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Report on the Dissertation Submitted by Laurence Rubinstein for
the Master of Arts in Hebrew Literature Degree and Ordination

THE JOSIPPON OF JOSEPH BEN GORION:
A TRANSLATION OF PART I WITH AN INTRODUCTION
AND SOURCE ANALYSIS

I write a single report on the theses of Messrs. Rubinstein, Patz and Zoll because though they work separately and independently, theirs was an effort unified by zeal and devotion to scholarship, exemplary eagerness to complete a difficult task, and the praiseworthy intention of providing together the first full translation made in English of any version of the Yossippon. Regularly these men consulted with me individually or in a group to work out problems involved in the handling of the texts so that the finished copy might have a unified format and a relative uniformity of expression.

The work done by each of these men was massive, and the time they spent went far beyond the requirements of duty. Each man translated one third of the Yossippon. Each studied a number of the major sources which the pseudonymous author of the Yossippon used. Each prepared a lengthy section of notes and an introduction to accompany the translation.

The work of all three men is of an exceptionally high quality. To be sure there are a number of mistranslations in the work of each, as well as a misunderstanding of proper names, sentence structure and the like. There are also several infelicitous translations. The theses at present are not ready for publication: they require editing, a completion of source analysis and a much more detailed introduction. But they should be published.

The faults that I have indicated are relatively few and minor, and my mention of them should not be so construed as to detract from the value of the theses or from their real contribution to Jewish learning.

It is therefore with great pleasure that I recommend the acceptance of this thesis.

Respectfully submitted,



Martin A. Cohen

April 30, 1965

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SOURCE ANALYSIS

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Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements
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To Dr. Martin A. Cohen of the Faculty of the Hebrew Union College, New York School, I would like to extend my thanks for his suggestion and supervision of this project as well as for the trust he showed in me during its completion.

My parents once again proved to me, the old adage that Parents are God's partners on Earth, by patiently extending me the facilities of their summer home during the early drafts of this thesis. The conduciveness of that retreat plus their patience enabled a most tedious affair to pass quickly and enjoyably.

Lastly, I would like to thank both my wife, Robin, whose typing of the final draft and proof-reading lifted much tedium from my shoulders; and my good friend and colleague, Norman Patz, whose consultations were frequent and necessary throughout the course of the project.

Lawrence H. Rubinstein

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INTRODUCTION

The content of this thesis is a translation of the first third of the Josippon, normally attributed to the pen of Joseph Ben Gorion. The great bulk of this work is a reproduction of varying accuracy of the works of Josephus. However, the first third of this, which runs from columns 1 to 180, deals mostly with events that precede the major scope of Josephus' history. Therefore, a good deal of the source material used by the author for this section has come from other works of literature available to the Jewish community at the time of the writing. The greatest other single source would be the Two books of Maccabees in the Apocrypha. These source materials from the Apocrypha, and Josephus, as well as from isolated sections of Plutarch's "Lives" have been traced in the footnotes.

There has been considerable discussion as to the dating of the Josippon. Most scholars seem to feel that it could not have preceded the ninth century and the Jewish Encyclopedia (Volume VII, page 259b) claims that the first mention of this chronicle occurs in the works of Dunash Ibn Tamim which sets the Terminus Ad Quo of the Josippon in the early 10th century. However, Abraham Ibn Ezra, in his commentary to Haggai II: 8 cites the "book of Joseph Ben Gorion" as an authority on the destruction of the Second Temple, and his pupil David Kimchi, makes the same citation in a comment to Haggai II: 7. Therefore, it could be safe to assume that the Terminus Ad Quem of the work's writing must have predated the beginning of the 12th century.

The difficulty for the dating of the work can best be explained by the style of Hebrew used. The book is written entirely in a highly formal Biblical Hebrew prose. However, there can be no doubt of the author's difficulty in using the language, much of which will be explained in later paragraphs. The result is that the only thing one can be sure of in dating the work on the basis of style is that it could not have been written during the period of time when Biblical Hebrew was used.

Before a description of the contents of the first third of the work and a discussion of some textual problems, it might be wise to explain the method used in creating the translation and the text used. The text comes from the Berdeitchev re-edition of the Mantua printing. The Mantua Edition, published by Abraham Conat is dated to 1476-79. The Berdeitchev Edition done by Baron Günzburg is dated 1896-1913.

The first draft of the translation consisted of creating a literal text with all the possible meanings of the Hebrew Text recorded. To properly prepare this, several different dictionaries were employed and often, it was necessary to record as many as five or six related meanings. The second draft consisted of reviewing and rewriting the entire first draft with an attempt to create a more literate English text. At the same time, most of the source materials in Josephus and the Apocrypha were traced. In the case of the variant meanings, there was an attempt to view them so as to come to a greater understanding of the text. The third draft was an attempt to create a more uniform translation so that the Hebrew text's consistencies and inconsistencies would be reflected in the translation. At this point, a final decision was made concerning many of the variations in the text and any necessary

emendations were made. The fourth draft consisted of putting the entire translation in form for the typist with special regard for literacy and faithfulness to the original Hebrew. At the same time the footnotes were written and inserted into the text. In effect then, the submitted thesis is the fourth draft of work. What names were not available in the source materials were left in transliteration from the Hebrew, whereas those names which could be traced were Latinized.

The first third of the Josippon can best be divided up by columns into the following categories: Columns 1 - 5, the early genealogies taken from the Bible; Columns 5 - 10, the exploits of Aganias, the King of Africa and his nephew Pablos and the deeds of Tsafo, the son of Eliphaz, and the deeds of Ozdrababel; Columns 10 - 13, genealogies leading to Rome; Columns 13 - 14, the battle between Rome and Babylonia; Columns 14 - 35, the reigns of Darius and Cyrus including the life of Daniel's successor, Zerubbabel; Columns 45 - 46, the rebuilding of the Temple; Columns 46 - 53, the unification of Medea and Persia under Cyrus in Chaldea; Columns 53 - 60, the story of Esther; Columns 60 - 65, the story of Alexander's rise; Columns 65 - 78, the legend of Alexander's birth; Columns 78 - 112, the kingship of Alexander; Columns 112 - 118, genealogies of early roman history and the fall of Alexander's kingdom; Columns 118-121, the attempted ravaging of Jerusalem by Heliodoros; Columns 121 - 123, the translation of Septuagint; Columns 123 - 132, the atrocities of Antiochus; Columns 132 - 148, the Maccabean Revolution; Columns 148 - 152, the Roman War with Hannibal; Columns 152 - 165, more accounts of the Maccabean Revolt; Columns 165 - 167, the beginnings of the Hasmonean dynasty under Jonathan and Simon; Columns 167 - 180,

the rise of Hyrcanus; Column 180, the succession of Hyrcanus by Aristolulus.

In terms of the order of the book, there is difficulty with only two sections. The legend concerning Alexander's birth is truly a magnificent story and indicates many things about the author of the Josippon. It attempts to prove that Alexander's real father was Neketnebor, a prince of Egypt who had fled to Macedonia, rather than Phillip. Neketnebor is able to copulate with Nabiarash, Phillip's legal wife because of his unquestioned mastery of magic and divination. There is a certain element of the Greek Tragedy incorporated in this legend because it ends with Alexander killing Neketnebor after Neketnebor reveals his true identity to Alexander. The author of the Josippon unquestionably accepts this story, claiming he has it on good authority (citing "another book"), although he admits the more traditional story of Alexander being descended from Phillip is also available. This legend should precede the story of Alexander's rise to power for it ends in Alexander's fifteenth year when he murders Neketnebor. However, it follows the story of his rise to power and appears as an insert.

The second difficult section is the area concerned with the Roman war against Hannibal which is inserted in the midst of the account of the Maccabean Revolution. In terms of its being placed in the text, it has little relevance to the story of the Maccabean Revolt although it appears right in the middle of this account. The war is most likely the second Punic War (C. 200 BCE) since it deals with the fall of Hannibal at the hands of Scipio (most likely Scipio Africanus). If this is so, it pre-dates the Maccabean revolt by about 50 years and

certainly could not be contiguous to it in either place or time. There are further discrepancies in the text for it reports that Scipio also defeated Hasdrubal. However, history does not allow for either one of them having met in battle since they operated in different theatres of action. This section is also clearly an insert.

The use of the sources previously indicated is almost totally non-existent until the beginning of the account of Roman history around column 112. At this point the Josippon culls from the "Antiquities" of Josephus, Book XII, chapters 1 - 4. This use continues through column 122 in the text. It leaves off from Josephus at this point and switches in its references to the Apocrypha. From Column 123 to Column 163, a good deal of material is taken from the Book of II Maccabees including such famous accounts as the Martyrdom of Eliezar the High priest, and the death of the woman and her seven sons at the hand of Antiochus the Great. The scope of the account of II Maccabees ends with the proclamation of the 13th of Adar as a feast day and the Josippon recounts this. However, it immediately switches to I Maccabees and goes into the account of Judah's war with Bacchides. Josippon then follows the story line of I Maccabees closely until the death of Simon in column 167. Since this marks the end of the Apocryphal accounts, Josippon now uses Josephus' "Antiquities" entirely for source material and the rest of the references may be found in Book XIII, chapters 7 - 11.

The Josippon seems to show a preference for the Apocryphal material. Whenever there is a discrepancy between the Apocrypha and Josephus, it will invariably choose the reading of the Apocrypha. Within the Apocrypha, it seems to show a preference for II Maccabees. Therefore,

as long as II Maccabees was within the scope of the Josippon, it usually chose that reading. When the Josippon passes the historical limits of II Maccabees, it usually chooses the reading of I Maccabees, and resorts most heavily upon Josephus only when both of those books end their accounts. Within Josephus itself, the references are almost exclusively culled from "Antiquities." Only once is there mention of any event that can be traced to the "Wars" and that is a statement of the length of Augustus Caesar's reign in column 117. This reference is indicated in Footnote 72.

Concerning the text and its difficulties, as has been previously stated, the text is almost exclusively Hebrew, with the exception of one sentence in Aramaic in column 152 (see Footnote 134). The style of Hebrew is Biblical with constant use of the "Vau consecutive" to change the past to the future tense and more frequently, the future to the past tense. As a result of this, tenses are frequently confused by the author and constructions become a bit clumsy. Use of future tense to indicate perfect tense, as well as an obvious lack of facility in handling all past actions permeate the text.

Another major problem in the translation was the handling of the pronominal suffixes. In certain sections, the repetitious use of the form "his" made an understandable yet literal translation impossible. At these points, the proper nouns were inserted in the translation with a footnote indicating the problem. This problem was prevalent throughout the text but rendered a literate translation totally impossible in two sections. At times, where the use of the pronominal suffix "him" exits and creates a slight problem for the reader, the translator was

reluctant to make the change. A careful reading of these sections will often reveal, the "him" to which the Josippon refers.

A further problem comes when the text will take second person eye witness accounts from source materials and reproduce them as third person narratives. The result was often a confusion in meaning. Perhaps the best example of this would be the letter written by Alexander to Aristotle where he gives a first person account of his perigrinations (columns 100-103). However, in the midst of his dealings with Queen Kandiki at the end of column 103, the text immediately changes to the third person and becomes a narrative rather than a letter, as indicated in footnote 52.

Another textual problem which had to be dealt with were the constant misspellings of names and words. It is difficult to discover whether such misspellings are the result of the original author, the first printer or the second printer of the Berdeitchev edition. The greatest discrepancy throughout the text would be a constant confusion of the "Resh" and the "Dalet." Perhaps the best example of this could be found in the name "Heliodoros" which appears in columns 120 and 121 in both this form and as "Heliorodos." Another example would be in the case of the citation of the story of Neketnebor which reads in the text "one book" but to make sense must read "another book." Footnote 31 contains this problem. The omission of the "Koph" or the replacement of the "Koph" by a "Tet" is another example of misspelling. The best example of this kind of aberration comes from the spelling of "Scipius" which the Josippon renders as "Stipius."

Throughout the text there is constant repetition of certain idiomatic phrases which are worthy of mention. One of the Josippon's favorite constructions is based upon the word "Hikkah" which is traditionally translated as "smote." This word will appear in conjunction with the following phrases: "Hikkah Makkah Rabbah" which was translated as "dealt a mighty blow": "Hikkah L'phi Hereb" which was rendered as "ravaged;" and "Hikkah et Kol Ha-aretz" which was interpreted as "decimated." All the above translations were followed as nearly as possible although there were times when the text could not permit such freedom. A few further words might bear mentioning. The word "Brit" as representing a contract between two earthly powers was always rendered as "alliance." "Bet Hamelech" was translated wherever possible as "palace," and "Bet Adonai" was always translated as "Temple." The Josippon uses a variety of terms for various upper class groups. The word "Sar" was translated as "officer" both in reference to the King's court and to battle; "Pacha" was translated as "Governor"; "Yoaytz" was translated as "advisor"; and "Paratz" was translated as "Governor." "Mashneh" was translated as "Viceroy." One other idiom should be noted. The Josippon frequently used the expression "Salu et hapegarim" which means literally "trampled many corpses" but which was rendered in the translation as "killed" and footnoted to indicate the change.

The footnotes are relatively self-explanatory. Where an actual major emendation is made, the footnote is quite explicit. This occurs rarely. More frequently, a literate rendering of an idiomatic or poorly constructed phrase is called for. In such a case the rubric "Literally" is used in the footnote. In the case where a minor emendation such as a

misspelled name, or confused name occurs, the rubric "text reads" appears in the footnotes. Wherever long portions of the Josippon are taken without change from other sources, the source is cited in a footnote that indicates the extent of the usage. Where figures or names correspond to other source materials without discrepancy, the source is merely cited. If there is any discrepancy, then the change is indicated in the footnote. The numbers which appear inserted in the text in parentheses are the column numbers of the Berdeitchev Edition.

Whatever the motivation for the writing of the Josippon, it is clear that a good portion of the text appears as an apologetic. Wherever the author is dealing with Jewish subject matter, he has a tendency to exaggerate the deeds of the Jews, or the importance of the Jews. The very best example is the letter which the Romans sent to Mattathias which can be found in columns 152-53 and in footnote 135. A similar superscription to the letter can also be found in II Maccabees. However, the text of the letter is much more favorable to the Jews in the Josippon, putting them on equal footing with the Romans in battle. Perhaps it was the downtrodden position of the Jews at that time which prompted such an approach to Jewish History. The stature of the Jews at that time was decreasing as Catholicism extended its power around the Mediterranean. In the face of this declining position, perhaps Joseph Ben Gorion felt it necessary to recall the "good old days," and with pride, glorify the Jewish position therein.

(1) Adam was the father of Seth. Seth was the father of Enosh. Enosh was the father of Kenan. Kenan was the father of Mehalalel. Mehalalel was the father of Jared. Jared was the father of Enoch. Enoch was the father of Methusaleh. Methusaleh was the father of Lamech. Lamech was the father of Noah. Noah was the father of Shem, Ham and Japheth. The sons of Japheth were: Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras. The sons of Gomer were: Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togaimah. The sons of Javan were : Elishah, and Tarshish, Kittim and Dodanim. Now all the earth spoke one language with the same words. And as they traveled from the East, men said to one and other: "Come, let us build a city." But the Lord came down to look at the city and the Tower. He exclaimed "Behold, they are but one people. Come let us go down there (2) and confuse their language," and the Lord dispersed them from that place toward the extremities of all the earth. For this reason He called the place Babel.

Now these are the families of Japheth's descendants in the area where they were scattered from that place according to their languages, their lands and their nations.

The descendants of Gomer were: the Perkenos who are living on the River Parenta by the River Sinai; Riphath became the Bartonites who are living in the land of Bartoniah on the Lirah River. The waters of the Lirah empty into the sea of Okinos, which is the Mediterranean sea.

Torgaimah became the clans of the Chuzov, Petzinach, Oliknos, Bulgar, Ranbinah, Turkey, Buz, Zavoch, Hungary and Telematz. All of these settled in the South. The names of their lands bear their names, and they encamped on the swiftly flowing mountain rivers. However Hungary,

Bulgar, and Pertzinach¹ settled on (3) the great river called the Danube.

The descendants of Javan became the Greeks who are living in the land of Macedonia. Madai became the Azralos who live in the land of Borsan. Tubal are the same Tubal who live in the land of Taslikena on the Pishae River. Meshech became the Shibshane. Tiras became the Russians; the Bushani and the English living on the Great Sea. The Russians settled on the river Birah which flows into the Georgian Sea.

Elisha became the Almanians who lived between the mountains of Job and Shivtamo, and from them come the Lombardi who crossed the Rivers Job and Shivtamo. They conquered the land of Italy and have dwelled there until now upon the Rivers Po and Tishino. The waters of the Po flow into the Bandikeah Sea.

Tarshish became the People of Macedonia and one of their areas is Tarsus. Now it happened that as the Ishmaelites were capturing the land of Tarsus, its inhabitants fled within the borders of the Greeks and they fought the Ishmaelites who were in Tarsus.

The Kiltim became the Romans who encamped in the rocky fissures of Kanpaniah by the Tiber River. The Dodanim became the Danishkites who settled among the cities of the sea plain of Okinos, in the land of Dina Macaba; and in Ardinia (Sardinia) which is in the center of the Great Sea which they swore never to cross. But they hid themselves among the waves of the sea of Okinos. And they were not destroyed because the Kingdom of Rome came soon after to the sea islands and freed them so they escaped.

(4) Now the Karavites, the Selukites, the Litznanites, the Lavamites, the Karachad, the Kezarmites, and the Bazamites, descendants

of the Dodanim formed a plan encamping on the shores of the sea near the border of Bulgaria as far as Bandikiah. And they settled along the border to the Great Sea. They are called the Sakalbites. And some say that they are descendants of the Canaanites, but they are descended from the Dodanim.

Now when the Lord scattered the people all over the earth and they divided their portions, the descendants of Kittim formed one union and they went to the valley of Kanphania and they settled there as far as the River Tiberia. And the descendants of Tubal settled in Tuscany. Their territory stretched to the river Tiber and they built a city and called it Sabena after the name of the man who built it. And the descendants of Kittim built a city and called it Pitzimnah.

And the descendants of Tubal rose up against the descendants of Kittim and said "They shall not intermarry with us." So in the days of Hektsir, the descendants of Tubal went to their fields, and the young men of the descendants of Kittim gathered together and went to the city of Sabena, and sent their daughters to the city of Kaphtsia. Now the Tubalites heard and they came upon them to make war. But they could not attack them for the mountain was too great an obstacle, and all the Kittimites gathered themselves to the mountain.

Now it was the end of the year, and the Tubalites again came to make war and the Kittimites put (5) the young children upon the wall of the city which they had built and they said to them: "Do you come to fight with your sons and daughters. Is it not so that we are your flesh, like you." So they stopped fighting them. Then the Kittimites gathered together again and they built a city near the sea and they called its name "Porto"; they built another and called its name "Eritzah".

In those days Tsafo, the son of Eliphaz the son of Esau who Joseph had captured as he went up to bury his father in Hebron fled Egypt. And the descendants of Esau went out to oppose him. But Joseph's power was firm against them and he captured Tsafo with his best men and he returned them to Egypt. Now after the death of Joseph, Tsafo fled from Egypt with his men, and they came to Africa; to Agamiz, the King of Cordova. He received them with great honor and appointed Tsafo as a captain.

In those days, in the land of Kittim, there was a man in the city of Potzimneh and his name was Otsi. And he mocked the God of the Kittimites. Now the man died and he had no son, only a daughter and her name was Yaaniah. She was extremely pretty and intelligent. There was no one as beautiful as she in all the land. And Agamiz, the king of Africa asked her to be his wife. But Tornosh the king of Banoyantah also asked her. So the Kittimites said to him "We are not able to give her to you because Agamiz, the king of (6) Africa claimed her. We are afraid for our lives lest he come upon us to make war and you will not be able to save us from his hand."

Then the inhabitants of Potsimnah sent this message to Aganias the king of Africa and he gathered all his soldiers and they came to the islands of the sea in the direction of Sardiniah, to Nikolos his brother. And Pablosh,² his nephew went out to meet him and he said "You have inquired as to the welfare of my father Lokosh in his sojourns. He has asked us to appoint me general of his army," and, Aganias did so.

So they came by ships to the district of Ashtoresht Tornosh. But Tornos king of Banoyantah banned them and there was a very long war in the rocky clefts. And Pablosh fell in war at that time and Aganias, his

uncle ruled. And he made for himself a golden statue and placed it in their midst. Then Aganias set battle order to meet Tornos the king of Banoyantah once again. Aganias slew him and made an altar of brass and set it in their midst, and he built a high tower upon it at the fork of the roads. And he built a high tower at the fork of the roads for Pablosh, his nephew and he called that Kopablosh, and the other Koftornos. And the insignia over the fork of the roads marked the road separating them and Rome from that day onward. It waits for the great armies of the King of Africa to come to the land of (7) of Kittim to take the spoil and to appropriate the booty. And Tsafo the son of Eliphaz always went with them. And Tsafo also fled from Africa and came to the land of Kittim and became very rich. So the troops of Africa stripped the land of Kittim and the Kittimites gathered to Mount Koptitsiah before the troops of Gondaliah.

Now it happened at that time that Tsafo lost a young steer and he went out to search for the steer, and he heard the lowing of the steer around the mountain. So Tsafo went and behold, at the foot of the mountain there was a cave and a large rock was placed across its mouth. So he shattered the rock and behold a great beast, the top half resembled a goat and the bottom half a man, eating the ox. Therefore Tsafo killed the beast. And the inhabitants of Kittim had promised what would be done for the man who killed the beast. So all of them fixed to make one day of the year a festival for him. Therefore they named that day after him and they poured libations to him on that day and brought him gifts and called him Janus that day after the name of the beast which he had killed.

Now the troops of Gondaliah gathered again in the land of Kittim to take the spoils and to appropriate the booty as usual and Janos Tsafo

gathered to meet them, and they fled before him and they caused them to retreat and the land was relieved of their oppression.

Then the Kittimites gathered and crowned Janus Tsafo, king over them and they went out to subdue the Tubalites (8) and the surrounding islands of the sea. With Janus Tsafo, their king leading them, they subdued them and they called Tsafo, Janus for the name of the beast. And Saturn after the name of the planet which they worshipped in those days. He, the star of Saturn, was the first king and he built a very great palace in the rock fissures of the land of Kittim and he ruled over the land of Kittim and over all the land of Italy.

Now Janus Saturnus ruled 50 years and he was buried in the city of Gevinah. Then another Janus ruled in his place for 50 years and he also built a very mighty palace in the rock fissures. But Janus died and Latinos ruled in his place. This explains the French language and the foreign sound of Latin in the letters of his name. He also erected a tower over his dwelling, and constructed many ships. And he went to Ozdrobabel,³ the son of Aganias who took his ship from him in a war with Kittim. And Ophazyonah, the daughter of Ozdrobabel was very beautiful. Her beauty was so great that the men of her time embroidered their clothes with her image. And there was a great war between Ozdrobabel, the king of Kardinia and Latinos the King of Kittim.

And Latinos captured the water canal which had conveyed Aganias in his capture of Joaniah from them. Aganias had brought it to (9) the state of Kaitim.

And in the days of Aganias, Joaniah became sick. Her illness weighed heavily upon Aganias and upon his officers. So Aganias the king said to his wise men "How can I cure Joaniah's disease?" The wise men

said to him: "The air of our land is not like the air of Kittim, and our water is not like their water, therefore the Queen's sickness is due to the changes of air and water brought upon her. And also, in her land the measure of the effect of the changes in the water has not been established. So they compared that water with all the waters of Africa. And they found its waters lighter in comparison to theirs. So Aganias sent out all his men to collect stone cutters in great multitudes, and the men hewed without reckoning and without number. A great many worked and they built a mighty conduit from the source of the waters to the state of Kardinia. So the waters satisfied all the needs and desires of Joaniah the Queen, for drinking, baking, bathing, washing, and for watering all the grain which she ate from her portions. Also they supplied her with produce brought in white vessels from Kittim by many ships and they built her palaces in their midst. All this they did because of their love for her. The people practiced her kind of sorcery, and were blessed by it. Queen Joaniah was a Demon to them.

Now as Latinos was fighting with Ozdrobabel, Aganias attacked and captured (10) a portion of the conduit. Then the inhabitants of Gondaliah were so filled with enmity that their emotions ruled over them and they yearned for death. So Ozdrobabel fell in that war, and Latinos overcame him by force.

The days that Latinos ruled were 45 years and Latinos died and Asabianos ruled 35 years in his place, and Asabianos died. He had also built a great palace. And Latinos ruled in his place 50 years. This Latinos is the one who fought the inhabitants of Almanian and Burgania who were descendants from Elisha placing a work tax upon them. Then he

settled down and built a Temple of Lotsifer for himself. And it was a palace for Venus. Then he closed the palace of Saturnos Shabatai and made its priests pass through the fire on the altar of Lotsifer.

Then Latinos died and Aneas Taruyanus ruled in his place for 36 years, and he also built a palace to dwell in. And Taruyanus died and Abizion ruled in his place for 24 years. He built a castle to live in. And Abizion died and Kayphus ruled in his place. And Kayphus died and Karpinto ruled in his place for 13 years. He built a castle to dwell in. And Karpinto died and Tabyanos ruled for 80 years. And Tabyanos died and Agripas ruled in his place. And Agripas died and Romulus ruled in his place for 19 years. He built a castle to live in.

(11) And Romulus died and Abintino ruled in his place for 37 years. He fought with the descendants of Riphath who live on the River Lira; and with the descendants of Turash who live on the River Lira in Turkey. They are the ones who fled before the king of Africa. They built Turash and Anaboh. Abintanu defeated them and he built a palace to dwell in. Abintanu died and Parokas ruled in his place for 23 years. And Parokas died, and Onalios ruled in his place for 43 years.

And Onalios died and Romulus ruled in his place for 38 years. During his lifetime David had suppressed Aram and Edom, and Hadar Azar fled before David. He and his sons came to the men of Kittim, and the king located them in a mountain area near the seashore. They built a city there and called it Tsiranto, The name of the man who fled from David is Tsayar (or Tsayer) from the family of Hadar Azar. And they built another city, Ancient Albanu, and they have dwelt there until now. Then an oil well erupted in the middle of the city of Tsiranto. For

many years it was inundated by it. And the sea covered it. It was located between Napol and the new Tsorento. Even then that well did not cease. Even now, it still overflows. Good oil flows from it over the waters of the sea. The inhabitants of Napoli always gather it.

Abintano was greatly afraid of David and (12) built a wall around all the buildings of the kingdom which they had ruled before him. And they placed a great wall surrounding the palaces and the hills. It went completely around everything inside the wall. They extended the wall 45 miles and called the city Rome, after Romulus. And they were greatly afraid all during the lifetime of David. This increased the reputation of the descendants of Kittim. They are called Rome even until now.

And he built a mighty temple to Jovis, the lucky star, creating a festival on the fifth day and closing the temple of Lotsifer. Romulus fought a great war and formulated a pace between David and himself, then Romulus died and Nomacho Niphilim ruled for 41 years in his place. Nomacho died and Tolios Estalios ruled in his place for 32 years. Tolios Estalios died and Parishko Tarchinos ruled for 37 years. And Parishko died and Shiratos ruled for 34 years in his place. And Shiralos died and Tarkinos ruled for 35 years in his place.

This Tarkinos desired a Roman woman. But she was a man's concubine so he took her by force. Then the woman was grieved so she thrust a sword into her stomach and died. Therefore her brother and her master rose up and lay in wait for him at the Temple of Jovis. When Tarkinos came to pray in the Temple of Jovis they rose up against him suddenly. Their swords were already drawn in their hands. And they stabbed him so he died. Therefore the Romans swore on that day that no kings (13)

would rule over them in Rome. So they chose the Elders of Rome and with him 320 counselors and they subdued the entire west.

Now after 205 years a great and mighty war erupted between Babylonia and the Romans on sea and land. For the latter had helped Greece fight in their revolt against Babylonia at that time. They surrounded the River Tiber for great distances and they lined the banks of the river from Gate to Gate. From the entrance to the city of Rome until the Gate of Rome, and from the gate until the sea, a distance of 18 miles. It seemed as if it were paved with brass. From the Gate of Rome which exited toward the sea, until the gate where the water entered, it was 6 miles; for three quarters of the people crossed the river there. But the fourth section went beyond the river at that place. The river was in the very middle of the state, and the inhabitants lined the banks of the river. But the desert nomads did not come there to the king of Babylonia. For all the wanderers out of the East and the West were afraid and disgusted when they heard that Nebuchadnezzar had captured the Holy City of Jerusalem. So they sent him a gift through their representatives, and he made a pact with them after the war. And the war was inactive until the reign of Darius, when they were stirred up again to fight.

Now as everything concerning Babylonia happened to it as Isaiah, the son of Amoz the Prophet, and as Jeremiah the son of Hilkaiah the Prophet had said, (14). The Lord appointed two great and beloved Kings, Darius King of the Medes and Cyrus King of Persia over it. And Cyrus became Darius' son-in-law when he took his daughter for a wife. And the two of them formed an alliance and they rebelled against the King of

the Chaldeans rising up against Belshazzar the King. Then they engaged in a great battle and in the beginning of the war, the Chaldeans triumphed. Many soldiers fell from the troops of Medea and Persia. But these two Kings strengthened their battle positions and between them they again engaged in a great and mighty battle. Men fell from both sides and uncountable blood was spilled. The Chaldeans fled, Cyrus and Darius and their soldiers pursuing them and revaging them as far as a place one day's journey from Babylonia. Cyrus and Darius camped there with all their regiments.

Now Belshazzar the King observed this and dispatched his entire army. Brave warriors and 1000 officers from the Chaldean guard and with them a great and mighty group of Lords from the King's palace. They left Babylonia at sunset and travelled all night. During the morning watch they gathered to ravage the camp of Cyrus and Darius. And the Medean regiment was frightened so it fled. But Cyrus and all his camp stayed before the Chaldeans and fought with them. They had withheld from pursuing the Medes. Now as the battle passed and night came (15) the casualties of the Medes and Persians increased. For the generals of Belshazzar triumphed on account of their bravery. So he prepared a great feast for them and at the feast gave them gold and silver. King Belshazzar was very pleased with the 1000 guardsmen and he joined with them to eat and drink. And they continued to sit all that day and night and Belshazzar drank a great deal.

Now the King was drunk from wine and ordered silver and gold vessels which Nebuchadnezzar King of Chaldeans had carried away with the exile from Jerusalem to Babylonia brought in. Then the king defiled

the holy vessels when he and all his officers, his concubines and wives drank wine from them. Now Our God was angry and greatly annoyed for his vessels are holy. And he had a strong letter making known the decree which the Lord his God had made concerning his kingdom written on the King's palace. And the angel came and he wrote in vermillion on the wall opposite the king's candlestick.

And this is what was written "Count, Weigh, Separate" But the letters were in Hebrew and the writing was Aramaic. So King Belshazzar saw that the fingers wrote but the Exilarch did not understand (14), for the vision was awful. Therefore, King Belshazzar was dismayed and extremely frightened. His loins quaked and his heart fluttered, all his bones separated, and his demeanor changed. (16) But neither did the officers who were with him understand the vision. Then the King sent for Daniel. He came before the King, read the message to him and explained the words to him, commenting on them perfectly Daniel said: "You know very well that you profaned the vessels of the House of the God of Israel in Jerusalem. Therefore the God of Israel became zealous over the vessels of His temple and He sent His angel to write these words to you. These are the words in the message "Count, weigh, and separate".

This is their explanation "Count--the God of Israel has added up His enemy and will mutilate them; Weigh--He has weighed the enemy in the scales and found them lacking; the God of Israel has rent the Kingdom from the hand of His enemy. He will give it to Darius and Cyrus, the Kings of Medea and Persia who are warring with you, dividing your kingdom between them."

And as the King and his officers heard this interpretation from the

mouth of Daniel, beloved man servant of the Lord, the men were afflicted with a great anxiety and they rose up. Then each man went to his own house and King Belshazzar was left by himself with his eunuchs and the men of his house. So he quaked and was dismayed and they concealed their shudderings from him. Then great sleep fell over him and he awoke as one who was dead, because of the terrible nature of his fright.

Now there was a chamberlain of the elders of Nebuchadnezzar's, one of his honored servants who was in the King's castle. And he raised his head and thought to himself; (17) "Is not this Daniel whom Belshazzar called upon, the same Daniel who invoked the name of the God of my master Nebuchadnezzar; who interpreted his dreams for him. And nothing which he says falls to the ground untrue. All his statements are correct. Now he has spoken against my master King Belshazzar. So I will cut off his head and with it I shall appease the kings of Medea and Persia." And during that night as King Belshazzar lay upon his bed, the chamberlain got up and stabbed the King killing him. He then beheaded him, picked it up and ran to the camp of Cyrus and Darius, the Kings of Medea and Persia. So he gave them the head of Belshazzar and he told them everything that Belshazzar had done to all the vessels of the House of God in Jerusalem: how he had profaned them by drinking wine; how the Lord had sent his angel and had written the message; how Daniel, that wonderful man, had explained the message rebuking the King for the deeds which he had already rationalized--the profaning of all the vessels of the House of the Lord; and how the Lord had brought this great distress upon him which you are witness to today.

And when Cyrus and Darius heard the words spoken by the chamberlain,

they bowed and prayed to the Lord, the God of Heavens. Cyrus said:

"Blessed be the God of these vessels and the God of the Temple which stood in Jerusalem and Judah. It is he who has wreaked vengeance upon the profaner of His Holy Temple's vessels. For (18) we have heard that you are Lord over all the earth, God of all creatures, and creator of the entire world. Certainly now I know that the Lord is Greater than any other God ever possessing the power to depose Kings and to establish Kings." Then the King Cyrus promised to build a Temple in Jerusalem to the honor of the Lord our God; as well as return the exiles from Babylonia to Jerusalem and to replace the holy vessels of the Temple in Jerusalem.

Now after these events Cyrus and Darius, King of Media, set out with a great army and they devastated the entire land of the Chaldees. They encamped outside of Babylonia warring against it and mutilated men, women, the wicked, and the innocent indiscriminately. They annihilated its young men and trampled its young women under horses. They hung all its officers and elders. Every pregnant woman was deboweled. Each wicked man was dashed upon rocks. Then was Babylon avenged of spilled blood of those who had served it. And its temple and city and people were paid back.

And after this, the two kings divided up all the Chaldean domain which extended from the walls of Babylonia to the furthest reaches of Chaldean sovereignty. Darius took Babylonia including its daughters and the King's palace, and he sat on the throne of Belshazzar the King. And he ruled in Babylonia. But King Cyrus took all the domain of the Chaldeans (19) except for Babylonia. Thus ends the deeds of the Kings of the Chaldees.

Now the kingdoms of Persia and Medes were stirred up. Darius the

Medianite had received the Kingdom of the Chaldeans when he was aged and he ruled in the state of Babylonia. While Darius was sitting on the throne of his kingdom in Babylonia he asked for Daniel, had him brought in and seated before him. And he queried: "Are you Daniel?" He replied "That is me" and so he said to him "Advise me. I will heed it, for the spirit of the God of Heaven is upon you. Don't obscure your wisdom from me for I am old and my strength is naught. Youth has passed me by. Battles have worn me down. I am continually sick because of my age, and I am not able to assume the great burdens of my people--To judge Good and Evil between men. It is too weighty a problem for me."

So Daniel answered King Darius "Let the King appoint 3 valorous and trusted officials to bear the heavy burdens of the people, to adjudicate between men and to alleviate the heavy burdens of the people from you. So the King will rest in his palace and they will bring any problem which is too difficult for them to the King. Thus the King and his office will be relieved and He will no longer have to regard the troubles of the people.

So King Darius did this. He appointed two Generals of the Army over the people and he set Daniel over both of them to legislate for the people. Thus the King (20) was allowed to rest in his palace and Darius sent a proclamation throughout his kingdom saying "The God of the Heavens has put the sovereignty of all the land in my hand. But I have been weighted down with many heavy burdens for I am approaching old age. Daniel has given me good advise and I have listened to his advice. So I will stay and rest in my palace and the heavy burdens will be lifted from me. Therefore give honor to the God of Daniel and

we will believe in Him. And you⁵ will seek Him and inquire of him for He is a great God over all the Gods. And may the wisdom of Daniel be known to the men of my kingdom. For I have appointed two Generals of the Army over all the land of my rule. All the people will obey their decisions since all the difficult problems of the people will be lifted from me. And I have set Daniel over the two Generals. They are to obey all the decisions he makes concerning the people so as not to frustrate his decisions. And they are to enforce all his commanding restraints. for I have placed him under me as a viceroy, and I have placed the Generals of the Army under his hand. And this Ruling of the King did not live. And the Generals of the Kingdom and all the people heard the King's orders when he lightened himself of the burdens. So the King rested in his palace and Daniel was the King's viceroy and he preceded the King. The Generals, Governors, nobles, and state officials (21) bestowed honor upon Daniel because the spirit of His God was with him.

Now after these events, the two Generals of the Army, along with the rest of the Generals, the viceroys, the Governors and important Government officials all met together to devise a plan and make a pact against Daniel to damage him by finding pretext to overthrow him before the King and the Generals. So all of them conspired saying, "Should any man, small or great, general or ruler, or from the multitude of the army implore God, to ask or seek petition on any matter for the following 30 days, unless it is from the King himself, he will be lion food. The King shall not redeem him and no amount of wealth or riches shall free him." They set to formalize the decree and finalize the plan. But Daniel did not know about any of their plans for their council connived

concerning him, saying: "If we can not trap him with a decree of his God, we shall never be able to overthrow him." But they did not understand, for just as Daniel trusted in his God, thus his God believed in him.

So the men wrote these words which they had formulated on a scroll and each man affixed his signature and everybody signed his name. Thus they encouraged the placing of the decree on the scroll of the King. So the King accepted it and proclaimed it in its entirety. He was not aware of the conspiracy which they had contrived for the overthrow of Daniel. So the King pronounced the scroll's decree in its entirety (22) for them, the King also having signed the scroll and the King's scribes were instructed to enforce it throughout the duration of its observance.

After some days, the men were roving about spying upon Daniel's house, so as to know what he was doing about the evil command. They were ruthless in their plotting against Daniel. Now as they went hither and yon around Daniel's house, they found a young girl playing outside the door to the entrance of Daniel's house.⁶ They questioned her: "Where is Daniel and what is he doing?" And she answered them: "Behold he is in the midst of worshipping, offering praises and hymns to his God. He is praying next to⁷ the window facing the House of God in Jerusalem." So the men believed her and hastened to approach him during the prayer which he was offering there. They found him bent to the ground in his praises and his face was extended toward Heaven, For 3 times a day, Daniel prayed to the Lord and gave thanks to his God. He who prays to the Lord, converses in the Torah scroll. Indeed the Lord speaks with him. So thus Daniel did; thus was his daily procedure.

And as the men entered Daniel's house, he was praying and giving thanks. He did not prostrate himself before them, and his heart did not quake before the sound of their tumult until he finished his prayers. They fell upon him suddenly, seized him and led him to the king. When the King saw Daniel in the custody of the officers, he quaked (23) and was greatly disturbed. Then he understood for what reason they had formulated the Decree. The king asked the officers, "What have you done to Daniel?", and the men answered the king, "Is our signed document not before you as a decree of Medea and Persia which can not be disobeyed or violated? Any man, whether he is a great or small personage, who pleads to any God all the days of this month, except for the King himself, will be fed to the lions. But we found Daniel in his house kneeling, bowing down and praying to his Lord. Just to violate the laws of the King and the decrees of Medea and Persia which are not to be disobeyed. So now, do not deride us by ignoring⁸ our decree. Give him to us⁹ and we will send him to the lions' den so that the decrees of Medea and Persia shall never again be violated."

So the King answered the officers, "This council has conspired evil against Daniel for you have provoked him. Take leave of us lest he destroy you, and ruin you, for he is a Jew and a very powerful and majestic man." So these officers took hold of Daniel in order to destroy him and to throw him into the lions' den. But the King argued to save Daniel, since they all hastened to throw him in and annihilate him. However the king refused to listen to them, and the officers and the king quarreled over Daniel until sunset.

Now when they saw (24) that the power of the King was with him,

they said to the king in unison, "Be cognizant of the fact that if you do not deliver him into our hands, we shall know that you have violated the laws of Medea and Persia.: So the King recognized that all of them had come together to plot against him on account of Daniel. Therefore he gave up his hold over him and delivered him into their hands. He said to them, "Please acknowledge that if his God saves him from the mouths of the lions you have slandered and defiled him, and all of you will be served to the lions for food," and they all said "So be it."

The King argued thusly with the officers until sunset. Then the King said to Daniel "Behold, these officers have conspired to throw you into the lions' den. And Lord God of the Heavens who gave you the holy spirit may He frustrate their talk against you. I am guiltless before your God for I sought to save you, but I was not able." So the men dragged Daniel out and threw him into the den, and there were ten lions enclosed in the den. Their sustenance was to have been ten sheep and ten men's corpses. But they were starved that day without food and they had not eaten anything so that they would quickly devour Daniel.¹⁰ Now as Daniel descended into the lions' den, they favored him and licked him and wagged their tails. They were as happy to meet him as dogs are happy to meet their masters when they return from the field. The officers (25) had rolled a large stone and closed the den. The King having sealed the mouth of the den with his stamp and the stamp of the Generals. And each man went to his house. All the while Daniel praised the name of his God with the sound of singing, thanksgiving and psalms throughout the night until morning. The lions lay down around him and they listened to the sound of his singing. The King returned to his house but he did

not eat a drop of bread, nor did he drink water, nor did anyone try to humor him as was the custom. He did not remove his armor for he mourned greatly for Daniel, and he lay awake because of the officers' plot against Daniel. It was said "The King's bitterness is reflected in his sighs" and he turned on his side and reflected, "Oh would that morning come and I would see what has become of Daniel and what the Lord did for him."

Now during that day, at the time that Daniel descended to the lions' den, in the land of Judah HAbakkuk the prophet returned from his harvesting toward sunset at eventide. And he prepared a feast for the harvesters. He carried their meals in his hands, bringing it before them, to eat. Suddenly, the word of the Lord came to him. "Go and take this meal to Daniel, my servant in the land of the Chaldeans, to the lions' den where he was cast in." So he replied, Alas my God who will lead me there now, for the trip is too long for me." And behold an angel lifted him by the forelocks of his head with the meal in his hand (26) and set him down in the midst of Daniel's den. So he ate and drank with him. Then the angel took him out and returned him to the place from which he had lifted him, before he had finished feeding the harvesters. And Daniel sang, praised bowed, and prayed to the Lord. For he was assured of his salvation as he had prayed to his God and he recited according to custom of his God, speaking with his God. Because of his piety he did not despair. But the King walked about and when he saw the morning air got up and hastened to go to the Den. When he heard the sound of Daniel's singing his delightful hymn, he was not able to speak with him for his voice was choked with tears. But he took heart and called "Daniel, Daniel, did God

withhold you from the lions so that you were not devoured." Then Daniel answered the King "Truly God withheld me from the mouths of the lions and he muzzled them from me. They were as happy to meet me as the Toddling children of my house, for God in whom I had trusted so commanded them. Furthermore He sent a meal to me last night via Habakkuk the prophet. Blessed be the Lord. Therefore my master, O King, I have not sinned against you, and no transgression can be found against me before you. Neither damage nor neglect can I find against myself."

So the King sent for the officers, the men who had accused Daniel. And all of them came to the King. He stationed himself over the den and he said: "You know that the sign of your seals is affixed on the den." They agreed that their signatures would thus be found. And the King ordered to have the stone rolled away from the mouth (27) of the den. And Daniel ran from the depths of the den, whole and unaffected; not an injury appeared on him. And all the men were amazed at the wonders of the God of Daniel which differed from those of all other Gods. So the King called his servants and they seized them all together and threw them into the midst of the Lions' den. Before they had even reached the bottom of the den, the lions pounced upon them for they had not any prey for three days. And they devoured them skin and bones. The lions gnawed and stomped and growled over them from the midst of the den, and the sound of their tumult traveled afar. The people were so affrighted by their noise, they rumored that the lions had escaped from the den.

So the king returned to his palace with Daniel and the Lord again established Daniel in the eyes of the King and all the people with honor, greatness and trustworthiness.

At that time the king commanded to have a pronouncement made across all his kingdom saying, "Among all the Gods, there is none like Daniel's God, awe inspiring and working wonders. And whoever among you from all peoples has his strength as his portion, may his God be with him. May he go up and build the House of God in Judah. I will provide silver and gold from my treasury for all repairs until it is finished." And he sent scrolls by runners to all the cities of his kingdom, releasing the Jews to go up and build the Lord's House in Jerusalem. It was Cyrus' first year of reign over (28) the kingdom of the Chaldees when the King sent letters to all the officers across the Euphrates, for the Governors to be righteous together, to help the Jews and to donate sufficiently for their construction needs trees, stones, wheat, oil and new wine, and anything the construction required until they finished building. They also provided cows, rams, lambs and all kinds of their sacrifices. And on one was damaged because of their work. So all the Jews rose up with willing hearts to ascend to the House of God, 40,000 strong. With them at their head was Ezra the Scribe, Elizkim the High Priest, Jeshua, Mordecai and the rest of heads of the Tribes¹¹ of Judah and Benjamin. They traveled until they crossed the Euphrates and they came to Jerusalem, for they yearned to found the House of God.

Now as they were laying the foundation and estimating the work, some evil men from the rest of the nations, enemies of Judah and Jerusalem, Simballet the Hurruan, Tobias the Ammonite and Geshim the Arab, along with a multitude of the enemies of Judah circulated slander against the Jews, the servants of the God of Heavens. They sent the message to Persia saying "Be it known to you that if you build the city of Jerusalem,

there will be a great destruction and pillage against you, and a great conspiracy against you. For from earliest days its inhabitants have been difficult, troublesome and injurious for the kings and rulers of all the land. For that reason Nebuchadnezzar King of Chaldes was the enemy smiting it (29) and sending its people into exile. Only then the Kings were satisfied and each man rested at his place. Therefore we come to inform the King of all this so he may be aware of our loyalty. For we have eaten bread from the table of the King. For be it from us to see the destruction of the kingdom",

As a result of the scrolls coming to the king, the work ceased until King Darius' second year of occupying the throne of the kingdom.

And he inquired after Daniel, Beloved servant of the Lord, to witness his wisdom and to heed his advice. And they brought Daniel before him and inquired of him and tested him and understood him sevenfold. He listened to him happily and rejoiced and he loved him greatly and appointed him advisor and viceroy as he had been previously, And on that day Darius proclaimed a holiday to Bel the god of Babylonia. The King prepared a gift to bring to Bel and this was the order of his gift One cow, ten rams, 100 young doves, 70 measures of leaves of bread from his table and 10 vessels of wine; This was his ruling and thus the table was set.

Now that day, the table was set for Bel, and the king said to Daniel "Would that you believe in the glory of Bel, Our Greatest God, who will eat from this set table". And Daniel answered the King saying "Do not be deceived. Do not let the King's heart be fooled by this matter concerning Bel (30) For he is empty and void and he has no spirit

because he is just a physical creation. How does he eat and how does he drink. Only his priests eat from his set table and from his sacrifices. Now listen to me --- Deliver his priests to me and I will inform you of their craftiness and their deeds which have seduced you and your people into worshipping emptiness and nothingness." So the King said to him "As you say". Daniel commanded the doors of the Temple to Bel and all the gates except for the gate of the King shut. Then Daniel ordered "Bring me the ashes." They spread out the ashes on the Temple pavement and the priests did not understand what Daniel was doing. When they finished doing this, the King and Daniel left through the gate where they and their men had entered. Then he commanded and they shut the gate. The King sealed it with his seal and Daniel's seal, and they went to the palace and spent the night. In the morning, the King sent from Daniel and asked "Were those seals tampered with?" And he answered "No". So he ordered them broken and it was done. Then they opened the gate and saw the table and behold, every thing set upon it was eaten, from bread to meat, and wine which had been drunk. When the King saw this he fell to the ground before Bel and he said "Great is your name O Bel; Who is like you among all the Gods of the nations in mightiness." (31) And Daniel answered him saying "Do not say this. Look in the ash which was spread on the floor of the Temple around the table. See these footprint markings. To whom do they belong, for they are the ones who ate of the table of Bel." So the King looked and there were the footprints of men, women, young men, and children. Then he sent and had seven priests, servants of Bel seized. The king swore to them "If you don't tell me the truth, then you will surely die." So they told him the truth. They had seen those who come in

dark, come to Bel at night, and eat the meal of his table. Then the King understood their cunning, and he commanded to have the Temple of Bel destroyed until nothing was left.

Now at that time the Chaldeans had a God who was a great monster living in a cave. And they prepared an offering for him and brought it at night to offer it to the monster. For he would go out to accept the offering and he would open his mouth. Then he would swallow it, draw himself almost to his full height and returned to the cave. So the officers said to the king, "Perhaps Daniel will be able to deceive this God who is alive as he has done to Bel with his priests and his sacrifices and his table. He captured Bel's servants so why can't he provoke this God since he is (32) a living God. For if he cannot provoke him now, we will revere Bel and his Temple and his priests. Then the King said to Daniel "Listen carefully to me for I am speaking to you. Once again conspire your thoughts to annihilate this Dragon God, as you did to Bel who had no breath. Does not this strong and powerful God live. Who will stand up before him to destroy him." And Daniel answered the King saying "Let not the King be misled by this. This beast will also be squashed under the hand of man for he does not possess the spirit of God. So now if you permit me O king my master, I will also smite and kill this monster without sword or lance or battle, for it is a swarming beast which swarms over the earth. The Lord God did put the fear of man upon every living thing which crawls and swarms over the face of the earth so as to fear him and quake before him. Man was created in the image of God in order to bring His fear upon all. And now if it suits you, give me free rein and together we will smite and destroy the idols which I have forsaken. Only don't give your officers

the power over me to wrong me."

So the King said to him "Go." And all the officers were very happy when the King told Daniel to destroy the monster for they said "Now Daniel is lost, for he will not be able (33) to stand up to the monster." Daniel left the King and made iron instruments like flax combs. He joined their backs, back to back inward, and tuned their teeth outward all around. They were like scourgers and cutters. Then he rolled up all kinds of food, curd and fat, and all kinds of oil, and over them brimstone ointment and he fired them until the iron points and gouges were hidden. And this was how the offering appeared to be constructed.

Then Daniel threw it toward the mouth of the monster. The monster ran to eat it and to gorge it into the very cells of his body. But as it passed through his mouth and descended to his stomach chamber, the curd and fat dissolved off the iron teeth. And the points of the prongs pressed sharply against the bowels of the monster, piercing and injuring the monster so that he staggered. He died at that time the next day.

Now on the third day, the Chaldeans and Babylonians came to supplicate the monster with a daily sacrifice, and nothing but a stench came out of the cave. Behold their God was dead, emitting a smell. Then the men got together and they were very angry with Daniel. So they asked "What did Daniel the Jew accomplish by hating our Gods, first Bel and now the monster, whom he annihilated and murdered. So now, if the King gives him over to us, he shall die. But if not, let the King know that he himself will not live." When the King heard that the commoners conspired against him, he had (34) their important leaders, the enemies of Daniel, decimated.

Daniel was very old. So Daniel came and bowed down before the King saying to him, "Pray, my master O King, I am old and I don't have the strength to get up and go about as is the custom of the realm. I have been humbled before the evil Governors of your people due to their hatred, for they threw me into the lions' den, and secondly placed me with the monster. But the Lord God in whom I trusted, delivered me. And furthermore they tried to take me and kill me out of their jealousy over their idols. But my God protected me from their slaying. And they brought my three companions to a fiery furnace to burn. In spite of all this, God saved me with a mighty hand. And now my lord o King, may my prayer convince you to allow me to go to my house so I may rest and serve the God of my fathers. I am old and I have not the strength to rule anymore."

So the King answered Daniel "Who is able to listen to you when you speak like this asking to be sent away. You are a man of God, the God of the Heavens, and if you leave me, how will my kingdom adjust to your departure. Truly, I know that you are old and don't have the strength to get up and go about as is the custom of the officers of the realm. So if you provide me with a man from your people like yourself, wise and discerning, and as full of God's spirit as you are; if he will assist me in your place according to your law, then I will send you peacefully to repose and rest (35) in your house, only because I know that there is none as valued as you among all your people."

So Daniel left the King at sunset and he arose and prayed to God to influence the King to send him out to go and serve his God. He slept that night awaking early in the morning. Then he went to the Great Assembly and found Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, the son of Jackaniah,

the king of Judah there. So Daniel got up in the midst of the Exiles and took him by the hand leading him and stationing him before the King. Then Daniel said: "Here is a man worthy of me to take my place for you, and he will be like me for he is a Jew of nobility descended from the royal seed, from the descendants of Shealtiel, the son of Jackaniah, the king of Judah. He is a brave man, full of the spirit of wisdom and of understanding of God in all that he does. He will not fail me, and he will not be inferior, and he will be your counselor and advisor as I was. Send me to rest in my place." The King believed all that Daniel had told him and so he dismissed him. Then Daniel bowed before the King and the King embraced Daniel and kissed him. And he gave him a gift as befits the position of the King and he dismissed him and he left.

So Zerubbabel replaced Daniel, and Daniel gave him all the articles of rule of the Exile which the King had given him. After that, he went to his place, to Shushan, the royal residence in the highlands of the state. He worshipped the Lord (36) his God there until the day of his death, in the midst of his brethren, the Council of the Exile which was there. And Zerubbabel was a mighty man. He succeeded in being wise and discerning, full of the spirit of wisdom, for Daniel had laid his hands upon him. And he found favor in the eyes of the King who loved him as much as he had loved Daniel. So he placed him over all the officers and as head of the two officers of the army who were the Guardians of the Kings' crown.

Now that day, all the officers gathered in Council before the King as was their custom and the King said to them "Is there anyone throughout the land like this man Zerubbabel, a wise and discerning man, blessed by

Daniel?" And they remarked "The King speaks correctly." Now during the afternoon, when it was customary for the King to rest after eating, he did lay down upon his bed and sleep.¹² And the two officers who were guardians of his crown stationed themselves¹³ protectively as was their custom. Zerubbabel was with them at their head. They stood around the King for a long while waiting for him to awaken. But the King was deep¹⁴ in sleep for he was drunk with wine and the chosen three wearied of standing. So they said to one another: "Let each one of us provide riddles, cleverly conceived, according to his cunning. We will write our riddles on a scroll and place it under the King's head until his sleep ends. Then he will notice the scroll and he will understand the purpose of its words. The one whose riddle he judges to be more cleverly conceived (37) than the other two due to its complexity will be the King's viceroy. He will sit on the throne and the chariot and his greatness as a viceroy will precede even the King. All the vessels of his table will be gold and his horse will be harnessed with gold reins. The crown of a Regent will be placed on his head. The King will give him the gifts of a Regent and will inquire of him on all matters and he will be the King's friend." And they all said "So be it."

Therefore they made a pact and validified it according to the laws of Medea and Persia which cannot be abrogated. They brought an ink pen and a scroll and the three drew lots. And the lot fell on the first and he wrote "None are as mighty as the King in the land." And the second wrote "There is none as mighty as wine in the land." Then the third who was Zerubbabel wrote "There is none as mighty as a woman in the land." Now as they finished writing their riddles, they placed that scroll under

the head of the King. However the King happened to be awake, but his eyes were shut and he paid attention to their whisperings. And as they placed the scroll under the King's pillow, the King awoke as though his sleep had just ended and he rubbed his two hands over his eyes. Then he searched beneath his head and he found the scroll which the three men had written, so he opened it and read it. He retained possession of it until all the officers, governors, prefects, and rulers of the state had come. And his three men (38) read it. Then he said "Let each man approach me and tell me his interpretation of his riddle.¹⁵ I will honor the cleverest, most valid of the three according to everything that is written in the scroll concerning his wealth and position."

So the first one approached and read his passage: "May the King and the officers listen to what I have to say. There is none in the land as strong as the King." And the second approached and said: "There is nothing in the land as strong as wine." And the third, who was Zerubbabel said: "There is nothing in the land as strong as a woman." Then the King and the officers answered "We have heard your riddles make your explanations eloquent and we will listen."

So the first answered "I pray my master the King and brave men. Do you not know that the king has the power of life and death in his rule over the earth, the sea, the islands and over all the nations and their proclamations. Should he command the army to go out, they all must go out and they may return because they came before their death. If he commands to raze the walls, they are destroyed. When men plough, and plant, and harvest the produce of the land, they bring up an offering to the King before they eat of the produce themselves for they are fearful of the King. All the men hold he who is Master and Ruler over all of them

in awful dread. None of them will violate his laws and commandments. Therefore believe me for there is none as strong as the King in all the land." And all those gathered were amazed by (39) this speech.

So the second answered and said "Pray my master and pray wise men; Truly all of you know the power of the King for you are encompassed by the rule which he exercises and with which he controls the land. Fear and dread of him are in all men; for you always heed him. But wine is even more powerful than the King, for all the strength of the King is obvious. But when one drinks wine, it insidiously controls his judgment of unrelated matters, causing hilarity, singing, and dancing. To the extent of acting foolishly. For his judgment is perverted by wine befuddling that which is dear and overemphasizing unimportant things, such as slaughtering loved ones, honoring aliens, and not dignifying the presence of one's Father and Mother as well as the rest of life. Surely you know that the strength of wine is thus. If wine is drunk, man does not study books, but mutters songs; and man schemes evilly secretly plotting destruction; and he circulates vague stories causing the grief stricken to rejoice. Should mourners, those who are languishing, and men of death drink from it, they celebrate and become glad in it. Anxious men sing, and prophets of doom, who bring on death, if they should drink wine, laugh and slaughter their neighbors, becoming blind with drunkenness. Shameful men are impudent. And when the wine leaves them, they forget all which they did and they neither understand or remember for the wine effect has past. Then they say 'We haven't done a thing.' Is there anyone who doesn't agree that wine is stronger (40) than the King when it rules him. For the feet of men become uncertain in walking, his eyes do not see truly,

and his mouth speaks false conversation. Can you not understand that wine is stronger than the King for it does thusly". And those who heard were greatly astonished.

So the King called to Zerubbabel, he was the third and he said "You also explain your riddle to us as your companions have told us." And he answered "I will tell you". He said "Listen carefully to my words, O King and Officers, Prefects, and Regents and all assembled people. The King is truly great and mighty above all else. And wine can cause the King to be weak when it controls him. There is nothing false about the power of the King and in the power of wine. However, woman is mightier than wine or the King and all the vineplanters who produce wine. Is not the woman mightier than the King for she gave birth to the King and suckled him and comforted him in her bosom. And she raised him up, and nourished him, and dressed him, and washed his feces off of him and she admonished him and she watched over him as any mother does for her own son. And her concern fell upon him and he feared her rebukes. For she named him, she scolds him and if she strikes him, he flees, escaping from her. His fear remains until the youth grows up to be a young man. He does not forget her concern and does not (41) violate her honor and he recalls her whenever he applies his instruction. Later on, if he looks upon a beautiful woman and desires her loveliness to sport with her, he languishes after her and his heart yearns for her. And his love for her cannot be changed in spite of all wealth. And he forsakes his mother, who bore him and his father who created him, and deals treacherously with them for the love of the beautiful woman. His exultation is great for a woman's love. And his foolishness and madness increase on her account for he errs for her. Oftentimes he is

killed for her and he is led in grief to Sheol. And often wise men are captured when trying to control her and their wisdom is ensnarled in her snares. Villifications are poured out between brothers. Loved ones are split apart, and brothers deceive each other. Don't you know if a beautiful woman passes in front of a man, he gives up all that he wants and he languishes over her beautiful appearance because his heart yearns after her. Although she barely speaks, he forgets anything occupying him. His mouth hangs open, he looks after her and his heart longs after her. Who cannot understand (16) this, for man knows of the truth of the strength of woman. Tell me please: For whom will you work and fight, and for what will you steal and hoard great wealth, if not for women. For they will purchase all precious items of gold and silver, and rich jewelry, and precious items embroidered in gold, and myrrh and aloe and all kinds of spices and (42) seasoned oils and pleasant incense, and provide them with all this. And if men make great ruin or lay in ambush along the road or in the desert, or in the mountains or in the forest, or the sea; and if they fight war, and murder and steal and do violence, and plunder, and snatch and spill blood in order to acquire by violence, to whom is the spoil and plunder and booty brought? Is it not brought to women? I saw that the King sat on his throne and his fine crown was upon his head. Aphomanish the daughter of Abashiosh the Macedonian (17) his concubine was sitting opposite him and she stretched out her hand and pushed the King's crown off his head and she placed it on her head. The King laughed before her. And when she is angry, the King is not able to either entertain or control her in order to diminish her anger. Who cannot believe this, that woman is mightier than all? Sampson's strength was undermined by a woman.

She caused David to err. She produced Solomon and made him act foolishly. Many are her prisoners, and there is no accounting for her slaughter because she destroyed him and his multitude. And moreover, it is wise to know that one man rules over all the land, its inhabitants cannot be counted because of their greatness, and they quake and tremble and writhe from his anger because he rules over all. But over each woman there is an officer and King ruling her and when she expresses her longings to him, he is not able to subdue her or rule her. Furthermore the wife of Adam, the father of all the earth's inhabitants (43) transgressed the word of the Lord his God. So mortality was pronounced upon him and his offspring after him. And now when we estimate the power of a woman, who can not believe this, for from the beginning of the universe until its end, this is not an unknown matter. I speak the truth. But now I will inform the King and anyone else who is listening that the King who rules the earth is vanity, and the wine that rules the King is vanity, and a woman is vanity for the three of them rule unrighteously. But truth rules over everything in the heavens and the earth, on the sea and in the depths. Truth strengthens you before God and man, for truth is precise. A liar can not be established, for the heaven and earth are established on truth, and the truth of the Lord our God will be forever".

So all who were gathered before the King said "This is correct". Then the King said to Zerubbabel "Approach me". So he approached, and the King reached out his hand drawing him near, and he hugged him and kissed him before all the gathered throng.

And he said "Blessed be the God of Zerubbabel who has given him the spirit of truth, for he is a God of truth. His throne is established on truth and all the rest is vanity." So all the officers and prefects and

regents and all the people answered saying "Verily, truth is greater than everything. There is nothing in the universe standing before it for it rules the heaven and earth and all upon it. It is the truth of the God of Zerubbabel who has put the spirit of Truth (44) in his mouth so as to praise and honor Truth before God, King and man." So the King commanded to have the decree of honor which was found written in the scroll fulfilled entirely for Zerubbabel, since he had found preference before the King and the officers, over his two companions. And the King said to Zerubbabel "Ask for whatever your heart desires as is written in the scroll and I will fulfill it for you. I will give you up to half my kingdom." And Zerubbabel answered the King "Please recall my Lord, the King the promise which you and Cyrus vowed to the God of the Heavens: to build his Temple, to return His holy objects to their place to return the exiles of the God of Heavens in peace in order to worship Him in His Temple. They will call upon His name and cause His presence to rest in behalf of the King and his kingdom on account of their prayers to the Great God, the God of Heavens. There is no other promise made to the God of Heaven." So the King commanded and the King's scribes hastened to record all that Zerubbabel had asked from the King -- to rebuild the wastes of Jerusalem. And King Darius asked Cyrus, King of Persia, to join with him in this venture to fulfill their promise to establish the Lord's House in Jerusalem.

Then Cyrus passed throughout his kingdom saying "If there are any among you from the people of the God of Heaven's who are hopeful of going up to found and build, I will compensate their work from my treasury (45) until they finish building." The King's scribes recorded what

King Darius, of Medea and Cyrus the King of Persia had announced to the officers and Governors, those rulers across the Euphrates, the Edomites and the Syrians, and Sidonians, and the Smaritans, as far as Esaph the orchard guardian of Lebanon.

"Be it known to you that it is important for us to return to the city of the God of Heaven, those exiles of His people which Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babylonia had exiled; to return the vessels of the great and holy Temple which involved the name of the God of Israel; And to build His Temple, to reestablish His altar and to sacrifice something continually to Him everyday; And to build the holy Temple, and to reestablish the Palace according to His law, and to rebuild the ruins of Jerusalem. Now when the message comes to you, make an effort to lend a hand to aid them to meet all their needs; Silver, gold, brass iron, wood, stones, builders and stone cutters, until they finish building. Provide all they desire in repair work. Also wheat, measures, oil, wine, and whatever their repairs need. Furthermore, give altar replacements, cows, heifers, rams, he goats, ewes, turtle doves, doves, flour, oil, salt, and all necessary altar and worship items until it is completed."

And¹⁸ the two kings commanded the Edomites to give their labor in the (46) service of the Temple instead because they had helped the Chaldeans destroy it; And to give a tithe every year of five talents of gold, to support the repairs of the Temple until they finished building the Temple of the Holy City. And the Syrians and Sidonians and the Edomites and the servants of the King in Lebanon, who were under the power of Esaph, the Orchard guardian, had to cut trees from the Lebanon woods, and to draw water from the Lebanon River, as far as the Sea of Jaffa to ful-

fill service to the Temple and no man could refuse then until they finished their work: And the scribes wrote everything which the two Kings commanded and they signed it and gave it to Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel and to Nehemiah, the son of Hacabiah.

Now at that time, Darius, the King of Media became sick unto death and his days drew short. So he sent for Cyrus, King of Persia, his son-in-law, the husband of his daughter, and he came to him and ruled in his place. And the kingdoms of Media and Persia were united. And Darius the Medeanite was gathered to his people and Cyrus the King of Persia ruled in his place over the kingdom of Media and Persia. Cyrus, Darius' son-in-law ruled the officers of Media and Persia from the throne of Media and Persia. And from that day on, the kingdoms of Media and Persia were united. There was one throne, and Cyrus sat on the throne of Babylonia which was in Chaldea.

Now in the first year of his reign, the city of our God remained in the spirit of Cyrus, the King of Persia (47) and the King remembered the promise which he had made: to return the exiles and the holy vessels from Babylonia to Jerusalem. Then all the elders of the exile were called before Cyrus and the King said to them: "Who of you from among all the people of the God of Heaven is willing to go up to Jerusalem, the footstool of the Great God to build His Temple which Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babylonia destroyed when he did more evilly than any King before him. He will go up to build and his God will be with him because he is willing. I Cyrus am a servant of your God who made me King through His word. I will give of my wealth and my treasure to finance all the repairs of the Temple of the Great God who made me King over all the

the kingdom of Medea and Persia. For He helped me to devastate the kingdom of Chaldea," Then all the Elders of the Exile with Ezra the Scribe and Nehemiah the son of Hacabiah and Mordecai and Jeshua and Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel at their head, as well as the rest of the leaders of the exile came to Jerusalem and rebuilt the Temple of the Lord with the portion which the King had given them. They rebuilt the altar according to the Law and they dragged wood upon the altar and they placed meat upon the wood, but they could not find holy fire. So Ezra the Scribe and Nehemiah the son of Hacabiah, and Mordecai and Jeshua, and the rest of the heads of the exile prayed to God and they said "Master of the Universe You have influenced the King of Persia to allow the rebuilding of Your house and to send (48) Your afflicted servants and Your priests to offerings to You as our righteous fathers did before You. Now we have come to this place and we have reestablished the altar according to its measures. We have made sacrifices and drawn wood upon the sacrifice but we don't have the dominion to offer a sacrificial fire before You, for we do not have holy fire. Your servant Jeremiah the Prophet, and the rest of the heads of the Priests who went into exile in the days of Nebuchadnezzar have hidden it. And now what is to be done, O God of Heavens. Give us advice and help, for the dominion to enlarge and strengthen and to help Your servants is in Your hands."

And as they were praying these things one of the eldest priests remembered the place where Jeremiah the prophet had hidden the Holy fire. So that elder went outside the camp and all the elders went after him. And behold under the city wall was a cave with a great stone on it, and it was plastered with lime. So they took off the plaster and rolled the

the stone off the mouth of the cave. They saw oily water a thick honey and they turned and told Ezra. Ezra came to that well and he said to the Priests "Take the water in handfuls." For no aliens had toiled there, only those from the seed of Aaron, the priests. So the priests went down, and gathered some of (49) the water in their hands and they went to the Temple. There they sprinkled water on the altar and the wood.

Now as they were doing this an awful and wonderful fire was kindled suddenly. The flame glittered and the fire consumed and became very great, so that the priests had to retreat from there, for they were not able to stand before the fire. The fire consumed and burned the sacrifice and the wood, and surrounded the entire temple. It purified the vessels and the Temple, and after that it receded from the Temple until it remained only on the altar as according to law. And from that day onward they placed wood upon it, and there always was fire until the second Exile.

But the ark was nowhere for Jeremiah the prophet took it with all the trappings which Moses, the servant of the Lord, had made in the desert and he put them upon Mount Nebo. He found a cave there and he studied them in its depths. But the priests of that day chased after the prophet to discover the place. Jeremiah looked behind himself and he saw them. He was angry and he swore saying "No man shall recognize or know the place without Elijah the Prophet or myself, the servant of the Lord. Then we will return the Ark to its place to the Holy of Holies, under the cherubs wings." And from that day onward it was so. Then our fathers offered their sacrifices and their burnt offerings and their grain offerings and their whole offerings and their daily offerings day (50) after day. For the King of Persia and Medea assisted them with silver and gold, wheat and oil, wine, cows, and goats year after year, because the kings of

Medea and Persia loved the Temple of our God, and His Sanctuary. And King Cyrus ruled over all the kingdoms of the land. The Lord strengthened his right hand and He subdued all the nations before him, and He opened all the Treasuries before him. He gave him treasures as He had said through Isaiah the Prophet, His servant, for the sake of Jacob His servant and Israel who chose them.

And Cyrus fought throughout the East. He conquered all the mountainous areas of India, the south, all the land of Ethiopia and all the inhabitants of the south and west as far as the land of Spain, and northward all the land of Macedonia and all the land of Kaphtor and Jadarah and all the land of Elan and Elsar and the mountains of Elath, the mountain of the ox, as far as the snow capped mountains which cannot be crossed.

And all the rest of his deeds are they not written in the books of the kings of Medea and Persia and in the book of the Kings of Rome. Cyrus continued to fight against the King of Shittim and he attacked Shittim until he established control over it. The men of Shittim went out to meet him and they drew up in great battle order. But the men of Shittim were beaten and they fell and turned their backs and fled and they withdrew from fighting in that war. All the brave men of their camp Cyrus killed dead on the ground, and he chased after the rest. They came to their cities (51) and to their fortresses to Talmyra the queen with her son. Then Cyrus saw that the men of Shittim went into their cities and that no one entered or left. So Cyrus acted cunningly. He got up and withdrew the camp fleeing, that the men of Shittim left their cities with their queen's son to pursue after Cyrus. But they went out in a

straight line, so the King turned around and overtook the men of Shittim. And he killed 300 of them and the Queen's¹⁹ son fell with them. So the men of Shittim fled with Talmyra to the mountains and King Cyrus looted the fortress cities. He destroyed them and he placed prefects over the states which he captured and he turned to leave the country.

Now when Talmyra the Queen, saw that her son was dead, the Queen mourned greatly. She became vengeful and rushed death when she lay in wait and captured the mountain passes of Shittim. Now Cyrus the King left the land in peace and tranquility. However he was obsessed with plundering so all his camp left but a few remained with him and he slept in a valley resting in that place. Now during that night Talmyra fell upon Cyrus' camp suddenly and killed 2000 brave Persians in Cyrus' camp. She took King Cyrus in that battle. The Queen was vengeful and she came upon the (52) corpse of Cyrus like an evil being, a bereaved she-bear, and she cut off his head and she put it in the midst of a well filled with the blood of the slain. She said "Drink and be sated, King Cyrus. May you be saturated with the blood which you loved. For thirty years you have spilled endless quantities of blood." So King Cyrus met his death in the War of the land of Shittim. But this is not astonishing for Saul, the Anointed of the Lord, met his death in war, and Isaiah the Righteous, blessed be his memory, ended his days in battle.

So King Cyrus was gathered to his fathers and Cambyeses,²⁰ his son ruled in his place. He captured all the kingdom of Shittim and impaled Talmyra and consumed the seed of her kingdom. And Cambyeses ruled over Medea and Persia, and impaled Damascus and its officers for they rebelled against him. He advanced on Armenia and he fought against them

and he subjugated them under his rule. He took their sons as a ransom. He ruled over Egypt, and he captured them, placing a work tax on them. He ruled with force, his awe was over all his kingdom. And our fathers served King Cyrus and all the Kings of Persia which arose after him with sweet labor. For they were not evil to them and did not oppress them but only helped them year after year, with silver and gold, and wheat, and flax, and wine and fams and treasures.

Now in the days of Ahasuarus,²¹ the memory of the Jewish people (53) had almost been removed from the entire kingdom of Persia, due to the enmity of an Amalakite whose name was Haman, the son of Hammedatha. For King Ahasuerus had exalted him, and he could do whatever he desired throughout his kingdom. And he considered wiping out the memory of the Jews throughout the kingdom of Persia, because Mordecai the Jew had not risen up before him, from among the Prefects of Benjamin. They were the nobles, the bravest Benjaminites who had come with King Saul to the Fields of Amalik. They had dealt Amalek a very great and mighty blow, from Villa as you journey many days.²² And they moved down more than 500,000 corpses from the people of Amalek. All that happened in the War of King Saul with the people of Amalek. He tread upon and slaughtered people throughout the land of Amalek; Men, women and children -- the number was over a million.. Therefore, because of the battles which Saul fought, Haman the Agagite harbored enmity against the people of Judah and the Tribe of Benjamin.

In those days, as Mordecai was sitting by the Kings gate he recognized two of the King's eunuchs, doorkeepers, whispering that they planned to rise up against the King. They would cut off his head in order

to bring it up before the King of Macedonia. Then the Kings of Macedonia would be stirred up against the Kings of Persia. These are the names of the eunuchs: One's name was Bigthan and the second's name was Teresh. So Mordecai related the incident to Esther. Then Esther told (54) the King and he looked into the matter and verified it. And the King commanded to have the loyal and good deed which Mordecai performed for the King recorded in the Book of Chronicles of the King's of Medea and Persia.

Now when the eunuchs were hanged due to the plot, Haman became angry because they were his advisers who had been hung. So Haman sought to destroy all the Jews. But Mordecai was aware of Haman's thoughts and he recalled the dream which he had envisioned in the second year of King Ahasuerous. He reviewed the dream and beheld a great quaking and a great thunder. All the earth was alarmed, fear and trembling fell upon all its inhabitants. Two monsters had planned to meet each other in war and all the nations of the earth fled before their noise. That was a dark and cloudy day, and even smallest nation counseled and they cried out to the Lord. The monsters fought with great fury but neither one succeeded. And Mordecai noticed that a tiny spring of water passed between the two monsters and divided the two during the battle which had been taking place. The spring grew and became a flowing river coursing into the Great Sea and flowing throughout the land. Then he saw and beheld, the sun rising over the land and there was light throughout the land. And that little nation expanded and grew. So the mighty were laid low and (55) peace and truth were spread throughout the universe. Now from that day onward, Mordecai had kept that dream in his heart. Now when Haman vexed him, he told Esther the Queen who was his niece "Go with the dream which

I told you in your younger days. Rise and seek mercy from the Lord of Mercy. Go before King Ahasuerous and entreat him on behalf of your people and your heritage." Then Mordecai, the Jew prayed to the Lord his God. And he said: "The throne of Your glory is revealed and made known to me, Master of the Universe. There is no one more important in my heart to whom I would raise my eyes. I do not worship this Amalekite Haman. Due to my fear of You I have provoked him by not worshipping him. I fear only You, God of the Universe. I will not give honor to flesh and blood and I have no desire to worship but only You. Who am I that I don't worship Haman. But for the salvation of Israel I will lap the shoes of his feet and the dust. Dust which he stirs walking. And now Our God save us from his hand. For he will fall on us intent upon great slaughter. He will destroy us with a snare which he will conceal at the feet of Your righteous ones. They are aware that You have not forgotten the pledge You made to our fathers, not to deliver us into exile without Your power. You were not able to save us except if we forsook our sinful ways and revealed our transgressions. We have transgressed against You. (56) And now Our Lord, mighty to save, deliver us from his hand which greatly oppresses us. Our visions turn to You and we flee to Your congregation. It is a shield for us and rises in our midst to defend us against all who rise up against us. And remember us for we are Your portion, Ever since You have given the nations a tradition and scattered the sons of man, we have been Your inheritance, and You have made the chosen lots fall upon us and we were treasures.

And now, Our God, why do our enemies say that they have no God. When they open their mouths to swallow Your portion, they praise their own

labors and vanities. Pray. Lord our God, save us and put them to shame for their vanities and their labors. They will place hand over mouth when they see Your salvation, and mercy toward Your chosen people O Lord. They will not close their mouths, but praise You evening and morning. But always turn our sorrows to gladness and joy. For all Israel will cry to the Lord concerning these appressive things and concerning Haman the son of Hammedatha, the Amalekite."

And Queen Esther departed with the blessings of Shaddai for she was afraid of the evil, which had increased. She stripped off the royal garments and her beautiful jewelry and she dressed in sackcloth and ashes. She disarranged her hairdo and she heaped her head with dust and ashes. Then she afflicted her body with fasting and she fell on her face and prayed saying "O Lord, God of Israel, whom You have ruled from ancient days, and creator of all the world, please help (57) your maidservant for whom there can be no other aid but from You. For I sit alone and I am isolated in the palace with neither father or mother like a poor orphan begging from house to house. Thus I have begged of your mercy before each window in the palace of King Ahasuerous from the day I was taken here unto today. Now God, behold my life is in my hands. Take it from my hands if it seems proper to You. But if You do not want to guard it, please save the sheep of Your flock from these lions which rise up against them. For my father taught me and instructed me that You took our fathers from Egypt and killed all the first born of Egypt. And You delivered Your people from their midst. With Your mighty hand and outstretched arm You brought them across the sea as a horse crosses a wilderness. You gave them bread from the heavens and water from flintstone.

You also gave them filling meat. You ravaged mighty and great kings and before them as they conquered Your good land. And when our fathers sinned against Your great name You delivered them into captivity, For we are in exile today. And my father also told me that You spoke with Moses Your servant, doing this continuously even when they were in the land of their enemies. But now it is not sufficient for them to enslave us harshly. For we say²³ that You will not deliver us into their hands since they supplicate their idols and worship them (58) saying: "You have given the Jews into our hands." Therefore, I Your maidservant, abhor and hate them with as great an abhorrence as man has for the clothing of a menstruating woman. This is how I hate the royal garb and the crown of my realm upon my head, and I have not been happy but tearful since the day they brought me here.

So now Our God, father of orphans, right hand pillar of the orphan who trusts in You, pity me before this man Ahasuerous for I am as afraid of him as a kid is afraid of lions. Subjugate all his advisors. Subdue him and humble him by the test of beauty which You gave to me. You are my God. Make him hate our enemies and love Your servants. For the hearts of Kings are in Your hands and all which you desire You extend majestically and awesomely and sit on high. Truly the fear which I fear will be removed. I am afraid but I will come before him in Your name and I will go out before him in peace."

Now on the third day Esther dressed in beautiful clothing and fine jewelry and she took her two Ladies-in-waiting with her. She put her right hand on one girl and leaned upon her according to the law of the kingdom. The other girl went behind her and she carried the jewelry so

that the gold on her clothing and the various kinds of precious stones would not touch the ground. Then she brightened her face, so her anxious appearance vanished, and she came to (59) the inner courtyard opposite the King and she stood in front of him. The King sat on his throne dressed in the gold ephod of the realm. The pure gold which was upon it sparkled and flashed brilliantly with all the precious jewels which he wore. And he raised his eyes and beheld Esther standing before him. His wrath was greatly kindled for the Queen had nullified his law when she came before him without having been called. So Esther looked up and she saw the King's face. His eyes glowed like fire reflecting the anger in his heart. The woman recognized the King's anger and wrath and she was greatly alarmed. Her spirit grew cold and she leaned her head on the girl upon whom she had put her right hand. Then Our God took notice and pitied the oppression of His people. For He had compassion on the burden of Israel and on the troubles of the orphan who trusted in Him. So He granted her favor before the King and He magnified her beauty and her wealth.

And the King rose in sudden haste from his throne and he ran to Esther. He hugged and kissed her and put his arms upon her and he said to her: "What is with you that you are not afraid. Does this law which we have not apply to you Queen Esther because you are my Queen and my companion." He took his gold wand and he put it on her hand and he said to her "Why don't you speak to me?" Esther said: "I saw my Lord the King that you were fearful of your honor (60) and the gloriousness of your majesty." Now as she spoke, she turned again and placed her head upon the girl because she was weary from fasting and from worrying. The King

became greatly alarmed and he cried before Esther. And all the servants of the King supplicated the Queen on the King's account in order to improve the disposition of their troubled master before them.

Now after these events, the Lord gave Queen Esther and Mordecai, that great man, the power of repentance and they hung Haman and ten of his sons on a tree. They designated all those who sought evil for Israel. Mordecai was exalted from that day onwards in the palace of King Ahasuerous, and our fathers served all the Kings of Persia in peace and quiet until King Darius the Second.

Now as he reigned, a difficult war broke out with the nation of Macedonia, and they dealt the Macedonians a very mighty blow. So he ruled tyrannically over the nation of Macedonia, until King Alexander the son of Phillip, who had exalted the name of the nation of Macedonia, conquered the Eastern lands as far as the end of the earth.

As the nation of Macedonia was stirred up against the kingdom of Persia, Alexander left Macedonia with a great force. He came upon Darius with warlike intentions and he smote all the nations who were in alliance with Darius including the lands of Egypt, and Edom. When he came along the sea shore he smote Acco, and (61) Ashkelon and Gaza. Then he readied himself to go up to Jerusalem to smite it in retaliation for its alliance with Darius.

And he marched from Gaza along the road with all his camp until he came to night quarters, and he camped there with all his troops. Now that night as he was resting on his bed in the middle of the tent, he saw a man standing over his head dressed in linen.²⁴ His sword was was drawn in his hand and its appearance was like the flashing of lightning

on a rainy day. He raised his sword over the King's head and the King was greatly afraid. He asked "Why will my Lord smite his servant?" And the man answered "Because God has sent me to destroy great kings and mighty nations before him. I will go before him to help him."²⁵ And now know that you will surely die because you have promised to go up to Jerusalem to act evilly toward the priests of the Lord and His people." So the King said "Please, I pray forgive the sin of your sword. I swear my Lord, if it is evil in your eyes, I will repent before you." Then the man said "Do not be afraid for I will show favor toward you. Go upon your way to Jerusalem and as you come before the gate of Jerusalem, you will see a man dressed in linen like me. The man will have a form similar to mine. Quickly fall to the ground on your face and pray to him. Do all that he says to you. Do not disobey his words, for you will die the day you do."

So the King got up and went on his way toward Jerusalem (62) and his anger fumed. The priests and all the people were afraid and they cried out to the Lord and proclaimed a fast. After the fast, Jews went out to meet him to beseech him not to level the city. And the priest went outside the gate with all the people and the priests. The High Priest stood before them dressed in linen. So King Alexander saw the priest and he hastily descended from his chariot and he fell on his face and supplicated the priest. The other rulers who were servants of Alexander were disquieted and they said to him "Why do you supplicate a man who has no battle strength" The King replied to his servants "The man who leads all the nations, his appearance is similar to this man who I am supplicating." Now after that, the priest and King Alexander came to the

Tabernacle of Our God and the priest showed him the Temple: its courtyard, its treasury, its vestibule, the Holy of Holies, the altar place and the burnt offering place. And the King said "Blessed be the God of this Temple. May He make you who are his servants and who serve before Him in this place, happy. And now I will create a memorial here. I will give a large amount of gold to sculptors and they will construct a likeness of me. They will erect it there between the Holy of Holies and this Temple. My embodiment will be a memorial in the Temple of the Great God." Then the priest said to the King "Take the gold which your lips (63) have promised, as a gift to the priests of our God. Give it to the poor among the priests who have children this year throughout Judah. And throughout the land of Jerusalem they will be given your name, Alexander, and this will be your memorial as they come to do service to the Lord in this Temple. We are not able to receive statues or any pictures for the House of our God." So the King did thusly and gave the gold to the priests, Then the King asked the priest to inquire of God on his behalf whether if he went to war with Darius he would come to an end. The Priest said to him "Go for he will be delivered into your hand." And he brought the Book of Daniel before him²⁶ and showed him that which was written there concerning the Ram which stood over all life and the He-goat who charged the Ram and trampled on him.²⁷ And the priest said to him "You are the he-goat and Darius is the Ram. You will trample him to the ground and you will take all his kingdom." So the Priest strengthened him and Alexander left Jerusalem and went to Darius prepared for war. He passed over the people of Amonon. And Sanballat the Hurrian²⁸ went out to meet him and he bowed to the ground before him and he received him in his house.

He made a feast for him and all his officers and he gave him gold and silver in great amounts. Then he asked him to build a Temple on Mount Gerizzim for Manasseh the priest, his son-in-law who had married his daughter.²⁹ And he was the brother of Jaddua the High Priest in Jerusalem. But Manasseh did not (64) consent to divorce his wife as did his blood brother who had driven out any foreign women.³⁰ Therefore the congregation of the righteous drove their ruler out from Jerusalem. So he came with his wife to Sanballat his father-in-law and he lived with him. Therefore Sanballat asked Alexander to build a sanctuary on Mount Gerizzim so that his son-in-law could be priest there. The King said to him "Build the Sanctuary about which you inquire. Only guard yourself lest you will be a snare for the God which is in Jerusalem." And the King went on his way to war.

Sanballat built a sanctuary on Mount Gerizzim and he said to Menassah, his son-in-law "See, here is your sanctuary built according to your laws. Bless Mount Gerizzim and everything else." But this sanctuary was a blocking stone and a stumbling rock and a snare for the Temple of the Lord in Jerusalem and for his priests, for there were many lawbreakers among our people. They would go to Mount Gerizzim excessively year after year to celebrate their holidays with sacrifices and donations and with whole offerings. They forgot the Sanctuary to the Lord in Jerusalem. And that Sanctuary grew exceedingly wealthy over a long period of time up until the rule of Hyrcanus the son of Simon, of the Hasmonean family. He destroyed this Sanctuary and transferred all services to the Sanctuary of the Lord in Jerusalem. He was Hyrcanus who circumcised the Edomites and brought them into the covenant, linking them with the (65) bond

of circumcision.

Now Phillip, the father of Alexander ruled for six years over Macedonia and Greece. With his multitudinous army his might, he subdued Macedonia and Greece under his hand. Now I have possession of a Book containing the geneology of Alexander which records that he is the son of Phillip. However he was really not his son for I found written that he was the son of Neketnebor, the King of Egypt recorded in another³¹ book.

Now this is the story of Alexander against whom the magicians of Egypt and her wise men, those whom were learned in the science of the firmament, life and stars joined with the heathen councils, the planters, and the masters of life and those skilled in magic and imagery. This is the opening of the story:

Now there was a King of the kingdom of Egypt and his name was Neketnebor. This man was a greater magician and wise man than all the magicians of Egypt in the knowledge of the stars and the skills of magic and spells and images. He understood the future and fortold the potential of the stars. He was a premier wiseman possessing a knowledge of prophesy. He was well regarded by the people and from the smallest to the greatest they accepted him. And it was told to him that the King of Persia who was Artexeres³² planned to fight with and destroy the state of Egypt. When he heard this, Neketnebor searched to find out if it were true or not. So he sent his most trusted officers and his best men to the borders of (66) his state and to the city districts which were near the kingdom of Persia as a precaution against the truth of the news. After this the King closeted himself in his apartment. In the place where

it was his custom to draw upon the power of the stars and to enable him to understand secrets and the future. He filled a large brass bowl with rain water which was stored near him to be used for sorcery. Then he took a handful of dates which were picked at the proper time in his hands and he inquired of them until he saw rows of soldiers riding and the armies of the world descending upon him. As he saw them he turned to find out whether or not he would be victorious against them. While he was still engaged in this, one of his messengers, whom he had sent to find out the truth of what he heard came to him. And the messenger called to him and said "Be aware, King Neketnebor, that Artaxerexes, the King of Persia, is preparing himself to advance and conquer your fortresses with the armies of your enemies, who have risen against you. The Medes, Persians, Tachamanites, Tarchaminites, Dalamites, Carsanites, Ludites, Togermmites, Cushites, Arabs, Asakites, Sinaites and Babylonians are not missing. Shield and spear bearers are not lacking from all these soldiers even from East beyond the sun, from the land of India, which has never armed itself against you. All of them are gathered against you in the midst of the sea and upon dry (67) land." But King Neketnebor scoffed at his words and said to him "Look at the weak man, the faint of heart. For you fear a mere heel, and you talk of a nonentity to me with these words. Don't you know that victory does not result from many warriors but from fortitude and strength of heart. Does not one lion kill and consume kids and lambs without number. Now leave, for you are not a brave man." After that Neketnebor arose from the throne of his kingdom, and he returned to the place where he practiced magic. He made images of chariots and horsemen out of wax and placed them in the prophetic waters near him

and he took handfuls of dates in his hands and he examined them to discover if those who rose up against him would be victorious or if he would be victorious over them. Finally the images which he had fashioned after his soldiers appeared fallen to him and humbled before the images of the lords of Persia which had risen over him. So he gave up hope of readying himself to go out to meet them and he returned from the calculations upon which his soul had faltered. He shaved his head and his beard and he disguised himself dressing up in other clothing. Neketnebor fled from Egypt in the night acting like an alien of his city. And he took whatever he was able to carry with him -- gold and precious stones. And he carried by hand all the forms and images with which they daily practiced stargazing and divination. He went to the state of Belusia and after that traveled from there to (68) the state of Anasophia at the border of the kingdom of Greece. He put on clothing of white linen and silk like the clothes with which the officers and priests of Babylonia are provided. And he advanced from there to the state of Macedonia, the ruling city of the Greeks. He dwelled there and the men of the city, its wise men paid him honor. He prophesied to them -- to anyone of them concerning their secrets. He became precious to them and they exalted him highly.

Now when the men of Egypt saw that their master, the King of Egypt was absent from their midst, they went to one of their abominable idols, one whom they called Saraphis. They offered him sacrifices, and they burned him offerings and they petitioned him asking: "To where had disappeared our³³ King." And the idol answered them "Neketnebor the King, has fled from the land of Egypt before Artaxerxes, the King of Persia who has risen up against you. For he knew that he would rule over

you many years³⁴ until his sons grow old. And he will avenge you of your enemies. Then you and your enemies will be his servants. For he will rule all the earth. "Now when Egypt heard the idol's prophesy they made a statue like Neketnebor their King, out of black stones and they raised it at the highest point of the state. They fastened the idol's answer underneath it so that it would be a reminder to them and their offspring who followed them. Meanwhile, Neketnebor lived (69) in the land of Macedonia unrecognized. His identity nor from what people he really came was not known. Yet he was greatly honored among them.

