαφθαρσόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνέδην τὸ πλῆθος, ἢν δὲ αὐτῷ κόρος ἡδὴ φόνων καὶ δι' οὐκτον τὸ πλέον ἀκρίτως συναπολλύμενον τοῖς αἰτίοις, ἐβούλετο μᾶλλον ὁμολογίας παραστήσασθαι τὴν πόλιν. καὶ δὴ τοῦ τείχους ἀνδρῶν καταγέμνοντος, οἱ τὸ πλέον ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ διεφθαρμένου τάγματος, θαυμάζειν ἐξή πρὸς αὐτοὺς, τίνι πεποιθότες πάσης ἐαλωκυίας πόλεως μόνοι τὰ Ἱωμαίων ὁπλα μένουσιν,
91 ἐορακότες μὲν ὀχυρωτέρας πολλῷ πόλεις ὑπὸ μίαν προσβολὴν κατεστραμμένας, ἐν ἄσφαλείᾳ δὲ τῶν ἱδίων κτημάτων ἀπολαύοντας ὅσοι ταῖς Ἱωμαίων δεξιαις ἐπίστευσαν, ἂς καὶ νῦν προ-
ins. Bekker.  
2 + τὸ μὴ αἰτίων M.
thousand horse; the tenth legion he dismissed to Scythopolis. He himself with the two remaining legions returned to Caesarea, to recruit them after their incessant toil, and with the idea that the abundance of city life would invigorate their bodies and impart fresh alacrity for coming struggles. For he foresaw that no light toil was in store for him under the walls of 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 seat of war. The strength of its defences, both natural and artificial, caused him serious solicitude; and he conjectured that the spirit and daring of its defenders would, even without walls, render their reduction a difficult task. He accordingly trained his soldiers, like athletes, for the fray.

(2) Titus, on riding up to Gischala, saw that the town might easily be carried by assault. But he knew that were it taken by storm a general massacre of the population by his troops would ensue; he was already satiated with slaughter and pitied the masses doomed along with the guilty to indiscriminate destruction; he therefore preferred to induce the town to capitulate. Finding the ramparts crowded with men, mainly of the corrupted gang, he told them that he wondered on what they were relying that, when every other city had fallen, they alone stood out to face the Roman arms. They had seen cities far stronger than their own overthrown at the first assault, but beheld in the secure enjoyment of their possessions all who had trusted the pledges proffered by Roman hands—hands which he now urges the inhabitants to surrender.
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teînein autōis μηδὲν μνησικακῶν τῆς αὐθαδείας.
95 εἶναι γὰρ συγγνωστὸν ἐλευθερίας ἐλπίδα, μηκέτι
96 μέντοι τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἄδυνάτοις ἐπιμονήν εἰ γὰρ οὐ
πεισθήσονται λόγοις φιλανθρώπους καὶ δεξιοίς
πίστεως, πειράσειν αὐτοὺς ἀφειδὴ τὰ ὀπλα, καὶ
ὅσον οὐδέπω γνώσεσθαι παῖζόμενον τοῖς Ἦρω-
μαίων μηχανήμασιν τὸ τείχος, ὃ πεποιθότες
ἐπιδείκνυνται μόνοι Γαλιλαίων, ὅτι εἰσιν αὐθάδεις
αἰχμάλωτοι.
97 (3) Πρὸς ταῦτα τῶν μὲν δημοτικῶν οὐ μόνον
οὐκ ἀποκρίνεσθαι τινι μετῆν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὸ
τείχος ἀναβήναι προδιέληπτο γὰρ ἀπαν τοῖς
λῃστρικοῖς, καὶ φύλακες τῶν πυλῶν ἦσαν, ὡς μὴ
twes ἡ προέλθουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς σπονδὰς ἡ δέξαυτό
98 τινας τῶν ἐπεέων εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ο' ο' Ἰωάννης
αὐτὸς τε ἀγαπᾶν ἐφ' ἄτος προκλήσεις καὶ τοὺς
99 ἀπεισοῦντας ἡ πείσεων ἡ συναναγκάσειν. δεῖν
μέντοι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτὸν ἐκείνην, ἐβδομᾶς γὰρ
ἡν, χαρίσασθαι τῷ Ἰουδαίων νόμῳ, καθ' ἡν
ὡσπερ ὀπλα κινεῖν αὐτοῖς, οὕτω καὶ τὸ συν-
100 θέσθαι περὶ εἰρήνης ἀθέμιτον. οὐκ ἄγνοεῖν δὲ
οὐδὲ Ἦρωμαίοις, ὡς ἀργὴ πάντων αὐτῶν ἔστιν
ἡ τῆς ἐβδομάδος περίοδος, ἐν τῷ παραβαίνειν
αὐτὴν οὖχ ἠττον ἀσεβεῖν τῶν βιασθέντων τῶν
101 βιασάμενον. φέρειν δ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδεμίαν βλάβην
τὰ τῆς ὑπερθέσεως, τί γὰρ ἄν τις ἐν νυκτὶ βου-
λεύσαντο δρασμοῦ πλέον, ἐξὼν περιστρατοπεδεύ-
102 σαντα παραφυλάξαι; μέγα δὲ κέρδος αὐτῶι τὸ

1 ΑΜ: ἀνωθῆσεσθαι: the rest.
2 L1, cf. Lat. ludum fore: πιεζόμενον the rest.
3 ἀπεισοῦντας P.
4 + τῶν L.
extended to them without a thought of vindictiveness for their obstinacy. If hopes of liberty were pardonable, there was no excuse for holding out under impossible conditions. For, should they decline his humane proposals and pledges of good faith, they would experience the relentlessness of his arms and learn all too soon that their walls were a mere plaything for the Roman engines—those walls on the strength of which they alone of the Galilaeans were displaying the obstinacy of prisoners.

(3) To this speech not one of the townsfolk had an opportunity of replying, not being allowed even to mount the wall; for it had all been already occupied by the brigands, while sentries had been posted at the gates to prevent either the exit of any anxious to make terms or the admission of any of the cavalry into the town. It was John who replied, saying that for his part he acquiesced in the proposals and would either persuade or coerce refractory opponents. Titus must, however (he said), in deference to the Jewish law, allow them that day, being the seventh, on which they were forbidden alike to have resort to arms and to conclude a treaty of peace. Even the Romans must be aware that the recurrence of the seventh day brought them repose from all labour; and one who compelled them to transgress that law was no less impious than those who so acted under compulsion. To Titus the delay could cause no injury; for what plot could be laid in a single night, except for flight, and that he could guard against by camping round the city? To
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μηδὲν παραβήναι τῶν πατρίων ἔθων. πρέπει
δὲ τῷ παρὰ προσδοκίαν εἰρήνην χαριζομένω τοῖς
103 σωζομένοις τηρεῖν καὶ τοὺς νόμους. τουούτους
ἔσοφιζετο τὸν Τίτον, οὗ τοσοῦτον τῆς ἐβδομάδος
στοχαζόμενος, ὃσον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας. ἐδε-
δοίκει δὲ ἐγκαταληφθήναι παραχρῆμα τῆς πόλεως
ἀλούσης, ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ φυγῇ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχων τοῦ
104 βίου. θεοῦ δὲ ἦν ἐργὸν ἀρά τοῦ σώζοντος τὸν
Ἰωάννην ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰεροσολυμίτων3 ὀλεθρον
τῷ μὴ μόνον πεισθῆναι Τίτον τῇ σκῆσει τῆς
ὑπερθέσεως, ἅλλα καὶ τῆς πόλεως πορρωτέρω
105 στρατοπεδεύσασθαι πρὸς Κυδασοῖς. μεσόγειοι δὲ
ἔστι Τυρίων κώμῃ καρτερά, διὰ μίσους ἀεὶ καὶ
πολέμου Γαλιλαίοις, ἔχουσα πλῆθος τε οἰκητῶρων
καὶ τὴν όχυρότητα τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἐθνὸς διαφορᾶς
ἐφόδια.

106 (4) Νυκτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἰωάννης ὡς οὐδεμίαν περὶ τῇ
πόλει Ἰωρμαίων ἑώρα φυλακῆν, τὸν καρύν ἄρ-
πασάμενος, οὓς μόνον τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ὀπλίτας
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀργοτέρων συχνοὺς ἀμα ταῖς
107 γενεαῖς ἀναλαβῶν ἐπὶ Ἰεροσολύμων ἔφευγε. μέχρι
μὲν οὖν εὑκοσι σταδίων οἶδον τὰ ἄλλα συνεξαγαγεῖν
γνωαῖκών καὶ παιδίων ὅχλον ἀνθρώπω κατα-
σπερχομένω τοῖς ὑπὲρ αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ τοῦ ἕν
φόβοις, περαιτέρω δὲ προκόπτοντος ἀπελεύντο,καὶ
dὲ νευαὶ τῶν ἑωμένων ἥσαν ὀλοφύρσεις· ὃσον
gὰρ ἐκαστὸς τῶν οἰκεῖων ἐγίνετο πορρωτέρω,
tοσοῦτον ἐγὺς ὑπελάμβανεν εἰναι τῶν πολεμίων,
παρεῖναι τε ἢδη τοὺς αἰχμαλωτισομένους δοκοῦντες

1 πρέπειν Dindorf with Lat. decere; but speeches tend
to drift into oratio recta at the close.
2 ἐγκαταλειφθῆναι, "deserted," PA1L.V2 Lat.
them there would be great gain in being spared any transgression of their national customs. Moreover, it would be becoming in the gracious bestower of an unexpected peace to preserve the laws as well as the lives of his beneficiaries. By such language John imposed on Titus; for he was concerned not so much for the seventh day as for his own safety, and, fearing that he would be caught the instant the city was taken, rested his hopes of life on darkness and flight. But after all it was by the act of God, who was preserving John to bring ruin upon Jerusalem, that Titus was not only influenced by this pretext for delay, but even pitched his camp farther from the city, at Cydasa. This is a strong inland village of the Tyrians, always at feud and strife with the Galilaeans, having its large population and stout defences as resources behind it in its quarrel with the nation.

(4) At nightfall John, seeing no Roman guard about the town, seized his opportunity and, accompanied not only by his armed followers but by a multitude of non-combatants with their families, fled for Jerusalem. For the first twenty furlongs he succeeded in dragging with him this mob of women and children, goaded though he was by terror of captivity and of his life; but after that point as he pushed on they were left behind, and dreadful were their lamentations when thus deserted. For, the farther each was removed from his friends, the nearer did he fancy himself to his foes; and believing that their captors were already upon them they were

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a Probably Kedesh Naphtali, called Kedasa or Kadasa in ii. 459.

8 P2AM: Τεροσονημων the rest.
Επτόηντο, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀλλήλων ἐκ τοῦ δρόμου ψόφον ἐπεστρέφοντο καθάπερ ἥδη παρόντων ὦς
109 ἐφευγον· ἀνοδίας τῇ ἐνέπιπτον οἱ πολλοὶ, καὶ περὶ τὴν λεωφόρον ἡ τῶν φθανόντων ἔρις συνέτριβεν
tous pollous. ὁλκτρὸς δὲ γυναικῶν καὶ παιδίων ὀλεθροὶ ἦν, καὶ τινὲς πρὸς ἀνακλήσεις ἀνδρῶν
te kai syngeneon eθάρσησαν metà kowkutôn ike-
teúousai periménei. ἀλλ' ἐνίκα τὸ Ἰωάννου
parakeleusma sóxei éautous èmboýntos kai
catafeúgnein èntha kai peri τῶν ἀπολειπομένων
amýnountai Ἦρωμαίους ἃν ἄρπαγώση. τὸ μέν
ouν tōn dieiadiastrakóntων plēθos ὡς èkastos
ισχύος εἶχεν ἡ τάχους ἐσκέδαστο.
111 (5) Τίτος δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὰς συνθῆκας πρὸς
112 τὸ τείχος παρῆν. ἀνοιγεὶ δ' αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας ὁ
dήμος, καὶ μετὰ τῶν γενεῶν προσελθόντες ἀνευ-
φήμουν ὡς εὐεργέτην καὶ φουράσ ἐλευθερώσατα
113 τὴν πόλιν· ἐδήλουν γὰρ ἁμα τὴν τοῦ Ἰωάννου
φυγῆν καὶ παρεκάλουν φείσασθαι τε αὐτῶν καὶ
parelðónta tōus úpoleiupoménous tōn nevsteri-
ζόντων κολάσατε. ὁ δὲ τὰς τοῦ δήμου δεήσεις
ἐν δευτέρῳ θέμενος μοῦραν ἐπεμπε τῶν ἱππέων
Ἰωάννην διώξουσαν, οἱ τῶν μὲν οὐ καταλαμ-
βάνουσιν, ἐφθη γὰρ εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα διαφυγῶν,
tῶν δὲ συναπαράντων ἀποκτείνουσι μὲν εἰς
eξακισχίλους, γύναια δὲ καὶ παιδία τρισχιλίω
115 όλίγων ἀποδέοντα περιελάπαστες ἀνήγαγον. ὁ δὲ
116 Τίτος ἤχθετο μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ παραχρήσας τὸν Ἰωάννην τῆς ἀπάτης, ἦκανον δὲ ἀστοχήσαντι τῷ θυμῷ παραμύθιον έχων τὸ
plēθos tōn aixmalōtow kai tōus dieφtharmmévous,
117 εἴστη τε ἀνευφημούμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τοῖς
34
panic-stricken and turned at every sound made by their comrades in flight, under the impression that their pursuers had overtaken them. Many strayed off the track, and on the highway many were crushed in the struggle to keep ahead. Piteous was the fate of the women and children, some making bold to call back their husbands or relatives and imploring them with shrieks to wait for them. But John’s orders prevailed: “Save yourselves,” he cried, “and flee where you can have your revenge on the Romans for any left behind, if they are caught.” So this crowd of fugitives straggled away, each putting out the best strength and speed he had.

(5) Early next day Titus appeared before the walls to conclude the treaty. The gates were opened to him by the people, who came out with their wives and children and hailed him as benefactor and the liberator of their town from bondage: for they proceeded to tell him of John’s flight and besought him to spare them, and to enter the town and punish the insurgents who remained. Titus, regarding the citizens’ petition as of secondary importance, at once dispatched a squadron of cavalry in pursuit of John. These failed to overtake him, the fugitive making good his escape to Jerusalem. But of his companions in flight they killed some six thousand and rounded up and brought back nearly three thousand women and children. Titus was mortified at failing to visit John’s trickery with instant chastisement, but, with this host of prisoners and the slain as a sufficient solace to his disappointed resentment, he now entered the city amidst general

1 Nieße: προσελθόντες mss.
στρατιώταις ὄλιγον τοῦ τείχους παρασπάσαι κε-
λεύσας νόμω καταλήψεως, ἀπειλαῖς μᾶλλον ἦ
κολάσει τοὺς παράσσουτας τὴν πόλιν ἀνέστηλλε.

118 πολλοὺς γὰρ ἢν καὶ διὰ τὰ οἰκεῖα μίση καὶ δια-
φορὰς ἰδίας ἐνδείξασθαι τοὺς ἀναιτίος, εἰ δια-
κρίνοι τοὺς τιμωρίας ἄξιους· ἄμεινον ὦ εἶναι
μετέωρον ἐν φόβῳ τὸν αἷτιον καταλιπεῖν ἢ τινὰ

119 τῶν οὐκ ᾑξίων αὐτῷ συναπολεῖν· τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἰσως
καὶ σωφρονήσαι δέει κολάσεως, τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς
παρωχήκοσι συγγνώμην αἰδούμενον, ἀδιόρθωτον
dὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς παραναλωθείσα τιμωρίαν εἶναι.

120 φρουρᾷ μέντοι τὴν πόλιν ἰσφαλίσατο, δι’ ἦς τοὺς
τε νεωτερίζοντας ἐφέξων καὶ τοὺς εἰρήνικα
φρούροντας ἀρραβωντέρους καταλεύψεις ἐμελλεν.

Γαλλαία μὲν [οὖν] ὡς ἐάλῳ πᾶσα, πολλοῖς
идρῶσι προγυμνάσασα Ὁρμαίοις ἐπὶ τὰ Ἰερο-
σόλυμα.

121 (iii. 1) Πρὸς δὲ τὴν εὔσοδον τοῦ Ἰωάννου ὁ πᾶς
δήμος ἐξεκέχυτο, καὶ περὶ ἐκκοστὸν τῶν συμ-
πεφευγότων μυρίος ὁμιλος συνηθροισμένοι τὰς

122 ἔξωθεν συμφορὰς ἀνεπιστάνοιτο. τῶν δὲ τὸ μὲν
ἀσθμα θερμὸν ἐτὶ κοπτόμενον ἐδήλου τὴν ἀνάγκην,
ἡλαζονεύοντο δὲ κἂν κακοῖς, ὡς πεφευγέναι
Ὀρμαίοις φάσκοντες, ἀλλ’ ἦκειν πολεμήσοντες

123 αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἀσφαλοὺς· ἀλογίστων γὰρ εἶναι καὶ
ἀχρήστων παραβόλως προκινδυνεύειν περὶ Γίσχαλα
καὶ πολίχνας ἀσθενεῖς, δέον τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰς
ἀκμὰς ταμιεύσθαι τῇ μητροπόλει καὶ συμφυλάσ-

124 σειν. ἐνθα δὴ παρεδόλου τὴν ἄλωσιν τῶν
Γίσχάλων, καὶ τὴν λεγομένην εὐσχημόνως ὑπο-

1 Bekker: καὶ mss.
2 Ρ: om. the rest.
acclamations; and, after directing his troops to pull down a small portion of the wall in token of capture, he proceeded to repress the disturbers of the city’s peace rather by threats than by punishment. For he feared that, should he attempt to pick out the offenders who deserved chastisement, many from private animosity and personal quarrels would accuse the guiltless, and he thought it better to leave the guilty in suspense and alarm than to involve any innocent persons in their destruction: since the sinner might perhaps learn wisdom through fear of punishment and respect for the pardon granted him for past offences, whereas the death penalty unjustly inflicted was irremediable. He secured the town, however, by a garrison, calculated to check the rebels and to give confidence to the peaceable citizens on his departure. Galilee was thus now wholly subdued, after affording the Romans a strenuous training for the impending Jerusalem campaign.

(iii. 1) When John entered the capital, the whole population poured forth and each of the fugitives was surrounded by a vast crowd, eagerly asking what had befallen outside. The newcomers, though their breath, still hot and gasping, betrayed their recent stress, nevertheless blustered under their misfortunes, declaring that they had not fled from the Romans, but had come to fight them on safe ground. “It would have been stupid and useless,” they said, “recklessly to risk our lives for Gischala and such defenceless little towns, when we ought to husband our arms and energies for the metropolis and combine to defend it.” Then they casually mentioned the fall of Gischala and their own
125 χώρησιν αυτών οἱ πολλοὶ δραμοῦν ἐνενόουν. ὡς μέντοι τὰ περί τοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας ἥκουσθη, σύγχυσις οὐ μετρία κατέσχε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ μεγάλα τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀλώσεως συνελογίζοντο τὰ
126 τεκμήρια. Ἰωάννης δ’ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς καταλεψθέοις ἠττον ἡρυθρία, περιών δ’ ἐκάστους ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐνήγειν ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, τὰ μὲν Ἡρωμαῖων ἁσθενῆ κατασκευάζων, τὴν δ’ οἴκειαν δύναμιν
127 ἐξαιροῦν, καὶ κατειρωνεύομενος τῆς τῶν ἀπείρων ἀγνοίας, ὡς οὐδ’ ἂν πτερὰ λαβόντες ὑπερβαίνειν ποτε Ἡρωμαῖοι τὸ Ἱεροσολύμων τείχος οἱ περὶ ταῖς Γαλιλαίων κόμων κακοπαθοῦντες καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖ τείχεσι κατατράπαντες τὰς μηχανὰς.

128 (2) Τούτους τὸ πολὺ μὲν τῶν νέων προσδιεφθείρετο καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἤρτο, τῶν δὲ σωφρονοῦντων καὶ γηραιῶν οὐκ ἦν ὀστίς οὐ τὰ μέλλοντα προορώμενοι ὡς ἣδη τῆς πόλεως
129 οἰχομένης ἐπένθει. ο μὲν οὖν δήμος ἦν ἐν τοιαύτῃ συγχύσει, προδέστη δὲ τὸ κατὰ τὴν χώραν
130 πλῆθος τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμωις στάσεως. ο μὲν γὰρ Τίτος ἀπὸ Γιοσχάλων εἰς Καισάρειαν, Ὀυσσα- σιανὸς δὲ ἀπὸ Καισαρείας εἰς Ἰάμνειαν καὶ "Ἀξιων ἀφικομένος παρίσταται τε αὐτὰς καὶ φρουροὺς ἐγκαταστήσας ὑπέστρεψε, πολὺ πλῆθος ἐπαγόμενος τῶν ἐπὶ δεξίᾳ προσκεχωρηκότων.

131 ἐκεῖνοτὸ δ’ ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει ταραχὴ καὶ πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος, ὅσον τε ἀπὸ Ἡρωμαῖων ἀνέπνευοι εἰς

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1 Α41 Λι: καταλεψθέοις the rest.
2 + μὲν mss.
3 C: αὐτάς the rest.

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1 § 130, describing the movements of Titus and Vespasian, comes in rather awkwardly, breaking the close connexion between §§ 129 and 131.

38
"retreat," as they decently called it, though most of their hearers understood them to mean flight. When, however, the story of the prisoners came out, profound consternation took possession of the people, who drew therefrom plain indications of their own impending capture. But John, little abashed at the desertion of his friends, went round the several groups, instigating them to war by the hopes he raised, making out the Romans to be weak, extolling their own power, and ridiculing the ignorance of the inexperienced; even had they wings, he remarked. the Romans would never surmount the walls of Jerusalem, after having found such difficulty with the villages of Galilee and worn out their engines against their walls.

(2) By these harangues most of the youth were seduced into his service and incited to war; but of the sober and elder men there was not one who did not foresee the future and mourn for the city as if it had already met its doom. Such was the confusion prevailing among the citizens, but even before sedition appeared in Jerusalem, party strife had broken out in the country. For when Titus moved from Gischala to Caesarea, Vespasian proceeded from Caesarea to Jamnia and Azotus, and, having reduced those towns and garrisoned them, returned with a large multitude who had surrendered under treaty. 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

In this picture of the effects of sedition the historian probably has in mind, as elsewhere, the famous reflections of Thucydides (iii. 81-84) on revolution.
άλληλους τὰς χεῖρας ἐπέστρεψον. ἦν δὲ τῶν ἑρώτων τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦντας
132 εἰρήνης ἔρις χαλεπῆ. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν οἰκίαις ἡπτετο τῶν ὁμονοούντων πάλαι τῷ φιλόνεικον,
ἐπείτα ἄφηναξοντες ἀλλήλων οἱ φίλτατοι καὶ συνιὼν ἐκαστὸς πρὸς τοὺς τὰ αὐτὰ προαρου-
133 μένους ἠδή κατὰ πλήθος ἀντετάσσοντο. καὶ στάσις μὲν ἦν πανταχοῦ, τὸ νεωτερίζον δὲ καὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐπιθυμοῦν ἐπεκράτει νεότητι καὶ τόλμη
134 γηραιῶν καὶ σωφρόνων. ἐτράποντο δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς ἁρπαγὰς ἐκαστοὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἐπείτα
συντασσόμενοι κατὰ λόχους ἐπὶ ληστείαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν, ὡς ὀμότητος καὶ παρανομίας ἕνεκεν αὐτοῖς μηδὲν Ὄρωμαίων τοὺς ὀμοφύλους
dιαφέρειν καὶ πολὺ τοῖς πορθομένοις κοινο-
tέραν δοκεῖν τὴν ὑπὸ Ὄρωμαίως ἄλωσιν.
135 (3) Οἱ φρουροί δὲ τῶν πόλεων τὰ μὲν ὄκυν τοῦ κακοπαθεῖν, τὰ δὲ μίσει τοῦ ἐθνοῦς, οὐδὲν ἡ μικρὰ
προσήμυνον τοῖς κακουμένοις, μέχρι κόρω τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἁρπαγῶν ἀθροισθέντες οἱ τῶν
πανταχοῦ συνταγμάτων ἀρχιληπταὶ καὶ γενόμενοι
ποιηρίας στίφος εἰς τὰ Ἰεροσόλυμα παρεισ-
136 φθείρονται, πολὺν ἀστρατήγητον καὶ πατρίῳ μὲν ἐθεὶ πᾶν ἀπαρατηρήτως δεχομένην τὸ ὁμόφυλον,
tοτὲ δ' οἰομένων ἁπάντων τοὺς ἐπιχειμένους
137 πάντας ἀπ' εὐνοίας ἢκειν συμμάχους. ο δὴ καὶ
dίχα τῆς στάσεως ὑποτευν ἐβάττυσεν τὴν πόλιν.
πλήθει γὰρ ἀχρήστω καὶ ἀργῷ προεξαναλώθη
tὰ τοῖς μαχίμοις διαρκεῖν δυνάμενα, καὶ πρὸς

1 + λαοὶ mss.: expunged in A.
2 ἐπεισχειμένους MC (similar variant in § 307).
between each other. Between the enthusiasts for war and the friends of peace contention raged fiercely. Beginning in the home this party rivalry first attacked those who had long been bosom friends; then the nearest relations severed their connexions and joining those who shared their respective views ranged themselves henceforth in opposite camps. Faction reigned everywhere: and the revolutionary and militant party overpowered by their youth and recklessness the old and prudent. The various cliques began by pillaging their neighbours, then banding together in companies they carried their depredations throughout the country; insomuch that in cruelty and lawlessness the sufferers found no difference between compatriots and Romans, indeed to be captured by the latter seemed to the unfortunate victims far the lighter fate.

(3) The garrisons of the towns, partly from reluctance to take risks, partly from their hatred of the nation, afforded little or no protection to the distressed. In the end, satiated with their pillage of the country, the brigand chiefs of all these scattered bands joined forces and, now merged into one pack of villainy, stole into poor Jerusalem—a city under no commanding officer and one which, according to hereditary custom, unguardedly admitted all of Jewish blood, and the more readily at that moment when it was universally believed that all who were pouring into it came out of goodwill as its allies. Yet it was just this circumstance which, irrespectively of the sedition, eventually wrecked the city; for supplies which might have sufficed for the combatants were squandered upon a useless and idle mob, who brought upon themselves.
τῶν πολέμων στάσιν τε ἕαυτοῖς καὶ λιμῶν ἐπικατ-εσκεύασαν.

138 (4) "Αλλοι τε ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας λησταὶ παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς ἐνδὸν προσλαβόντες χαληπωτέρους οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν δεινῶν παρίσσαν.

139 οὔ γε οὐ μόνον ἀρπαγαίς καὶ λωποδυσίαις τὴν τόλμαν ἐμέτρουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι φόνων ἐχώρουν, οὐ νυκτὸς ἡ λαθραίως ἢ ἐπὶ τοὺς τυχόντας, ἀλλὰ φανερῶς καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ τῶν ἐπισημοτάτων καταρχόμενοι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Ἀντίπαν, ἄνδρα τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν δυνατωτάτων, ὡς καὶ τοὺς δήμοις θησαυροῦσιν πεπιστεύσθαι, συλλαβόντες ἐβραῖον· ἐπὶ τούτῳ Ληστάν τινὰ τῶν ἐπισημών καὶ Συφᾶν ύιὸν Ἀρεγέτου, βασιλικόν δ’ ἦν καὶ τούτων τὸ γένος, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν προύχεν δοκοῦντας.

140 δεινὴ δὲ κατάπληξες εἰχὲ τὸν δῆμον, καὶ καθάπερ κατειλημμένης τῆς πόλεως πολέμῳ τὴν καθ’ αὐτὸν ἔκαστος σωτηρίαν ἤγαπα.

141 (5) Τοῖς δὲ οὖν ἀπέχρη τὰ δεσμὰ τῶν συνειλημμένων, οὐδὲ ἀσφαλέσ ὄντο τὸ μέχρι πολλοῦ δυνατούς ἄνδρας οὕτω φιλάσσειν ἱκανοὺς μὲν γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τοὺς οὐκοὺς αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀμολυσαν οὖν ὀλγούνδροις ὄντας, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δήμον ἐπαναστήσεθαι τάχα κυνηθέντα πρὸς τὴν παρα-

142 νομίαν. δοξαν οὖν ἀναιρεῖν αὐτοὺς, Ἰωάννην τινὰ πέμπουσιν τὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς φόνους προχειρότατον.

1 οὖν ἁρμαί. 
2 PA, cf. 'Ρεγέτου L, Rageti Lat.: Ῥαγ(Ρεγ-)ῶλου, Ραγουήλου the rest.

* He, with two other relatives of Agrippa II, Saul and Costobar, had sought through the king’s influence to nip
in addition to the war, the miseries of sedition and famine.

(4) Fresh brigands from the country entering the city and joining the yet more formidable gang within, abstained henceforth from no enormities. For, not restricting their audacity to raids and highway robberies, they now proceeded to murders, committed not under cover of night or clandestinely or on ordinary folk, but openly, in broad daylight, and with the most eminent citizens for their earliest victims. The first was Antipas, one of the royal family and he carried such weight in the city that he was entrusted with the charge of the public treasury. Him they arrested and imprisoned, and after him Levias, one of the nobles, and Syphas, son of Aregetes—both also of royal blood—besides other persons of high reputation throughout the country. Dire panic now seized the people, and as if the city had been captured by the enemy none cherished any thought but that of his personal security.

(5) The brigands, however, were not satisfied with having put their captives in irons, and considered it unsafe thus to keep for long in custody influential persons, with numerous families quite capable of avenging them; they feared, moreover, that the people might be moved by their outrageous action to rise against them. They accordingly decided to kill their victims and commissioned for this purpose the most handy assassin among them, one John,

the Jewish revolt in the bud (ii. 418); later, he remained in Jerusalem when the others fled (ii. 557).
JOSEPHUS

Δορκάδος οὗτος ἐκαλεῖτο παῖς κατὰ τὴν ἐπιγρώμιον γλώσσαν· ὃ δέκα συνελθόντες εἰς τὴν εἰρκτὴν ἐξιθηρεῖς ἀποσφάττουσιν τοὺς συνελθημενοὺς.¹

146 παρανομήματι δ’ ἐν² τηλικοῦτω μεγάλως ἐπεψευ- δοντο² καὶ πρόφασιν.³ διαλεξηθηκαν γὰρ αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίους περὶ παραδόσεως τῶν Ἱεροολυμων, καὶ προδότας ἀνηρμένην τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐφασκον, καθόλου τ’ ἐπηλαζοῦντο τοῖς τολμή- μασιν ὡς εὑρέθηται καὶ σωτῆρες τῆς πόλεως γεγενημένοι.

147 (6) Ἔννεβη δὲ εἰς τοσοῦτον τοῖς μὲν δήμου ταπεινότητος καὶ δεόντως, ἐκεῖνος δ’ ἀπονοιας προελθεῖν, ώς ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς εἴναι καὶ τὰς χειροτονίας

148 τῶν ἄρχιερέων. ἀκυρα γοῦν τὰ γένη πονῆσαντες, ἐξ ὑπὸ κατὰ διαδοχὰς οἱ ἄρχιερεῖς ἀπεδείκυντο, καθόστασαν ἁσύμους καὶ ἄγενεῖς, ὡν ἔχουεν

149 συνεργοὺς τῶν ἀσεβημάτων· τοῖς γὰρ παρ’ άξιαν ἐπιτυχοῦσι τῆς ἀνωτάτω τιμῆς ύπακούειν ἢν

150 ἀνάγκη τοῖς παρασχοῦσι. συνέκρουον δὲ καὶ τούς ἐν τέλει ποικίλαις ἐπινοοιας καὶ λογοποιαιας, καυρον ἑαυτοῖς ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν κωλυν- των φιλονεικίας ποιοῦμενοι, μέχρι τῶν εἰς ἀνθρω- ποις ύπερεμπληθθέντες ἀδικημάτων ἐπὶ το θείον μετήνεγκαν τὴν υβρίν καὶ μεμισμένοι τοῖς ποσὶ παρῆσαν εἰς τὸ ἄγιον.

151 (7) Ἐπαινεσταμένου τε αὐτοῖς ἡδη τοῦ πλήθους,

¹ εἰρτμένους LC Exc. and margin of PAM.
² ἐπι CAmax. : Niese (ed. min.) omits.
³ Dindorf: ἀπεψευδοντο mss.
⁴ προφάσεις ἀνεπλαττον PAM.

a i.e. “Gazelle,” in Aramaic Bar Tabitha (cf. Acts ix. 36): Dorcas was used also by Greeks as a woman’s name (Wetstein).
known in their native tongue as son of Dorcas: he with ten others entered the gaol with drawn swords and butchered the prisoners. For such a monstrous crime they invented as monstrous an excuse, declaring that their victims had conferred with the Romans concerning the surrender of Jerusalem and had been slain as traitors to the liberty of the state. In short, they boasted of their audacious acts as though they had been the benefactors and saviours of the city.

(6) In the end, to such abject prostration and terror were the people reduced and to such heights of madness rose these brigands, that they actually took upon themselves the election to the high priesthood. Abrogating the claims of those families from which in turn the high priests had always been drawn, they appointed to that office ignoble and low born individuals, in order to gain accomplices in their impious crimes; for persons who had undeservedly attained to the highest dignity were bound to obey those who had conferred it. Moreover, by various devices and libellous statements, they brought the official authorities into collision with each other, finding their own opportunity in the bickerings of those who should have kept them in check; until, glutted with the wrongs which they had done to men, they transferred their insolence to the Deity and with polluted feet invaded the sanctuary.

(7) An insurrection of the populace was at length

⁵ For this limitation of the high priesthood to a few privileged families see Schürer, G.J.V. (ed. 3) ii. 222. The contents of this section are partly repeated in that which follows: a duplication perhaps indicating imperfect editorial revision.
JOSEPHUS

ένηγε γάρ ὁ γεραίτατος1 τῶν ἀρχιερέων Ἀνανος, ἀνὴρ σωφρονέστατος καὶ τάχα ἂν διασώσας τὴν πόλιν, εἰ τὰς τῶν ἐπιβουλῶν χείρας ἐξέφυγεν, οἱ δὲ τῶν νεῶν τοῦ θεοῦ φρούριον αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου παραχῶν ποιοῦνται καταφυγῆν, 152 καὶ τυραννεῖον ἦν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἁγιον. παρεκιρνατο δὲ τοῖς δεινοῖς εἰρωνεία, τὸ τῶν ἐνεργομενῶν 153 ἀλγεινότερον ἀποπειρώμενον γὰρ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καταπλῆξεως καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν δοκιμάζοντες ἱσχὺν κληρωτοὺς ἑπεχείρησαν ποιεῖν τοὺς ἁρχιερεῖς οὐσίας, ὡς ἐφαμεν, κατὰ γένος αὐτῶν τῆς διαδοχῆς. 154 ἦν δὲ πρόσχημα μὲν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς2 ἔθος ἁρχαίον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πάλαι κληρωτὴν ἐφασαν εἶναι τὴν ἁρχιερωσύνην, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς τοῦ βεβαιοτέρου3 κατάλυσις καὶ τέχνη πρὸς δυναστείαν τὰς ἁρχὰς δι' αὐτῶν καθισταμένοις.

155 (8) Καὶ δὴ μεταπεμψάμενοι μίαν τῶν ἁρχιερατικῶν φυλῆς, Ἐνιάχων καλεῖται, διεκλήρον ἁρχιερέα, λαγχάνει δ' ἀπὸ τύχης δ' μάλιστα διαδείξας αὐτῶν τὴν παρανομίαν, Φανὴς τις ὄνομα, νίοι Σαμουήλου κώμης Ἀφθίας, ἀνὴρ οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐξ ἁρχιερέων, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπιστάμενος σαφῶς τί ποτ' ἦν ἁρχιερωσύνη δι' ἀγροικίαν. ἀπὸ γοῦν τῆς χωρᾶς αὐτῶν ἀκοντα σύραντες ὡσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἀλλοτρίῳ κατεκόσμου προσωπεῖω, τὴν

1 γεραίτατος PAM.
2 Niese: ἐπιβολής mss.
3 L1: + νόμον the rest.

a For his murder and an encomium on his character see §§ 316-325.
b Or "by families"; see § 148.
c The φυλή ("clan") is a subdivision of the πατρία or ἐφημερίς ("course"). Josephus himself belonged to the
pending, instigated by Ananus, the senior of the chief priests, a man of profound sanity, who might possibly have saved the city, had he escaped the conspirators’ hands. At this threat these wretches converted the temple of God into their fortress and refuge from any outbreak of popular violence, and made the Holy Place the headquarters of their tyranny. To these horrors was added a spice of mockery more galling than their actions. For, to test the abject submission of the populace and make trial of their own strength, they essayed to appoint the high priests by lot, although, as we have stated, the succession was hereditary. As pretext for this scheme they adduced ancient custom, asserting that in old days the high priesthood had been determined by lot; but in reality their action was the abrogation of established practice and a trick to make themselves supreme by getting these appointments into their own hands.

They accordingly summoned one of the high-priestly clans, called Eniachin, and cast lots for a high priest. By chance the lot fell to one who proved a signal illustration of their depravity; he was an individual named Phanni, son of Samuel, of the village of Aphthia, a man who not only was not descended from high priests, but was such a clown that he scarcely knew what the high priesthood meant. At any rate they dragged their reluctant victim out of the country and, dressing him up for his assumed part, as on the stage, put the sacred first of the twenty-four priestly courses, and to the most eminent of its constituent clans, Vita 2. The clan Eniachin is mentioned here only; the suggestion of Lowth to read Ἱακίμ for Ἐνιάχιν (‘Eniakelw), comparing 1 Chron. xxiv. 12 (the course Jakim), is uncalled for.

\(^a\) Site unknown.

\(^b\) 47
Jospehus

τ’ ἐσθητα περιτυθέντες τὴν ἱερᾶν καὶ τὸ τί δεῖ
157 ποιεῖν ἔπι καιροῦ διδάσκοντες. χλεύη δ' ἦν ἐκείνοις καὶ παιδιὰ τὸ τηλικοῦτον ἀσέβημα, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἱερεύσιν ἐπιθεωμένοις πόρρωθεν παῖζομενον τῶν νόμων δακρύευν ἐπῆει καὶ κατέστενον τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν τιμῶν κατάλυσιν.
158 (9) Ταύτην τὴν τόλμαν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἦνεγκεν ὁ δήμος, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἔπι τυραννίδος κατάλυσιν ὁ ἐρμηνυτὸ πάντες· καὶ γὰρ οἱ προύχειν αὐτῶν δοκοῦντες, Γωρίων τε νίδος Ἰωσήπου καὶ ὁ Γαμαλιήλου Συμεὼν, παρεκρότουν ἐν τε ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀθρόσου καὶ κατ' ἱδίαν περιμόντες ἐκαστον ἠδη ποτὲ τίσασθαι τοὺς λυμεώνας τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ καθάρα τῶν μιαφόνων τὸ ἀγιόν,
159 οἱ τε δοκιμώτατοι τῶν ἀρχιερέων, Γαμάλα μὲν νίδος Ἰησοῦς Ἀνάνου δὲ Ἁνανος, πολλὰ τοῖς δήμοι εἰς νωθείαν κατονεδίζοντες ἐν ταῖς συνόδοις ἐπήγειρον τοῖς ζηλώσανταϊ· τούτῳ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκάλεσαν ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ζηλώσαντες τὰ κάκιστα τῶν ἐργῶν [καὶ] ὑπερβαλλόμενοι.
160 (10) Καὶ δὴ συνελθόντος τοῦ πλῆθους εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ πάντων ἀγανακτούντων μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ καταλῆψει τῶν ἁγίων ταῖς τε ἀρπαγαίς καὶ τοῖς πεφονευμένοις, οὕτω δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἄμυναν ὄρμημένων τῶν δυσεπιχειρήστους, ὅπερ ἦν, τοὺς ζηλωτὰς ὑπολαμβάνειν, καταστάς ἐν μέσοις ὁ

1 ἀλλ' οὐχὶ L Lat.: ἀλλοὺs the rest. 2 om. PA Lat.

a Probably the Joseph, son of Gorion, who, along with Ananus, was given supreme control in Jerusalem at the outbreak of war, ii. 563; the younger Gorion here mentioned bears his grandfather's name.

48
vestments upon him and instructed him how to act in keeping with the occasion. To them this monstrous impiety was a subject for jesting and sport, but the other priests, beholding from a distance this mockery of their law, could not restrain their tears and bemoaned the degradation of the sacred honours.

(9) This latest outrage was more than the people could stand, and as if for the overthrow of a despotism one and all were now roused. For their leaders of outstanding reputation, such as Gorion, son of Joseph,\(^a\) and Symeon,\(^b\) son of Gamaliel, by public addresses to the whole assembly and by private visits to individuals, urged them to delay no longer to punish these wreckers of liberty and purge the sanctuary of its bloodstained polluters. Their efforts were supported by the most eminent of the high priests, Jesus,\(^c\) son of Gamala, and Ananus, son of Ananus, who at their meetings vehemently upbraided the people for their apathy and incited them against the Zealots; for so these miscreants called themselves, as though they were zealous in the cause of virtue and not for vice in its basest and most extravagant form.

(10) And now, the populace being convened to a general assembly, when indignation was universally expressed at the occupation of the sanctuary, at the raids and murders, but no attempt at resistance had yet been made, owing to a belief, not unfounded, that the Zealots would prove difficult to dislodge,

\(^a\) Probably identical with Simon, son of Gamaliel, of whom, notwithstanding his opposition to Josephus, the historian, writes in the highest terms in \textit{Vita} 190 ff.

\(^b\) Befriended Josephus, \textit{Vita} 193, 204; for his death and the historian's encomium upon him see §§ 316 ff.
"Ανανος καὶ πολλάκις εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀπίδων ἐμ- 163 πλήσας τε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δακρύσων "ἡ καλὸν γ'," εἶπεν, "ἢ ἔμοι τεθνάναι πρὶν ἐπιδείξαι τὸν ὀἴκον τοῦ θεοῦ τοσοῦτοι ἀγέσι καταγέμισαν καὶ τὰς ἀβάτους καὶ ἀγίας χώρας ποσὶ μιαφόνων 164 στενοχώρουμένας. ἀλλὰ περικείμενος τὴν ἀρχιερα- τικὴν ἔσθητα καὶ τὸ τιμωτάτον καλοῦμενος τῶν σεβασμίων ὀνομάτων, ζῶ καὶ φιλοψυχῶ, μηδ' ὑπὲρ τούμου γῆρως ὑπομένων εὐκλεῇ θάνατον. ἦ τε δὲ δεῖ μόνος εἰμὶ καὶ καθάπερ ἐν ἐρήμῳ τὴν ἐμαυτῷ ψυχὴν ἐπιδῶσῳ μὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ. 165 τί γὰρ καὶ δεὶ ἐκεῖν ἐν δήμῳ συμφορῶν ἀναισ- θητοῦντι καὶ παρ' οἷς ἀπόλωλεν ἡ τῶν ἐν χεροὶ παθῶν ἀντίληψις; ἀρπαζόμενοι γοῦν ἀνέξεσθε καὶ τυπτόμενοι σώπάτε, καὶ τοῖς φονευμένοις 166 οὐδ' ἐπιστένει τις ἀναφανδόν. ὡ τῆς πικρᾶς τυραννίδος. τί [δὲ] μέμφομαι τοὺς τυράννους; μὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἔτραφησαν υφ' υμῶν καὶ τῆς υμετέρας 167 ἀνεξικακίας; μὴ γὰρ οὐχ ὑμεῖς περιδόντες τοὺς πρώτους συνισταμένους, ἐτὶ δ' ἦσαν ὅλγοι, πλείους ἐποίησατε τῇ σιωπῇ καὶ καθοπλιζομένων ἥρμοντες καθ' ἐαυτῶν ἐπεστρέψατε τὰ ὀπλα, 168 δέν τὰς πρώτας αὐτῶν ἐπικόπτειν ὀρμᾶς, ὅτε λοιδορᾶς καθήπτοντο τῶν εὐγενῶν, ὑμεῖς δ' ἀμελήσαντες ἐφ' ἀρμαγάς παρωξύνατε τοὺς ἀλι- τηρίους, καὶ πορθομένων ὀίκων λόγους ἢν οὐδεὶς- τουχαροῦν αὐτοὺς ἤρπαξον τοὺς δεσπότας, καὶ συρομένοις διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως οὐδεὶς ἐπήμυνεν.

1 Destinon (Lat. nec .. quidem): μηθ' PAML: μηκέτι: the rest.
2 ei dei conj.: ei deit μῆ ΠΑ: ei ὑῆ μῆ L: ei de ὕη the rest.
50
Ananus arose in the midst and, often gazing on the Temple with eyes filled with tears, spoke as follows:

"Truly well had it been for me to have died ere I had seen the house of God laden with such abominations and its unapproachable and hallowed places crowded with the feet of murderers! And yet I who wear the high priest's vestments, who bear that most honoured of venerated names, am alive and clinging to life, instead of braving a death which would shed lustre on my old age. If it must be then, alone will I go and, as in utter desolation, devote this single life of mine in the cause of God. Why, indeed, should I live amongst a people insensible to calamities, who have lost the will to grapple with the troubles on their hands? When plundered you submit, when beaten you are silent, nay over the murdered none dares audibly to groan! What bitter tyranny! Yes, but why blame I the tyrants? For have they not been fostered by you and your forbearance? Was it not you who by allowing those first recruits to combine, when they were yet but few, swelled their numbers by your silence, and by your inaction when they were arming drew those arms upon yourselves? You should have cut short their opening attacks when they were assailing the nobles with abuse; instead, by your negligence you incited the miscreants 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, none rose in their defence. They

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3 Destinon with Lat.: εἰμὶ mss.
4 Destinon: σὺγγενῶν mss.
169 οἱ δὲ καὶ δεσμοὶ ἦκίσαντο τοὺς ὑφ' ὑμῶν προ-
doθέντας, ἐὼ λέγειν πόσους καὶ ποδαποὺς. ἀλλ' ἀκαταπτάτους ἀκρίτοις οὔδεις ἐβοήθησε τοῖς δεδε-
170 μένοις. ἀκόλουθον ἦν ἐπιδείν τοὺς αὐτοὺς φο-
νεομένους, ἐπείδομεν καὶ τοῦτο, καθάπερ ἐξ ἀγέλης ζων ἀλόγων ἐλκομένου τοῦ κρατι-
στεύοντος αἰ̃ ὑμάτου, οὐδὲ φωνήν τις ἀφήκεν,
171 οὖχ ὅπως ἐκίνησε τὴν δεξιάν. φέρετε δὴ τοίνυν, 
φέρετε πατούμενα βλέποντες [καὶ] 1 τὰ ἁγια καὶ 
πάντας υποδέντες αὐτοῖς τὸς ἁνοσίσις τῶν τῶν 
τολμημάτων βαθμοὺς μὴ βαρύνεσθε τὴν ὑπεροχήν,
καὶ γὰρ νῦν πάντως ἂν ἐπὶ μεῖζον προκύψαν,
172 εἰ τι τῶν ἁγίων καταλύσαε μεῖζον εἴχον. κεκράτη-
tαι μὲν οὖν τὸ ὀχυρώτατον τῆς πόλεως: λεγόμενο 
γὰρ νῦν τὸ ἱερὸν ἦν ἄκρα τις ἡ φρούριον ἔχοντες 
ὁ ἐπιτεθειμισμένης τυραννίδα τοσαύτην καὶ τοὺς 
ἐχθροὺς ὑπὲρ κορυφήν βλέποντες, τῇ βουλεύεσθε
173 καὶ τίς τὰς γνώμας προσθάλπετε; Ἡρωμαῖοις 
ἀρα περιμενεῖτε, ἵνα ὑμῶν βοηθήσωσι τοῖς ἁγίους; 
ἐχει μὲν οὖν τὰ πράγματα τῇ πόλει, καὶ πρὸς 
τοσοῦτον ἥκομεν συμφορῶν, ἵνα ἤμας ἑλεήσωσι
174 καὶ πολέμιοι; 2 οὐκ ἐξαναστήσεσθε, ὡς 
τλημονε-
στατοί, καὶ πρὸς τὰς πληγάς ἐπιστραφέντες, ὁ 
καὶ τῶν θηρίων ἔστιν ιδείν, τοὺς τύπτοντας 
ἀμυνεῖσθε; οὐκ ἀναμνήσεσθε τῶν ἱδίων ἐκαστῶν 
συμφορῶν, οὗτ' ἄ πεπόνθατε πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν 
θέμενοι τὰς ψυχὰς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς θῆξετε πρὸς τὴν

1 ins. L 1 Lat.: om. the rest.
2 Mark of interrogation substituted for full stop in mss.

[1] ἐπιτεθειμισμένης τυραννίδα: the phrase comes from τυραννίδα . . . ἐπετείχεσιν υμῖν in the fourth Philippic attributed to Demosthenes (133).

52
next proceeded to inflict the indignity of bonds upon those whom you had betrayed. The number and nature of these I forbear to state, but though they were unimpeached, uncondemned, not a man assisted them in their bondage. The natural sequel was to watch these same men massacred; that spectacle also we have witnessed, when as from a herd of dumb cattle one prize victim after another was dragged to the slaughter; yet not a voice, much less a hand, was raised. Bear then, yes bear, I say, this further sight of the trampling of your sanctuary; and, after yourselves laying each step of the ladder for the audacity of these profane wretches to mount, do not grudge them the attainment of the climax! Indeed by now they would assuredly have proceeded to greater heights, had aught greater than the sanctuary remained for them to overthrow.

"Well, they have mastered the strongest point in the city—for henceforth the Temple must be spoken of as a mere citadel or fortress; but with such a tyrants' stronghold entrenched in your midst," with the spectacle of your foes above your heads, what plans have you, what further cherished hopes console your minds? Will you wait for the Romans to succour our holy places? Has the city come to such a pass, are we reduced to such misery, that even enemies must pity us? Will you never rise, most long-suffering of men, and turning to meet the lash, as even the beast may be seen to turn, retaliate on them that smite you? Will you not call to mind each one of you his personal calamities and, holding before your eyes all that you have undergone, whet
175 ἄμμυαν; ἀπόλωλεν ἅρα παρ' ὑμῖν τὸ τιμιώτατον τῶν παθῶν καὶ φυσικώτατον, ἐλευθερίας ἐπιθυμία, φιλόδουλοι δὲ καὶ φιλοδέσποτοι γεγόναμεν, ὡσπερ ἐκ προγόνων τὸ ὑποτάσσεσθαι παραλαβόντες.  
176 ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι γε πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτονομίας πολέμους διήγεγκαν καὶ οὔτε τῆς Αἰγυπτίων οὔτε τῆς Μήδων δυναστείας ἡττήθησαν  
177 ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ποιεῖν τὸ κελευόμενον. καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ τῶν προγόνων λέγειν; ἀλλ' ὁ νῦν πρὸς Ἦρω- μαίους πόλεμος, ἐὼ διελέγχειν πότερον λυσιτελῆς ἢν καὶ σύμφορος ἡ τούπαντιν, τίνα δ' οὖν ἔχει  
178 πρόφασιν; οὐ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν; εἶτα τοὺς τῆς οἰκουμένης δεσπότας μὴ φέροντες τῶν ὀμοφύλων  
179 τυράννων ἀνεξόμεθα; καὶ τοῦτό τοῦτο ἐξωθεὶν υπακούειν ἀνενέγκαι τις ἢν εἰς τὴν ἀπαξ ἡττή- σασαν τύχην, τὸ δὲ τοῖς οἰκείοις εἰκεῖν πονηρὸς  
180 ἀγεινῶν ἔστι καὶ προαιρομένων. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπαξ ἐμνήσθην Ἦρωμαίων, οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι πρὸς υμᾶς εἰπεῖν δ' ἡ μεταξὺ τῶν λόγων ἐμπεσὼν ἐπέστρεψε τὴν διάνοιαν, ὧτι κἂν ἀλῶμεν ὑπ' ἐκεῖνος, ἀπείη δὲ ἡ πείρα τοῦ λόγου, χαλεπώτερον οὐδέν παθεῖν ἔχομεν ὡς ἠμᾶς διασεβίκασιν οὔτοι.  
181 πῶς δ' οὐ δακρύων ἄξιον ἐκεῖνων μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ἀναθήματα βλέπειν, τῶν δὲ ὀμοφύλων τὰ σκύλα σεσυληκότων καὶ ἀνελόντων τὴν τῆς μητροπόλεως εὐγένειαν, καὶ πεφονευμένους ἄνδρας  
182 ὃν ἀπέσχοντο ἄν κάκεινοι κρατήσαντες; καὶ Ἦρωμαίων μὲν μηδέποτε ὑπερβῆναι τὸν ὅρον τῶν
your souls for revenge upon them? Have you then lost that most honourable, that most instinctive, of passions—the desire for liberty? Have we fallen in love with slavery, in love with our masters, as though submission were a heritage from our forefathers? Nay, they sustained many a mighty struggle for independence and yielded neither to Egyptian nor to Median domination, in their determination to refuse obedience to a conqueror's behests. But why need I speak of the deeds of our forefathers? We are now at war with Rome; I forbear to inquire whether such war is profitable and expedient or the reverse, but what is its pretext? Is it not liberty? If, then, we refuse to bow to the lords of the inhabited world, are we to tolerate domestic tyrants? Yet subservience to the foreigner might be attributed to fortune having once for all proved too strong for us; whereas to surrender to villains of one's own country argues a base and deliberate servility.

"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: I mean that even should we fall beneath their arms—God forbid that those words should ever be our lot!—we can suffer no greater cruelty than what these men have already inflicted upon us. Is it not enough to bring tears to the eyes to see on the one hand in our Temple courts the very votive offerings of the Romans, on the other the spoils of our fellow-countrymen who have plundered and slain the nobility of the metropolis, massacring men whom even the Romans, if victorious, would have spared? Is it not lamentable, that, while the Romans never
βεβήλων μηδὲ παραβήναι τι τῶν ιερῶν ἑθῶν, πεφρικέναι δὲ πόρρωθεν ὀρῶντας τοὺς τῶν ἁγίων
183 περίβολους, γεννηθέντας δὲ τινας ἐν τῇ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τραφέντας ὑπὸ τοὺς ἁμετέρους ἔθεσιν καὶ Ἰουδαίους καλουμένους ἐμπεριπατεῖν μέσοις τοῖς ἁγίοις, θερμάς ἐτί τὰς χεῖρας ἐξ ὀμοφύλων
184 ἐχοντας φόνων; εἰτὰ τις δέδουκεν τὸν ἐξωθεν πόλεμον καὶ τοὺς ἐν συγκρίσει πολλῷ τῶν οἰκείων ἡμῖν μετριωτέρους; καὶ γὰρ ἤν, εἰ ἐτύμως δεῖ τοῖς πράγμασι τὰς κλήσεις ἐφαρμόζειν, τάχα ἀν εὐροί τις Ῥωμαίους μὲν ἡμῖν βεβιωτάς τῶν
185 νόμων, πολεμίους δὲ τοὺς ἐνδόν. ὅλλ’ ὅτι μὲν ἐξώλεις οἱ ἐπίθοι λοι τῆς ἑλευθερίας, καὶ πρὸς ἀ δεδράκασσον οὐκ ἂν τις ἐπινοήσειν δίκην ἄξιαν κατ’ αὐτῶν, οὐμαι πάντας ἤκειν πεπεισμένους οἴκοθεν καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων παρωξύθαι
186 τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς, ἃ πεπόνθατε. καταπληγοῦνται δ’ ήσως οἱ πολλοί τὸ τε πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν τόλμαν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ τόπου πλεονεξίαν.
187 ταῦτα δ’ ὀσπερ συνέστη διὰ τὴν υμετέραν ἀμέλειαν, καὶ νῦν αὔξηθήσεται πλέον ὑπερθεμένων καὶ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέφεται καθ’ ἡμέραν, παντὸς σονηροῦ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίους αὐτο-
188 μολούντος, καὶ τὴν τόλμαν ἐξάπτει μέχρι νῦν μηδὲν ἐμπόδιον, τῷ τε τόπῳ καθύπερθεν ὄντες χρήσαιν ἃν καὶ μετά παρασκευῆς, ἀν ἡμεῖς

1 natos Lat.: γεννηθέντας Niese.
2 om. αν L.
3 Niese: χρήσαιντο miss.

Or, if τῶν βεβήλων is neuter, “the limit of the unhallowed (permitted) ground.” The reference is to the stone balustrade (ὁμφακτος) separating the inner temple from the outer court, with its warning inscriptions in Greek and Latin,
overstepped the limit fixed for the profane, never violated one of our sacred usages, but beheld with awe from afar the walls that enclose our sanctuary, persons born in this very country, nurtured under our institutions and calling themselves Jews should freely perambulate our holy places, with hands yet hot with the blood of their countrymen? After that, can any still dread the war with the foreigner and foes who by comparison are far more lenient to us than our own people? Indeed, if one must nicely fit the phrase to the fact, it is the Romans who may well be found to have been the upholders of our laws, while their enemies were within the walls.

"However, of the abandoned character of these conspirators against liberty and that it would be impossible to conceive any adequate punishment for what they have done, I feel sure that you were all convinced when you left your homes, and that before this address of mine you were already driven to exasperation against them by those misdeeds from which you have suffered. Perhaps, however, most of you are overawed by their numbers, their audacity, and the further advantage which they derive from their position. But, as these arose through your supineness, so will they now be increased, the longer you delay. Indeed, their numbers are growing daily, as every villain deserts to his like; their audacity is fired by meeting so far with no obstruction; and they will doubtless avail themselves of their superior position, with the added benefit of forbidding foreigners to pass under pain of death, v. 193 f. While the ordinary Roman scrupulously observed the rule, (ii. 341 Neapolitanus pays his devotions "from the permitted area"), conquerors such as Pompey, and even Titus himself, penetrated to the Holy Place (Ap. ii. 82, B. i. 152, vi. 260).
189 χρόνον δῶμεν. πιστεύσατε δ' ὡς, εάν προσβαίνωμεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, ἐσονται τῇ συνειδήσει ταπεινότεροι, καὶ τὸ πλεονέκτημα τοῦ υψοῦς ὁ λογισμὸς ἀπολείπει. τάχα τὸ θείον ύβρισμένον ἀναστρέψει κατ' αὐτῶν τὰ βαλλόμενα, καὶ τοῖς σφετέροις διαφαραχθούντα βέλεσιν οἱ δυσσεβείς. μόνον
190 ὁφθώμεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ καταλέλυται. καλὸν δὲ, κἂν προσῆ τις κίνδυνος, ἀποθνῄσκειν πρὸς τοὺς ἕρωις πυλώσι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρὸ παίδων ἡ γυναίκων, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν
191 ἀγίων προέσθαι. προστήσουμαι δ' ἐγὼ γνώμην τε καὶ χειρὶ, καὶ οὕτ' ἐπινοιά τις ὑμῖν λείψει πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἐξ ἦμών οὔτε τοῦ σώματος ὀψεσθε φειδόμενον."

192 (11) Τούτοις ὁ ᾿Ανανος παρακροτεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τοὺς ξηλωτάς, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦν μὲν ὡς εἰδὲν ἡδὲ δυσκατάλυτοι πλήθει τε καὶ νεότητι καὶ παραστήματί ψυχῆς, τὸ πλέον δὲ συνειδήσει τῶν εἰργασμένων οὐ γὰρ ἐνδώσειν αὐτοὺς εἰς ἔσχατον 1
194 συγγνώμην ἐφ' οἷς ἔδρασαν ἀπελπίσαντας· ὁμως δ' οὖν ὁτιοῦν παθεῖν προηρεῖτο μᾶλλον ἡ περιδείν
195 ἐν τοιαύτῃ τὰ πράγματα συγχύσει. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἄγειν αὐτοὺς ἐβόα καθ' ὅν παρεκάλει, καὶ προ-
196 κινδυνεύειν ἐκαστὸς ἡν ἐτοιμότατος.  
1 Hudson with one ms.: ἔσχάτην the rest.

58
preparation, if we give them time. But, believe me, if we mount to the attack, conscience will humble them and the advantage of superior height will be neutralized by reflection. Maybe, the Deity, whom they have outraged, will turn their missiles back upon them, and their own weapons will bring destruction upon the impious wretches. Only let us face them and their doom is sealed. And, if the venture has its attendant risks, it were a noble end to die at the sacred portals and to sacrifice our lives if not for wives and children, yet for God and for the sanctuary. But I will support you both with head and hand: there shall be no lack on my part of thought to ensure your safety, nor shall you see me spare my person.”

(11) Thus did Ananus incite the populace against the Zealots. He knew full well how difficult their extermination had already become through their numbers, vigour, and intrepidity, but above all through their consciousness of their deeds; since, in despair of obtaining pardon for all they had done, they would never give in to the end. Nevertheless, he preferred to undergo any suffering rather than allow affairs to remain in such confusion. The people too now clamoured for him to lead them against the foe whom he urged them to attack, each man fully ready to brave the first danger.

(12) But while Ananus was enlisting and marshalling efficient recruits, the Zealots hearing of the projected attack—for word was brought to them of all the people’s proceedings—were furious, and dashed out of the Temple, in regiments and smaller units,

—a As at Gamala, § 76.

2 Destinon (cf. v. 354): ἐνίσαντες (or -ες) MSS.
JOSEPHUS

197 προστυγχανόντων. ἀθροίζεται δ' ὑπ' Ἄνανος τα-χέως το δημοτικόν, πλήθει μὲν ὑπερέχου, ὁπλισ δὲ καὶ τῷ μῇ συγκεκροτήθαι λειτόμενον τῶν
198 ζηλωτῶν. τὸ πρόθυμον δὲ παρ' ἐκατέρως ἀν-ἐπλήρου τὰ λείποντα, τῶν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀνειληφότων ὄργῃν ἱσχυροτέραν τῶν ὀπλῶν, τῶν δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τόλμαν παντὸς πλήθους ὑπερ-
199 ἔχουσαν· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄοικητον ὑπολαμβάνοντες αὐτοῖς τὴν πόλιν εἰ μὴ τοὺς ληστὰς ἐκκόψαναν αὐτής, οἱ ζηλωταὶ δ' εἰ μὴ κρατοῦσιν οὐκ ἐστιν ἠστίνως ὑστερήσεως τιμωρίας, συνερρήγωντοι στρα-
200 τηγούμενοι τοῖς πάθεσι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ λίθως βάλλοντες ἀλλήλους καὶ πόρρωθεν διακοντιζόμενοι, κατὰ δὲ τὰς τροπὰς οἱ κρατοῦντες ἐχρῶντο τοῖς ἔλεσι· καὶ πολὺς ἦν ἐκατέρων φόνος, τραυματία τε ἐγένοντο
201 συχνοί. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄπο τοῦ ἰδίου διεκόμηζον εἰς τὰς οἰκίας οἱ προσήκοντες, οἳ δὲ βληθεὶς τῶν ζηλωτῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνήει καθαμάσσων τὸ θείον ἐδαφὸς· καὶ μόνον ἄν τις εἴποι τὸ ἐκεῖνων αἷμα
202 μιᾶναι τὰ ἄγια. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὰς συμβολὰς ἐκτρέχοντες ἀεὶ περιήγαν οἱ ληστρικοὶ, τεθυμω-
μένοι δ' οἱ δημοτικοὶ καὶ πλεῖοις ἀεὶ γνώμενοι, κακίζοντες τοὺς ἐνυδιόντας καὶ μὴ διδόντας τοῖς τρεπομένοις ἀναχωρήσων οἱ κατόπιν βιαζόμενοι, πᾶν μὲν ἐπιστρέφουσι τὸ σφέτερον εἰς τοὺς
203 ὑπεναντίους· κάκεινων μηκέτ' ἀντεχόντων τῇ βίᾳ, κατὰ μικρὸν δ' ἀναχωρούντων εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν συν-
204 εισπίπτουσι οἱ περὶ τῶν Ἄνανον. τοῖς δὲ κατα-
πληξίς ἐμπίπτει στερομένοις τοῦ πρῶτον περι-
βόλου, καὶ καταφυγόντες εἰς τὸ ἐνδοτέρω ταχέως

1 Α²: + δ' the rest.
and spared none who fell in their way. Ananus promptly collected his citizen force, which, though superior in numbers, in arms and through lack of training was no match for the Zealots. Ardour, however, supplied either party's deficiencies, those from the city being armed with a fury more powerful than weapons, those from the Temple with a recklessness outweighing all numerical superiority; the former persuaded that the city would be uninhabitable by them unless the brigands were eradicated, the Zealots that unless they were victorious no form of punishment would be spared them. Thus, swayed by their passions, they met in conflict. This opened with a mutual discharge of stones from all parts of the city and from the front of the Temple and a long range javelin combat; but, when either party gave way, the victors employed their swords, and there was great slaughter on both sides and multitudes were wounded. The injured civilians were carried into the houses by their relatives, while any Zealot who was struck climbed up into the Temple, staining with his blood the sacred pavement; and it might be said that no blood but theirs defiled the sanctuary. In these engagements the sallies of the brigands proved invariably successful; but the populace, roused to fury and continually growing in numbers, upbraiding those who gave way, while those pressing forward in rear refused passage to the fugitives, finally turned their whole force upon their opponents. The latter no longer able to withstand this pressure gradually withdrew into the Temple, Ananus and his men rushing in along with them. Dismayed by the loss of the outer court, the Zealots fled into the inner and instantly barred the
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205 ἀποκλείουσι τὰς πύλας. τῷ δὲ Ἀνάνῳ προσβαλεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἔδοκε τοῖς ἱεροῖς πυλῶσιν, ἀλλὰς τε κακείνων βαλλόντων ἀνωθεν, ἀθέμιτον δὲ ἦγείτο, κἂν κρατήσῃ, μὴ προηγευκός εἰσιν ἀγαγεῖν τὸ πλῆθος: διακληρώσας δὲ ἐκ πάντων εἰς ἑξάκισχίλιοι ὀπλίτας καθίστησιν ἐπὶ ταῖς στοαῖς
206 φρουροῦς· διεδέχοντο δὲ ἅλλοι τοῦτοι, καὶ παντὶ μὲν ἀνάγκη παρεῖναι πρὸς τὴν φυλακῆν ἐκ περιόδου, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν ἀξιώμασι ἐφεθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχειν δοκούντων μισθούμενοι πενιχροτέρους ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἐπεμπον.

207 (13) Γίνεται δὲ τοῦτοι πᾶσιν ὄλεθρον παραίτιος Ἰωάννης, διὸ ἐφαμεν ἀπὸ Γυσχάλων διαδράναι, δολιωτάτος ἀνὴρ καὶ δεινὸν ἑρωτα τυραννίδος ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ περιφέρων, δὲ πόρρωθεν ἐπεβούλευε τοῖς πράγμασιν. καὶ δὴ τότε τὰ τοῦ δήμου φρονεῖν ὑποκρινόμενος συμπερίνει μὲν τῷ Ἀνάνῳ βουλευμένῳ σὺν τοῖς δυνατοῖς μεθ’ ἤμεραν καὶ νῦκτωρ ἐπιόντι τὰς φυλακάς, διήγγειλε δὲ τὰ ἀπόρρητα τοῖς ἐγκλωταῖς, καὶ πάν σκέμμα τοῦ δῆμου πρὸν καλῶς βουλευθήναι παρὰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς
209 ἐγυνώσκετο δὲ αὐτοῦ. μηχανώμενος δὲ τὸ μὴ δὲ ὑποψίας ἐλθεῖν ἀμέτροις ἐχρήτῳ ταῖς θεραπείαις εἰς τὸν τε Ἀνανὸν καὶ τοὺς τοῦ δήμου προεστῶτας. ἐχώρει δὲ εἰς τοῦντον αὐτῷ τὸ φιλότιμον· διὰ γὰρ τὰς ἀλόγους κολακείας μᾶλλον ὑπωπτεύετο, καὶ τὸ πανταχοῦ παρεῖναι μὴ καλούμενον ἐμφασιν προδοσίας τῶν ἀπορρήτων παρείχε.

1 + μὲν PAVR.: + τε Destinon.

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a §§ 106 ff.
b Cf. § 85 with note. This passage again recalls Sallust’s
gates. Ananus did not think fit to assail the sacred portals, especially under the enemy's hail of missiles from above, but considered it unlawful, even were he victorious, to introduce these crowds without previous purification; instead, he selected by lot from the whole number six thousand armed men, whom he posted to guard the porticoes. These were to be relieved by others, and every man was bound to fall in for sentry duty in rotation; but many persons of rank, with the permission of their superior officers, hired some of the lower classes and sent them to mount guard in their stead.

(13) The subsequent destruction of this entire party was largely due to John, whose escape from Gischala we have related. He was a man of extreme cunning who carried in his breast a dire passion for despotic power and had long been plotting against the state. At this juncture, feigning to side with the people, he would accompany Ananus on his rounds, whether holding consultations with the leaders by day or visiting the sentries by night, and then divulge his secrets to the Zealots; so that every idea proposed by the people, even before it had been thoroughly considered, was through his agency known to their opponents. Seeking to escape suspicion, he displayed unbounded servility to Ananus and the heads of the popular party, but this obsequiousness had the reverse effect; for his extravagant flatteries only brought more suspicion upon him, and his ubiquitous and unwarranted presence produced the impression that he was betraying portrait of Catiline: "animus audax, subdolus (parallel to \( \deltaολιώτατος \) here) . . . hunc . . . lubido maxuma invaserat rei publicae capiundae."
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212 συνεώρων μὲν γὰρ αὐτθανομένους ἀπαντᾶ τοὺς ἔχθροις τῶν παρ᾿ αὐτοῖς βουλευμάτων, πιθανῶ-τερος δ᾿ οὕδεις ἢν Ἰωάννου πρὸς ὑποψίας τοῦ διαγγέλλειν. ἀποσκευάσασθαι μὲν οὖν αὐτόν οὐκ ἦν βάδιον, ὅτα <τε>¹ δυνατὸν ἐκ πονηρίας καὶ ἄλλως οὐ τῶν ἁσίμων, ὑπεξωσμένον τε πολλοὺς τῶν συνεδρεύσαντων τοῖς ὅλοις,² εἴδοκε δ᾿ αὐτὸν
213 δρόκως πιστώσασθαι πρὸς εὐνοιαν. ὡμιλεὶ δ᾿ ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐτοίμως εὐνοῆσειν τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ μῆτε βουλῆν τινα μῆτε πράξιν προδώσειν τοῖς ἔχθροῖς, συγκαταλύσειν δὲ τοὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους καὶ χειρί
214 καὶ γνώμη. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀνανον πιστεύσαντες τοῖς δρόκως ἦδη χωρὶς ὑπονοίας εἰς τὰς συμβουλίας αὐτὸν παρελάμβανον, καὶ δὴ καὶ πρεσβευτὴν εἰσπέμπουσι πρὸς τοὺς ζηλωτὰς περὶ διαλύσεων: ἢ γὰρ αὐτοῖς σπουδὴ τὸ παρ᾿ αὐτοῖς μή μίαν τὸ ἱερὸν μηδὲ τινα τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐν αὐτῷ πεσείν.

215 (14) Ὁ δ᾿ ὅππερ τοῖς ζηλωταῖς ὑπὲρ εὐνοίας ὁμόσας καὶ οὐ κατ᾿ αὐτῶν, παρελθὼν εἶσω καὶ καταστὰς εἰς μέσους πολλάκις μὲν ἐφι κινδυνεύσαι δι᾿ αὐτοὺς, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀγνοήσωσι τῶν ἀπορρήτων, ὅσα κατ᾿ αὐτῶν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀνανον ἐβουλεύσαντο: 
216 νῦν δὲ τὸν μέγιστον ἀναρριπτεῖν κινδυνοῦν σὺν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς, εἰ μή τις προσγένοιτο βοήθεια
217 δαμόνος. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι μέλλειν Ἀνανον, ἀλλὰ πείσαντα μὲν τὸν δήμου πεπομφέναι πρέσβεις πρὸς Οὐεσπασιανόν, ἵνα ἐλθὼν κατὰ τάχος παρα-

¹ ὅντα τε Dindorf: ὅντα most mss.: οὔτε VR.
² ὅπλοις PAL.

Lit.: “girt about (or ‘under’) him many,” cf. ii. 275 ἰδιον στήφος ὑπεξωσμένος “with his own band of followers
64
JEWISH WAR, IV. 212–218

secrets. For it was observed that their enemies were aware of all their plans, and there was no one more open to the suspicion of disclosing them than John. It was, however, no easy matter to shake off one who had gained such influence through his villainy, who was in any case a man of mark, and who had won many followers among those who met in council on the general weal; it was therefore decided to bind him over to loyalty by oath. John promptly swore that he would be true to the people, that he would betray neither counsel nor act to their foes, and would assist both with his arm and his advice in putting down their assailants. Relying on these oaths, Ananus and his party now admitted him without suspicion to their deliberations, and even went so far as to send him as their delegate to the Zealots to arrange a treaty; for they were anxious on their side to preserve the Temple from pollution and that none of their countrymen should fall within its walls.

(14) But John, as though he had given his oath of allegiance to the Zealots instead of against them, went in and, standing in their midst, addressed them as follows. "Often have I risked my life on your behalf, to keep you fully informed of all the secret schemes devised against you by Ananus and his followers; but now I am exposing myself to the greatest of perils, in which you will all be involved, unless some providential aid intervene to avert it. For Ananus, impatient of delay, has prevailed on the people to send an embassy to Vespasian, inviting grouped around him"; a metaphorical use of the verb unattested elsewhere.
λάβη τὴν πόλιν, ἀγνειαν δὲ παρηγγελκέναι κατ’ αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἐξῆς ἡμέραν, ὥστε κατὰ θρησκείαν εἰσελθόντες ἢ καὶ βιασάμενοι συμμίξωσιν αὐτοῖς. 219 οὖχ ὅραν δὲ μέχρι τίνος ἢ τὴν φρουράν οἴσουσιν ἢ παρατάξονται πρὸς τοσοῦτος. προσετίθει δ’ ὅσ αὐτὸς ἐσπειμφθεὶ κατὰ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν ὡς πρεσβευτὴς ὑπὲρ διαλύσεων τὸν γὰρ Ἅνανον ταύτας αὐτοῖς προτεῖνει, ὅπως ἀνυποπτοτέροις.

220 ἐπέλθη. δὲιν οὖν ἢ τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ ζῆν τοὺς φρουροῦντας ἰκετεύειν ἢ πορίζεσθαι τινα παρὰ τῶν ἐξωθεὶν ἐπικουρίαν—τους δὲ ταλαπομένους ἐξέπροσυγγενύμης εἰ κρατηθείς, ἐπιλεξῆσθαι τῶν ἰδίων τολμημάτων ἢ νομίζειν ἀμα τῷ μετανοεῖν τοὺς δεδρακότας εὐθέως ὄφειλεν διηλαξθαί καὶ τοὺς παθόντας. ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἀδικησάντων διὰ μίσους πολλάκις γίνεσθαι καὶ τὴν μεταμέλειαν, τοῖς ἀδικηθείσι δὲ τὰς ὀργὰς ἐπ’ ἐξουσίας χαλεπωτέρας.

223 ἐφεδρεύειν δὲ γε ἐκεῖνος φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς τῶν ἀπολωλότων καὶ δήμου τοσοῦτον ὑπὲρ καταλύσεως νόμων καὶ δικαστηρίων τεθυμωμένον, ὅπου καὶ ἢ τι μέρος τὸ ἔλεουν, ὑπὸ πλείονος ᾧ αὐτὸ τοῦ διαγανακτοῦντος ἀφαιρεθήναι.

224 (iv. 1) Τοιαῦτα μὲν ἐποίκιλλεν ἄθροώς δεδισσόμενος, καὶ τὴν ἐξωθεὶν βοήθειαν ἀναφανδοῦν μὲν οὐκ ἑθάρρηκε λέγειν, ἥνισσετο δὲ τοὺς Ἰδομυαιόντις· ἵνα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν ἔλεωτῶν ἕδια

1 ἐπὶ Π.
2 Παλ. Λ. (Lat. nihil suspicantes): ἀνοπλοτέροις PAL: ἀ(ν) ὅπλος
the rest.

a A specious statement, in view of his known reluctance to allow his followers to enter the Temple without previous purification (§ 203).

b In the collocation of “laws and law-courts” we seem
him to come at once and take possession of the city. To your further injury, he has announced a purifica-
tion service for to-morrow, in order that his followers may obtain admission here, either on the plea of worship or by force of arms, and attack you hand to hand. Nor do I see how you can long sustain either the present siege or a contest with such a host of opponents.” He added that it was by the providence of God that he had himself been deputed to negotiate a treaty, as Ananus was offering them terms, only to fall upon them when off their guard. “It behoves you, therefore,” he continued, “if you care for your lives, either to sue for mercy from your besiegers, or to procure some external aid. But any who cherish hopes of being pardoned in the event of defeat must either have forgotten their own daring deeds, or suppose that the penitence of the perpetrators should be followed by the instant reconcili-ation of the victims. On the contrary, the very repentance of wrongdoers is often detested and the resentment of the wronged is embittered by power. Watching their opportunity to retaliate are the friends and relatives of the slain and a whole host of people infuriated at the dissolution of their laws and law-courts. In such a crowd, even if some few were moved to compassion, they would be crushed by an indignant majority.”

(iv. 1) Such was the embroidered tale he told to create a general scare; what “external aid” was intended he did not venture to say outright, but he was hinting at the Idumaeans. But in order to incense the personal feelings of the Zealots’ leaders to hear the historian’s Greek assistant speaking; cf. § 258 and Vol. II. Introd. p. xiii.

The Zealots invoke the aid of the Idumaeans.
παροξύνη, τὸν Ἀνανον εἰς τε ὑμότητα διέβαλλεν. ἦσαν δὲ Ἐλεάζαρος μὲν νῦσσις Γίωνος, ὁ δὲ καὶ πιθανώτατος ἐδόκει τοῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς νοήσαι τε τὰ δεόντα καὶ τὰ νοηθέντα πράξαι, Ζαχαρίας δὲ τις νῦσσις Ἀμφικάλλει, γένος ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων ἐκάτερος. οὗτοι πρὸς ταῖς κοιναῖς τὰς ἱδίας καθ’ ἑαυτῶν ἀπειλᾶς ἀκούσαντες, ἦτε δ’ ως οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀνανον δυναστείαν αὐτοῖς περιποιούμενοι Ῥωμαίους ἐπικαλοῦντο, καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο Ἰωάννης προσεβεύσατο, μέχρι πολλοῦ μὲν ἡποροῦντο, τὰ χρή πράσσειν εἰς ὁμόνως καὶ προσεβουσίν. παρεσκευάσθαι μὲν γὰρ τὸν ὅμον ἐπιχείρειν αὐτοῖς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν, αὐτῶν δὲ τὸ σύντομον τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ὑποτεθήσατα τὰς ἔξωθεν ἐπικουρίας πάντα γὰρ ἀν φθάσαι παθεῖν πρὶν καὶ πυθέσαι τινὰ τῶν συμμάχων. ἔδοξε δ’ ὅμως ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἰδοὺμαίους, καὶ γράφαντες ἐπιστολὴν σύντομον, ὡς Ἐνανος μὲν προδίδοι, Ῥωμαίοις τὴν μητρόπολιν ἐξαπατήσας τὸν ὅμον, αὐτοὶ δ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευ

229 θερίας ἀποστάντες ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ φρουροῖτο, ὅλῶς δ’ ἔτι χρόνος αὐτοῖς βραβεύοι τὴν σωτηρίαν, εἰ δὲ μὴ βοηθήσουσιν ἐκεῖνοι κατὰ τάχος, αὐτοὶ μὲν ὄπ’ Ἀνάνῳ τε καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἡ πόλις δ’ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους φθάσει γενομένη. τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἐνετέλλοντο πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν Ἰδοὺμαίων διαλέγεσθαι. προεβλήθησαν δ’ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγγελίαν δύο τῶν δραστηρίων ἀνδρῶν, εἰπεῖν τε

2 PAL Lat.: Σιμώνος the rest.
3 Niese: ἐπιστολῆς mss. 5 Ῥωμαίους PL1.

68
as well, he accused Ananus of brutality, asserting that his special threats were directed at them. These leaders were Eleazar, son of Gion, the most influential man of the party, from his ability both in conceiving appropriate measures and in carrying them into effect, and a certain Zacharias, son of Amphicalleus, both being of priestly descent. They, on hearing first the menaces against the whole party and then those specially levelled at themselves, and, moreover, how Ananus and his friends were summoning the Romans in order to secure supreme power for themselves—this was another of John's libels—were long in doubt what action they should take, being so hard pressed for time; since the people were prepared to attack them ere long, and the suddenness of the scheme cut short their chances of aid from without, as all would be over before any of their allies even heard of their situation. They decided, nevertheless, to summon the Idumaeans, and drafted a letter concisely stating that Ananus had imposed on the people and was proposing to betray the capital to the Romans; that they themselves having revolted in the cause of freedom were imprisoned in the Temple; that a few hours would now decide their fate, and that unless the Idumaeans sent prompt relief, they would soon have succumbed to Ananus and their foes, and the city be in possession of the Romans. The messengers were instructed to communicate further details to the Idumaean chiefs by word of mouth. Those selected for this errand were two active individuals, eloquent and

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*Or, with the other reading, E. son of Simon, who plays an important part elsewhere, ii. 564 f., v. 5 ff.*

*Not mentioned again.*
JOSEPHUS

ίκανοι καὶ πείσατι περὶ πραγμάτων, τὸ δὲ τούτων
231 χρησιμώτερον, ὃκυτὴτι ποδῶν διαφέροντες· τοὺς
μὲν γὰρ 'Ἰδομαίων αὐτὸθεν ἤδεισαν πεισθησο-
μένους, ἀτε θορυβῶδες καὶ ἀτακτὸν ἔθνος αἰεὶ τε
μετέωρον πρὸς τὰ κινήματα καὶ μεταβολάις χάιρον,
πρὸς ὀλίγην τε κολακείαν τῶν δεομένων τὰ ὀπλα
κινοῦν καὶ καθάπερ εἰς ἑορτὴν εἰς τὰς παρατάξεις
232 ἐπειγόμενον. ἔδει δὲ τάχους εἰς τὴν ἀγγελίαν·
εἰς ὃ μηδὲν ἐλλειπόντες προθυμίας οἱ πεμφθέντες,
ἐκαλεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν Ἀνανίας ἐκάτερος, καὶ δὴ πρὸς
τοὺς ἁρχοντας τῶν Ἰδομαίων παρῆσαν.

233 (2) Οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὰ ῥηθέντα
παρὰ τῶν ἀφιγμένων ἐκπράγγεντες, ὥσπερ ἐμμανεῖς
περιέθεον τε τὸ ἔθνος καὶ διεκήρυσσον τὴν στρα-
234 τείαν. ἥθροιστο δ' ἡ πληθὺς τάχυν τοῦ παρ-
αγγέλματος, καὶ πάντες ως ἐπὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ τῆς
235 μητροπόλεως ἠρπαξον τὰ ὀπλα. συνταχθέντες δ' εἰς
ὁδὸν μυριάδας παραγινοῦνται πρὸς τὰ Ἰερο-
σόλυμα, χρώμενοι τέσσαραν ἡγεμόναν, Ἰωάννη
τε καὶ Ἰακώβῳ παιδὶ καὶ Σωσῆ, πρὸς δὲ τούτους ἦν
Σίμων νῦὸς Θακῆνος καὶ Φινέας Κλουσῶθ.

236 (3) Τὸν δὲ Ἀνανίας ἡ μὲν ἔξοδος τῶν ἀγγέλων
ὡσπερ καὶ τοὺς φυρευοὺς ἔλαβεν, ἡ δ' ἔφοδος
tῶν Ἰδομαίων οὐκέτι· προγνοὺς γὰρ ἀποκλείει
τε' τὰς πύλας αὐτοῖς καὶ διὰ φυλακῆς εἰσὲ τὰ
237 τείχη. καθάπαν γε μὴν αὐτοὺς ἐκπολεμεῖν οὐκ
ἔδοξεν, ἀλλὰ λόγους πείθεν πρὸ τῶν ὀπλών.
238 στὰς οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀντικρύσ αὐτῶν πύργον ὁ μετά

1 Perhaps παίσι should be read (Niese).
2 Κλαθα or Καθλα the inferior mss.; cf. 271, v. 249, vi. 148.
3 ἀποκλεῖει τε Destinon: ἀποκλείεται or ἀποκλείει mss.

a Or perhaps "John and James, sons of S." John was
70
persuasive speakers on public affairs, and, what was still more useful, remarkably fleet of foot. For the Zealots knew that the Idumaeans would comply forthwith, as they were a turbulent and disorderly people, ever on the alert for commotion and delighting in revolutionary changes, and only needed a little flattery from their suitors to seize their arms and rush into battle as to a feast. Speed was essential to the errand; in this no want of alacrity was shown by the delegates, each named Ananias, and they were soon in the presence of the Idumaean chiefs.

(2) The leaders, astounded by the letter and the statements of their visitors, raced round the nation like madmen, making proclamation of the campaign. The mustering of the clan outstripped the orders, and all snatched up their arms to defend the freedom of the capital. No less than twenty thousand joined the ranks and marched to Jerusalem, under the command of four generals: John, James son of Sosas, Simon son of Thaceas, and Phineas son of Clusoth.

(3) Though the departure of the messengers had eluded the vigilance alike of Ananus and of the sentries, not so the approach of the Idumaeans. Forewarned of this, he shut the gates against them and posted guards upon the walls. Unwilling, however, to make complete enemies of them, he determined to try persuasion before having recourse to arms. Accordingly Jesus, the chief priest next in subsequently slain by an Arab archer in the Roman army, v. 290; James appears often in the sequel, iv. 521, v. 249, vi. 92, 148, 380. Simon is the orator of the party, iv. 271, and wins special distinction in the field, v. 249, vi. 148. Phineas is not heard of again.
JOSEPHUS

Ἀνανον γεραίτατος τῶν ἄρχιερέων Ἰησοῦς, πολλῶν ἐφη καὶ ποικίλων τὴν πόλιν κατεσχηκότων θορύβων ἐν οὐδενὶ θαυμάσας τὴν τύχην οὕτως, ὡς τῷ συμπράττειν τοῖς ποιητοῖς καὶ τὰ παρά-

239 δοξαὶ: παρείναι γοῦν ὑμᾶς ἀνθρώποις ἐξωλεστάτοις μετὰ τοσαύτης προθυμίας ἐπαμμυνόντας καθ’ ἡμῶν, μεθ’ ὅσης εἰκός ἦν ἐλθεῖν οὐδὲ τῆς

240 μητροπόλεως καλούσης ἐπὶ βαρβάρους. "καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐώρων τὴν σύνταξιν ὑμῶν ἐξ ὁμοίων τοῖς καλέσασιν ἀνδρῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἂλογον τὴν ὀρμήν ὑπελάμβανον οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως συνίστησι τὰς εὐνοίας ὡς πρόπων συγγένεια: νῦν δ’, εἰ μὲν τις αὐτόυς ἐξετάζοι καθ’ ἑνα, μυρίων ἕκαστος εὑρε-

241 θήσεται θανάτων ἄξιος. τὰ γὰρ λύματα1 καὶ καθάρματα τῆς χώρας2 ὀλής, κατασωτευσάμενα τὰς ἱδίας οὐσίας καὶ προγυμνάσαντα τὴν ἀπόνοιαν ἐν ταῖς πέριξ κώμαις τε καὶ πόλεσι, τελευταία λεληθώτως παρεισέρρευσαν εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν,

242 λῃσταὶ δὲ ὑπερβολὴν ἀσεβημάτων μιαίνοντες καὶ τὸ ἄβεβηλον ἑδαφος, οὓς ὀρὰν ἔστι νῦν ἄδεεις ἐμμεθυσκομένους τοῖς ἀγίοις καὶ τὰ σκύλα τῶν πεφονευμένων καταναλίσκοντας εἰς τὰς ἀπλήστους

243 γαστέρας. τὸ δ’ ὑμέτερον πλήθος καὶ τὸν κόσμον τῶν ὁπλῶν ὀρὰν ἔστιν οἰς ἐπρεπεν καλούσης μὲν τῆς μητροπόλεως κοινῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, συμμάχους δὲ καὶ ἀλλοφύλων. τί ἄν οὖν εἴποι τοῦτο τις ἡ τύχης ἐπήρειαν, ὅταν λογάσι ποιητοῖς αὐτάνδρον

244 ἐθνὸς ὀρὰ συνασπίζον;3 μέχρι πολλοῦ μὲν ἀπορῶ,

1 Lowth: θύματα mss.: ludibria Lat., whence ἀθύρματα

2 Hudson.

3 + αὐτοῖς mss.: συνασπίζοντας (Destinon) or, with altered
seniority to Ananus, mounted the tower opposite to the Idumaeans and addressed them as follows:

"Among the many and manifold disorders which this city has witnessed, nothing has astonished me more than the decree of fortune by which even the most unexpected things co-operate to aid the wicked. Here, for instance, are you, come to assist these most abandoned of men against us, with such alacrity as was hardly to be looked for even had the mother city summoned you to meet a barbarian invasion. Had I seen your ranks composed of men like those who invited you, I should not have thought such ardour unreasonable; for nothing so unites men's affections as congeniality of character. But as it is, were one to review these friends of yours one by one, each would be found deserving of a myriad deaths. The scum and offscourings of the whole country, after squandering their own means and exercising their madness first upon the surrounding villages and towns, these pests have ended by stealthily streaming into the holy city: brigands of such rank impiety as to pollute even that hallowed ground, they may be seen now recklessly intoxicating themselves in the sanctuary and expending the spoils of their slaughtered victims upon their insatiable bellies. You, on the other hand, in your numbers and shining armour present an appearance such as would become you had the capital in public council summoned you to its aid against the foreigner. What, then, can this be called but a spiteful freak of fortune, when one sees a nation armed to a man on behalf of notorious scoundrels?"
JOSEPHUS

τί δή ποτε καὶ τὸ κινῆσαι ὑμᾶς οὕτω ταχέως ἐγένετο· μὴ γὰρ ἂν δίχα μεγάλης αἰτίας ἀνάλαβεῖν τὰς πανοπλίας ὑπὲρ ληστῶν καὶ κατὰ δῆμου

245 συγγενοῦς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠκούσαμεν ἮΡωμαιοὺς καὶ προδοσίαν, ταῦτα γὰρ ὑμῶν ἔθορύθησον τινὲς ἀρτίως, καὶ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει παρεῖναι, πλέον τῶν ἄλλων τολμημάτων ἐθαυμάσαμεν τοὺς

246 ἀληθινοὺς τῆς περὶ τούτῳ θεοῦδους ἐπινοιαί· ἄνδρας γὰρ φύσει φιλευθέρους καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα τοῖς ἐξωθὲν πολεμίους μάχεσθαί παρεσκευασμένους οὐκ ἐνή ἄλλως ἐξαγριώσαν καθ' ἡμῶν ἢ λογοποιήσαντας προδοσίαν τῆς ποθομένης ἐλευ-

247 θερίας. ἂλλ' ὑμᾶς γε χρὴ σκέπτεσθαι τοὺς τε διαβάλλοντας καὶ καθ' ὃν, συνάγει τε τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιπλάστων λόγων ἄλλ' ἐκ τῶν

248 κοινῶν πραγμάτων. τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ παθόντες ἂν ἦμεις ἮΡωμαιοὺς προσπωλοίμεν; ἐαυτοὺς νῦν, παρὸν ἡ μηδὲ ἀποστήναι τὸ πρῶτον ἡ προσχωρήσαι ταχέως ἀποστάντας, ὄντων ἔτι τῶν πέριξ ἀπορ-

249 θήτων; νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ βουλομένους διαλύσα-

250 σθαι βάδιον, ὅτε ἮΡωμαιοὺς μὲν ὑπερόπτας πε-

251 ποιηκεν ὑποχείριος Ἡ Γαλιλαία, φέρει δ' αἰσχύνην ἡμῶν βανάτου χαλεπωτέραν τὸ θεραπεύειν αὐτοὺς

252 οὖν ἔδη πλησίον. καίγω καθ' ἐαυτοῦ μὲν ἂν εἰρήνην προτιμήσαμι βανάτου, πολεμοῦμενος δ' ἀπαξ καὶ συμβαλὼν βανάτον εὐκλεά τοῦ ζῆν

1 προθομένης PMV1R Lat.

2 Havercamp with one ms.: προσπωλοιμεν the majority.

a i.e. like yourselves.
"I have long been wondering what motive could have brought you so promptly; for never, without grave cause, would you have armed yourselves from head to foot for the sake of brigands, and against a kindred people. But now that we have heard the words 'Romans' and 'treason'—for that was what some of you were clamouring just now, and how they were here to protect the freedom of the metropolis—no other audacity of these wretches has amazed us more than this ingenious lie. For indeed men with an inborn passion for liberty,\(^a\) and for it above all ready to fight a foreign foe, could by no other means be infuriated against us than by the fabrication of a charge that we were betraying their darling liberty. You, however, ought to reflect who are the authors of this calumny and at whom it is aimed, and to form your opinion of the truth not from fictitious tales but from public events. For what could induce us to sell ourselves to the Romans now? It was open to us either to refrain from revolt in the first instance or, having revolted, promptly to return to our allegiance, while the surrounding country was still undevastated. But now, even if we desired it, a reconciliation would be no easy matter, when their conquest of Galilee has made the Romans contemptuous, and to court them, now that they are at our doors, would bring upon us a disgrace even worse than death. For my own part, though I should prefer peace to death, yet having once declared war and entered the lists, I would rather die nobly than live a captive."

"Do they say, however, that we, the leaders of the people, communicated secretly with the Romans, or that the people themselves so decided by public
Ημᾶς, εἰπάτωσαν τούς πεμφθέντας φίλους, τοὺς διακοινήσαντας τὴν προδοσίαν οἰκέτας. ἔφωραθη τις ἁπιών; ἀνάκομιζόμενος ἔάλω; γραμμάτων 253 γεγόνασιν ἐγκρατεῖς; πῶς δὲ τοὺς μὲν τοσούτους πολίτας ἔλαθομεν, οἷς κατὰ πάσαν ὁρὰν συναναστρέφομεθα, τοῖς δὲ ὅλιγοις καὶ φρονουμένοις καὶ μηδεὶς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προελθεῖν δυναμένοις ἐγνώσθη τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν λαθραίως 254 ἐνεργούμενα; νῦν δὲ ἐγνωσαν, ὅτε δὲ δοῦναι δίκας τῶν πετολμημένων, ἔως δ' ἦσαν ἄδεεις 255 αὐτοῖς, προδότης ἡμῶν οὐδεὶς ὑπωππυέτο; εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀναφέρουσι τὴν αἰτίαν, ἐν φανερῷ δήπουθεν ἐβουλεύσαντο, οὐδεὶς ἀπεστάτει τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὅστε τάχιον ἄν τῆς μηνύσεως ἔσπευσεν 256 ἡ φήμη πρὸς ὑμᾶς φανερωτέρα. τί δὲ; οὐχὶ καὶ πρέσβεις ἐδει πέμπτειν ψηφισαμένους2 τὰς διαλύσεις; καὶ τις ὁ χειροτονηθεῖς; εἰπάτωσαν. 257 ἄλλα τοῦτο μὲν δυσθανατοῦντων καὶ πλησίον οὕσας τὰς τιμωρίας διακροιομένων σκῆψις ἐστιν; εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ προδοθήκαι τὴν πόλιν εἰμαρτό, μόνους ἄν τολμῆσαι καὶ τοῦτο τοὺς διαβάλλοντας, ἄν τοῖς τολμήσαιν ἐν μόνον [κακον] λείπει, προ- 258 δοσία. χρὴ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἐπειδήπερ ἀπαξ πάρεστε μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων, τὸ μὲν δικαίοτατον, ἀμύνει τῇ μητροπόλει καὶ συνεξαρεῖν τοὺς τὰ δικαστήρια καταλύσαντας τυράννους, οἱ πατήσαντες τοὺς νόμους ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἔφεσι πεποίησαι τὰς 259 κρίσεις. ἄνδρας γοῦν ἀκαταιτιάτους τῶν ἐπι-

1 Bekker with Lat.; ὅτι mss.
2 L: ψηφισαμένους the rest.
JEWISH WAR, IV. 252–259

decree? If they accuse us, let them name the friends whom we sent, the underlings who negotiated the betrayal. Was anyone detected leaving on his errand, or caught on his return? Have any letters fallen into their hands? How could we have concealed our action from all our numerous fellow-citizens, with whom we are hourly associating, while their small and beleaguered party, unable to advance one step into the city from the Temple, were, it seems, acquainted with these underhand proceedings in the country? Have they heard of them only now, when they must pay the penalty for their crimes, and, so long as they felt themselves secure, was none of us suspected of treason? If, on the other hand, it is the people whom they incriminate, the matter presumably was openly discussed and none was absent from the assembly; in which case rumour would have brought you speedier and more open intelligence than your private informer. Again, must they not have followed up their vote for capitulation by sending ambassadors? Who was elected to that office? Let them tell us. No, this is a mere pretext of die-hards who are struggling to avert impending punishment. For had this city been indeed fated to be betrayed, none would have ventured on the deed save our present accusers, to complete whose tale of crimes one only is lacking—that of treason.

"But now that you are actually here in arms, the duty which has the highest claims upon you is to defend the metropolis and to join us in extirpating these tyrants, who have annulled our tribunals, trampled on our laws, and passed sentence with the sword. Have they not haled men of eminence and
JOSEPHUS

φανὼν ἐκ μέσης τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀρπάσαντες δεσμοῖς τε προηκίσαντο καὶ μηδὲ φωνῆς μηδ’ ἵκεσιάς
260 ἀνασχόμενοι διέθεσαν. ἔξεστιν δ’ υἱῶν παρελθοῦσιν ἐώς μὴ πολέμου νόμῳ θεάσασθαι τὰ τεκμήρια τῶν λεγομένων, οίκους ἡρημωμένους ταῖς ἐκείνων ἀρπαγαῖς καὶ γύναις καὶ γενεάς τῶν ἀπεσφαγμένων μελανεμονόσας, κωκυτὸν δὲ καὶ θρήνον ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην’ οὐδεὶς γάρ ἐστιν,
261 ὅς οὐ γέγενται τῆς τῶν ἀνοσίων καταδρομῆς. οἳ γε ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξώκειλαν ἀπονοίας, ὡστε μὴ μόνον ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν πόλεων ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὅλου τοῦ ἐθνοῦς μετενεγκεῖν τὴν λῃστρικὴν τόλμαν, ἅλλα καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν. ὁμητήριον γοῦν αὐτοῖς τοῦτο καὶ καταφυγῇ ταμιεῖτο τε τῶν ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς παρασκευῶν γέγονεν, ὁ δ’ ὑπὸ τῆς οἰκομένης προσκυνούμενος χώρος καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ περάτων γῆς ἀλλοφύλοις ἀκοῆ τετμημένοις παρὰ τῶν γεννηθέντων ἐνθάδε θηρίων καταπατεῖται: νεανιεύονται τε ἐν ταῖς ἀπογνώσεσιν ἗δη δήμους τε δήμοι καὶ πόλεις πόλεις συγκρούει καὶ κατὰ τῶν σπλάγχνων 263 τῶν ἱδίων τὸ ἔθνος στρατολογεῖ. ἀνθ’ δ’ ὁ μὲν κάλλιστον καὶ πρέπον, ὡς ἐφ’ ἐκεῖν, υἱῶν συνεξαιρεῖν τοὺς ἀλητηρίους καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀπάτης ἀμυνόμενος, ὅτι συμμάχους ἐτόλμησαν καλεῖν
264 τῶν ἱδίων τὸ ἔθνος στρατολογεῖ. ἀνθ’ δ’ ὁ μὲν κάλλιστον καὶ πρέπον, ὡς ἐφ’ ἐκεῖν, υἱῶν συνεξαιρεῖν τοὺς ἀλητηρίους καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀπάτης ἀμυνόμενος, ὅτι συμμάχους ἐτόλμησαν καλεῖν
265 οὕς ἐδεί τιμωροὺς δεδιέναι: ei δ’ αἰδεῖτο τὰς τῶν τοιούτων ἐπικλήσεις, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πάρεστι θεμέλιος τὰ ὅπλα καὶ παρελθοῦσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν σχήματι συγγεγενῶν ἀναλαβεῖν τὸ μέσον συμμάχων τε καὶ πολεμίων ὄνομα, δικαστάς γενομένους.
78
unimpeached from the open market-place, ignominiously placed them in irons and then, refusing to listen to expostulation or entreaty, put them to death? You are at liberty to enter, though not by right of war, and behold the proofs of these statements: houses desolated by their rapine, poor widows and orphans of the murdered in black attire, wailing and lamentation throughout the city; for there is not one who has not felt the raids of these impious wretches. To such extremes of insanity have they run as not only to transfer their brigands' exploits from the country and outlying towns to this front and head of the whole nation, but actually from the city to the Temple. That has now become their base and refuge, the magazine for their armament against us; and the spot which is revered by the world and honoured by aliens from the ends of the earth who have heard its fame, is trampled on by these monsters engendered in this very place. And now in desperation they wantonly proceed to set at variance township against township, city against city, and to enlist the nation to prey upon its own vitals. Wherefore, as I said before, the most honourable and becoming course for you is to assist in extirpating these reprobates, and to chastise them for this deceit which they have practised on yourselves in daring to summon as allies those whom they should have dreaded as avengers.

"If, however, you still respect the appeals made to you by men such as these, it is surely open to you to lay down your arms and, entering the city in the guise of kinsmen, to assume a neutral rôle by

\[a\] Or perhaps "On the contrary" or "Instead of aiding such a cause" (Traill).
266 καίτοι λογίσασθε, πόσον κερδήσουσιν ἐφ' ὁμολογουμένοις καὶ τηλικοῦτοις κρίνομενοι παρ' ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀκαταιτιάτοις μηδὲ λόγον μεταδόντες· λαμβανέτωσαν δὲ οὖν ταύτην ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας
267 ἀφίξεως τὴν χάριν. εἰ δὲ οὔτε συναγανακτεῖν ἦμιν οὔτε κρίνεσθαι δεὶ, τρίτον ἐστὶ καταλιπεῖν ἐκατέρους καὶ μὴ ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἐπεμβαίνειν2 συμφοραῖς μήτε τοῖς ἐπιβουλοῖς τῆς μητροπόλεως
268 συνέρχεσθαι. εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα Ρωμαίοις ὑποπτεύετε διειλέχθαι τινάς, παρατηρεῖν ἔξεστι τὰς ἔφοδους, κἂν τοὺς διαβεβλημένους ἔργως διακαλύπτηταί, τοῖς φρουρεῖν τῆς μητρόπολος ἐλθόντας, κολάζειν τε τοὺς αἵτιους πεφωραμένους· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑμᾶς φθάσεων οἱ πολέμιοι τῇ πόλει
269 προσφωκήμενοι,3 εἰ δὲ οὔδεν ὑμῖν τούτων εὐγνωμον ἢ μέτριον δοκεῖ, μὴ θαυμάζετε τὰ κλεῖθρα τῶν πυλῶν, ἐως ἂν φέρητε τὰ ὀπλα.’’
270 (4) Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἔλεγε· τῶν δὲ Ἰδουμαινών οὔδεν4 τὸ πλῆθος προσεῖχεν, ἀλλὰ τεθύμωτο μὴ τυχῶν ἑτοίμης τῆς εἰσόδου, καὶ διηγανάκτουν οἱ στρατηγοὶ πρὸς ἀπόθεσιν τῶν ὀπλῶν, αἰχμαλωσίαν ἣγομένου τὸ κελευντών
271 τινῶν αὐτὰ ῥύψαι. Σήμερον δὲ οὐδὲς Κααθὰ5 τῶν ἡγεμόνων εἰς, μόλις τῶν οἰκείων καταστείλας τῶν θόρυβον καὶ στὰς εἰς ἐπήκοον τοῖς ἀρχιερεύσιν,
272 οὐκέτι θαυμάζειν ἐφι ψυχουμένων ἐν τῷ ἑρωτῶν προμάχων τῆς ἐλευθερίας, εἰ γε καὶ τῶ
273 ἔθνει κλείουσι τινες ἥδη τὴν κοινὴν πόλιν, καὶ

1 δοκεῖ Hudson with one ms.
2 MVC: ἐπίβαινεν the rest.
3 L: προσφωκήμενοι the rest.
4 PAML (Lat. ?): οὔτε the rest.
5 Κααθὰ M: Καβλὰ VRC Lat.; cf. § 235.
becoming arbitrators. Consider, too, what they will gain by being tried by you for such undeniable and flagrant offences, whereas they would not suffer unimpeached persons to speak a word in their defence; however, let them derive this benefit from your coming. But if you will neither share our indignation nor act as umpires, a third course remains, namely to leave both parties to themselves and neither to insult us in our calamities nor join with these conspirators against the mother city. For, however strongly you suspect some of us of having communicated with the Romans, you are in a position to watch the approaches, and if any of these calumnies is actually discovered to be true, you can then come to the protection of the metropolis and punish the detected culprits; for the enemy could never take you by surprise while you are quartered here hard by the city. If, however, none of these proposals appears to you reasonable or fair, do not wonder that these gates are barred, so long as you remain in arms."

(4) Such was the speech of Jesus. But the Idumaean troops paid no heed to it, infuriated at not obtaining instant admission; while their generals were indignant at the thought of laying down their arms, accounting it captivity to fling them away at any man's bidding. Thereupon Simon, son of Caathas, one of the officers, having with difficulty quelled the uproar among his men and taken his stand within hearing of the chief priests, thus replied:

"I am no longer surprised that the champions of liberty are imprisoned in the Temple, now that I find that there are men who close against this nation the city common to us all; men who, while
'Ρωμαίους μὲν εἰσδέχεσθαι παρασκευάζονται, τάχα καὶ στεφανώσοντες τὰς πύλας, Ἡδομαίοις δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων διαλέγονται καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευ-
θερίας ὀπλα κελεύουσι σῆμα, μὴ πιστεύοντες δὲ τοὺς συγγενεύοντι τὴν τῆς μητροπόλεως φυλακὴν τοὺς αὐτοὺς δικαστὰς ποιοῦντα τῶν διαφόρων, καὶ κατ-
ηγοροῦντες τινῶν ὡς ἀποκτείνειαν ἀκρίτους, αὐτοὶ καταδικάζομεν ὄλου τοῦ ἔθνους ἀτιμῶν.
275 τὴν γοῦν ἀπασὶ τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις ἀναπεπταμένην εἰς θρησκείαν πόλιν τοῖς οἰκείοις νῦν ἀπο-
276 τετείχισθαί. ' "πάνω γὰρ ἐπὶ σφαγᾶς ἐσπευ-
δομένη καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τῶν ὀμοφύλων πόλεμον οἱ διὰ τὸ τοῦτο ταχύναντες, ἦν ὡμᾶς τηρήσωμεν
277 ἐλευθεροῦς. τοιαύτα μέντοι καὶ πρὸς τῶν φρουρο-
μένων ἡδίκησθε, καὶ πιθανὰς οὕτως ὑποψίας οἴμαι
278 κατ' ἐκείνων συνελέγατε. ἔπειτα τῶν ἐνδον φρουρᾶ-
κρατοῦντες ὅσοι κήδονται τῶν κοινῶν πραγ-
μάτων, καὶ τοῖς συγγενεστάτοις ἔθνεσιν ἀθρόους ἀποκλείσαντες μὲν τὴν πόλιν ὑβριστικὰ δ' οὕτως
προστάγματα κελεύοντες, τυραννεῖσθαι λέγετε καὶ
tὸ τῆς δυναστείας ὅνομα τοῖς ὕμης τυραννο-
279 μένοις περιάπτετε. τίς ἂν ἐνέγκαι τὴν εἰρωνείαν
tῶν λόγων ἀφορῶν εἰς τὴν ἑναντιότητα τῶν
πραγμάτων; εἰ μὴ καὶ νῦν ὡμᾶς ἀποκλείουσιν
Ἠδουμαῖοι τῆς μητροπόλεως, οὐς αὐτοὶ τῶν
280 πατρίων ἱερῶν εἰργεῖτε. μέμψαι ἂν εἰκότως τις
tοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ πολιορκουμένους, ὅτι ταρσησάντες
tοὺς προδότας κολάζειν, οὕς ὡμεῖς ἀνδρας ἐπισή-
μους καὶ ἀκαταιτιάτους λέγετε διὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν,

1 ἀποτείχισθε A, making the drift into oratio recta begin earlier.
2 ὡμᾶς PAL.
3 Ἡδουμαῖος PAL Lat.
preparing to admit the Romans, maybe crowning the gates with garlands, parley with Idumaeans from their towers and bid them fling down the arms which they took up in defence of liberty; men who, refusing to entrust to their kinsmen the protection of the mother city, would make them arbitrators in their disputes. and, while accusing certain individuals of putting others to death without trial, would themselves condemn the whole nation to dishonour. At any rate, this city, which flung wide its gates to every foreigner for worship, is now barricaded by you against your own people. And why? Because forsooth, we were hurrying hither to slaughter and make war on our fellow-countrymen—we whose sole reason for haste was to keep you free! Such doubtless was the nature of your grievance against your prisoners, and equally credible, I imagine, is your list of insinuations against them. And then, while detaining in custody all within the walls who care for the public welfare, after closing your gates against a whole body of people who are your nearest kinsmen and issuing to them such insulting orders, you profess to be tyrant-ridden and attach the stigma of despotism to the victims of your own tyranny! Who can tolerate such ironical language, which he sees to be flatly contrary to the facts, unless indeed it is the Idumaeans who are now excluding you from the metropolis, and not you who are debarring them from the national sacred rites? One complaint might fairly be made against the men blockaded in the Temple, that, while they had the courage to punish those traitors whom you, as their partners in guilt, describe as distinguished persons and un-

a Viz. that they wished to keep you free.
οὐκ ἀφ’ ύμων ἢρξαντο καὶ τὰ καιρώτατα τῆς
281 προδοσίας μέρη προσπέκοψαν. ἀλλ’ εἰ κάκεινοι
τῆς χρείας ἐγένοντο μαλακώτεροι, τηρήσομεν’
Ἰούμαιοι τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς κοινῆς
πατρίδος προπολεμήσομεν, ἀμα τοὺς τε ἐξωθεὶν
ἐπίοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐνδον προδιδόντας ἄμυνόμενοι
282 πολεμίους. ἐνθάδε πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν μενοῦμεν ἐν
τοῖς ὀπλοῖς, ἐως ἂν Ἰῳμαιοὶ κάμωσι προσέχοντες
ὑμῶν;3 ἡ ὑμεῖς ἐλεύθερα φρονήσαντες μεταβάλῃσθε.’’
283 (5) Τούτοις τὸ μὲν τῶν Ἰούμαιῶν ἐπεβάν
πλῆθος, ὡς Ἰῃσοῦς ἄθυμῶν ἀνεχώρει τοὺς μὲν
Ἰούμαιοις μηδὲν φρονοῦντας ὅρων μέτρουν,
284 δικόθεν δὲ τῆς πόλει πολεμοῦμεν. ἦν δ’ οὐδὲ
tοὺς Ἰούμαιοι ἐν ἤρεμία τὰ φρονήματα· καὶ
γὰρ τεθύμωντο πρὸς τὴν ύβριν ἐρχθέντες τῆς
πόλεως καὶ τὰ τῶν ξηλωτῶν ἱσχυρὰ δοκοῦντες,
ἔστε οὐδὲν ἐσπαμύνοντας ἐώρων, ἦποροῦντο καὶ
285 μετενόουν πολλοὶ τῆς ἄφιξιν. ἦ δὲ αἰδώς τοῦ
τέλεον ἀπράκτους ὑποστρέφειν ἐνίκα τὴν μετα-
μέλειαν, ὡστε μένειν3 αὐτόθι πρὸ τοῦ τείχους
286 κακῶς αὐλιξομένους· διὰ γὰρ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀμήκανος
ἐκρήγνυται χειμῶν ἀνεμοί τε βίαιοι σὺν ὀμβρους
λαβροτάτοι καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀστραπαὶ βρονταὶ τε
φρικώδεις καὶ μυκήματα σεισμῆνς τῆς γῆς
287 ἐξαίσια. πρόδηλον δ’ ἦν ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπων ὀλέθρῳ
τὸ κατάστημα τῶν ὅλων συγκέχυμένον, καὶ οὐχὶ
μικροῦ τις ἄν εἰκάσαι συμπτώματος τὰ τέρατα.
288 (6) Μία δὲ τοῖς Ἰούμαιοις καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ
πόλει παρέστη δόξα, τοῖς μὲν ὀργίζοντας τὸν
θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ στρατείᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἃν διαφυγεῖν ἐπενεγ-

1 Many mss. have τηρήσωμεν . . . προπολεμήσωμεν.
2 Hudson: ἡμῶν mss.
3 ἐμμένειν PAM.
impeached, they did not begin with you and cut off at the outset the most vital members of this treasonable conspiracy. But if they were more lenient than they should have been, we Idumaeans will preserve God's house and fight to defend our common country from both her foes, the invaders from without and the traitors within. Here before these walls will we remain in arms, until the Romans are tired of listening to you or you become converts to the cause of liberty."

(5) This speech being loudly applauded by the Idumaeans, Jesus withdrew despondent, finding them opposed to all moderate counsels and the city exposed to war from two quarters. Nor indeed were the minds of the Idumaeans at ease: infuriated at the insult offered them in being excluded from the city and seeing no aid forthcoming from the Zealots whom they believed to be in considerable strength, they were sorely perplexed, and many repented of having come. But the shame of returning, having accomplished absolutely nothing, so far overcame their regrets that they kept their ground, bivouacking before the walls under miserable conditions. For in the course of the night a terrific storm broke out: the winds blew a hurricane, rain fell in torrents, lightning was continuous, accompanied by fearful thunder-claps and extraordinary rumblings of earthquake. Such a convulsion of the very fabric of the universe clearly foretokened destruction for mankind, and the conjecture was natural that these were portents of no trifling calamity.

(6) In this the Idumaeans and the city folk were of one mind: the former being persuaded that God was wroth at their expedition and that they were
κόντας ὅπλα τῇ μητροπόλει, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀνανον νευκηκέναι χωρὶς παρατάξεως καὶ τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν στρατηγεῖν. κακοὶ δὲ ἤσαν ἅρα τῶν μελλόντων στοχασταὶ καὶ κατεμαντεύοντο τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀτοὶ ἰδίοις αὐτῶν ἐπήει παθεῖν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἰδουμαίου συσπειραζόμενες τοῖς σώμασιν ἀλλήλους ἀντέθαλπον καὶ τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς συμφράζαντες ήττον ἐκακοῦντο τοῖς υπετοῖς, οἱ δὲ ξηλωταὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ καθ’ αὑτοῖς κινδύνου ὑπὲρ ἕκεινων ἐβασανίζοντο καὶ συνελθόντες ἑσκόπουν, εἰ τινα μηχανὴν αὐτοῖς ἀμύνης ἐπινοήσειαν. τοῖς μὲν οὖν θερμοτέροις ἐδόκει μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν βιαζέσθαι τοὺς παραφυλάσσοντας, ἐπειτα δ’ εἰσπεσόντας εἰς μέσον τῆς πόλεως ἀναφανδὸν ἀνοίγειν τοῖς συμμάχοις τὰς πύλας. τοὺς τε γὰρ φυλακας εἰξεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἀδόκητον αὐτῶν τεταραγμένους, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοὺς πλείνας ὁντας ἀνόπλους καὶ πολέμους ἀπείρους, καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν δυσσύνακτον ἐσεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος κατειλημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμώνος εἰς τὰς οἰκίας. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸς γένοιτο κίνδυνος, πρέπειν αὐτοῖς πάν ότιον παθεῖν ἢ περιδείν τοσοῦτον πλῆθος δι’ αὐτοὺς αἰσχρῶς ἀπολλύμενον. οἱ δὲ συνετῶτεροι βιαζέσθαι μὲν ἀπεγὼνωσκόν, ὅρωντες οὐ μόνον τὴν αὐτῶν φρουρὰν πληθύνουσαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως τείχος διὰ τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους ἐπιμελῶς φυλάσσομεν, ψωντὸ τε πανταχοῦ τὸν Ἀνανον παρεῖναι καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν ὥραν ἐπισκέπτεσθαι τὰς φυλακάς· δὴ δὴ ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις νυξὶν οὕτως εἰχεν, ἀνείθη δὲ κατ’ ἐκείνην, οὕτω κατὰ τὴν

1 L.: + αὐτῶν the rest. 2 Bekker: κατειλημένον mss.
not to escape retribution for bearing arms against the metropolis, Ananus and his party believing that they had won the day without a contest and that God was directing the battle on their behalf. But they proved mistaken in their divination of the future, and the fate which they predicted for their foes was destined to befall their friends. For the Idumaeans, huddling together, kept each other warm, and by making a penthouse of bucklers above their heads were not seriously affected by the torrents of rain; while the Zealots, more concerned for their allies than for their own danger, met to consider whether any means could be devised for their relief. The more ardent advocated forcing a way through the sentries at the point of the sword, and then plunging boldly into the heart of the city and opening the gates to their allies: the guards, disconcerted by their unexpected assault, would give way, especially as the majority were unarmed and had never been in action, while the citizens could not easily be collected in force, being confined to their houses by the storm; even if this involved hazard, it was only right that they should suffer anything rather than leave such a vast host disgracefully to perish on their account. The more prudent, however, disapproved of these violent measures, seeing that not only was the guard surrounding them in full strength, but the city wall carefully watched on account of the Idumaeans; they imagined, moreover, that Ananus would be everywhere, inspecting the sentries at all hours. Such, indeed, had been his practice on other nights, but on this one it was omitted; not
'Ανάνου ῥαθυμίαν, ἀλλ’ ὡς αὐτὸς <τε> ἐκεῖνος ἀπόλοιτο καὶ τὸ πλήθος τῶν φυλάκων στρατη-
298 γούσης τῆς εἰμαρμένης. ἢ δὴ καὶ τότε τῆς νυκτὸς προκοπτούσης καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐπακμάζοντος κοιμίζει μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ στοὰ φρουροὺς, τοῖς δὲ ζηλωταῖς ἐπίνοιαι ἐμβάλλει τῶν ἱερῶν ἀἵροντας πριόνων ἐκτεμεῖν τοὺς μοχλοὺς τῶν πυλῶν.
299 συνήργησε δ’ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸ μὴ κατακουσθῆναι τὸν ψόφον δ’ τε τῶν ἀνέμων ἤχος καὶ τὸ τῶν βροντῶν ἐπάλληλον.
300 (7) Διαλαθόντες δ’ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παραγώνται πρὸς τὸ τείχος καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς πρόσι χρώμενοι τὴν κατὰ τοὺς Ἰδομαιάους ἀνοίγουσι πύλην.
301 τοῖς δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐμπίπτει ταραχῇ τοὺς περί τὸν 'Ανανον ἐπιχειρεῖν οὐθεδίεισι, καὶ πάς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔξοψ ἐσχε τὴν δεξίαν ὡς ἀμυνόμενος2· ταχέως δὲ γνωρίζουσι τοὺς ἰκοντας εἰσήγαν.
302 εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐτράποντο περὶ τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲν ἐκώλυσεν ἂν ἀπολωλέναι τὸν δήμον αὐτανδρον, οὕτως εἰχον ὀργῆς· νῦν δὲ πρῶτοι τοὺς ζηλωτὰς ἐσπευδον3 τῆς φρουρᾶς ἐξελέσθαι, δεομένων πολλὰ καὶ τῶν εἰσδεξαμένων μὴ περιδεῖν δι’ οὔς ἠλθον ἐν μέσοι τοῖς δευνοὶς μηδ’ αὐτοῖς χαλεπώτερον
303 ἐπισείσαι τὸν κίνδυνον· τῶν μὲν γὰρ φρουρῶν ἀλόντων ῥάδιον αὐτοῖς εἶναι χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, εἰ δ’ ἀπάξ ταύτῃ προκυνήσειαν, οὐκ ἂν ἐτ’
304 ἐκεῖνων κράτησεν· πρὸς γὰρ τὴν ἀισθησιν συν-
305 τάξεσθαι4 αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀνόδους ἀποφράξειν.

1 ins. Herwerden: the τε appears to have been misplaced in most mss., which read ὡστε for ὡς.
2 ἀμυνόμενος R.
3 C: σπεύδοντες the rest.
4 Bekker: συντάξασθαι mss.
through any remissness on his part, but by the over-ruling decree of Destiny that he and all his guards should perish. She it was who as that night advanced and the storm approached its climax lulled to sleep the sentinels posted at the colonnade, and suggested to the Zealots the thought of taking some of the temple saws and severing the bars of the gates. They were aided by the blustering wind and the successive peals of thunder, which prevented the noise from being heard.\(^{a}\)

(7) Escaping unperceived from the Temple, they \(^{b}\) reached the walls and, employing their saws once more, opened the gate nearest to the Idumaeans. They, supposing themselves attacked by the troops of Ananus, were at first seized with alarm, and every man’s hand was on his sword to defend himself, but, quickly recognizing their visitors, they entered the city. Had they then turned upon it in all directions, such was their fury that nothing could have saved the inhabitants from wholesale destruction; but, as it was, they first hastened to liberate the Zealots from custody, at the earnest entreaty of the men who had let them in. “Do not,” these urged, “leave those for whose sake you have come in the thick of peril, nor expose us to graver risks. Overpower the guards and you can then easily march upon the city, but once begin by rousing the city, and you will never master the guards; for at the first intimation the citizens will fall into line and block every ascent.”

\(^{a}\) Reminiscent of Thucydides’ account of the escape from Plataea: \(ψόφω δὲ . . . άντιπαταγούντος τοῦ άνέμου οὐ κατ-ακούσαντον\) (iii. 22).

\(^{b}\) \(i.e\). a small party of the Zealots, as the sequel shows.
JOSEPHUS

305 (v. 1) 

Συνεδόκει ταῦτα τοῖς Ἰδουμαίοις, καὶ διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀνέβαινον πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν, μετέωροι τε οἱ ζηλωταὶ τὴν ἀφίξειν αὐτῶν ἐκαραδόκουν καὶ παρίόντων εἴσω καὶ αὐτοὶ θαρροῦντες προῆσαν ἐκ τοῦ ἐνδοτέρου ἱεροῦ. μιγέντες δὲ τοῖς Ἰδουμαίοις προσέβαλλον ταῖς φυλακαῖς, καὶ τινὰς μὲν τῶν προκοπτοῦντων ἀπέσφαξαν κοιμώμενοι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν τῶν ἐγχυγορῶτων βοήν διανέστη πάν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ μετ' ἐκπλήξεως ἀρπάζοντες τὰ ὀπλὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀμυνᾶν ἐχώρουν. ἔως μὲν οὖν μόνους τοὺς ζηλωτὰς ἐπιχειρεῖν ὑπελάμβανον, ἑθάρρουν ὡς τῶ πλῆθει περισσόμενοι, κατιδόντες δ' ἐξωθεν ἐπευσχεομένους ἄλλους ἁσθοντο τὴν εἰσβολὴν τῶν Ἰδουμαίων, καὶ τὸ μὲν πλέον αὐτῶν ἀμα ταῖς ψυχαῖς κατέβαλλε τὰ ὀπλα καὶ πρὸς οἴμωγαις ἦν, φραζάμενοι δὲ ὄλγου τῶν νέων γενναίως ἐδέχοντο τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους καὶ μέχρι πολλοὶ τὴν ἄργοτέραν πληθὺν ἐσκεπον. οἱ δὲ κραυγῇ δι- εσήμανον τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τὰς συμφοράς, κάκεινων ἀμύναι μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν, ὡς ἔμαθον εἰσπεπαικότας τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους, ἀργὰ δ' ἀντεβόων καὶ ἀντυλοφύροντο, καὶ πολὺς κωκυτὸς γυναικῶν ἡγεῖστο κινδυνεύοντος ἐκάστῃ τινὸς τῶν φυλάκων. οἱ δὲ ζηλωταὶ τοῖς Ἰδουμαίοις συνεπηλάλαξαν καὶ τὴν ἐκ πάντων βοήν ὁ χειμῶν ἐποίει φοβερωτέραν. ἐφείδοντο τε οὐδενὸς Ἰδουμαίου, φύσει τε ὁμότατοι φονεύειν ὄντες καὶ τῷ χειμῶν κεκακωμένοι κατὰ τῶν ἀποκλεισάντων

1 ἐπιχεομένους ΡΑ.
Yielding to these representations, the Idumaeans marched up through the city to the Temple. The Zealots, who were anxiously awaiting their arrival, on their entering the building boldly advanced from the inner court, joined the Idumaeans and fell upon the guards. Some of the outlying sentries they slew in their sleep, till, roused by the cries of those who were awake, the whole force in consternation snatched up their arms and advanced to the defence. So long as they believed the Zealots to be their only assailants, they did not lose heart, hoping to overpower them by numbers; but the sight of others pouring in from outside brought home to them the irruption of the Idumaeans. Thereupon, the greater number of them flung courage and armour away together and abandoned themselves to lamentation; a few of the younger men, however, fencing themselves in, gallantly received the Idumaeans and for a good while protected the feeble crowd. The cries of the latter signified their distress to their friends in the city, but not one of these ventured to their assistance, when they learnt that the Idumaeans had broken in; instead they responded with futile shouts and lamentations on their side, while a great wail went up from the women, each having some relative in the guards whose life was at stake. The Zealots joined in the war-whoop of the Idumaeans, and the din from all quarters was rendered more terrific by the howling of the storm. The Idumaeans spared none. Naturally of a most savage and murderous disposition, they had been buffeted by the storm and wreaked their

\[\text{\textit{Cf.}}\ \text{iii. 247 ff. (Jotapata: the din of battle heightened by the echo from the mountains), vi. 272 ff. (Jerusalem: similar).}\]
311 ἐχρῶντο τοῖς θυμοῖς· ἦσαν δ' ὁμοίοι τοῖς ἰκε- 
τεύονσι καὶ τοῖς ἀμυνομένοις καὶ πολλοὺς τὴν 
τε συγγένειαν ἀναμμηνήσκοντας καὶ δεομένους 
τοῦ κοινοῦ ἱερῶν λαβεῖν αἰδῶ διήλαυν τοῖς 
312 ἐξῆς. ἦν δὲ φυγὴς μὲν οὐδεὶς τόπος οὐδὲ 
σωτηρίας ἐλπίς, συνωθούμενοι δὲ περὶ ἀλλήλους 
κατεκόπτοντο, καὶ τὸ πλέον ἐκβιαζόμενοι, ὡς 
ουκέτ' ἦν ὑποχωρήσεως τόπος ἐπήθεσαν δ' οἱ 
φονεύοντες, ὦτ' ἀμηχανίας κατεκρήμνιζον ἐαυτοὺς 
eἰς τὴν πόλιν, οὐκτρότερον ἔμοιγε δοκεῖν ὡς 
διέφευγον ὀλέθρου τὸν αὐθαίρετον ὑπομένοντες. 
313 ἐπεκλύσθη δὲ τὸ ἔξωθεν ἱερὸν πάν ἀἵματι, καὶ 
νεκροὺς ὄκτακισχιλίους πεντακοσίους ἡ ἡμέρα 
κατελάμβανεν. 
314 (2) Οὐκ ἐκορέσθησαν δὲ τούτοις οἱ θυμοί τῶν 
Ἰδομαιῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τραπόμενοι πάσαν 
μὲν οἰκίαν διήρπαζον, ἐκτεινον δὲ τὸν περιτυχόντα. 
315 καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀλλὸ πλῆθος αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει παρανάλωμα, 
τοὺς δ' ἀρχιερεῖς ἀνεξήτουν, καὶ κατ' ἐκείνων ἦν 
316 τοῖς πλείστοις ἡ φορὰ. ταχέως δ' ἀλόντες δι- 
εφθείροντο, καὶ τοῖς νεκροῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιστάντες τὸν 
μὲν Ἀνανον τῆς πρὸς τὸν δήμον εὐνοίας, τὸν δὲ 
Ἰησοῦν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους λόγων ἐπέσκωπτον. 
317 προῆλθον δὲ εἰς τοσοῦτον ἄσβεσιν, ὡςτε καὶ 
ἀτάφους ρύψαι, καὶ τοῦτον Ἰουναιῶν περὶ 
τὰς ταφὰς πρόνοιαν ποιομένων, ὡςτε καὶ τοὺς 
ἐκ καταδίκης ἀνεσταυρωμένους πρὸ δύντος ἥλιου 
318 καθελεῖν τε καὶ θάπτειν. οὐκ ἄν ἀμάρτοιμι δ' 

1 VM²: ὑπλοῖς or ἐχθροῖς the rest. 
2 Dindorf: δοκεῖ κατὰ MSS.

a At the outset of the blockade the guards on duty at
rage on those who had shut them out; suppliants and combatants were treated alike, and many while reminding them of their kinship and imploring them to respect their common Temple were transfixed by their swords. No room for flight, no hope of escape remained; crushed together upon each other they were cut down, and the greater part, finding themselves forced back until further retreat was impossible, with their murderers closing upon them, in their helplessness flung themselves headlong into the city, devoting themselves to a fate more piteous in my opinion than that from which they fled. The whole outer court of the Temple was deluged with blood, and day dawned upon eight thousand five hundred dead.

(2) The fury of the Idumaeans being still unsatiated, they now turned to the city, looting every house and killing all who fell in their way. But, thinking their energies wasted on the common people, they went in search of the chief priests; it was for them that the main rush was made, and they were soon captured and slain. Then, standing over their dead bodies, they scoffed at Ananus for his patronage of the people and at Jesus for the address which he had delivered from the wall. They actually went so far in their impiety as to cast out the corpses without burial, although the Jews are so careful about funeral rites that even malefactors who have been sentenced to crucifixion are taken down and buried before sunset. I should not be wrong in one time numbered not more than 6000 (eis έξακισχιλίοις § 206). That number was apparently afterwards increased. We are told that on this night they were "in full strength" or "above strength" (πληθύνονσαν § 295).

b §§ 238 ff. c Cf. Deut. xxi. 22 f.; John xix. 31.
εἶπὼν ἀλώσεως ἀρξαί τῇ πόλει τὸν Ἀνάνου θάνατον, καὶ ἀπ’ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἀνατραπῆναι τὸ τεῖχος καὶ διαφθαρῆναι τὰ πράγματα Ἰουνδαίως, ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἡγεμόνα τῆς ἱδίας σωτηρίας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ μέσης τῆς πόλεως εἶδον ἀπεσφαγμένον. ἦν γὰρ ὑπ’ τα ἀλλα σεμνὸς ἀνήρ καὶ δικαιοτάτος, καὶ παρὰ τὸν ὀγκὸν τῆς τε εὐγενείας καὶ τῆς ἀξίας καὶ ἦς εἰχε τιμῆς ἡγαπηκώς τὸ ἱσότιμον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ταπεινοτά- τους, φιλελεύθερός τε ἐκτόπως καὶ δημοκρατίας ἐραστής, πρὸ τε τῶν ἰδίων λυσιτελῶν τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον ἀεὶ τιθέμενος καὶ περὶ παντὸς ποιούμενος τὴν εἰρήνην· ἀμαχα γὰρ ἦδει τὰ Ἡρωμαίων προσκόπούμενος δ’ ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ὅπως, εἰ μὴ διαλύσαιντο Ἰουνδαίων, δεξίως διαφέροντο. καθόλου δ’ εἶπείν, ζώντος Ἀνάνου πάντως ἂν ἦν ἑλθησαν· δεινὸς γὰρ ἦν εἰπείν τε καὶ πείσαι τὸν δῆμον, ἦδη δὲ εἴχεροῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐμποδίζοντας· ἦ πολεμοῦντες πλείστην ἂν τριβήν Ἡρωμαίοις παρέσχουν ὑπὸ τουτοῦ 321 στρατηγῷ, παρέζευκτο δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Ἱησοῦς, αὐτοῦ μὲν λειτούργειν κατὰ σύγκρισιν, προὔχων 322 δὲ τῶν ἄλλων. ἄλλ’ οἴμαι κατακρίνας ὁ θεὸς ὡς μεμιασμένης τῆς πόλεως ἀπώλειαι καὶ πυρὶ βουλόμενος ἐκκαθαρθῆναι τὰ ἀγια τοὺς ἀντεχο- μένους αὐτῶν καὶ φιλοστοργοῦντας περιέκοπτεν. 323 οἱ δὲ πρὸ ὀλίγου τὴν ἱερὰν ἐσθήτα περικείμενοι

1 ins. Niese.
2 Destinon: πολεμοῦντας mss.

* Ananus is here almost the counterpart of Pericles; the
saying that the capture of the city began with the death of Ananus; and that the overthrow of the walls and the downfall of the Jewish state dated from the day on which the Jews beheld their high priest, the captain of their salvation, butchered in the heart of Jerusalem. A man on every ground revered and of the highest integrity, Ananus, with all the distinction of his birth, his rank and the honours to which he had attained, yet delighted to treat the very humblest as his equals. Unique in his love of liberty and an enthusiast for democracy, he on all occasions put the public welfare above his private interests. To maintain peace was his supreme object. He knew that the Roman power was irresistible, but, when driven to provide for a state of war, he endeavoured to secure that, if the Jews would not come to terms, the struggle should at least be skilfully conducted. In a word, had Ananus lived, they would undoubtedly either have arranged terms—for he was an effective speaker, whose words carried weight with the people, and was already gaining control even over those who thwarted him—or else, had hostilities continued, they would have greatly retarded the victory of the Romans under such a general. With him was linked Jesus, who, though not comparable with Ananus, stood far above the rest. But it was, I suppose, because God had, for its pollutions, condemned the city to destruction and desired to purge the sanctuary by fire, that He thus cut off those who clung to them with such tender affection. So they who but lately had worn the encomium on the latter in Thuc. ii. 65 is doubtless in our historian's mind.
JOSEPHUS

καὶ τῆς κοσμικῆς θρησκείας κατάρχοντες προσκυνούμενοι τε τοῖς ἔκ τῆς οἰκουμένης παραβάλλουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐρριμμένοι γυμνοὶ βορᾶ

325 κυνῶν καὶ θηρίων ἐβλέποντο. αὐτὴν ἔπ’ ἐκείνους στενᾶξα τοῖς ἀνδράσι δοκῶ τὴν ἀρετὴν, ὀλοφυρομένην ὅτι τοσοῦτον ἠττητο τῆς κακίας. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸ μὲν Ἀνάνου καὶ Ἰησοῦ τέλος τοιοῦτον ἀπέβη.

326 (3) Μετὰ δ’ ἐκείνους οἱ τε ἠλωται καὶ τῶν Ἰαομαιῶν τὸ πλῆθος τὸν λαὸν ὀσπερ ἀνοσίων

327 ζώων ἀγέλην ἐπιόντες ἐσφαξον. καὶ τὸ μὲν εἰκαίον ἐφ’ οὗ καταληψθείη τόπου διεφθείρετο, τοὺς δὲ εὐγενεῖς καὶ νέους συλλαμβάνοντες εἰς εἰρκτὴν κατέκλειον δεδεμένους, κατ’ ἐλπίδα τοῦ προσήκοσθαι τινας αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ὑπερ-

328 τιθέμενοι. προσέσχε ὃ’ οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ πάντες τοῦ τάξασθαι μετὰ τῶν πονηρῶν κατὰ τῆς πάτριδος

329 προείλοντο τὸν θάνατον. δεινὰς δὲ τῆς ἀρνήσεως αἰκίας ύπέμενον μαστυγούμενοι τε καὶ στρεβλούμενοι, μετὰ δὲ τὸ μηκέτ’ ἀρκεῖν τὸ σῶμα

330 ταῖς βασάνοις μόλις ᾧςιόντο τοῦ ἔτοιμος. οἱ συλληφθέντες δὲ μεθ’ ἤμεραν ἀνηροῦντο 1 νύκτωρ, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐκφορούντες ἔρριπτον, ὡς ἐτέροις

331 εἰς δεσμώταις τόποις. ἣν δὲ τοσοῦτο τοῦ δήμου κατάπληξις, ὡς μηδένα τοιμήσαι μητε κλαίειν φανερῶς τὸν προσήκοντα νεκρὸν μητε θάπτειν, ἀλλὰ λαθραία μὲν ἐν αὐτῶν κατακεκλεισμένων τὰ δάκρυα καὶ μετὰ περισκέψεως, μῆ τις ἐπακούσῃ

332 τῶν ἠχθρῶν, ἐστενὼν ἵσα γὰρ τοῖς πενθοῦμένοις ὸ

1 ἀνήγοντο L. Lat.

a Literally "cosmical," meaning either "open to the whole world" or perhaps "emblematic of the mundane
sacred vestments, led those ceremonies of world-wide significance and been reverenced by visitors to the city from every quarter of the earth, were now seen cast out naked, to be devoured by dogs and beasts of prey. Virtue herself, I think, groaned for these men's fate, bewailing such utter defeat at the hands of vice. Such, however, was the end of Ananus and Jesus.

(3) Having disposed of them, the Zealots and the Idumaean hordes fell upon and butchered the people as though they had been a herd of unclean animals. Ordinary folk were slain on the spot where they were caught; but the young nobles they arrested and threw into prison in irons, postponing their execution in the hope that some would come over to their party. Not one, however, listened to their overtures, all preferring to die rather than side with these criminals against their country, notwithstanding the fearful agonies which they underwent for their refusal: they were scourged and racked, and only when their bodies could no longer sustain these tortures were they grudgingly consigned to the sword. Those arrested by day were dispatched at night and their bodies cast forth to make room for fresh prisoners. To such consternation were the people reduced that none dared openly weep for or bury a deceased relative; but in secret and behind closed doors were their tears shed and their groans uttered with circumspection, for fear of being overheard by any of their foes. For the mourner in-system” (Traill): cf. Ant. iii. 123, 180 ff. (the Tabernacle a symbol of the universe), with Westcott's note on Heb. ix. 1 (τὸ ἆγιον κοσμικὸν).

*τός εὐγενεῖς καὶ νέους parallel with τῶν εὐγενῶν νέων below (§ 333).*


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πενθήσας εὐθὺς ἐπασχε· νῦκτωρ δὲ κόνιν ἀφροτες χερών οἷς ἔπερριπτον τοῖς σώμασι, καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν εἰ τις παράβολος, μύριοι καὶ δισκείλιοι τῶν εὐγενῶν νέων οὕτως διεφθάρσαν.

334 (4) Οἱ δὲ ἡδή διαμεμισηκότες τὸ φονεύειν ἀνέδην εἰρωνεύοντο δικαστήρια καὶ κρίσεις. καὶ δὴ τινά τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀποκτεύειν προθέμενοι Ζαχαρίαν νῦν Βάρεις1· παρόξυνε δ’ αὐτοὶς τὸ λίαν ταύδρος μισοπόνηρον καὶ φιλελεύθερον, ἢν δὲ καὶ πλοῦσιος, ὥστε μὴ μόνον ἐλπίζειν τὴν ἀρπαγήν τῆς οὐσίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαποσκευάσεσθαι2 δυνατὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν κατάλυσιν· συγκαλοῦσι μὲν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἐβδομήκοντα τῶν ἐν τέλει δημοτῶν εἰς τὸ ιερὸν, περιθέντες δ’ αὐτοῖς ὦσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς σχῆμα δικαστῶν ἔρημου ἑξουσίας τοῦ Ζαχαρίου κατηγοροῦν, ὡς ἐνδιδοῖ τὰ πράγματα Ρωμαίους καὶ περὶ προδοσίας δια- 337 πέμψατο πρὸς Θεσσαλιανὸν. ἢν δὲ οὐτ’ ἐλεγχὸς τις τῶν κατηγορουμένων οὔτε τεκμήριον, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῖς πεπείσθαι καλῶς ἐφασαν καὶ τοῦτ’ εἶναι 338 πίστιν τῆς ἀληθείας ἡξίουν. ὦ γε μὴν Ζαχαρίας συνυδὼν μηδεμίαν αὐτῶ καταλειπομένην σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα, κεκλῆσθαι γὰρ κατ’ ἐνέδραν εἰς εἴρκτήν, οὐκ ἐπὶ δικαστήριον, ἐπούνησατο τὴν τοῦ ζῆν ἀπόγνωσιν οὐκ ἀπαρρησίαστον, ἀλλὰ καταστὰς τὸ

1 ΠΑΒΡ Λατ.: Βαρούχου Μ1C: Βαρισκαίου ΛM2.
2 ed. pr. and Lat.: προσαποσκευάσθαι mss.

a This incident has gained an interest for N.T. students from an old suggestion revived by Wellhausen (Einführung in die drei ersten Evangelien, ed. 2, 1911, pp. 118 ff.) to identify this Zacharias son of Baris (or Bariscaeus: the reading Baruch is negligible) with the "Zachariah, son of Barachiah," whose death in the temple is referred to by Christ in Matt. 9:8.
stantly suffered the same fate as the mourned. Only by night would they take a little dust in both hands and strew it on the bodies, though some venturous persons did this by day. Twelve thousand of the youthful nobility thus perished.

(4) Having now come to loathe indiscriminate massacre, the Zealots instituted mock trials and courts of justice. They had determined to put to death Zacharias, son of Baris, one of the most eminent of the citizens. The man exasperated them by his pronounced hatred of wrong and love of liberty, and, as he was also rich, they had the double prospect of plundering his property and of getting rid of a powerful and dangerous opponent. So they issued a peremptory summons to seventy of the leading citizens to appear in the Temple, assigning to them, as in a play, the rôle, without the authority, of judges; they then accused Zacharias of betraying the state to the Romans and of holding treasonable communications with Vespasian. They adduced no evidence or proof in support of these charges, but declared that they were fully convinced of his guilt themselves and claimed this as sufficiently establishing the fact. Zacharias, aware that no hope of escape was left him, as he had been treacherously summoned to a prison rather than a court of justice, did not allow despair of life to rob him of liberty of speech. He rose and ridiculed the probability of

xxiii. 35, as the last of a series of Jewish murders beginning with that of Abel. The theory, which rests on a rather remote resemblance of names, is on many grounds untenable. The author of the first Gospel refers to the murder of Z. ben Jehoiada (2 Chron. xxiv. 19 ff.) whom, like some Jewish Rabbis, he confused with Z. ben Berechiah, the prophet of the Restoration (Zech. i. 1).
μὲν πιθανῶν τῶν κατηγορημένων διεχλεύασε καὶ
dιὰ βραχέων ἀπελύσατο τάς ἐπιφερομένας αὐτίας.

339 ἐπείτα δὲ τὸν λόγον εἰς τοὺς κατηγόρους ἀπο-
streφόμενοι ἐξῆς πάσας αὐτῶν διεξήλτη τὰς παρανομίας
καὶ πολλὰ περὶ τῆς συγχύσεως κατωλοφύρατο

340 τῶν πραγμάτων. οἱ ἐξέλοντες δὲ ἐθορύβουν καὶ
μόλις τῶν ἐξιθών ἀπεκράτουν, τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν
eἰρωνείαν τοῦ δικαστηρίου μέχρι τέλους παίζα
προαιρούμενοι, καὶ ἄλλως πειράσατι θέλοντες τοὺς
dικαστάς, εἰ παρὰ τὸν αὐτῶν κίνδυνον μνησθή-

341 σονται τοῦ δικαίου. φέρουσι δ’ οἱ ἐβδομήκοντα
τῶν κρινομένων τὰς ψήφους ἀπαντεῖς καὶ σὺν αὐτῶ
προελέντο τεθάνατι μᾶλλον ἡ τῆς ἀναφέρεσις
342 αὐτοῦ λαβεὶν τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν. ἦρθη δὲ θυτὸ τῶν
ἐξελώτων πρὸς τὴν ἀπόλυσιν, καὶ πάντων μὲν ἢ
ἀγανάκτησις ἐπὶ τοῖς δικασταῖς ὡς μὴ συνείσι
343 τὴν εἰρωνείαν τῆς δοθείσης αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίας, δύο
δὲ τῶν τελευτημένων προσπεσόντες ἐν μέσῳ τῷ
ἰερῷ διαφθείρουσι τὸν Ζαχαρίαν καὶ πεσόντι
ἐπιχελεύασαι ἐφασαν “καὶ παρ’ ἡμῶν τὴν
ψήφον ἐχεῖς καὶ βεβαιοτέραν ἀπόλυσιν,” ῥέπτουσί
τε αὐτοῦ εὐθείως ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατὰ τῆς ὑπο-

344 κειμένης φάραγγος. τοὺς δὲ δικαστὰς πρὸς ὑβρίν
ἀπεστραμμένοις τοῖς ἔφεσι τύπποντες ἐξέσωσαν τοῦ
περιβόλου, δι’ ἐν τούτῳ φειδάµενοι τῆς σφαγῆς
αὐτῶν, ἦν σκεδασθέντες ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀγγελοὶ
πάσι τῆς δουλείας γένονται.

345 (5) Τοῖς δ’ Ἰδουμαιών ὑδη τῆς παρουσίας
346 μετέμελε καὶ προσίστατο τὰ πραπτόµενα. συν-

αγαγών δὲ αὐτοὺς τὶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξελώτων κατ’
ιδίαιν ἔλθων ἐνεδείκνυτο τὰ συμπαρανομηθέντα
tois kalέσαν καὶ τὸ καὶ ἡ τῆς μητρόπολεως

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the accusation, and in few words quashed the charges laid against him. Then, rounding upon his accusers, he went over all their enormities in order, and bitterly lamented the confusion of public affairs. The Zealots were in an uproar and could scarce refrain from drawing their swords, although they were anxious to play out their part and this farce of a trial to the close, and desired, moreover, to test whether the judges would put considerations of justice above their own peril. The seventy, however, brought in a unanimous verdict for the defendant, preferring to die with him rather than be held answerable for his destruction. The Zealots raised an outcry at his acquittal, and were all indignant with the judges for not understanding that the authority entrusted to them was a mere pretence. Two of the most daring of them then set upon Zacharias and slew him in the midst of the Temple, and exclaiming in jest over his prostrate body "Now you have our verdict also and a more certain release," forthwith cast him out of the Temple into the ravine below. Then they insolently struck the judges with the backs of their swords and drove them from the precincts; sparing their lives for the sole reason that they might disperse through the city and proclaim to all the servitude to which they were reduced.

(5) The Idumaeans now began to regret that they had come, taking offence at these proceedings. In this mood they were called together by one of the Zealots, who came to them privately and showed up the crimes which they had committed in conjunction with those who had summoned them, and gave a

A Zealot secretly denounces the crimes of his party to the Idumaeans and urges them to depart.

*The Greek word ἀπόλλυσις means both "acquittal" and "decease."
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347 διεξῆγεν: παρατάσσεσθαι μὲν γὰρ ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄρχιστων προδιδομένης Ἦρωμαίοις τῆς μητρόπολεως, εὐρηκέναι δὲ προδοσίας μὲν τεκμήριον ουδέν, τοὺς δ' ἐκείνην ὑποκρινομένους φυλάττεσθαι καὶ πολέμου καὶ τυραννίδος ἔργα τολμῶν τας. προσήκειν μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς διακωλύειν ἀπ' ἄρχης. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀπαξ εἰς κοινωνίαν ἐμφυλίου φόνου προέπεσον, 1 ὁρον γοῦν ἐπιθείναι τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασι καὶ μὴ παραμένειν χορηγοῦντας ἱσχὺν τοῖς καταλύουσι τὰ πάτρια. καὶ γὰρ εἰ τινὲς χαλεπαίνουσι τῷ κλεισθῆναι τὰς πύλας καὶ μὴ δοθῆναι μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν αὐτοῖς ἐτοίμην τὴν εἰσόδον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπεζητάτας τετιμωρήσθαι καὶ τεθνάναι μὲν Ἀνανον, διεφθάρθαι δ' ἐπὶ μιᾶς νυκτὸς ὅλγον δεῖν πάντα τὸν δῆμον. ἐφ' οἷς τῶν μὲν οἰκείων πολλοὺς αἰσθάνεσθαι μετανοοῦντας, τῶν ἑπικαλεσαμένων δὲ ὅραν ἀμετρον τὴν ὁμότητα μὴδὲ δ' οὐς ἐσώθησαν αἰδομένων· ἐν ὀμμασι γοῦν τῶν συμμάχων τὰ αὐξήσα τολμᾶν, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων παρανομίας Ἰδομαίοις προσάπτεσθαι, μέχρις ἂν μήτε κωλύῃ τις μήτε χωρίζῃ τῶν ὄρομενων. δεῖν οὖν, ἐπειδὴ διαβολή μὲν πέφηνε τὰ τῆς προδοσίας, ἐφόδος δὲ Ἦρωμαίων οὐδεμία προσδοκᾶται, δυναστεία δ' ἐπίτετείχοντα τῇ πόλει δυσκατάλυτος, αὐτοὺς ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπ' οἰκοῦ καὶ τῷ μὴ κοινωνεῖν τοῖς φαύλοις ἀπάντων ἀπολογήσασθαι πέρι, ὧν φενακισθέντες μετασχοιν.

350 (vii. 1) Τούτους πεισθέντες οἱ ἦλοιμαίοι πρῶ-

1 R: προσέπεσον most mss.: μετέπεσον L.
2 Dindorf: τὸ mss.

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detailed account of the situation in the capital. They had enlisted, he reminded them, in the belief that the chief priests were betraying the metropolis to the Romans; but they had discovered no evidence of treason, whereas its professed defenders were the daring perpetrators of acts of war and despotism. These proceedings, he said, the Idumaeans should have checked at the outset; but having once become their partners and plunged into civil war, they ought now at least to put a limit to their sins and no longer continue to lend support to men who were subverting the institutions of their forefathers. Even were there any still indignant at the closure of the gates and the refusal of prompt admission to them while bearing arms, well, those who had excluded them had now been punished: Ananus was dead and in one night almost the whole population had been destroyed. Such actions, he could perceive, had produced repentance in many of their own party; but among those who had invited them he saw nothing but unmeasured brutality, without the slightest respect for their deliverers: under the very eyes of their allies they dared to commit the foulest atrocities, and their iniquities would be ascribed to the Idumaeans, so long as no one vetoed or dissociated himself from these proceedings. Since, then, the charge of treason had been shown to be a calumny and no invasion of the Romans was expected, while the city had had planted upon it a despotism not easily to be overthrown, their duty (he said) was to return home and by severing their connexion with these scoundrels to make some amends for all the crimes in which they had been duped into taking a part.

(vi. 1) Acting on this advice, the Idumaeans first
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ton μὲν λύουσι τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δεσμωτηρίοις περὶ δισχιλίους δημότας, οἱ παραχρήμα φυγόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς Σίμωνα, περὶ οὗ μικρὸν ὑστερον ἐροῦμεν ἕπειτα ἐκ τῶν Ἰερο-
354 σολύμων ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπί οἴκου, καὶ συνέβη τὸν χωρισμὸν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι παράδοξον ἀμφοτέρους· ὅ τε γὰρ δήμος ἀγνοῶν τὴν μετάνοιαν ἀνεθάρσησε
355 πρὸς ὁλίγον ὡς ἐχθρῶν κεκουφισμένος, οἱ τε ἐξήλωτα μᾶλλον ἐπανέστησαν, οὐχ ὡς ὑπὸ συμ-
μάχων καταλειψθέντες, ἀλλʼ ἀπηλλαγμένοι τῶν δυσκοπώντων καὶ διατρεπόντων παρανομεῖν.
356 οὐκέτι γοῦν μέλλησι ή σκέψις ἦν τῶν ἀδικημάτων, ἀλλʼ ὑεντάταις μὲν ἔχρωντο ταῖς ἐπινοίαις εἰς ἔκαστα, τὰ δοχθέντα δὲ τάχιον καὶ τῆς ἐπινοίας
357 ἐνήργουν. μάλιστα δʼ ἐπὶ ἀνδρείαν τε καὶ εὐ-
γείειαν ἐφόνων, τὴν μὲν φθόνῳ λυμανόμενοι, τὸ ὅ ἐγενναῖον δέει· μόνην γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀσφάλειαν ὑπελάμβανον τὸ μηδένα τῶν δυνατῶν καταλιπεῖν.
358 ἀνηρέθη γοῦν σὺν πολλοίς ἐτέροις καὶ Οὐρίῳ,
ἀξιώματι μὲν καὶ γένει προύχων, δημοκρατικὸς δὲ καὶ φρονήματος ἐλευθερίου μεστός, εἰ καὶ τις ἐτέρος Ἰουνάηῳ ἀπώλεσε δʼ αὐτὸν ἡ παρρησία
359 μάλιστα πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις πλεονεκτήμασιν. οὐδὲ
ὁ Περαίτης Νίγερ αὐτῶν τὰς χείρας διέφυγεν,
ἀνὴρ ἄριστος ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἡρωμαίοις πολέμους
γενόμενος· δὲ καὶ βοῶν πολλάκις τὰς τε ὀπτειλάς
360 ἐπιδεικνύσι διὰ μέσης ἐσύρετο τῆς πόλεως. ἔπει

1 αὐτῶν mss. (as often).

a §§ 503 ff.
b Probably identical with Gorion ben Joseph, § 159.
c "‘Teeming’ ; cf. Plato, Rep. 563 δ μεστὰ ἐλευθερίας,
“ready to burst with liberty” (Jowett).
livered the citizens confined in the prisons, numbering about two thousand (these immediately fled from the city and joined Simon, of whom we shall speak presently); they then left Jerusalem and returned home. Their departure produced an unlooked-for effect on both parties: the citizens, unaware of their repentance, recovered momentary confidence, as if relieved of an enemy; the Zealots, on the other hand, grew yet more insolent, not as though they had been abandoned by allies, but as quit of critics who discountenanced and sought to deter them from their lawlessness. No longer now was there any delay or deliberation about their crimes; they devised their plans with lightning rapidity, and in each case put their decisions into effect even more swiftly than they devised them. They thirsted above all for the blood of the brave and the nobility, massacring the latter out of envy, the former from fear; for they imagined that their own safety depended solely on their leaving no person of authority alive. Thus, to take one instance among many, they murdered Gurion, a person of exalted rank and birth, and yet a democrat and filled with liberal principles, if ever Jew was; his outspokenness, added to the privileges of his position, was the main cause of his ruin. Nor did even Niger the Peraean escape their hands, a man who had shown exceptional gallantry in his battles with the Romans: vehemently protesting and pointing to his scars, this veteran was dragged through the midst of the city. When

The departure of the Idumaeans in disgust
leads the Zealots to greater atrocities.

