

THE JUDEAN-ROMAN WAR, 66-73 CE
Hist 5022 3.0/Huma 6108 3.0
York University

Fall 2006, Mondays 16:30-19:00
5026 TEL Building

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Aim and Scope of the Course

This course examines one of western history's most influential wars: its context, causes, course, and consequences. The Judean-Roman war of 66-73 CE was singularly important: for the Romans, in legitimizing the new regime of Vespasian and Titus, who exploited their recent conquest of Jerusalem to help justify their family's rise to supreme power; for the Judeans/Jews, because it involved the destruction of the temple and much of Jerusalem, paving the way for the reconstruction of a cult-less Judean identity under rabbinic leadership; and for the Christians, in providing putative support for their self-understanding as the legitimate heirs of the biblical-Judean heritage. In the following three centuries, rather than fading in importance, the destruction of Jerusalem came to play an increasingly important role in the self-definition of Jews and Christians over against each other. It has remained a reference-point in Jewish-Christian relations through the following centuries and into our time.

We approach the enormous subject of the war from a variety of angles. A primary task is to read through the "master narrative" by Flavius Josephus (*The Judean War*) with both literary-interpretative and historical-critical mindsets. Because this account is the only narrative approaching comprehensiveness that has survived, understanding it in its whole and in its parts—"on its own terms"—is fundamental to any historical analysis of the conflict. The first half of each seminar, therefore, is devoted to discussing Josephus's *War*, as we read it through in sequence. In the second half we examine a variety of historical issues: the Roman context, the Flavian portrayal of, and the Roman elite's response to the revolt; the archaeology of major sites (Caesarea, Galilean sites, Jerusalem, and Masada) relevant to the war, along with the surviving coinage; sociological and economic models that might help to analyse the conflict; and the major scholarly-historical syntheses to date.

Obviously, the constraints of a twelve-week seminar permit only a sampling of such problems. Our focus will remain on questions of method: How do we know things about the distant past? What is the relationship between a narrative such as Josephus's and what really happened? In the end: What is History? At the very least, successful completion of this course will give participants a solid first-hand knowledge of the major primary sources, substantial awareness of the main historical issues and scholarly approaches, and detailed familiarity with their chosen research topics.

Required Reading

Andrea M. Berlin and J. Andrew Overman, eds., *The First Jewish Revolt: Archaeology, History, and Ideology*. London: Routledge, 2002. ISBN: 0 415 25706 9 (cloth). This book is uniquely valuable, as a reasonably focused collection bearing on our topic. It is also ridiculously expensive. If you can find a creative way to share copies or something, perhaps that would be worth considering. I have requested that a copy be placed on two-hour reserve in Scott (2-hour because the essays can be read separately), but it will be difficult for many of you to read it in that way.

Neil Faulkner, *Apocalypse: The Great Jewish Revolt against Rome, AD 66-73*. Charleston SC: Tempus, 2002. ISBN 0 7524 1968 4 (cloth).

Flavius Josephus, *Jewish War*. Loeb Classical Library, vol. numbers. 283 (*War* 1-2; ISBN 99568-6),

487 (*War 3-4*; ISBN 99536-8), and 210 (*War 5-7*; 99569-4). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, various dates.

Susan Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy: Imperial Strategy in the Principate*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

On-Line Reading

Members of York University enjoy online access to a rapidly increasing wealth of books and journals. These include four excellent archaeological-historical periodicals directly relevant to our seminar: *Biblical Archaeologist* (*BA*—via the service called JSTOR), the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (*BASOR*—also via JSTOR), *Near Eastern Archaeology* (via JSTOR), and the journals produced by the Biblical Archaeological Society, most importantly *Biblical Archaeology Review* (*BAR*); these last have their own subscription-based access through the York library web-site. In order to search for and download articles from these journals, you will need either to visit the library eResources pages from a computer on the York network or to authenticate from home via York's proxy server. (See "Using eResources from Home".)

Once you are in the eResources domain, you can search for the journals by title, or by typing a word such as "archaeology" or "archaeological" into the *title* search. Once you are in the JSTOR or BAS site, you can find the articles listed below most efficiently by searching for the author. If you search by keyword or even title, you will receive many more results—possibly too many to be useful when you are searching for a specific entry.

