

## Antiquities of the Jews, Flavius Josephus

### Book XVIII

#### Chapter 6

#### Agrippa I Falls into Great Debt after the Death of his Mother Bernice

1. A LITTLE before the death of Herod the king, **Agrippa lived at Rome, and was generally brought up and conversed with Drusus, the emperor Tiberius's son, and contracted a friendship with Antonia, the wife of Drusus the Great, who had his mother Bernice in great esteem, and was very desirous of advancing her son.** Now as Agrippa was by nature magnanimous and generous in the presents he made, while his mother was alive, this inclination of his mind did not appear, that he might be able to avoid her anger for such his extravagance; **but when Bernice was dead, and he was left to his own conduct, he spent a great deal extravagantly in his daily way of living, and a great deal in the immoderate presents he made, and those chiefly among Caesar's freed-men, in order to gain their assistance, insomuch that he was, in a little time, reduced to poverty, and could not live at Rome any longer.** Tiberius also forbade the friends of his deceased son to come into his sight, because on seeing them he should be put in mind of his son, and his grief would thereby be revived.

2. **For these reasons he went away from Rome, and sailed to Judea, but in evil circumstances, being dejected with the loss of that money which he once had, and because he had not wherewithal to pay his creditors, who were many in number, and such as gave him no room for escaping them. Whereupon he knew not what to do; so, for shame of his present condition, he retired to a certain tower, at Malatha, in Idumea, and had thoughts of killing himself; but his wife Cypros perceived his intentions, and tried all sorts of methods to divert him from his taking such a course; so she sent a letter to his sister Herodias, who was now the wife of Herod the tetrarch, and let her know Agrippa's present design, and what necessity it was which drove him thereto, and desired her, as a kinswoman of his, to give him her help, and to engage her husband to do the same, since she saw how she alleviated these her husband's troubles all she could, although she had not the like wealth to do it withal. So they sent for him, and allotted him Tiberias for his habitation, and appointed him some income of money for his maintenance, and made him a magistrate of that city, by way of honor to him. Yet did not Herod long continue in that resolution of supporting him, though even that support was not sufficient for him; for as once they were at a feast at Tyre, and in their cups, and reproaches were cast upon one another, Agrippa thought that was not to be borne, while Herod hit him in the teeth with his poverty, and with his owing his necessary food to him. So he went to Flaccus, one that had been consul, and had been a very great friend to him at Rome formerly, and was now president of Syria.**

#### Alexander the Alabarch from Alexandria Lends his Future Mechutan, Agrippa I, a Large Sum of Money

3. **Hereupon Flaccus received him kindly, and he lived with him. Flaccus had also with him there Aristobulus, who was indeed Agrippa's brother, but was at variance with him; yet did not their enmity to one another hinder the friendship of Flaccus to them both, but still they were honorably treated by him. However, Aristobulus did not abate of his ill-will to Agrippa, till at length he brought him into ill terms with Flaccus;** the occasion of bringing on which estrangement was this: The Damascens were at difference with the Sidonians about their limits, and when Flaccus was about to hear the cause between them, they understood that Agrippa had a mighty influence upon him; so they desired that he would be of their side, and for that favor promised him a great deal of money; so he was zealous in assisting the Damascens as far as he was able. Now Aristobulus had gotten intelligence of this promise of money to him, and accused him to Flaccus of the same; and when, upon a thorough examination of the matter, it appeared plainly so to be, he rejected Agrippa out of the number of his friends. **So he was reduced to the utmost necessity, and came to Ptolemais; and because he knew not where else to get a livelihood, he thought to sail to Italy; but as he was restrained from so doing by want of money, he desired Marsyas, who was his freed-man, to find some method for procuring him so much as he wanted for that purpose, by borrowing such a sum of some person or other.** So Marsyas desired of Peter, who was the freed-man of Bernice, Agrippa's mother, and by the right of her testament was bequeathed to Antonia, to lend so much upon Agrippa's own bond and security; but he accused Agrippa of having defrauded him of certain sums of money, and so obliged Marsyas, when he made the bond of twenty thousand Attic drachmae, to accept of twenty-five hundred drachma as less than what he desired, which the other allowed of, because he could not help it. Upon the receipt of this money, Agrippa came to Anthedon, and took shipping, and was going to set sail; but Herennius Capito, who was the procurator of Jamhis, sent a band of soldiers to demand of him three hundred thousand drachmae of silver, which were by him owing to Caesar's treasury while he was at Rome, and so forced him to stay. **He then pretended that he would do as he bid him; but when night came on, he cut his cables, and went off, and sailed to Alexandria, where he desired Alexander the alabarch to lend him two hundred thousand drachmae; but he said he would not lend it to him, but would not refuse it to Cypros, as greatly astonished at her affection to her husband, and at the other instances of her virtue; so she undertook to repay it. Accordingly, Alexander paid them five talents at Alexandria, and promised to pay them the rest of that sum at Dicearchia [Puteoli]; and this he did out of the fear he was in that Agrippa would soon spend it. So this Cypros set her husband free, and dismissed him to go on with his navigation to Italy, while she and her children departed for Judea.**