Further victims: Gurion and Niger.

He distinguished himself in the opening battle with Cestius, B. ii. 520; was at one time governor of Idumaea, ii. 566; and led two unsuccessful attacks on the Roman garrison at Ascalon, when he again won distinction and had a miraculous escape, iii. 11-28.
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δ' ἐξω τῶν πυλῶν ἥκτο, τὴν σωτηρίαν ἀπογνωστὶ

361 φόνον εὐῤήγουν. ἀναρρομένος δὲ ὁ Νέγερ τῆς μερο-

362 χειρας: ἄ δὴ πάντα κατὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐκύρωσεν

363 σαντες. Νέγερ μὲν οὖν ἀνηρμένους τὸς περὶ

364 ἐπενεκτὸ πρόφασις. τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν διενεχθὲν

365 θεραπεύων δ' ὡς ἐπίζουλος ὑπωπτεύετο. μία

366 (2) Ἐρωμαίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἅλλοι πάντες ἤγεμόνες

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366 om. ἦ L.

a Or "... had quarrels having long since been": πάλαι in the central position may be intended as adverb to both verbs.

b In the manner of Thucydides in his reflections on civil dissensions (στάσεις), iii. 82.

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brought without the gates, he, despairing of his life, besought them to give him burial; but they fiercely declared that they would not grant him the one desire of his heart—a grave—and then proceeded to murder him. In his dying moments Niger implored upon their heads the vengeance of the Romans, famine and pestilence to add to the horrors of war, and, to crown all, internecine strife; all which curses upon the wretches were ratified by God, including that most righteous fate, by which they were doomed ere long to taste in party conflict the effects of their comrades' frenzy. Niger's removal anyhow relieved their fear of being deposed from power; but there was no section of the people for whose destruction some pretext was not devised. Those with whom any had ancient quarrels having been put to death, against those who had given them no umbrage in peace-time accusations suitable to the occasion were invented: the man who never approached them was suspected of pride; he who approached them with freedom, of treating them with contempt; he who courted them, of conspiracy. The one penalty for charges of the gravest or the most trifling nature was death; and none escaped save those whose humble birth put them utterly beneath notice, unless by accident.

(2) The Roman generals, regarding the dissension in the enemy's ranks as a godsend, were all eager to march against the capital, and urged Vespasian, as commander-in-chief, to take this course. "Divine providence," they said, "has come to our aid by

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Vespasian deliberates with his generals about attacking Jerusalem.

I omit the first ἓ with L. The natural rendering "those whose humble birth or fortune" etc. gives τοὺχη a sense which appears unwarranted.
367 τοὺς ἐξιθροῦς κατ’ ἀλλήλων: εἶναι μέντοι τὴν ῥοπὴν ὀξείαν, καὶ ταχέως Ἰουδαίους ὀμονοήσεως ἢ κοπιάσαντας ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις κακοῖς ἡ μετα-
368 νοῆσαντας. Ὅυεσπασιανὸς δὲ πλέοστοι αὐτοὺς ἔφη τοῦ δέοντος ἀμαρτάνειν, ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ χειρῶν τε καὶ ὀπλῶν ἐπιδειξεν ποιήσασθαι γλυχομένους ὁυκ ἀκίνδυνον, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ συμφέρον καὶ τὰς παραλέ
369 σκοποῦντας. εἰ μὲν γάρ εὐθέως ὀρμήσειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, αὐτίος ὀμονοίας ἐσ'esθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ τὴν ἰσχύν αὐτῶν ἀκμάζουσαν ἐφ’ ἑαυτῶν ἐπιστρέψειν2: εἰ δὲ περιμείνειεν, ὀλυγοτέροις χρή-
370 σεσθαί δαπανηθείσων ἐν τῇ στάσει. στρατηγεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἁμεινον αὐτοῦ τὸν θεόν, ἀπονητὶ3 ἂΡω-
μαίους παραδίδοντα Ἰουδαίους καὶ τὴν νίκην ἀκὶν
371 δύνως τῇ στρατηγίᾳ4 χαριζόμενον· ὥστε χρήναι, διαφθειρομένων χερσίν οἰκείας τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τῷ μεγίστῳ κακῷ στάσει χρωμένων, θεατάς μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἀποκαθήσαται τῶν κινδύνων ἡ
θανατώσων ἀνθρώπους καὶ λευσθηκόσιν κατ’
372 ἀλλήλων χειρὰ μίσγειν, “εἰ δὲ τις οἰςταὶ τὴν
dόξαν τῆς νίκης ἐωλοτέραν ἐσ'esθαι δίχα μάχης, 
γνῶτω τοῦ διὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν σφαλεροῦ τὸ μεθ’
373 ἡθυχίας κατόρθωμα λυσιτελέστερον ὅν5· καὶ γὰρ
οὐχ ἵπτον εὐκλεεῖς οἴεσθαι χρῆ τῶν κατὰ χειρὰ
λαμπρῶν τοὺς ἐγκρατεῖα καὶ συνέσει τὰ ἵσα
πράξαντας.” ἀμα μέντοι μειομένων τῶν πολε-
μίων καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιᾶν, ἀναληφθεῖσαν ἐκ
374 τῶν συνεχῶν πόνων, ἐρρωμενεστέραν ἐξειν. ἀλλως

1 ed. pr. with Lat. : + ἡμῖν mss.
2 Bekker with Lat. : ἐπιστρέφειν mss.
3 ἄκοντι VRC (ἄκοντι L).
4 στρατιὰ LVC.
5 ins. Herwerden with Cobet.
turning our adversaries against each other; but changes come rapidly and the Jews will quickly return to unanimity through weariness or repentance of civil strife.” To this Vespasian replied that they were gravely mistaken as to the right policy, and were anxious to make a theatrical, though hazardous, display of their gallantry and arms, without regard to expediency and safety. For, were he immediately to attack the city, the effect would be merely to reunite their opponents and to turn their forces in fullest strength against himself; whereas by waiting he would find fewer enemies, when they had wasted their numbers in sedition. God was a better general than he, and was delivering the Jews to the Romans without any exertion on their part and bestowing victory upon them without risk to Roman generalship. Consequently, while their adversaries were perishing by their own hands and suffering from that worst of calamities, civil strife, their part was rather to sit as distant spectators of their perils, than to contend with men who courted death and were raving against each other. “But,” he continued, “if anyone thinks that the glory of victory will lose its zest without a fight, let him learn that success obtained by sitting still is more fruitful than when won by the uncertainty of arms; indeed those who attain the same ends by self-restraint and sagacity should be deemed no less famous than those who distinguish themselves in action.” Moreover, while the enemy’s numbers were diminishing, his own army would have recruited their strength after their continuous labours and be at his service reinvigorated.

* As at gladiatorial shows.
τε καὶ τῶν στοχαζομένων τῆς περὶ τὴν νίκην
375 λαμπρότητος οὐ τούτον εἶναι τῶν καιρῶν οὐ γὰρ
περὶ κατασκευήν ὅπλων ἢ τείχῶν οὐδὲ περὶ
συλλογῆς ἐπικούρων Ἰουδαίους ἀσχολεῖσθαι καὶ
τὴν ὑπέρθεσιν ἔσεσθαι κατὰ τῶν διδότων, ἀλλὰ
ἐμφυλίων πολέμῳ καὶ διχονοίᾳ τραχηλιζομένους
καθ' ἡμέραν οἰκτρότερα πάσχειν ὅπως ἂν ἔπελθοντες
376 αὐτοὶ διαθείειν αὐτοὺς ἀλόντας. εἰτ' οὖν τάσφαλές
τις σκοποίη, χρῆναι τοὺς ύβ' ἐαυτῶν ἀναλισκο-
μένους έαν, εἰτε τὸ εὐκλεέστερον τοῦ κατορθῶ-
ματος, οὐ δείν τοῖς οἷκοι νοσοῦσιν ἐπιχειρεῖν
ῥηθῆσεθαί γὰρ εὐλόγως οὐκ αὐτῶν τὴν νίκην
ἀλλὰ τῆς στάσεως.
377 (3) Ταῦτα Ὀυεσπασιανῷ λέγοντι συνήνυναι οἱ
ἡγεμόνες, καὶ παραχρῆμα τὸ στρατηγικὸν τῆς
γνώμης ἀνέφαϊνον πολλοὶ γοῦν 2 καθ' ἡμέραν
378 ἡπτομόλουν τοὺς ζηλωτάς διαδιδράσκοντες. χα-
λεπή δ' ἢν ἡ φυγή φρουραῖς διελθοῦσαν τὰς
dιεξόδων πάσας καὶ τὸν ὅπωσον ἐν αὐταῖς
ἀλισκόμενον ὡς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀπὸντα δια-
379 χρωμένων. ὡς μὴν χρῆματα δοῦσι ἐξηφάετο
καὶ μόνος ἢν ο μῆ διδοὺς προδότην, ὡστε κατ-
elεύπετο τῶν εὐπόρων τῆς φυγῆς ωνομένων μόνου
380 ἑναποσφάτεσθαι τοὺς πένητας. νεκροὶ δὲ κατὰ
τὰς λειψοροὺς πάσας ἐσωρεύσατο ἐπαμπληθεῖς,
καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ὁμομέμνον καυμολείν πάλιν τὴν
ἐνδον ἀπώλειαν ἥροῦντο· τὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος
θάνατον ἐλπὶς ταφῆς ἐποίει δοκείν μετριῶτερον.
381 οἱ δ' εἰς τοσοῦτον ὑμότητος ἔξωκειλαν, ὡς μὴτε
1 ὡς Destinon: atque ideo Lat.  Text doubtful.
2 L: δὲ the rest.
Above all, this was not the occasion for aspiring to the honours of a brilliant victory; for the Jews were not busily engaged in forging arms, erecting fortifications or levying auxiliaries, in which case delay would be prejudicial to those who granted it, but were risking their necks in civil war and dissension and daily enduring greater miseries than they themselves would inflict on them after defeat, if they advanced to the assault. Whether, therefore, they looked to the path of safety, these Jews should be left to continue their own destruction; or whether they considered the success which would bring the greater renown, they ought not to attack patients suffering from their own domestic disorders; for it would be said, with reason, that they owed their victory not to themselves but to sedition.

(3) In these observations of Vespasian the officers concurred, and the soundness of the general’s judgement was soon made evident by the numbers who daily deserted, eluding the Zealots. But flight was difficult, because guards were posted at all the outlets and anyone caught there, on whatever business, was slain, on the assumption that he was going off to the Romans. If, however, he paid the price, he was allowed to go, and only he who offered nothing was a traitor; the result being that the wealthy purchased their escape and the poor alone were slaughtered. Along all the highways the dead were piled in heaps; and many starting to desert changed their minds and chose to die within the walls, since the hope of burial made death in their native city appear more tolerable. The Zealots, however, carried barbarity so far as to grant interment to none.

* Or “who had been eager.”
τοῖς ἐνδον ἀναιρουμένους μήτε τοῖς ἀνὰ τὰς ἡγῆς, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ συνθήκας
πεποιημένου τοῖς τῆς πατρίδος συγκαταλύσαι καὶ
τοὺς τῆς φύσεως νόμους ἄμα τε τοῖς εἰς ἀνθρώ-
382 
383 
384 
385 
386 
387 
388 
1 L Exc.: thesmou's the rest (from previous line).
whether slain within the city or on the roads; but, as though they had covenanted to annul the laws of nature along with those of their country, and to their outrages upon humanity to add pollution of Heaven itself, they left the dead putrefying in the sun. For burying a relative, as for desertion, the penalty was death, and one who granted this boon to another instantly stood in need of it himself. In short, none of the nobler emotions was so utterly lost amid the miseries of those days, as pity: what should have roused their compassion, only exasperated these miscreants, whose fury shifted alternately from the living to the slain and from the dead to the living. Such terror prevailed that the survivors deemed blessed the lot of the earlier victims, now at rest, while the tortured wretches in the prisons pronounced even the unburied happy in comparison with themselves. Every human ordinance was trampled under foot, every dictate of religion ridiculed by these men, who scoffed at the oracles of the prophets as impostors' fables. Yet those predictions of theirs contained much concerning virtue and vice, by the transgression of which the Zealots brought upon their country the fulfilment of the prophecies directed against it. For there was an ancient saying of inspired men that the city would be taken and the sanctuary burnt to the ground by right of war, whenever it should be visited by sedition and native hands should be the first

\[\text{Barbarity of Zealots to dead and living.}\]

\[\text{They fulfil the predictions of ancient prophecy.}\]

\[\text{Literally “the deity”; cf. ii. 148 of the scrupulous care of the \textit{Eisenes} “not to offend the rays of the deity,” i.e. the sun.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{2} Holwerda: } \textit{εὐθεία} \textit{ms. quoted by Havercamp: } \textit{εὐθα} \textit{the rest.}\]
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μιάνωσι τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τέμενος· οἷς οὐκ ἀπιστήσαντες οἱ ζηλωταί διακόνους αὐτοὺς ἐπέδοσαν.

389 (vii. 1). Ἡδὴ δὲ Ἰωάννη τυραννιῶντι τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ὀμοίους ἰσότιμον ἥδοξεῖτο, καὶ κατ’ ὀλίγους προσποιούμενος τῶν πονηροτέρων ἀφηνιάζετο τοῦ ἱπτιμάταστος. ἀεὶ δὲ τοῖς μὲν τῶν ἄλλων δόγμασιν ἀπειθῶν, τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ προστάσσον ἰσοτιμικῶτερον, δήλω ἢ μοναρχίας ἀντιποιούμενος.

390 εἰκὸν δ’ αὐτῶ τινὲς μὲν δεῖ, τινὲς δὲ κατ’ εὐνοιαν, δεινοὶ γὰρ ἢ ἀπάτῃ καὶ λόγῳ προσαγαγέσθαι, πολλοὶ δὲ πρὸς ἀσφαλείας ἐγινόμενοι τῆς αὐτῶν τὰς αἰτίας ἢδη τῶν τολμώμενων ἐφ’ ἐνα καὶ μὴ πολλοὺς ἀναφέρεσθαι. τὸ γε μὴν δραστήριον αὐτοῦ κατὰ τε ἱερὰ καὶ κατὰ ἱνώμην δορυφόρους

391 εἶχεν οὐκ ὀλίγους. πολλὴ δὲ μοῖρα τῶν ἀντικαθιστημένων ἀπελεῖπετο, παρ’ οἷς ὴσχυε μὲν καὶ φθόνος, δεινοὺς ἐγινόμενος ὑποτελάθαι τὸ πρὶν ἰσοτίμω, τὸ πλέον δ’ εὐλάβεια τῆς μοναρχίας

392 ἀπέτρεπεν οὔτε γὰρ καταλύσειν ῥαδίως ἡλπίζον αὐτῶν ἁπαξ κρατήσαντα, καὶ καθ’ αὐτῶν πρόφασιν ἐξειν τὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀντιπράξει: προηρεῖτο δ’ οὖν πολεμῶν ἐκαστὸς ὀπίσων παθεῖν ἢ δουλεύσας ἐκονομὸς ἐν ἀνδραπόδου μοῖρα παραπολέσθαι.

1 ἀφηνιάζετο L. Exc.
2 PC: ἀντικαθημένων the rest.
3 PAC: τφ the rest.

I can quote no "ancient" authority for the saying. The following vaticinium post eventum occurs in a work written c. a.d. 80: ἡμίκα δ’ ἄφηνε τοὺς πεποιθότες εὐσεβὴν τε δίψουν στιγματοῖς τε τελοῦσι φόνους περὶ νην, καὶ τοῖ. . . [reference follows to flight of Nero and the Roman civil
to defile God’s sacred precincts. This saying the Zealots did not disbelieve; yet they lent themselves as instruments of its accomplishment.

(vii. 1) But now John, aspiring to despotical power, began to disdain the position of mere equality in honours with his peers, and, gradually gathering round him a group of the more depraved, broke away from the coalition. Invariably disregarding the decisions of the rest, and issuing imperious orders of his own, he was evidently laying claim to absolute sovereignty. Some yielded to him through fear, others from devotion (for he was an expert in gaining supporters by fraud and rhetoric); a large number thought that it would conduce to their own safety that the blame for their daring crimes should henceforth rest upon one individual rather than upon many; while his energy both of body and mind procured him not a few retainers. On the other hand, he was abandoned by a large section of antagonists, partly influenced by envy—they scorned subjection to a former equal—but mainly deterred by dread of monarchical rule; for they could not expect easily to depose him when once in power, and thought that they would have an excuse for themselves if they opposed him at the outset. Anyhow, each man preferred war, whatever sufferings it might entail, to voluntary servitude and being killed off like slaves.

Meaning doubtful. τὴν ἀρχὴν (which is certainly adverbial, not a noun as in Whiston’s rendering, “that they had opposed his having power”) usually has a negative; possibly we should read τὸ ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀντιπράξαι, i.e. “that he would have a pretext against them if they did not oppose him at the outset.”
395 διαιρεῖται μὲν οὖν ἡ στάσις ἐκ τούτων, καὶ τοῖς
396 ἐναντίωσθείσιν Ἰωάννης ἀντεβασύλευσεν. ἀλλὰ τὰ
μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτοῖς διὰ φυλακῆς ἦν, καὶ
οὐδὲν ἦν μικρὸν εἴ ποτε διικροβολίζοντο τοῖς
ὅπλοις, ἥριζον δὲ κατὰ τοῦ δήμου καὶ πότεροι
397 πλείονα λείαν ἀξοῦσιν1 ἀντεφιλονείκονν. ἐπεὶ δὲ
ἡ πόλις τρισὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις κακοῖς ἐχειμάζετο,
πολέμῳ καὶ τυραννίδι καὶ στάσει, κατὰ σύγκρισιν
μετριώτερον ἦν τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ὁ πόλεμος·
ἀμέλει διαδιδράσκοντες ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων ἐφευγόν
πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλοφύλους καὶ παρὰ Ἡρωμαίοις ἦς
ἀπήλπισαν ἐν τοῖς ἱδίοις σωτηρίας ἥξιοντο.

398 (2) Τέταρτον δὲ ἄλλο κακῶν ἐκυβεῖτο πρὸς τὴν
399 τοῦ ἐθνὸς κατάλυσιν. φρούριον ἦν οὐ πόρρω
Ἰεροσολύμων καρτερώτατον, ὅπο ὅ τῶν ἄρχαίων
βασιλέων εἰς τε ὑπέκθεσιν κτήσεως εἰν πολέμῳ
ῥοπαίς καὶ σωμάτων ἀσφάλειαν κατεσκευασμέ·
400 νον, ὁ ἐκαλεῖτο Μασάδα. τούτῳ κατειληφότες
οἱ προσάγορευμένοι συκάριοι τέως μὲν τὰς
πλησίον χώρας κατέτρεχον οὐδὲν πλέον τῶν ἐπι-
τηδείων ποριζόµενοι· δὲ δέ γὰρ ἀνεστέλλοντο
401 τῆς πλείονος ἀρπαγῆς· ὥς δὲ τὴν Ἡρωμαίων μὲν
στρατιῶν ἱµεροῦσαν, στάσει δὲ καὶ τυραννίδι
ἰδίᾳ τοὺς ἐν Ἰεροσολύμων Ἰουδαίους ἐπόθοντο
dηµηµένους, ἀδροτέρων ἂπτοντο τοµηµάτων.
402 καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐρήτην τῶν ἀζύµων, ἥν ἄγουσιν
Ἰουδαίοις σωτηρία εὖ οὐ τῆς ὑπ' Ἀἰγυπτίοις

1 PA: ἀνάξουσιν the rest.
2 ὡς δέ] ὡς PA1 Lat.: εἰδ' ὡς Niese with A2.
3 Ἑβαίων L Lat.

• Sebbeh, above the W. coast of the Dead Sea, near its
Such, then, was the origin of the split in the party, and John confronted his adversaries as a rival sovereign. However, their attitude to each other was purely defensive, and there were seldom if ever any skirmishes in arms between them; but they were rival oppressors of the people and vied with each other in carrying off the larger spoils. While the ship of state was thus labouring under the three greatest of calamities—war, tyranny, and faction—to the populace the war was comparatively the mildest; in fact they fled from their countrymen to take refuge with aliens and obtained at Roman hands the security which they despaired of finding among their own people.

(2) But yet a fourth misfortune was on foot to consummate the nation’s ruin. Not far from Jerusalem was a fortress of redoubtable strength, built by the kings of old as a repository for their property and a refuge for their persons during the vicissitudes of war; it was called Masada.\(^a\) Of this the so-called Sicarii had taken possession. So far they had confined themselves to raids upon the neighbouring districts, merely with the object of procuring supplies, fear restraining them from further ravages; but now when they learnt that the Roman army was inactive and that in Jerusalem the Jews were distracted by sedition and domestic tyranny, they embarked on more ambitious enterprises. Thus, during the feast of unleavened bread—a feast which has been kept by the Jews in thanksgiving for deliverance ever since their return to their native land on their lower end. Its capture by the insurgents is mentioned in \textit{B. ii. 408}; a detailed description of the fortress and of its final capture by the Romans is given in \textit{vii. 280 ff.}

\(^a\) The Sicarii occupy Masada and make raids on the country.
douleias ἁνεθέντες εἰς τὴν πάτριον γῆν κατῆλθον, νύκτωρ τοὺς ἐμποδῶν ὄντας διαλαθόντες πολίχνην τινὰ καταπρέχονσιν καλομενὴν Ἐνγαδί, 403 ἐν ἐν τῷ μέν ἀμύνεσθαι δυνάμενον, πρὶν ὀπλῶν ἀψασθαι καὶ συνελθεῖν, φθάσαντες ἐσκέδασαν1 καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐξέβαλον, τὸ δὲ φυγεῖν ἱπτον οὖν, γύναια τε καὶ παῖδας, ὑπὲρ ἐπτακοσίοις ἀναιροῦσιν. ἔπειτα τοὺς τε οἶκους ἐξεσκευασμένοι καὶ τῶν καρπῶν τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους2 ἄρπάσαντες 405 ἀνῆνεγκαν εἰς τὴν Μασάδαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐλήξοντο πάσας τὰς περὶ τὸ φρούριον κώμας καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθουν ἀπασαν, προσδιαφθειρομένων αὐτοῖς καθ’ ἠμέραν ἐκασταχθοῦν οὐκ ὃλιγων. 406 ἐκλείπει δὲ καὶ κατὰ τάλλα τῆς Ἰουδαίας κλίματα τὸ τέως ἠρεμοῦν τὸ λῃστρικόν, καθάπερ δὲ ἐν σώματι τοῦ κυριωτάτου φλεγμαίωντος πάντα τὰ 407 μέλη συνενόσει διὰ γοῦν τὴν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει στάσιν καὶ ταραχὴν ἁδειαν ἔσχον οἱ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πονηροὶ τῶν ἄρπαγῶν καὶ τὰς οἰκείας ἐκαστοῦ3 κώμας ἄρπάζοντες ἐπείτα εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν ἀφίσταντο. συναθροίζομενοι τε καὶ συνομνύμενοι κατὰ λόχους, στρατιὰς μὲν ὀλυγώτεροι πλεῖοις δὲ λῃστριῶ, προσεπιπτον ἱεροῖς καὶ 408 πόλεσιν, καὶ κακοῦσθαι μὲν συνεβαίνειν ἐφ’ οὖς ὀρμήσειν ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ καταληφθέντας, φθάνεσθαι δὲ τὰς ἀμύνας ὃς ληστῶν ἄμα ταῖς ἄρπαγαῖς ἐκδικασαν P^1A^1VR.

1: PAM: ἐκαστος the rest.
2: PAM: ἀκμαίους the rest.
3: L: ἐκαστος the rest.

a And when, consequently, the bulk of the population would be absent at Jerusalem.

b Engedi, 'Ain Jidy, on the W. coast of the Dead Sea, some 10 miles N. of Masada.
release from bondage in Egypt—a—these assassins, eluding under cover of night those who might have obstructed them, made a raiding descent upon a small town called Engaddi. Those of the inhabitants who were capable of resistance were, before they could seize their arms and assemble, dispersed and driven out of the town; those unable to fly, women and children numbering upwards of seven hundred, were massacred. They then rifled the houses, seized the ripest of the crops, and carried off their spoil to Masada. They made similar raids on all the villages around the fortress, and laid waste the whole district, being joined daily by numerous dissolute recruits from every quarter. Throughout the other parts of Judaea, moreover, the predatory bands, hitherto quiescent, now began to bestir themselves. And as in the body when inflammation attacks the principal member all the members catch the infection, so the sedition and disorder in the capital gave the scoundrels in the country free licence to plunder; and each gang after pillaging their own village made off into the wilderness. Then joining forces and swearing mutual allegiance, they would proceed by companies—smaller than an army but larger than a mere band of robbers—to fall upon temples and cities. The unfortunate victims of their attacks suffered the miseries of captives of war, but were deprived of the chance of retaliation, because their foes in robber fashion at once decamped

Cf. 1 Cor. xii. 26 εἰτε πᾶσχει ἐν μέλος, συνπᾶσχει πάντα τὰ μέλη, and for the same simile B. i. 507.

Apparently synagogues or "prayer-houses" are meant; these were often built outside the towns near rivers or sea coast for purification purposes. Judaea had but the one "temple" at Jerusalem.
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ἀποδιδρασκόντων. οὕδεν δὲ μέρος ἢν τῆς Ἰουδαίας, δὲ μὴ τῇ προανεχούσῃ πολεί συναπώλλυτο.

(3) Ταῦτα Ὀυεσπασιανῷ παρὰ τῶν αὐτομολῶν διηγέλλετο: καίπερ γὰρ φρουροῦντων τὰς ἐξόδους τῶν στασιαστῶν ἀπάσας καὶ διαφθειρόντων τοὺς ὁπωσοῦν προσόντας, ὅμως ἦσαν οἱ διελάβανοι καὶ καταφεύγοντες εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐνήγοι ἀμύναι τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ τοῦ δήμου περισσώσαι λείψαναι: διὰ γὰρ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εὔνοιαν ἀνηρήσχαί τε τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ κινδυνεύειν τοὺς περιόντας. δὲ οἰκτείρων ήθη τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτῶν τὸν μὲν δοκεῖν ἐκπολιορκήσων ἀφίσταται τὰ Ἰεροσόλυμα, τὸ δὲ ἀληθέσ' ἀπαλλάξων πολιορκίας. ἐδει μέντοι προκαταστρέψατε τὰ λειπόμενα καὶ μηδὲν ἐξωθεὶν ἐμπόδιον τῇ πολιορκίᾳ καταληπτεῖν: ἐλθὼν οὖν ἐπὶ τὰ Γάδαρα μητρόπολιν τῆς Περαιάς καρτερὰν πετράδι Δύστρον μηνὸς εἰσείσων εἰς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ γὰρ ἐτυχὼν οἱ δυνατοὶ λάθρα τῶν στασιωδῶν πρεσβευσάμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ παραδόσεως πόθῳ τε εἰρήνης καὶ διὰ τὰς οὐσίας πολλοὶ δὲ τὰ Γάδαρα κατόκουν πλούσιοι. τούτων τῆν

1 PC: τῷ the rest.
2 Niese (ed. min.): ἀφίσταται PAML (which should perhaps stand = propius accedit Lat.): ἀνίσταται the rest.
3 Destinon: μὲν τοῦ L: μὲν PA: δὲ the rest.

§ 378.

a Gadara is here identified by all commentators with the important place of that name S.E. of the Sea of Galilee, modern Umm Keis or Mukes, a principal city of Decapolis, and a seat of Greek culture, being the home, among other writers, of Meleager the epigrammatist and Philodemus the Epicurean. This identification, though favoured by the reference to its "many wealthy residents," is open to serious
with their prey. There was, in fact, no portion of Judaea which did not share in the ruin of the capital.

(3) Of these proceedings Vespasian was informed by deserters. For, although the insurgents guarded all the exits and slew any who for whatever reason approached them, a there were notwithstanding some who evaded them and, fleeing to the Romans, urged the general to protect the city and rescue the remnant of its inhabitants, assuring him that it was owing to their loyalty to the Romans that so many had been slain and the survivors were in peril. Vespasian, who already pitied their misfortunes, broke up his camp, with the apparent purpose of taking Jerusalem by siege, but in reality to deliver it from siege. It was, however, first necessary to reduce any places still outstanding, so as to leave no external impediment to hinder his operations. He accordingly marched on Gadara, b the capital of Peraea and a city of some strength, and entered it on the fourth of the month Dystrus. For the leading men had, unbeknown to the rebels, sent an embassy to him offering to capitulate, alike from a desire for peace and from concern for their property, for Gadara had many wealthy residents. Of the leaders' deputation objections. (1) Mukes was in Decapolis, whereas the Gadara here mentioned is called the capital or metropolis of Peraea, of which district Pella, some 15 miles S. of Mukes, was the northern boundary (B. iii. 46 f.); (2) Gadara (Gadara ?) es Salt, is actually in Peraea and satisfies the other data, for (3) it is not far from the village to which the Gadarene fugitives fled (§ 420 note); (4) that village was on the direct line to Jericho, for which they were making (§ 431), an unnatural refuge for fugitives from the northern Gadara; (5) Vespasian was marching southwards from Caesarea upon Jerusalem (§ 412), not northwards towards Galilee, which was already subdued.
πρεσβείαν ἡγισθηκέσσαν οἱ διάφοροι, πλησίον δὲ ἦδη ὄντος Οὐσπασιανοῦ διεπόθοντο, καὶ κατα-σχεῖν μὲν αὐτοὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀπέγνωσαν δύνασθαι, τῶν τε ἐνδον ἐχθρῶν πλήθει λειτόμενοι καὶ Ῥωμαίους ὄρωντες οὐ μακρὰν τῆς πόλεως, φεύγειν δὲ κρίνοντες ἡδόξοιν ἀναμωτὶ καὶ μηδεμίαν παρὰ τῶν αὐτῶν εἰσπραξάμενοι τι
416 μωρίαν. συλλαβόντες δὴ τὸν Δόλεσον, οὖσος γὰρ ἦν οὐ μόνον ἀξιώματι καὶ γένει τῆς πόλεως πρῶτος, ἀλλʼ ἐδόκει καὶ τῆς πρεσβείας αὐτοὺς, κτείνονσί τε αὐτὸν καὶ διʼ ὑπερβολὴν ὀργὴς νεκρὸν αἰκισάμενοι διέδρασαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.

417 ἔπιούσης δὲ ἦδη τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς δυνάμεως οὐ τε δήμος τῶν Γαδαρέων μετʼ εὐφημίας τὸν Οὐσπασιανὸν εἰσεδέχαμεν δεξίος παρ’ αὐτοῦ πίστεως ἔλαβον καὶ φουράν ἰπέτων τε καὶ πεζῶν πρὸς
418 τὰς τῶν φυγάδων καταδρομάς τὸ γὰρ τείχος αὐτοὶ πρὶν ἀξιώσαι Ῥωμαίους καθεῖλον, ὅπως εὐθὴ πίστις αὐτός τοῦ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀγαπάν τὸ μηδὲ βουληθέντας δύνασθαι πολεμεῖν.

419 (4) Οὐσπασιανὸς δ’ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς διαδράντας ἐκ τῶν Γαδάρων Πλάκιδον σὺν ἰππεῦσιν πεντακοσίοις καὶ πεζοῖς τρισχίλιοι πέμπει, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς
420 ἄλλης στρατιᾶς ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Καισάρειαν. οἱ δὲ φυγάδες ὡς αἰθυνόν τοὺς διάκοντας ἰππεῖς ἐθεάσαντο, πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθειν εἰς τὰ τυχα κόμην
421 συνελθοῦνται Βηθεναβρίν προσαγορευμένη ἐν ἦ νέων θεὸς οὐκ ὀλίγον εὐρόντες καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκόντας τοὺς δὲ βία καθοπλίσαντες εἰκαίως,

\[1\] κρίνοντες MVRC.
\[2\] δύνασθαι A² Lat. : om. the rest.
\[3\] VRC Lat. Heg. : Ἰουδαίων the rest.

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their adversaries were ignorant and only discovered it on the approach of Vespasian. Despairing of their ability to hold the city themselves, in view of their inferiority in numbers to their opponents within the walls and the proximity of the Romans, visible not far without, they determined to flee, but scorned to do so without shedding blood and exacting punishment from those responsible for their situation. So they seized Dolesus, who was not only by rank and family the first man in the town, but was also regarded as the originator of the embassy; having slain him and in their furious rage mangled his body, they fled from the city. The Roman army now appearing, the Gadarenes admitted Vespasian with acclamation and received from him pledges of security together with a garrison of horse and foot to protect them against invasions of the fugitives; for they had pulled down their walls of their own accord without requisition from the Romans, in order that their powerlessness to make war, even if they wished, might testify to their love of peace.

(4) Vespasian sent Placidus with 500 horse and 3000 foot to pursue those who had fled from Gadara, while he himself with the remainder of his army returned to Caesarea. The fugitives, on suddenly catching sight of the pursuing cavalry, before any engagement took place swarmed into a village called Bethennabris; finding here a considerable number of young men, they armed these with any available weapons, some consenting, others by force, and

\[ \text{Placidus} \]
\[ \text{defeats the} \]
\[ \text{Gadarene} \]
\[ \text{fugitives.} \]

\[ \text{§ 57 n.} \]

\[ \text{Doubtless Beth-Nimrah, Tell Nimrin, some 12 miles} \]
\[ \text{S.W. of the Peraean Gadara, and on the direct line for} \]
\[ \text{Jericho, which lay nearly opposite it on the other side of the} \]
\[ \text{Jordan.} \]
422 προπηδώσων ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Πλάκιδον. οἱ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἐμβολὴν ὁλίγον εἶχαν, ἀμα καὶ προκαλέσασθαι τεχνετεύοντες αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ
423 τοῦ τείχους πορρωτέρω, λαβόντες δὲ εἰς ἐπι-
τήδειον περιήλαυνὸν τε καὶ κατηκόντιζον, καὶ
tὰς μὲν φυγας¹ αὐτῶν οἱ ἰππεῖς ὑπετέμνοντο, τὰς
424 συμπλοκὰς δὲ τὸ πεζὸν εὐτόνως διεφθείρων.² οὐ
μέντοι πλέον τι τόλμησ ἐπιδεικνύμενοι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι
dιεφθείροντο, πεπυκνωμένοι γὰρ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
προσπήπτοντες καὶ ταῖς πανοπλίαις ὠσπερ τε-
teichismένοις, αὐτοῖ μὲν οὐχ εὐρυσκον βέλους
παράδυσαν οὐδὲ ἡμέρον βῆξαι τὴν φάλαγγα,
425 περιπεψάρων δὲ τοὺς ἐκείνους βέλεσι καὶ τοὺς
ἀγριωτάτους παραπλήσιοι θηρίοις ὥρμων ἐπὶ
tὸν σίδηρον, διεφθείροντο δὲ οἱ μὲν κατὰ στόμα
παιόμενοι τοὺς ἐίσθησιν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰππέων
σκέδαινυμενοι.
426 (5) Σπουδὴ γὰρ ἦν τῷ Πλακίδῳ τάς ἐπὶ τὴν
427 κόμην ὄρμας αὐτῶν διακλεεῖν, καὶ συνεχώς
παρελαύνον κατ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος, ἔπειτα ἐπι-
stρέφων ἀμα καὶ τοῖς βέλεσι χρώμενοι εὐστόχως
ἀνήρει τοὺς πλησιάζοντας καὶ δὲεὶ τοὺς πόρρωθεν
ἀνέστρεφεν, μέχρι βία διεκπεσόντες οἱ γενναίο-
428 τατοι πρὸς τὸ τείχος διεθεύγον. ἀπορία δὲ εἰσχ
τοὺς φύλακας ὄπει γὰρ ἀποκλεῖσαι τοὺς ἀπὸ
tῶν Γαδάρων ὑπέμενον διὰ τοὺς σφετέρους καὶ
429 δεξάμενοι συναπολείσθαι προσεδόκων. ὃ δὴ καὶ
συνεβὴ: συνωσθέντων γὰρ αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ τείχος
παρ' ὀλίγον μὲν οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἰππεῖς συνεισ-
ἐπεσον, οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ φθασάντων ἀποκλεῖσαι
tὰς πύλας προσβαλὼν ὃ Πλάκιδος καὶ μέχρι
¹ τὰς μὲν φυγάς Destinon: τοὺς μὲν φυγάδας mss.
dashed out upon the troops of Placidus. The Romans at their first onset fell back a little, manœuvring to entice them further from the walls, and then, having drawn them to a suitable spot, rode round them and with their javelins shot them down; the cavalry intercepting their flight, while the infantry vigorously broke up their entangled masses. The Jews, in fact, were cut to pieces after a display of mere audacity; for, flinging themselves upon the serried Roman ranks, walled in, as it were, by their armour, they found no loophole for their missiles and were powerless to break the line, whilst their own men were transfixed by their enemy’s javelins and rushed, like the most savage of beasts, upon the blade. So they perished, some struck down by the sword facing the foe, others in disorderly flight before the cavalry.

(5) For Placidus, anxious to intercept their rushes for the village, kept riding his cavalry past them in that direction, and then, wheeling round, with one and the same well-aimed volley of missiles killed those who were nearing it and intimidated and beat back those further off; but in the end the most courageous cut their way through and fled for the ramparts. Here the sentries were in doubt what they should do: they could not bring themselves to exclude the Gadarenes because of their own men, whereas if they admitted them they expected to perish with them. That was in fact what happened; for in the crush of fugitives at the wall, the Roman cavalry very nearly burst in with them, and, although the guards succeeded in shutting the gates, Placidus

\* The recruits obtained from the village, § 421.

2 διέφερον of Destinon is needless; cf. διαφθείρειν τὴν συνοικίαν, “break up the party,” Plato, Prot. 338 d.
JOSEPHUS

dείλης γενναίως ἀγωνισάμενος τοῦ τείχους καὶ
tῶν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ κρατεῖ.1 τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄργα πλήθη
dieńθείρετο, φυγὴ δὲ ἦν τῶν δυνατωτέρων, τὰς δὲ
οἴκιας οἱ στρατιώται διήρπασαν καὶ τήν κώμην

431 ἐνέπρησαν. οἱ δὲ διαδράντες ἐξ αὐτῆς τοὺς
cατὰ τὴν χώραν συνανέστησαν, καὶ τὰς μὲν
αὐτῶν συμφορὰς ἐξαιροῦντες ἐπὶ μείζον, τῶν δὲ
Ῥωμαίων τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν ἐπιέναι λέγοντες
πάντας πανταχόθεν ἐξέσευσαν τῷ δέει, γενόμενοι

432 τε παμπληθεὶς ἐφευγον ἐπὶ Ἰεριχοώντος· αὐτῇ
yάρ ἐτι μόνη τὰς ἐλπίδας αὐτῶν ἐθαλπε τής σω-

τηρίας καρτερὰ πλήθει γε οἰκητόρων. Πλάκιδος
δὲ τοῖς ἵππευσι καὶ ταῖς προαγούσαις εὐπραγίαις
tεθαρρηκὼς ἐπέτεο, καὶ μέχρι μὲν Ἰορδάνου τοὺς
ἀεὶ καταλαμβανομένους ἀνήρει, συνελάσας δὲ
πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος εἰργομένους

433 ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος, τραφέν γάρ ὑπ' ὀμβρων ᾧβατον

434 ἤν, ἀντικρὺ παρετάσσετο. παρώξυνε δ' ἡ ἀνάγκη

πρὸς μάχην τοὺς φυγῆς τόπον οὐκ ἔχομεν, καὶ
tαῖς ὀχθαῖς ἐπὶ μήκιστον παρεκτείνατε σφᾶς
ἀυτῶς ἐδέχοντο τὰ βέλη καὶ τὰς τῶν ἵππων

435 ἐμβολάς, οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν παῖοντες εἰς τὸ ῥέμα

436 κατέβαλον. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν χερσὶν αὐτῶν δια-

φθαρέν μύριοι πεντακισχίλιοι, τὸ δὲ βιασθὲν

ἐμπηδήσαι εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην πλῆθος ἐκοισίως

437 ἀπειρον ἦν. ἐάλωσαν δὲ περὶ δισεκατόν καὶ δια-

κοσίων, λεία τε παμπληθῆς ὄνων τε καὶ προ-

βάτων καὶ καμήλων καὶ βοῶν.

(6) Ἰουδαίοις μὲν οὖν οὕδεν4 ἐλάττων ἦδεν ἡ

πληγὴ προσπεσοῦσα καὶ μεῖζων ἐδοξεν ἐαυτῆς

1 Niese: δὲ κρατεῖ L: ἐκράτη the rest.
2 εἰργομένουs PM. 3 ἀκουσίως L. 4 οὐδὲν mss.

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led an assault and by a gallant struggle prolonged until evening became master of the wall and of the occupants of the village. The helpless were slaughtered wholesale, the more able-bodied fled, and the soldiers rifled the houses and then set the village alight. The fugitives, meanwhile, roused the country-side, and by exaggerating their own calamities and stating that the entire Roman army was upon them drove all from their homes in universal panic, and with the whole population fled for Jericho; that being the one remaining city strong enough, at least in virtue of its numerous inhabitants, to encourage hopes of salvation. Placidus, relying on his cavalry and emboldened by his previous success, pursued them, killing all whom he overtook, as far as the Jordan. Having driven the whole multitude up to the river, where they were blocked by the stream, which being swollen by the rain was unfordable, he drew up his troops in line opposite them. Necessity goaded them to battle, flight being impossible, and deploying their forces as far as possible along the bank they met the missiles and the charges of the cavalry, who wounded and drove many down into the stream. Fifteen thousand perished by the enemy's hands, while the number of those who were driven to fling themselves of their own accord into the Jordan was incalculable; about two thousand two hundred were captured, together with vast spoils of asses, sheep, camels, and oxen.

(6) This blow was the greatest that had befallen the Jews, and appeared even greater than it was;

a The plural can only refer to the one (left) bank, or rather perhaps to the terraces, one above the other, on that bank of the stream.
JOSEPHUS

dia to μη μόνον τὴν χώραν ἀπασαν δι' ἂς ἔφευγον πληρωθῆναι φόνου, μηδέ νεκροῖς διαβατόν γενέσθαι τὸν Ἰορδάνην, ἐμπληθήναι δὲ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τὴν 'Ασφαλτίτιν' λίμνην, εἰς ἣν παμπληθεῖς
438 ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατεσύρησαν. Πλάκιδος δὲ δεξιὰ τύχῃ χρώμενος ὠρμησεν ἐπὶ τὰς περὶς πολίχνιας τε καὶ κώμας, καταλαμβανόμενός τε Ἀβιλα καὶ Ἰουλιάδα καὶ Βησιμὼθ3 τὰς τε μέχρι τῆς 'Ασφαλτίτιδος πάσας ἐγκαθίστησιν ἐκάστη 439 τους ἐπιτιθείοις τῶν αὐτομόλων. ἔπειτα σκάφεσιν ἐπιβήσας τους στρατιῶτας αἱρεῖ τοὺς εἰς τὴν λίμνην καταφεύγοντας. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Περαϊαν προσεχώρησεν ἣ ἐάλω πάντα μέχρι Μαχαιροῦντος.

440 (viii. 1) Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὸ περὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν' ἀνεγέλλησε κίνημα καὶ Οὐίνδιξ ἀμα τῶν δυνατοῖς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀφεστῶς Νέρωνος, περὶ ὧν ἐν 441 ἀκριβεστέρος ἀναγέγραπται. Οὔεσπασίανὸν δ' ἐπ' ἠγείρεν εἰς τὴν ὀρμήν τοῦ πολέμου τὰ ἡγγελμένα, προορώμενον ἢδὲ τοὺς μέλλοντας ἐμφυλίους πολέμους καὶ τὸν ὀλίγος κύδυνον τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ἐν ὧ προερήμενοις τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἐπικουφίσεων ὁμο τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν φόβους.

1 'Ασφαλτίτην PA.
2 καταλαμβανόμενος ML.
3 Βησιμὼ PA.
4 C: τῆς Γαλατίας the rest.

a The Bituminous Lake = the Dead Sea.
b Probably Abel-Shittim (Khurbet el-Keffrein), some 5 miles due S. of Beth-Nimrah: mentioned in conjunction with Julias, B. ii. 252.
c Julias or Livias, formerly Beth-Haram (Betharamatha), 128
for not only was the whole countryside through which their flight had lain one scene of carnage, and the Jordan choked with dead, but even the Lake Asphaltitis was filled with bodies, masses of which were carried down into it by the river. Placidus, following up his good fortune, hastened to attack the small towns and villages in the neighbourhood, and taking Abila, Julius, Besimoth, and all as far as the Lake Asphaltitis, posted in each a garrison of such deserters as he thought fit; then embarking his soldiers on shipboard he captured those who had taken refuge on the lake. Thus the whole of Peraea as far as Machaerus either surrendered or was subdued.

(viii. 1) Meanwhile tidings arrived of the rising in Gaul and that Vindex with the chiefs of that country had revolted from Nero, of which events fuller accounts have been given elsewhere. Vespasian was stimulated by the news to prosecute the war more vigorously, for he already foresaw the impending civil dissensions and the peril to the empire at large, and thought that, in the circumstances, by an early pacification of the east he would allay the anxiety of Italy. Accordingly, while the modern Tell Rameh, 2 miles S. of Abel-Shittim, opposite Jericho: B. ii. 59 n., 168 n.

- Beth-Jeshimoth, Sueimeh, S. of Julias.
- E. of the upper region of the Dead Sea.
- C. Julius Vindex, prefect of Gallia Celtica, headed a Gallic revolt against Nero; and Virginius Rufus was sent with the legions of Lower Germany to oppose him. At Vesontio, where the armies met, Vindex and Virginius secretly agreed to conspire together, but the armies coming to no similar understanding, the troops of Vindex were cut to pieces and Vindex committed suicide. Dion Cass. lxiii. 22 ff., Plut. Galba, 4 ff., etc.
442 ἐώς μὲν οὖν ἐπείχεν ὁ χειμών τὰς ὑπηγμένας
dιησφαλίζετο κώμας τε καὶ πολίχνας φρουραῖς,
δεκαδάρχας μὲν κώμαις ἐγκαθιστάς, ἐκατοντάρχας
de πόλειςιν. πολλά δὲ ἀνώκιζε καὶ τῶν πεπορ- 443 θημένων. ὦπο δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἕαρος ἄναλαβὼν
tὸ πλέον τῆς δυνάμεως ἤγαγεν ἀπὸ τῆς Και-
σαρείας ἐπὶ Ἀντιπατρίδος, ἐνθα δυσῶν ἡμέραις
καταστησάμενος1 τὴν πόλιν τῇ τρίτῃ προῆι
πορθῶν καὶ καίων τάς πέριξ πάσας. καταστρε-
ψάμενος δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν Θαμνᾶ τοπορχίαν2 ἐπὶ
Λυῦδων καὶ Ἰαμνείας ἐχώρει καὶ προκεχειρω-
μέναις3 ἐκατέρας ἐγκαταστήσας οἰκήτορας τῶν
προσκεχωρηκότων ἰκανοὺς εἰς Ἀμμαοῦντα ἄφ-
445 ικνεῖται. καταλαβόμενος δὲ τὰς ἐπὶ τὴν μητρό-
πολιν αὐτῶν εἰσβολὰς στρατόπεδον τε τειχίζει
καὶ τὸ πέμπτον ἐν αὐτῇ τάγμα καταλιπών πρόεισιν4
μετὰ τῆς άλλης δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὴν Βεθλεπτηνφών
446 τοπορχίαν. πυρὶ δὲ αὐτῆν τε καὶ τὴν γειτνιώσαν
ἀνελῶν καὶ τὰ πέριξ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, φρουρία μὲν
447 τοῖς ἐπικαίροις τόποις ἐπετείχισε, καταλαβόμενος
dὲ δύο κώμας τὰς μεσαίτας τῆς Ἰδουμαίας,
Βήταβρων καὶ Καφάρτοβαν,5 κτείνει μὲν ὑπὲρ
448 μυρίους, αἰχμαλωτίζεται δὲ ὑπὲρ χιλίους, καὶ
τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἐξελάσας ἐγκαθίστησιν τῆς
οἰκείας δυνάμεως οὐκ ὀλίγην, οἱ κατατρέχουτες

1 L Lat. (composita): ἐγκαταστησάμενος the rest.
2 τὰς π. τ. Θ. τοπορχίας L Lat.
3 προσκεχωρημέναις L Lat. 4 L: πρόεισι: the rest.
5 ed. pr.: Καταφάρτοβαν most mss.

a Ras el-'Ain, in the S. of the plain of Sharon, N.E. of Joppa.
b "toparchy."

c S.E. of Antipatris. Here he turns S.W. towards the coast to Ludd and Yebnah.

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winter lasted, he employed himself in securing with garrisons the villages and smaller towns which had been reduced, posting decurions in the villages and centurions in the towns; he also rebuilt many places that had been devastated. Then, at the first approach of spring, he marched the main body of his army from Caesarea to Antipatris.\(^d\) After two days spent in restoring order in that town, on the third he advanced, laying waste and burning all the surrounding places. Having reduced the neighbourhood of the province \(^b\) of Thamna,\(^c\) he moved to Lydda and Jamnia; both these districts being already subdued,\(^d\) he quartered upon them an adequate number of residents from those who had surrendered, and passed to Ammaus.\(^e\) Having occupied the approaches to the capital of this province, he fortified a camp and, leaving the fifth legion there, advanced with the rest of his forces to the province of Bethleptepha.\(^f\) After devastating with fire this and the neighbouring district and the outskirts of Idumaea, he built fortresses in suitable situations; finally having taken two villages right in the heart of Idumaea, Betabris\(^g\) and Caphartoba,\(^g\) he put upwards of ten thousand of the inhabitants to death, made prisoners of over a thousand, expelled the remainder and stationed in the district a large division of his own troops, who overran and devastated

\(^{d}\) § 130 (for Jamnia).

\(^{e}\) The toparchy (iii. 55) which took its name from Ammaus (or Emmaus), Amnias, N.W. of Jerusalem.

\(^{f}\) The correct form is probably Bethleptepha (or Bethleptepha), Schürer, G.J.V. ii. 184 n.; it is the modern Beit Nettif, S.W. of Jerusalem, and gave its name to one of the provinces of Judaea, B. iii. 54 n.

\(^{g}\) Unidentified.
449 ἐπορθοῦν ἀπασαν τὴν ὀρεινήν. αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς δυνάμεως ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀμμαοῦν, ὄθεν διὰ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος καὶ παρά τῇ Νέαν πόλιν καλομένην, Μαβαρθὰ δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωριῶν, καταβὰς εἰς Κορέαν δευτέρα Δαισίου μὴνὸς στρατοπεδεύεται. τῇ δ’ ἐξῆς εἰς Ἰεριχοῦντα ἀφικνεῖται, καθ’ ἣν αὐτὸ συμμίσγει Τραῖανὸς εἰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῆν ἐκ τῆς Περαίας ἁγῶν δύναμιν, ἦδη τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰορδάνην κεχειρωμένων.

450 (2) Τὸ μὲν οὖν πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκ τῆς Ἰεριχοῦνθασαν τὴν ἐφοδον αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἀντικρυς Ἰεροσολύμων ὀρεινήν διαπεφεύγει, καταλείφθεν δ’ οὐκ ὀλίγων διαφθείρεται. τὴν δὲ πολὺν ἔρημον κατειλήφθησαν, ἦτες ἱδρυται μὲν ἐν πεδίῳ, ἐυλὸν δὲ ὑπέρκειται αὐτῇ καὶ ἀκαρπὸν ὄρος οὕκιστον.

452 κατὰ γὰρ τὸ βόρειον κλίμα μέχρι τῆς Σκυθοπολίτων γῆς ἐκτείνεται, κατὰ δὲ τὸ μεσημβρινὸν μέχρι τῆς Σοδομαίων χώρας καὶ τῶν περάτων τῆς Ἀσφαλτιτίδος. ἐστὶν δὲ ἄνωμαλὸν τε πάν καὶ ἀοίκητον διὰ τὴν ἁγονίαν. ἀντίκειται δὲ τούτῳ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Ἰορδάνην ὄρος ἄρχομενον ἀπὸ

1 L: Νεάπολιν the rest.
2 ὑπὲρ Destinon with Heg. (supra).

1 Flavia Neapolis, mod. Nablus, the new town founded by Vespasian c. A.D. 72 on the site of the older Mabartha (Mamortha according to Pliny, H.N. v. 13. 69) in the immediate vicinity of Shechem. The most probable meaning of Mabartha is “pass” or “passage” (ma’abarta), the name, like that of Shechem (“shoulder”), being taken from the watershed on which both places stood, forming an easy
the whole of the hill country. He then returned with the rest of his forces to Ammaus, and thence by way of Samaria, passing Neapolis or, as the natives call it, Mabartha, he descended to Corea, where he encamped on the second of the month Daesius. On the following day he reached Jericho, where he was joined by Trajan, one of his generals, with the force which he had led from Peraea, all the country beyond Jordan being now subjugated.

(2) The mass of the population, anticipating their arrival, had fled from Jericho to the hill country over against Jerusalem, but a considerable number remained behind and were put to death; the city itself the Romans found deserted. Jericho lies in a plain, but above it hangs a bare and barren mountain range of immense length, extending northwards as far as the territory of Scythopolis and southwards to the region of Sodom and the extremities of the Lake Asphaltitis; this hill district is all rugged and owing to its sterility uninhabited. Opposite to it and flanking the Jordan lies a second range, pass between the Mediterranean and Jordan basins. Schürer, G.J.V. i. 650, Encycl. Bibl., and Hastings, D.B.

b From the pass of Shechem a Roman road followed the course of a tributary of the Jordan in a S.E. direction down to Corea or Coreae, Tell el-Mazar, on the N. frontier of Judaea, B. i. 134, A. xiv. 49.

c Commander of the 10th legion and father of the future emperor of that name, B. iii. 289 ff.

d Apparently the larger area of the toparchy (B. iii. 55) is meant, as opposed to "the city itself" mentioned below.

e Bethshan, Beisan, the one city of Decapolis which lay W. of the Jordan. The name Scythopolis may owe its origin to the great Scythian invasion of Palestine in the 7th cent. B.C., mentioned by Herodotus i. 105; Syncellus (quoted by Schürer) writes Σκύθαι τὴν Παλαιστίνην κατέδραμον καὶ τὴν Βασάν κατέσχον τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν κληθείσαν Σκυθόπολιν.
JOSEPHUS

'Iouliados kai tov boreiow klimatwn, perateinov
dè eis mesombrían éwos Somorón, ëper órízei tì
Pètravn tìs 'Arabias. ën toutow d' èstì kai to
Sìd hernon kaloumenon óropos mìkunómenon méhri tìs
455 Mwabítidos. õ mésoj de' tòv duo óréwv õwra to
mégà pedion kaleítaí, àpto kórmhs Gwnabhrin
1
456 diòknon méhri tìs 'Asfalntítidos.2 èstì d' avton
mìkos mén stadalwv xilíwv diakosìwv,3 eudros d'
eikosi kai èkatón, kai méson ùpò tov 'Iordánou
témnetai, lìmva te èchei tìn te 'Asfalntítin kai
tìn Tíberièwv fúsiv ènántías: õ mén gar ál-
mìvorðhs kai àgonos, õ Tíberièwv de' glukêia kai
457 gónimos. èkpturótaí de' õp' hêrous to pedion
kai di' úperbholèn avìmou perièchei nòswdè tov
458 òéra: pán gar ànudron plìn tov 'Iordánou, parò
kai toús mén èpí taís õxhais foinikównas euðale-
stérous kai poluðoroðerous ènai sùmbèbhkev,
èttov de' toús pòrrw kekhurismévous.

459 (3) Parà méntoi tìn 'Ierikóv ëstì nìgì dafìlìs
té kai prós àrdeias lìpapòrtàtì, parà tìn
palaivn ànabllùsoua pòlìn, õn 'Hêsous õ Nauh

1 ënnaðri L: cf. iii. 447 ënnaðris, whence ënnaðri Niese
(ed. min.) here.
2 P: + õwras A: + õúmns the rest.
3 õl. diakos.] triakonta kai diakosìwv L Lat. Heg., through
misreading of 'AC' as ìAC'.

a Bethsaida Julias, et-Tell, at the head of the sea of
Galilee, founded by Philip the Tetrarch, B. ii. 168.
b Literally "and the northern regions," perhaps=" or
regions farther north."
c Perhaps Khirbat al Samra shown in map (facing p. 1)
in Kennedy's Petra (1925).
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which, beginning at Julias in the north, stretches parallel to the former chain southwards as far as Somora, which borders on Petra in Arabia; this range includes also the so-called Iron mountain stretching into Moab. The region enclosed between these two mountain ranges is called the Great Plain. This extends from the village of Ginnabris to the Lake Asphaltitis, and is twelve hundred furlongs in length, and a hundred and twenty in breadth; it is intersected by the Jordan and contains two lakes, Asphaltitis and that of Tiberias, contrary in their nature, the former being salt and barren, the latter sweet and prolific. In summer the plain is burnt up, and the excessive drought renders the surrounding atmosphere pestilential; for it is wholly without water, apart from the Jordan, which, moreover, explains why the palm-groves on the banks of that river are more luxuriant and productive than those further off.

(3) Hard by Jericho, however, is a copious spring of excellent value for irrigation; it gushes up near the old town, which was the first in the land of the

Unidentified; “stretching” (μεταμεταφέρει) probably means running out laterally from W. to E. (as in B. iii. 40).

The Ghōr (= “Rift”) or Jordan valley. “The Great Plain” (similarly used in A. iv. 100) elsewhere is the name for the plain of Esdraelon.

Called Sennabris (iii. 447), between Tiberias and Tarichaeae.

i.e. (the “stade” being c. 606 feet) about 137 miles by 13. The actual length of the Jordan valley from the Sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea is 65 miles; the breadth varies from 3 to 14 miles (G. A. Smith, Hist. Geography of Holy Land, 182). Josephus apparently includes the two lakes; this would increase the length to c. 124 miles.

Commonly identified with the Sultan’s Spring, 1½ miles N. of the road from Jerusalem.
παίς στρατηγός Εβραίων πρώτην εἶλε γῆς
460 Χαναναίων δορίκτητον. ταύτην την πηγήν λόγος
ήχει κατ’ ἄρχας οὐ μόνον γῆς καὶ δεόδρων καρποὺς
ἀπαμβλύνειν, ἄλλα καὶ γυναικῶν γονάς, καθόλου
τε πάσιν εἶναι νοσόδη τε καὶ φθαρτικήν, ἐξ-
ημερῳδήναι δὲ καὶ γενέσθαι τοιναντίον ὑγιεινο-
tάτην τε καὶ γονιμωτάτην ὑπὸ Ἐλισσαῖον τινὸς
προφήτου γνώριμος δ’ ἦν οὗτος Ἡλία καὶ
dιάδοχος· δ’ ἐπιεξενωθείς τοῖς κατὰ τήν Ἰεριχοῦν,
περισσόν δὴ τι φιλοφρονησαμένων αὐτοῦ τῶν
ἀνθρώπων, αὐτοὺς τε ἀμείβεται καὶ τὴν χώραν
462 αἰώνιω χάρτι. προελθὼν γὰρ ἑπὶ τὴν πηγήν
καὶ καταβαλὼν εἰς τὸ ῥεῖμα πλῆρες ἄλων ἀγγείον
κεραμοῦν, ἡ ἐπείτα εἰς οὐρανὸν δεξιὰν ἀνατείνας
δικαίων κατ’ γῆς3 στονξᾶς μειλικτηρίους χέομενος,
tὴν μὲν ἣτείτο μαλάξας τὸ ῥεῖμα καὶ γλυκυτέρας
463 φλέβας ἀνοίξαι, τὸν δ’ ἐγκερασθαί τῷ ῥεύματι
γονιμωτέρους ἄερας δοῦναί τε ἀμα καὶ καρπῶν
εὐθηνίαν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις καὶ τέκνων διαδοχῆν, μηδὲ
ἐπιλεπεῖν αὐτοῖς τὸ τούτων γεννητικὸν ὕδωρ,
464 ἐως μενοῦσι δίκαιοι. ταύτας ταῖς εὐχαῖς πολλὰ
προσχειρουργήσας4 ἐξ ἐπιστήμης ἔτρεψε τὴν
πηγήν, καὶ τὸ πρῶν ὅρφανίας αὐτοῖς καὶ λιμοῦ
παραίτων ὕδωρ ἐκτοτε εὐτεκνίας καὶ κόρου
465 χορηγὸν κατέστη. τοσαῦτην γοῦν ἐν ταῖς ἀρδείαις
ἐχει δύναμιν ὡς, εἰ καὶ μόνον ἐφάψαντο τῆς
χώρας, νοστιμωτέρον εἶναι τῶν μέχρι κόρου
466 χροιζόντων. παρὸ καὶ τῶν μὲν, δαμιλεστέρως
χρωμένων, ἡ ὄντος ἐστιν ὀλίγη, τούτου δὲ τοῦ

1 L Lat.: τοῦ the rest. 2 Naber: κεράμου mss.
3 καὶ ἑπὶ γῆς Α2; καὶ πηγῆς or καὶ (τή) πηγῆ the rest.
4 Destinon with L Lat.: προ(περι- R)χειρουργήσας mss.
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Canaanites to fall before the arms of Jesus the son of Naue,\textsuperscript{a} general of the Hebrews. Tradition avers that this spring originally not only blighted the fruits of the earth and of trees but also caused women to miscarry, and that to everything alike it brought disease and destruction, until it was reclaimed and converted into a most salubrious and fertilizing source by a certain prophet Elisha, the disciple and successor of Elijah.\textsuperscript{b} Having been the guest of the people of Jericho and been treated by them with extreme hospitality, he requited their kindness by conferring a boon for all time upon them and their country. For he went out to this spring and cast into the stream an earthenware vessel full of salt, and then raising his righteous right hand to heaven and pouring propitiatory libations upon the ground, he besought the earth to mollify the stream and to open sweeter channels, and heaven to temper its waters with more genial airs and to grant to the inhabitants alike an abundance of fruits, a succession of children, and an unfailing supply of water conducive to their production, so long as they remained a righteous people. By these prayers, supplemented by various ritual ceremonies,\textsuperscript{c} he changed the nature of the spring, and the water which had before been to them a cause of childlessness and famine thenceforth became a source of fecundity and plenty. Such, in fact, are its powers of irrigation, that if it but skim the soil, it is more salubrious than waters which stand and saturate it. Hence, too, while the benefit derived from other streams is slight, though

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{a} The Septuagint name for Joshua, son of Nun.
  \item \textsuperscript{b} Cf. 2 Kings. ii. 19-22.
  \item \textsuperscript{c} Literally "working many things besides with his hands from (professional) skill."
\end{itemize}
467 ὀλίγου [χορηγία]¹ δαψιλῆς. ἀρδεὶ γοῦν πλέονα τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, καὶ πεδίον μὲν ἐπεισων ἐβδομήκοντα σταδίων μῆκος εὕρος δ᾽ εὐκοσιν, ἐκτρέφει δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῷ παραδείσους καλλίστους τε 468 καὶ πυκνοτάτους. τῶν δὲ φοινίκων ἐπαρδομένων γένη πολλὰ ταῖς γεύσεις καὶ ταῖς παρηγορίαις² διάφορα: τοῦτων οἱ πιστεοὶ πατοῦμεν καὶ μέλι 469 δαψιλῆς ἀναίσιν οὐ πολλῷ τοῦ λοιποῦ χείρων. καὶ μελιττοτρόφος δ' ἡ χώρα· φέρει δὲ καὶ ὀπο-βάλασμον, ὡς δὴ τιμωτατον τῶν τῆς ἀμαρτίας κύρων τε καὶ μυροβάλανον, ὦς οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτεῖν τινα εἰςάντα θείων εἶναι τὸ χωρίον, ἐν δὲ δαψιλῆ τὰ 470 σπανιώτατα καὶ κάλλιστα γευνάται. τῶν μὲν γάρ ἄλλων αὐτῶν καρπῶν ἐνεκεν οὐκ ἂν ῥάδιως τι παραβληθεῖσα κλίμα τῆς οἰκουμένης· οὕτως τὸ 471 καταβληθὲν πολύχων ἀναδίδωσαι. αὐτῶν μοι δοκεῖ τὸ θερμὸν τῶν ἀέρων καὶ τὸ τῶν ὕδατων εὐτοιον, ³ τῶν μὲν προκαλομένων⁴ τὰ φυόμενα καὶ διαχεόντων, τῆς δ᾽ ἰκμάδος βίομενη ἐκαστον ἰσχυρῶς καὶ χορηγούσης τὴν ἐν θερεί δύναμιν· περικαές δὲ ἔστων οὕτως τὸ χωρίον, ὥς μηδένα 472 ῥάδιως προϊέναι. τὸ δὲ ἕδωρ πρὸ ἀνατολῆς

¹ ῬΜΑ²: ἡ χορηγία L: om. the rest.
² προσηγορίαις Niese with Lat. nominibus.
³ Margin of PAM: εὐτοιον the rest.
⁴ ed. pr. with Lat.: προσκαλομένων mss.

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¹ The article τῶν (sc. ἄλλων ὕδατων) must be dissociated from the following genitive absolute δαψιλεστέρως χρωμένων (cf. A. vii. 159).
² Jericho was "the city of palm-trees," Deut. xxxiv. 3, Judges i. 16.
³ Legend said that the first roots of the balsam were imported into Palestine from Arabia by the Queen of Sheba, A. viii. 174; the method of collecting the juice is described
they use them more lavishly, this little rill yields an ample return. Indeed, this spring irrigates a larger tract than all others, permeating a plain seventy furlongs in length and twenty in breadth, and fostering within that area the most charming and luxuriant parks. Of the date-palms watered by it there are numerous varieties differing in flavour and in medicinal properties; the richer species of this fruit when pressed under foot emit copious honey, not much inferior to that of bees, which are also abundant in this region. Here, too, grow the juicy balsam, the most precious of all the local products, the cypress and the myrobalanus; so that it would be no misnomer to describe as "divine" this spot in which the rarest and choicest plants are produced in abundance. For, with regard to its other fruits, it would be difficult to find another region in the habitable world comparable to this; so manifold are the returns from whatever is sown. I attribute these results to the warmth of the air and the bracing effects of the water, the one calling forth and diffusing the young plants, while the moisture enables them all to take firm root and supplies them with vitality in summer, when the surrounding region is so parched up, that one can scarcely venture out of doors. The water if drawn in B. i. 138, A. xiv. 54; Cleopatra appropriated from Herod's realm "the palm grove of Jericho where the balsam grows," B. i. 361, A. xv. 96; in the last passage Josephus speaks of the balsam as peculiar to Jericho, but in A. ix. 7 he mentions another habitat, Engedi on the Dead Sea. Strabo (xvi. 763) and other writers mention the balsam of Jericho.

a "Perhaps the ben-nut" (Liddell and Scott).

b Cf. the description of the fertile plain of Gennesareth, iii. 516 ff.

c Or, with the reading εδγονον, "fertilizing."
JOSEPHUS

ἀντλούμενον. ἔστειτα ἐξαιθριασθέν γίνεται ψυχρό-
tatov καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν πρὸς τὸ περίέχον φύσιν
λαμβάνει, χειμώνος δὲ ἀνάπαλν χυλαίνεται καὶ
473 τοῖς ἐμβαίνουσι γίνεται προσηνέστατον. ἐστὶ δὲ
καὶ τὸ περίέχον οὕτως εὑκρατον, ὡς λινὸν
ἀμφιέννυσθαι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους νυφομένης τῆς
474 ἄλλης Ἰουδαίας. ἀπέχει δ’ ἀπὸ Ἰεροσολύμων
μὲν σταδίους ἐκατὸν πεντήκοντα, τοῦ δὲ Ἰορδάνου
ἐξῆκοντα, καὶ τὸ μὲν μέχρι Ἰεροσολύμων αὐτῆς
ἐρημοῦν καὶ πετρώδες, τὸ δὲ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰορδάνου
καὶ τῆς Ἀσφαλτίτιδος χθαμαλώτερον μὲν, ἐρημοῦν
475 δὲ ὦμοίως καὶ ἄκαρπον. ἄλλα γὰρ τὰ μὲν περὶ
Ἰεριχούν εὐδαμονεστάτην οὗσαν ἀποχρώντως
dedήλωται.

476 (4) "Ἄξιον δ’ ἀφηγήσασθαι καὶ τὴν φύσιν τῆς
Ἀσφαλτίτιδος λήμνης, ἦτης ἐστὶ μὲν, ως ἐφην,
pikra καὶ ἄγωνος, ὑπὸ δὲ κουφότητος καὶ τὰ
βαρύτατα τῶν εἰς αὐτὴν ῥιφέντων ἀναφέρει, κατα-
dύναι δ’ εἰς τὸν βυθὸν οὐδὲ ἐπιτηδεύσαντα ράδιον.
477 ἀφικόμενος γοῦν καθ’ ἱστορίαν ἐπ’ αὐτῆς Ὀὐε-
σπασιανὸς ἐκέλευσε τινὰς τῶν νεῶν οὐκ ἐπιστα-
méνων, δεθέντας ὀπίσω τὰς χεῖρας, ῥιθῆναι κατὰ
tοῦ βυθοῦ, καὶ συνέβη πάντας ἐπινήξασθαι
478 καθάπερ ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἀνων βιαζόμενους. ἐστὶ
d’ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἡ τῆς χρόας μεταβολῆ θαυμάσιος:
τρίς γὰρ ἐκάστης ἡμέρας τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἀλλάσ-
σεται καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἡλιακὰς ἀκτῖνας ἀνταγωγεῖ ποι-
479 κίλως. τῆς μέντοι ἀσφάλτου κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη

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before sunrise and then exposed to the air becomes intensely cold, assuming a character the reverse of the surrounding atmosphere; in winter, on the contrary, it is warm and quite pleasant to bathe in. Moreover, the climate is so mild that the inhabitants wear linen when snow is falling throughout the rest of Judaea. The distance from Jerusalem is a hundred and fifty furlongs and from the Jordan sixty. The country from Jericho to Jerusalem is desert and rocky; to the Jordan and the Lake Asphaltitis the ground is lower, though equally wild and barren. But of Jericho, that most favoured spot, enough has been said.

(4) The natural properties of the Lake Asphaltitis also merit remark. Its waters are, as I said, bitter and unproductive, but owing to their buoyancy send up to the surface the very heaviest of objects cast into them, and it is difficult, even of set purpose, to sink to the bottom. Thus, when Vespasian 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; with the result that all rose to the surface and floated, as if impelled upward by a current of air. Another remarkable feature is its change of colour: three times a day it alters its appearance and throws off a different reflection of the solar rays. Again, in many parts it

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\( ^a \) Cf. a similar statement on the water of the Sea of Galilee, iii. 508.

\( ^b \) i.e. 11½ and nearly 7 miles respectively. The actual distances appear to be about 16 and 5 miles.

\( ^c \) § 456.

\( ^d \) Cf. with this description Tac. Hist. v. 6 and Strabo, 763 f. (who confuses it with the Lake Sirbonis in Egypt; context and details show that he refers to the Dead Sea).
JOSEPHUS

βώλους μελαίνας ἀναδίδωσιν· αἱ δὲ ἐπινήχονται τὸ τε σχῆμα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ταῦροις ἀκεφάλοις
480 παραπλήσιαι. προσελαύνοντες δὲ οἱ τῆς λίμνης ἐργάται καὶ δρασσόμενοι τοῦ συνεστῶτος ἐλκουσιν
eis τὰ σκάφη, πληρώσασι δὲ ἀποκόπτειν οὐ ράδιον, ἀλλὰ δι' εὐτονίαν προσήρτηται τῷ μηρύ-
ματι τὸ σκάφος, ἐως ἂν ἐμμηνίως γυναικῶν αἰματι καὶ οὕρω διαλύσωσιν αὐτῆς, οἱς μόνοις εἰκεί.
481 καὶ χρήσιμοι δὲ οὐ μόνον εἰς ἀρμονίας νεών ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἄκεσιν σωμάτων· εἰς πολλὰ γοῦν τῶν
482 φαρμάκων παραμισγεῖται. ταύτῃ τῆς λίμνης μῆ-
kos μὲν ὄγδοήκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι στάδιοι,
kαθὸ δὴ μέχρι Ζοάρων τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐκτείνεται,
483 εὐρὸς δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἔκατον. γειτνιὰ δ’ ἡ
Σοδομίτες αὐτῆ, πάλαι μὲν εὐδαίμων γη καρπῶν
τε ἔνεκεν καὶ τῆς κατὰ πόλιν περιουσίας, νῦν δὲ
484 κεκαυμένη πάσα. φασὶ δ’ ὅσ δὲ ἀσέβειαν οἰκη-
tόρων κεραυνοῖς καταφλεγῆναι1· ἔστι γοῦν ἐτι
λείψανα τοῦ θείου πυρός, καὶ πέντε μὲν πόλεων
ἰδεῖν σκιάς, ἔτι δὲ κἂν τοῖς καρποῖς σποδιαν
ἀναγεινωμένην, οἱ χροιὰν μὲν ἔχουσι τῶν ἐδωδί-
mων ὁμοίαν, δρεμαμένων δὲ χερσίν εἰς καπνὸν

1 κατεφλέγη L.

a So Tac. loc. cit. “fugit cruorem vestemque infectam
sanguine, quo feminae per menses exsolvuntur. Sic veteres
auctores.” From Strabo 764 we learn that one of these
“ancient authors” was Poseidonius (2nd-1st cent. B.C.). Cf.
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casts up black masses of bitumen, which float on the surface, in their shape and size resembling decapitated bulls. The labourers on the lake row up to these and catching hold of the lumps haul them into their boats; but when they have filled them it is no easy task to detach their cargo, which owing to its tenacious and glutinous character clings to the boat until it is loosened by the monthly secretions of women, to which alone it yields. It is useful not only for caulking ships, but also for the healing of the body, forming an ingredient in many medicines. The length of this lake is five hundred and eighty furlongs, measured in a line reaching to Zoara in Arabia, and its breadth one hundred and fifty. Adjacent to it is the land of Sodom, a country blest in its produce and in the wealth of its various cities, but now all burnt up. It is said that, owing to the impiety of its inhabitants, it was consumed by thunderbolts; and in fact vestiges of the divine fire and faint traces of five cities are still visible. Still, too, may one see ashes reproduced in the fruits, which from their outward appearance would be thought edible, but on being plucked with also B. vii. 181, where the same secretions are named as aids to the extraction of a certain root with medicinal properties.

* This figure (=about 66½ miles) is greatly exaggerated; the actual length is about 47 miles.

* The Biblical Zoar, familiar as Lot's city of refuge, Gen. xix. 22; perhaps (Smith and Bartholomew, Atlas) el-Keryeh, a few miles S. of the Lake.

* i.e. about 11½ miles; the actual breadth at the broadest part is about 10 miles.

* Perhaps the modern Jebel Usdum at the S.W. corner of the lake. Many older authorities located the cities of the plain to the north of the Dead Sea.
485 διαλύονται καὶ τέφραν. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τὴν Σοδουμίτων μυθενόμενα τοιαύτην ἔχει πίστιν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀψεως.

486 (ix. 1) 'Ο δὲ Ὁὐσπασιανὸς πανταχόσε περι-

τειχίζων τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἰεροσολύμωις ἐν τῇ Ἰεριχοὶ καὶ ἐν Ἠδίδοις ἐγείρει στρατόπεδα καὶ
φρουροὺς ἀμφοτέραις ἐγκαθίστησιν ἐκ τε τοῦ

487 Ῥωμαίκοι καὶ συμμαχικὸς τάγματος.4 πέμπει δὲ καὶ εἰς Γέρασα Λούκιον Ἀννιον παραδύος

488 μοίραν ἰππεῶν καὶ συχνοὺς πεζόν. ὃ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἐφόδου τὴν πόλιν ἐλών ἀποκτείνει μὲν χιλίους τῶν νέων, ὅσοι μὴ διαφυγεῖν ἐφθασαν, γενεὰς δὲ ἡχυμαλωτίσατο καὶ τᾶς κτήσεις διαρπάσας τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπέτρεψεν ἐπειτα τὰς οἰκίας ἔμ-

489 πρήσας ἐπὶ τὰς πέρις κώμας ἐχώρει. φυγαὶ δὲ ἦσαν τῶν δυνατῶν καὶ φθοραὶ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων,

490 τὸ καταλείφθην δὲ πάν ἐνεπίμπρατο. καὶ δι-

ειληφότος τοῦ πολέμου τὴν τε ὁρεινὴν ὅλην καὶ τὴν πεδιάδα πάσας5 οἱ ἐν τοῖς Ἰεροσολύμωις τὰς ἐξόδους ἀφῆρηντο· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ6 αὐτομολεῖν προ-

αιρουμένους οἱ ξηλωταί παρεφυλάσσοντο, τοὺς δὲ οὐπω τὰ Ῥωμαίων φρονοῦντας εἱργεν ἡ στρατιὰ πανταχόθεν τὴν πόλιν περιέχουσα.

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1 ἀναλύονται L. 2 πανταχόθεν LC. 3 ἐπιτειχίζων L. 4 συμμαχικὸς A. 5 Destinon: πᾶσαν mss. 6 μὲντοι γε ΡΑ: μὲν γε Destinon.

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4 Cf. Tac. Hist. v. 7 "et manere vestigia, terramque ipsam, specie torridam, vim frugiferam perdidisse. Nam cuncta . . . atra et inania velut in cinerem vanescent"; and from a writer of a thousand years later, Fulcher of Chartres, historian of the first crusade, Hist. Hierosol. ii. 4 (Migne) "illic inter arbores caeteras vidi quasdam poma ferentes, de quibus
the hand dissolve into smoke and ashes. So far are the legends about the land of Sodom borne out by ocular evidence.

(ix. 1) Vespasian, with a view to investing Jerusalem on all sides, now established camps at Jericho and at Adida, placing in each a garrison composed jointly of Romans and auxiliaries. He also sent Lucius Annius to Gerasa with a squadron of cavalry and a considerable body of infantry. Annius, having carried the city by assault, put to the sword a thousand of the youth who had not already escaped, made prisoners of women and children, gave his soldiers licence to plunder the property, and then set fire to the houses and advanced against the surrounding villages. The able-bodied fled, the feeble perished, and everything left was consigned to the flames. The war having now embraced the whole region, both hill and plain, all egress from Jerusalem was cut off; for those who desired to desert were closely watched by the Zealots, while those who were not yet pro-Romans were confined by the army which hemmed in the city on every side.

cum collegissem, scire volens cujus naturae essent, inveni rupto cortice interius quasi pulverem atrum, et inde inanem prodire fumum." Dr. C. Geikie, The Holy Land and the Bible, ii. 117, writes that "the 'osher' of the Arab is the true apple of Sodom.... Its fruit is like a large smooth apple or orange.... When ripe it is yellow and looks fair and attractive, and is soft to the touch, but if pressed, it bursts with a crack, and only the broken shell and a row of small seeds in a half-open pod, with a few dry filaments, remain in the hand."

b Haditheh, 3 miles E. of Lydda, and some 20 miles N.W. of Jerusalem.

c Jerash, in Gilead, on the N.E. frontier of Peraea, B. iii. 47.
JOSEPHUS

491 (2) Ὅνεσπασιανῷ δ' εἰς Καισάρειαν ἐπιστρέψατι καὶ παρασκευαζομένῳ μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπ' αυτῶν τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων ἔξελαύνειν ἀγγέλλεται Νέρων ἀνηρμένον, τρία καὶ δέκα βασιλεύσας ἔτη ἢ καὶ μήνας ὅκτω καὶ ἢμέρας ὅκτω. περὶ οὐ λέγειν, ὅτι τρόπον εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐξύβρισεν πιστεύσας ἡ πράγματα τοῖς ποιητάτοις, Νυμφιδίῳ καὶ Τυγελλίῳ, τοῖς γε ἀναξίοις τῶν ἑξελεύθερων, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ τούτων ἐπιβουλευθεὶς κατελείφθη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάκων ἀπάντων, διαδράσει δὲ σὺν τέτρασι τῶν πιστῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἐν τοῖς προαστείοις ἑαυτὸν ἄνειλεν, καὶ ὡς οἱ κατάλυσαντες αὐτὸν μετ' οὐ 3 πολὺν χρόνου δίκαι ἔδοσαν τὸν τε κατὰ τὴν Γαλατίαν πόλεμον ὡς ἑτελεύτησε, καὶ πῶς Γάλβας ἀποδειχθεὶς αὐτοκράτωρ ἐις Ἦρωμην ἐπανῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰσπανίας, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀιτιαθεὶς ἑπὶ ταπεινοφοροῦσαν κατὰ μέσην ἐδολοφονήθη τῇ Ἁρμαΐῳ ἀγοράν, ἀπεδείχθη τε αὐτοκράτωρ ὁ Θωμᾶς τῇ τε τούτου στρατεύαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπιτύμβων, ἀποτελοῦσαν τοὺς μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως προαστείοις ἑαυτὸν ἄνειλεν, καὶ ὡς οἱ κατάλυσαντες αὐτὸν μετ' οὐ 3 πολὺν χρόνου δίκαι ἔδοσαν τὸν τε κατὰ τὴν Γαλατίαν πόλεμον ὡς ἑτελεύτησε, καὶ πῶς Γάλβας ἀποδειχθεὶς αὐτοκράτωρ ἐις Ἦρωμην ἐπανῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰσπανίας, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀιτιαθεὶς ἑπὶ ταπεινοφοροῦσαν κατὰ μέσην ἐδολοφονήθη τῇ Ἁρμαΐῳ ἀγοράν, ἀπεδείχθη τε αὐτοκράτωρ ὁ Θωμᾶς τῇ τε τούτου στρατεύαν

1 ins. Niese.
2 MRC: τε PAL: om. V.
3 μετ' οὗ Cardwell: μετά mss.
4 κατά μέσος Cardwell: ἐδ Κατά μέσην mss.
5 Dindorf: στρατεύαν mss.

* The actual length of his reign was 13 years 7 months 28 days (from 13th October 54 to 9th June 68). Dion Cassius (lxiii. 29) reckons this in round numbers as 13 years 8 months. With this figure the statement in Josephus may be brought into conformity by altering ἡμέρας to μήνας; more probably, as suggested by Niese, καὶ μήνας ὅκτω has dropped out through homoioteleuton. With the insertion of those words, Josephus makes the reign ten days too long; cf. similar slight discrepancies in B. ii. 168, 180, 204.

Nymphidius Sabinus, son of a freedwoman, was, along
Vespasian had returned to Caesarea and was preparing to march in full strength upon Jerusalem itself, when the news reached him that Nero was slain, after a reign of thirteen years (eight months) and eight days. To tell how that emperor wantonly abused his authority by entrusting the administration to the vilest wretches, Nymphidius and Tigellinus, the most worthless of freedmen; how, when they conspired against him, he was abandoned by all his guards, and, escaping with four faithful freedmen, put an end to himself in the suburbs; and how punishment ere long overtook those who had caused his overthrow—falls outside my purpose. Nor do I propose to tell of the war in Gaul and its issue, of Galba’s call to the imperial dignity and his return to Rome from Spain, of the charge of meanness brought against him by the soldiers and how he was treacherously slain in the midst of the Roman forum and Otho was made emperor; of Otho’s

with Tigellinus, prefect of the praetorian guards towards the end of Nero’s reign. On Nero’s death he attempted to seize the empire for himself, but was slain by the friends of Galba.

Sophonius Tigellinus, a man of obscure birth, appointed praetorian prefect A.D. 63, was the main instrument of the tyranny and profligacy which marked the end of Nero’s reign; he committed suicide on the accession of Otho. Juv. Sat. i. 155 “pone Tigellinum” etc., “dare to portray T. and you will be burnt alive.”

Or, perhaps, “and to worthless freedmen.”

Phaon, who offered him refuge at his villa 4 miles out of Rome, Epaphroditus, Sporus, and another. The dramatic story is told by Suetonius, Nero 47 f. and Dion Cass. lxiii. 27.

Near the pool of Curtius.
These last incidents are narrated below, §§ 545-8, 585 ff.

The meaning “through Achaea” is obscure. We might expect, as has been suggested, “while [they were going by land] through Achaea (for it was winter) [and the rest] were sailing round” the Peloponnese; possibly there is a lacuna.
campaign against the generals of Vitellius and his overthrow; of the subsequent commotions under Vitellius and the fighting around the Capitol, and how Antonius Primus and Mucianus, by the destruction of Vitellius and his German legions, finally suppressed the civil war. All these matters I may be excused from narrating in detail, because they are commonly known and have been described by numerous Greek and Roman historians; but to preserve the connexion of events and to avoid any break in the narrative, I have summarily touched upon each.

Vespasian, therefore, when the news first came, deferred his expedition against Jerusalem, anxiously waiting to see upon whom the empire would devolve after Nero's death; nor when he subsequently heard that Galba was emperor would he undertake anything, until he had received further instructions from him concerning the war. But he sent his son Titus to the new emperor to salute him and to receive his orders with reference to the Jews; king Agrippa also embarked with Titus on the same errand to Galba. However, before they reached their destination and while they were sailing round through Achaea (for it was the winter season) in vessels of war, Galba was assassinated after a reign of seven months and as many days, and was succeeded as emperor by Otho, the rival claimant to the sovereignty. Agrippa decided, notwithstanding, to proceed to Rome, in

in the text. As the text stands, the parenthesis will account for the time taken over the voyage. The canal through the isthmus of Corinth begun by Nero (iii. 540) was never completed.

c From the death of Nero, 9th June 68, to that of Galba 15th January 69. The calculation is correct.
JOSEPHUS

ἀφικέσθαι διέγνω μηδὲν ὄρρωδήσας πρὸς τὴν
501 μεταβολήν. Τίτος δὲ κατὰ δαμόνιον ὄρμην ἀπὸ
tῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς τὴν Συρίαν ἀνέπλει καὶ κατὰ
tάχος εἰς Καισάρειαν ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.
502 καὶ οἱ μὲν μετέωροι περὶ τῶν ὅλων ὄντες ὡς ἂν
σαλευμένης τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ὑπερεώρων
tὴν ἔπι Ἰουδαίους στρατεύειν,1 καὶ διὰ τὸν περὶ
tῆς πατρίδος φόβον τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους
ὄρμην ἀωρον ἐνόμιζον.

503 (3) Ἐπανύσταται δ' ἄλλος τοῖς Ἰεροσολύμωις
πόλεμοις. νῦν ἦν Γιώρα Σίμων τις Γερασηνὸς τὸ
γένος, νεανίας πανουργία μὲν ἡπτώμενος Ἰωάννου
504 τοῦ προκατέχοντος ἦδη τὴν πόλιν, ἀλκῇ δὲ
σώματος καὶ τόλμῃ διαφέρων, δι' ἦν καὶ ὑπὸ
'Ανάνου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως φυγαδευθεὶς εἷς ἦς εἰχε2
τοπαρχίας 'Ακραβετηνής πρὸς τοὺς κατειληφότας
505 τὴν Μασάδαν ληστὰς παραγίνεται. τὸ μὲν οὖν
πρῶτον ἦν αὐτοῖς δὶ' ὑποψίας εἰς τὸ κατωτέρω
γοῦν φρούριον ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτῷ παρελθεῖν ἀμα
ταίς γυναιξίν, ὅς ἄγων ἦκεν, αὐτοὶ τὸ ψηλότερον
506 οἰκούντες. αὕθις δὲ διὰ συγγένειαν ἠθῶν καὶ ὅτι
πιστὸς ἔδοκε, συμπροενόμευε γοῦν αὐτοῖς ἔξιον
507 καὶ συνεπόρθει τὰ περὶ τὴν Μασάδαν. οὐ μὴν
ἐπὶ τὰ μείζων παρακαλῶν ἐπεισεν οἱ μὲν γὰρ
ἐν ἐθεὶ ὄντες τῷ φρούριῳ, καθάπερ φωλεοῦ χω-
508 ρίζεσθαι μακρὰν ἐδεδοίκεσαν, ὁ δὲ τυραννῶν
καὶ μεγάλων ἐφιέμενος ἐπείδη καὶ τὴν 'Ανάνου
τελευτὴν ἦκουσεν, εἰς τὴν ὄρεινὴν ἀφισταταί,

1 I.C.: στρατηγίαν PAM: στρατιάν VR.
2 ἦρχε Dindorf with one ms.

* Active in the opening attack on Cestius, B. ii. 521, he
  had afterwards become a marauder, ii. 652.
150
no way deterred by this change of affairs; but Titus, under divine impulse, sailed back from Greece to Syria and hastened to rejoin his father at Caesarea. The two, being thus in suspense on these momentous matters, when the Roman empire itself was reeling, neglected the invasion of Judaea, regarding an attack on a foreign country as unseasonable, while in such anxiety concerning their own.

(3) But another war was now impending over Jerusalem. There was a certain Simon, a son of Gioras and a native of Gerasa, a youth less cunning than John, who was already in possession of the city, but his superior in physical strength and audacity; the latter quality had led to his expulsion by the high priest Ananus from the province of Acrabatene, once under his command, whereupon he had joined the brigands who had seized Masada. At first they regarded him with suspicion, and permitted him and his following of women access only to the lower part of the fortress, occupying the upper quarters themselves; but afterwards, as a man of congenial disposition and apparently to be trusted, he was allowed to accompany them on their marauding expeditions and took part in their raids upon the surrounding district. His efforts to tempt them to greater enterprises were, however, unsuccessful; for they had grown accustomed to the fortress and were afraid to venture far, so to speak, from their lair. He, on the contrary, was aspiring to despotic power and cherishing high ambitions; accordingly on hearing of the death of Ananus, he withdrew to the hills.

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b *Jerash*, § 487.  
c In the N. of Judaea.  
d *Cf. ii. 652 f.*, and for Masada, iv. 399.  
e § 316
καὶ προκηρύξας δούλοις μὲν ἔλευθερίαν, γέρας
dὲ ἔλευθεροις, τοὺς πανταχόθεν πονηροὺς συν-
ήθροιξέν.

509 (4) Ὅς δ’ ἦν αὐτῷ καρτερὸν ἤδη τὸ σύνταγμα,
tὰς ἄνα τὴν ὀρεινὴν κόμας κατέτρεξεν, ἀεὶ δὲ
προσγυμνομένων πλειώνων ἐθάρρει καταβαίνειν εἰς
510 τὰ χθαμαλώτερα. καπειδὴ πόλειςιν ἥδη φοβερός
ἦν, πολλοί πρὸς τὴν ἵσχυν καὶ τὴν εὔρουαν τῶν
κατορθωμάτων ἐφθείροντο δυνατοὶ, καὶ οὐκέτι ἤν
dούλων μόνων οὐδὲ ληστῶν στρατός, ἀλλὰ καὶ
dημοτικῶν οὐκ ὀλίγων ὡς πρὸς βασιλέα πειθαρχία.

511 κατέτρεξε δὲ τὴν τε Ἀκραβετῆνην τοπαρχίαν καὶ
tὰ μέχρι τῆς μεγάλης Ἰδουμαίας· κατὰ γὰρ
κόμῃν τινὰ καλομεῖνην Ναίναν τείχος κατασκευάσας
512 ὠσπερ φρουρῶν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἐχρῆτο, κατὰ δὲ
tὴν φάραγγα προσαγορευμένην Φερεταί πολλὰ
μὲν ἀνευρίνας στῆλαινα, πολλὰ δ’ εὐρίων εἶτοιμα
tαμιεῖς ἐχρῆτο θησαυρῶν καὶ τῆς λείας έκ-
513 δοχείους. ἀνετίθει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀρπαζομένους εἰς
αὐτὰ καρποὺς, οἳ τε πολλοὶ τῶν λόχων δίαιταν
ἐχον ἐν ἐκείνοις, δῆλος δ’ ἦν τὸ τε σύνταγμα
προγυμναζόν καὶ τὰς παρασκευὰς κατὰ τῶν
Περσολύμων.

514 (5) Ὁθεν οἱ ζηλωταὶ δείσαντες αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπι-
bολήν3 καὶ προλαβεῖν βουλόμενοι τὸν κατ’ αὐτῶν
τρεφόμενον ἔξισι μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων οἱ πλείουσ’
ὑπαντάζει δὲ Σίμων, καὶ παραταξάμενος συχνοὺς
μὲν αὐτῶν ἀναρεῖ, συνελαύνει δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς
515 εἰς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω δὲ θαρρῶν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ

1 Ἀτιν PA: aiem Lat.
2 φαρ. προσ. Φερεταί] Φαρὰ(ν) προσαγορευμένην φάραγγα
MVR(C).
3 Destinon: ἐπιβουλὴν mss.

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where, by proclaiming liberty for slaves and rewards for the free, he gathered around him the villains from every quarter.

(4) Having now collected a strong force, he first overran the villages in the hills, and then through continual additions to his numbers was emboldened to descend into the lowlands. And now when he was becoming a terror to the towns, many men of standing were seduced by his strength and career of unbroken success into joining him; and his was no longer an army of mere serfs or brigands, but one including numerous citizen recruits, subservient to his command as to a king. He now overran not only the province of Acrabatene but the whole district extending to greater Idumaea. For at a village called Nain a he had thrown up a wall and used the place as a fortress to secure his position; while he turned to account numerous caves in the valley known as Pheretae, b widening some and finding others adapted to his purpose, as store chambers and repositories for plunder. Here, too, he laid up his spoils of corn, and here most of his troops were quartered. His object was evident: he was training his force and making all these preparations for an attack on Jerusalem.

(5) The Zealots, in consequence, alarmed at his designs and anxious to forestall one whose growing strength was to their injury, went out with their main body under arms; Simon met them and in the ensuing fight killed many of them and drove the remainder into the city. Misgivings about his

a Unidentified; apparently not far N. of the Idumaean frontier, § 517 (not the Galilaean village so named).

b Perhaps Khurbet Farah, a gorge some 6 miles N.E. of Jerusalem.
μὲν τοῖς τείχεσιν προσβάλλειν ἀπετράπη, χειρώ-
σασθαί δὲ πρῶτον τὴν Ἰδομείαν ἐπεβάλετο·
καὶ δὴ δισμυρίους ἔχων ὀπλίτας ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς
516 ὀροὺς αὐτῆς. οἱ δὲ ἀρχοντες τῆς Ἰδομείας κατὰ
τάχος ἀθροίσαντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας τὸ μαχημάτατον
περὶ πεντακισχίλιον καὶ δισμυρίους, τοὺς δὲ
πολλοὺς ἐάσαντες φρουρίν τὰ σφέτερα διὰ τὰς
tῶν ἐν Μασάδῃ σικαρίων καταδρομάς, ἐδέχοντο
517 τὸν Σύμωνα πρὸς τοὺς ὀροὺς. ἔνθα συμβαλῶν
αὐτοῖς καὶ δι’ ὅλης πολεμήσας ἡμέρας, οὔτε
νενικηκὼς οὔτε νενικημένος διεκρίθη, καὶ ὁ μὲν
eis τὴν Ναϊν,1 οἱ δὲ Ἰδομείαιοι διελύθησαν ἐπ’
518 οἴκου. καὶ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ Σύμων μείζονι δυνάμει
πάλιν εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ὄρμητο, στρατοπεδευ-
σάμενος δὲ κατὰ τινὰ κώμην, Θέκουε καλεῖται,
πρὸς τοὺς ἐν 'Ἡρωδείῳ φρουροὺς, ὡπερ ἦν πλη-
σίον, 'Ελεάζαρον τινα τῶν ἑταίρων ἐπεμψε
519 πείσοντα παραδόνων τὸ ἔρμα. τοῦτον οἱ φύ-
lakes ἔτοιμως2 ἐδέξαντο, τὴν αἰτίαν ἀγνοοῦντες
δι’ ἣν ἦκοι, φανεράμενον δὲ περὶ παραδόσεως
ἐδίωκον σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη, μέχρι φυγῆς τόπον
οὐκ ἔχων ἔρριμον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐκεῖνον εἰς τὴν
520 ὑποκειμένην φάραγγα. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτικὰ τελευτά,
tοῖς δ’ Ἰδομείαιοι ἦδη κατορρωδοῦσι τὴν ἴσχυν
τοῦ Σύμωνος ἐδοξεῖ πρὸ τοῦ συμβαλεῖν κατα-
σκέψασθαι τὴν στρατιὰν τῶν πολεμίων.
521 (6) Εἰς τοῦτο δὲ ὑπηρέτην αὐτοῦ ἔτοιμως ἐπ-
ediōdu 'Iáκωβος, εἰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων, προδοσίαν
522 ἐνθυμούμενος. ὀρμήσας γοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλούρου,

1 aiam Lat. 2 προθύμωs P.

a Tekoa, 5 miles S. of Bethlehem.
forces, however, still deterred him from an assault on the walls; instead he resolved first to subdue Idumaea, and now marched with an army of twenty thousand men towards the frontiers of that country. The chieftains of Idumaea hastily mustered from the country their most efficient troops, numbering about twenty-five thousand, and leaving the mass of the population to protect their property against incursions of the *sicarii* of Masada, met Simon at the frontier. There he fought them and, after a battle lasting all day, left the field neither victor nor vanquished; he then withdrew to Nain and the Idumaeans disbanded to their homes. Not long after, however, Simon with a yet larger force again invaded their territory, and, encamping at a village called Thekoue, sent one of his comrades named Eleazar to the garrison at Herodion, which was not far off, to persuade them to hand over that fortress. The guards, ignorant of the object of his visit, promptly admitted him, but at the first mention of the word "surrender" drew their swords and pursued him, until, finding escape impossible, he flung himself from the ramparts into the valley below and was killed on the spot. The Idumaeans, now gravely alarmed at Simon's strength, decided before risking an engagement to reconnoitre their enemy's army.

(6) For this service James, one of their officers, promptly volunteered, meditating treachery. He accordingly set out from Alurus, the village where

\[b\] Some 3 miles N.E. of Tekoa; the fortress built by Herod the Great, i. 265, 419 ff., in which he was buried, i. 673.

\[c\] *Hulhul*, some 4 miles N. of Hebron, and 7 miles S.W. of Simon's camp at Tekoa.
JOSEPHUS

531 κόσια ἐτη συναριθμεῖται. μιθεύονσι δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ οἰκητήριον Ἀβράμου τοῦ Ἰουδαίων προγόνου γεγονέναι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἀπαναστασιν, τούς τε παῖδας αὐτοῦ λέγουσι καταβήναι

532 εἰς Λεγύππον ἐνθεν· ὅν καὶ τὰ μνημεία μέχρι νῦν ἐν τῇ τῇ πολιχνή δείκνυται, πάνυ καλῆς μαρμάρου καὶ φιλοτιμώς εἰργασμένα. δείκνυται δὲ ἀπὸ σταδίων ἐξ τοῦ ἅστεος περέβινθος μεγίστη, καὶ φασὶ τὸ δενδρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως μέχρι νῦν

533 διαμένειν. ἐνθεν ὁ Σίμων διὰ πάσης ἐχώρει τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, οὐ μόνον κῶμας καὶ πόλεις πορθῶν, λυμανόμενος δὲ καὶ τὴν χώραν, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐξαρκοῦντων πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος; δίχα γὰρ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τέσσαρες αὐτῷ συνεῖποντο

535 μυριάδες. προσήν δὲ ταῖς χρείαις χωμὸτης τε αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὸ γένος ὅργη, διὰ αὐτὸ μάλλον

536 ἐξερήμουσθαι συνεβαίνει τῆς Ἰδουμαίαν. καθάπερ δὲ [ὑπὸ] τῶν ἀκρίδων κατόπιν ὤλην ἔστιν ἐπιλομένην πᾶσαν, οὔτω τὸ κατὰ νώτον τῆς

537 Σίμωνος στρατιάς ἐρημία κατελείπετο· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐμπιπρώντες τὰ δὲ κατασκάπτοντες, πάν δὲ τὸ πεθυκὸς ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν ἢ συμπατοῦντες ἡφάνιζον ἢ νεμόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐνεργόν ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας σκληροτέραν ἐποίουν τῆς ἀκάρπου, καθι

1 ὡς μηδὲ ἐπιθύος in the mss. stand after μυριάδες: transposed here by Bekker.

a Gen. xiii. 18.

b Jacob's residence in Hebron is mentioned in Gen. xxxv. 27, xxxvii. 14. The historian, however, is dependent on local tradition, and ignores the Biblical narrative.

c The cave of Machpelah, the burial-place of Sarah.
two thousand three hundred years old. They further relate that it was there that Abraham, the progenitor of the Jews, took up his abode after his migration from Mesopotamia, and from here that his posterity went down into Egypt. Their tombs are shown in this little town to this day, of really fine marble and of exquisite workmanship. At a distance of six furlongs from the town there is also shown a huge terebinth-tree, which is said to have stood there ever since the creation. From Hebron Simon pursued his march through the whole of Idumaea, not confining his ravages to villages and towns, but making havoc also of the country, since provisions proved insufficient for such a multitude; for, exclusive of his troops, he had forty thousand followers. But, besides his needs, his cruelty and animosity against the nation contributed to complete the devastation of Idumaea. Just as a forest in the wake of locusts may be seen stripped quite bare, so in the rear of Simon’s army nothing remained but a desert. Some places they burnt, others they razed to the ground; all vegetation throughout the country vanished, either trodden under foot or consumed; while the tramp of their march rendered cultivated land harder than the barren soil. In short, nothing (Gen. xxiii), Abraham (xxv. 9), Isaac (xxxv. 27 ff.), and Jacob (l. 13) is believed to be below the present mosque; Jewish, Christian, and Moslem traditions are in agreement as to the site. The wall surrounding the mosque has been ascribed to the Herodian period (Conder, Tent Work in Palestine, 239).

The “oak” of Abraham (so lxx; Heb. “oaks” or “terebinths”) is mentioned in Gen. xiii. 18, xiv. 13, xviii. 1. In the 5th cent. A.D. it was called Τερέσινθος, and was the scene of an annual feast and fair, Sozomen, H.E. ii. 4 (Robertson Smith).
531 κόσια ἐτη συναριθμεῖται. μιθεύσοι δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ ὁικητήριον Ἀβράμου τοῦ Ἰουδαίων προγόνου γεγονέναι μετὰ τήν ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἀπανάστασιν, τοὺς τε παῖδας αὐτοῦ λέγουσι καταβῆναι
532 εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐνθὲν ὅν καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα μέχρι νῦν ἐν τῇ τῇ πολικῇ δείκνυται, πάνυ καλῆς μαρμάρου καὶ φιλοτήμων εἰργασμένα. δείκνυται δὲ ἀπὸ σταδίων ἐξ τοῦ ἀστεοῦ τερέβινθος μεγίστῃ, καὶ φασὶ τὸ δένδρον ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως μέχρι νῦν
534 διαμένειν. ἐνθὲν ὁ Σίμων διὰ πᾶσης ἐχώρει τῆς Ἰδομαίας, οὐ μόνον κώμας καὶ πόλεις πορθῶν, λυμανόμενος δὲ καὶ τὴν χώραν, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔξαρκοντων πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, διὰ γὰρ τῶν ὀπλῖτῶν τέσσαρες αὐτῷ συνείποντο
535 μυριάδες. προσήν δὲ ταῖς χρείαις ωμότης τε αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὸ γένος ὀργῇ, δι᾽ αὐτὸν
536 ἔξερημοῦσθαι συνέβαινε τῇ Ἰδομαίᾳ. καθάπερ δὲ [ὑπό] τῶν ἀκρίδων κατόπιν ὕλην ἔστιν ἐδείν ἐψιλωμένην πάσαν, οὕτω τὸ κατὰ νότον τῆς Σίμωνος στρατιάς ἐρημία κατελείπετο· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔμπιπρῶντες τὰ δὲ κατασκάπτοντες, πάν δὲ τὸ σφυκὸς ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν ἡ συμπατοῦντες ἡφανῖζον ἡ νεμόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐνεργοὺ ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας σκληροτέραν ἐποίουν τῆς ἅκαρπου, καθιστώντων τὴν τοῦτον τῆς ἱερατικῆς

1 ὡς μηδὲ . . πλῆθος in the mss. stand after μυριάδες; transposed here by Bekker.

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a Gen. xiii. 18.
b Jacob’s residence in Hebron is mentioned in Gen. xxxv. 27, xxxvii. 14. The historian, however, is dependent on local tradition, and ignores the Biblical narrative.
c The cave of Machpelah, the burial-place of Sarah

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two thousand three hundred years old. They further relate that it was there that Abraham, the progenitor of the Jews, took up his abode after his migration from Mesopotamia, and from here that his posterity went down into Egypt. Their tombs are shown in this little town to this day, of really fine marble and of exquisite workmanship. At a distance of six furlongs from the town there is also shown a huge terebinth-tree, which is said to have stood there ever since the creation. From Hebron Simon pursued his march through the whole of Idumaea, not confining his ravages to villages and towns, but making havoc also of the country, since provisions proved insufficient for such a multitude; for, exclusive of his troops, he had forty thousand followers. But, besides his needs, his cruelty and animosity against the nation contributed to complete the devastation of Idumaea. Just as a forest in the wake of locusts may be seen stripped quite bare, so in the rear of Simon’s army nothing remained but a desert. Some places they burnt, others they razed to the ground; all vegetation throughout the country vanished, either trodden under foot or consumed; while the tramp of their march rendered cultivated land harder than the barren soil. In short, nothing (Gen. xxiii), Abraham (xxv. 9), Isaac (xxxv. 27 ff.), and Jacob (l. 13) is believed to be below the present mosque; Jewish, Christian, and Moslem traditions are in agreement as to the site. The wall surrounding the mosque has been ascribed to the Herodian period (Conder, Tent Work in Palestine, 239).

The “oak” of Abraham (so lxx; Heb. “oaks” or “terebinths”) is mentioned in Gen. xiii. 18, xiv. 13, xviii. 1. In the 5th cent. A.D. it was called Tepeisthdos, and was the scene of an annual feast and fair, Sozomen, H.E. ii. 4 (Robertson Smith).
ολοι τε είπείν, ουδὲ σημείων τι κατελείπετο τοίς πορθομένοις τοῦ γεγονέναι.

538 (8) Ταῦτα πάλιν τοὺς ζηλωτὰς ἐπήγειρεν, καὶ φανερῶς μὲν ἀντιπαρατάξασθαι κατέδεισαν, προ-
λοχίσαντες δὲ ἐν ταῖς παρόδοις ἀρπάζουσι τοῦ
Σίμωνος τὴν γυναίκα καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν θεραπείας
539 συχνούς. ἔπειτα ὡς αὐτὸν αἰχμαλωτισάμενοι τὸν
Σίμωνα γεγηθότες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπέστρεψαν καὶ
ὁσον οὐδέπω προσεδόκων καταθέμενον τὰ ὀτρα
540 περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἱκετεύσειν. τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἔλεος
εἰσήλθεν ἀλλ' ὅργῃ περὶ τῆς ἥρπασμένης, καὶ
πρὸς τὸ τείχος τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων ἐλθὼν καθάπερ
τὰ τρωθέντα τῶν θηρίων, ἔπειδὴ τοὺς τρώσαντας
οὐ κατέλαβεν, ἐφ' οὐσ εὑρε τὸν θυμὸν ἡφιεί.

541 ὁσοι γοῦν λαχανείας ἔνεκεν ἡ φρυγανισμὸν προ-
εληλύθεσαν ἐξω πυλῶν, ἀνόπλους καὶ γέροντας
συλλαμβάνων ἕκισε τοι καὶ διέφθειρεν, δι' ὑπερ-
βολὴν ἀγανακτήσεως μονονουχί καὶ νεκρῶν γενό-
542 μενος τῶν σωμάτων. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ χειρο-
κοπῆσας εἰσέπεμπε καταπλήξασθαι τοὺς ἑχθροὺς
ἀμα καὶ διαστήσαι τὸν δήμον ἐπιχειρῶν πρὸς
543 τοὺς αἰτίους. ἐντέταλτο δ' αὐτοῖς λέγειν ὅτι
Σίμων θεόν ὃμνου τὸν πάντων ἐφορον, εἰ μὴ
θάττων ἀποδώσουσιν αὐτῷ τὴν γυναίκα, ῥήξας τὸ
tείχος τοιαῦτα διαθήσεις πάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὴν
πόλιν, μηδεμίας φευσάμενος ἡλικίας μηδ' ἀπὸ
544 τῶν ἀναίτιων διακρίνας τοὺς αἰτίους. τούτοις οὐ
μόνον ὃ δήμος ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ζηλωταὶ καταπλα-
γέντες ἀποπέμπουσιν αὐτῷ τὴν γυναίκα· καὶ τότε
μὲν ἐκμειλιχθεῖς ὁλίγον ἀνεπαύσατο τοῦ συνεχοῦς
φόνου.

1 + τοῦτος Ρ.Α.  2 διαστασιάσαι Λ.
touched by their ravages left any sign of its having ever existed.

(8) These proceedings roused the Zealots anew; and, though afraid to meet Simon in open battle, they laid ambushes in the passes and captured his wife and a large number of her attendants. Then, as if their prisoner had been Simon himself, they returned triumphant to the city, expecting that he would instantly lay down his arms and come to sue for his wife. It was, however, no tender feelings but indignation which her capture aroused in his breast, and advancing to the walls of Jerusalem like some wounded beast, when it has failed to catch its tormentors, he vented his wrath upon all whom he met. Any who had ventured outside the gates to gather herbs or fuel, unarmed and aged individuals, he seized, tortured and killed, in the extravagance of his rage almost gnawing their very corpses. Many others he sent back into the city with their hands cut off, with the twofold object of intimidating his foes and of causing the people to rise against the responsible parties. These persons received injunctions to say that Simon had sworn by God, the overseer of all, that unless they restored his wife to him forthwith, he would break down the wall and inflict similar punishment on every soul in the city, sparing neither young nor old, and making no distinction between guilty and innocent. These threats so terrified not only the people but even the Zealots, that they sent him back his wife; whereat, momentarily mollified, he paused for a while from his ceaseless slaughter.

* A similar “hyperbole” (the historian supplies the word!) occurs in vi. 373.
545 (9) Οὐ μόνον δὲ κατὰ τὴν 'Ιουδαίαν στάσις ἥν καὶ πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος, ἀλλὰ κατὶ τῆς 'Ἰταλίας.

546 αὐτῆροτο μὲν γάρ κατὰ μέσην τὴν 'Ρωμαίων ἀγοράν Γάλβας, ἀποδεδειγμένος δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ Ὁθων ἐπολέμει Οὐιτελλίῳ βασιλεῶτι: τούτον

547 γάρ ἦρθο τὰ κατὰ Γερμανίαν τάγματα, καὶ γενομένης συμβολῆς κατὰ Φρυγίακου τῆς Γαλα-

548 τίας πρὸς τε Οὐάλεντα καὶ Καικίναν τοὺς Οὐιτελλίου στρατηγοὺς, τῇ πρώτῃ μὲν ἡμέρα

549 κρατήσας τῶν πραγμάτων, προσεχώρησε δὲ τοῖς Οὐιτελλίου στρατηγοῖς ἡ στρατιά, καὶ κατέβαινεν αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν 'Ῥώμην μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως.

550 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Οὔεςπασιανὸς ἀναστὰς ἐκ τῆς Καυσαρείας πέμπτη Δαισίου μινὸς ὠρμησεν ἐπὶ τὰ μιθέω κατεστραμμένα τῶν τῆς 'Ἰουδαίας

551 χωρίων. ἀναβὰς δὲ εἰς τὴν ὅρειν αἰρεῖ δύο τοπορχίας, τὴν τε Γοφνιτικὴν καὶ τὴν 'Ακρα-

552 βετηνὴν καλομενὴν, μεθ' ἀς Βῆθηλάτο Τranges καὶ Ἐφραίμ πολίχνω, οἷς φρουροὺς ἐγκαταστήσας μέχρι Ἰεροσολύμων ἐπάζετο. φθορὰ δ' ἦν πολ-

553 λῶν καταλαμβανομένων καὶ συνχων ἦχμαλωτίζετο.

1 Βηθριακὸν Hudson. 2 ed. pr.: Κιννα(ν) MSS. 3 ed. pr.: Βριζέως MSS. 4 VRC: Βαbabel M: Ἁβηθηγά the rest.

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a §§ 494, 499.
b A small town in Cisalpine Gaul, between Verona and 162
(9) Sedition and civil war were not, however, confined to Judaea, but were rampant also in Italy. For Galba had been murdered in the midst of the Roman forum, and Otho, being proclaimed emperor, was at war with Vitellius, now aspiring to imperial sovereignty, having been elected by the legions in Germany. In the battle fought at Bedriacum in Gaul against Valens and Caecinia, the generals of Vitellius, on the first day Otho had the advantage, but on the second the troops of Vitellius; and such was the slaughter that Otho put an end to himself at Brixellum, where he learnt of his defeat, having held the reins of government for three months and two days. His army went over to the generals of Vitellius, who now descended in person upon Rome with his entire force.

Meanwhile, Vespasian had moved from Caesarea on the fifth of the month Daesius and advanced against those districts of Judaea which had not yet been reduced. Ascending into the hill country he subdued two provinces, those which take their names from Gophna and Acrabetta; next he captured the small towns of Bethela and Ephraim; leaving garrisons in these, he then rode with his cavalry up to the walls of Jerusalem, killing many of those encountered on the route, and taking numerous Cremona; the Vitellians in their turn were defeated soon after in the same neighbourhood, Tacitus, Hist. ii. 41-49, describes the battle and the death of Otho.

Civil war in Italy. Galba slain. 15 January A.D. 69.

Otho's death. 17 April A.D. 69.

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552 Kerēalios δ' άυτω των ἥγεμόνων, μοῦραν ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν ἀναλαβὼν, τὴν ἀνὼ καλουμένην Ἰδουμαίαν ἐπόρθει, καὶ Κάθεθρα' μὲν ψευδοπολίχνιον εἷς ἀφόδου λαβὼν ἐμπίπτησιν, ἐτέραν δὲ καλουμένην Καφαραβίν² προσβαλὼν ἐπολιόρκει. πάνυ δ' ἦν ἵσχυρὸν τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ τρίψεσθαι προσδοκῶντι πλεῖω χρόνῳ αἰφνιδίως ἀνοίγουσιν οἱ ἔνδον τὰς πύλας καὶ μεθ' ἰκετηρίων προελθόντες

554 έαυτοῦς παρέδοσαν. Κερεάλιος δὲ τούτοις παραστησάμενος ἐπὶ Χεβρών ἐτέρας πόλεως ἀρχαιοτάτης ἐχώρει: κεῖται δ', ώς ἐφίν, αὕτη κατὰ τὴν ἀρενήν οὐ πόρρω Ἰεροσολύμων· βιασάμενος δὲ τὰς εἰσόδους μὲν ἐγκαταληφθέν πλῆθος ἡβηδονάναιρεί, τὸ δ' ἀστυ κατατείμπησεν. καὶ πάντων ἣδη κεχειρωμένων πλὴν Ἰρωδείου καὶ Μασάδας καὶ Μαχαιροῦντος, ταῦτα δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν κατείληπτο, σκοπὸς ἦδη τὰ Ἰεροσόλυμα προύκειτο Ἀρωμαίοις.

555 (10) 'Ο δὲ Σίμων ως ἔρρυσατο παρά τῶν ξηλωτῶν τῇ γυναίκᾳ, πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ λείψανα τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ὑπέστρεψεν, καὶ περιελάυνων πανταχόθεν τὸ ἔθνος εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα τοὺς πολλοὺς

557 φεύγειν συνηνάγκασεν. εἴπετο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ κυκλωσάμενος αὕθις τὸ τεῖχος ὄντα λάβοι τῶν προϊόντων κατὰ τὴν χώραν

558 ἐργατῶν διέφθειρεν. τὴν δὲ τῷ δῆμῳ Σίμων μὲν ἐξώθεν Ἀρωμαίων φοβερώτερος, οἱ ξηλωταὶ δ' ἔνδον εκατέρων χαλεπώτεροι, κἂν τούτοις ἐπινοίᾳ κακῶν καὶ τόλμη τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν Γαλιλαίων

¹ Hudson: Καφαίρα ῥα L: further corruption in other mss.
² Χαφαραβίν L: Χαφαβίν most mss.

³ Sextus Cerealius Vetilianus, legate of the 5th legion, who had defeated the Samaritans, iii. 310 ff.

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prisoners. Furthermore, Cerealius, one of his officers, with a detachment of horse and foot, laid waste what is known as upper Idumaea; here he carried at the first assault the petty town (as it falsely calls itself) of Caphethra and burnt it to the ground, and then attacked and proceeded to besiege another town called Capharabis. The wall of this place was exceptionally strong and he was anticipating a protracted delay, when the inhabitants suddenly opened their gates and, approaching him with olive-branches as suppliants, surrendered. Cerealius, after their capitulation, advanced on Hebron, another city and one of great antiquity, situated, as I have said, in the hill country not far from Jerusalem; having forced the approaches he slew all whom he found there, young or old, and burnt down the town. Every fortress being now subdued except Herodion, Masada, and Machaerus, which were held by the brigands, Jerusalem was henceforth the one objective before the Romans.

(10) Simon, having now recovered his wife from the Zealots, returned once more to the relics of Idumaea and, harassing every quarter of the nation, drove multitudes to flee to Jerusalem. Thither he followed them himself, and again surrounding the wall killed any of the labouring class whom he caught going out into the country. The citizens thus found Simon without the walls a greater terror than the Romans, and the Zealots within more oppressive than either; while among the latter for mischievous ingenuity and audacity none surpassed the Galilaean contingent,

a Unidentified.

Cf. § 530.

d Some 18 miles as the crow flies.

Resuming the narrative from § 544.


559 διέφερεν¹: τὸν τε γὰρ Ἰωάννην παρῆγαγον εἰς ἱσχὺν οὗτοι, κάκανοι αὐτοὺς ἐξ Ἦς περιεποίησαν² δυναστείας ἠμείβετο, πάντα ἐπιτρέπων δράν ὁν 560 ἔκαστος ἐπεθύμει. πόθοι δὲ ἦσαν ἀρπαγῆς ἀ- πλήρωτοι καὶ τῶν πλουσίων οἰκῶν ἔρευνα, φόνος 561 τε ἄνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ὑβρείς ἐπαίζοντο, μεθ’ αἰματός τε τὰ συληθέντα κατέπινον καὶ μετ’ ἀδείας ἐνεβηλυπάθον τῶν κόρων, κόμας συνθετι- ἐζομενοι καὶ γυναικεῖας έσθήτας ἀναλαμβάνοντες, καταντλούμενοι δὲ μύροις καὶ πρὸς εὐπρέπειαν 562 ὑπογράφοντες ὀφθαλμοὺς. οὐ μόνον δὲ κόσμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάθη γυναικῶν ἐμιμοῦτο καὶ δι’ ὑπερ- βολὴν³ ἀσελγείας ἀθεμίτους ἐπενόησαν ἔρωτας. ἐνηλικοῦντο δὲ ὃς πορνεῖς τῇ πόλει καὶ πᾶσαν 563 ἀκαθάρτους ἐμίλαν ἔργοις. γυναικιζόμενοι δὲ τὰς ὀφεις ἐφόνων ταῖς δεξιαῖς, θυρπτόμενοι τε τοῖς βαδίσμασιν ἐπίστευτες ἐξαπίνης ἐγίνοντο πολε- μισταί, τὰ τε ξίφη προφέροντες ἀπὸ τῶν βε- βαμμένων⁴ χλαυδίων τὸν προστυχόντα δυνάμαν. 564 τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας δὲ Ἰωάννην Σίμων θεοκώ- περον ἐξεδέχετο, καὶ διαφυγών τις τῶν ἐντὸς τείχων τύραννον ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸ πυλῶν διεφθείρετο. 565 πᾶσα δὲ φυγῆς ὁδὸς τοὺς αὐτομολεῖν πρὸς Ῥω- μαίους βουλομένοις ἀπεκέκοπτο. 566 (11) Διεστασίαςτε δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην ἡ δύναμις, καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἦν Ἰδουμαίων⁵ εν αὐτῇ χωρισθὲν ἐπεχείρει τῷ τυράννῳ φθόνῳ τῇ 567 ἰσχὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ μίθει τῇς ωμότητος. συμ- ¹ διέφθειρε(ν) mss. ² ΡΑΜ: περιεποίησαντο the rest: -ῆσατο Lat. ³ + ἀσωτίας Ρ. ⁴ L Exc. Lat.: περὶ βεβλημένων the rest. ⁵ Ἰδουμαίων ALR Exc.
for it was they who had promoted John to power, and he from the position of authority which they had won for him requisite them by allowing every one to do whatever he desired. With an insatiable lust for loot, they ransacked the houses of the wealthy; the murder of men and the violation of women were their sport; they caroused on their spoils, with blood to wash them down, and from mere satiety unscrupulously indulged in effeminate practices, plaiting their hair and attiring themselves in women's apparel, drenching themselves with perfumes and painting their eyelids to enhance their beauty. And not only did they imitate the dress, but also the passions of women, devising in their excess of lasciviousness unlawful pleasures and wallowing as in a brothel in the city, which they polluted from end to end with their foul deeds. Yet, while they wore women's faces, their hands were murderous, and approaching with mincing steps they would suddenly become warriors and whipping out their swords from under their dyed mantles transfix whomsoever they met. Any who fled from John had a yet bloodier reception from Simon, and he who escaped the tyrant within the walls was slain by the other without the gates. Every avenue of escape was thus cut off from those desirous to desert to the Romans.

(11) But John's army now mutinied; and all the Idumaeans within it broke away and made an attack on the tyrant, as much from envy of his power as from hatred of his cruelty. In the ensuing engage-

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\[a\] Cf. vi. 372 ἐσύλων καὶ ... τροφὴν ἄρπαξοντες αἴματι πεφυμένην κατέπνυον.

\[b\] or "experiences."

\[c\] It appears from this that some of the Idumaeans still remained in Jerusalem when the main body withdrew (§ 333).

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βαλόντες δὲ ἀναίροντι τε πολλοὺς τῶν ζηλωτῶν καὶ συνελάύνοντι τοὺς λοιποὺς εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν αὐλὴν κατασκευασθείσαν ὑπὸ Γραπτῆς· συγγενῆς δὲ ἤν αὐτὴ τοῦ τῶν Ἄδιαβηνῶν βασιλέως Ἰζᾶ. 568 συνεισπίπτοντι δ' οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι, κάκειθεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐξώσαντες1 τοὺς ζηλωτὰς ἐφ' ἀρπαγήν ἐτράποντο τῶν Ἰωάννου χρημάτων· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν προειρήμενην αὐλὴν αὐτὸς τε ὦκεὶ2 καὶ τὰ λάφυρα τῆς τυραννίδος κατέθετο. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὸ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐσκεδασμένον πλῆθος τῶν ζηλωτῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν πρὸς τοὺς διαπεφυγότας ἥθροισθη, καὶ κατάγειν αὐτοὺς παρεσκευάσατο Ἰωάννης ἐπὶ τε τῶν δήμου καὶ τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους. τοῖς δὲ ὦκυ ὀὐτῷ τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν καταδείκνυε παρέστη μαχιμωτέρος οὕσιν ὡς τὴν ἀπόνοιαν, μὴ νύκτωρ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παρεισδύντες αὐτοὺς τε διαφθείρωσι 572 καὶ τὸ ἀστυ καταπιμπρῶσι. συνελθόντες οὖν μετὰ τῶν ἄρχιερέων ἐβουλεύουσι, τίνα χρή τρόπον φυλάξασθαι τὴν ἐπίθεσιν. θεὸς δ' ἀρα τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν εἰς κακὸν ἔτρεψε, καὶ χαλεπώτερον ἀπωλείας ἐπενόησαν τὸ πρὸς σωτηρίαν φάρμακον ἱνα γοῦν καταλύσωσιν Ἰωάννην, ἐκριναν δέχεσθαι Σίμωνα καὶ μεθ' ἱκετηρίων δεύτερον εἰσαγαγεῖν 574 ἐαυτοῖς τύραννον. ἑπεραῖνετο δ' ἡ βουλή, καὶ τὸν ἄρχιερα Ματθίαν πέμψαντες ἑδέοντο Σίμωνος

1 περιεχόμενον C: περιεχόμενον L.
2 Destinon from Lat.: ὦν (ἢν C) ἐκεί mss.

* Elsewhere (B. v. 147, vi. 356; A. xx. 17, etc.) called Izates, which should perhaps be read here. The story of the conversion to Judaism of Helena, Queen of Adiabene (in the upper Tigris region), and of her son Izates is told in full in A. xx. 17 ff. This royal family adorned Jerusalem with 168
ment they killed many of the Zealots and drove the remainder into the palace built by Grapte, a relative of Izas, a king of Adiabene. Rushing in along with them the Idumaeans chased them thence into the Temple, and then proceeded to plunder John’s treasures; he having made this palace his residence and the repository for the spoils of his tyranny. Meanwhile, the rank and file of the Zealots who were scattered about the city mustered to the fugitives in the Temple, and John prepared to lead them down against the people and the Idumaeans. The latter, as the better soldiers, had less fear of their attack than of their frenzy, lest they should steal out of the temple by night and murder them and burn down the town. They accordingly held a meeting with the chief priests and deliberated how they should guard against the assault. But God, as events proved, perverted their judgement, and they devised for their salvation a remedy more disastrous than destruction: in other words, in order to overthrow John, they decided to admit Simon and with suppliant appeals to introduce a second tyrant over their heads. This resolution was carried into effect, and the high priest Matthias was deputed to beg the Simon of whom they had such buildings. We hear of her palace within the city (v. 253), and of the pyramidal tombs 3 furlongs outside, in which she and Izates were interred (A. xx. 95; B. v. 55, 119, 147); also of the palace of another son, Monobazus (B. v. 252). Of Grapte we hear no more. Queen Helena, like Paul and Barnabas, brought relief to Jerusalem during the famine under Claudius (A. xx. 51 ff.).

Matthias, son of Boethus, belonging to one of the high-priestly families (ἐκ τῶν ἀρχιερέων, B. v. 527; cf. iv. 148), was afterwards, with his three sons, murdered by Simon (v. 527 ff.).
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eἰσελθεῖν ὁν πολλὰ ἐδειςαν. συμπαρεκάλουν δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων τοὺς ζηλωτὰς φεύγοντες 575 πόθῳ τῶν οίκων καὶ τῶν κτημάτων. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ὑπερηφάνως κατανεύσας τὸ δεσπόζειν εἰσέρχεται μὲν ὃς ἀπαλλάξων τῶν ζηλωτῶν τὴν πόλιν, σωτὴρ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ κηδεμῶν εὐφημούμενος, 576 παρελθὼν δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐσκόπει τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ δυναστείας καὶ τοὺς καλέσαντας σὺν ἑττον ἐγθροὺς ἐνόμιζεν ἢ καθ᾽ οὐν ἐκέκλητο.

577 (12) Σίμων μὲν οὖτως ἐναυτῷ τρίτῳ τοῦ πολέμου Ξανθικῷ μηνὶ Ἰεροσολύμων ἐγκρατῆς γίνεται Ἰωάννης δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν ζηλωτῶν πλῆθος εἰργόμενοι τῶν ἐξόδων τοῦ ἵππου καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀπολωλεκτότες, παραχρῆμα γὰρ τὰ ἐκείνων οἱ περὶ τὸν Σίμωνα δημοσίαν, ἐν ἀπόρω τὴν

578 σωτηρίαν ἔχον. προσέβαλλε δὲ τῷ ἵππῳ Σίμων τοῦ δήμου βοηθούντος, κάκεινοι καταστάντες ἐπὶ τῶν στοιχώ καὶ τῶν ἐπάλξων ἡμύνοντο τάς 579 προσβολάς. συνωνοῦ δὲ ἐπιπτον τῶν περὶ Σίμωνα καὶ πολλοὶ τραυματσάτη κατεφέροντο· ῥαδίως γὰρ ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τὰς βολὰς οἱ ζηλωταὶ καὶ οὐκ

580 ἀστόχους ἐποιούντο. πλεονεκτοῦντες δὲ τῷ τόπῳ καὶ πύργοις ἐτὶ προσκατεσκεύασαν τέσσαρας μεγίστους, δὲ ἄφ᾽ ὑψηλότερων ποιοῦντο τὰς

581 ἀφέσεις, τοὺς μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολικὴν καὶ βόρειον γωνίαν, τῶν δὲ τοῦ ξυστοῦ καθύπηρθεν, τῶν δὲ τρίτον κατὰ γωνίαν ἄλλην ἀντικρὺ τῆς κάτω 582 πόλεως· οὔ δὲ λοιπὸς ὑπὲρ τὴν κορυφὴν κατεσκεύαστο τῶν παστοφορίων, ἐνθα τῶν ἱερέων εἰς 1 πολλάκις L Lat. 2 τάκ Bekker.

1 On the W. side of the Temple; the Xystus lay in or just above the Tyropoeon valley (B. ii. 344 n.).
horror to enter the city; the request was backed by natives of Jerusalem who sought refuge from the Zealots and yearned for their homes and possessions. Haughtily consenting to be their master, he entered as one who was to rid the city of the Zealots, acclaimed by the people as their saviour and protector; but, once admitted with his forces, 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.

(12) Thus did Simon, in the third year of the war, in the month Xanthicus, become master of Jerusalem; while John and the Zealots, being debarred from all egress from the Temple, and having lost their possessions in the city—for these had been instantly plundered by Simon’s party—began to despair of deliverance. Simon now attacked the Temple, with the support of the citizens; their adversaries posting themselves on the porticoes and battlements and beating off their assaults. The casualties in Simon’s ranks were numerous, both in dead and wounded; for the Zealots from their higher ground could maintain an easy and well-directed fire. They, moreover, improved this advantage of position by erecting four huge towers in order to increase the elevation from which their missiles were discharged: one at the north-east corner, the second above the Xystus, the third at another corner opposite the lower town. The last was erected above the roof of the priests’ chambers, at the point where it was the custom for

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b At the S.W. angle of the Temple.

c Small chambers, for the use of the priests and storage of utensils, ranged in stories round three sides of the inner court.
εξ ἐθους ἱστάμενος ἐκάστην ἐβδομάδα εἰσιοῦσαν προεσήμαινε σάλπιγγι δείλης καὶ τελεσθείσαν αὐθίς περὶ ἐσπέραν, ὅτε μὲν ἀνέργειαν τῷ λαῷ 583 καταγγέλλων, ὅτε δ' ἔργων ἔχεσθαι. διέστησαν δ' ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων ὡξυβελεῖς τε καὶ λυθοῦλος 584 μηχανάς τοὺς τε τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας. ἔνθα δὴ τὰς μὲν προσβολάς ἀκυρωτέρας ἐποιεῖτο ὁ Σίμων, μαλακιζομένων αὐτῷ τῶν πλειώνων, ἀντ- εἰχε δ' ὁμος περιουσία δυνάμεως· τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ὄργανων βέλη πορρωτέρω φερόμενα πολλοὺς τῶν μαχομένων ἀνήρει.

585 (x. 1) Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν περίεσχε καὶ 586 τὴν Ῥώμην πάθη χαλεπά. παρὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ Γερμανίας Οὐιτέλλιος ἄμα τῷ στρατιωτικῷ πολὺ πλήθος ἐπισυνρόμενος ἔτερον, μὴ χωροῦμενος δὲ τοῖς ἀποδεδειγμένοις εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας περι- βόλοις ὀλὴν ἐποιήσατο τὴν Ῥώμην στρατόπεδον 587 καὶ πᾶσαν οἰκίαν ὀπλιτῶν ἐπλήρωσεν. οἱ δ' ἀνήθεσιν ὄμηθαιμοις τὸν Ῥωμαίων πλοῦτον θεασά- μενοι καὶ περιλαμφθέντες πάντοθεν ἄργυρῳ τε καὶ χρυσῷ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις μόλις κατείχον, ὥστε μὴ ἐφ' ἄρπαγάς τρέπεσθαι τε καὶ τοὺς ἐμποδῶν γινομένους ἀναιρεῖν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

588 (2) Ὑσεσπασιανὸς δὲ ὡς τὰ πλησίον Ἰεροσολύ- μων καταστρεψάμενος ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Καισά-

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a Cf. Talmud Bab. Sukkah v. 5 (trans. Greenup, S.P.C.K., 1925) "On the eve of the Sabbath they sounded (the trumpets) six times in addition [to the 21 daily blasts]—3 to cause the people to cease from work, and 3 to mark the separation between the sacred and the secular day"; the custom is also 172
one of the priests to stand and to give notice, by sound of trumpet, in the afternoon of the approach, and on the following evening of the close, of every seventh day, announcing to the people the respective hours for ceasing work and for resuming their labours. Among these towers they posted catapults and ballistae, together with archers and slingers. Thenceforth Simon's attacks grew less strenuous, as most of his men lost heart; still by his superiority in numbers he was able to hold his ground, although the missiles from the engines with their longer range killed many of the combatants.

(x. 1) About this very time Rome also was beset by heavy calamities. Vitellius had arrived from Germany, dragging in the wake of his army a vast motley crowd besides; and not finding room enough in the quarters assigned to the troops, he converted the whole of Rome into a camp and filled every house with armed men. These, beholding with unaccustomed eyes the wealth of the Romans and surrounded on every side by the glitter of silver and gold, could scarce restrain their avarice or refrain from plundering right and left and slaughtering any who obstructed them. Such was the condition of affairs in Italy.

(2) Vespasian, after reducing the whole of the environs of Jerusalem, returned to Caesarea, where mentioned in T.B. Shabbath 35 b, Talm. Jer. Shabbath, xvii. 16 a.

*b Resuming the narrative from § 549.

*c The entry of Vitellius into Rome is described by Tacitus, Hist. ii. 89 (hardly prevented by his friends from marching in arms into Rome as into a captured city); Suetonius, Vitell. 11, represents him as entering in arms.

*d Resuming the narrative from § 555.
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589 Οὐιτέλλιον αὐτοκράτορα. τούτο αὐτὸν, καίπερ ἄρχεσθαι καθάπερ ἄρχειν καλῶς ἐπιστάμενον, εἰς ἄγανάκτησιν προῆγαγεν, καὶ τὸν μὲν ὡς ἔρημον καταμανέντα τῆς ἤγεμονίας ἤδοξε διεσπότην,

590 περιαλγήσας δὲ τῷ πάθει καρτερεῖν τὴν βάσανον ὦν οἶδος τε ἦν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος πορθυμενής

591 ἐτέροις προσενοχολεῖν πολέμοις. ἀλλ’ οὖν δὴ θυμὸς ἠπείγεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμυναν, τοσοῦτον εἰργεν ἐννοια τοῦ διαστήματος· πολλὰ γὰρ ἂν1 φθάσαι πανουργήσασαν2 τὴν τύχην πρὶν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιωθῆναι, καὶ ταῦτα χειμώνος ὃρᾳ πλέοντα, <καὶ>3 σφαδάζουσαν ἦδη κατείχεν τὴν ὀργήν.

592 (3) Συνιόντες δὲ οἱ τε ἤγεμόνες καὶ στρατιῶται καθ’ ἐταίριαν φανερῶς ἦδη μεταβολὴν ἐβουλεύοντο καὶ διαγανακτοῦντες ἐβόων, ὡς οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς 'Ῥώμης στρατιῶται τρυφώντες καὶ μηδ’ ἀκούειν πολέμου φήμην ὑπομένοντες διαχειροτονοῦσιν οἷς βούλονται τὴν ἤγεμονίαν καὶ πρὸς ἐλπίδα λημμάτων ἀποδεικνύουσιν αὐτοκράτορας,

593 αὐτοὶ δὲ διὰ τοσοῦτων κεχωρηκότες πόνων καὶ γηρώντες ὑπὸ τοὺς κράνεσιν ἐτέροις χαρίζοντα τὴν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ ταῦτα τὸν ἄξιώτερον ἄρχειν

594 παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες. ὦ τίνα δικαιοτέραν ποτὲ τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς εὐνοίας ἀποδώσεων ἀμοιβὴν, εἰ τὴν νῦν καταπροοίτο; τοσοῦτω δ’ εἶναι Ὀὐιτέλλιον ἤγεμονεύειν Οὐιτέλλιον δικαιότερον, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὺς τῶν ἔκεινον ἀποδειξάντων: οὐ γὰρ δὴ μικροτέρους τῶν ἀπὸ Γερμανίας διεννυχέναι

1 ins. Herwerden.
2 nova favere (=καλλιουργήσασαν) Lat.: καλλιουργήσασαν I.
3 ins. Destinon.

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he heard of the disturbances in Rome and that Vitellius was emperor. Though he knew full as well how to obey as how to command, this news roused his indignation: he scorned to own as master one who laid mad hands upon the empire as though it were forlorn, and such was his agony at this calamity that he could not endure the torture or, while his own country was being devastated, devote attention to other wars. But, much as anger impelled him to avenge her, the thought of the distance no less deterred him: for fortune might forestall him by many a knavish trick before he could cross to Italy, especially as he must sail in the winter season. This reflection checked what was now becoming a paroxysm of wrath.

(8) However, his officers and men, in friendly gatherings, were already frankly discussing a revolution. "Those soldiers in Rome," they indignantly exclaimed, "now living in luxury, who cannot bear to hear even a rumour of war, are electing whom they choose to the sovereignty and in hope of lucre creating emperors; whilst we, who have undergone such numerous toils and are growing grey beneath our helmets, are giving up this privilege to others, when all the time we have among us one more worthy of the government. What juster return can we ever render him for his kindness to us, if we fling away the present opportunity? Vespasian's claim to the empire is as far superior to that of Vitellius, as are we to the electors of that emperor; for, surely, we have waged wars no less arduous than

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a The phrase, περιαλγήσας τῷ πάθει comes from Thuc. iv. 14.
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πολέμους οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκείθεν καταγαγόντων τὸν
596 τύραννον ἥττησθαι τοῖς ὀπλοῖς. ἀγώνος ἐνδεήσεων
de οὐδὲν οὐ γὰρ τὴν σύγκλητον ἡ τῶν Ἡρωδαίων
dῆμον ἀνέξεσθαι τῆς Οὐιτελλίου λαγνείας ἀντὶ τῆς
Οὐεσπασιανοῦ σφροσύνης, οὐδὲ ἀντὶ μὲν ἤγε-
μόνος ἁγαθοῦ τύραννον ὑμότατον, ἀπαιδαὶ δὲ
ἀντὶ πατρὸς αἰρήσεσθαι προστάτην· μέγιστον γὰρ
dὴ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν εἰρήνης εἶναι τὰς γυναικῶν
597 τῶν βασιλέων διαδοχάς. 2 εἰτε οὐν ἐμπειρία γῆρως
προσήκει τὸ ἄρχειν, Οὐεσπασιανὸν αὐτοὺς ἔχειν, εἰτε
νεότητος ἀλκῆ, Τίτον· κραδῆσεσθαι γὰρ τῆς
598 παρ᾽ ἀμφοῖν ἡλικίας τὸ ὀφέλμον. χορηγήσειν δ᾽
οὐ μόνον αὐτοὶ 3 τὴν ἰσχῦν τοῖς ἀποδειχθεῖσι τριὰ
tάγματα καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων συμμαχίας
ἐχοντες, συνεργήσειν δὲ 4 τὰ τε πρὸς ἕως πάντα καὶ
tῆς Εὐρώπης ὅσα τῶν ἀπὸ Οὐιτελλίου φόβων
κεχώρισται, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας δὲ συμ-
mάχους, ἄδελφον Οὐεσπασιανὸν καὶ παίδα ἔτερον,
599 ὅν τῷ μὲν προσθήσεσθαι πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν ἄξιώματι
νέων, τὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως φυλακῆς πεπι-
στεῦσθαι, μέρος οὐκ ἀλγόν εἰς ἐπιθελήν ἤγεμονίας.
600 καθόλου τε ἄν θραύσωσιν αὐτοὶ, τάχα τὴν σύγ-
kλητον ἀποδείξειν τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν συνηγερμακῶν 6
στρατωτῶν ἀτιμοῦμενον.

601 (4) Τοιαύτα κατὰ συστροφᾶς οἱ στρατιῶται

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1 ed. pr.: παίδα mss. 2 Bekker: ὑπεροχάς mss.
3 αὐτοὺς most mss. (+ τότε VRC): αὐτοῖς L.
4 συνεργήσειν δὲ M: συνεπτηρήσαμεν PAL: text doubtful.
5 L: ἐπιβολήν the rest.
6 Destinon: συντετηρηκότων “joint guardians (of the
empire)” mss.

a Or, with the ms. text, “is afforded by the sterling
excellences of princes.”

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the legions of Germany, nor are we inferior in arms to the troops who have thence brought back this tyrant. Besides, there will be no need for a contest; for neither senate nor Roman people would tolerate the lewdness of Vitellius in place of the temperance of Vespasian, nor prefer as president a most brutal tyrant to a virtuous ruler, a childless prince to a father, since the very best security for peace lies in a legitimate succession to the throne. If, then, sovereignty calls for the experience of years, we have Vespasian, if for the vigour of youth, there is Titus; the pair of them will combine the advantages of their respective ages. Nor will the persons of our choice be dependent solely on the strength which we can supply, mustering as we can three legions and the auxiliaries furnished by the kings; they will have the further support of the whole eastern world and of all in Europe too remote to be intimidated by Vitellius, as also of our allies in Italy, a brother and another son of Vespasian. Of these, one will gain many recruits from the young men of rank, while the other has actually been entrusted with the charge of the city—a fact of no small importance for any designs upon the empire. In short, if there is any delay on our part, the senate will probably elect the very man whom his own soldiers, who have grown grey in his service, have disgracefully neglected."

(4) Such was the conversation current in military

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\[b\] V, X, and XV (B. iii. 65).
\[c\] Flavius Sabinus, who had served with Vespasian in Britain, been for seven years governor of Moesia, and now held the important post of praefectus urbis in Rome.
\[d\] Domitian.
διελάλουν· ἐπείτα συναθροισθέντες καὶ παρακρητήσαντες ἀλλήλους ἀναγορεύουσι τὸν Ὀὐεσπασιανὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ σώζειν τὴν κινδυνεύοσαν ἡγεμονίαν παρεκάλουν. τῷ δὲ φροντὶς μὲν ἦν πάλαι περὶ τῶν οἷων, οὐτὶ γε μὴν αὐτὸς ἀρχεῖν προήρητο, τοῖς μὲν ἔργοις ἐαυτὸν ἄξιον ἡγούμενος, προκρίνων δὲ τῶν ἐν λαμπρότητι κυνίκων τῆς ἐν ἱδιωτείαις ἀσφάλειαις. ἀρνουμένῳ δὲ μᾶλλον οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐπέκειντο καὶ περιχυθέντες οἱ στρατιώται ἐξήρεις ἀναρεῖν αὐτὸν ἡπείλουν, εἰ μὴ βούλοιτο ἐξιν ἄξιως. πολλὰ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαστειάμενος ἐξ ὧν διωθεῖτο τὴν ἀρχὴν τελευταῖον, ὡς οὐκ ἔπειθεν, εἴκει τοῖς ὁνομάσασι.

605 (5) Προτρεπομένων δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡδὴ Μουκιανοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων ὡς αὐτοκράτορα καὶ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιὰς ἀγεῖν [βοώσῃς αὐτὴν]1 ἐπὶ πάν το ἀντίπαλον, ὁ δὲ πρῶτον τῶν ἐπὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰχετο πραγμάτων, εἰδὼς πλεῖστον τῆς ἡγεμονίας μέρος τὴν Αὔγουστον οὔσαν διὰ τὴν τοῦ σίτου χορηγίαν, ἡς κρατήσας εἰ παρέλκου καὶ βία, καθαιρήσειν ἡλπίζειν Οὐιτέλλιον, οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξεσθαι πείνης ἐπὶ Ὀρώμης τὸ πλῆθος, τὰ δύο τε ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τάγματα προσποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι. ἐνεθυμεῖτο δὲ καὶ προβληματικὰ τὴν χώραν ἔχειν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης ἀδήλων· ἐστὶ γὰρ κατὰ τε γῆν δυσεμβολος καὶ τὰ πρὸς θαλάσσης ἀλίμενος, κατὰ μὲν ἐσπέραν προβεβλη-

1 ins. ed. pr. with some ms. support: om. PAM (probably through homoioteleuton).

Licinus Mucianus, legatus of Syria (§§ 32, 621), shortly to be sent to Italy to secure the empire for Vespasian (632, 178)
circles; and then banding together and encouraging one another, they proclaimed Vespasian emperor and urged him to save the endangered empire. Their general had long been concerned for the public weal, but had never purposed his own promotion; for, though conscious that his career would justify such claim, he preferred the security of private life to the perils of illustrious station. But on his declining, the officers pressed him more insistently and the soldiers, flocking round with drawn swords, threatened him with death, if he refused to live with dignity. After forcibly representing to them his many reasons for rejecting imperial honours, finally, failing to convince them, he yielded to their call.

(5) He was now urged by Mucianus and the other generals to act as emperor, and the rest of the army clamoured to be led against all opponents. His first object, however, was to secure a hold upon Alexandria. He realized the supreme importance of Egypt to the empire as its granary: once master of it he hoped, by persistence, to force Vitellius to surrender, as the populace of Rome would never submit to be starved. He also desired to annex the two legions at Alexandria; while he further contemplated holding the country as a bulwark against the uncertain freaks of fortune. For Egypt is at once difficult of access by land and on its sea-board destitute of harbours. It is protected on the west

654). His mixed character is tersely sketched by Tacitus (Hist. i. 10).

b Alexandria supplied corn sufficient to feed Rome for four months of the year (B. ii. 386).

c Or perhaps "if (the war) dragged on"; cf. A. xv. 148 ἐὰν παρέλθῃς δέ τω.

da III and XXII, ii. 387 note.

e Cf. ii. 385 f.
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μὲν ἡ τὰ ἀνδρὰ τῆς Λιβύης, κατὰ δὲ μεσημβρίαν τὴν διορίζουσαν ἀπὸ Αἰθιόπων τὴν Συήνην καὶ
tοὺς ἀπλώτους τοὺς ποταμοῦ καταράκτας, ἀπὸ
δὲ τῇς ἀνατολῆς τῆν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν ἀναχεο-
609 μένην μέχρι Κοπτοῦ. βόρειον δὲ τεῖχος αὐτῆς ᾗ
tε μέχρι Συρίας γῆ καὶ τὸ καλοῦμενον Αἰγύπτιον
610 πέλαγος, πάν ἀπορον ὅρμων. τετείχισται μὲν
οὕτως ἡ Αἰγύπτιος πάντοθεν τὸ μεταξὺ δὲ Πηλού-
σίου καὶ Συήνης μῆκος αὐτῆς σταδίων δυσχιλίων,
ὁ τε ἀπὸ τῆς Πλινθίνης ἀνάπλους εἰς τὸ Πηλούσιον
611 σταδίων τρισχιλίων ἐξακοσίων. ὁ δὲ Νείλος
ἀναπλέεται μέχρι τῆς 'Ελεφάντων καλοῦμενης
πόλεως, ὑπὲρ ἓν εἰργούσι προσωτέρω χωρείν οὖς
612 προειρήκαμεν καταράκτας. δυσπρόσιτος δὲ λιμὴν
ναυσὶ καὶ κατ' εἰρήνην 'Αλεξανδρείας, στενὸς τε
γὰρ εἴσπλους καὶ πέτραις υφάλοις τὸν ἐπ' εὐθὺ
613 καμπτόμενος δρόμον. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀριστερὸν αὐτοῦ
μέρος πέφρακται χειροκμήτοις σκέλεσιν, ἐν δεξιὰ
δὲ ἡ προσαγορευμενὴ Φάρος νῆσος πρόκειται,
pύργον ἀνέχουσα μέγιστον ἐκπυρσεύοντα τοῖς
καταπλέουσιν ἐπὶ τριακοσίους σταδίους, ὡς ἐν
νυκτὶ πόρρωθεν ὄρμιζοντο πρὸς τὴν δυσχέρειαν
614 τοῦ κατάπλου. περὶ ταύτην τὴν νῆσον κατα-

1 τὴν Lat.: ēπι τὴν mss.      2 Niese: αὐτῇ mss.

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* Assuan.

b Koft, on the right bank of the Nile, N. of Karnak; named perhaps as the place where the river most nearly approaches the sea. The Red Sea, not including the Gulf of Suez, actually penetrates considerably farther north.

c Tell Farama, alias Tineh, situate at or near what was once the easternmost mouth of the Nile.

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by the arid deserts of Libya, on the south by the frontier separating it from Ethiopia—Syene\(^a\) and the unnavigable cataracts of the Nile—, on the east by the Red Sea, which penetrates as far north as Coptus\(^b\); while its northern barriers are the land towards Syria and the so-called Egyptian sea, totally devoid of havens. Thus is Egypt walled off on every side. Its length from Pelusium\(^c\) to Syene\(^d\) is two thousand furlongs; the passage from Plinthine\(^e\) to Pelusium is three thousand six hundred.\(^f\) The Nile is navigable up to the city called Elephantine,\(^g\) beyond which the cataracts already mentioned bar further progress. The port\(^h\) of Alexandria is difficult for ships to approach even in peace-time, the entrance being narrow and diverted by submerged rocks\(^i\) which preclude direct passage. On the left the channel is protected by artificial moles; on the right juts out the island called Pharos, supporting an enormous tower, emitting a light visible three hundred furlongs away to mariners making for port, to warn them to anchor at night some distance off because of the difficulty of the navigation. Round this island

\(^a\) i.e. about 230 miles, a wholly inadequate figure; the actual distance was c. 650 miles.

\(^b\) The Libyan frontier of Egypt, on the coast W. of Alexandria; exact site unidentified.

\(^c\) i.e. about 414 miles; this figure is nearly double the actual distance of the sea voyage round the Delta basin (c. 220 miles). Strabo 791 is nearer the mark in reckoning the distance by sea from Pelusium to Pharos as 1450 stadia (166 miles).

\(^d\) The island below the First Cataract, opposite Assuan.

\(^e\) i.e. the Great Harbour. Strabo, xvii. 791 ff., gives a fuller account of the three harbours.

\(^f\) Cf. Strabo 791 πρὸς δὲ τῇ στενότητι τοῦ μέταξι πόρου καὶ πέτραι εἰσὶν αἱ μὲν υφαλοὶ αἱ δὲ καὶ ἐξέχουσαι.
The Great Harbour seems to have been only half this length. The figure named (=c. 3½ miles) can barely be reached by including the Eunostus Harbour; the two were originally separated by the causeway called the Heptastadion, but this had perhaps now disappeared (Strabo 792).
immense walls have been reared by human hands: and the sea dashing against these and breaking around the piers opposite renders the passage rough and ingress through the strait perilous. The harbour inside is, however, perfectly safe and is thirty furlongs\(^a\) in length. To this port are carried all the commodities which the country lacks for its welfare, and from it the surplus local products are distributed to every quarter of the world.\(^b\)

(6) With good reason therefore was Vespasian eager to obtain control here, with a view to the stability of the empire at large. He accordingly at once wrote to Tiberius Alexander,\(^c\) the governor of Egypt and Alexandria, informing him of the army’s zeal and how, being forced to shoulder the burden of empire himself, he desired to enlist his co-operation and assistance. Having read this letter in public, Alexander promptly required the legions and the populace to take the oath of allegiance to Vespasian; a call to which they both gladly responded, knowing the sterling quality of the man from his generalship in their neighbourhood. Tiberius, now having the interests of the empire entrusted to his charge, made all preparations for Vespasian’s arrival; and quicker than thought rumour spread the news of the new emperor in the east. Every city kept festival for the good news and offered sacrifices on his behalf; but the legions in Moesia and Pannonia,\(^d\) recently

\(^b\) Strabo 798 calls Alexandria μέγιστον ἐμπόριον τῆς οἰκουμένης and speaks of the precious wares of which she καὶ ἐποδοχεῖον ἐστὶ καὶ χορηγεῖ τοῖς ἐκτός.

\(^c\) B. ii. 220 note (summarizing his varied career).

\(^d\) The provinces on the south bank of the Danube: Moesia covering the eastern portion (Serbia and Bulgaria), Pannonia the western (Austrian and neighbouring territory).
JOSEPHUS

τάγματα, μικρῶ πρόσθεν κεκινημένα πρὸς τὴν Ὑπεραπεινόν τόλμαν, μείζον χαρά Ὑπεραπεινόν
620 τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὁμιλησάντης διὰ ἰδίου Κασσαρίας εἰς Βηθρούν παρῆν, εὐθα πολλαὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας αὐτῶ, πολλαὶ δὲ κάπο τῶν ἄλλων ἐπαρχιῶν πρεσβεύειν συνήγησαν, στεφάνους παρ’ ἐκάστης πόλεως καὶ συγχαρτικὰ προσφέρουσιν.

621 ῞Ηγεμόνας. παρῆν δὲ καὶ Μουκιανὸς ὁ τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἡγεμόν, τὸ πρόθυμον τῶν δήμων καὶ τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν ὄρκους ἀπαγγέλλων.

622 (7) Προχωρούσης δὲ πανταχοῦ κατὰ νοὺν τῆς τύχης καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων συννεφευρότων ἐκ τοῦ πλείστου μέρους, ἦδη παρίστατο τῷ Ὑπεραπεινόν νοεῖν, ὡς οὐ δίχα δαμινίον προνοίας ἀψαίνος τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ δικαία τις εἰμαρμένη περιηγάγων τὸ 623 κρατεῖν τῶν ὅλων ἐπ’ αὐτὸν· ἀναμμηνήσκεται γὰρ τα τε ἄλλα σημεῖα, πολλὰ δ’ αὐτῷ γεγόνει πανταχοῦ προφαίνοντα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, καὶ τὰς τοῦ Ἰωσήπου φωνάς, δό αὐτὸν ἑτὶ ἥωντος

624 Νέρωνος αὐτοκράτορα προσείπειν ἐθάρρησεν. ἐξεπέπληκτο δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα δεσμώτην ἑτὶ ἄντι παρ’ αὐτῷ, καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος Μουκιανὸν ἀμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεμόνι καὶ φίλοις πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ δραστήριον ἐκδιηγεῖτο καὶ ὀσα περὶ τοῖς Ἰωτα- 625 πάτοις δ’ αὐτὸν ἔκαμον, ἔπευγα τὰς μαντείας, ἃς αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπώπτευσε τότε πλάσματα τοῦ δέους, ἀποδειχθήναι δὲ ὅπο τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῶν πραγ- 626 μάτων θείας. “αἰσχρὸν οὖν,” ἐφη, “τὸν προ-

1 L: in Lat.: om. the rest.

* Tacitus, Hist. ii. 85 f. The legions in Moesia were 184
exasperated by the audacity of Vitellius, more gladly than any swore allegiance to Vespasian. The latter, leaving Caesarea, proceeded to Berytus, where numerous embassies, both from Syria and from the other provinces, waited upon him, bringing crowns and congratulatory decrees from the various cities. Thither too came Mucianus, the governor of the province, to report the popular enthusiasm and that every city had taken the oath.