There is a vast amount of beautifully illustrated material in these journals, in essays written by leading international scholars. *BAR* is aimed at a general audience and so is normally a very easy read. Sometimes it is extremely popular in its tone, but the contributors are usually fine scholars: the concise analysis, pictures, and drawings are excellent. *BA* and *Near Eastern Archaeology* are for both scholarly and general audiences: they are also well written and illustrated, but more elevated in general tone than *BAR*. *BASOR* tends to be for scholars, and it can be heavy going—but worth it. From these treasures, and other online journals available through the library's eResources and JSTOR, I have selected only a few items of the most direct relevance for our course, but you may enjoy looking around on your own.

J. R. Armenti, "On the Use of the Term 'Galileans' in the Writings of Josephus Flavius: a brief note," *Jewish Quarterly Review* [via JSTOR] 72 1981, 45-49.

N. Avigad, "Jerusalem in Flames—the Burnt House Captures a Moment in Time," *BAR* Nov-Dec. 1983.

S. Applebaum, "The Zealots: the Case for Reevaluation," *The Journal of Roman Studies* [via JSTOR] 61 1971, 155-170.

M. Broshi, "Estimating the Population of Roman Jerusalem," *BAR* 4 1978.

B. Burrell, K. Gleason, and E. Netzer, "Uncovering Herod's Seaside Palace," *BAR* 19 (1993).

M. Chancey and E. Meyers, "How Jewish was Sepphoris in Jesus' Time?" *BAR* 26 July/Aug 2000.

M. Chancey and A. L. Porter, "The Archaeology of Roman Palestine," *Near Eastern Archaeology* [via JSTOR] 64 2001, 164-203. This is a gem, something to keep. It is long, but it gives a nearly

up-to-date and quite comprehensive overview of both the history and the archaeology of Judaea and Galilee (as well as neighbouring regions) in our period. It places both the war against Rome and the various sites that we are examining in a larger context. Please read it early and then keep it for reference.

S. J. D. Cohen and M. Satlow, "Roman Domination: The Jewish Revolt and the Destruction of the Second Temple," *Ancient Israel* 1999 (BAS resources on-line).

V. d'Huys, "How to describe Violence in Historical Narrative," *Ancient Society* 18 1987, 209-50.

L. H. Feldman, "The Term 'Galileans' in Josephus," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 72 1981, 50-52.

L. H. Feldman, "Financing the Colosseum," *BAR*, July/August 2001.

[Ed.] "Gamla: the Masada of the North," *BAR* Jan/Feb 1979.

H. Geva, "Searching for Roman Jerusalem," *BAR* 23 Nov/Dec 1997.

D. Gill, "It's a Natural: Masada Ramp was not a Roman Engineering Miracle," *BAR* 27 2001.

E. W. Hamrick, "The Third Wall of Agrippa I," *BA* 40 Mar. 1977, 18-22.

M. Har-El, "Jerusalem and Judea: Roads and Fortifications," *BA* 44 1981, 8-19.

R. L. Hohlfelder, "Caesarea Beneath the Sea," *BAR* 8 May/June 1982.

R. A. Horsley, "Archaeology and the Villages of Upper Galilee," *BASOR* [JSTOR] 297 1995, 5-16. Not long, but dense and challenging. I recommend reading the first half and final part (after the Strata). This is an excellent example of a historian in dialogue with archaeologists to try to reach some solid conclusions.

E. M. Meyers, "Commentary: An Archaeological Response to a New Testament Scholar," *BASOR* 297 1995, 17-26. This response to the previous article is clearly written and neatly highlights some basic differences of method and their consequences.

B. Isaac, "Bandits in Judaea and Arabia," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 88 1984, 171-203.

D. Jacobson, "Herod's Roman Temple," *BAR* 28 2002.

Kasher, A., "The *Isopoliteia* Question in Caesarea Maritima," *Jewish Quarterly Review* [via JSTOR] 68 1977, 16-27.

F. Loftus, "A Note on *Syntagma twn Galilaiwn* B.J. iv 558," *Jewish Quarterly Review* [via JSTOR] 65 1975, 182-83.

F. Loftus, "The Anti-Roman Revolts of the Jews and the Galileans," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 68 1977, 78-98.

J. Magness, "Masada: Arms and the Man," *BAR* 18 July/August 1992.

S. Mason, "Will the Real Josephus Please Stand Up?" *BAR* 23 1997. This is for orientation only, not part of the weekly readings.

