

JOSEPHVS
CARTA'S
ILLUSTRATED
THE JEWISH
WAR

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK BY
WILLIAM WHISTON



INTRODUCED BY
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INTRODUCTION

R. Steven Notley

The revolt against Rome in A.D. 66–70 proved to be a watershed in the history of the Jewish people. It brought with it the destruction of the holy city, its legendary temple and the loss of any national independence—a political reality that continued for almost two millennia. Sixty years after the revolt, a second uprising (A.D. 132–135) led by Shimon bar Kokhba (Simeon bar Kosevah) likewise ended in devastating defeat. The second insurrection, in fact, presented a much greater challenge to the empire. An entire Roman legion disappeared from the pages of history, apparently the casualty of the Jewish conflict. The outcome of the struggle was in question, and so the emperor Hadrian visited his troops to encourage them. In his report to the Senate, the emperor failed to open with the traditional greeting, “I and the legions are in health,” signaling that all was not going well (Dio Cassius, 69.14.3). In spite of the severity of this second determined Jewish rebellion that brought Rome to the brink of defeat, we have very little firsthand information about the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

So, it is one of history’s ironies that the reason we have such an abundance of detail about the earlier, first Jewish revolt against Rome is because of the writings of Flavius Josephus, a turncoat, who was an eyewitness to the events. Josephus was born Joseph ben Mattathias in A.D. 37, the first year of the reign of Gaius Caligula (*Life* 1 §5). He descended from priestly lineage and claimed that his mother belonged to the family of the Hasmoneans (*Life* 1 §2), priest-kings who had ruled a century before Josephus was born. He was educated in Jerusalem, and in his early years he explored the varieties of contemporary Jewish thought (*Life* 2 §10: Sadducees, Pharisees, Essenes), including three years with the hermit Bannus (*Life* 2 §11). In the end he decided in favor of the approach of the Pharisees, likely because of their widespread popularity (*Ant.* 18.1.3 §15).

At the young age of 26, Josephus was selected to lead a delegation in A.D. 64 to Rome to appeal to the emperor Nero to release Jewish priests who had been imprisoned there (*Life* 3 §13). Perhaps on account of the successful completion of his mission to Rome, two years later, Josephus was chosen by the Jewish leadership in Jerusalem to take responsibility for the preparation of the defenses in Galilee against Rome’s anticipated assault on Judea. In *The Jewish War* he lists the cities that benefited from his efforts (*J.W.* 2.19.6 §573). For such an important task, it is remarkable that we have no record of Josephus’ previous military experience.

There is some question how fervent Josephus’ support for the revolt actually was. In his autobiography written shortly before his death he indicates that he was chosen, not because of his military expertise but because the Jerusalem leadership hoped he could convince the rebels to fight only in their self-defense (*Life* 4 §17). In other words, his primary task was to dampen the embers of the rebellion. Whatever his own disposition towards the revolt against Rome, archaeological remains from Josephus’ efforts indicate that they presented a minimal defense at best.

According to his account, Josephus personally led the defense of Jotapata (*J.W.* 3.7.3–30 §§141–288; 3.7.33–8.1 §§316–344). In the face of sure defeat, the fighters at Jotapata chose death over surrender (*J.W.* 3.8.6–7 §§383–391). Rather than each man taking his own life, Josephus appealed to

them to draw lots to determine who would kill the others before taking his own life. He manipulated the outcome and was one of two at the end left alive. He then convinced his fellow survivor that they could serve better purposes, if they lived. The veracity of the details of this episode has been questioned, in no small part because of Josephus' repeated accounts of glorified Jewish suicide (Arbel: *J.W.* 1.16.4 §§309–313; Gamala: *J.W.* 4.1.10 §§70–83; Masada: *J.W.* 7.8.1–9.2 §§252–406)—an act at odds with the Jewish faith.

For our interests what is important is that out of the defeat at Jotapata, Josephus fell into the hands of the general Vespasian. When he discovered that Vespasian intended to send him as a prisoner to Nero, he asked for a private meeting. Alone with Vespasian and his son Titus, Josephus proceeded to predict that the general would soon be declared the emperor, and that after his death his son would follow him on the throne (*J.W.* 3.8.9 §§399–408; see Suetonius, *Vesp.* 5.6; Appian, *Fragment* 17; Dio Cassius, 66:1). Fortune smiled upon Josephus. A few days later word arrived informing Vespasian that Nero had died and that he had been chosen to be Caesar. Rather than send his prisoner away, the new ruler opted to keep this intriguing Jewish figure in his entourage.