(7) Now that fortune was everywhere furthering his wishes and that circumstances had for the most part conspired in his favour, Vespasian was led to think that divine providence had assisted him to grasp the empire and that some just destiny had placed the sovereignty of the world within his hands. Among many other omens, which had everywhere foreshadowed his imperial honours, he recalled the words of Josephus, who had ventured, even in Nero's lifetime, to address him as emperor. He was shocked to think that the man was still a prisoner in his hands, and summoning Mucianus with his other officers and friends, he first dwelt upon his doughty deeds and all the trouble that he had given them at Jotapata; and then referred to his predictions, which at the time he himself had suspected of being fabrications prompted by fear, but which time and the event had proved to be divine. "It is disgraceful," he

III Gallica (see § 633), VII Claudia, and VIII Augusta; those in Pannonia, VII Galbiana and XIII Gemina.

b Beirut.

c Various omnia imperii are mentioned by Tacitus (Hist. ii. 78), Suetonius (Vesp. 5), and Dion Cassius (lxvi. 1). The two last authorities include the prophecy of Josephus; Weber, Josephus and Vespasian 45, believes that they drew upon some common source. Cf. B. iii. 404 n.

d iii. 401.
JOSEPHUS

θεσπίζαντα μοι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ διάκονον τῆς τοῦ
θεοῦ φωνῆς ἔτι αἰχμαλώτου τάξιν ἡ δεσμῶτον
tύχην ὑπομένειν," καὶ καλέσας τὸν 'Ἰώσηπον
627 λυθήναι κελεύει. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἡγεμόνιν ἐκ τῆς
eis τὸν ἀλλόφυλον ἀμοιβὴς λαμπρὰ καὶ περὶ
αὐτῶν ἐλπίζειν παρέστη, συνών δὲ τῷ πατρὶ
628 Τίτος "δίκαιον, ὦ πάτερ," ἐφη, "τοῦ Ἰώσηπο
καὶ τὸ ὄνειδος ἀφαιρεθηναι σὺν τῷ σιδήρῳ:
γενήσεται γὰρ ὁμοίως τῷ μη δεθέντι τῇν ἀρχῃ,
ἀν αὐτοῦ μὴ λύσωμεν ἀλλὰ κόψωμεν τὰ δεσμά.
'τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν μη δεόντως δεθέντων πράτ-
629 τεταί. συνεδόκει ταῦτα, καὶ παρεβλὼν τῆς πε-
λέκει διέκοψε τήν ἁλυσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος εἰληφώς
ὑπὲρ τῶν προερημένων γέρας τήν ἐπιτυμίαν ἡδη
καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἄξιόπιστος ἦν.
630 (xί. 1) Ὀδεσπασιανὸς δὲ ταῖς πρεσβείαις χρη-
ματίσας καὶ καταστησάμενος ἑκάστους τὰς ἀρχὰς
dικαίως καὶ διὰ τῶν ἄξιων, εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν
631 ἀφικνεῖται. καὶ βουλευόμενος ποῖ τρέπεσθαι,
προουργιάτερα τῆς εἰς Ἁλεξάνδρειαν ὁρμῆς τὰ
κατὰ τὴν 'Ῥώμην ἐκρινε, τὴν μὲν βέβαιον οὖν
632 ὅρων, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ Οὐστελλίου ταρασσόμενα. πέμ-
πει δὴ Μουκιανὸν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν παραδοὺς
ἴππεων τε καὶ πεζῶν συχνὴν δύναμιν. ὁ δὲ διὰ
tὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀκμῆς δείσας τὸ πλεῖον τε
πεζὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἢγε διὰ Καππαδοκίας καὶ Φρυγίας.
633 (2) Ἕν δὲ τοῦτῳ καὶ Ἁντώνιος Πρίμος ἀνα-
λαβὼν τὸ τρίτον τάγμα τῶν κατὰ Μυσίαν, ἔτυχεν

1 Niese: περ.: mss. 2 Hudson from Lat.: πᾶν mss.

* Mucianus went ahead with some light-armed troops,
being followed by the 6th legion (Ferrata) and 13,000 veterans
(vexillarii), Tac. Hist. ii. 83.

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said, "that one who foretold my elevation to power and was a minister of the voice of God should still rank as a captive and endure a prisoner's fate"; and calling for Josephus, he ordered him to be liberated. While the officers were only thinking that such requital of a foreigner augured brilliant honours for themselves, Titus, who was beside his father, said, "Justice demands, father, that Josephus should lose his disgrace along with his fetters. If instead of loosing, we sever his chains, he will be as though he had never been in bonds at all." For such is the practice in cases where a man has been unjustly put in irons. Vespasian approving, an attendant came forward and severed the chain with an axe. Thus Josephus won his enfranchisement as the reward of his divination, and his power of insight into the future was no longer discredited.

(xi. 1) Vespasian, having responded to the embassies and disposed of the various governorships with due regard to the claims of justice and the merits of the candidates, repaired to Antioch. Here deliberating in which direction to turn, he decided that affairs in Rome were more important than a march to Alexandria, seeing that the latter was secured, whereas at Rome Vitellius was creating general disorder. He accordingly dispatched Mucianus to Italy with a substantial force of cavalry and infantry; that officer, fearing the risk of a sea voyage in the depth of winter, led his army by land through Cappadocia and Phrygia.

(2) Meanwhile Antonius Primus, along with the third legion from Moesia, where he was then in

\[\text{Vespasian sends Mucianus with an army to Italy.}\]

\[\text{Ordering the fleet from Pontus to concentrate at Byzantium, Tac. } \text{ibid.}\]
δ' ἡγεμονεύων αὐτόθι, Ὀυιτελλίῳ παραταξόμενος

634 ἠπείγετο. Ὀυιτέλλιος δ' αὐτῷ συναιτήσοντα μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως Καικίναν1 Ἀλιηνόν ἐκπέμπει, μέγα θαρρῶν τάνδρι διὰ τὴν ἐπ' Ἄθωνι νίκην. ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ρώμης ἑλαύνων διὰ τάχους περὶ Κρέμωνα τῆς Γαλατίας τὸν Ἀντώνιον καταλαμβάνει: μεθὸριος δ' ἔστιν ἡ πόλις αὐτή τῆς

635 Ἰταλίας. κατιδὼν δ' ἐνταῦθα τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν, συμβαλέων μὲν οὐκ ἐθάρρηε, σφαλεράν δὲ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν λογιζόμενος προδοσίαν ἐβουλεύετο. συναγαγὼν δὲ τοὺς υἱ' αὐτοῦ ἐκατοντάρχας καὶ χιλιάρχους ἐνήγει μεταβῆναι πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ταπεινῶν μὲν τὰ Ὀυιτελλίου πράγματα, τὴν Ὀυεσπασιανὸν δ' ἵσχυν

637 ἑπαύρων, καὶ παρ' ὦ μὲν εἶναι λέγων μόνον τῆς ἀρχῆς όνομα, παρ' ὦ δὲ τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ αὐτοὺς δὲ άμεινον [εἶναι]2 προλαβόντας τὴν ἀνάγκην ποιήσαι χάριν καὶ μέλλοντας ἦπτᾶσθαι τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ταῖς γνώμαις τὸν κίνδυνον φθάσαι. Ὀυεσπασιανὸν μὲν γὰρ ἵκανον εἶναι καὶ χωρὶς αὐτῶν προσκτῆσασθαι3 καὶ τὰ λείποντα, Ὀυιτέλλιον δ' οὐδὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς τηρήσαι τὰ ὄντα.

639 (3) Πολλὰ τοιαύτα λέγων ἐπεισε καὶ πρὸς τὸν

640 Ἀντώνιον αὐτομολεῖ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. τῆς δ' αὐτῆς νυκτὸς ἐμπίπτει μετάνοια τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ δέος τοῦ προπέμψαντος, εἰ κρείσσων γένοιτο.

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1 C Lat. Heg.: Κίκλ(λ)ιον the rest.
2 ins. L (Lat. ?): om. the rest.
3 Dindorf: προκτήσασθαι L: προσθήσεσθαι the rest.

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a M. Antonius Primus, in the sequel a rival of Mucianus, 188
command, was also hastening to give battle to Vitellius; and Vitellius had sent off Caecina Alienus with a strong force to oppose him, having great confidence in that general on account of his victory over Otho. Caecina marching rapidly from Rome met Antonius near Cremona, a town in Gaul on the frontiers of Italy; but there, perceiving the numbers and discipline of the enemy, he would not venture on an engagement and, considering retreat hazardous, meditated treason. Accordingly assembling the centurions and tribunes under his command, he urged them to go over to Antonius, disparaging the resources of Vitellius and extolling the strength of Vespasian. "The one," he said, "has but the name, the other the power of sovereignty; and it were better for you to forestall and make a virtue of necessity, and, as you are bound to be beaten in the field, to avert danger by policy. For Vespasian is capable, without your aid, of acquiring what he has yet to win; while Vitellius, even with your support, cannot retain what he has already."

(3) Caecina's words, prolonged in the same strain, prevailed, and he and his army deserted to Antonius. But the same night the soldiers were overcome with remorse and fear of him who had sent them into the field, should he prove victorious; and drawing their was now in command of the 7th legion (Galbiana; Tac. Hist. ii. 86), in Pannonia, not in Moesia, as Josephus states; but he was joined by the Moesian legions, the third (Gallica) taking the lead in revolt: "tertia legio exemplum ceteris Moesiae legionibus praebuit" (Tac. H. ii. 85).

§ 547.

* * * Tacitus gives a fuller account, Hist. ii. 99, iii. 13 ff.

* "Vespasiani virtutem viresque partium extolli ... atque omnia de Vitellio in deterius" (Tac. Hist. iii. 13).
σπασάμενοι δὲ τὰ ἔλθη τὸν Καϊκίναν ὄρμησαν ἀνελεῖν, κἂν ἐπράξθη τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς, εἰ μὴ προσπίπτοντες οἱ χιλιάρχοι καθικέτευσαν ἐκά-641 στοὺς. 2 οἱ δὲ τοὺς μὲν κτείνεις ἀπέσχοντο, δῆσαντες δὲ τὸν προδότην οὗτοι τε ἦσαν ἀναπέμπεν οὐι-642 τελλίῳ. ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ Πρίμος αὐτίκα τοὺς σφητέρους ἀνίστησι καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὀπλών ἤγεν τοὺς ἀποστάντας. οἱ δὲ παραταξάμενοι πρὸς ὁλίγον μὲν ἀντέσχον, αὕθις δὲ τραπέντες ἐφευγον εἰς τὴν Κρέμωνα. τοὺς δὲ ἱππεῖς ἀναλαβὼν Πρίμος ὑποτέμνεται ταῖς εἰσόδους αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ μὲν πολὺ πλῆθος κυκλωσάμενος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως διαφθείρει, τῷ δὲ λοιπῷ συνεισπέσεισ διαρπάσαι τοῦ ἀστυ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐφῆκεν. ἐνθα δὴ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν ἔνενων ἐμποροὶ, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἑπιχωρίων ἀπώλοντο, πᾶσα δὲ [καὶ] ἡ Οὐιτελλίου στρατιά, μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν τρεῖς καὶ διακόσιοι τῶν δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Μυσίας Ἀντώνιος πετρακισχι-644 λίους ἀποβάλλει καὶ πεντακοσίους. λύσας δὲ τὸν Καϊκίναν πέμπει πρὸς Οὐιςπασιανόν ἀγγελοῦντα τὰ πεπραγμένα. καὶ δὲ ἐλθὼν ἀπεδέχθη τε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῆς προδοσίας ὀνείδη ταῖς παρ' ἐλπίδα τιμαῖς ἐπεκάλυψεν.

645 (4) Ἀναβάρσει δὲ ἦδη καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην Σαβίνος, ὡς πλησίον Ὀντώνιον ὃν ἀπηγγέλλετο,
swords they rushed off to kill Caecina and would have accomplished their purpose, had not the tribunes thrown themselves at the feet of their companies and implored them to desist. a The troops spared his life but bound the traitor and prepared to send him up to Vitellius. Primus, hearing of this, instantly called up his men and led them in arms against the rebels; these forming in line of battle offered a brief resistance, but were then routed and fled for Cremona. Primus with his cavalry intercepted their entrance, surrounded and destroyed the greater part of them before the walls, and, forcing his way in with the remainder, permitted his soldiers to pillage the town. In the ensuing slaughter many foreign merchants b and many of the inhabitants perished, along with the whole army of Vitellius, numbering thirty thousand two hundred men; of his troops from Moesia Antonius lost four thousand five hundred. Caecina, being liberated by him and sent to report these events to Vespasian, was on his arrival graciously received by the emperor, and covered the disgrace of his perfidy with unlooked for honours.

(4) In Rome, too, Sabinus c now regained courage on hearing of the approach of Antonius, and, muster-

a Details not in Tacitus, who merely states that the soldiers bound Caecina and elected other leaders (Hist. iii. 14).

b "The occurrence of a fair (tempus mercatus) filled the colony, rich as it always was, with the appearance of still greater wealth"; the sack of the town occupied four days (Tac. Hist. iii. 32 f.).

c § 598 note. The full story is told in Tacitus, Hist. iii. 64 ff. Sabinus attempted to negotiate conditions with Vitellius, who was prepared to abdicate; but the Vitellianists prevented this, and a collision between them and the followers of Sabinus drove the latter to seek refuge in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol.
καὶ συναθροίσας τὰ τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων στρατιωτῶν τάγματα νύκτωρ καταλαμβάνει τὸ Καπετωλίων. μεθ' ἡμέραν δ' αυτῷ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπισήμων προσεγένοντο καὶ Δομετιανὸς ὁ τάδελφος παῖς, μεγίστη μοιρὰ τῶν εἰς τὸ κρατεῖν ἐλπίδων.

647 Οὐίτελλίων δὲ Πρίμον μὲν ἐλάττων φροντίς ἦν, τεθύμωτοι δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς συναποστάντας τῷ Σαβίνῳ, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐμφυτον ωμότητα διψῶν αἴματός εὐγενοῦς τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ τὴν συγκατελθοῦσαν
648 αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἐπαφίση τῷ Καπετωλίῳ. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τε ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ μαχομένων ἐτολμήθη, τέλος δὲ τῷ πλήθει περιόντες οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Γερμανίας ἐκράτησαν τοῦ λόφου.

649 καὶ Δομετιανὸς μὲν¹ σὺν πολλοῖς τῶν ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων δαμονιώτερον διασώζεται, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἀπαν κατεκόπη, καὶ Σαβίνος ἀναχθεὶς ἐπὶ Οὐίτελλιον ἀναιρεῖται, διαρπάσαντες τε οἱ στρατιώται τὰ ἀναθήματα τῶν ναὸν ἐνέπρησαν.

650 καὶ μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν εἰσελήνυε μὲν Ἀντώνιος μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, ὑπήντων δ' οἱ Οὐίτελλίοι καὶ τρίχῃ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν συμβαλόντες ἀπώλοντο

651 πάντες. προέρχεται² δὲ μεθύων ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου Οὐίτελλιος καὶ δαψιλέστερον ὦσπερ ἐν ἐσχάτοις

652 τῆς ἀσώτου τραπέζῃς κεκορεσμένος. συρεῖς δὲ

1 τεθυμωμένος L Lat. ² Bekker with Lat.: δὲ mss. ³ rapitur Heg.: hence προέρχεται Destinon (cf. Tacitus, Hist. iii. 84).

² "vigilum cohortes" (Tac. Hist. iii. 64). Seven corps of night police had been instituted by Augustus "adversus incendia," a sort of fire-brigade (Suet. Aug. 30, Dion Cass. Iv. 26).
ing the cohorts of the night-watch,\(^a\) seized the Capitol during the night. Early next day \(^b\) he was joined by many of the notables, including his nephew Domitian, on whom mainly rested their hopes of success. Vitellius, less concerned about Primus, was infuriated at the rebels who had supported Sabinus, and, from innate cruelty thirsting for noble blood, let loose upon the Capitol that division of his army which had accompanied him (from Germany).\(^c\) Many a gallant deed was done alike by them and by those who fought them from the temple; but at length by superior numbers the German troops mastered the hill. Domitian, with many eminent Romans, miraculously escaped;\(^d\) but the rank and file were all cut to pieces, Sabinus was brought a prisoner to Vitellius and executed, and the soldiers after plundering the temple of its votive offerings set it on fire.

A day later Antonius marched in with his army; he was met by the troops of Vitellius, who gave battle at three different quarters of the city\(^e\) and perished to a man.\(^f\) Then issued from the palace Vitellius drunk and, knowing the end was come, gorged with a banquet more lavish and luxurious than ever;

\(^a\) "At dead of night" (concubia nocte), Sabinus, owing to the careless watch of the Vitellianists and a rain storm, was enabled to bring in his own children and Domitian and to communicate with his followers (Tac. H. iii. 69).

\(^b\) According to the fuller account of Tacitus (H. iii. 70 f.) the soldiers acted without orders from Vitellius, now "neque jubendi neque vetandi potens."

\(^c\) Domitian disguised as an acolyte, \textit{ib.} 74.

\(^d\) The forces of Antonius advanced in three divisions: along the Via Flaminia, along the Via Salaria to the Colline Gate, and along the bank of the Tiber (Tac. H. iii. 82).

\(^e\) "cecidere omnes contrariis vulneribus, versi in hostem" Tac. H. iii. 84.
dià τοῦ πλήθους καὶ παντοδαπαῖς αἰκίασ ἐξυποσθεῖς ἐπὶ μέσης τῆς Ῥώμης ἀποσφάττεται, μήνας ὀκτὼ κρατῆσας καὶ ἡμέρας πέντε, δὲν εἰ συνεβῇ πλείω βιώσαι χρόνον, ἐπιλιπεῖν ἄν αὐτοῦ τῇ λαγνείᾳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν οἶμαι. τῶν δ’ ἄλλων 653 νεκρῶν ὑπὲρ πέντε μυριάδας ἴριθμήθησαν. ταῦτα μὲν τρίτῃ μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου πέπρακτο, τῇ δ’ ύστεραιΑ Μουκιανὸς εἴσεισι μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ τοὺς σὺν Ἀντωνίῳ παύσας τοῦ κτείνειν, ἔτι γὰρ ἔξερευνὼμενοι τὰς οἰκίας πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν Ὀυιτελλίου στρατιωτῶν πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν δημοτικῶν ὡς ἐκεῖνον ἀνήρουν, φθάνοντες τῷ θυμῷ τῆς ἀκρίβης διάκρισιν, προσαγαγὼν δὲ τὸν Δομετίανον συνίστησι τῷ πλήθει μέχρι τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς 655 ἀφίξεως ἡγεμόνα. ὁ δὲ δήμος ἀπηλλαγμένος ἦδη τῶν φόβων αὐτοκράτορα Ὀυεσπασιανὸν εὐφήμηι, καὶ ἀμα τὴν τε τούτου βεβαιῶσιν ἐώρταζε καὶ τὴν Ὀυιτελλίου κατάλυσιν.

656 (5) Εἰς δὲ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀφιγμένῳ τῷ Ὀυεσπασιανῷ τα ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης εὐαγγελία ἦκε καὶ πρέσβεις ἐκ πάσης τῆς ἴδιας οἰκουμένης συνηδόμενοι μεγίστη τῇ οὔσῃ μετὰ τῆς Ῥώμης 657 ἡ πόλις στενοτέρα τοῦ πλήθους ἠλέγχετο. κεκυρωμένης δὲ ἦδη τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπάσης καὶ σεσωμένων παρ’ ἐλπίδα Ῥωμαίοις τῶν πραγμάτων Ὀυεσπασιανὸς ἐπὶ τὰ λείψανα τῆς Ἰουδαίας τὸν 658 λογισμὸν ἐπέστρεφεν. αὐτὸς μέντοι [γε]3 εἰς τὴν

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1 μυριάδες PML.  
2 + τότε L.  
3 ins. L: om. the rest.

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 anomaly. He was haled from hiding in the palace, after attempting escape, to the Gemonian stairs, where he was slain, the corpse being then dragged to the Tiber (Tac. iii. 84 f., Suet. Vitell. 17).
dragged through the mob and subjected to indignities of every kind, he was finally butchered in the heart of Rome.\(^a\) He had reigned eight months and five days; \(^b\) and had fate prolonged his life, the very empire, I imagine, would not have sufficed for his lust. Of others slain, upwards of fifty thousand were counted. These events took place on the third of the month Apellaeus. On the following day Mucianus entered with his army and restrained the troops of Antonius from further slaughter; for they were still searching the houses and massacring large numbers, not only of the soldiers of Vitellius, but of the populace, as his partisans, too precipitate in their rage for careful discrimination.\(^c\) Mucianus then brought forward Domitian and recommended him to the multitude as their ruler pending his father’s arrival. The people, freed at length from terrors, acclaimed Vespasian emperor, and celebrated with one common festival both his establishment in power and the overthow of Vitellius.

(5) On reaching Alexandria Vespasian was greeted by the good news from Rome and by embassies of congratulation from every quarter of the world,\(^d\) now his own; and that city, though second only to Rome in magnitude, proved too confined for the throng. The whole empire being now secured and the Roman state saved beyond expectation, Vespasian turned his thoughts to what remained in Judaea. He was, however, anxious himself to take ship for Rome \(^e\) as

\(^a\) From 17 April to 21 (or 20) December.
\(^b\) Cf. Tac. Hist. iv. 1, 11.
\(^c\) Including one from King Vologesus, offering him 40,000 Parthian cavalry (Tac. Hist. iv. 51).
\(^d\) He had received unfavourable reports of Domitian’s conduct, \textit{ibid}.
'Ρώμην ὁρμητό λήξαντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀνάγεσθαι καὶ τάχος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείαν διώκει, τὸν δὲ ύιὸν Τίτον μετὰ τῆς ἐξκρίτου δυνάμεως ἀπεστειλεν ἐξαιρήσοντα τα Ἰεροσόλυμα. ὁ δὲ προελθὼν πεζῷ μέχρι Νικοπόλεως, εἰκοσὶ δ' αὐτῇ διέχει τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας σταδίους, κάκειθεν ἐπιβήσας τῆν στρατιάν μακρῶν πλοίων ἀναπλεῖ Διὰ τοῦ Νεῖλου κατὰ¹ τὸν Μενδήσιον νομὸν μέχρι πόλεως Ὀμούεως. ἐκείθεν δ' ἀποβὰς ὀδεύει καὶ κατὰ πολίχνην [τινὰ]² Τάννιν αὐλίζεται. δεύτερος αὐτῷ σταθμὸς Ἡρακλέους πόλις καὶ τρίτος Πηλουσιον γίνεται. δυσὶ δ' ἡμέραις [ἐνταῦθα]³ τῆν στρατιὰν ἀναλαβὼν τῇ τρίτῃ διέξεισι τὰς ἐμβολάς τοῦ Πηλουσίου, καὶ προελθὼν σταθμὸν ἔνα διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Κασίου⁴ Διὸς ἑρῴ στρατοπεδεύεται, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ κατὰ τὴν Ὀστρακίνην· οὗτος δ' σταθμὸς ἦν ἀνυδρός, ἐπισάκτοις δὲ ύδασιν οἱ ἐπιχώροι χρώνται. μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς 'Ρινοκορούρους ἀναπαύεται, κάκειθεν

¹ L: μετὰ the rest.
² om. PA Lat.
³ om. L.
⁴ LC¹: Κασίου the rest.

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*a* Founded by Augustus in 24 B.C. on the scene of his final defeat of M. Antonius and in commemoration of the surrender of Alexandria: it lay on the coast some 2½ (Josephus) or 3½ (Strabo) miles E. of that city (Strabo xvii. 795, Dion Cass. li. 18).

*b* “Thirty” according to Strabo.

c Or “up and across” (διὰ τοῦ Νεῖλου, not ἀνὰ τὸν Νεῖλον); he was crossing the Delta and part of the route would be by canal.

d Or “over against.”
soon as the winter was over and was now rapidly settling affairs in Alexandria; but he dispatched his son Titus with picked forces to crush Jerusalem. Titus, accordingly, proceeding by land to Nicopolis (distant twenty furlongs from Alexandria), there embarked his army on ships of war and sailed up the Nile into the Mendesian canton to the city of Thmuis. Here he disembarked and, resuming his march, passed a night at a small town called Tanis. His second day's march brought him to Heracleopolis, the third to Pelusium. Having halted here two days to refresh his army, on the third he crossed the Pelusiac river-mouths, and, advancing a day's march through the desert, encamped near the temple of the Casian Zeus, and on the next day at Ostracine; this station was destitute of water, which is brought from elsewhere for the use of the inhabitants. He next rested at Rhinocorura, whence he advanced to his fourth

*e The "nome" of which Mendes (Tell er-Rub', S.W. of Lake Menzaleh) was the capital.

† Tmai or (Smith and Bartholomew, Atlas of Holy Land, Map 7) Tell Ibu es-Salam; S.W. of Mendes.

§ San, the Zoan of the Old Testament, some 20 miles E. of Thmuis.

h Heracleopolis Parva; site now covered by Lake Menzaleh.

i Tell Farama alias Tineh (Biblical Sin, Ezek. xxx. 15), § 610.

j A temple of Zeus-Ammon near the summit of Mons Casius (Ras el-Kasrun), a sandstone range adjoining Lake Sirbonis and the Mediterranean; Pompey's tomb was on the hill-side (Strabo xvii. 760).

k Unidentified.

l Or Rhinocolura, el-'Arish, on the confines of Egypt and Palestine; "the river of Egypt," Wady el-'Arish, marking the boundary in Old Testament times.
JOSEPHUS

eis Ἁράφειαν προελθὼν σταθμὸν τέταρτον, ἔστι δὴ ἡ πόλις αὕτη Συρίας ἀρχή, τὸ πέμπτον ἐν Γάζῃ

τίθεται στρατόπεδον, μεθ' ἡν εἰς Ἄσκάλωνα κάκειθεν εἰς Ἰάμνειαν, ἔπειτα εἰς Ἰόππην καὶ Ἰόππης εἰς Καἰσάρειαν ἀφικνεῖται διεγνωκὼς αὐτὸθι τὰς ἄλλας δυνάμεις ἀθροίζειν.

* Refah; Polybius likewise reckons it as the first city of
station, Raphia, at which city Syria begins. His fifth camp he pitched at Gaza; next he marched to Ascalon, and from there to Jamnia, then to Joppa, and from Joppa he finally reached Caesarea, the rendezvous fixed on for the concentration of his forces.

Syria, Ῥαφίας ἐστὶν μετὰ Ὑποκόλουρα πρώτη τῶν κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν πόλεων ὡς πρὸς τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν (v. 80).
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Ε

1 (i. 1) Ὅ μὲν Τίτος δὲν προειρήκαμεν τρόπον διοδεύσας τὴν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου μέχρι Συρίας ἑρμήν εἰς Κασάρειαν παρῆν, ταύτη διεγνωκώς 2 προσυντάξασθαι τὰς δυνάμεις. ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν συγκαθισσαμένον τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἱγμενίαν νέον1 αὐτοῖς ἐγκεχειρισμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, συνέβη καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἰεροσολύμοις στάσιν ἀνακάμψασαν τριμερῆ γενέσθαι καὶ καθ’ αὐτοῦ θάτερον ἐπιστρέψας μέρος, ὀπερ ἄν τις ὡς 3 ἐν κακοῖς ἄγαθοι εἶποι καὶ δίκης ἔργον. ἡ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τοῦ δήμου τῶν ξηλωτῶν ἐπίθεσις, ἤπερ κατηρίζειν ἀλώσεως τῇ πόλει, προδεδήλωται μετὰ ἀκριβείας οὐθὲν τε ἐφι καὶ πρὸς ὁσον κακῶν 4 ἀνηνεξήθη2· ταύτην δ’ οὖκ ἄν ἀμάρτω τις εἰπὼν στάσει στάσιν ἐγκενέσθαι, καὶ καθάπερ θηρίον λυσ- σῆσαν ἐνδείᾳ τῶν ἐξώθεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἱδίας ἦδη σάρκας 5 ὀρμάν. (2) Ἐλεάζαρος γὰρ3 στὸν Σίμωνος, ὃς δὴ καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ δήμου τοὺς ξηλωτὰς ἀπέστησεν εἰς τὸ τέμενος, ὡς ἀγανακτῶν δῆθεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀσμηραῖ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ τολμωμένοις, οὐ γὰρ ἀνεπαύετο φονῶν οὐτός, τὸ δ’ ἀληθεῖς αὐτοῦ μετα-

1 V Lat. (nuper): νέαν the rest.
2 ἡνεξήθη PM.
3 ὀρμάν. Ἐλεάζαρος γὰρ L: ὀρμᾷ, otrzymać 'Ελ. the rest.
200
BOOK V

(i. 1) Titus having thus, as described above, accomplished the desert march across Egypt to Syria, arrived at Caesarea, the place where he had decided to marshal his forces before the campaign. But already, while he was still at Alexandria, assisting his father to establish the empire which God had recently committed to their hands, it so happened that the civil strife in Jerusalem had reached a fresh climax and become a triangular affair, one of the parties having turned its arms against itself; a discord which, as between criminals, might be called a blessing and a work of justice. Of the Zealots' attack upon the populace—the first step towards the city's ruin—a precise account has already been given, showing its origin and all the mischief in which it culminated. This new development might be not inaccurately described as a faction bred within a faction, which like some raving beast for lack of other food at length preyed upon its own flesh.

(2) For Eleazar, son of Simon, the man who had originally caused the Zealots to break with the citizens and withdraw into the sacred precincts, now—ostensibly from indignation at the enormities daily perpetrated by John, who continued unabated his murderous career, but, in reality, because he could...
JOSEPHUS

6 γενεστέρω τυράννω μη φέρων ὑποτετάχθαι, πόθω τῶν ὀλων καὶ δυναστειάς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμία διώσταται, παραλαβὼν Ἰουδαίην τε τὸν Χελκίαν καὶ Σίμωνα τὸν Ἐσρὼν τῶν δυνατῶν, πρὸς οἷς Ἔζεκίας

7 [Ἡ] τηχνὴ διαδέχεται παῖς οὐκ ἀσήμος. καθ' ἐκαστὸν δὲ οὐκ ὀλγοι τῶν ξηλωτῶν ἡκολούθησαν, καὶ καταλαβόμενοι τὸν ἐνδότερον τοῦ νεῶν περίβολου ὑπὲρ τὰς ἑρᾶς πύλας ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγώνων μετώπων

8 τίθενται τὰ ὅπλα. πλήρεις μὲν οὖν ἐπιτηδείων ὄντες ἐθάρρουν, καὶ γὰρ ἀφθονία τῶν ἑρῶν ἐγίνετο πραγμάτων τοῖς γε μηδὲν ἀσβέσεις ἡγουμένους, ὀλγοτήτι δὲ τῇ κατὰ σφᾶς ὀρρωδοῦντες ἐγναθήμενοι τὰ πολλὰ κατὰ χώραν ἔμενον. ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ὀσον ἀνδρῶν ὑπερείχε πλήθει, τοσοῦτον ἐλείπετο τῶν τόπων, καὶ κατὰ κορυφῆν ἔχων τοὺς πολεμίους οὐτ' ἀδεεῖς ἐποιεῖτο τὰς προσβολὰς.

9 οὐτε δ' ὄργην ἠρέμει· κακούμενοι δὲ πλέον ἦπερ διατιθέντω τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἡλεάζαρον ὅμως οὐκ ἀνιεί, συνεχεῖς δ' ἐκδρομαί καὶ βελῶν ἀφέσεις ἐγίνοντο, καὶ φόνοις ἐμμαίνετο πανταχοῦ τὸ ἑρών.

10 (3) "Ο δὲ τοῦ Γιώρα Σίμων, ὅπως ἐν ταῖς ἀμη-χανίαις ἐπίκλητον αὐτοῦ τυραννον ὁ δήμος ἐλπίδι βοηθείᾳ προσεπήγαγε, τὴν τε ἀνώ πόλιν ἔχων καὶ τῆς κατω πολυ μέρος, ἐρρωμενέστερον ἡδὴ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην προσέβαλλεν ὡς ἄν καὶ καθύπερθεν πολεμουμένους. ἦν δ' ὕπο χείρα προσώπων αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς ἀνωθεν.

11 καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ διήχθει πολεμουμένω συνέβαινε

1 Hudson: Χέλικα (Chelicae Lat.) mss.
2 μετόπων P Exc.
3 δ' ἐν P.A.
4 P: ἐγκαθίσαμενοι or ἐγκαθίσταμενοι the rest.
5 ὅπλα L Exc.
6 + κατ' ἄλληλων C.

202
not brook submission to a tyrant junior to himself, and craved absolute mastery and a despotism of his own—seceded from the party, taking with him Judges son of Chelcias, and Simon son of Esron, persons of weight, along with a man of some distinction, Ezechias son of Chobari. Each of these having a considerable following of Zealots, the seceders took possession of the inner court of the temple and planted their weapons above the holy gates on the sacred façade. Being amply supplied with necessaries they had no fears on that ground, for there was an abundance of consecrated articles for those who deemed nothing impious; but they were daunted by the paucity of their numbers and as a rule sat still and held their ground. On the other hand, John's numerical superiority was counterbalanced by the inferiority of his position: with his enemies over his head, he could neither attack them with impunity, nor would rage allow him to remain inactive. Though suffering more injury than he inflicted on Eleazar and his men, he nevertheless would not desist; thus there were continual sallies and showers of missiles, and the temple on every side was defiled with carnage.

(3) Then there was Simon, son of Gioras, whom the people in their straits had summoned in hope of relief, only to impose upon themselves a further tyrant. He occupied the Upper and a large part of the Lower City, and now attacked John's party more vigorously, seeing that they were also assailed from above; but he was attacking them from beneath, as were they their foes higher up. John, thus between

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7 L: προσήγαγε most mss.
8 Hudson with Exc.: αὐτὸς mss.
βλάπτεσθαί τε καὶ βλάπτειν [ἐυκόλως],\(^1\) καὶ καθ᾽ ὁσον ἡττάτο τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἑλεάζαρον ὄν ταπεινότερος, τοσοῦτον ἐπιπλεονέκτει τῷ ὤψηλῳ
13 τοῦ Σίμωνος. παρὸ καὶ χειρὶ μὲν τὰς κάτωθεν προσβολὰς ἰσχυρῶς\(^2\) ἐήργε, τοὺς δ᾽ ἀνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατακοντὶζοντας ἀνέστελλε τοῖς ὀργάνοις.
14 ὀξυβελεῖς τε γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ καταπέλται παρήσαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ λιθοβόλοι, δι᾽ ὃν οὐ μόνον ἡμῖνετο τοὺς πολεμοῦντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἱερουρ-
15 γούντων ἀνήρει. καίπερ γὰρ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀσέβειαν ἐκλελυσηκότες, ὀμοὶ τοὺς θύειν ἐθέλοντας εἰσιν ἁφίεσαι, μεθ᾽ ὑποψίων μὲν καὶ φυλακῆς τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, διερευνώμενοι δὲ τοὺς ἔξενους.\(^3\) οἱ καίπερ περὶ τὰς εἰσόδους δυσωπήσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὁμότητα παρανάλωμα τῆς στάσεως ἐγένοτο.
16 τὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀργάνων βῆλη μέχρι τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ τοῦ νεω διὰ τὴν βίαν ὑπερφερόμενα τοῖς τε 17 ἱερεύσι καὶ τοῖς ἱερουργοῦσι ἐνέπιπτε, καὶ πολλοὶ σπευσάντες ἀπὸ γῆς περάτων περὶ τῶν διώνυμον καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώπως χῶρον ἄγον πρὸ τῶν θυμάτων ἐπεσον αὐτοῖ καὶ τὸν Ἑλλησ πᾶσι καὶ βαρβάροις σεβάσμοιν βωμὸν κατεσπείσαν ἰδίῳ φόνῳ, νεκροῖς δ᾽ ἐπιχωρίοις ἄλλοφυλοί καὶ ἱερεῦσι βέβηλοι συνεφύροντο, καὶ παυτοδαπῶν αἵμα πτωμάτων ἐν τοῖς θείοις περιβόλοις ἐλμυνάζετο.
18 φόνῳ, νεκροῖς δ᾽ ἐπιχωρίοις ἄλλόφυλοι καὶ ἱερεῦσι βεβηλοί συνεφύροντο, καὶ παυτοδαπῶν αἵμα πτωμάτων ἐν τοίς θείοις περιβόλοις ἐλμυνάζετο.
19 τί τηλικοῦτον, ὧ τηλιμονεστάτη πόλις, πέπονθασ ὑπὸ Ἡρωμαίων, οἵ σου τὰ ἐμφύλια μύσι πυρὶ

\(^1\) om. Lat.
\(^2\) εὐμαρῶς LVRC.
\(^3\) τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους διερευνώμενοι, τοὺς δὲ ἔξενους ἀδεέστερον LC Exc.
\(^4\) ἐπὶ L Exc. Lat.

\(^a\) “Stone-throwers” = ballistae. “Quick-firers” = a species of catapult for discharging arrows, perhaps scorpion es (Hudson); cf. iii. 80 note.
two fires, found losses befall him as easily as he inflicted them; and the disadvantage from which he suffered in being lower than Eleazar was proportionate to his advantage over Simon in virtue of his higher position. Consequently, while he stoutly repelled attacks from below with hand missiles, he reserved his engines to check the hail of javelins from the temple above; for he was amply supplied with "quick-firers," catapults and "stone-throwers," with which he not only beat off his assailants but also killed many of the worshippers. For although these frenzied men had stopped short of no impiety, they nevertheless admitted those who wished to offer sacrifices, native Jews suspiciously and with precaution, strangers after a thorough search; yet these, though successful at the entrances in deprecating their cruelty, often became casual victims of the sedition. For the missiles from the engines flew over with such force that they reached the altar and the sanctuary, lighting upon priests and sacrificers; and many who had sped from the ends of the earth to gather round this far-famed spot, reverenced by all mankind, fell there themselves before their sacrifices, and sprinkled with libations of their own blood that altar universally venerated by Greeks and barbarians. The dead bodies of natives and aliens, of priests and laity, were mingled in a mass, and the blood of all manner of corpses formed pools in the courts of God. What misery to equal that, most wretched city, hast thou suffered at the hands of the Romans, who entered to

\[b\] Or (with the other reading) "native Jews after a suspicious and cautious search, strangers with less apprehension."

\[c\] Or perhaps "successful in gaining entry by making them blush for their cruelty."

\[d\] Or "before offering."
καθαροῦντες εἰςήλθον; θεοῦ μὲν γὰρ οὕτε ἦς ἐτὶ χῶρος οὕτε μένειν ἐδύνασο, τάφος οἰκείων γενομένη σωμάτων καὶ πολέμου τὸν ναὸν ἐμφυλίου ποιήσασα 2 πολυάνδριον. δύναιο δὲ ἁν γενέσθαι πάλιν ἀμείνων, εἰγε ποτὲ τὸν πορθήσαντα θεὸν ἐξιλάσῃ. ἀλλὰ καθεκτέον γὰρ καὶ τὰ πάθη τῷ νόμῳ τῆς γραφῆς, ὥς οὐκ ὀλοφυρμῶν οἰκείων ὁ καιρὸς, ἀλλ’ ἀφηγήσεως πραγμάτων. δίεμι δὲ τὰ ἐξῆς ἔργα τῆς στάσεως.

21 (4) Τριγῆ τῶν ἐπιβούλων τῆς πόλεως διηρημένων οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἑλεάζαρον τὰς ἱερὰς ἀπαρχάς διαφυλάσσοντες κατὰ τοῦ Ἰωάννου τὴν μέθην ἐφερον, οἱ δὲ σὺν τοῦτῳ διαρπάζοντες τοὺς δημοτῶς Ἥγειροντο κατὰ τοῦ Σύμωνος. ἢν δὲ κάκεινῳ τροφῇ κατὰ τῶν ἀντιστασιστῶν ἢ πόλις. ὅποτε μὲν οὖν ἀμφιτέτωθεν ἐπιχειροῖτο, τοὺς συνόντας ὁ Ἰωάννης ἀντέστρεφε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀνείχας ἀπὸ τῶν στοιῶν βάλλων, τοὺς δ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατακοντίζοντας ἡμὺντο τοῖς ὁργάνοις. εἰ δ’ ἐλευθερωθεὶς ποτὲ τῶν καθύπερθεν ἐπικειμένων, διανέπαυε δ’ αὐτοῦς πολλάκις μέθη [τε] καὶ κάματος, ἀδεέστερον τοῖς περὶ τὸν Σύμωνα μετὰ πλείονων ἐπεξέθεεν. ἀεὶ δ’ ἐφ’ ὅσον τρέφατο τῆς πόλεως ὑπεπίμπρα τὰς

1 πυρὶ καθαροῦντες Lat. (πυρὶ καθαίροντες L Exc.), cf. iv. 323: περικαθαίροντες (περὶ καθ.) the rest.
2 Hudson (constitueras Lat.): πληγάσα μss.
3 συγγραφής MVRC.

a Cf. Baruch iv. 18-21: “For he that brought these plagues upon you will deliver you from the hand of your enemies. . . . Cry unto God and he shall deliver you.” Josephus would have countenanced the plea for penitence.
JEWISH WAR, V. 19-24

purge with fire thy internal pollutions? For thou wert no longer God's place, nor couldest thou survive, after becoming a sepulchre for the bodies of thine own children and converting the sanctuary into a charnel-house of civil war. Yet might there be hopes for an amelioration of thy lot, if ever thou wouldst propitiate that God who devastated thee! However, the laws of history compel one to restrain even one's emotions, since this is not the place for personal lamentations but for a narrative of events. I therefore proceed to relate the after history of the sedition.

(4) The conspirators against the city being now divided into three camps, Eleazar's party, having the keeping of the sacred first-fruits, directed their drunken fury against John; the latter with his associates plundered the townsfolk and wreaked their rage upon Simon; while Simon also to meet the rival factions looked to the city for supplies. Whenever John found himself attacked on both sides, he would face his men about in opposite directions, on the one hand hurling missiles from the porticoes upon those coming up from the town, on the other repelling with his engines those who were pouring their javelins upon him from the temple; but if ever he were relieved from pressure from above—and intoxication and fatigue often produced a cessation of this fire—he would sally out with more confidence and in greater strength against Simon. And, to whatever part of the city he turned his steps, his invariable

in the former portion of that book, but not the vindictive spirit which appears in the latter part (written after A.D. 70), and which ultimately led to the fierce outbreaks under Trajan and Hadrian.

b Cf. the proem to B.J. i. 11 f.
οἰκίας σίτου μεστὰς καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἐπιτηδεύων·
tὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ πάλιν ὑποχωροῦντος ἐπίων ὁ Σίμων
ἐπραττέν, ὡσπερ ἐπίτηδες Ἡρωμαῖος διαφθείροντες
ἀ παρεσκευάσατο πρὸς πολιορκίαν ἡ πόλις, καὶ
τὰ νεῦρα τῆς αὐτῶν ὑποκόπτοντες δυνάμεως.
25 συνέβη γοῦν τὰ [μὲν] περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πάντα συμ-
φλεγῆναι καὶ μεταίχμιον ἐρημίας γενέσθαι παρα-
τάξεως οἰκείας τῆν πόλιν, κατακαθήναι δὲ πλή
ὸλγοῦ πάντα τὸν σῖτον, ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐπ᾽
26 ὄλγα διήρκεσεν ἐτή πολιορκουμένως. Λιμῷ γοῦν
εάλωσαν, ὁπερ' ἦκιστα δυνατὸν ἢν, εἰ μὴ τούτων
αὐτοῖς προπαρεσκεύασαν.
27 (5) Πανταχόθεν δὲ τῆς πόλεως πολεμομυμένης
ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιβοῦλων καὶ συγκλύδων μέσος ὁ
28 δῆμος ὡσπερ μέγα σῶμα διεσπαράσσετο. γηραιοὶ
dὲ καὶ γυναικὲς ὑπ᾽ ἀμηχανίας [τῶν εἰσω κακῶν]²
ηὔχοντο Ἡρωμαῖος³ καὶ τὸν ἐξωθεὶν πόλεμον ἐπ᾽
29 ἐλευθερία τῶν εἰσω κακῶν ἐκαραδόκουν. κατά-
πληξῖς δὲ δεινῇ καὶ δεός ᾗ τοῖς γνησίοις, καὶ
οὔτε βουλῆς καίρος εἰς μεταβολὴν οὔτε συμβάσεως
30 ἐλπὶς οὔτε φυγῆς⁴ τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐφροφυρέτο γὰρ
πάντα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ στασιάζοντες οἱ ἀρχηγοὶ
tοὺς εἰρημικὰ Ἡρωμαῖος φρονοῦντας ἢ πρὸς
αὐτομαλίαν ὑπόπτους ὡς κοινοὺς πολεμίους ἀν-
ήροιν καὶ μόνον ἁμονόον τὸ φονεύειν τοὺς σωτῆ-
31 ρίας ἀξίους. καὶ τῶν μὲν μαχομένων ἀδιάλειπτος
нная κραυγὴ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτωρ, δεινότεροι
32 δὲ οἱ τῶν πενθοῦντων ὀδυρμοὶ δέει.⁵ καὶ θρήνων

1 ὡσπερ PAL.: qua Lat.: whence ὡσπερ Destinon.
2 Perhaps accidentally repeated from below.
3 Destinon: Ἡρωμαῖος MSS.

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practice was to set light to the buildings stocked with corn and all kinds of provisions, and upon his retreat Simon advanced and did the same; as though they were purposely serving the Romans by destroying what the city had provided against a siege and severing the sinews of their own strength. At all events the result was that all the environs of the temple were reduced to ashes, the city was converted into a desolate no man’s land for their domestic warfare, and almost all the corn, which might have sufficed them for many years of siege, was burnt up. Through famine certainly the city fell, a fate which would have been practically impossible, had they not prepared the way for it themselves.

(5) The city being now on all sides beset by these battling conspirators and their rabble, between them the people, like some huge carcase, was torn in pieces. Old men and women in their helplessness prayed for the coming of the Romans and eagerly looked for the external war to liberate them from their internal miseries. Loyal citizens, for their part, were in dire despondency and alarm, having no opportunity for planning any change of policy, no hope of coming to terms or of flight, if they had the will; for watch was kept everywhere, and the brigand chiefs, divided on all else, put to death as their common enemies any in favour of peace with the Romans or suspected of an intention to desert, and were unanimous only in slaughtering those deserving of deliverance. The shouts of the combatants rang incessantly by day and night, but yet more harrowing were the mourners’ terrified lamentations. Their

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4 LC Exc. Lat.: φυγή the rest.
5 PAM Lat.: ἀεὶ the rest.
μὲν αἰτίας ἐπαλλήλους αἱ συμφοραὶ προσέφερον, 
τὰς δὲ οἴμωγας ἐνέκλειεν ἡ κατάπληξις αὐτῶν, 
φιμούμενοι δὲ τὰ γε πάθη τῷ φόβῳ μεμυκόσι 
33 τοῖς στεναγμοῖς ἐβασανίζοντο. καὶ οὕτε πρὸς 
τοὺς ζώντας ἢν αἰῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς προσήκουσιν οὕτε 
πρόνοια τῶν ἀπολωλότων ταφῆς. αἰτίον δὲ ἀμφο-
τέρων ἡ καθ' ἕαυτὸν ἀπόγνωσις ἐκάστου· παρεῖσαν 
γὰρ εἰς πάντα τὰς προθυμίας οἱ μὴ στασιάζοντες 
34 ὡς ἀπολούμενοι πάντως ὅσον οὐδέπω. πατοῦντες 
δὴ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐπ' ἀλλήλους σεσωρευμένους οἱ 
στασιασταὶ συνεπλέκοντο καὶ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν [ἀπὸ] 
τῶν ἐν ποσὶ πτωμάτων σπώντες ἦσαν ἀγριώτεροι. 
35 προσεξευρίσκοντες δὲ ἀεὶ τι καθ' αὐτῶν ὀλέθριον 
καὶ πᾶν τὸ δοξθὲν ἀφειδώς δρώντες οὐδεμίαν οὕτ' 
36 αἰκίας ὅδον οὕτε ὠμότητος παρέλειπον. ἀμέλει 
Ἰωάννης τὴν ἱερὰν ὑλὴν εἰς πολεμιστηρίων κατα-
σκευὴν ὀργάνων ἀπεχρήσατο· δόξαν γὰρ ποτὲ τῷ 
λαῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιερεύσιν ὑποστηρίζαντας τὸν 
ναόν εἴκοσι πῆχεις προσυψώσαι, κατάγει μὲν ἀπὸ 
τοῦ Λιβάνου μεγίστοις ἀναλώμαι καὶ πόνοις 
τὴν χρήσιμον ὑλὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἄγριππας, ξύλα 
θέας ἄξια τὴν τε εὐθύτητα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος· 
37 μεσολαβήσαντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τὸ ἐργὸν Ἰωάννης 
τεμὼν αὐτὰ πύργους κατεσκεύασεν, ἐξαρκοῦν 
τὸ μῆκος εὐρῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθύπερθεν 
38 ἱεροῦ μαχομένους, ἴστησι τε προσαγαγὼν κατόπιν 
τοῦ περιβόλου τῆς πρὸς δύσων ἔξεδρας ἀντικρυς,

1 om. ΡΔ: so Destinon, reading ἀπόνοιαν for ἀπόνοιαν, 
"sniffing the exhalations from," etc.

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calamities provided, indeed, perpetual cause for grief, but consternation locked their wailings within their breasts, and while fear suppressed all outward emotion they were tortured with stifled groans. No regard for the living was any longer paid by their relations, no thought was taken for the burial of the dead—negligences both due to personal despair; for those who took no part in sedition lost interest in everything, momentarily expecting certain destruction. The rival parties, meanwhile, were at grips, trampling over the dead bodies that were piled upon each other, the frenzy inhaled from the corpses at their feet increasing their savagery; and ever inventing some new instrument of mutual destruction and unsparingly putting every plan into practice, they left untried no method of outrage or brutality. Indeed John actually misappropriated the sacred timber for the construction of engines of war. For the people and the chief priests having decided in the past to underpin the sanctuary and to raise it twenty cubits higher, King Agrippa\(^a\) had, at immense labour and expense, brought down from Mount Libanus the materials for that purpose, beams that for straightness and size were a sight to see. But the war having interrupted the work, John, finding them long enough to reach his assailants on the temple above, had them cut and made into towers, which he then brought up and placed in the rear of the inner court, opposite the western hall,\(^b\) where

\(^{a}\) Agrippa II.

\(^{b}\) Or "recess," opening from the portico surrounding the \textit{vabs}, in the middle of the west wall of the inner court; the translation "gate-room" (Hastings, \textit{D.B.} s.v. "Temple") is unsuitable, because there was no gate at this point (v. 200).
Henry and mony dunameon hyn, toin allon merow baebmois parrouben dieilhmenow.

39 (6) Kai o men tois katakeusastein ex anebieias oryanois krateis einaip twn exbrow, o de theos axrhstotn autw ton ponon apeudeixe prw episthasai tina twn purkwn 'Rwmiais epagagwv.

40 o gar di Titos epidh ta men senvyage ths dunameis prois auton, tois di eti 'Ierousolymon sunantven epistleias,1 exhalwve ths Kaisareias.

41 hyn de tria men ta proteron autov tw patri swnhmasanta thn 'Ioudaiain tagnata kai to palai sov Kesth tw ptaisan dowdekaton, oper kai allas episemun di anderiain uparxov tote kata mnvmh

42 dvn epavan eis amunan hiei prothymoteron. touvnon men oiv to pempton di 'Ammaois ekelense autw sunantven kai dia 'Ierichoventos to dekaton ana-bainev, autos de anezeveve meta twn loipwv, prois ois ai te twv basilewn swnmahiai polv plieous kai synxoi twv apd ths Suryias epiv-kouroi sunhlyovon. anepilhrothi de kai twv tes-sarwv tagnmatow osen Ouseaspersianos epilezas Moukianw sunepemvven eis 'Italian ek twv epel-thonton meta Titon. dixhliov men gar autw twv ap 'Alxandreiaw stratemmatwv epilektov, tris-chliov de sunepontw twn ap' Eufratwv fulakwv.

45 filwv de dokimwta tos evnoiavn te kai suneisw Tiberios 'Alxandros, proteron men autois thn

46 Aignpton diepywv, tote de twn stratemmatov

1 L: epstellew (epstellewen) the rest.
2 P: palw A: palai L (? h palai Lat.): pasai the rest.
alone this was practicable, the other sides being cut off from approach by flights of steps.

(6) With the aid of the engines thus impiously constructed John hoped to master his foes, but God rendered his labour vain by bringing the Romans upon the scene before he had set a single man upon his towers. For Titus, having assembled part of his forces at headquarters and sent orders to the rest to join him at Jerusalem, was now on the march from Caesarea. He had the three legions \(^a\) which under his father had previously ravaged Judaea, and the twelfth which under Cestius had once been defeated; \(^b\) this legion, bearing a general reputation for valour, now, with the recollection of what it had suffered, advanced with the greater alacrity for revenge. Of these he directed the fifth to join him by the Emmaus route and the tenth to ascend by way of Jericho; while he himself set out with the others, being further attended by the contingents from the allied kings, in greatly increased strength, and by a considerable body of Syrian auxiliaries. The gaps in the four legions caused by the drafts which Vespasian had sent with Mucianus to Italy \(^c\) were filled by the new troops brought up by Titus. For two thousand picked men from the armies at Alexandria and three thousand guards from the Euphrates accompanied him. With these was the most tried of all his friends for loyalty and sagacity, Tiberius Alexander, \(^d\) hitherto in charge of Egypt in the interests of Titus and his father, and now deemed worthy to take

\(^a\) V, X, and XV, B. iii. 65.
\(^b\) ii. 500-555.
\(^c\) iv. 632.
\(^d\) For the diversified career of this distinguished Alexandrian Jew see ii. 220 note.
47 (ii. 1) Προϊόντι δὲ εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν Τίτῳ προῆγεν μὲν οἱ βασιλικοὶ καὶ πάν τὸ συμμαχικόν, ἐφ' ὅις ὀδοποιοὶ καὶ μετρηταὶ στρατοπέδων, ἐπειτα τὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων σκευοφόρα καὶ μετὰ τοὺς τούτων ὀπλίτας αὐτὸς τοὺς τε ἀλλοὺς ἐπιλέκτους καὶ τοὺς λογχοφόρους ἑξών, κατόπιν δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ τάγματος τὸ ἐπικόν· οὕτοι δὲ πρὸ τῶν μηχανημάτων, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μετ' ἐπιλέκτων χυλι- αρχοι καὶ σπειρῶν ἐπαρχοι, μετὰ δὲ τούτων περὶ τὸν αἰετὸν αἱ σημαίαι, καὶ ἐμπροσθεν οἱ σαλπιγκταὶ τῶν σημαιῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἡ φάλαγξ τὸ στίφος εἰς ἐξ πλατύνασα. τὸ δ’ οἰκετικὸν ἐκάστου τάγματος ὀπίσω καὶ πρὸ τούτων τὰ σκευοφόρα, τελευταίοι δὲ πάντων οἱ μίσθιοι καὶ τούτων φύλακες οὐραγοί. προάγων δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐν κόσμῳ, καθὰ 'Ρωμαίοις σύνθεσις, ἐμβάλλει διὰ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος εἰς Γόφνα κατειλημμένην τε πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τότε φρουρουμένην. 51 ἐνθα μίαν ἐσπέραν δ' αὐλισάμενος ὑπὸ τὴν ἐω πρόεισι, καὶ διανύσας ἡμέρας σταθμὸν στρατο- πεδεύεται κατὰ τὸν ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων πατρίως Ἀκαδίων αὐλῶνα καλοῦμενον πρὸς τινὶ κώμη

1 Hudson with Lat.: ἄρχων mss. (om. M).
2 ἐτ' ἀδήλῳ Niese; ἐτ' ἀδήλῳ (cf. vii. 104) is possible.
3 LC Lat.: ἡμέραν the rest.
command of these armies, because he had been the
first to welcome the dynasty just arising and with
splendid faith had attached himself to its fortunes
while they were still uncertain. Pre-eminent more-
over, through years and experience, as a counsellor
in the exigencies of war, he now accompanied Titus.

(ii. 1) As Titus advanced into enemy territory,
his vanguard consisted of the contingents of the
kings with the whole body of auxiliaries. Next to
these were the pioneers and camp-measurers, then
the officers’ baggage-train; behind the troops pro-
tecting these came the commander-in-chief, escorted
by the lancers and other picked troops, and followed
by the legionary cavalry. These were succeeded by
the engines, and these by the tribunes and prefects
of cohorts with a picked escort; after them and
surrounding the eagle came the ensigns preceded
by their trumpeters, and behind them the solid
column, six abreast. The servants attached to each
legion followed in a body, preceded by the baggage-
train. Last of all came the mercenaries with a rear-
guard to keep watch on them. Leading his army
forward in this orderly array, according to Roman
usage, Titus advanced through Samaria to Gophna,
previously captured by his father and now garrisoned.
After resting here one night he set forward at dawn,
and at the end of a full day’s march encamped in the
valley which is called by the Jews in their native
tongue "Valley of thorns," close to a village named

\* The following description should be compared with that
of Vespasian’s army on the march into Galilee, iii. 115-126.
\* Cf. iii. 123.
\* Jufna, some 13 miles N. of Jerusalem; for Vespasian’s
capture of the "toparchy" of Gophna see iv. 551.
JOSEPHUS

Γαβαθ Σαολι λεγομένη, σημαίνει δε τούτο λόφον Σαούλου, διέχων απὸ τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων ὅσον ἀπὸ 52 τριάκοντα σταδίων. ἀναλαβὼν δὲ ἐντεύθεν ὅσον εἰς ἔξακοσίους τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἱππέων ἥκε τὴν τε πόλιν περισκεφόμενος, ὅπως χυρότητος ἔχει, καὶ τὰ φρονήματα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, εἰ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ πρὶν εἰς χείρας ἐλθείν ὑποδείχαντες 53 ἐνδοίεν: πέπυστο1 γάρ, ὅπερ ἦν ἄληθες, τοῖς στασιώδεσι καὶ ληστρικοῖς τὸν δήμον ὑποπεττή- χότα ποθεῖν μὲν εἰρήνην, ἀσθενεστέρον δὲ ὄντα τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως ἡρμείν.

54 (2) "Ἔως μὲν ὁσίθιον ἐππάζετο τὴν λεωφόρον κατατείνουσαν πρὸς τὸ τείχος οὖδεὶς προσφαίνετο 55 τῶν πυλῶν, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ψήφινον πύργον ἀποκλίνας πλάγιον ἦγε τὸ τῶν ἱππέων στίφος, προπηδήσαντες ἤσαίνης ἄπειροι κατὰ τοὺς Γυναικείους καλουμένους πῦργους διὰ τῆς ἀντικροῦ τῶν Ἐλενῆς μνημείων πύλης διεκπαίουσι 56 τῆς ἱπποῦ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν θέοντας ἀντιμέτωποι στάντες ἐκώλυσαν συνάψας τοῖς ἐκκλίνας, τὸν δὲ Τίτον ἀποτέμνοντας σὺν ὀλίγοις.

57 ὅ δέ πρόσω μὲν ἦν χωρεῖν ἀδύνατον: ἐκτετά- φρευτο γάρ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους περὶ τὰς κηπείας ἀπάντα, τοῖχοις2 τε ἐπικαρισίοις καὶ πολλοῖς ἔρκεσι 58 διειλημμένα: τὴν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς σφετέρους ἀναδρομὴν πληθεὶ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ πολεμίων ἀμήχανον ἐώρα

1 Hudson with Lat. and one ms.: πέπυστο the rest.
2 PA: κῆποις the rest.

* Gibeah of (i.e. birthplace of) Saul, 1 Sam. xi. 4, identified with Tell el-Ful, about 4 miles N. of Jerusalem. The "valley of thorns" may be a branch of the Wady Suweinit (= "valley of the little acacias"); the main valley so 216
Gabath Saul,\(^a\) which means "Saul's hill," at a distance of about thirty furlongs from Jerusalem. From here, with some six hundred picked horsemen, he rode forward to reconnoitre the city's strength and to test the mettle of the Jews, whether, on seeing him, they would be terrified into surrender before any actual conflict; for he had learnt, as indeed was the fact, that the people were longing for peace, but were overawed by the insurgents and brigands and remained quiet merely from inability to resist.

(2) So long as he rode straight along the high road leading direct to the wall,\(^b\) no one appeared outside the gates; but when he diverged from the route and led his troop of horse in an oblique line towards the tower Psephinus,\(^c\) the Jews suddenly dashed out in immense numbers at a spot called "the Women's towers," through the gate facing Helena's\(^d\) monuments, broke through the cavalry, and placing themselves in front of those who were still galloping along the road, prevented them from joining their comrades who had left it, thus cutting off Titus with a handful of men. For him to proceed was impossible, because the ground outside the ramparts was all cut up by trenches for gardening purposes and intersected by cross walls and numerous fences; while to rejoin his own men was, he saw, impracticable owing to the intervening masses of the enemy and the retirement named, however, runs to the E. and N. of Gibeah of Saul (through another Gibeah or Geba, which cannot here be intended).

\(^a\) Probably towards the present Damascus gate.
\(^b\) At the N.W. angle of the third wall, v. 159.
\(^c\) Queen of Adiabene and a convert to Judaism, A. xx. 17 ff. Her tomb is mentioned as a landmark in B. v. 119, 147, and her palace in v. 253.
καὶ τραπέντας τοὺς ἀνὰ τὴν λεῳφόρον, ὥν οἱ πολλοὶ μηδὲ γινώσκοντες τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως κύνδυνον, ἀλλὰ οἴομενοι συναναστραφῆναι κάκεινον
59 ἀνέφευγον. ὁ δὲ κατιδῶν ὡς ἐν μόνῃ τῇ καθ’ αὐτὸν ἄλκηι κεῖται τὸ σώζεσθαι τὸν τε ἵππον ἐπιστρέφει καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐμβοήσας ἐπεσθαὶ
μέσοις ἐμπηδὰ τοῖς πολεμίωις, διεκπαίσαι πρὸς
60 τοὺς σφετέρους βιαζόμενος. ἔνθα δὴ μάλιστα παρέστη νοεῖν, ὅτι καὶ πολέμων ῥοπαὶ καὶ
61 βασιλέων κύνδυνοι μέλονται θεῷ τοσούτων γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν Τίτον ἀφιεμένων βελῶν μήτε κράνος ἔχοντα μήτε θώρακα, προῆλθε γὰρ ὡς ἐφὴν οὐ
πολεμιστῆς ἀλλὰ κατάσκοπος, οὐδὲν ἥματο τοῦ σώματος, κενὰ δ’ ἄσπερ ἐπίτηδες ἀστοχοῦντων
62 παρερροιζεῖτο πάντα. ὁ δὲ ἐξεῖν τοὺς κατὰ πλευρὰν ἀεὶ διαστέλλων καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἀντι-
προσώπων ἀνατρέπων ἠλαυνεν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐρειπο-
63 μένους τὸν ἱππον. τῶν δὲ κραυγῇ τε ἣν πρὸς
tὸ παράστημα τοῦ Καύσαρος καὶ παρακέλευσις ὀρμᾶν ἐπὶ αὐτὸν, φυγῇ δὲ καὶ χωρὶς ὁμος ἢθρους
64 καθ’ οὓς ἐπελαύνων γένοιτο. συνῆπτον δ’ οἱ τοῦ
κυνδύνου μετέχοντες κατὰ νότα καὶ κατὰ πλευρὰν
νυσσόμενοι· μία γὰρ ἑλπὶς ἣν σωτηρίας ἐκάστῳ
τὸ συνεξαντευν’ τῷ Τίτῳ [καὶ] μὴ φθάσαντα
65 κυκλωθήναι. δύο γοῦν τῶν ἀπωτέρως τῶν μὲν
σὺν τῷ ἵππῳ περισχόντες κατηκόντωςαν, θάτερον
dὲ καταπεδήσαντα διαφθείραντες τὸν ἵππον ἀπ-
ήγαγον, μετὰ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Τίτος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατό-
66 πεδον διασώζεται. τοῖς μὲν οὖν Ἰουδαίοις πλεο-
νεκτήσασι κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐπίθεσιν ἐπήγειρε
of his comrades on the highway, most of whom, unaware of the prince’s peril and believing that he too had turned simultaneously, were in full retreat. Perceiving that his safety depended solely on his personal prowess, he turned his horse’s head and shouting to his companions to follow dashed into the enemy’s midst, struggling to cut his way through to his own party. Then, more than ever, might the reflection arise that the hazards of war and the perils of princes are under God’s care; for, of all that hail of arrows discharged at Titus, who wore neither helmet nor cuirass—for he had gone forward, as I said, not to fight, but to reconnoitre—not one touched his person, but, as if his assailants purposely missed their mark, all whizzed harmless by. He, meanwhile, with his sword constantly dispersing those on his flank and prostrating multitudes who withstood him to the face, rode his horse over his fallen foes. At Caesar’s intrepidity the Jews shouted and cheered each other on against him, but wherever he turned his horse there was flight and a general stampede. His comrades in danger closed up to him, riddled in rear and flank; for each man’s one hope of escape lay in pushing through with Titus before he was cut off. Two, in fact, further behind, thus fell: one with his horse was surrounded and speared, the other who dismounted was killed and his steed led off to the city; with the remainder Titus safely reached the camp. The Jews thus successful in their first onset were elated with in-

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1 After Lat. (potuit): παρέστη L: πάρεστι μοι PA: παρέστη μοι the rest.
2 P: τῷ the rest.
3 PAM: διαχωρισμὸς the rest.
4 L: συνεξανοίγειν the rest.
5 ἀτονωτέρων L Lat.
τὰς διανοίας ἀσκεπτος ἐλπίς, καὶ πολὺ θάρσος αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ μέλλον [ἡ] πρόσκαιρος ῥοπὴ προὐζένει.

67 (3) Καὶσαρ δ’ ὡς αὐτῷ συνέμιξε διὰ νυκτὸς τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀμμαοῦς τάγμα, μεθ’ ἠμέραν ἐκεῖθεν ἁρας ἐπὶ τὸν Σκοπὸν καλούμενον πρόεισιν,1 ἐνθὲν ἡ τε πόλις ήδη κατεφαίνετο καὶ τὸ τοῦ ναοῦ μέγεθος ἐκλάμπον, καθὰ τῷ βορείῳ κλίματι τῆς πόλεως χθαμαλὸς συνάπτων ὁ χώρος ἐτύμως 68 Σκοπὸς ἀνόμασταί. τῆς δὲ πόλεως σταδίους ἐπτὰ διέχων ἐκεῖθεσθαι περιβαλέσθαι στρατόπεδον τοῖς δύο τάγμασιν ὁμοί, τὸ δὲ πέμπτον τούτων ὀπίσω τριος σταδίους: κόπω γὰρ τῆς διὰ νυκτὸς πορείας τετριμμένους2 ἐδόκει σκέπης ἄξιον εἶναι, 69 ὡς ἂν ἀδεέστερον τειχίσαμον. καταρχομένων δ’ ἀρτι τῆς δομῆσεως καὶ τὸ δέκατον τάγμα διὰ Ἰεριχοῦντος ἡδη παρῆν, ἐνθα καθηστό τις ὀπλιτικὴ μοίρα φρουρόσα τὴν ἐμβολὴν ὑπὸ Οὐθεσπασιανοῦ 70 προκατειλημμένην. προσετέκτικτο δ’ αὐτοῖς ἔξ ἀπέχοντας τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων σταδίους στρατοπεδεύσασθαι κατὰ τὸ Ἐλαιῶν καλούμενον ὄρος, δ’ τῇ πόλει πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἀντίκειται μέση φάραγγι βαθείᾳ διεργόμενον, ἡ Κεδρῶν ἀνόμασται.

71 (4) Τῶν δ’ ἀνὰ τὸ ἀστυ συρρηγνυμένων ἀδιαλείπτως τότε πρῶτον ἀνέπαυσαν τὴν ἐπ’ ἀλλήλοις ἔριν ὃ ἐξειθεὶς πόλεμος ἐξαίφνης πολὺς ἐπελθών·

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1 πρόεισιν Bekker: πρόσεισιν mss.  2 τετριμμένουs Niese.

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a The phrase θάρσος προὐζένει comes from Soph. Trach. 726.
b Legion V, § 42.
c i.e. “Look-out man” (“look-out place” = Scopia); the Semitic name was Saphein (cf. Mizpah, “look-out place”) according to A. xi. 329. Here Cestius, with the 12th legion, 220
considerate hopes, and this transient turn of fortune afforded them high confidence as to the future.

(3) Caesar, being joined during the night by the legion from Emmaus, next day broke up his camp and advanced to Scopus, as the place is called from which was obtained the first view of the city and the grand pile of the temple gleaming afar; whence the spot, a low prominence adjoining the northern quarter of the city, is appropriately named Scopus. Here, at a distance of seven furlongs from the city, Titus ordered one combined camp to be formed for two of the legions, and the fifth to be stationed three furlongs in their rear; considering that men worn out with the fatigue of a night's march deserved to be screened from molestation while throwing up their entrenchments. Scarcely had they begun operations when the tenth legion also arrived, having come by way of Jericho, where a party of soldiers had been posted to guard the pass formerly taken by Vespasian. These troops had orders to encamp at a distance of six furlongs from Jerusalem at the mount called the Mount of Olives, which lies over against the city on the east, being separated from it by a deep intervening ravine called Kedron.

(4) And now for the first time the mutual dissension of the factions within the town, hitherto incessantly at strife, was checked by the war from without suddenly bursting in full force upon them. The had encamped four years before, B. ii. 528, 542; here, too, Alexander the Great on his approach to the city was met by the high priest and people of Jerusalem, A. loc. cit.

\[d\] XII and XV, §§ 41 f.

\[e\] Cf. § 42.

\[f\] Vespasian had established a camp with a permanent garrison at Jericho, iv. 486 (cf. 450).
72 καὶ μετ’ ἐκπλήξεως οἱ στασισταὶ τοὺς Ἦρωμαίους ἀφορώντες στρατοπεδευμένους τριχῆ κακῆς ὁμοιοίας κατήρχοντο καὶ λόγον ἄλληλοις ἐδίδοσαν,
73 τί μένοιεν ἡ τί παθόντες ἀνέχοντο τρία ταῖς ἀναπνοαῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιφρασσόμενα τείχη, καὶ τοῦ πολεμίου1 μετ’ ἀδείας ἀντιπολίζοντος έαυτὸν, οἱ δ’ ὦσπερ θεαταὶ καλῶν καὶ συμφόρων ἔργων καθέξοντο τειχήρεις, τῷ χείρε καὶ τὰς πανοπλίας
74 παρέντες; "καθ’ αὐτῶν ἄρα γενναίοι μόνον ἠμεῖς," ἐξεβόησαν, "’Ηρωμαίοι δ’ ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας
75 στάσεως κερδήσουσιν ἀναίμωτι τήν πόλιν;" τούτοις ἀθροίζοντες ἄλληλους παρεκρότους, καὶ τὰς πανοπλίας ἀρπάζοντες αἰφνιδίως ἐπεκθέουσι τῷ δεκάτῳ τάγματι καὶ διὰ τῆς φάραγγος ἤξαντες μετὰ κραυγῆς ἐξαισίων τειχιζομένους προσπίπτουσι
76 τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον διηρημένοι καὶ διὰ τούτο τὰ πολλὰ τεθεικότες τῶν ὀπλῶν, οὔτε γὰρ θαρρήσειν2 τοὺς Ἰουδαίους πρὸς ἐκδρομὴν ὑπελάμβανον καὶ προθυμομένων περισπασθήσεσθαι τὰς ὀρμας τῇ στάσει, συνεπάρχῃ-
77 σαν ἀδοκήτως, καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀφέμενοι τινὲς μὲν ἀνεχώρουν ευθέως, πολλοὶ δ’ ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα θέοντες πρὶν ἐπιστραφῆναι πρὸς τοὺς ἔχθροὺς
78 ἐφθάνοντο3 παυόμενοι. προσεγίνοντο δὲ τοῖς Ἰου-
79 δαίοις αἱ πλείοις, ἐπὶ τῷ κρατεὶν τοὺς πρώτους τεθαρρηκότες, καὶ τῶν ὄντων πολλαπλασίους ἔδοκον σφίσαι τε καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις δεξιὰ χρώ-
80 μενοί τῇ τύχῃ. μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς ἐν ἔθει συντάξεως ὄντας καὶ μετὰ κόσμου καὶ παραγγελμάτων

1 Μ: πολέμου the rest.
2 L Lat.: θαρρέων the rest.
3 LC Lat.: ἐφονεύοντο the rest.
rival parties, beholding with dismay the Romans forming three several encampments, started a sorry alliance and began to ask each other what they were waiting for, or what possessed them to let themselves be choked by the erection of three fortifications; the enemy unmolested was building himself a rival city, while they sat behind their ramparts, like spectators of excellent and expedient operations, with hands and weapons idle! "Is then," they exclaimed, "our valour to be displayed only against ourselves, while the Romans, through our party strife, make a bloodless conquest of the city?" Stimulating each other with such language and uniting forces, they seized their weapons, dashed out suddenly against the tenth legion, and racing across the ravine with a terrific shout, fell upon the enemy while engaged upon his fortifications. The latter to facilitate their work were in scattered groups and to this end had laid aside most of their arms; for they imagined that the Jews would never venture upon a sally or that, if moved to do so, their energies would be dissipated by their dissensions. They were therefore taken by surprise and thrown into disorder. Abandoning their work, some instantly retreated, while many rushing for their arms were struck down before they could round upon the foe. The Jews meanwhile were continually being reinforced by others who were encouraged by the success of the first party, and with fortune favouring them seemed both to themselves and to the enemy far in excess of their actual numbers. Moreover, men habituated to discipline and proficient in fighting in ordered ranks and by word of command, when suddenly confronted
Το τοποθετούμενο είδώτας ἄταξία φθάσασα θορυβεῖ. διὸ καὶ τότε προληφθέντες οἱ Ρωμαίοι ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς εἰκον. καὶ ὅποτε μὲν ἐπιστραφεῖν οἱ καταλαμβανόμενοι, τοῦ τε δρόμου τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐπείχον καὶ διὰ τὴν ὅρμην ἦττον φυλαττομένους ἐτίπτωσκον, ἀεί δὲ πληθυσμὸς τῆς ἕκδρομῆς μᾶλλον ταρατόμενοι τελευταίον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τρέ-πονται. καὶ δοκεῖ τότε ἢν κινδυνεύσαι τὸ τάγμα πάν, εἰ μὴ Τίτος ἀγγελθεῖν αὐτῷ τάχους ἐπεβοήθησε, καὶ πολλὰ ὁνειδίσας εἰς ἀνανδρίαν ἐπιστρέφει μὲν τοὺς φεύγοντας, αὐτὸς δὲ πλαγίους τοὺς Ἰουδαίους προσπεφών μεθ' ἄν ἢκεν ἐπιλέκτων συχνῶς μὲν ἀναιρεῖ, τιτρώσκει δὲ πλείους, τρέπεται δὲ πάντας καὶ συνωθεῖ κατὰ τῆς φάραγγος. οἱ δ' εἰ τῷ κατάντει πολλὰ κακωθέντες, ὡς διεξέπεσον, ἀντικρὺς ἐπιστρέφονται καὶ μέσην ἔχουντες τὴν χαράδραν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διεμάχοντο. μέχρι μὲν δὴ μέσης ἡμέρας οὕτως ἐπολέμουν, ὅλιγον δ' ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ἐκκλίνοντος ἡδῆ, Τίτος τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ προσβοηθήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν σπείρων τοὺς ἐκτρέχουσιν ἀντιπαρατάξας τὸ λοιπὸν τάγμα πρὸς τὸν πειχομοῦν ἀνέπεμπεν εἰς τὴν ἀκρώρειαν.

(5) Ἰουδαίους δὲ τοῦτ' ἐδόκει φυγῆ, καὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ καταστείσαντος θυμάτων, δέ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους καθήστο, προπηδῶσι πλῆθος ἀκραιφνέστερον1 μετὰ τοσαύτης ὁρμῆς, ὡς τὸν δρόμον αὐτῶν τοῖς ἀγριωτάτοις εἰκάζειν θηρίοις. ἀμέλει τῶν ἀντιπαραταχθέντων οὐδεὶς ἔμεινεν τὴν συμ-

1 ἀκραιφνέστατον L (frequentissima Lat.).
with disorderly warfare, are peculiarly liable to be thrown into confusion. Hence on this occasion too, the Romans, being taken unawares, gave way to repeated assaults. Whenever, indeed, any were overtaken and turned upon the foe, they checked the Jewish rush and wounded many who in the ardour of pursuit were off their guard; but as more and more Jews sallied out from the town, the disorder of the Romans increased, until they were finally routed from the camp. Indeed, in all probability, the entire legion would then have been in jeopardy, had not Titus, hearing of their position, instantly come to their aid. Roundly chiding their cowardice, he rallied the fugitives and then falling upon the Jews in flank with his band of picked followers, slew many, wounded more, routed the whole body and drove them headlong down into the ravine. They suffered severely on the declivity, but having reached the farther bank turned to face the Romans and, with the brook between them, renewed the combat. So the battle raged till noon; and then shortly after midday Titus, to check further sallies, deployed the reinforcements brought by himself, together with the auxiliary cohorts, and dismissed the remainder of the legion to the ridge to resume their fortification.

(5) The Jews, however, mistook this move for flight, and seeing the watchman, whom they had posted on the ramparts, signalling by shaking his robe, another crowd, perfectly fresh, sprang forth with such impetuosity that their rush was comparable to that of the most savage of beasts. In fact not one of the opposing line awaited their charge, but, as if
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βολήν, ἀλλ’ ὦσπερ ἐξ ὀργάνου παίδωμενοι διέρρηξαν τὴν τάξιν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τραπέντες ἀνέφευγον. 87 λείπεται δ’ ἐν μέσῳ τῷ προσάντει Τίτος μετ’ ὀλίγων, καὶ πολλά τῶν φίλων παρανοῦντων, ὅσοι δ’ αἰδῶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἥγεμόνα τοῦ κυνήγουν 88 καταφρονήσαντες ἔστησαν, εἶξαν θανατῶσιν Ἰου-

δαίοις καὶ μὴ προκυνδυνεῦσιν τούτων, οὕς ἐχρῆν πρὸ αὐτοῦ μένειν, λαμβάνειν δὲ ἔνοιαν τῆς καθ’ αὐτὸν τύχης καὶ μὴ στρατιωτῶν τἀξιν ἀποπληροῦν ὄντα καὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης δεσπότην, μηδ’ ὄξειαν ὦτως ὑφίστασθαι βοσῆν ἐν ὦ σαλεύει 89 τὰ πάντα, τούτων οὐδ’ ἀκούειν ἔδοξε, τοῖς δὲ καθ’ αὐτὸν ἀνατρέχουσιν ἀνθίσταται καὶ κατὰ στόμα παῖσιν βιαζομένους ἀνήρει, κατά τε τοῦ πρανοῦς 90 ἀθρόοις ἐμπίπτων ἀνεῦθει τὸ πλῆθος. οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ παράστημα καὶ τὴν ἱσχὺν καταπλαγέντες οὐδ’ οὕτως μὲν ἀνέφευγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καθ’ ἐκάτερον δ’ ἐκκλίνοντες ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀνωτέρω 

φεύγουσι προσέκειντο. καὶ τούτως δὲ κατὰ πλευ-

91 ραν προσβάλλων τὰς ὄρμας ὑπετέμνετο. καὶ τούτω καὶ τοῖς ἄνω τειχίζοντι τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὡς ἐθεάσαντο τοὺς κατω φεύγοντας, πάλιν ἐμ- 92 πίπτει ταραχῆ καὶ δέος, καὶ διασκιδώνται πᾶν τὸ τάγμα, δοκοῦντων ἀνυπόστατον μὲν εἶναι τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκδρομῆν, τετράφθαι δ’ αὐτὸν Τίτον’ ὦ γὰρ ἂν ποτὲ τοὺς ἀλλούς φεύγειν ἐκεῖνον 93 μένοντος. καὶ καθάπερ πανίκῳ δείματι κυκλω-

θέντες ἀλλος ἀλλαχῆ διεφέροντο, μέχρι τινὲς

1 ἐμβολὴν LC. 2 LVRC Lat.: ἐτερον PAM.

* i.e. apparently “(by a bolt) from an artillery engine”
struck from an engine;\textsuperscript{a} they broke their ranks and
turned and fled up the mountain side, leaving Titus,
with a few followers, half way up the slope. The
friends who out of regard for the commander-in-chief
stood their ground indifferent to danger, all earnestly
entreated him to retire before these Jews who
courted death, and not to risk his life for men who
ought to have remained to protect him; he should
consider what he owed to fortune,\textsuperscript{b} and not act the
part of a common soldier, lord as he was alike of the
war and of the world; he on whom all depended
ought not to face so imminent a risk. These ad-
visers Titus appeared not even to hear, but with-
standing the Jews who were rushing at him up the
hill, confronted, struck and slew them as they pressed
upon him, and then falling upon the masses thrust
them backward down the slope. Yet, terrified
though they were at his intrepidity and strength,
they did not even then retreat to the city, but in-
clining to either side to avoid him continued their
pursuit of those who were flying up the hill; where-
upon he attacked them again in flank, and strove to
check the rush. Meanwhile the troops who were
fortifying the camp above, on seeing their comrades
below in flight, were themselves once more seized
with such consternation and alarm that the whole
legion scattered; for they imagined that the Jewish
charge was irresistible and that Titus himself had
been routed, because the rest would never, they
thought, have fled while he held his ground. Like
men beset by panic, they sped in all directions, until

\textsuperscript{a} Or "consider his peculiar fortune"; for Titus as the
favourite of Fortune cf. vi. 57.

\textsuperscript{b} The obscure simile in ii. 230 possibly bears the same meaning.
κατιδόντες ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ πολέμου τὸν ἠγεμόνα στρεφόμενον καὶ μέγα δείσαντες ἀμφ' αὐτῷ
94 διαβοῶσι τὸν κύδυνον ὅλω τῷ τάγματι. τοὺς δ' αἰδῶς ἐπέστρεφε, καὶ πλεῖον τι φυγῆς κακί-
ζοντες ἄλληλους ἐπὶ τῷ καταλιπεῖν Καίσαρα
πάση βίᾳ κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐχρώντο καὶ
κλίναντες ἀπαξ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατάντους συνώθουν
95 αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ κοίλον. οἱ δ' ὑπὸ πόδα χωροῦντες
ἐμάχοντο, καὶ πλεονεκτοῦντες οἱ Ὁρμαίοι τῷ
καθ' υπερθεν εἶναι συνελαύνοντο πάντας εἰς τὴν
96 φάραγγα. προσέκειτο δὲ τοῖς καθ' αὐτὸν ὁ Τίτος
καὶ τὸ μὲν τάγμα πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν τεχνοποιῶν
ἐπεμψε, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν οἷς πρότερον ἀντιστὰς εἶργε
97 τοὺς πολεμίους· ὥστ', εἰ χρῆ μῆτε θεραπεῖα τι
προστιθέντα μῆθ' ὑφελόντα φθόνω τάληθες εἰπεῖν,
αὐτὸς Καίσαρ δις μὲν ἔρρεσατο κυνδυνεύσαν ὅλον
tὸ τάγμα καὶ τοῦ περιβαλέσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον
αὐτοῖς ἁδειαν παρέσχε.

98 (iii. 1) Λοφήσαντος δὲ πρὸς βραχὺ τοῦ θύραζε
πολέμου πάλιν τὸν ἐνδον ἡ στάσις ἐπήγειρεν.¹
99 καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀξύμων ἐνστάσης ἡμέρας τεσσαρεσ-
καιδεκάτη Ἑλληνικοῦ μηνός, ἐν ἡ δοκοῦσιν Ἰουδαίοι
tὸν πρῶτον ἀπαλλαγῆναι καιρὸν Αἰγυπτίων, οἱ
μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἑλεάζαρον παρανόησι τὰς
πύλας ἐδέχοντο ἐκ τοῦ ὅμοιον τοὺς προσκυνεῖν
100 ἐθέλοντας εἰσώ, Ἰωάννης δὲ προκάλυμμα τῆς
ἐπιβουλῆς ποιησάμενος τὴν ἔορτην τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ
κρυπτοῖς ὁπλοῖς ἐνσκευάσας² τοὺς ἀσημοτέρους,

¹ L Lat.: πάλιν ἐνδον ἡ στάσις ἐπηγείρετο the rest.
² L: συσκευάσας the rest.

* § 82.
some, catching sight of their general in the thickest of the fight and greatly alarmed on his account, with shouts announced his danger to the whole legion. Shame rallied them, and, upbraiding one another with a worse guilt than flight in their desertion of Caesar, they put forth their utmost energies against the Jews and, having once made them give ground, proceeded to thrust them off the slope into the valley. The Jews retired step by step fighting, but the Romans, having the advantage of position finally drove them all into the ravine. Titus, still pressing upon his immediate opponents, now sent the legion back to resume their fortifications, while he, with his former band, a withstood and held the enemy at bay. Thus, if, without a syllable added in flattery or withheld from envy, the truth must be told, Caesar personally twice rescued the entire legion when in jeopardy, and enabled them to intrench themselves in their camp unmolested.

(iii. 1) During a temporary lull in the war without the walls, faction renewed its hostilities within. When the day of unleavened bread came round on the fourteenth of the month Xanthicus, b the reputed anniversary of the Jews' first liberation from Egypt, c Eleazar and his men partly opened the gates and admitted citizens desiring to worship within the building. But John, making the festival a cloak for his treacherous designs, armed with concealed weapons the less conspicuous of his followers, most

b The Macedonian month corresponding to the Hebrew Nisan (March-April).

c The words "reputed" and "first" (as though first of a series of liberations from Egypt) rather suggest the hand of a non-Jewish συνεργός; but "first" may perhaps refer to the later liberation from Babylon.
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ων οἱ πλείους ἦσαν ἀναγινοι, διὰ σπουδῆς παρεισπέμπει προκαταληψομένους τὸ ἱερὸν. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐνδον ἐγένοντο, τὰς ἐσθήτας ἀπορρίματες ἐφάνεν ἦσαν ἐξαιπνηθεὶς ὀπλίται. ταραχὴ δὲ μεγίστη περὶ τὸν ναὸν αὐτίκα καὶ θόρυβος ἦν, τοῦ μὲν ἐξω τῆς στάσεως λαοῦ κατὰ πάντων ἄκριτον οἰωμένων εἶναι τὴν ἐπίθεσιν, τῶν δὲ ζηλωτῶν ἐπὶ σφίσι μόνοις. ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἀφέμενοι τὸ φρουρεῖν ἔτι τὰς πύλας καὶ τῶν ἐπάλξεων κατα-πηδήσαντες πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν εἰς τοὺς ύπονόμους τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατέφυγον· οἱ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ καταπτήσαντες καὶ περὶ τὸν ναὸν συνειλούμενοι κατεπατοῦντο, ξύλοις τε ἀνέδην παιὸμενοι καὶ σιδήρῳ. πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν ἡσυχίων κατ᾽ ἐχθραν καὶ μίσος ἱδιον ὡς ἀντιστασιαστὰς ἀνήρουν οἱ διάφοροι, καὶ πᾶς ὁ προσκρούσας τω τῶν ἐπιβούλων πάλαι τηνικαῦτα ἐπιγνωσθεὶς ὡς ἐξαιπνηθεὶς πρὸς αἰκίαν ἀνήγετο. πολλὰ δὲ δεινὰ τοὺς ἀναιτίους διαθέμενες ἐκεχειρίαν τοὺς αὐτίους ἔδοσαν, καὶ προελθόντας ἐκ τῶν ὑπονόμων διέσαν. αὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐνδοτέρω ἱερὸν κατασχόντες καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ παρασκευὰς πάσας κατεθάρρουν ἤδη τοῦ Ἐμμωνος. ἡ μὲν οὖν στάσις οὕτω τριμερῆς οὕσα πρότερον εἰς δύο μοίρας περιστάται.

(2) Ὅ δὲ Τίτος ἐγγιόν ἀπὸ τοῦ Σκοποῦ τῇ πόλει παραστρατεύσασθαι προαιρούμενος πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἐκτρέχοντας ἐστησεν ἐπιλέξας ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν ὀσοὺς ἀρκεσεν ὑπελάμβανεν, τῇ δ᾽ ὀλη ὅνων δυνάμει προσέταξεν ἐξομαλίζειν τὸ μέχρι 230
of whom were unpurified, and by his earnest endeavours got them stealthily passed into the temple to take prior possession of it. Once within, they cast off their garments and were suddenly revealed as armed men. The purlieus of the sanctuary were instantly a scene of the utmost disorder and confusion, the people who had no connexion with the party strife regarding this as an indiscriminate attack upon all, the Zealots as directed against themselves alone. The latter, however, neglecting any longer to guard the gates and not waiting to come to close quarters with the intruders, leapt down from the battlements and took refuge in the temple vaults; while the visitors from the city, cowering beside the altar and huddled together around the sanctuary, were trampled under foot and mercilessly struck with clubs and swords. Many peaceable citizens from enmity and personal spite were slain by their adversaries as partisans of the opposite faction, and any who in the past had offended one of the conspirators, being now recognized as a Zealot, was led off to punishment. But while the innocent were thus brutally treated, the intruders granted a truce to the criminals and let them go when they emerged from the vaults. Being now in possession of the inner court of the temple and all the stores which it contained, they could bid defiance to Simon. The sedition, hitherto of a tripartite character, was thus again reduced to two factions.

(2) Titus, now deciding to abandon Scopus and encamp nearer the city, posted a picked body of horse and foot of such strength as he deemed sufficient to check the enemy’s sallies, and gave orders to his main army to level the intervening ground right up
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107 τοῦ τείχους διάστημα. καταβληθέντος δὲ παντὸς ἑρκου καὶ περιφράγματος, ὅσα κῆπων προανεστήσαντο καὶ δενδρῶν ὁι οἰκήτορες, ὦλης τε ἡμέρου τῆς μεταξὺ πάσης ἐκκοπείσης ἀνεπλήσθη μὲν τὰ κοίλα καὶ χαραδρώδη τοῦ τόπου, τὰς δὲ πετρώδεις ἐξοχὰς σιδήρῳ κατεργαζόμενοι χθαμαλῶν ἔποιον πάντα τὸν τόπον ἀπὸ τοῦ Σκοποῦ μέχρι τῶν Ἦρωδου μνημείων, ἀ προσέχει τῇ τῶν ὀφεων ἐπικαλουμένη κολυμβήθρα.

108 (3) Καὶ κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας ἐνέδραν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συσκευάζονται τοιάνδε. τῶν στασιαστῶν οἱ [μὲν] τολμηροὶ προελθόντες ἐξω τῶν Γυναικείων καλουμένων πύργων, ὡς ἐκβεβλημένοι δήθεν ὑπὸ τῶν εἰρηνικά φρονοῦντων καὶ δεδοικότες τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐφοδον ἀνειλοῦντο καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλους ὑπέτησον.

109 οἱ δὲ διαστάντες ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους δῆμος εἶναι δοκῶν εἰρήνην ἐβόων καὶ δεξιὰν ἠτούντο καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκάλουν, ἀνοίξειν υπισχυόμενοι τὰς πύλας. ἀμα δὲ ταῦτα κεκραγότες καὶ τοὺς σφητέρους ἐβαλλον λίθοις ὡς ἀπελαυνόντες τῶν πυλῶν. κάκεινοι βιάζεσθαι τὰς εἰσόδους ὑπεκρίνοντο καὶ τοὺς ἐνδον ἐκετέειν, συνεχῶς τε πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὀρμήσαντες ἐπιστρεφόμενοι ταρατομένοι προσεύχεσαν. παρὰ μὲν οὖν τοῖς στρατιωταῖς τὸ πανοπρογ γνώκοι ἐλείπετο πίστεως, ἀλλ' ὡς τοὺς μὲν ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες ἐτοίμους πρὸς τιμωρίαν, τοὺς δ' ἀνοίξειν τὴν πόλιν ἐλπίζοντες,

1 δενδρῶν Destinon (probably rightly).
2 AL Lat.: ὀρμήσαντας the rest.

a Unidentified: cf. § 507. Niese thinks that the Herod commemorated was the king of Chalcis, grandson of Herod 232
to the walls. Every fence and palisade with which the inhabitants had enclosed their gardens and plantations having accordingly been swept away, and every fruit tree within the area felled, the cavities and gullies on the route were filled up, the protuberant rocks demolished with tools of iron, and the whole intervening space from Scopus to Herod's monuments,\(^a\) adjoining the spot called the Serpents' pool,\(^a\) was thus reduced to a dead level.

(3) During this period the Jews contrived the following stratagem to trick the Romans. The more daring of the insurgents, issuing forth from the so-called Women's Towers,\(^b\) as though they had been ejected by the partisans of peace and were in terror of being attacked by the Romans, kept close together cowering in a bunch. Meanwhile their comrades, lining the walls so as to be taken for the populace, shouted "Peace," begged for protection, and invited the Romans to enter, promising to open the gates; these cries they accompanied by showers of stones aimed at their own men, as if to drive them from the gates. The latter made a feint of forcing an entry and petitioning those within, and constantly rushing towards the Romans and again retreating showed signs of extreme agitation. Their ruse did not fail to impose on the rank and file: imagining that they had one party at their mercy, to be punished at will, and hoping that the other would throw open the city, they were on the point of proceeding to action.

\(^{233}\)
114 ἐξώρουν ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν. Τίτω δὲ δὶ ὑποψίας ἦν τὸ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως παράλογον· καὶ γὰρ πρὸ μᾶς ἡμέρας προκαλούμενος αὐτοὺς ἔπι συμβάσεις διὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήφου μέτριον οὐδὲν εὑρίσκε, καὶ τότε τοὺς στρατιώτας κατὰ χώραν μένειν ἐκέλευσεν.
115 ἐφθασαν δὲ τινες τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔργους προτεταγμένων ἀρπάσαντες τὰ ὀπλα πρὸς τὰς πύλας ἐκδραμεῖν. τούτοις οἱ μὲν ἐκβεβλήσαθαι δοκοῦντες τὸ πρῶτον ὑπεχώρουν, ἐπεὶ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν τῆς πύλης ἐγίνοντο πῦργων, ἐκθέοντες ἐκκλησίαν ἐσφάς καὶ προσέκειντο κατόπιν· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους πλῆθος χερμάδων καὶ βελῶν παντοῖων ἄθροιν κατέχεαν, ὡς συχνοὺς μὲν ἀνελεῖν, τρωσάντες δὲ πλείστους. ἦν γὰρ οὐ βάδιον τοῦ τείχους διαφυγεῖν τῶν κατόπιν βιαζομένων, καὶ ἄλλως αἰδώς τῆς διαμαρτίας καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων δέος παρεκελεύτο τῷ πταίσματι προσλαμβανέων. διὸ δὴ μέχρι πλεῖστοι διαδοχοπιστεύοντες καὶ πολλὰς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων λαμβάνοντες πληγάς, ἁμέλει δ' οὐκ ἐλάττους ἀντιδιδόντες, τέλος ἀνυποθοῦσι τοὺς κυκλωσαμένους· ὑποχωροῦσι δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι [καὶ] μέχρι τῶν Ἐλενῆς μνημείων ἐπιτεύγη κάλλοντες.
120 (1) "Επειθ' οἱ μὲν ἀπειροκάλως ἐξυβρίζοντες εἰς τὴν τύχην ἐσκωπτόν τε τοὺς Ἰουδαίων διελεσθέντας ἀπάτη καὶ τοὺς θυρεοὺς ἀνασεῖόντες ἐσκύρτων καὶ μετὰ χαρᾶς ἀνεβόων. τοὺς δὲ στρατιῶτας ἀπειλὴ τε τῶν ταξιάρχων καὶ χαλεπαίνων Καίσαρ τούτους ἐξεδέχετο, φάσκων ὡς Ἰουδαίοι μὲν, οἵς ἀπόνοια μόνη στρατηγεῖ, πάντα μετὰ προνοίας πράττοι καὶ σκέψεως, ἐπιβουλᾶς 1 ed. pr.: προσταγμένων MSS.

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Titus, on the contrary, viewed this surprising invitation with suspicion. For having only the day before, through Josephus, invited them to terms, he had met with no reasonable response; he therefore now ordered his men to remain where they were. However, some who were stationed in the forefront of the works had, without awaiting orders, seized their arms and rushed towards the gates. The pretended outcasts at first retired before them, but, as soon as the Romans came between the gateway towers, they darted out and surrounded and attacked them in rear; while those on the wall showered upon them a volley of stones and every species of missile, killing many and wounding most. For it was no easy matter to escape from the wall with the enemy pressing them behind; moreover, shame at their error and dread of their officers impelled them to persevere in their blunder. Consequently, it was only after a prolonged combat with spears and after receiving many wounds from the Jews—inflicting, to be sure, no fewer in return—that they eventually repelled their encircling enemy. Even when they retired, the Jews still followed and kept them under fire as far as the tomb of Helena.

(4) Then, with vulgar abuse of their good fortune, they jeered at the Romans for being deluded by a ruse and brandishing their bucklers danced and shouted for joy. The soldiers, for their part, were met by threats from their officers and a furious Caesar. "These Jews," he protested, "with desperation for their only leader, do everything with forethought and circumspection: their stratagems

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\[a\] § 55 note.
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te svntássointes kai lóchos, épetai δ' autówn taîs énédraïs kai túχh dià tò peiðhíon kai tìn
122 pròs álhláous eînvoián te kai pîstw. 'Rwmaîoi de', oîs di' eûtâxîan kai tò pròs tòus ēgêmônas
eúpeîthês àei dòulevêi kai túχh, vàn úpò tòwn èvanthôn pttâioun kai dià xeiðwv àkrasían
álískonta, tò pántwv àîçhîstovn, àsttratîghêtoî
123 maçhîmeiô paróntos Kaîsarpòs. ëh megalá mev
steválxei évf ei toûs tìs stratêías nómuvs, megalá
d' autô toû patéra tîûde tìn plhînîn puthîmenon,
124 ei ge ë dei nên pollêmiçs ygrâsas ouðêpôt' épptaisen
oûtwvs, oî nómuoi d' àei kai toûs braham tì tìs
tâxews páракînîsantâs thnâtô koláçoun, vàn
125 d' olhn stratîván eôrwákaçê lìpòtákthn. gnuvêsthâi
ge vàn autîka toûs àppaunadhîsamênuvs òti kai
tò nîkâv parâ 'Rwmaîois diçâ páraggèlamaçs
126 àdôçêîtai. toîaváta diateînâmenos pròs toûs ēgê-
mônas dîlos ën kâta pántwv xrhêsthâi1 tòv
nômuw. kai oî ãên pàreîsan vàs yuchâs òw ðsoun
127 ouðêpôv teûnîxômenoi dikâiws, perîchuthênta de tâ
tâgmata tòv Tîtw peri tòw svstratîtwón ïkêteu
kai tìn élîgnôn prôpêteiav chrísasîav tì pántwv
eúpeîthêiâ kattîntîbolouv: ànalîfisêsthâi vàr tò
parôn pttâîmâ taîs eîs tò méllon àrêtaiâs.
128 (5) Peîethêi Kaîsarp àmâ taîs te ìkèsiais
kai tòw svmphiêronti. tìn mén gâr kai ãò évôs tìmòrîan
ýeto xrhînai mêçris èrgoû prôkopteiv, tìn d'
1 Destinon: xrhêsthâi or xrhêtai mss.
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and ambuscades are carefully planned, and their schemes are further favoured by fortune because of their obedience and their mutual loyalty and confidence; while Romans who, through orderly discipline and obedience to command, have ever found even fortune their slave, are now brought to grief by conduct the very opposite, are defeated through their intemperate pugnacity, and—direst disgrace of all—while fighting without a leader under the eyes of Caesar! Deeply indeed may the laws of the service mourn, a deeply too my father when he hears of this rebuff; seeing that he, though grown grey in warfare, never met with a like disaster, while those laws invariably punish with death the very slightest breach of discipline, whereas now they have beheld a whole corps quit the ranks! However, these rash adventurers shall learn forthwith that, among Romans, even a victory without orders given is held dishonourable. From such determined language to his officers it was clear that Titus intended to put the law into force against all. The offenders, accordingly, gave themselves up for lost, expecting in a moment to meet their merited death; but the legions, flocking round Titus, made intercession for their fellow-soldiers, imploring him, in consideration of the obedience of them all, to forgive the recklessness of a few, and assuring him that these would retrieve their present error by future meritorious deeds.

(5) To these entreaties, backed by considerations of expediency, Caesar yielded; for he held that, while in the case of an individual punishment should actually be carried into execution, where numbers

a Cf. the similar phrase used by the companions of Josephus in the cave at Jotapata, iii. 356.
129 ἐπὶ πλήθους μέχρι λόγου. τοῖς μὲν οὖν στρατιώταις διηλλάττετο πολλὰ νουθετήσας αὐτὸς ἐναι φρονιμωτέρους, αὐτὸς δὲ ὅπως ἀμυνεῖται
130 τῆν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιβουλήν ἐσκόπει. τέσσαρις δ’ ἡμέραις ἐξισωθέντος τοῦ μέχρι τῶν τειχῶν διαστήματος, βουλόμενος μετὰ ἀσφαλείας τὰς τε ἀποσκευὰς καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος παραγαγεῖν τὸ καρτερώτατον τῆς δυνάμεως ἀντιπαρεξέπετεν τῷ τείχει κατὰ τὸ βόρειον κλίμα καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέραν,
131 ἐφ’ ἑπτὰ βαθύνας τὴν φάλαγγα, τῶν τε πεζῶν προτεταγμένων καὶ κατόπιν τῶν ἐπέπεσών, τριστοίχων ἐκατέρων, ἔβδομοι κατὰ μέσον εἰστήκεσαν
132 οἱ τοξόται. τοσοῦτοι δὲ στίφει πεφραγμένων Ἰουδαίως τῶν ἐκδρομῶν τὰ τε ὑποζύγια τῶν τριών ταγμάτων καὶ ἡ πληθὺς ἀδεῶς παρώδεσαν.
133 αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν Τίτος ἀπέχων ὅσον εἰς σταδίους δύο τοῦ τείχους κατὰ τὸ γωνιαῖον αὐτοῦ μέρος ἀντικροὶ τοῦ καλομένου Ψηφίου πύργου στρατοπεδεύεται, πρὸς δὲν ὁ κύκλος τοῦ τείχους ἀπ’ ἀρκτων καθήκων ἀνακάμπτει πρὸς δύσιν· ἡ δ’ ἐτέρα μοῖρα τῆς στρατιάς κατὰ τὸν Ἰππικοῦ προσαγορευθέντα πύργον τείχίζεται διεστῶσα τῆς πόλεως ὅμοιως δύο σταδίους. τὸ μέντοι δέκατον τάγμα κατὰ χῶραν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑλαιῶν ὅροις ἔμενε.
136 (iv. 1) Τρισὶ δ’ ὑχυρωμένη τείχεσιν ἡ πόλις καθ’ ἡ ταῖς ἀβάτοις φάραγγι κεκύκλωτο, ταύτῃ γὰρ εἰς ἕν περίβολος, αὐτῇ μὲν ὑπὲρ δύο λόφων ἀντιπρόσωπος ἐκτιστο μέση φάραγγι διηρημένων,
137 εἰς ἕν ἐπάλληλου κατέληγον αἱ οἰκίαι. τῶν δὲ

1 παρὰ γείν Ρ.Α.
2 Destinon: ἄρκτων or ἄρκτον mss.
3 LVRC (cf. iii. 464, v. 223 etc.): καθ’ ἕν the rest.

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were concerned it should not go beyond reproof. He was therefore reconciled to the soldiers, after strictly admonishing them to be wiser in future; while he privately reflected how best to avenge himself on the Jews for their stratagem. In four days all the intervening ground up to the walls was levelled; and Titus, now anxious to secure a safe passage for the baggage and camp-followers, drew up the flower of his forces facing the northern and western portions of the wall, in lines seven deep: the infantry in front, the cavalry behind, each of these arms in three ranks, the archers forming a seventh line in the middle. The sallies of the Jews being held in check by this formidable array, the beasts of burden belonging to the three legions with their train of followers passed securely on. Titus himself encamped about two furlongs from the ramparts, at the angle opposite the tower called Psephinus, where the circuit of the wall bends back from the north to the west. The other division of the army entrenched itself opposite the tower named Hippicus, likewise at a distance of two furlongs from the city. The tenth legion kept its position on the Mount of Olives.

(iv. 1) The city was fortified by three walls, except where it was enclosed by impassable ravines, a single rampart there sufficing. It was built, in portions facing each other, on two hills separated by a central valley, in which the tiers of houses ended.

\[a\] On the 14th of Xanthicus (1 May), as appears from § 567.
\[b\] The Tyropoeon, in the modern city a shallow glen known as El-Wad.
λόφων δ’ μὲν τὴν ἀνω πόλιν ἔχων υψηλότερος τε πολλῷ καὶ τὸ μήκος ἥπετερος ἢν. διὰ γοῦν τὴν ὕφυρότητα φρούριον μὲν ὑπὸ Δαυίδου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκαλεῖτο, πατὴρ Σολομὼνος ἢν οὗτος τοῦ πρώτου τῶν ναὸν κτίσαντος, ἢ ἀνω δὲ ἀγορὰ πρὸς ἧμῶν ἀτερος δ’ ὁ καλουμένος "Ακρα καὶ
138 τὴν κάτω πόλιν ὑφεστῶς ἁμφικύρτος. τούτου δ’ ἀντικρυ στράτος ἢν λόφος, ταπεινότερος τε φύσει τῆς "Ακρας καὶ πλατεία φάραγγες διε
139 ειργόμενοι ἀλλη πρότερον. αὐθές γε μὴν καθ’ οὐς οἱ Ἀσαμωναϊοι χρόνους ἐβασιλεύον τὴν τε φάραγγα ἐχωσαν, συνάψας βουλόμενοι τῷ ἱερῷ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τῆς Ἀκρας κατεργασάμενοι τὸ ύψος ἐποίησαν χθαμαλότερον, ὡς ύπερφαίνωσι καὶ
140 ταῦτῃ τῷ ἱερῷ. ἡ δὲ τῶν τυρωποῦν προσ-
αγορευμένη φάραγγεϊ, ἢν ἔφαμεν τὸν τε τῆς ἀνω πόλεως καὶ τὸν κάτω λόφον διαστέλλειν, καθ’ ἵκει μέχρι Σιλωάς. οὗτο γὰρ τὴν πηγὴν γλυκείαν τε
141 καὶ πολλὴν οὐσαν ἐκαλοῦμεν. ἐξωθέν δ’ οἱ τῆς πόλεως δύο λόφου βαθείαις φάραγξιν περιέχοντο, καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν κρημνοὺς προσιτῶν οὖδαμόθεν ἢν.

1 πρώτου τῶν] τῶν πρώτων Π. 2 ταύτης C.

Cf. 2 Sam. v. 7.

b Most archaeologists now hold that Josephus here and in his account of the capture of Jebus by David (A. vii. 65) is in error as to the ancient topography, and that the "City of David" or Sion lay, not on the western, but on the eastern hill on the part called Ophel above the Virgin’s spring (G. A. Smith, Jerusalem, i. 134 f., 161 ff.). The historian’s error is perpetuated in modern nomenclature; the so-called "David’s Tower" in the present citadel stands near the Jaffa Gate on the basis of Herod’s Tower of Phasael.

c Literally "gibbous," like the moon in its third quarter.
Of these hills that on which the upper city lay was far higher and had a straighter ridge than the other; consequently, owing to its strength it was called by King David—the father of Solomon the first builder of the temple—the Stronghold, but we called it the upper agora. The second hill, which bore the name of Acra and supported the lower city, was a hog's back. Opposite this was a third hill, by nature lower than Acra, and once divided from it by another broad ravine. Afterwards, however, the Hasmonaean kings, during the period of their reign, both filled up the ravine, with the object of uniting the city to the temple, and also reduced the elevation of Acra by levelling its summit, in order that it might not block the view of the temple. The Valley of the Cheese-makers, as the ravine was called, which, as we said, divides the hill of the upper city from that of the lower, extends down to Siloam; for so we called that fountain of sweet and abundant water. On the exterior the two hills on which the city stood were encompassed by deep ravines, and the precipitous cliffs on either side of it rendered the town nowhere accessible.

Cf. the name Ophel (= “hump”) given to a portion of this hill.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{d} Cf. B. i. 50 and the more detailed description in A. xiii. 215-217; in both those passages the levelling of Acra is ascribed to Simon. But this is incompatible with 1 Macc. xiv. 37 which states that he fortified it. Josephus is writing of what had disappeared two centuries before his day, and his description is probably in some points erroneous. It has been suggested that the work was due to Hyrcanus I and that his erection of a Baris or castle at the N.W. corner of the temple led to the demolition of the Syrian Acra to the S. of it. (Smith, }\textit{Jerusalem}, i. 159 f., Schürer, G.J. V. (ed. 3), i. 247.)}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{e} Tyropoeon.}\]
142 (2) Τών δὲ τριῶν τειχῶν τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον διὰ τὰς φάραγγας καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων λόφον, ἐφ’ οὖν κατεσκέυαστο, δυσάλωτον ἢν· πρὸς δὲ τῷ πλεονεκτήματι τοῦ τόπου καὶ καρτερῶς ἐδεδόμητο, Δαυίδου τε καὶ Σολομῶνος, ἔτι δὲ τῶν μεταξὺ τούτων βασιλέων φιλοτιμηθέντων περὶ τὸ ἔργον. 
143 ἀρχόμενον δὲ κατὰ βορράν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰππικοῦ καλουμένου πύργου καὶ διατείνον ἐπὶ τὸν ξυστόν, ἐπειτα τῇ βουλῇ συνάπτον ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπέριον τοῦ ἑροῦ στοὰν ἀπηρτίζετο. κατὰ θάτερα δὲ πρὸς ὅσα καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀρχόμενον, διὰ δὲ τοῦ Βηθσῶνος καλουμένου χώρου κατατείχον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐσσηνῶν πύλην, κάπετα πρὸς νότον ὑπὲρ τὴν Σιλωᾶν ἐπιστρέφου πηγήν, ἐνθεν τε πάλιν ἐκκλίνον πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Σολομῶνος κολυμβηθραν καὶ δυῆκον μέχρι χώρου τινός, δὴ καλοῦσιν Ὀφλᾶν, τῇ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν στοὰ τοῦ ἑροῦ συν-
145 ἤπτε. τὸ δὲ δεύτερον τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ πύλης εἴχεν, ἢν Γεναθ ἐκάλουν τοῦ πρώτου τείχους οὖσαν, κυκλούμενον δὲ τὸ προσάρκτου κλίμα μονὸν ἀνήει μέχρι τῆς Ἀντωνίας. τῶ τρίτῳ δ’ ἀρχή ἢν ὁ Ἰππικὸς πύργος, οἶδεν μέχρι τοῦ βορείου κλίματος κατατείχον ἐπὶ τὸν Ψῆφιν πύργον, ἐπειτα καθήκον ἀντικρυ τῶν Ἑλένης

1 + λεγόμενον LVRC (Lat.): + καλοὺμενον M.
2 Βηθσῶν PA: Betiso Lat.
3 Hudson with Lat.: Ὀφλᾶς (-άμ L) mss. 4 Γεναθ PC.

a At the N.W. angle.
b Described below, § 163.
c Eastwards.
d The gymnasmium, used for public speeches, and connected with the temple by a bridge, B. ii. 344 note.
e A hall in or adjoining the S. part of the temple area, in which the Sanhedrin usually met; Mishna, Middoth, v. 4 c 242.
(2) Of the three walls, the most ancient, owing to the surrounding ravines and the hill above them on which it was reared, was well-nigh impregnable. But, besides the advantage of its position, it was also strongly built, David and Solomon and their successors on the throne having taken pride in the work. Beginning on the north at the tower called Hippicus, it extended to the Xystus and then joining the council-chamber terminated at the western portico of the temple. Beginning at the same point in the other direction, westward, it descended past the place called Bethso to the gate of the Essenes, then turned southwards above the fountain of Siloam; thence it again inclined to the east towards Solomon's pool, and after passing a spot which they call Ophlas, finally joined the eastern portico of the temple.

The second wall started from the gate in the first wall which they called Gennath, and, enclosing only the northern district of the town, went up as far as Antonia.

The third began at the tower Hippicus, whence it stretched northwards to the tower Psephinus, and then descending opposite the monuments of Helena (Holtzmann), Schürer, op. cit. ii. 211. Its burning by the Romans is mentioned in vi. 354. The name by which it is called in the Mishna, Lishkath hog-Gazith, probably means, not, as usually translated, "Chamber of Hewn Stone," but "Chamber beside the Xystus"; in the LXX Gazith=ξυστος (Schurer). Unidentified.

The Biblical Ophel (= "hump"), Neh. iii. 26, etc.; in Sir G. A. Smith's opinion probably a synonym for Sion, Jerusalem, i. 153.

Perhaps= Garden Gate. Its position, like the course of the second wall, is uncertain; it has been "placed by some between the towers Hippicus and Phasael ... by others at the latter tower," ib. i. 243.

§ 55.
μημειών, Ἄδιαβρον ἐβασιλεύσε ἣν αὐτὴ Ἰζάτου βασιλέως θυγάτηρ, καὶ διὰ σπηλαίων βασιλικῶν μηκυνόμενον ἐκάμπτετο μὲν γωνιαίῳ πύργῳ κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Γναφέως προσαγορευόμενον μνήμα, τῷ δ' ἀρχαιῷ περιβόλῳ συνάπτον εἰς τὴν Κεδρώνα

148 καλομένην φάραγγα κατέληγεν. τοῦτο τῇ προσκυνησίᾳ πόλει περιήθηκεν Ἀγρίππας, ὅπερ ἦν πάσα γυμνή· πλήθει γὰρ ὑπερχειμένη κατὰ μικρὸν ἐξείρρη τῶν περιβόλων. καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὰ προσάρκτια πρὸς τῷ λόφῳ συμπολίζοντες ἐπ' οὐκ ὁλίγον πρόηλθον2 καὶ τέταρτον περιοικθῆναι λόφου, δο καλεῖται Βεζεθά, κείμενος μὲν ἀντικρὺ τῆς Ἀντωνίας, ἀποτεμνόμενος δ' ὀργυματι βαθεί·

150 διεσφρέθη γὰρ ἐπίτηδες, ὡς μὴ τῷ λόφῳ συν-ἀπτοντες οἱ θεμέλιοι τῆς Ἀντωνίας εὐπρόσιτοι τε εἰεν καὶ ἤπτον υψηλοί· διὸ δὴ καὶ πλεῖστον υψός τοῖς πύργοις προσεῖδον τὸ βάθος τῆς τάφρου. ἐκλήθη δ' ἐπιχωρίως βεζεθά τὸ νεόκτιστον μέρος, ὁ μεθερμηνευόμενον Ἑλλάδι γλώσσῃ καὶ νή λέγοιτ·

151 ἀν πόλις. δεομένων οὖν τῶν ταύτης σκέπης ὁ πατήρ τοῦ νῦν βασιλέως καὶ ὁμόνυμος Ἀγρίπ- πας ἀρχεῖ μὲν οὐ προείπομεν τείχους, δεῖσας δὲ Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα, μή τὸ μέγεθος τῆς κατα- σκευῆς ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ πραγμάτων ὑπονοήσῃ καὶ στάσεως, παύεται θεμέλιος μόνον βαλόμενος. 152 καὶ γὰρ οὔδ' ἀν ἦν ἀλώσιμος ἡ πόλις, εἴ προύκοπτε

1 'Ιάζα τοῦ, 'Ιζά τοῦ ὁρ 'Αζά τοῦ mss.; cf. iv. 567.

2 + ὡς Μ.

a The course of the third wall after Psephinus is uncertain; some identifying it with the present N. wall, others making it embrace a wider area farther north. Recent excavations (1926) favour the latter theory.
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(queen of Adiabene and daughter of king Izates), and proceeding past the royal caverns it bent round a corner tower over against the so-called Fuller’s tomb and joining the ancient rampart terminated at the valley called Kedron. This wall was built by Agrippa to enclose the later additions to the city, which were quite unprotected; for the town, overflowing with inhabitants, had gradually crept beyond the ramparts. Indeed, the population, uniting to the hill the district north of the temple, had encroached so far that even a fourth hill was surrounded with houses. This hill, which is called Bezetha, lay opposite Antonia, but was cut off from it by a deep fosse, dug on purpose to sever the foundations of Antonia from the hill and so to render them at once less easy of access and more elevated, the depth of the trench materially increasing the height of the towers. The recently built quarter was called in the vernacular Bezetha, which, might be translated into Greek as New Town. Seeing then the residents of this district in need of defence, Agrippa, the father and namesake of the present king, began the above-mentioned wall; but, fearing that Claudius Caesar might suspect from the vast scale of the structure that he had designs of revolution and revolt, he desisted after merely laying the foundations. Indeed the city would have been impregnable, had the wall been continued as it

On which the upper town lay.

More correctly in ii. 530: “the district called Bezetha and also New Town (Caenopolis).” Bezetha probably = Beth-zaith = “house of olives” (Smith, Jerusalem, i. 244 note); it does not mean “New Town.” Similar loose etymological statements occur in the Antiquities.
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tὸ τείχος ὃς ἦρξατο· λίθοις μὲν γὰρ εἰκοσάπηχεσι·
tὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος δεκαπήχεσι· συνημροζετο,
μῆθ' ὑπορυγηγῆναι σιδήρῳ βαδίως μῆθ' ύπ' ὄργανοις

diaσεισθήναι δυνάμενον, δέκα δὲ πῆχεις αὐτῷ·
tὸ τείχος ἐπλατύνετο, καὶ τὸ ύψος πλεῖον μὲν ἄν,
ὡς εἰκός, ἔσχε μὴ διακωλυθεῖσθι τῆς τοῦ καταρ-

155 ἐξαμένοις φιλοτιμίας. αὖθις δὲ καίτοι μετὰ σπουδῆς
ἐγερθόμενον ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων εἰς εἰκοσι πῆχεις
ἀνέστη, καὶ διπῆχεις μὲν τὰς ἐπάλξεις, τριτῆχεις
δὲ τοὺς προμαχώνας εἶχεν, ὡς τὸ πάν ύψος εἰς
εἰκοσιπέντε πῆχεις ἀνατετάσθαι.

156 (3) Τοῦ δὲ τείχους ύπερείχον οἱ πῦργοι πῆχεις
εἰκοσὶ μὲν εἰς εὖρος, εἰκοσὶ δὲ εἰς ύψος, τετράγωνοι
tε καὶ πλῆρεις ὀσπερ αὐτὸ· τὸ τείχος ὄντες· η γε
μὴν ἄρμονία καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῶν λίθων οὐδέν

157 ἀπέδει ναοῦ. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ναστὸν ύψος τῶν πῦργων,
ὀπερ ἡν εἰκοσάπηχυ, πολυτελεῖς ἦσαν οἶκοι, καὶ
καθύπερθεν ύπερώα, δεξαμενά τε πρὸς τὰς τῶν
ὕετῶν ὑποδοχᾶς, ἐλικές τε καὶ πλατεῖαι καθ᾽

158 ἐκαστὸν ἁνοῦ. τοιοῦτοι μὲν οὖν πῦργοι τὸ
τρίτον τείχος εἶχεν ἐνενήκοντα, τὰ μεταπῦργια δὲ
tοῦτων ἀνὰ πῆχεις διακοσίους· τὸ δ’ αὐ μέσον

159 εἰς τέσσαρας καὶ δέκα πῦργους, τὸ δ’ ἄρχαῖον
eἰς ἐξήκοντα μεμέριστο. τῆς πολέως δ’ ὁ πᾶς
κύκλος σταδίων ἡν τριακοντατρίῳ. θαυμασίου

160 ἐπὶ γὰρ ἐβδομήκοντα πῆχεις ψηλῶς ὄν Ἀραβίαν
tε ἀνίσχοντο ἡλίου παρεῖχεν ἀφοῦ καὶ μέχρι

1 αὐτῷ Ἔ: αὐτῷ καὶ Ρ.: αὐτὸ καὶ Α.

* 33 stades = about 3½ miles. The circumference esti-
began; for it was constructed of stones twenty cubits long and ten broad, so closely joined that they could scarcely have been undermined with tools of iron or shaken by engines. The wall itself was ten cubits broad, and it would doubtless have attained a greater height than it did, had not the ambition of its founder been frustrated. Subsequently, although hurriedly erected by the Jews, it rose to a height of twenty cubits, besides having battlements of two cubits and bulwarks of three cubits high, bringing the total altitude up to twenty-five cubits.

(3) Above the wall, however, rose towers, twenty cubits broad and twenty high, square and solid as the wall itself, and in the joining and beauty of the stones in no wise inferior to a temple. Over this solid masonry, twenty cubits in altitude, were magnificent apartments, and above these, upper chambers and cisterns to receive the rain-water, each tower having broad spiral staircases. Of such towers the third wall had ninety, disposed at intervals of two hundred cubits; the line of the middle wall was broken by fourteen towers, that of the old wall by sixty. The whole circumference of the city was thirty-three furlongs. But wonderful as was the third wall throughout, still more so was the tower Psephinus, which rose at its north-west angle and opposite to which Titus encamped. For, being seventy cubits high, it afforded from sunrise a prospect embracing both Arabia and the utmost limits mated by "the land surveyor of Syria" (ap. Euseb. Praep. Ev. ix. 36) in the second century B.C. was 27 stades; for other exaggerated estimates of 40 and 50 stades see Ap. i. 197 note. The circumference here given for the larger city of the first century A.D. favours a more northerly position for the third wall than that of the existing north wall.
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161 ὁκτάγωνος δ᾽ ἤν. τούτον δ᾽ ἀντικρύσ ὁ Ἰππικὸς καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτὸν δύο κατεσκευάσθησαν μὲν ύφ᾽ Ἣρῳδων βασιλέως ἐν τῷ ἀρχαίῳ τείχει, μέγεθος δὲ καὶ κάλλος ἦσαν καὶ ὀχυρότητα τῶν κατὰ τὴν

162 οἰκουμένην διάφοροι. πρὸς γὰρ τῷ φύσει μεγαλοψύχῳ καὶ τῇ περὶ τὴν πόλιν φιλοτιμία τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῶν ἐργῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς πάθεσιν οἰκεῖοι ἐχάριζε, καὶ τριά τοὺς ἡδίστους προσώπους, ἀφ᾽ ὅν ὄνομασε τοὺς πύργους, ἀδελφῶν καὶ φίλων καὶ γυναικῶν, τὴν μνήμην ἀνέθηκε, τὴν μὲν ὡς προειρήκαμεν [καὶ] κτείνας δὲ ἔρωτα, τοὺς δ᾽ ἀποβαλὼν ἐν πολέμῳ γενναίως ἀγωνισμένους.

163 ο μὲν οὖν Ἰππικὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ φίλου προσαγορευθεὶς τετράγωνος μὲν ἦν, εὐρὸς δὲ καὶ μήκος εἰκοσιπέντε πηχῶν ἐκαστὸν καὶ ύψος τριάκοντα, οὐδαμοῦ 164 διάκενος. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ πλῆρες καὶ ταῖς πέτραις συνηνωμένοι εἰς ἐκδοχὴν ὀμβρων εἰκοσάπηχυς

165 λάκκος ἦν τὸ βάθος, ἐπάνω δὲ τούτου διστεγος οἶκος [ἡν] 2 εἰκοσι καὶ πέντε πηχῶν τὸ ύψος εἰς ποικίλα τέγη διηρημένως, ὑπὲρ δὲ τύρσεις μὲν διπῆξεις προμαχώνες δὲ περιβέβλημα τριτήξεις, ώς τὸ πάν ύψος εἰς ὄγδοοκόντα πῆξεις συναρθ-166 μείσθαι. ὁ δὲ δεύτερος πύργος, ὃν ὄνομασεν ἀπὸ τάδελφου Φασάηλον, τὸ μὲν πλάτος καὶ τὸ μήκος ἵσον εἴχεν, τεσσάρακοντα πηχῶν ἐκαστὸν, ἐπὶ

1 AL: om. the rest. 2 om. L.

a Phasael, Hippicus (strangely ignored in the narrative of Herod's reign), and Mariamme. b i. 443.

c Phasael, taken prisoner by the Parthians, committed suicide, i. 271; of the other's end there is no record.

d Probably the N.W. tower of the present citadel (Smith, 248
of Hebrew territory as far as the sea; it was of octagonal form.

Over against this was the tower Hippicus, and close to it two others, all built by King Herod into the old wall, and for magnitude, beauty and strength without their equal in the world. For, apart from his innate magnanimity and his pride in the city, the king sought, in the super-excellence of these works, to gratify his private feelings; dedicating them to the memory of three persons to whom he was most fondly attached, and after whom he named these towers—brother, friend, and wife.a The last, as we have previously related, he had for love's sake actually slain b; the others he had lost in war, after valiant fight.c

Now Hippicus,d called after his friend, was quadrangular, its length and breadth being each twenty-five cubits, and to the height of thirty cubits it was solid throughout. But above this solid and compact mass of masonry was a reservoir, twenty cubits deep, to receive the rain-water, and over this a double-roofed chamber, twenty-five cubits high, with roofs of diverse colours; this again was crowned by turrets, two cubits, and battlements, three cubits high, so that the total altitude amounted to eighty cubits.

The second tower, which he named Phasael e after Phasael, his brother, was of equal length and breadth, forty Jerusalem, i. 240). The three Herodian towers were preserved by Titus for the admiration of future ages, vii. 1 f.

a The N.E. tower of the present citadel, erroneously called "David's tower." The dimensions approximate to the round statement of Josephus (a cube of 40 cubits = c. 60 feet), being actually 65.6 ft. high × 55.78 broad × 70.21 long; ib. 191.
167 τεσσαράκοντα δ' αυτοῦ τὸ ναστὸν ἢν ύψος. ἐπάνω δὲ αυτοῦ περιήγει στοὰ δεκάπηχυς τὸ ύψος, θωρακισμένη.
168 κίος τε καὶ προβόλοις σκεπομένη. μέσην δ' ὑπερώκοδόμητο τὴν στοὰν πύργος ἐτερος, εἰς τε οίκους πολυτελεῖς καὶ δὴ καὶ βαλανεῖον διήγημένος, ὡς μηδὲν ἐνδείοι τῷ πύργῳ βασίλειον δοκεῖν. τὰ δ' ἄκρα τοῖς προμαχώσι καὶ ταῖς τύρσεσιν ἦν περιαυτοῦ τε κεκόμητο. πηχῶν δ' ἦν τὸ πάν ύψος ᾧς ἑνεκόντα, καὶ τὸ μὲν σχῆμα παρεῖχε τῷ κατὰ τὴν Φάρον ἐκπυροσκόπησαν τοὺς ἀλλὰς τὴν Φάραν ἐκπυροσκόπησαν τοῖς ἀλλὰς τῇ περιοχῇ δὲ πολὺ μείζων ἦν τὴν κατανάλωσαν ἁπεδίεσθῇ τοῦ Σίμωνος. δὲ τρίτος πύργος ἡ Μαριάμμη, τούτῳ γὰρ ἡ βασιλικὰ ἐκαλεῖτο, μέχρι μὲν εἰκοσιτεταχτετά χῶν ναστὸς ἦν, εἰκοσιτεταχτετά χῶν ναστὸς ἦν, εἰκοσιτεταχτετά πηχῶν ναστὸς ἦν, εἰκοσιτεταχτετά χῶν εἰς εὔρος διέβανε καὶ μήκος ἦσον, πολυτελεστέραν δὲ καὶ ποικιλωτέραν τῶν ἄλλων τῇν οἰκήσαν εἶχεν ἐπάνω, τοῦ βασιλέως οἰκεῖον ὑπολαβόντως τὸν ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ὁμομαθήσετα κεκοσμήσαθαι πλέον ἡ τοῦς ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν, ὡσπερ ἐκεῖνους τοῦ τῆς γυναικὸς ἴσχυροτέρους. τούτου τὸ πάν ύψος πεντίκοντα καὶ πέντε πηχῶν ἦν.
171 (1) Τῇλικοῦτοι δ' ὅντες οἱ τρεῖς τὸ μέγεθος πολύ μείζονες ἔφαυλοντο διὰ τὸν τόπον· αὐτό τε γὰρ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τεῖχος, ἐν δ' ἦσαν, ἐφ' ύψηλῷ λόφῳ δεδομένῳ, καὶ τοῦ λόφου καθάπερ κορυφή τις ψηλοτέρα προανείχεν εἰς τριάκοντα πῆχείς, ύπὲρ ἦν οἱ πύργου κείμενοι πολὺ δὴ τι τοῦ μετεώρου προσελάβαντον. θαυμάσιον δὲ καὶ τῶν λίθων ἦν τὸ μέγεθος· οὐ γὰρ ἔξι εἰκαίας χερμάδος οὔδὲ φορητῶν ἀνθρώπως πετρῶν συνειστήκεσαν,
cubits each; forty cubits was also the height of its solid base. Above and around this ran a cloister, ten cubits high, protected by parapets and bulwarks. Over this and rising from the centre of the cloister was built another tower, apportioned into sumptuous apartments, including a bath, in order that nothing might be wanting to impart to this tower the appearance of a palace. Its summit was crowned with battlements and turrets, and its total height was about ninety cubits. In form it resembled the tower of Pharos\(^a\) that emits its beacon light to navigators approaching Alexandria, but in circumference it was much larger. It had now become the seat of Simon’s tyranny.

The third tower, Mariamme\(^b\)—for such was the queen’s name—was solid to a height of but twenty cubits, its breadth being also twenty cubits and its length the same. But its upper residential quarters were far more luxurious and ornate than those of the other towers, the king considering it appropriate that the one named after a woman should so far surpass in decoration those called after men, as they outdid the woman’s tower in strength. The total height of this last was fifty-five cubits.

(4) But while such were the proportions of these three towers, they seemed far larger owing to their site. For the old wall in which they stood was itself built on a lofty hill, and above the hill rose as it were a crest thirty cubits higher still; on this the towers stood and thus gained immensely in elevation. Marvellous, too, were the dimensions of the stones; for these were not composed of ordinary blocks or boulders such as men might carry, but were

\(^a\) iv. 613.  
\(^b\) Site unknown, apparently E. of Phasael.
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175 λευκῆ δὲ μάρμαρος ἐτμήθη· καὶ τὸ μὲν μῆκος ἐκάστης πηχῶν ἤν εἰκοσι, δέκα δὲ εὗρος καὶ βάθος πέντε, συνήνωντο δὲ ἐπὶ ἄλληλοις, ως δοκεῖν ἐκαστὸν πῦργον μίαν εἶναι πέτραν ἀναφυκιῶν, ἔπειτα δὲ περιεξέσθαι χερσὶ τεχνῶν εἰς σχῆμα καὶ γωνίας· οὕτως οὐδαμόθεν ἡ συνά.

176 φειά τῆς ἀρμονίας διεφαίνετο. κεμένους δὲ πρὸς ἀρκτὸν αὐτοῖς ἔνδοθεν ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐλή.

177 προσέξευκτο παντὸς λόγου κρείσσων· οὕτε γὰρ πολυτελείας οὕτε κατασκευῆς τυνος ἔλειπεν ἑπερβολήν, ἀλλὰ τετείχιστο μὲν ἀπασα τριάκοντα πήκτες τὸ ύψος κύκλω, κατ' ἵσον ἀδιάστημα κεκοσμημένους δὲ πῦργοις διεἰλήπτο ἀνδρώσει τε.

178 μεγίστους καὶ εἰς ἑξενῶνας ἐκατοντακλίνους· ἐν οἷς ἀδιήγητος μὲν ἡ ποικιλία τῶν λιθῶν ἦν, συνήκτο γὰρ πολὺς ὁ πανταχοῦς σπάνιος, θαυμασταὶ δ' ὅροφαι μῆκει τε δοκῶν καὶ λαμπρότητι προ-

179 κοσμημάτων, οἶκων δὲ πλῆθος καὶ διαφοραί σχημάτων περὶ τοῦτοις μυρίαι, πᾶσιν γε μὴν ἀποσκευαὶ πλήρεις, καὶ τὰ πλεῖω τῶν ἐν ἐκάστοις.

180 κεμένων δὲ ἀργύρου τοῦ τῆς χρυσοῦ. περίστοι δὲ δὲ διὶ ἄλληλων ἐν κύκλῳ πολλά, καὶ στῦλοι πρὸς ἐκάστω διάφοροι· τὰ γε μὴν τοῦτων ὑπαιθρα.

181 πάντα ἁλοερά, καὶ ποικίλαι μὲν ἦλαι μακροί δὲ δι᾿ αὐτῶν περίπατοι καὶ περὶ τοῦτος εὐρίποι βαθεῖς δεξαμεναὶ τε πανταχοῦ χαλκουργημάτων περίπλεον, δι᾽ ὅτι τὸ ύψωρ ἐξεχέιτο, καὶ πολλοὶ περὶ τὰ

182 νάματα πῦργου πελεῖδῶν ἡμέρων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὕτω ἐρμηνεύσαι δυνατὸν ἀξίως τὰ βασιλεῖς, καὶ

1 δὲ seems out of place and should probably stand before (Niese) or after διάστημα: L places it after διεἰλήπτο.

2 PAM: πανταχοῦ the rest.

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cut out of white marble. The length of each block was twenty cubits, the breadth ten, and the depth five, and so nicely were they joined to one another that each tower seemed like one natural rock, that had later been polished by the hands of craftsmen into shape and angles; so wholly imperceptible was the fitting of the joints.

Adjoining and on the inner side of these towers, which lay to the north of it, was the king's palace, baffling all description: indeed, in extravagance and equipment no building surpassed it. It was completely enclosed within a wall thirty cubits high, broken at equal distances by ornamental towers, and contained immense banqueting-halls and bedchambers for a hundred guests. The interior fittings are indescribable — the variety of the stones (for species rare in every other country were here collected in abundance), ceilings wonderful both for the length of the beams and the splendour of their surface decoration, the host of apartments with their infinite varieties of design, all amply furnished, while most of the objects in each of them were of silver or gold. All around were many circular cloisters, leading one into another, the columns in each being different, and their open courts all of greensward; there were groves of various trees intersected by long walks, which were bordered by deep canals, and ponds everywhere studded with bronze figures, through which the water was discharged, and around the streams were numerous cots for tame pigeons. However, it is impossible adequately to delineate the palace, and the memory of it is harrowing, recalling
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φέρει βάσανον ἡ μνήμη, τὰς τοῦ ληστρικοῦ πυρὸς
183 δαπάνας ἀναφέρουσα: οὐ γὰρ ταῦτα ᾿Ρωμαῖοι
κατέφλεξαν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔνδον ἐπιβούλων, ὡς
προειρήκαμεν, ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἀποστάσεως1 ἀπὸ
μὲν τῆς ᾿Αντωνίας ἥρξατο τὸ πῦρ, μετέβη δ’ ἐπὶ
tὰ βασίλεια καὶ τῶν τριῶν πύργων τὰς στέγας
ἐπενεμήθη.
184 (v. 1) Τὸ δ’ ἱερὸν ἑδρυτο μὲν, ὥσπερ ἐφην, ἐπὶ
λόφου καρτεροῦ, κατ’ ἀρχὰς δὲ μόλις ἐξήρκει τὸ
ἀνωτάτω χαμαλόν αὐτοῦ τῷ τε ναῷ καὶ τῷ
βωμῷ· τὰ γὰρ πέριξ ἀπόκρημνος ἦν καὶ κατάντης.
185 τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως Σολομῶνος, ὅς δὴ καὶ τὸν ναὸν
ἐκτισέν, τὸ κατ’ ἀνατολάς μέρος ἐκτείχισαντος,
ἐπετέθη μία στοὰ τῷ χώματι· καὶ κατὰ γε τὰ
λοιπὰ μέρη γυμνὸς ὁ ναὸς ἦν. τοῖς δ’ ἐξῆς αἰῶνα
ἀεί τι τοῦ λαοῦ προσχωινύντος ἀνισούμενος ὁ
186 λόφος ἡυρύνετο. διακόσιαντες δὲ καὶ τὸ προσ-
ἀρκτιον τεῖχος τοσοῦτον προσελάμβανον ὅσον
ὑστερον ἐπείχεν οὐ τοῦ παντὸς ἱεροῦ περίβολος.
187 τείχισαντες δ’ ἐκ βίες τριχῆ κυκλόθεν τὸν
λόφον καὶ μείζον ἐλπίδος ἐκπονήσαντες ἐργον, εἰς
1 Λ: + καὶ (κατεφλέχθησαν καὶ C) the rest.

a B. ii. 430-440; the rebels first set fire to Antonia and
then besieged the Roman garrison in Herod’s palace and
burnt their camp (September A.D. 66).
b For comparison with this account of Herod’s temple we
possess a second partial description in the tractate of the
Mishna entitled Middot(h) (= “measures” sc. of the
temple), written c. A.D. 150. The two accounts are in many
particulars inconsistent. Middoth on some points usefully
supplements Josephus; but its author, whose information
comes to him at second hand, writes without the strict regard
for accuracy of a mere antiquarian. Like Ezekiel, he has
before him a picture of the ideal temple of the future. Of
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as it does the ravages of the brigands' fire. For it was not the Romans who burnt it to the ground, but this was done, as we have said already, by conspirators within the walls at the opening of the revolt. The conflagration beginning at Antonia passed to the palace, and spread to the roofs of the three towers.

(v. 1) Though the temple, as I said, was seated on a strong hill, the level area on its summit originally barely sufficed for shrine and altar, the ground around it being precipitous and steep. But king Solomon, the actual founder of the temple, having walled up the eastern side, a single portico was reared on this made ground; on its other sides the sanctuary remained exposed. In course of ages, however, through the constant additions of the people to the embankment, the hill-top by this process of levelling up was widened. They further broke down the north wall and thus took in an area as large as the whole temple enclosure subsequently occupied. Then, after having enclosed the hill from its base with a wall on three sides, and accomplished a task greater than they could ever have

the two accounts, that of Josephus, who had seen the temple, is the more trustworthy; but the discrepancies between Josephus, Middoth, and archaeological discovery are so great that in the opinion of the most recent editor of the tractate "the true picture of the Herodian temple can no longer to-day be drawn." See O. Holtzmann, Die Mischna, Middot (Giessen, 1913), p. vi, and especially pp. 15-44, "Der Traktat Middot und Josephus."

c See §§ 138 f.

d According to Middoth ii. 1 the temple hill was 500 cubits square (a figure perhaps derived from Ezek. xlii. 16-20).

e Solomon having already walled up the E. side, as stated above, § 185.
JOSEPHUS

δ μακροί μὲν ἐξαναλώθησαν αἰῶνες αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ ἱεροὶ δὲ θησαυροὶ πάντες, οὖς ἀνεπίμπλασαν οἱ παρὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης δασμοὶ πεμπόμενοι τῷ θεῷ, τοὺς τε ἀνω περιβόλους καὶ τὸ κάτω ἱερὸν ἄμφι

188 εδείμιντο. τούτου τὸ ταπεινότατον ἀπὸ τριακοσίων ἀνετείχισαντο πηχῶν, κατὰ δὲ τινα τόπους καὶ πλείονος, οὐ μέντοι πᾶν τὸ βάθος ἐφαίνετο τῶν θεμελίων. ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ ἔχωσαν τὰς φάραγγας, ἀνυσόφι βουλόμενοι τοὺς στενωποὺς

189 τοῦ ἄστεος. πέτραι δὲ τεσσαρακονταπῆχεις τὸ μέγεθος ἦσαν τοῦ δομήματος. η τε γὰρ δαβίδεια τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ φιλοτιμία λόγου μείζονας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς ἐπιβολᾶς, καὶ τὸ μηδὲ ἐλπισθὲν ἔξειν πέρας ἐπιμονὴ καὶ χρόνοις ἢν ἀνύσιμον.

190 (2) Ἡν δὲ ἄξια τῶν τηλικοῦτων θεμελίων καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔργα: διηπλαὶ μὲν γὰρ αἱ στοαὶ πᾶσαι, κίονες δ' αὐταῖς εἰκοσιπέντε πηχῶν τὸ ὑψὸς ἐφεστήκεσαν, μονόλιθοι λευκοτάτης μαρμάρου, κεδρίνως δὲ φατνώμασιν ὥρφωντο. τούτων ἢ μὲν φυσικῇ πολυτέλεια καὶ τὸ εὐξεστον καὶ τὸ ἁμώνων παρεῖχε θεωρίαν ἄξιολογον, οὐδενὶ δ' ἔξωθεν οὑτε ζωγραφίας οὑτε γλυφίδος ἔργῳ

191 προσηγλάστο. καὶ πλατεῖαι μὲν ἦσαν ἐπὶ τριακοντα πῆχεις, ὁ δὲ πᾶς κύκλος αὐτῶν εἰς ἐξ σταδίους συνεμετρεῖτο περιλαμβανομένης καὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίας. τὸ δ' ὑπαυθρὸν ἄπαν πεποίκιλτο

192 παντοδαπῶς λίθως κατεστρωμένον. διὰ τούτου προϊόντων ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἱερὸν δρύφακτος

1 L Lat. (etiam): ἐκ the rest.

2 Destinon: παντοδαπῶν λίθων mss.

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hoped to achieve—a task upon which long ages were spent by them as well as all their sacred treasures, though replenished by the tributes offered to God from every quarter of the world—they built around the original block the upper courts and the lower temple enclosure. The latter, where its foundations were lowest, they built up from a depth of three hundred cubits; at some spots this figure was exceeded. The whole depth of the foundations was, however, not apparent; for they filled up a considerable part of the ravines, wishing to level the narrow alleys of the town. Blocks of stone were used in the building measuring forty cubits; for lavish funds and popular enthusiasm led to incredible enterprises, and a task seemingly interminable was through perseverance and in time actually achieved.

(2) Nor was the superstructure unworthy of such foundations. The porticoes, all in double rows, were supported by columns five and twenty cubits high—each a single block of the purest white marble—and ceiled with panels of cedar. The natural magnificence of these columns, their excellent polish and fine adjustment presented a striking spectacle, without any adventitious embellishment of painting or sculpture. The porticoes were thirty cubits broad, and the complete circuit of them, embracing the tower of Antonia, measured six furlongs. The open court was from end to end variegated with paving of all manner of stones.

Proceeding across this towards the second court of the temple, one found it surrounded by a stone...
JOSEPHUS

περιβέβλητο λίθων, τρίπηχυς μὲν ύψος, πάνω δὲ
194 χαριέντως διειργασμένος· ἐν αὐτῷ δ’ εἰστήκεσα
ὲξ ἵσου διαστήματος στῆλαι τὸν τῆς ἀγνείας
προσημαίνουσα νόμον, αἱ μὲν Ἐλληνικοὶ αἱ δὲ
Ῥωμαίκοις γράμμασιν, μηδένα ἀλλόφυλον ἐντὸς
τοῦ ἀγίου παριέναι· τὸ γὰρ δεύτερον ἑρὸν ἄγιον
195 ἐκαλεῖτο. καὶ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα μὲν βαθμοὺς ἥν
ἀναβατὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου, τετράγωνον δὲ ἄνω
196 καὶ τεῖχει περιπεφραγμένον ὁδὸν. τούτου τὸ μὲν
ἐξωθεν ύψος καίπερ τεσσαράκοντα πηχῶν ὑπάρχων
ὑπὸ τῶν βαθμῶν ἐκαλύπτετο, τὸ δ’ ἐνδον εἴκοσι
καὶ πέντε πηχῶν ἥν· πρὸς γὰρ ψυχοφέρῳ δεδο-
μημένου τοῦ βάθρου1 οὐκέτ’ ἢν ἀπαν ἐσώ κατά-
197 φανές καλυπτόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ λόφου. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς
dεκατέσσαρας βαθμοὺς τὸ μέχρι τοῦ τείχους
198 διάστημα πηχῶν ἥν δέκα, πάν ἱσόπεδον. ἐνθεν
ἀλλοι πάλιν πεντάβαθμοι2 κλίμακες ἀνὴγον ἐπὶ τὰς
πύλας, αἱ ἀπὸ μὲν ἄρκτου καὶ μεσημβρίας ὁκτὼ,
καθ’ ἐκάτερον τέσσαρες, δύο δ’ ἤσαν ἐξ ἀνατολῆς
κατ’ ἀνάγκην· διατετειχισμένον γὰρ κατὰ τοῦτο
τὸ κλίμα τάς γυναικῶν ὁδόν πρὸς θρησκείαν

1 τοῦ βάθρου Destinon: τοῦ βάθμου (or τοῖς βάθμοις) MSS.
2 ἐνδεκάβαθμοι PAML; cf. § 206.

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a Hebrew soreg, Middoth ii. 3 a.
b c. 4½ feet: according to Middoth, “ten handbreadths”
=c. 2½ feet.
c One of these slabs was discovered in 1871 by M. Cler-
mont-Ganneau, and is now at Constantinople; the inscrip-
tion on it runs μηδένα ἀλλογενὴ εἰσπορεύεσθαι ἐντὸς τοῦ περὶ τὸ
ἰερὸν τρυφάκτου καὶ περιβόλου. δς δ’ ἀν λήφθη ἐαυτῷ αἰτίος ἢταὶ
dιά τὸ ἐξακολουθεῖν θάνατον. Josephus mentions it again in
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balustrade, three cubits high and of exquisite workmanship; in this at regular intervals stood slabs giving warning, some in Greek, others in Latin characters, of the law of purification, to wit that no foreigner was permitted to enter the holy place, for so the second enclosure of the temple was called. It was approached from the first by fourteen steps; the area above was quadrangular, and screened by a wall of its own. The exterior height of this, actually forty cubits, was disguised by the steps, the interior altitude was but five and twenty; for the floor being built on a higher level, the whole was not visible from within, a portion being concealed by the hill. Beyond the fourteen steps there was a space of ten cubits between them and the wall, forming a level terrace. From this again other flights of five steps led up to the gates. Of these there were eight on the north and south, four on either side, and two on the east—necessarily; since in this quarter a special place of worship was walled off for the women,

A. xv. 417 ἐρκίου λιθίνου δρυφάκτου γραφῆ κωλῆν εἰσιέναι τῶν ἀλλοεθνῆς θανάτικῆς ἀπειλομένης τῆς ἔμιας; cf. the allusion in Philo, Leg. ad Gaium, 31 (212 Cohn). St. Paul’s arrest was due to a belief that he had brought Trophimus the Ephesian within the barrier, Acts xxii. 26 ff.

d Or (with the mss.) “the staircase being built against rising ground.”

e The steps, with the terrace above them, ran round three sides of the building; at the west end there were no steps (§ 38). Middoth ii. 3 b mentions the terrace (Chel), 10 cubits (broad), but speaks of 12 steps only, instead of the 14 + 5 of Josephus. In this and other discrepancies Josephus appears to be the more trustworthy authority.

f i.e. relatively to the ναὸς and the courts immediately surrounding it; the two gates were in the centre of the east and west walls respectively of the Women’s Court, which formed the main access to the inner courts.
χώρου, ἐδει δευτέραν εἶναι πύλην· τέτμητο δ' αὐτὴ
tῆς πρώτης ἀντικρυς. κάκ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ κλιμάτων
μιὰ μεσημβρινὴ πύλη καὶ μία βόρειος, δι' ἡς εἰς
tὴν γυναικονίντιν εἰσήγον· κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ἄλλας
οὐκ ἔξην παρελθεῖν γυναιξίν, ἄλλ' οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν
σφητέραν ὑπερβῆναι τὸ διατείχισμα. ἀνεῖτο γε
μὴν ταῖς τ' ἐπιχωρίους καὶ ταῖς ἔξωθεν ὁμοφύλους

ἐν ὑσω πρὸς βρησκεῖαν ὁ χώρος. τὸ δὲ πρὸς δύσω
μέρος οὐκ εἰχὲ πύλην, ἄλλα διηνέκες ἐδεδόμητο
ταύτῃ τὸ τείχος. αἱ στοι δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν πυλῶν
ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἔνδον ἐστραμμέναι πρὸ τῶν
γαζοφυλακίων σφόδρα μὲν καλότας καὶ μεγάλους
ἀνείχοντο κίσσων, ἦσαν δ' ἀπλαί, καὶ πλὴν τοῦ
μεγέθους τῶν κάτω κατ' ουδὲν ἀπελεύπτοντο.

(3) Τῶν δὲ πυλῶν αἱ μὲν ἐννέα χρυσῶ καὶ
ἀργυρῷ κεκαλυμμέναι πανταχόθεν ἦσαν, ὁμοίως
τε αἱ τε παραστάδες καὶ τὰ ὑπέρθυρα, μία δ' ἡ
ἔξωθεν τοῦ νεῶτον Κορινθίου χαλκοῦ, πολὺ τῇ τιμῇ
τὰς καταργύρους καὶ περιχρύσους ὑπεράγουσα.

καὶ δύο μὲν ἐκάστου πυλῶν θύρας, τριάκοντα
dὲ πιθών τὸ ύψος ἔκαστης καὶ τὸ πλάτος ἦν

πεντεκαίδεκα. μετὰ μέντοι τὰς εἰσόδους ἐνδοτέρω
πλατυνόμενοι παρ' ἐκάτερον τριακονταπτήχεις
εξέδρας εἰχὸν εὐρός τε καὶ μῆκος πυργοειδεῖς,
1 δ' ἡς] quibus Lat.

a Or “facing inwards from.”

b These lay round the walls of the whole inner court and
were used for the storage of temple property (Smith, Jeru-
salem, ii. 510 n., Hastings, D.B. iv. 714 a); they included
perhaps the strong-rooms for private wealth deposited here
for safety, B. vi. 282, cf. A. xix. 294 “the treasury.” In the
N.T. (Mark xii. 41, etc.), on the other hand, “the treasury”
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rendering a second gate requisite; this approach opened opposite to the first. On the other sides there was one gate on the south and one on the north giving access to the women’s court; for women were not permitted to enter by the others nor yet to pass by way of their own gate beyond the partition wall. This court was, however, thrown open for worship to all Jewish women alike, whether natives of the country or visitors from abroad. The west end of the building had no gate, the wall there being unbroken. The porticoes between the gates, on the inner side of the wall in front of the treasury chambers, were supported by exceedingly beautiful and lofty columns; these porticoes were single, but, except in point of size, in no way inferior to those in the lower court.

(3) Of the gates nine were completely overlaid with gold and silver, as were also their door-posts and lintels; but one, that outside the sanctuary, was of Corinthian bronze, and far exceeded in value those plated with silver and set in gold. Each gateway had two doors, and each door was thirty cubits in height and fifteen in breadth. Beyond and within the entrances, however, the portals expanded, embracing on either side turret-like chambers measuring thirty cubits in breadth and length, and means the 13 trumpet-shaped receptacles for alms and offerings which stood in the Women’s Court.

c The 10 gates mentioned in § 198.

d “The Corinthian gate” = “the gate of Nicanor” of Middoth (ii. 3 g, “All the gates were gilded except the gate of Nicanor,” mentioning its bronze), and probably “the Beautiful gate” of Acts iii. 2, 10. From Josephus, though his language is difficult, it seems clear that it was in the east wall, not (as some have argued) in the west wall, of the women’s court. Corinthian bronze was famous.

* Or “gate-rooms.”
νυγλας1 δ' υπὲρ τεσσαράκοντα πῆχεις. δυο δ' ἀνείχον ἐκάστην κίονες, δώδεκα πηχῶν τὴν
204 περιοχήν ἐχοντες. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ὦσον ἦν
tὸ μέγεθος, ἡ δ' υπὲρ τὴν Κορινθίαν ἀπὸ τῆς
gυναικωνίτιδος ἐξ ἀνατολῆς ἀνουγομένη τῆς τοῦ
205 ναοῦ πύλης ἀντικρύ πολὺ μεῖζων πεντήκοντα
γὰρ πηχῶν οὔσα τὴν ἀνάστασιν τεσσαράκοντα-
pῆχεις τὰς θύρας ἐἰχὲ καὶ τὸν κόσμον πολυ-
tελέστερον ἐπὶ δαμιλεῖς πάχος ἀργύρου τε καὶ
χρυσοῦ. τοῦτον δὲ ταῖς ἐννέας πύλαις ἐπέεινεν ὁ
206 Τιβερίου πατήρ Ἀλέξανδρος. βαθμοὶ δὲ δεκα-
pέντε πρὸς τὴν μεῖζον πύλην ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν
γυναικῶν διαστιχίσματος ἀνήγου τῶν γὰρ κατὰ
tὰς ἄλλας πέντε βαθμῶν ἦσαν βραχύτεροι.