I. B. McNulty, "The North Wall Outside Jerusalem," *BA* 42 1979, 141-44.

Y. Meshorer, "The Holy Land in Coins," *BAR* March 1978—final section on *Iudaea Capta* coins.

E. M. Meyers, "Galilean Regionalism as a Factor in Historical Reconstruction," *BASOR* 221 1976, 93-101.

E. M. Meyers, E. Netzer, C. L. Meyers, "Sepphoris: 'Ornament of all Galilee'," *BA* 49 1986, 4-19.

M. Moreland, Review of three books on Galilee: by Jonathan L. Reed, Marianne Sawicki, William E. Arnal, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 121 2002, 757-766. Reviews like this provide an efficient introduction to several recent book-length studies if you lack the time to read them all through, along with the review author's critical perspective.

J. Patrich, "Hideouts in the Judean Wilderness," *BAR* 15 Sept/Oct 1989.

B. D. Shaw, "Bandits in the Roman Empire," *Past and Present* [via JSTOR] 105 1984, 3-52.

B. D. Shaw, review of Thomas Grünewald, *Räuber, Rebellen, Rivalen, Rächer: Studien zu Latrones im römischen Reich* [i.e., on the problem of "bandits" in antiquity] (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner), 1999 in *The Bryn Mawr Classical Review*, vol. 11 (2000). <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr>

D. Sion, "Gamla: Portrait of a Rebellion," *BAR* Jan/Feb 1992.

M. Smith, "Zealots and Sicarii, their Origins and Relation," *Harvard Theological Review* [via JSTOR] 64 1971, 1-19.

A. J. L. van Hooff, "Ancient Robbers: Reflections Behind the Facts." *Ancient Society* 19 1988, 105-24.

S. Zeitlin, "Who were the Galileans? New Light on Josephus' Activities in Galilee," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 64 1974, 189-203.

S. Zeitlin, "Masada and the Sicarii," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 55 1965, 299-317.

S. Zeitlin, "The Sicarii and Masada," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 57 1967, 251-270.

Recommended Reading List

Unfortunately, some of these are expensive (especially those from Brill), and the bookstore will not carry those—as recommended reading—in case they do not sell. They can be ordered, however, and library copies (except of Price, which we do not yet have) are on reserve (for Huma 6108).

T. L. Donaldson, ed., *Religious Rivalries and the Struggle for Success in Caesarea Maritima*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2000. ISBN: 0889203482 (cloth). Chapters by P. Richardson (11-34) and Kloppenborg (227-48).

Martin Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea: The Origins of the Jewish Revolt against Rome, A.D. 66-70*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1987. ISBN 0 521 44782 8 (pbk.).

Martin Hengel, *The Zealots: Investigations into the Jewish Freedom Movement etc.* Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1989. ISBN 0 567 29372 6 (pbk)

Gottfried Mader, *Josephus and the Politics of Historiography: Apologetic and Impression Management in the Bellum Judaicum*. Leiden: Brill, 2000. ISBN 90 04 11446 7 (cloth)

Steve Mason, *Josephus and the New Testament*, 2nd edn. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2003. The second and third chapters are the ones most relevant to our course.

Jonathan J. Price, *Jerusalem under Siege: the Collapse of the Jewish State, 66-70 CE*. Leiden: Brill, 1992. ISBN 90 04 09471 7 (cloth)

Tessa Rajak, *Josephus: the Historian and his Society*. 2nd. edn. London: Duckworth, 2002. ISBN 0 7156 3170 5 (pbk.).

For Distribution in Class—or for you to find

NB: (a) York graduate students enjoy full access to the Robarts Library downtown. (b) Many (but not all) relevant articles are available on-line through York's subscription to *JSTOR*. Go to www.jstor.org (from a York computer or via library authentication) and search as you wish. To search, you must include at least one class of journals: best to choose "Classical Studies."

P. Bilde, "The Causes of the Jewish War According to Josephus," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 10 (1979), 179-202.

R. A. Horsley, "Josephus and the Bandits," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 10 (1979), 37-63.

D. Laitin, "National Revivals and Violence," *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 36 (1995), 3-43.

Levine, L. I. "The Jewish-Greek Conflict in First Century Caesarea," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 25 (1974), 381-97.

S. Mason, "Figured Speech and Irony in the Works of T. Flavius Josephus," "Contradiction or Counterpoint: Josephus and Historical Method," "The Structure and Aims of Josephus' *Judaea War*," "Encountering the Past through the Works of Flavius Josephus," *Introduction to the Judean War*, commentary to *War's* prologue and Book 2 (selections, with new translation).

