THE JUDEAN WAR

CHAPTER 1 [Life:1-16]

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

3 Now I shall state the succession: Our chief father was Simon, who was summoned ‘The Stutterer’. This man lived in a period when the boy of the chief-priest Simon served as chief-priest, who was the first of the chief-priests named Hyrkanos. 4 Now Simon the Stutterer had nine boys. One of these was Matthijah, called ‘the Ephasis’. 5 This man married the daughter of the chief-priest Jonathan. Jonathan was the first boy of Hasimoni’s race to serve as a chief-priest, and was the brother of Simon the chief-priest. Then in the first year that Hyrkanos was chief, Matthijah had a boy named Binnui, the rounded one.

6 This is indeed how I present the succession of our race, as I have found it recorded in the public registers, sending a greeting to those who try to slander us. 7 But my father Matthijah was not only distinguished because of his noble birth, instead he was praised even more on account of his righteousness, being a very eminent man among the Jerusalemites—the greatest city we have.

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

10 Now when I was about sixteen years old, I chose to gain expertise in the several sects which are among us. Now there are three of these: indeed the first, is the Pharisees; and the second, the Sadducees; but the third, the Essenes. For I thought that, if I was able to examine them all, I would be able to choose the best.

11 Therefore, I submitted myself to hard training and laborious exercises, and passed through the three of them.

And I was not content with the resulting expertise. So when I heard about a certain man named Binnui, 1 who made his life in the wilderness, indeed wearing clothing made from trees, but scavenging food which grew on its own, but washing frequently for purification with frigid water day and night, I became his only clothing.

12 So when I had lived with him for three years, and had accomplished my purpose, I returned to the city.

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

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

At the time when Félix was administering Judah, there were certain priests, and prepared themselves to go up to Roma for the purpose of gaining an audience with the prince. This provoked the cause which shall now be described:

14 I desired to find some means of saving these men, but especially when I discovered that, even in their wretched circumstances, they had not abandoned piety toward the Deity, but were subsisting on figs and nuts.

So I reached Roma, after having faced many dangers at sea. 15 For our boat was immersed in the middle of the Adriatic Sea; and we, being about 600 in number, floated ourselves through the entire night. And about daybreak, by God’s foresight, a Kyrenian boat appeared before us. So both I and some others, about 80 in all, overtook the rest and were taken up into the boat.

16 Now after we had come safely to Dikaiaearchia, which the Italians call Puteoli, I formed a friendship with Aliturus. 2 Now this man was a mime-actor, especially loved by Nerō, and a Judean by race. And through him I became known to Poppaea, the wife of Nerō. Then, as soon as possible, I made provision, appealing to her to free the priests. Now having received this favor from Poppaea, in addition to enormous gifts from her, I returned home.

CHAPTER 2 [War:2:284–308]

Now at this time, it also happened that the Hellenes 3 of Caesarea had won from Nerō the right to retain control of the city, and they had brought back the documents of the verdict. And now the war had its beginning, indeed in the twelfth year of the leadership of Nerō, but in the seventeenth of the reign of Agrippa, in the month of Artemisios.

2 But given the magnitude of the calamities which arose from it, it did not have a worthy justification. For the Judeans in Caesarea had a congregation adjoining a site whose owner was a certain Caesarean Hellenic. Indeed, they had frequently endeavored to acquire the spot, offering a price many times it worth.

3 But he himself disdained their appeals, and with added insult, began to build across the site by constructing workshops. He left them a passageway that was both narrow and constrained in every direction.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

These insults did not restrain his love-of-silver; instead, they only drove him by rage to pursue more money. 13 Accordingly, he should have gone to Caesarea in order to extinguish the fire of the war which was beginning from there, and to dispose of the causes of the disturbance (it was on this account that he had taken compensation). But he rushed against Jerusalem with an army of both cavalry and infantry, so that he might work what he wanted1 with Roman weapons, and strip the city through anxiety and threats.

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

1 [Life] PRA / MW “child”
2 [Life] R: “Ephphasis” / AMW “Ephphasis” (uncertain, may possibly be the name “Ephah”)
4 [Life] it is possible that the Greek name was actually “Halitros”
5 but in, the “Greeks”
6 [War] C adds / Latin instead reads “infantry, which he intended to use”
attentively welcome Florus. 15 Yet he sent the centurion Capito ahead with fifty cavalrymen to direct them to withdraw, and not to feign courtesies now toward one whom they had shamefully insulted. 16 “For if you truly are noble and outspoken, it is indeed necessary for you to mock him when he is present; and to show yourselves to be lovers-of-freedom, not only in your words, but also with your weapons.”

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

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

20 But they indeed made it clear that the populace was peaceably disposed, but they sought pardon for those who had mattered careless things. 21 “For it is hardly surprising that, in such a large multitude, there are indeed men who are rather bold and foolish on account of their age. But it is infeasible to make a distinction1 to isolate those who are at fault, as everyone is now changing their minds and disowning what he has done. 22 Yet however, if your concern is for the peace of the nation, and if you wish to preserve the city for the Romans, it is necessary for you to pardon the few offenders for the sake of the many who are blameless, rather than to trouble such a large populace of non-incriminated people on account of a few wicked individuals. 23 This speech provoked Florus even more, and he began shouting at the soldiers to drive the multitude before them, which was called the Upper Market, and to kill those whom they encountered. But in their lust for gain, they drew strength from soldiers to thoroughly plunder what was called the Upper Market, and to kill those residents.

24 Now the citizens rushed through the alleyways, and those who were caught were murdered; but no manner of plundering was omitted. And they arrested many of the esteemed citizens, and brought them up to Florus. He had them first tortured with lashes, then crucified.

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

CHAPTER 3 [War 2:309-332]

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

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

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

Now indeed on the next day, the multitude, being extremely upset, streamed together into the Upper Market; and, with enormous shouts concerning those who had been destroyed, they broke into wailing; but the preponderance of their cries was also hostile against Florus.

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

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

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

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

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

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

18 This was the agreed signal that had been given for striking against them. Accordingly, the soldiers immediately surrounded them and began beating them with clubs; and the cavalry chased after anyone who fled, trampling them. Now many of the esteemed citizens, who were approaching, were able to be seen, indeed heaping dust on their heads, but bare-chested; their clothes having been rent. Now they were begging each of the notables by name, and the multitude in common, that they would not, by the slightest error of judgment, hand over their fatherland to those who were yearning to destroy it.

19 “For what benefit will the soldiers gain by receiving a greeting from us Judeans? Or what amendment can we obtain for what has happened if we refuse to go out now?2 20 But if they certainly welcome those who go out to approach them, as is the custom, the occasion for the war will indeed be cut away from Florus, but we will gain our fatherland and suffer nothing more. And besides, if we comply with a few seditious persons, it will show a terrible lack of control, especially when we, being a populace of such strength, should rather be compelling them to share in our own good sense1 as well.”

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20 But then the soldiers fell upon those whom they caught up with, beating them without restraint; and they kept pushing the multitude back through what was called Beth-Ezza,3 trying to force their way through and take control of the temple, as well as Antônia.

Since Florus was also intent on taking possession of these places, he led the soldiers which were with him out of the royal palace, and was struggling to reach the fortress. 21 Yet truly, he failed in his offensive. For the populace, having been turned back upon him, blocked his charge; and standing at intervals on the roofs, they kept throwing stones4 at the Romans. But the Romans were worn out after a long struggle with the projectiles from above, and became too weak to cut through the multitude which had blocked up the alleyways; so they began to withdraw into their encampment at the royal palace.

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

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

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

CHAPTER 4

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

10 But as for the Judean multitude, they turned both to the king and to the chief-priests, and kept pressing them to send elders to Neron against Florus; and that they would not, by holding their silence about such a great murder, indeed, be the cause of such a disturbance in the case of Florus. But the one who had begun this war, they would appear to have begun the hostilities themselves. 11 But it was clear that they were not about to acquiesce if anyone would block the body of elders.

Now Agrippa indeed thought that the task of electing men to go as Florus’ accusers would generate a grudge against him, but standing by and watching the Judeans, who had fanned the flames of a war, did not appear in his interest either. 12 But he summoned the multitude into the covered-colonnade, and placed his sister Berenikē alongside in plain view atop the house of the Hasimonians (for this building was above the covered-colonnade at the transition to the Upper City; and the covered-colonnade was connected to the temple by a bridge). Then Agrippa spoke the following:

CHAPTER 5

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

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

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

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

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

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

9 Now it is also deviant to make war against many on account of one, and to do so against such powerful people as are undertaking to make war. I shall further unravel this entanglement of pretexts. 10 And indeed, what we complain about might be swiftly rectified; for the same procurator does not remain forever, and it is probable that the successors to come will be more restrained. But once a war has been ignited, it is not easy either to lay it aside, nor to sustain it without calamities.

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

13 So at that time, when Pompeius was setting foot in the country, it would have been necessary to do everything to prevent the Romans from being admitted. 14 Instead, our ancestors and their kings (who were better positioned than you, in money, and in bodies, and in souls), indeed did not hold out against even a small portion of the Roman force. But yet you, who have indeed inherited submission as a tradition, but who are so much more inferior in your affairs than those who first submitted themselves, are setting yourselves against the entire Roman leadership?

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

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1 [War] AML/VRRC / P. “send out from his companions the one”
2 [War] VRRC / PAML omit “indeed” / Latin “Therefore”
3 [War] PMVRCC / AL, Latin “your”
yielding to the depths, but leading the army that was broader than Europa), they pursued him like a fugitive on a single ship, but broke Asia so mighty near tiny 1 Salamis. Even they are now enslaved to the Romans; and the city which is the leader of Hellas is administered by orders sent from Italia.

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

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

19 “But they sought something even more than this. For the whole Euphrates 1 on the east is not at all sufficient for them; nor the Istrōs on the north; nor even Libyōn by the south, which had been explored all the way to the uninhabited regions of the earth; and Gadir on the west. Instead, they sought another inhabited earth beyond Oceanos, and they carried their weapons all the way to the previously unexplored Britons and Germans. 20 “What, then? Are you richer than the Galatians? Stronger than the Germans? More intelligent than the Hellenes? More numerous than everyone throughout the inhabited earth? What persuasive force has propelled you against the Romans?

21 “Someone will say, ‘Being a slave is painful!’ How much more for the Hellenes? For they are first 3 in nobility of all those under the sun; and although they have a great country apportioned among themselves, they give way to six 4 bundles of Roman rods. But the Makedonians also give way to the same number, whose reason to contend for freedom is more righteous than yours. 22 But what about the 500 cities of India? Do they not bow down before one leader and the consulular bundle of rods, and this, even without a garrison?

23 “Need I speak of both the Héniochians and the Kolchians, and the tribe of the Tauri, both the Bosphorans and nations dwelling around the Pontos, and the Maïōtis? 24 Indeed, in the past, not a single master of their own was recognized among them, but now they are subject to 3,000 heavy-armed soldiers; and 40 long ships 5 pacify the formerly unnavigable and wild sea.

24 “How much do Bithynia, and Kappadokia, and the Pamphylion nation, both Lukians and Kilikians, have to say in behalf of freedom? For they are subject to tribute even without weapons. 6 And what about the Thrakians, who have seized a region, indeed five days in breadth but seven in length, both more numerous and subject to tribute than your nations are not easily enumerated, and which is marked off by both the Atlantic and the neighboring Oceanos, been 7 countless multitude of Numidians, been 8 able to resist the Romans’ excellence.

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

27 “No truly, if there are yet any people who might be understandably provoked by certainly great circumstances toward rebellion, it should obviously be those who have been enslaved by nature in the following way: indeed, on the east by the Alpes, 9 but on the north by the Rhenos River, but on the south by the Pyrénéan Mountains, but on the west by Oceanos. 28 Instead, they indeed have further been encompassed by such great defenses, but also abound with 305 nations, but have (as one might say) the springs of prosperity within the country itself, and their goodness is flooding-over nearly the whole inhabited earth—they tolerate being 10 revenue to the Romans, and serving as a paymaster for their very own domestic prosperity. 29 And they put up with this, not because of any softness in their minds or lack of nobility (having yet persevered in war for eighty years in behalf of freedom); instead, they do so in connection with the Romans’ power, and being astonished at their fortune which brings them success more than their weapons. For that very reason, they are enslaved under 1,200 soldiers, when they have almost more cities than that!

30 Nor, with the Iberians, did the gold which was being dug up suffice all for the war in behalf of freedom. Nor could such a great distance by land and sea from the Romans suffice for the Ares-mad peoples of the Lusitanians and Cantabrians; nor did neighboring Oceanos suffice, even while inflicting a surging tide which instills fear even in the locals. 31 Instead, after extending their weapons beyond the Monuments of Hercules, and traversing the Pyrénéan Mountains through masses-of-clouds, the Romans also enslaved these people. 

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

34 “But you who depend on the walls of Jerusalem, also consider the wall of the Britons. For the Romans sailed there and enslaved even those people who are surrounded by Oceanos, and who inhabit an island no smaller than our part of the inhabited earth beyond four legions. But we have nothing beyond the Romans’ fortune. 35 “And need I say much more, when even the Parthians (that most warlike people, who are chiefs of so many nations and have equipped themselves with such a large force) send hostages to the Romans, and in Italia it is possible to see (with peace as its justification) the nobility of the east enslaved to them?

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

38 “But they have subdued this entire third part of the inhabited earth, whose nations are not easily enumerated, and which is marked off by both the Atlantic and the Monuments of Hercules, and sustain the countless Ethiopians as far as the Red Sea. 39 But apart from their annual harvests, which feed the multitude in Roma for eight months, they are also subject to every kind of tribute; and they hand over their prepared tax levies for the services of the leadership. Nor do they, like you, consider any of the commands to be an outrage, even though a single legion was 11 a sufficient garrison for these, who were so hard to fight and living so remote.

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

44 “Therefore, when will your auxiliaries in the war come from? From the uninhabited regions? For indeed, all those in the inhabited earth are Romans; unless some of you extend your hopes beyond the Euphrates, 45 and suppose that your fellow-tribesmen from Hadyab are joining the defense. 46 But they will not embroil themselves with so serious a war for such an irrational cause. Nor would the Parthian grant permission to anyone who had decided to take such ill-counsel—for he shows concern for maintaining the truce with the Romans; and if
one of those under him were to move against the Romans, he would regard it as
violating that treaty.

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

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

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

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

58 When he had spoken these things in this way, both he and his sister wept.
Then, the multitude, in unison, rushed against a certain fortress called Masada. And

47 The word “quadrasses” is used here, which is a very old term for a large vessel.

59 At this, King Agrippa declared, “No, these actions are the same as making
war, I fail to understand what object you have for further hostilities. And
besieged

60 Pompeius, who was

61 The populace was persuaded by these words; and, along with both the king and

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

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

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

CHAPTER 6 [War2:408–432 / Life:17–20]

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

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

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

5 And, first, they expressed the great bitterness which they had at the
brazenness of the rebellion, and for having incurred such a great war in the
fatherland. Then, they turned to utterly refuting the irrationality of its justification,
seizing it by the multitude, our city not being allowed to sacrifice nor
to worship. Indeed, if such a law is introduced in the case of merely a single individual, they will
be indignant at the inhumanity of the exclusion. But you stood by, watching as the
Romans and Caesar were put outside the libation.

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

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

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

13 But I said these things even persistently with dissuasive pleading,
foreseeing that the outcome of the war would be utterly disastrous for us. Truly, I
was certainly not convincing. For the frenzy of these desperate men prevailed; 14
but not one of the revolutionaries would heed what was being said; instead, the
brigands 2 would not allow it, and thereby furnished the nourishment of the war.

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

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

2 may also be translated “he”
3 PAM / LVRC, M-margina, Latin, Pseudo-Hegesippus “attendants”
4 PAVF / LME, Latin “support”
who the war was being stirred up against. He also desired to save: indeed, the Judeans for the Romans, but the temple and the metropolis for the Judeans. Instead, understanding that the disturbance would not be for his own advantage, he sent 2,000 cavalry from both the Hawranites and Bashanites and the Trachonites for the defense of the populace. Indeed, all these were placed under Darayahas, as horse-chief, and Philippos son of Joakim, as general.

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

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

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

 Now the royal soldiers were inferior both in numbers and audacity, and yielded the whole multitude to those who had dislodged them from the Upper City; for the insurgents had control of the Lower City and the temple. Therefore they indeed incessantly used sling-stones and far-throwers; and there was a continuous discharge of projectiles from each of the slopes. And sometimes, companies made sallies, and they would fight. Indeed, the insurgents were conspicuous for their audacity, but the royal soldiers for their expertise.

 But when the foundations had burned down, the tower suddenly collapsed, but only to reveal a different wall which had been built from inside.

 For having perceived the plot beforehand, and because the tower could be secured on one side while the other had been undermined, those inside had prepared a second fortification for themselves. At this unexpected sight, a panic arose among those on the outside, who had been convinced that they were already in control.

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

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

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

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

 9 But on the following day, the chief-priest Hananiah, while trying to hide near the canal of the royal palace, was captured and done away with by the king’s bodyguard, while his brother Hezekiah. And the insurgents, now facing a wide road, kept a close watch so that none of the soldiers might escape.

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

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

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

 12 For he had gone up there to worship, a pompous man decked out in royal clothing, and drawing his armed zealots after him.

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

 14 Menahem’s party held out for a while; but when they saw that the whole multitude had rushed against them, they ran in whichever direction each was able to. And indeed, those who were apprehended were murdered, but those who concealed themselves were searched for. And a few came through safely after stealthily running off to Masada. Among them was Eleazar son of Jair, who was chief of the Galileans, and Philippos son of Joakim, as general.

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

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

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

CHAPTER 7 [War2:433-456 / Life2:1-23]

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

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1 may also be translated “bodyguard”

2 Latin “surrounding”

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

4 RAMW / P “advanced”
Menahem. 21 The populace repeatedly appealed for the soldiers to put a stop to the siege, but Eleazar’s party applied themselves even more vigorously.

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

20 But it was possible to see the cities filled with unburied bodies, and the corpses of old men scattered together with infants; also women without a covering for modesty. And indeed, the entire province was filled with indescribable calamities, yes, but still greater than what had been committed in each of these cases was the tension over 2 what was still being threatened.

CHAPTER 9 [War:2:466–480 / Life:26]

But the Skythopolitans behaved in the most impious and lawless manner of all. Indeed, up until these events, the Judeans’ assaults had only been against the foreigners, but while they were overrunning Skythopolis, they encountered the Judeans among them.10 But it was not easy for them to go on to this; for they were afraid of what was still being threatened. For they had neither contemplated any revolution or revolt from the Romans, nor enmity against the skythopolitans. Indeed, their numbers were so great that it might have been difficult to hold off all the Judeans from the Roman soldiers. For they had neither contemplated any revolution or revolt from the Romans, nor enmity against the Judeans themselves, nor were they plotting to.

3 But as soon as they were victorious, the Skythopolitans deliberately forgot the faithfulness which the Judeans among them had borne toward their neighbors and allies. For the extreme ardor they had was so great, that they had even been brought under suspicion. 4 Accordingly, the Skythopolitans became anxious that the Judeans among them might, in order to make amends to their own brothers for their defection, make an attempt on the city and inflict a great calamity. So the Skythopolitans directed them, that if they wanted to confirm their unity and demonstrate their trustworthiness to those of other nations, to move together with their families into the grove. 5 Now they did what had been ordered, without suspicion.

Indeed, the Skythopolitans remained quiet for two days, bating their trust. But on the third night, having closely observed that they were indeed unguarded but...
sleeping, they slaughtered them all. The number they rid of exceeded 13,000. But they plundered everyone’s possessions.

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

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

9 “You suffering justly for what I have done on your side, Skythopolitians, because I have proven our goodwill toward you by such a great slaughter of our blood-relatives. Indeed, for that very reason, we have experienced the untrustworthiness of foreigners, but have desecrated our own kinsmen to the utmost degrees.”

10 “Let me die by my own hands, as under a curse, for it is not fitting to die by those of our foes. 11 But at the same time, this should be both a just penalty for my pollution, and a praise for my manliness, in order that none of my enemies might boast about having slaughtered me, or glory over me as I fall.”

11 After saying these things, with eyes full of pity and fury, he carefully surveyed his own family, which consisted of a wife and children, and aged parents. 12 But first, he indeed drew up his father by his gray hairs, thrusting him through with his short-sword; after him, the willing mother; after these, both the wife and the children—one each almost rushing out to greet the short-sword, and in haste to anticipate their foes. 13 But even that same day he tore up the rest of his family, and stood in plain view upon their bodies. And raising up his right hand so as to conceal it from no one, he completely immersed his short-sword into his own slaughter. Indeed, he was a youth, who deserves to be pitied on account of his strength of body and determination of soul, but because of his faithfulness toward foreigners, he met the consequent suffering.

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

CHAPTER 10 [War:2:481a, 482-486 / Life:54-61]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER 11 [War:2:487–499a]

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

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

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

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

7 Yet truly, in trying to recall them to their senses, this man did not begin by resorting to arms; instead, he secretly sent in among them the notable men, who...
kept appealing them to desist and not to provoke the Roman army against themselves. But the seditious men, while jeering at this appeal, kept reviling Tiberius.

8 Since he fully understood that nothing but great calamity would cause the revolutionaries to desist, he let loose upon them the two Roman legions which were in the city, and together with them, 2,000 soldiers from Libye (who were present by chance), for the ruin of the Judeans. Now he permitted them not only to do away with the Judeans, but instead to even plunder their possessions and to incinerate their houses.

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

10 But similarly, Cestius also sent larger numbers of cavalry to the Narbatian toparchy,1 which shared a border with Caesarea. Truly, they both cut through the land and utterly-destroyed of a vast multitude of the countrymen, both plundering their possessions, and incinerating their villages.

11 But Cestius sent Caesennius Gallus, leader of the twelfth legion, into Galilee, and handed over to him as many of his force as he considered would suffice against the nation. 2 Tzippori, the most stalwart city of Galilee, welcomed him with an acclaim: For, acting on the wise advice of this one, remained placid. But the insurgents and brigands in the district fled to the center-most mountain in Galilee, which indeed lies opposite Tzippori but is called Atzmon. So Gallus led his force against them.

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

CHAPTER 12[War:2:513–555 / Life:24a]

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

3 But Cestius proceeded from Antipatris to Lod, where he seized the city easily taken. For, on account of the festival of Booths, the whole multitude had gone up to Jerusalem. But the fifty of those who did show themselves, they utterly-deestroyed. And after burning down their town, he resumed his advance. And he went up through Beth-Horon, and encamped at a certain place called Gideon, 50 stadia away from Jerusalem.

But when the Judeans realized that the war was now drawing near the metropolis, they abandoned the festival and took themselves to arms. And taking great confidence in their multitude, they sprawl forward into the battle in disarray but4 with a great shout. They did this without any consideration of the seventh day rest, for a sabbath was certainly their most important religious commitment.

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

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

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

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

11 Now Agrippa, having fully recognized that the Romans’ situation was not free of danger while a countless multitude of their foes was occupying the mountains, decided to subject the Judeans to a trial by words. For either he would persuade all of them to desist from warring, or he would cause the part which was not in agreement to defect from those who were arrayed in opposition. 12 Therefore, he sent to them the most conspicuously notable men whom he had with him, both Barkai5 and Phoibos, and promised them that Cestius would both give them his right hand to pledge and a sure pardon from the Romans for the offenses they had committed, if they would throw down their weapons and return to them.

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

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1 [War] PAM / LVRG. Lat “5,000”  
2 [War] PAL / MVRC “they turned aside”  
3 [War] PAM / LVRC, Lat “5,000”  
4 [War] Hebrew emendation / some “Borcius” / others “Borceus”  
5 [War] PAL, Lat / MVRC “province”
indignant at this, they herded back into the town, striking them with stones and sticks. 15 But when Cestius saw that their disturbances against one another afforded him an opportunity for a strike, he brought up his whole force; and after he had routed them, he pursued them as far as Jerusalem. 16 Now he encamped on what is called Skopos, which is seven stadia away from the city. But for three days, he made no attempt on the city, expecting that those inside might make a quick surrender. But at the end, he disoriened many of his soldiers into the surrounding villages in order to plunder their grain.

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

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

21 Now many of the most men of the populace, having been persuaded by Hanan (a boy of Jonathan), kept calling Cestius, saying that they were going to open up the gates for him. 22 But, again and again, he kept coming to the verge of acceptance, but never did anything. And this partly because he disliked them in his anger, and partly because he did not entirely trust them. This lasted until the insurgents perceived the betrayal. Indeed, they threw Hanan’s party off the wall; and pelted them with stones, they herded them into their houses; but they themselves positioned themselves at intervals on the towers, where they bombarded those who were attempting to scale the wall.

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

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

26 But terrible anxiety seized the insurgents. Now many of them were already running out of the city in the belief that it was on the verge of being captured. But it happened that the populace was encouraged by this; and the more the wicked men relented, the closer they approached the gates, with the intention of opening them. 27 Accordingly, since Cestius had not comprehended either the despair of the besieged, nor the state of mind among the populace, he suddenly recalled his soldiers. And having renounced his hopes, he most astonishingly decamped from the city.

But for three days, he suffered considerable injury, without inflicting any retaliatory harm at all on their enemies. 30 But at daybreak, when the Judeans perceived that it was on the verge of being captured, they made no attempt on the city, expecting that those inside might make a quick surrender. But on the following day, they were wounding them from behind. Indignant, they kept calling out the watchwords of the encampment guards, in order that the Judeans would be made to believe that the entire force still remained in that place, while he himself took the remainder with him and stealthily proceeded another 30 stadia.

31 But at this unexpected retreat of his, the brigands, having regained their courage, sallied out against those at the rear and utterly-destroyed large numbers of cavalry and infantry. 32 Therefore indeed, at the present, Cestius passed that night in his encampment at Skopus; but on the following day, by separating himself further, he invited his foes to follow him even more. And concentrating their force on the rear, the brigands began to utterly-destroy them. And distributing themselves on either side of the road, the brigands kept hurling javelins at their flanks.

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

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

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

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

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

35 And here, since the infantry was at a loss as to how to assist themselves, the predicament was even more precarious for the cavalry. For, while being bombarded, they were unable to proceed down the road in military order, and the baggage, but even the beasts of burden, were utterly-destroyed, with an exception of those which transported the projectiles and the machines. For these they carefully preserved, both on account of need, and, especially, because they were anxious that these weapons might be captured by the Judeans and used against them. Then he led the force toward Beth-Horon.

36 And this was partly because he disdained the cavalry, the picked men, and the majority of their other weapons, which the Judeans then took and used to repel those who had gone ahead indeed blocked their egress, while others drove those at the rear down into the ravine. But with the whole Judean multitude strung out above the neck of the road, they kept coating the phalanx with projectiles.

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

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

39 But at daybreak, when the Judeans perceived that the Romans’ quarters were deserted, they rushed upon the 400 who had deceived them. Indeed, they quickly shot them down with javelins, but then began to pursue Cestius. 40 But he had made considerable gains during the night; and now that it was day, he was fleeing even more quickly, to the extent that the soldiers, in consternation and anxiety, abandoned both the baggage2 and the sharpened-bolt-launchers, and the majority of their other weapons, which the Judeans then took and immediately began using against those who had left behind them.

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

42 Indeed, the Judeans suffered only a few losses, but had done away with 5,300 infantry of the Romans and their auxiliaries, as well as 480 cavalry. Therefore, this defeat indeed happened on the eighth of the month Dios, in the twelfth year of the leadership of Nerō.

CHAPTER 14 [War2:556-560a / 1Lec2:27, 24b, 28-29]

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

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1 [War] PAL / Lat / MVRC “together downward into the narrow descent”
2 [War] P / A “Bethatha” / MVRC “Bezetha” / L “Bethzetha” / Lat “Bezeta”
3 [War] PAMVRC, Lat / A “Bethaza” / MVRC “Bezetha” / L “Bethzetha” / Latin “Bezeta”
4 [War] PL / A “Bethaza” / Lat / MVRC “Bezetha” / “Bezeta”
5 [War] MVRC / PA “undetermined”
6 [War] PL / A “Amphanx” / MVRC “380”
7 [War] PAL / Lat / MVRC / “immuring”
Antipas, who was besieged in the royal palace with these men, disdained escape, and was later utterly-destroyed by the insurgents.

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

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

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

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

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

12 But they selected different generals for Edom:

Joshua son of Sapphijah one of the chief-priests.

And Eleazar son of the younger1 chief-priest.

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

13 But they did not neglect the other country:

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

But Manasseh was sent into Peraia.

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

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

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

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

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

17 So they sent me, along with two other good, fine men who were priests: Jozeer and Judah, in order to persuade the writhes to lay down their weapons, and to teach them that it was preferable to reserve these weapons for the nation’s most elite men. Now it was agreed that these elites would indeed always have their weapons ready for the future, but would wait patiently to learn what the Romans would do.

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

Therefore, with these preliminaries, I arrived in Galilee. 2 Of the cities in Galilee, the greatest are Tzippoor and Tiberias. Instead, Tzippoor, indeed situated in the very center of Galilee, and having numerous villages around it, and powerful enmity against Jews, and having even compelled many to do so against their will, had determined to stand firm in faithfulness to its masters. 3 And indeed, I found the Tzipporites holding fast in a major struggle for their fatherland; for the Galileans were determined to take it as plunder on account of the Tzipporites’ friendship toward the Romans, and because they had given their right hand in pledge and their faithfulness to Cestius Gallus, who was the leader of Syria.

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

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

7 There were three factions in this city:

Now the first consisted of elegant men, but was headed by Julius Capellus. 8 And they composed the history of these events, as if he could overcome the truth itself by fabricating power for himself out of the upheaval. 9 Therefore, he came into their midst, trying to teach the multitude, “This city has always been the capital of Galilee since the times of its founder, Hêrodes the tetrarch, whose intention was for the city of the Tzipporites to submit to the city of the Tiberians. But even under King Agrippa the father, you did not relinquish this primacy, but it even remained until Felix was set over Judah.

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

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

17 But at that time, Justus, having persuaded the citizens to take up arms and to join with the Galileans as allies. For due to the hatred they have toward the Tzipporites for maintaining their faithfulness to the Romans, they are willing to begin, and with a mighty hand, to bring retribution upon them.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER 16  [Life:62~69 / War2:596b]

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

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

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

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

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

For we, after our conversation with Capella3 and the principal men of the Tiberians, had withdrawn from Beth-Meon into upper Galilee. But Jeshua's party disposed of all the Hellenic residents as well as everyone else who had been their enemies prior to the war.

8 But when I discovered these events, I was utterly provoked. And I went down to Tiberias to provide care for the royal furnishings, to secure as much as possible from the plunderers. Now there were Corinthian candlesticks, and royal tables, and a large stash of uncoined silver. But all of it, whatever I took, I determined to keep for the king. 9 Therefore, I sent for the ten principal men of the council and Capella3 son of Antyllos, and handed the furnishings over to them, also transmitting a message to them that they should give these things to no one else except me.

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

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

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

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

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

7 And then, Johanan complemented this knavish trick by contriving a second very shrewd trick. He first insisted that all the Judeans of Syria should avoid using olive-oil unless it had been dispensed by a fellow-trihsman. For there were Judeans living in Philippoi who had been living in the region of Phrygia, in the district of Halav, to make a large profit at the expense of the wealthy citizens.

8 And Johanan claimed that these Judeans, since they had no pure olive-oil available to use, had sent a request to him asking that he make provision for them by furnishing a solution, so that they would not violate the legal standards by having to use the Hellenic variety. So he applied for permission to send it to them at the frontier.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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1 possibly “sons of the Aganaiai”

2 “R adds possibly "sons of the Aganaiai"

3 “R adds possibly "sons of the Aganaiai"

4 “R adds possibly "sons of the Aganaiai"

5 “R adds possibly "sons of the Aganaiai"

6 possibly emendation “viceroy Modius”

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

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

Now I also enlisted a force of more than 100,000 youths out of Galilee. While training them, I equipped them with the old weapons which had been collected. Then I realized that the Romans owed their invincible strength primarily to prompt obedience and armed exercise. Indeed, I abandoned the teaching obtained by practice; but seeing that the Romans’ prompt obedience was due to the discipline of their leaders, I divided my army in Roman fashion and appointed more squadron-chiefs. For both created distinctions among the soldiers, and indeed put them under decurions, and centurions,6 and then tribunes; above these, there were leaders in charge of bulkeriag legions.

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

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

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

These were the ways in which I persistently encouraged them. And indeed, the force which was ready for battle, which I had welded together, was indeed comprised of 60,000 infantry, but 350 cavalry; now apart from these, about 4,500 mercenaries, in whom I had particular confidence; but I also had a picked bodyguard of 600 men.

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

CHAPTER 18 [Life8:103 / War2:614-623]

I was, accordingly, about thirty years old. At this time, even if one restrains his lawless yearnings, it is difficult, especially in a position of great authority, to escape the desire to dominate even as I did. I preserved this fondness for荣誉; I was persuaded by the Tiberian multitude to make a public speech. Now I stood on a certain bank six cubits high to address the populace, and began trying to discuss with them what had been in the letters, and I appealed to them not to defect so quickly. For the upheaval would bring them a poor reputation, and that someone set over them in the future would have justifiable suspicion that they would not maintain their faithfulness to him either.

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

Now Johanan, having discovered that I had been isolated with my attendants, selected the most trustworthy of the heavy-armed soldiers surrounding him out of the thousands who were with him. And he ordered those whom he selected to say to me that they were with me, and not with anyone else. And the exception of one man whom I retained along with ten heavy-armed soldiers. Then I was persuaded by the Tiberian multitude to come and see the Roman people. Now the counsel they gave was shared even by my friends, who had been saved from Tiberias.
25 But I could not give my consent, as I was terrified at the thought of initiating a civil war; and I grew anxious that if a civil war was set in motion on account of the envy of a few men, it might bring the city to ruin. For I thought that this love-of-strife should proceed no further than words.

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER 19 [Life:104-125, 346h / War:2:593~594]

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

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

4 Truly, his malicious purpose did not attain its end. For when he was close upon me, one of his men deserted him and came to me, and told me about his plot. Concerning what was happening in the country, he might not either way me somewhere as I marched out to provide assistance; or, if I stood by and overlooked the brigands, he might slander me before the countrymen.

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER 20 [Life:126-144 / War:2:595~610a]

At this time, some audacious youths from the village of Daberath, who were guards posted in the Great Plain, had closely observed the wife of Ptolemaios, the
procurator of King Agrippa and Berenike; and they laid an ambush. She was traveling through the Great Plain from a country subject to the royal jurisdiction into that of Roman dominion. And she had with her great provision and was protected by an escort of cavalry. 2 And indeed, these men suddenly fell upon them and compelled the woman to flee, but plundered all the baggage which was being escorted.

But being unable to secretly dispose of what they had stolen, they brought all of it to me at Tarichea, with four miles laden with no small quantity of expensive garments and other articles. But there were even a multitude of silver goblets and 500 pieces of gold.

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

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

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

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

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

12 Now Johanan instigated a great many; but Jehuda son of Sapphijah was the primary instigator. At that time, he was a chief of Tiberias, a wicked man, and who had a natural disposition for disrupting serious affairs, and who was uninvited in fomenting both sedition and revolution. And many of Moses into his hands, and came into the center, declaring, 13 “Citizens, if you are even unable to hate Joseph for your own sakes, fix your eyes on your country’s laws, which your principal general is about to betray. And for their sakes, hate the wicked man and wreak vengeance on the insolent man!”

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

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

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

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

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

21 But this humble appearance was merely part of my stratagem, and it was designed to make my indignant opponents dissolve into seditions against each other. 22 So when I perceived the multitude’s reversal, I endeavored to create further disagreement in their opinions before the heavy-armed soldiers returned from my house. So I promised that I would confess everything, and I admitted that, according to their view of the matter, I had indeed committed an unrighteous action. But I entreated them to first allow me to inform them for what purpose I was reserving the money obtained by the raid; then I would die, if they directed it. 23 Then when the multitude permitted, indeed, directed, me to speak, the heavy-armed soldiers appeared; and, at the sight of me, they rushed forward to kill me. But the multitude directed them to hold off. They complied, expecting that I would confess having kept the money for the king, and then they would do away with me after I had confessed the betrayal.

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER 21 [Life145-154 / War2:410b-413]
Now the brigands and the promoters of the sedition, terrified that they might receive a rightful-punishment from me for what they had done, made an assault upon me with 2,000 armed men. And I outran them, reaching my residence before they did. So they gathered up 600 heavy-armed soldiers, and came to the house where I was dwelling in order to set it on fire. But they threatened me from outside.
2 Now when a message about this impending assault reached me, I indeed considered it undignified to flee, but I decided to risk a rather courageous course of action. Therefore I resorted to a second delusion. For I ordered the doors of the house to be shut, and I went up to the upper level. And from the top, I motioned with my right hand for them to be silent.

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

4 On hearing this, the notables, along with the chiefs, entered the house. But I drew them to the innermost part of the house and shut the outer door. Then I had them whipped until they were flayed to their innards. Now after I had tormented the most audacious one among them with whips, I directed one of his hands to be severed and hung about his neck. For they supposed that inside I had a force greater than their own. Therefore, becoming anxious, that if they remained, they would also suffer the same fate themselves, they immediately dropped their weapons and fled. This was the stratagem which I used to elude this second plot formed against me.

5 But there were still some who kept rousing the crowd to anger against me, and said that the great men of the king (who had come to me) ought not to live because they refused to conform to the customs of those with whom they had sought refuge. They also slandered them as being sorcerers and preventers of the Romans from entering the city. And this spectacle instilled consternation, coupled with horror and no moderate fear, into those who threatened me. For they supposed that inside I had a force greater than their own. Therefore, becoming anxious, that if they remained, they would also suffer the same fate themselves, they immediately dropped their weapons and fled. This was the stratagem which I used to elude this second plot formed against me.

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

7 According to our plan, the Tiberians had already been enwalled. Therefore I trusted friends at the gates in order to keep a check on the apparent necessity.

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

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

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

12 I was also deeply distressed at being driven to put these refugees back into the territory of their foe. But I thought it better for them to perish (if that should be their fate) rather than be taken as captives. But even still, to avoid being taken as captives, they immediately dropped their weapons and fled. This was the stratagem which I used to elude this second plot formed against me.

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

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15 And a certain man immediately ran over to me at Tarichea, bringing me a message describing their disposition toward me, that they had determined to defect from me. 16 Now when I heard this, I was very disturbed; for I had already dismissed all my heavy-armed soldiers from Tarichea to their homes to forage grain, because the next day was a sabbath; for I did not want the Taricheans to be harassed by a multitude of soldiers. 17 Accordingly, whenever I dwelt among them, I never made provision for the protection of my own body, having received so many proofs of the inhabitants’ faithfulness.

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

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

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

21 Then, I collected all the seacrafts which I could find on the lake, which numbered 230. And I summoned the heads of families and directed each of them to bring seven men, to ship with more than four sailors in each (including a pilot), and follow me to the city of the Tiberians. 12 So I myself, along with my friends and the seven heavy-armed soldiers previously mentioned, embarked, quickly setting sail for Tiberias.

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

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

24 Now I drew near in a certain boat and began to severely threaten and reprimand the people, indeed first for their folly, that after taking up arms against the Romans, they would waste their strength beforehand on seditions among their own kinsmen and so fulfill their enemies’ greatest desires. Then I reprimanded those few who remained who had been so audacious as to try to prevent my entry, and who had enwalled the city, the very man who had enwalled it. 17 But even still, despite these threats, I promised them that I was ready to forgive them in the time to come, if they would send me ten of the multitude’s foremost men to apologize for their actions, and through whom I might secure the city.

25 Now they readily accepted this proposal, and they sent me those ten most powerful men of Tiberia, who came down to me. And these I indeed put on board one of the fishing-boats and sent them far off to be kept under guard at Tarichea. But I required fifty more to come forward, the most notable men of the council, as if I were intending to give them a pledge for their security. 19 Then, inventing one new pretext after another, I called forth one party after another, as if to ratify the agreement. 20 Now I directed the pilots of the boats which had been filled in this manner to quickly set sail to Tarichea and to confine these men in prison. Now in the end, by this stratagem, I indeed arrested the whole council of 600 members, but also about 2,000 of the principal men of the populace, and shipped them off to Tarichea in seacrafts part by part.

26 But when the multitude who remained saw into what great ruin they had come, they kept shouting that the one primarily responsible for the defection was a certain man named Kleitos, a youth who was both audacious and reckless. And
they kept urging for me to wreak vengeance and to fix my anger upon this author of the defection.

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

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

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

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

27 Now once I arrived in Tarichea, the Tiberians perceived the type of generalship which I had employed against them, and they were awestruck at how I had ended their foolishness without bloodshed. 28 But now I sent for those of the Tiberian multitude who were in prison. Now among these were Justus and his father Pistos, and I made them my dinner guests. And after the banquet, I said to them, "I myself know very well that the power of the Romans is surpassing everything; however, I have kept quiet about it because of the brigands."

29 Now when Modius received the letters, he was very delighted and informed the Babelians in Bashan.

30 But the chief priests, and the leaders of the people, and the elders of the city, and the members of the town council, and the members of the Pharisees, who have the reputation of being unbending and mighty, have them dispatched to the royalties.

31 And when Modius received the letters, he was very delighted and informed the Babelians in Jerusalem to slander me, and to go out of my own guards, and cut off Kleitos' hands. So he said to them, "It will be to your advantage, to cut me down, and not permit my glory to soar to its pinnacle."

32 And recognizing that Galil was bring back to the city the Romans is surpassing everything, however, I have kept quiet about it because of the brigands."

33 I likewise counselled them to do the same, to wait and prepare to leap out of my own guards, and cut off Kleitos' hands. So he said to them, "It will be to your advantage, to cut me down, and not permit my glory to soar to its pinnacle."

34 He brought Tiberias back to myself, with empty searcrafts and seven spearmen.

35 Now before these things, it happened that Philippos had risen against the Babelians and disposed of Philippos' relative Charés, and after the banquet. In the morning, I directed that all the prisoners should be released.

36 Now once I arrived in Tarichea, the Tiberians perceived the type of generalship which I had employed against them, and they were awestruck at how I had ended their foolishness without bloodshed.

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

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

CHAPTER 24 [Life:190-203 / War:2:626-628, 629B]

Accordingly, Johanan now sent his brother Simon, and Jonathan son of Sisenna, with about 100 heavy-armed soldiers, as secret messengers to Simon son of Gamaliel, and to induce the Jerusalemite commonality to deprive me of the government over the Galileans, and to vote that authority to him. 3 (Indeed, although the populace already knew these things, they did not take them seriously. But some of the powerful men, along with some of the chieftains, were motivated by envy.)

4 Now Simon was indeed from the city of Jerusalem, but of a very illustrious race, but also of the sect of the Pharisees, who have the reputation of being unbending and mighty, have them dispatched to the royalties.

5 And when Modius received the letters, he was very delighted and informed the Babelians in Jerusalem to slander me, and to go out of my own guards, and cut off Kleitos' hands. So he said to them, "It will be to your advantage, if he is removed from Galilee."

6 Therefore, as soon as he had received the appeal, he tried to persuade the chief-priests Hanan, and Jeshua son of Gamaliele, along with some others of their faction, in me to take them to the war; and they did not grant them personal permission to go with them. Then many of the Romans was surpassing everything, however, I have kept quiet about it because of the brigands."

7 Now Joseph, the son of a female-healer, induced many audacious youths to join him. And he exerted pressure upon the principal men at Gamala, and persuaded them to defect from the king and to take up weapons, so that with these they might regain their freedom. So they indeed forced some into compliance, while those who did not concur with their decisions, they did away with. 8 But they also killed Charés, and along with him they did away with Jeshua, one of his relatives and the brother of Justus of Tiberias.

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

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

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

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

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

16 Now the hatred which Johanan son of Levi bore toward me because of my success grew more intense. Therefore, having determined to have me removed by any means, he, of his own accord, indeed similarly enveloped his fatherland, Gish-Halav, which was done as I directed. But all the other fortifications were built when I was present, laboring alongside them and issuing orders.
to Hanan’s party; for he declared, “In this way, I will induce them to change their opinions.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER 25 [Life:204-215 | War:262-269]a

Now Jeshua son of Gamaliel, who had been present in that same council, who was my friend and associate, divulged these matters to my father, saying indeed that an army was on its way to the region, but could not clarify the reason, as they had received instructions from those who sent them that, indeed, in my presence a multitude of Galileans had come to me, and said, “We have heard that your father sent an army to the region, and so we have come to you.” After my father wrote to me about this, I was deeply distressed, for I realized that it was because of envy that the citizens had become so ungrateful to me to the point that they would order me to be done away with. So my father kept earnestly requesting me in his documents to come to him; for he longed to behold his son before he came to his-end.

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

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

7 But that night I beheld a marvelous dream-vision. For when I had retired to bed, sorrowful and disturbed by what had been written to me, a certain individual appeared standing over me and said, “O suffering one! Cease from sorrowing in your soul, but let go of all fear. For what now sorrow you will produce greatness and good-fortune in every respect. Now you will set straight not only these matters, but instead many others as well. Do not exhaust yourself, but remember that you must also make war with the Romans.”

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER 26 [Life:216-232]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

11 On hearing this, I wrote the following reply:
Joseph to Jonathan and his companions, greetings.

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

I2 Therefore, I indeed ought to have gone, not merely to Cesalotholoth, but indeed further, to wait upon you, even without your directions. But I must request that you excuse me for my inability to do so, as I am here at Cabul, keeping watch on Placidus, who is meditating to go up into Galilee. Therefore, when you have received this letter, come to me.

Farewell.

I3 When I had written this letter and handed it to the soldier, I sent him off, accompanied by 30 Galileans of the highest esteem, whom I indeed enjoined to greet those men, but not to say anything else. But I arranged for a chaperon to accompany each of those trustworthy heavy-armed soldiers, to watch them in order to see that no conversation would take place between those whom I sent and Jonathan’s party. So they indeed went off.

I4 But foiled in their first attempt, Jonathan’s party sent me another letter as follows:

Jonathan and his companions, to Joseph, greetings.

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

I5 After they had written this letter and greeted the Galileans whom I had sent, they went on to Japhia, the largest village in Galilee. It had very strong walls and was completely full of inhabitants. Now there the multitude came out to meet them, along with women and children; and they kept crying out, directing them to leave, and not to begrudge them their general.

I6 Now Jonathan’s party was irritated by these outrages. And indeed, they did not dare to reveal their anger, but they made no answer, and proceeded on their route to the other villages. But similar outrages met them on all sides, the people saying, “No one shall induce us to change our minds about having Joseph for our general!”

I7 But unsuccessful, Jonathan’s party departed and went to Tzippori, the largest city in Galilee. Now here, the humans, whose minds were inclined toward the Romans, went to meet them. Indeed, they did not praise me; but they did not revile me either.

CHAPTER 27 [Life:233~265]

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

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

And from there I wrote them the following:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

22 Then I began by first reminding Jonathan’s party about their letter, how they had written that they had been sent by the Jerusalemite commonality to settle my quarrels with Johanan, and how they had invited me to come to them. 23 And
as I related these things, I held out the letter in their midst so that they could deny nothing, the documents themselves reproving them.

24 Then I declared, “Now look, Jonathan, and you, his fellow-elders. If I was judged according to my behavior in comparison to Johanan, and had brought some two or three fine, good men as witnesses,2 it is evident that you would have been compelled, after also examining their character, to acquit me of these charges. 25 Therefore, in order that you may know that I have acted fairly throughout Galilee, I indeed consider even three witnesses’ too few for one who had lived fairly. Now I present you with all these. 26 Therefore, ask them how I have lived, whether I have conducted affairs here with all dignity and all excellence. And you, Galileans, I adjure you by oath to conceal nothing of the truth, but to say in the presence of these men, as before judges, whether there is anything that I have not done fairly.3

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER 28 [Life:266~308]

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

2 I declared, “If they are moved by your words, request that the commonality of the city of the Tiberians should not be impetuously carried away by their anger, especially in this case involving irremediable retributions. But when I came near Suginin, I halted the multitude. And I exhorted them not to be impetuously carried away by their anger, especially in this case involving irremediable retributions. Then I directed 100 of their principal men, who were already advanced in age, to prepare to travel to the city of the Jerusalemites in order to petition them for safe passage for generating seditions in the country.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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1 literally “testifiers”
2 literally “testifiers”
3 [Life] MW / PRA omit “first”
For it is fitting for good men, not only to give counsel, but instead, in case of pressing need, to lead the way in providing aid." I declared, "For it is not possible for me to lead more than one unit."

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

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

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

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

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

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

Now they said, “Yes, with us.” But he said, “And the twenty gold pieces which you received from the sale of a certain stash of uncoined silver, what has become of that?”

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

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

Now these statements provoked the multitude. For they now detected the wickedness of these humans. And I realized that a sedition was about to be ignited. So wishing to further irritate the populace against these humans, I said, “Yet instead, if I did not act correctly by paying your elders from the public fund, cease from your bitterness. For I shall pay back the twenty gold pieces myself.”

When I had said these things, indeed Jonathan’s party fell silent, but the populace began to provoke him against them by this obvious demonstration of unrighteous ill-toward me.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER 29 [Life:309~335 / War:2:645b~646a]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

12 But the men (for they imagined that Jonathan’s party had already reached Jerusalem) made abusive answers to me. Yet I was not struck down with astonishment, but I was contriving a stratagem to be outgeneraling them. 13 Therefore, indeed, I did not suppose that it was pious to be kindling-forth a war against the citizens. But desiring to snatch them away from the Tiberians, I, after I selected 10,000 of my best heavy-armed soldiers, divided them into three units/ And I indeed ordered these to wait patiently in shelters, 2 inconspicuously laying a ambush. 14 But I led another 1,000 into another village. It was indeed
mountainous, but four stadia away from Tiberias. And I directed them to descend immediately when they received a signal. But I myself, having advanced from the village, took a seat in plain view.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER 30 [Life:308–389 / War:2;624–625, 632a, 645b–646]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

19 Now on the following day, many gathered together from every quarter, and came into the city of Shikhin, where I was then lodging. And they made loud outcries, calling Tiberias a traitor and a fraud. 20 Now when I heard about this, I was at a loss as to how I might spare Tiberias from the Galileans’ anger. For I could not deny that the Tiberians had written an invitation to the king; for the responses he wrote to them expressed the
truth. 21 Therefore, after being in deep thought for a while, I said, "The Tiberians had acted unrighteously, as I am well aware. Now I will not deter you from plundering their city, but even such things must be done with discretion. For the Tiberians were not the only betrayers of your freedom, instead, so were many of the most esteemed men in Galilee. 22 So wait until I can find out precisely who the instigators are. Then you will have them all at your mercy, along with as many as you are able to bring forward on your own behalf."

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

12 But on the following day, after I posted an ambuscade in a certain ravine not far from their palisade, I then provoked the royal soldiers to a battle. I exhorted my own soldiers to set their backs to them, until they were able to entice the royal soldiers to go forward, which also happened. 13 For when Sulla figured that we were truly fleeing, he came forward and was ready to pursue us. But those emerging from the ambush took him from behind and threw them all into a great disorder.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER 32 [War:3:1-8]

Now when Nerō was informed of the reverses sustained in Judah, he was filled, as was natural, with secret consternation and alarm, but in public, he manifested disdain and was angered, saying, 2 "Indeed, these unfortunate incidents were due to the madness of our generalship rather than to the excellence of our foes." 3 But the majesty of the leadership made him think it fit for him to treat such misfortunes with lofty contempt and to appear to possess a soul superior to all accidents. 4 He deliberated: To whose souls he could entrust the East in its present commotion? Whom indeed could be entrusted with the task of bringing retribution upon the Judean insurgents, while also preventing a revolt of the neighboring nations, which were already catching the contagion? 4 He could find no one but Vespasianus equal to the task and capable of undertaking a war of such a vast scale.

This man, had, from his youth, grown old in his service in the army. And earlier in his career, he had already pacified and indeed restored the West to Roman rule, when it had been put into disorder by the Germans. But through
arms, he had also obtained Britain (which until then was almost unknown); 5 and, in this way, he afforded Nerō’s father Claudius the honors of a triumph without costing him any personal exertion.

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

Now this plain was extensive and wholly adapted for cavalry maneuvers. 8 And this circumstance materially assisted the Romans and occasioned great murder among the Judeans. For the cavalry both advanced ahead of them, and made the fugitives turn back. Then breaking through those who were crowded together, they did away with them in masses. But in whatever direction they were, imagined, in their unbroken success, that they even outnumbered their enemy, for their ranks were unbroken by any sort of interval. But Antonius’ party was unwilling either to expend their strength upon a tower that was almost impregnable, or to allow their foes’ leader and bravest hero to escape alive. So they set fire to the walls. 10 Now on seeing the tower in flames, the Romans indeed retired rejoicing, believing that Niger had also perished with it. But he had leapt from the fortress, taking refuge in a cave in its recesses.

And three days later, his lamenting friends, while searching for him for burial, heard his voice beneath them. 11 Now his reappearance filled all the Judeans with unexpected joy, as they thought that God’s foresight had preserved him to be their general in conflicts to come.

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

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

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

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

26 And at this city, the only people of that province who displayed peaceable sentiments were the inhabitants of Tzipporih in Galilee, who went out to meet Vespasianus and greeted him. So with an eye to their own security and a sense of disturbances which had occurred and the civil war, he returned to the king.

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

CHAPTER 34 [War:35–38]

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

1 PAM⁴ / Let “Challat” / others “Sallus”
Agrippa’s kingdom. Now on the north it is bounded by both Zor and the country of the Zorites.

And indeed, Lower Galilee extends in length from Tiberias to Cabul, which is not far from its neighbor Polemias-by-the-Sea. Now in breadth it extends from Chusuloth Village in the Great Plain to Beersheba. And at this point begins Upper Galilee, which extends in breadth to Baka Village, which is the border of Zorian land. Now in length, it reaches from Talil Village near the Jordan to Meremoth.

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

10 But in a word, if Galilee is considered inferior to Perea on account of its size, it must be given the preference due to its abundant resources. For indeed, it is entirely under cultivation and produces crops from one end to the other. But Perea, is indeed far more extensive, but for the most part is desert and rugged, and too wild to bring tender fruits to maturity. 11 Yet, truly, there are tracts of finer soil and it produces every kind of fruit; and its plains are covered with a variety of trees: the olive-tree, and the vine, and the palm are the ones which are primarily cultivated. It is watered both by torrents descending from the mountains; and by springs which never dry up, and which provide sufficient moisture for the vine, as well as for the olive and palm. Accordingly, every inch of the soil has been cultivated by its inhabitants, and not one portion lies fallow. Instead, the cities are also thickly distributed; and even the multitude of villages, thanks to the fertility of the soil, are all so densely populated that the smallest of them contains over 15,000 inhabitants.

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

23 Now this last country, beginning at Mount Lebanon and the springs of the Jordan, extends in breadth to Lake Tiberias; but in length, from a village called Ampha to Julias. Now it contains a mixed population of Judeans and Syrians. This indeed, as concise as possible, is my description of both the Judean country and of their neighbors.

CHAPTER 35 [Wars:3:59-69 / Life:411b]

1 [War] others “Silon” / possible emendation “Heshbon”
2 [War] Lat “Ainah, which is also called Berkit”
3 [War] C / others “Iorita”
4 literally “the”
5 literally “she”

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER 36 [Wars:110-131]

Indeed, while Vespasianus, simultaneously with his1 boy Titus, was spending time for-a while at Polemias, he was putting his2 forces in order. But while Placidus was running-down Galilee, he indeed, had done-away with a vast multitude of the ones who were being overtaken by him. This was the weaker part of the Galileans and the part which was being-hunted by their flights. 2 But while he was seeing that the fighting men always fled-together into the cities which were enwalled by me, Joseph, he rushed against Jodphat, the most-fortified city of them all. Yet, it was imagining that it would be easy to take it by a sudden assault, and, by this means, that he would procure for himself a high reputation among his leaders and would acquire a considerable advantage for their future expedition. For he thought that once the most-steadfast city had fallen, anxiety would induce the other cities to surrender.

3 Yet truly, he greatly failed in this hope. For being forewarned of his approach, the Judephitans went outside the city where they awaited his coming, and burst unexpectedly upon the Romans. And being both a large body and well-prepared for battle, and kindled by the thought of the danger threatening their fatherland, and their women and children, 4 they quickly routed the Romans. Indeed, they wounded a large number of them; but they did away with only seven of the other cities to surrender.

5 Yet, truly, he greatly failed in this hope. For being forewarned of his approach, the Judephitans went outside the city where they awaited his coming, and burst unexpectedly upon the Romans. And being both a large body and well-prepared for battle, and kindled by the thought of the danger threatening their fatherland, and their women and children, 4 they quickly routed the Romans. Indeed, they wounded a large number of them; but they did away with only seven of the other cities to surrender.

6 But Vespasianus, impatient to invade Galilee himself, now set out from Polemias, after drawing up his army for the march in the customary Roman order. 7 Yet indeed, the light-armed allied-troops and the archers were directed to
march in advance, to repel any sudden incursions from their foes, and to explore woodlands which looked suspicious and which were able to lie in wait to ambush. Then followed a division of heavy-armed Roman soldiers, both infantry and cavalry. These were followed by a detachment composed of ten men from every hundred, carrying both their own baggage and the necessary instruments for marking out the camp. And after these came the pioneers both to straighten crotoks in the highway, in order to level the rough places, and to cut down obstructions to our advance, which was difficult for infantry to traverse but absolutely impracticable for cavalry. Indeed, in four days, their task was accomplished and a broad highway opened for the army.

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER 37 [War:3:132-154 / Life:412a]
Now Vespasian’s first objective was the city of Gader, which he took upon the first attack, finding it deprived of a multitude of effective combatants. And entering into the city, he did away with all those from the youths upward, the Romans showing no mercy to old or young, so bitter was their hatred of the nation and their memory of the transgression which had been committed against Cestius. 3 Now Vespasian was not content with setting fire to the city; instead, he also burned all of both the villages and small cities in the vicinity. Indeed, he found some completely deserted, but he reduced the habitations of others to a torchable slum.

