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מלחמות יהודים

Milchamoth Yahudiym (History of the Destruction of Yerushalayim)

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WHEREAS the war which the Yahudiym made with the Romaiym has been the greatest of all those, not only that have been in our times, but, in a manner, of those that ever were heard of; both of those wherein cities have fought against cities, or nations against nations; while some men who were not concerned in the affairs themselves have gotten together vain and contradictory stories by hearsay, and have written them down in a sophistical manner; and while those that were there present have given false accounts of things, and this either out of a humor of flattery to the Romaiym, or of hatred towards the Yahudiym; and while their writings sometimes contain accusations, and sometimes encomiums, but nowhere the accurate truth of the facts; I have proposed to myself, for the sake of such as live under the government of the Romaiym, to translate those cepheriym into the Yavaniy tongue, which I formerly composed in the language of our country, and sent to the Upper Barbarians; Yoceph, the son of Mattithyahu, by birth an Ivriy, a priest also, and one who at first fought against the Romaiym myself, and who was forced to be present at what was done afterwards [am the author of this work].

Now at the time when this great concussion of affairs happened, the affairs of the Romaiym were themselves in great disorder. Those Yahudiym also who were for innovations, then arose when the times were disturbed; they were also in a flourishing condition for strength and riches, so much so that the affairs of the East were then exceedingly tumultuous, while some hoped for gain, and others were afraid of loss in such troubles; for the Yahudiym hoped that all of their nation which were beyond Perath would have raised an insurrection together with them. The Gauls also, in the neighborhood of the Romaiym, were in motion, and the Geltin were not quiet; but all was in disorder after the death of Nero. And the opportunity now offered induced many to aim at the royal power; and the soldiery affected change, out of the hopes of getting money. I thought it therefore an absurd thing to see the truth falsified in affairs of such great consequence, and to take no notice of it; but to suffer those Yavaniym and Romaiym that were not in the wars to be ignorant of these things, and to read either flatteries or fictions, while the Parthians, and the inhabitants of Babel, and the remotest Araviym, and those of our nation beyond Perath, with the Adiabeni, by my means, knew accurately both from where the war began, what miseries it brought upon us, and after what manner it ended.

It is true; these writers have the confidence to call their accounts histories; wherein yet they seem to me to fail of their own purpose, as well as to

relate nothing that is sound. For they have a mind to demonstrate the greatness of the Romaiym, while they still diminish and lessen the actions of the Yahudiym, as not discerning how it cannot be that those must appear to be great who have only conquered those that were little. Nor are they ashamed to overlook the length of the war, the multitude of the Romaiy forces who so greatly suffered in it, or the might of the commanders, whose great labors about Yerushalayim will be deemed inglorious, if what they achieved be reckoned but a small matter.

However, I will not go to the other extreme, out of opposition to those men who extol the Romaiym nor will I determine to raise the actions of my countrymen too high; but I will prosecute the actions of both parties with accuracy. Yet shall I suit my language to the passions I am under, as to the affairs I describe and must be allowed to indulge some lamentations upon the miseries undergone by my own country; for that it was a seditious temper of our own that destroyed it, and that they were the tyrants among the Yahudiym who brought the Romaiy power upon us, who unwillingly attacked us, and occasioned the burning of our holy Temple, Titus Qeycar, who destroyed it, is himself a witness, who, daring the entire war, pitied the people who were kept under by the seditious, and did often voluntarily delay the taking of the city, and allowed time to the siege, in order to let the authors have opportunity for repentance. But if anyone makes an unjust accusation against us, when we speak so passionately about the tyrants or the robbers, or sorely bewail the misfortunes of our country, let him indulge my affections herein, though it be contrary to the rules for writing history; because it had so come to pass, that our city Yerushalayim had arrived at a higher degree of felicity than any other city under the Romaiy government, and yet at last fell into the sorest of calamities again. Accordingly, it appears to me that the misfortunes of all men, from the beginning of the world, if they are compared to these of the Yahudiym are not so considerable as they were; while the authors of them were not foreigners neither. This makes it impossible for me to contain my lamentations. But if anyone is inflexible in his censures of me, let him attribute the facts themselves to the historical part and the lamentations to the writer himself only.

However, I may justly blame the learned men among the Yavaniym, who, when such great actions have been done in their own times, which, upon the comparison, quite eclipse the old wars, do yet sit as judges of those affairs, and pass bitter censures upon the labors of the best writers of antiquity; which moderns, although they may be superior to the old writers in eloquence, yet are they inferior to them in the execution of what they intended to do. While these also write new histories about the Ashshuriym and Mada'iym, as if the ancient writers had not described their affairs as they ought to have done; although these be as far inferior to them in abilities as they are different in their notions from them. For of old everyone took upon them to write what happened in his own

time; where their immediate concern in the actions made their promises of value; and where it must be reproachful to write lies when they must be known by the readers to be such. But then, an undertaking to preserve the memory of what has not been before recorded, and to represent the affairs of one's own time to those that come afterwards, is worthy of praise and commendation. Now he is to be esteemed to have taken good pains in earnest, not who does no more than change the disposition and order of other men's works, but he who not only relates what had not been related before, but composes an entire body of history of his own: accordingly, I have been at great charges, and have taken very great pains [about this history], though I be a foreigner; and do dedicate this work, as a memorial of great actions, both to the Yavaniym and to the Barbarians. But for some of our principal men, their mouths are wide open, and their tongues loosed presently, for gain and lawsuits, but quite muzzled up when they are to write history, where they must speak truth and gather facts together with a great deal of pains; and so they leave the writing of such histories to weaker people, and to such as are not acquainted with the actions of princes. Yet shall the truth of historical facts be preferred by us, however much it is neglected among the Yavaniy historians.