J. S. McLaren, "The Coinage of the First Year as a Point of Reference for the Jewish Revolt (66-70 CE)," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 22 (2003), 135-52.

J. Edmondson, S. Mason, and J. Rives, eds., *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). Essays by F. Millar, J. Rives, and S. Mason distributed.

A. J. Woodman, *Rhetoric and Classical Historiography* (London: Routledge, 2003 [1988]).

A. Ziolkowski, "Urbs direpta, or How the Romans Sacked Cities," in John Rich and Graham Shipley, *War and Society in the Roman World* (London: Routledge, 1993), 69-91.

COURSE OUTLINE

As the introductory overview (first page above) indicated, the seminar proceeds on two tracks: in the first half of each session we focus on reading and understanding Josephus' *Judean War*. In the second half we probe historical issues raised by the week's readings in scholarly literature. For more than half the course, those readings are connected with archaeology relevant to the conflict. The "READ" entry for each week refers to material that will be taken up *on that day*, so obviously you will need to read it before the class in question.

Each member of the seminar will be asked to take leadership, with a partner, for the second half of a session, beginning with the third week (Sept. 25): see "Evaluation" below. This will simply involve doing the same reading as everyone else (perhaps a little more for larger context) and bringing some questions to help guide our discussion.

1. Sept. 11: Discussion of aims, methods, syllabus, resources. Introduction to the Project on Ancient Cultural Engagement (PACE: pace.cns.yorku.ca)
Second Hour: The Impact of the Judean War—event and story—in Western History
READ (as a general resource to keep available for context): Chancey/Porter—excellent!
2. Sept. 18
First Hour: *War* 1.1-219.
READ: Tacitus, *Histories* 5.1-13 (accessible in many places online, e.g., at [www.perseus.tufts.edu > Collections > Greek and Roman](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/Collections/GreekandRoman/)); Josephus's prologue to the *War* (1.1-30), translation and commentary S. Mason (distributed)
Second Hour: The city of Rome as the context for Josephus's *War*
READ: Cohen and Satlow, Millar, Feldman, Mason ("Audience," "Structure and Aims")
3. Sept. 25
First Hour: *War* 2.1-308. (Selections from *War* 2 with commentary by S. Mason)
Second Hour: Caesarea—and Judean conflicts with neighbouring cities
READ: Hohlfelder, Burrell/Gleason/Netzer, Levine, Kasher, Richardson and Kloppenborg in Donaldson.
Exercise: carefully compare *War* 2.266-284 (skim to 308) with *Ant.* 20.173-84, on Caesarea, and prepare to discuss the last four essays (from Levine) accordingly.

Oct. 2 NO CLASS: YOM KIPPUR. NB: extra reading for three-week hiatus.

Oct. 9 NO CLASS: THANKSGIVING MONDAY. NB: extra reading for next week.
4. Oct. 16 TWO-PARAGRAPH PROPOSAL DUE TODAY
First Hour: *War* 2.309-654
Second Hour: Values, policies, and outlooks of the Roman generals and leaders
READ: Mattern chapters 1 and 5, Ziolkowski, Shaw, Rives, Bilde
5. Oct. 23
First Hour: *War* 3 (all)
Second Hour: Galilee (and Golan)—the Galileans, their identity and role in the revolt
READ: Berlin/Overman pp. 87-122, Meyers/Netzer/Meyers, Chancey/Meyers, Meyers (Regionalism), Moreland, Horsley (Archaeology) and Meyers (Commentary: Response), Zeitlin (Galileans), Loftus (2), Armenti, Feldman (Galileans), Sion, [Ed.] on Gamla

