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.


Selection by Tessa Rajak
JOSEPHUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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

IN NINE VOLUMES

II

THE JEWISH WAR, BOOKS I–III

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BIBLION A

(1) 'Επειδὴ τὸν 'Ιουδαίων πρὸς 'Ρωμαίους πόλεμον συστάντα μέγιστον οὖ μόνον τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ὅν ἀκοὴ παρειλήφαμεν ἡ πόλεως πρὸς πόλεις ἡ ἐθνῶν ἔθνεςι συρραγέντων, οἱ μὲν οὖ παρατυχόντες τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἀλλ' ἀκοὴ συλλέγοντες εἰκαία καὶ ἀσύμφωνα διηγήματα σοφι-2 στικῶς ἀναγράφουσι, οἱ παραγενόμενοι δὲ ἡ κολακεία τῇ πρὸς 'Ρωμαίους ἡ µίσει τῷ πρὸς 'Ιουδαίους καταψευδοντα τῶν πραγμάτων, περι-έχει δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅπου μὲν κατηγορίαν ὅπου δὲ ἐγκώ-µιου τὰ συγγράμματα, τὸ δ' ἀκριβεῖς τῆς ἱστορίας 3 οὐδαμοῦ, προκυβέρνησιν ἐγὼ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν 'Ρωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν, Ἑλλάδι γλώσσῃ μεταβαλὼν ἥ τοῖς ἀνω βαρβάροις τῇ πατρίῳ συντάξας ἀνέπεμψα πρότερον, ἀφηγήσασθαι, Ἱώσηπος Μαθιίου παῖς, [γένει Ἑβραίος,] εἴ 'Ιεροσολύμων ἱερεύς, αὐτός

1 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 alternatively 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-
JOSEPHUS

tε ῥωμαίους πολεμήσας τὰ πρώτα καὶ τοῖς υποτερον παρατυχὼν ἐξ ἀνάγκης.

4 (2) γενομένου γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, μεγίστου τοῦ τοῦ κυνήματος, ἐν ῥωμαίοις μὲν ἐνόσει τὰ οἰκεία, Ἰουδαίων δὲ τὸ νεωτερίζον τότε τεταραγμένους ἐπανέστη τοῖς καρώις ἀκμάζον κατά τε χείρα καὶ χρήμασιν, ὡς δὲ ὑπερβολὴν θορύβων τοῖς μὲν ἐν ἐλπίδι κτήσεως τοῖς δ' ἐν ἀφαιρέσεως δέει γίνει. 5 οὐκ ἦν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολὴν, ἔπειδὴ Ἰουδαίοι μὲν ἄπαν τὸ ὑπέρ Ἐυφράτην ὀμόφυλον συνεπαρθήσεθαι σφίσιν ἕλπισαν, ῥωμαίους δ' οί τε γείτονες Γαλάται παρεκάλουν καὶ τὸ Κελτικὸν οὐκ ἦρέμευ, μεστὰ δ' ἦν πάντα θορύβων μετὰ Νέρωνα, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν βασιλείαν ὁ καρῶς ἀνέπεθεν, τὰ στρατιωτικὰ δὲ ἤρα μεταβολής ἐλπίδι θημάτων:

6 ἀτοπον ἡγησάμενον1 περιεδεῖν πλαζομένην ἐπὶ τῆς ὁρείποις πράγμασι τὴν ἀλῆθειαν, καὶ Πάρθους μὲν καὶ Βαβυλωνίους Ἀράβων τε τοὺς πορρωτῶς καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ Ἐυφράτην ὀμόφυλον ἡμὶν Ἀδιαβηνοὺς τε γνῶναι διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπιμελείας ἀκριβῶς, ὅθεν τε ἤρεςτο καὶ δι' ὅσων ἐχώρησεν παθῶν ὁ πόλεμος καὶ ὅπως κατέστρεφεν, ἀγνοεῖν δὲ Ἐλλήνας ταῦτα καὶ ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὴ ἐπιστρατευσαμένους, ἐντυγχάνοντας ἡ κολακείας ἡ πλάσμασι.

1 Some mss. have ἀτοπον οὖν ἡγησάμην. But chaps. (1) and (2) apparently form a single sentence, §§ 4 and 5 being a parenthesis.

4 Aramaic or Hebrew.
5 The “up-country barbarians” intended are more precisely specified in § 6.
6 As Reina points out, this is exaggerated. At the outbreak of war the Roman Empire was free from disorder.
7 i.e. the Germans. The references are respectively to
nacular tongue and sent to the barbarians in the interior.

(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. 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 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 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).

* In the upper Tigris region.
7 (3) Καίτοι γε ἱστορίας αὐτὰς ἐπιγράφειν τολμῶσιν, ἐν αἷς πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ύπιές δηλοῦν καὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ δοκοῦσιν ἐμοίγε διαμαρτάνειν. Βούλονται μὲν γὰρ μεγάλους τοὺς Ἦρωμαίους ἀποδεικνύειν, καταβάλλουσιν δὲ ἀεὶ τὰ Ἰουδαίων καὶ ταπεινοῦ·...

8 συν; οὐχ ὡρῶ δὲ, πῶς ἂν εἶναι μεγάλοι δοκοῖεν οἱ μικροὺς νενικηκότες; καὶ οὔτε τὸ μῆκος αἴδοντας τοῦ πολέμου οὔτε τὸ πλῆθος τῆς Ἦρωμαίων καμοῦ· σῆς στρατιῶν οὔτε τὸ μέγεθος τῶν στρατηγῶν, οἱ πολλὰ περὶ τοῖς Ἰεροσολύμοις ἠδρόσαντες, οἴμαι, ταπεινομένου τοῦ κατορθώματος αὐτῶς ἄδοξοιν.

9 (4) Οὐ μὴν ἔγὼ τοῖς ἐπαίρονσι τὰ Ἦρωμαίων ἀντιφιλονεικῶν αὔξειν τὰ τῶν ὀμοφύλων διέγνων, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἔργα μετ’ ἀκριβείας ἀμφοτέρων διεξεῖμι, τοὺς δ’ ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι λόγους ἀνατίθημι τῇ διαθέσει, καὶ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ πάθεσι διδοὺς ἐπολοφύρεσθαι ταῖς τῆς πατρίδος συμφοράς. ὅτι γὰρ αὐτὴν στάσιν οἰκεία καθεῖλεν, καὶ τὰς Ἦρωμαίων χεῖρας ἀκούσας καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὸν [ἂνον] ναὸν εἴλυσαν οἱ Ἰουδαίων τύραννοι, μάρτυς αὐτὸς ὁ πορθήσας Καῦσαρ Τίτος, ἐν παντὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τὸν μὲν δήμον ἐλεησάς ὑπὸ τῶν στασιαστῶν φρουροῦμεν, πολλάκις δὲ ἐκῶν τῆν ἀλώσαν τῆς πόλεως ὑπερτιθέμενος καὶ διδοὺς τῇ πολιορκίᾳ.

10 χρόνων εἰς μετάνοιαν τῶν αὐτῶν. εἰ δὲ τις ὅσα πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἢ τὸ ληστρικὸν αὐτῶν κατηγορικῶς λέγοιμεν ἢ τοῖς δυστυχήμασι τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιστένοντες συκοφαντόι, διδότω παρὰ τὸν τῆς...
(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.

(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
istoriás nómenon suygnównyn tó páshein pólin [méν]
γάρ δή τών ὑπὸ Ρωμαίοις πασών τήν ἡμετέραν ἔπι πλείστον τε εὐδαιμονίας συνεβη προελθείν καὶ
12 πρὸς ἐσχατον συμφορῶν αὕθεις καταπεσεῖν. τά γοῦν πάντων ἀπ' αἰῶνοι αὐτχήματα πρὸς τά Ἰουδαίων ἡττησθαι δοκῶ κατά σύγκρισιν, καὶ τούτων αἵτιοι οὐδεὶς ἀλλόφυλος, ὥστε ἀμήχανον ἢν ὀδυρμῶν ἐπικρατεῖν. εἰ δὲ τις οἴκτου σκληρότερος εἴη δικαστής, τά μὲν πράγματα τῇ ἱστορίᾳ προσκρμεῖτω, τάς δ' ὀλοφύρεις τῷ γράφοντι.
13 (5) Καίτοι γε ἐπιτιμήσαμι ἄν αὐτός δικαίως τοῖς Ἑλλήνων λογίοις, οἱ τηλικούτων κατ' αὐτοὺς πραγμάτων γεγενημένων, ὁ κατά σύγκρισιν ἔλαχιστος ἀποδεικνύοι τοὺς πάλαι πολέμους, τούτων μὲν κάθηται κριταὶ τοῖς φιλοσιμουμένοις ἐπηρεάζοντες, ὥν εἰ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ πλεονεκτοῦσι, λείπονται τῇ προαιρέσει: αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ Ἀσσυρῶν καὶ Μήδων συγγράφουσι ὠσπερ ἤττον καλῶς ὑπὸ
tων ἀρχαῖων συγγραφέων ἀπηγγελμένα. καίτοι τοσοῦτον τῆς ἐκείνων ἡττῶνται δυνάμεις ἐν τῷ γράφειν, ὡσι καὶ τῆς γνώμης τὰ γάρ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐσπούδαζον ἐκαστοῦ γράφειν, ὅπου καὶ τὸ παρατυχεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐποίει τῇ ἀπαγγελίᾳ ἐναργη καὶ τὸ ψεύδεσθαι παρ' εἰδόσιν αἰσχρῶν ἦν.
14 τό γε μὴν μνήμη τα [μῆ]2 προϊστορηθέντα διδόναι καὶ τά τῶν ἱδίων χρόνων τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ συνιστάνει ἐπαίνου καὶ μαρτυρίας ἀξίον: φιλόπονος δὲ οὐχ ὁ μεταποιῶν οἰκονομίαν καὶ τάξιν ἀλλοτρίαν,
his indulgence for a compassion which falls outside an historian's province.\textsuperscript{a} 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 remolds the scheme and arrangement of another's work, but one...
Perhaps "successively." An allusion to the works of Demetrius, Philo the elder, Eupolemus, etc.; c/. Ap. ii. 218, where Josephus speaks in the same terms. Subsequently he thought that these ...
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 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. 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).
κατὰ κράτος Ἰεροσόλυμα καὶ κατασχῶν ἔτεσι τρισὶ καὶ μησιν ἔς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀσαμωναίου παίδων ἐκβάλλεται τῆς χώρας. ἔπειθ' ὡς οἱ τούτων ἐγγονοι περὶ τῆς βασιλείας διαστασίασαντες εἴλκυσαν εἰς τὰ πράγματα Ῥωμαίους καὶ Πομπήιον καὶ ὡς Ἑρώδης ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου κατέλυσε τὴν δυναστείαν αὐτῶν ἐπαγαγὼν Σόσσιον, ὅπως ἦν ὁ λαὸς μετὰ τὴν Ἑρώδου τελευτην κατεστασίασεν Ἀνγούστου μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονεύοντος, Κυντιλίου δὲ Οὐάρου κατὰ τὴν χώραν ὄντος, καὶ ὡς ἔτει δωδεκάτῳ τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς ὁ πόλεμος ἀνερράγη, τὰ τε συμβάντα κατὰ Κέστιον καὶ ὅσα κατὰ τὰς πρώτας ὀρμᾶς ἐπῆλθον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς ὀπλοῖς.

20 ὅπως τε τὰς περιούκους ἐτειχίσαντο, καὶ ὡς Νέρων ἐπὶ τοῖς Κεστίου πταίσμασι δείσας περὶ τῶν ὀλων Ὀνεσπασιανὸν ἐφίστησι τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ ὡς οὕτος μετὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τῶν παιδῶν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίων χώραν ἐνέβαλεν, ὅση τε χρώμενος Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰ καὶ ἄσοις σύμμαχοις εἰσέπαισεν ἔς ὁλὴν τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, καὶ ὡς τῶν πόλεων αὐτῆς ἃς μὲν ὀλοσχερῶς καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἀς δὲ δι' ὀμολογίας ἔλαβεν· ἐνθα δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐν πολέμοις εὐταξίας καὶ τὴν ἀσκησιν τῶν ταγμάτων, τῆς τε Γαλιλαίας ἐκατέρας τὰ διαστήματα καὶ τὴν φύσιν καὶ τοὺς τῆς Ἰουδαίας ὄρους, ἐπὶ τε τῆς χώρας τὴν ἰδιότητα, λίμνας τε καὶ πηγὰς τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ τὰ περὶ ἑκάστην πόλιν τῶν ἀλισκομένων πάθη μετὰ ἀκρι-

12
Epiphanes, took Jerusalem by storm and, after holding it for three years and six months, was expelled from the country by the Hasmonaeans; 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 Hasmonaean 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, 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

a Gr. "the sons of Asamonaeus."
b Upper and Lower.
23 (9) "Επειθ' ὦσ ἡδη καμνόντων Ἰουδαίως τῶν πραγμάτων θυήσκει μὲν Νέρων, Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Ἰεροσολύμων ὀρμημένος ὑπὸ τῆς ἁγεμονίας ἀνθέλκεται; τὰ τε γενόμενα περὶ ταύτης αὐτῷ
24 σημεῖα καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ Ἐρώμης μεταβολάς, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄκων αὐτοκράτωρ ἀποδείκνυται, καὶ ἀποχωρήσαντος ἐπὶ διοικήσει τῶν ὅλων εἰς τὴν Ἀγινύπτον ἑστασιάσθη τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὅπως τε ἐπανεστησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ τύραννοι, καὶ τὰς τούτων πρὸς ἅλλους διαφοράς.
25 (10) καὶ ὡς ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀγινύπτον Τίτος δεύτερον εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐνέβαλεν, ὅπως τε τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ ὅπου συνήγαγε καὶ ὅποσας, καὶ ὅπως ἐκ τῆς στάσεως ἡ πόλις διέκειτο παρόντος αὐτοῦ, προσβολᾶς τε ὅσα ἑποίησατο καὶ ὅποσα χώματα, περιβόλους τε τῶν τριῶν τειχῶν καὶ τὰ μέτρα τούτων, τήν τε τῆς πόλεως ὁχυρότητα καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν διάθεσιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τούτων καὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὰ μέτρα πάντα μετ' ἀκριβείας, ἐθή τε ἐορτῶν ἔνια καὶ τὰς ἐπτὰ ἄγνειας καὶ τὰς τῶν ἱερέων λειτουργίας, ἔτι δὲ τὰς ἐσθήτας τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τοῦ ἄρχιερέως, καὶ οἰον ἣν τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ἁγιον, οὐδὲν οὔτε

a 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 second 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, the ministerial functions of the priests, their vestments and those of the high priest, with a description of the Holy of Holies. Nothing shall be concealed,
άποκρυπτόμενος ούτε προστιθεῖς τοῖς πεφωραμένοις.

27 (11) Ἠπείτα διεξεχμι τὴν τε τῶν τυράννων πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ὁμότητα καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων φειδώ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλοφύλους, καὶ ὅσακις Τίτος σώσαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐπιθυμῶν ἐπὶ δεξιὰς τοὺς στασιάζοντας προκαλέσατο. διακρινὼ 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 ἐάλωσαν, παραλείψω δὲ οὐδὲ τὰς τῶν αὐτομόλων ἀτυχίας οὐδὲ τὰς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων κολάσεις, ὅπως τε ὁ ναὸς ἀκοντος ἐνεπρήσθη Καίσαρος καὶ ὅσα τῶν ιερῶν κείμηλῶν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἡρπάγη, τὴν τε τῆς ὁλης πόλεως ἀλώσαν καὶ τὰ πρὸ ταύτης σημεία καὶ τέρατα, καὶ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τῶν τυράννων, τῶν τε ἀνδραποδισθέντων τὸ πλῆθος καὶ εἰς ἧν ἦκα-

29 στοι τύχην διενεμήθησαν καὶ ὅς Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐπεξῄζθον τὰ λείψανα τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὰ ἐρύματα τῶν χωρίων καθεῖλον, Τίτος δὲ πᾶσαν ἐπελθὼν τὴν χώραν κατεστήσατο, τὴν τε ὑποστροφὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰς Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὸν θρίαμβον.

30 (12) Ταῦτα πάντα περιλαβὼν ἐν ἔπτα βιβλίοις καὶ μηδεμιάν τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις τὰ πράγματα καὶ παρατυχοῦσι τῷ πολέμῳ καταλιπὼν ἥ μέμψεως ἀφορμὴν ἡ κατηγορίας, τοῖς γε τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀγαπῶσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς ήδονήν ἀνέγραφα. ποιήσομαι δὲ ταύτην τῆς ἐξηγήσεως ἀρχὴν, ἧν καὶ τῶν κεφαλαίων ἑποιησάμην.