To write concerning the Antiquities of the Yahudiym, who they were [originally], and how they revolted from the Mitsriym, and what country they traveled over, and what countries they seized upon afterward, and how they were removed out of them, I think this not to be a fit opportunity, and, on other accounts, also superfluous; and this because many Yahudiym before me have composed the histories of our ancestors very exactly; as have some of the Yavaniym done it also, and have translated our histories into their tongue, and have not much mistaken the truth in their histories. But then, where the writers of these affairs and our prophets leave off, from there shall I take my rise, and begin my history. Now as to what concerns that war which happened in my own time, I will go over it very largely, and with all the diligence I am able; but for what preceded my own age, that I shall run over briefly.

For example, I shall relate how Antiochus, who was named Epiphanes, took Yerushalayim by force, and held it three years and three months, and was then ejected out of the country by the sons of Hasmoniy: after that, how their posterity quarreled about the government, and brought upon their settlement the Romaiym and Pompey; how Herod also, the son of Antipater, dissolved their government, and brought Sosins upon them; as also how our people made a sedition upon Herod's death, while Augustus was the Romaiy emperor, and Quintilius Varus was in that country; and how the war broke out in the twelfth year of Nero, with what happened to Cestius; and what places the Yahudiym assaulted in a hostile manner in the first sallies of the war.

As also I shall relate how they built walls about the neighboring cities; and how Nero, upon Cestius' defeat, was in fear of the entire event of the war, and thereupon made Vespasian general in this war; and how this Vespasian, with the elder of his sons, made an expedition into the country of Yahud; what was the number of the Romaiy army that he made use of; and how many of his auxiliaries were cut off in all Galiyl; and how he took some of its cities entirely, and by force, and others of them by treaty, and on terms. Now, when I am come so far, I shall describe the good order of the Romaiym in war, and the discipline of their legions; the amplitude of both the Galiyliym, with its nature, and the limits of Yahud. And, besides this, I shall particularly go over what is peculiar to the country, the lakes, and fountains that are in them, and what miseries happened to every city as they were taken; and all this with accuracy, as I saw the things done, or suffered in them. For I shall not conceal any of the calamities I myself endured since I shall relate them to such as know the truth of them.

After this, I shall relate how, when the Yahudiym's affairs became very bad, Nero died, and Vespasian, when he was going to attack Yerushalayim, was called back to take the government upon him; what signs happened to him relating to his gaining that government, and what mutations of government then happened at Rome, and how he was unwillingly made emperor by his soldiers; and how, upon his departure to Mitsrayim, to take upon him the government of the empire, the affairs of the Yahudiym became very tumultuous; as also how the tyrants rose up against them and fell into dissensions among themselves.

Moreover, I shall relate how Titus marched out of Mitsrayim into Yahud the second time; as also how, and where, and how many forces he got together; and in what state the city was, by means of the seditious, at his coming; what attacks he made, and how many ramparts he cast up; of the three walls that encompassed the city, and of their measures; of the strength of the city, and the structure of the Temple and holy house; and besides, the measures of those edifices, and of the altar, and all accurately determined. A description also of certain of their festivals, and seven purifications of purity, and the sacred ministrations of the priests, with the garments of the priests, and of the high priests; and of the nature of the most holy place of the Temple; without concealing anything or adding anything to the known truth of things.

After this, I shall relate the barbarity of the tyrants towards the people of their own nation, as well as the indulgence of the Romaiym in sparing foreigners; and how often Titus, out of his desire to preserve the city and the Temple, invited the seditious to come to terms of accommodation. I shall also distinguish the sufferings of the people, and their calamities; how far they were afflicted by the sedition, and how far by the famine, and at length were taken. Nor shall I omit to mention the misfortunes of the deserters, nor the punishments inflicted on the

captives; as also how the Temple was burnt, against the consent of Qeycar; and how many sacred things that had been laid up in the Temple were snatched out of the fire; the destruction also of the entire city, with the signs and wonders that went before it; and the taking the tyrants captives, and the multitude of those that were made slaves, and into what different misfortunes they were everyone distributed. Moreover, what the Romaiym did to the remains of the wall; and how they demolished the strongholds that were in the country; and how Titus went over the whole country and settled its affairs; together with his return into Italy, and his triumph.

I have comprehended all these things in seven cepheriym and have left no occasion for complaint or accusation to such as have been acquainted with this war, and I have written it down for the sake of those that love truth, but not for those that please themselves with fictitious relations. And I will begin my account of these things with what I call my First Chapter.