207 (4) Αὐτὸς δ' ὁ ναὸς κατὰ μέσον κείμενος, τὸ
ἀγιον ἱερόν, δώδεκα βαθμοῖς ἦν ἀναβατός, καὶ
tὸ μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον ὦσοι τε καὶ εὗροι ὦσον
ἀνὰ πῆχεις ἐκατόν, κατόπιν δὲ τεσσαράκοντα
πῆχεις στενότερος ἐμπροσθεὶν γὰρ ὀψερ ώμοι
208 παρ' ἐκάτερον εἰκοσαπῆχεις διέβαινον. ἡ πρώτη
δ' αὐτοῦ πύλη, πηχῶν ἔβδομήκοντα τὸ ὦσοι οὔσα
καὶ εὗροι εἰκοσι καὶ πέντε, θυρας οὔς εἰχε τοῦ
γὰρ οὖρανον τὸ ἁγιὼν2 καὶ ἀδιάκλειστον ἐνέφαινεν
κεχρύσωτο δὲ τὰ μέτωπα πάντα, καὶ δὴ αὐτῆς
τέ το πρῶτος ὦκος ἐξωθεὶν πᾶς κατεφαινετο μέ-
γιστος ὦν, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐσω πύλην πᾶντα
209 λαμπόμενα χρυσῷ τοῖς ὅρωσιν ὑπεπίπτεν. τοῦ
ναοῦ δὲ ὄντος ἐσω διστέγον μόνος ὁ πρῶτος

1 Lat.: ψῆλαi mss.                         2 Bekker: ἀφανεῖς mss.

a i.e. west of.
b i.e. forming the eastern approach to the sanctuary, from
the west end of the Women's Court.
over forty cubits high, each supported by two columns, twelve cubits in circumference. The dimensions of the other gates were all alike, but the one beyond\(^a\) the Corinthian gate, opening from the Women's Court on the east,\(^b\) opposite the gate of the sanctuary, was far larger, having an altitude of fifty cubits, with doors of forty, and richer decoration, being overlaid with massive plates of silver and gold. The nine gates were thus plated by Alexander \(^c\) the father of Tiberius. Fifteen steps led up from the women's compartment to the greater gate, these steps being shallower than the five at each of the other gates.\(^d\)

(4) The sacred edifice itself, the holy temple, in the central position, was approached by a flight of twelve steps. The façade\(^e\) was of equal height and breadth, each being a hundred cubits;\(^f\) but the building behind was narrower by forty cubits, for in front it had as it were shoulders extending twenty cubits on either side.\(^g\) The first gate was seventy cubits high and twenty-five broad and had no doors, displaying unexcluded the void expanse of heaven; the entire face was covered with gold, and through it the first edifice was visible to a spectator without in all its grandeur and the surroundings of the inner gate all gleaming with gold fell beneath his eye. But, whereas the sanctuary within consisted of two

\(^{a}\) Alabarch of Alexandria and brother of the philosopher Philo, \(A.\) xviii. 259; for his son, Tiberius Alexander, now a staff-officer in the Roman army, see \(B.\) ii. 220, v. 45. \(^d\) \(§\) 198.

\(^{b}\) One must imagine a great propylæon or porch.

\(^{c}\) So \(Middoth\) iv. 6. In Nero's time King Agrippa had made preparations for raising the height to 120 cubits, but the work was prevented by the outbreak of war, \(B.\) v. 36 f., cf. \(A.\) xv. 391.

\(^{d}\) \(Middoth,\) iv. 7 c: "The sanctuary was narrow behind and broad in front, like a lion."
οἶκος προύκειτο καὶ διηνεκὲς εἰς τὸ ύψος, ἀνατευνόμενος μὲν ἐπ' ἑνεκτόντα πῆχεως, μηκυνώμενος δὲ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ διαβαίνων ἐπ' εἰκοσιον.

210 ἦ δὲ διὰ τοῦ οἴκου πῦλη κεχρύσωτο μὲν, ὡς ἐφη, πᾶσα καὶ ὅλος ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τοῖχος, εἰξε δὲ καὶ τὰς χρυσᾶς ύπὲρ ἑαυτῆς ἀμπέλους, ἀφ' ὧν βότρυες

211 ἀνδρομήκεις κατεκρέματο. [ὁντος δὲ ἦδη τοῦ ναοῦ διστέγου, ταπεινοτέρα τῆς ἐξωθεὶς ύψως ἢ ἐνδο ἕν] 1 καὶ θύρας εἰρχὲ χρυσᾶς πεντήκοντα-

212 πέντε πῆχεων τὸ ύψος, εὔρος δὲ ἐκκαίθεκα. πρὸ δὲ τούτων ὦσμήκεις καταπέτασμα πέπλος ἢν Βαβυλώνιος ποικιλτὸς εἰς ὑακίνθου καὶ βύσσου κόκκον τε καὶ πορφύρας, θαυμαστῶς μὲν εἰργασμένος, οὐκ ἀθεώρητον δὲ τῆς ύλῆς τὴν κράσιν

213 ἔξων, ἀλλ' ὦσπερ εἰκόνα τῶν ὦλων· ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτήτης τῇ κόκκῳ μὲν τὸ πῦρ, τῇ βύσσῳ δὲ τῇ γῆ, τῇ δ' ὑακίνθῳ τὸν ἀέρα, καὶ τῇ πορφύρᾳ τῇ θάλασσα, τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῆς χροίας ὁμοιουμένων, τῆς δὲ βύσσου καὶ τῆς πορφύρας διά τῆς γένεσιν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν μὲν ἀναδίδωσιν ἡ γῆ, τὴν δ' ἡ θάλασσα.

214 κατεγέγραπτο δ' ὁ πέπλος ἀπάσαν τὴν οὐράνιον θεωρίαν πλὴν τῶν ζωδίων.

215 (5) Παρίσταται δ' ἐσω τὸ ἐπιπεδον τοῦ ναοῦ μέρος ἐξεδέχετο. τοῦτο τοῖνυν τὸ μὲν ύψος ἑξηκόντα πῆχῶν καὶ τὸ μῆκος ἵσον, εἰκοσιον 2 δὲ

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1 See note d.
2 eikositesotarwn L.
separate chambers,\(^d\) the first building alone stood exposed to view, from top to bottom, towering to a height of ninety cubits, its length being fifty and its breadth twenty. The gate opening into the building was, as I said,\(^b\) completely overlaid with gold, as was the whole wall around it. It had, moreover, above it those golden vines,\(^c\) from which depended grape-clusters as tall as a man;\(^d\) and it had golden doors fifty-five cubits high and sixteen broad. Before these hung a veil of equal length, of Babylonian tapestry, with embroidery of blue and fine linen, of scarlet also and purple, wrought with marvellous skill. Nor was this mixture of materials without its mystic meaning: it typified the universe. For the scarlet seemed emblematical of fire, the fine linen of the earth, the blue of the air, and the purple of the sea; the comparison in two cases being suggested by their colour, and in that of the fine linen and purple by their origin, as the one is produced by the earth and the other by the sea. On this tapestry was portrayed a panorama of the heavens, the signs of the Zodiac excepted.

(5) Passing within one found oneself in the ground-floor of the sanctuary. This was sixty cubits in height, the same in length, and twenty cubits in

\(^d\) Here the mss. add: "But, as the sanctuary was now in two stories, it appeared lower within than from without." This irrelevant parenthesis interrupts the sentence, gives to διαστήματος a meaning different from that in which it has just been used, and is a premature reference to the interior of the building, the description of which begins only at § 215; the two stories are mentioned in § 221. I take the clause to be a gloss on the opening words of § 209, perhaps a correction of the author himself or of a συνεργός; there are indications that the text has been worked over.
JOSEPHUS

216 πηχών τό πλάτος ἤν. τό δ’ ἐξηκοντάπηχυ πάλιν διήρητο, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρώτον μέρος ἀποτετμημένον ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα πῆχεις εἶχεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τρία τὰ βαθμασώτατα καὶ περιβότα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις

217 ἔργα, λυχνίαι τράπεζαν θυμιατήριον. ἐνέφαινον δ’ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ λύχνου τοὺς πλανήτας· τοσοῦτοι γάρ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς διήρηντο τῆς λυχνίας· οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἄρτοι δώδεκα τὸν τε ζῳδιακὸν

218 κύκλον καὶ τὸν ἐναυτὸν. τὸ θυμιατήριον δὲ διὰ τῶν τρισκαίδεκα θυμιαμάτων, οἷς ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀνεπιμπλατο καὶ γῆς ἄοικητον τε καὶ οἰκουμένης,

219 ἐσήμανεν ὅτι τοὺς θεοὺς πάντα καὶ τῶι θεῶι. τὸ δ’ ἐνδοτάτω μέρος εἶκοσι μὲν πηχῶν ἤν. διείργητο δ’ ὁμοίως καταπετάσματι πρὸς τὸ ἐξωθέν. ἐκείνο δ’ οὐδέν ὠλως ἐν αὐτῷ, ὥσιν δὲ καὶ ἀχραντό καὶ αθέατον ἤν πᾶσιν, ἀγίον δὲ ἀγίον ἐκάλειτο.

220 περὶ δὲ τὰ πλευρὰ τοῦ κάτω ναοῦ δι’ ἀλλήλων ἦσαν οἰκοὶ τρίστεγοι πολλοί, καὶ παρ’ ἐκάτερον

221 εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πύλης εἴσοδοι. τὸ δ’ ὑπερῴον μέρος τούτους μὲν οὐκέτ’ εἶχεν τοὺς οἰκούς, παρόσον ἤν καὶ στενότερον, υψηλότερον2 δ’ ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα πῆχεις καὶ λιτότερον τοῦ κάτω· συνάγεται γάρ οὖτως πρὸς ἐξήκοντα τοῖς τοῦ ἐπιπέδου πηχῶν ἔκατον τὸ πάν ψός.

1 γῆς ἄοικητον τε Niese: τῆς τε ἄοικητον mss.  2 υψηλῶν L.

a So the Talmud (as quoted in Encycl. Bibl. ii. 2167). To the four ingredients prescribed in Exod. xxx. 34 (“stacte, onycha, galbanum, frankincense”) there were added in Rabbinic times nine more, viz. myrrh, cassia, spikenard, saffron, costus, mace, cinnamon, salt and a herb which had the property of causing the smoke to ascend vertically. An incense of seven ingredients is mentioned in Jubilees, xvi. 24, cf. Ecclus. xxiv. 15
breadth. But the sixty cubits of its length were again divided. The first portion, partitioned off at forty cubits, contained within it three most wonderful works of art, universally renowned: a lampstand, a table, and an altar of incense. The seven lamps (such being the number of the branches from the lampstand) represented the planets; the loaves on the table, twelve in number, the circle of the Zodiac and the year; while the altar of incense, by the thirteen fragrant spices from sea and from land, both desert and inhabited, with which it was replenished, signified that all things are of God and for God.

The innermost recess measured twenty cubits, and was screened in like manner from the outer portion by a veil. In this stood nothing whatever: unapproachable, inviolable, invisible to all, it was called the Holy of Holy.

Around the sides of the lower part of the sanctuary were numerous chambers, in three stories, communicating with one another; these were approached by entrances from either side of the gateway. The upper part of the building had no similar chambers, being proportionately narrower, but rose forty cubits higher in a severer style than the lower story. These forty cubits, added to the sixty of the ground-floor, amount to a total altitude of a hundred cubits.

To Philo the four Mosaic ingredients of the incense symbolize the four elements, *Quis rer. div. heres*, 197 (40). A similar “cosmical” interpretation of the tabernacle and of the priestly vestments (§ 231) is given by Josephus elsewhere (*A. iii. 180 ff. ἐκαστὰ γὰρ τούτων εἰς ἀπομίμησιν καὶ διατύπωσιν τῶν ὄλων, cf. B. iv. 324 ἡ κοσμικὴ θρησκεία*) and by Philo, *Vita Mosis* ii. 117 Cohn (iii. 12) ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ μίμημα τοῦ κόσμου.

The Hebrew names for it were *debir* (“hindmost chamber”) or “Holy of Holies.”
(6) Τὸ δ᾿ ἐξωθεν αὐτοῦ πρόσωπον οὐδὲν οὐτ᾽ εἰς ψυχῆς οὐτ᾽ εἰς ὀμμάτων ἐκπλήξην ἀπέλειπεν· πλαξί γὰρ χρυσοῦ στιβαράς κεκαλυμμένος πάντοθεν, ὑπὸ τᾶς πρώτας ἀνατολάς πυρωδεστάτην ἀπέπαλλεν αὐγήν καὶ τῶν βιαζομένων ἰδεῖν τὰς ὄψεις ὠσπερ ἠλιακαῖς ἀκτίνων ἀπέστρεφεν. τοῖς γε μὴν ἀφικνουμένοις ξένους πόρρωθεν ὦμοιος ὀρει χιόνος πλήρει κατεφαινετο· καὶ γὰρ καθὰ μὴν κεχρύσωτο λευκότατος ἦν. κατὰ κορυφήν δὲ χρυσέους ὅβελους ἀνεῖχεν τεθηγμένους, ὡς μὴ τινὶ προσκαθεξομένω μολύνυτο τῶν ὤρνεών. τῶν δ᾿ ἐν αὐτῷ λίθων ἐνιού μήκος πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα πῆχυν ἦσαν, ύψος πέντε, εὔρος δ᾿ ἐξ.

πρὸ αὐτοῦ δ᾿ ὁ βωμὸς πεντεκαίδεκα μὲν ύψος ἦν πῆχεων, εὔρος δὲ καὶ μήκος ἐκτείνων ᾧσον ἀνὰ πεντηκοντα πῆχεις τετράγωνος ὦρυτο, κερατοεἰδεῖς προανέχων γωνίας, καὶ ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ἐπ᾿ αὐτόν ἀναίδου ἠρέμα προσάντης ὑπτίαστο. κατεσκευάσθη δ᾿ ἀνευ σιδήρου, καὶ οὐδέποτε ἐξανευ αὐτοῦ σίδηρος. περιέστεφε δὲ τὸν τε ναὸν καὶ τὸν βωμὸν εὐλιθὸν τι καὶ χαρίεν γείσιον, ὅσον πηχυαίον ύψος, δὶ διείργειν ἔξωτερῳ τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν. γονορροῖοι μὲν δὴ καὶ λεπροῖς ἥ πόλις οἶλη, τὸ δ᾿ ἱερὸν ἡ γυναικῶν ἐμμήνως

1 eisaphiknoménov LVRC.

2 τὸ δ᾿ ἱερὸν Niese: τὸ διείργον or τὸ διείργον τὸ ἱερὸν most mss.

a Middoth iv. 6 mentions a "raven-scarer" (scare-crow) one cubit high.

b These blocks, of almost incredible length, must have been exceptional; A. xv. 392 gives the dimensions of the stones as about 25 cubits long, 8 high, and about 12 broad. Cf. the disciples’ exclamation, "Master, behold what manner of stones!") Mark xiii. 1.
(6) The exterior of the building wanted nothing that could astound either mind or eye. For, being covered on all sides with massive plates of gold, the sun was no sooner up than it radiated so fiery a flash that persons straining to look at it were compelled to avert their eyes, as from the solar rays. To approaching strangers it appeared from a distance like a snow-clad mountain; for all that was not overlaid with gold was of purest white. From its summit protruded sharp golden spikes to prevent birds from settling upon and polluting the roof. Some of the stones in the building were forty-five cubits in length, five in height and six in breadth.

In front of it stood the altar, fifteen cubits high, and with a breadth and length extending alike to fifty cubits, in shape a square with horn-like projections at the corners, and approached from the south by a gently sloping acclivity. No iron was used in its construction, nor did iron ever touch it.

Surrounding both the sanctuary and the altar was a low stone parapet, fair and graceful, about a cubit high, which separated the laity outside from the priests.

Persons afflicted with gonorrhoea or leprosy were excluded from the city altogether; the temple was closed to women during their menstruation, and even

Middoth iii. 1a likewise describes the altar as a square with horns at the corners, but gives smaller dimensions, the base being a square of 32 cubits, the highest portion a square of 24 cubits, and the height 8 cubits; it mentions an older and still smaller altar.

So Middoth iii. 3b (adding dimensions).

* So Middoth iii. 4a, b (no iron tool was used in cleaning it), adding the quaint explanation "for iron is created to shorten man's days and the altar is built to lengthen man's days."

Mentioned in Midd. ii. 7b.

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ἀπεκέκλειστο, παρελθεῖν δὲ ταῦτας οὐδὲ καθαραῖς ἔξῆν ὅν προείπαμεν ὄρον. ἀνδρῶν δὲ οἱ μὴ καθάπαν ἡγενεκότες εἰργοντο τῆς ἐνδον αὐλῆς, καὶ τῶν ἱερέων πάλιν οἱ καθαρεύοντες εἰργοντο.

228 (7) Τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ γένους ἱερέων ὅσοι διὰ πήρωσιν οὐκ ἐλειτουργούν παρῆσαν τε ἅμα τοῖς ὀλοκλήροις ἐνδοτέρῳ τοῦ γευσίου καὶ τας ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ἠλάμβανον μερίδας, ταῖς γε μὴν ἐσθῆσειν ἰδιωτικαῖς ἐχρωντο τὴν γὰρ ἱερὰν ὁ λειτουργῶν ἠμφιέννυτο μόνος. ἔπε δὲ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἀνέβαινον οἱ τῶν ἱερέων ἄμωμοι, βύσσον μὲν ἀμπεχόμενοι, μάλιστα δὲ ἀπὸ ἀκράτου νήφοντες δέει τῆς θρησκείας, ὡς μὴ τι παραβαίνει ἐν τῇ λειτουργίᾳ. ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεύς ἀνήγε μὲν σὺν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν, ταῖς δὲ ἐβδομασί καὶ νομιμαίς καὶ εἰ τις ἑορτὴ πάτριος ἡ πανήγυρις ἤ πάνθημος αγομένη δὲ ἐτοὺς ἔλειτουργεῖ δὲ τοὺς μηροὺς μὲν ἀχρις αἰδοῖον διαζώσματι καλύττων, λινοὶ δὲ ὑποδύτην ἐνδοθεν λαμβάνον καὶ ποδῆρη καθύπερθεν ὑακίνθων, ἐνδύμα στρογγύλον θυσανωτον τῶν δὲ θυσάνων ἀπήρτηντο κώδωνες χρύσεοι καὶ ροαι παράλληλοι, βροντῆς μὲν οἱ κώδωνες, ἀτραπής δ' αἱ ροαι σημεῖοι. ἢ δὲ τὸ ἐνδυμα τῶ στέρνω προσηλύσα ταυνία πέντε δημιουμένη

1 Destinon with Lat. : μὴ mss. 2 ἐσθησιν L. 3 Destinon : PAL : om. the rest.

* § 199.
* Cf. with this paragraph Ap. ii. 103 f.
* A fuller description of the vestments both of the ordinary priests and of the high priest, based on Exodus xxviii etc., is given in A. iii. 151-178. Cf. Ecclus. xliv. 7-12.

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when free from impurity they were not permitted to pass the boundary which we have mentioned above. When free from impurity they were not permitted to pass the boundary which we have mentioned above.

Men not thoroughly clean were debarred from admission to the inner court, from which even priests were excluded when undergoing purification.

(7) All who were of priestly lineage but were prevented from officiating by some physical defect, were admitted within the parapet, along with those free from any imperfection, and received the portions which were their birthright, but wore ordinary dress; none but the officiating priest was clad in the holy vestments. The priests who were without blemish went up to the altar and the sanctuary clothed in fine linen, scrupulously abstaining from strong drink through reverence for the ritual, lest they should be guilty of any transgression in their ministrations.

The high priest accompanied them, not on all occasions, but on the seventh days and new moons, and on any national festival or annual assemblage of all the people. When ministering, he wore breeches which covered his thighs up to the loins, an under vest of linen, and over that a blue robe reaching to the feet, full and tasselled; and from the tassels hung golden bells and pomegranates alternately, the bells symbolizing thunder and the pomegranates lightning. The embroidered sash which attached this robe to the breast consisted of five

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d "linen breeches" (miknesei bad), Ex. xxviii. 42, τὸν μαναχάςην λευχύμενον A. iii. 152.

e "the robe of the ephod all of blue," Ex. xxviii. 31-35, A. iii. 159-161 (μεειρ καλείται κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν γιλώσαν = Heb. migil).

f "A girdle the work of the embroiderer," Ex. xxviii. 39, A. iii. 159.
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ζωναις πεποίκιλτο, χρυσόν τε καὶ πορφύρας καὶ κόκκου, πρὸς δὲ βύσσου καὶ οὐκίνθου, δὲν δὲν ἔφαμεν καὶ τὰ τοῦ ναοῦ καταπετάσματα συνυφάνθαι.

233 τούτοις δὲ καὶ ἐπωμίδα κεκραμένην εἶχεν, ἐν ᾗ πλείον χρυσὸν ἦν. σχῆμα μὲν οὖν ἐνδυτοῦ1 θώρακος εἶχεν, δύο δὲ αὐτὴν ἐνεπόρπουν ἄσπιδόκαι χρυσαί, κατεκέκλειντο δὲ ἐν ταύταις κάλλιστοι τε καὶ μέγιστοι σαρδόνυχες, τοὺς ἐπωνύμους τῶν τοῦ ἔθνους φυλῶν ἐπιγεγραμμέναι. κατὰ δὲ θάτερον ἄλλου προσήρτητο λίθοι δώδεκα, κατὰ τρεῖς εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη διηρημένοι, σάρδιον τόπαζος σμάραγδος, ἀνθραξ ἱασίης σάφφειρος, ἁχάτης ἀμέθυστος λιγύριον, ὁνυξ βήρυλλος χρυσόλιθος, οίνῳ ἐφ' ἐκάστου πάλιν εἰς τῶν ἐπωνύμων εἶχεν πληρώματος τήν δὲ κεφαλὴν βυσσίνη μὲν ἐσκεπάν τίαρα, κατέστητο δ' ὑακίνθω, περὶ ἣν χρυσὸς ἄλλος ἦν στεφάνος ἐκτυπα φέρων τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα: ταύτα δ' ἐστὶ φωνημένα τέσσαρα. ταύτην

1 ἐπενδύτου Λ.

a §§ 212 f. (excluding gold which is not mentioned in connexion with the veil).

b Ex. xxviii. 6 ff., A. iii. 162 ff. Epomis, the Greek rendering here and in the LXX of the Heb. ephod, means the upper part of a woman's tunic attached by shoulder-straps, a sort of "cape." i.e. at the shoulders.

c So A. iii. 165: the gem intended in Ex. xxviii. 9 is uncertain, R.V. text "onyx," margin "beryl," LXX σμάραγδος (? "emerald"). i.e. in front.

d Ex. xxviii. 17-20, A. iii. 168.

e A. iii. 168 "sardonyx."

f In A. iii. 168 the stones in the two last rows are named in another order, on which emphasis is laid: "The third row begins with jacinth, then amethyst, and thirdly agate, being the ninth in all; in the fourth row chrysolite comes first, next onyx, then beryl—it is the last."

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bands of variegated colours, gold, purple, scarlet, fine linen and blue, with which, as we have said, the veils in the sanctuary were also interwoven. Of the same mixture of materials, with gold preponderating, was the high-priest's ephod. In form like an ordinary cuirass, it was fastened by two golden brooches, set with very large and beautiful sardonyxes, on which were engraved the names of those after whom the tribes of the nation were called. Attached to the other side were twelve more stones, in four rows of three each: sardius, topaz, emerald; carbuncle, jasper, sapphire; agate, amethyst, jacinth; onyx, beryl, chrysolite; on each of which, again, was engraved the name of one of the heads of the tribes. His head was covered by a tiara of fine linen, wreathed with blue, encircling which was another crown, of gold, whereon were embossed the sacred letters, to wit, four vowels. These robes were

1 The "mitre of fine linen" or (R.V. margin) "turban of silk," Ex. xxviii. 37, 39; a fuller description of the head-dress is given in A. iii. 172-178, where it is compared to a cup-like flower.

2 i.e. the tetragrammaton YHVH. That this was the inscription, and that the phrase in Ex. xxviii. 36 means "the sacred name Jahve," not "Holy (or 'Holiness') to the Lord" is shown in two notes on Aaron's head-dress by Mr. J. E. Hogg and Prof. F. C. Burkitt in the Journal of Theol. Studies, vol. xxvi. 72, 180. The interpretation has the support of Philo, De vita Mosis ii. (iii.) 114 Cohn, τέταρας ἔχον γλυφᾶς όνοματος, Origen on Ps. ii. 2 and Bar Hebraeus; cf. Jos. A. iii. 178 τελαμών . . . τεροὺς γράφμας τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπιτετμημένον, viii. 93 ἡ στεφάνη εἰς ἤν τῶν θεῶν Μωυσῆς ἐγραψε. Why Josephus speaks of "four vowels" is uncertain. The first and third letters are probably "by nature vowels" (=i and u), though by usage consonants (Gesenius, Heb. Grammar, ed. Cowley, pp. 26, 45). He is perhaps thinking of a Greek form ('iavé).
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μὲν οὖν τὴν ἐσθήτα οὐκ ἐφόρει χρόνιον, λιτοτέραν δὲ ἀνελάμβανεν, ὥσπερ δὲ εἰσοθεὶς τὸ ἀδυτον ἐις ἀπάξ κατ’ ἐναυτὸν μόνος ἐν ἥ νηστεύειν 237 ἔθος ἡμέρα πάντας τῷ θεῷ. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν τε περὶ τούτοις ἐθῶν καὶ νόμων αὐθίς ἀκριβέστερον ἔροῦμεν: οὐ γὰρ ὀλίγος περὶ αὐτῶν καταλείπεται λόγος.

238 (8) Ἡ δ’ Ἀντωνία κατὰ γυνίαν μὲν δύο στολῶν ἐκεῖνο τοῦ πρώτου ἱεροῦ, τῆς τε πρὸς ἐσπέραν καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἄρκτων, δεδομένῳ δ’ ὑπὲρ πέτρας πεντηκοντάκιχους μὲν ύψος, περικρήμνου δὲ πάσης ἐργὸν δ’ ἂν Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν ὃ μάλιστα τὸ φύσει μεγάλον ἐπεδείξατο. 239 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐκ βίζης ἡ πέτρα πλαξὶ κεκάλυπτο λείαις λίθων, εἰς τε κάλλος καὶ ὡς ἀπολυσθάνου 240 πᾶσι δ’ προσβαίνειν ἢ κατεῖναι πειρώμενος. ἔπειτα πρὸ τῆς τοῦ πύργου δομήσεως τριών πηχῶν τείχος ἦν, ἐνδοτέρῳ δὲ τούτου τὸ πᾶν ἀνάστημα τῆς Ἀντωνίας ἐτί πεσσαράκοντα πήχεις ἥγειτο. 241 τὸ δ’ ἐνδον βασιλείων εἴχε χώραν καὶ διάθεσις μεμέριστο γὰρ εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν ἰδέαν τε καὶ χρῆσιν περίστοα τε καὶ βαλανεία καὶ στρατοπέδων αὐλαίς πλατείαις, ως τῷ μὲν πάντ’ ἐχειν τὰ ἁρειώδη πόλις εἶναι δοκεῖν, τῇ πολυτελείᾳ

1 περὶ τούτοις L: ἐπὶ τούτοις the rest.
2 L: διάστημα the rest. 3 αὐλὰς πλατείαις C.

The Day of Atonement; Lev. xvi.
Doubtless in his projected work "On Customs and 274
not worn by the high priest in general, when he assumed plainer attire, but only when he penetrated to the innermost sanctuary; this he entered alone once in the year, on the day on which it was the universal custom to keep fast to God. Of the city and the temple and of the customs and laws relating to the latter we shall speak more minutely hereafter; for on these topics much yet remains to be told.

(8) The tower of Antonia lay at the angle where two porticoes, the western and the northern, of the first court of the temple met; it was built upon a rock fifty cubits high and on all sides precipitous. It was the work of King Herod and a crowning exhibition of the innate grandeur of his genius. For, to begin with, the rock was covered from its base upwards with smooth flagstones, both for ornament and in order that anyone attempting to ascend or descend it might slip off. Next, in front of the actual edifice, there was a wall three cubits high; and behind this the tower of Antonia rose majestic to an altitude of forty cubits. The interior resembled a palace in its spaciousness and appointments, being divided into apartments of every description and for every purpose, including cloisters, baths and broad courtyards for the accommodation of troops; so that from its possession of all conveniences it seemed a town, from its magnificence a palace. The general Causes," often referred to in the Antiquities, but never apparently completed.

c Built on the site of an older castle (βασιλεία) erected by John Hyrcanus, A. xviii. 91, cf. xv. 408, B. i. 75, and named after Mark Antony, B. i. 401; it is the "castle" of Acts xxii. 34.

d The same phrase occurs in i. 408 (of Caesarea).

e Cf. i. 421 (of Herodion).
δὲ βασίλειον. πυργοειδῆς δὲ οὖσα τὸ πᾶν σχῆμα κατὰ γωνίαν τέσσαριν ἐτέροις διείληπτο πύργοις, ὃν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πεντήκοντα τὸ ύψος, ὦν ἐπὶ τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ καὶ κατὰ ἀνατολὴν γωνίᾳ κείμενος ἐβδομήκοντα πηχῶν ἦν, ὡς καθοραί ὁλον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν. καθὰ δὲ συνήπτε ταῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοαῖς εἰς ἀμφότερα εἰχε καταβάσεις, δι' ὧν κατήσαν οἱ φρουροί· καθῆστο γὰρ ἀεὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τάγμα 'Ῥωμαίων, καὶ διεστάμενοι περὶ τὰς στοάς μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐν ταις ἔσπασι τῶν δήμων, ὡς μή τι νεωτερισθεῖη, παρεφύλαττον· φρούριον γὰρ ἐπέκειτο τῇ πόλει μὲν τὸ ἱερὸν, τῷ ἱερῷ δ' ἡ Ἀντωνία, κατὰ δὲ ταύτῃ τις τῶν τριῶν φύλακες ἴσαν· καὶ τῆς ἄνω δὲ πόλεως ἱδιων φρούριον ἦν τὰ 'Ηρώδου βασίλεια. η Ἡβεζῆθα δὲ λόφος διήρητο μὲν, ὡς ἐφη, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας, πάντων δ' ὑψηλότατος ὃν μέρει τῆς καίνης πόλεως προσώκιστο, καὶ μόνος τῷ ἱερῷ κατ' ἄρκτον ἐπεσκότει. περὶ μὲν δὴ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν τειχῶν αὕτης εἰπεῖν ἀκριβέστερον ἐκαστα προτεθειμένους ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀπόχρη.

(vi. 1) Τὸ μάχιμον δ' ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ στασιάζον πλῆθος περὶ Σίμωνα μὲν ἤσαν μύριοι δίχα τῶν Ἰδουμαίων, πεντήκοντα δ' ἡγεμόνες τῶν μυρίων, ἐφ' οἷς οὔτος κύριος τῶν ὀλῶν. Ἰδουμαιοὶ δ' αὐτῷ συντελοῦντες εἰς πεντακισχίλιους ἄρχοντας εἴχον δέκα· τούτων προύχεσιν ἐδόκουν ὅ τε τοῦ Σωσᾶ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Σίμων υἱὸς Καθλᾶ. 1 Ιωάννης

1 om. P.  2 Βεζᾶθα P: Βησσαθή L Lat. (cf. §151).  
3 το ἱερὸν PA.  4 Καθέα L: Catiae Lat.; cf. iv. 235.  
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appearance of the whole was that of a tower with other towers at each of the four corners; three of these turrets were fifty cubits high, while that at the south-east angle rose to seventy cubits, and so commanded a view of the whole area of the temple. At the point where it impinged upon the porticoes of the temple, there were stairs\textsuperscript{a} leading down to both of them, by which the guards descended; for a Roman cohort was permanently quartered there, and at the festivals took up positions in arms around the porticoes to watch the people and repress any insurrectionary movement. For if the temple lay as a fortress over the city, Antonia dominated the temple, and the occupants of that post were the guards of all three; the upper town had its own fortress—Herod’s palace.\textsuperscript{b} The hill Bezetha was, as I said,\textsuperscript{c} cut off from Antonia; the highest of all the hills, it was encroached on by part of the new town and formed on the north the only obstruction to the view of the temple. As I propose hereafter\textsuperscript{d} to give a fuller and more circumstantial description of the temple and the walls, these remarks shall for the present suffice.

(vi. 1) The strength of the combatants and insurgents within the city was as follows. Simon had an army, exclusive of the Idumaeans, of ten thousand men; over these were fifty officers, Simon himself being commander-in-chief. His Idumaean contingent numbered five thousand and had ten chiefs, among whom James, son of Sosas, and Simon, son of

\textsuperscript{a} From which St. Paul, when arrested, addressed the Jews, Acts xxii. 40.

\textsuperscript{b} Described above, §§ 176 ff.

\textsuperscript{c} § 149.

\textsuperscript{d} See note b on § 237.
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dε τὸ ἱερὸν κατευθύνως ἐξακολουθοῦσα ὀπλίτας εἶχεν υφ’ ἡγεμόνας εἶκοσι. προσεγένοντο δ’ αὐτῷ τότε καὶ οἱ ἥγηλωταί πανσάμενοι τοῦ διαφέρεσθαι, δισχίλιοι μὲν ὄντες καὶ πετρακόσιοι, χρώμενοι δ’ ἀρχοντὶ τῷ καὶ πρὸτερον ὨΕλεάζάρῳ καὶ Σίμωνι τῷ τοῦ Ἀρινοῦ.¹ πολεμοῦντων δὲ τούτων, ὡς ἐφαμεν, ἀθλον ὁ δήμος ἦν ἐκατέρων, καὶ τὸ μὴ συναδικοῦν τοῦ λαοῦ μέρος ὑπ’ ἀμφοῖν διηρπώ-κετο. κατεῖχεν δ’ ὁ μὲν Σίμων τῆν τε ἄνω πόλιν καὶ τὸ μέγα τεῖχος ἀχρι τοῦ Κεδρώνος, τοῦ τε ἀρχαίου τεῖχους ὑπὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Σιλωᾶς ἀνακάμπτων εἰς ἀνατολὴν μέχρι τῆς Μονοβάζου κατέβασεν αὐλῆς. βασιλεὺς δ’ οὐτος ἐστιν τῶν ὑπὸ Ἐυφράτην Ἀδιαβηνῶν. κατείχε δὲ καὶ τὴν πηγήν καὶ τῆς Ἀκρας, αὐτὴ δ’ ἦν ἡ κάτω πόλις, τὰ μέχρι τῶν Ἐλένης βασιλείων τῆς τοῦ Μονοβάζου μητρός, 254 ὁ δ’ Ἰωάννης τὸ θ’ ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ πέριξ ἐπ’ οὐκ ὄλιγον, τὸν τε Ὀφλάν καὶ τὴν Κεδρώνα καλουμένην φάραγγα. τὸ μεταξὺ δὲ τούτων ἐμπρήσαντες τῷ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολέμου χώραν ἀνείσαι. 255 οὔδε γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς τείχεσιν ἐστρατοπεδευμένων Ῥωμαίοι ἐνδόν ἢ στάσις ἥρεμει, βραχὺ δὲ πρὸς τὴν πρώτην ὑπονήσαιτε ἐκδρομὴν ἀνενόσουν καὶ

¹ 'Ἀρινοῦ L Lat. (cf. 'Ἀρι vi. 92, 148): 'Ἀρ(ε)ίανον most mss., Ἰαείρου C.

² L Lat.: ἦν the rest.

*Cf. iv. 235, where four generals of the original Idumaean army of 20,000, including James and Simon, are mentioned. From the present passage it appears that not more than half that force had withdrawn from Jerusalem; iv. 353 implies that the whole body had retired in disgust.

§ 27.

* The third (or Agrippa’s) wall.

d Simon manned the walls at the two points where they
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Cathlas, ranked highest. John, at the time when he seized the temple, had an army of six thousand men, commanded by twenty officers; but now the Zealots also had joined him having abandoned their quarrel, to the number of two thousand four hundred, led by Eleazar, their former chief, and Simon, son of Arinus. These two factions, being, as we said, at war with each other, the citizens were their common prize, and those of the people who discountenanced their iniquities became the prey of both. Simon occupied the upper town, the great wall as far as the Kedron, and a portion of the old wall, from the point where it bent eastward at Siloam to its descent to the court-house of Monobazus, king of Adiabene beyond the Euphrates; he held also the fountain and part of the Acra, that is to say, the lower town, as far as the palace of Helena, the mother of Monobazus. John held the temple with much of the environs, Ophla and the valley called Kedron. The region between them they reduced to ashes and left as the arena of their mutual conflicts. For not even when the Romans were encamped beneath the walls, did the civil strife slacken within; the brief return to comparative sanity when they made their first sally were exposed to Roman attack, on the N.W. against the main army of Titus, on the S.E. against the tenth legion encamped on the Mt. of Olives (§ 70).

Siloam. The exhortation of Josephus a little later on (§ 410) seems to imply that Siloam was extra muros and in Roman hands; but the apparent inconsistency (Smith, Jerusalem, i. 224) may be explained by supposing that the Romans held Gihon, the spring outside the walls, which fed the pool of Siloam within, and were thus virtually, though not actually, masters of Siloam as well.

The positions of the palaces of Monobazus and Helena are unidentified.

§§ 71 ff.
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κατὰ σφάς πάλιν διαστάντες ἐμάχοντο, τὰ κατ’ εὐχὴν τε πάντα τοὺς πολιορκοῦσιν ἐπραττον.

256 οὗτε γοῦν αὐτοὶ τι χείρον ὑπὸ Ἀρωμαίων ἔπαθον ὡν ἀλλήλους ἐδρασαν, οὗτε μετὰ τούτους ἡ πόλις ἐπειράθη κατοικουρίες πάθους, ἀλλ’ ἡ μὲν χαλεπώ-τερον τι πρὸ τοῦ πεσεῖν ἠτύχησεν, οἱ δ’ ἐλόντες

257 αὐτὴν κατώρθωσάν τι μείζον. φημὶ γὰρ ὡς τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἡ στάσις, Ἀρωμαίοι δ’ εἶλον τὴν στάσιν, ἦπερ ἢν πολὺ τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρωτέρα: καὶ τὸ μὲν σκιθρωτὸν τοὺς οἰκείους, τὸ δὲκαὶν δ’ ἄν τὶς εὐλόγως Ἀρωμαίους προσγράφοι. νοεῖτω δ’ ὁποῖ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐκαστὸς ἀνεται.

258 (2) Τῶν γε μὴν ἔιδον οὕτως διακειμένων δ’ Τίτος μετ’ ἐπιλέκτων ἐπεέων περιων ἐξωθεν ἢ

259 προσβάλλοι τοῖς τείχεσι κατεσκέπτετο. ἀπορού-μένῳ δὲ πάντοθεν, οὗτε γὰρ κατὰ τὰς φάραγγας ἢν προσίτον καὶ κατὰ θάτερα τὸ πρῶτον τείχος ἐφαίνετο τῶν ὄργανων στερεώτερον, ἐδόκει κατὰ τὸ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἄρχιερέως μνημεῖον προσβάλειν.

260 ταύτῃ γὰρ τὸ τε πρῶτον ἢν ἔρμα χθαμαλώτερον καὶ τὸ δεύτερον οὗ συνῆπτεν, ἀμελησάντως καθὰ μῆ λιαν ἡ κανὴ πολὺς συνύψιστο τειχίζειν, ἀλλ’ ἑπὶ τὸ τρίτον ἢν εὐπέτεια, δι’ οὐ τὴν τε ἀνω πόλιν καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀντωνίας τὸ ἱερὸν αἰρήσειν

261 ἐπενεότει. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ περιμόντος αὐτοῦ τοξευόταί τις τῶν φίλων, ὅνομα Νικάνωρ, κατὰ τὸν λαιὸν

* Analogous phrases recur repeatedly in the Antiquities, e.g. i. 108 peri μὲν τούτων, ὡς ἀν ἐκάστος ἤ φίλων, οὕτως σκοπεί-τωσαν, ii. 348, iii. 81, etc. They are probably derived from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who appends a similar formula to an expression of his personal opinion (e.g. κρινεῖν δ’ ἐκάστος ὡς θεοῦσαν iii. 35. 6, ἐχέτω δ’ ὁπεῖ τις αὐτῶν πείθει i. 48. 1).

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was followed by a relapse, and the parties divided and fell to fighting once more, doing all that their besiegers could have desired. Certainly, they suffered nothing worse at the hands of the Romans than what they inflicted upon each other, nor after her experience of them did the city meet with any novel calamity; on the contrary, her more cruel disaster preceded her fall, and the relief which her captors brought her outweighed the loss. For I maintain that it was the sedition that subdued the city, and the Romans the sedition, a foe far more stubborn than her walls; and that all the tragedy of it may properly be ascribed to her own people, all the justice to the Romans. But let every one follow his own opinion whither the facts may lead him.a

(2) Such being the situation within the walls, Titus, with some picked cavalry, made a tour of inspection without, to select a spot against which to direct his attack. Baffled at all other points, the ravines rendering access impossible, while beyond them the first wall seemed too solid for his engines, he decided to make the assault opposite the tomb of John the high priest b; for here the first line of ramparts was on lower ground, and the second was disconnected with it, the builders having neglected to fortify the sparsely populated portions of the new town, while there was an easy approach to the third wall, through which his intention was to capture the upper town and so, by way of Antonia, the temple. In the meantime, while Titus was riding round the city, one of his friends, named Nicanor,c having approached too near

b John Hyrcanus (135–105 B.C.), B. i. 54, etc. His monument, often mentioned as a landmark (v. 304, 356, vi. 169), seems to have lain to the N.W. of the Jaffa gate.

c A tribune and an old friend of Josephus, iii. 346.
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ἀμον, ἐγγιον μετὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου προσελθὼν καὶ πειρώμενος εἰρηνικὰ τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους, οὐ 262 γὰρ ἀγνωστὸς ἦν, διαλέγεσθαι. διὰ τούτου τὰς ὀρμὰς αὐτῶν ἐπιγνοὺς Καίσαρ, εἰ μηδὲ τῶν ἐπὶ σωτηρία προσιόντων ἀπέχοντο, παροξύνεται πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἀμα τε ὤν τοῖς τάγμασι δημον τὰ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἥψει καὶ συμφοροῦντας 263 ἐκέλευσε τὴν ὑλὴν ἐγείρειν χώματα. τριχῇ δὲ διατάξας τὴν στρατιὰν πρὸς τὰ ἔργα μέσους ἵστησι τῶν χωμάτων τοὺς τε ἀκοντιστάς καὶ τοξότας καὶ πρὸ τούτων τοὺς ὀξυβελεῖς καὶ καταπέλτας καὶ τὰς λιθοβόλους μηχανὰς, ὡς τὰς τ' ἐκδορμάς εἴργοι τῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους κωλύειν πειρω- 264 μένους. κοππομένων δὲ τῶν δένδρων τὰ προ- ἁστεῖα μὲν ἐν τάχει γεγύμνωτο, συμφορομένων δ' ἐπὶ τὰ χώματα τῶν ἔβλων καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπάσης ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ὀρμημένης οὐδὲ τα παρά 265 τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἥρεμει. τὸν μὲν οὖν δῆμον ἐν ἀρπαγαίς ὄντα καὶ φόνοις συνεβαίνει τότε θαρρεῖν· ἀναπνεύσειν τε γὰρ περισσωμένων πρὸς τοὺς ἐξωθεῖν ὑπελάμβανον καὶ λήμεσθαι παρὰ τῶν αἰτίων αὐτοὶ δίκας, εἰ Ἡρωμαίοι περιγένουτο. 266 (3) Ἰωάννης δὲ, καίτοι χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐξωθεῖν πολεμίους τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν ὀρμημένων, δεῖ τοῦ 267 Σύμωνος ἔμενεν. οὐ μὴν ὁ Σύμων ἥρεμει, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἐγγίων τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, τὰ δ' ἀφετέρια διώστησιν ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους, ὡσα Κέστιον τε ἀφήρηντο πρότερον καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίας φρουράν

1 οὖν Holwerda: σὺν mss. : καὶ Destinon, Niese.
with Josephus, was wounded by an arrow in the left shoulder while endeavouring to parley with those on the wall, to whom he was not unknown, on the subject of peace. Caesar apprised by this incident of their animosity, since they would not refrain from assaulting even those who approached them for their welfare, was stimulated to undertake the siege. He at once gave the legions permission to lay waste the suburbs and issued orders to collect timber and erect earthworks. Forming his army into three divisions for these operations, he placed the javelin-men and archers in the intervals between the embankments, and in front of them the quick-firers,\(^a\) catapults, and stone-projectors,\(^b\) to check any sallies of the enemy against the works and any attempts from the ramparts to impede them. So the trees were felled and the suburbs rapidly stripped; but while the timber was being collected for the earthworks and the whole army busily engaged in the work, the Jews on their side were not inactive. The people who were victims of rapine and massacre now began to take heart, hoping to gain some respite while their oppressors were occupied with the external foe and to have their revenge on the culprits, should the Romans prove victorious.

(3) But John, though his followers were impatient for an encounter with the enemy outside, from fear of Simon did not stir. Simon, however, being nearer the besiegers, was not inactive, but posted his artillery upon the ramparts, both the engines which they had formerly taken from Cestius,\(^c\) and those captured when they overpowered the garrison

\(^a\) Or “scorpions.”
\(^b\) ballistae.
\(^c\) In November of A.D. 66, ii. 554.

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In August A.D. 66, ii. 430.

Presumably from the ranks of the auxiliary (Syrian) forces of the Roman army.

The tenth legion had its camp on the Mt. of Olives, E. of the city (§ 70); unless they had been moved, their attack must have been meant to divert the Jews from their assault on the earthworks being raised by the Romans on the W.
of Antonia. The possession of these, however, was for most of them useless owing to inexperience; but some few, instructed by the deserters, made a blundering use of them. They also assailed the builders with stones and arrows from the wall, and dashing out by companies engaged them in close combat. The workmen were protected from the missiles by hurdles stretched over palisades, and from the enemy's sallies by the artillery. Wonderfully constructed as were the engines of all the legions, those of the tenth were supreme. Their quick-firers were more powerful and their stone-projectors larger, enabling them to repel not only the sallying parties but also those on the ramparts. The rocks which they hurled weighed a talent and had a range of two furlongs or more; and their impact not only to those who first met it but even to those considerably in rear was irresistible. The Jews, however, at the first were on their guard against the stone, for, being white, its approach was intimated not only to the ear by the whiz, but also to the eye by its brilliance. Watchmen were accordingly posted by them on the towers, who gave warning whenever the engine was fired and the stone in transit, by shouting in their native tongue, "Sonny's coming"; whereupon those in the line of fire promptly made way and lay down, owing to which precautions the stone passed harmlessly through

\[\textit{ballistae.}\]

Or "scorpions."

\[\textit{ballistae.}\]

About three-quarters of a hundredweight (Attic standard); cf. iii. 167.

Probably, as Reland suggests, \textit{ha-eben} ("the stone") was corrupted to \textit{habben} ("the son"); compare similar jocose terms, such as "Black Maria," "Jack Johnson," used in the Great War.
273 ἄπρακτον διεκπέπτειν τὴν πέτραν. ἀντεπινοοῦσι δὲ Ἄρωμαίοι μελαίνειν αὐτήν· τότε γὰρ οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως προσφωμένης ἐυστόχουν καὶ πολλοὺς ἀμά
274 βολή μιᾷ διέφθειρον. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κακούμενοι μετ' ἀδείας παρείχον Ἄρωμαίοις ἐγείρειν τὰ χώρατα, πάση δ' ἐπινοίᾳ καὶ τόλμη χρώμενοι καὶ νύκτιωρ καὶ μεθ' ἢμέραν εἰργὸν.
275 (4) Τῶν δ' ἔργων συντετελεσμένων μολιβίδι μὲν καὶ λίνῳ διαμετροῦσιν οἱ τέκτονες τὸ διάστημα πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπὸ τῶν χωμάτων ῥίψαντες· οὐ γὰρ ἐνὶ ἄλλως ἀνωθεν βαλλομένους· εὐρύντες δ' ἐξικνεῖσθαι δυναμένας τὰς ἐλεπόλεις προσήγον.
276 καὶ Τίτος ἐγχυτέρω τὰ ἀφετήρια διαστήσας, ὡς μὴ τοὺς κριόσ εὐργοιεν ἀπὸ τοῦ τεῖχους, ἐκέλευσε
277 τύπτειν. τριχόθεν δ' ἐξαισίου κτύπου περιχήσαντος αἰφνιδίως τὴν πόλιν κραυγῇ τε παρὰ τῶν ἐνδον ήρθη καὶ τοῖς στασιασταίς ἵσον ἐμπίπτει δεός. κοινὸν δ' ἐκάτερον τὸν κίνδυνον ἰδόντες κοινὴν ἐπενόουν ἡδη ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ἄμυναν.
278 διαβοῦντων δὲ πρὸς ἄλληλους τῶν διαφόρων ὡς πάντα πράττοιεν ὑπὲρ τῶν πολεμίων, δεόν, εἰ καὶ μὴ διηνεκὴ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ὁμόνοιαν ὁ θεός, ἐν γοῦν τῷ παρόντι τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλους φιλονεικίαν ὑπερθεμένους κατὰ Ἄρωμαίων συνελθεῖν, κηρύσσει μὲν ἀδειαν ὁ Σίμων τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, ἐπιτρέπει δὲ καίπερ
279 ἀπιστῶν ὁ Ἰωάννης. οἱ δὲ τοῦ μίσους καὶ τῶν ἴδιων διαφορῶν λαβόντες ἀμηνοστίαν ἐν σῶμα γίνονται, καὶ τὸ μὲν τεῖχος περισχόντες ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πυρὰ τε παραπληθῇ κατὰ τῶν μηχανημάτων ἵεσαι καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβρίθοντας τᾶς ἐλεπόλεις ἁδια-
and fell in their rear. To frustrate this it occurred to the Romans to blacken it; when, as it was no longer equally discernible beforehand, they hit their mark and destroyed many with a single shot. Yet, though under this galling fire, the Jews did not suffer the Romans to raise their earthworks unmolested, but by every resource of ingenuity and daring strove, night and day, to thwart them.

(4) The works being completed, the engineers measured the distance to the wall with lead and line, which they cast from the embankments—the only practicable method for men under fire from above—and finding that the battering-rams could reach it, they brought them up. Titus then, after posting his artillery nearer the walls, to prevent the defenders from obstructing the rams, gave the order to strike. Suddenly, from three different quarters, a terrific din echoed round the city, a cry went up from the citizens within, and the rebels themselves were seized with a like alarm. Seeing themselves exposed to a common danger, both parties now bethought them of a common defence. The rival factions shouted across to each other that they were doing all they could to assist the enemy, when they ought, even if God denied them lasting concord, for the present at least to postpone their mutual strife and unite against the Romans; whereupon Simon proclaimed that all were at liberty to pass from the temple to the wall, and John, though mistrusting him, gave his permission. The parties, consigning their hatred and private quarrels to oblivion, thus became one body; and, lining the ramparts, they hurled from them showers of firebrands at the machines and kept those who were impelling the battering-engines
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280 λείπτως ἐβαλλον, οἱ τολμηρότεροι δὲ κατὰ στίφη προπηδῶντες τὰ γέρρα τῶν μηχανημάτων ἐσπάρττον καὶ τοῖς ἐπ’ αὐτῶν προσπίπτοντες ἐπιστήμη μὲν ὄλγα, τόλμη δὲ τὰ πλείω περιεγώνυντο.

281 προσεβοήθει δὲ τοῖς πονοῦσιν αὐτὸς ἂεὶ Τίτος, καὶ παρ’ ἐκάτερον τῶν ὀργάνων τοὺς τῇ ἐπιπέας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας διαστήσας ἐφρευνέ μὲν τοὺς τῷ πῦρ ἐπιφέροντας, ἀνέστελλεν δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πῦργων βάλλοντας, ἑνεργοὺς δ’ ἔποιεὶ τὰς ἑλεφό-

282 λεις. οὐ μὴν ταῖς πληγαῖς υπῆκουν τὸ τείχος, εἰ μὴ καθόσον ὁ τοῦ πεντεκαιδεκάτου τάγματος κριός γωνίαν διεκίνησε πῦργον. τὸ δὲ τεῖχος ἀκέραιον ἦν· οὐδὲ γὰρ εὐθέως συνεκινδύνευε τῷ πῦργῳ προύχοντι πολὺ καὶ μὴ δυναμένῳ συν-

283 απορρῆξαί τι ῥάδιως τοῦ περιβόλου.

284 (5) Πανσάμενοι δὲ τῶν ἐκδρομῶν πρὸς ὄλγον καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιτηρήσαντες ἐσκεδασμένοις ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ κατὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα, καμάτῳ γὰρ ἀναχωρῆσαι καὶ δεῦτε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἡξίουν, ἐκθέουσι κατὰ τὸν Ἰππικὸν πῦργον διὰ τούτοις ἀφανοῦσ πάντες, πῦρ τε τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιφέροντες καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἑρυμάτων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προελθεῖν ὑμημένοι. πρὸς δὲ τὴν κραυγὴν αὐτῶν οἱ τῇ πλησίῳ συνίσταντο ταχέως καὶ οἱ πόρρωθεν συνέθεον. ἔφθανε δ’ ἡ Ἰουδαίων τόλμα τὴν Ῥωμαίων εὐταξίαν, καὶ τοὺς προενυγ-

285 χάνοντας τρεψάμενοι προσέκειντο καὶ τοῖς συλ-

286 λεγομένοις. δεινὴ δὲ περὶ τὰς μηχανὰς συμπίπτει μάχη, τῶν μὲν ὑποπιμπράναι, τῶν δὲ κωλύειν βιαζομένων, κραυγὴ τε παρ’ ἀμφοτέρων ἁσθμαντὸς ἦν, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν προσαγωνιζομένων ἐπιπτον. Ἰουδαίοι δ’ υπερείχον ἀπονοία, καὶ τῶν ἔργων

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under incessant fire. The more venturesome, dashing out in bands, tore up the hurdles protecting the machines, and, falling upon the gunners, seldom through skill but generally through intrepidity, got the better of them. Titus, however, invariably came in person to the relief of those who were hard pressed and, posting his horsemen and archers on either side of the engines, kept the incendiaries at bay, beat back assailants from the towers, and brought the battering-rams into action. For all that, the wall did not succumb to the blows, save that the ram of the fifteenth legion dislodged the corner of a tower. But the wall itself was unimpaired; for it was not involved in immediate danger along with the tower, which projected far out and so could not easily bring down with it any of the main rampart.

(5) The Jews, having desisted from their sallies for a while and watched their opportunity when the Romans had dispersed about the works and their several encampments, in the belief that from exhaustion and terror their enemy had retired, suddenly all dashed out together through a concealed gate near the Hippicus tower, carrying firebrands to burn the works and determined to push their attack right up to the Roman entrenchments. At their shouts the legionaries near the spot instantly mustered and those further off came dashing up. But Jewish daring outstripped Roman discipline, and having routed those who first encountered them they pressed on against the assembling troops. A fierce conflict ensued around the engines, one side striving to set them alight, the other to prevent them; confused shouts arose from both and many of the foremost fighters fell. Jewish desperation, however, was
The first named of the four original Idumaean leaders,
proving superior, already the fire was gaining hold upon the works, and the whole would probably have perished in the flames, along with the engines, had not the picked troops from Alexandria in the main stood firm, displaying a gallantry which exceeded their own reputation (for indeed they surpassed on that occasion regiments of greater renown), until Caesar, bringing up the most stalwart of his cavalry, charged the enemy. A dozen of the foremost he slew with his own hand; terrified at their fate the remainder gave way; he followed, drove them all into the town, and rescued the works from the flames. One incident in this engagement was the capture of a Jewish prisoner, whom Titus ordered to crucifixion before the walls, in the hope that the spectacle might lead the rest to surrender in dismay. Moreover, after the retreat, John, a the chieftain of the Idumaeans, while talking before the wall to an acquaintance in the ranks, was pierced in the breast by an arrow from an Arab's bow and killed on the spot. This loss occasioned profound grief to the Idumaeans and sorrow to the Jewish insurgents; for he was distinguished alike for gallantry and sound judgement.

(vii. 1) On the ensuing night the Romans themselves were thrown into unexpected alarm. For Titus had given command for the construction of three towers, fifty cubits high, to be erected on the respective embankments, in order that from them he might repel the defenders of the ramparts; and one of these accidentally fell in the middle of the night.

iv. 235; he seems later to have been outshone by his brother James, v. 249 (where John is not mentioned).

b Or "baseless."
293 μεγίστου δ' ἀρθέντος ψόφου δέος ἐμπίπτει τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιχειρεῖν φήσαι
294 δόξαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα πάντες θεοῦν. ταραχὴ δὲ τῶν ταγμάτων καὶ θόρυβος ἤν, καὶ τὸ συμβάν
ουδένος εἰπεῖν ἔχοντος ἐπὶ πλείστου ἄποροῦμενοι1
dιεφέροντο, μηδενὸς τε φαινομένου πολεμίου δι'.
295 ἀλλήλων ἐπτυούντο, καὶ τὸ σύνθημα μετὰ σπουδῆς
ἐκαστος τὸν πλησίον ἐπηρώτα καθάπερ Ἰουδαίων ἐμβεβληκότων εἰς τὰ στρατόπεδα, πανικῷ τε
δείματι κυκλομένους παρεῖκεσαν, ἄχρι μαθῶν
τὸ συμβάν Τίτος διαγγέλλειν ἐκέλευσε πάσιν, καὶ
μόλις ἐπαισάντο τῆς ταραχῆς.

296 (2) Ἰουδαίων γε μὴν πρὸς τὰ λοιπα καρτερῶς
ἀντέχοντας ἐκάκωσαν οἱ πύργοι καὶ γὰρ τῶν
ὀργάνων τοῖς κουφοτέρους ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐβάλοντο
καὶ τοῖς ἀκοινωνίαις καὶ τοξόταις καὶ λυθοβόλοις.
297 οὔτε δὲ τούτων αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸ ύψος ἐφικνοῦντο
καὶ τοὺς πύργους ἤν ἀμήχανον ἔλειν, μήτ' ἀνα-
τραπῆναι ραδίως διὰ τὸ βρῖθος μήτ' ἐμπροσθῆναι
diὰ τὸν σιδηρὸν δυναμένους, ὁ κατεκαλύπτοντο.
298 τρεπόμενοι δ' ἐξωτέρω βέλους οὐκέτ' ἐκώλυν
τῶν κριῶν τὰς ἐμβολάς, οἱ ἀδιαλείπτως παίοντες
299 ἤνυν κατ' ὁλίγον. ἡ δὲ τῷ Νίκωνι τοῦ τείχους
ἐνδιδόντος, αὐτοὶ γὰρ τούτο Ἰουδαίοι τὴν μεγίστην
ἐκάλεσαν 'Ρωμαίων ἐλέπολιν ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντα
νικῶν, ἀπέκαμμον μὲν πάλαι πρὸς τε τὰς μάχας
καὶ τὰς φυλακὰς πόρρωθεν τῆς πόλεως διανυκ-
300 τερεύοντες, ἀλλας δ' ὑπὸ ῥαστών καὶ τοῦ
βουλεύουσαι πάντα κακῶς περιττὸν αὐτοῖς δόξαν
τὸ τείχος ἐτέρων μετ' αὐτὸ λειπομένων δύο,

1 Holwerda with ms. authority: ἀποδυρμένου most mss.
The crash was tremendous, and the terrified troops, supposing that the enemy were upon them, all rushed to arms. Alarm and confusion pervaded the legions. None being able to say what had happened, they scattered far and wide in their perplexity, and sighting no enemy became scared of one another, and each hurriedly asked his neighbour the password, as though the Jews had invaded their camps. In fact they behaved like men beset by panic fright, until Titus, having learnt what had happened, gave orders to make it generally known; and thus, though with difficulty, was the alarm allayed.

(2) The Jews, stubbornly though they held out against everything else, suffered severely from these towers; for from them they became targets for the lighter artillery, the javelin-men, archers, and stone-throwers. Being so high up, these assailants were out of range, while there was no means of mastering the towers, their weight rendering it difficult to overturn them and their casing of iron impossible to set them on fire. If, on the other hand, they withdrew out of range of missiles, they could no longer check the impact of the rams, whose incessant battering was gradually taking effect. And now at length the wall began to succumb to Victor \(^a\) (so the Jews themselves called the largest of the Roman engines from its victory over all obstacles); they had long been exhausted with fighting and watching, on night duty at a distance from the city; moreover, through indolence and their invariably misguided judgement, they decided that to defend this wall was superfluous, as two others remained behind it. Most

\(^a\) Greek "Nicon."
JOSEPHUS

301 μαλακισθέντες ἀνεχώρουν οἱ πολλοὶ. καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιβάντων καθὸ παρέρρησεν ὁ Νίκων, καταλιπόντες τὰς φυλακὰς πάντες εἰς τὸ δεύτερον τεῖχος ἀναφεύγουσιν, οἱ δὲ ὑπερβάντες τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες πᾶσαν ἐσοδέχονται τὴν στρατιάν. καὶ Ῥωμαίοι μὲν οὔτω τοῦ πρώτου τείχους πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ κρατήσαντες ἑμέρα, ἐβδομὴ δὲ ᾗν Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός, αὐτοῦ τε πολὺ κατασκάπτουσι καὶ τὰ προσάρκτικα τῆς πόλεως, ἃ καὶ πρῶτερον Κέστιος.

302 (3) Μεταστρατοπεδεύεται δὲ Τίτος έησον κατὰ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων παρεμβολήν καλουμένην, ἐπισχῶν πάν τὸ μεταξὺ μέχρι τοῦ Κεδρώνος, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ δεύτερου τείχους ὅσον ἐξωτέρῳ βέλους εἶναι προσβολάς δὲ εὐθέως ἐποιεῖτο. ἐμερισθέντες δὴ [οἱ] Ἰουδαίοι καρτέρῳ ἀπημύναντο τοῦ τείχους, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνιάς καὶ τῆς προσαρκτίου στοὰς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ πρὸ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου [τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν] 2 μνημείων μαχόμενοι, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Σίμωνος τάγμα τὴν παρὰ τὸ Ἰωάννου [τοῦ ἄρχιερέως] 3 μνημείων ἐμβολήν διαλαβόντες ἐφράζαντο μέχρι πύλης, καθ' ἥν τὸ ύδωρ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰππικῶν πύργον εἰσήκτο.

1 PAM: καὶ μερισθέντες L: μερισθέντες the rest.
2 om. Lat.: om. αὐτῶν L.
3 om. L Lat.

a Greek "Nicon."
b From the Roman standpoint; previously called the third wall from the Jewish and chronological point of view, § 147.
c ii. 530.
d The traditional site of the camp of Sennacherib’s army, unidentified: see 2 Kings xviii. 17, xix. 35. The calamity which decimated his forces, though placed by Jewish tradition within or on the outskirts of the city (Ps. lxxvi. 2 f. “in 294
of them, accordingly, turned slack and retired; and when the Romans mounted the breach which Victor had made, all deserted their posts and fled back to the second wall. Those who had scaled the ramparts now opened the gates and admitted the whole army. The Romans having thus on the fifteenth day (of the siege), being the seventh of the month Artemisius, become masters of the first wall, razed a large part of it along with the northern quarter of the city, previously destroyed by Cestius.

(3) Titus now shifted his camp within the first wall to the so-called Camp of the Assyrians, occupying all the ground between it and the Kedron, but keeping far enough back to be out of bowshot from the second wall, which he forthwith proceeded to attack. The Jews, dividing their forces, maintained a stubborn defence from the ramparts: John's division fighting from Antonia, from the north portico of the temple, and in front of the tomb of King Alexander; while Simon's troops occupied the approach alongside the tomb of John the high priest and manned the wall as far as the gate through which water was conveyed to the Hippicus Salem”), probably befell elsewhere during his Egyptian campaign (2 Kings xix. 9), according to Herodotus ii. 141 at Pelusium.

Alexander Jannaeus, 104–78 B.C., B. i. 85 ff. The site of his tomb is unidentified; doubtless a conspicuous object, for, notwithstanding his unpopularity, the influence of his widow, Queen Alexandra, obtained for him a funeral more splendid than that of any of his predecessors, A. xiii. 406.

Or “intercepted the assault,” the brunt of which was here, § 259.

John Hyrcanus, 135–105 B.C., father of Alexander; for his tomb cf. § 259.

Near the present Jaffa Gate.
JOSEPHUS

305 προπηδώντες τε πολλάκις έκ των πυλών συντάδην ἐπολέμουν καὶ συνδιωχθέντες ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους κατὰ μὲν τὰς συμπλοκάς ἡπτώντο, τῆς 'Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστήμης ὄντες ἀπειροῦν, περιήγαν δ' ἐν ταῖς τειχομαχίαις. καὶ τοὺς μὲν μετ' ἱσχύος ἐμπειρίᾳ παρεκρότει, Ἰουδαίους δὲ τόλμα δεδέ τρεφομενή καὶ τὸ φύσει καρτερικὸν ἐν συμφοραῖς: προσῆν δ' ἔλπις ἐπι σωτηρίας ἡ καὶ Ἰουδαίους τοῦ ταχέως

306 κρατήσειν. οὐδετέρων δ' ἡπτέτο κόπος, ἀλλὰ προσβολαὶ καὶ τειχομαχίαι καὶ κατὰ λόχους ἐκδρομαὶ συνεχεῖς δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας ἦσαν, ὦδ' ἔστιν ἦτος ἰδέα μάχης ἀπελεύπτο. νῦς δ' ἀνέπαυε μόλις ἔσχεθεν ἀρχομένους· ἡν δ' ἄνυνος ἀμφοτέρους καὶ χαλεπωτέρα τῆς ἡμέρας, δειὶ τῶν μὲν ὅσον οὕτω καταληψθήσεται τὸ τείχος, τῶν δ' ἐπιθήσεσθαι Ἰουδαίους τοὺς στρατοπέδους, ἐν τε τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐκάτεροι διανυκτερεύοντες ὑπὸ τὰς πρώτας

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308 αὔγας ἔστομοι πρὸς μάχην ἦσαν. καὶ παρὰ μὲν Ἰουδαίους ἔρις ἦν ὅστις προκινδυνεύσας χαρίσατο τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ Σκύμνων αἰδῶς ἦν καὶ δέος, οὕτως τε προσείχεν ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶ τῶν ὑποτεγμένων, ὡς καὶ πρὸς αὐτοχειριάν

309 αὔγας ἔστομοι πρὸς μάχην ἦσαν. καὶ παρὰ μὲν Ἰουδαίους ἔρις ἦν ὅστις προκινδυνεύσας χαρίσατο τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ Σκύμνων αἰδῶς ἦν καὶ δέος, οὕτως τε προσείχεν ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶ τῶν ὑποτεγμένων, ὡς καὶ πρὸς αὐτοχειριάν

310 ἐτοιμότατος εἶναι κελεύσαντος: 'Ῥωμαίους δ' ἐπ' ἀνδρείαν ὃν προτροπὴ τοῦ τε κρατεῖν ἔθος καὶ ἡττης ἀνὴθείς συνεχής τε στρατεύει καὶ διηνεκεῖς μελέται καὶ μέγεθος ἡγεμονίας, πρὸ δὲ πάντων Τίτος

311 ᾧ πᾶσιν πανταχοῦ παρατυχαίων. τὸ τε γὰρ

1 Hudson: ἄπο mss.
2 After PA ἦ: ἦ, ἦ or ἦ the rest.

* Cf. Thuc. iv. 55 τὰς πρὶν ἀνὴθείας τοῦ κακοπραγεῖν.
* In ᾧ πᾶσιν πανταχοῦ, an underlying Latin is traceable; "quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus" (sc. 296
tower. Often they would dash out from the gates and fight hand to hand, and though driven back on to the walls and defeated in these close combats, through lack of the Romans' military skill, they had the advantage of them in the battles from the ramparts. Experience combined with strength was the Romans' mainstay: daring, fostered by fear, along with their innate fortitude under calamities, sustained the Jews. Moreover, they still cherished hopes of salvation, as did the Romans of speedy victory. Neither army felt fatigue: assaults, battles at the wall, sallies by companies continued incessantly throughout the day, and no form of warfare was omitted. Beginning at dawn, night scarcely brought them repose: its hours were sleepless for both and more terrible than day, one party dreading every moment the capture of the wall, the other a Jewish invasion of their camps. Both armies thus passed the night under arms and at the first break of day were ready for battle.

Among the Jews there was rivalry who should be foremost in the fray and so win favour with his officers; Simon in particular was regarded with reverence and awe, and such was the esteem in which he was held by all under his command, that each was quite prepared to take his very own life had he given the order. With the Romans, on the other hand, the incentives to valour were their habit of victory and inexperience of defeat, their continuous campaigns and perpetual training, the magnitude of their empire, and above all Titus, ever and everywhere present beside all. For cowardice when Caesar was creditur), the definition of the Catholic Faith attributed to St. Vincent of Lerins (5th cent. A.D.), has older parallels.

297
μαλακισθήναι παρόντος καὶ συναγωγιζομένου Καί-
σαρος δεινόν ἐδόκει, καὶ τῷ καλῶς ἀγωνισμένω
μάρτυς αὐτὸς ὃ καὶ τιμῆσων παρὴν κέρδος ὃ
ην ἡδή καὶ τὸ γνωσθῆναι Καίσαρι γενναίον ὄντα.
διὰ τούτῳ πολλοὶ τῆς κατὰ σφάς ἰσχύος ἀμείνως
312 τῇ προθυμίᾳ διεφάνησαν. παραταξαμένων γοῦν
κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρὸ τοῦ
τείχους καρτερῷ στίφει καὶ διακοντυζομένων ἐτὶ
πόρρωθεν τῶν ταγμάτων ἐκατέρων, Δογμήνος
της τῶν ἰππέων ἐξαλλόμενος τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς
τάξεως ἐμπηθὰ μέσῃ τῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων φάλαγγι.
313 καὶ διασκεδασθέντων πρὸς τὴν ἐμβολὴν δύο τοὺς
γενναιότατος ἀναίρει, τὸν μὲν κατὰ στόμα
πλήξας ὑπαντιάσαντα, τὸν δ’ ἀνασσάσας ἐκ τοῦ
προτέρου τὸ δόρυ κατὰ πλευρὰν διαπείρει τραπό-
μενον, ἐκ μέσων τε τῶν πολεμίων ἀτρωτος1 εἰς
314 τοὺς σφετέρους ἐδραμέν. ὃ μὲν οὖν ὃι ἀρετὴν
ἐπίσημος ἦν, ἔηλωται δὲ τῆς ἀνδρείας2 ἐγώνυτο
315 πολλοὶ, καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν ἀμελοῦντες τοῦ παθεῖν
τὸ διαθεῖναι μόνων ἐσκόπουν, ὃ τε θάνατος αὐτοῖς
ἐδόκει κοινότατος εἰ μετὰ τοῦ κτεῖνα τινα τῶν
316 πολεμίων προσπέσοι. Τέτοιοι δὲ τῆς τῶν στρατιω-
τῶν ἀσφαλείας οὐχ ἦττον τοῦ κρατεῖν προνόει,
καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀπερίσκεπτον ὄρμην ἀπόνοιαν λέγων,
μόνην δ’ ἀρετὴν τῆς μετὰ προνοίας καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν
tὸν δρόμων παθεῖν, ἐν ἀκινδύνῳ τῷ κατὰ σφάς
ἐκέλευσεν ἀνδρίζεσθαι.
317 (4) Ὑποσάγει δ’ αὐτὸς τοῦ βορείου τείχους τῷ
μέσῳ πῦργῳ τῆς ἐλέπολιν, ἐν ὃ τῶν Ἰουδαίων
τῆς ἀνήρ γόης ὄνομα Κάστωρ ἐλόχα μεθ’ ὀμοίων
δέκα, τῶν λοιπῶν φυγόντων διὰ τοὺς τοξότας.

1 Holwerda: πρῶτος mss.
2 ἀνδράγαθιας L.
with them and sharing the contest seemed monstrous, while the man who fought bravely had as witness of his valour one who would also reward it; nay, it was gain already to be known to Caesar as courageous. Hence many in their enthusiasm displayed greater valour than their strength warranted. Thus when, in the course of these days, the Jews were arrayed in stout force outside the walls and both armies were as yet engaged in distant combat with javelins, a certain trooper Longinus leapt out of the Roman lines and dashed into the midst of the Jewish phalanx. Breaking their ranks by his charge, he slew two of their bravest, piercing one in front as he advanced to meet him, and transfixing the other through the side, as he turned to flee, with the spear which he drew from his comrade's body; he then escaped unscathed to his own lines from the midst of the enemy. His valour gained him distinction, and led many to emulate his gallantry. The Jews, for their part, regardless of suffering, thought only of the injury which they could inflict, and death seemed to them a trivial matter if it involved the fall of one of the enemy. Titus, on the other hand, cared as much for his soldiers' safety as for success; and, pronouncing inconsiderate impetuosity to be mere desperation, and valour only deserving of the name when coupled with forethought and a regard for the actor's security, he ordered his troops to prove their manhood without running personal risks.

(4) He now brought up the battering-ram against the central tower of the north wall, where a certain Jewish impostor, named Castor, lay in ambush with ten others of like character, the rest having been routed by the archers. Here for some time they
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318 οὖτοι μέχρι μὲν των ὑπεπτηχότες τοῖς θωρακίοις ἥρεμουν, λυομένου 1 δὲ τοῦ πύργου διανίστανται, καὶ προτείνας ὁ Κάστωρ τὰς χεῖρας ὡς ἐκετείνων δῆθεν ἐκάλει τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ τῇ φωνῇ κατ-
319 οικτυζόμενος ἐλεήσαι σφάς παρεκάλει. πιστεύσας δ' ἐξ ἀπλότητος ὁ Τίτος καὶ μετανοεῖν ἦδη τούς Ἰουδαίοις ἐλπίσας, ἐπέχει μὲν τοῦ κριοῦ τὴν ἑμβολὴν κωλύει τε τοξεύειν τοὺς ἰκέτας, λέγειν
320 δ' ἐκέλευεν ὁ τι βούλεται τῷ Κάστορι. τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος ἐπὶ δεξίᾳ καταβήναι θέλειν, ὁ Τίτος συνήδεσθαι μὲν αὐτῷ τῆς εὐβουλίας ἐφή, συν-
321 ἡδεσθαι δὲ, εἰ πάντες ταῦτα ἢδη φρονοῦσι, καὶ τῇ πόλει διδόναι τε πίστιν ἐτοίμως. τῶν δέ καὶ ὁ πέντε μὲν αὐτῷ συνυπεκρίνοντο τὴν ἰκετηρίαν, οἱ λοιποὶ δ' οὐκ ἄν ποτε δουλεύειν Ῥωμαίοις
322 ἐβόων παρὸν ἐλευθέρους ἀποθανεῖν. καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διαφερομένων ἐτρίβετο μὲν ἡ προσβολή, πέμπων δ' ὁ Κάστωρ πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα σχολή
323 οὐκ ἐπὶ διόγγον αὐτὸς διαπαίζοι 2 τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. ἀμα δὲ ταῦτα πέμπων καταφανῆς ἦν καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιὰν παρακάλων.
324 οἱ δ' ἦσαν ἀγανακτοῦντες ὑπὲρ τὰ θωράκια διήρουν τε τὰ ἔξοθον γυμνά καὶ τοὺς θώρακας αὐτῶν πλήξαντες ὡς ἀπεσφαγμένοι κατέπεσον.
325 θάμβος δὲ τὸν Τίτον καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν εἰσῆλθε τοῦ τῶν ἀνδρῶν παραστήματος, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι κάτωθεν ἄκριβῶς τὸ γεγενημένον ἰδεῖν ἠθαμαζότων τε τῆς εὐτολμίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ πάθους ἡλέουν. τοξεύει δὲ τις ἐν τούτῳ παρὰ τὴν ῥίνα τοῦ Κάστορα, κάκεινος εὐθέως ἀνασπάσας τὸ βέλος ἐπεδείκνυ

1 σαλευομένου L. 2 διαπαίζει L Lat. (illudere).
remained motionless, crouching beneath the parapet, 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 on them. Titus, in the simplicity of his heart, believed him, and, hoping that the Jews were at length repenting, stopped the battering of the ram, forbade the archers to shoot at the suppliants, and directed Castor to state what he wanted. The latter replying that he desired to come down under pledge of protection, Titus said that he congratulated him on his sound judgement, and would congratulate the city, if all were now of the same mind, and gladly offer them security. But while five of Castor's ten companions joined in this feigned supplication, the rest cried out that they would never be slaves of the Romans, so long as they might die free men. During this protracted dispute, the assault was suspended, and Castor sent word to Simon to take his time in deliberating on the necessary measures, as he could fool the Roman command for a long while yet. While dispatching this message he was to all appearance urging his recalcitrant comrades to accept the proffered pledge. They, on the other hand, in seeming indignation, brandished their naked swords above the breastworks and, striking their own breast-plates, fell down as though slain. Titus and his staff, amazed at the men's intrepidity, and unable from below to see exactly what had happened, admired their courage and commiserated their fate. Meanwhile, Castor was struck close to the nose with an arrow, which missile he instantly drew out and showed to Titus, complaining
Τῷ Τίτῳ καὶ ὃς οὐ δίκαια πάσχων κατεμέμφετο. πρὸς δὲ τὸν βαλόντα σχετιλάσας Καίσαρ ἐπεμπὲ παρεστώτα τὸν Ἰώσηπον δοῦναι τῷ Κάστορι δεξιάν. ἂλλ’ ὁ μὲν οὕτ’ αὐτὸς ἐφή προελεύσεσθαι, φρονεῖν γὰρ οὐδὲν ὑγίες τοὺς δεομένους, καὶ τοὺς ὑμημένους τῶν φίλων κατέσχεν. Αἶνειάς δὲ τις τῶν αὐτομόλων αὐτὸς ἐφή προελεύσεσθαι. καὶ τοῦ Κάστορος καλοῦντος, ὅπως δεξιάτό τις καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον ὁ φέροι μεθ’ αὐτοῦ, σπουδαίότερον ὁ Αἶνειάς διαπετάσας τὸν κόλπον προσέδραμεν. ἀράμενος δ’ ὁ Κάστωρ πέτραν ἐπαφίησεν αὐτῷ, καὶ τούτον μὲν διήμαρτε φυλαξιμένου, τυπρώσκει δὲ στρατιωτὴν ἐτερον προσελθόντα. συναινόσας δὲ Καίσαρ τὴν ἀπάτην πρὸς βλάβης μὲν ἐγνώ τὸν ἐν πολέμως ἔλεου, τὸ γὰρ ἀπηνέστερον ἦττον ὑποπίπτευν τῷ πανούργῳ, τὰς δ’ ἐμβολὰς τῆς ἐλεπόλεως ὀργῆς τῆς χλεύης ἐποιεῖτο δυνατωτέρας. ὑποδιδόντα δὲ τὸν πύργον ἐμπιπρᾶσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Κάστορα, καὶ διὰ τῆς φλογὸς εἰς τὴν ὑπ’ αὐτῷ κρυπτὴν ἀλλόμενου πάλιν δόξαν ἀνδρείας Ἀρμαίοις παρέσχον ὃς ῥύμαντες σφᾶς αὐτοῦς εἰς τὸ πῦρ. (viii. 1) Αἴρεῖ δὲ Καίσαρ ταύτη τὸ τείχος ἡμέρα πέμπτη μετὰ τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ τῶν Ἰούναιῶν φυγόντων ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ παρέρχεται μετὰ χιλίων ἐνδον ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιλέκτων, καθό καὶ τῆς καινῆς πόλεως ἐρισοπώλια τε ἦν καὶ χαλκεία καὶ ἰματιῶν ἀγορά, πρὸς τὲ τὸ τείχος πλάγιοι κατέτευχον οἱ στενωτοί. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἦν τοῦ τείχους εὑθέως πλέον διέλυσεν ἦν πολέμου

1 P: προελεύσεσθαι the rest.
2 Destinon: om. PA: ὁ the rest.
of being unfairly treated. Caesar sternly rebuked the archer and commissioned Josephus, who was at his side, to offer his hand to Castor. Josephus, however, not only declined to go himself, convinced that these suppliants meant no good, but restrained those of his friends who were anxious to step forward. However, Aeneas, one of the deserters, volunteered to go; and Castor calling out for someone to take the money which he was bringing with him, Aeneas ran forward the more eagerly with robes extended to receive it. Castor thereupon picked up a boulder and hurled it at him; it missed Aeneas who managed to avoid it, but wounded another soldier who had come up. Caesar, now that his eyes were opened to the trick, decided that in warfare compassion was mischievous—severe measures affording less scope for artifice—and, indignant at this mockery, put the battering-ram more vigorously into action. When the tower began to give way, Castor and his friends set fire to it, and, leaping through the flames into the vault beneath, again impressed the Romans, who imagined that they had plunged into the fire, with a sense of their courage.

(viii. 1) At this spot, on the fifth day after the capture of the first wall, Caesar stormed the second; and, as the Jews had fled from it, he made his entry, with a thousand legionaries and his own picked troops, in that district of the new town where lay the wool-shops, the braziers' smithies and the clothes-market, and where the narrow alleys descended obliquely to the ramparts. Now, had he either at once broken down more of the wall or, by right of

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a Cf. the similar escape of the Jewish general Niger, iii. 27.
b i.e. at "the central tower of the north wall," § 317.
νόμων παρελθοῦν ἐπόρθει τὸ ληφθέν, οὐκ ἂν οἷμαι

333 τις ἐμίγη βλάβη τῷ κράτει. νῦν δὲ Ἰουδαιόνς
μὲν ἐλπίσας δυσωπήσεις ἔξον κακοῖς τῷ μή
θέλειν, πρὸς [ὁ] ἀναχώρησιν εὔμαρη τὴν εἰσβολὴν
οὐκ ἐπιλάτηνεν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιβουλεύσεως οὐς ἐυερ-

334 γετεὶν ὑπελάμβανεν. παρελθὼν γοῦν οὔτε κτείνειν
τινὰ τῶν καταλαμβανομένων ἐπέτρεψεν οὐδ’ ὑπο-
πιμπράναι τὰς οἰκίας, ἀλλ’ ἀμα τοῖς μὲν στα-
σασταῖς, εἰ βούλοντο μάχεσθαι δίχα τῆς τοῦ
dήμου βλάβης, ἀδειαν ἔξοδου, τῷ δήμῳ δὲ τὰς
kτήσεις ὑπισχυεῖτο δώσειν· περὶ πλεῖστον γὰρ
ἐποιεῖτο σῶσαι τὴν μὲν πόλιν αὐτῷ, τὸν δὲ ναὸν

335 τῇ πόλει. τὸν μὲν οὖν λαὸν ἐτοιμον εἶχεν εἰς
ἀ προὔτρεπεν καὶ πάλαι, τοῖς μαχίμοις δ’ ἔδοκεν
tο το φιλάνθρωπον ἀσθένεια, καὶ τὸν Τίτον ἀδύναμία
τοῦ τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν ἐλείν ταῦτα προτείνειν

336 ὑπελάμβανον. διαπειλοῦντες δὲ τοῖς δημόταις θά-
νατον, εἰ περὶ παραδόσεως μνησθείη τις αὐτῶν,
καὶ τοὺς παραφθεγγομένους εἰρήνην ἀποσφάτ-
tοντες, ἐπιτίθενται καὶ τοῖς εἰσελθοῦσι Ρωμαιῶν,
οὶ μὲν κατὰ τοὺς στενωποὺς ὑπαντάσαντες, οἱ
δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν, ἀλλοι δ’ ἔξω τοῦ τείχους κατὰ

337 τᾶς ἀνω προπηδήσαντες πύλας. πρὸς οὓς ταραχ-
θέντες οἱ φρουροὶ τοῦ τείχους καθαλλόμενου τῶν

338 πύργων ἀνεχώρουν εἰς τὰ στρατόπεδα. κραυγὴ
d’ ἦν τῶν μὲν εἰςο νάντοθεν πολεμίοις κεκυ-
κλωμένων, τῶν δ’ ἔξωθεν περὶ τοῖς ἀποληφθείσι
dεδοικότων. πληθύνοντες δ’ ἀεὶ Ἰουδαιοὶ καὶ
πολλὰ πλεονεκτοῦντες κατ’ ἐμπειρίαν τῶν στενω-
πῶν ἐπίτρωσκόν τε πολλοὺς καὶ προσπίπτοντες

1 om. C. 2 Destinon: ἀπολειφθέισι mss.

a Cf. his similar later offer, vi. 95.
war, followed up his entry by sacking what he had captured, no loss, I imagine, would have attended his triumph. But, in fact, because he hoped to shame the Jews by his reluctance to injure when in a position to do so, he omitted to widen the breach to facilitate a retreat, never supposing that after such treatment they would plot against their benefactor. Accordingly, on entering, he would not allow his troops to kill any persons caught or to fire the houses; to the factions he offered a free exit from the city to fight, if such was their desire, without detriment to the people, while to the people he promised restoration of their property. For his paramount object was to preserve the city for himself and the temple for the city. The people indeed had long been ready to act on his advice, but the militants mistook his humanity for weakness and regarded these overtures as due to his inability to capture the rest of the town. Threatening, therefore, to kill any of the townsfolk who should mention surrender, and butchering all who let fall a word about peace, they attacked the Roman division that had entered. Some confronted them in the streets, some assailed them from the houses, while others, rushing outside the wall by the upper gates, caused such commotion among the sentries on the ramparts that they leapt down from the towers and made off to their camp. There were cries from those within, surrounded by a ring of enemies, from those without, alarmed for their intercepted comrades. The Jews, constantly growing in numbers and greatly at an advantage through their knowledge of the streets, wounded multitudes of the enemy and with their charges thrust them before them. The
339 ἐξώθουν. οἱ δὲ κατ' ἀνάγκην τὸ πλέον ἀντείχον, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄθροισι διαφυγεῖν διὰ στενοῦ τοῦ τειχοῦς, δοκοῦσί τε ἂν κατακοπῆναι πάντες οἱ παρελθόντες μὴ προσαμύναντος τοῦ Τίτου. δια-στήσας γὰρ ἔτ' ἀκροὶ τοὺς στενωποῖς τοὺς τοξότας καὶ κατὰ τὸν μάλιστα πληθύνοντα σταθεῖς αὐτός, ἀνέστελλε τοὺς βέλεσι τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Δομέτιος Σαβίνος, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ κατὰ ταύτην φανεῖς τὴν μάχην. παρέμεινε δὲ συνεχῶς τοξεύων Καίσαρ καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κωλύων παρελθεῖν, μέχρι πάντες ἀνεχώρησαν οἱ στρατιώται.

342 (2) Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὕτως κρατήσαντες τοῦ δευ-τέρου τείχους ἐξεῶσθησαν,1 τῶν δ' ἀνὰ τὸ ἄστυ μαχίμων ἐπήρθη τὰ φρονήματα, καὶ μετέωροι πρὸς τὴν εὐπραγίαν ἦσαν, οὕτ' ἀν Ῥωμαίοι εἰς τὴν πόλιν τολμήσειν ἔτι παρελθεῖν οὐτ' αὐτὸι παρελθόντων ἣττηθῆσθαι δοκοῦντες. ἐπεσκότει γὰρ αὐτῶν ταῖς γνώμαις διὰ τὰς παρανομίας οὗ θεοῦ, καὶ οὔτε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχύν ὅσῳ πλείων κατελείπετο τῆς ἐξελασθείσης ἐβλεπον οὔτε τὸν υφέρποντα λιμὸν αὐτοῖς. ἔτι γαρ παρῆν ἐσθένων ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων κακῶν καὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως αἰμα πίνειν· ἐνδείκτ' ἐν τούς ἀγαθοὺς ἐπείχε πάλαι, καὶ σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων διελύνοντο πολλοί. τὴν δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ φθοράν ἐαυτῶν οἱ στασιασταὶ κοινοφισμὸν ὑπελάμβανον· μόνος γὰρ ἥξιον σώζεσθαι τοὺς μὴ ἐξελασθησαν2 εἰρήνην καὶ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων

1 Dindorf: ἐξεῶσθησαν οὐ εξεῶσθησαν mss.
2 ἐξελασθησαν Λ.

* Tribune of the fifteenth legion, who, again with Titus, 306
Romans, on their side, mainly through sheer necessity continued to resist, as it was impossible for all to retire at once through the narrow breach; and the entire invading force would probably have been annihilated, had not Titus come to their relief. Posting his archers at the ends of the streets and taking up a position himself where the throng was thickest, he with showers of arrows kept the enemy at bay, assisted by Domitius Sabinus, a man who proved his gallantry in this as in other engagements, So Caesar stood his ground, incessantly shooting his arrows and stemming the advance of the Jews, until all his soldiers had retired.

(2) Thus, after gaining possession of the second wall, were the Romans ejected. Within the city the spirits of the war party, elated at their success, rose high; since they imagined that the Romans would never again venture into the city, or that, if they did, they themselves would prove invincible. For God was blinding their minds because of their transgressions; and they perceived neither how the forces still left to the Romans far outnumbered those which had been expelled, nor yet the stealthy approach of famine. For it was still possible to feed upon the public miseries and to drink of the city’s life-blood; but honest men had long since felt the pinch of want, and many were already failing for lack of necessaries. The factions, however, regarded the destruction of the people as a relief to themselves; for they held that only those should be preserved who were enemies to peace and determined to devote their lives to resisting the Romans, and rejoiced at the wasting

had been the first to enter Jotapata, iii. 324. The personal prowess of Titus the hero is, as often, emphasized.
JOSEPHUS

ζῆν προηρμένους, τὸ δ’ ἐναντίον πλῆθος ὧσπερ βάρος1 ἤδοντο δαπανώμενον. τοιοῦτοι μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἐνδόν ἡσαν. 'Ρωμαίους δὲ πάλιν τῆς εἰσόδου πειρωμένους ἐκώλυνεν φραξάμενοι καὶ τὸ καταρριφθὲν ἀντιπείχοντες τοῖς σώμασι τρισὶ μὲν ἀντέσχον ἡμέραις καρτερῶς ἀμυνόμενοι, τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ προσβαλόντα γενναίως Τίτων οὐκ ἦνεγκαν, ἀλλὰ βιασθέντες ἢ καὶ πρότερον ἀνα-

347 φεύγουσιν. δ’ δὲ πάλιν τοὺς τεῖχους κρατήσας τὸ προσάρκτιον μὲν εὐθέως κατέρρυψε πάν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν φρουρᾶς τοῖς πύργοις ἐγκαταστήσας τῷ τρίτῳ προσβάλλειν ἐπενεόει.

348 (ix. 1) Δόξαν δ’ ἐπανεῖσεν πρὸς ὅλους τῆν πολιορκίαν καὶ διωρίαν βουλῆς τοῖς στασιασταῖς παρασχεὶν, εἰ τι πρὸς τὴν καθαίρεσιν ἐνδοίην τοῦ δευτέρου τεῖχους ἢ καὶ τὸν λιμὸν ὑποδείσαντες, οὐ γὰρ εἰς πολὺ τὰς ἀρπαγὰς αὐτοῖς ἐξαρκέσειν, εἰς δέον κατεχῆτι τὴν ἀνεσίν· ἐνστάσης γὰρ τῆς προθεσμίας, καθ’ ὅν τί ἐδει διαδοθίναι τοῖς στρα- τιώταις τροφάς, ἐν ἀπόπτῳ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκέ- λευσε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐκτάξαντας τὴν δύναμιν

349 ἀπαριθμεῖν ἐκάστῳ τάργυροιν. οὶ δ’, ὦσπερ ἔθος, ἀποκαλύπταντες τὰ ὀπλα θῆκαις ἐσκεπα- σμένα τέως, κατάφρακτο προῆσαν καὶ τοὺς ἕππους ἄγοντες οἱ ἐπείς κεκοσμημένους. ἐπὶ πλείστον δὲ τὰ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀργύρω καὶ χρυσῷ περιελάμπετο, καὶ τῆς θύεως ἐκείνης οὐδὲν οὔτε τοίς σφετέροις ἐπιτερπέστερον οὔτε τοῖς πολεμίοις παρέστη φοβερῶτερον. κατεπλήθηθι

1 After Lat. onus quoddam: βάρβαρον (-ων) PAML: βαρβάρων βάρος C: ἕπδο βαρβάρων βάρος VR; βάρος ἄργον Destinon.

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away of masses of their opponents who were only an encumbrance. Such were their feelings towards those within; while, having blocked and walled up the breach with their own bodies, they were holding up the Romans who were again attempting to break through. For three days they maintained a stubborn defence and held their ground; but on the fourth, unable to withstand a gallant assault of Titus, they were compelled to fall back to their former refuge. Titus, once more master of the wall, immediately razed the whole of the northern portion; and, placing garrisons in the towers in the southern quarter, laid his plans for an attack on the third wall.a

(ix. 1) He now decided to suspend the siege for a while and to afford the factions an interval for reflection, to see if the demolition of the second wall or haply dread of famine might lead to any surrender, as the fruits of their rapine could not long suffice them; and he turned the period of inaction to good account. For the appointed day having arrived for the distribution of the soldiers' pay, he ordered his officers to parade the forces and count out the money to each man in full view of the enemy. So the troops, as was their custom, drew forth their arms from the cases in which till now they had been covered and advanced clad in mail, the cavalry leading their horses which were richly caparisoned. The area in front of the city gleamed far and wide with silver and gold, and nothing was more gratifying to the Romans, or more awe-inspiring to the enemy, than that spectacle. For the whole of

a i.e. the first or "old" wall from the Jewish standpoint, § 142.
JOSEPHUS

γὰρ ἀφορώντων τὸ τε ἀρχαῖον τεῖχος ἅπαν καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ βόρειον κλίμα, τὰς τε οἰκίας μεστὰς ἤν προκυπτόντων ὑπερδείν, καὶ τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲν δὲ μὴ κεκάλυπτο πλήθει διεφαίνετο.

353 κατάπληξις δὲ δεινή καὶ τοῖς τολμηροτάτοις ἐνέπεσε τὴν τε δύναμιν ἐπὶ ταύτῳ πᾶσαν ὀρῶσι καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῶν ὀπλών καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν· δοκοῦσι τε ἂν μοι πρὸς ἐκείνην οἱ στασιασταὶ μεταβαλέσθαι τὴν ὄψιν, εἰ μὴ δὲ ὑπερβολὴν ὡν τῶν δήμων ἐδρασαν κακῶν συγγνώμην

355 παρὰ Ὀρμαίοις ἀπῆλπιζον. ἀποκειμένου δὲ τοῦ μετὰ κολάσεως, εἰ παύσαιντο, πολὺ κρείττονα τὸν ἔν πολέμω θάνατον ἡγουντο. καὶ τὸ χρεὼν δὲ ἐκράτει τοὺς τε ἀναιτίους τοῖς αἰτίοις συναπολεσθαὶ καὶ τῇ στάσει τὴν πόλιν.

356 (2) Τέσσαρας μὲν οὖν ἡμέρας οἱ Ὀρμαίοι καθ' ἐκαστὸν τάγμα διετέλεσαν τὰς προφὰς κομιζόμενου, τῇ πέμπτῃ δ' ὡς οὐδὲν ἀπήντα παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰρηνικῶν, διχὴ διελὼν τὰ τάγματα Τίτος ἥρχετο τῶν χωμάτων κατὰ τε τὴν Ἀντωνίαν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου μνημεῖον, ταῦτῃ μὲν τὴν ἀνω πόλιν αἰρῆσεων ἐπινοῶν, τὸ δ' ἱερὸν

357 κατὰ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν· τούτου γὰρ μὴ ληφθέντος οὐδὲ τὸ ἀστυ κατέχειν ἀκύώδυνον ἦν· πρὸς ἐκατέρω δὲ μέρει δύο χώματα ἡγεῖτο καθ' ἐν ἐκάστῳ τάγματος. καὶ τοὺς μὲν παρὰ τὸ μνημεῖον ἐργα-ζομένους οἱ τε Ἰδουμαιοὶ καὶ τὸ μετὰ τοῦ Σίμωνος ὀπλιτικῶν ἐφρυγον ἐπεκθέοντες, τοὺς δὲ πρὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐπελεονέκτουν δ' οὐ κατὰ χείρα

1 κατιδεῖν Μ: ἱδεῖν Ρ.
the old wall and the north side of the temple were thronged with spectators, the houses across the wall were to be seen packed with craning heads, and there was not a spot visible in the city which was not covered by the crowd. Even the hardiest were struck with dire dismay at the sight of this assemblage of all the forces, the beauty of their armour and the admirable order of the men; and I cannot but think that the rebels would have been converted by that vision, had not the enormity of their crimes against the people made them despair of obtaining pardon from the Romans. But, death being the punishment in store for them if they desisted, they thought it far better to die in battle. Fate, moreover, was prevailing to involve both innocent and guilty, city and sedition, in a common ruin.

(2) In four days the several Roman legions had all received their pay. On the fifth, no overtures for peace having come from the Jews, Titus formed the legions into two divisions and began raising earthworks opposite Antonia and John’s monument respectively; his design being to carry the upper town at the latter point, and the temple by way of Antonia, for unless the temple were secured, to hold even the town would be precarious. The erection of two banks at each of these two quarters was accordingly begun, one being assigned to each legion. Those at work alongside the monument were impeded by sallies of the Idumaeans and the troops of Simon; those before Antonia suffered obstruction from John’s followers and the Zealots. Their adversaries, moreover, were successful, not only with hand-missiles, owing to superiority of

* § 259.
μόνον ἀφ’ ὑψηλοτέρων μαχόμενοι, καὶ τοῖς ὅργανοις δὲ ἰδιὰ χρήσθαι μεμαθηκότες· ἢ γὰρ καθ’ ἡμέραν τρίθη κατὰ μικρὸν ἔθρεψε τὴν ἐμπειρίαν. εἰσον δὲ ἐξυβελεῖς μὲν τριακοσίους, τεσσαράκοντα δὲ τῶν λιθοβόλων, δι’ ὅν τὰ χῶματα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐποίουν δυσέργαστα. Ὅτις δὲ σώζεσθαι τε τῆν πόλιν καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι εἰδὼς ἐαυτῷ, ἀμα καὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ προσέκειτο καὶ τοῦ παραίνειν Ἰου-360 

361 δαῖοις μετάνοιαν ὄψι ημέλει, τοῖς δὲ ἔργοις ἀνέμισγε συμβουλίαν, καὶ πολλάκις γινώσκοις ἀνυτικώτερον ὀπλῶν τὸν λόγον, αὐτὸς τὲ σώζεσθαι παρεκάλει παραδόντας τὴν πόλιν ἦδη παρειλημμένην καὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον καθεὶς τῇ πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ διαλέγεσθαι, τάχ’ αὐτὸ ἐνδοῦναί πρὸς ὀμόφυλον δοκόν αὐτοὺς.

362 (3) Ὅτι αὐτὸς περιών τὸ τεῖχος καὶ πειρώμενος ἐξω τε βέλους εἶναι καὶ ἐν ἐπηκὼν, πολλὰ κατ-ηντιβόλει φείσασθαι μὲν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ δήμου, φείσασθαι δὲ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ μηδὲ γενέσθαι πρὸς ταῦτα τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἀπαθεστέ-363 ροὺς. Ῥωμαίοις μὲν γε τοὺς μὴ μετέχοντας ἐντρέπεσθαι τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀγια καὶ μέχρι νῦν τὸς χείρας ἐπέχειν, τοὺς δὲ ἐντραφέντας αὐτοῖς καὶ περισσωθῇ μόνους ἐξοντας ὑμὴσθαι πρὸς ἀπωλείαν αὐτῶν. ἥ μὴ τὰ καρτερώτερα μὲν αὐτῶν ὀρᾶν τείχη πεπτωκότα, λειπόμενον δὲ τὸ

1 δυσεργάτερα LVRC (cf. § 496).
2 Destinon: αὐτοὺς or αὐτοῖς mss.
3 + <παρ' ὀλίγον> Destinon (cf. § 369).
4 τάχ’ αὐτ Destinon: τάχα mss.
5 ἐξω τε Niese (from Lat.): ἐξω or ἐξωτέρω mss.

a §§ 267 f. b Or “scorpions.”
position, but also with their engines, which they had now learnt to use,\(^a\) daily practice having gradually fostered their skill; and they possessed three hundred quick-firers,\(^b\) and forty stone-projectors,\(^c\) by means of which they seriously retarded the erection of the Roman earthworks. Titus, conscious that the preservation or destruction of the city vitally affected himself, while pressing the siege did not omit to urge the Jews to reconsider their policy. Blending active operations with advice, and aware that speech is often more effectual than arms, he not only personally exhorted them to seek salvation by the surrender of the city, already practically\(^d\) taken, but also delegated Josephus to parley with them in their native tongue, thinking that possibly they might yield to the expostulation of a fellow-countryman.

(3) Josephus, accordingly, went round the wall, and, endeavouring to keep out of range of missiles and yet within ear-shot, repeatedly\(^e\) implored them to spare themselves and the people, to spare their country and their temple, and not to display towards them greater indifference than was shown by aliens. The Romans, he urged, though without a share in them, yet reverenced the holy places\(^f\) of their enemies, and had thus far restrained their hands from them; whereas men who had been brought up in them and, were they preserved, would alone enjoy them, were bent on their destruction. Indeed, they beheld their stoutest walls prostrate and but one

\(^a\) ballistae.

\(^b\) The preposition in \(\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota\varepsilon\lambda\mu\mu\epsilon\nu\nu\) possibly here has the force of \(\pi\alpha\rho'\delta\lambda\iota\gamma\omicron\nu\), "almost."

\(^c\) \(\pi\omicron\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\) probably implies numerous speeches at different spots rather than "at great length."

\(^d\) Literally "things," including perhaps rites, etc.

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τῶν ἑαυτῶν ἀσθενέστερον· γινώσκειν δὲ τὴν Ἑρωμαίων ἰσχύν ἀνυπόστατον καὶ τὸ δουλεύειν 365 τούτοις οὐκ ἀπείραστον1 αὐτοῖς. εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ πολεμεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας καλὸν, χρῆναι τὸ πρῶτον· τὸ δ' ἀπαξ ὑποπεσόντας καὶ μακροῖς εἰξαντας χρόνους ἔπειτα ἀποσείεσθαι τὸν ζυγὸν 366 δυσθανατούντων, οὐ φιλελευθέρων εἶναι. δεῖν μεν- τοι καὶ δεσπότας ἀδοξεῖν ταπεινοτέρους, οὐχ οἷς ὑποχείρια τὰ πάντα. τί γὰρ Ἑρωμαίων διαπεφυ- γέναι, πλὴν εἰ μή τι διὰ θάλπος ἡ κρύπα ἀχρηστὸν; 367 μεταβήναι γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πάντοθεν τὴν τύχην, καὶ κατὰ ἐθνος τὸν θεὸν ἐμπεριάγοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἱταλίας εἶναι. νόμον γε μὴν ὡρίσθαι καὶ παρὰ θηρῶν ἵσχυρότατον καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώποις, εἶκεν τοῖς δυνατωτέροις καὶ τὸ κρατεῖν παρ' οἷς 368 ἀκμῇ τῶν ὁπλῶν εἶναι. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς προγόνους αὐτῶν [πολὺ]2 καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἔτι δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀφορμαῖς ἀμείνουσ ὸντας, εἰδοι Ἑρωμαῖοι, οὐκ ἄν εἰ μὴ τὸν θεὸν 369 ἤδεσαν σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῦθ᾽ ὑπομειναντας. αὐτοὺς δὲ τίνι καὶ πεποιθότας ἀντέχειν, ἐαλωκυίας μὲν ἐκ πλείστου τῆς πόλεως μέρους, τῶν δ' ἐνδον, εἰ καὶ τὰ τείχη παρέμενεν, ἀλώσεως χείρον δια- 370 κειμένων; οὐ γὰρ λανθάνειν Ἑρωμαίων τὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμόν, ὃ νῦν μὲν τὸν δήμου, μετ' οὐ πολὺ 371 δὲ διαφθαρήσεσθαι καὶ τοὺς μαχήμους. εἰ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ παύσαιντο Ἑρωμαίοι τῆς πολιορκίας

1 ἀπείραστον ML.
2 L Lat.: om. the rest.

* Josephus, here and in the sequel, repeats what he has
remaining, weaker than those which had fallen; they knew that the might of the Romans was irresistible and that to serve them was no new experience for themselves. Be it granted that it was noble to fight for freedom, they should have done so at first; but, after having once succumbed and submitted for so long, to seek then to shake off the yoke was the part of men madly courting death, not of lovers of liberty. To scorn meaner masters might, indeed, be legitimate, but not those to whom the universe was subject. For what was there that had escaped the Romans, save maybe some spot useless through heat or cold? Fortune, indeed, had from all quarters passed over to them, and God who went the round of the nations, bringing to each in turn the rod of empire, now rested over Italy. There was, in fact, an established law, as supreme among brutes as among men, "Yield to the stronger" and "The mastery is for those pre-eminent in arms." That was why their forefathers, men who in soul and body, aye and in resources to boot, were by far their superiors, had yielded to the Romans—a thing intolerable to them, had they not known that God was on the Roman side. As for them, on what did they rely in thus holding out, when the main part of the city was already captured, and when those within it, though their walls still stood, were in a plight even worse than capture? Assuredly, the Romans were not ignorant of the famine raging in the city, which was now consuming the populace, and would ere long consume the combatants as well. For, even were the Romans to desist from the siege previously put into the mouth of Agrippa at the opening of the war, ii. 355 ff.
μηδ' ἐπιπίπτοιεν1 τῇ πόλει ξιφῆρεις, αὐτοῖς γε τὸν ἄμαχον πόλεμον ἐνδον παρακαθήσθαι καθ' ἐκάστην ὄραν πρεφόμενον, εἰ μή καὶ πρὸς τὸν λιμὸν ἀραὶ τὰ ὀπλα καὶ μάχεσθαι δύνανται, μόνοι τε καὶ

372 παθῶν ἐπικρατεῖν. προσετίθει δὲ ὡς καλῶν πρὸ ἄνηκέστον συμφορᾶς μεταβαλέσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ σωτηρίον ἔως ἐξεστὶ βέβαι· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ μνησι-κακήσεων αὐτοῖς Ἶ Rapeίους τῶν γεγενημένων, εἰ μὴ μέχρι τέλους ἀπαυσαθίσαντο· φύσει τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ κρατεῖν ἡμέρους εἶναι καὶ πρὸ τῶν θυμῶν

373 θῆσεσθαι τὸ συμφέρον. τούτο δ' εἶναι μῆτε τὴν πόλιν ἀνδρῶν κενὴν μῆτε τὴν χώραν ἔρημον ἔχειν. διὸ καὶ νῦν Κάισαρα βουλεσθαι δεξιάν αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἄν σώσαι τινα βία λαβῶντα τὴν πόλιν, καὶ μάλιστα μὴ' ἐν ἐσχάταις συμφοραῖς

374 ὑπακοουσάντων παρακαλοῦντι. τοῦ γε μὴν ταχέως τὸ τρίτον τείχους ἀλώσεσθαι τὰ προεαλωκότα πίστιν εἶναι· κἂν ὀρηηκτὸν δὲ ᾗ τὸ ἔρμα, τὸν λιμὸν ύπὲρ Ἶ Rapeίους αὐτοῖς μαχεῖσθαι.2

375 (4) Ταῦτα τὸν Ἰώσηπον παρανυσάντα πολλοὶ μὲν ἐσκωπτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐβλασφήμουν, ἐνοι δ' ἐβαλλον. δ' δ' ὡς ταῖς φανεραῖς οὐκ ἐπειθε συμβουλίαις, ἐπὶ τὰς ὁμοφύλους

376 μετέβαινεν ἰστορίας, "ἀ δειλοί," βοῶν, "καὶ τῶν ἱδίων ἀμυνήμονες συμμάχων, ὅπλοι καὶ χερσὶ πολεμεῖτε Ἶ Rapeίους; τίνα γὰρ ἄλλον οὔτως ἐνικήσαμεν; πότε δ' οὐ θεὸς ὁ κτίσας, ἀν ἅδι-

1 ἐπειπιπτοιεν LV.
2 Νiese from Lat.: μάχεσθαι mss.
3 PA: δελαιοι the rest.

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\textsuperscript{a} Cf. Nicanor's words to Josephus himself at Jotapata, 316
and not fall upon the city with drawn swords, yet they had at their doors a war with which none could contend, gaining strength every hour, unless indeed they could take arms and fight against famine itself and, alone of all men, master even its pangs. They would do well, he added, to repent ere irretrievable disaster befell them and to incline to salutary counsels while they had the opportunity; for the Romans would bear them no malice for the past, unless they persisted in their contumacy to the end: they were naturally lenient in victory, and would put above vindictiveness considerations of expediency, which did not consist in having on their hands either a depopulated city or a devastated country. That was why, even at this late hour, Caesar desired to grant them terms; whereas, if he took the city by storm, he would not spare a man of them, especially after the rejection of offers made to them when in extremities. That the third wall would be quickly carried was vouched for by the fall of those already captured; and even were that defence impregnable, the famine would fight for the Romans against them.

(4) Josephus, during this exhortation, was derided by many from the ramparts, by many execrated, and by some assailed with missiles. Failing to move them by this direct advice, he passed to reminiscences of their nation's history.

"Ah, miserable wretches," he cried, "unmindful of your own true allies, would you make war on the Romans with arms and might of hand? What other foe have we conquered thus, and when did God who created, fail to avenge, the Jews, if they were

iii. 347, and the Virgilian "parcere devictis" (Aen. vi. 853), doubtless familiar to the author.
κώνται, Ἰουδαίων ἔκδικος; οὐκ ἐπιστραφέντες ὁφεσθε πόθεν ὅρμωμενοι μάχεσθε καὶ πηλίκον ἐμιάνατε σύμμαχον; οὐκ ἀναμησθεῖσθε πατέρων ἐργα Δαμώνια, καὶ τὸν ἁγιον τόνδε χῶρον ἡλίκους

378 ἡμῖν πάλαι πολέμους¹ καθεῖλεν; ἐγὼ μὲν φρίττω τα ἐργα τοῦ θεοῦ λέγων εἰς ἀναξίους ἄκοις· ἀκούετε δ' ὁμως, ἦν γνώτε μη μόνον Ἦρωμαῖος

379 πολέμουντες ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ. βασιλεὺς ὁ τότε Νεχαὼς Αἴγυπτῶν, ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ Φαραώ, μυρία χειρὶ καταβὰς ἤρπασε Σάρραν

380 βασιλίδα, τὴν μητέρα τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν. τὶ οὖν ὁ ταύτης ἄνηρ Ἀβραάμ, προπάτωρ δ' ἡμέτερος; ἀρα τὸν ὕβρισθην ἠμύνατο τοῖς ὀπλοῖς, καίτοι ὁκτωκαιδέκα μὲν καὶ τριακοσίους ὑπάρχους ἕχων, δύναμιν δ' υφ² ἐκάστω τούτων ἀπειρον; ἦ αὐτούς μὲν ἐρημίαν ἠγήσατο μὴ συμπαροντός θεοῦ, καθαρὰς δ' ἀνατείνας τὰς χεῖρας εἰς δν νῦν ἐμιάνατε χῶρον ὑμεῖς, τὸν ἀνίκητον αὐτῷ βοηθὸν ἐστρατο-

381 λόγησεν; οὐ μετὰ μίαν ἐσπέραν ἄχραντος μὲν ἡ βασιλίσσα ἀνεπέμφθη πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, προσκυνοῦν δὲ τὸν ὑφ' ὑμῶν αἰμαχθέντα χῶρον ὀμοφύλω φόνω καὶ τρέμων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν νυκτί φαντασμάτων ἐφευγεν ὁ Αἴγυπτος, ἄργυρω δὲ καὶ χρυσῷ τοὺς

382 θεοφιλεῖς Ἐβραίοις ἐδωρεῖτο; εἲπω τὴν εἰς

¹ πολεμίους Hudson (perhaps rightly).
² ἐφ' ALR.

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*a Or (with Hudson’s text) “enemies.”

*b Again recalling Virgil, “horresco referens.”

*c Josephus here follows some strange version, doubtless derived from Jewish legend (Haggadah), of the story in Genesis xii. 10-20 (cf. the variant form of the story in xx. 1 ff.). In the Biblical account Abraham goes down into Egypt; here Pharaoh invades Palestine. Necho, moreover, was the
wronged? Will you not turn your eyes and mark what place is that whence you issue to battle and reflect how mighty an Ally you have outraged? Will you not recall your fathers' superhuman exploits and what mighty wars this holy place has quelled for us in days of old? For myself, I shudder at recounting the works of God to unworthy ears; yet listen, that you may learn that you are warring not against the Romans only, but also against God.

"Nechaos, also called Pharaoh, the reigning king of Egypt, came down with a prodigious host and carried off Sarah, a princess and the mother of our race. What action, then, did her husband Abraham, our forefather, take? Did he avenge himself on the ravisher with the sword? He had, to be sure, three hundred and eighteen officers under him, each in command of a boundless army. Or did he not rather count these as nothing, if unaided by God, and uplifting pure hands towards this spot which you have now polluted enlist the invincible Ally on his side? And was not the queen, after one night's absence, sent back immaculate to her lord, while the Egyptian, in awe of the spot which you have stained with the blood of your countrymen and trembling at his visions of the night, fled, bestowing silver and gold upon those Hebrews beloved of God?"

name of a Pharaoh of far later date, the conqueror of Josiah, 2 Chron. xxxv. 20; no monarch of the name in patriarchal times is known.

(i.) Pharaoh Necho and Sarah.

\(\text{d} \) The name Sarah means "princess."

\(\text{e} \) The 318 "trained men, born in his house" whom he led out to the rescue of Lot, Gen. xiv. 14.

\(\text{f} \) Abimelech in similar circumstances bestowed gifts upon Abraham, Gen. xx. 14-16; no gifts from Pharaoh are recorded in xii. 20.
The round number given in Gen. xv. 13 and followed in Jos. A. ii. 204 and in St. Stephen’s speech, Acts vii. 6; Exodus xii. 40 more precisely “430 years.”
"Need I speak of the migration of our fathers to Egypt? Oppressed and in subjection to foreign monarchs for four hundred years, yet, though they might have defended themselves by resort to arms and violence, did they not commit themselves to God? Who has not heard tell of Egypt overrun with all manner of beasts and wasted with every disease, of the barren land, the failing Nile, the ten successive plagues, and how in consequence our fathers were sent forth under escort, without bloodshed, without risk, God conducting them as the future guardians of his shrine?

"Or again did not Philistia and the image Dagon rue the rape of our sacred ark by the Syrians? Did not the whole nation of those raiders rue the deed, ulcerated in their secret parts and excreting their entrails along with their food, until with the hands which stole it they restored it, to the sound of cymbals and timbrels, and with all manner of expiations propitiating the sanctuary? God's leadership it was that brought our fathers this triumph, because, without resort to hand or weapon, they committed the issue to his decision.

"When Sennacherib, king of Assyria, with all Asia following in his train, encamped around this city, was it by human hands he fell? Were not those hands at rest from arms and raised in prayer, while God's angel, in one night, destroyed that countless host? And when the Assyrian arose next morning, did he not find 185,000 corpses, and with the re-

\( ^{b} \) Cf. Wisdom xix. 2 μετὰ σπονδῆς προτέμψαντες αὐτοὺς, of the Egyptians speeding the Israelites on their way.

\( ^{c} \) 1 Sam. v.-vi.  

\( ^{d} \) Rhetorical amplification of 1 Sam. v. 6.

\( ^{e} \) Another addition to the Biblical story.  

\( ^{f} \) See § 303 n.
JOSEPHUS

ἀνόπλους καὶ μὴ διώκοντας Ἑβραίους ἐφυγεν;

389 ἵστε καὶ τὴν ἐν Βαβυλώνι δουλείαν, ἐνθα μετα

νάστης ὁ λαὸς ὄν ἔτεσιν ἐβδομῆκοντα οὐ πρότερον εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἀνεχάιτεσεν ἡ Κύρον τοῦτο χαρί

σαθαι τῷ θεῷ προπεμφθησαν γοὺν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάλιν τὸν αὐτῶν σύμμαχον ἑνεωκόρουν.

390 καθόλου δ’ εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ τι κατώρθωσαν οἱ πατέρες ἦμῶν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἡ δίχα τούτων διήμαρ

τον ἐπιπρέψαντες τῷ θεῷ μένοντες μὲν γε κατὰ χώραν ἐνίκων ὡς ἐδόκει τῷ κριτῇ, μαχόμενοι δ’

ἐπταισαν αἰε. τοῦτο μὲν, ἡνίκα βασιλεὺς Βαβυ

λωνίων ἐπολύρκει ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, συμβαλὼν

Σεδεκίας ὁ ἡμέτερος βασιλεὺς παρὰ τὰς Ἰερεμίου

προφητείας αὐτὸς θ’ ἔαλω καὶ τὸ ἀστυ μετὰ τοῦ

ναοῦ κατασκαπτόμενον εἶδε· καίτοι πόσῳ με-

τριώτερος ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖνος τῶν ἡμέτερων

392 ἡγεμόνων ἦν, ὁ δ’ ὑπ’ αὐτῶ λαὸς ὑμῶν. βοῶντα

γοὺν τὸν Ἰερεμίαν, ὃς ἄπεχθοντο μὲν τῷ θεῷ διὰ τὰς εἰς αὐτὸν πλημμελείας, ἀλώσωντο δ’ εἰ μὴ

παραδοίην τὴν πόλιν, οὕθ’ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐθ’ ὁ δῆμος

393 ἀνείλεν. ἀλλ’ ὑμεῖς, ἵν’ ἐὰς τάδιν, οὐ γάρ

<ἀν> ἐρμηνεύσαι δυναίμην τὰς παρανομίας ὑμῶν ἀξίως, ἐμὲ τὸν παρακαλοῦντα πρὸς σωτηρίαν ὑμᾶς βλασφημεῖτε καὶ βάλλετε, παροξυνόμενοι πρὸς τὰς ὑπομνήσεις τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς λόγους φέροντες ὑπ’ τάργα δράτε καθ’

394 ἡμέραν. τοῦτο δ’, ἡνίκα Ἀντιόχου τοῦ κληθέντος

ins. Destinon.

a 2 Kings xix. 35.

b Literally “manes”; the same metaphor occurs in

Agrippa’s speech, ii. 370.

c 2 Kings xxv. 1-10. Zedekiah did not “see” the

destruction of town and temple, which in the Biblical account

322
mainder flee from the Hebrews who were neither armed nor pursuing? a

"You know, moreover, of the bondage in Babylon, where our people passed seventy years in exile and never reared their heads b for liberty, until Cyrus granted it in gratitude to God; yes, it was through him that they were sent forth and re-established the temple-worship of their Ally. In short, there is no instance of our forefathers having triumphed by arms or failed of success without them when they committed their cause to God: if they sat still they conquered, as it pleased their Judge, if they fought they were invariably defeated.

"Thus, when the king of Babylon besieged this city, our king Zedekiah having, contrary to the prophetic warnings of Jeremiah, given him battle, was himself taken prisoner and saw the town and the temple levelled to the ground. c Yet, how much more moderate was that monarch than your leaders, and his subjects than you! For, though Jeremiah loudly proclaimed that they were hateful to God for their transgressions against Him, and would be taken captive unless they surrendered the city, neither the king nor the people put him to death. d But you—to pass over those scenes within, for it would be beyond me adequately to portray your enormities—you, I say, assail with abuse and missiles me who exhort you to save yourselves, exasperated at being reminded of your sins and intolerant of any mention of those crimes which you actually perpetrate every day.

"Or again, when our ancestors went forth in occurred ten years after he had been taken, a blinded prisoner, to Babylon. e Cf. Jer. xxvii. 12 ff.
JOSEPHUS

'Επιφανοὺς προσκαθεξομένου τῇ πόλει πολλὰ πρὸς τὸ θείον ἐξυβρικότος, οἱ πρόγονοι μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων προῆλθον, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀπεσφάγησαν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, διηρπάγη δὲ τὸ ἀστυ τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἥρμημῶθη δ' ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ τὸ ἁγιον. 395 καὶ τὶ δεῖ τὰλλα λέγειν; ἀλλὰ Ἦρωμαῖος τίς ἐστρατολόγησε κατὰ τοῦ ἔθνους; οὐχ ἦ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀσέβεια; πόθεν δ' ἡρξάμεθα δουλεῖας; 396 ἢ ὁμιλητζ ἐκ στάσεως τῶν προγόνων, ὅτε ἢ Ἀρι- στοβοῦλον καὶ Ἡρκανοῦ μανία καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔρις Πομπήιοι ἐπήγαγον τῇ πόλει καὶ Ἦρωμαῖος ὑπέταξεν ὁ θεὸς τους οὐκ ἄξιοὺς ἔλευσερίας; 397 τρισὶ γονίν μηδὲ πολιορκηθέντες ἐαυτοὺς παρ- ἐδοσαν, οὕθ' ἄμαρτόντες εἰς τὰ ἁγια καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἥλικα ὑμεῖς καὶ πολὺ μείζονι ἀφορμαῖς 398 πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον χρώμενον. τὸ δ' Ἀντιγόνον τέλος τοῦ Ἀριστοβοῦλον παιδὸς οὐκ ἐσμεν, οὐ βασιλεύοντος ὁ θεὸς ἁλώσει πάλιν τὸν λαιὸν ἡλαυνε πλημμελουντα, καὶ Ἡρώδης μὲν ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου Σόσσιον, Σόσσιος δὲ Ἦρωμαῖων στρατιὰν ἠγανεν, περισχεθέντες δ' ἔπὶ μῆνας ἕξ ἐπολιορκοῦντο, μέχρι δίκας τῶν ἄμαρτιων δόντες ἐάλωσαν καὶ διηρπάγη τοῖς πολεμίοις ἡ πόλις; 399 Οὕτως οὖν ἐπέστη τῷ ἔθνει τὰ ὀπλα δέδοται, τῷ δὲ πολεμεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ ἀλώσεσθαι πάντως πρόσ- 400 ἐστι. δεῖ γὰρ, οἴμαι, τοὺς χωρίοιν ἁγιον νεμο- μένους ἐπιτρέπειν πάντα τῷ θεῷ δικάζειν καὶ

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a Cf. 1 Macc. i. 20 ff., Jos. A. xii. 246 ff., where, however, no contest is recorded; according to the account in the Antiquities Jerusalem was twice captured by Antiochus, once without a battle (ἀναχητὶ, 246), once by treachery (ἀπάτη, 248).

b c. December 168–June 164 B.C., the 1290 days of Dan. 324
arms against Antiochus,\textsuperscript{a} surnamed Epiphanes, who was blockading this city and had grossly outraged the Deity; they were cut to pieces in the battle, the town was plundered by the enemy and the sanctuary for three years and six months\textsuperscript{b} lay desolate.

"Why need I mention more? But, pray, who enlisted the Romans against our country? Was it not the impiety of its inhabitants? Whence did our servitude arise? Was it not from party strife among our forefathers, when the madness of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus and their mutual dissensions brought Pompey against the city,\textsuperscript{c} and God subjected to the Romans those who were unworthy of liberty? Yes, after a three months' siege\textsuperscript{d} they surrendered, though innocent of such offences as yours against the sanctuary and against the laws, and possessing far ampler resources for war.

"Or know we not the fate of Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, in whose reign God again smote the people for their offences by the capture of this city; when Herod, son of Antipater, brought up Sossius,\textsuperscript{e} a Roman army, by whom they were for six\textsuperscript{f} months invested and besieged, until in retribution for their sins they were captured and the city was sacked by the enemy?"

"Thus invariably have arms been refused to our nation, and warfare has been the sure signal for defeat. For it is, I suppose, the duty of the occupants of holy ground to leave everything to the arbitrament of

\textsuperscript{a} B. i. 131 ff.
\textsuperscript{b} B. i. 149, A. xiv. 66.
\textsuperscript{c} B. i. 345, A. xiv. 468.
\textsuperscript{d} B. i. 351; under 2 months according to A. xiv. 476, the two walls being captured in 40 and 15 days respectively.

\textsuperscript{f} 5 months according to B. i. 351; under 2 months
JOSEPHUS

καταφρονεῖν τότε χειρὸς ἀνθρωπίνης, ὅταν αὐτοὶ
401 πείθωσι τὸν ἄνω δικαστήν. ὑμῖν δὲ τί τῶν
evloγηθέντων ὧπο τοῦ νομοθέτου πέπρακται; τί
de τῶν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου κατηραμένων παραλέλειπται;
pόσω δ’ ἔστε τῶν τάχιων ἀλώτων ἀσεβέστεροι;
402 οὐ τὰ κρυπτὰ μὲν τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἡδονήκατε,
kλοπάς λέγω καὶ ἑνέδρας καὶ μοιχείας, ἀρπαγαίς
d’ ἐρίζετε καὶ φόνοις καὶ ξένας καινοτομεῖτε
κακίας ὀδούς, ἐκδοχεῖον δὲ πάντων τὸ ἱερὸν γέγονεν
cαι χερσὶν ἐμφυλίους θείοις μεμίανται χώρος,
ὅν καὶ Ἰωμαίοι πόρρωθεν προσεκύνουν, πολλὰ
tῶν ὑδίων ἑθῶν καὶ τῶν ὑμέτερον παραλύοντες
403 νόμον. 1 εἴτ’ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν ἀσεβηθέντα σύμμαχον
προσδοκάτε; πάνω γοῦν ἐστε δίκαιοι ἱκέται καὶ
χερσὶ καθαραῖς τὸν βοηθὸν ὑμῶν παρακαλεῖτε.
404 τοιαύτας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν ἰκέτευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν
Ἀσσύριον, ὅτε τὸν μέγαν ἐκείνον στρατὸν μιὰ
νυκτὶ κατέστρωσεν θεός; ὁμοία δὲ τῷ Ἰωμαῖῳ
Ἰωμαίοι δρῶσιν, ἵνα καὶ ἄμυναν ύμεῖς ὑμοίοι
405 ἐλπίσητε; οὐχ οὐ μὲν χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως
ἡμῶν λαβῶν ἑφ’ ὑπ’ ἡμὴν πορθῆσει τὴν πόλιν κατέβη
παρὰ τούς ὀρκοὺς ἐμπρῆσαι τὸν ναὸν, Ἰωμαίοι
δὲ τὸν συνήθη δασμὸν αἰτοῦσιν, ὅν οἱ πατέρες
1 εἰς . . . νόμον L (C similar, reading ἡμέτερον): παραλύοντες
καὶ νόμων the rest.

a Moses.
b For τάχιων = πρότερον cf. e.g. B. i. 284 (where the
parallel in Ἀ. has τὸ πρῶτον). The rendering “more
speedily defeated” would not be true, if the comparison
were between the duration of previous sieges of Jerusalem
alluded to and that of the present siege which had so far
lasted only some two months; though it might apply to the
length of the war as a whole.

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God and to scorn the aid of human hands, can they but conciliate the Arbiter above. But as for you, what have you done that is blessed by the lawgiver? what deed that he has cursed have you left undone? How much more impious are you than those who have been defeated in the past? Secret sins—I mean thefts, treacheries, adulteries—are not beneath your disdain, while in rapine and murder you vie with each other in opening up new and unheard of paths of vice; aye and the temple has become the receptacle for all, and native hands have polluted those divine precincts, which even Romans revered from afar, forgoing many customs of their own in deference to your law. And after all this do you expect Him, thus outraged, to be your ally? Righteous suppliants are ye, forsooth, and pure the hands with which you appeal to your protector! With such, I ween, our king besought aid against the Assyrian, when God in one night laid low that mighty host! And so like are the deeds of the Romans to those of the Assyrian, that you may look for a like vengeance yourselves! Did not he accept money from our king on condition that he would not sack the city, and then come down, in violation of his oaths, to burn the sanctuary, whereas the Romans are but demanding the customary tribute, which our fathers

Or perhaps interrogatively, "Have not secret sins . . . been disdained by you . . .?" i.e. become too trivial to satisfy you.

Or "sink"; cf. Sallust, Cat. 37, "omnes . . . Romam sicut in sentinam confluxerant."

i.e. without passing the parapet marking the boundary of the court of the Gentiles, §§ 193 f. Cf. ii. 341, where Neapolitanus pays his devotions to the sanctuary "from the permitted area."

Sennacherib, § 387. 2 Kings xviii. 14 f.
406 ἡμῶν τοῖς ἔκεινων πατράσι παρέσχον; καὶ τούτον τυχόντες οὔτε πορθοῦσι τὴν πόλιν οὔτε ἤσούσι τῶν ἅγίων, διδόσι δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ ἄλλα, γενεάς τ' ἐλευθέρας καὶ κτήσεις τὰς ἑαυτῶν νέμεσθαι καὶ
407 τοὺς ἱεροὺς νόμους σώζουσι. μανία δ' τὸν θεὸν προσδοκάν ἐπὶ δικαίως οἰον ἐπὶ ἀδίκοις ἐφανῇ. καὶ παραχρῆμα δ' ἀμύνειν οἴδεν ὅταν δέη· τοὺς γονὶν Ἀσσυρίους κατὰ νῦκτα τὴν πρώτην παρα-
408 στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐκλάσεν· ὥστ' εἰ καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν γενεὰν ἐλευθερίας ἧ 'Ῥωμαίους κολάσεως ἀξίους ἐκρίνε, καὶ παραχρῆμα καθάπερ τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις ἐνέσκηψεν, ὅτε τοῦ ἔθνους ἦπτετο Πομπήιος, ὅτε μετ' αὐτῶν ἀνήει Σόσσιος, ὅτε Ὀὐεσπασιανὸς ἐπόρθει τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, τὰ τελευ-
409 ταία νῦν, ὅτε ἡγηγεῖ Τίτος τῇ πόλει. καίτοι Μάγνος μὲν καὶ Σόσσιος πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν παθεῖν καὶ ἀνά κράτος ἔλαβον τὴν πόλιν, Ὀὐεσπασιανὸς δ' ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολέμου καὶ βασιλείας ἥρξατο, Τίτῳ μὲν γὰρ καὶ πηγαὶ πλουσιώτερα λέοντον
410 αἱ ἔφρασθείσαι πρότερον ύμῖν· πρὸ γονὶν τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας τὴν τε Σιλωάν ἐπιλείπουσαν ἵστε καὶ τὰς πρὸ τοῦ ἂστεος ἁπάσας, ὅστε πρὸς ἀμφορέας ὠνείσατο τὸ ὑδωρ· τὸ δὲ νῦν οὕτως πληθύνουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις ύμῶν, ὡς μὴ μόνον αὐτοῖς καὶ κτήσειν,
411 ἄλλα καὶ κήπους διαρκείν. τὸ γε μὴν τέρας τοῦτο πεπείραται καὶ πρότερον ἐφ' ἀλώσει τῆς πόλεως γεγενημένου, ὥθ' ὁ προειρημένος Βαβυλώνιος ἐπεστράτευσεν, ὅς τὴν τε πόλιν ἔλων ἐνέπρησε καὶ τὸν ναόν, οὐδὲν οἶμαι τῶν τότε ἥσεθηκότων

1 μὲν γὰρ] μὲντοι ορ γε μὴν Niese.
2 Niese: πεπείρασται ορ πεπείρασθε (-θαί) MSS.
paid to theirs? Once they obtain this, they neither sack the city, nor touch the holy things, but grant you everything else, the freedom of your families, the enjoyment of your possessions and the protection of your sacred laws. It is surely madness to expect God to show the same treatment to the just as to the unjust. Moreover, He knows how, at need, to inflict instant vengeance, as when He broke the Assyrians on the very first night when they encamped hard by; so that had he judged our generation worthy of freedom or the Romans of punishment, He would, as He did the Assyrians, have instantly visited them—when Pompey intermeddled with the nation, when after him Sossius came up, when Vespasian ravaged Galilee, and lastly now, when Titus was approaching the city. And yet Magnus and Sossius, far from sustaining any injury, took the city by storm; Vespasian from his war against us mounted to a throne; while as for Titus, the very springs flow more copiously for him which had erstwhile dried up for you. For before his coming, as you know, Siloam and all the springs outside the town were failing, insomuch that water was sold by the amphora; whereas now they flow so freely for your enemies as to suffice not only for themselves and their beasts but even for gardens. This miracle, moreover, has been experienced ere now on the fall of the city, when the Babylonian whom I mentioned marched against it and captured and burnt both the city and the sanctuary, although the Jews of that day were

a 2 Kings xix. 35, "that night," but see § 303 note.
b Pompey the Great.
c iv. 604.
d about 9 gallons.
e § 391. The "miracle" in his day is unrecorded in Scripture.
JOSEPHUS

412 ἰηλικοῦτον ἡλίκα ὑμεῖς· ἀστ' ἐγὼ πεφευγέναι μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἄγιων οἶμαι τὸ θείον, ἐστάναι δὲ παρ' οἷς
413 πολεμεῖτε νῦν. ἀλλ' ἀνήρ μὲν ἀγαθὸς οἰκίαι ἀσελγῆ φεύγεται καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ στυγήσει, τὸν
dὲ θείον ἐτι πείθεσθε τοῖς οἰκείοις κακοῖς παρα-
μένειν, ὅσ τὰ τε κρυπτὰ πάντα ἐφορᾶ καὶ τῶν
414 συγομένων ἀκούει; τί δὲ σιγάται παρ' ὑμῖν ἢ τί
crύπτεται; τί δ' οὐχὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς φανερῶν
gέγονε; πομπεύετε γὰρ παρανομοῦντες καὶ καθ' ἥμεραν ἐρίζετε, τὶς χείρων γένηται, τῆς ἀδικίας
415 ὡσπερ ἀρέτης ἐπίδειξεν ποιούμενοι. καταλείπε-
tαι δ' οἴμως ἐτι σωτηρίας ὁδός, ἔαν θέλητε, καὶ τὸ
θείον εὐδιάλλακτον ἐξομολογημένοι καὶ μετα-
416 νοοῦσιν. ὃ σιδῆρειοι, ρύψατε τὰς πανοπλίας,
λάβετε ἡδὴ κατερειπομένης αἰών πατρίδος, ἐπι-
στράφητε καὶ θεάσασθε τὸ κάλλος ἤς προδίδοτε,
417 οἰόν ἀστυ, οἴον οἴρον, ὅσων ἔθνων δώρα. ἐπὶ
tαῦτα τις ὧν γενεῖ φλόγα; ταῦτα τις μηκέτ' εἶναι
θέλει; καὶ τί σώζεσθαι τούτων ἄξιώτερον, ἀτεγ-
418 κτοὶ1 καὶ λίθων ἀπαθέστεροι. καὶ εἰ μὴ ταῦτα
gνησίους ὀμμασὶν βλέποτε, γενεὰς γοὺν ὑμετέρας
οὐκετείρατε, καὶ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐκάστω γενέσθω
tέκνα καὶ γυνὴ καὶ γονεῖς, οὗς ἀναλώσει μετὰ
419 μικρὸν η λιμὸς η πόλεμος. οἶδ' ὧτι μοι συγκιν-
dυνεύει μὴ τῆρ καὶ γυνὴ καὶ γένος οὐκ ἄσημον καὶ
πάλαι λαμπρὸς οἶκος, καὶ τάχα δοκῶ διὰ ταῦτα
συμβουλεύειν. ἀποκτείνατε αὐτοὺς, λάβετε μισθὸν

1 ἀτεγκτοῖ ἦ ἕ Λ.

* After Aeschines (77. 25).
* His father, Matthias, though not mentioned here, was still alive, his imprisonment being referred to below, § 533.
guilty, I imagine, of no such rank impiety as yours. My belief, therefore, is that the Deity has fled from the holy places and taken His stand on the side of those with whom you are now at war.

"Nay, an honourable man will fly from a wanton house and abhor its inmates, and can you persuade yourselves that God still remains with his household in their iniquity—God who sees every secret thing and hears what is buried in silence? And what is there veiled in silence or secrecy among you? Nay, what has not been exposed even to your foes? For you parade your enormities and daily contend who shall be the worst, making an exhibition of vice as though it were virtue.

"Yet a way of salvation is still left you, if you will: and the Deity is easily reconciled to such as confess and repent. Oh! iron-hearted men, a fling away your weapons, take compassion on your country even now tottering to its fall, turn round and behold the beauty of what you are betraying: what a city! what a temple! what countless nations’ gifts! Against these would any man direct the flames? Is there any who wishes that these should be no more? What could be more worthy of preservation than these—ye relentless creatures, more insensible than stone! Yet if you look not on these with the eyes of genuine affection, at least have pity on your families, and let each set before his eyes his children, wife and parents, ere long to be the victims either of famine or of war. I know that I have a mother, b a wife, a not ignoble family, and an ancient and illustrious house involved in these perils; and maybe you think that it is on their account that my advice is offered. Slay them, take my blood as the price of your own
JOSEPHUS

τῆς ἐαυτῶν σωτηρίας τὸ ἐμὸν αἶμα· κἀγὼ θνῆσκειν ἑτοιμος, εἰ μετ᾽ ἐμὲ σωφρονεῖν μέλλετε."

420 (x. 1) Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἰωσήπου μετὰ δακρύων ἐμβοῶντος οἱ στασιασταὶ μὲν οὕτ' ἐνέδοσαν οὕτ' ἀσφαλῆ τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐκριναν, ὃ δὲ δῆμος

421 ἐκκυθῆ πρὸς αὐτομολιάν. καὶ οἱ μὲν τὰς κτήσεις ἐλαχίστον πωλοῦντες, οἱ δὲ τὰ πολυτελέστερα τῶν κειμηλίων, τοὺς μὲν χρυσοὺς, ὡς μὴ φωραθείειν ύπὸ τῶν ληστῶν, κατέπινον, ἔπειτα πρὸς τοὺς 'Ῥωμαίους διαδιδράσκοντες, ὅποτε κατ-

422 ενέγκαιεν εὐπόρουν πρὸς ἀ δέοντο. διηφίει γὰρ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁ Τίτος εἰς τὴν χώραν ὅπου βούλησθο ἐκαστος, καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ1 μᾶλλον πρὸς αὐτομολίαν2 παρεκάλει, τῶν μὲν εἴσω κακῶν στερησμένους,

423 μὴ δουλεύσοντας δὲ 'Ῥωμαίους. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἱωάννην καὶ τὸν Σίμωνα παρεφύλαττον3 τὰς τούτων ἔξοδους πλέον ἢ τὰς 'Ῥωμαίων εἰσόδους, καὶ σκιάν τις ὑπονοίας παρασχὼν μόνον εὐθέως ἀπεσφάττετο.

424 (2) Τοῖς γε μὴν εὐπόροις καὶ τὸ μένειν πρὸς ἀπώλειαν ὦσον ἢν· προφάσει γὰρ αὐτομολίας ἀνηρεῖτο τις διὰ τὴν οὐσίαν. τῷ λυμῷ ὃ ἢ ἀπόνοια τῶν στασιαστῶν συνήκμαξε, καὶ καθ'

425 ἠμέραν ἀμφότερα προσεξεκαίτο τὰ δεινα. φανερὸς μὲν γὰρ οὐδαμόν σῖτος ἢν, ἐπεισηδωτες δὲ διηρεύνων τὰς οἰκίας, ἐπειθ' εὐρόντες μὲν ὡς ἀρνησαμένους ἦκίζοντο, μὴ εὐρόντες δ' ὡς ἐπι-

426 μελέστερον κρύψαντας ἐβασάνωζον. τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦ τ' ἐχειν καὶ μὴ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀθλίων, ὡν οἱ μὲν ἔτι συνεστῶτες εὐπορεῖν τροφῆς ἐδόκουν,

1 eos Lat. 2 M: πρὸς (+ τὸ L) αὐτομολεῖν the rest. 3 Niese (cf. §§ 493-6): περιεφύλαττον miss.

332
salvation! I too am prepared to die, if my death will lead to your learning wisdom."

(x. 1) Yet, though Josephus with tears thus loudly appealed to them, the insurgents neither yielded nor deemed it safe to alter their course. The people, however, were incited to desert; and selling for a trifling sum, some their whole property, others their most valuable treasures, they would swallow the gold coins a to prevent discovery by the brigands, and then, escaping to the Romans, on discharging their bowels, have ample supplies for their needs. For Titus dismissed the majority into the country, whithersoever they would; a fact which induced still more to desert, as they would be relieved from the misery within and yet not be enslaved by the Romans. The partisans of John and Simon, however, kept a sharper look-out for the egress of these refugees than for the ingress of Romans, and whoever afforded but a shadow of suspicion was instantly slaughtered.

(2) To the well-to-do, however, to remain in the city was equally fatal; for under pretext of desertion individuals were put to death for the sake of their property. The recklessness of the insurgents kept pace with the famine, and both horrors daily burst out in more furious flame. For, as corn was nowhere to be seen, they would rush in and search the houses, and then if they found any they belaboured the inmates as having denied the possession of it; if they found none they tortured them for more carefully concealing it. The personal appearance of the wretches was an index whether they had it or not: those still in good condition were presumed to be

a For the horrible nemesis which befell them see §§ 550 ff.
οἱ τηκόμενοι δὲ ήδη παρωδεύοντο, καὶ κτείνειν ἀλογον ἐδόκει τοὺς ὑπ’ ἐνδείας τεθυνηξομένους 427 αὐτίκα. πολλοὶ δὲ λάθρα τὰς κτήσεις ἐνὸς ἀντηλλάξαντο μέτρου, πυρῶν μὲν εἰ πλουσιώτεροι τυχάνοιεν ὄντες, οἱ δὲ πενεστεροὶ κριθῆς, ἔπειτα κατακλείοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ μυχαίτατα τῶν οἰκίων τυνὲς μὲν ὑπ’ ἀκρας ἐνδείας ἀνέργαστον τὸν σίτου ἦσθιον, οἱ δ’ ἔπεσον ὡς η’ τε ἀνάγκη 428 καὶ τὸ δέος παρήμει. καὶ τράπεζα μὲν οὐδαμοῦ παρετίθετο, τοῦ δὲ πυρὸς ύφέλκωντες ἐτ’ ὥμα τὰ στία διήρπαζον.

429 (3) Ἐλεευνη δ’ ἦν ἡ τροφὴ καὶ δακρύων ἄξιος ἡ θέα, τῶν μὲν δυνατωτέρων πλεονεκτοῦντων, τῶν δ’ ἀσθενῶν ὀδυρομένων. πάντων μὲν δὴ παθῶν ὑπερίστασαι λίμος, οὐδὲν δ’ οὔτως ἀπ’ ὀλλουσιν ὡς αἰδῶ. τὸ γὰρ ἄλλως ἐντροπῆς ἄξιον ἐν 430 τούτω καταφρονεῖται. γυναίκες γοῦν ἀνδρῶν καὶ παῖδες πατέρων, καὶ, τὸ οἰκτρότατον, μητέρες νηπίων ἐξήρπαζον ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν στομάτων τὰς τροφάς, καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων ἐν χερσὶ μαρανομένων οὐκ ἦν φειδώ τοὺς τοῦ ξην ἀφελέσθαι σταλαγμοὺς. 431 τοιαύτα δ’ ἐσθίοντες ὄμως οὐ διελάνθανον, πανταχοῦ δ’ ἐφύσαντο [οἱ στασιασταὶ] καὶ τούτων 432 ταῖς ἀρπαγαῖς. ὅποτε γὰρ κατίδοιν ἀποκεκλεισμένην οἰκίαν, σημείον ἦν τοῦτο τοὺς ἐνδον προσφέρεσθαι τροφήν. εὐθέως δ’ ἐξαράξαντες τὰς θύρας ἐισεπῆδον, καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐκ τῶν φαρύγγων 433 ἀναθλίβοντες τὰς ἀκόλουθος ἀνέφερον. ἐτύπτοντο δὲ γέροντες ἀντεχόμενοι τῶν σιτίων, καὶ κόμης ἐσπαράττοντο γυναίκες συγκαλύπτουσι τὰ ἐν χερσὶν. οὐδὲ τις ἦν οἰκτὸς πολιᾶς ἢ νηπίων, ἀλλὰ συνεπαίροντες τὰ παιδία τῶν ψωμῶν ἐκ- 334
well off for food, while those already emaciated were passed over, as it seemed senseless to kill persons so soon to die of starvation. Many clandestinely bartered their possessions for a single measure—of wheat, if they were rich, of barley, if they were poor; then shutting themselves up in the most remote recesses of their houses, some in the extremity of hunger devoured the grain unground, others so baked it as necessity and fear dictated. Nowhere was any table laid; they snatched the food half-cooked from the fire and tore it in pieces.

(3) Pitiful was the fare and lamentable the spectacle, the stronger taking more than their share, the weak whimpering. Famine, indeed, overpowers all the emotions, but of nothing is it so destructive as of shame: what at other times would claim respect is then treated with contempt. Thus, wives would snatch the food from husbands, children from fathers, and—most pitiable sight of all—mothers from the very mouths of their infants, and while their dearest ones were pining in their arms they scrupled not to rob them of the life-giving drops. Nor, though thus feeding, did they escape detection: everywhere the rebels hovered even over these wretches’ prey. For, whenever they saw a house shut up, this was a signal that the inmates were taking food, and forthwith bursting open the doors they leapt in and forcing the morsels almost out of their very jaws brought them up again. Old men were beaten, clutching their victuals, and women were dragged by the hair, concealing what was in their hands. There was no compassion for hoary hairs or infancy: children were actually lifted up with the fragments to

Horrors of the famine and atrocities of the rebels.
434 κρεμάμενα κατέσειον εἰς ἐδαφὸς. τοῖς δὲ φθάσασι τὴν ἐσδρομὴν αὐτῶν καὶ προκαταπιοῦσι τὸ ἀρπαγησόμενον ὦς ἀδικηθέντες ἦσαν ὑμότεροι.

435 δεινὰς δὲ βασάνων ὅδους ἐπενόοιον πρὸς ἔρευναν τροφῆς, ὁρόβοις μὲν ἐμφράττοντες τοῖς ἅλλοις τοὺς τῶν αἰθοίων πόρους, ράβδοις δὲ ὀξείας ἀναπείροντες τὰς ἔδρας, τὰ φρικτὰ δὲ καὶ ἀκοιαὶς ἐπασχέ τις εἰς ἔξοδομολόγησιν ἕνως ἄρτου καὶ ίνα

436 μηνύσῃ δράκα μίαν κεκρυμμένην ἄλφιτων. οἱ βασανισται δ' οὐκ ἐπείνων, καὶ γὰρ ἦττον ἣν ὦμον ἦν τὸ μετ' ἀνάγκης, γυμνάζοντες δὲ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν καὶ προπαρασκεύαζοντες αὐτοῖς εἰς

437 τὰς ἔξης ἡμέρας ἐφόδια. τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ῥωμαίων φρουράν νῦκτωρ ἐξερπύσασιν ἐπὶ λαχάνων συλλογὴν ἀγρίων καὶ πόας ὑπαντῶντες, ὦτῇ ἤδη διαπεφυγέναι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδόκουν, ἀφήρπαιζον

438 τὰ κομισθέντα, καὶ πολλάκις ἰκετεύοντων καὶ τὸ φρικτὸν ἐπικαλομένων ὀνόμα τοῦ θεοῦ μεταδοῦναι τι μέρος αὐτοῖς ὡν κυωνεύσαντες ἤνεγκαν, οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν μετέδοσαν. ἀγαπητὸν δ' ἦν τὸ μὴ καὶ προαπολέσθαι σευλημένον.

439 (4) Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταπεινότεροι τοιαῦτα πρὸς τῶν δορυφόρων ἔπασχον, οἱ δ' ἐν ἀξιώματι καὶ πλούτῳ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἀνήγοντο. τούτων οἱ μὲν ἐπιβουλὰς ψευδεῖς ἐπικαλομένου διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ὦς προδιδοῖεν Ἀρμαίοις τὴν πόλιν, τὸ δ' ἐτοιμότατον ἦν μηνυτής τις ὑπόβλητος ὡς

440 αὐτομολεῖν διεγνωκότων. ὁ δ' ὕπο Σίμωνος

1 om. τὶς ΠΑΛ Lat.
which they clung and dashed to the ground. To those who had anticipated their raid and already swallowed their expected spoil they were yet more brutal, as defrauded of their due. Horrible were the methods of torture which they devised in their search for food, blocking with pulse the passages in their poor victims' frames and driving sharp stakes up their bodies; and one would shudder at the mere recital of the pangs to which they were subjected to make them confess to the possession of a single loaf or to reveal the hiding-place of a handful of barley-meal. Yet their tormentors were not famished: their cruelty would have been less, had it had the excuse of necessity; they were but practising their recklessness and providing supplies for themselves against the days to come. Again, if any under cover of night had crept out to the Roman outposts to gather wild herbs and grass, they would go to meet them and, at the moment when these imagined themselves clear of the enemy, snatch from them what they had procured; and oft though their victims implored them, invoking even the awful name of God, to return them a portion of what they had at their own peril obtained, not a morsel was given them. They might congratulate themselves if, when robbed, they were not killed as well.

(4) Such was the treatment to which the lower classes were subjected by the satellites; the men of rank and wealth, on the other hand, were brought up to the tyrants. Of them some were falsely accused of conspiracy and executed, as were others on the charge of betraying the city to the Romans; but the readiest expedient was to suborn an informer to state that they had decided to desert. One who
441 καὶ τὰ πτώματα τῶν ἀθλίων διεμερίζοντο. καὶ τού μὲν κρατεῖν στάσις ἤν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις, τῶν δὲ ἀσεβημάτων ὁμόνοια· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὴ μεταδόσει ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων κακῶν θατέρω μονοτρόπως ἐδόκει πονηρός, καὶ ὁ μὴ μεταλαβὼν ὡς ἀγαθὸν τινος ἦλγει τὸν νοσφισμὸν τῆς ὁμότητος.

442 (5) Καθ' ἐκαστὸν μὲν οὖν ἐπεξεῖναι τὴν παρανομίαν αὐτῶν ἀδύνατον, συνελόντι δ' εἰπέν, μήτε πόλιν ἄλλην τοιαύτα πεποιθέναι μήτε γενεὰν εἰς αὐτὸν γεγονότας κακίας γονιμωτέρας, οἳ γε τελευταῖον καὶ τὸ γένος ἐφαύλιζον τῶν Ἑβραίων, ὡς ἦττον ἀσεβείς δοκοῖν πρὸς ἀλλοτρίους, ἐξ-ωμολογήσαντο δ' ὁπερ ἦσαν εἶναι δοῦλοι καὶ σύγκλινες καὶ νόθα τοῦ ἑθνὸς φθάρματα. τὴν μὲν γε πόλιν ἀνέτρεψαν αὐτοῖς, Ὁρμαίοις δ' ἀκοντας ὣν ἁγιασάς ἐπιγραφήναι σκυθρωτῷ κατορθόματα καὶ μόνον οὐχ έιλκυσάν ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν βραδύνον τὸ πῦρ. ἀμέλει καιόμενον ἐκ τῆς ἄνω πόλεως ἀφορῶντες οὔτ' ἠλησάν οὔτ' ἐδάκρυσαν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα τὰ πάθη παρὰ Ὑρμαίως εὐρέθη. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ χώραν ὑστερον μετ' ἀποδείξεως τῶν πραγμάτων ἔροιμεν.

446 (ξι. 1) Τίτω δὲ τὰ μὲν χώματα προύκοπτεν καίτοι πολλὰ κακομένων ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τῶν στρατιωτῶν, πέμψας δ' αὐτὸς μοῦραν τῶν ἐππέων ἐκέλευσεν τοὺς κατὰ τὰς φάραγγας ἐπὶ συγκομιδῇ

1 Niese: συνελόντα mss.
had been fleeced by Simon was passed on to John, and he who had been plundered by John was taken over by Simon; they pledged each other in turn in the burghers' blood and shared the carcasses of their unfortunate victims. As rivals for power they were divided, but in their crimes unanimous; for the one who gave his comrade no share in the proceeds of the miseries of others was ranked a scurvy villain, and he who received no share was aggrieved at his exclusion from the barbarity, as though defrauded of some good thing.

(5) To narrate their enormities in detail is impossible; but, to put it briefly, no other city ever endured such miseries, nor since the world began has there been a generation more prolific in crime. Indeed they ended by actually disparaging the Hebrew race, in order to appear less impious in so treating aliens, and owned themselves, what indeed they were, slaves, the dregs of society and the bastard scum of the nation. It was they who overthrew the city, and compelled the reluctant Romans to register so melancholy a triumph, and all but attracted to the temple the tardy flames. Verily, when from the upper town they beheld it burning, they neither grieved nor shed a tear, though in the Roman ranks these signs of emotion were detected. But this we shall describe hereafter in its place, with a full exposition of the facts.

(xi. 1) Meanwhile the earthworks of Titus were progressing, notwithstanding the galling fire from the ramparts to which his men were exposed. The general, moreover, sent a detachment of horse with orders to lie in wait for any who issued from the town.

\[\text{a Cf. vi. 364 καιομένην γοῦν ἀφορῶντες τὴν πόλιν ἰλαροῖς τοῖς προσώποις εθνυμοὶ κτλ.}\]
447 τροφής ἐξιόντας ἐνεδρεύειν. ἦσαν δὲ τινες καὶ
tῶν μαχίμων, οὐκέτι διαρκοῦμενοι ταῖς ἀρπαγαῖς,
tὸ δὲ πλέον ἐκ τοῦ ὄμμος πένητες, οὐς αὐτομολεῖν
448 ἀπέτρεπε τὸ περὶ τῶν οἰκείων δέος· οὔτε γὰρ
λήσεσθαι τοὺς στασιαστὰς ἠλπίζον metὰ γυναικῶν
καὶ παιδίων διαδιδράσκοντες καὶ καταλιπεῖν τοῖς
λῆσταις ταῦτα οὐχ ὑπέμενοι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν σφαγη-
σόμεναι· τολμηροὺς δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἐξόδους ὁ λιμὸς
ἐποίει, καὶ κατελείπετο1 λανθάνοντας eis2 τοὺς
πολεμίους ἀλίσκεσθαι. λαμβανόμενοι δὲ κἀτ'
ἀνάγκην ἥμισυντο,3 καὶ μετὰ μάχην ἱκετεύων
ἄρων ἔδόκει. μαστιγοῦμενοί δὴ καὶ προβασανι-
ζόμενοι τοῦ θανάτου πᾶσαν αἰκίαν ἀνεσταυροῦντο
450 τοῦ τείχους ἀντικρύ. Τίτω μὲν οὖν οὐκ ὁ κτρόν τὸ
πάθος κατεφαινετο, πεντακοσίων ἐκάστης ἡμέρας
ἐστὶ δ' ὅτε καὶ πλείώνων ἀλισκομένων, οὔτε δὲ
τοὺς βία ληφθέντας ἀφεῖναι ἀσφαλές καὶ φυλάττειν
τοσούτους φρουρὰν τῶν φυλαξόντων ἑώρα· τὸ γε
μὴν πλέον οὐκ ἐκώλυν τάχυς ἀν ἐνδοῦν πρὸς
tὴν ὄμων ἐλπίσας αὐτός <ὁς>,4 εἰ μὴ παραδοένει,
451 ὀμοία πεισομένους. προσῆλθον δ' οἱ στρατιωταὶ
dι' ὀργῆν καὶ μίσος τοὺς ἀλῶντας ἄλλον ἄλλω
σχήματι πρὸς χλεύην, καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος χώρα
τ' ἐνέλειπε τοῖς σταυροῖς καὶ σταυροὶ τοῖς σώμασιν.
452 (2) Οἱ στασιασταὶ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπεδέχασαν τοῦ
μεταβαλέσθαι πρὸς τὸ πάθος, ὅστε καὶ τούναντιον
453 αὐτοὶ σοφίσασθαι πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος. σύ-

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1 + μὴ Bekker with one ms.
2 eis (om. PA) is confirmed by the parallel in Plato, Rep.
3 + δέει τῆς κολάσεως L Lat.
4 ins. Destinon after Lat.
into the ravines in quest of food. These included some of the combatants, no longer satisfied with their plunder, but the majority were citizens of the poorer class, who were deterred from deserting by fear for their families; for they could neither hope to elude the rebels if they attempted to escape with their wives and children, nor endure to leave them to be butchored by the brigands on their behalf. Famine, however, emboldened them to undertake these excursions, and it but remained for them if they escaped unobserved from the town to be taken prisoners by the enemy. When caught, they were driven to resist, and after a conflict it seemed too late to sue for mercy. They were accordingly scourged and subjected to torture of every description, before being killed, and then crucified opposite the walls. Titus indeed commiserated their fate, five hundred or sometimes more being captured daily; on the other hand, he recognized the risk of dismissing prisoners of war, and that the custody of such numbers would amount to the imprisonment of their custodians; but his main reason for not stopping the crucifixions was the hope that the spectacle might perhaps induce the Jews to surrender, for fear that continued resistance would involve them in a similar fate. The soldiers out of rage and hatred amused themselves by nailing their prisoners in different postures; and so great was their number, that space could not be found for the crosses nor crosses for the bodies.