6. Oct. 30 ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY DUE TODAY
 First Hour: *War* 4.1-333
 Second Hour: Jerusalem, its geography, leadership, role in the revolt
 READ: Berlin/Overman pp. 164-212, Avigad, Broshi, Meshorer, McLaren, Geva, Har-El, Jacobson, Hamrick, McNulty (these last two in debate)
7. Nov. 6
 First Hour: *War* 4.334-663
 Second Hour: Josephus' *War* and the real war—story and history (Part I)
 READ: Luther, Laqueur (pp. 245-78 [in original pages]), Drexler from pace.cns.yorku.ca
8. Nov. 13 DETAILED OUTLINE DUE TODAY
 First Hour: *War* 5 (all)
 Second Hour: Economic and religious issues, Zealots.
 READ: Faulkner pp. 1-128, Hengel pp. 146-298, Applebaum, Smith
- Nov. 20 NO CLASS: Prof. at SBL Conference. NB: extra reading for next week.
9. Nov. 27
 First Hour: *War* 6.1-270
 Second Hour: Social issues—"Bandits," insurgents, *sicarii*
 READ: Faulkner pp. 129- 277, Horsley, van Hooff, Zeitlin (*sicarii*), Brighton (dissertation at pace.cns.yorku.ca, on *sicarii* in Josephus), Shaw (Bandits, review of Grunewald), Isaac.
10. Nov. 29 [WEDNESDAY: A MAKE-UP DAY FOR LOST MONDAY]
 First Hour: *War* 6.271-442
 Second Hour: Josephus' *War* and the real war—story and history (Part II)
 READ: Woodman ("Epilogue," pp. 197-215 of *Rhetoric*), Mason ("Encountering the Past," "Contradiction or Counterpoint?")
11. Dec. 4
 First Hour: *War* 7 (all)
 Second Hour: Masada and the other final holdouts (Herodium, Machaerus)
 READ: Zeitlin (Masada), Gill, Magness, Patrich

Evaluation

In our system, for better or for worse, graduate seminar work is graded. The basis for evaluation in this course is two-fold: (1) your research essay and (2) your contribution to the course on a weekly basis. The following paragraphs elaborate on each of these components.

1. *Research Paper*: 60%. The 60% of the final grade that is based on your research paper is broken into parts and phases (below). Each component should be submitted to me electronically (smason@yorku.ca) by the date specified in the Outline above (repeated below), before that day's class. If you include Greek or Hebrew text, please use Unicode fonts (if you have questions about Unicode, you may ask me) or transliterate into *italicized Roman characters*. I cannot accept papers by any other means (in print—under doors, via friends or secretaries). Although this may seem regimented, I prefer electronic copy because I receive too much paper from many different sources, and it is easy to misplace things (as a glance at my office will confirm). Computer storage is easier to organize and search; furthermore, your electronic copy

goes to several places at once, leaving backups for the resolution of any problems, and I can also return your submission most efficiently that way. I need these phased components on the date specified for two reasons. First, a logic of incrementalism underlies the process: I want to give as much feedback as I can on the discrete elements of your paper (conception, research, argument) so that by the time you write the paper itself, you should feel confident about these, and be able to focus on the clarity of your final formulation. Obviously, I need to receive each part in time to give you feedback before the next one. (My aim is to return them within a week.) Second is the matter of fairness. We could all use more time for our work, yet we all know the due dates well in advance. Those who struggle to submit their work on time should not be penalized for that (by losing time for improvement, which might have raised their grades). Those who choose to take the extra time should be penalized. Therefore, late submissions (i.e., those not received in my email inbox by the beginning of class) are devalued by a full grade (or 10%) per week. As soon as I receive your submission, I'll acknowledge it with return email. If you submit a paper and do not receive a response from me, please contact me by some other means. NB: I suggest that you write from a university address, because mail from some popular providers is more likely to be blocked by York's eager spam filters.

- 5% proposal: a single type-written, double-spaced page (like the introduction to an essay) indicating the aim, scope, and context of your proposed research. Oct. 2.
- 10% annotated bibliography: the main entries for your proposed bibliography, with a sentence or two indicating *each item's* specific relevance to your paper. Oct. 30.
- 10% outline in detail: a complete structural overview of the essay—major sections and subdivisions, with one-sentence (*not* –note–form) indications of each main point and sub-point. Nov. 13.
- 35% final written paper (assessed partly on your incorporation of feedback from earlier phases). Apr. 1. A one-week extension without penalty may be possible if it is arranged with the instructor *at least a week in advance* of the deadline, and if there is a good reason.

Your paper topic is entirely up to you, but it should incorporate both methodological dimensions of the course: interpreting historical narrative and undertaking historical reconstruction. I suggest either interpreting a defined section of narrative or a restricted theme in Josephus' *War*, with some attention to the related historical issues, or dealing with a historical problem that involves using Josephus' *War*.