Now time passed and Philip King of Macedonia went out on one of his wars and Neketnebor came to the palace to find Nabiarash his wife. When he lifted his eyes to her, he desired her, and he loved her gently. So he bowed before her and he kissed her hand. And he said to her "May the God of the kingdom of Maceonia support you" and she answered him "May God bless the Expert of Magic. Sit by my right hand" so he sat opposite her and she turned toward him and said: "Behold your wisdom is celebrated for you dwell among the Egyptians." And he said "What you say is true. My Mistress O Queen. You have honored me and exalted me greatly by classifying me as an Egyptian. Because they are poets, commentatore, and investigators, of dræams. And I, if I am not directly from them, I am partly related to them through geneology. But I do not inherit their wisdom of secrets and foretelling." And as he spoke this to her, he did not take his eyes off her because her face and figure were beautiful. She said to him "Why do you like to look at me so much. This sneaky immigration which I have attributed to you reminds me of the time when my people entered a covenant to obtain a great queen and serve her. And I

hoped, 'Perhaps (70) you will be that Queen'. So after that he withdrew an onyx stone with images and types of jewels from his garment and gave it to her. And on it were three compasses. On the first were engraved the 12 planets. On the second were 7 servants, and on the third were symbols of the effects of fate on the birth of a kingdom. On the edges of the surface were four precious stones and upon them were engraved the secrets of nature.

And when Queen Nabiarash, saw this tablet, she was astonished by it and she said to Neketnebor "God has given you great and powerful wisdom. Now if you can tell me the day, hour and minute during which King Phillip was born, then it will be a complete affirmation of your spells and divinations for me." So he answered her question correctly and he said "If you really want me to reveal any more than this, I will." She said to him "The men of the kingdom are saying to each other, that King Philip wants to drive me out when he returns from this war." So Neketnebor turned and replied "These men have circulated lies and falsehoods. However something will occur between you and him after two years. You will leave him and after, he will return to you humbly." And she beseeched him to reveal this situation while it was still in the future so as to aid her position before Phillip her husband. He said to her :Be aware that one of the great Gods (71) is concerned for you and cares for you. Therefore you are dependent on him and he will provide for you whatever you desire." She said "Who is this God and what is his form and shape." He replied "The name of this God is Amon the Mighty. He is called this because he is able to give strength and courage to all who trust in him and serve him." She said to him "Reveal his form and shape to me so that

a banquet can be prepared when he comes to me." He said "This God is a middle aged man, neither young nor old. On his forehead are horns resembling the horns of an ox. His beard resembles the hair of a dog. He will come to you and ask if you depend upon him." She said to him "If this is the truth, I will not support you in the manner of a prophet, but with the sustenance of a holy man of God."

Then after this, Neketnebor left her and went to the forest and isolated himself there, gathering roots and herbs. And he searched for magic forces in them so that Queen Nabiarash would see all which he had told her to see in her dreams. On the second day she sent a messenger for him. So he came to her and she told him about her vision. And he said to her "Tell me that which you saw for soon you must be told what to do." Then Neketnebor continued "See I have listened to your vision. Now be sure you listen to me. At the end of your palace there is a place where there is an oak tree. Tonight an enactment of (72) your dream will appear to you for Amon the God which you saw will return to you disguised as a snake. After that he will change to the image of a man who looks like me but I will be here. I will instruct you as to what to do with him." The Queen turned saying "Behold the entire palace is before you. Choose a place for yourself to rest. Your words are trusted and you will be treated as a father is by his own son." She commanded him to look for a place in her castle to lie down.

Now during that night, Neketnebor turned into a snake according to the laws of the magic which can change those who desire into any image. He proceeded in that form to the couch of Queen Nabiarash and he had sexual relations³⁵ with her. When he had finished, he said to her

"From this seed, a son will be born to you who will be stronger and braver than anyone before him." Then Neketnebor left there going about his business.

And after a period of time Queen Nabiarash perceived the child struggling in her belly. So she sent for Neketnebor and she told him that she felt the child. She asked him to tell her in his wisdom what her course of behavior about this should be when Phillip her husband heard about this matter. He said to her "Don't be afraid, for the God Amon will help you and will set Phillip your master straight concerning you." Then Neketnebor went from there to the forest and gathered herbs and sprouting roots. Then he followed his practice (73) of causing the power of the stars to flow in them. So he appeared in a dream to those whom he wished to reveal himself. He appeared to Phillip in his dream that night. He saw the God Amon laying with his wife Nabiarash. When he had finished he bound up her womb and stamped a signet ring upon her. The seal of the ring had the head of a snake on its head, stretched out on a knife. Then Phillip awoke and he was in a disturbed mood. So he summoned all his diviners and magicians. They interpreted what he knew for him. The Queen would soon give birth caused by the spirit of one of the Gods to a son who would be like a young lion and a snake and his kingdom would stretch to any place where the sun rose. This was the image and solution of the snake which was engraved in the seal of the ring.

After this vision, Phillip took the town which he was challenging by assault. And he appeared as if a snake fought between his hands in the midst of the battle. It sent fear into all the men of the state who fought against him and they died. When Phillip captured the state, he

returned to his land of Macedonia. When he approached his castle, Nabiarash his wife came out to meet him and she found favor in his eyes and he embraced her and kissed her. He said to her "You are worthy and chosen for having been loaned to that God. No man can charge you guilty because of this and no one will be able to humiliate you.³⁶ Behold the Gods showed to me (74) all that happened to you. Therefore it will not burden me and no man will accuse you of sinning because of this deed."

Now during that time Phillip sat upon his throne in the banquet hall. His Generals and his servants were before him and Nabiarash, his wife, sat by his right hand. And Neketnebor changed into a snake as was his custom, and he entered the King's palace. When he saw Queen Nabiarash, he put his head upon her bosom and kissed it. The King and all his officers who stood before him were afraid. And the King said to them "I saw this serpent the day we conquered the state which we were fighting. He killed my enemies who fought with me before my very eyes. Miracles occurred before me and I was greatly astonished."

Now after some time, King Phillip was sitting on the throne of his kingdom when a bird fell into his bosom and laid an egg. That egg fell out from the King's bosom and it broke. A small snake came crawling hurriedly on its belly, and when it turned to return to the edge of its shell, no one came near it until it died. So the King was very astonished and he gathered his magicians and wise men and told them of the incident concerning the bird and the egg and the snake. Then his wise men said to him "Be aware that this vision is a prophetic matter of the Gods telling you that the son (75) you will have will rule as far as the four corners of the earth. He will conquer every kingdom and before he returns

to the land of his birth, he will die."

And after this Queen Nabiarash became sick from the pregnancy. So she summoned Neketnebor and told him about it and Neketnebor knew that it was the sickness of pregnancy. Now at that time, for she was ready to give birth, he ordered the maid-servants who stood before her to take hold of her hands and make her stand over her chamber pot. While she was standing, the heavens filled with black clouds, the universe darkened, and the sun became gloomy. So she squatted and gave birth to a son. At the time of his birth the earth trembled, and the very foundations of heaven shook with lightning and thunder, and a cold spell sprung up. None before it had ever been more severe. And the messengers departed to inform the King. Then he came to Nabiarash, his wife, and he said to her "I was recently thinking. There is a mark on this child because he is not truly from my loins. I witnessed these great trials which we had when he was born. I know he is a child of the Gods. Therefore I will exalt him and I will give him the name Alexander." So he commanded her numerous maid-servants in his royal house to honor him and exalt him.

Alexander did not resemble either his father or his mother. His hair was like the hair of a lion and he had large eyes. One was blue and one was black. His teeth were large. And his voice was (76) like the voice of a lion who had been struck. And he grew up and went to school. He was wise and discerning in all the instructed subject matter. When he approached the age of 12 years, he rode horses and no horseman excelled him due to his strength and power. When Phillip observed his size and bravery, he was astonished by him. And he said to him: "Alexander behold I love you. Your life is bound up with my life. But I

am upset for I see that your shape is different from my shape." When Queen Nabiarash heard what Phillip said to Alexander, it frightened her and she worried about Phillip for she thought he was not loyal to her. She asked Neketnebor about this in order to discover Phillip's thoughts about her. And he turned to her and said "Do not be concerned about Phillip your husband, unless it is good, for his heart is pure concerning you." When Alexander heard the words of Neketnebor, he said to him "Where did you get this wisdom. How are you able to know the thoughts of the King?" Neketnebor had been one of the teachers of Alexander. He answered him "This knowledge comes to man from an understanding of the stars. It is the greatest mortal power." Alexander returned "Behold, I have wanted to know this wisdom. None of all the other knowledge which I have acquired can be compared to this wisdom. Why did you delay teaching it to me." He answered "Because man needs to isolate himself in the forest to look at stars and to make all these many prophecies. And it can not be done except in isolation." Then Alexander asked him "Will you be able, with this wisdom of yours, to know what will happen after you, following your death." He replied "I know through the power of this wisdom of mine that my end draws near and he who comes from my loins will kill me." So Alexander answered "Who else will instruct me in this knowledge. How will I be able to know it." He replied "When I ask you to go with me to the forest. There you will learn about this subject as you wish." And they made an appointment to enter the forest on one night. When they came to the moats which surrounded the walls of the city, Neketnebor said "Look and see, the planet Saturn. Witness its light. How it reaches the darkness. Regard the goodly and shining star. Now its

brightness and light do shine." Alexander answered him and said "I can see them. You are the teacher." So Neketnebor came close to him. And when he looked up to the stars to show them to Alexander, Alexander pushed him into the depths of the pit. And he said to him "May the fury of the Gods be upon you. It is fitting to do this to the revealer of the King's secrets and hidden matters." So Neketnebor raised his voice from the pit and said "Now I must record the truth. Alexander you are my son (78), who I foresaw would kill me." Alexander queried "And how am I your son?" Neketnebor answered "You are my son truly, but don't ask me how." Therefore the anger of Alexander grew. So he threw a rock upon him and it struck him and so he died. But after that Alexander's conscience bothered him. He said "Perhaps what he said was true." And he grieved that he had killed him. So he went down to the depths of the pit and brought the corpse of Neketnebor out of there carrying it on his shoulder to the King's palace. When Nabiarash, his mother saw him, she asked him "What is this?" Alexander replied "This is the body of Neketnebor, my teacher." She said to him "Was he not your father, or at least his proxy? Why did you repay him with evil instead of good?" So Alexander said to her "All this results from your soft heart and your insufficient knowledge." After this, Queen Nabiarash ordered Neketnebor's body interred in her apartment.

Now King Phalusia from a neighboring state of Macedonia was one of Phillips's admirers and a member of his alliance. He sent him a gift of one horse. None was mightier or more beautiful than it. It was nicknamed Bosphelus. Its strength and its viciousness were great. No man was able to ride it for it killed anyone who came near it. So the King commanded to have an iron cage made for it and to force it to stay there.

Any man who was indebted to the government was thrown into it. The horse (79) was a prisoner in the midst of the cage and no man was able to approach it.

Then King Phillip went to one of his idol makers to ask him to inform him who would sit on his throne after him. And it appeared in his dream as if one of the idols came to him and said: "Any brave person who rides on the imprisoned horse which you have will inherit the kingdom after you." Phillip remembered this and he didn't reveal it even to one of his servants.

When Alexander approached 15 years of age, he was facile in all manner of knowledge. He studied the science of ethics, from Kalast Yagas the moralist; and the science of prophesy from Nachashbanas; and the science of philosophy from Aristotle. His reputation grew great among the people, and he became instrumental in the plans and armaments of the nation. One day he passed the jail of the aforementioned horse and he saw men's skulls and bones broken among its feet. He felt sorry for it and he placed his hand between the bars of the jail upon the horses neck. The horse turned and licked his hand with his tongue. So Alexander ordered the gate of the jail opened. And he approached the horse, he stretched out on its bank and the horse did not shy to either side. Alexander rode it without saddling. When Phillip saw him, he was very happy and he said "See the words of the Gods have been verified concerning you, and he repeated (80) to him what had appeared to him in the dream. So he replied to him "Behold you have given me neither warriors, nor riders, nor a chariot to go to battle, since it is your desire to make war. Only then you can believe in your vision." The King turned and

said "All will be given to you. You will choose yourself those whom you will have accompany you. I will order them to give you 40,000 gold pieces as traveling expenses." And Alexander took 100 of the King's best horsemen and his attendants and he commanded them to line up on the right of the horse Bosphelus.

So Alexander went out with the battalion, and Phaestus the scribe who was with him. And he encountered Nikolas, the King of Aradnas, marching along the road with a large force. When Nikolas saw Alexander, he asked him "Who are you?" And he replied to him haughtily "I am Alexander, the son of King Phillip." Nikolas replied "You don't know who I am, how dare you raise your voice before me?" He replied "I know you. I recognize you, for you are Nikolas, the master of Aradnas and your heart is heavy for you are ruling by yourself. I am my father, the King's viceroy. See now haughtiness humiliates its master. And the lowly and young are raised over the haughty multitude." And Nikolas said to him "Look at yourself. It would be good for you to flee." Alexander replied mockingly "Go, you are the men, for this pertains to you and not to me." When Nikolas heard his answer, since he had not called him (81) King by name, he was extremely angry with him, and he said to Alexander "Oh, are you a dunce, being haughty about yourself. You don't even know the honor due to Kings. Therefore I will have my servants spit in your face until you drown in their spittle." And he became very angry at which point he spit in Alexander's face and he said "This should be done only to a shameless dog like you." But Alexander did not pay attention to this deed of his and he answered gently, "This which you did is churlish. I will not satisfy you with a retaliation similar to it. Perhaps you will

promise me that on another day we shall meet and our two armies will fight. Then it will be known who is the dog and who is the lion." And they agreed to come together on a pre-arranged day. Then each of them returned to his city. On the day of the new moon, the two armies assembled and their battle cries went up. They fought from the end of that day until the army of Nikolas fled before Alexander. And Alexander pursued him until he overtook him in a cave. He chased him, overtook him, and killed him in that cave. And he chased the army until they entered Nikolas' state. So he ruled over it and he arranged his officers and servants. Then he planned to return to the land of his birth, with the crown of that kingdom on his head.

When he came to his homeland of Macedonia, he discovered that Phillip, his father, had placed another woman over Queen Nabiarash, his mother (82) replacing her. Her name was Cleopatra. He arranged a great banquet and his generals and his servants sprawled out before him. When Alexander arrived, he saw the banquet. He inquired "My lord, I have brought you tidings along with a glorious and honorable crown, which God has given to me in the first of my wars. I am looking for Nabiarash, my mother. O King whom I serve, I did not expect you to be in the feasting hall, for she is not here." So Saligos the general of Phillip's army, which surrounded him there, turned to him and said "King Phillip has married a woman who will bear him a son looking like him. He will follow him on the throne of his kingdom." When Alexander heard this speech of Saligos he became extremely angry so he hit him on his head with the staff which he was holding and he died. And when Phillip saw that Saligos, the general of his army had died, he fumed with anger and confronted Alexander holding a knife, intent on stabbing him, and he fell with

his face to the ground. Alexander was beside himself with anger and he wrecked the feast. And the King became sick.

So Alexander looked for him three days later. Then Phillip told him: "It was not proper to give you the name of Phillip. I did not give you a name reflecting direct descent but a name reflecting family ties." Then Alexander replied³⁷ "Now listen to me. I will advise you. (83) Re-instate your wife for she did not do evilly when you replaced her with another wife. And don't cause me to sin in addition to my killing of Saligos, the general of your army. He was previously ordained for death when he spoke these words to you. Therefore don't you rise against me to avenge Saligos, even for what I did on my encounter with him."

When Phillip heard Alexander's speech, he wept greatly and Alexander wept with him. And afterwards, he approached Nabiarash his mother and he said to her "Don't become angry on account of Phillip. I categorize him with you. For the sin he did resulted from the sin which you did in secret. It is proper for women to bear a burden on her back." So he took her by her hand and brought her before Phillip. When he saw her she found favor before him and he drew her near to him. So he hugged her and kissed her and placed her upon her throne. And he drove the woman he had placed over her away.

Now in those days, King Darius of Persia sent messengers to Phillip to request the tax which Medea had paid him every year. But Alexander refrained from giving them anything. And he said to the messengers; "Go, tell your master Darius, that at the time that Phillip had no son he had a hen that laid eggs of gold. When a son was born to him, the hen stopped laying." And the messengers said among themselves in amaze-

ment "Does he dare to say such things (84) as these?" They went on their way. Now when the messengers left, Phillip was informed that Armenia and Barnetsa, some of the western lands which belonged to his kingdom had betrayed him by not paying him a tithe as was their custom. So Phillip told Alexander his son to harness the chariot and to go up to them to wage war. Alexander left with a large army and he marshalled against the states who had allied against his father until he subdued them. Then they paid him a tithe according to their custom. And at the time that Alexander advanced upon these states, the regions of Batniah conspired against Phillip. So Joshniam,³⁸ the king of Batnish, advanced with a great army upon the state of Macedonia in order to overcome it, so he could take Queen Nabiarash, whom he yearned to make love to. He camped in the region of Agania, next to the land of Macedonia.

Now when Phillip heard about his encampment, he approached him with the rest of his troops, ascending to Joshniam from the land of Angaria. When he saw the greatness of Joshniam's army he turned to retreat to Macedonia without fighting. And Joshniam was aware of his flight so he pursued after him and caught up to him near the city. The battle waged fiercely between them, but Joshniam struck Phillip on his head and he fell off his chariot on the ground as if he were dead.

And the army of Phillip fled (85) within the gates of Macedonia. Joshniam came to the center of the capitol of Macedonia looking for Nabiarash. But he was not able to take her for she had reinforced her position in one of the fortresses. However, when Joshniam came to the capitol of Macedonia, Alexander's army arrived from Armenia after conquering them. Joshniam knew when he was coming so he left the state

of Macedonia, for the land of Greece, which was nearby. And he equipped himself to go and face the army of Alexander. But Alexander was aware, so he went out to meet him. Now he came to the middle of his camp and he struck Joshniam on his head with his sword killing him. Then he went to the pit where his father Phillip had fallen and he called to him. When Phillip heard the voice of Alexander he answered "Now I am not concerned about my death because I have heard your voice and I know that you will avenge my demise." Then he sighed deeply and he died there. So Alexander covered the face of his father and he wept great sobs over him. He ordered him to be carried to his castle and to be embalmed and to be buried there according to the law of kings. And his mourning period passed.

Now after this, Alexander sat on the throne of the kingdom and he ruled over the entire land of Greece and he summoned all his officers and servants and they came before him. He said to them "Listen to me, men of Macedonia, Thrace, Salicia and all the corners of Greece. Look upon me³⁹ (86) and pay attention to all my warnings. Do not trust in any man save for God Himself for He alone is your salvation at the hand of your enemies. And He will cause all who rise against you to fall wounded at your feet. Do not be concerned over the death of Phillip, but be comforted by my strength and the might of my hand. Now you are men of war. Let every man sharpen his sword and spear. Any man who does not have armaments will purchase articles of battle for himself. For I will enable your group to profit from the blood of your enemies. And I shall not relax until there is no land remaining to any other king." So the elders of his troops answered and said "We toiled and were ourselves down like battering rams in the days of your father. Now we have no strength

to take up articles of war, for old age has come upon us. The sword and battle would be better for our offspring." So Alexander turned to them and said "We need experienced veterans more than children and youths. Because youths depend only on their youth and thusly they endanger their lives. But the advice of elders will lead them and protect them. You will instruct them without going into battle in as much as you are more important than they." Now when the crowd heard Alexander's speech it pleased them greatly, and they bowed down and prayed to him. They said "That which you say is correct. Now we will do as you say." So he had them appoint experienced veterans (87) over the troops. And they commanded them in every aspect and did it well.

And Alexander ruled in his fathers place. He was 20 years old, and he was a wise and brave warrior. And he added what the wise Aristotle had taught him. The face of Alexander resembled neither his father's nor his mother's, for his face was like a lion's, and his eyes were variegated. His right eye was black and it looked downward. His left eye was white like the eye of a cat. And his teeth were sharp like the teeth of a dog. He was swift like a young lion. In the first of his wars, he weighed the battles of his father and his troops. And he found: 25,000 Macedonians, 8,700 men of war, 2,500 Turks, 800 from his personal guard, and the rest of the people of the army numbered 60,600. All these marched with the army. He withdrew 5000 measures of gold and spent it on a majestic fleet of 100 ships. He forwarded gold to support his army in Siciliy. He enslaved the Sicilians⁴⁰ under him and he crossed over to Italy. But the leaders of Rome were warned and sent him a crown worked with jewels. He received it with joy.

From there he crossed the sea and he came to the land of Africa. He advanced to meet the General of the army of the land. He placed a tithe on the land and he crossed (88) from there to the land of Lybia subduing it under his control. And he crossed to the land of Berber, going as far as the River Okinos. When he saw that its waters were clear and bright, he stripped off his clothes and washed in the river. But the waters made him ill. His head ached him, and he was very sick. But Phillip the Doctor cured him with liquids and ointments. And from there he travelled into the land of Medea subduing it and he crossed the River Euphrates.

When he came to the land of Bactria, he seized the place. Darius heard and sent him a message "I am Darius, King of Kings, Master over all the peoples of the earth. Are you aware of my fame? For the Gods have honored me and established my throne. Where did you get the authority to cross the sea? How could you rule the people of Macedonia without my permission? But even this wasn't enough for you, so you also seized areas from my domains. Perhaps it also befits you to seize my authority from me, as a servant does from his master. Therefore, I have legislated concerning you, that you shall come and bow down before Darius your God. If you disobey me, I will punish you even by death. But if you come to me, do not fear for I will pardon you for all that you have done." So Alexander read the message but he didn't take the words to heart, and he was filled with anger. So he arrayed the troops of his camp in battle order against Darius in an area where there were flatlands. But Darius also sent out a great army and they engaged in a great battle slaughtering each other in great amounts. When the sun set that day, there was a great

and fierce roar⁴¹ (89) and the Persians fled as a result of the sound of the thunder. So Darius abandoned his chariot and he rode on horseback fleeing. But Alexander pursued him 40 miles and he seized Darius and his wife and his sons and his chariot. However Darius fled in the night, so Alexander seized his house and stayed there. He ordered a search for all the dead officers in order to bury them. And the number of Macedonian fatalities was 50,000 footsoldiers and 10,100 cavalry. But from the foreigners there were 120,000 casualties and 4000 persons were captured. While from Macedonia only 180 men.

Again Darius sent out an army after the battalion had fled, greater than the first. And Alexander sent spies to observe the army. Then Alexander relayed a report to the general of his army Ascamandron that it also was a great force. So he went out to meet him with a very heavy battalion. They clashed on land and the filth flowed. Then Clinton seized the land and he crossed through the land of Canaan and subjugated it under him. Then he went to the well of Meotin and he found a famine in the land. Many Macedonians had died from the famine, so Alexander commanded that the horses be eaten, and he passed from place to place until he came to a city, Lokrim was its name. And from there he traveled to the land of Akarkantos in Sicily, and he came to the Temple of Aholyanos in order to worship there.

From there he crossed to Egypt with his troops and he ordered his sailors to go across (90) to the city of Tripoli and to wait for him. So he crossed after them and he came to the city of Carthage, the greatest city in Africa. The city measured 24 miles and 308 feet. And he traversed the River Tigris which is called the Dekel from Therie. He had negotiated the land of Egypt and his camp accompanied him. The generals

of Darius reported all that they heard and they sent written reports to inform him. Darius read the messages and he was very worried. When Alexander drew near the land of Persia, he saw that the walls of the city were very high. So he ordered to have every sheep in that land seized and he tied their bodies together in a ditch of the field. They hastily provided grass for them. There were ditches and grass all over the land. Then they pelted them with dust until clouds of dust from the earth rose skyward. The Persians saw the dust from far off, and they said "The dust is from the hoofs of many horses." They were greatly afraid so they sent messengers to Darius. Then Alexander took one prefect with him, whose name was Eomilion, a great warrior, as well as three horses and they crossed the River Estarngan.⁴² The River was frozen with ice and the frost was like stone. So the horses, lambs and cows crossed on the ice. However after 2 days it melted from the sun but Alexander found them frozen. He dressed in Macedonian garb. The hat on his head was similar to the hats of the Macedonians.

(91) And he crossed the river which was a mile wide, and he came to the gates of Persia. The gate keeper asked him "Who are you?" He answered "I am a messenger of Alexander. He sent me to you, to find out if you were preparing for a war with him. For if you fight with him, you will be disheartened." So the King became angry and said "Perhaps you are Alexander, you speak to me so insolently?" He replied "No. I am his messenger."

Then he ate and he drank and while they were serving him with gold dishes, he hid them in his cloak. So Darius asked him "What's this?" and he answered "This is Alexander's custom my Lord. Because of this

Alexander has been able to perform great deeds." Now when one of Darius' officers who was standing around heard Alexander's voice he recognized him and said to his comrades "This is Alexander." But Alexander understood that they were speaking about him so he employed a diversionary tactic and suddenly fled from them holding the gold dishes. The gatekeeper of the city sat on his horse so he attacked him killing him. And the Persians pursued him but they could not overtake him. And he came to the Astragon⁴³ to cross it but just when he crossed the waters, the Persians observed that it melted. So Alexander was saved and they were not able to cross either by ship or any other scheme until such time as the waters of the river froze. The Persians retreated confounded and Alexander continued on foot for his horse had died when it drowned on the banks of the river. Then he found his Prefect whom he had left with two horses across the river, and they rode off together and they arrived so Alexander counted all his troops, and he discovered he had 12. So he came to that river and Darius also came with his force and they waged wars. Many of the Persians fell, so Darius fled with his men and they attempted to cross the river. But when the officers of his army came to cross the river, it melted and all of them were swept away. So Darius fled to his palace and he fell to the ground overwhelmed with bitter grief.

Then he wrote a message to Alexander saying "Please show me pity. Return my wife and son and do not ravage my land, my birthplace. I will give you a great amount of gold and treasures, as well as 70 concubines from Shushan the capitol." So Alexander read the message to all his officers and he scorned Darius saying "If he had conquered me, there would not be gold enough to satisfy them. Since I conquered him, all the gold is my power. And all that I wish shall remain in the land of Persia."

(93) Now once again he considered waging war with Alexander. So he sent for Poros, the King of India, to help him. But Alexander heard about it so he went to the land of Batnayan. He chased after him and when Darius' Generals heard that Alexander came after them they slew Darius. Now when Alexander came, he found only Darius. The officers who had slain him hid themselves until they saw what Alexander would do. Alexander came and discovered Darius expiring, so he wept greatly over him. And his soul departed while he was holding his head in his arms. Alexander ordered to have him buried in the sepulchre of Kings. Then he and all his officers eulogized him and they sang lamentations for him. Alexander ordered all the men who had lived in the land and who had killed him, killed themselves.

Then they came to a very deep valley and they went into it for five days and he saw a strange beasts there and he found trees which were swollen. And he saw men there who were called Potike. Their backs were long and their hands and arms hung down. And he had them seized, but they fled so they killed 162 of them. They ate from the fruit tree and he slept there. He went from there to Kalachokin. There, there were men like red giants with faces like lions. They were brave men and they protected themselves with leather. (94) But they came without weapons so Alexander killed 180 of the men. Then he ordered to have the forest strafed with fire and all the wild beasts fled the fire. And on the next day Alexander went into the cave housing the wild beasts. He found great beasts trapped at the entrance to the cave as if they were dogs. They stood 4 cubits high, they were dotted with streaks and they had 3 eyes. There were also huge fleas there as big as doves.

And from there, he traveled to another place. He saw a man guarding the gate and he wanted to seize him, but he wasn't able. So he ordered to have a woman undressed and he sent her to him, supposing that he would seize her out of lust. The man took her and enjoyed her and they approached him to seize him by force. But he cried out in his language and innumerable men like him came out of the forest. So Alexander had them strafe the forest with fire and Alexander took 500 of their men captive. There was not a man among them with normal intelligence for they barked like dogs.

And from there he crossed to another place. He found trees sprouting from the earth since the sun shone until 6 o'clock during the day. But when the sun set the trees disappeared. They shrank hidden from sight until nothing was seen of them. The sap of the trees was like the oil of Persia which is used to make sacrifices because of its very good odor (95). And the King ordered to have the trees cut up to gather the sap. But all of a sudden the men were cutting with whips next to the fields. And the impression of the blows were both heard and seen. But the cutters could not be seen, except for the sound of the trees being cut. They could not be gathered up. And there were great monsters there in the midst of the waters, who were not fully grown. So life existed in the waters. There were chickens in the river like our chickens, and whoever wanted to grab them could throw in a fiery vessel. So the men were burned.

He found many other beasts next day. They had 5 feet and 3 eyes and they reached 6 cubits in height. And in another place he also found many birds. He saw animals there like wild untamed donkeys. They were 6 cubits high and they had 6 eyes, they could not see for their eyes were

closed. And again, he found men without heads in another place. Their mouths were in their chests, they spoke an earthly tongue, and they ate fish. And he went from these across another desert and he traveled as far as the sea. He saw neither bird nor beast, but only sky and earth. And he came by boat to an island. There he heard men's voices and they were Greeks. However, he did not see who was speaking. (96) So he sent some of his men to the island, but a crab rose over them and took 54 of them. So he was afraid and he fled from that place for two days. He came to a dark place where the sun didn't shine. He wanted to go there to observe the people⁴⁴ which were called Makarites. They were the descendants of Jonadab the son of Kechab. And he agreed with his advisors to go there with 1300 warriors. And he took a she-ass with him. The finest of the young asses and he imprisoned the young she-ass preventing her from approaching the place. He came to the place and found the air of the place cloudy with darkness and steam. No man could see his neighbor. The land was damp and muddy. Large birds met them and their faces were like men's faces. And as they flew they spoke like Greeks: and Alexander said to him "Why did you travel in the land of lamentations?"⁴⁵ Weren't you able to go to God's Temple, and the House of His servants? It is well for you that you were not able to travel to the islands where those who are holier than all live. You did not burn with desire to approach the heights of heaven?" He trembled before the birds and one bird spoke to him in the language of the Greeks "Be aware Alexander, that you will kill Poros who rules." And the birds went on their way. He left there after 20 days and found his camp in the same place where he had left it. He built gates there, in that place and he closed off the entrance of the place (97). He recorded on stones all that he had seen.

So he went from there to the land of India and Poros, the king, heard about it and sent messages to him "Get out of my land lest I will meet you with sword in hand and I will kill you." But Alexander did not listen to him. So Poros the King gathered a great force equipped with ivory, and beasts to fight with the Greeks. Alexander was afraid of the beasts for he was not accustomed to fighting with beasts. So he himself went as a spy in the land of Parsokon. He disguised himself as a deserter of the army and as a purveyor. He was seized and sent to King Poros who asked him "Who are you?" And he answered "I am a deserted from Alexander's army. And he exiled me." Once again he asked him "What is Alexander doing? Why does he rise up to fight with as great a King as me?"

Then Alexander rested and he went on his way. Then he saw the beasts ready to fight with him. So he applied himself to the problem. He made images of brass and he had them heated with fire until they were completely burning. And he stirred them up skillfully with iron tools near the beasts. And the beasts jumped on the brass images to bite them and seize them. Their mouths and bodies were burned due to the fire until they died. And they retreated from the battle with the Greeks, so the Greeks prevailed over the army of the King of India. And in the midst of the battle, Alexander's horse who was called Bosphelon fell (98). He had been gored through the skillful manipulations of the Indians. Alexander grieved for his horse and the war waged 20 days. And the army of Alexander advised him to fight hand to hand combat with the King of India. And Alexander understood the problem so he sent a message to the King of India saying "Come. let us fight alone." Poros was happy about this for Alexander's size meant nothing to him at all since he was 5 cubits tall and Alexander was 3 cubits tall. So the two of them fought alone.

But there was a great cry in the midst of the Indian camp. And Poros turned his head to see why there was a cry. Then Alexander stabbed him with a sword through his uniform and killed him.

And he went from there to Okosdrakos to observe the wisdom of its inhabitants, for they were very wise. They were naked, completely undressed and they sat in bushes and dirty caves. These wise ones sent him messages saying "If you have come to fight with us, it will be of no value to you for we have nothing for you to plunder. But if you wish to observe our wisdom, without arms and without an army, you may come quietly and peacefully for whereas you find pleasure fighting, we find it in wisdom." So Alexander went to them and he observed that they were naked. The women and the children were in the fields (99) like sheep. So he asked of one of them "Don't you have any graves?" He answered "My temple is my grave." And he asked another one "Who are more numerous, the living or the dead?" He answered "The dead, for the poor and the dead are more numerous than the rich and the living." And he asked another one: "Who is wiser and more cunning, man or the beasts of the earth?" He answered "Man." And he asked another one "which came first day or night" He replied "Night, for the child in his mother's womb is in darkness." And he asked another one "What is sovereign." He said "Robbery and thievery." And he asked another one "Who does not lie." He answered "The real God who knows the Truth." And he asked another one: "Is right or left better." He said "Left. Woman suckles her son from the left side first. Kings lift up the sceptre of the kingdom in the left hand." Then after he had asked them many questions he said to them "You may request anything from me." And all of them cried out saying "Eternal life."

He said to them "I don't have the authority to give Eternal life." Then they said to him "So why do you fight, spoil, plunder and conquer the world. Don't you know with whom your strength will reside after you die?" And Alexander said to them "It is Heaven's will (100) for us to be servants to those who come after us. For this purpose we were formed. For the sea can not form waves without wind, and the trees can not shake without a wind blowing them, and man can not succeed without the will of heaven. Now, it is my desire to be peaceful but the Master of All who has the souls of all life in His hand does not permit me." And in the midst of saying this Alexander went on his way.

And he wrote a letter to Aristotle, his master telling of all that had happened to him in the land of India. It is said "When I came to the land of Prasikon which is the state of India, as I left the land's edge from the midst of the sea, I went there and I saw men like women and they ate fish and spoke Geeek. I asked them about the place and they said to me 'See that island in the midst of the sea. It is the sepulchre of an ancient king. There is much gold there.' and after they told me about this they left 12 of their ships. I saw great beasts in the sea and we yelled at them. As they fled they drowned men in the sea and although there was great anxiety I remained there 8 days. After I conquered Darius and subjugated the entire land I traveled until I came to a state in the middle of the Euphrates River. There were beams 30 cubits long and the state was built upon these beams. For the waters of the river (101) were bitter. Then some of my men went into the river to travel to the state. But beasts came out of the river called hippopotami and they seized 44 of my men. I left there and I travelled until

eventide. I then found a well of water sweet as honey and I slept there that night. My men kindled a fire and all the beasts came from the forest to drink the water. There were scorpions among them with white, red, and black claws; and horned things; and lions and buffalos; and pigs; and panthers; and elephants and men with 6 hands. They killed many of my men. So my men burned down the forest and the crawling things ran from the fire. One great beast approached us roaring and it killed my brave men. But one of my brave men killed the beast, stabbing it with great strength. It took 300 men to drag the beast. And there were great bats like birds with teeth like men for whom we lay in wait. We ate them to keep alive.

And from there we went to the land of Kapsion⁴⁶. At 9 o'clock that day a very great wind blew so we were not able to stand on our feet. We immediately fell on our faces to the ground until the wind quieted down. After this I conquered the land of Kapisekon.⁴⁷ It was a state of the land of India. And the inhabitants of the land said to me 'We will demonstrate a surprisingly great wisdom (102) worthy of your honor. Come with us we will show you desert trees like men.' So they led me to a garden and the sun and moon both shone there. I saw trees there similar to the trees of Egypt which are called Marbaltin for their fruit stuck into my hand. They were both male and female. The masculine tree had the disposition of a man and the feminine tree had the disposition of a woman. And the name of the male tree was Sun and the name of the female was Moon. The trees said 'Death, death, fear, are encompassing you.'

Now just as I approached, a cry emanated from the tree in the Indian tongue. The linguists didn't want to translate it for me since they were afraid of me. I ordered them so they said 'Be aware Alexander

that you will soon perish at the hands of your men and your associates." Just at that moment the Moon came out so I prayed 'If only I could see my mother and my loved ones in the land of Macedonia.'" Then from the east, a voice emanated from the tree in Greek 'Be aware Alexander, that when you are in Babylonia, you will die at the hands of your associates. You shall not see your mother nor the land of Macedonia.' So when the sun rose, I prayed again 'If only I could see my mother and my loved ones in the land of Macedonia, then my life can cease and come to an end.' Then a voice emanated from the tree 'Your years are over. Your days have ended. For when you are in Babylonia you will die. After your death all your family will be decimated by your associates and you will no longer rule.⁴⁸ Then I departed from the land of India and I came (103) upon a woman there.⁴⁹ She was very beautiful Queen and her name was Kandiki. So I sent her a message 'Send me the God of Amon and I will sacrifice before Him. For I have heard that when you conquered the land of Ammon, you took the God of Ammon with you also. But if you do not send him to me I will make war upon you.' So Kandiki, the Queen sent a letter to me saying 'We are not able to send the God of Ammon to you. But His priests will send you a gift of 100 pounds of gold and 500 beardless Ethiopian youths; and myriads of fine jewels; and the crown of the God of Ammon made with precious stones worth 100 pounds⁵⁰ of gold; and 80 precious stones mounted upon pendants. And 80 unmounted jewels; 30 boxes filled with ivory,⁵¹ 13 leopards and wild oxen; 14 live panthers; 90 man eating dogs; 40 cows which know how to run and fight; 300 elephants lions and panthers; and a gift of petrified wood as black and sparkling as a goat's horn. You have never seen such a gift as this in all the world. For I have

heard that you have conquered all the world. Now send me your messenger and the gift will be delivered."⁵² Alexander turned to come to her. But Kandiki heard of his practice of going treacherously to throw Kings (104) from their palaces. So she secretly sent a message to have her idol delivered to her and she took her idol and put in in her room.

Then Kandabalis the son of Kandiki went to Alexander's camp. And the guards seized him and took him to a viceroy who asked him "Who are you?" He answered "I am the son of Queen Kandiki. I have come with my wife and a few guards for I have advice concerning the woman called Amazons. And officer grabbed me and he took my wife and he killed many of my men." The viceroy went and reported all these things to Alexander. And Alexander told him "Take the crown of my kingdom and wear it. For you will be King in my place. Now act wisely and call me by another name." And the viceroy answered and agreed to do as Alexander had commanded him. So the Viceroy went out dressed in the garb of the realm and the crown was on his head and when Kandablis saw him, he was fearful that he would command to have him killed. Then the viceroy said "Summon me Antigonos my faithful servant." And they summoned Alexander to him deceitfully. Then the Viceroy told him everything that had been put in his mouth. And Alexander answered him "Give me an army and I will go and save his wife from that General." So Kandabalis was happy and embraced Alexander, and said to him "Trust me and come with me, I will give you (105) great gifts." Then Alexander said to him "Go ask the King for me, for I also wish to see your mother." So Kandabalis went to the Viceroy to ask it of him. And the Viceroy said to him "Observe Kandabalis, I will send this messenger of mine ahead of you with a message to your mother."

Kandabalis said "I will honor him." So they went together and they came to the Queen. Then his mother and brothers ran to kiss him. And he said to them "Kiss this man first for he saved me and my wife. This is Antigonos, the faithful servant of Alexander." Then they asked him "How did he save you?" So he told them about the incident. His mother and brothers kissed them and they stayed with him in order to eat and to drink in the evening. Then in the morning, Kandiki dressed in the garb of the realm and she brought Alexander to her room which was built from gold. Even its tiles were gold. And there were couches resting on pelts which a servant had made for her out of gold and coccus scarlet. The beds were from beaten onyx and there were gargoyles of onyx and chariots made from precious stones. Opposite them was a river of pure gold and trees of gold with fruit. And they ate there together with Kandabalis' brother. On the following day, she took Alexander and showed him some rooms built from fine white marble and the sun appeared in the midst of the shining stone in the center of one of the rooms. And Alexander said to her (106) "All this will overwhelm the Greeks, they don't have it." And the woman angrily "What did you say Alexander?" And when Alexander heard his name out of her mouth he said "My name isn't Alexander. Antigonos is my name. I am a messenger of Alexander's" and she said "You are he." So she took him to her room and showed him a picture of himself and she said "Don't you know your own face? Why are you alarmed? Aren't you the one who conquered the Kings of Persia and India, who exterminated Medea and all the nations in war. Now where is your wisdom and sense. You have been trapped by a woman, Kandiki, without a sword and without a battle. Now, know that every wise man finds someone wiser than himself."

Alexander was furious and he gnashed his teeth and he wanted to kill both himself and her. So Kandiki said "Don't gnash your teeth. What can you do? Didn't you save my son and my daughter-in-law? Therefore I will save you from Barbaron. I will continue to call you Antigonos before him. For my son Barbaron is the son-in-law of Poros, the King of India whom you killed with your sword." So Kandiki went to Kandabalis, her son, and his wife,⁵³ and she said "If it were not that this man Antigonos saved you, I would not have seen you. Therefore bring him gifts now." Her son said to her "What you have said is true for Antigonos did save my brother and his wife. But his wife (107) wants to kill him anyway for he is a messenger of Alexander's, the man who attacked the King of India, her father." And his mother answered "What profit is there if you kill him. You will not conquer Alexander."

So Kandabalis, his brother agreed "I will release his emissary unharmed. The two of us will fight about it." And the two brothers fell to arguing and to strife. Then the Queen Kandiki took Alexander and brought him to her room and she said in secret "I give you fitting advice. Now on your account my sons wish to kill each other."

So Alexander went out and said to them "If you should kill me Alexander will not grieve over me for he has many generals more important people than I am. If you wish to fight with him give me a reward. I will go and deceive him and bring him to you so you can fight with him and do with him as you will." And the brothers paid attention to him and he put them at ease. And when Queen Kandiki heard his speech she said "Truly due to great wisdom, you have prevailed over all the Kings and all the earth." So she gave him a crown of diamonds equal to many talents of

gold; and polished armour of onyx stone and jasper. And the onyx stone was called aunium in greek, and the name of Jasper is bacilion; as well as a robe of purple and gold. And she sent him safely with her men. Alexander went to his camp and he placed the crown of the kingdom on his head (108) and he dressed himself in the garb of the realm.

And he approached the women called Amazons. He sent them a messenger saying "Have you not heard that I have subjugated all the earth. Now I want to impose a tithe over you and you shall worship me. If you don't do this, I will come and destroy you and your land." So they answered him "Don't you know that we also are expert in war and we live along the Amazonian⁵⁴ River, and there is a great island in the midst of the river. The distance around the island takes a complete year's journey. The river encompassed the island completely on all sides. The river has no source. But there is an alternate path there. The women who are virgins dwell there. There are no men among us for they are across the river tending the flocks, the herds and the cattle. We sacrifice horses 30 days every year. Every seventh year, the men come to us once, to lay with their wives. When the women conceive, the men go on their way. One hundred twenty thousand of us ride our horses into war. And the rest remain to guard the island upon which we live. The men chase after us on foot, and if we should conquer great warriors, we become famous and are glorified greatly. But if our enemies should conquer us, they receive no fame or glory (109), gaining nothing from it, for we are only women where as they are men of war. Now, Alexander, be aware and thankful that we have informed you of all the things which we have done⁵⁵ them. Now if you want peace we will grant your wish. When you want you can return

to us and repent. But if you do not want peace, be aware that you will find us aligned for war in the mountains."

So Alexander read the letter and he laughed heartily. He sent them a note "If you wish for me to destroy you and your land, keep the army aligned in the mountains. But if you want me to spare you, cross the river and come to me. Then I will not bother you. And send me some of your women riding on horseback. To each one I will give a gift of 5 jugs filled with gold." And they sent him messages again saying "Enter our dominion by crossing the river. See our land, and we will give you 100 talents of gold. Five hundred girls will bring the gold to you with 120 horses. And if you provide from your men for the girls, they will live with you and we will give you others as replacements. Alexander approached them and he saw they were very beautiful. Their clothing was like Greek clothing. He extracted a tax from them.

And from there, he went as far as the Atlantias River and many nations lived there and their various races. And he saw Kinokpalos there whose heads were (110) like the head of a dog. And others who had no heads and their eyes and mouths were in their chests.

From there he went to another land which was 7 miles out to sea. He came there and found the city of Helios, the city of the sun. The city measured 120 miles. Its towers were adorned with gold and precious stones of Esmiralds. The priests of the temple were Ethiopian and Alexander sacrificed to the sun there. He travelled 3 days from there and found darkness instead of light. He went from there to the states of Cyrus and Caucasus, the Kings of Persia. So he seized many fortresses and cities filled with silver and gold and precious items.

Now after these events which Alexander performed and witnessed, Antipater, the General of his army conceived of a plan to kill Alexander with a cup of deadly poison. So Antipater got the deadly poison in Babylonia and he stored it in lead cups. For the poison was so strong that he was not able to store it in brass, glass, or iron cups, or earthenware or other vessels, lest it penetrate them and break them due to the corrosiveness of the poison. For he found the most powerful poison which was available to him. Then he sent the deadly poison to his brother Elos, who was Alexander's wine steward. Now on the very day that the deed was to take place, Alexander became angry (111) with that wine steward and hit him with a staff upon his head. He bore an angry grudge in his heart against the wine steward.

But after several days Alexander prepared a feast for all his close friends and in the middle of the feast, the wine steward caused him to drink the deadly poison in a cup of wine. After a long hour, writhing pains, and aches, and a great affliction violently seized him. All of a sudden he screamed like a man afflicted with arrow wounds, and he set his house in order and he died in Babylonia. Ptolemy, his viceroy, took his corpse placed it on calves and mules, transported it to Egypt, and buried it in the city of Alexandria which he had built.

Alexander lived 32 years. He was 18 years old when he was burdened with war, up until the time he was 25 years old he conquered 22 Kings and subjugated every nation under him. Alexander was born as the sun rose on a Wednesday, and he died in the month which in Egyptian is called Parmoti. It is the month of Iyar. And he died as the sun set on a Wednesday.

The remainder of all Alexander's deeds, all that he did, during the 12 year length of his rule, are they not written in the Book of Kings of Medea and Persia.

And Antipater, the General of his army, travelled to Illyria, in the land of the Greeks, and they called their first born after him. He became their ruler. And Ptolemy, Alexander's viceroy who was called (112) Olinos⁵⁶ ruled over Egypt. And Salikos Adictor was ruler of⁵⁷ Babylonia. Then Dokphin, the daughter of Darius, Alexander's wife bore a son, and the Macedonians called him Alexander after his father who had died.

Ptolemy Olinos⁵⁸ died and Demetrius Peliokritus⁵⁹ ruled in his place. He was a man of war and he conquered the city of Samaria. Demetrius died and he was buried in Demetria, his city which he built. And another Ptolemy who was called Paliarlplus the son of Ptolemy Olgo ruled for 38 years. He built the library of Alexandria and brought the books of the Jews from the land of Giliad and he placed them in Alexandria. Eleazar the High Priest and brother of Simeon had written them.⁶⁰

In those days the jews who had been enslaved in Egypt left in freedom. Then the King sent to Jerusalem brought Eleazar the High Priest down and he translated all the books of the Jews for the King into Greek. He ruled 26 years over the Empire.

And the Romans subjugated Kalberiah and they took the city of Messinah and that became the exile of Messinah. Now in that year Ayaron was the General of Sicily and he conquered Sargosa. At that time Ilidianos Ipatos put Sicily under the domain of Rome. And in those days (113) Aristotle, the wise, made the first silver medals in Rome. In the

year 127 of Iphiros, who was called Ibarimitas in Egypt, King Nikodimon built Nokamodiah. Then Barsakosa fought against and captured the city of Barkidoni and everyone lived in his own city. Then Antiginos set the Atinas free and he built the city of Kartini which was on the Orontes River. In the 134 year of the Empire, the Romans killed 40,000 Galitians. And in that year Joshua the son of Sirach became General of the Judeans. And in the 140th year of the Empire King Ptolemy called Phiopator had been in Egypt 6 years and in the 141 year of the Empire, Marcellus King of Rome fought with Sargosa and captured it. He destroyed Kapoah and subjugated Sicilia under the Roman hand. And Antiochus the Great, King of Aramia conquered Philopator and took his life.⁶¹ In the 144th year of the Empire King Antiochus⁶² had ruled 36 years. He was the King who instigated the Jews to leave their faith and to believe in the faith of the Greeks. But the Jews didn't care to listen to him. And King Antiochus⁶³ the Great was angry with them, so he led a great army against them killing many Jews and he destroyed the (114) Holy City of Jerusalem. This was the third exile of Jerusalem. He removed the Temples wealth, whereas the Judeans conquered 80,000 of his men. He went from there to the land of the Philistines to subjugate it. And in the 100th year of the Empire the King waged a great war in Sicilia on account of their servant. So the Romans sent Lokobolos, the General of the army there. He subjugated them and the war ceased. And in that year Hyrcanus the High Priest, a son of Simon, waged a war against the city of Samaria called Sabimtin⁶⁴ in Greek and he razed it to its foundations.⁶⁵ After this, it was built up again by Herod and he called it "Sabistin."⁶⁶ Then Kaphtolion was burned in Rome. And Tagranis the King of the Armonikon took Matrinos as

his wife. He summoned all the men of the place and prepared a great feast. There was no feast like it throughout the country. And he had a great army, a mighty force as numerous as the sand on the sea shore. He fought with Antiochus the Great, King of Aramia and he subjugated him and drove him from his kingdom and he subjugated all that land as far as the land of the Philistines which is called Philistia in Hebrew. And from that year they tried to appease the Aramears (115) who were the Amelikites, by giving a tithe to the Romans.

In the 177th year of the Empire the city of Pompeii was rebuilt by Pompey. In that year, the Romans subjugated the land of Almanian, the land of Aeria, the land of Kolsis, and the Arabs. The Romans destroyed Jerusalem, under the aegis of Pompey their King without compassion, for he had no feeling for the Jews. King Aristobulus took himself prisoners because they had revolted against the Romans. For they had trusted in Mitrithos the Roman after the death of his father. And the kingdom of Aristobulus was founded upon this, and it was the fourth kingdom of Jerusalem.

And in the 4, 470 year of the founding of the world according to the Reckoning of the Nations, in the 184 year of Monaphios Queen Cleopatra,⁶⁷ daughter of Antiochus the Great, who ruled 22 years in Egypt came to power.⁶⁸ And in those years, Kosios King of Rome devastated the city of Isia, and conquered the Indians and ravaged Jerusalem and spoiled the Temple. That was the fifth exile. He devastated the island called Rhodes⁶⁹ as well as many other islands and many cities at the time when Ptolemy who was King of Karinin turned over his kingdom to Rome.

And in the 181st year following Pompey, Antony⁷⁰ fell in love with Queen Cleopatra (116). Antony ruled in the land of Persia. And when he came to Queen Cleopatra, she heard about it and went out to greet him.⁷¹ They travelled to the land of Tarsus and Antony took Cleopatra in Alexandria. From there, he brought her to Rome and drove out Octavia the sister of Caesar the King his first wife, with her son from his house. And there was a war between Caesar Augustus, for he was angry on account of his sister and King Antony. Augustus killed Antony Caesar as well as Gaius and Caeserus her sons. Then Augustus sent Karnilos to Egypt, and Galus was sent by the state of Rome to make war with the great island of Crete which had belonged to the kingdom of Egypt for 295 years. And in the 190th year of the Empire Herod the son of Antipator the Eshkalonit, ruled over the Jews. Augustus captured him, imprisoned him and sent him to Rome. And Augustus went to the land of Cantebury. In the 180th year of the Empire Taurus the General of his army built the cities of Taberominin and Matsaronin.

The first King who ruled in Rome was Julius, who was called Gaius. And this reign strengthened Rome's reputation above all its other reigns as the reign of the brave. Following him, the Kings were called Caesars. (117) Therefore he called the month of Av, July after his name. Four years and four months, and twice the Roman kingdom, once and the kingdom of Latenon once, and the second time was King Julius on the leap year of the Nations. Augustus Caesar ruled 56 years.⁷² And Herod ruled through the patronage of Augustus the Great for 37 years. He built the Temple in Jerusalem which Antiochus Epiphanes destroyed. He built it the second time. It was outstanding in width, length, and height. He also

built the city of Samaria first. And he called it Sebastin. This is the explanation of Caesaria which we have recorded above.

Alexander went to war with Darius. Darius met him and they waged a great war. Alexander triumphed and ruled over all the east. After this he found out about the day of his death and divided the land among four of the great leaders of his family. And they were the four rods of Greece who would have devoured the people of Judah if not for our God who averted the calamity by arousing His priests, for otherwise the memory of Judah was destroyed. And after Alexander had divided the land, he shut up the dams of the south with chains of iron and great strong walls as far as the sea, to prevent them from advancing and destroying the land and his kingdom. And Alexander died (118) in the east and the four chiefs ruled in his place. Seleucis ruled in the city of Macedonia which was the city of the realm. Seleucis was a man of compassion and he ruled with leniency over the people of Judea. He did not oppress them.

But the lawless among us, the wicked and evil, went to him and said "We have come to you to inform you of the wealth of the Temple in Jerusalem. There is no end to the abundance of silver, gold and precious stones in it. It is proper for all this to be in the palace of our Lord King Seleucis." And they enticed him to inquire in Jerusalem so he sent one of his officers from his family and whose name was Heliodoros⁷³ to seize the gold and silver and precious stones which were in the Temple of the Lord. He came to Jerusalem unannounced and the Priest said to him "Why does my Lord come to his servants?" Heliodoros⁷⁴ said "On account of the silver, the gold, and the precious stones which are in your Temple, about which my master the King was informed." And the Priest said

"Why does the King wish to loot the gold which is in the House of the Great God who holds the spirit of all life in his hand? The Kings of Medea and Persia gave in by gone days, and he donated along with other Kings to the treasury of our God in order to support orphans and widows. (119) Furthermore we have prayed to the Lord for the life of the King and his sons." But Heliodoros did not pay attention to the Priest and placed guards around the Temple until the next day. The entire city was upset and there was great crying, and much shouting, and enormous bitterness. The priests, and elders and matriarchs and male and female officers cried to the Lord and they cowered in the dust and they afflicted themselves and their children with fasting. They even withheld milk from the infants, crying to the Lord to guard His treasure and His store which He had placed in His house. Also, the virgins who lived in their fathers homes stretched out their hands toward heaven through the windows of their houses, and they cried to the Lord. And Hunaia, the High Priest, grovekked in the dirt with them. He stood and prayed to the Lord his God, for Him to have pity. And on the following day, Heliodoros came with his troops and he marched into the middle of the Temple of the Lord. He came to the Holy Place and the Lord caused him and those who came with him to haar a loud sound. A very great noise of mountains being smashed and rocks being destroyed. So all his troops fled and hid where ever they could. And he was left by himself. So he lifted his eyes and saw a man whose appearance was very awesome, dressed in gold, studded with precious stones, girded with gold instruments of war. He rode on a mighty, but restless horse. He jumped and ran to Heliodoros so that the horse stepped on him (120) and dragged him to the ground and trampled on him. He was agitated against

him so he commanded two boys dressed in white linen with whips in their hands to smite Heliodoros violently. These two boys stood one on either side of him and hit him with the whips mercilessly. He was silenced and lay between death and life. And the priestly youths came and lifted him on their shoulders and removed him from the Temple. They gave him to his men who brought him to his tent and he fell on his bed laying there silently. He neither opened his mouth to speak nor to eat.

Then all the Elders of Macedonia went to Hunaia the Priest and they begged and supplicated before him and said "Please our Lord, pray on the behalf of we, your servants, and on the behalf of your servant Heliodoros, with whom we came, so we may live and not die. For we recognize that there is no God except for your God. All the Gods of the nations are meaningless and void, but your God has made all the world and holds the soul of all life in His hand." So the Priest prayed to the Lord and made offerings and sacrifices and they observed the two boys who had beaten Heliodoros in the Temple. And they said to him "Rise up. Go to Hunaia the priest and bow to the ground before his feet for on account of him, the Lord had mercy." And Heliodoros rose to his feet and he went to Hunaia the Priest (121) and bent his face toward the ground. He blessed the Lord God of Israel as well as the Priest. He donated silver and gold to the treasury of the House of the Lord as well as to the Priest. And he got up and he quickly rode away, fleeing to Macedonia, to King Seleucis. And the King said to him "Why were you in Jerusalem for so many days?" And Heliodoros answered the King "If the King has any enemies which seek his life, send them to Jerusalem. For they will come to the Temple there and they will be killed there. For a great and mighty God is there and He

informed the King of all that he had seen. And Seleucis never again petitioned Jerusalem for evil purposes. And every year throughout his life Medea sent a gift to the Temple. And all the Kings of the land wanted to send a gift to honor the Temple in Jerusalem.

Now Ptolemy, the Macedonian who ruled over Egypt was a merciful, wise and understanding man.⁷⁵ He loved to read books so he ordered two of his officers to gather many books. The name of the first was Aristeus, and the name of the second was Andreas. And books were gathered; books of Medea and books of all tongues. And the King said to them "How many books do you have?" They answered him "oo5." So the King laughed and said to them "Go and get (122) five more and we will have an even 1000 books." Aristeus said to him "O Lord, it is vain to obtain all these books for there is nothing useful by doing it. Now if the King is smart, he should write to Jerusalem to the Priest. He can use some of the wise men of Jerusalem who Greek linguists, and they will explain their Torah to you, for it is Holy Writ while all these writings are void." So the King did this, sending books and a gift to the Priest of that time and he inquired from him about this matter.

So the Priest sent him 70 priests, and Eleazor who had been tested in the days of Antiochus when he was killed by the Lord his God, was at their head. And as Eleazor and the 70 priests who were to do the interpreting came to Egypt, the King gave them homes. Each man was separated from his neighbor. And he placed scribes who knew how to write before each one and the priests explained the entire Torah. There were 24 Books of the Bible which the 70 priests translated from the Holy tongue into Greek. Then Eleazar brought their writings before the King. And the King

read the Bible that had been translated to everyone. And all the translations were exactly identical. So the King was very pleased. And he sent silver and gold, and gave it to Eleazar and the 70 priests and he returned them to Jerusalem. Also (123) he set 50,100 Jews from Judeah free that day and he gave everyone 150 gold drachmas. He sent a gift to our God - a table of pure gold whose weight was 1000 talents and he loaded it with all the products of the land of Egypt and the River Nile. The Nile is the river of Egypt whose flow enables all the land of Egypt to drink. He inlaid all kinds precious stones in the table. There was not a table in all the world similar to that one. And King Ptolemy sent it to Jerusalem as a gift for the house of the Great God, the God of the World.

Now many years later, Antiochus ruled the Nations of Macedonia, and Ptolemy, the King of Egypt had died.⁷⁶ And another Ptolemy ruled in his place. Antiochus the King of Macedonia advanced upon him and smote him and he died. He looted all the land of Egypt and he ruled over all the earth.

Now in those days fierce and bitter wars sprung up troubling the people of Judea. For when Antiochus ruled the land of Egypt his desire to spread his rule over every people so they would worship an idol shaped like Antiochus increased. And all the nations came before it and worshipped it. And the lawless among us including the Nilim and Shimeon and Alakinos and all the other evil ones among us, came and provoked Antiochus to do evil, to the people (124) Israel. Then a miraculous sign appeared over Jerusalem, the Holy city. The day appeared as night. And during the night fiery horses appeared between heaven and earth. Their riders carried articles of war which were like gold in their hands. And they

fought against each other 40 days. So the evil ones among us came to King Antiochus and said to him "Behold, they are saying that Antiochus will die and the people are happy about the downfall of our Lord the King." The King was very angry so he suddenly came to Jerusalem and decimated it so that there was a great slaughter in the city of Jerusalem and a great many people left in Exile. The entire congregation of Righteous were dispersed from within it. The Righteous fled to the woods and they ate grasslike cows and they hid themselves like animals in the forest.

For it was not enough for King Antiochus to slaughter and disperse the remnant of the Hasmoneans in the land of Judea. But he also afflicted the people of Judah and he left Phillip to fight the people of Jeshurun. And the King ordered "All who come and pray to my image which I will erect, and eat flesh and pork, will live. And all who are unwilling will be killed without mercy. "Then he restrained the people of the Lord from observing the Sabbath and circumcising their sons. Then Phillip a brave man, went and did as he said and restrained all (125) the people of Judah from the Law. Then evildoers and wicked men lived among us and killed many righteous people.

In those days, there were two women who had circumcised their children. Their children were hung from their breasts and they dropped them and their children off of a tower and they smashed apart and died. Then Eleazar the Priest was arrested; he is the Eleazar whom we recall from above had gone to Egypt in the days of Ptolemy; and they brought him before Phillip.⁷⁷ And Phillip said to him "Eleazar the priest, you are understanding and wise. Do not burden your hoary head with the grief

of the netherworld.⁷⁸ Eat the meat I have sacrificed as the King my Lord has commanded." And the priest said to him "Far be it from me to nullify the laws of my God who is master of all the Earth." So Phillip took him and said "You know I love you and I pity your hoary head. So now please take a little meat from your sacrifice which you usually eat and eat it before these people. Then they will observe and think that you ate from the King's sacrifice. Therefore you will be delivered and you shall live and not die." Now when Eleazar heard this he demonstrated his great worth and his holy beauty to everyone. He said to Phillip "I am 90 years old today. It is not my privilege today to antagonize God with fraud nor to topple his people. For the youth will say that Eleazar who is 90 years old has nullified the commandment of (126) his God and they also will nullify it and they will go to destruction. So now, far be it from me to soil my sanctity, and the respect my age is due by weakening my people and creating laxity toward the Law of my God. For they will say "Eleazar was 90 years old when he transgressed the Lord. He chose to serve the rules of foreigners so we will also do it." I will save my soul this day from your hands. I will not eat so I may be delivered by the Lord who cannot be escaped. For He has the power to deliver life or death since He rules over life and death, killing or letting live. It is better for me to die in strength for I will bolster the strength of my people and my young followers. They shall see this pious death and they shall die." Now when Phillip heard his words he ordered Eleazar the Righteous Elder imprisoned and beaten. He afflicted him and defiled the leader of the congregation. And as they smote him with many merciless blows, the pious one groaned and said "Oh Lord, my God who loves those who inflict this

repentance - you know that I am able to save myself from death, but I don't have the strength to rise up except from fear of You which they do not have. So I will suffer for them." And with this speech, his days ended, and his soul expired but he had stirred the strength of his people.

Then seven brothers were seized with their mother and sent to the King (127).⁷⁹ And because of forbidden pig's flesh, stretched out stinking, salty without moisture, he hacked them into pieces in brutal anger. And their flesh which was cut was pure. One came before the King and he asked "Why do you do so much to make that which we have learned from our fathers difficult to perform. For we are proper in assuming the yoke of his Torah." The King became very angry and ordered to have a brass pan brought. They placed it on the fire and the King had his tongue and hands and feet cut out and they put them in the pan on the fire so that he would not die quickly, so as to frighten his brothers and his mother. But they were believers in the Lord and they reassured each other when they saw that their brother had died for the Lord. And the brothers said to each other "Behold, this is what Moses, the servant of the Lord said in his song - that he would avenge his servants. So how may the Lord be more merciful upon His son because all the evil that had sworn to be done to His people and may He be merciful to them."

And the first one died so he brought in the second and he said to him "Pay attention and perform the commands of the King. Why should you die in great affliction as your brother died." He replied "Hurry up with the sword and the fire. Do not restrain from anything which you did to my brother for I shall not be less righteous than my brother in fear of the Lord." And the King ordered all his limbs cut off and placed on the

pan over the fire. And he replied "Why do you (128) afflict our souls when for you will neither be given them nor will you extinguish them. So now repent to God who gave them and let us live. Then when He stipulates I shall die." But he killed him. And the second died and he brought the third who stretched his right hand in front of him and said "Why are you frightening us with trouble and adversity, all of which has come upon us from heaven. However we will accept it in love. You are not important but despicable to me. For we gather honor from heaven and it pays us our reward." And the King and his officers were astonished at the nerve which the lad had. So the third died and they brought the fourth. He said to the King "Why should I give any thought to your words, wicked man. We will die for the Lord our God for He will restore our lives and you will not have the power to restrict Him." Then he died and they brought in the fifth. He said "Fool and dullard. You do not understand the deeds of the Lord and His works. Do not think to yourself 'God will help me' for due to His love of me, He brings me to this honor. You are evil, reviled and villified so that your city hates you. Its men will do violence to you and your offspring in the future. And its anger will be enflamed against you and your entire household." Then the fifth one died and the sixth approached and said "We know we are wicked for we have sinned against the Lord but now we are giving our souls unto death and we shall die (129) for all our people. But you whose heart is occupied with doing this to the servants of God, and fighting against the God of Heaven and Earth He will fight against you and uproot you from the Earth." And the sixth one died. So the seventh was left and he was only a small boy.

His mother was the holy one who had seen seven of her sons killed on one day. She was neither afraid nor disquieted. The mother stood with strength over the corpses of her slain sons and she raised her voice and cried out singing "My sons I am with you. My God created you. He gave you the spirit of the soul. He raised you up with strength. He wove your sinews and covered it over with skin and breathed the spirit of light in your nostrils. And all this was spoiled. But in the future my sons He will return to you and reward you for all your blessed deeds." And the King was ashamed because a woman had defeated him. So the King said "Bring me the seventh. Perhaps he will eat some crumbs and he will do as I wish. For he is but a boy and the woman will not be able to boast over me saying, "I have conquered Antiochus, for I gave my son's strength and they died for God."

The King ordered the seventh brought forward and he enticed him with talk and beseeched him and promised to give him gold and silver and servants and to install him as regent and to let him rule over all his kingdom. But the boy scorned the words of the King and did not pay attention to what he was saying. Then Antiochus called for (130) his mother. He said to her "Woman, I have compassion on this child and mercy for the fruit of your womb. Persuade him to obey my wish, for it will be his deliverance." And the woman said "Give it to me. Perhaps I will eat his crumbs." So he gave it to her. But she brought him a little of their own and she drank it. Then she laughed over the shame of the King for she humiliated him and said to her son "My son, remember that I carried you for 9 months and after that I ensuckled you 3 years. And after I suckled you, sustained you until today and I taught you fear of the Lord. So now

my son, look to the heavens and witness the earth and the sea and fire and water, for through the word of the Lord were the Heavens made. Man is nought before Him. My son don't fear this cruelty but die for your God who will deliver you.⁸⁰ Then you will be equal to your brothers in the greatness of their glory. I will overtake you. On the day you are bound to them, I will be with you." So the boy came before the King and he said "You have held me up. Now don't keep me from going with my holy brothers. Don't deceive me with your emptiness. For the Lord has not with His holy and complete Torah which He gave to Moses His servant, to Israel His people and the children of His servants from me. Antiochus you are a wicked man whose deeds are evil, troublesome and venomous. Because you hate truth you are reviled and despised. I pray, go and hasten to (131) our God to whom the earth and its inhabitants belong; all the world and those who live in it. He will give us life again, and raise us, and strengthen us over all the nations. But you who have done insolently working evil against His people, sending a force against His servants, you shall not escape His power. You shall not escape the wrath of His anger. It is lucky for you that we were not born out of your mother's filth. She laments that she gave birth to a crazy fool such as you Antiochus, who only does evil to himself. In the end it will be well for us. For if we have to bear a little pain in this world, behold we will go to eternal life. But you will die a different death, with great afflictions. You will go down to the underworld⁸¹ and the darkness of Hell where there is neither life nor light for all is murkiness and shadows. Nor will there be rest nor comfort for you, for your portion will be trouble and distress. Fire and brimstones will be your measure from our God, evil and bloodthirsty man. But our God will have mercy upon His people and comfort His righteous. His ire will

last from now until then. No longer will He be angry with His people, but primarily He shall comfort His children. In all that befalls us He will enact truth and righteousness. And although we may act wickedly, He will be merciful with us and give us eternal life."

King Antiochus became very angry because the boy did not do as he had wished. So he inflicted bitter and harsh blows upon him as he had done to his brothers. So the seventh brother also died (132) and the woman stood over their bodies spreading her hands heavenward and she said "Exalted God, God of the universe, take me with my sons for I am your faithful servant in that I trained them." As she spoke her soul expired and her spirit left her. She fell upon her sons and she went with them.

Then the King went on his way toward Macedonia. But he commanded Phillip and the generals in the land of Judah saying to them "Blot out the memory of Judah from all the land. Kill anyone who mentions the name of Judah. But let anyone live who desires to be with us and upholds the name of Greece." So did evil Phillip and the officers with him. They blotted out all those whom he found keeping the Torah. Only those who fled with Mattathias the son of Johanan to the neighboring mountains were saved.⁸²

But Mattathias would not lead the shameful uncircumcised. He was zealous toward his God and he cried aloud "Woe unto me, my mother, for I have been brought up to witness the destruction of my people."⁸³ And he secretly sent Judah, his son, to all the cities of Judea asking "Who of you are for the Lord?" and he gathered a sect of Hasidim. Mattathias said to them "What difference should it make for us to do something other than pray. Therefore be firm in battle. Let us take heart for we will die in battle as meaningfully as a sheep of the Jubilee sacrifice." They were all

heartened by the words of Mattathias and they said to each other "To your tents Judea. The non-Jew of Macedonia (133) King Antiochus, rules in your land. Now, it is enough. Sharpen your swords, people of Judea, be on your guard, Macedonians." And from that day on, the yoke of Macedonia was loosened from the people of Judea.

Now when Phillip and the officers of the King heard about this, they approached them with a large force. And as they travelled along the way, they came upon 1000 Judean people, children and women. They were in one cave. So they came to the mouth of the cave and yelled in to them "Come out and profane the Sabbath. Obey the commandments of the King so you may live and not die." They replied "We will not come out. Neither will we profane the Sabbath. The heaven and the earth will be our witness that we shall die by our faith." Then Phillip ordered fire brought and he put it to wood so that it smoked up the cave and all of them died in the smoke.

And the officers of the King approached Mattathias in the neighboring mountains. They found him girded in battle ornaments along with his brothers and his sons and a few men from the group of Hasidim that had come to bring their women and children to the neighboring mountains. The officers of the King greeted Mattathias peacefully and said to him "You are an honored person among your people. Obey the commandments of the King so you will live and not die." Mattathias answered proudly "I obey the commands of my King. You obey the commands which your King has directed to you." The officers of the King were dismayed and struck dumb and said nothing. But Mattathias wondered how were they going to seize (134) and kill him as they had killed the rest of the Hasidim. Just then

one of the Judeans who was allied with the officers of the King, a lawless and evil man responded "I am better than the officers of the King and his army. How long will you remain deaf and not obey the commands of the King?" So he avenged himself of Mattathias who had ordered him not to obey the commands of the King. And as he said this, he drew his sword and cut off the head of a pig. He took it in his hand to the altar that had been built in the temple of King Antiochus. He put the pig's head upon it and he burned a sacrifice before the statue of Antiochus. When Mattathias saw, he was zealous to his God and his anger burned within him. So he drew his sword and he jumped on the Judean who had sacrificed and stabbed him with a sword in his neck. As he lifted his sword skyward he fell toward the officer who had approached Mattathias to speak with him, and his body fell on the altar where he had stood. Mattathias killed him, and he also chopped the officer with his sword.⁸⁴ And he scared off the rest of the officers so many were trampled in their confusion. And he blew on the shofar giving a battle signal. He was the first to lift his hand against the kingdom of Macedonia. But he commanded us to fight on Shabbos,⁸⁵ and he stood as an exegete in this matter.

Mattathias and his sons left with a great group of Hasidim. They chased the wicked (135) and he smote them and beat them⁸⁶ until none of them remained throughout the land, and he circumcised all the children. The Lord brought great salvation because of him.

And the days of Mattathias drew near to death. So he called his five sons and he encouraged them saying "My sons, I know that great wars will be fought among you now for our God has stirred us on account of our people. Now my sons, be zealous in worshipping your God and keeping

His sanctuary. Do not be afraid of death, for if you die in war you will be received by your fathers and you will be with them. The portion of the righteous is their portion. All our fathers were zealous, and He favored them and honored them. Did not Pincus our father receive an everlasting covenant because of this? And all the rest of our fathers, due to their zealousness received their reward from the Lord." And he called to Simion, his son, and said to him "My son, I know the Lord put wisdom in your heart. Do not hold yourself back from these people. Be a father to your brothers. They will listen to you concerning every matter for the Lord our God has given you wisdom and strength."⁸⁷ And spoke again "Call Judah, my son, to me." So Simion⁸⁸ called him and Judah⁸⁸ stood before him and Mattathias⁸⁸ said to him "Judah, my son, your name is Maccabee because of your bravery, I know, my son, that you are a man of war and that God gave you strength and bravery and a heart like the heart of a lion, for you do not despair. Now my son, honor the Lord with all that He has given (136). Fight His battles and wage war without sluggishness. Go throughout your land to take vengeance on your uncircumcised enemies. For this people, you will be a general of the army in order to conduct the war." And he took a horn of oil and poured it on Judah's⁸⁸ head and he annointed him to conduct the war. All the people shouted and blew on the shofar, and they said "Long live the annointed." And as Mattathias⁸⁸ finished charging his sons, he was gathered to his people.

Judah, his son called Maccabee, rose in his place and his brothers and all the community of Hasidim supported him. They buried his father with honor. Afterwards he dressed in the armour of a warrior and he girded

himself with his battle weapons and he descended upon the encampments surrounding and encroaching upon the mountain. He killed 8,200 of them, and he ruled Israel with the sword. He trampled the foreigners into the earth and all the oppressors trembled and when he cried out for his voice was like the voice of a roaring lion.⁸⁹ When he roared he utterly confused them, and he pleased all Israel with his deeds. Great kings were dismayed and his reputation spread to the ends of the earth. He travelled from city to city and he killed all the evil people of Judea who had dismayed the people of Israel. And Apollonius, the General of the army of the army of Macedonia, heard all these things and he said "Who is this? Who can it be who desires to rebel against our Lord (137) the King?" He gathered a great mighty, and powerful force from the warriors of Macedonia and they came to fight with Israel. He went out to meet them and a great battle waged between the nation of Macedonia and the group of Hasidim. Now as he was fighting them, Judah saw Apollonius standing in the midst of a group of Macedonians. So he ran toward him propelled by his anger through the midst of the battle and he slaughtered many on the right and left of him. He mowed down the warriors of Macedonia as the harvester levels the sheaths and the gleanings of his harvest. He got to Apollonius and stabbed him with his sword so he died. Then the Greeks turned away and they fled and Judah and his people pursued them and ravaged them and took all their spoils. Judah took the sword of Apollonius and he fought with it all the days of his life. And Sadon,⁹⁰ general of the army of Aramia heard and said "I will establish my reputation. I will go and fight with Judea."⁹¹ So he gathered all his people and he came to Beth Haron.⁹² It was reported to Judah, and Judah said "Are we not ready

ourselves. We will attack them. For our brothers from the group of Hasidim have left us. If we wait until they come here, our enemies will say that we fear them." So Judah advanced upon them all night as the day broke, they saw a great and mighty people and they said to Judah "How will we be able to fight this great multitude for we are small in number?" Judah replied (138) "Call upon the Lord and you will be saved for it is the Lord's war." And Judah approached the camp of Sadon. He pounced upon them suddenly and engaged them in battle. When Sadon became af-frighted along with all his people, he fled. And Judah pursued him and overtook them. He smote them and he tread on many dead corpses and the fear of Judah fell upon all the nations which had been under their rule.

When Antiochus heard this, he gathered all his people, all the nations under his rule, a great and very mighty people. He divided all his people and took half the army and went to Persia, a great nation of his stock, from the seed of the kingdom which had been Macedonia. And he said to them⁹³ "You know everything that Judah the son of Mattathias did to me and my two officers and their armies, Now, go smite all the inhabitants of the land of Judah. Take my son with you. And I will go to the land of Persia because they have sinned against me." So King Antiochus went to the land of Persia and he left Lysias, his son's teacher to fight in the land of Judah.⁹⁴ Lysias chose brave men. And he sent an ambushade with them, 1000 young warriors and 7,000 horsemen.⁹⁵ They also chose for themselves all the armies of Aramia and all the armies of Palestine and they came to the land of Judea to devastate it. Judah and all the Elders of Israel were informed (139). And they proclaimed a fast. They dressed in sackcloth and put ashes on their heads and cried out to the

Lord. Now after the fast, Judah mustered all his people and placed captains and sargeants over them.⁹⁶ And they went out to the plain to meet the advancing army. He sent an order throughout the camp saying "Whoever is planting vineyards, or who is building a house or who is betrothed to a woman or who is faint of heart, shall return to the people."⁹⁷ And he was left with 7,000 men chosen from the youth of Israel. All were warriors from the first to the last, they did not turn or flee from anything.

And Judah set out and went to meet Nicanor.⁹⁸ And Nicanor had brought many merchants in order to purchase the men of Israel which he planned to capture in the land of Judah as slaves. He came haughtily to meet Judah and Judah broke from the battle line of the Hasidim and he called to the Lord and he said "O Lofty Lord who has ruled from the earliest times till now, you can put an end to wars. In your hands is the strength and might to exalt or to lay low. Humiliate and subdue this nation before your humble people for you subjugate peoples and nations under our feet." After the prayer, the priests blew on the holy trumpets and Judah led the people. He sprang into war and dealt (140) Nicanor a great blow and he fled from him. And he pursued them, going about killing and spilling the blood of 9,000 men of the Judean's enemies. Then they returned and gathered their spoils. The gold and silver which the merchants had brought in hope of purchasing the youth of Israel. They divided it among the poor, and remained there in that place for the battle had been fought on Friday. Then Judah travelled from there came upon Bacchides⁹⁹ and Timetheus,¹⁰⁰ and fought a great battle with them. One hundred twenty thousand Macedonians¹⁰¹ soldiers were aligned for battle.

But Bacchides¹⁰² and Timetheus fled. So Judah pursued after them but could not overtake them for they came to the Temple enclosure of Karnaim.¹⁰³ Finally Judah overtook Phillip, who had wrought evil in the land of Judea. As Judah drew near, Phillip left the road and came to a house which was near by. So Judah ordered to have the house fall upon him, and he burned him with fire there avenging Eleazar as well as the blood of the Hasidim which Phillip had spilled. He returned to plunder the wounded and he sent their spoil to Jerusalem. Phillip fled from there and he escaped for he had stripped off the royal garb which he had, dressing in poor clothing and he acted like a stranger.¹⁰⁴ He returned to Macedonia and told Lysias about all that had transpired. (141) Now at that time Antiochus returned from the land of Persia in shame for the King of Persia defeated him. He came to Akobtan¹⁰⁵ and they informed him of all that Judah had done to his generals, how he had vanquished them. So Antiochus was filled with anger and he reviled and cursed. He said "I will go to Jerusalem, I will dig graves for the dead and I will fill them with defiled bodies." He gathered all his people and chariots and the horsemen, a great and mighty force. But the Lord was zealous of His city and His Temple, so He spared His people. And He withheld the blood of the Hasidim from Antiochus whom He afflicted with severe boils and a disease of the bowels.¹⁰⁶ But the disease did not subdue him. And he said "Make haste chariots, cavalry and footsoldiers and I will go to Jerusalem to exact my will, that which I said. Who can stand in my way? Are not the sea and land mine. They change their form according to my wish - making the sea into land and the land into sea." And as he finished speaking, he rode off and advanced with his army, a great force. Along the road, the chariots crossed in front of the

elephants. The elephants cried out and the horses became excited so that they became unharnessed and they turned the chariot over. Antiochus fell out of the chariot and broke all his bones for he was a heavyset man.¹⁰⁷ The Lord discomfited him on top of his agonies. His flesh stank with the odor of polluted skin which is strewn over the fields in summer. They lifted him upon their shoulders for a short while but they threw him on the ground and fled from him because (142) they were not able to come near him due to the vile smell which came from his skin, that disguster, reviler and enemy of God.¹⁰⁸ When all the army was exhausted and he was relieved of his evil odor, he knew that the hand of the Lord had touched him and he was humiliated and humbled. And he said "Righteous is the Lord who lays the haughty low as he lay me low, and who humbles the wicked as he has done to me this day. For I did much evil to His people, to His Hasidim. Therefore, He inflicted all this evil upon me." And he made a vow saying "If the Lord cures me of my illness, I will go to Jerusalem and I will fulfill the following: I will lay silver and gold and purple cloth in all her streets; I will give all my treasure to the Temple of the Great God; I will circumcise the flesh of my foreskin, and I will go throughout the land proclaiming 'There is none like the Lord God of Israel in all the world.'"¹⁰⁹ But the Lord did not pay attention to his prayer for every land where he travelled, Antiochus was cruel. And again his sickness came upon him. His flesh was rent from his bones and he fell and died shamefully in a foreign land.¹¹⁰ Eupator his son ruled in his place.

And Judah the son of Mattathias and all the Hasidim which were with him came to Jerusalem.¹¹¹ They threw down the altars which the uncir-

cumcised had built and they cleansed the construction of the heathen's idols and they built a new altar. They placed sacrificial meat upon it and set (143) wood out, but they could not find ritual fire. So they called out to the Lord and fire shot out from the stone upon the altar. They fed it with wood and that fire lasted until the third exile. And there was an altar dedication on the 25th day of the month of Kislev. They placed shewbread and lit the lights. And they praised the Lord for 8 days. Now following the dedication, Judah went to the land of Edom. Gorgias¹¹² went out to meet him, but he fled from before him. Judah pursued after him and his men, and he trampled down 20,000 Edomite heathens on that day. Gorgias fled and he came to Temetheus in the land of Arabia, for the King had entrusted him with the land of Arabia. Then Temetheus went out with 120,000 Macedonian and Arabian troops and he came to the land of Manasseh and Giliad and he slaughtered many Judeans. And they sent a letter to Judah "Come up and save us for the sword of Temetheus is decimating us." And also, another letter arrived from Galilee saying "Come up and save us for the Macedonian citizens of Tyre and Sidon are destroying us." Now when Judah heard this, he proclaimed a fast day and prayer. He selected all the Hasidim and hurriedly crossed the Jordan.¹¹³ Simeon also took 3,000 Judean soldiers. They advanced upon Galilee and he engaged in a great battle and he struck (144) 8,000 to the ground saving his brothers in the Galilee.¹¹⁴ He took all the spoils and returned to Jerusalem.

And Judah the annointed of war crossed the Jordan and he came to Gilead, to Temetheus. He found him fighting against the city or Mount Giliad so he agitated war against him. There was a great battle there and

they were at a stalemate for the people of Temetheus were a great and mighty group, whereas the people of Judah were very small. So Judah cried out to the Lord from the midst of the depths of the battle and he raised his eyes and saw 5 boys riding horses. All the clothing was gold; two of them stood opposite Judah and they protected him with their shields; and the three others fought against Temetheus' group.¹¹⁵ When Judah saw them, he knew that they were sent from heaven to help the Hasidim. So he encouraged his men and he pressed the army of Temetheus. Judah smote 21,500 of his army, and Temetheus fled from there toward the Jordan, with Judah pursuing after him killing as he went.

And he fled from there to the seashore and he came to Gaza. Temetheus took a position in that place and he waged war, for all the army of Philistines were gathered to him. Judah advanced upon that place. He pounced upon him like a lion pounces upon a flock of sheep. Temetheus turned his back to flee, and all his army scattered from him. And the army of the Hasmoneans pursued them (145) and smote them and pulverized them into submission.

Temetheus came to Gaza¹¹⁶ and closed the gate behind him. He fought from the wall. Judah and his Hasmonean warriors advanced upon the city and seized it for 5 days. On the fifth day Temetheus' men climbed up the great tower, and they reviled and blasphemed the annointed of war and spoke such curses that we cannot repeat.

Then 20 men of the Hasmoneans became angry due to the curses. So they took their shields in their left hands and they ran up to the wall. They went up, one after another for they had erected a ladder upon the wall. They jumped on the wall, and they opened a place for their companions.

And these 20 advanced through the city and they approached the plaza of the city shouting in triumph, and slaying bodies to the ground. They came to the gate and fought over the gate capturing Gaza. They destroyed those cursers of life who had cursed the annointed of war. They burned it with fire and decimated Gaza killing all its males. For two days they did not stop killing. Then Temetheus fled and hid in one of the wells so he was not found.¹¹⁷ But they found his brothers Chaereas¹¹⁸ and Appolonius. And they came to Judah and Judah ordered their heads chopped off. He took the city's spoil and then came to Jerusalem in song and praise; thanking and praising the Lord (146) with Psalms of David, the King of Israel for His mercy endureth forever.

Then Antiochus, the King called Epiphanes, who was Eupator the son of the Antiochus¹¹⁹ who had done evilly in Jerusalem by killing the Hasidim and who had died from the great sores which we wrote of above, was informed. And Antiochus Eupator sent Lysias his cousin¹²⁰ with an army of 80,000 cavalry and 80 elephants and a great and mighty force and he came to Judah to Jerusalem.¹²¹ And he fought against Bethsura¹²² and he built a seige wall around it. He hoped to smash it with an iron battering ram and piles of stones. Judah and all the Hasmonean army stayed in the forest and mountains because of the Israeli army. And Judah said to his men "Come, let us go before the Lord our God in fast and supplication. Then we will come upon the army of the Greeks which is fighting Bethsura."¹²² Now after the fast, he blew on the shofar, gave a signal and went with all his men to help their brethren in Bethsura.¹²² And as they came to Jerusalem, to the Tabernacle, they made offerings and sacrifices and called upon the Lord. Then they left Jerusalem to go and

fight the Greek army. And Judah said to his men "Be strong. Strengthen yourselves for the sake of the People of the Lord, for the sake of your brothers. Let us die together in bravery so we shall not see the evil which has beset our people."

Now as he spoke these words, he raised his eyes and saw, between heaven and earth, (147) a man dressed in gold and riding a horse.¹²³ The horse seemed to be glittering, and there was a spear in the hand of the man. His rear was opposite the army of the Hasmoneans and his face confronted the Greek camp. His arm was outstretched threateningly toward the Greek camp. So Judah said "Blessed be the Lord who has sent His angel to deliver His people and to smite the camp of their enemies." Then he hurried from there to Bethsura¹²² and jumped into the middle of the Macedonian camp, alarming them. He cast down 11,000 infantry, 1,300 cavalry, the Macedonian casualties. Lysias fled with all his camp in embarrassment and shame. And Lysias was aware that God had fought on Israel's side, so he made a truce with Judah. And these are the words of the truce, The letter which Lysias, general of the army and viceroy to King Antiochus sent. "Peace is extended to the annointed of Judah and all his people. Let it be known that I received your letter from John and Absalom, the messengers you sent to me. I will give a reply to John and Absalom as well as to my messengers which I shall send to you. I have ordered them to offer peace."¹²⁴ And this is the text of the letter¹²⁵ which King Antiochus sent to Lysias, his cousin "Peace is extended to Lysias my brother¹²⁵ from the King. Be it known that we have received the letter you sent to me concerning the Jews. And we have read it with interest. (148) Our father has gone the way of all flesh, he has left the living. He was fetched

by angels. Now I want peace throughout all my kingdom. Wars shall cease and peace will be established. Now I have heard that the Jews do not wish to obey my order by violating their Torah. Therefore they acted valiantly and they killed my father's best and most honored men. Now give me¹²⁷ your right hand and we will make an alliance with them. They will know that I rule them out of my wisdom and the goodness of my heart. To live and obey their Torah as is their wish."

This is the text of the letter, King Eupator sent to Judah, the appointed of War, and to the rest of the people:¹²⁸ "Be it known that I have established suzerainty in every state and nation where I rule including Judea. Except that the Jews observe their Torah. Therefore pardon us for all that my father did previously out of sin. And if we sin, we will send Menelaus to appease you."

Now in these days, the fourth kingdom of Judah replaced the third kingdom for the Roman kingdom revolted against the Greeks. And the reputation of the Romans increased throughout the kingdom. This was the fourth beast which Daniel that lovely man, saw which devoured and trampled the body of its predecessor¹²⁹ with its feet. Thus this nation of Romans was established. Their army was very mighty, therefore it consumed and smashed all the Kings of (149) all the nations. They were the ones who fought with King Antiochus the King of Greece who possessed 120 elephants, and a great and mighty force, horses and many chariots. But the Romans smashed him in war and humbled him, making him pay them a tithe.

They humbled insolent Hannibal, King of Africa, who ruled in the city of Carthage. For Hannibal came with a great mob as numerous as the sands of the sea. Accompanying him were the entire army of Barbary, and

the entire army of Ethiopia and Pot, as well as other nations. They traversed the narrow body of water separating Africa and Spain. He passed through Spain humbling the Prince of the Nation of the Goths, and he advanced from there traveling throughout the land of Germany which is a western land. He humbled the British who dwell near the ocean. From there he went to Italy and he fought with the Romans. The Romans went out to confront him. A great battle was provoked, and Romans fell without number.

The Romans fought again with Hannibal as if they had doubled the battle strength. But they had no resistance before Hannibal. And finally they sent out their entire army, commanded by two violent men. One's name was Aemilius and the second's name was Varus. They advanced to battle against Hannibal. But they found him beseiging Katsi, which was a great city. So they planned a battle on the Opiros River.¹³⁰ There was a great and very fierce battle there. (150) Ninety thousand Roman soldiers fell that day. Then Aemeleus, who was a brave Roman, was struck down and his life ended in that battle and Varus fled and escaped. He came to Basthia a city which is set between the mountains and the plain. Hannibal had employed 40,000 men in battle.

And Hannibal pursued after the army of Romans as far as the gates of Rome. He beseiged the city for 18 years and he built constructions in front of the gate, which caused the city a great deal of trouble. So the city's advisors said to each other "Come let us open the gate. We will serve Hannibal and he will make an alliance with us, so we will live and not die." They agreed to do it. But one boy whose name was Scipio¹³¹ rose in the center of the city. He said to the 23 elders of the city "God forbid us from doing this, from serving Hannibal." And they said to him

"What shall we do, we have not mustered any resistance before Hannibal up to this time for 17 years." He replied "Come let us counsel together. Give me 5 brave legions. I will go to his land and ravage it. Perhaps he will withdraw from you and advance upon me in order to save his land from my hand. Then you will be given a respite." So they did thus. He took 30,000 Roman warriors, pulled up roots,¹³² and went to Africa, the land of Hannibal. He killed Hasdrubel, Hannibal's brother, in a battle severing his head and bringing it to Rome.¹³³ (151) He called out to Hannibal saying "Why do you desire our land? Why don't you go and save your land from me for I have ravaged it. Here is your brother's head," and he threw the head to him. Hannibal recognized his brother's head, so he became morose and obstinate. So he strengthened his position and swore "I will not withdraw from this city until I have captured it." He abused the city again for many days.