(2) The insurgents, however, far from relenting at these sufferings, deluded the remainder by inventing a contrary motive for them. Dragging the relatives

a Some authorities add "from fear of punishment."
ροντες γὰρ τοὺς τῶν αὐτομόλων οἰκεῖους ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν τοὺς ἐπὶ πίστιν ὁρμημένους, οία πάσχουσιν οἱ 'Ῥωμαίοις προσφεύγοντες ἐπεδείκνυσαν καὶ τοὺς κεκρατημένους1 ἴκέτας ἔλεγον, οὐκ αἰχμαλώτους. τοῦτο πολλοὺς τῶν αὐτομολεῖν ὁρμημένων μέχρι τάληθες ἐγνώσθη κατέσχεν· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ παραχρήμα διεδρασαν ὡς ἐπὶ βέβαιον τιμωρίαν, ἀνάπαυσιν ἠγούμενοι τὸν ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων θάνατον ἐν λιμῷ συγκρίσει.

454 πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ χειροκοπῆσαι κελεύσας Τίτος τῶν ἐσκελωτῶν, ὡς μὴ δοκοῦν αὐτόμολοι καὶ πιστεύουσι διὰ τὴν συμφοράν, εἰσέπεμψε πρὸς 455 τὸν Σύμωνα καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην, νῦν γε ἡδὲ παύσασθαι παραιών καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν τῆς πόλεως αὐτὸν βιάζεσθαι, κερδησάς δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐν ύπότασις μεταμελείας τάς τε αὐτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ τηλικαύτην πατρίδα καὶ ναὸν ἀκοινώνητον ἄλλοις. 456 περιων δὲ τὰ χῶματα τοὺς ἐργαζομένους ἀμα κατήπειγεν, ὡς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀκολουθήσων 457 ἐργοι τῷ λόγῳ. πρὸς ταῦτα αὐτὸν τ' ἐβλασφήμουν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν θανάτου καταφρονεῖν ἐβόων, ἦρησαί γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸ δουλείας καλῶς, ἐργάσεσθαι δ' ὅσα ἂν δύνωνται κακὰ ἸῬωμαίους ἔως ἐμπνέωσι, πατρίδος δ' οὐ μέλευν τοῖς ὡς αὐτός φησιν ἀπολουμένοις, καὶ ναὸν2 ἀμείων τοῦτον τῷ θεῷ τὸν 458 κόσμον εἶναι. σωθήσεσθαι γε μὴν καὶ τοῦτον ὑπὸ τοῦ κατοικοῦντος, ὃν καὶ αὐτοὶ σύμμαχον

1 κρεμαμένουs Destinon.
2 ναὸν Bekker with Lat.: ναὸν + ἀπολο(ν)μένου (om. Lat. ed. pr.) mss.
of the deserters to the wall, together with any citizens who were anxious to accept the offer of terms, they showed them what was the fate of those who sought refuge with the Romans, asserting that the arrested victims were not captives, but suppliants. This, until the truth became known, kept back many who were eager to desert; some, however, instantly fled, as to certain punishment, regarding death at the enemy's hands as rest in comparison with starvation. But Titus now gave orders to cut off the hands of several of the prisoners, that they might not be mistaken for deserters and that their calamity might add credit to their statements, and then sent them in to Simon and John, exhorting them now at least to pause, and not compel him to destroy the city, but by repentance at the eleventh hour to gain their own lives, their magnificent city, and a temple unshared by others. At the same time he went round the embankments, urging on the workmen, as if intending shortly to follow up his threats by action. To this message the Jews retorted by heaping abuse from the ramparts upon Caesar himself, and his father, crying out that they scorned death, which they honourably preferred to slavery; that they would do Romans every injury in their power while they had breath in their bodies; that men so soon, as he himself said, to perish, were unconcerned for their native place, and that the world was a better temple for God than this one. But, they added, it would yet be saved by Him who dwelt therein, and

"Cf. Baruch iii. 24, "O Israel, how great is the house of God! and how large is the place of his possession!" etc. Writing after the tragedy of A.D. 70 the author of that work says in effect "The house of God is not the ruined Temple but the broad universe."
JOSEPHUS

60 (3) 'En de toútw kai ò 'Επιφανῆς 'Αντίοχος παρῆν ἄλλους τε ὀπλῖτας συνχουσ ἓχων καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν στίφος Μακεδόνων καλούμενον, ἢλικάς πάντας, υψηλούς, ὅλιγον ὑπὲρ ἀντίπαιδας, τὸν Μακεδονικὸν τρόπον ὀπλισμένους τε καὶ πεπαυ-
дейμενοὺς, ὀθεν καὶ τὴν ἔπικλησιν ἔχον, ὑστε-
ροῦντες οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦ γένους. εὐδαιμονήσαι γὰρ
δὴ μάλιστα τῶν ὑπὸ Ὁρωμαίοις βασιλέων τὸν
Κομμαχηνὸν συνέβη πρὶν γεύσασθαι μεταβολῆς·
ἀπέφηνε δὲ κάκεινος ἐπὶ γῆρως ὡς οὐδένα χρὴ
λέγειν πρὸ θανάτου μακάριον. ἀλλ' ὁ γε παῖς
ἀκμάζοντος αὐτῶν τηνικαῦτα παρὼν θαυμαξεῖν
ἔφασκε, τί δὴποτε Ὁρωμαῖοι κατακνοεῖν προσείναι
τῷ τείχει· πολεμισθής δὲ τις αὐτὸς ἦν καὶ φύσει
παράβολος κατὰ τε [τὴν] ἀλκήν τοσοῦτος, ὡς
ὀλίγων¹ τὰ τῆς τόλμης διαμαρτάνειν. μειδά-
σαντος δὲ τοῦ Τίτου καὶ "κοινὸς ὁ πόνος"
εἰπόντος, ὡς εἶχεν ὤρμησεν ὁ 'Αντίοχος μετὰ
τῶν Μακεδόνων πρὸς τὸ τείχος. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν
dιὰ τε ὅσχυν καὶ κατ' ἐμπειρίαν ἐφυλάττετο τὰ
tῶν Ἰουδαίων βῆλη τοξεύων εἰς αὐτῶν, τὰ
μειράκια δ' αὐτῷ συνετρίβη πάντα πλὴν ὄλιγων·
diā γὰρ αἰδὼ τῆς ὑποσχέσεως προσεφιλονείκει

¹ Bekker: ὀλιγῷ MSS.

a Son of Antiochus IV, King of Commagene; he appears
again in B. vii. 232, with his brother Ephialtes, fighting in
defence of his father's kingdom.

b Antiochus IV. He had previously sent supports to
Cestius, B. ii. 500, and to Vespasian in Galilee, iii. 68.

c A petty kingdom on the upper Euphrates, between
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while they had Him for their ally they would deride all menaces unsupported by action; for the issue rested with God. Such, with invectives interspersed, were their exclamations.

(3) Meanwhile there appeared on the scene Antiochus Epiphanes, bringing with him, besides numerous other forces, a bodyguard calling themselves "Macedonians," all of the same age, tall, just emerged from adolescence, and armed and trained in the Macedonian fashion, from which circumstance indeed they took their title, most of them lacking any claim to belong to that race. For of all the monarchs owning allegiance to Rome the king of Commagene enjoyed the highest prosperity, before he experienced reverse; but he too proved in old age how no man should be pronounced happy before his death. However, the father's fortunes were at their zenith at the time when his son arrived and expressed his surprise that a Roman army should hesitate to attack the ramparts; something of a warrior himself, he was of an adventurous nature and withal so robust that his daring was seldom unsuccessful. Titus replying with a smile, "The field is open," Antiochus, without further ado, dashed with his Macedonians at the wall. His own strength and skill enabled him to avoid the missiles of the Jews, while raining arrows upon them, but his young comrades with few exceptions were all overpowered. For, out of respect for their engagement, they

Cilicia and Armenia, with Samosata for capital. Annexed by Rome under Tiberius, the kingdom was revived by Gaius, but was finally annexed to Syria by Vespasian, when Antiochus was accused of an intention to revolt from Rome, B. vii. 219 ff.

\textsuperscript{a} Allusion to Solon's saying, Herodotus i. 32.
465 μαχόμενα· καὶ τέλος ἀνεχώρουν τραυματίαι πολλοί, συννοούντες ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ἅλθως Μακεδόσῳ, εἰ μέλλοιεν κρατεῖν, δεὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης.

466 (+) Τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἀρξαμένοις δωδεκάτη μηνὸς Ἀρτεμισίου συνετελέσθη τὰ χώματα μόλις ἐνάτη καὶ εἰκάδι, ταῖς δεχεπτὰ συνεχῶς πονοῦν·

467 μένων ἡμέραις· μέγιστα γὰρ ἐχώσθη τὰ τέσσαρα, καὶ θάτερον μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πέμπτου τάγματος ἐβλήθη κατὰ μέσον τῆς Στροουθίου¹ καλομίμηνας κολυμβήθρας, τὸ δὲ ἔτερον ὑπὸ τοῦ δωδεκάτου διεστῶτος ὅσον εἰς πῆχεις 468 εἰκοσι. τῷ δεκάτῳ δὲ τάγματι διέχοντι πολὺ τούτων κατὰ τὸ βόρειον κλίμα τὸ ἔργον ἢν καὶ κολυμβήθραν Ἀμύγδαλον προσαγορευμένην· τούτου δὲ τὸ πεντεκαίδεκατον ἀπὸ τριάκοντα πηχῶν 469 ἔχον κατὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως μνημεῖον. προσαγομένων δὲ ἤδη τῶν ὄργανων² οмедицин Ἰωάννης ἐνδοθεὶν ὕπορὺξας τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν μέχρι τῶν χωμάτων καὶ διαλαβῶν σταυροῖς τοὺς ὑπονόμους ἀνακρῆμνην τὰ ἑργά, πίσσῃ δὲ καὶ ἀσφάλτῳ διακεχρισμένην [τὴν] ὑλὴν εἰσκομίσασ 470 ἐνίσχυ πῦρ. καὶ τῶν σταυρῶν ὑποκαέντων ἢ τε διώρυξ ἐνεδώκειν ἄθροά, καὶ μετὰ μεγίστου ψόφου 471 κατεσείσθη τὰ χώματα εἰς αὐτὴν· τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον μετὰ τοῦ κοινοτοῦ καπνὸς ἡγείετο βαθὺς πυγμομένου τῶ πταίσματι³ τοῦ πυρὸς, τῆς δὲ θλιβούσης ὑλῆς διαβιβρωσκομένης ἥδη φανερὰ 472 φλοξ ἔρρηγνυτο. καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐκπλήξεις

¹ C: τοῦ Στροουθίου L: τοῦ θείου the rest.
² τῶν ὄργανων] αὐτῶν PA.
³ πτώματι LC.

Identified by M. Clermont-Ganneau with the so-called 3460
emulously maintained the fight, until at length, mainly wounded, they retired, reflecting that even genuine Macedonians, if they are to conquer, must have Alexander’s fortune.

(4) Though the Romans had begun their earthworks on the twelfth of the month Artemisius, they were scarcely completed on the twenty-ninth, after seventeen days of continuous toil. For the four embankments were immense. Of the first two, that at Antonia was thrown up by the fifth legion over against the middle of the pool called Struthion, the other by the twelfth legion about twenty cubits away. The tenth legion, at a considerable distance from these, was employed in the northern region and over against the pool termed Amygdalon; while, thirty cubits from them, the fifteenth were at work opposite the high priest’s monument. But while the engines were now being brought up, John from within had undermined the ground from Antonia right up to the earthworks, supporting the tunnels with props, and thus leaving the Roman works suspended; having then introduced timber besmeared with pitch and bitumen he set the whole mass alight. The props being consumed, the mine collapsed in a heap, and with a tremendous crash the earthworks fell in. At first dense volumes of smoke arose with clouds of dust, the fire being smothered by the debris, but as the materials which crushed it were eaten away, a vivid flame now burst forth. The Romans were in consternation at this sudden cata-

Twin Pools, adjoining the N.W. corner of Antonia (G. A. Smith, Jerusalem, i. 116).

b Probably to be identified with the “Pool of the Patriarch’s Bath,” near the Jaffa Gate. ib. 115.

c § 259.
μὲν πρὸς τὸ αἰφνίδιον, ἀθυμία δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐπι-
νοιαν ἐμπίπτει, καὶ κρατήσειν οἷομένοις ἂν θῇ τὸ
συμβαῖν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐμφξε τὴν ἐλπίδα:
τὸ δὲ ἀμύνειν ἀχρείον ἔδοκεν πρὸς τὸ πῦρ, καὶ εἰ
σβεσθεὶ τῶν χωμάτων καταποθέντων.

473 (5) Μετὰ δ’ ἡμέρας δύο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπι-
τίθενται χώμασιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Σιμώνα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ
προσαγαγόντες ταύτῃ τὰς ἐλεπόλεις οἱ Ἦρωμαιοι
474 διέσειον [ἡδὴ] τὸ τείχος. Γεφθαίος ἔτι τοὺς ἀπὸ
Γάρις πόλεως τῆς Γαλλαίας, καὶ Μαγασσαρός
τῶν βασιλικῶν Μαριάμμης θεράπων, μεθ’ ὧν
Ἄδιαβήνος τις τοῦ Ναβαταῖου, τοῦνομα κληθείς
ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης Κεαγίρας, ὁπερ σημαίνει χωλός,
ἀρπάζοντες λαμπάδας προεπήδησαν ἐπὶ τὰς μη-
475 χανάς. τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὔτε τολμηρότεροι
κατὰ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἔκ τῆς πόλεως ἐφάνησαν
476 οὔτε φοβερῶτεροι. καθάπερ γὰρ εἰς φίλους ἐκ-
τρέχοντες οὐ πολεμίων στίφος, οὔτ’ ἐμέλλησαν
οὔτ’ ἀπέστησαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ μέσων ἐνθορώντες τῶν
477 ἐχθρῶν ὑφῆσαν τὰς μηχανάς. βαλλόμενοι δὲ καὶ
τοῖς ξιφεσιν ἀνωθούμενοι πάντοθεν οὐ πρότερον
ἐκ τούς κυνόνιους μετεκινήθησαν ἡ δράξασθαι τῶν
478 ὀργάνων τὸ πῦρ. αἱρομένης δ’ ἡδὴ τῆς φλογὸς
Ῥωμαιοί μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατοπέδων συνθέοντες
ἐβοῆθουν, Ἰουδαῖοι δ’ ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἐκώλυνον
καὶ τοῖς σβεννύειν πειρωμένοις συνεπλέκοντο κατὰ
479 μηδὲν τῶν ἰδίων φειδόμενοι σωμάτων. καὶ οἱ

1 From vi. 148 (cf. 92): Τεφθαίος mss.
2 With Lat. καὶ Ἀγίρας or καὶ Ἀγίρας etc. mss.: Χαγείρας Hudson.
3 + οὔτ(ε) ἐδείσαν some mss. 4 om. οὔτ’ ἀπέστησαν L.

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strophen and dispirited by the enemy's ingenuity; moreover, coming at the moment when they imagined victory within their grasp, the casualty damped their hopes of ultimate success. It seemed useless to fight the flames, when even if they were extinguished their earthworks were overwhelmed.

(5) Two days later Simon's party launched a further attack on the other earthworks, for the Romans had there brought up the rams and were already battering the wall. A certain Gephthaeus, of Garis, a town in Galilee, and Magassarus, a soldier of the king and henchman of Mariamme,\(^a\) along with the son of a certain Nabataeus from Adiabene, called from his misfortune by the name of Ceagiras, signifying "lame," \(^b\) snatched up torches and rushed forth against the engines. No bolder men than these three sallied from the town throughout this war or inspired greater terror; for, as though racing for friendly ranks and not into a mass of enemies, they neither slackened nor turned aside, but, plunging through the midst of the foe, set light to the machines. Assailed by shots and sword-thrusts from every quarter, nothing could move them from the field of danger until the fire had caught hold of the engines. The flames now towering aloft, the Romans came rushing from their encampments to the rescue; while the Jews obstructed them from the ramparts and, utterly regardless of their own lives, struggled hand to hand with those who were endeavouring to extinguish the conflagration. On the one side were

\(^a\) Or "one of the royal henchmen of Mariamme." Mariamme was daughter of Agrippa I and sister of Agrippa II "the king," \(B.\ ii.\ 220\); the man must have been a deserter.

\(^b\) Aramaic ḥaggēra', "lame man."
μὲν εἶλκον ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τὰς ἐλεπόλεις τῶν ύπὲρ αὐτὰς γέρρων φλεγομένων, οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαίοι καὶ
diὰ τῆς φλογὸς ἀντελαμβάνοντο καὶ τοῦ σιδήρου
ζέωντος δρασσόμενοι τοὺς κριοὺς οὐ μεθίεσαν·
dιέβαινε δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων ἐπὶ τὰ χῶματα τὸ πῦρ
καὶ τοὺς ἀμύνοντας προελάμβανεν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ
ὁ μὲν Ἰωβαίων κυκλούμενοι τῇ φλογὶ καὶ τῇ
σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ἔργων ἀπογνώντες ἀνεχώρουν ἐπὶ
tὰ στρατόπεδα, Ἰουδαίοι δὲ προσέκεντο πλέον
ἀεὶ γινόμενοι τῶν ἐνδοθεὶς προσβοηθοῦντο καὶ
tῷ κράτειν τεθαρρυκότες ἀταμεύτων ἔχρωντε
ταῖς ὀρμαῖς,1 προελθόντες2 δὲ μέχρι τῶν ἔρματων
ἡδὴ συνεπλέκοντο τοῖς φρουροῖς. τάξεις ἐστὶν
ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἵσταμένη πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου,3 καὶ
dεινὸς ἐπὶ αὐτῇ Ἰωβαίων νόμος τὸν ὑποχωρή-
σαντα καθ' ἡδῆσον' οὖν αἰτίαν θησεκεν. οὗτοι
τοῦ μετὰ κολάσεως τὸν μετ' ἀρετῆς θάνατον
προκρίναντες ἱστανται, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τούτων
ἀνάγκην πολλοὶ τῶν πραπέντων ἐπεστράφησαν
αἰδούμενοι. διαθέντες δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὀξυβελεῖς ἐπὶ
tοῦ τεῖχους εἶργον τὸ προσγινόμενον πλῆθος ἐκ
tῆς πόλεως, οὐδὲν εἰς ἀσφαλείαν ἡ φυλακὴ τῶν
σωμάτων προνοομένους· συνεπλέκοντο γὰρ [οἱ]
Ἰουδαίοι τοῖς προστυχοῦσι καὶ ταῖς αἰχμαῖς4
ἀφυλάκτως ἐμπιπτόντες αὐτοῖς τοῖς σώμασι τοὺς
ἐχθροὺς ἐσπαίον. οὔτε δὲ ἔργοις αὐτοῖ πλέον ἡ
τῇ θαρρεῖν περιῆσαι καὶ Ἰωβαίοι τῇ τόλμῃ
πλέον εἶκον ἡ τῷ κακοῦθαι.

486 (6) Παρῆν δὲ ἡδὴ Τίτος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας,
ὅπου5 κεχώριστο κατασκεπτόμενος τόπον ἄλλως

1 Cf. iv. 44, vi. 171: ὀργαῖς PA.
2 Niese with Lat.: προσελθόντες mss.
the Romans striving to drag the battering-engines out of the fire, their wicker shelters all ablaze; on the other, the Jews holding on to them through the flames, clutching the red-hot iron and refusing to relinquish the rams. From these the fire spread to the earth-works, outstripping the defenders. Thereupon the Romans, enveloped in flames and despairing of the preservation of the works, beat a retreat to their camps; while the Jews, hotly pursuing, their numbers continually augmented by fresh reinforcements from the city, and flushed with success, pressed on with uncontrolled impetuosity right up to the entrenchments, and finally grappled with the sentries. There is a line of troops, relieved from time to time, who are stationed in front of every camp and come under a severe Roman law that he who quits his post under any pretext whatsoever dies. These men, preferring an heroic death to capital punishment, stood firm; and seeing the straits of their comrades many of the fugitives for very shame returned. Posting the "quick-firers" along the camp-wall, they kept at bay the masses who, without a thought for safety or personal defence, were surging up from the town; for the Jews grappled with any whom they met, and all unguardedly flinging themselves bodily upon the spear-points, struck at their antagonists. But their superiority lay less in deeds than in daring, and the Romans yielded rather to intrepidity than to injuries received.

(6) But now Titus appeared from Antonia, whither he had gone to inspect a site for fresh earthworks.

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3 + μετὰ τὰν ὤπλων LC I.at. Suid.
4 L: ἀκμαίος the rest.
5 quo (= ὀποί) I.at.
χώμασι, καὶ πολλὰ τοὺς στρατιώτας φαυλίσας, εἰ κρατοῦντες τῶν πολεμίων τειχῶν κινδυνεύοντος τοῖς ἱδίοις καὶ πολιορκομένων ὑπομένουσιν αὐτοῖς τύχην, ὥσπερ ἐκ δεσμωτηρίου καθ' αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίοις αἰνέστε, περιῆγε μετὰ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων κατὰ 487 πλευρὰ τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ κατὰ στόμα παιόμενοι καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον ἐπιστραφέντες ἐκαρτέρουν· μυγείσης δὲ τῆς παρατάξεως ὁ μὲν κοινοτός τῶν ὀμμάτων, ἡ κραυγὴ δὲ τῶν ἀκοῦσιν ἐπικράτει, καὶ οὐδετέρῳ παρῆν ἐτι τεκμηρίασθαι τὸ 488 ἐχθρὸν ἦ το φίλιον. Ἰουδαίων δὲ οὐ τοσοῦτον ἐτι κατ' ἀλκήν ὅσον ἀπογνώσει σωτηρίας παραμενόντων καὶ Ἦρωμαίους ἐτόνωσεν αἰῶν ἰδέζης τε καὶ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ προκινδυνεύοντος Καίσαρος· 489 ὠστε μοι δοκοῦσι τὰ τελευταία δι' ὑπερβολὴν θυμῶν κἂν ᾧ [ὦλον] ἀρπάσαι τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πλῆθος, εἰ μὴ τὴν ῥοπὴν τῆς παρατάξεως φθάσται ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. διεθαρμένων δὲ τῶν χωμάτων Ἦρωμαίου μὲν ἤσαν ἐν ἀθυμίας τὸν μακρὸν κάματον ἐπὶ μιᾶς ὅρας ἀπολέσαντες· καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ταῖς συνήθεσι μηχαναῖς ἀπηλπιζον ἀλώσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν. 490 (xii. 1) Τίτος δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐβουλεύετο, καὶ τοῖς μὲν θερμότεροις πάσαν ἐδόκει προσφέρειν τὴν δύναμιν ἀποπειράσθαι τε τοῦ τείχους βίᾳ. 492 μέχρι μὲν γὰρ νῦν κατὰ σπάσμα Ἰουδαίως [τῆς στρατιᾶς] συμπεπλέγθαι, προσιόντων δ' ἀδρόων οὐδὲ τὴν ἔφοδον οὔσειν· καταχωσθῆσθαι γὰρ 493 ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν. τῶν δ' ἀσφαλεστέρων οἱ μὲν καὶ τὰ χώματα ποιεῖν πάλιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ δίχα τούτων προσκαθέζεσθαι μόνον παραφυλάττοντας τὰς τε 1 ἀναρπάσαι conj. Niese, cf. ii. 550 (some mss.).
Severely reprimanding his troops for having, while mastering the enemy's fortifications, thus jeopardized their own, and put themselves in the position of the besieged, by letting loose the Jews upon them from their prison house, he then with his picked force, himself at their head, got round and took the enemy in flank; but though attacked in front as well, they turned and resolutely withstood him. In the medley of the fight, blinded by the dust and deafened by the din, neither side could any longer distinguish friend from foe. The Jews still held out, though now less through prowess than from despair of salvation, while the Romans were braced by a regard for glory, for the honour of their arms, and for Caesar foremost in danger; insomuch that I imagine that, in the excess of their fury, they would have ended by wiping out the entire Jewish host, had not their enemy, anticipating the turn of the battle, retreated into the city. The Romans, however, with their earthworks demolished, were in deep dejection, having lost in one hour the fruit of their long labour, and many despaired of ever carrying the town by the ordinary appliances.

(xii. 1) Titus now held a consultation with his officers. The more sanguine were of opinion that he should bring up his entire force and essay to carry the wall by storm; for hitherto separate sections only had been engaged with the Jews, whereas under a mass attack the Jews would be powerless to resist their onset, as they would be overwhelmed by the hail of missiles. Of the more cautious, some were for reconstructing the earthworks; others advised that they should dispense with these and resort to a blockade, merely guarding against the


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εξόδους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς εἰσκομιδὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παρῆνον καὶ τῷ λιμῷ καταλείπειν τὴν πόλιν, μὴδὲ συμπλέκεσθαι κατὰ χεῖρα τοῖς πολεμίοις. 494 ἀμαχον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν οἷς εὐχὴ μὲν τῷ σιδήρῳ πεσεῖν, ἀπόκειται δὲ καὶ δίχα τοῦτον πάθος χαλεπώτερον. αὐτῶ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄργειν καθόλου μετὰ τοσαύτης δυνάμεως οὐκ ἔδοκεν πρέπειν καὶ τὸ μάχεσθαι περιττὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλων 

495 φθαρησομένους, βάλλεσθαι δὲ χώματα δύσεργον ἀπέφαινεν ύλῆς ἀπορία καὶ τὸ παραφυλάττειν τὰς εξόδους δυσεργότερον· κυκλώσασθαι τε γὰρ τῇ στρατιᾷ τὴν πόλιν διὰ μέγεθος καὶ δυσχωρίαν οὐκ εὐμαρές εἶναι καὶ σφαλερὸν ἄλλως πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθέσεις. τῶν δὲ φανερῶν φυλαττομένων ἀφανεῖς ἐπινοηθήσεσθαι; 'Ἰουδαίοις οὗτοι κατὰ τε ἀνάγκην καὶ δι’ ἐμπερίαν· εἶ δὲ τι λάθρα παρεισκομισθήσοιτο, τριβὴν ἐσεθαί πλεῖω τῇ πολιορκίᾳ.

498 δεδιέναι τε μὴ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ κατορθώματος αὐτῶ τὸ μήκος ἐλαττώσῃ τοῦ χρόνου· τοῦτω μὲν γὰρ εἶναι πὰν ἀνύσιμον, πρὸς δὲ τῆς εὐκλείας τὸ τάχος.

499 δεῖν γε μὴν, εἰ καὶ τῷ τάχει μετ’ ἀσφαλείας βούλοιτο3 χρῆσασθαι, περιτειχίζειν ὅλην τὴν πόλιν· μόνως γὰρ οὔτως ἀν πάσας ἀποφράξει τὰς εξόδους, καὶ 'Ἰουδαίους ἣ πρὸς ἀπαντὰ ἀπογνώτας τὴν σωτηρίαν παραδώσειν τὴν πόλιν ἡ λιμώττοντας 500 χειρωθήσεσθαι ῥαδίως· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἑρεμήσειν αὐτὸς4 ἄλλως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν χωμάτων ἐπιμελήσεσθαι πάλιν χρώμενος τοῖς κωλύσεις ἄτονωτέροις. 501 εἰ δὲ τῷ μέγα δοκεῖ καὶ δυσήνυτον τὸ ἔργον,

1 L: τῷ the rest.
2 After Lat. (excogitaturos): ἐπινοεῖσθαι mss.
3 L: βούλοιτο the rest.
4 Destinon: αὐτῶν L: αὐτοὺς the rest.
egress of the besieged and the introduction of supplies, and that, leaving the city to the famine, they should avoid direct conflict with the foe; for there was no contending with desperate men whose prayer was to fall by the sword, and for whom, if that was denied them, a harder fate was in store. To Titus, however, to remain totally inactive with so large a force appeared undignified, while to contend with men who would soon destroy each other seemed superfluous. At the same time he pointed out the extreme difficulty of throwing up earthworks, owing to lack of materials, and the even greater difficulty of guarding against sallies; for to encompass the city with troops would, owing to its extent and the obstacles presented by the ground, be no easy matter, and would, moreover, expose them to the risk of enemy attacks. They might guard the obvious outlets, but the Jews from necessity and their knowledge of the locality would contrive secret routes; and, should supplies be furtively smuggled in, the siege would be still further protracted. He feared, moreover, that the glory of success would be diminished by the delay; for though time could accomplish everything, yet rapidity was essential to renown. If, however, they wished to combine speed and security, they must throw a wall round the whole city: only thus could every exit be blocked, and the Jews would then either in utter despair of salvation surrender the city, or, wasted by famine, fall an easy prey; for he himself would not remain altogether inactive, but would once more turn his attention to the earthworks when he had an enfeebled foe to obstruct him. And if anyone considered this a great and arduous
χρῆναι σκοπεῖν, ὡς οὐτε Ῥωμαῖοι τι μικρὸν ἐνεργεῖν πρέπει, καὶ δίχα πόνου κατορθοῦν τι τῶν μεγάλων οὐδενὶ ράδιον.

502 (2) Τούτοις πείσας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας διανέμειν ἐκέλευσε τὰς δυνάμεις ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον. ὥρμη δὲ τις ἐμπίπτει δαμόνοις τοῖς στρατιώταισι, καὶ μερισμένων τὸν περίβολον οὐ μόνον τῶν ταγμάτων ἦν ἔρις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τάξεων πρὸς 503 ἀλλήλας, καὶ στρατιώτης μὲν δεκαδάρχην, δεκαδάρχης δὲ ἐκατοντάρχην, οὗτος δὲ ἐσπούδαζεν ἀρέσασθαί χιλιάρχου, τῶν δὲ χιλιάρχων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔτεινεν ἡ φιλοτιμία καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῆς ἀμιλλαν ἐβράβευεν Καίσαρ· περιων γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐκάστης ἡμέρας πολλάκις ἐπεσκόπει τὸ 504 ἔργον. ἀρξάμενος δ' ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ασσυρίων παρεμβολῆς, καθ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, ἐπὶ τὴν κατωτέρω Καινόπολιν ἤγε τὸ τείχος, ἐνθευ διὰ τοῦ 505 Κεδρώνος ἐπὶ τὸ 'Ελαιῶν ὀρὸς· εἰτ’ ἀνακάμπτων κατὰ μεσημβρίαν περιλαμβάνει τὸ ὄρος ἀχρὶ τῆς Περιστερεώνοις καλουμένης πέτρας τὸν τε ἔξης λόφον, ὃς ἐπίκειται τῇ κατὰ τὴν Σιλωαῖ φάραγγι, κάκεθεν ἐκκλίνας πρὸς δύσων εἰς τὴν τῆς πηγῆς 506 κατηκλιέντα φάραγγα. μεθ’ ἦν ἀναβαίνων κατὰ τὸ Ἄναντο τοῦ ἀρχιερέως μνημείον καὶ διαλαβῶν

* Probably a reminiscence of Soph. El. 945 ὥσ τοῦ πόνου τοι  χωρὶς οὐδὲν εὕτιχει, of which a similar paraphrase is put into the mouth of Titus elsewhere. iii. 495. Titus was familiar with Greek literature (“Latine Graeceque, vel in orando vel in fingendis poematibus, promptus,” Suet. Tit. 3), and the 356
operation, let him reflect that it ill became Romans to undertake a trivial task and that without toil nothing great could lightly be achieved by any man.  

(2) Having by these arguments convinced his officers, Titus ordered them to distribute the task among the forces. The troops thereupon were seized with a sort of preternatural enthusiasm, and, the circuit of the wall being respectively apportioned, not only the legions, but their component companies vied with one another: the soldier studied to please his decurion, the decurion the centurion, and he the tribune, while the emulation of the tribunes extended to the staff-officers, and in the rivalry between the officers Caesar himself was umpire: for he went round himself frequently every day and inspected the work. Beginning at the camp of the Assyrians—the site of his own encampment—he directed the wall towards the lower region of the New Town and thence across the Kedron to the Mount of Olives; then, bending round to the south, he enclosed the mount as far as the rock called Peristereon together with the adjoining hill, which overhangs the Siloam ravine; thence, inclining westwards, the line descended into the Valley of the Fountain, beyond which it ascended over against the tomb of Ananus the high priest and, taking in the mountain where Sophoclean phrase possibly in these two instances comes from the Emperor himself.

\( \text{§} \text{ 303.} \)

\( ^{b} \text{ = "Dovecote"; unidentified.} \)

\( ^{d} \text{ Literally "he descended" and so on.} \)

\( ^{e} \text{ Siloam is apparently meant.} \)

\( ^{f} \text{ Probably the elder Ananus, son of Sethi, the father of five high priests, } A. \text{ xviii. 26, xx.197 f., including the younger and more famous Ananus who was slain by the Zealots, iv. 315 f.} \)

\( ^{g} \text{ Or, perhaps, "cutting across."} \)
According to A. xiv. 60 Pompey encamped “to the north of the temple” (cf. A. xiv. 466, B. i. 348, “before the temple”); the present passage appears to locate his camp rather to the west of the temple.
Pompey encamped, turned northwards, and proceeded to a village called "House of pulse," after passing which it encompassed Herod's monument, and so joined the east side of the general's own camp from which it had started. The wall was thirty-nine furlongs in length and had attached to its outer side thirteen forts, whose united circumferences amounted to ten furlongs. The whole was built in three days, such rapidity, over a work that might well have occupied months, being well-nigh incredible. Having enclosed the city within this wall and posted garrisons in the forts, Titus went round himself during the first watch of the night and inspected everything; the second watch he entrusted to Alexander; for the third the commanders of the legions drew lots. The sentries, too, had their allotted hours of rest and all night long patrolled the intervals between the forts.

(3) For the Jews, along with all egress, every hope of escape was now cut off; and the famine, enlarging its maw, devoured the people by households and families. The roofs were thronged with women and babes completely exhausted, the alleys with the corpses of the aged; children and youths, with swollen figures, roamed like phantoms through the market-places and collapsed wherever their doom overtook them. As for burying their relatives, the sick had not the strength, while those with vigour still left were deterred both by the multitude of the dead and by the uncertainty of their own fate.

unidentified; cf. the name Bethlehem ("house of bread").

Unidentified.

Tiberius Alexander, § 45.

Literally "deepening itself"; perhaps "deepening (i.e. tightening) its grip." Famine is pictured as a bird of prey.
515 θηκας πρὶν ἐπιστήναι τὸ χρεόν προήλθον. οὔτε δὲ θρήνος ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς οὔτε ὀλοφυρμὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' ὁ λιμὸς ἤλεγχε τὰ πάθη, ἔτηρος δὲ τοῖς οὕμασι καὶ σεσηρόσα τοῖς στόμασιν οἱ δυσθανα-τοῦντες ἐφεὼρων τοὺς φθάσαντας ἀναπαύσασθαι, βαθείᾳ δὲ περιείχεν τὴν πόλιν σιγῇ καὶ νὺξ θανάτου γέμουσα καὶ τούτων οἱ λησταὶ χαλεπώτεροι.

516 τυμβωρυχοῦντες γοῦν τὰς οἴκιας ἐσύλως τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ τὰ καλύμματα τῶν σωμάτων περι-σπώντες μετὰ γέλωτος ἐξήσαν, τάς τε αἰχμὰς τῶν ἔσοφοι ἐδοκίμαζον ἐν τοῖς πτώμασι, καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἐρρημένων ἐτί ζῶντας διήλαυν ἐπὶ πείρᾳ τοῦ σιδῆρου· τοὺς δ' ἰκετεύοντας χρήσαν σφίζει δεξίαν καὶ ξίφος τῷ λιμῷ κατέλειπον ὑπερηφανοῦντες, καὶ τῶν ἐκπνεόντων ἐκαστὸς ἀπενίσας ἐις τὸν ναὸν ἄφεώρα τοὺς στασιαστὰς ζῶντας ἀπο-λιπὼν. οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου θησαυροῦ τοὺς νεκροὺς θάπτετεν ἐκέλευον, τὴν ὀσμὴν αὐτούς, ἐπειθ' ὡς οὐ διήρκοιν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐρρίπτον εἰς τάς φάραγγας.

517 (1) Περιοῦν δὲ ταύτας ὁ Τίτος ὡς θεάσατο πεπλησμένας τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ βαθῶν ἰχώρα μυδών-των ὑπορρέοντα τῶν σωμάτων, ἐστεναξεῖ τε καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας κατεμαρτύρατο τὸν θεόν, ὡς οὐκ εἴη τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ. τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐξεῖχεν οὕτως, ὁ Ρωμαῖοι δὲ μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν στασιαστῶν ἐκτρέχοντος, ἦδη γὰρ καὶ τούτων ἀθυμία καὶ λιμὸς ἐφήπτετο, πρὸς τὸν οὐκ θάνατον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτη-


360
For many fell dead while burying others, and many went forth to their tombs ere fate was upon them. And amidst these calamities there was neither lamentation nor wailing: famine stifled the emotions, and with dry eyes and grinning mouths these slowly dying victims looked on those who had gone to their rest before them. The city, wrapped in profound silence and night laden with death, was in the grip of a yet fiercer foe—the brigands. For breaking into habitations that were now mere charnel-houses, they rifled the dead and stripping the coverings from the bodies departed with shouts of laughter; they tried the points of their swords on the corpses and ran them through some of the prostrate but still living wretches, to test the temper of the blade, but any who implored them to lend them their hand and sword they disdainfully left to the mercy of the famine. And each victim expired with his eyes fixed on the temple and averted from the rebels whom he left alive. The latter at the outset ordered the bodies to be buried at the public expense, finding the stench intolerable; afterwards, when incapable of continuing this, they flung them from the ramparts into the ravines.

(4) When Titus, going his rounds, beheld these valleys choked with dead and the thick matter oozing from under the clammy carcases, he groaned and, raising his hands to heaven, called God to witness that this was not his doing. Such was the situation within the city. Meanwhile the Romans, relieved from further sallies of the rebels (for now even these felt the grip of despondency and famine) were in the highest spirits, with abundant supplies of corn

*a i.e. hastened their own end by attending the funeral of others.*
deiōn ek tēs Συρίας kai tōn πλησίων ἔπαρχων
521 ἔχοντες· ἵσταμενοι δὲ πολλοὶ τοῦ τείχους πλησίων
καὶ πολὺ πλήθος τῶν ἐδωδίμων ἐπιδεικνύμενοι τῷ κατὰ σφᾶς κόρῳ τῶν λιμῶν τῶν πολεμίων
522 ἔξεκαίων. πρὸς δὲ τὸ πάθος τῶν στασιαστῶν
μηδὲν ἐνδιδόντων, Τίτος οἰκτείρων τὰ λείψανα
τοῦ δήμου καὶ σπουδάζων τὸ γοῦν περὶ ἐξ-
αρπάσαι, πάλιν ἥρχετο χωμάτων χαλεπῶς αὐτῷ
523 τῆς ὑλῆς ποριζομένης· ἢ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὴν πόλιν
πᾶσα τοῖς προτέροις ἔργοις ἐκέκοπτο, συνεφόρουν
δ’ ἀλλην ἀπ’ ἑνενήκοντα σταδίων οἱ στρατιῶται.
καὶ πρὸς μόνης ὑψον τῆς Ἀντωνίας κατὰ μέρη
τέσσαρα πολὺ μείζων τῶν προτέρων χώματα.
524 περιμῶν δ’ ὁ Καίσαρ τὰ τάγματα καὶ κατεπείγων
τὸ ἔργον ἐπεδείκνυ τοῖς λησταῖς, ὡς ἐν χερσὶν
525 εἵησαν αὐτοῦ· μόνοις δ’ ἐκείνοις ἀρα κακῶν
ἀπολύουσι μεταμέλεια, καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς χωρίσαντες
ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων ἀμφοτέρους ὡς ἄλλοτρίους
526 ἐχρώντο. οὐτε γὰρ πάθος αὐτῶν ἑμέρου τὴν
ψυχὴν οὔτ’ ἄλγηδων ἡπτετο τοῦ σώματος, οἳ γε
καὶ νεκρὸν τὸν δήμον ὡσπερ κύνες ἐσπάραττον
καὶ τὰ δεσμωτηρία τῶν ἀρρώστων ἐνεπίμπλασαν.
527 (xiii. 1) Σύμων γοῦν οὐδὲ Ματθαίον, δι’ ὃν
κατέσχε τὴν πόλιν, ἀβασάνιστον ἀνείλε. Βοηθοῦ
παῖς ἦν οὗτος ἐκ τῶν ἄρχιερέων, ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα
528 τῷ δήμῳ πιστῶς καὶ τίμιος· δό ύπὸ τοῖς ξηλωταῖς
κακομενοῦ τοῦ πλήθους, οΐς ἥδη καὶ Ἰωάννης
προσῆν, πείθει τὸν δήμου εἰσαφεῖνα τὸν Σύμωνα

* i.e. becoming like brute beasts, they treated soul and
body as of no concern to them, they did not care what
happened to anyone’s soul or body. I owe this suggestion
and other necessaries from Syria and the adjoining provinces; and many of them would approach the ramparts and, displaying masses of victuals, inflame by their superabundance the pangs of the enemy's hunger. The rebels still remaining unmoved by these sufferings, Titus, commiserating the remnants of the people and anxious at least to rescue the survivors, recommenced the erection of earth-works, though timber was now procured with difficulty; for, all the trees round the city having been felled for the previous works, the troops had to collect fresh material from a distance of ninety furlongs. The new mounds were raised only opposite Antonia, in four sections, and were much larger than the former embankments. Caesar, meanwhile, making the round of the legions and expediting operations, plainly showed the brigands that they were now in his hands. In them alone, however, all remorse for evils was extinct; and divorcing soul from body they treated both as aliens. For neither could suffering tame their souls nor anguish affect their bodies, seeing that they continued, like dogs, to maul the very carcass of the people and to pack the prisons with the feeble. *°

(xiii. 1) Simon indeed did not suffer even Matthias, to whom he owed his possession of the city, to go untortured to his death. This Matthias was the son of Boethus, claimed high-priestly ancestry, and had won the special confidence and esteem of the people. At the time when the multitude were being maltreated by the Zealots, to whom John had now attached himself, he had persuaded the citizens to to Dr T. E. Page; but the meaning of this artificial passage is doubtful.
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βοηθόν, οὐδὲν οὔτε προσυνθέμενος οὔτε προσ-
529 δοκήσας φαύλον ἐξ αὐτοῦ. παρελθὼν δ᾽ ἐκεῖνος
ὡς ἐκράτησε τῆς πόλεως, ἐχθρὸν ἐν ἵσῳ τοῖς
ἀλλοις ἤγειτο καὶ τὸν ύπὲρ αὐτοῦ σύμβουλον
530 ὡς ἂν ἐξ ἀπλότητος γεγενημένον. ἀχθέντα δὲ
τηνικαῦτα καὶ κατηγοροῦμενον τὰ τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων
φρονεῖν κατακρίνει μὲν θανάτῳ, μηδ' ἀπολογίας
ἀξιώσας, σὺν τρισὶν νῖοις· ὁ γὰρ τέταρτος ἐφθη
diadrάς πρὸς Τίτων· ἤκετεύντα δ' ἀναιρεθήναι
πρὸ τῶν τέκνων καὶ ταύτην αἰτούμενον τὴν χάριν
ἀνθ' ὅλ' ἀνοίξειν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν, τελευταίον
531 ἀνελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐν ὁπεὶ φονευθείσιν
ἐπεσφάγη τοῖς παισὶν ἀντικρύς 'Ῥωμαίων προαχ-
θείς: οὕτω γὰρ ὁ Σίμων Ἰ'Ανάνιῳ τῶ Βαγαδάτοι
προσέταξεν, ὃς ἦν ἁμότατος αὐτῷ τῶν δορυφόρων,
ἐπειρωμενόμενος, εἰ τι βοηθήσουσιν αὐτῷ πρὸς
οἷς ἐξελθεῖν εἰλετο, θάπτειν τ' ἀπεῖπε τὰ σώματα.
532 μετὰ τούτους ἰερεύς τις Ἰ'Ανανίας νίος Μασβάλου
τῶν ἐπισήμων καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς
Ἀριστεύς, γένος ἐξ Ἰ'Αμμαοῦς, καὶ σὺν τούτοις
πεντεκαίδεκα τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου λαμπρῶν
533 ἀναιροῦνται. τὸν δὲ τοῦ Ἰωσὴσον πατέρα συγ-
κλείσαντες ἐφύλαττον, κηρύττουσι δὲ μηδέν τῶν
κατὰ τὴν πόλιν μήτε συνομίλειν μήτ᾽ ἐπὶ ταύτῳ
συναθροίζεσθαι δὲεὶ προδοσίας, καὶ τοὺς συν-
ολοφορομένους πρὸ εξετάσεως ἀνήρουν.

1 φονευθείσιν Hudson from Lat.: φονευθεῖσι mss.
2 PAM: Μαγαδάτου should perhaps be read, cf. vi. 229.
3 Μασσαμβάλου L Lat.

iv. 574.
admit Simon as an ally, without making any previous stipulation with him or anticipating foul play on his part. But when Simon had once entered and become master of the town, he considered the very man who had advocated his cause an enemy, equally with the rest, as having done so from pure simplicity. And now he had him brought up, accused him of siding with the Romans, and, without even granting him an opportunity of defence, condemned him to death, along with three of his sons; the fourth having already fled to Titus. Moreover, when Matthias entreated that he might be slain before his children, begging this favour in return for his having opened the gates to him, Simon ordered that he should be slain last. He was, accordingly, butchered over the bodies of his sons, who had been slaughtered before his eyes, after having been led out in view of the Romans; for such were the instructions given by Simon to Ananus, son of Bagadates, the most truculent of his satellites, with the ironical remark, "Let him see whether his friends to whom he intended to desert will assist him." He moreover refused burial to the bodies. After these a priest named Ananias, son of Masbalus, a person of distinction, and Aristeus, the secretary of the council, a native of Emmaus, and along with them fifteen eminent men from among the people were executed. They further detained the father of Josephus in prison, issued a proclamation forbidding any throughout the city to confabulate or congregate in one spot—for fear of treason—and put to death without inquiry persons taking part in joint lamentation.

\(^b\) A native of Emmaus who afterwards deserted to the Romans, vi. 229.
\(^c\) The Sanhedrin.
534 (2) Ταῦτα ὃρῶν Ἰούδης τις υἱὸς Ἰούδου, τῶν ὑπάρχων τοῦ Σίμωνος εἰς ὅν καὶ πεπιστευμένος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πύργου φυλάττειν, τάχα μὲν τι καὶ οἰκτω τῶν ὁμώς ἀπολλυμένων, τὸ δὲ πλέον αὐτοῦ προνοῖα, συγκαλέσας τοὺς πιστοτάτους τῶν ὑπ’ 
535 αὐτοῦ δέκα, ἡ ‘μέχρι τίνος ἀνθέξομεν,’ ἐφη, ‘τοῖς κακοῖς; ἤ τίνα σωτηρίας ἔχομεν ἐλπίδα πιστοὶ πονηρῶ μένουτες; οὐχ ὃ μὲν λιμὸς ἡδὴ καθ’ ἡμῶν, Ἦρωμαῖοι δὲ παρὰ μικρὸν ἔνδον, 
536 Σίμων δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐνεργέτας ἀπιστος, καὶ δέος μὲν ἡδὴ παρ’ αὐτοῦ κολάσεως, ἢ δὲ παρὰ Ἦρωμαῖοι δεξιὰ βέβαιοι; φέρε, παραδόντες τὸ 
537 τείχος σώσωμεν ἐαυτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν. πείσεται δ’ οὐδὲν δεινὸν Σίμων, ἐὰν ἀπεγνωκὼς ἐαυτὸν 
538 τάχιον δῷ δίκην.’ τούτοις τῶν δέκα πεισθέντων ὑπὸ τὴν ἐω τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἅλλον ἄλλαχόσε διέπεμπεν, ὡς μὴ φωραθεὶ τι 
539 τῶν βεβουλευμένων, αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ τρίτην ὑραν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου τοὺς Ἦρωμαῖους ἐκάλει. τῶν δ’ 
540 οἱ μὲν ὑπερηφάνουν, οἱ δὲ ἡπίστουν, οἱ πολλοὶ δ’ ὄκνουν ὡς μετὰ μικρὸν ἀκινδύνους ληφόμενοι τὴν 
541 πόλιν. ἐν ὡσὶ δὲ Τίτος μεθ’ ὀπλιτῶν παρῄε 
542 πρὸς τὸ τείχος, ἐφθη γνοὺς ὁ Σίμων, καὶ μετὰ 
543 τάχους τὸν τε πύργον προκαταλαμβάνει καὶ τοὺς 
544 ἄνδρας συλλαβῶν ἐν ὁψεὶ τῶν Ἦρωμαίων ἀναίρε 
545 καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους λωβησάμενος ἐρριψε τὰ 
546 σώματα.

541 (3) Κἂν τούτω περιωθ’ Ἡσιῆτος, οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει 
542 παρακαλῶν, βάλλεται τὴν κεφαλὴν λίθῳ καὶ 
543 παραχρῆμα πίπτει καρωθείς. ἐκδρομὴ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ 
544

366
(2) A spectator of these scenes, Judges, son of Judges, one of Simon's lieutenants and entrusted by him with the custody of a tower, partly perhaps out of compassion for the victims thus cruelly slain, but mainly thinking of his own safety, called together ten of the men under him on whom he could most rely and said: "How long are we to tolerate these crimes? Or what prospect have we of escaping by keeping faith with this villain? Is not the famine already upon us, the Roman army all but in the town, and Simon treacherous even to his benefactors? Have we not reason to fear that he will soon punish us, while a Roman pledge can be trusted? Come, let us surrender the ramparts and save ourselves and the city! Simon will suffer no great hardship if, despairing of his life, he is brought sooner to justice." The ten assenting to these proposals, early next morning he dispatched the rest of the men under his command in various directions, to prevent any discovery of the plot, and about the third hour called to the Romans from the tower. Of the latter some disdained him, others were incredulous, while the majority shrank from interfering, certain of taking the city ere long without running any risks. However, while Titus was preparing to advance to the wall with a body of troops, Simon, receiving timely intelligence, forestalled him by promptly occupying the tower, arrested and slew the men in full view of the Romans, and after mutilating their bodies flung them over the ramparts.

(3) Meanwhile, Josephus while going his rounds—for he was unremitting in his exhortations—was struck on the head with a stone and instantly dropped insensible. The Jews made a rush for the body, and
πτώμα\(^1\) τῶν 'Ιουδαίων γίνεται, καὶ ἐφθη συρεῖς εἰς τὴν πόλιν, εἰ μὴ ταχέως Καίσαρ ἔπεμψε τοὺς
542 ὑπερασπιζόμενος. μαχομένων δὲ τούτων ὁ Ἰώση-
πος μὲν αἱρεται βραχύ τι τῶν πραττομένων ἐπαιὼν, οἱ στασιασταὶ δ’ ὡς ἀνελόντες ὄν ἐπ-
543 εὐμομον μάλιστα μετὰ χαράς ἀνεβόων. διαγ-
γέλλεται τε εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὸ καταλειπόμενον
πλῆθος ἐπέσχεν ἀθυμία, πεπεισμένους οἰχεσθαι
544 τῷ ὄντι δι’ ὃν αὐτομολεῖν ἔθάρρουν. ἀκούσασα
δ’ ἡ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου μήτηρ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ
tεθνάναι τοῦ υἱόν, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς φύλακας ἀπὸ Ἰω-
tαπάτων τοῦτ’ ἔφη πεπεισθαί: καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ
545 ζῶντος ἀπολαύειν: ἵδια δ’ ὀλοφυρομένη πρὸς τᾶς
θεραπαινίδας τούτον εἰληφέναι τῆς εὐτεκνίας ἔλεγε
καρπὸν τὸ μηδὲ θάψαι τοῦ υἱόν, ὃ πο οὐ ταφῆ-
546 σεθαί προσεδόκησεν. ἀλλά γὰρ οὕτε ταύτην
ἐπὶ πλέον ὑδόνα τὸ ψεύδος οὕτε τοὺς ληστὰς
ἐθαλπε: ταχέως γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἀνήγεγκεν ὁ
Ἰωσήπος, καὶ προελθὼν τοὺς μὲν ὀνκ εἰς μακρὰν
ἐβόα δίκας αὐτῷ δῶσειν τοῦ πραύματός, τὸν δὲ
547 δήμον ἐπὶ πίστιν πάλιν προνακείτο. θάρσος δὲ
τῷ λαῷ καὶ τοῖς στασιασταῖς ἐκπλήξεις ἐμπιπτεῖ
πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ.
548 (4) Τῶν δ’ αὐτομόλων οἱ μὲν ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης ἀπὸ
tοῦ τείχους ἐπῆδων ταχέως, οἰ δὲ προϊόντες ὡς
ἐπὶ μάχη μετὰ χερμάδων ἐπειτα πρὸς τοὺς
Ῥωμαίοις ἐφευγον. συνείπετο δὲ τούτοις τύχῃ
tῶν εἰσο χαλεπωτέρα, καὶ τοῦ παρὰ σφίσι λιμοῦ
συντομώτερον\(^2\) εὐρισκόν πρὸς ὀλεθρον τὸν παρὰ

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\(^1\) τὸ πτώμα] τῷ πτώματι MVRC.

\(^2\) L Lat. (velociorem): συντομώτερον the rest.
he would have been dragged into the city, had not Caesar promptly sent out a rescue party. During the ensuing conflict Josephus was borne away, little conscious of what was passing; while the rebels, supposing that they had killed the man for whose blood they thirsted most, shouted with delight. The rumour spreading to the town, the residue of the populace were deeply dejected, believing that he who gave them courage to desert had really perished. The mother of Josephus, hearing in prison that her son was dead, remarked to her warders, "Ever since Jotapata a I was sure of it; indeed I had no joy of him in his lifetime"; but in private lamentation to her handmaidens she said, "This, then, is the fruit that I reap of my blessed child-bearing that I am to be denied the burial of the son by whom I hoped to have been buried." Happily, however, neither the distress which this false report occasioned her nor the solace which it brought to the brigands was of long duration; for Josephus, quickly recovering from the blow, came forward and, shouting to his foes that he would ere long be avenged on them for his wound, renewed his exhortations to the citizens to accept his assurances. The sight of him animated the people and filled the rebels with dismay.

(4) As for the deserters, some, having no alternative, hastily leapt from the ramparts; others, starting out with stones, as for a skirmish, then fled to the Romans. Hither, however, a harsher fate pursued them than that of their comrades within; and they found satiety in the Roman camp more rapidly b fatal than the famine which they had left

a Or perhaps "when the news came from Jotapata"; cf. iii. 432 ff.  b Or (with the other reading) "drastically."
549 Ἰωσθαῖος κόρον. παρεγίνοντο μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας πεφυσημένοι καὶ ὦσπερ ὑδρωπιώντες, ἐπειτα αὐθρόως κενοῖς ὑπερεμπυπλάμενοι τοῖς σῶμασιν ἐφρήγηντο, πλὴν τῶν δὲ ἐμπειρίαν ταμιευσαμένων τὰς ὀρέξεις καὶ κατ᾽ ὄλγον προσθέντων τροφὴν ἀπειδισμένω τῷ σώματι φέρειν.

550 καὶ τοὺς οὖτω δὲ σωζομένους ἐτέρα πληγὴ μετελάμβανε· τῶν γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς Σύροις τις αὐτομολών φωρᾶται τῶν τῆς γαστρὸς λυμάτων χρυσοῦς ἐκλέγων καταπίνοντες1 δ’, ὥς ἐφάμεν, αὐτοὺς προήσαν, ἐπειδὴ διηρεύσων2 πάντας οἱ στασιασταί, καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει χρυσοῦ· ὀδώδεκα γοῦν Ἀττικῶν ὑμοῖντο πρότερον ἵσχυοντας3 τέντε

551 καὶ έκκοσιν. ἀλλὰ τοῦ τῆς ἐπινοίας ἐλεγκθείσης δι’ ἐνός, ἀναπίμπλαται μὲν φῆμις4 τὰ στρατόπεδα, ὡς μεστοὶ χρυσίου παρεῖεν οἱ αὐτομολοί, τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἀράβων πλῆθος καὶ οἱ Σύροι τοὺς ἱκέτας ἀνα-552 τέμνοντες ἥρευνιν τὰς γαστέρας. καὶ τούτου τοῦ πάθους οὐδὲν ἐμοίγε δοκεῖ συμβῆναι Ἰου-δαίοις χαλεπώτερον· μιᾷ γοῦν ἀνεσχίσθησαν νυκτὶ πρὸς δισχυλίους.

553 (5) Καὶ γνοὺς τὴν παρανομίαν Τίτος ὁλίγον μὲν ἐδέχεσθε τὸ ἒπικοῦν περιστήσας κατακοντίσαι τοὺς αἰτίους, εἰ μὴ πολὺ πλῆθος ἐνείχετο καὶ τῶν ἀνηρμενῶν πολλαπλασίους ἦσαν οἱ κολα-554 σθησόμενοι. συγκαλέσας δὲ τοὺς τε τῶν συμμάχων ἥμεμονας καὶ τοὺς τῶν ταγμάτων, συνδιεβαλλόντο γὰρ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινες, πρὸς ἐκατέρους

1 Herwerden: καταπίνοντες mss.
2 Destinon (avoiding hiatus): ἀνηρμενῶν mss.
3 PAL: ἵσχυοντα the rest.
4 Holwerda: φῆμι εἰς mss.
at home. For they arrived swollen from hunger, like persons afflicted with dropsy, and then, overcharging at a gulp their empty stomachs, burst asunder; though some had learnt by experience to restrain their appetites and little by little administered nourishment to bodies unused to the load. But even those who thus escaped were overtaken later by another catastrophe. For one of the refugees in the Syrian ranks was discovered picking gold coins from his excrements; these pieces, as we have said, they had swallowed before their departure, because they were all searched by the rebels and gold was so abundant in the town that they could purchase for twelve Attic drachmas coin formerly worth five-and-twenty. This artifice being, however, detected in one instance, a rumour ran through the camps that the deserters had come full of gold, whereupon the Arab rabble with the Syrians proceeded to cut open the suppliants and search their intestines. No more cruel calamity, in my opinion, befell the Jews than this: actually in one night no less than two thousand were ripped up.

(5) On learning of this outrage Titus very nearly ordered his horse to surround the culprits and shoot them down, being only checked by the multitude of persons implicated, those who would have to be punished far outnumbering their victims. Summoning, however, the commanders both of the auxiliaries and of the legions (for some of his own soldiers also were involved in the charge) and addressing both

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\(a\) § 421.

\(b\) Cf. vi. 317 (in consequence of the plunder of Jerusalem) "throughout Syria the standard of gold was depreciated to half its former value."
555 ἀγανακτεῖνε ἔλεγεν, εἰ τῶν μὲν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατευομένων τινὲς τουαῦτα δρῶσιν κέρδος ἐνεκεν ἀδήλου, μηδὲ τὰ ὀπλα σφῶν αὐτῶν αἰδούμενοι

556 πεποιημένα ἀργύρου τε καὶ χρυσοῦ, τοῖς δ' Ἀραμί καὶ τοῖς Σύροις, εἰ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ πολέμῳ τοῖς πάθεσιν αὐτεξουσίως χρώνται, ἔπειτα τῇ περὶ φόνους ὑμότητι καὶ τῷ πρὸς Ἰούδαίους μίαν Ῥωμαίους ἑπιγράφουσι· καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἐνίους αὐτῶν τῶν στρατιωτῶν συναπολαύεν τῆς κακο-

557 δοξίας. τούτους μὲν ὅνι διηπέλήσε τάνατον, εἰ τίς εὐρεθεὶς πάλιν τὸ αὐτὸ τολμῶν, τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ταγμάτων ἐπέστελλεν ἐρευνήσαντας τοὺς

558 ὑπόπτους ἀνάγειν ἐπ' αὐτὸν. καταφρονεῖ3 δ', ὡς ἔοικε, φιλοχρηματία πάσης κολάσεως, καὶ δεινὸς ἐμπέφυκεν ἀνθρώποις τοῦ κερδαίνειν ἔρως, οὐδὲν τε ὅντως πάθος ὥστε4 πλεονεξία παρα-

559 βάλλεται. ὡ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλως καὶ μέτρων ἔχει καὶ φόβους ὑποτάσσεται, θεὸς δ' ἢν ὁ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς κατακρίνας καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς σωτηρίας

560 ὅδον εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἀποστρέφων. ὁ γὰρ μετ' ἀπειλῆς ἀπείπεν ὁ Καίσαρ λάθρα κατὰ τῶν αὐτομόλων ἐτολμάτο, καὶ τοὺς διαδιδράσκοντας πρὶν πᾶσιν ὁφθηναι προαπαντώνες ἀπέσφαττον οἱ βάρβαροι, περισκοποῦμενοι δέ, μὴ τις ἐπίδοι Ῥωμαιῶν, ἀνέσχιξον κακὰ τῶν σπλάγχων τὸ

561 μιαρὸν κέρδος ἑλκον. ὄλγους δ' ἐνευρίσκετο, καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς παρανύλισκεν ἐλπίς μόνη. τοῦτο μὲν ὅτι τὸ πάθος πολλοὺς τῶν αὐτομόλων ἐπανήγαγεν.

562 (6) Ἰωάννης δ' ὡς ἐπέλειπον αἱ ἀρπαγαί παρὰ

1 ἀγανακτεῖν Bekker: ἀγανακτῶν mss. 2 αὐτῷ VRC.
3 Destinon with Lat.: κατεφράνει mss.
4 ins. Hudson: Niese omits πλεονεξία.
groups, he said that he was indignant that soldiers in his service should be guilty of such acts for the sake of uncertain lucre, and did not blush for their own arms, made of silver and gold. To the Arabs and Syrians he expressed his wrath, first at the idea that in a foreign war they should give unrestrained licence to their passions, and next that they should induce Romans to lend their name to their own murderous brutality and hatred of the Jews, seeing that some of the very legionaries now shared their infamy. These foreigners he threatened with death, should any be found daring to repeat the crime; the legionaries he directed to search for suspected offenders and to bring them up to him. But avarice, it seems, defies all punishment and a dire love of gain is ingrained in human nature, no other passion being so headstrong as greed; though, in truth, in other circumstances these passions observe some bounds and submit to deterrents, but here God and no other had condemned His whole people and was turning every avenue of salvation to their destruction. Thus what Caesar had prohibited with threats men still ventured furtively to practise upon the deserters: advancing to meet the fugitives before the troops had caught sight of them, these barbarians would massacre them, and then, looking round to see that no Roman eye was upon them, rip them up and extract the filthy lucre from their bowels. In few only was it found: the bare hope of finding it caused the wanton destruction of most. This calamity in fact drove many of the deserters back.

(6) John when the plunder from the people failed
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tοῦ δῆμου, πρὸς ἱεροσυλίαν ἐτρέπετο, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἀναθημάτων κατεχόμενεν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας ἀναγκαῖων σκεύης, κρατήρας [τε] καὶ πίνακας καὶ τραπέζας· ἀπέσχετο δ’ οὖν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντων ἀκρατοφόρων. οἱ μὲν γε Ἐρωμαῖον βασιλεῖς ἐτύμησαν τε καὶ προσεκόσμησαν τὸ ἱερὸν ἀεί, τότε δ’ ὁ Ἰουδαῖος καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων κατέσπα. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς συνόντας ἐλεγεν, ὡς δεῖ μετ’ ἀδείας καταχρήσασθαι τοῖς θείοις ὑπὲρ τοῦ θείου καὶ τοὺς τῷ ναῷ στρα-565 τευμένους ἐξ αὐτοῦ τρέφεσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν ἱερὸν ὁλον καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον, ὃ τοῖς ὀλοκαυτώμασιν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐφύλαττον [ἐπίχειν], ἐκκενώσας, ἢν δ’ ἐν τῷ ἐνδον ἱερῷ, διένεμε τῷ πλήθει, κακείνου δίχα φρίκης ἢλειφοντο καὶ ἔπινον [ἐς αὐτῶν].

566 οὗκ ἄν ὑποστελαίμην εἰπεῖν ἃ μοι κελεύει τὸ πάθος· οἶμαι Ἐρωμαῖον βραδυνότων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀληπρίους ἢ καταποθήκην ἁν ὑπὸ χάσματος ἢ κατακλυσθήκην τὴν πόλιν ἢ τοὺς τῆς Σωδομηνῆς μεταλαβήκεν κεραυνοῦ· πολὺ γὰρ τῶν ταῦτα παθόντων ἠγεγκε γενεὰν ἀθεωτέραν· τῇ γούν τούτων ἀπονοίᾳ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς συναπώλετο.

567 (7) Καὶ τί δεῖ κατὰ μέρος ἐκδιηγεῖσθαι τὰς συμφοράς· ἀλλὰ πρὸς Τίτον ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις Μανιαῖος ὁ Λαζάρου φυγῶν διὰ μιᾶς ἐλεγεν ἐκκεκομίσθαι πῦλης, ἢν αὐτὸς ἐπεπίστευ-

1 LVRC: ἐπείσειχ, ἐπείχειν ὃν ἐπέχειν the rest: om. Lat.
2 PA Lat. Exc.: + πλέον τοῦ ἰν the rest.
3 om. Lat.

Cf. 1 Cor. ix. 13.

According to the Mishna, Middoth ii. 6, the wine and
him, had recourse to sacrilege, melting down many of the temple-offerings and many of the vessels required for public worship, bowls and salvers and tables; nor did he abstain from the vessels for pure wine sent by Augustus and his consort. For the Roman sovereigns ever honoured and added embellishment to the temple, whereas this Jew now pulled down even the donations of foreigners, remarking to his companions that they should not scruple to employ divine things on the Divinity's behalf, and that those who fought for the temple should be supported by it.\(^a\) He accordingly drew every drop of the sacred wine and of the oil, which the priests kept for pouring upon the burnt-offerings and which stood in the inner temple,\(^b\) and distributed these to his horde, who without horror anointed themselves and drank therefrom.\(^c\) Nor can I here refrain from uttering what my emotion bids me say. I believe that, had the Romans delayed to punish these reprobates, either the earth would have opened and swallowed up the city,\(^d\) or it would have been swept away by a flood,\(^e\) or have tasted anew the thunderbolts of the land of Sodom. For it produced a generation far more godless than the victims of those visitations, seeing that these men's frenzy involved the whole people in their ruin.

(7) But why need I severally recount the calamities? Why, indeed, when Mannaeus, son of Lazarus, who sought refuge in those days with Titus, reported that there were carried out through a single gate, oil were stored in a chamber at the S.W. corner of the Women's Court.

\(^a\) Some mss. add " more than a hin."

\(^b\) Like Korah and his company, Numb. xvi. 32.

\(^c\) Like the generation of Noah.

\(^d\) Numbers of the dead in Jerusalem.
JOSEPHUS

to, μυριάδας ἐνδέκα νεκρῶν ἐπὶ πεντακισχιλίους
ὀκτακοσίως ὁγδοήκοντα, ἢφ' ἢς αὐτοὶς ἦμέρας
παρεστρατοπεδεύσατο τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη Σαουθικοῦ
μηνὸς ἄχρι Πανέμου νουμηνίας. τούτῳ δ' ἢν
πλῆθος ἀπόρων· καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐφεστώς, ἀλλὰ
dημοσία μισθὸν διδοὺς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἦρίθμευ. τοὺς
dὲ λοιποὺς οἱ προσήκοντες ἔθαπτον· ταφῇ δ'
ἡν τὸ προκομίσαντας ἐκ τοῦ ἁστεος ῥῆψαι. μετὰ
dὲ τούτων διαδράντες πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπισήμων τὰς
πάσας τῶν ἀπόρων νεκρῶν ἀπήγγελλον μυριάδας
ἐξήκοντα διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἐκριφῆναι, τῶν δ' ἄλλων
ἀνεξερεύνητον εἶναι τὸν ἀριθμὸν. μηκέτι δ' εὐ-
tονούντων τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἐκφέρειν, [ἐλεγον]1 συσ-
σωρεύοντας εἰς τοὺς μεγίστους οἰκους τὰ πτώματα
ἀποκλείειν. καὶ τοῦ μὲν σίτου τὸ μέτρον πραθήναι
tαλάντου, μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ὦς οὐδὲ ποηλογεῖν ἔθ' ὦν
τ' ἢν περιτειχισθείσης τῆς πόλεως, προελθεῖν
tινας εἰς τοσούτων ἀνάγκης, ὥστε τὰς ἀμάρας
ἐρευνῶντας καὶ παλαιὸν ὅθου βοῶν προσφέρεσθαι
tὰ ἐκ τούτων σκύβαλα, καὶ τὸ μηδ' ὦψει φορητὸν
πάλαι τὸτε γενέσατι τροφὴν. ταῦτα Ὄρμμαίοι
μὲν ἀκοοῦντες ἠλέησαν, οἱ στασισταὶ δὲ καὶ
βλέποντες οὐ μετενόουν, ἀλλ' ἥνειχοντο μέχρις
αὐτῶν προελθεῖν· πεπήρωντο γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρεῶν,
δ' τῇ τε πόλει καὶ αὐτοῖς ἥδη παρῆν.

1 om. P Lat.

a § 133.
b i.e. between 1 May and 20 July, A.D. 70 (Niese).
c Or "chambers."
d These two rare words are Homeric (ἀμαρά Il. xxi. 259; δοῦθος xxiii. 775-7).
which had been entrusted to him, 115,880 corpses, between the fourteenth of the month Xanthicus, on which the general encamped before their walls, \(^a\) and the new moon of Panemus \(^b\)? All these were of the poorer class; nor had he undertaken this charge himself, but being responsible for the payment of public funds he was bound to keep count. The remainder were buried by their relatives, burial consisting merely in bringing them forth and casting them out of the town. This refugee was followed by many eminent citizens, who reported that the corpses of the lower classes thrown out through the gates amounted in all to 600,000; of the rest it was impossible to discover the number. They added that, when strength failed them to carry out the poor, they piled the bodies in the largest mansions \(^c\) and shut them up; also that a measure of corn had been sold for a talent, and that later when it was no longer possible to gather herbs, the city being all walled in, some were reduced to such straits that they searched the sewers \(^d\) and for old cow dung \(^d\) and ate the offal therefrom, and what once would have disgusted them to look at had now become food. The tale of these horrors aroused the compassion of the Romans; yet the rebels who witnessed them relented not, but endured to go even to these extremes.\(^e\) For they were blinded by Fate, which, alike for the city and for themselves, was now imminent.

\(^{a}\) Or, taking \(a\grave{v}\tau\omega\nu\), as masculine, = \(a\grave{v}\tau\omega\nu\) with Hudson and others, "patiebantur ea usque ad ipsos progredi." For \(a\grave{v}\tau\omega\nu\) neuter, as translated above, cf. e.g. A. xv. 182 \(\mu\epsilon\chi\mu\tau \tau\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\ \pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\nu\).
BIBLION 5

1 (i. 1) Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων πάθη προύκοπτεν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον, τῶν τε στασιαστῶν μᾶλλον παροξυνομένων [ἐν]1 ταῖς συμ-φοραῖς καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ μετὰ τὸν δήμον ἧδη κάκεινος

2 νεμομένου, τὸ γε μὴν πλῆθος τῶν σεσωρευμένων ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν πτωμάτων ὠψει τε φρικώδες ἢν καὶ λοιμώδη προσέβαλλεν ὁσμήν, πρὸς τε τὰς ἐκδρομὰς ἐμπόδιον τοῖς μαχομένοις. οὕσπερ γὰρ διὰ παρα-τάξεως φόνῳ μυρίῳ γεγυμνασμένους2 χωροῦντας

3 ἔδει τὰ σώματα πατεῖν. οἱ δ' ἐπιβαίνοντες οὔτ' ἐφριττοῦν οὔτ' ἠλέουν οὔτε κληδόνα κακὴν σφῶν αὐτῶν ὑπελάμβανον τὴν εἰς τοὺς κατοιχομένους

4 ύβριν, πεφυρμένου δ' ὀμοφύλῳ φόνῳ τὰς δεξιὰς ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους πόλεμον ἐξέθεον, ὁνειδίζοντες ἐμοιγε δοκεῖν τὸ θεῖον εἰς βραδυτῆτα τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῶν3 κολάσεως. οὐ γὰρ ἐλπίδι νῖκης ὁ πόλεμος, ἡδὴ δὲ ἀπογνώσει σωτηρίας ἐθρασύνετο.

5 Ἐρωμαῖοι δὲ καῖτοι πολλὰ περὶ τὴν τῆς ὑλῆς συγκομιδῆς ταλαπωροῦμενοι τὰ χώματα διήγειραν μιᾶ καὶ ἑκοσιον ἡμέραις, κείραντες, ὦς προείρηται, τὴν περὶ τὸ ἄστυ χώραν ἐπ' ἐνενήκοντα σταδίους

6 ἐν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν. ἤν δ' ἐλεεινη καὶ τῆς γῆς ἡ θέα.

1 om. L Lat. Exc.
2 PALC: γεγυμνασμένης MVR (Lat.).
3 PA: αὐτῶνς L Exc. : αὐτοῖς the rest.
BOOK VI

(i. 1) The sufferings of Jerusalem thus daily grew worse, the fury of the rebels being intensified by the calamities in which they were involved, and the famine now extending its ravages from the people to themselves. The piles of corpses throughout the city, presenting a horrible spectacle and emitting a pestilential stench, were, moreover, an impediment to the combatants in their sallies; for, like men inured to countless carnage on the battlefield, they were compelled on the march to trample over the bodies. Yet, they set foot on them without a shudder, without pity, without a thought of any evil omen to themselves from this outrage to the departed. With hands imbrued with the blood of their countrymen they rushed forth to war with the foreigner, upbraiding the Deity (so I cannot but think) for His tardiness in punishing them; for it was no hope of victory but despair of escape which now nerved them to the battle. The Romans, meanwhile, though sorely harassed in the collection of timber, had completed their earthworks in one and twenty days, having, as already stated, cleared the whole district around the town to a distance of ninety furlongs. Pitiful too was the aspect of the country,

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a Or (with the other reading) "like men advancing over a battlefield strewn (literally 'exercised') with countless carnage they were compelled to trample," etc.

b v. 523.
τὰ γὰρ πάλαι δενδρεῖ καὶ παραδείσους κεκοσμημένα τότε πανταχοθὲν ἥρημωτο καὶ περικέκοπτο
7 τὴν ύλην, ουδεὶς τε τὴν πάλαι Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τὰ περικαλλὴ προάστεια τῆς πόλεως ἑωρακὼς ἀλλόφυλος, ἔστεια τὴν τότε βλέπων ἐρήμιαν οὐκ ὠλοφύρατο καὶ κατεστέναξεν τὴν μεταβολὴν παρ’
8 ὅσον γένοιτο· πάντα γὰρ ἐλυμήνατο τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ κάλλους ὁ πόλεμος, καὶ οὐκ ἄν τις ἕξαπίνης ἑπιστάτας τῶν προεγκωκτῶν ἐγνώρισε τὸν τόπον, ἀλλὰ παρὼν ἐξήτευ τὴν πόλιν.
9 (2) ’Ρωμαίοις δὲ καὶ ’Ιουδαίοις τὸ τέλος τῶν
10 χωμάτων ἱσην ἐνεποίη τέους ἀρχὴν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ,
εἰ μὴ καὶ ταῦτα καυσειαν, ἀλώσεθαι τὴν πόλιν προσεδόκων, ’Ρωμαίοι δ’ οὐκέθᾳ αἱρήσειν κάκεινων
11 διαφθαρέτων. ὤλης τε γὰρ ἦν ἀπορία, καὶ τῶν
μὲν πόλων ἡδί τὸ σῶμα,2 τῶν δ’ ἐπαλλήλων πται-
12 σμάτων αἱ ψυχαί τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐλείποντο. τάς
gε μὴν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν συμφορὰς ’Ρωμαίοις πλέον
eῖναι συνεβαινε πρὸς ἀθυμίας η τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ·
pαρὰ γὰρ τὰ τηλικαῦτα πάθη τοῖς μαχομένοις
13 οὐδέν ἐχρώντο μαλακωτέροις, ἀλλ’ ἔθραυντο
πάντοτε τὰς ἐλπίδας, τῶν μὲν χωμάτων ταῖς
ἐπιβουλαῖς, τῶν δ’ ὄργανον στερρότητι τοῦ τεῖχους,
tῆς δὲ κατὰ χεῖρα μάχης ταῖς τῶν συμπλεκομένων
τόλμαις πλεονεκτούμενοι, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, στάσεως
τε καὶ λιμοῦ καὶ πολέμου καὶ τοσοῦτων κακῶν
eὐρίσκοντες ἐπάνω τὸ παράστημα τῆς ψυχῆς
14 ’Ιουδαίους ἔχοντας. ὑπελάμβανον τε3 τῶν ἀνδρῶν
ἀμάχους μὲν τὰς ὀρμὰς, ἀνάλωτον δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ
συμφοραῖς εὐθυμίαν εἶναι· τὰ γὰρ ἄν μὴ ὑποστηρια

1 οὐκέθ᾽ Herwer.len: οὐκ ἄν ἐθ᾽ mss.
2 τὰ σώματα M Lat.
3 om. Lat. Syr.
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sites formerly beautified with trees and parks now reduced to an utter desert and stripped bare of timber; and no stranger who had seen the old Judaea and the entrancingly beautiful suburbs of her capital, and now beheld her present desolation, could have refrained from tears or suppressed a sigh at the greatness of the change. For the war had ruined all the marks of beauty, and no one who knew it of old, coming suddenly upon it, would have recognized the place, but, though beside it, he would have looked for the city.

(2) The completion of the earthworks proved, to the Romans no less than to the Jews, a source of apprehension. For, while the latter thought that, should they fail to burn these also, the city would be taken, the Romans feared that they would never take it, should these embankments too be destroyed. For there was a dearth of materials, and the soldiers’ bodies were now sinking beneath their toils, and their minds under a succession of reverses. Indeed, the calamities of the city caused more despondency to the Romans than to the citizens, for they found their opponents in no wise chastened by their severe misfortunes, while their own hopes were continually dashed, their earthworks mastered by the enemy’s stratagems, their engines by the solidity of the walls, their close combat by the daring of their antagonists. But worst of all was the discovery that the Jews possessed a fortitude of soul that could surmount faction, famine, war and such a host of calamities. They fancied the impetuosity of these men to be irresistible and their cheerfulness in distress invincible; for what would they not endure if
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deεία τύχῃ χρωμένους τοὺς ὑπὸ κακῶν πρὸς ἀλκήν τρεπομένους; οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐρρωμενεστέρας διὰ ταύτα τῶν χωμάτων ἔποιοῦντο τὰς φυλακὰς.

15 (3) Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην κατὰ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν ἄμα καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, εἰ καταρριφθεὶ τὸ τεῖχος, ἥσφαλίζοντο καὶ πρὶν ἐπιστήναι τοὺς κριοὺς ἐπ᾿ ἑθεντο τοῖς ἔργοις. οὐ μὴν ἐκράτησαν γε τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, ἀλλὰ προελθόντες χαμηλάδων πρὶν ἐγνώσαι τοῖς χώμασι ψυχρότεροι τῆς ἐλπίδος ὑπεστρέφαν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὖν ὁμονοεῖν ἢ σκέψις αὐτῶν ἔως ἑκτὸς κατὰ μέρος ἐκπεπηδοῦντων κὰκ διαλειμμάτων καὶ μεμελλήμενως μετὰ δέους, καθόλου τ᾿ εἰπεῖν οὐκ Ἰουνάκιὼς· τὰ γὰρ ἴδια τοῦ ἔθνους υπάρχοντα ἄμα ἡ τόλμα καὶ ὀρμὴ καὶ δρόμος ὁμοῦ πάντων καὶ τὸ μηδὲ πταίνοντα
18 ἀναστρέφειν. ἀπονώτεροι δ᾿ ἔαυτῶν προελθόντες καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εὐθὺν ἐρρωμενέστερον τοῦ
19 συνήθους παρατεταγμένους· τοῖς μὲν γε σώμας καὶ ταῖς πανοπλίαις οὕτως ἐφράζαντο τὰ χώματα πάντοθεν, ὡς τῷ πυρὶ μηδαμόθεν καταλπεῖν παράδυσαι, τὴν δὲ ψυχήν ἐτόνωσαν ἐκαστὸς μὴ
20 μετακινηθῆναι τῆς τάξεως πρὸ θανάτου. πρὸς γὰρ τῷ πάσας αὐτῶν ὑποκόπτεσθαι τὰς ἐλπίδας, εἰ κἀκεῖνα καταφλεγεῖ τὰ ἔργα, δεινὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας εἶχεν αἰδώς, εἰ πάντα κρατῆσαι πανοργία μὲν ἀρετῆς, ἀπόνοια δ᾿ ὀπλῶν, πλήθος
21 δ᾿ ἐμπερίας, Ἰουνάκιοι δὲ Ῥωμαίοι. ἄμα δὲ τι καὶ ταφετήρια συνήργησε τῶν προπηδοῦντων ἐφικνοῦμενα, καὶ πεσῶν τις τῷ μεθ᾿ αὐτῶν ἐμπόδιον ἤν, ὁ τε κίνδυνος τοῦ πρόσω χωρεῖν ἐποίει μαλακω-

1 ed. pr. Heg.: προελθόντες mss.
2 τι καὶ C: ἐτὶ καὶ MVR: καὶ L: om. PA.

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favoured by fortune, who were impelled to valour by disasters? For these reasons, then, the Romans strengthened yet more their guard upon the earthworks.

(S) John and his party within Antonia, on the other hand, while taking precautions for the future, in the event of the demolition of the wall, also made an attack on the works before the rams were brought up. In this enterprise, however, they did not succeed, but, having advanced with torches, returned with ardent hopes grown cold, a ere they had approached the earthworks. For, to begin with, there seemed to be no unanimity in their design: they dashed out in small parties, at intervals, hesitatingly and in alarm, in short not like Jews: the characteristics of the nation—daring, impetuosity, the simultaneous charge, the refusal to retreat even when worsted b—were all lacking. But while their own advance was abnormally spiritless, they found the Romans drawn up in stouter array than usual, with their bodies and armour so completely screening the earthworks as to leave no loophole for firebrands from any quarter whatever, and each man’s heart braced to die rather than quit his post. For not only would all their hopes be cut off, should these works also be burnt up, but the soldiers felt it a dire disgrace that craft should invariably triumph over valour, desperation over arms, numbers over experience, and Jews over Romans. The artillery, moreover, rendered assistance, reaching the sallying parties with their missiles; each enemy who fell obstructed the man in his rear, and the risk of advancing damped

a Literally “colder than their hope.”

b Or perhaps “the retreat without so much as a hitch.”

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22 τέρους. τῶν δ’ ἐνδοστέρω βέλους ὑποδραμόντων
οἱ μὲν πρὶν εἰς χείρας ἐλθεὶν τὴν εὐταξίαν καὶ τὸ
πῦκνωμα τῶν πολεμίων καταπλαγέντες, οἱ δὲ
νυπτόμενοι τοῖς ἑυστοῖς ἐπαλινδρόμουν· καὶ τέλος
ἀλλήλους κακίζοντες εἰς δειλίαν ἀνεκώρων ἀπρα-
κτοι. νομηνία Πανέμου μηνὸς ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἦν.

23 ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ τῶν 'Ἰουδαίων προσήγον οἱ
Ῥωμαίοι τὰς ἐλεπόλεις, βαλλόμενοι πέτραις τε
ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας καὶ πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ παντὶ
τῷ χορηγοῦμενῷ 'Ἰουδαίους ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης

24 βέλει καὶ πάντα πολὺ τῷ τείχει πεπουθότες καὶ
τῶν ὁργάνων καταφρονοῦντες ὀμῆς ἐκώλυν τοὺς

25 Ῥωμαίους προσάγειν. οἱ δὲ τὴν σπουδὴν τῶν
Ἰουδαίων τοῦ μὴ πληγήναι τὴν Ἀντωνίαν ὑπο-
λαμβάνοντες γίνεσθαι δι’ ἀσθένειαν τοῦ τείχους
καὶ σαθροὺς ἐλπίσαντες εἶναι τοὺς θεμέλιους ἀντ

26 εφιλονείκουν. οὐ μὴν ὑπῆκουν τὸ τυπτόμενον, ἀλλ’
οἱ μὲν συνεχῶς βαλλόμενοι καὶ πρὸς μηδένα τῶν
καθύπερθεν κυνάνων ἐνδιδόντες ἐνεργοὺς παρεῖχον

27 τὰς ἐλεπόλεις. ὡς δὲ ἦσαν ἐλάττους καὶ περι-
εθραύσασθαι ταῖς πέτραις, ἔτεροι τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὀρο-
φώσαντες ύπέρ τῶν σωμάτων χεραί καὶ μοχλοῖς
ὑπώρυστον τοὺς θεμέλιους, καὶ τέσσαράς γε λίθοις

28 προσκαρτερησάντες ἐξέσεισαν. ἀνέπαυσε δὲ νυς
ἐκατέρους, κἀν ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν κριῶν
σεσαλεμένον, καὶ καθ’ δ’ τοῖς προτέροις ἐπι-
βουλεύσασθαὶ χώμασιν ὁ Ἰωάννης ὑπώρυξεν ἐνδούσις
τῆς διώρυχος, ἐξαπίνης κατερέσεται.

1 om. Lat.

a i.e. long range projectiles; cf. iii. 212 τῶν δὲ πάρρω βαλ-
λομένων ἐνδοτέρω γινόμενοι προσέκειτο κτλ.
b pila.
c Iron arrow-heads: cf. iii. 240.
their ardour. Of those who did penetrate past the reach of these projectiles, some sped back, before coming to close quarters, dismayed by the admirable order and serried ranks of their antagonists, others only when pricked by the points of the javelins. Finally, reviling each other for cowardice, they all retired, their object unattained. This attack took place on the new moon of the month Panemus.

On the retreat of the Jews, the Romans brought up the siege-engines, being assailed from Antonia with rocks, fire, iron and every species of missile with which necessity supplied the Jews, who, notwithstanding their confident reliance on their ramparts and their contempt of the engines, yet strove to prevent the Romans from bringing them up. The latter, surmising that the anxiety of the Jews to save Antonia from assault arose from some weakness in the wall and hoping that the foundations were rotten, redoubled their efforts. Nevertheless it resisted the battering; but the Romans, under an incessant fire and undeterred by the perils to which they were exposed from above, brought the siege-engines effectively into action. As, however, they were at a disadvantage and crushed by the boulders, another party, locking their bucklers over their bodies, with hands and crowbars started undermining the foundations and by perseverance succeeded in dislodging four stones. Night suspended the labours of both combatants, but in the course of it the wall, whose shaking by the rams was followed by the collapse of the mine, at the point where John in his designs on the former earthworks had dug beneath it, suddenly fell to the ground.

\[d\] v. 469.
29 (4) Τούτου συμβάντος παραδόξως ἑκατέροις
diετέθη τὰ φρονήματα. Ἦσυν δὲ μὴν γάρ, οὐς
ἀθυμεῖν εἰκὸς ἦν, τῷ μὴ παρ’ ἐλπίδα γενέσθαι τὸ
πτῶμα καὶ προσφαλίσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸ θαρρεῖν ὡς
μενούσης συνέβαινε τῆς Ἀντωνίας. Ἦσυν δὲ
γε τὴν παρ’ ἐλπίδα χαράν ἐπὶ τῷ καταρριβθέντι
tαχέως ἐσβέσεν ὄψις ἐτέρου τείχους, ὁπερ ἐνδοθεὶ
ioi peri tôn Ἰωάννην ἀντωκοδομήκεσαν. εὐμαρέ-
στέρα γε μὴν τῆς πρότερον ἡ προσβολὴ κατεφαί-
nυνετον τὸ τε γάρ ἀναβῆναι διὰ τῶν καταρριβθέντων
βάσον ἐδόκει, καὶ τὸ τείχος ἀσθενεύστορον τὸ πολλῷ
tῆς Ἀντωνίας καὶ ταχέως τῷ πρόσκαιρον εἶναι
λύσει1 ὑπελάμβανον. οὐ μὴν ἐτόλμα τις ἀναβῆναι
προὔπτος γάρ τοῖς ἀρξαμένοις ἢν ἀπώλειαν.
33 (5) Νομίζων δ’ ὁ Τίτος ἐγείρεσθαι μάλιστα τᾶς
τῶν πολεμοῦσιν προθυμίας ἐλπίδα καὶ λόγω, τὰς
τε προτροπὰς καὶ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις πολλάκις μὲν
λήθην ἐνεργάζεσθαι τῶν κινδύνων, ἔστι δ’ ὅτε καὶ
θανάτου καταφρόνησην, συναγαγὼν ἐπὶ ταύτο τοὺς
ἀλκίμους ἐπειράτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν, “ὅ συναρταῖ-
ται,” λέγων, “τὸ μὲν παρακελεῦσιν ἐπὶ τὰ μὴ
φέροντα κινδύνον αὐτόθεν τοῖς παρακελευομένοις
ἀκλεῖς, ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ τῷ παρακελεύοντι φέρει
35 κατάγωσιν ἀνανδρίας. δεῖ δ’, οὖν, προτροπῆς
eis μόνα τὰ σφαλὲρὰ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὥς ἐκεῖνα
36 γε καθ’ αὐτοὺς πράττειν ἄξιον.2 ὡστ’ ἐγγυὶ τὸ
μὲν ὑπάρχειν χαλεπὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος ἀνοδὸν
αὐτὸς υἱὸν προτίθημι: τὸ δ’ ὅτι μάλιστα προσήκει
μάχεσθαι τοῖς δύσκολοις τοὺς ἀρετὴς ἐφεισμένους
καὶ ὅτι καλὸν ἐν εὐκλείᾳ τελευτὴ καὶ ὡς οὐκ
ἀκαρπῶν ἔσται τοῖς καταρξαμένοις τὸ γενναίον,

1 Bekker: λέσει L: λέειν the rest. 2 + ἐν Destinon.
(4) The effect of this incident on the spirits of both belligerents was surprising. For the Jews, who might reasonably have been disheartened by it, were, in consequence of their being prepared for this catastrophe and having taken precautions to meet it, quite confident, as Antonia still remained; whereas the unlooked-for joy of the Romans at the downfall was extinguished by the appearance of a second wall which John and his party had built within. True, the assault of this one looked easier than that of the first, as the ascent would be facilitated by the debris; they also imagined the wall itself to be far weaker than that of Antonia and that, being a temporary structure, it would be rapidly destroyed. Still, none ventured to mount; for manifest destruction awaited the first assailants.

(5) Titus, believing that the ardour of troops in warfare is best roused by hope and encouraging words, and that exhortations and promises often induce forgetfulness of danger and sometimes even contempt of death, called his stalwarts together and put to the proof the mettle of his men. "Fellow-soldiers," he said, "to deliver an oration inciting to enterprises involving no risk is to cast a direct slur on the persons addressed, while it assuredly convicts him who delivers it of unmanliness. Exhortation, in my opinion, is needed only for hazardous affairs, since in other circumstances men may be expected to act of their own accord. That the scaling of this wall is arduous I, therefore, myself grant you at the outset; but that to contend with difficulties best becomes those who aspire to heroism, that it is glorious to die with renown, and that the gallantry of those who lead the way will not go unrewarded—
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37 διέξειμι. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ύμῶν γενέσθω προτροπὴ
tὸ τινα ἵςως ἀποτρέπον, ἡ 'Ἰουδαίων μακροθυμία
38 καὶ τὸ καρτερικὸν ἐν οἷς κακοπαθοῦσιν, αἰσχρὸν
γὰρ ὑπαίτιον πείνας καὶ στρατιώτας ἐμοῦ,
καὶ διδακτόν μὲν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸ πολεμεῖν, ἑθιμὸν δὲ
ἐν πολέμῳ τὸ κρατεῖν ἐχοντας, ἦττάσθαι κατὰ
χείρα Ἰουδαίων ἣ κατὰ ψυχήν, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τῷ
tέλει τῆς νίκης καὶ συνεργούμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.
39 τὰ [μὲν] 1 γὰρ ἡμέτερα πταίσματα τῆς Ἰουδαίων
ἐστὶν ἀπονοίας, τὰ δὲ ἐκεῖνων πάθη ταῖς τε ὡμετέ-
ραις ἀρεταῖς καὶ ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ συνεργίαις αὐξέται.
40 στάσις γὰρ καὶ λιμὸς καὶ πολυκορία καὶ δίχα
μηχανημάτων πίπτοντα τείχη τί ἀν ἂλλ' ἢ θεὸν
41 μὲν εἰθ' μήνας ἐκεῖνας, βοήθεια δ' ἡμέτερα; τὸ
τοῖνυν μὴ μόνον ἑλαττωῦσθαι χειρόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τὴν θείαν συμμαχίαν προδιδόναι πρὸς ἕμων οὐκ
42 ἂν εἰθ'. πῶς δ' οὐκ αἰσχρὸν Ἰουδαίων' 2 μὲν, οἷς
οὗ 3 πολλὴν αἰσχύνην φέρει τὸ λείπεσθαι μαθοῦσι
dουλεῖν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηκέτι τοῦτο πάσχειν θανάτου
καταφρονεῖν καὶ πολλάκις εἰς μέσους ἦμας ἐκτρέ-
χειν, οὐκ ἔλπίδι τοῦ κρατήσειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ ψιλῆν
43 ἐπίδειξιν ἀνδρείας: ύμας δὲ τοὺς γῆς ὁλίγου δεῖν
ἀπάσης καὶ θαλάσσης κρατοῦντας, οἷς καὶ τὸ μὴ
νικᾶν οὐνείδος, μὴ δ' ἀπαξ εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους παρα-
44 βάλλεσθαι, περιμένειν δὲ τὸν λιμὸν κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ
τὴν τύχην ἄργους καθεξομένους μετὰ τοιούτων
ὀπλῶν, καὶ ταῦτα δι' ὁλίγου τοῦ παραβόλου τὸ
45 πᾶν κατορθώσαι δυναμένοις; ἀναβάντες γοῦν ἐπὶ
tὴν Ἀντωνίαν ἐχομεν τὴν πόλιν καὶ γὰρ ἂν
γίνηται τις ἐτί πρὸς τοὺς ἐνδον, ὀπερ οὐκ οἶμαι,

1 ins. L: omit the rest. 2 L: 'Ιουδαίως the rest. 3 οὗ L: om. PA: insert before φέρει the rest.
on those points I would now dwell. In the first place, then, let that be an incentive to you which to some might perhaps be a deterrent, I mean the long-suffering of the Jews and their fortitude in adversity. For shameful were it that Romans, soldiers of mine, men who in peace are trained for war, and in war are accustomed to conquer, should be outdone, either in strength or courage, by Jews, and that when final victory is in sight and we are enjoying the co-operation of God. For our reverses are but the outcome of the Jews' desperation, while their sufferings are increased by your valiant exploits and the constant co-operation of the Deity. For faction, famine, siege, the fall of ramparts without impact of engines—what can these things mean but that God is wroth with them and extending His aid to us? Surely, then, to allow ourselves not merely to be surpassed by inferiors but to betray a divine Ally would be beneath our dignity. It would indeed be disgraceful that Jews, to whom defeat brings no serious discredit since they have learnt to be slaves, should, in order to end their servitude, scorn death and constantly charge into our midst, not from any hope of victory, but for the sheer display of bravery; and yet that you, masters of well nigh every land and sea, to whom not to conquer is disgrace, should never once venture into the enemy's ranks, but should wait for famine and fortune to bring them down, sitting idle with weapons such as these, and that though at a little hazard you have it in your power to achieve everything. Yes, Antonia once mounted, and the city is ours; for, even if—and I do not expect it—any further battle awaits us with those within,
μάχη, τὸ γε κατὰ κορυφὴν εἶναι καὶ ταῖς ἀναπνοαῖς ἐπικαθῆσαι τῶν πολέμιων ταχέως τὴν ὁλοσχερὴ

46 νίκην ἐγγυνᾶται. καὶ ἔγνωκε τὸ μὲν ὑμνεῖν ἁρτὶ τὴν ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρειμανίοις 
πεσοῦσιν ἀθανασίαν παραλιπῶν ἑπαρασαίμην ἄν 
τοῖς ἀλλὰς ἑχούσι τὸν κατ’ εἰρήνην ἐκ νόσου 
θάνατον, οἷς μετὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τάφῳ 
κατακρίνεται. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν ἁγαθῶν 
ἀνδρῶν ὅτι τὰς μὲν ἐν παρατάξει ψυχὰς σιδήρῳ 
τῶν σαρκῶν ἀπολυθείσας τὸ καθαρώτατον στοι-
χείον αἰθήρι ἐνεοδοχῶν ἁστροῖ ἐγκαθιδρύει, δαι-
μόνες δ’ ἁγαθοὶ καὶ ἢρωες εὐμενεῖς ἰδίοις ἐγγόνοις 
ἐμφανίζονται, τὰς δ’ ἐν νοσοῦσι τοῖς σώμασι συν-
tακείσας, κἂν τὰ μάλιστα κηλίδων ἡ μιασμάτων 
ὡς καθαρά, νῦν ὑπόγειος ἀφανίζει καὶ λήθη 
βαθεία δέχεται, λαμβανούσα ἀμα τοῦ τε βίου καὶ 
τῶν σωμάτων, ἐτί δὲ τῆς μνήμης περιγραφῆν; εἰ 
δὲ κέκλωσται μὲν ἁνθρώπους ἀναγκαία τελευτὴ, 
κουφότερον δ’ εἰς αὐτὴν νόσου πάσης σίδηρος 
ὑπηρέτης, πῶς οὐκ ἁγενεῖς μὴ διδόναι ταῖς 
χρείαις τῶν χρεῶν ἀποδόωσομεν; καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς 
οὐ δυναμένων σωθῆναι τῶν ἐπιχειρησόντων διεξ-
ήλθον ἕνεστι δὲ σώζεσθαι τοῖς ἀνδριξουμένοις κακ

51 τῶν σφαλερωτάτων. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὸ κατα-
ριθὲν εὐεπίβατον, ἐπείτα πᾶν τὸ ὅικοδομηθέν 
eυδιάλυτον, ὑμεῖς τε πλείους θαρσήσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν 
πράξεων ἀλλήλους προτροπὴ καὶ βοήθεια γένεσθε, 
καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ ὑμέτερον παράστημα ταχέως 
κλάσει τὰ φρονήματα. καὶ τάχ’ ἀν ὑμῖν ἀν-
aμακτόν τὸ κατόρθωμα γένοιτο μόνον καταρξα-

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your position over their heads commanding the very air your enemies breathe would ensure a complete and speedy victory.

"I refrain on this occasion from an encomium on the warrior's death and the immortality reserved for those who fall in the frenzy of battle, but for any who think otherwise the worst I could wish is that they may die in peace of disease, soul and body alike condemned to the tomb. For what brave man knows not that souls released from the flesh by the sword on the battlefield are hospitably welcomed by that purest of elements, the ether, and placed among the stars, and that as good genii and benignant heroes they manifest their presence to their posterity; while souls which pine away in bodies wasted by disease, however pure they may be from stain or pollution, are obliterated in subterranean night and pass into profound oblivion, their life, their bodies, aye and their memory, brought simultaneously to a close? But if men are doomed to an inevitable end and the sword is a gentler minister thereof than any disease, surely it were ignoble to deny to the public service what we must surrender to fate.

"Thus far I have spoken on the assumption that any who may attempt this feat must necessarily perish. Yet the valiant may come safe through even the most hazardous of enterprises. For in the first place, the ruined wall will be easy to mount; again, all that has been built up will be easy to overthrow; do you but summon courage for the task, with growing numbers stimulating and supporting one another, and your determination will soon break the enemy's spirit. Peradventure you may find the exploit bloodless, if you but begin; for, though they will in all
μένοις· ἀναβαίνοντας μὲν γὰρ κωλύειν πειράσονται
catat to eikós, λαθόντας δὲ καὶ βιασαμένους ἀπαξ
53 οὐκ ἄν υποσταῖεν ἐτί, καὶ ὁλίγοι φθάσητε. τὸν δὲ
καταρξάμενον ἀισχυνοῦμην ἂν εἰ μή ποιήσαμι
ζηλωτον ἐν ταῖς ἐπικαρπίαις, καὶ ὁ μὲν ζῶν ἀρξεῖ
tῶν νῦν ὁμοίων, μακαριστὰ δὲ ἀκολουθήσει καὶ
toῖς πεσοῦσι τὰ ἀριστεία.'

54 (6) Τοιαύτα τοῦ Τίτου διεξόντος τὸ μὲν ἄλλο
πλήθος ἔδεισε τοῦ κωδύνου τὸ μέγεθος, τῶν δὲ ἐν
tαῖς σπείραις1 στρατευομένων Σαβίνους τοῦνομα,
γένος ἀπὸ Συρίας, ἀνήρ καὶ κατὰ χείρα καὶ κατὰ
55 ψυχὴν ἀριστοτέρος ἐφανή. κατοι προίδων ἂν τις
αὐτὸν ἀπὸ γε τῆς σωματικῆς ἐξεως οὐδ᾽ εἰκαίον
ἐναι στρατιώτην ἐδοξεί· μέλας μὲν γὰρ ἤν τὴν
χροῖαν, ἴσχυός, τὴν σάρκα πεπιλημένος, ἀλλ᾽
ἐνόκει τις ἥρωική ψυχὴ λεπτῷ σώματι καὶ πολὺ
56 τῆς ἱδίας ἀλκῆς στενοτέρω.2 πρῶτος γοῦν ἀναστάς
"ἐπιδιδωμὶ σοι, Καῖσαρ," ἔφη, "προθύμως
57 ἔμαυτόν· πρῶτος ἀναβαίνω τὸ τείχος. καὶ εὐχόμαι
μὲν μου τῇ τε ἱσχύι καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ τῆς ἡν ἄκολου-
θήσαι τýchν, εἰ δὲ νεμεσθείην τῆς ἐπίβολης, ἦσθι
μὲ μὴ3 πταίσαντα παρ᾽ ἑλπίδας, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ σοῦ
58 κρίσει τοῦ σάνατον ἦρμενον." ταῦτ᾽ εἴπων καὶ
tῇ μὲν ἀριστερὰ χειρὶ τοῦ θυρεοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς
προανατείναις,4 τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ τὸ ἔσφος σπασάμενος
ἐχώρει πρὸς τὸ τείχος περὶ ὄραν μάλιστα τῆς
59 ἡμέρας ἐκτην. εἴπυντο δ᾽ αὐτῶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
ἐνδεκα μόνοι ζηλωταί τῆς ἄνδρείας γενόμενοι·

1 + τὶς L Lat. (Zon. ut vid.).
2 Lat.: -γεναστέρω (-τέρα) MSS.
3 μὲ μὴ I.C.: μὴ μὲ the rest.
4 LVRC: ἀναστείνας the rest.
probability endeavour to thwart your ascent, yet if unperceived you once force a way through, their resistance may well break down, though but a handful of you elude them. As for him who leads the assault, I should blush were I not to make him an enviable man in the award of honours; and while the survivor shall command those who are now his equals, the blessed meed of valour shall follow the fallen to the grave."

(6) Thus harangued by Titus, the troops in general were deterred by the gravity of the danger; but among those serving in the cohorts was one named Sabinus, a native of Syria, who showed himself both in might of hand and in spirit the bravest of men. Yet anyone seeing him before that day and judging from his outward appearance would not have taken him even for a common soldier. His skin was black, his flesh shrunk and emaciated; but within that slender frame, far too strait for its native prowess, there dwelt an heroic soul. He was the first to rise. "Caesar," he said, "to you I gladly offer myself; I am the first to scale the wall. And I pray that my strength and resolution may be attended by your good fortune." Yet, should some nemesis balk me of my intent, know that my failure will not surprise me, but that for your sake I have deliberately preferred to die." Having spoken thus, with his left hand he extended his buckler over his head and with his right drew his sword and advanced towards the wall, almost exactly at the sixth hour of the day. He was followed by eleven others, who alone were found to emulate his gallantry; but the hero, im-

\[\text{\footnotesize \textit{Auxiliary troops.}}\]

\[\text{\footnotesize \textit{For Titus as the favourite of Fortune cf. v. SS.}}\]
προῆγε δὲ πολὺ πάντων ὁ ἀνὴρ ὀρμὴ τινὶ δαιμονίῳ
60 χρώμενος. οἱ φρουροὶ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους κατ-
ηκόντες τὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ βέλεσι πάντοθεν ἀπείροις
ἐβαλλοῦ καὶ πέτρας ἐξαισίους κατεκύλιον, αἱ ἕκ
61 τῶν μὲν ἐνδέκα παρέσυραν ἐνίους, ὁ δὲ Σαβῖνος
ἀπαντῶν τοῖς ἀφιμένοις καὶ καταχωνυμένοις ὑπὸ
tῶν βελῶν οὐ πρότερον ἐπέσχε τὴν ὀρμήν ἢ
gενέσθαι τε ἐπ' ἀκρῷ καὶ πρέψασθαι τοὺς πολε-
62 μίους καταπλαγέντες γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὴν τε δύναμιν
οὗ Ἰούδαιοι καὶ τὸ παράστημα τῆς ψυχῆς, ἃμα δὲ
καὶ πλείους ἀναβεβηκέναι δόξαντες ἐτράπησαν.
63 ἔνθα δὴ καταμέμψαι ἂν τις ὃς φθονερὰν ἐπὶ ταῖς
ἀρεταῖς τὴν τύχην καὶ κωλύουσαν ἀεὶ τὰ παράδοξα
64 τῶν κατορθωμάτων. ὁ γοῦν ἀνὴρ οὗτος, ὁτ'
ἐκράτησε τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, ἐσφάλμα καὶ πταίσας πρὸς
τινὶ πέτρα πρηνῆς ἐπ' αὐτὴν μετὰ μεγίστου ψόφου
κατέπεσεν. ἐπιστραφέντες δ' οἱ Ἰούδαιοι καὶ κατ-
idόντες μόνον τε αὐτὸν καὶ πεπωκότα, πάντοθεν
65 ἐβαλλοῦ. ὁ δ' ἐς γόνυ διαναστὰς καὶ προκαλυπά-
μενος τὸν θυρεόν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡμύνετο καὶ πολ-
66 λους τῶν πλησιασάντων ἔτρωσεν. αὕθις δ' ὧν πλή-
thous τραυμάτων παρῆκε τὴν δεξιὰν καὶ τέλος πρὶν
ἀποδοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν κατεχώσθη τοῖς βέλεσιν, ἀνὴρ
ἀξίους μὲν ἀμείνους χρήσατι δὲ ἀνδρείαν καὶ τύχη,
67 πεσὼν δὲ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἀναλόγως. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων
τρεῖς μὲν τοὺς ἱδ' πρὸς τοὺς ἀκροὺς ὡντας συν-
τρίψαντες ἀπέκτειναν τοῖς λίθοις, οἱ δ' ὁκτὼ τραυμα-
tίαι κατασυρέντες ἀνεκομίσθησαν εἰς τὸ στρατόπε-
δον. ταῦτα μὲν ὁπ' ὅπ' ὑπίτητι μνήμον Πανέμου ἐπράξη.
68 (7) Μετὰ δ' ἡμέρας δύο τῶν προκοιτουντῶν
τινὲς ἐπὶ τοὺς χωμασὶ φυλάκων εἰκοσὶ συνελθόντες
προσποιοῦνται μὲν τὸν πείπτου τάγματος
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pelled by some preternatural stimulus, far outstripped them all. From the ramparts the guards hurled their javelins at the party, assailed them from all quarters with showers of arrows, and rolled down enormous boulders which swept away some of the eleven; but Sabinus, facing the missiles and buried beneath the darts, yet never slackened his pace until he had gained the summit and routed the enemy. For the Jews, dumbfounded at his strength and intrepidity and, moreover, imagining that more had ascended, turned and fled. And here one cannot but censure Fortune as envious of feats of valour and ever thwarting marvellous achievements. For at the moment when this hero had attained his object, he slipped and stumbling over a rock fell headlong upon it with a tremendous crash. The Jews, turning and seeing him alone and prostrate, assailed him from all sides. Rising upon his knee and screening himself with his buckler, he for a while kept them at bay and wounded many of those who approached him; but soon under his numerous wounds his arm was paralysed, and he was at length, before giving up his life, buried under the missiles: a man whose gallantry deserved a better fortune, but whose fall was in keeping with his enterprise. Of his comrades three after gaining the summit were crushed to death by the stones: the remaining eight were drawn down wounded and conveyed to the camp. These events took place on the third of the month of Panemus. c. 22 July.

(7) Two days later, twenty of the guards on outpost duty at the earthworks came together and enlisting the services of the standard-bearer of the

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1 PA Syr.: προσκαλοῦνται the rest.
pielioiou Lat. (procedunt).

1 προβαίνοντι L, (procedunt).
2 τε L: om. the rest.
3 κατα τὰ χωματα L.
4 δια: ασσάντες L.
5 τοι L: απ’ ed. pr. (perhaps rightly).
fifth legion, two troopers from the squadrons and a trumpeter, at the ninth hour of the night advanced noiselessly over the ruins towards Antonia. The first sentinels whom they encountered they cut down in their sleep and, taking possession of the wall, ordered the trumpeter to sound. Thereupon, the other guards suddenly started to their feet and fled, before any had noted what number had ascended; for their panic and the trumpet-call led them to imagine that the enemy had mounted in force. Caesar, hearing the signal, promptly called the forces to arms, and with the generals and his body of picked men was the first to mount. The Jews had fled to the temple, into which the Romans also were penetrating through the mine excavated by John to reach their earthworks. The rebels of both factions, those of John and of Simon, drawn up in separate divisions sought to stem their advance, with a prodigious exhibition of strength and spirit; for they held that the entry of the Romans into the sanctuary meant final capture, while the latter regarded it as the prelude to victory. So the armies clashed in desperate struggle round the entrances, the Romans pressing on to take possession also of the temple, the Jews thrusting them back upon Antonia. Missiles and spears were useless to both belligerents. Drawing their swords, they closed with each other, and in the mêlée it was impossible to tell on which side either party was fighting, the men being all jumbled

a alae, auxiliary cavalry.  
b § 28.
χωρίαν διηλλαγμένων, τῆς δὲ βοῆς ἀσημάντου
76 προσπιπτούσης διὰ τὸ μέγεθος. φόνος τε ἦν
ἐκατέρωθεν πολὺς, καὶ τῶν πεσόντων τὰ τε
σώματα καὶ τὰς πανοπλίας πατοῦντες ἔθραν οἱ
77 μαχόμενοι. άεὶ δ’ ἐφ’ ὀπότερον βρίσκειν ἡμῶν ὁ
πόλεμος, παρακέλευσις μὲν ἦν τῶν πλεονεκτοῦντων,
οἵμωναί δὲ τῶν τρεπομένων. οὔτε δ’ αἱ φυγαί
τόποι εἰχον οὔθ’ αἱ διώξεις, ἀλλ’ ἀγχώμαλοι
ροπαὶ καὶ μετακλίσεις μεμυγμένης ἐγένοντο τῆς
78 παραταξέως. τοῖς δ’ ἐμπροσθεὶν γυνομένοις ἡ τοῦ
θυνήσκειν ἡ τοῦ κτείνειν1 ἀνάγκη παρῆν οὖκ οὔσης
ἀναφυγῆς. οἱ γὰρ κατὰ νότου πρόσω βιαζόμενοι
tοὺς σφετέρους παρ’ ἄμφοι οὐδὲ τῇ μάχῃ μετ-
79 αἵμιοι κατέλειπον. πλεονεκτοῦντων δὲ τῶν 'Ἰου-
δαίων τοῖς θυμοῖς τὴν 'Ῥωμαίων ἐμπερίαν καὶ
κλινομένης καθάπαν ἡδὴ τῆς παραταξέως, ἀπὸ
γὰρ ἐνάτης ὀρας τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς ἐβδόμην τῆς
80 ἡμέρας ἐπολέμουν, οἱ μὲν ἅθροοι καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀλώσεως
κύδυνον ἔχοντες ἀνδρείας ἐφόδιον, 'Ῥωμαίοι δὲ
μέρει τῆς δυνάμεως, οὔτω γὰρ ἐπαναβεβήκε τὰ
tάγματα, κάκειοις ἐπανείχον οἱ μαχόμενοι τότε,
κρατεῖν τὴς 'Ἀντωνίας ἀποχρῆν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος
εἶδόκει.
81 (8) 'Ἰουλιανὸς δὲ τις ἑκατοντάρχης τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς
Βιθυνίας, οὐκ ἁσθμὸς ὅν ἄνηρ, ὅν2 ἔγὼ κατ’
ἐκεῖνον ἱστόρησα τὸν πολέμον ὁπλών τ’ ἐμπειρία
καὶ ἀλκή σώματος καὶ ἡσυχίας παραστήματι
82 πάντων ἄριστος, ὅραν τοὺς ὅθ᾿ Ῥωμαίοις ἐνδιδοίτας
ἡδὴ καὶ κακῶς ἁμυνομένους, παρεισπήκε δὲ Τίτῳ
κατὰ τὴν 'Ἀντωνίαν, προσηηδᾶ καὶ νικῶντας ἡδὴ
tοὺς 'Ἰουδαίους τρέπεται μόνος μέχρι τῆς τοῦ
1 ἡ τοῦ κτείνειν ἡ τοῦ θυνήσκειν L Lat.

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together and intermingled in the confined area, and their shouts, owing to the terrific din, falling confusedly on the ear. There was great slaughter on either side, and the bodies and armour of the fallen were trampled down and crushed by the combatants. And always, in whichever direction rolled the veering tide of war, were heard the cheers of the victors, the wailings of the routed. Room for flight or pursuit there was none; dubious turns of the scale and shifting of position were the sole incidents in the confused contest. Those in front had either to kill or to be killed, there being no retreat; for those in rear in either army pressed their comrades forward, leaving no intervening space between the combatants. At length, Jewish fury prevailing over Roman skill, the whole line began to waver. For they had been fighting from the ninth hour of the night until the seventh of the day; the Jews in full strength, with the peril of capture as an incentive to gallantry, the Romans with but a portion of their forces, the legions upon whom the present combatants were dependent having not yet come up. It was therefore considered sufficient for the present to hold Antonia.

(8) But one Julianus, a centurion in the Bithynian contingent, a man of some mark, and distinguished above all whose acquaintance I made during that war in the science of arms, strength of body and intrepidity of soul, seeing the Romans beginning to give way and offering but a sorry resistance, sprang forward—he had been standing beside Titus on Antonia—and single-handed drove back the Jews, already victorious, to the corner of the inner temple.

² C: δὲ the rest, the Lat. and Syr. versions apparently reading ἄριστον below.
JOSEPHUS

ἐνδοτέρω ἱεροῦ γωνίας. ἔφευγε δὲ τὸ πλήθος ἄθροιν, οὔτε τὴν ἱσχυν οὔτε τὴν τόλμαν ἀνθρωπῶν
83 ὑπολαμβάνοντες. ὃ δὲ διὰ μέσων τῶν σκεδανυμένων ἄλλη διάττης ἐφόνευε τοὺς καταλαμβανομένους, καὶ τῆς ὁψεως ἐκείνης οὐδὲν οὔτε τῷ Καίσαρι θαναμασίωτερον οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις παρέστη.
84 φρικωδέστερον. ἐδιώκετο δ' ἀρα καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῆς εἰμαρμένης, ἦν ἀμήχανον διαφυγεῖν θνητὸν
85 ὁντα. τὰ γὰρ ὑποδήματα πεπαρμένα πυκνοῖς καὶ ὁξέων ἥλιος ἔχων, ὅπερ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστος, καὶ κατὰ λιθοστρώτων τρέχων ὑπολιθάνει, πεσόν ὑπίτιος μετὰ μεγίστου τῆς παν-
86 ὁπλίας ἥχου τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐπιστρέφει. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰοππίνας Ἡρωμαίων ἡρήθη βοή περὶ τὰνδρὶ δεισάντων, οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαίοι περιστάντες αὐτὸν ἄθροι τοῖς τε εὐστοίς καὶ ταῖς βομβαίαις
87 πάντοθεν ἐπαινοῦν. ὃ δὲ πολὺν μὲν τῷ θυρεῷ σίδηρον ἐξεδέχετο, πολλάκις δὲ ἀναστήναν πειράσας ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν τυπτόντων ἀντράπη, καὶ κεῖ-
88 μενος δ' ὁμος ἐνυττε τῷ ἐξείρει πολλούς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνηρέθη ταχέως, τῶ τε κράνει καὶ τῷ θώρακι πεφραγμένος πάντα τὰ καίρια πρὸς σφαγὴν καὶ τὸν αὐχένα συνέλκων· μέχρι κοπτομένων αὐτῷ τῶν ἄλλων μελών καὶ μηδένδος προσαμᾶν τολ-
89 μῶντος ἐνέδωκε. δεινὸν δὲ πάθος εἰσῆκε Καίσαρα ἀνδρὸς οὕτως ἐναρέτου καὶ ἐν ὁψει τοσοῦτων φονευμένων· καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν ὁ τόπος διέκλειε βοηθεῖν ἥλοντα, τοὺς δυναμένους δὲ κατάπληξις.
90 Ἰουλιανὸς μὲν οὖν πολλὰ δυσθανατήσας καὶ τῶν κτεινῶν ὁλίγους ἀπλήγας καταλιπὼν μόλις ἀποσφάττεται, μέγιστον οὐ παρὰ Ἡρωμαίων καὶ Καίσαρι μόνον ἄλλα καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις κλέος
400
The multitude fled in crowds before him, regarding such strength and courage as superhuman; while he, dashing this way and that through the midst of their scattering ranks, slew all whom he overtook, and no spectacle that met the eye of Caesar was more wonderful than that, nor more terrifying to his foes. Yet, after all, he too was to be dogged by Destiny, whom no mortal man may escape. For, wearing, like any other soldier, shoes thickly studded with sharp nails, while running across the pavement he slipped and fell on his back, with a loud clash of armour, which made the fugitives turn. A cry of concern for the hero went up from the Romans in Antonia, while the Jews crowding round him struck at him from all sides with spears and swords. Many a weapon he parried with his buckler, many a time he tried to rise but was thrown back by the number of his assailants, and, prostrate though he was, many a one did he stab with his sword; for, being protected in every vital part by helmet and cuirass and drawing in his neck, he was not quickly dispatched. At length, when all his other limbs were hacked and no comrade ventured to his aid, he succumbed. Caesar was deeply moved at the fall of so valiant a soldier, butchered too under the eyes of so many; and though anxious personally to assist him, he was debarred by his situation, while those who might have done so were withheld by terror. Thus Julianus, after a hard struggle with death and letting few of those who slew him go unscathed, was with difficulty slaughtered, leaving behind him the highest reputation, not only with the Romans and Caesar,

a "studded with nails": the Greek phrase is Homeric, II. i. 246, xi. 633.
91 καταληπτῶν: Ἰουδαίοι δὲ καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀρπασάμενοι πάλιν τοὺς Ρωμαίους τρέπονται καὶ κατα-
92 κλείουσιν εἰς τὴν 'Αντωνίαν. ἠγωνίσατο δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπισήμως κατὰ ταύτην τὴν μάχην 'Αλεξάς
μὲν τις καὶ Γυφθαῖος τοῦ Ἰωάννου τάγματος, ἐκ δὲ τῶν περὶ Σίμωνα Μαλαχίας τε καὶ ὁ τοῦ
Μέρτωνος Ἰούδας, καὶ Σωσά νῦν Ἰάκωβος τῶν Ἰδομιαίων ἡγεμών, τῶν δὲ ζηλωτῶν ἀδελφοὶ δύο,
παιδεῖς Ἀρί, Σίμων τε καὶ Ἰουνίς.
93 (ii. 1) Τίτος δὲ τοῖς μὲν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιώταις
catatarkpeiven proseitaex tovs themelious tis
'Antonias kai tis dynamei pashe radian tin anodov
94 eutrepieven, autous de to 'Iwshpon paraosthsas
menos: epeuspto gar ep ekeneis tis hmeras,
Panemou de h eptakaidekat, ton evdelexismou
kaloumenon androw1 aporia dialeloipenei to thew
95 kai to toimou ep tousto deinos athumeven legeven to
'Iowanthe palin ekelenvesen kai proteron, ws ei kai
tis autov erwv kakov exoi tou maxesthai, pro-
elhonti mev' osow boyletai polemeiv exeiv2 dixha
tou sunapolesthai tis te polin kai tov naon autov,
mekei menvoi maivein to agion mide eis tis theon
plhmmeliein, parieinai de autov tais epileloouias
vyias ektelein ou oin an epilexei to 'Ioudaivn.
96 kai o 'Iwshpos, ws an eiv eiv to 'Iowanthe monon
alla kai tois pollois ev ephtkow statas,3 ta te tou
97 Kaissaros diyggelleven ebrapeivn, kai polla pros-

1 Read probably αὐτῶν.
2 έξειν PAML: έξειναι; Destinon.
3 om. P; for text cf. iii. 471.

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a iv. 235.
b Perhaps = Jairus, as read by cod. C.
c The daily, morning and evening sacrifice, Heb. Tamid: 402
but even with his enemies. The Jews, after snatching up the body, again routed the Romans and shut them up in Antonia. On their side those who distinguished themselves in this engagement were, in John’s army, a certain Alexas and Gyphthaeus; in Simon’s division Malachias, Judas, son of Merton, with James, son of Sosas, commander of the Idumaeans; and of the Zealots two brothers, Simon and Judas, sons of Ari.\(^b\)

(ii. 1) Titus now ordered the troops that were with him to raze the foundations of Antonia and to prepare an easy ascent for the whole army. Then, having learnt that on that day—it was the seventeenth of Panemus—the so-called continual sacrifice\(^c\) had for lack of men\(^d\) ceased to be offered to God and that the people were in consequence terribly despondent, he put Josephus forward with instructions to repeat to John\(^e\) the same message as before, namely “that if he was obsessed by a criminal passion for battle, he was at liberty to come out with as many as he chose and fight, without involving the city and the sanctuary in his own ruin; but that he should no longer pollute the Holy Place nor sin against God; and that he had his permission to perform the interrupted sacrifices with the help of such Jews as he might select.”

Josephus, standing so that his words might reach the ears not only of John but also of the multitude, delivered Caesar’s message in Hebrew,\(^f\) with earnest

\(^a\) Or (with corrected text) “lambs.”
\(^b\) J. of Gischala.
\(^c\) J. of Gischala.
\(^d\) Or (with corrected text) “lambs.”
\(^e\) cf. Acts xxii. 40, xxii. 2.

\(^f\) i.e. Aramaic; cf. Acts xxii. 40, xxii. 2.
Τιμήθηκε φείσασθαι τῆς πατρίδος καὶ διασκεδάσαι τοῦ ἱαοῦ γενόμενον ἦδη τὸ πῦρ, τοὺς τ’ ἐναγι-98 σμοὺς ἀποδοῦναι τῷ θεῷ. πρὸς ταῦτα τοῦ δῆμου μὲν ἦν κατήφεια καὶ σιγή, πολλὰ δ’ ὁ τύραννος λοιποριθείς τε τῷ 'Ἰωσήφῳ καὶ καταρασάμενος τῷ τελευταίῳ προσέθηκεν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ δείσειν 99 ἄλωσιν θεοῦ γὰρ ὑπάρχειν τὴν πόλιν. καὶ ὁ 'Ἰωσήφος πρὸς ταῦτ’, ἀνέκραγεν "πάνυ γοῦν καθαρὰν τῷ θεῷ τετήρηκας αὐτήν, ἀμίαντον δὲ μένει τὸ ἄγιον, εἰς ὅν τ’ ἐλπίζεις σύμμαχον οὐδὲν ἠσέβησας, τὰς δ’ ἐθίμους θυσίας ἀπολαμβάνει. 100 κἂν μὲν σοῦ τις ἀφέλη τὴν καθ’ ἡμέραν τροφὴν, ἀσέβεστατε, τούτον ἤγησαι πολέμιον, αὐτὸν δ’ ὅν τῆς αἰωνίου θρησκείας ἐστέρησας θεὸν ἐλπίζεις 101 σύμμαχον ἔχειν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ; καὶ Ὁρμαίων τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἀνατίθης, οὐ μέχρι νῦν κηδονται τῶν ἡμετέρων νόμων καὶ τὰς υπὸ σοῦ διακοπεῖσας 102 θυσίας ἀποδίδοσθαί τῷ θεῷ βιάζονται; τις οὐκ ᾤν στενάξειε καὶ κατολοφύραιτο τῆς παραδόξου μετα-βολῆς τὴν πόλιν, εἰ γε ἀλλόφυλοι μὲν καὶ πολέμιοι τῆς σῆς ἀσέβειαν ἐπανορθοῦνται, σὺ δ’ ὁ Ἰουδαίως, ὁ τοῖς νόμοις ἐντραφεῖς, κάκεινων πρὸς αὐτοὺς 103 γύνῃ χαλεπώτερος; ἄλλᾳ τοι, Ἰωάννῃ, καὶ μετα-νοῆσαι μὲν ἐκ κακῶν οὐκ αἰσχρῶν ἐν ἐσχάτοις καὶ καλῶν ὑπόδειγμα βουλομένων σωζεῖν τὴν πατρίδα 104 σοι πρόκειται βασιλεὺς Ἰουδαίων Ἰεχωνίας, ὃς ποτὲ στρατεύσατι τῷ Βαβυλώνῳ δι’ αὐτὸν ἐκὼν ἐξέστη πρὸν ἄλων τῆς πόλεως καὶ μετὰ γενεάς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπέμεινεν ἐθελοῦσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παραδοῦναι ταῦτα πολεμίως τὰ ἁγία καὶ τὸν οἶκον

1 ἡγίσει C Lat.: ἡγίσῃ VR.
appeals to them "to spare their country, to disperse the flames that were already licking the sanctuary and to restore to God the expiatory sacrifices." His words were received by the people in dejection and silence; but the tyrant, after many invectives and imprecations upon Josephus, ended by saying that he "could never fear capture, since the city was God's."

At this Josephus cried aloud: "Pure indeed have you kept it for God! The Holy Place too remains undefiled! Your looked-for Ally has suffered no impiety from you and still receives His customary sacrifices! Most impious wretch, should anyone deprive you of your daily food, you would consider him an enemy: and do you hope to have God, whom you have bereft of His everlasting worship, for your Ally in this war? And do you impute your sins to the Romans, who, to this day, are concerned for our laws and are trying to force you to restore to God those sacrifices which you have interrupted? Who would not bewail and lament for the city at this amazing inversion, when aliens and enemies rectify your impiety, while you, a Jew, nurtured in her laws, treat them more harshly even than your foes?

"Yet, be sure, John, it is no disgrace to repent of misdeeds, even at the last; and, if you desire to save your country, you have a noble example set before you in Jeconiah, king of the Jews. He, when of old his conduct had brought the Babylonian's army upon him, of his own free will left the city before it was taken, and with his family endured voluntary captivity, rather than deliver up these holy places

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a Cf. i. 32 note.  
b John.
JOSEPHUS

105 οὕς θεοῦ περιπετείων φλεγόμενοι, διὰ τούτῳ λόγος
τε αυτῶν πρὸς ἀπάντων Ἰουδαίων ἱερὸς ὤμνεί1 καὶ
μνήμη ρέουσα δι’ αἰώνος ἀεί νέα τοῖς ἐπιγνωμένοις
106 παραδίδοσιν ἄθανατον. καλὸν, δ’ Ἰωάννης, ὑπό-
δειγμα, κἂν προσῇ καύδων: ἐγὼ δέ σοι καὶ τῇ
107 ἀπὸ 'Ρωμαίων συγγνώμην ἐγγυώμαι. μέμνησο δ’
ὡς ὁμόφυλος ὃν παρανῦ καὶ Ἰουδαῖος ὃν ἐπ-
αγγέλλομαι, καὶ χρῆ σκοπεῖν τῖς ὁ συμβουλευόντω καὶ
πόθεν. μὴ γὰρ ἐγγυεῖ ποτὲ γενοίμην ζῶν οὕτως
αἰχμάλωτος, ἵνα παύσωμαι2 τοῦ γένους ἢ τῶν
108 πατρίων ἐπιλάθωμαι. πάλιν ἁγανακτεῖς καὶ κέκρα
gάς μοι λουδορούμενος, ἀξίως γε καὶ χαλεπώτερον,
ὅς ἀντικρῷς εἰμαρμένης τι παραινῶ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ
109 τοῦ θεοῦ βιάζομαι κατακρίτους σῶζειν. τίς οὐκ
οἶδεν τὰς τῶν παλαιῶν προφητῶν ἀναγραφὰς καὶ
τὸν ἐπιρρέοντα τῇ πλήμον πόλει χρησιμον ἦδη
ἐνεστῶτα; τότε γὰρ ἄλωσιν αὐτῆς προείπον,
110 ὅταν ὁμοφύλου τοὺς ἄρεῖς φόνου. τῶν υμετέρων
dὲ πτωμάτων οὐχ ἢ πόλις καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν δὲ πᾶν
πεπλήρωται; θεὸς ἀρα, θεὸς αὐτῶς ἐπάγει μετα
'Ρωμαίων καθάρσιον3 αὐτῷ πῦρ καὶ τὴν τοσοῦτω
μιασμάτων γέμουσαν πόλιν ἀναρπαξεῖ.

111 (2) Τάντα λέγων ὁ Ἰωάνης μετ’ ὀδυρμοῦ καὶ

1 ἀνυμεῖ L.
2 om. Lat.; possibly corrupt.
3 C, cf. Lat. lustrationis: καθαρσιν the rest.

a Amplification of the narrative in 2 Kings xxiv. 12, “And
Jehoiachin the king of Judah went out to the king of Babylon,
he and his mother and his servants and his princes and his
Ant. x. 100.

ὅξει καὶ Σολύμουσι κάκη πολέμου θυέλλα | Ἰταλόθεν, ἢνὸν δὲ θεοῦ
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to the enemy and see the house of God in flames.\(^a\)

Therefore is he celebrated in sacred story by all Jews, and memory, in a stream that runs down the ages ever fresh, passes him on to posterity immortal. A noble example, John, even were it dangerous to follow; but I can warrant you even pardon from the Romans. Remember, too, that I who exhort you are your countryman, that I who make this promise am a Jew; and it is right that you should consider who is your counsellor and whence he comes. For never may I live to become so abject a captive as to abjure my race or to forget the traditions of my forefathers!

"Once again are you indignant and shout your abuse at me; and indeed I deserve even harsher treatment for offering advice in fate’s despite and for struggling to save those whom God has condemned. Who knows not the records of the ancient prophets and that oracle which threatens this poor city and is even now coming true? For they foretold that it would then be taken whensoever one should begin to slaughter his own countrymen.\(^b\) And is not the city, aye and the whole temple, filled with your corpses? God it is then, God Himself, who with the Romans is bringing the fire to purge His temple and exterminating a city so laden with pollutions."

(2) At these words, spoken with lamentation and

\[\text{μέγαν ἐξαλαπάξει. | ἡρίκα δ’ ἀφροσίνηας πέποιθότες εὔσεβίην τε | ἰψονών στυγεροῦς τε τελοῦσι φόνοις περὶ νηῦν, | καὶ τότ’ ἀπ’ Ἰταλίας . . . (an allusion follows to Nero’s flight and the Roman civil war). . . . | ἐκ Συρίας δ’ ἡζεὶ Ἐρώμης πρʼ ἱμος, δε πυρὶ νηῦν | συμφλέξας Σολήμων κτλ. The fourth book of Sibylline Oracles dates from c. A.D. 80, and is therefore almost contemporary with the Jewish War of Josephus.}
112 δακρύων λυγμώ τὴν φωνήν ἐνεκόπη. καὶ Ἑρωμαίοι μὲν ἄκτειράν τε τοῦ πάθους καὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτοῦ ἑθαύμασαν, οἳ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην παρωξύνοντο μάλλον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑρωμαίους ἐπιθυμοῦντες

113 ἐγκρατείς γενέσθαι κακέινου. τῶν γε μὴν εὐγενῶν πολλοὺς ἐκίνησεν ὁ λόγος, καὶ τινὲς μὲν ὄρρωδοντες τὰς φυλακὰς τῶν στασιαστῶν κατὰ χώραν ἔμενον, ἀπώλειαν μέντοι σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πόλεως κατεγνώκεσαν, εἰσὶ δ’ οἳ καιροφυλάκησαν ἀδειαν ἀναχωρήσεως πρὸς τοὺς Ἑρωμαίους κατέφυγον. ἢν ἦσαν ἀρχιερεῖς μὲν Ἰῶσηπόσ τε καὶ Ἰησοῦς, νῦν δ’ ἀρχιερέως τρεῖς μὲν Ἰσμαήλου τοῦ καρατομηθέντος ἐν Κυρήνῃ, καὶ τέσσαρες Μαθιόν καὶ εἰς ἔτερον Μαθιόν, διαδρας μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπώλειαν, ὄν τοῦ Γίωρα Σίμων ἀπέκτεινεν σὺν τρισὶν νύόις, ὡς προείρηται. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν [ἄλλων]1 εὐγενῶν τοῖς ἀρχιερεύσι συμμετεβάλοντο. Καίσαρ δ’ αὐτοὺς τὰ τὰ ἀλλὰ φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο καὶ γινώσκως ἁλλοφύλοις ἠθεσιν ἀπὸ τὴν διατρῆθην ἐξειν ἀπέπεμψεν αὐτοὺς εἰς Γόφναν, τέως ἐκεῖ παρανών μὲνεν. ἀποδώσεις γὰρ ἐκάστῳ τὰς κτήσεις κατὰ σχολὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου γενόμενος. οἳ μὲν οὖν εἰς τὸ δοθὲν πολίκνιον μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας ἀνεχώρουν ἀσμενοὶ μὴ φαινομένων δ’ αὐτῶν διεφήμισαν οἱ στασιασταὶ πάλιν ὡς ἀποσφαγεῖεν ὑπὸ Ἑρωμαίων οἱ αὐτόμολοι, δηλοῦντι τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποτρέποντες τῶν φοβῶν

1 om. C Lat.

a Possibly Ishmael, son of Phabi, whose tenure of the high-priesthood and detention in Rome by Nero as a hostage are mentioned elsewhere, A. xviii. 34, xx. 179, 194 f.

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tears, Josephus's voice broke down with sobs. Even the Romans pitied him in his emotion and admired his resolution; but John and his followers were only the more exasperated against the Romans, being eager to get Josephus also into their power. Many, however, of the upper class were moved by the speech. Some of these, indeed, intimidated by the rebels' guards, remained where they were, though convinced that they themselves and the city were both doomed to destruction; but there were others who, watching their opportunity for escaping in safety, made off to the Romans. Among these were the chief priests Joseph and Jesus, and certain sons of chief priests: namely three sons of Ishmael, who was beheaded in Cyrene, four of Matthias, and one son of another Matthias; the last had escaped after the death of his father, who was slain with three of his sons by Simon, son of Gioras, as related above. Many others also of the aristocracy went over with the chief priests. Caesar both received them with all other courtesy, and, recognizing that they would find life distasteful amidst foreign customs, dispatched them to Gophna, advising them to remain there for the present, and promising to restore every man's property, so soon as he had leisure after the war. They accordingly retired, gladly and in perfect security, to the small town assigned; but when nothing more was seen of them, the rebels again circulated a report that the deserters had been slaughtered by the Romans, with the evident intention of deterring

b Matthias, son of Boethus.

c v. 527-531.

d Jufna, some 12 miles due N. of Jerusalem.

e Cf. v. 453 ff.
117 διαδιδράσκειν. ἦνυστο δ’ ὡς καὶ πρότερον αὐτοῖς τὸ πανούργημα1 πρὸς καίρον· ἐπεσχέθησαν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεός αὐτομολεῖν.

118 (3) Ἀδθὶς δ’ ὡς ἀνακαλέσας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τῆς Γόφνα Τίτος ἐκέλευσε μετὰ τοῦ Ἰωσῆπου περιελθόντας τὸ τεῖχος ὅφθημι τῷ δήμῳ, πλείστοι πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐφευγον. γινόμενοι δ’ ἀθρόοι καὶ πρὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἵσταμενοι μετ’ οἰμωγῆς καὶ δακρύων ἱκέτευον τοὺς στασιαστὰς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλῃ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους δέξασθαι τῇ πόλει καὶ τὴν πατρίδα σώσαι [πάλιν], 3 εἰ δὲ μή, τοῦ γε ἐρεῦ πάντως ὑπεξελθεῖν καὶ ῥύσασθαι τὸν ναὸν αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τολμῆσαι Ῥωμαίους μὴ μετὰ μεγάστης ἀνάγκης καταφλέξαι τὰ ἁγία.

121 τούτοις μᾶλλον ἀντεφιλονεῖκοι, καὶ πολλὰ βλάσφημα τοῖς αὐτομόλοις ἀντικεκραγότες ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν πυλῶν τοὺς τε ὄξυνελεῖς καὶ καταπέλτας καὶ λιθοβόλους μηχανάς διέστησαν, ὡς τὸ κύκλῳ μὲν ἱερῶν ἀπὸ πλῆθους νεκρῶν προσεοικέναι πολυανδρίω, τὸν δὲ ναὸν αὐτὸν φρουρίω. τοῖς δ’ ἀγίοις καὶ ἀβάτοις μετὰ τῶν ὀπλών εἰσεπήδων θερμὸς ἐτὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐξ ὀμοφύλων ἔχοντες φόνων, καὶ προὐκοψαν εἰς ποσοῦτον παρανομίας, ὡσθ’ ἦν ἂν εἰκὸς ἀγανάκτησιν γενέσθαι Ἰουδαίων, εἰ Ῥωμαίοι ταῦτ’ ἐξυβρίζοιεν’ εἰς αὐτούς, ταῦτην εἶναι παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τότε πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ἁσέ- βοῦντας εἰς τὰ ἱδία. τῶν μὲν γε στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ἔστων ὀστὶς οὐ μετὰ φρύκης εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀφεώρα

1 LC (cf. vi. 230, 321): πανούργημα the rest.

2 γενόμενοι P.

3 om. Lat., probably rightly: πάλιν was perhaps written as a gloss on πατρίδα and then corrected to πάλιν.

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the rest from attempting to escape. The ruse, as before, was successful for a while, terror checking desertsions.

(3) Subsequently, however, Titus recalled these men from Gophna and ordered them to go round the ramparts with Josephus and let the people see them; whereupon great numbers fled to the Romans. Grouped together and standing before the Roman lines, the refugees, with lamentation and tears, implored the rebels, as their best course, to admit the Romans freely to the city and to save the fatherland; or, failing that, at all events to withdraw from the temple and to preserve the sacred edifice for them, since the Romans would never venture, except under the direst necessity, to set fire to the holy places. These appeals only excited fiercer opposition, and retorting by heaping abuse upon the deserters, they ranged their quick-firers, catapults, and ballistae above the holy gates, so that the surrounding temple-court from the multitude of dead resembled a common burial-ground and the temple itself a fortress. Into those hallowed and inviolable precincts they rushed in arms, their hands yet hot with the blood of their countrymen; and to such lengths of crime did they proceed, that the indignation which the Jews might naturally have displayed had the Romans inflicted such wanton outrages upon them, was now manifested by the Romans against the Jews, for profaning their own sacred places. Of the soldiers, indeed, there was not one who did not regard the temple with awe and reverence and pray that the

\[\text{\textit{a Cf. v. 453 f.}}\]

\[\text{\textit{b Or "scorpions."}}\]
JOSEPHUS

καὶ προσεκύνει τοὺς τε ληστὰς ηὗχετο πρὶν ἀν-
ηκέστον πάθους μετανοήσαι.

124 (4) Τίτος δὲ ύπερπαθήσας πάλιν ἐξωνείδίζε τοὺς
περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην, λέγων ἃρ' οὐχ ὑμεῖς, ὦ
μιαρότατοι, τὸν δρῦφακτον τοῦτον προβάλεσθε
125 τῶν ἁγίων; οὐχ ὑμεῖς δὲ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ στῆλας
διεστήσατε, γράμμασιν Ἐλληνικοῖς καὶ ἴμμετροις
κεχαραγμένας, ἡ μηδένα τὸ γείσιον ύπερβαίνειν;
126 παραγγέλλειν; οὖν ὑμεῖς δὲ τοὺς ύπερβάντας ὑμῖν
ἀναρεῖν ἐπετρέψαμεν, καὶ Ἄρωμαῖος τις ἦ; τὶ ὁ 

νῦν, ἀληθηριοι, καὶ νεκροὺς ἐν αὐτῷ καταπατεῖτε;
τὶ δὲ τὸν ναὸν ἀίματι ξένω καὶ ἐγχωρίῳ φύρετε;
127 μαρτύρομαι θεοὺς ἐγὼ πατρίως καὶ εἰ τις ἐφεώρα 
ποτὲ τόνδε τὸν χώρον, νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὦμοι, 
μαρτύρομαι δὲ καὶ στρατιῶν τῆς ἐμῆ καὶ τοὺς 

παρ᾽ ἐμοὶ Ἰουδαίους καὶ ύμᾶς αὐτούς, ὦς οὐκ ἐγὼ 
128 ταῦθ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἀναγκάζω μιαίνειν. καὶ ἀλλάξητε τῆς 

παρατάξεως τῶν τόπων, οὔτε προσελεύσεται τις 
'Ἄρωμαῖων τοῖς ἁγίοις οὕτ᾽ ἐνυβρίσει, τηρήσω δὲ 
τὸν ναὸν ὑμῖν καὶ μὴ θέλουσίν.

129 (5) Ταῦτα τοῦ Ἰωσήφου διαγγέλλοντο ἐκ τοῦ 
Καίσαρος, οὗ λησταὶ καὶ ὁ τύραννος οὐκ ἂν 

ἐννοῶς ἄλλα κατὰ δειλίαν γίνεσθαι τὰς παρα-
130 κλήσεις δοκοῦντες ύπερφανοῦν. Τίτος δὲ ὡς οὔτε 

οἴκτον ἑαυτῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας οὔτε φειδὼ τοῦ ναιοῦ 

ποιομένους ἐώρα, πάλιν πρὸς πόλεμον ἄκων 
131 ἐχώρει. πᾶσαν μὲν οὖν τὴν δύναμιν ἐπάγειν αὐτοῖς

οὐχ οἰόν τε ἡν μὴ χωρομενὴν τῷ τόπῳ, τριάκοντα
δ' ἐπιλέξας ἀφ' ἐκάστης ἐκατονταρχίας τοὺς

1 + a MV² (as MV¹RC).
2 + ἀλλογενὴ Destinon (cf. v. 194).
3 παραγγέλλει MVRC.
brigands might relent ere it met with irretrievable calamity.

(4) Titus, yet more deeply distressed, again unbraided John and his friends. "Was it not you," he said, "most abominable wretches, who placed this balustrade a before your sanctuary? Was it not you that ranged along it those slabs, engraved in Greek characters and in our own, proclaiming that none may pass the barrier? And did we not permit you to put to death any who passed it, even were he a Roman? Why then, you miscreants, do you now actually trample corpses underfoot within it? Why do you defile your temple with the blood of foreigner and native? I call the gods of my fathers to witness and any deity that once watched over this place—for now I believe that there is none—I call my army, the Jews within my lines, and you yourselves to witness that it is not I who force you to pollute these precincts. Exchange the arena of conflict for another and not a Roman shall approach or insult your holy places; nay, I will preserve the temple for you, even against your will."

(5) This message from Caesar being transmitted through Josephus, the brigands and their tyrant, attributing his exhortations rather to cowardice than goodwill, treated them with contempt. Titus, thereupon, seeing that these men had neither compassion for themselves nor regard for the temple, once more reluctantly resumed hostilities. It was impossible to bring up his whole force against them owing to the confined nature of the ground; he therefore selected thirty of the best men from each century,

a v. 193 f.  

4 L: om. the rest.  

b John of Gischala.  

5 ἄρεω τινά LVRC.
JOSEPHUS

ἀρίστους καὶ τοῖς χιλιάρχους ἀνὰ χιλίους παραδοῦσι, τούτων δὲ ἐπιτάξας ἦγεμόνα Κερεάλιον, ἐπιθέσατο προσέταξε ταῖς φυλακαῖς περὶ ὃρων τῆς νυκτὸς 132 ἐνάτην. ὅντα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ συγκαταβαίνειν παρεσκευασμένον οἱ τε φίλοι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ κινδύνου κατέσχον καὶ τὰ παρὰ 133 τῶν ἦγεμόνων λεγόμενα: πλείον γαρ αὐτὸν ἀνύσειν ἐφασαν ἐπὶ τῆς ᾿Αντωνίας καθεξὸμενον καὶ τὴν μάχην ἀγωνιστοῦντα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἦ εἰ κατα- βὰς προκινδυνεύοις πάντας γὰρ ὀρῶντος Καῖσαρος 134 ἀγαθοὺς πολεμιστὰς ἔσεσθαι. τούτοις πεισθεὶς Καῖσαρ καὶ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τοῖς στρατιώταῖς ύπο- μένειν εἰπὼν, ὡς κρίνῃ τὰς ἀρετὰς αὐτῶν καὶ μῆτε τῶν ἀγαθῶν τις ἀγέραστος μήτε τῶν ἐναντίων ἀτμιμώρητος διαλάβῃ, γένηται δὲ αὐτόπτης καὶ μάρτυς ἀπάντων ὅ καὶ τοῦ κολάζειν καὶ τοῦ 135 τιμᾶν κύριος, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐσπεμπε καθ’ ἥν ὦραν προείρηται, προελθὼν δ’ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ εὐκάτοπτον ἀπὸ τῆς ᾿Αντωνίας ἐκαραδόκει τὸ μέλλον.

136 (6) Οὐ μὴν οἱ γε πεμφθέντες τοὺς φυλακας εὑρον κομωμένους, ὡς ἠλπίσαν, ἄλλ’ ἀναπηδήσασι μετὰ κραυγῆς εὐθέως συνεπλέκοντο· πρὸς δὲ τὴν βοὴν τῶν ἐκκοιτοῦντων ἔιδοθεν οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ στίφος 137 ἐξέθεον. τῶν μὲν δὴ πρῶτων τὰς ὀρμᾶς ἐξ- εἰδέχοντο ῾Ρωμαίους περιἐπιπτον δ’ οἱ μετ’ ἐκεῖνους τῶν σφετέρω τάγματι, καὶ πολλοὶ τοῖς οἰκεῖοι ὡς 138 πολεμίους ἐχρώντο. τὴν μὲν γὰρ διὰ βοής ἐπί- γνωσιν ἡ κραυγὴ συγχυθείσα παρ’ ἀμφοῖν, τὴν δὲ δι”

*Sextus Cerealis Vettulenus, commander of Legion V, iii. 310, etc.

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entrusted every thousand to a tribune, and appointing Cerealius a commander-in-chief gave orders to attack the guards about the ninth hour of the night. He was himself in arms and prepared to descend with them, but was restrained b by his friends on account of the gravity of the risk and the observations of the officers, who remarked that he would achieve more by sitting still in Antonia as director of the contest of his troops than by going down and exposing himself in the forefront; for under the eyes of Caesar all would play the man. To this persuasion Caesar yielded, telling his men that his sole reason for remaining behind was that he might judge of their gallantry, so that none of the brave might go unnoticed and unrewarded nor any of an opposite character escape the penalty, but that he, who had power both to punish and to reward, might be a spectator and witness of all. At the hour mentioned he dispatched them upon their enterprise, while he himself advanced to a spot from which he could see all below, and from Antonia anxiously awaited the issue.

(6) The force thus dispatched did not, however, find the guards asleep, as they had hoped, but, the latter springing up with a shout, they were instantly involved in a close struggle; and at the cry of the sentries their comrades dashed out in a dense body from within. The Romans met the charge of the front ranks; while those behind fell foul of their own party, and many treated their friends as foes. For recognition by the voice was rendered impossible for any by the confused din on either

a Cf. 2 Sam. xviii. 2 ff. (David restrained from going forth to war against Absalom).
омуатов ἡ νῦς ἐκαστὸν ἀφείλετο, καὶ τυφλώττειν ἀλλὰς οὖς μὲν οἱ θυμοὶ παρεσκεύαζον οὖς δὲ οἱ φῶνοι διὰ τούτο τὸν προστυχόντα πλῆττεν ἦν ἀκρίτον. ἩΡωμαῖος μὲν οὖν συνησιποτάς καὶ κατὰ συντάξεις προπηδῶντας ἤττον ἐβλαπτεν ἡ ἄγνωστος καὶ γὰρ ἦν παρ’ ἐκάστῳ μνήμη τοῦ συνήθματος. Ὡστάδαϊοι δ’ ἀεὶ σκεδανύμενοι καὶ τάς τε προσβολὰς καὶ τάς ὑποχωρήσεις ἀνέδην ποι·

139

ουμένοι πολλάκις φαντασίαν παρείχον ἀλλήλοις πολεμίων τὸν ὑποστρέφοντα γὰρ ἐκαστὸς οἰκεῖον διὰ σκότους ὡς ἐπινότα ἩΡωμαῖοι ἐξεδέχετο. 140

πλείους γοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν ἴδιων ἡ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπρώθησαν, ἐως ἡμέρας γενομένης ὥσπερ τὸ λοιπὸν ἡ μάχη διεκρίνετο, καὶ κατὰ φάλαγγα διαστάντες τοῖς τε βέλεσιν εὐτάκτοις ἔχρωντο καὶ τοῖς ἀμύνας.

141 οὐδέτεροι δὲ οὔτε εἰκόνος οὔτε ἐκοπίων, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐφορώντος Καίσαρος σταδίαν καθ’ ἄνδρα καὶ κατὰ συντάξεις ἡμίερον ἀλλήλοις, καὶ προκοπῆς ἐκαστὸς ἐκείνην αὐτῷ τὴν ἡμέραν ἄρξειν ὑπελάμβανεν, εἰ

142 γενναίως ἄγνωσίσαιτο. Ὡστάδαϊοι δ’ ἐβράβευε τὰς τόλμας ὦ τε περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ φόβος καὶ ὁ τύραννος ἐφεστῶς καὶ τοὺς μὲν παρακαλῶν,

143 τοὺς δὲ μαστιγῶν καὶ διεγείρων ἀπειλῶν. συν·

έβανε δὲ τὸ μὲν πλείστων σταδίαν εἶναι τὴν μάχην, ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ καὶ ταχέως ἀντιστρέφεσθαι τὰς ῥοπᾶς·

144 οὐδέτεροι γὰρ οὔτε φυγῆς οὔτε διώξεως μήκος

145 εἰχον. ἀεὶ δὲ πρὸς τὸ συμβαίνον οἰκεῖος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας ὁ θόρυβος ἦν, ἀρρεῦν δὲ καὶ κρατοῦσι

1 P Lat. (imperatoris): Titus the rest. 2 σταδίαν mss. 3 C: om. L: οἰκεῖοι (τοῖς οἰκεῖοις M) the rest.

* Or "was separated (or 'decided') by the eye."
side, as was ocular recognition by the darkness of the night; moreover, some were so blinded by passion and others by fear as to strike indiscriminately all who fell in their way. The Romans, who interlocked their shields and charged by companies, suffered less from such ignorance; each man, too, recollected the watchword. But the Jews, constantly scattering and alike attacking and retreating at random, were frequently taken by each other for enemies: each man in the darkness receiving a returning comrade as if he were an advancing Roman. Indeed more were wounded by their own friends than by the foe, until, with the dawn of day, the battle thenceforward was discernible to the eye and, parting into their respective lines, they could employ their missiles and maintain their defence in good order. Nor did either side give way or relax their efforts. The Romans, as under the eye of Caesar, vied man with man and company with company, each believing that that day would lead to his promotion, if he but fought with gallantry. The Jews had as arbiter of their own daring deeds their fear for themselves and for the temple and the looming presence of the tyrant, encouraging some, rousing others by the lash and by menaces into action. The contest was perforce for the most part stationary, the manoeuvres to and fro being limited to a narrow space and quickly over; for neither side had room for flight or pursuit. And at every incident of the fight an appropriate roar went up from Antonia: were their comrades gaining they

b John of Gischala.

c The mss. read "was perforce confined at most within a furlong."
τοῖς σφητέροις ἐπεβόων καὶ μένειν τρεπομένοις.

146 ἦν δ' ὡσπερ τι πολέμου θέατρον· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτε 
Τίτον οὕτε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἔλανθαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν 
147 μάχην. τὸ δὲ πέρας, ἀρξάμενοι τῆς νυκτὸς ἐνάτης 
ώρας περὶ 1 πέμπτην τῆς ἡμέρας διελύθησαν, ἀφ' 
οὕτε πρὸς τὸ πόλου τῆς συμβολῆς μηδέτεροι 
βεβαιῶς κλίναντες τοὺς ἑτέρους, ἀλλὰ τὴν νύκτην 
148 μέσην ἐν ἀγχωμάλῳ 2 καταλιπόντες. καὶ Ῥωμαίων 
μὲν ἐπισήμως ἠγωνίσαντο πολλοὶ, Ἰουδαῖων δ' ἐκ 
μὲν τῶν περὶ Σίμωνα Ἰουνίς ὁ τοῦ Μαρεώτου καὶ 
Σίμων ὁ τοῦ Ὅσατα, τῶν δὲ Ἰδουμαίων Ἰάκωβος 
καὶ Σίμων, Ἀκατελᾶ 3 μὲν οὕτως παῖς, Σωσᾶ δὲ 
ὁ Ἰάκωβος, τῶν δὲ μετὰ Ἰωάννου Γεφθαίδος καὶ 
Ἀλεξᾶς, τῶν δὲ ξηλωτῶν Σίμων υἱὸς Ἁρι. 