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

6 But as for myself, although I might have been credited with cowardice, nor underestimating it (for fear of encouraging them to hold out when they might possibly be inclined to change their minds). 8 Now if the magistrates intended to negotiate, I asked them to answer to that effect without delay. Or, if they were resolved to continue the war, they should send me a force capable of dealing with the Romans. 9 Therefore, having indeed written about these things, I sent out swift messengers to carry the documents to Jerusalem.

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

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

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

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

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CHAPTER 38 [War:3:155-180 / Life:412a]
Now on the following day, when the Romans resumed the assault, the Judeans, from the confidence inspired by their unexpected successful resistance on the previous day, made a fresh sally and offered a much more stubborn resistance.

2 For they were enflamed to anger by shame, regarding a lack of instant victory as being life so desperately in war as necessity. 3 Now on the following day, an assault was made. Indeed, at first, the Judeans who were encamped opposite the Romans outside the walls, merely held their ground against their foes. 20 But indeed, as Vespasian brought up his archers and slingers, and all the multitude of the fo-throwers, he permitted them to be shooting2 at these opponents, while he himself with the infantry pushed up the slope at the point where the wall offered little difficulty.

1, Joseph, anxious about the city, made a sally, and the whole Judean multitude was with me. 21 But falling in a body upon the Romans, we drove them from the walls, and we exhibited many works with our hands and which were daring. 22 Yet truly, we suffered as much loss as we inflicted; for if the Judeans were emboldened by despair, the Romans were no less roused by shame. And they indeed had skill as well as strength, while the Judeans had recklessness for their armor, as well as fury for their general. 23 Now when the battle had lasted all day, the combatants were parted by the night. Of the Romans: indeed, a great many were wounded but thirteen were done away with. But of the Judeans: indeed, seventeen fell, but 600 were wounded.
summoned his leaders to take counsel with him about the assault. 8 Now it was decided to raise earthworks against the accessible portion of the wall. At this, the whole army was sent out to procure the necessary materials. And the mountain forests surrounding the city were stripped; besides the timber, enormous heaps of stones were collected.

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

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

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

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

16 For they believed themselves already masters of the city, were greatly inspired by hope, and considered that it was impossible under such a hail of missiles, to invent the following protection for them:

17 At my directions, palisades were fixed to the wall; and over these were spread newly-flayed oxen hides, indeed, in order that the stones hurled by the machines would be caught in their folds, while the other projectiles would even glance off their surface, and their moisture would extinguish the firebrands. 18 Under this screen, the builders, working in safety both day and night, raised the wall to a height of 20 cubits. And indeed, they erected numerous towers, but crowned the wall with a stout parapet. 19 At this spectacle, the Romans, who imagined themselves already masters of the city, were greatly disheartened, and were struck with astonishment both by my design and the perseverance of its citizens.

20 Now Vespasianus was also provoked at the cleverness of this stratagem and at the audacity of the Jodphatians. 21 For emboldened by their newly built fortifications, they believed that they could reduce the Romans. So every day, parties of them came into conflict with the Roman besiegers, both employing all the ruses of brigandic ambushes, and pillaging whatever fell in their path, as well as setting fire to the rest of the Roman works.

22 This continued until Vespasianus, ordering his army to cease battering, resolved to resort to a blockade in order to starve the city into surrender. 23 For he supposed that by their lack of provisions, the defenders would petition him for mercy; or, if they remained obdurate to the last, would perish of hunger. 24 Also, if it came to the battle, he concluded that he would conquer them far easier, if, after an interval, he renewed his attack upon famished opponents. So he directed his men to keep a strict guard on all the city exits.

CHAPTER 39 (War:3:181–212 / Life:412a)

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

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

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

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

8 The Romans, at the sight of all this water being wasted as a jest by those whom they supposed did not even have enough for themselves to drink, were filled with dismay and consternation. So the Roman general himself, despairing of reducing the place by their lack of supplies, reverted to weapons and strength.

9 Now this was exactly what the Judeans desired. For having given up all hope for themselves and the city, they preferred a death in the war rather than perishing of famine and thirst.

10 However, after this stratagem, I devised yet another to procure myself an abundance of supplies. 11 Leading down to the ravine on the west side, there was a certain mountain-torrent so difficult to traverse, that it had been neglected by our enemy’s guards. So by this route, I succeeded in sending documents by some of my men to the Judeans outside of the city with whom I desired to communicate.

Now once I had received replies from them, I stockt the city with all necessaries by the same means when its supplies began to fail. 12 I directed them to creep past the guards on all fours and to cover their backs with fleeces, in order that, if they were spied at night, they might be taken for dogs. Eventually, the guards detected the design and blocked the mountain-torrent.

13 For the multitude discovered my intention, and they crowded around me, imploring me not to abandon them, since they depended on me alone. 14 “For if you remain, you will indeed be the sole hope of the city and salvation, because everyone, since you are with us, will contend with eagerness. But even if capture is in store for us, you will be our sole solace, in order to retain our lives, or better, to desert your friends, or to leap into the winter-storm from the ship on which you had embarked when it was calm. For your departure will sink the city, because no one will have the courage to resist our foes any longer when the presence of the one who has given us courage is gone.”

15 But suppressing any allusion to my own safety, I assured them that it was in their own interests that I had contemplated leaving. 16 For indeed, my presence in the city could not materially assist them if they were saved, and, if they were taken, what end would I serve by perishing with them? But if I were able to get clear of the siege, I would be able to render them the greatest service from outside; 17 for I would promptly both muster the Galileans from the country, and, by creating a diversion elsewhere, draw off the Romans from their city. 18 Now I failed to see how my presence at their side could be useful to them in the present circumstances, or have any other effect except to provoke the Romans to press the siege more vigorously then ever, as they attached such great importance to my remaining in the place by their lack of supplies, reverted to weapons and strength.

19 But the Romans were not ignorant of their plight. Accordingly, little-ones and old men, and women with infants in their arms, all fell down weeping before me; and they embraced me by my feet, and all of them implored me with lamentations to stay and share their fortune. And I think they did all this, not because they envied my chance of salvation, but instead because they thought of their own. For with me on the spot, they were convinced that no disaster could befal them.

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

21 Now I indeed suspected, that if I yielded, this insistance would no go beyond supplication; but that if I opposed their desires, constant watch would be over me. But my determination to abandon them was broken off by pity for their lamentations. So I decided to remain.

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

23 And suitting my actions to my words, I, advancing with my most efficient-combatants, both dispersed the guards, and penetrated as far as the Romans’ encampment. And indeed, we tore up the skin-tents under which they were sheltered on the embankment, but set fire to their works. 24 I repeated this both three days after that, and indefinitely continued the war for a series of days and nights.

25 Now the Romans suffered from these sallies; for they were ashamed to flee before the Judeans. And whenever they put the Judeans to flight, the weight of
their weapons impeded them in the pursuit; while the Judeans always performed some mischief before the Romans were able to retaliate, and then took refuge in the city.

28 Indeed, at this, Vespasian directed his heavy-armed soldiers to shun these attacks and not to grapple with humans who were bent on death, saying, “For nothing is more valuable than despair. But when deprived of an objective, their impetuosity will be extinguished like fire for lack of fuel.” 29 Yet truly, it is deserving to think of a Roman in a field of safeness as well as victory, since the reason for making war is not necessity; instead, it is to increase our dominions.”

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

CHAPTER 40 [War3:213–252 / Life:412a]

Now the length of the siege and the Judean sallies made Vespasian feel that the position was reversed and that he himself was now the besieged. So now that the earthworks were approaching the walls, he decided to bring up the Ram. 2 Now this is an immense beam, like the mast of a ship. But it is reinforced at its extremity with a mass of iron in the form of a ram’s head, from which the machine derives its name. 3 Now the Ram is suspended at its middle by ropes, like the beam of a scale’s balance, to another beam which is supported at either end by posts fixed into the ground. 4 Now a multitude of men first pull the Ram backward, and then, all of them pushing together with all their weight, heave it forward, so that with a mighty noise, it batters the wall with the projecting iron. 5 And the noise of this is so strong, or is so loud, that it is able to withstand the repeated assaults of this machine, even though able to sustain the initial blow. 6 This was the experiment which the Roman general himself undertook, being impatient to carry the city by storm; since the long blockade, coupled with the Judean activity, was proving injurious. 7 Therefore indeed, the Romans brought forward the catapults and the rest of their artillery within range of the Judeans standing on the walls who were endeavoring to beat them off, and put these machines to work. 8 We have seen that the Romans invented a counter-device consisting of long poles and with scythes attached to the ends, with which they cut the impact. Therefore indeed, multitudes of the Judean defenders fell in valiant fight. 9 And at the first blow, the wall was indeed shaken, but a piercing cry arose from the city’s interior, as though it had already been taken.

10 Now when I saw, under the repeated blows constantly aimed upon the same spot, that the wall was on the verge of collapsing, I devised a method of paralyzing the force of the machine for a while. 11 So I gave orders for sacks to be filled with chaff, and to be let down by ropes at the place where the Ram was seen continually battering. The objective was both to deflect the head and to deaden the force of the blow by the soft cushion which received it. 12 This contrivance seriously delayed the Romans. Indeed, wherever they turned their machine, the Judeans above retorted by moving their sacks and placing them opposite the blows, while the wall suffered no injury from the impact. 13 This lasted only until the Romans invented a counter-device consisting of long poles and with scythes attached to the ends, with which they cut the cords supporting the sacks. 14 Now this was how the city-destroyer recovered its efficacy. 15 And when the wall (for it was newly fixed) was already showing signs of giving way, our party, as a last resort, had recourse to fire. 16 Now snatching up all the dry wood which we could find, we rushed out from three quarters of the city and set fire both to the machines and the hurdles, and the stakes of the Romans’ earthworks. 16 But the Romans, both stupefied by our audacity, and with the flames preventing any effort to rescue them, did little to save them. For fed by dry tinder, with the addition of bitumen and pitch, as well as sulfur, the fire immediately flew in all directions; and the works which had cost the Romans such severe labor, were consumed in one hour.

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

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

22 Following in the train of these men, both I and the rest of the multitude, with firebrands in our hands, sailed out once again and set fire to the machines from the hurls and compo materials. 23 But about evening, the Romans re-erected the Ram and brought it up to the spot where the wall had been weakened by its previous blows.

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER 41 [War3:253–288 / Life:412a]

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

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

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

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

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

10 Therefore, by these means, I indeed disposed my two divisions. But when a multitude of non-combatant citizens, the women and little-ones, saw their city encircled by the trilingual appurtenances (for some of the guards which the Romans had originally posted for the battle were removed)—but, when they saw their foes at the foot of the ruined walls with short-swords in hand, and above them the mountainous region gleaming with weapons, and higher still the arrows in the hands of the Arabian archers, they shrieked aloud a final shriek of their capture, as though the catastrophe were no longer imminent, but had instead already come upon them.

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

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

14 Yet truly, my party, mindful of my orders, both stopped up their ears from the shout, and covered their bodies from the arrows. 15 And since the machines were ready to work, my party dashed out onto them, before those who had placed them could set foot on them. 16 Now in the ensuing grappling with our ascending foes, my party exhibited all manner of actions, in hand and in soul, endeavoring in the depth of calamity to prove themselves no bit inferior to men who, without being in danger, were displaying so much manual brawn. 17 Sheltering himself with a Roman until he had utterly destroyed his enemy, or fell down himself. 18 But indeed, the Judeans were growing exhausted by the incessant combat, and had none to replenish their foremost fighters. While in the Roman ranks, the exhausted men were relieved by fresh troops; and when one party was driven back, another instantly took its place. The Roman assailants both cheered each other on, and indeed, side linked to side, but with their oblong-shields protecting them from above, they formed an unbreakable column. And with its united mass, like one solid body, it thrust the Judeans before them and already began to mount the wall.

19 Now in this critical situation, I, taking necessity as my counselor (ready as she is in invention when stimulated by despair), directed boiling oil to be poured upon this roof of close-locked oblong-shields. 20 Now my men had it ready; and at once, flooded the Romans with large quantities from all quarters; then they flung their vessels down upon them, still hissing from the heat of the fire. 21 This dispersed their formation. And the Romans, burning and in excruciating agony, rolled headlong down from the wall. 22 For indeed, the oil instantaneously penetrated beneath their full suits of armor from head to foot, spreading over the whole surface of their bodies and devouring the flesh like the fierceness of a flame. For the nature of this liquid made it quick to absorb heat, and its fatty properties made it slow to cool. 23 But encumbered with their breastplates and their helmets, the victims had no escape from the scalding oil. But leaping and writhing, fighting to themselves, or falling down himself. 24 But, in the midst of these trials, the Romans showed no lack of fortitude; nor did the Judeans lack resourcefulness. Instead, the Romans, though they saw their own comrades in tortures from the drenching oil, were still vehemently bent against those who poured it, each cursing the man in front of him for impeding the charge.

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

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

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

32 He had these towers erected upon the earthworks; also upon them, he mounted both javeliners and archers, and the lighter artillery, but also the most-robust of the slingers. 33 These troops, being screened from view by the height of the towers, continued to shower them with arrows.

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

CHAPTER 42 [War3:289~315]

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

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

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

8 Now enclosed and huddled together between the two enclosures, they were killed in great numbers; indeed, many impaled by the short-swords of their own comrades, but many by their own, while immense numbers were done away with by the Romans, without even having the heart to defend themselves. For to their consternation of their foes was added the betrayal of their own comrades, which crushed their souls. 9 As they were finally dying, they cursed the Romans, but instead their own citizens, until they all perished, numbering 12,000.

10 Now Trajanus, judging that the city was bereft of combatants, but also that any who still remained within would be paralyzed by anxiety, decided to reserve the capturing of the place for his general. So he dispatched messengers to Vespasianus, requesting him to send his son Titus to complete the victory. And Vespasianus sent Titus with his son reinforcements, consisting of 500 cavalry and 1,000 infantry. 12 Now Titus quickly marched to the city and drew up his army for battle. Indeed, he
posted Trajanus on the left wing, while he himself took conduct of the right, and led them to the siege.

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

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

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

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

24 Now it happened that the Samaritans were destitute of water during a period of a violent heatwave; for it was the height of summer and the multitude had not laid up their necessities. 25 Indeed, the result was that several died of thirst that very day, while many others, preferring to be enslaved to such oppressive conditions, never reached the summit. 26 By these, Cerealias concluded that the rest, who still held together, were broken down by their sufferings. So he ascended the mountain.

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

CHAPTER 43 | [War 3:316–338 / Life: 412a]

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

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

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

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

8 Now according to this resolution, at the given hour, they silently advanced to the walls. 9 And the first to mount them was Titus himself, with one of the tribunes, Domitius Sabinus; and they were followed by a few men of the fifteenth legion. 10 Now after they slaughtered the guards, they entered into the city. With them1 was a certain tribune, Sextus Calvarius, and Placidus, both of who were leading-in the soldiers who were having been assigned under themselves.

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER 44 | [War 3:340–392 / Life: 412b]

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

4 Therefore indeed, during the day, I lay hid, since our foes occupied every quarter of the city. But at night, I would come up in order to look for some passage for escape, and would reconnoiter their guards. But finding every spot guarded on my account, and that there were no means of eluding detection, I again descended into the cave. 5 Therefore, indeed, for two days I continued in hiding.

But on the third day, my hiding-place was betrayed when a woman who had been with us was captured. And at this, Vespasianus immediately sent two tribunes, Paulinus and Gallicanus, and directed them to both offer their right hands to me, and urge me to come up.

6 Accordingly, when they reached the spot where I was, they pressed me to do so and gave me assurances about my salvation. But they failed to persuade me.

1 literally “whom”
2 literally “the many”
For my suspicions were based, not on the mild-temper of those who had invited me, but on being conscious that I would suffer proportionately for everything which I had committed against them. The anxiety that I was being summoned to receive retribution persisted, until Vespasianus sent a third tribune, Nikanor. This man was well-known to me and an old acquaintance of mine.  
8 Now when he had arrived, he elaborated upon the innate generosity of the Romans toward those whom they had once subdued. And he assured me that my submission would make me an object of admiration, than of hatred, to the leaders.  
9 He also told me that the general was desirous to have me brought up from my retreat, not for retribution (for he could inflict this even if I refused to come forth voluntarily), but instead because he wanted to save a brave man.  
10 But he said that Vespasianus intended to entrap me, he never would have sent one of my friends to me; nor to use the fairest of virtues, friendship, to cover over the foulest of crimes, perfidy; nor would he himself have consented to come to me in order to delude a man who was a friend.  
11 While I still hesitated, even after Nikanor’s assurances, the angered soldiers indeed attempted to set fire to the cave, but were restrained by their war-chief, who was zealous to take me alive.  
12 But both as Nikanor was urgently pressing his proposals, and as I learned about the threats of the warring multitude, a remembrance of the dream-visions which I had had throughout the night was entering my mind—those through which God had been presaging to me both the misfortunes which are going to happen to the Judeans and the things about the Roman kings.  
13 Now I was also adequate in regards to my judgment of dream-visions, and understood the ambiguous sayings of the Deity. Yet truly, being both a priest myself and a grandson of priests, I was not ignorant of the prophecies in the consecrated books.  
14 At that time, I became full-of-god; and recalling the dreadful phantasms in my dream-visions, I offered up a silent prayer to God, desiring to know whether all these misfortunes which are going to happen to the Judeans and the things about the Roman kings.  
15 “Since it pleases you, you who have created the Judean race, to break your settlement, but since fortune has entirely passed over to the Romans, and since you have chosen my soul to announce future things, I indeed willingly surrender my hands to the Romans and consent to live. But I call you to testify on my behalf, that I go, not as a traitor, but instead as your minister.”  
16 When I had said these things, I was about to surrender to Nikanor. And when the tribune’s messenger came public to me, and thus he informed me that I was yielding to the entreaty, they surrounded me in a body, crying out, “Ah! May the laws of our fathers groan aloud, and God himself hide his face for grief—God who has created souls in the Judeans which scorn death!  
17 Are you such a lover-of-life, Joseph, that you can even endure to see a light in a state of slavery? How quickly have you forgotten yourself! You have persuaded many to lose their lives for freedom! False, indeed, was that reputation of manhood; but also false is that reputation for wisdom, if you can yet hope for salvation, indeed from those whom you have warred against so bitterly, or, supposing that they grant it, can be willing to have your life preserved by their hands.  
19 Not only this, but if the fortune of the Romans has cast over you some strange forgetfulness of yourself, the care of our fathers’ honor devolves upon us. We will lend you a right hand and a short-sword. But indeed, if you die willingly, you will have died as general of the Judeans; but if unwillingly, as a traitor.”  
20 With these words, they pointed their short-swords at me and threatened to do away with me. And when I was about to hand over my sword to my hands to the Romans,  
21 Although fearing an attack, I held that I would be a betrayer of God’s orders if I were to die before delivering the message. So in this emergency, I proceeded to reason philosophically with them.  
22 I declared:  
“O my friends, why do we have such a mind to slaughter ourselves? Why sunder soul and body, which are such dear companions?  
23 One says that I have changed, No! The Romans know the truth about that.  
24 Yet another says, ‘It is honorable to die in battle.’ Yes, but according to the law of war; that is to say, by the hand of the conqueror. Therefore, if I were indeed avoiding death from the short-sword of the Romans, I assuredly deserve to perish by my own sword and my own hand. But if they are moved to show mercy to a foe, how much more should we have mercy upon ourselves and spare ourselves? For it would certainly be foolish to inflict upon ourselves a punishment which we seek to avoid by quarrelling with them.  
25 For another declares, ‘It is beautiful to die in behalf of the freedom.’ I concur, however on the condition that one dies fighting, and is done away with by the hands of those who are depriving us of it. But in the present case, they are neither coming to fight us nor to do away with us. Now it is similarly cowardly not to wish to die whenever it may be necessary for him to do so, as well as to wish to die whenever it may not be necessary.  
26 But what are we even terrified about that prevents us from going up to the Romans? It is not death? Is so, shall we allow our self to be an object of admiration, than of hatred, to the leaders?  
27 “For someone will declare, ‘It is noble for a man to do away with himself.’ No indeed, but most ignoble. And in my opinion, there could exist a no more arrogant coward than the pilot who, terrified of a winter-storm, deliberately immerses his own seacraft prior to the hurricane.  
28 No, suicide is most repugnant even to that nature which is shared by all living things, and an act of impiety toward God who created us.  
29 Yet indeed, among all living things, there is not one that seeks to die deliberately, or by its own means. For it is against the law so firmly rooted in all of them. That is also why we deem those who would openly snatch it from us to be our foes, and those who clandestinely attempt to do so receive retribution.  
30 But do you not think that God is indignant when a human treats his gift with outrage? For it is even from him that we have received our being, and it is to him that we should leave the decision to snatch it away from us.  
31 Yet indeed, the bodies of everybody are mortal, and are composed of corruptible matter; but the soul is immortal, and is a portion of God housed in our bodies. Indeed, if any human who destroys or abuses a deposit entrusted to him by a fellowman is counted a wicked villain, how can the human who casts out from his body the body which God has placed there, hope to elude him against whom he has acted unrighteously in this way?  
32 And indeed, it is considered righteous to punish a fugitive slave, even though the master he flees from is a wicked man. But how shall we endeavor to flee from the best of masters, from God himself, and not be sentenced as impious?  
33 “Do you not know that those who indeed depart this life in accordance with the law of nature, and repay the debt which they received from God at the time when he who lent it is pleased to reclaim it, indeed win perpetual renown? But that their houses and families are secure? But that their souls remain pure and obedient, being allotted a heavenly place which is holy, from where, in the revolution of the ages, they return to find a new habitation in pure bodies?  
34 While the souls of those who clandestinely attempt to do so are indeed received by the darkest regions of the Netherworld; but that God, their father, even brings retributions upon the posterity of those who committed outrageous acts?  
35 That is why this crime, so hateful to God, is also punished by the wisest of lawgivers.  
36 “Accordingly, it is ordained in our laws, that the bodies of those who do away with themselves should be exposed without burial until sunset, and forced to write on them, ‘Not by our own means did we commit this act, but of ours to snatch it away from me, I will die content, carrying with me a consolation better than victory, that their triumph has been nullified by faithlessness.”  
37 Therefore indeed, by these and many similar arguments, I sought to deter these men from suicide.  
38 But desperation had stopped their ears (since they had long since devoted themselves to this death) and they were infuriated with me. So they ran at me with short-swords in hand, one from one side, and another from another, and called me a coward. But as each one was on the point of striking me, I addressed one of them by name, but fixed my eye like a general on another, but clasped the hand of a third, but shamed a fourth by entreaty. And being torn between these men from suicide.  
39 Indeed, their right hands were powerless, but their short-swords glanced aside; and many, in the act of thrusting at me, spontaneously dropped their long-swords.  
40 But in these straits, I was not destitute of my resource. Instead, putting faith in God’s foresight, I put my life into hazard, and declared, “Since we are resolved to die, come, let us allow the lot to decide the order in which we are to slaughter ourselves.  
41 Now let the man to whom the lot falls first, be killed by the man who has the second lot. And in this way, fortune will take her course through everyone; but not one of us will have to die by our own right hand. For when the rest are gone, it would be unrighteous for anyone to change his mind in order to save himself.”
The things I said seemed to instill confidence, and they were persuaded to draw lots. Now I drew one for myself as well. The man who had the first lot presented his throat to the next, in the assurance that I, their general, would also immediately die with them. For to them, the thought of sharing death with me was sweeter than life. 49 Now whether it happened by fortune or by God’s foresight, I was left alone with one other. And since this man desired neither to be condemned by the lot, nor be left to it last in order, since I held the murder of his fellow-tribesman, I persuaded him, under a pledge, to remain alive as well. Therefore this was indeed how I escaped both the war with the Romans, and the war with those who dwelled with me.

CHAPTER 45 [War3:393–408 / Life:412b / Apion1:48a]
Nikanor led me to Vespasianus. But all the Romans flocked together to see me. And as the multitude crowded around me, their general, a tumult of discordant voices arose. Indeed, some exulted at my capture, but some threatened, but some pushed forward to obtain a clearer view. 2 And indeed, the more distant spectators clamored for the punishment of their foe, while those who were closer recalled my exploits and marveled at such a reversal of fortune. 3 Now of the leaders, there was not one who, despite whatever past anger they had toward me, did not, at that time, relent at the sight of me.

4 But in particular, Titus was specially moved, both by the fortune I displayed under my misfortunes, and by compassionate pity for my age. Also, when he recalled that only a short while ago I was a combatant, but now lay in the hands of my enemies, he was led to reflect on the power of fortune, and indeed the sharp tip of the scales of war, but the overall instability of human affairs. 5 So at the time, he indeed induced many Romans to share his compassion for me. And his pleading with his father was the main influence in my salvation. 6 However, Vespasianus strictly ordered me to be guarded with every precaution, intending should anything happen to me.

7 On hearing this, I expressed my desire for a private interview with him. So Vespasianus directed everyone to withdraw with an exception of his boy Titus, and two of his friends.

8 I declared, “Indeed, Vespasianus, you imagine, that in the person of Joseph you have taken a mere captive. But I come to you as a messenger of greater things. For if God had not been sending me to you, I know the Judean law and the past anger of the Romans, but he compelled me to be continually in attendance on them; but he bestowed upon me.

9 “Are you sending me to Nero? For what reason? Do you think that Nero and those who are next in line to succeed him prior to you will remain alive? You, Vespasianus, are Caesar and emperor, you and your boy here. 10 Now bind me even more securely in chains and keep me for yourself; for indeed, you, Caesar, are master, not only over me, but over earth and sea, and all humans. But I have dared to trifle with anything of God, I certainly desire to receive retribution by stricter custody.”

11 Indeed, at the moment, Vespasianus seemed to attach little credibility to what I had spoken, but he supposed that it was a trick of mine intending to bring about my own salvation. 12 But it was not long before he was conviced and believed that what I had spoken was true. For God was already rousing in him thoughts of obtaining the leadership, and by other signs foreshadowing the royal scepter.

13 But he also found that I had proved to have had spoken truth in other matters. For one of the two friends in attendance at the private interview declared, “If these words are not a vain invention of the prisoner in order to avert the anger which he has raised against himself, I cannot but wonder why Joseph neither foretold the fall of Jophatph to its inhabitants, nor his own captivity.”

14 But to this, I declared, “I did foretell to the Jophatphants that their city would be captured after forty-seven days, and that I myself would be taken alive by the Romans.”

15 When Vespasianus had privately questioned the captives about these predictions, he found them to be true. So he began to believe what concerned himself. 16 Therefore, he indeed did not release me from my custody and chains, but he compelled me to be continually in attendance on them; but he bestowed me with clothing and other precious gifts, and continued to treat me with both kindness and solicitude, with Titus warlyy supporting him in these honors.

CHAPTER 46 [War3:409–442 / Life:414a]
Now on the fourth day of the month of Panemónos, Vespasianus went off to Ptolemáis. From there, he came to Caesarea-by-the-Sea. This was both one of the largest cities of Judah and inhabited primarily by Hellenes. 2 Now the citizens received the army and its general with blessings and congratulations of every kind; and this was prompted, indeed partly by goodwill toward the Romans, but mainly by enmity of the vanished Judeans. And this resentment showed itself in a clamoring demand for my punishment. 3 But by his silence, Vespasianus dissolved this petition which was emanating from an incompetent multitude. 4 And it was by his direction that I married one of the women taken captive at Caesarea, a virgin, a native of that place.

5 Now of his three legions, two he indeed established for their winter-quarters in Caesarea, having found the city suitable for the purpose. But the fifteenth legion he sent to Skythopolis, in order that he might not constricte Caesarea with his entire army. 6 Now since Caesarea is situated in the plain and on the coast, its climate, like Skythopolis, is as warm in winter, as it is suffocatingly burning hot in the summer.

7 Now the Judeans, both those who had been driven from the cities by sedition, and the refugees whose homes had been destroyed, had united into no small multitude. To provide themselves with a base of operations, they rebuilt Japho, which had been recently desolated by Cestius. 8 And then, finding themselves cut off from the country, which had passed into the hands of their foes, they resolved to take to the sea. 9 They also built themselves a great many piratical seacrafts and made raids on the traffic along the coast of both Syria and Phoiniké, and the route to Egypt, also rendering navigation in those seas quite impossible.

10 Now as soon as Vespasianus had learned of this gang, he dispatched both infantry and cavalry to Japho, who, finding the city unguarded at night, entered it. But its inhabitants had indeed received news of the coming attack; and in their anxiety, they made no attempt to oppose the Romans, but instead sought refuge in their ships, where they passed the entire night out of reach of their arrows.

12 Now nature had not provided Japho with a port. For it terminates in a rugged shore, which indeed runs nearly its whole length in a straight line, but is slightly curved at its two extremities in crescent fashion. 13 But these horns consist of deep cliffs and reefs jutting far out into the open-sea. 14 But the northwind, fully beats upon the shore and dashes the surge high against the face of the rocks, rendering this mooring more perilous to sailors than a desert.

15 It was here where those of Japho were tossing in the sea, when, toward dawn, a violent spirit rushing in, it is called a ‘Black wave’ by the navigators in those parts. 16 And indeed, some of the ships were dashed to pieces against each other on the spot, but others were shattered upon the rocks. But many of the ships were forcing themselves against a surge into the open-sea; for the men had been anxious to come-to-shore, both, because the shore was rocky, and their foes were on it; so after the wave was lifted-up in suspense, it was immersing them. 17 Now there was neither means to flee, nor hope of salvation if they remained where they were; indeed, the violence of the wind repelled them from the sea, while the Romans repelled them from the city. And piercing indeed were the shrieks as the seacrafts collided, but fearsome the crash as they broke in pieces.

18 And of the multitude, indeed some, being covered by the surges, were being utterly-destroyed; but many were being entangled by the pieces-of-wreckage. But some, regarding the iron sword as a lighter evil than the sea, were doing-away-with themselves before they could drown. 19 Yet truly, the majority, being carried-out to shore by the surges, were mangled against the precipices. Indeed, much of the open-sea was red with their blood, while the seacoast was being filled with corpses; for even the Romans lining the shore were utterly-destroying those who were being brought-out onto the shore. 20 Now the number of bodies which were thrown-out of the sea amounted to 4,200. But after the Romans took the city without-battle, they were completely demolishing it.

21 Therefore, this was indeed how, after a short time, Japho was conquered by the Romans the second time upon them; it is called a ‘Black sea’ by the sea-fowlers because the day was gray. So at the moment, Japho, having found the city suitable for the purpose. But the fifteenth legion he sent to Skythopolis, in order that he might not constrict Caesarea with his entire army. Now since Caesarea is situated in the plain and on the coast, its climate, like Skythopolis, is as warm in winter, as it is suffocatingly burning hot in the summer.

25 Now when the message concerning Jophatph’s misfortune reached Jerusalem, it was indeed received at first with overall disbelieve, because of the magnitude of the calamity and because no eyewitness had come to confirm the report. 26 For not one man had escaped as a messenger of the news. Instead, rumor, with its natural propensity to black tidings, spontaneously declared the news of the city’s fall. 27 But little by little, the truth made its way from place to place, and was soon regarded by everyone as true. This was established beyond doubt, the lamentations never ceased in the city, but many of the mourners hired flute-players to accompany their funeral dirges.

32
31 But when time revealed the truth and everything which had certainly happened at Jodphat, my death was found to be a fiction; but it became known that I was alive and in Roman hands, and that I was being treated by the leaders with respect exceeding the common lot of a prisoner. At this, the demonstration of their anger was as loud as the former expressions of goodwill which they had shown toward me when they had believed I was dead. 32 And indeed, some abused me as a coward, but others as a traitor; throughout the city there both was overwhelming indignation; and there stood a populace who had always been ready to fulfil their reverses, and their misfortunes. So by these means, he revived a city which had been sorely afflicted by the sedition.

CHAPTER 47 [War.3:443-461 / Life:351-355] Now Vespasianus had gone to visit Agrippa’s kingdom. For the king had invited him to come with the double objective of entertaining the leader and his army with all the wealth of his household, and of using their aid to quell the disorders among their people. 2 Indeed, there, for twenty days, he rested his army, and he himself feasted and rendered thanksgiving to God for the successes which he had obtained.

3 Therefore, now that I was under Roman custody, it was a proper time for all of the Tiberians, no longer having anything to fear from me, to discard their weapons, and to align themselves with the king and the Romans, in order to clearly show that it was not their own freewill, but instead under compulsion, that they had fallen into war against them. But they did not. (And even while I was being besieged in Jodphat, the seditious Tiberians had killed 185 of their own citizens.)

4 Now as soon as Vespasian received a message stating that Tiberias was disadvantage, but that Tarichea had already revolted (both cities being part of Agrippa’s kingdom), he thought that now was the time to march against these rebels, in order to fix his final intention of crushing the Judeans wherever they rose, and also to oblige Agrippa and to repay his hospitality by recalling these cities to his allegiance.

5 So he sent his son Titus to Caesarea to fetch the army quartered there, that he might march them to Skythopolis, the largest city of the Ten-Cities and in the vicinity of Tiberias. 6 And there, Vespasianus proceeded to receive his son. And then, advancing with three legions, he encamped 30 stadia from Tiberias, at a station called Simnabara, which was well within the view of the revolutionaries.

7 Now from there, he sent the decurion Valerianus with fifty cavalry to make peaceful proposals to the citizens and to urge them to make a treaty; for he had heard that overall the populace indeed desired peace, but were overruled and had been driven into waging war by some of the seditious individuals.

8 Now Valerianus advanced on horseback; on approaching the wall, he both dismounted and directed his troops to do the same, in order to prevent any suspicion that they had come to fire projectiles. 9 Before any parley had taken place, the gates of the city were closed, and the Judeans, led by a valor, and a friendly mind abandoned five of their horses. Jeshua the boy of Shaphat, the ringleader of this band of brigands.

10 But Valerianus thought that, regardless of the certainty of victory, it was imprudent to fight them in defiance of his general’s instructions; and, moreover, that it was dangerous to face a large army equipped for battle with only a small and unprepared force. 11 And he was taken aback by the unexpected boldness of the Judeans, for he had always had a friendly mind toward the Romans, and to bring retribution upon those who were responsible for the revolt, under whose power they themselves had been kept to this day, though they had long been desirous to give them their right hands in security.

12 Dreading the consequences of this incident, the aged and its more respected of the populace indeed fled to the Roman encampment. 13 Now after obtaining the king’s support, they threw themselves down before Vespasianus, entreat him not to disregard them, nor to impute the madness of a few to the multitude of our experience and our discipline, is there any need to speak?

14 “O Romans! For it is proper for me, at the beginning of my address, to remind you of the name of your race, that you may keep in mind who you are and whom we must fight. 15 Yet truly, up to this point, there is no region in the inhabited earth which has succeeded in escaping our hands. But so far, the Judeans, to also give them their due, have staunchly refused to accept defeat. And if they, in their miseries, continue to stand fast, would it not be disgraceful for us to grow weary under our good-foresight’s?

16 “Indeed, I rejoice to see in your faces such admirable ardor. But I am anxious that the multitude of our foes may have inspired some of you with unnecessary consternation. 17 Let such a person reflect once more who he is, and against whom he is going into battle. Let him indeed remember that the Judeans, however dauntless and scorners of death they may be, are instead both undisciplined and unskilled in war, and deserved to be called a mere crowd, rather than an army.

18 “But of our experience and our discipline, is there any need to speak? However, this yet is the reason why we, alone of all men, exercise ourselves in arms during time of peace, so that in time of war, we do not need to contrast our numbers with those of our rivals. 19 What would be the advantage of this perpetual military-training, if we must be equal in numbers to those who have not received it even before we array ourselves against them?

20 “But also consider, that you will be contending against light-armed men, whereas you are heavy-armed soldiers; and that you are cavalry against infantry; and that they are without a general, while you have a general. So indeed these advantages greatly multiply your effective strength, but our foes’ disadvantages greatly detract from theirs.

21 “Now wars are not won by multitudes of humans, however efficient the men, but by manliness, however few the men. Yet indeed, small forces are also easily maneuvered and brought up to support one another, whereas unwieldy forces find themselves more in their own foils. 22 Therefore indeed, Judeans are led on by audacity and temerity and despair; indeed, by emotions which are vigorous during success, but are extinguished by the slightest misstep. But we are led on by a valor, and a
discipline, and a heroism which, while certainly seen to perfection when favored by good-fortune, are never overthrown in failure.

"And not only this, but you will be contending for a higher cause than the Judeans. For although they face war on behalf of freedom and because their fatherland is in jeopardy, what higher motive could there be for us than glory; and the determination, that after having dominated the inhabited earth, not to allow the Judeans to be regarded as a rival for the favor of the victor, but to allow them to have no incurable disaster to fear. For our reinforcements are numerous and at hand. But we are able to seize a victory ourselves, and we ought to anticipate the arrival of the auxiliaries now on their way from my father. For our triumph will be more glorious if unshared. But I myself believe that in this hour, my father and I and you are all put to the trial; indeed it will be seen whether he is really worthy of his past successes, but whether I am worthy to be his son, but you to be my soldiers. For victory to him is even harder; but victory to me makes me strive to retain it. And if in the disasters you see me defeated and ashamed, then you elude being shamed, if you fail to show equal courage with your leader who goes before you into danger? For I will certainly go before you, and will be the vanguard in case you get defeated."

But how could you elude being shamed, if you fail to show equal courage with your leader who goes before you into danger? For I will certainly go before you, and will be the first to attack our foes. Now do not fail me; have confidence that I have the assistance of God, and that he supports my ardor. Be assured that, beyond mere victory in this battle outside the walls, we shall achieve further success."

As Titus was saying these things, a demoniac frenzy took possession of his men. And before the engagement, when Trajanus joined them with 400 cavalry, his men were vexed as though the credit for the victory would be robbed by the arrival of these reinforcements from his father.

Now at the same time, Vespasianus sent Antonio Silo with 2,000 archers, directing them to occupy the mountain opposite the city, and to repel those who were upon the wall. And indeed, these soldiers, in accordance with these orders, prevented any who were attempting to assist the Judean army outside.

But Titus, in his eagerness, spurring his horse against his foes. And behind him, his men came with loud shouts, deploying themselves across the plain so as to fully cover their foes' front; and by these means, they appeared much more numerous than they really were.

Now the Judeans, though dismayed by both the impetuosity and good order of this attack, indeed resisted the Roman charges for a little while. But being pokèd by the polearms and being overthrown by the whizzing of cavalry, they fell, and the Judeans scattered. Now when the plain was covered with all sides with murder-victims, they dispersed and fled to the city, as fast as each man was able.

Now Titus, hotly in pursuit, indeed did away with the laggards in the rear, but made lanes through their bunched masses. But riding ahead of them, he met these Judeans, who had taken refuge on the lake, when they saw that the city had been taken, they stopped the murder. But when his vessels were ready, Vespasianus put as much of his force onboard. Now the Judeans, though dismayed by both the impetuosity and good order of this attack, indeed resisted the Roman charges for a little while. But being pokèd by the polearms and being overthrown by the whizzing of cavalry, they fell, and the Judeans scattered. Now when the plain was covered with all sides with murder-victims, they dispersed and fled to the city, as fast as each man was able.

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more than a few men who were too terrified to draw near to the great numbers of Roman assailants. 3 But nevertheless they sailed around the rafts.

Now occasionally they even approached the vessels, throwing stones at the Romans from a distance, or coming alongside, struck them at close range. 4 But in both of these maneuvers, they sustained greater injury to themselves. For the stones they threw produced nothing but a continuous rattle; for they struck men who were well-protected by armor, while they were themselves exposed to the Romans' suspected javelins. When they ventured to draw near to the Romans, they instantly suffered even before they could inflict any harm, and were immersed, together with their sea-crafts.

5 But as for those who tried to break through the line, the Romans, indeed able to reach them with their polearms, ran many through. But sometimes, the Romans leaped upon their sea-crafts with short-swords in hand. But other times, the rafts closed in and the Romans caught the Judeans between them, immediately catching and cutting through the rudder and the steering oar. While the Judeans were shut up in the city.

6 But as for those who were immersed in the sea, if they rose to the surface, they were quickly killed by projectiles or overtaken by one of the rafts. And if in their despair they attempted to swim to their enemies, the Romans cut off their heads or their hands.

7 Indeed, these Judeans were destroyed on all sides in both countless numbers and in countless manners, until the survivors were routed and forced to land, while the fishing-boats surrounded them. 8 But as they streamed ashore, many were indeed repulsed, shot down by javelins while still in the lake; but many others sprang on land, where they were utterly-destroyed by the Romans. Now the entire lake could indeed be seen, red with blood, but covered with corpses; for not a man escaped.

9 Now during the following days, that region both reeked with a dreadful stench, and displayed a dreadful spectacle. For the shores were strewn with wretched and bloody corpses. But as the Judeans died, including those who had previously fallen in the city, numbered 6,700.

10 Now after the battle, Vespasianus took his seat on his tribunal at Tarichea, but separated the countrymen from the strangers (for it was the strangers who had evidently been drawn from the neighboring states). Then he consulted with his leaders whether the lives of the natives should also be saved.

11 Now everyone unanimously declared, that their liberation would be perilous. For once dismissed, these humans, who would indeed be deprived of their fatherlands, would never remain quiet. But they would also be able to compel those, with whom they fled, to wage war against them.

12 Indeed, Vespasianus acknowledged that they did not deserve to be saved, and that they would only abuse their freedom to the detriment of their liberators. But he still asked himself how he could do away with them. 14 For even if he killed them on the spot, he suspected that he would bitterly alienate the countrymen (for they would not tolerate the murder of so many who had supplicated him). And he could not bring himself to let them go, and then, after giving them his assurances, to advance upon them.

15 But in the end, his friends forcibly prevailed, by telling him that nothing done against the Judeans could raise a question of impiety, and that he ought to protect them entirely, but refer to their expectation to their own fatherlands. 16 Therefore Vespasianus granted these strangers ambiguous amnesty, permitting them to leave the city only via a single route, the one leading to Tiberias. But prompt to believe what they desired to be true, these men set out in complete confidence, carrying their effects without any disguise, in the prescribed direction. Indeed, the Romans seized the entire road leading to Tiberias, in order to prevent them from deviating from it; but on their arrival, they were shut up in the city.

18 Then Vespasianus arrived, and had them all removed to the stadium. And he indeed directed that the old, as well as the unserviceable men, who numbered 1,200, be done away with. 19 But from the youths, he selected 6,000 of the most robust, sending them to Nerō at the isthmus. And the remainder of the multitude, numbering 30,400, he sold, with an exception of those whom he made as a present to Agrippa. 20 For Vespasianus gave Agrippa permission to deal with the former subjects of his kingdom as he pleased; but the king also sold them. 21 Yet however, the remainder of the crowd consisted primarily of Trachonites, and Golaniotes, and Hippenices, and Gaderites; the majority being seditionous individuals and fugitives, and whose careers were so infamous that they preferred war before peace. Now their capture took place on the eighth day of the month Gorpias.

CHAPTER 51 [War 6:1-30]

Now all those Galileans who still remained in revolt from the Romans after the fall of Jodphat, did, at the conquest of Tarichea surrender. And the Romans received the submission of all the fortresses and cities, with an exception of Gish-Halav and those who had occupied Mount Tabor. 2 But also Gamala, a city situated on the other side of the lake opposite Tarichea was also in league with these rebels. Now Gamala formed part of the territory allotted to Agrippa, like both Suginin and Seleukeia, both of which were indeed in Golan. For Suginin was part of what is called Upper Golan, but Gamala of the Lower. Now Seleukeia was situated near Lake Samchuna. 3 Indeed, this lake is 30 stadia in breadth, but 60 in length. Now its marsh-meadows extend as far as Dafneh, which in other respects is a delightful place and has springs which feed what is called Little Jordan, beneath the inner-sanctum of the golden calf, and sends on it its way to the greater river.

4 Therefore indeed, at the very beginning of the revolt, Suginin and Seleukeia had been induced by Gamala to come to terms; but Gamala refused to surrender, relying even more confidently than Jodphat upon the natural difficulties of its position. 5 For from a lofty mountain, a rugged spur descends, rising in the middle to a ramp; but the declivity from the hump’s summit is the same length on both sides; so that even Agrippa missed the proper figure of its name. 6 Indeed, its sides and face are completely surrounded by inaccessible ravines; but at the end tail, where it hangs on to the mountain, it is somewhat easier to approach. But this quarter has also been rendered difficult to access, since its inhabitants have cut a trench across it.

7 Now the houses were built against the steep mountain flank, terrifically huddled together, one on top of the other. This perpendicular site also gave the city the appearance of being suspended in air as if it would fall headlong upon itself. 8 And indeed it faces south; but its southern barrow, which rises to an immense height, formed the citadel. Now below this, an unwalled cliff descended to a ravine of immense depth. Now there was a spring within the walls at the town limits.

9 This city, which nature had rendered so impregnable, I had envailled, making it still stronger with underground-passages and trenches. 10 Now those who escaped to the neighboring states had indeed given up more than two thousand of their compatriots, who had been induced by Agrippa to come to terms; but Gamala refused to surrender, relying even more confidently than Jodphat upon the natural difficulties of its position. 5 For from a lofty mountain, a rugged spur descends, rising in the middle to a ramp; but the declivity from the hump’s summit is the same length on both sides; so that even Agrippa missed the proper figure of its name. 6 Indeed, its sides and face are completely surrounded by inaccessible ravines; but at the end tail, where it hangs on to the mountain, it is somewhat easier to approach. But this quarter has also been rendered difficult to access, since its inhabitants have cut a trench across it.

11 Now Vespasianus left Hamath, where he had previously encamped before Tiberias. (Now Hamath may be interpreted as ‘a warm bath’; for there is a fountain of warm water within the city possessing healing properties). He proceeded to Gamala. And indeed, he found that the city’s situation prevented him from completely encompassing it, but he posted guards wherever it was practicable, and occupied its overhanging mountain. 13 Now as the legions were, according to custom, enwallsing their camps on these heights, Vespasianus also indeed commenced earthworks to be raised at the tail end. The earthworks on the east of the ridge, opposite the point where the city’s highest tower stood, were raised by the fifteenth legion. And the earthworks opposite the city’s center were undertaken by the fifth legion, while the tenth legion was employed in filling up the trenches and ravines.

14 And even during this time, King Agrippa approached the walls, and attempted to speak with the defenders about capitulation. But his right elbow was struck by a stone from one of the slingers. 15 And indeed, at once, his companions surrounded him. But the Romans, due both to anger on the king’s behalf, and to their experience, were far more cautious than the Judeans, who had been induced by Agrippa, but were far inferior to them in the number of their adherents. And such confidence did they have in their position, that they would admit no more. For due to the strength of the city’s defenses, it was packed with fugitives; and on this account, they were enabled to hold out for seven months against those whom Agrippa had previously sent to besiege it.

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17 Therefore, with such a multitude of hands accustomed to such work, the earthworks were rapidly completed, and the machines were brought into position. 18 But Charēs and Joseph (for they were the most powerful men in the city), drew up their heavy-armed soldiers; but the men were terrified by the thought that, due to a deficiency of water and other necessaries, they would be unable to withstand the siege for long. 19 But their leaders encouraged them and led them out upon the wall. And for a little while, they repelled those who were bringing up the machines, but the annihilation from the catapults and rock-launchers drove them back into the city. 20 Then the Romans applied the rams at three different quarters; indeed, they violently-shook the wall and it collapsed. But pouring through the breach with mighty trumpet-blasts, and clashing of weapons, and battle cries, they engaged those who were inside the city.

21 Now indeed when the Romans first entered, these citizens held their ground, preventing their further advance, and they stubbornly repulsed them. 22 But overpowered by numbers and by them pouring in on all sides, the Romans

1 Deleted Remark “although the natives pronounce the sharp sound of the name inaccurately” [They shared the sharp ‘K’ into “I’, calling it ‘Gamala’ not ‘Kamala’. The remark is made purely from the Greek point of view. Camed, both in Hebrew (Gamal) and in Aramaic (Gamia) has an initial G.]
bled to the upper parts of the city. And there, wheeling around to attack their pursuing foes, the citizens thrust them downhill, doing away with them while they were compressed by the narrowness and difficulties of the terrain.

23 Now the Romans were unable, either to defend themselves from the citizens above them, or to force their way back through their own men who were pressing forward from behind. So they took refuge on the roofs of their foes' houses (for they were low to the ground). 24 But these houses, being crowded with soldiers and unable to bear their weight, suddenly caved in. But when one house collapsed, it brought down several others beneath it, and these again carried away those further down. 25 This disaster was the ruin of multitudes of Romans; for although they saw the houses subsiding, they had nowhere else to turn, and they continued to leap onto the roofs. And indeed, many were buried by the ruins; but many who tried to escape from under them were pinned down by some part of their bodies; but even more were done away with, being suffocated by the dust.

26 The Gamalites, supposing this to be the cooperation of God, and neglecting the damage which was laid upon themselves, pressed forward. They both forced their foes, who were stumbling in the steep alleys, up onto the roofs; and with a continual fire from above, killed any of those who fell.

27 And indeed, the debris supplied them with enormous-rocks in abundance; but their foes' corpses supplied them with iron blades. For they wrested the short-swords from the fallen, using them to dispatch any Romans who were struggling against death.

28 Now when the houses were collapsing, many of the Romans flung themselves from the houses, dying from the fall. 29 But those who fled found flight no easy matter; for being so unacquainted with the roads, and because the clouds of dust were so thick, they failed to recognize each other, and fell prey to one another. 30 Therefore indeed, these fugitives, barely able to discover the ways out of the city, made their retreat.

CHAPTER 52 [War:31-49b]

Now Vespasianus always kept close to his laboring soldiers; for he was anxious at the sight of the city falling in ruins upon his army. Forgetful of his own safety, he gradually and subconsciously advanced to the highest quarters of the city. Here he found himself left in the midst of danger with but a few followers. 2 For even his son Titus was not with him on this occasion, having been sent off at that time into Syria, to secure the enfeebled and useless city of Ptolemais.

3 Therefore he indeed thought it was neither safe nor proper to turn back. But mindful of the hardships which he had borne from his youth and his innate excellence, he, like one inspired, linked his comrades together, with shields enveloping both bodies and full suits of armor, 4 but bore up against the attacks of his foes which streamed upon him from above. And so, undaunted by the multitude either of men or projectiles, he stood his ground, until his foes, impressed by his demonic soul, relaxed their ardor. 5 Now being less hard pressed, he retreated step by step, without turning his back, until he was outside the walls.

6 Therefore, indeed, in this battle, multitudes of Romans fell, including the decurion Aebutius, a man who had shown utmost nobility and inflicted the severest losses on the Judeans, not only in this battle in which he fell, but on all previous occasions.

7 Now there was a centurion named Gallus. When he, along with ten of his men (of whom, like them, was a Syrian), were cut off in the fray, they indeed crept into a private house, 8 where he overheard the inmates taking counsel over supper concerning the populace's plans of attack on the Romans and of self-defense. So during the night, he arose and fell upon them and slaughtered them all, and, along with his men, made his way safely back to the Roman encampment.

9 But Vespasianus' army was despondent. This was due to their ignorance of reverses, and because they had never before met with such a disaster; yet truly, in addition to these things, they were even more ashamed of themselves since they had left their general to face the dangers alone.

10 Indeed, observing these things, he proceeded to conspire. Lest he give way to despair, he made his way, greatly strengthened, with his men and with his officers, to Guy's camp. But when the soldiers and the officers arrived, they were much impressed by his demonic soul, relaxed their ardor, and were compressed by the narrowness and difficulties of the terrain; instead, the sole cause of their superiority and of our failure was the difficulty of the terrain.

11 “In view of that, you might be blamed for your inordinate passion. For when our foes fled to higher ground, you should have restrained yourselves, and not, by pursuit, exposed yourselves to the dangers impending over your heads. But having mastered the lower city, you should have gradually lured the fugitives to a battle which was safe and on firm ground; but through your intemperate eagerness for the victory, you neglected your own safety.

12 But thoughtlessness in war and mad passion are abhorrent to us Romans, who owe all of our success to skill and discipline; instead, these things are barbaric, and to what the Judeans primarily owe their power. 13 Moreover, we ought to return to our native excellence; and to be moved, rather to fury than to despondency, by this unworthy reverse.

14 “But the best consolation should be sought by each man in his own right hand; for by this means, you will both avenge those who have been utterly destroyed and requite those who have done away with them. 15 But for my part, I will try, as I have done, and will do in every battle, both to go first before you to face our foes, and to be the last to retire.”

Therefore, by such words as these, Vespasianus indeed reanimated his armies.

CHAPTER 53 [War:49b-83]

But the Gamalites indeed derived momentary courage from their great and unaccountable success. 2 But when they subsequently considered that they had deprived themselves of all hope of terms, and thought of the impossibility of escape (for their supplies had already failed them), they became terribly dejected and lost their souls. 3 Truly, they did not neglect to take what precautions they could for their salvation. Instead, even the bravest among them guarded the breaches in the wall, and the rest manned what still remained of the wall.

4 But when the Romans proceeded to strengthen their earthworks and attempted a second assault, many of the citizens began to flee from the city, either doing so because of their fickleness and rashness, where no guards were posted, or through the underground-passages. 5 Yet truly, everyone who stayed behind out of terror of being caught, were perishing from hunger; for every quarter had been ransacked for provisions, being reserved for those capable of bearing arms. 6 And these were indeed the difficult circumstances which the Gamalites endured to the end. But Vespasianus, making a minor diversion from the siege, undertook the task of subduing the occupants of Mount Tabor. This place lies halfway between the Great Plain and Skythopolis, to a height of 30 stadia, and is nearly inaccessible on its northern slope; but its summit is a plain 26 stadia long, completely enwalled. 8 Now I had erected this extensive enclosure in forty days, having been supplied from below with both other materials as well as water, for the settlers were even solely dependent on rain water.

9 Therefore, because a vast multitude had gathered together at this spot, Vespasianus dispatched Placidus there with 600 cavalry. 10 Indeed, Placidus, finding it impracticable to ascend the mountain, made peaceable overtures to the multitude, offering his right hand in pledge, and exhorting them to accept the offer.

11 Now they descended, but with counter-designs of their own. For although Placidus addressed them mildly, his objective was to capture them in the plain. So they came down ostensibly in compliance with his proposals, but with the real intention of falling upon him while he was off guard.

12 However, Placidus' craftiness surmounted their own. For when the Judeans began their battle, he feigned retreat, and then drew his pursuers far into the plain, where he suddenly wheeled his cavalry around and routed them. But most of them were indeed done away with, but the remainder of the multitude was intercepted by him, and prevented from reascending the mountain. 13 So these fugitives indeed abandoned Mount Tabor, fleeing to Jerusalem. But the natives, under an assurance of protection, but also pressed by the failure of their water-supply, surrendered both the mountain and themselves to Placidus.

14 Now at Gamala, the holder citizens were indeed stealthily escaping, while the feeble ones were being utterly destroyed by a famine. 15 But the effective combatants continued to sustain the siege until the twenty-second day of the month Hyperberetaios. At that time, about morning watch, three soldiers of the fifteenth legion crept up to the base of a projecting tower opposite to them, and began quietly undermining it. 16 Now the guards stationed above failed to sense them (for it was night), either when they approached or after they had reached it. But these soldiers, with as little noise as possible, even succeeded in rolling away its five chief stones; and then they hastily returned.

17 But at this, the tower suddenly collapsed with a tremendous crash, and its guards were indeed carried headlong with it. But the guards at the other posts fled in bewilderment; 18 and many who ventured to cut their way out were utterly destroyed by the Romans. And one of these was Joseph, who was done away with by a missile while making his escape across the breach in the wall. But these soldiers, with as little noise as possible, even the crash, both ran here and there in great trepidation, and believed that all of their foes had fallen upon them.

20 And at the same moment, Charés, who was bedridden, and in the hands of healers, departed, his anxiety largely contributing to the death caused by his
sickness. 21 Yet truly, the Romans, remembering their former disaster, deferred from entering the city until the twenty-third day of the month.

22 Now on that day, Titus (for he had now returned) was angry at the reverse which the Romans had sustained in his absence. So he selected 200 picked cavalry and a body of infantry, and quietly entered the city. 23 And the guards, indeed apprised of his entry, flew with shouts to arms.

But when the incursion was communicated to those who were within the city, indeed some, snatching up their children and dragging their wives after them, fled up to the citadel along with their wailing and weeping families. But those who faced Titus fell incessantly. 24 But any who lacked the means to run back to the top, were bewildered and fell into the hands of the Roman guards. Now on all sides, the ceaseless moan of those who were being murdered was heard, and the entire city had been flooding-over with blood pouring down the slopes. 25 But in order to aid the attack against those who had fled up the citadel, Vespasianus now brought in his entire force.

26 Now the summit was both completely rock-strewn and difficult to ascend; it towered to an immense height, and was surrounded with cliffs; everywhere yawned to the depth below. 27 Here the Judeans wreaked havoc among the advancing enemy with every species of projectiles, and with rocks which they rolled down upon them; while they, due to their height, were difficult to be hit by a projectile from their enemies.

28 But to seal their ruin, there arose such a demonic hurricane against their faces, that it indeed carried the Romans' projectiles against them, while reflecting and deflecting their own. 29 But due to the violence of the spirit, they were unable to retain a foothold firm enough to stand upon the edge of the precipices, nor to see their approaching foes.

30 Now the Romans mounted the crest, and indeed quickly surrounded them. Indeed, some of the Judeans resisted, but others held out their hands for surrender. But at the place where the ninth were destroyed in the first incursion, the Romans whetted their fury against everyone.

31 But despairing of their salvation and surrounded on every side, many of the Judeans plunged themselves headlong off the precipices, along with their women and children, into the ravine. Now this ravine had been excavated to a vast depth beneath the citadel. 32 Now in comparison, the present anger of the Romans appeared to be more mild than the frantic self-immolation of the vanquished. Yet indeed, of those who were slaughtered by the Romans, while those who threw themselves over the cliff were found to exceed 5,000.