So Scipio returned to Africa. He ravaged the entire land of Africa and he advanced upon the land of Carthage and he abused it. So it petitioned Hannibal at Rome saying "Why do you lust after a foreign land when your land is being removed from your power. If you don't hurry and come and save us from Scipio, we will have to open the gate and deliver the city and all your household over to him." Hannibal read this letter, withdrew from Rome, and came to the Apiros where ships were stationed. And he killed numberless Romans there, captured men and children whom he had with him. Hannibal sailed off in a boat advancing with his army. Scipio went out to meet him and a great battle was fought. Scipio emerged victorious, routing him, and many men died in that battle, 1000 men. This was the third time they fought in battle. And Hannibal

fled from Scipio, but Scipio pursued him to Egypt. (152) King Ptolemy informed Scipio for Scipio had brought a great army to Africa.

Now as Hannibal approached the land of Africa, he drank deadly poison and was buried there. Scipio captured all the land of Africa, any place which was a source for silver or a supplier of gold. He entranced the suzerainty of the Romans over all the people of the land.

Now this is what Daniel that beloved man, envisioned - that whomever had consumed the people of Judea, and had destroyed Jerusalem would themselves be smashed, demolished, trampled underfoot and pulverized.¹³⁴ When the Elders of Rome heard of the might which the Lord had bestowed upon Judah and his advisors enabling them to unite the People of Judea, the Romans allowed it. And this is the text of the letter which the Romans sent to Judah the son of Mattathias: "Quintus Memmius, Titius Scipius, Meneleus, Roman Generals¹³⁵ address Judah, Anointed of War and to all the elders of Israel - Peace. Be you informed that we have heard of the bravery of you exhibited in battle and we are happy. All that we have recorded concerning the Judeans we will announce throughout our land. May it please you to be allies with us; and not with the Greeks for they oppress you. We will bring war upon Antiochus. Therefore make haste and send us a note telling whom you choose."

Now this is the text of the alliance which the Romans made with Judah. "If war is made with the Roman nation, the Judeans will help them and will not supply (153) articles of war nor wheat nor provisions to the enemies of Rome. Thus decrees the Consul and his 320 advisors. And if a battle is fought against the Nation of Judean, the Roman nation will help according to our¹³⁶ strength, and we¹³⁶ shall not supply articles of war,

nor wheat nor Jewish provisions to the enemies of the Jews. For we¹³⁶ will come to help fortify the Jews but not to add curse upon curse. And we¹³⁶ will not withdraw -- as the Ruler and his advisors have decreed." And after this the land was peaceful for 8 months.

In those days the Judean army purged the evildoers from the people. Now at the time, in every city of Judeah, and along the coastline, from Gaza to Akra, the Judeans and the nation of Macedonia intermingled together and the inhabitants of Joppa and Jamnia schemed evilly.¹³⁷ And they deceived the Judeans living among them into boarding their ships along with their women and children so they could have a good time with them on the high seas. They trusted them and went. When they came to a deep spot they drowned 200¹³⁸ in the sea. Judah was informed of this so he wept and proclaimed a fast day. Then he went to Joppa beseiging it. And God delivered it into his hand. Then he isolated the Jews dwelling in it and he decimated the entire city, men and women, from child to suckling. And he burned the city. He also did this to Jamnia. And he burned all the ships of Joppa and Jamnia. The smoke of the fire could be seen in Jerusalem, and the flame was visible⁽¹⁵⁴⁾for 246¹³⁹ Ris. This is how he avenged the blood of the children and women which drowned in the sea. From there he went to the desert of Arabia and killed the Arabians destroying¹⁴⁰ many. He levied a tithe upon them and he returned to the land of Judah. He came across a secret city there. The city was well fortified for many people lived there. They were trusting in their security so they cursed Judah, and they said things about the people of Israel which are not nice for us to repeat. And Judah said "God Almighty, who delivered Jericho into the hand of Joshua your servant with the sound of the

trumpet of your people, deliver this city into our hands today. I will
 ·avenge the taunts which they directed at Your people and Your people's
 God."¹⁴¹ He took his shield in his left hand and drew his sword and
 he bounded and ran to the gate of the city. All the Hasmonean men ran
 after him. They coated the gate with pitch and desert thorns. Then they
 approached and burned the gate with pitch so it fell to the ground. God
 delivered the city into their hands and there was a slaughter the likes
 of which has not been seen since antiquity. There was a pool of blood
 2 risim in length and 2 in width, which flowed from the city like a pool
 of water.

He travelled from there for 7,050¹⁴² Ris and Temetheus came out
 to oppose him with a great army. Judah prayed to the Lord and he ad-
 vanced with 2,000 (155) Judean soldiers and fought a great battle with them.
 And Judah smote 30,000 men of Temetheus' army, all of them were killed
 dead on the ground. Then the general of the army and Sosipater¹⁴³ turned
 and fled before the warriors of Israel and took Temetheus alive and brought
 him before Judah. And Judah ordered to have his head removed. Temetheus¹⁴⁴
 wept and sought mercy with a great deal of crying before Judah and he
 said to him "My Lord Judah, please do not kill me, for many Judeans live
 in my land. I swear to you that I will do well by them all the days of
 my life." So he swore to him and Judah had pity on him and did not kill
 him. And he saved him. And Temetheus never again did evil. He did not
 talk evilly all the days of his life and he kept his promise.

And Judah got up and travelled through the Arabian desert¹⁴⁵. He
 came across the army of the King of Macedonia going in the desert and he
 attacked them. He dispersed them flaying 5,000 to the ground. And he

went from there to Ephron,¹⁴⁶ that great city. He seized it so that God delivered it into his hand and 1,000 men were killed¹⁴⁷ in its midst. And he went from there and travelled 600 ris to Scythopolis.¹⁴⁸ The men of Scythopolis were greatly afraid, and they went out to meet them crying and subjugating themselves. And they said to him "Our Lord, annointed of war, ask the Judeans who live with us if we did well by them in the days of Antiochus the Cruel. (156) Many Jews escaped to us and we allowed them to live with us. The Judeans who are with them will testify to this." So Judah blessed them and left them. Judah came to Jerusalem 3 days before the holiday of Shavuot.

Now after the festival, he advanced upon Gorgias, general of the army of Idumea.¹⁴⁹ He approached him with 30 foot soldiers and 400 cavalry.¹⁵⁰ And he fought against them. So a few of the Hasmoneans fell on that day. Then Dositheus¹⁵¹ the general of the army wounded Gorgias¹⁵² and held him by his shoulder and as he was bringing him back to the Hasmoneans. Judah witnessed the falling of his men so he prayed to the Lord to strengthen his men. He destroyed the camp of Gorgias and he killed many men. Then he called out "So be it for you Gorgias" and he pounced on him and raised his right hand to kill him. Gorgias turned around to flee and he ran from Judah. He left behind his articles of war and he escaped. And it was not known whether he lived or died. Some say that he died in the desert of Idumea. And Judah turned and ravaged the entire land of Idumea. He destroyed all their cities and he levied a work tax on them. Then, pagan amulets were found under the clothing of the Judean soldiers who had fallen in war. So Judah knew that because of this idolatry they had fallen and he said "Blessed be the Lord who

reveals all secrets" and he implored the people to serve the Lord in holiness and purity. (157) Then he returned to Jerusalem.

Now when Eupator, the son of Anitochus heard about all the battles which Judah had fought and the cities which he had taken, he broke the alliance which he had with Judah and he attacked with an army as great in number as the sand on the seashore.¹⁵³ Accompanying him were infantry, cavalry, and 22 elephants.¹⁵⁴ And Lysias his cousin¹⁵⁵ was with him. His force was very great. And he came to the land of Judah and beseiged Bethsura. Then Judah and all the Elders of Israel called to the Lord with fasting and supplication and they offered sacrifices and burned peace offerings.

It was night time and Judah took all the Hasmonean warriors with him. They came in the night to the King's camp and they slaughtered 9,000 of the King's soldiers, and the largest elephant died. And as day broke, the King arranged the battle to attack Judah and the battle was very fierce. Then Judah saw one of the elephants with gold armor, and it was the biggest elephant, so he thought that the King was riding on it. And he said "Who of you are loyal to me." And Eliezar his brother, one of the Hasmonean warrior, jumped up and he hurried to oppose the elephant.¹⁵⁶ He trampled to the ground all who approached him from the King's army. And he killed on his right and left, corpses fell before him, here and there. He completely immersed himself in the midst of the fighting. And he appeared between the legs of the elephant and he stabbed it with his sword in its navel. (158) The elephant fell on him and he died for the Lord, and for his people. He was left there, but because his heroism was so great he was mourned by his people. Eight

hundred of the King's noblemen fell in battle apart from the rest of the people who had been killed in great numbers.¹⁵⁷

The King retreated from the battle and went to his tent. Then he was informed "Know that Phillip is revolting in your land. Furthermore Demetrius the son of Seleucus has come from home with a great army and he wishes to take the kingdom from you." So the King made peace with Judah and formed an alliance with him and they embraced.¹⁵⁸ There both he and Lysias, his cousin swore¹⁵⁹ to him "We will no longer come to wage war against Jerusalem all the days of our lives." And the King sent a large amount of gold as a donation to the House of the Lord in Jerusalem.

Then he captured Meneleus, the Judean.¹⁶⁰ It was he who had brought his father Antiochus upon Jerusalem, to enact all the evil which he had done. He brought him to King Eupator and the King was angered by him said "Take hold of him." Now there was a tower there 50 cubits high¹⁶¹ and an immeasurable amount of dust and ashes was piled up against it. The King ordered that they take Meneleus upon the tower. Then they bound his hands and threw him off and he sunk into the midst of the ashes dying because of his cruelty, wickedness, and sinfulness, since he had done much evil and performed many vile acts (159) before the altar of the Lord of which its dust and ashes are holy. Therefore the sentence to die in the midst of ashes was imposed on this evil person. The Lord is just for He gives in appropriate measure and He redeems His children. The King went on his way to Macedonia, and Judah strove to judge his people in a righteous and law abiding way.

Now at this time¹⁶² Demetrius the son of Seleucus came with an Roman army and he fought with Antiochus Eupator, slaughtering his army

and Lysias his cousin. He ruled over Macedonia instead of Antiochus, And Alcimus¹⁶³ the Priest, a wicked man who had eaten pork in the days of Antiochus the Cruel, came to him. And Alcimus said to King Demetrius "O King who shall live forever. Do not act justly with your servants in the land of Judeah. For Judah the son of Mattathias has grown mighty throughout the land due to his use of the sword. And there are Judeans with him called Hasidim. He has killed us because we have rebelled against their law and we have obeyed your law." Alcimus spoke these lies and angered Demetrius. So Demetrius dispatched the general of his army along with a mighty force consisting of 100 cavalry, and elephants and innumerable infantry. They came to Jerusalem and he sent Judah word of greeting "Come let us greet each other in love and we will speak together of peace." Judah was not upset by his words so he went to Nicanor.¹⁶⁴ Nicanor came to greet him and he embraced him. (160) He inquired as to his welfare, chairs were brought and set before them, and they sat and spoke peacefully.

But Judah had ordered the Hasmonean men to bring their articles of war close by for he warned "Lest the officers pounce upon me suddenly."¹⁶⁵ So the Hasmonean men stood around as he had commanded. Then Nicanor and Judah arose from their chairs, and went to Jerusalem. They did not engage in battle. And Nicanor loved Judah and said to him "Would it not please a man such as you to take a woman and to have sons." So Judah took a wife and had a son. But Alcimus witnesses their affection for each other. So he went to the King and reported what was happening. The King wrote to Nicanor "If you do not send me Judah the son of Mattathias bound in brass bonds, know that you will surely die." But Judah was informed so

he fled out of the city at night. And he blew on the shofars going about and giving the battle sign. The entire Hasmonean army gathered together and they went to Samaria and stayed there. Then Nicanor came to the Sanctuary of the Lord and said to the priests, "Deliver the man to me so I can send him to the King." The priests swore "He has not come here and we have not seen him for 3 days." So he cursed the Temple of the Lord and he spit at it, saying "I will utterly destroy the Temple. I will not leave (161) one stone in place for I will root up and overthrow all its foundations." And he left in hot anger.

Then the priests wept between the vestibule and the altar and they said "The God which has dwelled in this House from ancient days until now, behold here is Your throne, Your footstool and all Your service. Nicanor has set his heart to villify Your House and the Sanctuary of Your glory. Bring vengeance upon him so every nation shall know that because he did this churlish thing, he shall die like a churl." Meanwhile Nicanor was searching for Judah in all the buildings of Jerusalem. He sent 500 troops to the house of Razis.¹⁶⁶ He was the most venerable of the Hasidim for he had been tested in the days of Antiochus with many stripes and blows and was found pure. He was called the father of the Judeans and judge of Jerusalem. Now as Nicanor sought to discover the hatred he harbored in his heart for the Judeans, he ordered to have him brought before him. So they surrounded the house in order to capture him. But the Elder hurried to take a sword and he stuck it in his own belly and felled himself in the midst of Nicanor's troops. The troops backed away from him giving him space and he fell to the ground. Then he got on his feet and passed through the troops, and he stood on one large rock with much blood flowing

out of him. Then as if his temperament changed, he took his small intestines with his two hands and threw them at the troops, and crying out to the Lord he died and was gathered to his people. (162)

Now when Judah heard these things, he became very incensed and sent a message to Nicanor: "Why do you gird yourself up. Go out to the field and I will show you the man for whom you were looking in the room. Behold he is in the flat valley." So Nicanor gathered all his army and went to meet Judah on the Sabbath day.¹⁶⁷ But the Jews who were with Nicanor said to him "Please O Lord do not do wickedly. Pay respect to the giver of the Sabbath day." So Nicanor asked "Who has given it?" They answered "God in Heaven, His throne and His rule are over all the earth." But Nicanor cursed and spoke vile words which are not proper to write.

Then Judah heard and said to his men "How long will we refrain from going to battle and seeking revenge for these curses and vilifications. Who is this dead dog who rules you, who curses the glorious power of Israel?" And Judah got up and advanced upon Nicanor in great anger and overwhelming hatred. Nicanor went out to meet him with a mighty force and great strength. And Judah called to the Lord¹⁶⁸ "Lord my God, You sent an angel to the camp of Sennacherib who had scorned You, outside the city and killed 185,000¹⁶⁹ people. We have not seen such a slaughter until this day. On that day You fought a very great and mighty battle." And in the battle (163) Judah saw Nicanor, his sword was drawn in his hand. So Judah called out "For you Nicanor" and he ran to him with the strength of his anger. And Nicanor turned his back to flee, and he ran from Judah. But Judah overtook him and cleaved him in two with his sword and drove him to the ground. Thirty thousand¹⁷⁰ men of Macedonia were destroyed that

day in battle. And the rest fled with Judah pursuing them, blowing on the shofar as he went. From all the cities of Israel, men came out to meet them, decimate them and destroy them. There was not one of them left. Then he went to strip the corpses, and discovered gold and precious stones and much purple. They chopped off Nicanor's head and arm which he had raised against the Temple and hung them opposite the gate.¹⁷¹ Therefore they call that gate the gate of Nicanor until this day. The people were very happy and praised the Lord according to words of David, King of Israel, for His mercy endures forever and from that day on they proclaimed that day a joyous holiday and a feast of wine. It was the 13th day of the month of Adar, one day before Purim.¹⁷² Judah ruled all his people and established law and order in the land.

Now at the time of the yearly cycle, the days of Judah drew near to die and the Lord ordained that Judah's life should end so He gathered him to his people, the Hasidim.¹⁷³

But Bacchides¹⁷⁴ came upon him with 30,000 warriors¹⁷⁵ of Macedonia and he came suddenly upon Judah. And he was dwelling there with almost 3,000 men. But all the people of Judah fled. Only he and his brothers along with 800 men were left from the men of Judah.¹⁷⁶ But they did not turn their faces to flee, not one of them. All of them in the garrison were Judah's friends and had fought in the Judean wars with the other nations. And Bacchides came with 15,000 and he set the battle to the right. Opposite his left were the remainder of the 15,000 people. And they advanced upon Judah from both his right and from his left sides. Judah saw the battle turning against him because it was very great. But he knew that Bacchides stood in one particular place because

the soldiers of Bacchides and the strength of the right flank was with him. So he approached and jumped into the middle and the remainder of the Hasmoneans allied with him. So he advanced upon Bacchides and a great and very mighty battle was waged. In the beginning of the battle 2,000 corpses were leveled.¹⁷⁷ During the battle Judah saw Bacchides standing in its midst near the people. He ran to him out of the strength of his anger killing his soldiers and sending innumerable corpses to the ground - whoever approached him from the right or the left. And there were many Judean corpses who were slaughtered that day. But Judah went on the corpses and he watched over them coming opposite Bacchides with his sharp and heavy sword (165) drawn and filled with blood. And Bacchides saw Judah's face. It was like a lion's face at the time when it stands before his prey. Fear and awe were on his face. So Bacchides turned his back to flee and he fled to Ashdod.¹⁷⁸ He pursued him and decimated all there were remaining of the 15,000 that had been spread out in battle. Meanwhile Bacchides fled and escaped in Ashdod, and the army which was behind Judah found him tired and weary. So Bacchides went out from the city and waged a battle with whoever passed by. Many corpses fell and Judah the son of Mattathias also fell that day along with the many corpses which he killed. So Simon and Junathan his brothers took him and buried him in the mountain of Modin. And all of Israel mourned many days for him.

Now after the death of Judah, the enemies of the people of the Lord grew on the east and on the west. So Jonathan girded himself with the authority of his brothers and he ministered as a priest for 7 years.¹⁷⁹ Then Jonathan came to Jerusalem and he received the rule of his brothers

and he went with a few men across the Jordan.¹⁸⁰ Bacchides pursued him with a mighty army and came upon him on the Sabbath; and he forced him to the Jordan. And when Jonathan saw that Bacchides forced him up to the waters, he and his men rowed across the waters and Bacchides and all his army came after him. And he caught up with him and attacked him from all sides. So Jonathan turned to fight Bacchides succeeding in turning him aside and (166) routing him. Jonathan drowned the camp of Bacchides and he fled to Ber Sheba which was in the desert.

There he rebuilt the ruins of the city and established mightily and guarded the city for many days. And they were well entrenched so Simon said "How long will we continue to flee" These evil ones want us to die. Let us attack our enemies." So Jonathan went out that night and he ravaged the tent of Bacchides killing Adranon and his brothers who were with Bacchides.¹⁸¹ Then Simon opened the gate and a mighty force accompanied him composed of Hasmonean men. And he went out and ravaged the camp of Bacchides. He burned the idols and all the ramparts. And Bacchides fled and escaped to the desert. Jonathan and his brothers chased him and overtook him. Bacchides begged for mercy from them, and he promised to return the captives. And he swore to them. Then they left him so he never again came to the land of Judah and he returned the captives. At that time the reign was fixed in the hand of Jonathan. He judged his people, living in surety, and he fought all his surrounding enemies.

Then he went out to meet King Antiochus after he sent all the people into another area. He went and turned to go but the officers of Antiochus advanced upon him and he was stationed between Simon and his

sons, the former on one side and the latter on the other. So Simon destroyed the entire great army of Antiochus which had advanced upon him (167) and not one escaped. From then on Israel lived in surety all of Jonathan's days, each man under his vine and fig tree. When Jonathan died and was gathered to his people, Simon his brother became priest and with his sons led the kingdom. But Ptolemy, the son-in-law of Simon killed Simon at a drunken feast and took his wife and two sons imprisoning them in brass bonds.¹⁸² Simon ruled over the people for 7¹⁸³ years. And he died and was gathered to his fathers.¹⁸⁴ The rest of the feats of his wars and the wars of his brothers are written in the Book of Hasmonians and the Book of the Kings of Rome. We have not recorded the letters which they sent to the Romans and the Persian nation.

Now Ptolemy killed Simon and he planned to kill Johanan the son of Simon. He is the Johanan called Hyrcanus. For when Johanan killed Hyrcanus a great King in the days of Simon his father, Simon called Johanan his son, Hyrcanus because of his strength and bravery.

Now when Hyrcanus heard that his father was killed, he fled to Gaza.¹⁸⁵ Ptolemy pursued him and came before the gate of the city of Gaza. But the men of Gaza closed it and would not allow Ptolemy to gain entrance to the city so he could do evil to Hyrcanus. So Ptolemy turned and came to Dagon¹⁸⁶ and he settled there. After this Hyrcanus received the rulership of his father (168). So he sent up offerings and burnt offerings and sent an army upon Ptolemy, his brother-in-law. He was victorious in battle so Ptolemy shut himself up in the city of Dagon.¹⁸⁷ But the men advanced and besieged the city with war machines, battering rams, ramparts, and all kinds of machines of destruction.

So the city came under seige. Then Ptolemy put Hyrcanus' mother and his brothers on the wall of the tower and he bound them and flogged them before his eyes with ships of all kinds and with hard chastisements. And when he saw the beating his mother and brothers received, Hyrcanus' pity for them ensnared him and he wept profusely. He put his sword away and withdrew from the city. And the mother spread out her hands and prayed to her son - not to have mercy upon her and not to have pity for her sons - but to light the spark of battle; to hearken to the trumpet; to return the battering ram; to raise the ramparts; to increase the number of the slings; to bring up the bows and shoot the arrows; to kill people; to dig out the wall; and to cause the enemy to fall in destruction and to bring revenge. So the mother said "By my death I will bring revenge on these my enemies. I will not be embitter this death with another death. Be strong my son, my offspring uphold my vow and intensify your battle against this city. Destroy it and revenge your father, since his son-in-law is the officer and enemy (169). As for the compassion of your mother, don't forget the slaughter of your holy father. But don't have pity for your mother, and forget your father thereby sinning against your God." Now when Hyrcanus heard the shout and declaration of his mother, his anger was kindled within him. He ordered the boy to blow a signal so the noise would increase and the warcry would be raised and the bows would be drawn and arrows would be shot. Also they would build a seige wall and raise ramparts. So he directed the battering rams against the wall and the tower. He struck the city so it would fall and the people cried out from the city. Ptolemy was greatly troubled. Therefore he made Hyrcanus' brothers and mother go up on the tower which was facing

the battering ram and he beat them fiercely and he informed her that she would be set free if he would only withdraw from the city. The lad saw his mother's beating and inflictions so his pity grew warm and he cried but his mother said to him again "Do not cry heatedly. Intensify your battle and don't soften your heart, for if your pity grows for your mother why doesn't your wrath grow within you? For you should remember the slaying of your father, and you should avenge him of his enemies." So the young Hyrcanus' anger flared up when he remembered his father and he became fanatical and seized the city with great force. But when he saw his mother and brothers in the siege, he stopped destroying and slaughtering because of his compassion for his mother and brothers. The lad did not know what to do for he remembered (170) his father angrily but he saw his mother. The lad was confused, and he drew away from the war which he was fighting against the city for he said to himself "The sin for all the evil which the enemy does to my mother is upon me."¹⁸⁸

Now in those days the seventh year, the sabbatical year which the Judeans celebrated and kept like the Sabbath, approached.¹⁸⁹ Therefore Hyrcanus withdrew from the battle and went to Jerusalem. Then Ptolemy's cruelty became very great and he had Hyrcanus' mother and brothers killed. Ptolemy fled to Philadelphia.

Now Antiochus bore hatred against Simon because he had killed his officers, so he gathered a force numerous as sand and he came to Judeah with a great army in the 4th year of his reign, which was the first year Hyrcanus was King of Judeah. And Hyrcanus shut himself up in the city. So he troubled Jerusalem for a long while but he was not able to do anything¹⁹⁰ because of the height of the walls and battlements of

Jerusalem, and because of the brave men who lived in the city. So Antiochus built on the north side 130 towers¹⁹¹ as high as the rooftops, and he placed his troops on the towers and he undermined the wall of Jerusalem so it fell to the ground. Then the Judeans gave a mighty roar over the fallen wall and they killed every soldier of Macedonia who wanted to enter the city. Then they went out through the debris of the wall and they fought (171) against Antiochus' army, and they leveled many corpses from the camp of Antiochus. Then they retreated from the camp of King Antiochus and the towers which Antiochus had built fell down. Antiochus retreated 20 ris from the city and set his camp there.

Now during those days, the holiday of Succoth approached. It is the holiday for the people of the Lord to keep by sending up offerings and by praising the Lord with four kinds of wood. So Hyrcanus sent out messengers to Antiochus saying "Give us 8¹⁹² days respite so we can celebrate a festival to the Lord our God." Antiochus answered "Celebrate your holiday but leave a portion of your people with me." Then Antiochus sent a gift to the Lord consisting of a cow whose horns were dressed in gold filled with spices. All this was a gift to the Temple of the Lord. The gate keepers took that gift and brought it to the priests and the priests waved it in the Temple. This King Antiochus did better than Antiochus Epiphanus, the Evil One. For he, when he took Jerusalem and came to the Temple of the Lord did not act properly. But he slaughtered swine in the Temple of the Lord, and defiled the altar with pig's flesh and spread it in every corner of the Temple. Therefore the Lord afflicted him and he died from a terrible diseases, which we recorded above. But this Antiochus (172) is called "Pious"¹⁹³ for he did this for Israel when

he honored the Temple. So the Judeans revolted against Epiphanus and did not serve him but the one called¹⁹⁴ "Pious" was a man of compassion. So Hyrcanus saw that Antiochus gave his heart to serve the Lord and he sent messengers to make an alliance with him. So he made a pact with him receiving him in Jerusalem, and he prepared a very great feast for him and his servants. He gave him 300 talents of gold and left to return to his land.¹⁹⁵

Then Hyrcanus searched after the hiding places of the gold. And he opened one of the tombs of David, King of Israel and he took 3,000 talents¹⁹⁶ of gold, but he left most of it there. And King Antiochus went up from Jerusalem to fight with Arsaces, the King of Parthia¹⁹⁷ and King Hyrcanus was on his side.

And this was the story which I found, and about which other scribes have written. For I found recorded in the book of Nicholas of Damascus¹⁹⁸ "King Antiochus went out to Arsaces, to war and Hyrcanus was with him. They came to the Lycus River and they fought with Indates¹⁹⁹ the General of the Army of Arsaces. In the battle of the King of Parthians. They caused him to flee, and they killed many of the army of Parthia, and Antiochus build a great structure, to show that he had demonstrated bravery there. Then he left there to follow Arsaces. And Hyrcanus left but he halted (173) for two days while en route because of the Sabbath and the festival of Shavuoth which came after the Sabbath."²⁰⁰ For this reason Hyrcanus was delayed two days. So Antiochus went himself with his camp and he did not listen to Hyrcanus for he thought himself braver than the King of Parthia and he fought with him. And many Greek bodies were felled²⁰¹ in that battle. So King Antiochus' fate was sealed in that

battle.

When Hyrcanus saw that Antiochus died, he ceased from pursuing Arsaces and he turned toward Syria.²⁰² He came to Medeba and seized it for 6 months.²⁰³ God delivered it into his hand and he set a work tax over it. Then he left there and went to Samega²⁰⁴ and sacked it. Then he turned and went to Shechem and ravaged it for it would not receive him. Then he destroyed Mount Gerizzim²⁰⁵ and threw down the temple which Sanballat had built. He was the son-in-law of Manassah the priest, the brother of Jaddus, the High Priest.²⁰⁶ King Hyrcanus threw it down 200 years²⁰⁷ after it was built and he turned it upside down on its foundations and he killed the Cutheans of Mount Samaria.²⁰⁸ Then he got up and travelled to the land of Idumia and he sacked Dora²⁰⁹ and Marissa which are in Idumia and he humbled the ruler²¹⁰ of Idumia. And he levied a work tax on them until the time of the exile. The King imprisoned them and bound them and chained them with the bond of circumcision, circumcising their (174) foreskins. And from that day on they were circumcised. The Samaritans observed the laws of Judea until the Exile. Thus the King did to all the nations he conquered.²¹¹

Now as the Lord made him to prosper, he sent messengers to Rome to renew the alliance with the generals of Rome.²¹² And this is the text of the pact which the generals of Rome sent to Hyrcanus the son of Simon, King of Judea. "Fanius, the son of Marais, Lucius Manlius²¹³, the son of Mantius,²¹⁴ Gaius Sempronius, the son of Falernos,²¹⁵ Generals of Rome send from the emperor who rules over us to Hyrcanus, King of Judea: Peace. Be it known to you that we have received your letter and we have read²¹⁶ it with fondness. We have inquired as to your health from your messengers

Dositheus,²¹⁷ Appolonius, and Diodorous²¹⁸ wise and good men. And we have honored them and they sat with us opposite the Emperor. All which they asked from the Emperor he granted and we concur with it. Concerning all the land which Antiochus robbed, his deeds will be negated; the cities which they plundered in war will be yours. And we have written a memorandum to every nation to receive the messengers which you sent to us with honor. We have sent our messenger with them and his name is Fanius.²¹⁹ We have given him a letter and we have told him of our orders and put the words in his mouth to convey to you - words of peace as has commanded the Emperor and his (175) 320 advisors."

Now in those days the King of Macedonia was fighting with his brother.²²⁰ So King Hyrcanus and all his camp went out with him and encamped in Samaria, and beseiged it. They built a seige wall around it. A famine lasted in Samaria until the Samaritans and Cutheans were eating the impure corpses of beasts of burden. And King Hyrcanus returned to Jerusalem for the Fast of Atonement,²²¹ to atone to the Lord for he was both a King and a Priest. He left his two sons in charge of the Army in Samaria. The first one's name was Antigonus and the name of the second was Aristobulus. Antiochus,²²² the King of Macedonia went up against them, coming to save Samaria from the hand of the sons of Hyrcanus. He fought with them in a fierce battle. But Antiochus fled from the 2 sons of Hyrcanus escaping to the city of Scythopolis.²²³ On that day Hyrcanus was in the House of the Holy of Holies, and he prayed on behalf of Israel. Afterward he remembered his sons and he was afraid that they had fallen by the sword of Antiochus. But he heard a prophetic voice calling out from the Holy of Holies²²⁴ "Neither fear, nor greive

nor be anxious for your sons, Priest Hyrcanus. Your work is completed today, for you came in peace and you shall go in peace." So Hyrcanus went out for the Holy place and told the people all this, but the people did not believe (176) So he sent horsemen to Samaria to the battle and what Hyrcanus had said was completely correct.

So the Cutheans sent help²²⁵ to the son of Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt, Callimander and Epicratis,²²⁶ Macedonian Generals were with him, and they came to the help of the Cutheans attempting to save Samaria from the hand of Hyrcanus' men. Hyrcanus went out from Jerusalem to meet the army of Egypt, and he dealt them a very mighty blow, and killed many of them²²⁷ as well as Callimander²²⁸ and he died there. The rest fled and they escaped. The Kings of Macedonia and Kings of Egypt never again saved Samaria or the Cutheans.

And the King turned advancing upon Samaria, and he seized it for one year. God delivered it into his hand, and he put its male population to the sword, overturning all their dwellings.²²⁹ Also Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, removed the Generals from command of the army and she appointed Chelcias and Ananias²³⁰ for Lathyrus her son had rebelled against her. But Egypt deserted its Queen and supported Lathyrus.²³¹ Ananias and Chelcias went out and fought with them subduing them. Lathyrus fled and he went to Cyprus, an island in the sea, and he dwelled there. Hyrcanus fought with all his surrounding enemies and subjugated them. And Israel lived in surety during the days of Hyrcanus (177) each man under his vine and under his fig tree. And they were prosperous and they grew and were very mighty.

Now in those days, as King Hyrcanus sat on the throne of his king-

dom which was in the holy city of Jerusalem, he prepared a great feast for all his generals and the servants of the army of Judah and Benjamin.²³² And the King sat at the table with the sages of Israel²³³ who were expounders²³⁴ of the Law. Hyrcanus was one of their students. And as Hyrcanus was high from wine he said to the sage Pharisees²³⁵ "You know that I am your disciple. So if you see me depart from the right way, rebuke me and set me on a straight path for this is the right thing to do." The Pharisees replied "God forbid us from observing such a thing in you. For we are witnesses today that you are righteous²³⁶ and you walk a straight path for you are a King and a priest." Hyrcanus was pleased with their words.

But one of the Pharisees was there whose name was Eliezar, and he was an unrighteous and base person. And he said "May King Hyrcanus live forever. If you wish to be righteous as you say, step down from the priesthood and be content with sovereignty alone." The King asked "And why?" "Because your mother went into captivity in the days of Antiochus and she was profaned."²³⁷ Therefore it is not right for you to be in the Holy of Holies."²³⁸ (178) And the King was greatly disturbed so their joy turned to unhappiness and anger, and their love to hate. Now an extremely wealthy man sat there from the Saducees.²³⁹ His name was Jonathan and he said "Didn't I tell you not to believe them for they are liars, and now they have ordered Eliezar to curse you."²⁴⁰

So the King ordered the Pharisees "Adjudicate this matter concerning the curse which Eliezar invoked upon me." They responded "He will be beaten and inflicted with enough stripes to satisfy you." For the Pharisees do not invoke the death penalty. So Jonathan said "Didn't I

tell you that this curse was made with their knowledge and according to their wishes." And from that day onward Hyrcanus was offended by their deeds and he became a Saducee. Then the King ordered a pronouncement circulated throughout the land that anyone who taught his sons the ways of the Pharisees would surely die. And Hyrcanus killed many of the people. Therefore hatred was stirred up against him and his sons, among the people in those days.

And now I would like to reveal which incident caused hostility and quarreling to descend upon the people of the Lord. The Pharisees would say "Keep the Law which our fathers have delivered into our hands," since they expounded the Law, and the decisions they rendered differed from the Saducees' derivation who did not believe in any manner of derivation and explanation but only in the Laws of Moses (179). And the Hasidim²⁴¹ differed afterwards.

Now in those days, because of these quarrels, battles were waged and much blood of the people of the Lord was spilled. The poor of the people sided with the Pharisees. Only the rich of the people and the warriors were with the King. And the Sadducees favored him.

Now in those days, King Hyrcanus sought inquiry of the Lord concerning his sons who would sit on his throne after him.²⁴² And he had three sons.²⁴³ The first was Aristobulus and the second was Antigonus and they were beloved in the eyes of their father. The third was Alexander. He was hated and despised in the eyes of his father, who expelled him to the Galid. He never saw his father. Now when Hyrcanus inquired God spoke to him in a dream at night saying "Lift up your eyes and see your son, who will rule in your place and will sit on your throne" So he

lifted his eyes and saw his son Alexander standing before him. And Hyrcanus woke up and he cried out asking God again, but He did not answer him about it. Then King Hyrcanus was gathered to his people. And Hyrcanus ruled for 31 years.²⁴⁴ The rest of his deeds; his bravery and the wars he fought; the cities he took from Aram and the bravery he showed in Macedonia; how he subdued Edom (180) and circumcised them, are they not recorded in the book of the Roman Kings.

And Aristobulus his son ruled in his place.²⁴⁵ He was called a great King for he greatly enlarged the borders. He was the one who fought with Tyre and Sidon, killing people without number, and he circumcised the flesh of their foreskins and subdued them under the rule of Judeah until Pompey, General of the Roman army came. He was the Aristobulus who defiled the priesthood causing it to decay.²⁴⁶ And placed the crown of the kingdom on his head,

While he was sitting on the throne of his kingdom, he became exceedingly boastful and a great overpowering jealousy overcame him until it overshadowed his intelligence.²⁴⁷ His anger stirred him to cruelty. So he imprisoned his mother and his brothers in chains, without mercy. He did not heed the honoring of parents for he was jealous of his mother and his brothers concerning the matter of rulership. But he loved Antigonus his littlest brother alone, so he dressed him in purple and honored him greatly. And he sent him into battle with his bravest troops to conquer all the people who rebelled and raised their hands against the King. So he trampled many corpses and killed innumerable people and he came to Jerusalem in strength.

FOOTNOTES

1. Note discrepancy from above spelling "Petzinach"
2. Text Reads: "Nablosh"
3. Text Reads: "Ozdrobal"
4. Literally: "see"
5. Literally: "They"
6. Literally: "The gate to Daniel"
7. Literally: "Turned to"
8. Literally: "overthrowing"
9. Literally: "in our hands"
10. Josephus, Antiquities: X, 11, 6, reports the lions were well fed.
11. Literally: "fathers"
12. This entire story continuing through column 46 appears in a slightly different form in Josephus, Antiquities: XI, 3.
13. Literally: "Were grieved." Emend "Yitatsbu" to "Yityatsbu," changing "Ayin" to "Yod."
14. Literally: "Heavy"
15. Literally: "Your Riddles"
16. Emend text to include missing "Ayin"
17. Josephus, Antiquities: XI, 3, 5, reads: "Apame the daughter of Rabsases Themasius"
18. The remainder of the account is in the third person so it can no longer be part of the decree. However, it seems obvious that this is still part of the decree and should be in the second person.
19. Literally: "King"
20. Text Reads: "Bambysia"
21. The story of Esther appears in Josephus, Antiquities: XI, 6. The King there is Artaxerxes.

22. Hebrew Questionable.
23. Literally: "they say"
24. Similar account in Josephus, Antiquities: XI, 8, 4.
25. Literally: "Before you to help you"
26. See Josephus, Antiquities: XI, 8, 5.
27. See Daniel VIII: 3 - 8
28. Josephus, Antiquities: XI, 7, 2. Sanballat is Cuthean. This following account appears in Josephus, Antiquities: XI, 8.
29. Josephus, Antiquities: XI, 7, 2 affirms this relationship.
30. Josephus, Antiquities: XI, 8, 2 confirms this.
31. Literally: "another." Emend "Aher" to "Ehod."
32. Text Reads: "Artachshasta." Josippon always spells Artaxerxes in this manner.
33. Literally: "their"
34. Literally: "days"
35. Literally: "entered"
36. Literally: "Humiliate him"
37. Text Omits: "then Alexander replied"
38. Text Reads: "Bushnai"
39. Literally: "Alexander"
40. Literally: "the Sicilians"
41. Literally: "Famine." Emend "Raev" to "Raem."
42. Perhaps this is the "Astragon." See footnote 43.
43. Perhaps this is the "Estarngan." See footnote 42.
44. Literally: "Generation"
45. Hebrew Questionable
46. Perhaps this is "Kapisekon." See footnote 47.

47. Perhaps this is "Kapsion." See footnote 46.
48. Literally: "ask." Emend "Lishol" to "Limshol."
49. Hebrew Questionable
50. Text Reads: "Ritelin" instead of "Literin"
51. Literally: "Bones and teeth of elephants"
52. The letter to Aristotle which began in column 100 ends abruptly at this point and the third person narrative continues Alexander's exploits.
53. Text should read "Barbaron's wife" to make sense.
54. Text Reads: "Amazonikon"
55. Text Omits: "Have done"
56. Josephus, Antiquities: XII, 1, 1.^a - Identifies him as "Ptolemy, the son of Lagus."
57. Literally: "Wedded to"
58. Text Reads: "Ptolus Olgis"
59. Josephus, Antiquities XII, 2, 1: Identifies him as "Phalerius."
60. This ensuing story paralleled in Josephus, Antiquities XII, 2 concerning Philadelphus, the son of Lagus.
61. This story paralleled in Josephus, Antiquities XII, 3.
62. Text Reads: "Antiophicus"
63. See footnote 62.
64. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 10, 2, "Sabaste"
65. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 10 confirms this incident. However, it is totally out of place here. It belongs following the Maccabean revolt.
66. See footnote 64.
67. Josippon consistently calls her "Kalophtira"
68. Text Omits: "came to power"
69. Text Reads: "Rodon"

70. Josippon consistently calls him "Antoninus"
71. Josephus, Antiquities: XII, 4, 1. Antiochus the Great gives Cleopatra, his daughter to Ptolemy, not to Antony. This story seems to come from Plutarch's Lives; Antony.
72. Josephus, Wars: II, 9, 1: 57 years, 6 months, 2 days.
73. Text Reads: "Heliodos"
74. Text Reads: "Heliorodos"
75. Josephus, Antiquities: XII, 2. Story repeated in slightly different form.
76. Literally: "Gathered to his people"
77. II Maccabees VI: 18-32, same story concerning Ezra the Scribe.
78. Text Reads: "Sheol"
79. II Maccabees VII: 1-42 repeats this story.
80. Literally: "My son"
81. Text Reads: "Sheol"
82. This begins the story of the Maccabean revolution paralleled in Josephus, Antiquities: XII, 6 ff. And also I Maccabees II ff.
83. See I Maccabees II: 7
84. See I Maccabees II: 23-27
85. See I Maccabees II: 41
86. Literally: "He smote them and beat them and smote them and beat them."
87. See I Maccabees II: 65
88. Literally: "He"
89. I Maccabees III: 14 uses similar phrase.
90. Josephus, Antiquities: XII, 7, 1 and in I Maccabees III: 13, the name is "Seron."
91. This incident reported in Josephus, Antiquities: XII, 7, 1 and identically in I Maccabees III: 10-12.
92. I Maccabees III: 16

93. Literally: "He"
94. Josephus, Antiquities: XII, 2, 2. I Maccabees III: 32
95. Josephus, Antiquities: XII, 2, 3 and I Maccabees III: 38 both say: 40,000 foot soldiers and 2,000 horsemen.
96. I Maccabees III: 55
97. Similar stipulations in Josephus, Antiquities XII: 2, 3; and I Maccabees III: 56
98. This is a different account from what preceded. A similarity can be seen in II Maccabees VIII: 10.
99. Text Reads: "Bacchires"
100. Timotheus is mentioned in conjunction with Bacchides only in II Maccabees VIII: 30
101. II Maccabees VIII: 30 Reads 20,000.
102. Text Reads: "Bagaris"
103. I Maccabees V: 44
104. No reference to this in any of the sources.
105. In I Maccabees VI: 1 and Josephus, Antiquities: XII, 9, 1, it is Elymais. In II Maccabees IX: 3, it is Ecbatana.
106. In I Maccabees, there is no description of this illness. It appears in Josephus, Antiquities: XII, 9, 1 and II Maccabees IX: 5-12
107. II Maccabees IX: 7
108. II Maccabees IX: 10-11
109. II Maccabees IX: 13-27. In similar situation, a different speech is given.
110. Josephus, Antiquities: XII, 9, 3: I Maccabees VI: 17: II Maccabees IX: 28-29
111. II Maccabees X: 1 ff. Josephus, Antiquities: XII, 2, 6
112. Josephus, Antiquities: XII, 2, 2 ff and I Maccabees IV: 1 ff. Mention Gorgias under different situation.
113. Josephus, Antiquities: XII, 8, 1-3

114. Text Reads: "Gilgal"
115. II Maccabees X: 29
116. II Maccabees X: 31 contains "Gazara"
117. In II Maccabees X: 37 he was found and killed with his brothers.
118. Text Reads: "Chirbo"
119. Eupator is the son of Epiphanes in Josephus, Antiquities: XII,
9, 12.
120. II Maccabees XI: 1 "a cousin"
121. II Maccabees XI: 2 & 5 agree on these numbers. Josephus,
Antiquities: XII, 9, 3 says 100,000 footmen, 20,000
horsement and 32 elephants.
122. Text Reads: "Bethea"
123. II Maccabees XI: 8
124. II Maccabees XI: 21 reads "to confer with you."
125. II Maccabees XI: 23 ff
126. Text Reads: "his"
127. Text Reads: "us"
128. II Maccabees XI: 27. The superscripture reads "the King's letter
to the nation ran as follows:"
129. Text Omits: "of its predecessor"
130. According to the Encyclopedia Brittanica, Volume XI, page 155a,
Lucius Amelius Paulus beseiged Gaius Tarentus Varro at
Cannae. They battled at the Aufidus River.
131. Probably Scipio Africanus.
132. Text Reads: "lifted his feet"
133. According to Carey "History of Rome" Hasdrubal never was in Africa.
Encyclopedia Brittanica, Volume XI, 155a, says he was probably
killed in Central Italy or the Metaurus.
134. This sentence in Aramaic.
135. II Maccabees XI: 34. The same names but different letters. There
is a similar pledge in Josephus, Antiquities: XII, 10, 6.

136. Literally: "they"
137. II Maccabees XII: 3-9
138. II Maccabees XII: 4
139. II Maccabees XII: 9 reads "30 miles"
140. Literally: "Trampling"
141. II Maccabees XII: 14-16. Includes this as narrative.
142. II Maccabees XII: 17 "95 miles"
143. II Maccabees: 19 & 24. He mentioned as captain under Maccabeus.
144. II Maccabees XII: 24-25. Timetheus not involved with Judah but with Dositheus and Sosipater, although the incident is the same.
145. II Maccabees XII: 26-27
146. II Maccabees XII: 27
147. Literally: "Trampled"
148. II Maccabees XII: 29
149. II Maccabees XII: 32 ff
150. II Maccabees XII: 33 says 3,000 foot soldiers and 400 cavalry.
151. Text Reads: "Rositheus"
152. Literally: "him"
153. Josephus, Antiquities: XII, 9, 3-7 and II Maccabees XIII: 1 ff
154. II Maccabees XIII: 2 reports 110,000 infantry, 5,300 cavalry, and 22 elephants.
155. II Maccabees XIII: 2, and Josephus, Antiquities: XII, 9, 4 both read "Guardian"
156. Josephus, Antiquities: XII, 9, 4 and I Maccabees VI: 42-46
157. Literally: "Trampled in battle"
158. Josephus, Antiquities: XII, 10, 1; I Maccabees VII: 2 and II Maccabees XIII: 23 and XIV: 1. In no account does Demetrius' advance affect the previous battle as it does here.

159. The Hebrew verb is singular.
160. II Maccabees XIII: 3-8
161. II Maccabees XIII: 5 reads "75 feet"
162. Josephus, Antiquities: XII, 10, 1 ff. I Maccabees VII: 1, ff.
II Maccabees XIV: 1 ff, Text begins "three years later."
163. Text Reads: "Alimus"
164. II Maccabees ascribes such a friendly meeting between Judah and Nicanor. Both Josephus and I Maccabees say the general was Bacchides and that war ensued.
165. II Maccabees XIV: 22 ff
166. II Maccabees XIV: 37. Text Reads: "Raksios"
167. II Maccabees XV: 1
168. II Maccabees XV: 22-24
169. II Maccabees XV: 22. I Maccabees VII: 41 mentions this number under different circumstances.
170. II Maccabees XV: 27 says 35,000.
171. II Maccabees XV: 35-36
172. II Maccabees ends at this point.
173. This paragraph must be out of place. In I Maccabees, he does not die until the battle with Bacchides.
174. Text Reads: "Bakiros"
175. Josephus, Antiquities: XII, 11, 1 and I Maccabees IX: 3 say 20,000 men and 2,000 horses.
176. Josephus, Antiquities: XII, 11, 1 reads "1,000." I Maccabees IX: 6 reads "800."
177. Literally: "Trampled to the ground"
178. Josephus, Antiquities: XII, 11, 2 reads "Mount Aza." I Maccabees IX: 15 reads "Mount Azotus."
179. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 2, 3 reports a hiatus of four years.
180. I Maccabees IX: 43 ff

181. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 1, 5 & 6, and I Maccabees IX: 65 ff both report this although in those accounts, Jonathan retires to Michmash.
182. I Maccabees XV: 11 ff. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 7, 4.
183. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 7, 4 says "8 days."
184. I Maccabees ends with Simon's death.
185. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 7, 4 reads "Jerusalem."
186. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 8, 1
187. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 8
188. Hebrew Questionable
189. The following story is a direct parallel to Josephus, Antiquities: XIV, 8.
190. Josippon omits "To do anything."
191. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 8, 2 reads "100 towers, 3 stories high."
192. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 8, 2 reads "7 days."
193. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 8, 2
194. Text omits an "Aleph"
195. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 8, 3 says that 500 talents of gold plus hostages were pledged, 300 talents plus the hostages were to be a down payment.
196. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 8, 4
197. Text reads "Persia." However, Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 8, 4 reports that the name was "Parthia." Josippon consistently uses the former when he means the latter.
198. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 8, 4 also quotes Nicholas of Damascus at this point. However, the quote is worded differently and cites some different names and events.
199. Text Reads: "Odanano"
200. Josippon does not indicate where the quote from Nicholas of Damascus ends. But in Josephus (footnote 198) the quote ends at approximately this point.

201. Text Reads: "Trampled"
202. Text Reads: "Tsoba" but Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 9, 1 reports this account concerning Syria.
203. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 9, 1
204. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 9, 1
205. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 9, 1 agrees on both Shechem and Gerizzim.
206. In Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 9, 1, Manasseh was the son-in-law of Jaddua. Sonballat was a general under Alexander.
207. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 9, 1
208. This incident out of order from Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 9, 1
209. Text Reads: "Debira"
210. Text Reads: "Gaon"
211. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 9, 1 omits this last sentence.
212. This account paralleled in Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 9, 2.
213. Text Reads: "Lucius and Milius"
214. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 9, 2 reads "Of the Mantine Tribe"
215. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 9, 2 reads "of the Falernian Tribe"
216. Text omits an "Aleph"
217. Text Reads: "Rosethus"
218. Text Reads: "Thoderos"
219. In Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 9, 2, Fanius is a Praetor and not a messenger.
220. In Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 10 a similar account takes place concerning Antiochus Grypus and Antiochus Cyzicenus.
221. This reason is not given by Josephus.
222. According to Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 10, 2, this was Antiochus Cyzicenus.
223. Text Reads: "Stypoli"

224. This vision occurs in Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 10, 3 following the taking of Samaria. See footnote 229.
225. Text Omits: "help"
226. Text Reads: "Galmishi and Epocratis"
227. Literally: "Trampled down many of their corpses"
228. Text Reads: "Callimander." See footnote 226.
229. According to Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 10, 3, Hyrcanus' vision before the Holy of Holies should take place here. Therefore, Hyrcanus was not present at the taking of Samaria as reported in this text. See footnote 224.
230. Text Reads: "Hilkaiah and Hananiah." Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 10, 4 says they were the sons of Onias.
231. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 10, 4. The story is not resolved there.
232. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 10, 5 & 6, contains this following story.
233. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 10, 5 calls them "Pharisees."
234. Text Reads: "Porshim." Here it is clearly appellative.
235. Text Reads: "Perushim." Here it is clearly genitive.
236. Text Reads: "Tsadik"
237. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 10, 5 omits "she was profaned."
238. Hyrcanus could have been the product of forbidden union.
239. Text Reads: "Tsadukim." Here it is clearly genitive.
240. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 10, 6 records this as a third person narrative, and not as a speech.
241. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 10, 6 calls this group "Essens."
242. Josephus does not mention this event.
243. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 10, 7 says 5 sons.
244. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 10, 7
245. Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 10 shows Aristobulus not to be a great man.

246. This statement appears to contradict the above citation that Aristobulus was a great man.
247. This description is more like the account in Josephus, Antiquities: XIII, 10, than the previous account.

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HEBREW UNION COLLEGE - JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION
New York School

Report on the Dissertation Submitted by Norman Patz for the
Master of Arts in Hebrew Literature Degree and Ordination

THE JOSIPPON OF JOSEPH BEN GORION:
A TRANSLATION OF PART II WITH AN INTRODUCTION
AND SOURCE ANALYSIS

I write a single report on the theses of Messrs. Rubinstein, Patz and Zoll because though they worked separately and independently, theirs was an effort unified by zeal and devotion to scholarship, exemplary eagerness to complete a difficult task, and the praiseworthy intention of providing together the first full translation made in English of any version of the Yossippon. Regularly these men consulted with me individually or in a group to work out problems involved in the handling of the texts so that the finished copy might have a unified format and a relative uniformity of expression.

The work done by each of these men was massive, and the time they spent went far beyond the requirements of duty. Each man translated one third of the Yossippon. Each studied a number of the major sources which the pseudonymous author of the Yossippon used. Each prepared a lengthy section of notes and an introduction to accompany the translation.

The work of all three men is of an exceptionally high quality. To be sure there are a number of mistranslations in the work of each, as well as a misunderstanding of proper names, sentence structure and the like. There are also several infelicitous translations. The theses at present are not ready for publication: they require editing, a completion of source analysis and a much more detailed introduction. But they should be published.

The faults that I have indicated are relatively few and minor, and my mention of them should not be so construed as to detract from the value of the theses or from their real contribution to Jewish learning.

It is therefore with great pleasure that I recommend the acceptance of this thesis.

Respectfully submitted,



Martin A. Cohen

April 30, 1965

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The Yosippon of Joseph ben Gorion:

A Translation of Part II

With an Introduction and Source Analysis

Norman Patz

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements
for the Master of Arts in Hebrew Literature Degree
and Ordination

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion

New York, New York

1965

Advisor: Dr. Martin A. Cohen

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Acknowledgements

In the preparation of this thesis, a few people played important roles. I wish to acknowledge their efforts and to thank them.

Dr. Martin A. Cohen, professor of history at the New York School of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion was my advisor. Through my years of study under him, his teaching has constantly stimulated me to explore new avenues of thought. He suggested the topic for this thesis and accepted the responsibility of supervising its progress.

Lawrence Rubinstein and Leonard Zoll, my friends and colleagues, by undertaking the same topic for their theses (Parts I and III respectively), made my adoption of this project possible. The discussions of our mutual problems have been of great benefit to me.

Stephen Steinlight, my brother-in-law, assisted in the preparation of the final version of the manuscript.

Naomi, my wife, served as my untiring amenuensis and faithful support in every step of my work. My gratitude to her can never match her devotion.

Norman Patz

March, 1965
II Adar, 5725

Introduction

An accurate translation into English of the Yosippon has never, to this date, been made. Apart from translations of short passages, there exists only one English translation, done by Peter Morvyn, published in London in 1558. His work is not a complete translation, for it is based on an abstract of the Yosippon, made in 1161 by Abraham ibn Daud for use in his Sefer Seder ha-Kabbalah. To correct this situation, we have undertaken to translate what Solomon Grayzel describes as "the most popular history book" of the Jewish Middle Ages.

According to Marx and Margolis, "for nearly 1,000 years, almost all the information the Jews had concerning the events from Nehemiah to the destruction of the Second Temple was derived from that book" (Max Marx and Alexander Margolis, History of the Jewish People, Phila., 1927, p. 300). This thesis deals with the middle section of the text, columns 181-361 in the Günzburg edition of 1896-1913. The period of Jewish history covered extends from the illness of Aristobulus I in 105-104 B.C.E. through the reign of Herod to the banishment of Herod Antipas in 30 C.E.

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| 105-104 B.C.E. | Illness of King Aristobulus I; death of his brother, Antigonus; death of the king (columns 161-166). |
| 104-78 B.C.E. | Accession of Alexander Yannai, brother of Aristobulus I; his external and civil wars (cols. 166-197). |
| 78-69 B.C.E. | Rule of Salome Alexandra, widow of Alexander Yannai; assumption of control by the Pharisees; alliance of Aristobulus II, Alexandra's son, with the Sadducees; alliance of Hyrcanus II, her son, with the Pharisees; beginnings of civil war (cols. 197-204). |
| 69-63 B.C.E. | Aristobulus II, king; Hyrcanus II, high priest; civil war between the brothers; rise of Antipater, ally of Hyrcanus II (cols. 204-212). |

- 63 B.C.E. Negotiations by both brothers with Pompey; Hyrcanus II and Antipater favored by Pompey; Jerusalem entered by Pompey (cols. 212-222).
- 63 B.C.E. Hyrcanus II, king, but as a Roman vassal; arrival of Mark Antony in the East; revolt of Aristobulus II and his son, Antigonus; assassination of Aristobulus II (cols. 222-233).
- 48 B.C.E. Alliance of Hyrcanus II and Antipater with Caesar's party (cols. 233-237).
- 47 B.C.E. Antipater, procurator of Judea; appointment of his son Herod as governor of Galilee; Herod's campaign against Hezekiah; Herod's trial and flight (cols. 237-242).
- 44 B.C.E. Assassination of Caesar; poisoning of Antipater by Malichus; coming to power of Augustus and Antony; alliance of Hyrcanus II with them (cols. 242-251).
- 40 B.C.E. Rebellion of Antigonus; invasion of Syria and Judea by the Parthians; capture of Hyrcanus II and Phasaclus, Herod's older brother; flight of Herod to Rome; designation of Herod as king of Judea. (cols. 251-260).
- 40-37 B.C.E. Antigonus, son of Aristobulus II, king; Herod's campaigns against Antigonus; Jerusalem taken by Herod and Sosius (cols. 260-269).
- 37-4 B.C.E. Reign of Herod the Great; death of Hyrcanus II; Aristobulus, grandson of Hyrcanus II, high priest; assassination of Aristobulus; Antony to Actium; Herod in Arabia; the treachery of Cleopatra; an earthquake in Judea; battle of Actium; alliance of Herod with Augustus (cols. 269-293).
- 29 B.C.E. Execution of Mariamne; famine in Judea; construction of the Temple (cols. 293-311).
- 18-17 B.C.E. Return of Alexander and Aristobulus, sons of Mariamne and Herod, from Rome; accusation of Alexander by Herod before Augustus; involvement of Antipater, son of Doris and Herod, in the family struggles; intervention of Archelaus of Cappadocia; death of Alexander and Aristobulus (cols. 311-325).
- 7 B.C.E. Collaboration of Antipater, all powerful, with Pheroras, Herod's brother; exile of Pheroras; Antipater to Rome; death of Pheroras; discovery by Herod of Antipater's designs (cols. 325-333).
- 5 B.C.E. Recall of Antipater from Rome by Herod; the vain defense of Antipater before Herod and Varus; imprisonment of Antipater; illness of Herod; death of Antipater; death

of Herod (Cols. 333-349).

- 4 B.C.E.-6 C.E. Archelaus, son of Herod, ethnarch of Judea, Samaria, and Idumea; funeral of Herod; confirmation of Archelaus' position by Augustus; removal of Archelaus to Rome; death of Archelaus (cols. 349-357).
- 26 C.E. Appointment by Tiberius of Pontius Pilate as procurator; Herod Antipas (4 B.C.E.-39 C.E.), son of Herod, tetrarch of Galilee and Perea; execution of John the Baptist; exile of Herod Antipas to Spain; death of Herod Antipas (cols. 357-361).

The Yosippon, described by Salo Baron as "an abridged, semi-folkloristic paraphrase of Josephus," (Salo W. Baron, History and Jewish Historians, Phila., 1964, p. 205) is attributed to Joseph ben Gorion, a contemporary of Josephus. (See War II, 20, 3.) Its popularity through the years is attested to be the descriptions of the book in Grayzel and in Marx and Margolis, both popular one-volume Jewish history books. Scholarly opinion, while denying Joseph ben Gorion the authorship, suggests dates of composition ranging from the third to the tenth century C.E. It is not within the scope of this thesis to ascertain a date; however, the source analysis presented here will serve as the groundwork for a future attempt of that nature. The bulk of the material in this section of the Yosippon comes from Josephus. No attempt has been made to trace other sources. The source analysis below is based exclusively on the Günzburg edition, with no reference to any of the previous editions of the Yosippon.

Notes on the Translation

Analysis of the Yosippon's sources must be preceded by an analysis of the text itself. The text in the Günzburg edition is unvocalized and, for the most part, unpunctuated, although there are some periods and a few paragraph indentations.

The translation attempts to render the Yosippon in a style faithful to that of the original. This creates great difficulty for the translator because of the "semi-folkloristic", heroic approach to history which the text presents, and the limits of the author's Hebrew in the handling of complex sentences. The lack of synonyms together with the non-existence of certain words needed by the author forced the constant repetition of words and phrases, on the one hand, and the substitution of less accurate words, on the other. The effect of both is to blur the meaning. Moreover, because of the Yosippon's use of the vav consecutive, in imitation of the Biblical style, the sense of past time suffers greatly. Perfect and pluperfect tenses and dependent clauses produce remarkably awkward sentences.

The distortions in the text which can be ascertained by comparison to Josephus have been handled by this translator in either of two ways, depending upon the nature of the item. Names of people and places which are present in both Yosippon and Josephus appear in the translation in the form used by Josephus, with a transliteration of the Yosippon's form footnoted. Other items, like numbers, or a discrepancy in the report of an incident, are left as Yosippon presents them, and Josephus' version is footnoted. Apart from a few minor emendations of the text, there is only

one major passage that needed reconstruction, the list of Herod's wives and children in columns 327-328. Yosippon's hopelessly garbled version is presented in a footnote along with an analysis.

A translation forces the making of choices in ambiguous places in the text. These choices have been made, however cautiously. On the whole, changes have been kept to a minimum, although some divergences from a literal translation, such as indenting more paragraphs for easier reading, breaking up overly long sentences, punctuating speeches, and reworking sentences which would otherwise sound clumsy in English, have been made. This translator has attempted to cope with all these problems in order to achieve a translation which keeps the simple dramatic tone of the story, the conciseness of the chronicle, and the rhetoric of the speeches of the Yosippon.

Source Analysis

Solomon Zeitlin describes the Yosippon as a "free translation of a devoutly Jewish character of Josephus' Jewish Wars." (Introduction to The First Book of Maccabees, Phila., 1950, p. 58). The clear implication is that the Yosippon draws the bulk of its material from Jewish Wars, that it follows the sequential order of Jewish Wars, and that it imitates the style of Jewish Wars. In the section under discussion, this is not the case.

1. The Yosippon's material is drawn from both Antiquities and Jewish Wars.

- A. Antiquities (XIII, 11, 1--XVIII, 7, 2) and Jewish Wars (I, 3, 2--II, 9, 6) both provide Yosippon with material for this section. He relies so heavily on both sources that he uses information from approximately 85 percent of the chapters of each of them in his work. The figures given here represent the results of a computation based on those footnotes to the translated text which cite the source in Josephus on which the Yosippon draws. The purpose of the computation is merely to present a general picture, with no claim to scientific precision.

Antiquities: The Yosippon draws from 53 of a total of 64 chapters in the portion of Antiquities under discussion. These 53 chapters contain 307 paragraphs; the Yosippon uses parts of 222 of these paragraphs. Quantitatively, this means that the Yosippon uses 84 percent of Josephus' chapters and 72 percent of the paragraphs in those chapters.

Jewish Wars: The Yosippon draws from 35 of a total of 40 chapters in the portion of Wars under discussion. These 35 chapters contain 228 paragraphs. The Yosippon uses parts of 181 of these paragraphs. Quantitatively, this means that the Yosippon uses 87 percent of Josephus' chapters, and 79 percent of the paragraphs in those chapters.

- B. There is a pattern to the Yosippon's omissions which holds true for both Antiquities and Jewish Wars. Generally, the Yosippon omits those items which are extraneous to the author's plan or superfluous in it. Here are five categories of the Yosippon's omissions with two or three examples for each:

1. Chapters not dealing with the land of Israel:
 - a. Ant. XVI, 6, 1-2: An embassy of the Jews in Cyrene and Asia to Caesar, concerning the complaints they had to make against the Greeks; with copies of the epistles which Caesar and Agrippa wrote to the cities for them.
 - b. War I, 10, 10: Sextus Caesar is treacherously killed by Bassus, and is succeeded by Marcus. And the like.
2. Chapters dealing with minor revolts:
 - a. War II, 4, 1-3: Herod's veteran soldiers become tumultuous; the robberies of Judas; Simon and Athrongeus take the name of king upon them.
 - b. Ant. XVII, 12, 1-2; War II, 7, 1-2: Concerning a spurious Alexander (Ant.); the history of the spurious Alexander (War). And the like.
3. Chapters containing embarrassing information:
 - a. Ant. XV, 11, 4: The sacerdotal vestments kept under Roman control in the Tower of Antonia.
 - b. Ant. XVIII, 3, 3: Concerning Christ.
 - c. War II, 8, 1: Archelaus' Ethnarchy is reduced into a (Roman) province. And the like.
4. Chapters presenting information unnecessary for his audience, or not in accord with his point of view:
 - a. Ant. XVIII, 1, 3-6; War II, 8, 2-14: Concerning the sects that were among the Jews (Ant.); the three sects of the Jews (War). And the like.
5. Chapters which furnish additional instances of already given information:
 - a. Ant. XIV, 10, 5-25: The honors that were paid the Jews; and the leagues that were made by the Romans and other nations with them.
 - b. Ant. XVI, 5, 1-14: How Herod celebrated the games that were to return every fifth year; upon the building of Caesarea; and how he built and adorned many other places after a magnificent manner; and how he did many other actions gloriously.
 - c. War I, 21, 3-13: Of the ... cities that were built by Herod and erected from the very foundations; as also of those other

edifices that were erected by him; and what magnificence he showed to foreigners. And the like.

C. It is incorrect to assert that the Yosippon epitomizes Jewish Wars and does not use Antiquities as a source. Often, the Yosippon reproduces incidents which appear in Antiquities alone. Below are a few citations:

1. Ant. XIV, 1, 1: Josephus' avowal of sincerity appears in sequence in Yosippon 204.
2. Ant. XIV, 3, 1: Josephus' inclusion of Strabo's description of the gifts Aristobulus sent to Rome appears in sequence in Yosippon 213.
3. Ant. XIV, 7, 1-2: Josephus' description of Crassus, Eleazar and the golden beam in the Temple, and Strabo's description of the money collected by Jews outside Israel for the Temple, appears in sequence in Yosippon 229-230.
4. Ant. XIV, 10, 2-7: Josephus' enumeration of the numerous leagues made with the Jews by the Romans and other nations, appears in sequence in Yosippon 243-244.
5. Ant. XIV, 12, 3: Josephus' report of an eclipse of the sun appears in sequence in a garbled version in Yosippon 250.
6. Ant. XIV, 16, 4: Josephus' citation of the date "the hundred eighty fifth olympiad" appears in sequence, although in a corrupted form, in Yosippon 268.
7. Ant. XV, 2, 6: Josephus' description of Dellius' attempt to procure Mariamme and Aristobulus her brother for Antony appears in sequence in Yosippon 275-276.
8. Ant. XV, 4, 1-2: Josephus' report of Herod's attempt to kill Queen Cleopatra when she is in Judea appears in sequence in Yosippon 281-282.
9. Ant. XV, 10, 4: Josephus' description of how Herod would disguise himself as a private citizen in order to ascertain the people's true feelings about him, appears in sequence in Yosippon 301.
10. Ant. XV, 10, 5: Josephus' report of Menahem the Essene's vision concerning Herod's future appears in sequence in Yosippon 302-303.
11. Ant. XVIII, 3, 1: Josephus' account of Pontius Pilate's attempt to introduce effigies of Caesar into Jerusalem appears in sequence in Yosippon 357.

II. The Yosippon's order follows the order of both Antiquities and Jewish Wars.

Despite the different focus of each work, where Antiquities and Jewish Wars cover the same period of time, the order of presentation of both is approximately the same. Therefore, when the Yosippon's presentation differs in order from that of Antiquities, it also differs from that of Jewish Wars.

For example, when the Yosippon reports the murder of Hyrcanus, son of Mariamne (columns 269-273), the author unites the separated elements of the story in Antiquities, where it appears in XIV, 13, 10, but is completed in XV, 6, 1-4. The insertion of this story breaks up the parallel sequence to Antiquities which the Yosippon had been following up to the point of its introduction (up to XV, 2, 3) and which is resumed after its completion, (XV, 2, 4-5).

Similarly in Jewish Wars, the Yosippon unites the account which appears first in I, 13, 9, and then continues in I, 22, 1-2. The insertion of this story also breaks up the parallel sequence to Jewish Wars which the Yosippon had been following up to the point of its introduction (up to I, 18, 3) and which is resumed after its completion (I, 18, 4-5).

Hence, one cannot conclude that the Yosippon prefers the order in one or the other of Josephus' works.

III. The Yosippon's style is drawn from both Antiquities and Jewish Wars.

Two distinct strands of style can be detected in the Yosippon. The first is the style of the chronicle, a dry report of events which have transpired, with the details exaggerated or distorted in certain ways. The second is the rhetorical style, a heroic approach often melodramatic

in tone, always popular in appeal. Both styles are characteristic of Josephus' work in general; examples of each can be found in Antiquities and in Jewish Wars.

Evinced a preference for the dramatic, the Yosippon chooses the more exciting account when an incident he is reporting appears in both Antiquities and Jewish Wars. The mechanical feature which distinguishes this difference in the instances cited is the use of direct discourse in one account and indirect discourse in the other. For example:

1. The account of Herod's torture of Pheroras' female slaves in Yosippon 329-330 comes from War I, 30, 1-4 rather than from Ant. XVII, 4, 1.
2. The report of Antipater's speech before Varus and Herod in Yosippon 339-345 comes from War I, 32, 3 rather than from Ant. XVII, 5, 4.

When the Yosippon is compared to its sources in Josephus' works, a number of specific characteristics in content and method can be determined. For example:

A. Content

1. The Yosippon identifies with the Jewish people:
 - a. In the description of Herod's Temple, he says (cols. 309-310): "Only in holiness and purity did we enter it in those days....we would enter the hall.... We did not approach the Temple."
 - b. The eulogy for Herod which the author presents as the open remarks of the people (cols. 352-353) is so passionately vindictive that, despite its idealized form, it seems as if the author was alive at the time and had suffered.
2. The Yosippon praises the Jewish people:
 - a. Upon introducing the story of Menahem the Essene (col. 302), the author remarks: "There were no so wise in the world as the Lord's people...."
 - b. Pompey, upon seeing Aristobulus' witnesses (col. 216),

exclaims: "These people are all kings. Happy the king who rules this people, and happy are we to be able to rule over these people. Now, because we have subdued this people, our reputation will spread throughout the entire land and the fear and awe of us will dominate all the nations."

3. The Yosippon is pious:

- a. To the mention of Moses (col. 343) is appended the phrase: "may he rest in peace."
- b. In the description of the Temple's dedication (col. 311), he adds: "may it be rebuilt speedily in our day."

4. The Yosippon greatly exaggerates Jewish victories, while minimizing Jewish defeats:

- a. In the account of Herod's war with the Arabians (col. 284), our author reports that Herod "smote the Arabian forces very severely, felling many of them as corpses...." In Ant. XV, 5, 1, Herod's army is beaten so badly that his role is temporarily reduced to that of a "private robber." War I, 19, 2 concurs.
- b. In the report of Herod's and Sosius' war against Antigonus (col. 265), Herod takes 12,000 Romans and 20,000 Jews to Libanus (Lebanon). In Ant. XIV, 15, 11 and War I, 17, 3, Herod takes one Roman legion and 800 Jews with him.

5. The Yosippon simplifies the story-line:

- a. The only item the Yosippon describes in his report of the decorations in the theatres Herod builds for Jerusalem (col. 298) is "the images of the nations he had conquered." The Yosippon wisely mentions this alone of a number listed by Josephus because, as Josephus says, "above all the rest, the trophies gave the most distaste to the Jews" (Ant. XV, 8, 1).
- b. Antipater is reported to have said (col. 316): "how long will you rely upon that old man whose hair has fallen out from old age?" In Ant. XVI, 8, 1, Herod is described as dyeing his hair black.
- c. Often the Yosippon simplifies out of ignorance. A good example is the list of Herod's wives (col. 327). Another is his lack of understanding of the structure of the Roman government (col. 264) and the origin of the name "July" (col. 231).

6. The Yosippon slavishly follows Josephus' text at times:

- a. The Latin genitive form of Jove (Jovis) appears in the phrase "temple of Jove" (col. 213).
- b. The name "Lake Asphaltites" instead of the normal Hebrew name (Yam Ha-Melah) serves as the basis for "Agam Ha-Homer" (col. 272).
- c. In Josephus' description of the vine (Ant. XIV, 3, 1), he quotes Strabo: "...we ourselves saw that present." The Yosippon says (col. 213): "This is the vine and the garden which you saw...."
- d. Shammai is described as Hillel's disciple by the Yosippon (col. 268) in imitation of Ant. XV, 1, 1.

B. Method

1. The most common fault in the Yosippon is the distortion of names, both of cities and of persons. In some cases the names are so distorted that only by position in the corresponding passages in Josephus can they be corrected. Most are due to copyists' errors. Josephus' Eurycles becomes the Yosippon's Aeribilus (col. 322). The kaf becomes a bet, among other errors. Other names are much simpler, e.g. Pheroda for Pheroras (substitution of a dalet for a resh); or Felus for Felix. The Yosippon also separates double names to create two individuals: Sylla's son, Cornelius Faustus, for example, becomes Cornelius and Faustus, sons of Sylla (col. 221). For a prolonged list of distorted names, see the Yosippon's list of cities which Alexander did not destroy in battle (cols. 195-196). Few of the errors in name should be ascribed to the original author. The misspelling of one name (Herodium) two different ways in one column (as Ikorion and as Irodion in column 351), merely highlights the corruptions of the text through the years.

2. At times the Yosippon uses grammar which cannot be classified as a pure Biblical style:

- a. The use of the verb 'azav to mean permit can be seen in cols. 241, line 7; 249, line 23; 288, line 19; 321, lines 8-9; 344, line 4; 344, lines 6-7.
- b. The use of et (indicating the objective case) for the subject of a sentence can be seen in cols. 220, line 28 to col. 221, lines 1-2; 274, lines 7-9; 296, lines 8-9.
- c. For awkward handling of a complex thought, see cols. 259, lines 5-6; 289, lines 18-19; 296, lines 4-5; 312, lines 2-3; 331, lines 21-22.
- d. For medieval usages, see cols. 269, line 16; 321, line 18; 331, lines 13-14; 339, line 17.

The source analysis as well as the translation have been prepared in order to shed light on what has been an unknown factor in Jewish history. The translation of the Yosippon makes this long-concealed masterpiece accessible to the English-speaking world, Jewish as well as non-Jewish, to scholars and laymen alike. The source analysis lays the groundwork for an intensive study aimed at determining the time and the circumstances of the book's composition. A further study, of how history was written when the Yosippon was composed, will then be possible.

Horace wrote: "Many heroes lived before Agamemnon, but they are all unmourned and consigned to a long night of oblivion, because they lacked a sacred bard." For the Jews of the Middle Ages, the author of the Yosippon was the only bard who sang of the heroes of the Second Commonwealth. When all his secrets are revealed, he will shed light on his own era as well as for later generations.

Now King Aristobulus fell ill; the malady lay heavily upon him. When Antigonus, who was traveling, heard that his brother the king was sick, he became very frightened and (he) went to Jerusalem.

When the young man came to the city, he did not go to the palace. Instead, (he) went to the Temple of the Lord to pray for his brother's recovery; for he could not bear his brother's suffering. That day was the holiday of Sukkot which Judah, by law, must observe with dignity, and do honor to God with the four species of trees. (1) Present were a large crowd of the Israelites. Antigonus, armed, wearing a silver coat of mail, rode together with his troops through the crowds in the Temple courtyard. Everyone was stunned by his magnificent appearance.

A man who was there, Judah by name, one of the prominent Hasidim, (2) upon seeing Antigonus go through the Temple courtyard, said to his students: "Would that I die today before I see the death of this youth Antigonus. Perhaps I will die before seeing him dead. For I certainly (predict) that Antigonus will die in a place called Strato's Tower." (3) His students remarked to him: "Master - you speak falsehood now, for Strato's Tower which you mentioned is five (Column 182) hundred ris' (4) distance from Jerusalem, and half the day is gone already. How can this thing you have predicted come to pass?" He answered: "Would that I were lying in this matter." And while he was speaking he fell to the ground, silent, as if asleep, tired and wearied of the great cares in his heart. (5)

Afterwards certain evildoers went and told the king: "Your brother Antigonus has come to kill you. He is standing armed and armored in the Temple courtyard. He is prepared to fall upon you suddenly with his

troops, and to imprison you and all your household." The king, trembling violently, stationed guards at the gates and the roads and at all the boundary lines which lead to the palace.

He commanded the guards: "Every man wishing to come to me who is armed, neither question nor answer him at all. Instead draw your swords and kill him immediately. As for the others who are unarmed, do not kill them. But prevent everyone except Antigonus my brother alone from coming to me, since I am ill. I will question and examine him as to whether the rumor I have heard is true or false." At that point the king gave his orders to the guards, all of whom were brave and (Column 183) battle-tested. Afterwards, the king summoned his brother Antigonus, saying: "Remove your coat of mail and put off your arms, and hurry to me; do not wait."

But the queen, Aristobulus' wife, and her wicked advisors cruelly reversed the king's message by summoning the king's messenger and telling him: "When you go to Antigonus, say this to him: 'Hear (the words of) your brother: wear your arms and armor, for the king desires to see the ornaments of war which are on you. So he has commanded that you come to him armed and armored for battle.'" (6)

The messenger went and told Antigonus all that the queen, wife of Aristobulus, had commanded him to say. Believing him, the youth went confidently, for he was sure of the love of his brother the king. He hastened along the boundary roads to reach his brother the king; armed and armored. There was a tower called Strato's 600 ris' distant from Jerusalem, and one in Jerusalem by the same name, close to the palace. Antigonus passed this (latter) place. The guards leaped upon him, struck him down, and spilled the blood of the innocent youth (Column 184) who

had not sinned or transgressed. On that spot they killed an innocent and righteous (person), as predicted by Judah, one of the prominent Hasidim. Afterwards, when Aristobulus was told that his brother had been killed, feeling compassion for his brother, he cried out very loudly and bitterly, beating his breast with his two fists. He threw himself to the ground, breaking the lungs within him. (7) The fountains in his breast opened, and the king vomited blood at his lips. As he vomited blood from day to day into a golden basin, (8) he would give the basin to a lad to take the blood to the king's doctor. (9) While the boy was carrying the vessel, he passed the spot where the king's brother had been killed. The blood which had been shed was still on the marble pavement. The entire pavement was colored with Antigonus' blood, which tripped up the legs of the lad, who overturned the basin and spilled the blood of the king on the blood of his slain brother. The troops of the king cried out and took issue with the lad, saying: "Criminal! Empty lad! have you no understanding? What have you done, spilling the king's blood on top of the blood of his slain brother?" The boy answered: "I did not do this on purpose; I (was) tripped on the marble and the basin in my hands overturned, spilling the blood as you have seen." (10)

When Aristobulus heard (Column 185) the people shouting, he inquired: "What is the shouting and reproof and quarrel I hear?"

The troops and officers in his presence remained silent. But their silence only agitated the king further. The king asked again forcefully: "Tell me what the shouting of the people is about. If you do not, you will be put to death."

Answering, they told the king all that was done when his blood was

spilled on the blood of his brother. The king gasped and cried: "Blessed be the righteous and true Judge, and blessed be the Avenger of innocent blood, who spilled the blood of the villain on top of the blood of the righteous one who was purposelessly slain." The king addressing his (own) body, said: "How long will evil imprison the soul within you and not permit it to leave and go to the souls of her people? If you must draw my blood, do not draw out my blood and spill it except to sacrifice it and give it to be licked by ghosts who are with the devil--for they have thrust me and pushed me in this affair to do things like this--(the) killing (of) my brother." (11)

And when he had said these things, his soul was at rest and he was gathered to his people. The period of his rule was one full year. All of Judah mourned him greatly, because he was generous and had conquered the great nation (Column 186) called Iturea, circumcising them and subjecting them to Judea's power. The Greeks called him Aristobulus Philhellenus, which means "lover of the Greeks." (12) The rest of his words and deeds are recorded in the book of "Roman Kings," and in the book of Strabo the Cappadocian, and in that of Timagenes the Jerusalemite. (13)

His successor to the throne was his brother Alexander, the very one whom his father, Hyrcanus, had hated since the Lord had told him in a nocturnal dream that he would rule. When they released him from the prison in which his brother had put him, he ascended the throne. (14) He led an army against Ptolemais, (15) for at that time the people of Ptolemais were rebellious. So King Alexander went to war against Ptolemais, setting siege to it. The people of the city sent (this message) to (Ptolemy) Lathyrus, son of Cleopatra: "If you come and save us from

Alexander, King of Judea, who is warring against us, we will be your vassals." But Lathyrus refused to come, because he was afraid to fight with the Judeans, recalling the defeat Hyrcanus, King of Judea, had inflicted upon him when he went to the aid of the Cutheans in Samaria. Hence he was afraid to come to their aid. The people of Ptolemais said to him: "Do not be afraid to come to save your vassals, for if you come over (Column 187) and go with us, then other kings will aid us, (such as) Zoilus, (16) King of Sidon, and other kings (as well)."

When he heard these things, Lathyrus promised to come by ship and go with them. His forces consisted of 30,000 (men). Alexander withdrew from Ptolemais in the face of Lathyrus, so that Lathyrus and all his forces entered Ptolemais. (17)

Then a wise man there, Demenetus, (18) came and spoke to the elders of Ptolemais: "Is it not better for you to be subject to Alexander, who is a Judean, than to give yourselves to a foreigner?" As a result of his speaking to them, they rebelled and did not receive Lathyrus. (19)

Dismayed (at this), he sent (this message) to Zoilus, King of Sidon: "Come, let us confederate and make war on Alexander, King of Judea." But he (Zoilus) was not willing, so Lathyrus dispatched other messengers to Alexander, King of Judea: "Let there be an alliance between you and me; do not lend aid to Zoilus, King of Sidon, my enemy. Let there be peace between you and me." He included a gift of 4,000 talents of gold. (20) Accepting Lathyrus' alliance, Alexander made war on Zoilus, King of Sidon, treading upon so many corpses of his camp that Zoilus fled from before him. (Thus) Alexander took his whole land from his power, and (then) returned to Jerusalem in triumph and honor. (21)

(Column 188) After these things, Alexander sent (this message) secretly to Cleopatra, mother of Lathyrus: "Your son, Lathyrus, has rebelled against you. He is near me now. If it suits you, hurry, come with your army; I will come out with all my forces and capture him, as you desire."

When Lathyrus heard of this he was enraged, and, raiding in Galilee on the Sabbath day, he captured Asochis, (22) a city in Galilee, taking its 2,200 (23) residents captive.

From there he went to Sepphoris. There, many of Lathyrus' men were trampled. Turning from there, they went to face Alexander in battle, who when he had heard these things, had assembled 50,000 Judean warriors, (24) selecting from them 6,000 (25) warriors with shields of brass, called hecatontomachi (who can each slay a hundred with one blow).

Thus King Alexander went out proudly and confidently on that day, and he defeated Lathyrus at the Jordan. Now Alexander said to his warriors: "Let us fall upon them suddenly, while the river is at their backs, so that if they flee from us the river will close off their escape route. None will be spared. Are we not all warriors and men of war? We will die together as one." So Alexander relied (Column 189) on his bravery and did not rely on the Lord our God.

While Lathyrus was very afraid of Alexander, there was a military expert, skilled in fighting, Philostephanus (26) by name, who, when Alexander and his camp attacked Lathyrus' camp, divided his forces. The battle was joined. Many of Lathyrus' camp were trampled. They fought from morning until afternoon, with the Judeans victorious (and) many of Lathyrus' camp were trampled. They smote the half of Lathyrus' camp which

stood before them. Only Philostephanus remained with the half of the camp which he had divided. They did not join the battle until afternoon.

(But) in the afternoon, Philostephanus and his camp (did) join battle with the Judeans. Coming upon Alexander's men and finding them tired, he inflicted a severe defeat upon them, treading that day on 30,000 men, all warriors. Those remaining fled hurriedly. Alexander (too) fled from battle and escaped to Jerusalem. Now the ruin of the Judeans on that day was owing to their lack of trust in the God of their fathers. (27) That night, Lathyrus came to one of the villages, and, finding women and children there, he commanded that they be killed. He took some women and some children, and ordered them cooked in cauldrons in order to terrify the Judean people, who would say (Column 190) that they ate human flesh. (28)

At that time Queen Cleopatra went to war with Lathyrus, her son. Alexander went out to greet her and the two confederated to war on Lathyrus. When Lathyrus heard, he fled from them and, going by ship, escaped to Cyprus, leaving many of his camp on the shore. (29) Hilkiash and Hananiah the Judeans, (30) officers of Cleopatra, killed (them). Then the queen returned to Egypt.

The king then went raiding in the table land in Aramea, laying siege to Gadara (31) in Aramea. After ten months' siege he took the city and its daughters. Traveling from there he went to Amathus (32) and encamped against it. That night, Theodorus (33) and his forces left Amathus and fell upon the camp of the Judeans, casting 10,000 of the Judeans to the ground dead. The Judeans arose at morning's light to battle Theodorus, forcing him to flee and inflicting a very serious defeat upon his camp. When he had fled from them, the king captured Amathus and its daughters.

Then the king went and encamped against Raphia, (34) capturing it and its daughters. Traveling from there, they (the Judeans) camped in Antiochia, (35) then went to Jerusalem.

After a year elapsed, he went out and, arriving at Gaza, (36) encamped against the city, laying siege to it, for the king remembered the wickedness of the people of Gaza. The people of (Column 191) Gaza had been with Lathyrus against the Judeans. (So) they oppressed the people of Gaza, entirely filling in the moats of Gaza, and erecting a siege-wall around it, placing the city in siege. Now the people of Gaza sent (this message) to Aretas, (37) King of Arabia: "If you will come and save us from Alexander and the Judeans who are fighting us, we will be your vassals." Aretas, King of Arabia, came (to the aid of Gaza) with his entire people. When Alexander heard that Aretas was coming to war against him, he left an officer to guard Gaza, while he and all his warriors went out to meet Aretas, King of Arabia. The battle was joined. Alexander triumphed in battle; Aretas fled from him, returning to his (own) land, to Petra in the desert. Many corpses from his host were cast earthward at that time. (38) Returning to Gaza, the king besieged it for a year.

Now Lysimachus (39) arose and slew his brother Apollodotus, (40) general of Gaza. When the people of the city arose to kill Lysimachus, he ran to the gate and, opening the gate of Gaza, called to Alexander and the Judeans. They shouted, came to the gate and captured the city. When Alexander came into the city, he ordered all the inhabitants of the city (to be) killed without mercy. He put all its males to the sword, (Column 192) except Lysimachus and his household. Only they lived. Five hundred officers of the city fled to the temple of Apollo. (41) When this

was told to Alexander, he sent and had them taken from the temple, ordering them to be killed within the city. He burnt the temple and all its priests. And, by command of the king, they hurled the idol (of) Apollo, an image of gold, into the fire. (42) Only after a few days did they collect the gold from the fire. Then the king returned to Jerusalem and his throne, ruling securely.

When it was the Feast of Tabernacles, the king ascended the altar according to the law of the priests. Then the Pharisees (43) (they are the sages) began to wave the citrons and the date-palm stalks joyfully and goodheartedly, for it is a rule for the Jews to wave the fruit of goodly trees and date-palms. But then one of the Pharisees decided to throw a citron at the king. His troops became wrathful, saying to the Pharisees: "Why do you thus dishonor the king by throwing the citron and the stalk of the date-palm at him?" They said: "This is no dishonor; for it is a law for us to do so." And thus they reproached the king, saying: "Son of a harlot, you are not fitted for the priesthood." The king became very wroth, and, turning from the altar, he said: "To sword, to sword!" The king's troops drew their swords (Column 193) and struck dead 6,000 of the Pharisees in the area of the Temple court. Then the king commanded that a wall of acacia wood be built between the altar and the rest of the Temple, and from that day on he forbade the people to come into the Temple. The people had to stand in the court of the Temple, and only the priests could come into the Temple by right. (44)

After these things, Alexander assembled all his forces and his people, and, heading to Petra in the wilderness which belongs to Arabia, he smote the Arabian people and captured the Arabians' fortified cities. Coming

to Medeba, he captured it. He smote Moab and put them into a forced labor levy. Then Amathus rebelled, so the king went and razed it. He also slew Theodorus who was in Amathus. (45) Then the king returned to Jerusalem.

Now war was joined between Alexander and the Pharisees, lasting six years. (46) During those years Alexander killed 50,000 Judeans who were with the Pharisees, in this war. Alexander summoned all the people and said to them: "Purify your hearts, and cast hatred away. Do not hate me. All the instructions you give me I will do." The Judeans, answering, said to the king: "If you would die, then (Column 194) we would purify our hearts, for you are a man of death, and a sentence of death is upon you." (47)

So they rebelled against King Alexander; they went to Demetrius, who came and camped in Shechem. Demetrius had a force of 43,000 (48) cavalry, Macedonian warriors. When Alexander saw that the Judeans had rebelled against him, he hired 6,000 Macedonian warriors (49) and took 20,000 Judean warriors who were with him. Demetrius went and tried to entice the Jews who were with Alexander, while Alexander tried to entice the Jews who were with Demetrius. A great battle was joined; the forces of Alexander fell; only Alexander remained, for on that day all of his warriors fell, and many of Demetrius' warriors as well, because they stood to the death and did not retreat; thus they all died.

Alexander fled to the hills alone and desolate, but 6,000 Judean warriors gathered to him, along with many of the Judeans who were with Demetrius, who also came to his assistance. (50) He sought to battle Demetrius again. Demetrius fled, for a great multitude of Judeans had come to his (Alexander's) aid. But the war between him and the Pharisees

continued. They fled to Bethshemesh; (51) he pursued them and, capturing the city, he took 800 prominent Pharisees and brought them to Jerusalem. (Column 195) While he was at a banquet on a high place with his wives and concubines, he had them hanged, the 800 Pharisaic elders, on trees. Hence the Jews called Alexander Thracidus. (52)

He ruled the Judeans harshly. Afterwards, gathering his nation, he besieged Dios, (53) taking it. From there he traveled to Essa, (54) taking it by a show of force. From there he went and besieged Golan (55) and Seleucia, (56) and took them. He captured Gamala (57) and the Valley of Antiochus, namely the great city, killing Demetrius at that place.

When he returned to Jerusalem after three years of war, the Judeans welcomed him with great honor, skipping in the Greek manner to honor his bravery.

The Judeans ruled the entire land of Aramea; they ruled in the palace of the land of Idumea, and the whole land of Idumea, and the whole land of Moab and Ammon, and the entire land of Arabia up to Petra in the wilderness. These are the names of the cities which Alexander did not destroy when he captured them in war: those on the coast are, Strato's Tower, Apollonia (58), Ashdod, Gaza, Amthodon, (59) Raphia, (60) Rhinocolura; (61) Hebron and Marissa of Idumea; Scythopolis (62) of Idumea; Gedara (63) and Seleucia (64) and Gabala (65) of Moab; Heshbon (Column 196) Medeba, Oronas, (66) Megon, Zara, (67) and Cilices, (68) Azlan and Pella. (69) These are the cities which Alexander did not destroy. They entered into a treaty with him, circumcising their foreskins and remaining in their cities. The other cities of Aramea the king destroyed.

