

**Josephus, *The Jewish War***

*BJ* 1, 1-30. Historian's preface.

*BJ* 5, 362-457. Josephus's speech from the walls of Jerusalem to the besieged Jews.

*BJ* 6, 193-219. Teknophagia, burning of Temple, destruction of city.

*BJ* 7, 280-401. Masada speeches and narrative.

Selection by Tessa Rajak

# JOSEPHUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
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IN NINE VOLUMES

II

THE JEWISH WAR, BOOKS I-III



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# CONTENTS OF VOLUME II

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	vii
THE JEWISH WAR—	
BOOK I . . . . .	2
BOOK II . . . . .	322
BOOK III . . . . .	574

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THE HERODIAN FAMILY . . . . . *at end of Book*

MAPS—GALILEE AND SURROUNDING

DISTRICT . . . . .	” ” ”
CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN	
PALESTINE . . . . .	” ” ”
JERUSALEM . . . . .	” ” ”

# THE JEWISH WAR

VOL II

B

# ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΙΟΥΔΑΪΚΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΥΣ

## ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Α

(1) Ἐπειδὴ τὸν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον συστάντα μέγιστον οὐ μόνον τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ὧν ἀκοῇ παρειλήφαμεν ἢ πόλεων πρὸς πόλεις ἢ ἐθνῶν ἔθνεσι συρραγέντων, οἱ μὲν οὐ παρατυχόντες τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἀλλ' ἀκοῇ συλλέγοντες εἰκαῖα καὶ ἀσύμφωνα διηγήματα σοφιστικῶς ἀναγράφουσιν, οἱ παραγενόμενοι δὲ ἢ κολακεία τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἢ μίσει τῷ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους καταψεύδονται τῶν πραγμάτων, περιέχει δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅπου μὲν κατηγορίαν ὅπου δὲ ἐγκώμιον τὰ συγγράμματα, τὸ δ' ἀκριβὲς τῆς ἱστορίας οὐδαμοῦ, προυθέμην ἐγὼ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν, Ἑλλάδι γλώσση μεταβαλὼν ἅ τοῖς ἄνω βαρβάροις τῇ πατρίῳ συντάξας ἀνέπεμψα πρότερον, ἀφηγήσασθαι, Ἰώσηπος Ματθίου παῖς, [γένει Ἑβραῖος,]<sup>1</sup> ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἱερεύς, αὐτός

<sup>1</sup> om. P Eus.

# HISTORY OF THE JEWISH WAR AGAINST THE ROMANS

## BOOK I

(1) THE war of the Jews against the Romans—the greatest not only of the wars of our own time, but, so far as accounts have reached us, well nigh of all that ever broke out between cities or nations—has not lacked its historians. Of these, however, some, having taken no part in the action, have collected from hearsay casual and contradictory stories which they have then edited in a rhetorical style; while others, who witnessed the events, have, either from flattery of the Romans or from hatred of the Jews, misrepresented the facts, their writings exhibiting alternately invective and encomium, but nowhere historical accuracy. In these circumstances, I—Josephus, son of Matthias, a Hebrew by race, a native of Jerusalem and a priest, who at the opening of the war myself fought against the Romans and in the sequel was perforce an onlooker—propose to provide the subjects of the Roman Empire with a narrative of the facts, by translating into Greek the account which I previously composed in my ver-

PREFACE  
whole

Inadeq  
of prev  
histori

Joseph  
creden

τε Ῥωμαίους πολεμήσας τὰ πρῶτα καὶ τοῖς ὕστερον παρατυχῶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης·

- 4 (2) γενομένου γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, μεγίστου τοῦδε τοῦ κινήματος, ἐν Ῥωμαίοις μὲν ἐνόσει τὰ οἰκεῖα, Ἰουδαίων δὲ τὸ νεωτερίζον τότε τεταραγμένοις ἐπανέστη τοῖς καιροῖς ἀκμάζον κατά τε χεῖρα καὶ χρήμασιν, ὡς δι' ὑπερβολὴν θορύβων τοῖς μὲν ἐν ἐλπίδι κτήσεως τοῖς δ' ἐν ἀφαιρέσεως δέει γίνε-
- 5 σθαι τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολήν, ἐπειδὴ Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν ἅπαν τὸ ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ὁμόφυλον συνεπαρθήσεσθαι σφίσιν ἤλπισαν, Ῥωμαίους δ' οἷ τε γείτονες Γαλάται παρεκίνουν καὶ τὸ Κελτικὸν οὐκ ἠρέμει, μεστὰ δ' ἦν πάντα θορύβων μετὰ Νέρωνα, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν βασιλειᾶν ὁ καιρὸς ἀνέπειθεν, τὰ στρατιωτικὰ δὲ ἦρα μεταβολῆς ἐλπίδι λημμάτων·
- 6 ἄτοπον ἠγησάμενος<sup>1</sup> περιδεῖν πλαζομένην ἐπὶ τηλικούτοις πράγμασι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ Πάρθους μὲν καὶ Βαβυλωνίους Ἀράβων τε τοὺς πορρωτάτω καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ὁμόφυλον ἡμῖν Ἀδιαβηνοὺς τε γνῶναι διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπιμελείας ἀκριβῶς, ὅθεν τε ἤρξατο καὶ δι' ὅσων ἐχώρησεν παθῶν ὁ πόλεμος καὶ ὅπως κατέστρεψεν, ἀγνοεῖν δὲ Ἕλληνας ταῦτα καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὴ ἐπιστρατευσαμένους, ἐντυγχάνοντας ἢ κολακείαις ἢ πλάσμασι.

<sup>1</sup> Some mss. have ἄτοπον οὖν ἠγησάμην. But chaps. (1) and (2) apparently form a single sentence, §§ 4 and 5 being a parenthesis.

<sup>a</sup> Aramaic or Hebrew.

<sup>b</sup> The "up-country barbarians" intended are more precisely specified in § 6.

<sup>c</sup> As Reinach points out, this is exaggerated. At the outbreak of war the Roman Empire was free from disorder.

<sup>d</sup> i.e. the Germans. The references are respectively to

anacular tongue <sup>a</sup> and sent to the barbarians in the interior.<sup>b</sup>

(2) I spoke of this upheaval as one of the greatest magnitude. The Romans had their own internal disorders. The Jewish revolutionary party, whose numbers and fortunes were at their zenith, seized the occasion of the turbulence of these times for insurrection.<sup>c</sup> As a result of these vast disturbances the whole of the Eastern Empire was in the balance ; the insurgents were fired with hopes of its acquisition, their opponents feared its loss. For the Jews hoped that all their fellow-countrymen beyond the Euphrates would join with them in revolt ; while the Romans, on their side, were occupied with their neighbours the Gauls, and the Celts <sup>d</sup> were in motion. Nero's death, moreover, brought universal confusion ; many were induced by this opportunity to aspire to the sovereignty, and a change which might make their fortune was after the heart of the soldiery.

I thought it monstrous, therefore, to allow the truth in affairs of such moment to go astray, and that, while Parthians and Babylonians and the most remote tribes of Arabia with our countrymen beyond the Euphrates and the inhabitants of Adiabene <sup>e</sup> were, through my assiduity, accurately acquainted with the origin of the war, the various phases of calamity through which it passed and its conclusion, the Greeks and such Romans as were not engaged in the contest should remain in ignorance of these matters, with flattering or fictitious narratives as their only guide.

the revolt of Gaul under Vindex (A.D. 68) and to that of the Batavi under Civilis (69).

<sup>e</sup> In the upper Tigris region.

Critical  
conditio  
affairs in  
East and  
West.

June A.D.

7 (3) Καίτοι γε ἱστορίας αὐτὰς ἐπιγράφειν τολ-  
 μῶσιν, ἐν αἷς πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ὑγιᾶς δηλοῦν καὶ τοῦ  
 σκοποῦ δοκοῦσιν ἔμοιγε διαμαρτάνειν. βούλονται  
 μὲν γὰρ μεγάλους τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀποδεικνύειν,  
 καταβάλλουσιν δὲ αἰεὶ τὰ Ἰουδαίων καὶ ταπεινοῦ-  
 8 σιν· οὐχ ὀρώ δέ, πῶς ἂν εἶναι μεγάλοι δοκοῖεν οἱ  
 μικροὺς νενικηκότες· καὶ οὔτε τὸ μῆκος αἰδοῦνται  
 τοῦ πολέμου οὔτε τὸ πλήθος τῆς Ῥωμαίων καμού-  
 σης στρατιᾶς οὔτε τὸ μέγεθος τῶν στρατηγῶν, οἱ  
 πολλὰ περὶ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἰδρώσαντες, οἶμαι,  
 ταπεινουμένου τοῦ κατορθώματος αὐτοῖς ἀδο-  
 ξοῦσιν.

9 (4) Οὐ μὴν ἐγὼ τοῖς ἐπαίρουσι τὰ Ῥωμαίων  
 ἀντιφιλονεικῶν αὐξείν τὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων διέγνων,  
 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἔργα μετ' ἀκριβείας ἀμφοτέρων δι-  
 ἔξειμι, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι λόγους ἀνα-  
 τίθημι τῇ<sup>1</sup> διαθέσει, καὶ τοῖς ἐμαντοῦ πάθεσι διδοὺς  
 10 ἐπολοφύρεσθαι ταῖς τῆς πατρίδος συμφοραῖς. ὅτι  
 γὰρ αὐτὴν στάσις οἰκεία καθείλεν, καὶ τὰς Ῥω-  
 μαίων χεῖρας ἀκούσας καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὸν [ἅγιον]<sup>2</sup>  
 ναὸν εἴλκυσαν οἱ Ἰουδαίων τύραννοι, μάρτυς αὐτὸς  
 ὁ πορθήσας Καῖσαρ Τίτος, ἐν παντὶ τῷ πολέμῳ  
 τὸν μὲν δῆμον ἐλεήσας ὑπὸ τῶν στασιαστῶν φρου-  
 ρούμενον, πολλάκις δὲ ἐκὼν τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς  
 πόλεως ὑπερτιθέμενος καὶ διδοὺς τῇ πολιορκίᾳ  
 11 χρόνον εἰς μετάνοιαν τῶν αἰτίων. εἰ δέ τις ὅσα  
 πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἢ τὸ ληστρικὸν αὐτῶν κατη-  
 γορικῶς λέγοιμεν ἢ τοῖς δυστυχήμασι τῆς πατρίδος  
 ἐπιστένοντες συκοφαντοίῃ, διδότην παρὰ τὸν τῆς

<sup>1</sup> Holwerda inserts <ἰδίᾳ>.

<sup>2</sup> om. PM\*.

## JEWISH WAR, I. 7-11

(3) Though the writers in question presume to give their works the title of histories, yet throughout them, apart from the utter lack of sound information, they seem, in my opinion, to miss their own mark. They desire to represent the Romans as a great nation, and yet they continually depreciate and disparage the actions of the Jews. But I fail to see how the conquerors of a puny people deserve to be accounted great. Again, these writers have respect neither for the long duration of the war, nor for the vast numbers of the Roman army that it engaged, nor for the prestige of the generals, who, after such herculean labours under the walls of Jerusalem, are, I suppose, of no repute in these writers' eyes, if their achievement is to be underestimated.

Erroneous  
disparagement of  
Jews by  
previous  
historians

(4) I have no intention of rivalling those who extol the Roman power by exaggerating the deeds of my compatriots. I shall faithfully recount the actions of both combatants; but in my reflections on the events I cannot conceal my private sentiments, nor refuse to give my personal sympathies scope to bewail my country's misfortunes. For, that it owed its ruin to civil strife, and that it was the Jewish tyrants who drew down upon the holy temple the unwilling hands of the Romans and the conflagration, is attested by Titus Caesar himself, who sacked the city; throughout the war he commiserated the populace who were at the mercy of the revolutionaries, and often of his own accord deferred the capture of the city and by protracting the siege gave the culprits time for repentance. Should, however, any critic censure me for my strictures upon the tyrants or their bands of marauders or for my lamentations over my country's misfortunes, I ask

The author's  
personal  
feelings.

- ἱστορίας νόμον συγγνώμην τῷ πάθει· πόλιν [μὲν]<sup>1</sup>  
 γὰρ δὴ τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πασῶν τὴν ἡμετέραν  
 ἐπὶ πλείστον τε εὐδαιμονίας συνέβη προελθεῖν καὶ  
 12 πρὸς ἔσχατον συμφορῶν αὐθις καταπεσεῖν. τὰ  
 γοῦν πάντων ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἀτυχήματα πρὸς τὰ  
 Ἰουδαίων ἠττηῆσθαι δοκῶ κατὰ σύγκρισιν, καὶ  
 τούτων αἴτιος οὐδεὶς ἀλλόφυλος, ὥστε ἀμήχανον  
 ἦν ὄδυρμῶν ἐπικρατεῖν. εἰ δέ τις οἴκτου σκλη-  
 ρότερος εἶη δικαστής, τὰ μὲν πράγματα τῇ ἱστορία  
 προσκρινέτω, τὰς δ' ὀλοφύρσεις τῷ γράφοντι.
- 13 (5) Καίτοι γε ἐπιτιμήσοιμ' ἂν αὐτὸς δικαίως  
 τοῖς Ἑλλήνων λογίοις, οἱ τηλικούτων κατ' αὐτοὺς  
 πραγμάτων γεγενημένων, ἃ κατὰ σύγκρισιν ἐλα-  
 χίστους ἀποδείκνυσι τοὺς πάλαι πολέμους, τούτων  
 μὲν κἀθηνται κριταὶ τοῖς φιλοτιμουμένοις ἐπηρεά-  
 ζοντες, ὧν εἰ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ πλεονεκτοῦσι, λεί-  
 πονται τῇ προαιρέσει· αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ  
 Μήδων συγγράφουσιν ὥσπερ ἦττον καλῶς ὑπὸ  
 14 τῶν ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων ἀπηγγελμένα. καίτοι  
 τοσοῦτῳ τῆς ἐκείνων ἠπτῶνται δυνάμει ἐν τῷ  
 γράφειν, ὅσῳ καὶ τῆς γνώμης· τὰ γὰρ καθ' αὐτοὺς  
 ἐσπούδαζον ἕκαστοι γράφειν, ὅπου καὶ τὸ παρα-  
 τυχεῖν τοῖς πράγμασι ἐποίει τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν  
 ἐναργῆ καὶ τὸ ψεύδεσθαι παρ' εἰδόσιν αἰσχρὸν ἦν.
- 15 τό γε μὴν μνήμη τὰ [μὴ]<sup>2</sup> προῖστορηθέντα διδόναι  
 καὶ τὰ τῶν ἰδίων χρόνων τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτὸν συν-  
 ιστάνειν ἐπαίνου καὶ μαρτυρίας ἄξιον· φιλόπονος δὲ  
 οὐχ ὁ μεταποιῶν οἰκονομίαν καὶ τάξιν ἀλλοτρίαν,

<sup>1</sup> PAM: om. the rest: Destinon conj. *μίαν* (after Lat. *solum*).

<sup>2</sup> A<sup>cor</sup> Lat.: om. the rest.

<sup>a</sup> Literally "which is contrary to the law of history": cf. B. v. 20.

his indulgence for a compassion which falls outside an historian's province.<sup>a</sup> For of all the cities under Roman rule it was the lot of ours to attain to the highest felicity and to fall to the lowest depths of calamity. Indeed, in my opinion, the misfortunes of all nations since the world began fall short of those of the Jews ; and, since the blame lay with no foreign nation, it was impossible to restrain one's grief. Should, however, any critic be too austere for pity, let him credit the history with the facts, the historian with the lamentations.

(5) Yet I, on my side, might justly censure those erudite Greeks who, living in times of such stirring actions as by comparison reduce to insignificance the wars of antiquity, yet sit in judgement on these current events and revile those who make them their special study—authors whose principles they lack, even if they have the advantage of them in literary skill. For their own themes they take the Assyrian and Median empires, as if the narratives of the ancient historians were not fine enough. Yet, the truth is, these modern writers are their inferiors no less in literary power than in judgement. The ancient historians set themselves severally to write the history of their own times, a task in which their connexion with the events added lucidity to their record ; while mendacity brought an author into disgrace with readers who knew the facts. In fact, the work of committing to writing events which have not previously been recorded and of commending to posterity the history of one's own time is one which merits praise and acknowledgement. The industrious writer is not one who merely remodels the scheme and arrangement of another's work, but one

The historian of contemporary events is superior to the compiler of ancient history.



who uses fresh materials and makes the framework of the history his own. For myself, at a vast expenditure of money and pains, I, a foreigner, present to Greeks and Romans this memorial of great achievements. As for the native Greeks, where personal profit or a lawsuit is concerned, their mouths are at once agape and their tongues loosed; but in the matter of history, where veracity and laborious collection of the facts are essential, they are mute, leaving to inferior and ill-informed writers the task of describing the exploits of their rulers. Let us at least hold historical truth in honour, since by the Greeks it is disregarded.

(6) To narrate the ancient history of the Jews, the origin of the nation and the circumstances of their migration from Egypt, the countries which they traversed in their wanderings, the extent of the territory which they subsequently<sup>a</sup> occupied, and the incidents which led to their deportation, would, I considered, be not only here out of place, but superfluous; seeing that many Jews before me have accurately recorded the history of our ancestors, and that these records have been translated by certain Greeks into their native tongue without serious error.<sup>b</sup> I shall therefore begin my work at the point where the historians of these events and our prophets conclude. Of the subsequent history, I shall describe the incidents of the war through which I lived with all the detail and elaboration at my command; for the events preceding my lifetime I shall be content with a brief summary.

(7) I shall relate how Antiochus, surnamed earlier works still left room for a new "archaeology" (*A. i. proem*).

Limits of present work: early Jewish history neglected

κατὰ κράτος Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ κατασχὼν ἔτεσι  
 τρισὶ καὶ μησὶν ἐξ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀσαμωναίου παίδων  
 ἐκβάλλεται τῆς χώρας· ἔπειθ' ὡς οἱ τούτων ἔγ-  
 γονοὶ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας διαστασιάσαντες εἰλ-  
 κυσαν εἰς τὰ πράγματα Ῥωμαίους καὶ Πομ-  
 πῆιον· καὶ ὡς Ἡρώδης ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου κατέλυσε  
 20 τὴν δυναστείαν αὐτῶν ἐπαγαγὼν Σόσσιον, ὅπως  
 τε ὁ λαὸς μετὰ τὴν Ἡρώδου τελευτὴν κατεστα-  
 σίασεν Αὐγούστου μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονεύοντος,  
 Κνιντιλίου δὲ Οὐάρου κατὰ τὴν χώραν ὄντος, καὶ  
 ὡς ἔτει δωδεκάτῳ τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς ὁ πόλεμος  
 ἀνερράγη, τὰ τε συμβάντα κατὰ Κέστιον καὶ ὅσα  
 κατὰ<sup>1</sup> τὰς πρώτας ὁρμὰς ἐπῆλθον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς  
 ὅπλοις·

21 (8) ὅπως τε τὰς περιοίκους ἐτειχίσαντο, καὶ  
 ὡς Νέρων ἐπὶ τοῖς Κεστίου πταίσμασι δείσας περὶ  
 τῶν ὄλων Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἐφίστησι τῷ πολέμῳ,  
 καὶ ὡς οὗτος μετὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τῶν παίδων  
 εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίων χώραν ἐνέβαλεν, ὅση τε χρώ-  
 μενος Ῥωμαίων στρατιᾷ καὶ ἄλλοις σύμμαχοις  
 εἰσέπαισεν<sup>2</sup> εἰς ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, καὶ ὡς τῶν  
 πόλεων αὐτῆς ἃς μὲν ὀλοσχερῶς καὶ κατὰ κράτος  
 22 ἃς δὲ δι' ὁμολογίας ἔλαβεν· ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ  
 τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐν πολέμοις εὐταξίας καὶ τὴν ἄσκη-  
 σιν τῶν ταγμάτων, τῆς τε Γαλιλαίας ἑκατέρας  
 τὰ διαστήματα καὶ τὴν φύσιν καὶ τοὺς τῆς Ἰου-  
 δαίας ὄρους, ἔτι τε τῆς χώρας τὴν ἰδιότητα,  
 λίμνας τε καὶ πηγὰς τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ τὰ περὶ  
 ἐκάστην πόλιν τῶν ἀλισκομένων πάθη μετὰ ἀκρι-

<sup>1</sup> παρὰ LVNC.

<sup>2</sup> ὅσοις συμμάχοις εἰσέπαισεν conj. (after Niese and Naber):  
 ὅσοι σύμμαχοι ἐκόπησαν MSS.

Epiphanes, took Jerusalem by storm and, after holding it for three years and six months, was expelled from the country by the Hasmonaeans <sup>a</sup>; next how their descendants, in their quarrel for the throne, dragged the Romans and Pompey upon the scene; how Herod, son of Antipater, with the aid of Sossius, overthrew the Hasmonaeon dynasty; of the revolt of the people, after Herod's death, when Augustus was Roman Emperor and Quintilius Varus provincial governor; of the outbreak of war in the twelfth year of Nero's principate, the fate which befell Cestius and the success which attended the Jewish arms in overrunning the country in the opening engagements.

(8) Then I shall proceed to tell how they fortified the neighbouring towns; how Nero, apprehensive for the Empire in consequence of the reverses of Cestius, entrusted the conduct of the war to Vespasian; of his invasion of Jewish territory, accompanied by his elder son; of the strength of the forces, Roman and auxiliary, with which he penetrated into Galilee, and of the towns of that province which he captured either by main force or by negotiation. In this connexion I shall describe the admirable discipline of the Romans on active service and the training of the legions; the extent and nature of the two Galilees, <sup>b</sup> the limits of Judaea, the special features of the country, its lakes and springs. I shall give a precise description of the sufferings of the prisoners taken in the several towns, from my own observation

<sup>a</sup> Gr. "the sons of Asamonaeus."

<sup>b</sup> Upper and Lower.

βείας, ὡς εἶδον ἢ ἔπαθον, δίειμι. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἔμαυτοῦ τι συμφορῶν ἀποκρύψομαι, μέλλων γε πρὸς εἰδότας ἔρεῖν.

23 (9) Ἐπειθ' ὡς ἤδη καμνόντων Ἰουδαίοις τῶν πραγμάτων θνήσκει μὲν Νέρων, Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ὠρμημένος ὑπὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀνθέλκεται· τὰ τε γενόμενα περὶ ταύτης αὐτῷ  
24 σημεῖα καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης μεταβολάς, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄκων αὐτοκράτωρ ἀποδείκνυται, καὶ ἀποχωρήσαντος ἐπὶ διοικήσει τῶν ὄλων εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐστασιάσθη τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὅπως τε ἐπανέστησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ τύραννοι, καὶ τὰς τούτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφοράς·

25 (10) καὶ ὡς ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου Τίτος δεύτερον εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐνέβαλεν, ὅπως τε τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ ὅπου συνήγαγε καὶ ὀπόσας, καὶ ὅπως ἐκ τῆς στάσεως ἡ πόλις διέκειτο παρόντος αὐτοῦ, προσβολάς τε ὅσας ἐποιήσατο καὶ ὀπόσα χώματα, περιβόλους τε τῶν τριῶν τειχῶν καὶ τὰ μέτρα τούτων, τὴν τε τῆς πόλεως ὀχυρότητα καὶ  
26 τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν διάθεσιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τούτων καὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὰ μέτρα πάντα μετ' ἀκριβείας, ἔθη τε ἑορτῶν ἕνια καὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ ἀγνείας καὶ τὰς τῶν ἱερέων λειτουργίας, ἔτι δὲ τὰς ἐσθῆτας τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ οἶον ἦν τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ἅγιον, οὐδὲν οὔτε

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "the seven purifications," referring doubtless, as

or personal share in them. For I shall conceal nothing even of my own misfortunes, as I shall be addressing persons who are well aware of them.

(9) I shall next relate how, at the moment when the Jewish fortunes were on the decline, Nero's death occurred, and how Vespasian's advance upon Jerusalem was diverted by the call to imperial dignity; the portents of his elevation which he received, and the revolutions which took place in Rome; his proclamation by his soldiers as Emperor against his will; the civil war which, on his departure for Egypt to restore order to the realm, broke out among the Jews, the rise of the tyrants to power and their mutual feuds.