Modern historians have looked askance at the report of Josephus' prediction. A nearly identical story is told in the rabbinic sources about Johanan ben Zakkai (*b. Git.* 56a–b), who made a similar prophecy to Vespasian during the siege of Jerusalem. Yet, rather than suggest that either Josephus or the rabbis adopted the other's story for their own purposes, it may be that these prognostications reflect the rumors of succession that were widespread and well-known (see also *J.W.* 6.5.4 §312; Suetonius, *Vesp.* 4; Tacitus, *Hist.* 5:13).

When Vespasian traveled to Rome from Alexandria, Titus returned to Judea to prosecute the siege of Jerusalem with Josephus at his side. The Jewish prisoner-now-ally proved to be an asset, at times appealing to his countrymen to abandon the folly of their resistance to Rome (*J.W.* 7.2.1–2 §96–117). According to his own reports, these appeals were only partly successful, but they underscore his shift in loyalties to Rome. At the conclusion of the war, Josephus was rewarded with land in Judea, Roman citizenship, a residence in Rome and a pension (*Life* 76 §422–423). It was from his new home in Rome that he penned four works that have come down to us today: *The Jewish War*, *Jewish Antiquities*, *Life*, and *Against Apion*.

The writings of Josephus likely would have been lost, except for the efforts to preserve them by the Church. Christian interest was doubtless because of Josephus' testimony concerning three figures from the New Testament: John the Baptist (*Ant.* 18.1.2 §§116–119); James the brother of Jesus (*Ant.* 20.9.1 §§197–203); and the famous *Testimonium Flavium* concerning Jesus of Nazareth (*Ant.* 18.3.3 §63–64).

We have no record of Josephus' death, but scholars assume that he died in Rome during the reign of Trajan sometime after A.D. 100. In the space remaining we will consider briefly each of his works in the order that they were written.

The Jewish War. Josephus' history of the first Jewish revolt was probably written within ten years of the end of the conflict (c. 79), although, there is a question whether the final Book 7 was a later addition composed during the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81–96). The perspective of *The Jewish War* is Roman, and is in the style of other Roman military histories. Josephus presents the insurrection as a misguided effort instigated by extremist elements that the writer calls the Fourth Philosophy (*Ant.* 18.1.1 §9). By contrast in *The Jewish War* Josephus minimizes his description of Roman excesses, and even reports that Titus had no desire for the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem (*J.W.* 6.4.3 §241), an assertion that agrees with the opinion of the rabbinic sources (*b. Git.* 56b) and Roman history (Dio Cassius, 6.65). However, this picture of Titus does not square with Josephus' statement in his later report found in Book 7: "(Titus) gave orders that they should now demolish the entire city and temple" (*J.W.* 7.1.1 §1). The shift in culpability for the temple's destruction is also witnessed in *Jewish Antiquities* 20.10.5 §250 (see Sulpicius Severus, *Chronica* 2.30.6–7).

For the content of his history Josephus augments his own firsthand information with the memoirs of Vespasian and Titus (*Life* 65 §342). To these he added details gleaned from his communications

with King Agrippa II (*Life* 65 §364), the Jewish client king who ruled Judea on behalf of the Romans during the revolt. Josephus claims that he originally wrote *The Jewish War* in his ancestral language (*J.W.* 1.1.1 §3), which modern scholars have assumed to be Aramaic, because he states that the original account was first sent to the Aramaic-speaking Jewish community in Babylonia. The question of the original audience notwithstanding, there are unmistakable examples of Hebraisms preserved in Josephus' Greek text that can not have been Aramaic (e.g., *J.W.* 5.6.3 §272). Whatever the language of the original, the Greek text that has come to us is the most refined of his four works, and it presents his finest command of the Greek language, likely an indication of the editorial assistance given to him in Rome.