33 But not a person escaped except for two women. Now they were daughters of Philippios' sister, but Philippios himself was the son of Joakim, a distinguished man who had been King Agrippa's tetrarch. 34 But these escaped, because at the time the city was taken, they had concealed themselves. For at that moment, the angered of the Romans was so great that they did not even spare infants; but time after time many were snatched up and slung down from the citadel.

35 This was indeed how Gamala was taken on the twenty-third day of the month Hyperberetais, after a revolt which began on the twenty-fourth day of the month Gorpiaios.

CHAPTER 54  [War 6:84-120] Now only Gish-Halav, a small city in Galilee, remained unsubdued. Indeed, its multitude was inclined to peace. For they were also primarily agricultural laborers, having both a multitude of workers and stonemasons as well as smiths and carpenters, and therefore not only had severe difficulty in maintaining their fortress, but in its maintenance were not even allowed to mount the wall; for its entire area had already been occupied by the brigands, and guards had been posted at the gates in order to prevent the rest from leaving to make terms, as well as preventing any of the cavalry from being admitted into the city.

15 But it was Johanan who answered, declaring, “I for my part, consent to these proposals; and I will either persuade or coerce obstinate opponents. 16 However, you, Titus, in deference to the Judean law, must permit us to celebrate the seventh day (for in which we are forbidden, not only to resort to arms, but even to conclude a treaty of peace. 17 Now even you Romans are aware that the recurrence of the seventh day brings us repose from all labor. And the man who compels us to transgress this law is no less impious than those who are compelled to transgress it. But indeed, this delay can cause no injury; 18 for what counsel can be taken to do anything in a single night, except for flight, which you could completely prevent by encamping around the city? 19 Now there will be great gain for you if you spare us from transgressing our national customs. But, as the gracious bestower of an unexpected peace, the proper thing for you to do would be to watch over the laws as well as the salvation of your beneficiaries.”

20 By such means, Johanan managed to trick Titus; for Johanan was not so much concerned about the seventh day as he was for his own salvation. But being anxious that he would be caught the instant the city was taken, he rested his hopes of life on fleeing during the night. 21 Now this was the act of God, who was saving Johanan in order to bring ruin upon Jerusalem, that Titus was not only influenced by this pretext for delay, but instead even encamped farther from the city at Kedesh. 22 Now this strong inland village of the Zorites always had hatred and war against the Galileans, having both a multitude of inhabitants and stout defenses as travel-supplies behind it in its quarrel with the nation.

23 Now during the night, when Johanan saw no Roman guard about the city, he seized his opportunity; and, accompanied not only by his heavy-armed men, but also by a number who were forbidden, not only to resort to arms, but even to conclude a treaty of peace. 24 Therefore, indeed, although for the first 20 stadia the man succeeded in dragging with him this crowd of women and children, he was goaded with fears of captivity and of losing his life. But after that point, he pushed on, leaving them behind; and terrifying were the lamentations of those whom he deserted.

25 For the farther each one was removed from his comrades, the nearer he believed himself to be safe. Also, believing that their captors were already upon them, they were panic-stricken and turned at every sound made by their own comrades in flight, under the impression that their pursuers had overtaken them. 26 Many of them strayed off the track; and on the highway, many were crushed in the struggle to keep ahead. 27 But pitiable was the destruction of the women and children. And some of them boldly called either their husbands or relatives to return, imploring them with lamentations to wait for them. 28 Instead, Johanan’s orders prevailed. “Save yourselves!” he cried. “And flee to where you can have your revenge on the Romans if any who are left behind are caught by them!”

Therefore indeed, this multitude of fugitives struggled away, each one exerting the best strength and speed they had.

29 Now the next day, Titus came to the wall to conclude the treaty. 30 But the gates were opened to him by the populace; and they came out to him with their
women and children, hailing him as benefactor and the deliverer of their city from bondage. 30 For they proceeded to inform him about Johanan's flight, and besought him both to spare them, and to enter the city and punish the revolutionaries who remained.

31 But Titus, regarding the populace's petitions as of secondary importance, at once dispatched a squadron of cavalry in pursuit of Johanan. Indeed, they were unable to overtake him. For the fugitive had made a successful escape to Jerusalem. But of his fleeing companions, they indeed killed 6,000, but rounded up and brought back nearly 3,000 women and little-ones.

32 Now Titus was indeed mortified at failing to instantly wreak vengeance upon the delusion of Johanan. But with this multitude of prisoners and those who had been utterly-destroyed as a sufficient solace to his failed fury, he now entered the city amidst common acclamations. 33 And after directing his soldiers to pull down a small portion of the wall as a token of capture, he proceeded to repress the disturbances of the city by forces appropriate to punishment.

34 For he thought that, if he attempted to distinguish the offenders who deserved retribution, many out of private hatred and personal quarrels would inform against the guiltless. Now he thought it was better to leave the criminals in suspense and fear than to destroy them together with those who did not deserve it. 35 For indeed, the sinner might even learn wisdom through anxiety of chastisement and respect for the pardon granted to him for past offenses, whereas retributions unjustly inflicted could never be corrected.

36 However, he secured the city by placing a garrison within, calculated both to restrain the revolutionaries and to give confidence to those who had minds toward peace after he had left. Therefore, this was indeed how Galilee was entirely subdued, after affording the Romans a strenuous training before the impending Jerusalem expedition.

CHAPTER 55 [War:121-161]

Now when Johanan entered the capital, the whole populace poured forth, and tens of thousands of them crowded around each of the fugitives, eagerly asking them what had happened abroad. 2 Now the newcomers were indeed betrayed by their shortness of breath, still hot and gasping, but they blustered under their misfortunes, declaring that they had not fled from the Romans, but had instead come to wage war against them on safe-ground.

3 For they said, "It would have been stupid and useless to recklessly risk our lives for Gish-Halav and such weak cities, when we should be laying up our weapons and energies for the metropolis, and combining to defend it." 4 Then they casually mentioned the capture of Gish-Halav and their own 'retreat', as they decently called it, though most of their hearers understood them to mean a flight.

5 However, when the populace was told about the prisoners, great consternation took possession of them; and they supposed that those things were plain indications of their own impending capture.

6 But Johanan was indeed little abashed at the desertion of his friends, but he went about among all the people, instigating them to the war by the hopes he raised. Indeed, he made out the Romans to be weak, while extolling their own power; 7 and he ridiculed the ignorance of the inexperienced.

“Even if they had wings, the Romans would never be able to surmount the walls of Jerusalem, those men who have already found such difficulty with taking the villages of Galilee, and have worn out their machines against their walls.”

8 By these words, most of the youth were seduced into his service and incited to the war. But as for the sober and aged men, there was not one who failed to foresee the future and to lament for the city as if it had already vanished. 9 Therefore, this was indeed the confusion prevailing among the citizens.

But even before a sedition appeared in Jerusalem, it had already broken out among the multitude in the country. 10 For indeed, Titus moved from Gish-Halav to Caesarea, but Vespasianus proceeded from Caesarea to Jabneh and Ashdod. Having also reduced them both, and having stationed garrisons in them, he returned with a large multitude who had accepted his right hand in security. 11 But every city was now agitated by tumult and civil war. And the moment they had a respite from the Romans, they turned their hands against each other. Now between the enthusiasts for war and the desiers of peace, contention raged fiercely. 12 At the first, this love-of-strife indeed attacked those who had long been comrades. Then, the best of friends severed their connections; and joining those who shared their respective views, they arrayed themselves in an opposite multitude against one another from this point forward.

13 And indeed, seditions arose everywhere. But the revolutionaries and enthusiasts for war overpowered the old and sound-minded men by their youth and recklessness. 14 But first, the various groups indeed pillaged their neighbors. Then, banding together in companies, they carried their depredations throughout the country, to such an extent that in cruelty and transgression, the sufferers found no difference between fellow-tribesmen and Romans. And to be captured by the Romans seemed to be a lighter fate to the unfortunate victims.

15 Now the city garrisons, indeed from the reluctance to take risks, but also from their hatred of the nation, afforded little or no protection to the distressed Judeans. In the end, satiated with their pillage of the country, the chief-brigands of all these scattered contingents joined forces; and now merged into one compact-body of wickedness, they crept into Jerusalem, 16 a city without a general, and one which, indeed according to ancient custom, admitted everyone who was a fellow-tribesman without distinction. But it received these wicked men more likely that it was unwilling, for indeed everyone who was pouring into it came out of goodwill to be its auxiliaries. 17 And it was this particular circumstance, which, irrespective of the sedition, was the direct cause of the city’s immerssion. For even supplies which might have sufficed for the combatants were squandered upon a useless and idle multitude. And in addition to the war, they brought upon themselves the miseries of both a sedition and famine.

18 Also, fresh brigands from the country entered the city and joined the more troublesome gang within, abstaining from no kind of terrible deed from that point on. 19 Yet, they did not restrict their audacity to raids and highway robberies; instead, they even proceeded to murders, which they did not commit under the cover of night or clandestinely or on ordinary men, but instead openly, in broad daylight, and with the most distinguished men as their earliest victims.

20 For indeed, the first was Antipas, a man of the royal family; and he carried such weight in the city that he was entrusted with the charge of the public storehouse. They took and imprisoned him. 21 After him there was Levias, one of the distinguished men, as well as Suphas son of Aregetos; 22 now both of these were also of royal blood. But besides these, there were other principal men throughout the country. 22 Now terrible consternation seized the populace; and no one cherished any thought but that of his personal salvation, as if the city had already been captured in the war.

23 But the brigands were indeed satisfied with having put their captives in chains; nor did they consider it safe to keep such powerful men in custody like this for long. 24 For indeed, these men also had numerous families who were quite capable of avenging them. Not only this, but they thought, that the populace might be moved by their outrageous action to rise against them. 25 Therefore, they decided to do away with their victims. So for this purpose, they commissioned the most handy assassin among them, a certain Johanan, called in the native tongue 'the boy of a gazelle'. 26 He, along with ten men, entered the prison with short-swords in hand, and slaughtered the prisoners. 26 Now for such a monstrous crime, they invented just as monstrous of an excuse. For they asserted that their victims had conferred with the Romans concerning the surrender of Jerusalem, and had been done away with as traitors to the common freedom. In a word, they boasted of their audacious acts as though they had been the benefactors and saviors of the city.

27 Now in the end, the populace was indeed reduced to such subservitude and terror, but the madness of these brigands to such heights, that they actually took upon themselves to elect a chief-priest. 28 Accordingly, once they had abrogated the claims of succession from those families out of which the chief-priests had always been made, they appointed ignoble and lowborn individuals to that honor, in order to gain accomplishments in their impious crimes. 29 For those who had undeservedly attained to the highest dignity, were bound to obey those who had conferred it upon them. 30 By various contrivances and libelous statements, they set the magistrates at variance with one another, and gained their own opportunity to do what they pleased by the bickerings of those who should have restrained them. Finally, satiated with the unrighteous-deeds which they had done toward the humans, they transferred their outrages to the Deity himself, and invaded the holy-place with their polluted feet.

31 Now an insurrection of the multitude was ready. For it was instigated by Herode, the senior of the chief-priests. He was a man of profound sanity, and who might have possibly saved the city, had he escaped the conspirators’ hands. But at this threat, these wicked men converted the inner-sanctum of God into their fortress and refuge from any outbreak among the populace; and made the holy-place the headquarters of their tyranny.

32 But to these terrible deeds, they added a spice of mockery more intolerable than their actions. 33 For in order to test the populace’s consternation and to make trial of their own strength, they undertook to appoint the chief-priests by lot, although the succession should have been by race. 34 Now as a pretext for this scheme, they indeed addeduced ancient custom, even asserting that in old days the chief-priesthood had been determined by lot. But in reality, their action was the abrogation of established practice, and a trick to seize the government by getting rid of the law. 35 And so it was that many of the chief-priests, who were of royalty by race, were also of royal blood. But besides these, there were other principal men throughout the country. 22 Now terrible consternation seized the populace; and no one cherished any thought but that of his personal salvation, as if the city had already been captured in the war. 

1 [War] PA / L "Regetes" / Lat "Rageti" / others "Raguel"

28 most (lit. ‘dorcus’ - which is Greek for ‘gazelle’); some ‘tubtha’ (which is Hebrew for ‘gazelle’)

38
35 So they summoned one of the priestly clans, called Enjakim, and cast lots for a chief-priest. But by chance, the lot fell to one who proved to be a clear illustration of their depravity: for it fell upon an individual named Phinehas son of Samuel, of the village of Aphia. He was a man who not only was not descended from chief-priests, but instead was such a rustic that he scarcely knew what the chief-priesthood meant. 36 Accordingly, they dragged their reluctant victim out of the country; and dressing him up for his assumed part, as if he were a stage-actor, they put the sacred garments upon him, and taught him how to act in keeping with the occasion.

37 Now to them, this monstrous iniquity was a subject for jesting and childish-fun; but the other priests, who beheld this mockery of their law from a distance, could not restrain their tears and bemoaned the degradation of the consecrated honors.

38 This latest insolation was more than the populace could bear; instead, everyone was roused, as if intending to overthrow that tyranny. 39 For their leaders of outstanding reputation were both Gorion son of Joseph, and Simeon son of Gamaliel; and both by public addresses to the whole assembly, and by private visits to individuals, these men encouraged them to delay no longer to punish these plagues of freedom and to purge the holy-place of its bloodstained polluters.

40 Their efforts were supported by Jeshua son of Gamala, as well as Hanan son of Hanan, who at their meetings vehemently upbraided the populace for their apathy, and incited them against the Zealots. 41 For this is what these men called themselves, as though they were zealous in virtuous undertakings, rather than vice in its basest and most extravagant form.

CHAPTER 56 [War4:162~195]

And now, the multitude convened an assembly, and everyone indeed expressed indignation toward the Romans even in our temple, who had occupied the holy-place, at both the raids and the murders. But due to the belief (not unfounded) that the Zealots would prove difficult to dislodge, no attempt at resistance had yet been made. So Hanan arose in their midst, and casting his gaze at the inner-sanctum with eyes filled with tears, spoke the following:

2 “Yet it would have been well for me to have died before I had seen the house of God laden with such abominations, and its unapproachable and holy places crowded with the feet of murderers. 3 Instead, I, who am clothed with the chief-priest’s vestments, and who bear that most honored of venerated names, am alive; and I live with a love for my own soul, and do not brave a death which would be the glory of my old age. And if I must go alone, then I will; and as in utter desolation, I will additionally give up my soul for God’s cause.

4 “For why should I live amongst a populace insensible to calamities, and who have lost the will to grapple with the troubles on their hands? Accordingly, when you are plundered, you submit! And when you are beaten, you are silent! And when people are murdered, no one dares groan audibly! 5 What bitter tyranny!

“Yet, why do I blame the tyrants? For have they not been nourished by your silence and your forbearance? 6 For was it not you, who allowed those first recruits to combine? Then they were but a few. Was it not by your silence, that you allowed their numbers to swell; and by your inaction, when they were fully-arming themselves, that you drew those weapons upon yourselves? 7 You should have cut short their first attacks when they were assailing the nobles with abuse; but by your negligence, you incited the sinners to raping.

“Then, when houses were pillaged, not a word was said. Consequently, they laid hands on their owners as well. And when these were dragged through the midst of the city, not one rose in their defense. 8 But then they proceeded to inflict the indignity of bonds upon those whom you had betrayed. The number and nature of these men I refrain to state; instead they certainly were unincriminated and uncondemned; and not a man assisted them in their bondage. 9 The natural consequence was to watch these same men be murdered. That spectacle we have also witnessed, when, as from a herd of beasts, one prize victim after another was dragged to the slaughter; yet not a voice, much less a right hand, was raised.

10 “Moreover, will you bear, will you bear to see your holy-place being trampled upon? And after you yourselves had laid each step of the ladder for the audacity of these profane wretches to mount, will you not pull them down from the attainment of their climax? For even by now, they could have proceeded to greater heights, had anything greater than the holy-place remained for them to overthrow. 11 Therefore, they have indeed mastered the strongest point in the city. For from now on, the temple must be spoken of as if it were a citadel or a fortress.

“But with such a tyrannical stronghold entrenched in your midst, and with the spectacle of your enemies above your heads, what purpose is it to take counsel? And what further cherished hopes console your minds? 12 Will you wait for the Romans to protect your holy-places? Has the city indeed come to such a pass, and are we reduced to such misery, that even our foes must pity us?

13 “O, most wretched creatures! Will you never rise up and turn to meet the lash (as even the beast might be seen to turn) and retaliate upon those who struck you? Will you not call to mind, every one of you, your own personal calamities? Nor hold before your eyes everything that you have undergone? Will you not weigh your souls for revenge upon them?

14 “Have you then lost the most honorable and that most instinctive of passions, the desire for freedom? But have we fallen in love with slavery and in love with our masters, as though submission were a heritage from our forefathers? 15 Yet instead, they even sustained a mighty struggle for freedom, and they did not yield either to the domination of Egyptians or the Medes, but they were deemed to refuse obedience to a conqueror’s dire threats.

15 “And what do I need to speak of the deeds of our forefathers? Instead, we are now at war with the Romans. I forbear to inquire whether such a war is profitable and expedient or the reverse, but what is its pretext? 16 Is it not freedom? Next, if we refuse to bow to the masters of the inhabited earth, are we to tolerate the tyrants of our own tribe? 17 Furthermore, subservience to the foreigner might indeed be attributed to foresight having once for all proved too strong for us, but to surrender to the wicked men of our own nation argues a base and deliberate servility.

18 “Now that I have mentioned the Romans, I will not conceal from you the thought which struck me while I was speaking and turned my mind to them. It is, that even if we might fall beneath their weapons (far be it that those words should ever be our lot!), we can but suffer no greater cruelty than what these men have already inflicted upon us.

19 “But how can we not shed tears, indeed when we see the votive-offerings of our forefathers being snatched from their temple; but while we see that our fellow-tribesmen have robbed our spoils, and have done away with the nobility of the metropolis, and have murdered men whom even the Romans, after they possessed the city, would spare? 20 And indeed, is it not lamentable, that, while the Romans never-at-any-time overstepped the limit fixed for the profane persons, nor-even transgressed one of the consecrated customs, but from afar, in awe, were seeing the enclosures of the holy-places, 21 some born in this very country and nurtured among our own institutions and who call themselves Judeans, are freely walking-around in the midst of the holy-places, with their hands still warm with the murder of their own fellow-tribesmen?

22 “Next, can anyone still be anxious of a war abroad, when our enemies, by comparison, are far more moderate to us than our own fellow inhabitants? For even if one must properly fit the phrase to the fact, it is the Romans who may well be found to have been upholders of the laws, but the ones within the walls to be warring against the laws.

23 “Instead, I am indeed confident that, even before you left your homes, that all of you were convinced of the abandoned character of these conspirators against freedom, and, that it would be impossible for anyone to conceive a rightful-punishment deserving of what they have done; and that, before I spoke this address, all of you were already driven to exasperation against them by those wicked actions of theirs from which you have suffered.

24 “But probably most of you have been struck-down with astonishment both by their multitudes, and by their daring, but still by the advantage they have over us which they derive from their position. 25 But, as these circumstances arose through your negligence, so they will now continue to increase the longer you neglect them. For even their multitude is growing daily, as every wicked man flees to those like himself; 26 and their audacity is inflamed because they have, up till now met, with no obstruction. They also will doubtless make use of their superior position, with the added benefit of preparation, if we give them time.

27 “But, as assured, if we go up to fight them, conscience will humble them, and the advantage of superior height will be neutralized by reason. 28 Maybe the Deity himself, being outraged by them, will turn their missiles back upon themselves, and the impious wretches will be destroyed by their own projectiles. Only let us face them and they will come to nothing.

29 “But if the attempt should have any dangers, it would be a noble end to be dying at the temple gates and to be sacrificing our soul—if not even for the sake of our little-boys or women, instead in behalf of God and of the holy-place. 30 But I will preside-over you with both with resolve and hand. And there will not be any intention left behind aiming toward your security, neither will you see me sparing my body.”

31 By these means, Hanan incited the multitude against the Zealots. He indeed knew well how difficult it would be to exterminate them due to both their
numbers, as well as their youth and the courage of their souls. But above all, he knew it would be difficult due to their consciousness of their deeds; since in despair of obtaining pardon for everything they had committed, they would never give in even to the end. 32 But Hanan preferred to undergo whatever suffering might come upon him, rather than to allow affairs to remain in such confusion. 33 Now the multitude clamored for him to lead them against the enemy whom he urged them to attack, and each man was fully ready to brave the first danger.

CHAPTER 57  [War R.196–237]

But while Hanan was both enlisting and marshalling efficient-combatants, the Zealots learned about his projected attack. For they received a message about all the populace’s proceedings. So they were provoked. And dashing out of the temple in both regiments and smaller units, they spared none who fell in their way.

2 Now at this, Hanan promptly collected the populace together, which, indeed was superior in numbers; but being inferior in weapons and with a lack of training, they were no match for the Zealots. 3 But ardor supplied the deficiencies of either party: Indeed, the citizens were armed with an anger more powerful than weapons, but those from the temple with a recklessness outweighing all numerical superiority. 4 And indeed, the citizens were persuaded that the city would be uninhabitable by them unless the brigands were eradicated, but the Zealots, that unless they were victorious, they would be spared from no form of retribution.

5 In this way, swayed by their passions, they met in conflict. Indeed, at first, there was a mutual discharge of stones from all parts of the city and from the front of the temple, and men contending against one another with javelins from afar. But when either party gave way, the victors employed their short-swords; and a great murder was made on both sides, and a great number were wounded.

6 And indeed, the injured populace was carried into the houses by their relatives. But when any Zealot was struck, he went up into the temple, staining its divine foundation with his blood; and it might be said that no blood but theirs alone defiled the holy-place.

7 Therefore indeed, in these engagements, the brigand sallies proved invariably successful. But the populace, roused to fury and continually growing in numbers, upbraided those who gave way; and those pressing forward in the rear refused passage to the fugitives. Finally, they indeed turned their whole force upon their opponents. 8 And the brigands, no longer able to withstand this pressure, gradually withdrew into the temple, while Hanan’s party rushed in along with them. 9 But dismayed by the loss of the first enclosure, the Zealots fled into the inner court and instantly barred the gates.

10 Now Hanan indeed did not think fit to assail the consecrated gates, especially under the enemy’s hail of missiles from above. But even if he was victorious, he considered it unlawful to introduce the multitude into the temple without previous purification. 11 Now by lot, he selected 6,000 heavy-armed soldiers from the whole number, posting them to guard the porticoes. 12 Now these soldiers were to be relieved by others, and every man was indeed bound to attend guard duty in rotation. But many of the worthy men, with permission of their chiefs, hired some of the lower classes and sent them to keep guard in their stead.

13 Now the subsequent destruction of this entire party was largely due to Johanan, whose escape from Gish-Halav has already been related. He was a man who was extremely deceitful, and who carried in his soul a dire passion-desire for tyranny, and had long been plotting against the state affairs. 14 And at this time, he pretended to side with the populace. Indeed, he would accompany Hanan on his rounds, whether he was taking counsel with the powerful men by day or was visiting the guards by night; but he would send a message about his secrets to the Zealots. So through his agency, every idea proposed by the populace, even before they had thoroughly taken counsel about it, was made known to their enemy.

15 Now machinating how he might not be brought into suspicion, he displayed unbounded servility to both Hanan and the foremost men of the populace. 16 But this love-of-honor had the reverse effect. For his extravagant flatteries only brought more suspicion upon him, and his pervasive and unwarranted presence produced the impression that he was betraying secrets. 17 For indeed, it was plainly observed that their enemies were aware of all their plans, but there was no one more open to the suspicion of sending a message to others about them than Johanan.

18 Therefore indeed, it was no easy matter to shake off the one who had gained such influence through his wickedness. He was also a man of eminence, and who had won many followers among those who sat in congress on overall affairs. Now it was decided to make him give them his assurance of his goodwill by oath. 19 Now Johanan promptly swore both that he would be well-inclined toward their concordance, and that he would betray neither their decisions of their council nor their actions to their enemies, but would assist them, both with his hand and with his advice in putting down their attackers.

20 But relying on these oaths, Hanan’s party now admitted him to their counsels without suspicion. And not only this, but they went so far as to send him as their elder to the Zealots to arrange a treaty. For they were anxious to preserve the temple from pollution in order that not a single one of their fellow-tribesmen should fall down dead within its walls.

21 But Johanan, as though his oath of goodwill had been made to the Zealots and not against them, went in; and standing in their midst, he declared to them: 22 But this love of yours toward us will indeed often risk my life on your account, in order to keep you fully informed of all the secret counsels made against you by Hanan’s party. 22 But now, I am exposing myself to the greatest danger, in which all of you will be involved, unless some demonic assistance intervenes to avert it.

23 “For Hanan is no longer delaying. Instead, he has indeed prevailed with the populace to send elders to Vespasianus, inviting him to come at once in order to take possession of the city. But to your further injury, he has transmitted a message to hold a purification service for tomorrow, in order that his followers may obtain admission here, either by a religious-ritual or by force, and attack you. 24 But I cannot see how you are able to sustain either the present siege or an encounter against so many enemies.

25 “But it was by God’s foresight that I was sent as an elder to negotiate a treaty; for Hanan is offering us terms, only to fall upon us when we are off guard.

26 Therefore, if you wish to save your lives, you should either sue for mercy from your besiegers, or procure some external assistance. 26 But anyone who cherishes the hopes of being pardoned in the event of defeat, must either have forgotten their own daring deeds, or suppose that the perpetrators’ changing their mind should be followed by the instant reconciliation of their victims. 26 Instead, those who indeed commit unrighteous-deeds, though they change their purpose, are often haled; and the anger of those who suffered the unrighteous-deeds is embittered by power. 27 But yet, the friends and relatives of those who were driven out of the temple through a large population incited by the instigation of their laws and courts-of-justice are watching for their opportunity to retaliate. In such a crowd, even if a part was to be moved to compassion, they would be crushed by an indignant majority.”

28 This was indeed the embroidered tale which he told them in order to instill them with anxiety. And indeed he did not dare to say outright what “external assistance” was intended, but he hinted at the Edomites.

29 But in order to stimulate the personal feelings of the Zealots’ leaders as well, he slandered Hanan with a charge of brutality, and asserted that his special threats were directed at them. 29 Now these leaders included Eleazar son of Gion; 29 and he was the most influential man of the party, due both to his ability to conceive appropriate measures, as well as carrying them into effect. But the other leader was Zechariah son of Avikalis. 25 Both of them were of priestly descent.

30 These two men had heard, not only the menaces against the whole party and those specially leveled at themselves, but how Hanan’s party was summoning the Romans in order to secure supreme power for themselves (for even this was another of Johanan’s falsehoods). Indeed, they hesitated for a long time on what action they should take, due to the fact that they were so hard pressed for time; 31 for indeed the populace was prepared to attack them very soon, but the suddenness of the scheme against them severed their chances of receiving auxiliaries from outside. For everything would be over before any of their allies would even be able to hear of their situation.

32 But Hanan, instilled with their fear of the Romans, and being told by the Yomot that Hanan had indeed imposed on the populace and was proposing to betray the metropolis to the Romans; but that they themselves had revoluted in the cause of freedom; 33 but that they were imprisoned within the temple; but that in a short time their fate would be decided; indeed, that unless the Edomites sent them immediate assistance, they would soon have succumbed to both Hanan and their enemies, and that the city would be in the possession of the Romans.

34 Now they instructed the messengers to communicate further details to the Edomite chiefs by word of mouth. 34 Now those selected for carrying this message were two active men, who were both eloquent and persuasive speakers on public affairs, but, what was still more useful, remarkably swift of foot. 35 For indeed, the Zealots knew that the Edomites would immediately comply, as they were a tumultuous and disorderly nation, both always on the watch for commotion, and delighting in revolutionary changes; and only needing a little flattery from their suitors, they would seize their weapons and rush into a pitched battle as to a feast. 36 But speed was essential for carrying the message, in which the messengers were not lacking. Now both messengers had the same name, Hanannah. And they were soon in the presence of the Edomite chiefs.

37 Now these chiefs, astounded by the contents of the letter and the further statements of their visitors, both raced throughout the nation like madmen, and

1 P.A.L., Lat. others “Eleazar Simon”
2 Aramaic source / most Josephus “Amphicleaurus” / Josephus(C,M2,V2) “Phalekou”
made proclamation of the expedition. 38 But the multitude mustered more quickly than the time prescribed in the transmitted-message, and all of them snatched up their weapons to defend the freedom of the metropolis. 39 Now 20,000 were drawn up for battle and marched to Jerusalem under the command of four leaders: both Johanan, and Jacob the boy of Sōsas, as well as Simon son of Thakeos, and Phinehas son of Kluoth.

40 Now the messengers’ departure had indeed eluded the vigilance of Hanan and the garrison. For the approach of the Edomites did not. For being forewarned of this, he both shut the gates against them and posted guards upon the walls. 41 Yet truly, he was unwilling to completely go to war with them; instead, he determined to try to persuade them with a proposal before having recourse to weapons.

CHAPTER 58 [War 6:238–279]

Therefore, Jeshua, the chief-priest next in seniority to Hanan, stood upon the tower opposite to the Edomites, and declared the following: “Among the many and manifold disorders which have fallen upon this city, nothing has astonished me more than the decree of fortune by which even the most unexpected things cooperate to assist the wicked. 2 Accordingly, I see that you have come to support the vilest of humans against us, and, this with so great alacrity as was hardly to be looked for even had the metropolis summoned you against barbarians. 3 And had I indeed perceived that your ranks were composed of men similar to those who invited you, I would not have thought such ardor unreasonable; for nothing so unites men’s goodwill as kinship.

“But now, if one were indeed to probe these men who invited you one by one, each would be found deserving of ten thousand deaths. 4 For these are the very scum and trash of the whole city. After squandering their own substance and exercising their madness upon both the neighboring villages and cities, these pests have ended by stealthy streaming into the consecrated city. 5 They are brigands of such rank and file that the even the invariable ground, who may now be seen recklessly intoxicating themselves in the holy-place and expounding the spoils of their murdered-victims upon their insatiable bellies.

6 “But you, in your numbers and armed with your weapons, present an appearance which would indeed become you had the metropolis’ senate-house summoned you to be its auxiliaries against foreigners. Therefore, what can this be called but a speeches of fortune, when one sees a whole nation armed on behalf of the interests of its enemies? 7 Indeed, I have long been wondering what motive could have even brought you so promptly. For never, without a grave cause, would you have donned yourselves with full suits of armor for the sake of brigands, and against a kindred populace. 8 But now we have heard the words ‘Romans’ and ‘treason’ (for that was what some of you were clamoring about just now, and have said that they were here to protect the freedom of the metropolis), No other audacity of these scoundrels has amazed me more than this ignoble lie.

9 “For men like yourselves with an inborn passion for freedom, and on that account, willing, above all, to fight an external foe, could by no other means be infuriated against us than by the fabrication of a charge that we were betraying their precious freedom.

10 “Yet instead, you ought to consider both who are the authors of this slander and at whom it is aimed; and to form your opinion of the truth, not from fictitious tales, but rather from public affairs. 11 For what could even induce us to now sell ourselves up to the Edomites? was it even to gain the field? Was it the first, or, having revolted, to promptly return to our allegiance, while the neighboring country was not yet laid waste. 12 For now, even if we desired it, a reconciliation with the Romans would indeed be no easy matter, now that their conquest of Gallilee has made them contemptuous; but to endeavor to please them, now that they are at our doors, would bring upon us a disgrace even worse than death. 13 And as for myself, I certainly prefer peace to death; but having once declared war and entered the lists, I would prefer death with a good-reputation to life as a captive.

14 “But do they say that we, the foremost men of the populace, have secretly communicated with the Romans; or even that the populace itself decided this by public decree? 15 Indeed, if we have done this, let them name the friends of ours whom we sent to the underlings who negociated the betrayal. Has anyone been detected leaving on his errand, or caught on his return? Have any documents fallen into their hands? But how could we have indeed concealed our action from all of our numerous fellow-citizens (with whom we are associating with every hour), while their small and watched party, unable even to advance one step into the city from the temple, were, it seems, able to be acquainted with these every hour), while their small and watched party, unable even to advance one step into the city from the temple, were, it seems, able to be acquainted with these covert proceedings in the country? 17 But have they heard of them only now, when they must pay a rightful-punishment for their crimes? While they themselves felt secure, were any of us suspected of treason?

18 “But if it be the populace whom they intimidate, it would have been necessary for them to have taken counsel concerning this matter publicly, and it would have been necessary for not one individual to have been absent from the assembly. In this case, a declaration would have brought you speedier and more public intelligence than your private informer. 19 But would they not have been required to follow up their vote for capitulation by sending elders? And who was elected to that office? Let them tell us.

20 “No, this is indeed a mere pretext of die-hards, and of those who are struggling to aver impending retribution. For if foresight had determined for this city to be betrayed, no man would have ventured on the deed to save our present slanderers, who are lacking but one thing to make their impudent practices complete—treason.

21 “But now that you have already arrived in arms, the right which indeed has the highest claims upon you is to defend the metropolis and to join us in removing those tyrants who have annulled our courts-of-justice, who have trampled upon our laws, and who have passed sentence with the short-sword. 22 Accordingly, eminent men who have not been incriminated, they both have seized from the open marketplace, and have ignominiously placed them into iron; and refusing to listen to their voices, to their supplications, they utterly-destroyed them.

23 “Now you are at freedom to enter, though not by law of war, in order to behold the proofs of these statements. So behold houses desolated by their rapine, and poor widows and orphans of the slaughtered in black attire; but wailing and lamentation throughout the whole city. For there is not one who has not tasted the incursion of these unsacred men; 24 men who have yet run-aground into such a degree of madness, as to not only transfer their brigandage from the country and the remote cities to this face and head of the whole nation, but instead even from the city to the temple.

25 “Accordingly, this temple has now become their base and refuge, as well as the fountainhead for their armament against us. But this place, which is revered by the inhabited earth, and honored by foreigners from the ends of the earth who have heard of its fame, is trampled on by these beasts engendered in this very place. 26 Also, in desperation, they wantonly proceed to set at variance both populace and city against city, and to enlist the nation to prey upon its own bowels.

27 “Indeed, as I declared before, the finest and most becoming course for you is to join us in removing these offenders, and to chastise them for this delusion which they have practiced upon yourselves; that is, by daring to summon to assistance those whom they ought to have been terrified of as avengers.

28 “But if you still respect the appeals made to you by men such as these, it is instead surely open to you to lay down your weapons, and to enter the city in the guise of kinsmen, and to assume a neutral role, neither auxiliaries or foes, by becoming judges. 29 Furthermore, consider what these men will gain by being tried by you for such undeniable and flagrant offenses, whereas they themselves would not permit those who were unincriminated to speak a word in their own defense. But therefore, let them derive this benefit from your coming.

30 “But if you will neither share our indignation nor act as judges, a third course remains, namely to leave both parties to themselves, and neither to insult their offenses, and to chastise them for their crimes. 31 For even though you strongly suspect some of us of having communicated with the Romans, you are in a position to watch the approaches to the city; and if anything with which we have been slandered is actually discovered to be true, you can then come and protect the metropolis, and to punish the detected criminals. For these foes could never take you by surprise while you are so near to the city.

32 “But if none of these proposals seems reasonable or fair to you, do not wonder why these men have run aground against you, while they are accusing us, when, moreover, we have not even run against you in arms.”

CHAPTER 59 [War 6:271–304]

Now at this, Simon son of Kithlas,2 one of their leaders, quelled the uproar among his men with great difficulty, and took his stand within hearing of the chief-priests, 2 and declared:

“I am no longer surprised that the champions of freedom are imprisoned within the temple, now that I also find that there are men who close the gates of our common city to this nation; and men who are indeed prepared to admit the Romans (not only this, but perhaps crowning the gates with garlands), but who will parley with Edomites from their towers and direct them to throw down the weapons which they have taken up in defense of freedom; 4 but men who, refusing to entrust the guarding of the metropolis to their kinsmen, would make them judges in their disputes; and not only this, but while they are accusing certain individuals of having killed others without trial, would themselves condemn the whole nation to dishonor.

1 Literally “loss-of-mind”
2 WRC, Lat / M “Klahus” / others “Kautus”

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5 “Accordingly, this city, which once opened wide its gates to every foreigner for worship, is now walled-off by you against your own inhabitants. 6 For what reason? Because we were coming here in haste to slaughter and make war on our fellow-tribesmen? We, whose sole reason for haste was to preserve your freedom? 7 However, you have doubtless been guilty of similar acts of unrighteousness against your prisoners; and I suppose that your list of insinuations against them is equally plausible.

8 “Then, you have detained in custody everyone within there whose care is for the common welfare, and have indeed shut the gates of your city against whole nations who are your nearest kinsmen. But while you are directing such insulting orders to them, you profess to be tyrant-ridden, and attach the name of sovereignty to victims of your own tyranny!

9 “Who can tolerate such ironical words, which one can see are flatly contrary to the facts; unless it is even the Edomites who are now excluding you from the metropolis, and not you who are debarring them from the consecrated traditions of our fathers? 10 There is one complaint which might fairly be made against the men who are blockaded within the temple, that while they had the courage to punish those traitors whom you, as their partners in guilt, say are distinguished men and unincriminated, they did not begin with you, and at the outset, cut off the most vital members of this treasonable conspiracy.

11 “Instead, if these men were more merciful than they should have been, we Edomites will preserve God’s house and wage war to defend our common fatherland from both of her foes: the invaders from abroad, as well as the traitors within. 12 Here, before these walls, we will remain in arms, until the Romans grow weary of listening to you, or you reform, returning to the cause of freedom.”

13 This speech was indeed loudly applauded by the Edomites. But Jeshua, finding them opposed to all moderate advices but that the city was exposed to war, to be in considerable strength, they were sorely perplexed, and many changed their minds for having come. 15 But the shame of returning without accomplishing anything at all, so far overcame their change-of-purpose that they kept their ground, lodging before the wall under miserable conditions.

16 In the course of the night, an inconceivable storm broke out: both violent winds, and a prodigious rain, which they predicted for their future predictions; and the fate which they predicted for their enemies was destined to befall them themselves. 20 For indeed, the Edomites, huddling their bodies together, kept each other warm; and connecting their oblong-shields above their heads, they were not seriously affected by the heavy-rains.

21 But the Zealots, more concerned for their allies than for their own danger, met easily to consider whether they could devise any means of relieving them. 22 Therefore indeed, the more ardent men advocated the following plan: “We can force a way through the guards at sword-point, but then plunge boldly into the middle of the city in order to open the gates to our auxiliaries. 23 Yet the guards, since they will be discharged by our unexpected attack, will give way, especially as the majority is both unarmed and has never been in a war. And the multitude of the citizens will not easily be gathered in force, since they are confined within the walls of the city, the entire temple flooded-over with blood; and the day dawned upon 8,500 corpses. 24 But if even this does involve danger, it would only be proper for us to suffer anything rather than to leave such a vast multitude to disgracefully perish on our account.”

25 But the more prudent men indeed disapproved of these violent measures. For they did not only see the guards surrounding them in full strength, but even at this instant offered to them in being excluded from the city, and seeing no assistance coming forth from the Zealots, whom they believed to be in considerable strength, they were sorely perplexed, and many changed their minds for having come. 25 But the shame of returning without accomplishing anything at all, so far overcame their change-of-purpose that they kept their ground, lodging before the wall under miserable conditions.

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25 But the more prudent men indeed disapproved of these violent measures. For they did not only see the guards surrounding them in full strength, but rather that the city-wall was also carefully being guarded on account of the Edomites. 26 Also, they supposed that Hanan would be everywhere, and looking-over the guards at all hours; 27 for this, indeed, had been his practice on other nights, but on this one it was omitted—not through any relaxation on Hanan’s part; instead, it was due to being outgeneraled by foresight, so that the multitude of the guards might be destroyed along with him.

28 So as that night advanced and the storm approached its climax, it was indeed foresight which lulled to sleep the guards posted at the portico, but which also suggested to the Zealots the thought of taking some of the temple saws in order to cut through the gates of the temple. But if even this does involve danger, it would only be proper for us to suffer anything rather than to leave such a vast multitude to disgracefully perish on our account.”

30 Now secretly escaping from the temple, they reached the wall. And employing their saws once more, they opened the gate nearest to the Edomites. Now the Edomites, indeed supposed that they were being attacked by Hanan’s party, were at first seized with terror; every man’s right hand was upon his short-sword to defend himself. But as soon as they recognized their visitors, they entered the city.

Therefore indeed, the anger of the Edomites was so great, that had they then fallen upon the city, nothing could have prevented the populace, men and all, from being destroyed. But as it was, they now first made haste to liberate the Zealots from custody, having been earnestly entreated to do so by the men who had let them inside. These particular Zealots also urged, “Do not leave those, for whose sake you have come, in the midst of terror, nor expose us to a greater danger. 32 For indeed, once you have overpowered the guards, you will be able to easily march upon the city. But once the city is alarmed, you will never be able to overcome the guards; 33 for at the first sense, the citizens will fall into array and block every ascent.”

CHAPTER 60 [War:305–333]

The Edomites yielded to this advice, and they ascended through the city to the temple. Now the Zealots, in suspense, were awaiting their arrival. And when the Edomites entered, the Zealots advanced from the inner temple. 2 Now joining with the Edomites, they fell upon the guards. And they indeed killed some of the outlying guards who were asleep. But when the guards who were awake cried out, the whole multitude was roused, and in consternation, snatched up their weapons and advanced to their own defense.

3 Therefore indeed, as long as they believed that the Zealots were their only assailants, they were of good-courage, hoping to overpower them by numbers. But when they saw others pouring in from outside, they understood that the Judaeans had gotten inside. And indeed, the majority of the citizens immediately flung their souls away, together with their weapons, and abandoned themselves to lamentations. But a few of the younger men, fencing themselves in, valiantly received the Edomites in a battle, and for a good while, protected a multitude of feeble men. 5 But the cries of others signified their distress to their friends within the city.

Indeed, learning that the Edomites had broken in, not one of these ventured to ask them for help. But they responded with frantic shouts and lamentations on their side, and a great wail went up from the women, each having some relative among the guards who was wounded. 6 But the Zealots joined with the Edomite war cries; and the din from all quarters was rendered more fearsome by the howling of the storm.

Now the Edomites spared none. Naturally having a disposition which was both savage and murderous, they had been distressed by the storm and wreaked their fury upon those who had shut them out. 7 Now suppliants and combatants were treated in the same manner; and many, while both reminding them of their kinship and imploring them to respect their common temple, were run through by their short-swords.

8 Now there was indeed no room for flight, nor hope of salvation. But driven together upon one another in heaps, they were being cut-down. And the majority found themselves driven back further retreat was impossible; but with their murderers closing upon them, they, in their helplessness, flung themselves down. 9 So the entire exterior temple flooded-over with blood; and the day dawned upon 8,500 corpses. 10 But the fury of the Edomites remained unsatiated. Instead, they now turned to the city, indeed plundering every house, but killing everyone who crossed their path. 11 And indeed, they thought that their energies would be wasted on the other multitude, but they went to search for the chief-priests instead; and it was for them that the main rush was enacted. 12 But as soon as they caught them, they utterly destroyed them.

Then, standing upon their corpses, they indeed scoffed at Hanan for his goodwill toward the populace, but at Jeshua for the speech which he had delivered from the wall. 13 Not only this, but they actually proceeded to such a degree of impiety as to cast out the corpses without burial, although the Judeans make provision for the burial of men to such an extent, that even the condemned who have been sentenced to crucifixion are both taken down and buried before sunset. 14 Now the city’s capture began with the death of Hanan. And the overthrow of the wall and the utter-destruction of the state affairs, dated from the day on which the Judeans beheld the man, who was their chief-priest and leader of their salvation, slaughtered in the middle of their city. 15 For on every account, Hanan was both venerable and righteous; and despite all the distinction of both his nobility and dignity, as well as the honors to which he had attained, he delighted to honor the temple of God. Both a zealous defender of freedom, and an enthusiast for democracy, he also put the common welfare above his private interests on all occasions; and he preferred to make peace above everything. For he knew that the Romans were unconquerable. But when driven
to provide for a war, he endeavored to secure that, if the Judeans would not accept their right hand, the struggle should at least be skillfully conducted.

17 But in a word, had Hanan survived, they would undoubtedly have arranged terms; for he was both an effective speaker, and his words carried weight with the populace, but he was already gaining control even over those who opposed him. Or, if they had been at war, they would have greatly delayed the Romans under such a general as he was. 18 Now Jeshua was also joined with him. Indeed, he did not compare with Hanan, but he stood far above the end of Hanan and Jeshua.

19 Instead, I suppose, because God had condemned the city to destruction and desired to purge the holy-place by fire due to its pollutions, that he himself cut off those who clung to them with such tender affection. 20 Now those who had but shortly before worn the consecrated vestments, and who had led those ceremonies of cosmic significance, and who had been venerated by visitors to the city from every region of the inhabited earth, were now seen cast out naked, as food for devouring beasts. 21 Instead, he stood out in the midst of the temple. And as he fell down in their houses, their tears were she even did this by day. 22 Now after these men were killed, both the Zealots and the Edomites fell upon and slaughtered the people as though they had been a herd of unclean animals. 23 And indeed, the ordinary folk were utterly-destroyed on the spot where they were caught. But they arrested the young noblemen and cast them into prison in chains, and postponed doing away with them in the hope that some would come over to their party. 24 But not one listened to their overtures; instead, they all preferred the death rather than to side with these wicked men against their own fellowman. 25 But their refusal brought upon them terrible agonies. They were both scourged and racked; but only when their bodies could no longer sustain these tortures were they grudgingly consigned to the short-sword. 26 Now those whom they arrested by day were dispatched at night, and their corpses were cast forth to make room for fresh prisoners.

27 Now the populace was reduced to such consternation, that no one dared to see the citizens in their houses. Instead, in order not to buy in their cases, their tears were shed and they were not even groaning without circumstance, lest any of their enemies might hear them. 28 For the mourner instantly suffered the same fate as the one mourned for. But only by night would they take a little dust in both hands and throw it upon the bodies, though some venturous persons even did this by day. 29 So 12,000 of the youthful noblemen were utterly-destroyed in this manner.

CHAPTER 61 [War.4:334-365]

But now, having come to loathe indiscriminate murder, the Zealots instituted mock courts-of-justice and judgments. 2 And they determined to kill Zechariah son of Birah,1 one of the most eminent of the citizens. Now the man had provoked them by his pronounced hatred of wickedness and love-of-freedom; but because he was also rich, they not only hoped to plunder his property, but instead, of also getting rid of a man who was powerful enough to dissolve them. 3 Indeed, they enjoined seventy of the public magistrates to congregate in the temple, but assigned to them, as in a play, the role of judges without having authority. Then they accused Zechariah of betraying the state affairs to the Romans and of holding treasonable communications with Vespasianus. 4 Now they added no evidence or proof in support of what he was being accused of; instead, they declared that they were fully convinced of his guilt themselves and claimed this as sufficient evidence.

5 Yet truly, when Zechariah was aware that no hope of salvation was left for himself, he resolved that he would not allow despair of life to deprive him of his freedom of speech. Indeed, he rose, indeed ridiculing the probability of what he was accused of, and thereby demonstrating that he had been convicted of no crime, he did not allow despair of life to deprive him (for he had been treacherously summoned to a prison) of also getting rid of a man who was powerful enough to dissolve them. Instead, he rose, indeed ridiculing the probability of what he was accused of, and showing the impiety, and love of freedom, and respect for his country (for he had been treacherously summoned to a prison) of also getting rid of a man who was powerful enough to dissolve them. Instead, he rose, indeed ridiculating the probability of what he was accused of, and showing exceptional gallantry while awaiting his trial. Therefore, when those who clung to him (for he had been treacherously summoned to a prison) were himself cut off, they were not surprised, since it was all that he had been suspected of.

6 But the Zealots were in an uproar and could scarce refrain from drawing their short-swords, although they were bent on playing out their part in this farce court-of-justice to the end. And they desired to try the judges, to see whether they would put considerations of righteousness above their own danger.

7 Now the seventy judges brought in a unanimous verdict for the defendant, and preferred to come-to-their-end with him rather than be held answerable for his death. 9 But at this, the Zealots raised an outcry at his acquittal, and indeed they were all indignant with the judges for not understanding that the authority entrusted to them was a mere pretense. 9 Now two of the boldest of them fell upon Zechariah, utterly-destroying him in the middle of the temple. And as he fell down dead, they jeered and declared, “Now you have our verdict also, and a more certain release.” Then they immediately cast him out of the temple into the ravine below.

1 Hebrew equivalent (Gk “Baris”) // Variant “Baruch”
2 literally “his doing away with”
3 The Greek word here means both “acquittal” and “decrease”

10 But they insolently struck the judges with the backs of their short-swords, driving them from the enclosures. Now they were spared from being slaughtered for the sole reason that, when they were dispersed through the city, they might become messengers proclaiming to everyone the slavery to which they were reduced.

11 But now, the Edomites began to change their purpose of having come, and took offense at these proceedings. 12 But one of the Zealots, who had come to the temple to witness these proceedings at the outset. But now that you have become their partners and plunged into civil war, you should at least put a stop to your sins and no longer continue to lend support to men who are subverting the traditions of our forefathers.

14 “For even if any of you are still grieved that the gates were shut against you, and that you had been refused prompt admission while bearing arms, instead, those who had excluded you have now been punished. And indeed, Hanan is dead; but in one night almost the entire population has been utterly-deestroyed.

15 “I perceive that such actions have indeed changed the minds of many of you. But among those who invited you, I see nothing but unmeasured brutality, without the slightest respect for those who saved them. 16 Accordingly, under the very eyes of their auxiliaries, they have even dared to commit the foulest atrocities; and their transgressions of the law would be attached to you Edomites, as long as no one veted or dissociated himself from these proceedings. Therefore, if you continue to allow yourself to be subverted by your passion to be stronger, sooner or later you will be bound to be slandered, but that no invasion of the Romans is expected, but that the city is built with a sovereignty not easily to be overthrown, your duty is to return home, and, by severing your connection with these base men, to make some defense for all the crimes in which you have been duped into taking a part.”

18 Complying with this advice, the Edomites indeed first liberated the citizens confined in the prisons, numbering about 2,000, who immediately fled from the city and joined Simon (of whom we shall speak of presently). Then, the Edomites left Jerusalem and returned home.

19 And their departure produced an unexpected effect on both parties. For the populace, unaware of the changed-mind of the Edomites, recovered momentary confidence, as if relieved of their enemies. 20 But the Zealots grew even more insolent, as not though they had been abandoned by their auxiliaries, but instead as if freed of critics who discountenanced and sought to deter them from their transgressions.

21 Accordingly, they made no further delay or deliberation about their unmistakable deeds; instead they devised their plans with lightning rapidity. But in each case, they put their decisions into effect even more swiftly than they devised them. 22 But their thirst was mainly after the blood of both the brave and the men of nobility. Indeed, they murdered the nobles out of envy, but the brave out of anxiety. For they imagined that their own safety depended solely on leaving no possible men alive.

23 Accordingly, they did away with Gorion. He was indeed a man of prominent dignity and race; but he also favored democracy and his mind was laden with liberty, if ever a Judean was. But his outspokenness, in addition to his other advantages, was the main reason that he was utterly-deestroyed.

24 Nor did Nigter the Periaean escape their hands. He was a man who had shown exceptional gallantry while warring with the Romans. And both vehemently protesting and pointing to his scars, this veteran was dragged through the midst of the city. But when he was brought outside the gates, he, despairing of his salvation, besought them to grant him a burial. But they threatened beforehand that they would not grant him the one desire of his heart, a share of land for a grave. So they proceeded to murder him.

26 Now as they were doing away with him, Nigter made this imprecation, that the vengeance of the Romans would fall upon them, that both famine and pestilence would be added to the horrors of the war, and above all, that they would kill one another with their own hands. 27 All these imprecations were ratified by God through these impious men, even including that most righteous, by which they were doomed long before to taste their own madness in mutual seditions against one another.

28 Therefore, when Nigter was indeed done away with, their fears of being deposed from power were relieved; but there was no portion of the people whose destruction some pretext was not devised. 29 For, indeed, anyone who had announced himself with them, were indeed utterly-deestroyed. But those who never approached the city, were spared from being slaughtered for the sole reason that, when they were dispersed through the city, they might become messengers proclaiming to everyone the slavery to which they were reduced.
was counted as treating them with contempt. But the man who courted them, was presumed to be a conspirator. 30 But the one retribution for charges, whether of the gravest or the most trifling nature, was death. And no one escaped, except for those whose lowness of birth put them utterly beneath notice, or on account of fortune.

CHAPTER 62 [War:8:366–388]

Now indeed, the Roman leaders, regarding the sedition among their foes’ ranks to be to their great advantage, were very eager to march against the city. And they urged Vespasianus, as their lord of all, to take this course. And they said, “God’s foresight has come to our assistance by turning our enemies against each other. 2 However, the situation may suddenly change, and the Judeans may quickly return to unaniimity through weariness or changing their mind and ceasing from their civil strife.

3 But Vespasianus declared, “You are gravely mistaken as to what is the Deity himself to their acts of anger. 4 ed their anger from that worst of their fables.

5 “For God, a better general than myself. He is delivering the Judeans to us Romans without any exertion on our part, and bestowing victory upon us without risk to our army. 6 Consequently, while our enemies are being utterly-destroyed by their own hands and suffering from that worst of calamities—sedition—our part is rather to sit as distant spectators of their dangers, rather than to fight hand-to-hand with humans who court death and are raging against each other.

7 “But even above all, this is not the proper time for aspiring to the honors of a brilliant victory. 8 For the Judeans are not being busily employed in forging weapons, or building walls, or collecting allied-troops. And in a case such as that, delay would be detrimental to those who granted it. Instead, they are risking their necks in a war among their own kinsmen and in dissensions; and they are daily enduring greater miseries than we ourselves would inflict upon them after defeating them, if we advanced to the assault.

9 “Therefore, regardless whether we look to the path of safety, these Judeans ought to be left to continue to consume themselves; or whether we consider the success which would bring the greater glory, we ought by no means to attack patients afflicted by their own domestic disorders. For if we conquered them now, it would be said, with reason, that we owned our victory, not to ourselves, but instead to the sedition.”

10 The leaders concurred with Vespasianus’ observations; and the soundness of the general’s judgment was soon made evident. Accordingly, every day, many Judeans deserted and fled from the Zealots. 11 But flight was difficult. For guards were posted at every outlet; and anyone caught there, for whatever reason, was soon made evident. Accordingly, every day, many Judeans deserted and fled from the Zealots. 12 But flight was difficult. For guards were posted at every outlet; and anyone caught there, for whatever reason, was soon made evident. Accordingly, every day, many Judeans deserted and fled from the Zealots. 13 But flight was difficult. For guards were posted at every outlet; and anyone caught there, for whatever reason, was soon made evident. Accordingly, every day, many Judeans deserted and fled from the Zealots. 14 But flight was difficult. For guards were posted at every outlet; and anyone caught there, for whatever reason, was soon made evident. Accordingly, every day, many Judeans deserted and fled from the Zealots. 15 But flight was difficult. For guards were posted at every outlet; and anyone caught there, for whatever reason, was soon made evident. Accordingly, every day, many Judeans deserted and fled from the Zealots. 16 But flight was difficult. For guards were posted at every outlet; and anyone caught there, for whatever reason, was soon made evident. Accordingly, every day, many Judeans deserted and fled from the Zealots. 17 But flight was difficult. For guards were posted at every outlet; and anyone caught there, for whatever reason, was soon made evident. Accordingly, every day, many Judeans deserted and fled from the Zealots. 18 But flight was difficult. For guards were posted at every outlet; and anyone caught there, for whatever reason, was soon made evident. Accordingly, every day, many Judeans deserted and fled from the Zealots. 19 But flight was difficult. For guards were posted at every outlet; and anyone caught there, for whatever reason, was soon made evident. Accordingly, every day, many Judeans deserted and fled from the Zealots. 20 But flight was difficult. For guards were posted at every outlet; and anyone caught there, for whatever reason, was soon made evident. Accordingly, every day, many Judeans deserted and fled from the Zealots. 21 But flight was difficult. For guards were posted at every outlet; and anyone caught there, for whatever reason, was soon made evident. Accordingly, every day, many Judeans deserted and fled from the Zealots. 22 But flight was difficult. For guards were posted at every outlet; and anyone caught there, for whatever reason, was soon made evident. Accordingly, every day, many Judeans deserted and fled from the Zealots. 23 But flight was difficult. For guards were posted at every outlet; and anyone caught there, for whatever reason, was soon made evident. Accordingly, every day, many Judeans deserted and fled from the Zealots. 24 But flight was difficult. For guards were posted at every outlet; and anyone caught there, for whatever reason, was soon made evident. Accordingly, every day, many Judeans deserted and fled from the Zealots. 25 But flight was difficult. For guards were posted at every outlet; and anyone caught there, for whatever reason, was soon made evident. Accordingly, every day, many Judeans deserted and fled from the Zealots. 26 But flight was difficult. For guards were posted at every outlet; and anyone caught there, for whatever reason, was soon made evident. Accordingly, every day, many Judeans deserted and fled from the Zealots. 27 But flight was difficult. For guards were posted at every outlet; and anyone caught there, for whatever reason, was soon made evident. Accordingly, every day, many Judeans deserted and fled from the Zealots. 28 But flight was difficult. For guards were posted at every outlet; and anyone caught there, for whatever reason, was soon made evident. Accordingly, every day, many Judeans deserted and fled from the Zealots. 29 But flight was difficult. For guards were posted at every outlet; and anyone caught there, for whatever reason, was soon made evident. Accordingly, every day, many Judeans deserted and fled from the Zealots. 30 But flight was difficult. For guards were posted at every outlet; and anyone caught there, for whatever reason, was soon made evident. Accordingly, every day, many Judeans deserted and fled from the Zealots.

Therefore indeed, these retributions for charges, whether of the most wicked men, the Zealots, he broke away from the contingent. 2 Now indeed invariably disregarding the decisions of the rest, but issuing imperious orders of his own, it was obvious that he was laying claim to absolute monarchy.

3 Now some indeed yielded to him through anxiety, but others from goodwill (for he was an expert in gaining support by delusion and speech). But a large number thought that it would be conductive to their own safety if the causes for their daring crimes should from then on rest upon one individual rather than upon many. 4 Yet truly, his energy, both of body and mind, procured him not a few spearmen.