4. And now Agrippa was come to Puteoli, whence he wrote a letter to Tiberius Caesar, who then lived at Capreae, and told him that he was come so far in order to wait on him, and to pay him a visit; and desired that he would give him leave to come over to Caprein: so Tiberius made no difficulty, but wrote to him in an obliging way in other respects; and withal told him he was glad of his safe return, and desired him to come to Capreae; and when he was come, he did not fail to treat him as kindly as he had promised him in his letter to do. But the next day came a letter to Caesar from Herennius Capito, to inform him that Agrippa had borrowed three hundred thousand drachmae, and not paid it at the time appointed; but when it was demanded of him, he ran away like a fugitive, out of the places under his government, and put it out of his power to get

the money of him. **When Caesar had read this letter, he was much troubled at it, and gave order that Agrippa should be excluded from his presence until he had paid that debt: upon which he was no way daunted at Caesar's anger, but entreated Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, and of Claudius, who was afterward Caesar himself, to lend him those three hundred thousand drachmae, that he might not be deprived of Tiberius's friendship; so, out of regard to the memory of Bernice his mother, (for those two women were very familiar with one another,) and out of regard to his and Claudius's education together, she lent him the money; and, upon the payment of this debt, there was nothing to hinder Tiberius's friendship to him.** After this, Tiberius Caesar recommended to him his grandson, and ordered that he should always accompany him when he went abroad. **But upon Agrippa's kind reception by Antonia, he betook him to pay his respects to Caius, who was her grandson, and in very high reputation by reason of the goodwill they bare his father. Now there was one Thallus, a freed-man of Caesar, of whom he borrowed a million of drachmae, and thence repaid Antonia the debt he owed her; and by sending the overplus in paying his court to Caius, became a person of great authority with him.**

## Chapter 8

### Philo the Philosopher from Alexandria, Brother of Alexander of Alabarch, Defends the Jews in Rome

**1. THERE was now a tumult arisen at Alexandria, between the Jewish inhabitants and the Greeks;** and three ambassadors were chosen out of each party that were at variance, who came to Caius. Now one of these ambassadors from the people of Alexandria was Apion, who uttered many blasphemies against the Jews; and, among other things that he said, he charged them with neglecting the honors that belonged to Caesar; for that while all who were subject to the Roman empire built altars and temples to Caius, and in other regards universally received him as they received the gods, these Jews alone thought it a dishonorable thing for them to erect statues in honor of him, as well as to swear by his name. Many of these severe things were said by Apion, by which he hoped to provoke Caius to anger at the Jews, as he was likely to be. **But Philo, the principal of the Jewish embassy, a man eminent on all accounts, brother to Alexander the alabarch, and one not unskillful in philosophy, was ready to betake himself to make his defense against those accusations; but Caius prohibited him, and bid him begone;** he was also in such a rage, that it openly appeared he was about to do them some very great mischief. So Philo being thus affronted, went out, and said to those Jews who were about him, that they should be of good courage, since Caius's words indeed showed anger at them, but in reality had already set God against himself.

## Book XIX

### Chapter 5

#### Alexander the Alabarch (Steward to Antonia Minor<sup>1</sup>, Claudius' Mother) is freed<sup>2</sup> by Emperor Claudius

#### Marcus Alexander (Alexander the Alabarch's Younger Son) Weds Bernice, Daughter of Agrippa

#### Marcus Alexander Dies without Children and his Wife Bernice is Given to Agrippa's Brother Herod

**1. NOW** when Claudius had taken out of the way all those soldiers whom he suspected, which he did immediately, he published an edict, and therein confirmed that kingdom to Agrippa which Caius had given him, and therein commended the king highly. He also made all addition to it of all that country over which Herod, who was his grandfather, had reigned, that is, Judea and Samaria; and this he restored to him as due to his family. But for Abila of Lysanias, and all that lay at Mount Libanus, he bestowed them upon him, as out of his own territories. He also made a league with this Agrippa, confirmed by oaths, in the middle of the forum, in the city of Rome: he also took away from Antiochus that kingdom which he was possessed of, but gave him a certain part of Cilicia and Commagena: **he also set Alexander Lysimachus, the alabarch, at liberty, who had been his old friend, and steward to his mother Antonia, but had been imprisoned by Caius, whose son [Marcus] married Bernice, the daughter of Agrippa. But when Marcus, Alexander's son, was dead, who had married her when she was a virgin; Agrippa gave her in marriage to his brother Herod, and begged for him of Claudius the kingdom of Chalcis.**