Jewish Antiquities. His history of the Jewish people is the longest and most complex of Josephus' compositions. It was intended to convince non-Jews of the antiquity of the Jewish people and is patterned after *Antiquitates Romanae* by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Josephus' work traces the history of the Jewish people from their biblical beginnings to the days of the Jewish revolt against Rome in A.D. 66–70. In the preface the author claims that he will give precise details, and neither add nor omit anything (*Ant.* Proem 3 §17). Nevertheless, the accounts found in the biblical narrative often part company in detail with the traditions of the Hebrew Bible. While there is no reason to assume that Josephus was unable to read the Hebrew Bible, the text he preserves more often approximates the textual tradition of the Greek Bible (Septuagint). One of the important contributions of Books 1–11 in Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* is the insight they provide on the state of the biblical text in the first century A.D., and the ways in which scripture was interpreted.

The historical details given in Josephus' treatise are a study in contrasts, which is likely a consequence of the number and the quality of his sources. The period from Ezra to Alexander the Great (*Ant.* Book 11) provides us the least information about any of the periods he recounts, either because there was not much to relate in terms of significant Jewish history or because of the lack of written sources available to the author. Only a slight increase in information can be seen in the Ptolemaic period (*Ant.* 12.1.1–3.2 §§1–128) for which Josephus relies heavily upon the Letter of Aristeas.

Perhaps because of his own Hasmonean heritage, Josephus writes extensively about the Jewish struggle for freedom against the Seleucids led by Judas Maccabaeus and his brothers. One of the historian's main sources for the account of the military struggle and the early decades of the Hasmonean rule (*Ant.* 12.5.3–13.16.6 §§12.246–13.432) is the Book of First Maccabees. Following upon this the historian writes in great detail about the man who unseated the Hasmoneans—Herod the Great (37–4 B.C.; *Ant.* Books 15–17). It seems that Josephus had access to the archives of Herod's court historian, Nicolaus of Damascus, whom he cites regularly (*Ant.* 1.2.6 §94; 1.7.2 §159; 7.5.2 §101; 12.3.2 §§126–127, etc.). Herod's great-grandson, King Agrippa II, may have also proven a valuable source for Herodian family history (*Life* 65 §§362–366). While Josephus strongly criticized Herod's excesses, he recognized the important role Herod played in forging the Jewish nation's political alliance with the Roman empire.

Life. Josephus' life story is the first autobiography to be preserved in antiquity. It was written in answer to attacks on him by Justus of Tiberias, who accused Josephus of misconduct in Galilee before the arrival of Vespasian. In his defense the historian drew from testimony by his friend King Agrippa II (*Life* 65 §§365–366). *Life* first appeared as an appendix to the second edition of *Jewish Antiquities* and likely was published in A.D. 93/94.

Against Apion. The last of Josephus' literary works, this short treatise follows in the genre of the Greek apologists. It consists of two parts in which Josephus refutes the growing antisemitism of his day. The first book draws largely from works that are no longer extant in a defense of the Jewish people. The second part is an affirmation of the positive value of Judaism in comparison to Hellenism. In *Apion* 2:14–41 §§145–295 it seems that Josephus has modelled his argument after the first-century Jewish philosopher, Philo's *Hypothetica*.

USERS' GUIDE

Maps: To facilitate comparison of Josephus' account with the latest scholarly research, the map numbers follow those appearing in *The Carta Bible Atlas*, 5th edition (duotone; Jerusalem 2011). These maps and their text can also be accessed in *The Sacred Bridge: Carta's Atlas of the Biblical World* (Jerusalem 2006, 2014), as follows:

Josephus: <i>Carta's Illustrated The Jewish War</i> (page number)	The Carta Bible Atlas (map number)	The Sacred Bridge (page number)
1	207	306
2	216	313
2	218	315
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9	239	335
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201	290	395
212	291	395

Maps and plans derived from other sources are referenced adjacent to each item.

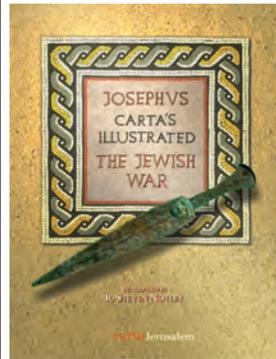
Illustrations: The archaeological treasures discovered over long years make it possible to illustrate Josephus' story with contemporary remains and relics; we have endeavored to include a decent sampling of enlightening details. An additional feature is the landscapes. Some are as pristine today as they were then; others illustrate the scene as it is today.