(10) My narrative will proceed to tell of the invasion of our country by Titus, starting from Egypt; how and where he mustered his forces, and their strength; the condition to which civil war had reduced the city on his arrival; his various assaults and the series of earthworks which he constructed; further, the triple line of our walls and their dimensions; the defences of the city and the plan of the temple and sanctuary, the measurements of these buildings and of the altar being all precisely stated; certain festival customs, the seven degrees of purity,<sup>a</sup> the ministerial functions of the priests, their vestments and those of the high priest, with a description of the Holy of Holies.<sup>b</sup> Nothing shall be concealed,

Reinach suggests, to the zones or rings into which the Holy City was divided, and accessible to persons of various degrees of ceremonial purity. A list of these, omitting the innermost ring (the Holy of Holies), is given in the Mishna, *Kelim*, i. 8 (quoted in Schürer, *GJV*<sup>3</sup>, ii. 273); Josephus gives an incomplete enumeration in *B.* v. 227, *cf.* *Ap.* ii. 102 ff.

<sup>b</sup> "The holy [place] of the sanctuary."

ἀποκρυπτόμενος οὔτε προστιθείς τοῖς πεφωρα-  
μένοις.

- 27 (11) Ἐπειτα διέξεμι τὴν τε τῶν τυράννων πρὸς  
τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ὠμότητα καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων  
φειδῶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλοφύλους, καὶ ὅσάκις Τίτος  
σῶσαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐπιθυμῶν ἐπὶ δεξιὰς  
τοὺς στασιάζοντας προουκαλέσατο. διακρινῶ δὲ  
τὰ πάθη τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὰς συμφοράς, ὅσα τε  
ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ὅσα ὑπὸ τῆς στάσεως καὶ  
28 ὅσα ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ κακωθέντες ἔάλωσαν. παρα-  
λείψω δὲ οὐδὲ τὰς τῶν αὐτομόλων ἀτυχίας οὐδὲ  
τὰς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων κολάσεις, ὅπως τε ὁ ναὸς  
ἄκοντος ἐνεπρήσθη Καίσαρος καὶ ὅσα τῶν ἱερῶν  
κειμηλίων ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἤρπάγη, τὴν τε τῆς ὅλης  
πόλεως ἄλωσιν καὶ τὰ πρὸ ταύτης σημεῖα καὶ  
τέρατα, καὶ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τῶν τυράννων, τῶν  
τε ἀνδραποδισθέντων τὸ πλῆθος καὶ εἰς ἣν ἔκα-  
29 στοι τύχην διενεμήθησαν· καὶ ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν  
ἐπεξῆλθον τὰ λείψανα τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὰ ἐρύ-  
ματα τῶν χωρίων καθεῖλον, Τίτος δὲ πᾶσαν ἐπ-  
ελθὼν τὴν χώραν κατεστήσατο, τὴν τε ὑπο-  
στροφὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰς Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὸν θρίαμβον.
- 30 (12) Ταῦτα πάντα περιλαβὼν ἐν ἑπτὰ βιβλίοις  
καὶ μηδεμίαν τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις τὰ πράγματα καὶ  
παρατυχοῦσι τῷ πολέμῳ καταλιπὼν ἢ μέμψεως  
ἀφορμὴν ἢ κατηγορίας, τοῖς γε τὴν ἀλήθειαν  
ἀγαπῶσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς ἡδονὴν<sup>1</sup> ἀνέγραψα. ποιή-  
σομαι δὲ ταύτην τῆς ἐξηγήσεως ἀρχὴν, ἣν καὶ  
τῶν κεφαλαίων ἐποίησάμην.

- 31 (i. 1) Στάσεως τοῖς δυνατοῖς Ἰουδαίων ἐμπε-

<sup>1</sup> + ἀφορῶσιν M.

nothing added to facts which have been brought to light.<sup>a</sup>

(11) I shall then describe the tyrants' brutal treatment of their fellow-countrymen and the clemency of the Romans towards an alien race, and how often Titus, in his anxiety to save the city and the temple, invited the rival parties to come to terms with him. I shall distinguish between the sufferings and calamities of the people, culminating in their defeat, as attributable respectively to the war, the sedition, and the famine. Nor shall I omit to record either Book vi. the misfortunes of the deserters or the punishments inflicted on the prisoners; the burning of the Temple, contrary to Caesar's wishes, and the number of the sacred treasures rescued from the flames; the taking of the whole city and the signs and portents that vi. 288. preceded it; the capture of the tyrants, the number of the prisoners and the destiny allotted to each; vi. 414. nor yet how the Romans crushed the last remnants Book vii. of the war and demolished the local fortresses; how Titus paraded the whole country and restored order; and lastly his return to Italy and triumph.

(12) All these topics I have comprised in seven books. While I have left no pretext for censure or accusation to persons who are cognisant of the facts and took part in the war, my work is written for lovers of the truth and not to gratify my readers. I will now open my narrative with the events named at the beginning of the foregoing summary.

(i. 1) At the time<sup>b</sup> when Antiochus, surnamed

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Ap.* ii. 80, 107, for the "discoveries" of Antiochus Epiphanes in the Holy of Holies and the "unspeakable mysteries" supposed to take place there. <sup>b</sup> c. 171 B.C.

# JOSEPHUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

H. ST. J. THACKERAY, M.A.

HON. D.D. OXFORD, HON. D.D. DURHAM

IN NINE VOLUMES

III

THE JEWISH WAR, BOOKS IV-VII



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## CONTENTS OF VOLUME III

	PAGE
LIST OF JOSEPHUS' WORKS . . . . .	vi
 THE JEWISH WAR—	
BOOK IV . . . . .	2
BOOK V . . . . .	200
BOOK VI . . . . .	378
BOOK VII . . . . .	504
 APPENDIX: The principal additional Passages in the Slavonic Version . . . . .	
	635
 INDEXES TO VOLS. II AND III—	
Index I. General . . . . .	661
Index II. Biblical Passages . . . . .	686

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MAPS—(1) GALILEE AND SURROUNDING DISTRICT . . . . .	<i>at end of Book</i>
(2) CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN PALESTINE . . . . .	" " "
(3) JERUSALEM . . . . .	" " "

## LIST OF JOSEPHUS' WORKS

SHOWING THEIR DIVISION INTO VOLUMES  
IN THIS EDITION

### VOLUME

- I. THE LIFE. AGAINST APION
- II. THE JEWISH WAR. Books I-III
- III. THE JEWISH WAR, Books IV-VII
- IV. JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, Books I-IV
- V. JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, Books V-VIII
- VI. JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, Books IX-XI
- VII. JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, Books XII-XIV
- VIII. JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, Books XV-XVII
- IX. JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, Books XVIII-XX

μόνον ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρων μαχόμενοι, καὶ τοῖς ὀργάνοις  
 δ' ἤδη χρῆσθαι μεμαθηκότες· ἡ γὰρ καθ' ἡμέραν  
 τριβὴ κατὰ μικρὸν ἔθρεψε τὴν ἐμπειρίαν. εἶχον δ'  
 ὄξυβελεῖς μὲν τριακοσίους, τεσσαράκοντα δὲ τῶν  
 λιθοβόλων, δι' ὧν τὰ χώματα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις  
 360 ἐποίουν δυσέργαστα.<sup>1</sup> Τίτος δὲ σώζεσθαι τε τὴν  
 πόλιν καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι εἰδὼς ἑαυτῷ, ἅμα καὶ τῇ  
 πολιορκίᾳ προσέκειτο καὶ τοῦ παραινεῖν Ἰου-  
 361 δαίοις μετάνοιαν οὐκ ἠμέλει, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις  
 ἀνέμισγε συμβουλίαν, καὶ πολλάκις γινώσκων  
 ἀνυτικώτερον ὄπλων τὸν λόγον, αὐτός<sup>2</sup> τε σώζεσθαι  
 παρεκάλει παραδόντας τὴν πόλιν ἤδη<sup>3</sup> παρ-  
 ειλημμένην καὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον καθίει τῇ πατρίῳ  
 γλώσση διαλέγεσθαι, τάχ' ἂν<sup>4</sup> ἐνδοῦναι πρὸς  
 ὁμόφυλον δοκῶν αὐτούς.

362 (3) Οὗτος περιῶν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ πειρώμενος  
 ἔξω τε<sup>5</sup> βέλους εἶναι καὶ ἐν ἐπηκόῳ, πολλὰ κατ-  
 ηντιβόλει φείσασθαι μὲν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ δήμου,  
 φείσασθαι δὲ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ μηδὲ  
 γενέσθαι πρὸς ταῦτα τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἀπαθεστέ-  
 363 ρους. Ῥωμαίους μὲν γε τοὺς μὴ μετέχοντας  
 ἐντρέπεσθαι τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἅγια καὶ μέχρι νῦν  
 τὰς χεῖρας ἐπέχειν, τοὺς δ' ἐντραφέντας αὐτοῖς  
 κἂν περισωθῆ μόνους ἔξοντας ὠρμηῆσθαι πρὸς  
 364 ἀπώλειαν αὐτῶν. ἦ μὴν τὰ καρτερώτερα μὲν  
 αὐτῶν ὄραν τεῖχη πεπτωκότα, λειπόμενον δὲ τὸ

<sup>1</sup> δυσεργότερα LVRC (cf. § 496).

<sup>2</sup> Destinon: αὐτούς or αὐτοῖς mss.

<sup>3</sup> + <παρ' ὀλίγον> Destinon (cf. § 369).

<sup>4</sup> τάχ' ἂν Destinon: τάχα mss.

<sup>5</sup> ἔξω τε Niese (from Lat.): ἔξω or ἔξωτέρω mss.

<sup>a</sup> §§ 267 f.

<sup>b</sup> Or "scorpions."

position, but also with their engines, which they had now learnt to use,<sup>a</sup> daily practice having gradually fostered their skill; and they possessed three hundred quick-firers,<sup>b</sup> and forty stone-projectors,<sup>c</sup> by means of which they seriously retarded the erection of the Roman earthworks. Titus, conscious that the preservation or destruction of the city vitally affected himself, while pressing the siege did not omit to urge the Jews to reconsider their policy. Blending active operations with advice, and aware that speech is often more effectual than arms, he not only personally exhorted them to seek salvation by the surrender of the city, already practically <sup>d</sup> taken, but also delegated Josephus to parley with them in their native tongue, thinking that possibly they might yield to the expostulation of a fellow-countryman.

(3) Josephus, accordingly, went round the wall, and, endeavouring to keep out of range of missiles and yet within ear-shot, repeatedly <sup>e</sup> implored them to spare themselves and the people, to spare their country and their temple, and not to display towards them greater indifference than was shown by aliens. The Romans, he urged, though without a share in them, yet revered the holy places <sup>f</sup> of their enemies, and had thus far restrained their hands from them; whereas men who had been brought up in them and, were they preserved, would alone enjoy them, were bent on their destruction. Indeed, they beheld their stoutest walls prostrate and but one

Josephus is commissioned to urge the Jews to surrender. "God is on the Roman side."

<sup>c</sup> *ballistae*.

<sup>d</sup> The preposition in *παρειλημμένην* possibly here has the force of *παρ' ὀλίγον*, "almost."

<sup>e</sup> *πολλά* probably implies numerous speeches at different spots rather than "at great length."

<sup>f</sup> Literally "things," including perhaps rites, etc.

## JOSEPHUS

τῶν ἐαλωκότων ἀσθενέστερον· γινώσκειν δὲ τὴν  
 Ῥωμαίων ἰσχὺν ἀνυπόστατον καὶ τὸ δουλεύειν  
 365 τούτοις οὐκ ἀπείραστον<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς. εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ  
 πολεμεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας καλόν, χρῆναι τὸ  
 πρῶτον· τὸ δ' ἅπαξ ὑποπεσόντας καὶ μακροῖς  
 εἴξαντας χρόνοις ἔπειτα ἀποσειέσθαι τὸν ζυγὸν  
 366 δυσθανατούντων, οὐ φιλελευθέρων εἶναι. δεῖν μέν-  
 τοι καὶ δεσπότας ἀδοξεῖν ταπεινοτέρους, οὐχ οἷς  
 ὑποχείρια τὰ πάντα. τί γὰρ Ῥωμαίους διαπεφευ-  
 γέναι, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τι διὰ θάλπος ἢ κρύος ἄχρηστον;  
 367 μεταβῆναι γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πάντοθεν τὴν τύχην,  
 καὶ κατὰ ἔθνος τὸν θεὸν ἐμπεριάγοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἶναι. νόμον γε μὴν ὠρίσθαι  
 καὶ παρὰ θηρσὶν ἰσχυρότατον καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώποις,  
 εἴκειν τοῖς δυνατωτέροις καὶ τὸ κρατεῖν παρ' οἷς  
 368 ἀκμὴ τῶν ὀπλων εἶναι. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς  
 προγόνους αὐτῶν [πολὺ]<sup>2</sup> καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ τοῖς  
 σώμασιν ἔτι δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀφορμαῖς ἀμείνους  
 ὄντας, εἴξαι Ῥωμαίοις, οὐκ ἂν εἰ μὴ τὸν θεὸν  
 369 ἤδεσαν σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῦθ' ὑπομείναντας. αὐτοὺς  
 δὲ τίνι καὶ πεποιθότας ἀντέχειν, ἐαλωκυίας μὲν  
 ἐκ πλείστου τῆς πόλεως μέρους, τῶν δ' ἔνδον, εἰ  
 καὶ τὰ τεῖχη παρέμενον, ἀλώσεως χεῖρον δια-  
 370 κειμένων; οὐ γὰρ λανθάνειν Ῥωμαίους τὸν ἐν τῇ  
 πόλει λιμὸν, ᾧ νῦν μὲν τὸν δῆμον, μετ' οὐ πολὺ  
 371 δὲ διαφθαρῆσεσθαι καὶ τοὺς μαχίμους. εἰ γὰρ  
 δὴ καὶ παύσαιντο Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς πολιορκίας

<sup>1</sup> ἀπείρατον ML.

<sup>2</sup> L Lat.: om. the rest.

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\* Josephus, here and in the sequel, repeats what he has  
 314

remaining, weaker than those which had fallen ; they knew that the might of the Romans was irresistible and that to serve them was no new experience for themselves. Be it granted that it was noble to fight for freedom, they should have done so at first ; but, after having once succumbed and submitted for so long, to seek then to shake off the yoke was the part of men madly courting death, not of lovers of liberty.<sup>a</sup> To scorn meaner masters might, indeed, be legitimate, but not those to whom the universe was subject. For what was there that had escaped the Romans, save maybe some spot useless through heat or cold ? Fortune, indeed, had from all quarters passed over to them, and God who went the round of the nations, bringing to each in turn the rod of empire, now rested over Italy. There was, in fact, an established law, as supreme among brutes as among men, "Yield to the stronger" and "The mastery is for those pre-eminent in arms." That was why their forefathers, men who in soul and body, aye and in resources to boot, were by far their superiors, had yielded to the Romans—a thing intolerable to them, had they not known that God was on the Roman side. As for them, on what did they rely in thus holding out, when the main part of the city was already captured, and when those within it, though their walls still stood, were in a plight even worse than capture ? Assuredly, the Romans were not ignorant of the famine raging in the city, which was now consuming the populace, and would ere long consume the combatants as well. For, even were the Romans to desist from the siege previously put into the mouth of Agrippa at the opening of the war, ii. 355 ff.

μηδ' ἐπιπίπτειεν<sup>1</sup> τῇ πόλει ξιφήρεις, αὐτοῖς γε τὸν ἄμαχον πόλεμον ἔνδον παρακαθῆσθαι καθ' ἑκάστην ὥραν τρεφόμενον, εἰ μὴ καὶ πρὸς τὸν λιμὸν ἄραι τὰ ὄπλα καὶ μάχεσθαι δύνανται, μόνοι τε καὶ  
 372 παθῶν ἐπικρατεῖν. προσετίθει δὲ ὡς καλὸν πρὸ ἀνηκέστου συμφορᾶς μεταβαλέσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ σωτήριον ἕως ἕξεστι ρέψαι· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ μνησι-  
 373 κακήσειν αὐτοῖς Ῥωμαίους τῶν γεγενημένων, εἰ μὴ μέχρι τέλους ἀπαυθαδίσειντο· φύσει τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ κρατεῖν ἡμέρους εἶναι καὶ πρὸ τῶν θυμῶν  
 374 ὑπακουσάντων παρακαλοῦντι. τοῦ γε μὴν ταχέως τὸ τρίτον τεῖχος ἀλώσεσθαι τὰ προεαλωκότα πίστιν εἶναι· κὰν ἄρρηκτον δὲ ἦ τὸ ἔρυμα, τὸν λιμὸν ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοῖς μαχεῖσθαι.<sup>2</sup>  
 375 (4) Ταῦτα τὸν Ἰώσηπον παραινούντα πολλοὶ μὲν ἔσκωπτον ἀπὸ τοῦ τεύχους, πολλοὶ δ' ἐβλα-  
 σφῆμον, ἔνιοι δ' ἔβαλλον. ὁ δ' ὡς ταῖς φανεραῖς οὐκ ἔπειθε συμβουλίαις, ἐπὶ τὰς ὁμοφύλους  
 376 μετέβαινεν ἱστορίας, “ ἂ δειλοί,<sup>3</sup>” βοῶν, “ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀμνήμονες συμμάχων, ὄπλοις καὶ χερσὶ πολεμεῖτε Ῥωμαίοις; τίνα γὰρ ἄλλον οὕτως  
 377 ἐνικήσαμεν; πότε δ' οὐ θεὸς ὁ κτίσας, ἂν ἀδι-

<sup>1</sup> ἐπεισπίπτειεν LV.

<sup>2</sup> Niese from Lat.: μάχεσθαι MSS.

<sup>3</sup> PA: δειλαιοι the rest.

and not fall upon the city with drawn swords, yet they had at their doors a war with which none could contend, gaining strength every hour, unless indeed they could take arms and fight against famine itself and, alone of all men, master even its pangs. They would do well, he added, to repent ere irretrievable disaster befell them and to incline to salutary counsels while they had the opportunity ; for the Romans would bear them no malice for the past, unless they persisted in their contumacy to the end : they were naturally lenient in victory,<sup>a</sup> and would put above vindictiveness considerations of expediency, which did not consist in having on their hands either a depopulated city or a devastated country. That was why, even at this late hour, Caesar desired to grant them terms ; whereas, if he took the city by storm, he would not spare a man of them, especially after the rejection of offers made to them when in extremities. That the third wall would be quickly carried was vouched for by the fall of those already captured ; and even were that defence impregnable, the famine would fight for the Romans against them.

“ It is hopeless to fight the famine.”

(4) Josephus, during this exhortation, was derided by many from the ramparts, by many execrated, and by some assailed with missiles. Failing to move them by this direct advice, he passed to reminiscences of their nation's history.

“ Ah, miserable wretches,” he cried, “ unmindful of your own true allies, would you make war on the Romans with arms and might of hand ? What other foe have we conquered thus, and when did God who created, fail to avenge, the Jews, if they were

The lessons of history.

Former deliverances :

iii. 347, and the Virgilian “ *parcere devictis* ” (*Aen.* vi. 853), doubtless familiar to the author.

κῶνται, Ἰουδαίων ἔκδικος; οὐκ ἐπιστραφέντες  
 ὄψεσθε πόθεν ὀρμώμενοι μάχεσθε καὶ πηλίκον  
 ἐμίνατε σύμμαχον; οὐκ ἀναμνήσεσθε πατέρων  
 ἔργα δαιμόνια, καὶ τὸν ἅγιον τόνδε χῶρον ἡλίκους  
 378 ἡμῖν πάλαι πολέμους<sup>1</sup> καθείλεν; ἐγὼ μὲν φρίττω  
 τὰ ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ λέγων εἰς ἀναξίους ἀκοάς·  
 ἀκούετε δ' ὅμως, ἵνα γνῶτε μὴ μόνον Ῥωμαίους  
 379 πολεμοῦντες ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ. βασιλεὺς ὁ τότε  
 Νεχαὺς Αἰγυπτίων, ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ  
 Φαραώ, μυρία χεῖρὶ καταβὰς ἤρπασε Σάρραν  
 380 βασιλίδα, τὴν μητέρα τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν. τί οὖν  
 ὁ ταύτης ἀνὴρ Ἀβραάμ, προπάτωρ δ' ἡμέτερος;  
 ἄρα τὸν ὑβριστὴν ἡμίνατο τοῖς ὅπλοις, καίτοι  
 ὀκτωκαίδεκα μὲν καὶ τριακοσίους ὑπάρχους ἔχων,  
 δύναμιν δ' ὑφ'<sup>2</sup> ἐκάστῳ τούτων ἄπειρον; ἢ αὐτοὺς  
 μὲν ἐρημίαν ἠγγήσατο μὴ συμπαρόντος θεοῦ,  
 καθαρὰς δ' ἀνατείνας τὰς χεῖρας εἰς ὃν νῦν ἐμίνατε  
 χῶρον ὑμεῖς, τὸν ἀνίκητον αὐτῷ βοηθὸν ἐστρατο-  
 381 λόγησεν; οὐ μετὰ μίαν ἐσπέραν ἄχραντος μὲν ἢ  
 βασιλίσσα ἀνεπέμφθη πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, προσκυνῶν  
 δὲ τὸν ὑφ' ὑμῶν αἵμαχθέντα χῶρον ὁμοφύλῳ  
 φόνῳ καὶ τρέμων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν νυκτὶ φαντασμάτων  
 ἔφευγεν ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ἀργύρῳ δὲ καὶ χρυσῷ τοὺς  
 382 θεοφιλεῖς Ἑβραίους ἐδωρεῖτο; εἶπω τὴν εἰς

<sup>1</sup> πολεμίους Hudson (perhaps rightly).

<sup>2</sup> ἐφ' ALR.

<sup>a</sup> Or (with Hudson's text) "enemies."

<sup>b</sup> Again recalling Virgil, "horresco referens."

<sup>c</sup> Josephus here follows some strange version, doubtless derived from Jewish legend (*Haggadah*), of the story in Genesis xii. 10-20 (*cf.* the variant form of the story in xx. 1 ff.). In the Biblical account Abraham goes down into Egypt; here Pharaoh invades Palestine. Necho, moreover, was the

wronged? Will you not turn your eyes and mark what place is that whence you issue to battle and reflect how mighty an Ally you have outraged? Will you not recall your fathers' superhuman exploits and what mighty wars<sup>a</sup> this holy place has quelled for us in days of old? For myself, I shudder at recounting<sup>b</sup> the works of God to unworthy ears; yet listen, that you may learn that you are warring not against the Romans only, but also against God.

"Necho, also called Pharaoh,<sup>c</sup> the reigning king of Egypt, came down with a prodigious host and carried off Sarah, a princess<sup>d</sup> and the mother of our race. What action, then, did her husband Abraham, our forefather, take? Did he avenge himself on the ravisher with the sword? He had, to be sure, three hundred and eighteen officers under him,<sup>e</sup> each in command of a boundless army. Or did he not rather count these as nothing, if unaided by God, and uplifting pure hands towards this spot which you have now polluted enlist the invincible Ally on his side? And was not the queen, after one night's absence, sent back immaculate to her lord, while the Egyptian, in awe of the spot which you have stained with the blood of your countrymen and trembling at his visions of the night, fled, bestowing silver and gold<sup>f</sup> upon those Hebrews beloved of God?

(i.) Pharaoh  
Necho and  
Sarah.

name of a Pharaoh of far later date, the conqueror of Josiah, 2 Chron. xxxv. 20; no monarch of the name in patriarchal times is known.

<sup>a</sup> The name Sarah means "princess."

<sup>b</sup> The 318 "trained men, born in his house" whom he led out to the rescue of Lot, Gen. xiv. 14.

<sup>c</sup> Abimelech in similar circumstances bestowed gifts upon Abraham, Gen. xx. 14-16; no gifts from Pharaoh are recorded in xii. 20.