31 (i. 1) Στάσεως τοῖς δυνατοῖς Ἰουδαίων ἐμπε-
nothing added to facts which have been brought to light.\textsuperscript{a}

(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 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 preceded it; the capture of the tyrants, the number of the prisoners and the destiny allotted to each; nor yet how the Romans crushed the last remnants 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\textsuperscript{b} when Antiochus, surnamed

\textsuperscript{a} 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. \textsuperscript{b} c. 171 B.C.
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Maps—(1) Galilee and surrounding District

(2) Central and Southern Palestine

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LIST OF JOSEPHUS' WORKS
SHOWING THEIR DIVISION INTO VOLUMES IN THIS EDITION

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III. The Jewish War, Books IV-VII
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IX. Jewish Antiquities, Books XVIII-XX
μόνον ἂφ' ὑψηλοτέρων μαχόμενοι, καὶ τοῖς ὁργάνοις ἀφ' ἤδη χρήσαν μεμαθηκότεσσ' ἡ γὰρ καθ' ἡμέραν τριβὴ κατὰ μικρὸν ἔθρεψε τὴν ἐμπειρίαν. εἶχον δ' ἄξυβελείς μὲν τριακοσίους, τεσσαράκοντα δὲ τῶν λιθοβόλων, δι' ἄν τὰ χώματα τοῖς Ὀρωμαίοις ἐποίοιν δυσέργαστα. ὂν τοῦ δὲ σώζεσθαι τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀπόλυσθαι εἶδὼς έαυτῷ, ἀμα καὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ προσέκειτο καὶ τοῦ παραίνειν Ἰου-
360 δαίως μετάνοιαν οὐκ ἠμέλει, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις ἀνέμισαν συμβουλίαν, καὶ πολλάκις γινώσκων ἀνυτικώτερον ὀπλῶν τὸν λόγον, αὐτὸς2 τε σώζεσθαι παρεκάλει παραδόντας τὴν πόλιν ἡδῆ3 παρ-
361 ευλημμένην καὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον καθεὶς ἡ τῇ πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ διαλέγεσθαι, τάχ' ἂν ἐνδοῦν πρὸς ὀμόφυλον δοκῶν αὐτοὺς.

362 (3) Ὡντος περιών τὸ τεῖχος καὶ πειρώμενον ἐξω τε5 βέλους εἶναι καὶ ἐν ἐπηκών, πολλά κατ-
363 -ητιβόλει φείσασθαι μὲν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ δήμου, φείσασθαι δὲ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ μηδὲ γενέσθαι πρὸς ταῦτα τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἀπαθεστέ-

ρους. Ὀρωμαίοις μὲν γε τοὺς μὴ μετέχοντας ἐντρέπεσθαι τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀγία καὶ μέχρι νῦν τὸς χείρας ἑπέχειν, τοὺς δ' ἐντραφέντας αὐτοὺς καὶν περισσωθῆ μόνους ἐξοντας ύμηθαι πρὸς ἀπώλειαν αὐτῶν. ἡ μὴν τὰ καρτερώτερα μὲν αὐτῶν ὀρᾶν τείχη πεπτωκότα, λειτόμενον δὲ τὸ

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1 δυσεργάτερα LVRC (cf. § 496).
2 Destinon: αὐτοὺς or αὐτοῖς mss.
3 + <παρ' δλίγον> Destinon (cf. § 369).
4 τάχ' ἂν Destinon: τάχα mss.
5 ἐξω τε Niese (from Lat.): ἐξω or ἐξωτέρω mss.

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a §§ 267 f. b Or “scorpions.”
position, but also with their engines, which they had now learnt to use,\(^a\) daily practice having gradually fostered their skill; and they possessed three hundred quick-firers,\(^b\) and forty stone-projectors,\(^c\) by means of which they seriously retarded the erection of the Roman earthworks. Titus, conscious that the preservation or destruction of the city vitally affected himself, while pressing the siege did not omit to urge the Jews to reconsider their policy. Blending active operations with advice, and aware that speech is often more effectual than arms, he not only personally exhorted them to seek salvation by the surrender of the city, already practically\(^d\) taken, but also delegated Josephus to parley with them in their native tongue, thinking that possibly they might yield to the expostulation of a fellow-countryman.

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

\(^a\) ballistae.
\(^b\) The preposition in παρειλημμένην possibly here has the force of παρ' ὀλίγοιν, "almost."
\(^c\) πολλά probably implies numerous speeches at different spots rather than "at great length."
\(^d\) Literally "things," including perhaps rites, etc.
τῶν ἑαλωκότων ἀσθενέστερον· γινώσκειν δὲ τὴν Ἦρωμαίου ἰσχῦν ἀνυπόστατον καὶ τὸ δουλεύειν 365 τούτοις οὐκ ἀπείραστον1 αὐτοῖς. εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ πολεμεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας καλὸν, χρῆναι τὸ πρῶτον· τὸ δ' ἀπαξ ὑποπεσόντας καὶ μακρὸς εἴξαντας χρόνοις ἔπειτα ἀποσείεσθαι τὸν ἱγνὸν 366 δυσθανατούντων, οὐ φιλελευθέρων εἶναι. δεῖν μὲν- τοι καὶ δεσπότας ἀδοξεῖν ταπευνοτέρους, οὐχ οἰς ὑποχείρια τὰ πάντα. τὸ γὰρ Ἦρωμαίους διαπεφευ- γέναι, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τι διὰ θάλπος ἢ κρύος ἀχρηστον; 367 μεταβῆναι γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πάντοθεν τὴν τύχην, καὶ κατὰ ἔθνος τὸν θεόν ἐμπεριάγοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἶναι. νόμον γε μὴν ὤρισθαι καὶ παρὰ θηρῶν ἱσχυρότατον καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώποις, εἶκεν τοῖς δυνατωτέροις καὶ τὸ κρατεῖν παρ' οἷς 368 ἀκμὴ τῶν ὄπλων εἶναι. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς προγόνους αὐτῶν [πολὺ]2 καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἔτι δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀφορμαῖς ἀμείνους ὄντας, εἰδαὶ Ἦρωμαίοις, οὐκ ἂν εἰ μὴ τὸν θεόν 369 ἡδεσαν σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῦθ' ὑπομείναντας. αὐτοὺς δὲ τὶν καὶ πεποιθότας ἀντέχειν, ἑαλωκύνιας μὲν ἐκ πλείστου τῆς πόλεως μέρους, τῶν δ' ἐνδον, εἰ καὶ τὰ τείχη παρέμενεν, ἀλώσεως χείρον δια- 370 κείμενων; οὐ γὰρ λανθάνειν Ἦρωμαίους τὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμῶν, ὥ νῦν μὲν τὸν ἰδίμον, μετ' οὐ πολὺ 371 δὲ διαφθαρήσεσθαι καὶ τοὺς μαχαίρους. εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ παύσαιντο Ἦρωμαίου τῆς πολιορκίας

1 ἀπείραστον ML.
2 L Lat.: om. the rest.

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

μηδ' ἐπιπίπτοιεν¹ τῇ πόλει ἐξωθήρεις, αὐτοῖς γε τὸν ἀμαχὸν πόλεμον ἐνδοὺ παρακαθῆσθαι καὶ ἐκάστην ὅραν τρεφόμενον, ἐν μὴ καὶ πρὸς τὸν λιμῶν ἄραι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ μάχεσθαι δύνανται, μόνοι τε καὶ

372 παθῶν ἐπικρατεῖν. προσετίθει δὲ ὡς καλὸν πρὸ ἀνηκέστου συμφορᾶς μεταβαλέσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ σωτηρίου ἐως ἐξεστὶ δέσμαι· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ μνησικακήσειν αὐτοῖς Ῥωμαίους τῶν γεγενημένων, ἐν μὴ μέχρι τέλους ἀπανθαδίσαντο· φύσει τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ κρατεῖν ἕμεροις εἶναι καὶ πρὸ τῶν θυμῶν

373 θῆσεσθαι τὸ συμφέρον. τούτῳ δ' εἶναι μήτε τὴν πόλιν ἀνδρῶν κενήν μήτε τὴν χώραν ἐρημοῦν ἔχειν. διὸ καὶ νῦν Καίσαρα βουλέσθαι δεξιὰν αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν σώσαι τινα βία λαβόντα τὴν πόλιν, καὶ μάλιστα μηδ' ἐν ἐσχάταις συμφοραῖς

374 ὑπακούσαντων παρακαλοῦντι. τοῦ γε μὴν ταχέως τὸ τρίτον τεῖχος ἀλώσεσθαι τὰ προεαλωκότα πίστιν εἶναι· κἂν ἄρρηκτον δὲ ἦ τὸ ἔρυμα, τὸν λιμὸν ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοῖς μαχεῖσθαι.²

375 (4) Ταῦτα τὸν Ἰώσηπον παραπονοῦντα πολλοὶ μὲν ἐσκωπτοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, πολλοὶ δ' ἐβλασφήμουν, ἐνοι δ' ἑβαλλον. δ' δ' ὡς ταῖς φανεραῖς οὐκ ἐπειθεί συμβουλίαις, ἔπτι τὰς ὀμοφύλους

376 μετέβασεν ἰστορίας, 'ἀ δειλοῖ,²' ἐθέλον, 'καὶ τῶν ἱδίων ἀμνήμονες συμμάχων, ὅπλοις καὶ χεροὶ πολεμεῖτε Ῥωμαίοις; τίνα γὰρ ἄλλον οὕτως 377 ἐνυκήσαμεν; πότε δ' οὐ θεός δ' κτίσας, ἃν ἀδι-

¹ ἐπιπίπτοιεν LV.
² Niese from Lat.: μάχεσθαι MSS.
³ PA: δείλαιοι the rest.

⁴ Cf. Nicanor's words to Josephus himself at Jotapata, 316
and not fall upon the city with drawn swords, yet they had at their doors a war with which none could contend, gaining strength every hour, unless indeed they could take arms and fight against famine itself and, alone of all men, master even its pangs. They would do well, he added, to repent ere irretrievable disaster befell them and to incline to salutary counsels while they had the opportunity; for the Romans would bear them no malice for the past, unless they persisted in their contumacy to the end: they were naturally lenient in victory,\(^a\) and would put above vindictiveness considerations of expediency, which did not consist in having on their hands either a depopulated city or a devastated country. That was why, even at this late hour, Caesar desired to grant them terms; whereas, if he took the city by storm, he would not spare a man of them, especially after the rejection of offers made to them when in extremities. That the third wall would be quickly carried was vouched for by the fall of those already captured; and even were that defence impregnable, the famine would fight for the Romans against them.

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

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

\(^a\) The lesson of history; Former deliveries: iii. 347, and the Virgilian "parcere devictis" (\textit{Aen.} vi. 853), doubtless familiar to the author.
κώνταί, 'Ιουδαίων ἐκδικος; οὐκ ἐπιστραφέντες ὁμοσθε πόθεν ὀρμώμενοι μάχεσθε καὶ πηλίκον ἐμιάνατε σύμμαχον; οὐκ ἀναμινὴσθε πατέρων ἔργα δαιμόνια, καὶ τὸν ἁγιον τόνδε χῶρον ἡλίκους

378 ἡμὶν πάλαι πολέμους1 καθείλεν; ἐγὼ μὲν φρίττω τὰ ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ λέγων εἰς ἀναξίους ἀκοάς· ἀκούστε δ’ ὁμως, ἵνα γνώτε μὴ μόνον Ῥωμαίοις

379 πολέμοιντες ἅλλα καὶ τῶ θεῶ. βασιλεὺς ὁ τότε Νεχαὼς Αἰγυπτίων, ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ Φαραώ, μυρία χειρὶ καταβὰς ἦρπασε Σάρραν

380 βασιλίδα, τὴν μητέρα τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν. τί οὖν ὁ ταύτης ἄνηρ Ἀβραάμ, προπάτωρ δ’ ἥμετερος; ἀρα τὸν ὑβριστὴν ἥμυνατο τοῖς ὀπλοῖς, καίτοι ὀκτωκαίδεκα μὲν καὶ τριακοσίων ὑπάρχους ἔχων, δύναμιν δ’ ύφ’2 ἐκάστῳ τούτων ἀπειρον; ἢ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐρημίαν ἡγήσατο μὴ συμπαρὸντος θεοῦ, καθαρὰς δ’ ἀνατείνας τὰς χεῖρας εἰς δν νῦν ἐμιάνατε χῶρον ὑμείς, τὸν ἀνίκητον αὐτῷ βοηθὸν ἑστρατο-λόγησεν; οὔ μετὰ μίαν ἐσπέραν ἄχραντοσ μὲν ἡ βασιλίσσα ἀνεπέμφθη πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, προσκυνῶν δὲ τὸν ύφ’ ὑμῶν αἰμαχθέντα χῶρον ὀμοφύλῳ

381 φόνῳ καὶ τρέμων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν νυκτὶ φαντασμάτων ἑφυγεν ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ἀργύρῳ δὲ καὶ χρυσῷ τούς

382 θεοφίλησι Ἑβραίους ἐδωρεῖτο; εἰπὼ τὴν εἰς

1 πολέμους Hudson (perhaps rightly).
2 ἐφ’ ALR.

---

a Or (with Hudson’s text) “enemies.”
b Again recalling Virgil, “horresco referens.”
c Josephus here follows some strange version, doubtless derived from Jewish legend (Haggadah), of the story in Genesis xii. 10-20 (cf. the variant form of the story in xx. 1 ff.). In the Biblical account Abraham goes down into Egypt; here Pharaoh invades Palestine. Necho, moreover, was the 318
wronged? Will you not turn your eyes and mark what place is that whence you issue to battle and reflect how mighty an Ally you have outraged? Will you not recall your fathers' superhuman exploits and what mighty wars this holy place has quelled for us in days of old? For myself, I shudder at recounting the works of God to unworthy ears; yet listen, that you may learn that you are warring not against the Romans only, but also against God.

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

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

a The name Sarah means "princess."

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

c Abimelech in similar circumstances bestowed gifts upon Abraham, Gen. xx. 14-16; no gifts from Pharaoh are recorded in xii. 20.
Αὔγουπτον μετοικίαν τῶν πατέρων; οulerAngles καὶ βασιλεύσιν ἀλλοφυλοὺς ὑποπεπτωκότες τετρακοσίοις ἔτεσιν, παρὸν ὀπλοὺς ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ χερσὶ, σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπέτρεψαν τῷ θεῷ; τίς οὖν οἶδεν τὴν παντὸς θηρίου καταπλησθεῖσαν Αὔγουπτον καὶ πᾶσι φθαρέσαν νόσῳ, τὴν ἀκαρπον γῆν, τὸν ἐπιλείποντα Νείλον, τὰς ἐπαλλήλους δέκα πληγάς, τοὺς διὰ ταῦτα μετὰ φρουρᾶς προπεμπομένους πατέρας ἡμῶν ἀναιμάκτους ἀκίνδυνους, οὐς ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ νεωκόρους ἤγεν; ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑπὸ Σύρων ἀρπαγείσαν ἄγιαν ἡμῖν λάρνακα οὔκ ἐστέναξε μὲν ἡ Παλαιστίνη καὶ Δαγὼν τὸ ἔσοναν, ἐστέναξε δὲ πάν τὸ τῶν ἀρπασμένων ἐθνος, σπούμενοι δὲ τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ δι’ αὐτῶν τὰ σπλάγχνα μετὰ τῶν συνίων καταφέροντες, χερσὶ ταῖς λησαμέναις ἀνεκόμισαν κυμβάλων καὶ τυμπάνων ἡχοὶ καὶ πάσι μειλικτηρίοις ζακόμενοι τὸ ἄγιον; θεὸς ἦν ὁ ταύτα πατρᾶσιν ἡμετέρους στρατηγῶν, ότι τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὰ ὀπλά παρέντες αὐτῷ κρίναι τὸ ἔργον ἐπέτρεψαν. βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων Σενναχηρεὺς ὅτε πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπισυρόμενος τήνδε περιεστρατοπεδεύσατο τὴν πόλιν, ἄρα χερσὶν ἀνθρωπίναις ἔπεσεν; οὖχ αἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἥρεμοῦσα ἐν προσευχαῖς ἤσαν, ἄγγελος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ νυκτὶ τὴν ἀπειρον στρατιὰν ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἀναστὰς ὁ Ἀσσύριος ὀκτωκαίδεκα μυρίδας ἐπὶ πεντακισχιλίοις νεκρῶν εὑρε, μετὰ δὲ τῶν καταλειπομένων 1

* 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.”

320
“Need I speak of the migration of our fathers to Egypt? Oppressed and in subjection to foreign monarchs for four hundred years, yet, though they might have defended themselves by resort to arms and violence, did they not commit themselves to God? Who has not heard tell of Egypt overrun with all manner of beasts and wasted with every disease, of the barren land, the failing Nile, the ten successive plagues, and how in consequence our fathers were sent forth under escort, without bloodshed, without risk, God conducting them as the future guardians of his shrine?

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

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

\[\text{Cf. Wisdom xix. 2 μετὰ σπουδῆς προπέμψαντες αὐτοὺς, of the Egyptians speeding the Israelites on their way.}\]

\[\text{1 Sam. v.-vi. Rhetorical amplification of 1 Sam. v. 6.}\]

\[\text{Another addition to the Biblical story. See § 303 n.}\]
JOSEPHUS

ἀνόπλους καὶ μὴ διώκοντας Ἑβραίους ἐφυγεν;

389 ἵστε καὶ τὴν ἐν Βαβυλὼν δουλείαν, ἐνθα μετα-


νάστης ὁ λαὸς ὦν ἐτεσιν ἐβδομήκοντα οὐ πρότερον
eis ἐλευθερίαν ἀνεχαίτισεν ἡ Κύρον τοῦτο χαρί-


σασθαι τῷ θεῷ προσπέμφθησαι γοῦν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ,
καὶ πάλιν τὸν αὐτῶν σύμμαχον ἐνεωκόρουν.