Name search: For quick and easy location, names in the text have been color coded as follows:

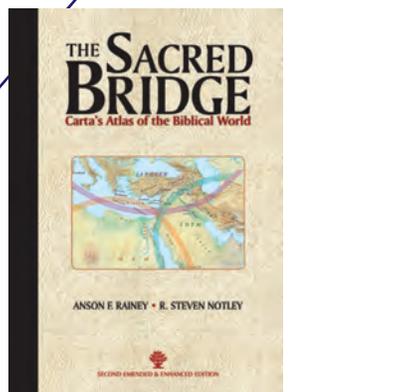
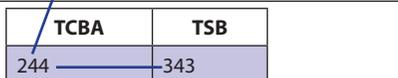
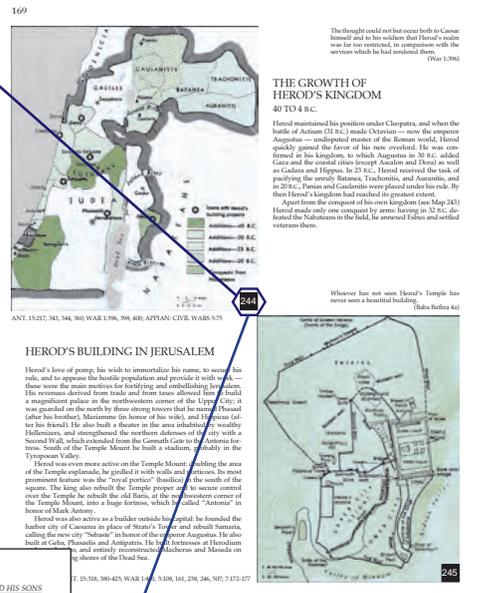
- Persons/Peoples (red): e.g., **Vespasian**
- Places (blue): e.g., **Jerusalem**
- References (green): e.g., **(35)**

A note on references: One of the challenges for modern readers of Josephus' works is that the current English translations are based on either one of two completely different referencing systems. Most popular editions of Josephus use William Whiston's English translation (1737) that divided the Jewish author's writings according to book, chapter, and paragraph (e.g., *Jewish War* 3.10.7–8). A decidedly different referencing system was created a century later by Benedictus Niese, who published the standard Greek edition of Josephus (1885–1895). His small-unit numbering system (e.g., *Jewish War* 3.506–521 for the same passage cited above according to Whiston) was adopted by Henry St. John Thackeray for the Loeb Classical Library edition that is used by most students and scholars in the academic world. *Carta's Illustrated The Jewish War* has sought to bridge these differences by providing the reader a combined referencing system. The primary division is according to Whiston's book, chapter, and paragraph; but the reader will find included the Loeb small-unit reference numbers in parentheses and highlighted in green font. If the reader needs to find a passage in *The Jewish War* cited in a book or article reference, with Carta's combined referencing system no matter which system has been used by the author, the reader will be able to find it with ease.

JOSEPHUS: CARTA'S ILLUSTRATED THE JEWISH WAR



THE CARTA BIBLE ATLAS (TCBA)



THE JEWISH WAR BOOK 1

THE GROWTH OF HEROD'S KINGDOM 40-44 A.D.
 Antony was dead, he did not only bestow other marks of honor upon him, but made additions to his kingdom, by giving him not only the country which had been taken from him by Cleopatra, but besides that, Galilee, and Hippis, and Samaria, and more of the maritime cities, Gaza and Jericho, and Joppa, and Strato's Tower. He also made him a present of four hundred Greek Colonians as a guard for his body, which they had taken to Cleopatra before. Nor did any thing so strongly induce Caesar to make these presents the generosity of him that received them.

4. Now Moreover, after the first games at Actium, he added to his kingdom both the region called Trachonitis, and what lay in its neighborhood, Batanaea, and the country of Auranitis; and that on the following occasion Zenodorus, who had had the house of Lycaonia, had all along sent robbers out of Trachonitis among the Damascusians who thence had recourse to Syria, the president of Syria, and desired of him that he would represent the calamity they were in to Caesar. When Caesar was acquainted with it, he sent back orders that this sort of robbers should be destroyed. Now Vero therefore made an expedition against them, and cleared the head of those men, and took it away from Zenodorus. Caesar did also afterward bestow on Herod, that it might not again become a receptacle for those robbers that had come against Damascus. He also made him a procurator of all Syria, and this on the tenth year afterward, when he came again into that province; and this was so established, that the other procurators could not do any thing in the administration without his advice: and but when Zenodorus was dead, Caesar bestowed on him all that land which lay between Trachonitis and Galilee. Yet, what was still of more consequence to Herod, he was beloved by Caesar next after Marcus Agrippa, and by Agrippa next after Caesar; whence he arrived at a very great degree of felicity. Yet did the greatness of his soul exceed it, and the main part of his magnanimity was extended to the promotion of piety.