5 But he was abandoned by a large party of antagonists. Indeed, they were even partly influenced by envy (for they scorned being subjected to one who was formerly their equal); but mainly, they were deterred by dread of the monarchy.

6 For they could not expect to easily depose him once he had obtained power, and then, when they were thought to have the chance for themselves if they opposed him at the start. But each man preferred a war, despite any sufferings it might entail, to voluntary enslavement and perishing later.

7 Therefore, this was indeed how the sedition was split in two; and Johanan confronted his adversaries as a rival king. 8 Instead, they indeed merely watched one another; and when they fired projectiles, they were never, or at least seldom, armed. But they were rival oppressors of the populace, and vied with each other over how short a period of time they should call the lapse of time when they could have the chance to rise. 9 Now while the city was struggling under the three greatest of distresses—war, and tyranny, and sedition—for the populace, the war was comparatively the mildest. 10 So they fled from their countrymen to take refuge with foreigners, and obtained from the Romans the salvation which they despaired of finding among their own people.

11 But now a fourth evil arose in order to consummate the nation’s dissolution. 12 Not far from Jerusalem was a steadfast fortress, which had been built by the first kings as a repository for their property and a secret refuge for their bodies during the turning of the scale in a war. It was called Masada. 13 Those who were called Sicarii had taken possession of this fortress. Indeed, up till this time, they had confined themselves to raiding the neighboring countries, merely with the objective of procuring supplies; 14 for anxiety restrained them from further ravages.

But now, when they were informed that the Roman army was inactive, but also that the Judeans in Jerusalem were distracted by a sedition and tyranny, they embarked on more ambitious enterprises. 15 And in this way, during the Festival of the Unleavened, a festival which had been celebrated by the Judeans in thanksgiving for salvation ever since they were sent down to the country of their forefathers after their release from Egyptian slavery, these assassins, using the cover of night to elude those who might have obstructed them, made a raiding descent upon a small city called Engedi. 16 There were indeed citizens who were capable of resisting them; but before they could seize their weapons and gather together, they were dispersed and driven out of the city. But those who were unable to flee, both women and little-ones numbering more than 700, were done away with.

17 Afterward, they both plundered the houses and seized the ripest of the fruits, carrying off their spoil to Masada. 18 And they indeed made similar raids on all the villages surrounding the fortress, and laid waste the whole country. They were daily joined by numerous dissolute recruits from every quarter. 19 Now also throughout the other regions of Judah, the predatory bands, which until now had been at rest, began to bestir themselves. But exactly as in the body, when inflammation attacks the principal member, all the members catch the infection, 20 accordingly the sedition and disorder in the metropolis gave the scoundrels in the country free license to ravage. And after each gang had pillaged the same villages, they made off into the wilderness. 21 But even amongst men concerning mutual enmity, they would proceed by companies (indeed, smaller than an army, but larger than a mere band of robbers) and fall upon temples and cities. 22 And indeed, the unfortunate victims of their attacks suffered the same miseries as war captives, but were deprived of the
chance of retaliation, because their enemies, in robber fashion, immediately decamped with their prey. But there was no portion of Judah which was not destroyed together with the most exalted city.

23 Vespasian received a message concerning these things from deserters. For although the insurgents guarded every exit and utterly-deestroyed anyone who approached them for whatever reason, there were still some who evaded them, who, fleeing to the Romans, urged the general to protect the city and rescue the remnants of its populace. 24 For they assured him that it was due to the people’s goodwill toward the Romans that so many had both been done away with and the survivors were in danger.

25 Now Vespasianus had already pitied their misfortunes. Indeed, he collected his men with the apparent purpose of taking Jerusalem by siege, but in reality, to deliver it from a siege. 26 Indeed, it was first necessary to overthrow any remaining places, so as to leave no external impediment to hinder the siege.

Therefore, he marched on Gader, the metropolis of Perea and a city of strength, and entered it on the fourth day of the month Dystros. 27 For unknown to the insurgents, the powerful men had also sent a body of elders to him offering to capitulate. This desire was born out of both a desire for peace, as well as out of concern for their property, for Gader had many wealthy residents.

28 The opposing party was ignorant of this body of elders, but only discovered it as Vespasianus was approaching. And indeed, they despaired of their ability to hold the city themselves. This was due both to their inferiority in numbers to their enemies within the city, as well as the proximity of the Romans, who were visible not far outside the city. But they determined to flee, and scorned to do so without shedding blood and bringing retributions upon those responsible for their situation.

29 So they seized Doloseus (for he was not only first in dignity and race in the city; instead, he was also regarded as the one responsible for the body of elders). And they brought him with them, and in their violent anger mangled his corpse, and then ran out of the city.

30 But as the Roman force was now appearing, the populace of Gader also admitted Vespasianus with acclamation receiving his right hand in security, together with a garrison of both cavalry and infantry to guard them against the fugitives’ incursions. 31 For on their own accord, they had pulled down their own wall without requisition from the Romans, showing, that even if they wished, they were powerless in thereby testifying their love alone. 32 But Vespasianus indeed sent Placidus with 500 cavalry and 3,000 infantry to pursue those who had fled from Gader, while he himself returned to Caesarea with the remainder of his army. 33 But as soon as the fugitives caught sight of the pursuing cavalry, and before it came to hand-to-hand combat, they swarmed into a village called Beth-Nimrah. 34 Here they found no small multitude of youths; and fully-arming them, some indeed by consent, but others by force, they dashed out upon Placidus’ party.

35 Now indeed, at the first charge, the Romans fell back a little, maneuvering to entice them further from the wall. But when he had drawn them to a suitable spot, they both rode around them, and shot them down with javelins. And indeed, the cavalry intercepted their flight, while the infantry vigorously utterly-deestroyed their entangled masses.

36 However, the Judeans were utterly-deestroyed after a display of mere audacity. For as they flung themselves upon the Romans, who were in their scattered ranks, they were unable and daunted by the Roman cavalry, they were indeed unable to find any loophole for their projectiles and were powerless to break the phalanx. 37 Now at the same time, their own men were transfixed by their enemy’s projectiles, and, like the wildest of beasts, rushed upon the iron blade. Now they were indeed utterly-deestroyed, some struck through the mouth by their enemies’ short-swords, while others were dispersed by the cavalry.

38 For Placidus was eager to intercept their flight for the village, and kept riding his cavalry past them in that direction, then, wheeling around, with one and the same well-aimed projectiles, kept doing away with those who were nearing the village, and intimidated and beat back those further off. In the end, the most noble men cut their way through and escaped for the wall.

39 But here the guards were at a loss what to do. For they could not bring themselves to exclude the Gaderites because of their own men among them; and if they admitted them, they expected to be destroyed together with them. 40 And this is what happened. For as the fugitives were crowded at the wall, indeed, the Roman cavalry very nearly burst in with them. Instead, the guards actually discovered it as Vespasianus was approaching. And indeed, they despaired of their ability to hold the city themselves. This was due both to their inferiority in numbers to their enemies within the city, as well as the proximity of the Romans, who were visible not far outside the city. But they determined to flee, and scorned to do so without shedding blood and bringing retributions upon those responsible for their situation.

40 Now the fugitives started up the country; and indeed, by exaggerating their own calamities, but saying that the entire Roman army was upon them, they drove everyone from their homes in widespread anxiety. And with the whole multitude, they fled for Jericho. 41 For there was no other place remaining strong enough, at least in virtue of its numerous inhabitants, to encourage hopes of salvation.

42 But Placidus, relying on his cavalry and emboldened by his previous success, pursued them, and indeed did away with everyone whom he overtook as far as the Jordan. But having driven the whole multitude up to the river, where they were blocked by the stream (for it, having been swollen by the rain, was unfordable), he drew up his soldiers in line opposite them. 43 Now since flight was impossible, necessity provoked the fugitives to a battle; and deploying themselves as far as possible along the banks, they met the projectiles and the charges of the cavalry, who struck and drove many down into the current. 44 And indeed, 15,000 were utterly-deestroyed in hand-to-hand combat, while the number of those who were forced to voluntarily fling themselves into the Jordan was incalculable. 45 Now about 2,200 were taken prisoners, together with vast spoils of both donkeys and sheep, and camels and oxen.

46 Therefore this destruction was indeed the greatest that had befallen the Judeans, and appeared even greater than it actually was. And the whole country through which they fled was filled with murder, nor could the Jordan be crossed due to the corpses, but even the Lake of Asphalt was filled with bodies, a whole multitude which was carried down into it by the river.

47 Now Placidus, after his great success, hastened to attack both the small cities and villages in the vicinity. He also took Abel, and Julias, and Beth-Shimoth, as well as everything as far as the Lake of Asphalt. He posted the deserters in each of them as he thought suitable. 50 Then he embarked his soldiers on seacrafts, and captured those who had taken refuge on the lake. And indeed, in this way, all of Perea, as far as Machairous, either surrendered or were subdued.

CHAPTER 64 [War, 4.40–485]

Now messages arrived stating that there was uprising in Galatia, and that Vindex, the most notable of that confederation, had revolted from Nero. (These events are more fully described elsewhere.) 2 Now this message stimulated Vespasianus to prosecute the war more vigorously, since he already foresaw the impending civil wars and the danger to the whole leadership. So he thought that, in the circumstances, by an early pacification of the east, he would allay Italia’s fears. 3 Therefore indeed, while he was shut out by the winter, he employed himself to secure both the villages and smaller cities, which had been reduced by placing garrisons within them. Indeed, he posted garrisons in the villages, but centurions in the cities. But he also rebuilt many places which had been devastated.

4 Now at the beginning of spring, he marched his full force from Caesarea to Antipatris, where he spent two days restoring order in that city. Then, on the third day, he advanced, laying waste and burning all the surrounding places. 5 Now once he had laid waste the vicinity of the toparchy of Timnah, he moved to Lod and Jabneh. And since both of these districts were already subdued, he placed in them a large number of inhabitants who had complied with him, and then passed to Hammat.

5 Now in Hammat, he occupied the inroads to its metropolis. After both enrolling an encampment, and leaving the fifth legion there, he advanced with the rest of his force to the toparchy of Beth-Leptenpha. 6 But after devastating both this place and the neighboring district and the outskirts of Edom with fire, he built fortresses in suitable places. 7 But once he had laid waste two villages which were in the midst of Edom, Beth-Garycom and Kefar-Tebi, he indeed killed over 10,000 of the inhabitants, but he captured over 1,000, and expelled the rest of the multitude. Then he stationed a large division of his own force in the district, who overran and laid waste the entire mountainous region.

9 Now he returned with the rest of his force to Hammat. From there, by the way of Samaria, and passing Neapolis (or as the natives call it ‘Mabarta’), he descended to Corea, where he encamped on the second day of the month Daisios. 10 Now on the following day, he reached Jericho. On that day, he was joined there by Trajanus, one of his leaders, along with a force which he had led from Perea, everything beyond the Jordan being now subdued.

11 Therefore indeed, a great multitude, anticipating their arrival, came out of Jericho, flocking to the mountainous region opposite of Jerusalem. But of those who were left behind, no small number were utterly-deestroyed. 12 Now the city itself was found deserted.

Indeed, Jericho is situated in a plain. But above it, hangs a bare and barren mountain, which is the tallest. 13 For it extends northwards as far as the land of Skythopolis, but southwards as far as the country of Sodom and the extremities of the Lake of Asphalt. Now this area is both completely rugged, and due to its barrenness, uninhabited. 14 Now lying opposite to it and flanking the Jordan, lies a second mountain, which begins at Julias and the northern regions; but it extends parallel to the first mountain southwards as far as Zemaraim, which

1 may also be translated “slopes"
borders Petra in Arab. Now this mountain also includes what is called the Iron Mountain, which stretches laterally as far as Moab.

15 Now the country enclosed between these two mountains is called the Great Plain. This plain extends from the village of Ginnabra to the Lake of Asphalt. 16 Now its length is indeed 1,200 stadia, but its breadth 120. And it is intersected in the middle by the Jordan. It also contains two lakes, both that of Asphalt and that of the Tiberians, contrary in their nature: For indeed, the first is salty and sterile, but the other of the Tiberians is sweet and fertile.

17 Now in the summer, this plain is parched, and the excessive drought renders the surrounding atmosphere pestilential. For with an exception of the Jordan, it is completely destitute of water; and indeed, this river is the reason why the palm trees on its banks are more flourishing and productive, while those that are farther off are more inferior.

19 However, despite this, there is a copious spring near Jericho which is plentiful and very rich for irrigations. It pushes up near the old city, which was the first one in the land of the Canaanites to be won by the spear of Joshua the boy of Nun, general of the Hebrews. 20 It is reported that this spring originally did not only blot the fruits of the earth and the trees, but instead also caused women to miscarry, and that is was both pestilential and destructive to everything alike; but that it was reclaimed and converted into a most salubrious and fertilizing source by the prophet Elisha. Now he was the disciple and successor of Elijah.

21 Having been the guest of those of Jericho who had been treated by the humans there with extreme kindness, he required their kindness by conferring a perpetual favor upon both them and their country. 22 For he went out to this spring and cast into the stream an earthenware vessel full of salt. Then, raising his righteous right hand into a heaven, and pouring propitiatory libations upon a part of the earth, he indeed besought the earth to mollify the stream and to open sweeter channels, 23 but for it to release waters with more temperate and fertile qualities. Indeed, the Tiberians of that countrymen with plenty of fruits of this earth, and a succession of children, and an unfailing supply of water conducive to their production, as long as they remained righteous. 24 By these prayers, he, supplemented by various skillful operations of his hands, changed the spring's nature; and the water, which had previously been a cause of orphanhood and famine for them, from that time forward became a source of fecundity and plenty.

25 Accordingly, its power of irrigation is so great, that if it even skims the region, it is more nourishing than still waters which soak into the ground. 26 And for this reason, the benefit derived from other streams, even though they are used more plentifully, is slight; but the benefit of this water is plentiful even in little quantities. 27 Accordingly, this water irrigates more area than all the others, and it permeates a plain indeed 70 stadia in length but 20 in breadth; but within that area, it fosters gardens which are both the most beautiful and the thickest.

28 Now of the date-palms watered by it, there are numerous varieties differing in taste and in medicinal properties. The richer sort of this fruit, when pressed under foot, even yields copious honey, not much inferior to that of bees; 29 and these insects are abundant in this country. Now here too grow the juicy balsams, which is the most precious of all the local fruits, as well as the cypress and the myrobalan; so to describe this place as divine would be no mistake, in which the rarest and most beautiful trees are produced in abundance.

30 For indeed, with regard to its other fruits, it would be difficult to find another region1 in the inhabited earth comparable to this; so manifold are the returns from this countrymen, with plenty of fruits of this earth, and an atmosphere and to the bracing2 effects of the water; indeed, the warmth calls forth the sprouts, while the moisture enables every one of them to take firm root and supplies them with vitality in the summer, when the surrounding area is so parched that one can scarcely venture outdoors. 32 Now if the water is drawn before sunrise, and after that is exposed to the air, it becomes exceedingly cold, assuming a nature contrary to the surrounding atmosphere; but in winter, it is warm and quite pleasant to bathe in. 33 Now the surrounding atmosphere is so even temperate that the inhabitants wear linen even when snow is falling throughout the rest of Judah.

34 Now this region is indeed 150 stadia away from Jerusalem, but 60 from the Jordan. And indeed, the country from Jericho to Jerusalem is desert and rocky. But from the Jordan to the Lake of Asphalt, the ground is indeed lower, but it is equally desert and barren. 35 Instead, enough has indeed been said about Jericho, that most prosperous spot.

36 Now the natural properties of the Lake of Asphalt are also worth describing. Indeed, its waters are bitter and sterile. But due to their buoyancy, they bear up to the surface even the heaviest of objects cast into them; but it is difficult, even purposefully, to sink to the bottom. 37 Accordingly, when Vespasianus came to explore the lake, he ordered certain persons who were unable to swim to be flung into the deep water with their hands tied behind them; and the result was that everyone rose to the surface and floated, as if impelled upward by a spirit.

38 Now another marvelous feature of this lake is its change of color. For three times a day it changes its appearance and throws off a different reflection of the solar rays.

39 However, in many parts, it casts up black masses of bitumen; now these float on the surface of the water, and in both their shape and size resemble headless bulls. 40 Now when the laborers on the lake row up to these, and catch hold of the lumps, they haul them into their ships. But when the seacrafts are full, it is no easy task to detach their cargo; instead, due to its tenacious and glutinous nature, it clings to the seacraft until it is loosened by female menstrual blood and urine, to which it alone yields. 41 But this bitumen is also useful, not only for caulkimg ships; instead it is also used for the healing of the body. Accordingly, it forms an ingredient in many drugs.

42 The length of this lake is indeed 580 stadia, measured in a line extending as far as Zoar in Arab; but its breadth is 150. 43 Now adjacent to it is Sodom. Indeed, in days of old it was a prosperous land, both for its fruits as well as the wealth of its various cities, but now everything is burned up. 44 For due to the impiety of its inhabitants, it was incinerated by lightning. Accordingly, remnants of the divine fire, and indeed faint traces of the five cities, are still visible. But one may still see ashes reproduced in the fruits, which, indeed from their outward appearance, would be thought edible, but on being plucked with the hand, they dissolve into smoke and ashes. 45 These are indeed the things related about the land of Sodom born by ocular evidence.

CHAPTER 65 [War4:486-494, 496-544]

Now Vespasianus, intending to build a wall around Jerusalem on all sides, erected a rampart. Then he placed a garrison in each one, a contingent formed out of both the Romans and his auxiliaries. But he also sent Lucius Annius to Gerasa with a squadron of cavalry and a considerable number of infantry. 3 Therefore indeed, when Annias had taken the city by onslaught, he indeed killed 1,000 of the youths who had not already escaped, but made prisoners of families, and permitted his soldiers to plunder the property. Then, he set fire to the houses and advanced against the adjoining villages. 4 Now the people fled, and the feeble ones met destruction; but everything left behind was set on fire.

5 And now that the war had embraced the entire region, both the entire mountainous region and the plain, all egress from Jerusalem was cut off. Yet indeed, those who desired to desert were closely watched by the Zealots; while those who were not yet on the side of the Romans were confined by the army which encompassed the city on every side.

6 Now Vespasianus had returned to Caesarea and was preparing to march the entire force upon Jerusalem itself, when a message reached him stating that Nerō had been done away with, after having reigned thirteen years and eight days. 7 The accounts concerning Nerō’s wanton-abuse of the government by entrusting the administration to the most wicked of men, Nymphidius and Tigellinus, the most worthless of freemen; and how they conspired against him: indeed, how he was abandoned by all his guards, but escaped with four faithful attendants. Then he was reclaimed and converted into a most salubrious and fertilizing source of the divine fire, and indeed faint traces of the five cities, are still visible. But one may still see ashes reproduced in the fruits, which, indeed from their outward appearance, would be thought edible, but on being plucked with the hand, they dissolve into smoke and ashes. 45 These are indeed the things related about the land of Sodom born by ocular evidence.

1 may also be translated “slope”

2 variant “fertilizing”
16 But now, another war was impending at Jerusalem. There was a certain Simon, son of Giora, who was a Gerasene by race, indeed, a youth less cunning than the Johanan who had already taken possession of the city, but was superior in bodily strength and audacity. 17 And this audacity had led to his expulsion by the chief-priest Hanan from the toparchy of Akhabrat, which was once under his command; in consequence, he had joined the brigands who had seized Masada. 18 Therefore indeed, at first they regarded him with suspicion. Accordingly, they hesitated for some time to receive him, along with the women whom he brought with him, access only to the lower part of the fortress, while they themselves occupied the upper quarters. 19 But afterwards, as a man of congenial disposition and apparently to be trusted, he was accordingly allowed to accompany them when they ravaged places, and helped them to destroy the country surrounding Masada. 20 Truly, his efforts to tempt them to undertake greater enterprises were still unsuccessful. For they had indeed grown accustomed to dwell in the fortress, 21 hearing the shouts of their enemies from their layers, and feeling their bodies excited by the warm sun. But at a ravine called Pheretai, he indeed widened many of the caves, but found many others already adapted for his purpose; these he used as storehouses and repositories for plunder. 26 But here he also laid up his spoils of war, and here most of his soldiers were quartered. Now his objective was evident, that he was both training his contingent beforehand and making all these preparations for an attack on Jerusalem. 27 In consequence, the Zealots, anxious at his designs and wishing to forestall one whose growing strength was to their injury, went out with their main body under arms. But Simon met them; and drawing up into formation, he indeed did the remainder of the city. 28 But misgivings about his force indeed deterred him from an assault on the walls. But first, he resolved to subdue Edom, and now marched toward the borders of that country with 20,000 heavy-armed soldiers. 29 Now the Edomite chiefs hastily mustered the most efficient-combatants from the country, which numbered about 25,000. But leaving the majority of the population to protect their property against the incursions of the Sicasri in Masada, they had been receiving Simon at the borders. 30 There he engaged them. And after they waged-war throughout that whole day, he left neither as a victor or as one vanquished. So he indeed withdrew into Nain, but the Edomites dispersed to their home. 31 And not long after this, Simon again invaded their country with a yet greater force. But encamping at a certain village called Tekoa, he sent one of his companions, when he was so far from the guards in Herodion, which was not far off, to persuade them to hand over their fortifications. 32 These guards, being ignorant of the intent of his visit, promptly admitted him. But as soon as he vocalized about a surrender, they drew their short-swords and pursued him, until he found no place to flee. So he hurled himself from the wall into the ravine which lay below; 33 and indeed, he immediately came to his end. But the Edomites, now greatly afraid of Simon’s strength, decided to reconquer their foes’ army before risking an engagement with them. 34 Now for this service, Jacob, one of their leaders, promptly volunteered, but had in it his mind to betray them. 35 Accordingly, he set out from Halhul (for this was the village where the Edomite army had gathered) and came to Simon. 36 And after first receiving an assurance on oath that he would always hold some post of honor, he made a compact with him to deliver up his own fatherland; but he also promised to assist him in the subjugation of all of Edom. 37 At these things, he was hospitably entertained by Simon and elated with dazzling promises. So when he returned to his own men, he indeed began by immensely exaggerating the strength of Simon’s army. 38 Then, by giving his right hand in assurance to both the leaders and to the whole multitude, in small parties, he instigated them to surrender the whole government up to him without a battle. 39 But while these negotiations proceeded, he also sent his messengers to invite Simon to come, promising to dispose the Edomites, a promise which he duly fulfilled. 40 For as soon as the army was approaching, he was the first to mount his horse and flee, followed by his corrupt accomplices. 41 Now at this, a panic fell upon the whole multitude; and before it came to hand-to-hand combat, they broke their ranks and every one retired to his own home. 42 Now in this way, Simon unexpectedly marched into Edom without bloodshed, and made a surprise assault upon the city of Hebron and captured it. He took possession of lots of spoil, but plundered a vast quantity of fruit. 43 Now according to the information of its inhabitants, Hebron is a city of greater antiquity, not only than any other in that country, but instead even greater than Memphis in Egypt. Accordingly, it is calculated to be 2,300 years old. 44 Now they also await their share that Abraham, the progenitor of the Judeans, took up his abode after his migration from Mesopotamia; also, that it is from here that his sons went down into Egypt. 45 And their memorials are shown in this small city to this day, composed of very fine marble and wrought out of a love-of-honor. 46 Now at a distance of six stadia from the town, there is also shown a huge terebinth-tree, which is reported to have stood there since the creation. 47 From Hebron, Simon progressed throughout all of Edom. And he did not cease to survey the fortifications and sent messengers to persuade them to hand over that fortification. But the populace who were subservient to him as to a king. 48 At this time the Romans invaded their country with a yet larger force. But Simon met them; and drawing up into formation, he indeed did the remainder of the city. 49 Now in the same way that a forest in the wake of locusts may be seen stripped bare of its leaves, so nothing remained behind Simon’s army except for a desert. 50 And indeed, some places they burnt, but others they demolished. But all the vegetation throughout the country vanished, either trodden underfoot or consumed. And their marching rendered the cultivated land harsher and more untractable than barren soil. Now overall, it may be said that there was no sign remaining of those places which had been laid waste, as if they had never existed. 51 These proceedings roused the Zealots afresh. And though they were terrified to stand in hostile array against Simon, they laid ambushes in the passes, and at some points built a fence of stakes or the like. 52 But the Romans accordingly invaded, as Simon had expected. Then, as if they had taken Simon himself captive, they returned to the city rejoicing, and expected that he would instantly lay down his weapons and come to make supplication for his wife. 53 But rather than arousing merciful affection, they instead aroused anger at him for snatching away his wife. So he advanced to the wall of Jerusalem like some wounded beast which was unable to catch those who wounded him, and threw himself upon those who he mistook for soldiers. But not even anyone who ventured outside the gates to gather herbs or sticks, who were unarmed and aged individuals, he seized. Then he tormented and utterly destroyed them; and in the extravagance of his indignation, almost gnawing the very bodies of their corpses. 55 Now he also cut off the hands of many others, sending them back into the city: first, to strike his enemies with astonishment; and second, to cause the populace to form a sedition against the responsible parties. 56 But he enjoined them to say that Simon had sworn by God, the overseer of all, that unless they immediately restored his wife to him, he would break down the wall and inflict similar punishment upon all of the citizens, sparing neither young nor old, and making no distinction between the innocent and the guilty. 57 These threats struck not only the populace with such astonishment, but instead even the Zealots, that they sent his wife back to him. And at this, he indeed momentarily mollified, pausing from his ceaseless murder for a time. 

CHAPTER 66 [War ii:57-58, 59-61a]

Now at this time, a sedition and civil war were not only confined to Judah; instead, it was also rampant in Italy. 2 For indeed, Galba had been done away with in the middle of the Roman forum. Now once Otho had become emperor, he warred against Vitellius, who now aspired to be emperor as well; for the legions in Germania had elected him. 3 And an engagement broke out before Bedriacum in Galatia against Vitellius’ generals: both Valens and Caecinna. Indeed, on the first day, Otho gained the advantage; but on the second day, Vitellius’ soldiers did. Indeed, on the first day, Otho gained the advantage; but on the second day, Vitellius’ soldiers did. 4 And so great was the murder, that indeed when Otho, who was at Brixellum, had been informed of this defeat, he slew himself. So he held the reins of the government for three months and two days. 5 Now Otho’s army went over to the generals of Vitellius, and he came down in person upon Roma with his entire force. 6 But Vespasianus had also removed from Caesarea on the fifth day of the month of Daisios, and advanced against those districts of Judah which had not yet been overthrown. 7 Now he ascended into the mountainous region and subdued two toparchies, those which were called Guinea and Akhabrat. Next, he captured the small cities of Bethel and Ephraim. After leaving garrisons in them, he rode with his cavalry as far as Jerusalem. But he brought ruin upon many of those whom he encountered on the route, and took numerous prisoners. 8 And his Cerealius, one of his leaders, took a detachment of cavalry and infantry, and laid waste to the region which is known as Upper Edom. And here he indeed attacked Kefar-Atra (a pretended small city), burning it down in the first attack. 9 Now he assaulted another city called Kefar-Abus and proceeded to besiege it.
delay, those who were inside suddenly opened their gates. Approaching him with olive-branches as suppliants, they surrendered to him.

10 Now after Cerealis had conquered them, he advanced on Hebron, another city of great antiquity. Now it was situated in the mountainous region not far from Jerusalem. But immediately after he had forced through the entrances, he indeed did away with a multitude there, the youth and older, but burned down the town.

11 So now every place was subdued, with an exception of Hérodeion, and Masada, and Mount Sion, which were held by the brigands. So Jerusalem was now the sole objective before the Romans.

12 But now that Simon had recovered his wife from the Zealots, he returned once more to the remnants of Edom. And harassing every quarter of the nation, he compelled the majority to flee to Jerusalem. 13 But from there, he himself also followed them to the city, and again encompassed the wall. Any of the workmen whom he caught going out into the country, he utterly destroyed. 14 Now this Simon, who was outside the city, was more fearsome to the populace than the Romans themselves. But the Zealots within were more oppressive than either. So during this time, the mischievous ingenuity and audacity of the Zealots corrupted the Galileans’ contingent; 15 for it was they who had promoted Johanan to power. From the position of authority which they had obtained for him, he required them by permitting them to do whatever they desired.

16 But they were insatiable in their lust for plunder and in ransacking the houses of the wealthy; both the murdering of men and the violation of women were their sport. 17 They caroused on their spoils, together with blood to wash them down; and from mere satiety, they unscrupulously indulged in effeminate practices, arranging their hair and attiring themselves in women’s garments, but drenching themselves with perfumes and painting their eyelids to enhance their comeliness. 18 But they did not only imitate the ornamentation; instead, they also imitated the passions of women, and devised, in their excess of lasciviousness, unlawful, passionate desires. Now they wallowed in the city as in a brothel, and entirely polluted it with their foul deeds. 19 But while they wore effeminate faces, their right hands were murderous; and approaching with an effeminate gait, they would suddenly become warriors; and drawing out their short-swords from under their dyed mantles, they ran through anyone whom they met.

20 But anyone who fled from Johanan had an even bloodier reception from Simon; so many passers-by whom, having been ambushed by a multitude of women, and devised, in their excess of lasciviousness, unlawful, passionate desires. Now they wallowed in the city as in a brothel, and entirely polluted it with their foul deeds. But while they wore effeminate faces, their right hands were murderous; and approaching with an effeminate gait, they would suddenly become warriors; and drawing out their short-swords from under their dyed mantles, they ran through anyone whom they met.

26 Now the multitude of the Zealots who were dispersed throughout the city mustered to the fugitives in the temple. And Johanan prepared to lead them down against the populace and the Edomites. 27 Now the Edomites, being more efficient in their arms than the Romans, had less fear of their attack than of their madness, lest they should sally out of the temple by night, and both utterly destroy them and burn down the town.

28 Therefore, they held a meeting with the chief-priests in order to take counsel on how they should guard against the attack. 29 But it was God who perverted their judgment, and they devised a drug for their salvation which was more disastrous than the destruction itself. Accordingly, in order to overthrow Johanan, they decided to admit Simon, and with suppliant appeals, to introduce a second tyrant over their heads.

30 Now the decision of this council was carried into effect. And the chief-priest Matthaijah was sent to beseech this Simon, of whom they had such terror, to enter the city. Now this request was backed by the Jerusalem natives who sought refuge from the Zealots, and who were desirous to preserve their homes and their possessions.

31 Now he haughtily consented to be their master, entering as one intending to rid the city of the Zealots. The populace acclaimed him as their savior and protector. 32 But once he had been admitted with his force, his sole concern was to secure his own authority; and he regarded the men who had invited him as no less his enemies than whom he had been invited to oppose.

33 Indeed, in this way, Simon took possession of Jerusalem, in the third year of the war, in the month Xanthikos. Now Simon’s party instantly plundered Johanan and his multitude of Zealots. So having lost these possessions of theirs in the city, and being debarred from all egress from the temple, they began to despair of their salvation.

34 But Simon attacked the temple, with the assistance of the populace. Their adversaries posted themselves on the porticoes and parapets in order to defend themselves from their assaults. 35 But many of Simon’s party fell, and many went down as wounded men. For the Zealots from their higher ground were able to maintain an easy and well-directed missile fire.

36 But they also improved this positional advantage by erecting four huge towers in order to increase the height from which they discharged their missiles: 37 indeed, one at the west, each other inner, but the second above the covered colonnade, but the third at another corner opposite the lower city; 38 but the last was erected above the peak of the priests’ chambers, at the point where it was the custom for one of the priests to stand in order to presignal with a trumpet during the afternoon of the approach of every seventh day, as well as on the evening of its close; indeed, sending out messages to the people regarding the respective hours for ceaseless work and for resuming their labor.

39 Now these men had set up their machines: both sharpened-bolt-launchers and stone-launchers, together with both archers and slingers. 40 Indeed, from that time forward, Simon’s assaults grew less strenuous, as the majority of his men grew weary. But because his force was superior, he was able to hold against them. But the projectiles discharged from the machines, with their longer range, did away with many of the combatants.

CHAPTER 67 [Wars:685-692]

Now about this very time, Roma was also beset by heavy calamities. 2 For indeed, Vitellius had arrived from Germany with his soldiers, dragging along with them a vast motley multitude. But unable to find enough room in the quarters which were assigned for the soldiers, he converted all of Roma into an encampment and filled every house with heavy-armed soldiers. 3 Now when these men beheld the wealth of the Romans with unaccustomed eyes, and found themselves surrounded by the glitter of both silver and gold, they could scarcely restrain their avarice or refrain both from having recourse to plundering and from doing away with anyone who obstructed them. And this was indeed the condition of affairs in Italia. 4 Now after Vespasianus had overthrown all of the places near Jerusalem, he returned to Caesarea, where he was informed of the disturbances at Roma and that Vitellius was emperor. 5 Although he knew full well how to obey as well as to govern, these things had not led him to despair, but they were rather a stimulus to his ambition. 6 Now for instance, he had presented himself before the senate and said: “What more righteous return can we ever render to him for his kindness to us, if we fling away the present opportunity? But Vespasianus’ claim to take the leadership is as far more righteous than Vitellius’, as we ourselves are to the Roman populace, tolerate such a lascivious and base emperor as Vitellius in place of the temple of the vicegerents of Titus in place of the temple of Vespasianus; nor indeed, will they endure as president a most base and unscrupulous man over them as they have over the state.”

7 Therefore, the senate, in order not to lose time, hastily elected Vespasianus under the title of Caesar. And immediately they sent to Titus, sending him letters which were assigned for the soldiers, he converted all of Roma into an encampment and filled every house with heavy-armed soldiers. 8 Now when these men beheld the wealth of the Romans with unaccustomed eyes, and found themselves surrounded by the glitter of both silver and gold, they could scarcely restrain their avarice or refrain both from having recourse to plundering and from doing away with anyone who obstructed them. And this was indeed the condition of affairs in Italia. 4 Now after Vespasianus had overthrown all of the places near Jerusalem, he returned to Caesarea, where he was informed of the disturbances at Roma and that Vitellius was emperor. 5 Although he knew full well how to obey as well as to govern, these things had not led him to despair, but they were rather a stimulus to his ambition. 6 Now for instance, he had presented himself before the senate and said: “What more righteous return can we ever render to him for his kindness to us, if we fling away the present opportunity? But Vespasianus’ claim to take the leadership is as far more righteous than Vitellius’, as we ourselves are to the Roman populace, tolerate such a lascivious and base emperor as Vitellius in place of the temple of the vicegerents of Titus in place of the temple of Vespasianus; nor indeed, will they endure as president a most base and unscrupulous man over them as they have over the state.”

10 ”What more righteous return can we ever render to him for his kindness to us, if we fling away the present opportunity? But Vespasianus’ claim to take the leadership is as far more righteous than Vitellius’, as we ourselves are to the electors of that leader. 11 For, surely, we have waged wars no less arduous than those of Germany; nor are we inferior in arms to those of Germania; nor is our leadership as far more righteous than Vitellius’, as we ourselves are to the Roman populace, tolerate such a lascivious and base emperor as Vitellius in place of the temple of the vicegerents of Titus in place of the temple of Vespasianus; nor indeed, will they endure as president a most base and unscrupulous man over them as they have over the state.”

12 “Therefore, if governorship calls for the experience of years, we have the support of our aged leaders who have laid off their duties as our leaders and availed us of their experience, and in hopes of gain, creating emperors of our own choosing. And we are ready to avail ourselves of this opportunity, as we are now most ready to avail ourselves of it. But Vespasianus’ claim to take the leadership is as far more righteous than Vitellius’, as we ourselves are to the Roman populace, tolerate such a lascivious and base emperor as Vitellius in place of the temple of the vicegerents of Titus in place of the temple of Vespasianus; nor indeed, will they endure as president a most base and unscrupulous man over them as they have over the state.”

13 Therefore, if governorship calls for the experience of years, we have Vespasianus; if for the vigor of youth, there is Titus; for the two of them will combine the advantages of their respective ages. 14 Now the persons we choose for our leaders, and in hopes of gain, creating emperors of our own choosing. And we are ready to avail ourselves of this opportunity, as we are now most ready to avail ourselves of it. But Vespasianus’ claim to take the leadership is as far more righteous than Vitellius’, as we ourselves are to the Roman populace, tolerate such a lascivious and base emperor as Vitellius in place of the temple of the vicegerents of Titus in place of the temple of Vespasianus; nor indeed, will they endure as president a most base and unscrupulous man over them as they have over the state.”

15 Indeed, of these, the one will gain many recruits from the dignified youths, while the other has even been entrusted with the guardianship of the city; a fact of no small importance for any designs in obtaining the leadership.
16 “But overall, if there is any delay on our part, the senate will probably elect the very man whom his own soldiers, who have grown gray in his service, have dishonorably neglected.”

17 Such were the conversations current among the companies of soldiers. Then banding together and encouraging one another, they proclaimed Vespasian emperor. And they urged him to save the endangered leadership.

18 Now Vespasian had indeed long been concerned about the whole leadership that had fallen. But he had never turned to Vespasian for his promotion. He was indeed conscious that his works would justify such a claim, but he preferred the security of a private life to the dangers of splendor. 19 But when he declined, the leaders pressed him more insistently. And the soldiers, flocking around him with drawn short-swords in their hands, threatened to do away with him if he refused to live with dignity. 20 But he forcibly represented to them his many reasons for rejecting a position in the government; but failing to convince them, he finally yielded to their solicitations.

21 Now he was urged both by Mucianus and the other leaders to act as emperor. And the rest of the army clambered to be led against all of his rivals. But his first objective was to secure a hold upon Alexandria. For he realized that the supreme importance of Egypt to the leadership was its granary. 22 If he was able to master it, he hoped, by persistence, to force Vitellius to surrender; for the multitude of Rome would never submit to starvation. He also desired to annex the two legions at Alexandria. Now he also contemplated holding the country as a defense against the uncertainty of fortune.

23 For Egypt is both difficult to access by land, and is destitute of harbors on the sea. 24 Indeed, on the west, it is protected by the arid deserts of Libya; but on the south, by the frontier separating it from Ethiopia: Sennett and the un navigable canals of the River; but on the east by the Sea of Reeds, which extends as far north as Kelt; 25 but its northern wall is the land reaching to Syria and the so-called Egyptian Sea, which is totally devoid of harbors. 26 Indeed, in this way, Egypt is enwalled on every side.

27 Now its length from Pelousion to Sennett is 2,000 stadia, but the passage from Plinthine to Pelousion is 3,600 stadia. 28 Now the Nile is navigable as far as the city which is being called of Elephants; 29 the previously mentioned canals barring further progress.

28 Now the harbor of Alexandria is difficult for ships to approach even in times of peace; for the entrance is narrow, and submerged rocks cause the ships to divert from the straight course. 29 And indeed, on the left side, the channel is fenced in by handmade legs; but on the right side, the island called Pharos juts out from the entrance, and supports an enormous tower. This tower emits a light visible 300 stadia away to those sailing into the harbor, in order to warn them at night to anchor some distance off because of the difficulty of sailing ashore. 30 Immense handmade walls have been built around this island; but when the sea dashes straight against them and its waves are broken around the opposite piers, the navigation becomes very rough, and the entrance through the strait is rendered perilous. 31 Yet however, the harbor’s interior is perfectly safe and is 30 stadia in length. Now carried into this harbor are all the commodities which the country lacks for its welfare; and from this port the surplus of the local products are distributed throughout all the inhabited earth.

32 Therefore indeed, with good reason, Vespasian was eager to obtain control of its state affairs, keeping in mind his objective: the stability of the whole leadership. So he immediately sent to Tiberius Alexandros, who was governor of Egypt and Alexandria, informing him of the army’s eagerness, and how he, being forced to shoulder the burden of the leadership himself, was desirous to enlist his cooperation.

33 Now as soon as Alexandros had publicly read this letter, he promptly required both the legions and the multitude to take the oath of allegiance to Vespasian; but this was a call to which they gladly obeyed, knowing the man’s excellence. Yet, truly, he had never purposed his own elevation as the leader of Egypt and Alexandria, informing him of the army’s eagerness, and how he, being forced to shoulder the burden of the leadership himself, was desirous to enlist his cooperation.

34 Now Vespasian had hesitated in his generalship in their vicinity. 35 And indeed, Alexandros, now having the interests of the government entrusted to his charge, made all preparations for Vespasian’s arrival. But quicker than thought, rumor sent the message about the new emperor to the east. And indeed, every city kept festivals on account of the good-messages and offered sacrifices on his behalf. 36 Now the legions which were in Musia and Pannonia, which had recently been exasperated by the audacity of Vitellius, were very glad to take the oath of allegiance to Vespasian as their leader. 37 Now Vespasian left Caesarea and proceeded to Beirut, where numerous elders, indeed from Syria but also from the other provinces, waited upon him, bringing crowns and congratulatory decrees from the various cities. 37 Mucianus, leader of the province, also came, bringing a message telling about the populace’s eagerness, and that every city had taken the oath of allegiance to him.

38 Now fortune everywhere succeeded to his wishes, and the circumstances had, for the most part, conspired in his favor. At this, Vespasian considered that it was not without the foresight of a demon that he had been able to grasp the government, and instead that some righteous foresight had placed the whole leadership under his power. 39 For among many other signs, which had everywhere foretold that he would obtain the leadership, he even recalled the words which I, Joseph, had said to him when I had ventured, even in Neron’s lifetime, to address him as emperor. 40 But he was shocked to think that I was still in chains with him. So he summoned Mucianus, along with his other leaders and friends. Indeed, he first elaborated upon my efficaciousness, and told them all the trouble which I had given them at Jodphat. 41 After that, he related my soothsayings, which indeed at the time he himself had suspected of being fabrications prompted by terror, but which time and the event itself had disclosed to be divine.

38 Therefore, it is disgusting that this man who has foretold my elevation to the government, and who was a minister of the voice of God, should still rank as a captive and endure a prisoner’s misfortune.”

So he called for me, and directed me to be liberated. 43 Therefore, the leaders were indeed hoping that such a requital of a foreigner also meant brilliant honors for themselves. But Titus, who was beside his father, 44 declared, “O father, righteousness demands that Joseph should lose his disgrace along with his fetters. For if, instead of loosing his chains, we sever them, he will be like a man who had never been bound at all.” For such is the practice in cases where a man has been unjustly bound.

45 Vespasian approved of this advice. So an attendant came forward and severed the chain with an axe. Now in this way, I won my enfranchisement as the reward of my predictions; and my futurities were no longer discredited.

CHAPTER 68 [War4:630-663, 495b / Life:415~417a / Apion:148b~49]

Now when Vespasian had responded to the elders and had disposed of the various governships with due regard to the claims of righteousness and the dignities of the candidates, he came to Antiocheia. 2 And here he took counsel on which direction to take, concluding that affairs in Rome were indeed more important than a march to Alexandria, because he saw that Alexandria was secured, whereas at Roma, Vitellius was creating overall disorder. 3 He directed to Alexandria Mucianus with a strong force to oppose him, having great confidence in this man who has foretold my elevation to the government, and who was a minister of the voice of God, should still rank as a captive and endure a prisoner’s misfortune.”

4 Now Antonius Primus, along with the third legion from Musia (for he was now leading them), made haste to fight Vitellius. 5 But at this, Vitellius sent off Caecina Alienus with a strong force to oppose him, having great confidence in this man who has foretold my elevation to the government, and who was a minister of the voice of God, should still rank as a captive and endure a prisoner’s misfortune.”

8 He also said, “Indeed, the one has only the name of the government; but the other, its power. But it is also better for you to anticipate necessity by gaining favor now. And, as we are likely to be beaten in arms, it is better to avert the danger beforehand. 9 For indeed, Vespasianus himself is capable, even without your aid, of acquiring what he has yet to win; while Vitellius, even with your support, is unable to retain what he already has.”

10 Caecina’s words, and many more in the same strain, prevailed, and he along with his force deserted to Antonius. 11 But that same night, the soldiers were overcome with a change-of-mind and terror of Vitellius who had sent them into the field, wondering what their fate would be should he prove stronger. Now drawing their short-swords, they rushed off to do away with Caecina; and they would have accomplished their purpose, had not the tribunes thrown themselves at the feet of their companies, imploiring them to desist. 12 Now indeed the soldiers did not kill him, but they bound him as a traitor, and prepared to send him to Vitellius.

When Primus was informed of this, he instantly called up his men and led them in arms against the insurgents. 13 Now these rebels formed a battle line and indeed offered a brief resistance, but were soon routed and fled for Kremôna. But Primus took his cavalry and intercepted their entrance into the city; and he indeed encompassed the multitude before the city, utterly-destroying them; but forcing his way in with the remainder, he permitted his soldiers to pillage the town.

4 Now the doors of the foreign merchants, as well as many of the foreign cities, were destroyed, but so was the whole army of Vitellius, which numbered 30,200 men. But Antonius lost 4,500 of his soldiers from Musia. 15 Now he released Caecina and sent him to carry a message about these events to
Vespasianus. So on his arrival, he was both graciously received by the emperor, and covered the disgrace of his perjury with unexpected honors.

16 Now when Sabinus in Roma also received a message about Antonius’ approach, he regained courage; and mustering the legions of soldiers who kept the night-watch, he seized the Capitolium during the night. 17 But early the next day, he was joined by many distinguished men, including his brother’s boy Dionysius, upon whom their hopes of success primarily rested.

18 Now this time, Vitellius was indeed less concerned about Printhus, but was infuriated at the insurgents who had supported Sabinus. And from innate cruelty thirsting for noble blood, he sent out the force of his army which had accompanied him, to fight against the Capitolium. 19 Therefore indeed, many gallant deeds were done by them, as well as by those who fought them from the temple.

But finally, by superior numbers, the Germans took possession of the ridge. 20 And there, Domitianus indeed, along with many Roman magistrates, were preserved by the power of a demon. But the rest of the multitude was entirely cut-down. And Sabinus himself, who was a prisoner to Vitellius, was done away with. But after the soldiers had plundered the inner-sanctum of its votive offerings, they set it on fire.

21 And a day later, Antonius indeed marched in with his force, but he was met by Vitellius; and engaging in three different quarters of the city, Vitellius’ forces were destroyed. 22 Now Vitellius came out of the royal palace while he was getting-intoxicated; and knowing that the end had come, he was gorged with a banquet more lavish and luxurious than ever. 23 But after being dragged through the multitude and subjected to torments of every kind, he was finally slaughtered in the center of Roma. He had reigned eight months and five days. Had foresight prolonged his life, the very leadership, I imagine, would not have been sufficient for his lust. 24 Now of others, their corpses numbered more than 50,000. These events intensified the third day of the month Apellaios.

25 Now on the following day, Mucianus entered with his army and restrained Antonius from further killing. For his men were still searching the houses, indeed doing away with many of Vitellius’ soldiers, but also many of the populace; for being too violently premature in their fury for careful distinction, they supposed many of the populace to be of his party.

Now Mucianus brought forward Domitianus, recommending him to the multitude when he entered his father’s arrival. 26 But the populace, now freed from their fears, acclaimed Vespasianus as emperor, and celebrated one festival in honor of both his confirmation in the government and for the dissolution of Vitellius.

27 Now when Vespasianus had reached Alexandria, he was greeted by this good-message from Roma, and by elders who brought congratulations from every region of the inhabited earth, which was now his own. And though Alexandrea’s magnitude was second only to Roma, it proved too small to contain the multitude. 28 Now that the civil war suppressed, and Vespasianus was confirmed in the government, and the Roman state affairs were saved beyond expectation, Vespasianus turned his thoughts to what remained in Judah. 29 However, he himself was yet eager to sail for Roma as soon as the winter was over, and was now rapidly settling affairs in Alexandria. But he dispatched his son Titus with a picked force to take out Jerusalem.

30 Now the virgin I married from Caesarea did not remain with me for long. Instead, she had obtained my freedom and traveled with Vespasianus to Alexandria, she was released. But in Alexandria, I took another woman for myself. 31 From there I was sent along with Titus to Jerusalem, where my life would frequently be put in danger, both from the Judeans, who were eager to get me into their hands to gratify their revenge, as well as from the Romans, who attributed every defeat they suffered to some betrayal on my part, and they were constantly clamoring toward the emperor, imploring him to chastise me as their betrayer. 2 But Titus Caesars, being well acquainted with the varying fortunes of war, would dissipate the soldiers’ attacks on me by his silence. 33 Now during this entire time, up till the end of the war, none of the action escaped my knowledge; for I watched and carefully recorded what happened in the Roman encampment, and I alone understood what was reported by Judean deserters.

34 Now Titus proceeded by foot as far as Nikopolis. Now this city is at a distance of 20 stadia from Alexandria. There he embarked his army on long boats and sailed up the Nile into the Menesian district to the city of Timae. 35 But here he disembarked. And resuming his march, he passed a night at a small city called Zoon.

His second day’s journey brought him to the city of Hérfakles, and the third to Pélousion. 36 Now he halted here for two days to refresh his army. On the third day, he crossed the Pelusiac river-mouths. And advancing a day’s march through the desert, he encamped near the temple of the Kasion Zeus; but on the next day he encamped at重大瞰. This station was destitute of water, but its inhabitants make use of water brought from other places.

37 After this, he rested at Rhinocolura. From there, he advanced to his fourth station, Raphia; now this city is the beginning of Syria. 38 For his fifth station, he encamped at Gaza. Next, he marched to Askhelon; from there, to Jabneh; and next, to Japho. From Japho, he reached Caesarea, the rendezvous fixed on for the concentration of his forces.

CHAPTER 69 [War5:1-46]

Indeed, when Titus had marched over the desert from Egypt to Syria, he arrived at Caesarea, the place where he had pre decided to marshal his forces before he began the expedition. 2 But already, while he was still at Alexandria, assisting his father in establishing the leadership (which God has recently committed into their hands), it so happened that a sedition at Jerusalem was revived, and it parted into three factions. And one of the factions had fought against itself—a discord, which, as between villains, might be called a good thing and a work of justice. 3 Now this present sedition might not be inaccurately described as a sedition bred within a sedition, and which, like some raving beast, for lack of food at length, devoured upon its own flesh.

4 Eleazar son of Simon was the man who had originally caused the Zealots to break from the populace and withdraw into the sacred-precincts. At this time, he succeeded from the party, in pretext from indignation at the daily insolent attempts perpetrated by Johanan (for Johanan did not cease these murders of his); but in reality, because he could not bear to submit to a tyrant junior to himself, craving both an absolute mastery and a dominion of his own.

5 He took with him Judah son of Hilkiah, and Simon son of Hezron, who were the most powerful men. Also with him was Hezekiah the boy of Chobareis, a man with no lack of distinction. 6 Now each of these had a no small following of Zealots. And they took possession of the enclosure of the inner-sanctum, and planted their weapons above the holy gates on the consecrated façades. 7 Therefore indeed, since they were amply supplied with necessaries, they were of good-courage; for there was even an abundance of consecrated articles for those who thought that there was yet nothing impiety about using them; but since they were daunted by the scantiness of their numbers, they say still, retaining their positions.

8 Now Johanan’s numerical superiority of men was counterbalanced by the inferiority of his position. And with his foes over his head, he was unable to assault them without anxiety, nor would his anger allow him to remain inactive. 9 Now he suffered more injury than he inflicted upon Eleazar’s party, but he would not desist; and this was how there were continual sallies and projectile showers; and the temple on every side was defiled with slaughter.

10 Now there was Simon son of Giora, whom the populace, in their straits, had summoned in hope of relief, only to impose upon themselves a further tyrant. He occupied both the upper city, and a great part of the lower city. Seeing that Johanan’s party was being assaulted from above, Simon now waged war against them more vigorously; 11 but Simon was engaged in hand-to-hand combat with them from his position below, in the same way that Johanan was below his foes who were attacking him from higher above.

So waging war on two sides, Johanan received losses as easily as he inflicted them.1 And the disadvantage from which he suffered by being lower than Eleazar was proportionate to his advantage over Simon on account of his higher position. 12 And with hand-thrown missiles he easily repelled the assaults from below, but he reserved his weapons to repulse those who were shooting them down with javelins from the temple above; 13 for he was amply supplied with sharpened-iron missiles, and stone-launchers, which he used, not only to ward off his foes, but instead to also do away with many of those who were performing consecrated rites.

14 For although these frenzied men had stopped short of no impiety, they nevertheless admitted those who wished to offer sacrifices—indeed, the countrymen suspiciously and with precaution; but strangers after a thorough search. 2 Although they were ashamed of their cruelty at the entrances, 3 they often became casual victims of the sedition. 15 For the projectiles from their weapons flew over with such force that they reached as far as the altar and the inner-sanctum, falling upon both the priests and those who were performing consecrated rites. 16 And many who had sped from the ends of the earth, to gather around this far-famed place, held holy by all humans, fell down in front of their own sacrificial victims themselves, and poured out their own blood as a drink-offering upon that altar which was venerated by all the Hellenes and the barbarians. 17 But the corpses of countrymen were kneaded together with those of priests together with those of the profane; and the blood of all sorts of carcases formed stagnant pools in the divine enclosures.
pollutions with fire? For indeed, you were no longer God’s place, nor could you survive, after you had become a sepulcher for the bodies of your own inhabitants, and made the inner-sanctum into a charnel-house of a civil war. But may there be hopes for an improvement of your lot, if even you would propitiate God who is the author of your destruction!

19 The conspirators against the city were divided into three camps: indeed, Eleazar’s party, who kept the consecrated firstfruits, brought their intoxication against Johanan. But the men along with this man plundered the populace, and gathered together upon Simon. But this Simon, in order to meet the rival-factions, looked to the city for supplies.

20 Therefore indeed, when Johanan found himself attacked from both sides, he would face his men about in opposite directions: so indeed, on the one side, he shot them down with javelins from the porticoes upon those coming up from the city; but on the other side, he used his weapons to ward off those who were shooting down upon him from the temple. 21 But if, at any time, he was relieved from the pressure above (now intoxication and fatigue often produced a cessation of this fire), he would sally out, with less anxiety and in greater strength, against Simon’s party. 22 Now, to whatever part of the city he turned his steps, his invariable practice was to set fire to the buildings stocked with grain and all kinds of provisions.

But the same thing was done by Simon, when, upon the other’s retreat, he advanced against the city as well, as if they had purposely served the Romans by utterly-destroying what the city had laid up against the siege, and in this way, severing the sinews of their own power.

23 Accordingly, it indeed came to pass, that everything around the temple was burned to ashes, and the city was converted into a desolate no-man’s land for their domestic warfare. But almost all the grain, which might have sufficed them for a siege of 30 years, was completely burned up. 24 Accordingly, they were taken by means of a famine, a fate which would not have been possible, had they not prepared the way for it themselves.

25 Now as the city was being beset on all sides by these warring conspirators and their rabbles, the populace, like a huge body, was torn in pieces. 26 But old men and woman, in their helplessness, were praying for the coming of the Romans and eagerly hoped for the external war to liberate them from their internal miseries. But nature, for their part, were in terrifying consternation and anxiety, and had no opportunity of forming a council or of changing their conduct, nor hope of coming to terms, nor of flight, if they wanted to. 28 For guards were set at every place, and the chief-brigands, although divided against one another on everything else, yet agreed to do away with their common foes—those who were in favor of peace with the Romans, or who were suspected of an intention to desert. And they were unanimous in nothing but the slaughter of those who deserved their salvation.

29 And indeed, the shouts of the combatants rang incessantly both by day and by night; but more terrifying were the mourners’ anxious lamentations. 30 And indeed, their calamities provided a successive cause for lamentations, but deep consternation locked their wailings within their breasts; but while the fear yet suppressed all outward emotion, they were inwardly tortured by stifled groans. 31 And regard was no longer paid to the living by their relatives, nor was any foresight taken to bury those who were destroyed—now these negligences were due to few deaths, but those who took part in the war, were overawed by the insurgents and anxiety, in everything, expecting that they would be destroyed very soon.

32 The rival parties fought against each other, trampling over the corpses which were heaped one upon another. And the frenzy inhaled from those who fell at their feet increased their savagery. 33 But ever inventing some new instrument of mutual destruction and putting every plan into practice without mercy, they left no method of torment or cruelty remaining.

34 Johanan misappropriated the consecrated timber, employing them for the construction of weapons. For the people and the chief-priests had, in the past, decided to underpin the inner-sanctum in order to raise it twenty cubits higher. Indeed, for that purpose, King Agrippa had, at immense labor and immense expense, brought down from Mount Lebanon the materials—beams that were a sight to see, due to both their straightness and their magnitude.

35 But with the war having interrupted the work, Johanan, finding them long enough to reach those who fought against him from the temple above him, had them cut and made into towers. 36 He also had these towers brought up and erected at the rear of the inner enclosure, opposite the western hall. And this hall alone was practicable, the other sides being cut off from approach by flights of steps. 37 And indeed, with the aid of the impiously constructed weapons, Johanan hoped to master his enemies. But God himself rendered his labor vain by bringing the Romans upon him before he had set a single man upon his towers.

38 For Titus, having indeed gathered together a part of his force, but having sent instructions to the rest to join him at Jerusalem, was now on the march from Caesarea. 39 Now he indeed had with him the three legions which had accompanied his father when he had previously ravaged Judah, together with the twelfth legion which had once been defeated under Cestius. And this legion, bearing a remarkable reputation for its initiative, now, with the recollection of what it had suffered from the Judeans, advanced with a greater eagerness for revenge.

40 Therefore of these legions, he indeed directed the fifth to join him by the Hammat route, and the tenth to ascend by way of Jericho; while he himself set out with the rest, being further attended both by the auxiliaries of the kings, (who had been increased in strength from the Syrian troops,) and by a considerable body of Syrian allied-troops. 41 But the gaps in the four legions, caused by the drafts which Vespasianus had sent with Mucianus to Italia, were also filled by those who were brought by Titus. 42 For indeed, 2,000 picked men from the armies at Alexandria, but 3,000 guards from the Ephrathes, 1 accompanied him. 43 Now with these came the most valuable of all his friends, on account of both his goodwill and sagacity: Tiberius Alexandros. This man had indeed formerly managed Egypt, 44 but now he was deemed worthy to be chief of the armies. The reason for this was because he had been the first to extend his right hand to the newly arising leadership, and with splendid faith, had attached himself to its fortunes while they were still uncertain. Yet truly, being preeminent both through age and experience as a counselor in the exigencies of war, he now accompanied Titus.