390 καθόλου δ’ εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἔστιν δ’ τι καταρθωσαν οἱ
πατέρες ἡμῶν τοὺς ὀπλοὺς ἥ δίχα τούτων διήμαρ-
τον ἐπιπρέψαντες τῷ θεῷ· μένοντες μὲν γε κατὰ
χώραν ἐνίκων ὡς ἔδοκει τῷ κριτῇ, μαχόμενοι δ’
ἐπτασαν αἰε. τοῦτο μὲν, ἦνικα βασιλεὺς Βαβυ-


λωνίων ἐποιλόρκει ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, συμβαλὼν
Σεδεκίας ὁ ἡμέτερος βασιλεὺς παρά τὰς Ἰερεμίαν
προφητείας αὐτὸς θ’ ἐάλω καὶ τὸ ἀστυ μετὰ τοῦ


ναοῦ κατασκαπτόμενον εἶδε· καίτοι πόσω με-


τριώτερος ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖνος τῶν ἡμετέρων

392 ἡγεμόνων ἤν, ὁ δ’ ὑπ’ αὐτῶ λαὸς ἡμῶν. βοῶντα
γοῦν τὸν Ἰερεμιάν, ὃς ἀπέχθουντο μὲν τῷ θεῷ διὰ


tάς εἰς αὐτῶν πλημμελείας, ἀλώσουντο δ’ εἰ μὴ


παραδοίην τὴν πόλιν, οὔθ’ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὔθ’ ὁ δήμος

393 ἀνείλεν. ἀλλ’ ἔμεις, ἦν εάσω τάνδουν, οὐ γὰρ


<ἀν> εἰρμηνεύσαι δυναίμην τὰς παρανομίας ἡμῶν


ἀξίως, ἐμε’ τὸν παρακαλοῦντα πρὸς σωτηρίαν


ὐμᾶς βλασφημεῖτε καὶ βάλλετε, παροξυνομενοῦ


πρὸς τὰς ὑπομνήσεις τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ μὴ δὲ
tοὺς λόγους φέροντες ὡν τάργα δράτε καθ’

394 ἡμέραν. τοῦτο δ’, ἦνικα Ἀντιόχου τοῦ κληθέντος

ins. Destinon.

1 2 Kings xxv. 1-10. Zedekiah did not “see” the destruction of town and temple, which in the Biblical account

322

a 2 Kings xix. 35.
b Literally “manes”; the same metaphor occurs in
Agrippa’s speech, ii. 370.
c 2 Kings xxv. 1-10. Zedekiah did not “see” the destruction of town and temple, which in the Biblical account
mainder flee from the Hebrews who were neither armed nor pursuing? a

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

"Thus, when the king of Babylon besieged this city, our king Zedekiah having, contrary to the prophetic warnings of Jeremiah, given him battle, was himself taken prisoner and saw the town and the temple levelled to the ground." 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." But you—to pass over those scenes within, for it would be beyond me adequately to portray your enormities—you, I say, assail with abuse and missiles me who exhort you to save yourselves, exasperated at being reminded of your sins and intolerant of any mention of those crimes which you actually perpetrate every day.

"Or again, when our ancestors went forth in occurred ten years after he had been taken, a blinded prisoner, to Babylon. d Cf. Jer. xxvii. 12 ff.
'Επιφανούς προσκαθεξομένου τῇ πόλει πολλά όπερ τὸ θείον ἐξυβρικότος, οἱ πρόγονοι μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν προῆλθον, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀπεσφάγησαν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, διηρπάγη δὲ τὸ ἀστυ τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἠρμῆωθη δ' ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἐξ τὸ ἁγιον. 395 καὶ τὶ δὲ τὰλλα λέγειν; ἀλλὰ Ἦρωμαίου τὶς ἐστρατολόγησε κατὰ τὸν ἐθνὸς; οὐχ ἡ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἁσέβεια; πόθεν δ' ἠρέξεμεθα δουλείας; 396 ἠρ' οὖχι ἐκ στάσεως τῶν προγόνων, ὅτε Ἦ Ἀριστοβοῦλον καὶ Ὕρκανυ μανία καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔρις Πομπήιον ἐπήγαγεν τῇ πόλει καὶ Ἦρωμαίου ὑπέταξεν ὁ θεὸς τοὺς οὐκ ἄξιοὺς ἔλευθερίας; 397 τρισὶν γονῶν μηνὶ πολιορκηθέντες ἑαυτοὺς παρέδωσαν, οὐθ' ἀμαρτώντες εἰς τὰ ἁγια καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἡλίκα ὑμεῖς καὶ πολὺ μείζονα σφορμᾶς 398 πρὸς τὸν πολέμον χρώμενοι. τὸ δ' Ἄντιγόνου τέλος τοῦ Ἀριστοβοῦλον παιδὸς οὐκ ἴσμεν, οὗ βασιλεύοντος ὁ θεὸς ἄλωσεν πάλιν τὸν λαὸν ἡλαυνε πλημμελοῦντα, καὶ Ἦρωδης μὲν ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου Σόσσιον, Σόσσιος δὲ Ἦρωμαίων στρατιῶν ἐπηγαγεν, περισσεθέντες δ' ἐπὶ μῆνας ἐξ ἐπολιορκοῦντο, μέχρι δίκας τῶν ἀμαρτίων δόντες ἐάλωσαν καὶ διηρπάγη τοῖς πολεμίοις ἡ πόλις; 399 Οὕτως οὐδέποτε τῷ ἐθνει τὰ ὀπλα δέδοται, τῷ δὲ πολεμεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ ἁλώσεσθαι πάντως πρόσ- 400 εστὶ. δὲι γὰρ, οἶμαι, τοὺς χωρίων ἁγιον νεμο- μένους ἐπιτρέπειν πάντα τῷ θεῷ δικάζειν καὶ

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

b c. December 168–June 164 B.C., the 1290 days of Dan. 324
arms against Antiochus,\(^{a}\) surnamed Epiphanes, who was blockading this city and had grossly outraged the Deity, they were cut to pieces in the battle, the town was plundered by the enemy and the sanctuary for three years and six months\(^{b}\) lay desolate.

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

"Or know we not the fate of Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, in whose reign God again smote the people for their offences by the capture of this city; when Herod, son of Antipater, brought up Sossius,\(^{e}\) 37 b.c. and Sossius a Roman army, by whom they were for six months invested and besieged, until in retribution for their sins they were captured and the city was sacked by the enemy?

"Thus invariably have arms been refused to our nation, and warfare has been the sure signal for defeat. For it is, I suppose, the duty of the occupants of holy ground to leave everything to the arbitrament of the Jews."

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\(^{a}\) B. i. 131 ff.  
\(^{b}\) B. i. 149, A. xiv. 66.  
\(^{c}\) B. i. 345, A. xiv. 468.  
\(^{d}\) 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.

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JEWISH WAR, V. 394–400
καταφρονεῖν τὸτε χειρὸς ἄνθρωπίνης, ὅταν αὐτοῖ

401 πείθωσι τὸν ἀνώ δικαστὴν. ὥμων δὲ τί τῶν εὐλογηθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ νομοθέτου πέπρακται; τί
dὲ τῶν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου κατηγομένων παραλέλειπται;

402 οὐ τὰ κρυπτὰ μὲν τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἡδονήκατε,
κλοπὰς λέγω καὶ ἐνέδρας καὶ μοιχείας, ἀρπαγαῖς
dὲ ἐρίζετε καὶ φῶνας καὶ ἔνας καινοτομείτε
κακίας ὀδοὺς, ἐκδοχεῖον δὲ πάντων τὸ ἱερὸν γέγονεν
καὶ χειρὶν ἐμφύλιος ὁ θεὸς μεμίανται χῶρος,

403 νόμων, εἰτ’ ἐπὶ τοὺς τὸν ἁσβηθέντα σώμαχον
προσδοκάτε; πάνω γοῦν ἐστὶ δίκαιοι ἰκέται καὶ
χερσὶν καθαραῖς τὸν βοηθὸν ὑμῶν παρακαλεῖτε.

404 τουαύταις οἱ βασίλεις ἡμῶν ἰκέτευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν
Ἀσσύριον, ὅτε τὸν μέγαν ἐκείνον στρατὸν μιᾶ
νυκτὶ κατέστρωσεν ὁ θεὸς; ὃμοια δὲ τῷ 'Ασσυρίῳ
Ῥωμαιῶν δρῶσιν, ἵνα καὶ ἀμναν ὑμεῖς ὅμοιον

405 ἐλπίσητε; οὐχ οἵ μὲν χρήματα παρὰ τὸ βασιλέως
ἡμῶν λαβὼν ἐφ’ ὃ μὴ πορθήσει τὴν πόλιν κατέβη
παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους ἐμπρήσαι τὸν ναόν, Ῥωμαιῶι
dὲ τὸν συνήθη δασμὸν αἰτοῦσιν, ὅν οἱ πατέρες

1 eis . . . νόμων L (C similar, reading ἡμέτερον): παραλύοντες καὶ νόμων the rest.

a Moses.

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

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"Or perhaps interrogatively, "Have not secret sins . . . been disdained by you . . .?," i.e. become too trivial to satisfy you.

"Or "sink"; cf. Sallust, Cat. 37, "omnes . . . Romam sicut in sentinam confluxerant."

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

"Sennacherib, § 387.

2 Kings xviii. 14 f.
406 ήμῶν τοῖς ἐκεῖνων πατράσι παρέσχον; καὶ τούτου τυχόντες οὕτε πορθοῦσι τὴν πόλιν οὕτε ἤσώουσι
τῶν ἁγίων, διδόσι δ’ ὑμῖν τὰ ἄλλα, γενεὰς τ’ ἐλευθέρας καὶ κτήσεις τὰς ἐαυτῶν νέμεσθαι καὶ
407 τοὺς ἑρούς νόμους σύζουσι. μανία δὴ τὸν θεὸν
προσδοκάν ἐπὶ δικαίος οἶος ἐπ’ ἀδίκοις ἐφάνη.
καὶ παραχρῆμα δ’ ἀμύνειν οἴδεν ὅταν δῆν τοὺς
γοῦν Ἀσσυρίους κατὰ νῦκτα τὴν πρώτην παρα-
408 στρατοπεδευσάμενους ἐκλάσειν: ὥστ’ εἰ καὶ τὴν
ἡμετέραν γενεὰν ἐλευθερίας ἢ Ῥωμαίους κολάσεως
ἀξίους ἐκρίνε, καὶ παραχρῆμα καθάπερ τοῖς
Ἀσσυρίους ἐνέσκηψεν, ὅτε τοῦ έθνους ἥπτετο
Πομπῆιος, ὅτε μετ’ αὐτὸν ἀνήκει Σώσσιος, ὅτε
Ὀνεσπασιανὸς ἐπόρθει τὴν Χαλδαίαν, τὰ τελευ-
409 ταῖα νῦν, ὅτε ἦγγιξε Τίτος τῇ πόλει. καὶ τοῦ
Μάγνος μὲν καὶ Σώσσιος πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν παθεῖν
καὶ ἀνὰ κράτος ἔλαβον τὴν πόλιν, Ὀνεσπασιανὸς
δ’ ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολέμου καὶ βασιλείας ἡργατο,
Τίτω μὲν γὰρ καὶ πηγαί πλουσιώτεραι ἰδέσθων
410 αἱ ἐσταθεῖσαι πρὸτερον ήμῖν πρὸ γοῦν τῆς αὐτοῦ
παρουσίας τὴν τε Σιλωάν ἐπιλείπουσαν ἵστε καὶ
tας πρὸ τοῦ ἁστεος ἀπάσας, ὥστε πρὸς ἀμφορέας
ἀνείσθαι τὸ ὑδωρ· τὸ δὲ νῦν οὕτως πληθύνσαι τοῖς
πολεμίοις ήμῶν, ὡς μὴ μόνον αὐτοῖς καὶ κτήσεσιν,
411 ἄλλα καὶ κήποις διαρκείν. τὸ γε μὴν τέρας τοῦτο
πεπείραται καὶ πρότερον ἐφ’ ἄλωσε τῆς πόλεως
γεγενημένον, ὅθ’ ὁ προειρημένος Βαβυλώνιος
ἐπεστράτευσεν, ὅς τὴν τε πόλιν ἔλων ἐνέπρησε καὶ
tὸν ναὸν, οὕτε οἴμαι τῶν τοτε ἡσεθηκότων

1 μὲν γὰρ] μὲντοι οὐ τε μὴν Niese.
2 Niese: πεπείρασται οὐ πεπείρασθῆ (-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; so that had he judged our generation worthy of freedom or the Romans of punishment, He would, as He did the Assyrians, have instantly visited them—when Pompey intermeddled with the nation, when after him Sossius came up, when Vespasian ravaged Galilee, and lastly now, when Titus was approaching the city. And yet Magnus and Sossius, far from sustaining any injury, took the city by storm; Vespasian from his war against us mounted to a throne; while as for Titus, the very springs flow more copiously for him which had erstwhile dried up for you. For before his coming, as you know, Siloam and all the springs outside the town were failing, insomuch that water was sold by the amphora; whereas now they flow so freely for your enemies as to suffice not only for themselves and their beasts but even for gardens. This miracle, moreover, has been experienced ere now on the fall of the city, when the Babylonian whom I mentioned marched against it and captured and burnt both the city and the sanctuary, although the Jews of that day were

\[2\text{ Kings xix. }35, \text{ "that night," but see } \S 303\text{ note.}\]

\[b\text{ Pompey the Great.}\]

\[c\text{ iv. }604.\]

\[d\text{ about }9\text{ gallons.}\]

\[e\text{ }\S 391.\text{ The "miracle" in his day is unrecorded in Scripture.}\]
412 τηλικοῦτον ἡλίκα ύμεὶς· ὥστ' ἐγὼ πεφευγέναι μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων ὁμιαὶ τὸ θείον, ἐστάναι δὲ παρ' οἷς
413 πολεμεῖτε νῦν. ἀλλ' ἄνηρ μὲν ἀγαθὸς οἰκίαν ἀσεληφή φεύγεται καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ στυγνῆσει, τὸν
dὲ θείον ἐτι πείθεσθε τοὺς οἰκείους κακοῖς παραμένειν, διὰ τὰ τε κρυπτὰ πάντα ἐφορᾶ καὶ τῶν
414 συγωμένων ἀκούει; τί δὲ σιγάται παρ' ὅμιν ἥ τί κρύπτεται; τί δ' οὐχὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς φανεροῦ
γέγονε; πομπεύετε γὰρ παρανομοῦντες καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐρίζετε, τὰς χείρων γένηται, τῆς ἀδικίας
415 ὠσπερ ἀρετῆς ἐπίδειξιν ποιούμενοι. καταλείπεται δ' ὁμως ἐτι σωτηρίας ὕδος, ἐὰν θέλητε, καὶ τὸ
θείον εὑδιάλλακτον ἔξομολογομένους καὶ μετα-
416 νοοῦσιν. ὃ σιδήρειοι, ἰψιτε τὰς πανοπλίας,
λάβετε ἡδὴ κατερευμένης αἰδῶ πατρίδος, ἐπι-
στράφητε καὶ θεάσασθε τὸ κάλλος ἦς προδίδοτε,
417 οἶον ἁστυ, οἶον ἱερὸν, ὅσων ἔθνων δύρα. ἐπὶ
tαῦτα τὶς ὀδηγεῖ φλόγα; ταῦτα τὶς μηκέτ' εἶναι
θέλει; καὶ τὶ σώζεσθαι τοῦτων ἄξιωτερον, ἄτεγ-
418 κτοι καὶ λίθων ἀπαθέστεροι. καὶ εἰ μὴ ταῦτα
gνησίους ὀμμασών βλέπετε, γενεὰς γοῦν ύμετέρας
οἰκτείρατε, καὶ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐκάστω γενέσθω
τέκνα καὶ γυνὴ καὶ γονεῖς, οὕς ἀναλώσει μετὰ
419 μικρὸν ἥ λυμὸς ἥ πόλεμος, οἴδ' ὅτι μοι συγκυν-
δυνεύει μήτηρ καὶ γυνὴ καὶ γένος οὐκ ἄσημον καὶ
πάλαι λαμπρὸς οἶκος, καὶ τὰχα δοκῶ διὰ ταῦτα
συμβουλεύειν. ἀποκτείνατε αὐτοὺς, λάβετε μισθὸν

1 ἀτεγκτοῖ γε Λ.

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*a* After Aeschines (77. 25).

*b* His father, Matthias, though not mentioned here, was still alive, his imprisonment being referred to below, § 533.
guilty, I imagine, of no such rank impiety as yours. My belief, therefore, is that the Deity has fled from the holy places and taken His stand on the side of those with whom you are now at war.

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

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

420 (χ. 1) Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἰωάννου μετὰ δακρύων ἐμβοῶντος οἱ στασιασταὶ μὲν οὐτ' ἐνεδόσαν οὔτ' ἀσφαλῆ τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐκριναν, ὃ δὲ δῆμος

421 ἐκπαίδηθη πρὸς αὐτομολίαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν τὰς κτῆσεις ἔλαχίστου πωλοῦντες, οἳ δὲ τὰ πολυτελέστερα τῶν κειμηλίων, τοὺς μὲν χρυσούς, ὡς μὴ φωραθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν, κατέπινον, ἐπειτα πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διαδιδράσκοντες, ὅποτε κατ-

422 ενέγκαιεν εὐπόρουν πρὸς ἀ δέοντο. διηφίει γὰρ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁ Τίτος εἰς τὴν χώραν ὅπου βούλοιτο ἐκαστος, καὶ τοῦτ' ἀυτὸ1 μᾶλλον πρὸς αὐτομολίαν2 παρεκάλει, τῶν μὲν εἰσὶν κακῶν στερησμάνους,

423 μὴ δουλεύσοντας δὲ Ῥωμαίους. οἳ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ τὸν Σίμωνα παρεφύλλαττον3 τὰς τούτων ἔξοδους πλέον ἡ τὰς Ῥωμαίοις εἰσόδους, καὶ σκιάν τις ὑπονοίας παρασχὼν μόνον εὐθέως ἀπεσφάττετο.