### Emperor Claudius Affirms the Unique Standing of the Jews of Alexandria

**2. Now about this time there was a sedition between the Jews and the Greeks, at the city of Alexandria;** for when Caius was dead, the nation of the Jews, which had been very much mortified under the reign of Caius, and reduced to very great distress by the people of Alexandria, recovered itself, and immediately took up their arms to fight for themselves. So Claudius sent an order to the president of Egypt to quiet that tumult; he also sent an edict, at the requests of king Agrippa and king Herod, both to Alexandria and to Syria, whose contents were as follows: "Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, high priest, and tribune of the people, ordains thus: **Since I am assured that the Jews of Alexandria, called Alexandrians, have been joint inhabitants in the earliest times with the Alexandrians, and have obtained from their kings equal privileges with them, as is evident by the public records that are in their possession, and the edicts themselves; and that after Alexandria had been subjected to our empire by Augustus, their rights and privileges have been preserved by those presidents who have at divers times been sent thither; and that no dispute had been raised about those rights and privileges, even when Aquila was governor of Alexandria; and that when the Jewish ethnarch was dead, Augustus did not prohibit the making such ethnarchs, as willing that all men should be so subject [to the Romans] as to continue in the observation of their own customs, and not be forced to transgress the ancient rules of their own country religion; but that, in the time of Caius, the Alexandrians became insolent towards the Jews that were among them, which Caius, out of his great madness and want of understanding, reduced the nation of the Jews very low, because they would not transgress the religious worship of their country, and call him a god: I will**

<sup>1</sup> Antonia Minor was a Roman noblewoman, the Niece of Emperor Augustus and the youngest daughter of Triumvir Mark Antony

<sup>2</sup> Alexander of Alabarch was imprisoned by Emperor Caligula (Caius) possibly because of his brother Philo's failed embassy to Caligula

therefore that the nation of the Jews be not deprived of their rights and privileges, on account of the madness of Caius; but that those rights and privileges which they formerly enjoyed be preserved to them, and that they may continue in their own customs. And I charge both parties to take very great care that no troubles may arise after the promulgation of this edict."

### At the Bequest of Agrippa & Herod, Emperor Claudius Extends those Rights to All Jews of the Roman Empire

3. And such were the contents of this edict on behalf of the Jews that was sent to Alexandria. But the edict that was sent into the other parts of the habitable earth was this which follows: "Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, high priest, tribune of the people, chosen consul the second time, ordains thus: **Upon the petition of king Agrippa and king Herod, who are persons very dear to me, that I would grant the same rights and privileges should be preserved to the Jews which are in all the Roman empire, which I have granted to those of Alexandria, I very willingly comply therewith; and this grant I make not only for the sake of the petitioners, but as judging those Jews for whom I have been petitioned worthy of such a favor, on account of their fidelity and friendship to the Romans.** I think it also very just that no Grecian city should be deprived of such rights and privileges, since they were preserved to them under the great Augustus. **It will therefore be fit to permit the Jews, who are in all the world under us, to keep their ancient customs without being hindered so to do. And I do charge them also to use this my kindness to them with moderation, and not to show a contempt of the superstitious observances of other nations, but to keep their own laws only. And I will that this decree of mine be engraven on tables by the magistrates of the cities, and colonies, and municipal places, both those within Italy and those without it, both kings and governors, by the means of the ambassadors, and to have them exposed to the public for full thirty days, in such a place whence it may plainly be read from the ground.**

## Book XX

### Chapter 5

**Tiberius Alexander (Elder Son of Alexander the Alabarch) is made Procurator of Judea by Emperor Claudius**  
**Josephus Mentions the Tremendous Wealth and Political Connections of Alexander the Alabarch**  
**Josephus Mentions the Impiety of Tiberius Alexander vs. the Piety of his Father Alexander the Alabarch**