CHAPTER 70 (Wars 4:74-97)

Now as Titus advanced into his foes’ territory, his vanguard indeed consisted of the auxiliaries of the kings along with the rest of the whole body of the auxiliaries. Following these were the pioneers and encampment-surveyors. Then came the leaders’ baggage-train. And following the heavy-armed soldiers who protected these, came Titus himself, escorted by the spearmen and the other picked troops; but these were followed by the cavalry of that legion. 2 Now these were followed by the trumpeters and the pioneers, then by the tribunes and prefects of cohorts, and these by the tribunes and prefects of centuries, with a picked escort. But after them and surrounding the eagle came the ensigns; and before the ensigns came the trumpeters. Now behind them came the phalanx, the body of men being six wide. 3 But the servants attached to each legion followed after these; and they were preceded by the baggage-train. But last of all came the mercenaries, as well as a rear-guard to keep watch on them.

4 Now leading his force forward in this order, according to the Roman custom, Titus advanced through Samaria to Gufnin, a city that both had been formerly captured by his father and was now garrisoned by Romans soldiers. 5 After resting there one night, he set forward at dawn. And at the end of a full day’s march, he encamped in the Valley of Thomos, which is close to a village named Gibeath-Saul (which means ‘Saul’s Ridge’), at a distance of about 30 stadia from Jerusalem.

6 Now from there, with some 600 picked cavalry, he rode forward both to reconnoiter the city’s strength and to test the minds of the Judeans—whether, upon seeing him, if they would shrink in terror and surrender before it came to hand-to-hand combat. 7 For he had been informed, as was the fact, that the populace was indeed longing for peace, but were overawed by the insurgents and brigands; but being too weak to resist, they remained quiet.

8 Therefore, indeed, as long as he rode straight along the highway which led to the wall of the city, no one appeared outside the gates; 9 but when he diverged from the route and led his squadron of cavalry in an oblique line toward Zaphon to cross over at a spot called ‘The Women’s Towers,’ through the gate facing Helené’s memorials. They broke through the cavalry; 10 and indeed placing themselves in front of those who were still galloping along the road, they prevented them from joining their comrades who had left it, but cut off Titus with a few men.

11 Now it was indeed impossible for Titus to proceed. For the ground around the wall was all cut up by trenches for gardening purposes and intersected by both cross wails and numerous fences. 12 But he saw that retaining his own men was impracticable due to the intervening multitude of his foes, as well as the withdrawal of his comrades on the highway, most of who were unaware of the prince’s danger; instead, they believed that he too had turned simultaneously, and was also in full retreat. 13 But perceiving that his salvation depended solely on his personal prowess, he both turned his horse about; and crying out to his companions to follow him, he dashed into the midst of his foes, struggling to cut his way through to his own party.

14 From this we may especially perceive, that even the hazards of war and the dangers of princes are under the care of God. 15 For of all the many projectiles discharged at Titus, who wore neither helmet nor breastplate (for he had gone forward not to fight, but instead to reconnoiter), not one touched his body; but, as if his assailants purposely missed their mark, all whizzed harmlessly past him. 16

1 Greek / from Persian “Ufratu” / Hebrew “Farat”
But with his short-sword constantly dispersing those on his flank and overturning many who faced him, he rode his horse over his fallen foes.

17 Now at Caesar’s intrepidity, the Judeans both shouted and cheered each other on against him. But wherever he turned his horse, there was flight and a widespread stampede. 18 But his comrades, who were partaking of the same danger as him, closed up to him, poked in their tears and in their sides; for each man’s one hope of salvation lay in pushing through with Titus even before he was ended by his enemies. 19 Accordingly, two men who were farther behind fell in the following manner: indeed, one with his horse was surrounded and shot down with a javelin; but the other, who dismounted, was utterly-destroyed, and his horse was carried off. But Titus escaped with the rest and safely reached the encampment. 20 This was indeed how the Judeans, being successful in their first attack, raised their thoughts with considerable hopes; and this temporary turn of the scales afforded them much confidence for the future.

21 But Caesar, being joined during the night by the legion from Hammat, moved from there the next day and advanced to Skopos, where they obtained both the first view of the city and the magnitude of the inner-sanctum gleaming afar. This spot, adjoining the northern region of the city, is appropriately named Skopos.

22 Now here, at a distance of seven stadia from the city, Titus directed one combined encampment to be formed for two of the legions, but for the fifth legion to be stationed three stadia in their rear; for he considered that the men would be worn out with fatigue from the night’s march, and deserved some protection in order to enwall themselves free from terror.

23 But scarcely had they begun to build when the tenth legion also arrived, having come by way of Jericho, where a party of heavy-armed soldiers had been posted to guard the pass which had previously been occupied by Vespasianus. 24 Now the Judeans, beholding in horror this sudden enemy, in a distance of six stadia from Jerusalem at the Mount of Olives, which lies opposite the city on the east; it is separated from the city by a deep intervening ravine called Kedron.

25 Now for the first time, the mutual dissension of the factions within the town, which up to this point were incessantly dashed against one another, was halted by the war from outside as it suddenly came in upon them. 26 And the insurgents, beholding with dismay the Romans forming three different encampments, began to form an awkward alliance, and said to one another, 27 “What are we waiting for? What has possessed us so that we have allowed ourselves to be chocked by the erection of three fortifications? And free from terror, our foes were building themselves a rival city; while we, like spectators of excellent and advantageous operations, sat within our walls with our hands and our full suits of armor idle!” 28 They shouted, “Is our nobleness to be displayed only against ourselves, while the Romans, through our sedition, gain the city without bloodshed?”

29 Encouraging each other with such words, they mustered together; and seizing their full suits of armor, they dashed out suddenly against the tenth legion. And racing across the ravine with an abominable shout, they fell upon their foes as they were enwalling themselves. 30 But the Romans, in order to facilitate their several works, were divided into different groups, and on that account had laid aside most of their weapons. For they had imagined that the Judeans would never venture to make a sally upon them, and that, if moved to do so, their energies would be divided among their seditions. 31 So the Romans were taken by surprise and thrown into disorder. And abandoning their works, some indeed instantly retreated, but many, rushing for their weapons, were struck down before they could turn back upon their enemies.

32 Now the Judeans, encouraged by the good success of the first attackers, were continually being reinforced by others. And while they had such good fortune, they seemed both to themselves and to their foes to far exceed their actual numbers. 33 But their disorderly way of fighting at first disturbed the Romans, since their foes were men especially accustomed to being organized, and under order, and to obeying transmitted-messages. And for this reason, the Romans were caught unawares, and were forced to give way to the repeated charges made upon them.

34 And indeed, when any of these Romans were both overtaken and turned back upon the Judeans, they put a stop to the Judean rush and wounded many, who in the ardor of pursuit, were off their guard. But as more and more the Judeans sallied out of the city, the Romans’ disorder increased, until they were finally routed from their encampment. 35 And, in all probability, the entire legion would have been in danger, had not Titus, receiving a message stating their position, instantly come to their aid. And after reproaching them for their unmanliness, he indeed rallied the fugitives. 36 But falling upon the Judeans’ flank with his band of picked men, he indeed did away with a considerable number, but wounded even more. Now this was how he routed all of them, and forcibly compressed them down into the ravine.

37 Now these Judeans suffered greatly on the declivity of the ravine; but having reached the farther bank, they turned to face the Romans, and, with the mountain-torrent between them, contended with them. 38 Indeed, they continued to fight in this way until noon.

But shortly after noon, Titus, to prevent the Judeans from making further sallies, also deployed the remainder of the reinforcements which he had brought with himself, together with the cohorts; then he dismissed the remainder of the legion to the mountain-summit to enwall their camp.

39 But the Judeans mistook the Roman march to be a flight; and upon seeing the watchman, whom they had posted on the wall, giving a signal with the shake of his robe, another multitude of Judeans, perfectly fresh, sprang forth with such mighty violence, that their rush was comparable to that of the most-savage beasts. 40 But in fact, not one of the opposing line was able to sustain the thrusts of their engagements; instead, as if they had been struck by a weapon, the Roman ranks were broken into pieces, which turned and fled up the mountain. 41 while leaving no one but Titus himself with a few followers, halfway up the acclivity.

And these few, who were his friends, stood their ground indifferently to danger, ashamed to leave their leader. 42 They earnestly exhorted him to retire before these death-courting Judeans, and not to risk his life for men who ought to have waited with him. But they also extorted him to consider what his fortune was, and not, by acting the part of a common soldier, to venture to turn back upon their enemies so suddenly; and this, because he was master of the inhabited earth as well as the war, on whose preservation the public affairs of everyone depended.

43 Titus seemed to not even hear these advisers. But he withstood the Judeans who were rushing up at him; and striking their mouth, he did away with them as they pressed upon him. Also falling upon the multitude, he thrust them backward disorderly. Now these Judeans were so amazed at both his intrepidity and strength, that they did not flee up into the city; but inclining to either side to avoid him, they continued to pursue those who were fleeing upwards. But at this, he also assaulted their flank again, striving to restrain their passion.

45 And the soldiers who were enwalling their encampment saw their comrades below in flight. 46 Seeing this, they were once more seized with disorder and anxiety, and their signal was to turn back their works, and to resume enwalling the city. Now the Judeans sallied were so reckless, but that Titus himself had been routed. For the rest would never, they thought, have fled while he was holding his ground. 47 And in this way, like men encircled by terror, some dispersed in one way, and some in another, until some of them caught sight of their leader in the very middle of the war. And being greatly anxious on his account, they, with shouts, announced his danger to the whole legion.

48 But shame rallied them. And reproaching one another that they, by deserting Caesar, had done worse than take flight, they put forth their utmost energies against the Judeans. And declining from the straight declivity, they forcibly compressed them off the slope into the hollow. 49 Now the Judeans retired step by step fighting. And the Romans, having the advantage of the position by being above the Judeans, finally drove them all into the ravine.

50 But Titus, was still pressing upon his immediate opponents, and he indeed sent the legion back to resume enwalling their encampment, while he, and those who were previously with him, withstood their foes, preventing them from doing further mischief. 51 This was indeed how Caesar twice rescued the entire legion when in danger, and enabled them to encompass their encampment with walls free from terror.

CHAPTER 71 [War5:98~135]

Now during this temporary cessation in the war outside the wall, the sedition within was revived. 2 And the day of The Unleavened came round on the fourteenth day of the month Xanthikos. (This day is the reputed anniversary of the Judeans’ first liberation from the Egyptians). Indeed, on that day, Eleazar’s party partly opened the gates of the temple, and admitted any of the populace who wanted to bow down to God within it.

3 But Johanan, making the festival a cloak for his treacherous designs, armed the less conspicuous of his followers, the greater part of whom were unpurified, with weapons concealed beneath their garments. And by his earnest endeavors, he contrived to slip stealthily into the temple in order to take possession of it. But once within, they cast off their garments and were suddenly revealed as heavily-armed soldiers. 4 Now the confines of the inner-sanctum were instantly a scene of utmost disorder and confusion. Indeed, the people, who had no connection with the sedition, supposed that this was an attack made upon everyone without distinction; but the Zealots supposed it was directed against themselves alone. 5 And indeed, the Zealots instantly rose up against the intruders, leap down from their parapets, taking refuge in the underground-passages of the temple. But at the same time, the populace, who stood trembling beside the altar, huddled together
around the inner-sanctum, were trampled underfoot and beaten mercilessly with both wooden *instruments* and iron *weapons*. Now many of the peaceable citizens from emnity and personal spite were done away with by their *adversaries* as if they were partisans of the opposite faction. And anyone who had in the past offended any one of these conspirators, being now recognized as *Zealots*, were now led away to torment. But after doing terrible harm to the guiltless in this way, the *intruders* granted a truce to the criminals and let them go when they emerged through the *broad passages* located at the eastern part. Then the multitude, instead of showing restraint, went on to punish the Romans for the plot which they had formed against them.

Now having also seized the inner temple and all the equipment within it, they had good courage to oppose Simon. Therefore, this was indeed how the sedition, which had been divided into three factions, was now reduced to two.

9 Now Titus, deciding to abandon Skopos in order to encamp closer to the city, posted, opposite to the Judeans, as many of his picked cavalry and footmen as he deemed necessary to prevent their sallies. But he ordered his whole force to level the intervening ground as far as the *city wall*. Now they threw down every fence and palisade with which the inhabitants had enclosed their gardens and plantations. They also cut down every fruit tree which lay between them and the city wall. Indeed, they filled up all the hollows and gullies. 11 But they demolished the rocky precipices with iron tools. In this way, all the intervening space from Skopos as far as *Herod's* memorials (which adjoined the place being called *The Swimming-Pool of the Serpent*) were made level.

12 And during this time, the Judeans contrived the following ambush against the Romans: 13 The more daring of the insurgents issued forth from the Women's Towers, as though they had been ejected from *the city* by the partisans of peace, and rambled about as if they were in terror of being assaulted by the Romans, and kept close together cowering in a bunch. 14 But their comrades lining the wall, deemed to be part of the populace. They cried out from the fountain of Shiloah, and begged for their right hands, and called to the Romans, promising to open the gates to them. Now they shouted in this way, and threw stones at their own *people*, as if to drive them away from the gates. 15 The *targeted citizens* pretended to force an entry within, and to petition those who were within to let them in; but constantly rushing toward the Romans and again retreating, they showed signs of extreme agitation.

16 Therefore, their ruses indeed did not fail to appear credible to the Roman soldiers. Instead, imagining that they had one party under their power whom they could punish as they pleased, but hoping that the other party would throw open the city, they were on the point of proceeding to action.

17 But Titus, on the contrary, viewed this surprising invitation with suspicion. For it was even one day earlier that he, after having invited them to terms through himself, had received no reasonable response *from them*. So for the present, he directed his soldiers to remain where they were.

18 But some of his soldiers who were stationed in the front of the works had, without awaiting orders, seized their weapons and rushed toward the gates. 19 Indeed, the pretended outcasts at first retired before them; but as soon as the *Romans* came between the gateway towers, they darted out, surrounding the *Romans* and attacking them in the rear; 20 while those who stood on the wall poured down a multitude of enormous stones and every species of projectile upon them, indeed, to the extent that they did away with a considerable number, but wounded most of those that went from the city.

21 For due to the *Roman* soldiers pressing in from behind, the *rest of these soldiers in front* were not able to easily escape. And the *sacred* place was under their error, and the *terror* of their leaders, impelled them to persevere in their blunder. 22 For this reason, they fought with their spears for a long time. And after receiving many wounds from the Judeans (though they certainly inflicted as much in return), they finally repelled their encircling *enemies*. But even as they were retiring, the Judeans followed them and threw missiles at them as far as their memory could.

23 Indeed, after this, these *Judeans*, with vulgar abuse of their good fortune, jest at the Romans for being enticed by their delusion; and making sounds by the beating of their oblong-shields, danced with gladness and shouted with joy.

24 But the *Roman* soldiers, for their part, were met both by threats from their squadron-chiefs, and with irritation by Caesar himself. *Indeed*, these Judeans, with madness for their only general, do everything with foresight and circumstance. Both their plans and ambushes are carefully ordered; but *their ambushes* are even favored by fortune, because of their obedience and both their mutual goodwill and faithfulness; 25 while Romans who, through orderly discipline and readily enlisting themselves to their leaders, and who have ever found even fortune to be their slave, are now brought to grief by contrary behavior. And unable to restrain their hands, they were caught, and—direst disgrace of all—while fighting without a general under the eyes of Caesar—

26 "Indeed," he declared, "the laws of the expedition cannot but grow in all ways greatly, but as greatly will my father when he hears of this blow which has been inflicted upon us. Since indeed, he, though grown gray in warfare, never made so great a mistake. But our laws even invariably punish *men* with death for the slightest breach of discipline, while now, they have seen an entire army run into disorder! 27 Yet truly, these insolents shall learn immediately that, among Romans, even a victory without a transmitted-message being given is held under disgrace."

28 From such determined language to his leaders, it was evident that *Titus* intended to execute the law against all whom it concerned. And indeed, these soldiers' souls sunk down in despair, expecting to quickly die rightfully. 29 But the other *legions*, flocking round Titus, made intercession for their fellow-soldiers, and implored him, in consideration of the better obedience of all the rest, to pardon the rashness of a few. For they assured him that they would make amends for their present error by behaving more excellent in the future.

30 Caesar complied both to their entreaties and for considerations of expediency. For he indeed held that, while in the case of an individual punishment should actually be carried into execution, but where a multitude is concerned it should not proceed beyond reproofs. 31 Therefore, he was indeed reconciled to his soldiers, strictly admonishing them to act more wisely in the future. But he was sensible, in order to best make a counter-measure against the Judeans for the plot which they had formed against them.

32 Now in four days, all the intervening ground between the *Romans* and the wall was leveled. And *Titus*, now wishing to secure a safe passage for the baggage and the rest of the multitude who followed, deployed the strongest part of his force to face the wall which lay on the northern quarter of the *city*, and to face the western part of it. His phalanx was made seven deep, with both the infantry in front and the cavalry in rear, 33 each of these in three rows, while the archers formed a seventh line in the middle.

34 Now that the Judeans were prevented, by such a great body of men, from making sallies upon the Romans, both the beasts of burden belonging to the three legions, along with the rest of the multitude, marched on without any terror. 35 Therefore, as for Titus himself, he was indeed situated about two stadia from the wall, the former of the Zaphon Tower, where the circuit of the wall bends back from the north and extends to the west. 36 But the other division of the army enwalled itself opposite Hippikos Tower, likewise at a distance of two stadia from the city. 37 However, the tenth legion kept its position on the Mount of Olives.

CHAPTER 72 [War5:136-183]

Now the city of Jerusalem was fortified by three walls, except where it was enclosed by impassable ravines: for in such places it had but a single enclosure. Indeed, the *city* was built upon two ridges, which, facing each other, are separated by a ravine, at which the rows of houses end.

2 Now of these ridges, the one indeed on which the upper city lay is both far higher and is straighter in length than the other. Accordingly, due to its strength, it was indeed called ‘the fortress’ by King David (the father of Solomon who was the first builder of the inner-sanctum), but we call it the ‘Upper Marketplace’. But the second ridge, which bore the name ‘the Akra’ and supports the lower city, is gibbous.

3 Now opposite this was a third ridge, both naturally lower than Akra, and once divided from it by another broad ravine. 4 Yet truly, during the period when the Hasmonians reigned, they both filled up the ravine with the objective of uniting the city to the temple, and reduced the Akra’s height by leveling its *summit*, in order that it might not also be superior to the temple. 5 Now the Raving of the *Zaphon Tower*, where the circuit of the wall bends back from the north and extends to the west, 6 But the other division of the army enwalled itself opposite Hippikos Tower, likewise at a distance of two stadia from the city. 7 However, the tenth legion kept its position on the Mount of Olives.

1 may also be translated “slope”
Now the third wall began at Hippikos Tower, from where it stretched northwards to Zaphon Tower. Then, it descended opposite Helené's memorials (she was queen of Hadyab, and daughter of Izad) and proceeded past the royal caves, and then bent around a corner tower across from what is referred to as The Memorial of the Fuller. But joining the ancient enclosure, it ended into the place which is being called Kedron Ravine.

This wall was built by Agrippa to enclose the later additions to the city, which has been protected by both breastworks and bulwarks. For as the city grew more populous, it had gradually crept-out of the enclosures. And the growing population who inhabited the region north of the temple, eventually joined it to the city; and this fourth ridge, called Bezetha, was inhabited all around. It lies opposite Antónico, but is cut off from it by a deep trench. For this trench was purposely dug to sever the foundations of Antónia from the ridge, which otherwise would have been easy to take and had inferior height. And the depth of the ditch materially increased the height of the towers. Now the recently built quarter was called Bezetha in our language (which might be translated as ‘The New City’).

Therefore, since its inhabitants were in need of a covering, Agrippa, the father and namesake of the present king, indeed began the previously mentioned wall. But due to the vast scale of the structure, he was anxious that Claudius Caesar might suspect that he had designs of revolution and sedition; so he desisted after merely laying the foundations. For even had the wall been continued as it began, the city would have been impregnable.

For indeed, it was constructed by stones 20 cubits long and 10 cubits wide, which were joined so snugly that they could scarcely have been undermined by any iron tools or shaken by any implements. But even the wall itself was 10 cubits wide, and it would indeed have attained a greater height than it did, had not the love-of-honor of its founder been hindered. But although it was hurriedly erected by the Judeans, it rose to a height of 20 cubits, and indeed had parapets of two cubits, but turrets of three cubits high, bringing the total altitude up to 25 cubits.

Now above the wall rose towers, indeed 20 cubits in breadth, but 20 cubits in height. They were both quadrangular and solid even as was the wall itself; yet in the joinings and the beauty of the stones, they were no way inferior to the inner-sanctum. But above them, which was a solid masonry, was 20 cubits in height, were magnificent apartments. And above these, were both upper chambers and cisterns to receive the heavy-rains. And each of their staircases were both spiraled and broad. Therefore, the third wall indeed had 90 of these towers, but the intervals between them were each 200 cubits. But in the middle wall were 40 towers. But the ancient wall was divided by 60. But the whole circumference of the city was 33 stadia.

Now the third wall was entirely wonderful, but even more was Zaphon Tower, which rose at its northwest corner, opposite to which Titus encamped. For apart from his innate magnanimity and his pride about the city, the king sought in the extraordinance of these works, to gratify his own private affections. Therefore indeed, Hippikos, named after his friend, was indeed of equal length and breadth. Yet indeed all erected into the ancient wall by King Hérōdés. But their magnitude, and their form resembled Pharos, which emits a beacon of light to those sailing to this tower the appearance of a royal palace. Now its summit, which was protected by both breastworks and bulwarks. Now above this, rising from the center of the portico was built another tower, apportioned into both magnificent apartments and a bath, in order that nothing might be lacking to give this tower the appearance of a royal palace. Now its summit was crowned with battlements and turrets, but its total altitude was about 90 cubits. And indeed, its form resembled Pharos, which emits a beacon of light to those sailing to Alexandria; but it was much larger than it in circumference. Yet, at this time, it had become the seat of Simon’s tyranny.

Now the third tower, Miriam (for that was the queen’s name), was solid to a height of 20 cubits; now its breadth was 20 cubits, and its length the same. But its upper residential quarters were far more extravagant and varicolored than those of the other towers. For the king had considered it appropriate that one named after a woman should be so fair superior in decoration than those called after men, as those were superior to the woman’s tower in strength. The total altitude of this last one was 55 cubits.

Now while these were the proportions of these three towers, they seemed much larger due to the location on which they stood. For the ancient wall in which they stood was itself built on a high ridge. And above the ridge, a peak, as it were, rose still 30 cubits higher. On this, the towers stood, and in this way, gained immensity in elevation.

Now even the dimensions of the stones were marvelous. For these were not composed of ordinary stones or rocks such as could be carried by humans, but were cut out of white marble. And each stone was indeed 20 cubits in length, but 10 in breadth, and five in depth. Now they were joined to one another so exactly, that each tower appeared to be one single rock, but which had later been polished by the hands of craftsmen into shapes and corners. So the fitting of the joints appeared little, or not at all.

Now adjoining and on the inner side of these towers, which lay to the north of it, was the royal palace, which exceeds all description. For in extravagance and construction no building surpassed it. Instead, it was indeed entirely enwalled to a height of 30 cubits, but was broken at equal intervals by ornamental towers, which contained both immense banquetting-halls and bedchambers for 100 guests a piece.

Indeed, in them was an indescribable variety of stones. For these, many of those which are rare everywhere, were collected here in abundance. Now their ceilings were wonderful, both for the length of the beams and the splendor of their glorious ornamentation. Now the number of apartments was great, and they had countless varieties of designs; yet truly, these were all amply furnished, and most of the objects within each of them were of both silver and gold. Now all around were many circular porticoes, each one leading into another; and the pillars inside each were different; yet truly, they were all open to the air and there was greenery everywhere. And indeed, there were groves of various trees, but which were intercepted by long walks; and they were bordered by deep canals, as well as cisterns which were studded everywhere with bronze figures, through which the water was discharged. And around the flowing-waters were numerous towers for tame pigeons.

For instead, it is impossible to give a worthy description of the royal palace. For it was not the Romans who incinerated it; instead, this was done by conspirators within the walls at the beginning of the sedition. Indeed, that conflagration began at Antónica, but passed to the royal palace, and spread to the roofs of the three towers.

CHAPTER 73 [War 5:184–247]

Now this temple was indeed built upon a strong ridge. But since the ground around it was very precipitous and steep, the level area of its summit was originally barely sufficient for both the inner-sanctum and the altar. But when Simon, the actual founder of the inner-sanctum, had walled up the eastern side, a single portico was cast on this made ground; and yet, on its other sides, the inner-sanctum remained exposed.

Now in future ages, through the constant additions the people made to the embankment, the ridge was leveled up and widened. But they even broke down the north wall, and, in this way, took in an area as large as the whole temple enclosure later occupied. Then they enwalled the ridge from its base on three sides, and accomplished a task greater than they could ever have hoped to achieve (indeed, a task upon which long ages were spent by them, as well as all their sacred treasures, which were still replenished by the tributes offered to God from every region of the inhabited earth).

After this, they surrounded the original block with both the upper enclosures and the lower temple. The lower temple enclosure, where its foundations were the lowest, they built up from a depth of 300 cubits (but at some spots even more). However, the entire depth of the foundations was not apparent; for they filled up their considerable part of the ravines, desiring to level the narrow-alleys of the town. Now rocks measuring 40 cubits were used in the building. For both an abundance of money and the people’s love-of-honor led to incredible enterprises; and a task seemingly impossible was, through perseverance and time, actually achieved.

Now the works built upon them were worthy of such foundations. For indeed, the porticoes were all in double rows, and the columns which supported

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1 may also be translated “citadel”

2 may also be translated “roofs”
them were 25 cubits in height. Each column was comprised of a single stone of the purest white marble; but they were ceilinged with coffers of cedar. 8 Indeed, their natural magnificence, and their excellent polish, and the harmony of their joinings, presented a remarkable spectacle; but this, without being adorned with any work of painting or sculpture. 9 And indeed, the porticoes were 30 cubits in breadth, but their complete circuit, which also embraced Antônía Tower, measured six stadia. Now the open court was, from end to end, variegated with paving stones of every kind.

10 Proceeding across this toward the second temple, it was enclosed by a stone balustrade, indeed three cubits in height, but of exquisite workmanship. 11 Now in it stood monuments at regular intervals, warning beforehand, indeed, some in Hellenic, but some in Roman characters, of the law of purity, that no foreigner was permitted to enter the holy-place. 12 For the second temple was called the holy-place. 13 And it was approached from the first temple by fourteen steps; but the area above was quadrangular, and screened by its own wall. 13 Indeed, its exterior height, being 40 cubits, was hidden by the steps; but its interior height was only 25 cubits. For since the staircase was built against rising ground, its entirety was not visible from within, a portion being concealed by the ridge itself.

14 Now beyond the fourteen steps, there was a space of 10 cubits between them and the wall, forming a level terrace. 15 From here, other flights of five steps each led up to the gates. Of these, there were indeed eight on the north and south (four on either side); but it was necessary to have two on the east.

For since this region had a special place of religious-worship which was walled off for the women, it was necessary to have a second gate for them; now this approach opened opposite to the first. 16 Now on the other sides, there was one gate on the south and one on the north which led into the women’s court. For women were not permitted to enter by the other gates; instead, they were not even allowed to look at their own gate beyond the wall which was between them. Yet truly, this court was allotted for all the women of our nation alike, whether our fellow-tribemen or visitors from abroad.

17 Now the west end of the building had no gate; instead, the wall was unbroken on that side. But the porticoes between the gates, on the inner side of the wall in front of the treasuries, were supported by exceedingly beautiful and great columns. But these porticoes were single, and, with an exception of their magnitude, were in no way inferior to those in the lower court.

18 Now of the gates, indeed nine were completely overlaid with gold and silver, as were both their doorposts and lintels. But there was one gate, the one outside the inner-sanctum, which was of Korinthian bronze, and far exceeded in value those which were overlaid with silver and gold. 19 And each gate indeed had two doors, but each door was 30 cubits in height and 15 in breadth. 20 However, beyond and within the entrances the gates expanded, embracing on either side turret-like chambers; each were 30 cubits both in breadth and in length, but their height exceeded 40 cubits. Now each chamber was supported by two columns, 12 cubits in circumference.

21 And indeed, the dimensions of the other gates were all equal, but the one beyond the Korinthian gate, which opened from the women’s court on the east, opposite the gate of the inner-sanctum, was far larger. 22 For its standing-up height was 50 cubits, and its doors were 40 cubits; and it was ornamented more richly, being overlaid with massive plates of both silver and gold. Now these nine gates were approached in this way by Alexandros, the father of Tibérius. 23 Now then, were fifteen steps which led up from the women’s court to the greater gate. For these steps were shallower than the five at each of the other gates.

24 Now the inner-sanctum itself, which was placed in the center of the holy temple, was approached by a flight of twelve steps. And indeed, the façade was equal both in height and breadth, each being 100 cubits, but the building behind was narrower by 40 cubits. For in front it had something like shoulders extending 20 cubits on either side.

25 Now the first gate was 70 cubits high and 25 cubits broad, but it had no doors. For it represented the unexcluded universal expanse of the heaven. But its entire face was overlaid with gold, and through it the first edifice was visible to an outside spectator in all its grandeur; and the surroundings of the inner gate all gleaming with gold fell beneath those who saw them.

26 But, whereas the inner-sanctum was divided into two sections within, it was only the first building which stood exposed to view. And from top to bottom it towered to a height of 90 cubits; indeed, its length was 50 cubits, but its breadth 20. 27 But the gate opening in the building was indeed completely overlaid with gold, as was the whole wall around it. But it also had those golden vines above it, from which clusters of grapes hung as tall as a man. 28 But since the inner-sanctum was divided into two sections, it appeared lower within than from without. And it had golden doors 55 cubits in height, but 16 in breadth.

29 But before these doors hung a veil of equal length. It was of Babelian tapestry, embroidered with blue and fine linen, both of scarlet and purple, indeed, wrought with marvelous skill. But neither was this mixture of materials without its unseen meaning; instead, it was an image of the universe. 30 For indeed the scarlet seemed emblematical of fire, but the fine linen of the earth, but the blue of the sky, and the purple of the sea; indeed, the comparison in two cases being suggested by their color, but in that of the fine linen and purple by their origin, indeed, as the one is produced by the earth but the other by the sea. 31 But on this tapestry was portrayed every heavenly view with an exception of the living creatures.

32 Now entering within, one would find themselves on the ground-floor of the inner-sanctum. Moreover, this was indeed 60 cubits in height, and the same in length, but 20 cubits in breadth. 33 Now the 60 cubits of its length were again divided. And indeed, the first portion was partitioned off at 40 cubits and contained within it three things marvelous and famous among all humans: a lampstand, a table, and a censer.

34 Now the seven lamps (for this is the number of the branches from the lampstand) indeed signified the planets. Now the twelve loaves upon the table signified the circle of living creatures and the year. 35 But the censer, by its thirteen incenses with which it is replenished from the sea, both uninhabited and inhabited, signified that all things are of God and for him.

36 Now the innermost recess indeed measured 20 cubits, but was separated from the outer portion by a veil. But in this stood nothing at all. But it was unapproachable and inviolable, and invisible to all; but it was called the Holy of Holies.

37 Now around the sides of the lower portion of the inner-sanctum were numerous apartments, in three stories, connected with one another. And these were approached by entrances from either side of the gate. 38 But the upper part of the building had no similar apartments, because it was also proportionately narrower, but rose 40 cubits higher and in a severer style than the lower portion. For these 40 cubits, added to the 60 of the ground-floor, amount to a total height of 100 cubits.

39 Now the exterior face of the temple lacked nothing that could astound another on eye. For it was overlaid on all sides with massive plates of gold; and, at the first rising of the sun, it radiated a flash so fiery that persons straining to look at it were compelled to avert their eyes, exactly as from the sun’s own rays. 40 Yet truly, to strangers who were approaching it from a distance, it appeared to be like a mountain covered with snow. For even everything that was not overlaid with gold was of purest white. 41 But from its summit protruded sharp golden spikes to prevent birds from roosting upon it and polluting the roof. Now some of the building’s stones were 45 cubits in length, five in height, but six in breadth.

42 Now in front of the temple stood the altar, indeed 15 cubits in height; but with an equal breadth and length of 50 cubits. Its figure was quadrangular, with horn-like projections at the corners; and the approach up to it from the south was a gentle sloping acclivity. But no iron tool was used in its construction, and neither did any iron tool ever touch it.

43 Now surrounding both the inner-sanctum and the altar was a low stone parapet, fair and graceful, about one cubit in height, and it separated the populace outside from the priests.

44 Indeed, persons afflicted with gonorrhrea or leprosy were excluded from the city altogether. But the temple was also closed to women during their menstruation; but even when free from that impurity, they were not permitted to pass the previously mentioned boundary. But men who were not thoroughly pure were prohibited from within. Even the priests themselves were prohibited when undergoing purification.

45 Now all who were of priestly lineage, but who were not performing-public-service due to some bodily defect, were also admitted within the parapet, along with those who were free from any imperfection, and shared the portions granted to them by birthright; yet truly, they continued to wear ordinary garments. For no one but the one who was performing-public-service was vesting himself with the consecrated vestment. 46 Now the priests who were without blemish went up to the sacrificial-altar and the inner-sanctum, indeed, clothed in fine linen; but they were especially sober from any undiluted drink out of terror for the religious-ritual, lest they would be guilty of any transgression in their public-service.

47 Now the chief-priest indeed accompanied them; indeed, not all on occasions, but on the seventh days and new moons, and on any of our fathers’ national-festivals, or annual gathering of all the men. 48 Now when he was performing-public-service, he wore breeches which covered his thighs up to the

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1 may also be translated “roofed” 2 literally “presignaling” 3 literally “birth/generation”
loins, also an under garment of linen, and over that a blue robe reaching to the feet, full and tasseled. But from the tassels hung an alternation of golden bells and pomegranates; indeed, the bells signified thunder, but the pomegranates lightning. 49 But the embroidered girdle which attached this robe to the breast consisted of five bands of variegated colors: both gold and purple, and scarlet, but also fine linen and blue, with which the veils of the inner-sanctuary were also interwoven.

50 Nor was the ephod also had the same mixture of materials, but the gold was greater. Therefore, its form was indeed like an Argus, but with two heads. This was fastened to the robe by two golden brooches, but these were set with sardonyxes which were both beautiful and large, on which were engraved the names of those after whom the tribes of the nation were called. 51 Now attached to the other side were twelve more stones, in four rows of three each: a sardius, a topaz, and an emerald; a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire; an agate, an amethyst, and a jacinth; an onyx, a beryl, and a chrysoprase. Upon each one was again engraved one of the previously mentioned names of the tribes.

52 Now his head was indeed encompassed by a tiara of fine linen, but which was wreathed with blue, around which there was another crown, of gold, on which the consecrated letters were worked in relief; now these are four vowels.

53 Therefore, these vestments were indeed not commonly worn by the chief-priest when he assumed a plainer custom, but only when he entered into the innermost-sanctuary. But this he entered alone once a year, on the day on which it was a custom for all of us to keep a fast to God.

54 Now Antōnia Tower indeed lay at the corner where two porticoes, both the western and the northern, of the first temple met. Now it was built upon a rock that was indeed 50 cubits high, but precipitous on all sides. But it was the work of King Hérōdés, which especially demonstrated his innate great-mindedness.

55 For indeed, in the first place, the rock itself was covered from its base upwards with smooth stones, both for beauty and in order that anyone attempting to ascend or descend would not be able to get a foothold. 56 Then, in front of the actual edifice, there was a wall three cubits high; but behind this, Antōnia Tower majestically rose to a height of 40 cubits. 57 Now the interior resembled a royal palace in its spaciousness and form; for it was divided into apartments both of every kind and for every purpose, including both porticoes and baths, and broad courtyards for encampments—so that from its possession of every convenience, it seemed to be a city, but from its extravagance a royal palace.

58 But as for Bezetha Ridge, it was cut off from Antōnia; as the highest of all the ridges, it was encroached on by a part of the new city, and, on the north, formed the only obstruction to the view of the temple.

CHAPTER 74 [War5:248–290]

Now the strength of the combatants and multitude of the insurgents was as follows:

Indeed, Simon’s party, apart from the Edomites, was 10,000. But over those 10,000 were fifty leaders, Simon himself being lord of all. 2 But his Edomites numbered 5,000 and had ten chiefs. Among these Jacob son of Sosa, and Simon son of Katthias ranked highest.

3 Now Hōran, at the time when he had seized the temple, had 6,000 heavy-armed soldiers under twenty leaders. But the Zealots who had now also come over to him, having abandoned their quarrel, were 2,400; but they were led by the same chief which they had even previously, Eleazar, together with Simon son of Arinōs.

4 Now (as we have previously declared) while these two factions were waging war against one another, the populace was their common prey. And the portion of those people who would not join with them in their unrighteous-deeds was plundered by both factions.

5 Now Simon indeed held both the upper city, and the great wall as far as Kedron, as well as a portion of the ancient wall from the point where it bent eastward at Shiloah until its descent to the court of Monobaz. (Now Monobaz was the king of Hadyab beyond the Euphrates). 6 But Simon also held the fountain and part of the Akra, which is the lower city. He also held everything as far as the royal palace of Helenē, the mother of Monobaz.

7 But Johanan held the temple and much of the adjoining regions; also Ophel and the Kedron Rавine.

But the regions in between they burned, leaving them as a space for them to wage war against one another.

8 For not even when the Romans were encamped beneath the very walls did they dare to stand and await battle. Now although they briefly returned to comparative sobriety at the first sally made upon them by the Romans, they relapsed to their former madness; and the parties divided, falling to fighting once more, and doing everything which their besiegers could pray for them to do. 9 Accordingly, they never suffered anything worse at the hands of the Romans than what they made each other suffer; nor following these men’s actions was there any calamity endured by the city which could be esteemed new. Instead, the city’s most cruel deeds were indeed preceded her overthrow, while the kindness which her captors brought her outweighed the loss.

10 Yet truly, with this being the situation within the city, Titus, with some picked cavalry, went around the outside, looking for a proper place where he might assault the walls. 11 But since the ravines rendered access impossible, and beyond them the first wall seemed too solid for his weapons, he was at a loss. He finally thought it best to make his assault opposite the memorial of the chief-priest Johanan; 12 for there both the first fortification was on lower ground, and the second was not joined with it (the builders having neglected to wall the sparsely populated portions of the new city). Instead, there was an easy approach to the third wall, through which his intention was to capture the upper city, and so, by way of Antōnia, the temple itself.

13 Now at this time, while Titus was riding round the city, calamity befell one of his friends, whose name was Nikanṑr. Together with himself, he was escorting the machines making peace with those upon the wall, for he was not unknown by them. But having approached too near the wall, he was hit by an arrow in the left shoulder.

14 This incident gave Caesar recognition of their passion, since they would not refrain from assaulting even those who approached them on behalf of their salvations; and they provoked him to undertake the siege.

At once, he both sent forth the legions to lay waste to the city, and directed them to collect timber in order to build earthworks. 15 Now forming him into three divisions for these operations, he both placed the javeliniers and the archers in the intervals between the embankments; and in front of them, he placed the machines: the sharpened-bolt-launchers, and the catapults, and the stone-launchers, in order both to hinder any sallies which their foes might make against their works, and to prevent any attempts from being made by those who were upon the wall. 16 Now the trees were felled; indeed, the suburbs were immediately stripped naked.

But while the timber was being collected for the earthworks and the whole army was busily engaged in their work, the Judeans on their side were not quiet. 17 Therefore indeed, the populace who were victims of rapine and murder now began to be of good-courage. For they both hoped to gain some respite while their oppressors were occupied with their enemies outside, and to exact a rightful punishment on the criminals in case the Romans prevailed over them.

18 Now although Johanan’s party was impatient to make a sally upon their formidable side, he did not stir nor even decide to move forward; 19 Truth is, he preferred to await any opportunity in order to make a sally against both the sharpened-bolt-launchers and stones-throwers, and to burst upon the garrison which lay in Antōnia. 20 Instead, though these machines were indeed in their possession, they had so little skill in operating them, that they were almost completely useless to them; but a few men, who had been taught by the desertsers how to operate these weapons, made a poor use of them. Now they threw both enormous-stones and arrows from the wall at those who were building the earthworks, and they also dashed out upon them by companies and grappled with them.

21 Now the Roman workmen were indeed protected from the projectiles by hurdles stretched over palisades, but from the Judeans sallies by the artillery. Now these pieces of artillery, which indeed all the legions had prepared for them, were wonderfully constructed. But still more extraordinary, were the ones belonging to the tenth legion. Both their sharpened-bolt-launchers were more powerful and their stone-launchers larger, enabling them to repel not only the Judean sallies, but instead, to also drive those away who were upon the wall. 22 For indeed, the rocks which they threw weighed a talent, but also had a range of two stadia or more; but their impact was irresistible, not only to those who had first contact with them, but even by those who were considerably in the rear.

23 Yet truly, the Judeans were at first on their guard against the coming rock; for, being white, its approach was perceived not only to the ear by its whizzing, but instead even to the eyes by its brilliance. 24 Therefore, the watchmen who were posted on the towers gave warning whenever the weapon was fired and the
rock was in transit, by shouting in their native tongue, “The son is coming!”1 Now those in the line of fire promptly made way and threw themselves down upon the ground. And due to these precautions, the rock passed harmlessly through, falling in their rear.

25 But the Romans in turn contrived to blacken the rock. For now that it was no longer equally discernible beforehand, they were able to hit their mark, and utterly-destroyed many with a single throw. 26 Instead, though under all these distresses the Judeans did not permit the Romans to raise their earthwork free from terror, but they shrewdly and boldly exerted themselves, even night and day, to repel them both.

27 Now when the Roman works were completed, the workmen indeed measured the distance to the wall with lead and line, which they cast from the embankments. For since the Judeans were throwing things down at them from above, there was no other way to possibly measure it. But finding that the city-defenders were able to reach the wall, they brought them up. 28 Then, after Titus posted his artillery at proper distances closer to the wall to prevent the Judeans from obstructing them, he directed them to strike.

29 But suddenly, from three different quarters, an extraordinary bang echoed all around; and suddenly, a great cry went up from those within the city; and no less terror fell even upon the insurgents themselves. Now at this, both parties, seeing themselves exposed to a common danger, now contrived to even make a common defense. 30 Now the rival factions shouted across to each other, confessing that they were acting entirely in concert with their foes; and this, when they should, even if God denied them lasting concord, in their present circumstances, to accordingly lay aside their love-of-strife in order to unite together against the Romans.

Indeed, Simon proclaimed that everyone could pass from the temple to the wall free of terror. But Johanan, though unable to believe that Simon was earnest, and not being able to commit such a permission, 31 Now both parties, out of hatred and private quarrels, formed themselves into one body and indeed lined the wall. Also, having a vast number of firebrands with them, they hurled them down at the machines, and kept those who were impelling the city-defenders, which were battering the wall, under incessant projectile fire. 32 But the more venturesome Judeans, dashing out in bands, tore up the hurdles protecting the machines, and, falling upon the artillerists, beat them (indeed, this was done seldom through skill, but commonly through the audacity of their superiority in numbers).

33 But Titus invariably came in person to the assistance of those who were the hardest pressed; and posting both his cavalry and archers on either side of the weapons, he indeed kept the incendiaries at bay, but repelled those who threw projectiles at them from the towers, but brought the city-defenders into action. 34 Truly, with all this, the wall did not succumb to these blows, with one exception: the fifteenth legion’s ram dislodged a corner of a tower, but the wall itself was unimpaired. 35 For the wall was not involved in immediate danger along with the tower, which projected far out, and the collapse of that part of the tower would not easily break down any part of the enclosure together with it.

36 Now the Judeans desisted from their sallies for a while. And the Romans, believing that the Judeans had retired from exhaustion and terror, dispersed themselves all throughout their works and in their several encampments. When the Judeans observed this, they suddenly all dashed out together through a completely Tactics taken same tower, at the same time carrying with them firebrands to burn the works and determined to boldly advance as far as the Romans, to their very fortifications.

37 But at their cries, both the soldiers who were near them instantly came to their assistance, and those farther off came dashing after them. But here Judean boldness outstripped Roman discipline; and the Judeans routed those who first encountered them, and pressed on against the mustering soldiers. 38 Now a fierce battle ensued around the machines——indeed, the Judeans tried to set them on fire, while the Romans tried to prevent them. Confused cries arose from both sides, and many who were fighting on the vanguard fell. 39 But the furious assaults of the Judeans, which were made like madmen, proved superior against the Romans. And already, the fire was catching hold of the works. All of these works along with the weapons themselves, would probably have been incinerated, but not the picked troops from Alexandria opposed them to prevent it, displaying a manliness which exceeded their own reputation (for even in this battle, they surpassed regiments of greater renown).

This was the state of things until Caesar, bringing up the most stalwart of his cavalry, threw them at his foes. 40 And he indeed did away with twelve of the Judean vanguard by himself. But at this, the remainder of the Judean multitude gave way. He pursued them, driving them all into the city, and thereby saving the works from the fire.

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1 ‘hubbén’, which means “the son” sounds similar to “ha-eben” which means “the stone”
regarded with reverence and terror; and such was the esteem in which he was held by everyone who was under his injuctions, that each was even prepared to kill themselves with their own hands had he given the directive.

20 But what gave the Romans such incentives to manliness were their usual custom of conquering and inexperience of defeat, both their continuous expeditions and perpetual battle training, and the magnitude of their leadership. But now, their primary incentive was Titus, who was ever and everywhere present beside all. 21 For while Caesar was both with them and contending along with them, terror seemed monstrous; and the soldier who contended finely had, as a testifier of himself, one who would also reward it. But it was also an advantage to already be known by Caesar as noble. On this account, many, in their enthusiasm, displayed better eagerness than their strength warranted.

22 Accordingly, as the Judeans were drawn up in battle array outside the wall, and while both legions were yet contending against one another with javelins, a certain cavalryman named Longinus, leapt out of the Roman lines and dashed into the very midst of the Judean phalanx. 23 So breaking their ranks by his charge, he did away with two of their noblest men—indeed, piercing one in the front as he advanced to meet him; but as the other was turning to flee, he transfixed him through the side with the very spear which he drew up from the first. And after having done this, he escaped unscathed from the midst of his foes to his own lines. 24 Therefore indeed, his excellence gained him distinction, but led many to ambitiously emulate his manliness.

25 And indeed, the Judeans, unconcerned with what they had suffered from the Romans, thought only of the injury which they could inflict; but death itself seemed a trivial matter to them, if at the same time they could kill any one of their foes.

26 But Titus cared as much for his soldiers’ safety as to have them overcome their enemies. And he indeed pronounced inconsiderate violence to be mere desperation; while violence was only true when joined with foresight. And he directed his men to display their own manliness without taking risks.

27 Now Titus brought up one of his city-destroyers against the central tower of the north part of the wall; here, a certain Judean man, a warlock, whose name was Castor, lay in ambush with ten others of like character, the rest having been routed by the archers. 28 Indeed, for some time, these men lay still, crouching beneath the breastworks. 1 But when the tower began to rock, they rose up, and Castor, stretching out his hands in suppliant pose, called upon Caesar, and in piteous tones implored him to have mercy upon them.

29 But Titus, in his simplicity, believed him to be earnest, and, hoping that the Judeans were finally changing their minds, stopped the battering of the ram, also forbidding the archers to shoot at the supplicants. But he directed Castor to say what was on his mind.

30 So Castor said, “I will come down, if you give me your right hand in pledge.”

To which Titus declared, “Indeed, I am well-pleased with your sound-judgment. But I would be well-pleased if everyone were now of the same mind; and I am ready to offer security to the city.”

31 Now five of Castor’s ten companions indeed joined in this feigned supplication, but the rest loudly cried out that they would never be enslaved to the Romans, as long as it was in their power to die as free men.

32 And while these men had a prolonged dispute, the assault was indeed suspended. And while he was thus sent word to Simon, telling him, “Take your time in taking counsel on the necessary measures, because I am able to fool the Roman chief for a considerable time.”

But while dispatching this message, he also openly appeared to be urging his obstinate comrades to accept Titus’ right hand. 33 But they, on the other hand, pretended to be indignant at this; and both branding their naked short-swords above the breastworks, and striking their own breastplates, fell down as if they had been slaughtered. 34 But Titus and his party were amazed at the men’s courage; and being unable to see exactly what had happened from below, they both admired their great courage and pitied their situation.

35 Now during this interval, a certain person hit Castor with an arrow, maiming him in the nose. He instantly pulled out the projectile, showed it to Titus, and complained that he was not being treated rightly. But Caesar sternly rebuked the archer and commissioned me (I was at his side) to offer my right hand to Castor. Instead I (for I was convinced that these false suppliants meant no good), indeed not only declined to go myself, but also restrained any of my friends who were motivated to go to him.

Now Aineas, one of the decretors, declared that he would go to Castor. 37 But Castor called out, “Have someone take the money which I am bringing with me.” This made Aineas the more eager to run forward, robes extended, to receive it. 38 But Castor picked up a rock and hurled it at him; and it missed Aineas who indeed managed to avoid it, but wounded another soldier who was coming up to him.

39 Now when Caesar understood that this was a delusion, he indeed decided that mercy in a war was a pernicious thing; for severe measures afforded less space for cunning tricks. But angered by this mockery, he made the city-destroyer strike more powerfully than before.

40 But when the tower began to give way, Castor’s party set fire to it, and leapt through the flames into the hidden vault beneath. This again impressed the Romans, who imagined that they had plunged into the fire with a sense of great manliness.

CHAPTER 76 [War 6.331–359]

Now at this spot, on the fifth day after the capture of the first wall, Caesar stormed this one. And when the Judeans had fled from him, he, with 1,000 heavy-armed soldiers and his own picked troops, entered into the new city where the woolshops and the braziers’ smithies, and the market-place for robes were located, but where the narrow-alleys descended obliquely to the wall.

2 But now, because Titus indeed hoped to shame the Judeans by his reluctance to injure them when he was in a position to do so, he did not widen the breach in the wall to facilitate a retreat. For he never supposed that after such treatment they would lay snares against their benefactor. 3 Accordingly, when he entered, he did not permit his soldiers to kill anyone caught, nor to set fire to the houses. Instead, he indeed gave permission to the insurgents to leave the city, without terror, to fight, if they wished, without causing harm to the populace; but he promised to the populace that he would restore their property. For his primary objective was to indeed save the city for himself, but the inner-sanctum for the city.

4 Therefore, the people had indeed been long ready even to comply with his proposals; and the combatants mistook his humaneness as a mark of weakness, and supposed that Titus had made these proposals due to his inability to capture the rest of the city. 5 But they threatened death to any of the populace who spoke even a single word about surrender, and slaughtered everyone who talked about peace. Then they attacked the Romans who had entered within the wall. Some they indeed confronted in the narrow-alleys, but some from the houses; while others suddenly sallied outside the wall by the upper gates. 6 Their assault caused great alarm among the Romans gathered on the wall, that they leapt down from the towers, withdrawing to their encampments. 7 Now great cries indeed ascended from those Romans who, still within, were surrounded on every side by their foes; but these same cries ascended from those Romans without, who were anxious for their comrades who had been left behind.

Now this was how the Judeans, constantly growing in numbers and having a great advantage over the Romans due to their full knowledge of those narrow-alleys, both wounded many of their foes, and, falling upon the Romans, thrust them out of the city.

8 Now these Romans were, at present, forced, mainly through sheer necessity, to continue to resist; for it was impossible for all of them to escape at once through the extremely narrow breach in the wall. Now the invading force would have been cut-down, had not Titus come to their aid. 9 For he posted his archers at the ends of the narrow-alleys, and he himself took up position where the greatest number of his enemies were the thickest. With showers of projectiles, he reduced the Judeans to such a point of distraction, that he could so well prove invincible. 10 For it was still possible to feed upon the public miseries and to drink of the city’s blood; but the good men had long been seized by the pinch of want, and many had already departed from this life for lack of necessaries. 11 Indeed, such were their feelings toward those within the city, or that, if they did, they themselves would prove invincible. 12 For it was due to their transgressions, God was blinding their thoughts; and they did not perceive how the strength still left to the Romans far outnumbered those whom had just been expelled, nor could they discern a famine stealthily creeping upon them. 13 For it was still possible to feed upon the public miseries and to drink of the city’s blood; but the good men had long been seized by the pinch of want, and many had already departed from this life for lack of necessaries. 14 And indeed some observers, watching the Romans who were again attempting to gain entrance, rejoiced as a manifestation of their people’s hatred towards their enemies. 15 But the insurgents regarded the destruction of the people as a relief to the Romans. But the insurgents rejoiced as a multitude of their opponents wasted away, who were but a heavy burden upon them. 16 Indeed, such were their feelings toward those within the city; while in the wall which had been overthrown, they erected counter-fortifications with their own bodies, thereby hindering the Romans who were again attempting to gain entrance.

Indeed, for three days they held out against them with a staunch defense. But on the fourth day, they were unable to withstand a noble assault from Titus; instead, they were constrained and fled up to their former refuge. 16 Now Titus,
once more repossessing the wall, indeed immediately demolished the entire northern portion. But placing a garrison in the towers in the southern quarter of the city, he formed plans on how he would assault the third wall.

17 Now at this time, Titus decided to suspend the siege for a while and to afford the insurgents an interval for a council, to see whether the demolition of the second wall, and the chance terror of a famine, might lead to any surrender; for the spoils of their rapine were unable to suffice them for long. So he made full use of this period of remission for him himself.

18 For the appointed day had arrived for the distribution of the soldiers’ wages. So he directed his leaders to put the force into battle-array and then to count out the money to each man in full view of their foes. 19 Now the soldiers, as was their custom, drew forth their weapons from the cases where they had remained sheltered until now, and advanced clad in mail, the cavalrymen leading their horses in their ornamentations. 20 Now the area in front of the city gleamed far and wide with silver and gold; and nothing was more pleasing to the Romans, nor more fearsome to their foes, than that spectacle. 21 For both the entire ancient wall, and the north side of the temple, were thronged with spectators; also the houses were filled with those who saw them, and there was not a single spot visible in the city which was not covered by the multitude. 22 But a terrifying constellation fell upon even the hardiest of the Judeans at the sight both of this full gathering of the forces, and the beauty of their weapons, and the admirable order of the men.

23 But the insurgents did not change their minds at this sight. But believing that death would be their chastisement if they did not make an end of defending the city, they thought that death in the war was much better. But foresight was also prevailing, so that the guiltless ones were to be destroyed with the criminals, and the city with the sedition.

24 Therefore indeed, in four days, the several Roman legions had all received their wages, and had been instructed not to accept any presents nor to prophesy what might come to come from the Judeans. Titus formed his legions into two divisions and began raising earthworks both opposite Antonia, and Johanan’s memorial. Indeed, his design was to take the upper city at the memorial, but the temple by way of Antonia; 25 for unless the temple was secured, it would be precarious even to hold the town itself. Now he erected two banks, one at each of these two quarters, assigning one to each of the two legions.

26 And indeed, those who worked alongside the memorial were impeded both by the Edomite sallies, and by Simon’s heavy-armed soldiers. But those before Antonia suffered obstruction from Johanan’s party and the multitude of Zealots who were with them. 27 Now these Judeans were successful, not only with hand-to-hand combat, (because they stood upon higher ground), but even with their own weapons, which they had now learned to use; for daily practice had gradually fostered their skill. Now they possessed indeed 300 sharpened-bolt-launchers, but 40 stone-launchers, which by using, they seriously retarded the erection of the Roman earthworks.

CHAPTER 77 [War:5:360–419]

But Titus, conscious that both saving the city and destroying it affected himself, did not only press the siege, but also did not overlook exhorting the Judeans to have a change of mind. 2 Now blending works with counsel, and being sensible that speeches are often more effectual than weapons, he not only personally exhorted them but on the fifth day, when no signs of peace appeared to come from the Judeans, Titus formed his legions into two divisions and began raising earthworks both opposite Antonia, and Johanan’s memorial. Indeed, his design was to take the upper city at the memorial, but the temple by way of Antonia; 25 for unless the temple was secured, it would be precarious even to hold the town itself. Now he erected two banks, one at each of these two quarters, assigning one to each of the two legions.

3 I went around the wall. And endeavoring both to keep out of projectile-range, and yet within earshot, I repeatedly implored them to indeed spare themselves and the populace, but to spare the fatherland and the temple, nor to display toward them a greater indifference than was shown by the foreigners themselves.

4 “Yet indeed, the Romans, although they have no relation with these things, even have reverence for the holy-things belonging to their foes; and for this reason, they have up till now restrained their hands from them. While you, who have been brought up with them, and, were they preserved, would long enjoy the hands which stole it restored it with the sound of cymbals and tympanis, along with all manner of expiations in order to appease the holy-place? 27 It was God’s

8 “For it is evident that fortune has, from all quarters, passed over to them, and that God, when he has gone around the nations, bringing each in turn the chiefthood, now rests over Italy. Yet truly, there is a fixed law, even among strong beasts and among humans, ‘Yield to the stronger,’ and, ‘The mastery is for those preeminent in arms.’ 9 And this is the reason why their ancestors, men fair superior to them both in their souls and in their bodies, but even in resources, had yielded to the Romans—a thing which would have been intolerable to them, had they not known that God of old gave in to a fellow

10 “But as for yourselves, on what are you even depending by holding out like this, when indeed the main part of the city is already captured; but when those within it, even though their walls remain standing, are under miseries worse than being captured?

11 “For the Romans are not ignorant of a famine raging in the city; indeed, it is now consuming the populace, but will, in a short time, even consume the combattants. 12 For even if the Romans were to desist from the siege, not falling upon the city with short-swords in their hands, yet, you have at your doors an internal war with which none can fight; and it gains strength every hour, unless, indeed, you have been able to take arms and both: fight against famine itself, and, alone of all men, master its pangs.”