CHAPTER 21.
OF THE TEMPLE AND OTHER THINGS WHICH WERE BUILT BY HEROD AND EFFECTS FROM HIS VERY FONDNESS AS ALSO OF THOSE OTHER THINGS THAT WERE ERRECTED BY HIM, AND WHAT MAGNIFICENCE HE SHOWED TO FOREIGNERS; AND HOW HE WAS IN ALL THINGS FAVORABLE TO KING.

1. Now ACCORDINGLY in the fifth year of his reign, Herod rebuilt the temple, and encompassed a piece of land about with a wall, which land was twice as large as that before enclosed. The houses he laid out upon it were vastly large also, and the riches that were there were uncalculable. A sign of which you have the great cloisters that were erected about the temple, and the citadel which was built from the top of the mountain to the bottom of the sea, but the temple he repaired at a vast expense; nor was it other than a royal palace, in honor of his ancestors. He also built a palace in the Upper city two very large and magnificent apartments; to which house he could not get access by any other way, but by a private way, the name he named Casarium, which was the most great of his works.

2. Now he did not preserve them merely by practical only, with their names given them, but he was so industrious as to erect cities for when he had built a most beautiful country in Samaria, twenty furlongs long, and about five thousand inhabitants into it, and had allotted to it a piece of land, and in the midst of this city, thus built,

Herod maintained his position under Cleopatra, and when the battle of Actium (31 B.C.) made Octavian — now the emperor Augustus — undisputed master of the Roman world, Herod quickly gained the favor of his new overlord. He was confirmed as his kingdom, to which Augustus in 30 B.C. added Gaza and the coastal cities (except Acre) and Dora as well as Caesarea and Hippus. In 27 B.C., Herod received the task of pacifying the unruly Batanaea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis, and in 25 B.C., Taurus and Golanitis were placed under his rule. By then Herod's kingdom had reached its greatest extent. Apart from the conquest of his own Augustus, Herod also founded the Nabataean in the field, he removed Jewish and Christian veterans there.

Herod was not seen Herod's Temple has never seen a beautiful building. (Herod Herod 44)

THE SACRED BRIDGE (TSB)

CHAPTER 21. HEROD AND HIS SONS
 royal ruler" (6: Herod and Malchus, king of Arabia, 10: 100-104). Although Antony refused the full scope of Cleopatra's desire, he granted Cleopatra the coastal regions that included Herod's to the Palestinian north of Batanaea, with the exception of Tyre and Sidon (10: 104-105; 10: 106-107).

The queen's territorial ambitions left Herod in danger of having no access to the sea with the loss of his ports and coastal settlements. Antony then awarded him lands around Jericho and in the Transjordan (10: 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112). Herod was able to mitigate this loss of territory by arranging to lease from Cleopatra, "those parts of Arabia that had been given to her and also the revenues of the region about Jericho" (10: 110). According to Josephus, Herod paid two hundred talents to lease his own lands and then served as a security for the return from Arabia (10: 112, 113, 114, 115). Herod struggled to collect the payments due from Malchus, and he was prepared to march against him when he learned of Cleopatra's death.

Herod offered to fight alongside Antony, but Malchus instead. Herod's first battle with the Nabataean was at Chasidim (10: 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

Herod's first battle with the Nabataean was at Chasidim (10: 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 9

BOOK I

FROM THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, TO THE DEATH OF HEROD THE GREAT

CHAPTER 1

HOW THE CITY **JERUSALEM** WAS TAKEN, AND THE TEMPLE PILLAGED [BY **ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES**]. AS ALSO CONCERNING THE ACTIONS OF THE **MACCABEES**, **MATTHIAS** AND **JUDAS**; AND CONCERNING THE DEATH OF **JUDAS**.

- (31) AT the same time that **Antiochus [IV]**, who was called **Epiphanes**, had a quarrel with the **sixth Ptolemy** about his right to the whole country of **Syria**, a great sedition fell among the men of power in **Judea**, and they had a contention about obtaining the government; while each of those that were of dignity could not endure to be subject to their equals. However, **Onias**, one of the high priests, got the better, and cast the sons of **Tobias** out of the city; (32) who fled to **Antiochus**, and besought him to make use of them for his leaders, and to make an expedition into **Judea**. The king being thereto disposed beforehand, complied with them, and came upon the **Jews** with a great army, and took their city by force, and slew a great multitude of those that favored **Ptolemy**, and sent out his soldiers to plunder them without mercy. He also spoiled the temple, and put a stop to the constant practice of offering a daily sacrifice of expiation for three years and six months. (33) But **Onias**, the high priest, fled to **Ptolemy**, and received a place from him in the Nomus of **Heliopolis**, where he built a city resembling **Jerusalem**, and a temple that was like its temple concerning which we shall speak more in its proper place hereafter.
- (34) Now **Antiochus** was not satisfied either with his unexpected taking the city, or with its pillage, or with the great slaughter he had made there; but being overcome with his violent passions, and remembering what he had suffered during the siege, he compelled the **Jews** to dissolve the laws of their country, and to keep their infants uncircumcised, and to sacrifice swine's flesh upon the

altar; (35) against which they all opposed themselves, and the most approved among them were put to death. **Bacchides** also, who was sent to keep the fortresses, having these wicked commands, joined to his own natural barbarity, indulged all sorts of the extremest wickedness, and tormented the worthiest of the inhabitants, man by man, and threatened their city every day with open destruction, till at length he provoked the poor sufferers by the extremity of his wicked doings to avenge themselves.

- (36) Accordingly **Matthias**, the son of **Asamoneus**, one of the priests who lived in a village called **Modin**, armed himself, together with his own family, which had five sons of his in it, and slew **Bacchides** with daggers; and thereupon, out of the fear of the many garrisons [of the enemy], he fled to the mountains; (37) and so many of the people followed him, that he was encouraged to come down from the mountains, and to give battle to **Antiochus's** generals, when he beat them, and drove them out of **Judea**. So he came to the government by this his success, and became the prince of his own people by their own free consent, and then died, leaving the government to **Judas**, his eldest son.

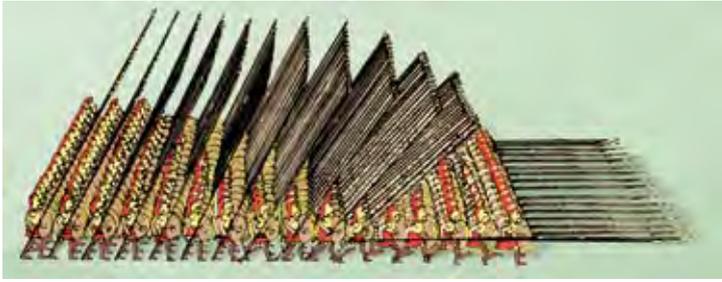
- (38) Now **Judas**, supposing that **Antiochus** would not lie still, gathered an army out of his own countrymen, and was the first that made a league of friendship with the Romans, and drove **Epiphanes** out of the country when he had made a second expedition into it, and this by giving him a great defeat there; (39) and when he was warmed by this great success, he made an assault upon the garrison that was in the city, for it had not been cut off hitherto; so he ejected them out of the upper city, and drove the soldiers into the lower, which part of the city was called the Citadel. He then got the temple under his power, and cleansed the whole place, and walled it round about, and made new vessels for

EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGNS OF ANTIOCHUS IV 170-167 B.C.



Coin of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. (Carta collection)





Macedonian phalanx. (Carta collection)

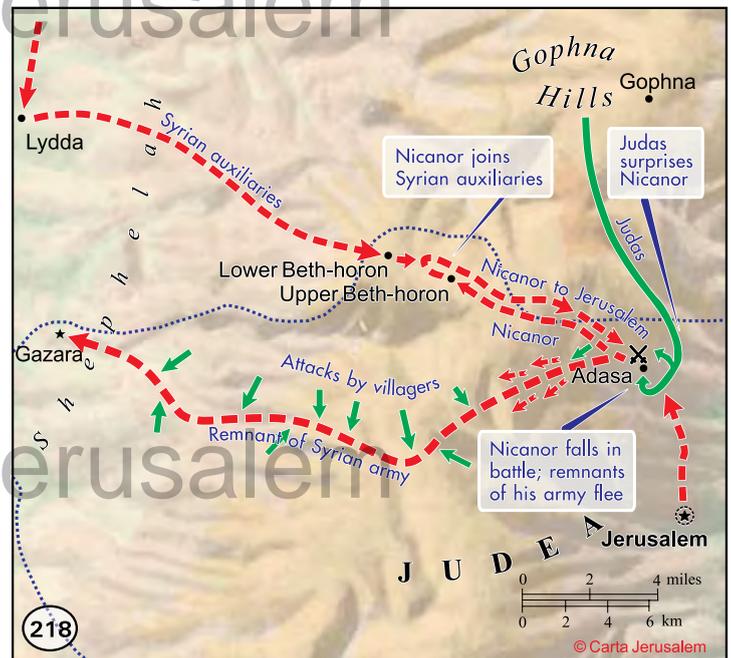
sacred ministrations, and brought them into the temple, because the former vessels had been profaned. He also built another altar, and began to offer the sacrifices; (40) and when the city had already received its sacred constitution again, Antiochus [IV] died; whose son Antiochus [V] succeeded him in the kingdom, and in his hatred to the Jews also.

5. (41) So this Antiochus got together fifty thousand footmen, and five thousand horsemen, and fourscore elephants, and marched through Judea into the mountainous parts. He then took Bethsura, which was a small city; but at a place called Bethzacharis, where the passage was narrow, Judas met him with his army. (42) However, before the forces joined battle, Judas's brother Eleazar, seeing the very highest of the elephants adorned with a large tower, and with military trappings of gold to guard him, and supposing that Antiochus himself was upon him, he ran a great way before his own army, and cutting his way through the enemy's troops, he got up to the elephant; (43) yet could he not reach him who seemed to be the king, by reason of his being so high; but still he ran his weapon into the belly of the beast, and brought him down upon himself, and was crushed to death, having done no more than attempted great things, and showed that he preferred glory before life. (44) Now he that governed the elephant was but a private man; and had he proved to be Antiochus, Eleazar had performed nothing more by this bold stroke than that it might appear he chose to die, when he had the bare hope of thereby doing a glorious action; (45) nay, this disappointment proved an omen to his brother [Judas] how the entire battle would end. It is true that the Jews fought it out bravely for a long time, but the king's forces, being superior in number, and having fortune on

their side, obtained the victory. And when a great many of his men were slain, Judas took the rest with him, and fled to the toparchy of Gophna. (46) So Antiochus went to Jerusalem, and staid there but a few days, for he wanted provisions, and so he went his way. He left indeed a garrison behind him, such as he thought sufficient to keep the place, but drew the rest of his army off, to take their winter-quarters in Syria.

6. (47) Now, after the king was departed, Judas was not idle; for as many of his own nation came to him, so did he gather those that had escaped out of the battle together, and gave battle again to Antiochus's generals at a village called Adasa; and being too hard for his enemies in the battle, and killing a great number of them, he was at last himself slain also. Nor was it many days afterward that his brother John had a plot laid against him by Antiochus's party, and was slain by them.

THE BATTLE OF ADASA 161 B.C.



CHAPTER 2.

CONCERNING THE SUCCESSORS OF JUDAS, WHO WERE JONATHAN AND SIMON, AND JOHN HYRCANUS.

1. (48) WHEN Jonathan, who was Judas's brother, succeeded him, he behaved himself with great circumspection in other respects, with relation to his own people; and he corroborated his authority by preserving his friendship with the Romans. He also made a league with Antiochus [VI] the son. Yet was not all this sufficient for his security; (49) for the tyrant Trypho, who was guardian to Antiochus's son, laid a plot against him; and besides that, endeavored to take off his friends, and caught Jonathan by a wife, as he was going to Ptolemais to Antiochus, with a few persons in his company, and put him in bonds, and then made an expedition against the Jews; but when he was afterward driven away by Simon, who was Jonathan's brother, and was enraged at his defeat, he put Jonathan to death.

2. (50) However, Simon managed the public affairs after a courageous manner, and took Gazara, and Joppa, and Jamnia, which were cities in his neighborhood. He also got the garrison under, and demolished the citadel. He was afterward an auxiliary to Antiochus, against Trypho, whom he besieged in Dora, before he went on

THE BATTLE OF BETH-ZACHARIS/ BETH-ZECHARIAH 162 B.C.