Αἴγυπτον μετοικίαν τῶν πατέρων; οὐτ' τυραν-  
 νούμενοι καὶ βασιλεύσιν ἀλλοφύλοις ὑποπεπτω-  
 κότες τετρακοσίοις ἔτεσι, παρὸν ὄπλοις ἀμύ-  
 νεσθαι καὶ χερσί, σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπέτρεψαν τῷ  
 383 θεῷ; τίς οὐκ οἶδεν τὴν παντὸς θηρίου καταπλησθεῖ-  
 σαν Αἴγυπτον καὶ πάσῃ φθαρεῖσαν νόσῳ, τὴν  
 ἄκαρπον γῆν, τὸν ἐπιλείποντα Νεῖλον, τὰς ἐπαλ-  
 λήλους δέκα πληγὰς, τοὺς διὰ ταῦτα μετὰ φρουρᾶς  
 προπεμπομένους πατέρας ἡμῶν ἀναιμάκτους ἀκιν-  
 384 δύνους, οὓς ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ νεωκόρους ἤγειν; ἀλλὰ  
 τὴν ὑπὸ Σύρων ἀρπαγεῖσαν ἀγίαν ἡμῖν λάρνακα  
 οὐκ ἐστέναξε μὲν ἢ Παλαιστίνῃ καὶ Δαγῶν τὸ  
 ξόανον, ἐστέναξε δὲ πᾶν τὸ τῶν ἀρπασαμένων  
 385 ἔθνος, σηπόμενοι δὲ τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ  
 δι' αὐτῶν τὰ σπλάγχνα μετὰ τῶν σιτίων κατα-  
 φέροντες, χερσὶ ταῖς λησαμέναις ἀνεκόμισαν κυμ-  
 βάλων καὶ τυμπάνων ἤχῳ καὶ πᾶσι μειλικτηρίοις  
 386 ἰλασκόμενοι τὸ ἅγιον; θεὸς ἦν ὁ ταῦτα πατράσιν  
 ἡμετέροις στρατηγῶν, ὅτι τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὰ ὄπλα  
 387 παρέντες αὐτῷ κρίναι τὸ ἔργον ἐπέτρεψαν. βα-  
 σιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων Σενναχηρεῖμ ὅτε πᾶσαν τὴν  
 Ἀσίαν ἐπισυρόμενος τήνδε περιεστρατοπεδεύσατο  
 388 τὴν πόλιν, ἄρα χερσὶν ἀνθρωπίνας ἔπεσεν; οὐχ αἰ-  
 μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ὄπλων ἠρεμοῦσαι ἐν προσευχαῖς  
 ἦσαν, ἄγγελος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ μιᾷ νυκτὶ τὴν ἄπειρον  
 στρατιὰν ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀναστὰς ὁ  
 Ἀσσύριος ὀκτωκαίδεκα μυριάδας ἐπὶ πεντακισ-  
 χιλίοις νεκρῶν εὔρε, μετὰ δὲ τῶν καταλειπομένων

<sup>1</sup> AM: or the rest.

\* The round number given in Gen. xv. 13 and followed  
 in Jos. A. ii. 204 and in St. Stephen's speech, Acts vii. 6;  
 Exodus xii. 40 more precisely "430 years."

“ Need I speak of the migration of our fathers to Egypt? Oppressed and in subjection to foreign monarchs for four hundred years,<sup>a</sup> yet, though they might have defended themselves by resort to arms and violence, did they not commit themselves to God? Who has not heard tell of Egypt overrun with all manner of beasts and wasted with every disease, of the barren land, the failing Nile, the ten successive plagues, and how in consequence our fathers were sent forth under escort,<sup>b</sup> without bloodshed, without risk, God conducting them as the future guardians of his shrine? (ii.) The plagues of Egypt and the Exodus.

“ Or again did not Philistia and the image Dagon rue the rape of our sacred ark by the Syrians? (iii.) The recovery of the ark from the Philistines. Did not the whole nation of those raiders rue the deed, ulcerated in their secret parts and excreting their entrails along with their food,<sup>d</sup> until with the hands which stole it they restored it, to the sound of cymbals and timbrels,<sup>e</sup> and with all manner of expiations propitiating the sanctuary? God’s leadership it was that brought our fathers this triumph, because, without resort to hand or weapon, they committed the issue to his decision.

“ When Sennacherib, king of Assyria, with all Asia following in his train, encamped around this city,<sup>f</sup> was it by human hands he fell? Were not those hands at rest from arms and raised in prayer, while God’s angel, in one night, destroyed that countless host? (iv.) Overthrow of Sennacherib’s host. And when the Assyrian arose next morning, did he not find 185,000 corpses, and with the re-

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Wisdom xix. *Ἐμετὰ σπουδῆς προπέμψαντες αὐτούς*, of the Egyptians speeding the Israelites on their way.

<sup>c</sup> 1 Sam. v.-vi. <sup>d</sup> Rhetorical amplification of 1 Sam. v. 6.

<sup>e</sup> Another addition to the Biblical story. <sup>f</sup> See § 303 n.

## JOSEPHUS

ἀνόπλους καὶ μὴ διώκοντας Ἑβραίους ἔφυγεν;  
 389 ἴστε καὶ τὴν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι δουλείαν, ἔνθα μετα-  
 νάστης ὁ λαὸς ὧν ἔτεσιν ἑβδομήκοντα οὐ πρότερον  
 εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἀνεχαίτισεν ἢ Κῦρον τοῦτο χαρί-  
 σασθαι τῷ θεῷ· προυπέμφθησαν γοῦν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ,  
 καὶ πάλιν τὸν αὐτῶν σύμμαχον ἐνεωκόρουν.  
 390 καθόλου δ' εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τι κατώρθωσαν οἱ  
 πατέρες ἡμῶν τοῖς ὄπλοις ἢ δίχα τούτων διήμαρ-  
 τον ἐπιτρέψαντες τῷ θεῷ· μένοντες μὲν γε κατὰ  
 χώραν ἐνίκων ὡς ἐδόκει τῷ κριτῇ, μαχόμενοι δ'  
 391 ἔπταισαν αἰεὶ. τοῦτο μὲν, ἡνίκα βασιλεὺς Βαβυ-  
 λωνίων ἐπολιόρκει ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, συμβαλὼν  
 Σεδεκίας ὁ ἡμέτερος βασιλεὺς παρὰ τὰς Ἱερεμίου  
 προφητείας αὐτός θ' ἔάλω καὶ τὸ ἄστυ μετὰ τοῦ  
 ναοῦ κατασκαπτόμενον εἶδε· καίτοι πόσῳ με-  
 τριώτερος ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐκείνος τῶν ὑμετέρων  
 392 ἡγεμόνων ἦν, ὁ δ' ὑπ' αὐτῷ λαὸς ὑμῶν. βοῶντα  
 γοῦν τὸν Ἱερεμίαν, ὡς ἀπέχθοντο μὲν τῷ θεῷ διὰ  
 τὰς εἰς αὐτὸν πλημμελείας, ἀλώσονται δ' εἰ μὴ  
 παραδοῖεν τὴν πόλιν, οὔθ' ὁ βασιλεὺς οὔθ' ὁ δῆμος  
 393 ἀνεῖλεν. ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς, ἵν' ἐάσω τᾶνδον, οὐ γὰρ  
 <ἄν><sup>1</sup> ἔρμηνεῦσαι δυναίμην τὰς παρανομίας ὑμῶν  
 ἀξίως, ἐμὲ τὸν παρακαλοῦντα πρὸς σωτηρίαν  
 ὑμᾶς βλασφημεῖτε καὶ βάλλετε, παροξυνόμενοι  
 πρὸς τὰς ὑπομνήσεις τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ μηδὲ  
 τοὺς λόγους φέροντες ὧν τὰργα δρᾶτε καθ'  
 394 ἡμέραν. τοῦτο δ', ἡνίκα Ἀντιόχου τοῦ κληθέντος

<sup>1</sup> ins. Destinon.

<sup>a</sup> 2 Kings xix. 35.

<sup>b</sup> Literally "manes"; the same metaphor occurs in Agrippa's speech, ii. 370.

<sup>c</sup> 2 Kings xxv. 1-10. Zedekiah did not "see" the destruction of town and temple, which in the Biblical account

mainder flee from the Hebrews who were neither armed nor pursuing? <sup>a</sup>

“ You know, moreover, of the bondage in Babylon, where our people passed seventy years in exile and never reared their heads <sup>b</sup> for liberty, until Cyrus granted it in gratitude to God ; yes, it was through him that they were sent forth and re-established the temple-worship of their Ally. In short, there is no instance of our forefathers having triumphed by arms or failed of success without them when they committed their cause to God : if they sat still they conquered, as it pleased their Judge, if they fought they were invariably defeated.

(v.) Cyrus and the restoration from exile.

“ Thus, when the king of Babylon besieged this city, our king Zedekiah having, contrary to the prophetic warnings of Jeremiah, given him battle, was himself taken prisoner and saw the town and the temple levelled to the ground. <sup>c</sup> Yet, how much more moderate was that monarch than your leaders, and his subjects than you ! For, though Jeremiah loudly proclaimed that they were hateful to God for their transgressions against Him, and would be taken captive unless they surrendered the city, neither the king nor the people put him to death. <sup>d</sup> But you—to pass over those scenes within, for it would be beyond me adequately to portray your enormities—you, I say, assail with abuse and missiles me who exhort you to save yourselves, exasperated at being reminded of your sins and intolerant of any mention of those crimes which you actually perpetrate every day.

Former captures of the city : (i.) by the Babylonians,

“ Or again, when our ancestors went forth in occurred ten years after he had been taken, a blinded prisoner, to Babylon.

(ii.) by Antiochus Epiphanes,

<sup>d</sup> Cf. Jer. xxvii. 12 ff.

Ἐπιφανοῦς προσκαθεζομένου τῇ πόλει πολλὰ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἐξυβρικότος, οἱ πρόγονοι μετὰ τῶν ὀπλων προῆλθον, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀπεσφάγησαν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, διηρπάγη δὲ τὸ ἄστυ τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἡρημώθη δ' ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ τὸ ἅγιον.  
 395 καὶ τί δεῖ τάλλα λέγειν; ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαῖους τίς ἐστρατολόγησε κατὰ τοῦ ἔθνους; οὐχ ἡ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀσέβεια; πόθεν δ' ἡρξάμεθα δουλείας;  
 396 ἄρ' οὐχὶ ἐκ στάσεως τῶν προγόνων, ὅτε ἡ Ἀριστοβούλου καὶ Ἰρκανοῦ μανία καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔρις Πομπήιον ἐπήγαγεν τῇ πόλει καὶ Ῥωμαῖοις ὑπέταξεν ὁ θεὸς τοὺς οὐκ ἀξίους ἐλευθερίας;  
 397 τρισὶ γοῦν μῆσι πολιορκηθέντες ἑαυτοὺς παρέδοσαν, οὐθ' ἀμαρτόντες εἰς τὰ ἅγια καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἡλίκα ὑμεῖς καὶ πολὺ μείζοσιν ἀφορμαῖς  
 398 πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον χρώμενοι. τὸ δ' Ἀντιγόνου τέλος τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου παιδὸς οὐκ ἴσμεν, οὐ βασιλεύοντος ὁ θεὸς ἀλώσει πάλιν τὸν λαὸν ἡλαυνε πλημμελούντα, καὶ Ἡρώδης μὲν ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου Σόσσιον, Σόσσιος δὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰν ἡγαγεν, περισχεθέντες δ' ἐπὶ μῆνας ἕξ ἐπολιορκοῦντο, μέχρι δίκας τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν δόντες ἐάλωσαν καὶ διηρπάγη τοῖς πολεμίοις ἡ πόλις;  
 399 Οὕτως οὐδέποτε τῷ ἔθνει τὰ ὄπλα δέδοται, τῷ δὲ πολεμῆσθαι καὶ τὸ ἀλώσεσθαι πάντως πρόσ-  
 400 ἐστι. δεῖ γάρ, οἶμαι, τοὺς χωρίον ἅγιον νεμομένους ἐπιτρέπειν πάντα τῷ θεῷ δικάζειν καὶ

<sup>a</sup> Cf. 1 Macc. i. 20 ff., Jos. A. xii. 246 ff., where, however, no contest is recorded; according to the account in the *Antiquities* Jerusalem was twice captured by Antiochus, once without a battle (ἀμάχητι, 246), once by treachery (ἀπάτη, 248).

<sup>b</sup> c. December 168-June 164 B.C., the 1290 days of Dan.

arms against Antiochus,<sup>a</sup> surnamed Epiphanes, who was blockading this city and had grossly outraged the Deity, they were cut to pieces in the battle, the town was plundered by the enemy and the sanctuary for three years and six months<sup>b</sup> lay desolate.

“Why need I mention more? But, pray, who enlisted the Romans against our country? Was it not the impiety of its inhabitants? Whence did our servitude arise? Was it not from party strife among our forefathers, when the madness of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus and their mutual dissensions brought Pompey against the city,<sup>c</sup> and God subjected to the Romans those who were unworthy of liberty? Yes, after a three months’ siege<sup>d</sup> they surrendered, though innocent of such offences as yours against the sanctuary and against the laws, and possessing far ampler resources for war. (iii.) by Pompey, 63 B.C.

“Or know we not the fate of Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, in whose reign God again smote the people for their offences by the capture of this city; when Herod, son of Antipater, brought up Sossius,<sup>e</sup> and Sossius a Roman army, by whom they were for six<sup>f</sup> months invested and besieged, until in retribution for their sins they were captured and the city was sacked by the enemy? (iv.) by Herod and Sossius. 37 B.C.

“Thus invariably have arms been refused to our nation, and warfare has been the sure signal for defeat. For it is, I suppose, the duty of the occupants of holy ground to leave everything to the arbitrament of Arms have not been granted to the Jews.

xii. 11. 1 Macc., i. 54 with iv. 52, reckons the period as 3 years (to Dec. 165 B.C.). <sup>c</sup> B. i. 131 ff.

<sup>d</sup> B. i. 149, A. xiv. 66. <sup>e</sup> B. i. 345, A. xiv. 468.

<sup>f</sup> 5 months according to B. i. 351; under 2 months according to A. xiv. 476, the two walls being captured in 40 and 15 days respectively.

καταφρονεῖν τότε χειρὸς ἀνθρωπίνης, ὅταν αὐτοὶ  
 401 πείθωσι τὸν ἄνω δικαστήν. ὑμῖν δὲ τί τῶν  
 εὐλογηθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ νομοθέτου πέπρακται; τί  
 δὲ τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου κατηραμένων παραλέλειπται;  
 πόσω δ' ἐστὲ τῶν τάχιον ἀλόντων ἀσεβέστεροι;  
 402 οὐ τὰ κρυπτὰ μὲν τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἠδοξήκατε,  
 κλοπὰς λέγω καὶ ἐνέδρας καὶ μοιχείας, ἀρπαγαῖς  
 δ' ἐρίζετε καὶ φόνοις καὶ ξένας καινοτομεῖτε  
 κακίας ὁδοῦς, ἐκδοχεῖον δὲ πάντων τὸ ἱερόν γεγονεν  
 καὶ χερσὶν ἐμφυλίοις ὁ θεῖος μεμίσανται χῶρος,  
 ὃν καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι πόρρωθεν προσεκύνουν, πολλὰ  
 τῶν ἰδίων ἐθῶν εἰς τὸν ὑμέτερον παραλύοντες  
 403 νόμον.<sup>1</sup> εἴτ' ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν ἀσεβηθέντα σύμμαχον  
 προσδοκᾶτε; πάνυ γοῦν ἐστὲ δίκαιοι ἰκέται καὶ  
 χερσὶ καθαραῖς τὸν βοηθὸν ὑμῶν παρακαλεῖτε.  
 404 τοιαύταις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν ἰκέτευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν  
 Ἀσσύριον, ὅτε τὸν μέγαν ἐκείνον στρατὸν μιᾶ  
 νυκτὶ κατέστρωσεν ὁ θεός; ὅμοια δὲ τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ  
 Ῥωμαῖοι δρῶσιν, ἵνα καὶ ἄμυναν ὑμεῖς ὁμοίαν  
 405 ἐλπίσητε; οὐχ ὁ μὲν χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως  
 ἡμῶν λαβὼν ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ πορθήσῃ τὴν πόλιν κατέβη  
 παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους ἐμπρῆσαι τὸν ναόν, Ῥωμαῖοι  
 δὲ τὸν συνήθη δασμὸν αἰτουῦσιν, ὃν οἱ πατέρες

<sup>1</sup> eis . . . νόμον L (C similar, reading ἡμέτερον): παραλύοντες καὶ νόμων the rest.

<sup>a</sup> Moses.

<sup>b</sup> For τάχιον = πρότερον cf. e.g. B. i. 284 (where the parallel in A. has τὸ πρῶτον). The rendering "more speedily defeated" would not be true, if the comparison were between the duration of previous sieges of Jerusalem alluded to and that of the present siege which had so far lasted only some two months; though it might apply to the length of the war as a whole.

God and to scorn the aid of human hands, can they but conciliate the Arbiter above. But as for you, what have you done that is blessed by the lawgiver,<sup>a</sup> what deed that he has cursed have you left undone? How much more impious are you than those who have been defeated in the past!<sup>b</sup> Secret sins—I mean thefts, treacheries, adulteries—are not beneath your disdain,<sup>c</sup> while in rapine and murder you vie with each other in opening up new and unheard of paths of vice; aye and the temple has become the receptacle<sup>d</sup> for all, and native hands have polluted those divine precincts, which even Romans revered from afar,<sup>e</sup> forgoing many customs of their own in deference to your law. And after all this do you expect Him, thus outraged, to be your ally? Righteous suppliants are ye, forsooth, and pure the hands with which you appeal to your protector! With such, I ween, our king besought aid against the Assyrian,<sup>f</sup> when God in one night laid low that mighty host! And so like are the deeds of the Romans to those of the Assyrian, that you may look for a like vengeance yourselves! Did not he accept money from our king<sup>g</sup> on condition that he would not sack the city, and then come down, in violation of his oaths, to burn the sanctuary, whereas the Romans are but demanding the customary tribute, which our fathers

Your enormities deprive you of any hope of deliverance.

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps interrogatively, "Have not secret sins . . . been disdained by you . . .?," *i.e.* become too trivial to satisfy you.

<sup>d</sup> Or "sink"; *cf.* Sallust, *Cat.* 37, "omnes . . . Romam sicut in sentinam confluerant."

<sup>e</sup> *i.e.* without passing the parapet marking the boundary of the court of the Gentiles, §§ 193 f. *Cf.* ii. 341, where Neapolitanus pays his devotions to the sanctuary "from the permitted area."

<sup>f</sup> Sennacherib, § 387.

<sup>g</sup> 2 Kings xviii. 14 f.

- 406 ἡμῶν τοῖς ἐκείνων πατράσι παρέσχον; καὶ τούτου  
 τυχόντες οὔτε πορθοῦσι τὴν πόλιν οὔτε ψαύουσι  
 τῶν ἀγίων, διδῶσι δ' ὑμῖν τὰ ἄλλα, γενεάς τ'  
 ἐλευθέρως καὶ κτήσεις τὰς ἑαυτῶν νέμεσθαι καὶ  
 407 τοὺς ἱεροὺς νόμους σώζουσι. μανία δὲ τὸν θεὸν  
 προσδοκᾶν ἐπὶ δικαίοις οἷος ἐπ' ἀδίκους ἐφάνη.  
 καὶ παραχρῆμα δ' ἀμύνειν οἶδεν ὅταν δέῃ· τοὺς  
 γοῦν Ἀσσυρίου κατα νύκτα τὴν πρώτην παρα-  
 408 στρατοπεδευσάμενους ἔκλασεν· ὥστ' εἰ καὶ τὴν  
 ἡμετέραν γενεὰν ἐλευθερίας ἢ Ῥωμαίους κολάσεως  
 ἀξίους ἔκρινε, κἂν παραχρῆμα καθάπερ τοῖς  
 Ἀσσυρίοις ἐνέσκηψεν, ὅτε τοῦ ἔθνους ἤπτετο  
 Πομπήιος, ὅτε μετ' αὐτὸν ἀνῆει Σόσσιος, ὅτε  
 Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐπόρθει τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, τὰ τελευ-  
 409 ταῖα νῦν, ὅτε ἤγγιζε Τίτος τῇ πόλει. καίτοι  
 Μάγνος μὲν καὶ Σόσσιος πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν παθεῖν  
 καὶ ἀνὰ κράτος ἔλαβον τὴν πόλιν, Οὐεσπασιανὸς  
 δ' ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολέμου καὶ βασιλείας ἤρξατο,  
 Τίτῳ μὲν γὰρ<sup>1</sup> καὶ πηγαὶ πλουσιώτεροι ρέουσιν  
 410 αἱ ξηρανεῖσαι πρότερον ὑμῖν· πρὸ γοῦν τῆς αὐτοῦ  
 παρουσίας τὴν τε Σιλωὰν ἐπιλείπουσαν ἵστε καὶ  
 τὰς πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος ἀπάσας, ὥστε πρὸς ἀμφορέας  
 ὠνεῖσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ· τὸ δὲ νῦν οὕτως πληθύνουσι τοῖς  
 πολεμίοις ὑμῶν, ὡς μὴ μόνον αὐτοῖς καὶ κτήνεσιν,  
 411 ἀλλὰ καὶ κήποις διαρκεῖν. τό γε μὴν τέρας τοῦτο  
 πεπεύραται<sup>2</sup> καὶ πρότερον ἐφ' ἀλώσει τῆς πόλεως  
 γεγεννημένον, ὅθ' ὁ προειρημένος Βαβυλώνιος  
 ἐπεστράτευσεν, ὃς τὴν τε πόλιν ἐλὼν ἐνέπρησε καὶ  
 τὸν ναόν, οὐδὲν οἶμαι τῶν τότε ἡσεβηκότων

<sup>1</sup> μὲν γὰρ] μέντοι οἱ γε μὴν Niese.

<sup>2</sup> Niese: πεπεύρασται οἱ πεπεύρασθε (-θαι) mss.

paid to theirs? Once they obtain this, they neither sack the city, nor touch the holy things, but grant you everything else, the freedom of your families, the enjoyment of your possessions and the protection of your sacred laws. It is surely madness to expect God to show the same treatment to the just as to the unjust. Moreover, He knows how, at need, to inflict instant vengeance, as when He broke the Assyrians on the very first night when they encamped hard by <sup>a</sup>; so that had he judged our generation worthy of freedom or the Romans of punishment, He would, as He did the Assyrians, have instantly visited them—when Pompey intermeddled with the nation, when after him Sossius came up, when Vespasian ravaged Galilee, and lastly now, when Titus was approaching the city. And yet Magnus <sup>b</sup> and Sossius, far from sustaining any injury, took the city by storm; Vespasian from his war against us mounted to a throne; <sup>c</sup> while as for Titus, the very springs flow more copiously for him which had erstwhile dried up for you. For before his coming, as you know, Siloam and all the springs outside the town were failing, insomuch that water was sold by the *amphora* <sup>d</sup>; whereas now they flow so freely for your enemies as to suffice not only for themselves and their beasts but even for gardens. This miracle, moreover, has been experienced ere now on the fall of the city, when the Babylonian whom I mentioned <sup>e</sup> marched against it and captured and burnt both the city and the sanctuary, although the Jews of that day were

<sup>a</sup> 2 Kings xix. 35, "that night," but see § 303 note.

<sup>b</sup> Pompey the Great.

<sup>c</sup> iv. 604.

<sup>d</sup> about 9 gallons.

<sup>e</sup> § 391. The "miracle" in his day is unrecorded in Scripture.

## JOSEPHUS

412 τηλικουτον ἡλίκα ὑμεῖς· ὥστ' ἐγὼ πεφευγέναι μὲν  
 ἐκ τῶν ἀγίων οἶμαι τὸ θεῖον, ἐστάναι δὲ παρ' οἷς  
 413 πολεμεῖτε νῦν. ἀλλ' ἀνὴρ μὲν ἀγαθὸς οἰκίαν  
 ἀσελγῆ φεύξεται καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ στυγῆσει, τὸν  
 δὲ θεὸν ἔτι πείθεσθε τοῖς οἰκείοις κακοῖς παρα-  
 μένειν, ὃς τά τε κρυπτὰ πάντα ἐφορᾷ καὶ τῶν  
 414 σιγωμένων ἀκούει; τί δὲ σιγᾶται παρ' ὑμῖν ἢ τί  
 κρύπτεται; τί δ' οὐχὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς φανερόν  
 γέγονε; πομπεύετε γὰρ παρανομοῦντες καὶ καθ'  
 ἡμέραν ἐρίζετε, τίς χείρων γένηται, τῆς ἀδικίας  
 415 ὥσπερ ἀρετῆς ἐπίδειξιν ποιούμενοι. καταλείπε-  
 ται δ' ὅμως ἔτι σωτηρίας ὁδός, ἐὰν θέλητε, καὶ τὸ  
 θεῖον εὐδιάλλακτον ἐξομολογουμένοις καὶ μετα-  
 416 νοοῦσιν. ὦ σιδήρειοι, ρίψατε τὰς πανοπλίας,  
 λάβετε ἤδη κατερειπομένης αἰδῶ πατρίδος, ἐπι-  
 στράφητε καὶ θεάσασθε τὸ κάλλος ἧς προδίδοτε,  
 417 οἶον ἄστυ, οἶον ἱερόν, ὅσων ἐθνῶν δῶρα. ἐπὶ  
 ταῦτά τις ὀδηγεῖ φλόγα; ταῦτά τις μηκέτ' εἶναι  
 θέλει; καὶ τί σῶζεσθαι τούτων ἀξιώτερον, ἄτεγ-  
 418 κτοὶ<sup>1</sup> καὶ λίθων ἀπαθέστεροι. καὶ εἰ μὴ ταῦτα  
 γνησίοις ὄμμασιν βλέπετε, γενεὰς γοῦν ὑμετέρας  
 οἰκτεῖρατε, καὶ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐκάστῳ γενέσθω  
 τέκνα καὶ γυνὴ καὶ γονεῖς, οὓς ἀναλώσει μετὰ  
 419 μικρὸν ἢ λιμὸς ἢ πόλεμος. οἶδ' ὅτι μοι συγκιν-  
 δυνεύει μήτηρ καὶ γυνὴ καὶ γένος οὐκ ἄσημον καὶ  
 πάλαι λαμπρὸς οἶκος, καὶ τάχα δοκῶ διὰ ταῦτα  
 συμβουλεύειν. ἀποκτείνετε αὐτούς, λάβετε μισθὸν

<sup>1</sup> ἄτεγκτοὶ γε L.