2. Then came Tiberius Alexander as successor to Fadus; he was the son of Alexander the alabarch of Alexandria, which Alexander was a principal person among all his contemporaries, both for his family and wealth: he was also more eminent for his piety than this his son Alexander, for he did not continue in the religion of his country. Under these procurators that great famine happened in Judea, in which queen Helena bought corn in Egypt at a great expense, and distributed it to those that were in want, as I have related already. **And besides this, the sons of Judas of Galilee were now slain;** I mean of that Judas who caused the people to revolt, when Cyrenius came to take an account of the estates of the Jews, as we have showed in a foregoing book. **The names of those sons were James and Simon, whom Alexander commanded to be crucified.** But now Herod, king of Chalcis, removed Joseph, the son of Camydu, from the high priesthood, and made Ananias, the son of Nebedeu, his successor. **And now it was that Cumanus came as successor to Tiberius Alexander; as also that Herod, brother of Agrippa the great king, departed this life, in the eighth year of the reign of Claudius Caesar. He left behind him three sons; Aristobulus, whom he had by his first wife, with Bernicianus, and Hyrcanus, both whom he had by Bernice his brother's daughter.** But Claudius Caesar bestowed his dominions on Agrippa, junior.

## The Wars of the Jews, Flavius Josephus

### Book II

#### Chapter 11

**Emperor Claudius Grants Agrippa Rule over Judea**

5. When Claudius heard this, he restrained the violence of the soldiery, and received the senate into the camp, and treated them after an obliging manner, and went out with them presently to offer their thank-offerings to God, which were proper upon, his first coming to the empire. **Moreover, he bestowed on Agrippa his whole paternal kingdom immediately, and added to it, besides those countries that had been given by Augustus to Herod, Trachonitis and Auranitis, and still besides these, that kingdom which was called the kingdom of Lysanius.** This gift he declared to the people by a decree, but ordered the magistrates to have the donation engraved on tables of brass, and to be set up in the capitol. **He bestowed on his brother Herod, who was also his son-in-law, by marrying [his daughter] Bernice, the kingdom of Chalcis.**

**Tiberius Alexander (Elder Son of Alexander the Alabarch) is made Procurator of Judea by Emperor Claudius**

6. **So now riches flowed in to Agrippa by his enjoyment of so large a dominion;** nor did he abuse the money he had on small matters, but he began to encompass Jerusalem with such a wall, which, had it been brought to perfection, had made it impracticable for the Romans to take it by siege; but his death, which happened at Cesarea, before he had raised the walls to their due height, prevented him. He had then reigned three years, as he had governed his tetrarchies three other years. **He left behind him three daughters, born to him by Cypros, Bernice, Mariamne, and Drusilla, and a son born of the same mother, whose name was Agrippa: he was left a very young child, so that Claudius made the country a Roman province, and sent Cuspius Fadus to be its procurator, and after him Tiberius Alexander, who, making no alterations of the ancient laws, kept the nation in tranquillity. Now after this, Herod the king of Chalcis died, and left behind him two sons, born to him of his brother's daughter Bernice; their names were Bernie Janus and Hyrcanus. [He also left behind him] Aristobulus, whom he had by his former wife Mariamne. There was besides another brother**

of his that died a private person, his name was also Aristobulus, who left behind him a daughter, whose name was Jotape: and these, as I have formerly said, were the children of Aristobulus the son of Herod, which Aristobulus and Alexander were born to Herod by Mariamne, and were slain by him. But as for Alexander's posterity, they reigned in Armenia.

## Chapter 15

### Emperor Nero Appoints Tiberius Alexander (Elder Son of Alexander the Alabarch) Prefect of Egypt Bernice<sup>3</sup> is a Nazira and begs for the Salvation of the Jews of Yerushalayim

1. **ABOUT this very time king Agrippa was going to Alexandria, to congratulate Alexander upon his having obtained the government of Egypt from Nero; but as his sister Bernice was come to Jerusalem, and saw the wicked practices of the soldiers, she was sorely affected at it, and frequently sent the masters of her horse and her guards to Florus, and begged of him to leave off these slaughters; but he would not comply with her request, nor have any regard either to the multitude of those already slain, or to the nobility of her that interceded, but only to the advantage he should make by this plundering; nay, this violence of the soldiers brake out to such a degree of madness, that it spent itself on the queen herself, for they did not only torment and destroy those whom they had caught under her very eyes, but indeed had killed herself also, unless she had prevented them by flying to the palace, and had staid there all night with her guards, which she had about her for fear of an insult from the soldiers. Now she dwelt then at Jerusalem, in order to perform a vow which she had made to God; for it is usual with those that had been either afflicted with a distemper, or with any other distresses, to make vows; and for thirty days before they are to offer their sacrifices, to abstain from wine, and to shave the hair of their head. Which things Bernice was now performing, and stood barefoot before Florus's tribunal, and besought him [to spare the Jews]. Yet could she neither have any reverence paid to her, nor could she escape without some danger of being slain herself.**