13 But I further added, “You would do well to reform before incurable disaster befalls you, and, while you have the opportunity, to turn the scales toward advice which may save you. For even the Romans will not bear malice against you for your past actions, unless you persevere in your insolence to the end. For they are both naturally lenient in victory, and prefer what is expedient above their fury, 14 which does not consist in having on their hands a city empty of men, nor a devastated country.

“This is why, even now, that Caesar desires to offer you his right hand. For if he took the city by storm, he would not save a single one of you, and especially you for your past actions. But, if you would indeed improve the offer made to you in your utmost distresses. 15 Yet truly, the fall of the walls which are already taken vouch that the third wall will quickly be taken as well. But even if that fortification is impregnable, the famine will fight for the Romans against you.”

16 While I was making this exhortation to the Judeans, many of them indeed derided me from the wall, but many reviled me; but even threw things at me. But failing to persuade them by this direct counsel, I passed to speaking about the hierarchy of our fellow-tribesmen, and cried out:

“Ah, terrible creatures! Are you so unmindful of your own true allies, that you would war against the Romans with weapons and might of hand? For what other nation have we ever been victorious over by such means? 18 But when did God, the Creator, fail to avenge the Judeans if they had been unrighteously-treated? Will you not turn your eyes to consider the place from where you fight with such violence, and look back to see how great a heavenly ally you have profaned? Will you not recall to mind your fathers’ demonic works, as well as what mighty foes have been subdued for us by this holy place in days of old? 19 I myself indeed shudder at recounting God’s works to unworthy ears; but, listen, that you may learn that you are warring not against the Romans only, but instead also against God himself.

20 There was Neco, king of Egypt, but who was also called Pharaoh. He came down with countless hands to carry off Sarah, a queen, the mother of our race. 21 Therefore, what action did her husband Abraham, our forefather, take? Did he gather up pure hands toward this spot, which you have now polluted, to enlist the invincible ally on his side instead of relying on an army? 22 Was not the nation indeed sent back to her husband the very next evening free of all defilement, while the Egyptian, in awe of this spot (which you have made-bloody by a murder of your fellow-tribesmen), and trembling at plagues in the night, fled, bestowing neither silver and gold on the God-loved Hebrews?

23 “Shall I say nothing, or shall I mention the migration of our fathers to Egypt who were oppressed and in subjection to foreign kings for 400 years; and though they might have defended themselves by resorting to weapons and hands, did they not commit themselves to God? 24 Who is there who has not heard that Egypt was overrun with all sorts of beasts and corrupted with every sickness, how their land did not bring forth its fruit, though they murdered and cried-out against Pharaoh’s decrees? And how by those means, our fathers were sent forth under escort, without any bloodshed, without running any risk, God leading them to be the future custodians of his inner-sanctum?

25 “Instead, did not Philiestia indeed, as well as their image Dagon, groan under the deed? For if it was even noble to war for free

40 stone-launchers, which by using, they seriously retarded the erection of the Roman earthworks.

CHAPTER 77 [War:5:360–419]

But Titus, conscious that both saving the city and destroying it affected himself, did not only press the siege, but also did not overlook exhorting the Judeans to have a change of mind. 2 Now blending works with counsel, and being sensible that speeches are often more effectual than weapons, he not only personally exhorted them but on the fifth day, when no signs of peace appeared to come from the Judeans, Titus formed his legions into two divisions and began raising earthworks both opposite Antonia, and Johanan’s memorial. Indeed, his design was to take the upper city at the memorial, but the temple by way of Antonia; 25 for unless the temple was secured, it would be precarious even to hold the town itself. Now he erected two banks, one at each of these two quarters, assigning one to each of the two legions.

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4 “Yet indeed, the Romans, although they have no relation with these things, even have reverence for the holy-things belonging to their foes; and for this reason, they have up till now restrained their hands from them. While you, who have been brought up with them, and, were they preserved, would long enjoy

5 Truly, you have indeed seen your strongest sorts of walls fall prostrate, but one still remains, though it is weaker than those which have already been taken. But you know that the might of the Romans is irresistible, and that to be enslaved to them is no new experience for yourselves.

6 “For if it was even noble to war for freedom, you should have done so at first. But, after having once succumbed and submitted to them for so long, to then seek to shake off the yoke is the work of men madly courting death, not those who are lovers-of-freedom. 7 It might, however, be legitimate to scorn inferior masters, but of all things are subject to the hands of God. For what is there that has escaped the Romans, unless it is a region useless due to its extreme heat or icy-cold? For if it was even noble to war for freedom, you should have done so at first. But, after having once succumbed and submitted to them for so long, to then seek to shake off the yoke is the work of men madly courting death, not those who are lovers-of-freedom. 7 It might, however, be legitimate to scorn inferior masters, but of all things are subject to the hands of God. For what is there that has escaped the Romans, unless it is a region useless due to its extreme heat or icy-cold?
generalship which brought this triumph to our fathers, because, without resort to hand or weapon, they committed the issue to his decision.

28 “When Sennacherib, king of Assyria, with all Asia following in his train, encamped around this city, did he fall by human hands? 29 Were not those hands indeed at rest from weapons, raised in prayers, while a messenger of God did away with that countless army in a single night? And when the Assyrian king arose next morning, did he not find 185,000 corpses before him, while he, with the remainder of his army, fled from the Hebrews who were unarméd and who did not pursue him?

30 “And you know of the slavery in Babel, where our people passed seventy years in exile. They never reared their manes for freedom until God made Cyrus1 his gracious instrument. Yes, it was through him that they were set free and reestablished the temple-worship of their heavenly ally.

31 “But in a word, there is no instance in which our fathers triumphed by weapons or failed of success without them when they committed their cause to God. Yet indeed, when they sat still, they conquered, as it pleased their Judge; but when they went out to fight, they always stumbled.

32 “Indeed, in this way, when the King of Babel besieged this very city, our King Zedekiah fought against him contrary to Jeremiah’s prophecies; Zedekiah was both immediately taken prisoner and saw the town with the inner-sanctum leveled to the ground. Furthermore, how much more moderate indeed was that king than your present leaders, but his people than you? 33 Yes, when Jeremiah loudly proclaimed how much enmity they had incurred from God for their faults against him, but that, unless they surrendered the city, they would be taken captive, neither the king nor the populace did away with him. 34 Instead, you (to pass over what you have done within the city, for it would be beyond me to adequately describe your enormities), you assail me with revilements as well as with missiles, the one who is only trying to exhort you to save yourselves. You are provided with being reminded of your sins, and cannot bear the very mention of those evil things which you actually perpetrate every day.

35 “But again, when Antiochos, surnamed The Illustrious, was blockading this city and had grossly outraged the Deity, our fathers went forth in arms against him. Indeed, they were slaughtered in the battle, but this town was plundered by their foes, but the holy-place was made desolate for three years and six months.

“And why do I need to mention any more? 36 Instead, I implore you, who was it that incited the Romans to levy an army against our nation? Was it not the countrymen among you? You are provided with being reminded of your sins, and cannot bear the very mention of those evil things which you actually perpetrate every day.

37 “But do we not know the end of Antigonus the boy of Aristoboulos, in whose reign God struck the people for their failures by the capture of this city? Indeed, when Hérode’s son of Antipatros brought upon us Sossius, but Sossius brought upon us a Roman army—now they were encompassed and besieged for six months, until, as a rightful-punishment for their sins, they were captured and the city was plundered by their foes.

40 “This is how it appears that weapons were never given to our nation, but being at war have nothing but a mere signal for defeat. 41 For it is, I suppose, the duty of the inhabitants of this holy place to leave everything to God’s righteous judgment, and to scorn the assistance of a human hand after having resigned themselves up to their judge above.

42 “But as for you, what have you done which is blest by the lawgiver? But what deed cursed by him have you left undone? But how much more impious are you than those who have been defeated in the past! 43 You have indeed not disgraced the name of gods, I mean, thefts, and treacheries, and murders, nor in rapines and murders, you vie with each other in inventing new and unheard of paths of evil. But the temple itself has become the receptacle for everything, and native hands have stained that divine place, which even Romans have reverenced from the very first night they encamped.

45 “Did your king Hezekiah lift up such hands when he besought assistance against the Assyrian king, when God wounded that great army in a single night? But are the deeds of the Romans so similar to those of the Assyrian, that you even have reason to hope for similar vengeance upon them?

46 “Did not that king indeed accept money from our king on this condition: that he would not ravage the city, yet, in violation of his oaths, came down and burned the inner-sanctum; while the Romans are but demanding the customary tribute, which our fathers paid to theirs? 47 And once they obtain this, they neither aim to ravage this city, nor touch the holy-places; they will even grant you everything else: your families shall be free, and your possessions enjoyed, and our consecrated laws saved. 48 It is plain madness to expect that God would show the same treatment to the righteous as to the unrighteous.

49 “But God also knows how, when it is proper, to inflict immediate vengeance. Yes, he broke the power of the Assyrians on the very first night they encamped.

50 “And for this reason, if he had judged our generation worthy of freedom, or the Romans of chastisement, he would have, in the same way as the Assyrians, immediately visited these Romans: when Pompeius intermeddled with our nation, or when after him Sossius came up against us, or when Vespasian ravaged Galilee, or lastly now, when Titus was first approaching this city. 50 Furthermore, Magnus indeed and Sossius, did not only suffer no injury, but took the city by storm, but in the same way, Vespasian went from his war against us and received a kingdom.

“And as for Titus: Indeed, the very springs which had formerly almost dried up when under your powers, flow more copiously for him than they did before. 51 Accordingly, prior to his coming, as you know, both Shiloh, and all the other springs outside the town, were falling to the extent that water was sold by the amphora. But now they flow so freely for your foes, that not only is the water sufficient for themselves and their livestock, but instead even for watering plantations. 52 Yet truly, this same portent has been formerly experienced, when the previously-mentioned Babaelian king approached with his army against us, capturing and burning both the city and the inner-sanctum, although, I believe, the Judeans of that time were not as rankly impious as you. 53 So I indeed cannot but suppose that the Deity has indeed fled from the holy-place, but has now taken his stand on the side of your foes.

54 “But in a word, there is no instance in which you actually perpetrate every day. You have indeed not disgraced the name of gods, I mean, thefts, and treacheries, and murders, nor in rapines and murders, you vie with each other in inventing new and unheard of paths of evil. But the temple itself has become the receptacle for everything, and native hands have stained that divine place, which even Romans have reverenced from the very first night they encamped.

55 “But from where did our slavery arise? But do we not know the end of Antigonos the boy of Aristoboulos, in whose reign God struck the people for their failures by the capture of this city? Indeed, when Hérode’s son of Antipatros brought upon us Sossius, but Sossius brought upon us a Roman army—now they were encompassed and besieged for six months, until, as a rightful-punishment for their sins, they were captured and the city was plundered by their foes.

56 “There is still a base of overflowing love left for you, if you are willing to accept it; and the Deity is easily reconciled to those who confess and change their minds. 57 O iron-hearted men! Cast away your full suits of armor! Take compass it on your fatherland already tottering to its fall! Turn around and behold the beauty of what you are betraying: What a town! What a temple! What countless gifts from the nations! What man would direct the flame against these things? O relentless creatures, and more stupid than stones!

59 “And if you cannot look upon these things with eyes of genuine affection, at least have pity on your families, and let every one of you set before your eyes your children, and women, and parents, who will be gradually consumed either by famine or by war.

60 “I know that I have a mother, and a wife, and a family which is by no means ignoble, and an ancient and illustrious house—all grieved by these dangers. And perhaps you think that it is solely on their account that I offer you my counsel. If that is the only reason, kill them. Not only that, but take my blood as the price of your own salvation! I too am prepared to die, if it will lead you to be of a sound mind.”

CHAPTER 78 (War5:420-449)

Even with tears, the insurgents would neither yield to my loud appeal, nor did they deem it safe to alter their course. But as for the populace, they were incited to desert to the Romans. 2 And indeed, for a trifling sum, some of them sold their entire property, but others their most precious treasures. Indeed the gold received from these transactions, they swallowed, in order to prevent them from being discovered by the brigands. So once they had escaped to the Romans, they would excrete, and have ample supplies for whatever they needed. 3 For Titus dismissed the majority of the civilians into the country, to wherever they pleased; and this fact induced even more civilians to desert, as they would indeed be relieved from the miseries within the city, but not be enslaved by the Romans. 4 However, the parties of Johanan and Simon kept a sharper watch on the egress of these refugees than they did on the ingress of the Romans. And anyone who afforded even a shadow of suspicion was slaughtered straightforward.

5 Yet truly, equal destruction was in store for the prosperous ones who remained in the city; for under Simeon, and other individuals were done away with by the brigands for the sake of their property. But the insurgents’ recklessness augmented with the famine, and both of these terrors became more furiously inflamed with each successive day. 6 For indeed, grain was nowhere to
be seen, but the brigands would rush in to search the houses; indeed, if they found any, they tormented the owners as having purposely denied having any in their possession; but if they found none, they tortured them supposing that they had more carefully concealed it. 7 Now the bodies of these miserable wretches indicated whether they had any grain or not. Indeed, those found still prospering were presumed not to be in lack of food; but those found wasted away were passed over, and they thought it senseless to kill those who would soon die of starvation.

8 But many stealthily barred their possessions for a single measure: indeed of wheat, if they were rich; but of barley, if they were poor. Then shutting themselves up in the most remote recesses of their houses, some indeed at the peak of hunger devoured the grain, but others baked it as both necessity and terror dictated. 9 And indeed, nowhere was any table laid; but they snatched the bread half-baked, and threw the fire in order to hastily consume it.

10 But pitiful was the nourishment, and the sight worthy of bringing tears to the eyes—indeed, how the stronger seized more than their share, but how the weak were lamenting. Indeed, a famine overpowers all the emotions, and there is nothing that it destroys more in this way than modesty; for what was otherwise worthy of respect, it reduces into an object of contempt. 11 Accordingly, women would snatch the very morsels from their husbands, boys from their fathers, and (the most pitiable sight of all) mothers from the very mouths of their infants. And while the ones dearest to them were pining in their arms, they were not ashamed to rob them of the very drops which might preserve their lives.

12 But not even while eating in this manner did they escape detection. But everywhere the insurgents hovered, even over these wretches’ prey. 13 For any house they spotted which was shut-up was a signal that those within had food in their possession. But straightway breaking open the doors, they leaped in and forced the morsels they were eating almost up out of their very throats. 14 Now old men, clutching their morsels, were beaten. And women, concealing food in their hands, were dragged by the hair. There was no compassion for gray-hairs or infancy; instead, boys were actually lifted up from the ground together with the morsels they clung to and were dashed to the ground.

15 Now there were those who had anticipated the insurgents’ raid and swallowed down their expected spoil before they arrived; to these, the insurgents were most brutal, as if they had been defrauded of their right. 16 But terrifying they were, the methods to which they invented in their search for food, indeed, blocking their victim’s genital passages with pulse, and poking the anus with sharp rods. But one would even shudder at the mere recital of the pangs to which their victims were subjected to make them confess to the possession of a single loaf of bread and to reveal the hiding-place of a handful of barley-meal. 17 But these torturers committed these acts when they themselves were not even famished; for it would have been less cruel if they had been forced to it by necessity. But they were practicing their recklessness and preparing beforehand travel-supplies for themselves against the days to come.

18 Now if any one crept out to the Roman guards under the cover of night to gather wild herbs and grass, the insurgents would go to meet them. And at the moment when these people imagined themselves to have escaped their foes, the insurgents would snatch from them whatever they had procured. 19 And often their victims implored them, even invoking the awesome name of God, to return them a portion of what they had, at their own danger, obtained. But the insurgents would not give them a crumb. But when caught, they were forced to defend themselves from fear of punishment: 1 and after a battle, they thought that it was too late to make any supplications for mercy. So before their death, they were whipped and tortured with every sort of torment, and then were crucified before the wall.

19 Therefore Titus indeed found their fate pitiable, while each day 500, but sometimes even more Judeans, were captured; but he recognized that it was not safe to dismiss those who were captured by force, and that to place such large numbers under guard would render their guardsmen useless in other affairs. Yet truly, his main reason for not stopping the crucifixions was this: he hoped that the spectacle would perhaps induce the Judeans to give in, lest they suffer a similar treatment. 6 But the soldiers, out of anger and hatred, amused themselves by nailing their prisoners in different positions. And so great was their number, that space could not be found both for the crosses, and crosses for the bodies.

20 But the insurgents were far from relenting at the sight of these sufferings, and they deputed the remaining multitude by deceiving false motives for the crucified victims. 8 For they dragged to the wall relatives of those who had deserted, together with any of the populace who were motivated to accept the assurances from the Romans, and displayed to them the destiny of those who had fled to the Romans for refuge. And the insurgents also falsely asserted that the captured victims were not captives at all, but were supplicants. 9 Until the truth became known, this sight restrained many of those within the city who were eager to desert. But some of them also instantly fled, as to certain retribution, esteeming a death by their foes to be rest in comparison with that by a famine.

21 Now Titus also directed to cut off the hands of several of the prisoners, so that they might not be mistaken for deserters and that their calamity might add credibility to their statements. Then he sent them in to Simon and Johanan with the following exhortation: that they would now at least pause, and not compel him to do away with the city, but by a change-of-purpose at the last hour, to preserve both their own souls, along with their magnificent fatherland, and an inner-sanctum, except for the Romans, were captured; but he recognized that it was not safe to dismiss those who were captured by force, and that to place such large numbers under guard would render their guardsmen useless in other affairs. Yet truly, his main reason for not stopping the crucifixions was this: he hoped that the spectacle would perhaps induce the Judeans to give in, lest they suffer a similar treatment. 6 But the soldiers, out of anger and hatred, amused themselves by nailing their prisoners in different positions. And so great was their number, that space could not be found both for the crosses, and crosses for the bodies.

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23 Never was there a city which suffered such miseries; not since the beginning of the world, has an age bred a race more prolific in evil. 24 Yet they finally even debased the race of the Hebrews, making themselves seem less impious toward foreigners. But they confessed what was true, what they were: slaves, and rabble, and bastard scums of the nation.

25 Yet indeed, they themselves overthrew the city, but compelled the Romans to register a melancholy triumph, and attracted everything to the inner-sanctum, except for the tardy flames.

CHAPTER 79 [War5:436–490]
Now Titus’ earthworks had indeed progressed, despite that his soldiers had been much distressd from the wall. But he sent a detachment of cavalry with directions to lie in wait for anyone who went out into the ravines in search of food. 2 Now these escapees also included some of the combatants, who were no longer satisfied with their plunder; but the majority were the poorer of the populace, who were deterred from deserting by anxiety for their families; 3 for they could not hope to elude the insurgents if they attempted to escape with their women and little-ones, and they could not endure to leave them to be slaughtered by the brigands on their behalf. 4 But the severity of the famine emboldened them to undertake these excursions to leave the city; and if they escaped from the city unobserved from the brigands, nothing remained for them but to be taken prisoners by their foes. But when caught, they were forced to defend themselves from fear of punishment: 1 and after a battle, they thought that it was too late to make any supplications for mercy. So before their death, they were whipped and tortured with every sort of torment, and then were crucified before the wall.

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11 In answer to his message, the Judeans retorted from the walls by casting reproaches upon Caesar himself, as well as his father. And they cried out, “We indeed scorn death (for we honorably prefer it to slavery); but we will cause the Romans all the damage we can while we are still able to breathe. But since you have declared to us that we are going to be destroyed, we have no concern for our fatherland, and the world itself is a better inner-sanctum for God than this one. 13 Yet truly, this inner-sanctum will be saved by Him who dwells within it; and while we have him for our ally, we will deride every one of your threats which are all unsupported by actions. For the outcome of this issue rests with God.”

This was what they shouted, interspersed with reproaches.

14 Now Antiochus the Illustrious also appeared on the scene. With him were a considerable number of other heavy-armed soldiers, and a body of men called the ‘Makedonians’. They were all the same age, tall, newly emerged from adolescence, and both armed and disciplined in the Makedonian fashion, from which circumstance they also took their name. Yet, most of them lacked any claim to belong to that race. 15 For of all the kings owning allegiance to the Romans, the king of Kummuhu prospered more than any of them, before he experienced a 1 some add 2 literally “opposite/contrary”
reverse. But that man shone-forth in old age how one ought to be saying that no-
one is happy before his death. (Sirach 11:28) 16 Yet instead, the father’s fortunes were at their zenith at the time when his boy arrived, who expressed his surprise that a Roman army should shrink back from attacking the wall. Now he was something of a warrior himself who was naturally adventurous, and was also so robust that his daring seldom failed. 17 But Titus said to them—it is the time to rally—yet, while the Judeans were at their zenith at the time when his boy arrived, who expressed his surprise that a Roman army should shrink back from attacking the wall. Now he was something of a warrior himself who was naturally adventurous, and was also so robust that his daring seldom failed.

18 Therefore, indeed, his own strength and skill enabled him to avoid the Judean projectiles, while shooting his own arrows at them. But his stripings, with few exceptions, were all overpowerer. For, out of respect for the undertaking, they emulously maintained the fighting. 19 And in the end, they withdrew, but not until there were many wounded-men, perceiving that even genuine Macedonians, if they are to conquer, must also have Alexandros’ good fortune. 20 Now the Romans had begun to raise their earthworks on the 12th day of the month Artemisios. And after seventeen days of continuous toil, they were scarcely completed on the twenty-ninth day of the same month. 21 For the four embankments were immense. And indeed, the one at Antonia was raised up by the fifth legion facing the middle of a swimming-pool which is being called Stroution. But another was raised up by the twelfth legion about 20 cubits away from the first. 22 But at a considerable distance from these, the works of the tenth legion were in the northern region and facing the Almond-Tree Swimming-Pool. But 30 cubits from them, the fifteenth legion was at work opposite the chief-priest’s memorial.

23 But now, while the machines were being brought up, indeed Johanan from within the city had undermined the ground from Antonia as far as the earthworks themselves, and had supported the ground above the underground-passages with stakes; indeed, the Roman works were left having also introduced timber besmeared with pitch and bitumen, they touched them with fire. 24 And as the stakes were burned from below, the passage collapsed in a heap; and with a tremendous crash, the earthworks fell into the trench. 25 Therefore indeed, at first, as the fire was choked by the fall of the debris, dense volumes of smoke arose with clouds of dust; but as the suffocating materials were gradually eaten away, a vivid flame burst forth. 26 And at this sudden catastrophe, consternation seized on the Romans, more than the Judeans, whereas under a mass attack, the Judeans would be powerless to resist their approach; for they would be overwhelmed by their projectiles. 27 But of those who were more cautious: indeed, some were of the opinion that the earthworks should be reconstructed, while others even advised that they should dispense with these earthworks and resort to a blockade, both guarding against the egress of the besieged Judeans, as well as preventing the introduction of fresh supplies, and thereby leaving the city to the famine, but avoiding direct conflict with their foes. 28 For there was no contending with desperate men whose prayer was to indeed fall by the iron sword, while an even more terrible misery was reserved for them.

4 But Titus indeed thought it unkindly to remain totally inactive with such a large force, and thought that it was in vain to contend with men who would soon destroy one another. 5 But he pointed out the extreme difficulty of throwing up more earthworks with a lack of materials, as well as the ever greater difficulty of guarding against Judean sallies. “For to also encompass the entire city with soldiers will, by reason of its magnitude and the obstacles presented by the terrain, be no easy matter, but will expose us to enemy attacks. 6 Now although we might guard the city’s obvious outlets, yet, the Judeans, born from both necessity and their experience of the locality, will contrive secret routes; but if any supplies are stealthily snuggled in, the siege will be still further protracted.”

7 Titus was also anxious that the glory of success would be diminished by the delay, “for, indeed, time can accomplish everything, but rapidity is essential to the opinion of the crowd; truly, if we wish to convince the public of our valor, it is required to build a wall around the entire city. For it is in this manner alone that every exit can be blocked. Then the Judeans will either, in utter despair of salvation, surrender up the city; or, wasted by the famine, fall an easy prey. 9 For I myself will not remain altogether inactive; instead, once those who are hindering me are made weaker, I will also turn my attention to raising the earthworks. 10 But if anyone thinks that such a work is too great to finish without much difficulty, he should consider that it is not fit for Romans to undertake any small work, and that there is no great thing which is easy to accomplish.”

10 Having convinced his leaders with these arguments, Titus directed them to distribute the work among the forces. Now at this, the soldiers were seized with a type of demonic fury; and when the work on the enclosure was distributed among them, not only did the legions strive with one another, 11 but instead so did their component companies. And indeed each soldier was ambitious 1 to please his decurion, but each decurion his centurion, but he his tribune. But the ambition of the tribunes extended to the leaders. And in the rivalry between the leaders, Caesar himself was arbiter; for he himself frequently went around every day to oversee the work.

12 Now beginning at the Assyrian camp, where he himself was encamped, he drew the wall toward the lower region of the new city. From there it went across

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1 literally “love-of-honesty”
2 literally “love-of-honor”

CHAPTER 80 [War:5:491-526]

Now Titus took counsel with his leaders. And indeed, the more hot-tempered were of the opinion that he should bring up his entire force and storm the wall; for therefore the multitude of the enemy’s machines was nothing to the weakness of the Judeans; whereas under a mass attack, the Judeans would be powerless to resist their approach; for they would be overwhelmed by their projectiles. 2 But of those who were more cautious: indeed, some were of the opinion that the earthworks should be reconstructed, while others even advised that they should dispense with these earthworks and resort to a blockade, both guarding against the egress of the besieged Judeans, as well as preventing the introduction of fresh supplies, and thereby leaving the city to the famine, but avoiding direct conflict with their foes; 3 for there was no contending with desperate men whose prayer was to indeed fall by the iron sword, while an even more terrible misery was reserved for them.

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the Kidron to the Mount of Olives. 13 Then, bending down to the south, he enclosed the mountain as far as Peristerōnos Rock (which means, Dovecote Rock), together with the adjoining ridge which overhangs the Shiloh Ravine. From there, it inclined westwards, descending into the Ravine of the Fountain. 14 Beyond this ravine, it ascended, facing the memorial of the chief-priest Hanan. And cutting across the mountain where Pompeius had formerly encamped, it turned northwards, and proceeded as far as a village called ‘House of Pulse’. And after passing this village, it encompassed Herōd’s memorial, and then joined the east side of Titus’ own encampment from where it began. 16 Therefore indeed, the length of the wall was 39 stadia. But attached to its outer side were thirteen fortresses, and whose united circumferences amounted to ten stadia. 17 Now the entire project was completed in three days; indeed, it would naturally have required months, but was done with such speed that it was incredible.

18 Now when Titus enclosed the city with this wall and posted a garrison in the fortresses, he found the wall rising almost straight in order to look-over everything. But the second watch he entrusted to Alexandrinos. But for the third, the leaders of the legion cast-lots. 19 Now the guards had their allotted hours of slumber, and all night long patrolled the intervals between the fortresses.

20 But every hope of salvation was cut off from the Judeans, along with all egress from the city. And the famine, deepening itself, devoured the populace by degrees; for the Romans amounted to ten stadia. 21 And indeed, the walls were striped bare of their short supplies; there was neither lamentation nor wailing; instead, the narrow alleys were congested with the corpses of the aged. But little-ones and youth, with figures swollen with the famine, roamed like apparitions through the marketplaces, collapsing wherever their calamity overtook them. 22 But the sick did not even have the strength to bury them, while those who were still left with vigor, were deterred from doing it both by the great multitude of the corpses, and by the uncertainty of their own fate. Accordingly, many died after burying others, but many went forth to their tombs even with their intended time having come. But among the Romans, there was neither lamentation nor waiting; instead, the famine stifled the emotions; but with dry eyes and mouths opened with clenched teeth, those slowly dying victims looked upon those who had gone to rest before them.

Now the city, wrapped in deep silence, and night, laden with death, was in the grip of a foe even more difficult to deal with: the brigands. 24 Accordingly, they broke open graves, which were no more than the houses, to strip the corpses; and stripping bare the veils over their bodies, they departed with laughter. They also tested the points of their short-swords on the carcasses; and in order to try the temper of the iron, they ran them through some of those who still lay alive upon the ground. 25 But as for those who implored them to lend them their right hand and their short-sword to dispatch them, they disdainfully left to the mercy of the famine. And each victim expired with his eyes fixed upon the inner-sanctum, averted from the insurgents whom he left alive.

26 Now indeed at first, the insurgents had ordered the corpses to be buried at the public expense, finding the stench intolerable; but afterwards, when incapable of continuing this procedure, they flung them down from the walls into the ravines. 27 Now when Titus was making his rounds, he beheld these valleys filled with the corpses, and the thick dripping ichor oozing from under the bodies. He both groaned, and lifting up his hands, called God to testify on his behalf that this was the fruit that I reap of my blessed childbirth, that I am even denied being granted the honor of being allowed to see the land of my fathers. 28 Therefore indeed, after the fourth hour, he sent throughout the city a proclamation forbidding any citizen to convene or to congregate in one spot for the purpose of providing the soldiers with news or for fear of treason. And without examination, they did away with anyone taking part in joint lamentation over these men.

29 A spectator of these scenes was Judah son of Judah, one of Simon’s subordinates—chiefs, who had been entrusted by him with the guarding of one of the towers. Indeed, perhaps even partly out of pity for those who were destroyed in this cruel manner, but more out of foresight for himself, he called together ten of the men under him, those who were most faithful to him, declaring, “How long are we going to tolerate these evils? Or what hopes do we have of salvation if we keep faith with this wicked man? Indeed, is not the famine already upon us? But is not the Roman army all but a little within the city? But has not Simon become treacherous even to his benefactors? And do we not have reason to be terrified that he will soon chastise us, while a Roman right hand can be trusted? 31 Come on, let us surrender the wall in order to save ourselves and the city! But Simon will not suffer anything terrible if, despairing of his life, he is brought to justice more quickly.”

32 The ten assented to these proposals. So early the next morning, he dispatched the rest of the men under his command in various directions, in order to prevent what they had taken counsel about from being discovered. But about the third hour, he called to the Romans from the tower.

33 Now indeed, some of them pridefully disdained him, but others were incredulous; but the majority shrank back from interfering, believing that they would take possession of the city in a short time without any danger. 34 But when Titus was preparing to advance to the wall with a body of heavy-armed soldiers, Simon was informed of this prior to his arrival. And he both made his sallies from further without the wall in advance, and arresting these men, did away with them in full view of the Romans; and after mutilating their bodies, threw them over the wall.

35 And I, Joseph, (for I was unremitting in my exhortations) while making my rounds, was struck on the head with a stone and instantly dropped to the ground unconscious. Now the Judeans made a silly for my carcass. And I would have been dragged into the city, had not Caesar promptly dispatched men to cover me with their shields. 36 But as these men were fighting, I was indeed borne away, barely conscious of what was happening. Now the insurgents, supposing that they had done away with the man for whom they desired to have the most, shouted with delight. 37 Now a message concerning this accident was sent throughout the city, and the remaining multitude was deeply dejected, convinced that the man who gave them good-courage to desert had really died.

38 But when my mother heard in prison that her son was dead, she remarked to the guards, “Indeed, since Judah I was sure of it. For I had no joy of him even while he was alive.” 39 But in private lamentation to her handmaids, she said, “This is the fruit that I reap of my blessed childbirth, that I am even denied being able to bury the son, by whom I hoped to have been buried.”

CHAPTER 81  [War 6:527-572]

Accordingly, Simon did not even permit Matthijah, by whose means he possessed the city, to be done away with without being tortured. This Matthijah was the boy of Boéthos, and one of the chief-priests, who had gained great faithfulness and
20 But even those were saved in this manner, were later overtaken by another catastrophe. For among the Syrian ranks, a certain refugee was discovered picking gold out of the excrements of his belly. Now prior to their departure, they had swallowed these pieces, because each one was searched by the insurgents; and gold was in such great quantity within the city. Accordingly, they could purchase for 12 Attic drachmas what was formerly worth 25. 25 Instead, when this artifice was detected in one instance, it was indeed declared throughout the encampments that the deserters had come to them full of gold. Now the Arabian multitude, along with the Syrians, proceeded to cut open the suppliants in order to search their bellies. 26 Accordingly, this cruel calamity resulted in no less than 2,000 Judeans being ripped up in a single night.

27 And when Titus learned of this transgression, he indeed almost nearly ordered that all the criminals and deserters be shot down with javelins. He was restrained from doing so because of the great number implicated, and since those required to be punished far outnumbered those whom they had done away with. 28 But he summoned the leaders of both the auxiliaries and of the legions (for some of his own soldiers had even been involved in the charge). Addressing both groups with great indignation, he said to them, 29 “Why indeed should any of the soldiers in my service be guilty of acts such as these for the sake of uncertain gain, in which they are being ashamed of their own weapons, which are made of both silver and gold?”

30 But he expressed his wrath toward the Arabians and Syrians, first saying, “In a foreign war do you indeed give unrestrained license to your passions as you please?” Then, since some of his very own soldiers also shared their infamy, he said, “Should you induce Romans to lend their name to your own murderous brutality and hatred of the Judeans?”

31 Therefore, Titus indeed threatened these foreigners with death, should any be discovered to be so insolent as to repeat the crime. But he instructed his legionaries to search for suspected offenders and to have them brought up to him. 32 But love-of-money defies all fear of chastisement, and a terrible passionate-desire for gain is implanted within humans, no other passion being so headstrong as greed. 33 But it was God himself who had condemned the whole people, and who turned every avenue of salvation to their destruction. 34 Accordingly, what Caesar had prohibited with threats, men still furiously ventured to practice, and these deserters, in order to escape these zealots, in order to escape the Judean fugitives before the Roman soldiers caught sight of their flight, would slaughter them; but then, looking around to make sure that no Roman eye was upon them, they would rip them up in order to extract the filthy gain from their bowels. 35 But the money was only found in a few of the Judeans, and the bare hope of finding any of it at all, caused the wanton destruction of most of the fugitives. Indeed, this calamity drove many of the Judean deserters back into the city.

36 But as for Johanan, when he could no longer plunder the populace, he had recourse to sacrilege, and he melted down many of the offerings which had been given to the inner-sanctum, but also many of the vessels necessary for the public-services, including bowls and plates and tables. But he did not even abstain from the vessels for pure wine which had been sent by the August-One and his wife. 37 Yet indeed, the Roman kings always both honored and added embellishment to this temple, but this Judean man pulled down even the donations of foreigners, 38 but said to his companions, “It is proper for us to have no terror of using divine things while fighting on the Deity’s behalf. And those who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner-sanctum should be supported by it.”

39 Johanan drew every drop of the consecrated wine and the olive-oil, which the priests kept for pouring on the holocausts but which stood in the inner temple; he distributed it to the multitude who, without shame or shuddering, were oiling themselves and drinking from them. 40 For these deeds testified to the production of a generation no less impious than those victims who were swallowed down by the chasm, or those who were swept away by a flood, or those who were struck by thunderbolts in Sodom. Accordingly, the madness of these men caused the entire people to be destroyed together with them.

40 In these very days, Manneos son of Lazar, sought refuge with Titus, saying that between the fourteenth day of the month Xanthikos (when the Romans encamped beside their walls), and the first day of the month Panemos, that no less than 115,880 corpores had been carried out through the single gate which had been entrusted to him. 41 But all of these had been of the poorer multitude. And this man undertook this charge himself, instead, being responsible for the payment of public funds, he was obligated to number the corpores. Now the remainder were buried by their relatives, but burial consisted merely of bringing them forth and tossing them out of the town.

42 Now this refugee was followed by many distinguished men, who reported that the corpses of the poor who had been thrown out through the gates amounted to a total of 600,000. But of the rest, it was impossible to discover the number.

43 Now they also said, “When we were no longer able to carry-out the destitute persons, we piled up the carcasses together into the largest houses, shutting them up within. 44 And indeed, a measure of grain had been sold for a talent. And later, when it was no longer possible to gather herbs because walls were built completely around the city, some were reduced to such terrible distress that they searched the sewers and old dunghills of cattle, eating the refuse from them. So what once would have disgusted them merely to look at, now became food.”

45 Indeed, when the Romans heard about these things, they pitted them. But the insurgents, who even saw these things, did not change their minds; instead they were content to advance to these extremes. For they were castrated by necessity, which was already coming both upon the city, as well as upon themselves.

CHAPTER 82 [War6:1~32]

Therefore, the sufferings of Jerusalem indeed grew worse and worse with each day. But the insurgents were even further provoked by the calamities which they were under. And the famine extended its ravages from the populace to themselves. 2 Yet truly, the multitude of carcasses which lay in heaps throughout the city presented both a horrible spectacle and emitted a pestilential stench, which were an impediment to the combatants who would make assaults out of the city. For like men innured to countless murder in a pitched-battle, they were compelled to trample over the bodies as they marched along. 3 But they set foot on them without a shudder, without pity, nor a thought that this outrage to the gods brought to the brigands were of long duration. For instead, neither the distress occasioned by this false report, nor the renewed exhortations to the populace to accept the offer of surrender were in any way able to change the minds of the Judeans, nor did they cease to continually cast reproach on the Deity and his people for their perfidy.

4 But at that very instant, a certain refugee was discovered among the Syrian ranks, who was serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 5 who is serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 6 who is serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 7 who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 8 who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 9 who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 10 who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 11 who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 12 who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 13 who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 14 who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 15 who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 16 who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 17 who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 18 who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 19 who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 20 who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 21 who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 22 who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 23 who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 24 who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 25 who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 26 who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 27 who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 28 who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 29 who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 30 who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 31 who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple; 32 who are serving in the army for the sake of the inner sanctum, but which stood in the inner temple;
holding the right hand of fortune, who were impelled to valor by their very miseries? Therefore indeed, for these reasons, the Romans kept a stronger guard upon the earthworks.

15 Now Johanan’s party within Antónia also took precautions for the future, in the event that the wall should be thrown down, and they set to work before the rams were brought up. 16 Yet, they truly did not succeed in their endeavor; instead, having advanced with torches, they returned colder than their hope, even before they had approached the earthworks. 17 For indeed, in the first place, there seemed to be no unanimity in their design. They dashed out in small parties at intervals, and hesitatingly under anxiety, and not like a Judean. For they had lacked the characteristics of our nation: daring, and passion, and the full simultaneous charge, and the refusal to retreat even when worsted. 18 But their own advance was abnormally relaxed, and they found the Romans drawn up in stouter array than usual. 19 Yet indeed, the Romans screened the earthworks with their bodies and full suits of armor on all sides, leaving no loophole for firebrands from any quarter at all; but each Roman soul was braced to death rather than to the desertion his post. 20 For if these works were also incinerated, not only would all their hopes be cut off, but the soldiers felt that it would be a dire disgrace that subtlety should indeed triumph over excellence, but desperation over weapons, but great numbers over experience, but Judeans over Romans.

21 Now the Roman artillery rendered assistance, reaching the sallying Judean parties with their missiles; and each enemy who fell became an obstacle to the man at his rear; the danger of advancing also dampened their eager spirit. 22 But some of the Judeans who indeed managed to penetrate beyond the reach of these projectiles, were struck with astonishment by the good-arrangement and serried ranks of their foes, while others did not run back again until they were poked by the points of the pikes. And finally, reproaching each other for their timidity, they withdrew, unsuccessful. This attempt upon them took place on the first day of the month Panémos.

23 Now once the Judeans had retreated, the Romans brought up the city-destroyers, while having both rocks and fire thrown at them from Antónia, along with iron arrows and every species of projectile which necessity had supplied the Judeans with. 24 For although these Judeans had both confident reliance on their wall, as well as contempt of the Roman weapons, yet they strove to prove the Romans from bringing them up.

25 Now the Romans surmised that the urgency of the Judeans to save Antónia from being struck arose from some weakness in the wall. So hoping that the foundations were rotten, they became lovers-of-strife. 26 Truly, the tower resisted the battering. Instead, the Romans, indeed under incessant missile fire, and undeterred by the dangers to which they were exposed from above, brought the city-destroyers effectively into action.

27 But they were at a disadvantage and crushed by the rocks thrown down upon them. So another party locked their oblond-shields over their bodies; and using their hands and crowbars, started undermining the foundations, and with perseverance, succeeded in dislodging four of its stones.

28 Now night suspended the labors of the combatants on both sides. And in the course of the night, the wall, having been so shaken by the rams and followed by the collapse of the passage, suddenly fell to the ground at the point where Johanan, in his previous designs against the former earthworks, had undermined it.

29 This incident had unexpected effects on the minds of both parties. 30 For indeed, the Judeans not having been prepared for this catastrophe, had taken no precautions to meet it, and they were quite confident indeed, the Judeans not having been prepared for this catastrophe, had taken no precautions to meet it, and they were quite confident. 31 But yet, the Roman’s unexpected joy at the downfall of the wall was extinguished by the appearance of another wall which Johanan’s party had built within it.

32 Yet truly, the assault of this second one looked easier than that of the first. For the ascent would yet be facilitated by the débris which had fallen down. And they imagined that the second wall was both far weaker than that of Antónia, and that, being a temporary structure, it would be quickly demolished. Truly, none ventured to mount up to this wall, for foreseen destruction awaited the first assailants.

CHAPTER 83 [War6:33–53]

Now Titus, believing that the willingness of soldiers to wage war is best roused by hope and words, that both exhortations and promises often indeed make men forgetful of danger but sometimes even scornful of death, summoned the most stalwart of his soldiers together and tried these methods upon his men.

2 He said, ‘O Fellow-soldiers, indeed, to make an exhortation inciting men to do what involves no danger is to cast a direct slur on the persons addressed, while it even convicts the man who makes the exhortation of his own unwomanliness. 3 Now, in my opinion, exhortation is needed only for dangerous affairs, yet in other circumstances men are to be expected to act of their own accord.

4 “So indeed, I myself grant you at the outset, that the scaling of this wall is a difficult task. But for those who desire excellence, it is proper for them to fight with difficulties; and it is beautiful to come to your end with renown, and the nobility of those who lead the way will not be fruitless. On these points I want to dwell.

5 “Therefore indeed, in the first place, let what I have said be an incentive to you, instead of what some might think to be a deterrent; I mean, the long- suffering of the Judeans (which in truth would be shameful to you, who are both Romans and my own soldiers, and who in peace have indeed been trained for war, but who in war are accustomed to conquer, to be inferior to the Judeans, either in hand or soul; and especially when the final victory is in sight, and God himself is cooperating with us.

6 “For our reverses are due to the desperation of the Judeans, while their sufferings are due to both your excellent exploits and God’s increasing anxiety, and not like a Judean. For indeed, in the first place, there seemed to be no unanimity in their decisions; 7 But they were at a disadvantage and crushed by the rocks thrown down. Instead, the foundations were rotten, they became lovers of strifes. 8 For although these Judeans had retreated, the Romans brought up the city-destroyers, while having both rocks and fire thrown at them from Antónia, along with iron arrows and every species of projectile which necessity had supplied the Judeans with. 9 For as for myself, I shall indeed, on this occasion, refrain from making a laudation of those who come to their end in a war, and omit to speak of the immortality reserved for those who fall in the midst of battle. But for anyone who thinks otherwise, I cannot desist from imputing that they may come to death in peace by sickness, since their bodies and souls are condemned together to the grave.

10 “For what good man does not indeed know that souls released from the flesh by an iron weapon in a pitched-battle are hospitably welcomed by the ether, that purest of elements, and placed among the stars; but that, as good demons and gracious heroes, they manifest their presence in the posterity? While souls which pine away in bodies wasted by sickness, 11 but that you (who have taken possession of almost every land and sea, to whom not to have a victory over is a disgrace), should never once venture into our foes’ ranks, 12 but sitting idle with weapons such as these, wait for the famine and the fortune to bring them down; and this, while, with this little hazard, we have it in our power to achieve everything.

13 “Yes, once Antónia is mounted, the city is ours. For even if any further battle awaits us against those within (which I do not expect, since your position shall be above their heads, and you shall be able to sit upon our foes before they can recover their breath), this would ensure a complete and sudden victory.

14 “And as for myself, I shall indeed, on this occasion, refrain from making a laudation of those who come to their end in a war, and omit to speak of the immortality reserved for those who fall in the midst of battle. But for anyone who thinks otherwise, I cannot desist from imputing that they may come to death in peace by sickness, since their bodies and souls are condemned together to the grave.

15 “For what good man does not indeed know that souls released from the flesh by an iron weapon in a pitched-battle are hospitably welcomed by the ether, that purest of elements, and placed among the stars; but that, as good demons and gracious heroes, they manifest their presence in the posterity? While souls which pine away in bodies wasted by sickness, 16 but however pure they may be from stain or pollution, are obliterated in subterranean night and pass into deep oblivion— both their life, and their bodies, but still their memory, brought simultaneously to a close? 17 But if indeed humans are spun to an inevitable end, but if an iron weapon ministers it more gently than any sickness, surely it is ignoble to refuse to yield up to public service what we must surrender to necessity? 18 “And this is indeed what I have spoken under the assumption that anyone who may attempt this feat will not be saved in the attempt. But those who act like that they have a chance to save themselves even through the most perilous undertakings. 19 For indeed, in the first place, the demolished wall will be easy to ascend; then, everything which has been built up will be easy to overthrow.

20 “Now all of you, summon courage for this task, and with growing numbers, give encouragement and aid to one another. So do this and your determination will soon break the minds of your foes. 21 And perhaps you may find your undertaking bloodless, if only you begin. For indeed, they will in all probability endeavor to hinder your ascent; but if you are unperceived and finally force a way through, their resistance may still break down, even if but a handful of you elude them.

22 “Now as for the man who leads the assault, I would be ashamed if I did not make him an enviable man through his awards. And indeed, the survivor shall be chief over those who are now but his equals; 23 but the best-rewards of happiness shall even follow the fallen to the grave.”

CHAPTER 84 [War6:54–92]

Following Titus’ discourse, the multitude was indeed overall deterred by the gravity of the danger. But among the soldiers serving in the cohorts was a man named Sabinus, a Syrian by race, and who showed himself to be the bravest of men both in hand and soul. 2 Furthermore, anyone seeing him prior to that day,
yet judging him from his bodily appearance, would not have thought him fit to be a soldier. For indeed, his skin was black, lean, his flesh gaunt; instead, within that slender body, far too narrow for its native prowess, dwelt a heroic soul.

3 Accordingly, he was the first to rise up, declaring, “Caesar, I gladly offer myself up to you.” 4 I am the first to scale the wall. And indeed I am praying that both my strength and my resolution may be attested by your good fortune. But should some nemesis grudge me of my intent, know that my failure will not somehow in reverse me. But in this I do not wish to be distinguished both in my courage of soul, and in prowess of body and desperate-courage of soul. 5 And having spoken this, he extended his oblong-shield over his head with his left hand, but with his right hand, drew his short-sword, advancing toward the wall, almost exactly at the sixth hour of the day. 6 Now he was also followed by eleven others, who alone were found to emulate his manliness. But this principal man, possessed by some demon, far outstripped them all.

7 Now from the wall, the guards both shot them down with javelins and threw projectiles at them from all sides, and rolled down on immense rocks which swept away some of the eleven. 8 But as for Sabinus himself, he faced the projectiles; and though overwhelmed by them, he never slackened his pace until he had both reached the summit and routed his foes. 9 For the Judeans, dumbfounded at both his strength and the bravery of his soul, but also imagining that more had ascended than what really had, turned and fled.

10 Accordingly, at the moment when Sabinus had attained his goal, he slipped; and stumbling over a large rock, he fell headlong upon it with a tremendous crash. But the Judeans, turning and seeing him both alone and strewn out on the ground, threw missiles at him from all sides. 11 But accordingly, rising upon his knee and screening himself with his oblong-shield, he indeed kept them at bay for awhile and wounded many of those who approached him. 12 But soon, burdened by a multitude of wounds, his hand was paralyzed. And in the end, before releasing his soul, he was buried under the ruins.

13 Now two days later, twenty of the guards on outpost duty at the earthworks came together; indeed, they enlisted the services of the standard-bearer of the fifth legion, along with two soldiers from the swarms of cavalry and one trumpeter. But at the ninth hour of the night, they indeed advanced noiselessly over the ruins toward Antōnia. Now the first guards whom they encountered were asleep; and indeed, a cry of terror for the man went up from the Romans. Now Caesar was terribly moved at the fall of a man so virtuous, and who like any other soldier, he wore shoes thickly studded with sharp nails. And while running across the pavement, he slipped, falling on his back. But the loud clash of his full suit of armor as he fell, caused the Judean fugitives to turn back.

14 Now he indeed marred many iron weapons with his oblong-shield. But many times, while trying to raise himself up, he was thrown back by the multitude of the strikes. And though he was prostrate, nevertheless, many were poked by his short-sword. 15 For being protected in every vital part by both helmet and breastplate, with as many shields as he had, he was not quickly slaughtered. In the end, when all his other limbs were hacked and no comrade ventured to his aid, he succumbed.

16 Now Caesar was terribly moved at the fall of a man so virtuous, and who was murdered in the sight of so many witnesses. And indeed, though he wanted to personally come to his assistance, he was forbade by his own situation, while those who could have done so were withheld by consternation. 17 Therefore, this was indeed how Julianus, after a hard struggle with death and letting but a few of those who killed him go unscathed, was slaughtered, but not without difficulty. And he left behind him the highest reputation, not only with the Romans and Caesar, instead even with his foes. 18 Now after also snatching up his corpse, the Judeans again routed the Romans and shut them up within Antōnia.

19 Now on the Judean side, those who most distinguished themselves in this battle were the following:

Indeed, in Johanan’s legion: Alexas and Gepheus. But in Simon’s party: both Malachijah, and Judah son of Merton; and Jacob son of Sosa, leader of the Edomites. But of the Zealots: two brothers, both Simon and Judah, boys of Ari.

CHAPTER 85

Now Titus indeed ordered the soldiers who were with him to dig up the foundations of Antōnia and to prepare an easy ascent for the whole force to come up. 2 Now on that day, the seventeenth of Panémos, he was informed that, due to a lack of men, the perpetual sacrifice had ceased being offered to God, and that in consequence, the populace was terribly despondent. So he put me forward with directions to repeat to Johanan exactly what I had even said before, “that if he is occupied by a malicious passionate-desire for battle, he is allowed to come out with as many men as he chooses to wage war, without involving both the city and the inner-sanctum in his own destruction. However, that he should no longer pollute the holy-place, nor offend God; but that he has my permission to perform the discontinued sacrifices with the help of any Judeans whom he selects.”

4 So I went and stood at a place where my words were able to reach, not only the ears of Johanan, but instead also those of the entire multitude. I proclaimed both Caesar’s message to them in Hebrew, 5 as well as earnest appeals to spare the fatherland, and to disperse the fire which was already tasting the inner-sanctum, and to restore to God the expiatory-sacrifices.

6 Indeed, the populace received my words with dejection and silence. But the tyrant Johanan, after both uttering many reproaches and cursing me, concluded by adding, “I was never terrified of capture, for the city is God’s!”

7 And in answer, I shouted-out with a loud voice, “Pure, indeed, have you kept it for God! But the holy-place remains entirely undefiled! Your expected
heavenly ally has suffered no impiety from you, but still receives his customary sacrifices!

8 “Most impious wretch indeed! If anyone deprived you of your daily food, you would consider him a foe; but yet, you have hope that God, whom you have bereaved of his perpetual religious-worship, will be your ally in this war? 9 And you impugn your sins to the Romans, who, even now, are concerned for our laws, and who are trying to force you to restore to God those very sacrifices which you have interdicted? 10 Who would not prophesy for the city at this amazing inversion? Yet indeed, even foreigners and foes are rectifying your impiety, while you, a Judean, nurtured in her laws, treat them more harshly even than them!

11 “Instead, Johanan, it is indeed never disgraceful to change your mind and cease from your misdeeds, even at the last. And, if you desire to save our fatherland, you have a noble example set before you in Jecohiah, king of the Judeans. 12 When his conduct had caused the Babylonian army to advance against him, he, of his own freewill, left the city before it was taken; and with his family, he endured voluntary captivity, rather than deliver up these holy-places to their foes and see the house of God be burned up. 13 On this account, he is celebrated by all Judeans in consecrated song; and his memory has become a stream running down the ages ever fresh, passing him on to posterity immortal.

14 “This, Johanan, is a beautiful example, even if dangerous to follow; but I can warrant you even pardon from the Romans. 15 But remember, that I, who am urging you, am of the same tribe as you; that I, who am professing this message, am a Judean. And it is becoming for you to consider who is counseling you, and from where he comes. For may I never live to become a captive so slavish as to cease from my own race, or to forget the traditions of my fathers!

16 “Once again you are indignant and shout your abuse at me. And yet, I cannot deny that I deserve even harsher treatment than all this, because, in opposition to necessity, I offer advice, and because I am struggling to save those whom God has condemned.

17 “Who is there who does not know the records of the ancient prophets, and that oracle which threatens this poor city and is even now being fulfilled? For they foretold that it would then be taken at the time when someone would instigate the murder of a fellow-tribesman of his. 18 But is not the city, yes, but even the entire temple, filled with your carcases? It is God, God himself, who, with the Romans, is bringing the purging fire and pummeling up a city so laden with pollutions.

19 As I spoke these words with lamentation and tears, my voice broke down with sobs. 20 Even the Romans both pitied me in my emotions and admired my resolution. But Johanan’s party was merely exasperated even more against the Romans, and was eager to get me into their power as well.

21 Yet truly, many of the nobles were moved by the speech. And indeed, some of these, dredging the insolents’ guards, remained where they were; however, they were convinced that both they themselves and the city were doomed to destruction. But there were others who, watching for a proper opportunity for a safe escape, made off to the Romans.

22 Indeed, among them were chief-priests: both Joseph and Jeshua. But certain sons of chief-priests: indeed, three sons of the Ishmael who was beheaded in Kyrênê, and four sons of Matthijah, and one son of another Matthijah; the last had escaped after the destruction of his father, who was killed with three of his sons by Simon son of Giora.

23 Now Caesar not only received these men with all other courtesy, but, recognizing that they would find life distasteful amidst the customs of foreign men, sent them to Gufni, advising them to remain there for the present. For he promised to restore every man’s property as soon as he had the leisure to do so after the war. 24 Therefore indeed, in perfect security, they gladly retired to the small city assigned to them. But when nothing further was seen of them, the insurgers circulated another false report that the deserters had been slaughtered by the Romans. Their evident intention was to deter the rest from attempting to escape, by fear of suffering similar treatment. 25 But this trick, like the one in the past, was successful for a while; for the terror deterred them from deserting.

26 But Titus subsequently recalled these men from Gufni and directed them to go around the wall together with me, allowing for the populace to see them. At this, most of them fled to the Romans. 27 Now these refugees heaped together; and standing before the Romans, they implored the insurgers with lamentation and tears to freely admit the Romans into the city and to save the fatherland; 28 but that, if they failed to agree to heed their proposal, they would yet withdraw from the temple and preserve the inner-sanctum for them, for the Romans would never venture, except under the direst necessity, to incinerate the holy-places.

29 These appeals only excited fiercer opposition. And casting many reviling croaks upon the deserters, they ranged both their sharpened-bolt-launchers, and their catapults and stone-launchers, above the consecrated gates; so that indeed, due to the multitude of corpses, the ring of the temple resembled a common burial-ground, but the inner-sanctum itself a fortress.

30 Now these men, in their arms, rushed into these holy and inaccessible precincts, their hands yet hot with the murders of their fellow-tribesmen. And they were not restrained by lengths of transegression, that the very same indignation with which the Judeans might naturally have displayed against the Romans (had they treated them with such wanton-violence), the Romans now manifested against the Judeans for having acted impiously to their own holy places. 31 Yet indeed, there were none of the Roman soldiers who were not regarding the inner-sanctum with awe and bowing-down before it; and they were praying that the brigands might change-their-minds before its calamity became incurable. But Titus, who was even more grievously-distressed, again upbraided Johanan’s party, saying, “Was it not you, most abominable wretches, who transgressed this balustrade before your holy-place? 32 But was it not you who ranged monuments along it, those engraved in Hellenic characters and in our own, which transmit a message, stating that no one may pass beyond the low-parapet? 34 But did we not permit you to do away with anyone who passed it, even if he was a Roman? Therefore, you offenders, why do you now even collect corpses underfoot in it? But why do you defile your inner-sanctum with the blood of strangers and countrymen alike?

35 “I call the gods of my fathers to testify, and any deity who once watched over this place (for indeed, I now suppose that there is none); but I even call my army, and the Judeans with me, and even you yourselves to witness, that it is not I who force you to sully these precepts. 36 And if you exchange the pitched-battle for another, not a single Roman shall approach or insult your holy places, but I will preserve the inner-sanctum for you, even against your own will.”

37 As I proclaimed this message from the mouth of Caesar, both the brigands and their tyrant attributed his exhortations to terror rather than to goodwill; in this way, they treated them with contempt. 38 But when Titus saw that these men had neither compassion for themselves nor regard for the inner-sanctum, he reluctantly resumed the war against them.

39 Therefore, due to the confined nature of the terrain, it was indeed impossible for him to bring his warriors against them. 40 Yet indeed, the Romans received the onrush of their vanguard, while those who followed them fell upon their own legion, and many treated their own companions as foes. 41 For indeed, voice recognition was rendered impossible by the confused din on either side, while ocular recognition was rendered impossible by the darkness of the night. And some were indeed so blinded by fury, but others by fear, that they struck indiscriminately at anyone. 42 Therefore indeed, because the Romans interlocked their shields as one body and sprung forward by companies, they suffered less from such ignorance; for each man also remembered the watchword.

43 But the Judeans, constantly scattering and making both their assaults and retreats at random, were frequently mistaken by each other for foes. For in the darkness, each one of them received a returning companion as if he was an advancing Roman. 44 Accordingly, more were wounded by their own companions than by their foes, until, with the dawn of day, the battle was, from the front, no longer a matter of incision, but rather a morass of fright. 45 For indeed, they were both able to employ their missiles and maintain their defense in good order.
50 But neither side gave way, nor grew weary. Instead, *the Romans*, as indeed under the eye of Caesar, contended man with man and company with company; and each believed that the day would lead to his promotion, if he but fought with nobleness.

51 But as an arbiter of their own daring deeds, the Judeans had fear both for themselves and for the temple, as well as the looming presence of the tyrant, who indeed also encouraged some, but roused others into action by the whips and by threats.

52 Now there was indeed no way to avoid having this battle confined to an area of no more than a stadium, but the maneuvers to and fro were limited to a narrow space and quickly ended; for neither side had room for either flight, nor for pursuit. 53 But on every occasion, an appropriate roar went up from *the Romans* at Antónia: if their comrades were gaining, they shouted for them to press on courageously; if they were falling back, to stand fast. 54 Now it resembled a war on the stage, for nothing throughout the battle escaped the eyes of Titus, nor of those around him.

55 But at length, this engagement, which had begun at the ninth hour of the night, they broke off about the fifth hour of the day. Neither of the two parties had been able to seriously repel the other from that spot; instead, this victory remained undecided between them.

56 And indeed, of the Romans, there were many who distinguished themselves in this battle.

But of the Judeans, there were:

Indeed, of Simon’s party: Judah son of Mareótês, and Simon son of Hoshijah

But of the Edomites: Jacob son of Sosa, and Simon the boy of Akatèles.

But of Johanan’s party: Gepheithos and Alexas.

But of the Zealots: Simon son of Ari.²

CHAPTER 86 [War6:149-176]

Now the rest of the Roman force, having overthrown the foundations of Antiónia in seven days, had prepared a broad ascent to the temple. 2 Now the legions approached the first enclosure and began to raise embankments. Indeed, one embankment faced the northwest corner of the inner temple. But another was opposite the northern hall which stood between the two gates. 3 But there were two more: indeed, one was across from the western portico of the outer temple; but the other outside opposite the northern portico.

However, these works did not advance without causing the Roman soldiers great fatigue and hardship, since the timber was conveyed from a distance of 100 stadia. 4 But they also occasionally suffered from the plans which were formed against them due to two reasons: first, because of their freedom from terror, they were less on their guard; and second, the Judeans, because of their present despair of salvation, were more daring than before.

5 For whenever some of the cavalry went out to collect wood or fodder, *the Romans* used to remove the bridles from their horses and turn them loose to graze while they were foraging. But these Judeans, sallying out in companies, carried them off. 6 And when this had happened repeatedly, Caesar was correct in believing that these raids were due rather to the negligence of his own men than to the manliness of the Judeans. So he determined, by an act of unusual severity, to make the guards more attentive to the care of their horses. 7 And he directed one of the soldiers whose horse had been carried off, to be destroyed by death. By this fearsome example, the remainder of the soldiers preserved their horses; for they no longer let them graze by themselves, but went forth on their errands, clinging to them as though man and beast were by nature inseparable.

8 Therefore indeed, in this way, the war carried on against the temple and the erection of the earthworks occupied *the Romans.*

9 Now on the day following the ascent of the *Roman* legions, the famine pressed so strongly upon the insurgents that the plunder which they had taken failed. So they joined forces. And at about the eleventh hour of the day, they attacked the Roman guards who were on the Mount of Olives. They expected first to find them off their guard, and secondly, to catch them while refreshing themselves, and, in this way, easily break through.

10 But the Romans were forewarned of their approach. And promptly rushing from the neighboring fortresses to that spot, they prevented *the Judeans’* forcible efforts to scale the circumvallation-wall, or to cut their way through it. 11 A severe engagement ensued, in which many noble feats were performed on both sides. Indeed, the Romans displayed war experience combined with strength, while the Judeans fought with reckless rage and unbridled fury. 12 Now the first indeed had shame as their general; but the other, necessity. For to the Romans it also seemed most disgraceful to release the Judeans who were caught as it were in a net, while the Judeans’ one hope of salvation lay in forcing their way through the wall.

13 And among other incidents, there was a cavalryman from one of the cohorts, named Pedanius. When the Judeans were finally repulsed and were being driven down into the ravine, he spurred his horse at top speed along their flank, snapped up one of the flying foes (a youth both of a robust body and fully armed), grasping him by the ankle—14 so low did Pedanius indeed bend himself downward from his horse, even as he was galloping, but so great was the strength of his right hand and his body displayed, along with consummate horsemanship. 15 Therefore indeed, seizing upon his prey like some precious treasure, he carried his prize to Caesar.

Now Titus indeed expressed his admiration of the captor’s strength, but directed for the captive to be chastised for his attack upon the Roman wall. Then Titus directed his attention to the battle of the temple, and to the acceleration of the earthworks.

16 Meanwhile, the Judeans were sorely suffering from their engagements. As the war slowly and steadily, rose higher and higher, and crept toward the inner sanctum, *the Judeans* cut off, as from a mortifying body, the limbs already infected, in order to prevent further spreading of the sickness. 17 For they set fire to that portion of the northwest portico which was also connected to Antónia. Then they hacked away some 20 cubits of that portion, thereby beginning to burn the holy places with their own hands.

18 Now two days later, on the twenty-fourth day of the month of Panémōs,³ the Romans set fire to the adjoining portico. And when the fire had spread to a distance of 50 cubits, it was again the Judeans who cut away the roof, and (with no reverence at all for these artifacts) severed the connection it formed with Antónia. 19 And it was in their power to prevent the building from being set afire, but in the heat of the moment, they remained motionless, merely measuring the extent of its spreading by their own advantage. 20 Indeed, the engagements around the temple raged incessantly, but the war proceeded by having small parties continuously sallying out against one another.

21 Now in the course of these days, a Judean named Jonathan, a man with both a puny body and despicable appearance, undistinguished by birth or otherwise, came forward opposite the memorial of the chief-priest Johanan. He both uttered many arrogant things against the Romans, and he challenged their best man to single combat.

22 Now at this point, the majority of those in the adverse ranks indeed regarded him with contempt, but some probably with anxiety; yet truly, others were influenced by the understandable consideration that it was wise to avoid conflict with one who desired to die. 23 For they were aware that men who despaired of their salvations had not only ungovernable passions but also had the Deity easily put out of countenance, and that to endanger oneself with such a person (even if victorious over, was no great exploit, and to be beaten would involve dishonor as well as be perilous), would be an act, not of manliness, but, instead, of exorbitant-audacity.

24 Now no one came forward. So the Judean (for he was extremely conceited and overweening against the Romans), continued to rail at them as cowards, until a soldier from one of the swarms of cavalry named Pudēn, disgusted at both his words and contumaciousness 25 (but also perhaps inconsiderately conceived on attack, but the fire attacked it, they remained motionless, merely measuring the extent of its spreading by their own advantage. 26 Indeed, the engagements around the temple raged incessantly, but the war proceeded by having small parties continuously sallying out against one another.

27 This only lasted, until in the midst of his dancing and buffoonery, Priscus, a centurion, bent his bow, piercing him with a projectile. This called forth simultaneous cries from both Judeans and Romans, but of contrary nature. 28 But the victim, writhing in agony, fell upon the body of his own foe, illustrating how suddenly in a war that vengeance overtake irrational success.

CHAPTER 87 [War6:177-179]

But the insurgents within the temple never relaxed their undisguised daily efforts to repel the *Roman* soldiers who were on the earthworks. And moreover, on the twenty-seventh day of the month Panémōs,³ they prepared the following deception to ensnare them:

2 They filled the space between the rafters of the western portico, as well as the ceiling beneath them, with dry tinder, along with both bitumen and pitch; then,
feigning utter exhaustion, they withdrew. 3 Indeed, at this, many of the inconsiderate Roman soldiers, who were carried away by rage, started in pursuit of the fugitives; and, applying ladders, they sprang up them onto the portico. But the more prudent soldiers, suspecting the unaccountable retreat of the Judeans, remained where they were.

4 However, at the moment when the Judeans from below set the whole building on fire, the portico was packed with those who had gone up the ladders. But the flames suddenly bursting out on every side, the Romans who were out of danger were seized with terrible consternation, and those who were in the midst of it were utterly helpless.

5 But surrounded by the flame, some indeed threw themselves down backwards into the city, but some into the midst of their foes; but many, in hope of salvation, leapt down among their own companions, fracturing their limbs; but most, in their rush to escape, were caught by the fire, and some prevented the flame from reaching them by killing themselves with their own iron weapons. 6 But the fire was spreading so far and wide, that it instantly enveloped even those who would have been destroyed in some other way.

Now Caesar was even filled with compassion for these perishing men, even though they had mounted the portico without receiving a transmitted-message to do so. 7 And though it was impossible for anyone to relieve them, it was at least a consolation to the perishing men to behold the grief of the man for whose sake they were releasing their own souls. For he both shouted out openly to them and rushed forward, and exhorted those around him to do their utmost to rescue them.

8 But every one of these men died cheerfully, carrying those words with him, along with this emotion of Caesar, like some brilliant obsequies. 9 Yet truly, some returned to the portico wall, which was broad, and were indeed saved from the fire, but were then surrounded by the Judeans. Indeed, although they maintained a prolonged resistance against the Judeans, they were wounded; but fire, all the time, overtook them, and killed them. 10 And the last of their survivors, a youth named Longus, shed luster on the whole tragedy; and while every single man who perished was worthy of memorial, this man proved himself the best of all. 11 Indeed, the Judeans, because of both their admiration of this man’s prowess as well as being too weak to do away with him, besought him to come down to them, promising to give him their right hand.

But his brother Cornelius, on the contrary, implored him not to disgrace his own reputation nor that of the Roman army. Influenced by his words, and brandishing his short-sword in view of both legions, Longus did away with himself.

12 Now among those enveloped in the fire was a certain Artorius, who saved himself by means of an artifice. For with a loud voice, he called to Lucius, one of his fellow-soldiers with whom he shared a tent, declaring, “I leave you heir to my property, if you come and catch me!”

13 Now at this, Lucius ran up, ready to catch him. Indeed, Artorius threw himself down on top of him and lived, while Lucius who received him was dashed against the stone-pavement by his weight, dying on the spot.

14 This disaster indeed created temporary despondency among the Romans, but it nevertheless had a future beneficial effect by rendering them less responsive to such invitations; it also caused them to be more cautious against the delusions of the Judeans, since their injuries were mainly due to their ignorance of the terrain and the character of its men.

15 Now the portico was completely burned as far as the tower which Johanan, during his war with Simon, had built over the gates leading out above the covered-colonnade. But the remaining portion of the portico was hacked away by the Judeans after they had utterly-destroyed the soldiers who had mounted it. 16 Now the next day, the Romans also burnt down the whole northern portico as far as the east portico, where the corner connecting the two was built over the Kedron Ravine (and the depth at that point was consequently fearsome). And this indeed was the state around the temple.

17 Now the victims perishing of the famine throughout the city were dropping in a countless multitude, but the sufferings they endured were indescribable. 18 For in any house, the appearance of even a shadow of food was a signal for a war, and the dearest of relatives fell to brawling, snatching from each other the pitiful travel-supplies of the soul. 19 But those who were dying were not credited as being in want; instead, even those expiring were searched by the brigands incase any should be found concealing food in their garments and were feigning death. 20 But gaping with hunger, these riffians went staggering and reeling along like mad dogs; and, both battering upon doors like men who were getting-intoxicated, and in their perplexity, they even burst into the same house twice or thrice within a single hour.

21 But necessity drove the victims to gnaw anything; and objects which even the filthiest of animals would reject, they condescended to collect and eat. Accordingly, this was how in the end, they did not abstain from belts and shoes, even stripping off and chewing the very leather of their oblong-shields. 22 But others devoured tufts of withered grass; for some who collected stalks sold a trifling quantity for four Attic drachmas.

23 Among the residents of the region beyond the Jordan River was a woman named Miriam, daughter of Eleazar, of the village of Beth-Ezob (which means ‘House of Hyssop’). She was distinguished due to her race and her wealth. Having fled for refuge to Jerusalem with the rest of the multitude, she had become involved in the siege there. 24 Indeed, the bulk of her property, which she had packed up and brought with her from Perai to the city of Jerusalem, had been plundered by the tyrants; while the remnants of her valuables, along with whatever food she had contributed to procure, had been carried off by their spearmen in their daily raids. 25 But this woman’s heart was full of terrible indignation, and she constantly reproached and cursed these robbers, finally provoking them against her. 26 But none of them, either out of exasperation or pity did away with her.

And indeed, since she had become wearied of finding food for others (which it was now impossible to procure from any quarter), but because the famine coursed through her bowels and narrows, and because her fury flared to a degree beyond even that of the famine, she took anger and necessity as her only counselors, and proceeded to commit an unnatural act.

27 And snatching her child, who was but a boy under-the-breast, she spoke, “Miserable baby. Amidst war, and famine, and sedition, to what end will I keep you? 28 Indeed, in the presence of the Romans, slavery awaits us, if we might live until they come. But this famine will even destroy us before slavery; but more harsh than both are the insurgents. 29 Come on, be food for me, and be an avenging-fury to the insurgents; and to the world we live in, a tale which is the only thing lacking to complete the calamities of the Judeans.”

30 And with these words, she killed her son. Then, she indeed roasted him and devoured half of it, but she covered up and stored the remainder. 31 But at once, the insurgents were upon her, and smelling the horrid scent, threatened to slaughter her immediately unless she produced the food which she had prepared.

But as she answered, “I have saved a very fine portion for you also,” she disclosed the remains of her child.

32 But seized straightaway with horror and stupefaction, even they stood paralyzed by the sight.

But she declared, “This is my own child, and this is my handwork. 33 Eat, for I too have eaten. Do not pretend to be weaker than a woman, nor more sympathetic than a mother. But if you are so scrupulous, and shrink from my sacrifice, indeed, let what I have already eaten be your portion, but also leave the remainder for me.”

34 Indeed, at this, the men went out trembling, being never so much terrified at any thing as they were at this—food which they barely left to the mother. Now the whole city instantly rang with the abomination. And each person, picturing the horror of this event, shuddered as though it had been perpetrated by themselves. 35 Now the famished individuals longed for death, and considered those who had preceded them to be happy, because they had not lived to hear or to behold such evils.

36 But a message concerning this horrible event also quickly reached the Romans. Now some of them were indeed incredulous, but others were moved to pity; but the effect it had on the majority was to intensify their hatred against the nation.

37 But as for Caesar, he even defended himself before God about this matter, asserting, “I indeed offered peace and independence to the Judeans, as well as a pardon for all past offenses. But instead, they preferred sedition to concord, 38 but peace to war, but famine to plenty and prosperity. Now they have taken the initiative to set fire to the temple with their own hands, the temple which we were preserving for them; and they are deserving of eating such food as this. 39 However, I shall bury this abomination of infant-cannibalism beneath the ruins of their fatherland itself, and shall not leave upon the inhabited portion.

40 However, such food is more fit for the fathers to eat than the mothers, since it is the fathers who, even after undergoing such horrors, still remain in arms against us.”

41 And while expressing these sentiments, he kept in mind the desperation of these men; for he was convinced that such men, having already suffered all these things, were past being brought to a sound-mind, when they could have avoided this condition by reforming.
Now on the eighth day of the month Lōios, two of the legions had completed their earthworks. At this, Titus directed the rams to be brought up opposite the western hall of the outer temple. 2 But before their arrival, the most formidable of all the city-destroyers had incessantly battered the wall for six days without effect; instead, even the magnitude and strong joints of the stones were superior to it as well as to the rest of the machines.

3 Now another party endeavored to undermine the foundations of the northern gate, and by great exertions, succeeded in extricating the stones in front. But the gate was supported by more stones within, and continued to stand firm. But finally, despairing of all attempts with their weapons and their crowbars, the Romans applied ladders to the porticoes.

4 Now the Judeans indeed made no haste to prevent this, but as soon as the Romans mounted, vigorously attacked them. And some they indeed thrust backwards, hurling them down headlong. But others who encountered them, they did away with. 5 But many, as they stepped off the ladders, were struck with their long-swords, before they could shield themselves with their oblong-shields. But some of the ladders, laden with heavy-armed soldiers, they tilted sideways from above, dashes them to the ground. 6 But the Judeans themselves also suffered no small murder.

Now the Romans who had brought up the ensigns warred fiercely around these, deeming their loss a dire disaster and disgrace. 7 But even these ensigns were eventually taken by the Judeans, who utterly-destroyed everyone who had ascended the ladders. But the remainder, dreading the misfortune of those who had perished, withdrew.

8 Therefore indeed, of the Romans, not a single one achieved anything before he died. But of the insurgents, those who had gained distinction in the previous engagements also fought nobly in this one, as did also Eleazar, nephew of the tyrant Simon.

9 But when Titus saw that his endeavor to spare the foreign temple had led only to the injury and murder of his soldiers, he issued orders to set fire to the gates from underneath.

10 Now two deserters had joined him, both Hanan of Hammat, the most bloodthirsty of Simon’s sarmen, and Archelaos son of Magaddates. Leaving the Judeans at a moment of success, they hoped for pardon.

11 But Titus also objected to these men’s action as a further cunning trick. And having learned about their overall brutality toward their own countrymen, he was motivated to kill each of them. For he observed that they had been driven to desertion by utmost necessity, not led by choice; and that men who had quickly escaped from their fatherland only when enveloped in the flames, for which they themselves were responsible, were not worthy of salvation. 12 But his good faith overcame his fury, and he dismissed the men; truly, he did not give them equal privileges as he had done with the rest.

13 Now the soldiers were bringing a firebrand to the gates; and the silver melting all around quickly admitted the flame to the woodwork, from where it spread in dense volumes, catching hold of the porticoes.

14 Now when the Judeans saw the ring of fire around them, their souls fell, together with their bodies. And doused by utter consternation, none of them indeed attempted to ward off or extinguish the fire; but paralyzed they stood, looking on. 15 Truly, dismayed by the ravage being wrought, they in fact learned no lesson with regard to what was to come. Instead, even as though the very inner-sanctum was in immediate danger, they still whetted their fury against the Romans.

16 Therefore indeed, the fire prevailed throughout that day and the following night. For the soldiers were only able to burn portions of the porticoes from underneath, not the whole range at once.

17 Now on the following day, Titus directed one division of his force both to extinguish the fire and to make a road to the gates in order to facilitate the ascent of the legions, while he himself called his leaders together. 18 And six of his principal-officers came together:

Tiberius Alexandros, the prefect over all the armies, and Sextus Cerealis, the leader of the fifth legion, and Larcius Lepidus, the leader of the tenth, and Titus Phrygius, the leader of the fifteenth, and Fronto Haterius, the camp-prefect of the two legions from Alexandreia, and Marcus Antonius Julianus, the procurator of Judah.

And after the procurators and tribunes were next gathered together, Titus brought forward before this council the subject of the inner-sanctum. 20 Therefore indeed, some were of the opinion that the laws of war should be enforced; for the Judeans would never cease from revolutionary-activities while the inner-sanctum remained, since it was the focus for concourse from every quarter.

21 But others were of the opinion that indeed if the Judeans abandoned it and did not place any weapons within it, it should be saved; but that if they mounted it for purposes of waging war, it should be incinerated, for it would no longer be an inner-sanctum, but a fortress, and that the impiety of burning it would be chargeable, not to the Romans, but to those who forced them to take such measures.

22 But Titus declared, “Even if the Judeans were to mount it and wage war against us from it, we should not wreak vengeance upon soulless objects rather than upon men, nor under any circumstances incinerate such a magnificent work. For the loss will affect as Romans, inasmuch as it would be an ornamentation to the leadership if it stood.”

23 Now instilled with good-courage by this pronouncement, Fronto, and Alexandros, and Cerealis agreed to Titus’ opinion. 24 Therefore indeed, he dissolved the congress and directed his leaders that the rest of their forces should be given an interval of repose so that he might find them reinvigorated in this attack. So he ordered the picked men from the cohorts to open a road through the rubble and extinguish the fire.

25 Indeed, throughout that day, both the fatigue and consternation crushed the energies of the Judeans. But on the following day, at about the second hour, with both recruited strength and renewed courage, they sallied out through the eastern gate upon those who were guarding around the outer temple.

26 Now the Romans indeed stubbornly met their charge, and, by forming a screen in front with their oblong-shields like a wall, closed up their phalanx. But it was evident that they could not hold together for long, being no match for both the multitude and fury of their assailants.

27 Now when Caesar (for he was watching the scene from Antônia) saw that they were about to be overcome, he brought up his picked cavalry to support them. 28 But the Judeans were not able to withstand their onset; instead, when the vanguard fell, the rest retreated.

29 And indeed, whenever the Romans retired, the Judeans returned to the attack, but only to flee once more when their opponents wheeled back around. 30 This they did until about the fifth hour of the day, indeed, when the Judeans were overpowered and shut up within the inner temple. 30 Now Titus then withdrew to Antônia. There he determined to throw his entire force at them on the following day, and to surround the inner-sanctum.

31 Now as for that building, God had, indeed, long ago sentenced it to fire. But according to the circuits of the times, that fated day had arrived: the tenth day of the month Lōios, the same day on which long ago it had been burned by the King of the Seleucids. 32 But this time, the flames owed their origin and cause to its own inhabitants.

For upon the withdrawal of Titus, the insurgents, after a brief respite, attacked the Romans once more; and an engagement broke out between the inner-sanctum guards and the soldiers who were endeavoring to extinguish the fire in the inner temple. But these Romans routed the Judeans, pursuing them right up to the inner-sanctum itself.

33 At this moment, one of the soldiers, without waiting for a transmitted-message, and without any terror of attempting such an undertaking, but being possessed by some demon, indeed snatched a brand from the burning timber; but having hoisted up by a fellow-soldier, he flung the fire through a golden window, which gave access on the north side to the chambers around the inner-sanctum. 34 But as the flame shot upward, indeed a cry, as poignant as the tragedy, arose from the Judeans, and they flocked to its rescue. They lost all thought of sparing their lives, of conserving their strength, now that what they had previously been guarded, was dashed to the ground.

35 Now following the previous battle, Titus was resting in his tent, when a messenger rushed in with the news. At this, he quickly rose up in his current state, and ran to the inner-sanctum in order to stop the fire. 36 Now behind him followed all of his leaders, and following them the scared legions; but there was all the clamor and noise attending the disorderly movement of such a large force.

37 Therefore indeed, Caesar, both by his loud voice and his right hand, signaled to the combatants to extinguish the fire. But drowned in the louder noise which had already filled their ears, they did not hear his shout; and indeed some, distracted by the war, but others by their anger, did not heed his signaling hand.

38 But as for the legions who came running into the fray, neither exhortation nor threat could restrain their rage; instead, fury was each man’s only general. And crushed together about the temple entrances, many were indeed trampled down by their own companions; while many, stumbling on the still hot and smoldering ruins of the porticoes, suffered the same fate as those whom they had vanquished. 39 But as they drew closer to the inner-sanctum, they indeed pretended not even to hear Caesar’s transmitted-messages, but recommended that those in front of them throw in the firebrand.

40 But as for the insurgents, they were indeed too powerless to help; but on every side was murder and flight. But most of the murdered were the populace, weak and unarmed people, each slaughtered where they were caught. And a great number of the guards and the soldiers that were within, with the stones which had come down from the steps of the inner-sanctum flowed a stream of blood, and the bodies of the murder-victims above the altar went sliding down to the bottom.
41 But Caesar, finding himself unable to restrain the rage of his inspired soldiers, and with the fire gaining the mastery, passed into the building along with his leaders and beheld the holy-place of the inner-sanctum and everything which it contained: indeed, things far exceeding the reports current among foreigners, but which were also not inferior to their glory which was enjoyed among its inhabitants.

42 But as the flame had not yet penetrated to the interior, but was still consuming the chambers around the inner-sanctum, Titus was correct in assuming that it was still possible to save the work. 43 So he rushed out, and, by personal appeals, endeavored to induce the soldiers to extinguish the fire. And at the same time, he directed Libaurus, a centurion of his bodyguard, to restrain any soldiers who disobeyed orders by beating them with clubs. 44 But even then their fury overpowered their respect for Caesar as well as their fear of their leader who was endeavoring to hinder them; and their hatred of the Judeans, and a rage to war against them were more turbulent still. 45 But most of them were stimulated by the hope of plunder, both imagining that the interior was full of money and actually seeing that everything around it was made of gold.

46 But when Caesar rushed out to restrain the soldiers, even one of those who had entered the building thrust a fire-brand in the dark, into the hinges of the gate. 47 For a flame suddenly shot up from the interior, forcing both Caesar and his leaders to withdraw. And there was no one left to prevent those outside from setting it on fire from underneath. Therefore, this was indeed how, against Caesar’s will, the inner-sanctum was burned.

48 But as deeply as one must lament the destruction of the most marvelous work which we have ever seen and heard of—both on account of its structure, and its magnitude, and still both the extravagance of its every detail, and the glory of its holy-places—we may draw very great consolation from the thought, that this edict was decreed by necessity; 49 a force inescapable not only to living creatures, but also to works of art and regions. 50 But one cannot but marvel at the precision of this circuit. And accordingly, this destruction happened on the very month and day on which in past times, the inner-sanctum had been burned by the Babelians.

CHAPTER 89 [War6:271-315]

While the inner-sanctum blazed, the victors indeed plundered everything which fell in their path, but those whom they caught and murdered were countless. And no pity was shown for age, nor reverence for rank. Instead, even boys and old men, even uninitiated and priests, were done away with in the same way. And every class was pursued and encompassed in the grasp of the war, both suppliants for mercy, and those offering resistance.

2 Now the roar of the flame streamed far and wide, mingled with the groans of the fallen; and indeed because of the height of the ridge and the magnitude of the burning pile, it appeared that the entire city was ablaze. But nothing could be imagined that was more devastating or appalling than the din. 3 For there was both a shout from the Roman legions who marched onward all together, and the howls of the insurgents encircled by fire and iron, and the rush of the people who, cut off from above, both fled under consternation only to be surrounded by the flames, and made wailings as they fell to this calamity. 4 Now the cries of the multitude in the city below blended with those who were upon the ridge. But when the many who were wasting away by the famine and consuming the chambers around the inner-sanctum, they gathered strength and excitement from the matter at hand, and the fear of those who would receive miraculous signs of their salvation, as they were increased by the fires which were consuming the chambers around the inner-sanctum. These were both Meiros son of Bilgah, and Joseph son of Dalaios.

11 Now that the inner-sanctum was burning up, the Romans, judging that it was useless to spare the surrounding buildings, set fire to all of them. This included both the remnants of the porticoes and the gates with an exception of two: indeed, one on the east, but the other on the south. (These they also brought to the ground afterward.) 12 But they also set the treasuries ablaze, in which instead were stored an endless multitude of money, but endless piles of raiment and other valuables. Now this, in a word, was the common repository of the Judean wealth, where the prosperous individuals had consigned the contents of their dismantled houses.

13 But the soldiers also proceeded to the one remaining portico of the outer temple. Now here, the poor women and little-ones of the populace, along with a mixed crowd, had taken refuge, numbering 6,000. 14 But before Caesar had come to any decision or given directions to the leaders concerning these people, the soldiers, carried away by fury, set fire to the portico from underneath. And as a result, some were indeed utterly-destroyed plunging out of the flame, while others perished amidst them; but out of them, not one was saved alive.

15 A false-prophet was the cause of these people’s destruction, who on that very day, had proclaimed in the city, that God directed them to go up to the temple where they would receive miraculous signs of their salvation. 16 Now at this period, there were indeed many false prophets suborned by the tyrants to delude the populace, by sending out messages to them that they should wait for aid from God. This was done in order to prevent them from deserting, and that those who were above terror and precaution might be encouraged by hope. 17 Now a human in misfortune is easily persuaded, but when the deceive makes him believe that he shall be delivered from prevailing dangers, then the sufferer wholly abandons himself to such expectation. 18 For when he is more nearly upon the brink of ruin, he cannot but believe that the miserable populace was indeed beguiled at this time by these cheats and imposters of God, while they neither heeded nor believed in the manifest portents which plainly presaged the coming desolation; instead, as if thunderstruck and bereft of eyes and soul, they disregarded the plain warnings of God.

19 Indeed, there was a star, resembling a long-sword, which stood over the city; and a comet, which continued for an entire year. 20 But prior to the sedition and the commotion which led to war, at the time when the people were gathering together for the Festival of the Unleavened, which was on the eighth day of the month Xanthikos, at the ninth hour of the night, so brilliant a light shone around the altar and the inner-sanctum that it seemed to be broad daylight; and this continued for half an hour. 21 Indeed, by the inexperience, this was regarded as a good sign; but by the temple-scribes, it was interpreted in accordance with the events which immediately followed it. 22 And at that same festival, indeed, a cow, which had been brought by someone to be sacrificed, gave birth to a lamb in the middle of the temple.

23 But the eastern gate of the interior-inner-sanctum, which was indeed of brass and very massive, but could scarcely be moved by twenty humans when it was closed around evening; 24 and which, indeed, being fastened with iron-bound bars, but with bolts which were sunk very deep into a threshold consisting of a solid block of stone—this gate was observed to have opened of its own accord at the sixth hour of the night. 25 Now the temple guards ran and dispatched a messenger; and he, with difficulty, was able to succeed in shutting it again. 26 To the uninitiated, this indeed seemed to be the most beautiful of portents, for they supposed that God had opened to them the gate of blessings. 27 But the learned understood that the security of the inner-sanctum was dissolving of its own accord, and that the opening of the gate meant a present to their foes. Now they interpreted the sign in their own minds as indicating the coming desolation.

28 And a few days after the festival, on the twenty-first day of the month Artemisios, there appeared some demonic and greatly incredible phantom. Now this was stated by eyewitnesses and followed by calamities worthy of such signals. 29 For before the sun had set, throughout all the surrounding country, chariots were seen in the air, and armed phalanxes were darting through the masses-of-clouds and encircling the cities.

30 Now at the Festival of the Fiftieth Day, as the priests were entering the inner temple by night, as their custom was in the discharge of their public-services, they indeed declared that they were conscious, first of a commotion and a crash; but after that, they heard a voice as of people amassed together, “We are departing from here.”

31 But there was another portent which was even more fearsome. For four years before the war had begun, when the city was enjoying profound peace and
Now on the fifth day, the priests were now famishing. So they came down and were conducted by the guards to Titus. They implored him to grant them salvation. But he declared to them, “Indeed, the time for pardon is over. Now the one object for whose sake it might have been reasonable to save you is gone; but it is agreeable for priests to perish together with their inner-sanctum.” So he directed these men to be chastised.

But as for the tyrants’ progenies, when they found themselves both being beaten and humiliated on all sides, they were then and having been surrounded with a wall which prevented any possibility of escape, they invited Titus to a parley. But even anxious, with his innate humanity, at all events to at least save the town alive, and instigated by his friends (for they supposed that the brigands had finally been brought to reason), Titus took up a position on the west side of the outer temple.

For at this point, there were gates opening above the covered-colonnade and a bridge which connected the upper city to the temple. This bridge was currently dividing the tyrants and Caesar. Now the multitude on each side stood packed together: indeed, the Judeans of Simon and Johanan’s party were excited by hopes of pardon, while the Romans beside Caesar were eagerly waiting to hear their supplication.

12 Now Titus transmitted a message to his soldiers to restrain both their fury and their projectiles, and stationed an interpreter beside him. Then in token of his conquest, he proceeded to say to them first.

"O men, I hope that you are yet satiated with the miseries of your fatherland, you who, without bestowing a thought on either our strength or your own weakness, but have, through inconceivable rage and madness, even lost both your populace and your city, even your inner-sanctum, but are even yourselves rightly doomed to be destroyed. Indeed, ever since Pompeius first reduced you by force, you have never ceased from revolution, and have now ended by declaring open war upon the Romans.

15 Not did you rely on your numbers? Truly not. Even a mere fraction of the Roman soldiery has proved your match.

“On the faithfulness of your auxiliaries? So I beg you to tell me, what nation beyond the limits of our leadership would prefer Judeans to Romans?

16 “On bodily strength, instead? Truly not. Even you are well aware that the Germans themselves are enslaved to us.

But on the solidity of your walls! And what wall could be a greater obstacle than Oceanus, which embraces the Britons, who yet give homage to the Roman weapons?

17 “On the courage of soul and the sagacity of your generals? Truly not. Instead, you knew that even Carthaginians had been conquered by us.

18 “No, assuredly you were incited against the Romans by Roman humanity. Indeed, to begin with, we allowed you to possess a land and set over you kings of your own tribe. 19 Then, we maintained the laws of your fathers for you, and not only permitted you to live as you wished among yourselves, but instead even in your dealings with others. 20 But above all, we permitted you both to exact tribute for God and to collect offerings, even without admonishing or prohibiting those who brought them—only that you might grow richer at our own expense and make preparations with our own money to attack us! 21 Then, in the enjoyment of such good things, you turned your superabundance against the donors; and like untamable creepers, spat your venom upon those who treated you righteously.

22 Accordingly, you held Nerô’s slothfulness in contempt; and, like fractured or ruptured limbs you remained malignantly quiet for a time, only to reveal your true character on the outbreak of a more serious sickness, and let your ambitions soar unbounded to shameless expectations.

23 “My father came into this country, not to be an avenger against you for what you had done under Cestius, but instead to admonish you. 24 Accordingly, had he come to overthrow the nation, he surely would have hastened to the fountain of your strength and have immediately laid this city waste. But he proceeded to ravage Galilee and the neighboring district, thereby giving you time for a change-of-purpose. 25 Instead, you took his humanity for weakness, and you nursed your audacity upon our gentleness.

26 “When it was necessary for Nerô to go-away from this life, all of you acted like the most wicked of men. Emboldened by our civil troubles, and when both I and my father had departed for Egypt, you abused your opportunities by preparing for the war. And you were not ashamed to harass those who are now made emperors, and whose humanity you tried when we were no more than generals.

27 “Accordingly, when the leadership found refuge in us, and, indeed, when universal tranquility dwelt throughout its length, but even foreign nations were sending elders who brought congratulation, it was then that you Judeans waged war against us. 28 And indeed, you sent elders to your friends beyond the

1 may also be translated “fate”

2 literally “standing-up”
Euphrates1 to assist you in instigating a revolution; but new enclosing walls were being built; but also seditions, and love-of-strife between tyrants, and civil war— the only things befitting men so wicked.

29 “I still came to this city, a bearer of gloomy messages transmitted from my reluctant father. The news that the populace was disposed to peace rejoiced my heart. 30 As for you, before warring even began, I urged you to cease. Even after you had begun them, I spared you for a long time. I gave my right hand to desperers. I kept faith with them when they fled to me. Many were the prisoners whom I had pity upon, overriding their oppressors to torture them. With reluctance I brought up my machines against your walls. I always restrained my own soldiers who thirsted for your blood. After every victory I invited you to peace, as if I myself had been the one defeated.

31 “When I approached the temple, I again deliberately forgot the laws of war, but beseeched you to spare your own holy-places and to save the inner-sanctum for yourselves. I offered you both egress free from terror, and assurance of salvation. But if you had wished, I even gave you an opportunity for a battle on some other region. 32 Yet, you scorned every one of my proposals, and have set fire to the temple with your own hands.

“Then after all this, most abominable men, do you now invite me to aparley? What do you have left to save in comparison to this inner-sanctum which is now lost? What salvation do you think you deserve after losing your own inner-sanctum? 33 Instead, even now, you stand in arms. And you cannot even bring yourselves to at least pretend to be suppliants even at your utmost extremity.

“O miserable creatures, on what do you depend? 34 Is not the populace a corpse? But your inner-sanctum gone? But your city at my mercy? But are not your very souls in my hands? Do you still deem it manliness to long for death?

35 “I, truly, will not be a lover-of-suffrage in your desperation. But throw down your weapons, and surrender your bodies, and I will grant you your lives, like a lenient hearted mercenary: indeed, chastising the implacable, but saving the rest for my own use.”

36 To this proposal, they answered, “We indeed cannot accept your right hand, for we have sworn never to do so. But please grant us permission to pass through the circumvallation-wall, taking with us our women and children. For we will go-off into the desert and leave behind the city to you.”

37 At this, Titus was filled with indignation, that men who were in the position of captives should proposer proposals to him as if they had been the victors. Indeed, he directed a proclamation to be made to them: “You shall neither desert nor hope for my right hand any longer, for I shall not spare anyone; instead, I will fight you with my entire force. So save yourselves as best as you can; for from this time forward, all of my actions shall be governed by the laws of war.”

But he gave his soldiers permission to burn and plunder the city. 39 Now that day, they indeed refrained from doing this; but on the following day, they set fire to both the archives, and the citadel, and the senate-house, and the region called Ophel from underneath. 40 And the fire spread as far as the royal palace of Helené, which was in the center of the citadel. But the narrow-alleys were also burned, along with the houses which were full of the corpses of those who had been utterly-destroyed by the famine.

41 On the same day, both the sons and brothers of King Izad, who were joined by many of the distinguished men of the populace, entreated Caesar to give him their right hand. Now although Titus was angry at all the survivors, he did not alter the moralitas of his character, but received these men. 42 And indeed, at that time, he kept them all in custody. But the king’s boys and kinsmen were subsequently brought up in chains to Roma as hostages for their country’s faithfulness to the Romans.

CHAPTER 91 [War:6:358-373]

Now the insurgents rushed to the royal palace, in which, due to its solidity, many had laid-aside their property. They both drove away the Romans, and on the spot murdered the populace who had gathered together there, who numbered 8,400, and plundered the money.

2 But they also captured two Romans: indeed, one was a cavalryman, but the other an infantryman. And indeed, they immediately slaughtered the infantryman, dragging him throughout the city, as though they were revenging themselves on the whole body of the Romans through this one person.

3 Now when the cavalryman said that he had a suggestion to make conducive to their salvations, he was brought up to Simon. But having nothing to tell him, he was handed over to Ardalas, one of the leaders, to be chastised. 4 Now Ardalas bound his hands behind his back and bandaged his eyes, and then led him forward

5 After such an escape from his foes, Titus, indeed, could not bring himself to do away with him; but since he had been taken alive by their enemies, Titus judged him unworthy of being a Roman soldier. So he both deprived him and ejected him from the legion—which, to one with a sense of shame, this penalty was more severe than death itself.

6 Now on the following day, the Romans, having routed the brigands from the lower city, set everything on fire as far as Shilohu. Indeed, the consuming of the town delighted them, but they were failed of obtaining the plunder, because the insurgents had cleared out everything before they had withdrawn into the upper city.

7 For the insurgents indeed showed no change-of-mind for their evils, but bragged of them as good things. Accordingly, when they saw the city burning, they said with beaming countenances, that they cheerfully awaited the end. For when they saw the populace murdered, but the inner-sanctum ablaze, but the town burning up, they refused to leave anything to their foes.

8 Yet truly, even to the last, I never grew weary in entreating them on behalf of the city’s remnants. Instead, in return—indeed, for all my denunciation of their cruelty and their impiety, but for all the counsel I offered to secure their salvation—I received nothing but ridicule.

9 But due to their oath, they could not think of surrender. Nor, also being caged as in a prison-house, were they now capable of warring against the Romans on equal terms. But despite these things, their hands, through habit, still itched for murder. So they dispersed in front of the city, laying in wait among the ruins for any who were eager to desert to the Romans. 10 But many deserters were caught and all of them were slaughtered (for due to their deficiency, they did not have the strength to flee), and their corpses were thrown to the dogs.

11 But death in any form seemed more tolerable than the famine, so that although they despairs of ever receiving pity from the Romans, they nevertheless fled to them for refuge; and though the insurgents were murderous, they would even voluntarily fall among them. There was not a spot in the city left bare; instead, every corner was inhabited by a corpse, either the victim of famine or of the sedition. And everything was full of the corpses of those who had perished, either the victim of the sedition or of the famine.

12 Now there remained a final cherished hope for both the tyrants and their brigand parties: a place of refuge in the underground-passages, where they expected that no search would be made for them. But after the complete capture of the city and the departure of the Romans, they intended to emerge in order to make their escape. 13 But this proved to be but a dream-visions, for they were not destined to escape—notice either of God or of the Romans.

14 Yet truly, for the time, they depended on these underground retreats, setting more places on fire than the Romans did. And they, without restraint, both killed and stripped everyone who fled for refuge from the flames into these passages. And if they ever found a victim with food, they snatched it from him and devoured it, all defiled with blood. 15 But finally, they even fought with one another over their spoils.

CHAPTER 92 [War:6:374-408]

Now Caesar found it impracticable to take the upper city without raising earthworks against it, since the nature of the site was too precipitous. So on the twentieth day of the month Lóios, he apportioned the task among his force. 2 Now the conveyance of timber was a difficult task, since all the environs of the city within the distance of 100 stadia had been stripped bare from raising the former earthworks.

3 Therefore indeed, the works raised by the four legions were on the west side of the city, opposite the royal palace. 4 But at the same time, the multitude of auxiliaries and the rest of the crowd raised their embankments adjoining the covered-colonnade, and the bridge and the tower which Simon, while at war with Johanan, had built as a fortress for himself.

5 During these days, the Edomite leaders met in secret to take counsel about surrendering themselves. So they dispatched five men to Titus who entreated him to give them his right hand. 6 Now since the Edomites formed an important factor in the war, Titus hoped, that if they defected to him, the tyrants would also be induced to yield. Therefore instead, after some hesitation, he both consented to spare them and sent the five men back.

But as these Edomites were preparing to depart, Simon detected the plot. And immediately he had the five men who had been sent to Titus done away with; but he arrested and imprisoned their leaders, of whom the most distinguished was Jacob son of Sosa. 8 But as for the multitude of the Edomites, who were rendered

1 Greek / from Persian “Ufrate” / Hebrew “Furat”

2 one / most repeat this similar clause here
helpless by the loss of their leaders, Simon strictly watched them, and the wall was marked with more attentive guards.

9 Truly, the guards were powerless to prevent desertion. Instead, although most were murdered, more managed to escape. 10 Now the Romans received them all, because of two reasons: because Titus, out of clemency, disregarded his former transmitted-messages; and his soldiers, out of satiety and in hope of gain, abstained from killing. 11 For the populace alone was allowed to remain. The other crowd, with women and children, were each sold for a trifling price per head, due to both the glut of the market and the lack of purchasers.

12 But not holding to what he had previously preached, that no deserter should come alone (so that they might bring out their families with them), Titus received even such persons as these. However, he appointed leaders to differentiate from among them any who deserved chastisement. 13 And indeed, the number of those sold was immense. But of the populace, over 40,000 were saved, whom Caesar dismissed to wherever each of them was affected to go. 14 Now during these days, one of the priests, named Jesuia son of Theobutei, also obtained an oath of security from Caesar that he would have salvation upon the sole condition that he should deliver up some of the temple treasures. 15 So when he came out, he handed over to him the following things from the wall of the inner-sanctum: two lampstands similar to those deposited in the inner-sanctum, both tables, and bowls, and platters, all made of solid gold and bulky. 16 But he also handed over the veils, and the garments of the chief-priests, including the stones, and many other vessels used in the temple-services.

17 Now the temple treasurer, whose name was Phinehas, was also taken prisoner. He disclosed both the tunics and belts worn by the priests; along with an abundance of both purple and scarlet kept for necessary repairs to the veil; along with a mass of both cinnamon and cassia, and a large quantity of other spices, which they mixed and burned daily as incense to God. 18 But many other treasures were also handed over by him, along with no small amount of temple ornamentation. In return for these services, this man, although taken captive, received the same pardon that was given to deserters.

19 Now on the seventh day of the month Gorpiaios, the earthworks were completed after eighteen days of labor. Indeed, the Romans brought up the machines. But as for the insurgents, some of them, indeed already despairing of saving the city, retired from the wall to the citadel; but others sunk down into the underground-passages; 20 but many positioned themselves in order to repel the soldiers who were bringing up the city-destroyers. But the Romans also overpowered these men by both numbers and force, and, above all, by the cheerfulness in which they faced the Judeans who were already disearted and unnerved.

21 Now as soon as a portion of the wall broke down and some of the towers succumbed to the batterings of the rams, indeed, the defenders instantly took flight, but even the tyrants themselves were seized with a needlessly excessive terror. 22 For even before their foes had surmounted the breach, they were both stunned and on the verge of flight.

But those men, who had up till this point been so haughty and proud of their impious crimes, were then seen humbled and trembling, so that the change even in these wicked men was pitiable. 23 Therefore, they were indeed eager to make a dash for the circumvallation-wall, both to repel the guards and cut their way through in order to go outside; 24 but, indeed, when they could nowhere see their forerunners, they turned and, in order to avoid being captured (the tyrants counselled them to go), but, indeed, when men came running up with messages stating that the western wall was entirely overthrown, while others told that the Romans had broken through and were now at hand in search of them, 25 while even others, whose eyes were bewildered by terror, told them that they could actually see their foes from the towers, these impious men fell upon their faces. They bemoaned their own mud folly, and were impotent to flee, as though their sins had been cut off under them.

26 Here both the power of God over unsacred men and the fortune of the Romans were especially displayed. Yet indeed, these tyrants stripped themselves of their security, and, of their own accord, descended from those very towers on which the Romans indeed could never have taken by force, but on which a famine alone could have subdued. 27 Now after all the great pains spent on conquering the weaker walls, the Romans, by fortune, were able to master what was impregnable by their weapons. For the three towers would have defied every machine.

28 Having then abandoned these towers, or rather, having been driven down from them by God, they indeed found immediate refuge in the ravine below Shiloh. But after they had recovered slightly from their terror, they rushed upon the circumvallation-wall on that side. 29 But their courage proved unequal to the occasion (for their strength was now broken in the same way by terror and affliction), so they were repulsed by the guards. And dispersing here and there, they sunk down into the underground-passages.

30 But the Romans, now masters of the walls, both planted their ensigns on the towers, and, with applause and jubilation, raised a paean in honor of their victory. They had found the end of the war a much lighter task than its beginning. Accordingly, they could hardly believe that they had surmounted the last wall without bloodshed; and seeing no rival, they were truly perplexed.

31 But pouring into the narrow-alleys with short-swords in hand, they both indiscriminately murdered everyone whom they met, and set fire to the houses in which anyone had taken refuge, men and all. 32 Often in the course of their plundering, on entering within, they would find that entire families were corpses, and that the rooms were filled with the carcasses of the famine’s victims. Then, standing in horror at this sight, they would retire outside empty-handed.

33 Truly, although they pitied those who had perished in this manner, they had no similar feelings for the living; instead, running everyone through with their weapons, they indeed choked the narrow-alleys with corpses, but flooded the entire city with blood, even to such a degree that many of the blazes were extinguished by the blood.

34 And indeed, toward evening, they ceased killing. But when night fell, the fire prevailed. Now on the dawn of the eighth day of the month Gorpiaios, Jerusalem was ablaze—a city which had suffered so many calamities during the siege, that, had she enjoyed an equal share of good-things from the time of her foundation, would certainly have been liable to envy; truly, a city underserving of these great misfortunes on any other ground, except that she produced a race such as this which brought about her overthrow.

CHAPTER 93 [War6:409-434/Life:417b-419]

Now when Titus entered the city, he greatly marveled, not only at its strength, but at the towers, which the tyrants, in their mad-foolly, had abandoned. 2 Accordingly, he beheld both their solid height, and the magnitude of each rock as well as the exactness of their joinings, and he indeed remarked how great was their breadth, and how extensive their height, declaring, “A god has yet been warring along with us, and it was a god who ejected the Judeans from these fortifications. For what power have human hands or machines against these towers?”

3 Therefore, he indeed made many similar observations to his friends at that time, but he also set free every one of the tyrants’ prisoners who were found in the fortresses. 4 Now when, at a later period, he demolished the rest of the city and overthrew its wall, he left these towers as a memorial of his fortune, whose cooperation enabled him to conquer defenses which otherwise could not have been taken by him.

5 Now numerous Judean survivors still appeared, but since the soldiers were now growing weary of murdering, Caesar directed them to kill only those who were found in arms and opposing them with hand-to-hand combat, but to capture the rest of the multitude. 6 Now in addition to those specified in the messages which had been transmitted, the soldiers did away with both the aged and the feeble; but those who were in the prime of life and serviceable, they drove together into the temple, shutting them up in the court of the women.

7 And Caesar indeed appointed one of his freedmen as their guard, but also his friend Fronto in order to exercise his dignity. 8 Now Fronto indeed killed all the insurgents and brigands, who indicted each other. But he selected the tallest and most handsome of the youth, reserving them for the triumph.

9 Now as for the remaining multitude: those older than seventeen he sent in chains to the works in Egypt; but Titus sent a great number as presents to various provinces, to be destroyed in the theaters by iron weapons and beasts. But those who were under seventeen were sold.

10 Now during the days when Fronto was separating these men, 11,000 of the prisoners perished from starvation, indeed, due to the hatred bore to them by their guards, but also through their own refusal of it when it was offered. But the multitude was so vast that even grain failed to sustain them.

11 Now when the city of Jerusalem had been on the verge of being taken, Titus Caesar had repeatedly urged me to take whatever I wanted from the ruins of the city which had suffered so many calamities during its existence, even to such a degree that many of the blazes were extinguished by the blood.

5 may also be translated “consecrated”
6 may also be translated “standing-up”
7 may also be translated “hands of humans”
Now by permission of Titus, I also entered the temple, where a large multitude of prisoners, both women and children, had been shut in. I set free as many of my friends and acquaintances as I recognized, who numbered about 190. And I took no ransom for their release and restored them to their former fortune.

14 Therefore indeed, the total number of prisoners taken throughout the entire war amounted to 97,000.

But the number of those who perished during the entire siege amounted to 1,100,000.

15 Of these, the greater number were indeed of the same tribe, but not countrymen. For having gathered together from every part of the country for the Festival of the Unleavened, they found themselves suddenly enveloped in the war, with the result that this overrunning indeed first produced a pestilential destruction, but later the additional and more rapid scourge of a famine.

16 Now that the city was capable of containing so many people is clear from the census which was taken under Cestius. Because Nērō had held the nation in contempt, Cestius, wishing to convince Nērō of the city’s strength, entreated the chief-priests to take a census of the multitude, if it was possible to do so. 17 Now during the Passover Festival, the sacrifices are indeed slain from the ninth to the eleventh hour, but a small company gathers around each sacrifice. Since it is not lawful to feast alone, these companies are no fewer than ten in number, but the companies often include even as many as twenty. 18 Indeed, these chief-priests counted the sacrificial victims, which amounted to 256,600. 19 Allowing an average of ten men to feast on each victim, the total reaches 2,700,200 persons who were pure and holy. 20 For it was not lawful for those who were afflicted with leprosy or gonorrhea, or menstruous women, or persons otherwise defiled, to partake of this sacrifice; 21 instead, it is not even permitted for foreigners, who are present for worship, to partake of it, even though a multitude of these gathered together from abroad.

22 Yet truly, the entire nation had been shut up by necessity1 as in a prison; and when the war encircled the city, it was packed with men. 23 Accordingly, the fatalities of the multitude outnumbered those of any previous visitation, human or demonic.

Accordingly, when everyone who showed themselves had, indeed, been done away with or taken prisoner by the Romans, they instituted a search for those in the underground-passages; and, tearing up the ground, they killed everyone whom they met. 24 But here they found at least 2,000 corpses; indeed, some of them had been slaughtered by their own hands, but some by another’s; but the majority had been utterly-destroyed by the famine.

25 But so horrible was the stench from the bodies which met the intruders, that, indeed, many instantly withdrew. But others, possessed by avarice, penetrated further, trampling over heaps of corpses. 26 For many precious objects were found in these passages, and the hope of gain legalized every way of acquiring it.

But many of the tyrants’ prisoners were also brought up, for the tyrants did not abandon their cruelty even to the very last. 27 Yet truly, God visited both with deserving vengeance. And indeed, as for Johanan, perishing of hunger along with his brothers in the underground-passages, he beggèd the Romans to give him their right hand, a pledge which he had so often spurned. But as for Simon, after a long struggle with necessity, he surrendered. 28 Indeed, Simon was reserved for slaughter from among the tyants, while Johanan was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment.

Now the Romans set fire to the outlying quarters of the town and entirely demolished its walls.


This was indeed how, in the second year of the leadership of Vespasianus, on the eighth day of the month Xanthias, Jerusalem was taken. Now it had also been taken on five previous occasions, though it was now the second time of its desolation. 2 For indeed, Shishak the king of Egypt, and after him Antiochos, then Pompeius, and after them Sossius in league with Hērōdēs, took the city but preserved it. 3 But before their days, the King of Babel had conquered it and made it desolate.

4 For instead, neither its antiquity, nor its ample wealth, nor its nation diffused over the whole inhabited earth, nor even the great veneration of its religious-worship, were sufficient to avert its destruction.

5 Now Daniel wrote about the Roman leadership, and that Jerusalem would be taken by them and the temple made desolate. 6 For not only did he prophesy about future events (as did the other prophets); instead, he even determined the exact time of their accomplishment. 7 All these things, as God revealed them to him, he left behind in his writings, so that those who read them and observe how they have come to pass must be amazed at the honor given to Daniel by God, and learn from these facts how deceived are the Epikoureans, 8 who both cast aside foresight from life and refuse to believe that God governs its affairs or that the universe is steered to the end by a blessed and incorruptible being so that its entirety may endure, but who say that the world runs along automatically without a driver or a curator. 9 If it were without a guardian in this fashion, it would be shattered through taking a blind course and so end in destruction, exactly as we also see ships go down when they lose their helmsmen or chartists overnight when they have no one holding the reins. 10 Therefore, it seems to me, in view of the things foretold by Daniel, that those who declare that God exercises no foresight at all over human affairs have gone far astray from holding a true opinion. For if it were the case, that the world goes on by some automatism, we would not have seen all these things happen in accordance with his prophecy.

11 This was indeed how the siege of Jerusalem came to its end.

CHAPTER 95 [War7:1–5.16–20 / Life:420–422a]

Now as soon as the army had no more victims to murder nor to plunder, because no objects remained on which to vent their fury (for they would certainly not have spared anything as long as there remained work to be done), Caesar directed both the entire city and the inner-sanctum to be demolished, indeed, leaving only the greatest of the towers (Fazaēl, Hippikos, and Miriam), but also the portion of the wall enclosing the city on the west. 2 Indeed, this wall was spared as an encampment for the garrison which was to remain; but the towers were also spared in order to provide indication to future posterity of the city’s nature and of the strong defenses which had yielded to Roman manliness. 3 But all the rest of the wall which enclosed the city was so completely leveled to the ground that nothing was left for future visitors to believe that the spot had ever been inhabited. 4 Therefore, this was indeed the end to which the follies of the revolutionaries brought Jerusalem, that splendid city of renown among all humans.

5 Now Caesar indeed decided to leave the tenth legion there as a local garrison, along with some swarms of cavalry and companies of infantry.

But having administered everything relating to the war, he longed both to commend all of the armies at once for their great achievements, and to bestow the appropriate rewards upon those who had specially shown themselves to be the best. 6 Now when everyone had been rewarded as he judged each to have deserved, he made prayers on behalf of the whole army. Then he descended amidst many acclamations, and proceeded to offer a sacrifice of victory. And with a multitude of oxen being brought up beside the altars, he sacrificed them all and distributed them to the army for a feast.

7 Now after he had joined in the festivities for three days, he indeed dismissed the rest of the army to their several appropriate places. But he entrusted the tenth legion with the guardianship of Jerusalem, not sending them back to their former station beyond the Euphrates.2

8 Now when he recalled that the twelfth legion had, under the generalship of Cestius, succumbed to the Judeans, he indeed banished them from Syria altogether (for they had previously been quartered at Rafanijah), but sent them to the district called Melitēnē, beside the Ephræums, which is within the confines of Armenia and Kappadokia.

9 But he thought it fit to retain two of the legions with him until his arrival in Egypt. These were the fifth and the fifteenth.

10 Now about this time, I was sent by Titus Caesar with Cerealius and 1,000 cavalry to a village called Tekoa, in order to prospect whether it was a suitable place for a palisade. On my return, I saw many prisoners who had been crucified, and I recognized three of my acquaintances among them. Now my soul was pained. And coming to Titus with tears, I told him what I had seen. 11 Now he immediately directed that they should be taken down and receive the most careful treatment. And indeed, two of them came to their end in the healers’ hands, but the third lived.

12 Now when Titus had brought an end to the disturbances in Judah, he conjectured that the properties which I held around Jerusalem would be unprofitable to me, because a Roman garrison was to be quartered there. So he gave me another country in a plain.

13 Then Titus descended with his army to Caesarea-by-the-Sea, where he both laid aside the great quantity of his spoils and ordered that his prisoners should be kept in custody; for the winter season prevented him from sailing for Italia.

CHAPTER 96 [War7:21–36]

Now at the same time that Titus Caesar was assiduously besieging Jerusalem, Vespasianus embarked on a merchant’s ship, sailing from Alexandria to Rhodes.

2 Now from there, he sailed on triremes. And after touching at all cities which lay

1 may also be translated “fate”

2 Greek / from Persian “Ufratu” / Hebrew “Furat” (also in verse 8)
on his route, he was received everywhere with votive-offerings. Then he passed over from Iónia into Hellas. From there, he set sail from Kerkura to the lapygian promontory. From there, he pursued his journey by land.

3 But as for Titus, he marched from Caesarea-by-the-Sea and passed to Caesarea Philippoi, where he remained for a considerable time, exhibiting all kinds of spectacles. 4 Here many of the prisoners were utterly-destroyed: indeed, some were thrown to beasts, but others were formed into opposing multitudes and compelled to wage war against one another. 5 And it was here that Titus was informed of the capture of Simon son of Giora, which happened in the following way:

6 During the siege, this Simon had occupied the upper city. When the Roman army had entered within the walls and were laying the entire city waste, he, accompanied by his most faithful friends, let himself down with all his party into one of the secret underground-passages. And along with them were some stonecutters who had brought both the required iron tools for their occupation as well as provisions sufficient for many days.

7 And indeed, they followed the old trench as far as it extended. But when they met with solid ground, they began mining, hoping to be able to proceed far enough to emerge from underground in a safe place, thereby escaping in this way.

8 But this laborious experiment proved this hope delusive. For the miners advanced both slowly and with difficulty. Also, the provisions, though distributed by measure, were nearly exhausted.

9 At this, Simon thought that he might be able to delude the Romans by creating a source of consternation. So he dressed himself in short white frocks and buckled a purple mantle over them. Then he arose out of the ground at the very spot where the temple had formerly stood.

10 Therefore indeed, at first, the spectators were aghast and remained motionless. But afterwards, they drew nearer, inquiring who he was. 11 And Simon indeed was not willing to tell them, but ordered them to summon their leader. And they promptly ran to fetch him, whose name was Terentius Rufus. For he had been left as chief of the army. Now when he arrived, and had ascertained the whole truth, he indeed kept Simon in chains, but informed Caesar how he was captured.

12 Therefore indeed, Simon, being rightfully-punished for his cruelty to his own citizens, whom he had mercilessly tyrannized, was delivered by God into the hands of the Judeans of Antiocheia, to be laid up in their congregation. And the Judeans were granted civic-rights equal with the Hellenes themselves. 9 Now continuing to receive similar treatment from succeeding kings, the Judean colony both multiplied their multitude, and even furnished their temple with extravagant, making it splendid with votive-offerings. They were also constantly attracting a multitude of Hellenes to their religious-rituals, thereby, in some measure, making these Hellenes a part of themselves.

10 Now about the time when the war had been declared, but Vespasianus had recently sailed down to Syria, but when every man’s hatred against the Judeans had reached its height, 11 there was a certain Antiochos, one of their own number. He was highly honored on account of his father (for his father was a chief of the Judeans in Antiocheia). When the populace was assembled together, he entered the theater, becoming an accuser to inform against both his own father and the other Judeans, accusing them of having taken counsel to burn the whole city to ashes in a single night. He even delivered up some visiting Judeans as accomplices to the plot.

12 Upon hearing this, the populace could not restrain their anger; instead, they immediately directed the men who had been delivered up to be instantly consigned to a fire. And all of them were incinerated on the spot in the theater. 13 But believing that the salvation of their fatherland depended on bringing prompt retribution upon the Judeans, they violently rushed upon the multitude.

14 But Antiochos further intensified their anger. Indeed, thinking to furnish proof of his conversion and of his detestation of the Judean customs, he sacrificed after the manner of the Hellenes. 15 Now he also recommended that the rest of the conspirators would be exposed in this way by their refusal to sacrifice. But when the Antiocheians applied the experiment, indeed a few complied, but those who refused were done away with.

16 But as for Antiochos himself, he procured the aid of soldiers from the Roman leader, and domineered over his fellow Judean citizens with severity. He did not permit them to rest on the seventh day; instead, he compelled them to do everything exactly as they did on other days. He also enforced obedience to this mandate so strictly, that the weekly day of rest was not only abolished at Antiochea, but instead the example which was started there spread for a short time to the other cities as well. 18 Such were the misfortunes which the Judeans of Antiochea experienced at that time.

After these things, a second misery befell them. 19 For a fire had broken out, which burned the quadrangular marketplace to ashes, both the chief-magistrates’ quarters, and the archives, and the royal palaces. But the fire was prevented from spreading its raging violence over the whole city, but not without difficulty. But Antiochea accused the Judeans of this deed.

20 Even if the Antiocheians had not even been previously embittered against the Judeans, the commotion produced by the accident would have caused them to be readily misled by his slander. But after what had previously occurred, they were now much more inclined to believe Antiocchos’ statements, imagining that they themselves had with their own eyes seen the Judeans lighting the fire. 21 So like maniacs, in an insane-passion, they all violently rushed upon the slandered Judeans.

22 But only with great difficulty, did Gnaeus Collega, the elder, succeed in restraining their rage, requesting permission to explain the situation to Caesar. For as it happened, Caesennius Paetus, who was the leader of Syria, had indeed already been sent out by Vespasianus, but had not yet arrived there.

23 Now by careful investigation, Collega discovered the truth. Not one of the Judeans whom Antiochoa had brought incriminations against, had had any part in the affair, 24 but the whole crime was the work of some offending humans, who, under the constraint of debts, supposed that if they burned the market-place and the public documents to ashes that they would be liberated from the demand of having to give it back.

25 Therefore indeed, under great disorder and fear, the Judeans, with these incriminations hanging over them, continued to anxiously await the issue’s verdict.

CHAPTER 97 [War7:37-62]

Now during his stay at Caesarea, Titus celebrated his brother’s birthday with great splendor. And in his honor, he reserved for this festival much of the chasteimment intended for his Judean captives. 2 For the number of those done away with either in battles with the beasts or in mutual-slaughters, or being burned to ashes, exceeded 2,500. However, despite the ten thousand countless ways in which their victims were destroyed, to the Romans, all this seemed to be too small a punishment.

3 After this, Caesar passed to Beirut. Now this city of Phoiniké was a Roman colony. His sojourn here was longer than the previous one, and he displayed an even greater magnificence on the occasion of his father’s birthday, both in the costliness of the spectacles and in the ingenuity of the various other items of expenditure. 4 But multitudes of captives were destroyed in the same manner as before.

5 Now about this time, it also happened that the remnant of the Judeans at Antiocheia were under charges and in danger of destruction because the city of the Antiocheians was thrown into confusion against them. This was in consequence, both of the slanders now being laid to their charge, and of certain

1 literally “righteousness”
Now Titus Caesar indeed stayed for some time at Beirut. But after departing from there, he also both exhibited extravagant spectacles in all the cities of Syria through which he passed, and made his Judean captives serve to publicly display their own destruction.

2 In the course of his march, he saw a river. For indeed, it runs between Arka (a city within Agrippa’s kingdom), and Rafanijah, but has an astonishing peculiarity. 3 For when it flows, it is a copious stream and has a current which is not interrupted, but, them, all at once, its springs fail; and for the space of six days, it leaves a dry channel1 which can be seen by anyone. 4 Again on the seventh day, as though it had undergone no change at all, it pours forth as it did before. And it has always been observed to strictly keep this order; and for this reason, they have called it the Sabbatical River, having named it after the consecrated seventh day of the Judeans.

5 But when the population of the Antiocheians were informed that Titus was approaching, they were indeed so joyful that they could not bear to remain within their walls, but hastened to meet him; 6 and they advanced to a distance of over 30 stadia. This did not include the men only, but instead a multitude of women with their little-ones as well, streaming out from the city.

7 When they saw him approaching, they, lining either side of the road, both saluting him with their right hands, and, involving all sorts of acclamations upon him, returned back with him. 8 But all their acclamations were accompanied by an entreaty to throw the Judeans out from their city. 9 Therefore, Titus indeed was unmoved by their petition; instead, he listened in silence to what was said. But the Judeans, uncertain of his opinion and intentions, were kept in great and distressing fear.

10 For Titus did not stay at Antiocheia; instead, he marched straightaway to Zeugma, which lies on the Euphrates.2 And there, some men from Valash king of Parthia came to attend him, who brought him a golden crown in recognition of his victory over the Judeans. 11 After of the triumphal procession and providing a banquet for the royal ambassadors, he returned from there to Antiocheia.

12 Now the council and populace of the Antiocheians earnestly besought him to visit their theater, where the whole multitude was gathered together to receive him. So he humanely complied. 13 But once more they persistently pressed him, and continuously entreated him not to allow the Judeans to continue to have the rights of citizenship, and to expel them from the city.

14 Therefore, the Antiocheians relinquished their first request, and turned to a second. For they petitioned him to remove the brazen tablets on which the law of the Judeans.

15 Therefore, the Antiocheians relinquished their first request, and turned to a second. For they petitioned him to remove the brazen tablets on which the law of the Judeans. 16 Truly, Titus would not assent to this either. Instead, leaving the status of the Antiochean Judeans exactly as it was before, he departed for Egypt. (A similar incident like this also later happened with the Alexandrians). 17 For despite having suffered great hardships in the war with the Judeans, and being bitter toward them because they had not handed over their weapons, but had persisted in warring to the very end, neither did Titus or Vespasianus deprive them of their citizenship. 18 For they even overcame their former anger, as well as the demands of the Antiocheans (and later the Alexandrians), who were powerful and influential, so that, neither out of favor to these, nor out of hatred of the people whose wicked opposition they had warred against, did they yield to dismissing any of the ancient acts of humanities shown to the Judeans. Instead, they said that those who had taken up arms against them, and had engaged in a battle with them, had suffered retribution, and they would not allow those who had not sinned to be deprived of their existing rights.3

19 And on his way to Egypt, Titus visited Jerusalem. And he contrasted the mournful scene of desolation before his eyes with the former splendor of the city. And laying to remembrance the magnitude of its broken structures and their old beauty, he felt pity for its destruction. 21 Not boasting, as another might have done, of having taken such a large and great city by his might, he instead heaped curses upon the criminals who had been the cause of the revolt, and who had brought this retribution upon it. This was how plainly he showed that he could never have desired for the calamities attending their chastisement to be a demonstration of his excellence.

22 But of the vast wealth which had been in the city, not even a small portion remained to be discovered among the ruins. 23 For indeed, much of this the Romans dug up, but the greater part was possessed through the information of the captives—that is, both the gold and silver, and other most precious articles which the owners had stored underground against the uncertain fortunes of war.

24 Now Titus proceeded on his proposed march into Egypt. And he swiftly traversed over the desert and reached Alexandria. 25 And here, having determined to sail for Italy, he dismissed the two legions, which had accompanied him, to their respective former stations: indeed, the fifth to Musa, but the fifteenth to Pannonia. 26 But as for the leaders of the captives, indeed, Simon and Johanan, together with 700 hundred men whom he had selected out of the rest as being remarkable for both their size and their handsome bodies, he ordered that they be instantly conveyed to Italy, desiring to produce them at the triumph. 27 Now on his departure for Roma, Titus took me as his sailing companion, assigning me every honor.

28 Now after a successful voyage, Roma gave him such a reception and welcome as it had given to his father; but what made it even more illustrious was that Titus was met and received by his father himself. 29 But the multitude of citizens conceived some demonic joy at the sight of the three princes now united together.

30 Now I was given every provision from Vespasianus. For he even gave me an apartment in the house which he had occupied prior to his leadership. He honored me both with Roman citizenship, and he assigned me a pension. And he continued to honor me up to the time of his departure from this life, without any abatement in his kindness toward me.

31 Now before many days had elapsed, the three princes decided to celebrate their achievements by one common triumph, despite that the council had decreed a separate triumph to each one. 32 Now at the break of dawn, on the day when the victory procession took place, Vespasianus and Titus came out, indeed, crowned with laurel and clad in the purple clothes of their fathers, and proceeded to the Octavian Walks. 33 Then Vespasianus withdrew to the gate which, in the time of Octavian, was always passing through it, had derived its name: the Gate of Triumph. 34 Here the princes both partook of food, and, having donned their triumphal clothes and having offered sacrifices to the gods who were placed beside the gate, they sent the triumph on its way, riding through the theaters in order to provide the multitudes with an easier view.

35 But among the war procession itself, following many extravagant displays, were moving pagesants, many of them being three or four stories high. 36 Now the triumphal scene after the war in particular was the most important. In separate sections, affording a very vivid picture of it. 37 For here indeed was to be seen a prosperous country devastated, but there whole phalanxes of their foes killed. And here indeed a party in flight, but there others led into captivity. But there were walls of surpassing height demolished by machines, and strong fortresses overpowered, and populous cities with citadels encompassed, and an army pouring within the walls, and a region full of murder, and the hands of those incapable of resistance raised as suppliants; also temples set on fire, and houses pulled down over their owners’ heads; and after much desolation and dejection, rivers flowing, not over a cultivated land, nor supplying drink to humans or livestock, instead, across a land still being burnt up on every side. For such sufferings had happened to the Judeans for plunging into the war. 40 Now the art and magnificent workmanship of these structures now exhibited the incidents to those who had not seen them, as though they had been there themselves. 41 Now on each of the pagesants was stationed the general of one of the captured cities in the manner in which it was taken. But many ships also followed.

42 Now indeed, the other spoils were carried in overflowing heaps; but the most prominent of them all were the items taken from within the Jerusalem temple. Now these consisted of both a golden table weighing many talents; and a lampstand, which was likewise made of gold, but constructed of a pattern completely different from those which we normally use; 43 for indeed, affixed to a pedestal was its central column, but extending from it were slender branches arranged in the fashion of a Trident. A wrought lamp was attached to the end of each branch. Now these lamps were seven in number, indicating the honor of the number seven among the Judeans. 44 Now after these, the last of all the spoils was carried: the law of the Judeans.

45 After these followed many men carrying statues of victory, all made of ivory and gold. 46 Behind them, first drove Vespasianus, and then Titus; while Domitian rode beside them, both in magnificent apparel and mounted on a horse which was a worthy spectacle.

47 Now the procession ended at the inner-sanctum of Zeus Capitolinus. When they reached this place, they halted. For it was an old custom of their fathers to wait there until a message was received stating that their foes’ general had received death. 48 This was Simon son of Giora, who had previously been led in this triumph among the prisoners. Now with a noise thrown around him, Simon was led forward by his conductors while being drawn in separate sections in the Forum. Now this was the place where Roman law requires that malefactors condemned to death should be killed.
CHAPTER 99

Now Lucilius Bassus had been dispatched to Judah as an elder. And receiving the army from Cerealius Vetilianus, he had reduced the fortress of Hérōdeion, together with its garrison, to surrender. 2 Now he mustered all of the soldiers who were there (now many of these were scattered into detachments, and included the tenth legion), and determined to march against Machairous. 3 For it was a measure, I think, from fear lest its strength might be a means inducing many to form a defection. 4 For even the nature of the place was specially adapted to afford its occupants with the firmest hope of salvation, and to deter and instill terror in those who should attack it. 5 For indeed, the envaileted site is itself a rocky eminence, rising to such a great height that, on that account alone, its reduction would be difficult. But nature also machinated to render it inaccessible. 6 For it is ditched on all sides within ravines of a depth not easily perceived, nor easily able to be traversed, and utterly impossible to fill up. 7 For indeed, that ravine which hems it in on the west extends to 60 stadia, ending at the Lake of Asphalt. But somewhere in this direction, Machairous itself also reaches its highest overpeaking look. 8 Now the ravines on the north and south, are indeed less extensive than this, but they are equally impracticable for making an attack upon. 9 Now the ravine on the east is indeed found to be no less than 100 cubits in depth, but its limit is a mountain directly opposite of Machairous. 10 But another danger from a distance away and ordered the demonic presence, which was now outside this man, to knock these over, and so cause the spectators to see that it had left the place. 28 Now when this happened, the sagacity and wisdom of Solomon became evident through this. 29 Now also throughout the place are flowing springs of warm waters, directly from springs of another in the mountains. For indeed some are bitter, but the others are lacking nothing of sweetness. 30 But there are many seyers of cold waters, which are not solely confined to the low-lying-ground, where the springs gush forth beside-one-another. 31 Instead, what is even more marvelous to be seen, is what is above a certain cave; for its cavity is not deep, but is covered by a projecting rock. Above this rock, there are two breasts, as it were, a little distance apart; and indeed, one yields running-water which is extremely cold, but the other yields something hot. When these waters are mixed together, they compose a most pleasant bath, also possessing general medicinal properties, but particularly, restoration to the sinews. But there are also sulfur and alum mines here. 32 Now after Bassus had reconnoitered this place on all sides, he decided to approach it by filling up the ravine on the eastern side. So he now applied himself to this task, laboring to raise the embankment as soon as possible, and thereby to facilitate the siege. 33 Now as for the Judeans who were shut up within there, they separated themselves from their foreign colleagues; and regarding those foreigners as a mere crowd, they indeed compelled them to remain in the lower city and to intercept the first dangers; 34 while they themselves seized and held the fortress above, both on account of the strength of its defenses, and to make a provision for their own salvation. For they conceived that they might obtain pardon, if they were to surrender that place to the Romans. 35 But first, they wanted to put to the test their hopes of escaping a siege. And therefore they made an attack upon those who went to the camp and exchanged with those at work on the mound. Indeed, many of their own men died, but did away with many of the Romans. 36 But it was always the opportunity which presented itself which was the judge in deciding the victory for either side: indeed, of the Judeans, if they fell upon their enemies when they were off their guard; but of the Romans on the mounds, if they foresaw the Judean sally and received it in a formation of defense. 37 Instead, it was not these encounters which were destined to end the siege, but a casual and surprising incident forced the Judeans to surrender the fortress.

9 In the past, when Alexandros, king of the Judeans, noted these natural advantages of the site, he was the first to enwall it with a fortress, which was subsequently demolished by Gabinius who made war with Aristoboulos. 10 But when Hérōdēs had become king, he regarded this place as supremely deserving of attention and of the strongest fortress. And this was especially due to its proximity to Arab; for since it faces that land, it is conveniently situated. 11 Therefore, he had indeed enclosed an extensive area with walls and towers, founding a city, which he thought to persuade and convince those present that he had this power, first placed a drinking-cup or foot-basin filled with water a short distance away and ordered the demonic presence, which was now outside this man, to knock these over, and so cause the spectators to see that it had left the place. 28 Now when this happened, the sagacity and wisdom of Solomon became evident through this.

99 West of their Phaethon, the Romans. But another danger from a distance away and ordered the demonic presence, which was now outside this man, to knock these over, and so cause the spectators to see that it had left the place. 28 Now when this happened, the sagacity and wisdom of Solomon became evident through this. 29 Now also throughout the place are flowing springs of warm waters, directly from springs of another in the mountains. For indeed some are bitter, but the others are lacking nothing of sweetness. 30 But there are many seyers of cold waters, which are not solely confined to the low-lying-ground, where the springs gush forth beside-one-another. 31 Instead, what is even more marvelous to be seen, is what is above a certain cave; for its cavity is not deep, but is covered by a projecting rock. Above this rock, there are two breasts, as it were, a little distance apart; and indeed, one yields running-water which is extremely cold, but the other yields something hot. When these waters are mixed together, they compose a most pleasant bath, also possessing general medicinal properties, but particularly, restoration to the sinews. But there are also sulfur and alum mines here. 32 Now after Bassus had reconnoitered this place on all sides, he decided to approach it by filling up the ravine on the eastern side. So he now applied himself to this task, laboring to raise the embankment as soon as possible, and thereby to facilitate the siege. 33 Now as for the Judeans who were shut up within there, they separated themselves from their foreign colleagues; and regarding those foreigners as a mere crowd, they indeed compelled them to remain in the lower city and to intercept the first dangers; 34 while they themselves seized and held the fortress above, both on account of the strength of its defenses, and to make a provision for their own salvation. For they conceived that they might obtain pardon, if they were to surrender that place to the Romans. 35 But first, they wanted to put to the test their hopes of escaping a siege. And therefore they made an attack upon those who went to the camp and exchanged with those at work on the mound. Indeed, many of their own men died, but did away with many of the Romans. 36 But it was always the opportunity which presented itself which was the judge in deciding the victory for either side: indeed, of the Judeans, if they fell upon their enemies when they were off their guard; but of the Romans on the mounds, if they foresaw the Judean sally and received it in a formation of defense. 37 Instead, it was not these encounters which were destined to end the siege, but a casual and surprising incident forced the Judeans to surrender the fortress.

38 Among the besieged Judeans was a youth both of daring boldness and with an efficacious hand, whose name was Eleazar. 39 Now he had distinguished himself in the sallies by encouraging most of his comrades to come out and hinder the progress of the earthworks, and themselves in the battle by frequently making terrible havoc of the Romans, thereby easing the assault for everyone who ventured out with him, but covering their retreat by the last to withdraw. 40 And on one occasion, when the battle was over and both sides had retired, Eleazar, haughty and assuming that none of their foes would resume the battle at that time, remained outside the gates conversing with his comrades on the wall, where his concentration was entirely devoted to them. 41 Now a soldier in the Roman encampment, whose name was Rufus, of Egyptian race, spied his opportunity. And making a sudden dash upon Eleazar, he identified his weapons and machines, and, overrunning the wall were paralyzed with consternation. So he succeeded in transporting the fellow to the Roman encampment.
42 Now the Roman general directed Eleazar to be supplied and carried to the spot most exposed to the view of the onlookers in the city, where he was severely tormented by whips. The Judeans were profoundly affected by the youth’s fate; and the city, with one voice, burst into such wailing and lamentation that seemed to far exceed what would be expected for the calamity of a mere individual.

43 Observing this, Bassus proceeded to formulate a stratagem against his foes, and was desirous to intensify their distress in order to compel them to purchase the man’s salvation by the surrender of the fortress. But this was not what he intended to have Eleazar immediately hung upon it. But at this sight, those in the fortress were seized with deeper dismay; and with piercing shrieks, they exclaimed that this was unbearable.

45 At this, Eleazar besought them not to abandon him to suffer the most miserable of deaths; and to concern themselves about their own salvation by yielding to the might and fortune of the Romans, who had subdued everyone.

46 But these men were also overcome by his appeals, which were even backed by many intercessors within the city (for he came from a great and extremely populous family). So they yielded to a compassion contrary to their nature.

47 And they immediately dispatched a deputation to discuss the surrender of the fortress, and their desire for permission to depart from there free from terror, taking Eleazar along with them.

48 Now when the Romans and their general accepted these terms, the multitude in the city below, heard about the separate agreement which had been made by the Judeans. So they determined on their part to make off secretly during the night. 49 But no sooner had they opened the gates, Bassus was informed about it that those by whom the treaty had been made with him. It is uncertain as to whether these Judeans begrudged Bassus’ salvation, or whether they were terrified of being held responsible for their flight.

50 Therefore indeed, the most courageous of the fugitives contrived to cut their way through and escape. But of those who were left in the city, indeed the men, numbering 1,700 were done away with, but the women and little-ones were enslaved. 51 But Bassus, holding himself bound to observe his agreement with the Judeans who had surrendered the fortress, both let them depart and restored Eleazar.

52 Now when Bassus had settled these affairs, he pushed on with his soldiers to the Jardes Forest. For he had received a message stating that many of those who had previously run away from Jerusalem and Machairous during the respective sieges had congregated there. 53 Therefore, on reaching the spot and finding the message correct, he indeed began by surrounding the whole place with his cavalry, in order to prevent the escape of any Judeans attempting to break through. But he ordered the infantry to cut down the trees among which the fugitives had taken cover.

54 Now in this way, the Judeans were reduced to the necessity of attempting some noble feat, in the hope that by contending desperately they might even possibly escape. But in a mass and with a shout, they dashed out and fell upon their foes who surrounded them. 55 Now these Romans received them stubbornly. And indeed, with much desperation on the one side, but love-of-strike on the other, indeed the battle lasted for no short time.

But the outcome did not turn out as expected for the contenders. 56 For indeed, the Romans lost but a total of twelve men, along with a few wounded; but not one of those by whom the Judeans had surrendered the fortress; in this hope, he was not, than 3,000 in number, died. 57 And among those dead was their general, Judah the boy of Arie, who had been leading a company at the siege of Jerusalem, and who had secretly escaped from there through some of the underground-passages.

58 Now about the same time, Caesar sent instructions to Bassus and to the procurator Labeurius Maximus, directing him to leave out all of the Judean land. 59 For he had not founded any city there, but reserved the place for himself. Now the only exception was Hammat, which is a distance of 30 stadia from Jerusalem, to where he assigned 800 men, who had been dismissed from the army, as a place for their habitation. 60 But on all the Judeans, wherever they resided, he imposed a poll-tax, directing each of them to send two drachmas annually into the Capitolium as they had formerly contributed to the Jerusalem inner-sanctum. And this was indeed the state of the Judean institution at this time.

CHAPTER 100 [War7:219a, 252~319]

But now, in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasianus, 2 it came to pass in Judah that Bassus had come to his end, and Flavius Silva succeeded him as the leader. And indeed, when he saw that the whole country was now subdued in this war, but that there was only one fortress which was not subdued, he gathered together his entire force in the regions and advanced with his army against it.

Now this fortress was called Masada. 3 But Eleazar, a powerful man, was set over the Sicarii who had occupied it. This man was a descendant of the Judah who had induced no small amounts of Judeans to refuse to register themselves when Quirinius had been sent as censor to Judah. 4 For in those days, the Sicarii gathered together against the Judeans who consented to submit to Roma, and treated them as foes in every way; indeed, by plundering their property and rounding up their livestock, but by setting fire to their houses. 5 But the Sicarii asserted that these were no other than foreigners, who so ignobly sacrificed the freedom which the Judeans had battled for, and who confessed their preference for slavery under the Romans. 6 But in reality, this was not a pretext, put forward by them as a cloak for their cruelty and avarice, as was made evident by their own actions. 7 For indeed, the people did join with them in the deflection and took their part in the war against the Romans, but only to suffer even worse atrocities at their hands. 8 When they were again convicted of falsehood in this pretext, they continued to further oppress those who had rightly reproached them for their wickedness.

9 For that period had, somehow, become so prolific of wickedness of every description amongst the Judeans, that no evil deed was left unperpetrated; nor was it possible to invent any new form of it, even if he wanted to devise it. 10 Everyone had the sickness, both in private and in community life; and they strove to outdo each other, both in acts of impiety toward God, and in unspeakable deeds toward their neighbors. Indeed, the powerful men injured the multitudes, but the many were eager to destroy the powerful men. 11 For indeed, the one part was bent on tyranny, but the other on violence and plundering the prosperous.

12 Therefore, the Sicarii were the first to set the example of this transgression of the law and cruelty toward their own kinsmen, leaving no reproachful word unspoken, nor any outrage untied, to the victims of their conspiracy.

13 Instead, even these Sicarii were shown to be more moderate than Iohanan himself! For he not only did everything one who proposed righteous and beneficial counsel, treating such persons as his bitterest enemies among all the citizens, no, he, in his public capacity, even loaded the fatherland with ten thousand evils, as one might expect would be inflicted upon humans by one who had already dared to practice impiety even toward God. 14 For both the food that was set upon his table was unlawful, and he even abandoned the rules of purity established by our forefathers; so that it was no longer surprising to find that the highest butt of such malpractice toward God failed to observe the offices of gentleness and communion with men.

15 Moreover, there was Simon son of Giora; what evil did he not commit? Or what outrage did he refrain from inflicting upon the very freemen who had set him up to be a tyrant? 16 But what friendship, but what kindred were there who did not make these men more audacious in their daily murders? For indeed, to injure a foreigner, they considered a work of ignoble wickedness; but to bring cruelty to their nearest relatives, they thought was a splendid demonstration.

17 But even their infatuation was outdone by the madness of the Edomites! For those most abominable wretches, slaughtered the chief-priests, so that no portion of impiety might be maintained. And after this, they proceeded to extirpate whatever remnant was left of our form of polity, and introduced complete lawlessness into every department.

18 For in this, the so-called Zealots excelled, a race which justified their name by their actions. 19 For they imitated every evil work, nor was there any previous villany in remembrance which they failed to zealously emulate. 20 Although they took their title from their professed zeal for what is good, either in mockery of those whom they treated unrighteously (so brutal was their nature), or by reckoning the greatest of evils as good.

21 For that very reason, each one of these found the fitting end, God deciding to bring deserved retribution upon them all. 22 For every punishment which a human’s nature is capable of enduring descended upon them, even to the utmost end of their lifetime, dying amid the agonies of manifold torment. 23 Instead, one might truly say that they suffered less than they inflicted, for no rightful punishment could match what they deserved.

24 For the Roman general led his forces against Eleazar and his band of Sicarii who held Masada. And indeed, while straightway conquering the whole country, he established garrisons at the most suitable points. 25 He also threw up a wall in a ring around the fortress, in order to make it difficult for any of the besieged Sicarii to escape, and posted men to guard it.

26 Now he himself encamped at a region which he indeed selected as most convenient for the siege, at a place where the fortress’ rocks abutted on the adjacent mountain, but which was troublesome to bring in an abundance of necessaries. 27 For not only were supplies conveyed from a great distance, even entailing hard labor to the Judeans who were appointed to this duty, instead, even worse to be brought to the encampment, since there was no running-water in the vicinity.

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1 [War] C “Jairus”
2 [War] some Greek, Latin / most Greek “60”
28 Therefore, when Silva had completed these preliminary arrangements, he turned his attention to the siege, a siege which demanded great skill and severe exertion, due to the strength of the fortress, whose nature is as follows:

29 A rock, not small in its circumference and high in length, abruptly ends on every side by deep ravines, the precipices rising sheer from below out of an unseen base. And it was inaccessible to the foot of any living-creature, except for two places where the rock subsidizes to permit a passage of no easy ascent. 30 Now of these roads: indeed, one leads from the Lake of Asphalt toward the sunrise; but the other, whose ascent is easier, from the west.

31 Now the one is called The Serpent, since it resembles that reptile in its narrowness and continual windings. For its straight course is broken by the prominences of the cliffs which it skirts around; and it returns frequently upon itself and gradually lengthens out again, thereby making painful headway. 32 Now the man traversing this route must firmly plant each foot alternately. But destruction is in full view before him; for on either side yawn cliffs with such a fearsome depth, that it is able to frighten the courage of everyone. 33 Therefore, after following this route for 30 stadia, one reaches the peak, which, instead of tapering to a sharp point, expands into a level summit.

34 On this plateau, the chief-priest Jonathan first built a fortress and called it Masada; but the subsequent rebuilding of the place employed the serious attention of King Hérōdés. 35 For it was he who also first enclosed the entire peak with a stone wall: Indeed, its circuit measured seven stadia, but its height was 12 cubits, and its breadth eight cubits. 36 Now on it stood thirty-seven towers, each 50 cubits high, from which access was obtained to apartments constructed around the entire interior of the wall.

37 For the actual peak, composed of rich soil and softer than any plain, was reserved by the king for agriculture. He did this, so that there would never be a shortage of food being brought in from outside, nor might those who entrusted themselves to its support suffer from it.

38 But he also built a royal palace here on the western slope, beneath the walls on the summit,1 but inclining toward the north. Now the wall of the royal palace was strong and of great height, each of its four corners having a tower 60 cubits high.

39 The interior’s fittings, both of the apartments, and of the colonnades, and of the baths, were of manifold variety and sumptuous: indeed, columns, each formed of a single stone, supported the building throughout; but the walls and floors of the apartments were laid with variegated stones.

40 Now at each spot used for habitation (both those above and around the royal palace, as well as before the wall), he had cut out of the rock numerous large tanks, as reservoirs for water. In this way, he was machining a supply of water as ample as where running-waters are available.

41 Now an excavated road led up from the royal palace to the peak of the summit, which could not be seen from without. Truly, it was not easy for foes to make use of even the plain approaches, 42 for indeed, the eastern road, as previously mentioned, was nearly impassable due to its nature. But as for the western road, Hérōdés barred its narrowest point with a great tower, which stood at a distance no less than 1,000 cubits from the summit. Nor was it possible to bypass this tower, nor could it be easily captured. But passage was rendered difficult even for travelers who went along without any terror. 43 Therefore indeed, in this way had this fortress been fortified against a foe’s onslaught, both by its very nature, and by its provisions. When Silva observed this, he thought it would be easier to destroy this wall by using fire. So he ordered his soldiers to hurl showers of burning torches at it. 44 But the stores laid up within this fortress would have excited still more amazement on account of their lavish splendor and their durability. 45 For here large quantities of grain had been stored, amply sufficient to last for years. There was an abundance of both wine and olive-oil, along with every variety of pulse and piles of dates. 46 Now all these, Eleazar found in perfect condition when he, along with his Sicarii, occupied the fortress through deceit; and these things were no way inferior to the fruits which had been recently laid in, although from a date of storage to when the Romans’ captured the place, close to a century had elapsed. Instead, even the Romans found the remains of the fruits to be undecayed. 47 But it would not be possible to attribute such durability to the atmosphere, which, due to the height around the summit, makes it un tainted by all earth-like and muddy material.

48 Now there was also found a multitude of weapons of every description, which had been bonded up by the king, and which were sufficient for ten thousand men. Along with these were both unwrought iron, and brass, but also lead.

These preparations, in fact, had been made for severe reasons. 49 For it is said that Hérōdés furnished this fortress as a refuge for himself, suspecting a twofold danger: indeed, from the Judean multitude, lest they should depose him in order to restore their former government to power; but the greater and more serious danger arose from Kleopatra queen of Egypt. 50 For she never concealed her intention; instead, she was constantly importuning Antonius, indeed, urging him to do away with Hérōdés, but entreat ing him to confer the kingdom of Judah upon her. 51 And, far from expecting him to refuse to gratify her, it is rather surprising that Antonius never obeyed her commands, basely enslaved as he was by his passionate-desire for her. 52 Indeed, it was such fears which drove Hérōdés to furnish Masada, which he was destined to leave to the Romans as a final work in their war against the Judeans.

53 For the Roman leader, having now completed building a wall around the whole exterior of the place, and having taken the strictest precautions to prevent anyone from escaping, undertook the siege. He had discovered only a single spot capable of supporting earthworks. 54 For at the rear of the tower which barred the road leading from the west to the royal palace and the mountain-summit, there was a projection of rock of considerable breadth; and it jutted far out, but was still 300 cubits below the elevation of Masada. Now it was called White.

55 Therefore, Silva ascended and occupied this rock, and directed his army to raise an embankment. Now working with eagerness and with many hands, they raised a solid embankment 200 cubits in height. 56 Truly, this embankment was considered not to have sufficient stability nor dimensions for use as an ascent for the machines; instead, a platform of great stones fitted closely together was constructed on its top. The platform was 50 cubits, both in breadth and in height. 57 Now the construction of the other machines was similar to those which had first been devised by Vespasianus, but afterwards by Titus for their sieges. 58 And a 60 cubit tall tower was constructed entirely fortified with iron; from these, the Romans released missiles from many sharpened-bolt-lancers and rock-lancers which quickly beat off the combatants on the wall and prevented them from showing themselves.

59 Now simultaneously, Silva, having also furnished himself with a great bunch of horses, set about this work, and directed it to be set against the wall without intermission. Therefore indeed, though with difficulty, he succeeded in breaking through the wall, and demolished a portion of it.

60 But the Sicarii had already hastily built up another wall inside, which was not liable to the same misfortune from the machines as the former wall. For this one was pliable and calculated to break the force of the impact. It was constructed in the following manner:

61 Now the other walls were laid together lengthwise, contiguous, and joined at their ends; but of these, there were two parallel rows a wall’s breadth apart, and the intermediate space was filled with excavated-soil. 62 But to prevent the soil from spreading as the earthwork rose, they laid other transverse beams over them, thereby clamping the beams which lay lengthwise. 63 Therefore indeed, their work gave the illusion that it was authentic masonry. But the blows of the machines were weakened, battering upon a yielding material; and as the materials settled down under the concussion, they merely became more solid than before.

64 When Silva observed this, he thought it would be easier to destroy this wall by using fire. So he ordered his soldiers to hurl showers of burning torches at it. 65 Now since it was mainly made of wood, it quickly caught the fire. And due to its porousness, it was burned to its core, blazing up into a mighty flame.

66 Therefore indeed, at the first outbreak of the fire, a north wind blew in the faces of the Romans, making them fearful. For by diverting the flame from above, the wind drove it against them. And fearing that all their machines would be burned in place, they were not able to hinder it. 67 But then, as if under the foresight of a demon, the wind suddenly veered to the south. And blowing with full force in the opposite direction, it wafted and flung the flame against the wall, and its entire core was now completely ablaze.

68 Therefore, the Romans, having God’s assistance, returned to their encampment rejoicing, with the determination to attack the enemy on the very next day. And throughout that night, they kept stricter guard, lest any of the Judeans should secretly escape.

CHAPTER 101 [War 7.320-388]

Truly, Eleazar himself did not contemplate fleeing, nor did he intend to permit anyone else to do so. 2 But indeed seeing the wall consumed by the fire, but being unable to devise any further means of salvation or strong endeavor, but setting before his eyes what the Romans, if victorious, would inflict on them, and their children and women, he took counsel regarding the death of all of them. 3 And judging that this was the best course to take in their present circumstances, he gathered together the most manly of his comrades and incited them to that deed by a speech which he made in the following manner:

4 “Long ago, my good men, we determined never to be enslaved to the Romans, nor to any other except for God, for he alone is the true and righteous master of humans. Now, the time has come which directs us to confirm that resolution by our actions.

5 “Let us not, at this crisis, disgrace ourselves—we, who in the past refused to submit even to a slavery involving no danger. But now, let us not, along with slavery, accept the irreparable retributions awaiting us if we are to fall alive under
the hands of the Romans. For we were both the very first to revolt, and are the last who are warring against them. 6 But I also believe, that it is God who has granted us this favor, that we still have it in our power to die beautifully and in freedom, a privilege denied to others who were defeated unexpectedly.

7 “But it is certain, that we will indeed be captured at daybreak. But, there is still the free choice of a noble death together with those whom we hold most dear. For our foes, though they are praying fervently to take us alive, can no more prevent this than we can hope to have a victory over them in battle. 8 For maybe, indeed, we ought to have conjectured God’s purpose from the very start, when, having chosen to assert our freedom, we invariably experienced such sore treatment from one another, and still worse from our foes; and to have recognized that the Judean race, once beloved of him, had been condemned to perdition. 9 For had he continued to be gracious, or at least moderately incensed, he would indeed never have overlooked the destruction of so many humans, while abandoning his most holy city to a fire and a demolition by our foes.

10 “But in truth, did we even hope that we alone of all the Judean nation would survive and preserve our freedom, as if we had been sinless toward God and without a hand in crime—we who had even taught the others? 11 “For this reason, consider how he exposed the vanity of our expectations, by visiting us with such terrible distress exceeding everything that we could anticipate. 12 For not even the impregnable nature of this fortress had availed to bring us salvation. Instead, even ample foods are ours, and a multitude of weapons, and a superabundance of every other requisite, yet we have been deprived, manifestly by God himself, of all hope of salvation.

13 “For it was not of their own accord that the fire which was being driven against our foes turned back upon the wall which we constructed. Instead, all this is the effect of ire against us for the many unrighteous-deeds which we madly dared to inflict upon our fellow-tribesmen. 14 Let us not receive the rightful punishment, but inveigh against those who brought such instigation from God himself through the act of our own hands. Now this will be more tolerable than the other. 15 For in this way, let our women die unmolested, and our little-ones unacquainted with slavery. But once they have died, let us bestow that noble favor upon each other, guarding our freedom as a beautiful funeral shroud.

16 “But first, let us also destroy our money and the fortress by fire. For I am well-assured that the Romans will be grieved to lose our bodies, as well as our wealth. 17 But if we fight, and our foe will testify, once we are dead, that it was not want which subdued us, but instead, that, in accordance with our initial resolution, we preferred death to slavery.”

18 This was what Eleazar spoke to them. Truly, his words did not touch the mind of every hearer alike. Instead, some, indeed, were eager to respond and were all but filled with pleasure at the thought of such a beautiful death; 19 but others who were softer were moved with compassion for them and their families, but especially even by the vivid prospect of their own end. As they looked upon one another, their tears indicated their unwilling mind.

20 When Eleazar saw them terrified, and their souls dejected in face of such a prodigious proposal, he was afraid that their whimper and tears might enfeebles even those who had listened to his speech with fortitude. 21 Therefore, far from slackening in his exhortation, he instead roused himself, and, filled with a mighty fervor, spoke a higher flight of oratory concerning the immortality of the soul. 22 Both indignantly protesting and with eyes intently fixed on those in tears, he said: 23 But it seems, if you are so greatly worried about God, that you have yet a problem, which is this: men, who were determined to live beautifully, or else to die. 23 But it seems that you were no better than the common herd, either in excellence or in courage, you who are yet afraid even of that death which will deliver you from the direst miseries; for in such a cause you should neither hesitate an instant, nor wait for a counselor.

25 “For from of old, since the first dawn of intelligence, we have been continually disciplined by these precepts, of our fathers and of the Deity, confirmed by both the works and minds of our forefathers, that life, not death, is a misfortune to humans. 25 For indeed, it is death which gives freedom to a soul and permits it to depart to its own pure habitation, there to be free from all calamity. 26 Therefore as long as a soul is imprisoned in a mortal body and tainted with all its miseries, it is, in sober truth, dead; for the union of what is mortal to what is divine is ill befitting.

27 “Therefore, it is indeed true that a soul possesses great capacity, even while incarcerated in a body; for it makes the body its organ of perception, invisibly swaying it and directing it onward in its actions beyond the range of mortal nature. 28 Instead, when a soul is truly freed from the weight which drags it down to earth and which clings about it, a soul is restored to its proper place; at that time it enjoys a happy strength and a power incapable of being hindered on every side. It remains, like God himself, invisible to the human eyes. 28 For while in a body, we were enemies, and our detestations against one another are of itself a nature one and incorruptible, but which is responsible for change to a body. 29 For whatever a soul may touch lives and has flourished, but whatever it has been released from, that object, after being caused to fade-away, dies-off; so abundant is her wealth of immortality.

30 “But let the state of sleep furnish you with a most evident proof of what I say—sleep, in which the soul, not distracted by the body, indeed, enjoys perfect independence, the most delightful repose. But conversing with God on account of kinship with him, the soul indeed ranges everywhere, but foretells many things which are to come. 31 Why then should we be terrified of death, who love the living by reason, and consider that the life of the immortal is indeed nothing else but a prolongation of the days of the mortal, just as the latter is a prolongation of the former. For God did not slay its Judean inhabitants and which were not greater foes to us than were the Romans. 32 Yet, even the Damasekians, though unable to invent even a plausible pretext against us, flooded their city with the foulest murder, slaughtering 18,000 Judeans along with their women and families. 30 Now as for the multitude in Egypt, we were informed that those who perished in torments exceeded 60,000. 34 Therefore, we are not ashamed of being inferior to the Indians! And by our deeds we put to shame that outrage upon the laws of our fathers, which are zealously-desired by all humans!

39 “Yet instead, even if we had been originally disciplined in the opposite reasonings, teaching that the highest good for humans is life but that death is a calamity—accordingly, the time we are in calls upon us to bear it with a good-heart, since it is by God’s will and of necessity that we are to come-to-our-end. 40 For it is now evident that God has made this decree against the whole Judean race in common, that we must quit this life if we would not make proper use of it. 41 For do not attach the responsibility to yourselves, nor give the credit to the Romans, that this war with them has utterly-destroyed us all. For it was not their might which brought these things to pass; instead, it was the intervention of some more powerful cause which has afforded them the semblance of a victory.

42 “For what Roman weapons, I ask, slew the Judeans of Caesarea? 43 Instead, they had not even contemplated revolt, but were engaged in keeping their Seventh Day Festival, when the Caesarean multitude rushed upon them and slaughtered them along with their women and children, when they had not even lifted up a hand against them. This happened without even the slightest respect for the Romans, who regarded us as foes only when we had revolted.

44 “Instead some might say, that the Caesareans always had a standing quarrel with their Judean residents and seized that opportunity to satisfy their ancient hatred. 45 Therefore, what shall we say of the Judeans in Skythopolis? For they had the audacity to wage war on us account of the Hellenes; instead, when we reposed in sleep! But in thinking that, they see how little they reaped from their goodwill and faithfulness to the men of Skythopolis! However, they were ruthlessly slaughtered by them, they and all their families. That was the recompense which they received for their assistance to the men of Skythopolis. 47 For the very same destruction which they had prevented from falling upon their neighbors at our hands, they suffered themselves, as though they themselves had desired to inflict it.

48 “Time does not permit me to presently name each instance individually; 49 for, as you know, there is not a city in Syria which did not slay its Judean inhabitants and which were not greater foes to us than the Romans. 49 Yet, even the Damasekians, though unable to invent even a plausible pretext against us, flooded their city with the foulest murder, slaughtering 18,000 Judeans along with their women and families. 50 Now as for the multitude in Egypt, we were informed that those who perished in torments exceeded 60,000. 51 For we even had weapons, and walls, and fortresses nearly impregnable, and a mind undaunted by dangers to be run in the cause of...
freedom—these things encouraged everyone to start a sedition. 52 Instead, these advantages availed for but a brief season; and after buoying us up with hopes, proved to be the origin of greater disasters. For all were taken, all succumbed to the enemy, as though rendering their victory even more glorious, while not furnishing the salvation of those who provided those advantages. 53 ‘And indeed, as for those men who fell in the battle, they may be fitly called prosperous, for they died defending, not betraying, freedom. But as for the multitude under the Romans, who would not pity them? Who would not hasten to die, before sharing the same fate as them?’ 54 ‘Indeed, some of them have died on the racks or tormented by fire and whips. But others, half-devoured by beasts, have been preserved alive to provide them with a second repast, in order to afford laughter and sport for their foes. 55 Therefore indeed, most miserable of all to be considered are those still alive, who, frequently praying to receive the death, do not have it.’ 56 ‘But where is that great city now, or the metropolis of the whole Judean race—or indeed, enclosed behind all those walls, but screened by all those fortresses and massive towers, which could scarce contain her instruments of war, but which held all those tens of thousands of men to fight for her? 57 What has become of her who was believed to have God as her founder? Uprooted from her base, she has been swept away; and the sole memorial that she remains is those who have been done away with, still quartered¹ in her ruins. 58 But unfortunate old men sit beside the ashes of the sacred precinct, and a few women, reserved by our foe for bitterly shameful reproach. 59 ‘Now which of us, taking these things to mind, could bear to behold the sun, even though he may live secure from danger? Who is there that is such an enemy to his fatherland, or so unmanly and such a lover-of-his-soul, as to not change his mind because he is even alive at this moment? 60 Instead, I cannot but wish that we had all died before we ever saw that consecrated city demoralized by those who would then have profaned it so profanely uprooted! 61 ‘But seeing that we have been beguiled by a noble hope (as if we might perhaps find means of averging her of her foes), but now that hope has vanished and left us alone in our distress, let us hasten to die honorably. Let us pity ourselves, and our children and our women, while it is still in our power to show pity. 62 For indeed, we were born for death, we, as well as those whom we have begotten; and this, not even the fortunate can escape. 63 ‘But as for wanton-violence, and slavery, and the sight of our women being led to shame along with their children, these are not necessary evils imposed by nature upon humans; instead, due to their own timidity, being led to tremble as to what they may have to endure the anguish of what they had done any longer, and feeling they would be acting unrighteously toward those whom they had done away with if they survived them for but a moment, they indeed quickly threw everything which they had acquired into heaps, and lit a fire. 64 ‘But they chose by lot ten of them to slaughter the rest. And each laid himself down beside his prostate wife and little-ones; and throwing their hand around them, they offered themselves in readiness to the sufferers who accomplished that wretched service. 65 ‘Now when those ten had indifferently murdered all of them, they ordained the same rule of casting the lot for one another, that the man on whom it fell should first kill the other nine, and then, last of all, himself. They had such mutual good-courage, that neither in acting nor in suffering would one differ from another.’ 66 ‘So at the conclusion, the nine indeed placed themselves under the final slaughterer. And the last solitary survivor surveyed the prostrate multitude to see whether perhaps amid the shambles there were any still left who needed his hand. Indeed, finding that everyone had been done away with, he set fire to the royal palace. But collecting his strength, he drove his short-sword clean through him with his own hand, falling down beside his own family. 10 ‘And indeed, these people had died in belief that they had not left a single soul alive among them to fall into Romans hands. 11 ‘But there was an elderly lady, a woman; and there was another, one of Eleazar’s relatives, superior to most women in sensibleness and discipline, who along with five little-ones, escaped by concealing themselves in the underground-passages, water being brought there through the earth for them as drink, while the rest were absorbed in the slaughter of one another. 12 ‘The victims numbered 960, including women and little-ones. 13 ‘And the tragedy happened on the fifteenth day of the month Xanthikos. 14 ‘Now the Romans—expecting a battle—were equipped by daybreak. And having used gangways to form bridges of approach from the earthworks to the fortress, they advanced for an assault. 15 ‘But they did not see any of their foes; instead, they only saw an eerie solitude on every side, along with a fire within and otherwise complete silence. So they were at a loss to conjecture what had happened. And finally, as if it had been a signal to shoot, they raised the war-cry, to see whether they could summon anyone who was within. 16 ‘Now the shout was sensed by the women, who emerged from the underground-passages, and informed the Romans of what had been done. One of the two luckily reported both the speech and how the deed was committed. 17 ‘True, it was with difficulty that they listened to her, incredulous of such a desperate fortiitude. They also endeavored to extinguish the fire. And quickly cutting a passage through it, they entered the royal palace. And here they encountered the multitude of the murdered. They did not exult over them as foes, but admired the nobility of their resolve and the unwavering scorn of death which so many had displayed by carrying it into action.’

CHAPTER 103 [War7:407~422, 433~436]

Now that the fortress had been taken in this manner, the general indeed left a garrison in the place, while he himself departed with his force to Caesarea. 2 For not a foe remained throughout the country; instead, its entirety was now subdued by this protracted war, a war which had been felt by many even in the most remote parts, and which exposed them to a danger of disorder. 3 But even after this date, at Alexandria in Egypt, many Judeans died. 4 For certain members of the Sicarii, who had succeeded in fleeing there, were not content merely with having saved themselves, but they again embarked on new deeds, and sought to persuade many of their hosts to contend for their freedom, and to look upon the Romans as no better than themselves, but to esteem God alone as their only master. 5 But when certain reputable Judeans opposed them, these Sicarii indeed slaughtered them; but the rest they continued to press with solicitations to revolt. 6 But observing their infatuation, the principal men of the body of seniors thought that it was no longer safe for them to overlook their proceedings. Instead, they gathered together an assembly of the Judeans and exposed the madness of the Sicarii, proving them to have been responsible for all the evils which had come upon them. 7 They said, ‘And now, these men, discovering that even their flight has brought them no sure hope of salvation (for if recognized by the Romans they

¹ others “is the camp of those who destroyed her”
Among those who were plotted against and incriminated in this way, was I, Joseph, the author of this history. For my privileged position had excited envy and, by it, exposed me to danger.

13 Truly, this fraud did not proceed according to Catullus’ expectation. For indeed, the leader of this country did come to Roma, bringing Jonathan’s party in chains to the emperor, in belief that these false-accounts brought up before him and at his instance would be the end of the inquiry. 14 At this time, Jonathan asserted that I had sent him with weapons and money.

15 But Vespasianus, truly undeceived by this falsehood, suspected the affair and investigated the facts. And when he discovered that the incrimination laid against these men was unrighteous, he indeed, on the intercession of Titus, acquitted them of the charges. Instead, he condemned Jonathan with death. Now Jonathan was handed over, where a rightful-punishment was brought upon him and he died. For he was first tortured, then completely-burned alive.

16 But on that occasion, indeed due to the lenience of the emperors, Catullus suffered nothing worse than a reprimand. But it was not long before he was attacked by a manifold and incurable sickness, departing from this life miserably. Not only was he chastised in his body; instead, he had an even more burdensome sickness in his soul. 17 For he was haunted by terrors and was continually crying out that he had seen the apparitions of his murdered-victims standing at his side. And, unable to restrain himself, he would leap up from his bed as if tortures and a fire were being applied to him. 18 But his distress continued to grow rapidly worse, and his intestines ulcerated, falling out. This was how he died, affording a demonstration, no less striking than any, how God in his foresight, inflicts a rightful-punishment on the wicked.

19 But even after these things, numerous accusations against me were often fabricated by persons who were envious of my good-grace. But, by God’s foresight, I had escaped from them all.

20 Now from Vespasianus, I received a gift of a piece of land in Judah, which was not small. 20 During this time, I also divorced my wife, being displeased with her behavior. She had borne me three boys: indeed, two of them died; but one, whom I named Hyrkanos, is still around. 21 After these things, I took for myself a woman. Indeed, she had settled in Krété, but was of the Judean race. Her parents were the most noble and the most eminent in that country. In character she surpassed that of many women, as her subsequent life demonstrated. By her I had two boys: indeed, the elder was named Justus, but the next, Simonides, surnamed Agrippa. 22 This indeed is my domestic history.

Now the treatment I received from the emperors continued unaltered. For after Vespasianus had come-to-his-end, Titus, who succeeded him in the government, showed the same honor for me as I had received from his father, and, though I was often accused, never credited these accusations.

23 Now Domitianus succeeded Titus and increased my honors. For he both chastised the Judeans who had accused me, and gave orders for a slave, a eunuch and my boy’s tutor, who had accused me, to be chastised. Now he exempted my country in Judah from taxation—a mark of the highest honor to the privileged individual. But Domitia, Caesar’s wife, also continued to benefit me in many ways.

24 These indeed are the events of my whole life. But from them, let others judge my character as they wish.

25 But having, most excellent Epaphroditus, rendered you a complete record of our history, I shall here for the present conclude the history, which we have promised would be related with every accuracy for the information of those who wish to learn how this war was waged by the Romans against the Judeans. And indeed, its rendering must be left to the judgment of my readers. But I would not hesitate to boldly say that, throughout this entire composition, truth has been my single aim.

CHAPTER 105 [Ant20:224-251]
Now I think it is necessary and befitting in this history to provide details about the chief-priests: how they began, and who may lawfully participate in this honor, and how many there were up to the end of the war.

2 Therefore, it is indeed said that Aaron, the brother of Moses, was the first to act as chief-priest to God. But after he had come-to-his-end, his boys straightforwardly succeeded him. Thereafter, the honor remained permanently with all their descendants. 3 And for this reason, it is a tradition that no one should hold God’s chief-priesthood except for the man who is of Aaron’s blood; but that no one of another lineage, even if he were a king, should attain to the chief-priesthood.

4 Therefore, the total number of chief-priests beginning from Aaron up to Phinehas’s (who was appointed chief-priest by the revolutionary party during the war), is 83.

1 [Life] // [War] “3,000”
3 [Ant] // [War] “Phannias”
Of these, thirteen served as chief-priests from the sojourn in the wilderness in the days of Moses, when the Dwelling was standing which Moses constructed for God, until the arrival in Judah, when King Solomon erected the inner-sanctum to God. 6 For at first, they held the chief-priesthoods until the end of their lifetime, but afterwards also succeeded to it while their predecessors were living. Moreover, these thirteen, being descendants of Aaron’s two boys, received the office in succession. Now their first constitution was indeed an aristocracy, but then a monarchy, but then the office of Hyrkanos. Then, fearing that everyone would incline to Aristoboulos, he did away with him at Jericho by machining to have him strangled while swimming.

25 Moreover, after this, Hérōdés ceased to entrust the chief-priesthood to the descendants of the boys of Hasimoni. But Hérōdés’ boy Archelaos also followed a similar policy in the appointment of chief-priests, and so did the Romans after him.

26 Therefore, those who held the chief-priesthood from the times of Hérōdés up to the day on which Titus captured and set fire to the inner-sanctum and the city, numbered 28 in all. 27 And indeed, some of these were the politicians during the reigns of Hérōdés and his boy Archelaos. But after the end of them, the polity indeed became an aristocracy, but the chief-priests were entrusted with being in charge of the nation.

EPILOGUE


Now when I had leisure in Roma, and when all the work was prepared, having made use of some collaborators for the Hellenistic language, I also constructed my account of the events, writing a truthful account of the whole war and its individual details, having been present myself at all the events. But I was so confident of its truthfulness that I decided to use as testimonies, before everyone else, the emperors during the war: Vespasianus and Titus. 2 For being conscious that I had preserved the truth, I delivered the books to them first of all, when the deeds barely passed out of view. And as I was expecting to receive their endorsement, I was not disappointed. 3 But after them, I immediately delivered and sold copies of the history to many Romans who had fought with them in the war; but also to many of our own people: men also steeped in Hellenistic wisdom, among whom were Julius Archelaos, the most distinguished Hérōdés, and the most renowned King Agrippa himself, and certain relatives of his. 4 These all bore witness that I had carefully safeguarded the truth. They would not have held back and kept silent if, out of ignorance or bias, I had altered or omitted any of the facts. 5 For indeed, the emperor Titus so wished that the knowledge of these events should be transmitted to the humans from these volumes alone, that he signed them with his own hand, ordering their publication. 6 And the king, Agrippa, wrote sixty-two letters testifying to the truth of the record. And two of these I have subjoined:

7 King Agrippa to dearest Joseph, greetings.

I have perused the book with the greatest pleasure. And it seems to me that you have accurately described the events you have portrayed with superior care. But send me the rest also.

Farewell.

8 King Agrippa to dearest Joseph, greetings.

From what you have written, you appear to stand in no need of instruction, enabling all of us to learn everything from you from the beginning. However, whenever you visit me next, I myself will also inform you of many things which are not known.

9 Now he was not flattering my finished history, nor was he using irony (for he was far above such bad character). Instead, he testified to the truth in the same way as all those who have perused these histories.

10 Now Justus of Tiberias also wrote a treatise concerning these things, who, indeed professed to write history, but had little regard for the truth and did not recoil from the false even in unimportant details. 11 For indeed, this type of procedure certainly resembles those who forge documents, but, having no terror of retribution, they disdain the truth. 12 Accordingly, when Justus took it upon himself to portray the events related to the war, he, indeed, told lies about me in order to have the appearance of being industrious, but did not even tell the truth about his own fatherland.

13 But I cannot but wonder at your shamelessness, that you dare to say that you have sent out a better message about this subject than everyone else who has written about it, though you have come to know nothing of what happened throughout Galilē. For at that time, you were in Beirut with the king. Nor did you

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1 Persian “Kurus”
2 [Ant] II “Jehozadak, who had been taken captive, being one of those who returned”
3 Emendation based on earlier narrative (Gk “Barzaphranes”) / manuscript “Barzabanes”
4 Greek / from Persian “Ufratu” / Hebrew “Furat”
5 [Life] A adds
follow what the Romans endured at the siege of Jodphat, or what they did to us. And you were unable to discover what I myself did during the siege, for all those who brought messages were utterly-destroyed in the pitched-battle.

14 Instead, you claim to have accurately portrayed what happened throughout Jerusalem. And how is that possible? For you were neither involved in the war, nor have you perused the commentaries of Caesar. But of this, I have the greatest proof. For the writing you composed is in opposition to what is in the commentaries of Caesar.

15 But if you are so confident to claim that you have portrayed things better than all others, why did you not publish your history while the emperors Vespasianus and Titus, who conducted the war, were living, and while King Agrippa was still around, along with those of his family—men who had reached the highest degree of Hellenistic discipline? 16 For you had it written twenty years ago, when it was also possible for you to have obtained the testimony of your accuracy. But now that those men are no longer with us, you become courageous, not imagining that you will be exposed.

17 But I wrote the history of the war, having indeed been personally involved in many events, but an eyewitness of most of them; but not in the slightest bit deficient in my knowledge of anything which was said or done.