149 (7) ἐν τούτῳ δ' ἡ λοιπὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δύναμις 
ἡμέρας ἐπτά καταστρεφαμένη τοὺς τῆς Ἀντωνίας 
θεμελίως μέχρι τοῦ ἱεροῦ πλατείαν ἀνοδοῦ 4 εὐ-
150 τρεπίσαντο. πλησιάσαντα δὲ τῷ πρῶτῳ περιβόλῳ 
τα τάγματα κατήρχετο χωμάτων, τὸ μὲν ἀντικρὺ 
τῆς τοῦ εἰσὶν ἱεροῦ γωνίας, ἥτις ἦν κατ' ἀρκτον 
καὶ δύσιν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὴν βόρειον ἔξεδραν, ἡ 
151 μεταξὺ τῶν δύο πυλῶν ἦν τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν δύο 
θάτερον μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέριον στοὰν τοῦ ἐξωθεῖ 
ἱεροῦ, τὸ δ' ἐστερον [ἐξω] 5 κατὰ τὴν βόρειον. πρού-
κοπτεν μὲν τοῖς πολλοὶ καμάτου καὶ ταλαιπω-
ρίᾳ αὐτοῖς τὰ ἔργα [καὶ] 6 τὴν ὕλην ἀφ' ἐκατὸν 
152 σταδίων συγκομίζουσιν, ἐκακοῦντο δ' ἐσθ' ὁπῃ καὶ 
κατ' ἐπιβουλὰς, αὐτοῖ διὰ περιουσίαν τοῦ κρατεῖν

1 Nieze: ἔπερ mss. 
2 P: + τῇ παρατάξει the rest. 
3 PA: Νανατέλα MVR: Καθαῖα L: Καθᾶ C; cf. v. 249. 
4 ὀδὸν PM Lat. Heg.; for text cf. vi. 93. 
5 om. Lat. 
6 om. C Lat.
shouted to them to be of good cheer, were they falling back, to stand fast. It was like a battle on the stage, for nothing throughout the engagement escaped the eyes of Titus or of those around him. At length, after an action which opened at the ninth hour of the night, they broke off about the fifth hour of the day, neither side having seriously repelled their adversaries from the very spot on which the conflict began, and victory remaining undecided in this drawn battle. Of the Romans many distinguished themselves; the Jewish heroes were, of the party of Simon, Judes son of Mareotes, and Simon son of Hosaias; of the Idumaeans, James and Simon, the latter the son of Acatelas, the former of Sosas; of John's contingent, Gephthaeus and Alexas; of the Zealots, Simon son of Ari.

(7) Meanwhile the rest of the Roman army, having in seven days overthrown the foundations of Antonia, had prepared a broad ascent to the temple. The legions now approaching the first wall began to raise embankments: one facing the north-west angle of the inner temple, a second over against the northern hall which stood between the two gates, and two more, one opposite the western portico of the outer court of the temple, the other outside opposite the northern portico. The works, however, did not advance without causing the troops great fatigue and hardship, the timber being conveyed from a distance of a hundred furlongs; they also suffered occasionally from stratagems, being themselves owing to their overwhelming superiority less on their

\[a\] The name elsewhere appears as Caathas or Cathlas, iv. 271, v. 249.

\[b\] Perhaps "further out."

\[c\] Cf. § 5.
JOSEPHUS

όντες ἀδεέστεροι καὶ δι’ ἀπόγνωσιν ἑδὴ σωτηρίας
153 χρώμενοι τολμηροτέροι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. τῶν γὰρ ἵππεων τινὲς ὅποτε προέλθοιεν ἐπὶ ἐξυλείαν ἡ χώρτον συλλογὴν, τὸν τῆς συγκομιδῆς χρόνον ἀνέσαν βόσκεσθαι τοὺς ἱπποὺς ἀποχαλνοῦντες, οὓς οἱ Ἰουδαίοι κατὰ στίφος ἐκπηδώντες ἠρπαζον. καὶ τούτου συνεχῶς γινομένου νομίσας Καίσαρ, ὅπερ ἦν, ἀμέλεια τῶν σφετέρων πλέον ἡ τῇ Ἰου-
154 δαίων ἀνδρεία γίνεσθαι τὰς ἁρταγάς, ἐγνω σκυ-
θρωπότερον τοὺς λοιποὺς πρὸς φυλακὴν τῶν ἵππων ἐπιστρέψας. καὶ κελεύσας ἀπαρχην τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τῶν ἀπολεσάντων στρατιωτῶν ἔνα, φόβῳ τῶς ἄλλους ἐτήρησε τοὺς ἱπποὺς· οὐκέτι γὰρ εἰων νέμεσθαι, καθάπερ δὲ συμπεφυκότες αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς χρείας ἐξήσαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν προσεπολέμουν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ τὰ χώματα διηγειροῦν. 3
155
156
157 (8) Μετὰ δὲ μίαν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν τῆς ἀνόδου πολλοὶ τῶν στασιαστῶν, οὓς ἄρπαγαί τε ἐπέλειπον ἡδὴ καὶ ὁ λιμὸς ἤπειρε, συνελθόντες ταῖς κατὰ τὸ Ἐλαιών ὁροῦ Ῥωμαίων φυλακαίς ἐπιτίθενται περὶ ἁραν ἐνδεκάτην τῆς ἡμέρας, οὕτων πρῶτον μὲν ἀδοκίτων, ἑπειτὰ πρὸς θεραπείας 4 ἡδή τοῦ σώματος ὄντων ῥᾴδιως διεκπαίσειν. 5 προαιρο-
158 μένοι δὲ τὴν ἐγκαθάρσει αὐτῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ταχέως ἐκ τῶν πλησίων φοινικῶν συνδραμόντες ἐξῆγον ὑπερπηδάν καὶ διακόπτειν τὸ περιτείχισμα
159 βιαζομένους. γενομένης δὲ καρτερᾶς τῆς συμ-
βολῆς ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ παρ’ ἐκατέρων γενναίως

1 PA: κομίδης the rest.
2 A Lat.: ἵππεων the rest.
3 L: διήγειραν the rest.
4 Niese: θεραπείας MSS.
5 Destinon: διεκπεσεῖν C: διεκπαιεῖν the rest.

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guard, while they found the Jews through their present despair of escape more daring than before. Thus, some of the cavalry, whenever they went out to collect wood or fodder, used to take the bridles off their horses and turn them loose to graze while they were foraging; and these the Jews, sallying out in companies, carried off. This happening repeatedly, Caesar, correctly believing that these raids were due rather to the negligence of his own men than to the courage of the Jews, determined by an act of unusual severity to make the rest more attentive to the care of their horses. He accordingly ordered off one of the troopers who had lost his horse to capital punishment, and by that fearful example preserved the steeds of the others; for they no longer let them graze, but went forth on their errands clinging to them as though man and beast were by nature inseparable. The assault on the temple and the erection of the earthworks thus occupied the energies of the Romans.

(8) The day after the ascent of the legions many of the rebels, who with plunder now failing them were hard pressed by famine, joined forces and attacked the Roman sentries on the Mount of Olives at about the eleventh hour of the day; expecting firstly to find them off their guard, and secondly to catch them while taking refreshment, and thus easily to break through. The Romans, however, forewarned of their approach, promptly rushed from the neighbouring forts to the spot and checked their forcible efforts to scale or to cut their way through the camp wall. A sharp contest ensued, in which many gallant feats were performed on either side;

Where the tenth legion were encamped, v. 69 f.
ἐπράχθη, Ἡρωμαῖων μὲν μετὰ τὴς ἱσχύος ἐμπειρία τοῦ πολεμεῖν χρωμένων, Ἰούδαίων δ’ ἀφειδέσω ταῖς ὀρμαῖς καὶ τοῖς θυμοῖς ἀκατασχέτοις. ἔστρατήγει δὲ τῶν μὲν αἴδως, τῶν δ’ ἀνάγκη τὸ τε γὰρ ἐξαφείναι Ἰούδαίοις ὦσπερ ἀρκύσιν ἐνείλημένους Ὁρωμαῖος ἀἰσχιστόν ἐδόκει, κάκεινοι μίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας εἶχον, εἰ βιασάμενοι ῥήξειαν τὸ τείχος. καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ σπείρας τις ἱππέων, Πεδάνιος τοῦνομα, τρεπομένων ἦδη τῶν Ἰούδαίων καὶ κατὰ τῆς φάραγγος συνωθουμένων, ῥόθιον ἐκ πλαγίου παρελαύνων τὸν ἱππον ἀρπάξει τινὰ φέυγοντα τῶν πολεμίων, νενίαν στιβαρὸν τε ἄλλως τὸ σώμα καὶ καθωπλυσμένον, δραξάμενος ἐκ τοῦ σφυροῦ. τοσοῦτον μὲν ἐαυτὸν ἐκ τρέχοντος ἐπέκλυε τοῦ ἱπποῦ, τοσοῦτον δ’ ἐπεδείξατο τῆς δεξιᾶς τὸν τόνον καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος ἔτι δ’ ἐμπειρίαν ἵππικης. ὁ μὲν οὖν ὦσπερ τι κειμήλιου ἀρπασάμενος ἤκε φέρων Καίσαρι τὸν αἰχμάλωτον. Τίτος δὲ τὸν μὲν λαβόντα τῆς δυνάμεως θαυμάσας, τὸν δὲ ληφθέντα τῆς περὶ τὸ τείχος ἐπιχειρήσεως κολάσαι κελεύσας, αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν διαμάχαις ἦν καὶ τὰ χώματα κατηπίευεν.

1 ἐνείλημένους Destinon: ἐνείλημενοι mss.
2 = τῇ AVRC.
3 Syr. Suidas: ἐμπειρίας mss.

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the Romans displaying military skill combined with strength, the Jews reckless impetuosity and unbridled rage. Shame commanded the one party, necessity the other; for to let loose the Jews, now caught as it were in a net, seemed to the Romans most disgraceful, while their enemy’s one hope of safety lay in forcing their way through the wall. Among other incidents, a trooper from one of the cohorts, named Pedanius—when the Jews were at last repulsed and being driven down into the ravine—urging his horse at top speed along their flank, snatched up one of the flying foe, a youth of sturdy frame and in full armour, grasping him by the ankle; so far did he stoop from his horse, when at the gallop, and such muscular strength of arm and body, along with consummate horsemanship, did he display. Carrying off his captive like some precious treasure, he came with his prize to Caesar. Titus expressed his admiration of the captor’s strength, ordered his captive to punishment for his assault on the wall, and then devoted his attention to the struggle for the temple and the acceleration of the earthworks.

(9) Meanwhile the Jews, sorely suffering from their encounters, as the war slowly, yet steadily, rose to a climax and crept towards the sanctuary, cut away, as from a mortifying body, the limbs already affected, to arrest further ravages of the disease. In other words, they set fire to that portion of the north-west portico which was connected with Antonia, and afterwards hacked away some twenty cubits, their own hands thus beginning the conflagration of the holy places. Two days later, on the
166 metà δ' ἡμέρας δύο, τετράδε καὶ εἰκάδε τοῦ προ-
ειρημένου μηνός, την πλησίον στοὰν ὑποπιμπράσι
Ῥωμαίοι, καὶ μέχρι πεντεκαίδεκα ηχών προ-
κόψαντος τοῦ πυρὸς ἀποκόπτουσι ὁμοίως Ἰουδαῖοι
τὴν ὀρφὴν, μὴτε καθάπαν ἐξιστάμενοι τῶν ἐργῶν
καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν συναφές αὐτῶν δι-
167 αἰροῦντες: διὸ καὶ παρὸν κωλύειν ὑποπιμπράντας,
οὶ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐμβολὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ἡρμῆσαντες
168 τὴν νομὴν ἐμέτρησαν τῷ σφίσι χρησίμως. 2 περὶ
μὲν δὴ τὸ ἱερὸν οὐ διελείπον οἱ συμβολαί, συνεχὴς
δὲ ἦν κατὰ μέρος ἐκθέωτων ἐπ' ἀλλήλους τὸ
πόλεμος.

169 (10) Τῶν Ἰουδαίων δὲ τις κατὰ ταῦτα τὰς
ἡμέρας ἀνὴρ τὸ τε σῶμα βραχὺς καὶ τὴν ὁψὶν
εὐκαταφρόνητος, γένους θὸ ἐνεκα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
άσημος, Ἰωνᾶθης ἐκαλείτο, προελθὼν κατὰ τὸ
τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ἰωάννου μιμηείον ἄλλα τε πολλά
πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑπερηφάνως ἐφθέγγετο καὶ
τὸν ἀρμοτον αὐτῶν εἰς μοιομαχίαν προκαλεῖτο.

170 τῶν δὲ ταῦτῃ παρατεταγμένων οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν
ὑπερηφάνουν, ἦσαν δὲ οἱ κατὰ τὸ ἐκκός ἐδεδοίκεσαν,
Ὡπτετό γε μὴν τινῶν καὶ λογισμὸς οὐκ ἀσύνετος
171 θανατῶντι μῆ συμπλέκεσθαι τοὺς γὰρ ἀπεγνω-
κότας τὴν σωτηρίαν ἁμα 3 καὶ τὰς ὀρμᾶς ἀταμεῦ-
τους ἔχειν καὶ τὸ θείον εὐδυνώπητον, τὸ τε παρα-
βάλλεθαι πρὸς οὓς καὶ τὸ νικάν οὐ μέγα καὶ μετ'
αἰσχύνης τὸ λειφθήναι σφαλερὸν, οὐκ ἀνδρείας

1 καθάπας ΡΑΜ.
2 τῷ σφίσι χρησίμως. Niese: αὐτῶ σφίσι χρησίμως MSS.
3 ᾧ τοῦ Destinon: ἀλλὰ PAL, perhaps rightly = "yet": τὰ
tε ἀλλὰ (ταῖτ' ἀλλα) the rest.

a i.e., to cut the connexion with Antonia.
twenty-fourth of the month above mentioned, the Romans set light to the adjoining portico; and when the flames had spread to a distance of fifty cubits, it was again the Jews who cut away the roof, and with no reverence whatever for these works of art severed the connexion thereby formed with Antonia. For that reason, though they might have prevented the building from being set alight, instead when the fire attacked it they remained motionless and merely measured the extent of its ravages by their own convenience. Thus conflicts around the temple raged incessantly, and fights between small parties sallying out upon each other were continuous.

(10) In the course of these days a Jew, named Jonathan, a man of mean stature and despicable appearance, undistinguished by birth or otherwise, coming forward opposite the tomb of the high-priest John, and addressing the Romans in much opprobrious language, challenged the best of them to single combat. Of those in the adverse ranks at this point, the majority regarded him with contempt, some probably with apprehension, while others were influenced by the not unreasonable reflection that it was wise to avoid a conflict with one who courted death; being aware that men who despaired of their lives had not only ungovernable passions but also the ready compassion of the Deity, and that to risk life in an encounter with persons whom to defeat were no great exploit, while to be beaten would involve ignominy as well as danger, would be an

b John Hyrcanus; the neighbourhood of his monument was the point selected by Titus for his first attack, v. 259.

c Literally "had the Deity easily put out of countenance." i.e. "easily moved by entreaty."
172 ἄλλα θρασύτητος εἶναι. μηδενὸς δ’ ἐπὶ πολὺ προϊόντος καὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαίου πολλὰ κατακερτο-
mοῦντος αὐτοῦς εἰς δειλίαν, ἀλαζῶν γὰρ τις ἦν
αὐτῶ σφόδρα καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπερήφανος,
Ποῦδης τις ὄνομα τῶν ἐξ ὕλης ἱππέων βδελυγά-
μενος αὐτοῦ τὰ τε ρήματα καὶ τὸ αὐθαίρες, εἰκὸς
δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν βραχύτητα τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ
173 ἀσκέπτως ἔπαρθήναι, προσπῆδα, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα
περιήν συμβαλών, προεδόθη δ’ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης
πεσόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰωνάθης ἀποσφάττει προσ-
δραμῶν. ἔπειτα ἐπιβάς τῷ νεκρῷ τὸ τε ξίφος
ήμαγμένον ἀνέσειε καὶ τῇ λαιὰ τὸν θυρεόν, ἐπηλά-
λαξὲ τε τῇ στρατιᾷ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν πεοῦντα
κομπάξων καὶ τοὺς ὁρώντας Ῥωμαίους ἐπισκώ-
175 πτων, ἔως αὐτὸν ἀνασκειρτώντα καὶ ματαίζοντα
Πρῖσκος τις ἐκατοντάρχης τοξεύσας διήλασε βέλειν
πρὸς ὁ τῶν τε Ἰουδαίων καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κρανγή
176 συνεξήρθη, διάφορος. ὁ δὲ δινηθεὶς ἐκ τῶν ἄλγη-
δόνων ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ πολεμίου κατέπεσεν, ὡκυτάτη
ἀποφήνας ἐν πολέμῳ τήν ἑπὶ τοὺς
ἀλόγως ἐνυχώσις1 νέμεσιν.
177 (iii. 1) ὁ δ’ ἀνὰ τὸ ἱερὸν στασιασταὶ φανερῶς
τε συκ ἀνύεσαν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν χωμάτων στρατιώτας
ἀμυνόμενοι καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, καὶ τοῦ προειρη-
μένου μηνὸς ἐβδόμη καὶ εἰκάδη δόλον ἐνσκέυα-
178 ζονταὶ τοιόντε. τῆς ἐσπερίου στοάς τὸ μεταξὺ
tῶν δοκῶν καὶ τῆς ὑπ’ αὐταῖς ὀροφῆς ὕλης
ἀναπιπλάσιν αὐῆς, πρὸς δὲ ἀσφάλτου τε καὶ
πίσσης. ἔπειθ’ ὃς καταπονούμενοι δήθεν ὑπεχώ-
179 ροῦν. πρὸς ὁ τῶν μὲν ἀσκέπτων πολλοὶ ταῖς
ὁρμαῖς φερώμενοι προσέκειντο τοῖς ὑποχωροῦσιν

1 τῷ (τὸ Λ) ἀλόγως εὐνυχώσι τῇ ΡΑ.
act, not of bravery, but of recklessness. For no antagonist came forward and the Jew continued to rail at them as cowards—for the fellow was supremely conceited and contemptuous of the Romans—until a trooper from one of the squadrons, named Pudens, disgusted at his language and arrogance, perhaps also thoughtlessly presuming on his puny stature, leapt forward, and was otherwise gaining on his adversary in the encounter, when he was betrayed by fortune: for he fell. Whereupon Jonathan sprang upon him and dispatched him. Then, trampling on the corpse, brandishing his bloody sword and with his left hand waving his buckler, he shouted lustily to the army, glorying over his prostrate foe and jeering at his Roman spectators; until, in the midst of his dancing and buffoonery, Priscus, a centurion, bent his bow and transfixed him with an arrow, calling forth from Jews and Romans simultaneous cries of a contrary nature. The victim, writhing in agony, fell upon the body of his foe, illustrating how swift in war is the nemesis that overtakes irrational success.

(iii. 1) The rebels in the temple, while never relaxing their undisguised daily efforts to repel the troops on the earthworks, on the twenty-seventh of the above-named month contrived, moreover, the following ruse. They filled the space between the rafters of the western portico and the ceiling beneath them with dry tinder, along with bitumen and pitch, and then, as though utterly exhausted, retired. Thereupon many of the inconsiderate legionaries, carried away by impetuosity, started in pursuit of

*a Of the auxiliary cavalry (alae).

2 ἅταίς ed. pr.: ἅταίς (ἀτ' or ἄτ') αἰτῆς mss.
JOSEPHUS

ἐπὶ τῇ τὴν στοάν ἀνεπήδων προσθέμενοι κλίμακας, οἱ δὲ συνετῶτεροι τῇ ἁλογῷ προπήν τῶν Ἰου-
180 δαίων ὑπονοήσαντες ἐμενον. κατεπλήσθη μέντοι τῶν ἀναπηδησάντων ἡ στοά, κἂν τούτῳ Ἰουδαίοι
πάσαν ὑποπιμπράσιν αὐτήν. αἰρομένης δ' αἰφνι-
δίως πάντοθεν τῆς φλογὸς τοὺς τε ἐξῶ τοῦ κυνδύνου Ἐρυμαίους ἐκπλήξες ἐπέσχε δείνῃ καὶ
181 τοὺς περισχέθεντας ἀμηχανία. κυκλούμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τῆς φλόγος οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὅπισω κατ-
εκρήμνυόν ἑαυτούς, οἱ δ' εἰς τός πολεμίους, πολλοὶ
δ' ἐλπίζον σωτηρίας εἰς τοὺς σφετέρους καταπη-
δώντες ἐκλύωντο τὰ μέλη, πλείστων δ' ἐφθανε τὰς
ὅρμας τὸ πῦρ καὶ τινες τὴν φλόγα σιδήρω.
182 περιείχε δ' εὐθέως καὶ τοὺς ἄλλως φθειρομένους
τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ πλέστον ἐκφερόμενον. Καίσαρα δε
καίπερ χαλεπαίνων τοῖς ἀπολυμένοις, ἐπειδὴ
δίχα παραγγέλματος ἀναβεβήκεσαν, ὅμως οίκτος
183 εἴσηγε τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ μηδενὸς προσαμίνων
dυναμένων, τοῦτο γοῦν παραμύθιον ἢν τοῖς φθειρο-
μένοις τὸ βλέπειν ὑπὲρ οὗ τις ἦφιε τὴν ψυχήν
ὁδυνώμενον· βοῶν τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ προπηδῶν καὶ
tοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἐνώτων ἐπαμύνειν
184 παρακαλῶν ὄρλος ἦν. τὰς δὲ φωνὰς ἐκαστὸς καὶ
tὴν διάθεσιν ὕσσερ πι λαμπρὸν ἀποφέρων ἐντάφιον
185 εὐθυμὸς ἀπέθνησκεν. ἔμοι γε μὴν ἐπὶ τὸν τοίχον
τῆς στοὰς ὅντα πλατῶν ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐκ μὲν τοῦ
πυρὸς διεσώθησαν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων περι-
σχέθεντες ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἀντέσχον διατιτρωσκό-

1 PL: οἱ Ἰουδαίοι: the rest.

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the fugitives and, applying ladders, sprang up them on to the portico; the more prudent, however, suspecting the unaccountable withdrawal of the Jews, remained where they were. The portico, nevertheless, was packed with those who had mounted, at the moment when the Jews from below set the whole building alight. The flames suddenly shooting up on every side, those of the Romans who were out of danger were seized with dire consternation, while those involved in it were utterly helpless. Surrounded by the flames, some precipitated themselves into the city behind them, some into the enemy’s midst; many in hope of saving themselves leapt down among their friends and fractured their limbs; but most in their rush to escape were caught by the fire, while some with the sword anticipated the flames. The fire, moreover, spreading far and wide, instantly enveloped even those already doomed to some other form of death. Caesar, though angry with his perishing soldiers for mounting the portico without orders, was yet filled with compassion for them; and, impossible though it was for any to relieve them, it was at least a consolation to the doomed men to behold the grief of him in whose service they were giving up their lives. For he was plainly visible, shouting to them and rushing forward and exhorting those around him to do their utmost to rescue them. And every man, carrying with him, like some splendid obsequies, those cries, that emotion of Caesar, thus cheerfully expired. Some, indeed, got back to the wall of the portico, which was broad, and escaped the conflagration, but were there surrounded by the Jews and, after maintaining
μενοι, τέλος δὲ πάντες ἐπεσον, (2) καὶ τελευταῖος τις αὐτῶν νεανίας, ὄνοματι Λόγγος, δ' ὠλον ἐπικοσμήσας τὸ πάθος καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα μνήμης ἄξιων ὄντων πάντων τῶν ἀπολολότων ἀριστος φανείς.

187 δὲν οἱ μὲν Ἰουδαῖοι τῆς τε ἀλκῆς ἀγάμενοι καὶ ἄλλως ἄνελειν ἀσθενοῦντες καταβῆναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ δεξιὰ παρεκάλουν, ὅ δὲ ἀδελφὸς Κορνήλιος ἐκ βατέρων μὴ κατασχῦναι τὸ σφέτερον κλέος καὶ τὴν Ἱωμαίαν στρατιάν. τούτῳ πεισθεὶς καὶ διαφάνειος φαινον ἐκατέροις τοῖς τάγμασι τὸ

188 ξίφος αὐτοῦ ἀναιρεῖ. τῶν δὲ τῷ πυρὶ περισσεύσαντον Ἀρτώριος τις πανυργία διασώζεται· προςκαλεσάμενος γὰρ τινα τῶν συστρατιωτῶν Λούκιον, δ' συνεσκήνει, μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ "κληρονόμον," ἐφη, "καταλείπω σε τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ κτημάτων, εἰ προσελθὼν με δέξαιο." τοῦ δὲ ἐτοίμως προσδραμόντος ὁ μὲν ἐπ' αὐτὸν κατενεχθεὶς ἐξησεν, ὁ δὲ δεξαμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους τῷ λιθω-

189 στὼ τὸ προσαραξθεῖς παραχρῆμα θνήσκει. τοῦτο τὸ πάθος πρὸς καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἱωμαίαν ἐνεποίησεν ἀθυμίαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ μελλὼν ὠμός ἀπαρακλήτους κατασκευάζαν φυλακτικωτέρους τε πρὸς τὰς Ἰουδαίων ἀπάτας ὠφελήσεν, ἐν αἷς τὰ πολλὰ δι᾿ ἄγνωσι τῶν τόπων καὶ τὸ ἠθος τῶν ἀνδρῶν

190 ἐμπλατοῦτο. κατεκαὶ δ' ἡ στοὰ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰωάννου πύργου, ὃν ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Σίμωνα πολέμῳ κατεσκεύασεν ὑπὲρ τὰς ἐξαισθήσεις ὑπὲρ τὸν ἐνυστόν πυλας· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ διεφθαρμένοις ἦδη

1 Longinus Heg. Syr.
2 Septūriōs C.
3 ML Lat.: στρατιώτων the rest.
4 PAL: om. the rest.
5 Destinon: κατασκεύασεν (προκατασκεύασεν L) the rest.
6 PA: καὶ the rest.
a prolonged resistance, riddled with wounds, all at length fell.

(2) The last survivor of them, a youth named Longus, shed lustre on the whole tragedy, and, memorable as was every single man that perished, proved himself the bravest of all. The Jews, as well from admiration of his prowess as from their inability to kill him, besought him to come down to them, pledging him his life; his brother Cornelius, on the other hand, implored him not to disgrace his own reputation or the Roman arms. Influenced by his words, he brandished his sword in view of both armies and slew himself. Among those enveloped in the flames one, Artorius, saved his life by an artifice. Calling at the top of his voice to Lucius, a fellow-soldier with whom he shared a tent, "I leave you," he said, "heir to my property if you come and catch me." Lucius promptly running up, Artorius plunged down on top of him and was saved; while he who received him was dashed by his weight against the pavement and killed on the spot.

This disaster, while it created for the time despondency in the Roman ranks, nevertheless had a beneficial effect for the future in rendering them less responsive to such invitations and more cautious against Jewish stratagems. Their injuries from which were mainly due to their ignorance of the ground and the character of the men. The flames consumed the portico as far as the tower which John, during his feud with Simon, had erected over the gates leading out above the Xystus; the remainder, after the destruction of the troops that had mounted it, was hacked away

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* The second of four towers erected by John of Gischala, iv. 580 f.
JOSEPHUS

192 Ἰουδαίου τοῖς ἀναβάσιν ἀπέκοψαν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ καὶ Ῥωμαίοι τὴν βόρειον στοάν ἐνέπρησαν μέχρι τῆς ἀνατολικῆς ὀλίγην, διὸ ἡ συνάπτουσα γωνία τῆς Κεδρώνος καλομένης φάραγγος ὑπερδεόμετο, παρ' ὃ καὶ φοβηροὶ ἦν τὸ βάθος, καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

193 (3) Τῶν δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ φθειρομένων κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀπειροῦ μὲν ἐπιπτε τὸ πλῆθος, ἀδυνητα

194 δὲ συνέβαινε τὰ πάθη. καθ' ἐκάστην γὰρ οἰκίαν, εὖ που τροφῆς παραφανείς σκιά, πόλεμος ἦν, καὶ διὰ χειρῶν ἔχωρον οἱ φίλτατοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔξαρπάζοντες τὰ παλαιῶρα τῆς ψυχῆς ἔφοδια.

195 πίστις δ' ἀπορίας οὐδὲ τοῖς θυνήσκουσιν ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκπιέοντας οἱ λησταί διηρεύνων, μή τις ὑπὸ κόλπων ἔχων τροφήν σκῆπτοιτο τὸν θάνατον

196 αὐτῶ. οἱ δ' ὑπ᾽ ἑνδείας κεχηνότες ὑπὸ περ ἀνυσώντες κύνες ἐσφάλλοντο, καὶ παρεφέροντο ταῖς τε θύραις ἐνσειόμενοι μεθυόντων τρόπων καὶ ὑπ᾽ ἀμηχανίας εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς οὐκους εἰσπνοῦντες

197 διὸ ἡ τρίς ὁρὰ μιᾷ. πάντα δ' ὑπ᾽ ὁδόντας ἦγεν ἡ ἀνάγκη, καὶ τὰ μηδὲ τοῖς ῥυπαρωτάτοις τῶν ἀλόγων ἔσον πρόσφορα συλλέγοντες ἐσθιέν ὑπέφερον ἐσστήρων γοῦν καὶ ὑποδημάτων τὸ τελευταίον οὐκ ἀπέσχοντο καὶ τὰ δέρματα τῶν θυρεῶν ἀποδεροῦντες

198 ἐμασώντο. τροφὴ δ' ἦν καὶ χόρτου τυι παλαιοι σπαράγματα, τός γὰρ ἰνας εἶνοι συλλέγοντες ἐλάχιστων σταθμῶν ἐπώλους Ἀττικῶν τεσσάρων.

199 καὶ τί δεῖ τὴν ἐπ᾽ ἀιφύξοις ἀναίδειαν τοῦ λιμοῦ λέγειν; εἴμι γὰρ αὐτοῦ δηλώσων ἔργον οἶδον μήτε

1 Hudson with Heg. Lat.: Ἰουδαῖοι mss.
2 LC Ens. Lat.: σπάραγμα the rest.

*Cf.* the Psalmist's simile, "They snarl like a dog and
by the Jews. The next day the Romans also burnt the whole northern portico right up to that on the east, where the angle connecting the two was built over the ravine called Kedron, the depth at that point being consequently terrific. Such was the condition of affairs in the vicinity of the temple.

(3) Meanwhile, the victims perishing of famine throughout the city were dropping in countless numbers and enduring sufferings indescribable. In every house, the appearance anywhere of but a shadow of food was a signal for war, and the dearest of relatives fell to blows, snatching from each other the pitiful supports of life. The very dying were not credited as in want; nay, even those expiring were searched by the brigands, lest any should be concealing food beneath a fold of his garment and feigning death. Gaping with hunger, like mad dogs, these ruffians went staggering and reeling along, battering upon the doors in the manner of drunken men, and in their perplexity bursting into the same house twice or thrice within a single hour. Necessity drove the victims to gnaw anything, and objects which even the filthiest of brute beasts would reject they condescended to collect and eat: thus in the end they abstained not from belts and shoes and stripped off and chewed the very leather of their bucklers. Others devoured tufts of withered grass: indeed some collectors of stalks sold a trifling quantity for four Attic drachmas. But why tell of the shameless resort to inanimate articles of food induced by the famine, seeing that I am here about to go round about the city: they wander up and down for meat," Ps. lix. 14 f. The coin is unexpressed in the Greek, as elsewhere (ii. 592). The Attic drachma was the ordinary day's wage for a labourer.
Josephus strangely ignores the parallel incident at the siege of Samaria, recorded in 2 Kings vi. 28 f. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 57 and Baruch ii. 2 f. (“great plagues, such as never happened under the whole heaven, as it came to pass in Jerusalem... that we should eat... every man the flesh of his own daughter”).
describe an act unparalleled \(^a\) in the history whether of Greeks or barbarians, and as horrible to relate as it is incredible to hear? For my part, for fear that posterity might suspect me \(^b\) of monstrous fabrication, I would gladly have omitted this tragedy, had I not innumerable witnesses among my contemporaries. Moreover, it would be a poor compliment that I should pay my country in suppressing the narrative of the woes which she actually endured.

(4) Among the residents of the region beyond Jordan was a woman named Mary, daughter of Eleazar, of the village of Bethezuba (the name means "House of Hyssop") \(^c\), eminent by reason of her family and fortune, who had fled with the rest of the people to Jerusalem and there become involved in the siege. The bulk of her property, which she had packed up and brought with her from Peraea \(^d\) to the city, had been plundered by the tyrants; while the relics of her treasures, with whatever food she had contrived to procure, were being carried off by their satellites in their daily raids. With deep indignation in her heart, the poor woman constantly abused and cursed these extortioners and so incensed them against her. But when no one either out of exasperation or pity put her to death, weary of finding for others food, which indeed it was now impossible from any quarter to procure, while famine coursed through her intestines and marrow and the fire of rage was more consuming even than the famine, impelled by the promptings alike of fury and necessity, she proceeded to an act of outrage upon

\(^a\) Or " I hope that I shall not be suspected by posterity...
\(^b\) Or " I hope that I shall not be suspected by posterity...
\(^c\) Heb. Beth Ezob: site unidentified.
\(^d\) Transjordania, B. iii. 44 ff.
JOSEPHUS

tò τέκνον, ἢν δ' αὐτῇ παῖς υπομάστιος, ἀρπασμένη ἑκβρέφος," εἶπεν, ὡς ἄθλιον, ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ
206 λιμῷ καὶ στάσει τίνι σε τηρήσω; τὰ μὲν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δουλεία, κἂν ζήσωμεν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς,1
φθάνει δὲ καὶ δουλεῖαν ὁ λιμός, οἳ στασιασταί δ' 207 ἀμφοτέρων χαλεπώτεροι. ἦδη, γενοῦ μοι τροφή
καὶ τοῖς στασιασταῖς ἐρυνύς καὶ τῷ βίῳ μύθος ὁ
208 μόνος ἐλλείπων ταῖς 'Ἰουδαίων συμφοραῖς." καὶ
ταῦθ' ἀμα λέγουσα κτείνει τὸν υἱόν, ἔπειτ' ὀπτή-
σασα τὸ μὲν ἤμισυ κατεσθίει, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν κατα-
209 καλύβασα ἐφυλαττεν. εὐθέως δ' οἱ στασιασταῖ
παρῆσαν, καὶ τὴς ἀθέμίτου κνίσης σπάσαντες ἡπει-
λουν, εἰ μὴ δείξειν τὸ παρασκευασθὲν, ἀποσφάξειν
αὐτὴν εὐθέως. ἢ δὲ καὶ μοιραν αὐτοῖς εἰπόνσα
καλὴν τετηρήκεναι τὰ λείψανα τοῦ τέκνου δι-
210 εκάλυψεν. τοὺς δ' εὐθέως φοίκη καὶ παρέκκλητο9
ήρει καὶ παρὰ τὴν όμιν ἐπεπήγεσαν. ἢ δ' "ἐμῶν,
ἐφη, "τούτο τὸ τέκνον γνήσιον καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐμῶν.
211 φάγετε, καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ βέβρωκα. μὴ γένησθε μήτε
μαλακώτεροι γυναικὸς μήτε συμπαθέστεροι μητρός.
εἰ δ' ύμείς εὑστείση καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀποστρέφεσθε
θυσίαν, ἐγὼ μὲν ύμῖν βέβρωκα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δ' 212 ἐμοὶ μεινάτω. " μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν τρέμοντες
ἐξέσαν, πρὸς ἐν τούτῳ δειλοί καὶ μόλις ταύτης τῆς
τροφῆς τῇ μητρὶ παραχωρῆσαντες, ἀνεπλήσθη δ' εὐθέως ὅλη τοῦ μύσους ἡ πόλις, καὶ πρὸ ὀμμάτων
ἐκαστὸς τὸ πάθος λαμβάνων ὀπεπερ3 αὐτῷ τολ-
213 μθέν ἐφριττε. σπουδὴ δὲ τῶν λιμωττόντων ἐπὶ
tὸν θάνατον ᾳν, καὶ μακαρισμὸς τῶν φθασάντων
πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι καὶ θεάσασθαι κακὰ τηλικαῦτα.

1 Text doubtful: ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Hudson: ὑπ' αὐτοῖς A.2.
2 A: παρέκκλησις P: φρενῶν ἐκκατάσεις the rest.

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nature. Seizing her child, an infant at the breast, "Poor babe," she cried, "amidst war, famine, and sedition, to what end should I preserve thee? With the Romans slavery awaits us, should we live till they come; but famine is forestalling slavery, and more cruel than both are the rebels. Come, be thou food for me, to the rebels an avenging fury, and to the world a tale such as alone is wanting to the calamities of the Jews." With these words she slew her son, and then, having roasted the body and devoured half of it, she covered up and stored the remainder. At once the rebels were upon her and, scenting the unholy odour, threatened her with instant death unless she produced what she had prepared. Re- plying that she had reserved a goodly portion for them also, she disclosed the remnants of her child. Seized with instant horror and stupefaction, they stood paralysed by the sight. She, however, said, "This is my own child, and this my handiwork. Eat, for I too have eaten. Show not yourselves weaker than a woman, or more compassionate than a mother. But if you have pious scruples and shrink from my sacrifice, then let what I have eaten be your portion and the remainder also be left for me." At that they departed trembling, in this one instance cowards, though scarcely yielding even this food to the mother. The whole city instantly rang with the abomination, and each, picturing the horror of it, shuddered as though it had been perpetrated by himself. The starving folk longed for death, and felicitated those who had gone to their rest ere they had heard or beheld such evils.

*L: ὅς παρ' the rest.*
214 (5) Ταχέως δὲ καὶ Ἦμιοι διηγήθη τὸ πάθος. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἡπίστουν, οἱ δὲ ὕκτειρον, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς εἰς μίσος τοῦ ἐθνους σφοδρότερον

215 οὐκ Καίσαρ δὲ ἀπελογεῖτο καὶ περὶ τούτου τῷ θεῷ, φάσκων παρὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ Ἰουδαίους εἰρήνην καὶ αὐτονομίαν προτείνεσθαι καὶ πάντων

216 ἀμφιστάν τῶν τετολμημένων, τοὺς δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν ὄμονοις στάσιν, ἀντὶ δὲ εἰρήνης πόλεμον, πρὸ κόρου δὲ καὶ εὐθηνίας λιμῶν αἰρομένους, ἓδαιμὸς δὲ χερσὶν ἀρξαμένους καὶ εἰς τὸ συντηροῦμενον ὕψος ἕμιών ἑρόν αὐτοῖς, εἶναι καὶ τοιαύτης τροήθη.

217 αἰγίους. καλύψεις μὲν τοῦ τῆς τεκνοφαγίας μύσος αὐτῶ τῷ τῆς πατρίδος πτῶματι καὶ οὐ καταλείψεως ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡλίῳ καθοράν πόλιν, ἐν ἑκάτεροι φοροὺς. εὐθείας ἐνενείοι καὶ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἐτί σωφρονήσαι τοὺς πάντα προσποιοῦντος ἐφ’ οἷς εἰκὸς ἂν μεταβαλέσθαι μὴ παθοῦσιν.

218 μὴ τέρεσιν οὕτω τρέφονται. προσήκειν μὲν τοῖς πρὸ μητέρων πατράσιν τὴν τοιαύτην τροήθη, οἱ καὶ μετὰ τηλικαίτα πάθη μένουσιν ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις. εὐθείας ἐνενείοι καὶ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἐτί σωφρονήσαι τοὺς πάντα προσποιοῦντος ἐφ’ οἷς εἰκὸς ἂν μεταβαλέσθαι μὴ παθοῦσιν.

220 (iv. 1) Ἡδὴ δὲ τῶν δύο ταγμάτων συντετελεκότων τὰ χώματα Λῦκον μηνὸς όγδόη προσάγειν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς κριόν τὰς τὴν ἐσπέριον ἐξέδραν. ἓπερ δὲ τούτων ἦ τὸ ἑμέρας· ἀδιαλείπτως ἢ στεροτάτη πασῶν ἐλέπολις τύπτουσα τῶν τοίχων οὐδὲν ἦνυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸ μέγεθος καὶ ἡ ἁρμονία τῶν


1 δὲ τοῖς L.
2 πάθοσιν Naber.
3 Lat.: ἔσωθεν PA1: ἔσωθεν the rest; cf. §§ 151, 244.
4 PL: ἡμέρας the rest.
(5) The horrible news soon spread to the Romans. Of them some were incredulous, others were moved to pity, but the effect on the majority was to intensify their hatred of the nation. Caesar declared himself innocent in this matter also in the sight of God, protesting that he had offered the Jews peace, independence, and an amnesty for all past offences, while they, preferring sedition to concord, peace to war, famine to plenty and prosperity, and having been the first to set fire with their own hands to that temple which he and his army were preserving for them, were indeed deserving even of such food as this. He, however, would bury this abomination of infant-cannibalism beneath the ruins of their country, and would not leave upon the face of the earth, for the sun to behold, a city in which mothers were thus fed. Yet, he added, such food was less meet for mothers than for fathers, who even after such horrors still remained in arms. While expressing these sentiments, he had, moreover, in mind the desperation of these men, being convinced that they were past being brought to reason who had already endured all the miseries, to be spared the experience of which they might have been expected to relent.

(iv. 1) Two of the legions having now completed their earthworks,\(^a\) on the eighth of the month Lous, Titus ordered the rams to be brought up opposite the western hall of the outer court of the temple. Before their arrival, the most redoubtable of all the siege-engines had for six days incessantly battered the wall without effect, the massiveness and nice adjustment of the stones being proof against it as against the rest. Another party endeavoured to

\(^a\) Cf. §§ 150 f.
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έτεροι τοὺς θεμελίους καὶ πολλὰ ταλαιπωρήσαντες τοὺς ἐμπροσθεν λίθους ἐξεκύλισαν. ἀνείχετο 1 δ’ ύπο τῶν ἐνδοτέρω καὶ διεμεινεν ἡ πύλη, μέχρι τὰς δι’ ὄργανων καὶ τῶν μοχλῶν ἐπιχειρήσεις ἀπο-

223 γινότες κλίμακας ταῖς στοαῖς προσέφερον. οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι κωλύσασι μὲν οὐκ ἐφθασαν, ἀναβάσιν δὲ συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνωθοῦντες εἰς τοῦπίσω κατεκρήμνιζον, τοὺς δ’ ὑπαντιάζοντας 3

224 ἀνήρουν  πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν κλιμάκων ἀποβαίνοντας, πρὸν φράξασθαι τοῖς θυρεοῖς, παίνοντες ταῖς ῥομφαίαις ἐφθανον, ἐνίας δὲ γεμούσας ὀπλιτῶν κλι-

225 μακας παρακλίνοντες ἀνωθεν κατέσειον· ἂν δ’ οὐκ ὀλίγος καὶ αὐτῶν φόνος. οἱ δὲ ἀνενεκοῦντες τὰς σημαίας περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπολέμουν, δεινὴν ἡγούμενοι

226 καὶ πρὸς αἰσχύνης τούτων τὴν ἀρπαγήν. τέλος δὲ καὶ τῶν σημαίων οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι κρατοῦσιν καὶ τοὺς ἀναβάντας διαφθείρουσιν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀπολολότων πάθος ὀρρωδοῦντες ἀνεξώρουν.

227 τῶν μὲν οὖν Ἰωρμάιων ἀπρακτος οὐδεὶς ἀπέθανεν, τῶν δὲ στασιαστῶν οἱ κατὰ τὰς προτέρας μάχας ἠγονοίαντο γενιαίως καὶ τότε, καὶ Ἑλεάζαρος

228 ἀδελφιδοῦς τοῦ τυραννοῦ Σίμωνος. ὁ δὲ Τίτος ὦς ἐώρα τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ιεροῖς φειδὼ πρὸς βλάβης τοῖς στρατιώταις γυμνομένην καὶ φόνον, τὰς πύλας προσέταξεν ὑφάπτειν.

229 (2) Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ πρὸς αὐτῶν αὐτομολούσων Ἀνανὸς τε ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀμμαοῦς, 4 τῶν Σίμωνος δορυ·

1 ἀνείχετο PA. 2 ΠΜ: διὰ τῶν the rest. 3 ὑπαντιάζοντες L. 4 C: ἀφαμμαοῦς PA: ἀφ’ Ἀμμαοῦ other MSS.

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undermine the foundations of the northern gate, and by great exertions succeeded in extricating the stones in front; but the gate, supported by the inner stones, stood firm. Finally, despairing of all attempts with engines and crowbars, the Romans applied ladders to the porticoes. The Jews made no haste to prevent this, but as soon as they mounted vigorously attacked them. Some they thrust back and hurled down headlong, others who encountered them they slew; many as they stepped off the ladders they cut down with their swords, before they could shield themselves with their bucklers; some ladders, again, laden with armed men, they tilted sideways from above and dashed to the ground; not, however, without suffering considerable slaughter themselves. The Romans who had brought up the standards fought fiercely around these, deeming their loss a dire disaster and disgrace; yet, eventually, these ensigns also were taken by the Jews, who destroyed all who had mounted. The remainder, intimidated by the fate of the fallen, then retired. Of the Romans, not one had not achieved something ere he fell; of the rebels, those who had gained distinction in previous engagements fought gallantly also in this, as did also Eleazar, nephew of the tyrant Simon. Titus, now that he saw that his endeavour to spare a foreign temple led only to the injury and slaughter of his troops, issued orders to set the gates on fire.

(2) Meanwhile two deserters had joined him, Ananus of Emmaus, the most bloodthirsty of Simon's

* Or, with the other reading, "they encountered and slew."
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φόρων ὁ φονικώτατος, καὶ Ἀρχέλαος υἱὸς Μαγαδ-δάτου, συγγνώμην ἑλπίσαντες ἐπειδὴ κρατοῦντων
230 Ἰουδαίων ὑπεξώροντο. ¹ Τίτος δὲ καὶ τοῦτο² πανούργημα προσβάλλετο³ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
περὶ τοὺς ἱδίους⁴ ὁμότητα πεπυμένος ὠρμητο
κτείνειν ἐκατέρους, ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης ἡχθαί λέγων
αὐτοὺς, οὐκ ἐκ προαιρέσεως παρείναι, καὶ σωτηρίας
οὐκ ἀξίους εἶναι τοὺς φλεγομένης ἡδὴ δι’ αὐτοὺς
231 τῆς πατρίδος ἐξαλλομένους. ἐκράτει δ’ ὃμοις τοῦ
θυμοῦ ἡ πίστις, καὶ ἀφήνῃ τοὺς ἀνδρας, οὐ μὴν ἐν
232 ἑσθ’ ὑπηρέτησε τοῖς ἁλλοις. ἡδὴ δὲ ταῖς
πῦλαις οἱ στρατιῶται προσήγουν τὸ πῦρ, καὶ
περίτηκόμενος ὁ ἀργυρος διεδίδου ταχέως εἰς τὴν
ἐνυλεῖαν τὴν φλόγα, ἐνθεὶ θηρώς ἐκφερομένη τῶν
233 στοών ἑπελαμβάνετο. τοῖς δ’ Ἰουδαίοις ὁρῶσι τὸ
πῦρ ἐν κύκλῳ μετά τῶν σωμάτων παρείθησαν αἱ
ψυχαὶ, καὶ διὰ τὴν κατάπληξιν ἀμύνειν μὲν ἡ
σβεννύειν ὠρμησαν οὐδεὶς, αὐτοὶ δ’ ἐστώτες ἀφεώ-
234 ροιν. οὐ μὴν πρὸς τὸ δαπανώμενον ἀθυμοῦντες
εἰς γοῦν τὸ λοιπὸν ἑσωφρόνουν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἡδὴ καὶ
τοῦ ναοῦ καιομένου τοὺς θυμοὺς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους
235 ἐθηγοῦν. ἐκεῖνὴν μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν
ἐπιούσαν νῦκτα τὸ πῦρ ἑπεκράτει: κατὰ μέρος
γάρ, οὖχ ὁμοί πάντοθεν ἴσχυσαν ὑφάσαι τὰς
στοὰς.

236 (3) Τῇ δ’ ἐπιούσῃ Τίτος μέρει τῆς δυνάμεως

¹ PAM: ἀνέχωρον L: ἀνέχωρον the rest.
² + τὸ L.
³ προβάλλεται PA: προβάλλετο L.
⁴ Ἰουδαῖοις LC Lat.

*Employed by him as executioner of the chief priest Matthias, Simon’s former patron, v. 531. Ananus is there called son of Bagadatus, a name probably identical with 442
lieutenants, and Archelaus, son of Magaddatus, hoping for pardon because they were leaving the Jews at a moment of success. Titus, however, censured their action as a further knavish trick; and, having heard of their cruelty in general to their countrymen, he was strongly minded to put them both to death, observing that they had been driven by necessity, not led by inclination, to come over, and that men who leapt from their native city only when enveloped in the flames, for which they were themselves responsible, did not deserve to live. Nevertheless, his good faith overcame his animosity, and he let them go, though he did not put them on an equal footing with the rest.

The troops were by now setting fire to the gates, and the silver melting all around quickly admitted the flames to the woodwork, whence they spread in dense volumes and caught hold of the porticoes. The Jews, seeing the fire encircling them, were deprived of all energy of body and mind; in utter consternation none attempted to ward off or extinguish the flames; paralysed they stood and looked on. Yet, though dismayed by the ravage being wrought, they learnt no lesson with regard to what was left, but, as if the very sanctuary were now ablaze, only whetted their fury against the Romans. So throughout that day and the ensuing night the fire prevailed; for they could only set light to portions of the porticoes, and not to the whole range at once.

(3) On the following day Titus, after giving orders c. 25 August, Magaddatus, here assigned to the father of the other deserter, Archelaus.

\[b\] Literally "dry" (cf. i. 381, "dry with fright").
σβεννύειν τε καὶ τὰ παρὰ τὰς πύλας ὀδοποιεῖν εἰς εὑμαρεστέραν τῶν ταγμάτων ἀνοδον κελεύσας
237 αὐτὸς συνήγε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας. καὶ συνελθόντων ἐξ τῶν κορυφαιοτάτων, Τιβερίου τε 'Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ πάντων τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐπάρχοντος, καὶ Σέξτου Κερεαλίου τοῦ τὸ πέμπτον ἀγοντος τάγμα, καὶ Λαρκίου Λεπίδου τὸ δέκατον, καὶ Τίτου Φρυγίου τὸ πεντεκαίδεκατον, πρὸς οἷς Φρόντων ἢν 'Ατέριος2 στρατοπεδάρχης τῶν ἀπὸ 'Αλεξανδρείας δύο ταγμάτων, καὶ Μάρκος 'Αντώνιος Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπίτροπος, καὶ μετὰ τούτους ἐπιτρόπων καὶ χηλιάρχων ἀθροισθέντων, βουλὴν περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ προντίθει. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἔδοκεν χρῆσθαι τῷ τοῦ πολέμου νόμῳ, μὴ γὰρ ἀν ποτὲ Ἰουδαίους παύσασθαι νεωτερίζοντας τοῦ ναοῦ μένοντος, ἐφ' δὲ πανταχόθεν συλλέγονται. τινὲς δὲ παρήγον, εἰ μὲν καταλίποιεν αὐτὸν Ἰουδαίοι καὶ μηδεῖς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ ὁπλα θεία, σώζειν, εἰ δὲ πολεμοῖεν3 ἐπιβάντες, καταφλέγειν φρουρίων γὰρ, οὐκέτι ναὸν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσεσθαι τῶν ἀναγκασάντων
240 ὁν οἱ πανταχόθεν συλλέγονται. τινὲς δὲ παρήγον, εἰ μὲν καταλίποιεν αὐτὸν Ἰουδαίοι καὶ μηδεῖς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ ὁπλα θεία, σώζειν, εἰ δὲ πολεμοῖεν εἰπιβάντες, καταφλέγειν φρουρίων γὰρ, οὐκέτι ναὸν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσεσθαι τῶν ἀναγκασάντων
241 [τὴν]4 ἀσέβειαν, οὐκ αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ Τίτος οὐδὲ ἂν ἐπιβάντες ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πολεμῶσιν5 Ἰουδαίοι φήσασ6 ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀμυνεῖσθαι7 τὰ ἄψυχα οὐδὲ καταφλέξειν ποτὲ τηλικοῦτον ἐργὸν. Ὁ Ῥωμαῖων γὰρ ἐσεσθαι τὴν βλάβην, ὡσπερ καὶ κόσμον τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῦ μένοντος. θαρροῦντες δ' ἣδη προσετίθεντο τῇ γνώμῃ Φρόντων τε καὶ 'Αλέξ-

1 τὰ L: om. the rest.
2 Renier (quoted by Niese): 'Ετέριος PA, 'Ετέριος, etc., the rest.
3 πολεμῶεν mss.
4 ins. L: om. the rest.
5 L Zon.: πολεμῶεν the rest.
6 Text doubtful: ἐφή has weak ms. support: Niese suspects a lacuna.
7 Niese: ἀμύνεσθαι mss.
to a division of his army to extinguish the fire and
make a road to the gates to facilitate the ascent of
the legions, called together his generals. Six of his
chief staff-officers were assembled, namely, Tiberius
Alexander, the prefect of all the forces, Sextus
Cerealius, Larcius Lepidus, and Titus Phrygius,
the respective commanders of the fifth, tenth, and
fifteenth legions; Fronto Haterius, prefect of the
two legions from Alexandria, and Marcus Antonius
Julianus, procurator of Judaea; and the procurators
and tribunes being next collected, Titus brought
forward for debate the subject of the temple. Some
were of opinion that the law of war should be enforced,
since the Jews would never cease from rebellion
while the temple remained as the focus for concourse
from every quarter. Others advised that if the Jews
abandoned it and placed no weapons whatever upon
it, it should be saved, but that if they mounted it for
purposes of warfare, it should be burnt; as it would
then be no longer a temple, but a fortress, and
thenceforward the impiety would be chargeable,
not to the Romans but to those who forced them to
take such measures. Titus, however, declared that,
even were the Jews to mount it and fight therefrom,
he would not wreak vengeance on inanimate objects
instead of men, nor under any circumstances burn
down so magnificent a work; for the loss would
affect the Romans, inasmuch as it would be an orna-
tment to the empire if it stood. Fortified by this
pronouncement, Fronto, Alexander, and Cerealius

\[a \text{ Praefectus castrorum, a sort of quartermaster general,}
\text{with control over all the camps: cf. v. 45 f.}
\]

\[b \text{ v. 44.}
\]

\[c \text{ For a conflicting account of the verdict of Titus at this}
\text{council see Introduction to vol. ii. pp. xxiv f.}
\]
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243 άνδρος καὶ Κερεάλιος. τότε μὲν οὖν διαλύει τὸ συνέδριον καὶ τὰς ἄλλας δυνάμεις διαναπαύσαι κελεύσας τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, ὅπως ἐρρωμενεστέροις ἐν τῇ παρατάξει χρήσατο, τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν σπειρῶν ἐπιλέκτοις ὁδοποιεῖν διὰ τῶν ἐρειπίων προσέταξε καὶ τὸ πῦρ σβεννύειν.

244 (4) Κατ' ἐκείνην μὲν δὴ τὴν ἡμέραν [τῶν] Ἰουδαίων κάματος τε καὶ κατάπληξις ἐκράτησε τὰς ὀρμᾶς. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ συλλεξάμενοι τε τὴν ἰσχύν καὶ ἀναθαρσῆσαντες ἐπεκθέουσι διὰ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς πύλης τοὺς φύλαξι τοῦ ἐξωθεὶν ιεροῦ περὶ δευτέραν ὤραν. οἱ δὲ καρτερῶς μὲν ἐδέξαντο αὐτῶν τὴν ἐμβολὴν καὶ φραξάμενοι τοῖς θυρεοῖς κατὰ μέτωπον ὡσπερ τεῖχος ἐπύκνισαν τὴν φαλαγγα, δὴ λοι ὅς αὐξ ἐπὶ πολύ συμμενοῦντες πλήθει τε τῶν ἐκτρεχόντων καὶ θυμοῖς ἦττώμενοι.

245 φθάσας δὲ τῆς παρατάξεως τὴν ῥοπὴν Καῖσαρ, καθεώρα γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας, ἐπήμυνε μετὰ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἵππεών. Ἰουδαίοι δὲ τὴν ἐφοδον ὅχι ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ τῶν πρώτων πεσόντων ἐπάρπησαν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ὑποχωροῦσι μὲν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιστρεφόμενοι προσέκεντο, μεταβαλλόμενοι δ' ἀνέφευγον πάλιν, ἐνώ περὶ πέμπτην τῆς ἡμέρας ὤραν οἱ μὲν βιασθέντες εἰς τὸ ἔνδον συνεκλείσθησαν ἱερον. (5) Τίτος δ' ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν διεγνωκός τῆς ἐπιούσῃς ἡμέρας ὑπὸ τὴν ἑω μετὰ πάσης ἐμβαλεῖν τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τὸν ναὸν περικατασχεῖν. τοῦ δ' ἀρα κατευθύνετο μὲν τὸ πῦρ ὁ θεὸς πάλαι, παρὴν δ' ἡ εἰμαρμένη χρόνων περιόδοις ἡμέρα δεκάτη Λώου

1 Destinon from Lat.: ἐρρωμένους L: ἐρρωμενεστέρον the rest.

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now came over to his view. He then dissolved the council, and, directing the officers to allow the other troops an interval of repose, that he might find them reinvigorated in action, he gave orders to the picked men from the cohorts to open a road through the ruins and extinguish the fire.

(4) Throughout that day fatigue and consternation crushed the energies of the Jews; but, on the following day, with recruited strength and renewed courage, they sallied out through the eastern gate upon the guards of the outer court of the temple, at about the second hour. The Romans stubbornly met their charge and, forming a screen in front with their shields like a wall, closed up their ranks; it was evident, however, that they could not long hold together, being no match for the number and fury of their assailants. Caesar, who was watching the scene from Antonia, anticipating the breaking of the line, now brought up his picked cavalry to their assistance. The Jews could not withstand their onset: the fall of the foremost led to a general retreat. Yet whenever the Romans retired they returned to the attack, only to fall back once more when their opponents wheeled round; until, about the fifth hour of the day, the Jews were overpowered and shut up in the inner court of the temple.

(5) Titus then withdrew to Antonia, determined on the following day, at dawn, to attack with his whole force, and invest the temple. That building, however, God, indeed long since, had sentenced to the flames; but now in the revolution of the years had arrived the fated day, the tenth of the month

\[\text{om. AL.}\]

\[\text{Bekker with Lat.: συμμένουτες mss.}\]
μηνός, καθ’ ἕν καὶ πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Βαβυ-
251 λωνίων βασιλέως ἐνεπρήσθη. λαμβάνοντι δ’ αἱ 
φλόγες ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων τὴν ἀρχήν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν. 
ὑποχωρήσαντος γὰρ τοῦ Τίτου πρὸς ὀλγὸν λω-
φήσαντες οἱ στασιασταὶ πάλιν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπι-
τίθενται, καὶ τῶν τοῦ ναὸν φρουρῶν γίνεται συμ-
βολή πρὸς τοὺς σβεννύτας τὸ πῦρ [τοῦ ἐνδοθεν
ἱεροῦ], οἱ τρεψάμενοι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους μέχρι τοῦ
252 ναοῦ παρηκολούθουν. ἔνθα δὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν 
τις, οὕτε παράγγελμα περιμενᾶς οὐτ’ ἐπὶ τηλι-
κοῦτῳ δείσας ἐγχειρήματι, δαιμονίως6 ὀρμῆ τινὶ 
χρώμενος ἀρτάζει μὲν ἐκ τῆς φλεγομένης ὕλης, 
ἀνακοφισθεὶς δ’ ὑπὸ συστρατιώτου5 τὸ πῦρ ἐνύσι 
θερίδι χρυσῆ, καθ’ ἕν εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὸν ναὸν οἰκοὺς 
253 εἰσιτῶν ἦν ἐκ τοῦ βορείου κλίματος. αἱρομένης δὲ 
τῆς φλογὸς Ἰουδαίων μὲν ἐγείρεται κραυγὴ τοῦ 
pάθους ἀξία, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀμυναν συνέθεον, οὕτε 
τοῦ ζῆν ἐπὶ φειδῶ λαμβάνοντες οὕτε ταμειωμένου 
τῆς ἴσχύς, δ’ ὅν5 φυλακτικοὶ πρότερον ἦσαν 
οἰχομένου.

254 (6) Δραμῶν δὲ τις ἀγγέλλει Τίτῳ κακείνος, 
ἔτυχεν δὲ κατὰ σκηνήν ἀναπαυόμενος ἐκ τῆς 
μάχης, ὡς εἶχεν ἀναπηδήσας ἔθει πρὸς τὸν ναὸν 
255 εἰρέων τὸ πῦρ. κατόπιν δ’ οἱ τῇ ἡγεμόνες ἐκποντο 
πάντες, καὶ πτηθέντα τούτοις ἠκολούθει τὰ

1 om. Syr. 2 + ἐνδοθεν A Syr. 3 + δ’ Destinon
4 φλογὸς PA (Syr.?): text uncertain.
5 Bekker with Lat.: στρατιώτου mss.
6 δ’ δυ Destinon. cf. iii. 196, v. 543, vi. 322: δ’ όν or δι’ δ’ καὶ mss.

a This is in accordance with Jer. lli. 12 f., where the 
burning of the temple by Nebuzaradan, captain of Nebuchad-
rezzar’s guard, is stated to have occurred on the 10th day
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Lous, the day on which of old it had been burnt by the king of Babylon. The flames, however, owed their origin and cause to God's own people. For, on the withdrawal of Titus, the insurgents, after a brief respite, again attacked the Romans, and an engagement ensued between the guards of the sanctuary and the troops who were endeavouring to extinguish the fire in the inner court; the latter routing the Jews and pursuing them right up to the sanctuary. At this moment, one of the soldiers, awaiting no orders and with no horror of so dread a deed, but moved by some supernatural impulse, snatched a brand from the burning timber and, hoisted up by one of his comrades, flung the fiery missile through a low golden door, which gave access on the north side to the chambers surrounding the sanctuary. As the flame shot up, a cry, as poignant as the tragedy, arose from the Jews, who flocked to the rescue, lost to all thought of self-preservation, all husbanding of strength, now that the object of all their past vigilance was vanishing.

(6) Titus was resting in his tent after the engagement, when a messenger rushed in with the tidings. Starting up just as he was, he ran to the temple to arrest the conflagration; behind him followed his whole staff of generals, while in their train came the excited legionaries, and there was all the hubbub and of the 5th month (Heb. Ab=Lous in the Syrian calendar). In 2 Kings xxv. 8, on the other hand, the day is given as the 7th Ab; while, in Jewish tradition, the anniversary of the double burning has always been kept on the 9th Ab. A fictitious symmetry between corresponding events in the two sieges has probably been at work.

b Or “to their own people.”

* Or “through a golden window.”

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JOSEPHUS

τάγματα· ὑπὸ δ' ἤν καὶ θόρυβος ἀτε τηλικαύτης
256 δυνάμεως ἀπάκτως κεκινημένης. ὡ μὲν οὖν Καῖσαρ
tῇ τε φωνῇ καὶ τῇ δεξίᾳ διεσήμαινε τοῖς μαχο-
μένοις τῷ πῦρ σβεννεῖν, οὕτε δὲ βοῶντος ἦκουν
μείζον κραυγῆ τὰς ἄκοις προκατειλημμένου καὶ
tοῖς νεύμασι τῆς χειρὸς οὐ προσεῖχον, οἱ μὲν τῷ
257 πολεμεῖν, οἱ δ' ὀργῇ περισσώμενοι. τῶν δὲ ταγ-
μάτων εἰσθεόντων οὕτε παραίνεσι οὔτ' ἀπειλῇ
κατείχεν τὰς ὀρμάς, ἀλλ' ὁ θυμὸς ἀπάντων ἔστρα-
tήγει· καὶ περὶ τὰς εἰςδόους συνωθομένου πολλοὶ
mὲν ὑπ' ἀλλήλων κατεπατοῦντο, πολλοὶ δὲ θερμοὶς
ἐτί καὶ τυφομένους τοῖς ἐρείπιοις τῶν στοάν ἐμ-
258 πιπτοντες ἑπτωμένων σμφοραίς ἔχρωντο. πλησίον
dὲ τοῦ ναοῦ γινόμενοι τῶν μὲν τοῦ Καῖσαρος
παραγγελμάτων προσεποιοῦντο μηδὲ κατακούειν,
tοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν δὲ τὸ πῦρ ἐνεναὶ παρεκελεύοντο.
259 τῶν δὲ στασιαστῶν ἀμηχανία μὲν ἢν ἡδὴ τοῦ
βοηθεῖν, φόνος δὲ πανταχοῦ καὶ τροπή. τὸ δὲ
πλέον ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου λαὸς ἀσθενῆς καὶ ἀνοπλός
ὅπου καταληφθεῖ τις ἀπεσφάττετο, καὶ περὶ μὲν
tὸν βωμὸν πλήθος ἐσωρεύετο νεκρῶν, κατὰ δὲ τῶν
tοῦ ναοῦ βάθρων αἰμά τ' ἔρρεε πολὺ καὶ τὰ τῶν
ἀνω φονευμένων σῶματα κατωλίσθανε.

260 (?] Καῖσαρ δὲ ὡς οὕτε τὰς ὀρμὰς ἐνθουσιοῦντων
τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατασχείν οἴος τε ἢν καὶ τὸ πῦρ
ἐπεκράτει, παρελθὼν μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐνδον
ἐθεάσατο τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ἄγιον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῶ, πολὺ
mὲν τῆς παρὰ τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις φήμης ἀμέινω, τοῦ
δὲ κόμπου καὶ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς οἰκείοις δόξης οὐκ
261 ἑλάττω. τῆς φλογὸς δ' οὐδέπω δικνουμένης

1 L (Lat. voce): boη the rest.
confusion attending the disorderly movement of so large a force. Caesar, both by voice and hand, signalled to the combatants to extinguish the fire; but they neither heard his shouts, drowned in the louder din which filled their ears, nor heeded his beckoning hand, distracted as they were by the fight or their fury. The impetuosity of the legionaries, when they joined the fray, neither exhortation nor threat could restrain; passion was for all the only leader. Crushed together about the entrances, many were trampled down by their companions; many, stumbling on the still hot and smouldering ruins of the porticoes, suffered the fate of the vanquished. As they drew nearer to the sanctuary they pretended not even to hear Caesar's orders and shouted to those in front of them to throw in the firebrands. The insurgents, for their part, were now powerless to help; and on all sides was carnage and flight. Most of the slain were civilians, weak and unarmed people, each butchered where he was caught. Around the altar a pile of corpses was accumulating; down the steps of the sanctuary flowed a stream of blood, and the bodies of the victims killed above went sliding to the bottom.

(7) Caesar, finding himself unable to restrain the impetuosity of his frenzied soldiers and the fire gaining the mastery, passed with his generals within the building and beheld the holy place of the sanctuary and all that it contained—things far exceeding the reports current among foreigners and not inferior to their proud reputation among ourselves. As the flames had nowhere yet penetrated to the interior, his unavailing efforts to save it.

Cf. the account of Pompey's similar visit to the Holy Place, i. 152.
οὐδαμόθεν εἶσο, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν ναὸν οἶκους νεμομένης, νομίσας, ὅπερ ἦν, ἐτὶ σῴζεσθαι τὸ 262 ἔργον δύνασθαι προτηδα, καὶ αὐτὸς τε παρακαλεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπειράτο τὸ πῦρ σβεινύειν καὶ Διβεράλιον ἐκατοντάρχην τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν λογχο- φόρων ἐξύλοις παίοντα τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ἐκέλευσεν 263 εὑρείν. τῶν δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα αἰδῶ καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κωλύοντος φόβον ἐνίκων οἱ θυμὸι καὶ τὸ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους μῖσος καὶ πολεμικὴ τίς 264 ὀρμὴ λαβροτέρα· τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς ἐνήγειν ἀρπαγῆς ἐλπίς, δόξαν [τε]¹ ἐχοντας ὡς τὰ ἐνδὸν ἀπαντα χρημάτων μεστὰ εἶ ὡς καὶ τὰ πέριξ ὅρων ταχύν 265 πεποιημένα. φθάνει δὲ τις καὶ τῶν εἴσω παρεληλυ- θότων, ἐκπηδήσαντος τοῦ Καίσαρος πρὸς ἐποχήν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, πῦρ εἰς τοὺς στροφέας ἐμβαλών 266 τῆς πύλης [ἐν σκότῳ]². τότε γὰρ ἐξαπίνης ἐνδοθεὶν ἐκφανείσης φλογὸς οἱ τε ἡγεμόνες μετὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀνεχώρουν, καὶ τοὺς ἐξωθεὶν οὐδεὶς υφάπτεων ἐκώλυσεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν ναὸς οὕτως ἀκοντος Καίσαρος ἐμπίπτεται.

267 (8) Πολλὰ δ’ ἂν τις ἑπολοφυράμενος ἔργῳ πάντων ὅν ὦψει καὶ ἀκοῇ παρειλήφαμεν θαυμα- σιωτάτῳ κατασκευῆς τε ἐνεκα καὶ μεγέθους, ἐτὶ τε τῆς καθ’ ἐκαστον πολυτελείας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἅγια δόξης, μεγίστην λάβοι παραμυθίαν τῆν εἰμαρ- μένην, ἀφυκτόν οὖσαν ὤσπερ ἐμψύχοις οὕτω καὶ 268 ἔργοις καὶ τόποις. θαυμάσαι ³ δ’ ἂν τις ἐν αὐτῇ τῆς περιόδου τὴν ἀκρίβειαν· καὶ μῆνα γοῦν, ὡς ἔφη, καὶ ἡμέραν ἐτηρήσειν τὴν αὐτήν, ἐν ἦ

¹ om. P Lat.
² om. Lat. Zon.: ἐν κόντῳ ("with a pole") M margin.
³ θαυμάσαι L Zon.

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but were consuming the chambers surrounding the temple. Titus, correctly assuming that the structure might still be saved, rushed out and by personal appeals endeavoured to induce the soldiers to quench the fire; while he directed Liberalius, a centurion of his bodyguard of lancers, to restrain, by resort to clubs, any who disobeyed orders. But their respect for Caesar and their fear of the officer who was endeavouring to check them were overpowered by their rage, their hatred of the Jews, and a lust for battle more unruly still. Most of them were further stimulated by the hope of plunder, believing that the interior was full of money and actually seeing that all the surroundings were made of gold. However, the end was precipitated by one of those who had entered the building, and who, when Caesar rushed out to restrain the troops, thrust a firebrand, in the darkness, into the hinges of the gate. At once a flame shot up from the interior, Caesar and his generals withdrew, and there was none left to prevent those outside from kindling a blaze. Thus, against Caesar’s wishes, was the temple set on fire.

(8) Deeply as one must mourn for the most marvellous edifice which we have ever seen or heard of, whether we consider its structure, its magnitude, the richness of its every detail, or the reputation of its Holy Places, yet may we draw very great consolation from the thought that there is no escape from Fate, for works of art and places any more than for living beings. And one may well marvel at the exactness of the cycle of Destiny; for, as I said, she waited until the very month and the very day on which in
πρότερον ὑπὸ Βαβυλωνίων ὁ ναὸς ἐνεπρήσθη.
269 καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς πρῶτης αὐτοῦ κτίσεως, ἢν κατεβάλετο Σολομῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς, μέχρι τῆς νῦν ἀναιρέσεως, ἢ γέγονεν ἔτει δευτέρω τῆς Ὀινεσπα-
σιανοῦ ἡγεμονίας, ἐτη συνάγεται χίλια ἕκατον τριάκοντα, πρὸς δὲ μῆνες ἐπτὰ καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα
270 ἡμέραι: ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ὑστεροῦ, ἢν ἔτει δευτέρω Κύρου βασιλεύοντος ἐποίησατο Ἱσσαίος, ἐτη μέχρι τῆς ὑπὸ Ὀινεσπασιανοῦ ἀλώσεως τριάκοντα-
εννέα πρὸς ἕξακοσίους καὶ ἡμέραι τεσσαρακοντα-
πέντε.

271 (v. 1) Καιομένου δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν μὲν προσ-
pιπτόντων ἦν ἀρπαγὴ, φόνος δὲ τῶν καταλαμ-
βανομένων μυρίος καὶ οὔτε ἡλικίας ἢν ἔλεος οὔτ' ἐντροπὴ σεμνότητος, ἀλλὰ καὶ παιδία καὶ γέροντες καὶ βέβηλοι καὶ ἕρεις ὀμοίως ἀνηρόντο, καὶ πάν 
γένος ἐπεξήγη περισσῶν ὁ πόλεμος, ὀμοῦ τούς τε 
272 ἐκεντοῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἁμνομένους. συνῆχει δ' ἡ 
φλόξ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐκφερομενή τοῖς τῶν πιπτόντων 
στεναγμοῖς, καὶ διὰ μὲν τὸ ὑψὸς τοῦ λόφου καὶ τοῦ 
φλεγομένου μέγεθος ἐργον πᾶσαν ἀν τις ἐδοξε 
καίεσθαι τὴν πόλιν, τῆς δὲ βοής ἐκείνης 
οὐδὲν ἐπισυνηθήναι δύνατ' ἀν ἡ μεῖζον ἡ φοβερό-

273 περον. τῶν τε γὰρ Ὀρωμαϊκῶν παγμάτων ἀλαλαγ-
μῶς ἦν συμφερομένως, καὶ τῶν στασιαστῶν πυρὶ 
καὶ συδήρω κεκυκλωμένων κραυγῆ, τοῦ τε ἄπο-

ληφθέντος ἀνω λαοῦ ἀργοπῆ τε μετ' ἐκπλήξεως εἷς 
τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ πρὸς τὸ πάθος οἴμωγαί. 

274 συνεβόα δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου τὸ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν 
πλῆθος· ἦδη δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν λιμῷ μαρανόμενοι καὶ 
μεμυκότες ὡς εἰδον τὸ τοῦ ναοῦ πύρ, εἰς ὀδυρμοὺς
bygone times the temple had been burnt by the Babylonians.\textsuperscript{a} From its first foundation by King Solomon up to its present destruction, which took place in the second year of Vespasian's reign, the total period amounts to one thousand one hundred and thirty years seven months and fifteen days; from its rebuilding by Haggai in the second year of the reign of Cyrus until its fall under Vespasian to six hundred and thirty-nine years and forty-five days.\textsuperscript{b}

(v. 1) While the temple blazed, the victors plundered everything that fell in their way and slaughtered wholesale all who were caught. No pity was shown for age, no reverence for rank; children and greybeards, laity and priests, alike were massacred; every class was pursued and encompassed in the grasp of war, whether suppliants for mercy or offering resistance. The roar of the flames streaming far and wide mingled with the groans of the falling victims; and, owing to the height of the hill and the mass of the burning pile, one would have thought that the whole city was ablaze. And then the din—nothing more deafening or appalling could be conceived than that. There were the war-cries of the Roman legions sweeping onward in mass, the howls of the rebels encircled by fire and sword, the rush of the people who, cut off above, fled panic-stricken only to fall into the arms of the foe, and their shrieks as they met their fate. With the cries on the hill were blended those of the multitude in the city below; and now many who were emaciated and tongue-tied from starvation, when they beheld the

\textsuperscript{a} § 250 note. \textsuperscript{b} Chronological system uncertain.
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πάλιν καί κραυγὴν εὐτόνησαν· συνήχει δ' ἡ τε
Περαιὰ καί τὰ πέριξ ὄρη βαρυτέραν ποιοῦντα τὴν
275 βοήν. ἢν δὲ τοῦ θορύβου τὰ πάθη φοβερῶτερα·
tὸν μὲν γε τοῦ ἱεροῦ λόφου ἐκ ῥίζων ἄν τις ἐδοξε
βράττεσθαι πάντοθεν τοῦ πυρὸς καταγέμισταν,
δαμαλέστερον δὲ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ πυρὸς εἶναι καὶ τῶν
276 φονευόντων πλείους τοὺς φονευόμενους· οὐδ'αμοῦ
gὰρ ἡ γῆ διεφαινετο τῶν νεκρῶν, ἀλλὰ [καὶ]¹
σωροῖς ἐπεμβαίνοντες² οἱ στρατιώται σωμάτων
277 ἐπὶ τοὺς διαφεύγοντας ἔθεον. τὸ μὲν οὖν λῃστρικὸν
πλῆθος ὡσάμενοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μόλις εἰς τὸ
ἐξω διεκπέπτουσιν ἱερὸν κάκειθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν,
tοῦ δημοτικοῦ δὲ τὸ λειψθὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξω στοὰν
278 κατέφυγε. τῶν δ' ἱερέων τινές τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
ἀπ' τοῦ ναοῦ τους τε ὀβελοὺς καὶ τὰς ἐδρας αὐτῶν
μολίβου πεποιημένας ἀναστώντες εἰς τοὺς Ῥω-
279 μαίους ἠφίεσαν, αὕτης δ' ὡς οὔτ' ἤνυν τι καὶ τὸ
πῦρ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀνερρήγυντο, ἐπὶ τὸν τοιχὸν
ἀναχωρήσαντες, ὅτα ὀκτάπηχῳ τὸ εὕρος, ἐμενον.
280 δύο γε μὴν τῶν ἐπισήμων, παρὼν σωθῆναι πρὸς
Ῥωμαίους μεταστάσαιν ἦ διακαρτηρεῖν πρὸς τὴν
μετὰ τῶν ἀλλῶν τύχην, ἐαυτοὺς ἔρρυσαν εἰς τὸ
πῦρ καὶ τῷ ναῷ συγκατεδλέγησαν, Μηῖρος τε νῖος
Βελγά καὶ Ἰώσηπος Δαλαίον.
281 (2) Ῥωμαίοι δὲ μάταιον τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πέριξ
菲尔ω κρίναντες τὸν ναοῦ φλεγομένου πάντα συν-
ἐπίμπρασαν, τὰ τε λείψανα τῶν στοῶν καὶ τὰς

¹ om. LC Zon.
² ἐπεμβαίνοντες P.A.

ᵃ Cf. the similar catalogue of horrible sounds, including 456
sanctuary on fire, gathered strength once more for lamentations and wailing. Peraea and the surrounding mountains contributed their echoes, deepening the din. But yet more awful than the uproar were the sufferings. You would indeed have thought that the temple-hill was boiling over from its base, being everywhere one mass of flame, but yet that the stream of blood was more copious than the flames and the slain more numerous than the slayers. For the ground was nowhere visible through the corpses; but the soldiers had to clamber over heaps of bodies in pursuit of the fugitives. The brigand crowd succeeded in pushing through the Romans and with difficulty forcing their way into the outer court of the temple, and thence to the city; while what was left of the populace took refuge on the outer portico.

Of the priests some, at the first, tore up the spikes from the sanctuary, with their leaden sockets, and hurled them at the Romans, but afterwards, finding their efforts unavailing and the flames breaking out against them, they retired to the wall, which was eight cubits broad, and there remained. Two persons of distinction, however, having the choice of saving their lives by going over to the Romans or of holding out and sharing the fortune of the rest, plunged into the fire and were consumed with the temple, namely Meirus, son of Belgas, and Josephus, son of Dalaeus.

(2) The Romans, thinking it useless, now that the temple was on fire, to spare the surrounding buildings, set them all alight, both the remnants of the porticoes and the gates, excepting two, one on the mountain echoes, in the account of the siege of Jotapata, iii. 247-250. Their fate is described below, §§ 283 f.
πύλας πλην δύο, τῆς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν, τῆς δὲ μεσημβρινῆς· καὶ ταύτας ὕστερον κατέσκαψαν. 282 ἐκαίον δὲ καὶ τὰ γαζοφυλάκια, ἐν οἷς ἁπειρον μὲν χρημάτων πλῆθος ἁπειροι δ' ἐσθήτες καὶ ἄλλα κειμήλια, συνελόντι δ' εἴπειν, πάς ὁ Ἰουδαίων σεσώρευτο πλοῦτος, ἀνεσκευασμένων ἐκεῖ τοὺς 283 οἰκοὺς τῶν εὐπόρων. ἦκον δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν λοιπὴν στοὰν τοῦ ἐξωθεὶν ἱεροῦ· καταπεφεύγει2 δ' ἐπὶ αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου γύναια καὶ παιδία καὶ 284 σύμμικτος ὁχλος εἰς ἐξακισχύλιοι. πρὸν δὲ Καί- σαρα κρίναν τι περὶ αὐτῶν ἡ κελεύσαν τοὺς ἥγε- μόνας, φερόμενοι τοῖς θυμοίς οἱ στρατιώται τὴν στοὰν ὑφάπτουσι, καὶ συνέβη τοὺς μὲν ρίπτοντας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς φλογὸς διαφθαρῆναι, τοὺς δ' ἐν 285 αὐτῆς περιεσώθη δ' ἐκ τοσοῦτον οὐδείς. τούτους αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀπωλείας ψευδοπροφήτης τις κατέστη κατ' ἐκείνην κηρύξας τὴν ἡμέραν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως, ὥσ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀναβῆναι κελεύει 286 δεξιόμενος τὰ σημεία τῆς σωτηρίας. πολλοὶ δ' ἦσαν ἐγκαθετοὶ παρὰ τῶν τυράννων τότε πρὸς τὸν δήμου προφήται, προσμένειν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βοήθειαν καταγγέλλοντες, ὡς ἦττον αὐτομολοίην καί τοὺς ἐπάνω δέους καὶ φυλακῆς γενομένους 287 ἐλπὶς παρακροτοῦται. πείθεται δὲ ταχέως3 ἀνθρωπος ἐν συμφοραῖς, ὅταν δ' ἡδη4 καὶ τῶν κατεχόντων δεινῶν ἀπαλλαγῆν ὁ ἐξαπατῶν υπογράφη, τὸθ' ὁ πάσχων ὅλος γίνεται τῆς ἑλπίδος. 288 (3) Τὸν γούν ἄθλιον δήμου οἱ μὲν ἀπατεῶνες καὶ καταψευδόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ τηρικάτα παρέπειθον, 

1 + δ' Destinon.  
2 Bekker with one ms. and Lat. (confugerant): καταφεύγει the rest.  
3 δ' εὐθέως L.  
4 δ' ἡδη L: δὲ ὁ ἡ most mss.  
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east and the other on the south; these also they subsequently razed to the ground. They further burnt the treasury-chambers, in which lay vast sums of money, vast piles of raiment, and other valuables; for this, in short, was the general repository of Jewish wealth, to which the rich had consigned the contents of their dismantled houses. They then proceeded to the one remaining portico of the outer court, on which the poor women and children of the populace and a mixed multitude had taken refuge, numbering six thousand. And before Caesar had come to any decision or given any orders to the officers concerning these people, the soldiers, carried away by rage, set fire to the portico from below; with the result that some were killed plunging out of the flames, others perished amidst them, and out of all that multitude not a soul escaped. They owed their destruction to a false prophet, who had on that day proclaimed to the people in the city that God commanded them to go up to the temple court, to receive there the tokens of their deliverance. Numerous prophets, indeed, were at this period suborned by the tyrants to delude the people, by bidding them await help from God, in order that desertions might be checked and that those who were above fear and precaution might be encouraged by hope. In adversity man is quickly persuaded; but when the deceiver actually pictures release from prevailing horrors, then the sufferer wholly abandons himself to expectation.

(3) Thus it was that the wretched people were deluded at that time by charlatans and pretended

\[a\] v. 200; it was here that Herod Agrippa suspended the golden chain given him by Caligula on his release from imprisonment, \textit{A. xix.} 294.
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τοὺς δ' ἐναργείσι καὶ προσημαίνονσι τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐρημίαν τέρασιν ὦτε προσεῖχον ὦτ', ἐπίστευον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔμβεβροντημένοι καὶ μήτ' ὁμματα μήτε ψυχὴν ἔχοντες τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ κηρυγμάτων παρῆκουσαν, τούτο μὲν ὤτε ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἀστρον ἔστη ῥομφαία παραπλήσιον καὶ παρατείνας ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν κομῆτις, τούτο δ' ἡνίκα πρὸ τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον κινήματος ἀθροιζομένου τοῦ λαοῦ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀξύμων ἔορτήν, οὐδόθῃ δ' ἦν Ἑανθικοῦ μηνός, κατὰ νυκτὸς ἐνάτην ὦραν τοσοῦτο φῶς περιέλαμψε τῶν βωμῶν καὶ τῶν ναῶν, ὡς δοκεῖν ἤμεραν εἶναι λαμπράν, καὶ τούτῳ παρέτεινεν ἐφ' ἡμίσειαν ὦραν· δ' τοῖς μὲν ἀπείροις ἄγαθον ἐδόκει, τοῖς δ' ἱερογραμματεύεις πρὸς τῶν ἀποβεβηκότων κόσων εὐθέως ἐκρίθη, καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔορτήν βοῦς μὲν ἀχθείσα ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ἐτεκεν ἂρνα ἐν τῷ ίερῷ μέσῳ, ἢ δ' ἀνατολικὴ πύλη τοῦ ἐνδοτέρω ναοῦ χαλκῆ μὲν οὕσα καὶ στιβαρωτάτη, κλεομένη δὲ περὶ δείλην μόλις ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων εἰκοσι, καὶ μοχλοῖς μὲν ἐπερειδομένη σύνηροδέτοις, κατάπηγας δ' ἐχουσα βαθυτάτους εἰς τὸν ὀυδόν δινακοῦσι λίθου καθιεμένους, ὡφθη κατὰ νυκτὸς ὦραν ἐκτὴν αὐτομάτως ἠνοιγμένην. δραμόντες δ' οἱ τοῦ ίεροῦ φύλакες ἡγειλαν τῷ στρατηγῷ, κάκεινος ἀναβάς μόλις αὐτὴν ἠσχυσεν κλείσαι. πάλιν τούτῳ τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις κάλλιστον

1 P.A Eus.: ἠνεωγμένη the rest.

* Tac. Hist. v. 13, "evenerant prodigia, quae neque hostis neque votis piare fas habet gens superstitioni obnoxia, religionibus adversa." "Tacitus means that the Jews were much under the influence of their religion (which he calls superstition), but, unlike the Romans, did not feel that prodigies involved any obligations (religiones) to avert them."
messengers of the deity; while they neither heeded nor believed in the manifest portents that foretold the coming desolation, but, as if thunderstruck and bereft of eyes and mind, disregarded the plain warnings of God. So it was when a star, resembling a sword, stood over the city, and a comet which continued for a year. So again when, before the revolt and the commotion that led to war, at the time when the people were assembling for the feast of unleavened bread, on the eighth of the month Xanthicus, at the ninth hour of the night, so brilliant a light shone round the altar and the sanctuary that it seemed to be broad daylight; and this continued for half an hour. By the inexperienced this was regarded as a good omen, but by the sacred scribes it was at once interpreted in accordance with after events. At that same feast a cow that had been brought by some one for sacrifice gave birth to a lamb in the midst of the court of the temple; moreover, the eastern gate of the inner court—it was of brass and very massive, and, when closed towards evening, could scarcely be moved by twenty men; fastened with iron-bound bars, it had bolts which were sunk to a great depth into a threshold consisting of a solid block of stone—this gate was observed at the sixth hour of the night to have opened of its own accord. The watchmen of the temple ran and reported the matter to the captain, and he came up and with difficulty succeeded in shutting it. This again to the uninitiated seemed the best of

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a March-April; “25 April of the Julian year if Josephus follows his usual system, but here he seems to have used a more ancient Jewish reckoning” (Niese).

b Tac. ibid. “apertae repente delubri fores.”

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εδόκει τέρας: ἀνοίξαι γὰρ τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς τῷ τῶν ἀγαθῶν πύλην· οἱ λόγοι δὲ λυμεένην αὐτομάτως τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐνενόουν, καὶ πολεμίως δῶρον ἀνοίγεσθαι την πύλην, δηλωτικὸν τ' ἐρημίας ἀπέφαυνον ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ σημεῖον. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις οὗτον, μιᾶ καὶ εἰκάδι

296 Ἁρτεμίσιον μηνός, φάσμα τι δαμόνιον ὄψη μείζον πίστεως· τερατεία δὲ ἂν ἔδοξεν οἵματο τὸ ῥήθησόμενον, εἰ μὴ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς θεασμένοις ἱστόρητο καὶ τὰ ἐπακολουθήσαντα πάθη τῶν σημείων ἡ ἄξια· πρὸ γὰρ ἡλίου δύσεως ὡφθη μετέωρα περὶ πάσαν τὴν χώραν ἄρματα καὶ φάλαγγες ἐνοπλοὶ διάττουσαι τῶν νεφῶν καὶ κυκλούμεναι τὰς πόλεις. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν, ἡ πεντηκοστὴ καλεῖται, νύκτωρ οἱ ιερεῖς παρελθόντες εἰς τὸ ἐνδον ιερὸν, ὡσπερ αὐτοῖς ἐθος πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας, πρῶτον μὲν κινήσεως ἔφασαν ἀντιλαβέσθαι καὶ κτύπου, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φωνής ἀθρόας "μεταβαίνομεν ἐντεῦθεν." τὸ δὲ τούτων φοβερώτερον, Ἰησοῦς γὰρ τις νῦσ 'Ἀνανίου' τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀγροίκων, πρὸ τεσσάρων ἑτῶν τοῦ πολέμου τὰ μάλιστα τῆς πόλεως εἰρήνευομένης καὶ εὐθυνούσης, ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν, ἐν ἡ σκηνοποιεῖσθαι πάντας ἔθος τῷ θεῷ, κατὰ τὸ ιερὸν ἑξαπίνης ἀναβαίνῃ ἡρῴατο "φωνῇ ἀπ᾽ ἀνατολῆς, φωνῇ ἀπὸ

1 P (cf. § 300): + ἤν the rest.
3 Ανανίου
4 εἰρήνευομένης PL.

a c. May (" 8 June," Niese as above).
b Tac. ibid. " visae per caelum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma et subito nubium igne conlucere templum " (partly based on Virgil, Aen. viii. 528 f.).
c Tac. ibid. " apertae repente delubri fores et audita major

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omens, as they supposed that God had opened to them the gate of blessings; but the learned understood that the security of the temple was dissolving of its own accord and that the opening of the gate meant a present to the enemy, interpreting the portent in their own minds as indicative of coming desolation. Again, not many days after the festival, on the twenty-first of the month Artemisium, there appeared a miraculous phenomenon, passing belief. Indeed, what I am about to relate would, I imagine, have been deemed a fable, were it not for the narratives of eyewitnesses and for the subsequent calamities which deserved to be so signalized. For before sunset throughout all parts of the country chariots were seen in the air and armed battalions hurtling through the clouds and encompassing the cities. Moreover, at the feast which is called Pentecost, the priests on entering the inner court of the temple by night, as their custom was in the discharge of their ministrations, reported that they were conscious, first of a commotion and a din, and after that of a voice as of a host, “We are departing hence.”

But a further portent was even more alarming. Four years before the war, when the city was enjoying profound peace and prosperity, there came to the feast at which it is the custom of all Jews to erect tabernacles to God, one Jesus, son of Ananias, a rude peasant, who, standing in the temple, suddenly began to cry out, “A voice from the east, a voice humana vox, excedere deos; simul ingens motus excedentium.” This supports the reading, μεταβαίνομεν, in the text, rather than the variant, “let us depart hence.”

The Feast of Tabernacles, Sukkoth, autumn of A.D. 62, as appears from § 308. Hostilities opened four years later with the defeat of Cestius in the autumn of A.D. 66.
δύσεως, φωνὴ ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, φωνὴ ἐπὶ Ἰεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν ναὸν, φωνὴ ἐπὶ νυμφίους καὶ νύμφας, φωνὴ ἐπὶ τὸν λαὸν πάντα." τοῦτο μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ κατὰ πάντας τοὺς στενω-

302 ποὺς περιήγει κεκραγώς. τῶν δὲ ἐπισήμων των δημοτῶν ἀγανακτήσαντες πρὸς τὸ κακόφημον συλλαμβάνουσι τὸν ἀνθρωπόν καὶ πολλαῖς αἰκί-

ζονταί πληγαίσ. δ' δ' οὐθ' ύπερ αὐτοῦ φθεγξᾶ-

μενος οὔτ' ἴδια πρὸς τοὺς παῖς, ὡς καὶ πρότερον

303 φωνᾶς βοῶν διετέλει. νομίζαντες δ' οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὁπερ ἦν, δαιμονιώτερον τὸ κίνημα τάνδρος ἀν-

ἀγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν παρὰ 'Ρωμαίοις ἔσπαρξιν.

304 ἐνθα μάστεξι μέχρι ὀστέων ξανόμενον οὐθ' ἑκέ-

τευσεν οὔτ' ἐδάκρυσεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐνήν μάλιστα τὴν

φωνὴν ὀλοφυρτικῶς παρεγκλίνων πρὸς ἐκάστην

305 ἀπεκρίνατο πληγὴν "αἰαὶ Ἰεροσόλυμοι." τοῦ

δ' Ἀλβίνου διερωτώντος, οὗτος γὰρ ἐσπαρξις ἦν,

τής τ' ἐيح καὶ πόθεν, καὶ διὰ τί ταῦτα φθέγγοιτο,

πρὸς ταῦτα μὲν οὖθ' ὄτιοιν ἀπεκρίνατο, τόν δ' ἐπὶ

τῇ πόλει θρήνοι εὗρων οὐ διέλειπεν, μέχρι κατα-

306 γνοὺς μαίναν ὁ Ἀλβίνος ἀπέλυσεν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ τὸν

μέχρι τοῦ πολέμου χρόνον οὔτε προσήχει τινὶ τῶν

πολιτῶν οὔτε ὤφθη λαλῶν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡμέραν ὁσ-

περ εὐχὴν μεμελετηκὼς "αἰαὶ Ἰεροσόλυμοι" οὔ-

307 ἐθρήνει. οὔτε δὲ τῶν τυπτόντων αὐτόν ὁση-

μέρας κατηράτο οὔτε τοὺς τροφῆς μεταδιδόντας

εὐλόγει, μία δὲ πρὸς πάντας ἦν ἡ σκυθρωπὴ κληδὼν

308 ἀπόκρισις. μάλιστα δ' ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς ἐκεκρά-

γεῖ καὶ τούτ' ἐφ' ἐπτὰ ἐτη καὶ μήνας πέντε εὗρων οὔτ'

ἡμβλυνεν τὴν φωνὴν οὔτ' ἐκαμεν, μέχρις οὐ κατὰ

* Cf. the repeated refrain in Jeremiah, "Then will I cause
from the west, a voice from the four winds; a voice against Jerusalem and the sanctuary, a voice against the bridegroom and the bride, a voice against all the people." Day and night he went about all the alleys with this cry on his lips. Some of the leading citizens, incensed at these ill-omened words, arrested the fellow and severely chastised him. But he, without a word on his own behalf or for the private ear of those who smote him, only continued his cries as before. Thereupon, the magistrates, supposing, as was indeed the case, that the man was under some supernatural impulse, brought him before the Roman governor; there, although flayed to the bone with scourges, he neither sued for mercy nor shed a tear, but, merely introducing the most mournful of variations into his ejaculation, responded to each stroke with "Woe to Jerusalem!" When Albinus, the governor, asked him who and whence he was and why he uttered these cries, he answered him never a word, but unceasingly reiterated his dirge over the city, until Albinus pronounced him a maniac and let him go. During the whole period up to the outbreak of war he neither approached nor was seen talking to any of the citizens, but daily, like a prayer that he had conned, repeated his lament, "Woe to Jerusalem!" He neither cursed any of those who beat him from day to day, nor blessed those who offered him food: to all men that melancholy presage was his one reply. His cries were loudest at the festivals. So for seven years and five months he continued his wail, his voice never flagging nor his strength exhausted, until in the siege, having seen to cease from . . . the streets of Jerusalem . . . the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride” (vii. 34, etc.).

Procurator A.D. 62-64, B. ii. 272-6.
the rest.

1 P.A.: ἐπὶ the rest.

Authority unknown.

So Tacitus, Hist. v. 13 "pluribus persuasio inerat antiquis sacerdotum litteris contineri, eo ipso tempore fore ut valesceret Oriens profectique Judaea rerum poterentur. quae ambages Vespasianum ac Titum praedixerat, sed vulgus more humanae cupidinis sibi tantam fatorum magnitudinem interpretati ne adversis quidem ad vera mutabantur." Cf. the similar statement in Suetonius, Vesp. 4 "percrebruerat 466
his presage verified, he found his rest. For, while going his round and shouting in piercing tones from the wall, "Woe once more to the city and to the people and to the temple," as he added a last word, "and woe to me also," a stone hurled from the ballista struck and killed him on the spot. So with those ominous words still upon his lips he passed away.

(4) Reflecting on these things one will find that God has a care for men, and by all kinds of premonitory signs shows His people the way of salvation, while they owe their destruction to folly and calamities of their own choosing. Thus the Jews, after the demolition of Antonia, reduced the temple to a square, although they had it recorded in their oracles that the city and the sanctuary would be taken when the temple should become four-square. But what more than all else incited them to the war was an ambiguous oracle, likewise found in their sacred scriptures, to the effect that at that time one from their country would become ruler of the world. This they understood to mean someone of their own race, and many of their wise men went astray in their interpretation of it. The oracle, however, in reality signified the sovereignty of Vespasian, who was proclaimed Emperor on Jewish soil. For all Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis ut eo tempore Judaeæa profecti rerum potirentur. Id de imperatore Romano, quantum postea eventu paruit, praedictum Judæi ad se trahentes rebellarunt." For discussions on this (Messianic) prophecy and the relations between Josephus and Tacitus see E. Norden in Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, 1913, xxxi. 637 ff., and P. Corrsen in Zeitschrift für die N.T. Wissenschaft, 1914, 114 ff. Tacitus is not likely to have read Josephus: both are apparently dependent on a common source.
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315 οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν σημείων ἂ μὲν ἐκριναν πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἃ δὲ ἐξουθένησαν, μέχρις οὐ τῇ τε ἀλώσει τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῷ σφῶν αὐτῶν ὀλέθρῳ διηλέγχθησαν τὴν ἁνοιαν.

316 (vi. 1) Ἄρμαίων δὲ τῶν μὲν στασιαστῶν κατα-πεφυγότων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καιομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τῶν πέριξ ἀπάντων, κομίσαντες τὰς σημαίας εἰς τὸ ιερὸν καὶ θέμενοι τῆς ἀνατολικῆς πύλης ἀντικρυς ἑθυσαν τε αὐταῖς αὐτοθι καὶ τὸν Τίτον μετὰ μεγίστων εὐθυμίων ἀπέφευγαν αὐτο-

317 κράτορα. ταῖς δὲ ἀρπαγαῖς οὕτως ἐνεπλήσθησαν οἱ στρατωταὶ πάντες, ὡστε κατὰ τὴν Σύριαν πρὸς ἡμιον τῆς πάλαι τιμῆς τὸν σταθμὸν τοῦ χρυσίων

318 πιπράσκεσθαι. τῶν δὲ ἀνὰ τὸν τοῖχον τοῦ ναοῦ ἱερῶν διακαρτηροῦντων παῖς δυνήσας ἤκέτευε τοὺς φύλακας τῶν Ἄρμαίων δοῦναι δεξιὰν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ

319 δίψος ἐξωμολογεῖτο. τῶν δὲ τῆς ἥλικιας καὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης οἰκτον λαβόντων καὶ δόντων δεξιᾶς καταβας αὐτός τε πίνει καὶ δ' ἄφεσιν ἤκεν ἁγγείων πλῆσας ὑδατος ἰχέτο φεύγων ἄνω πρὸς τοὺς

320 σφετέρους. τῶν δὲ φυλάκων καταλαβεῖν μὲν οὐδεὶς ἵσχυσε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀπιστίαν ἐβλασφήμουν. κάκεινος οὐδὲν ἔφη παραβεβηκέναι τῶν συνιθηκῶν· λαβεῖν γὰρ δεξιὰν οὐ τοῦ μένειν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ τοῦ καταβῆναι μόνων καὶ λαβεῖν ὑδηρ, ἀπερ

321 ἀμφότερα πεποιηκώς πιστὸς ἔδωξε εἶναι. τὸ μὲν δὴ πανούργημα διὰ τὴν ἥλικιαν μάλιστα τοῦ παιδὸς ἀπεθαναμένου οἱ πλανηθέντες· πέμπτη δ' * Havercamp quotes Tertullian's *Apology*, xvi. “sed et Victorias adoratis. . . . Religio Romanorum tota castrensis signa veneratur, signa jurat, signa omnibus diis praeponit.” 468
that, it is impossible for men to escape their fate, even though they foresee it. Some of these portents, then, the Jews interpreted to please themselves, others they treated with contempt, until the ruin of their country and their own destruction convicted them of their folly.

(vi. 1) The Romans, now that the rebels had fled to the city, and the sanctuary itself and all around it were in flames, carried their standards into the temple court and, setting them up opposite the eastern gate, there sacrificed to them, and with rousing acclamations hailed Titus as imperator. So gluttoned with plunder were the troops, one and all, that throughout Syria the standard of gold was depreciated to half its former value. Among the priests still holding out on the wall of the sanctuary a lad, who was parched with thirst, confessed his condition to the Roman guards and besought them to pledge him security. Taking pity on his youth and distress, they promised him protection; whereupon he came down and drank, and then, after filling with water a vessel which he had brought with him, raced back to his comrades above. The guards all failing to catch him and cursing his perfidy, he replied that he had broken no covenant; for the accepted pledge did not bind him to remain with them, but merely permitted him to descend and procure water; both these actions he had done, and therefore considered that he had been true to his word. Such cunning, especially in so young a boy, astonished the Romans whom he had outwitted; however, on the fifth day, the priests, now famishing,

For the practice here mentioned, Josephus seems to be the sole authority.  

\[ \text{§ 279.} \]
ήμέρα λιμώττοντες οἱ ἱερεῖς καταβαίνουσι καὶ πρὸς Τίτον ἀναχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάκων ἴκέτευνον

322 τυχεῖν σωτηρίας. ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν τῆς συγγνώμης καιρὸν αὐτοῖς παραχάκηκεν φῆσας, οἶχεσθαι δὲ δι᾽ ὅν εὐλόγως ἂν αὐτοὺς ἔσωξε, πρέπειν δὲ τοῖς ιερεύσι τῷ ναῷ συναπολέσθαι, κελεύει κολάσαι τοὺς ἀνδρας.

323 (2) Οἱ δὲ περὶ τοὺς τυράννους ὡς τῷ τε πολέμῳ πάντωθεν ἐκρατοῦντα καὶ περιτετειχισμένους διαφυγεῖν οὐδαμὸθεν ἦν, προκαλοῦνται1 τὸν Τίτον εἰς λόγους. ὁ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον φύσει τὸ γοῦν ἀστν περισσῶσα προαιροῦμενος καὶ τῶν φιλων ἐναγόντων, ἦδη γὰρ μετράζειν τοὺς ληστὰς ὑπελάμβανον,2 ἱσταται κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δύσιν μέρος τοῦ Καίσαρος. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐκατέρως βύζην ἐφεστήκει, Ἰουδαίοι μὲν περὶ Σίμωνα καὶ Ἰωάννην μετέωροι συγγνώμης ἐλπίδι, Ἦομαίοι δὲ Καίσαρι καραδοκοῦντες αὐτῶν τὴν ἀξίωσιν. παραγγείλας δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις Τίτος θυμοῦ τε καὶ βελῶν μένειν ἐγκρατεῖς, καὶ τὸν ἐρμηνεία παραστησάμενος, ὅπερ ἦν τεκμήριον τοῦ κρατεῖν, πρῶτος ἤρξατο λέγειν: "ἀρά γε ἡδῆ κεκόρεσθε τῶν τῆς πατρίδος κακῶν,3 ἀνδρες, οἱ μὴ τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως μὴτε τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἁσθενείας ἐννοοῦν λαβόντες, ὁμή δὲ ἂσκέπτω καὶ μανία τὸν τε δήμον καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἀπολωλεκότες, ἀπολούμενοι δὲ καὶ

1 Naher with Lat.: προσκαλοῦνται MSS.
2 Hudson with Lat.: ὑπελάμβανεν MSS.
3 + & P Lat.
came down and, being conducted by the guards to Titus, implored him to spare their lives. But he told them that the time for pardon had for them gone by, that the one thing for whose sake he might with propriety have spared them was gone, and that it behoved priests to perish with their temple, and so ordered them to execution.

(2) The tyrants and their followers, beaten on all sides in the war and surrounded by a wall preventing any possibility of escape, now invited Titus to a parley. Anxious, with his innate humanity, at all events to save the town, and instigated by his friends, who supposed that the brigands had at length been brought to reason, Titus took up a position on the west of the outer court of the temple; there being at this point gates opening above the Xystus and a bridge which connected the upper city with the temple and now parted the tyrants from Caesar. The multitude stood in crowds on either side: the Jews around Simon and John, excited by hopes of pardon, the Romans beside Caesar eagerly waiting to hear their claim. Titus, after charging his troops to keep a check on their rage and their missiles, and stationing an interpreter beside him, proceeded, in token of his conquest, to address them first.

"Well, sirs, are you at length sated with your country's woes:—you who, without bestowing a thought on our strength or your own weakness, have through inconsiderate fury and madness lost your people, your city, and your temple, and are yourselves justly doomed to perish;—you who from the

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a v. 502 ff.

b For Xystus and bridge cf. ii. 344. This speech of Titus at the close is delivered almost on the same spot as that of Agrippa before the outbreak of war.
329 αὐτὸι δικαῖως, οἱ πρῶτον μὲν ἂφ’ οὗ Πομπήιος ἐλευ ὑμᾶς κατὰ κράτος οὐκ ἐπαύσασθε νεω-
teroποιᾶς, ἐπείτα καὶ φανερῶν ἐξηνέγκατε πρὸς
330 Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον; ἀρὰ γε πλήθει πεποιθότες;
καὶ μὴν ἐλάχιστον ὑμῖν μέρος ἀντήρκεσεν τὸν
Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτικὸν. πίστει τοιγαροῦν συμ-
μάχων; καὶ τὶ τῶν ἐξ ὑδ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡγεμονίας
ἐθνῶν ἐμελλεν αἱρῆσεσθαι Ἰουδαίους πρὸ Ῥωμαίων;
331 ἂλλ’ ἀλκῇ σωμάτων; καὶ μὴν ἑστε Γερμανοὺς
δουλεύοντας ἤμιν. ὁχυρότητι δὲ τειχῶν; καὶ τὶ
μείζων ὠκεανοῦ τεῖχος1 κώλυμα, δὲν περιβεβλη-
μένου Βρεττανοῦ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὁπλα προσκυνοῦσιν;
332 καρτερία ψυχῆς καὶ πανουργία στρατηγῶν; ἂλλα
333 μὴν ἦδειτε καὶ Καρχηδονίους ἄλοντας. τοιγαροῦν
ὑμᾶς ἐπήγειρε κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἡ Ῥωμαίων φιλα-
θρωπία, οἱ πρῶτον μὲν υμῖν τὴν τε χώραν ἐδομεν
νέμεσθαι καὶ βασιλεῖς ὄμοφύλους ἐπεστήσαμεν,
334 ἐπείτα τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ἐτηρῆσαμεν, καὶ ζῆν
ου μόνον καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς ἄλλα καὶ πρὸς2 τοὺς ἄλλους
335 ἐπετρέψαμεν ὅσ ἐβούλεσθε· τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, δασμο-
λογεῖν τε υμῖν ἐπὶ τῶ θεῶ καὶ ἀναθήματα συλ-
λέγειν ἐπετρέψαμεν, καὶ τοὺς ταῦτα φέροντας οὔτ’
ἐνουθετήσαμεν οὔτε ἐκκλύσαμεν, ὡ’ ἡμῖν γένησθε
πλουσιώτεροι3 καὶ παρασκευάσησθε τοῖς ἡμετέροις
336 χρήμασιν καθ’ ἡμῶν. ἐπείτα τηλικοῦτων ἀγαθῶν
ἀπολαύοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς παρασχόντας ἴνα γίνημεν τὸν
κόρον καὶ δίκην τῶν ἀτιθασσότων ἐρπετῶν τοῖς
337 σαῖνουσι τὸν ἐναφήκατε. ἐστὼ γοῦν, κατ-
εφρονήσατε τῆς Νέρωνος ραθυμίας, καὶ καθάπερ
ρήματα ἡ σπάσματα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον κακοῆθως

1 PM: + atque Lat.: τείχος the rest.
2 L ("cum" Lat.): om. the rest.
first, ever since Pompey reduced you by force never ceased from revolution, and have now ended by declaring open war upon the Romans? Did you rely on numbers? Nay, a mere fraction of the Roman soldiery has proved your match. On the fidelity of allies? Pray, what nation beyond the limits of our empire would prefer Jews to Romans? On physical strength, perhaps? Yet you are aware that the Germans are our slaves. On the solidity of your walls? But what wall could be a greater obstacle than the ocean, encompassed by which the Britons yet do homage to the Roman arms? On the determination of spirit and the astuteness of your generals? Yet you knew that even Carthaginians were defeated.

"No, assuredly you were incited against the Romans by Roman humanity. To begin with, we allowed you to occupy this land and set over you kings of your own blood; then we maintained the laws of your forefathers and permitted you, not only among yourselves but also in your dealings with others, to live as you willed; above all, we permitted you to exact tribute for God and to collect offerings, without either admonishing or hindering those who brought them—only that you might grow richer at our expense and make preparations with our money to attack us! And then, enjoying such privileges, you turned your superabundance against the donors, and like untameable reptiles spat your venom upon those who caressed you.

"You held, be it granted, Nero's indolence in contempt, and, like fractures or ruptures, remained for a time malignantly quiescent, only to show your true
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ηρεμοῦντες ἐν τῇ μείζονι νόσῳ διεφάνητε καὶ πρὸς ἐλπίδας ἀναίδεις ἀμέτρους ἐξετείνατε τὰς ἑπι-
338 θυμίας. ἦκεν ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν, οὗ τιμωρησόμενος ύμᾶς τῶν κατὰ Κέστιον, ἀλλὰ
339 νουθετήσων· δεόν γοῦν, εἰπὲ ἐπ᾽ ἀναστάσει τοῦ ἐθνὸς παρῆν, ἐπὶ τὴν ρίζαν ύμῶν δραμεῖν καὶ
tαὐτὴν ἐκπορθεῖν τὴν πόλιν εὐθέως, ὁ δὲ Γαλιλαίων ἐδήμου καὶ τὰ πέριξ, ἐπιδίδοντες ύμῖν χρόνον εἰς μετα-
340 μέλειαν. ἀλλ᾽ ύμῖν ἀσθένεια τὸ φιλάνθρωπον ἐδόκει κἀκ τῆς ἡμετέρας πραότητος τῆς τόλμας
341 ἐπεθρέψατε. Νέρωνος οἰχομένου τοῦ δ᾽ ὀπερ ἔχρην
tοὺς πονηροτάτους ἐποιήσατε, ταῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἡμῶν
tαραχαῖς ἐπεθαρρήσατε, καὶ χωρισθέντων εἰς τὴν
Αἴγυπτον ἔμοι τε καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς παρασκευᾶς
tοῦ πολέμου κατεχρῆσατε τοὺς καιροὺς, καὶ οὐκ
ὁδέσθητε παράσειν αὐτοκράτορας γεγενημένους
ους καὶ στρατηγοὺς φιλανθρώπους ἐπειράσατε.
342 προσφυγούσης γοῦν ἡμῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας, καὶ τῶν
μὲν κατὰ ταὐτὴν ἠρεμοῦντων πάντων, πρεσβευο-
μένων δὲ καὶ συνηδομένων τῶν ἑξωθεὶν ἑθνῶν,
343 πάλιν οἱ Ἰουδαίοι πολέμου, καὶ πρεσβεῖαι μὲν
ὑμῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ,
περίβολοι δὲ τειχῶν ἀνοικοδομούμενοι καινοὶ,
στάσεις δὲ καὶ τυράννων φιλονεικιάι καὶ πόλεμος
ἐμφύλιος, μόνα τοῖς οὕτως πονηροῖς πρέποντα.
344 ἦκον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐγὼ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἄκοντος
λαβὼν σκυθρωπᾶ παραγγέλματα. τὸν δὲμον ἄκου-
345 σας εἰρηνικὰ φρονεῖν ἡσθην. ύμᾶς παύσασθαι πρὸ
πολέμου παρεκάλουν, μέχρι πολλοῦ πολεμοῦντων

1 ἀναίδειας P: (+ καὶ MLC.)
character on the outbreak of a more serious malady,\(^a\) when you let your ambitions soar unbounded to shameless expectations. My father came into the country, not to punish you for events under Cestius,\(^b\) but to admonish you. Had he come to extirpate the nation, his duty surely was to hasten to the root of your strength and to sack this city forthwith; whereas he proceeded to ravage Galilee and the surrounding district, thus affording you time for repentance. But by you his humanity was taken for weakness, and upon our clemency you nursed your audacity. On Nero's decease, you acted like the basest scoundrels: Emboldened by our intestine troubles, when I and my father had departed for Egypt, you abused your opportunities by preparing for hostilities, and were not ashamed to harass those, now made emperors, whose humanity as generals you had experienced. Thus, when the empire found refuge in us, when throughout its length was universal tranquillity, and foreign nations were sending embassies of congratulation, once again the Jews were in arms. There were embassies from you to your friends beyond the Euphrates fostering revolt; fortifications being built up anew; seditions, contentions of tyrants, and civil war—the only things befitting men so base. I came to this city, the bearer of gloomy injunctions from my reluctant father. The news that the townsfolk were disposed to peace rejoiced my heart. As for you, before hostilities began I urged you to pause; for a long while after you had begun them I spared

\(^a\) Roman internal disorders and turbulence in east and west after Nero's death, cf. the proem, B. i. 4 f.
\(^b\) ii. 499 ff.
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ἐφειδόμην, δεξιάς αὐτομόλους ἐδωκα, καταφγοῦσι πίστεις ἐτήρησα, πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἡλέησα, τοὺς ἐπείγοντας βασανίσασ1 ἐκώλυσα,2 τείχεσιν ύμετέρους μηχανὰς ἀκώς προσήγαγον, αἰεὶ φονώντας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐφ’ ύμιν κατέσχον, καθ’ ἐκάστην νίκην ὡς ἠττώμενος ύμας εἰς εἰρήνην προωκαλε-σάμην. τοῦ ἑροῦ πλησίον γενόμενος πάλιν ἔκώς ἐξελαθόμην τῶν τοῦ πολέμου νόμων, φείσασθαί δὲ παρεκάλουν τῶν ἴδιων ύμᾶς ἀγίων καὶ σῶσαί τὸν ναὸν ἑαυτοῖς, διὸ διειν τε ἐξόδου καὶ πίστιν σωτηρίας, εἴ δὲ ἐβούλεσθε, καὶ μάχης καρυὸν ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ πάντων ὑπερείδετε καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἴδιας
346 χερσίν ἐνεπρήσατε. ἐπειτα, μιαρώτατοι, προκα-λείσθε3 με πρὸς λόγους νῦν; ἵνα τί σώσητε τοιοῦτον οἴον ἀπόλωλεν; ποίας4 ύμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἄξιοντε μετὰ τὸν ναὸν σωτηρίας; ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐστήκατε καὶ οὐδ’ ἐν ἐσχάτοις ὑποκρίνεσθε γοῦν
348 ἱκέτας, ὦ ταλαίπωροι, τίνι πεποιθότες; οὐ νεκρὸς μὲν ύμῶν ὁ δήμος, οὐχεταί δ’ ὁ ναός, ὑπ’ ἐμοὶ δ’ ἡ πόλις, ἐν χερσὶ δὲ ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἐχετε τὰς θυχάς; εἴθ’ ὑπολαμβάνετε δόξαν ἀνδρείας τὸ δυσθανατῶν;
349 οὐ μήν ἐγὼ φιλονεικήσω πρὸς τὴν ἀπόνοιαν ύμῶν, ῥήψασι δὲ τὰ ὀπλα καὶ παραδοῦσι τὰ σώματα χαρίζομαι τὸ ζῆν, ὡσπερ ἐν οἰκία πρᾶος δεσπότης τὰ μὲν ἀνήκεστα κολάσας, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σώζων ἐμαυτῷ.’
350 (3) Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποκρίνονται δεξιάν μὲν μὴ δύνασθαι παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν, ὁμωμοκέναι γὰρ μῆποτε τούτῳ ποιήσειν, ἐξοδον δ’ ἦτοϋντο διὰ τοῦ

1 Destinon (whom I follow with hesitation): βασανίσας mss.
2 L: ἐκώλυσα the rest.
3 ed. pr. with Lat.: προσκαλέσθε mss.
4 Bekker: οίας mss.

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you: I gave pledges of protection to deserters, I kept faith with them when they fled to me; many were the prisoners whom I compassionated, forbidding their oppressors to torture them; with reluctance I brought up my engines against your walls; my soldiers, thirsting for your blood, I invariably restrained; after every victory, as if defeated myself, I invited you to peace. On approaching the temple, again in deliberate forgetfulness of the laws of war, I besought you to spare your own shrines and to preserve the temple for yourselves, offering you unmolested egress and assurance of safety, or, if you so wished, an opportunity for battle on some other arena. All offers you scorned and with your own hands set fire to the temple.

"And after all this, most abominable wretches, do you now invite me to a parley? What have you to save comparable to what is lost? What protection do you think you deserve after losing your temple? Nay, even now you stand in arms and, at the last extremity, do not so much as pretend to be suppliants. Miserable men, on what do you rely? Is not your folk dead, your temple gone, your city at my mercy, are not your very lives in my hands? And do you yet deem it glorious bravery to die in the last ditch? I, however, will not emulate your frenzy. Throw down your arms, surrender your persons, and I grant you your lives, like a lenient master of a household punishing the incorrigible and preserving the rest for myself."

(3) To this they replied that they could not accept a pledge from him, having sworn never to do so; but they asked permission to pass through his line

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\* v. 360 ff., vi. 128.  
\* vi. 165.
περιτειχίσματος μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων. ἀπελεύσεθαί γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἔρημον καὶ καταλείψειν
352 αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν. πρὸς ταύτα ἀγανακτήσας Τίτος, εἰ τύχῃ ἑαυτώκως ἔχοντες αἰρέσεις αὐτῷ προ-
teίνουσι νευκηκότων, κηρύξας μὲν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς αὐτοὺς μήτε αὐτομολεῖν ἔτι μήτε δεξιὰν ἐλπίζειν,
353 φείσεσθαί γὰρ οὐδὲνός, ἀλλὰ πάση δυνάμει μάχε-
σθαι καὶ σώζειν ἑαυτοὺς ὅπως ἂν δύνωνται. πάντα γὰρ αὐτὸς ἦδη πράξειν πολέμου νόμῳς τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις ἐμπιπράναι καὶ διαρπάζειν ἐπέτρεψεν
354 τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δ' ἐκεῖνης μὲν ἐπέσχον τὴν ἡμέραν, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τὸ τε ἀρχεῖον καὶ τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ τὸν Ὄφλαν καλούμενον
355 υφῆμαν καὶ προύκοψε τὸ πῦρ μέχρι τῶν Ἕλενης
βασιλείων, ἄ δὴ κατὰ μέσην τὴν ἄκραν ἦν, ἐκαῖοντο δ' οἱ στενωποὶ καὶ αἱ οἰκίαι νεκρῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ
διεφθαρμένων πλήρεις.
356 (4) Κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν οἱ τε Ἡλεών
βασιλείως νιοὶ καὶ ἀδελφοὶ, πρὸς οὓς πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπισήμων δημοτῶν ἐκεῖ[1] συνεκλήθοντες, ἰκέτευσαν
Καίσαρα δούνας δεξιὰν αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ καῖτο πρὸς
πάντας τοὺς ὑπολοίπους διωρισμένος οὐκ ἦλλαξε
357 τὸ ἱθος, δέχεται δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας. καὶ τότε μὲν ἐν
φρονήματος εἰχε, τοὺς δὲ τῶν βασιλείως παῖδας
καὶ συγγενεῖς δῆσας ὑστερον εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνήγαγεν
πίστιν ὀμηρῶν παρέξοντας.
358 (vii. 1) Οἱ στασιασταὶ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλικῆν
ὁμήραντες αὐλήν, εἰς ἦν δὲ ὄχυροτητα πολλοῖ τὰς

1 om. Lat.: ἐκεῖνοις Destinon (followed by συνεκλήθοντες).

a The site of the building intended is uncertain. The "archives" themselves (τὰ ἄρχεια, money-lenders' bonds, etc.)
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of circumvallation with their wives and children, undertaking to retire to the desert and to leave the city to him. Thereupon Titus, indignant that men in the position of captives should proffer proposals to him as victors, ordered proclamation to be made to them neither to desert nor to hope for terms any longer, for he would spare none; but to fight with all their might and save themselves as best they could, because all his actions henceforth would be governed by the laws of war. He then gave his troops permission to burn and sack the city. For that day they refrained; but on the next they set fire to the Archives, the Acra, the council-chamber, and the region called Ophlas, the flames spreading as far as the palace of Queen Helena, which was in the centre of the Acra. The streets also were burnt and the houses, packed with the bodies of the victims of the famine.

(4) On the same day the sons and brothers of king Izates, who were joined by many of the eminent townsmen, entreated Caesar to grant them a pledge of protection. Though infuriated at all the survivors, Titus, with the unalterable humanity of his character, received them. For the present he kept them all in custody; the king's sons and kinsmen he subsequently brought up in chains to Rome as hostages for the allegiance of their country.

(vii. 1) The rebels now rushed to the royal palace, in which, owing to its solidity, many had had been burnt by the insurgents four years before at the opening of hostilities, ii. 427.

b The usual meeting-place of the Sanhedrin, v. 144 note.

c v. 253.

d King of Adiabene and a convert to Judaism, iv. 567 note.

e Herod's palace on the Upper City (cf. § 376).
κτήσεις ἀπέθεντο, τοὺς τε Ἔωμαιοις ἀπ’ αὐτῆς τρέπονταί καὶ τὸ συνηθροισμένον αὐτοῦ τοῦ δήμου πάν φονεύσαντες, ὄντας εἰς ὀκτακισχίλιοις καὶ τετρακοσίοις, τὰ χρήματα διήρπασαν. ἐξώγρησαν δὲ καὶ Ἔωμαιῶν δύο, τὸν μὲν ἔπεισα τὸν δὲ πεζόν, καὶ τὸν μὲν πεζὸν ἀποσφάξαντες εὐθέως ἔσυραν περὶ τὴν πόλιν, ὡσπερ ἔνι σώματι πάντας Ἔωμ-8

360 μαίους ἁμυνόμενοι, δ’ ἐπεισὸς ωφέλιμον τι αὐτοῖς πρὸς σωτηρίαν ὑποθήσεσθαι λέγων ἀνάγεται πρὸς Σίμωνα. παρ’ ὃ μηδὲν εἰπεῖν ἔχων Ἀρδάλα των τῶν ἡγεμόνων παραδίδοται κολασθησόμενος. δ’ ἀυτῷ ὑπίστι τῷ χείρε δήσας καὶ ταυτίᾳ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀντικρύ ἐκ τῶν Ἔωμαιῶν προήγαγεν ὡς καρατομήσων. φθάνει δ’ ἐκεῖνος εἰς τοὺς Ἔωμ-8

361 μαίους διαφυγών ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔξιος ἐσπάσατο δ’ Ἰουδαίοις. τούτων διαφυγόντα ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνελείν μὲν οὐχ ὑπεμείνεν Τίτος, ἀνάξιον δὲ Ἔωμαιῶν εἶναι στρατιώτην κρύνας, ὅτι ζῶν ἐλήφθη, τὰ τῇ ὀπλὰ ἀφείλετο καὶ τοῦ τάγματος ἔγερθαλεν, ἀπερ ἦν αἰσχυνομένω θανάτου χα-8

362 λεπτέρα.

363 (2) Τῇ δ’ ἐξής Ἔωμαιοι τρεψάμενοι τοὺς ληστὰς ἐκ τῆς κάτω πόλεως τὰ μέχρι τοῦ Σιλωᾶ [πάντα] ἐνέπρησαν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀστεος ἰδοντο δαπανω-μένου, τῶν δ’ ἀρπαγών διημάρταν, ἐπειδὴ πάνθ’ οἱ στασιασταὶ προκενοῦντες ἀνεχώρουν εἰς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν. ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς μετάνοια μὲν οὐδεμίᾳ τῶν κακῶν, ἀλάζωνεία δ’ ὡς ἐπ’ ἀγαθοῖς καιο-μένη γοῦν ἀφορώντες τὴν πόλιν Ἠλαροῖς τοῖς προσώποις εὐθυμοὶ προσδέχεσθαι τὴν τελευτὴν ἔλεγον, πεφονευμένου μὲν τοῦ δήμου, κεκαυμένου

1 Niese with Lat.: αὐτῶν mss. 2 om. PAM.
deposited their property; and, having beaten off the Romans, they slew the whole mass of people who had congregated there, to the number of eight thousand four hundred, and looted the money. They also made prisoners of two Romans, one a trooper, the other a foot-soldier. The latter they slaughtered on the spot and dragged round the city, as though in the person of one they were wreaking vengeance on all the Romans. The trooper, who declared that he had a suggestion to make conducive to their safety, was brought up to Simon, but having nothing to tell him was handed over to Ardalas, one of the officers, for execution. Ardalas, having bound his hands behind his back and bandaged his eyes, led him forth in view of the Romans to be beheaded; but the prisoner, at the moment when the Jew drew his sword, managed to escape to the Romans. After such an escape from the enemy, Titus could not bring himself to put him to death; but judging him unfit to be a Roman soldier after being taken alive, he deprived him of his arms and dismissed him from the legion—a penalty to one with any sense of shame severer than death.

(2) On the following day the Romans, having routed the brigands from the lower town, set the whole on fire as far as Siloam; the consuming of the town rejoiced their hearts, but they were disappointed of plunder, the rebels having cleared out everything before they retired to the upper city. For the latter showed no remorse for their evils, but rather bragged of them as blessings. Indeed, when they beheld the city burning, they declared with beaming faces that they cheerfully awaited the end, seeing that, with the people slaughtered, the temple in ashes,
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de τοῦ ναοῦ, φλεγομένου δὲ τοῦ ἀστεοῦ μηδὲν
365 καταλείποντες τοῖς πολεμίοις. οὐ μὴν ο γε Ἰωσήφος ἐν ἑσχάτοις ἱκετεύων αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν
λειψάνων τῆς πόλεως ἐκαμνεν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μὲν
πρὸς τὴν ὁμότητα καὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν εἰπὼν, πολλὰ
dὲ συμβουλεύσας πρὸς σωτηρίαν οὔδὲν τοῦ χλευα-
366 σθήναι πλέον ἀπηνέγκατο. ἐπεὶ δ' οὔτε παρα-
dοὖνα διὰ τὸν ὄρκον ἑαυτοὺς ὑπέμενον οὔτε
πολεμεῖν ἐξ ἴσου 'Ρωμαίοις ἐθ' οἴοι τε ἦσαν,
ὡσπερ εἰρκτῇ περιελημμένου, τὸ τοῦ φονεύων
ἐθος ἐκίνης τὰς δεξιάς, οἰκίδαμεν κατὰ τὰ
ἐμπροσθεν τῆς πόλεως τοῖς ἐρευνίσκοις ὑπελόχων
367 τοὺς αὐτομολείν ὠρμημένους. Ἡλίσκοντο δὲ πολλοί,
καὶ πάντας ἀποσφάττοντες, ὑπὸ γὰρ ἐνδείας οὐδὲ
φεύγειν ἵσχυον, ἐρρήπτουν αὐτῶν κυσὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς.
368 ἔδοκεν δὲ πᾶς τρόπος ἀπωλείας τοῦ λιμοῦ κοι-
φότερος, ἀπετείκει καὶ Ἐρουάρθιος ἀπηλπικότες ἦδη
tὸν ἔλεον ὦμως προσέβευγον καὶ φονεύσοντες τοῖς
369 στασιαστὰς ἐκόντες ἐνέπιπτον. τόπος τ' ἐπὶ
tῆς πόλεως οὔδεὶς γυμνὸς ἦν, ἀλλὰ πᾶς λιμὸν
νεκρὸν εἰχεν ἡ στάσεως [καὶ πεπλήρωτο νεκρῶν ἡ
diὰ στάσιν ἡ diὰ λιμῶν ἀπολωλότων].
370 (3) Ἕθαλπε δὲ τοὺς τε τυράννους καὶ τὸ σὺν
αὐτοῖς ληστρικὸν ἐλπίς ἑσχάτη περὶ τῶν ὑπονόμων,
eἰς οὔς καταφεύγοντες οὐ προσεδόκων ἐρευνηθῆ-
σεθαι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν παντελῆ τῆς πόλεως ἀλοισων
ἀναξιεύζαντων Ὁρμαίων προελθόντες ἀποδράσει-
371 σθαί ἐπεχείρουν. τὸ δ' ἦν ἄρα ὄνειρος αὐτοῖς:
οὔτε γὰρ τὸν θεὸν οὔτε Ἐρουάρθιος λήσειν ἐμελλον.

1 PA: καταλιπότατες the rest.
2 φώνωσι Herwerden.
3 The bracketed tautological clause, omitted in the
and the town in flames, they were leaving nothing to their foes. Josephus, however, even at the last, never flagged in his entreaties to them on behalf of the relics of the town; yet for all his denunciation of their cruelty and impiety, for all the counsel offered to secure their salvation, the only return which he obtained was ridicule. Since they could not think of surrender, owing to their oath, and were now incapable of fighting the Romans on equal terms, being caged as in a prison-house, while their hands through habit yet itched for slaughter, they dispersed about the outskirts of the city and lay in wait among the ruins for any who were eager to desert. Many, indeed, were caught, and, the famine having deprived them even of strength for flight, they were all massacred and their bodies flung to the dogs. But death in any form seemed lighter than famine; so that, though now despairing of mercy from the Romans, they fled to them nevertheless and, though the rebels were murderous, voluntarily fell into their hands. Not a spot in the city was left bare: every corner had its corpse, the victim of famine or sedition.

(3) A last and cherished hope of the tyrants and their brigand comrades lay in the underground passages, as a place of refuge where they expected that no search would be made for them, intending after the complete capture of the city and the departure of the Romans to come forth and make their escape. But this proved to be but a dream: for they were not destined to elude either God or the Romans. For the time, however,

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translation, and, according to Hudson, deleted in one ms., must be rejected as a "doublet."
JOSEPHUS

372 τηνικαυτά γε μὴν τοῖς υπογείοις πεποιθότες αὐτοὶ πλέονα τῶν Ἱωμαίων ἐνεπιμπρασαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν καταφεύγοντας εἰς τὰς διώρυχας ἐκτευνόν τε ἀνέδην καὶ ἔσυλων, καὶ εἰ τινος εὐροεν τροφὴν ἀρπάζοντες αἴματι πεφυρμένην κατέπινον. 373 ἣν δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν ταῖς ἀρπαγαῖς ἤδη πόλεμος αὐτοῖς, δοκούσι τε ἄν μοι μὴ φθασθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως δι’ ὑπερβολὴν ὑμότητος γεύσασθαι καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν. 374 (viii. 1) Καίσαρ δ’, ὡς ἀμῆχανον ἦν ἐξελεῖν δίχα χωμάτων τὴν ἄνω πόλιν περίκρημνον ὤπαν, διανέμει τοῖς ἔργοις τὴν δύναμιν Λώον μηνὸς 375 εἰκάδι. χαλεπή δ’ ἦν τῆς ὕλης ἡ κομμηθεῖσα πάντων, ως ἔφην, τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐφ’ ἐκατὸν στάδιον 376 ἐμφιλωμένων εἰς τὰ πρότερον χώματα. τῶν μὲν οὖν τεσσάρων ταχυμάτων ἤγερετο τὰ ἔργα κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δύσιν κλίμα τῆς πόλεως ἀντικρὺ τῆς 377 βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς, τὸ δὲ συμμαχικὸν πλῆθος καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς οἶχος κατὰ τὸν ἔσωτον ἐχοῦν2 καὶ τὴν γέφυραν καὶ τὸν Σίμωνος πύργον, δι’ ὕκοδόμησε πρὸς Ἰωάννην πολεμῶν ἑαυτῷ φρούριον. 378 (2) Κατὰ ταῦτας τὰς ἡμέρας οἱ τῶν Ἱδουμαίων ἡγεμόνες κρύφα συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ παραδόσεως σφῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ πέμπαντες ἀνδρὰς πέντε πρὸς Τίτον ἱκέτευον δοῦναι δεξιάν αὐτοῖς. 379 ὁ δὲ καὶ τοὺς τυράννους ἐνδώσεις ἐλπίσας ἀπο-

1 So one (Berlin) ms. with Syr. Lat.: φθαρθέντες or φθαρέντες the rest.
2 Destinon: ἐξοῦ or ἕξ ὦ mss.: om. C Lat.

\[a\] Cf. iv. 541 (the same hyperbole).  \[b\] Cf. § 151.
\[c\] Of Herod the Great.
trusting to these subterranean retreats, they were more active incendiaries than the Romans; all who fled from the flames into these trenches they mercilessly slew and plundered; and if ever they found a victim with food, they snatched it from him and devoured it, all defiled with blood. At last they fought with one another over their spoils; and I verily believe that, had not capture forestalled them, they would in their excess of savagery have tasted the very corpses.\(^a\)

(viii. 1) Caesar, finding it impracticable to reduce the upper city without earthworks, owing to the precipitous nature of the site, on the twentieth of the month Lous apportioned the task among his forces. The conveyance of timber was, however, arduous, all the environs of the city to a distance of a hundred furlongs having, as I said,\(^b\) been stripped bare for the former embankments. The works now raised by the four legions were on the west side of the city, opposite the royal palace\(^c\); while the auxiliaries and the other units threw up embankments\(^d\) adjoining the Xystus, the bridge and the tower which Simon, when at war with John, had built as a fortress for himself.\(^e\)

(2) During these days the chiefs of the Idumaeans\(^f\) met in secret to deliberate about surrendering themselves, and dispatching five delegates to Titus besought his protection. Titus, hoping that the tyrants also would be induced to yield through the

\(^a\) To the east of the Upper City.

\(^b\) Cf. § 191 for the tower erected by John when at war with Simon; if, as appears, the same tower is intended, the names have here been incorrectly transposed.

\(^c\) Some of whom had remained in Jerusalem when the main body withdrew. iv. 566.
σπασθέντων [τῶν] 1 Ἰδουμαίων, οἱ πολὺ τοῦ πολέμου μέρος ἦσαν, βραδέως μὲν, ἀλλ' οὕν κατανέυει τῇ σωτηρίᾳ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀνέπεμψε.

380 παρασκευαζομένων δὲ ἀποχωρεῖν αἰσθάνεται Σίμων, καὶ πέντε μὲν τοὺς ἀπελθόντας πρὸς Τίτον εὐθέως ἀναφερεῖ, τοὺς δὲ ἡγεμόνας, ὥν ἐπισημότατος ἦν

381 ὁ τοῦ Σωσᾶ Ἰάκωβος, συλλαβῶν εἶργμοι: τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰδουμαίων ἀμηχανοῦν διὰ τὴν ἀφαιρείν τῶν ἡγεμόνων οὐκ ἀφύλακτον εἴχε καὶ

382 τὸ πείχως φρουραῖς ἐπιμελεστέραις διελάμβανεν. οὐ μὴν ἀντέχειν οἱ φρουροὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀυτομολίας ἱσχυοῦν, ἀλλὰ καίτοι πλείστων φονευμένων πολὺ

383 πλείους οἱ διαφεύγοντες ἦσαν. ἐδέχοντο δὲ Ρωμαίοι πάντας, τοῦ τε Τίτου διὰ πραότητα τῶν προτέρων ἀμελήσαντος παραγγελμάτων, καὶ αὐτοὶ κόρω τοῦ κτείνειν ἀπεχόμενοι καὶ κέρδους ἐλπίδι

384 τοὺς γὰρ δημοτικοὺς καταλυόντες μόνους τὸν ἄλλον ὁχλον ἐπώλουν σὺν γυναιξί καὶ τέκνοις, ἐλαχίστης τιμής ἐκαστὸν πλήθει τε τῶν πιπρασκο-

385 μένων καὶ ὀλγότητι τῶν ἀνωμένων. καὶ περὶ δὲ προκηρύξας μηδένα μόνον αὐτομολείων, δῶς καὶ τὰς γενεὰς ἐξαγάγοις, ὅμως καὶ τούτους ἐδεχότω· ἐπέστησε μὲντοι τοὺς διακρινοῦντας ἀπ' αὐτῶν, εἰ

386 τις εὐθυ τολάσεως ἄξιος. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀπεμποληθέντων ἀπειρον ἦν τὸ πλῆθος, οἱ δημοτικοὶ δὲ διεσώθησαν ὑπὲρ πετρακισμυρίους, ούς διαφήκεν Καῖσαρ ἡ φίλον ἦν ἐκάστω.

387 (3) Ἔν δὲ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τις Θεοβουθεὶ παῖς, Ἰησοῦς ὄνομα, λαβὼν περὶ σωτηρίας ὄρκους παρὰ Καῖσαρος ἐφ' ὧ παραδώσει

1 ins. L Zon.: om. the rest.
defection of the Idumaeans, who formed an important factor in the war, after some hesitation consented to spare them and sent the men back. But as they were preparing to depart Simon detected the plot. The five emissaries to Titus he at once put to death; the chiefs, of whom the most distinguished was James, son of Sosas, he arrested and imprisoned; while the rank and file of the Idumaeans, rendered helpless by the loss of their leaders, were narrowly watched by him and the walls manned with more vigilant guards. The sentries, however, were powerless to check desertion; for, although multitudes were slain, a far larger number escaped. The Romans received them all, Titus out of clemency disregarding his former orders, and his men from satiety and in hope of gain abstaining from slaughter. For the citizens alone were allowed to remain: the rest with the women and children were sold, for a trifling sum per head, owing to the glut of the market and the dearth of purchasers. Moreover, notwithstanding his previous proclamation that none should desert alone, to the end that they should bring out their families with them, Titus yet received even such persons; appointing, however, officers to discriminate from among them any who might deserve punishment. The number of those sold was prodigious; of the citizens there were spared upwards of forty thousand, whom Caesar allowed to retire whither each one’s fancy led him.

(3) During those same days, one of the priests named Jesus, son of Thebuthi, after obtaining a sworn pledge of protection from Caesar, on condition

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a One of the leaders of the original expedition and often mentioned, iv. 235, etc.  
b § 352.
388 τινά τῶν ἱερῶν κειμηλίων, ἔξευσι καὶ παραδίδωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τοίχου τοῦ ναοῦ λυχνίας δύο τῶν κατὰ τῶν ναὸν κειμένων¹ παραπλησίας, τραπέζας τε καὶ κρατῆρας καὶ φιάλας, πάνθ' ὀλόχρυσα καὶ στι-
389 βαρώτατα, παραδίδωσι δὲ καὶ τὰ καταπετάσματα καὶ τὰ ἐνδύματα τῶν ἀρχιερέων σὺν τοῖς λίθοις καὶ πολλὰ τῶν πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας σκευῶν ἄλλα. 
390 συλληφθεῖς δὲ καὶ ὁ γαζοφύλαξ τοῦ ἱεροῦ Φινέας ὄνομα τοὺς τε χιτώνας καὶ τὰς ζώνας ὑπέδειξεν τῶν ἱερέων, πορφύραν τε πολλὴν καὶ κόκκον, ἀ
391 πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἀπέκειτο τοὺς καταπετάσματος, σὺν οἷς καὶ κασσίαι καὶ πλῆθος ἐτέρων ἀρωμάτων, ἀ συμμίσγοντες ἐθυμίων
392 (4) Συντετελεσμένων δὲ ἡδὴ καὶ τῶν χωμάτων ἐν ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἡμέραις ἐθοδώμη Γορπιαίον μηνὸς 'Ρωμαιοὶ μὲν προσήχουν τὰς μηχανὰς, τῶν δὲ στασιαστῶν οἱ μὲν ἀπεγνωκότες ἡδὴ τὴν πόλιν ἀνεχώρουν τοῦ τείχους εἰς τὴν ἄκραν, οἱ δ' ἐγκατ-
393 εὐνύμοντο τοῖς ὑπονόμοις· πολλοὶ δὲ διαστάντες ἡμύνυμον τοὺς προσάγοντας τὰς ἐλεπόλεις. ἐκρά-
394 τουν δὲ καὶ τούτων 'Ρωμαιοὶ πλῆθει τε καὶ βία καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, εὐθυμοῦντες ἄθυμων ἡδὴ καὶ παρειμένων. ως δὲ παρερράγη ³ μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους, καὶ τινὲς τῶν πύργων τυπτόμενοι τοῖς

¹ ταῖς κατὰ τ. ν. κειμέναις C: Niese suspects a lacuna after κειμένων.
² P.A: ὑπέδειξε the rest.
³ Herwerden: περιερράγη mss.

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of his delivering up some of the sacred treasures, came out and handed over from the wall of the sanctuary two lampstands similar to those deposited in the sanctuary, along with tables, bowls, and platters, all of solid gold and very massive; he further delivered up the veils, the high-priests' vestments, including the precious stones, and many other articles used in public worship. Furthermore, the treasurer of the temple, by name Phineas, being taken prisoner, disclosed the tunics and girdles worn by the priests, an abundance of purple and scarlet kept for necessary repairs to the veil of the temple, along with a mass of cinnamon and cassia and a multitude of other spices, which they mixed and burnt daily as incense to God. Many other treasures also were delivered up by him, with numerous sacred ornaments; those services procuring for him, although a prisoner of war, the pardon accorded to the refugees.

(4) The earthworks having now been completed after eighteen days' labour, on the seventh of the month Gorpiaeus the Romans brought up the engines. Of the rebels, some already despairing of the city retired from the ramparts to the Acra, others slunk down into the mines; many, however, posting themselves along the wall, attempted to repel those who were bringing up the siege-engines. But these too the Romans overpowered by numbers and force, but, above all, by the high spirits in which they faced men already dispirited and unnerved. And when a portion of the wall broke down and some of the

a The table of shew-bread with incense-cups and two silver trumpets are depicted on the Arch of Titus in Rome as borne in the triumphal procession.
κριοὶς ἐνέδοσαν, φυγῇ μὲν ἢν εὐθέως τῶν ἄμυνο-
μένων, δέος δὲ καὶ τοὺς τυράννους ἐμπίπτει σφο-
395 δρότερον τῆς ἁνάγκης· πρὶν γὰρ ὑπερβῆναι τοὺς
πολεμίους ἐνάρκων τε καὶ μετέωροι πρὸς φυγὴν
ὁσαν, ἢν δ' ἰδεῖν τοὺς πάλαι σοβαροὺς καὶ τοὺς
ἀσεβήμασιν ἀλαξόνας τότε ταπεινοὺς καὶ τρέ-
μοντας, ὥς ἐλεεινὴ εἶναι καίπερ ἐν πονηροτάτοις
396 τὴν μεταβολὴν. ὧρμησαν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ περι-
τεῖχισμα δραμόντες ὤσασθαί τε τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ
397 διακόψαντες ἐξελθεῖν· ὅς δὲ τοὺς μὲν πάλαι
πιστοὺς ἐώρων οὐδαμοῦ, διέφυγον γὰρ ὅπῃ τινὶ
συνεβούλευεν ἡ ἁνάγκη, προσθέοντες δὲ οἱ μὲν
ολον ἀνατετράφθαι τὸ πρὸς δύσιν τείχος ἡγελλον,
οἱ δ' ἐμβεβληκέναι τοὺς 'Ῥωμαίους ἡγὴ τε πλησίον
398 εἶναι ξητοῦντας αὐτοὺς, ἐτεροὶ δὲ καὶ ἀφορὰν ἀπὸ
tῶν πύργων πολεμίους ἐλεγον πλάζοντος ταῦ
ὁμείς τοῦ δέους, ἐπὶ στόμα πεσόντες ἀνώμωζον
399 τὴν ἑαυτῶν φρενοβλάβειαν καὶ καθάπερ ὑποκεκομ-
μένοι τὰ νεῦρα τῆς φυγῆς ἡπόρουν. ἐνθα δὴ
μάλιστ' ἄν τις καταμάθοι τὴν τε τοῦ θεοῦ δύσαμι
ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνοσίοις καὶ τὴν 'Ῥωμαίων τύχην· οἱ μὲν
γε τύραννοι τῆς ἁσφαλείας ἐγίμνωσαν αὐτοὺς κακ
tῶν πύργων κατέβησαν ἐκόντες, ἐφ' ὅν βία μὲν
400 οὐδέποθ' ἀλλοίως, μόνῳ δ' ἐδύναντο λυμῷ. 'Ῥω-
μαιοι δὲ τοσαῦτα περὶ τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις τείχει
καμόντες παρέλαβον τύχη τὰ μὴ δυνάτα τοῖς
ἀργάνοις· παντὸς γὰρ ἵσχυρότεροι μηχανήματος
ὁσαν οἱ τρεῖς πύργοι, περὶ δὲν ἀνωτέρω δεδηλῶ-
καμεν.

1 Destinon after Lat.: οἱ δ' ἡδὴ mss.
2 Herwerden with Heg.: ἐπὶ mss.

* § 323.  b Hippicus. Phasael, and Mariamme, v. 161 ff. 490
towers succumbed to the battering of the rams, the defenders at once took flight, and even the tyrants were seized with a needlessly serious alarm. For before the enemy had surmounted the breach they were paralysed and on the verge of flight; and those men, erstwhile so haughty and proud of their impious crimes, might then be seen abject and trembling—a transformation which, even in such villains, was pitiable. They were indeed eager to make a dash for the wall enclosing them, to repel the guards, cut their way through and escape; but when they could nowhere see their old faithful henchmen—for these had fled whithersoever the crisis suggested—and when men came running up with tidings, some that the whole western wall was overthrown, others that the Romans had broken through and were even now at hand in search of them, while yet others, whose eyes were bewildered by fright, declared that they could actually see the enemy from the towers, they fell upon their faces, bemoaning their own infatuation, and as though their sinews had been cut from under them were impotent to fly. Here may we signally discern at once the power of God over unholy men and the fortune of the Romans. For the tyrants stripped themselves of their security and descended of their own accord from those towers, whereon they could never have been overcome by force, and famine alone could have subdued them; while the Romans, after all the toil expended over weaker walls, mastered by the gift of fortune those that were impregnable to their artillery. For the three towers, which we have described above, would have defied every engine of war.
(5) Καταλυόντες δὴ τούτους, μᾶλλον δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καταβληθέντες ἀπ’ αὐτῶν, παραχρῆμα μὲν εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ τῇ Σιλωά φάραγγα καταφεύγουσιν, αὖθις δ᾽ ὁλγὸν ἀνακύψαντες ἐκ τοῦ δέος ὤρμησαν επὶ τὸ τῆδε περιτείχισμα. χρησάμενοι δὲ ταῖς τόλμαις ἀγενεστέραις τῆς ἀνάγκης, κατεἀγγεσαν γὰρ ἦδη τὴν ἱσχὺν ἀμα τῷ δεει καὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς, ὑπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν ἀνωθοῦνας καὶ σκεδασθέντες ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων1 κατέδυσαν εἰς τοὺς ὑπονόμους.

Ῥωμαίοι δὲ τῶν πείχων κρατήσαντες τὰς τε σημαίας ἐστησάντες ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων καὶ μετὰ κρότου καὶ χαρᾶς ἐπαιάνζουν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ, πολὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς κουφότερον τοῦ πολέμου τὸ τέλος εὐρήκοτες· ἀναμωτὶ γοῦν τοῦ τελευταίου πείχους ἐπιβάντες ἡπίστουν, καὶ μηδένα βλέποντες ἀντίπαλον ἀληθῶς2 ἡπόρηντο. εἰσχυθέντες δὲ τοὺς στενωποῖς σὲφῆρες τοὺς τε καταλαμβανομένους ἐφόνευον ἀνέδην καὶ τῶν συμφευγόντων τὰς οἰκίας αὐτάνδρους ὑπείπομασαν. πολλὰς δὲ κεραίζοντες ὑπὸ τοῦ περελθοίν ἐφ’ ἀρπαγήν, γενέας ὅλας νεκρῶν κατελάμβανον καὶ τὰ δωμάτια πληρή τῶν τοῦ λιμοῦ πτωμάτων, ἔπειτα πρὸς τὴν ὦμιν πεφρικότες κεναῖς χερεῖν ἐξήεσαν. οὐ μὴν οἰκτείροντες τοὺς οὔτως ἀπολολῶτας ταύτῳ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ξώντας ἐπασχόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα διελαύνοντες ἀπέφραξαν μὲν τοὺς στενωποὺς νεκροὺς, αἰματὶ δ’ ὁλὴν τὴν πόλιν κατέκλυσαν, ὡς πολλὰ [καὶ]3 τῶν φλεγομένων σβεσθῆναι τῷ φόνῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν κτεῖνοντες ἐπαύσαντο πρὸς ἐσπέραν, ἐν δὲ τῇ

1 ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων should perhaps be read with one ms.: “per diversa” Lat.
(5) Having then abandoned these, or rather been driven down from them by God, they found immediate refuge in the ravine below Siloam; but afterwards, having recovered a little from their panic, they rushed upon the adjoining section of the barrier. Their courage, however, proving unequal to the occasion (for their strength was now broken alike by terror and misfortune), they were repulsed by the guards and dispersing hither and thither slunk down into the mines.

The Romans, now masters of the walls, planted their standards on the towers, and with clapping of hands and jubilation raised a paean in honour of their victory. They had found the end of the war a much lighter task than the beginning; indeed, they could hardly believe that they had surmounted the last wall without bloodshed, and, seeing none to oppose them, were truly perplexed. Pouring into the alleys, sword in hand, they massacred indiscriminately all whom they met, and burnt the houses with all who had taken refuge within. Often in the course of their raids, on entering the houses for loot, they would find whole families dead and the rooms filled with the victims of the famine, and then, shuddering at the sight, retire empty-handed. Yet, while they pitied those who had thus perished, they had no similar feelings for the living, but, running everyone through who fell in their way, they choked the alleys with corpses and deluged the whole city with blood, insomuch that many of the fires were extinguished by the gory stream. Towards evening they ceased slaughtering, but when night fell the

\[2 \text{ AM (Lat. "pro certo"): } \dot{a} \eta \theta \epsilon \omega \text{, "unusually." the rest.} \]

\[3 \text{ ins. A: om. the rest.} \]
νυκτὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπεκράτει, φλεγομένοις δ' ἐπανέτευλεν Ἰεροσολύμωις ἡμέρα Γορπιαῖον μηνὸς οὐδόθη, 408 πόλει τοσαύτας χρησαμένη συμφοραῖς κατὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν, ὅσοις ἀπὸ [τῆς]¹ κτίσεως ἀγαθοῖς κεχρημένη πάντως ἂν ἐπίφθονος ἐδοξεν, οὐ μὴν ἄξια κατ' ἄλλο τι τῶν τηλικούτων ἄτυχημάτων ἡ τῶν² γενεὰν τοιαύτην ἑνεγκείν, ὑφ' ἂς ἀνετράπη.

409 (ἐν. 1) Παρελθὼν δὲ Τίτος εἶσον τὰ τε ἀλλα τῆς ὁχυρώτητος τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῶν πύργων ἀπεθανύμασεν, ὥστε οἱ τυράννοι κατὰ φρενοβλάβειαν ἀπ· 410 ἐλιπον. κατιδῶν γοῦν τὸ το ναστοὶ αὐτῶν ὕψος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἐκάστης πέτρας τὴν τε ἀκρίβειαν τῆς ἀρμονίας, καὶ ὅσοι μὲν εὔφρος ἡλίκοι δὲ ἥσαν τὴν ἀνάστασιν, "σὺν θεῷ γ' ἐπολεμήσαμεν," ἔφη, "καὶ θεὸς ἢν ὁ τῶν ἐρυμάτων Ἰουδαίους καθελὼν, ἐπεὶ χεῖρες ἀνθρώπων ἡ μηχαναί τι πρὸς 411 τοὺς τοὺς πῦργους δύνανται;" τότε μὲν οὖν πολλὰ τοιαύτα διελέξθη πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, τοὺς δὲ τῶν τυράννων δεσμώτας, ὅσοι κατελήφθησαν ἐν 412 τοῖς φρουρίοις, ἄνηκεν. αὕτης δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἀφανίζων πόλιν καὶ τα τείχη κατασκάπτων τούτους τοὺς πῦργους κατέλιπε μημεῖον εἶναι τῆς αὐτοῦ τύχης, ἡ συστρατιώτιδι χρησάμενος ἐκράτησε τῶν ἀλώναι μὴ δυναμένων.

414 (2) Ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ στρατιῶται μὲν ἐκαμνὸν ἡδη φονεύοντες, πολὺ δ' ἔτι³ πλῆθος τῶν περιόντων ἀνεφαίνετο, κελεύει Καίσαρ μόνοις μὲν τοὺς ἐνόπλους καὶ χείρας ἀντίσχοντας κτείνειν, τὸ δὲ 415 λοιπὸν πλῆθος ξωγρεῖν. οἱ δὲ μετὰ τῶν παρηγ- γελμέων τὸ τε γηραῖον καὶ τοὺς ἄσθενεῖς ἀνήρουν,

1 om. A. ² Niese: τὸ mss. ³ δ' ἔτι L Lat.: ὅτι the rest.
fire gained the mastery, and the dawn of the eighth day of the month Gorpiaeus broke upon Jerusalem in flames—a city which had suffered such calamities during the siege, that, had she from her foundation enjoyed an equal share of blessings, she would have been thought unquestionably enviable; a city undeserving, moreover, of these great misfortunes on any other ground, save that she produced a generation such as that which caused her overthrow.