424 (2) Τοῖς γε μὴν εὐπόροις καὶ τὸ μένειν πρὸς ἀπώλειαν ἵσον ἦν· προφάσει γὰρ αὐτομολίας ἀνηρεῖτο τις διὰ τὴν οὐσίαν. τῷ λυμῷ δ' ἡ ἀπόνοια τῶν στασιαστῶν συνήκμαξε, καὶ καθ'

425 ἠμέραν ἀμφότερα προσεξεκαίετο τὰ δεινά. φανερός μὲν γὰρ οὐδαμοῦ σῖτος ἦν, ἐπεισπηδόντες δὲ διηρεύνων τὰς ὁικίας, ἐπειθ' εὐρόντες μὲν ὡς ἀρνησαμένους ἤκιζοντο, μὴ εὐφόροτες δ' ὡς ἐπι-

426 μελέστερον κρύσσαντας ἐβασάνιζον. τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦ τ' ἔχειν καὶ μὴ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἁθλίων, ὅποιοι μὲν ἐτί συνεπετίτης εὐπορεῖν τροφῆς ἐδοκοῦν,

1 eos Lat. 2 M: πρὸς (+ τὸ L) αὐτομολεῖν the rest. 3 Niese (cf. §§ 493-6): περιεφύλλαττον miss.

332
salvation! I too am prepared to die, if my death will lead to your learning wisdom."

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

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

\(^a\) For the horrible nemesis which befell them see §§ 550 ff.
οἱ τηκόμενοι δὲ ἦδη παρωδεύοντο, καὶ κτείνειν ἄλογον ἐδόκει τοὺς ὑπ’ ἐνδειας τεθνηξομένους 427 αὐτίκα. πολλοὶ δὲ λάθρα τὰς κτήσεις ἐνὸς ἀντηλλάξαντο μέτρου, πυρῶν μὲν εἰ πλουσιώτεροι τυγχάνοιεν ὁντες, οἱ δὲ πενέστεροι κριθῆς, ἑπείτα κατακλείοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ μυχαίτατα τῶν ὀἰκιῶν τινὲς μὲν ὑπ’ ἄκρας ἐνδείασ ἀνέργαστον τὸν σίτον ἰσθιον, οἱ δ’ ἐπεσοσ ώς ἦ τε ἀνάγκη 428 καὶ τὸ δεὸς παρῆνει. καὶ τράπεζα μὲν οὐδαμοῦ παρετίθετο, τοῦ δὲ πυρὸς ὑφέλκοντες ἔτ’ ὠμα τὰ στία διήρπαζον.

429 (3) 'Ελεεινη δ’ ἦν ἡ τροφή καὶ δακρύων ἁξίως ἡ θέα, τῶν μὲν δυνατωτέρων πλεονεκτοῦντων, τῶν δ’ ἀσθενῶν ὀδυρομένων. πάντων μὲν δὴ παθῶν ὑπερίσταται λιμός, οὐδὲν δ’ οὔτως ἀπ- ὀλλυσιν ώς αἰδῶ. τὸ γὰρ ἄλλως ἐντροπῆ ἁξίων ἐν 430 τούτῳ καταφρονεῖται. γυναῖκες γοῦν ἄνδρῶν καὶ παῖδες πατέρων, καὶ τὸ οἰκτρότατον, μητέρας νηπίων ἔξηρπαζον ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν στομάτων τὰς τροφάς, καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων ἐν χερσὶ μαρανομένων οὐκ ἦν φειδὼ τοὺς τοῦ ζήν ἀφελέσθαι σταλαγμοὺς. 431 τοιαύτα δ’ ἐσθίοντες ὰμως οὐ διελάνθανον, παν- ταχοῦ δ’ ἔφισταντο [οἱ στασιασταὶ] καὶ τούτων 432 ταῖς ἄρπαγαίς. ὅποτε γὰρ κατίδοιεν ἀποκεκλει- σμένην οἰκίαν, σημείον ἦν τοῦτο τοὺς ἐνδον προσ- ϕέρεσθαι τροφήν. εὐθέως δ’ ἐξαράξαντες τὰς θύρας εἰςεπήδων, καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐκ τῶν φαρύγγων 433 ἀναθλίβοντες τὰς ἀκόλουθος ἀνέφερον. ἐτύπτοντο δὲ γέροντες ἀντεχόμενοι τῶν αἰτίων, καὶ κόμης ἐσπαράττοντο γυναῖκες συγκαλύπτουσαι τὰ ἐν χερσίν. οὐδὲ τὶς ἦν οἰκτός πολίας ἦ νηπίων, ἀλλὰ συνεπαίροντες τὰ παιδία 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.

335
κρεμάμενα κατέσευον εἰς ἑδαφὸς. τοῖς δὲ φθάσασι
τὴν εἰσδρομὴν αὐτῶν καὶ προκαταπεσοῦσι τὸ
ἀρπαγησόμενον ὡς ἀδικηθέντες ἦσαν ὡμότεροι.

κενᾶς δὲ βασάνων ὅδος ἐπεπόνου πρὸς ἔρευναν
τροφῆς, ὁρόβοις μὲν ἐμφράττοντες τοῖς ἀδλίοισ
τοὺς τῶν αἵδοιων πόρους, ῥάβδοις δὲ ὀξείας
ἀναπείροντες τὰς ἔδρας, τὰ φρικτὰ δὲ καὶ ἀκοάς
ἐπασχὲ τις ἑς ἐξομολογήσων ἑνὸς ἀρτοῦ καὶ ἦν

μηνύσῃ δράκα μίαν κεκρυμμένην ἀλφίτων. οἱ
βασανισταὶ δ' οὐκ ἔπεινών, καὶ γὰρ ἦττον ἄν
ωμόν ἦν τὸ μετ' ἀνάγκης, γυμνάζοντες δὲ τὴν
ἀπόνοιαν καὶ προπαρασκεύαζοντες αὐτοῖς εἰς

τὰς ἔξης ἡμέρας ἐφόδια. τοῖς δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀὐ-
μαίων φρουρὰν νῦκτωρ ἔξερπὼσασι ἐπὶ λαχάνων
συλλογὴν ἀγρίων καὶ πόας ὑπαντῶντες, ὡτ' ἤδη
diασφευγέναι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδόκουν, ἀφήρπαξον

κομισθέντα, καὶ πολλάκις ἱκετευόντων καὶ τὸ
φρικτὸν ἑπικαλομένων ὁνόμα τοῦ θεοῦ μεταδοῦναί
τι μέρος αὐτοῖς ὃν κυδυνεύσαντες ἤνεγκαν, οὐδ' ὅτι

οῖς μὲν δὴ ταπεινότεροι τοιαῦτα πρὸς τῶν
dορυφόρων ἐπασχον, οἱ δ' ἐν ἄξιώματι καὶ πλούτῳ
πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἀνήγοντο. τοῦτων οἱ μὲν
eπιβουλὸς ψευδεῖς ἑπικαλομένου διεβήρωντο,
οἱ δὲ ὡς προδιδοῦεν Ὅιμαιοι τὴν πόλιν, τὸ δ' ἐτοιμότατον ἦν μηνυτῆς τὸς ὑπὸβλητὸς ὡς

440 αὐτομολείων διεγνωκότων. οὶ δ' ὑπὸ Σίμωνος

1 om. τὸς 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
γυμνωθείς πρὸς Ἰωάννην ἀνεπέμπετο, καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου σεσυλημένον ὁ Σίμων μετελάμβανεν· ἀντιπροφή μονὴ ἀλλήλοις τὸ αἷμα τῶν δημοτῶν καὶ τὰ πτώματα τῶν ἀθλίων διεμερίζοντο. καὶ τοῦ μὲν κρατεῖν στάσει ἦν ἐν ἀμφότεροις, τῶν δ' ἀσεβημάτων ὁμόνοια· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὴ μεταδοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων κακῶν θατέρῳ μονοτρόπως ἔδοκει πονηρός, καὶ ὁ μὴ μεταλαβὼν ὡς ἁγαθοῦ τινος ἦλγε τὸν νοσφισμὸν τῆς ὁμότητος.

442 (5) Καθ' ἐκαστον μὲν οὖν ἐπεξείναι τὴν παρανομίαν αὐτῶν ἀδύνατον, συνελόντι δ' εἰπεῖν, μήτε πόλιν ἄλλην τοιαύτα πεπονθέναι μήτε γενεῶν ἐξ αὐτῶν γεγονέναι κακίας γονιμωτέρας, οἳ γε τελευταίον καὶ τὸ γένος ἐφαύλιζον τῶν Ἐβραίων, ὡς ἠττον ἀσεβεῖς δοκοίεν πρὸς ἀλλοτρίους, ἐξ- ὁμολογήσαντο δ' ὀπέρ ἦσαν εἶναι δούλοι καὶ σύγκλισαν καὶ νόθα τοῦ ἑθνους φθάρματα. τὴν μὲν γε πόλιν ἀνέτρεψαν αὐτοί, Ἡρωμαῖοι δ' ἀκοντας ἡμὰγκασαν ἐπιγραφήναι σκυθρωπῷ κατορθώματι καὶ μόνον οὐχ εἰλκυσαν ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν βραδύνων τὸ πῦρ. ἀμέλει καὶ ὁμομενὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀνω πόλεως ἀφορώντες οὔτ' ἦλγησαν οὔτ' ἐδάκρυσαν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα τὰ πάθη παρὰ Ἡρωμαίων εὐρέθη. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ χώραν ὑστερον μετ' ἀποδείξεως τῶν πραγμάτων ἑρούμεν.

446 (xi. 1) Τίτω δὲ τὰ μὲν χώματα προῦκοπτεν καὶ τὰ πολλὰ κακουμένων ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τῶν στρατιωτῶν, πέμψας δ' αὐτὸς μοῦραν τῶν ἐπείρων ἐκέλευσεν τοὺς κατὰ τὰς φάραγγας ἐπὶ συγκομὶδῇ

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

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

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

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\[a\] Cf. vi. 364 καιρομένην γονιν ἀφορώντες τὴν πόλιν ἰλαροῖς τοῖς προσώποις εὕθυμοι κτλ.
447 τροφῆς ἐξίοντας ἐνεδρεύειν. ἦσαν δὲ τινες καὶ τῶν μαχίμων, οὐκέτι διαρκούμενοι ταῖς ἀρπαγαῖς, τὸ δὲ πλέον ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοῦ πένητες, οὐς αὐτομολεῖν ἀπέτρεπε τὸ περὶ τῶν οἰκείων δέος. οὔτε γὰρ λήσεσθαι τοὺς στασιαστὰς ἓλπιζον μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παιδίων διαδιδρᾶσκοντες καὶ καταλιπέσθαι τοῖς λησταῖς ταῦτα οὐχ ὑπέμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν σφαγῆς σόμενα· τολμηροὺς δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἐξόδους ὁ λιμὼς ἐποίει, καὶ κατελεύπετο¹ λανθάνονται εἰς² τοὺς πολεμίους ἁλίσκεσθαι. λαμβανόμενοι δὲ καὶ ἀνάγκην ἡμώνοντο,³ καὶ μετὰ μάχην ἰκετεύων ἄουρον ἔδόκει. μαστιγούμενοι δὴ καὶ προβασινζόμενοι τοῦ θανάτου πᾶσαν αἰκίαν ἀνεσταυροῦντο 450 τοῦ τείχους ἀντικρύ. Τίτω μὲν οὖν οὐκτρόν τὸ πάθος κατεφαίνετο, πεντακοσίων ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἔστι δ’ οὗτοι καὶ πλείονῶν ἁλισκομένων, οὔτε δὲ τοὺς βία ληφθέντας ἀφείναι ἁσφαλές καὶ φυλάττειν τοσοῦτον φρούραν τῶν φυλαξόντων ἔώρα· τὸ γε μὴν πλέον οὐκ ἐκώλυν τάχ' ἂν ἐνδοῦν πρὸς τὴν ὄμων ἐλπίσας αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς,⁴ εἰ μὴ παραδοῦνεν, 451 ὅμως πεισμένους. προσήλουν δ’ οἱ στρατιώται δι’ ὅργην καὶ μίσος τοὺς ἀλόντας ἄλλον ἄλλω σχῆματι πρὸς χλεύην, καὶ διὰ τὸ πλήθος χώρα τ’ ἐνέλειπε τοῖς σταυροῖς καὶ σταυροὶ τοῖς σώμασιν. 452 (2) Οἱ στασιασταὶ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπεδέχασαν τοῦ μεταβαλέσθαι πρὸς τὸ πάθος, ὡστε καὶ τούναντίον 453 αὐτοὶ σοφίσασθαι πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν πλήθος. σύ—

¹ + μη Bekker with one ms.  
² eis (om. PA) is confirmed by the parallel in Plato, Rep.  
³ A eis toûs polémious állonta.  
⁴ + δεέι τῆς κολάσεως L Lat.  

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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 butchcred by the brigands on their behalf. Famine, however, emboldened them to undertake these excursions, and it but remained for them if they escaped unobserved from the town to be taken prisoners by the enemy. When caught, they were driven to resist, and after a conflict it seemed too late to sue for mercy. They were accordingly scourged and subjected to torture of every description, before being killed, and then crucified opposite the walls. Titus indeed commiserated their fate, five hundred or sometimes more being captured daily; on the other hand, he recognized the risk of dismissing prisoners of war, and that the custody of such numbers would amount to the imprisonment of their custodians; but his main reason for not stopping the crucifixions was the hope that the spectacle might perhaps induce the Jews to surrender, for fear that continued resistance would involve them in a similar fate. The soldiers out of rage and hatred amused themselves by nailing their prisoners in different postures; and so great was their number, that space could not be found for the crosses nor crosses for the bodies.

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

a Some authorities add "from fear of punishment."
ροτες γάρ τοὺς τῶν αὐτομόλων οίκείους ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν τοὺς ἐπὶ πίστιν ὄρμημένους, οία πάσχουσιν οἱ Ῥωμαίοις προσφεύγοντες ἐπεδείκνυσαν καὶ τοὺς κεκρατημένους ἵκετας

454 ἔλεγον, οὐκ αἰχμαλώτους. τοῦτο πολλοὺς τῶν αὐτομολεῖν ὄρμημένων μέχρι τάληθες ἐγνώσθη κατέσχεν· εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ παραχρήμα διεδρασαν ὡς ἐπὶ βέβαιον τιμωρίαν, ἀνάπαυσιν ἠγούμενοι τῶν ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων θάνατον ἐν λιμῷ συγκρίσει.

455 πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ χειροκοπῆσαι κελεύσας Τίτος τῶν ἑαυτοκότων, ὡς μὴ δοκοῦν αὐτομολοι καὶ πιστεύοντο διὰ τὴν συμφοράν, εἰσέπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Σύμωνα καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην, νῦν γε ἡδή παύσασθαι παραινῶν καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν τῆς πόλεως αὐτὸν βιάζεσθαι, κερδῆσαι δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐν ὑστάτους μεταμελείας τάς τε αὐτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ τηλικαύτην πατρίδα καὶ ναὸν ἀκοινώνητον ἄλλως.

456 περιων δὲ τὰ χώματα τοὺς ἐργαζομένους ἁμα κατέπειγεν, ὡς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀκολουθήσων 458 ἐργοῖς τῷ λόγῳ. πρὸς ταῦτα αὐτόν τ' ἐβλασφήμουν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν θανάτου καταφρονεῖν ἔβον, ἤρησθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸ δουλείας καλῶς, ἐργάσεσθαι δ' ὅσα ἐὰν δύνωνται κακὰ Ῥωμαίους ἑως ἐμπνέωσι, πατρίδος δ' οὐ μέλευν τοῖς ὡς αὐτός φησιν ἀπολομένους, καὶ ναὸν ἀμείνῳ τοῦτοι τῷ θεῷ τὸν κόσμου εἶναι. σωθήσεσθαι γε μὴν καὶ τοῦτον ὑπὸ τοῦ κατοικοῦντος, ὅπως καὶ αὐτοὶ σύμμαχον

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

a 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.”

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192 Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς ἀναβάσιν ἀπέκοψαν. τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ καὶ Ῥωμαίοι τῇ βόρειον στοὰν ἐνεπρησαν μέχρι τῆς ἀνατολικῆς ὀλυν, δόν ἡ συνάπτουσα γωνία τῆς Κεδρῶνος καλομένης φάραγγος ὑπερδεδόμητο, παρ’ δ’ 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 ἀπειροῦν μὲν ἐπιπτε τὸ πλῆθος, ἀδυνητα

194 δὲ συνέβαινε τὰ πάθη. καθ’ ἐκάστην γὰρ οἰκίαν, εἰ ποὺ τροφῆς παραφανείς σκιά, πολέμος ἦν, καὶ διὰ χειρῶν ἐχώρουν οἱ φιλτατοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐξαρπάζοντες τὰ ταλαίπωρα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐφόδια.

195 πίστις δ’ ἀπορίας οὐδὲ τοῖς θυήσκουσιν ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκπυνόντας οἱ λησταὶ διηρεύνων, μή τις ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔχων τροφὴν σκήπτοιτο τὸν θάνατον

196 αὐτῶ. οἱ δ’ ὑπ’ ἐνδείας κεχηρότες ὃσπερ λυσσώντες κύνες ἑσφάλλοντο, καὶ παρεφέροντο ταῖς τε θύραις ἐνσειόμενοι μεθυόντων τρόπων καὶ ὑπ’ ἀμηχανίας εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς οἴκους εἰσπηδόντες

197 διὸ ἡ τρίς ὃρα μᾶ. πάντα δ’ ὑπ’ ὁδόντας ἤγει ἡ ἀνάγκη, καὶ τὰ μηδὲ τοῖς ῥυπαρωτάτοις τῶν ἀλόγων ἔσομεν πρόσφορα συλλέγοντες ἐσθίες ὑπέφερον. ζωστήρων γοῦν καὶ ὑποδημάτων τὸ τελευταῖον οὐκ ἀπέσχοντο καὶ τὰ δέρματα τῶν θυρεῶν ἀποδέροντες

198 ἐμασώντο. τροφὴ δ’ ἦν καὶ χόρτον τυσὶ παλαιοῦ σπαράγματα: τὰς γαρ ἱνας ἐνοῦ συλλέγοντες ἐλάχιστον σταθμὸν ἐπώλουν 'Ἀττικῶν τεσσάρων.

199 καὶ τί δεῖ τὴν ἐπ’ ἀψύχους ἀναίδειαν τοῦ λιμοῦ λέγειν; εἰμὶ γὰρ αὐτὸι δηλώσων ἔργον οἶδον μήτε

1 Hudson with Heg. Lat.: Ἰουδαῖοι mss.

2 LC Eus. Lat.: σπαράγμα the rest.

*Cf. the Psalmist’s simile, “They snarl like a dog and
by the Jews. The next day the Romans also burnt the whole northern portico right up to that on the east, where the angle connecting the two was built over the ravine called Kedron, the depth at that point being consequently terrific. Such was the condition of affairs in the vicinity of the temple.

(3) Meanwhile, the victims perishing of famine throughout the city were dropping in countless numbers and enduring sufferings indescribable. In every house, the appearance anywhere of but a shadow of food was a signal for war, and the dearest of relatives fell to blows, snatching from each other the pitiful supports of life. The very dying were not credited as in want; nay, even those expiring were searched by the brigands, lest any should be concealing food beneath a fold of his garment and feigning death. Gaping with hunger, like mad dogs, a 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. b 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. b The coin is unexpressed in the Greek, as elsewhere (ii. 592). The Attic drachma was the ordinary day's wage for a labourer.

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παρ' Ἑλλησσὺν μήτε παρὰ βαρβάροις ἱστορηταί, 200 φρικτῶν μὲν εἰπεῖν, ἀπιστοῦν δ' ἀκοῦσαι. καὶ ἔγγυς μὴ δόξαμι τερατεύεσθαι τοὺς αὖθις ἀνθρώποις, κἀν παρέλευσον τὴν συμφορὰν ἥδεως, εἰ μὴ τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν εἶχον ἀπείρους μάρτυρας. ἀλλωσ τε καὶ ψυχρὰν ἁν καταθείμην τῇ πατρίδι χάριν καθυφέμενος τὸν λόγον ἃν πέπονθεν τὰ ἔργα.

201 (4) Γυνὴ τις τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰορδάνην κατοικοῦντων, Μαρία τούνομα, πατρὸς Ἑλεαζάρουν, κώμης Βηθεζουβά,1 σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο οἶκος ύσσωπον, διὰ γένος καὶ πλοῦτον ἐπίσημος, μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ πλῆθος εἰς τὰ Ἰεροσόλυμα κατα-

202 φυγοῦσα συνεπολιορκεῖτο. ταύτης τὴν μὲν ἄλλην κτῆσιν οἱ τύραννοι διηρπασαν, ὅτιν ἐκ τῆς Περαιασ ἀνασκευασμένη μετήνεγκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τὰ δὲ λείψανα τῶν κειμηλίων καὶ εἰ τι τροφῆς ἐπινοθεῖτι καθ' ἡμέραν ἐσπηρδώντες ἔρπαζον οἱ 203 δορυφόροι. δεινὴ δὲ τὸ γύναιον ἀγανάκτησις εἰςήκει, καὶ πολλάκις λοιδοροῦσα καὶ καταρωμένη

204 τοὺς ἀρπαγας ἐφ' αὐτὴν ἧρέθιζεν. ως δ' οὔτε παροξυνόμενος τις οὔτ' ἐλεύθ αὐτὴν ἄνηρει, καὶ τὸ μὲν εὐρεῖν τι συτίον ἄλλοις ἐκοπία, πανταχόθεν δ' ἀπορον ἦν ὑδη καὶ τὸ εὐρεῖν, ὁ λιμὸς δὲ διὰ σπλάγχνων καὶ μυελῶν ἐχώρει καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ μᾶλλον ἑξέκαιον οἱ θυμοί, σύμβουλον λαβοῦσα τὴν 205 ὀργὴν μετὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐπὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐχώρει, καὶ

1 L: Βαβασίωρ Μ, Βαβασίωρ Eus., Βαβασίωρ the rest.

a 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”).

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

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

\(^a\) Or "I hope that I shall not be suspected by posterity ... and indeed I would gladly," etc.

\(^b\) Heb. Beth Ezob: site unidentified.

\(^c\) Transjordania, B. iii. 44 ff.
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to τέκνον, ἢν δ' αὐτῇ παῖς ὑπομάστιος, ἄρπασαμένη "βρέφος," εἶπεν, "Ἄθλιον, ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ
206 λιμῷ καὶ στάσει τίνι σε τηρήσω; τὰ μὲν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δουλεία, κἂν ζήσωμεν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, φθάνει δὲ καὶ δουλείαν ὁ λιμός, οἱ στασιασίαι δ' 207 ἀμφοτέρων χαλεπώτεροι. ἦθι, γενοῦ μοι τροφή καὶ τοῖς στασιασίαις ἐρώνυς καὶ τῷ βίῳ μύθος ὁ 208 μόνος ἠλλείπων ταῖς 'Ιουδαίων συμφοραῖς." καὶ ταῦθ' ἀμα λέγουσα κτείνει τὸν υόν, ἔπειτ' ὀπτήσασα τὸ μὲν ἡμίον κατεσθείει, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν κατα- 209 καλύψασα ἐφύλαττεν. εὐθέως δ' οἱ στασιασίαι παρήσαν, καὶ τῆς ἀθεμίτου κυνῆς σπάσαντες ἡπειλουν, εἰ μὴ δεῖξεν τὸ παρασκευασθὲν, ἀποσφάξειν αὐτὴν εὐθέως. ἦ δὲ καὶ μοιραν αὐτοῖς εἰπόνσα καλὴν πετηρήκέναι τὰ λείψανα τοῦ τέκνου δι- 210 εκαλυψεν. τοὺς δ' εὐθέως ψηλὴ καὶ παρέκκλισις ἤρει καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὅμιν ἐπεπήγεσαν. ἦ δ' "ἐμόν," ἐφη, "τοῦτο τὸ τέκνον γνήσιον καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐμόν. 211 φάγετε, καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ βέβρωκα. μὴ γένησθε μήτε μαλακώτερου γυναικός μήτε συμπαθέστερον μητρός. εἰ δ' υμεῖς εὔσεβεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀποστρέφεσθε θυσίαν, ἐγὼ μὲν ἡμῶν βέβρωκα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δ' 212 ἐμοὶ μεσάτω." μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν τρέμοντες ἐξήσαν, πρὸς ὑπὸ τοῦτο δειλοὶ καὶ μόλις ταῦτας τῆς τροφῆς τῇ μητρὶ παραχωρῆσαντες, ἀνεπλήσθη δ' εὐθέως ὅλη τοῦ μύσους ἡ πόλις, καὶ πρὸ ὀμμάτων ἐκαστὸς τὸ πάθος λαμβάνων ὃσπερ3 αὐτῷ τολ- 213 μηθεν ἐφριττε. οποῦδη δὲ τῶν λιμωττόντων ἐπὶ τὸν δάνατον ἢν, καὶ μακαρισμός τῶν φθασάντων πρὶν ἀκούσαι καὶ θεάσασθαι κακὰ θηλυκαίτα.  

1 Text doubtful: ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Hudson: ύπ' αὐτοῖς A.  
2 A: παρέκκλισις P: φρένων ἐκκατάσις 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.

\[ L: \delta s παρ' \] the rest. 437
214 (5) Ταχέως δὲ καὶ Ἡρωμαίος διηγείλθη τὸ πάθος. τῶν δ’ οἱ μὲν ἡπίστουν, οἱ δὲ ὕκτειρον, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς εἰς μίσος τοῦ ἔθνους σφοδρότερον
215 συνέβη προελθεῖν. Καίσαρ δ’ ἀπελογεῖτο καὶ περὶ τοῦτον τῷ θεῷ, φάσκων παρὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ Ἰουδαίοις εἰρήνην καὶ ἀυτονομίαν προτείνεσθαι καὶ πάντων
216 ἀμυνθιάν τῶν τετολμημένων, τοὺς δ’ ἀντὶ μὲν ὀμονοιάς στάσιν, ἀντὶ δ’ εἰρήνης πόλεμον, πρὸ κόρου δὲ· καὶ εὐθυνίας λιμῶν αἰρομένους, ἵδιας δὲ χερσὶν ἀρξαμένους καίειν τὸ συντηρούμενον ὑφ’ ἡμῶν έφον αὐτούς, εἶναι καὶ τοιαύτης τροφῆς
217 ἁξίους. καλύψεως μέντοι τὸ τῆς τεκνοφαγίας μύσος αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς πατρίδος πτώματι καὶ οὐ καταλεύψεως ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἠλίῳ καθορᾶν πόλιν, εὖ ἂν
218 μητέρες οὕτω τρέφονται. προσήκειν μέντοι πρὸ μητέρων πατράσιν τὴν τοιαύτην τροφήν, οὐ καὶ μετὰ τηλικαύτα πάθη μένουσιν εὖ τοῖς ὀπλοῖς.
219 ταῦτ’ ἀμα διεξιών ἐνενοεί καὶ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν: οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐτί σωφρονήσαί τους πάντα προπεπονθότας ἐφ’ οἶς εἰκὸς ἂν μεταβαλέσθαι μὴ παθοῦσιν.2
220 (iv. 1) "Ἡδὴ δὲ τῶν δύο ταγμάτων συντετελεκότων τὰ χώματα Λώου μηνὸς ὀγδόης προσάγεων ἐκέλευσε τοὺς κριός κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέριον ἐξεδραν
221 τοῦ ἔξωθεν1 έρευν. πρὸ δὲ τούτων ἔξ ἡμέρας4 ἀδιαλειπτως ἡ στερροτάτῃ πασῶν ἐλέπολις τύποτουσα τον τοῖχον οὐδὲν ἤνυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸ μέγεθος καὶ ἡ ἄρμονια τῶν
222 λίθων ἢν ἀμεινών. τῆς δὲ βορείου πύλης ὕπωρυττον

1 δέ τοι L. 2 πάθωσιν Naber.
3 Lat.: ἐξωθεν PA1: ἐσωθεν the rest; cf. §§ 151, 244.
4 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.

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

a Cf. §§ 150 f.
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τὸ στρατόπεδον]¹ τοῦ τόπου μηδεμίαν ἐγγὺς πηγὴν
279 ἀναδιδόντος. ταῦτ' ὄνων προοικονομησάμενος ὁ
Σιλβας ἐπὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐτράπετο πολλῆς ἐπι
τεχνήσεως καὶ παλαιωρίας δεομένην διὰ τὴν ὀχυρό-
τητα τοῦ φρουρίου τοιοῦτος τὴν φύσιν ύπάρχοντος.

280 (3) Πέτραν οὐκ ὀλίγην τῇ περιόδῳ καὶ μῆκος
ὕψηλην πανταχόθεν περιερρώγασι βαθείᾳ φάραγ-
γες,² κάτωθεν ἐξ ἀοράτον τέρματος κρημνώδεις
καὶ πάση βάσει ζώων ἀπρόσιτοι, πλὴν ὁσον κατὰ
dύο τόπους τῆς πέτρας εἰς ἀνοδὸν οὐκ εὔμαρη

281 παρεικούσης. ἔστι δὲ τῶν ὅδων ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς
'Ασφαλτίτιδος λίμνης πρὸς ἦλιον ἀνύσχοντα, καὶ
πάλιν ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως ἡ ράον⁵ πορευθῆναι.

282 καλοῦσι δὲ τὴν ἐτέραν ὅφιν, τῇ στενότητι προσ-
eκάσαντες καὶ τοῖς συνεχέσιν ἐλυγμοῖς. κλάται
γὰρ περὶ τὰς τῶν κρημνῶν ἐξοχὰς καὶ πολλακίς
eἰς αὐτὴν ἀνατρέχουσα καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν αὖθις

283 ἐκμηκυνομένη μόλις ψαυεὶ τοῦ πρόσω. δεὶ δὲ
παραλλαξὶ τὸν δι' αὐτῆς βαδίζοντα τὸν ἐτερον
tῶν ποδῶν⁴ ἐρείδεσθαι. ἔστι δὲ πρόδηλος ὀλεθρος
ἐκατέρωθεν γὰρ βάθος κρημνῶν ὑποκέχηνε τῇ
φοβερότητι πάσαν εὑτολμιάν ἐκπλήξαι δυνάμενον.

284 διὰ τοιαῦτης οὖν ἐλθόντι σταδίους τριάκοντα
κορυφή τὸ λοιπὸν ἐστίν, οὐκ εἰς ὅξυ τέρμα
συνηγμένη, ἀλλ' ὦστ' εἴναι κατ' ἀκρας ἐπὶπεδον.

285 ἐπὶ ταὐτῇ πρώτων μὲν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ὕκοδομήσατο
φρούριον 'Ἰωνάθης καὶ προσηγόρευσε Μασάδαν,
ὕστερον δ' Ἑρώδη τῷ βασιλεῖ διὰ πολλῆς ἐγένετο

286 σπουδῆς ἡ τοῦ χωρίου κατασκευή. τείχος τε γὰρ

¹ om. P. ² + καὶ P Lat. ³ η ράον Niese (ed. min.) after VR. ⁴ τοῖν ποδῶν C.
camp, there being no spring in the neighbourhood. Having completed these preliminary arrangements, Silva turned his attention to the siege, which demanded great skill and severe exertion, owing to the strength of the fortress, the nature of which was as follows.

(3) A rock of no slight circumference and lofty from end to end is abruptly terminated on every side by deep ravines, the precipices rising sheer from an invisible base and being inaccessible to the foot of any living creature, save in two places where the rock permits of no easy ascent. Of these tracks one leads from the Lake Asphaltitis \(a\) on the east, \(b\) 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 \(c\) first erected a fortress and called it Masada; the subsequent planning of the place engaged the serious attention of King Herod. For

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\(a\) The Dead Sea.

\(b\) Literally "towards the sun-rising," a phrase found in Herodotus (iii. 98).

\(c\) Brother of Judas Maccabaeus and his successor as Jewish leader, 161–143 B.C., B. i. 48 f.
Ηγείρετε περί πάντα τον κύκλον τής κορυφής ἐπτα σταδίων οντα, λευκοῦ μὲν λίθου πεποιημένον, ύψως δὲ διώδεκα καὶ πλάτος ὀκτώ πήχεις ἔχον, 287 τριάκοντα δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπτά πύργου πεντηκοντα- πήχεις ἀνειστήκεσαν, ἐξ δὲν ἤν εἰς οἰκήματα διελθεῖν περὶ πάν τὸ τεῖχος ἐνδον ψυχοδομημέναι. 288 τὴν γὰρ κορυφὴν πίονα καὶ πεδίον παντὸς οὐδαν μαλακωτέραν ἀνῆκεν εἰς γεωργίαν ὁ βασιλεύς, ἵν’ εἰ ποτε τῆς ἐξωθεὶ τροφῆς ἀπορία γένοιτο, μηδὲ ταύτῃ κάμοιεν οἱ τὴν αὐτῶν σωτηρίαν τῷ 289 φρουρίῳ πεποιθεῖκότες. καὶ βασιλεύουν δὲ κατ- εσκευασεν ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας ἀνάβασιν, ὑποκάτω μὲν τῶν τῆς ἄκρας τειχῶν, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἄρκτον ἐκκλίνον.1 τοῦ δὲ βασιλεύου τὸ τεῖχος ἢν υψει μέγα καὶ καρτέρον, πύργους 290 ἔχον ἔξωκονταπήχεις ἐγγυνίους τέτταρας. ἦ τε τῶν οἰκήματων ἐνδον καὶ στοιῶν καὶ βαλανείων κατασκευὴ παντοῖα καὶ πολυτελής ἦν, κιόνων μὲν ἀπανταχοῦ μονολίθων υφεστηκότων, τούχων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς οἰκήμασιν ἐδάφων λίθον 291 στρώσει πεποικιλμένων. πρὸς ἔκαστον δὲ τῶν οἰκουμένων τόπων ἄνω τε καὶ περὶ τὸ βασίλευον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους πόλους καὶ μεγάλους ἐπτετμήκει λάκκους ἐν ταῖς πέτραις φυλακτήρας ὑδάτων, μηχανώμενος εἶναι χορηγίαν ὅση τῷ 292 ἐκ πηγῶν ἐστὶ χρωμένοις. ὅρυκτῇ δ’ ὀδὸς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου πρὸς ἄκραν τῆς κορυφῆς ἀνέφερε τοῖς ἐξωθεὶ ἀφανῆς. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ταῖς φανεραῖς 293 ὅδοῖς ην οἴον τε χρήσασθαι βαδίως πολεμίους. ἦ μὲν γὰρ ἐμα διὰ τὴν φύσιν, ὡς προείπαμεν, ἐστὶν ἄβατος, τῆν δ’ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας μεγάλῳ κατὰ τὸ στενότατον πύργῳ διετείχισεν, ἀπέχοντι τῆς ἄκρας 586
first he enclosed the entire summit, a circuit measuring seven furlongs, with a wall of white stone, twelve cubits high and eight broad; on it stood thirty-seven towers, fifty cubits high, from which access was obtained to apartments constructed round the whole interior of the wall. For the actual top, being of rich soil and softer than any plain, was given up by the king to cultivation; in order that, should there ever be a dearth of provisions from outside, those who had committed their lives to the protection of the fortress might not suffer from it. There, too, he built a palace on the western slope, beneath the ramparts on the crest and inclining towards the north. The palace wall was strong and of great height, and had four towers, sixty cubits high, at the corners. The fittings of the interior—apartments, colonnades, and baths—were of manifold variety and sumptuous; columns, each formed of a single block, supporting the building throughout, and the walls and floors of the apartments being laid with variegated stones. Moreover, at each spot used for habitation, both on the summit and about the palace, as also before the wall, he had cut out in the rock numerous large tanks, as reservoirs for water, thus procuring a supply as ample as where springs are available. A sunk road led up from the palace to the summit of the hill, imperceptible from without. But even of the open approaches it was not easy for an enemy to make use; for the eastern track, as we have previously stated, is from its nature impracticable, while that on the west Herod barred at its narrowest point by a great tower.

\[\text{§§ 281-3.}\]

1 \(\text{P (ékkλίνων) A: éγκλίνων the rest.}\)

2 Niese: \(\tauών\) mss.
πήχεων οὖκ ἔλαττον διάστημα χιλίων, δήν οὔτε παρελθεῖν δυνατόν ἦν οὔτε ράδιον ἔλειν· δυσέξοδος δὲ καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ἀδείας βαδίζουσιν ἐπεποίητο. 294 οὕτως μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδους φύμει τε καὶ χειροποιήτως τὸ φρούριον ὑχύρωτο. 295 (4) Τῶν δὲ ἐνδον ἀποκεμένων παρασκευῶν ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἂν τις ἑθαύμασε τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν 296 διαμονήν· σίτος τε γὰρ ἄπέκειτο πολὺς καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄρκειν ἰκανώτατος ὁμοῖος τε πολὺς ἦν καὶ ἔλαιον, ἐτὶ δὲ παντοῖος ὀσπρίων καρπὸς καὶ 297 φοινίκες ἑσεσώρευντο. πάντα δ' εὑρεῖν ὁ Ἐλεά- 298 ζαρος τοῦ φρουρίου μετὰ τῶν σικαρίων ἐγκρατής δόλω γενόμενος ἄκμαια καὶ μηδὲν τῶν νεωστὶ κεμένων ἀποδέοντα· καίτοι σχεδὸν ἀπὸ τῆς παρασκευῆς εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἀλωσιν ἐκατὸν ἦν χρόνος ἐτῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαίοι τοὺς περι- 299 λειψθέντας τῶν καρπῶν εὑρον ἀδιαφόρουσι. αἵτινον δ' οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι τις ὑπολαμβάνων εἰναι τὸν ἁέρα τῆς διαμονῆς, ύψει τῶν1 περὶ τὴν ἄκραν πάσης ὄντα γεώδους καὶ θολερὰς ἀμυγη κράσεως. 300 εὑρέθη δὲ καὶ παντοῖον πλῆθος ὄπλων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποτεθησαυρισμένον;2 ώς ἀνδράσιν ἄρ- 298 κεῖν μυρίους, ἀργὸς τε σίδηρος καὶ χαλκὸς ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ μόλιbos, ἀτε δὴ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐτὶ μεγάλαις αἰτίαις γενομένης· λέγεται γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν Ἡρώδην τοῦτο τὸ φρούριον εἰς ὑποφυγὴν ἐτομάζειν διπλοῦν ύφορώμενον κύνδυνον, τὸν μὲν παρὰ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν Ἰουδαίων, μὴ καταλύσαντες ἐκεῖνον τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέας ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρχὴν καταγάγωσι, τὸν μεῖξιν δὲ καὶ χαλεπώτερον ἐκ

1 τῷ Niese with A2.
2 C Lat.: -ομένων the rest.
JEWISH WAR, VII. 293-300

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

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

\[a \text{ B. ii. 408, cf. 433.}
\[b \text{ 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 ἐπείχεν, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις Ἀντωνίως λόγους προσέφερε, τὸν μὲν Ἡρώδην ἀνελεῖν ἄξιον, χαρίσασθαι δὲ αὐτῇ τὴν βα-
302 σλείαν τῶν Ἰουδαίων δεσμεύνη, καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν τις ἐθαύμασεν ὅτι μηδέπω τοῖς προστάγμασιν Ἀντώνιος ὑπακηκόει, κακῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔρωτος δεδουλωμένος, οὐχ ὅτι περὶ τοῦ μὴ χαρίσασθαι προσεδόκησεν. διὰ τοιοῦτοι μὲν φόβους Ἡρώδης Μασάδαν κατεσκευασμένος ἐμελλεν Ῥωμαίους ἀπολείψειν ἐργον τοῦ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους πολέμου τελευταῖον.
304 (5) Ἑπεὶ γὰρ ἐξωθεὶ ἥδη περιτετειχίκει πάντα τὸν τόπον οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὡς προείπαμεν, ἤγεμων καὶ τοῦ μῆ τυνα ἀποδράναι πρόνοιαν ἐπεποίητο τῇ ἀκριβεστάτῃ, ἐνεχείρει τῇ πολυορκίᾳ, μόνον εὐρών ἐνα τόπον ἐπιβολὴν χωμάτων δέξασθαι δυνάμενον. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν διασειχόντα πῦργον τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως ὁδὸν ἀγούσαν εἰς τὸ τοῦ βασίλευος καὶ τῆν ἀκρώρειαν ἢ τῆς ἕξοχῆς πέτρας εὐμεγέθης τῷ πλάτει καὶ πολὺ προκύπτουσα, τοῦ δ' ὑψον τῆς Ἰουδαίας τριακοσίους πῆχεις ύποκάτω. Λευκὴν δ' αὐτὴν ὀνόμαζον.
305 ἐπὶ ταῦτῃ οὖν ἀναβὰς καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτὴν ὁ Σιλβας ἐκέλευσε τῶν στρατὸν χοῦν ἐπιφέρειν. τῶν δὲ προθύμως καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς χειρὸς ἐργαζομένων στερεῶν εἰς διακοσίους πῆχεις ύψωθη τὸ χῶμα. οὐ μὴν οὔτε βέβαιοι οὔτ' αὐτάρκες ἐδόκει τοῦτο τὸ μέτρον εἶναι τοῖς μηχανήμασιν εἰς ἐπιβάθραν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτοῦ βῆμα λίθων μεγάλων συνεργοσμένων ἐποιήθη πεντήκοντα πῆχεων εὐρός τε καὶ ύψος. ἡν δὲ τῶν ἀλλων τε μηχανήματων 590
queen of Egypt. For she never concealed her intention, but was constantly importuning Antony, urging him to slay Herod, and praying him to confer on her the throne of Judaea. And, far from expecting him to refuse to gratify her, one might rather be surprised that Antony should never have obeyed her behests, basely enslaved as he was by his passion for her. It was such fears that drove Herod to fortify Masada, which he was destined to leave to the Romans as a final task in their war with the Jews.

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

\[e\] Cf. B. i. 359 f. (c. 34 B.C.).

\[b\] §§ 275 f.

\[c\] "White (cliff)."

591
κατασκευή παραπληροίτης υπό μὲν Ούσσπασιανοῦ πρότερον, μετά ταῦτα δ’ υπὸ Τίτου πρὸς τὰς πολυορκίας ἐπινοηθεὶς, καὶ πύργος ἑξηκοντάπτηχις συνετελέσθη σιδήρως καταπεφραγμένος ἁπας, ἐξ οὐ πολλοῖς ὀξυβελέσι καὶ πετροβόλοις βάλλοντες οἱ Ἦρωμαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους μαχομένους ταχέως ἀνέστειλαν καὶ πρὸς κύπτειν ἐκώλυσαν. ἐν ταυτῷ δὲ καὶ κριῶν ὁ Σίλβας μέγαν κατασκευασάμενος, συνεχεῖς κελεύσας ποιεῖσθαι τῷ τείχει τὰς ἐμβολὰς μόλις μὲν ἀλλ’ οὖν ἀναρρήξας τι μέρος κατήρευσε. φθάνουσι δ’ οἱ σικάριοι ταχέως ἐνδοθεν οἰκοδομησάμενοι τείχος ἔτερον, ὁ μηδ’ υπὸ τῶν μηχανημάτων ἐμελλεν ὁμοίον τι πείσθαι· μαλακὸν γὰρ αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν σφοδρότητα τῆς ἐμβολῆς ὑπεκλύειν
dynámeon τούδε τρόπῳ κατεσκεύασαν. δοκοὺς μεγάλας ἐπὶ μῆκος προσεχεῖς ἀλλήλαις κατὰ τὴν τομῆν συνέθεσαν. δύο δ’ ἦσαν τούτων στίχοι παράλληλοι, τοσοῦτον διεστώτες ὅσον εἶναι πλάτος τείχων, καὶ μέσον ἀμφοῖν τὸν χοῦν ἐνεφόρουν. ὅπως δὲ μηδ’ ὑψομένου τοῦ χώματος ἡ γῆ διαχέοιτο, πάλιν ἐτέραις δοκοῖς ἐπικαρσίας τὰς κατὰ μῆκος κειμένας διέδεουν. ἢν οὖν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οἰκοδομίᾳ τὸ ἔργον παραπλήσιον, τῶν μηχανημάτων δ’ αἱ πληγαὶ φερόμεναι πρὸς εἰκὸνες ἐξελύοντο καὶ τῷ σάλῳ συνιζάνων ἐποίουν αὐτὸ στεριφώτερον. οὐκ ὁ Σίλβας πυρὶ μᾶλλον αἰρήσειν ἐνόμιζεν τὸ τείχος, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις προσέτατε λαμπάδας αἰθομένας ἀθρόους ἐσακονίζειν. τὸ δ’ οἷα οἱ ἐξίλων τὸ πλέον πεποιημένον ταχύ τοῦ πυρὸς ἄντελαβετο καὶ τῇ χαυνότητι πυρωθεῖν

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

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

πρὸς ἐἰκὸν Hudson: προσεικὸς mss.

The wall is breached and the defenders second wooden wall is destroyed by fire.
317 διὰ βάθους φλόγα πολλήν ἐξεπύρσευσεν. ἄρχο-
μένου μὲν οὖν ἐτὶ τοῦ πυρὸς βορρᾶς ἐμπνέων
tοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις φοβερὸς ἦν· ἀνωθεν γὰρ ἀποστρέφων
ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἦλαυν τὴν φλόγα, καὶ σχεδὸν ἦδη
tῶν μηχανημάτων ὡς συμφλεγησομένων ἀπ-
318 ἐγνωσαν1: ἐπείτα δ' αἰφνίδιον νότος μεταβαλὼν
cαθάρερ ἐκ δαιμονίου προνοίας καὶ πολὺς ἐναντίον
πνεύσας τῷ τείχει φέρων αὐτὴν προσέβαλε, καὶ
319 πάν ἦδη διὰ βάθους ἐφλέγετο. 'Ρωμαίοι μὲν
οὖν τῇ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχία κεχρημένοι
χαίροντες εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπηλλάττοντο, μεθ'
ἡμέραν ἐπιχειρεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους διεγνωσκότες,
cαὶ τὰς φυλακὰς νῦκτωρ ἔπιμελεστέρας ἐποιή-
σαντο, μὴ τυνες αὐτῶν λάθωσιν ἀποδράντες.
320 (6) Οὐ μὴν οὔτ' αὐτὸς Ἐλεάζαρος ἐν νῦ
δρασμόν ἔλαβεν οὔτ' ἄλλω τινὶ τούτῳ ποιεῖν
321 ἐμελλέν ἐπιτρέψειν. ὦρῶν δὲ τὸ μὲν τείχος ὑπὸ
tοῦ πυρὸς ἀναλούμενον, ἄλλον δ' οὐδένα σωτηρίας
τρόπον οὐδ' ἀλκῆς ἐπινοῶν, ἄ δὲ ἐμελλον 'Ρωμαίοι
dράσειν αὐτοὺς καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναικας αὐτῶν,
eἰ κρατήσειαν, ὅπ' ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῷ τιθέμενος,
322 θάνατον κατὰ πάντων ἐβουλεύσατο. καὶ τοῦτο
κρίνας ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἄριστον, τοὺς ἀνδρω-
δεστάτους τῶν ἑταίρων συναγαγὼν τοιούτοις ἐπὶ
323 τὴν πράξεων λόγοις παρεκάλει· "πάλαι διεγνω-
κότας ᾳμᾶς, ἀνδρείς ἄγαθοί, μήτε 'Ρωμαίοις μὴ-
ἄλλω τινὶ δουλεύειν ἢ θεῷ, μόνος γὰρ οὗτος
ἀληθῆς ἐστὶ καὶ δίκαιος ἀνθρώπων δεσπότης,
ηκεὶ νῦν καιρὸς ἐπαληθεύσαι κελεύων τὸ φρόνημα
324 τοῖς ἔργοις. πρὸς οὖν αὐτοὺς μὴ καταισχύνωμεν,

1 ἀπεγνώκεσαν LVRC.
blazed up in a volume of flame. At the first out-
break 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,\(^a\)
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 \(^b\) 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 con-
template 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

\(^a\) For similar providential aid cf. B. iv. 76 (at Gamala).

\(^b\) Or "from top to bottom."
próteron μηδὲ δουλείαν ἀκύνδυνον ύπομείναντες, νυνὶ δὲ μετὰ δουλείας ἑλόμενου τιμωρίας ἀνηκέ-
stous, εἰ ζωντες ύπὸ 'Ρωμαίοις ἐσόμεθα: πρώτοι
tε γὰρ πάντων ἀπέστημεν καὶ πολεμοῦμεν αὐτοῖς
325 τελευταίοι. νομίζω δὲ καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ ταύτην²
dεδόθαι χάριν τοῦ δύνασθαι καλῶς καὶ ἑλευθέρως
ἀποθανεῖν, ὅπερ ἄλλοις οὐκ ἔγενετο παρ’ ἐλπίδα
326 κρατηθεῖσιν. ἦμιν δὲ πρόδηλοι μὲν ἔστων ἡ
γεννησομένη μεθ’ ἠμέραν ἄλωσίς, ἑλευθέρα δ’ ἡ
τοῦ γενναίου θανάτου μετὰ τῶν φιλτάτων αἴρεσις.
οὐτε γὰρ τοῦτ’ ἀποκωλύειν οἱ πολέμιοι δύνανται
πάντως εὐχόμενοι ζωντας ἦμᾶς παραλαβεῖν, οὐθ’²
327 ἡμεῖς εἰκείνους ἔτι νικὰν μαχόμενοι. ἐδει μὲν
γὰρ εὐθὺς ἵσως εἰς ἄρχης, ὅτε τῆς ἑλευθερίας
ἡμῖν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι θελήσασι πάντα καὶ παρ’
ἀλλήλων ἀπέβανε χαλέπα καὶ παρὰ τῶν πολεμιῶν
χείρω, τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμης στοχάζεσθαι καὶ
γινώσκειν ὅτι τὸ πάλαι φῖλον³ αὐτῷ φιλον Ἰου-
328 δαίων⁴ κατέγνωστο: μένων γὰρ εὐμενὴς ἡ
μετρίως

γοῦν [ἡμῖν]⁵ ἀπεθηκέμενος, οὐκ ἂν τοσοῦτοι μὲν
ἀνθρώπων περείδευν ὀλεθρον, προήκατο δὲ τὴν
ἰερωτάτην αὐτοῦ πόλιν πυρὶ καὶ κατασκαφάις
329 πολεμιῶν. ἡμεῖς δ’ ἀρα καὶ μόνοι τοῦ παντὸς
Ἰουδαίων γένους ἠλπίσαμεν περιέσθεσθαι τὴν ἑλευ-
θερίαν φυλάξαντες, ῥαπερ ἀναμάρτητοι πρὸς τὸν
θεὸν γενόμενοι καὶ μηδεμᾶς μετασχόντες παρα-

330 νομίς,⁶ οἱ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδιδάξαμεν; τοιγαροῦν
ὅρατε, πῶς ἦμᾶς ἑλέγχει μάταια προσδοκήσαντας
κρείττονα τῶν ἐλπίδων τὴν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἀνάγκην

¹ VRC (the form usual in speeches in Jos.): νῦν the rest.
² + ἦμιν C Lat.
³ φιλοίμενον A.
⁴ + ἀπωλείαν L Lat.: + ἀπωλείᾳ C.
⁵ om. P.
⁶ 596
submit even to a slavery involving no peril, let us not now, along with slavery, deliberately accept the irreparable penalties awaiting us if we are to fall alive into Roman hands. For as we were the first of all to revolt, so are we the last in arms against them. Moreover, I believe that it is God who has granted us this favour, that we have it in our power to die nobly and in freedom—a privilege denied to others who have met with unexpected defeat. Our fate at break of day is certain capture, but there is still the free choice of a noble death with those we hold most dear. For our enemies, fervently though they pray to take us alive, can no more prevent this than we can now hope to defeat them in battle. Maybe, indeed, we ought from the very first—when, having chosen to assert our liberty, we invariably experienced such hard treatment from one another, and still harder from our foes—we ought, I say, to have read God’s purpose and to have recognized that the Jewish race, once beloved of Him, had been doomed to perdition. For had he continued to be gracious, or but lightly incensed, he would never have overlooked such wholesale destruction or have abandoned His most holy city to be burnt and razed to the ground by our enemies. But did we forsooth hope that we alone of all the Jewish nation would survive and preserve our freedom, as persons guiltless towards God and without a hand in crime—we who had even been the instructors of the rest? Mark, now, how He exposes the vanity of our expectations, by visiting us with such dire distress as exceeds all

6 παρανομλας M: culpae Lat.: om. the rest.

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331 ἐπαγαγών· οὔτε ἡ τοῦ φρουρίου φύσις ἀνάλωτος οὐσα πρὸς σωτηρίαν ὠφέληκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τροφῆς ἀφθονίαν καὶ πλῆθος ὅπλων καὶ τὴν ἀλλὴν ἔχοντες παρασκευήν περιττεύουσαν ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ περιφανῶς τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας
332 ἀφηρήμεθα. τὸ γὰρ πῦρ εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους φερόμενον οὐκ αὐτομάτως ἐπὶ τὸ κατασκευασθὲν τεῖχος ὑφ’ ἧμῶν ἀνέστρεψεν, ἀλλ’ ἐστὶ ταῦτα χόλος πολλῶν ἀδικημάτων, ἃ μανέντες εἰς τοὺς
333 ὀμοφύλους ἐτολμήσαμεν. ὑπὲρ ἄν μὴ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς Ἦρωμάιοι δίκας ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ δ’ ἦμῶν αὐτῶν ὑπόσχομεν· αὕται δ’ εἰσὶν ἐκείνων μετρῶν
334 τεραί: θυσικέτωσαν γὰρ γυναῖκες ἀνύβριστοι καὶ παῖδες δουλείας ἀπείρατοι, μετὰ δ’ αὐτοὺς ἥμεῖς εὐγενὴ χάριν ἀλλήλοις παράσχωμεν καλὸν ἐντάφιον
335 τὴν ἐλευθερίαν φυλάξαντες. πρότερον δὲ καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὸ φρουρῖον πυρὶ διαφθείρωμεν· λυπηθήσονται γὰρ Ἦρωμαῖοι, σαφῶς οἶδα, μήτε τῶν ἡμετέρων σωμάτων κρατήσαντες καὶ τοῦ
336 κέρδους ἀμαρτόντες. τὰς τροφὰς μόνας ἐάσωμεν· αὕται γὰρ ἦμιν τεθνηκόσι μαρτυρῆσον, ὅτι μὴ κατ’ ἐνδειξιν ἐκρατήθημεν, ἀλλ’ ὑσπερ ἕξ ἀρχῆς διέγνωμεν, βανατον ἐλόμενοι πρὸ δουλείας.”
337 (7) Ταῦτα Ἑλεάζαρος ἔλεγεν. οὐ μὴν κατὰ ταῦτα3 ταῖς γυνώμαις προσέπιπτε τῶν παρόντων, ἀλλ’ οί μὲν ἔσπευδον ὑπακούειν καὶ μόνον οὐχ ἤδονής ἐνεπίμπλαντο καλὸν εἶναι τὸν βάνατον
338 νομίζοντες, τοὺς δ’ αὐτῶν μαλακωτέρους γυναικῶν καὶ γενεάς οἰκτος εἰσήκου, πάντως δὲ καὶ τῆς

1 Bekker: οὔτε mss. 2 ὑφέλησεν ΡΑΜ. 3 Niese: κατ’ αὐτό mss.
that we could anticipate. For not even the im-
pregnable 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 Him-
self, 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 con-
structed by us; \(a \) 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.\(b \) 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 keep-
ing 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,
soft-hearted, were moved with compassion for their
wives and families, and doubtless also by the vivid

\(a \) §§ 317 f.
\(b \) Cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 14 “Let us fall now into the hand of
the Lord,” etc.
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339 τῆς γνώμης ἐσήμαινον. τούτοις Ἴδων Ἑλεάζαρος ἀποδεικνύοντας καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ Βουλεῦ-ματος τὰς ψυχὰς ύποκλωμένους ἔδεισε, μὴ ποτὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐρωμένως τῶν λόγων ἀκούσαντας αὐτοὶ συνεκθηλύνωσι ποτινώμενοι καὶ δακρύοντες.

340 οὖκ οὖν ἀνήκε τὴν παρακέλευσιν, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸν ἐπεγείρας καὶ πολλοῦ λήμματος πλήρης γενόμενος λαμπροτέροις ἐνεχείρη λόγους περὶ ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας, μέγα τε σχετιλάσας καὶ τοῖς δακρύουσιν ἀτενεὶς ἐμβλέψας ἢ πλείστον, εἰπεν, ἢ ἐφευσθήνι νομίζων ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγώνων συναρείσθαι, ζήνι καλῶς ἢ τεθνάναι διεγνωκόσιν. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἤτε τῶν τυχόντων οὐδὲν ἐς ἀρετὴν οὐδὲ εὐτολμίαι διαφέροντες, οἱ γε καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ μεγίστων ἀπαλλαγῆ κακῶν φοβεῖσθε θάνατον, δέον ὑπέρ τούτου μὴτε μελλῆσαι μὴτε σύμβουλον ἄναμεναι. πάλαι γάρ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης αἰσθήσεως παὶδεύοντες ἦμασι οἱ πάτριοι καὶ θείοι λόγοι διετέλουν, ἔργωσ τε καὶ φρονήμασι τῶν ἠμετέρων προγόνων αὐτοὺς βεβαιοῦντων, οτι συμφορά τὸ ζῆν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις, οὐχὶ θάνατος. 

343 σύμβουλον ἄναμεναι. πάλαι γάρ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης αἰσθήσεως παιδεύοντες ἦμασι οἱ πάτριοι καὶ θείοι λόγοι διετέλουν, ἔργωσ τε καὶ φρονήμασι τῶν ἠμετέρων προγόνων αὐτοὺς βεβαιοῦντων, οτι συμφορά τὸ ζῆν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις, οὐχὶ θάνατος. 

344 οὕτως μὲν γάρ ἐλευθερίαν διδοὺς ψυχαῖς εἰς τὸν οἰκεῖον καὶ καθαρὸν ἀφίση τῶν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, πάσης συμφορᾶς ἀπαθεῖς ἐσομένας, ἔως δὲ εἰσιν

1 τε MC Lat.: om. the rest.
2 Richter: λήμματος mss.
3 Niese: συναφείσθαι or συναφείσθαι mss.

* This speech at the close of the war forms a sort of counterpart to that of Agrippa before its outbreak (B. ii. 600
prospect of their own end, and their tears as they looked upon one another revealed their unwillingness of heart. Eleazar, seeing them flinching and their courage breaking down in face of so vast a scheme, feared that their whimpers and tears might unman even those who had listened to his speech with fortitude. Far, therefore, from slackening in his exhortation, he roused himself and, fired with mighty fervour, essayed a higher flight of oratory on the immortality of the soul. Indignantly protesting and with eyes intently fixed on those in tears, he exclaimed:

"Deeply, indeed, was I deceived in thinking that I should have brave men as associates in our struggles for freedom—men determined to live with honour or to die. But you, it seems, were no better than the common herd in valour or in courage, you who are afraid even of that death that will deliver you from the direst ills, when in such a cause you ought neither to hesitate an instant nor wait for a counsellor. For from of old, since the first dawn of intelligence, we have been continually taught by those precepts, ancestral and divine—confirmed by the deeds and noble spirit of our forefathers—that life, not death, is man's misfortune. For it is death which gives liberty to the soul and permits it to depart to its own pure abode, there to be free from all calamity; but..."
ἐν σώματι θυττῷ δεδεμέναι καὶ τῶν τούτου κακῶν συναναπίμπλανται, τάληθεστάτον εἰπεῖν, τεθνήκασιν κοινωνία γὰρ θείω πρὸς θυττὸν ἁπρεπῆς ἐστιν. 345 μέγα μὲν οὖν δύναται ψυχὴ καὶ σώματι συν- δεδεμένης ποιεῖ γὰρ αὐτῆς ὄργανον αἰσθανόμενον ἀοράτως αὐτὸ κινοῦσα καὶ θυττῆς φύσεως περαι- τέρω προάγουσα ταῖς πράξεσιν. οὐ μὴν ἂλλ' ἐπειδὰν ἀπολυθεῖσα τοῦ καθέλκοντος αὐτῆς βάρους ἐπὶ γῆν καὶ προσκρεμαμένου χῶρων ἀπολάβη τὸν οἰκεῖον, τότε μηκαρίας ἴσχύος καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀκωλύτου μετέχει δυνάμεως, ἀοράτους μένουσα τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ὀμμασιν ὥσπερ αὐτὸς 346 ὁ θεός· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔως ἐστὶν ἐν σώματι θεωρεῖται· πρόσεις γὰρ ἀφανῶς καὶ μὴ βλεπομένη πάλιν ἀπαλλάττεται, μίαν μὲν αὐτῆς φύσιν ἔχουσα τὴν ἀφθαρτον, αὐτία δὲ σώματι γινομένη μεταβολῆς. 347 ὁτου γὰρ ἂν ψυχή προσψηφισμή, τοῦτο ζῆν καὶ τέθηλεν, ὁτου δ' ἂν ἀπαλλαγῇ μαρανθὲν ἀποθνῄσκειν· 348 τοσοῦτον αὐτῇ περίεστιν ἀθανασίας. ὕπνοις δὲ τεκμήριον ὑμῖν ἐστὶν τῶν λόγων ἐναργέστατον, ἐν δὲ ψυχαὶ τοῖς σώματος αὐτὰς μὴ περισπώτος ἡδίστην μὲν ἔχουσιν ἀνάπαυσιν ἐφ' αὐτῶν γενόμενα, θεῶ δ' ὀμιλοῦσαι κατὰ συγγένειαν πάντη μὲν ἐπιφοιτῶσι, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν ἐσομένων προ- 349 τεσπιζουσί. τι δὴ δεί δεδείναι θάνατον τὴν ἐν ὑπνῷ γινομένην ἀνάπαυσιν ἀγαπώντας; πῶς δ' οὐκ ἀνόητον ἐστὶν τὴν ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἐλευθερίαν 350 διώκοντας τῆς ἀιώνιον φθονεῖν αὐτοῖς; ἔδει μὲν οὖν ἦμας οἴκοθεν πεπαιδευμένοις ἄλλοις εἰναι παράδειγμα τῆς πρὸς θάνατον ἐτομότητος· οὐ

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

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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, 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?

"We ought, indeed, blest with our home training, to afford others an example of readiness to die; if,
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μὴν ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων δεόμεθα πίστεως, βλέψωμεν εἰς Ἰνδοὺς τοὺς σοφίαν
352 ἀσκεῖν ὑπισχυομένους. ἐκείνοι τε γὰρ ὄντες ἀνδρεῖς ἀγαθοὶ τῶν μὲν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον ὅπερ ἀναγκαίαν τινὰ τῇ φύσει λειτουργίαν ἀκούσως
353 ὑπομένουσι, σπεύδουσι δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπολύσαι τῶν σωμάτων, καὶ μὴδενὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπείγοντος κακοῦ μηδ' ἐξελαύνοντος πόθω τῆς ἀθανάτου διαίτης προλέγουσι μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅτι μέλλουσιν ἀπιέναι, καὶ ἐστὶν ὁ κωλύσων οὐδείς, ἀλλὰ πάντες αὐτοὺς εὐδαιμονίζοντες πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἔκαστοι
354 διδόσαιν ἐπιστολάς· οὕτως βεβαιάν καὶ ἀληθεστάτην ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὴν μετ' ἄλληλων εἶναι διαίταν
355 πεπιστεύκασιν. οἱ δ' ἐπειδὰν ἐπακούσωσι τῶν ἐντεταλμένων αὐτοῖς, πυρὶ τὸ σῶμα παραδόντες, ὅπως δὴ καὶ καθαρωτάτην ἀποκρύψωσι τοῦ
356 σώματος τὴν ψυχήν, ὑμνούμενοι τελευτώσιν· βᾶον γὰρ ἐκείνους εἰς τὸν θάνατον οἱ φίλτατοι προ- πέμπουσιν ἤ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἐκαστοί τοὺς πολίτας εἰς μηκίστην ἀποδημίαν, καὶ σφᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς δακρύσωσι, ἐκαίνους δὲ μακαρίζουσιν ήδη
357 τήν ἀθανάτον τάξιν ἀπολαμβάνοντας. ἅρ' οὖν οὐκ αἰδούμεθα χείρον Ἰνδῶν φρονούντες καὶ διὰ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀτολμίας τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, οἱ πάσιν ἀνθρώποις εἰς ζῆλον ἤκουσιν, αὐσχρῶς
358 ὑβρίζοντες; ἀλλ' εἰ γε καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους εἰς ἀρχῆς λόγους ἐπαιδεύθημεν, ὡς ἀρα μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τὸ ζῆν συμφορὰ δ' ὁ θάνατος, ὁ γονὸν καιρὸς ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖ φέρειν

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

b Or "letters."
however, we really need an assurance in this matter from alien nations, let us look at those Indians a 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 b to his c loved ones; so certain and absolutely sincere is their belief in the intercourse which souls hold with one another. Then, after listening to these behests, they commit their bodies to the fire, that so the soul may be parted from the body in the utmost purity, and expire amidst hymns of praise. Indeed, their dearest ones escort them to their death more readily than do the rest of mankind their fellow-citizens when starting on a very long journey; for themselves they weep, but them they count happy as now regaining d 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, e still the crisis is one that calls upon us to bear it with

a sc. "departed."

b Or "receiving."

c Probably here, as in § 343, there is a reminiscence of the Euripidean Τίς οἴδει, εἰ τὸ ζην μὲν ἐστὶ καθανεῖν, ἢ τὸ καθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν κάτω νομίζεται; (Dindorf, Frag. 634).
eὐκαρδίως αὐτόν, θεοῦ γνώμη καὶ κατ’ ἀνάγκασ
359 τελευτήσοντας 1. πάλαι γάρ, ὡς έοικε, κατὰ τού
cοινοῦ παντὸς Ἰουδαίων γένους ταύτην ἐθέτο
tὴν ψῆφον ο θεός, ὡσθ’ ἡμᾶς τοῦ ζην ἀπηλλάχθαι
360 μὴ μέλλοντας αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι κατὰ τρόπον. μὴ
gάρ αὐτοῖς ὑμῖν ἀνάπτετε τάς αἰτίας μηδὲ χαρι-
ζεσθε τοῖς Ἄρωμαίοις, ὦτι πάντας ἡμᾶς ὁ πρὸς
αὐτοὺς πόλεμος διέφθειρεν’ οὐ γάρ ἐκεῖνων ἰσχύ
tαύτα συμβεβήκεν, ἀλλὰ κρεῖττων αἰτία γενομένη
361 τὸ δοκεῖν ἐκεῖνοι νικᾶν παρέσχηκε. ποῖοι γάρ
ὄπλοις Ἄρωμαίοις τεθηκασιν οἱ Καισάρειαν Ἰου-
362 δαίοι κατοικοῦντες; ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ μελλήσαντας 2 αὐ-
tοὺς ἐκεῖνων ἀφίστασθαι, μεταξὺ δὲ τὴν ἐβδόμην
ἐορτάζοντας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Καισαρέων ἐπιδραμὸν
μηδὲ χεῖρας ἀνταίροντας ἄμα γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις
κατέσφαξαν, οὐδ’ αὐτοὺς Ἄρωμαίοις ἐντραπέντες,
οἱ μόνοις ἡμᾶς ἠγούντο πολεμίου τοὺς ἀφ-
363 εσηκότας. ἀλλὰ φήσει τις ὦτι Καισαρεύσων ἦν
ἀεὶ διαφορὰ πρὸς τοὺς παρ’ αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοῦ
καιροῦ λαβόμενοι τὸ παλαιὸν μίσος ἀπεπλήρωσαν.
364 τὶ οὖν τοὺς ἐν Σκυθοπόλει φῶμεν; ἡμῖν γάρ
ἐκεῖνοι διὰ τοὺς Ἔλληνας πολεμεῖν ἐτόλμησαν,
ἀλλ’ οὐ μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ἡμῶν Ἄρωμαίοις
365 ἀμύνεσθαι. πολὺ τοιῶν ὄνησεν αὐτοὺς ἢ πρὸς
ἐκεῖνους εὐνοια καὶ πίστις; ὑπ’ αὐτῶν μέντοι
πανοικεῖα πικρῶς κατεφονεῦθησαν ταύτην τῆς
366 συμμαχίας ἀπολαβόντες ἀμοιβὴν· ἀ γάρ ἐκεῖνους
ὑπ’ ἡμῶν 3 εκάλυσαν, ταῦθ’ ὑπέμειναν ὡς αὐτοὶ

1 Lat. (morituros): τελευτήσαντας mss.
2 A2 (adding ἵσμεν): μελλήσαντας the rest.
3 +<παθεῖν> Holwerda.

a 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.

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

b 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. c B. ii. 466 ff.
δράσαι θελήσαντες. μακρὸν ἂν εἰς νῦν ἱδίᾳ περὶ
367 ἐκάστων λέγειν· ἵστε γὰρ ὅτι τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ πόλεων
οὐκ ἐστὶν ἤτοι τοὺς παρ’ αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας
'Ἰουδαίους οὐκ ἀνήρηκεν, ἤμιν πλέον ἢ 'Ῥωμαίοις'
368 ὅντας πολεμίους· ὅπου γε Δαμασκηνοί μηδὲ
πρόφασιν εὐλογον πλάσαι δυνηθέντες φόνον μιαρω-
τάτον τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν ἐνέπλησαν ὁκτακισχιλίους
πρὸς τοὺς μυρίους 'Ἰουδαίους ἄμα γυναῖξι καὶ
369 γενεαῖς ἀποσφάξαντες. τὸ δ’ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πλῆθος
τῶν μετ’ αἰκίας ἀνηρμένων ἔς που μυριάδας
ὑπερβάλλειν ἐπυνθάνομεθα. κακεῖνοι μὲν ἵστως
ἐπ’ ἀλλοτρίας γῆς οὐδὲν ἀντὶπαλον εὐράμενοι τοῖς
πολεμίοις οὔτως ἀπέθανον, τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκείας
tὸν πρὸς 'Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἀραμένους ἀπασι
τὶ τῶν ἐπιδίδα νῖκης ἐγυρᾶς παρασχεῖν δυναμένων
370 οὐχ ὑπηρέτε; καὶ γὰρ ὄπλα καὶ τείχη καὶ φρουρίων
δυσάλωτοι κατασκευαῖ καὶ φόρνημα πρὸς τοὺς
ὕπερ τῆς ἐλευθερίας κινδύνους ἀτρεπτοῦν3 πάντας
371 πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐπέρρωσεν. ἄλλα ταῦτα
πρὸς βραχὺν χρόνον ἀρκέσαντα καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν
ήμᾶς ἐπάραντα μειζόνων ἄρχῃ κακῶν ἀνεφάνη·
pάντα γὰρ ἡλίω, καὶ πάντα τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπέπεσεν,
ὡσπερ εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων εὐκλεστέραν νῖκην, οὐκ
εἰς τὴν τῶν παρασκευασμένων σωτηρίαν εὐ-
372 τρεπίσθεντα. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπο-
θνησκοντας εὐδαμονίζειν προσήκον· ἀμυνόμενοι
γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν οὐ προέμενοι τεθηκασι·
tὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν ὑπὸ 'Ῥωμαίοις γενομένων τὶς
οὐκ ἂν ἐλεήσειε; τὶς οὖν ἂν ἐπευχθεῖ πρὸ τοῦ
373 ταῦτα παθεῖν ἐκείνως ἀποθανεῖν; ὃν οἱ μὲν

1 'Ῥωμαίοι Lowth, Hudson, and Naber.
2 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. Thus, the people of Damascus, though unable even to invent a plausible pretext, deluged their city with the foulest slaughter, butchering eighteen thousand Jews, with their wives and families. As for Egypt, 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

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\[a\] Possibly we should read "than were the Romans."

\[b\] B. ii. 559 ff.

\[c\] 10,500 according to B. ii. 561. Hegesippus in the present passage reads 8000.

\[d\] B. ii. 487 ff.
στρεβλούμενοι καὶ πυρὶ καὶ μάστιξιν αἰκιζόμενοι τεθυνήκασιν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ θηρίων ἡμίβρωτοι πρὸς δευτέραν αὐτοῖς τροφὴν ἔφυλάχθησαν, γέλωτα καὶ παίγνιον¹ τοὺς πολεμίους παρασχόντες. 374 ἐκείνων μὲν οὖν ἀθλιωτάτους ὑποληπτέους τοὺς ἑτὶ ζώντας, οἱ πολλάκις εὑχόμενοι τὸν θάνατον 375 λαβεῖν οὐκ ἔχουσιν. τοῦ δὲ ἡ μεγάλη πόλις, ἡ τοῦ παντὸς Ἰουδαίων γένους μητρόπολις, ἡ τοσοῦτοι μὲν ἐρυμνὴ τειχῶν περιβόλοις, τοσαῦτα δὲ αὐτῆς φρούρια καὶ μεγέθη πύργων προβεβλημένη, μόλις δὲ χωροῦσα τὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευάζει, τοσαῦτα δὲ μυρίας ἀνδρῶν ἔχουσα 376 τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μαχομένων; ποῦ γέγονεν ἡμῖν ἡ τῶν θεῶν ἔχειν ὀἰκιστήν πεπιστευμένη; πρόριζος ἐκ βάθρων ἀνήρπασται, καὶ μόνον αὐτῆς μνημείον ἀπολείπεται τὸ τῶν ἀνηρμενῶν² ἑτὶ 377 τοῖς λειψάνοις ἐποικοῦν. πρεσβύται δὲ δύστην τῇ σποδῷ τοῦ τεμένους παρακάθηνται καὶ γυναίκες ὀλύγαι πρὸς ὑβριν αἰσχίστην ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων 378 τετηρημέναι. ταῦτα τίς ἐν νῷ βαλλόμενος ἡμῶν καρτερῆσε τὸν ἴλιον ὅραν, κἂν δύνηται ζῆν ἀκινδύνως; τίς οὖτω τῆς πατρίδος ἐχθρός, ἡ τίς οὗτος ἀνανδρος καὶ φιλόψυχος, ὡς μὴ καὶ περὶ 379 τοῦ μέχρι νῦν ζῆσαι μετανοεῖν; ἀλλ' εἰθε πάντες ἐτεθνήκειμεν πρὶν τὴν ἱεράν ἑκείνην πόλιν χερσὶν ἰδεῖν κατασκαπτομένην πολεμίων, πρὶν τὸν ναὸν 380 τὸν ἀγίου οὖτως ἀνασώσεις ἐξορωφυγμένον. ἐπει δὲ ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἀγεννῆς ἐλπὶς ἐβουκόλησεν, ὡς τάχα ποὺ δυνήσεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπὲρ αὐτὴς

¹ PA: παιδίαν the rest.
² ἀνηρμενῶν PAL: ἀνηρηκότων αὐτήν 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? Uprooted from her base she has been swept away, and the sole memorial of her remaining is that of the slain still quartered in her ruins! Hapless old men sit beside the ashes of the shrine and a few women, reserved by the enemy for basest outrage.

"Which of us, taking these things to heart, could bear to behold the sun, even could he live secure from peril? Who such a foe to his country, so unmanly, so fond of life, as not to regret that he is still alive to-day? Nay, I would that we had all been dead ere ever we saw that holy city razed by an enemy's hands, that sacred sanctuary so profanely uprooted! But seeing that we have been beguiled by a not ignoble hope, that we might perchance find means of..."
αμύνασθαι, φρούδη δὲ γέγονε νῦν καὶ μόνους ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης καταλέλοιπεν, σπεύσωμεν καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν, ἐλεήσωμεν ἡμᾶς αὐτούς καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναίκας, ἦσαν ἡμῖν ἔξεστιν παρ'

381 ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λαβεῖν τὸν ἔλεον. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ θάνατον ἐγεννηθήμεν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐγεννηθήσαμεν, καὶ τούτον οὐδὲ τοῖς εὐδαιμονοῦσιν ἔστι

382 διαφυγεῖν. ὕβρις δὲ καὶ δουλεία καὶ τὸ βλέπειν γυναίκας εἰς αἰσχύνην ἀγομένας μετὰ τέκνων οὐκ ἔστω ἀνθρώποις κακῶν ἐκ φύσεως ἀναγκαῖον, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν δειλίαν ὑπομένουσιν οἱ παρὸν πρὸ αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν μὴ θελήσαντες.

383 ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπ' ἀνδρεία μέγα φρονοῦντες 'Ρωμαίων ἀπέστημεν καὶ τὰ τελευταία νῦν ἐπὶ σωτηρία

384 προκαλουμένων ἡμᾶς οὐχ ὑπηκούσαμεν. τινὶ τοῖς οὐκ ἔστων ο θυμὸς αὐτῶν πρόδηλος, εἰ ζωντων ἡμῶν κρατήσουσιν; ἄθλιοι μὲν οἱ νέοι τῆς ρώμης τῶν σωμάτων εἰς πολλὰς αἰκίας ἀρκέσοντες, ἄθλιοι δ' οἱ παρηθηκότες φέρειν τῆς

385 ἡλικίας τὰς συμφορὰς οὐ δυναμένης. ὀψεταί τις γυναίκα πρὸς βιάν ἀγομένην, φωνῆς ἐπακούσσεται τέκνου πατέρα βοώντος χείρας δεδεμένος;

386 ἄλλ' ἐως εἰσὶν ἐλεύθεραι καὶ ξίφος ἑκουσιν, καλὴν ὑπουργίαν ὑπουργησάτωσαν· ἀδούλωτοι μὲν ύπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποθάνωμεν, ἐλεύθεροι δὲ μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν τοῦ ζῆν συνεξέλθωμεν.

387 ταῦθ' ἡμᾶς οἱ νόμοι κελεύσαν, ταῦθ' ἡμᾶς γυναικές καὶ παῖδες ἴκετεύσουσι· τούτων τῇ ἀνάγκῃ θεὸς ἀπέσταλκε, τούτων 'Ρωμαίοι τὰναντία θέλουσι, καὶ μὴ τις ἡμῶν πρὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως

388 ἀποθάνῃ δεδοίκασι. σπεύσωμεν οὖν ἀντὶ τῆς

1 ἐκέλευε 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. Who then can fail to foresee their wrath if they take us alive? Wretched will be the young whose vigorous frames can sustain many tortures, wretched the more advanced in years whose age is incapable of bearing such calamities. Is a man to see his wife led off to violation, to hear the voice of his child crying 'Father!' when his own hands are bound? No, while those hands are free and grasp the sword, let them render an honourable service. Unenslaved by the foe let us die, as free men with our children and wives let us quit this life together! This our laws enjoin, this our wives and children implore of us. The need for this is of God's sending, the reverse of this is the Romans' desire, and their fear is lest a single one of us should die before capture. Haste

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*a* vi. 350 f.  
*b* Or "by violence."  
*c* Rhetorical statement: the Law contains no such express injunction.  
*d* Or perhaps "ordering."
Ελπιζομένης αυτοίς καθ’ ήμῶν ἀπολαύσεως ἐκπλήξων τοῦ θανάτου καὶ θαύμα τῆς τόλμης καταλιπέων.”

389 (ix. 1) "Ετε βουλόμενον αὐτὸν παρακαλεῖν πάντες ὑπετέμνοντο καὶ πρὸς τὴν πράξειν ἡπείροντο, ἀνεπισχέτου τινὸς ὄρμης πεπληρωμένοι, καὶ δαυμονῶντες ἀπήσαν ἄλλος πρὸ ἄλλου φθάσαι γλυχόμενος καὶ ταύτην ἐπιδείξειν εἰναι τῆς ἀνδρείας καὶ τῆς εὐθυμίας νομίζοντες, τὸ μῆ τις ἐν ὑστάτοις γενόμενον ὄφθηναι τοσοῦτος αὐτοῖς γυναῖκῶν καὶ παιδίων καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν σφαγῆς ἔρως ἐνέπεσεν.

390 καὶ μὴν οὐδ’ ὀπερ ἂν τις ὦθητι τῇ πράξει προσιόντες ἡμβλυνθησαν, ἀλλ’ ἀτενὶ τὴν γνώμην διεφύλαξαν ὃν ἐσχον τῶν λόγων ἀκροῶμενοι, τοῦ μὲν οἰκείου καὶ φιλοστόργου πάθους ἀπασι παραμένοντος, τοῦ λογισμοῦ δὲ ὡς τα κράτιστα

391 βεβουλευκότος τοῖς φιλτάτοις ἐπικρατοῦντος. ὁμοὶ γὰρ ἡσπάζοντο γυναῖκας περιπτυσσόμενοι καὶ τέκνα προσηγκαλίζοντο τοῖς υστάτοις φιλήμασιν

392 ἐμφυόμενοι καὶ δακρύνοντες, ὁμοὶ δὲ καθάπερ ἀλλοτρίας χερσὶν ὑπονεωμένους συνετέλουν τὸ βουλευμα, τὴν ἑπίνοιαν ὃν πείσονται κακῶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πολεμίους γενόμενοι παραμυθίων τῆς ἐν τῷ

393 κτεῖνεων ἀνάγκης ἔχοντες. καὶ πέρας οὐδεὶς τηλικοῦτον τολμήματος ἦττων εὑρέθη, πάντες δὲ διὰ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων διεξήλθον, ἄθλιοι τῆς ἀνάγκης, οἳς αὐτοχειρὶ γυναῖκας τὰς αὐτῶς καὶ τέκνα

394 κτεῖναι κακῶν ἐδοξεῖν εἰναι τὸ κουφότατον. οὕτε ὅτι τοῖς τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ὀδύνην ὑπὸ φέροντες καὶ τοὺς ἀνηρμενεύονς νομίζοντες ἀδικεῖν εἰ καὶ βραχὺν αὐτοῖς ἔτι χρόνον ἐπιζήσουσι, ταχύ

1 Destinon with Lat.: οὖτοι 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,
μὲν τὴν κτήσιν ἀπασαν εἰς ταύτῳ σωρεύσαντες
395 πῦρ εἰς αὐτὴν ἐνέβαλον, κλήρῳ δ’ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐλόμενοι δέκα τοὺς ἀπάντων σφαγεῖς ἐσομένους, καὶ γυναικὶ τις αὐτῶν καὶ παισὶ κειμένοις παραστρώσας καὶ τὰς χεῖρας περιβαλὼν, παρεῖχον ἐτοίμους τὰς σφαγὰς τοῖς τὴν δύστην ὑποουργίαν
396 ἐκτελοῦσιν. οἱ δ’ ἀτρέπτως¹ πάντας φονεύσαντες τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπ’ ἀλλήλοις τοῦ κλήρου νόμον ὁρισαν, ἵν’ ο λαχῶν τοὺς ἐννέα κτεῖνας ἐαυτὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄνελῃ. πάντες οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἐθάρρων μὴ τ’ εἰς τὸ δρᾶν μὴ τ’ εἰς τὸ παθεῖν ἄλλος ἄλλου διαφέρειν.
397 καὶ τέλος οἱ μὲν τὰς σφαγὰς ὑπέθεσαν, ὁ δὲ εἰς καὶ τελευταῖος τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κειμένων περαιθήσας, μὴ ποὺ τις ἡτ’ ἐν πολλῷ φόνῳ τῆς αὐτοῦ λειπεῖσκοι χειρὸς δεόμενος, ὡς ἐγνώ πάντας ἀνηριμένους, πῦρ μὲν πολὺ τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐνίσχυσα, ἀθρῶ ἢ ἡ χειρὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ πάν ἐλάσας τὸ ἔθος
398 πλησίον τῶν οἰκείων κατέπεσε. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐτεθυκεσαν ὑπειληφότες οὐδὲν ἔχουν ψυχὴν ὑποχείριον
399 ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἠρωδαίοις καταλιπεῖν, ἔλαβεν δὲ γυνὴ πρεσβυτὶς καὶ συγγενῆς ἐτέρας τις Ἡλεαζάρου, φρονήσει καὶ παιδείᾳ πλείστων γυναικῶν διαφέρουσα, καὶ πέντε παιδία τοῖς ὑπονόμοις, οἱ ποτὸν ἤγγον υδὸρ διὰ γῆς, ³ ἐγκατακρυβήναι τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς τῇ σφαγῇ τὰς διανοίας ἐχόντων, οἱ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἦσαν ἐξήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς ἐνακοσίοις γυναικῶν ἁμα καὶ παιδῶν αὐτοῖς συναριθμομένων.
400 καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐπράξθη πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ Σανθικοῦ μηνὸς.

¹ PA: ἀτρέπτως the rest (cf. § 370).
² ἑταίρα ML (cf. § 404).
³ trs. δ.ά γῆς υδὼρ Α.
⁴ abditi Lat.: ἐγκατακρυβέσαι Destinon.
they quickly piled together all the stores and set them on fire; then, having chosen by lot ten of their number to dispatch the rest, they laid themselves down each beside his prostrate wife and children, and, flinging their arms around them, offered their throats in readiness for the executants of the melancholy office. These, having unswervingly slaughtered all, ordained the same rule of the lot for one another, that he on whom it fell should slay first the nine and then himself last of all; such mutual confidence had they all that neither in acting nor in suffering would one differ from another. Finally, then, the nine bared their throats, and the last solitary survivor, after surveying the prostrate multitude, to see whether haply amid the shambles there were yet one left who needed his hand, and finding that all were slain, set the palace ablaze, and then collecting his strength drove his sword clean through his body and fell beside his family. They had died in the belief that they had left not a soul of them alive to fall into Roman hands; but an old woman and another, a relative of Eleazar, superior in sagacity and training to most of her sex, with five children, escaped by concealing themselves in the subterranean aqueducts, while the rest were absorbed in the slaughter. The victims numbered nine hundred and sixty, including women and children; and the tragedy occurred on the fifteenth of the month Xanthicus.

The seven survivors.

\* 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.).