## Chapter 18

### The Special Status of the Jews of Alexandria

#### The Jews Reject the Entreaties of Tiberius Alexander (Elder Son of Alexander the Alabarch)

7. **But for Alexandria, the sedition of the people of the place against the Jews was perpetual, and this from that very time when Alexander [the Great], upon finding the readiness of the Jews in assisting him against the Egyptians, and as a reward for such their assistance, gave them equal privileges in this city with the Grecians themselves; which honorary reward Continued among them under his successors, who also set apart for them a particular place, that they might live without being polluted [by the Gentiles], and were thereby not so much intermixed with foreigners as before; they also gave them this further privilege, that they should be called Macedonians. Nay, when the Romans got possession of Egypt, neither the first Caesar, nor any one that came after him, thought of diminishing the honors which Alexander had bestowed on the Jews. But still conflicts perpetually arose with the Grecians; and although the governors did every day punish many of them, yet did the sedition grow worse; but at this time especially, when there were tumults in other places also, the disorders among them were put into a greater flame; for when the Alexandrians had once a public assembly, to deliberate about an embassy they were sending to Nero, a great number of Jews came flocking to the theater; but when their adversaries saw them, they immediately cried out, and called them their enemies, and said they came as spies upon them; upon which they rushed out, and laid violent hands upon them; and as for the rest, they were slain as they ran away; but there were three men whom they caught, and hauled them along, in order to have them burnt alive; but all the Jews came in a body to defend them, who at first threw stones at the Grecians, but after that they took lamps, and rushed with violence into the theater, and threatened that they would burn the people to a man; and this they had soon done, unless Tiberius Alexander, the governor of the city, had restrained their passions. However, this man did not begin to teach them wisdom by arms, but sent among them privately some of the principal men, and thereby entreated them to be quiet, and not provoke the Roman army against them; but the seditious made a jest of the entreaties of Tiberius, and reproached him for so doing.**

#### Tiberius Alexander Instructs Two Roman Legions to Slaughter and Plunder the Jews of Alexandria

8. **Now when he perceived that those who were for innovations would not be pacified till some great calamity should overtake them, he sent out upon them those two Roman legions that were in the city, and together with them five thousand other soldiers, who, by chance, were come together out of Libya, to the ruin of the Jews. They were also permitted not only to kill them, but to plunder them of what they had, and to set fire to their houses. These soldiers rushed violently into that part of the city that was called Delta, where the Jewish people lived together, and did as they were bidden, though not without bloodshed on their own side also; for the Jews got together, and set those that were the best armed among them in the forefront, and made a resistance for a great while; but when once they gave back, they were destroyed unmercifully; and this their destruction was complete, some being caught in the open field, and others forced into their houses, which houses were first plundered of what was in them, and then set on fire by the Romans; wherein no mercy was shown to the infants, and no regard had to the aged; but they went on in the slaughter of persons of every age, till all the place was overflowed with blood, and fifty thousand of them lay dead upon heaps; nor had the remainder been preserved, had they not be-taken themselves to supplication. So Alexander commiserated their condition, and gave orders to the Romans to retire; accordingly, these being accustomed to obey orders, left off killing at the first intimation; but the populace of Alexandria bare so very great hatred to the Jews, that it was difficult to recall them, and it was a hard thing to make them leave their dead bodies.**

<sup>3</sup> Daughter of Agrippa I, Widow of Marcus Alexander, Sister-in-Law of Tiberius Alexander, Sister of Agrippa Junior  
[www.swdaf.com](http://www.swdaf.com)

## Book V

### Chapter 1

#### Tiberius Alexander is the Top Advisor and General to Titus in his Siege of Yerushalayim

#### Tiberius Alexander Granted Early Support to Vespasian's run for Emperor

6. Thus did John hope to be too hard for his enemies by these engines constructed by his impiety; but God himself demonstrated that his pains would prove of no use to him, by bringing the Romans upon him, before he had reared any of his towers; for Titus, when he had gotten together part of his forces about him, and had ordered the rest to meet him at Jerusalem, marched out of Cesarea. He had with him those three legions that had accompanied his father when he laid Judea waste, together with that twelfth legion which had been formerly beaten with Cestius; which legion, as it was otherwise remarkable for its valor, so did it march on now with greater alacrity to avenge themselves on the Jews, as remembering what they had formerly suffered from them. Of these legions he ordered the fifth to meet him, by going through Emmaus, and the tenth to go up by Jericho; he also moved himself, together with the rest; besides whom, marched those auxiliaries that came from the kings, being now more in number than before, together with a considerable number that came to his assistance from Syria. **Those also that had been selected out of these four legions, and sent with Mucianus to Italy, had their places filled up out of these soldiers that came out of Egypt with Titus; who were two thousand men, chosen out of the armies at Alexandria. There followed him also three thousand drawn from those that guarded the river Euphrates; as also there came Tiberius Alexander, who was a friend of his, most valuable, both for his good-will to him, and for his prudence. He had formerly been governor of Alexandria, but was now thought worthy to be general of the army [under Titus]. The reason of this was, that he had been the first who encouraged Vespasian very lately to accept this his new dominion, and joined himself to him with great fidelity, when things were uncertain, and fortune had not yet declared for him. He also followed Titus as a counselor, very useful to him in this war, both by his age and skill in such affairs.**