(ix. 1) Titus, on entering the town, was amazed at its strength, but chiefly at the towers, which the tyrants, in their infatuation, had abandoned. Indeed, when he beheld their solid lofty mass, the magnitude of each block and the accuracy of the joinings, and marked how great was their breadth, how vast their height, "God indeed," he exclaimed, "has been with us in the war. God it was who brought down the Jews from these strongholds; for what power have human hands or engines against these towers?"

He made many similar observations to his friends at that time, when he also liberated all prisoners of the tyrants who were found in the forts. And when, at a later period, he demolished the rest of the city and razed the walls, he left these towers as a memorial of his attendant fortune, to whose co-operation he owed his conquest of defences which defied assault.

(2) Since the soldiers were now growing weary of slaughter, though numerous survivors still came to light, Caesar issued orders to kill only those who were found in arms and offered resistance, and to make prisoners of the rest. The troops, in addition to those specified in their instructions, slew the old Phasael, under the erroneous name of "David’s tower," still stands.
τὸ δ’ ἀκμᾶξον καὶ χρήσιμον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν συνελάσαντες ἐγκατέκλεισαν τῷ τῶν γυναικῶν περιτειχισμένον. καὶ φρουρὸν μὲν ἐπέστησε Καίσαρ ένα τῶν ἀπελευθέρων, Φρόντωνα δὲ τῶν φίλων ἐπικρινούσα

τὴν ἄξιαν ἐκάστῳ τύχῃ. οὐδὲ τοὺς μὲν στασιώδεις καὶ ληστρικοὺς πάντας ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων ἐνδεικνυμένους ἀπέκτεινε, τῶν δὲ νέων τοὺς υψηλοτάτους καὶ καλοὺς ἐπιλέξας ἐπήρει τῷ θριάμβῳ. τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ πλῆθος τους ὑπὲρ ἐπτακαίδεκα ἐτής ἁπάσας ἐπέμμεινε εἰς τὰ κατ’ Λίγυπτον ἔργα, πλεῖστος δ’ εἰς τὰς ἐπαρχίας διεδωρήσατο Τίτος φθαρησμένους ἐν τοῖς θέατροις σιδήρῳ καὶ θηρίῳ: οὐ δ’ ἐντὸς ἐπτακαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἐπράθησαν. ἐφθάρησαν δὲ αὐτῶν, εἰς διέκρινεν ὁ Φρόντων ἥμερας, ὑπ’ ἐνδείας χίλιοι πρὸς τοῖς μυρίοις, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ μίσους τῶν φυλάκων μὴ μεταλαμβάνοντες τροφῆς, οἱ δ’ οὐ προσεῖμενοι διδομένην· πρὸς δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἢν ἐνδεία καὶ σίτου.

(3) Τῶν μὲν οὖν αἰχμαλωτῶν πάντων, ὡσα καθ’ ὅλον ἔληφθη τῶν πόλεων, ἀριθμὸς ἐννέα μυριάδες καὶ ἐπτακισχίλιοι συνήχθη, τῶν δὲ ἀπολομένων κατὰ πάσαν τὴν πολυρκίαν μυριάδες ἐκατόν καὶ δέκα. τούτων τὸ πλέον ὀμόφυλον μὲν ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐπιχώριον· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς χώρας ὅλης ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἁζύμων ἐορτὴν συνεληλυθότες ἐξαπίνης τῷ πολέμῳ περισχέθησαν, ὡστε τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοῖς τὴν στενοχωρίαν γενέσθαι λοιμόδῃ φθοράν, αὖθις δὲ καὶ λιμὸν ἀκύτερον. ὅτι δ’ ἐξώρει τοσοῦτοι ἡ πόλις, δῆλον ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Κεστίου συναριθμηθέντων,
and feeble; while those in the prime of life and serviceable they drove together into the temple and shut them up in the court of the women. Caesar appointed one of his freedmen as their guard, and his friend Fronto to adjudicate upon the lot appropriate to each. Fronto put to death all the seditious and brigands, information being given by them against each other; he selected the tallest and most handsome of the youth and reserved them for the triumph; of the rest, those over seventeen years of age he sent in chains to the works in Egypt, while multitudes were presented by Titus to the various provinces, to be destroyed in the theatres by the sword or by wild beasts; those under seventeen were sold. During the days spent by Fronto over this scrutiny, eleven thousand of the prisoners perished from starvation, partly owing to their jailers' hatred, who denied them food, partly through their own refusal of it when offered; moreover, for so vast a multitude even corn failed.

(3) The total number of prisoners taken throughout the entire war amounted to ninety-seven thousand, and of those who perished during the siege, from first to last, to one million one hundred thousand. Of these the greater number were of Jewish blood, but not natives of the place; for, having assembled from every part of the country for the feast of unleavened bread, they found themselves suddenly enveloped in the war, with the result that this over-crowding produced first pestilence, and later the added and more rapid scourge of famine. That the city could contain so many is clear from the count

Vespasian's prisoners to work on Nero's Corinthian canal, iii. 540.

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JOSEPHUS

δς την ἀκμὴν τῆς πόλεως διαδηλώσαι Νέρωνι βουλόμενος καταφρονοῦντι τοῦ ἠθνός παρεκάλεσεν
tous ἀρχιερεῖς, εἰ πως δυνατόν εὑρί την πληθύν
οί δ’ ἐνστάσης ἔορτῆς, πάσχα
καλεῖται, καθ’ ἣν θύουσιν μὲν ἀπὸ ἐνάτης ὥρας
μέχρις ἐνδεκάτης, ὕσπερ δὲ φατρία1 περὶ ἐκάστην
gίνεται θυσίαν οὐκ ἐλάσσων ἀνδρῶν δέκα, μόνον
γὰρ οὐκ ἔξεστιν δαίνωσθαί, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ συν-
οίκοσιν ἀθροίζονται, τῶν μὲν θυμάτων εἰκοσιπέντε
μυριάδας ἡρίθμησαν, πρὸς δὲ πεντακισχίλια ἔξα-
kόσια,2 γίνονται δ’ ἀνδρῶν, ἢν ἐκάστου δέκα δαίτυ-
μόνας θώμεν, μυριάδες ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ διακόσιαι
καθαρῶν ἀπάντων καὶ ἁγίων· οὔτε γὰρ λεπροῖς
οὔτε γονορροϊκοῖς οὔτε γυναιξὶν ἐπεμμήνους οὔτε
τοῖς ἄλλως μεμιασμένοις ἐξὸν ἢν τῆς τῆς θυσίας
μεταλαμβάνειν, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοφυλοῖς, δόσι
κατὰ θρησκείαν παρῆσαν, 4) πολὺ δὲ τούτων
πλῆθος ἐξωθεὶν συνλέγεται. τότε γε μὴν ὑσπερ
ἐις εἰρκτὴν ὕπο τῆς εἰμαρμένης πάν συνεκλείσθη
tὸ ἠθνός, καὶ ναστὴν ὅ πόλεμος τὴν πόλιν ἀνδρῶν
ἐκυκλώσατο. πάσας γοῦν ἀνθρωπίνην καὶ δαι-
μονίαν φθοράν ὑπερβάλλει τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολω-
lότων· ἐπεὶ γοὺν τῶν φανερῶν οὐς μὲν ἀνείλον οὐς
δ’ ἡχυμαλωτίσαντο Ἦρωμαιοι, τοὺς δ’3 ἐν τοῖς
ὑπονόμους ἀνηρεύνων καὶ τοῦτας ἀναρρηγυνύτες
ὁσοι μὲν ἐνετύγχανον ἐκτείνων, εὐρέθησαν δὲ
κάκει νεκροὶ πλείους διυσχιλίων, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ σφῶν
αὐτῶν οἱ δ’ ὑπ’ ἄλληλων, τὸ πλέον δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ

1 So the MSS.: φρατρία Hudson.
2 πεντακισχίλια ἔξακόσια] ἔξακισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια L Lat.
3 τοὺς δ’] τοὺς ML Zon.: οὕς δ(ε) the rest.

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taken under Cestius. For he, being anxious to convince Nero, who held the nation in contempt, of the city’s strength, instructed the chief priests, if by any means possible, to take a census of the population. Accordingly, on the occasion of the feast called Passover, at which they sacrifice from the ninth to the eleventh hour, and a little fraternity, as it were, gathers round each sacrifice, of not fewer than ten persons (feasting alone not being permitted), while the companies often include as many as twenty, the victims were counted and amounted to two hundred and fifty-five thousand six hundred; allowing an average of ten diners to each victim, we obtain a total of two million seven hundred thousand, all pure and holy. For those afflicted with leprosy or gonorrhoea, or menstruous women, or persons otherwise defiled were not permitted to partake of this sacrifice, nor yet any foreigners present for worship, and a large number of these assemble from abroad. But now the whole nation had been shut up by fate as in a prison, and the city when war encompassed it was packed with inhabitants. The victims thus outnumbered those of any previous visitation, human or divine. For when all who showed themselves had been either slain or made prisoners by the Romans, the victors instituted a search for those in the mines, and, tearing up the ground, slew all whom they met; here too were found upwards of two thousand dead, of whom some had been destroyed by their own, and some by one another’s hands, but the greater number by

\[ a \text{ Text or arithmetic is at fault; the total should be } 2,536,000. \]
431 λιμοῦ διεθηρμένου. δεινὴ δ' υπήντα τοῖς ἐπεισ- 
πίπτουσιν ὀδηγὴ τῶν σωμάτων, ὡς πολλοὺς μὲν 
ἀναχωρεῖν εὐθέως, τοὺς δ' ὑπὸ πλεονεξίας εἰσ- 
432 δύσθαι νεκροὺς σεσωρευμένους ἐμπατοῦντας· πολλὰ 
γὰρ τῶν κενμηλίων ἐν ταῖς διωρυξίν εὐρίσκετο, καὶ 
pάσαν θεμίτην ὥδον ἐποίει τὸ κέρδος· ἀνήγοντο 
de καὶ δεσμώται πολλοὶ τῶν τυράννων, οὐδὲ γὰρ 
433 ἐν ἐσχάτοις ἐπαύσαντο τῆς ὑμότητος. ἀπετίθατο 
γε μὴν ὁ θεὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἀξίως, καὶ Ἰωάννης μὲν 
λιμωττῶν μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐν τοῖς ὑπονόμοις 
ην πολλάκις ὑπερηφάνησε παρὰ Ρωμαιῶν δεξιὰν 
λαβεῖν ἑκέτευσε, Σίμων δὲ πολλὰ διαμαχήσας πρὸς 
τὴν ἀνάγκην, ὡς δὲ τῶν ἔξης δηλώσομεν, αὐτὸν 
434 παραδίδωσιν. ἐφυλάχθη δ' ὁ μὲν τῷ βριαμβῷ σφά- 
γιον, ὁ δ' Ἰωάννης δεσμοῦσ αἰωνίοις. Ρωμαιοὶ δὲ 
tὰς τ' ἐσχατιὰς τοῦ ἄστεος ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ τείχη 
kατέσκαψαν.

435 (x. 1) Ἐάλω μὲν οὕτως Ἰεροσόλυμα ἔτει 
δευτέρω τῆς Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἤγεμονίας Γορπιαίου 
μὴν ὁγδόη, ἀλοῦσα δὲ καὶ πρότερον πεντάκις 
436 τούτῳ δεύτερον ἡρμομόθη. Ἀσωχαῖος μὲν γὰρ ὁ 
tῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν Ἀντίοχος, 
ἐπείτα Πομπήιος καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους σὺν Ἡρώδη 
437 Σόσσιος ἐλόντες ἑτήρησαν τὴν πόλιν. πρὸ δὲ 
tούτων ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς κρατήσας 
ἡρμομοῦσαν αὐτὴν μετὰ ἑτη τῆς κτίσεως χῦλα 
438 τετρακόσια ἐξηκοντακτῶν μίνας ἔξ. ὁ δὲ πρῶτος 
κτίσας ἥν Χανααίων δυνάστης ὁ τῇ πατρίῳ

a vii. 25-36.  
b c. 26th September, A.D. 70.  
c i.e., the Biblical Shishak, who plundered Jerusalem in 
the reign of Rehoboam, c. 969 B.C., 1 Kings xiv. 25 ff. In 
500
famine. So horrible was the stench from the bodies which met the intruders, that many instantly withdrew, but others penetrated further through avarice, trampling over heaps of corpses; for many precious objects were found in these passages, and lucre legalized every expedient. Many also of the tyrants' prisoners were brought up; for even at the last they did not abandon their cruelty. God, however, visited both with fit retribution: for John, perishing of hunger with his brethren in the mines, implored from the Romans that protection which he had so often spurned, and Simon, after a long struggle with necessity, to be related hereafter, surrendered; the latter was reserved for execution at the triumph, while John was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. The Romans now set fire to the outlying quarters of the town and razed the walls to the ground.

(x. 1) Thus was Jerusalem taken in the second year of the reign of Vespasian on the eighth of the month Gorpiaeus. Captured on five previous occasions, it was now for the second time devastated. Asochaeus, king of Egypt, and after him Antiochus, then Pompey, and subsequently Sossius in league with Herod took the city but preserved it. But before their days the king of Babylon had subdued it and laid it waste, fourteen hundred and sixty-eight years and six months after its foundation. Its original founder was a Canaanite chief, called in the

the Jewish Antiquities the name appears as 'Iswkos (Iσακος) or Σωφακος.

\[d\] Antiochus Epiphanes, c. 170 B.C.
\[e\] In 63 B.C., B. i. 141 ff.
\[f\] 37 B.C., i. 345 ff.
\[g\] Nebuchadrezzar, in 587 B.C., 2 Kings xxv.
\[h\] Chronological system uncertain.
γλώσση κληθεὶς βασιλεὺς δίκαιος· ἂν γὰρ δὴ τοιοῦτος. διὰ τοῦτο ἱεράσατο τε τῷ θεῷ πρῶτος καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πρῶτος δειμάμενος Ἰεροσόλυμα τὴν πόλιν προσηγόρευσεν Σόλυμα καλουμένην πρότερον.

439 τὸν μὲν δὴ τῶν Χανααίων λαὸν ἐκβαλὼν ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς Δαυίδης1 κατοικίζει τὸν ἵδιον, καὶ μετὰ τούτον ἔτεσι τετρακοσίως ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἐπτά μησίν ἐξ ὑπὸ Βαβυλωνίων κατασκάπτεται.

440 ἀπὸ δὲ Δαυίδου τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅς πρῶτος αὐτῆς ἐβασιλεύσειν Ἰουδαίοις, μέχρι τῆς ὑπὸ Τίτου γενομένης κατασκαφῆς ἔτη χίλια καὶ ἐκατὸν ἐβδο-

441 μῆκονταεννέα. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πρώτης κτίσεως ἔτη μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀλώσεως δυσχίλια ἐκατὸν ἐβδο-

442 μῆκοντα καὶ ἐπτά. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὖθ' ἢ ἀρχαιότης οὖθ' ὁ πλοῦτος ὁ βαθὺς οὔτε τὸ διαπεφοιτήκος ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἔθνος οὖθ' ἡ μεγάλη δόξα τῆς θρησκείας ἦρκεσε τῷ πρὸς ἀπώλειαν αὐτῆ. τοιοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τέλος τῆς Ἰεροσολύμων πολι-

ορκίας.

1 C: δᾶδ (= Δαυίδ) the rest, and so in § 440.

a Melchi-zedek. The name is similarly interpreted, “king of righteousness,” in the Ep. to the Hebrews, vii. 2; in
native tongue 'Righteous King'\(^a\); for such indeed he was. In virtue thereof he was the first to officiate as priest of God and, being the first to build the temple, gave the city, previously called Solyma, the name of Jerusalem.\(^b\) The Canaanite population was expelled by David, the king of the Jews, who established his own people there; and four hundred and seventy-seven years and six months after his time it was razed to the ground by the Babylonians. The period from king David, its first Jewish sovereign, to its destruction by Titus was one thousand one hundred and seventy-nine years; and from its first foundation until its final overthrow, two thousand one hundred and seventy-seven. Howbeit, neither its antiquity, nor its ample wealth, nor its people spread over the whole habitable world, nor yet the great glory of its religious rites, could aught avail to avert its ruin. Thus ended the siege of Jerusalem.

reality it apparently meant "my king is Zedek," Z. being the name of a Phoenician deity, cf. Adoni-zedek "my lord is Z.," Jos. x. 1. Melchizedek is "king of Salem" (Gen. xiv. 18), probably an archaic name for Jerusalem.

\(^b\) Greek "Hierosolyma"; for the names Solyma, Hierosolyma and the popular Greek etymology, uncritically taken over by Josephus, see G. A. Smith, Jerusalem, i. 261 f.
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Ζ'

1 (i. 1) 'Επει δ' οὐτε φονεύειν οὐτε διαρπάζειν εἶχεν ἡ στρατιά πάντων τοῖς θυμοῖς ἐπιλειπόντων, οὓς γὰρ δὴ γε φειδοὶ τινος ἐμελλον ἀφέξεσθαι δρᾶν ἔχοντες, κελεύει Καίσαρ ἢδη τὴν τε πόλιν ἀπασαν καὶ τὸν νεῶν κατασκάπτειν, πύργους μὲν ὅσοι τῶν ἀλλων ὑπερανειστήκεσαν καταλιπόντας, Φασάηλον Ἰππικον Μαριάμμην, τείχος δ' ὅσον ἦν

2 εὖ ἐσπέρας τὴν πόλιν περιέχον, τούτο μὲν, ὅπως εἰγ̄ τοῖς ὑπολειφθησομένοις φρουροῖς στρατόπεδον, τούς πύργους δὲ, ἵνα τοῖς ἑπείτα σημαίνωσιν οἷς πόλεως καὶ τίνα τρόπων ὀχυράς ὀμως̇ ἐκράτησεν

3 ἡ 'Ρωμαίων ἀνδραγαθία. τὸν δ' ἀλλον ἄπαντα τῆς πόλεως περίβολον οὕτως ἐξωμάλισαν οἱ κατασκάπτοντες, ὡς μηδεπῶποτ' οἰκηθῆναι πίστιν

4 ἃν ἔτι παρασχεῖν τοῖς προσελθοῦσι. τούτο μὲν οὖν τὸ τέλος ἐκ τῆς τῶν νευτερισάτων ἀνοίας Ἰεροσολύμων ἐγένετο, λαμπρὰ τε πόλει καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διαβοθεῖσθαι.

5 (2) Καίσαρ δὲ φυλακὴν μὲν αὐτόθι καταλιπείν ἔγνω τῶν ταγμάτων τὸ δέκατον καὶ τινὰς ἦλας ἰππέων καὶ λόχους πεζῶν, πάντα δ' ἢδη τὰ τοῦ πολέμου διωκτικῶς ἐπαινέσαι τε σύμπασαν ἐποθεῖ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασιν καὶ τὰ

1 Niese and others: οὕτως mss. (om. L).
BOOK VII

(i. 1) The army now having no victims either for slaughter or plunder, through lack of all objects on which to vent their rage—for they would assuredly never have desisted through a desire to spare anything so long as there was work to be done—Caesar ordered the whole city and the temple to be razed to the ground, leaving only the loftiest of the towers, Phasael, Hippicus, and Mariamme, and the portion of the wall enclosing the city on the west: the latter as an encampment for the garrison that was to remain, and the towers to indicate to posterity the nature of the city and of the strong defences which had yet yielded to Roman prowess. All the rest of the wall encompassing the city was so completely levelled to the ground as to leave future visitors to the spot no ground for believing that it had ever been inhabited. Such was the end to which the frenzy of revolutionaries brought Jerusalem, that splendid city of worldwide renown.

(2) As the local garrison Caesar decided to leave the tenth legion, along with some squadrons of cavalry and companies of infantry; and having now settled everything relating to the war, he was anxious to commend the army in general for their achievements and to confer the appropriate rewards on those
προσήκοντα γέρα τοῖς ἀριστεῦσασιν ἀποδοῦναι.  
6 ποιηθέντος οὖν αὐτῷ μεγάλου κατὰ μέσην τὴν πρότερον παρεμβολὴν βῆματος, καταστάς ἐπὶ τούτῳ μετὰ τῶν ἠγεμόνων εἰς ἐπίκοιον ἀπάση τῇ στρατιᾷ, χάριν μὲν ἐφη² πολλήν ἔχειν αὐτοῖς τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας, ἢ χρώμενοι διατελοῦσιν.  
7 ἐπήνει δὲ τῆς ἐν παντὶ <τῶ>³ πολέμῳ πειθαρχίας, ἢν ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις κινδύνοις ἁμένα τῇ κατὰ σφάς ἀνδρεία παρέσχον, τῇ μὲν πατρίδι καὶ δι', αὐτῶν τὸ κράτος αὐξόντες, φανερῶν δὲ πάσιν ἀνθρώπωις καθιστάντες, ὦτι μήτε πλῆθος πολεμίων μήτε χωρίων ὀχυρώτητες ἢ μεγέθη πόλεων ἢ τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων ἀλόγιστοι τόλμαι καὶ θηριώδεις ἀγριώτητες δύναντ' ἂν ποτε τὴν  'Ρωμαίων ἀρετὴν διαφυγεῖν, κἂν εἰς πολλά τινες  
8 τὴν τύχην εὑρωνται συναγωγικομένην. καλὸν μὲν ὁὖν ἐφη καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος αὐτοὺς ἐπιθεϊναι πολλῷ χρόνῳ⁴ γενομένῳ μηδὲ γάρ εὐξασθαί τι τούτων ἀμείνον, ὦτ' εἰς αὐτὸν καθιστάντο· τούτου δὲ κάλλιον αὐτοῖς καὶ λαμπρότερον ὑπάρχειν, ὦτι τοὺς ἡγησομένους καὶ τῆς Ἀρχῆς ἐπιτροπεύσοντας αὐτῶν χειροτονησάντων εἰς τε τὴν πατρίδα προσπεμψάντων ἀσμενοὶ πάντες προσ- 
ιεῖναι καὶ τοῖς ἦναντικὸν ἐγνωσμένους ἐμμένους 10 χάριν ἔχοντες τοῖς ἐλομένους. θαυμάζειν μὲν οὖν ἐφη πάντας καὶ ἀγαπᾶν, εἰδὼς ὦτι τοῦ δυνατοῦ  
11 τὴν προθυμίαν οὐδεὶς ἐσχε βραδυτέραν· τοῖς μὲν-  

¹ ἡγεμονικωτάτων L Lat.  
² χάριν μὲν ἐφη Niese (avoiding hiatus): ἔλεγεν χάριν μὲν ἐφη Λ: ἔλεγεν χάριν μὲν the rest.  
³ ins. Herwerden.  
⁴ πολλῷ χρόνῳ] πολυχρονίῳ Bekker.

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who had specially distinguished themselves. A spacious tribunal having accordingly been constructed for him in the centre of his former camp, he here took his stand with his principal officers, so as to be heard by the whole army. He expressed his deep gratitude to them for the loyalty which they had continuously shown him. He commended them for that ready obedience which, along with personal courage in many grave dangers, they had displayed throughout the war, thus by their own actions enhancing the might of their country and demonstrating to all mankind that neither the numbers of the enemy, the strength of fortresses, the magnitude of cities, nor the reckless daring and bestial savagery of antagonists could ever baffle the valour of Romans, however often some of their foes might have found an ally in fortune. Glorious, indeed, it was (he said) to have brought to a close a war of such long duration; for they could never have prayed for any happier issue when they entered upon it. But a yet more glorious and splendid tribute to them than this was the fact that those whom they had themselves elected to be the governors and administrators of the Roman empire, and had sent off to the capital, were being hailed with universal satisfaction, their rulings adhered to, and their electors regarded with gratitude. Therefore (he continued) he admired and held them all in affection, knowing that there was not one whose alacrity had fallen short of his ability; but

\[ \text{Thuc. iii. 82. 3 (τόλμα ἄλογιστος).} \]
\[ \text{et's αὐτῶν καθίσταντο: another Thucydidean phrase (iv. 23 \( \varepsilon \) πόλεμον καθίσταντο).} \]
\[ \text{The plural of Vespasian and his party or the Flavian dynasty: the soldiers' choice included Titus, B. iv. 397.} \]
JOSEPHUS

toi diaprepésteron ágnwniasménois upò rómmhs
pleiónos kai tôn mēn autów biów áristeíais keko-
smikósi, tìn d’ autón strateían épifaneustéran
diá tónn katórthwmatwn pepoignhkósin éph tā géra
kai tás tímàs eúthías apodóswen, kai médena tónn
pleón poneíν éteron thelíasántwn tîs dikaias
12  ámbiðhs ámbartíšesthai. pepéisthn gar autóo tou-
tou genvhíšesthai tìn éptiméleian, esta kai mállon
éthelien tás áretás tímán tónn systrateneoménnon
η kolázein toûs ámbarántontas.
13 (3) Euthéwos ouhn ékelenesen ánagwínwsekein toûs
épi tûtou tetauguëouis òsoi ti lamprón ἦσαν ἐν
tw polémwv kataúrtwakôtes. kai kat’ ónoma kálwvn
ēpínei te parónantas ὡς ἂν ύπερευφρανόμενός
tís ép’ oúkeiws katórhwmasi kai stefánous
ēpetíthei chrusoûs, perianxénia te chrusa kai
dórrata mikrá1 chrusa kai sthmatías édidoû pepoi-
15 ménas éx árgyrou, kai tîn ekáston tâxin ἡλλαττεν
eis to kriéttovn, ou mēn álla kâk tûn laxûrwvn
árgyron kai chrusoûn èstheítas te kai tîs ἄλλης
16 autóstis leías dafílwos ápèneime. pântwn de te-
trimhménwn ópws [an]2 autóstos ekáston ἰξίωσε, tî
sumpásh stratiâ poihsménoi euvhâs ēpi pollli
katêbainen euvhêmia têpêtai te pros thuíasas
épvnkkious, kai pollli bôwv plêsous toîs bwmwôs
parasthktos katathúsas âpantas tî stratiâ
17 diadídowsin eis euvχiâc. autóst de toîs én télei
treis ñméras synoerástas tîn mēn álλh stratiâ
diaphíson ñ kálwv eîcheon ekástous âpíenai, tw
dekástw de tâgmâi tîn tûn Ἱerôsoulêmwn ép-

1 A: μακρὰ the rest. 2 om. Dindorf and Niese.
upon those who had more eminently distinguished themselves in the fight by superior energy, and not only shed a lustre on their own lives by deeds of gallantry but rendered his campaign more famous by their achievements, he would forthwith confer their rewards and honours, and not a man who had chosen to exert himself more than his fellows should miss his due recompense. For to this he would devote his special attention, since he was more concerned to reward the valorous deeds, than to punish the delinquencies, of his fellow-soldiers.

(3) He accordingly forthwith gave orders to the appointed officers to read out the names of all who had performed any brilliant feat during the war. Calling up each by name he applauded them as they came forward, no less exultant over their exploits than if they were his own. He then placed crowns of gold upon their heads, presented them with golden neck-chains, little golden spears and standards made of silver, and promoted each man to a higher rank; he further assigned to them out of the spoils silver and gold and raiments and other booty in abundance. When all had been rewarded as he judged each to have deserved, after invoking blessings upon the whole army he descended amidst many acclamations and proceeded to offer sacrifices of thanksgiving for his victory. A vast number of oxen being brought up beside the altars, he sacrificed them all and distributed them to the troops for a banquet. Having himself for three days joined in festivities with his staff officers, he dismissed the rest of the troops to their several appropriate destinations; the tenth legion, however, he entrusted with the custody of

* Fretensis, Mommsen, Provinces ii. 63 note.
18 ἀποστείλας, ἐνθα πρότερον ἦσαν. μεμνημένος δὲ τοῦ διωδεκάτου τάγματος, ὅτι Κέστιον στρατηγοῦντος ἐνέδωκαν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, τῆς μὲν Συρίας αὐτὸ παντάπασιν ἐξήλασεν, ἢν γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν Ἰαφαναίαις, εἰς δὲ τὴν Μελίτην, καλομένην ἀπέστειλε· παρὰ τὸν Ἐὐφράτην ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐστὶ καὶ Καππαδοκίας. 19 δύο δ’ ἦξίωσεν αὐτῷ μέχρι τῆς εἰς Αἰγυπτον ἀφίξεως, τὸ πέμπτον καὶ τὸ πεντεκαίδεκατον, 20 παραμένειν. καὶ καταβὰς ἀμα τῷ στρατῷ πρὸς τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ βαλάττῃ Καισάρειαν εἰς ταύτην τὸ τε πλῆθος τῶν λαφύρων ἀπέθετο καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους προσέταξεν ἐν αὐτῇ φυλάττεσθαι. τὸν γὰρ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλοῦν ὁ χειμών ἐκώλυσε. 21 (ii. 1) Καθ’ δ’ δὲ καιρὸν Τίτος Καίσαρ τοῖς Ἰεροσολύμοις πολιορκῶν προσήδρευεν, ἐν τούτῳ νεὼς φορτίδος Οὐσσπασιανὸς ἐπιβᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς 22 Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς Ῥόδου διέβανεν. ἢντεύθεν δὲ πλέων ἐπὶ τρήρων καὶ πᾶσας τὰς ἐν τῷ παράπλω πόλεις ἐπελθὼν, εὐκταῖας αὐτῶν δεχομένας, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωνίας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα περαίοντα, κακείθεν ἀπὸ Κερκύρας ἐπ’ ἄκραν Ἰατυγίαν, οθὲν ἦδη 23 κατὰ γῆν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν. Τίτος δ’ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ βαλάττῃ Καισάρειας ἀναζεύξας εἰς τὴν Φιλίππου καλομένην Καισάρειαν ἤκε συχνὸν τ’ ἐν αὐτῇ χρόνον ἐπέμεινεν παντοίας θεώριας 24 ἐπιτελῶν καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἑνταῦθα διεφθάρσαν, οἱ μὲν θηρίοις παραβληθέντες, οἱ δὲ κατὰ πλῆθον ἀλλήλοις ἀναγκαζόμενοι χρήσασθαι

1 Ῥαφανεῖς Α. 2 After C (Μελίτην): Μελίτην the rest. 3 διέβαλεν Λ.
Jerusalem, not sending them back to their former station on the Euphrates. Recollecting too that the twelfth legion had under the command of Cestius succumbed to the Jews, he banished them from Syria altogether—for they had previously been quartered at Raphanaeae—and sent them to the district called Melitene, beside the Euphrates, on the confines of Armenia and Cappadocia. Two legions, the fifth and the fifteenth, he thought fit to retain with himself until his arrival in Egypt. Then descending with his army to Caesarea-on-sea, he there deposited the bulk of his spoils and directed that his prisoners should be kept in custody; for the winter season prevented his sailing for Italy.

(ii. 1) Now at the time when Titus Caesar was assiduously besieging Jerusalem, Vespasian, embarking on a merchant-vessel, crossed from Alexandria to Rhodes. From there he sailed on triremes; and touching at all towns on his route, and being everywhere received with ovations, he passed over from Ionia into Greece, and thence from Coreya to the Iapygian promontory, whence he pursued his journey by land.

Titus, removing his troops from Caesarea-on-sea, now passed to Caesarea Philippi so called, where he remained for a considerable time, exhibiting all kinds of spectacles. Here many of the prisoners perished, some being thrown to wild beasts, others compelled in opposing masses to engage one another

\[\text{Titus leave for Caesarea on-sea.}\]

\[\text{Vespasian's journey to Italy.}\]

\[\text{Titus exhibits shows at Caesarea Philippi.}\]

\[\text{Jerusalem, not sending them back to their former station on the Euphrates.}\]

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25 πολεμίως. ἐνταύθα καὶ τὴν Σίμωνος τοῦ Γιώρα
σύλληψιν ἐπύθετο τούτων γενομένην τὸν τρόπον.
26 (2) Σίμων οὖν Ἰεροσολύμων πολιορκούμενων ἡ Ἰεροσολύμων στρατιά γενομένη πάσαν ἐπόρθει
η Ρωμαίων στρατιά γενομένη πάσαν ἐπόρθει
τὴν πόλιν, τότε τῶν φίλων τοὺς πιστοτάτους
παραλαβὼν καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς λιθοτόμους τε καὶ τὸν
πρὸς τὴν ἔργασιν ἐπιτήδειου τούτων σιδηροῦ
τροφὴν τε διαρκεῖν εἰς πολλὰς ἡμέρας δυναμένην,
σὺν ἐκείνοις ἀπασί καθίσμον αὐτὸν εἰς τινὰ τῶν
27 ἀφανῶν ὑπονόμων. καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἢν τὸ παλαιὸν
ὄρυγμα, προσχώρουν δὲ αὐτοῦ, τῆς στέρεας δὲ
γῆς ὑπαντώσης ταῦτην ὑπενόμενον, ἐλπίδι τοῦ
πορρωτέρῳ δυνήσεσθαι προελθόντες ἐν ἀσφαλεί
28 ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἀνάδυσιν ἀποσώζεσθαι. ἤφευδὴ
dὲ τὴν ἐλπίδα διήλεγχεν ἡ πεῖρα τῶν ἔργων
ὁλίγον τε γὰρ μόλις προούβαινον οἱ μεταλλεύσοντες,
ἢ τε τροφὴ καὶ ταμιευμένοις ἐμελλέν ἐπιλεί-
29 πειν. τότε δὴ τούτων, ὡς δὲ ἐκπλήξεως ἀπατήσαι
tοὺς Ρωμαίοις δυνησόμενος, λευκοὺς ἐνδιδύσκει
χιτωνίσκους καὶ πορφυράν ἐμπερουνησάμενος
χλανίδα κατ’ αὐτὸν ἐκείνον τὸν τόπον, ἐν οἷῷ τὸ
30 ἱερὸν ἢν πρόσθεν, ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀνεφάνη. τὸ μὲν
οὖν πρῶτον τοῖς ἴδοισι θάμβος προσέπεσε καὶ
κατὰ χώραν ἔμενον, ἐπείτα δὲ ἐγγυτέρῳ προσ-
31 ελθόντες ὡστε ἐστὶν ἠροντο. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ
ἐδήλου Σίμων αὐτοῖς, καλεῖν δὲ τὸν ἡγεμόνα
προσέταττεν. καὶ ταχέως πρὸς αὐτὸν δραμόντων
ἡκεν Τερέντιος Ρουφὸς. οὗτος γὰρ ἄρχων τῆς
στρατιᾶς κατελέειπτο: πυθόμενος τε παρ’ αὐτοῦ
πάσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὸν μὲν ἐφύλαττε δεδεμένον,
Καὶσαρὶ δ’ ὅπως εἰη συνειλημμένος ἐδήλου.
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in combat. Here, too, Titus learnt of the capture of Simon, son of Gioras, which was effected as follows.

(2) This Simon during the siege of Jerusalem had occupied the upper town; but when the Roman army entered within the walls and were sacking the whole city, he, accompanied by his most faithful friends, along with some stone-cutters, bringing the tools required for their craft, and provisions sufficient for many days, let himself down with all his party into one of the secret passages. So far as the old excavation extended, they followed it; but when solid earth met them, they began mining, hoping to be able to proceed further, emerge in safety, and so escape. But experience of the task proved this hope delusive; for the miners advanced slowly and with difficulty, and the provisions, though husbanded, were nearly exhausted. Thereupon, Simon, imagining that he could cheat the Romans by creating a scare, dressed himself in white tunics and buckling over them a purple mantle arose out of the ground at the very spot whereon the temple formerly stood. The spectators were at first aghast and remained motionless; but afterwards they approached nearer and inquired who he was. This Simon declined to tell them, but bade them summon the general. Accordingly, they promptly ran to fetch him, and Terentius Rufus, who had been left in command of the force, appeared. He, after hearing from Simon the whole truth, kept him in chains and informed Caesar of the

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1 C: ἀπολέσειν the rest.
2 χλαμύδα L Zon.: "chlamide" Lat.
JOSEPHUS

32 Σύμωνα μὲν οὖν εἰς δίκην τῆς κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ὁμότητος, ὥν πικρῶς αὐτὸς ἐπυράμηνέν, ὑπὸ τοῖς μάλιστα μισοῦσι πολεμίοις ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός, οὐ βέβαιανε μισοῦσι ἁπόκειτον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἐκουσίως εἰς τὴν τιμωρίαν παραβαλόντα, δι' ὅ πολλοὺς αὐτὸς ὁμός ἀπέκτεινε ψευδεῖς αὐτίας.

34 ἐπιφέρων τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίοις μεταβολῆς. οὔδὲ γὰρ διαφεύγει τοις πονηρίᾳ θεοῦ χόλοιν, οὔδὲ ἀσθενῆς ἡ δίκη, χρόνῳ δὲ μέτειοι τοὺς εἰς αὐτὴν παρανομήσαντας καὶ χείρῳ τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐπιφέρει τοῖς πονηροῖς, ὅτε καὶ προσεδόκησαν αὐτής ἀπηλλάχθαι μὴ παραντικα κολασθέντες. ἐγνω τούτο καὶ

35 Σύμων εἰς τὰς Ῥωμαίων ὀργὰς ἐμπεσούν. ἢ δ' ἐκείνου γῇθεν ἄνοδος πολὺ καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν στασιαστῶν πλῆθος ὑπ' ἐκείνας τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν τοῖς ὑπονόμοις φωραθῆναι παρεσκεύασε. Καίσαρι δ' εἰς τὴν παράλιον ἐπανήκοντι ἡ Καισάρειαν Σύμων προσήχθῃ δεδεμένος· κακεῖνον μὲν εἰς ὅν ἐπιτελεῖτο ἐν Ῥώμη παρεσκευάζετο θρίαμβον προσέταξε φυλάττειν.

37 (iii. 1) Διατρίβων δ' αὐτόθι τῇ τάδελφῳ γενέθλιον ἠμέραν ἐπιφανῶς ἐφορτάξε, πολὺ καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων κολάσεως εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου τιμήν ἀνατιθείς, ὁ γὰρ ἀρπήγιος τῶν ἐν τῇ ταῖς πρὸς τὰ θερία μάχαις ἐν τῇ ταῖς ἀλληλοκοπίαις ἀναίρωμένων καὶ τῶν καταψυχραμένων πεντακοσίως ἐπὶ τοῖς δισχυλίους ὑπερέβαλε, πάντα μὲντοι Ῥωμαίοις ἐδόκει ταῦτα μυρίους αὐτῶν ἀπ-

1 ed. pr. (cf. Lat. "propterea quod"): δ' ὅν οτ δ' ὅν
2 After Lat. Niese: ὅτι mss.
3 A: ἐπανελθόντι MVR: παρελθόντι LC.
4 καὶ τῶν καταψυχραμένων in the mss. stands after μάχαι: transposed by Niese.

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manner of his capture. Thus was Simon, in retribution for his cruelty to his fellow-citizens, whom he had mercilessly tyrannized, delivered by God into the hands of his deadliest enemies; not subjected to them by force, but spontaneously exposing himself to punishment—an act for which he had put many to a cruel death on false charges of defection to the Romans. For villainy escapes not the wrath of God, nor is Justice weak, but in due time she tracks down those who have transgressed against her and inflicts upon the sinners a chastisement the more severe, when they imagined themselves quit of it because they were not punished immediately. This Simon learnt when he fell into the hands of the indignant Romans. His emergence from the ground led, moreover, to the discovery during those days of a large number of the other rebels in the subterranean passages. On the return of Caesar to Caesarea-on-sea Simon was brought to him in chains, and he ordered the prisoner to be kept for the triumph which he was preparing to celebrate in Rome.

(iii. 1) During his stay at Caesarea, Titus celebrated his brother's birthday with great splendour, reserving in his honour for this festival much of the punishment of his Jewish captives. For the number of those destroyed in contests with wild beasts or with one another or in the flames exceeded two thousand five hundred. Yet to the Romans, notwithstanding the myriad forms in which their victims

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*a* Cf. Horace, *Odes* iii. 2. 31 f. "raro antecedentem scelestum | deseruit pede Poena claudio."

*b* Domitian was now eighteen, born 24th October, A.D. 52.

*c* Or "dedicating to his honour," but the verb (like the verbal adj. *aváteréov*) doubtless connotes "postpone."
39 ολλυμένων τρόποις ἐλάττων κόλασις εἶναι. μετὰ τοῦτο Καίσαρ εἰς Βηθεντὸν ἤκεν· ἦ δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ πόλις 'Ρωμαίων ἀποικος· κάνταθα χρονιστέραν ἐποίησατο τὴν ἐπιδημίαν πλείον χρώμενος τῇ λαμπρότητι περὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμέραν γενέθλιον ἐν τε ταῖς τῶν θεωριῶν πολυτελείαις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπίνοιαν τῶν [ἄλλων]  
40 ἀναλωμάτων. τὸ δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλωτῶν πλήθος τοῦ αὐτοῦ τρόπον ὡς πρόσθεν ἀπώλλυτο.
41 (2) Γενέσθαι δὲ συνεβή περὶ τὸν καίρον τούτον καὶ τοῖς ἐν 'Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῶν 'Ιουδαίων ὑπολειπομένωις ἐγκλήματα καὶ κίνδυνον ὀλέθρου, τῆς πόλεως ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τῶν 'Ἀντιοχέων ἐκταραχθείσης διὰ τε τὰς ἐν τῷ παρώντι διαβολὰς αὐτοῖς ἐπενεχθείσας καὶ διὰ τὰ προὔπηργαμένα 2 χρόνω πρόσθεν 
42 οὐ πολλῷ, περὶ ὧν ἀναγκαίον ἔστι διὰ συντόμων προεπείν, ἵνα καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα πραξα̱θεντῶν εὐπαρακολούθητον ποιήσωμαι τὴν διήγησιν.
43 (3) Τὸ γὰρ 'Ιουδαίων γένους πολὺ μὲν κατὰ πάσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην παρέσπαρται τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις, πλειστὸν δὲ τῇ Συρίᾳ κατὰ τὴν γειτνίασιν ἀναμεμημένην ἐξαιρέτως 3 ἐπὶ τῆς 'Ἀντιοχείας ἣν πολὺ διὰ τὸ τῆς πόλεως μέγεθος· μάλιστα δ' αὐτοῖς ἀδεὰ τὴν ἐκεῖ κατοίκησιν οἱ μετ' 'Ἀντίοχον 
44 βασιλείς παρέσχον. 'Ἀντίοχος μὲν γὰρ ὁ κληθεῖς 'Επιφανῆς 'Ιεροσόλυμα πορθήσας τὸν νεὼν ἑσύλησεν, οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντες τῶν ἀναθημάτων ὁσα χαλκὰ πεποίητο πάντα τοῖς

1 Bracketed by Niese: the Lat. rather suggests the omission of ἄλλων.
2 LC (cf. §§ 56, 269): ὑπηργιμένα the rest.
3 + δὲ (ἢ C) AV RC.
JEWISH WAR, VII. 39–44

perished, all this seemed too light a penalty. After this Caesar passed to Berytus,¹ a city of Phoenicia and a Roman colony. Here he made a longer sojourn, displaying still greater magnificence on the occasion of his father’s birthday,² both in the costliness of the spectacles and in the ingenuity of the various other items of expenditure. Multitudes of captives perished in the same manner as before.

(2) It happened, moreover, about this time that the remnant of the Jews at Antioch were incriminated and in danger of extermination, the Antiochene community having been greatly excited against them in consequence not only of the false accusations now laid to their charge, but also of certain incidents which had taken place not long before. Of these a brief account must first be given, in order to render my narrative of the subsequent events more intelligible.

(3) The Jewish race, densely interspersed among the native populations of every portion of the world, is particularly numerous in Syria, where intermingling is due to the proximity of the two countries. But it was at Antioch that they specially congregated, partly owing to the greatness of that city, but mainly because the successors of King Antiochus ³ had enabled them to live there in security. For, although Antiochus surnamed Epiphanes ⁴ sacked Jerusalem and plundered the temple,⁵ his successors on the throne restored to the Jews of Antioch all such votive

¹ Beirut.
² Vespasian was now sixty-one, born 17th November, A.D. 9.
³ Antiochus I Soter (reigned 280–261 B.C.) is apparently meant.
⁴ Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.).
⁵ c. 170 B.C., B. i. 31 f.
ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας Ἰουδαίοις ἀπέδοσαν εἰς τὴν συναγωγήν αὐτῶν ἀναθέντες, καὶ συνεχώρησαν αὐτοῖς ἐξ οὗν τῆς πόλεως τοῖς Ἑλλησι μετέχειν. 45 τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα βασιλέων αὐτοῖς προσφερομένων εἰς τε πλῆθος ἐπέδωκαν καὶ τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τὸ ἕρον ἐξελάμπρυναν, ἀεὶ τε προσαγόμενοι ταῖς θησαυρείαις πολὺ πλῆθος Ἑλλήνων, κάκεινους τρόπῳ τινὶ μοιρὰν αὐτῶν πεποίητο. 46 καθ' δὲ καίρον ὁ πόλεμος ἀνακεκήρυκτο, νεωστὶ δ' εἰς τὴν Συρίαν Οὐεσπασιανὸς καταπελεύκει, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων παρὰ πάσιν ἢμαζε μίσος, τότε δὴ τις Ἀντίοχος εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν τὰ μάλιστα διὰ τὸν πατέρα τυμώμενος, ἢν γὰρ ἄρχων τῶν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας Ἰουδαίων, τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησιάζοντος εἰς τὸ θεάτρον παρελθὼν τὸν τε πατέρα τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐνεδείκνυτο, κατηγορών ὅτι νυκτὶ μιᾶ καταπρῆσαι τὴν πόλιν ἀπασαν διεγνώκεισαν, καὶ παρεδίδου ἔξους Ἰουδαίους τινὰς ὡς κεκοινω- 48 νηκότας τῶν βεβουλευμένων. ταῦτα [δ'] ἀκούσαν ὁ δήμος τὴν ὄργην οὐ κατείχει, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς παραδοθέντας πῦρ εὐθὺς ἐκέλευον κομίζειν, καὶ παραχρῆμα πάντες ἐπὶ τοῦ θεάτρου κατ- 49 εφλέγησαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ὄρμητο τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐν τῷ τάχιον ἐκείνους τιμωρίᾳ περιβάλειν τὴν 50 αὐτῶν πατρίδα σώζειν νομίζοντες. Ἀντίοχος δὲ

1 om. PM.

* According to Ap. ii. 39 these rights were granted to the 518
offerings as were made of brass, to be laid up in their
synagogue, and, moreover, granted them citizen
rights on an equality with the Greeks. Continuing
to receive similar treatment from later monarchs,
the Jewish colony grew in numbers, and their richly
designed and costly offerings formed a splendid
ornament to the temple. Moreover, they were
constantly attracting to their religious ceremonies
multitudes of Greeks, and these they had in some
measure incorporated with themselves. Now just
at the time when war had been declared and Ves-
pasian had recently landed in Syria, and when hatred
of the Jews was everywhere at its height, a certain
Antiochus, one of their own number and highly
respected for the sake of his father, who was chief
magistrate of the Jews in Antioch, entered the
theatre during an assembly of the people and de-
nounced his own father and the other Jews, accusing
them of a design to burn the whole city to the
ground in one night; he also delivered up some
foreign Jews as accomplices to the plot. On hearing
this, the people, in uncontrollable fury, ordered the
men who had been delivered up to be instantly con-
signed to the flames, and all were forthwith burnt to
death in the theatre. They then rushed for the
Jewish masses, believing the salvation of their native
place to be dependent on their prompt chastisement.

Jews of Antioch by Seleucus I Nicator, founder of the city
and of the Seleucid dynasty (died 280 B.C.).

Jews recognized but one "temple," at Jerusalem, and
that must surely be intended; Whiston and Traill render
"their temple," meaning apparently the "synagogue"
mentioned above.

The theatre was frequently used as a meeting-place for
the ecclesia in Hellenic cities; cf. the scene in the theatre at
Ephesus, Acts xix. 29.
προσεπέτευε τὴν ὄργην, περὶ μὲν τῆς αὐτοῦ μεταβολῆς καὶ τοῦ μεμισθηκέναι τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθη τεκμηρίων ἐμπαρέχειν1 οἷομενος τὸ ἐπιθύειν 51 ὥσπερ νόμος ἐστὶ τοῖς "Ἐλλησίων" ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὸ αὐτὸ ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζειν φανεροῦς γὰρ γενήσεσθαι τῷ μὴ θέλειν τοὺς ἐπιβεβουλευκότας. χρωμένων δὲ τῇ πείρᾳ τῶν Ἀντίοχεών ὁλίγοι μὲν ὑπέμειναν, οὐ δὲ μὴ βουλθεύετε 52 ἀνηρέθησαν. Ἀντίοχος δὲ στρατιωτὰς παρὰ τού 'Ῥωμαίων ἥγεμόνοις λαβὼν χαλέπος ἐφειστήκει τοῖς αὐτοῦ πολίταις, ἀργεῖν τὴν ἐβδομήν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπον, ἀλλὰ βιαζόμενος πάντα πράττειν ὅσα 53 δὴ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις. οὕτως τε τὴν ἀνάγκην ἴσχυραν ἐποίησεν, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἐπ’ Ἀντιοχείας καταλυθήναι τὴν ἐβδομάδα ἀργεῖν2 ἡμέραιν, ἀλλ’ ἐκείθεν ἀρξαμένου τοῦ πράγματος κἂν3 ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ὁμοίως βραχὺν τινα χρόνων.

54 (4) Τοιοῦτων δὴ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς4 'Ἀντιοχείας 'Ἰουδαίοις τῶν κατ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν κακῶν γεγενημένων δευτέρα πάλιν συμφορὰ προσέπεσε, περὶ ἃς ἐπιχειρήσαντες ἀφηγεῖσθαι καὶ ταῦτα 55 διεξῆλθομεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ συνεβῇ καταπρησθήναι τὴν τετράγωνον ἀγορὰν ἀρχεῖα τε καὶ γραμματο- φυλάκιον5 καὶ τὰς βασιλικὰς, μόλις τε τὸ πῦρ ἐκκυλύθη μετὰ πολλῆς βίας ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν περιφερόμενον, ταύτην 'Ἀντίοχος τὴν πρᾶξιν Ἰου- 56 δαίων κατηγόρει. καὶ τοὺς 'Ἀντιοχείς, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον εἶχον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄπεχθώς, τάχιστ ἀν6 τῇ διαβολῇ παρὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος παραχὴν ὑπαχθέντας πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν προ- υπηργεύμων τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ λεγομένοις πιστεύειν

1 VRC: μὲν παρέχειν ΡΑ: παρέχειν ΜΛ.
Antiochus further inflamed their fury; for, thinking to furnish proof of his conversion and of his detestation of Jewish customs by sacrificing after the manner of the Greeks, he recommended that the rest should be compelled to do the same, as the conspirators would thus be exposed by their refusal. This test being applied by the Antiochenes, a few submitted and the recalcitrants were massacred. Antiochus, having next procured the aid of troops from the Roman general, domineered with severity over his Jewish fellow-citizens, not permitting them to repose on the seventh day, but compelling them to do everything exactly as on other days; and so strictly did he enforce obedience that not only at Antioch was the weekly day of rest abolished, but the example having been started there spread for a short time to the other cities as well.

(4) Such being the misfortunes which the Jews of Antioch had at that time experienced, a second calamity now befell them, in endeavouring to describe which I was led to narrate the previous history. For a fire having broken out, which burnt down the market-square, the magistrates' quarters, the record-office and the basilicae, and the flames having with difficulty been prevented from spreading with raging violence over the whole city, Antiochus accused the Jews of the deed. The Antiochenes, even had they not been previously embittered against them, would, in the commotion produced by the accident, have readily been misled by the calumny; much more, after what had previously occurred, were they now

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2 LC: ἀργῆν the rest. 3 C: καὶ the rest. 4 ἐπὶ τῆς] ἐπὶ Π. 5 χαρτοφυλάκιον L Zon. 6 PAL: τάχιστα the rest.
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παρεσκεύασεν, ὃς μόνον οὐκ αὐτοὺς τὸ πῦρ
57 ἐνεμευον ὑπὸ τῶν 'Ἰουδαίων ἐωρακότας, καὶ
καθάπερ ἐμμανεὶς γεγενημένοι μετὰ πολλὰ τινος
οἴστρου πάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς διαβεβλημένους ἔρρησαν.
58 μόλις δ’ αὐτῶν ἐδυνήθη τὰς ὀρμας ἐπισκεῖν.
Γναῖος Κολλήγας τις πρεσβευτής, ἀξίων ἐπι-
τρέψειτο Καίσαρι δηλωθήναι περὶ τῶν γεγονότων.
59 τῶν γὰρ ἄγεμονεύοντα τῆς Συρίας Καισέννιοι
Παῖτον ἦδη μὲν Οὐσπασιανὸς ἐξαπεστάλκει,
60 συνέβαινε δὲ παρείναι μηδέπω. ποιούμενος δ’
ἐπιμελῆ τὴν ἀναζήτησιν3 ὁ Κολλήγας ἐξεύρε τὴν
ἀληθείαν, καὶ τῶν μὲν τὴν αἰτίαν ὑπ’ Ἀντιώχου
λαβόντων 'Ἰουδαίων οὐδέες οὐδ’ ἐκοινώνησαν.
61 ἀπαν δὲ τούργον έπραξαν ἀνθρωποί τινες ἀληθηρίαν
diὰ χρεών ἀνάγκας νομιζόντες, εἰ τὴν ἀγορὰν
καὶ τὰ δημόσια καταπρήσειαι γράμματα, τῆς
62 ἀπαιτῆσεως ἀπαλλαγὴν ἔειν. 'Ἰουδαίοι μὲν οὖν
ἐπὶ μετεώροις ταῖς αἰτίαις τὸ μέλλον ἔτι καρα-
dοκοῦντες ἐν φόβοις χαλεποῖς ἀπεσάλευον.
63 (ἰν. 1) Τῖτος δὲ Καίσαρ τῆς περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς
ἀγγελίας αὐτῷ κοιμοθείσης, ὅτι πᾶσις μὲν
ποθεινός ταῖς κατὰ τὴν 'Ἰταλίαν πόλεις ἐπηλθεν,
μάλιστα δ’ ἡ Ῥώμη4 μετὰ πολλῆς αὐτῶν ἐδέξατο
προθυμίας καὶ λαμπρότητος, εἰς πολλὴν χαρὰν
καὶ βουμηδίαν ἐτράπετο, τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ φρουτίων
64 ὡς ἕδιστον ἢν ἀπηλλαγμένος. Οὐσπασιανὸν γὰρ
ἐτε μὲν καὶ μακρὰν ἀπόντα πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν
'Ἰταλίαν ἀνθρωποὶ ταῖς γνώμαις περιείπον ὡς
ἔκοντα, τὴν προσδοκίαν ἐκ τοῦ πάνιν θέλειν

1 Bekker: νέος or νέος ὡς mss.: Ναῖος Niese (cf. A. xix. 166).
2 Hudson: Πέτον mss.
3 P: ζήτησε: the rest.
4 Ῥωμαίων M.
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inclined to believe the statements of Antiochus, and to imagine that they had all but seen with their own eyes the Jews setting fire to the town. And so, like maniacs, in a wild frenzy they all rushed upon the accused. With great difficulty Gnaeus Collega, the deputy-governor, succeeded in restraining their fury, requesting permission to lay the facts before Caesar; for as it happened, the governor of Syria, Caesennius Paetus, already sent out by Vespasian, had not yet arrived. By careful investigation Collega then discovered the truth. Not one of the Jews incriminated by Antiochus had any part in the affair, the whole being the work of some scoundrels, who, under the pressure of debts, imagined that if they burnt the market-place and the public records they would be rid of all demands. The Jews, with these charges hanging over them and still anxiously awaiting the issue, were thus in troubled waters and in grave alarm.

(iv. 1) Meanwhile, Titus Caesar, having received news of the eagerness with which all the Italian cities had greeted his father's approach, and that Rome in particular had given him an enthusiastic and splendid reception, experienced heart-felt joy and satisfaction at this most agreeable relief from anxiety on his behalf. For even while Vespasian was still far off, all the Italians were paying respect to him in their hearts as if he were already come, mistaking, in their keen desire, their expectation of him for his actual

a Gn. Pompeius Collega, consul in A.D. 93 (Tac. Agr. 44).

b C. Caesennius Paetus, consul in 61, disgraced himself in a campaign against the Parthians in 63 and was deprived by Nero of his command; as governor of Syria he made an inglorious attack on the innocent Antiochus, king of Com- magene, described below, §§ 219 ff.


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65 ἀφείναυτόννομιζοντεςκαὶπάσηςἀνάγκης

66 ἔλευθέραντὴνπρὸςαὐτὸνἐχοντεςεὐνοιαν.τῇ

67 τεγὰρβουλήκατὰμνήμηντῶνγεγενημένων

68 ἀρχομένωνσωτηρίανἐσομένην.καὶμὴνὁδήμος

69 ύπὸτῶνἐμφυλίωνκακῶντετρυχωμένοςἐτὶ

70 μᾶλλονἐλθεῖναὐτὸνἐσπευδε,τότεἡβεβαιῶσε

71 μὲνἀπαλαγήσεσθαιτῶνσυμφορῶνὑπολαμβάνων,

72 ἀπολύσεσθαιδὲτὴνἀδειανμετὰτῆςεὐετηρίας

73 πεπιστευκὼς.ἐξαιρέτωςδὲτὸστρατιωτικὸνεἰς

74 αὐτὸνἀθεώρα·μάλισταγὰροὐτοὶτῶνκατωρθω-

75 μένωναὐτῷπολέμοιςἐγύνωσκοντὸμέγεθος,τῆς

76 ἀπειρίαςδὲτῶνἄλλωνἡμερῶνκαὶτῆςἀν-

77 ανδρίαςπεπειραμένουπολλῆςμὲνἀισχύνηςαὐτοὺς

78 ἐπεθύμουνἀπηλλάχθαι,τῶνμόνωνδὲκαὶσωζεῖν

79 αὐτοὺςκαὶκοσμεῖνδυνάμενονἀπολαβεῖνἡχοντο.

80 τοιαύτηςδ’εὐνοίαςἐξἀπάντωνὑπαρχοῦσηςτοῖς

81 μὲνκατὰτὰςἀξιώσειςπρούχουσιτῶνἀνδρῶν

82 οὐκέτ’ἀνεκτὸνἡνανάμενει,ἀλλὰπορρωτάτων

83 τῆςῬώμηςαὐτῷπροεντυχεῖνἐσπευδον.οὐμὴν

84 οὐδέτῶνἄλλωντιςἡνείγετοτῆςἐντεύξεωςτὴν

85 ἀναβολήν,ἀλλ’οὕτωςἐξεχέοντοπάντεςἀθρόοι

86 καὶπάσινεὐπορώτερονκαὶῥᾴνοιἐδόκειντὸν

87 μένειντὸἀπειναι,ὡςκαὶτὴνπόλιναὐτῇτὸτῶ

88 πρὸσονἐνἐαυτῇλαβεῖνὁλιγανθρωπίαςἀισθησιν

89 ἢδειαν.ἔσανγὰρἐλάττουςτῶνἀπιόντωνοἱ

90 μένοντες.ἐπεὶδὲπροσίωνἡγγέλλετο,καὶτῇ

91 ἡμερότητατῆςἐντεύξεωςαὐτοῦτὴνπρὸςἐκάστους

92 ἑδήλουνοὶπροελθόντες,ἂπανἡδὴτὸλοιπὸν

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arrival, and exhibiting an affection for him wholly free from constraint. For to the Senate, mindful of the calamities undergone in the changes of their rulers, nothing was more desirable than to gain once more an emperor adorned with the gravity of years and the finest fame for military achievements, whose exaltation they were assured would make only for the welfare of his subjects. The people, too, exhausted by civil disorders, were still more eager for his coming, expecting now at last to obtain permanent release from their miseries, and confident that security and prosperity would again be theirs. But above all the army had their eyes on him; for they knew best the magnitude of the wars that he had won, and, having had proof of the inexperience and cowardice of the other emperors, longed to be rid of such deep disgrace and prayed that they might be granted him who alone could both bring them salvation and add lustre to their arms. Amidst such feelings of universal goodwill, those of higher rank, impatient of awaiting him, hastened to a great distance from Rome to be the first to greet him. Nor, indeed, could any of the rest endure the delay of meeting, but all poured forth in such crowds—for to all it seemed simpler and easier to go than to remain—that the very city then for the first time experienced with satisfaction a paucity of inhabitants; for those who went outnumbered those who remained. But when he was reported to be approaching and those who had gone ahead were telling of the affability of his reception of each party, the whole re-

A.D. 68-69 was the year of the four emperors—Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius.

1 Hudson after Lat. iucundam: idian mss.
2 L Lat.: προσελθντες the rest.
The story of this revolt is narrated at length by Tacitus, Hist. iv. 12-37, 54-79, v. 14-26 (where the History breaks off). The German leader, Julius Civilis, at the head of the Batavians, 526
remaining population, with wives and children, were by now waiting at the road-sides to receive him; and each group as he passed, in their delight at the spectacle and moved by the blandness of his appearance, gave vent to all manner of cries, hailing him as "benefactor," "saviour," and "only worthy emperor of Rome." The whole city, moreover, was filled, like a temple, with garlands and incense. Having reached the palace, though with difficulty, owing to the multitude that thronged around him, he offered sacrifices of thanksgiving for his arrival to the household gods. The crowds then betook themselves to festivity and, keeping feast by tribes and families and neighbourhoods, with libations prayed God that Vespasian might himself long be spared to the Roman empire, and that the sovereignty might be preserved unchallenged for his sons and their descendants throughout successive generations. And, indeed, the city of Rome, after this cordial reception of Vespasian, rapidly advanced to great prosperity.

(2) However, before this period, while Vespasian was at Alexandria and Titus occupied with the siege of Jerusalem, a large portion of the Germans had been incited to revolt; and the neighbouring Gauls, sharing their aspirations, conceived, in partnership with them, high hopes of release from Roman domination. The Germans were instigated to who occupied the Delta of the Rhine, began by playing for Vespasian, but after the defeat of Vitellius (October 69 A.D.) ended by playing for himself. His Gallic associate, Julius Classicus, a distinguished nobleman of the Treveri, aspired to set up an imperium Galliarum. "The Batavians and the Gauls had a common interest in their hostility to Rome, and so far they co-operated; but Civilis had nothing to do with the imperium Galliarum" (Bury).
τοὺς Γερμανοὺς ἀψασθαι τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ
tὸν πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν πρῶτη μὲν ἡ φύσις οὖσα
λογισμῶν ἔρημος ἁγαθῶν καὶ μετὰ μικρᾶς ἐλπίδος
78 ἐτοίμως ρυθοκύδινυνος· ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ μῆσος τὸ
πρῶς τοὺς κρατοῦντας, ἐπεὶ μόνοις ἵσασι Ῥω-
μαίοις τὸ γένος αὐτῶν δουλεύειν βεβιασμένον.
οὐ μὴν ἄλλα μάλιστα γε πάντων ὁ καιρὸς αὐτὸς
79 θάρσος ἐνεποίησεν· ὁρῶντες γὰρ τὴν Ῥωμαίων
ἀρχὴν ταῖς συνεχέσι τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ἀλλαγαῖς
ἐν ἐαυτῇ τεταραγμένην, πᾶν τε μέρος τῆς ὕπ᾿
αὐτοῖς οἰκουμένης πυνθανόμενοι μετέωρον εἶναι
καὶ κραδαίνεσθαι, τοῦτοι σφίσων αὐτοῖς ἁριστον
ὑπὸ τῆς ἔκεινων κακοπραγίας καὶ στάσεως καιρὸν
80 φήθησαν παραδεδόσθαι. ἐνῆγον δὲ τὸ βούλευμα
καὶ ταύτας αὐτοὺς ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐτύφουν Κλασσικὸς
τις καὶ Κιούλιος¹ τῶν παρ᾿ αὐτοῖς [ὀντες]²
81 ἡγεμόνων, οἱ δὴ λοι μὲν ὡς ἐκ μακροῦ ταύτης
ἐφίηντο τῆς νεωτεροποιίας, ὑπὸ τοῦ καιροῦ δὲ
θαρσῆσαι προαχθέντες τὴν αὐτῶν γνώμην ἐξ-
ἐφηναν· ἐμελλὼν δὲ προθύμως διακειμένοις τὴν
82 πείραν τοῖς πλῆθεσι προσφέρειν. πολλοὶ δὲ μέρους
ἡδὴ τῶν Γερμανῶν τὴν ἀποστασίαν ἀνωμολογη-
κότος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ἄνδιχα φρονησάντων,
ἀσπερ ἐκ δαμολίου προνοίας Οὐσπασιανὸς πέμ-

¹ Gelenius: Οὐτίλλος mss. ² om. P.

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attempt this insurrection and to declare war, in the first place, by their natural disposition, which is devoid of sound judgement and ready to rush into danger with but slight hope of success; secondly, by hatred of their conquerors, knowing that none but the Romans have reduced their race to servitude. But what most of all inspired them with confidence was this golden opportunity. For seeing the Roman empire internally disordered through the continuous change of its masters, and hearing that every quarter of the world beneath their sway was seething and quivering with excitement, they thought that an excellent opportunity was here presented to themselves by their enemy's disasters and dissensions. The scheme was fostered and the nation inflated with these crazy expectations by a certain Classicus and Civilis, leading men among them, who had notoriously long been meditating this rebellion, and who were now emboldened by the occasion to disclose their plans and were to test the mettle of those masses so eager for rebellion. A large section of the Germans was, accordingly, already committed to the revolt, and their views had met with no opposition from the rest, when Vespasian, as if by the guidance of providence, dispatched

\[a\] Cf. the description of Tacitus: "si civitas, in qua orti sunt, longa pace et otio torpeat, plerique nobilium adolescentium petunt ultro eas nationes, quae tum bellum aliquod gerunt, quia et ingrata genti quies, et facilius inter ancipitia clarescunt," Germ. 14.

\[b\] Tac. Hist. iv. 54, adds a further reason for the enemy's elation: "Galli sustulerant animos, eandem ubique exercituum nostrorum fortunam rati ... sed nihil aequo quam incendium Capitolii, ut finem imperio adesse crederent, inpulerat."
πει γράμματα Πετιλίων Πετρελίω τοῦ πρῶτερον ἡγεμόνι Γερμανίας γενομένω, τὴν ὑπατον δίδους τιμῆν καὶ κελεύων ἀρξοντα Βρεττανίας ἀπίεναι. 83 πορευόμενος οὖν ἐκείνος ὅποι προσετέτακτο καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀπόστασιν τῶν Γερμανῶν πυθόμενος, ἡδὲ συνειλεγμένος αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσών καὶ παρατεξάμενος πολὺ τε πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀναίρει κατὰ τὴν μάχην καὶ τῆς ἀνοιάς παυσαμένους ἠνάγκασε 84 σωφρονεῖν. ἐμελλον δὲ κακείνου μὴ θάττον εἰς τοὺς τόπους παραβαλόντος δίκην οὐκ εἰς μακράν 85 ύψεξειν. ἦνικα γὰρ πρῶτον ἡ τῆς ἀποστάσεως αὐτῶν ἀγγελία τῇ Ρωμή προσέπεσε, Δομετιανὸς Καίσαρ πυθόμενος οὖς ὥς ἀν έτερος ἐν τούτῳ τῆς ἡλικίας, νέος γὰρ ἦν ἐτὶ παντάπασιν, τηλικοῦτον ἀρασθαί μέγεθος πραγμάτων ὠκυνησεν, 86 ἔχων δὲ πατρὸθεν ἐμφυτον τὴν ἀνδραγαθιαν καὶ τελειότεραν τὴν ἁσκησιν τῆς ἡλικίας πεποιημένος 87 ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους εὐθὺς ἡλαυνεῖν. οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν φήμην τῆς ἐφόδου καταπεσόντες ἐπὶ αὐτῷ σφάζων αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσαντο μέγα τοῦ φόβου κέρδος εὑράμενοι τὸ χωρίς συμφορῶν ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν 88 πάλιν χυγὸν ὑπαχθῆναι. πάσιν οὖν ἐπιθεῖς τοῖς περὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τάξιν τῆς προσήκουσαν Δο- μετιανός, ὡς μηδ' ἄθις ἀν ποτε βαδίσως ἐτὶ τάκει ταραχθῆναι, λαμπρὸς καὶ περίβλεπτος ἐπὶ κρείτ-

1 Lat. : Βεντίοις mss. 2 PM : τῷ the rest. 3 Μ : μετὰ the rest.

a Q. Petilius Cerealis, a near relative of Vespasian, and an energetic but rash commander, had been defeated in A.D. 61 by the Britons under Boadicea. Espousing Vespasian's claim to the Empire in 69, he suffered another defeat beneath 530
letters to Petilius Cerealis, previously in command in Germany, conferring upon him consular dignity and instructing him to set out to take over the governorship of Britain. He, while proceeding accordingly to his appointed sphere, heard of the revolt of the Germans, fell upon them just when their forces were united, and, having in a pitched battle slain masses of them, forced them to abandon their folly and learn prudence. But, even had Cerealis not so promptly visited the spot, they were doomed ere long to suffer chastisement. For as soon as the news of their rebellion reached Rome, Domitian Caesar, on hearing of it, hesitated not, as another at his age might have done—for he was still a mere stripling—to shoulder such a burden of responsibility. Inheriting by nature his father's prowess and blessed with a training beyond his years, he forthwith marched off against the barbarians. Their hearts failing them at the rumour of his approach, they threw themselves on his mercy, finding it a highly advantageous relief from their terror to be again reduced under the same yoke without experiencing disaster. Domitian having therefore duly settled all affairs in Gaul, so as to prevent any disorder in future from lightly recurring in that quarter, returned to Rome, with brilliant honours the walls of Rome. His success in crushing the German and Gallic revolt was, according to Tacitus, not so rapid and unchequered as it is here represented by Josephus. Sent as consular legate, c. A.D. 71-72, to the government of Britain, he was successful in defeating the Brigantes and called out the talents of Agricola. (Tac. Agr. S. 17.) Tacitus does not mention the previous command in Germany or the instruction given at this juncture to proceed to Britain.
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tosi μὲν τῆς ἡλικίας, πρέπουσι δὲ τῷ πατρὶ κατορθώμασιν εἰς τὴν ἩΡώμην ἀνέζευξε.

89 (3) Τῇ δὲ προειρημένη τοιοῦτον ἀποστάσει κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας καὶ Σκυθικὸν τόλμημα
90 πρὸς ἩΡωμαίους συνέδραμεν. οἱ γὰρ καλούμενοι Σκυθῶν Σαρμάται, πολὺ πλήθος οντες, ἀδήλοι
μὲν τὸν Ἐστρων ἐπεραίωθησαν εἰς τὴν ἐπιτάδε, πολλῇ δὲ βίᾳ καὶ χαλεποὶ διὰ τὸ παντάπασιν ἀνέλπιστον τῆς ἐφόδου προσπεσόντες πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἩΡωμαίων ἀναίροσι,
91 καὶ τὸν πρεσβυτὴν τὸν ὕπατικὸν Φοντήμον' Ἀγρίππαν ὑπαντάσαντα [καὶ]2 καρτερῶς μαχο-
μενον κτείνουσι, τὴν δ' ὑποκειμένην χώραν ἀπασαν κατέτρεχον ἄγοντες καὶ φέροντες ὅτι
92 περιπέσοιεν. Οὐδεσπασιάνος δὲ τὰ γεγενημένα καὶ τὴν πόρθησιν τῆς Μυσίας πυθόμενος ἩΡούβριον' 
Γάλλον ἐκπέμπει δίκην ἐπιθήσοντα τοῖς Σαρμάταις.
93 ύφ' οὖ πολλῷ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπέθανον, τὸ δὲ περισσῶθεν μετὰ δέους εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν
94 διέφυγεν. τοῦτο4 δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος ἐπιθεῖς ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἀσφαλείας
προνόησε· πλείοσι γὰρ καὶ μείζοσι φυλακαῖς

1 ed. pr.: Φοντήμον mss.: Pompeium Lat.
2 om. VRC.
3 Lat.: Γούβριον mss.
4 P: τοῦτῳ the rest.

a Josephus, the client of the Flavians, clearly exaggerates the share of Domitian in this campaign. Tacitus, Hist. iv. 85 f. gives a different story. The victory was won when Domitian, with Mucianus, reached Lugdunum: "unde creditur Domitianus occultis ad Cerialum nuntiis fidem eius temptavisse, an praesenti sibi exercitum imperiumque
and universally admired for achievements surpassing his age and befitting his father.\(^a\)

(3) Simultaneously with the above mentioned revolt of the Germans a daring Scythian outbreak against the Romans took place.\(^b\) For the Scythian people called Sarmatians, a very numerous tribe, stealthily crossed the Ister \(^c\) to its hither bank, and, falling upon the Romans with great violence, the more formidable because their attack was utterly unexpected, slew large numbers of the Roman guards, and among them the consular legate, Fonteius Agrippa,\(^d\) who advanced to meet them and died fighting gallantly; they then overran all the territory to the south, harrying and plundering whatever fell in their way. Vespasian, on hearing of what had taken place and of the devastation of Moesia, dispatched Rubrius Gallus \(^e\) to punish the Sarmatians. By him multitudes of them were slain in the ensuing battles, and the survivors fled in terror to their own country. The general, having thus brought the war to a conclusion, further took precautions for future security by posting more numerous and traditurus foret.” Slighted by the older officers, Domitian withdrew into seclusion.

\(^b\) Josephus seems to be the sole authority for the events described in this section. Tacitus, Hist. iv. 54, merely alludes to a rumour of such an invasion as one of the incitements to the Gauls to join Civilis in revolt: "vulgato rumore a Sarmatis Dacisque Moesica ac Pannonica hiberna circum-sederi: paria de Britannis fingebantur.”

\(^c\) The Danube.

\(^d\) Proconsular governor of the province of Asia in a.d. 69, he had been recalled in 70 to take command of Moesia (Tac. Hist. iii. 46).

\(^e\) The part taken by him in the war of Otho against Vitellius and in subsequent events is mentioned by Tacitus, Hist. ii. 51, 99.
τον τόπον διέλαβεν, ώσ εἰναι τοῖς βαρβάροις τήν
diáβασιν τελέως ἀδύνατον. ὁ μὲν οὖν περὶ τήν
Μυσίαν πόλεμος ταχειάν οὕτως ἔλαβε τήν κρίσιν.
(ν. 1) Τίτος δὲ Καίσαρ χρόνον μὲν τίνα διέτριβεν ἐν Βηρυτῷ, καθά προειρήκαμεν, ἐκεῖθεν
d’ ἀναζεύξας καὶ δι’ ὃν ἦη τόλμων τῆς Συρίας
ἐν πάσαις θεωρίαις τε συντελών πολυτελείς καὶ
tῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς αἰχμαλώτουςεἰς ἐπίδειξιν
τῆς έαυτῶν ἀπωλείας ἀποχρώμενος, θεάται κατὰ
τὴν πορείαν ποταμοῦ φύσιν ἄξιαν ἱστορήθηκαί. ἥσε
μὲν γὰρ μέσος Ἀρκέας τῆς Ἀγριππα βασιλείας
καὶ Ῥαφαναίας, ἔχει δὲ θαυμαστὴν ἱδιότητα:
pολὺς γὰρ ὅν, ὅτε ἥσε, καὶ κατὰ τὴν φορὰν οὐ
σχολαίος, ἔπευτα δὲ πᾶς ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν ἐπιλείπων
ἐξ ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν ἔηρον παραδίδωσιν ὃ ῥα
τὸπον ἐθ’ ὐπερ οὐδεμιᾶς γενομένης μεταβολῆς
ὄμοιος κατὰ τὴν ἐβδόμην ἐκδίδωσι, καὶ ταύτην
ἀεὶ τὴν τάξιν ἀκριβῶς τετήρηται διαφυλάττων
ἀθεν δὴ καὶ Σαββατικὸν αὐτὸν κεκλήκασιν ἀπὸ
τῆς ἱερᾶς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐβδόμης οὕτως ὀνομά-
σαντες.
Ο θ’ δὲ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων δήμος ἐπεὶ πλησίον
ὅντα Τίτον ἐπυνθάνοντο, μένεν μὲν ἐντὸς τειχῶν
ὑπὸ χαρᾶς οὐχ ὑπέμενον, ἔσπευδον δ’ ἐπὶ τήν

1 πόταμον Destinon.
2 τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους P (cf. ν. 36): τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις the rest.

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a § 39.
b Beirut.
c Arka, at the northern extremity of the Lebanon range,
N.E. of Tripolis ("Ἀρκὴν τήν ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ Α. i. 138"); "the
Arkite" appears already in Gen. x. 17.
d Part of the additional territory conferred by Vespasian
upon Agrippa II in reward for his loyalty during the war;
not mentioned as part of his realm in B. iii. 56 f., probably
534.
stronger garrisons throughout the district, so as to render the passage of the river totally impossible to the barbarians. The war in Moesia was thus speedily decided.

(v. 1) Titus Caesar, as we have already mentioned, stayed for some time at Berytus. Departing thence, he exhibited costly spectacles in all the cities of Syria through which he passed, making his Jewish captives serve to display their own destruction. In the course of his march he saw a river, the nature of which deserves record. It runs between Arcea, a town within Agrippa’s realm, and Raphanea, and has an astonishing peculiarity. For, when it flows, it is a copious stream with a current far from sluggish; then all at once its sources fail and for the space of six days it presents the spectacle of a dry bed; again, as though no change had occurred, it pours forth on the seventh day just as before. And it has always been observed to keep strictly to this order; whence they have called it the Sabbatical river, so naming it after the sacred seventh day of the Jews.

(2) The people of Antioch, on hearing that Titus was at hand, through joy could not bear to remain within their walls, but hastened to meet him and because Josephus there confines himself to regions with Jewish residents, Schürer, G.J.V. (ed. 3 and 4) i. 594 f.

It is curious that the Jewish historian represents the river as a sabbath-breaker, working on one day in seven; while the pagan Pliny makes it strictly sabbatarian: "in Iudea rivus sabbatis omnibus siccatur" N.H. xxxi. 11. The missionary, Dr. W. M. Thomson, claims to have identified this river in 1840 with the Neba el Fuarr "now quiescent two days and active on a part of the third." For the explanation of these intermitting fountains as "merely the draining of subterranean reservoirs of water, on the principle of the siphon" see his The Land and the Book 264 f.
JOSEPHUS

101 ὑπάντησιν· καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίων ἐπὶ πλέον προῆλθον οὐκ ἄνδρες μόνον ἄλλα καὶ γυναικῶν
102 πλῆθος ἀμα πασὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐκχεόμενοι. καὶ πειθόπερ ἐθεάσαντο προσιόντα, παρὰ τὴν ὅδον ἐκατέρωθεν καταστάντες τὰς τε δεξιὰς προύτευν προσαγορεύοντες καὶ παντοίοις ἐπιφημίσθησαν
103 χρώμενοι συνυπέστρεφον· συνεχῆς δ᾿ ἦν αὐτῶν παρὰ πάσας ἀμα τὰς εὐφημίας δέησις ἐκβαλεῖν
104 τῆς πόλεως τοὺς 'Ἰουδαίους. Τίτως μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἐνέδωκεν πρὸς ταύτην τὴν δέησιν, ἀλλ’ ἡσυχή τῶν λεγομένων ἐπήκουν· ἐπ’ ἀδήλῳ δὲ τῷ τί φρονεῖ καὶ ποιῆσαι πολὺς καὶ χαλεπὸς
105 τοῖς 'Ἰουδαίοις ὁ φῶς ἦν οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπέμεινεν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ Τίτως, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ Ζεὺγμα τὸ κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην συνέτευκε τὴν πορείαν, ἐνθα δὴ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Πάρθων βασιλέως Βολογέσου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦκον στέφανον χρυσὸν ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ
106 τῶν 'Ἰουδαίων νίκη κοιμίζοντες. δὸν δεξάμενος εἰσία τοὺς βασιλικοὺς, κάκειθεν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιό-
107 χειαν ἐπανέρχεται. τῆς δὲ βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀντιοχέων πολλὰς ποιησαμένων δεήσεις ἔλθειν εἰς τὸ θέατρον αὐτῶν, ἐν ὧν πάν τὸ πλῆθος ἡθοισμένου ἐξεδέχετο, φιλανθρώπως ὑπήκουσε.
108 πάλιν δ᾿ αὐτῶν σφόδρα λυπαρῶς ἐγκειμένων καὶ συνεχῶς δεσμένων ἐξελάσαι τῆς πόλεως τοὺς 'Ἰουδαίους, εὐστοχον ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἀπόκρισιν,
109 εἰπὼν "ἀλλ’ ἦ γε πατρίς αὐτῶν, εἰς ἄν ἐκβαλεῖν ἔχρην ὑπνας 'Ἰουδαίους, ἀνήρτητι, καὶ δέξατι
110 ἄν οὖν ὑπείρας αὐτοῦς ἐτί τόπος." ἐπὶ δευτέραν οὖν Ἀντιοχείας τρέπονται δέησιν τῆς προτέρας ἀπο-
στάντες· τὰς γὰρ χαλκᾶς ἥξιον δελτοὺς ἀνελεῖν αὐτῶν, ἐν αῖς γέγραπται τὰ δικαιώματα τῶν
536
advanced to a distance of over thirty furlongs, not only men, but a crowd of women and children also, streaming out from the city. And when they beheld him approaching, they lined the road on either side and greeted him with extended arms, and invoking all manner of blessings upon him returned in his train; but all their acclamations were accompanied by a running petition to expel the Jews from the town. Titus, unmoved by this petition, listened in silence to what was said; but the Jews, uncertain as to his opinion and intentions, were kept in deep and distressing alarm. For Titus, making no stay at Antioch, at once pushed on to Zeugma on the Euphrates, where a deputation from Bologeses, king of Parthia, waited upon him, bringing him a golden crown in recognition of his victory over the Jews. Having accepted this and provided a banquet for the king's messengers, he returned thence to Antioch. The senate and people of that city having earnestly besought him to visit their theatre, where the whole population was assembled to receive him, he graciously assented. Once more they persistently pressed and continuously entreated him to expel the Jews from the city, to which he pertinently replied: "But their own country to which, as Jews, they ought in that case to be banished, has been destroyed, and no other place would now receive them." So relinquishing their first request the Antiochenes turned to a second, petitioning him to remove the brazen tablets on which were inscribed the privileges

a On the right bank of the upper Euphrates, in the region of Samosata; it took its name from its bridge of boats.

b Vologeses I (=Arsaces XXIII); cf. §§ 237, 242.
111 Ἰουδαῖων. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτο Τίτος ἔπενευσεν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐάσας πάντα κατὰ χώραν τοῖς ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας Ἰουδαῖοις ώς πρότερον εἶχον εἰς
112 Αἰγύπτου ἀπηλλάττετο. καὶ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις προσελθὼν καὶ τὴν λυπρὰν ἔρημιαν βλησομένην ἀντιτιθεῖς τῇ ποτὲ τῆς πόλεως λαμπρότητι, καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐρημμένων κατασκευασμάτων καὶ τὸ πάλαι κάλλος εἰς μνήμην βαλλόμενος, ὥστε τῆς πόλεως τὸν ὀλεθρον, οὐχ ὡσπερ [Ἄλλος]¹ ἀν τις αὐχών ὅτι τηλικαίαν οὐδὰν καὶ τοσαύτην εἶλε κατὰ κράτος, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἐπαρώμενος τοῖς αἰτίοις τῆς ἀποστάσεως ὑπάρξασι καὶ ταύτην ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει τὴν τιμωρίαν γενέσθαι παρασκευάσασιν· οὔτως ἐκδῆλος ἢν οὐκ ἂν θελήσας ἐκ τῆς συμφορᾶς τῶν κολασθέντων γενέσθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς
114 τῆς ἐπιφάνειαν. τοῦ δὲ πολλοῦ πλούτου τῆς πόλεως ἐτὶ κἂν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις οὐκ ὀλίγον μέρος
115 ἀνηρίσκετο· τὰ μὲν γὰρ πολλὰ ἀνέσκαπτον οἱ 'Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰ πλεῖόν δ' ἐκ μηνύσεως τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀνήροντο,² χρυσὸν τε καὶ ἀργυρόν καὶ τῆς ἀλλὰ τὰ τιμωτάτα κατασκευῆς, ἀπερ οἱ κεκτημένοι πρὸς τὰς ἀδήλους τοῦ πολέμου τύχας κατὰ γῆς ἀποτεθησαυρίκεσαν.
116 (3) Τίτος δὲ τὴν προκειμένην ποιούμενον πορείαν ἐπὶ Αἰγύπτου³ καὶ τὴν ἔρημον ἢ τάχιστα διανύσας
117 ἤκεν εἰς 'Αλεξάνδρειαν, καὶ πλεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς 'Ιταλίας διεγνωκὼς δυνόν αὐτῷ ταγμάτων συνηκολουθηκόν των ἐκάτερον ὀθενπερ ἀφικτο πάλιν ἀπέστειλεν, εἰς μὲν τὴν Μυσίαν τὸ πέμπτον, εἰς Παννονίαν
118 δὲ τὸ πεντεκαίδεκατον. τῶν αἰχμαλώτων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας Σίμωνα καὶ Ἰωάννην, τὸν δ' ἤγερενος.
of the Jews. But this, too, Titus refused, and, leaving the status of the Jews of Antioch exactly as it was before, he set out for Egypt. On his way he visited Jerusalem, and contrasting the sorry scene of desolation before his eyes with the former splendour of the city, and calling to mind the grandeur of its ruined buildings and their pristine beauty, he commiserated its destruction; not boasting, as another might have done, of having carried so glorious and great a city by storm, but heaping curses upon the criminal authors of the revolt, who had brought this chastisement upon it: so plainly did he show that he could never have wished that the calamities attending their punishment should enhance his own deserts. Of the vast wealth of the city no small portion was still being discovered among the ruins. Much of this the Romans dug up, but the greater part they became possessed of through the information of the prisoners, gold and silver and other most precious articles, which the owners in view of the uncertain fortunes of war had stored underground.

(3) Titus, now proceeding on his projected march to Egypt, traversed the desert with all possible dispatch and reached Alexandria. Here, having determined to sail for Italy, he dismissed to their respective former stations the two legions which had accompanied him, the fifth to Moesia, the fifteenth to Pannonia. Of the prisoners, the leaders, Simon and John, together with seven hundred of the rank

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\[\text{om. PA.} \]
\[\text{\textit{ἄνησικον} PAM: auferebant Lat.} \]
\[\text{\textit{Α} redux PAM: \textit{MSS.}} \]
\[\text{\textit{τ} (or \textit{τε}) MSS.}} \]


119 ὁ δ' αὐτῷ κατὰ νοῦν ἀνυσθέντος ὀμοίως μὲν ἡ Ῥώμη περὶ τὴν ὑποδοχὴν εἶχε καὶ τὰς ὑπαντήσειςώσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς, λαμπρότερον δ' ἦν Τίτω καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πατήρ ὑπαντῶν καὶ δεχόμενος. τῷ δὲ πλήθει τῶν πολιτῶν δαιμόνιον τινα τὴν χαρὰν παρείχε τὸ βλέπειν

120 αὐτοὺς ἦδη τοὺς τρεῖς ἐν ταυτῷ γεγονότας. οὐ πολλῶν δ' ἡμερῶν διελθούσων ἕνα καὶ κοινὸν ἔγνωσαν τὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατωρθωμένους ποιήσασθαι βριαμβον, καίπερ ἐκατέρω τῆς βουλῆς ἵδιον ψηφι-

122 σαμενής. προδιασαφθησίης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐφ' Ἡς ἔμελλεν ἡ πομπὴ γενήσεσθαι τῶν ἐπινικίων, οὕτως οὐκοὶ καταλέειπτο τῆς ἀμέτρου πληθύος ἐν τῇ πόλει, πάντες δ' ὅπη καὶ στήναι μόνον ἢν οἰόν <τε>1 προεληλυθότες τοὺς τόπους κατειλή-

123 φεσαν, ὡςον τοῖς ὀφθησομένους μόνον εἰς πάροδον ἀναγκαίαν καταλιπόντες.

124 (4) Τοῦ δὲ στρατιωτικοῦ παντὸς ἐτὶ νῦκτωρ κατὰ λόχους καὶ τάξεις ὑπὸ τοῖς ἤγεμόσι διεξωδευκότος καὶ περὶ βύρας ὄντος οὐ τῶν ἀνω βασιλείων ἄλλα πλησίον τοῦ τῆς Ἰσίδου ἱεροῦ, ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἀνεπαύντο τῆς νυκτός ἐκείνης οἱ αὐτοκράτορες, περὶ αὐτὴν ἀρχομένην ἦδη τὴν ἐω προῖασιν Ὀὐσπασιανὸς καὶ Τίτος δάφιη μὲν ἐστεφανωμένοι, πορφύρας δ' ἐσθήτας πατρίουσ

1 ins. Herwerden.
and file, whom he had selected as remarkable for their stature and beauty, he ordered to be instantly conveyed to Italy, wishing to produce them at the triumph. After a voyage as favourable as he could have desired, Rome gave him such a reception and welcome as it had given to his father; a but with the added lustre that Titus was met and received by his father himself. The crowd of citizens was thus afforded an ecstasy of joy by the sight of the three princes b now united. Before many days had elapsed they decided to celebrate their achievements by one triumph in common, though the senate had decreed a separate triumph to each. Previous notice having been given of the day on which the pageant of victory would take place, not a soul among that countless host in the city was left at home: all issued forth and occupied every position where it was but possible to stand, leaving only room for the necessary passage of those upon whom they were to gaze.

(4) The military, while night still reigned, had all marched out in companies and divisions, under their commanders, and been drawn up, not round the doors of the upper palace, c but near the temple of Isis d; for there the emperors e reposed that night. At the break of dawn, Vespasian and Titus issued forth, crowned with laurel and clad in the traditional

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a §§ 63 ff.
b Including Domitian.
c On the Palatine hill.
d The temple of Isis and Serapis, in the Campus Martius, near the present Collegio Romano; destroyed by fire in A.D. 80, along with most of the buildings on the Campus Martius.
e Or rather imperatores in the sense of victorious generals.
ἀμπεχόμενοι, καὶ παρίασιν εἰς τοὺς Ὄκταονίας
125 περιπάτους· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἦν τε βουλή καὶ τὰ τέλη
tῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ τε ἀπὸ τῶν τιμημάτων ἐπιπείσ
126 τὴν ἄφιξιν αὐτῶν ἀνέμενον. πεποίητο δὲ βῆμα
πρὸ τῶν στοῶν, διόφορων αὐτοῖς ἐλεφαντίων ἐπ’
αὐτὸς κειμένων, ἐφ’ οὖς παρελθόντες ἐκαθέσθησαν,
καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν εὐθέως ἐπευφήμει πολλὰς
αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς μαρτυρίας ἀποδιδόντες ἄπαντες·
kάκεινοι χωρὶς ὅπλων ἦσαν [ἐν] 1 ἐσθήσεις 2 σημικαῖς
127 ἐστεφανωμένοι δάφναις. δεξάμενος δ’ αὐτῶν τὴν
ἐυφημίαν Ὀισεπάσανιν ἔτι βουλομένων λέγειν
128 τὸ τῆς σιγῆς ἐποιήσατο σύμβολον, καὶ πολλῆς
ἐκ πάντων ἄσχετις γενομένης ἀναστάς καὶ τῷ
περιβλήματι τὸ πλέον τῆς κεφαλῆς μέρος ἐπι-
καλυφάμενος 3 εὐχάς ἐποιήσατο τὰς νεομισμένας·
129 ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ Τίτος ηὔξατο. μετὰ δὲ τὰς εὐχὰς
εἰς κοινὸν ἀπασιν Ὀισεπάσανιν βραχεὰ διαλεχθεῖς,
tοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας ἀπέλυσεν ἐπὶ τὸ νεο-
μισμένον ἄριστον αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων
130 εὐτρεπίζεσθαι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν πύλην αὐτῶς ἀνεχώρει
tὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πέμπεσθαι δι’ αὐτὴς αἰεὶ τοὺς
θριάμβους τῆς προσηγορίας ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τετευχυῖαν.
131 ἐνταῦθα τροφῆς [τε] 4 προαπογευόμεναι καὶ τὰς
θριαμβικὰς ἐσθήτας ἀμφισάμενοι τοῖς τε παρ-
ιδρυμένοις τῇ πύλῃ θύσαντες θεοῖς ἐπεμπὸ τὸν

1 C: om. the rest. 2 Niese: ἐσθήσεως ms.
3 Hudson: ἀποκαλυφάμενος ms.
4 C Lat.: om. the rest.
purple robes, and proceeded to the Octavian walks \(^a\); for here the senate and the chief magistrates and those of equestrian rank were awaiting their coming. A tribunal had been erected in front of the porticoes, with chairs of ivory placed for them upon it; to these they mounted and took their seats. Instantly acclamations rose from the troops, all bearing ample testimony to their valour: the princes were unarmed, in silk robes and crowned with bays. Vespasian, having acknowledged their acclamations, which they wished to prolong, made the signal for silence; then amidst profound and universal stillness he rose and, covering most of his head with his mantle, recited the customary prayers, Titus also praying in like manner. After the prayers, Vespasian, having briefly addressed the assembled company, dismissed the soldiers to the customary breakfast provided for them by the emperors, and himself withdrew to the gate which, in consequence of the triumphal processions always passing through it has thence derived its name.\(^b\) Here the princes first partook of refreshment, and then, having donned their triumphal robes and sacrificed to the gods whose statues stood beside the gate, they sent the

\(^a\) The *Porticus* (or *Opera Porticus*) *Octaviae*, originally built by Metellus in 146 B.C., rebuilt by Augustus and named after his sister; the portico enclosed two temples and a group of other buildings, destroyed in the fire of Titus. It lay to the W. of the Capitol near the Theatrum Marcelli.

\(^b\) The *Porta Triumphalis*, between the Capitol and the Tiber.
The triumphs as a rule passed southwards from the Porta Triumphalis "through the Forum Boarium into the
pageant on its way, driving off through the theatres, in order to give the crowds an easier view.

(5) It is impossible adequately to describe the multitude of those spectacles and their magnificence under every conceivable aspect, whether in works of art or diversity of riches or natural rarities; for almost all the objects which men who have ever been blessed by fortune have acquired one by one—the wonderful and precious productions of various nations—by their collective exhibition on that day displayed the majesty of the Roman empire. Silver and gold and ivory in masses, wrought into all manner of forms, might be seen, not as if carried in procession, but flowing, so to speak, like a river; here were tapestries borne along, some of the rarest purple, others embroidered by Babylonian art with perfect portraiture; transparent gems, some set in golden crowns, some in other fashions, swept by in such profusion as to correct our erroneous supposition that any of them was rare. Then, too, there were carried images of their gods, of marvellous size and no mean craftsmanship, and of these not one but was of some rich material. Beasts of many species were led along all caparisoned with appropriate trappings. The numerous attendants conducting each group of animals were decked in garments of true purple dye, interwoven with gold; while those selected to take Circus, and thence by the Vicus Tuscus into the Forum, and along the Via Sacra up to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (Burn, Rome, 46). In this instance the triumph apparently began with a detour northwards through the three theatres on the Campus Martius, viz., those of Marcellus, Balbus, and Pompey.

b Roman; Josephus is writing for the Greek-speaking world at large.
πληκτικὴν περὶ αὐτοὺς τοῦ κόσμου τὴν πολυ-
138 τέλειαν. ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐδὲ τὸν αἰχμαλωτὸν ἢν
ἰδεῖν ὀχλον ἀκόσμητον, ἀλλ’ ἢ τῶν ἐσθήτων
ποικιλία καὶ τὸ κάλλος αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς
κακώσεως τῶν σωμάτων ἀγαθὰν ἔκλεπτε τῆς
139 ὀψεως. θαύμα δ’ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα παρεῖχεν ἢ
τῶν φερομένων πηγμάτων κατασκευὴ καὶ γάρ
διὰ μέγεθος ἢν δείσαι τῷ βεβαιῷ τῆς φοράς
140 ἀπιστῆσαντα, τριώροφα γὰρ αὐτῶν πολλὰ καὶ
τετρώροφα πεποίητο, καὶ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῇ περὶ
141 τῆς κατασκευῆς ἢν ἴσθηται μετ’ ἐκπλήξεως. καὶ
γὰρ υφάσματα πολλοῖς διάχρυσα περιβέβλητο,
καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ ἐλέφας οὐκ ἀποίητος πᾶσι περὶ-
142 επετῆγε. διὰ πολλῶν δὲ μιμημάτων οἱ πόλεμος
ἄλλος εἰς ἀλλὰ μεμερισμένος ἐναργεστάτην ὄψιν
143 αὐτοῦ παρεῖχεν ἢν γὰρ ὤραν χώραν μὲν εὐδαίμονα
ὁμομένην, ὅλας δὲ φάλαγγας κτεινομένας πολε-
μίων, καὶ τοὺς μὲν φεύγοντας τοὺς δ’ εἰς αἰχμα-
λωσίαν ἁγομένους, τείχη δ’ ύπερβάλλοντα μεγέθει
μηχαναίς ἐρειπώμενα καὶ φουρών ἀλισκομένας
ὄχυροττας καὶ πόλεων πολυανθρώπους περιβόλους
144 κατ’ ἀκρας ἐχομένους, καὶ στρατιὰν ἐνδὸν τειχῶν
εἰσχεομένην, καὶ πάντα φόνου πλήθοντα τόπον,
καὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων χείρας ἀνταίρειν ἱκεσίας, πῦρ
τε ἐνεμένον ἱεροῖς καὶ κατασκαφαῖς οὐκ ἐπὶ
145 τοῖς δεσπόταις, καὶ μετὰ πολλῆν ἑρημίαν καὶ
κατήφειαν ποταμοὺς ῥέοντας οὐκ ἐπὶ γῆν γεωρ-
γοµένην, οὐδὲ ποτόν ἀνθρώπως ἢ βοσκήµασιν

1 Destinon: αὐτὸς MSS.
2 πληθυντα or πληθυνον-after inferior MSS.
3 πατηθῆν Destinon: Niese suspects a lacuna after βοσκήµασιν.

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part in the pageant itself had about them choice ornaments of amazing richness. Moreover, even among the mob or captives, none was to be seen unadorned, the variety and beauty of their dresses concealing from view any unsightliness arising from bodily disfigurement.\(^a\)

But nothing in the procession excited so much astonishment as the structure of the moving stages \(^b\); indeed, their massiveness afforded ground for alarm and misgiving as to their stability, many of them being three or four stories high, while the magnificence of the fabric was a source at once of delight and amazement. For many were enveloped in tapestries interwoven with gold, and all had a framework of gold and wrought ivory. The war was shown by numerous representations, in separate sections, affording a very vivid picture of its episodes. Here was to be seen a prosperous country devastated, there whole battalions of the enemy slaughtered; here a party in flight, there others led into captivity; walls of surpassing compass demolished by engines, strong fortresses overpowered, cities with well-manned defences completely mastered and an army pouring within the ramparts, an area all deluged with blood, the hands of those incapable of resistance raised in supplication, temples set on fire, houses pulled down over their owners' heads, and, after general desolation and woe, rivers flowing, not over a cultivated land, nor supplying drink to man and beast, but

\(^a\) From wounds or the like; they had been selected for their handsome figures, § 118.

\(^b\) Greek πηγμα, transliterated in Lat. pegma, Juv. Sat. iv. 122; translated in Low Lat. pagina, whence English pageant, originally meaning "a movable scaffold, such as was used in the representation of the old mysteries" (Skeat).
146 ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἐτί πανταχόθεν1 φλεγομένης· ταῦτα γὰρ Ἰουδαίοι πεισομένους αὐτοὺς τῷ πολέμῳ παρέδοσαν. ἡ τέχνη δὲ καὶ τῶν κατασκευασμάτων ἡ μεγαλούργία τοῖς οὖν ἰδούσι γινόμενα τότε εἰσίν. τέσσαρες ὑπὸ παροῦσι. τέσσαρα δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα χύδην ἐφέρετο, διέπρεπε δὲ πάντων τὰ ἐγκαταληφθέντα τῷ Ἐν Ἰεροσολύμων ἑρῷο, χρυσὴ τε τράπεζα τὴν ὅλην πολυτάλαντος καὶ λυχνία χρυσὴ μὲν ὁμοίως πεποιημένη, τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἐξήλλακτο τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν χρήσιν συνηθείας. ὁ μὲν γὰρ μέσος ἧν κίων ἐκ τῆς βάσεως πεπηγώς, λεπτοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ μεμήκεντο καυλίσκοι τριαίνης σχήματι παραπλησίαν τὴν θέσιν ἔχοντες, λύχνων ἐκατόσων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ἀκρον κεχαλκευμένοι· ἐπὶ τὰ δὲ ἦσαν οὕτω τῆς παρά τοῖς Ἰουδαίωσ ἐβδομάδος τὴν τιμήν ἐμφανίζοντες.  ὁ τε νόμος ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐφέρετο τῶν λαφύρων τελευταίος. ἐπὶ τούτοις παρῆσαν πολλοὶ Νίκης ἄγαλμα κομίζοντες· ἐξ ἐλεφαντός δὲ ἦν πάντων καὶ χρυσοῦ 149 ἡ κατασκευή. μεθ' ἄ' Ὀψεσπασιανὸς ἥλαυνε πρώτον καὶ Τίτος ἐπέτευ, Δομετιανὸς δὲ παρίππευς, αὐτὸς τε διαπρεπῶς κεκοσμημένος καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτὸν παρέξων θέας ἄξιον.

153 (6) Ἡν δὲ τῆς πομπῆς τὸ τέλος ἐπὶ τὸν νεω2

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1. ἐπὶ πανταχ. MLVR: ἐπιπανταχόθεν PAC.
2. ed. pr.: καταληφθέντα miss.
3. τὸν νεών AL: τῷ νεών P: τὸν νεών the rest.

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α Commemorating the naval action on the lake of Tiberias (B. iii. 522 ff. with note on 531). 548
across a country still on every side in flames. For to such sufferings were the Jews destined when they plunged into the war; and the art and magnificent workmanship of these structures now portrayed the incidents to those who had not witnessed them, as though they were happening before their eyes. On each of the stages was stationed the general of one of the captured cities in the attitude in which he was taken. A number of ships also followed.\(^a\)

The spoils in general were borne in promiscuous heaps; but conspicuous above all stood out those captured in the temple at Jerusalem.\(^b\) These consisted of a golden table,\(^c\) many talents in weight, and a lampstand,\(^d\) likewise made of gold, but constructed on a different pattern from those which we use in ordinary life. Affixed to a pedestal was a central shaft, from which there extended slender branches, arranged trident-fashion, a wrought lamp being attached to the extremity of each branch; of these there were seven, indicating the honour paid to that number among the Jews. After these, and last of all the spoils, was carried a copy of the Jewish Law. Then followed a large party carrying images of victory, all made of ivory and gold. Behind them drove Vespasian, followed by Titus; while Domitian rode beside them, in magnificent apparel and mounted on a steed that was itself a sight.

(6) The triumphal procession ended at the temple of Simon.

\(^a\) The spoils from the Temple.

\(^b\) The Jewish spoils—table of shew-bread, incense-cups, and trumpets—as borne in the procession still figure on the inner side of the Arch of Titus above the Forum in Rome.

\(^c\) The table of shew-bread.

\(^d\) Or "candlestick" as it is commonly, but erroneously, called.
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τοῦ Καπετωλίου Διῶς, ἐφ’ ὃν ἐλθόντες ἐστησαν. ἢν γὰρ παλαιὸν πάτριον περιμένειν, μέχρις ἂν τὸν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν πολεμίων θάνατον ἀπ- 
154 αγγείλῃ τις. Σύμων ὁδὸς ἦν ὁ Γιώρα, τὸτε πε- 
pομπευκὼς ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις, βρόχῳ δὲ περι-
βλήθησις εἰς τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἄγορᾶς ἐσύρετο τόπον 
αἰκισμένων αὐτὸν ἀμα τὼν ἀγόντων νόμος δ’ 
esti τ’ Ρωμαίοις ἐκεῖ κτείνειν τοὺς ἐπὶ κακουργία 
155 θάνατον κατεγνωσμένους. ἔπει δ’ ἀπηγγέλθη τέλος 
ἐχων καὶ πάντες εὐφήμησαν, ἦρχοντο τῶν θυσίων, 
ἀς ἐπὶ ταῖς νομιζομέναις καλλιεργήσαντες εὐχαίς 
156 ἀπήσαν εἰς τὸ βασίλειον. καὶ τούς μὲν αὐτοῖ 
πρὸς εὐωχίαν ὑπεδέχοντο, τοῖς δ’ ἄλλοις ἀπασφ 
eὐπρεπεῖςι κατὰ τὸ οἴκειον αἱ τῆς ἐστιάσεως ἥσαν 
157 παρασκευαί. ταύτην γὰρ τὴν ἡμέραν ἡ ’Ρωμαίων 
pόλις ἐωρτάζειν ἐπινίκιοι μὲν τῆς κατὰ τῶν 
pολεμίων στρατείας, πέρας δε τῶν ἐμφυλίων 
κακῶν, ἀρχὴν δὲ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας 
ἐλπίδων.

158 (7) Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς θριάμβους καὶ τὴν βεβαιωτάτην 
τῆς ’Ρωμαίων ἡγεμονίας κατάστασιν Ὑσσαπασιάνος 
ἐγνὼ τέμενος Εἰρήνης κατασκεύασαν ταχὺ δὲ 
δὴ μάλα καὶ πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης κρείττον ἐπινοίας 
159 ἐτετελείωτο. τῇ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ πλούτου χορηγία 
δαίμονῶν χρησάμενος, ἐτὶ καὶ τοῖς ἕκταλι 
κατωρθωμένοις γραφῆς τε καὶ πλαστικῆς ἔργοις 
160 αὐτὸ κατεκόσμησεν. πάντα γὰρ εἰς ἐκείνον τὸν 

1 Niese from Lat. (instructi): εὐπρεπεῖς mss.

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a The Mamertine prison at the N.E. end of the Forum.
b Or (with the other reading) “handsome provision had been made.”

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of Jupiter Capitolinus, on reaching which they halted; for it was a time-honoured custom to wait there until the execution of the enemy’s general was announced. This was Simon, son of Gioras, who had just figured in the pageant among the prisoners, and then, with a halter thrown over him and scourged meanwhile by his conductors, had been haled to the spot abutting on the Forum, where Roman law requires that malefactors condemned to death should be executed. After the announcement that Simon was no more and the shouts of universal applause which greeted it, the princes began the sacrifices, which having been duly offered with the customary prayers, they withdrew to the palace. Some they entertained at a feast at their own table: for all the rest provision had already been made for banquets in their several homes. For the city of Rome kept festival that day for her victory in the campaign against her enemies, for the termination of her civil dissensions, and for her dawning hopes of felicity.

(7) The triumphal ceremonies being concluded and the empire of the Romans established on the firmest foundation, Vespasian decided to erect a temple of Peace. This was very speedily completed and in a style surpassing all human conception. For, besides having prodigious resources of wealth on which to draw he also embellished it with ancient masterpieces of painting and sculpture; indeed, into that shrine were accumulated and stored all objects for

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νεω συνήχθη καὶ κατετέθη, δι᾽ ὃν τὴν θέαν ἀνθρωπον πρότερον περὶ πᾶσαν ἐπιλανώντο τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἕως ἄλλο παρ᾽ ἄλλοις ἦν κείμενον

161 ἰδεῖν ποθοῦντες, ἀνέθηκε δ᾽ ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων χρυσὰ κατασκευάσματα

162 σεμνούμενος ἔπὶ αὐτοῖς. τὸν δὲ νόμον αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ πορφυρά τοῦ σηκοῦ καταπετάσματα προσέταξεν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀποδεμένους φυλάττειν.

163 (vi. 1) Εἰς δὲ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ πρεσβευτῆς Λουκίλιος ¹ Βάσσος ἐκπεμφθεῖς καὶ τὴν στρατηγικὰν ² παρὰ Κερεαλίου Οὐστιλιανοῦ παραλαβὼν τὸ μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἡρώδειῳ φρούριον προσηγάγετο μετὰ τῶν ἐχόντων, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ πάν ὅσον ἡ στρατιωτικὴν συναγαγὼν, πολὺ δ᾽ ἦν κατὰ μέρη διηρημένον, καὶ τῶν ταγμάτων τὸ δέκατον, ἔγνω στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Μαχαιροῦντα: πάνυ γὰρ ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ἐξαιρεθῆναι τὸ φρούριον, μὴ διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα πολλοὺς εἰς ἀποστασίαν ἐπαγάγηται.

165 καὶ γὰρ τοῖς κατέχοντι βεβαιὰν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας καὶ τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν οἴκου καὶ δέος ἦ τοῦ χωρίου

166 φύσις ἦν παρασχεῖν ἰκανωτάτη. αὐτὸ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τετειχισμένον πετρώδης ὄχθος ἐστὶν εἰς μὴ-κιστὸν ύψος ἐγγερμένος, ὡς εἶναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυσχείρωτος, μεμηχανηται δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως

167 εἶναι μηδὲ προσιτός· φάραγξι γὰρ πάντειν ἀπόνοπτον ἔχοισας τὸ βάθος περιτετάφρεται, μήτε περαθῆναι ῥαδίως δυναμέναις καὶ χωσθῆναι

168 παντάπασιν ἀμηχάνοις. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς

¹ Lat., ed. pr.: Λούκιος mss.
² PAL Lat.: στρατιῶν the rest.
the sight of which men had once wandered over the whole world, eager to see them severally while they lay in various countries. Here, too, he laid up the vessels of gold from the temple of the Jews, on which he prided himself; but their Law and the purple hangings of the sanctuary he ordered to be deposited and kept in the palace.

(vi. 1) Meanwhile, Lucilius Bassus had been dispatched to Judaea as legate, and, taking over the command from Cerealius Vetilianus, had reduced the fortress of Herodion with its garrison to surrender. He next concentrated all the numerous scattered detachments of troops, including the tenth legion, having determined to march against Machaerus. This fortress it was absolutely necessary to eradicate, lest its strength should induce many to revolt; since the nature of the place was specially adapted to inspire its occupants with high hopes of security and to deter and alarm its assailants. For the site that is fortified is itself a rocky eminence, rising to so great a height that on that account alone its reduction would be difficult; while nature had further contrived to render it inaccessible. For it is intrenched on all sides within ravines of a depth baffling to the eye, not easy to traverse and utterly impossible to bank up. The valley which hems it in

\[a\] Sextus Vettulenus Cerialis (as he is named in an inscription) was commander of the fifth legion during the war, B. iii. 310, etc., and after it was left by Titus in command of the army of occupation, i.e. the tenth legion with other units (§ 5).

\[b\] Herod’s fortress and burial place, 60 stades due S. of Jerusalem.

\[c\] E. of the Dead Sea, near its northern end.
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ἔσπέρας περιτέμνουσα παρατείνει σταδίους ἕξή-
κοντα, πέρας αὐτῆς τὴν Ἀσφαλτίτων ποιομένη
λίμνην· κατὰ τούτο δὲ πι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Μαχαιρὸς
tὴν υψηλοτάτην ἔχει κορυφὴν ὑπερανάχουσαν·
169 αἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρκτου καὶ μεσημβρίας φάραγγες
μεγέθει μὲν ἀπολείπονται τῆς προερημένης,
170 ὁμοίως δ' εἰσίν ἀμέσως πρὸς ἐπιχείρησιν. τῆς
dὲ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν φάραγγος τὸ μὲν βάθος οὐκ
ἐλαττον ἐκατόν εὐρίσκεται πῆχεων, τέρμα δὲ
γίνεται πρὸς ὄρος ἀπαντικρυ κείμενον Μαχαι-
ροῦντος.

171 (2) Ταύτην τοῦ τόπου κατιδῶν τὴν φύσιν
βασιλεύει Τουδάλων Ἀλέξανδρος πρῶτος ἐπ' αὐτοῦ
tειχίζει φρούριον, ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα Γαβίνος Ἀριστο-

172 Βούλω πολεμῶν καθείλειν. Ὕβρωδη δὲ βασι-
λεύοντι παντος ἐδοξὲ μᾶλλον ἐπιμελείας ἁξιον
ἐναι καὶ κατασκευής ὤχυρωτάτης, μάλιστα καὶ
dιὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων γειτνίασιν κεῖται γὰρ ἐν
ἐπικαίρῳ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν ἀποβλέπουν.

173 μέγαν μὲν οὖν τόπον τείχεσιν καὶ πύργους περι-
βαλῶν πόλιν ἐνταῦθα κατόκισεν, ἐξ ὑπὸ ἄνοδος
174 εἰς αὐτὴν ἐφερε τὴν ἀκρώρειαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς ἀνω τὴν κορυφὴν τείχος ἐδείματο
καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ ταῖς γωνίαις ἐκαστον ἐξήκοντα

175 πῆχων ἀνέστησεν. μέσον δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου βα-
sιλειον ὑκοδομήσατο μεγέθει τε καὶ κάλλει τῶν

176 οἰκήσεων πολυτέλες, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ δεξαμενᾶς
εἰς ὑποδοχὴν ὑδατος καὶ χορηγίαν ἀφθονον ἐν
tοῖς ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις τῶν τόπων κατεσκέυασεν,
وحدρον πρὸς τὴν φύσιν ἁμιλήθεις, ὑν αὐτὸς τὸ
κατ' ἐκείνην τοῦ τόπου δυσάλωτον ύπερβάληται

1 R: ἐκατῶν the rest.

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on the west extends to sixty furlongs, ending at the lake Asphaltitis; and somewhere in this direction Machaerus itself reaches its highest commanding peak. The ravines on the north and south, though less extensive than this, are equally impracticable for purposes of attack. That on the east is found to be no less than a hundred cubits in depth and is terminated by a mountain facing Machaerus.

(2) Noting these natural advantages of the site, Alexander, king of the Jews, was the first to crown it with a fortress, which was subsequently demolished by Gabinius in his war with Aristobulus. But Herod, on becoming king, regarded the place as supremely deserving of attention and of the strongest fortification, more especially from its proximity to Arabia, conveniently situated, as it was, with regard to that country, which it faces. He accordingly enclosed an extensive area with ramparts and towers and founded a city there, from which an ascent led up to the ridge itself. Furthermore, on the top, surrounding the actual crest, he built a wall, erecting towers at the corners, each sixty cubits high. In the centre of the enclosure he built a palace with magnificently spacious and beautiful apartments; he further provided numerous cisterns at the most convenient spots to receive the rain-water and furnish an abundant supply, as if he were vying with nature and endeavouring by these artificial defences to surpass the well-nigh impregnable strength which

a The Dead Sea.  
Alexander Jannaeus, 104–78 b.c.  
Legatus of Pompey in the war with Aristobulus (B. i. 140) and from 57–55 b.c. proconsular governor of Syria (B. i. 160 ff.).
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177 ταῖς χειροποιήτοις ὀχυρώσεις ἔτι γὰρ καὶ
βελῶν πλήθος καὶ μηχανημάτων ἐγκατέθετο καὶ
πάν ἐπενόησεν ἐτοιμάσασθαι τὸ παρασχεῖν δυνά-
μενον τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν μηκίστης πολυρκίας κατα-
φρόνησιν.

178 (3) Ἐπεφύκει δὲ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις πήγανον
ἀξίων τοῖς μεγέθους θαυμάσασθαι. συκῆς γὰρ οὐδεμιᾶς
179 ύπους καὶ πάχους ἐλείπετο. λόγος δὲ ἦν ἀπὸ
tῶν Ἡρώδου χρόνων αὐτὸ διαρκέσαι, καὶ ἐπὶ
πλείστων ἱσως ἔμενεν, ἐξεκόπη δ᾿ ὑπὸ τῶν
180 παραλαβόντων τὸν τόπον Ἰουδαίων. τῆς φάραγγος
δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀρκτὸν περιεχούσης τὴν πόλιν
Βαάρας ὄνομαζεταί τις τόπος, <ὁς>¹ φύει ρίζαν
181 ὀμωνύμως λεγομένην αὐτῶ. αὐτὴ φλογὴ μὲν τὴν
χροίαν ἔοικε, περὶ δὲ τὰς ἐσπέρας σέλας ἀπ-
αστράπτουσα τοῖς ἐπιούσι καὶ βουλωμένος λαβέιν
αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔστων εὐχείρωτος, ἀλλὰ ὑποφεύγει
καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἱστατι, πρὶν ἂν τὶς οὐροὺν
γυναικὸς ἥ το ἐμμηνόν αἵμα χεῖ κατ᾿ αὐτῆς.

182 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε τοῖς ἀσωμένοις πρόδηλος
ἐστὶ θάνατος, εἰ μὴ τῆς τις αὐτὴν ἐκείνην
ἐπενεγκάμενος τῆν ρίζαν ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς ἀπηρτη-
183 μένην. ἀλὸσκεται δὲ καὶ καθ᾿ ἔτερον τρόπον
ἀκινδύνως, ὥς ἐστὶ τοιόσοις κύκλῳ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν
περιορίσσουσιν, ὥς εἶναι τὸ κρυπτόμενον τῆς
184 ρίζης βραχύτατον. εἴτε ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀποδοῦσι κύνα,
κάκειν τῷ δήσαντι συνακολουθεῖν ὀρμήσαντος,
ἡ μὲν ἀνασπᾶται ῥαδίως, θνήσκει δ᾿ εὐθὺς ὁ

¹ ins. Destinan.

a Mentioned as a small garden herb in Luke xi. 42. 
Ruta graveolens is still cultivated in Palestine, while ruta 
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she had bestowed upon the site. For, moreover, he stocked it with abundance of weapons and engines, and studied to make every preparation to enable its inmates to defy the longest siege.

(3) Within the palace once grew a plant of rue, a of an amazing size; indeed, in height and thickness no fig-tree surpassed it. Tradition said that it had lasted from the times of Herod; and it would probably have continued for ages, had it not been cut down by the Jews, who took possession of the place. In the ravine b which encloses the town on the north, there is a place called Baaras, c which produces a root bearing the same name. Flame-coloured and towards evening emitting a brilliant light, it eludes the grasp of persons who approach with the intention of plucking it, as it shrinks up and can only be made to stand still by pouring upon it certain secretions of the human body. d Yet even then to touch it is fatal, unless one succeeds in carrying off the root itself, e suspended from the hand. Another innocuous mode of capturing it is as follows. They dig all round it, leaving but a minute portion of the root covered; they then tie a dog to it, and the animal rushing to follow the person who tied him easily pulls it up, but instantly dies—a vicarious bracteosa is a common wild plant (Tristram quoted in Encycl. Bibl. s.v.).

b The Wady Zerka, running down to the Dead Sea (probably = Nahaliel of the wilderness wanderings, Numb. xxi. 19).

c The warm springs (see below) of "Baaru" are mentioned by Jerome ("iuxta Baaru in Arabia, ubi aquas calidas sponte humus effert") and elsewhere, Schürer, G.J. V. I. 414.

d Cf. B. iv. 480.

e Meaning doubtful: perhaps "unless one happens to bring with one the self-same root."
κύων ὃσπερ ἀντιδοθεὶς τοῦ μέλλοντος τὴν βοτάνην ἀναιρήσεσθαι: φόβος γὰρ οὐδεὶς τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα λαμβάνονσιν. ἦστι δὲ μετὰ τοσούτων κινδύνων διὰ μίαν ἴσχυν περισσοῦδαστος· τὰ γὰρ καλοῦμενα δαιμόνια, ταῦτα δὲ πονηρῶν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων πνεύματα τοῖς ζῴων εἰσοδόμενα καὶ κτείνοντα τοὺς βοηθείας μὴ τυγχάνοντας, αὕτη ταχέως ἐξελάνου, κἂν προσενεχθῇ μόνον τοῖς νοσοῦσι. 186 ἤρεος δὲ καὶ θερμῶν ἔδάτων πηγαὶ κατὰ τὸν τόπον, πολὺ τὴν γένεσιν ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσαν· πικραὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τινές εἰσιν, αἱ δὲ γλυκύττητος οὐδὲν ἀπολείπουσαι. πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ψυχρῶν ἔδατων ἀναδόσεις οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ χαμαλωτέρῳ τάς πηγὰς παραλῆλους ἔχουσαι, ἀλλ᾽ ὃς ἂν καὶ μᾶλλον τις θαυμάσεις, σπήλαιον γάρ τι πλησίον ὅραται κολλότητι μὲν οὐ βαθὺ, τῇ πέτρᾳ δὲ προσκούσῃ σκεπόμενον· ταύτης ἄνωθεν ὤσαι μαστοὶ δύο ἀνέχουσιν, ἀλλήλων ὀλίγων διεστώτες, καὶ ψυχροτάτην μὲν ἀτέρους πηγῆν, ἀτέρους δὲ θερμοτάτην ἐκδίδωσι, αἱ μισούμεναι ποιοῦσι λουτρὸν ἤδιστον παιώνιον τε νοσημάτων, πολλῷ δὲ μάλιστα νεύρων ἄκεσιν. ἔχει δ᾽ ὁ τόπος καὶ θείου καὶ στυπτηρίας μέταλλα. 190 (4) Βάσσος δὲ περισκεφάμενος τὸ χωρίον ἐγνω ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πρόσοδον χωνῦσ τὴν φάραγγα τὴν πρὸς ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς καὶ τῶν ἔργων εἰχετο, σπουδὴν ποιοῦμενος ἢ τάχος ἔξαραι τὸ χώμα καὶ δ᾽ αὐτοῦ ραδίαν ποιήσα τὴν πολιορκίαν. 191 οἳ δ᾽ ἐνδον ἀπελημμένοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων αὐτοὶ καθ᾽ ἐαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξων διακριθέντες ἐκείνους μὲν ἡνάγκασαν, ὄχλου ἄλλως εἶναι νομίζοντες, ἐν τῇ κάτω πόλει παραμένει καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους 558
victim, as it were, for him who intended to remove the plant, since after this none need fear to handle it. With all these attendant risks, it possesses one virtue for which it is prized; for the so-called demons—in other words, the spirits of wicked men which enter the living and kill them unless aid is forthcoming—are promptly expelled by this root, if merely applied to the patients. In this same region flow hot springs, in taste widely differing from each other, some being bitter, while others have no lack of sweetness. Many springs of cold water also gush up, nor are these confined to the low-lying ground where all are in a line; but—what is still more remarkable—hard by may be seen a cave, of no great depth and screened by a projecting rock, above which protrude, as it were, two breasts, a little distance apart, one yielding extremely cold water, and the other extremely hot. These when mixed provide a most delightful bath, possessing general medicinal properties, but particularly restorative to the sinews. There are also sulphur and alum mines in the district.

(4) Bassus, after reconnoitring the place on all sides, decided to approach it by filling up the eastern ravine; to this task he now applied himself, labouring to raise with all speed the embankment which was to facilitate the siege. The Jewish party shut up within now separated themselves from their alien colleagues and, regarding the latter as a mere rabble, compelled them to remain in the lower town and to

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1 PM: ἐξουσίων the rest.  
2 +πάντη C.  
559
192 προεκδέχεσθαι, το δ' ἂνω φρούριον αὐτοῖς καταλαβόντες εἶχον καὶ διὰ τὴν ἵσχυν τῆς ὄχυρότητος καὶ προνοία τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν· τεύξεσθαι γὰρ ἀφέσεως ὑπελάμβανον, εἰ τὸ χωρίον 'Ρωμαίοις.
193 ἐγχειρίσειαν. πείρα δὲ πρῶτον ἐβούλουσι τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαφεύξεσθαι τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐλπίδας ἐλέγξαι. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ προθύμως ἐποιοῦντο τὰς ἔξοδους ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν, καὶ τοῖς χοῦσιν συμπλεκόμενοι πολλοὶ μὲν ἔθησκον, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἀνήρουν. ἀεὶ δὲ τοῦ θρατείν ὁ καιρὸς ἐβράβευεν ἑκατέρους τὸ πλέον, τοῖς μὲν 'Ιουδαίοις, εἰ πρὸς ἀφυλακτοτέρους προσπέσουν, τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν χωμάτων προϊόντως, εἰ τὴν ἐκδρομὴν αὐτῶν δέχοντο πεφραγμένως. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τούτοις ἐμελλεν γενήσεσθαι τὸ πέρας τῆς πολιορκίας, ἔργον δὲ τι πραξθὲν ἐκ συντυχίας παράλογον τῆς παράδοσεως τοῦ φρουρίου τὴν ἀνάγκην ἐπέστησε τοῖς 'Ιουδαίοις. ἦν ἐν τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις νεανίας τολμήσαι τε θρασὺς καὶ κατὰ χείρα δραστήριος, 'Ελεάζαρος ὄνομα· γεγόνει δ' οὕτος ἐν ταῖς ἐκδρομαῖς ἐπιφανῆς, τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐξενεία καὶ κωλῦει τήν χώσιν παρακαλῶν καὶ κατὰ τὰς μάχας πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ τοὺς 'Ρωμαίους διατιθέεις, τοῖς δὲ σὺν αὐτῶ τολμῶσιν ἐπεκτρέχειν ῥαδίαν μὲν τήν προσβολὴν τιθεμένος, ἀκύνδουν τὴν παρέχειν τῆς ἀναχώρησιν τῷ τελευταῖον ἀπίέναι. καὶ δὴ ποτε τῆς μάχης διακριθείσης καὶ γεγονόν ἀμφοτέρων ἀναχωρήσεως αὐτῶς, ἀτε δὴ περιφρονῶν καὶ νομίζων οὐκ ἂν ἐτί τῶν πολεμίων οὐδένα τότε μάχης ἥρειν, μείνας τῶν πυλῶν ἐξώ τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους διελάλει καὶ πάς πρὸς ἐκεῖνος τὴν διάνοιαν ἦν.
bear the first brunt; while they themselves seized and held the fortress above, both on account of the strength of its defences and with an eye to their own safety, conceiving that they could obtain pardon, were they to surrender the fort to the Romans. However, they wished first to put to the test their hopes of escaping a blockade; accordingly, they daily made spirited sallies and engaged in close combat with those at work on the mound, losing many of their own men, but killing many of the Romans. It was, however, invariably the opportunity which, in the main decided the victory in favour of either side: of the Jews if they fell upon their enemy when off his usual guard, of those on the mounds if they foresaw and met their sally in a posture of defence. It was not, however, these encounters which were destined to end the siege, but a casual and surprising incident constrained the Jews to surrender the fortress. Among the besieged was a youth of daring enterprise and strenuous energy named Eleazar. He had distinguished himself in the sallies by stimulating most of his comrades to come out and check the progress of the earthworks, and in the engagements by frequently making fearful havoc of the Romans; besides easing the attack for all who ventured out with him and covering their retreat by being the last to withdraw. Now on one occasion, when the battle was over and both parties had retired, he, disdainfully assuming that none of the enemy would now resume the fight, remained outside the gates conversing with his comrades on the wall and devoting his whole attention to them.

1 Destinon: τυχόντα MSS. 2 τὸ Niese with P.
199 ὁρᾶ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ τις στρατοπέδου Ῥουφὸς γένος Αἰγύπτιος, καὶ μηδενὸς ἂν προσδοκήσαντος ἐξαίφνης ἐπιδραμὼν σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀράμενος αὐτὸν τοὺς ὄπλους, ἔως κατείχη τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἱδόντας ἐκπληξεῖς, φθάνει τὸν ἀνδρὰ 

200 μεταθεὶς πρὸς τὸ Ῥωμαῖων στρατόπεδον. τοῦ δὲ στρατηγοῦ κελεύσαντος γυμνὸν διαλαβεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ καταστήσαντας εἰς τὸ φανερώτατον τοῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀποβλέπουσι μάστιξιν αἰκίζεσθαι, σφόδρα τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τὸ περὶ τὸν νεανίαν πάθος συνέχειν, ἀθρόα τε ἡ πόλις ἀνώμωξε, καὶ θρήνος ἦν μείζων ἡ καθ’ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς συμφοράν. 

201 τοῦτο συνιδὼν ὁ Βάσσος κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀρχὴν ἔποιήσατο στρατηγῆματος, καὶ βουληθεὶς αὐτῶν ἐπιτείνας τὸ περιαλγές, ἢν βιασθῶσιν ἄντι τῆς σωτηρίας τάνδρος ποιήσασθαι τὸν φρουρίον 

202 παράδοσιν, τῆς ἐλπίδος οὐ διήματεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ προσέταξε καταπηγνύναι σταυρὸν ὡς αὐτίκα κρεμῶν τὸν Ἕλεάζαρον, τοῖς δ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ φρουρίου τοῦτο θεασαμένοις ὁδύνη τε πλείων προσέπεσε, καὶ διωλύγιον ἀνώμωξον οὐκ ἀνασχέτον εἶναι 

203 τὸ πάθος βοῶντες. ἐνταῦθα δὴ τοίνυν Ἕλεάζαρος ἐκέτευν αὐτοὺς μὴ τ’ αὐτὸν περιδείν ὑπομείναντα βανάτων τὸν οἰκτιστὸν καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν σωτηρίαν παρασχεῖν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐξαντας ἱσχύ 

204 καὶ τύχῃ μετὰ πάντας ἢδη κεχειρωμένους. οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνου λόγους κατακλώμενοι καὶ πολλῶν ἐνδον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεομένων, ἦν γὰρ ἐκ μεγάλης καὶ σφόδρα πολυναθρώπου συγγενείας, 

205 παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν εἰς οἶκτον ἐνέδωκαν, καὶ τινὰς ἐξαποστείλαντες κατὰ τάχος διελέγοντο ποιεῖσθαι τὴν παράδοσιν τοῦ φρουρίου ἀξιοῦντες, 562
Thereupon, spying his opportunity, a soldier in the Roman ranks named Rufus, a native of Egypt, made a sudden dash upon him, such as none could have expected, lifted him up, armour and all, while the spectators on the wall were paralysed with astonishment, and succeeded in transporting the fellow to the Roman camp. The general having ordered him to be stripped and carried to the spot most exposed to the view of the onlookers in the city and there severely scourged, the Jews were profoundly affected by the lad's fate, and the whole town burst into such wailing and lamentation as the misfortune of a mere individual seemed hardly to justify. Observing this, Bassus proceeded to practise a ruse upon the enemy, desiring so to intensify their distress as to compel them to purchase the man's life by the surrender of the fort; and in this hope he was not disappointed. For he ordered a cross to be erected, as though intending to have Eleazar instantly suspended; at which sight those in the fortress were seized with deeper dismay and with piercing shrieks exclaimed that the tragedy was intolerable. At this juncture, moreover, Eleazar besought them not to leave him to undergo the most pitiable of deaths, but to consult their own safety by yielding to the might and fortune of the Romans, now that all others had been subdued. Overcome by his appeals, which were backed by many interceders within—for he came of a distinguished and extremely numerous family—they yielded to a compassion contrary to their nature and hastily dispatched a deputation to discuss the sur-

1 μετατιθεὶς PA.
JOSEPHUS

206 ἵν’ ἀδεεῖς ἀπαλλάττωνται κομισάμενοι τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον. δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταῦτα, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν τῇ κάτω πόλει τὴν γεγενημένην ἱδία τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις πυθόμενοι σύμβασιν αὐτοῖς κατὰ νύκτα λαθόντες

207 ἐγνώσαν ἀποδράναι. τὰς πύλας δ’ αὐτῶν ἀνοιξάντων παρὰ τῶν τὴν ὁμολογίαν πεποιημένων πρὸς τὸν Βάσσον ἥκεν μήνυσις, εἴτ’ οὖν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς φθονησάντων εἴτε [καὶ]¹ διὰ δέος, μή τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ λάβωσι τῆς ἐκείνων ἀποδράσεως.

208 οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀνδρείσατοι τῶν ἐξιόντων ἔφθασαν διεκπαίσασθαι καὶ διαφυγεῖν, τῶν δὲ ἔνδον καταλειψάντων ἀνδρεῖς μὲν ἀνηρέθησαν ἐπὶ τοῖς χιλίοις ἐπτακόσιοι, γύναι δὲ καὶ παῖδες ἱνδραποδίσθησαν. τὰς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς παραδόντας τὸ φρούριον ὁμολογίας οἰκόμενοι δεῖν ὁ Βάσσος διαφύλαττειν αὐτοῖς τ’ ἀφίσαν καὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ἄπεδωκε.

210 (5) Ταῦτα δὲ διουκησάμενος ἤπείγετο τὴν στρατιὰν ἁγων ἐπὶ τὸν προσαγορευόμενον Ἰάρδην δρυμὸν πολλοὶ γὰρ εἰς αὐτὸν ἡγεῖλθησαν ἡθοποίθαι τῶν κατὰ τὰς πολυρρίκιας πρὸτερον ἐκ τε Ἰεροσολύμων καὶ Μαχαιροῦντος ἀποδράντων. ἐλθὼν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ γνών τὴν ἁγγελίαν οὐκ ἐφευσμένην πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς ἰππεύσιν ἄπαν κυκλοῦτα τὸ χωρίον, ὅπως τοῖς διεκπαίεσθαι τολμῶσιν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπορος ἡ φυγὴ γίνηται διὰ τοὺς ἰππεάς· τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς ἐκελευσαν δευδρο-212 τομεῖν τὴν ὑλὴν, εἰς ἣν καταπεφεύγεσαν. καθιστανταὶ δὲ διὰ τούτο πρὸς ἀνάγκην οὗ Ἰουδαίοι τοῦ δρᾶν τι γενναίον, ὡς ἐκ παραβόλου ἀγωνί-
render of the fortress, stipulating for permission to depart in safety, taking Eleazar with them. The Romans and their general having accepted these conditions, the people in the town below, hearing of the separate compact that had been made by the Jews, determined on their part to make off secretly by night. But no sooner had they opened the gates than information was given to Bassus by those who had made the treaty with him; whether grudging them their lives, or maybe from fear of being held answerable for their flight. The most courageous of the fugitives, however, contrived to cut their way through and escape; of those left in the town, the men, numbering seventeen hundred, were slain, the women and children were enslaved. Bassus, holding himself bound to observe his agreement with those who had surrendered the fortress, let them depart and restored Eleazar.

(5) Having settled affairs here, Bassus pushed on with his troops to the forest called Jardes, it being reported that many who had previously fled from Jerusalem and Machaerus during the respective sieges had congregated in this quarter. On reaching the spot and finding the report correct, he began by surrounding the whole place with his cavalry, to prevent the escape of any Jews attempting to break through; he then ordered the infantry to fell the trees among which the fugitives had taken cover. The Jews were thus reduced to the necessity of attempting some gallant feat, in the hope that by a desperate struggle they might possibly escape; and

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\[2\] text doubtful: οὐ παραβόλως Α: παραβγου Π.
One of the leaders of the Zealots, who distinguished himself during the siege, B. vi. 92: his escape from Jerusalem has not been previously mentioned.
so, in a mass and with a shout, they dashed out and fell upon their surrounding foes. These met them stubbornly, and so, with prodigious efforts of despair on the one side and emulation on the other, the contest was long protracted; but the issue was widely different for the combatants. For the Romans lost in all but twelve dead and a few wounded, while of the Jews not a man emerged from that battle: all, to the number of no less than three thousand, perished. Among the slain was their general Judas, son of Ari, whom we have previously mentioned as in command of a company at the siege of Jerusalem, whence he secretly escaped through some of the underground passages.

(6) About the same time Caesar sent instructions to Bassus and Laberius Maximus, the procurator, to farm out all Jewish territory. For he founded no city there, reserving the country as his private property, except that he did assign to eight hundred veterans discharged from the army a place for habitation called Emmaus, distant thirty furlongs from Jerusalem. On all Jews, wheresoever resident, he imposed a poll-tax of two drachms to be paid annually into the Capitol as formerly contributed by

*L. Laberius Maximus, mentioned in inscriptions.*

*So or “lease” (“verpachten”), not “sell,” Schürer, G.J. V. i. 640, in reply to Mommsen.*

*Probably to be identified both with the modern Kulonieh (Colonia), some four miles N.W. of Jerusalem, and with the Emmaus of the N.T., though St. Luke (xxiv. 13) doubles the distance to 60 furlongs. See the full discussion in Schürer, G.J. V. i. 640 ff.*

*So Dion Cassius lxvi. 7 καὶ ἀπ’ ἐκείνου διὸ ῥαξον έτάχθη, τοῦς τὰ πάτρια αύτῶν ἐθή περιστέλλουν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ Δί κατ’ ἄποφερειν.*
καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἰουδαίων τότε τοιαύτην εἰχὲ κατά-
στασιν.

219 (vii. 1) Ἔδη δ' ἔτος τέταρτον Οὔεσπασιανοῦ
dιεπόντος τὴν ἤγεμονίαν συνέβη τὸν βασιλέα τῆς
Κομμαγηνῆς Ἀντίοχον μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς παν-
220 οικεσίᾳ περιπεσεῖν ἀπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας. Κα-
σέννιος Παῦλος, ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἤγεμών τότε
καθεστικός, εἰτ’ οὐν ἀληθεύων εἶτε καὶ διὰ τὴν
πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἔχθραν, οὐ σφόδρα γὰρ τὸ σαφὲς
ήλεγχθε, γράμματα πρὸς Καῖσαρα διεπέμβατο,
221 λέγων τὸν Ἀντίοχον μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἑσπηφανοῦς
dιεγνωκέναι Ἦρωμαιών ἁφίστασθαι, συνθήκας πρὸς
222 τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Πάρθων πεποιημένον· δεῖν οὖν
προκαταλαβεῖν αὐτούς, μὴ φθάσαντες τῶν πραγ-
μάτων [ἀρξασθαί]² πᾶσαν τὴν Ἦρωμαιῶν ἀρχὴν
223 πολέμῳ συνταράξωσιν. ἐμελλε δὲ³ Καῖσαρ τοιοῦ-
tού μηνύματος αὐτῷ προσπεσόντος μὴ περιορᾶν·
καὶ γὰρ ἡ γειτνίασις τῶν βασιλέων ἐποίει τὸ
224 πράγμα μείζονος ἁξίων προνοίας· τὰ γὰρ Σαμώ-
σατα, τῆς Κομμαγηνῆς μεγίστη πόλις, κεῖται
παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην, ὥστε εἶναι τοῖς Πάρθοις,
eὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον διενενόχτο, ῥάστην μὲν τὴν διάβασιν,
225 βεβαίαν δὲ τὴν ὑποδοχήν. πιστευθεῖς οὖν ὁ
Παῦλος καὶ λαβὼν ἔξονοι πράττειν ἄ δοκεὶ
συμφέρειν οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἐξαίφνης δὲ τῶν περὶ
tὸν Ἀντίοχον οὔδεν προσδοκώντων εἰς τὴν
Κομμαγηνῆν ἐνέβαιλεν, τῶν μὲν ταχμάτων ἅγων
τὸ ἔκτον καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον λόγους καὶ τινας ἰλασ
226 ἰππέων· συνεμάχουν δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶ τῆς

¹ Hudson: Ἐσσένιος (or Κεσένιος) Πετός mss. and so (Πέτος) below.
² om. P.AM: ἡσασθαὶ Herwerden.
³ om. P.
them to the temple at Jerusalem. Such was the position of Jewish affairs at this date.

(vii. 1) But while Vespasian was now for the fourth year holding imperial sway, Antiochus, king of Commagene, became involved, with all his family, in serious disasters, which arose as follows. Caesennius Paetus, then governor of Syria (whether speaking sincerely or out of enmity to Antiochus, was never clearly ascertained) sent letters to Caesar stating that Antiochus with his son Epiphanes had determined to revolt from Rome and was in league with the king of Parthia; it, therefore, behoved Caesar to forestall them, lest they should be beforehand in creating trouble and convulse the whole Roman empire with war. Such a report, thus conveyed to him, Caesar could not afford to overlook, seeing that the proximity of these princes to each other made the matter deserving of special precaution. For Samosata, the chief city of Commagene, lying on the Euphrates, would afford the Parthians, if they harboured any such designs, a most easy passage and an assured reception. Paetus being, accordingly, accredited and empowered to act as he thought fit, did not hesitate, but suddenly, while Antiochus and his friends were expecting nothing of the sort, invaded Commagene, at the head of the sixth legion, supplemented by some cohorts and a few squadrons of horse; he had the further support of two sove-

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*a* The temple tax, originally a third of a shekel (Neh. x. 32), afterwards half a shekel (Ex. xxx. 13), = 2 Tyrian drachms, was paid by all Jews of twenty years old and upwards. *Cf.* Matt. xvii. 24, Jos. *A.* xviii. 312.

*b* In N. Syria.

*c* § 59 note.
mēn Χαλκιδικῆς λεγομένης Ἀριστόβουλος, τῆς
227 Ἐμέσης δὲ καλουμένης Σόαιμος. ἂν δ' αὐτοῖς
tὰ περὶ τὴν εἰσβολὴν ἀνανταγώνιστα· τῶν γὰρ
kατὰ τὴν χώραν οὐδές ἦθελε χεῖρας ἀνταίρειν.
228 Ἀντίοχος δὲ τῆς ἀγγελίας ἀδοκίτως προσπεσού-
σης πολέμου μὲν οὖν ἐπίνοιαν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους
eσπασεν, ἐγὼ δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλείαν ὡς εἶχεν
ἐπὶ ὀχήματος¹ καταλιπὼν μετὰ γυναικὸς καὶ
tέκνων ὑπεξελθεῖν, οὕτως ἂν οἰόμενος καθαρὸν
Ῥωμαίους αὐτὸν ἀποδεῖξαι τῆς ἐπενηνεγμένης
229 αἰτίας. καὶ προελθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐκατὸν
σταδίους πρὸς τοὺς εἶκοσιν εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἐν αὐτῷ
κατανυλίζεται.
230 (2) Παῖτος δ' ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ Σαμόσατα τοὺς
καταληψιμένους ἀποστέλλει καὶ δι' ἐκείνων εἰχε
τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης δυνάμεως
231 ἐπὶ Ἀντίοχον ἔποιείτο τὴν ὀρμήν. οὐ μὴν ὁ
βασιλεὺς οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης προήχθη πρᾶξαι
τι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολεμικόν, ἄλλα τὴν αὐτοῦ
232 τύχην ὀδυρόμενος ὁ τι δέοι παθεῖν ὑπέμενε· νέοις
dὲ καὶ πολέμων ἐμπείροις καὶ ρώμη σωμάτων
dιαφέρουσιν οὐ βάδιον ἡν τοῖς παιάν αὐτοῦ τὴν
συμφόραν ἀμαχεῖ καρτερεῖν· τρέπονται οὖν πρὸς
233 ἀλκῆν Ἐπιφανῆς τε καὶ Καλλίνικος. σφοδρὰς
dὲ τῆς μάχης καὶ παρ' ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν γενομένης
αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀνδρείαν διαπρεπὴ παρέσχον καὶ μηδὲν
ἐλαττωθεῖσα τῇ σφετέρᾳ δυνάμει ἐσπέρα² διελύ-
234 θησαν. Ἀντιόχῳ δ' οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ μάχη τούτου

¹ conj. Naber: σχῆματος mss.
² om. Lat.: ἀμ' ἐσπέρα Destinon.

* The district of either (1) Chalcis (Anjar) in the Lebanon range, or (2) another Chalcis further N. in Syria. Herod, the 570
reigns, Aristobulus of the region named Chalcidice, and Soemus of Emesa, as the other principality is called. Their invasion was unopposed, not a man throughout the country wishing to lift a hand against them. Antiochus, confronted with the unexpected tidings, never entertained a moment's thought of a war with Rome, but decided to quit the realm, leaving everything as it was, and to abscond in a chariot with his wife and children, hoping thus to clear himself in the eyes of the Romans of the charge under which he lay. Proceeding, accordingly, from the capital one hundred and twenty furlongs into the plain, he there encamped.

(2) Paetus sent a detachment to occupy Samosata, and through them held the town, while he with the rest of his force hastened in pursuit of Antiochus. Even in these straits, however, the king could not be induced to take any hostile action against the Romans, but lamenting his lot was content to submit to whatever suffering might be in store for him. His sons, on the contrary, with the advantages of youth, military experience, and unusual physical strength, could not lightly brook this calamity without a struggle; Epiphanes and Callinicus, accordingly, had resort to arms. In the fierce contest which ensued, lasting the whole day, the princes displayed conspicuous gallantry, and their troops had sustained no diminution of strength when night parted the combatants. Yet, even after such an issue of the conflict,
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κεχωρηκυία τόν τρόπον μένειν ἀνεκτόν ἐδόκει, 
λαβὼν δὲ τήν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας μετ’ ἐκείνων ἐποιεῖτο τήν φυγήν εἰς Κιλικίαν, καὶ 
tούτο πράξας τὰ φρονήματα τῶν οἰκείων στρα-

235 τιωτῶν κατέκλασεν· ώς γὰρ κατεγνωσμένης ὑπ’ 
αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἀπέστησαν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς 
Ῥωμαίους μετεβάλοντο, καὶ πάντων πρόδηλος 

236 ἥν ἀπόγνωσις. πρὶν οὖν τελέως ἐρημωθῆναι τῶν 
συμμάχων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἐπιφανῆ σώζειν αὐτοὺς 
ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἡν ἀναγκαῖον, καὶ γίνονται δέκα 
σύμπαντες ἵππεις οἱ μετ’ αὐτῶν τὸν Ἐὐφράτην 

237 διαβαλόντες, ἕνθεν ἥδη μετ’ ἀδείας πρὸς τὸν βασι-

λέα τῶν Πάρθων Βολογέσιν κοιμισθέντες οὐχ ὡς 
φυγάδες ὑπερηφανήθησαν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐπὶ τήν παλαιὰν 
ἐχοντες εὐδαμονίαν πάσης τιμῆς ἥξιώθησαν. 

238 (3) Ἀντίόχῳ δ’ εἰς Ταρσὸν ἀφιγμένῳ τῆς 
Κιλικίας ἐκατοντάρχην Παῖτος ἐπισέμψας δεδε-

239 μένον αὐτῶν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλεν. Οὐσπα-

σανὸς δ’ οὕτως οὐχ ὑπέμενεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναχ-

θήναι τῶν βασιλέα, τῆς παλαιᾶς ἄξιῶν φιλίας 
μᾶλλον αἰδώς λαβεῖν ἢ διὰ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου 

240 πρόφασιν ἀπαραίτητον ὄργῃν διαφυλάττειν. κελεύει 
δὴ καθ’ ὁδὸν ἔτ’ οὖντος αὐτῶν τῶν δεσμῶν ἀφ-

αρεθήναι καὶ παρέντα τήν εἰς [τήν] Ῥώμην ἀφιξῷ 
τό νῦν ἐν Λακεδαιμονίς διάγειν, δίδωσί τε μεγάλας 
ἀυτῶ προσόδους χρημάτων, ὅπως μὴ μόνον ἀφθονὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλικὴν ἔχου [τήν] διάιταν. 

241 ταῦτα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἐπιφανῆ πυθομένοις, πρό-
tερον σφόδρα περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς δεδιόσιν, ἀνείθησαν 
αἱ ψυχαὶ μεγάλης καὶ δυσδιαθέτου φροντίδος.

1 Holwerda: διαλαβόντες most mss.: διαβάντες LC. 
2 om. ML. 
3 om. PAML.

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Antiochus could not bring himself to remain, but accompanied by his wife and daughters fled to Cilicia, thereby breaking the spirits of his own troops; for, regarding him as having pronounced sentence on his realm, they mutinied and went over to the Romans, and despair was manifest in all faces. Epiphanes and his followers were consequently forced to seek safety from the enemy in flight, before they were entirely deserted by their allies. Ten horsemen, in fact, were all that crossed the Euphrates with the two brothers; thence they proceeded unmolested to Bologeses, a king of Parthia, by whom they were treated not with disdain, as fugitives, but with every mark of respect, as though still enjoying their ancient prosperity.

(3) Antiochus, on reaching Tarsus in Cilicia, was arrested by a centurion, sent after him by Paetus, who dispatched his prisoner in chains to Rome. Vespasian, however, could not suffer the king to be brought up to him thus, thinking it more fitting to respect an ancient friendship than, on the pretext of war, to cherish inexorable wrath. He accordingly gave orders, while he was still on the road, that he should be released from his chains, abandon his journey to Rome, and remain for the present in Lacedaemon; he, moreover, assigned him a revenue sufficient to maintain not merely an ample but a regal establishment. On hearing of this, Epiphanes and Callinicus, hitherto in serious alarm on their father's account, were relieved from their grave and disturbing anxiety. They had hopes, moreover, of

* § 105.
This is the first mention of them in the War; the allusion to a previous remark has possibly been carelessly taken over by Josephus from the source from which this section, irrelevant to Jewish history, has been derived.

b The Don.  c Sea of Azov.  d S. of the Caspian.

The “Caspian Gates” was the name given to a mountain
their own reconciliation with Caesar, through the representations which Bologeseses had addressed to him on their behalf: for, however favourable their lot, the thought of living outside the Roman empire was intolerable. Caesar having then graciously granted them safe conduct, they came to Rome, where they were promptly joined by their father from Lacedaemon; and there they took up their abode, treated with every mark of honour.

(4) The Alani—a race of Scythians, as we have somewhere previously remarked, inhabiting the banks of the river Tanais and the lake Maeotis—contemplating at this period a predatory incursion into Media and beyond, entered into negotiations with the king of the Hyrcanians, who was master of the pass which king Alexander had closed with iron gates. Being granted admission by him, masses of them fell upon the Medes, who suspected nothing, and plundered a populous country, filled with all manner of live-stock, none venturing to oppose them. For Pacorus, the monarch of the country, had fled in terror up into his fastnesses, abandoning all his possessions, and having with difficulty recovered from them his wife and concubines, who had been taken prisoners, by a ransom of a hundred talents. Pursuing, therefore, their raids with perfect ease and unresisted, they advanced as far as Armenia, laying pass, or series of difficult passes, in the Taurus range S. of the Caspian Sea (Grote, Hist. of Greece, ed. 4, x. 127 f.). Arrian (iii. 20) describes how Alexander the Great, in pursuit of Darius, failed to overtake him before he reached this point, but says nothing about the “iron gates” mentioned by Josephus.

\[^t\] Brother of Vologeses I, king of Parthia, mentioned above, § 237.
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249 Τιμιάτης δ’ αὐτῆς ἐβασίλευεν, ὁς ὑπαντιάσας αὐτοῖς καὶ πουησάμενος μάχην παρὰ μικρὸν ἦλθεν.

250 Επ’ αὐτῆς ζωός ἀλώναι τῆς παρατάξεως. Βρόχον γὰρ αὐτῷ περιβαλὼν τις πόρρωθεν ἔμελλεν ἐπισπάσειν, εἰ μὴ τῷ ξίφει θάττον ἐκεῖνος τὸν τόνον κόψας ἔφθη διαφυγεῖν. οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν μάχην ἔτι μάλλον ἄγριωθέντες τὴν μὲν χώραν ἐλυμήναντο, πολὺ δὲ πλῆθος ἄνθρωπων καὶ τῆς ἀλλης λείας ἄγοντες εἰς ἀμφοῖν τῶν βασιλείων πάλιν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀνεκομισθησαν.

251 (viii. 1) Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας Βάσσου τελευτῆσαντος Φλαύνος Σίλβας διαδέχεται τὴν ἠγεμονίαν, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ὅρων ἀπασαν τῷ πολέμῳ κεχειρωμένην, ἐν δὲ μόνον ἔτι φρούριον ἀφεστήκος, ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τοῦτο πάσαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς τόποις δύναμιν συναγαγόν. καλεῖται δὲ τὸ φρούριον Μασάδα. προειστήκει δὲ τῶν κατειληφότων αὐτὸ σικάριων δύνατος ἀνὴρ Ἔλεάζαρος, ἀπόγονος Ἰουδαία τὸν πείσαντος 'Ἰουδαίους οὐκ ὀλύους, ὡς πρότερον δεδηλώκαμεν, μὴ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀπογραφὰς, ὅτε Κυρίνιος τιμηθής εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπέμφθη. τότε γὰρ οἱ σικάριοι συνέστησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπακούειν 'Ρωμαίων θέλοντας καὶ πάντα τρόπον ὡς πολεμίους προσεφέροντο, τὰς μὲν κτήσεις ἄρπαξοντες καὶ περιελάβοντες, ταῖς δ’ οἰκήσεσιν αὐτῶν πῦρ ἐνέειντες: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλοφύλων αὐτοὺς ἐφασκὸν διαφέρειν, οὐτὼς ἀγεννῶς τὴν περιμάχητον Ἰουδαῖοι ἑλευθερίαν.

1 om. P.A.

252 Another brother of Vologeses I.  
2 § 162.  
3 L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus (the full name given in an inscription) was consul in A.D. 81.

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everything waste. Tiridates, a the king of that country, who met them and gave them battle, narrowly escaped being taken alive in the engagement; for a noose was thrown round him by a distant enemy who would have dragged him off, had he not instantly cut the rope with his sword and succeeded in escaping. The Alani, whose savagery was increased by this opposition, made havoc of the country, and, carrying off masses of the population and booty of all kinds from both kingdoms, returned once more to their own land.

(viii. 1) In Judaea, meanwhile, Bassus b had died and been succeeded in the governorship by Flavius Silva, c who, seeing the whole country now subjugated by the Roman arms, with the exception of one fortress still in revolt, concentrated all forces in the district and marched against it. This fortress was called Masada d; and the Sicarii who had occupied it had at their head a man of influence named Eleazar. He was a descendant e of the Judas who, as we have previously stated, f induced multitudes of Jews to refuse to enroll themselves, when Quirinius was sent as censor to Judaea. For in those days the Sicarii clubbed together against those who consented to submit to Rome and in every way treated them as enemies, plundering their property, rounding up their cattle, and setting fire to their habitations; protesting that such persons were no other than aliens, who so ignobly sacrificed the hard-won g

a Sebbeh, above the W. coast of the Dead Sea, near its lower end, S. of En Gedi. The Roman siege-works are said to be still clearly recognizable.

e Son of Jairus (B. ii. 447) and apparently grandson of Judas.

f B. ii. 118, cf. 433.