2. Course participation and contribution: 40%. A graduate seminar, unlike most undergraduate courses, is primarily a locus of scholarly exchange. It depends for its quality and productivity, therefore, on the preparedness of its members. Its purpose is to afford you the opportunity to engage the resources and methods of scholarship at an advanced level. It is not an environment conducive to lecturing. My contributions are chiefly in preparing the environment (deciding what sorts of readings and exercises might be most helpful), facilitating the sessions, and evaluating your work at the end. But for the exchange and testing of ideas to work, it is crucial that every member of the seminar, whether they are taking it for credit or not, read and reflect on the assigned material each week. You will need to budget time for this: about nine or ten hours of reading each week (depending on your comprehension speed), even if we have no class (so 18-20 hours of reading over two weeks). (If you see this in the summer, it would certainly ease the burden if you could do some of the reading before term begins.)

Your participation will be assessed in two ways. First, you will be asked, with a partner if preferred, to take the leadership of one seminar session—in part on historical issues and methods. This is not meant to be onerous: if you do more or less the same preparation as

everyone else, perhaps with some extra context, you will be able to formulate helpful questions to guide our discussion. Of course, I am there for support. I recommend that you attempt to analyse, as you would in a book review, one or more of the readings for the week.

The other ingredient of “participation” is simply your weekly, prepared attendance. Please do not feel that you need to do anything spectacular or impressive to receive a good grade here. If you simply attend every week and aim to make some contribution to the discussion by way of informed questions and suggestions (you need not be a talkative person—just be yourself), then you will do well.

Although I provisionally assign 20% to each of these components (leadership of one seminar, participation in the others), those values are flexible; I may adjust them to your benefit.

One Literary Structure of the Judean War: Symmetrical, Concentric, or “Periodic”

PROLOGUE (1.1-30)

Onias and his temple (1.31-33), with promise of more information (7.420ff.)

Antiochus Epiphanes, 1.31-40

Medes (1.50, 62) unnecessarily introduced, for Parthians

Parthians as narrative-background only in bks. 1 (1.175-82, 248-69, 288-91) & 7

Roman Civil Wars of first and second triumvirates (background to book 1)

Masada introduced after 200 sections (1.237-38; cf. 264-66, 286-92, 293-4)

Pascha/τῶν ἄζύμων link (only here and bk. 6): many sacrifices (2.10)*

Heaping of corpses in temple, worse than foreign war (2.30)

Souls of the good at death go up into ‘most refined ether’ (2.152)*

Burning of porticoes by Romans (2.229-230 [405]), Judeans die 5 ways

A pseudoprophet misleads the people, costs lives (2.261)*

AGRIPPA’S SPEECH: DON’T FOOLISHLY RELY UPON...(2.362)

Josephus’ imprisonment and prediction: Vespasian (3.387-408). Titus’ role

All Galilee and the north subdued (4.1-120)

John of Gischala, last holdout against Rome in north (4.84-120)

IDUMEANS ENTER THE CITY IN DIGUST (4.224-304)

Zealots and Idumeans kill elite leaders, esp. Ananus and Jesus (4.305-65): major eruption of stasis (4.362, 366) follows: Revolt is no longer in the hands of wise and legitimate leaders/aristocrats, but passes to tyrants and stasis.

IDUMEANS DEPART THE CITY IN DISGUST (4.345-54)

John of Gischala, tyrant of Jerusalem (4.389-97; cf. 4.556-84)

The south subdued except Jerusalem (4.410-90)

Josephus released from prison (Titus’ role), Vespasian’s rise (4.622-55)

Souls of those killed in battle go up into “purest ether” (6.47)*

Burning of porticoes by Judeans (6.233), Romans die 5 ways

A pseudoprophet misleads the people, costs lives (6.285)*

TITUS’ SPEECH: DON’T FOOLISHLY RELY UPON... (6.328-32)

Heaping of corpses in temple from *civil war* (6.259, 431)

Pascha/τῶν ἄζύμων link: many sacrifices (6.423; cf. 421)*—the final disaster

Post-Nero Civil War & Judean war over: Triumph/*forum pacis* (7.157-62)

Antiochus “Epiphanes” of Commagene (7.219-44; cf. 5.460)

Parthians a background narrative presence again (7.105, 221-24, 237)

Medes (7.244-46)

Masada featured, about 200 sections before end (7.252-406 [end is 455]).

Destruction of Onias’ temple (7.420-36), initial promise fulfilled only here
EPILOGUE (7.454-55)

Chronology of the Judean-Roman War by J. Lendering (www.livius.org), modifying B. Levick, *Vespasian* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 40-42.