### Chapter 4

#### Alexander the Alabarch (Father of Tiberius Alexander) Donated the Gold and Silver to Upgrade the Gates of the Azara

#### The Eastern Gate to the Azara was made of Corinthian Brass (Sh'ar Nikanor)

3. **Now nine of these gates were on every side covered over with gold and silver, as were the jambs of their doors and their lintels; but there was one gate that was without the [inward court of the] holy house, which was of Corinthian brass, and greatly excelled those that were only covered over with silver and gold.** Each gate had two doors, whose height was severally thirty cubits, and their breadth fifteen. However, they had large spaces within of thirty cubits, and had on each side rooms, and those, both in breadth and in length, built like towers, and their height was above forty cubits. Two pillars did also support these rooms, and were in circumference twelve cubits. Now the magnitudes of the other gates were equal one to another; but that over the Corinthian gate, which opened on the east over against the gate of the holy house itself, was much larger; for its height was fifty cubits; and its doors were forty cubits; and it was adorned after a most costly manner, as having much richer and thicker plates of silver and gold upon them than the other. **These nine gates had that silver and gold poured upon them by Alexander, the father of Tiberius.** Now there were fifteen steps, which led away from the wall of the court of the women to this greater gate; whereas those that led thither from the other gates were five steps shorter.

## Book VI

### Chapter 4

#### Tiberius Alexander is the Commander of Titus' Army Laying Siege to Yerushalayim

#### Tiberius Alexander Agrees with Titus' Decision Not to Destroy the Beit Hamikdash

3. **But then, on the next day, Titus commanded part of his army to quench the fire, and to make a road for the more easy marching up of the legions, while he himself gathered the commanders together. Of those there were assembled the six principal persons: Tiberius Alexander, the commander [under the general] of the whole army; with Sextus Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion; and Larcius Lepidus, the commander of the tenth legion; and Titus Frigius, the commander of the fifteenth legion: there was also with them Eternius, the leader of the two legions that came from Alexandria; and Marcus Antonius Julianus, procurator of Judea: after these came together all the rest of the procurators and tribunes. Titus proposed to these that they should give him their advice what should be done about the holy house. Now some of these thought it would be the best way to act according to the rules of war, [and demolish it,] because the Jews would never leave off rebelling while that house was standing; at which house it was that they used to get all together. Others of them were of opinion, that in case the Jews would leave it, and none of them would lay their arms up in it, he might save it; but that in case they got upon it, and fought any more, he might burn it; because it must then be looked upon not as a holy house, but as a citadel; and that the impiety of burning it would then belong to those that forced this to be done, and not to them. But Titus said, that "although the Jews should get upon that holy house, and fight us thence, yet ought we not to revenge ourselves on things that are inanimate, instead of the men themselves;" and that he was not in any case for burning down so vast a work as that was, because this would be a mischief to the Romans themselves, as it would be an ornament to their government while it continued. So Fronto, and Alexander, and Cerealis grew bold upon that declaration, and agreed to the opinion of Titus.** Then was this assembly dissolved, when Titus had given orders to the commanders that the rest of their forces should lie still; but that they should make use of such as were most courageous in this attack. So he commanded that the chosen men that were taken out of the cohorts should make their way through the ruins, and quench the fire.

**תלמוד בבלי מסכת יומא דף לח עמוד ב**

תנו רבנן: בן קמצר לא רצה ללמד על מעשה הכתב. אמרו עליו שהיה נוטל ארבעה קולמוסין בין אצבעותיו, ואם היתה תיבה של ארבע אותיות - היה כותבה בבת אחת. אמרו לו: מה ראית שלא ללמד? כולן מצאו תשובה לדבריהם, בן קמצר לא מצא תשובה לדבריו. על הראשונים נאמר +משלי י+ זכר צדיק לברכה, ועל בן קמצר וחבריו נאמר ושם רשעים ירקב.

**רש"י מסכת יומא דף לח עמוד א**

על מעשה הכתב - קושר ארבעה קולמוסין בארבע אצבעותיו וכתב שם בן ארבע אותיות כאחד.