At this time, the king fell ill with a quartan ague, (70) but even

though the ague lasted for three years, he did not absent himself from the wars, attacking the height which is Ligeris, besieging it for days. He would go to camp with his wife and his concubine. When the day of his death (71) arrived, the queen Alexandra, wife of Alexander, approached and said to him: "You are aware of the enmity you had with the Pharisees. Your sons are small. To whose help will you leave me?" Queen Alexandra cried. The king said: "Come, I will give you advice. If you do not depart from it, it will go well for you and for your sons after me. When I die, conceal my body from all these people until you capture this city. Anoint my body with spices so that it will not decay and then, when you take the city, bring me to the holy place, Jerusalem, like a man who was sick. Do not reveal the secret except to those officers (Column 197) who are faithful to you. Then, when you come to Jerusalem, summon the Pharisees, my enemies, reveal the secret to them, put my body into their hands, and say to them: 'Alexander your enemy is dead; here is his body. Do with it what you consider proper.' If you speak thusly to them, they will honor you most highly, and they will bury me with honor. I know their nature; they will not preserve their enmity, for they are merciful. They will help you with the government, for the people listen to their words. They have (enough) authority over the people of God to carry out their will. If you do all that they command you, follow their advice, turning neither to the right nor to the left, you will rule the city until the lads grow up." (72) The queen did so. When she had captured the city, she went to Jerusalem and, summoning the Pharisees, told them everything that Alexander had commanded. The Pharisees summoned the people and they buried the king with great honor, and, winning over the

people, they made Alexandra, wife of Alexander, queen, ruler of the entire Judean nation. (73)

Now King Alexander had ruled for 27 years (74) when he died and was gathered to his people. And are not the rest of his acts and deeds written in the Kings of Rome? The king lay with his ancestors and Alexandra, his wife, ruled in his place. When she ascended the throne (Column 198) she summoned the leaders of the Pharisees and gave them power over all the nation. She recalled the Pharisees from all the places whence they had fled from Hyrcanus her father-in-law, and Alexander her husband.

When the queen realized that her two sons were beginning to mature she gave the priesthood to Hyrcanus, for he (was) modest and quiet in spirit, and she appointed Aristobulus, her younger son, general of the army, (75) for he was a handsome lad, fair to look upon, and fleet of foot. Therefore she appointed him head of the Sadducees, to be general of the army. Furthermore she released from prison all the prisoners adhering to the Pharisees and she permitted all the customs which Hyrcanus her father-in-law, and Alexander her husband had prohibited. (76) And, sending to all the kings whom Hyrcanus her father-in-law and Alexander her husband had captured, the queen took their fine great houses into her hands as security. (77)

So the queen ruled in gentleness and peace. There was no disturber or evil attacker in her days.

All the kings around her sent annual gifts of silver and gold to the queen all her days. There was peace and truth in the days of Alexandra, because of her great wisdom and the excellent order she gave with her good advice. Only the leaders of the Pharisees incited disturbances

(Column 199) and strife (78) with the officials of the Sadducees. The officials of the Pharisees, Hyrcanus her son with them, came and spoke to the queen: "May the queen live and be victorious forever! Put into our hands the officials of the Sadducees, the advisors of Alexander the king, who are our enemies, who advised him to hang the 800 Pharisees whom your husband Alexander hanged." (79) The queen said to them: "Do what you consider proper." So the leaders of the Pharisees went and killed Diogenes, (80) the officer of the Sadducees, and many others with him. Then the officers of the Sadducees, with Aristobulus, her younger son along, came and spoke to the queen: "Do not forget, holy queen, all the difficulties which beset us in the days of Alexander your husband; all the troubles we saw with him in the great and awful wars which we fought for him. We took our lives in our hands for his life; we fought his war and we saved him from the hand of all who sought his life. Now why should we die as sheep led to the slaughter, without sin or transgression on our hands by your raising the enemies of your husband Alexander and bringing low his adherents. Now, by degrading us, your enemies will rejoice; Aretas, (81) king of Arabia, will be pleased; those who used to see our bravery and our fighting-when one mentions (Column 200) our name in the presence of Aretas (82) and your enemies, they would shake, become pale, and tremble in their dwelling places, without even seeing our faces.

Far be it from us to disobey your command and to rebel against you; for you are our queen. Now know, O queen: we will no longer suffer the sins of the leaders of the Pharisees; nor will we die like sheep led to the slaughter by them. If it pleases you we will depart Jerusalem to other cities of Judea and live in lowliness. Let us not witness the evil

of our people anymore." And, raising their voices, they cried. She too wept with them. (83) Then Aristobulus cursed his mother with words of evil and curses. He gave vent to all his spirit and thoughts. The queen, as it is with women, did not know what to do. She said to them: "Leave Jerusalem and choose yourselves cities from among the cities of Judea; dwell there and do not settle in Jerusalem with the leaders of the Pharisees, for they are your enemies." Thus they did. The officers of the Sadducees, the military officers with them, left Jerusalem and took cities for themselves. There the Sadducees dwelled. (84)

At that time, Damascus rebelled by not paying its annual tribute to the queen as usual. The queen sent Aristobulus her son with the forces of the people who were with the leaders of the Pharisees; they did not have the army of the Sadducees with them. They left (Column 201) Jerusalem, sent to Damascus, and returned in shame and disgrace. (85)

And at that time, Tigranes, (86) king of Armenia, with 300,000 (87) armed men and a vast and mighty people came in the direction of the land of Judea. The queen and the people were very frightened of Tigranes. She sent ambassadors and a gift to greet him. They found him fighting at Acre, that is Ptolemais. (88) Tigranes sent ambassadors in return for the gift, inquiring after the health of the queen, praising and blessing her, to make a treaty with the ambassadors of the queen.

At this time it was told to Tigranes that Lucullus, (89) officer of Rome, his enemy, unsuccessful in his pursuit of Mithradates, who had fled to the mountains of Persia, was at large in his (Tigranes') land. So he hurried back to save his land; to save it from the hands of Lucullus. Tigranes said: "It is better to protect our land than to covet a foreign

land." (90)

In those days, Queen Alexandra fell ill with the illness which caused her death. When Aristobulus saw that his mother's death was approaching, he left his wife and children in Jerusalem with her family to assist him from within the city, while he took with him one servant, and left Jerusalem at night. He went to the Judean cities to dwell where the Sadducees, his father's allies, dwelled. At the beginning of his flight he came to Agaba (91) (Column 202) the place where Galestes, (92) his ally, a Sadducean warrior, was. He went with him from Agaba to gather the Sadducean forces.

Afterwards, the queen was told that her son Aristobulus had fled, and that he was gathering the Sadducean forces. They told her: "In fifteen days he has taken twenty-two cities." (93) Then the queen and all the Judean people began to be in great fear and dread that the inhabitants of the rest of the cities were falling in with him to help him. The queen ordered that Aristobulus' wife and children be taken, along with all his wife's family, and put into the prison opposite the palace, from which there was no escape. (94)

Afterwards, the power of the Sadducean warriors became stronger than the warriors of Judea. They (the former) joined Aristobulus, and, meeting in a field, sounded the trumpet and gave the signal for war. A great number had gathered around him, from Mt. Lebanon and from the mountains of Galilee, and from all the land of the kingdom of Israel. Then trembling gripped Hyrcanus and the elders of the Pharisees; the queen too greatly feared Aristobulus her son. The queen fell into a state of anxiety about her son which reached her heart. The walls of her heart were reduced and

at this old age, the illness ultimately killed her.

Some of the warriors of Judea along with (Column 203) the officers of the Pharisees, Hyrcanus, her older son, with them, came before the queen. They said: "We would consider it a great wrong to do anything without your advice while you are still alive, O holy queen. Aristobulus your son has instilled great fear in us, for now he is about to move powerfully against us, to wipe out our name and to kill his older brother. Now, O holy queen, give us your advice and your aid." Answering, the queen said: "Leave me; leave me alone. My spirit is very tired. I am not within the realm of life. I am about to return my soul to the king who gave it. You do what you consider proper. Here are silver and gold and vast treasures for you, the army of warriors which is stationed in my palace. Act according to your desires. I am unable to advise you on these matters for I am going the way of all flesh." And, as she spoke these words, her life ended, she died and was gathered to her people. (95) She ruled for nine years, and had lived seventy-three years in all. Her inclination (to act) as a woman was weak. (96) She did not sin or transgress against her God, for she possessed wisdom, knowledge and prudence. In her vast wisdom she knew the future, time after time. But not by her wisdom did she raise her enemies and humiliate her allies and friends; therefore (Column 204) difficulties, troubles, and wars proliferated in her family. During her days the land was quiet, because she did not seek other lands; only those lands of the nations whom Alexander her husband and Hyrcanus her father-in-law had conquered and returned to Israel did the queen protect very carefully. None of them slipped out of her hand until the day of her death. This is the conclusion of the affairs of

Alexandra the queen. (97)

And now we proceed to relate the deeds which took place after her, for every author who writes books and tells ancient matters is obliged to write, in proper order, with grace, without forgetting the deeds which were done. Above all, the man who makes books is obliged to write the truth, for thus the Former Scribes commanded. And the Latter Scribes accepted and observed it as well. For it is fit and proper that every book he writes should revolve about the poles of the holy and perfect Torah and the other books of prophecy which are true and righteous. On them the world is built and through them man is man. Without them, all is vanity and the evil spirit. Why should a man of understanding speak falsehood? Speakers of falsehood will not stand. (98)

In the 177th olympiad, (99) in the days of Hortensius, (100) officer of Rome, in his renewing of the treaty of the officers of Rome with the Judean nation, written on a tablet of (Column 205) bronze in Jerusalem and Rome; in the days of this officer, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, sons of Alexander, engaged in war. This war took place on the Jordan at Jericho; numberless lives were lost there, many corpses from the multitude of Israel were trampled upon. Aristobulus pressed the army of Hyrcanus. They could not bear the pressure of Aristobulus and his warriors, nor the force of their battle; they turned their backs and fled toward Jerusalem. Thus Aristobulus vanquished Hyrcanus and his army in that battle. He and his warriors pursued them with an increasing slaughter up to the gates of Jerusalem. The remnants of Hyrcanus' army joined Aristobulus, and he and the entire Judean people fought against Jerusalem to topple its walls, to get Hyrcanus who had escaped within. They closed off the city with great

power; they girdled it round like a buckler with men of war. When it became difficult for him, and the battle burdensome, Hyrcanus brought forth the wife and children of Aristobulus from the prison in which queen Alexandra had put them. He took the woman and the children with him as a safeguard for his own life against the sword of his brother.

Then the (Column 206) elders of Israel and the elders of the priests went out to Aristobulus and, crying, they pleaded with him to make a treaty with his brother; Aristobulus to be king of the entire Judean people, and Hyrcanus to be priest in the Temple of the Lord, and to be docile under his hand, but to be his second-in-command. Aristobulus agreed to this, and they acted accordingly. (101)

Entering the city, Aristobulus accepted the throne and concluded a treaty with his brother Hyrcanus. In the Temple of the Lord, they took oaths to each other, with the entire people watching. Then each man returned to his city and land, and the war was settled.

Now, after these things, there was an ally of Hyrcanus, Antipater by name, a wealthy man, very rich in silver and gold and livestock and many servants. This man was a warrior, a man of cunning strategies, skilled in all guiles, deceiver (102) of men, a man of intrigues. This Antipater was the general of the people of Idumea, who put them into a forced labor levy. This Antipater was appointed over it while he was still a young man by Alexander the king. He took a wife from the royal stock of Idumea. Four sons were born to him. Here are their names: the first, Phasaelus, (103) the second Herod, (104) who ruled; the third, Pheroras; (105) and the fourth, Joseph. (Column 207) The name of his daughter was Salome; (106) the name of his wife, Cypros (107) the Idumean. For this

reason the scribes said that this man was an Idumean, but Nicolaus (108) the scribe says that this man Antipater was from the aristocracy of Judea, out of those Judeans who returned to Jerusalem from Babylonia in the days of Nehemiah ben Hacaliah and Ezra the scribe and the priest. (109)

Now, since this man was an ally of Hyrcanus, Aristobulus determined to kill Antipater.

When Antipater heard this thing, he became very afraid of Aristobulus and, speaking persuasively to the warriors of Judea, he convinced them with these words: "I have a word for you, holy ones of the Lord. I see violence and robbery in the holy nation, much transgression and guilt. Great is the sin; wickedness is widespread. Truth has been cast out and there is no justice. Why should the younger rule over the older? Aristobulus rules this day. The kingdom was captured not by God's word nor by the will of the elders of Israel but by the sword and weapons of war, and the spilled blood of the Lord's people. So now, Israel, listen to the words of justice and truth." The more he spoke, (the more) he convinced the elders of Israel. He also stirred up Hyrcanus secretly, saying: "Choose flight; escape, for Aristobulus, your brother, is considering killing you. His advisors say: (Column 208) 'As long as Hyrcanus is living, you and your kingdom will not be permanent, for he is older than you. Only when you put him to death will your kingdom be established.' (Otherwise,) the plan to kill you will be realized." Hyrcanus listened to these things, but he did not believe them, for he was simple, upright and very kind. Since Antipater saw that Hyrcanus did not believe his words, he did not cease speaking words like this to Hyrcanus day and night. He also spent silver and gold to hire allies to speak the words

of Antipater to him. When he had convinced him (Hyrchanus) by his scheming, he encouraged him to flee, saying: "Stay here until I go and find a place where you will find refuge."

Leaving Jerusalem, Antipater went to Petra, (110) in the wilderness, to the location of the palace of Aretas, the king of Arabia. Aretas was delighted to greet him, for he had been his ally from before. He made a treaty with him (Aretas), making him promise that he would not deliver Hyrchanus into the hands of those who sought his life. Then, returning to Jerusalem, Antipater told Hyrchanus all he had done, (111) and, leaving Jerusalem, they traveled the many days' distance to Petra in the wilderness to the palace of Aretas, the king of Arabia. Aretas came out to greet Hyrchanus with horsemen and chariots. He received him with great honor, and he stayed in his (Aretas') house (Column 209) for many days.

After this, Antipater helped convince the king of Arabia to come to Jerusalem with Hyrchanus to make war upon Aristobulus and to return the throne to Hyrchanus. Aretas refused to come to fight with the Jews, because Alexander had beaten him three times in war, taking from him Arabia's fortified cities. Antipater said to him: "Do not be tender-hearted about going to war with us, because we have the elite of the Israelite warriors to fight Aristobulus." Aretas, answering, said: "If you return all the land to me, along with the ten store-cities, the cities which Alexander took from me, I will make war upon your enemies." Hyrchanus swore to return all the land and the ten cities to him. (112) Aretas gathered his army of warriors properly, and, traveling with them, went to war against Jerusalem with a force of 3,000 cavalry and a very great and vast host. Traveling from Petra in the wilderness, they arrived in

the land of Judea. But Aristobulus came forth to meet them, and engaged them in battle. On the day of battle, a great host fell in with Hyrcanus and Antipater to help them. When Aristobulus saw that a great multitude had deserted to Hyrcanus from the Judean forces, he left the camp and fled to Jerusalem alone and desolate, for all his forces were added to (those of) (Column 210) Hyrcanus and Antipater. Aretas, king of Arabia, then went and camped against Jerusalem with all the people of Judea and Arabia with him. Only the people of Jerusalem and the priests remained with Aristobulus. From day to day the war spread and grew much bigger. And the din of war extended to the first month. (113) On the 15th of the month many of the Hasidim and the Zaddikim left the land of Judea, going to stay in Egypt, because of the wars in the land of Judea, to celebrate the Feast of Unleavened Bread.

At this time, the Judean and Arabian people, each under its own flag, surrounded Jerusalem. Hidden among the Judean people was a man, Onias (114) by name, righteous and beloved of his God, whom He tested and found pure. He would stand in the breach and pray for the people of the Lord. When the heavens were shut and there was no rain, this man, Onias, would pray, asking the Lord for rain. And the Lord would answer his request, but no other. He had done this many times when there was famine in the land of Judea. On the day of the war, they found Onias hidden in the Judean camp, and taking him, the leaders of the Judeans stood him in the midst of the people. Then the leaders and the people told him: "Pray for this matter which is going badly for us. Perhaps the Lord will act for the sake of His name and answer you, as He answered you on the request (Column 211) for rain, and put Aristobulus and the priests with him in our power."

Answering, Onias said: "You are the people of the Lord and they are His priests. I will pray for you, (but) I will not curse or damn the priests of the Lord." They threatened him, saying: "If you do not do as we want, know that you will die." And when it became difficult for him he lifted his eyes heavenward, spread out his hands and prayed: "O Lord, God of the heaven, King of all the people, in whose hands are the souls of all living beings, who creates the thoughts in the heart of an upright man, and the thoughts of Your people and Your priests, attune their hearts to You; do not answer these against those for evil, but rather for good, for these are Your people and those are Your priests." When he prayed in this way, some wicked people of Judea fell upon Onias and put him to death. (115) But the Lord did not delay His vengeance. He smote the camp of Judea and a great multitude died for the blood of Onias. Afterwards, the priests, speaking to the people from the wall (of the city) said: "Israel is the people of the Lord; help your God and His temple. Give us sheep and he-goats and rams so that we may make sacrifices according to the law, for it is the Feast of Unleavened Bread today. Let them not cease from the altar of the Lord; the guilt will be upon you." Answering, the people said: "Pay us silver and gold, 1,000 drachmae (116) of gold for each ram; likewise for each sheep and he-goat, and we (Column 212) will grant you your request." Aristobulus and the priests gave the gold, but they (the people) did not give them the sacrifices, rather, these wicked sinners stole it.

They (Aristobulus and the priests) prayed and cried about the people's stealing the sacrifices of the Lord, and the Lord did not delay His vengeance. He smote the people with a great famine until an ephah of wheat

was worth one drachma of gold. (117)

In those days, Pompey the great, general of the Roman army, moved with very great, vast forces against Tigranes, king of Armenia. He sent Scaurus, (118) one of his servants, with orders to give pursuit to Aramea. When he had arrived in Damascus, Aristobulus sent him ambassadors to come to his aid. He did not want to aid Hyrcanus. He desired to be with Aristobulus, for Aristobulus had given him 400 talents of gold to aid him. (119) Scaurus took the gold and sent a letter to Aretas, king of Arabia, to Jerusalem, saying: "Cease (fighting) against Jerusalem, for if you do not cease, I warn you that Romans will come and kill you." Now when Aretas read the letter which Scaurus had written, he ceased (fighting) at Jerusalem and left, Hyrcanus and Antipater with him, for their ally had defaulted.

Then Aristobulus came forth out of Jerusalem, a small number of people with him. He pursued Aretas, (Column 213) Hyrcanus and Antipater. He caught up to them at the valley of Papyron (120) and, engaging in battle, he vanquished them. He killed 6,000 Arabian and Judean warriors who were with Hyrcanus, trampling many corpses. He also killed Phalion, (121) the brother of Antipater, in that battle. Then Aristobulus returned to Jerusalem and ruled over Judea. (122)

After these things, Pompey the great, too, came to Damascus. All the nations sent him ambassadors. Aristobulus too sent a tribute to him, a golden vine, which was (valued at) 500 talents of gold, and a garden of gold, called a Tryphon. (123) This is the vine and the garden which you saw (124) in the Temple of Jove, an idol which is in Rome. (125) Inscribed on the vine were these words: "This is the vine sent by Aristobulus,

king of Judea, to Rome." (126)

After these things, ambassador came from Hyrcanus and Aristobulus to Pompey. Hyrcanus sent Antipater, and Aristobulus sent Nicodemus. (127) He (Nicodemus) pleaded with him to aid Aristobulus, for he had given him 400 talents of gold. Antipater, too, when he saw that Nicodemus was winning help for Aristobulus, spoke to him secretly, saying: "Why should you help (Column 214) Aristobulus, and take gifts from him? Is it not better for you to rule over the nation of Judea? You will acquire a reputation and do great thing(s) which your ancestors did not do. If you assist Hyrcanus to power he will be your vassal; the whole Judean people will be your vassals." When Pompey heard these words he rejoiced greatly. He said to Antipater: "If this is your desire, be still until I entice them with words. Perhaps Aristobulus will come to me. I am afraid to engage him in battle, lest he extend the war in the plains of the Judeans and cut us (128) off from his land. Just wait until he comes to me; I will deceive him and come with him to Jerusalem, and then I will give the throne to Hyrcanus, only on condition that you pay me a tax every year."

Afterwards, Pompey said: "Call Nicodemus and let us deceive him. (129) Tell him: 'Say to Aristobulus, your master: thus says Pompey, general of the Roman army. Make haste come to me; do not delay. Antipater is waiting for you in Damascus until you come to me. I will place the Judean throne firmly in your hands. Thus has decreed the Consul, (130) and his 320 advisors.'" These are the contents of the letter Pompey sent to (Column 215) Aristobulus: "Pompey, general of the Roman army to Aristobulus the king and to the seed of the throne which belongs to

the priests of the Lord, and Judea - peace. Let it be known to you that the vine and the garden which you sent to me I have received, and I have sent them to Rome. The Consul and his 320 advisors will be pleased. They will put your present in the temple of Jove. They will praise you and pray for you in that place. The Consul has written to me to make the throne firm in your hands. Now, if it pleases you, make haste, come to me in Damascus and I will fulfill your wishes in a way which is good and proper in your eyes." This letter is recorded in the book of the Kings of Rome. (131)

Afterwards, Aristobulus went to Damascus to (see) Pompey, the great, hero of Rome. Hyrcanus went too, and Antipater and the elders of Judea who were with Hyrcanus and Antipater. (132) They said to Pompey: "Let the great general, a man of compassion, decide. Aristobulus has engaged in violence against his elder in taking the throne by the sword and the spear and by war. Still this is not enough for him. Ruling by force over the Judean people, he smote treacherously all the nations (which are) our neighbors, spilling much blood in their land. For they were our allies from beforehand. He is cruel to his people and to Gentiles." Antipater brought forth 1,000 elders as witnesses who confirmed all these things. (132) (Column 216) Answering, Aristobulus said: "It is true that my brother is older than I am, but he is lazy and weak and he is not fit to rule. I did not covet the throne for myself and I did not love it, but I saw a weakening of power among the people. Then the vassals of Judea, whom our ancestors had conquered, rebelled; they became rebellious, (134) ceaselessly so. And I, when I saw that thus, (by default,) I received the throne, I fought and brought them back under Judean power. Moreover,

my father, before the day of his death commanded that I should rule after the death of my mother, for he saw the laziness of my brother and his lack of sense." Then Aristobulus brought forth witnesses to confirm all these things. The witnesses he gave were young men, all dressed in blue and purple, all (wearing) gold ornaments and precious stones. Pompey was astonished (135) at the ornaments of the young men and their glorious beauty. Answering, he said to the elders: "These people are all kings. Happy the king who rules this people, and happy are we to be able to rule over a people like this. Now, because we have subdued this people our reputation will spread throughout the entire land and the fear and awe of us will dominate all the nations." (136)

Afterwards, Pompey left Damascus to go to Jerusalem, Aristobulus and Hyrcanus with him. (137) While on the road, the two brothers quarreled (Column 217) about the throne. The nations, men of the cities he (Pompey) took, also complained to Pompey, who subdued them. Pompey called upon Aristobulus to return the cities to their masters, and to write a personal order to effectuate the order that he would not go to war with them. Complying, Aristobulus returned the cities to them and wrote them a personal order according to all that Pompey had commanded. He (again) quarreled with Hyrcanus his brother about the throne, and Pompey said to them: "Be still until I come to your city and determine what to do with you." This Aristobulus understood, and with no question on his lips, he fled to Delius, (138) then to Pella (139) and Scythopolis (140) and finally to Alexandria, (141) where he stayed. Pompey became very angry and he shifted the burden of the war which he had planned to send against Persia, (142) and pursued him, catching up with him at Alexandria, and

surrounding the city. Then Aristobulus' wise men said: "Why should you rebel against Rome, which rules nearly all the world? Note also that most of our people are not with us; they are on their side." Heeding them, he went out to Pompey and sued for peace. But he quarreled again with his brother about the throne, and he returned to Alexandrium, the fortress, with Pompey's permission. (143) (Column 218) The next day Aristobulus left the city and, blowing the horn, he rebelled, proceeding to Jerusalem. Pompey went after him with the full complement of the Roman force and all the weight of their army. (144) And so it went, until Jericho, the city of scents, where they camped. (Jericho is so-called) because there blossoms the balsam, (145) that good oil which is called balsam, (146) that is, pannag. (147) This tree has never been observed anywhere except Jericho. Many kings, including the kings of Egypt, took grafts of the tree, which however, did not take for they were dry. This tree was found in Jericho until the destruction of the Temple. When the Temple was destroyed, the tree was moved to Egypt and other places. (148)

Afterwards, Pompey left Jericho for Jerusalem. When Pompey saw the height of the city's walls, the loftiness of its towers, how its stones sparkled and how its pinnacles (149) glistened, and the splendor of its beauty, and the brilliant dignity of its splendor, when he saw the majesty of the city, he was dumbfounded. Pompey said: "Who would hurl stones or shoot arrows on this, the holy city? Happy the king who rules this city."

Afterwards, Aristobulus appeared before him and sued for peace. He was sorry that he had rebelled. Pompey received him and made (Column 219) peace with him. Aristobulus said to him: "Everything you tell me,

I shall do, and everything that you levy on me I will give if you will only aid me with the throne. Do not bring me low before my enemies."

Pompey said to him: "Bring the gold vessels and precious jewels in your palace to me and I will send them to Rome by way of Actium (150) to the temple of Jove. Then I will fulfill all your desires." Aristobulus agreed to do so. Pompey sent Gabinus, (151) a mighty warrior, a strong force of the Roman warriors with him, to take the vessels and the precious stones from the Temple of the Lord which is in Jerusalem. But the priests and the people refused to give anything that Pompey asked. They ejected Gabinus from the city. (152) Many Roman warriors died in battle in Jerusalem. Pompey therefore got angry, and put Aristobulus under guard and bound him in chains, (153) and he approached the city with great power to do battle. He observed that the city was very well fortified on all sides, since it is situated on the highest of the mountains, except for the northern side where it is level. There Pompey arranged all his weapons of war and all his army with him, a very strong force, for the Roman force which had been sent to Persia had joined (them) directly in Jerusalem. (153a)

The men of Jerusalem went to battle against (Column 220) Pompey suddenly, and shouting, they gave hot pursuit to his camp, hurling many dead to the ground. Pompey, taken aback by the bravery of the men and the young men's swiftness, considered departing from the city.

Afterwards a battle took place within the city of Jerusalem between the men of Aristobulus and the men of Hyrcanus, for they (the latter) said to open the gate of the city to receive Pompey, but the men of Aristobulus refused him entrance. This internal war became worse than the

external war. Many men of Judea died in this war. (154) When Pompey heard of this, he approached the gate, and many Judeans opened the gate by hand and received Pompey. Thus he took Jerusalem and the king's palace. Only the Temple of the Lord did they (the Roman army) not take, for the priests had closed the gates of the Temple and its house. They took the approaches to the Temple and fought with strength. Now in the fourth month, (155) the priests fought until the 17th day. On the day of the fast at the time of the offering, while the priests were making the offerings before the altar, Pompey drew up the iron ram to breach the tower of the Temple. Hitting the tower, he destroyed it and they (the soldiers) opened the crypts of the Temple. (Column 221) Cornelius Faustus, (156) son of Sylla was first to enter. He came into the Temple when the priests were sacrificing the peace-offering and the burnt-offerings before the Lord. After Cornelius came Furius and Fabius, (157) a strong force of Pompey's warriors with them, their drawn swords in their hands. They moved through the Temple, killing the priests of the Lord. The priests did not tremble or become frightened by the drawn swords, nor were they scared by the shining spears, nor did they shake at the dead bodies falling in the Temple of the Lord. Over the dead bodies, the priests went to worship in the service of the Lord, and to make peace-offerings and burnt-offerings and sacrifices. The priests said to each other: "Be strong, let us be strengthened, Priests of the Lord; let us be killed before His altar. It is good to die in His service. Let us not leave the service of the Lord, nor cast off His worship." So the priests of the Lord proceeded without fear or dread or pain during the battle, like a man who walks in the depths of peace. When the priest making the peace-offering would fall,

his companion would come and take the sacrifice from his hand and offer it, and when he was killed, his companion would come and do what he had done for his, until the service of the Lord was completed by the priests on the fast day. (Column 222) They slaughtered all the priests wearing the linen ephod, dressed in holy vestments. The corpses of the priests fell on the carcasses of the burnt-offerings, their blood mixing with the blood of the burnt-offerings. Thus they died in holiness before the altar of the Lord.

All which I have spoken about the priests of the Lord I have not falsified, and all who read my book and do not believe, let them go and read the books of other writers, for many writers testified in this way. It is recorded, for example, in the book of Nicholas of Damascus and Strabo the Cappadocian, (158) and in the book of Titus the scribe, who recorded the deeds of Pompey the Roman, and in other books as well. (159) When the priests were gone from the Temple, the officers of Rome entered the sanctuary and occupied it. (160) Here are their names: Gaius, Antonius, Scaurus, (160a) Sullius, and Cicerius; he is the officer who was a scribe and recorded in his book all that he saw with his own eyes about the priests of the Lord and His sanctuary.

Afterwards, Pompey too, with many Romans, entered the sanctuary of the Lord and viewed the Holy of Holies. He had mercy and did not destroy anything in the sanctuary. Even though they came upon a great amount of gold, and 2,000 talents of gold drachmae, Pompey did not wish to touch anything he found in the Temple. He commanded the remaining priests to purify the Temple and to make a sacrifice (Column 223) and offerings, and they did so. He gave the throne to Hyrcanus (161) and killed all the

allies of Aristobulus, and imprisoned him in chains to take to Rome. All the cities of Aramea which the Judeans had taken he returned to the Arameans, and all the land laid waste by the Hasmoneans, Pompey returned to its inhabitants, and all who were oppressed by Jerusalem, Pompey freed from vassalage to Jerusalem, and Jerusalem, which was the mistress of all states, became a work levy. (162)

All this came upon us because of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, the brothers, for it was they who first brought on this evil in Jerusalem: we have become servants of Rome. From then on, we have lost our greatness and have become oppressed. (163)

Afterwards, Pompey went and returned to his land, to Rome, taking with him Aristobulus, two of his sons, and two of his daughters. The third son, Alexander, had fled to safety. (164) Pompey left Hyrcanus and Antipater ruling in the land of Israel, and he left with them Scaurus, (165) giving him the entire land of Egypt. Pompey went on his way to Rome. Scaurus had gone to Petra in the wilderness beforehand. (166)

It was when Hyrcanus and Antipater (Column 224) were at Petra in the wilderness with Scaurus, general of Pompey's army, to fight in Arabia, that Alexander fled from Pompey, and going to Jerusalem, he rebuilt the wall of Jerusalem that Pompey had leveled. And, gathering a force of Judeans, he fought Hyrcanus and Antipater and put them to flight. Nor did Scaurus stand up before him. (167) Then Gabinius came up from Rome to the land of Aramea. He heard all that Alexander, son of Aristobulus, had done, that he had fought with Scaurus and killed many Romans, that he had put Hyrcanus and Antipater to flight, and that he was rebuilding the wall of Jerusalem which Pompey the great had leveled. Gabinius

approached him with a very strong force of Roman soldiers, with the force of Aramea, and a very great, strong force from the Judean army with Antipater and Hyrcanus. Mark Antony joined them as well. He had two names on account of his bravery, for he was a brave man and skilled in war. These officers joined battle with Alexander, son of Aristobulus, at Jerusalem. He came out to meet them with a small force: 10,000 footsoldiers and 500 cavalry. (168) In the battle with these officers 6,000 of his warriors were trampled. (Column 225) He fled with the rest of his men to Alexandrium. (169) When Gabinius approached this city to do battle, he (Alexander) came out of the city and put the camp of Gabinius to flight, killing many; 9,000 and 300 of Gabinius' camp in the battle. (170) Then Mark Antony stood in that battle, the battle became great; 25,000 from the Roman camp fell, but they turned Alexander back and forced him to flee into the city, laying out many of his men in the battle. (171) Gabinius besieged the city and fought it. Then the mother of Alexander, the wife of Aristobulus, came to him, crying, pleading with him to make peace between Gabinius and Alexander. And they made peace.

He divided (the country) into (five) parts: Hyrcanus would rule in Jerusalem. He put another in Gedara, the second part; in Amathus (172) another, in Sepphoris another ruler, and another ruler in Jericho. (173)

At that time, Aristobulus and Antigonus, his son, fled from the city of Rome to the land of Judea, and reached the border of the land of Judea. Pitholaus, (174) the commander of Jerusalem, deserted to him with 1,000 warriors, for he remembered his first honor. Aristobulus, seeing the great multitude with him, separated the weaker people from himself, (Column 226) and, choosing from all the people 8,000 men of the warriors

who would never flee or run from anything, went out to do battle with Gabinius, who came with a very large force of Romans. A Judean force came with Gabinius to battle against Aristobulus in great strength.

Aristobulus joined battle with them with his 8,000 warriors and smote the Romans very severely and cast many of the Roman force earthward, dead. Seven thousand of Aristobulus' warriors were tread upon in the fight, leaving Aristobulus with 1,000 warriors. But he broke through the Roman camp over and over again, until he took refuge at the top of the mountain. The Roman force pursued him and caught up with him. Turning about, Aristobulus fought with them for two days. On the third day, the other 1,000 of his warriors, who had continued to kill more in the Roman camp, fell, leaving Aristobulus by himself. He fought and killed many. They inflicted great wounds upon him to the point that the iron hat on his head was cut off and he fell to the ground. They captured him and took him to Gabinius. They healed him of the wounds, and binding him again, they sent him in chains to Rome. (175) They brought him to (Column 227) Rome to the Consul and his 320 advisors. Aristobulus ruled 3 years and 6 months; a man of honor, brave and generous, good eyes and handsome to see. (176)

Afterwards, the Consul sent the sons of Aristobulus from Rome to Jerusalem, for he had mercy on the wife of Aristobulus, their mother. Gabinius had written about the wisdom of the woman. Therefore, the Consul who was in Rome had mercy upon her, sending her sons and daughters to her. (177)

Afterwards, Gabinius went and crossed the river Euphrates. He fought against Persia and Medea and subdued them, for Pompey the Great had

conquered them, but when he left, they rebelled. Therefore Gabinius went and subdued them and placed a work levy upon them. (178)

At that time, the people of Egypt rebelled, not paying tax to Rome anymore. Ptolemy sent to Gabinius to help him and Gabinius came with all his force to help Ptolemy, King of Egypt. Gabinius sent to Hyrcanus and Antipater to aid him. Antipater left Jerusalem with a very great force of the mercenaries who were vassals to Rome; also the entire force of Judea and Benjamin. Going to the aid of Gabinius, he found him in Damascus whence he had returned from the land of Persia. Gabinius said to him: "Peace (Column 228) and welcome." Gabinius told him to precede him, to open the way; then Gabinius would come to Egypt and restore Ptolemy to the throne. (179) At that time, Antony was with Gabinius in Egypt.

Alexander, son of Aristobulus, started in again. He gathered a great force of Judean young men and, raiding Mt. Gerizim, he smote the Roman garrison which Gabinius had left there, (180) and he expelled all Romans from the land of Judea. (181) When Gabinius heard this, he sent Antipater to speak words of peace to the people who had rebelled. Antipater went and reproved the people, thus bringing them back to Gabinius. (182) But Alexander, not wishing to listen to him, took 30,000 young men from Judea and, proceeding to Mt. Tabor, arranged battle lines to meet Gabinius. Ten thousand of his men fell. He fled with 20,000 and Gabinius returned to Jerusalem, and confirmed Hyrcanus on the throne. (183) He also set Antipater in power over all the people of Judea. Then, traveling from there, he returned to Rome.

Now, after a year had elapsed, when the Consul and his 320 advisors heard that Persia and Medea had revolted, they dispatched Crassus (184)

with a very strong force. On his way, Crassus came to Jerusalem, and entering the (Column 229) Temple of the Lord, he took the gold in the Temple of the Lord by force. He found 2,000 talents of drachmae in gold there.

(185) In those days there was a high priest, Eleazar by name, a righteous, God-fearing man. The priest said to Crassus: "Why must you rob the Temple of the Lord by force and take the gold which Pompey and other officers did not touch. Now if you swear to me not to take this gold, I will give you one beam, which in gold weighs 300 minae." From it were hung all the curtains of blue and purple which covered the gates of the Holy of Holies, hence this beam was hidden from all, and not seen. Crassus swore to him that he would neither touch nor take any of the gold in the Temple except the beam. So Eleazar (186) the priest gave the beam, handcrafted by artisans, 300 minae of gold in weight. A mina is $2\frac{1}{2}$ rotoli. (187) The rotolo equals 60 ounces.

When Crassus (188) took the beam, he broke his oath and, returning, he took all the gold found in the house of God; there were 2,000 talents of pure gold. (189) Many are the enemies and antagonists who hate the Jewish nation like that.

And if you (190) do not believe my words in the matter of (Column 230) the wealth of our God's sanctuary, you had better believe my words and not find falsehood in them. For many great kings sent offerings to the Temple of the Lord from year to year; vessels of silver and gold, to seek the presence of the Lord. Moreover, many nations gave tributes to the Temple of our God, vessels of silver and gold. And in those days there were very many wealthy Jews. And this was from the stringent supervision of this holy place. Even the nations who came to war on and destroy it, ultimately

gave honor to the place. When they perceived that our Temple site is exalted and holy, they would bring offerings of gold and precious stones. Many writers have testified as I do, like Nicolaus of Damascus and Strabo of Cappodocia (191) writing about the wealth of the Jews who said: (192) Mithradates, king of Armenia, sent to the city of Cos (193) which is on the border of Asia, and he took from them the gold which Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, had deposited there. He also took the gold which the Jews had set aside to send to the Temple of our God. The weight of that gold was 800 talents, that is only the silver and gold and precious stones which the Jews living in the land of Asia had set aside. No gold from the land of Judea was there, nor from the land of (Column 231) Alexandria; only from the land of Asia did that gold come. (194)

Now after Crassus had taken the gold which was in the Temple of the Lord, he went to war against Persia and Medea. There his whole force fell on that day as one; the men of Persia were victorious by the sword. (195) Coming into Aramea, Cassius rescued it from incursions by Persia and returned it to Roman rule by putting the Persian army to flight from Aramea. Returning, Cassius came into the land of Judea to find the Judean people fighting with Hyrcanus and Antipater.

He aided Hyrcanus and Antipater and settled the kingdom in Hyrcanus' power. Cassius, traveling from there, crossed the Euphrates river, and roused Arabia against Persia and Medea, stirring up great battles between them, until he returned them to Roman rule, just as Pompey had subdued them when he was in the East. (196)

In those days, a pregnant woman in Rome, wife of one of the 320 advisors, of Rome, died. As she died, the child in her womb stirred and

struggled. Opening her womb, they took the child out. He lived and grew up. They called him Julius, for he came out of his mother's belly in the month of Ab. (197) They also called him Caesar, because she was cut. Caesar means "cut" in the holy tongue, in the Roman language "Caesar". This lad was a brave warrior and when the (Column 232) Consul sent Pompey to the East, he also sent this Julius Caesar to the West to subdue the kings of the West. Fighting in the West, Caesar subdued the nation of Fractus and Frictus and all the West up to the Atlantic Ocean. (198)

Upon his return to Rome in glory and triumph, he became haughty and he said: "I will be king over all Rome." But the Consul and his 320 advisors said: "We will not suffer a king over us, for a king has not ruled over us since the days of Tarquin (199) the king, who took a man's wife by force. When the woman grieved, he pierced her belly, taking her life. Since then our ancestors swore not to put a king over them. From then to the present, a king has not ruled over us these many years. (Now) you seek to desecrate the command of our ancestors. Pompey, your colleague, has also won glory and triumph in the East, having conquered twenty-two great, mighty kings, accomplished men before whom the rest of the kings of the earth had trembled from ancient days. He also subdued the people of Judea, a great and mighty nation, but he has not asked to be king. Now let it be known by you that we will not accept you nor will you be king over us." Haughtily, Caesar said: "No, I will be king over you. You (will be) my servants and I your king." A great war was waged in Rome; countless lives were lost. (Column 233) Ruling by force, he put the royal crown on his head. Caesar, whose name is Julius, ruled. Thus all the kings who ruled after him were called Caesar because of his name. (200)

When Pompey, in the land of Cyprus, heard that Caesar was king in Rome and that he had coerced the Consul and killed his 320 advisors, he summoned all the kingdoms of the land under his control to go and fight Caesar. When Caesar heard this, he released Aristobulus from prison and appointed him commander of two legions of 10,000 men, ordering him to go to Aramea to destroy and kill, and to join with the Judean people to harass Pompey from behind. (201) When Pompey heard this, he became very frightened because of Aristobulus, so he sent a letter to let this thing be known to his allies in Jerusalem. The people of Jerusalem sent words of peace as a greeting to Aristobulus in Aramea. They dined and drank with him and made him drunk with deadly poison, thus they killed him there. (202) Pompey crossed to Actium and gave battle to Caesar. Many of Pompey's force fell. Pompey fled from Caesar, but Caesar, pursuing him, put him to death. Caesar ruled all the land of Rome. Caesar went through Aramea and sought to enter Egypt, but the men of Egypt would (Column 234) not receive him, for they were still under the control of Pompey's officers. Antipater, taking a strong force of Judean warriors, went to the aid of Mithradates (Caesar's ally). The two joined together and marched on Egypt, camping at Pelusium (203) and warring against it. Mithradates attacked the walls of the city, and Antipater attacked the gate. Antipater took the gate, and, entering the city, he and the Judean warriors smote the city with the sword and took all its booty. They traveled to a place called the city Onion. (204) There they found Egyptian Jews dwelling in Egypt; a very strong force, which did not permit Mithradates and Antipater to cross into Egypt. Antipater showed them the letter which Hyrcanus had written to them, a message of friendship and peace, (asking

them) to add their power to Caesar's and to accept Mithradates. Doing this, the Egyptian Jews accepted Mithradates. (205)

From there Mithradates and Antipater traveled to a place called Delta. (206) There, there was a very strong and vast force. Taken aback, Mithradates turned to flee. They gave pursuit and joined battle with him. The right wing which was his, was subdued, and the hearts of his people became weak because of the burden of their fierce battle and their downfall at the hands of the forces of the Egyptian king. When Antipater saw the flight of Mithradates and the downfall of his officers, (Column 235) Antipater ran with three chosen men of Judea (207) and saved Mithradates from death. He turned back all of Egypt. They fled from him. Pursuing, he inflicted upon them a great and enormous blow. He pressed them on the banks of the Nile. The Egyptians fell by the sword on the banks of the Nile; those who escaped from the sword died in the Nile. Thus Antipater captured all the kingdom of Egypt, Mithradates with him. Mithradates wrote to Caesar about the bravery and the victory which Antipater achieved in Egypt; how he subdued the pride of Egypt and returned them to the rule of Caesar, how he fought, how he was taken in battle and wounded severely, and was healed. (208) When Caesar heard this, he liked Antipater very much and praised him. He sent messengers to bring him (Antipater) in to honor him. Antipater and Mithradates went to Caesar at Damascus. He said to him (Antipater): "I have heard all the trouble which you found and the bravery and the victory which you achieved in Egypt on our behalf, how you returned Egypt to our rule. Now we must honor you for your strength and bravery." (209)

Then Antigonus, younger son of Aristobulus came before Caesar and,

crying, he told him about his father, how allies of Pompey, men of Jerusalem, had made him drunk (Column 236) with deadly poison on the advice of Hyrcanus and Antipater, allies of Pompey and his advisors. Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, continued speaking, saying to Caesar: "You know that Hyrcanus my uncle and Antipater were allies of Pompey and his advisors; they are your enemies." Answering before the king, Antipater said: "I was an ally of Pompey because he treated me favorably and (because) Roman rule was in his hands in those days. I fought his war. But this war I fought now, in which I took my life in my hands and returned all the glory of Egypt to the rule of Caesar, I fought in the name of Caesar, and I sustained wounds, as your eyes can see." And he removed his clothes and showed the scars in his flesh and the wounds on his head. Continuing, he said: "Let my wounds testify for me, as faithful witnesses, and let my scars vouch for me, that I fought this war in the name of Caesar and not in the name of Pompey, for he is dead." (210)

Answering, Caesar said to Antipater: "Peace be upon you, warrior of Judea, and peace be upon all those who seek your peace and your good, for the truth is yours about everything you said. Your words testify to your bravery and victory, and your scars tell of your strength. Now I appoint you general of (Column 237) all the men of war which are mine until I make war upon the nations beyond the Euphrates River and subdue them. Then you will return to your land and your city." So Caesar appointed Antipater over the Roman army from that day on, until he would subdue the pride of the East and the entire land of India. Then Antipater returned to his land to his city, Jerusalem, the holy city. (211)

Other writers have testified as I do about Antipater's bravery at

that time. Thus Nicolaus of Damascus, and Strabo the Cappadocian, (212) and others as well. (213) Then Antipater returned to Jerusalem to Hyrcanus, king of Judea, who had sent him. Hyrcanus rebuilt the wall of Jerusalem which Pompey had destroyed and ruled securely. But Hyrcanus was a simple, just man and very lazy about affairs. (214) Antipater, seeing his laziness, appointed his sons over all Judea, by the word of Hyrcanus; Phasaelus, the eldest, governor of Jerusalem. Taking his second son, whose name was Herod, he made him governor of Galilee. He was a young lad, 15 years old. (215)

At this time, a robber, a young man named Hezekiah, head of (Column 238) the marauders, left Jerusalem. This man was a marauder and a robber who, in his arrogance, overran all Aramea, continually putting their young men to the sword, destroying their cities, and their fortifications, pitilessly laying waste their land. Wherever there were Arameans, Hezekiah was there to plunder them. Many marauders were with him. All the inhabitants of Aramea were terrified of his arrogance; they had no safety from him. When Herod, the son of Antipater, became officer and governor of Galilee, Sextus, (216) cousin of Caesar, sent him a letter: "To Herod, son of Antipater, let it be known to you that we have heard that you have been appointed governor in Galilee. We are very pleased. Now, remember the ope of Caesar, who loves your father who honored him and fought the war of Caesar. For here is Hezekiah, head of the marauders from your land, destroying all the land of Aramea, over which I am the governor. There is no safety for the Arameans from him. Now go and make war upon him and kill him, and you will receive a large gift and great honor and greatness from the Caesar and from me." Herod heeded Sextus, and went quickly and powerfully to attack Hezekiah. He came without trouble, for he (Hezekiah) was not on guard against him.

He smote (Column 239) and killed him and his friends, the marauders. (217) Hearing this, Sextus sent him a gift of silver and gold and precious stones because he had fought and killed Hezekiah. Therefore he honored him. The young man became very wealthy in silver and gold. The Arameans made him rich because he killed Hezekiah.

When the officers of Judea heard of all that Herod had done to Hezekiah, they grieved greatly and said to Hyrcanus: "How long will you bear the trouble of Antipater and his sons. The entire realm is in their hands, and they accomplish all that they seek to do, for Antipater ingratiates himself with the kings of Rome with your wealth and our treasures. Phasaelus, his son, has been made governor in Jerusalem. You have no part in the rule of Judea, only the name, for the entire kingdom is in their hands. His son Herod has killed Hezekiah, a brave man in whose dread all the nations stood, (218) and in whose fear they trembled. And does Herod, the son of Antipater, now come to judgment before the holy Sanhedrin?" (219) Day by day they said things like that and more. (220) The mothers of the young men along with the mother of Hezekiah would cry out before Hyrcanus whenever he would come to the Temple of the Lord, about how Herod had killed their sons. (221) When it suited Hyrcanus, he summoned Herod to come to justice, to bring him before (Column 240) the elders of those days. (222)

When Antipater heard this, he sent this message to his son: "When Hyrcanus calls you to come to him, hasten, do not delay. But be careful; do not come alone but with legions. When you enter the city come not with many but with a few warriors." Herod did as his father had instructed him. (223) Coming with few warriors, he stood before the

Sanhedrin. His standing before them, dressed in purple, his hair combed, with his legions, bearing a sword, stunned the judges and the men of the Sanhedrin into silence. On all the matters they had accused him of before his coming they were silent; they did not open their mouths. Then Sameas, (224) a student of Hillel the elder, said before the elders and the Sanhedrin, the major Sanhedrin and the minor Sanhedrin, in the presence of all the gathered people: "I speak to you, the chosen of God, the great, holy ones of the Lord: I have seen this day a new thing among you. Every sinner who stands for trial must appear in black dress, the hair of his head full of dust and ashes, to ask for mercy for the crime he committed or for the transgression he perpetrated. But this young man Herod (Column 241) stands before you in purple dress, his hair combed, his legions around him, bearing a sword, that if he is condemned by the law he would turn and kill them. I am not afraid of Herod, for he would not do this; rather he would flee for his life. You have sinned, for you have shown deference to him in that you have let (him) do these things. Days are coming when this Herod, whom you deferred to in justice, and whom Hyrcanus had mercy upon, will kill you and take over the kingdom." (225)

When Sameas had said these things, Hyrcanus said to the Sanhedrin: "Let us each go home, for the sun has already set. Tomorrow we will return to the place of judgment to examine and to ascertain the judgment in detail." Hyrcanus said this only to rescue Herod from the judgment for he saw that the party of judges had joined together to sentence Herod to death. So Hyrcanus left, and all the judges went home. (226) That night, he (Herod) left Jerusalem with his legions and fled to Damascus in Aramea, to Sextus, who was in charge of all Aramea. He told him all that

had happened to him in Jerusalem. Then Sextus appointed him governor of all Aramea. (227)

Now after a year had elapsed, Herod assembled all (Column 242) the army of Aramea and went to war against Hyrcanus. But Antipater his father and Phasaelus his brother came out to meet him. They said to him: "You are not treating Hyrcanus the way he treated you. He saved you from death by not bringing you to judgment. You are doing this on the advice of bad advisors. He loves you like his son. Now leave him alone lest you be guilty and sin before God if you do not. Do not say that you fought with strength of hand and that you won, for all wars are from God, and He gives victory to the one He wants." When Herod heard this, he returned to Aramea after having made a show of strength. (228)

After these things, Hyrcanus sent ambassadors to Rome to renew the treaty with Julius Caesar. Now it is proper for us to tell of the friendship of Roman officers. They loved our ancestors because of their strength and their faithfulness, for they were brave and faithful. Therefore all the kings of the earth loved to make treaties with them because of their strength and faith. The kings of Persia and Medea, too, sent them gifts and many letters with words of peace to Jerusalem because of the fame of the people of Jerusalem and their bravery.

Other writers have recorded all this (Column 243) in their writings. I have shirked the labor of writing them all; rather I have recorded a few of their letters. (229) Here are the words of the treaty, a letter which Julius Caesar sent to the officers of Rome who resided in Tyre and Sidon: "Peace. Let it be known to you that I have received the letters of Hyrcanus, king of Judea, and I am pleased with his letters and his loyalty.

I am sending you copies of all the matters which were written in the letter(s) of Hyrcanus. Therefore, I am sending them to you and I command you to write them in the Roman language or in the Greek language on a tablet of brass and put them in a high place in the temple of Jove which is in Sidon. Let it be always read so that the matters in the letters will not be forgotten; to make known to everyone the love of the Romans and the people of Judea. Hyrcanus, the king of the Jews, he and the Jewish people were the arm of the Roman people, for when I fought in Egypt, he sent Antipater, a warrior of Judea, who saved Mithradates from death and smote the pride of Egypt and opened up all Egypt for us. The Jews helped us in all our wars upon the land of India. Therefore, I Julius Caesar, (command) all the inhabitants of the sea-coast from Gaza to Sidon to give a yearly tribute to the temple of the great God in Jerusalem, (Column 244) excluding Sidon. The Sidonians, for their part, will give the Temple of the great God in Jerusalem, 20,555 ephahs of wheat yearly. (230) I have commanded that all the land of Lydda (231) which the officers of Rome and Pompey the great gave to the kings of Aramea, be taken from the control of Aramea and returned to Hyrcanus the son of Alexander, king of Judea. And I, Julius, command that all the land unto the Euphrates which the Hasmonean kings took in war, and which Pompey returned to their owners be returned to Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, for their fathers took it with their swords. Therefore all that they took in war shall be theirs. And any king or officer, of any language, any people, and any state under my government who violates my treaty and advice, and criticizes (232) and presses the matter against them and consciously plans not to follow my commands--that king or officer will die by the sword, his land will be

left a wasteland, uninhabited by man or beast." (233)

The ambassador whom Hyrcanus sent to Rome sat with Julius Caesar before all the ambassadors of the nations; they sat with him opposite him, wearing wreaths, to see the race of mighty horses breathing war, and the chariots, and the battles of the beasts which were performed (Column 245) before Julius Caesar, including naked men fighting; everything which was done before him to delight him. These are the names of the ambassadors whom he sent: Lysimachus, son of Pausanias, (234) Alexander, son of Theodorus, Epitroclos, son of Suriah, and Jonathan, son of Onias. (235)

At that time, when Julius Caesar had peace and quiet, while he was praying in the temple of Jove in Rome, enemies, who remained from Pompey's friends, arose and drove 30 spears into his body and his side; thus they killed him in the temple. These are the names (sic) of the men who killed him: Pius Achodotus. (236) Then Cassius left Rome, and crossing the sea with a very strong force, he came to the land of Asia and conquered it. Traveling from there, he went to the land of Judea and exacted from the land a punishment of 70 talents of gold. (237) When Antipater learned that Julius Caesar was dead, he sought to avenge him by fighting Cassius, but he was unable, for with Cassius was a force greater and stronger than all the nations. Then Antipater divided the whole land of Judea between his two sons to produce the tax and to give it to Cassius. (238) Herod produced the tax from the land of Judea and gave it to Cassius. He found favor in his (Cassius') eyes and he loved him dearly. (239) Taking the gold from the land of Judea, Cassius went to Macedonia, (Column 246) because he was afraid to return to Rome. Then

the officers of Judea plotted to kill Antipater. Malichus (240) arose and sought to attack Antipater, but the matter was known to Antipater, and he gathered his legions and warriors to battle Malichus. Malichus feared Antipater, so when he took an oath on the matter, Antipater believed his words and made a reconciliation with him. But when they called both of them to a banquet of wine with Hyrcanus, Malichus hired Hyrcanus' wine butler, giving him much gold, to give Antipater a deadly poison and murder him. Thus died Antipater, a great and heroic man. At this point, his days ended; his life found its limit, a man who defended the people of Judea and the holy city with his sword. Thus he received his fate. (241)

When Herod heard all that Malichus had done to his father, he came at him with a strong force to avenge his father('s death). But Phasaelus, his brother, dissuaded him, saying: "Let there not be a great war and much blood spilled in the holy city of Jerusalem."

But together they planned to kill Malichus by cunning. Herod sent (a message) to Cassius, informing him about this matter, all that Malichus had done to his father. Cassius sent (this message) to Herod: "Avenge your father, who begat you, who raised you on his knees, upon Malichus. When I come to the city of Tyre, and when Hyrcanus (Column 247) and Malichus come to me, you and your brother come to me there and avenge your father upon Malichus." So Herod did. When Cassius came to the city of Tyre, Hyrcanus, the officers of Judea, and Malichus came to him. Phasaelus and Herod were with him, for he swore to them: "I am innocent of your father('s death), I was not in on the plot to kill him." The young men believed him in his presence, but secretly they planned to kill him,

for they knew that Malichus had sworn falsely; that he had killed their father. When they went to Tyre with Hyrcanus, they came to Cassius, the Roman warrior, and he ordered his legions: "Listen to everything that Herod tells you and do not disobey on penalty of death."

Now after the banquet they lay down for the afternoon rest. When the shadows lengthened, at the breezy part of the day, Hyrcanus went out to the gate of the city, commanding Malichus to come sit in front of him; he also summoned Phasaëlus and Herod and they sat before him. Then Herod signalled to the Roman legions, who jumped upon them with swords drawn. Raising their swords over the heads of the four of them, they slew Malichus alone. They did not touch Hyrcanus and his officers. Hyrcanus was so astonished that his senses left him and he nearly died. When his senses returned to him he asked Herod: "What is this? Why was Malichus slain?" Herod (Column 248) said: "I do not know, but Cassius commanded that he be killed." Hyrcanus, answering said: "Malichus was certainly an evil, wicked man." Hyrcanus had never said these things before out of his fear. (242)

After these things, Cassius traveled to Macedonia to confront Octavian, son of Julius Caesar's brother, (243) and Antony, a military hero in Rome, who sought to fight to avenge (the death of) Julius Caesar upon Cassius who had murdered Julius Caesar.

At that time a great war broke out in Judea because Felix (244) came from Damascus with a very strong force to rule in the land of Judea. Now Phasaëlus the son of Antipater, said to Felix, the Roman: "Go to Damascus, where Cassius stationed you, for you have no share in the land of Judea." But Felix did not listen to Phasaëlus, instead, he waged war

against him. In fighting with Felix, Phasaelus sent many Romans earthward; even Felix nearly fell in battle. He fled and hid in a small town, but Phasaelus took the town and captured Felix alive, and he sent him off. (245)

Now Cassius was fighting with Octavian, the young man, and Antony, the hero of the Romans. A great and mighty battle took place. More than 100,000 corpses were trampled that day (Column 249) in battle. Cassius fled from them, but Octavian and Antony pursued him, smote him, and put him to death. So Octavian ruled in place of Julius Caesar, for he was his brother's son. This Octavian was called Augustus because he had more power than all who were before him. It is "Augustus" in the Roman tongue. In the holy tongue, the interpretation of this is "he increased over all the kings of Rome". Thereafter, they (the kings) were called Augustus after Octavian. They were also called Caesar, after Julius, his uncle.

Now when Octavian Augustus and Antony had conquered Cassius and Brutus in the land of Macedonia, in the valley of Philippus, they went then into the land of Ephesus. Hyrcanus sent ambassadors to them, in their hands a gift of a royal crown and precious stones. (246) They gave them to Augustus, his ally, and renewed the treaty which existed between Hyrcanus and Julius Caesar. They requested that Augustus return the captives whom Cassius had exiled from the land of Judea and to permit (247) all the Jews who were sold in the days of Cassius to be set free, and to permit all the rest of the Jews dwelling in the whole land of Greece and Asia to dwell in peace and quiet. Augustus and Antony harkened to all (Column 250) Hyrcanus asked. (248)

Here are the contents of the letter sent by Augustus and Antony to

Hyrcanus, King of Judea: Octavian Augustus, the king, and Mark Antony, his ally, to Hyrcanus, king of Judea; "Peace and redemption. Let it be known to you that we have received your letters at the hands of Lysimachus, son of Pausanias (249) and with him Joseph, son of Menneus, and Alexander, son of Theodorus, (250) the ambassadors whom you sent to us in Ephesus (251) to make a treaty with us as you desire. We are pleased at your health and redemption. Now we have fought with Cassius who wickedly killed Caesar. We have returned the evil of his having done violence to Caesar, by attacking the sun and casting it to the earth. (252) Therefore we fought great and mighty battles with him. We conquered his wickedness in the valley of Philippus and we killed him, and Brutus (253) his ally. Thus the land of Asia has been rescued from their hands, just as a woman is rescued from her agony on the day she gives birth, and just as the sick one is saved from the burden of his ailment. For they made the land of Asia a treading ground, like the outside mud in the course of the wicked, which they ran in. Nor did they spare the innocent, or temples, or cities; neither did they keep oaths with the men they promised. They ruled over the land of Macedonia. Cursed be the land of Macedonia (Column 251) which received them and hid them and their wickedness between her thighs like a woman hides her prostitution under her dresses. (254) Thus the land of Macedonia hid in her midst all the evil of Cassius. Now seeing all they did in Judea, to all our confederates, (255) let it be known to you that we have killed the villains and the destroyers who ravaged the whole land. Let King Hyrcanus and all the Jewish people rejoice, the holy city and all its inhabitants be glad. Let the priests of the great and mighty God who is in the Temple of Jerusalem be

glad. Let them take the gift we have sent, and pray for the life of Augustus, King of Rome, and Antony, his ally. For I, Augustus, have sent throughout my kingdom from beyond the sea in India to the westerners beyond Briton, that is the Atlantic Ocean: (256) wherever a man or woman of Jewish stock is a servant or maidservant, they are to be set free, without ransom, by order of Augustus and Antony, his ally. Now, long life and success to you and to our confederates." (257)

Afterwards, Augustus returned to the city of Rome and occupied his throne, while Antony returned to Ephesus. He sent a letter to the officers of the Roman army in Tyre: "Why have you not returned to the land which (Column 252) you took from the land of Judea in the days of Cassius, the evil man? Now, know that the sword of the Romans will soon be upon you if you do not return the land to the Jews, our confederates. If you do not hasten to make peace with them, (there will be) a great thing against your land and you. I, Mark Antony, swear it, and I will not change." (258) Afterwards, Antony went to Aramea. Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, came to him. Antony lay with her and loved her. Cleopatra turned the heart of Antony with her charms; Antony would do everything Cleopatra asked from that day on, for she turned him by her many charms. (259)

Then 100 of the great men of Judea came to Antony, because he had made Herod and his brother Phasaelus rulers. They said: "These sons of Antipater took the kingdom away from Hyrcanus, leaving Hyrcanus with nothing but the name." Antony asked Hyrcanus if the matter were true. Hyrcanus answered: "God forbid!" Herod and Phasaelus are my servants, and they are very faithful to me." Antony was pleased by Hyrcanus' words, because he loved the young men on account of Antipater, their father, for

Antony loved Antipater their father. (260)

When Antony came (Column 253) to the fortress of Tyre, which is on the shores of the sea, many great men (261) of Judea came to him again to slander the young men. Angered by them, Antony put some of them in prison, fifteen men who had cried out about Herod and Phasaelus. (261a) He also killed many of those who cried out, for he favored Phasaelus and Herod his brother, and he honored them, raised them up, and sent them to Jerusalem with honor. (262) After he had conquered all the kingdom of Persia, Antony returned to Rome.

After these things, Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, left Jerusalem and rebelled against his uncle Hyrcanus. Going to the land of Persia with a big force of the elite of Judea, he went to Pacorus, (263) king of Persia. Antigonus vowed (to give) him 1,000 talents of gold and 800 of the elite and most noble women in Judea (264) if he would join forces with him to help him take the kingdom from Hyrcanus, and to kill Herod and Phasaelus his brother. Pacorus harkened to Antigonus, son of Aristobulus. He assembled his forces, most of the forces of Persia and Medea. Coming into Aramea, they took it and smote all the Romans whom they found there along with Antoninus, general of the Roman army. Now Pacorus, king of Persia, sent his butler (265) into the force at Jerusalem, Antigonus, son of Aristobulus (Column 254) with him. The king of Persia commanded them: "Do this. When you come unto the city, proclaim the peace of the city until you enter the city. When you have entered the city, start fighting; slay Hyrcanus and Herod and Phasaelus his brother, and transfer the government to Antigonus, son of Aristobulus." The butler of the king of Persia, Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, with him, traveled to Jerusalem.

Proclaiming the peace of the city and the people, they entered the city and started fighting Hyrcanus within the city. Then Herod and Phasaelus his brother divided the places between them. Herod was assigned the palace to defend, and Phasaelus mounted the wall to guard against scaling the wall. (266) The men of Persia and Antigonus began to smite the people and to plunder the city. Herod descended from the palace, he and his young men, and joined battle with the men of Persia and the men of Antigonus, in the street of the city, and he smote them severely, putting them to flight. Phasaelus, too, descended from the wall and smote all who stood against him, and fighting with strength, they vanquished the men of Persia and the men of Antigonus.

At the end of seven days, the butler of the king of Persia called Herod and Phasaelus, and he said to them: "How long will this (Column 255) war in the holy city last? Stop fighting and come greet Pacorus, king of Persia, my lord, and confederate with him, and aid him. It would be better for me if you would be his allies, for you are warriors, rather than (our) being allies of Antigonus, who does not equal your bravery." Herod did not believe his words, but Hyrcanus and Phasaelus did believe him, and did that which the butler of the king said. (267) They went to greet Pacorus, finding him in Aramea. He welcomed them with great honor in their presence, but in secret, he plotted to place guards about them at night, and to put them in chains. When Hyrcanus and Phasaelus awoke during the night, seeing guards about the house in their battle dress, they did not know that it was on account of them that they were standing (duty). Then Ophellius and Saramalla, wealthy Arameans, came to Phasaelus and informed him of all the treachery of Pacorus, king of

Persia; how Antigonus had won his heart with 1,000 talents of gold; and how he had vowed to give him 800 of the elite women of Judea. The wealthy Arameans said to Phasaelus: "There is a ship waiting for you in the sea, ready to travel; flee to the land of Judea." In those days Pacorus was on the coast. Phasaelus refused to flee and leave Hyrcanus. (Column 256) Going to Pacorus, king of Persia, he said: "You have violated your treaty with us. Now we know that there is no faith in the Persian people. We have heard and seen with our own eyes the plots you planned against us. You are (collaborating) with a penniless man. If you do not have gold and silver, here, Hyrcanus can give you twice as much gold as Antigonus said. Only do not do violence to the men with whom you have a treaty."

When Pacorus, king of Persia, heard this, he vowed deceitfully, assuring them in these words: "You have heard a false, lying oath about me. I did not think this, nor did I consider doing this great evil, especially to our confederates." He encouraged them and assured them with these words. They returned and lay down confidently. While they were lying, the Persian troops fell upon them, taking them and binding them in chains. (268) When Phasaelus awoke from his sleep, his hands were bound in iron; he jumped here and there, and hopping, he sought to unsheaf his sword, but was unable, for his hands were bound. Lifting his eyes, he beheld a large rock. Running toward the rock, he hopped high above the ground, breaking his head on the rock by the force of his anger. Thus he died. (269) Before he died, a woman told him that Herod was safe. Phasaelus was pleased. (Column 257) He said: "I am pleased for now I know that I leave one who will redeem my blood and seek vengeance for me." When he had said these things, he died and was gathered to his people. (270)

Herod was in Jerusalem when he heard all that Pacorus, king of Persia, had done to Phasaelus his brother and to Hyrcanus, king of Judea. He took his mother and his father-in-law and Mariamne, (271) his betrothed. She was the daughter of Alexander, son of Aristobulus; her mother was Alexandra, daughter of Hyrcanus, whom we have mentioned above. The girl was comely and very good-looking. Herod put the women on horses and mules and they left Jerusalem at night, 10,000 warriors of Judea with them. He headed toward the land of Idumea. (272) On the trip, the women and children dismounted. His mother turned the wagon in which she was riding around and stood still. For the women said: "Let us die in Jerusalem, the holy city. Let us not go away from it." Herod drew his sword and sought to kill himself, for he was afraid that his enemies would come and capture the women. His young men ran and caught his hand. They said to him: "This is a disgrace for a man like you to kill yourself dishonorably. Rather let the women go before us and we will stand here until the Persian force which left Jerusalem to pursue us comes. They will know (Column 258) whom they are chasing." When they finished (speaking) the women passed on, and Herod, with all of his men of war--10,000 of them--stood.

After a while, the butler of the Persian king, with a great and very strong force, came upon them. Herod and his men battled them and smote them and spread them out on the earth, putting the butler to flight. He fled from Herod to Jerusalem. (273) Many Jews, Antigonus' men, harrassed him as well. They caught him and gave battle, but they fell by his hand. He smote them very severely. On that spot where he smote the Jews, Herod built a city and a great palace in the first year of his reign,

calling the city Herodium. (274) It is 60 ris distant from Jerusalem.

(275)

Then Herod continued his trip to the land of Idumea. His brother Joseph came out to greet him and to take counsel with him. They brought the women into Massada which belonged to Idumea. They supplied the city with wheat, water, and wood, and men of war as well, his brother Joseph among them. He ordered the rest of the people to go throughout Idumea to find provisions among them. He gave 35 drachmae of gold according to their needs (276) while he, with a few (of his men), journeyed to Petra in the wilderness to Malchus, (277) king of Arabia. Malchus had been an ally of Hyrcanus and Herod from aforetimes, but (Column 259) Malchus did not remember the loyalty which Hyrcanus had shown him. (278) So Herod went to Egypt to Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, who received him with honor. She wanted to make him general of her army, but Herod refused, for he was hurrying to Rome. The queen gave him great riches and ships to carry him by way of Actium to Italy. (279) Herod boarded ship, but he was returned to Egypt twice because it was winter, and the winds were too strong for him. The third time the wind subsided, and, crossing the sea, he came to the great harbor in Brundisium, (280) on the border of the land of Italy. An official of Augustus, king of Rome, was there. He received him with honor and gave him horses and men and led him to Rome. So he went to Rome and stayed in the home of Antony, his ally, Mark, the hero of Rome. He told him everything that had happened to him; how Antigonus had rebelled against Hyrcanus, putting him in chains and cutting off his ear so that he could no longer be priest, how he had joined Pacorus, king of Persia, rejecting the Roman kingdom and relying on the king of Persia. (281)

When Antony and Augustus and the Consul in Rome heard that Pacorus, king of Persia, had invaded (282) the Roman kingdom, they took counsel together without delay. (Column 260) Calling Herod, they placed the crown of sovereignty on his head and ordered the people to sound the trumpets. They sounded the trumpets, and raised their voices and shouted: "Herod rules in Judea and Jerusalem the holy city." (283)

Then Augustus and Antony went out, Herod in their midst, to the house of Antony, where Antony prepared a great feast for them. Augustus called the Consul and all the elders of Rome. They ate and drank and rejoiced greatly that Herod was to rule. (284) They recorded that day as the beginning of Herod's reign and they concluded a treaty with him, writing the treaty on a bronze tablet which they put in the palace in Rome, so that the treaty might be read for all time.

After these things, Antony and Herod boarded ships to go to battle with Pacorus, King of Persia, and Antigonus, king of Judea. Many ships and boats were with them, as well as a huge army, very mighty and well-equipped. Antony disembarked at Antochia and then went on to fight Pacorus, king of Persia; Herod went to Ptolemais, that is Acre, a strong and large force of Romans with him. Also with him were Ventidius, (285) Macheras, (286) and Silo, (287) a Roman hero whom Augustus had sent with him. At that time (Column 261) Antigonus and his entire army were encamped against Massada which belonged to Idumea, for all the people of Herod's household were there, his mother, his father-in-law, his betrothed, and Joseph, his brother. The people of the city suffered from lack of water, for Antigonus had destroyed all the water channels which come into the city. The men of the city were thinking of opening up the city,

while Joseph, Herod's brother, considered fleeing to the king of Arabia, for he had heard that the king of Arabia had repented for not having received Herod in his flight from Antigonus.

But the Lord prevented him from fleeing by giving rain to the earth at night, which filled all the cisterns, so he did not flee. (288)

Then Herod left Acre with all the officers of Rome, Antony included. When they came to Massada to the camp of Antigonus, Joseph his brother came out of the city and joined them to fight Antigonus. They smote his camp and Antigonus fled to Jerusalem. Herod took all the people of his household out of Massada, and, gathering all his forces, for many Jews had joined (289) him, a great force, he came to Jerusalem and camped against it. The Roman officers whom Antony had sent to help him were with them. The Roman officers did not hesitate to fight Antigonus. But they violated the orders of Antony, for Antigonus had given them bribes. (290) Nonetheless there was no lack of their help for Herod, for there was a (Column 262) great army with him, very many, a large force of all the Jews and men of Galilee who had joined him to help him. Herod encamped against Jerusalem and fought Antigonus. He ordered, and the command went through his camp, that the city be surrounded. They surrounded the city, but the officers Bynthareus, Silo, and Dellius, (290a) who had taken bribes from Antigonus, were not willing to reveal the matter. Herod approached the wall and called out in a loud voice: "Listen well. It is for your (own) good to make peace with me." (291). They answered nothing. He encamped there and ordered the artisans to build instruments of iron and great chests of wood. They bound them with chains of iron which they had made. They filled the chests with young men, warriors girded for war. They also

put bread and nourishment in them. They gave them long hooks to take the robbers out of the caves. The chests were lowered from the top of the mountain and positioned at the mouths of the caves. The robbers were afraid to come out of the caves. Then one of the young men, armed with a sword, grasped the iron chain by which the chest was hung. Hopping up on the chain, he jumped into the cave and he killed many of the robbers, and, grasping the bodies with his hook, he cast them into the valley. All the young men did the same. They killed the robbers in all the caves. Only one cave was left, because they had not positioned a (Column 263) chest in front of its mouth. In it was an old man, with his wife and his seven sons. The old man stood at the mouth of the cave, and he said to his sons: "Go out." One of them went out, and the old man, drawing his sword, killed him, likewise with the second and all seven of his sons. Even King Herod had compassion, and crying out, he entreated the old man not to kill his sons, but the old man did not listen. He reviled and blasphemed and cursed the king. Afterwards he killed his wife and cast her into the valley after her sons. Then he killed himself, and, falling into the valley onto the corpses of his sons, he died. (292)

After these things, it was told to Herod that Antony had fought Pacorus, king of Persia, and had killed him, and that he was now resting at the River Euphrates. Going to greet him, Herod discovered a very great host who wanted to go to Antony but were unable because there were Arabians along the way killing everyone they found going to the aid of Antony. When this was made known to Herod, he and his young men went, found them and fought them, smiting them by the sword. Thus he opened the road, and all who sought to go to Antony went. (293) The king took all their booty

and went (on his way). Then Antony sent a cavalry force and a wreath of gold as a gift to King Herod, on account of (Column 264) the help he had given him, and because he had tread upon the Arabians and opened up the road. Antony, going out to greet him, embraced and kissed him, and enjoyed a great celebration with him. After Mark Antony had smitten Pacorus, king of Persia, he headed toward Egypt. To King Herod he gave Sosius, (294) the general of his army, with a very well-equipped force of Roman warriors, vast and very strong. He sent a letter throughout all Aramea saying: "Mark Antony, ruler of kings, to all the officers of Aramea: Let it be known to you that Herod has been made king of Judea, according to the command of Octavian Augustus, king of kings, and as I, Mark Antony, commanded, and according to the advice of the Consul in Rome. Take care not to refuse to send your men of war to his aid when he comes to fight Antigonus, for if you do not hasten to go to his aid as I have commanded, the sword will be upon you, and (it will be a) great thing, for I, Mark Antony, have sworn it and I will not change." (295)

Afterwards, Herod went with Sosius to war on Antigonus. With them was the Roman force and all the army of Aramea. On the road, it was reported to Herod that his brother Joseph had died in war, that Pappus and all (Column 265) the Roman army in Judea who had come at first with Herod had killed him, and had put all of their officers to flight. But Joseph, the brother of Herod, stood (fast) because he did not wish to flee. He fought Pappus, who cut off the head of Joseph, the brother of Herod, and sent it to Jerusalem to Antigonus, king of Jerusalem. Pheroras, the brother of Herod, redeemed it with 50 talents of gold, and buried him in the tomb of his ancestors. (296) The king was told these things, but he

already knew these things, because he saw everything that happened to his brother in a dream. (297) Taken aback, the king mourned little, and did not delay vengeance. Leaving Sosius with the whole army, he took 12,000 Romans and 20,000 Jews and went to Libanus. (298) Crossing over and moving from there, he went to fight the army which Pappus had sent to confront him. He found them in the remote regions of Galilee and smote them very severely, from noon to evening.

In the evening, the king commanded his young men to eat and drink while he and his commanders (299) went to a barrack. While the king was eating, suddenly the whole house fell on the king and his commanders but the king was not killed or wounded, nor were his commanders, neither he nor one of his commanders; therefore, all the people believed that Herod was beloved of God. (300) The next day Herod went out (Column 266) to fight Antigonus and Pappus who stood opposed to him with a very well-equipped camp. A great battle was joined; Antigonus fled to Jerusalem, but Pappus stood and fought with Herod. That day many corpses were trampled upon. Pappus, too, the warrior of Jerusalem, was hit, and wounded in that battle. Pheroras cut off his head and brought it before King Herod, his brother. The king ordered it buried. (301)

Now the young men who fled the battle hid in the houses of the locality. The king commanded that the houses be destroyed over them. They died; thus he was avenged for his brother. (302).

In the evening, the king commanded his legions to eat and drink while he went to the bath with two small lads. Hidden there were some warriors of Pappus, men who had fled from the battle. Their drawn swords were in their hands, but they did not touch the king. Thus the people knew more

certainly that he was crowned by God's will. (303)

Traveling from there, Herod and all his camp with him, 30,000 men of the elite of Judea, went to Jerusalem. In addition, Sosius, whom Antony had ordered to the help of Herod came, with a well-equipped people, and a strong force. With him were the Roman force and two kings of Aramea. They encamped against Jerusalem until the beginning of the fourth year of his reign. (304) They fought many battles, because they went out to war against them many times, smiting some of them very severely. (Column 267) However, they were unable to put them to flight from Jerusalem. Many times they burned the ramparts and made a victory outside the wall. Afterwards, the force of Herod overpowered Antigonus and put them to flight toward the city to within the wall, because only a few were with Antigonus. Many of his warriors had fallen in battle. Afterwards, twenty of Herod's young men arose at night, and they raised ladders onto the wall. (305) After them the warriors of Sosius climbed up. The watchmen of the wall were sleeping, exhausted. When they had climbed up, they smote the guards and, rousing the camp with Herod, they shattered the gate. The men of the city were taken aback and the holy city was taken: Herod and Sosius entered the city and smote the men of the city widely and severely. They had no pity on boys or girls, old men or women. Herod became angry at the officers of Sosius. He said to Sosius: "If you devour the entire people with the sword, where will I rule?" When Sosius heard this, he issued this command: "He who slays one soul in Israel shall be put to death." (306) The officers of Sosius went to the Temple and sought to open the Temple and see the Holy of Holies, but they were unable, because King Herod drew his sword and stood before the gate of the

Temple, he and his young men. They prevented (Column 268) the Romans from seeing the Holy of Holies, for the king said: "It is better for us to die than that the foreigners see the secret (places) of the Lord in the Holy of Holies. (307) Then the king gave some of his wealth to Sosius and his officers, gold and silver, the reward for the help they gave him. The rest of the booty of the city he thus saved. (308)

At that time Sosius gave to the Temple of the Lord a large wreath of gold, for he was very afraid that God would do something to him, (309) in that he fought in the city of the Lord. And this is the evil which came upon Jerusalem, the holy city, in the days of the officers of Rome Marcus Agrippus and Caninius Gallus (310) in the year 181 of the Olympiad, (311) in the fourth month, (312) on a fast day. Afterwards Sosius went to Antony, to Egypt. Antigonus was bound in chains. Herod sent a great deal of silver and gold to Antony, that he might kill Antigonus. (313) Herod was afraid that the kingdom would return to him. When Antigonus was killed, Herod ruled Judea securely. He ruled as he pleased, honoring all the Jews who were first to help him. He honored greatly Hillel the elder, (314) the leader of the Pharisees, also Shammai (315) his disciple, for they were the ones who first advised the people to crown Herod. The Pharisees said that he was (sent) from (Column 269) the Lord on account of the transgressions of the people; that it was good to fulfill this before much blood were spilled in Jerusalem. Therefore, Herod honored the Pharisees, and he did not spare any of their enemies. He killed them by the sword and took their gold and silver, and put it into his house. He gathered much gold and silver. Moreover, he fought with all the nations around them, was victorious, and took their gold and put it into his house.

He placed guards at the gates to search everyone leaving Jerusalem. The silver or gold which they found on anyone, the guards took and brought to the king. The guards also searched the dead, lest people hide gold in the coffins they were carrying to the graves. Thus Herod became richer than all the kings before him in the Second Commonwealth. (316)

In those days, Hyrcanus, son of Alexander the king, was with Pacorus, king of Persia, his ally. He had taken him to Babylonia amidst a large number of Jews who were there. He dwelled among them. The Jews on the further side of the river received him sympathetically, as a king, and they honored him as the anointed of the Lord. He lacked no regality; but that he was not ruling in Jerusalem, and could not see the Temple of the Lord. When Hyrcanus heard that Herod, son of Antipater his ally, whom he had raised, and loved like a son, was ruling, he desired to go to Jerusalem. Desire for the sanctuary of the Lord grasped him. (Column 270) When Herod heard that Hyrcanus was in Babylonia, with great honor, he became very afraid that accusations would come, and the kingdom of Judea would return to him. (317) He sent messengers to the king of Persia: "Hyrcanus, who is with you in your land, raised me, and he is as important to me as my father. He is loyal. He is now in the exile into which Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, his brother cast him along with Pacorus, who escaped me into Persia. Now that I have been crowned, I recall before you his faithfulness and his goodness which he exercised in Judea. Behold, I have sent you a gift of gold and silver. Do not prevent him from coming to me. I will honor him and give him his due. I will repay the good deeds he did for my father and for me. If you do not send him, know that great wars will come upon you (by the) Romans and Jews." (318)

When the king of Persia heard this he sent to Hyrcanus in Babylonia, where his refuge of safety was, when he had fled from Antigonus (318a) and where he was thought of as king: "If you wish to go to Jerusalem, I do not prevent you. However, I advise you not to go. Beware of Herod, for he is a bloody man; he will destroy your old age." In addition, the Jews living in Babylonia spoke words like this to Hyrcanus: "Do not think that Herod has sent (messages) to bring you to him out of love (Column 271) but rather out of jealousy about the kingdom. Kings never show favors to men who did them favors when they were in a low condition. Honor changes them, and greatness turns their hearts." They also said: "You know that you cannot be priest in Jerusalem because of the imperfection which Antigonus, son of Aristobulus your brother, inflicted upon you by cutting off your ear. (319) Stay with us here. You will lack nothing. You will be as king in our eyes. Stay in your place and do not get involved in the battles of Jerusalem." (320) Hyrcanus, not wishing to listen to them, went to Jerusalem. Herod and all his officers came out to greet him. He embraced him and kissed him, and he brought him to his house and honored him greatly in the presence of all. He made feasts for him continually, and called him "my father" in the presence of all the people, but secretly he ordered that his life be taken. (321)

Now when Alexandra, daughter of Hyrcanus, mother of Herod's wife, Mariamne, (322) whom she bore to Alexander, son of Aristobulus, (323) brother of Hyrcanus her father, heard, she said to Hyrcanus her father: (324) "Beware of Herod. He is doing all this only to kill you. Listen to me. Go and flee to Malchus, (325) king of Arabia, lest this bloody man destroy your old age by the sword." But Hyrcanus did not wish to

listen to her. (Column 272) She urged him and afflicted him. They called Dositheus, (326) one of the aristocracy of Judea, whom they trusted, and revealed the secret to him. For Dositheus was an enemy of Herod's in that he (Herod) had killed his brother. Therefore, they revealed the secret to him, and, giving him a bribe, they sent (a message) to Malchus (to ask) that he send men and horses to him in secret, to stand at Lake Asphaltites (327) to take Hyrcanus to Malchus, king of Arabia, and flee from Herod.

Now, when Dositheus received this letter from him, he used it to gain the favor of the king. Dositheus gave the letter to Herod as it was, sealed with Hyrcanus' seal. He told him the whole secret which Hyrcanus and Alexandra, his daughter, had told him. When the king received this letter from Dositheus, he praised him and blessed him, giving him a large gift of gold and silver. The king said to him: "Go on your way to the place Hyrcanus sent you. Take the letter which he gave you, as it was, sealed with Hyrcanus' seal. When you get the letter which Malchus, king of Arabia, will give to you, bring it to me and show me the men and horses he will send to take Hyrcanus, and I will capture them. (Column 273) So Dositheus did all that the king told him. He went to Malchus, king of Arabia. Returning to Herod the king, he gave him that letter which Malchus sent to Hyrcanus, (inviting him) to come to him. When the king received the letter, he sent troops to Lake Asphaltites to capture the men and the horses which the king of Arabia had sent to take Hyrcanus. The king summoned the 70 elders. He spoke to Hyrcanus and asked him if there were a treaty between him and Malchus, king of Arabia. Hyrcanus said: "There is no treaty between him and me." The king said: "Did

you send this? Is this the letter which Malchus sent you?" He said: "No letter has come to me, nor have I sent a messenger to him." Then the king brought Dositheus out as well as the letter and the men and horses of Malchus whom he had captured, and he showed them to the 70 elders. He commanded one of his troops to remove Hyrcanus' head from him. Smiting him the soldier chopped his head off. (328) Thus died Hyrcanus, a righteous and good man, an old man who, when he was ruling, never did evil to anyone. Many troubles followed him from his youth, when his mother died and he received the kingdom. He ruled three months, when Aristobulus his brother, fought him and took the kingdom from his hand. At the end of three years his kingdom was returned. (329) (Column 27⁴) He had ruled for 40 years (330) when Antigonus, son of his brother Aristobulus, fought and captured him, cutting off his ear so that he could not be a priest, and exiling him in disgrace. And at the end of three years, Herod, whom he had raised with the sustenance of a son, ruled, and he killed him, repaying him evil for good. After these things, the women grieved; Mariamne, wife of Herod, and Alexandra, her mother, hated him greatly for his killing their aged father.

King Herod gave the priesthood to Ananelus, (331) one of the pure priests, for he was not of the Hasmoneans. Alexandra sent to Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, (332) her friend, wife of Antony, warrior of Rome, to speak to Antony to send messengers to Herod, commanding him to take the priesthood from Ananelus and to give it to Aristobulus, her son, a lad fifteen years old, (333) handsome and good-looking, diligent and clear of understanding, who was fleet as a deer. None in his day could be found like him in his good looks. He was the brother of Mariamne the queen,

wife of Herod the king, and son of Alexandra, her mother, who was born to Alexander, son of Aristobulus. Queen Cleopatra did according to the words of Alexandra her friend. She interceded with her husband Antony to send messengers (Column 275) to Herod to take the priesthood from Ananelus and to give it to Aristobulus the lad, so that he would be high priest. Antony sent Dellius, one of his officers, to Jerusalem, to Herod, to carry out the will of Cleopatra, his wife, and of Alexandra. Dellius, coming to Jerusalem, spoke these words to Herod, but Herod refused to give the priesthood to Aristobulus. He said: "It is not right to remove a high priest while he is alive, and to put another in his place."

When Dellius was in Jerusalem, he saw the lad Aristobulus and his good looks and beauty, as well as Mariamne, his sister. She too was beautiful and very good-looking. Dellius was astonished at their beauty for he had never seen any like them in all lands and all peoples. Dellius said to Alexandra: "By whom did you bear these? It was not a man who joined with you but an angel of God. That is why you gave birth to children such as these. Now listen to me. Take their measurements, and draw a likeness of the two. Send it by my hand to Antony. When he sees the likenesses of the lad and the maiden, he will perform all their desires." Alexandra did what Dellius said. She sent the likenesses of her children to Antony. When he saw the images, his abominable urge was aroused. He sent a letter to Herod (Column 276) "Mark Antony, warrior of Rome, to Herod, king of Judea, Peace. Recall the loyalty which I have shown you. I helped you become king over all Judea. Now do not refuse to send Aristobulus to me. If you do not send him quickly, know that the wars of Rome are upon you." When Herod read the letter, he knew that he desired the

lad for his abominations, so he hurriedly gave the priesthood to the lad and he wrote to Antony: "The lad cannot leave the country because he is high priest in place of Ananelus. If the lad leaves the country now, the Jews will stir up wars. Much blood will be spilt, for they would die before releasing the lad." (334) When Antony heard this, he stopped asking for the lad.

King Herod removed Ananelus from the priesthood, and gave it to Aristobulus, brother of his wife. He was a sixteen year old lad. In the beginning the high priests stayed until the day of their death, but Antiochus Epiphanes desecrated the priesthood by removing the high priest and putting Onias (335) in his place. Second, Aristobulus removed his brother Hyrcanus, and third, Herod cast Ananelus from the priesthood and gave it to his wife's brother. (336)

He did this because of the quarrels which were within his house, to heal the argument in his house. But (Column 277) he could not rest in his house, for his brother-in-law (337) and his wife hated him for killing their grandfather Hyrcanus. (338) Herod commanded that Alexandra be guarded secretly, for he was afraid that she would stir up the people against him. (339) Alexandra sent to Cleopatra (in order) to flee from Herod, to come to Egypt. Alexandra made two coffins as for burial to leave Jerusalem among the coffins of the dead which leave Jerusalem to be buried in Hebron or in other places. Aristobulus lay in one coffin and Alexandra lay in another coffin to leave Jerusalem to go to Ipolis, (340) the place to which Cleopatra had sent to meet Alexandra and her son. Sabion, one of Alexandra's advisors, went and told the king. The king said to Sabion: "Take the coffins in which Alexandra and her son are,

as Alexandra told you, but when you carry them in their covering, bring the coffins before me, and I will catch them in the coffins." Sabion did so. They brought the coffins before the king. The king opened the coffins and behold, Alexandra and her son were within. The king said: "Alexandra, how long will you not be embarrassed to do things like this?" And the king forgave this transgression too. (341)

At the end of (Column 278) one year, on the festival of Booths, Aristobulus the priest, ascended the altar to sacrifice, in the clothing of the officers of the priests, to perform the service of the high priest. The people saw the lad, standing on his stand, the ephod on his waist, his features and his beauty, and his likeness to an angel of God, they rejoiced and cried from their great joy. They praised the Lord and the priest. (342) The king trembled greatly and said to himself: "If I do not remove this lad from before me quickly, the kingdom will return to him, for in the heart of all the people is (the desire) to make him king." (343)

After the festival, the king and all his household left Jerusalem and went to Jericho, a great city, a place where there are balsams, from which comes fine oil. Hence the city is called Jericho because of the odor. (344) When he arrived, the king made a banquet for all the officers going with him. The king sat at the banquet and he said to Aristobulus the high priest: "Be seated." So Aristobulus the high priest sat next to the king, while all the officers and servants sat each man according to his rank, and the king and all his officers rejoiced greatly. After the banquet, in the afternoon, the king, Aristobulus the priest, and the officers of the king went out to the gardens and the pools; the king, to see the

servants of the king swimming. There were very great deep pools of water (Column 279) which were filled by the waters of the wells.

The king stood at one pool, watching his servants swimming in the water and playing. They engaged in dipping one another. The young men called to Aristobulus. This was according to the plan of the king. "Let me go and swim with the young men," (Aristobulus said). The king said to him, "Why are you going down now?" But he (Aristobulus) pressed him. "Go," the king said to him: "Do as you wish." The lad went down and swam in the water with the young men while the king left and went to his house. The servants of the king played in the water with Aristobulus until nightfall. Then in accordance with the plan of King Herod, they dipped him in the water until they killed him. (345) When the people heard that Aristobulus was dead, they raised their voices and wept. The king's officers and his servants wept, too.

The women Alexandra and Mariamne cried out. (346) Mariamne the queen said to the king, within hearing of all the people: "How have I been left alone of all my family whom you have taken by your sword! You did not have pity on the old age of my mother, nor on the boy, my brother. I am the ruin of my whole family." She cried out greatly in the presence of all the people. King Herod also wept, for his compassion for the beauty of the lad was aroused. He made his burial a great thing and he performed great honor at his death. (347) Alexandra, mother (Column 280) of the boy wanted to kill herself, but she chose life in order to find a pretext to seek vengeance on Herod. (348) From that day on, Mariamne did not speak with Cypros, (349) mother of the king, or with Salome, (350) his sister, out of her hatred for them. She continually cursed them; she

slyly reviled them with the family disgrace, by saying that they were (of) mixed (parents), Cypros, mother of the king, and Salome, his sister. Salome maliciously reported her to the king, but the king would not listen to her words. Nor did he reprove Mariamme his wife, because of his love for her. His love for her was unsurpassed. Therefore, Mariamme, relying upon his love, cursed and reviled the king's family.

At that time wars broke out in Aramea and Persia. They rebelled against the kingdom of Rome, because Mark Antony, the warrior who dwelled in Egypt, was oppressing them. He had given them as a gift to Cleopatra his wife, because Antony did everything Cleopatra told him to do. She stirred him up about the kings in order to take their land, to give her their gold and silver and all the property which they held as the reserve of the kings. And so he did. Antony killed mighty kings and gave (their wealth) to her. She also urged him to kill the kings of Judea and Arabia and to give them (Column 281) and their booty to her. Now this matter reached the heart of Antony and his reason returned to him, just as a crazy man returns to his senses from his illness. Antony said: "It is not good to kill great kings like this. We cannot do it without losing Romans and spilling blood. Herod, king of Judea, is my ally. He was crowned with the consent of Augustus and the Consul in Rome. This is not proper to do." But Antony had no pity on the king of Aramea. He gave his booty and his land to Cleopatra. (351)

Again he went out to kill many kings. He went out to fight against Persia. Cleopatra went out with him. She led him to Persia, then the queen turned back to Egypt. (352) She arrived in the land of Judea. King Herod received her in Jericho, the city of odors, (353) which produces

fine oil. He made a great feast for her and her servants. Queen Cleopatra urged him to lie with her, but King Herod refused. He secretly told his advisors to bring her into a room under his control and kill her and save the nations from her evildoing. His advisors refused. They said to him: "God forbid that you do such a thing. If you kill her, you would immediately stir up great wars between you and Antony." When the king heard this, he decided against doing (Column 282) so. Instead he gave her silver, gold, and precious stones with regal generosity, (and) after escorting her to Egypt, the king returned to Jerusalem. (354) Antony fought Armenia, and captured it. From there he went and fought Persia and captured it. Antony brought Artabazes, king of Armenia (355) and the rest of the king(s) of Persia, bound in chains, with all their ornaments, and gave them as a gift to Cleopatra, as slaves. (356) Therefore, all the nations hated Antony, because the Lord had put into his power great and mighty kings whom he insulted by giving them to Cleopatra as slaves.

After these things, Cleopatra incited Antony to fight Octavian Augustus, who ruled in Rome and who ruled from beyond the land of India to Britain, on the Atlantic Ocean (357) in the west. Antony prepared to fight him. In the 87th year of the Olympiad, (358) he came with a vast, well-equipped force, for he had listened to the words of Cleopatra, his wife. King Herod gathered a great force from all of Judea and the nations he had conquered, a huge force, as well as very many ships. He went to Egypt to aid Antony, to go with him to Actium to fight Octavian Augustus. (359)

When King (Column 283) Herod arrived in Egypt, Antony said to him:

"Do not come with us, lest all these kingdoms revolt when I go to Actium to fight Augustus. You be our aid on this side. Go and smite Arabia, for the king of Arabia has rebelled." (360) When Herod heard these words, he assembled his cavalry and infantry and went into the land of Arabia. He put the land of Arabia to the sword and fire. Now Cleopatra sent Athenio, (361) the general of her army, to the aid of Herod. Secretly she told him: "Take counsel with the king of Arabia. When you approach the battle, when it has been joined, stand behind the Jewish camp and smite them from behind. Go among the Jews and they will fall with Herod their king. Then I will take the land of Judea and rule over it." So Herod went into the land of Arabia, Athenio with him. Athenio secretly sent these words to the king of Arabia who came out to meet them with a vast number of people. Staying in camp, Herod sent the general of the Jewish army out of camp to confront the king of Arabia. A very great battle was joined. In the beginning the Jews were superior. They smote Arabia severely; a vast multitude fled from them. Then Athenio smote the tents of the Jews from behind as Cleopatra the queen had (Column 284) commanded him. Turning, the Jews discovered themselves embattled in front and behind. They faced about to fight Athenio and the Egyptians, but the Arabians came into their midst, as well as the Egyptians, Athenio's men. These came from this side, those from that, and the Jews were in the middle. The loss of the Jews was great; many fell in that battle. Herod the king hurriedly left the camp with his cavalry. He smote the forces of Athenio, who fled from him. He also smote the Arabian force very severely, treading upon many of them as corpses. He pursued them as far as their fortresses, then returned to Jerusalem. (362)

Now in those days, the entire land of Judea trembled when a great and mighty earthquake occurred, the likes of which had not occurred since the days of Uzziah, king of Judea. (363) Many died in the land of Judea. Much cattle also died in the earthquake. Men, women and children died in the outskirts of Jerusalem. Ten thousand died in the cities of Judea alone. (364) King Herod and all the Jewish people were appalled; both the king and the people trembled greatly. They shook like trees of the forest before the wind, (365) and all said: "It is time to find a way to seek peace with all our neighbors, so that no obstacle will prevent us from returning to the Lord." They sent ambassadors to the nations around them who made peace all around. (Column 285) Herod sent ambassadors to the king of Arabia, to make peace with him, but the king of Arabia siezed Herod's ambassadors and killed them outside the city called Petra, in the wilderness, his capital city. He assembled his whole army, the army of Arabia, and the force of Barbary, a host as numerous as the sand on the seashore, to go to the land of Judea to conquer it, for he had heard how the pride of Judea had been lost in the earthquake. When Herod heard that the king of Arabia had slaughtered his ambassadors, he was very saddened. He called his officers, his warriors, and all the people, and spoke these words to them: "Listen to what I say to you today, my brothers and friends, you holy ones of the Lord. I know that a great tragedy has struck us this year. For that reason I have been afraid to speak to you, lest (my words) trouble you, or cause you concern, for you are embittered. But listen carefully. Up to now we have fought descendents of captives. We have expended our strength and bravery to take booty and loot. At times we conquered, at times we fell, like any nation. When we were victorious

we would take their land and their wealth. But now, we go to war not for booty nor for property but for vengeance for the innocent blood spilled in their land. They have killed the ambassadors we sent to make peace with them. (Column 286) Now I will be astonished if you are afraid of their crowd. You know that we have beaten them in every war. If you say that your hearts are weak because of the earthquake, you are worried, and you have fear in your hearts for nothing. This earthquake did not harm us; it was good for us, for it brings the Arabians out to war. If not for this earthquake, they would not come to fight us. Just listen. Since we sustained losses in the earthquake, they come out confidently. Know that this war is God's will. Think of those who died in the earthquake. Not one of our men of war died, only old men, women and children. They have been encouraged by the trouble which came upon us. They rely on vanity. Woe to him who trusts in vanity for the fall of his enemy. In one moment the situations of man can change. Out of trouble man can go to relief, and from relief to trouble; that is the situation of man. Consider what the Arabians did to us in the first war and not in the last. Did they stand before us? Instead they fled. Afterwards Athenio smote us; then those who fled returned to us and faced us to battle us. Now, this fear which grips you, because of the houses which fell in the earthquake and which killed many (Column 287) people, if God seeks to punish us more, He surely can. Who can stand before him? It was His desire to punish us because of our sins. Now we are free of sin and transgression, for we have suffered in the earthquake. God will not punish us anymore than this, because (His) mercy always follows (His) wrath. Now be strong and take heart, O holy people, just as your early ancestors did. We may

have lost cattle, but our enemy has lost his counsels and his faith. They dealt violently with our ambassadors. They have violated not only our law but also the laws of all peoples; the Roman law, the Greek law, and even their own law. They have dealt violently with sacred ones, for ambassadors are sacred. The Greeks call them sacred. We call ambassadors like these messengers of God who make peace between peoples, so that blood is not spilled. (366) Now be strong and take courage to seek vengeance, since they slew the messengers of God."

Thus he called them to hasten to war, by the will of the Lord, until vengeance was achieved.

"Therefore let us hurry, while their blood helps. The angels of God are with us; they will fight with us for the blood that was spilled. They will help us against the enemy." (367)

When the Jews heard these words, they were stirred up for battle. (Column 288) Herod saw that the people wanted, to a man, to make war on Arabia. He sacrificed burnt offerings and whole offerings to the Lord. And, crossing the Jordan with cavalry and a very great, vast force from the army of Judea and Benjamin, all warriors who would never retreat, he went into the land of Arabia. The king of Arabia came out to meet him with a force as vast in number as the sand on the shores of the sea. They joined in battle. In the first battle 5,000 men fell by the sword. And they took up positions and fought. Another 4,000 Arabians fell. The Jews pursued the Arabians who fled up to their camp. They did not come out of the camp for days, but the Jews could not enter the camp, because it was fortified all about. The Arabians fought from within the camp. King Herod set the camp of the Jews in front of the camp of the Arabians,

and he did not let them leave their camp to carry water. The camp made approaches to the king, but he did not receive them, for he had determined to seek vengeance upon them. The Arabians said to one another: "Let us go out and fight. It is better for us to die in battle than to die of thirst." Going out, they joined in a very great battle. The Jews came out to meet the Arabians; the battle was joined. The Jews killed (Column 289) 7,000 Arabians. (368) The Arabians turned then to flee. King Herod and his people pursued them to their fortified cities, and smote them so severely that (the defeat) could not, in its magnitude, be estimated. King Herod took their fortified cities, including Petra, in the wilderness, as well as all their cities. They became vassals of Herod for his lifetime. The king went back to Jerusalem, with his camp, in peace, for not one man had been taken from them. They gave thanks and praise to the Lord their God, and they gave an offering in the house of the Lord, because they had brought great booty, very great riches, which they had taken from Arabia and from Barbary.

In those days, Antony fought Octavian Augustus. Augustus grew stronger than Antony and was victorious over him. Augustus captured all the government. He came by boat to Rhodes (369) on his way to Egypt. When Herod was told that Antony had lost, he was very distressed. But he took his life in his hands by traveling to Augustus, at the city of Rhodes, the city of the Greeks. He anticipated his arrival with a gift. He set his household in order. He gave Cypros, his mother, and Salome, his sister, to Pheroras, his brother, commanding him to take them to Massada in Idumea, and he gave Mariamne, his wife and her mother Alexandra to Joseph, (370) the husband of Salome his sister, and to Sohemus of Iturea, (371)

(Column 290) commanding them to bear them to the city called Alexandrium, (372) and he made them swear that if they heard that an accident had befallen him, they should kill Mariamme his wife, and Alexandra her mother. He would go by ship to Augustus, who might seek to kill Herod on account of the love Herod had for Antony.

In his appearance before Augustus, he removed none of his royal jewelry except the crown, and he said to Augustus: "If it is because of the love I had for Antony that you are angry with me, I will not hide from you the fact that I was an ally of Antony. If he is still alive, I am still his ally, because with his wealth he helped me in becoming king. Everything my mouth says about Antony and me, my hand showed in war. I would have gone with him to Actium to battle you, but I did not go with him to Actium. I could not, because of the Arabian wars and the evil advice Cleopatra, his wife gave him, that I should not come with him. Therefore I did not raise my sword against you nor did I fight you. However, it was not from fear of war, or from the heart's fear of you. It was not as a man who abandons his friend in a time of trouble that I left Antony. I would be ashamed if I were not with him. Instead I sent an army of troops and ships carrying (Column 291) all weapons of war, quantities of food and sustenance. You see all the friendship with which I loved him. Was I with him in the valley of Asia in the land of Actium in the place of battle? I was not there. See? I will not hide anything from you lest I appear to your eyes as a man who abandons his friend in time of trouble. You speak to me in judgment and in battle. I fear your judgment, but not your war. But, in judgment a man's strength will not help him; rather he is captured by his sin. Hence, I want to show you

the friend. Look, even though you have now vanquished Antony, and he has been brought low and he is in flight, if I find him, I will not leave him. Instead, I will help him. Even though he lost by his lack of wits, you conquered with your forces; you were successful with the help of Roman warriors.

But, in the larger sense, he was beaten by his lack of wits. Cleopatra conquered him with her voluptuousness and her sorcery. He did not heed my advice to kill her. She was his enemy who incited him to fight you. If he had listened to me and killed her, it would have been well for him. I would have gone to war against you, with him, but they listened to her advice. He left me; I did not leave him. He was the one who put the royal crown on my head. I have come to you and I have removed it from my head. But know that I have removed it in your honor; not because (Column 292) I am standing before your judgment. If he is alive, I am the enemy of his enemies and the ally of all his allies. We have many allies, therefore they all will be reliable and they will save us in the day of trouble."
(373)

When he had spoken these things, he (Augustus) said to Herod: "It is most fitting that you rule, for you are faithful to your allies; you cherish friendship. You are not ashamed to reveal the friendship you had with Antony, our enemy. But from now on you will be our ally. We will give you a gift, the reward for your friendship. Everything Antony gave you we will double. I was victorious over him in battle. Now I will conquer him by generosity. I will give you everything you ask me, for Antony did not treat you in kind. He listened to Cleopatra. He did not listen to your advice. He chose her charms and did not have faith in

you. Do not wonder, for what he did to you, he did to me. Because of Cleopatra he left my friendship and became an enemy of mine." (374)

Taking the royal crown, Augustus put it on Herod's head. He increased his kingdom two-fold. Herod went with him to Egypt where Augustus took all the kingdoms which Antony had given to Cleopatra, enthroning Herod there. (Column 293) Augustus also gave him 400 warriors from the nation called Gaul, and he honored him greatly. (375)

When Herod returned to Jerusalem, he found his entire household in upheaval. His brother-in-law Joseph and Sohemus of Iturea, whom the king had assigned to guard Mariamne, his wife, had revealed the secrets of the king; that they were to kill Mariamne his wife, so that no man could take her after his death. When the woman heard this, she was very grieved and whenever the king spoke to her about the honor and the greatness which were tendered to him, she did not appear pleased, nor did she lift her face, or listen to his words. Instead she cursed his family. When Herod saw his wife's hatred, he was very upset, for the king loved her very much.

The next day, Mariamne caused an argument with Salome, the king's sister, wife of Joseph. She (Salome) reviled the queen severely and she reviled her family. Salome slandered (her) to the king. Salome said: "When the king was with Augustus, Joseph my husband lay with Mariamne the queen." The king did not believe (this) for he knew that his wife had always been chaste. But because of the hatred his wife bore him, the king took these words to heart a bit. Calling his wife, he asked her: "Tell me, (Column 294) do you bear me this hatred for nothing? You do not love me as you used to. I love you more than all women. I swear to you that

from the day I came to you, the desire for another woman has not come upon me, except for my love and desire for you." Mariamne said: "If you loved me as you said, you would not be my enemy. Who ever heard of such a thing? For a man to be a lover and to kill his lover. Why did you order Joseph to kill me when you went to Augustus, king of Rome?" (376)

When the king heard this, he trembled greatly, and releasing her from the embrace in which he held her, he cried out: "Here is surely a sign of the matter I heard. Joseph would not have revealed my secret unless he had lain with her." The king left the house to sleep in another house. When Salome, the king's sister, saw that the king believed what he heard from his wife, she took one of the eunuchs of the king, from the cupbearers, and giving him a bribe of silver and gold, she said to him: "Take this deadly poison and go to the king. Tell him 'Mariamne your wife has given me silver and gold and this potion. She told me: go and cause the king to drink this potion. It is a love potion to bring back the King's (good) opinion of me.'" The eunuch did all that Salome commanded him. The king trembled and said: "Where (Column 295) is the potion?" He came before him bringing the potion. They gave it to a man under sentence of death, who drank of the potion and died immediately. (377)

Then the king ordered that Mariamne, Joseph his brother-in-law, and Sohemus of Iturea be arrested. He also arrested one of Mariamne's eunuchs, giving orders that he be tortured severely to make him confess about the drink. About that, he said nothing. But he did tell of the hatred his wife (Mariamne) had for him (Herod) because of the king's secret which Joseph and Sohemus had revealed to her. The king ordered that

Joseph and Sohemus of Iturea be killed. (378) The king ordered that Mariamne be kept under guard until they had called together the seventy men who were elders in those days, to have her stand trial and to put her to death according to their judgment. But Salome and her advisors hastened to tell the king: "Let it be known to you that if you let Mariamne live one day (longer) now, the people will join against you. The followers of the queen will assemble from all over, and they will not give her over to death, without agitation and battle." (379)

The king said: "Do as you wish." They led her for execution outside the city. Her mother Alexandra came. She cried out: "Go! Go! rebellious woman who rebelled against your husband!" She defamed and cursed her (daughter) in a voice of crying and lamentation. But Alexandra spoke in (Column 296) deceit in order to survive a bit longer; perhaps she might be able to seek her vengeance by finding a pretext for killing Herod. Many other women reviled and defamed (Mariamne), because they thought her guilty. (380) Mariamne answered nothing. Silently she went to her death, without fear or dread, as if she were going to a house of rejoicing. Her expression did not change, nor did she change the measure of her step. The queen disdained death just as all her family, the Hasmonaeans, did. Thus she showed to all the nobility of her family and the greatness of her ancestors. She was decapitated and she died, and she was gathered to her people. (381) She outshone all women in beauty, appearance and holiness. Her fear of God surpassed all women of those days. Only meekness was lacking in her. She would always curse the king when she saw him. Thus she sinned; but no man could describe her beauty (adequately). (382)

The Lord did not long delay her vengeance. He smote the king's household with pestilence, from which many of the king's followers, his rich men and officers, died. All the cities of Judea were hit with the pestilence at that time. The people prayed: "God of the world, for one life, let not many of your people's lives be taken." Then the Lord healed the people and the plague ceased. (383)

(Column 297) Afterwards, Herod relented of having killed Mariamne, his wife. The king's anger was changed to desire. In his desire for Mariamne, the king would call her name as if she were alive. He ordered her servants to make her a banquet house, and to set up a chair for her next to the king's (chair) as in life. (384) The king fell very sick from his love for Mariamne and his desire for her, which he could not bear. When Alexandra saw that the king was sick, she plotted to kill him. When the king heard of this, he ordered her put to death. (385)

The sons of Herod, Aristobulus and Alexander, born to Mariamne, were in Rome at that time, to learn Roman letters. When they heard about this, they mourned and became very angry that their mother had been killed. But we shall tell of their deeds after this. (386)

When the king was cured of his illness, he gave his sister Salome in marriage to Costobarus, an Idumean. He appointed him governor over Idumea (which) from the days of Hyrcanus, son of Simeon, who circumcised them, binding them with chains of circumcision (was a Judean possession). While Costobarus was ruling in Idumea, he sought to take Idumea out of the hands of Judea. He raised the early image of Edom (387) and sent (a message) to Egypt to request cavalry in order to rebel against Herod. This was told to Herod who sought to kill him (Column 298). But his mother and

his sister pleaded with him so the king had mercy on Costobarus this time. (388)

Afterwards, a quarrel developed between Costobarus and Salome, his wife. She brought bad reports about him to the king, and entreated him to speak to Costobarus, to write her a bill of divorce. The king ordered Costobarus to do so; thus he made a bill of divorce at the command of the king. This was not according to the Torah of Moses: the wife cannot leave her husband, but the man can leave his wife, but only because of hatred. (389)

After this, Salome spoke to the king about the men whom Costobarus had hidden in one of his villages, men of royal descent. (390) They had been hidden for 12 years from the day Herod took Jerusalem. When she told this to the king, he ordered that Costobarus, who had hidden (them) be killed, and also Lysimachus and Dositheus, Judean noblemen. He did not leave one who could stand against his iniquities.

He desecrated the Torah by making theatres for Jerusalem out of marble and white stone, engraving upon them the trophies of the nations he had conquered. (392) In the valley, he built a huge hippodrome. (393) He made chariots for horses and he made pens for them. He built pens for wild animals and put (Colmn 299) into the pen, lions, leopards, wolves, and pigs. He would send into them sheep and cattle to stir up battles among them. He also pitted men against the wild animals from time to time. One time the man would be victorious, another time the animal would be victorious, and they would kill each other. The king would give great treasure to the victors. To the foreigners, this thing was a delight, but to the Jews it was a sorrowful (thing).

Now ten young men of Judea, Shimei (394) and his friends, became inflamed with zeal. They jumped upon him (the king) with drawn swords. But the king already knew of the plot; he had been told a day beforehand. For that reason, they were unable to kill him as they wished. The king's troops surrounded them and put them to death. And the one who reported this matter, on the third day, sinned against the king, who (then) commanded that his flesh be cut off and he be thrown to the dogs. (395)

Herod did many things; he conquered many cities, and built many cities. He rebuilt Samaria to its original length and width, calling it Sebaste. (396) Within it, he built a great temple to Augustus the king. He built Caesarea of marble stones; he beautified the city greatly. He built a harbor (397) for the ships coming there. He built so many cities that they cannot be numbered. (398)

In the thirteenth year of his reign, there was a hard, severe famine (Column 300) in the land of Judea, and in the lands of all the nations which Herod had conquered and was ruling. There was great plenty in Egypt. The king took silver and gold from his treasury, and many precious stones, to help the people, for the people had become very needy because of the famine. The king sent to all his kingdom and he sent to Egypt to gather wheat as plentiful as the sand on the seashore. He distributed it at the mill at Jaffa and the mill at Caesarea, making it cheap and plentiful in our land. Augustus, king of the Romans, had sent a letter to Petronius who was in Egypt to send very many large ships bearing wheat to be sold only in the land of Judea. The full ships which Augustus sent to Herod the king were a gift. Petronius went many (times) in the ships. He found it (being sold) cheaply in the land of Judea; they sold the

wheat cheaply as Augustus had ordered. Thus Herod satisfied the whole land of Judea. The king ordered the bakers (399) to give bread to the elderly and the sick. And to the rest of the people, (his) young men gave wheat. So the king proceeded throughout the famine, sustaining the people with his wealth. (400) The king gave to other foreigners the farts 1,000 asses (could carry), each ass (bearing) 10 ephahs. The people of Judea loved him from that day on, with all the nations around them loving him as well. His name went out among all (Column 301) lands as the one who defended his people as a wall by saving them from the famine. The people forgot all the evil he had done in the past. They praised him as they saw him in their distress. They did not remember him in a bad light, rather in a good light. (401)

Even his enemies did not speak ill of him out of fear and dread; for he would always change his royal clothing and go amidst the people in poor clothing, so that they would not recognize him. He would speak with the people and test them. When he found an admirer, he would honor him and make him wealthy. When he found an enemy he would put him to death with terrible tortures.

He made the people swear (fealty to him), and he bound them by oath. Many did not want to swear, but no one escaped without his forcing them to swear to be faithful to him. He crushed those of the people who did not swear, excepting only the Pharisaic elders, Hillel and Shammai, and their colleagues. He did not make them undergo the oath, for they were (already!) allies of the king. When Herod and Antony had besieged Jerusalem, they, with the Pharisees, had convinced the people to accept Herod, to bring him into the city, and to make him king. They had said: "To

prevent the ruin of the nation, let this one rule." Therefore the king did not make them undergo the oath. Moreover, he did not make the Essenes, (402) members of the Hassideans, undergo the oath, for the sake of Menahem the Essene, (403) of the Hassideans. Menahem was a righteous and wise man in those days. (Column 302)

We also have many things to write of the ways of the Lord's people. There were none so wise in the world as the Lord's people, nor did wisdom rule another people as it did the Lord's people. But now let the nations know and acknowledge what wisdom Israel had in this Menahem and his associates.

When Herod was a lad, going to wise men to learn, Menahem sat in the assembly of elders and the arbiters of justice. When Menahem saw the lad, he bowed down to him and said: "Long live the king." The king thought that Menahem was joking with him, so he cursed the wise man. The sage grabbed him and struck him on the buttocks with his hand, in the way one hits boys, and he said, "You surely will rule in great wealth, and you will greatly enlarge the kingdom of the Lord's people. When you sit on your throne, be sure to remember the blow I gave you. It is a sign of the sins and the transgressions you will commit, sinning and doing evil. You will also do much good. But hear me: embrace the good and leave the bad. But in vain do I burden you with words. I see the future. You will not leave the evil." Menahem cried a great deal and grabbed him again and hit him on his buttocks. The boy cried and went away. (404)

When Herod ruled, (Column 303) just as the sage had said, he remembered these words. He sent for Menahem and said to him: "The words which you spoke to me were true! Since you have the wisdom of God, speak now.

Tell me how many years I shall rule and how many I shall live." The sage remained silent, not answering. When the king realized that he would not answer, he was taken aback. He said to himself: "Surely this sage is silent because he sees that my days are numbered." The king asked him once again, "Please tell me. Shall I rule ten years?" Menahem answered: "Ten and twenty and thirty and more." The king said: "How many more?" The sage was silent, answering no more on these matters. The king was pleased by Menahem's words. He believed him. He honored him and gave him great wealth.

This is the affair that took place among the Lord's people at that time, in the 18th year of King Herod, (405) after he had smitten all the kings with whom he fought, and after he had built all the great cities and fortresses which he built, when the Lord God of Israel gave him rest from all his enemies roundabout.

He assembled all of the Lord's people, his officers and servants, his warriors, and the rest of the people, and he addressed them with these words: "Listen and give ear, O people whom the Lord chose to be His special people of all peoples, (Column 304) for the sake of the love of your forefathers and for the sake of the oath which was made to you He has kept the oath and the covenant. Hence, He has saved us from great wars and has conquered many nations before us and mighty kings, excepting the kings of Rome who are our friends and allies, and masters of all kingdoms. Now my brothers and friends, the Lord has given us rest roundabout and has prospered us as you can see this day. Why do we not repay Him measure for measure, according to the good deeds He has done for us and performed for us? Why should we shirk the trouble of (re)building His Temple and His

house like the first building. Our ancestors who returned from exile rebuilt it, but not to the size of the first. It is not proper for us to speak badly of our ancestors in this matter. They were servants to the kings of Persia. They built it to the size that the kings of Persia permitted them. Later, they were servants of the kings of Greece until the Hasmoneans rose and became free. They took over the kingdom, but they were unable to rebuild the Temple because of the wars which surrounded them. Now there is no one hostile, or any evil occurrence. I have built great cities to increase your prestige. Nor for my (own) prestige have I built them. I am but one; you are many, a vast and mighty people. Now, holy ones of the Lord, let us not shirk the trouble of building. The building is not for man (Column 305) but for the King of all the world. Be strong and of good courage my brothers and friends. Let us rebuild His house as the first was; let us make it like its length, its width and its height. Let us succeed in doing it." (406)

The people were silent; they answered nothing. They were afraid that he would destroy the Temple and postpone rebuilding. The king said: "We will not destroy until we have arranged for the whole building, and all the repairs." And so the king did. He arranged all the repairs for building the Temple with his wealth and his treasury; wood, stones, and wagons to carry the stones, silver, gold and precious stones, 10,000 artisans, skilled workers, and 1,000 priests to enter the Holy of Holies, which no strange man may approach. When he had prepared it all, the people rejoiced and said to the king: "Let us succeed in doing it." When the king saw that the people were wholeheartedly with him to a man for building the House of the Lord, he razed its foundations, made (new)

foundations from great stones, and built the Temple upon them.

The Temple which King Herod built was 100 cubits in length, 100 cubits in width, and 120 cubits in height, only within the roof of the Temple the height was 20 cubits more. The foundations were on 10 cubits beneath, and the stones with which the king built the Temple (Column 306) were like snow (in color). The length and the width of each stone from the foundation of the Temple to its very end was 25 cubits; their height 8 cubits. It was very high inside, and the Temple could be seen from afar. (407) He made the doors with fine detail work, their doorposts and their locks worked in silver. He made veils, woven of blue, purple and crimson yarns, precious stones, and points of gold. He placed on the curtain a wreath of gold which made a flower. He made the Holy of Holies in its length and width the same measure as the first, positioning it along the width of the Temple, as it should be. The king made pillars of silver, their capitals silver and their hooks of gold. The king made a vine of pure gold, placing it at the head of the columns above; 1,000 talents of gold was its weight. The vine was a work of art; its inter-twinings, its leaves, its blossoms of glistening gold, its clusters greenish gold, its berries and the exterior of its grapes, and the interiors were precious stones, all precise work. That vine astonished all who beheld it, and rejoiced the hearts of all who looked upon it. Many Roman writers testified that they saw it in the destruction of the Temple. He made the inner hall, putting it along (Column 307) the width of the Temple. He built on its face two walls, works of art, binding it up with iron outside. No more could one know the plan of the work. The king made the area around the Temple level, and he filled all the hollow places. He

made the entire place level and surrounded the Temple with four halls. The eastern hall he made along the eastern side; its rear to the east, its front to the Temple. It was 250 cubits in length, (408) 100 cubits in width, corresponding to the measure of the Temple. Its height was 120 cubits. He made the court before the eastern hall, constructing an intricate floor. He built 160 columns (409) in four rows; 40 columns to the first row, 40 columns to the second row, 40 columns to the third row, and 40 columns to the fourth row. The length of one column was 50 cubits. It was 3 cubits thick, this being the measure of one of the 160 columns. Between each pillar was 15 cubits distance. (410) The length of the east court was 720 cubits; it drew the building out to the Valley of Kidron. He built arches to the valley, and on them he built bridges with floors of stones. Then he built the building (Column 308) on them. He enlarged the building greatly over the valley, facing the Temple, making it with three roofs. Whoever stood in those days on the third roof could not see into the depth of the valley because of the great height of the building. Only darkness could be seen in the depths of the valley. (411) Between the hall and the Temple, the king built the silver wall, making a door of gold for it. Over the door, he raised a sword, weighing a talent of pure gold. Written on the sword was: The stranger who approaches will be put to death. (412)

On the southern side of the Temple he made the south court, its rear to the south, its front to the Temple. Two hundred and fifty cubits was its length; its width 100 cubits, corresponding to the measure of the Temple. Its height was 120 cubits. Placing the hall in the court, he made it higher than the court. He enclosed the court and attached it to

the east court. He made gates for it as he had done for the east court.

On the western side, he built the west court, its rear to the west, its face to the Temple. Two hundred and fifty cubits was its length, 100 cubits its width, corresponding to the measurement of the Temple. He built the west court, positioning it to face the hall westward. In it he made four (Column 309) gates. The first gate led to the palace of King Herod and to a valley within which were routes leading outside the city. One led to a descent by stairs into the valley and from there up again to the city. The city (lay over) against the Temple appearing like an arena, surrounded by a deep valley to the south. (413) He built the hall to the north on the north side of the Temple, the hall to the rear, its face to the Temple. Two hundred and fifty cubits was its length, 100 cubits its width, 120 cubits its height. He built the court, putting it on the northern face of the hall. Its length was 27 cubits, its width like the length and width of the east court and the south court. Each hall matched the others in measurement; the same measurements for all the courts applied. (414) Only the fourth court did not correspond to their measurements. Its site was very rocky. For that reason the king did not extend it. The king put four gates in the western corner; four gates he gave to the south court facing south, four gates to the north court. (Together) twelve gates. One gate was large, the one which we use with our wives and our children and our wood. Only in holiness and purity did we enter it in those days. Going on the floor of the court before the (Column 310) hall facing the Temple, we would enter the hall. Only women could not enter. We did not approach the Temple, for that was the place of the priests. Nor could the priests approach the Holy of Holies; only the

high priest could do so, once a year. (415) But we could see everything in the Temple when we stood in the middle of the hall in those days, every work of gold which was in the Temple, when the gate of the Temple was open, up to the court, could be seen, including the vine of gold and all the gold work the Temple had, all the ornaments of gold which the king affixed to the walls of the Temple, booty from the nations, the Lord had put into his power. When we saw it we rejoiced.

All the work was complete at the end of eight years. During those eight years, from the beginning of the building of the Temple to the end of it all, the Lord did not make rain fall during the days on Jerusalem. It would fall only at night so as not to impede the building of the Temple. (416)

King Herod made burnt-offerings and whole-offerings to the Lord. He gave 300 bullocks, in addition to peace offerings, whole offerings, and burnt-offerings by his own hand. For the king set the day of the annual celebration on the day he accepted the kingdom. On that day all the work on the house of the Lord was completed. (417) The king made the rejoicing for the house of the Lord (Column 311) one whole year, a celebration for that entire year in all the cities of Judea. The people rejoiced greatly. They exalted the Lord in joy and with praises, with instruments of song and harps, lyres, horns, and trumpets; with the sound of blowing the trumpet for the building of the Lord's Temple, may it be rebuilt speedily in our day. About the building of the Temple we have recorded but part; the work was great. Therefore we have not written a half or even a third of it. (418)

After these things, the sons of Herod, whom Mariamne his wife had

borne him, came from the city of Rome. (419) One was named Alexander; the second was named Aristobulus. These young men came, filled with feverish anger (420) over the murder of their mother. They had strength and force from the women in the family, for Alexander took as his wife Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. (421) Aristobulus too took a wife, the daughter of Salome, sister of Herod the king of Judea. (422) They did not give honor to their father, the king, out of the hatred they had toward him because of their mother. King Herod recognized their feelings. (423) In addition, many speakers warned (424) the king to beware (Column 312) of his sons. They said to him: "They will always be seeking vengeance for their mother." Trembling, the king met at home with Antipater, the son borne to him by Doris, (425) his first wife, whom he had (married) before he became king. She was from an ignoble (426) family. Long ago, Herod had sent her and her son away because of his love for Mariamne, his (second) wife. When he realized that the sons (427) of Mariamne hated him, he brought her and Antipater her son back, putting Antipater in charge of his entire household, making him first in the line of succession for the throne. (428) Antipater always entreated the king. He would say: "I am from a poor family; my brothers (429) are from a wealthy family. They are seeking to kill you and me." Antipater became very sly and an evil advisor.

Now King Herod became angry with his son Alexander, so he took him to Rome with him to stand before Augustus, king of Rome, in trial, in order to punish him before Augustus. Alexander spoke wisely before Augustus and his father who were sitting together. He said: "Augustus Caesar and my father the king agree about what (ought) to be said, for there is a

God who commands respect for parents. Nature also requires (me to mourn for her) who created me, for my mother who (Column 313) was killed in her innocence. Man's heart is not made of stone, that he should not pine about the downfall of his ancestors. Even wild beasts and animals feel compassion for their flesh and blood. How can I not have pity and worry when I recall my mother who bore me? God forbid, however, that I curse my father; his honor is great. When he is cursed, will he put his son to death? The king has been cursed. Will he put his son to death? Antipater my brother is the one who will vent the anger of our father upon us by killing us, just as our mother was killed." He continued speaking, crying and wailing as well. Augustus and his officers too wept at Alexander's words. Augustus begged Herod, king of Judea, to embrace his son and to kiss him. So Herod was reconciled to his son Alexander, and he embraced and kissed him, as Augustus had asked. Augustus, king of Rome, also gave to Herod, king of Judea, a great gift of much silver and gold; then the king returned to Jerusalem. (430)

Summoning the people, he addressed these words to them: "Listen, my friends. I went to Rome to Augustus to join with him in decision. I did not want to decide alone which of my sons will rule after me. He and I have decided that my three sons shall jointly (Column 314) rule the kingdom after me. Antipater is the eldest, but his mother was not from a noble family, while Alexander's and Aristobulus' mother was from a noble family. Therefore they shall not rule over him, nor will he rule over them, the three of them will be joint (rulers). You are witnesses with the Lord, this day, that I have given the kingdom to the three of my sons. (431) The kingdom is great and the land is the generous gift of the Lord. You

are to give honor to my sons. It would be most disgraceful if (you) were not proper while I am still alive. Remain on good terms with my sons and with God, who rewards each man according to his deeds. Beware of the malicious tongue and of doing evil. Do not talk too much with my sons, for (too) much talk and attendance at banquets brings man evil advice. Words bring anger into the heart of man. Anger in turn brings a man to evil thoughts. Just as a wind stirs up the sea when it is motionless, and makes it rough, so do words stir up the hearts of men. You, my officers and my warriors, advise my sons well, speak good things to them so that they do not rebel against their father and sin. You, my sons, honor your father, that your lives be long, and love one another." He kissed the three of them again in the presence of the people, binding them together in one love. Then he left the people (432) (Column 315) and everyone went on his way. However, the jealousy did not subside in the house of Herod. The sons of Mariamne said: "It is not proper for Antipater to rule jointly with us because," they said, "he is from a low family." Antipater too was wickedly clever. He would flatter his brothers to their faces, and speak peace(ful) words with them. But he planted spies to (over) hear the words of his brothers, to tell his father. These spies told what the brothers did and did not say, for Antipater gave the spies a reward. Antipater's deeds were not good. He was always in the company of wicked men and evil advisors. He always ate and drank with them. He hired them to witness falsely against his brothers by saying "They seek to kill the king their father." They told this to the king in the presence of Antipater, who spoke out before his father deceitfully: "Let the king not believe these words. No evil lies in my brothers' hearts." Thus he deceived the king, who believed him. He caught the heart of the king in

his trap by his cleverness. (433)

He hired others to give evil reports on Pheroras, brother of the king, and Salome, his sister, in addition to his (Antipater's) brothers. (434) The king used to give him (Pheroras) 100 talents annually from the state across the Euphrates river. (435) The king loved him very much. (Column 316) He gave him his own wife's sister as a wife, and, after her death, he gave him his (own) daughter as a wife. (436) When Pheroras refused her because of his concubine, the king became very angry with his brother. They also told evil reports about him, saying that he wished to give the king fatal poison to drink. (437) They also made evil reports about Salome, his sister, saying that she had sent a letter to Sylleus, an enemy of the king, to have unchaste relations with her. (438) However, both Pheroras and Salome quickly appeased the king, so that all the king's anger was poured onto Alexander. (439) Antipater had hired evil men to say to the king: "We saw Alexander standing, his drawn sword in his hand, to kill Antipater his brother." (440) Antipater spoke to the king: "My father, you know that until now I have come to the aid of my brothers, and have spoken well of them before you. Now behold, my brother Alexander has arisen to kill me." Three eunuchs came, one the wine butler of the king, another the butler who set his plates before him the other who kept his bed. (441) They said to him, "He gave us a bribe, and said to us, how long will you rely upon that old man whose hair has fallen out from old age? (442) Trust in me and do my will. Kill my father, and I will give you great wealth when I become king. I have a great force of Judean warriors." When Herod heard this, his anger burned. He arrested many of his servants and killed many of them. He also

(Column 317) arrested his son Alexander and threw him into chains and irons, under guard. He arrested many of his servants, supporters of Alexander, and commanded that they be beaten and tortured cruelly until they spoke the truth and revealed the secret plans of Alexander. Many of them who did not confess died of blows and wicked tortures. One of them, who could not stand the beatings, confessed. (443) He said: "It is true that Alexander and Aristobulus planned to kill the king at meal time. When the king is absorbed in eating, sitting securely, Alexander and Aristobulus (planned) to jump him with drawn swords to kill him and then flee to Rome. There, perhaps, they would find the favor of Augustus, king of Rome, so that they could request forces from him to go fight Antipater, the king's son." (444) The king believing what he heard, arrested Aristobulus and put him in chains with Alexander, his brother.

When Alexander realized that he had become odious in the eyes of his father, he wrote four letters, putting in them his own slander about the advisors of Antipater, his brother, about Pheroras, brother of the king, and about Salome, sister of the king. He said: "It is true that I have sinned, but it was Pheroras (Column 318) and Salome who urged me to do these things. Pheroras has been an enemy of the king since the day he had a quarrel with his wife, the daughter of the king, on account of his concubine, whom the king had removed from his house. From that day on he has been an enemy of the king." He wrote many other things about him as well. He also slandered Salome about an unchaste affair she had with one young man (445) and he wrote many (other) things. About the officers of the king and his advisors (he wrote) things like these and he sent them to the king. (446)

At that time, Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, father of Glaphyra, the wife of Alexander, came to save his son-in-law from the hand of Herod by cunning and guile, for he knew that he would be unable to save him by supplications. When he came before King Herod, he came shouting in anger: "If my murdering son-in-law Alexander is still alive, I will take his head off with my hands. He had not compassion for his father. How can he have compassion for me? Where is he? I will take the insides of my son(-in-law?) and (then) I will give my daughter to another man if she has not done wrong. If she has done wrong, she too will die. I did not give her to help the murderer. I am surprised at you, O king, if he is still alive. It was God's desire to bring me to join with you in this vengeance, for when you kill your son, I will kill my daughter. (Column 319) I put her into your hands to be as a daughter to you, but she loves evil and has wronged you. Therefore, the death penalty applies to her. She did not tell you of the wicked plans. Let us hasten and kill the two of them. It is not fitting to pity them. Have no pity on your son. Come let us make an exchange: you kill my daughter and I will kill your son, the murderer." When the king heard Archelaus' words, he believed him, and his anger at his sons abated a little. He accepted the affection, consenting to eat and drink in a friendship with him. (Thus) Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, changed the mind of the king, (447) who believed him like his brother. When Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, saw that he had found favor with Herod, he said to him: "Listen carefully to my words, King Herod. Why do your sons seek to kill the king? What do they lack with you? Not gold or silver or even the kingdom, for even the kingdom you have given to them. They would not have thought ill of you had they not (fallen) in

the counsel of the wicked and of Pheroras, your brother. Just as they stirred you up about the young men, so they stirred up young men against you. They changed their minds and yours too. Now that you are old and you want to be at rest, they have set strife between you and your sons, so that you cannot be in peace and quiet. (Column 320) It is those wicked advisors, setters of strife, who have deceived your old age and destroyed your sons." The king believed Archelaus' words, and as his anger against Alexander and Archelaus abated, it burned very strongly against Pheroras, his brother. (448) Now, when Pheroras, brother of the king, saw that the king's anger was burning against him, and when he realized that the king was listening to Archelaus, he entreated him to speak to the king, to remove the anger of the king against him. Archelaus said: "I will speak to the king, but when you come to the king, do not hide your sins. Confess everything you have done, and the strife you set between the king and his sons." So Pheroras came before the king, and throwing himself at his feet, he confessed everything he had done, saying: "On account of my concubine whom the king took away from me, I became angry and did all this." Archelaus said to the king: "Forgive your brother's transgression, for both of you come from one womb. I too have a brother who sinned against me, but I forgave him. What can a man do to his own flesh and blood? If a man's hand or leg hurts him, it is proper to cure it, not to cut off his flesh." The king listened to Archelaus and forgave his brother and he was reconciled. The king said: "You have come to us as a doctor to the sick to cure him. You have cured and made me forget all the (Column 321) anger in my heart against my sons and my brother. So I beg you to forgive Alexander, my son. Do not take your daughter from

him. I love her as my own daughter. Moreover, my son Alexander is not an old man. Your daughter is a woman who will chastise him about these things. He will listen to her and not sin." Archelaus said to Herod:

"Permit me to take my daughter from him. I will give her to one of your servants. I will not leave her to Alexander, for I hate him intensely."

King Herod said: "King of Cappadocia, pardon his transgression now and

forgive him." Archelaus said: "I will do the will of the king." Soon

after, Alexander and Aristobulus came. The king embraced and kissed him.

He embraced and kissed Aristobulus too. The trouble was changed to joy

and celebration. By this strategy, Archelaus saved Alexander from his father.

The king made a great banquet. King Herod gave to Archelaus 1,000 talents of gold, a golden couch with precious stones, (449) handsome eunuchs and his concubine, a good-looking woman named Pannychis. He ordered all his officers to give him gifts. They gave him great wealth. The king accompanied him to Antioch, then the king returned home in peace. (450)

(Column 322) After these things, a man of Lacedomonian stock named Eurycles came to Jerusalem. (451) (He was) a corrupt man who loved gold. He brought the king a gift, and the king gave him double his gift, (but) this was not enough (for him). He stood before the king and served him. Thus he gained the favor of the king who accepted him as one of his advisors. (452) Eurycles observed the hatred between Antipater, the king's eldest son and Alexander and Aristobulus, the sons of Mariamne. Antipater hired Eurycles to do evil to his brothers. So Eurycles flattered Alexander by these words: "It is proper for you to rule over all Judea, for you are a brave young man from a noble family. It is not proper for

Antipater to be joint ruler with you. His mother is from a low family." Alexander spoke openly (453) to him. Eurycles was cunning about how he had been saved from his father. Alexander (then) told Eurycles things about his father.

Then Eurycles came and said to King Herod: "It is not fitting for me to cover up all the evils I see in your household. Alexander your son told me: 'God will not make my death His vengeance on my father who killed my mother.' He also told of the plans his father-in-law Archelaus had to kill Herod. He spoke of him as the redeemer of his mother's blood and (his) grandfather (454) whom he killed." He said (Column 323) things which the young Alexander had not said.

Eurycles said: "Let it be known to you, O king, that your sons have made plans with the officers of your forces to rise against you to kill you when you are comfortably at rest." The king investigated the matter and he found a letter written in the names of Alexander and Aristobulus, sent to the officer of one of the forts saying "When we kill our father, we will flee to you, and stay within the fort until we assemble men to assist us." The king arrested the officer of the fort and tortured him cruelly to make him confess. But the officer did not confess, and nothing was found. (455) But the king in the great heat of his anger ordered Alexander and Aristobulus arrested and put in chains. He gave Eurycles 50 talents of gold and he went on his way. (456)

In those days, Herod went to Tyre on the coast, and from there he came to Caesarea. Everywhere he went, he brought his sons, bound in chains, with him. His forces and all his camp had pity on them, but he had no pity upon his young sons. (457) Among the armed forces of the king was a great

warrior, skilled in battle from his youth, who had grown old in bravery and in battle, named Tero. (458) He had a son who loved Alexander, the king's son, and was his friend. On account of his son's love (Column 324) he had compassion for Alexander, the son of King Herod. When he saw him dragged in chains of iron, he cried out loud: "Lost is pity, gone is mercy, cast out is truth!" He said to King Herod: "Woe to the father like you who does not have pity upon the children of his loins. You believe evil advisors. They are your enemies, who seek to take your sons away from you and leave you alone, barren, without children. After that, they will rise up against you and kill you. Where is your wisdom, Herod; where is your heart that you cannot understand how your evil advisors have deceived you, to arouse you to spill your sons' blood?" Thus Tero finished speaking to the king. The king's advisors said to the king: "Let it be known to you, O king, that he said these things only to show the hostility in his heart toward you. This Tero advised the man who usually trims your beard: 'When you trim the king's beard with a sharp razor, pull the razor across his throat and kill him; Alexander, the king's son will give you great riches as a reward for your deed.'" The king gave orders to take Tero and Trypho, (459) who usually trimmed the king's beard, and to beat them cruelly and with tortures. When the young son of Tero saw the beating and the tortures of his father, his sympathy was aroused (Column 325) for his father, and he said to the king: "If you have compassion for my father, do not torture him. Forgive him and I will tell you all, and reveal all the secrets." The king said: "See, I forgive your father, I will torture him no more. Only you must tell the truth." The lad answered: "It is true that Alexander your son incited my father to kill

but my father never sought to hurt you, so he spoke to Trypho to do what you have heard." The lad only said these things to save his father, but they did not help him. The king summoned all his officers and servants and spoke to them about Tero and Trypho. He aroused them against them and they put Tero, his son, and Trypho to death by stoning in the presence of the king that day. He commanded that Alexander and Aristobulus, his sons born to Mariamne his wife, be taken to Samaria, called Sebaste, (460) where they hanged them on a tree, by command of their father the king. Thus they died. (461)

Antipater, son of Herod, rejoiced over the downfall of his brothers. For this, the hatred of the entire people was stirred up against him. But Antipater did not cease scheming and planning in his thoughts, because the Jews had begun to raise the children of the slain Alexander and Aristobulus. The sons of Alexander (Column 326) were Tigranes and Alexander, after his father, to whom Glaphyra, daughter of the king of Cappadocia gave birth. The sons of Aristobulus were one named Herod, the second, Agrippa, and the third Aristobulus, after his father, to whom Bernice, (462) Salome's daughter, had given birth, with two daughters as well, one named Herodias, the second Mariamne. When Antipater saw these children, he realized that the king was coming to have pity on the children of his two slain sons. One day, he (Herod) assembled his officers and warriors and said to them: "I know that I have reached old age, and my end is near. I am continually seeing the children of my slain sons and I cannot look upon them without tears and crying. For I am the one who caused this crying. By my hand it was done. I had them removed from my presence in my anger. Now I have pity on these children because they are

small and orphans. Therefore it is fitting for them to have helpers who will be like fathers to them." He said to Pheroras: "Give your daughter in betrothal to the eldest son of Alexander, and you be as a father to him." He said to Antipater; "My son, take the daughter of Aristobulus for your oldest son in betrothal, and let your little son Herod take in betrothal the other daughter of Aristobulus. (463) Then Herod the king joined their hands together, and performed the wedding. All who stood before the king rejoiced (Column 237) except Antipater, who was very wroth. (464) His face fell because the son of Alexander had taken the daughter of Pheroras, brother of King Herod, (thus giving) him great authority. Moreover, Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, was the grandfather of Alexander's young son. Antipater feared that they would help Alexander's young son. He wept continually before the king, his father, saying: "What purpose is there in giving me the kingdom when you have given power to the son of Alexander by giving him the daughter of your brother Pheroras? He is the son of the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. I cannot stand before these mighty officers." His father said to him: "I have commanded that you will reign after me. Why do you fear? The kingdom is yours and it is in your hands." But Antipater was afraid of all of King Herod's children, for the king had nine wives, (465) (seven) who bore sons and daughters to King Herod. Only two were barren and childless. The others bore sons and daughters. (466) Doris, his wife, bore Antipater. Mariamne, his wife, bore the little Herod. The two (other sons) were slain. Malthace, his wife, bore him Antipas and Archelaus, and a daughter named Olympias. Cleopatra of Jerusalem also bore him Herod and Philip; (Column 328) Pallas, his wife, bore him two daughters, one named Roxana, the second Salome.

The king's other wives were named Phedra and Elpis. Therefore, Antipater was afraid of King Herod's whole family.

Antipater associated with wicked advisors, giving them gifts of silver, gold, and precious stones. Both Antipater and Pheroras, with the wicked advisors, and evil men, joined in entreating King Herod. They changed his mind. Thus they undid the marriages which the king had made for the children of (his) murdered (sons). (467)

Antipater and Pheroras, the king's brother, were continually preparing every day. The two of them made plans for many days. (468) One day, King Herod became angry at Pheroras, his brother. He said to him: "Go to your home. Take care that you do not see my face again." Pheroras went to his home, and did not see the king. (469)

The king sent Antipater, his son, to Rome, to Augustus, king of Rome, to inquire after his health. (470) He sent him a large gift.

During those days Pheroras, brother of the king, contracted a fatal illness. He sent words of entreaty to the king, (to the effect that) King Herod should come to him, that the king (might) have pity upon his house and his children. The king had compassion (Column 329) upon his brother. He went to him. The king wept over his over his brother. Pheroras died. He appointed a great mourning for him and, bringing (his body) to Jerusalem, he buried him with great honor in the crypt of his ancestors. (471)

However, the king remembered the rumor he had heard about his brother while he was alive, that he had sought to make him drink deadly poison. He set out to investigate the matter. He arrested his brother's eunuchs and maids and ordered that they be tortured cruelly, with all kinds of

blows and foul tortures. Then one of the maids who was in torture cried out: "God of all the world, in Whose hands are the souls of every living being, as well as strength and bravery, save us from this cruelty. We will die for nothing, free of transgression. God of the world, return this transgression upon the head of Doris, wife of the king, mother of Antipater, who caused all of these evils by constantly entertaining Pheroras, the king's brother, and her son Antipater, at banquets. They would come to Doris' house with Antipater, and drink all night and make plans against the king; Antipater would go to Rome and Pheroras was to stay with the king to make him drink deadly poison to kill the king. Then afterwards Antipater would return from Rome to rule, for Antipater said: 'If we do not (Column 330) kill him, we shall not escape from his hands. (We will be) like his children who did not escape from his hands. He killed them. For whom will he have compassion? He who had no compassion for his wife, whom he loved, and her children? We can do nothing but get away from him, to flee from this wild beast. He has made me king deceitfully. When shall I rule? While I see (him) grow younger? (472) I am already old. Gray hairs have begun to sprout on my head. Who knows which of us will die first? What is more: the children of my slain brothers have begun to grow up. It is like a man who cuts off the head of a snake but it continues to live and bite. (473) And his little son Herod, whom Mariamme bore, is beloved by my father. I know he will not give me the kingdom. He will only deceive me. He is not looking for good, but for bad. He is the enemy of all his sons, his wives, his brothers and all his family. Pheroras, his brother, who served him from his youth is his enemy.' Herod said to him (Antipater) (474) secretly: 'If you are not friendly with

your uncle and do not speak to him, I will give you 100 talents of gold, (475) for he is the enemy of all creatures.' Pheroras said: 'Who can suffer his wickedness? Perhaps we will be transformed into beasts or animals in order to save our souls from him, for how can a man who had no compassion for his wife and sons have compassion for (Column 331) his brother? But here, after all that, is relief and rescue-our right hands and our swords. Let us be strong and take courage to kill him before he kills us.'

The maid spoke all these things to the king. Thus she saved her life and the lives of her friends from cruel blows. The king believed her words because of the 100 talents of gold he promised to give Antipater, a matter which no one except the king and Antipater had heard. Therefore, King Herod believed Pheroras' maid. (476)

The king ordered the arrest of his son Antipater's steward, his faithful servant, (477) and he beat him with cruel blows. When he could suffer no more, he confessed. He said: "It is true that Theudion, (478) an ally of Antipater, the king's son, sent him from Egypt a small container filled with deadly poison to give the king to drink. Antipater took the container and gave it to Pheroras, the king's brother, with these instructions: (479) 'When I go to Rome, give it to my father, so that it will not be said of me that I killed my father.' Pheroras took the container and gave it to his wife for safekeeping." (480) The king then sent orders to Pheroras' wife: "Bring the container of deadly poison which my brother Pheroras gave you for safekeeping. (Column 332) Hurry and bring it to me." When the woman heard, she said to the men the king had sent to (fetch) her: "Wait until I get the container in which the deadly poison

is; then I will go to the king with you." The woman went to the upper story of the house, where the roof is, to get the container, but, afraid to go to the king, she threw herself from the height of the roof earthward. But she did not fall on her head, nor did she die. (481) It was God's doing, to pay Antipater back for what he had done to his brothers. (482) They brought the woman before the king and they placed her in a bed before him. The king said to her: "Tell the truth or I will cut off your flesh and throw it to the dogs. (483) If you reveal the secret and tell the truth, I will pardon you and all the men of your household." (484) The woman answered: "Listen, O king, whom God has chosen, I will not hide a thing from you now. For with whom am I keeping faith? Pheroras, my husband, is dead. When he was still alive, I would not reveal his secret before I gave my neck to the sword. But now he has escaped from your hands and gone to the place where the slave is rescued from his master. Now why should I conceal (it) from you? Perhaps out of love for Antipater, your wicked son, who brought me to this ruin?"

The woman said: "Remember, O king, the day you came to Pheroras, (Column 333) your brother, when he contracted the malady of which he died? You shed tears as brothers do. When you ceased, in the evening, you went to your house to sleep until morning. Your brother called me at night and said: 'My wife?' I said: 'Your handmaid is here, my lord.' He said: 'Did you see the tears my brother, the king shed?' I said: 'I saw.' He said: 'I was caught in the wicked Antipater's trap. He hunted me, and I was caught in his slyness, just as he would hunt a bird. I was thinking of killing the king, my brother, of paying my brother, the king who raised me and treated me well, evil for good. Now go and bring the

container in which the deadly poison is, which the wicked Antipater gave me, and pour it out on the ground before my eyes. Then the wicked Antipater will not find it to kill my brother, the king.' I brought the container, and I poured the deadly poison in it out on the ground before his eyes, but I left a bit in it, and I kept it in the same container in order to show it to you, O king. (485) I feared this day which has now come to pass." Raising her hand, the woman held out the container to the king. The king took the container from the hand of the woman, and he pardoned her. He commanded the doctors to heal her, and he sent her home. (486)

At that time, King Herod sent a letter to Rome (Column 33⁴) to Antipater, his son: "Come. Do not stay. I cannot govern the kingdom without you here." (487) In those days, Archelaus and Philip, sons of the king, were in Rome too, with Antipater, his oldest son. Antipater became jealous of them and he wrote a letter to the king that "these too, your sons, are your enemies, for they speak evil of you before Augustus and his officers." (488)

Again the king wrote to Antipater, his son: "It is true; I know that they are my enemies. But hurry. You come to me. Do not stay. Bring your brothers with you. I will take vengeance upon them and make you king alone before my death." Seven months after the king had sent his letter, (489) Antipater left Rome. When he arrived at Tarentum, (490) he heard that his uncle Pheroras (491) was dead. He wept and mourned greatly. Not for love of Pheroras did he weep, but at being left alone, with no one to help him kill his father. (492) From there he traveled by ship and arrived at the harbor of Celenderis. (493) There he heard that

the king had ejected his mother from being (the) mistress. Antipater trembled greatly and he wept, because he knew that all his secret had been revealed. He considered fleeing by ship, but his eunuchs who were with him wanted to go to their homes. (494) They said to him: "Do not flee now. (Column 335) Your enemies will say many evil things about you to the king. It is not good for you to give a place to your enemies. When you go to the king, all your enemies will fall. Those who slandered you will fall. They (will) sink in ruin. When the king sees you he will praise and honor you as he used to. He will cast down all your enemies." He believed their advice, and he disembarked from the ship, proceeding by foot on the land. No one came out to greet him for some were afraid lest they meet the king, while others (did not come) because of the hatred they bore him. Hence, not a man came out. He saw that he was caught like a fish in the net. (495)

He traveled to Jerusalem without finding a man on the road who would speak to him. In addition, the king's guards went with him so he would not flee. (496) Coming into the city, he did not go to his home. He went to the palace, and went before the king immediately (497) and fell at his feet. The king averted his face so as not to see him. Antipater arose and sought to embrace his father, but the king thrust the embrace of Antipater away from him and said: "Murderer, are you not embarrassed to embrace the one you sought to kill? You touched me with your blood-filled hands! Wash your hands first in innocence, if you can, and cast off from yourself the rumors I have heard about you. Tomorrow you will come before me and the ambassador whom Augustus, king of Rome, sent me, named Varus, (498) (Column 336) to speak your piece. Even though you

are a murderer, I have given you a place to speak tomorrow. I will hear your words at ease." Antipater left the king in fear and trembling. He went home, not knowing anything from the beginning to the end of the matter. His heart was in a commotion. His mother and his wife came to him and explained the matter to Antipater. He listened and tried to arrange how to escape with words from his guilt. (499)

The next day the king assembled his officers and his allies, as well as those slanderers who spoke against Antipater. The king summoned Varus, the Roman whom Augustus, king of Rome, had sent to inquire after the health of Herod, king of Judea. (500) Varus was seated before the king. The king said: "Have you heard, Varus, how my son Antipater rose against me and sought to kill me?" Varus said to the king: "Let the king judge with mercy." The letter which Doris, mother of Antipater, sent to her son was read: "Your father has heard about all your plans to kill him. Be careful not to come here except with great strength and vast forces. Ask Augustus for forces, for there is no relief and rescue except with vast forces and war." (501) The king ordered Antipater brought before him. He fell heavily at the feet of his father, like a man falls when smitten by the (Column 337) sword. The king said to those standing before him: "Be silent," and they were all silent. The king deliberated and then said: "No just man in the land could suffer this evil. No patient man would be patient with Antipater. But I know his wilful sin. He hates me because I fathered sons like those, and (because) I killed my two sons. But they died innocent, as I understand it. They did not sin. I killed them because of this slander(er). They did not sin against him either. He hated them for nothing and aroused me against them

by his jealousy of them, caused by the fact that their mother was from a noble family fit to rule. I was transformed into a brute. I designated this evil son to rule and he became an enemy to me and (to) his brothers. He influenced them to incite them against me so that they became enemies of mine by the words of this Antipater. I, too, was turned into my sons' enemy by Antipater's tongue. It is true that I killed them. They died to the sorrow of their father and the joy of their brother Antipater. I cried over my sons but he was glad about his brothers. How could I not weep, Varus? The wives of my sons, widows, and my sons' children, orphans, were always in my house. I killed my sons because they rose up against me for the kingdom which I gave to this one, and I would always see their orphaned children and (Column 338) their widowed wives. I took pity. But there was nothing to be done. I had uprooted everyone from my house, and had made a place for this wicked one. It was not enough for him to kill his brothers by his plots and guile; this wicked one rose against me as well to kill me! I did all this, for I set him over all my sons and designated him to be king after me. He did not wait until my natural death; (502) he desired to rule quickly, by spilling blood, the blood of his father, to pay me evil for good. As I loved him, this repulsive creature, I hate him. I gave him the kingdom while I was still alive. I gave him 300 talents of gold. I sent him to be loved to Rome, to Augustus, the king of Rome. And if you say that his brothers whom I killed rose against me as he has - God forbid - this one has caused all the evils; (he is) an abhorrent man of blood and deceit. Take care, Varus, take care lest you believe his words, his voice of entreaty, lest you have pity on his tears. He is skilled in deceiving and influencing

creatures. He influenced me and many (others) to arouse me against his brothers, always telling me slanders about them, deceiving me. He has brought me to the (death) bed! I am undisturbed to appear as (firm as) a wall to men, and in secret to be a plotter and an enemy. (Column 339)

But I believed him. I put my life, my bones, and my flesh in his hands. How did I escape from him? It seems to me that I am not alive but dead. Only in a dream am I alive. Who would believe that I escaped from him, whom I enthroned and loved, and made noble and greater than all the (other) sons of my loins! But because of great transgressions and much bloodshed I did not forgive them or take pity on them." King Herod spoke in anger and heat. The king's voice was cut off in anger and he fell silent.

(503) Antipater raised his head slightly from the ground, like a man smitten by a sword would lift his, and he began to speak: "My father, your words of accusation and reproof will aid me. They will stand before me as a righteous defender. Though you sought to condemn me, you vindicated me with your words. Whay you said was true. I was your guardian. I am not a murderer. I always watched over you so that none of your enemies would touch you openly or in secret. Who does not know that God will wreak vengeance on the man who seeks evil for his father? Even if I were the most execrable of all creatures, I would know it to be so. If I did not know, I must learn from the fate of my brothers, lest what befell them, befall me. In your words, they sought to kill you because of the jealousy they bore for me (Column 340) because I was chosen to be king along with them. They were from a noble family. When they saw that I was chosen to be king, they arose to do evil to you. They died for their transgression. It is not proper for me to rule without knowing if

it is your wish. (504) Why would I plan to kill you? To get the kingdom? You have already made me king. For the honor? You have already honored me. They, my brothers, were angered because I was chosen to be king. If you had given them the kingdom they would not have risen to do evil to you. What brought them to harm you? (505) When they saw that I had been chosen to be king. But I, as your voice testifies, did not fear for myself but for you. What thing would incite (me) to kill you? Poverty? Poverty does incite man to kill another, (506) to take wealth, but you have already given me great wealth. You have made me rich. You sent me to Rome where I saw the kings who come there to seek the health of Augustus Caesar. They were kings as I am, but they were not as rich as I am. That very Augustus has made peace with you. I made him your ally, without the knowledge of Sylleus who fought against you. Even though Sylleus gave him much gold to get soldiers to fight you, Caesar did not choose to listen to him. My going there, because he respected me, made Caesar your ally, and changed him into an enemy of Sylleus who fought against you. (Column 341) Who revealed the secret of others who plotted to kill you? Only I revealed their secret. How can I, who caught the threads he wove for you, be a murderer? Did I not catch him and make him undergo evil tortures and cruel blows to get a confession? He confessed, and spoke truth, so I took vengeance on him. If I had kept silent, would he not have killed in silence? But I saved you from him, as you know, even if there was cruelty or anger in me.

"Have pity out of the many good favors which you have done for me. I ought to clothe myself with humility for your many good favors. You removed my brothers, the kings, from kingship and chose me, who was not

fit to rule. And not only to succeed you did you choose me, but with you did I rule. I was part of your rule, and a king like you. Woe, I am robbed of your great generosity and favors which you showed me. For these I aroused jealousy against me. Woe is me for my lack of sense. I left you and went, thus giving room to those jealous of me, and the rule to those who lie in wait for my life. For when I went on behalf of your life, I cast my life away. I did not go for my pleasure, nor did I journey for myself. You sent me; I became a stranger on your behalf, my father; not on mine. It was (done) in order that Sylleus might not bring you low or oppress your old age and not (Column 342) take the kingdom from you while you are still alive, and not estrange Caesar from you. (507) Behold, Augustus Caesar, who dwells in Rome and rules all the peoples of the earth, will testify for me. Even though he is not here, he knows my will, and the words which I spoke to him about my father." Antipater called out: "Caesar, Caesar, even though you are not here, come and testify for me before my father about what I told Caesar about my father and what you said, Caesar, about the murderers who stood before you in trial. Did you not take vengeance upon them? Did you not hate murderers? (Tell) how I spoke before you, about (those who wanted) to kill my father. Speak and testify, Caesar, about all you heard. Even though you are far away in Rome and I am in Jerusalem, without you I will be punished before my father. Behold, you are here. Your letters are here. In my hands are your letters which every murderer fears; which will identify all my enemies (as) murderers. Accept, my father, the letter of Caesar, your ally. He will inform you how I helped you before him. Accept the letter of Caesar which calls for your health, written by Caesar's right hand, the

right hand which has not done evil to you, which put the regal crown upon your head. Who would hate me more than Caesar if he were to find this transgression in me. But, God forbid! Because of Sylleus I went, not to do evil to you. You sent me. Remember, my father, that I did not (Column 343) want to go, for then I saw those jealous (of me) setting pitfalls at my feet. I accepted the trouble which found me on the road on your behalf, and I did not hate it. I call upon Caesar. He will not hear my words, but with his letters he will clear me from this wrong.

"Here I am, my father, I have traveled from Caesar and I have come before you. I hastened to come, for I would not have gone away from you. But you sent me and I went. Here (I am) my father, and here are my witnesses. Do not say that I have brought before you human witnesses, some of whom are afraid to witness the truth, some of whom take bribes. The witnesses who will testify for me, who will give testimony are not so afraid of you that they will hide the truth, nor will they take bribes from me to tell falsehoods and lies as men do. Every man is a liar, just as it is written. But behold, I call before you three witnesses who will testify for me. The three are the heaven, the earth, and the sea, which will not have compassion on a man who seeks (508) the blood of his father. I came traveling under the heaven. Why did the heaven not thunder and rain lightning upon me to kill me? Moreover, I came across the sea, in the very middle of the sea. Why did it not drown me? I came out, going on the earth. Why did the earth not open its mouth and swallow me as it did to Dathan and Abiram when they rose against Moses, (509) may he rest in peace. (Column 344) He did not do evil to them (in the eyes) of Israel, and he was a father and judge to Israel. When Absalom fled from

battle to save his life, the earth did not let him alone. It commanded one of its trees to grasp him by the hair of his head and it hanged him until a murderer came and killed him. (510) He was not allowed to flee to safety, to his father; rather, one who was saved came to his father. (511) But here I am; I have come before you. Why should I die? David took vengeance for the murder of his son, commanding that the murderers be killed. I will not wait for vengeance from my enemies. Only in one matter respect me (512) and listen to my voice. Do not give me over to others to do vengeance upon me. Before your eyes, take vengeance upon me, without compassion. Do not respect me any more. Bring out the sons of my loins and ask them if they think evil of you. Take my heart out of me; cut it out with a sword, and cut it into pieces. Then search all the hidden things which are in my heart. Spill out my blood, and when it is removed, ask it to tell you the truth. Also, test my flesh and bones by fire to find out the truth. Seek, search, investigate, and ask all my limbs carefully, for the truth, whether I thought evil of you or not. Now, why do you wait, my father? If you will have compassion upon your son, clear me of guilt. If you will not (Column 345) have compassion, hurry, take vengeance upon me. If you are saying in your heart: 'I will not harm my son for he is my own flesh and blood,' how can your flesh and blood seek to harm you cruelly?" (513)

When he finished speaking, those who attended the king (514) raised their voices and wept. Only the king did not weep. Nor did Nicolaus the scribe, because he was fond of the lads, the sons of Herod who were slain. Then Nicolaus the scribe, by command of the king, answered. (515) He said to those who were weeping at Antipater's words: "You cry because of his

cunning and his lies. Why do you cry? (516) Whom are you pitying? If you have compassion and pity, take pity on the lads, noble children, who died needlessly, killed by this slanderer, with his wicked cleverness. If this one is saved, the entire house of the king will fall in ruins. Why should one who killed his brothers and had no compassion for his father be saved?"

Nicolaus lifted his voice in the melody (517) with which one mourns the dead, and, calling upon the slain ones, he said: "Arise, Alexander; stand, Aristobulus; and see your enemy who seeks to be saved by words. He killed you innocents by his bringing false witness to testify against you, by writing a false letter to punish you, in his speaking slander to his father about you. His father did not think that he would lie about his brothers. (Column 346) Now you must die for killing your brothers; he who advised his father to estrange them from him so that he would not be implicated in their death. Then he killed them from afar. If this one is saved, all the sons of the king will die, for he is skilled in giving men deadly poison, in influencing creatures and deceiving men. Pheroras, brother of the king, was faithful to the king, and loved him, but this cruel one influenced him to become an enemy of the king." Nicolaus added many more things to fix his evil upon him (518) and to bring the evils he did upon him. (519)

When Nicolaus had finished speaking and was silent, the king said to Varus: "Ask him if he has anything more to say." Antipater did not answer any more except: "Let God be witness that I am innocent of all this." The king said: "Bring the container which the deadly poison is in." (520) They brought that which Antipater gave to Pheroras, brother of the

king. King Herod said: "Bring a man sentenced to death before me." He was brought before the king who ordered that he be made to drink it. They made him drink it. When the man drank it, he died immediately. (521) The king took some of the drink and gave it to Varus to bring it before Augustus to show him Antipater's wickedness.

The king also commanded that Antipater be bound (Column 347) in chains and they conducted him to prison. (522) And even though Antipater was in prison, he did not stop his cunning and slander. He wrote a letter in the name of Acme, the wife of Caesar, (523) a letter full of curses and revilements, written to the king, (saying) that Salome, sister of the king, had sent (a letter) to Acme her friend, (which stated) that Salome had cursed and reviled the king. When this letter was found, he almost killed Salome, his sister; but another letter, which Acme had sent to Antipater, was found. "As you told me," (it said) "I wrote a letter filled with curses and revilements to your father about Salome, his sister. I know that the king will kill her. You send me the gold you vowed to me on condition that I testify to the king so that he would kill his sister." When the king found this letter, he saw that it was Antipater's plan to kill Salome by his scheming letter as he had killed Alexander and Aristobulus, his brothers. (524)

In those days the king was smitten with a disease. When the disease lay heavily upon him, he wrote in the testament that Antipater his son would rule after him. (525) The king called Salome, his sister. He gave her silver and gold and commanded her to take care of the children of the officers, those whom he had shut in the hippodrome (Column 348) to kill them, so that (the people) would weep many days when King Herod

died. (526) The king was 70 years old when he fell ill. The illness became more severe from day to day. He wanted to take vengeance on Antipater, his son, before he died, but he awaited the messengers he had sent to Augustus Caesar to tell him about Acme, the maid servant of Augustus, king of kings. (527) Acme was in the plots of Antipater, so King Herod wrote to tell Augustus Caesar to take vengeance on Acme, and afterwards, on Antipater. (528)

The next day, the disease was very heavy on him. He was in great pain, and he hated his life. He chose to die. He said to his servants: "Bring an apple and give it to me." His servants did so. The king said: "Give me a knife. I will peel it myself (529) for I am hungry." They gave him the knife. He raised himself slightly, took courage, and leaning on his left arm, he raised his right hand with the knife with which he had peeled the apple, and sought to drive it into his belly. But Achiabus (530) ran and grasped his right hand and took it (the knife) from the king, thus saving him. All those who attended the king raised their voices and wept. All his servants, too, and all the men of his house cried out loudly, and the sound was heard from afar. A rumor spread that King Herod had died. (531) (Column 349)

Antipater rejoiced at the sound of the people's outcries. He said to the officer who was in charge of the prison: "Set me free," (532) but the official not only did not set him free, he also came before King Herod and told him what Antipater had said. King Herod cried out in anger. The king said: "Shall the murderer still be glad and rejoice on the day of my misfortune and my death?" So he commanded that he be killed. They put him to death at the command of the king. Thus wicked Antipater died.

He was buried in a city named Hyrcania (533) as King Herod commanded.

And he removed him from being king after him in the testament. (534)

The king lived days after Antipater died, then he died and was gathered to his people. (535) King Herod ruled over all Judea 37 years.

(536) Herod died a successful man. Who would have thought that God would have prospered him? Outside and around he would be humble to the men of his house, but in his house, he was a man of strife. He was a successful man from his youth. Even though the kingdom was not properly his because of his ancestors, it was not enough for him. Ruling for many years, he gave to his son the kingdom which he did not take from his father. When he died, he left his house in tears and in lamentation, for he killed his sons. But the decree which he gave Salome and Alexas, (537) making them swear to kill the officers of the people and their children so that many would weep (Column 350) at his death was not carried out by Salome. Salome spoke to the troops: "The king commanded that the hippodrome be opened and the officers of the people and their children be set free, because the king has repented of the evil which he said he would do to them." They set them free, and they went to their homes.

(538) From this decree which he issued, you can understand the cruelty of this King Herod who ordered the death of his officers and servants, his men of degree who were the honor and glory of his greatness, and their children, who had not sinned, the treasure of their fathers, the joy of their mothers, the ladies and princesses. (He decreed it) in order to change the joy into grief, the happiness into great mourning, so that many would mourn at his death, and so that on the day of his burial, the people would appear to be weeping for him while mourning these great

officers. (539)

Afterwards, the entire people assembled. Herod's faithful servant, Ptolemy, came out and spoke good and right things to the people, showing them his nature. He said to the troops: "The king has commanded that his ring be given to Archelaus; (540) that he rule after him." He opened the testament and read it to them as the king had commanded Archelaus. All the troops clapped hands and they shouted (Column 351) "Long live King Archelaus." (541)

Then Archelaus and all the people went to bury the king in the city named Herodium, (542) 200 furlongs/away from Jerusalem. They carried the king's bier on which he lay dead. The bier was made of pure gold with precious stones on it; the coverings of the bier had gold embroidery set with precious stones; there was a wreath of gold on his head, and on it the royal crown. His scepter was in his right hand, and he was seated on his dining couch on the bier, as if he were alive. There was a band of troops before him, the warriors of Judea; after his troops came a band from Germany, then Gaul, (544) who are Franks, (545) all wearing swords and coats of mail as if they were going into battle. (546) The weepers and mourners walked about (them), crying as they went. The rest of the people went after him. The officers walked at the bier, each man with his ornaments on him, gold, fine gold and precious stones, girded with weapons of war. Fifty (547) of his servants were scattering myrrh and perfumes and all the scents of Arabia all along the way. The king faced the front of the bier. He was buried in the city of Herodium. (548) as he had commanded. The way was 200 furlongs long. They made great honor all along the road but all of this (would not have occurred) except out

of fear of him. Many of the people had hostility in their hearts toward Herod and his sons, and, even though a man is afraid to speak with his lips, in his heart he has the power to think (Column 352) good or evil of him. When Herod was buried, the people brought the thoughts of their hearts out into the open, including the hatred borne him for a long time. They spoke about him openly: "Herod was a man of trouble and wickedness, whose trouble and whose yoke bore very heavily upon us. The cruelties he decreed upon his people! Proud and cruel, he did not rule until he killed a man in his old age. He stripped the coverings of his people. He did not permit any man to have wealth by virtue of the tax with which he burdened us. He made foreigners rich and Jews poor. He brought anguish to the holy and defiled the holy and the sanctified, Happy the one who died beforehand and was not taken in Herod's cruelty. In few of the years of our distress in the exile in the land of our enemies, where the kings of Babylonia ruled over us, were we troubled as when Herod troubled us in our own land. (He afflicted us) with the troubles we saw in exile in the lands of our enemies, in the days of the kings of Medea and Persia, Darius and Artaxerxes. From exile they sent us to our land, but this King Herod has exiled many from our land, and put them into his war levies and (given them) to many nations. Herod was more cruel than Darius and more violent than Artaxerxes, more greedy than Medea. We awaited the day of his death to go free, but he troubled us with servitude, because he made Archelaus king in his place. (Column 353) To all the evil his father had done, he adds new ones. That Archelaus should be king? Woe is the king and woe are those whom he rules. For one whom we did not choose rules us. It is better for us to be without a king than have Archelaus

rule us. He is just like Herod, and he has gotten the kingdom." Not in Judea alone did Jews say these things. In Rome too, they slandered Archelaus before Caesar and before the Consul in the Temple of Apollo (549) built by Augustus Caesar.

When Antipater, son of Salome, the king's sister, perceived (this), he said: "I am astonished at you, Caesar, that you should accept the words of Archelaus, when he says to you: 'Aid me to rule Judea,' for he is already ruling. He did not ask your permission. (550) He sits on the throne of Judea not by your decision. What is it to him to ride the chariot enclosed in gold? Is he not king? Why did he place the royal crown on his head? Is he not king? Why does he gratify his desire (551) to sit on the lofty throne, and from the throne to bless the people, surrounded by his troops in the manner of kings. Has he not crowned himself and not awaited your decision? Did not Herod rule by your decision and the decision of the Consul, as it is written on the tablets of the treaty between us and you? As long as he did not fall ill, while his senses were still in him, he had chosen Antipater, his son, (552) to be king. (Column 354) But when the disease had severely burdened him, and he lost his senses, he chose Archelaus to be king, an insane man who acted in the manner of insane men when he ruled. On the festival of unleavened bread, he entered the Temple of the Lord with his troops and oppressed the people. He gave his troops the command and they drew their swords, and laid out a layer of 9,000 corpses (553) in the midst of the Temple on the festival. This is the slaughter that Archelaus made at the beginning of his reign. Have pity on us, Caesar and Consul. Take this cruel king away from us. Only those of Judean stock, from the nobility of the royal stock,

are fit to rule Judea. But this Archelaus is the son of Herod, whose mother was an Idumean. Prevent him from ruling. Antipater the great, father of Herod, who fought the wars of the first Caesar, and was esteemed by Caesar and the Romans, never asked to rule. He knew it was not fitting for him. Herod, his son, ruled the ruin of his people. It was not enough for him to rule. He also gave to his son the kingdom which he had not received from his father." The son of Salome said many more things to slander Archelaus. "Now, Caesar, give us leaders from your land as you gave to Aramea. We will listen to them. We will not rebel." (556)

Nicolaus, (Column 355) King Herod's scribe, answering, said to the son of Salome: "You spoke of this tumultuous family out of malice, and not out of ethics. All these things with which you arouse jealousy of Archelaus are because this is your habit, to destroy the peace and to stir up wars. If you wish to oppose (557) the kingdom of the Romans, why do you slander Archelaus? Why is it astonishing that in the tablets it is written that the last shall rule before the first? This has been done many times. The power is Caesar's. If he seeks to make the last king over the first, it is fitting that Caesar make king the one he chooses; not the one you choose. You accept Caesar's choice of Herod, his father; Archelaus is his also. For when did he treat Herod favorably? When Caesar was angry or when he was satisfied? When he chose Antipater to be king, Caesar became angry, and when he chose Archelaus to be king, Caesar was satisfied. The matter is established. Consider carefully, Caesar. Have the words of your father making you king been confirmed, or has his command that you be king after him not been confirmed? Your father knew the future, and you too know the future. The power to make the best one king is in

your hands." (558)

When the king had heard their words, he took counsel with the Consul. He gave the ethnarchate (559) to Archelaus (Column 356) but he did not give him the kingship. He said he would give him the kingship if he would be faithful, (560) for Caesar was then told that the men of Judea were already stirred to rebellion. Archelaus came into Judea and he committed many barbarities. He ruled nine years. (561)

He heard that King Juba of Libya (562) had died. He had married Glaphyra, wife of the slain Alexander, son of Herod, brother of Archelaus. After the death of Juba, king of Libya, (563) she had children by Alexander, brother of Archelaus. Now when Archelaus took Glaphyra, his brother's widow, (564) and had brought her to Jerusalem to his house, the woman had a dream. She beheld Alexander, her first husband, standing before her. She desired to embrace him, but Alexander thrust her away and said: "Leave me alone; do not touch me. Are you not ashamed to embrace me? You had intercourse with Juba, King of Libya, after me. That was not enough for you, for (then) you had intercourse with Archelaus, my brother. You came into my house to disgrace me, for you have intercourse before me." Taking an oath he said: "I will not (be able to) bear this disgrace until I take vengeance upon you and upon Archelaus, my brother, who has acted obscenely with you." (565) When the woman woke up, she told the dream to her female companions. (566) Glaphyra lived for two days after her dream. Glaphyra died and was gathered to her ancestors two days after she had seen the dream. (Column 357)

Archelaus too had a dream. He beheld nine ears of corn, good and ripe, (567) standing on one stalk. Lifting his eyes, he saw a great ox standing

in front of the ears. The ox stuck out his tongue and, licking the ears, he swallowed them. (568) When he awoke from his dream, he told it to one of his wise men. The sage said to him: "The nine sheaves are the nine years you have ruled. The ox you saw licking is Caesar, the king who will take your kingdom this year." After five days, a force of Caesar, king of Rome, came, bound him in chains, and took him to Rome where he died. (569) His brother Antipas ruled after him. He changed his name to Herod. (570)

In those days Caesar died, and after him Tiberius Caesar, an evil and wicked man, ruled. He sent Pilate, (571) the general of his army, to Jerusalem, bearing the images of Tiberius. He sought to bring the image into the city, but the people prevented him from coming into the city. The people said: "The image of a man must not come into the holy city." (572) Pilate, the general of his army, became angry, and he killed many of the people by the sword. Also, many of his troops were taken out as corpses. (573) For in the days of Tiberius Caesar, not only in Judea were barbarities performed, (but) in Rome, the capital city, many barbarities were performed (as well). (Column 358)

Now I will relate one of the barbarities which took place in the days of Tiberius Caesar. In his days there was a woman in Rome, handsome and very good-looking. This woman was full of grace and beauty. Everyone who saw her would stop his work and look at her. Many desired to lie with her but were unable, for she was chaste and married. Her name was Paulina. The woman attended her house of worship religiously.

A young man named Mundus saw her. He was an officer of Tiberius Caesar's chariots. His love for the good looks of the woman burned like

a fire within him. He asked her to lie with him for 20,000 drachmae, (574) but the woman refused to listen to him. She revealed the secret to her husband. (575) When Mundus saw that she would not listen to him, he went to the priest who was in charge of the temple which was in Rome. In those days, in that temple, there were two images, the name of the first Isis (576) and the name of the second Anubis, (577) who was more important than Isis to the people. The young man went to the priest and gave him 1,000 gold drachmae to deceive her and bring her to the temple. (578) The priest went and spoke to the woman: "Thus sayeth the great god Anubis: 'come to my temple and lie at my altar. I will arise at night and speak to you secretly, because I love you. (Column 359) Be my prophetess.'" The woman was very pleased and she told her husband. Her husband said to her: "Who can withhold what god asks?" The woman went to the temple. Her female companions left her at the altar, and the woman lay down. Her companions left the temple, for so the priest had commanded. When she had lain down, the young man arose from behind the altar, disguised as Anubis. (579) He went under her clothing and fell (upon her) with a kiss which could not be satisfied. The woman woke up and asked him: "Who are you?" He said: "I am Anubis, I have come because I love you." The woman said: "If you are god, why do you desire women? Can a god mix with women?" The young man said: "Let him who can establish it. A woman as beautiful as you did receive a god and she bore him Jove, a god like me. And another woman gave birth by a god. Also many women have given birth to many gods." The woman believed (him) and she said: "I am the happiest of women if my god loves me." Therefore the woman did not withhold anything that the young man asked. He lay with her until morning. She went

home very happy. She told her husband all that happened to her in the temple. The man was very happy. He said: "Happy are we whom god has visited." All the women, too, praised her. They said: "Happy are you, (Column 360) Paulina, for having associated with god." (580)

Afterwards, Mundus went and spoke to Paulina: "Happy are you, for having associated with Anubis, the great god. Learn now that as you did not refuse god his request, so you did not refuse the request of a man. Just as you did not withhold your secrets from god, so now you cannot hide them from man. For the great god gave me what you withheld. What you denied me he gave me, all my desire. His name is Anubis. He brought you to the temple and gave you to me to do my will and desire with you. Although you would not fulfill my desire by my will, and you would not take the 20,000 gold drachmae which I brought you, god did it for me for nothing, without money; he did that which I asked of him. When my name was Mundus, you did not wish to do my will. When I changed my name to Anubis, you fulfilled all my desire. Learn, Paulina, from now on to do my will." (581)

When the woman heard she was very grieved, for she had been abused. She went and told her husband. He was unable to argue with his wife, because he had commanded her to go to the temple. When Caesar heard all these things, he killed the priests and destroyed the temple. He sank the images in the river Tiber. (582) (Column 361) He did not kill the young man, because, the king, Caesar said, his love burned within him and his passion overwhelmed him. He drove him far away. (583) So we have written about the barbarity which was done in Rome in the days of Tiberius Caesar. In his days many barbarities like this were performed.

In those days, Archelaus, son of Herod, died, and Antipas, his brother, ruled after him. He changed his name to Herod. (584) He acted more wickedly than all those before him. There was no abomination that he did not do. In the eleventh year of his rule, he married the wife of Philip, his brother who was still alive. (585) And she had children by his brother. (586) He took her as his wife. He killed many wise men of Israel. He also killed John, who had told him: "It is forbidden for you to take the wife of Philip." He killed him. This was John who performed baptism. (587) Tiberius Caesar, king of Rome, exiled Herod to the land of Spain, where he died. (588)

FOOTNOTES TO YOSIPPON COLUMNS 181 - 361

- (1) The appearance of Antigonus at the Temple is found in Flavius Josephus, The Antiquities of the Jews, translated by William Whiston, New York, n.d., XIII, 11, 1 (referred to in subsequent notes as Ant.). Cf. Flavius Josephus, The Wars of the Jews, translated by William Whiston, New York, n.d., I, 3, 2 (referred to in subsequent notes as War).
- (2) Ant. XIII, 11, 2, and War I, 3, 5 identify Judas as an Essene.
- (3) In Yosippon, ed. D. Günzburg, Berditshev, 1896-1913, column 181, Sitatron. (Subsequent references in Yosippon will be identified according to the columns in this edition.)
- (4) In Ant. loc. cit, War loc. cit., 600 furlongs.
- (5) Cf. Ant. loc. cit., "This event (the news of Antigonus' murder) put the prophet into a great disorder." Cf. also War loc. cit. In Yosippon 182, the old man seems to fall into a trance-like stupor.
- (6) Yosippon 183 reconstructs these passages of direct discourse from those which appear as indirect discourse in Josephus. The facts are the same. Cf. Ant. XIII, 11, 1-2; War I, 3, 3.
- (7) According to Josephus (Ant. XIII, 11, 3), the king vomited blood "because his entrails were corrupted" as a result of his "guilt of such wickedness." The specific mention of lungs and the gold basin are details absent in Josephus. Cf. also War I, 3, 6.
- (8) Ant. loc. cit.
- (9) Josephus does not stipulate where the blood was to be taken.
- (10) This dialogue is not in Josephus. In addition to his practice of transposing indirect discourse into direct discourse (see n. 6 above), Yosippon also creates de novo, or draws from a different source, whole monologues and dialogues. They are usually very melodramatic in tone.
- (11) A more concise and sophisticated speech is reported in Ant. loc cit, and in War loc. cit.
- (12) Josephus simply records "lover of the Grecians," Ant. loc. cit.
- (13) Josephus says "Strabo bears witness, in the name of Timagenes," Ant. loc. cit. Yosippon 186 indicates two separate sources.

- (14) Cf. Ant. XIII, 12, 1.
- (15) In Yosippon 186, Talmyra. Cf. also columns 201 and 260.
- (16) In Ant. XIII, 12, 2, Zoilus was tyrant of Strato's Tower and Dora. In Yosippon 187, Voilus, king of Sidon.
- (17) In Ant. XIII, 12, 3, Demenetus convinces the Ptolemaians of the dangers involved in accepting aid from Lathyrus, so that when he comes, they "neither received his ambassadors nor would hear what they had to say."
- (18) In Yosippon 187, Demeresus.
- (19) A contradiction, because Lathyrus enters the city first, then the people rebel and do not receive him. Josephus avoids this difficulty.
- (20) In Ant. XIII, 12, 4, by a ruse, Alexander seeks an alliance and he promises 400 talents of silver to Lathyrus. Yosippon reverses the direction of the gift.
- (21) In Ant. loc. cit., Alexander merely retires from the scene. He does not return to Jerusalem.
- (22) In Yosippon 188, Seken.
- (23) Ibid. Josephus records 10,000 captives.
- (24) Ibid., "some writers have said, 80,000."
- (25) Ant. XIII, 12, 5, "8,000 men in the first rank...styled Hecatontomachi." Yosippon 188 calls them Ivtonah.
- (26) In Yosippon 189, Philostephus.
- (27) The theological reason for the defeat is not Josephus'. Moreover, Yosippon does not recount the extensive destruction wrought by Lathyrus in Judea prior to this battle.
- (28) Cf. Ant. XIII, 12, 6.
- (29) Josephus' report of Ptolemy Lathyrus' activities reveals that he put up a stiff fight against his mother's armies before he finally fled. Cf. Ant. XIII, 13, 1-3. Yosippon condenses considerably here, as elsewhere.
- (30) "Chelcias and Ananias, the Jews" were "generals of her whole army," Ant. XIII, 13, 1.
- (31) In Yosippon 190, Gerara.

- (32) In Yosippon 190, Hamath.
- (33) In Yosippon 190, Theorodus.
- (34) In Yosippon 190, Raphis.
- (35) It is possible that Yosippon 190 says that Alexander encamped at Antiochia because the corresponding passage in Josephus speaks of the death of Antiochus Grypus. Cf. Ant. XIII, 13, 4.
- (36) In Josephus, Alexander goes to Gaza when Ptolemy retires to Cyprus, and his mother to Egypt. No other interval is recorded, nor does Alexander return to Jerusalem. See Ant. XIII, 13, 3; War I, 4, 2.
- (37) In Yosippon 191, Haretas.
- (38) In Josephus, *ibid.*, Aretas' promise of aid never materializes.
- (39) In Yosippon 191, Psimachus.
- (40) In Yosippon 191, Apilotopolus.
- (41) In Ant. loc. cit. 500 senators flee to the temple. Yosippon 192 describes the temple as dedicated to "Apilinus."
- (42) This detail does not appear in Josephus *ibid.*
- (43) Josephus does not stipulate that it was the Pharisees who opposed him. Instead he says, "the nation rose up against him." Cf. Ant. XIII, 5, 13; War I, 4, 6.
- (44) Ant. loc. cit.
- (45) In Ant. loc. cit., Theodorus "durst not fight with him."
- (46) Josephus, *ibid.*, describes Alexander's opponents as "the nation." In his account (Ant. XIII, 14, 1), Demetrius' incursion takes place before Alexander's deathbed scene. Cf. also War I, 4, 7.
- (47) In Ant. XIII, 15, 5, Alexander does make a final speech, as it were, but to his wife alone. He advises her to curry favor with the Pharisees by giving them control of his dead body, and to share the government with them. "When it is in their power to abuse my dead body, they will do it no injury at all, and thou wilt rule in safety."
- (48) In Ant. XIII, 14, 1, Demetrius has 43,000 men: 3,000 horsemen and 40,000 footmen, whose nationalities are unnamed, except for "the Jews that were with Demetrius."
- (49) In Ant. *ibid.*, Alexander has 6,200 mercenaries.

- (50) The number 6,000 in Josephus (Ant. XIII, 14, 2) refers to those Jews who deserted Demetrius "out of pity at the change of his (Alexander's) fortune."
- (51) In Josephus, *ibid.*, the town named is Bethome, and it is not the Pharisees who are named, only "the Jews."
- (52) "The name of a Thracian" in Josephus, *ibid.* Josephus' account is even more gruesome. While the men were crucified yet still alive, Alexander "ordered the throats of their children and wives to be cut before their eyes." Cf. also War I, 4, 6.
- (53) In Yosippon 195, Ris.
- (54) In Yosippon 195, Hashmona.
- (55) In Yosippon 195, Golus.
- (56) In Yosippon 195, Seleucius.
- (57) In Yosippon 195, Gasala.
- (58) In Yosippon 195, Apilonius.
- (59) In Yosippon 195, Antiremus.
- (60) In Yosippon 195, Rephaim.
- (61) In Yosippon 195, Rhinocora. The complete list is in Ant. XIII, 15, 3-4. See also War I, 4, 8.
- (62) In Yosippon 195, Stipolis.
- (63) In Yosippon 195, Geraran.
- (64) In Yosippon 195, Sillionia.
- (65) In Yosippon 195, Gabola.
- (66) In Yosippon 196, Behoron.
- (67) In Yosippon 196, En Zora.
- (68) In Yosippon 196, Kolikus.
- (69) In Yosippon 196, Pilon.
- (70) Cf. Ant. XIII, 15, 5; War I, 4, 8.
- (71) In Ant. XIII, 15, 5, Alexander dies "in the bounds of Ragaba, a fortress beyond the Jordan."

- (72) Cf. Ant. XIII, 15, 5.
- (73) Cf. Ant. XIII, 16, 1; War I, 5, 1-2.
- (74) Cf. Ant. XIII, 15, 5; War I, 4, 8.
- (75) In Ant. XIII, 16, 1-2; War I, 5, 1, Aristobulus "by reason of the warmth of his temper" (War) remained a private person. However, cf. Ant. XIII, 16, 3.
- (76) Ant. XIII, 16, 2.
- (77) Ibid.
- (78) In Yosippon 199, minahot.
- (79) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (80) In Yosippon 199, Rayonis.
- (81) In Yosippon 199, Hartam.
- (82) Idem.
- (83) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (84) Cf. Ant. XIII, 16, 3.
- (85) Ibid. But cf. War I, 5, 3.
- (86) In Yosippon 201, Tigran.
- (87) In Ant. XIII, 16, 4, 500,000 men are in Tigranes' army.
- (88) In Yosippon 201, Talmyra.
- (89) In Yosippon 201, Lucus and then Lubullus. Yosippon presents Lucus and Lubullus as two separate people, both enemies of Tigranes, in the first part of the sentence. In the second part, however, Lucus has disappeared.
- (90) Ant. loc. cit., and War loc. cit.
- (91) In Yosippon 201, Gibeah.
- (92) In Yosippon 202, Galustus.
- (93) Ant. XIII, 16, 5. Cf. also War I, 5, 4.
- (94) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (95) Ibid. In Yosippon 203, literally "her day ended...."

- (96) Yosippon is trying to say what Josephus said in Ant. XIII, 16,6: she "showed no signs of the weakness of her sex...."
- (97) Cf. Ant. XIII, 16, 6.
- (98) This is Yosippon's parallel to Josephus' declaration of virtue in Ant. XIV, 1, 1.
- (99) Yosippon 204: "in the 73rd year of Olyprus...."
- (100) In Yosippon 204, this name becomes two: Rinetsius and Ortensius. The adjectives which refer to them in the sentence are plural in form.
- (101) In Ant. XIV, 1, 2, and War I, 6, 1, Hyrcanus agrees to retire completely from public life. If Josephus' account is correct, we can understand more readily why the priests support Aristobulus. Cf. Yosippon 210.
- (102) In Yosippon 206, the word is Gogev.
- (103) In Yosippon 206, Phaesiah.
- (104) In Yosippon 206, Urudus.
- (105) In Yosippon 206, Pheroda.
- (106) In Yosippon 207, Sh'lomit. Cf. also column 280 below, and throughout.
- (107) In Yosippon 207, Cypron. Cf. also columns 213, 280 and throughout.
- (108) In Yosippon 207, Micolaus. Cf. Ant. XIV, 1, 3.
- (109) Cf. Ant. XIV, 1, 3-4; War I, 6, 2-3.
- (110) In Yosippon 208, Sela, which means stone. This is Yosippon's usage throughout.
- (111) In Ant. XIV, 1, 4, when he is finally persuaded, Hyrcanus sends Antipater to Aretas first, to receive assurances from him. In War I, 6, 2, this is less clear.
- (112) In Ant. loc. cit., Hyrcanus promises to return all twelve cities which his father, Alexander, had taken. But cf. War I, 6, 2.
- (113) Cf. Ant. XIV, 2, 1.
- (114) In Yosippon 210, Honi.
- (115) Ant. loc. cit.
- (116) In Yosippon 211, drachmonae.

- (117) Cf. Ant. XIV, 2, 2.
- (118) In Yosippon 212, Sevorus.
- (119) Ant. XIV, 2, 3 reports that each brother offered 400 talents of gold, but that Scaurus accepted Aristobulus' offer, "for he was rich, and had a great soul, and deserved to obtain nothing but what was moderate...." War I, 6, 3 indicates that only Aristobulus offered a gift of 300 talents, which "had more weight with him (Scaurus) than the justice of the cause...."
- (120) In Yosippon 213, Cypron.
- (121) In Yosippon 213, Coplus.
- (122) Cf. Ant. XIV, 2, 3; War I, 6, 2-3.
- (123) Ant. XIV, 3, 1 quotes Strabo: "...whether you call it a vine or a garden, they call the thing Terpole, the Delight." Yosippon sees this one item as two, due, probably to Strabo's description. Tryphon, in Yosippon 213, appears as Tarfon.
- (124) Yosippon seems to be addressing Josephus or Strabo here, for in Ant. loc. cit., it says: "However, we ourselves saw that present repositied at Rome...."
- (125) In Yosippon 213, the Latin genitive form of Jove appears--Jovis.
- (126) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.: "...with this inscription, 'The gift of Alexander, the king of the Jews'...the report is that Aristobulus, the governor of the Jews, sent it." So Josephus concludes his quotation of Strabo.
- (127) In Yosippon 213, Nihcomedus.
- (128) In Yosippon 214, "them."
- (129) In Yosippon 214, literally: "let him be deceived."
- (130) In Yosippon 214, the Roman official is described by the words "the venerable." Yosippon follows this usage throughout.
- (131) This deception incident and the letter are lacking in Josephus.
- (132) In Ant. XIV, 3, 2, these elders represent a third position, against Aristobulus and Hyrcanus and "kingly government." They wanted "the form of government they received from their forefathers...that of subjection to the priests of that God whom they worshiped...." While both brothers were of priestly descent, they wanted to change the form of government from theocracy to monarchy "in order to enslave" the nation.

- (133) Cf. Ant. XIV, 3, 2. War I, 6, 4 has a very shortened account.
- (134) In Yosippon 216, literally "they gave a rebellious shoulder."
- (135) In Ant. XIV, 3, 2-3 the young witnesses Aristobulus calls are "young and insolent; whose purple garments, fine heads of hair, and other ornaments, were detested (by the court)...." Pompey, far from being impressed, "condemned Aristobulus for his violent procedure...."
- (136) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (137) In Ant. XIV, 3, 3-4 Pompey goes to fight the Nabateans, Aristobulus goes to Judea by way of Delius, and the whereabouts of Hyrcanus and Antipater are unrecorded. Pompey, angered by Aristobulus' moves, marches on him at Alexandrium, a fortress to which Aristobulus has fled. In this sequence of events, Hyrcanus plays no part personally. Cf. also War I, 6, 5.
- (138) In Yosippon 217, Daliona.
- (139) In Yosippon 217, Pilus.
- (140) In Yosippon 217, Stypolis.
- (141) In Yosippon 217, Alexandron.
- (142) In Ant. XIV, 3, 4 the campaign is against the Nabateans.
- (143) In Yosippon 217, literally "by Pompey's word."
- (144) Cf. Ant. XIV, 3, 2-4; War I, 6, 4-6.
- (145) In Yosippon 218, balsamo.
- (146) In Yosippon 218, apharsimon.
- (147) This word is a hapax legomenon, in Ezekiel 27:17. From context there, it apparently refers to a kind of food. The King James version leaves it untranslated--pannag--while the Revised Standard Version translates it as "early figs." The Jewish Publication Society version renders it "balsam." The Even-Shoshan dictionary of modern Hebrew (Abraham Even-Shoshan, Milon Hadash, Jerusalem, 12th ed., 1963-4) says that the word comes from the Persian "pannigu," and that it is a type of flour or something baked. Ezekiel is cited for this meaning. The second meaning suggested is that pannag refers to a type of corn.
- (148) Cf. Ant. XIV, 4, 1; War I, 6, 6.
- (149) Cf. Isaiah 54:12.

- (150) This word appears in no other form in Yosippon even when direction is not involved in the sense of the word. Cf. below, column 233. The one exception is in column 271, in Herod's speech to Augustus.
- (151) In Yosippon 219, Gavionus. Cf. Ant. XIV, 4, 1; War I, 6, 6.
- (152) Ibid.
- (153) Ant. loc. cit.; War I, 7, 1.
- (154) Cf. Ant. XIV, 4, 1; War I, 7, 2-3.
- (155) Josephus dates the attack to the "third month, on the day of the fast;" Ant. XIV, 4, 3. Cf. also War I, 7, 4.
- (156) In Yosippon 221, Cornelius and Faustus, sons of Sylla.
- (157) In Yosippon 221, Firijs.
- (158) In Yosippon 222, Strabon the Caftorite. See below, columns 230 and 237.
- (159) Cf. Ant. XIV, 4, 3; War I, 7, 5.
- (160) In Yosippon 222, literally "they dwelled there."
- (160a) In Yosippon 222, Sarcus.
- (161) In Josephus, Pompey gives Hyrcanus the high priesthood. See Ant. XIV, 4, 4; War I, 7, 6.
- (162) Cf. Ant. XIV, 4, 4-5; War I, 7, 6-7.
- (163) Cf. Ant. XIV, 4, 5.
- (164) Cf. Ant. XIV, 5, 2; War I, 8, 2.
- (165) In Yosippon 224, Sebaurus.
- (166) Cf. Ant. XIV, 5, 1; War I, 8, 1.
- (167) Cf. Ant. XIV, 5, 2; War I, 8, 2.
- (168) Josephus records 1,500 horsemen. See Ant. loc. cit.; War loc. cit.
- (169) In Ant. loc. cit.; War I, 8, 3, 3,000 men fall, 3,000 are taken alive. Alexander flees with the remainder.
- (170) No figures appear in Josephus.

- (171) No figures appear in Josephus.
- (172) In Yosippon 225, Hamath.
- (173) Cf. Ant. XIV, 5, 3-4; War I, 8, 4-5.
- (174) In Yosippon 225, Psilius.
- (175) Cf. Ant. XIV, 6, 1; War I, 8, 6.
- (176) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (177) According to Josephus (Ant. loc. cit; War loc. cit.), this was part of Gabinus' agreement with Alexander.
- (178) Cf. Ant. XIV, 6, 2; War I, 8, 7. According to Josephus, Gabinus turns back when he reaches the Euphrates, without fighting a battle.
- (179) Cf. Ant. loc. cit; War loc. cit.
- (180) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (181) Cf. War loc. cit.
- (182) Cf. Ant. XIV, 6, 3; War loc. cit.
- (183) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.; War loc. cit.
- (184) In Yosippon 228, Grassus.
- (185) Cf. Ant. XIV, 7, 1; War I, 8, 8.
- (186) In Yosippon 229, Eliezer.
- (187) In English a rotl is equivalent to one pound. The word comes from the Arabic ratl, and its use extended throughout the North African area. There was a small Roman coin called a rutilus.
- (188) In Yosippon 229, Girsus.
- (189) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (190) This avowal of Yosippon's parallels Josephus' protestations in Ant. XIV, 7, 2. In these cases Yosippon often changes Josephus' "one" or "we" to another person. Here Josephus says: "And let no one wonder...." Yosippon says (column 229): "if they do not believe...." His sense is better rendered by "if you do not believe...."
- (191) In Yosippon 230, Strabon of Caftor. Similarly columns 222, 237.

- (192) Cf. Ant. XIV, 7, 2. The following is a paraphrase of Strabo as it appears in Josephus.
- (193) In Yosippon 230, Caio.
- (194) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (195) Cf. Ant. XIV, 7, 3.
- (196) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.; War I, 8, 9.
- (197) That is, in the month of July. Yosippon seems unaware that the month received its name from the man, not vice versa.
- (198) In Yosippon 232, the Oceanus sea.
- (199) In Yosippon 232, Tarcianus.
- (200) This account, absent from Josephus, is needed for the non-Roman audience to whom Yosippon appealed.
- (201) Cf. Ant. XIV, 7, 4; War I, 9, 1.
- (202) In Ant. loc. cit. and War loc. cit., Aristobulus is poisoned by "those of Pompey's party" in Rome.
- (203) In Yosippon 234, Pelusio.
- (204) In Yosippon 234, Oni.
- (205) Cf. Ant. XIV, 8, 1; War I, 9, 3-4.
- (206) In Yosippon 234, Helta.
- (207) No number is given in Josephus. See Ant. XIV, 8, 2; War I, 9, 4.
- (208) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.; War loc. cit.
- (209) Cf. Ant. XIV, 8, 3; War I, 9, 5.
- (210) Cf. Ant. XIV, 8, 4; War I, 10, 1-2.
- (211) In Josephus, Caesar appoints Antipater procurator of Judea. See Ant. XIV, 8, 5; War I, 10, 3.
- (212) In Yosippon 237, Strabon the Caftorite. See above, columns 222 and 230.
- (213) Cf. Ant. XIV, 8, 3.
- (214) In Yosippon 237, literally "about going and coming."

- (215) Cf. Ant. XIV, 9, 2; War I, 10, 4.
- (216) In Yosippon 239, Siktus, while in Josephus (Ant. XIV, 9, 4 and War I, 10, 5), Sextus Caesar, president of Syria and kinsman of the great Caesar. In Josephus' account, he writes after the event.
- (217) Cf. Ant. XIV, 9, 2; War I, 10, 5.
- (218) In Yosippon 239, literally "were astonished."
- (219) To get a post facto death warrant for Hezekiah. Cf. Ant. XIV, 9, 3; War I, 10, 6.
- (220) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.; War loc. cit.
- (221) Cf. Ant. XIV, 9, 4.
- (222) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.; War I, 10, 7.
- (223) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.; War loc. cit.
- (224) In Yosippon 240, Shammai, possibly Simeon ben Shetah. Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (225) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (226) Cf. Ant. XIV, 9, 5. But contrast War loc. cit.
- (227) In Josephus, Sextus appoints Herod general of the army of Celsyria (and Samaria). See Ant. loc. cit.; War I, 10, 8.
- (228) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.; War I, 10, 9.
- (229) Cf. Ant. XIV, 10, 1.
- (230) In Ant. XIV, 10, 6, it is the city of Joppa which is required to give in tribute the 20,675 modii which the inhabitants would otherwise have exported to Sidon.
- (231) In Yosippon 244, Luria.
- (232) In Yosippon 244, literally "opens his mouth."
- (233) Cf. Ant. XIV, 10, 2-25.
- (234) In Yosippon 245, Paumias.
- (235) The first two names given here are the ambassadors sent by Hyrcanus to meet Mark Antony at Ephesus. Cf. Ant. XIV, 12, 2-3. The latter two names do not appear in Ant. No names are given

- in War I, 12, 4-5 for the Mark Antony meeting. The names of the Jewish ambassadors to Caesar are nowhere given.
- (236) Yosippon 245 lists only one name. No names appear in Josephus' references to Caesar's death (Ant. XIV, 11, 1; War I, 11, 1).
 - (237) The figure in Ant. XIV, 11, 2 is 700 talents. See also War I, 11, 2.
 - (238) Ant. loc. cit.; War loc. cit.
 - (239) Herod found favor by producing the taxes from the Galilee with dispatch. Cf. loc. cit.; War loc. cit.
 - (240) In Yosippon 246, Malchiah.
 - (241) Cf. Ant. XIV, 11, 3-4; War I, 11, 3-4.
 - (242) Cf. Ant. XIV, 11, 4-6; War I, 11, 5-8.
 - (243) In Yosippon 248, Atavianus, son of Tullius Caesar's brother.
 - (244) In Yosippon 248, Felus.
 - (245) Cf. Ant. XIV, 11, 7; War I, 12, 1-2.
 - (246) Cf. Ant. XIV, 12, 2.
 - (247) Yosippon 249 uses the verb "to leave."
 - (248) Cf. Ant. loc. cit. Josephus has only Antony come to Syria, while Octavian goes to Gaul.
 - (249) In Yosippon 250, Pimius.
 - (250) In Yosippon 250, Todros.
 - (251) In Yosippon 250, Ephesia. See above also, column 249.
 - (252) A garbled allusion to Josephus' description of an unusual natural phenomenon, "the sun turned away his light from us, as unwilling to view the horrid crime they were guilty of in the case of Caesar...." Cf. Ant. XIV, 12, 3.
 - (253) In Yosippon 250, Britus. See above also, column 249.
 - (254) In Yosippon 251, the text literally reads "like a woman hides a prostitute, the prostitute with her under her dresses."
 - (255) In Yosippon 251, literally "all the men of our peace."
 - (256) In Yosippon 251, literally the Oceanus sea. See above also, column 232.

- (257) See note 255. Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (258) Cf. Ant. XIV, 12, 4-5.
- (259) Cf. Ant. XIV, 13, 1; War I, 12, 4.
- (260) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.; War I, 12, 4.
- (261) In Ant. XIV, 13, 2 and War I, 12, 6 the number of Jews who came to see Antony at Tyre was 1,000. An earlier incident is reported in War I, 12, 5 and Ant. XIV, 13, 1 at Daphne by Antioch. One hundred of the principal men of the Jews come there.
- (261a) The incident of the fifteen men belongs to the meeting at Daphne. Cf. Ant. XIV, 13, 1; War I, 12, 6.
- (262) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.; War I, 12, 5.
- (263) In Yosippon 253, Pegorus.
- (264) Josephus (Ant. XIV, 13, 3 and War I, 13, 1) reports an offer of 1,000 talents and 500 women.
- (265) In Yosippon 253, literally "his butler (general)," the latter in the military sense. Cf. Ant. XIV, 13, 6 and War I, 13, 1 and 6.
- (266) Cf. Ant. XIV, 13, 4; War I, 13, 3.
- (267) Ibid.
- (268) Cf. Ant. XIV, 13, 5-6; War I, 13, 3-5.
- (269) In Josephus (Ant. XIV, 13, 10 and War I, 13, 9-10), Phasaelus does not commit suicide until he is delivered into Antigonus' hands.
- (270) Cf. War I, 13, 10; Ant. loc. cit.
- (271) In Yosippon 257, Mariame.
- (272) In Yosippon 257, Edom. Cf. Ant. XIV, 13, 7; War I, 13, 7-8.
- (273) Cf. Ant. XIV, 13, 8-9; War loc. cit.
- (274) In Yosippon 258, Eroin.
- (275) In Ant. XIV, 13, 9, the distance is 60 furlongs. War I, 13, 8 concurs. A ris is equal to a furlong.
- (276) For winter quarters. Cf. Ant. loc. cit. and War loc. cit.

- (277) In Yosippon 258, Malok. Josephus also describes him as Malichus. See above, column 246, and below, column 271.
- (278) Cf. Ant. XIV, 14, 1; War I, 14, 1-2.
- (279) Cf. Ant. XIV, 14, 2; War I, 14, 2.
- (280) In Yosippon 259, Ancona (another port of southern Italy).
- (281) Cf. Ant. XIV, 14, 3.
- (282) In Yosippon 259, literally "had violated."
- (283) Cf. Ant. XIV, 14, 4; War I, 14, 4. In Yosippon 260, literally "Herod rules in Jerusalem and Judea, the holy city."
- (284) Cf. Ant. XIV, 14, 5; War loc. cit.
- (285) In Yosippon 260, Antero-us.
- (286) In Yosippon 260, Machda.
- (287) In Yosippon 260, Selek.
- (288) Cf. Ant. XIV, 14, 6; War I, 15, 1.
- (289) In Yosippon 261, literally "had fallen upon." Similarly columns 202 and 209.
- (290) Cf. Ant. XIV, 15, 3; War I, 15, 6.
- (290a) In Yosippon 262, Ferdelaus. Cf. below column 275 where it appears as Gellius.
- (291) Cf. Ant. XIV, 15, 2; War I, 15, 5 for Herod's proclamation. At this point, the account of Herod at the walls of Jerusalem is apparently conflated with the account of his expedition against the cave-dwelling robbers. Cf. Ant. XIV, 15, 4-5; War I, 16, 2-5.
- (292) Cf. Ant. XIV, 15, 5; War I, 16, 4.
- (293) Cf. Ant. XIV, 15, 8; War I, 16, 7.
- (294) In Yosippon 264, Sosio.
- (295) The wreath of gold and the text of the letter are not found in Josephus. Cf. Ant. XIV, 15, 9; War I, 16, 7.
- (296) In Josephus' account, Pheroras is willing to but is unable to redeem Joseph's head. Cf. Ant. XIV, 15, 10; War I, 17, 2.

- (297) Cf. Ant. XIV, 15, 11; War I, 17, 3.
- (298) In Yosippon 265, Lebanon. In Josephus' accounts (Ant. loc. cit. and War loc. cit.) Herod takes one Roman legion and 800 Jews with him.
- (299) In Yosippon 265, literally "the men of his house."
- (300) In the account in Ant. XIV, 15, 11 and in War I, 17, 4, no one is in the house when it falls.
- (301) Cf. Ant. XIV, 15, 12-13; War I, 17, 8.
- (302) Cf. Ant. XIV, 15, 12; War I, 17, 6.
- (303) Cf. Ant. XIV, 15, 13; War I, 17, 7.
- (304) Cf. Ant. XIV, 15, 14; XIV, 16, 1; War I, 17, 8-9.
- (305) Cf. Ant. XIV, 16, 2; War I, 18, 2.
- (306) Cf. Ant. XIV, 16, 3; War I, 18, 3.
- (307) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.; War loc. cit.
- (308) Ibid.
- (309) In Yosippon 268, literally: "that something from God would happen to him."
- (310) In Yosippon 268, Vanidia and Gallus.
- (311) The date according to Ant. XIV, 16, 4 is in the 185th Olympiad. Yosippon 268 describes the Olympiad as Olipiorus.
- (312) Ant. loc. cit.; the third month.
- (313) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.: "by giving Antony a great deal of money, (he) endeavored to persuade him to have Antigonus slain...."
See also Ant. XV, 1, 2; War I, 18, 3.
- (314) Josephus says he honored Pollio, i.e. Abtalion, one of Hillel's teachers. See Ant. XV, 1, 1.
- (315) In Ant. loc. cit.: "Sameas, a disciple of his...."
- (316) Cf. Ant. XV, 1, 2.
- (317) Cf. Ant. XV, 2, 1-2. See also War I, 22, 1 for a brief reference.
- (318) Cf. Ant. XV, 2, 3.

- (318a) Yosippon 270 reads "Herod" mistakenly.
- (319) Cf. Ant. XIV, 13, 10. According to the account in War I, 13, 9: "Antigonos himself bit off Hyrcanus' ears with his own teeth, as he fell down upon his knees to him so that he might never be able upon any mutation of affairs to take the high priesthood again...."
- (320) Cf. Ant. XV, 2, 2.
- (321) Cf. Ant. XV, 2, 4.
- (322) This translation omits a redundant and confusing phrase: "daughter of Alexandra."
- (323) Yosippon 271 reads daughter.
- (324) Ant. XV, 2, 4 concludes with Herod's appointing Ananelus high priest. The next section starts with a similar description of Alexandra, but proceeds to describe her negative reaction to Ananelus' appointment. The material Yosippon introduces does not appear in Josephus until XV, 6, 1 ff.
- (325) In Yosippon 271, Malok. See above columns 246 and 258.
- (326) In Yosippon 272, Rositheus.
- (327) In Yosippon 272, "the lake of tar." This is Yosippon's Hebrew rendering of the Latin name for the Dead Sea. The ordinary Hebrew name for the Dead Sea is Yam ha-Melah, the Salt Sea.
- (328) In Yosippon 273, literally "his head flew off." Cf. Ant. XV, 6, 1-3.
- (329) Josephus gives no indication of when Pompey restored his throne here. See Ant. XV, 6, 4.
- (330) In Yosippon 274, 40 days. Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (331) In Yosippon 274, Hananel. Josephus (Ant. XV, 2, 4) describes him as an "obscure priest out of Babylonia." At this point, Josephus' sequence is resumed by Yosippon.
- (332) At this point, Josephus (Ant. XV, 2, 5) names a Cleopatra whom he describes in a parentheses as "a musician assisting in taking care to have her letters carried." Nonetheless, he speaks of Alexandra's seeking her intercession with Antony, as if she were queen. Yosippon clears up the confusion straightaway.
- (333) In Ant. XV, 2, 6 Aristobulus' age is given as sixteen.

- (334) Cf. Ant. XV, 2, 6.
- (335) In Yosippon 276, Uriah.
- (336) This paragraph is the parallel of Ant. XV, 3, 1.
- (337) In Yosippon 277, literally "his father-in-law," unless Yosippon takes the word hotan to mean any immediate relative by marriage.
- (338) In Yosippon 277, literally "the old Hyrcanus, their father."
- (339) Cf. Ant. XV, 3, 2.
- (340) Josephus (ibid.) mentions the name of no city, only "to the sea-side."
- (341) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (342) Cf. Ant. XV, 3, 3.
- (343) Ibid.
- (344) This is a pun on the word Jericho in Hebrew: y'ree-ho, which also means "its odor," from re-ah, odor.
- (345) Cf. Ant. XV, 3, 3. War I, 22, 2 has Aristobulus "dipped by the Galls, at Herod's command."
- (346) Cf. Ant. XV, 3, 4.
- (347) Cf. Ant. XV, 3, 4.
- (348) Ibid.
- (349) In Yosippon 280, Cypron.
- (350) In Yosippon 280, Sh'lomit.
- (351) Cf. Ant. XV, 4, 1; War I, 18, 4-5.
- (352) Ant. XV, 4, 2; War loc. cit.
- (353) Cf. above, column 278.
- (354) Cf. Ant. XV, 4, 2; War I, 18, 5.
- (355) In Yosippon 282, Artaban.
- (356) Cf. Ant. XV, 4, 3; War loc. cit. Neither citation mentions that the kings were made slaves.
- (357) In Yosippon 282, literally the Ocean Sea.

- (358) In Ant. XV, 5, 1 the olympiad is the 187th. Here Yosippon (col. 282) describes the olympiad as an Oliporus.
- (359) Cf. War I, 19, 1.
- (360) In Josephus, Herod turns back upon receiving the order to attack Arabia from Antony (Ant. XV, 5, 1).
- (361) In Yosippon 283, Anthio.
- (362) In Ant. XV, 5, 1 Herod's army is beaten so badly that his role is temporarily reduced to that of a "private robber." See also War I, 19, 2.
- (363) In Ant. XV, 5, 2 the earthquake was "such a one as had not happened at any other time." Cf. also Zechariah 14: 4-5, and Ant. IX, 10, 4.
- (364) This jibes with Josephus (ibid.): "About 10,000 men also perished by the fall of the houses...."
- (365) Cf. Ant. XV, 5, 2; War I, 19, 3. So great was the reputation of this earthquake that two medieval commentators to the Bible, Rashi and David Kimhi, cite it as the fulfillment of the prophecy in Haggai: 1:6.
- (366) In Ant. XV, 5, 3 Herod calls the ambassadors sacred, comparing them to God's angels, whose task it is to bring God's message to men. This perhaps accounts for Yosippon's mention of angels a few sentences below.
- (367) Cf. ibid. for the entire lengthy speech. Also see War I, 19, 4.
- (368) In Yosippon, three battles are indicated: the first, in which the Arabians lose 5,000 men; the second, described as a fixed battle, in which they lose 4,000 men; and a third which the beleaguered Arabians stage as an act of desperate honor. In this last 7,000 men fall. Josephus (Ant. XV, 5, 4) tells of only two battles. He attributes the 4,000 number to the Arabians driven to surrender by their thirst, who are captured between the first and the last battles (the sally from the camp). Cf. also War I, 19, 5-6.
- (369) In Yosippon 289, Rodos. Cf. Ant. XV, 6, 6; War I, 20, 1-4.
- (370) Cf. note below.
- (371) Yosippon has Shomi, man of Tyre, but in such a way as to indicate the copy error. Phonetically, in Yosippon 289, man of Tyre reads ish tzoori, close to what was probably i-toori.
- (372) In Yosippon 290, Alexandrona.
- (373) Cf. Ant. XV, 6, 6 where this speech, on a far more sophisticated level, is reported. Cf. also War I, 20, 1.

- (374) This speech by Augustus is absent in Ant. Cf. however War I, 20, 2.
- (375) In Ant. XV, 7, 3 the territories added to Herod's rule are enumerated. Josephus calls the 400 warriors Galatians. Moreover, this assignation takes place during a second trip which Herod makes to Augustus, after he had returned home from Rhodes and had difficulties with Mariamne. Yosippon presents the two trips as one, just as he fuses the two times Herod puts Mariamne's life into another's hands; first with his uncle Joseph (Ant. XV, 3, 5) and then with his treasurer Joseph and with Sohemus of Iturea (Ant. XV, 6, 5). In War I, 22, 4 Herod, prior to his going to see Antony, puts Mariamne's life in the hands of Joseph, his sister Salome's husband, who reveals his secret instructions. Cf. also War I, 22, 3-4.
- (376) In Josephus (War I, 22, 4), Mariamne, when Herod professes his love for her, says: "Yes, thou didst, to be sure, demonstrate thy love to me by the injunctions thou gavest to Joseph, when thou commandedst him to kill me."
- (377) This last detail is not reported in Ant. XV, 7, 4. Instead, Mariamne's eunuch (hence Yosippon's introduction of the term) is tortured in order for the king to discover the truth. The eunuch of course knows nothing, but indicates that Mariamne's sullenness is owing to a remark Sohemus had made to his mistress. Herod has Sohemus executed, and he brings Mariamne to trial.
- (378) In War I, 22, 5 Herod orders Joseph and Mariamne executed immediately. Sohemus is absent from this account.
- (379) In Ant. XV, 7, 4 the trial of Mariamne takes place, the court sentences her to death, but Herod refuses to carry out the sentence hastily. Instead he puts her in prison. Then Salome and her party prevail on the king not to delay "lest the multitude should be tumultuous if she were suffered to live." In War I, 22, 5 Herod has Mariamne killed without trial.
- (380) Cf. Ant. XV, 7, 5.
- (381) Ibid.
- (382) Cf. Ant. XV, 7, 6 for his eulogy of Mariamne.
- (383) Cf. Ant. XV, 7, 7.
- (384) In War I, 22, 5 Josephus says: "as soon as his passion was over, he repented of what he had done; as soon as his anger was worn off, his affections were kindled again. And indeed, the flame of his desires for her was so ardent, that he could not think she was dead, but would appear, under his disorders, to speak to her as if she were still alive...."

- (385) Cf. Ant. XV, 7, 7.
- (386) Cf. Ant. XV, 10, 1; XVI, 1, 2; War I, 23, 1.
- (387) Perhaps a reference to "the Koze...whom the Idumeans (formerly) revered as a god." (See Ant. XV, 7, 9.)
- (388) Ant. loc. cit.
- (389) In Ant. XV, 7, 10 Salome herself sends a bill of divorce to her husband and thus dissolves the marriage. Upon this, Josephus remarks: "This was not according to the Jewish laws."
- (390) Josephus (ibid.) describes them as "sons of Babas."
- (391) In Yosippon 298, Lymarus and Rositheus.
- (392) Yosippon wisely mentions this activity first, because, as Josephus says, "above all the rest, the trophies gave the most distaste to the Jews;" Ant. XV, 8, 1.
- (393) In Yosippon 298, Podromia.
- (394) In Ant. XV, 8, 3 the names of the conspirators are not supplied.
- (395) Yosippon confuses the story presented in Ant. XV, 8, 4. In that account, the spy who had informed the king of the plot "was seized on by the people, out of the hatred they bore to him; and was not only slain by them, but pulled to pieces, limb from limb, and given to the dogs." No specific time is given ("Nor was it long ..."). Herod discovers who participated in this deed by torturing the witnesses severely, and the perpetrators were "so terribly punished by the king, that their entire families were destroyed."
- (396) Yosippon 299, Sebastia. Cf. War I, 21, 2.
- (397) In Yosippon 299, alman v'mahoz, a harbor and a harbor, or market.
- (398) Cf. Josephus' account in War I, 21, 5.
- (399) In Yosippon 300, the word appears l'ofis. The samekh and the final mem are easily mistaken.
- (400) In Yosippon 300, literally "out of his multitude."
- (401) Cf. Ant. XV, 9, 1 and 2 for the account of the famine.
- (402) In Yosippon 301, the Shonim, "ones who differed." Cf. Ant. XV, 10, 4-5 for the account of Herod's suspicions.
- (403) Menahem (Ant. XV, 10, 5 and War II, 17, 8) was the son of Judas

the Galilean, founder of the fourth philosophy (Ant. XVIII, 1,6). Josephus mentions (Ant. XX, 5, 1) two "sons of Judas of Galilee were now slain....James and Simon, whom Alexander (the alabarch of Alexandria) commanded to be crucified." Menahem, the third son, survived to become "the leader of the sedition (War *ibid.*). Shortly after the revolt began, in 66 C.E., he was captured by Eleazar, the governor of the Temple (War II, 17, 2) and put to death (War II, 17, 9). Judas, in turn, was the son of Hezekiah, or Ezekias, who had been the head of the robbers in Galilee whom Herod had put down. Cf. Ant. XIV, 9, 2; XVII, 10, 5; and War I, 10, 5.

- (404) Cf. Ant. XV, 10, 5.
- (405) Cf. Ant. XV, 11, 1. In War I, 21, 1 Josephus assigns the rebuilding of the Temple in Herod's rule to the 15th year.
- (406) Cf. Ant. XV, 11, 1; War I, 21, 1.
- (407) Cf. Ant. XV, 11, 2-3.
- (408) Cf. Ant. XV, 11, 5. This measurement does not appear in Josephus.
- (409) *Ibid.* The descriptions of Josephus and Yosippon vary considerably, but this is the first numerical item of disagreement. Josephus records 162 columns, each 27 feet high, its thickness "such, that three men might, with their arms extended, fathom it around, and join their hands again."
- (410) *Ibid.* Josephus records 30 foot intervals for two of the three walks, 45 feet for the middle one.
- (411) *Ibid.*
- (412) In Josephus (*ibid.*) the wall was stone. It contained such an inscription, but no gold sword is mentioned.
- (413) *Ibid.*
- (414) Cf. the dimensions of the east court in Yosippon 307.
- (415) Cf. Ant. XV, 11, 5. Yosippon confuses Josephus' description of the Temple considerably, almost to the point of nonsense. When Josephus, however, speaks in the first person plural, Yosippon usually follows.
- (416) In Ant. XV, 11, 6-7 Josephus tells that the building was completed "in a year and six months." The report of the rain is found here.
- (417) Cf. Ant. XV, 11, 6.

- (418) Ibid. Josephus makes this comment: "...is not possible to set down, for it cannot be that we should truly relate it," but he does so in reference to the number of sacrifices offered upon the completion of the rebuilding.
- (419) In Ant. XVI, 1, 3 Herod collects his sons on a visit he makes to Rome to meet with Caesar.
- (420) Literally "with fever and with anger."
- (421) In Yosippon 311, king of Kaftor.
- (422) Cf. Ant. XVI, 1, 3 and War I, 23, 1. In Ant. both wives are named: Glaphyra and Bernice. In War, neither name appears in this section. Glaphyra is named in I, 24, 2.
- (423) In Yosippon 311, literally "the knowledge of their hearts, and is so used throughout."
- (424) In Yosippon 311, literally, "revealed (to) the ear of the king."
- (425) Yosippon 312 says Rositheus. Josephus says Doris, Ant. XIV, 12, 1.
- (426) I.e. lower. Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (427) Yosippon 312 reads b'may. It should read b'nay.
- (428) Yosippon omits Antipater's sojourn in Rome recorded in Ant. XVI, 4, 1-5. The succession is recorded in Ant. XVI, 4, 6 and in War I, 23, 2. See below, column 314.
- (429) Yosippon 312 reads their brothers--akhim.
- (430) Cf. Ant. XVI, 4, 1-4 and War I, 23, 3.
- (431) This arrangement appears to contradict Josephus' report (Ant. XVI, 4, 6) which tells of Herod's address to the people upon his return from Rome. He "informed them that his sons were to reign after him; Antipater first, and then Alexander and Aristobulus, the sons of Mariamne...." See above, column 312. However the problem is resolved by reference to War I, 23, 5 where, upon his return from Rome, Herod addresses these words to the assembled people: "I do declare that these three sons of mine shall be kings.... The age of one of them, and the nobility of the other two shall procure them the succession." The speech's next sentence, when taken with the remark in Ant., may give rise to Yosippon's theory that the sons will be haberim b'malkhut, joint rulers. "Nay, indeed, my kingdom is so large that it may be sufficient for more kings."

- (432) Cf. War *ibid.*
- (433) Cf. Ant. XVI, 3, 3; XVI, 7, 2; and War I, 24, 1.
- (434) Cf. War I, 24, 2.
- (435) Cf. War I, 24, 5: "He had also a hundred talents of his own revenue, and enjoyed the advantage of all the land beyond the Jordan, which he had received as a gift from his brother...."
- (436) In Ant. XVI, 7, 3, Pheroras despises and rejects Herod's daughter, to whom he is betrothed, out of his affections for his first wife, who is from a slave family. Herod is angered by Pheroras' refusal, and a short while later, offers him his second daughter, named Cypros. Pheroras reluctantly agrees to put away his first wife, but does not, which gives rise to Herod's great anger and suspicion. Yosippon follows the account in War I, 24, 6.
- (437) Cf. Ant. XVI, 7, 4.
- (438) Cf. Ant. XVI, 7, 6; War I, 24, 6. In Yosippon 316, the author calls him Sylleo.
- (439) Cf. War I, 24, 7.
- (440) Cf. War I, 24, 7. Herod fancies that "he saw Alexander coming to him with a drawn sword in his hand."
- (441) Cf. Ant. XVI, 8, 1; War I, 24, 7. In these accounts, the eunuchs are forced to confess.
- (442) In Ant. *loc. cit.* Herod is described as dyeing his hair black.
- (443) Cf. Ant. XVI, 8, 4; War I, 24, 8.
- (444) *Ibid.*
- (445) In Ant. XVI, 8, 5 and War I, 25, 1, that young man is Alexander himself: "Salome came in to him by night; and...she lay with him whether he would or not" (Ant.); "Salome once came and forced him to lie with her in the night time, whether he would or no" (War).
- (446) *Ibid.*
- (447) In Yosippon 319, literally "he stole the opinion of the king."
- (448) Cf. Ant. XVI, 8, 6; War I, 25, 3.
- (449) In War I, 25, 6 the gift is 70 talents and a golden throne, as well as the eunuchs and the concubine.

- (450) Cf. Ant. XVI, 8, 6; War I 25, 3-6. The account in War is more detailed, and Yosippon draws heavily from it.
- (451) In Yosippon 322, a "man from the seed of Lacon, his name, Aeribilus."
- (452) Cf. Ant. XVI, 10, 1; War I, 26, 1.
- (453) In Yosippon 322, literally "he spoke all his heart."
- (454) In Yosippon 322, literally "my old man."
- (455) Cf. Ant. XVI, 10, 4; War I, 26, 3.
- (456) Cf. War I, 26, 2-4; Ant XVI, 10, 1.
- (457) Cf. Ant. XVI, 11, 4; War I, 27, 3. Yosippon omits Josephus' account of the trial in absentia of Herod's sons before Caesar at Berytus, but picks up the thread of the account as the trial episode concludes: "And now all Syria and Judea was in great expectation, and waited for the last act of the tragedy; yet did nobody suppose that Herod would be so barbarous as to murder his children; however he carried them away to Tyre, and thence sailed to Caesarea, and deliberated with himself what sort of death the young men should suffer." (War); "Now as they came to Caesarea, everybody there was talking of Herod's sons, and the kingdom was in suspense, and the people were in great expectation of what would become of them" (Ant.).
- (458) In Yosippon 323, Toro.
- (459) In Yosippon 324, Tryphon.
- (460) In Yosippon 325, Sebastia.
- (461) Cf. Ant. XVI, 11, 4-7; War I, 27, 4-6. In Josephus, death is inflicted by strangling.
- (462) In Yosippon 326, Bironici. Cf. Ant. XVII, 1, 2; War I, 28, 1.
- (463) In Ant. XVII, 1, 2, and War I, 28, 2 Aristobulus' second daughter is betrothed to Herod's own son, Herod (Philip), born of Mariamne.
- (464) Cf. Ant. XVII, 1, 1-2; War I, 28, 1-3. In neither account is evidence of weddings; only espousals are reported.
- (465) At the time, i.e. after the execution of Mariamne, daughter of Alexander the Hasmonean, in 29 B.C.E. In all, Herod had 10 wives. Josephus, in Ant. XVII, 1, 3 says: "Now Herod the king had at this time nine wives...." See below.

- (466) Yosippon's enumeration of wives and children is considerably in error. My translation only partially corrects the factual errors in the text (column 327, line 21 to column 328, line 4). Literally, the passage reads: "Rutheus, his wife, bore Antipater. Also, Mariamne, his wife, bore him the little Herod, for the two were slain. Malticus, his wife, bore him Antipas and a daughter named Odo-Olympiras; she also bore him Cleopatra; Jerusalemeth, his wife, bore him Herod and Philipus; also Erodipallos, his wife, bore him two daughters, the name of the first Roxana and the name of the second Salome. The other wives (were)--the name of the first Phedra, and the name of the second Elpis...."

By comparing this passage of Yosippon's with a complete list of Herod's wives and children, we can see the following:

1. Yosippon is unaware that there were two Mariammes. By saying: "Mariamne, his wife, bore him the little Herod. The two (other brothers) were slain," he presents the two as one. Mariamne I was the daughter of Alexander the Hasmonean. She was executed in 29 B.C.E. (cf. Ant. XV, 7, 4 ff. and War I, 22, 5). She had four children: two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus; and two daughters, Salampsio and Cypros (cf. Ant. XVIII, 5, 4). Mariamne II was the daughter of Simon, son of Boethus, appointed by Herod as high priest. (Cf. Ant. XV, 9, 3.) In Ant. XVII, 1, 3 she is described as "the high priest's daughter, by whom he had a son of his own name," and in War I, 28, 4 her son is: "Herod (Philip) of Mariamne, the high priest's daughter...." Josephus knows that Herod had ten wives, but since Mariamne I is dead at the time with which he is concerned, he excludes her from his list, thus arriving at the number "nine." He does mention her immediately afterwards. Yosippon, on the other hand makes Mariamne (presumably Mariamne I) the mother of the little Herod as well as of Alexander and Aristobulus. Thus he arrives at the number nine, which he believes to be the total number of Herod's wives.
2. Cleopatra of Jerusalem is separated into two: Cleopatra becoming a daughter of Malticus (Malthace) and Jerusalemeth the entire name of the fourth wife.
3. Erodipallos (Pallas) is the mother of only one son, Phasaellus, whose name Yosippon omits.
4. Phedra is the mother of Roxana.
5. Elpis is the mother of Salome.
6. Yosippon cites the number "nine." He lists only seven wives by name, however. The two others, who were childless, go unnamed. According to Josephus, who also omits their names, they are Herod's first cousin, and his niece (in War, *ibid.*) or his brother's daughter and his sister's daughter (in Ant. *ibid.*).

The correct order of Herod's wives and children is:

1. Doris: Antipater
2. Mariamne I: Alexander, Aristobulus, Salampsio, Cypros
3. Mariamne II: Herod (Philip)
4. Malthace: Antipas, Archelaus, Olympias
5. Cleopatra of Jerusalem: Herod and Philip
6. Pallas: Phasaelus
7. Phedra: Roxana
8. Elpis: Salome
9. Herod's first cousin, or Herod's brother's daughter
10. Herod's niece, or Herod's sister's daughter.

For a complete genealogical tree of the Herodian dynasty, see Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VI, p. 361.

- (467) Cf. Ant. XVII, 1, 2; War I, 28, 5.
- (468) Cf. Ant. XVII, 2, 4; War I, 29, 1.
- (469) Cf. Ant. XVII, 3, 3; War I, 29, 4. In both accounts, Herod instructs Pheroras to retire to his own tetrarchy, beyond the Jordan.
- (470) In Yosippon 328, literally "to ask him peace." Cf. Ant. XVII, 3, 2; War I, 29, 2. In both accounts, Antipater engineers this trip to Rome by having his Italian friends write Herod indicating that "it was proper for Antipater to be sent to Caesar for some time..." (War).
- (471) Cf. Ant. XVII, 3, 3; War I, 29, 4.
- (472) Yosippon 330, literally "except while I still see as a boy." Cf. War I, 30, 3.
- (473) War loc. cit. alludes to "these heads of Hydra...."
- (474) In Yosippon 330, "he spoke to him...."
- (475) Cf. Ant. XVII, 4, 1; War I, 30, 3.
- (476) Cf. Ant. XVII, 4, 1; War I, 30, 1-4.
- (477) In Yosippon 331, the phrase is ne-eman beto.
- (478) In Yosippon 331, Theuorion. In Josephus (War I, 30, 5) Theudio.
- (479) In Yosippon 331, literally "to say to him Antipater."
- (480) Cf. Ant. XVII, 4, 2; War I, 30, 5.

- (481) This account corresponds with War I, 30, 5. Ant. XVII, 4, 2 differs in this respect: "And when the king asked her about it, she confessed it; and as she was running to fetch it, she threw herself down from the house-top." The accounts continue in parallel fashion. The Yosippon prefers the account in War here.
- (482) Cf. Ant. XVII, 3, 3: "This (death of Pheroras) became the origin of Antipater's misfortunes,...God now being about to punish him for the murder of his brethren." See also War I, 30, 13: "But now the punishment was transferred to its original author, and took its rise from the death of Pheroras."
- (483) Cf. War I, 30, 5: "He would have her body torn to pieces by torments, and leave no part of it to be buried."
- (484) Cf. Ant. XVII, 4, 2.
- (485) In Ant. XVII, 4, 2 and War I, 30, 6 Pheroras' wife keeps a small amount of the poison against the time when the king would turn on her. She tells this to Herod at the conclusion of her confession. Then she hands him the poison.
- (486) Cf. Ant. XVII, 4, 1-2; War I, 30, 1-6.
- (487) An alternate translation would be: "I cannot govern the kingdom and you are not here."
- (488) Cf. War I, 31, 1. In Ant. XVII, 4, 3 Antipater lays "the heaviest things to their charge; yet did he entirely excuse them of any guilt, and said they were but young men...." At the same time, he bribes Herod's friends to write straightforward, accusing letters.
- (489) Cf. War I, 31, 2.
- (490) In Yosippon 334, Torinto or Turinto.
- (491) Cf. Ant. XVII, 5, 1; War I, 31, 3.
- (492) Cf. *ibid.*: "This last news affected him deeply; not out of any affection for Pheroras, but because he was dead without having murdered his father..." (Ant.). Antipater "made great lamentations...and his tears were more for the loss of him that was to have been subservient therein, than for (an uncle) Pheroras." (War)
- (493) In Yosippon 334, Caesirea.
- (494) Cf. War I, 31, 3: "those that were less considerate, and had more regard to their own desires of seeing their native country than to Antipater's safety, persuaded him to make haste home...." Ant. XVII, 5, 1 imputes no motives to his various advisors.

- (495) Cf. War I, 31, 4: "Nor could he now fly any whither, nor had he any way of emerging out of the difficulties which encompassed him." The allusion is Yosippon's.
- (496) This detail is lacking in Josephus. In Ant. XVII, 5, 2 Antipater is so unaware of the king's animosity that he arrives at the palace "clothed in purple." See also War I, 31, 4-5.
- (497) In Yosippon 335, literally "suddenly."
- (498) In Yosippon 335, Zoro.
- (499) In Yosippon 336, literally "the guilt which was in it (fem.)." Cf. Ant. XVII, 5, 1-2; War I, 31, 1-5.
- (500) According to Ant. XVII, 5, 2 Quintilius Varus was the successor to Saturninus as president of Syria, who had come to Jerusalem "as an assessor to Herod, who had desired his advice in his present affairs."
- (501) Cf. Ant. XVII, 5, 3; War I, 32, 1.
- (502) In Yosippon 338, literally "the day of my death before God."
- (503) Cf. Ant. XVII, 5, 3-4; War I, 32, 1-3.
- (504) In Yosippon 340, literally "if it is from your hand."
- (505) In Yosippon 340, literally "to put forth their hand to you."
- (506) In Yosippon 340, literally "to kill a soul."
- (507) In Yosippon 342, literally "from loving you."
- (508) In Yosippon 343, literally "who rises on the blood."
- (509) Cf. Numbers 16 passim.
- (510) Cf. II Samuel 18 passim.
- (511) In Josephus' account of Antipater's speech (War I, 32, 3), the earth and the sea are cited as examples of God's not having punished Antipater. The heaven is not included, nor are Biblical examples used.
- (512) In Yosippon 344, literally "lift your face, please."
- (513) Josephus recounts Antipater's speech in direct quotation in War I, 32, 3; and in indirect quotation in Ant. XVII, 5, 4.
- (514) In Yosippon 345, literally "those who stand before the king."

- (515) In Ant. XVII, 5, 4 Nicolaus "explained all that concerned the demonstrations and evidences of the facts" before Antipater makes his defense. Afterwards (ibid.), "did Nicolaus begin to prosecute what the king had begun." In War I, 32, 3 Nicolaus is interrupted by Antipater as he is about "to produce the evidence against Antipater." Only afterward could he bring in "a letter and large accusation against him (Ant. XVII, 5, 4). In Antiquities, Nicolaus is quoted directly; in War, indirectly.
- (516) In Yosippon 345, the verb is second person feminine singular, probably a scribal error.
- (517) In Yosippon 345, literally "the pleasantness."
- (518) In Yosippon 346, literally "to roll his evil on top of him."
- (519) Cf. Ant. XVII, 5, 5-6; War I, 32, 4.
- (520) In both Ant. XVII, 5, 7 and War I, 32, 5 Varus calls for the potion and conducts this final section of the trial.
- (521) Ant. loc. cit. says: "he died presently"—i.e. now. War, loc. cit. says he: "died upon the spot."
- (522) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.; War loc. cit.
- (523) According to Josephus, "Acme was a Jew by birth, and a servant of Julia, Caesar's wife" (Ant. loc. cit. See also War I, 32, 6). See also below, notes 524 and 527.
- (524) Yosippon simplifies the far more complex exchange of letters in Ant. loc. cit., by omitting reference to Antiphilus of Egypt or his slave, and by making Acme the wife of Caesar rather than her servant. He partially corrects his change in column 348 by describing Acme as Augustus' handmaid. See below, note 527. Cf. also War I, 32, 6-7. Yosippon preserves the essence of Antipater's slander.
- (525) In Josephus, Herod alters his former will to make Antipas, his youngest son, king following him. Cf. Ant. XVII, 6, 1; War I, 32, 7. See below, note 528.
- (526) Cf. Ant. XVII, 6, 5; War I, 33, 6.
- (527) See above, note 524.
- (528) In the light of these last sentences, it seems Yosippon could hardly have thought that Herod had designated Antipater to be his successor, as this text indicates at the beginning of this paragraph. We would expect it to read: "Antipas, his son would rule after him." This would correspond with Josephus. See above, note 525.

Yosippon often follows the form if not the precise content of Josephus. In this instance, Josephus has Herod change his will twice in his final days; so too Yosippon has Herod change his will twice. In Josephus, however, first Antipas is made sole heir, then his brothers and he are made tetrarchs. See Ant. XVII, 8, 1; War I, 33, 7. In Yosippon, Antipater is designated as sole heir in the first change (one which, aside from being totally incongruous, is hardly necessary since he was sole heir in the previous will; cf. Ant. XVII, 3, 2; War I, 29, 2), and in the second his name is removed. See column 349. Yosippon's explanation is far less sensible, since it presents no reason for changing the will, nor does it name any successor (or successors) to Herod's throne.

- (529) In Yosippon 348, literally "I will clean it with my hand."
- (530) In Yosippon 348, Achiachus.
- (531) Cf. Ant. XVII, 7, 1; War I, 33, 7.
- (532) In Yosippon 349, literally "Send me and I will go."
- (533) In Yosippon 349, Irkanos. Cf. Ant. XVII, 7, 1; cf. also War I, 33, 7--Hyrkanum.
- (534) See above, note 528.
- (535) According to Ant. XVII, 8, 1; War I, 32, 8 Herod died five days after Antipater.
- (536) Ant. loc. cit.; War loc. cit.
- (537) In Yosippon 349, Alexander.
- (538) Cf. Ant. XVII, 8, 2; War I, 33, 8.
- (539) Cf. Ant. XVII, 6, 5-6; War I, 33, 6.
- (540) Josephus says that "he had also been commanded to carry Herod's ring to Caesar" who had to approve Herod's dispositions (War I, 33, 8). It is unclear if "he" refers to Ptolemy or Archelaus. Cf. also Ant. XVII, 8, 2.
- (541) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.; War I, 33, 8-9.
- (542) In Yosippon 351, Ikorion.
- (543) In Yosippon 351, ris.
- (544) In Yosippon 351, Gaulus.
- (545) In Yosippon 351, Frankus.

- (546) The order of soldiers in Ant. XVII, 8, 3 and War I, 33, 9 is Herod's guards first, then Thracians, Germans, and Galatians (Gauls).
- (547) In both Ant. loc. cit. and War loc. cit., the number of incense-bearers is 500.
- (548) In Yosippon 351, Irodion.
- (549) In Yosippon 353, Apollinus.
- (550) In Yosippon 353, literally "your mouth."
- (551) In Yosippon 353, literally "fill his heart."
- (552) The speech of Antipater in Ant. XVII, 9, 5 says: "when he was of a sound mind...he appointed...Antipas to succeed." In War II, 2, 5 Josephus reports: "he had no complaints to make of him whom he had named before (in his second testament), when he was sound in body, and when his mind was free from all passion."
- (553) The figure in Ant. XVII, 9, 3 and War II, 1, 3 is three thousand and dead.
- (554) Deleted.
- (555) Deleted.
- (556) Cf. Ant. XVII, 9, 5; War II, 2, 5. The last request for procurators, so uncharacteristic of a contender for the throne, does not appear in either Ant. or War.
- (557) In Yosippon 355, literally "to raise the hand."
- (558) Cf. Ant. XVII, 9, 6; War II, 2, 6.
- (559) In Yosippon 355, literally "the rulership." At the same time (4 B.C.E.), Herod Antipas is appointed tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea. His rule continues through the reign of Tiberius (14-37 C.E.) and the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate (26-36 C.E.). Philip is appointed tetrarch of Batanea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis. See below, column 357 and note 570.
- (560) Cf. Ant. XVII, 11, 4; War II, 6, 3.
- (561) Cf. Ant. XVII, 11, 1-4; XVII, 13, 1-2; War II, 6, 1-3; War II, 7, 3.
- (562) In Yosippon 356, Jubab of Lub.
- (563) In Yosippon 356, this sentence is incomplete. In most likelihood, the best completion is suggested by Josephus (Ant. XVII, 13, 4;

War II, 7, 4): "she lived in widowhood in Cappadocia with her father" (Ant.).

- (564) Technically, the y'bamah is the widow of a brother who died without issue. That is the reason Yosippon indicates in the preceding sentence that Glaphyra did have children by Alexander.
- (565) Josephus' two accounts differ slightly. In Ant. XVII, 13, 4 Alexander's ghost says: "However, I will not forget thy former kind affections for me, but will set thee free from every reproachful action, and cause thee to be mine again, as thou once wast." In War II, 7, 4 Alexander is more severe: "However, I shall not overlook the injury thou hast offered me; I shall (soon) have thee again, whether thou wilt or no." Yosippon prefers the version in War.
- (566) The telling of the dream appears in Ant. loc. cit. only.
- (567) In Yosippon 357, literally "full and good."
- (568) Josephus' two versions differ slightly. In Ant. XVII, 13, 3 Archelaus sees ten ears of corn. In War II, 7, 3 he sees nine ears.
- (569) According to the account in War loc. cit.: "he was banished to Vienna, a city of Gaul, and his effects were put in Caesar's treasury."
- (570) Cf. War II, 9, 1: "that Herod who was called Antipas." Herod and Philip remained tetrarchs. Cf. also Ant. XVIII, 2, 1. Yosippon's sense of chronology becomes hazy here. Cf. note 559 above.
- (571) In Yosippon 357, Pilatus. Pilate was procurator from 26-36 C.E.
- (572) In Yosippon 357, literally "Lest the image of a man come into the holy city."
- (573) Both of Josephus' accounts agree that no slaughter took place. Cf. Ant. XVIII, 3, 1; War II, 9, 2-3. Pilate brought the ensigns in by night. The Jews protested strongly, and upon Pilate's refusal to withdraw, many fell on the ground and lay there for five days. On the sixth day, Pilate had them surrounded with soldiers, their swords drawn. If they would not leave, said Pilate, he would punish them all with death. None left. Instead they bared their necks, preferring death to a transgression of their law. Pilate was so impressed with their "firm resolution to ever keep their laws inviolable" (Ant.), or "their prodigious superstition" (War), that he had the ensigns withdrawn. At this point in Ant. two more incidents are recounted, neither of which is reproduced by Yosippon. The first is Pilate's use of the corban money to build an aqueduct into Jerusalem (Ant. XVIII, 3, 2; War II, 9, 4).

The second is an account of Jesus' crucifixion (Ant. XVIII, 3, 3).

- (574) In Ant. XVIII, 3, 4 the promise reported is two hundred thousand Attic drachmae.
- (575) This detail is absent in Ant. loc. cit.
- (576) In Yosippon 358, Isiris, apparently a conflation of Isis and Osiris.
- (577) In Yosippon 358, Anub.
- (578) In Ant, loc. cit. this scheme is conceived of by Ide, Mundus' freedwoman. She arranges the affair with the priests for 25,000 gold drachmae down, and an equal amount upon completion of the deal. She is omitted from Yosippon's account altogether.
- (579) In Yosippon 359, literally "in the image of Anubis."
- (580) Ant. loc. cit. indicates that while her friends were not altogether skeptical, owing mainly to her reputation as a modest woman, they "partly disbelieved the thing, when they reflected on its nature...."
- (581) In Ant. XVIII, 3, 4 Mundus is more realistic a character. He has no expectations of future compliance on the part of Paulina. He simply rejoices "in the pleasure I reaped by what I did."
- (582) In Yosippon 360, Tiberius.
- (583) Cf. Ant. XVIII, 3, 4.
- (584) See above, column 357.
- (585) Cf. Ant. XVIII, 5, 1; XVIII, 5, 4.
- (586) According to Josephus, the marriage of (Herod) Philip and Herodias produced no sons, but one daughter, Salome. Cf. Ant. XVIII, 5, 4.
- (587) Cf. Ant. XVIII, 5, 2. This event took place in 29 C.E.
- (588) Cf. War II, 9, 6; Ant. XVIII, 7, 2.

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Report on the Dissertation Submitted by Leonard Zoll for the
Master of Arts in Hebrew Literature Degree and Ordination

A CRITICAL TRANSLATION OF
JOSEPH BEN GORION'S JOSEPPON PART III

I write a single report on the theses of Messrs. Rubinstein, Patz and Zoll because though they worked separately and independently, theirs was an effort unified by zeal and devotion to scholarship, exemplary eagerness to complete a difficult task, and the praiseworthy intention of providing together the first full translation made in English of any version of the Yossippon. Regularly these men consulted with me individually or in a group to work out problems involved in the handling of the texts so that the finished copy might have a unified format and a relative uniformity of expression.

The work done by each of these men was massive, and the time they spent went far beyond the requirements of duty. Each man translated one third of the Yossippon. Each studied a number of the major sources which the pseudonymous author of the Yossippon used. Each prepared a lengthy section of notes and an introduction to accompany the translation.

The work of all three men is of an exceptionally high quality. To be sure there are a number of mistranslations in the work of each, as well as a misunderstanding of proper names, sentence structure and the like. There are also several infelicitous translations. The theses at present are not ready for publication: they require editing, a completion of source analysis and a much more detailed introduction. But they should be published.

The faults that I have indicated are relatively few and minor, and my mention of them should not be so construed as to detract from the value of the theses or from their real contribution to Jewish learning.

It is therefore with great pleasure that I recommend the acceptance of this thesis.

Respectfully submitted,



Martin A. Cohen

April 30, 1965

A CRITICAL TRANSLATION OF JOSEPH BEN GORION'S

JOSIPPON - PART III

LEONARD SIMON ZOLL

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements
for the Master of Arts in Hebrew Literature Degree
and Ordination

Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion
New York, N. Y.

March 16, 1965

Advisor: Professor Martin A. Cohen

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Josippon edition that I have been using concludes with:

"Praised is the Living God, the Most High, Who gave me . . . strength to reach the completion of the writing of this book."

I too utter the same brachah, for this thesis has been long and difficult, and I often felt unable to visualize its completion. Yet, thank God, I have come to a way station on the long road of unravelling the Josippon mystery. I and my colleagues Norman Patz and Laurence Rubinstein, have been stimulated to tackle the intriguing problem of Josippon by our friend and teacher, Professor Martin A. Cohen, who has supervised our thesis project. I have much for which to thank Professor Cohen; primary on the long list is his confidence in me to do this type of research. His approach to understanding history and documents has enriched my rabbinic training and my understanding of life.

Certainly I owe thanks to the entire faculty for preparing me to engage in this work of translation. Their assistance has been available throughout the entire project.

Lastly, the most lavish praise can only approximate the help and encouragement of my wife Molly, without whom this thesis would still lie unfinished. Ayshet chayil, mee yimtzah?

Riverdale, N. Y., March 11, 1965

L. S. Z.

INTRODUCTION

All authorities agree that knowledge of Jewish history among medieval Jews was essentially limited to, and influenced immensely by, the Hebrew text of the Josippon. This being the case, it is startling to discover that the authorities do not even know when it was composed, or where, nor even the author. Such basic information might help us to better understand the intent of the unknown author, for the Josippon is a strange and complex book.

The difficulty is translating the Josippon was not so much in dealing with the actual forms and words written in biblical style, but in trying to capture the author's intent. Translation is not, and should not be mechanical, and thus each incident in the Josippon called for an understanding of the characters and what they were saying and doing.

My approach to the translation was therefore not a word for word, literal translation, but an attempt to capture the mood and meaning of the Hebrew text. This was complicated by repetitious style employed by the author. Even individual words were not always translated the same, but rather in context, for Hebrew usage is rich and not mechanical, so that a word like "gibor," could be translated as "brave," "soldier," "warrior," "strong," and so on.

Translation was further complicated by the poor edition available which was unpunctuated and poorly printed. It was frequently difficult to determine who was speaking, for speeches often ran into each other. Spelling errors or printing errors caused difficulty in determining what word was being used by the author. Sometimes sections appeared to be missing or out of place, causing difficulty in understanding the logic

of the passage.

But these technical problems only slightly marred the experience of translating the text. The Josippon is not merely a shortened epitome of the original Josephus, for there are incidents which the author interprets differently than Josephus. Too, there are incidents which the author explores in more depth than Josephus, offering more insight into the personalities involved. The author was not a mere copist or epitomizer, but an artist in his own right.

The author must have been a scholar in various areas, for he relies on many sources in different languages. He has a knowledge of geography and history, anthropology and ethnology, describing places and customs and incidents throughout Europe and Africa.

The author's love of the Jewish people is continuously clear in every incident. He certainly has only contempt for the evil leaders of the people, but he shows his admiration for the courage and loyalty of the common people and even for the evil leaders who mislead and destroyed the people. But the leaders were Jews too, and he appreciates their plight under Roman rule. He draws a picture easily understood by medieval Jews who were without freedom, and especially the average Jew who usually suffered, whoever the ruler, Jew or Gentile, was.

My section of the Josippon was part III, which covered from Agrippa b. Aristobulus b. Herod's assumption of power until the destruction of the Temple and the fall of Massada.

The author shows, as does Josephus, that the fall of the Temple was due to inner corruption in the Jewish community, and not to Roman power. He continually draws the picture of Roman inferiority to Jewish heroism and skill and cunning. The inner conflicts of parties struggling for

power in the Jewish community was the main cause for the Roman victory.

This is not an historical analysis in modern terms, but a religious message. Only when the Jews are unified in the service of their God, they are invincible. It is this emphasis on the religious relationship of the Jewish people and their religious responsibilities and loyalties and their willingness to become martyrs, which probably made the Josippon such a popular book. The Middle Ages saw Jewish sects and parties undermining opposing groups and weakening Jewish solidarity in the face of hostile Gentiles, as well as continuous Jewish martyrdom, in one place or another. Certainly, Jews everywhere would identify with the Josippon's accounts of the Second Temple situation.

Josippon seems to change Josephus from a villainous traitor to a hero of the Jewish people, who represents an approach different from the official leaders of the Jewish people. He is not a traitor, but a patriot who prefers to appease the Romans in behalf of the Jewish people, working behind the lines to bring the Romans a better understanding of the Jews, so that the Romans should not oppress the Jews. Josippon omits the sections in Josephus, where Josephus describes his own attitudes and actions, which clearly were selfish and treacherous.

My interest in Josippon has been whetted, and I trust that further research will enable me to clarify the questions of intent on the part of the author, and to make an analysis of Jewish medieval historical writing of which the Josippon is a prime example.

Thereupon Agrippa the son of Aristobulus son of Herod the Great began his reign of twenty three years. During this time Tiberius Caesar died.

He was replaced by Caius who was considered wicked for all his doings. Caius proclaimed himself god and ordered altars built throughout the land to enshrine his name as god and to have people swear by his name, as by the name of god.

All the peoples acceded and built altars to him and swore by his name and enshrined him as god.

Only the Jews were unwilling to swear by him and prepared for war. They said, "We shall die together but we will not swear and not worship him."

In those days, there were battles and disputes in Judea between the Pharisees and the brigands; with those who inclined toward the son of Joseph the Priest, Eleazar, who did great mischief in Israel until the Pharisees defeated him.

In those days Egypt sent a representative to Caius, ruler of Rome whose name was Apion; the Jews likewise sent a representative to Caius, the supreme ruler, whose name was Philo, a learned man, who wrote many books.

When Apion appeared before Caius ruler of Rome, he stated: "All the peoples have declared you god, and have built altars to you and they swear by your name as by the name of god. Only these Jews alone have not built to you altars, nor have they declared you god nor do they swear by your name."

Then Philo responded and said: "Truly we have not built an altar except to the Lord, God of Israel and we have not declared the name of

any gods beside the name of the Lord, our God and we do not swear by any other name than His, the Great and Awesome One and we do not sacrifice to gods other than to the Lord alone, even if we have to forfeit our lives, for we will not accede and we will not obey your directions."

Whereupon Caius, Ruler of Rome, in anger against Philo, dispatched him in dishonor. And he ordered that all Jews found in Rome should be slain.

The Jews said (among themselves): "Do not be dismayed now, even though it is a troublesome time for Israel because Caius, ruler of Rome, is very angry. Nevertheless, there is hope in the matter, and help will come. Let us return to the Ancient Primary (Source) of help, the help of Our fathers, God, the Lord our God, and let us declare a fast and announce a period of assemblage in the land of our enemies." So the Jews declared a fast in the land of Rome and a three day assembly and called upon God, the Lord of Israel.

The Lord, God of your fathers responded to them because of their fasting and prayers. And it happened on the third day that the Lord stirred up the spirit of his troops and they pounced upon him with their drawn swords and wildly slashed him into pieces until there wasn't enough to bury. The dogs ate his flesh for they didn't bury it.

Thus did the Lord God of Israel arise and avenge Himself of Caius Caesar.

After him ruled Claudis Caesar, who respectfully summoned Philo the sage, and the Jews. They rejoiced and went to Jerusalem and destroyed all the altars which were built in honor of Caius throughout the land of Israel. And Agrippa the King became highly esteemed in the

eyes of Claudius Caesar.

When Agrippa King of Judah died his son replaced him for twenty years. Claudius too died, and was succeeded by Nero Caesar.

During the reign of Agrippa, the Second Temple was destroyed and great wars convulsed the entire land of Judah and all Syria, during which time Agrippa destroyed and ravaged. Thus, for twenty years, he didn't stop spoiling and pillaging and killing; and he laid out throughout Syria a great stratum of corpses. So too in Judah did he strew corpses; even his own neighborhood he cluttered with many corpses.

This continued until Felix the Commander of the Roman Legions came up against him with a great army; with mighty assaults he struck down his opponent and captured and bound him in chains and brought him to Rome.

Moreover Felix sent Eleazar the brigand to Rome. He was not able to cleanse the land of bloodshed for great was the hatred of the people, one against another. Hatred and murder sprang forth then; great wickedness was in the midst of Jerusalem. If a man hated his neighbor he would hire to kill him one of the murderers from the brigand bands, in whose hand was a small sharp sword which was concealed under his garment. This weapon is called a dagger and the brigand hid it under his clothes and went among the multitude and when he found the one whom he hated, he brought the knife to the man's side and stabbed him with it, and killed him, and no one knew the assailant.¹

Thus operated, as an everyday occurrence, in Jerusalem, the dagger-men among the people, who heard the groans of the mortally wounded and who saw continuously with their own eyes, the death of the victim, but

the killer they didn't see.

Therefore they termed this the "invisible death" which has no witnesses. And the people were very frightened of the brigands, the daggersmen, for they were swift and hurried to do their work, inasmuch as they were craftsmen in killing a person skillfully.

There were those who consorted with a Roman for a day or two. While he was still faithful to him, and was walking with him in a crowd of people, someone would stab him with a dagger and kill him. And they began crying out in the sight of all the people "Who stabbed him?" In this way they killed many swiftly and in this cunning and evil manner.

And then Nathan the righteous and pious priest, who was a good man, was killed within the Temple Court and no one knew who killed him.

There were many like him, righteous and pious and scholarly men, killed in those days. Thus fear of the daggersmen grew greater than the fear of war; so the people in Jerusalem went about, each man with a weapon in his hand, dressed in body armour because of the daggersmen.

But many of the poor people who didn't have body armour were afraid of the knives of the daggersmen. So they and their wives and their children left Jerusalem with all their possessions; they wandered aimlessly seeking a place to settle, because of the murderers.

Then the brigands said to Felix, Commander of the Roman Army. "See these people are leaving Jerusalem in order to revolt against Roman rule." Whereupon Felix sent (troops) after them who cut them down with the sword; men, women and children, even sucklings; not even one of them survived.

At that time Jews and Romans engaged in war; for the Jews revolted against the Romans because, Felix, Commander of the Roman Army tightened

his control of the Jews. Felix, Commander of the evil Roman Legion was not loathe to commit acts of bloodshed, and adultery, nor to violate women in cruel and harsh ways.

At that time Vernonica sister of King Agrippa, came to the Temple to worship the Lord, God of Israel. When she saw Felix oppressing the people by taxing them, and killing many of them in the (Temple) Court, she went out, for her compassion was aroused for her people, and wept and pleaded with Felix to pity the people. But Felix did not pity them, but rather insulted and abused the sister of the King. While doing so he was in the precinct of the Temple. Thus Felix was abusive. There was Eleazar son of Ananus the High Priest; during the time Ananus was High Priest, his son Eleazar, an outstanding man of very strong heart, fearing Felix, organized a group of young men who fought against Felix and his bands of Romans. Eleazar prevailed over Felix and his bands, beating them down. So he (Felix) fled Jerusalem and went to Egypt causing destruction and desolation on the way.

Then Felix went to Agrippa the King and told him of all which the young Jews did to him. Therefore Agrippa went North since he was in Egypt, to the land of Judah. When Agrippa arrived from Egypt, his sister Veronica came out to welcome him and to implore him to aid the Jews. All the people also came out from Jerusalem to greet King Agrippa, a distance of twenty-four miles, and they bowed and said, "Long live King Agrippa."

The King inquired about the affairs of the city -- when he came into Jerusalem he brought with him two Roman generals with a large contingent of troops. When the King came into Jerusalem all the people cried out to him: "Save us O King," and "May your power be with us to

help us for we will not serve Romans any longer!" When the King heard their words he soothed the people and placated them, but in the eyes of the King this matter seemed serious for the people spoke of rebelling against the Roman Empire. Whereupon he assembled the people in the courtyard of the Temple and spoke to them as follows: "Pay close attention my brothers, I know of the great pain and sadness in your hearts, for I am also saddened and worried as you are because we have exhausted our strength in fighting against the Romans. However, if you will heed my advice you shall be well off. Instead of the plan of war to unburden you slightly of the yoke of the Roman generals, let me send a letter of peaceful words to Nero Caesar and he will remove from you these generals. Don't rush to go out to war, for many men in their desire for freedom have fallen into heavy servitude. There are many among us who are evil, and many who are irresponsible, who seek to provoke war and who rejoice in the shedding of blood in wars, for this is their occupation. The righteous fall because of their wickedness. Therefore heed my words and he who is wise will understand by himself; and he who is foolish will learn from my words.

"And therefore you will be quiet, until I shall speak, for if you shall be quiet and remain silent then it shall be good for me as well as you; for I shall speak soothing words and you will hear and understand. But if you will not be quiet, and will raise your voices to be haughty and to complain and to agitate, you will commit two evils, for you will have ignored my words and disobeyed my orders, and will have continued in your persistence. In that case, I will send a letter to Caesar and he will imprison your evil leaders and send oppressive rulers. Think about freedom and not servitude!

"Even if this servitude of this insolent ruler is difficult, you ought to be patient and not defy them; even though they are evil, it is an insult, to them to defy them openly; but secretly you ought to conspire against them. If you will defy them brazenly and openly, those who will be the rulers, will overthrow you, becoming your tormentors and enemies. Is an evil ruler better than a righteous enemy, inasmuch as one will secretly devour men, while the other will openly slaughter men? Don't provoke them! Understand this clearly; animals of the forest are under men who have iron weapons --- lions, bears and panthers -- if you don't provoke them, they do not bother you; they are placid, don't cause a disturbance, or roar and they don't kill. But if you go to their lair, and provoke them, and twit their ears and anger them, will they not roar and destroy and kill people? Reflect upon and learn the analogy of the fever. If at the beginning of the fever you make a medication for the patient, you aggravate his condition; but if you neglect it a bit, the fever will abate of itself and depart from him.

Be patient lest you bring upon you Caesar, who does not seek your harm, and who has not sent these troops to hurt you. But he can't see everything, nor can he strike you from Rome, for he is only a man. But if you will wait for me so that I can send messengers to Caesar, I will remove from you these troops through peace and not through war, and without shedding of blood. But if you arm for war against the Roman Empire, you will not prevail against them, inasmuch as they rule the entire world from one end to the other, and all the nations will serve them until their end will come, for all the nations who are Roman servants will plan together and arm themselves against them to fight them.

Hear this! These are the names of the people whom the Romans

subdued, and it is not a disgrace to them to serve Romans: a people called Athenians who live in the land of Greece, a people strong and beautiful who burned their homes and cities before Chorusus, King of Persia, when he attacked them with an army so powerfully mighty and large that none could number the troops; and not even the land of Asia could contain its mighty horde.

"Chorusus, King of Persia said: 'I and my mighty army will clean my feet with the sea and make it dry. And I will also go with my army by ship, into the land and I will do with the land as I wish.' So he was haughty because of his mighty army. Then a Greek went out to engage Chorusus in battle and he and his army was trampled by the people. Whereupon he, Chorusus, King of Persia, fled from them in a small ship and he escaped from them.

"And now this is the outcome of those who overpowered Chorusus, King of Persia, and vanquished many great and mighty nations. Today they are serving the Romans. And so the Macedonian nation, a singularly powerful group is ruled by one of the Roman generals today, and his name is Agisiliah. He has ruled that nation and they love to serve the Romans, their masters.

"The Macedonian nation, Agrippa's nation and the Africans which through two great and mighty rulers conquered all the nations of the world and subdued them--and now there is no disgrace to them to be servants of the Romans, even though formerly they sought to subdue Rome but are now the servants of Rome. These two nations, Macedonia and Africa are servants of Rome; Philip's wealth or Alexander's might were of no avail to them, for Philip and Alexander the Great were not willing to serve Rome; but understand that Alexander was unable to fight them.

He went out from Macedonia via the Northern border. And all the peoples living in the North as far as the snow capped mountain country did not permit passage to any except the Romans.

And every corner of the South as far as the desert lands of sand they sowed and the Romans reaped their harvest. And all the territory of Cush of Aden and the peoples of Samrae² and The Garden of Eden³ and all the extensions of Cush until the Black Mountains until the source of the River Sabbath reached, was the Roman Empire, for no one was able to cross there; and all the land of India until the land of Zin until the source of the rising sun at the end of the land of palms the Romans ruled, even as today.

And all the Western lands as far as Crete have accepted the Roman rule like new born babes inasmuch as they were places where no ship ever came. Now their Roman ships came; they do business and they give tribute to the Romans. Also the Franks a mighty and great people; Burgundy a mighty people. And all the Roman lands until the British Isles, the very ends of the earth. Also the Danish people who live in Denmark are like one hidden within the billows of the Atlantic Ocean who does not have to serve Rome, for Roman rule can't reach them; yet they serve Rome. Also the English and the Irish who live in Ireland on the islands of the Atlantic Ocean. Today they serve Rome.

Also Peter, the people of your covenant, have not deserted you, for Rome has also imposed their yoke on them.⁴ So don't say to yourselves that Rome is occupied in Egypt and in the West where she is fighting, and her army and resources are deployed fighting her enemies; for they take wealth and resources from all the peoples. And don't trust the walls of Jerusalem for Rome has shattered the walls of oceans.

Agrippa continued speaking at length words which were not recorded here. Then Agrippa spoke further: "It will be well for you who love peace. For you with foresight stand guarding your lives from the whirlwind. For when it will come with the might of the sea, none will be saved from the whirlwind, from the waves of the sea and from its might; for none will be permitted to rest by the whirlwind, for fear of death. Then he said, "Think about the love of your land, your children, of your wives and little ones; and think about the love of your Temple and priesthood, and consider them, lest you destroy them all by your own act. And think about all the things that I said to you--the saving of your own lives--the peace which I chose with the Romans. I told you, if you heed and make peace, I and you are together. But if you choose war, you are alone. It is either I and you in peace, or war without me," and Agrippa raised his voice and cried and they cried with him, together with the elders and sages as well as Ananus the Priest.

But Eleazar, the son of Ananus,⁵ and his group, high handed and very strong, suddenly with their swords drawn, broke forth and jumped upon the Roman officers who were with Agrippa the king, and killed all those who were with Agrippa the king, in Judah and Jerusalem. Then they separated the elders and sages and captured the fortress of Zion; for the elders and sages did not want to be with the robbers in one group. And the battle raged between the robbers and the elders and sages.

Now Agrippa the king saw that the robbers were stronger--they were encamped outside the city. So he sent two officers there -- the one, Darius and the other, Philip, together with an army of three thousand horsemen to assist the elders and sages, and to bring about

peace. So they engaged the robbers in battle, and assisted the elders and sages in seeking peace. The army of King Agrippa which came to assist them joined them and fought seven days and bested the robbers and they fled, and they pursued them, fighting until the Temple. When the two officers of King Agrippa arrived at the Temple with the King's troops, they attacked and killed the robbers. But the daggersmen who were with the robbers pounced upon them from behind. And they cut through the king's troops who were in the Temple of the Lord and they slashed with their daggers this way and that way the army of the King even though the spears and swords were drawn in the hands of the troops of the king, in military fashion; but the daggersmen who were small came up under them and stabbed them under their coats of mail, and so fell many of the king's army which had come to the Temple. The robbers triumphed and ousted the king's army from Jerusalem and with them Darius and Philip, officers of the King, as well as the sages and elders and all who sought peace. And they proceeded to Agrippa the king.

So Eleazar, son of Ananus, and the members of the robbers group ruled Jerusalem in their evil way. The worst of the robbers went up into the midst of Jerusalem and they burned the palace of Agrippa which was in Jerusalem and all his archives and they plundered his treasured objects. And they burned all the contracts of debt and all the contracts of loans which were in the palace of the king. Then they burned the palace of Bernice, the king's sister.⁶ In this way they enhanced and strengthened their rule of Jerusalem.

During that time, in all the cities of Syria, Jews and Syrians lived together. But there was war between the Jews and the Syrians in every city of Syria. The people of Caesaria brought a Roman army to the

city and they killed all the Jews whom they found in the city. The people of Damascus joined also to kill the Jews among them. But they concealed their secret and did not reveal the secret to others, for most of the Torahs of the Jews were guarded.

One night the Syrians arose and seized the roads and entrances of the city and killed ten thousand Jews; every Syrian was armed, but the Jews slept in their beds, naked, and were completely unaware of anything.

When the Jews of Jerusalem heard of the evil which the Syrians had done to the Jews of their land, they armed themselves and attacked Damascus like lions and bears. And like wild beasts who are completely insane with rage, they destroyed Damascus with the sword, killing men, women, little children still suckling; oxen and sheep, camels and asses -- thus they did to many Syrian cities. They killed them with the sword, sparing neither the old, nor women, nor did they have mercy for children. They killed all with brutality. They laid up a great heap of Syrians, killed old people, killed pregnant women, and killed men and children, and killed infants at the breasts of their mothers. And the land of Syria emitted the stench of her dead, for they did not bury them. The Jews would have destroyed the whole land of Syria except that Caistus general of the Roman Army saved them from the Jews. Then every Syrian male deserted throughout the entire Syrian army.

The Jewish army was on the march. They arrived at Scythopolis which was in Syria to assault it, for it alone remained in Syria as a fortified city. At that time the Jews and Syrians lived together, but when the Jewish army arrived at the city and called out after the situation of the Jews living in the city, the Jews of Scythopolis did

not answer their brothers, even though their voices were strong and clear -- for the Jews were among Romans and Syrians. They were mostly of the tribe of Levi. The Jewish army said to them, "We have come to help you, for your welfare." But the Jews of Scythopolis answered, "We will not accept your help or assistance." But the Jewish army understood. So they left and returned to Jerusalem, with a great booty of silver and gold, without number, which they brought from Syria.

Meanwhile the Syrians in Scythopolis said to each other, "See hear, the Jews will return to fight with us, and these Jews living among us might league up with them, and give over the city into their hands, and they will do to us what they did to the other cities of Syria." So they said to the Jews living among them: "Listen to us! The Jewish army may return to fight with us. Therefore, leave the city now, with your wives and children and infants, and live in the forest which is near the city until the Jewish army which is coming to attack us will go away from us." So the Jews did this, and left the city and lived in the forest.

And there was a man whose name was Simon, a brigand, of awesome strength and tall stature but arrogant, a powerful man, and courageous, who killed many Jews to find favor among the Gentiles. And he sold many Israelites to Gentiles. When the Jewish army came to Scythopolis to destroy it forever, this Simon came out to fight them and killed many of them, so they turned back. Thus this Simon did not help the Jewish army to destroy the city of Scythopolis.

Then Simon returned to the safety of the city; with him Saul, his father, a nobleman and an elder, for many elders lived in Scythopolis with them. Meanwhile, the Romans and Syrians assembled themselves into

a large army and killed all the Jews found in Scythopolis. And they went to kill Simon and his father and all his family which was in the forest. They killed thirteen thousand people. But when Simon saw the Romans and Syrians coming upon him he unsheathed his sword and he charged them and smote them mightily and they fled from him. They assembled against him another mighty group. When Simon saw this great horde, and he was alone with his sword in his hand, he called and said: "Syrians and Romans, inhabitants of Scythopolis, I will speak to you earnestly. Have you a right to attack me? Don't forget that I have saved you from the Jewish army which has not returned to destroy your cities and your wives, sons and daughters with the sword; as they did to the other cities of Syria. For I fought your battle and killed many of my people and my kinsmen to find favor in your eyes. I have given blood to you for a pledge; and I have given to Gentiles, but hatred to my people. And I have killed my fathers and their sons, of my people, for your sakes. And do you justly require of me all this? Therefore, I will now kill myself out of great anger and wrath, I will stab myself because I have killed my comrades and my beloved. I will kill myself by my own hand to avenge the blood of my brothers which I shed to show my strength and courage lest they honor themselves by my demise by saying: "We killed Simon the hero of Judah." Let me kill myself by my hand as the murderer who killed him." And he did as he said. His eyes filled with blood and his mouth with anger and his anger surged within him while his compassion fought against the anger. But he despised his feeling of tenderness and he grabbed his father and took him out among the people and killed him. And after him, he killed his mother; nor did he spare the children.

His wife ran to him with resoluteness, and bared her neck for the sword so that she would not see the death of her children who ran to offer their necks to the sword, to avoid seeing the death of their father. So he mercilessly and quickly slew them with one blow to save them from torture and he slew all his household. Then he gathered all their corpses like a man victorious in war, who does not see his whole household die by the hand of his enemies, for he killed them all. But afterward he raised his right hand, and before their eyes, took his own life. This is how Simon behaved to show his strength and heroism in order to win approval from the Gentiles, while gaining the enmity of his people. Therefore, he died such an unnatural death.

After these events King Agrippa went and reported to Nero what had happened; how the Jews had rebelled and how they killed the Roman generals and the entire army. So Nero summoned Caistus, Commander of the Roman army, stationed in Syria. He was popular with him for he commanded the Roman army which fought with the Persian King. He defeated him and restored Persia to Roman rule. Then Nero ordered him to go to Judah to speak to the people words of peace and to convince them to renew their treaty. But when Agrippa told Caistus these things, Caistus was delighted over the news, inasmuch as he sought a pretext for revenge in Judah for the great shedding of the blood of the Roman army and the Syrians.

Thereupon, Caistus assembled a huge army and marched to Caesarea and beheld the beauty of its buildings. Then Caistus ordered the burning of the city and the people in it killed by the sword. But this did not satisfy him. He marched to Joppa with a large army and assaulted it via sea and land, and captured it. Then he executed in her streets

eight thousand and four hundred men.

From there he went to Caesarea and burned the suburbs of the city and killed all those found outside the city. Then came out the men of Sepphoris to greet him and beg him to spare them and not to besaige the city and to do them no harm.

But the brigands who were in the city fled to the mountains when they came out from Sepphoris. They threw darts and killed two hundred soldiers.⁷ Gallus general of the army, was also wounded in that battle; but, he didn't die for he was rescued.

But they surrounded the brigands who fled from them but Caistius and his horsemen pursued them. Most of them he overtook and brought to capitulation but, the rest escaped to the mountains. Then Gallus returned to Caesaria to recuperate from his wounds which the brigands of Judah inflicted upon him.

Caistus then marched to Antipartris to attack it, and there he found a Jewish army larger than his army, so they retreated from the battle and went to Gabao which is fifty furlongs from Jerusalem.⁸

They arrived on Friday and rested there. Then Caistus and his whole force pursued them to Gabao and attacked it. After the Sabbath, during the morning watch, the men armed themselves and went forth from the city and engaged Caistus' army in battle and killed five hundred and fifteen horsemen and foot soldiers; but of the Jews only twenty-two fell in that battle. During that battle the heroism of Monobazus and the Jewish soldiers was displayed. And Kenedeus was the first to attack the Roman army.⁹

Thereupon Caistus and Agrippa dispatched troops from Jerusalem

to Eleazar b. Ananus to make peace. But Eleazar was not willing, for he killed the messengers. Then he assembled the priests and the people to go out to fight against Caistus. And these are the ones who saved Israel in the Second Commonwealth from their enemies: Mattithiah b. Jochanan served as High Priest after the Macedonian Priest for a year, then died. After him, his son Judah served for a year, having died in the war. In his place served Simon, eighteen years. But his father-in-law, Ptolemy murdered him by poisoning his wine.

Then served his son Jochanan, named Horkinos, after King Horkinos, whom he killed and he served twenty-one years and died. Replacing him for a year was Aristobulus, his son, who was called the Great King, for he crowned himself and overthrew the Priesthood and usurped the Kingship four hundred and eighty years and three months after Israel came up from Babylon. When Aristobulus died he was replaced by Alexander his brother, who reigned twenty-nine years. Then Alexander died. In his stead his wife Alexandra, reigned for nine years and died. Reigning after her was Aristobulus, her son, for three years. During his reign Pompeii, Commander of the Roman army attached and captured Jerusalem and put Aristobulus in chains and took him to Rome.

In his place reigned Hyrcanus, his brother, for forty years. In his reign Antigonus, his nephew rebelled and attacked Horkinos with a Persian army. He seized Hyrcanus and put him in chains and took him to Babylonia. He cut his ear so that he was unfit to serve as Priest and King. Then Antigonus reigned three years.

During his reign Herod fled to Rome and assembled the entire Rome army and attacked Jerusalem and killed Antigonus in the third year of his reign. So Herod reigned in his stead thirty-nine years and died.

Following him, Archelaus, his son, reigned nine years, when the Roman Emperor enchained him; and Antipas, his son ruled in his stead. He changed his name to Herod and reigned twelve years. He proceeded to Spain and conquered it, because the King of Spain took his brother's wife and he died there. In this place reigned Agrippa b. Aristobulus, his nephew, for twenty-three years and died.

In his stead reigned, Agrippa, his son, twenty years. Throughout his entire reign war did not cease between Israel and Rome -- until the dispersion of Judah by the Romans who destroyed the Second Temple.

In the twentieth year of King Agrippa's reign, in the fifth month, the month of Ab, on the ninth day of the month, in the reign of Agrippa Nero ruled over Rome; and he sent gifts to the Temple of the Lord to atone for that which the Romans did who ruled before him.

Eleazar b. Ananus the High Priest was officiating, and he expelled the gift of Nero from the Temple of the Lord, for he said, "We will not profane the Temple of our God with the gifts of Gentiles." Then he sounded the shofar and prepared for war against the Roman army which was stationed in Jerusalem as an occupation force.

One of their generals died and many fell wounded there; one of their generals was captured alive, for Eleazar had promised to spare him, but Eleazar did not keep his promise and killed him. Afterwards, Agrippa fled to inform Nero of all the evils that had been committed in Jerusalem. So he sent with him Caistus and a very large army. When he arrived in Judah he captured the fortified border cities and destroyed Joppa. He and Agrippa both went up to Jerusalem -- and Eleazar and the remaining priests and most of the people went out to battle with them, and they met between Jerusalem and Joppa.

They fought and many priests fell wounded, so the other priests retreated to Jerusalem. Caistus and Agrippa pursued them with the rest of the Roman army until the gates of Jerusalem and encamped outside Jerusalem for three days.

But on the fourth day the priests and the remainder of the people went out from Jerusalem suddenly and smote in the Roman camp five thousand foot soldiers and one thousand horsemen and terrified the Roman camp.

Yet when Caistus and his associates saw this, for they did not flee from the Jews, they selected forty thousand troops and stationed them between the priests' camp and theirs. Caistus charged them, saying: "Stand guard all night; sound the trumpet; and burn fires so that they may escape to their land. And you do not leave camp until the morning."

But when the Jews saw that their (Roman) army was reassembled and they heard the sound of the shofar, they turned from pursuing the Romans.

When they rose in the morning they saw that the Romans had fled during the night, toward Caesarea, which was a three days journey. The priests pursued them. They found all their equipment scattered on the road, where the Romans had thrown it, to lighten their load in their flight. But the priests did not stop to pick up the discarded equipment, for they pursued after them until the gates of Caesarea. But two of the Romans escaped to Rome and came to Nero and reported all that happened to them in Jerusalem.

While they were speaking to him a messenger arrived from Persia who reported to Nero, that the King of Persia and his people had rebelled against serving Rome. The King (Nero) became very frightened, for he saw that all those around him were rebelling against him.

At that time Vespasian arrived. He had been sent to conquer the West; to Germany, Britan, Saxony, and Achaia and he subdued them to bend their shoulders to serve Nero the King.¹⁰

When Vespasian arrived, Nero spoke to him and recounted all the disasters which had befallen Caistus, the Romans and Agrippa, King of Judah. After this, Nero dispatched Vespasian Commander of the Army and with him, his son Titus, to Judah. And Nero charged them, saying, "Capture their fortified cities and destroy all which you find. Don't withdraw your hand from man, woman or child; from old or young suckling; to destroy them without mercy." Vespasian and Titus, his son and the entire Roman high command as well as select troops with them crossed the sea, arriving at the city of Antioch.

When the Jews heard these, they elected three commanders, skilled soldiers: Joseph (Josephus) the priest, son of Gorion, Ananus the priest, and Eleazar the priest, his son. And they ruled over the country and divided among themselves the Land of Judah by lot. They gave them help according to their strength for war. And a third of the land fell by lot, all of the land of Galilee, the land of Naftali, to Josephus -- for then he was annointed. The second lot went by lot to Ananus, the High Priest of Jerusalem and all its surroundings; his function was to strengthen the walls and to prepare for the war against Vespasian. The third sector went to Eleazar b. Ananus, the priest and with him Joshua; all the Land of Edom until Elat and the Reed Sea. And the remainder of the country fell by lot to Manasseh -- from Jericho to Palestine, where the River Euphrates entires and crosses and the entire Land of Aram -- Naharaim went to the other Judean generals.

Then the priests inspected the fortified cities from the boundaries

of Jerusalem to the Egyptian border.

Vespasian marched from Antioch with his entire army and arrived at Aram and encamped there with his troops and general staff. He and the generals addressed them: "Let us immediately go to the hill country of Galilee." When Josephus heard about this he said, "Vespasian plans to attack Galilee."

Thereupon, Josephus left Jerusalem for Galilee and rebuilt the destroyed cities and strengthened the walls, their gates and locks and their fortifications; and selected officers for the troops in preparation for the battle. Officers to command the groups of a thousand, one hundred, fifty and ten, and to equip the troops with weapons and to familiarize them with the various signals of the shofar and the sounds of the trumpets -- which sound is for preparing for battle and which for assembling and which for retreat. All the signals of the war blasts they explained to them. He instructed and charged them: "Hear, O Israel, you have assembled this day for battle -- do not be soft-hearted, do not be frightened, and do not be alarmed before them, and do not be afraid of death. Instead, be courageous and strengthen yourselves for battle, for your people, for your country, to end its exile; and fight for the Temple of the Lord to remove the defilements of the Gentiles -- for better is death in battle, than life in exile. And so engage your enemies in battle and see that they fall wounded and hate them for God, with the war cry, "We will choose death rather than life in order to be successful in this war; or, we will die together for the Lord Our God and for His Covenant, for we shall go to the Great Light."

When he finished speaking all these words to the people, he

selected sixty thousand Jewish foot soldiers and numberless cavalry and of these he chose six hundred trained elite troops; each one would head a group of one hundred; ten would lead a thousand, one hundred would lead ten thousand -- so that none would retreat, so none should be frightened by the sound of battle.

Then Josephus sounded the shofar and marched to the cities of Agrippa which were in Judah to seize them. He encamped at Tyre, which belonged to Agrippa, where he had his treasuries -- the silver and gold, as well as weapons and equipment.

When Josephus arrived there he stood before the gates and spoke words of peace to the people who were on the walls, "Open the gates for me and you will close my hands. All the guardians of Agrippa's treasury and all their beloved shall live and not die. Isn't it better to be in the sanctuary of the Lord and in His inheritance than to be in the Court of Agrippa who has included himself among those who trouble us and who tighten their fists against the Sanctuary of the Lord, and the people of His portion?"

The people heeded Josephus and opened the gate of the city for him and he entered there. They made peace with him and he appropriated the treasuries of Agrippa. Because Josephus' words were acceptable to them, they too became part of his sector.

At that time Josephus was vexed, for the people of Tiberius rebelled and separated from the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and they seceded from the sector of Josephus and turned to the service of Vespasian. Thereupon one of the Gentile generals visited them.

When Josephus heard of these events, he left his camp and took with him six hundred elite troops to go to Tiberius and he came upon

them suddenly.

When he arrived at the seashore of Gennesareth, he found there many boats prepared to aid the Romans and Vespasian the Roman Commander. Josephus ordered them destroyed and scattered throughout the sea. When the Tiberians saw the boats scattered in the sea they exclaimed: "This is the work of Josephus' army. Then the Roman troops fled to the city; but the gate of the city was closed to them. They drew near to the wall in front of the gate of the city. He (Josephus) called out aloud to the city, "What is this plot you have contrived revoking the agreement which you made in the Lord's name, and abandoning the oath which you swore by the God of Israel to fight against our enemies and subdue them?"

Then the people answered Joseph from the wall: "By God -- listen to your servants' words! Far be it for us to help Romans! Rather have we aided in the fighting for our God and His Temple and People. But there are some vile people among us who covenanted with Vespasian and they brought them to the city; and these people opened the gate of the city."

Nevertheless, Joseph and his troops attacked the city and captured it. Then he seized the traitors who were there and enchained six hundred of them whom he sent to Tyre, the city which he captured. The rest of the traitors were executed by the sword. But the commander of the city, (who was one of Vespasian's men) was captured alive, and led outside the city. One of the soldiers was ordered to cut off his hands, but the commander begged Joseph, saying: "Cut off one hand, but leave the other." But Josephus mocked him before his troops, and he said in answer to his soldier, "Give him your sword, and let him cut off the

hand he chooses." So the commander cut off his left hand and his right was spared to him. Then Josephus released him and he went to Vespasian's camp to display his disgrace in the Roman camp.

And so it was also when the people of Sepphoris rebelled and plotted against Josephus and covenanted with Vespasian and the Roman commanders. When Josephus learned of it, he marched against them with his entire army. But the city was too strong for him, and he could not prevail against it, because the walls were too high, for they had strengthened their fortifications. So Josephus and his entire army encamped there, and laid siege to the city for many days.

At that time the inhabitants of Jerusalem heard that the people of Ascalon had rebelled and made a pact with the Romans. They sent¹¹ against them Niger and Silas the Babylonian and John as well as the soldiers of Jerusalem and who were accompanied by a crowd of riff-raff. They arrived at Ascalon and besieged it for many days.

At that time there was in the city, one of the Roman generals, Antoninus, a very skillful soldier. At the very break of dawn before a man was even able to recognize his neighbor, Antoninus, Vespasian's general, attacked the Jewish army which was besieging the city, and delivered a smashing blow in which he killed ten thousand men. The remaining Jews all stood fast, for they said that it is better for us to die than to flee from our enemies. So the Jews stood their ground courageously, for they trusted in the Lord, their God.

Thus, during the attack, the remaining Jews regrouped for battle against Antoninus. They killed many Romans, but the Romans killed Silas, the Babylonian, and John,¹² the Jerusalemite, as well as eight thousand of the Jewish troops.¹³ Niger alone escaped for he hid in a trench.¹⁴

The Roman army pursued Niger, but didn't find him, for he was concealed from their sight. They set fire to the forest which surrounded the trench in which he was hidden. The fire consumed the trees of the surrounding forest, but the fire did not touch the trench where Niger was. And he escaped from the clutches of the Romans, for the Almighty saved him for His Glory.¹⁵

Afterward, the Jews of Jerusalem sent a large contingent to Ascalon to bury the dead. So these Jews who were the burial detail searched for the corpse of Niger, but could not locate it. They were still searching when Niger called to them from inside the trench in which he was hidden. He cried out: "Here I am!" All the Jews were overjoyed in finding him alive. But the Romans had sealed the city; therefore most of the Jews hurried to bury the dead. When they had buried them, the people lifted Niger out and brought him to Jerusalem.

Joseph rearmed and prepared to fight the people of Sepphoris. He killed Antoninus and all the people he found with him, by the sword. the villagers who had allied with the Romans, Josephus smote with the sword and burned their homes. And after fighting with the people of Sepphoris, Josephus shed much blood of those who allied with Vespasian, and slaughtered many of them, mercilessly. He burned their cities and villages; and their survivors, their children and wives, their sons and their daughters, he carried off as captives to Jerusalem. And those Roman troops found there Josephus executed by the sword.

When Vespasian and Titus, his son, heard that Josephus had executed their troops in Galilee; as well as killing the Jewish people who were allied to Vespasian and Titus, they were both furious, and they burned with anger. They proceeded to Ptolemais (which is Acco), for there was

Agrippa, King of Judah, and his army of forty thousand infantrymen and archers.

They united his army with Vespasian's, and combined, they were innumerable, for they were joined by other nations as well as many of the rural folk. There were troops from Syria, Aram-Naharim, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, and Chaldea, as well as others from Macedonia, and the Eastern nations -- Egypt and Libya, Saba,¹⁶ Dadan and all the nations, both near and far. All of them broke the yoke of the Jews which was upon their necks and revolted against Jerusalem and its king and contributed their resources to the Roman army and Vespasian, for they were opposed to the Jews from time immemorial. So they joined Rome in the battle against Jerusalem and Judah.

But Edom did not join Titus and Vespasian, because they were slaves unto the Jews, and not one of them came forth to help Rome; for they had fought against Jerusalem in former times but had not prevailed. Israel defeated them and King Hyrcanus circumsized them. Therefore, Edom served the Temple of the Lord, and observed the Covenant of the Lord, the God of Israel, and did not rebel against Judah and Jerusalem.

There were in Jerusalem thirty thousand Edomite troops who guarded the walls of Jerusalem. Formerly, the walls were guarded by men selected by lot.

Subsequently, Vespasian and Titus, and the entire army assembled and marched against Galilee and beseiged it. Josephus was notified that the Romans were entrenched in the hills of Galilee, and was agitated when he heard that Vespasian was approaching with a mighty force to clear the roads and throw down the roadblocks, to straighten the twisted paths, to smooth the way for his troops. When Josephus heard this news he and

his troops attacked them, and avenged themselves in a unprecedented way, for the Almighty, Blessed is His Name, was with him.

When Vespasian and Titus heard all the Josephus did to the Romans, they and their entire force which was very great, marched to Tiberias to battle against Josephus.

When Josephus saw Vespasian and Titus with their army approaching, Josephus fled from them. Upon arriving at Jotapata the Galilean city, Josephus barricaded himself and his entire army in the city. Then Vespasian sent high ranking officials who communicated with Joseph. They read him Vespasian's message: "What is the advantage of your holding up within the walls of the city? Surrender to me, and we will make peace. We shall make a treaty -- and you will serve a Gentile king and live. If not, you shall die, you and the entire army with you." Thereupon Josephus replied, "Give us four days, so that I may discuss your offer with my people. Perhaps they will heed my advice." Vespasian consented to this. So Josephus sent messengers to the people in Jerusalem -- to the priests, to the officials and leaders, and to the rest of the people with this message: "My brothers pay close attention Vespasian has communicated with me asking, 'What do you expect to gain by being stiff-necked against me? Why do you not surrender to us and we will make a treaty with you? You shall serve a Gentile king and not die; or you and your wives and children shall fall before you by the sword, all of you. And the rest shall be exiled from your land to go into captivity. And your land shall remain desolate, without inhabitants. Therefore, go and heed my advice, and surrender to me, all of you, and make peace with us. Then you will not die, but eat the good of your land, for life is better than death'."

Thereupon, all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the leaders and the rulers of Judah, and all the elements of the population responded to Josephus, "Do not capitulate to them, rather be strengthened and courageous to fight them. Either you rout them or you die fighting -- both you and your entire army -- to fight them in this war of the Lord; for His sanctification and for the cities of our God, and for His people. Therefore, do not give you hand to the Gentiles."

When Josephus heard the response of the Jerusalemites and others, which was sent by messenger, he grew furious, and his anger burned within him. And he went out and assembled the army for battle against Vespasian and the Roman army.

Vespasian was squirming with impatience to attack Judah -- so he conquered the city of Gerar, which is in Galilee, and he massacred the entire population. There was not a single survivor. Then he said; "I shall yet avenge the Roman troops and their officers whom the Jews have killed in Palestine." And so he and his army marched from there to Jotapata, for Josephus was in that city.

On the first day of their campaign against Jotapata, he gave his entire army a feast of food and drink, and then they prepared for battle. The next morning, the Roman army began the seige by surrounding the city. Josephus took personal charge and sounded the battle alarm and he and his army went out to battle the Romans -- at the foot of the mountain, from morning to the evening.

On the next day, in the evening, they ceased fighting. Then the Jews left the scene of battle and returned to the city. And the Romans returned to their camp and to their gods.

That day, there fell a large number of Jews and Romans because

with great haughtiness and authority the Roman army came upon the Jews. For they said, "We will humble them like all the peoples whom we have subdued." But the Jews strengthened themselves to repel them -- for they exclaimed: "Let us die together, with zeal for the Sanctuary of our God. Therefore, let us fall there, a great people, greater than they on that day."

The battle blazed from Monday to Thursday, when it became even more intense for all the Jews in the surrounding areas gathered against the Romans, to assist the Jews remaining in the city, who were fighting the Romans from the wall. Vespasian and his entire force laid seige to the city many days. He cut off the water-pipes leading to the outside of the city. The Jerusalemites suffered very sorely from thirst.

Josephus saw that there was no water in the city; so he took garments and dipped them in the cess pools which were in the city and spread them on the sides of the sides of the walls to lead the Romans to think that there was water in the city. Despite this, Josephus was not able to deceive the Romans, for they said, "There is no water in the city."

Vespasian continued the seige. He built a rampart and brought a battering ram of iron which smashed a hole in the side of the wall. When the ram broke the wall, they brought a large thick beam and put at the top of the beam a heavy covering of iron, resembling the head of a ram, which they balanced on half of the beam. They suspended the beam between two poles with ropes and the top of the poles were attached to two men and their bottoms were sunk in the ground. The top of the ram was set against the side of the wall with the end of the beam encrusted with studs of iron and entwined with ropes against it.

When they attempted to fell the wall, they pulled the battering ram over and started striking the side of the wall. Then the wall crashed down and fell to the earth for as they battered the walls they became weak. When Josephus saw the wall beginning to totter, he grabbed large sacks and ordered that they be filled with straw and suspended them with ropes from the side of the wall, without touching the ropes on the side for the straw was soft. Therefore, the wall was shielded from the iron ram, for soft material stood in the way of the hard blows.

But Vespasian sent his troops with scythes and they cut the ropes holding the sacks and the straw fell to the earth. They attempted again to batter the wall with the iron ram.

On the wall was a man, a warrior, from among the priests -- a young man zealous for his God and his People, whose name was Eleazar. He saw the Romans beginning to batter the wall with the iron ram. So he lifted a great rock from the walls and raised it up and threw it on the top of the ram. Then Eleazar went down from the wall and grabbed the top of the ram of iron and threw it into the wall, for the side was low. Thereupon, Eleazar went down to take the top of the ram and smote the troops who were with the ram. The rest of the troops fled from him, and shot arrows at Eleazar. They hit him with five arrows.

But the people on the wall extended their hands and lifted him to the wall. The people of the city sounded taps for the hero Eleazar, the priest who fought the Roman troops. Then they seized the iron ram upon which the Romans had relied. That day, Eleazar the Priest, a warrior, died honorably, for he fought in behalf of the Temple of the Lord and his people Israel as a hero. All the people mourned Eleazar the Priest, and they buried him in Jotapata. And the people of Israel

greatly honored his heroic deeds as well as his skill in battle, which he demonstrated in fighting against the enemies of Israel.¹⁷

When the elite troops of Judah saw what Eleazar had done to the Romans and had died honorably, two of the very skilled of these troops became vengeful. One's name was Netir and the other's Phillip. So they opened the gate of the city and went forth and fought with the Romans and they killed many Romans indeed. But, the Romans killed both of them in a battle to glorify their God and Israel and their land.¹⁸

When Josephus saw the battle he was felt intensely proud and courageous and went to the Roman camp where he slew many. And the fortress and the iron rams and war material he destroyed by fire. The war raged intensely and the Romans began to flee from Josephus; for, they realized that the Jews were willing to give their lives for the glory of their God and His Temple, and their land. The Roman army could not stand against them.

But Vespasian stood his ground and rallied his men -- and calmed them with soft words and gave them silver and gold in great quantities. He tendered a sumptuous feast -- food and drink -- for them. Then they resumed fighting against Josephus and the Jews until sundown. While the battle raged, the archers shot Vespasian in the right shoulder. The Roman soldiers became bewildered when they saw the blood gushing from Vespasian's shoulder. This was indeed an intensely bitter war between the Jews and Romans.

When Titus saw that his father was wounded, he ran with great anxiety to his aid. His father said to him, "What is wrong with you? You are hysterical, my son! Pull yourself together. Take vengeance for your father from these Jews who have overpowered us."

Thereupon, Titus and Vespasian and their entire force, on that very day, fought a mighty pitched battle, and there fell many Roman and Jewish soldiers. There remained of Josephus' force, just a few, and they returned to the city.

On the following day, the Romans gathered at the fortress and at the ram which Josephus had burned and assembled for battle against the city. But, the city of Jotapata was drained of its fighting men, for all of them had fallen in the battle and there remained only Josephus and a few men. So all of them ascended the wall, and even the women, inasmuch as there were no other men for battle.

Vespasian's men, using a catapult, bombarded the city with large rocks. A rock hit the stomach of a pregnant woman and ejected the child from the womb of its mother in such a way that it was split asunder. They continued the bombardment. On the second barrage, a rock hit one of Josephus' soldiers on the head and split it wide open. Then one of the Roman soldiers came and stood under the wall near where Josephus was, for he thought that perhaps he might be able to shoot him with an arrow. But Josephus spied him and shouted at him, "Do not kill me." And the man turned around, for he was nervous. Then all the Jews poured boiling oil on him from the wall. It ate away his skin and he ran wildly throughout the camp, hysterically crying and shrieking until he expired.

Vespasian and Titus continued the battle against Jotapata for forty-eight days. But the wall was too strong for them, and they were unable to conquer it until the surviving troops were weary and could no longer patrol and guard the city.

And so it was that one night both Titus and Vespasian ascended

the wall, for the patrols ceased to guard the walls of the city. After them came up many of Caistus' troops. They broke the bolts of the gate and the entire Roman army marched into the city of Jotapata. Then they sounded the battle alarm.

When the Jews heard this, they were all roused from their sleep. They were thrown into a chaotic, frightened state. But each one grasped his sword in his hand, and they all went out into the highway and beheld the Roman army coming into the city. Thereupon, the Jews fought with the Romans. and the Jews went down fighting, for they said to each other, "We will die in battle, rather than grasp life." But Josephus and forty of his remaining men escaped from the city and fled. They found a cave and hid there. But all of the men of the city fell in battle -- for they did not believe in Roman treaties. One Jew begged a Roman, "Let me live!", and the Roman swore to the Jew, "So shall God do to me, and even more if you are truthful! Come out to me!" The Jew answered him, and he said to the Roman, "Give me your right hand and I will trust you." But the Roman extended his left hand to the Jew and the Jew did not realize it was the left hand, for he was bewildered. And so when the Jew took his left hand, the Roman grabbed him with his right hand and slew him. And so died the Jew, for in his right hand the Roman had a weapon.

When the Jews saw that the Roman was untrustworthy and did not keep his word and killed the Jew, they said, "Let us all die together." And in their deaths, they would be greater than the Romans in that battle; greater than all who died in the earlier battles and who captured the city afterward.

So Josephus and the forty men who were with him were all hidden

in the cave. However, Vespasian sent Paulinus and Gallicanus to Josephus to say: "Surrender to me and you shall live and not die."¹⁹ When the people who were with him, saw that Josephus considered surrendering to the Romans, they cautioned him: "We fear for you, for you have been selected from the multitude of a priestly people -- a kingdom of Holy People, and elected to be chief of a great army, to be the head of your people. You have seen with your own eyes the disgrace of your people, and the downfall of your flock at this time. But you remain alive despite the disgrace. But of what value is there to continue living? Is not death better than life? But you, even at a time like this, consider that they may permit you to live: they summon you, to be nice to you. In your last moments, they call upon you. Understand this, they do not summon you, but they want to capture you alive. For, if they do, they will praise themselves, saying, 'See, we have seized their battle-leader alive'. So shall the Romans say haughtily.

"But now, our brother, if you will die, it shall be better for you than surrendering to them. For they shall not abide forever, nor shall their power receive eternal praise. They will not profit from their violence. But do not let them seize you, and do not let them kill you. Is it not better to die by your own sword²⁰ rather than by theirs? Or, to live and to hear the reproach of their scornful remarks when they shall say, 'See, I rule over the war-lord'. Do not trust them! They will not let you live out of goodness or mercy, but for disgrace. They will watch you so that it will be difficult to die in order to lift yourself out of the disgrace which you shall feel from their scorn.

"So now, our brother, follow those who have perished with you, and your brothers who wanted you to choose life. As Moses our Master, may he rest peacefully, taught when he said before God, 'If you end them blot me out from your book which you have written.'²¹

"And see Aaron, the holy one, who stood between the dead and the living, and stood like a soldier before the Angel, and he bound himself for death for his people, and stayed the destruction of his people.²²

"And consider Saul, our King, and his son Jonathan, who fought for the Lord and His people. Was not Saul unable to save his life and the life of Jonathan? And did he not desire life? But he chose death over life when he saw his people destroyed in battle. Therefore he was not separated from his brethren. He, as well as Jonathan, are beloved and cherished in death as they were in life. They did not separate themselves.

"Remember the righteousness of the Anointed one of the Lord who said, 'Set your hand against me and my father's house, for I have sinned and I have perverted; but this flock, what have they done? How have they sinned?'²³

"And what about the Holy Torah, which is stored in your heart: are you not an anointed priest who has taught us the Torah? How shall we be able to love the Lord our God with all our hearts, with our entire being, and with our complete resources if not through His Covenant and Torah and His Temple? Thus, His servants die for the Unity of His Name.

"Have you not instructed us many times saying, 'Every man who dies in battle for the Lord, and for His Covenant shall be included in the portion of the Lord, to go to the Great Light without seeing the darkness which He has prepared. Are you not Josephus who shouted during

the battle in the midst of the Roman camp: "I am Josephus the priest, annointed for war, who had dedicated his life even unto death, to the people of the Lord, and to His Temple, and to His Land and to His People?"

"And now, you are going out to them alive? How will you answer them in atonement for your shame and your insult? For all your words were a'sham. Did you not say to the people who fought for the Lord until their deaths in battle, 'If you will die for the Temple of the Lord, and for His Torah, your deaths will be atonement for your lives, and you shall go to the Great Light.' If your words were true, which you spoke, why do you shield your life from death: from going after your people who have gone to the Great Light?

"And even until today, you have fought against all the nations; just hearing you, they trembled and quaked for fear of you. But now, you are permitting yourself to be captured by the Romans, like one of black slaves, or like one of the reviled handmaidens. Is it not to your disgrace and revilment, and to the people of the Lord, that a leader, a ruler, a priest, an annointed one like you, is to be imprisoned with the dogs of the nations? They will henceforth and forever say, 'Is not this the man who destroyed his city and its troops, even elite troops, and its entire population? But he saved his own life'."

When they finished speaking to him these word, each man drew his sword and plunged it into his bowels, and they said, "Look and listen, if you desire to hear our voices as we die, for you are like a master, a leader, a hero, and a great general. But, if you are

unwilling to die with honor, know that we will kill you like one of the generals who has lead us."

Then Josephus replied and said to them, "Indeed, I acknowledge that you are correct in what you say. For who desires life in such a time? Would that God speak and summon my life, and take it to Him, for death is better than life. He knows all the troubles that have come upon me, for He is the One who has put my soul into me, the One who opens, will close. Is He not the One who closes and opens life? For He is the Living God Who controls the lives of all living creatures and all men. He is the One Who breathes into our nostrils the breath of life, and suscitates us, so that we may be alive before Him. And He places the spirit of life in us and He seals it in. Therefore are we not able to open that which God has sealed for His sake, may His Name be praised? Did they not know that this soul is appointed by Him, and that we are His servants? And that He gives us this soul and if we expel it before its time He will requite us? Will He not be angry at us and we shall be cursed and not join in the reward granted to Abraham, Our Father, and the Righteous? For the Pious and the Forefathers did not go to God without being summoned. For did not God summon Moses our teacher, peace be upon him, before Him, for he was his chosen one during his lifetime? And He said to him, "Ascend to this Mount of the Hebrews." Thereupon he went up, but if he were not called, he would not have ascended. Therefore a man cannot end his life, if he were not called from his people.

"So now, my brothers and shepherds, learn from Job, for he said, 'The day in which I was born, I should have been destroyed!' Was he not able to strangle himself, and thus die? Or, to stab himself and

die, or to heed his wife when she said to him, 'Curse God and die!?' But he was patient, and mocked and attacked the curse which was implied, until he tired of examining his own soul which burned within him. But did not Scripture state that he sought death? Yes, but death by the hand of God, and not by his own hand. Did he not say that he waited for death? But he would not die until his end came. Even the saintly King David said, 'Bring my soul out of prison,'²⁴ for he knew that the soul is imprisoned. But who can free, except God? I know that death is good, in its proper time.

"Or, if a man dies in battle, that is honorable. But who among us will take it lightly if a man kills his brother? God grant that we die by the hand of our enemies, so that we do not die like churls who murder their own brothers. And we are considered murders for we murder our own brothers! Even if a man kills himself he is considered as the destroyer of his own soul, just as King Saul did, whom you praised. For he no longer ruled over Israel, as was their will, for they said to Samuel, 'Give us a king to rule over us.'²⁵ Therefore, God turned from him, because he did not follow after the Lord. And for this the Lord annointed David, His servant. And he ruled over Israel instead of Saul. Afterwards, Saul, while yet alive, chose death rather than life, for he did not want to live, And so too, I feel from the softness of his heart did he do this. For he said: (I. Sam. 4) 'Lest these uncircumsized come and thrust me through and mock me.'²⁶ But they did not understand, for they saw that he did not have pity for his son, nor for himself.

"And why did Aaron, the Priest stand between the dead and the living?" Was it not for the purpose of detaining the slaughter. There-

fore, he stood before the Angel to avert the plague from his people.

"And now I, I am not like Aaron, nor am I like one of his sons. I do not spare myself from death, for I know that it is better to die by the hand of my enemy, than by my own hand. And even now, while my life is being threatened by my enemies, like this. Know that my heart is tender, for I am the chief of sinners. How can I stand before the Lord as a warrior who did not flee from deadly weapons, for did I not stand and engage my enemies in battle? And slew many of them while facing them squarely for forty-eight days against the tiny city of Jotapata? For I said, 'Perhaps I will be able to drive them out of Jerusalem without attacking it'. But I was not able to, until it was emptied of warriors.

"And now death is proper in its time. But a man should not kill his brother, so that he go to Sheol and perish for the sin of his violence. For how does one know the courage of the man who bears all which comes upon him, until the time of his test arrives? Look at the wild animals and the lions and all the creatures of the earth and forest which fight until their death. Is it not for the purpose of escaping from death? Are not their teeth and claws their weapons which they use to destroy anybody whom they attack, pinioning them until they kill them? Thus we use our weapons of war, as they do their teeth, and we fought with our enemies to die or to live. But now, how do we die? A man stabs his brother!

"And now, my brothers and my neighbors, consider the captain of the ship. Why did he navigate during the storm and keep guard during the days and nights, and fought the waters of the sea? Was it not to save his ship, and was it not his desire to pass over the breakers of

the sea and the rocks which damage ships? What do the sailors and merchants say to him? Do they not say, 'See, this man is a scoundrel, trying to destroy his ship and his men, and the merchants and their merchandise'.

"And the king who choose his objects of delight for his favorites who are with him; do they not guard them until the time of choosing? Then they examine them and return them to him. And if they discard his objects before he examines them from their hands, is he not angry and flares up at them? And if a man comes before the King without an appointment, does the king not reprove him, 'Why are you coming?'

"And so are all the creatures of God; which He has made in His mercy, and takes them according to His will, and in the time when He desires. When their time is fulfilled, then the soul goes to its rest. And if the soul goes before its time, it is not received, and it does not find rest. All its days it moves and wanders for it is tossed about without end."

After these things Josephus spread out his hands heavenward and said, "Now, O God Almighty, Our Father, You who have created us in Your Faithfulness, and guided us with Your great mercy, all of us, together with Your handiwork, You rule over all Your creatures and over all souls, for You have made all which You desire. And there is no one who can say to You, what are You doing? And now O Lord, God of Israel, if it please You to take my soul which You have given me, take it, for it is in Your hand. For You have given it, and unto You shall it return at the time which You desire. Take it when You wish, for I will not cast it out before You. I will not even consider taking my life, for in Your hand is the life of every living creature, and human being. For I know

that even as man cannot live without judgement, so man cannot die without judgement."²⁷

But the people who were with Josephus during his lengthy comments to them, when he stretched forth his hands to heaven, did not continue listening to him, for they sought to die. When Josephus saw that he had lost their attention, that it was of no avail, he spoke to them deceitfully, "If you seek death by the sword, it is proper for you to die by lot. You shall select two, who shall cast lots, and the man to whom the lot falls shall slay his brother with the sword. And so shall we do until we all perish. We shall die together, and we shall not witness the disgrace of the Temple of our God and the exile of our people."

And the men did as he said. Two men stood and cast lots before Josephus. And when the lot fell, the one slew the other. And thus did they, until they all fell by the sword, and none remained except Josephus and one man. And then this man said to him, "Come, and let us cast lots, even we, so that we may join our brothers." But Josephus replied to his comrade, cajoling him, "Why should we impune our souls? For if I kill you, I shall be considered a murder, and if you kill me, you also shall be considered a murderer, and we shall have destroyed our hope for the future from the Lord, our God, for all these people died without propriety." When the man heard Josephus' words, he did respond to him, for he was afraid of him, and in this way was Josephus saved from his comrade's sword."²⁸

At that time, Nicanor, the general arrived. Josephus and his comrade surrendered and they were sent to Vespasian. When the Roman army saw Josephus they were excited, and sounded the trumpets with a

great blast. Throughout the camp there was treat joy because of his capture. They said to each other, "Our eyes have seen our enemy."

But throughout the country there was bitter mourning, for they said, "Was this not the most famous warrior in the Jewish army as well as the Roman? Who instilled his fear in the entire Roman army? And there was heard throughout the land the question, "How was he captured? How was the war-hero and great general seized?" "And we, what shall we do if a man like this is captured in his ownland; in the midst of his own people and his kinsmen? How shall we survive in a strange land?"

But Titus, son of Vespasian, began joking, and tossed his head and said, "Who knows whether we will be captured as we captured Josephus, the great general, and expert warrior in battle? Therefore, let us spare him from death by sword."²⁹

Afterward, Vespasian and his entire force marched from there and went to Acco. And from there to Caesarea, the great city which King Herod had built. When the Caesareans saw Josephus, they cried out to Vespasian to kill Josephus, for if he lived he would be dangerous. But Vespasian would not heed them to kill him.

It was told to Vespasian that, "The people of Joppa have been going in boats to the islands, and to lands which you rule to plunder, and desecrate and kill and capture your people. They destroy wherever they go and afterwards, Eliphaz, the Roman, attacks and lays seige and seizes the place for there are no troops there.

When they came from the islands and they found a Roman army within the city. But they wanted to land on the shore for there was a very strong wind which dashed all the boats against the rocks which were in

the sea, and they were killed. The survivors who reached the dry land were also killed. Thus the number of casualties who drowned in the sea was four thousand men alone,³⁰ besides those who fell at Jotapata. For there died at Jotapata forty thousand Judeans.

Then he sent Valerian and Trajan, Roman generals, with his son Titus. They went and encamped against the fortified cities in the Galilee, and seized them and made peace with all those who remained alive. But those who were stiffnecked and fought with them, they killed during the war. And so all of Agrippa's cities in the Galilee were returned to him, with the exception of Taricheae, for they had destroyed it and took all the spoils. The women and children were sold to the Romans. They captured all the cities of Galilee.

And they went from there to Gamala, the city at the top of the mountain; therefore, it is called Gamala. It was the choicest of Agrippa's cities. It was also a city of high elevation and with streams of water and fruit trees. So Agrippa said to Vespasian, "Please do not destroy this city. I will go and speak to the people to make peace. Perhaps they will heed me and live and not die." So Agrippa went and called to them to make peace. And he spoke to them. They said, "Come and speak with your subjects."

When he drew close to the wall to speak with them, they threw down a large stone from the wall which struck Agrippa on the head and broke his arm, and he fell to the ground. His attendants fetched him and carried him away.

When Vespasian saw that the people wounded their king, he sent forth battering rams and machines and laid seige to the city, and waged war furiously, because they had wounded their king. But the Jews

said to each other, "Let us be strong and courageous in our battle, for we have no hope of mercy afterward since we have attacked King Agrippa." And they fought with the Roman army. But the Romans set the iron battering ram against the wall and battered it, and it fell to the ground.

Then Vespasian entered the city with his great and mighty army. He commanded them, "This very night surround the wall and post a guard until the morning. For in the morning, we will capture it." But they did not obey the orders of their master Vespasian when they entered the city at night. So the Jews attacked them at night in the streets and trapped them there without a place to escape. And the Jews smote them in great numbers, until there remained of all who had entered the city only ten men with Vespasian, of his whole force. For the Jews had killed his force in the elevated city. But Gallus general of the army, escaped with him. And in the morning, Vespasian and his ten men and Gallus general of the army, fled.³¹ The Roman troops fell there, but Vespasian and his men, escaped from there, and ascended the mountain and sent for his son Titus, in Edom, to recall the Roman army which he had dispatched to Persia, and bring them to the Land of Judah.

Then Vespasian attacked the elevated city. Then he went to Gischala, with his entire force, inasmuch as it was the only remaining city of all the fortified cities in the Galilee. They encamped there with an enormous army, filled with blood thirsty men, scoundrels, who had ravaged the Land of Judah.

However, there was within the city, a man whose name was John, who was a scholar and a wise man. But he was crafty and evil, as well as corrupt, both in speech and evil thoughts. He shed blood and did

all kinds of evil deeds; he enticed and seduced many from the correct way; he accused all whom he hated; he vexed and took booty of those he deceived. He destroyed, and shed blood and coveted wealth, because of his great deceit and his evilness. And so that man grew wealthy through violence. But many people gathered themselves to him -- murderers and good-for-nothings. And they despoiled and oppressed as he did, and they filled their hands with wealth and riches. So they joined him, and they were brethren to him -- they made up one band.

At that time Titus came on a mission for his father, who had sent him to pacify the city and bring it to order. So Titus spoke to the magistrates of the city, for the elders of the city came to make peace with him.

But he appointed his brother, who had joined him, to watch the wall while the elders were conferring with the Romans.

So, John the brigand responded to Titus, "It is the Festival of the Lord tomorrow. Desist from us for two days, and on the third we will return to you." At night he and his men arose and fled on horseback, and with them the brigands who had joined him, until innumerable wounded were felled by the sword or stabbed with knives. When one of the murderers seized a man, he had a knife in his hand secretly hidden under his garment. And when he (the murderer) was right next to the victim, the scoundrel stabbed him, so that he fell in his spot, and died there. However, the victim did not know who had struck him. As many of the folk died in this manner as did in battle, until there remained but a small number.

And it was at that time that John, the great murderer, dispatched an army from Jerusalem. They went to the cities which had made peace

with Vespasian and destroyed the cities, and killed all the inhabitants found in them, whether Jew or Roman. And they took all the riches of the city. Then they captured Gadara, which is across the Jordan.

Thereupon, all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the priests and sages, and the rest of the people, sent to Vespasian a message of peace and said, "Extend to us your hand to help us, for great is John's evil, and the evil of his men -- the murderers who are with him. These mighty men have killed innumerable people, and there is no relief."

And the people of Gadara also sent to Vespasian a similar message which said, "John's men are killing all whom they find, whether man or beast, leaving no survivors. They have come to annihilate us!"

When Vespasian heard the words of the people of Gadara he marched to their assistance. But he did not go to Jerusalem. When this was told to the people of Jerusalem, John was already encamped there, when Vespasian attacked them. He killed the mayor of the city of Gadara, and they went out of the city to flee. They set out for the city but Vespasian sent after them Placidus general of the army. He overtook them and killed many of them. Then Placidus returned to Gadara. He met them at the shore of the Jordan, at the entrance to the land. But they went up to Jerusalem to save themselves. However, he overpowered them at the river, and smote thirteen thousand of them.³² The rest fell into the Jordan and drowned. Ninety-two thousand men, children and women, as well as cattle without number, which had fled, overflowed the Jordan because of the great abundance of men and beasts. The waters of the Jordan overflowed their boundaries to the field and valleys. The corpses clogged the Jordan to overflowing. But afterward, they were swept away to the Sea of Sodom, which is Lake Asphaltitis. And the

corpses covered their surfaces because of their abundance.³³

After this, Vespasian marched from there and went to Edom, and conquered there two fortified cities. The name of one is Betaris, and the other is Caphartobas. And he smote ten thousand of the inhabitants of these cities and took the rest into captivity.³⁴

From there he went to the hot springs,³⁵ from which he attacked Samaria. He then went to Jericho, for he hoped to rebuild all the cities which he had captured; to encircle them with walls and to station soldiers in them to aid them against Jerusalem.

He went from there to Caesarea to gather his army and his entourage to attack Jerusalem. But messengers arrived from Rome with the news of Nero's death. Galba replaced him for six months³⁶ when the Romans killed him. After him Otho reigned, a vile drunkard.

When the Roman generals with Vespasian heard that Nero was dead and Galba had reigned and died, and that Otho, that vile drunkard reigned, they became very angry and agitated. And they said, "Why should not Vespasian reign? He is a great soldier, a man skilled in war, who has captured great fortified cities and great and powerful peoples, and mighty kings; he has grown old in battle. And now instead of Vespasian being our ruler, we have a worthless drunkard as our king."

Thereupon, all of Vespasian's generals arose and said to him, "Rule over us." So Vespasian promised to heed them to rule over them. Then they compelled him to sit upon the royal throne and they put a crown on his head. But he put his hand to his head to remove it, for he did not want to rule. But each one unsheathed his sword and they warned him, "Either you are willing to rule, or you shall surely die!" He was afraid, but they neither deserted nor slackened. And he was

afraid that they would kill him; thus he ruled over them.

The war continued raging hotter and hotter in Jerusalem. There was much blood shed there -- by John, the leader of the murders and a vile person, and by his men, the bloodshedders, in the city of the Lord.

There arose in Jerusalem, a Judean, a bloodthirsty person, a worthless individual whose name was Simeon. He prepared himself to respond to John the Galilean's call to shed the blood of the innocent and plunder and desecrate in Jerusalem, for he had been expelled in Jerusalem. So Simeon went and joined with these rakish, wanton, and murderous men.

But Simeon thought to himself, "Is it not a disgrace for a man like me to be a thief and robber?" So he went throughout the cities of Judah and he announced in all the suburbs, "Whoever among you is a bondsman who wants to be free; or whoever is a murder who wants his freedom; or whoever is a rebel; or whoever is renegade, let him come and break off the yoke of the sentence."

And so about twenty thousand murderers and brigands gathered about him. When Jerusalem and the priests heard of the magnitude of Simeon's evil, they went about, to and fro, magnifying it even further, so that one said to his neighbor, "Come let us send against him officers and troops to attack him suddenly. Perhaps they will be able to smite or capture him before his evil grows too great and he includes us in his troublesome war for then we shall be trapped!"

So they dispatched a force which attacked him suddenly when they reached him and found him encamped in the planted fields, which he had denuded of its produce. Thus they attacked Simeon's army. But Simeon

But Simeon counter attacked against them at night and killed many of them, so the men turned to flee toward Jerusalem; but Simeon pursued them and smote even until the gates of Jerusalem. And there fell a great number of them, very badly wounded.

Afterward, when Simeon came to Edom to capture it, immediately the Jerusalemites joined with Edom to fight (against him), but they did not all agree among themselves, and the camp was divided.

Thereupon, Simeon was angry and said, "Better is my death than my life, for Edom has not yet been subdued." So he camped at Edom's border and settled there to prepare for war with them again. While he was planning the matter, Jacob the Edomite came forth to him, (he was a prince and a mighty general and soldier in Edom, a murderer), to make a treaty with Simeon. Jacob said to Simeon, "See here, you have Edom entrapped. Now arise early in the morning, and arrange for battle with them. When you see me coming to meet you, you shall unsheath your spear against me, and set my people to flee and put terror in their hears. And when they flee you shall pursue them and capture Edom." And it was so. When Edom saw that Jacob was fleeing from the battle, they all turned to fee from Simeon. But he chased after them and smote many of them, and captured Edom, which became Simeon's slave.³⁷

Then Simeon marched from there with forty thousand Edomites and Judahites and came to Hebron and captured it, taking booty from the city. He took from there the Judahites and went with them from Hebron to the suburbs of Jerusalem and destroyed their crops, their harvests, their standing corn, and their sheaves of corn.

When John, the Galilean, chief of the murderers heard of this, he wanted to go out against him at Jerusalem to fight him, and down

him. But he did not go out against him. Instead, he set an ambush for him on the road. However, only Simeon's wife came out from Jerusalem with her servants and maids, to her husband, and John captured her and brought her to the city. Then John and his men boasted of their capture of Simeon's wife and maids. And they said, "Now, Simeon will fall into our hands."

Simeon was told of this matter, but he had also captured many of John's men and cut off their hands -- all their right hands, and sent them to Jerusalem, to their master John, saying, "Release my wife; if you do not send her to me and surrender this city, I will cut off their other hands and feet." They were afraid of him and they released his wife. And he retired from the city and ceased from the evil which he said he would do to the people of Jerusalem for several days.

After these events, Vespasian was told that Galba was killed -- the king who reigned after Nero, and there reigned in his place Vitellius. and Vespasian rested at Caesarea several days.

And Simeon returned to Edom and sacked it and took booty until there remained nothing to them. And he became very wealthy. Then he went from Edom to Jerusalem, together with the Edomites and Judahite troops, which had associated themselves with him. Then he beseiged the city.

John, chief of the murderers, and his scurrilous men were in the city, and their evil grew in the city -- a man murdered his brother, a man seduced his neighbor's wife. Fornication increased in Jerusalem; in every part of the population there was shaving of the beard, letting the hair grow long, even dressing in women's clothes, for the purpose of committing adultery and fornication.

And so the evil and the abomination was so great in Jerusalem, that there was lamenting there, and none could go or come. For the one who left died by Simeon's sword in the field, and the one in the city died by John, the Galilean's sword. The people in the city were very afraid of John's wickedness, and the people of the city gathered to fight him. But many of them died in that battle, And if it were not for the Edomite soldiers joining to help them, John would have slaughtered the entire population.

The people conspired to deliver up the city to Simeon so that he might help them -- in the hope that he would be able to expel John. So they sent Amitai, the Priest to Simeon, to betray the city. But Simeon refused deceitfully, saying, "I do not want to come to the city which hates me." But they urged him. So he and his entire force came to Jerusalem. However, Simeon annulled the treaty which he had made with the city to be their ally, to help them, and he turned against them as an enemy.

There was war between Simeon and John all this time.

When Vespasian heard that Otho died in Rome, he divided his army and took half with him to fight, and half remained with his son Titus, to guard Jerusalem.

Vespasian ordered the removal of Josephus' fetters. And he said to Josephus, "Look here, I have removed your chains, and you shall be a trusty advisor to my son Titus, for he has been kind to you, letting you live." Then Josephus answered Vespasian, "It is a disgrace to me and my entire people for me to be freed of my chains by a key. But if you had broken or chopped them off, I would have been your trusty advisor for all time; for when Alexander captured this people he chopped

off their chains and fetters."³⁸

At that time Vespasian sent Antonius and Mucianus to Rome to fight with Vitellius for a long time. And they killed him, and there fell in that battle eighty thousand choice Roman soldiers in Rome.³⁹

When Vespasian heard that Vitellius was killed and his generals whom he had sent were ruling there, he hurried to go to Rome to renew his rulership.

And while Vespasian was going to Rome, he left Titus, his son, in Alexandria, with half his troops. And he ordered him to go to Jerusalem to guard it. So Titus marched from Alexandria to Nicopolis and from there by boat he came to Tanis. From there he travelled to Heracleopolis and from Heracleopolis to Pelusium. And from there via the desert to Casian Jupiter, which is in the desert. And from the desert to Ostracine; and from there to Gaza, and from there to Ascalon; and from there to Jamnia; and from there to Joppa; and from there to Caesarea.⁴⁰ And he stayed there until he assembled all his Roman troops which had come to assist him in Jerusalem. They stayed there throughout the winter.

During the one year in which Vespasian reigned over the Roman Empire himself, a cruel war raged among the inhabitants of Jerusalem. There was hatred between neighbors so that there was no rest or quiet. And there was no ceasation of fighting throughout the land during the entire winter. The forces of Simeon and John fought in the summer and winter. The third (force) was Eleazar, with whom Judah and Ezron⁴¹ and Simeon joined. And he strengthened with him troops from the noblemen of Judah, and the troops from Jerusalem. Then they seized the Temple and all its suburbs and surrounding villages. They put their

men in concealment to guard the corners of the Temple of the Lord.

John the Galilean, assembled a large and powerful group to reenforce his troops. For, during his rise from the lower parts of the city until he came to the heights of the city, arrows and shots slaughtered John's men.

But Simeon also seized a position in the heights of the city and his troops captured positions below his high place. And so there was a third battle within the city. The battle continued incessantly, and there was no peace, no quiet, and no rest in all of the city. Day and night men fought with their brothers and neighbors, and many fell in battle, to numerous to count -- for there was no one to count. Most of the wounded. Thus the bloodshed of the Judeans continued in the market places, and in the street, and in the outskirts. And blood flowed in the Temple of the Lord, as the rain flowed, until it covered the entrance of the Temple. The bodies of the wounded fell one on the other.

John, the Galilean, was within the city, and Simeon was high above the city. Simeon pressed John next to Eleazar, and John was caught in their three-way baffling and hot battle, which was continuous and very damaging. The army above shot stones at the army below, and the army below returned the fire of stones, and John's army continued to be slaughtered by both of them.

People assembled at the Temple, a mighty throng; the priests, the elders, and the Judahites who had made pledges to restrain the battle from the Temple, and among them many of the warring soldiers. While they were offering their sacrifices they were killed, and the bodies of the priests fell on the animals which they had prepared

for sacrifice, as well as most of the people who had assembled at the Temple, fell by sword.

And the numberless corpses were scattered in the Temple of the Lord. The corpse of the priest on his sacrifice, while his hands clutched his sacrifice, and the corpse of the layman fell on the priest; the corpse of the wicked on the righteous; the corpse of the murderer on the innocent, and their blood was mixed in the Temple of the Lord while their blood flowed in the Temple. And the blood of the lowly mixed with the blood of the honored, and the blood of the wicked with the righteous; the blood of the good and the evil; the blood of the defiled and the pure were mixed. And the blood in the Temple of the Lord was like a pool of water, and the average man's bowels were indistinguishable from the priests' inner parts.

The battle grew hotter in the Temple and in the city, and they suffered from four disasters -- bloodshed, fire, falling debris, and famine. Throughout the entire city of Jerusalem there was no place of rest or refuge, and there was no help, for in every spot there was howling and commotion, and groaning. The weeping and screeches of the women and children were piercing. The howls of the old and young the children were unbearable, so that finally they cried out, "Happy is every one who dies first, and woe to those who remain alive at a time like this to see such horror."

And Josephus lamented and wailed, "How the city of your people is destroyed! Which was praised and lauded in every nation; which was humble and gave rest to powerful rulers, but in which dwelt murderers; in the abode of the Shechinah is the blood of the wounded and the corpses of the slain. In the place of joy there is now

grieving and groaning. In the place of rejoicing there now is mourning and agony. In the place where there was offering of sacrifice there is now massacre. And it is now a gathering place of evil men and murderers. Where formerly was the God of Heaven, now is the fighting of your wars. And the waves of the sea fought your pursuers, and the land swallowed up your revilers, in order to annihilate all those who rose up against you. The thundering of the heavens used to destroy your vexers, and the stars in their heavenly courses fought your enemies. O Moses, help now! And consider your people, your flock which you took out of Egypt, with great might and a strong hand and with signs and wonders. And consider your inheritance, which the Lord your God entrusted in your care.

"In the integrity of Your Faithfulness end it, O Lord! And consider how to overturn their power to destroy them. Please look to the people of the Lord! For whom which you lifted up Your staff and smote the sea, and made its waters before them as the desert, and let them pass through the dry land, and whom, they were hungry, You provided them in Your mercy with bread from heaven, and when they were thirsty with water from a stone, from the rock of flint.

"Awake Aaron, the holy one of the Lord! You who stood between the dead and the living like a mighty man before this people, and encountered the Destroyer without permitting him to come near the living. Thus you stood between the living and the dead and inhabited the slaughter of Israel.

"Please end it, O Joshua who swept the heights of the walls of Jericho with the sound of your battle cries, and with the sounds of the trumpets of your holy priest of the Lord. And consider this people

which you caused to disposses the mighty nations and powerful kings before you! But now these are the ones being destroyed!

"And you, David the king, now about you? Let the city sleep and end it by the ability of your drums and your lyre to make songs. And tell of your pleasantness which they have ceased from the mouths of this people by their great wickedness. And see princes who have betrayed them to slaughterers and enemies, and who are not like you, O David, who gave your life instead of theirs, and said, "Let Your hand be against me and the House of my father, but do not destroy Your people."⁴²

Please awake, O Elisha, who appeased by your prayer the mighty army of Aram, and led them to a fortified city, and ruled them in it without a sword or war. You darkened the light of their eyes and transformed their enmity into love. And when you fought with your prayer against the army of Aram, the sound of the chariot, and the horse, and the horsemen of the army of Aram and their troops fleeing, was heard, because of your prayer, which you poured out on behalf of your people.

"And now, shepherds of Israek, where are your prayers and your petitions which you poured out on behalf of this people to avert for them wrath and anger? Why was the abode of the Holy One overthrown so that there were layers of sacrifices and the wounded? Who fell in it? And Jerusalem, the City of Holiness, is overthrown by Gentiles, even as a city in which the Lord was not. And even the Holy Temple, was not the Divine Presence in it? And it was transformed into a place of murderers, the dwelling of brigands. But all who fled to it were killed in it as they killed Ananus the Priest, and Joshua,

chief of the priests, in it. They were princes of the Holy One, honored by the Lord and the people but they profaned them and threw their corpses into Jerusalem, the Holy City. And they were food for the birds of the heavens and for the dogs -- for they were not buried. They did not die, but were murdered through the wickedness of their deeds. Therefore, admonish your children for they died in your midst, both the righteous and the wicked. And the brigands and the vile men have brought upon you all of these evils which brought about the death of the priests of the Lord and his prophets.

"And before Your Holy Temple, Jerusalem, the Holy City, which was praised among the nations, was slaughtered Zechariah, the righteous and pious prophet, and he was laid to rest. But the earth did not cover his blood, nor the blood of Ananus and Joshua, chiefs of the priesthood, which was shed for their revenge; much blood, like the falling of rain, of your young men and your soldiers.

"How reversed is the understanding of the city and how has it retrogressed! They are become like molten idols, which neither see nor hear, and they do not understand that all the wild beasts and creatures of the earth fight their antagonists, which rise up against them, in order to save themselves from the sword of their enemies; but your sons have reverted, so that a man falls by his brother's sword.

"And where is the Glory of your might, O Jerusalem, who has not bent your shoulder under the yoke of the nations, and who cut off the yoke of the Egyptians and the Philistines and Aram and Assyria and Chaldea and Persia and Media? And where is the power of God who gave power to the sons of the Hasmonians, who were the mighty heroes of a people small in number who yet destroyed the soldiers of Babylonia and

destroyed the might of Persia?

"And they killed Demitrius and pursued their troops and killed them with powerful assaults and piled the land with the corpses of their dead. For they chose death rather than life and did not listen to the sinners, and they handed their lives over to death -- not for their children or their grandchildren, but for the sanctification of the Lord, and for His Temple; so that it not be defiled by the reviled things of the Gentiles and by their abominable idols.

"Where is the tribe of God? The holy tribe which blossomed in the days of your rejoicing? But now they have destroyed the flowers of the tribe, for destroyed and ended is the faith of the Holy Torah. So deal kindly with their brothers. How the proclamation changed!

"And where is the magnanimity of their loyalty when they used to bury their dead with honor? But now, behold, their wounded and dead cover the surface of the land and none are buried. There is no truce for the buriers, for if they come after the corpses they too are killed and also die without burial, and they are like those on the field. Therefore, the father does not bury his son, nor the son his father. But services are performed for them without burial; for if they attempted to bury them, they would be felled and would die on the battle field and none would be buried.

"And the earthly Holy Temple of the Lord they caused to be impaired from above and the scent of the oils of their spices became soot throughout the land. How it was transformed into a shameful corpse, which stank from the blood of the dead. Its streets were filled by the wounded and dead, victims of the sword. Its outskirts were filled with the starving, and the living who remained in the city were considered as dead; for

they were weary of the smell of the dead corpses and many died, and many were sick for there was no physician.

"And thus said David, O God, the heathen are come into thin inheritance. They have defiled the Holy Temple. They have made Jerusalem into heaps.⁴³

"Who permitted this evil by the hand of the Gentiles, if not a man and his brother who by their own hands filled the Temple of the Lord with the defilement, of the corpses of the slain until they no longer buried, because they held back from burying. For when one had sought to bury the dead the brigands came and wounded him or killed him.

If there two corpses together, and the one who was burying found the corpse of his enemy, he cut off his penis in order to wreak vengeance for his enmity. Then the stench of the dead stifled the living, and sickness was rampant.

"And all this occurred to them when they abandoned the Torah of the Lord, and annulled the covenant which He had made with their fathers, and for the faithlessness which they displayed against the Lord, the God of their fathers; for they shed the blood of the innocent and righteous in the Temple of the Lord.

"Therefore, great is our groaning, for sin has increased amongst us, to bring upon us this evil which is endless. For there is no end to the evil, O Lord, our God, which we have committed before You.

"And the Lord, our God was patient with us, but we ended His patience by faithlessness to the Lord. Therefore He poured out His wrath on us."

And it was after these events that Titus came to Jerusalem, after his father's departure to Rome. He came with a great army to Samaria,

and recruited men from the city. He then went to Elon, which is situated between Samara and Jerusalem, four miles from Jerusalem and left his army there and took with him six hundred men and cavalry. He came to Jerusalem to reconnoiter the place and to determine the height of the wall, and the strength of the people and the brigands who were so highly touted in battle.

Then he called out to all those who had made peace with him as he approached the wall, and saw that no one went out or in through the gates of Jerusalem, for the brigands were lying in wait outside the city along Titus' route. And all the people were following behind him; but it had become a very small group.

Then the brigands arose from their place of ambush, which was near Elon, and charged and attacked Titus' force in the center and divided Titus and his officers. They surrounded them and two of his officers died there, but they wanted to capture Titus alive.

But when Titus saw that the brigands had surrounded him, and that there was no way to save himself, for there was no open road, he took the iron weapon in his hand, which his officers had left and he broke the chain of the brigands and fled. Since they wanted to capture him alive, he smote all who came near him to capture him alive. And thus did Titus escape from them.

The brigands fought and said, "What have we done? Did we not almost have him?" So they threw spears at him, but they did not reach him. Thus God preserved him to give Jerusalem into his hand. So he returned to his army and he knew that the destiny of kings is in the power of the Lord.

So early in the morning, he came with his entire army, and when

he approached the city he said to his officers and troops, "Brace yourselves for you are going to fight with a powerfully strong people, and with skilled warriors, for they are not like the people whom you have fought in the past. I have investigated and I know their heroism and cunning in battle."

Then he mustered his troops and arranged them in a phalanx, so that there was no space between sections and they did not sheath their swords and their arrangement was a straight line. Then he gave orders to guard against the event that the front men should stumble in the holes or bushes which were in the road -- for it was still dawn.

When they came to the Mount of Olives, they encamped there, opposite Jerusalem, across from the river Kidron. For the river is between the city and the Mount. So his army was near the city -- a distance of four-fifths of a mile.

In the morning, when the people saw the Roman Army at the Mount of Olives, the commanders of the brigands went and made peace, each man with his neighbor, in order to channel their enmity against the Romans. And men swore allegiance to their brothers. Then they opened the gate and the commander of the brigands and all the troops went out of the city. The commanders led them and they attacked the Roman army. They terrified them greatly, so that the Roman army fled before the army of the brigands, for suddenly they were upon them. But Titus shrieked at his men, and the Romans were strengthened and stood opposite the Jews for battle. But many of them fell wounded, for the Romans were not strong enough to stand before the Jews, even though Titus and his generals and officers who were with him had encouraged and emboldened them to stand against the Jews. Therefore, the Jews ceased pursuing the disbanded army and returned, as

well as the troops outside the wall.

But Titus was furious in his camp and excoriated his officers for his trouncing by the Jews. Then Titus set them at ease by saying, "This Kidron River separates us and the Jews." So they faced the wall and trusted in the River Kidron.

But the brigand generals divided the troops and sent them to surround the Roman camp by surprise. So the Jews surrounded them, and came from behind them and engaged them in battle, and moved them from their place. Titus turned around and looked behind him, and lo, (he heard) the sound of the battle alarm and the blast of the trumpet. The battle was waged at the end of the camp, west of the Mount of Olives, and Titus was confused by the sounds of battle.

Then the brigand generals opened the gates of Jerusalem, and they and all the troops came out from the city against Titus and his army. And they delivered a mighty attack, until there remained none before them, for the Romans had fled, since they overwhelmed them with their superior attack, to the Mount of Olives. Most of Titus' men fled, and did not stand against them, except for Titus, who was alone. But his generals urged him, "Please flee with us to the mountain, lest you die by the sword of the Jews, and we all perish, for you are our Master, and God has made you rule in every land. But now, if you yourself die, shall we not all die? And what will you gain by your bloodshed? Why should you die like an ordinary man from our ranks?" But Titus did not heed them and strengthened the line, and did not retreat, for he said, "I prefer death with honor, than life with dishonor." And he turned to the Jews coming at him. And there was a great tumult from

the battle, and when they were upon him, Titus fled from them.

When the troops saw that the camp was surrounded by the Gentile army, who stood ready to fight them, they attacked the Romans and shed their blood on account of Titus. With all their power they sought to kill him. And so it was that there was a very great battle there, and a great number fell from both sides there.

On that day Titus came close to death, and barely escaped it in this battle, with the remnant of his generals who returned to him. They were all depressed on that day of defeat.

The Jews returned to their place near the wall, crossing the River Kidron. And so, the Gentiles fled before the Jews three times. And so it was at that time, that there was a lull in the external war; but the internal war raged in the city -- a man against his neighbor.

It was the first day of Passover, and John the Galilean, leader of the brigands, came to the Temple of the Lord; he, and his entire staff with him. And the priest and elders, as well as the rest of the people welcomed him with honors. When he and his men came to the Temple, they removed their clothes. Instead of their clothes, they dressed in their mail with their swords at their girdles. And they attacked the priests and the people. They seized the doors of the Temple and began to kill the people and the priests.

They turned their hearts against their brothers mercilessly, without respect for the aged. And the evil ones were unwilling to heed the pleas of those asking compassion. They did not spare suckling, infant, woman or child.

Moreover, Simeon and Eleazar ben Ananus, and all the leaders of

the brigands were inflamed at John for his comments when he said, "Do not consider anyone the leader of city city but me." And when Simeon and Eleazar heard of the evil which John committed against the people of the Lord in the Temple, they also arose and killed many of John's people.

And it was told to Titus that the Jews were embroiled in a battle between themselves. A great evil was perpetrated amongst them, and they fought within the city. So Titus and his entire army drew near the city, and he found some of the Jews standing outside the city. And they said to Titus, "Please come near us. Come to the city, for we are not able to live with these brigands. Save us from their hands, for the sword is at our throats, and we will be your servants."

But despite this, Titus did not believe the words of the Jews, for he saw them just yesterday fighting furiously, and with singleness of purpose, and they were all one group, united in battle against him.

But now, today, he was to save them from their neighbors in battle. Because of this, he did not believe what they said to him, "Come and save us from the hand of these evil brigands, and we will be your servants."

He was still speaking with them, when all of a sudden, there was a tumultuous sound from the city, the battle cry from those who shouted, "Open the gate and let Titus come and conquer the city." and from those who shouted, "Close the gates, lest the Romans come!"

But when the Romans heard the voices of those speaking to them from the wall saying, "Hurry and save us from these brigands, so that we all do not die by the sword of the brigands," the Romans ran to the gate of the city. When they neared the wall, the Jews dropped stones

from the wall and shot arrows at them.

And the people who were pleading with Titus outside the city to save them from the hand of the brigands (suddenly) turned to fight with Titus' men who came to the wall. They smote them and they fled. And the Jews pursued them as far as Aylon -- the Jews fighting with the Romans whom they were chasing, mocking them for their stupidity, for they were not fit to beat in battle. And they were beating on their shields against the Romans to scorn and deride them.

The troops of Titus became angry and wanted to go against them, but Titus restrained them, and did not permit them to go against them.

Titus assembled all his officers and assistants and counselled with them and spoke to them, saying, "I used to consider that your power was the greatest of all the peoples, none was able to equal yours in discipline, and cunning, and skill among the peoples. But now, my brothers and neighbors, I am not surprised at the Jews when they speak and turn and swear and rebel. But I am surprised by them, at how they are able to deceive you, with your cunning and your skill.

"Did not they smite you twice and thrice, for which you did not heed me, and rebelled against your king's commands, which he commanded you? And they saw that it was not fitting for you to violate or transgress his words. But you transgressed my words and violated my commands.

"Did you not know of the man who arose among our people and slew his son because he went to battle without his father's consent? But you have transgressed my orders. It is not proper for you, for it is like an order." Titus continued reproving and speaking to the people words of reproach, which we have not recorded. And they prostrated themselves to Titus -- all the generals and all the troops, to erradicate

their errors which they had committed in rebelling against his orders.

But this is what Titus did. He held ahigh a list of their sins, and attested to them, saying, "Let us no longer continue speaking of this matter, but do not ever against rebel against my orders." And they said in unison, "Yes!"

And it was after these things that Titus saw that the heart of the people of Jerusalem turned a man from his brother, and they turned, man against his neighbor in battle. And Titus drew near to fight in the wall of Jerusalem. And he ordered his men and they closed up all the pits and holes and cavities which used to surround Jerusalem. They filled them with dust to straighten the road for the troops. While they were fulfilling Titus' orders to every specification, the Jews did not go out as they had done previously, three days earlier, to fight with him to repel him from the wall.

For Simeon took ten thousand of the Jews, troops from the brigands. And from Edom he took nine thousand, and Jacob, the ruler of Edom, and Simeon, the younger, ruler of Idumea. And Simeon assembled all these select troops, skilled warriors, and went to John and chased him to the Temple courtyard and John stood at the gate of the Temple entrance, and with him eight thousand and four hundred troops, holding swords and dressed in mail.

Simeon and Eleazar joined and strengthened themselves against John and abandoned the saving of the city to fight man against his brother.

Meanwhile the Romans entrenched themselves in their camps, surrounding the wall.

The rest of the people were between these three generals like lost sheep for the generals were killing them. Each general took for himself,

Jewish men, chosen by lot. And thus, they divided the people, like a flock, among themselves.

The war grew heavy upon them and they joined together for the battle. But even in their flight from the Romans, they turned man against his brother, to fight.

Josephus replied and said: "Your King O Jerusalem has gained fame for himself; he was called Malchizedek for he was both a king and righteous.

"This continues to happen, O Jerusalem because of the Temple of the Lord which is built in your midst. And the Canaanites lived amid you until David, king of Israel came and drove out the being of the Canaanites. Then there dwelt in their stead Hebrews. He also built his palace amid you. And furthermore it occurred to him to build amid you the Temple of the Lord. But the Lord restrained him through his messenger, the prophet. And so he left it all for his son Solomon, who reigned in his stead. So he began to build the house of the Lord and he put in it silver and gold and precious stones, in great amounts.

"Therefore kings and rulers of the earth envied him for the superiority of the edifice of the Temple of the Lord over all; his reputation was greater than all; and he made the floor of your Temple marble, shining like a clear fountain.

"And the servants of your Temple were dressed in garments of four kinds of dyes; of the blue worm, which resembled the heavens which are above the firmament, like the fire; and the blue-violet and the mud colored garment which was similar to the earth, from which it sprung; and the garment of purple like the sea, for from the sea is it gathered.

And when the priest came to minister he was dressed in these four

species. And the priest used to say to the Lord of All, 'Behold I come before You, Master of the World with four examples of Your world and may it be considered in Your eyes, as if I were bringing before the Master of the World, all the world.'

"Furthermore, he had on his garment pure gold and precious gems, imprinted to resemble the tribes of the Children of Jacob who were called Israel; and his loins were girdled in breeches of linen to cover his skin for it was proper for the priest to be more modest than all the other men on the face of the earth when he stood to minister in the two Holy Rooms -- the outer Holy Room was one, and the inner Room was the Holy of Holies, for in the outer Room the priests and the levites waited to minister in the Holy of Holies. But the Lord did not enter there unless the High Priest was alone and only once a year, for there was the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord which contained the two tablets of stone at the time of the First Temple.

"There was the rod of Saron from which a bud came forth and bloomed. And in front of the Temple were fourteen steps which gave the appearance of grandeur.

"And the city of Jerusalem was a fortress city, the strongest of all the cities in the land for kings, gloriously mighty, built it, and many princes dwelt there. And Herod continued to elevate and heighten its walls and continued to build another wall which he called Antonia after the name of Antonius the Roman.

"But how the Rock humbled you and made to rule over you a multitude of peoples!"

After this Titus passed opposite the wall to see which place was suitable for an attack against the city. And he saw a level spot

opposite the grave of John, the High Priest. So Titus stood in that place with Nicanor, an officer of the army, whom he sent to speak with the people on the wall, words of peace.

When he finished speaking peaceably to the people, as Titus his master, had ordered him, one of the Jews on the wall shot an arrow at him and killed him.⁴⁴

Titus was very angry that the Jews shot his officer whom he had sent to speak about peace to them. So he beseiged the city with all his weapons of destruction and the demolition sward who brought the iron ram to knock down the wall -- for it is the instrument which destroys walls.

When the Jews saw the ram approaching to batter the wall, they were frightened greatly and they became confused.

The three brigand chiefs made peace and opened the gate of the city and went to the field of the grave of John and chased the Roman army away from the destructive weapons which they prepared to destroy the wall. Then they ordered fire put to these weapons and they burned them and the ram, and they cut off the ramparts, so that barely did Titus and his troops and the rest escape being burned by the fire.

But at that occasion the troops from Alexandria who were with Titus fought to save the ramparts from the Jews. And because of their bravery Titus hurried and ran with his select troops and approached the Jews and smote a dozen of them.

At that time John, one of the Edomite officers, fell, when the Gentiles fooled him into talking with them and threw a spear from behind and killed him.

And the Edomite troops mourned him greatly and they were angry.

So they arose that night, they and a part of the brigands from the groups of Simeon and John, and went to three of the wooden towers which Titus had erected opposite the wall of Jerusalem and killed Roman troops whom they found, and the survivors fled. Then they cut the supports of the towers and many of the Romans fell to the ground and were killed.

When Titus heard the tumultuous sound of the falling towers, he became greatly frightened, he, as well as the entire camp, and they fled at the sound of the falling towers, for they did not know what the sound was.

In the morning Titus assembled his force and approached the wall of the city, and the Jews were still fighting in the city.

So he again bought the destructive iron ram and battered the wall, and broke through it and over threw it and the wall toppled -- it was the outer wall -- and the people fled who were near that wall.

Then he came to the second wall and Titus ordered the destruction of the wall which had fallen, and the disposal of its stones some distance away, lest they be obstacles for his army.

When the leaders of the Jews saw that Titus was taking the outer wall, and there remained only a third of the walls which were around the city, the brigands made peace, each man with his neighbor. And they divided into their battle groups. One group with John, leader of the brigands at Antonia, North of the Temple; one group with Simeon, at the grave of John the High Priest.

And so they stood, with their troops opposite the Romans, and the battle raged at that time, for the Roman army was encouraged to fight for the sake of their reputation and the Jews were strengthened in their

fighting by the realization that the end was near.

But Titus stood before his men to strengthen them and to say to them: "Be strong, now, and I will give to all who fight today, silver and gold and honor,"

One of his troops drew near, his name was Longinus; he went into the midst of one of the Jewish parties which was stationed outside the city and smote the man on his mouth who had challenged him, and killed him. And he continued smiting the other and stabbing him until he died. Then Longinus fled and escaped to the Roman camp.

But they (the Jews) did not flee from the Romans to save their lives for their anger burned within them; for Simeon stood opposite his men and spoke to them, and warned them: "The man who flees in battle will most certainly die and his household shall be destroyed!"

And Titus called to his men to fight lest a man fall and be abandoned in the place of battle which was opposite Simeon.

And John went to the corner of the place where they had placed the ram, for it was a level spot. At that time Titus ordered the ramming of the wall. A Jew of the brigand troops stood on the wall and his name was Castor; he was a skilled warrior, and he shot arrows and smote many of the Romans, and many fled also.

Castor was with nine⁴⁵ of his comrades while Titus' army was moving the ram against the wall -- and Castor called from the wall to Titus, "Please my lord, spare this shattered city."

When Titus heard the cry of Castor he ordered his men to stop the fighting, and he called to Castor and said: "Come out to me, and you shall live; if not, you shall die!"

Then Castor answered Titus and said: "I will seduce my nine

comrades and we shall come out together."⁴⁶ But he by deceit seduced Titus.

Then he spoke to his nine comrades in the sight of the Romans saying: "Come now, and let us go down and escape to the Roman camp." And his comrades knew that it was a deception to fool the Romans, and one drew his sword and smote him on his mail and he fell before the Gentiles; but they did not know, that through this deception that they stayed the ram from hitting the wall.

But one of the Romans shot an arrow at them and hit Castor in his nose, the arrow passing through his nose; whereupon Castor went and screamed in a loud voice: "What is this you have done?" And said to Titus, "Is this the kindness which I sought in fleeing to you? To have your men shoot me with an arrow? But even now, my lord if you will send me one of your officers I will go down to him, and I will accept your trustworthiness from him with a good heart and a willing mind, and afterward I would go to you and become one of your servants."

When Titus heard Castor's words, he believed him and said to Josephus: "Go and make a treaty with his people, with our faithfulness, and bring this man to me, so that he live, and not die!"

Then Josephus answered Titus: "What is this, that you send me to him? For I did not sin against you, and I have been your loyal servant," for he knew of Castor's cunning.

So Titus sent Enaes the officer⁴⁷ and he said to Castor: "Come down to me, for I trust you and we will go to the king's son.

Then Castor answered Enaes: "Bare your chest, and I will throw you the silver and gold which I have with me, and I will come down lest the people of the city know of it and take it."

So Enaes spread out the hem⁴⁸ of his garment to receive the silver and gold about which Castor had spoken to him. But Castor raised a large stone over him with his two hands and dropped it on Enaes; but he averted it and it fell on his associate and he died.

This deed enraged Titus greatly and he burned inside and he brought the ram to the wall and battered it and the second wall fell.

When Castor saw that the second wall fell and the Temple was burning he threw himself into the flames and was consumed and died, for he chose death over life.⁴⁹

But when the Romans came into the wall the brigands and the rest of the soldiers came out against them and joined them in battle. But the Jews prevailed and smote very many of the Romans.

Then the rest of Titus' men fled to the first wall which was destroyed before them. Whereupon Titus grabbed his bow and shot at the Jews with arrows, and not one of Titus' arrows fell to the ground, for he hit the people with the arrows. Nevertheless, the Romans were driven from the city.

The Jews prevailed until the fourth day. But on the fourth day, Titus gathered a mighty force from among all the peoples, to help the Romans.

And the Jews went out to meet the Romans outside the city for battle. But the might of the nations overwhelmed the Jews and they fled to the inner wall and closed it for themselves.

Then Titus ordered his people to avert the wall, and to go outside the city, and to end the battle for a few days in order to discuss peace with the Jews. And he said: "Perhaps they will accept the Roman yoke and live, and not die," for he had compassion for the city and for the Temple

of the Lord and the people of the Lord. Thus, in order to avoid destroying everything, he desisted from fighting on the fifth day. And on the fifth day he came to the gate of the city, while at the same time came Simeon, chief of the brigands and John with him. They were arranging incendiary materials to burn the destruction machines which the Romans employed.

They all joined together to fight as one with the soldiers. And when Titus saw that the Jews were willing to give their lives to continue, and were stelling themselves to die, all of them, in battle, for they preferred death to life, then he began to discuss peace terms with them. He entreated them, by saying: "Look, I have captured two walls, and there remains but one -- why do you become poverty-stricken by your stiff-neckedness? For I will capture the third wall also, and completely destroy this city -- I will lay it waste and overthrow the Temple of the Lord your God, and I will not spare your lives, nor your wives, nor your sons and daughters."

But despite this, the Jews did not obey, for they were stubborn. Then Titus sent Josephus to speak to them words of peace in Hebrew, in order that they believe him and trust him.

So Josephus went to them and stood opposite the gate of the wall, for he was afraid to come near the wall, because he knew that he was loathed by the people for accepting the Roman yoke and continuing to live.

But Josephus the priest called out in a loud voice, saying: "Hear this! All you who are Hebrews! And I shall speak to you that which is good for you." He continued speaking to the people; "It was fine for you at first to fight as you fought. But now, before this evil comes, while your cities are standing and your land is full of people; before you

destroy your soldiers in battle, man against his brother, until there remains a tiny number; have you no mercy upon yourselves, for you fight man against brother with brutality and fill the sanctuary of the Lord and His Temple with the blood of the wounded and the corpses of the dead.

"Why do you tarry about this? Haven't you had enough of this? Yet you engage in war with a nation mighty and proud, which rules over all the peoples and has captured all the countries -- and has quelled all the nations and all the peoples who have rebelled against them. They became servants to them but you fight with them with stupidity and not with wisdom, and without discernment, so that they will not spare this city, or Temple of the Lord, or His sanctuary or your lives. Inasmuch as they have endured your powerful will and been patient with this greatly evil people. I fear for the Temple lest it be pulled down, and for the famous city, lest it be destroyed, and for the Sanctuary of the Lord, lest it be demolished, and for the offerings and sacrifices, lest they cease, and for the eternal fire, lest it be snuffed out. For we have sinned against the Lord, the God of this Temple, and against ourselves.

"Therefore, He will turn His protection from us, for we have fought in the midst of His sanctuary. And His Temple was the abode of sinners and the dwelling place of brigands who murdered his priests and his holy ones, and shed the blood of many of the innocent within it.

"And now, my brothers, here are all the destruction-machines ready to destroy the Temple and the fire prepared to burn the sanctuary. But behold, the Gentiles, your enemies are willing to spare the Temple of the Lord and His Sanctuary, without making a desolation of His Sanctuary, if you, my brothers and neighbors, will be compassionate in order to turn from you the weapons of destruction.

"And in what do you trust? Even now, have not two walls been broken, and only one remains? And if you say, 'We will trust in our God,' He is not among you, for He has turned to help your enemies, for they honor His great name and fear him. But we have been unfaithful to Him. "Therefore God has turned from us and has been with them and has helped them, for they rule all the peoples and are supreme in every land. Except in a place which is inaccessible due to snow or heat, where there is no way to cross over to it.

"And now, what is your expectation? Has he not put their dread over all the nations of the earth? Is this not a time of their rule and domination? Are they not princes who rule and is He not with them and helps them? And do you not know that in the beginning He was the help of the Egyptians so that they ruled the entire world. But afterward He turned from them and was with you and caused you to rule over all the nations?

"And so He was with you and your kings; but afterward He turned from you [and gave you] into the hand of the Chaldaea and Assyria and Persia and was with them to help them, for He created all of them.

"But how He has abandoned them and has become the help of the Romans -- He will be with them for a long time, and will continue to cause them to rule over those nations whom they ruled aforetime.

"And now, my brothers and my beloved, why do you fight? For they are the rulers of nations who have disclosed secrets surpassing India and the islands of Oceanus, which are beyond India and all the distant places of the East, and the rule until the ends of the earth; as far as Britain and the Atlantic Ocean and the entire country of Scotland, which is closed off by Moors, and its inhabitants are a people like

the Anakites, who are tall of stature, and valiant; archers and soldiers, who used to say, 'We shall all be a united force when we fight our enemies, and let us die together, rather than serve foreign rulers,' and afterward the Romans came and subjected them and they became their servants.

"And now brothers, and my beloved, while you are saying, let us die together, and not serve Gentile rulers, for death is preferable to life, so as not to witness over misfortune, and the misfortune of our Sanctuary, ask (yourselves) please, since the days of the Patriarches, when have you been free, without masters or without the yoke of the Gentiles upon you? Since Jacob our father went and became subservient, so as to live in Egypt, in a land of strangers, in order not to die of starvation; he and his household and his possessions which he had acquired and his twelve sons who sprang from his loins?

"Was there not there, an honored Jew, of the Children of Jeshurun, upon whom the Jews called. And was he not able to be triumphant, for he was a warrior, and wealthy and great? But he became subservient in order not to die of starvation; he and his father, and his brothers and their wives and sons and daughters with all their possessions and everything they had.

"And his name was Joseph, handsome in physique and appearance, a wise and skilled man who nevertheless bore the service of Egypt and the service of the House of Pharoah in order to provide his father's house -- young and old -- according to their need -- with food.

"Joseph wanted to return to the Land of Canaan, he and all his father's household. And who was able to restrain him from the road? No one could, for he was the ruler of the entire land of Egypt, and whatever

he desired, he could do.

"And there Benjamin turned against Joseph's house with brutality, and deceit, when he implored them to serve. But for all this, Joseph the righteous did not sin. But he submitted to serve the king of Egypt since there is no shame for the man who serves one greater than he. For our forefathers served Pharoah in Egypt until Moses our Teacher, may his memory be a blessing, took them out of Egypt by a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, with signs and wonders. But afterward they served the king of Assyria for a long time, as well as the kings of Persia and Media -- very pleasant servitude! And afterward they served the kings of Greece in great wars. So, now, my brothers, tell me if it is disgraceful for you to serve the Gentiles!

"Do they not rule over your enemies who themselves ruled over you as masters, which in itself, should make you like the Romans, for they have conquered all those who stood over you. But they have turned into your enemies.

"Did you not know that the Gentiles have been rulers in all the lands and over all the peoples? They even ruled in Egypt when you were slaves there.

"But now, if the Egyptians ploughed their land and their produce, did not the Romans harvest their produce, for they worked for them? Therefore, understand that when the kings of Macedonia ruled, they were everywhere; and they ruled throughout the land of India and throughout its kingdom.

"But now, they are cut off from them and they serve the Romans. But in the beginning they exalted themselves above the Romans and waged a great war against them until the Romans subdued them. And so now they

are servants to them for they subdued their haughtiness and put their shoulders under the Roman yoke.

"And concerning the Philistines, what have I said, and what did I tell you? Are they not insignificant compared to the Romans who rule the entire land of the Philistines and all their kingdom?

"Therefore, is it not a great honor for you to serve with Persia as associates in the service of Romans, who are your masters? Tell me please, when were your forefathers free, without forced servitude? From the day of their exodus from the land of Egypt until the day of Saul son of Kaish's rule, were they free?

"When the Lord ruled, you rejected Him from being ruler over you, and chose for yourselves a mere man as king to rule over you. Saul and the rest of the kings whom you served after Saul b. Kaish's death; David, the great king who ruled over the nations around you; and after David the son of Jesse's death, you served Solomon his son, who was a ruler even beyond the Euphrates. After Solomon's death war raged for many years until the Babylonians came and exiled you from your land, until Cyrus King of Persia came and returned you to your land. And you didn't merely return, but with silver and gold and with power. Thus he was considered as the source of the vindication.

"But after his death, there arose against you the kings of Greece who waged war against you and oppressed you with a heavy yoke. Thereupon the Lord aroused the spirit of His priests,⁵⁰ the Hasmoneans and they all became associates and friends of the Romans and their love grew over the years.

"But afterward you all rebelled against the Hasmoneans who saved you and elevated your name, and you selected for yourselves a man from

your own people, whose name was Herod who imposed upon you a heavy yoke.

"Then Herod died and Archelaus his son ruled in his stead, and he intensified the burden. Then you all rebelled against him and said; 'We shall no longer serve Jewish kings, but rather, we shall serve Roman kings,' as you desired. So you bent your shoulders to serve Augustus who showed you mercy and compassion and not brutality, and you served him like all the nations who served him without shame. And so your reputation was enhanced for you served a good king.

"So now, my brothers, sons of our people, consider the resources of our land, the people and animals, the wildlife, the crawling creatures and the birds and all the fish of the sea; for the greater rules the lesser, and there is no disgrace in the lesser serving the greater; the ox fears the lion and the ram fears the bear and the goats fear the panther, and the hawk fears the eagle, and the dove fears the hawk.

"Consider for yourselves the domestic animals; the bull exalts himself over the cows and the calves, and cows smaller than he -- the ram lords over the flock and the he-goat lords over the herd of goats and so the greater animals, domestic and wild, rule over the smaller.

"And it is correct that men learn from the animals and birds, for one God created them all. God the Creator, Praised be He, is His name.

"And now my brothers, sons of my people, if you decide to become lackies to the Romans, what would you lose, for have not the nations declined, who previously ruled you? And the animal and bird about whom I spoke to you, do not the small grow, little by little, so that the large no longer is able to rule the smaller, even if through punishment the smaller is subjugated to the greater's rule?

"Therefore, sons of my people, clothe yourselves in humility and

be like all creatures!"

"And so when Josephus the priest spoke these words to the people of Jerusalem, they spurned him and cursed him from the wall and shot many arrows at him to kill him ---and when he saw that they didn't heed his counsel, he began to berate them with phrases from The Book.⁵¹

"The priest responded to them and said to them: "Rebels, is this how you think you are helping the Temple of the Lord in which you shed the blood of the innocent many a man did not have pity on his brothers and relatives? And you made war in the Temple and His Sanctuary and polluted it with corpses and wounded whom you murdered in it -- and you fought in the Lord's name when you fought your battles on His Sabbaths and Festivals. Now please tell me, rebels, when were you brave with a sword or with a spear or in battle?

"And now, recall Abraham who sired you, with what did he prevail over Pharoah, king of Egypt? He implored the Lord with prayer and supplications, and he helped him and returned Sarah his wife, her marital state and purity unimpaired. Thus Abraham your father used to lie down with contentment, and in quiet and peace, and with trust.

"And Pharoah king of Egypt was struck down with pain and large boils which the Lord inflicted upon him because of Sarah, wife of Abraham, your father, for Pharoah coveted her and seized her to commit an abomination and disclose her privy parts -- but the Lord did not permit his lust.

"But instead of seeking to uncover her body completely, Pharoah dressed her with great pleasure with silver and gold and precious stones. While Abraham was sitting at home and relied on the Lord -- all of a sudden there was Sarah dressed in gold and silver and crowned with all

kinds of desirable items; also her virtue was intact, pure and undefiled.

"And what did Isaac say when Abimelech king of the Philistines expelled him? And he had with him the three hundred and eighteen trained troops of his father, born within his house, who had smitten five kings greater than these who were with him being mere slaves of his household?

"And he was also brave enough to fight the Philistines but Isaac didn't want to make war with Abimelech. But with great humility he remained staunch even when the Philistines came to him after which they ousted him -- but they employed him and said to him good things when they saw that the power of the Lord was with him. Then they said to him -- 'We have certainly seen that the Lord has been with you' -- for who can count the mercies of the Lord and the wonders which He has performed for our fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob when he fled from Esau his brother, for he didn't take a thing with him, except his staff and crossed the Jordan as it is written: 'Only with my staff did I cross this Jordan.'⁵² And he didn't take food for the road nor weapons, but through His prayer did the Lord help him -- going and returning, 'He wrestled with the angel, but was unable to prevail while wrestling with him.'⁵³

"And what did He say to you about Moses our Shepherd, the man of god? With what did he prevail over Pharoah and his entire army? Wasn't it with his prayer and with the staff of god which was with him? He humbled the glory of Pharoah and his magicians and their serpents and witchcraft; and with it he smote the Egyptians with ten plagues.

"And with it he parted the Sea, making a dozen pathways; and when Pharoah and his army and entire force approached, Moses did not fight with them -- rather he sent up his prayer -- and through his prayer Pharoah and his force sank in the great deep while Moses sang a hymn

of thanks.

So the Egyptians soldiers perished because of (Divine) wrath and fury when they sought to fight with Moses and Israel with instruments of war. Against the horses and chariots Moses fought with his prayer. Pharoah and his army sank in the Sea and not even one survived.

"Then Israel sang a hymn of praise and who did not know that the prayer was better than all the instruments of war for prayer hastens the Lord's help and His victory.

"Do you not know about Joshua, Moses' minister, when he crossed the Jordan? Was he not a warrior? But with what did he demolish the wall of Jericho? Was it not through his prayer and the blasts of the priests of the Lord who were sounding the horns?

"And when Jericho was devastated not a soul within it survived except Rechab the whore and all who escaped to her.

"Don't you know about Gideon's prayer which was his advocate. When he came with three hundred men and smote the entire horde of Medianites and Amalekites and the children of the East; and were it not for his supplication and his prayer which he poured out before the Lord, what would have been the effect of three hundred men against Medianites and the children of the East, who were a great and powerful people, like the sand upon the seashore in their numerical superiority?

"Consider the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord when the Philistines captured it. Were our fathers capable of rescuing it by the sword or by war? Only through prayer and supplications was the ark returned to them.

"And during the reign of Hezekiah, king of Judah, Sennacherib, king of Assyria came, and reviled and scorned the Sanctuary of the Lord, with

contemptuous haughtiness in his heart. He was humbled not by war, by prayer and supplications. For Hezekiah forebore, and were the pings of prayer, and instead of the shield he wore sackcloth, in place of the arrows he employed prayer and supplications. The prayer ascended to a place where the arrow could not go. And with the first prayer which Hezekiah poured out, one hundred and eighty-five thousand of Sennacherib's best men fell dead, and the wounded were innumeralbe. But those who died of the plague we did count.

"Then the kings of Judah, Israel and Edom joined together and went to the land of Moab to fight, but they were weakened by thirst in the desert. In the parched land and desert ---plan, what good were their weapons and heroism? Was it not through the prayer of Elisha the Prophet that water and a river were brought forth for them in the wasteland?

"And what of Elisha's prayer when Syria made war on Samaria? Was not his prayer heard on high and were not the Syrians made to hear the sound of chariot and horse and cavalry? And they quaked and fled -- the entire Syrian force -- for a voice pursued them and scattered them and they fled -- but in reality there was no pursuer!

"It was also by prayer that Elisha turned the famine in Samaria into plenty. One could even sell three measures of fine flour for a measure of silver! Thus our forefathers always prevailed through prayer.

"And when Moses stretched forth his hands to Heaven, did not Israel prevail over the Amalekite horde? And so with Jeshua's prayer -- the heavens stood still at Gibeon while the evening turned to afternoon, and the Israelite army prevailed over their tormentors through Joshua's prayer -- for without his prayer which turned the sun backwards, it would have been night, separating the Israelites and their foes.

"So too with Samson before he sinned, it was his prayer which obtained strength for him -- but when he sinned, he fell like an ordinary person.

"Similarly, when Saul was behaving properly, his prayer obtained for him strength and courage. But when he sinned, God turned from him.

"And David, king of Israel, who from childhood to old age did not lack courage -- yet he abandoned prayer for he did not want to fight with his kinsmen or the Ammorites.

"Therefore, he prevailed over his enemies, even though he refrained from fighting his brethren. He was the fear and terror of all the nations.

"Asa, king of Judah, with a modest force went out to fight the Cushites and prayed to the Lord and entreated him by saying to the Almighty. "We do not know what we shall do for upon You are our eyes."⁵⁴ And the Almighty heard his prayer and smote the Cushite army, one million of them!

"And what of the prayer of Deborah, when she brought about victory for Israel.

For many years their prayer endured and there was continued deliverance.

"Do you not know what Amaziah king of Judah did when he was fighting Edom -- he smote them with the edge of the sword and carried off their infants and wives with their gods. And when he arrived in Jerusalem he had taken from Edom and sacrificed and offered libations to them, saying 'For you have made me victorious!' On account of you have I defeated Edom."⁵⁵ Therefore he was captured like a fox when he fought with Joash, king of Israel.

All the evil which has befallen us from time immemorial has been our own fault, for it has come from within us, because the Lord our God deals justly with all His creatures. But have not enemies hurt us when we were evil among ourselves? The nations took our objects of delight and returned them in purity from Babylonia but we have defiled them with the blood of the innocent which we shed in the Temple, and we multiplied transgressions and forgot the perfect Torah which had been for our fathers a guarantor of help. For in it is the name of the Lord, the Tower of Strength; in Him the righteous finds pleasure and exultation, for it is his life in this world, and the length of his days forever, for all his days shall be long.

"Who brought the Romans to the City of Jerusalem at first if not Hyrcanus and Aristobulus who divided the people so that a man betrayed his brothers? Who bought Antoninus and Sosuis,⁵⁶ Roman generals to Jerusalem? Wasn't it Herod when he was fighting with the Hasmoneans? And who invited Caesar to rule over you? Did you not yourselves invite him?

"So now, why are you rebelling against the authorized chief of the Roman army, the Edomite, shooting arrows at them? Why have you not brought your complaints to Caesar instead of rebelling and making war? Did you not rebel against Nero Caesar because he oppressed you? But now, why are you rebelling against Vespasian who is a kind man? Has he not offered to make peace with you and lifted the burden of the yoke from you, so that you know of his concern for you.

"And for whom was it proper to hurt me, even I, who lifted up my sword against the Romans and killed and wounded them, without number.

"However it was not my wish to do so, but you sent me to fight until I came to the city of Jotapata. And I fought with all my strength and I killed many of them until I was covered by the slingshot's rocks and the arrows. Then the Romans tried to inundate me with a consuming fire. But the Lord helped me, strengthening me in my battles.

"And so, now that I am in their hands, they do not deal harshly with me for all the trouble which I caused them, but with kindness.

"And many times when I wanted to escape to you, before the Romans captured me, I was not able.

"Thus, now I thank the Lord for all the good which He has granted me, inasmuch as I was not a party to the evil which you have committed, when you killed the wholly righteous and shed the blood of the innocent and pure in the Temple of the Lord. For if I had been with you, my lot would have been bad and I would have abandoned hope.

"But now, see your troubles, for the Lord is not in our midst, inasmuch as before these wars the attacker could destroy very little.

"Yet now, when the nations gather against us, the attacker gathers together like a wady which becomes a great river surging against its banks. For you have killed --- a man against his brother -- within the Temple of the Lord. And how can the Glory of the Lord dwell with you, oppressors, murderers?

"And was it not because of Korach and his cohorts that the Lord said to Moses and his people: 'Depart from the midst of this congregation?'

"But you continue evil, for you have no compassion. You shall destroy the Temple of the Lord with your own hands and yourselves will start the burning of the Temple of the Lord which the great kings and

holy prophets built for the sake of the Lord, the God of Israel, the Glorious and Awesome One. So, you, with your own hands will have destroyed it, without pity for the Sanctuary of the Lord, or your sons and daughters and infants, without regard that they may go into captivity.

"For although I am regarded alike both in the Roman camp and in yours, yet my dear wife, of a prominent family is with you, as are my poor holy father and mother.

"Indeed, my words shall not be believed, for you shall say that I speak deceitfully to you. My words shall have been heard but in vain, for my holy mother and dear precious wife shall have been killed, as well as I. And their blood shall become your pledge."

But when the people heard Josephus' words, they wept, for they considered his good advice which he had offered them; they wept with loud crying and with supplications, and wailing and with an out pouring of tears. Thus the people cried profusely.

Thereupon Titus ordered all the Jewish slaves which he had bought and which he had taken into captivity, set free and sent to Jerusalem, for Titus' compassion had been stirred by Josephus' words. Then the people wanted to go out to Titus to make peace with him, until Simeon and Jonathan and Eleazar, the brigand commanders stood at the gates and mustered them with the reminder that anyone who goes out of Jerusalem to the Romans, they would kill with the sword, and they killed many Israelites.

So Jerusalem was shut -- none went out and none came in -- and the famine grew heavy in Jerusalem. Then the brigands, all of them, began searching the houses and rooms to find food to seize it for them-

selves. And if the master of the house sought to restrain them, he was struck down and killed. This is the manner in which the brigands treated all the people of Jerusalem.

And the food supply was exhausted in the city so that people picked the garbage-heap and the dung-heap for food, until they fell. And so the people died of malnutrition, except for those who found sustenance in grass or herbs or greens or rats or reptiles or some crawling animals. They ate these in order to save their lives for the famine was fierce. And if someone had wheat, he was afraid to grind it or bake it, lest the brigands know and they confiscate it. So they ate the wheat in secret. Even in their houses when they ate, the inhabitants of the house hurriedly snatched the food one from the other -- the father from the son, or the son from his father, and the mother from the children.

And those who went out to gather grass outside the city to sustain themselves, if the Romans found them were killed.

Therefore the people (sought out) every variety of crawling creature of the earth, rats and spiders and snakes and moles and lizards. But the people were starving because of the war and they died without burial. And if a carcass of a horse or of any of the animals in the city was found, many Israelites would fight over it, and people died while fighting over the carcass of the animal.

And thus the men went out of the city with their wives and sons and daughters and their infants to find grass to sustain them. And if the Romans found them, they slaughtered the children, for the Romans said, "It is better to end their lives while they are still young, for if they grow up, the sons shall fight like their fathers." Therefore

the Romans used to kill the poor of the people who came out from Jerusalem and hung them on the trees opposite the gate. And so the Romans did every day, the number of people killed and hung being five hundred.

But Simeon and John treated any Romans which they found or anyone who decided that they wanted to go out to the Romans. They seized them and hung them from the wall opposite the Romans, in the hope that the Roman army would pity them.

So Titus ordered the entire army to refrain from hanging Jews on trees for his compassion was stirred for Israel. And despite all this, Titus did not cease speaking to the people of Jerusalem kind words and entreating them, saying: "Please listen to me, so that you may live and not die, and have pity on yourselves. Why should you die of starvation and thirst, under siege, and with distress for all?"

When the brigand generals heard Titus' words they became angry and prepared to commit evil and strengthened their resolve to be brutal to the people of the Lord, and to disgrace and revile Titus; to provoke him to anger so that he would not continue to speak to the people in such a manner. For the people said: "It is better for us to die by the sword, starvation and fire and to die free, for the Sanctuary of the Lord and His Temple, without the yoke of the Romans upon us. For it is to our gain to die with this misfortune, (in order to) go to the Great Light and to the rest of the Garden of Eden."

When Titus saw this, he ordered the ram brought to the wall to batter it and to cut it off and to snatch the prisoners from the hands of Simeon and John, to save them from being killed.

When they were bringing the ram to the wall, there was a young

named Commagene⁵⁸ son of Antiochies the Macedonian of the kings of Greece, one of Titus' men in the Roman army. He came to assist Titus and was light footed and a courageous soldier, but lacked discretion and said to Titus: "I am amazed at your soldiers who are the same soldiers who have been able to conquer all the nations -- but it is amazing that they have not made short shrift of the Jews, to destroy those who are stationed outside the wall." Then Titus laughed at the Greek youth's remarks and said to him: "Let us see you do these things! "Perhaps you will be astonished -- unsheath your sword against them!"

So the young Greek girded himself and called his Macedonian men and they prepared for battle with arrows and bows and with pity for the Jews.

So the Jews assembled against the Macedonians; and the Jews outside the wall and those standing on the wall smote them so greatly that the young Greek and all his men fell wounded, so not even one remained. But the young Greek alone escaped to the Roman camp, for he was swift. When he returned he went to Titus, for the young man was a descendant of Alexander the Great. Therefore Josephus said to him,⁵⁹ "Anyone who wants to be like Alexander, it is proper for him to be as heroic as he. For when Alexander fought a powerful people he came to the city one night by himself and laid a ladder on the side of the wall and went down into the city and smote the inhabitants of the city by himself all during the night. In the morning his army heard (a tumult) and they wondered what the noise was. They were told that their king was in the city. So his soldiers ran and hacked off the bars of the doors and entered the city and rescued their King Alexander. And as David our king singularly displayed courage in battle, with the Nephillim,

so did Alexander fight alone in the camp of the ghosts.

"And when David the king was fighting alone in the city and Abishai, Joab's brother, heard that David was fighting with the Nephillim, he rushed to assist him. When he found him, he was alone fighting with the army of the Nephillim, and David was smiting the Nephillim. But one of them came up behind David the king to strike him. And when he raised his hand to smite him, Abishai, Joab's brother, rushed over and intercepted the blow with his shield. Then David turned around and smote the Nephil and he died. "Therefore we knew that Alexander came to deliver the punishment of the people of the city for the city was given into his hand. But David rescued the Holy Spirit."

Thus this Macedonian youth knew that it was not due to weakness that the Romans desisted from fighting with the Jews at that time, but rather because of wisdom and cunning that the Romans did so.

After this Titus divided his entire army into four sections. Then he deployed them around the wall, and set up four rams to batter the wall. And they set up one ram at the corner of Antonia. The length of the ram was thirty cubits.⁶⁰ But during that night John, the leader of the brigands, went out with his hand and dug out the earth from under the wheels of the wagons. Then they put planks under the wheels and put in them pitch and kerosene and sulphur and set the ram aflame, while the guards of the ram were asleep and unaware of the plot. The fire consumed one foot of the ram and it fell on the guards and they died. The camp of the Gentiles was thrown into confusion and they said: "We are no longer able to fight in this city, in Jerusalem!" For they burned all the weapons of destruction which were employed to batter the wall. And the brigand generals mocked them about these things.

Titus was furious and ordered the three remaining rams brought to the spot where the burned ram, which the Jews had burned, was, and they set them up against the side of the wall.

While they were doing this, four⁶¹ of the Jewish soldiers became zealous and ardour filled them for the Temple of the Lord. And so one said to the other, "Come and let us offer ourselves to the Lord our God, and earn for ourselves a good name this very day."

And these are the names of the Jewish soldiers:⁶² Tephtheus, the Galilean, Megassar, Jabmanus, and Iraus. They strapped on their weapons and went out to the Roman army which was standing with the three iron rams which were destroying the wall.

Their hearts were inflamed with zeal and angry wrath, and so they went, the four of them, without fear or intrepidity against the Roman army. There were none superior to them and they smote the men who were around the rams and the people fled. Then they daubed the wooden parts of the rams with slime and burned them.

Then they became emboldened and stood by while the rams were burning and fell to the ground. But the Romans shot arrows at them from afar, and many other weapons rained down upon them. For the Romans were afraid of the Jews, to come too near them, since they were select skilled warriors. But the troops were not afraid and did not bridge from their place, and stood there until all the rams were completely burned.

But Titus and his entire army ran to salvage the rams from the flames but were unable to, for Simeon and John the brigand generals and their troops came out against them, and engaged them and chased them away from the rams. And the four soldiers did not die in this

battle, but many of the Gentile soldiers fell there.

Then the Roman army reassembled and there was a raging battle between them and the Jews, who pushed the Roman army back a distance from the city. And the heroism of the Jews was known on that day. For the Roman army was unable to stand against the Jewish army in combat, because the Jews were especially strong on that occasion. But the Romans shot arrows at them from the distance.

When Titus saw that his entire army was fleeing he shouted and told his people: "It is a disgrace for you! Woe to Romans for the disgrace and shame of such a day as this! To flee from the Jews whose land we have conquered. We have pierced their walls and there remain no weapons of war to them; and there is just a small remnant of them, and we are many. From all the nations come people to assist us. And even if they vow to die for their land and for the Sanctuary of their God, so what? Have you not also vowed to demonstrate your reputation and courage?"

On that day the Jews returned to the city. Then the Romans assembled unto themselves a great force to assist them, from among all the nations.

Titus had a war council with his generals and officers and all his men as well as with those of all the nations which had gathered with them. He said to them: "Come, and we shall lay seige to this city, without a battle. For their food is depleted. Perhaps starvation will finish them off."

So he closed off the entrances to the city lest the Jews came against them suddenly. And they beseiged the city. They set up roadblocks on all the surrounding roads and posted guards day and

night. Meanwhile the starvation grew worse among the inhabitants of Jerusalem and among the soldiers. But despite the intensity of the starvation in Jerusalem and among its inhabitants, the city was not captured.

Many Jews went to bury the dead, but they were unable to, for there was no place to bury the corpses. Many of the Jews had tossed the dead into pits. But those still alive had also fallen into the pits and others came and made graves for them and put them in the graves where they lay for a day or two and then died in the graves. There was neither burier nor mourner, for weeping and tears had ceased, and the wailing had diminished in the face of the famine. All the streets of Jerusalem were filled with the dead -- inside and outside houses -- but there was no gathering and no burial and no weeping and no one was terrified. And most spoke about the famine until they had exhausted themselves of discussing it.

And when Titus saw the manner in which the corpses of those who died of starvation, were cast into the wady Tidron like dung on the surface of a field, he was greatly bewildered and stretched his hands heavenward and said: "God of Heaven and Earth, clear me of guilt for this, for did I not want to make peace with them? But they refused and they themselves committed this evil."⁶³

At that time worthless men came and told Simeon: "Behold, Amitai the High Priest who brought you to this city, wants to go out to the Roman camp." So Simeon ordered the arrest of Amitai the priest and his sons. Thereupon one of them departed and captured Amitai and his three sons. Then Amitai the priest begged Simeon, not for his life, but rather for a speedy death, so that he need not witness the death

of his sons.

Whereupon Simeon, chief of the brigands, became emboldened and did not heed his plea. Therefore Amitai fell by the hand of Simeon, whom he brought to Jerusalem. And in this manner did Simeon treat Amitai, repaying him evil for good.

Then Simeon ordered Amitai spread out on the wall opposite the Romans. Then Simeon said to him: "The Romans shall not rescue you from my hands, those to whom you sought to flee." Then Amitai the priest begged Simeon the brigand, a worthless man, to let him kiss his sons before his death. But Simeon the contemptible one, did not permit him to kiss them.

Then Amitai the priest raised his voice and said to his sons: "My sons, I brought this wretch to this city, to Jerusalem. Therefore, I am also considered to be a murderer like him. Thus it is by my own hands that this has happened to me, and to all of you. For from that day a sentence of death has been upon me. For I brought an evil brigand and a murdered into the Holy City because I thought that perhaps he would be of assistance of this city. But he did great evil to Israel and changed the entire city into a stumbling block and a snare.

"One murderer was not enough for us! So when he was in our midst he also added our enemies and he fought with us. After he conquered us, he finished us off.

"But it was not I who brought him to this city, for I love it as do all the priests. It was the entire people who sent me to bring him here. And now, he has conquered all the people who were free. They have become slaves, to bow down to them as was their will, both he and

John the brigand, has associate. Therefore they have brought him (Titus) to subdue the brigands of the city. And see, even now, they continue to destroy, brigand against brigand, and neighbor against neighbor."

Then Amitai continued and said: "But now, why should I say any more, like a man who does justly? But I haven't sinned against God or his people in this city, even though I brought to this city evil, and not good.

"And this is the reason that I have the sentence of stoning; because I brought you to this city to be chief over the people of the Lord. It is fitting that it was you, Simeon, who saved me and my sons from their hands, for to them I was evil and to you I was good.

"Then it became my innermost wish to flee to the Roman camp, to be able to escape, for you did not rule over it. For before we brought you to Jerusalem, Simeon⁶⁴ the brigand was a stumbling block and snare for this city. Therefore we said, that Simeon should give us evil and expel our tormentors. And when he became our troubler, we said: 'Dismiss the murdered!' But then we added to the murderer, so as to humble the group of murderers and brigands. We added brigands in the hope of rescuing the innocent. But there was shedding of innocent blood! To do away with weapons of war, there were added weapons of war in the city and they killed men in secret, for they were afraid of the people. But now, they kill men in a high -- handed fashion, right in the open. And who is brave enough to help our enemies the Romans? Was it not you who destroyed the troops of the city when the Gentiles smote a few outside the city? And you are the one who increased the number of wounded in the city.

"When Titus was seeking to make (peace) with us, for he had pity

on us and our Sanctuary, and our sons and daughters and infants, as well as on the city of our God, you refused to make peace between us and them and provoked the war. Also, Titus had ordered his people and made them swear not to set fire to the Temple of the Lord when they fought with John. And Titus desisted from fighting on the day of the Festival of the Lord, for he said to us: 'Go, observe your festivals in peace!' But you profaned the Festival of the Lord, and extinguished the Eternal Light with the blood of the innocent. And all this is reckoned to me, as if I had done it, just because it was I who brought you to this city!

"Now it is vengeance from God, to bring dishonor on my hoary head by your hand. I shall go down in agony to Sheol, for all the evil which has come to pass, by my hands. With great folly did I summon you to this city. For through you was innocent blood spilt in large amount, for you were without pity.

"So now Simeon, lest you kill me before I see the burning of the Temple of the Lord, I shall condemn you for killing my sons before my very eyes. Would that I should not have seen the bloodshed of my sons! I wish because of this that you shall abhor John, who used to honor elders; who respected the aged. But now, you notice he kills the elders as well as the youth. John and the elders of the city used to play their musical instruments, the drums and harps. But now, while you kill elders and youths, you play the trumpet and sound its blasts."

Afterward Amitai spoke to a servant of Simeon's who was holding the sword in his hand, with which to kill Amitai. And Amitai said to him: "Hurry, and fulfill your master's decree -- and take the ax to my sons before the eyes of their father, so that I shall hear the cruel

sound of your hacking. But I shall bear whatever I see against my will for you are the executioner against your will. Execute! But would that Simeon the murderer have pity on me to let me kiss my sons and embrace them while I am still alive. And now, may your mercy be great, if you kill me after my sons do not separate my corpse from their bodies so that my body can cover their bodies and save them from birds of the heavens. Perhaps they shall eat my carcass, and my mouth and tongue will fall on the wounds of my sons, and I shall embrace them with strength. If not, and he separates me from them, this shall be brutality. But even if Simeon the murdered separates our bodies, he shall not be able to separate our souls!

"And, now, great has been our crying, but to what avail? Go now, my sons, before the Light of my eyes, and I will come after you, according to my strength, and my age, and my humility. Since I have no power, and the Almighty has not given me strength, I am not able to stand this brutality which he has not spared me despite my old age. Nor has he had compassion because of your youthfulness. O, now I know the vigour of your youth! Wait, for me, a moment, and let me turn to you, so that I can content myself at seeing your faces, for I shall not see you again until Eternity. Go, please, and find for us a dwelling forever, even though with all my being I had wanted to precede you to prepare this dwelling. But I have not been abandoned!

"Then, now, when you go on this route and you will come to the dwelling of the people of this place, they shall give you a good dwelling place, for they will see that you are innocent, for I will not have come with you, before them, to the dwelling. They shall not give me a good dwelling place, for they loathe me because of the evil of my

deeds, when I brought Simeon the murderer to the holy city of the Lord. Thus, now, my sons, go please, and don't tarry, for this is not new in the world, for this has been done before, in the days of Antiochus the Evil, to the sons of the Hasmoneans. The woman who went and prepared a place for themselves and their mother. Behold, that in front of her, a man went and embraced his brother. And they all died for the Lord, and for His Covenant. And their mother saw and rejoiced in front of them. Then, afterward, she went after her sons, to the Great Light, with great joy. They were killed with brutality by the king of Macedonia; and we with brutality by Simeon the murderer.

"Would that we should be with them in one lodging place. And if not, we should be able to go to them, to their dwelling, that we may be their neighbors. For they died in their righteousness, and we shall all die in our innocence. Be comforted, be comforted, my dear sons, and the delights of my eyes, hurry please, and let us go from the congregation of these evil brigands. And while you are on the way, and meet Jonathan son of Saul, and he asks you, this Jonathan who was killed before his father, "Shall I and Saul my father meet?" And he asks me, on account of the people of the Lord, you shall say to Jonathan: I shall speak to Saul his father, and say to him: "Since this is the people whom you knew, for the waters of the sea were split before them in the days of Moses, son of Amram, their shepherd, and the sun stood still at Gibeon in the time of Joshua son of Nun; and also the waters of the Jordan reversed after the people were walking in the depths of the sea; and heavenly food dropped from above and gave them sustenance. And the clouds of heaven covered them instead of their trusty shepherds, go down in the storm of the brigands, and the leaders of the murderers --

Simeon the one who is chief of the brigands, and his people, a group of Edomites, who have enslaved us. And John, the one who is leader of the brigands, a group of Israelite brigands.

"And thus they say to the righteous, who are before them, and who chose death over life for the people of the Lord and His Sanctuary, rather than the disgrace of the pollution of the Gentiles speaking in these terms: 'Let us recall the righteous who died in the days of Mattathias the High Priest, who did not fight on the Sabbath. For Simeon and John the brigands not only made war on the Sabbath, but they also murdered the priests on the Sabbath, within His Temple, on the altar of His Sanctuary!'

"When one heard of these deeds, he would recoil with a loud groan, because Simeon ruled the people of the Lord. And because of him was Jerusalem the Holy City destroyed and the Temple burned. One felt like delivering himself and his household unto death, rather than delivering the Sanctuary of the Lord unto destruction.

"Was it not better that he made himself feel that because of his righteousness and on account of the Temple of the Lord and the Holy City, he went into captivity and exile, he and his household so that the Chaldeans would not attack Jerusalem.

"Zedekiah was overcome by his folly and rebelled against his oath and defied the wrath of the Lord and did not capitulate before Him until the Temple of the Lord was demolished. Then the people of the Lord went into captivity and his sons were slaughtered before his eyes. And the Chaldeans blinded him, and he himself went into exile. So Zedekiah's troubles increased more than Johoiachin's⁶⁶ or mine, Amitai the priest, for Zedekiah lived for many years after his sons. But I am

going together with my sons. Therefore, He has had compassion for my heart. But the Chaldean king pitied Zedekiah and sustained and honored him after slaughtering his sons and putting out his eyes.

Would it not have been better for him to die together with his sons, than to live after them. But unfortunately for him, he pitied him and did not kill him. Then his soul was silent out of the pain of its agonized grief.

Amitai replied to the executioner: "Hurry, kill me, while my sons are still pleasing to my sight, before they die. Perhaps we will die together! For it is good to die in sight of the city of the Lord and His Sanctuary, because it is like a grave and its slaughtered multitude are within it."

And Amitai cried out to the Lord, and said: "Please, O Lord, the Great, Mighty and Awesome God, do not kill Simeon the murderous brigand within the pen of your flock; rather by himself and separate should You kill him. Let him be conquered by the hand of his enemies, and those who seek his life. He and his wife and his sons and daughters and all his family and loved ones. And do not let his lot be with the people of the Lord, nor his portion with the righteous of the Lord, and Your people in the Temple of Your Sanctuary.

"May he see his wife and household in the hands of their captors and afterward may he die a bizarre death and let his eyes witness the exile of his household -- and may his sons and kin go into exile. May Simeon the brigand know that my portion is better than his for I die with my sons and I will not witness the destruction of the Temple. But he will die like a churl, languishing alone."

After these comments, Amitai said to the executioner, "Hurry please

and kill me, while the blood of my sons is still on the axe which you used, and before the Gentile is killed with it. Please, mix my blood with the blood of my sons, and I shall have healing and pleasure. And do it before the Romans for they seek the vengeance of my blood and my sons blood. So let them be my witnesses, even now, that I was their enemy, and not their friend. Would that I had been from the beginning, Simeon's foe, as I was an enemy of the Romans. Would that I had fought Simeon as I fought the Roman army. I could have prevented Simeon the murderous brigand's brutality against the people of the Lord."

After speaking these words, he pleaded to the Almighty, Praised is His name: "Now, God of Israel, the Great Mighty, Awesome and exalted God, who dwells on high, open your eyes, and see, and judge between me and Simeon the brigand, who has increased his evil against your people, by killing the pious of the people of your inheritance, who delighted in fearing your name. And he shed their blood in Your Holy Temple. Judge quickly and do not delay!"

When he had finished saying all these things, Simeon the brigand gave the order and they fell upon the three sons of Amitai the priest. So he and his sons died. Both Amitai's corpse and his three sons corpses were cast onto the wall.

Then Simeon ordered and they killed Hananaiah the priest, of the honored and fine priestly family and they cast his corpse on the corpse of Amitai and his sons, the priests. At that time they also killed Aristeas the writer, a nobleman. At the very spot where Amitai had stood, Simeon had violently smitten him.

While Simeon was killing these saints, a tenth of the important Jerusalemites passed by and saw that he was murdering these saints. They

became alarmed and confused and were seized by trembling and contractions like a woman giving birth. And one said to the other, "How long will God watch the evil of Simeon the murderous brigand which he commits against the people of the Lord in this place and remain silent? Let Him requite the blood of the saints and the pious, and of His people."

These comments were overheard and told to Simeon the brigand. Then he ordered his men to seize them and they killed them also on that day.

When Eleazar son of Ananus the priest saw that the evil of the leaders of brigands was great within the city, and the priests and pious of the city were perishing and there was no hope, he seized the fortress of Massada and went there to guard it. And when Judah, captain of the thousand guards of the tower, saw that Simeon the brigand was doing, he went up on the wall and shouted to the Romans to come to him. Perhaps they could save these men. But the Romans did not trust Judah's words, even though he shouted out of the innocence of his heart to them. So the Romans did not come to the aid of Judah and his men.

Then Simeon the brigand ordered the killing of Judah and his men. And he cast their corpses with the corpses of their brothers, the pious ones, outside the wall opposite the Romans.

Then Simeon said to the Roman officers: "Here are the Jews who sought to go out to you. Take their corpses and let them be witnesses!"

Meanwhile Gorion the priest, father of Josephus was imprisoned in the house of Simeon the brigand, held in chains and irons, and no one could visit him, to enter or leave.

And it was at that time that Josephus was passing by and looked at the tower which was opposite his father. Perhaps he could see his

father's face. But a stone came from above and struck him and he fell to the ground. Then the brigands ran to go down to him to capture him. When the Romans saw that Josephus had fallen Titus immediately ordered his men to go to him to rescue him from their hands, before the brigands could reach him. The Romans did as Titus ordered, and surrounded him with their shields around and above him, because of the arrows and stones which the brigands were shooting and hurling at him from the wall. And the Romans rescued him and he did not die.

But the brigands in their desire to capture Josephus sounded a great blast and Josephus' mother heard the sound of the blast. And she was told that because of her son Josephus, the brigands sounded the trumpet, when they went out to capture him. Thereupon the mother of Josephus ben Gorion ran and went up on the wall and put her hand to her head and tore her hair and raised her voice in sobbing and lamenting, and bitterness, and said: "Unto this has come my hope! And was this my hope which I hoped for? To live after the death of Josephus my son, the light of my eyes? And have I deserved to bury my hope? For he should have buried me. Is not God able to bury him? Would that He answer my plea and let me die, for I do not want to live after the day of my son Josephus' death. And now would that he grant me my death with him, that I would cover him with my garments which are on my flesh, for one garment can cover two people."

And so, Josephus' mother went up on the wall until she came to the tower, spread out her hands to heaven, and uttered a shriek, for her soul was very embittered.

But the brigands laughed at the sound of her shriek, while the entire Roman army wept at the sound of her shriek. Then he said to the

brigands: "Why do you not kill me also, for I bore Josephus, my son, whom you have killed? Did I not nurse him from my two breasts and made him grow? And now, why do you let me live?" And she continued crying until the entire Roman army was crying in front of her. Whereupon many of the Jews in the city cried at the sound of her voice.

When Josephus heard his mother's voice from the wall, he moved closer to the wall, the Roman soldiers with him, covering him with their shields to protect him. Then Josephus responded to his mother: "Do not be afraid, my mother, for I have been saved from the brigands. Yet would that I die, even on this day, before I should see the burning of the Temple of the Lord and the destruction of His people. For the souls which are within us are considered as prisoners who are in jail. But when it leaves the body it goes out to freedom; for during life it is locked in."

On that day the people went out with their wives and sons and daughters, from Jerusalem, for they were tired of the prison of the brigands. Therefore they went out to the Roman army.

Titus ordered that they be given food and drink. But many of them could not even open their mouths to eat, for they were weakened by a long period of starvation. Just as they were to receive food, they died. When the children saw the food they fell upon it and tore it with their teeth. But they expired and died.

When Titus saw that they died when they ate the bread, because they had not eaten for a long time, he said to Josephus: "What have I done to your people, for they died while eating the bread?" Josephus replied to him: "I have seen a man fast for three or five days and when the time for eating arrived, they first fed him milk or fine cereal, in the hope

that his bowels would be strengthened, and then they ate bread.

Thereupon Titus ordered his servants and they did as Josephus had suggested. Therefore many Jews lived, but many died of dysentery.

While the Jews were leaving -- those who were going out of Jerusalem to Titus -- there were those who swallowed gold and silver and pearls and precious stones to conceal them from the brigands. When they came out to the Roman camp, and one went out alone to relieve himself, he was followed by another who seized his throat in order to find the gold and the pearls and all which he had swallowed. And while the Jews were behaving so, some of the Syrians and Arabs saw them, and they told each other. So some of the Syrians and Arabs ambushed and seized the Jews secretly and ripped open their bellies and found in them gold and precious stones. And the Syrians and Arabs became excited, and did this evil to the Jews and there were two thousand Jews counted who were ripped open.

When Titus heard about what the Syrians and Arabs had done to the Jews, he was furious. Then he assembled his officers and noticed a covering of gold on their weapons and charged them: "Remove this from your weapons, for this gold motivated the Syrians and Arabs to commit such an abominable act against the poor Jews who came seeking refuge in the shadow of our wings."

And when the officers of his army heard him, they did exactly as Titus had ordered. They expelled the Syrians and the Arabs from the Roman camp and such evil deeds against the Jews were no longer committed.

But if a Syrian found a Jew outside the camp, at some distance from it, and the Jew was alone, and no witnesses, he would kill him and slit him open in order to find the gold.

At that time inspectors from Jerusalem made a count of the dead which were taken out of the city from each gate, and of those cast into the streets of the city, and into the trenches and into the wadi Kidron. They added the numbers to those who fell by the sword and those who were taken from the survivors of the precincts. Alone, from the Gate of Menachem, one hundred thousand and fifteen thousand of all these were noblemen, who were buried. The rest of the people were strewn on the surface of the earth.

The leaders of the Jews who went out to Titus counted the number of the dead who were taken out of Jerusalem from all the gates of Jerusalem to be buried during the days of the famine and the war. Six hundred thousand alone of those who died at home, remained there, for there were no graves available, as well as those who died in the streets. For there were no collectors and no graves, except for those in the Temple of the Lord and in His Sanctuary and on the walls of Jerusalem.

At that time there was a severe famine in Jerusalem. And even the officers of the brigands began to suffer from the famine so that they started eating the dung of their horses and the leather from their chariots and their weapons. Then the brigand officers sought the branches of flourishing trees, or greens or grass to eat. But the Romans had cut down every tree surrounding Jerusalem for a distance of thirty miles; and there was not one remaining in all the gardens or anywhere, for the Romans had cut them all down. There had been surrounding Jerusalem innumerable fruit trees and the Romans cut them all down.

Thus the entire surrounding land became like the land of Tyre; for it was devastated like a land in which no man passed, nor any human dwelt therein.

Whereas, previously, those who came from afar; saw the forest of Jerusalem, and the gardens and graves, now if they looked in one direction there was not a single tree; and if in another, there was no grass for it had all been destroyed. And they cried bitterly lamenting and wailing.

When the Romans neared the wall to fight, the brigand officers came out against them for battle. But the Jews were ravenously hungry, and they fell before the Roman army in very large numbers. The brigands were no longer able to burn the ram for they could not muster sufficient strength to stand, because of their hunger. But had they had strength at that time to burn the ram as they used to do previously when the Romans had gone against Jerusalem in the past, then the brigands would have said: "Let the Romans exhaust themselves beseiging Jerusalem!"

But because of this, the Romans were encouraged not to flee before the brigands as previously and they encouraged their rank and file, and one saying to another, "Be strong and be courageous in battle, for it is shameful and disgraceful to flee before these hungry Jews, for they are dead men."

And the brigands retreated to the city. Then the Roman forces came and battered the wall with the ram of iron and the wall fell to the ground. Whereupon the Romans sounded the battle-call on the trumpet for they said, "We have conquered Jerusalem," but the Jews also sounded the horn in the city, for the Jews had built another, new wall, when the Romans had destroyed the wall. They built it at the place of John the brigand's headquarters, opposite the broken wall.

When the Romans heard the sound of the trumpet of the Jews, and saw that the Jews had built another new wall upon which they were

standing, the Romans became very bewildered and their joy turned to anger and sorrow. Then they no longer felt like fighting and they despaired of capturing the city of Jerusalem.

But Titus said to them: "See the wall of the Jews which they built is still fresh, and not even dry, for it was built speedily. So bring the iron ram and batter it for this wall will surely fall quickly and we will capture the city.

Then the Romans went⁶⁷ and mounted the wall which they had broken while the brigands stood on the new wall⁶⁸ opposite them.

Then they encountered each other and fought there between the two walls. And the Jews prevailed and drove the Romans from the broken wall.

But when Titus saw that the battle was going against the Roman forces he called his officers together and said: "Did you not know that every task, indeed, every battle, and everything is better at its conclusion than at its beginning. So too, at the conclusion of the battle, if your hands are weak, your work is in vain.

"Learn from the analogy of a ship which travels by sea and traverses every direction until it comes to a harbor. And when it comes to the harbor, the sailors are tired and weak.

"But if they had rested, would not the ship have been battered by rocks or stones and broken, and all aboard would have perished? What hope would the sailors have had if they had been weak?

"But if they were equal to the task, they would arrive at port and rest at their desired destination, and they would have repose and peace.

"And thus also, the builders who have not yet received their wages,

and are not able to become weak and rest, for they will lose their wages, and their work would have been in vain.

"Now I speak to you of all who work the soil, for if they plough their land and sow it and watch the seed in the field until it is full of corn, and the time of harvest arrives, and they are weark, and they do not harvest, they have wasted their efforts and their food.

"Thus, you who have fought against this city for so long; and many of you have fallen, officers and troops. But you have strengthened and encouraged yourselves until now. But now! Behold the wall is broken, and thrown to the ground; the people are depleted by war and starvation and by plague. Yet there remains this new wall. Of what avail to you is all which you have done if you now want to abandon the wall? It was proper for you to abandon it at first before they diminished your numbers and finished off your troops and they died. But now, if you do similarly, and desert the battle, what shall remain to you of the joy of life. Would it not be better for you to die? Did you not come to this city in the time of Caesar Nero to fight in his behalf without shaming him. But now, during the reign of Vespasian my father, who is a greater soldier than Nero Caesar, your strength has waned. It is a disgrace for you, and a shameful day today.

"Have you not learned courage from these Jews? When the sword and hunger and plague are destroying them and they perish without hope, yet they fight like wild beasts!

"Do you not see that every day one or two of them come and shed their lifes against the Roman army -- they kill many of our men and then they themselves die.

"But they do not do as you contemplate doing in order to save them-

selves -- but rather to die to earn for themselves a reputation of heroism."

Then Titus expatiated upon these matters for them. And it was while he was speaking with them that one of his warriors Sabinus⁶⁹ young and brave said to him: "Who among you will volunteer with me to go against this people and do the will of the king's son?" Then he took his shield in his left hand and held his bare sword in his right hand. Eleven Roman soldiers accompanied him and Titus was astounded at the heroism of Sabinus, and because of this he longed to do similarly.

"But the Jews stood at the breach of the place from which the Romans had expelled them. And when the Jews saw Sabinus and his comrades coming at them, they began to shoot arrows and to throw stones at them.

But despite all this, Sabinus did not become frightened or soft-hearted. He tenaciously held on and overtook the Jews at the breach in the wall. When he came close enough one of the Jews struck him with a sword and he fell on his face -- when they heard the sound of him falling they were encouraged. But he got up on his knees when the Jews came to him and Sabinus continued fighting, and then died.⁷⁰ His fighting was dearer to him than his life, for he chose rather to give up his life than his fighting. And there died with him there, three of the soldiers who were with him. But the eight others returned to Titus' camp for they had fallen there like dead men and the Romans ran to them and rescued them. But the next day they died.⁷¹ Then the Roman soldiers became envious of what Sabinus the Roman had done.

But that night twenty⁷² of Titus' personal troops assembled to earn a reputation for themselves. They said: "Let us go to the breach of the city." -- and they told Titus' standard-bearer about it, and he joined

them. And a number of Roman soldiers went with them and they went up on the breach of the city that night.

But the Jews were unaware of all this because they were lying faint and enfeebled by hunger. And when the Romans came and ascended the wall and they sounded their battle signals, the Jews became bewildered for suddenly the Romans had come upon them.

When Titus heard the sound of the battle call, he selected some of his personal troops and went to the wall where the Romans were assembled surrounding it. They went up on the wall and came into the wall where there was an opening into the city. For there was the road under it, which they used to exit and enter the city.

The Jews moved into battle formation to fight the Romans within the court which was the Temple of the Lord. It was there that Titus' men descended upon the Jews, with drawn swords, for they did not bring other weapons with them, but only swords. The Jews also used their swords and they engaged in battle by sword. There had not been such a battle there previously, in Jerusalem, where men were practically intertwined in battle, all of them engaged in battle. Not one of the Jews or Romans were on horseback. They were fighting solely by sword and some fled or turned about, for everyone was engaging another in battle. There fell the wounded, stabbed many times, and the agonized screaming was heard even from a distance. For the smiters were yelling and the smitten were groaning while the sound of the swords muffled them all. Sword engaged sword and the sound of the screening of the men who were wounded by the sword was heard in the distance and the Romans encouraged themselves by saying: "Behold, the Jews are wailing."

The Jews who were assembled encouraged themselves for they said:

"We need not flee outside for we shall die for the Lord, our God and for His Temple and Sanctuary. And we shall be considered as a burnt offering on this day."

The courtyard was filled with the blood of the morning; but by nine a. m. (lit. "a quarter of the day") the blood of the Romans and Jews had run with the blood on the floor of the courtyard like a pool of water. The wounded was strewn about without number, and most of the wounded were Romans.

Julian, one of Titus greatest soldiers, saw what was occurring. He saw that the Jews were overwhelming the Romans, and that the Romans were retiring from the battle. Julian was filled with anger and wrath at seeing the Romans flee from the courtyard before the Jews, and there remained only a few. So he ran to engage the Jewish soldiers chasing the Romans out of the courtyard. So he ran to meet them at the edge of Antonia. Then he stood against the Jews and did not permit them to pursue the Romans. So they returned to the courtyard. Whereupon Julian came into the courtyard to pursue the Jews. Then one of the Jews struck Julian on his shield which was in his hand. And when he saw that the Jew struck him he was impelled to leap from the ground in military fashion, but his foot slipped on the stones of the courtyard floor, and he fell to the ground, for he was wearing shoes which caused him to slip. This is not the way of a soldier. For if he wants to kill his enemy, he needs to guard his enemy and it is proper for the smiter to watch lest he be smitten and be killed. It is proper to be on guard lest he die. So he should not say to himself that his courage will protect him and save him. He should not go to battle like a man who goes to the sporting event. So when Julian fell, he got up on his knees and fought a little,

but they struck him and he died.⁷³

But Titus had hoped that Julian would display his prowess and would not fall dead there. And when Titus heard that Julian had fallen and died, he wanted to go out to the courtyard to fight but his soldiers would not permit him. For they feared lest he also fall. For the Jews were stronger than the Gentile horde that day when they came to the courtyard and wounded a great many Romans, without number. Then the Jews undressed the wounded Romans and took their weapons and armor from them. And these are the names of the men of the Jewish army who fought and displayed valor on that day: of John's party -- Alexas and Gyptheus; of Simeon's party -- Malachias and James, the Edomite chieftain; and from the third party (the Zealots) -- Simeon and Judas and the rest of their brothers.⁷⁴ These are the ones who overwhelmed the Romans, and smote them mightily on that day, in the courtyard. They chased them and killed them in Antonia. They restrained them from leaving there, or others from entering there.

But Titus knew that Antonia was a snare for the Romans, so he ordered its destruction, which they did.

On the next day the Jews were celebrating their festival of the Festival of Shavuot. So Titus drew near to the Temple, and Josephus ben Gorion with him, and called aloud to John and Simeon, leaders of the brigands. Then Josephus explained Titus' words to them. Titus said to John the brigand: "What sin has this Temple committed against you, that you bring upon it this great calamity, to destroy it with might and strength. So go out, with your bands and troops to the field and we shall fight there.

"But now, is not this day your festival day? Why are you fighting

in a place of sacrifice and offering? For you are profaning the Lord your God and His Sanctuary. But we do not fight in the Temple, for it is the House of the Great God. Our war is with you and not with the Temple.

"But perhaps you will say that we are not able to fight. Don't be so audacious! Come out to the field and we shall engage in our battles! But why at a time designated as a time of sacrificing and worshipping your God."

Thereupon, when Josephus commended Titus' comments to the Jews, all the people were silent and did not answer him, for John and the brigand leaders had ordered them not to respond, even a word.

Then John, chief of the brigands answered him and said: "There is nothing better for us to sacrifice in the Temple than our own flesh and blood, inasmuch as we die for our God. And when we fight we are considered as favorably to Him as the daily sacrifices for we die free men in the Sanctuary."

Then Titus answered John: "It is quite true that this city is the Holy City, and the Temple is the Holy Temple.⁷⁵ But you are sinners, for you have defiled the Temple of your God and His Sanctuary and His City when you spilled innocent blood in them. For you killed His priests in the Temple of your God. And what right have you to be considered by Him as offerings and sacrifices? You have become abominable in His sight, and every sacrifice in which there is an imperfection is not acceptable to him. And you are full of every imperfection and sin and offence. So how will you be acceptable to Him as a sacrifice,⁷⁶ even if you say: 'We are innocent!' Would it appear good to you if Syria came and seized your table from you? Would it not be bad in your sight? But you, why

have you withheld the sacrifice of fire from your God, in His Temple, and filled His house with the bodies of the wounded to be trampled, so that He see? For He will not extinguish the multitude of your wounded who died because of you, and because of Simeon, your associate because He himself will enumerate since you have said that God truly is your Helper, then it is not proper for soldiers like you to fight against His people and your land. And I have not come to destroy your land or to ravage your land or to overthrow your cities or to destroy your. I have come only to greet you peacefully and to be kind to you if you will only heed us and bend your shoulders under our yoke, as you did previously. For who among all the nations is as kind and good as we?

"Did not Hannibal, king of Carthage and his whole army, come and trample our land and our fortresses and destroy our troops by the sword, and they all vexed us for a long time.

"But afterward, we overcame him, and spared him, and were good to him. And so we did to Antiochus the Macedonian, and the rest of the nations who conquered us.

"Do you not keep the observance of the Festival of Jechoniah,^{77 78} your king, who offered his life for the Temple and Sanctuary of your God without bringing about devastation and without going into exile or dying⁷⁹ by the sword. But he and his household were imprisoned by the Chaldean king in order to save them from the hands of the Gentiles.

"So, now, I shall make this treaty with you before the God of this Temple, and He shall be the witness between me and you. Then I will give you Josephus and some of the important princes, and they shall be in your power for a pledge, which you shall repay to us by bending your shoulders and humbling yourselves to serve us like all the peoples. Thus you shall

live and not die, and the service of the Sanctuary of your God shall not cease."

"Thereupon, Joseph began sobbing hysterically in the sight of the brigand officers, because of Titus' words, with which he sought to evoke their compassion. But when Josephus saw that Titus could not incline them to peace, he said to the brigand officers: "I am not astonished that this city is being devastated, for I have known that the end is coming. But I am amazed at you, for you do not understand the prophecy of the vision of Daniel, for all his teachings are coming true.⁸⁰ Has not the daily offering ceased, and the appointed priest is cut off. All the teachings of Daniel stand right before your very eyes, but yet you do not believe!"⁸¹

And when Josephus had finished speaking, the brigands hardened their hearts and paid no attention to his words. But on that day, many of the high priests and nobles went out to the Roman camp.

Meanwhile, Titus ordered a message sent to them, that they should come, and provisions would be given to them. And he ordered that they be cared for with their needs, without rancor on the part of the Romans. So, many sought to defect the Romans, from Jerusalem.

But the brigands did not permit them to leave. For who knows, perhaps the defector⁸² would divulge the number of people remaining in the city. Therefore the brigands imprisoned those who came out of the Temple without permitting a single man to go out to Titus.

It was made known to Titus that many of the Jews sought to escape to him, but the brigands restrained them.

Thereupon Titus and Josephus b. Gorin moved closer, and when the people saw Josephus they began sobbing wildly and they said: "We know

our sins and our treachery. But beseech the king's son on our behalf, for we desire to go out, to escape to him. But we cannot, for the brigands restrain us."

But when the brigands heard what they were saying to Titus, they ran to them with swords to slay them. So too did the Romans run to save them from their hands. And the battle raged in the Temple between the Romans and the Jews. ⁸³The Romans went to the Sanctuary to seek refuge there, and the Jews pursued them and killed them in the Sanctuary.

Then Titus called to John the brigand from outside the Temple, in a loud voice, for John was inside the Temple, and said to him: "Is it not written in the Torah of your God: 'And the Common man who draws near shall be put to death,'⁸⁴ because of this Sanctuary. For no one approaches it except the High Priest, and he only once a year, for it is the Holy of Holies. But one flees to it now, not for life, but for the shedding of the blood of the uncircumcised, who are your abominations, as well as the blood of your Jewish brothers.

"Let your God be my witness that I do not want to destroy this Temple. Rather it is your own hands and evil deeds which have destroyed it. O would that you would have seen fit to make peace with us and we would have honored this Temple. But we came against you only because you hardened your hearts, as iron, to commit your evils."

However, Titus saw that they did not pay attention to his words, nor did they heed him. Therefore, he went and selected thirty thousand elite troops from his soldiers^{85 86} for the battle. Then he ordered them to go to the courtyard of the Sanctuary. And he himself wanted to go, but his officers restrained him. Then they said to him: "Stand up high in your place, and when the soldiers see you, they shall be

encouraged and fight. But do not go to the courtyard of the Sanctuary, lest you be swept away with the others, and we shall all perish!"⁸⁷

Titus appointed Cerealis over the thirty thousand, whom he sent to the courtyard, to go with his troops against the Jews.

Then the Romans came upon them during the night, while they were lying down exhausted. But the Jews had set guards, and they knew that the Romans were coming, and they stood to meet them. But they did not fight all night, inasmuch as it was too dark to distinguish friend from foe.⁸⁸

In the morning, the Jews divided themselves into groups, and went against the gates of the court, waging a great battle which lasted seven days. And when the Romans prevailed and overwhelmed the Jews in the court, they chased the Jews as far as Antonia. Thus were the seven days spent.

Then they surrounded the Jews, for Titus had ordered the destruction of the wall of Antonia in order to disperse them from their camps. And it was done.

The famine was great in Jerusalem, for there was no food. So the Jews began to go out to steal from the Roman camp at night; horses and donkeys or any animal to eat, anything which would provide food for them. So the Romans posted guards at the camp, so that no one could any longer steal.

At that time Jews, wearing battle-gear, came out and attacked the eastern gate and destroyed the wall which Titus had built and concealed themselves in it. For Titus had built a wall in the garden of the graves opposite the gate in order that the Jews not come out suddenly and smite the Roman camp which they did day after day.

Then Those troops came out of the place which they had thrown down

and ascended the Mount of Olives⁸⁹ and found there very many animals, horses, and mules and donkeys in large numbers. They killed the guards⁹⁰ by the sword and led away all that they could.

When the Romans saw this, they sounded the alarm, and they got up and ran after them to fight. But those troops divided into two groups, one leading the animals and the other blocking the road against the Romans. And they fought a great battle there -- the Jews motivated by terrible hunger which strengthened them in their fighting so that they saved their food, and they fled to the city with the flock and herd which they took from the Romans. Then the Romans pursued them, but could not capture them. They only captured one of their young men alive and brought him to Titus. The name of the man who had captured the young man was Pedanius.⁹¹ The Roman troops boasted and praised Pedanius, for he was great in Titus' opinion.

There was among the troops, a despised man, short of stature, whose name was Jonathan.⁹² He turned around and faced the rear and saw Pedanius, who had captured the youth, and was filled with anger. So he stood at John the High Priest's grave, outside the city, opposite the Roman camp and called to Titus and his camp and said: "Who among you is a brave warrior? Let him come to me, so that instead of talk let there be action! So that it be known this day who has the courage, the Romans or the Jews."

This was abominable in the sight of the Romans, and he was despised by them. But they were also afraid of approaching him for they said: "If we kill him, we shall not be considered as heroes, for he is despised. And if he kills us, it would be a disgrace for us." But Jonathan responded and said to them: "How we regard Roman heroism in every place which you rule through our wars! Have we not defeated them and smitten you like

our handmaidans and made them flee from us? But, now, how are you considered, except by these Gentiles who gather every day around and assist you? For inasmuch as you have been food for us, we would have devoured you by the sword had we not finished ourselves, by killing each other and decimating ourselves so that only a few remain. And now, would that one of your soldiers who is brave, come to me, for I am despised by all the Jews, so that it become known that we have might and bravery."

Then one of Titus' soldiers volunteered to go out to him. His name was Pudens⁹³ and resembled Pedanius who captured the youth alive and brought him to Titus. As Pudens was approaching Jonathan, Jonathan attacked him and killed him.⁹⁴ In this way, Pudens made Jonathan a hero through his death. And the Gentiles was disgraced and ashamed.

But Jonathan,⁹⁵ when he killed Pudens did not give honor to God, for he trusted in his own courage and ability. So he began to dance and to taunt the Romans.

Then he said: "Let yet another come to me and I shall slay him." And while he was dancing and angering the Romans, a Roman brigand shot him with an arrow and killed him. This shows man that the death of his enemy should not occasion his joy, for who knows what will be his own end.⁹⁶

Afterward, when the Jews saw that the wall of the Temple had been breached, as well as three of the city's walls, they knew that there was no hope. So they counselled together on what to do.

There was at the side of the Temple a palace which King Solomon had built. It was very large and the kings of the Second Commonwealth heightened its walls with cedar trees, and it was covered by cedars. Therefore, since the palace was very large, the Jews went and smeared the palace with combustible materials -- pitch and sulphur and kerosene applying large amounts.

Then they attacked the Romans in order to get them into the Temple for battle. So they were pursued by the Romans to the edge of the palace. Then the Romans pursued them into the palace itself. But they left via one of the doors. While the Romans were pursuing them, they brought ladders which they stood against the wall of the palace. And many went up on the roof for they said, "The palace is being captured. And when the palace will be captured and filled with Romans throughout, then one of the Jews will volunteer and be concealed in the palace and will ignite the cedar trees which have been smeared by the Jews. And the flames will consume all of them. The fire will consume all the Romans found in the palace, and all the Jews will escape."

So the fire grew hotter and blazed to the sky. And no Romans escaped, for the fire prevented them, for it was so intense. And the Jews stood outside the palace, surrounding it, with weapons and not permitting any to escape. Thus they burned all the Romans who had come there until they all consummated. In this way did they burn a great army.⁹⁷

When Titus heard the shrieks of the burning men, he and his soldiers ran, but were not able to save them, for the fire was exceedingly great. Thereupon Titus began to sob uncontrollably. And when his men who were on the roof of the palace, saw their master Titus opposite them, they cried, but the fire separated the palace and Titus. So they fell before Titus, from the roof, and died. For they said, "Let us die before Titus." The roof was very high and they could not go down, and the flames ate the trees, and the Jews stood opposite the gates of the palace. Thus when they saw that if a man escaped the flames and fled through the gates, the Jews would meet him with the sword and smite him, and he would die. So they did to all the Romans who escaped the fire, until the end.

There was a Roman warrior in the fire whose name was Longus,⁹⁸ and he was a member of their king's family. The Jews called to him, "Flee to us, and you shall live and not die!" And he wanted to go out, but he was afraid that the Jews would not let him live, neither he nor any who escaped the them. So he drew his sword and thrust in into his belly and died.⁹⁹

There was a Roman soldier, in the fire, whose name was Artorius, who spotted his friend Lucius standing in the distance, opposite him, outside the palace. So Artorius called to him: "My brother, stand please, and let me fall to you, and you will catch me; when I fall, if I die, you shall inherit my estate. And if I live, and you die, your son shall inherit my estate." So Lucius ran and stood beneath the wall of the palace and Artorius fell on him from the roof. But when he fell on him, they both died.¹⁰⁰

Then Titus ordered that they record their oaths and their agreement which they had made prior to their deaths, and with blood on their swords, to be a reminder for the Romans for revenge. And so they did, with a very great vengeance, these Roman troops.

Meanwhile the fire continued and spread so that it burned the entire palace, as far as Hezekiah's king of Judah, palace, which was near the Temple. But the Romans fled from the Temple and went to their camp.

There was a tiny remnant of the people still in Jerusalem and the Romans encamped around Jerusalem, for they said: "We are not able to capture Jerusalem by sword, but only by starvation. So they laid seige and there was no food in Jerusalem.

There was in Jerusalem a woman of noble family whose name was Mary.

She was from beyond the Jordan. And when the war raged during Vespasian's time, she came up to Jerusalem with the others who were coming up. She came with her servants and maids, and with her great wealth.

And it was during the famine, when the brigands were searching for food, that they came to that woman's house and took all her food. So when the famine got worse, she wanted to die, but it was not yet her end.

And the woman began to glean from the ground whatever she found from chaff to straw, to eat; but there was nothing to be found. But she had a son, and when she saw that the famine was becoming worse, so that it reached the pit of her stomach, her compassion turned to brutality. When she heard the sound of her son crying for bread right in front of her, for there was none, she said to him, 'What can I do for you, my son? For wrath surrounds us, and in every corner there is hunger. Outside, fear. Also the brigands oppress, as well as our enemies, who wage war. And there is burning throughout the city. Everywhere there is debris and hunger and destruction and plague. And I am unable to feed you, my son. And if I die, how shall I leave you, for you are small? But if I could only tarry, my son, until you have grown, then you would sustain my old gray head and clothe me. And when I would die, you would bury me. If you should die before me, I would bury you with honor, inasmuch as you are my very own son. But now, my son, you are considered as dead, and therefore I have chosen for you a grave in my belly, lest the dogs should devour you. I myself shall be your grave. And you shall be food for me, and this shall serve as your honor of me. Feed me from your flesh and sustain my old head, before the famine devours you. And pay your mother what you owe her, for from her bowels did you emerge and thence shall you go. I will bring you to the room where you breathed

the breath of life. Delight my eyes, whom I have loved with all my being, and you shall be food for your mother. You shall also serve as a disgrace to the brigands who took our food. And now, my son, hear the voice of your mother and sustain my life and may your portion be in the Garden of Eden. May you be satiation for me and disgrace for the brigands for they shall say that your mother killed and ate you."

After speaking to her son in this manner, she took the child in her arms, looked away, and cut him up with a sword, and thus killed him. Inasmuch as she averted her eyes, she did not see what he did. Then she took his body and roasted it. But the smell reached the streets and the people smelled it, and said: "What is this, the aroma of something roasting?" The aroma reached the brigand chiefs, who then came angrily to the woman's house. They said to her, "Why have you eaten, and are living, while we are dying of starvation?" So she responded and said to them: "Please do not be angry about this, inasmuch as here is your portion which I have roasted for you." She prepared the table and brought it to them and said: "Eat, for this is the hand of the child, and here is his foot, and here is a piece of his flesh. And do not say that it is a child of another woman, for he is my very own son; I bore him and I have eaten him, and I have kept your portions." Then the woman raised her voice and sobbed, "My son, my son, how sweet you were¹⁰¹ to me, while you were alive. And even in your death you are sweet to me, sustaining me in famine and keeping me alive. For my old age is chaotic, but you have saved me from the anger of these murderers, who came upon me in anger. But now, they have become my friends, for they are sitting at my table." Then the woman said to them: "Eat, and satiate your appetites, and taste, please, and see how sweet my son is. Do not be moved by your

compassion any more than I, for it is a disgrace for warriors to be more soft-hearted, than a woman. And if you are afraid to eat of my son's sacrifice, I shall eat him. So let this be a day of disgrace for you, that I was braver than you. For I arranged a fitting table for brave men like you. This meal I prepared and arranged just for you, because you have decided for me, to set this table. Inasmuch as it was not fitting for my compassion to be stirred for my son more than for you, because you robbed my house and my beloved. Therefore, this is my meal in the famine!"¹⁰²

When this became know, the Jews mourned greatly and the brigand chiefs became subdued over this matter, for it was very serious to them.

Each man wanted to die, for everyone was confronted by the famine. Many of the people left Jerusalem with all their possessions to go to the Roman camp.

When Titus heard of this matter he raised his hands to heaven and said: "Eternal God, that which is hidden is revealed to you, so you know the inner recesses of my heart. I have not come to this city for war, but for peace. But they did not want it. And I endeavored greatly to entreat them, but they would not even listen to me. Thus I sought to reason with them. Perhaps they would yet live. And when they fought, man against his neighbor, they called me to save them. But I found them like wild animals, evil and cruel to their brothers. And in addition to all this, great was the evil of the woman who ate her son. Even I have heard of all the wonders which you did for them, as well as causing your presence to rest in their midsts, and have also chosen saints from them. You have closed up the heavens and parted the Reed Sea for them and the waters of the Jordan flowed backwards for their sakes. The sun stood

still for them when they fought with their enemies until they defeated them. In fiery chariots did you bring up their prophets to heaven. You mediated their problems and they sleep on their beds while you smite the army of Assyria. All this I know, that this people whom I fight against, it rests in you. But now, I see that they do not trust in your victory, but rather in their sword, and in their wars, do they trust. And they boast of the miracles and wonders which you have done for me, to down them, for they say that, 'No ruler can subdue us, for the sea was rendered for us and bread came down from heaven, and water came out of a flint stone for us, and bloody water for us, and stars fought to help us! And this you did for their fathers because of their righteousness. But these, because of their evil, you have smitten in their battles, in order to make their land desolate, and their cities devastated. And now, let us hurry to go out from the midst of their land lest we be swept away in their evils. For we have seen Sodom whose boundaries were overthrown. This matter has hardened their hearts like iron, for they say: 'Let us be like our fathers, in cruelty,' for Abraham their father had an only son, and he hurried to kill him with brutality. But I could not be as evil as he, for his compassion was not stirred for his son. I have also heard about one of their kings when he went out to battle. He vowed to his God to offer a sacrifice to God. But when he came from the battle he offered up his only daughter, so as not to pay his vow which he made to his God."¹⁰³

When he finished speaking, he ordered the rams brought to the wall. Then many brigands came out to him and made peace with him.¹⁰⁴

One of the gates of Jerusalem was closed, and the door was overlaid with silver.¹⁰⁵ When the Romans came and fired that gate, the wood of

the door was eaten up by the flames and the silver fell to the ground. And when the gates were opened, they saw the road going to the Holy of Holies. Titus' compassion prevailed, and he said to his men, "Spare the Temple, lest we participate in this evil."¹⁰⁶

Then the Roman commanders answered their master and said: "If this Temple will be burned, then you will be able to subdue this people. For in it do they die!" There stood there some of their troops to guard the Holy of Holies about which they were deciding.

When the Jews saw that the Romans moved from there and left some guards, they ran against them with swords and smote them by sword.¹⁰⁷ Then Titus was informed about all which the Jews had done he led all his troops and attacked them and smote many of them. And the survivors fled to Zion.¹⁰⁸

The next day, the Romans assembled and set fire to the Holy of Holies' outer court. They took cords and placed them on the golden gates of the Holy of Holies and kindled them. The gold heated while the doors were burning and fell to the ground. So the Holy of Holies was opened in the fifth month, on the ninth of the month, which is the day when the Chaldeans opened the Holy of Holies.¹⁰⁹

When the gate was opened and the Romans sounded a very loud blast, Titus came running with all his might, in order to quench the fire in the Holy of Holies. But he was not able to, for most of the people were shouting and shrieking, and they could not hear, for they were pouring water, as were most of those who had come. But the smoke increased greatly and when Titus saw that he was not able to expel the people, he drew his sword, as did his aide with him, and began smiting the Gentiles with the sword, in order to expel them from there. But he was not able to.

Nevertheless, many Gentiles, who had come to assist the Romans, died there, for Titus smote them in an effort to restrain them.¹¹⁰ But the mob continued coming and growing larger. However he shouted at them until he became hoarse and could no longer shout. But the priests fought until no longer able to raise a hand. When the priests saw that there was to be no victory, they threw their bodies into the flames of the Holy of Holies, as did many of the Jewish soldiers with them, and they burned. They said; "There is no life after the Temple of the Lord is burned." And Titus smote the people to restrain them, but no one listened to him, for there were just too many people and he was overwhelmed. He fell to the earth for lack of strength.¹¹¹

When he saw that he was unable to save it, he left and went to the Holy of Holies and saw the Temple and its magnificence, for it was truly the Temple of our God, and His dwelling place. And not for nothing did the Jews fight for it until the end. Even the Gentiles used to come from the ends of the earth with silver and costly items to worship the God of this Temple. Not for nothing did they used to come, for greater was the glory of this Temple than the Roman temples and of all the temples of the peoples which I have seen.

And the fire grew greater and consumed the Holy of Holies. When the brigands saw that the Holy of Holies was burning, they ran and set fire to all the buildings in the city which were filled with riches and goods of every kind, as well as the rest of the Temple building. For they said after burning the Holy of Holies, "What is the use of living, or saving the Temple or the building?" At that time one of the Jews stood and prophesied falsely and said to the brigands, "Be strong and stand with weapons,"¹¹² for now He will rebuild the Temple by Himself, and not by the hand of man.

Be courageous, and fight, for this day He will rebuild the Temple."¹¹³
 Then the brigands girded themselves to fight again with the Romans. And they smote many, but many of the brigands also fell. And the Romans smote the poor of the land like a flock for butchering. Afterwards, they regretted that they listened to the false prophets in the first place, and did not pay attention to the signs which were occurring in Jerusalem.¹¹⁴ For one year before Vespasian came to Jerusalem, there appeared at the Temple a singular great star which shone like drawn swords. And in those days, at the time of this sign which was during Passover, the Temple was lit up all night, and it seemed to be like the light of day. And so it was the entire seven days of Passover. And the sages of Israel knew that it was a bad sign. But the rest of the people said that it was a good sign, at that time.

Also at that time they brought a heifer for sacrifice when they brought her to the ground to slaughter her, she bore a lamb! Then they said that this was also a sign.¹¹⁵

They saw a sign in the eastern gate, which was large and very heavy. They were not able to open it until twenty men came and closed it. And the sound of the hinge of the gate was heard in the distance. But in those days they found it opened, of its own accord. And they could not close it until twenty men joined efforts and closed it.¹¹⁶

Nevertheless, the sages of Israel and the priests said that it was an evil omen, while the rest of the people maintained that it was a good one.

Then there was seen in the upper part of the Holy of Holies, during the entire evening, an image like the face of a man which was unequalled in beauty throughout the whole land. The image was very awesome.¹¹⁷

Moreover, in that time, there were seen chariots of fire and powerfully strong horses flying on the heavenly surface, coming close, flying over Jerusalem and the entire land of Judah. All of them, horses of fire and chariots of fire.¹¹⁸

It was on the Festival of Shavuot during that time, that the priests heard within the Temple a sound like the movement of men and a sound like the marching of many men, walking in the Temple. Then they heard a voice, loud and awesome, speaking: "Come, and let us go from this Temple."¹¹⁹

During the four years¹²⁰ of the war there was in Jerusalem a man from the plebeians, a farmer, whose name was Joshua b. Hananiah.¹²¹ And he began calling in a loud voice on the Festival of Sukkot,¹²² "A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem, a voice against the Temple, a voice against the bridegroom and the bride, a voice against the entire people,"¹²³ until all the people of the city hated him. So they said to him, "Why are you shouting these words?" And the procurator¹²⁴ ordered him to stop it, for he appeared to him to be crazy. But he continued running about screaming, "Woe to Jerusalem woe to the war!" As he began speaking, a small stone came at him and hit him on his head.¹²⁵

At that time an inscription was found written on an ancient stone. And they read it, and it said: "When the Temple's existence will come to an end, it shall become square, and then it shall be destroyed."¹²⁶ And when Antonia was captured and destroyed by the Roman army, which broke through a section of the Temple, the Jews hurried to rebuild the break in the Temple. And while they were rebuilding the Temple became square. But they did not remember the words of the inscription which was on the rock. However, the words of that inscription were true. For there was

also found an inscription on the wall of the Holy of Holies which said:

"When the building will become square, then a king shall rule over

Israel, a king who shall rule and reign throughout the land of Egypt."

Some of the people said that it is the king of Israel, but the priests

said that the king is the Romans.^{126, 127}

When all the Romans came to the Temple, the Jews fled to Mount Zion. Then the Romans set up their idols¹²⁸ and stood in the Temple of the Lord and Titus sacrificed¹²⁹ to their gods, and they offered libations to him.¹³⁰ And they reviled and scorned Israel greatly.

At that time a boy from the priesthood came down and humbly requested of a group of Romans who were at the Temple, "Please give me water so that I may drink." The Romans pitied the boy, for they liked him, and they ordered water given to him. And he took the container of water and drank, but he took the rest and went up to the priests and gave them water to drink. Thereupon some of the Romans chased him in view of his people, but did not want to catch him, for they were happy about what he had done, and so he escaped.¹³¹

While the Romans were offering libations to their gods, some of the priests who were captured at the Temple¹³² begged Titus for mercy, so that they should live and not die.¹³³ But he said to them, "Why do you now choose to live? Die with your brothers who have died for the God of this Temple." So they burned with their burning Temple.¹³⁴

Then Simeon and John sent a peace treaty to Titus and requested their lives spared, so that they might live. Titus responded to them: "It is too late to ask now. On what basis do you request life, or peace, or the sparing of the city, which you have burned? Or to spare the people whom you have killed? Throw down your weapons, and then ask for

mercy for your lives!"¹³⁵

They said to him, "Never, for we have sworn by the Lord our God not to take your yoke upon us. If you will, let us depart, and we shall live in the hills."¹³⁶ But Titus became very angry and reviled and scorned them, and said to them: "And why do you revoke your oath and not die with the rest of your brothers who have burned in the fire of this Temple?"

¹³⁷ So John ordered that they chop off his head, but the axman hesitated, and the chief was angry for it fell on his thigh¹³⁸ and he escaped and went to Titus. But Titus expelled him for seeking life and not fighting unto death.¹³⁹

Then the remaining priests came down to Titus. One of the priests who came down, the chief priest, gave him the officiating garments, and the table and the candlesticks, the spice boxes and the silver and gold utensils, and they did not die. But it was certainly more appropriate for them to die for committing such acts.¹⁴⁰

On that day, Simeon was thoroughly exhausted by starvation; and so he dressed in royal robes with a crown on his head and came to the Roman army.¹⁴¹ When they saw him, they were afraid of coming close to him. But he said to them, "Bring me to the commander of the troop." So they brought him. When the commander of the troop. saw him, he went to Titus and told him. Then Titus said to him, "Do not just stand there, staring at me! Lock him in irons! Then bring him throughout the camp and afterward stab him so that he die!" And so they did.¹⁴² Then Titus ordered his burial in his garments, together with all those who were with him.¹⁴³

But Arabs came at night and day, and took him out, and stripped his corpse. And the dogs ate him that night.¹⁴⁴ Then Titus said: "You have

truly been cursed, coming to this!" Then John came out and the same was done to him.¹⁴⁵

After these events, Josephus besought Titus to permit the placing of a marker at the site of the Holy of Holies and to go there with the priests and the rest of the people, to weep and to lament the Temple.

And Titus said: "If this is what you want, you may do it." So Josephus and the remaining priests and the people went; and they tore their garments and put ashes on their heads while going to the Holy of Holies. Then Josephus sang this poem of lamentation: "How does the greatest of kingdoms sit alone! How it has become an item for being stomped upon by the feet of the defiled, whose holy rams fought against you! Let heaven thunder against your enemies, and the stars in their course fight your battles. Let the earth swallow up those who transgress against you. And now, you have been a trampling place, like a place where grapes are spread, made into a place of graves for the dead. Stir yourselves, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and see your children. How the earth has covered their corpses! Stir yourselves, Moses and Aaron and see the burning of your Torah together with the priests and levites! Stir yourselves, please! For your words have come to pass -- "They have shed their blood like water round about Jerusalem."¹⁴⁶ Woe to us that we remain to see this horror. Would that we were without eyes so as not to see the destruction of the Sanctuary of the Lord and the burning of His Temple, "The crown is fallen from our heads; woe unto us! For we have sinned!"¹⁴⁷

Then the people and Josephus and the priests wept for shame. And even Titus cried with them, as well as the brigand leaders. Then Titus went from there and bound in chains the brigands who had taken life.

Whenever one came to a resting place on the road he was thrown to the wild animals, to the lions and the bears, to be eaten completely by them.¹⁴⁸

When Titus heard that Eleazar had assembled forty thousand Jews, Titus attacked them¹⁴⁹ with a heavy force.

When Eleazar heard that Titus was attacking, he went out into the street and called the people to attention to hear his words: "Come near to me, O seed of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, seed of a holy kingdom. It is proper for us to recall the courage of our fathers. Do you not know that this soul which is within us, is bound up by sinews¹⁵⁰ and veins, and limbs¹⁵¹ and with bones. Nevertheless, it lives inside. And many times it wants to leave because of its weariness, but it cannot, for the body is like the fortress of a king within the city. But the spirit is like the king's slave whom the king sends to watch the fortress which is in the city. All the time while he is there, since coming to the fortress, he finds a good dwelling, and the slave has a strong desire to stay there forever. So when he sends after him to take him out from there, he grieves. And he mourns when he leaves the dwelling, for he does not know whither he will send him. But if while he was in the fortress he was in continual fear, day and night, and was without fellowship, and neither ate nor drank, would he not say: "When will be the day when I may leave this fortress, whether for worse or for better?" But he could not go out without the order of the king. And when the king sent for him that he might leave, he went out and he (the king) recognized him. Then he was happy that he (the slave) came out, when he returned to his land, for he had guarded the fortress in accordance with the assignment. He found favor with the king. But if he had rebelled,

he would have been punished. But he pitied him for he was his slave. Therefore Solomon said, "Good is the day of death."¹⁵² Furthermore, he said that man is born to toil. The sages of India¹⁵³ concur in this. For the man who plays all types of music before Him but does not have the Torah of God, we believe that there is hope for them later. Although we are his servants, we are aware of His goodness. But if you say, who knows if we shall find favor with him, we need to learn from Isaiah¹⁵⁴ whom Pharaoh sent to the king of Judah. So he did not want to live. Therefore they knew that there is hope in the after-life.¹⁵⁵

"And Jacob said to Joseph, his son: "Be merciful, and bear me up from Egypt, etc."¹⁵⁶ And Joseph requested his brothers, for they saw this happen, and did they not bury his bones, for they were ashamed? Thus they knew what there is hope in the after-life. And so are our souls with us, like the slave-guard. For who has created this, and who is the creator? For if the spirit is discomfitted it wants to leave. What is the advantage? in living after the burning of the Temple of the Lord, and the destruction of the Temple of our life? For our sons and daughters will see the destruction of the Temple by our enemies, and we shall be scattered throughout the earth, and our hope will perish so why should we not be courageous and earn for ourselves an eternal reputation, and our enemies shall be disgraced forever?

"Come and let us deprive our enemies of booty by offering ourselves as a sacrifice to the Lord our God, and we shall sanctify our daughters with the blood of their maidenhood. And the blood of our sons,¹⁵⁷ shall be in our hands, and they shall be a sacrifice among us and not go to perish in a strange land. For they will take our daughters for concubines and our sons will be given to their handmaidens. And they will do according

to their law. And their hope from the Lord will perish. But if we do so, it will be good for them, and they will go to the life of the world to come."

Then the people answered as one, and said: "That which you have spoken about is good to do." Then Eleazar said to them, "If it is good, then do now as I have said. And afterward we shall go out with our swords drawn without shields or hooks and we shall smite our enemies until all of us are dead." Then they said: "Good is this thing which you have suggested we do!" Then they gathered the old men and the old women and the sons and daughters in the street of the city that night. They hugged and kissed each other and wept deeply in each other's presence. But they said, "It is better for us to die in the Holy Land than to disintegrate in a strange land, and before the Gentiles. For now we have hope for the after-life. Then the men extended their hands and killed the old men and women and the sons and daughters and every man thirty years and older. And the survivors numbered eight thousand young swordsmen, who left the city at the break of dawn and went to meet the Romans and smote of the Roman camp ninety-five thousand, and all of them fell together for the Lord and His Sanctuary.

Then Titus counted the number of those leaving with him and those to be left in the land of Judah. And the number of captives who were to be taken by Titus was ninety thousand. And the number of those who fell in Jerusalem by sword and by starvation including all who came to Jerusalem from far and near and joined, for all of them fell, was about one million one hundred and eighty thousand. And those who were taken to Rome and given to his father numbered one hundred and five thousand.

And as they moved in the west, five thousand of them left. And a

portion remained in the land of Poland. And Vespasian gave Titus the lands of Armenia, Africa and Spain. And he gave him a royal city in Westphalia,¹⁵⁸ situated on the river.¹⁵⁹ About thirty thousand he placed in various localities. And he ordered Titus to be careful lest evil be done to them.

Then Titus said to Josephus: "Choose for yourself a place in any of the territories which I rule, in which to live, and I shall give it to you."

So Josephus requested this one in Rome at the southern corner, located near the River Tiber. And he built houses there for his family and a synagogue in which to pray and a study house in which to study.

"How long shall the words of Jerusalem, the Holy City, be ended? May it be Your will, O Lord, God of the Heavens, that the dispersed of Your people Israel be gathered, speedily and in our day. . . Amen . . . as it is taught there."¹⁶⁰

Said Abraham Conat: "The influence of the editor should be limited; and a student of the physicians upon whom his colleagues lean is greater than the teacher."¹⁶¹

Solomon Conat, "May the memory of the departed who is the world-to-come be blessed" is the one who writes with many pens,¹⁶² and without miracles.

I have seen the writing of this important book which was composed by a godly man, a warrior annointed for battle, a priest to the Most High God. He was named Joseph ben Gorion. Beside the books, books of wisdom which he composed, for he was the greatest of writers after King Solomon, may peace be upon him, he used to recount in this book essays of beauty about how all the families of the earth separated, each according to its

type, to dwell in their father's houses. And an account of the wars between the Babylonians and the Romans. And the chronology and the arrangement of the soil strata of the River.Tiber, in Rome, from the Gate to the sea, a distance of eighteen miles.¹⁶³ An account of the wars of the kings of Persia with the King of Babylonia and of the overwhelming of Belshazzar . . . And in it is an account of the greatness of Daniel before the kings of Persia and a listing of his great attributes, and what he withdrew from Persia.¹⁶⁴ And the two times he was put in the lion's den . . . and how he was provided for by Habakkuk the prophet . . . And how through him Bel the Great Abomination,¹⁶⁵ was destroyed, which was in Babylon, and the killing of its priests. And also the Great Sea-Monster which he killed in a cave . . . also an account of the qualities of the greatness of Zerubbabel b. Shealtiel, before Darius, king of Persia. And the prayer which Ezra the Scribe and Nehemiah b. Hilkiah offered; and Mordecai and Joshua¹⁶⁶ and the rest of the leaders of the Diaspora for the name before the holy fire. For there was no kingdom for the priests to offer strange fire. . . and in it is the Story of Esther the queen and her prayer, which is a fitting account for the end. And in it is an account of the birth of Alexander the Great and his tolerance,¹⁶⁷ and of his heroic deeds. And in the beginning an account of Necho, the warrior,¹⁶⁸ the great magician, king of Egypt. . . Also an account of all the kings and Caesars who were in Rome during the Second Temple, with their names and heroic deeds. Also their lovers, and their enemies. With the kings of Judah during the Second Temple. . . and the awesome great wars which began sprouting, during the reign of Antiochus, among the people of Judah. And the signs which were seen then in Jerusalem and what followed from them. And the martyrdom which was done by Hannah, a holy woman, and God-

fearing, with her seven saintly sons. . . and in it an account of the Hasmonean heroics and an account of Chanukah. . . an account of all the kings who ruled in Jerusalem during the Second Temple... and an account of Herod's Temple, and the golden grapes, which he repaired in the Sanctuary of our God, which is a proper ending, and all his heroic deeds, and the killing of his wife, the queen, and three of his sons, . . . And the story of Antipater, his son, and his end. And many other accounts, proper to be retold when we make an effort to remember them, in this place. And the courage of Josephus b. Gorion, for the people of the Lord, and for His Sanctuary. And how he saved himself and his soul with his wisdom. And the lamentation which he made for Jerusalem and for the Temple of the Lord and for His people. . . and the punishments of the people of Jerusalem in the days of Vespasian and Titus, his son, and the prayer which he offered to God, the Master of the entire world and all which followed, until the destruction of our Holy Temple. May it be rebuilt and established quickly and in our days. Amen . . .

Praised is the Living God, the Most High, who gave me, Abraham, strength to reach the completion of the writing of this book, this forty-ninth day of Sefirah.

NOTES

1. Josephus: Antiquities, 20:8:5, p. 596 a.
2. ^{017NO} - According to Jastrow is probably sibrosi, a geographical term (Jastrow, p. 953 a.) or a cushite tribe. ^{'/c7NO} or ^{'/c7NO}
"TT;" "T:-"
3. ^{ד/ע/י'ד} - possible corruption of ^{ד/ע/י'} /ע = /ע' /ע
Garden of Eden-Aden
4. ^{017NO-0176} Peter, Petros (Jas. 1162). Possible reference to the Judeo-Christians, and/or the Church of Rome.
5. Josephus, p. 596, footnote 11.
6. Wars, II:17:6, p. 694 b., ff.
7. Wars, II:18:11, p. 700.
8. Wars, II:19:1, p. 700. Version of incident at Antipatris different. Josephus favorable to Romans-Josippon unfavorable.
9. Wars, II:19:2, p. 700
10. Wars, III:1:1, p. 711
11. Spelled ³⁷ instead of ⁷⁷ in Josippon cf. Wars, III:2:1, p. 711.
12. Josephus had John - spelling here cf. Wars, III:2:2, p. 712.
13. Josephus has 10,000 Jews killed. cf. Wars, III:2:2, p. 712.
14. This incident not in Josephus. cf. Wars, III:2:2, p. 712.
15. This is not reported in Wars III:2:2, p. 712
16. Saba (^{כאב}) - Jastrow, p. 948.
17. Wars, III:7:21, p. 723.
18. Wars, III:7:21, p. 723. No mention of their deaths.
19. Wars, III:8:1. Variation from Josippon.
20. Spelling error in Josippon. ³⁷⁷⁷⁷ should be ⁷⁷⁷⁷⁷

21. Misquote in Josippon of Ex. 32:32

Josippon

אם תבנה אותם || מחני נא
מספרך אשר כתבת

Ex. 32:32

ועתה אם תשא חטאתם ואם אין ||
מחני נא מספרך אשר כתבת

22. Reference seems to be more applicable to Isaac.

23. Misquote in Josippon of II Sam. 24:17

Josippon

תה' נא יצק [ב] ומה' אה' ||
כי || אנכי חטאת' || ואני || העו'ת'
ואלא הע'אן מה עשו || ומהחטא

II Sam. 24:17

הנה || אנכי חטאת' || ואנכי || העו'ת'
ואלא הע'אן מה עשו || תה' נא יצק ומה' אה'

24. Ps. 142:8

25. Misquote in Josippon of M. T. (I Sam. 8:6)

Josippon

תנא עני מלך יחזק ע'ע
תנא עני מלך ע'ע

M. T.

26. I. Sam. 34:4

27. Wars, III:8:5, p. 729 f.

28. Wars, III:8:7, p. 730.

29. Wars, III:8:8, p. 731.

30. Wars, III:9:3, p. 732. Josephus has 4,200 while Josippon has 4,000.

31. Wars, IV:1:3, p. 739 f. Variation in Josippon from Josephus is mentioned in Josippon and Gallus in Josephus.

נ' 15

32. Wars, IV:7:5, p. 760 f. Josippon 13,000. Josephus 15,000.

33. Wars, IV:7:6, p. 761. No mention of 92,000 in Josephus.

34. Wars, IV:8:1, p. 761.

35. Not able to identify חמ' חמ' from Josephus.

36. Wars, IV:9:2, p. 764. Josephus says Galba reigned seven months and seven days. Josippon says six months.

37. Wars, IV:9:6, p. 765.
38. Wars, IV:10:7, p. 770. Titus, rather than Josephus, expresses similar sentiments.
39. Wars, IV:11:3, 4, p. 771.
Josippon 80,000 Romans died.
- | | |
|-----------------|------------------------------|
| | 30,200 - Vitellius' army |
| | 4,500 - Antonius' army |
| | <u>50,000</u> - other troops |
| Josephus totals | 84,700 |
40. Wars, IV:11:5, p. 772. Josephus includes Rhinocolura and Raphia, which Josippon omits.

41. Wars, V:1:2. Josephus has Simeon b. Ezron.

42. II Sam. 24:17

Josippon

Not in M. T.

ה'ה' נא ידק ה' ובה' א'ה'
ה'ה' נא ידק ה' ובה' א'ה'
(כזה עמך לא העה'ה)

43. Psalm 79:1

44. Josephus has Nicanor merely wounded. Wars, V:6:2, p. 788.

45. Josephus has ten. Wars, V:6:4, p. 791.

46. Josephus does not record such sentiments. cf. Wars, V:6:4, p. 791 f.

47. Josephus has Enaes as a deserter. Wars, V:6:4, p. 792

48. Josephus has a bare chest - i.e., - an open shirt, to receive the money. Wars, V:6:4, p. 792.

49. Josephus indicates that there was a secret vault into which Castor and his men leaped, so that he escaped and did not die.
Wars, V:6:4, p. 792.

50. There is a gap concerning the maccabean wars.

51. Josippon has ^{מכאן} 7000 which I assume is equivalent to
The Bible.

52. Genesis 32:11

53. Josippon

M. T. Genesis 32:25-26

ו'אלהק עס המלך ו'וכא לא
ה'ה'אלקו
ו'אלהק א'ע עס... כ' לא
ה'ה'אלקו

54. II Ch. 20:12. M. T. refers to Jehoshaphat as uttering this prayer.

55. This quote seems not to be in M. T.

56. Cf. Wars, V:9:4, p. 796 b.

57. Numbers 17:10

58. There is some confusion in the two accounts as to who Commagene

י'NKEN is. cf. Wars, V:11:3, p. 801.

59. Cf. Wars, V:11:3, p. 801. Josephus varies.

60. In Josephus thirty cubits is a distance, not the length.
Cf. Wars, V:11:4, p. 801.

61. Josephus only records three soldiers.

62. Transliteration mine - Jabmanus *ו'Nא'ן* and Iraus (*ו'Nא'ן*)

63. Cf. Wars, V:12:4, p. 804.

64. Probably should be John. Does not make sense this way.

65. Antiquities, X:9:2, p. 310.

66. Josippon uses *ו'Nא'ן* one of Jehoiachin's names. cf. Mandelkern, concordance p. 1433 d.

67. *ו'Nא'ן* should be

ו'Nא'ן

68. Erroneous insertion of

ו'Nא'ן

69. Wars, VI:1:6, p. 810 f.

70. Wars, VI:1:6, p. 810 f.

71. Wars, VI:1:6, p. 810 f. No mention of the eight dying.

72. Probably twelve. Text has *ו'* should be *ו"* according to Josephus was sixteen. cf. Wars, VI:1:7, p. 811.

73. Wars, VI:1:8, p. 812. More expanded and varied version.

74. Wars, VI:1:8. Josippon leaves out Judas son of Merto whom Josephus includes.

75. Josippon *ו'Nא'ן* *ו'Nא'ן* Probably an error -- should be *ו'Nא'ן* for parallelism.

76. Josippon *ו'Nא'ן* should be *ו'Nא'ן*

77. Cf. footnote, p. 813.

78. Wars, VI:2:1, p. 813.
79. Josephus claims that Jechoniah went into captivity. Wars VI:2:1, p. 813.
80. Josephus does not mention Daniel, but rather, ancient prophecies. Wars, VI:2:1, p. 813.
81. The narration here is confused as to whether Josephus or Titus is speaking in various sections, in Josippon. Josephus, p. 813, gives the impression that Josephus is speaking.
82. *ר'יוס* probably *ע'יוס*
83. Break in text -- makes no sense.
84. Numbers 1:51; 3:10, 38: 18,7.
85. Wars, VI:2:4, p. 815.
86. Josippon has *ס'רור'ס* Probably should be *ס'רור'ס*
87. Josippon has *ס'רור'ס* should be *ס'רור'ס*
88. Josephus has different account of fighting.
89. Wars, VI:2:8, p. 816.
90. Different account in Josephus, *ibid.*
91. Josippon misspells *ס'רור'ס* confusing *ר* with *ז*
92. Wars, VI:2:10, p. 817.
93. Wars, VI:2:10, p. 817.
94. Different account. Wars, VI:2:10, p. 817.
95. Spelled *ס'רור'ס* instead of the usual *ס'רור'ס* used previously.
96. Josephus has different account and different moral. Wars, VI:2:10, p. 817.
97. Wars, VI:3:1, p. 817 f.
98. Josippon spells it *ס'רור'ס* Josephus has Longus.
99. Different version in Josephus. Wars, VI:3:2, p. 818.
100. Josephus has only Lucius dying. Wars VI:3:2, p. 818.
101. Josippon has *ס'רור'ס* Should be *ס'רור'ס*

102. Much more detailed than Josephus. Cf. Wars, VI:3:4, p. 818 f.
103. This account is much fuller and varies from Josephus. Cf. Wars, VI:3:5, p. 819.
104. Wars, VI:4:2, p. 821.
105. Wars, VI:4:2, p. 821.
106. Compare Josephus' analysis. Wars, VI:4:3, p. 821.
107. Wars, VI:4:4, p. 821.
108. Wars, VI:4:4, p. 821 f.
109. Josephus has the 10th of Ab. Wars, VI:4:5, p. 822.
110. Wars, VI:4:7, p. 822 f.
111. Wars, VI:4:7, p. 822 f.
112. The sense of this phrase is not clear -- it could mean -- "stand by with your weapons," or desist from fighting, and stand ready." וְנִצַּח בְּיָדְךָ נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה
113. Wars, VI:5:2, p. 824.
114. Wars, VI:5:3, p. 824.
115. Wars, VI:5:3, p. 824.
116. Wars, VI:5:3, p. 824.
117. Not in Josephus.
118. Not in Josephus.
119. Wars, VI:5:3, p. 825.
120. Alternate reading -- "Four years before the war." וְאַחֲרָיו should be וְאַחֲרָיו
Cf. Wars, VI:5:3
121. Josephus has Jesus b. Ananus. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁלַח
122. Cf. note, p. 825.
123. Wars, VI:5:3, p. 825.
124. Wars, VI:5:3, p. 825.
125. Wars, VI:5:3, p. 825.
126. Josephus intimates scriptural sources, but I could not locate any. Wars, VI:5:3, p. 825.

127. Identify of king is Vespasian, in Josephus.
128. Josephus has ensigns being set up. Wars, VI:6:1, p. 826.
129. Spelling error *ו'לח'ל* instead of *ו'לח'ח*
130. There might be a corruption, for they are offering libations to Titus, rather than to their gods. But if *ס'ב'ס* is their colors or ensigns it would make sense.
131. Wars, VI:6:1, p. 826.
132. Josephus has them surrendering because of hunger, Wars, VI:6:1, p. 826.
133. Curious insertion in text of *ס'ח' (ל'א) אש'ר* "so that they (not) live." Does not make sense.
134. Somewhat different version in Josephus. Wars, VI:6:1, p. 826.
135. Wars, VI:6:2, p. 826 f.
136. Wars, VI:6:3, p. 827 f.
137. Break in the text. Cf. Wars, VI:7:1, p. 828.
138. Perhaps *ה'ל'ס* should be *ה'ל'ז*
139. Wars, VI:7:1, p. 828.
140. Wars, VI:7:3, p. 830.
141. Wars, VII:2, p. 836.
142. Wars, VI:9:4, p. 832. Wars, VII:2, p. 836. Accounts vary from Josippon in details.
143. Not in Josephus.
144. Not in Josephus.
145. Wars, VI:9:4, p. 832.
146. Psalm 79:3
147. Lamentations 5:16
- Josippon *נפלה עטרת ראשנו כאלו נאכלנו חרס*
- M. T. *נפלה עטרת ראשנו כאלו נאכלנו חרס*
148. Wars, VI:9:2, p. 831.

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