Reference	Date	Tyre	Roman	Jewish	Event
66					
<i>JW</i> , 2.284	Artemisius	19 May-18 June	May	15 May-12 June	Beginning of rebellion
<i>JW</i> , 2.315	16 Artemisius	3 June	16 May	31 May	Unrest in Jerusalem
<i>JW</i> , 2.430	15 Lous	3 September	15 August	27 August	Antonia attacked
<i>JW</i> , 2.440	6 Gorpaeus	24 September	6 September	15 September	Palace besieged
<i>JW</i> , 2.528	30 Hyperberetaeus	16 November	20 October	9 November	XII Fulminata attacks
<i>JW</i> , 2.555	8 Dius	25 November	8 November	15 November	XII Fulminata defeated
67					
<i>JW</i> , 3.142	17 Artemisius	4 June	17 May	21 May	Romans at Jotapata
id.	21 Artemisius	8 June	21 May	24 May	Josephus at Jotapata
<i>JW</i> , 3.282	20 Daesius	6 July	20 June	21 June	Roman attack repulsed
<i>JW</i> , 3.306	25 Daesius	13 July	25 June	26 June	Fall of Japha
<i>JW</i> , 3.315	28 Daesius	15 July	27 June	28 June	Fall of Gerizim
<i>JW</i> , 3.316	1 Panemus	20 July	1 July	2 July	Fall of Jotapata
<i>JW</i> , 3.409	4 Panemus	23 July	4 July	5 July	Vespasian at Ptolemais
<i>JW</i> , 3.542	8 Gorpaeus	26 September	8 September	6 September	Fall of Tarichaeae
<i>JW</i> , 4.69, 83	23 Hyperberetaeus	9 November	23 October	21 October	Fall of Gamala
68					
<i>JW</i> , 4.413	4 Dystrus	21 March	4 March	26 February	Fall of Gadara
<i>JW</i> , 4.449	2 Daesius	20 June	2 June	24 May	Vespasian at Corea
<i>JW</i> , 4.450	3 Daesius	21 June	3 June	25 May	Vespasian at Jericho
69					
<i>JW</i> , 4.550	5 Daesius	23 June	5 June	13 June	Vespasian invades Judaea
<i>JW</i> , 4.577	Xanthicus	18 April-18 May	April	12 April-10 May	Simon in Jerusalem
<i>Tac., Hist.</i> 2.79	-	-	3 July	-	Vespasian proclaimed emperor
<i>JW</i> , 4.654	3 Apellaeus	20 December	3 December	8 December	Death of Vitellius
70					
<i>JW</i> , 5.99	14 Xanthicus	1 May	14 April	14 April	Passover; John enters temple
<i>JW</i> , 5.133, 567	14 Xanthicus	1 May	14 April	14 April	Titus encamps against Psephinus
<i>JW</i> , 5.302	7 Artemisius	25 May	7 May	7 May	First wall taken
<i>JW</i> , 5.466	12 Artemisius	30 May	12 May	12 May	Siege works building
id.	29 Artemisius	15 June	29 May	29 May	Works finished
<i>JW</i> , 6.22	1 Panemus	20 July	1 July	28 June	Jewish sally
<i>JW</i> , 6.67	3 Panemus	22 July	3 July	30 June	Antonia attacked
<i>JW</i> , 6.68	5 Panemus	24 July	5 July	2 July	Antonia falls
<i>JW</i> , 6.94	17 Panemus	5 August	17 July	14 July	End of daily sacrifice
<i>JW</i> , 6.166	24 Panemus	12 August	24 July	21 July	Romans fire portico
<i>JW</i> , 6.177	27 Panemus	15 August	27 July	24 July	Western portico burns
<i>JW</i> , 6.220	8 Lous	27 August	8 August	4 August	Earthworks complete
<i>JW</i> , 6.236	9 Lous	28 August	9 August	5 August	Roman council of war
<i>JW</i> , 6.250	10 Lous	29 August	10 August	6 August	Temple burns
<i>JW</i> , 6.374	20 Lous	8 September	20 August	16 August	Siege of upper city
<i>JW</i> , 6.392	7 Gorpaeus	25 September	7 September	1 September	Upper city attacked
<i>JW</i> , 6.407	8 Gorpaeus	26 September	8 September	2 September	Fall of Jerusalem
74?					
<i>JW</i> , 7.401	15 Xanthicus	3 May	15 April	31 March	Fall of Masada