**שו"ת משאת בנימין סימן צט**

עץ שתול על פלגי מים. ראשו מגיע השמים כאבן מאבני שיש אל תאמרו מים. הלא הוא אהו' בני אב וראש בחכמות הרמות העמוקות ר"מ ואב"ד מוהר"ר אברהם נר"ו. אשר שאלתני על הספרים הנדפסים בדפוס אם יש להן דין קדושת ספרים הנכתבים בכתיבה ובקולמוס. עוד שאלת על מה סומכין האידיא שכורכין ספרי' בכריכה וחוטכין הגליונו' כדרך האומנין שעושין בכריכה וזורקין הגליונות לארץ ולאשפה ואנן חזינן בסמ"ג שכתב שאם כתב שם על היריעה שכל היריעה קדושה:

תשובה על ראשון ראשון ועל אחרון אחרון. שאלת על קדושת ספרים הנדפסים נראה דאין לחלק בין ספרים הנכתבים בכתיבה ובין ספרים הנדפסים בדפוס וכל הקדושה שיש לספרים הנכתבים יש גם כן לספרים הנדפסים דמה לי בכתיבה מה לי בחקיקה ועיין בתשובת ר' מנחם עזריה סימן צ"ג כדאמרינן בפרק שני דגיטין גבי עבד שיצא בכתב שעל גבי טבלא ופנקס יצא לחירות וכו'. וציץ הקודש נמי לא היה בכתיבה אלא בחקיקה כדאמרינן התם לא היה כתבו שקוע אלא בולט כדינרי זהב אעפ"י כן כתיב ביה מכתב פתוחי חותם אלמא כתיבה היא והלוחות נמי היה בחקיקה כדכתיב חרות על הלוחות ועפ"י כן קורא אותם כתיבה בכמה מקראות שנא' והמכתב מכתב אלדי' ואומר כתובי' באצבע אלדי' וכמו שכתבו שם התוספות וש"מ דחקיקה וכתובה חדא מלתא היא. והא דתניא התם וכתב לה ספ' כריתות ולא חקק הא אוקימנא התם בחק תוכות אבל בחק ירכות שפיר דמי. וכי תימא דשאני חקיקה שחוקק גוף האותיות כמו בלוחות שהכתב היה חקוק ושקוע והיינו חק ירכות וכדאמרינן בעלמא מ"ם וסמ"ך שבלוחות בנס היו עומדין וגבי ציץ נמי אף על גב שהיו אותיותיו בולטות כדינרי זהב מכל מקום התם נמי חק ירכות הוא שהיה עושה מעשה בגוף האותיות וכדאמרינן התם כדינרי זהב ולא כדינרי זהב דאלו התם תוכות והכא ירכות התם מגוואי והכא מבראי. ופי' רש"י ז"ל ירכות שהיה ציץ דק כעין טס וצר האותיות מעבר האחד ודוחק ירכותיהן והן בולטות מעבר השני מבראי ציץ דוחק מבראי והיא בולטת מגוואי וש"מ דבין בלוחות ובין בציץ היתה החקיקה על ידי מעשה שבגוף האותיות משא"כ במלאכת הדפוס שאין הכתב לא שקוע ולא בולט רק שמדבק הדיו בנייר ע"י הרושם האותיות הא לא קשיא היא דהא כל כתיבה ממש נמי אין האותיות שקועות ולא בולטות אלא שמדבק הדיו בנייר או בקלף על ידי הקולמוס ומה לי ע"י הקולמוס ומה לי ע"י הדפוס. ועוד ראייה מדקתני התם אבל לא בכתב שעל גבי כיפה ואנדוכתרי פירש רש"י אנדוכתרי תכשיט ורוקמין עליו צורות במחט כעין ברו"דיר בלע"ז ואם רקמו עליהן אותיות הגט אינו כתב לפי שאינו כתוב וקבוע אלא מוטל על הבגד וב' ראשיו תחובין ע"כ ומשמע דהיינו טעמא לפי שאינו כתוב וקבוע אלא מוטל על הבגד הא אם היה כתוב ודבוק הוה כתב מעליא אף על פי שאין כאן לא כתב ולא דיו ולא נייר ולא קלף מכ"ש במלאכת הדפוס שכתב בדיו ודבק על הנייר או הקלף שיש לו דין כתב מעליא לכל דבר. ואכתי איכא למידק לכאורה דשאני מלאכת הדפוס שמדפיס כל הדף בכתב בבת אחת ובכח אחד שלא כדרך הכתיבה שכותבין כל אות ואת בפני עצמו ואיכא למימר דכל אות ואת בעי כח וקדושה בפני עצמו