<sup>a</sup> After Aeschines (77. 25).

<sup>b</sup> His father, Matthias, though not mentioned here, was still alive, his imprisonment being referred to below, § 533.

guilty, I imagine, of no such rank impiety as yours. My belief, therefore, is that the Deity has fled from the holy places and taken His stand on the side of those with whom you are now at war.

God has fled to the Romans.

“Nay, an honourable man will fly from a wanton house and abhor its inmates, and can you persuade yourselves that God still remains with his household in their iniquity—God who sees every secret thing and hears what is buried in silence? And what is there veiled in silence or secrecy among you? Nay, what has not been exposed even to your foes? For you parade your enormities and daily contend who shall be the worst, making an exhibition of vice as though it were virtue.

“Yet a way of salvation is still left you, if you will: and the Deity is easily reconciled to such as confess and repent. Oh! iron-hearted men,<sup>a</sup> fling away your weapons, take compassion on your country even now tottering to its fall, turn round and behold the beauty of what you are betraying: what a city! what a temple! what countless nations' gifts! Against these would any man direct the flames? Is there any who wishes that these should be no more? What could be more worthy of preservation than these—ye relentless creatures, more insensible than stone! Yet if you look not on these with the eyes of genuine affection, at least have pity on your families, and let each set before his eyes his children, wife and parents, ere long to be the victims either of famine or of war. I know that I have a mother,<sup>b</sup> a wife, a not ignoble family, and an ancient and illustrious house involved in these perils; and maybe you think that it is on their account that my advice is offered. Slay them, take my blood as the price of your own

Final appeal.

τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας τὸ ἐμὸν αἷμα· καὶ γὰρ θνήσκειν ἔτοιμος, εἰ μετ' ἐμὲ σωφρονεῖν μέλλετε."

420 (x. 1) Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἰωσήπου μετὰ δακρύων ἐμβοῶντος οἱ στασιασταὶ μὲν οὐτ' ἐνέδοσαν οὐτ' ἀσφαλῆ τὴν μεταβολὴν ἔκριναν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος  
421 ἐκινήθη πρὸς αὐτομολίαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν τὰς κτήσεις ἐλαχίστου πωλοῦντες, οἱ δὲ τὰ πολυτελέστερα τῶν κειμηλίων, τοὺς μὲν χρυσοῦς, ὡς μὴ φωραθεῖεν ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν, κατέπινον, ἔπειτα πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διαδιδράσκοντες, ὁπότε κατ-  
422 ἐνέγκαιεν εὐπόρουν πρὸς ἃ δέοιντο. διηφίει γὰρ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁ Τίτος εἰς τὴν χώραν ὅποι βούλοιο ἕκαστος, καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ<sup>1</sup> μᾶλλον πρὸς αὐτομολίαν<sup>2</sup> παρεκάλει, τῶν μὲν εἴσω κακῶν στερησομένους,  
423 μὴ δουλεύοντας δὲ Ῥωμαίοις. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ τὸν Σίμωνα παρεφύλαττον<sup>3</sup> τὰς τούτων ἐξόδους πλέον ἢ τὰς Ῥωμαίων εἰσόδους, καὶ σκιάν τις ὑπονοίας παρασχὼν μόνον εὐθέως ἀπεσφάττετο.

424 (2) Τοῖς γε μὴν εὐπόροις καὶ τὸ μένειν πρὸς ἀπώλειαν ἴσον ἦν· προφάσει γὰρ αὐτομολίας ἀνηρεῖτό τις διὰ τὴν οὐσίαν. τῷ λιμῷ δ' ἢ ἀπόνοια τῶν στασιαστῶν συνήκμαζε, καὶ καθ'  
425 ἡμέραν ἀμφότερα προσεξεκαίετο τὰ δεινά. φανερὸς μὲν γὰρ οὐδαμοῦ σίτος ἦν, ἐπεισηδῶντες δὲ διηρεύνων τὰς οἰκίας, ἔπειθ' εὐρόντες μὲν ὡς ἀρνησαμένους ἠκίζοντο, μὴ εὐρόντες δ' ὡς ἐπι-  
426 μελέστερον κρύψαντας ἐβασάνιζον. τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦ τ' ἔχειν καὶ μὴ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀθλίων, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἔτι συνεστῶτες εὐπορεῖν τροφῆς ἐδόκουν,

<sup>1</sup> eos Lat.

<sup>2</sup> M: πρὸς (+ τὸ L) αὐτομολεῖν the rest.

<sup>3</sup> Niese (cf. §§ 493-6): περιεφύλαττον MSS.

salvation! I too am prepared to die, if my death will lead to your learning wisdom."

(x. 1) Yet, though Josephus with tears thus loudly appealed to them, the insurgents neither yielded nor deemed it safe to alter their course. The people, however, were incited to desert; and selling for a trifling sum, some their whole property, others their most valuable treasures, they would swallow the gold coins<sup>a</sup> to prevent discovery by the brigands, and then, escaping to the Romans, on discharging their bowels, have ample supplies for their needs. For Titus dismissed the majority into the country, whithersoever they would; a fact which induced still more to desert, as they would be relieved from the misery within and yet not be enslaved by the Romans. The partisans of John and Simon, however, kept a sharper look-out for the egress of these refugees than for the ingress of Romans, and whoever afforded but a shadow of suspicion was instantly slaughtered.

Desertion  
of Jews  
to Titus.

(2) To the well-to-do, however, to remain in the city was equally fatal; for under pretext of desertion individuals were put to death for the sake of their property. The recklessness of the insurgents kept pace with the famine, and both horrors daily burst out in more furious flame. For, as corn was nowhere to be seen, they would rush in and search the houses, and then if they found any they belaboured the inmates as having denied the possession of it; if they found none they tortured them for more carefully concealing it. The personal appearance of the wretches was an index whether they had it or not: those still in good condition were presumed to be

The famine  
House to  
house  
search.

<sup>a</sup> For the horrible nemesis which befell them see §§ 550 ff.

οἱ τηκόμενοι δὲ ἤδη παρωδεύοντο, καὶ κτείνειν  
 ἄλογον ἔδοκει τοὺς ὑπ' ἐνδείας τεθνηξομένους  
 427 αὐτίκα. πολλοὶ δὲ λάθρα τὰς κτήσεις ἐνὸς  
 ἀντηλλάξαντο μέτρου, πυρῶν μὲν εἰς πλουσιώτεροι  
 τυγχάνοιεν ὄντες, οἱ δὲ πενέστεροι κριθῆς, ἔπειτα  
 κατακλείοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ μυχαίτατα τῶν  
 οἰκιῶν τινὲς μὲν ὑπ' ἄκρας ἐνδείας ἀνέργαστον  
 τὸν σῖτον ἤσθιον, οἱ δ' ἔπεσον ὡς ἡ τε ἀνάγκη  
 428 καὶ τὸ δέος παρήνει. καὶ τράπεζα μὲν οὐδαμοῦ  
 παρετίθετο, τοῦ δὲ πυρὸς ὑφέλκοντες ἔτ' ὤμα  
 τὰ σιτία διήρπαζον.

429 (3) Ἐλευινή δ' ἦν ἡ τροφή καὶ δακρῦν ἄξιός  
 ἡ θεά, τῶν μὲν δυνατωτέρων πλεονεκτούντων,  
 τῶν δ' ἀσθενῶν ὀδυρομένων. πάντων μὲν δὴ  
 παθῶν ὑπερίσταται λιμός, οὐδὲν δ' οὕτως ἀπ-  
 ὀλλυσιν ὡς αἰδῶ· τὸ γὰρ ἄλλως ἐντροπῆς ἄξιον ἐν  
 430 τούτῳ καταφρονεῖται. γυναῖκες γοῦν ἀνδρῶν καὶ  
 παῖδες πατέρων, καί, τὸ οἰκτρότατον, μητέρες  
 νηπίων ἐξήρπαζον ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν στομάτων τὰς  
 τροφάς, καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων ἐν χερσὶ μαραιομένων  
 οὐκ ἦν φειδῶ τοὺς τοῦ ζῆν ἀφελέσθαι σταλαγμούς.

431 τοιαῦτα δ' ἐσθίοντες ὅμως οὐ διελάνθανον, παν-  
 ταχοῦ δ' ἐφίσταντο [οἱ στασιασταὶ] καὶ τούτων  
 432 ταῖς ἀρπαγαῖς. ὅποτε γὰρ κατίδοιεν ἀποκεκλει-  
 σμένην οἰκίαν, σημεῖον ἦν τοῦτο τοὺς ἐνδον προσ-  
 φέρεσθαι τροφήν· εὐθέως δ' ἐξαραξάντες τὰς  
 θύρας εἰσεπήδων, καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐκ τῶν φαρυγγῶν  
 433 ἀναθλίβοντες τὰς ἀκόλους ἀνέφερον. ἐτύπτοντο  
 δὲ γέροντες ἀντεχόμενοι τῶν σιτίων, καὶ κόμης  
 ἐσπαράττοντο γυναῖκες συγκαλύπτουσαι τὰ ἐν  
 χερσίν. οὐδέ τις ἦν οἶκτος πολιᾶς ἢ νηπίων,  
 ἀλλὰ συνεπαίροντες τὰ παιδιά τῶν ψωμῶν ἐκ-

well off for food, while those already emaciated were passed over, as it seemed senseless to kill persons so soon to die of starvation. Many clandestinely bartered their possessions for a single measure—of wheat, if they were rich, of barley, if they were poor ; then shutting themselves up in the most remote recesses of their houses, some in the extremity of hunger devoured the grain unground, others so baked it as necessity and fear dictated. Nowhere was any table laid ; they snatched the food half-cooked from the fire and tore it in pieces.

(3) Pitiful was the fare and lamentable the spectacle, the stronger taking more than their share, the weak whimpering. Famine, indeed, overpowers all the emotions, but of nothing is it so destructive as of shame : what at other times would claim respect is then treated with contempt. Thus, wives would snatch the food from husbands, children from fathers, and—most pitiable sight of all—mothers from the very mouths of their infants, and while their dearest ones were pining in their arms they scrupled not to rob them of the life-giving drops. Nor, though thus feeding, did they escape detection : everywhere the rebels hovered even over these wretches' prey. For, whenever they saw a house shut up, this was a signal that the inmates were taking food, and forthwith bursting open the doors they leapt in and forcing the morsels almost out of their very jaws brought them up again. Old men were beaten, clutching their victuals, and women were dragged by the hair, concealing what was in their hands. There was no compassion for hoary hairs or infancy : children were actually lifted up with the fragments to

Horrors of the famine and atrocities of the rebels.

- 434 κρεμάμενα κατέσειον εἰς ἔδαφος. τοῖς δὲ φθάσαι  
 τὴν εἰσδρομὴν αὐτῶν καὶ προκαταπιούσι τὸ  
 ἀρπαγησόμενον ὡς ἀδικηθέντες ἦσαν ὠμότεροι.
- 435 δεινὰς δὲ βασάνων ὁδοὺς ἐπενόουν πρὸς ἔρευναν  
 τροφῆς, ὀρόβοις μὲν ἐμφράττοντες τοῖς ἀθλίους  
 τοὺς τῶν αἰδοίων πόρους, ράβδοις δ' ὀξείαις  
 ἀναπείροντες τὰς ἔδρας, τὰ φρικτὰ δὲ καὶ ἀκοαῖς  
 ἔπασché τις εἰς ἐξομολόγησιν ἐνὸς ἄρτου καὶ ἵνα
- 436 μηνύσῃ δράκα μίαν κεκρυμμένην ἀλφίτων. οἱ  
 βασανισταὶ δ' οὐκ ἐπείνων, καὶ γὰρ ἦττον ἂν  
 ὠμὸν ἦν τὸ μετ' ἀνάγκης, γυμνάζοντες δὲ τὴν  
 ἀπόνοιαν καὶ προπαρασκευάζοντες αὐτοῖς εἰς
- 437 τὰς ἐξῆς ἡμέρας ἐφόδια. τοῖς δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥω-  
 μαίων φρουρὰν νύκτωρ ἐξερπύσασι ἐπὶ λαχάνων  
 συλλογὴν ἀγρίων καὶ πόας ὑπαντῶντες, ὅτ' ἤδη  
 διαπεφευγέναι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδόκουν, ἀφήρπαζον
- 438 τὰ κομισθέντα, καὶ πολλάκις ἱκετευόντων καὶ τὸ  
 φρικτὸν ἐπικαλουμένων ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ μεταδοῦναί  
 τι μέρος αὐτοῖς ὧν κινδυνεύσαντες ἤνεγκαν, οὐδ'  
 ὀτιοῦν μετέδωσαν· ἀγαπητὸν δ' ἦν τὸ μὴ καὶ  
 προσαπολέσθαι σεσυλημένον.
- 439 (4) Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταπεινότεροι τοιαῦτα πρὸς τῶν  
 δορυφόρων ἔπασχον, οἱ δ' ἐν ἀξιώματι καὶ πλούτῳ  
 πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἀνήγοντο. τούτων οἱ μὲν  
 ἐπιβουλὰς ψευδεῖς ἐπικαλούμενοι διεφθείροντο,  
 οἱ δὲ ὡς προδιδούειν Ῥωμαίοις τὴν πόλιν, τὸ δ'  
 ἐτοιμότατον ἦν μηνυτῆς τις<sup>1</sup> ὑπόβλητος ὡς
- 440 αὐτομολεῖν διεγνωκότων. ὁ δ' ὑπὸ Σίμωνος

<sup>1</sup> om. τις PAL Lat.

which they clung and dashed to the ground. To those who had anticipated their raid and already swallowed their expected spoil they were yet more brutal, as defrauded of their due. Horrible were the methods of torture which they devised in their search for food, blocking with pulse the passages in their poor victims' frames and driving sharp stakes up their bodies; and one would shudder at the mere recital of the pangs to which they were subjected to make them confess to the possession of a single loaf or to reveal the hiding-place of a handful of barley-meal. Yet their tormentors were not famished; their cruelty would have been less, had it had the excuse of necessity; they were but practising their recklessness and providing supplies for themselves against the days to come. Again, if any under cover of night had crept out to the Roman outposts to gather wild herbs and grass, they would go to meet them and, at the moment when these imagined themselves clear of the enemy, snatch from them what they had procured; and oft though their victims implored them, invoking even the awful name of God, to return them a portion of what they had at their own peril obtained, not a morsel was given them. They might congratulate themselves if, when robbed, they were not killed as well.

(4) Such was the treatment to which the lower classes were subjected by the satellites; the men of rank and wealth, on the other hand, were brought up to the tyrants. Of them some were falsely accused of conspiracy and executed, as were others on the charge of betraying the city to the Romans; but the readiest expedient was to suborn an informer to state that they had decided to desert. One who

Persecution  
of wealthier  
Jews by  
Simon and  
John.

- γυμνωθεὶς πρὸς Ἰωάννην ἀνεπέμπετο, καὶ τὸν  
 ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου σεσυλημένον ὁ Σίμων μετελάμβανεν·  
 ἀντιπρούπινον δ' ἀλλήλοις τὸ αἷμα τῶν δημοτῶν  
 441 καὶ τὰ πτώματα τῶν ἀθλίων διεμερίζοντο. καὶ  
 τοῦ μὲν κρατεῖν στάσις ἦν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις, τῶν  
 δ' ἀσεβημάτων ὁμόνοια· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὴ μεταδοὺς  
 ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων κακῶν θατέρῳ μονοτρόπως  
 ἐδόκει πονηρός, καὶ ὁ μὴ μεταλαβὼν ὡς ἀγαθοῦ  
 τινος ἦλγει τὸν νοσφισμὸν τῆς ὠμότητος.
- 442 (5) Καθ' ἕκαστον μὲν οὖν ἐπεξιέναι τὴν παρα-  
 νομίαν αὐτῶν ἀδύνατον, συνελόντι<sup>1</sup> δ' εἰπεῖν,  
 μήτε πόλιν ἄλλην τοιαῦτα πεπονθέναι μήτε γενεὰν  
 443 ἐξ αἰῶνος γεγονέναι κακίας γονιμωτέραν, οἳ γε  
 τελευταῖον καὶ τὸ γένος ἐφαύλιζον τῶν Ἑβραίων,  
 ὡς ἦττον ἀσεβεῖς δοκοῖεν πρὸς ἀλλοτρίους, ἐξ-  
 ωμολογήσαντο δ' ὅπερ ἦσαν εἶναι δοῦλοι καὶ  
 444 σύγκλυδες καὶ νόθα τοῦ ἔθνους φθάρματα. τὴν  
 μὲν γε πόλιν ἀνέτρεψαν αὐτοί, Ῥωμαίους δ'  
 ἄκοντας ἠνάγκασαν ἐπιγραφῆναι σκυθρωπῶ κατορ-  
 θώματι καὶ μόνον οὐχ εἴλκυσαν ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν  
 445 βραδῦνον τὸ πῦρ. ἀμέλει καιόμενον ἐκ τῆς ἄνω  
 πόλεως ἀφορῶντες οὔτ' ἦλγησαν οὔτ' ἐδάκρυσαν,  
 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα τὰ πάθη παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις εὐρέθη.  
 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ χώραν ὕστερον μετ' ἀπο-  
 δείξεως τῶν πραγμάτων ἐροῦμεν.
- 446 (xi. 1) Τίτῳ δὲ τὰ μὲν χῶματα προύκοπτεν  
 καίτοι πολλὰ κακουμένων ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τῶν  
 στρατιωτῶν, πέμψας δ' αὐτὸς μοῖραν τῶν ἰππέων  
 ἐκέλευσεν τοὺς κατὰ τὰς φάραγγας ἐπὶ συγκομιδῇ

<sup>1</sup> Niese: συνελόντα mss.

had been fleeced by Simon was passed on to John, and he who had been plundered by John was taken over by Simon ; they pledged each other in turn in the burghers' blood and shared the carcasses of their unfortunate victims. As rivals for power they were divided, but in their crimes unanimous ; for the one who gave his comrade no share in the proceeds of the miseries of others was ranked a scurvy villain, and he who received no share was aggrieved at his exclusion from the barbarity, as though defrauded of some good thing.

(5) To narrate their enormities in detail is impossible ; but, to put it briefly, no other city ever endured such miseries, nor since the world began has there been a generation more prolific in crime. Indeed they ended by actually disparaging the Hebrew race, in order to appear less impious in so treating aliens,<sup>a</sup> and owned themselves, what indeed they were, slaves, the dregs of society and the bastard scum of the nation. It was they who overthrew the city, and compelled the reluctant Romans to register so melancholy a triumph, and all but attracted to the temple the tardy flames. Verily, when from the upper town they beheld it burning, they neither grieved nor shed a tear,<sup>a</sup> though in the Roman ranks these signs of emotion were detected. But this we shall describe hereafter in its place, with a full exposition of the facts.

(xi. 1) Meanwhile the earthworks of Titus were progressing, notwithstanding the galling fire from the ramparts to which his men were exposed. The general, moreover, sent a detachment of horse with orders to lie in wait for any who issued from the town

Degradation  
of the  
Jewish race.

Crucifixion  
of Jewish  
prisoners.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. vi. 364 *καιομένην γοῦν ἀφορῶντες τὴν πόλιν ἰλαροῖς τοῖς προσώποις εὐθυμοὶ κτλ.*

447 τροφῆς ἐξιόντας ἐνεδρεύειν. ἦσαν δέ τινες καὶ  
 τῶν μαχίμων, οὐκέτι διαρκούμενοι ταῖς ἀρπαγαῖς,  
 τὸ δὲ πλεον ἐκ τοῦ δήμου πένητες, οὓς αὐτομολεῖν  
 448 ἀπέτρεπε τὸ περὶ τῶν οἰκείων δέος· οὔτε γὰρ  
 λήσεσθαι τοὺς στασιαστὰς ἠλπίζον μετὰ γυναικῶν  
 καὶ παιδίων διαδιδράσκοντες καὶ καταλιπεῖν τοῖς  
 λησταῖς ταῦτα οὐχ ὑπέμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν σφαγη-  
 449 σόμενα· τολμηροὺς δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἐξόδους ὁ λιμὸς  
 ἐποίει, καὶ κατελείπετο<sup>1</sup> λανθάνοντας εἰς<sup>2</sup> τοὺς  
 πολεμίους ἀλίσκεσθαι. λαμβανόμενοι δὲ κατ'  
 ἀνάγκην ἠμύνοντο,<sup>3</sup> καὶ μετὰ μάχην ἰκετεύειν  
 ἄωρον ἐδόκει. μαστιγούμενοι δὴ καὶ προβασανι-  
 ζόμενοι τοῦ θανάτου πᾶσαν αἰκίαν ἀνεσταυροῦντο  
 450 τοῦ τείχους ἀντικρῦ. Τίτω μὲν οὖν οἰκτρὸν τὸ  
 πάθος κατεφαίνετο, πεντακοσίων ἐκάστης ἡμέρας  
 ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ πλειόνων ἀλικομένων, οὔτε δὲ  
 τοὺς βία ληφθέντας ἀφεῖναι ἀσφαλές καὶ φυλάττειν  
 τοσοῦτους φρουρὰν τῶν φυλαξόντων ἑώρα· τό γε  
 μὴν πλεον οὐκ ἐκώλυεν τάχ' ἂν ἐνδοῦναι πρὸς  
 τὴν ὄψιν ἐλπίσας αὐτοὺς <ὡς>,<sup>4</sup> εἰ μὴ παραδοῖεν,  
 451 ὅμοια πεισομένους. προσήλουν δ' οἱ στρατιῶται  
 δι' ὄργην καὶ μῖσος τοὺς ἀλόντας ἄλλον ἄλλῳ  
 σχήματι πρὸς χλεύην, καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος χώρα  
 τ' ἐνέλειπε τοῖς σταυροῖς καὶ σταυροὶ τοῖς σώμασιν.  
 452 (2) Οἱ στασιασταὶ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπεδέησαν τοῦ  
 μεταβαλέσθαι πρὸς τὸ πάθος, ὥστε καὶ τούναντίον  
 453 αὐτοὶ σοφίσασθαι πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος. σύ-

<sup>1</sup> + μὴ Bekker with one ms.

<sup>2</sup> εἰς (om. PA) is confirmed by the parallel in Plato, *Rep.*  
 468 A εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀλόντα.

<sup>3</sup> + δεῖε τῆς κολάσεως L Lat.

<sup>4</sup> ins. Destinon after Lat.

into the ravines in quest of food. These included some of the combatants, no longer satisfied with their plunder, but the majority were citizens of the poorer class, who were deterred from deserting by fear for their families; for they could neither hope to elude the rebels if they attempted to escape with their wives and children, nor endure to leave them to be butchered by the brigands on their behalf. Famine, however, emboldened them to undertake these excursions, and it but remained for them if they escaped unobserved from the town to be taken prisoners by the enemy. When caught, they were driven to resist,<sup>a</sup> and after a conflict it seemed too late to sue for mercy. They were accordingly scourged and subjected to torture of every description, before being killed, and then crucified opposite the walls. Titus indeed commiserated their fate, five hundred or sometimes more being captured daily; on the other hand, he recognized the risk of dismissing prisoners of war, and that the custody of such numbers would amount to the imprisonment of their custodians; but his main reason for not stopping the crucifixions was the hope that the spectacle might perhaps induce the Jews to surrender, for fear that continued resistance would involve them in a similar fate. The soldiers out of rage and hatred amused themselves by nailing their prisoners in different postures; and so great was their number, that space could not be found for the crosses nor crosses for the bodies.

(2) The insurgents, however, far from relenting at these sufferings, deluded the remainder by inventing a contrary motive for them. Dragging the relatives

<sup>a</sup> Some authorities add "from fear of punishment."

## JOSEPHUS

ροντες γὰρ τοὺς τῶν αὐτομόλων οἰκείους ἐπὶ τὸ  
 τεῖχος καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν τοὺς ἐπὶ πίστιν ὠρμη-  
 μένους, οἷα πάσχουσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοις προσφεύγοντες  
 ἐπεδείκνυσαν καὶ τοὺς κεκρατημένους<sup>1</sup> ἰκέτας  
 454 ἔλεγον, οὐκ αἰχμαλώτους. τοῦτο πολλοὺς τῶν  
 αὐτομολεῖν ὠρμημένων μέχρι τάληθές ἐγνώσθη  
 κατέσχευεν· εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ παραχρήμα διέδρασαν  
 ὡς ἐπὶ βέβαιον τιμωρίαν, ἀνάπαυσιν ἡγούμενοι  
 τὸν ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων θάνατον ἐν λιμοῦ συγκρίσει.  
 455 πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ χειροκοπήσαι κελεύσας Τίτος  
 τῶν ἐαλωκότων, ὡς μὴ δοκοῖεν αὐτόμολοι καὶ  
 πιστεύοιντο διὰ τὴν συμφορὰν, εἰσέπεμψε πρὸς  
 456 τὸν Σίμωνα καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην, νῦν γε ἤδη παύ-  
 σασθαι παραινῶν καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν τῆς  
 πόλεως αὐτὸν βιάζεσθαι, κερδηῖσαι δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐν  
 ὑστάτοις μεταμελείας τὰς τε αὐτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ  
 τηλικαύτην πατρίδα καὶ ναὸν ἀκοινωνήτον ἄλλοις.  
 457 περιῶν δὲ τὰ χῶματα τοὺς ἐργαζομένους ἅμα  
 κατήπειγεν, ὡς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀκολουθήσων  
 458 ἔργοις τῷ λόγῳ. πρὸς ταῦτα αὐτὸν τ' ἐβλασφήμουν  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ,  
 καὶ τοῦ μὲν θανάτου καταφρονεῖν ἐβόων, ἡρῆσθαι  
 γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸ δουλείας καλῶς, ἐργάσεσθαι δ'  
 ὅσα ἂν δύνωνται κακὰ Ῥωμαῖοις ἕως ἐμπνέωσι,  
 πατρίδος δ' οὐ μέλειν τοῖς ὡς αὐτός φησιν ἀπολου-  
 μένοις, καὶ ναὸν<sup>2</sup> ἀμείνω τούτου τῷ θεῷ τὸν  
 459 κόσμον εἶναι. σωθήσεσθαί γε μὴν καὶ τοῦτον  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ κατοικοῦντος, ὃν καὶ αὐτοὶ σύμμαχον

<sup>1</sup> κρεμαμένους Destimon.

<sup>2</sup> ναὸν Bekker with Lat.: ναοῦ + ἀπολο(υ)μένου (om. Lat. ed. pr.) MSS.

of the deserters to the wall, together with any citizens who were anxious to accept the offer of terms, they showed them what was the fate of those who sought refuge with the Romans, asserting that the arrested victims were not captives, but suppliants. This, until the truth became known, kept back many who were eager to desert; some, however, instantly fled, as to certain punishment, regarding death at the enemy's hands as rest in comparison with starvation. But Titus now gave orders to cut off the hands of several of the prisoners, that they might not be mistaken for deserters and that their calamity might add credit to their statements, and then sent them in to Simon and John, exhorting them now at least to pause, and not compel him to destroy the city, but by repentance at the eleventh hour to gain their own lives, their magnificent city, and a temple unshared by others. At the same time he went round the embankments, urging on the workmen, as if intending shortly to follow up his threats by action. To this message the Jews retorted by heaping abuse from the ramparts upon Caesar himself, and his father, crying out that they scorned death, which they honourably preferred to slavery; that they would do Romans every injury in their power while they had breath in their bodies; that men so soon, as he himself said, to perish, were unconcerned for their native place, and that the world was a better temple for God than this one.<sup>a</sup> But, they added, it would yet be saved by Him who dwelt therein, and

Admonitions of Titus

and retorts of the Jewish leaders.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Baruch iii. 24, "O Israel, how great is the house of God! and how large is the place of his possession!" etc. Writing after the tragedy of A.D. 70 the author of that work says in effect "The house of God is not the ruined Temple but the broad universe."

- 192 Ἰουδαῖοι<sup>1</sup> τοῖς ἀναβᾶσιν ἀπέκοψαν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία  
καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν βόρειον στοὰν ἐνέπρησαν μέχρι  
τῆς ἀνατολικῆς ὄλην, ὧν ἡ συνάπτουσα γωνία τῆς  
Κεδρῶνος καλουμένης φάραγος ὑπερδεδομητο,  
παρ' ὃ καὶ φοβερὸν ἦν τὸ βάθος. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ  
τὸ ἱερὸν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.
- 193 (3) Τῶν δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ φθειρομένων κατὰ  
τὴν πόλιν ἄπειρον μὲν ἔπιπτε τὸ πλῆθος, ἀδιήγητα  
194 δὲ συνέβαινε τὰ πάθη. καθ' ἐκάστην γὰρ οἰκίαν,  
εἴ που τροφῆς παραφανείη σκιά, πόλεμος ἦν, καὶ  
διὰ χειρῶν ἐχώρουν οἱ φίλτατοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
ἐξαρπάζοντες τὰ ταλαίπωρα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐφόδια.  
195 πίστις δ' ἀπορίας οὐδὲ τοῖς θνήσκουσιν ἦν, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ τοὺς ἐκπνέοντας οἱ ληστὰι διηρεύων, μὴ τις  
ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔχων τροφὴν σκήπτοιτο τὸν θάνατον  
196 αὐτῷ. οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἐνδείας κεχηνότες ὥσπερ  
λυσσῶντες κύνες ἐσφάλλonto, καὶ παρεφέροντο  
ταῖς τε θύραις ἐνσειόμενοι μεθύοντων τρόπον καὶ  
ὑπ' ἀμηχανίας εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς οἴκους εἰσπηδῶντες  
197 δις ἢ τρίς ὥρα μιᾶ. πάντα δ' ὑπ' ὀδόντας ἤγεν ἡ  
ἀνάγκη, καὶ τὰ μηδὲ τοῖς ῥυπαρωτάτοις τῶν ἀλό-  
γων ζώων πρόσφορα συλλέγοντες ἐσθίειν ὑπέφερον.  
ζωστήρων γοῦν καὶ ὑποδημάτων τὸ τελευταῖον οὐκ  
ἀπέσχοντο καὶ τὰ δέρματα τῶν θυρεῶν ἀποδέροντες  
198 ἐμασῶντο. τροφὴ δ' ἦν καὶ χόρτου τισὶ παλαιοῦ  
σπαράγματα<sup>2</sup>. τὰς γὰρ ἴνας ἔνιοι συλλέγοντες  
ἐλάχιστον σταθμὸν ἐπώλουν Ἀττικῶν τεσσάρων.  
199 καὶ τί δεῖ τὴν ἐπ' ἀψύχοις ἀναίδειαν τοῦ λιμοῦ  
λέγειν; εἴμι γὰρ αὐτοῦ δηλώσω ἐργον οἷον μήτε

<sup>1</sup> Hudson with Heg. Lat.: Ἰουδαίοις mss.

<sup>2</sup> LC Eus. Lat.: σπάραγμα the rest.

by the Jews. The next day the Romans also burnt c. 16 August. the whole northern portico right up to that on the east, where the angle connecting the two was built over the ravine called Kedron, the depth at that point being consequently terrific. Such was the condition of affairs in the vicinity of the temple.

(3) Meanwhile, the victims perishing of famine throughout the city were dropping in countless numbers and enduring sufferings indescribable. In every house, the appearance anywhere of but a shadow of food was a signal for war, and the dearest of relatives fell to blows, snatching from each other the pitiful supports of life. The very dying were not credited as in want; nay, even those expiring were searched by the brigands, lest any should be concealing food beneath a fold of his garment and feigning death. Gaping with hunger, like mad dogs,<sup>a</sup> these ruffians went staggering and reeling along, battering upon the doors in the manner of drunken men, and in their perplexity bursting into the same house twice or thrice within a single hour. Necessity drove the victims to gnaw anything, and objects which even the filthiest of brute beasts would reject they condescended to collect and eat: thus in the end they abstained not from belts and shoes and stripped off and chewed the very leather of their bucklers. Others devoured tufts of withered grass: indeed some collectors of stalks sold a trifling quantity for four Attic drachmas.<sup>b</sup> But why tell of the shameless resort to inanimate articles of food induced by the famine, seeing that I am here about to go round about the city: they wander up and down for meat," Ps. lix. 14 f. Further horrors of the famine.

<sup>a</sup> The coin is unexpressed in the Greek, as elsewhere (ii. 592). The Attic drachma was the ordinary day's wage for a labourer.

## JOSEPHUS

παρ' Ἑλλησιν μήτε παρὰ βαρβάροις ἰστόρηται,  
 200 φρικτὸν μὲν εἰπεῖν, ἄπιστον δ' ἀκοῦσαι. καὶ ἔγωγε  
 μὴ δόξαιμι τερατεύεσθαι τοῖς αὐθις ἀνθρώποις,  
 κὰν παρέλειπον τὴν συμφορὰν ἠδέως, εἰ μὴ τῶν  
 κατ' ἑμαυτὸν εἶχον ἀπείρους μάρτυρας. ἄλλως τε  
 καὶ ψυχρὰν ἂν καταθείμην τῇ πατρίδι χάριν  
 καθυφέμενος τὸν λόγον ὧν πέπονθεν τὰ ἔργα.

201 (4) Γυνή τις τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰορδάνην κατ-  
 οικούντων, Μαρία τοῦνομα, πατρὸς Ἐλεαζάρου,  
 κώμης Βηθεζουβᾶ,<sup>1</sup> σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο οἶκος  
 ὑσσώπου, διὰ γένος καὶ πλοῦτον ἐπίσημος, μετὰ  
 τοῦ λοιποῦ πλήθους εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα κατα-  
 202 φυγοῦσα συνεπολιορκεῖτο. ταύτης τὴν μὲν ἄλλην  
 κτῆσιν οἱ τύραννοι διήρπασαν, ὅσῃν ἐκ τῆς  
 Περαιᾶς ἀνασκευασαμένη μετήνεγκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν,  
 τὰ δὲ λείψανα τῶν κειμηλίων καὶ εἴ τι τροφῆς  
 ἐπινοηθεῖη καθ' ἡμέραν εἰσπηδῶντες ἤρπαζον οἱ  
 203 δορυφόροι. δεινὴ δὲ τὸ γύναιον ἀγανάκτησις  
 εἰσῆει, καὶ πολλάκις λαιδοροῦσα καὶ καταρωμένη  
 204 τοὺς ἄρπαγας ἐφ' αὐτὴν ἠρέθιζεν. ὥς δ' οὔτε  
 παροξυνόμενός τις οὔτ' ἐλεῶν αὐτὴν ἀνήρει, καὶ  
 τὸ μὲν εὔρεῖν τι σιτίον ἄλλοις ἐκοπία, πανταχόθεν  
 δ' ἄπορον ἦν ἤδη καὶ τὸ εὔρεῖν, ὁ λιμὸς δὲ διὰ  
 σπλάγχχνων καὶ μυελῶν ἐχώρει καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ  
 μᾶλλον ἐξέκαιον οἱ θυμοί, σύμβουλον λαβοῦσα τὴν  
 205 ὀργὴν μετὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐπὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐχώρει, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> L: Βεθεζώρ M, Βαθεζώρ Eus., Βαθεχώρ the rest.

<sup>a</sup> Josephus strangely ignores the parallel incident at the siege of Samaria, recorded in 2 Kings vi. 28 f. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 57 and Baruch ii. 2 f. ("great plagues, such as never happened under the whole heaven, as it came to pass in Jerusalem . . . that we should eat . . . every man the flesh of his own daughter").

describe an act unparalleled<sup>a</sup> in the history whether of Greeks or barbarians, and as horrible to relate as it is incredible to hear? For my part, for fear that posterity might suspect me<sup>b</sup> of monstrous fabrication, I would gladly have omitted this tragedy, had I not innumerable witnesses among my contemporaries. Moreover, it would be a poor compliment that I should pay my country in suppressing the narrative of the woes which she actually endured.

(4) Among the residents of the region beyond Jordan was a woman named Mary, daughter of Eleazar, of the village of Bethezuba (the name means "House of Hyssop"<sup>c</sup>), eminent by reason of her family and fortune, who had fled with the rest of the people to Jerusalem and there become involved in the siege. The bulk of her property, which she had packed up and brought with her from Peraea<sup>d</sup> to the city, had been plundered by the tyrants; while the relics of her treasures, with whatever food she had contrived to procure, were being carried off by their satellites in their daily raids. With deep indignation in her heart, the poor woman constantly abused and cursed these extortioners and so incensed them against her. But when no one either out of exasperation or pity put her to death, weary of finding for others food, which indeed it was now impossible from any quarter to procure, while famine coursed through her intestines and marrow and the fire of rage was more consuming even than the famine, impelled by the promptings alike of fury and necessity, she proceeded to an act of outrage upon

Mary, the mother who devoured her child.

<sup>b</sup> Or "I hope that I shall not be suspected by posterity . . . and indeed I would gladly," etc.

<sup>c</sup> Heb. Beth Ezob : site unidentified.

<sup>d</sup> Transjordania, *B.* iii. 44 ff.

## JOSEPHUS

τὸ τέκνον, ἦν δ' αὐτῇ παῖς ὑπομάστιος, ἀρπα-  
 σαμένη "βρέφος," εἶπεν, "ἄθλιον, ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ  
 206 λιμῷ καὶ στάσει τίνι σε τηρήσω; τὰ μὲν παρὰ  
 'Ρωμαίοις δουλεία, κὰν ζήσωμεν ἐπ' αὐτούς,<sup>1</sup>  
 φθάνει δὲ καὶ δουλείαν ὁ λιμός, οἱ στασιασταὶ δ'  
 207 ἀμφοτέρων χαλεπώτεροι. ἴθι, γενοῦ μοι τροφή  
 καὶ τοῖς στασιασταῖς ἐρινὺς καὶ τῷ βίῳ μῦθος ὁ  
 208 μόνος ἐλλείπων ταῖς Ἰουδαίων συμφοραῖς." καὶ  
 ταῦθ' ἅμα λέγουσα κτείνει τὸν υἱόν, ἔπειτ' ὀπη-  
 σασα τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ κατεσθίει, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν κατα-  
 209 καλύψασα ἐφύλαττεν. εὐθέως δ' οἱ στασιασταὶ  
 παρῆσαν, καὶ τῆς ἀθεμίτου κνίσσης σπάσαντες ἠπεί-  
 λουν, εἰ μὴ δείξειεν τὸ παρασκευασθέν, ἀποσφάξειν  
 αὐτὴν εὐθέως. ἡ δὲ καὶ μοῖραν αὐτοῖς εἰποῦσα  
 καλὴν τετηρηκέσαι τὰ λείψανα τοῦ τέκνου δι-  
 210 ἐκάλυψεν. τοὺς δ' εὐθέως φρίκη καὶ παρέκτασις<sup>2</sup>  
 ἦρει καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὄψιν ἐπεπήγεσαν. ἡ δ' "ἐμόν,"  
 ἔφη, "τοῦτο τὸ τέκνον γνήσιον καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐμόν.  
 211 φάγετε, καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ βέβρωκα. μὴ γένησθε μήτε  
 μαλακώτεροι γυναικὸς μήτε συμπαθέστεροι μητρός.  
 εἰ δ' ὑμεῖς εὐσεβεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀποστρέφεσθε  
 θυσίαν, ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῖν βέβρωκα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δ'  
 212 ἐμοὶ μεινάτω." μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν τρέμοντες  
 ἐξῆσαν, πρὸς ἐν τούτῳ δειλοὶ καὶ μόλις ταύτης τῆς  
 τροφῆς τῇ μητρὶ παραχωρήσαντες, ἀνεπλήσθη δ'  
 εὐθέως ὅλη τοῦ μύσους ἡ πόλις, καὶ πρὸ ὀμμάτων  
 ἕκαστος τὸ πάθος λαμβάνων ὥσπερ<sup>3</sup> αὐτῷ τολ-  
 213 μηθὲν ἔφριπτε. σπουδῇ δὲ τῶν λιμωπτόντων ἐπὶ  
 τὸν θάνατον ἦν, καὶ μακαρισμὸς τῶν φθασάντων  
 πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι καὶ θεάσασθαι κακὰ τηλικαῦτα.

<sup>1</sup> Text doubtful: ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Hudson: ὑπ' αὐτοῦς A<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> A: παρέκτασις P: φρενῶν ἕκτασις the rest.

nature. Seizing her child, an infant at the breast, "Poor babe," she cried, "amidst war, famine, and sedition, to what end should I preserve thee? With the Romans slavery awaits us, should we live till they come; but famine is forestalling slavery, and more cruel than both are the rebels. Come, be thou food for me, to the rebels an avenging fury, and to the world a tale such as alone is wanting to the calamities of the Jews." With these words she slew her son, and then, having roasted the body and devoured half of it, she covered up and stored the remainder. At once the rebels were upon her and, scenting the unholy odour, threatened her with instant death unless she produced what she had prepared. Replying that she had reserved a goodly portion for them also, she disclosed the remnants of her child. Seized with instant horror and stupefaction, they stood paralysed by the sight. She, however, said, "This is my own child, and this my handiwork. Eat, for I too have eaten. Show not yourselves weaker than a woman, or more compassionate than a mother. But if you have pious scruples and shrink from my sacrifice, then let what I have eaten be your portion and the remainder also be left for me." At that they departed trembling, in this one instance cowards, though scarcely yielding even this food to the mother. The whole city instantly rang with the abomination, and each, picturing the horror of it, shuddered as though it had been perpetrated by himself. The starving folk longed for death, and felicitated those who had gone to their rest ere they had heard or beheld such evils.

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<sup>a</sup> L: *ὡς παρ'* the rest.

## JOSEPHUS

- 214 (5) Ταχέως δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις διηγγέλθη τὸ  
πάθος. τῶν δ' οἱ μὲν ἠπίσταν, οἱ δὲ ὤκτειρον,  
215 τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς εἰς μῖσος τοῦ ἔθνους σφοδρότερον  
συνέβη προελθεῖν. Καῖσαρ δ' ἀπελογείτο καὶ περὶ  
τούτου τῷ θεῷ, φάσκων παρὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ Ἰουδαίοις  
εἰρήνην καὶ αὐτονομίαν προτείνεσθαι καὶ πάντων  
216 ἀμνηστίαν τῶν τετολμημένων, τοὺς δ' ἀντὶ μὲν  
ὁμονοίας στάσιν, ἀντὶ δ' εἰρήνης πόλεμον, πρὸ  
κόρου δέ<sup>1</sup> καὶ εὐθηνίας λιμὸν αἴρουμένους, ἰδίαις δὲ  
χερσὶν ἀρξαμένους καίειν τὸ συντηρούμενον ὑφ'  
ἡμῶν ἱερὸν αὐτοῖς, εἶναι καὶ τοιαύτης τροφῆς  
217 ἀξίους. καλύψει μέντοι τὸ τῆς τεκνοφαγίας μύσος  
αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς πατρίδος πτώματι καὶ οὐ καταλείψει  
ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡλίω καθορᾶν πόλιν, ἐν ἣ  
218 μητέρες οὕτω τρέφονται. προσήκει μέντοι πρὸ  
μητέρων πατράσιν τὴν τοιαύτην τροφήν, οἱ καὶ  
μετὰ τηλικαῦτα πάθη μένουσιν ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις.  
219 ταῦθ' ἅμα διεξιὼν ἐνενοεῖ καὶ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τῶν  
ἀνδρῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔτι σωφρονῆσαι τοὺς πάντα  
προπεπονθότας ἐφ' οἷς εἰκὸς ἦν μεταβαλέσθαι μὴ  
παθοῦσιν.<sup>2</sup>
- 220 (iv. 1) Ἦδη δὲ τῶν δύο ταγμάτων συντετε-  
λεκότων τὰ χώματα Λώου μηνὸς ὀγδόῃ προσάγειν  
ἐκέλευσε τοὺς κριοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέριον ἐξέδραν  
221 τοῦ ἔξωθεν<sup>3</sup> ἱεροῦ. πρὸ δὲ τούτων ἐξ ἡμέρας<sup>4</sup>  
ἀδιαλείπτως ἢ στερροτάτῃ πασῶν ἐλέπολις τύπ-  
τουσα τὸν τοῖχον οὐδὲν ἤνυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης  
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸ μέγεθος καὶ ἡ ἀρμονία τῶν  
222 λίθων ἦν ἀμείνων. τῆς δὲ βορείου πύλης ὑπώρυττον

<sup>1</sup> δέ τοι L.

<sup>2</sup> πάθωσιν Naber.

<sup>3</sup> Lat.: ἔσωθεν PA<sup>1</sup>: ἔσωθεν the rest; cf. §§ 151, 244.

<sup>4</sup> PL: ἡμέραις the rest.

(5) The horrible news soon spread to the Romans. Of them some were incredulous, others were moved to pity, but the effect on the majority was to intensify their hatred of the nation. Caesar declared himself innocent in this matter also in the sight of God, protesting that *he* had offered the Jews peace, independence, and an amnesty for all past offences, while *they*, preferring sedition to concord, peace to war, famine to plenty and prosperity, and having been the first to set fire with their own hands to that temple which he and his army were preserving for them, were indeed deserving even of such food as this. He, however, would bury this abomination of infant-cannibalism beneath the ruins of their country, and would not leave upon the face of the earth, for the sun to behold, a city in which mothers were thus fed. Yet, he added, such food was less meet for mothers than for fathers, who even after such horrors still remained in arms. While expressing these sentiments, he had, moreover, in mind the desperation of these men, being convinced that they were past being brought to reason who had already endured all the miseries, to be spared the experience of which they might have been expected to relent.

Protesta-  
tion of  
Titus.

(iv. 1) Two of the legions having now completed their earthworks,<sup>a</sup> on the eighth of the month Lous, Titus ordered the rams to be brought up opposite the western hall of the outer court of the temple. Before their arrival, the most redoubtable of all the siege-engines had for six days incessantly battered the wall without effect, the massiveness and nice adjustment of the stones being proof against it as against the rest. Another party endeavoured to

Rams and  
ladders  
proving  
unavailing  
c. 27 August

<sup>a</sup> Cf. §§ 150 f.

## JOSEPHUS

τὸ στρατόπεδον]<sup>1</sup> τοῦ τόπου μηδεμίαν ἐγγὺς πηγὴν  
 279 ἀναδιδόντος. ταῦτ' οὖν προοικονομησάμενος ὁ  
 Σίλβας ἐπὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐτράπετο πολλῆς ἐπι-  
 τεχνήσεως καὶ ταλαιπωρίας δεομένην διὰ τὴν ὀχυρό-  
 τητα τοῦ φρουρίου τοιοῦδε τὴν φύσιν ὑπάρχοντος.  
 280 (3) Πέτραν οὐκ ὀλίγην τῇ περιόδῳ καὶ μῆκος  
 ὑψηλὴν πανταχόθεν περιερρώγασι βαθεῖαι φάραγ-  
 γες,<sup>2</sup> κάτωθεν ἐξ ἀοράτου τέρματος κρημνώδεις  
 καὶ πάσῃ βάσει ζώων ἀπρόσιτοι, πλὴν ὅσον κατὰ  
 281 δύο τόπους τῆς πέτρας εἰς ἄνοδον οὐκ εὐμαρῆ  
 παρεικούσης. ἔστι δὲ τῶν ὁδῶν ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς  
 Ἀσφαλτίτιδος λίμνης πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα, καὶ  
 πάλιν ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως ἧ ῥᾶον<sup>3</sup> πορευθῆναι.  
 282 καλοῦσι δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν ὄφιν, τῇ στενότητι προσ-  
 εικάσαντες καὶ τοῖς συνεχέσιν ἐλιγμοῖς· κλᾶται  
 γὰρ περὶ τὰς τῶν κρημνῶν ἐξοχὰς καὶ πολλάκις  
 εἰς αὐτὴν ἀνατρέχουσα καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν αὐθις  
 283 ἐκμηκνυομένη μόλις ψαύει τοῦ πρόσω. δεῖ δὲ  
 παραλλάξ τὸν δι' αὐτῆς βαδίζοντα τὸν ἕτερον  
 τῶν ποδῶν<sup>4</sup> ἐρείδεσθαι. ἔστι δὲ πρόδηλος ὄλεθρος·  
 ἐκατέρωθεν γὰρ βάθος κρημνῶν ὑποκέχνηνε τῇ  
 φοβερότητι πᾶσαν εὐτολμίαν ἐκπλήξαι δυνάμενον.  
 284 διὰ τοιαύτης οὖν ἐλθόντι σταδίους τριάκοντα  
 κορυφὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔστιν, οὐκ εἰς ὄξυ τέρμα  
 συνηγμένη, ἀλλ' ὥστ' εἶναι κατ' ἄκρας ἐπίπεδον.  
 285 ἐπὶ ταύτῃ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ὠκοδομήσατο  
 φρούριον Ἰωνάθης καὶ προσηγόρευσε Μασάδαν,  
 ὕστερον δ' Ἡρώδη τῷ βασιλεῖ διὰ πολλῆς ἐγένετο  
 286 σπουδῆς ἡ τοῦ χωρίου κατασκευή. τεῖχός τε γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> om. P.

<sup>2</sup> + καὶ P Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ἡ ῥᾶων Niese (*ed. min.*) after VR.

<sup>4</sup> τοῖν ποδοῖν C.

camp, there being no spring in the neighbourhood. Having completed these preliminary arrangements, Silva turned his attention to the siege, which demanded great skill and severe exertion, owing to the strength of the fortress, the nature of which was as follows.

(3) A rock of no slight circumference and lofty The rock of Masada from end to end is abruptly terminated on every side by deep ravines, the precipices rising sheer from an invisible base and being inaccessible to the foot of any living creature, save in two places where the rock permits of no easy ascent. Of these tracks one leads from the Lake Asphaltitis <sup>a</sup> on the east,<sup>b</sup> the other, by which the approach is easier, from the west. The former they call the snake, seeing a resemblance to that reptile in its narrowness and continual windings; for its course is broken in skirting the jutting crags and, returning frequently upon itself and gradually lengthening out again, it makes painful headway. One traversing this route must firmly plant each foot alternately. Destruction faces him; for on either side yawn chasms so terrific as to daunt the hardiest. After following this perilous track for thirty furlongs, one reaches the summit, which, instead of tapering to a sharp peak, expands into a plain. On this plateau the high priest Jonathan <sup>c</sup> first erected a fortress and called it Masada; the subsequent planning of the place engaged the serious attention of King Herod. For and Herod's fortress upon it.

<sup>a</sup> The *Dead Sea*.

<sup>b</sup> Literally "towards the sun-rising," a phrase found in Herodotus (iii. 98).

<sup>c</sup> Brother of Judas Maccabaeus and his successor as Jewish leader, 161-143 B.C., *B. i.* 48 f.

ἤγειρε περὶ πάντα τὸν κύκλον τῆς κορυφῆς ἑπτὰ  
 σταδίων ὄντα, λευκοῦ μὲν λίθου πεποιημένον,  
 ὕψος δὲ δώδεκα καὶ πλάτος ὀκτῶ πήχεις ἔχον,  
 287 τριάκοντα δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἑπτὰ πύργοι πεντηκοντα-  
 πήχεις ἀνειστήκεσαν, ἐξ ὧν ἦν εἰς οἰκήματα  
 διελθεῖν περὶ πᾶν τὸ τεῖχος ἔνδον ὠκοδομημένα.  
 288 τὴν γὰρ κορυφὴν πίονα καὶ πεδίου παντὸς οὔσαν  
 μαλακωτέραν ἀνήκεν εἰς γεωργίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς,  
 ἵν' εἴ ποτε τῆς ἕξωθεν τροφῆς ἀπορία γένοιτο,  
 μηδὲ ταύτη κάμοιεν οἱ τὴν αὐτῶν σωτηρίαν τῷ  
 289 φρουρίῳ πεπιστευκότες. καὶ βασιλεῖον δὲ κατ-  
 εσκεύασεν ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας  
 ἀνάβασιν, ὑποκάτω μὲν τῶν τῆς ἄκρας τειχῶν,  
 πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἄρκτον ἐκκλίνον.<sup>1</sup> τοῦ δὲ βασιλείου  
 τὸ τεῖχος ἦν ὕψει μέγα καὶ καρτερόν, πύργους  
 290 ἔχον ἑξήκονταπήχεις ἐγγωνίους τέτταρας. ἢ τε  
 τῶν οἰκημάτων ἔνδον καὶ στοῶν καὶ βαλανείων  
 κατασκευὴ παντοία καὶ πολυτελής ἦν, κιόνων  
 μὲν ἀπανταχοῦ μονολίθων ὑφεστηκότων, τοίχων  
 δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς οἰκήμασιν ἐδάφω λίθου  
 291 στρώσει πεποικιλμένων. πρὸς ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν  
 οἰκουμένων τόπων ἄνω τε καὶ περὶ τὸ βασιλεῖον  
 καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους  
 ἐτετμήκει λάκκους ἐν ταῖς πέτραις φυλακτῆρας  
 ὑδάτων, μηχανώμενος εἶναι χορηγίαν ὄση τῷ<sup>2</sup>  
 292 ἐκ πηγῶν ἐστί χρωμένοις. ὀρυκτὴ δ' ὁδὸς ἐκ  
 τοῦ βασιλείου πρὸς ἄκραν τὴν κορυφὴν ἀνέφερε  
 τοῖς ἕξωθεν ἀφανῆς. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ταῖς φανεραῖς  
 293 ὁδοῖς ἦν οἶόν τε χρήσασθαι ῥαδίως πολεμίους· ἢ  
 μὲν γὰρ ἐψά διὰ τὴν φύσιν, ὡς προείπαμεν, ἐστὶν  
 ἄβατος, τὴν δ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας μεγάλῳ κατὰ τὸ  
 στενότατον πύργῳ διετείχισεν, ἀπέχοντι τῆς ἄκρας

first he enclosed the entire summit, a circuit measuring seven furlongs, with a wall of white stone, twelve cubits high and eight broad; on it stood thirty-seven towers, fifty cubits high, from which access was obtained to apartments constructed round the whole interior of the wall. For the actual top, being of rich soil and softer than any plain, was given up by the king to cultivation; in order that, should there ever be a dearth of provisions from outside, those who had committed their lives to the protection of the fortress might not suffer from it. There, too, he built a palace on the western slope, beneath the ramparts on the crest and inclining towards the north. The palace wall was strong and of great height, and had four towers, sixty cubits high, at the corners. The fittings of the interior—apartments, colonnades, and baths—were of manifold variety and sumptuous; columns, each formed of a single block, supporting the building throughout, and the walls and floors of the apartments being laid with variegated stones. Moreover, at each spot used for habitation, both on the summit and about the palace, as also before the wall, he had cut out in the rock numerous large tanks, as reservoirs for water, thus procuring a supply as ample as where springs are available. A sunk road led up from the palace to the summit of the hill, imperceptible from without. But even of the open approaches it was not easy for an enemy to make use; for the eastern track, as we have previously stated,<sup>a</sup> is from its nature impracticable, while that on the west Herod barred at its narrowest point by a great tower.

<sup>a</sup> §§ 281-3.

<sup>1</sup> P (έκκλίνων) A: έγκλίνον the rest.

<sup>2</sup> Niese: τών mss.

πήχεων οὐκ ἔλαττον διάστημα χιλίων, ὃν οὔτε  
 παρελθεῖν δυνατὸν ἦν οὔτε ῥάδιον ἐλεῖν· δυσέξοδος  
 δὲ καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ἀδείας βαδίζουσιν ἐπεποίητο.  
 294 οὕτως μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδους  
 φύσει τε καὶ χειροποιήτως τὸ φρούριον ὠχύρωτο.  
 295 (4) Τῶν δ' ἔνδον ἀποκειμένων παρασκευῶν ἔτι  
 μᾶλλον ἂν τις ἐθαύμασε τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν  
 296 διαμονήν· σίτός τε γὰρ ἀπέκειτο πολὺς καὶ πολὺν  
 χρόνον ἀρκεῖν ἰκανώτατος οἴνος τε πολὺς ἦν καὶ  
 ἔλαιον, ἔτι δὲ παντοῖος ὀσπρίων καρπὸς καὶ  
 297 φοῖνικες ἐσεσώρευντο. πάντα δ' εὔρεν ὁ Ἐλεάζαρος  
 τοῦ φρουρίου μετὰ τῶν σικαριῶν ἐγκρατῆς  
 δόλῳ γενόμενος ἀκμαῖα καὶ μηδὲν τῶν νεωστὶ  
 κειμένων ἀποδέοντα· καίτοι σχεδὸν ἀπὸ τῆς  
 παρασκευῆς εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἄλῳσιν ἑκατὸν  
 ἦν χρόνος ἐτῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς περι-  
 298 λειφθέντας τῶν καρπῶν εὔρον ἀδιαφθόρους. αἴτιον  
 δ' οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι τις ὑπολαμβάνων εἶναι τὸν  
 ἀέρα τῆς διαμονῆς, ὕψει τῶν<sup>1</sup> περὶ τὴν ἄκραν  
 πάσης ὄντα γεώδους καὶ θολερᾶς ἀμιγῆ κράσεως.  
 299 εὐρέθη δὲ καὶ παντοίων πλήθος ὄπλων ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 βασιλέως ἀποτεθησαυρισμένον,<sup>2</sup> ὡς ἀνδράσιν ἀρ-  
 κεῖν μυρίοις, ἀργὸς τε σίδηρος καὶ χαλκὸς ἔτι  
 δὲ καὶ μόλιβος, ἅτε δὴ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐπὶ  
 300 μεγάλας αἰτίαις γενομένης· λέγεται γὰρ αὐτῷ  
 τὸν Ἡρώδη τοῦτο τὸ φρούριον εἰς ὑποφυγὴν  
 ἐτοιμάζειν διπλοῦν ὑφορώμενον κίνδυνον, τὸν μὲν  
 παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Ἰουδαίων, μὴ καταλύσαντες  
 ἐκείνον τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 καταγάγωσι, τὸν μείζω δὲ καὶ χαλεπώτερον ἐκ

<sup>1</sup> τῷ Niese with A<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> C Lat.: -ισμένων the rest.

distant no less than a thousand cubits from the crest. This tower it was neither possible to pass nor easy to capture; exit being rendered difficult even for passengers who had no cause for alarm. So strongly had this fortress been intrenched against an enemy's attack, both by nature and the hand of man.

(4) But the stores laid up within would have excited still more amazement, alike for their lavish splendour and their durability. For here had been stored a mass of corn, amply sufficient to last for years, abundance of wine and oil, besides every variety of pulse and piles of dates. All these Eleazar, when he with his Sicarii became through treachery master of the fortress,<sup>a</sup> found in perfect condition and no whit inferior to goods recently laid in; although from the date of storage to the capture of the place by the Romans well-nigh a century had elapsed.<sup>b</sup> Indeed, the Romans found what remained of the fruits undecayed. It would not be erroneous to attribute such durability to the atmosphere, which at the altitude of the citadel is untainted by all earth-born and foul alloy. There was also found a mass of arms of every description, hoarded up by the king and sufficient for ten thousand men, besides unwrought iron, brass, and lead; these preparations having, in fact, been made for grave reasons. For it is said that Herod furnished this fortress as a refuge for himself, suspecting a twofold danger: peril on the one hand from the Jewish people, lest they should depose him and restore their former dynasty to power; the greater and more serious from Cleopatra,

Herod's stores found in perfect condition.

The fortress stocked as a refuge for himself.

<sup>a</sup> *B.* ii. 408, *cf.* 433.

<sup>b</sup> If the fortress was stocked in Cleopatra's lifetime (§ 300), upward of a century had elapsed, from before 31 B.C. to A.D. 73.

- 301 τῆς βασιλευούσης Αἰγύπτου Κλεοπάτρας. αὕτη  
 γὰρ τὴν αὐτῆς γνώμην οὐκ ἐπέιχεν, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις  
 Ἀντωνίῳ λόγους προσέφερε, τὸν μὲν Ἡρώδην  
 ἀνελεῖν ἀξιούσα, χαρίσασθαι δ' αὐτῇ τὴν βα-  
 302 σιλείαν τῶν Ἰουδαίων δεομένη. καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν  
 τις ἐθαύμασεν ὅτι μηδέπω τοῖς προστάγμασιν  
 Ἀντώνιος ὑπακηκῶει, κακῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὴν  
 ἔρωτος δεδουλωμένος, οὐχ ὅτι περὶ τοῦ μὴ  
 303 χαρίσασθαι προσεδόκησεν. διὰ τοιούτους μὲν φό-  
 βους Ἡρώδης Μασάδαν κατεσκευασμένος ἔμελλεν  
 Ῥωμαίοις ἀπολείψειν ἔργον τοῦ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους  
 πολέμου τελευταῖον.
- 304 (5) Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔξωθεν ἤδη περιτετειχίκει πάντα  
 τὸν τόπον ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὡς προείπαμεν,  
 ἡγεμῶν καὶ τοῦ μὴ τινα ἀποδρᾶναι πρόνοιαν  
 ἐπεποιήτο τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην, ἐνεχείρει τῇ πολι-  
 ορκία μόνον εὐρῶν ἓνα τόπον ἐπιβολὴν χωμάτων  
 305 δέξασθαι δυνάμενον. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν διατειχίζοντα  
 πύργον τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως ὁδὸν ἄγουσαν εἰς  
 τε τὸ βασίλειον καὶ τὴν ἀκρώρειαν ἦν τις ἔξοχὴ  
 πέτρας εὐμεγέθης τῷ πλάτει καὶ πολὺ προ-  
 κύπτουσα, τοῦ δ' ὕψους τῆς Μασάδας τριακοσίους  
 πήχεις ὑποκάτω. Λευκὴν δ' αὐτὴν ὠνόμαζον.
- 306 ἐπὶ ταύτην οὖν ἀναβὰς καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτὴν ὁ  
 Σίλβας ἐκέλευε τὸν στρατὸν χοῦν ἐπιφέρειν.  
 τῶν δὲ προθύμως καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς χειρὸς ἐργα-  
 ζομένων στερεὸν εἰς διακοσίους πήχεις ὑψώθη  
 307 τὸ χῶμα. οὐ μὴν οὔτε βέβαιον οὔτ' αὐτάρκες  
 ἐδόκει τοῦτο τὸ μέτρον εἶναι τοῖς μηχανήμασιν  
 εἰς ἐπιβάθραν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτοῦ βῆμα λίθων μεγάλων  
 συνηρμοσμένων ἐποιήθη πεντήκοντα πήχεων εὐρὸς  
 308 τε καὶ ὕψος. ἦν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τε μηχανημάτων

queen of Egypt. For she never concealed her intention, but was constantly importuning Antony, urging him to slay Herod, and praying him to confer on her the throne of Judaea.<sup>a</sup> And, far from expecting him to refuse to gratify her, one might rather be surprised that Antony should never have obeyed her behests, basely enslaved as he was by his passion for her. It was such fears that drove Herod to fortify Masada, which he was destined to leave to the Romans as a final task in their war with the Jews.

(5) The Roman general, having now completed his wall surrounding the whole exterior of the place, as we have already related,<sup>b</sup> and taken the strictest precautions that none should escape, applied himself to the siege. He had discovered only one spot capable of supporting earthworks. For in rear of the tower which barred the road leading from the west to the palace and the ridge, was a projection of rock, of considerable breadth and jutting far out, but still three hundred cubits below the elevation of Masada; it was called Leuce.<sup>c</sup> Silva, having accordingly ascended and occupied this eminence, ordered his troops to throw up an embankment. Working with a will and a multitude of hands, they raised a solid bank to the height of two hundred cubits. This, however, being still considered of insufficient stability and extent as an emplacement for the engines, on top of it was constructed a platform of great stones fitted closely together, fifty cubits broad and as many high. The engines in general were similarly constructed to those first

<sup>a</sup> Cf. B. i. 359 f. (c. 34 B.C.).

<sup>b</sup> §§ 275 f.

<sup>c</sup> "White (cliff)."

## JOSEPHUS

- ἡ κατασκευὴ παραπλησία τοῖς ὑπὸ μὲν Οὐεσπα-  
 309 σιανοῦ πρότερον, μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ὑπὸ Τίτου πρὸς  
 τὰς πολιορκίας ἐπινοηθεῖσι, καὶ πύργος ἐξη-  
 κοντάπηχυσ συνετελέσθη σιδήρῳ καταπεφραγ-  
 μένος ἅπας, ἐξ οὗ πολλοῖς ὄξυβελέσι καὶ πετρο-  
 βόλοις βάλλοντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 310 τείχους μαχομένους ταχέως ἀνέστειλαν καὶ προ-  
 κύπτειν ἐκώλυσαν. ἐν ταυτῷ δὲ καὶ κριὸν ὁ  
 Σίλβας μέγαν κατασκευασάμενος, συνεχεῖς κελεύ-  
 σασ ποιεῖσθαι τῷ τείχει τὰς ἐμβολὰς μόλις μὲν  
 311 ἀλλ' οὖν ἀναρρήξας τι μέρος<sup>1</sup> κατήρειψε. φθάνουσι  
 δ' οἱ σικάριοι ταχέως ἔνδοθεν οἰκοδομησάμενοι  
 τείχος ἕτερον, ὃ μὴδ' ὑπὸ τῶν μηχανημάτων  
 ἔμελλεν ὁμοίον τι πείσεσθαι· μαλακὸν γὰρ αὐτὸ  
 καὶ τὴν σφοδρότητα τῆς ἐμβολῆς ὑπεκλύειν  
 312 δυνάμενον τοιῶδε τρόπῳ κατεσκεύασαν. δοκοὺς  
 μεγάλας ἐπὶ μῆκος προσεχεῖς ἀλλήλαις κατὰ τὴν  
 τομὴν συνέθεσαν. δύο δ' ἦσαν τούτων στίχοι  
 παράλληλοι, τοσοῦτον διεστῶτες ὅσον εἶναι πλάτος  
 τείχους, καὶ μέσον ἀμφοῖν τὸν χοῦν ἐνεφόρουν.  
 313 ὅπως δὲ μὴδ' ὑψουμένου τοῦ χώματος ἢ γῆ  
 διαχέοιτο, πάλιν ἑτέραις δοκοῖς ἐπικαρσίαις τὰς  
 314 κατὰ μῆκος κειμένας διέδεον. ἦν οὖν ἐκείνοις  
 μὲν οἰκοδομία τὸ ἔργον παραπλήσιον, τῶν μηχανη-  
 μάτων δ' αἱ πληγαὶ φερόμεναι πρὸς εἶκον<sup>2</sup> ἐξελύοντο  
 καὶ τῷ σάλῳ συρίζανον ἐποίουν αὐτὸ στεριφώτερον.  
 315 τοῦτο συιδῶν ὁ Σίλβας πυρὶ μᾶλλον αἰρήσειν  
 ἐνόμιζεν τὸ τείχος, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις προσ-  
 ἔταττε λαμπάδας αἰθομένας ἀθρόους ἔσακοντίζειν.  
 316 τὸ δ' οἷα δὴ ξύλων τὸ πλέον πεποιημένον ταχὺ  
 τοῦ πυρὸς ἀντελάβετο καὶ τῇ χαυνότητι πυρωθὲν

<sup>1</sup> PA: + αὐτοῦ the rest.

devised by Vespasian and afterwards by Titus for their siege operations; in addition <sup>a</sup> a sixty-cubit tower was constructed entirely cased in iron, from which the Romans by volleys of missiles from numerous quick-firers and *ballistae* quickly beat off the defenders on the ramparts and prevented them from showing themselves. Simultaneously, Silva, having further provided himself with a great battering-ram, ordered it to be directed without intermission against the wall, and having, though with difficulty, succeeded in effecting a breach, brought it down in ruins. The Sicarii, however, had already hastily built up another wall inside, which was not likely to meet with a similar fate from the engines; for it was pliable and calculated to break the force of the impact, having been constructed as follows. Great beams were laid lengthwise and contiguous and joined at the extremities; of these there were two parallel rows a wall's breadth apart, and the intermediate space was filled with earth. Further, to prevent the soil from dispersing as the mound rose, they clamped, by other transverse beams, those laid longitudinally. The work thus presented to the enemy the appearance of masonry, but the blows of the engines were weakened, battering upon a yielding material which, as it settled down under the concussion, they merely served to solidify. Observing this, Silva, thinking it easier to destroy this wall by fire, ordered his soldiers to hurl at it showers of burning torches. Being mainly made of wood, it quickly caught fire, and, from its hollow nature becoming ignited right through

The wall is breached and the defenders second wooden wall

is destroyed by fire.

<sup>a</sup> Vespasian had constructed three similar towers at Jotapata, but not more than 50 feet high, *B. iii. 284.*

<sup>2</sup> πρὸς εἶκον Hudson: προσεικὸς MSS.

## JOSEPHUS

- 317 διὰ βάθους φλόγα πολλὴν ἐξεπύρσευσεν. ἀρχο-  
 μένου μὲν οὖν ἔτι τοῦ πυρὸς βορρᾶς ἐμπνέων  
 τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις φοβερὸς ἦν· ἄνωθεν γὰρ ἀποστρέφων  
 ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἤλαυνε τὴν φλόγα, καὶ σχεδὸν ἤδη  
 τῶν μηχανημάτων ὡς συμφλεγησομένων ἀπ-  
 318 ἔγνωσαν<sup>1</sup>. ἔπειτα δ' αἰφνίδιον νότος μεταβαλὼν  
 καθάπερ ἐκ δαιμονίου προνοίας καὶ πολὺς ἐναντίον  
 πνεύσας τῷ τείχει φέρων αὐτὴν προσέβαλε, καὶ  
 319 πᾶν ἤδη διὰ βάθους ἐφλέγετο. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν  
 οὖν τῇ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχίᾳ κεχρημένοι  
 χαίροντες εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπηλλάττοντο, μεθ'  
 ἡμέραν ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις διεγνωκότες,  
 καὶ τὰς φυλακὰς νύκτωρ ἐπιμελεστέρας ἐποιή-  
 σαντο, μὴ τινες αὐτῶν λάθωσιν ἀποδράντες.
- 320 (6) Οὐ μὴν οὐτ' αὐτὸς Ἐλεάζαρος ἐν νῶ  
 δρασμὸν ἔλαβεν οὐτ' ἄλλω τινὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν  
 321 ἔμελλεν ἐπιτρέψειν. ὄρων δὲ τὸ μὲν τείχος ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ πυρὸς ἀναλούμενον, ἄλλον δ' οὐδένα σωτηρίας  
 τρόπον οὐδ' ἀλκῆς ἐπινοῶν, ἃ δὲ ἔμελλον Ῥωμαῖοι  
 δράσειν αὐτοὺς καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας αὐτῶν,  
 εἰ κρατήσειαν, ὑπ' ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῷ τιθέμενος,  
 322 θάνατον κατὰ πάντων ἐβουλεύσατο. καὶ τοῦτο  
 κρίνας ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἄριστον, τοὺς ἀνδρω-  
 δεστάτους τῶν ἐταίρων συναγαγὼν τοιούτοις ἐπὶ  
 323 τὴν πράξιν λόγοις παρεκάλει· “πάσαι διεγνω-  
 κότας ἡμᾶς, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, μήτε Ῥωμαίοις μήτ'  
 ἄλλω τινὶ δουλεύειν ἢ θεῷ, μόνος γὰρ οὗτος  
 ἀληθὴς ἐστὶ καὶ δίκαιος ἀνθρώπων δεσπότης,  
 ἦκει νῦν καιρὸς ἐπαληθεῦσαι κελεύων τὸ φρόνημα  
 324 τοῖς ἔργοις. πρὸς ὃν αὐτοὺς μὴ καταισχύνωμεν,

<sup>1</sup> ἀπεγνώκεσαν LVRC.

blazed up in a volume of flame. At the first outbreak of the fire, a north wind which blew in the faces of the Romans caused them an alarm; for, diverting the flame from above, it drove it against them, and the fear that all their engines would be burnt up had almost reduced them to despair. Then suddenly the wind veering, as if by divine providence,<sup>a</sup> to the south and blowing with full force in the opposite direction, wafted and flung the flames against the wall, which now through and through<sup>b</sup> was all ablaze. The Romans, thus blessed by God's aid, returned rejoicing to their camp, with the determination of attacking the enemy on the morrow; and throughout that night they kept stricter watch lest any of them should secretly escape.

(6) However, neither did Eleazar himself contemplate flight, nor did he intend to permit any other to do so. Seeing the wall consuming in the flames, unable to devise any further means of deliverance or gallant endeavour, and setting before his eyes what the Romans, if victorious, would inflict on them, their children and their wives, he deliberated on the death of all. And, judging, as matters stood, this course the best, he assembled the most doughty of his comrades and incited them to the deed by such words as these:

“Long since, my brave men, we determined neither to serve the Romans nor any other save God, for He alone is man's true and righteous Lord; and now the time is come which bids us verify that resolution by our actions. At this crisis let us not disgrace ourselves; we who in the past refused to

Eleazar's first speech to the besieged recommending self-destruction.

<sup>a</sup> For similar providential aid cf. *B. iv. 76* (at Gamala).

<sup>b</sup> Or “from top to bottom.”

## JOSEPHUS

πρότερον μηδὲ δουλείαν ἀκίνδυνον ὑπομείναντες,  
 νυνὶ δὲ μετὰ δουλείας ἐλόμενοι τιμωρίας ἀνηκέ-  
 στους, εἰ ζῶντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐσόμεθα· πρῶτοί  
 τε γὰρ πάντων ἀπέστημεν καὶ πολεμοῦμεν αὐτοῖς  
 325 τελευταῖοι. νομίζω δὲ καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ ταύτην<sup>2</sup>  
 δεδόσθαι χάριν τοῦ δύνασθαι καλῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως  
 ἀποθανεῖν, ὅπερ ἄλλοις οὐκ ἐγένετο παρ' ἐλπίδα  
 326 κρατηθείσιν. ἡμῖν δὲ πρόδηλος μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ  
 γενησομένη μεθ' ἡμέραν ἄλωσις, ἐλευθέρα δ' ἡ  
 τοῦ γενναίου θανάτου μετὰ τῶν φιλτάτων αἵρεσις.  
 οὔτε γὰρ τοῦτ' ἀποκωλύειν οἱ πολέμιοι δύνανται  
 πάντως εὐχόμενοι ζῶντας ἡμᾶς παραλαβεῖν, οὔθ'  
 327 ἡμεῖς ἐκείνους ἔτι νικᾶν μαχόμενοι. ἔδει μὲν  
 γὰρ εὐθὺς ἴσως ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὅτε τῆς ἐλευθερίας  
 ἡμῖν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι θελήσασι πάντα καὶ παρ'  
 ἀλλήλων ἀπέβαινε χαλεπὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων  
 χεῖρω, τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμης στοχάζεσθαι καὶ  
 γινώσκειν ὅτι τὸ πάλαι φίλον<sup>3</sup> αὐτῷ φύλον Ἰου-  
 328 δαίων<sup>4</sup> κατέγνωστο· μένων γὰρ εὐμενῆς ἢ μετριῶς  
 γοῦν [ἡμῖν]<sup>5</sup> ἀπηχθημένος, οὐκ ἂν τοσοῦτων μὲν  
 ἀνθρώπων περιεῖδεν ὄλεθρον, προήκατο δὲ τὴν  
 ἱερωτάτην αὐτοῦ πόλιν πυρὶ καὶ κατασκαφαῖς  
 329 πολεμίων. ἡμεῖς δ' ἄρα καὶ μόνοι τοῦ παντὸς  
 Ἰουδαίων γένους ἠλπίσαμεν περιέσεσθαι τὴν ἐλευ-  
 θερίαν φυλάξαντες, ὥσπερ ἀναμάρτητοι πρὸς τὸν  
 θεὸν γενόμενοι καὶ μηδεμιᾶς μετασχόντες παρα-  
 330 νομίας,<sup>6</sup> οἱ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδιδάξαμεν; τοιγαροῦν  
 ὁρᾶτε, πῶς ἡμᾶς ἐλέγχει μάταια προσδοκήσαντας  
 κρείττονα τῶν ἐλπίδων τὴν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἀνάγκην

<sup>1</sup> VRC (the form usual in speeches in Jos.): νῦν the rest.

<sup>2</sup> + ἡμῖν C Lat.

<sup>3</sup> φιλούμενον A.

<sup>4</sup> + ἀπωλείαν L Lat.: + ἀπωλεία C.

<sup>5</sup> om. P.

submit even to a slavery involving no peril, let us not now, along with slavery, deliberately accept the irreparable penalties awaiting us if we are to fall alive into Roman hands. For as we were the first of all to revolt, so are we the last in arms against them. Moreover, I believe that it is God who has granted us this favour, that we have it in our power to die nobly and in freedom—a privilege denied to others who have met with unexpected defeat. Our fate at break of day is certain capture, but there is still the free choice of a noble death with those we hold most dear. For our enemies, fervently though they pray to take us alive, can no more prevent this than we can now hope to defeat them in battle. Maybe, indeed, we ought from the very first—when, having chosen to assert our liberty, we invariably experienced such hard treatment from one another, and still harder from our foes—we ought, I say, to have read God's purpose and to have recognized that the Jewish race, once beloved of Him, had been doomed to perdition. For had he continued to be gracious, or but lightly incensed, he would never have overlooked such wholesale destruction or have abandoned His most holy city to be burnt and razed to the ground by our enemies. But did we forsooth hope that we alone of all the Jewish nation would survive and preserve our freedom, as persons guiltless towards God and without a hand in crime—we who had even been the instructors of the rest? Mark, now, how He exposes the vanity of our expectations, by visiting us with such dire distress as exceeds all

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<sup>6</sup> *παράνομιας* M: *culpa* Lat.: om. the rest.

## JOSEPHUS

- 331 ἐπαγαγών· οὐδὲ<sup>1</sup> γὰρ ἡ τοῦ φρουρίου φύσις ἀνάλωτος οὔσα πρὸς σωτηρίαν ὠφέληκεν,<sup>2</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ τροφῆς ἀφθονίαν καὶ πλήθος ὀπλων καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἔχοντες παρασκευὴν περιττεύουσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περιφανῶς τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας
- 332 ἀφηγήμεθα. τὸ γὰρ πῦρ εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους φερόμενον οὐκ αὐτομάτως ἐπὶ τὸ κατασκευασθὲν τεῖχος ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀνέστρεψεν, ἀλλ' ἔστι ταῦτα χόλος πολλῶν ἀδικημάτων, ἃ μανέντες εἰς τοὺς
- 333 ὁμοφύλους ἐτολμήσαμεν. ὑπὲρ ὧν μὴ τοῖς ἐχθίστοις Ῥωμαίοις δίκας ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ δι' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ὑπόσχωμεν· αὐταὶ δ' εἰσὶν ἐκείνων μετριώ-
- 334 τεραι· θνησκέτωσαν γὰρ γυναῖκες ἀνύβριστοι καὶ παῖδες δουλείας ἀπείρατοι, μετὰ δ' αὐτοὺς ἡμεῖς εὐγενῆ χάριν ἀλλήλοις παράσχωμεν καλὸν ἐντάφιον
- 335 τὴν ἐλευθερίαν φυλάξαντες. πρότερον δὲ καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὸ φρούριον πυρὶ διαφθείρωμεν· λυπηθήσονται γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι, σαφῶς οἶδα, μήτε τῶν ἡμετέρων σωμάτων κρατήσαντες καὶ τοῦ
- 336 κέρδους ἀμαρτόντες. τὰς τροφὰς μόνας ἐάσωμεν· αὐταὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν τεθνηκόσι μαρτυρήσουσιν, ὅτι μὴ κατ' ἔνδειαν ἐκρατήθημεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διέγνωμεν, θάνατον ἐλόμενοι πρὸ δουλείας."
- 337 (7) Ταῦτα Ἐλεάζαρος ἔλεγεν. οὐ μὴν κατὰ ταῦτ<sup>3</sup> ταῖς γνώμαις προσέπιπτε τῶν παρόντων, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἔσπευδον ὑπακούειν καὶ μόνον οὐχ ἡδονῆς ἐνεπίμπλαντο καλὸν εἶναι τὸν θάνατον
- 338 νομίζοντες, τοὺς δ' αὐτῶν μαλακωτέρους γυναικῶν καὶ γενεᾶς οἶκτος εἰσῆει, πάντως δὲ καὶ τῆς

<sup>1</sup> Bekker: οὔτε mss.

<sup>2</sup> ὠφέλησεν PAM.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: κατ' αὐτὸ mss.

that we could anticipate. For not even the impregnable nature of this fortress has availed to save us ; nay, though ample provisions are ours, piles of arms, and a superabundance of every other requisite, yet we have been deprived, manifestly by God Himself, of all hope of deliverance. For it was not of their own accord that those flames which were driving against the enemy turned back upon the wall constructed by us ;<sup>a</sup> no, all this betokens wrath at the many wrongs which we madly dared to inflict upon our countrymen. The penalty for those crimes let us pay not to our bitterest foes, the Romans, but to God through the act of our own hands. It will be more tolerable than the other.<sup>b</sup> Let our wives thus die undishonoured, our children unacquainted with slavery ; and, when they are gone, let us render a generous service to each other, preserving our liberty as a noble winding-sheet. But first let us destroy our chattels and the fortress by fire ; for the Romans, well I know, will be grieved to lose at once our persons and the lucre. Our provisions only let us spare ; for they will testify, when we are dead, that it was not want which subdued us, but that, in keeping with our initial resolve, we preferred death to slavery.”

(7) Thus spoke Eleazar ; but his words did not touch the hearts of all hearers alike. Some, indeed, were eager to respond and all but filled with delight at the thought of a death so noble ; but others, softer-hearted, were moved with compassion for their wives and families, and doubtless also by the vivid

His speech  
failing to  
have effect

<sup>a</sup> §§ 317 f.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 14 “ Let us fall now into the hand of the Lord,” etc.

## JOSEPHUS

339 ἑαυτῶν προδήλου τελευτῆς, εἷς τε<sup>1</sup> ἀλλήλους  
 ἀποβλέποντες τοῖς δακρύοις τὸ μὴ βουλόμενον  
 τῆς γνώμης ἐσήμαινον. τούτους ἰδὼν Ἐλεάζαρος  
 ἀποδειλιῶντας καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ βουλεύ-  
 ματος τὰς ψυχὰς ὑποκλωμένους ἔδεισε, μή ποτε  
 καὶ τοὺς ἔρρωμένως τῶν λόγων ἀκούσαντας  
 αὐτοὶ συνεκθηλύνωσι ποτνιῶμενοι καὶ δακρύνοντες.  
 340 οὐκουν ἀνῆκε τὴν παρακέλευσιν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν  
 ἐπεγείρας καὶ πολλοῦ λήματος<sup>2</sup> πλήρης γενόμενος  
 λαμπροτέροις ἐνεχείρει λόγοις περὶ ψυχῆς ἀθα-  
 341 νασίας, μέγα τε σχετλιάσας καὶ τοῖς δακρύνουσιν  
 ἀτενὲς ἐμβλέψας “ἡ πλείστον,” εἶπεν, “ἐψεύσθην  
 νομίζων ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας  
 ἀγώνων συναρεῖσθαι,<sup>3</sup> ζῆν καλῶς ἢ τεθνάναι  
 342 διεγνωκόσιν. ὑμεῖς δ' ἦτε τῶν τυχόντων οὐδὲν  
 εἰς ἀρετὴν οὐδ' εὐτολμίαν διαφέροντες, οἳ γε καὶ  
 τὸν ἐπὶ μεγίστων ἀπαλλαγῇ κακῶν φοβεῖσθε  
 θάνατον, δέον ὑπὲρ τούτου μήτε μελλῆσαι μήτε  
 343 σύμβουλον ἀναμεῖναι. πάλαι γὰρ εὐθύς ἀπὸ τῆς  
 πρώτης αἰσθήσεως παιδεύοντες ἡμᾶς οἱ πάτριοι  
 καὶ θεῖοι λόγοι διετέλουν, ἔργοις τε καὶ φρονήμασι  
 τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων αὐτοὺς βεβαιούντων,  
 ὅτι συμφορὰ τὸ ζῆν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις, οὐχὶ θάνατος.  
 344 οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ἐλευθερίαν διδοὺς ψυχαῖς εἰς τὸν  
 οἰκεῖον καὶ καθαρὸν ἀφήισι τόπον ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι,  
 πάσης συμφορᾶς ἀπαθεῖς ἐσομένας, ἕως δ' εἰσὶν

<sup>1</sup> τε MC Lat.: om. the rest.

<sup>2</sup> Richter: λήματος mss.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: συναρεῖσθαι or συναίρεσθαι mss.

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<sup>a</sup> This speech at the close of the war forms a sort of counterpart to that of Agrippa before its outbreak (*B. ii.* 600)

prospect of their own end, and their tears as they looked upon one another revealed their unwillingness of heart. Eleazar, seeing them flinching and their courage breaking down in face of so vast a scheme, feared that their whimpers and tears might unman even those who had listened to his speech with fortitude. Far, therefore, from slackening in his exhortation, he roused himself and, fired with mighty fervour, essayed a higher flight of oratory on the immortality of the soul. Indignantly protesting and with eyes intently fixed on those in tears, he exclaimed :<sup>a</sup>

“ Deeply, indeed, was I deceived in thinking that I should have brave men as associates in our struggles for freedom—men determined to live with honour or to die. But you, it seems, were no better than the common herd in valour or in courage, you who are afraid even of that death that will deliver you from the direst ills, when in such a cause you ought neither to hesitate an instant nor wait for a counsellor. For from of old, since the first dawn of intelligence,<sup>b</sup> we have been continually taught by those precepts, ancestral and divine—confirmed by the deeds and noble spirit of our forefathers—that life, not death, is man’s misfortune.<sup>c</sup> For it is death which gives liberty to the soul and permits it to depart to its own pure abode, there to be free from all calamity ; but

he renews  
his appeal.

“ Life not  
death is  
man’s mis-  
fortune.

345-401). An acknowledgement of the nation’s guilt must be put into the mouth of one of the leaders of the insurgents.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Ap.* ii. 178 “ our thorough grounding in the laws from the first dawn of intelligence.” But it is not so much the Hebrew Law as Greek poetry and philosophy which inspire what follows. It is interesting to compare the speech of Josephus at Jotapata on the crime of suicide, *B.* iii. 362 ff.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. § 358 with the parallel from Euripides.

## JOSEPHUS

ἐν σώματι θνητῷ δεδεμένοι καὶ τῶν τούτου κακῶν  
 συναναπίμπλονται, τάληθέστατον εἰπεῖν, τεθνήκασι·  
 κοινωνία γὰρ θείῳ πρὸς θνητὸν ἀπρεπής ἐστι.  
 345 μέγα μὲν οὖν δύναται ψυχὴ καὶ σώματι συν-  
 δεδεμένη· ποιεῖ γὰρ αὐτῆς ὄργανον αἰσθανόμενον  
 ἀοράτως αὐτὸ κινουσα καὶ θνητῆς φύσεως περαι-  
 346 τέρω προάγουσα ταῖς πράξεσιν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ'  
 ἐπειδὰν ἀπολυθεῖσα τοῦ καθέλκοντος αὐτὴν βάρους  
 ἐπὶ γῆν καὶ προσκρεμαμένου χῶρον ἀπολάβῃ  
 τὸν οἰκείον, τότε δὴ μακαρίας ἰσχύος καὶ παν-  
 ταχόθεν ἀκωλύτου μετέχει δυνάμεως, ἀόρατος  
 μένουσα τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ὄμμασιν ὡσπερ αὐτὸς  
 347 ὁ θεός· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἕως ἐστὶν ἐν σώματι θεωρεῖται·  
 πρόσεισι γὰρ ἀφανῶς καὶ μὴ βλεπομένη πάλιν  
 ἀπαλλάττεται, μίαν μὲν αὐτὴ φύσιν ἔχουσα τὴν  
 ἀφθαρτον, αἰτία δὲ σώματι γινομένη μεταβολῆς.  
 348 ὅτου γὰρ ἂν ψυχὴ προσψαύσῃ,<sup>1</sup> τοῦτο ζῆ καὶ  
 τέθηλεν, ὅτου δ' ἂν ἀπαλλαγῇ μαρανθὲν ἀποθνήσκει·  
 349 τοσοῦτον αὐτῇ περίεστιν ἀθανασίας. ὕπνος δὲ  
 τεκμήριον ὑμῖν ἔστω τῶν λόγων ἐναργέστατον,  
 ἐν ᾧ ψυχαὶ τοῦ σώματος αὐτὰς μὴ περισπῶντος  
 ἠδίστην μὲν ἔχουσιν ἀνάπαυσιν ἐφ' αὐτῶν γενό-  
 μεναι, θεῷ δ' ὀμιλοῦσαι κατὰ συγγένειαν πάντη  
 μὲν ἐπιφοιτῶσι, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν ἐσομένων προ-  
 350 θεσπίζουσι. τί δὴ δεῖ δεδιέναι θάνατον τὴν ἐν  
 ὕπνῳ γινομένην ἀνάπαυσιν ἀγαπῶντας; πῶς δ'  
 οὐκ ἀνόητόν ἐστιν τὴν ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἐλευθερίαν  
 351 διώκοντας τῆς αἰδίου φθονεῖν αὐτοῖς; ἔδει μὲν  
 οὖν ἡμᾶς οἴκοθεν πεπαιδευμένους ἄλλοις εἶναι  
 παράδειγμα τῆς πρὸς θάνατον ἐτοιμότητος· οὐ

<sup>1</sup> P (a Sophoclean word like the phrase which follows):  
 προσάψηται the rest.

so long as it is imprisoned in a mortal body and tainted with all its miseries, it is, in sober truth, dead, for association with what is mortal ill befits that which is divine. True, the soul possesses great capacity, even while incarcerated in the body ; for it makes the latter its organ of perception, invisibly swaying it and directing it onward in its actions beyond the range of mortal nature. But it is not until, freed from the weight that drags it down to earth and clings about it, the soul is restored to its proper sphere, that it enjoys a blessed energy and a power untrammelled on every side, remaining, like God Himself, invisible to human eyes. For even while in the body it is withdrawn from view : unperceived it comes and unseen it again departs, itself of a nature one and incorruptible, but a cause of change to the body. For whatever the soul has touched lives and flourishes,<sup>a</sup> whatever it abandons withers and dies ; so abundant is her wealth of immortality.

“ Let sleep furnish you with a most convincing proof of what I say—sleep, in which the soul, undistracted by the body, while enjoying in perfect independence the most delightful repose, holds converse with God by right of kinship, ranges the universe and foretells many things that are to come. Why then should we fear death who welcome the repose of sleep ? And is it not surely foolish, while pursuing liberty in this life, to grudge ourselves that which is eternal ?

The analogy of sleep.

“ We ought, indeed, blest with our home training, to afford others an example of readiness to die ; if,

The Indian example of self-immolation.

<sup>a</sup> ζῆ και τέθηλεν, after Soph. *Trach.* 235 και ζῶντα και θάλλοντα ; the same poet supplies the word for “ touch,” προσψάειν.

μὴν ἄλλ' εἰ καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἄλλοφύλων δεόμεθα  
 πίστεως, βλέψωμεν εἰς Ἰνδοὺς τοὺς σοφίαν  
 352 ἀσκεῖν ὑπισχνουμένους. ἐκείνοί τε γὰρ ὄντες  
 ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ τὸν μὲν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον ὡσπερ  
 ἀναγκαίαν τινὰ τῇ φύσει λειτουργίαν ἀκουσίως  
 353 ὑπομένουσι, σπεύδουσι δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπολύσαι  
 τῶν σωμάτων, καὶ μηδενὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπείγοντος  
 κακοῦ μηδ' ἐξελαύνοντος πόθῳ τῆς ἀθανάτου  
 διαίτης προλέγουσι μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅτι μέλλουσι  
 ἀπιέναι, καὶ ἔστιν ὁ κωλύσων οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ πάντες  
 αὐτοὺς εὐδαιμονίζοντες πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἕκαστοι  
 354 διδοῶσιν ἐπιστολάς· οὕτως βεβαίαν καὶ ἀληθεστά-  
 την ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὴν μετ' ἀλλήλων εἶναι δίαιταν  
 355 πεπιστεύκασι. οἱ δ' ἐπειδὴν ἐπακούσωσι τῶν  
 ἐντεταλμένων αὐτοῖς, πυρὶ τὸ σῶμα παραδόντες,  
 ὅπως δὴ καὶ καθαρωτάτην ἀποκρίνωσι τοῦ  
 356 σώματος τὴν ψυχὴν, ὑμνούμενοι τελευτῶσιν· ῥᾶον  
 γὰρ ἐκείνους εἰς τὸν θάνατον οἱ φίλτατοι προ-  
 πέμπουσιν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστοι τοὺς  
 πολίτας εἰς μηκίστην ἀποδημίαν, καὶ σφᾶς μὲν  
 αὐτοὺς δακρύνουσιν, ἐκείνους δὲ μακαρίζουσιν ἤδη  
 357 τὴν ἀθάνατον τάξιν ἀπολαμβάνοντας. ἄρ' οὖν  
 οὐκ αἰδούμεθα χεῖρον Ἰνδῶν φρονούντες καὶ διὰ  
 τῆς αὐτῶν ἀτολμίας τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, οἱ  
 πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εἰς ζῆλον ἤκουσιν, αἰσχροῶς  
 358 ὑβρίζοντες; ἀλλ' εἴ γε καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς λόγους ἐπαιδευθήμεν, ὡς ἄρα μέγιστον  
 ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τὸ ζῆν συμφορὰ δ' ὁ  
 θάνατος, ὁ γοῦν καιρὸς ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖ φέρειν

<sup>a</sup> Cf. the allusion in *Ap.* i. 179 to the Indian philosophers from whom Aristotle, as there quoted, considers that the Jews are descended.

<sup>b</sup> Or "letters."

however, we really need an assurance in this matter from alien nations, let us look at those Indians<sup>a</sup> who profess the practice of philosophy. They, brave men that they are, reluctantly endure the period of life, as some necessary service due to nature, but hasten to release their souls from their bodies; and though no calamity impels nor drives them from the scene, from sheer longing for the immortal state, they announce to their comrades that they are about to depart. Nor is there any who would hinder them: no, all felicitate them and each gives them commissions<sup>b</sup> to his<sup>c</sup> loved ones; so certain and absolutely sincere is their belief in the intercourse which souls hold with one another. Then, after listening to these behests, they commit their bodies to the fire, that so the soul may be parted from the body in the utmost purity, and expire amidst hymns of praise. Indeed, their dearest ones escort them to their death more readily than do the rest of mankind their fellow-citizens when starting on a very long journey; for themselves they weep, but then they count happy as now regaining<sup>d</sup> immortal rank. Are we not, then, ashamed of being more mean-spirited than Indians, and of bringing, by our faint-heartedness, shameful reproach upon our country's laws, which are the envy of all mankind?

“ Yet, even had we from the first been schooled in the opposite doctrine and taught that man's highest blessing is life and that death is a calamity,<sup>e</sup> still the crisis is one that calls upon us to bear it with

<sup>c</sup> sc. “ departed.”

<sup>d</sup> Or “ receiving.”

<sup>e</sup> Probably here, as in § 343, there is a reminiscence of the Euripidean *Τίς οἶδεν, εἰ τὸ ζῆν μὲν ἐστὶ κατθανεῖν, | τὸ κατθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν κάτω νομίζεται*; (Dindorf, Frag. 634).

“ God has sentenced us to destruction.”

εὐκαρδίως αὐτόν, θεοῦ γνώμη καὶ κατ' ἀνάγκας  
 359 τελευτήσοντας<sup>1</sup>. πάλαι γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, κατὰ τοῦ  
 κοινοῦ παντὸς Ἰουδαίων γένους ταύτην ἔθετο  
 τὴν ψῆφον ὁ θεός, ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς τοῦ ζῆν ἀπηλλάχθαι  
 360 μὴ μέλλοντας αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι κατὰ τρόπον. μὴ  
 γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὑμῖν ἀνάπτετε τὰς αἰτίας μηδὲ χαρίζεσθε  
 τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ὅτι πάντα ἡμᾶς ὁ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμος  
 διέφθειρεν· οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνων ἰσχύι ταῦτα συμβέβηκεν,  
 ἀλλὰ κρείττων αἰτία γενομένη  
 361 τὸ δοκεῖν ἐκείνοις νικᾶν παρέσχηκε. ποίοις γὰρ ὄπλοις  
 Ῥωμαίων τεθνήκασιν οἱ Καισάρειαν Ἰου-  
 362 δαῖοι κατοικοῦντες; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μελλήσαντας<sup>2</sup> αὐ-  
 τοὺς ἐκείνων ἀφίστασθαι, μεταξὺ δὲ τὴν ἐβδόμην  
 ἑορτάζοντας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Καισαρέων ἐπιδραμὸν  
 μηδὲ χεῖρας ἀνταίροντας ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις  
 κατέσφαξαν, οὐδ' αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐντραπέντες,  
 οἱ μόνους ἡμᾶς ἠγοῦντο πολεμίους τοὺς ἀφ-  
 363 εστηκότας. ἀλλὰ φήσει τις ὅτι Καισαρεῦσιν ἦν  
 αἰὲν διαφορὰ πρὸς τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοῦ  
 καιροῦ λαβόμενοι τὸ παλαιὸν μῖσος ἀπεπλήρωσαν.  
 364 τί οὖν τοὺς ἐν Σκυθοπόλει φῶμεν; ἡμῖν γὰρ ἐκείνοι  
 διὰ τοὺς Ἑλληνας πολεμεῖν ἐτόλμησαν, ἀλλ' οὐ μετὰ  
 τῶν συγγενῶν ἡμῶν Ῥωμαίους  
 365 ἀμύνεσθαι. πολὺ τοίνυν ὤνησεν αὐτοὺς ἢ πρὸς ἐκείνους  
 εὐνοία καὶ πίστις· ὑπ' αὐτῶν μέντοι πανοικεσία  
 πικρῶς κατεφονεύθησαν ταύτην τῆς  
 366 συμμαχίας ἀπολαβόντες ἀμοιβήν· ἃ γὰρ ἐκείνους ὑφ'  
 ἡμῶν<sup>3</sup> ἐκώλυσαν, ταῦθ' ὑπέμειναν ὡς αὐτοὶ

<sup>1</sup> Lat. (morituros): τελευτήσαντας MSS.

<sup>2</sup> A<sup>2</sup> (adding ἴσμεν): μελλήσαντας the rest.

<sup>3</sup> + <παθεῖν> Holwerda.

<sup>a</sup> B. ii. 457 (opening of the war, A.D. 66).

a stout heart, since it is by God's will and of necessity that we are to die. For long since, so it seems, God passed this decree against the whole Jewish race in common, that we must quit this life if we would not use it aright. Do not attach the blame to yourselves, nor the credit to the Romans, that this war with them has been the ruin of us all; for it was not their might that brought these things to pass, but the intervention of some more powerful cause has afforded them the semblance of victory.

“The Romans cannot claim the credit of victory.”

“What Roman weapons, I ask, slew the Jews of Caesarea?<sup>a</sup> Nay, they had not even contemplated revolt from Rome, but were engaged in keeping their sabbath<sup>b</sup> festival, when the Caesarean rabble rushed upon them and massacred them, unresisting, with their wives and children, without even the slightest respect for the Romans, who regarded as enemies only us who had revolted. But I shall be told that the Caesareans had a standing quarrel with their Jewish residents and seized that opportunity to satisfy their ancient hate. What then shall we say of the Jews in Scythopolis,<sup>c</sup> who had the audacity to wage war on us in the cause of the Greeks, but refused to unite with us, their kinsmen, in resisting the Romans? Much benefit, to be sure, did they reap from their goodwill and loyalty to the men of Scythopolis! Ruthlessly butchered by them, they and all their families—that was the recompense that they received for their alliance; the fate from which they had saved their neighbours at our hands, that they endured, as though they had themselves desired to

“Consider the Jewish disasters for which they are not responsible.”

<sup>b</sup> Greek “seventh day”; the massacre of the Roman garrison in Jerusalem and of the Jews of Caesarea took place simultaneously, on a sabbath, *B.* ii. 456 f.      <sup>c</sup> *B.* ii. 466 ff.

## JOSEPHUS

367 δρᾶσαι θελήσαντες. μακρὸν ἂν εἶη νῦν ἰδίᾳ περὶ  
 οὐκ ἔστιν ἤτις τοὺς παρ' αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας  
 Ἰουδαίους οὐκ ἀνήρηκεν, ἡμῖν πλέον ἢ Ῥωμαίοις<sup>1</sup>  
 368 ὄντας πολεμίους· ὅπου γε Δαμασκηνοὶ μηδὲ  
 πρόφασιν εὐλογον πλάσαι δυνηθέντες φόνου μιαρω-  
 τάτου τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν ἐνέπλησαν ὀκτακισχιλίους  
 πρὸς τοῖς μυρίοις Ἰουδαίους ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ  
 369 γενεαῖς ἀποσφάζαντες. τὸ δ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πλήθος  
 τῶν μετ' αἰκίας ἀνηρημένων ἕξ που μυριάδας  
 ὑπερβάλλειν ἐπυνηθάνομεθα. κακεῖνοι μὲν ἴσως  
 ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίας γῆς οὐδὲν ἀντίπαλον εὐράμενοι τοῖς  
 πολεμίοις οὕτως ἀπέθανον, τοῖς δ' ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκείας  
 τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἀραμένοις ἅπασι  
 τί<sup>2</sup> τῶν ἐλπίδα νίκης ἐχυρᾶς παρασχεῖν δυναμένων  
 370 οὐχ ὑπῆρξε; καὶ γὰρ ὄπλα καὶ τείχη καὶ φρουρίων  
 δυσάλωτοι κατασκευαὶ καὶ φρόνημα πρὸς τοὺς  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας κινδύνους ἄτρεπτον<sup>3</sup> πάντας  
 371 πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐπέρρωσεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα  
 πρὸς βραχὺν χρόνον ἀρκέσαντα καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν  
 ἡμᾶς ἐπάραντα μειζόνων ἀρχῆ κακῶν ἀνεφάνη<sup>4</sup>.  
 πάντα γὰρ ἦλω, καὶ πάντα τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπέπεσεν,  
 ὥσπερ εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων εὐκλεεστέραν νίκην, οὐκ  
 εἰς τὴν τῶν παρασκευασαμένων σωτηρίαν εὐ-  
 372 τρεπισθέντα. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπο-  
 θνήσκοντας εὐδαιμονίζειν προσῆκον· ἀμυνόμενοι  
 γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν οὐ προέμενοι τεθνήκασι·  
 τὸ δὲ πλήθος τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις γενομένων τίς  
 οὐκ ἂν ἐλεήσειε; τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐπειχθείη πρὸ τοῦ  
 373 ταῦτὰ παθεῖν ἐκείνοις ἀποθανεῖν; ὧν οἱ μὲν

<sup>1</sup> Ῥωμαῖοι Lowth, Hudson, and Naber.

<sup>2</sup> Holwerda: τε MSS.

inflict it. Time would fail me now to name each instance severally; for, as you know, there is not a city in Syria which has not slain its Jewish inhabitants, though more hostile to us than to the Romans.<sup>a</sup> Thus, the people of Damascus,<sup>b</sup> though unable even to invent a plausible pretext, deluged their city with the foulest slaughter, butchering eighteen thousand<sup>c</sup> Jews, with their wives and families. As for Egypt,<sup>d</sup> we were told that the number of those who there perished in tortures perhaps exceeded sixty thousand.

“Those Jews, maybe, perished as they did, because they were on alien soil, where they found themselves no match for their enemies. But consider all those who in their own territory embarked on war with Rome: what did they lack of all that could inspire them with hopes of assured success? Arms, ramparts, fortresses well nigh impregnable, a spirit undaunted by risks to be run in the cause of liberty—these encouraged all to revolt. Yet these availed but for a brief season, and after buoying us up with hopes proved the beginning of greater disasters. For all were taken, all succumbed to the enemy, as though furnished for his more glorious triumph, and not for the protection of those who provided them. Those men who fell in battle may fitly be felicitated, for they died defending, not betraying, liberty; but the multitudes in Roman hands who would not pity? Who would not rush to his death ere he shared their

<sup>a</sup> Possibly we should read “than were the Romans.”

<sup>b</sup> *B.* ii. 559 ff.

<sup>c</sup> 10,500 according to *B.* ii. 561. Hegesippus in the present passage reads 8000.

<sup>d</sup> *B.* ii. 487 ff.

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<sup>3</sup> ἄτρεστον VRC.

<sup>4</sup> ἐφάνη L.

## JOSEPHUS

στρεβλούμενοι καὶ πυρὶ καὶ μάστιξιν αἰκιζόμενοι  
 τεθνήκασιν, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ θηρίων ἡμίβρωτοι πρὸς  
 δευτέραν αὐτοῖς τροφήν ζῶντες ἐφυλάχθησαν,  
 γέλωτα καὶ παίγνιον<sup>1</sup> τοῖς πολεμίους παρασχόντες.  
 374 ἐκείνων μὲν οὖν ἀθλιωτάτους ὑποληπτέον τοὺς  
 375 ἔτι ζῶντας, οἱ πολλάκις εὐχόμενοι τὸν θάνατον  
 τοῦ παντὸς Ἰουδαίων γένους μητρόπολις, ἢ  
 τοσοῦτοις μὲν ἐρμυνῇ τειχῶν περιβόλοις, τοσαῦτα  
 δ' αὐτῆς φρούρια καὶ μεγέθη πύργων προβεβλη-  
 μένη, μόλις δὲ χωροῦσα τὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον  
 παρασκευάς, τοσαύτας δὲ μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν ἔχουσα  
 376 τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μαχομένων; ποῦ γέγονεν ἡμῖν  
 ἢ τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν οἰκιστὴν πεπιστευμένη; πρόρ-  
 ριζος ἐκ βάθρων ἀνῆρπασται, καὶ μόνον αὐτῆς  
 μνημεῖον ἀπολείπεται τὸ τῶν ἀνηρημένων<sup>2</sup> ἔτι  
 377 τοῖς λειψάνοις ἐποικοῦν. πρεσβῦται δὲ δύστηνοι  
 τῇ σποδῶ τοῦ τεμένου παρακάθηνται καὶ γυναῖκες  
 ὀλίγαι πρὸς ὕβριν αἰσχίστην ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων  
 378 τετηρημέναι. ταῦτα τίς ἐν νῶ βαλλόμενος ἡμῶν  
 καρτερήσει τὸν ἥλιον ὄραν, κἂν δύνηται ζῆν  
 ἀκινδύνως; τίς οὕτω τῆς πατρίδος ἐχθρός, ἢ τίς  
 οὕτως ἄνανδρος καὶ φιλόψυχος, ὡς μὴ καὶ περὶ  
 379 τοῦ μέχρι νῦν ζῆσαι μετανοεῖν; ἀλλ' εἴθε πάντες  
 ἔτεθνήκειμεν πρὶν τὴν ἱερὰν ἐκείνην πόλιν χερσὶν  
 380 ἰδεῖν κατασκαπτομένην πολεμίων, πρὶν τὸν ναὸν  
 τὸν ἅγιον οὕτως ἀνοσίως ἐξορωρυγμένον. ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἀγεννῆς ἐλπίς ἐβουκόλησεν, ὡς τάχα  
 που δυνήσεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς

<sup>1</sup> PA : παιδιὰν the rest.

<sup>2</sup> ἀνηρημένων PAL : ἀνηρηκότων αὐτὴν στρατόπεδον the rest.

fate? Of them some have perished on the rack or tortured by fire and scourge; others, half-devoured by wild beasts, have been preserved alive to provide them with a second repast, after affording merriment and sport for their foes. But most miserable of all must be reckoned those still alive, who have often prayed for death and are denied the boon.

“And where now is that great city, the mother-city of the whole Jewish race, intrenched behind all those lines of ramparts, screened by all those forts and massive towers, that could scarce contain her munitions of war, and held all those myriads of defenders? What has become of her that was believed to have God for her founder<sup>a</sup>? Uprooted from her base she has been swept away, and the sole memorial of her remaining is that of the slain<sup>b</sup> still quartered in her ruins! Hapless old men sit beside the ashes of the shrine and a few women, reserved by the enemy for basest outrage.

“Which of us, taking these things to heart, could bear to behold the sun, even could he live secure from peril? Who such a foe to his country, so unmanly, so fond of life, as not to regret that he is still alive to-day? Nay, I would that we had all been dead ere ever we saw that holy city razed by an enemy's hands, that sacred sanctuary so profanely uprooted! But seeing that we have been beguiled by a not ignoble hope, that we might perchance find means of

<sup>a</sup> The rendering “inhabitant” in older translations is unwarranted; *οικιστής* is a synonym for *κτίστης* in *B.* ii. 266.

<sup>b</sup> Text doubtful: if correct, *μνημεῖον* seems to be used in the double sense of “memorial” and tomb. But the reading of the other mss. “the camp of those that destroyed her” is perhaps right.

ἀμύνασθαι, φρούδη δὲ γέγονε νῦν καὶ μόνους  
 ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης καταλέλοιπεν, σπεύσωμεν  
 καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν, ἐλεήσωμεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ  
 τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, ἕως ἡμῖν ἔξεστιν παρ'  
 381 ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λαβεῖν τὸν ἔλεον. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ  
 θάνατον ἐγεννήθημεν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐγεννή-  
 382 σαμεν, καὶ τοῦτον οὐδὲ τοῖς εὐδαιμονοῦσιν ἔστι  
 διαφυγεῖν· ὕβρις δὲ καὶ δουλεία καὶ τὸ βλέπειν  
 γυναῖκας εἰς αἰσχύνην ἀγομένας μετὰ τέκνων οὐκ  
 ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις κακὸν ἐκ φύσεως ἀναγκαῖον,  
 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν δειλίαν ὑπομένουσιν  
 οἱ παρὸν πρὸ αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν μὴ θελήσαντες.  
 383 ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπ' ἀνδρείαά μέγα φρονοῦντες Ῥωμαίων  
 ἀπέστημεν καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα νῦν ἐπὶ σωτηρία  
 384 προκαλουμένων ἡμᾶς οὐχ ὑπηκούσαμεν. τίνοι  
 τοίνυν οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ θυμὸς αὐτῶν πρόδηλος, εἰ  
 ζώντων ἡμῶν κρατήσουσιν; ἄθλιοι μὲν οἱ νέοι  
 τῆς ῥώμης τῶν σωμάτων εἰς πολλὰς αἰκίας  
 ἀρκέσοντες, ἄθλιοι δ' οἱ παρηγηκότες φέρειν τῆς  
 385 ἡλικίας τὰς συμφορὰς οὐ δυναμένης. ὄψεταιί  
 τις γυναῖκα πρὸς βίαν ἀγομένην, φωνῆς ἐπακού-  
 σεται τέκνου πατέρα βοῶντος χεῖρας δεδεμένος;  
 386 ἀλλ' ἕως εἰσὶν ἐλεύθεραι καὶ ξίφος ἔχουσιν,  
 καλὴν ὑπουργίαν ὑπουργησάτωσαν· ἀδούλωτοι μὲν  
 ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποθάνωμεν, ἐλεύθεροι δὲ  
 μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν τοῦ ζῆν συνεξέλθωμεν.  
 387 ταῦθ' ἡμᾶς οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι, ταῦθ' ἡμᾶς  
 γυναῖκες καὶ παῖδες ἰκετεύουσι· τούτων τὴν  
 ἀνάγκην θεὸς ἀπέσταλκε,<sup>1</sup> τούτων Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ-  
 ναντία θέλουσι, καὶ μή τις ἡμῶν πρὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως  
 388 ἀποθάνῃ δεδοίκασι. σπεύσωμεν οὖν ἀντὶ τῆς

<sup>1</sup> ἐκέλευσε C: ἐπέσταλκε should perhaps be read.

avenging her of her foes, and now that hope has vanished and left us alone in our distress, let us hasten to die honourably ; let us have pity on ourselves, our children and our wives, while it is still in our power to find pity from ourselves. For we were born for death, we and those whom we have begotten ; and this even the fortunate cannot escape. But outrage and servitude and the sight of our wives being led to shame with their children—these are no necessary evils imposed by nature on mankind, but befall, through their own cowardice, those who, having the chance of forestalling them by death, refuse to take it. But we, priding ourselves on our courage, revolted from the Romans, and now at the last, when they offered us our lives, we refused the offer.<sup>a</sup> Who then can fail to foresee their wrath if they take us alive ? Wretched will be the young whose vigorous frames can sustain many tortures, wretched the more advanced in years whose age is incapable of bearing such calamities. Is a man to see his wife led off to violation,<sup>b</sup> to hear the voice of his child crying ‘ Father ! ’ when his own hands are bound ? No, while those hands are free and grasp the sword, let them render an honourable service. Unenslaved by the foe let us die, as free men with our children and wives let us quit this life together ! This our laws enjoin,<sup>c</sup> this our wives and children implore of us. The need for this is of God’s sending,<sup>d</sup> the reverse of this is the Romans’ desire, and their fear is lest a single one of us should die before capture. Haste

<sup>a</sup> vi. 350 f.

<sup>b</sup> Or “ by violence.”

<sup>c</sup> Rhetorical statement : the Law contains no such express injunction.

<sup>d</sup> Or perhaps “ ordering.”

ἐπιζομένης αὐτοῖς καθ' ἡμῶν ἀπολαύσεως ἔκ-  
πληξιν τοῦ θανάτου καὶ θαῦμα τῆς τόλμης κατα-  
λιπεῖν.”

- 389 (ix. 1) Ἐτι βουλόμενον αὐτὸν παρακαλεῖν πάν-  
τες ὑπετέμοντο καὶ πρὸς τὴν πράξιν ἠπείγοντο,  
ἀνεπισχέτου τινὸς ὀρμῆς πεπληρωμένοι, καὶ δαι-  
μονῶντες ἀπήεσαν ἄλλος πρὸ ἄλλου φθάσαι γλι-  
χόμενος καὶ ταύτην ἐπίδειξιν εἶναι τῆς ἀνδρείας  
καὶ τῆς εὐβουλίας νομίζοντες, τὸ μὴ τις ἐν ὑστά-  
τοις γενόμενος ὀφθῆναι· τοσοῦτος αὐτοῖς γυναικῶν  
καὶ παιδίων καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν σφαγῆς ἔρωσ ἐνέπεσεν.
- 390 καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὅπερ ἂν τις ᾤθηται τῇ πράξει προσ-  
ιόντες ἠμβλύνθησαν, ἀλλ' ἀτενῆ τὴν γνώμην δι-  
εφύλαξαν οἷαν ἔσχον τῶν λόγων ἀκροώμενοι,  
τοῦ μὲν οἰκείου καὶ φιλοστόργου πάθους ἅπασι  
παραμένοντος, τοῦ λογισμοῦ δὲ ὡς τὰ κράτιστα
- 391 βεβουλευκότος τοῖς φιλτάτοις ἐπικρατοῦντος. ὁμοῦ  
γὰρ ἠσπάζοντο γυναῖκας περιπτυσσόμενοι καὶ  
τέκνα προσηγαλίζοντο τοῖς ὑστάτοις φιλήμασιν
- 392 ἐμφύομενοι καὶ δακρύνοντες, ὁμοῦ δὲ καθάπερ  
ἄλλοτρίαις χερσὶν ὑπουργούμενοι συνετέλουν τὸ  
βούλευμα, τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ὧν πείσονται κακῶν ὑπὸ  
τοῖς πολεμίοις γενόμενοι παραμύθιον τῆς ἐν τῷ
- 393 κτείνειν ἀνάγκης ἔχοντες. καὶ πέρασ οὐδεὶς τηλι-  
κούτου τολμήματος ἤπτων εὐρέθη, πάντες δὲ διὰ  
τῶν οἰκειοτάτων διεξῆλθον, ἄθλιοι τῆς ἀνάγκης,  
οἷς αὐτοχειρὶ γυναῖκας τὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνα
- 394 κτείνειν κακῶν ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὸ κουφότατον. οὔτε<sup>1</sup>  
δὴ τοίνυν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ὀδύνην ἔτι  
φέροντες καὶ τοὺς ἀνηρημένους νομίζοντες ἀδικεῖν  
εἰ καὶ βραχὺν αὐτοῖς ἔτι χρόνον ἐπιζήσουσι, ταχὺ

<sup>1</sup> Destinon with Lat. : οὔτοι mss.

we then to leave them, instead of their hoped-for enjoyment at securing us, amazement at our death and admiration of our fortitude."

(ix. 1) He would have pursued his exhortation but was cut short by his hearers, who, overpowered by some uncontrollable impulse, were all in haste to do the deed. Like men possessed they went their way, each eager to outstrip his neighbour and deeming it a signal proof of courage and sound judgement not to be seen among the last : so ardent the passion that had seized them to slaughter their wives, their little ones and themselves. Nor, as might have been expected, did their ardour cool when they approached the task : inflexibly they held to the resolution, which they had formed while listening to the address, and though personal emotion and affection were alive in all, reason which they knew had consulted best for their loved ones, was paramount. For, while they caressed and embraced their wives and took their children in their arms, clinging in tears to those parting kisses, at that same instant, as though served by hands other than their own, they accomplished their purpose, having the thought of the ills they would endure under the enemy's hands to console them for their constraint in killing them. And in the end not one was found a truant in so daring a deed : all carried through their task with their dearest ones. Wretched victims of necessity, to whom to slay with their own hands their own wives and children seemed the lightest of evils ! Unable, indeed, any longer to endure their anguish at what they had done, and feeling that they wronged the slain by surviving them if it were but for a moment,

How the deed was done.

μὲν τὴν κτῆσιν ἅπασαν εἰς ταῦτὸ σωρεύσαντες  
 395 πῦρ εἰς αὐτὴν ἐνέβαλον, κλήρω δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν  
 ἐλόμενοι δέκα τοὺς ἀπάντων σφαγεῖς ἐσομένους,  
 καὶ γυναικί τις αὐτὸν καὶ παισὶ κειμένοις παρα-  
 στρώσας καὶ τὰς χεῖρας περιβαλὼν, παρεῖχον  
 ἐτοίμους τὰς σφαγὰς τοῖς τὴν δύστηνον ὑπουργίαν  
 396 ἐκτελοῦσιν. οἱ δ' ἀτρέπτως<sup>1</sup> πάντα φονεύσαντες  
 τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις τοῦ κλήρου νόμον ὤρισαν,  
 ἵν' ὁ λαχὼν τοὺς ἐννέα κτείνας ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν  
 ἀνέλη· πάντες οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἐθάρρουν μῆτ' εἰς  
 τὸ δρᾶν μῆτ' εἰς τὸ παθεῖν ἄλλος ἄλλου διαφέρειν.  
 397 καὶ τέλος οἱ μὲν τὰς σφαγὰς ὑπέθεσαν, ὁ δ' εἰς  
 καὶ τελευταῖος τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κειμένων περι-  
 αθρήσας, μή ποῦ τις ἔτ' ἐν πολλῷ φόνῳ τῆς αὐτοῦ  
 λείπεται χειρὸς δεόμενος, ὡς ἔγνω πάντα ἀν-  
 ηρημένους, πῦρ μὲν πολὺ τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐνίησιν,  
 ἀθρόα δὲ τῇ χειρὶ δι' αὐτοῦ πᾶν ἐλάσας τὸ ξίφος  
 398 πλησίον τῶν οἰκείων κατέπεσε. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐτε-  
 θνήκεσαν ὑπειληφότες οὐδὲν ἔχον ψυχὴν ὑποχείριον  
 399 ἐξ αὐτῶν Ῥωμαῖοι καταλιπεῖν, ἔλαθεν δὲ γυνή  
 πρεσβῦτις καὶ συγγενῆς ἑτέρα<sup>2</sup> τις Ἐλεαζάρου,  
 φρονήσει καὶ παιδείᾳ πλείστων γυναικῶν δια-  
 φέρουσα, καὶ πέντε παιδιά τοῖς ὑπονόμοις, οἱ  
 ποτὸν ἦγον ὕδωρ διὰ γῆς,<sup>3</sup> ἐγκατακρυβῆναι<sup>4</sup> τῶν  
 400 ἄλλων πρὸς τῇ σφαγῇ τὰς διανοίας ἐχόντων, οἱ  
 τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἦσαν ἐξήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς ἐνακοσίοις  
 γυναικῶν ἅμα καὶ παίδων αὐτοῖς συναριθμουμένων.  
 401 καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐπράχθη πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ Ξανθικοῦ  
 μηνός.

<sup>1</sup> PA: ἀτρέστως the rest (cf. § 370).

<sup>2</sup> ἑταῖρα ML (cf. § 404).

<sup>3</sup> trs. δ.ὰ γῆς ὕδωρ A.

<sup>4</sup> abditi Lat.: ἐγκατακρυβεῖσαι Destinson.

they quickly piled together all the stores and set them on fire; then, having chosen by lot ten of their number to dispatch the rest, they laid themselves down each beside his prostrate wife and children, and, flinging their arms around them, offered their throats in readiness for the executants of the melancholy office. These, having unswervingly slaughtered all, ordained the same rule of the lot for one another, that he on whom it fell should slay first the nine and then himself last of all; such mutual confidence had they all that neither in acting nor in suffering would one differ from another. Finally, then, the nine bared their throats, and the last solitary survivor, after surveying the prostrate multitude, to see whether haply amid the shambles there were yet one left who needed his hand, and finding that all were slain, set the palace ablaze, and then collecting his strength drove his sword clean through his body and fell beside his family. They had died in the belief that they had left not a soul of them alive to fall into Roman hands; but an old woman and another, a relative of Eleazar, superior in sagacity and training to most of her sex, with five children, escaped by concealing themselves in the subterranean aqueducts, while the rest were absorbed in the slaughter. The victims numbered nine hundred and sixty, including women and children; and the tragedy occurred on the fifteenth of the month Xanthicus.

The seven survivors.

c. 2 May  
A.D. 73.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The day of the month follows the reckoning of Niese, the year that of Schürer, *G.J.V.* i. 639 f.; Niese reckons the year as A.D. 72 (Schürer. *ibid.*).