Or "highly prized," "to be fought for."
προεμένους καὶ δουλείαν αἴρεῖσθαι τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀρω-
256 μαίους ἀνωμολογηκότας. ἦν δὲ ἀρα τοῦτο πρό-
φασις εἰς παρακάλυμμα τῆς ὠμότητος καὶ τῆς
πλεονεξίας ὑπ' αὐτῶν λεγόμενοι: σαφές δὲ διὰ
257 τῶν ἔργων ἐποίησαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῆς
ἀποστάσεως ἐκουσώνησαν καὶ τοῦ πρὸς 'Ρωμαίους
συνήραντο πολέμου, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων δὲ τολμή-
258 ματα χείρω πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔγενετο, κατὶ τῶν ὑπε-
δεσθαι πάλιν ὑπ' τὴν πρόφασιν ἐξελεγχόμενοι μᾶλλον
ἐκάκουν τοὺς τῆς πονηρίας αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς δικαιο-
259 λογίας ὑνειδίζοντας. ἔγενετο γὰρ πρὸς τὸ χρόνος
ἐκεῖνος παινοταπῆς ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις πονηρίας
πολύφορος, ως μηδὲν κακίας ἔργων ἀπρακτὸν
catalipseiv, μηδ' εἰ τὸ ἐπινοεῖ διαπλάττειν
ἐθελήσειεν, ἔχειν ἀν τι κανότερον ἐξευρεῖν.
260 οὕτως ἡδίᾳ τε καὶ κοινὴ πάντες ἐνόσησαν, καὶ
πρὸς ὑπερβάλλειν¹ ἀλλήλους ἐν τε ταῖς πρὸς θεὸν
ἀσεβείαις καὶ ταῖς εἰς τοὺς πλησίον αἰσθίαις
ἐφιλονείκησαν, οἳ μὲν δυνατοὶ τὰ πλήθη κακοῦντες,
οἳ πολλοὶ δὲ τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἀπολλύναι σπεύδοντες.
261 ἦν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐπιθυμία τοῦ τυραννεῖν, τοὺς
dὲ τοῦ βιάζεσθαι καὶ τὰ τῶν εὐπόρων διαρπάζειν.
262 πρῶτοι μὲν οὖν οἱ σικάριοι τῆς παρανομίας καὶ
tῆς πρὸς τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἢρξαν ὁμότητος, μήτε
λόγου ἄρρητον εἰς ύβριν μήτ' ἔργων ἀπειρατοῦν
εἰς ὀλεθρὸν τῶν ἔπιβουλευθέντων παραλιπόντες.
263 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτος Ἰωάννης ἀπέδειξεν αὐτοῦ

¹ Niese here suspects a lacuna.
² pridem (= πάλαι) Lut.
³ τὸ ἐπινοεῖ PA¹: τὸς ἐπινοεῖ the rest.
⁴ Niese πρὸς ἐπερβάλλειν with P: for adverbial πρὸς cf. 
A. xix. 110 (καὶ πρὸς ἔρις αὐτοῖς ἢν).
⁵ Dindorf: ἀπειραστοῦ MSS.

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liberty of the Jews and admitted their preference for the Roman yoke. Yet, after all, this was but a pretext, put forward by them as a cloak for their cruelty and avarice, as was made plain by their actions. For the people did join with them in the revolt and take their part in the war with Rome, only, however, to suffer at their hands still worse atrocities; and when they were again convicted of falsehood in this pretext, they only oppressed the more those who in righteous self-defence reproached them with their villainy.

Indeed, that period had, somehow, become so prolific of crime of every description amongst the Jews, that no deed of iniquity was left unperpetrated, nor, had man's wit been exercised to devise it, could he have discovered any novel form of vice. So universal was the contagion, both in private and in public life, such the emulation, moreover, to outdo each other in acts of impiety towards God and of injustice towards their neighbours; those in power oppressing the masses, and the masses eager to destroy the powerful. These were bent on tyranny, those on violence and plundering the property of the wealthy. The Sicarii were the first to set the example of this lawlessness and cruelty to their kinsmen, leaving no word unspoken to insult, no deed untried to ruin, the victims of their conspiracy. Yet even they were shown by John to be more moderate than John of Gischala.

The mention of Masada, the last stronghold of the rebels, and of their chief, leads to this digression (§ 274) on the general iniquities of other insurgents and their leaders.
μετριωτέρους: οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἀνήρει πάντας ὅσοι τὰ δίκαια καὶ συμφέροντα συνεβούλευον, καθάπερ ἑχθίστοις μάλιστα δὴ τῶν πολιτῶν τοῖς τοιούτοις προσφερόμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινῇ τὴν πατρίδα μνημῶν ἐνέπλησε κακῶν, οί πράξειν ἐμελλέν ἄνθρωποι τῇ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀσεβεῖν τετολμηκός.

264 τράπεζάν τε γὰρ ἀθεσμὸν παρετίθετο καὶ τὴν νεομισμένην καὶ πάτριον ἐξεδιήγησεν ἀγνείαν, ἢ μηκέτι θαυμαστόν, εἰ τὴν πρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἡμερότητα καὶ κοινωνίαν οὐκ ἐπήρησεν ὅ τίς πρὸς θεοῦ εὐσεβείας οὕτω καταμανεῖς. πάλιν τοῖς τῷ Γιώρα Σίμων τι κακὸν οὐκ ἔδρασεν; ἢ ποίας ὑβρεως ἐλευθέρων ἀπέσχετο σωμάτων οἱ τούτοις τῶν ᾠδῶν τύραννας; ποιά δὲ αὐτοὺς φιλία, ποιά δὲ συγγένεια πρὸς τοὺς ἔφ᾽ ἐκάστης ἡμέρας φόνους οὐχὶ θρασυτέρους ἐποίησε; τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους κακῶς ποιεῖν ἀγεννοῦς ἔργον πονηρίας ὑπελάμβανον, λαμπρὰν δὲ φέρειν ἐπὶ δειξιῶν ἡγούμενο τὴν ἐν τοῖς οἰκειοτάτοις ὑμότητα.

265 παρθεμιλήσατο δὲ καὶ τὴν τούτων ἀπόνοιαν ἢ τῶν Ἰδουμαίων [μανία] ἢ ἐκείνων γὰρ οἱ μιαρώτατοι τοὺς ἀρχιερεάς κατασφάξαντες, ὅπως μηδὲ μέρος τὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεοῦ εὐσεβείας διαφυλάττηται, πάν ὃσον ἢν λεύσαν ἔτι πολιτικοῦ σχήματος ἐξέκοψαν, καὶ τὴν τελεωτάτην εἰσήγαγον διὰ πάντων ἀνομίαν, ἢ τὸ τῶν ἄνθρωπων κληθέντων γένος ἠκμασεν, οἱ τὴν προσηγορίαν τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπηλήθευσαν. πάν γὰρ κακίας ἔργον ἐξεμιμήσαντο, μηδὲ εἰ τῷ πρότερον προϋπάρχον ἡ μνήμη παρα-

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1 Exc. : ἄνθρωπος mss.
himself. For not only did he put to death all who
proposed just and salutary measures, treating such
persons as his bitterest enemies among all the citizens,
but he also in his public capacity loaded his country
with evils innumerable, such as one might expect
would be inflicted upon men by one who had already
dared to practise impiety even towards God. For
he had unlawful food served at his table and
abandoned the established rules of purity of our
forefathers; so that it could no longer excite sur-
prise, that one guilty of such mad impiety towards
God failed to observe towards men the offices of
gentleness and charity. Again, there was Simon,
son of Gioras: what crime did not he commit? Or
what outrage did he refrain from inflicting upon the
persons of those very freemen who had created him
a despot?\(^a\) What ties of friendship or of kindred but
rendered these men more audacious in their daily
murders? For to do injury to a foreigner they con-
sidered an act of petty malice, but thought they cut
a splendid figure by maltreating their nearest
relations. Yet even their infatuation was outdone
by the madness of the Idumaeans. For those most
abominable wretches, after butchering the chief
priests,\(^b\) so that no particle of religious worship might
continue, proceeded to extirpate whatever relics were
left of our civil polity, introducing into every de-
partment perfect lawlessness. In this the so-called
Zealots excelled, a class which justified their name
by their actions; for they copied every deed of ill,
nor was there any previous villainy recorded in

\(^a\) B. iv. 574 ff.
\(^b\) iv. 314 ff.
\(^2\) αὐτῷ Μ. ΟΜ. VRC Lat.
\(^3\) Exc. : +εἰναι MSS.
\(^4\) om. VRC Lat.
\(^5\) VRC Lat. : ζητοι the rest.
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270 δεδωκεν αυτοὶ παραλυπόντες ἀξῆλωτον, καίτοι τὴν προσηγορίαν αυτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ ζηλουμένων ἐπέθεσαν, ἢ κατειρωνεύομενοι τῶν ἀδικομείων διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν θηριώδη φύσιν ἢ τὰ 271 μέγιστα τῶν κακῶν ἀγαθὰ νομίζοντες. τοιγαροῦν προσήκον ἑκαστοῦ τὸ τέλος εὐρόντο, τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἁξίαν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς τιμωρίαν βραβεύσαντος.

272 ὅσας γὰρ ἀνθρώπου δύναται φύσις κολάσεις ὑπομείναι, πάσαι κατεσκηφαν εἰς αὐτοὺς μέχρι καὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς, ἢν ὑπέμειναν

273 ἐν πολυτρόποις αἰκίαις ἀποθανόντες. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα φαίη τις ἂν αὐτοὺς ἑλάττω παθεῖν ὡν ἔδρασαν.

274 τὸ γὰρ δικαίως ἐπὶ αὐτῶν οὐ προσῆκ. τοὺς δὲ ταῖς ἐκείνων ὕμοτης περιπεσόντας οὐ τοῦ παρόντος ἂν εἰ ἱππου ἑταρὰ τὴν ἁξίαν ὀδύρεσθαι: πάλιν οὖν ἐπάνευμι πρὸς τὸ καταλειπόμενον μέρος τῆς διηγήσεως.

275 (3) Ἔπι γὰρ τὸν Ἑλεάζαρον καὶ τοὺς κατ-έχοντας σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν Μασάδαν σικαρίοις ὁ τῶν Ὑφμαίων στρατηγὸς ἦκε τὰς δυνάμεις ἄγων, καὶ τῆς μὲν χώρας ἀπάσης εὔθες ἔκρατε φρουράς ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαιροτάτοις αὐτῆς μέρεσιν ἐγκατα-

276 στήσας, τείχος δὲ περιέβαλε κύκλῳ περὶ πάν τὸν φρούριον, ὅπως μηδενὶ τῶν πολιορκομένων ἢ ράδιον διαφυγεῖν, καὶ διανέμει τοὺς φυλάξοντας.

277 αὐτὸς δὲ καταστρατοπεδεύειν τόπον ὡς μὲν πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐπιτηδείωσαν ἐκλαβῶν, καθ᾽ ὅν αἱ τοῦ φρουρίου πέτραι τῷ πλησίον ὤρει συνήγγυξον, ἀλλὰς δὲ πρὸς ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων δύσκολον.

278 οὐ γὰρ ἡ τροφὴ μόνον πόρρωθεν ἐκομίζετο καὶ σὺν μεγάλῃ ταλαιπωρίᾳ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τεταγμένων Ἰουδαίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ποτὸν ἦν ἀγώγιμον [eis 582]
history that they failed zealously to emulate. And yet they took their title from their professed zeal for virtue, either in mockery of those they wronged, so brutal was their nature, or reckoning the greatest of evils good. Accordingly these each found a fitting end, God awarding due retribution to them all. For every punishment that human nature is capable of enduring descended upon them, even to those last dying moments of life, endured by them amid the agonies of manifold torture. And yet one may say that they suffered less than they inflicted; for no suffering could match their deserts. However, the present would not be the occasion to deplore, as they deserve, the victims of their barbarities; I will, therefore, resume the interrupted thread of the narrative.

(2) The Roman general advanced at the head of his forces against Eleazar and his band of Sicarii who held Masada, and, promptly making himself master of the whole district, established garrisons at the most suitable points, threw up a wall all round the fortress, to make it difficult for any of the besieged to escape, and posted sentinels to guard it. He himself encamped at a spot which he selected as most convenient for siege operations, where the rocks of the fortress abutted on the adjacent mountain, although ill situated for commissariat purposes. For not only were supplies conveyed from a distance, entailing hard labour for the Jews told off for this duty, but even water had to be brought into the

\(^a\) Cf. §§ 417 ff. for the tortures inflicted on the Sicarii with the object of inducing them to own Caesar as lord, and borne with a determination worthy of the early Christian martyrs: these fanatics at any rate diednobly.
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τὸ στρατόπεδον]¹ τοῦ τόπου μηδεμίαν ἐγγὺς πηγὴν
279 ἀναδιδόντος. ταῦτ’ οὖν προοικονομήσαμενος ὁ
Σύλβας ἐπὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐτράπετο πολλὴς ἐπι-
τεχνήσεως καὶ ταλαπωρίας δεομένην διὰ τὴν ὀχυρό-
τητα τοῦ φρουρίου τοιοῦτε τὴν φύσιν ὑπάρχοντος.
280 (3) Πέτραν οὖκ ὀλύγην τῇ περιόδῳ καὶ μήκος
ὕψηλην πανταχόθεν περιερρώγασι βαθείας φάραγ-
γες,² κάτωθεν ἐξ ἀοράτου τέρματος κρημνώδεις
καὶ πάση βάσει ζῴων ἀπρόσιτοι, πλῆν ὅσον κατὰ
dύο τόπους τῆς πέτρας εἰς ἀνοδον οὖκ εὑμαρῆ
281 παρεικούσης. ἔστι δὲ τῶν ὁδῶν ἢ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς
'Ασφαλτίτιδος λύμνης πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνύσχοντα, καὶ
πάλιν ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως ἢ ράον³ πορευθῆναι.
282 καλοῦσι δὲ τὴν ἐτέραν ὄφιν, τῇ στενότητι προσ-
εικάσαντες καὶ τοῖς συνεχέσιν ἐλιγμοῖς· κλάται
γὰρ περὶ τὰς τῶν κρημνῶν ἔξοχὰς καὶ πολλάκις
eἰς αὐτῆς ἀνατρέχουσα καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν αὖθις
283 ἐκμηκνυομένη μόλις φαύει τοῦ πρόσω. δεὶ δὲ
παραλλαξ ὑπὸ τοῦ δ’ αὐτῆς βαδίζοντα τὸν ἐτερον
tῶν ποδῶν⁴ ἔρειδεμαι. ἔστι δὲ πρόδηλος ὀ λεθροσ·
ἐκατέρωθεν γὰρ βάθος κρημνῶν ὑποκέχηνε τῇ
φοβερότητι πᾶσαν εὐτολμιὰν ἐκπληξάι δυνάμενον.
284 διὰ τοιαύτης οὖν ἐλθόντι σταδίους τριάκοντα
κορυφῆ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔστιν, οὐκ εἰς ὃ ὤψιν τέρμα
συνηγμένη, ἀλλ’ ὦστ’ εἰναι κατ’ ἀκρας ἐπίτευον.
285 ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἀρχιερεύς ὕκοδομήσατο
φρούριον 'Ιωάνθης καὶ προσηγόρευσε Μασάδαν,
ὑστερον δ’ Ἡρώδη τῷ βασιλεῖ διὰ πολλῆς ἐγένετο
286 σπουδῆς ἢ τοῦ χωρίου κατασκευῆς. τεῖχος τε γὰρ

¹ om. P. ² + καὶ P Lat. ³ ἢ ράον Niese (ed. min.) after VR. ⁴ τοῦ ποδίου C.
camp, there being no spring in the neighbourhood. Having completed these preliminary arrangements, Silva turned his attention to the siege, which demanded great skill and severe exertion, owing to the strength of the fortress, the nature of which was as follows.

(3) A rock of no slight circumference and lofty from end to end is abruptly terminated on every side by deep ravines, the precipices rising sheer from an invisible base and being inaccessible to the foot of any living creature, save in two places where the rock permits of no easy ascent. Of these tracks one leads from the Lake Asphaltitis on the east, the other, by which the approach is easier, from the west. The former they call the snake, seeing a resemblance to that reptile in its narrowness and continual windings; for its course is broken in skirting the jutting crags and, returning frequently upon itself and gradually lengthening out again, it makes painful headway. One traversing this route must firmly plant each foot alternately. Destruction faces him; for on either side yawn chasms so terrific as to daunt the hardiest. After following this perilous track for thirty furlongs, one reaches the summit, which, instead of tapering to a sharp peak, expands into a plain. On this plateau the high priest Jonathan first erected a fortress and called it Masada; the subsequent planning of the place engaged the serious attention of King Herod. For

* The Dead Sea.

b Literally "towards the sun-rising," a phrase found in Herodotus (iii. 98).

c Brother of Judas Maccabaeus and his successor as Jewish leader, 161–143 B.C., B. i. 48 f.
ηγειρείς περὶ πάντα τῶν κύκλων τῆς κορυφῆς ἐπτὰ σταδίων ὄντα, λευκοῦ μὲν λίθου πεποιθημένον, ὦψος δὲ διώδεκα καὶ πλάτος ὄκτω πῆχεις ἔχον, 287 τριάκοντα δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ πύργων πεντηκοντα-
πῆχεις ἀνειστήκεσαν, εὖ δὲν ἦν εἰς οἰκήματα διελθεῖν περὶ πάν το τείχος ἔνδον ὕκοδομημένα. 288 τὴν γὰρ κορυφὴν πίονα καὶ πεδίου παντὸς οὖσαν μαλακωτέραν ἀνήκεν εἰς γεωργίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἵν᾽ εἴ ποτε τῆς ἔξωθεν τροφῆς ἀπορία γένοιτο, μηδὲ ταύτη κάμοιεν οἳ τὴν αὐτῶν σωτηρίαν τῷ 289 φρουρίῳ πεποιθεκότες. καὶ βασιλείου δὲ κατ-
εσκέυασεν ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἀνάβασιν, ὑποκάτω μὲν τῶν τῆς ἅκρας τειχῶν, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἄρκτον ἐκκλίνον.¹ τοῦ δὲ βασιλείου τὸ τείχος ἦν ὀψι μέγα καὶ καρτερὸν, πύργοις 290 ἔχον ἐξηκονταπῆχεις ἐγγυωνίους τέτταρας. ἦ τε τῶν οἰκημάτων ἔνδον καὶ στοῶν καὶ βαλανείων κατασκευὴ παντοῖα καὶ πολυτελῆς ἦν, κιόνων μὲν ἀπανταχοῦ μονολίθων ύφεστηκότων, τοῖχων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς οἰκήμασι εὐδόφῳ λίθῳ 291 στρώσει πεποικιλμένων. πρὸς ἐκαστὸν δὲ τῶν οἰκουμένων τόπων ἄνω τε καὶ περὶ τὸ βασιλείου καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους πόλους καὶ μεγάλους ἐτετμῆκε λάκκους ἐν ταῖς πέτραις φυλακτήρας ὕδατων, μηχανῶμενος εἶναι χορηγίαν ὡς τῷ² 292 ἐκ πηγῶν ἐστὶ χρωμένοις. ὑρυκτὴ δ᾽ ὄδὸς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου πρὸς ἅκραν τὴν κορυφὴν ἀνέφερε τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἄφανής. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ταῖς φανεραῖς 293 ὀδοῖς ἦν οἶον τε χρήσασθαι βαδίως πολεμίους· ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἔστι διὰ τῆς φύσιν, ὡς προεἰπαμεν, ἐστὶν ἅβατος, τὴν δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας μεγάλῳ κατὰ τὸ στενότατον πύργῳ διετείχεσεν, ἀπέχοντι τῆς ἅκρας 586
first he enclosed the entire summit, a circuit measuring seven furlongs, with a wall of white stone, twelve cubits high and eight broad; on it stood thirty-seven towers, fifty cubits high, from which access was obtained to apartments constructed round the whole interior of the wall. For the actual top, being of rich soil and softer than any plain, was given up by the king to cultivation; in order that, should there ever be a dearth of provisions from outside, those who had committed their lives to the protection of the fortress might not suffer from it. There, too, he built a palace on the western slope, beneath the ramparts on the crest and inclining towards the north. The palace wall was strong and of great height, and had four towers, sixty cubits high, at the corners. The fittings of the interior—apartments, colonnades, and baths—were of manifold variety and sumptuous; columns, each formed of a single block, supporting the building throughout, and the walls and floors of the apartments being laid with variegated stones. Moreover, at each spot used for habitation, both on the summit and about the palace, as also before the wall, he had cut out in the rock numerous large tanks, as reservoirs for water, thus procuring a supply as ample as where springs are available. A sunk road led up from the palace to the summit of the hill, imperceptible from without. But even of the open approaches it was not easy for an enemy to make use: for the eastern track, as we have previously stated, is from its nature impracticable, while that on the west Herod barred at its narrowest point by a great tower.

\[a \text{ §§ 281-3.}\]

1 \(\text{P (e\kappa \kappa \lambda \iota \nu \omega \nu \nu) A: e\gamma \kappa \kappa \lambda \iota \nu \omega \nu \text{ the rest.}}\)

2 Niese: \(\tau \dot{\omega} \nu \text{ mss.}\)
πήχειν οὕκ ἐλαττὼν διάστημα χιλίων, δόν οὐτε παρελθείν δυνατὸν ἢν οὐτε ράδιον ἐλείν· δυσέξοδος δὲ καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ἀδείας βαδίζουσιν ἐπεποίητο. 294 οὖτως μὲν οὖν πρὸς ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδους φύσει τε καὶ χειροποιήτως τὸ φρούριον ὑχύρωτο.

295 (4) Τῶν δ’ ἐνδον ἀποκειμένων παρασκευῶν ἐτί μᾶλλον ἂν τις ἐθαύμασε τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν διαμονήν· οἰτὸς τε γὰρ ἀπέκειτο πολὺς καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀρκεῖν ἰκανώτατος οὖσος τε πολὺς ἢν καὶ ἔλαιον, ἐτὶ δὲ παντοῖος ὁσπρίων καρπὸς καὶ φοινίκες ἐσεσώρευτο. πάντα δ’ εὑρεν ὁ Ἐλεάζαρος τοῦ φρουρίου μετὰ τῶν σικαρίων ἐγκρατῆς δόλῳ γενόμενος ἀκμαία καὶ μηδὲν τῶν νεωστὶ κεμένων ἀποδέοντα· κατοι σχεδὸν ἀπὸ τῆς παρασκευῆς εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἀλωσιν ἑκατὸν ἢν χρόνος ἐτῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαίοι τοὺς περί- λειπθέντας τῶν καρπῶν εὗρον ἀδιαφόρους. οἷτιν δ’ οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι τις ὑπολαμβάνων εἰναι τὸν ἀέρα τῆς διαμονῆς, ὑψεὶ τῶν’ περὶ τὴν ἀκραν πάσης οἵτω γεώδους καὶ θολερᾶς ἀμυγῆ κράσεως.

299 εὑρέθη δὲ καὶ παντοῖοι πλήθος ὄψιν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποτεθησαυρισμένον, ως ἀνδράσιν ἀρ- κεῖν μυρίοις, ἀργός τε σίδηρος καὶ χαλκὸς ἑτὶ δὲ καὶ μόλιbos, ἀτε δὴ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐπὶ μεγάλαις αἰτίαις γενομένης· λέγεται γὰρ αὐτῷ τοῖς Ἡρώδην τοῦτο τὸ φρούριον εἰς ὑποψιγήν ἐτοιμάζειν διπλῶν ὑφορώμενον κύδινον, τὸν μὲν παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Ἰουδαίων, μὴ καταλύσαντες ἐκεῖνον τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καταγάγωσι, τὸν μείζων δὲ καὶ χαλεπώτερον ἕκ

1 τῷ Niese with A².
2 C Lat.: -υμενων the rest.
distant no less than a thousand cubits from the crest. This tower it was neither possible to pass nor easy to capture; exit being rendered difficult even for passengers who had no cause for alarm. So strongly had this fortress been intrenched against an enemy's attack, both by nature and the hand of man.

(4) But the stores laid up within would have excited still more amazement, alike for their lavish splendour and their durability. For here had been stored a mass of corn, amply sufficient to last for years, abundance of wine and oil, besides every variety of pulse and piles of dates. All these Eleazar, when he with his Sicarii became through treachery master of the fortress, found in perfect condition and no whit inferior to goods recently laid in; although from the date of storage to the capture of the place by the Romans well-nigh a century had elapsed. Indeed, the Romans found what remained of the fruits un-decayed. It would not be erroneous to attribute such durability to the atmosphere, which at the altitude of the citadel is untainted by all earth-born and foul alloy. There was also found a mass of arms of every description, hoarded up by the king and sufficient for ten thousand men, besides unwrought iron, brass, and lead; these preparations having, in fact, been made for grave reasons. For it is said that Herod furnished this fortress as a refuge for himself, suspecting a twofold danger: peril on the one hand from the Jewish people, lest they should depose him and restore their former dynasty to power; the greater and more serious from Cleopatra,

\(^{a}\) B. ii. 408, cf. 433.

\(^{b}\) If the fortress was stocked in Cleopatra's lifetime (§ 300), upward of a century had elapsed, from before 31 B.C. to A.D. 73.
301 τῆς βασιλευούσης Αἰγύπτου Κλεοπάτρας. αὐτῇ γὰρ τὴν αὐτῆς γυνὴν οὐκ ἐπείχεν, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις Ἀιτωνίων λόγους προσέφερε, τὸν μὲν Ἡρώδην ἀνελεῖν ἄξιοῦσα, χαρίσασθαι δὲ αὐτῇ τὴν βα-
302 σιλείαν τῶν Ἰουδαίων δειμένη, καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν τις ἐθαύμασεν ὅτι μηδέποτε τοὺς προστάγμασιν Ἀιτωνίων ύπακηκόει, κακῶς ύπὸ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔρωτος δεδουλωμένος, οὐχ ὅτι περὶ τοῦ μĭ
303 χαρίσασθαι προσεδόκησεν. διὰ τοιοῦτος μὲν φόβους Ἡρώδης Μασάδαν κατεσκευασμένος ἐμελλεν Ἰρωμαίως ἀπολείψειν ἔργον τοῦ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους πολέμου τελευταίον.
304 (5) Ἔπει γὰρ ἐξωθεὶν ἥδη περιτετειχίκει πάντα τὸν τόπον ὁ τῶν Ἰρωμαίων, ὡς προείπαμεν, ἴγεμιῶν καὶ τοῦ μῆ τυνα ἀποδράναι πρόνοιαν ἐπεποίητο τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην, ἐνεχείρει τῇ πολι-
305 ρυκίᾳ μὸνον εὐρών ἐνα τόπον ἐπιβολὴν χωμάτων δέξασθαι δυνάμενον. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν διαστιχίζοντα πῦργον τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς δύσευς ὅδὸν ἀγούσαν εἰς τὸ βασίλειον καὶ τὴν ἀκρώρειαν ἢν τὶς ἐξοχὴ πέτρας εὐμεγέθης τῷ πλάτει καὶ πολὺ προ-
306 κύπτουσα, τοῦ δὲ ψιθὺρας τῆς Μασάδας τριακοσίων πῆχεις ὑποκάτω. Λευκὴν δὲ αὐτὴν ὁμόμαζον.
307 ἐπὶ ταύτην οὖν ἀνάβας καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτὴν ὁ Σλῆβας ἐκέλευε τῶν στρατὸν χοῦν ἐπιφέρειν, τῶν δὲ προθύμως καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς χειρὸς ἐργα-
308 ξομένων στερεοῦν εἰς διακοσίους πῆχεις ψιθὺρία. τὸ χῶμα, οὐ μὴν οὖτε βέβαιον οὐταῖρακες ἐδόκει τοῦτο τὸ μέτρον εἶναι τοῖς μηχανήμασιν εἰς ἐπιβάθραν, ἀλλ’ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ βῆμα λίθων μεγάλων συνημοσιμένων ἐποιήθη πεντήκοντα πῆχεων εὐρός τε καὶ ψιθὺρι. ἢν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τε μηχανημάτων 590
queen of Egypt. For she never concealed her intention, but was constantly importuning Antony, urging him to slay Herod, and praying him to confer on her the throne of Judaea. And, far from expecting him to refuse to gratify her, one might rather be surprised that Antony should never have obeyed her behests, basely enslaved as he was by his passion for her. It was such fears that drove Herod to fortify Masada, which he was destined to leave to the Romans as a final task in their war with the Jews.

(5) The Roman general, having now completed his wall surrounding the whole exterior of the place, as we have already related, and taken the strictest precautions that none should escape, applied himself to the siege. He had discovered only one spot capable of supporting earthworks. For in rear of the tower which barred the road leading from the west to the palace and the ridge, was a projection of rock, of considerable breadth and jutting far out, but still three hundred cubits below the elevation of Masada; it was called Leuce. Silva, having accordingly ascended and occupied this eminence, ordered his troops to throw up an embankment. Working with a will and a multitude of hands, they raised a solid bank to the height of two hundred cubits. This, however, being still considered of insufficient stability and extent as an emplacement for the engines, on top of it was constructed a platform of great stones fitted closely together, fifty cubits broad and as many high. The engines in general were similarly constructed to those first

\[e \text{ Cf. B. i. 359 f. (c. 34 B.C.).}\
\[b \text{ §§ 275 f.}\
\[c \text{ "White (cliff)."}\

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ἡ κατασκευή παραπληραία τοῖς ὑπὸ μὲν Ὀυσσα-σιανοῦ πρότερον, μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ὑπὸ Τίτου πρὸς
309 τὰς πολιορκίας ἐπινοηθεῖσι, καὶ πῦργος ἐξη-
kοντάπηχυς συνετελέσθη σιδήρῳ καταπεφραγ-
μένος ἄπας, ἔξι οὐ πολλοῖς ὄξυβελέσι καὶ πετρο-
βόλοις βάλλοντες οἱ Ἱωμαῖοι τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ
teixous μαχομένους ταχέως ἀνέστειλαν καὶ προ-
310 κύπτειν ἐκώλυσαν. ἐν ταῦτῃ δὲ καὶ κριῶν ὁ
Σιλβας μέγαν κατασκευασάμενος, συνεχεῖς κελεύ-
σας ποιεῖσθαι τῷ teixei tás ἐμβολὰς μόλις μὲν
311 ἀλλ' οὖν ἀναρρήξας τι méros¹ κατήρευσε. φθάνουσι
δ' οἱ σικάριοι taχέως ἐνδοθεν οἰκοδομησάμενοι
teixos ἔτερον, τι μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν μηχανημάτων
ἐμέλλεν ὁμοῖον τι πείσθαι· μαλακὸν γὰρ αὐτὸ
cαὶ τὴν σφαδρότητα τῆς ἐμβολῆς ὑπεκλύει
312 δυνάμενον τοιώδε τρόπῳ κατεσκέυασαν. δοκοῦσ
μεγάλας ἐπὶ μήκος προσεχεῖς ἀλλήλαις κατὰ τὴν
tομὴν συνέθεσαν. δύο δ' ἦσαν τούτων στίχοι
παράλληλοι, τοσοῦτοι διεστώτες οὐσον εἶναι πλάτος
teixous, καὶ μέσον ἀμφοῖ τὸν χοῦν ἐνεφόρουν.
313 ὅπως δὲ μηδ' ύψωμένου του χώματος ἡ γῆ
diaχέοιτο, πάλιν ἔτεραις δοκοῖς ἐπικαρσίαις τὰς
314 κατὰ μήκος κειμένας διέδευν. ἢν οὖν ἐκεῖνοι
μὲν οἰκοδομία τὸ ἔργον παραπλήσιον, τῶν μηχανη-
μάτων δ' αἱ πληγαὶ φερόμεναι πρὸς eikov² ἐξελύντο
καὶ τῷ σάλῳ συνισάνων ἐποίουν αὐτὸ στεριφώτερον.
315 τοῦτο συνιδών ὁ Σιλβας πυρὶ μάλλον αἰρήσεων
ἐνόμιζεν τὸ τείχος, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις προσ-
έταττε λαμπάδας αἰθομένας ἄθρούς ἐσακοντίζειν.
316 τὸ δ' οίᾳ δὴ ἕξιλων τὸ πλέον πεποιημένον ταχὺ
tou pyrōs ἀντελάβετο καὶ τῇ χαυνότητι πυρωθὲν

¹ PA: + αὐτοῦ the rest.

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devised by Vespasian and afterwards by Titus for their siege operations; in addition a sixty-cubit tower was constructed entirely cased in iron, from which the Romans by volleys of missiles from numerous quick-firers and ballistae quickly beat off the defenders on the ramparts and prevented them from showing themselves. Simultaneously, Silva, having further provided himself with a great battering-ram, ordered it to be directed without intermission against the wall, and having, though with difficulty, succeeded in effecting a breach, brought it down in ruins. The Sicarii, however, had already hastily built up another wall inside, which was not likely to meet with a similar fate from the engines; for it was pliable and calculated to break the force of the impact, having been constructed as follows. Great beams were laid lengthwise and contiguous and joined at the extremities; of these there were two parallel rows a wall’s breadth apart, and the intermediate space was filled with earth. Further, to prevent the soil from dispersing as the mound rose, they clamped, by other transverse beams, those laid longitudinally. The work thus presented to the enemy the appearance of masonry, but the blows of the engines were weakened, battering upon a yielding material which, as it settled down under the concussion, they merely served to solidify. Observing this, Silva, thinking it easier to destroy this wall by fire, ordered his soldiers to hurl at it showers of burning torches. Being mainly made of wood, it quickly caught fire, and, from its hollow nature becoming ignited right through

a Vespasian had constructed three similar towers at Jotapata, but not more than 50 feet high, B. iii. 284.

2 πρὸς ἑκὸν Hudson: προσεικὸς mss.
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317 διὰ βάθους φλόγα πολλήν εξεπύρσευσεν. ἀρχο-
μένου μὲν οὖν ἔτι τοῦ πυρὸς βορρᾶς ἐμπνέων
τοῖς Ἐρμαίοις φοβερὸς ἦν· ἀνώθεν γὰρ ἀποστρέφων
ἐπ’ ἐκείνους ἦλαυν τὴν φλόγα, καὶ σχεδὸν ἦδη
tῶν μηχανημάτων ὡς συμβλεγγησομένων ἀπ-
318 ἐγνωσαν. ἐπείτα δ’ αἰφνίδιον νότος μεταβαλὼν
καθάπερ ἐκ δαιμονίου προνοίας καὶ πολὺς ἐναντίον
πνεύσας τῶν τείχευ φέρων αὐτὴν προσέβαλε, καὶ
πάν ἡδη διὰ βάθους ἐφλέγετο. Ἐρμαῖοι μὲν
οὖν τῇ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχίᾳ κεχρημένοι
χαίροντες εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀητλάττωντο, μεθ’
ἡμέραν ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις διεγνωκότες,
καὶ τὰς φυλακὰς νῦκτι τὸ πεπελεστέρας ἐποιη-
σαντο, μὴ τινες αὐτῶν λάθωσιν ἀποδράντες.
320 (6) Οὐ μὴν οὔτ’ αὐτὸς Ἐλεάζαρος ἐν νῦ
δρασμὸν ἐλαβείν οὔτ’ ἄλλω τινί τούτῳ ποιεῖν
321 ἐμελλέν ἐπιτρέψειν. ὡρῶν δὲ τὸ μὲν τείχος ὑπὸ
tοῦ πυρὸς ἀναλούμενον, ἄλλον δ’ οὐδένα σωτηρίας
τρόπον οὔθ’ ἀλκῆς ἐπινοών, ὥς ἐμελλον Ἐρμαῖοι
δράσειν αὐτοὺς καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναικές αὐτῶν,
eἰ κρατήσειαν, ὥς ὁφθαλμοὺς αὐτῷ τιθέμενος,
322 θάνατον κατὰ πάντων ἐβουλεύσατο. καὶ τούτῳ
κρίνας ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἀριστον, τοὺς ἀνδρω-
dεστάτους τῶν ἑταίρων συναγαγὼν τοιοῦτοι ἐπὶ
323 τὴν πράξιν λόγοις παρεκάλει· "πάλαι διεγνω-
kότας ἠμᾶς, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ, μήτε Ἐρμαίοις μὴ
tῶν τινὶ δουλεύειν ἢ θεῶ, μόνος γὰρ οὔτος
ἀληθῆς ἐστι καὶ δίκαιος ἀνθρώπων δεσπότης,
ἡκει νῦν καιρὸς ἐπαληθεύσαι κελεύων τὸ φρόνημα
324 τοῖς ἔργοις. πρὸς δὲν αὐτοὺς μὴ κατασχῦνωμεν,

1 ἀπεγνώκεσαν LVRC.
blazed up in a volume of flame. At the first outbreak of the fire, a north wind which blew in the faces of the Romans caused them an alarm; for, diverting the flame from above, it drove it against them, and the fear that all their engines would be burnt up had almost reduced them to despair. Then suddenly the wind veering, as if by divine providence, to the south and blowing with full force in the opposite direction, wafted and flung the flames against the wall, which now through and through was all ablaze. The Romans, thus blessed by God’s aid, returned rejoicing to their camp, with the determination of attacking the enemy on the morrow; and throughout that night they kept stricter watch lest any of them should secretly escape.

(6) However, neither did Eleazar himself contemplate flight, nor did he intend to permit any other to do so. Seeing the wall consuming in the flames, unable to devise any further means of deliverance or gallant endeavour, and setting before his eyes what the Romans, if victorious, would inflict on them, their children and their wives, he deliberated on the death of all. And, judging, as matters stood, this course the best, he assembled the most doughty of his comrades and incited them to the deed by such words as these:

"Long since, my brave men, we determined neither to serve the Romans nor any other save God, for He alone is man’s true and righteous Lord; and now the time is come which bids us verify that resolution by our actions. At this crisis let us not disgrace ourselves; we who in the past refused to

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*a* For similar providential aid cf. *B. iv.* 76 (at Gamala).

*b* Or "from top to bottom."
πρότερον μηδὲ δουλείαν ἀκίνδυνον ὑπομείναντες, νυνὶ δὲ μετὰ δουλείας ἐλόμενοι τιμωρίας ἀνηκέ-στους, εἰ ζώντες ὑπὸ 'Ῥωμαίοις ἐσόμεθα: πρῶτοι τε γὰρ πάντων ἀπέστημεν καὶ πολεμοῦμεν αὐτοῖς
325 τελευταίοι. νομίζω δὲ καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ ταύτην δεδόσθαι χάριν τοῦ δύνασθαι καλῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως ἀποθανεῖν, ὥσπερ ἄλλοισ οὐκ ἔγενετο παρ' ἐλπίδα
326 κρατηθείσων. ήμῖν δὲ πρόδηλος μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ γεννησυμένη μεθ' ήμέραν ἀλωσις, ἐλευθέρα δ' ἡ τοῦ γενναίου θανάτου μετὰ τῶν φιλτάτων αἴρεσις. οὔτε γὰρ τοῦτ' ἀποκωλύειν οἱ πολέμιοι δύνανται πάντως εὐχόμενοι ζώντας ήμᾶς παραλαβεῖν, οὔθ' ήμεῖς εἰκείνους ἐτὶ νικᾶν μαχόμεθαι. ἐδει μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς ἑσως ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὅτε τῆς ἐλευθερίας ήμῖν ἀντίποιεϊσθαι θελήσασι πάντα καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλων ἀπέβαινες χαλεπά καὶ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων χείρω, τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμης στοχάζεσθαι καὶ γυνώσκειν ὅτι τὸ πάλαι φίλοιν αὐτῶι φίλον Ἰου-
327 δαίων κατέγνωστο· μένων γὰρ εὐμενῆς ἡ μετρίως γοῦν [ἡμῖν] ἀπηχθημένος, οὐκ ἂν τοσοῦτοι μὲν ἀνθρώπων περείδειν ὀλέθρων, προήκατο δὲ τὴν ἱερωτάτην αὐτοῦ πόλιν πυρὶ καὶ κατασκαφαῖς
329 πολεμίων. ήμεῖς δ' ἄρα καὶ μόνοι τοῦ παντὸς Ἰουδαίων γένους ἠλπίσαμεν περιέσεθαι τὴν ἐλευ-
θερίαν φυλάξαντες, ὥσπερ ἁναμάρτητοι πρὸς τὸν θεοῦ γενόμενοι καὶ μηδεμιὰς μετασχόντες παρα-
330 νομίας, οἳ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδιδάξαμεν; τοιγαροῦν ὀράτε, πῶς ἡμᾶς ἐλέγχει μάταια προσδοκήσαντας κρείττονα τῶν ἐλπίδων τὴν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἀνάγκην

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1 VRC (the form usual in speeches in Jos.): νῦν the rest.
2 + ἡμῖν C Lat.
3 φιλοίμενον A.
4 + ἀπωλείαν L Lat.: + ἀπωλεία C.
5 om. P.
6 596
submit even to a slavery involving no peril, let us not now, along with slavery, deliberately accept the irreparable penalties awaiting us if we are to fall alive into Roman hands. For as we were the first of all to revolt, so are we the last in arms against them. Moreover, I believe that it is God who has granted us this favour, that we have it in our power to die nobly and in freedom—a privilege denied to others who have met with unexpected defeat. Our fate at break of day is certain capture, but there is still the free choice of a noble death with those we hold most dear. For our enemies, fervently though they pray to take us alive, can no more prevent this than we can now hope to defeat them in battle. Maybe, indeed, we ought from the very first—when, having chosen to assert our liberty, we invariably experienced such hard treatment from one another, and still harder from our foes—we ought, I say, to have read God’s purpose and to have recognized that the Jewish race, once beloved of Him, had been doomed to perdition. For had he continued to be gracious, or but lightly incensed, he would never have overlooked such wholesale destruction or have abandoned His most holy city to be burnt and razed to the ground by our enemies. But did we forsooth hope that we alone of all the Jewish nation would survive and preserve our freedom, as persons guiltless towards God and without a hand in crime—we who had even been the instructors of the rest? Mark, now, how He exposes the vanity of our expectations, by visiting us with such dire distress as exceeds all

6 παρανόμας M: culpae Lat.: om. the rest.

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331 ἐπαγαγών· οὕτε ἥ τοῦ φρονίμου φύσις ἀνάλωτος οὐσα πρὸς σωτηρίαν ὁφέληκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προφήτης ἀφθονίαν καὶ πλῆθος ὄπλων καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἔχοντες παρασκευήν περιττεύουσαν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ περιφανῶς τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας
332 ἀφηρήμεθα. τὸ γὰρ πύρ εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους φερόμενον οὐκ αὐτομάτως ἐπὶ τὸ κατασκευασθὲν τεῖχος ὑφ’ ἡμῶν ἀνέστρεψεν, ἀλλ’ ἔστι ταῦτα χόλος πολλῶν ἀδικημάτων, ὁ μανέντες εἰς τοὺς
333 ὁμοφύλους ἐτολμήσαμεν. ὑπὲρ δὲ μὴ τοὺς ἐχθροῦς 'Ῥωμαίους δίκας ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῶ δ’ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ὑπόσχωμεν· αὕται δ’ εἰσὶν ἐκείνων μετρῶν·
334 τεραί· θυσικέτωσαν γὰρ γυναῖκες ἀνύβριστοι καὶ παῖδες δουλείας ἀπείρατοι, μετὰ δ’ αὐτοὺς ἡμεῖς εὐγενὴ χάριν ἀλλήλοις παράσχωμεν καλὸν ἐντάφιον
335 τὴν ἐλευθερίαν φυλάξαντες. πρότερον δὲ καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὸ φρούριον πυρὶ διαφθείρωμεν· λυπηθήσονται γὰρ 'Ῥωμαίοι, σαφῶς οἶδα, μήτε τῶν ἡμετέρων σωμάτων κρατήσαντες καὶ τοῦ
336 κέρδους ἀμαρτόντες. τὰς τροφὰς μόνας ἐάσωμεν· αὕται γὰρ ἡμῖν τεθνηκόσι μαρτυρήσουσιν, ὅτι μὴ κατ’ ἔνδειαν ἐκρατήθημεν, ἀλλ’ ὑσσερε ἐξ ἀρχῆς διέγινομεν, θάνατον ἐλόμενοι πρὸ δουλείας.”
337 (7) Ταῦτα Ἐλεάζαρος ἐλεγεν· οὐ μὴν κατὰ ταῦτο ταῖς γυνώμαις προσέπιπτε τῶν παρόντων, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ἐσπευδοῦν ὑπακούειν καὶ μόνον οὗ κηδονῆς ἐνεπιμπλαντο καλὸν εἶναι τὸν θάνατον
338 νομίζοντες, τοὺς δ’ αὐτῶν μαλακωτέρους γυναικῶν καὶ γενεᾶς οἴκτος εἰσῆγει, πάντως δὲ καὶ τῆς

1 Bekker: οὕτε mss. 2 ὁφέλησεν ΡΑΜ. 3 Niese: κατ’ αὐτὸ mss.

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that we could anticipate. For not even the impregnable nature of this fortress has availed to save us; nay, though ample provisions are ours, piles of arms, and a superabundance of every other requisite, yet we have been deprived, manifestly by God Himself, of all hope of deliverance. For it was not of their own accord that those flames which were driving against the enemy turned back upon the wall constructed by us; no, all this betokens wrath at the many wrongs which we madly dared to inflict upon our countrymen. The penalty for those crimes let us pay not to our bitterest foes, the Romans, but to God through the act of our own hands. It will be more tolerable than the other. Let our wives thus die undishonoured, our children unacquainted with slavery; and, when they are gone, let us render a generous service to each other, preserving our liberty as a noble winding-sheet. But first let us destroy our chattels and the fortress by fire; for the Romans, well I know, will be grieved to lose at once our persons and the lucre. Our provisions only let us spare; for they will testify, when we are dead, that it was not want which subdued us, but that, in keeping with our initial resolve, we preferred death to slavery."

(7) Thus spoke Eleazar; but his words did not touch the hearts of all hearers alike. Some, indeed, were eager to respond and all but filled with delight at the thought of a death so noble; but others, softer-hearted, were moved with compassion for their wives and families, and doubtless also by the vivid

\[a\] §§ 317 f.

\[b\] Cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 14 "Let us fall now into the hand of the Lord," etc.
JOSEPHUS

εαυτῶν προδήλου τελευτῆς, εἰς τε ἀλλήλους ἀποβλέποντες τοῖς δακρύοις τὸ μὴ βουλόμενον
339 τῆς γνώμης ἐσήμαινον. τούτους ἵδων Ἑλεάζαρος ἀποδειλιώντας καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ βουλεύ-
ματος τὰς ψυχὰς ὑποκλιμένους ἔδεισε, μὴ ποτὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐρρωμένως τῶν λόγων ἀκούσαντας αὐτοὺς συνεκθηλύνωσι ποτινώμενοι καὶ δακρύοντες.
340 οὖκ οὖν ἀνήκε τῇ παρακέλευσιν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἐπεγείρας καὶ πολλοῦ λήμματος2 πλήρης γενόμενος λαμπροτέροις ἐνεχείρει λόγοις περὶ ψυχῆς ἅθα-
341 νασίας, μέγα τε σχετιλάσας καὶ τοῖς δακρύοισιν ἀτενεῖς ἐμβλέψας "ἡ πλείστων," εἰπεν, "ἐφεύσθην
νομίζων ἀνδράσιν ἄγαθοις τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγώνων συναρείσθαι,3 ζήν καλῶς ἢ τεθνάναι
342 διεγνωκόσων. ύμεῖς δ' ἥτε τῶν τυχόντων οὐδὲν εἰς ἄρετὴν οὐδ' εὐτολμίαν διαφέροντες, οἱ γε καὶ
τὸν ἐπὶ μεγίστων ἀπαλλαγὴ κακῶν φοβεῖσθε θάνατον, δέον υπὲρ τοῦτο μὴτε μελλῆσαι μῆτε
343 σύμβουλον ἀναμείναι. πάλαι γὰρ εὕθυς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης αἰσθήσεως παιδεύοντες ἡμᾶς οἱ πάτριοι καὶ θεοῦ λόγοι διετέλουν, ἔργοις τε καὶ φρονήμασι
tῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων αὐτοὺς βεβαιοῦντων, ὅτι συμφωρὰ τὸ ζῆν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπως, οὐχὶ θάνατος.
344 οὕτως μὲν γὰρ ἐλευθερίαν δίδοσι ψυχαῖς εἰς τὸν οἰκεῖον καὶ καθαρὸν ἀφίσησι τόπον ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι,
pάσης συμφωρασ ἀπαθεῖς ἐςομένας, ἔως δ' εἰσὶν

1 τε MC Lat.: om. the rest.
2 Richter: λήμματος mss.
3 Niese: συναρείσθαι or συναρείσθαι mss.

This speech at the close of the war forms a sort of counterpart to that of Agrippa before its outbreak (B. ii. 600
prospect of their own end, and their tears as they looked upon one another revealed their unwillingness of heart. Eleazar, seeing them flinching and their courage breaking down in face of so vast a scheme, feared that their whimpers and tears might unman even those who had listened to his speech with fortitude. Far, therefore, from slackening in his exhortation, he roused himself and, fired with mighty fervour, essayed a higher flight of oratory on the immortality of the soul. Indignantly protesting and with eyes intently fixed on those in tears, he exclaimed:

"Deeply, indeed, was I deceived in thinking that I should have brave men as associates in our struggles for freedom—men determined to live with honour or to die. But you, it seems, were no better than the common herd in valour or in courage, you who are afraid even of that death that will deliver you from the direst ills, when in such a cause you ought neither to hesitate an instant nor wait for a counsellor. For from of old, since the first dawn of intelligence, we have been continually taught by those precepts, ancestral and divine—confirmed by the deeds and noble spirit of our forefathers—that life, not death, is man's misfortune. For it is death which gives liberty to the soul and permits it to depart to its own pure abode, there to be free from all calamity; but

345-401). An acknowledgement of the nation's guilt must be put into the mouth of one of the leaders of the insurgents.

Cf. Ap. ii. 178 "our thorough grounding in the laws from the first dawn of intelligence." But it is not so much the Hebrew Law as Greek poetry and philosophy which inspire what follows. It is interesting to compare the speech of Josephus at Jotapata on the crime of suicide, B. iii. 362 ff.

Cf. § 358 with the parallel from Euripides.
Εν σώματι θυντῶ δεδεμέναι καὶ τῶν τούτον κακῶν συναναπίπλανται, τάληθεστάτον εἰπεῖν, τεθνήκασιν κοινωνία γὰρ θείῳ πρὸς θυτῶν ἀπρεπῆς ἔστι.

345 μέγα μὲν οὖν δύναται ψυχή καὶ σώματι συν- δεδεμένη. Ποίει γὰρ αὐτῆς ὀργανον αἰσθανόμενον ἀοράτως αὐτὸ κινοῦσα καὶ θυντῆς φύσεως περαι- τέρω προάγουσα ταῖς πράξεσιν· οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἐπειδὰν ἀπολυθέσαι τοῦ καθέλκοντος αὐτὴν βάρους ἐπὶ γῆν καὶ προσκρεμαμένου χώρων ἀπολάβῃ τὸν οἰκεῖον, τότε δὴ μακαρίας ἱσχύος καὶ παν- ταχύθεν ἀκωλύτων μετέχει δυνάμεως, ἀόρατος μένουσα τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ὀμμασιν ὡσπερ αὐτὸς.

346 ο θεος· ουδὲ γὰρ ἔως ἐστὶν ἐν σώματι θεωρεῖται: πρόσεισι γὰρ ἄφανος καὶ μὴ βλεπομένη πάλιν ἀπαλλάττεται, μίαν μὲν αὐτῆς φύσιν ἔχουσα τὴν ἀφθαρτον, αἰτία δὲ σώματι γινομένη μεταβολῆς.

348 ὅτου γὰρ ἂν ψυχή προσφαυσῆ, ἐν σώματι θεωρεῖται: πρόσεισι γὰρ ἄφανος καὶ μὴ βλεπομένη πάλιν ἀπαλλάττεται, μίαν μὲν αὐτῆς φύσιν ἔχουσα τὴν ἀφθαρτον, αἰτία δὲ σώματι γινομένη μεταβολῆς.

349 τοσοῦτον αὐτῆς περίεστιν ἄθανασίας. ὅπως δὲ τεκμήριον ὑμῖν ἐστώ τῶν λόγων ἐναργέστατον, ἐν οὐ ψυχῆς τοῖς σώματος αὐτάς μὴ περισπώτος ἢδιστην μὲν ἐχουσιν ἀνάπαυσιν ἐφ' αὐτῶν γενό- μενα, θεῶ δ' ὀμιλούσαι κατὰ συγγενειαν πάντη μὲν ἐπιφοιτώσι, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν ἐσομένων προ-

350 θεσπιζοῦσι. τι δὴ δεί δεδιέναι θάνατον τὴν ἐν υπνώ χιονομένην ἀνάπαυσιν ἀγαπόωντας; πῶς δ' οὐκ ἄνοιητον ἐστίν τὴν ἐν τῷ ζην ἐλευθερίαν

351 διώκουσα τῆς αιδίου φθονεῖν αὐτοῖς; ἔδει μὲν οὖν ήμᾶς οὐκοθεν πεπαιδευμένους ἄλλους εἶναι παράδειγμα τῆς πρὸς θάνατον ἐτοιμότητος: οὐ

1 P (a Sophoclean word like the phrase which follows): προσάψηται the rest.
so long as it is imprisoned in a mortal body and
tainted with all its miseries, it is, in sober truth, dead,
for association with what is mortal ill befits that which
is divine. True, the soul possesses great capacity,
even while incarcerated in the body; for it makes the
latter its organ of perception, invisibly swaying it
and directing it onward in its actions beyond the
range of mortal nature. But it is not until, freed
from the weight that drags it down to earth and clings
about it, the soul is restored to its proper sphere,
that it enjoys a blessed energy and a power un-
trammelled on every side, remaining, like God Him-
self, invisible to human eyes. For even while in the
body it is withdrawn from view: unperceived it
comes and unseen it again departs, itself of a nature
one and incorruptible, but a cause of change to the
body. For whatever the soul has touched lives and
flourishes, whatever it abandons withers and dies;
so abundant is her wealth of immortality.

"Let sleep furnish you with a most convincing
proof of what I say—sleep, in which the soul, un-
distracted by the body, while enjoying in perfect
independence the most delightful repose, holds con-
verse with God by right of kinship, ranges the uni-
verse and foretells many things that are to come.
Why then should we fear death who welcome the
repose of sleep? And is it not surely foolish, while
pursuing liberty in this life, to grudge ourselves that
which is eternal?

"We ought, indeed, blest with our home training,
to afford others an example of readiness to die; if,

\[\text{\footnotesize \textsuperscript{a}}\] \text{\textsuperscript{a}} χυ και τέθηλεν, after Soph. \textit{Trach.} 235 και χωντα και
θάλαντα; the same poet supplies the word for "touch,"
προσψανεν.

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\textbf{The analogy of sleep.}

\textbf{The Indian example of self-immolation.}
JOSEPHUS

µὴν ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων δεόμεθα πίστεως, βλέψωμεν εἰς Ἰνδοὺς τοὺς σοφίαν
352 ἀσκεῖν υπισχομένους. ἐκεῖνοὶ τε γὰρ ὄντες ἄνδρες ἁγαθοὶ τὸν μὲν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον ὡσπερ ἀναγκαίαν τινὰ τῇ φύσει λειτουργίαν ἄκουσίως
353 ὑπομένουσι, σπεύδουσι δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπολύσαι τῶν σωμάτων, καὶ μηδενὸς αὐτοῦς ἐπείγοντος κακοῦ μηδ' ἐξελαύνοντος πόθω τῆς ἀθανάτου διαίτης προλέγουσι μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὡς μέλλουσιν ἀπιέναι, καὶ ἐστὶν ὁ κωλύσων οὕτως, ἀλλὰ πάντες αὐτοὺς εὐδαιμονίζοντες πρὸς τοὺς οἰκεῖους ἔκαστοι
354 διδόσαι ἐπιστολάς· οὔτως βεβαιάν καὶ ἀληθεστάτην ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὴν μετ' ἀλλήλων εἶναι δίαιταν
355 πεπιστεύκασιν. οἱ δ' ἐπειδὰν ἐπακούσωσι τῶν ἐντεταλμένων αὐτοῖς, πυρὶ τὸ σῶμα παραδόντες, ὅπως δὴ καὶ καθαρωτάτην ἀποκρύψατο τοῦ
356 σώματος τὴν ψυχήν, ύμνούμενοι τελευτώσιν· ῥάνον γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι εἰς τὸν θάνατον οἱ φίλτατοι προ-
πέμπουσιν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἄνθρώπων ἔκαστοι τοὺς πολίτας εἰς μηκίστην ἀποδημίαν, καὶ σφᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀπαρκύνουσι, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ μακαρίζουσιν ἣδη
357 τὴν ἀθανάτον τάξιν ἀπολαμβάνοντας. ἄρ' οὖν οὐκ ἀιδούμεθα χείρον Ἰνδῶν φρονοῦντες καὶ διὰ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀτολμίας τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, οἱ πᾶσιν ἄνθρώποις εἰς ζῆλον ἥκουσιν, αἰσχρῶς
358 υβρίζοντες; ἄλλ', εἰ γε καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους εὖ ἀρχῆς λόγους ἐπαιδεύθημεν, ὡς ἄρα μέγιστον ἁγαθὸν ἄνθρώποις ἐστὶ τὸ ζῆν συμφορὰ δ' ὁ θάνατος, ὁ γοῦν καιρὸς ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖ φέρειν

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a Cf. the allusion in Ap. i. 179 to the Indian philosophers from whom Aristotle, as there quoted, considers that the Jews are descended.

b Or "letters."

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however, we really need an assurance in this matter from alien nations, let us look at those Indians who profess the practice of philosophy. They, brave men that they are, reluctantly endure the period of life, as some necessary service due to nature, but hasten to release their souls from their bodies; and though no calamity impels nor drives them from the scene, from sheer longing for the immortal state, they announce to their comrades that they are about to depart. Nor is there any who would hinder them: no, all felicitate them and each gives them commissions to his loved ones; so certain and absolutely sincere is their belief in the intercourse which souls hold with one another. Then, after listening to these behests, they commit their bodies to the fire, that so the soul may be parted from the body in the utmost purity, and expire amidst hymns of praise. Indeed, their dearest ones escort them to their death more readily than do the rest of mankind their fellow-citizens when starting on a very long journey; for themselves they weep, but them they count happy as now regaining immortal rank. Are we not, then, ashamed of being more mean-spirited than Indians, and of bringing, by our faint-heartedness, shameful reproach upon our country's laws, which are the envy of all mankind?

"Yet, even had we from the first been schooled in the opposite doctrine and taught that man's highest blessing is life and that death is a calamity, still the crisis is one that calls upon us to bear it with "

sc. "departed."

Or "receiving."

Probably here, as in § 343, there is a reminiscence of the Euripidean Τίς οἶδεν, εἰ τὸ ζῆν μὲν ἔστι καθανεῖν, ἢ τὸ καθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν κάτω νομίζεται; (Dindorf, Frag. 634).
JOSEPHUS

eὐκαρδίως αὐτὸν, θεοῦ γνώμη καὶ κατ’ ἀνάγκας
359 τελευτήσοντας1: πάλαι γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικε, κατὰ τὸν
kοινὸν παντὸς Ἰουδαίων γένους ταύτην ἔθετο
τὴν ψήφον ο θέος, ὦσθ’ ἡμᾶς τοῦ ἥν ἀπηλλάχθαί
360 μὴ μέλλοντας αὐτῷ χρῆσαί κατὰ τρόπον. μὴ
γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὑμῖν ἀνάπτετε τὰς αἰτίας μηδὲ χαρὰ-εσθε τοῖς Ἦρωμαίοις, ὅτι πάντας ἡμᾶς ὁ πρὸς
αὐτοὺς πόλεμος διεφθειρεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνων ἵσχυ
ταῦτα συμβῆκεν, ἀλλὰ κρείττων αἰτία γενομένη
361 τὸ δοκεῖν ἐκείνοις νικᾶν παρέσχηκε. ποιοῖς γὰρ
ὀπλοὺς Ἦρωμαίων τεθνήκασιν οἱ Καισάρειαι Ἰου-
362 δαῖοι κατοικοῦντες; ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ μελλῆσαντας2 αὐ-
tοὺς ἐκείνων ἀφίστασθαι, μεταξὺ δὲ τὴν ἔβδομην
ἐορτάζοντας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Καισαρέων ἐπιδραμὸν
μηδὲ χειρὰς ἀνταίροντας ἄμα γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις
κατέσφαξαν, οὐδ’ αὐτοὺς Ἦρωμαίους ἐνταπέντες,
οἱ μόνοις ἡμᾶς ἠγούντο πολεμίου τοὺς ἀφ-
363 εστηκότας. ἀλλὰ φήσει τις ὅτι Καισαρείων ἦν
ἀεὶ διαφορὰ πρὸς τοὺς παρ’ αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοῦ
καιροῦ λαβόμενοι τὸ παλαιὸν μίσος ἀπεπλήρωσαν.
364 τῷ οὖν τοὺς ἐν Σκυθοπόλει φῶμεν; ἡμῖν γὰρ
ἐκεῖνοι διὰ τοὺς Ὑπηρείας πολεμεῖν ἐτόλμησαν,
ἀλλ’ οὐ μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ἡμῶν Ἦρωμαίοις
365 ἀμύνεσθαι. πολὺ τούτων ὄνησεν αὐτοὺς ἡ πρὸς
ἐκείνους εὐνοια καὶ πίστις· ὡς αὐτῶν μέντοι
πανοικεία πικρῶς κατεφονεύθησαν ταύτῃ τῇ
366 συμμαχίᾳ ἀπολαβόντες ἀμοιβήν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους
ύφ’ ἡμῶν3 ἐκώλυσαν, ταύθ’ ὑπέμειναν ὡς αὐτοῖ

1 Lat. (moriturus): τελευτήσας MSS.
2 A² (adding ἵσμεν): μελλῆσαντας the rest.
3 ἐκώλυσαν + <παθεῖν> Holwerda.

a B. ii. 437 (opening of the war, a.d. 66).
a stout heart, since it is by God's will and of necessity that we are to die. For long since, so it seems, God passed this decree against the whole Jewish race in common, that we must quit this life if we would not use it aright. Do not attach the blame to yourselves, nor the credit to the Romans, that this war with them has been the ruin of us all; for it was not their might that brought these things to pass, but the intervention of some more powerful cause has afforded them the semblance of victory.

"What Roman weapons, I ask, slew the Jews of Caesarea? a Nay, they had not even contemplated revolt from Rome, but were engaged in keeping their sabbath b festival, when the Caesarean rabble rushed upon them and massacred them, unresisting, with their wives and children, without even the slightest respect for the Romans, who regarded as enemies only us who had revolted. But I shall be told that the Caesareans had a standing quarrel with their Jewish residents and seized that opportunity to satisfy their ancient hate. What then shall we say of the Jews in Scythopolis,c who had the audacity to wage war on us in the cause of the Greeks, but refused to unite with us, their kinsmen, in resisting the Romans? Much benefit, to be sure, did they reap from their goodwill and loyalty to the men of Scythopolis! Ruthlessly butchered by them, they and all their families—that was the recompense that they received for their alliance; the fate from which they had saved their neighbours at our hands, that they endured, as though they had themselves desired to

a Greek "seventh day"; the massacre of the Roman garrison in Jerusalem and of the Jews of Caesarea took place simultaneously, on a sabbath, B. ii. 456 f.  

"The Romans cannot claim the credit of victory."

"Consider the Jewish disasters for which they are not responsible."
δράσαι θελήσαντες. μακρὸν ἂν εἰς νῦν ἠδία περὶ

367 ἐκάστων λέγειν· ὅστε γὰρ ὅτι τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ πόλεων

οὐκ ἔστων ἦτις τοὺς παρ' αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας

'Ἰουδαίους οὐκ ἀνήρθηκεν, ἦμιν πλέον ἢ 'Ῥωμαίοις'

368 ὧντας πολεμίους· ὅποις γε 'Δαμασκηνοὶ' μηδὲ

πρόφασιν εὐλογον πλάσαι δυνηθέντες φόνον μιαρω-

τάτον τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν ἐνέπλησαν ὀκτακισχίους

πρὸς τοὺς μυρίους 'Ἰουδαίους ἀμα γυναιξὶ καὶ

γενεαῖς ἀποσφάξαντες. τὸ δὲ ἐν Ἀἰγύπτῳ πλήθος

tῶν μετ' αἰκίας ἀνηρμημένων ἦς πον μυριάδας

ὑπερβάλλειν ἐπυνθανόμεθα. κακεῖνοι μὲν ἢσως ἕπ' ἀλλοτρίας γῆς οὐδὲν ἀντιπαλον εὐράμενοι τοῖς

πολεμίοις οὕτως ἀπέθανον, τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκείας

tῶν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἀραμένου ἀπασι

τὶ τῶν ἐλπίδα νίκης ἑγυρᾶ παρασχεῖν δυναμένων

370 οὐχ ὑπήρξε; καὶ γὰρ ὄπλα καὶ τείχη καὶ φρουρίων

dυσάλωτοι κατασκευαὶ καὶ φρόνιμα πρὸς τοὺς

ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας κινδύνους ἀτρεπτοῦν3 πάντας

371 πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐπέρρωσεν. ἄλλα τάῦτα

πρὸς βραχὺν χρόνον ἀρκέσαντα καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν

ἡμᾶς ἐπάραντα μειζόνων ἄρχῃ κακῶν ἀνεφάνη4·

πάντα γὰρ ἤλω, καὶ πάντα τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπέπεσεν,

ὡσπερ εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων εὐκλεστέραν νίκην, οὐκ

eἰς τὴν τῶν παρασκευασμένων σωτηρίαν εὐ-

372 τρεπισθέντα. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπο-

θησακοντας εὐδαμονίζειν προσήκον· ἀμνομένοι

γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν οὐ προεμενο πεθήκασι·

tὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους γενομένων τῆς

οὐκ ἂν ἐλέησει; τίς οὖκ ἂν ἐπευχθεῖ πρὸ τοῦ

373 ταῦτα παθεῖν ἐκείνους ἀποθανεῖν; ὥν οἱ μὲν

1 Ῥωμαῖοι Lowth, Hudson, and Naber.

2 Holwerda: τε μss.

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inflict it. Time would fail me now to name each instance severally; for, as you know, there is not a city in Syria which has not slain its Jewish inhabitants, though more hostile to us than to the Romans.\(^a\) Thus, the people of Damascus,\(^b\) though unable even to invent a plausible pretext, deluged their city with the foulest slaughter, butchering eighteen thousand \(^c\) Jews, with their wives and families. As for Egypt,\(^d\) we were told that the number of those who there perished in tortures perhaps exceeded sixty thousand.

"Those Jews, maybe, perished as they did, because they were on alien soil, where they found themselves no match for their enemies. But consider all those who in their own territory embarked on war with Rome: what did they lack of all that could inspire them with hopes of assured success? Arms, ramparts, fortresses well nigh impregnable, a spirit undaunted by risks to be run in the cause of liberty—these encouraged all to revolt. Yet these availed but for a brief season, and after buoying us up with hopes proved the beginning of greater disasters. For all were taken, all succumbed to the enemy, as though furnished for his more glorious triumph, and not for the protection of those who provided them. Those men who fell in battle may fitly be felicitated, for they died defending, not betraying, liberty; but the multitudes in Roman hands who would not pity? Who would not rush to his death ere he shared their

\(^a\) Possibly we should read "than were the Romans."

\(^b\) B. ii. 559 ff.

\(^c\) 10,500 according to B. ii. 561. Hegesippus in the present passage reads 8000.

\(^d\) B. ii. 487 ff.
στρεβλούμενοι καὶ πυρὶ καὶ μάστιξιν αἰκιζόμενοι τεθνήκασιν, οператор θηρίων ἡμίβρωτοι πρὸς δευτέραν αὐτοῖς τροφήν ζώντες ἐφυλάχθησαν, γέλωτα καὶ παίγνιον1 τοῖς πολεμίοις παρασχόντες. 374 ἐκείνων μὲν οὖν ἀδλιωτάτους ὑποληπτέον τοὺς ἐτὶ ζώντας, οἱ πολλάκις εὐχόμενοι τὸν θάνατον 375 λαβεῖν οὐκ ἔχουσιν. ποῦ δὴ ἡ μεγάλη πόλις, ἡ τοῦ παντὸς Ἰουδαίων γένους μητρόπολις, ἡ ποσοῦτος μὲν ἐρυμνὴ τειχῶν περιβόλοις, τοσαῦτα δὴ αὐτῆς φρούρια καὶ μεγέθη πύργων προβεβλημένη, μόλις δὲ χωροῦσα τὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευάζει, τοσαῦτα δὲ μυρίας ἀνδρῶν ἐξουσιάζει 376 τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μαχομένων; ποῦ γέγονεν ἡμῖν ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔχειν οἰκιστὴν πεπιστευμένην; πρόριζος ἐκ βαθρῶν ἀνήρπασται, καὶ μόνον αὐτῆς μνημείον ἀπολεῖπται τὸ τῶν ἀνηρμένων2 ἐτὶ 377 τοῖς λευψάνοις ἐποικοῦν. πρεσβύται δὲ δύστηνοι τῇ σποδῷ τοῦ τεμένους παρακάθηκαται καὶ γυναῖκες ὀλίγαι πρὸς ὑβριν αἰσχύσειν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων 378 τετημέναι. τάντα τὰς ἐν νῦ ἐκαλόμενοι ἡμῶν καρτερήσει τὸν ἥλιον ὀρᾶν, κἂν δύνηται ζῆν ἀκινδύνως; τὰς οὔτως τῆς πατρίδος ἑχθρός, ἡ τὰς οὔτως ἀνανδρος καὶ φιλόψυχος, ὃς μή καὶ περὶ 379 τοῦ μέχρι νῦν ζῆσαι μετανοεῖν; ἀλλ' εἰθε πάντες ἐπεθυμήκειμεν πρὶν τὴν ἱερὰν ἐκείνην πόλιν χεροῖν ἰδεῖν κατασκαπτομένην πολεμίων, πρὶν τὸν ναὸν 380 τῶν ἁγίων οὔτως ἀνοσίως ἐξορωγημένου. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμᾶς οὖν ἀγεννὴς ἐλπὶς ἐβουκόλησεν, ὡς τάχα ποὺ δυνήσεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπὲρ αὐτὴς

1 PA: παϊδίαν the rest.
2 ἀνηρμένων PAL: ἀνηρηκότων αὐτὴν στρατόπεδον the rest.

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fate? Of them some have perished on the rack or tortured by fire and scourge; others, half-devoured by wild beasts, have been preserved alive to provide them with a second repast, after affording merriment and sport for their foes. But most miserable of all must be reckoned those still alive, who have often prayed for death and are denied the boon.

"And where now is that great city, the mother-city of the whole Jewish race, intrenched behind all those lines of ramparts, screened by all those forts and massive towers, that could scarce contain her munitions of war, and held all those myriads of defenders? What has become of her that was believed to have God for her founder? Up rooted from her base she has been swept away, and the sole memorial of her remaining is that of the slain still quartered in her ruins! Hapless old men sit beside the ashes of the shrine and a few women, reserved by the enemy for basest outrage.

"Which of us, taking these things to heart, could bear to behold the sun, even could he live secure from peril? Who such a foe to his country, so unmanly, so fond of life, as not to regret that he is still alive to-day? Nay, I would that we had all been dead ere ever we saw that holy city razed by an enemy’s hands, that sacred sanctuary so profanely uprooted! But seeing that we have been beguiled by a not ignoble hope, that we might perchance find means of

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a The rendering "inhabitant" in older translations is unwarranted; οἰκιστής is a synonym for κτίστης in B. ii. 266.

b Text doubtful: if correct, μνημεῖον seems to be used in the double sense of "memorial" and tomb. But the reading of the other mss. "the camp of those that destroyed her" is perhaps right.
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ἀμύνασθαι, φροῦδη δὲ γέγονεν νῦν καὶ μόνους ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης καταλέλοιπεν, σπεύδωμεν καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν, ἐλεήσωμεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναίκας, έως ἡμῖν ἔξεστιν παρ’ ἐμὲ μὲν γὰρ θάνατον ἐγεννήθημεν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐγεννή-

381 ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λαβεῖν τὸν ἔλεον. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ θάνατον ἐγεννήθημεν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐγεννή-

382 διαφυγεῖν. ὑβρὶς δὲ καὶ δουλεία καὶ τὸ βλέπειν γυναίκας εἰς αἰσχύνην ἁγομένας μετὰ τέκνων οὐκ ἔστων ἀνθρώποις κακῶν ἐκ φύσεως ἀναγκαῖον, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν δειλίαν ὑπομένουσιν οἱ παρὸν πρὸ αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν μὴ θελήσαντες.

383 ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ ἀνδρεία μέγα φρονοῦντες Ἦρωιαίων ἀπέστημεν καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα νῦν ἐπὶ σωτηρία

384 προκαλομένων ἡμᾶς οὐχ ὑπηκούσαμεν. τινὶ τοῖς οὐκ ἔστων ὁ θυμός αὐτῶν πρόδηλος, εἰ ἕως ἡμῶν κρατήσουσιν; ἄθλιοι μὲν οἱ νέοι τῆς ῥώμης τῶν σωμάτων εἰς πολλὰς αἰκίας ἀρκέσοντες, ἄθλιοι δὲ οἱ παρηγηκότες φέρειν τῆς ἡλικίας τὰς συμφορὰς οὐ δυναμένης. ὑψεῖται τις γυναῖκα πρὸς βίαν ἁγομένην, φωνὴς ἑπακού-

385 σεται τέκνω πατέρα βοῶτος χείρας δεδεμένος;

386 ἀλλ᾽ ἐως εἰσὶν ἐλεύθεραι καὶ ξίφος ἔχουσιν, καλὴν ὑποργίαν ὑποργησάτωσαν ἀδούλωτο μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποθάνωμεν, ἐλεύθεροι δὲ μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν τοῦ ξῆν συνεξέλθωμεν.

387 ταῦτα ἡμᾶς οἱ νόμοι κελεύσαν, ταῦτα ἡμᾶς γυναίκας καὶ παῖδες ἱκετεύσαν τοῦτων τῆν ἀνάγκην θεὸς ἀπέσταλκε, τοῦτων Ἦρωιαίων πα-

388 ναυτία θέλουσι, καὶ μὴ τις ἡμῶν πρὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως ἀποθάνῃ δεδοίκασι. σπεύδωμεν οὖν ἀντὶ τῆς

1 εκέλευσε Κ: ἐπέσταλκε should perhaps be read.
avenging her of her foes, and now that hope has vanished and left us alone in our distress, let us hasten to die honourably; let us have pity on ourselves, our children and our wives, while it is still in our power to find pity from ourselves. For we were born for death, we and those whom we have begotten; and this even the fortunate cannot escape. But outrage and servitude and the sight of our wives being led to shame with their children—these are no necessary evils imposed by nature on mankind, but befall, through their own cowardice, those who, having the chance of forestalling them by death, refuse to take it. But we, priding ourselves on our courage, revolted from the Romans, and now at the last, when they offered us our lives, we refused the offer. Who then can fail to foresee their wrath if they take us alive? Wretched will be the young whose vigorous frames can sustain many tortures, wretched the more advanced in years whose age is incapable of bearing such calamities. Is a man to see his wife led off to violation, to hear the voice of his child crying 'Father!' when his own hands are bound? No, while those hands are free and grasp the sword, let them render an honourable service. Unenslaved by the foe let us die, as free men with our children and wives let us quit this life together! This our laws enjoin, this our wives and children implore of us. The need for this is of God's sending, the reverse of this is the Romans' desire, and their fear is lest a single one of us should die before capture. Haste

vi. 350 f. Or "by violence."

Rhetorical statement: the Law contains no such express injunction.

Or perhaps "ordering."
"Πιστομένης αὐτοῖς καθ’ ἡμῶν ἀπολαύσεως ἐκπληκτεὶν τοῦ θανάτου καὶ θαύμα τῆς τόλμης καταλιπεῖν."

389 (ix. 1) "Εἰς βουλόμενον αὐτὸν παρακαλεῖν πάντες ὑπετέμνοντο καὶ πρὸς τὴν πράξει ἥπειροντο, ἀνεπισχέτως τῶν ὀρμής πεπληρωμένοι, καὶ δαιμονίωτες ἀπῆσαν ἄλλοι πρὸ ἄλλου φθάσαι γλυχόμενος καὶ ταύτην ἐπίδειξιν εἶναι τῆς αἰνερίας καὶ τῆς εὐβουλίας νομίζοντες, τὸ μῆ τις ἐν ὑστάτοις γενόμενος ὀφθηναι: τοσοῦτοι αὐτοῖς γυναίκῶν καὶ παιδίων καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν σφαγῆς ἔρως ἐνέπεσεν.

390 καὶ μὴν οὖν ὁπερ ἀν τις ὑήθη τῇ πράξει προσιόντες ἠμβλύνθησαν, ἀλλ’ ἀτενῆ τὴν γνώμην διεφύλαξαν οὐκ ἔσχον τῶν λόγων ἀκροωμένοι, τοῦ μὲν οἰκείου καὶ φιλοστόργου πάθους ἀπασι παραμένοντος, τοῦ λογισμοῦ δὲ ὡς τὰ κράτιστα

391 βεβολευκότος τοῖς φιλτάτοις ἐπικρατοῦντος. ὥμοι γὰρ ἡσπάζοντο γυναίκας περὶπτυσσόμενοι καὶ τέκνα προσηγκαλίζοντο τοῖς υστάτοις φιλήμασιν

392 ἐμφύμενοι καὶ δακρύουσες, ὥμοι δὲ καθάπερ ἀλλοτρίας χερσὶν ὑπουργοῦμενοι συνετέλουν τὸ βουλέμα, τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ὧν πείσουσι κακῶν ὕπο τοῖς πολεμίως γενόμενοι παραμύθιον τῆς ἐν τῷ

393 κτείνειν ἀνάγκης ἔχοντες. καὶ πέρας οὖνεις τηλικούτου τολμήματος ἦττων εὐρέθη, πάντες δὲ διὰ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων διεξήλθον, ἀθλιοι τῆς ἀνάγκης, οἰς αὐτοχειρὶ γυναίκας τὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνα

394 κτείναι κακῶν ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὸ κούφοτατον. οὗτε δὴ τοῖς τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ὀδύνῃς ἔτι φέροντες καὶ τοὺς ἀνηρμένους νομίζοντες ἀδικεῖν εἰ καὶ βραχὺν αὐτοῖς ἐτὶ χρόνον ἐπιξήσουσι, ταχὺ

1 Destinon with Lat.: οὖτε mss.
we then to leave them, instead of their hoped-for enjoyment at securing us, amazement at our death and admiration of our fortitude."

(ix. 1) He would have pursued his exhortation but was cut short by his hearers, who, overpowered by some uncontrollable impulse, were all in haste to do the deed. Like men possessed they went their way, each eager to outstrip his neighbour and deeming it a signal proof of courage and sound judgement not to be seen among the last: so ardent the passion that had seized them to slaughter their wives, their little ones and themselves. Nor, as might have been expected, did their ardour cool when they approached the task: inflexibly they held to the resolution, which they had formed while listening to the address, and though personal emotion and affection were alive in all, reason which they knew had consulted best for their loved ones, was paramount. For, while they caressed and embraced their wives and took their children in their arms, clinging in tears to those parting kisses, at that same instant, as though served by hands other than their own, they accomplished their purpose, having the thought of the ills they would endure under the enemy's hands to console them for their constraint in killing them. And in the end not one was found a truant in so daring a deed: all carried through their task with their dearest ones. Wretched victims of necessity, to whom to slay with their own hands their own wives and children seemed the lightest of evils! Unable, indeed, any longer to endure their anguish at what they had done, and feeling that they wronged the slain by surviving them if it were but for a moment,
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μὲν τὴν κτήσιν ἀπασάν εἰς ταύτῇ σωφρονίσαντες

395 πῦρ εἰς αὐτήν ἐνέβαλον, κλήρῳ δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐλόμενοι δέκα τοὺς ἀπάντων σφαγεῖς ἐσομένους, καὶ γυναικὶ τις αὐτῶν καὶ παισὶ κειμένοις παραστρώσας καὶ τὰς χείρας περιβαλών, παρεῖχον ἑτοίμους τὰς σφαγὰς τοῖς τὴν δύστην ὑποσκέψαν

396 ἐκτελοῦσιν. οἱ δ' ἀτρέπτως1 πάντας φονεύσαντες τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐπ' ἄλληλοις τοῦ κλήρου νόμον ὄρισαν, ἵν' ὁ λαχὼν τοὺς ἐννέα κτέινας ἐαυτὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄνελην πάντες ὀυτῶς αὐτοῖς ἐθάρρουν μὴτ', εἰς τὸ δράν μὴτ' εἰς τὸ παθεῖν ἄλλος ἄλλου διαφέρειν.

397 καὶ τέλος οἱ μὲν τὰς σφαγὰς ὑπέθεσαν, ὁ δ' εἰς καὶ τελευταῖος τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κεμένων περιαθρήσας, μῆ ποὺ τις ἐτ' ἐν πολλῷ φόνῳ τῆς αὐτοῦ λειπέται χειρὸς δεόμενος, ὡς ἐγνω πάντας ἀνηρμένους, πῦρ μὲν πολὺ τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐνίσχυσιν, ἀθρόα δὲ τῇ χειρὶ δι' αὐτοῦ πάν ἐλάσας τὸ ἔίφος

398 πλησίον τῶν οἰκείων κατέπεσε. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐτεθνήκεσαν ὑπειληφότες οὐδὲν ἐξον ψυχὴν ὑποχείριον

399 ἐξ αὐτῶν 'Ῥωμαίοις καταλιπεῖν, ἐλαθεν δὲ γυνὴ πρεσβύτεις καὶ συγγενῆς ἐτέρα2 τις 'Ελεαζάρου, φρονήσει καὶ παῖδια πλείστων γυναικῶν διαφέρουσα, καὶ πέντε παιδία τοῖς ὑπονόμοις, οἱ ποτὸν ἥγον ὑδῷ διὰ γῆς,3 ἐγκατακρυβήναι4 τῶν

400 ἄλλων πρὸς τῇ σφαγῇ τᾶς διανοίας ἐχόντων, οἱ τῶν ἀριθμὸν ἦσαν ἐξήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς ἐνακοσίοις γυναικῶν ἄρα καὶ παιδιῶν αὐτοῖς συναριθμομένων.

401 καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐπράξθη πεντεκαίδεκάτῃ Σανθικοῦ μηνὸς.

1 PA: ἀτρέπτως the rest (cf. § 370).
2 ἐταῖρα ML (cf. § 404).
3 trs. d. a γῆς ὑδῷ A.
4 abditi Lat.: ἐγκατακρυβεῖσαι Destinon.
they quickly piled together all the stores and set them on fire; then, having chosen by lot ten of their number to dispatch the rest, they laid themselves down each beside his prostrate wife and children, and, flinging their arms around them, offered their throats in readiness for the executants of the melancholy office. These, having unswervingly slaughtered all, ordained the same rule of the lot for one another, that he on whom it fell should slay first the nine and then himself last of all; such mutual confidence had they all that neither in acting nor in suffering would one differ from another. Finally, then, the nine bared their throats, and the last solitary survivor, after surveying the prostrate multitude, to see whether haply amid the shambles there were yet one left who needed his hand, and finding that all were slain, set the palace ablaze, and then collecting his strength drove his sword clean through his body and fell beside his family. They had died in the belief that they had left not a soul of them alive to fall into Roman hands; but an old woman and another, a relative of Eleazar, superior in sagacity and training to most of her sex, with five children, escaped by concealing themselves in the subterranean aqueducts, while the rest were absorbed in the slaughter. The victims numbered nine hundred and sixty, including women and children; and the tragedy occurred on the fifteenth of the month Xanthicus.

The day of the month follows the reckoning of Niese, the year that of Schürer, G.J. V. i. 639 f.; Niese reckons the year as A.D. 72 (Schürer. *ibid.*).
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402 (2) Οἱ δὲ Ἦρωμαίοι μάχην ἐτὶ προσδοκῶντες, ὑπὸ τὴν ἐως διασκενασάμενοι καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν χωμάτων ἐφόδους ταῖς ἐπιβάθραίς γεφυρώσαντες

403 προσβολὴν ἐποιοῦντο. βλέποντες δὲ οὐδένα τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ δεινὴν πανταχόθεν ἐρημίαν καὶ πῦρ ἐνδον καὶ σιωπήν, ἀπόρως εἶχον τὸ γεγονός συμβαλεῖν, καὶ τέλος ὡς εἰς ἀφεσιν βολῆς ἡλάλαξαν,

404 εἰ τινὰ τῶν ἐνδον προκαλέσαντο. τῆς δὲ βοῆς αἰσθήσεως γίνεται τοῖς γυναικεῖς, κακὸς τῶν ὑπονόμων ἀναδύει τὸ πραξθὲν ὡς εἶχε πρὸς τοὺς Ἦρωμαίοις ἐμήνυν, πάντα τῆς ἔτερας ὡς ἐλέχθη τε καὶ τίνα

405 τροπὸν ἐπράξῃ σαφῶς ἐκδιηγομένης. οὐ μὴν ῥαδίως αὐτῇ προσείχον τῷ μεγαθεὶ τοῦ τολμήματος ἀπιστοῦντες, ἐπεχείρουν τε τὸ πῦρ σβεννύναι καὶ ταχέως ὅδον δι’ αὐτοῦ τεμόντες τῶν βασιλείων

406 ἐντὸς ἐγένοντο. καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν πεφονεύμενῶν ἐπιτυχόντες οὐχ ὡς ἐπὶ πολεμίοις ἦσθησαν, τὴν δὲ γενναῖοτητα τοῦ βουλεύματος καὶ τὴν ἐν τοσοῦτοι ἀτρεπτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐθαύμασαν τοῦ θανάτου καταφρόνησιν.

407 (χ. 1) Τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς ἀλώσεως γενομένης ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ φρουρίου καταλείπει φυλακῆν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, αὐτοὺς δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπῆλθεν

408 εἰς Κασαρείαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπελείπετο τις τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν πολεμίων, ἀλλ’ ἤδη πᾶσα διὰ μακρὸν τοῦ πολέμου κατέστραπτο πολλοῖς καὶ τῶν ἀπωτάτω κατοικούντων αἰσθησιν καὶ κίνδυνοι

409 παραχῆς παρασχόντος. ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἀλέξ-ἀνδρείας τὴν ἐν Λιγυπτῷ μετὰ ταῦτα συνέβη

410 πολλοὺς Ἰουδαίων ἀποθανεῖν. τούς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς στάσεως τῶν συκαρίων ἐκεῖ διαφυγεῖν δυνηθεῖσιν οὐκ ἀπέχρη τὸ σώζεσθαι, πάλιν δὲ καινοτέροις

618
(2) The Romans, expecting further opposition, were by daybreak under arms and, having with gangways formed bridges of approach from the earthworks, advanced to the assault. Seeing none of the enemy but on all sides an awful solitude, and flames within and silence, they were at a loss to conjecture what had happened. At length, as if for a signal to shoot, they shouted, to call forth haply any of those within. The shout was heard by the women-folk, who, emerging from the caverns, informed the Romans how matters stood, one of the two $^a$ lucidly reporting both the speech and how the deed was done. But it was with difficulty that they listened to her, incredulous of such amazing fortitude; meanwhile they endeavoured to extinguish the flames and soon cutting a passage through them entered the palace. Here encountering the mass of slain, instead of exulting as over enemies, they admired the nobility of their resolve and the contempt of death displayed by so many in carrying it, unwavering, into execution.

(x. 1) The fortress being thus taken, the general left a garrison on the spot and himself departed with his army to Caesarea. For not an enemy remained throughout the country, the whole having now been subdued by this protracted war, which had been felt by many even in the remotest parts, exposing them to risk of disorder. Moreover, at Alexandria in Egypt, after this date many Jews met with destruction. For certain of the faction of the Sicarii who had succeeded in fleeing to that country, not content

$^a$ Eleazar's relative, § 399.

1 $\text{ἐταίρας ML.}$
enacheiroun pragmasei kai pollous tov upodekamewn epieidh tois theleuderias antipoieisisai, kai
Romainous men methen kretteous autwv upolamv
baanev, theon de monon hgeiasai desoptn. epiei
d' autois tov ouv afanwv tines 'Ioudaiwn ant-
Ebaion, touvs mev apesofhav, tois d' allhous
enekeinto pros thn apostasw parakaloynites.

12 orontes de autwn thn aponoian ois prosteontes
thi gerousias ouketo asphalies autois enomiw
periorav, alla pantas tharoivantes eis ekklasisan
tou 'Ioudaious hleghon thn aponoian tovwn
sikariwv, pantwn aitious apofainontes ekeinov

tow kakwv kal wv efason autous, epieiper oude
pefeunotoes thi swtthria elaipida bebaivn echousin,
gnwshtantas gar upo 'Romainwv evthws apoleiso transferred,
thi autois proskouasia symforasa anapumplanai
thous mehendos tovwn amartaimatwn metasxontas.

14 fulasaxhav toivn tov e autwv olyroon to
plhgos parakealon kai peri auton prois 'Romainous
apologiasathai thi touwn paradosai. sunidontes1
tou kinnwv to megwos epieshtesan tois
leuromenos, kai metapollhs ormhs epitou
sikariou

15 ekontes suneprapazon autous. tov d' ekakosioi
men evthw ealwswan, osoi d' eis thn Aignupton
kai tas ekei Thwbas diephyvoun, ouk eis makran

16 127 217 sunalphyentes epanikhsan. ef' oiv ouk
estin os ou thn karterian kai thn eit' aponoian eite
thi gynmhs ischwn xrho legein ou kataplagh1

18 pasix gar ep autous baxanov kai lysis tov

1 + oiv M ed. pr. + de L: oi de sunidontes C.

a It appears from Philo (In Flaccum, 10, § 74 Cohn) that
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with their escape, again embarked on revolutionary schemes, and sought to induce many of their hosts to assert their independence, to look upon the Romans as no better than themselves and to esteem God alone as their lord. Meeting with opposition from certain Jews of rank, they murdered these; the rest they continued to press with solicitations to revolt. Observing their infatuation, the leaders of the council of elders, thinking it no longer safe for them to overlook their proceedings, convened a general assembly of the Jews and exposed the madness of the Sicarii, proving them to have been responsible for all their troubles. "And now," they said, "these men, finding that even their flight has brought them no sure hope of safety—for if recognized by the Romans they would instantly be put to death—are seeking to involve in the calamity which is their due persons wholly innocent of their crimes." They, accordingly, advised the assembly to beware of the ruin with which they were menaced by these men and, by delivering them up, to make their peace with the Romans. Realizing the gravity of the danger, the people complied with this advice, and rushed furiously upon the Sicarii to seize them. Six hundred of them were caught on the spot; and all who escaped into Egypt and the Egyptian Thebes were ere long arrested and brought back. Nor was there a person who was not amazed at the endurance and—call it which you will—desperation or strength of purpose, displayed by these victims. For under every form of torture and laceration of body, devised from the time of Augustus the single ἔθναρχης at Alexandria was superseded by a γερουσία, over which a certain number of ἀρχοντες presided, Schürer, G.J. V. iii. 41.
σωμάτων ἐπινοηθείσης ἐφ' ἐν τούτῳ μόνον, ὅπως αὐτῶν Καίσαρα δεσπότην ὁμολογήσωσιν, οὔτεις ἐνέδωκεν οὐδ' ἐμέλλησεν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὑπερτέραν τῆς ἀνάγκης τὴν αὐτῶν γνώμην διεφύλαξαν, ὥσπερ ἀναίσθητοι σώμασι χαίροντι μόνον οὐχὶ τῇ ψυχῇ τὰς βασάνους καὶ τὸ πῦρ δεχόμενοι.

419 μάλιστα δ' ἡ τῶν παιδῶν ἡλικία τοὺς θεωμένους ἐξέπληξεν οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνων τις ἐξευκήθη Καίσαρα δεσπότην ἐξονομάσαι. τοσοῦτον ἀρα τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἀσθενείας ή τῆς τόλμης ἰσχύς ἐπεκράτει.

420 (2) Λοῦπος¹ τότε διώκει τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ περὶ τοῦ κινήματος τούτου Καίσαρι κατὰ τάχος ἐπέστειλεν. ο δ' τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὴν ἀκατάπαυστον ὑφορώμενον νεωτεροποιάν καὶ δείσας, μὴ πάλιν εἰς ἐν ἀθρόῳ συλλέγωσι καὶ τινας αὐτῶς συνεπισπάσωνται, προσέταξε τῷ Λοῦπῳ τὸν ἐν τῇ Ὀνίῳ καλουμένην² νεῶν καθελεῖν τῶν Ἰουδαίων. ἡ δ' ἐστὶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ διὰ τοιαύτην αὐτίαν ὕκισθη τῇ καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ἐλαβείν. Ὅνις Σύμωνος υἱός, εἰς τῶν ἐν Ἰεροσολύμων ἁρχιερεῶν, φεύγων Ἀντίοχον τὸν Συρίας βασιλέα πολεμοῦντα τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἦκεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, καὶ δεξαμένου Πτολεμαίου φιλοφρόνως αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἀπέχθειαν ἐφ' ἑπίσημον δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος, εἰ πεισθεὶν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν λεγομένοις. 421 ποιήσειν δὲ τὰ δυνατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ὁμολογή-

¹ Λοῦπος in some mss. here and below.
² Hudson with Lat.: καλοῦμενον mss. ³ ὁ PMC.

α Unidentified; M. Rutilius Lupus (probably of the same family) was the Roman governor of Egypt at the outbreak of the later Jewish war under Trajan, a.d. 116.
for the sole object of making them acknowledge Caesar as lord, not one submitted nor was brought to the verge of utterance; but all kept their resolve, triumphant over constraint, meeting the tortures and the fire with bodies that seemed insensible of pain and souls that wellnigh exulted in it. But most of all were the spectators struck by the children of tender age, not one of whom could be prevailed upon to call Caesar lord. So far did the strength of courage rise superior to the weakness of their frames.

(2) Lupus was then in control at Alexandria, and without delay reported this commotion to Caesar. The emperor, suspicious of the interminable tendency of the Jews to revolution, and fearing that they might again collect together in force and draw others away with them, ordered Lupus to demolish the Jewish temple in the so-called district of Onias. This is a region in Egypt which was colonized and given this name under the following circumstances. Onias, son of Simon, and one of the chief priests at Jerusalem, fleeing from Antiochus, king of Syria, then at war with the Jews, came to Alexandria, and being graciously received by Ptolemy, owing to that monarch's hatred of Antiochus, told him that he would make the Jewish nation his ally if he would accede to his proposal. The king having promised to do what

a This temple is often mentioned in Josephus: B. i. 33, A. xii. 387 f., xiii. 62 ff., 285, xx. 236 f. Leontopolis, its site (A. xiii. 70), has been identified as Tell-el-Yehudiyyeh, N.E. of Memphis at the southern end of the Delta: excavations have laid bare the remains of the Jewish temple (Flinders Petrie, Hyksos and Israelite cities, quoted by G. B. Gray on Isa. xix. 19).

b Antiochus Epiphanes.

c Ptolemy Philometor, 182-146 B.C.
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σαντος ἡξίωσεν ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ νεῶν τε που τῆς Ἀιγύπτου κατασκευάσασθαι καὶ τοῖς πατρίων
425 ἔθεσεν θεραπεύειν τὸν θεού· οὖτως γὰρ Ἀντιόχω
μὲν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκπολεμώσεσθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους
tὸν ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωι νεῶν πεπορθηκότι, πρὸς
αὐτὸν δὲ εὐνοικωτέρως ἐξειν καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπ'
ἀδείᾳ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐπ' αὐτὸν συλλεγήσεσθαι.

426 (3) Πιεσθεὶς Πτολεμαῖος τοῖς λεγομένοις δίδωσιν
αὐτῷ χώραν ἐκατόν ἐπὶ τοῖς οὐδοὴκοντα σταδίους1
ἀπέχουσαν Μέμφεως· νομὸς δ' οὗτος Ἡλιοπολίτης2
427 καλεῖται. φρούριον ἐνθα κατασκευασάμενος ὁ Ὅνιας
tὸν μὲν ναὸν οὐχ ὁμοίον ὕκοδόμησε τῷ ἐν Ἰερο-
σολύμῳ, ἀλλὰ πύργῳ παραπλήσιον λίθων με-
428 γάλλων εἰς ἐξήκοντα πῆχεις ἀνεστηκότα: τοῦ
βωμοῦ δὲ τὴν κατασκευὴν πρὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον3
ἐξεμιμήσατο καὶ τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ὁμοίως ἐκο-
σμησεν, χωρίς τῆς περὶ τὴν λυχνίαν κατασκευῆς.
429 οὐ γὰρ ἐποίησεν λυχνίαν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐχαλκευσάμενος
λύχνον χρυσοῦν ἐπιφαινόντα σέλας χρυσῆς ἀλύσεως
430 ἐξεκρέμασε. τὸ δὲ τέμενος πάν ὀπτῇ πλάνῳ
περιτετείχιστο πύλας ἐξὸν λυθώμ. ἀντίκε δὲ
καὶ χωραν πολλῆν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς χρημάτων
πρόσοδον, ὅπως εἰπ καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀφθονία
431 καὶ τῷ θεῷ πολλὰ τὰ πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν. οὐ
μὴν Ὁνίας ἐς υγιοὺς γνώμης ταῦτα ἐπραττεν,
ἀλλ' ἂν αὐτῷ φιλονεικία πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς
Ἰεροσολύμοις Ἰουδαίους ὅργην τῆς φυγῆς ἀπο-

1 L: σταδίους C: σταδίων the rest.
2 Dindorf: Ἡλιοπολίτης mss.
3 οἶκοι MVRC.

a Josephus here corrects his previous statement that the
temple of Onias resembled that at Jerusalem, B. i. 33 (so A.
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was in his power, he asked permission to build a temple somewhere in Egypt and to worship God after the manner of his fathers; for, he added, the Jews would thus be still more embittered against Antiochus, who had sacked their temple at Jerusalem, and more amicably disposed towards himself, and many would flock to him for the sake of religious toleration.

(3) Induced by this statement, Ptolemy gave him a tract, a hundred and eighty furlongs distant from Memphis, in the so-called nome of Heliopolis. Here Onias erected a fortress and built his temple (which was not like that in Jerusalem, but resembled a tower) of huge stones and sixty cubits in altitude. The altar, however, he designed on the model of that in the home country, and adorned the building with similar offerings, the fashion of the lampstand excepted; for, instead of making a stand, he had a lamp wrought of gold which shed a brilliant light and was suspended by a golden chain. The sacred precincts were wholly surrounded by a wall of baked brick, the doorways being of stone. The king, moreover, assigned him an extensive territory as a source of revenue, to yield both abundance for the priests and large provision for the service of God. In all this, however, Onias was not actuated by honest motives; his aim was rather to rival the Jews at Jerusalem, against whom he harboured resentment.

xii. 388, xiii. 63, xx. 236). Probably, as Dr. Eisler suggests, correspondence took place between the Emperor and the governors Lupus and Paulinus (§§ 433 ff.) concerning the demolition of the temple; from this correspondence Josephus learned the particulars here given. The close of Book vii of the War appears to be a later appendix.

b For a description of the Jerusalem lampstand or “candlestick” see §§ 148 f.
μνημονεύοντι, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν ἐνόμιζε κατα-
σκευάσας εἰς αὐτό περισσάεσιν ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνων τὸ
πλῆθος. ἐγεγόνει δὲ τις καὶ παλαιὰ πρόφησις
ἐτεσί που πρόσθεν ἐξακοσιόις. Ἥσαιας ὄνομα
τῷ προάγερεσαντὶ τούτῳ τοῦ ναοῦ τῇ ἐν Ἀἰγύπτῳ
γεννησομένῃ ὑπ᾽ ἀνδρὸς Ἰουδαίου κατασκευήν.
τὸ μὲν οὖν ἱερὸν οὕτως ἐπεποίητο.

432 (4) Λοῦπος δὲ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἠγεμῶν τὰ
παρὰ Καίσαρος λαβὼν γράφματα καὶ παραγενό-
μενος εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τινὰ τῶν ἀναθημάτων
ἐκφορήσας τὸν ναὸν ἀπέκλεισε. Λοῦπον δὲ μετὰ
βραχὺ τελευτήσαντος Παύλινος διαδεξάμενος τὴν
ἡγεμονίαν οὕτε τῶν ἀναθημάτων οὐδὲν κατέλιπε,¹
πολλὰ γὰρ διηπείλησε τοῖς ἱερεύσω εἰ μὴ πάντα
προκομίσῃς, οὕτε προσέναι τῷ τεμένει τοῦς
ἐκφορήσας τὸν ναὸν ἀπέκλεισε. Λοῦπον δὲ μετὰ
βραχὺ τελευτήσαντος Παύλινος διαδεξάμενος τὴν
ἡγεμονίαν οὐσὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων οὐδὲν κατέλιπε,¹
πολλὰ γὰρ διηπείλησε τοῖς ἱερεύσω εἰ μὴ πάντα
προκομίσῃς, οὕτε προσέναι τῷ τεμένει τοῦς
435 θρησκευόντων θουλομένων ἁφῆκεν,² ἀλλὰ ἀποκλείσας
tὰς πύλας ἀπρόσιτον αὐτῷ παντελῶς ἐποίησεν,
ὡς μηδ’ ἱχνος ἔτι τῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἑραπείας εἰ
tῶ τόπων καταλιπεῖν. Χρόνος ἦν εἰς τὴν ἀπό-
κλεισιν τοῦ ναοῦ γεγονὼς ἀπὸ τῆς κατασκευῆς
ἔτη τρία καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τριακόσια.

436 (xi. 1) Ἡσαίος δὲ καὶ τῶν περὶ Κυρήνην
πόλεων ἡ τῶν συκαρίων ἀπόνοια καθάπερ νόσσος.

¹ C: κατελείπετο (λέπετο R) the rest. ² ἁφῆκεν Niese.

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4 The period of Isaiah’s prophecies was actually c. 740–
700 B.C., some 800 years before this time.
5 The reference is to Isa. xix. 18 f., and in particular to the
words (partially quoted in A. xiii. 68) “In that day shall there
be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt.”
The passage is regarded by modern critics as a late insertion
in Isaiah; by some even so late as to be vaticinium post
eventum, the city in v. 18, whose name is variously given in
different texts as “city of righteousness,” “of destruction,”
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for his exile, and he hoped by erecting this temple to attract the multitude away from them to it. There had, moreover, been an ancient prediction made some six hundred years before \(^a\) by one named Esaias, who had foretold the erection of this temple in Egypt by a man of Jewish birth.\(^b\) Such, then, was the origin of this temple.

(4) Lupus, the governor of Alexandria, on receipt of Caesar’s letter, repaired to the temple and, having carried off some of the votive offerings, shut up the building. Lupus dying soon after, Paulinus, his successor in office, completely stripped the place of its treasures, threatening the priests with severe penalties if they failed to produce them all, prohibited would-be worshippers from approaching the precincts, and, closing the gates, debarred all access, so as to leave thenceforth no vestige of divine worship on the spot. The duration of the temple from its erection to its closure was three hundred and forty-three years.\(^c\)


\(^c\) The first figure is probably corrupt; 243 years, \(i.e.\) c. 170 B.C.–A.D. 73, would be approximately correct. Dr. Eisler, however, in a forthcoming work, has an ingenious explanation of the figure in the text. “By one of those errors in calculation, not rare and easily intelligible in this author, Josephus imagined that the duration of the Onias temple . . . was a period of 343 \((= 7 \times 7 \times 7)\) years or seven jubilees. . . . This mystical number indicates that J. saw in the destruction of the two Jewish temples, at Heliopolis and in Jerusalem, God’s judgement upon the impious transgression of the deuteronomic law (of the single sanctuary). . . . Some idea similar to that of the seventy year-weeks of Daniel may have been in his mind.”

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438 διαπεσών¹ γάρ εἰς αὐτὴν Ἰωνάθης, πονηρότατος ἀνθρώπος καὶ τὴν τέχνην ύφαντης, οὐκ ὀδύγουσ τῶν ἀπόρων ἀνέπεισε προσέχειν αὐτῷ καὶ προ- ἴγαγεν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον σημειὰ καὶ φάσματα δείξειν ὑπισχυούμενος. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐδόθανε ταῦτα διαπραττόμενος καὶ φενακίζων, οἶ δὲ τοῖς ἀξιώμασι προύχοντες τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Κυρήνης Ἰουδαίων τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτοῦ καὶ παρασκευὴν τῷ τῆς πενταπόλεως Λιβύης ἡγεμόνι Κατυλλῳ προσ-

440 αγγέλλουσιν. ὁ δὲ ἐπέέας τε καὶ πεξόνς ἀπο- στείλας ῥάδιως ἐκράτησεν ἀνόπλων, καὶ τὸ μὲν πλέον ἐν χειρὶν ἀπώλεστο, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ζωγρη-
θέντες ἀνήχθησαν πρὸς τὸν Κατυλλον. ὁ δ' ἡγεμῶν τοῦ βουλεύματος Ἰωνάθης τότε μὲν διέφυγε, πολλῆς δὲ καὶ λίαν ἐπιμελοῦσ ἀνὰ πάσαν τὴν χώραν ξητήσεως γενομένης ἤλω, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἀναχθεὶς αὐτῷ μὲν ἐμηχανάτο τῆς τιμωρίας ἀπαλαγῆν, τῷ Κατυλλῷ δ' ἐδωκεν ἀφορμὴν ἀδικημάτων. ὁ μὲν γάρ τοὺς πλουσιω-

441 τάτους τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐλεγε καταψευδόμενος διδα-

σάλος αὐτῷ τοῦ βουλεύματος γεγονέναι, (2) προθύμως δὲ τὰς διαβολὰς ἐκεῖνος ἐξεδέχετο καὶ τῷ πράγματι πολὺν ὄγκον περιστίθη μεγάλα προστραγῳδῶν, ἵνα δόξει κατὸς Ἰουδαίων τυν πόλεμον κατωρθωκέναι. τὸ δὲ δὴ τούτου χαλεπώτερον, πρὸς γάρ τῷ πιστεύειν ῥάδιως ἐτὶ καὶ διδάσκαλος ἦν τῶν σικαρίων τῆς ψευδολογίας· κελεύσας γοῦν αὐτοῦ ὁνομάσαι τινὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων Ἀλέξανδρον, ὃ πάλαι προσκεκρουκὼς φανερὸν ἐξενηνόχει τῷ μίσος, τὴν τε γυναίκα τὴν ἐκείνου [Βερενίκην ταῖς αἰτίαις]² συμπλέξας, τούτους μὲν πρῶτον ἀνείλεν, ἐπὶ δ' αὐτοῖς ἔπαινας τοὺς
an arrant scoundrel, by trade a weaver, having taken refuge in that town, won the ear of not a few of the indigent class, and led them forth into the desert, promising them a display of signs and apparitions. His knavish proceedings escaped detection in general; but the men of rank among the Jews of Cyrene reported his exodus and preparations to Catullus, the governor of the Libyan Pentapolis. Catullus, having dispatched a body of horse and foot, easily overpowered the unarmed crowd, the greater number of whom perished in the encounter, a few being taken prisoners and brought up to Catullus. Jonathan, the originator of the plot, escaped at the time, but after a prolonged and extremely diligent search throughout the country was caught. On being brought before the governor, he contrived to elude punishment himself, while affording Catullus a handle for injustice, by falsely asserting that he had received his instructions in the scheme from the wealthiest of the Jews.

(2) These calumnies were readily entertained by Catullus, who invested the affair with serious importance, pompously exaggerating it, in order that he too might be thought to have won a Jewish war. But—what was far worse—not only did he show this easy credulity, but he actually prompted the Sicarii in falsehood. Thus he instructed Jonathan to name one Alexander, a Jew, with whom he had formerly quarrelled and was now at open enmity, further implicating his wife Berenice in the allegations. These were his first victims. After them he slew all

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1 διεκπεσων Zon.
2 om. Βερενίκην P Exc.; om. ταίς αἵτίας PA.
3 συνεμπλέγας VC.

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eυπορία χρημάτων διαφέροντας ὁμοῦ τρισχιλίους\(^1\)
446 εφόνευσεν ἀνδρας· καὶ τάυτα πράπτειν ἐνόμιζεν ἀσφαλῶς, ὡς τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς τοῦ Καίσαρος προσόδους ἀνελάμβανεν.
447 (3) Ἡπως δὲ μηδὲ ἄλλαχον τινες τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐλέγξωσιν αὐτὸν τὴν ἁδίκιαν, πορρωτέρω τὸ ψεύδος ἐξέτεινε καὶ πείθει τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ τινάς τῶν ἅμ' ἐκείνω συνειλημμένων νεωτερισμοῦ κατηγορίαν ἐπιφέρειν τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τε καὶ Ἰσραήλ τῶν Ἰουδαίων δοκιμωτάτως. τούτων εἰς τῶν ἑξ ἐπιβουλῆς αἰτιαθέντων ἢν Ἰωσήφος ταὐτα συγγραμμάμενος. οὐ μὴν κατ' ἐλπίδα τῷ Κατύλλῳ τὸ σκευώρημα προεχώρησεν· ἢκε μὲν γὰρ εἰς Ἡρώμην τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἄγων δεδεμένους καὶ πέρας ὦτο τῆς ἐξετάσεως εἶναι τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δ' αὐτοῦ γενομένην
449 ψευδολογίαν. Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τὸ πράγμα ὑποπτεύσας ἀναζητεὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ γνοὺς ἁδίκον τὴν αἰτίαν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπενηνεγμένην τοὺς μὲν ἀφίησι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων Τίτων σπουδάσαντος, δίκην δ' ἐπέθηκεν Ἰωνάθη τὴν προσήκουσαν· ζῶν γὰρ κατεκαύθη πρότερον αἰκισθεὶς.
450 (4) Κατύλλῳ δὲ τότε μὲν ὑπῆρξε διὰ τὴν πραστητὰ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων μηδὲν πλεῖον ὑπομείναι καταγνώσεως, οὐκ εἰς μακράν δὲ νόσῳ καταληφθεῖς πολυτρόπως καὶ δυσιάτω χαλεπῶς ἀπῆλλαττεν, οὗ τὸ σώμα μόνον κολαξόμενος, ἀλλ' ἦν η τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῶ νόσοις βαρυτέρα. δείμασι γὰρ ἐξεταράττετο καὶ συνεχῶς ἐβόα βλέπειν εἰδωλα τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεφονευμένων ἐφεστηκότα,

\(^1\) τρισχιλίους] τι χιλίους Ρ.
the well-to-do Jews, three thousand persons in all; a step which he thought that he could safely take, as he confiscated their property to the imperial exchequer.

(3) Moreover, to prevent any Jews elsewhere from exposing his iniquity, he extended his lies further afield, and prevailed on Jonathan and some others who had been arrested along with him to bring a charge of sedition against the most reputable Jews both in Alexandria and Rome. Among those thus insidiously incriminated was Josephus, the author of this history. The upshot, however, of the scheme did not answer to Catullus’s expectations. For he came to Rome, bringing Jonathan and his associates in chains, in the belief that the false accusations brought up before him and at his instance would be the end of the inquiry. But Vespasian, having his suspicions of the affair, investigated the facts; and discovering that the charge preferred against these men was unjust, on the intercession of Titus he acquitted them, and inflicted on Jonathan the punishment that he had deserved. He was first tortured and then burnt alive.

(4) Catullus, on that occasion, owing to the lenity of the emperors, suffered nothing worse than a reprimand; but not long after he was attacked by a complicated and incurable disease and came to a miserable end, not only chastised in body, but yet more deeply deranged in mind. For he was haunted by terrors and was continually crying out that he saw the ghosts of his murdered victims standing at

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a Josephus alludes to this again in his autobiography (Vita §§ 424 f.): “Jonathan . . . asserted that I had provided him with arms and money.”
καὶ κατέχειν αὐτὸν οὗ δυνάμενος ἔξηλλετο τῆς εὐνῆς ὡς βασάνων αὐτῷ καὶ πυρὸς προσφερομένων.

453 τοῦ δὲ κακοῦ πολλὴν ἀεὶ τὴν ἑπίδοσιν λαμβάνοντος καὶ τῶν ἐντέρων αὐτῷ κατὰ διάβρωσιν ἐκπεσόντων, οὕτως ἀπέθανεν, οὐδενὸς ἤττον ἐτέρου τῆς προ-νοιας τοῦ θεοῦ τεκμήριον γενόμενος, ὅτι τοῖς πονηροῖς δίκην ἐπιτίθησιν.

454 (5) Ἐνταῦθα τῆς ἱστορίας ἦμῖν τὸ πέρας ἔστιν, ἢν ἐπηγγειλάμεθα μετὰ πᾶσης ἀκριβείας παραδώσειν τοῖς βουλομένοις μαθείν, τίνα τρόπον οὕτως ὁ πόλεμος Ἡρωμαίοις πρὸς Ἰουδαίοις εἰσελήμηθε. καὶ πῶς μὲν ἡμίνευται, τοῖς ἀναγνωσμένοις κρίνειν ἀπολελείφθω, περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας δὲ οὐκ ᾧν ὄκνησαμι θαρρῶν λέγειν, ὅτι μόνης ταύτης παρὰ πᾶσαν τῆν ἀναγραφὴν ἐστοχασάμην.
his side; and, unable to restrain himself, he would leap from his bed as if torture and fire were being applied to him. His malady ever growing rapidly worse, his bowels ulcerated and fell out; and so he died, affording a demonstration, no less striking than any, how God in his providence inflicts punishment on the wicked.

(5) Here we close the history, which we promised to relate with perfect accuracy for the information of those who wish to learn how this war was waged by the Romans against the Jews. Of its style my readers must be left to judge; but, as concerning truth, I would not hesitate boldly to assert that, throughout the entire narrative, this has been my single aim.

Or possibly "How it has been rendered" (into Greek); cf. the allusion to the Aramaic original in B. i. 3 (where, however, the verb used is μεταβαλὼν).
APPENDIX

THE PRINCIPAL ADDITIONAL PASSAGES IN THE SLAVONIC VERSION

The first nineteen of these passages are translated from the German rendering of the Slavonic version produced by the late Dr. Berendts and Dr. Grass, Flavius Josephus vom Jüdischen Kriege, Buch i-iv, nach der slavischen Übersetzung, Dorpat, Teil i, 1924–1926, Teil ii, 1927; the last three passages from Dr. Berendts' translation in Texte und Untersuchungen, Neue Folge, vol. xiv, 1906. The history of these passages is obscure. They include some obvious Christian interpolations a; on the other hand, the Slavonic version, in which they are found, has been thought by some scholars to have preserved, at least in part, the author's original draft of the Jewish War. The reader is referred to a forthcoming work of Dr. Robert Eisler, "The Messiah Jesus and John the Baptist, as described in the unpublished 'Capture of Jerusalem' of Flavius Josephus and the Christian sources," of which an English edition will shortly be published by Messrs. Methuen, and an American edition by Lincoln MacVeagh (The Dial Press). The writer is greatly indebted to Dr. Eisler for assistance in the preparation of this Appendix. Notes which he has kindly supplied are indicated by the initials R. E.

(1) Herod's Dream

[i. 328, inserted after προσημαίνουσιν.]

(But when Herod was in Antioch, he saw a dream which

a Supposed interpolations, according to Dr. Eisler's critical edition of the text, are placed in square brackets in the following translation.

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revealed to him in advance his brother's death.) Now the dream was on this wise. There were four ears of corn: the first was dry through frost, but the second stood upright, while wolves fell upon the third and cut (it) down and dragged it behind them. But the interpretation of it was on this wise. The first ear was Phasael, whom poisoning had dried up; the second ear was himself, inasmuch as he was unscathed; while the third was his brother Joseph, whom warriors cut down and dragged away without burial. And his soul was stirred within him; at once terror seized him, and he went forth from the bed-chamber about midnight like one possessed. For the soul, which had understood sooner than the spirit, was afraid. (And forthwith there came to him the melancholy tidings.)

(2) A DISCUSSION OF JEWISH PRIESTS: "HEROD IS NOT THE MESSIAH"

[Replacing i. 364-370 (middle) in the Greek.]

But Herod spent little time in Jerusalem, and marched against the Arabs. At that time the priests mourned and grieved one to another in secret. They durst not (do so openly for fear of) Herod and his friends.

For (one Jonathan) spake: "The law bids us have no foreigner for king." Yet we wait for the Anointed, the meek one, of David's line. But of Herod we know that he is an Arabian, uncircumcised. The Anointed will be

a So the text; but no further mention is made of the fourth.

b Lit. "is." According to Dr. Eisler, the present tense shows that the source was written while Herod the Great was still alive.

c Or "mind" (Geist).

d Lit. "the."

An apparent lacuna: words supplied by Berendts-Grass.

f The name, which has fallen out, is supplied from the sequel.

g Deut. xvii. 15.

h Zech. ix. 9.

i According to B.J. i. 123 he was an Idumaean; his friend Nicolas of Damascus represented him as belonging to one of the first Jewish families that returned from Babylon, Ant. xiv. 9; Christians called him a Philistine.
called meek, but this (is) he who has filled our whole land with blood. Under the Anointed it was ordained for the lame to walk, and the blind to see, and the poor to become rich. But under this man the hale have become lame, the seeing are blinded, the rich have become beggars. What is this? or how? Have the prophets lied? The prophets have written that there shall not want a ruler from Judah, until he come unto whom it is given up; for him do the Gentiles hope. But is this man the hope for the Gentiles? For we hate his misdeeds. Will the Gentiles perchance set their hopes on him? Woe unto us, because God has forsaken us, and we are forgotten of him!

But Ananus the priest answered and spake to them: "I know all books." When Herod fought beneath the city wall, I had never a thought that God would permit him to rule over us. But now I understand that our desolation is nigh. And bethink you of the prophecy of Daniel; for he writes that after the return the city of Jerusalem shall stand for seventy weeks of years, which are 490 years, and after these years shall it be desolate." And when they had counted the years, (they) were thirty years

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a Is. xxxv. 5 f.
b Cf. Is. lxi. 1 ("to preach good tidings unto the poor").
c sc. the rulership.
d Gen. xlix. 10: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah... until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the obedience of the peoples be." Shiloh is interpreted above, as in the Targum, to mean "he whose it is."
e Cf. Is. xlix. 14, "Zion said, Jehovah hath forsaken me and the Lord hath forgotten me."
f i.e., of Scripture or of the Messianic Scriptures.
g Lit., "before the city," when besieging Antigonus in Jerusalem in 37 B.C., B.J. i. 343 ff.
h Dan. ix. 24 ff.  
Of the exiles from Babylon.
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and four. But Jonathan answered and spake: "The numbers of the years are even as we have said. But the Holy of Holies, where is he? For this Herod he (sc. the prophet) cannot call the Holy one—(him) the blood-thirsty and impure."

But one of them, by name Levi, wishing to outwit them, spake to them what he got with his tongue, not out of the books, but in fable. They, however, being learned in the Scriptures, began to search for the time when the Holy one would come; but the speeches of Levi they execrated, saying, "Soup is in thy mouth, but a bone in thy head," wherefore also they said to him that he had breakfasted all night and that his head was heavy with drink, as it were a bone. But he, overcome with shame, fled to Herod and informed him of the speeches of the priests which they had spoken against him. But Herod sent by night and slew them all, without the knowledge of the people, lest they should be roused; and he appointed others.

(And when it was morning the whole land quaked, etc., as in § 370 Greek text.)

This seems to mean that they reckoned that there were 34 more years still to run of the 490, within which, according to Daniel ix. 24, the Messiah was to appear. Berendts takes it to mean "Herod has 34 years to reign"; i.e., from his capture of Jerusalem in 37 b.c. to his death in 4 B.C. (cf. B.J. i. 665; Ant. xvii. 191). But we are not told that the priests were also prophets; this debate, moreover, is represented as taking place in the year of Herod's Arab campaign (32 B.C.), not in that of his accession (37 b.c.). Herod was evidently dead when this chapter was written.

[Dan. ix. 24, "Seventy weeks are decreed... to anoint a Holy of Holies." [The "Holy of Holies" is the last Messianic high-priest, cf. 1 Chron. xxiii. 13: "Aaron was set aside for a holy one of holies" (literal trans. of MT.). R. E.] [The "Holy one" of God (Mark i. 24, Luke iv. 34, Jo. vi. 69) is again the Messianic high-priest. R. E.]

German festbekam. [for Greek ἐπηκεῖν. R.E.]

Dr. R. Eisler would read "putty," thinking that the Greek reading underlying the Slavonic has arisen through confusion of maraq, "soup" and marqah, "putty."
(3) Antipater’s Comparison of Himself to Heracles Fighting the Hydra

[Replacing the sentence in i. 588, “Then there were these hydra heads, the sons of Aristobulus and Alexander, shooting up.”]

But there are growing up against me and against my children the heads of the hydra (?). Just as Heracles sought to cut off the hundred heads of that beast with the sword, and, when he had not (yet) reached the last head, the heads again grew up, until he called Iolaus to his aid; (and as,) while Heracles hewed, Iolaus burnt out with a fire-brand the places that appeared through the gash, and thereby the growth of the heads of that beast was stayed—even so have I cut off Aristobulus and Alexander, but have gained no profit therefrom. For there are those who (stand) in their place, their sons, but I have no Iolaus to help me. And I know not how I should fulfil my desire.

(4) First Invective against the Romans (or Latins)

[Replacing i. 601-605.]

But Antipater, knowing nothing of these things, amused himself in Rome. And he lived just as becomes a king’s son, alike in the magnificence of his surroundings, attendance and dress, and in munificence. Accordingly he gave large presents to the Roman authorities, and induced them to write in praise of himself to Herod.

And after receiving the presents, the [Italians, who are called] Latins wrote such praise of Antipater, as cannot be expressed, saying: “This man alone is thy defender and guardian and shield and deliverer from thy shameful sons. Had it not been for him, thy two first reprobate sons would have killed thee. And those two who are now here study-

a Not “Herod’s,” as in Berendts-Grass (List of Contents).
ing philosophy clamour loudly against thee, reviling and representing thee as a monster."

For such are the Latins: they run to accept presents and break their oath for the sake of presents. And they see no sin in calumny, saying, "With words have we spoken, but we have not killed (anyone) ourselves," since the accursed wretches think that he is a murderer, who kills with the hand, but that calumny and denunciation and instigation against one’s neighbour are not murder. Had they known the law of God, they would have been shown long since what a murderer is. But they are aliens, and our doctrine touches them not. Therefore did they lie against the two sons of Herod, who were then being educated in Rome. Archelaus (and) Philip, and wrote so that he should kill them.

But Herod, having fortified himself against external things, and in consequence of the first painful inquiries, attached no credit to the Roman letters.

(5) Second Invective against the Romans

[In i. 610, in place of the words παραχρήμα μεν ἔσπευδεν.]

(And during the time when he was in Cilicia, he received his father’s letter, of which we have spoken.) And he was highly delighted, and prepared a sumptuous dinner for his travelling companions and for the Romans, who through flattery had received from him three hundred talents.

[Allusions to the rabbinic doctrine (Arakin 15 b, Jer. Penh i. 16 a, etc.) that "calumny is threefold killing." It kills (in the end) the calumniator, the calumniated, and him who believes the calumny. R. E.]

Lit. "his mind" (seinem Sinn).

i.e., Antipater, on his homeward journey from Rome to Palestine.

The Greek text in § 605 states that "his returns showed an expenditure of 200 talents" in Rome. The Slavonic omits that statement, but the 300 talents here mentioned may possibly have some connexion with that other sum.

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For they are insatiable in receiving; but if anyone gives them more to-day, to-morrow they want (still) more. And as the sea cannot be filled, nor hell satisfied, nor woman's passion, even so are the Romans insatiable in receiving; in truth they are Solomon's leeches, people who give their body and their soul for a reward. Yet they are ready also to give up their limbs and children, the former in that (by training) they convert boldness (and) fury into valour, but the others in that they are covetous of gold, like ravens on a corpse. Many also for some trifle are prepared to surrender their (military) clothing, their cities, as also their generals. We shall describe them in the sequel, but now we (will) relate the matter in hand.

(When Antipater came to Celenderis, etc.)

a An allusion to the Proverbs of Solomon xxx. 15 f., “The leech hath two daughters, Give, give. There are three things that are never satisfied... Sheol, and the barren womb, the earth that is not satisfied with water....” “Woman's passion” above (vice “the barren womb”) follows the LXX text (ἐρως γυναικός, xxiv. 51).

b [An allusion to the gladiatorial profession. Cf. Petronius 117 “tamquam legitimi gladiatores domino corpora animasque addicimus.” R. E.]

c [An allusion to the auctorati, freeborn Romans entering the arena as gladiators for the sake of lucre. Cf. Tacitus, Ann. xiv. 14. R. E.]

d [An allusion to Romans selling their sons to the lanista, to be trained as gladiators. R. E.]

e [An allusion to Romans selling their sons to the lanista, to be trained as gladiators. R. E.]

f [The text has “and their clothing” at the end, but this makes a bad anticlimax. Dr. Eisler transposes the words and explains them as referring to deserters bartering away their outfit for civilian clothes and a little money.]
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(6) MORALIZING ON DIVINE PROVIDENCE AS EXEMPLIFIED IN ABRAHAM

[Following upon the trial and condemnation of Antipater, in place of i. 641-644.]

Therefore is it fitting to marvel at Divine Providence, how it requites evil for evil, but good for good. And it is impossible for man to hide from a His Almighty right hand, either for the just or for the unjust; but more still does His mighty b eye look upon the just. And indeed Abraham, the forefather of our race, was led out of his land, because he had offended his brother in the division of their territories c; and whereby he sinned, even thereby he received also his punishment. And again for his obedience d He gave him the promised land,e

(7) APPEAL OF THE RABBIS JUDAS AND MATTHIAS QUOTING PREVIOUS EXAMPLES OF HEROISM

[i. 650: this Fuller address in oratio recta replaces that in oratio obliqua in the Greek; the introduction also contains some additional words.]

For Herod had at that time erected a golden eagle over the great gate of the temple, in honour of the emperor; a "before."

b hochherrliches: cf. θεοῦ μέγας ὀφθαλμός, B.J. i. 84 and 378, where it is mentioned in conjunction with His right hand (οὗ διαφευγόντα τὸν μέγαν ὀφθαλμὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀνίκητον δεξιάν).

c [An allusion to an otherwise unknown legend about Abraham depriving his brother Haran of his fair share of the land and consequently losing his own. According to Yacut ii. 231 the city of Haran was named after this brother of Abraham. In Ant. i. 7. 1 Josephus says that Abraham had to leave Mesopotamia, τῶν Μεσοποταμίων στασιασάντων πρὸς αὐτὸν. He does not wish to tell the Gentiles that it was a quarrel between Abraham and his brother Haran which drove him out of the country. R. E.]

d Gen. xii. 4.

e [This he shares fairly with Haran’s son Lot. R. E.]
and he called it the golden-winged eagle. This the two (doctors) exhorted the people to cut down, saying: “Easy is it to die for the law of (our) fathers; for immortal glory will follow those who die thus, while for their souls there awaits eternal joy. But those who die in unmanliness, loving the body, not desiring a manly death, but finding their end in sickness, these are inglorious, and will suffer unending torments in the underworld.”

Forward, ye Jewish men! Now is the time to play the man. We will show what reverence we have for the law of Moses, in order that our people may not be put to shame, in order that we may not offend our lawgiver. For an example of heroism we have Eleazar first, and the seven brethren, the Maccabees, and their mother, who acted manfully. For Antiochus, who had defeated and captured our country and domineered over us, was defeated by those seven striplings and by the aged teacher and by the grey-haired woman. We, too, will show ourselves like them, that we may not appear weaker than the woman. But should we also be tortured for our zeal for God, then will our garland be yet better wreathed. But should they even kill us, then will our souls, after quitting the dark abode, pass over to (our) forefathers, where Abraham (is) and those (descended) from him.”

(8) Herod’s Sins and Punishment

[Replacing the last clause in i. 656, “His condition led diviners to pronounce his maladies a judgement on him for his treatment of the professors.”]

For the eye of God looked invisibly upon his sins. He

The words “in honour... eagle” are not in the Greek.

Or “there” (da).

Cf. B.J. vi. 46 ff., where, however, Titus speaks only of the “obliteration in subterranean night” and “oblivion” of those dying on a sick-bed, not of “unending torments.”

2 Macc. vi. 18 ff. 2 Macc. vii. Epiphanes.

2 Macc. vi. 18, “Eleazar, one of the principal scribes... well stricken in years.”

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had indeed defiled his dominion with bloodshed and with illicit intercourse with foreign women. And because he had made others childless, therefore killed he also his children with his (own) hands; and because he spared not his body in wantonness, therefore contracted he so foul a disease.

(9) [''John the Forerunner'']

[Inserted between ii. 110 and iii.]

Now at that time there walked among the Jews a man in wondrous garb, for he had put animals' hair upon his body wherever it was not covered by his (own) hair; and in countenance he was like a savage. He came to the Jews and summoned them to freedom, saying: 'God hath sent me to show you the way of the Law, whereby ye may free yourselves from many masters: and there shall be no mortal ruling over you, but only the Highest who hath sent me.' And when the people heard that, they were glad; and there went after him all Judaea and the (region) around Jerusalem. And he did nothing else to them, save that he dipped them into the stream of the Jordan and let (them) go, admonishing them to desist from evil works; (for) so would they be given a king who would

a Or 'with other men's wives.'

Cf. (6) above, for the punishment fitting the crime.

c This title, clearly of Christian origin, appears in the Slavonic mss.: the text, here and in the later passage (11), mentions no name and speaks of 'the savage.'

d Lit. 'enticed.'

I have not found any parallel use of ὃς ἔφησος in Josephus: ἄρχερεῖς θεοῦ ἔφησον occurs in an edict of Augustus, Int. xvi. 163.

Cf. Matt. iii. 5, 'Then went out unto him (i.e. John) Jerusalem and all Judaea and all the region round about Jordan': Mk. i. 5, 'And there went out unto him all the country of Judaea and all they of Jerusalem.' [The sentence—evidently a Christian interpolation—is not to be found in the Rumanian version of Josephus, Cod. Gaster No. 89. R. E.]
set them free and subject all (the) insubordinate, but he himself would be subject to no one—(he) of whom we speak. Some mocked, but others put faith (in him).

And when he was brought to Archelaus a and the doctors of the Law had assembled, they asked him who he was and where he had been until then. And he answered and spake: "I am a man b and hither c the spirit of God hath called me, and I live on cane and roots and fruits of the tree." But when they threatened to torture him if he did not desist from these words and deeds, he spake nevertheless: "It is meet rather for you to desist from your shameful works and to submit to the Lord your God."

And Simon, of Essene extraction, c a scribe, arose in wrath and spake: "We read the divine books every day; but thou, but now come forth from the wood like a wild beast, dost thou dare to teach us and to seduce the multitudes with thy cursed speeches?" And he rushed (upon him) to rend his body. But he spake in reproach to them: "I will not disclose to you the secret that is among you, because ye desired it not. Therefore has unspeakable misfortune come upon you and through your own doing."

And after he had thus spoken, he went forth to the other side of the Jordan; and since no man durst hinder him, he did what (he had done) before.

a Ethnarch, 4 b.c.-a.d. 6, a date much earlier than that assigned to John's ministry in the New Testament.

b For "a man" (Dr. Eisler would render "Enosh") one ms. reads "pure."

c For "hither" other mss. read "because."

d Slavonic "wood-shavings." Dr. Eisler adopts a suggestion of Wohleb that there has been a confusion in the Greek exemplar of the Slavonic between καρπῶν "fruits," and κάρφων (ξυλίνων) "shavings."

Cf. Εσσαίος . . . γένος, B.J. i. 78.

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(10) The Novice's Oath on Admission to the Essene Order

[This shows some enlargement on the Greek text in ii. 138 f. The additional matter and altered phraseology are printed in italics. After "his character is tested for two years" the Slavonic continues:—]

And if he is not suitable, they dismiss him from their community; if he appears worthy, they enrol him in (their) society. And before they enrol him, they bind him by tremendous oaths, and he standing before the doors, pledges himself with tremendous oaths, invoking the living God and calling to witness His almighty right hand, and the Spirit of God, the incomprehensible, and the Seraphim and Cherubim, who have insight into all, and the whole heavenly host, that he will be pious, etc.

(11) "The Wild Man" (John), Herod Philip's Dream and the Second Marriage of Herodias

[After ii. 168.]

Philip, during his government, saw a dream, to wit that an eagle plucked out both his eyes; and he called all his wise men together. When some explained the dream in this manner and others in that, there came to him suddenly, without being called, that man of whom we have previously written, that he went about in animals' hair and cleansed the people in the waters of the Jordan. And he spake: "Hear the word of the Lord—the dream that thou hast seen. The eagle is thy venality, for that bird is violent and rapacious. And this sin will take away thine eyes,

\[a\] Cf. (6) above, p. 642 n. b.
\[b\] den nicht zu fassenden (= perhaps \(\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\eta\pi\tauον\)).
\[c\] (9) above.

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which are thy dominion and thy wife." And when he had thus spoken, Philip expired before evening, and his dominion was given to Agrippa.

And his wife [Herodias] was taken by Herod his brother. Because of her all law-abiding people abhorred him, but durst not accuse (him) to his face. But only this man, whom we called a savage, came to him in wrath and spake: "Forasmuch as thou hast taken thy brother's wife, thou transgressor of the law, even as thy brother has died a merciless death, so wilt thou too be cut off by the heavenly sickle. For the divine decree will not be silenced, but will destroy thee through evil afflictions in other lands; because thou dost not raise up seed unto thy brother, but gratifiest (thy) fleshly lusts and committest adultery, seeing

\[a\] [The Rumanian Josephus has another explanation of the dream: "The dream that thou hast seen, heralds thy death; for the eagle is a bird of prey and has destroyed thine eyes." The object of the alteration is to avoid the stricture on Philip's venality, just as in \textit{Ant.} xviii. 106 f., where Philip is called a mild and just ruler, the correction is intended to please his relative, Josephus's patron, Agrippa II. \textit{R. E.}\]

\[b\] Philip the Tetrarch died in A.D. 33-34, \textit{Ant.} xviii. 106; Agrippa I was appointed king by Caligula on his accession some three years later (A.D. 37).

\[c\] According to Dr. Eisler a Christian gloss derived from the Gospel narrative (Mark vi. 17, Matt. xiv. 3). The first husband of Herodias was not Philip the tetrarch, as here represented, but a half-brother of Antipas, who is called by Josephus (\textit{Ant.} xviii. 136) simply "Herod," though he may have borne the second name, Philip; according to the same passage of \textit{Ant.}, the second marriage of Herodias took place in the lifetime of her first husband. [The name Herodias is not found after the words "his wife" in the Rumanian Josephus or in the Hebrew or in the Arabic text of Josippon, although the story runs in all three versions exactly as in the Russian. \textit{R. E.}]

\[d\] Herod Antipas.

\[e\] \textit{Gesetzesleute.}

\[f\] Antipas was banished by Caligula to Lugdunum in Gaul in A.D. 39, \textit{Ant.} xviii. 252, cf. \textit{B.J.} ii. 183 ("to Spain").

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that he has left four children.”a But Herod, when he heard (that), was wroth and commanded that they should beat him and drive him out. But he incessantly accused Herod, wherever he found him, until he (Herod) grew furious, and gave orders to slay him.

Now his nature was marvellous and his ways not human. For even as a fleshless spirit, so lived he. His mouth knew no bread, nor even at the passover feast did he taste of unleavened bread, saying: “In remembrance of God, who redeemed the people from bondage, is (this) given to eat, and for the flight (only), since the journey was in haste.”b But wine and strong drink he would not so much as allow to be brought nigh him: and every beast he abhorred (for food); and every injustice he exposed; and fruits of the treesc served him for (his) needs.

(12) The Ministry, Trial and Crucifixion of
“The Wonder-worker” (Jesus)

[Between ii. 174 and 175.]

At that time there appeared a man, if it is permissible to call him a man.d His nature [and form] weree human, but his appearance (was something) more than (that) of a man; [notwithstandingf his works were divine]. He worked miracles wonderful and mighty. [Therefore it is impossible for me to call him a man:] but again, if I look

a i.e., it was not a case of a Levirate marriage in accordance with the Law, Deut. xxv. 5 ff. The statement about these “four children” conflicts with Ant. xviii. 136 f., according to which Herodias by her first marriage had one daughter, Salome, and Philip the Tetrarch died childless.

b Cf. Ex. xii. 11 “ye shall eat it in haste.”

c Slavonic “wood-shavings”: see p. 643, note d.

d Cf. the opening of the disputed passage in Ant. xviii. 63 Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς σοφὸς ἀνήρ, εἶνε

The Russian has the singular (“was”), which suggests that the words “and form” are a later addition.

f Or “at least” (doch).
SLAVONIC "ADDITIONS"

at the nature which he shared with all. I will not call him an angel. And everything whatsoever he wrought through an invisible power, he wrought by word and command. Some said of him, "Our first lawgiver is risen from the dead and hath performed many healings and arts," while others thought that he was sent from God. Howbeit in many things he disobeyed the Law and kept not the Sabbath according to (our) fathers' customs. Yet, on the other hand, he did nothing shameful; nor (did he do anything) with aid of hands, but by word alone did he provide everything.

And many of the multitude followed after him and hearkened to his teaching; and many souls were in commotion, thinking that thereby the Jewish tribes might free themselves from Roman hands. Now it was his custom in general to sojourn over against the city upon the Mount of Olives; and there, too, he bestowed his healings upon the people.

And there assembled unto him of ministers one hundred and fifty, and a multitude of the people. Now when they saw his power, that he accomplished whatsoever he would by (a) word, and when they had made known to him their will, that he should enter into the city and cut down the Roman troops and Pilate and rule over us, the disdained us not."

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* Cf. Mark vi. 14 f., Luke ix. 7 f., where it is conjectured that Jesus may be "one of the old prophets"; but the identification with Moses in this passage is unparalleled.

* erwießen.

* Lit. "nor hand-acts."  Or "prepare" (hereiteio).  

* The Galilaean ministry is ignored.

* [Russ. slugad = ἡπηρέται.  R. E.]

* Cf. the spurious epistle of Tiberius to Pilate, λόγῳ μὴν τὰς ἱάσεις ἐπετέλευ, ed. M. R. James, Texts and Studies, v. p. 79.

* One Slavonic ms. has "them."

* Text doubtful: one ms. has "but he heeded not."
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And when thereafter knowledge of it came to the Jewish leaders, they assembled together with the high-priest and spake: "We are powerless and (too) weak to withstand the Romans. Seeing, moreover, that the bow is bent, we will go and communicate to Pilate what we have heard, and we shall be clear of trouble, lest he hear (it) from others, and we be robbed of our substance and ourselves slaughtered and our children scattered." And they went and communicated (it) to Pilate. And he sent and had many of the multitude slain. And he had that Wonder-worker brought up, and after instituting an inquiry concerning him, he pronounced judgement: "He is [a benefactor, not] a malefactor, [nor] a rebel, [nor] covetous of kingship." [And he let him go; for he had healed his dying wife.]

[And he went to his wonted place and did his wonted works. And when more people again assembled round him, he glorified himself through his actions more than all. The teachers of the Law were overcome with envy, and gave thirty talents to Pilate, in order that he should put him to death. And he took (it) and gave them liberty to execute their will themselves.] And they laid hands on him and crucified him contrary to the law of (their) fathers.

a Cf. the use of ἀσθενής with inf. = "too weak" in e.g. Jos. Ant. x. 213, xiv. 317.
b [Russ. czarizadeč, an otherwise unknown word, probably a literal translation of φιλαρχος. R. E.]
c [This sentence is missing in the Rumanian version. The legend occurs first in the mediaeval Vita beatae Mariae et Salvatoris rhythmica, which quotes among its many sources Josephus—evidently an interpolated copy. R. E.]
d The bribery of Pilate is mentioned in the spurious epistle of Tiberius above mentioned (δῶρα ὶπέρ τοῦ θανατον αὐτοῦ ἔλαβες).
e [Russ. čres. Not the usual preposition employed by the translator in this sense. In I. § 209 he translates παρά in παρά τον Ἰούδαν νῦνον by kromē. The Rumanian Josephus has the genuine reading "according to the law of the emperors." Josephus spoke of the supplicium more maiorum of the Romans. R. E.]
SLAVONIC "ADDITIONS"

(13) The Followers of "The Wonder-worker"
(The Early Christians)

[Replacing ii. 221 f. (= Herodian family history). The first paragraph below roughly corresponds to ii. 219 f., which is here presented in a condensed and altered form.]

But before the completion of the work he himself died at Caesarea after reigning three years. Since he had no son Claudius again sent his officers to those kingdoms, Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander, both of whom kept the people in peace, by not allowing any departure in anything from the pure laws.

But if anyone deviated from the word of the Law, information was laid before the teachers of the Law; whereupon they punished and banished him or sent (him) to Caesar.

And since in the time of those (rulers) many followers of the Wonder-worker afore-mentioned had appeared and spoken to the people of their Master, (saying) that he was alive, although he was dead, and "He will free you from your bondage," many of the multitude hearkened to the(ir) preaching and took heed to their injunctions—not on account of their reputation; for they were of the humbler sort, some mere shoemakers, others sandalmakers, others artisans. [But wonderful were the signs which they worked, in truth what they would.]

* Agrippa I.

b The Greek, in the parallel passage, has "He left issue . . . three daughters . . . and one son Agrippa. As the last was a minor," etc. This son, Agrippa II, was the close friend of Josephus, and the ignorance shown in the words italicized above is indeed surprising, if Josephus can be held to have written them. Berendts attaches these words to the preceding sentence, but the sense requires the division of sentences given above: cf. the Greek. [It is possible that "grown-up," "of age" (ἐφησος or the like) has dropped out. R. E.]

c Perhaps "had been."

d Cf. the N.T. use of σημεία for "miracles."
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But when these noble procurators saw the falling away of the people, they determined, together with the scribes, to seize (them) [and put (them) to death], for fear lest the little might (not) be little, if it ended in the great. [But they shrank back and were in terror at the signs, saying, "Not through medicines do such wonders come to pass; but if they do not proceed from the counsel of God, then will they quickly be exposed." And they gave them liberty to go where they would. But afterwards, being prevailed on (?) by them], they sent them away, some to Caesar, others to Antioch to be tried, others (they exiled) to distant lands.

Cf. ii. 223 (But Claudius removed the two officers (and) sent Cumanus, etc.)

(14) Speech of Josephus to his Galilæan Troops

[The first paragraph, on the training of the troops, and the second, being the first portion of the speech, correspond roughly to ii. 576-582, but are sufficiently different to bear quotation. The remainder of the speech has no parallel in the Greek. The speech, as is usual in the Slavonic version, is in oratio recta.]

And he collected forces, a hundred thousand young men, armed them, and taught them the art of war, knowing that the Roman army was victorious not through weapons only, but rather through discipline and incessant training. And he set over them captains of ten and of hundreds and of thousands, and over these a commander-in-chief. And

a i.e., miracles.
b [Rus, otrawlenijemi = διὰ φανασσίας. R. E.]
c Cf. the words of Gamaliel in Acts v. 38 f.
d Or "to do as they would." e veranlasst (¿).
e In the Greek "over these, generals in command of more extensive divisions." [Josephus betrayed by the use of this word—which is altered in the later Greek text—that he himself was not the commander-in-chief of the Galilean forces, but only some kind of commissary of the Galilean revolutionary synhedron accompanying the troops. R. E.]
he taught them the trumpet-call and the advance and the retreat and how to reinforce a defeated division, and fortitude of soul, to endure wounds and not to fear death. And he said to them, "If you thirst for victory, renounce the usual malpractices, theft and robbery and rapine. And do not defraud your kinsmen; regard it not as an advantage to injure others. For war can be better conducted, if the warriors have a good conscience and their souls are aware that they have kept themselves pure from every crime. (But) if they are condemned by their evil deeds, then will God be their enemy, and the foreigners (will) have an easy victory.

"b But do you have regard for one another. Put away wrath (and) anger. But if any of those in lower station misconducts himself, do not be quickly provoked against them, nor resort to blows, but let them stand with meekness before the officers, correct some of (their faults) and forgive the rest. But if (your) subordinates do aught amiss, refrain from punishment with the hand: punish with a threatening tongue. Castigation by bitter words is enough for the knave. If, on the other hand, you look into everything and inflict corresponding penalties, either, not tolerating the blows, they will desert to your enemies and become an addition to their strength and (another) enemy for you, or they will grow inured to the blows and

= Slav. s'wěstj, conj. Berendts: mss. wěstj = "name."

b Here begins the new matter.

c This, together with the context before and after, has a superficial resemblance to S. Paul’s Epistle to the Ephesians iv. 26-32, "Be ye angry and sin not. . . . Let him that stole steal no more. . . . Let all . . . wrath and anger . . . be put away . . . and be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving each other." [But "be ye angry and sin not " comes from Ps. iv. 4 and the numerous rabbinical parallels collected by Strack-Billerbeck, Komm. z. N.T. aus Talm. u. Midr. vol. iii. (Munich, 1926), pp. 602 ff., show that Josephus uses the commonplaces of moralizing rhetoric. R. E.]

d sich verfehlt.

c weiset das eine zurecht, das andere aber vergebet.
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careless of your affairs, doing (yet) more wrong and injury.”

(15) The Trick by which Josephus Saved His Life at Jotapata

[In place of iii. 387-391 we read :]

And he, commending his salvation to God the Protector, said, “Since it is well pleasing to God that we should die, let us be killed in turn. Let him whose turn comes last be killed by the second.” And when he had thus spoken, he counted the numbers with cunning, and thereby misled them all. And they were all killed, one by another, except one; and, anxious not to stain his right hand with the blood of a fellow-countryman, he besought this one, and they both went out alive.

(16) An Abomination (of Desolation) in the Holy Place

[Added at the end of iv. 157—the passage describing the scandalous election by lot of a high-priest]

(But all (the) priests, when they beheld from a distance how the divine Law was dishonoured, wept and bitterly groaned, because they had degraded and trodden under

\[\text{dem Versorger} = \text{Gr. τὰ ἄραμελών.}\]
\[\text{der Reihe nach.}\]
\[\text{Auf welche das Ende der Reihe fallen wird, i.e. apparently he who draws the lowest numbered lot, though the lots are not here mentioned.}\]
\[\text{The Greek has “He, however (should one say by fortune, or by the providence of God ?) was left alone with one other.”}\]
\[\text{The Zealots.}\]
\[\text{vernichtet : the Greek has the phrase τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν τιμῶν κατάλυσιν.}\]

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foot the priestly consecration) and had set at naught the covenant of God, and because every pernicious and shameful deed had grown up among them. And (they thought that) the desolation of the city would ensue and prophecy would cease, if abomination were to be found in the holy place.

(17) The Words of the Zealots over the Bodies of Ananus and Jesus

[Replacing iv. 316, which runs in the Greek text, "And, standing over their dead bodies, they scoffed at Ananus for his patronage of the people, and at Jesus for the address which he had delivered from the wall."]

And, standing over their dead bodies, they insulted them, saying over Ananus, "In truth thou art a friend of Jerusalem and art worthy of the honour with which thou art honoured." And over Jesus they said, "Very eloquent art thou and wise, and much trouble didst thou give thyself, when speaking from the battlements. But now rest!"

(18) The Zealots disregarded the Warnings of Scripture and the Lessons of History

[Replacing and amplifying iv. 407.]

So also (was it) in Jerusalem. Because the metropolis was beset with riot and robbers, therefore also did the(se)

\[a\] herangereift = "come to maturity."

\[b\] These last words seem to betray the influence on the Russian translator of the familiar passage Matt. xxiv. 15. "when ye see the abomination of desolation . . . standing in the holy place" (both Greek texts of Dan. ix. 27 have \(\varepsilon\pi\tau\circ\ i\epsilon\rho\circ\nu\)). But the references to the "covenant" and the cessation of prophecy come directly from Daniel (ix. 27 "make a firm covenant," 24 "seal up . . . prophecy").

\[c\] For a short speech in oratio recta in similar circumstances cf. the Greek text of iv. 343 (slightly amplified in the Slavonic).
miscreants, who had found a favourable opportunity for their lust, fulfil their will and follow evil ways, recognizing neither the Law of God, nor David’s instruction nor Solomon’s, nor the threatenings of the prophets, nor the words of the holy men who in word and writing have pronounced glory and praise for the virtuous, but for the reprobate ignominy and disgrace and pain, in order that those who give ear to them may be zealous and uplifted to what is good, but may abhor the wicked and turn away their face from their works. But these men have cast the instructions of those (saints) behind them as a heavy burden, they have walked after the pleasure of their heart, not calling to mind what they have endured, neither Nebuchadnez(z)ar (and) the captivity, nor what Antiochus laid upon them, nor yet the bondage in Egypt, nor yet the divine deliverance.

(19) Ruse of Vitellius at the Battle of Bedriacum

Cf. iv. 547 (On the first day Otho was victor, but on the second Vitellius.) For he had during the night strewn (the ground with) three-pronged irons. And in the morning after they had drawn up in order of battle, when Vitellius feigned flight, Otho pursued after them with his troops. And they reached the place on which the irons were strewn. Then were the horses lamed, and it was impossible

a *gingen auf unredlichen Wegen* = “went on foul ways”: the Greek has *eis τὴν ἐρημίαν ἀφίσταντο* “made off into the wilderness.”

b In the Psalms.

c In Proverbs.

d *i.e.*, their nation.

None of the classical authors who describe the battle—Dio Cassius, Plutarch, Suetonius, Tacitus—mentions this incident. Vitellius himself was not on the scene: his generals were in command.

f *dreigehörnte Eisen.* [The *-shaped contrivance commonly called “caltraps” is meant. It was still used in the last war for similar purposes. R. E.]

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either for the horses or for the men to extricate themselves. And the soldiers of Vitellius, who had turned back, slew all who lay (there). (But Otho saw what had befallen cf. iv. 548 (and) killed himself.)

(20) The Inscription in the Temple Concerning Jesus

[Inserted in v. 195, after the mention of the stelae warning foreigners not to pass the barrier to the inner court.]

(And in it a there stood equal b pillars c and upon them cf. v. 194 titles in Greek and Latin and Jewish d characters, giving warning of the law of purification, (to wit) that no foreigner should enter within; for it e was called the inner sanctuary, cf. v. 195 being approached by fourteen steps and the upper area being built in quadrangular form.)

And above these titles was hung a fourth title in the same characters, announcing that Jesus (the) king did not reign, (but was) crucified [by the Jews], because he prophesied the destruction of the city and the devastation of the temple.

(21) The Rent Veil of the Temple and the Resurrection

[After v. 214. Clearly a Christian interpolation, or, in Dr. Eisler's opinion, two distinct interpolations, the first and last paragraphs, printed in italics, being the work of an earlier hand—the middle paragraph—which is not found in

a i.e., the stone balustrade.

b The Greek text has έξ ισον διαστήματος "at equal intervals."

c [Russ. stolpi. He means square pillars, built of rectangular blocks with the inscription inscribed on the front side of the stones. One of them was found by Clermont-Ganneau and is now in the Tschinili Kiosk Museum in Constantinople. R. E.]

d The Gr. text does not contain the words "and Jewish."

e The inner portion.
the Rumanian version, Cod. Gaster No. 89—that of a much later hand. See Dr. Eisler's forthcoming work, *The Messiah Jesus.*

This curtain "was before this generation entire, because the people were pious; but now it was grievous to see, for it was suddenly rent from the top to the bottom, when they through bribery delivered to death the benefactor of men and him who from his actions was no man.

And of many other fearful signs might one tell, which happened then. And it is said that he, after being killed and after being laid in the grave, was not found. Some indeed profess that he had risen, others that he was stolen away by his friends. But for my part I know not which speak more correctly. For one that is dead cannot rise of himself, though he may do so with the help of the prayer of another righteous man, unless he be an angel or another of the heavenly powers, or (unless) God himself appears as a man and accomplishes what he will, and walks with men and falls and lies down and rises again, as pleases his will. But others said that it was not possible to steal him away, because they set watchmen around his tomb, thirty Romans and a thousand Jews.'

*SUCH (IS THE STORY TOLD) OF THAT CURTAIN. There are also (objections) against this reason for its rending.*

(22) Interpretations of the Oracle of the World-Ruler

[Replacing vi. 313.]

Some understood that this meant Herod, others the crucified Wonder-worker Jesus, others again Vespasian.

*Katapetasma.*  
Matt. xxvii. 51, Mark xv. 38.  

These numbers come from some apocryphal source. In the spurious *Acts of Pilate* Pilate assigns 500 soldiers to the Jews to watch the tomb (Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 1853, pp. 293 ff.).  
Cf. passage (2) above.
OMISSIONS IN THE SLAVONIC VERSION
(BOOKS I-IV)

The following complete sections have no equivalent in the Slavonic. The deficiency in some cases may be due to the translator, who curtailed a text which he failed to understand. But some instances, discussed in detail in Dr. Eisler's book, suggest that he may have had before him a Greek exemplar shorter than the printed text. The list (which is confined to the four books for which a translation of the Slavonic is available) may therefore have its use.

**Book I.**—§§ 1-30 (Proem), 115, 164-168 (in part), 178, 179 (περὶ ὅν... λέγειν) and 180, 182 (ending περὶ ὅν... ἔρωμεν), 189-194, 223 (mid.)-224, 228, 231 f., 238 (mid.)-240, 256-260, 272, 274-276, 280 and 281 (part), 305-309, 334, 362 (most)-369 (for substitute see above, p. 636), 375, 386, 403 (end)-407 (part), 408 (end)-414 (mid.), 420 (end)-421, 576 f., 603-605 (for substitute see p. 639), 641-644.


**Book III.**—§§ 17 (mid.)-19 (mid.), 21 f., 44 (45-71 lacuna in Slavonic ms.), 87 f., 114, 117, 125, 127, 140, 146-148 (mid.), 149, 152 (mid.)-153, 156, 159 f., 164, 168, 177, 179 f., 182-185, 190-192, 195 f., 198, 217 f., 226, 237-239
APPENDIX


Gaulanitis, Batanea etc.=Kingdom of Agrippa II. Decapolis independent. The rest under Roman Procurators.
JERUSALEM

Existing walls.

Approximate line of first (old) wall

Supposed line of second wall.

Alternative supposed lines of third (Herod's) wall

Supposed ancient streets.

Sites of ancient buildings

The lines of the second and third walls are uncertain.

Remains recently (1935) discovered from the more northerly position for the third wall; the line of the second wall is identified by some with the existing North wall.

English Feet

0  200  400  600  800  1000  1200

Hebrew Cubits

0  600  1200  1800  2400

Contour lines are drawn at intervals of 50 feet.
INDEXES TO VOLS. II AND III

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