The Interval of One Hundred and Sixty-Seven Years.

From the Taking of Yerushalayim by Antiochus Epiphanes

To the Death of Herod the Great.

Chapter 1

HOW THE CITY OF YERUSHALAYIM WAS TAKEN, AND THE TEMPLE PILLAGED [BY ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES]. AS ALSO CONCERNING THE ACTIONS OF THE MAKKABIYM, MATTITHYAHU AND YAHUDAH; AND CONCERNING THE DEATH OF YAHUDAH.

AT the same time that Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, had a quarrel with the sixth Ptolemy about his right to the whole country of Aram, a great sedition fell among the men of power in Yahud, and they had a contention about obtaining the government; while each of those that were of dignity could not endure being subject to their equals. However, Onyahu, one of the high priests, got the better, and cast the sons of Toviyahu out of the city; who fled to Antiochus, and besought him to make use of them for his leaders and to make an expedition into Yahud. The king being thereto disposed of beforehand, complied with them, and came upon the Yahudiym with a great army, and took their city by force, and slew a great multitude of those that favored Ptolemy, and sent out his soldiers to plunder them without mercy. He also spoiled the Temple and put a stop to the constant practice of offering a daily sacrifice of expiation for three years and six months. But Onyahu, the high priest, fled to Ptolemy and received a place from him in the Nomus of On, where he built a city resembling Yerushalayim, and a temple that was like its Temple (1) concerning which we shall speak more in its proper place hereafter.

NOW Antiochus was not satisfied either with his unexpected taking of the city, or with its pillage, or with the great slaughter he had made there; but being overcome with his violent passions, and remembering what he had suffered during the siege, he compelled the Yahudiym to dissolve the Torah of their country, and to keep their infants uncircumcised, and to sacrifice swine's flesh upon the altar; against which they all opposed themselves, and the most approved among them were put to death. Bacchides also, who was sent to keep the fortresses, having these wicked commands, joined to his own natural barbarity, indulged all sorts of the most extreme wickedness, and tormented the worthiest of the inhabitants, man by man, and threatened their city every day with open destruction, till at length he provoked the poor sufferers by the extremity of his wicked doings to avenge themselves.

ACCORDINGLY Mattithyahu, the son of Hasmoniy, one of the priests who lived in a village called Modin, armed himself, together with his own family, which had five sons of his in it, and slew Bacchides with daggers; and thereupon, out of the fear of the many garrisons [of the enemy], he fled to the mountains; and so many of the people followed him, that he was encouraged to come

BOOK 1, Chapter 1 – Wars of the Yahudiym

down from the mountains, and to give battle to Antiochus' generals, when he beat them and drove them out of Yahud. So he came to the government by this his success, and became the prince of his people by their free consent, and then died, leaving the government to Yahudah, his eldest son.

NOW Yahudah, supposing that Antiochus would not lie still, gathered an army out of his own countrymen, and was the first that made a league of friendship with the Romaiym, and drove Epiphanes out of the country when he had made a second expedition into it, and this by giving him a great defeat there; and when this great success warmed him, he made an assault upon the garrison that was in the city, for it had not been cut off up to that time; so he ejected them out of the upper city, and drove the soldiers into the lower, which part of the city was called the Citadel. He then got the Temple under his power, and cleansed the whole place, and walled it round about, and made new vessels for sacred ministrations, and brought them into the Temple, because the former vessels had been profaned. He also built another altar and began to offer the sacrifices; and when the city had already received its sacred constitution again, Antiochus died; whose son Antiochus succeeded him in the kingdom, and in his hatred to the Yahudiym also.

SO this Antiochus got together fifty thousand footmen, and five thousand horsemen, and eighty elephants, and marched through Yahud into the mountainous parts. He then took Beyt Sura, which was a small city; but at a place called Beyt Zakaris, where the passage was narrow, Yahudah met him with his army. However, before the forces joined battle, Yahudah's brother El'azar, seeing the very highest of the elephants adorned with a large tower, and with military trappings of gold to guard him, and supposing that Antiochus himself was upon him, he ran a great way before his own army, and cutting his way through the enemy's troops, he got up to the elephant; yet he could not reach him who seemed to be the king, by reason of his being so high; but still he ran his weapon into the belly of the beast, and brought him down upon himself, and was crushed to death, having done no more than attempted great things, and showed that he preferred glory before life. Now he that governed the elephant was but a private man; and had he proved to be Antiochus, El'azar had performed nothing more by this bold stroke than that it might appear he chose to die, when he had the bare hope of thereby doing a glorious action; nay, this disappointment proved an omen to his brother [Yahudah] how the entire battle would end. It is true that the Yahudiym fought it out bravely for a long time, but the king's forces, being superior in number, and having fortune on their side, obtained the victory. And when a great many of his men were slain, Yahudah took the rest with him, and fled to the toparchy of Gophna. So Antiochus went to Yerushalayim, and stayed there but a few days, for he wanted provisions, and so he went his way. He left indeed a garrison behind him, such as he thought sufficient to keep the place, but drew the rest of his army off, to take their winter quarters in Aram.

BOOK 1, Chapter 1 - Wars of the Yahudiym

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