ולא די לנו בכח וקדושה אחת לכמה תיבות ואותיות. אכן נראה דאדרבה איפכא מסתברא דמעלה יתירה וקדושה רבה איכא יותר בכותב בבת אחת מבכותב בזה אחר זה כל אות ואת בפני עצמו כדאשכחן במסכת יומא בפרק אמר להם הממונה גבי בן קמצר שהיה נוטל ארבע קולמוסין בין אצבעותיו וכתב שם בן ד' בבת אחת ומסיק שם שלא היה רוצה ללמוד על מעשה הכתב ולכך אמרו עליו שם רשעים ירקב ומדאמרו עליו שם רשעים ירקב בשביל שלא היה רוצה ללמוד ש"מ דמעלייתא היא לכתוב את השם בבת אחת דומיא דהנך עובדא דסמוך ליה דבית גרמי שהיו בקיאי במעשה לחם הפנים ובית אבטינוס היו בקיאי במעשה הקטורת ולא רצו ללמוד ומפני מעלה יתירה שהיה להם במעשה הקטורת ובלחם הפנים והיו חוששין שמא ילמוד אדם שאינו הגון ויעשה כן לפני ע"ז ומפני שטעם הגון הוא ולשם שמים נתכוונו לא רצו לגלות המעלה יתירה שבקטורת ובלחם הפנים לכך אמרו עליהן זכר צדיק לברכה. אבל בן קמצר שלא היה רוצה ללמוד המעלה יתירה שבמעשה הכתב בלא שום טעם בעולם אמרו עליו שם רשעים ירקב ומאחר שזה היה יודע לכתוב כל אותיות שם בבת אחת יחשב לו למעלה גדולה ויתירה בלי ספק שיש בזה סוד וקדושה רבה יותר מבשם שנכתבו אותיותיו זה אחר זה ואם כן ה"ה נמי במלאכת הדפוס שלנו שמדפיס כל הדף בבת אחת לאו גריעותא וקדושה קלה הוא אלא אדרבה מעלה יתירה וקדושה רבה הוא. ואף על גב דיש לדחות ולחלק ולומר דגבי שם אחד דוקא הוי מעלייתא לכותבו בבת אחת מבזה אחר זה משא"כ במלאכת הדפוס שמדפיס כמה שמות בב"א וזה לא יתכן משום דקי"ל שצריך להוציא בשפתיו בכל פעם שכותב שם שכותב לשם קדושת השם ואינו מספיק שיוציא בשפתיו פעם אחת לכמה שמות. נראה דודאי לקדושת ס"ת דינא הכי הוא ולא לגבי שאר ספרים. ועי"ל דגבי ס"ת נמי כשכותב ב' שמות או ג' סמוכים זה אחר זה אין צריך לקדש כל שם בפני עצמו ולא אמרינן שצריך לקדש כל שם ושם בפני עצמו רק בשמות שאינן סמוכין שכותב כמה תיבות בין שם לשם והוי הפסקה אבל בשכותב כמה שמות בלי הפסקה די להם בקידוש אחד והכי מוכח מדברי ב"י בטור י"ד סי' ע"ו גבי היה לו לכתוב ב' שמות זה אחר זה יפסיק ביניהם וישב שכתב על זה ונראה שכשיחזור לכתוב שם שני צריך לחזור לומר שהוא כותבו לשם קדושת השם ומשמע דוקא בכי האי גוונא שהפסיק בדיבור בין שם לשם ומשום הכי צריך לחזור ולקדש הא לאו הכי די בקידוש אחד לב' השמות. ולפי זה בספרים הנדפסים שמדפיס כל הדף בפעם אחד ובכח אחד די בקידוש אחד לכל הדף שהרי אין כאן הפסק כלל ולפי זה נראה לי דה"ה נמי אם כותב הסופר כמה שמות בבת אחת וכגון שלפעמים לא היה הסופר טהור ובשביל זה דילג השם והניח לו מקום וכשתייהר עצמו בא לכתבם בבת אחת כמו שכתב הרב ב"י בשם נ"י שאז די לו לסופר בקידוש אחד לכל השמות לפי שאנו /שאינו/ מפסיק ביניהם. ודי בזה לשאלתך קמייתא שיצא הדין שהספרים הנדפסים יש להם כל קדושה שבספרים הנכתבים בכתיבה. אחר שכתבתי זה מצאתי להדיא לרבינו ירוחם בספר אדם נ"ב חלק ב' שמביא לתשובת הרמב"ם שהשיג דאין חילוק בין כתיבה לחריטה ולרקימה והוכיח שם בראיות ברורות וע"ש. נאם בנימין אהרן ב"ר אברהם סלניק ז"ל: