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JOSEPHUS

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**JOSEPHUS**  
**JEWISH ANTIQUITIES**  
**BOOK XX**  
**GENERAL INDEX**

**WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY**  
**LOUIS H. FELDMAN**



**HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS**  
**CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS**  
**LONDON, ENGLAND**

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*First published 1965*  
*Reprinted 1969, 1981, 1993, 1996*

ISBN 0-674-99502-3

*Printed in Great Britain by St Edmundsbury Press Ltd,  
Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, on acid-free paper.  
Bound by Hunter & Foulis Ltd, Edinburgh, Scotland.*

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## PREFATORY NOTE

THE text of this volume, as of the previous volumes of this version of Josephus, is substantially that of Niese in his *editio maior*, but with a number of changes suggested by other scholars. The manuscript tradition for the last ten books of the *Antiquities* is discussed at length by Niese in the third volume of his edition, pp. iii-lvii, and summarized briefly by Ralph Marcus in the prefatory note to the sixth volume of this series. In translating these books I have, in a number of places, adopted felicitous renderings found in the rough draft left by Dr. Thackeray. Whiston's version may contain many inaccuracies, but it often is hard to improve upon for sheer verve of style, and I have not hesitated in several places to adopt his phraseology. In composing the commentary, I have learned much, especially as to bibliography, from the notes of the late Prof. Ralph Marcus in his personal copy of Josephus, which Mrs. Marcus has been kind enough to place at my disposal.

The text, translation, and commentary of this edition were submitted to the printer in September, 1960. Scholarship after this date has elucidated several points in the commentary; for references see my critical bibliography, *Scholarship on Philo and Josephus (1937-1962)*, published this year under the auspices of Yeshiva University.



## PREFATORY NOTE

In a number of textual matters I have received assistance from Prof. Hans Petersen and from the editors of the Loeb Library. In the translation I owe much to the suggestions of my mentor, Prof. James A. Notopoulos, and the editors. Rabbi Isaiah Molotin has elucidated several passages for me from his fund of Talmudic knowledge. Finally, in the preparation of the index,\* I have been aided greatly by Nathan H. Epstein, Julian Plante, Fred Schreiber, Emanuel White, and, above all, my wife Rivkah. To all of them I am sincerely grateful.

LOUIS H. FELDMAN

13 August 1963

\* The index, covering all the works of Josephus, has been compiled independently of those at the end of volumes I and III of this series, as well as of that of Niese in his *editio maior*, but it has been checked against all of these.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES

## ΙΟΥΔΑΪΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

### ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Κ

(i. 1) Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα, καθὼς ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης ἀπηγγέλκαμεν βίβλῳ, πέμπει Μάρσῳ διάδοχον Κλαύδιος Καίσαρ Κάσσιον Λογγίνον, μνήμη τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦτο χαρίζομενος, πολλὰ διὰ γραμμάτων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περιόντος ἀξιωθεὶς μηκέτι Μάρσον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν 2 πραγμάτων προϊστασθαι. Φᾶδος δὲ ὡς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπίτροπος ἀφίκετο, καταλαμβάνει στασιάσαντας τοὺς τὴν Περαιάν κατοικοῦντας<sup>1</sup> Ἰουδαίους πρὸς Φιλαδελφηνούς περὶ ὄρων κώμης Ζιάς<sup>3</sup> λεγομένης πολεμικῶν<sup>3</sup> ἀνδρῶν ἀνάπλευ· καὶ δὴ οἱ τῆς Περαιάς χωρὶς γνώμης τῆς τῶν πρώτων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα πολλοὺς τῶν Φιλαδελφῶν 3 φηνῶν διαφθείρουσιν. ταῦτα πυθόμενον τὸν Φᾶδον σφόδρα παρώξυνεν, ὅτι μὴ τὴν κρίσιν αὐτῷ παρα-

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς τὴν Περαιάν κατοικοῦντας] Iudaeos habitantes trans fluvium Lat.

<sup>2</sup> Reland: *μαῖς* codd.: *meas* Lat.

<sup>3</sup> MWE: *πολεμίων* A: *armatorum* Lat.

<sup>a</sup> *Ant.* xix. 350.

<sup>b</sup> Consul in A.D. 30, proconsul of Asia in 40, governor of Syria from 45 to 50. His pre-eminence as a jurist is noted by Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 12; for an example of his legal mind see *Ann.* xiv. 43-44.

<sup>c</sup> Procurator A.D. 44-45. Cf. *Ant.* xix. 363-366.

<sup>d</sup> For a description of Peraea see *B.J.* iii. 44-47, according

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES

### BOOK XX

(i. 1) On the death of King Agrippa, as I reported in the previous book,<sup>a</sup> Claudius Caesar sent Cassius Longinus<sup>b</sup> as successor to Marsus. He did this in deference to the memory of the king, who in his lifetime had often sent him letters asking that Marsus might no longer have charge of the administration of Syria. Fadus,<sup>c</sup> on his arrival in Judaea as procurator, found that the Jewish inhabitants of Peraea<sup>d</sup> had fallen out with the people of Philadelphia<sup>e</sup> over the boundaries of a village called Zia,<sup>f</sup> which was infested with warlike men.<sup>g</sup> Moreover, the Peraeans, who had taken up arms without the sanction of their leaders, inflicted much loss of life on the Philadelphians. Fadus, on being informed of this, was greatly incensed that the Peraeans, granted that they thought

Cassius Longinus is appointed governor of Syria. Fadus arrives as procurator of Judaea.

Dispute about boundaries between the Peraeans and the people of Philadelphia.

to which it was a trans-Jordanian region extending in length from Machaerus to Pella and in breadth from Philadelphia to the Jordan.

<sup>e</sup> Biblical Rabbah of Ammon, modern *Amman*, capital of the kingdom of Jordan. It was called Philadelphia after Ptolemy II Philadelphiaus.

<sup>f</sup> mss. "Mia," *i.e.* "one," the name of the village having dropped out, according to Niese. Reland, followed by Havercamp, Tuch, and Schürer (ii. 146 and n. 348), reads Zia, the name of a village fifteen Roman miles west of Philadelphia. On Zia see Eusebius, *Onom. Sac.*, ed. Larsow and Parthey, pp. 200-201.

<sup>g</sup> Variant "their enemies."

λίποινεν, εἶπερ ὑπὸ τῶν Φιλαδελφινῶν ἐνόμιζον  
 4 ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅπλα χωρήσειαν. λαβῶν οὖν  
 τρεῖς τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶν τοὺς καὶ τῆς στάσεως  
 αἰτίους δῆσαι προσέταξεν, εἶτα τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν  
 ἀνεῖλεν, Ἀνίβας<sup>2</sup> δ' ἦν ὄνομα τοῦτω, Ἀμαράμω<sup>3</sup>  
 δὲ καὶ Ἐλεάζαρ<sup>4</sup> τοῖς δυοῖν φυγῆν ἐπέβαλεν.  
 5 ἀναιρεῖται δὲ καὶ Θολομαῖος<sup>4</sup> ὁ ἀρχιληστής μετ' οὐ  
 πολὺν χρόνον ἀχθεῖς ἐπ' αὐτὸν δέσμιος<sup>5</sup> διατεθεικὼς  
 μέγιστα κακὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τοὺς Ἀραβας,  
 ἐκαθάρθη τε λησστηρίων ἅπανα τὸν τεύθεν Ἰουδαία<sup>6</sup>  
 6 προνοία καὶ φροντίδι τῇ Φάδου· ὃς δὴ καὶ τότε  
 μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τοὺς πρώτους  
 τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν<sup>7</sup> παρήνευσεν αὐτοῖς τὸν ποδῆρη  
 χιτῶνα καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν στολήν, ἣν φορεῖν μόνος ὁ  
 ἀρχιερεὺς ἔθος ἔχει, εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν, ἥπερ ἐστὶ  
 φρούριον, καταθέσθαι κεισομένην ὑπὸ τῇ Ῥωμαίων  
 7 ἐξουσίᾳ, καθὰ δὴ καὶ πρότερον ἦν. οἱ δὲ ἀντιλέγου  
 μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμων, παρεκάλουν δ' ὁμως τὸν τε

<sup>1</sup> ἀλλ' ἀλλ' ἀδεῶς E.

<sup>2</sup> AW: Ἀνίβα M: antibam Lat.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀμεράνω Busb. teste Hudsono.

<sup>4</sup> Θολομαῖος E teste Hudsono et i. marg. A: Θολομαῖος codd.  
 i. argumento: Ptolemaeus Lat.

<sup>5</sup> ἀχθεῖς ἐπ' αὐτὸν δέσμιος] A (ἐπ' αὐτὸν . . . μέγιστ i. ras.  
 m. 2 angustius scriptae): ἀχθεῖς ἐπ' αὐτὸν MW: ἀχθεῖς δέ-  
 σμιος ὑπ' αὐτὸν E: captus et ad eum deductus Lat.

<sup>6</sup> Ἰουδαία A: ἡ Ἰουδαία MW: ἡ τε Ἰουδαία καὶ Ἀραβία E  
 teste Hudsono.

<sup>7</sup> κατὰ τὴν κέλευσιν τοῦ αυτοκράτορος ante παρήνευσεν add. E.

<sup>a</sup> "In chains" is found in the Ambrosian ms. and in the Epitome only.

themselves wronged by the Philadelphians, had not waited for him to give judgement but had instead resorted to arms. He therefore seized three of their leaders, who were in fact responsible for the revolt and ordered them to be held prisoner. Next he put one of them, named Annibas, to death, and imposed exile on the other two, Amaramus and Eleazar. Not long afterwards Tholomaeus the arch-brigand, who had inflicted very severe mischief upon Idumaea and upon the Arabs, was brought before him in chains<sup>a</sup> and put to death. From then on the whole of Judaea was purged of robber-bands, thanks to the prudent concern displayed by Fadus.<sup>b</sup> He also at that time sent for the chief priests and the leaders of the people of Jerusalem and advised them to deposit the full-length tunic and the sacred robe, which it was the custom for the high priest alone to wear, in Antonia,<sup>c</sup> which is a fortress. There they were to be entrusted to the authority of the Romans, as in fact they had been in times past.<sup>d</sup> They did not dare to gainsay him, but nevertheless they petitioned Fadus and

Fadus orders the high priest's vestments returned to Roman custody.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. another account in Josephus of the following incident, *Ant.* xv. 406-407.

<sup>c</sup> Restored by Herod the Great and called Antonia in honour of Mark Antony (*B.J.* i. 401 and *Ant.* xviii. 92), described at length in *B.J.* v. 238-247.

<sup>d</sup> *Ant.* xv. 406. Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 93, which notes that after the reign of Archelaus, the successor of Herod the Great, when the Romans took over the government of Judaea, they assumed control of the high priest's vestments. According to *Ant.* xviii. 90, Vitellius, the Roman governor of Syria, had agreed, in A.D. 36-37, to allow the Jews to resume custody of these vestments. The passage parallel with ours, *B.J.* ii. 220, praises Cuspius Fadus for abstaining from any interference with the Jewish customs and for thus keeping the nation at peace; but the advice to deposit the high priest's sacred garments in Antonia did constitute such an interference.

Φάδον καὶ τὸν Λογγίνον,<sup>1</sup> ἀφίκετο γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πολλὴν ἐπαγόμενος δύναμιν φόβῳ τοῦ μὴ τὰ προστάγματα Φάδου τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων νωτερίζειν ἀναγκάσει, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι πρέσβεις ὡς Καίσαρα πέμψαι τοὺς αἰτησομένους παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἱερὰν στολὴν ὑπὸ τῆν αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν, εἶτα δὲ περιμεῖναι μέχρις ἂν 8 γνῶσιν, τί πρὸς ταῦτα Κλαύδιος ἀποκρίναιτο. οἱ δὲ ἐπιτρέψαι αὐτοῖς ἔφασαν ἀποστεῖλαι τοὺς πρέσβεις, εἰ λάβοιεν τοὺς παῖδας ὀμηρεύουσας. ὑπακουσάντων δ' ἐτοίμως ἐκείνων καὶ δόντων ἐξεπέμ- 9 φθησαν οἱ πρέσβεις. παραγενομένων δὲ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτῶν γνοὺς ὁ νεώτερος Ἀγρίππας ὁ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος παῖς, καθ' ἣν ἤκουσιν αἰτίαν, ἐτύγγχανεν δὲ ὦν παρὰ Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι, καθὼς καὶ πρότερον εἶπομεν, παρακαλεῖ τὸν Καίσαρα συγχωρήσαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἅπερ ἠξίουεν περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς στολῆς καὶ Φάδῳ περὶ τούτων ἐπιστεῖλαι.

10 (2) Καλέσας δὲ Κλαύδιος τοὺς πρέσβεις ἔφη ταῦτα συγχωρεῖν καὶ ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς Ἀγρίππα χάριν εἶδέναι, ταῦτα γὰρ ἐκείνου ποιεῖν ἀξιώσαντος, ἐπὶ τε ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν τοιαύτην ἐπιστολὴν ἔδωκεν· 11 “Κλαύδιος Καίσαρ Γερμανικὸς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ πέμπτον ὑπάτος ἀποδεδειγμένος τὸ τέταρτον αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ δέκατον πατὴρ πατρίδος Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ Ἰουδαίων παντὶ 12 ἔθνει χαίρειν. Ἀγρίππα τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ὃν ἐγὼ ἔθρεψα καὶ ἔχω σὺν ἑμαντῶ εὐσεβέστατον ὄντα, προσαγαγόντος μοι τοὺς ὑμετέρους πρέσβεις εὐχαριστοῦντας

<sup>1</sup> τὸν τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐπίτροπον post Λογγίνον add. E.

Longinus—for the latter, out of fear that Fadus' commands would force the Jewish people into rebellion, had himself come to Jerusalem with a large force—first to allow them to send a delegation to Caesar to ask him for permission to keep the sacred robe in their own hands, and secondly to wait until they knew what answer Claudius made to this petition. Fadus and Longinus replied that they would permit them to send a delegation if their children were delivered as hostages to them. To this they promptly agreed and delivered the hostages, whereupon the envoys were dispatched. On their arrival in Rome the younger Agrippa, son of the deceased king, who, as I said before,<sup>a</sup> was, as a matter of fact, at the court of Claudius Caesar, took note of the purpose of their coming and entreated Caesar to grant the Jews their petition regarding the sacred robe and to send a letter to Fadus to that effect.

(2) Claudius, when he had summoned the envoys, informed them that he was granting their petition, adding that they must thank Agrippa for it, since he was acting at Agrippa's request. To confirm his answer, he gave them a letter, which I quote: “Claudius Caesar Germanicus, in the fifth year of tribunician power, designated consul for the fourth time, Emperor for the tenth time, Father of his country, to the rulers, council, and people of Jerusalem<sup>b</sup> and to the whole nation of the Jews, greeting. My friend Agrippa, whom I have brought up and now have with me, a man of the greatest piety, brought your envoys before me. They gave thanks for the

Claudius allows the Jews to keep the high priest's vestments.

<sup>a</sup> Ant. xix. 360.

<sup>b</sup> On Jerusalem as the civil centre of the Jewish state cf. Ant. xiv. 74.

ἐφ' ἣ πεποίημαι τοῦ ἔθνους ὑμῶν κηδεμονία, καὶ  
 αἰτησαμένων<sup>1</sup> σπουδαίως καὶ φιλοτίμως τὴν ἱερὰν  
 ἐσθήτα καὶ τὸν στέφανον ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὑμῶν  
 εἶναι, συγχωρῶ καθὼς ὁ κράτιστος καὶ μοι τιμώ-  
 13 τας Οὐιτέλλιος ἐποίησεν. συγκατεθέμην δὲ τῇ  
 γνώμῃ ταύτῃ πρῶτον διὰ τὸ ἔμαντοῦ εὐσεβὲς καὶ  
 τὸ βούλεσθαι ἐκάστους κατὰ τὰ πάτρια θρησκεύειν,  
 ἔπειτα δὲ εἰδὼς, ὅτι καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ Ἡρώδῃ καὶ  
 Ἀριστοβούλῳ τῷ νεωτέρῳ, ὧν τὴν πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν  
 εὐσεβείαν καὶ τὴν περὶ ὑμᾶς<sup>2</sup> γινώσκω σπουδῆν  
 πάνυ χαριοῦμαι<sup>3</sup> ταῦτα ποιήσας, πρὸς οὗς ἔστι μοι  
 πλεῖστα δίκαια φιλίας κρατίστους ὄντας κάμιοι  
 14 τιμίους.<sup>4</sup> ἔγραψα δὲ περὶ τούτων καὶ Κοუსπίῳ  
 Φάδῳ τῷ μῶ ἐπιτρόπῳ. οἱ τὰ γράμματα κομι-  
 ζοντες Κορνήλιος Κέρωνος<sup>5</sup> Τρύφων Θευδίωνος  
 Δωρόθεος Ναθαναήλου Ἰωάννης Ἰωάννου. ἔγράφη  
 πρὸ τεσσάρων καλανδῶν Ἰουλίου<sup>6</sup> ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Ρού-  
 15 (3) Ἡγήσατο δὲ καὶ Ἡρώδης, ὁ ἀδελφὸς μὲν  
 Ἀγρίππα τοῦ τετελευτηκότος, Χαλκίδος δὲ τὴν

<sup>1</sup> αἰτησαμένων] αἰτησαμένους codd.: αἰτησαμένων <αὐτῶν>  
 Richards et Shutt. <sup>2</sup> A: ἡμᾶς MW.

<sup>3</sup> πάνυ χαριοῦμαι] ed. pr.: amplissimas amicitias collocabo  
 Lat.: om. codd.: lacunam post σπουδῆν indicat Niese.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ ἐκέλευεν (§ 10) . . . τιμίους] δι' Ἀγρίππαν E: πρὸς  
 οὗς . . . τιμίους] potentium personarum Lat.

<sup>5</sup> Κέρωνος] MW: καὶ Λέων A: Leo Lat.

<sup>6</sup> Ἰουλίῳ] Hudson ex codd. Lat. dett.: om. codd.: lacu-  
 nam indicat Niese.

<sup>a</sup> *Ant.* xviii. 90. Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 32, mentions his inti-  
 macy with Claudius. Suetonius, *Vit.* 2 and *Dio* lx. 21. 2,  
 note that he shared two regular consulships with Claudius and  
 was in charge of the empire while Claudius was away on his  
 British expedition. His extreme flattery of Claudius, as well

tender care that I have shown your nation and earnestly and zealously requested that the holy vestments and the crown might be placed in your hands. I grant this request, in accordance with the precedent set by Vitellius,<sup>a</sup> that excellent man for whom I have the greatest esteem. I have given my consent to this measure, first because I cherish religion myself and wish to see every nation maintain the religious practices that are traditional with it, and secondly because I know that in doing so I shall give great pleasure<sup>b</sup> to King Herod<sup>c</sup> himself and to Aristobulus the Younger<sup>d</sup>—excellent men for whom I have high regard, men of whose devotion to me and zeal for your interest I am aware and with whom I have very many ties of friendship. I am also writing on these matters to my procurator Cuspius Fadius.<sup>e</sup> The bearers of this letter are Cornelius son of Ceron, Tryphon son of Theudion, Dorotheus son of Nathanael, and John son of John. Written on the fourth day before the Kalends of July,<sup>f</sup> in the consulship of Rufus and Pompeius Silvanus.”<sup>g</sup>

(3) Herod, brother of the deceased Agrippa, who Herod of Chalcis obtains further concessions.  
 was at this time charged with the administration

as of the latter's wives and freedmen, is also stressed by Suetonius.

<sup>b</sup> “I shall give great pleasure” is from the *editio princeps*. The mss. apparently have a lacuna.

<sup>c</sup> King of Chalcis, brother of Agrippa I.

<sup>d</sup> Son of Herod king of Chalcis; cf. *Ant.* xviii. 134, 137; xx. 104.

<sup>e</sup> In *Ant.* xv. 407, where the embassy to Claudius is also mentioned, the emperor is reported to have ordered Vitellius, who was then commander in Syria, to grant the Jews control of the vestments.

<sup>f</sup> The Greek mss. lack “July,” which is supplied by some of the inferior mss. of the Latin version. <sup>g</sup> 28 June A.D. 45.

ἀρχὴν κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον πεπιστευμένους, Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ νεῶ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχιερέων χειροτονίαν, 16 πάντων τε ἐπέτυχεν. ἐξ ἐκείνου τε πᾶσι τοῖς ἀπογόνους αὐτοῦ παρέμεινεν ἡ ἐξουσία μέχρι τῆς τοῦ πολέμου τελευτῆς. καὶ δὴ ὁ Ἡρώδης μεθίστησι τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον Κανθήραν<sup>1</sup> Ἰωσήφῳ τῷ Καμεῖ<sup>2</sup> αὐτ' ἐκείνου τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς τιμῆς παρασχόμενος.

17 (ii. 1) Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν Ἀδιαβη-  
νῶν βασιλῆς Ἑλένη<sup>3</sup> καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτῆς Ἰζάτης<sup>4</sup> εἰς  
τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνη τὸν βίον μετέβαλον διὰ τοιαύτην  
18 αἰτίαν. Μονόβαζος<sup>5</sup> ὁ τῶν Ἀδιαβηνῶν βασιλεὺς,  
ὃ καὶ Βαζαῖος<sup>6</sup> ἐπὶ κλησὶς ἦν, τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ἑλένης  
ἀλοὺς ἔρωτι τῇ πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίᾳ ἀγεται καὶ  
κατέστησεν ἐγκύμονα. συγκαθεύδων δέ ποτε τῇ  
γαστρὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τὴν χεῖρα προσαναπαύσας  
ἡνίκα καθύπνωσεν, φωνῆς τινος ἔδοξεν ὑπακούειν<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Κανθηρῶν E et ex corr. A.

<sup>2</sup> Καμεῖ] Niese: Καμεῖ i. marg. γρ A: Καμῖ A: τοῦ Κανει MW: τοῦ Καμεῖ E: Cami Lat.: cf. § 103, ubi Καμοιδι vel simile extat.

<sup>3</sup> Ἑλένη hic et infra M et plerumque W.

<sup>4</sup> Iazates Lat.

<sup>5</sup> Μονόβαζος E.

<sup>6</sup> A: Βαζέως MW: Bazeus Lat.

<sup>7</sup> A: ἀκούειν MWE: ut . . . subito . . . audiret Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Or "from that time."

<sup>b</sup> The last high priest mentioned by Josephus before the appointment of Joseph the son of Camei is not Cantheras but Elionaeus the son of Cantheras (or Cithaerus: *Ant.* xix. 342); and Schürer, ii. 271-272 n. 14, says that our Cantheras must be Elionaeus. Kirsopp Lake, "The Chronology of Acts," in Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, v, 1933, p. 455, presents two conjectures: (1)

of Chalcis, also asked Claudius Caesar to give him authority over the temple and the holy vessels and the selection of the high priests—all of which requests he obtained. This authority, derived from him,<sup>a</sup> passed to his descendants alone until the end of the war. Herod accordingly removed the high priest surnamed Cantheras<sup>b</sup> from his position and conferred the succession to this office upon Joseph the son of Camei.<sup>c</sup>

(ii. 1) <sup>a</sup> At the same time Helena, queen of Adiabene,<sup>e</sup> and her son Izates became converts to Judaism under the following circumstances. Monobazus, surnamed Bazeus, king of Adiabene, seized with a passion for his sister Helena, took her as his partner in marriage and got her pregnant. On one occasion as he was sleeping beside her, he rested his hand on his wife's belly after she had gone to sleep, whereupon he thought he heard a voice bidding him remove his

Cantheras was a surname of Elionaeus; or (2) Josephus may have omitted the appointment of a high priest named Cantheras. He suggests, on the basis of *Ant.* iii. 320-321, which mentions that a famine occurred during the reign of Claudius while Ishmael was high priest, that Josephus has neglected to mention the high priesthood of this Ishmael, and that it was he who was surnamed Cantheras. The Talmud, *Pesahim* 57 a, probably refers to the family of Cantheras when one of the rabbis laments the evil decrees promulgated by the house of Kathros.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xx. 103. Niese conjectures that this is perhaps the same name as Camith (*Ant.* xviii. 34); so, more positively, Schürer, ii. 272 n. 16.

<sup>d</sup> Thackeray, in his copy of Josephus, appropriately remarks that the story of Izates is written in an easy flowing style very different from that of *Ant.* xvii-xix. He also notes that there are certain obvious parallels with the story of Joseph in Genesis.

<sup>e</sup> A district in northern Mesopotamia, its chief city being Arbela.

Monobazus,  
king of  
Adiabene,  
his wife  
Helena, and  
their son  
Izates.

κελευούσης αἰρειν ἀπὸ τῆς νηδύος τὴν χεῖρα καὶ μὴ  
 θλίβειν τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ βρέφος θεοῦ προνοία καὶ ἀρχῆς  
 19 τυχόν καὶ τέλους εὐτυχούς τευξόμενον. παραχθεις  
 οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς φωνῆς εὐθύς διεγερθεὶς ἐφράζε τῇ  
 γυναικὶ ταῦτα, καὶ γε<sup>1</sup> τὸν υἱὸν Ἰζάτην ἐπεκάλεσεν.  
 20 ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ Μονοβαζος τούτου πρεσβύτερος ἐκ τῆς  
 Ἑλένης γενόμενος ἄλλοι τε παῖδες ἐξ ἐτέρων γυ-  
 ναικῶν. τὴν μέντοι πᾶσαν εὐνοίαν ὡς εἰς μονογενῆ  
 21 τὸν Ἰζάτην ἔχων φανερός ἦν. φθόνος δὲ τούτων τεύθεν  
 τῷ παιδὶ παρὰ τῶν ὁμοπατρίων ἀδελφῶν ἐφύετο  
 καὶ τούτου μῖσος ἠϋξέτο λυπουμένων ἀπάντων, ὅτι  
 22 τὸν Ἰζάτην αὐτῶν ὁ πατὴρ προτιμῶν. ταῦτα δὲ  
 καίπερ σαφῶς αἰσθανόμενος ὁ πατὴρ ἐκείνοις μὲν  
 συνεγγίνωσκεν ὡς μὴ διὰ κακίαν αὐτὸ πάσχουσιν  
 ἀλλ' ἦτοι<sup>2</sup> παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἀξι-  
 οῦντα<sup>3</sup> εὐνοίας τυγχάνειν,<sup>4</sup> τὸν δὲ νεανίαν,<sup>5</sup> σφόδρα  
 γὰρ ἐδεδοίκει περὶ αὐτοῦ, μὴ μισούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ἀδελφῶν πάθοι τι, πολλὰ δωρησάμενος πρὸς Ἀβεν-  
 νήριγον<sup>6</sup> ἐκπέμπει τὸν Σπασίνου χάρακος βασιλέα,  
 παρακατατιθέμενος ἐκείνῳ τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς σωτη-  
 23 ρίαν. ὁ δὲ Ἀβεννήριγος ἄσμενός τε δέχεται τὸν

<sup>1</sup> καὶ γε] γρ καὶ γεννώμενον i. marg. A : καὶ E : καὶ γενόμενον ed. pr. : et natum Lat. <sup>2</sup> ἦτοι Ernesti.  
<sup>3</sup> conl. : ἀξίῳ MW : ἀξίῳ, ὡ ex d corr. A : ἀξιοῦν Cocceji : ἀξιοῦσιν Ernesti.

<sup>4</sup> ἀλλ' ἦτοι . . . τυγχάνειν] sed quoniam singuli favorem patris habere desiderabant Lat. : ἀλλ' ἦ τῷ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἀξιοῦν εὐνοίας τυγχάνειν Bekker : ἀλλ' ὅτι τῆς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος ἀξιοῖ εὐνοίας τυγχάνειν conl. Niese.

<sup>5</sup> A : Ἰζάτην MWE Lat. <sup>6</sup> MW : Σαβηνήριγον A.

<sup>a</sup> Zoitos (*Midrash Rabbah on Genesis* xlvi. 10). According to F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 1895, s.v. "Yazata," pp. 145-146, the name Izates in Iranian means "genius," "godly

hand from her womb so as not to cramp the babe within it, which by the providence of God had had a happy start and would also attain a fortunate end. Disturbed by the voice, he at once awoke and told these things to his wife ; and he called the son who was born to him Izates.<sup>a</sup> He had an elder son by Helena named Monobazus and other children by his other wives ; but it was clear that all his favour was concentrated on Izates as if he were an only child.<sup>b</sup> In consequence of this, Izates' half-brothers by their common father grew envious of the child. Their envy grew into an ever-increasing hatred, for they were all vexed that their father preferred Izates to themselves. Although their father clearly perceived this, he pardoned them, for he attributed their feeling not to any bad motive but rather to the desire that each of them had to win his father's favour for himself. Yet, as he was greatly alarmed for the young Izates, lest the hatred of his brothers should bring him to some harm, he gave him an abundance of presents and sent him off to Abennerigus<sup>c</sup> the king of Charax Spasini,<sup>d</sup> to whom he entrusted the safety of the boy. Abennerigus welcomed the lad and being" (especially used of Mithra), and later (in the plural) "God."

<sup>b</sup> For the use of the term "only-begotten" (*μονογενής*) in the sense of "favourite," "best-beloved," or "one who has no equal" see P. Winter, "MONOGENΗΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ," *Zeit. f. Religions- und Geistesgesch.* v, 1953, pp. 335-365.

<sup>c</sup> Abinerglos according to one of his coins. He reigned from A.D. 5 to 21.

<sup>d</sup> Lit. Spasinus' Camp. Cf. *Ant.* i. 145. It is Palmyrene *Karak Aspasinā* or *Karkā*, the capital city of the tiny kingdom of Charakene. Cf. Ptolemy vi. 3. 2 (*Χάραξ Πασσωδ*) and Dio lxxviii. 28. 4 (*ὁ Χάραξ ὁ τοῦ Σπασίνου καλούμενος*). It lies between the mouths of the Tigris and the Euphrates.

νεανίαν καὶ διὰ πολλῆς εὐνοίας ἄγων γυναῖκα μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα, Σαμαχῶ<sup>1</sup> δ' ἦν ὄνομα ταύτη, δίδωσι· δωρεῖται δὲ χώραν, ἐξ ἧς μεγάλας λήψοιτο προσόδους.

- 24 (2) Μονόβαζος δὲ ἤδη γηραιὸς ὢν καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ὀλίγον αὐτῷ τὸν λοιπὸν ὄρων χρόνον ἠθέλησεν εἰς ὄψιν ἀφικέσθαι τῷ παιδί πρὸ τοῦ τελευτήσαι· μεταπεμφάμενος οὖν αὐτὸν ἀσπάζεται φιλοφρονέστατα,
- 25 καὶ χώραν δίδωσιν Καρρῶν<sup>2</sup> λεγομένην· φέρειν δ' ἢ γῆ πλείστον τὸ ἄμωμον ἀγαθῆ· ἔστι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὰ λείψανα τῆς λάρνακος, ἢ<sup>3</sup> Νῶχον<sup>4</sup> ἐκ τῆς ἐπομβρίας διασεσῶσθαι λόγος ἔχει, καὶ μέχρι νῦν
- 26 ταῦτα τοῖς ἰδεῖν βουλομένοις ἐπιδείκνυται· διέτριβεν οὖν ὁ Ἰζάτης ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ πατρός· ἢ δ' ἐξέλιπεν ἡμέρα τὸν βίον ὁ Μονόβαζος ἢ βασιλὶς Ἑλένη μεταπέμπεται πάντας τοὺς μεγαστᾶνας καὶ τῆς βασιλείας σατράπας καὶ
- 27 τοὺς τὰς δυνάμεις πεπιστευμένους· οἷς ἀφικομένοις, "ὅτι μὲν ὁ ἐμὸς ἀνὴρ," εἶπε,<sup>5</sup> "τῆς βασιλείας

<sup>1</sup> E: Σαμαχῶς Niese: Σαμαχῶ· A: Σάμαχος MW: Amachos Lat.: Συμαχῶ Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> A: Καρῶν MW: Καρεῶν (κ ex ν corr.) E: Carrorum Lat. <sup>3</sup> E: ἦν codd.

<sup>4</sup> Νῶχος E: Νῶεον Dindorf.

<sup>5</sup> τῆς βασιλείας (§ 26) . . . εἶπε] A (in ras.): om. MW Lat.

\* Various spellings: Samachōs, Samachōs, Amachos, Symacho. The name in Syriac means "recreation."

<sup>b</sup> The location of Carron presents considerable difficulties. It is not Carrhae, which is in northern Mesopotamia. The emendation to Gordyene (cf. *Ant.* i. 93), on the Armenian border east of the sources of the Tigris, is more acceptable geographically, since it is closer to Ararat, the Biblical site where Noah's ark rested. Hence, the reading proposed by J. Macquart, *Ostasiatische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, 1903, p. 289 n. 4, is Καρδοῦ.

viewed him with such goodwill that he gave him his daughter, named Symmacho,<sup>a</sup> as a wife and conferred on him a territory that would insure him a large income.

(2) Monobazus, being now old and seeing that he had not long to live, desired to lay eyes on his son before he died. He therefore sent for him, gave him the warmest of welcomes and presented him with a district called Carron.<sup>b</sup> The land there has excellent soil for the production of amomum<sup>c</sup> in the greatest abundance; it also possesses the remains of the ark<sup>d</sup> in which report has it that Noah was saved from the flood—remains which to this day are shown to those who are curious to see them. Izates, accordingly, resided in this district until his father's death. On the day when Monobazus departed this life, Queen Helena sent for all the high nobles and satraps of the realm and those who were charged with military commands. On their arrival she said to them: "I think that you are not unaware that my husband

Izates receives the district of Carron, containing remnants of Noah's ark.

<sup>a</sup> An aromatic plant of the ginger family, though its exact identity is unknown. See Wagler, "Amomum," Pauly-Wissowa, i, 1894, pp. 1873-1874.

<sup>d</sup> In *Ant.* i. 90 the ark is said to have landed on a mountain-top in Armenia. In *Ant.* i. 92 Josephus notes that the remains were shown by the Armenians even in his own day. Berosus the Chaldaean (third century B.C.), as quoted by Josephus, *Ant.* i. 93, also notes that a portion of the ark was still said to be extant in Armenia on the mountain of the Cordyaeans (modern Kurdistan) and that people carried off pieces of the bitumen which they used as apotropaic charms. As Nicolas of Damascus tells the story (quoted by Josephus, *Ant.* i. 95), during the time of the flood, a man, who, he thinks, might well have been Noah, landed with his ark upon a great mountain called Baris in the country of Minyas in Armenia close to the Ararat mentioned in the Biblical account.



αὐτῷ διάδοχον Ἰζάτην ἠΐξασθαι γενέσθαι καὶ τοῦτον  
 ἄξιον ἔκρινεν, οὐδ' ὑμᾶς λεληθέναι δοκῶ, περιμένω  
 δὲ ὅμως καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν κρίσιν· μακάριος γὰρ  
 οὐχ ὁ παρ' ἐνός, ἀλλὰ πλείονων καὶ θελόντων τὴν  
 28 ἀρχὴν λαμβάνων." ἢ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν ἐπὶ πείρᾳ  
 τοῦ τί φρονοῖεν οἱ συγκληθέντες<sup>1</sup>. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες  
 πρῶτον μὲν προσεκύνησαν τὴν βασιλίδαν, καθὼς  
 ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, εἰτ' ἔφασαν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως  
 γνώμην βεβαιοῦν καὶ ὑπακούσεσθαι χαίροντες  
 Ἰζάτην δικαίως ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς προκριθέντι τῷ  
 29 ἀδελφῶν κατὰ τὰς εὐχὰς τὰς ἀπάντων. βούλεσθαι  
 τ' ἔφασαν προαποκτεῖναι<sup>2</sup> πρῶτον αὐτοῦ τοῦ  
 ἀδελφοῦ καὶ συγγενεῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἰζάτην  
 μετ' ἀσφαλείας κατασχεῖν· φθαρέντων γὰρ ἐκείνων  
 καθαιρεθήσεσθαι πάντα τὸν φόβον τὸν ὑπὸ μίσου  
 30 τοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ φθόνου γινόμενον. πρὸς ταῦτα  
 ἢ Ἐλένη χάριν μὲν αὐτοῖς ὡμολόγει τῆς πρότερον  
 αὐτῆν καὶ τὸν Ἰζάτην εὐνοίας ἔχειν, παρεκάλει δὲ  
 ὅμως ἐπισχεῖν τὴν περὶ τῆς ἀναίρεσεως τῶν ἀδελ-  
 φῶν γνώμην μέχρι ἂν Ἰζάτης παραγενόμενος συν-  
 31 δοκιμάσῃ. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἀνελεῖν συμβουλευσαντες οὐκ  
 ἔπεισαν,<sup>3</sup> ἀλλὰ φυλάσσειν αὐτοὺς δεσμίους παρήνου  
 μέχρι τῆς ἐκείνου παρουσίας ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τῆς  
 ἑαυτῶν. συνεβούλευον δ' αὐτῇ μεταξὺ προστήσα-  
 σθαι τινα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπίτροπον, ᾧ μάλιστα πιστεύε-  
 32 πείθεται τούτοις ἢ Ἐλένη, καὶ καθίστησι τὸν πρε-  
 σβύτατον παῖδα Μονόβαζον<sup>4</sup> βασιλέα περιθείσα τὴν  
 διάδημα καὶ δοῦσα τὸν σημαντήρα τοῦ πατρὸς

<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ πείρᾳ . . . συγκληθέντες] om. E; μαθησομένη post συ-  
 κληθέντες add. A.

had set his heart on Izates succeeding to his kingdom and had deemed him worthy of this honour; nevertheless, I await your decision. For he is blessed who receives his realm from the hands not of one but of many who willingly give their consent." She said this to test the disposition of those whom she had called together. They, on hearing her words, first of all, according to their custom, made obeisance to the queen, and thereupon replied that they gave their support to the king's decision, and would gladly obey Izates, who, as one and all had prayed in their hearts, had been justly preferred by his father to his brothers. They added that they first wished to put his brothers and kinsmen to death in order that Izates might be seated on the throne with full security; for if they were destroyed, all fear arising from the hatred and envy that they bore towards Izates would be removed. In reply Helena expressed her gratitude for their goodwill to herself and to Izates; but she nevertheless entreated them to defer their decision about putting the brothers to death until after Izates had arrived and given his approval. Failing to persuade her to put the brothers to death as they advised, they, for their own safety, admonished her at least to keep them in custody until his arrival. They also advised her meanwhile to appoint as trustee of the realm someone in whom she had most confidence. Helena agreed to this and set up Monobazus, her eldest son, as king. Putting the diadem upon his head and giving him his father's signet ring and what they call

Izates is  
 named to  
 succeed  
 Monobazus.

<sup>2</sup> κατὰ . . . προαποκτεῖναι] et omnium pariter esse votum  
 ut . . . occiderent Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπεὶ . . . ἔπεισαν] om. E.

<sup>4</sup> om. E.

δακτύλιον τὴν τε σάμψηράν<sup>1</sup> ὀνομαζομένην παρ' αὐτοῖς, διοικεῖν τε τὴν βασιλείαν παρήνευσεν, μέχρι 33 τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ παρουσίας. ἦκε δ' οὗτος ταχέως ἀκούσας τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήν καὶ διαδέχεται τὸν ἀδελφὸν Μονόβαζον ὑπεκοστάντα<sup>2</sup> τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶ.<sup>3</sup>

34 (3) Καθ' ὃν δὲ χρόνον<sup>4</sup> ὁ Ἰζάτης ἐν τῷ Σπασίνου χάρακι<sup>5</sup> διέτριβεν Ἰουδαίος τις ἔμπορος, Ἀνανίας ὄνομα πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας εἰσιῶν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐδίδασκεν αὐτὰς τὸν θεὸν σέβειν, ὡς Ἰουδαίους 35 πάτριον ἦν, καὶ δὴ δι' αὐτῶν εἰς γνῶσιν ἀφικόμενος τῷ Ἰζάτῃ κἀκέινον ὁμοίως συνανέπεισεν μετακληθέντι τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς τὴν Ἀδιαβηνὴν συνε- ἦλθεν κατὰ πολλὴν ὑπακούσας δέησιν· συνεβεβήκει δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην ὁμοίως ὑφ' ἑτέρου τινὸς Ἰου- 36 δαίου διδαχθεῖσαν<sup>6</sup> εἰς τοὺς ἐκείνων μετακεκομισθαι νόμους. ὁ δ' Ἰζάτης ὡς παρέλαβεν τὴν βασιλείαν, ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἀδιαβηνὴν καὶ θεασάμενος τοὺς τε ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συγγενεῖς δεδεμένους 37 ἐδυσχέρανεν τῷ γεγονότι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀνελεῖν ἦ

<sup>1</sup> MW: συμψερὰν, ei i. ras. A: sampseram Lat.

<sup>2</sup> E: ὑπεκοστάντος codd.: ὑπεκοστάντος Niese.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ διαδέχεται . . . αὐτῶ] et fratri denuo successit in regno, quod ille absenti perceperat conservandum Lat.

<sup>4</sup> A: καιρὸν MWE.

<sup>5</sup> ὁ Ἰζάτης . . . χάρακι] Gaius in vallo Spasini Lat.

<sup>6</sup> A: διαλεχθεῖσαν MW: eruditam Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Clementz, in a note in his translation of the *Antiquities* into German, explains that *sampsra* means the sun among the Arabs and that the *sampsra* was a golden shield in the form of the sun which was carried as a symbol of sovereignty.

<sup>b</sup> G. Klein, *Der älteste christliche Katechismus*, 1909, pp. 137-138, holds that Jewish traders often acted as missionaries. They pretended, he says, to sell the balm of life, *sam*

the *sampsra*,<sup>a</sup> she exhorted him to administer the kingdom until his brother's arrival. The latter, on hearing of his father's death, quickly arrived and succeeded his brother Monobazus, who made way for him.

(3) Now during the time when Izates resided at Charax Spasini, a certain Jewish merchant<sup>b</sup> named Ananias visited the king's wives and taught them to worship God after the manner of the Jewish tradition. It was through their agency that he was brought to the notice of Izates, whom he similarly won over with the co-operation of the women. When Izates was summoned by his father to Adiabene, Ananias accompanied him in obedience to his urgent request. It so happened, moreover, that Helena had likewise been instructed by another Jew and had been brought over to their laws. When Izates came to Adiabene to take over the kingdom and saw his brothers and his other kinsmen in chains, he was distressed at what had been done. Regarding it as impious either

Independent conversion to Judaism of Izates and Helena.

*hagym* (*Tanhuma Mezora* 5), but instead offered the prescription of the good life as described in Psalm xxxiv. 14, *sam* representing, according to Klein, the first letters of the words *sur mera* (Ps. xxxiv. 14), "depart from evil." But this is simply a parable, of which the Midrashic works have many, that happens to use the merchant (a common symbol) as the instrument of conveying its moral; it does not necessarily indicate that such an incident was a frequent occurrence. It is interesting to note that the same point made in the *Tanhuma* is also made in the Talmud, *Abodah Zarah* 19 b, by a rabbi named Alexander without using a merchant as the medium of a story. W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1948, p. 133 n. 1, citing Klein, adds: "It is tempting to suggest that the use of *καπηλεύοντες*, from the verb meaning 'to be a retail-dealer,' by Paul in 2 Cor. ii. 17 may have, as its background, this trading missionary activity of which Klein speaks." 19

φυλάττειν δεδεμένους ἀσεβές ἡγούμενος, τὸ δὲ  
μησικακοῦντας ἔχειν σὺν αὐτῷ μὴ<sup>1</sup> δεδεμένους<sup>2</sup>  
σφαλερὸν εἶναι νομίζων, τοὺς μὲν ὀμηρεύοντας  
μετὰ τέκνων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐξέπεμψε Κλαυδίῳ  
Καίσαρι, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς Ἀρταβάνῃ<sup>3</sup> τὸν Πάρθον ἐφ'  
ὁμοίαις προφάσεσιν ἀπέστειλεν.

- 38 (4) Πυθόμενος<sup>4</sup> δὲ πάνυ τοῖς Ἰουδαίων ἔθεσιν  
χαίρειν τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ<sup>5</sup> ἔσπευσε καὶ αὐτὸς  
εἰς ἐκεῖνα μεταθέσθαι, νομίζων τε μὴ ἂν εἶναι  
βεβαίως Ἰουδαῖος, εἰ μὴ περιτέμοιτο,<sup>6</sup> πράττειν  
39 ἦν ἔτοιμος. μαθοῦσα δ' ἡ μήτηρ κωλύει ἐπειρᾶτο  
ἐπιφέρειν αὐτῷ κίνδυνον λέγουσα· βασιλέα γὰρ  
εἶναι, καὶ καταστήσειν εἰς πολλὴν δυσμένειαν τοὺς  
ὑπηκόους μαθόντας, ὅτι ξένων ἐπιθυμήσειεν καὶ  
ἀλλοτρίων αὐτοῖς ἔθων, οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαί τε βασιλεύον-  
40 τος αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίου. καὶ ἡ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν καὶ  
παντοίως<sup>7</sup> ἐκώλυεν. ὁ δ' εἰς τὸν Ἀνανίαν τοὺς  
λόγους ἀνέφερεν. τοῦ δὲ τῇ μητρὶ συμφάσκοντος<sup>8</sup>  
καὶ συναπειλήσαντος ὡς εἰ μὴ πείθοι<sup>9</sup> καταλιπὼν<sup>10</sup>  
41 ἄπεισιν· δεδοικέαι γὰρ ἔλεγεν,<sup>11</sup> μὴ τοῦ πράγματος  
ἐκδήλου πᾶσιν γενομένου κινδυνεύσειε τιμωρίαν  
ὑποσχεῖν ὡς αὐτὸς αἴτιος τούτων καὶ διδάσκαλος  
τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπρεπῶν ἔργων<sup>12</sup> γενόμενος, δυνάμενον  
δ' αὐτὸν ἔφη καὶ χωρὶς τῆς περιτομῆς τὸ θεῖον

<sup>1</sup> om. Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ἔδυσχέρανεν . . . μὴ δεδεμένους] om. MW.

<sup>3</sup> codd. Lat. E: Ἀρτάβανον Hudson.

<sup>4</sup> E: πειθόμενος codd. Lat.

<sup>5</sup> χαίρειν . . . ἑαυτοῦ] E: om. codd. Lat.

<sup>6</sup> codd. E: περιτέμοιτο Hudson; τὴν σάρκα post περιτέ-  
μοιτο add. A (-ος εἰ μὴ περιτέμοιτο τὴν σάρκα i. ras., Ἰουδαῖ  
suppl. m. 2 A). <sup>7</sup> A: τέως MWE: omnino Lat.

<sup>8</sup> E: συμφάσκοντος A: συγκατασχόντος M: συνκατασχόντος  
W: dixit Lat.

to kill them or to keep them in chains, and yet think-  
ing it hazardous to keep them with him if they were  
not imprisoned—cherishing resentment as they must  
—he sent some of them with their children to  
Claudius Caesar in Rome as hostages, and others to  
Artabanus<sup>a</sup> the Parthian king with the same excuse.

(4) When Izates had learned that his mother was  
very much pleased with the Jewish religion, he was  
zealous to convert to it himself; and since he con-  
sidered that he would not be genuinely a Jew unless  
he was circumcised, he was ready to act accordingly.  
When his mother learned of his intention, however,  
she tried to stop him by telling him that it was a  
dangerous move. For, she said, he was a king; and  
if his subjects should discover that he was devoted  
to rites that were strange and foreign to themselves,  
it would produce much disaffection and they would  
not tolerate the rule of a Jew over them. Besides  
this advice she tried by every other means<sup>b</sup> to hold  
him back. He, in turn, reported her arguments to  
Ananias. The latter expressed agreement with the  
king's mother and actually threatened that if he  
should be unable to persuade Izates, he would aban-  
don him and leave the land. For he said that he was  
afraid that if the matter became universally known,  
he would be punished, in all likelihood, as personally  
responsible because he had instructed the king in un-  
seemly practices. The king could, he said, worship

Helena  
urges Izates  
not to be  
circum-  
cised.

Conflicting  
Jewish  
views on the  
necessity of  
circum-  
cision.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 48-52, 96-104, 250, 325-338, 353; xx. 54-  
69. <sup>b</sup> Variant "for a time."

<sup>9</sup> MW: πείθοιτο E et ex corr. A.

<sup>10</sup> καταλιπὼν] καταλιπεῖν αὐτὸν ed. pr.

<sup>11</sup> ἔλεγεν] cui mater ait Lat.

<sup>12</sup> καὶ διδάσκαλος . . . ἔργων] om. E.

σέβειν, εἶγε πάντως κέκρικε ζηλοῦν τὰ πάτρια τῶν  
 Ἰουδαίων· τοῦτ' εἶναι κυριώτερον τοῦ περιτέμνε-  
 42 σθαι· συγγνώμην δ' ἔξειν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν θεὸν φήσαν-  
 τος μὴ πράξαντι τὸ ἔργον δι' ἀνάγκην καὶ τὸν ἐκ  
 τῶν ὑπηκόων φόβον, ἐπέισθη μὲν τότε τοῖς λόγοις  
 43 ὁ βασιλεὺς· μετὰ ταῦτα δέ, τὴν γὰρ ἐπιθυμίαν οὐκ  
 ἔξεβεβλήκει παντάπασιν, Ἰουδαίος τις ἕτερος ἐκ  
 τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀφικόμενος Ἐλεάζαρος ὄνομα πάνυ  
 περὶ τὰ πάτρια δοκῶν ἀκριβής<sup>1</sup> εἶναι προετρέψατο  
 44 πρᾶξαι τοῦργον· ἐπεὶ γὰρ εἰσῆλθεν ἀσπασόμενος

<sup>1</sup> AW: εὐσεβής M: erudition Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Many scholars, following J. Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine*, 1867, pp. 225-229 (see the literature cited by B. J. Bamberger, *Proselytism in the Talmudic Period*, 1939, pp. 48-49), who attempts to see in the dispute between Ananias and Eleazar a controversy between the schools of Hillel and Shammai, have suggested that the difference between Ananias and Eleazar as to the necessity of circumcision for conversion is also found in the Talmud, *Yebamot* 46 a, where Rabbi Joshua holds the view, akin to that expressed here by Ananias, that circumcision is not a *sine qua non* for conversion—he says that only baptism is necessary—, whereas Rabbi Eliezer, like Eleazar here (the similarity in spelling is not significant, since Rabbi Eliezer did not flourish until the end of the first century and the beginning of the second), says that circumcision is the *sine qua non* for conversion. J. Klausner, *From Jesus to Paul*, 1943, pp. 39-40, asserts that the controversy between Joshua and Eliezer is reflected also in the dispute between Paul and Barnabas, on the one hand, and James and Peter, on the other hand, as to whether circumcision is necessary in the case of pagans who accept Christianity or whether baptism alone is sufficient. But these proposed parallels to the controversy between Ananias and Eleazar, though tempting, are unlikely, since Ananias' motives seem to stem not from his religious beliefs on the question but from caution. Jose-

God even without being circumcised if indeed he had fully decided to be a devoted adherent of Judaism, for it was this that counted more than circumcision. He told him, furthermore, that God Himself would pardon him if, constrained thus by necessity and by fear of his subjects, he failed to perform this rite. And so, for the time, the king was convinced by his arguments. Afterwards, however, since he had not completely given up his desire, another Jew, named Eleazar,<sup>a</sup> who came from Galilee and who had a reputation for being extremely strict when it came to the ancestral laws, urged him to carry out the rite. For when he came to him to pay him his respects and

plus elsewhere, for example, in the case of Azizus king of Emesa (*Ant.* xx. 139) and Polemo king of Cilicia (*Ant.* xx. 145), cites circumcision as necessary for conversion. But circumcision, according to Ananias (so S. Bialoblocki, *Die Beziehungen des Judentums zu Proselyten und Proselytentum*, 1930, p. 16), is like other commandments in that it may be omitted when it involves physical danger, *i.e.* when a person has hemophilia; Ananias regards Izates' case as similar in that it too involves danger to life. Eliezer, on the other hand, insists—and such is the law as recognized in the Talmud, that only through circumcision may a non-Jew become a Jew. The controversy between Joshua and Eliezer is presented differently in the Palestinian Talmud, *Kiddushin* iii. 14, where Eliezer says that circumcision alone is sufficient, whereas Joshua asserts that baptism is also necessary. Cf. Bamberger, pp. 49-51, who ingeniously argues that Joshua cannot mean that the convert may omit circumcision, since even if a heathen became a convert after mere baptism, as indicated by Joshua, he would now be obligated to observe all the commandments of the Torah, one of which is circumcision. The controversy between Joshua and Eliezer, says Bamberger, is on the question—which is important for practical purposes—as to the exact moment when conversion takes place; Joshua believes that baptism is the determining act, whereas Eliezer says that circumcision is the determining act.

αὐτὸν<sup>1</sup> καὶ κατέλαβε<sup>2</sup> τὸν Μωυσεός νόμον ἀναγινώσκοντα, “λανθάνεις,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μέγιστα τοὺς νόμους<sup>3</sup> καὶ δι’ αὐτῶν τὸν θεὸν ἀδικῶν οὐ γὰρ ἀναγινώσκειν<sup>4</sup> σε δεῖ μόνον αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρό-  
 45 τερον τὰ προστασσόμενα ποιεῖν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν. μέχρι τίνος ἀπερίμητος μένεις;<sup>5</sup> ἀλλ’ εἰ μήπω τὸν περὶ τούτου νόμον ἀγένης, ἴν’ εἰδῆς τίς ἐστὶν ἡ ἀσέβεια,  
 46 νῦν ἀνάγκη.” ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐχ ὑπερεβάλετο τὴν πράξιν, μεταστὰς δ’ εἰς ἕτερον οἴκημα καὶ τὸν ἰατρὸν εἰσκαλεσάμενος τὸ προσταχθέν ἐτέλει καὶ μεταπεμφάμενος τὴν τε μητέρα καὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον Ἀνανίαν ἐσήμαινεν<sup>6</sup> αὐτὸν<sup>7</sup>  
 47 πεπραχέναι τοῦργον. τοὺς δ’ ἐκπληξίς εὐθὺς ἔλαβεν καὶ φόβος οὔτι μέτριος,<sup>8</sup> μὴ τῆς πράξεως εἰς ἔλεγχον ἐλθούσης κινδυνεύσειεν μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποβαλεῖν οὐκ ἀνασχομένων τῶν ὑπηκόων ἀρχεῖν αὐτῶν ἄνδρα τῶν παρ’ ἑτέροις ζηλωτῆν ἐθῶν, κινδυνεύσειαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς αἰτίας ἐπ’  
 48 αὐτοῖς ἐνεχθείσης. θεὸς δ’ ἦν ὁ κωλύσων ἄρα τοὺς ἐκείνων φόβους ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τέλος· πολλοῖς γὰρ αὐτὸν τε τὸν Ἰζάτην περιπεσόντα κινδύνοισ καὶ παῖδας

<sup>1</sup> εἰσῆλθεν . . . αὐτὸν] intrasset ad eum Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπει . . . κατέλαβε] καταλαβὼν γὰρ αὐτὸν E.

<sup>3</sup> τὰ μέγιστα τοὺς νόμους] Moyses iura Lat.

<sup>4</sup> AM: γινώσκειν W.

<sup>5</sup> codd. E: μενεῖς Dindorf; μέχρι . . . μένεις] quamdiu sine circumcissione permanes legibus nequaquam nosceris oboedire Lat.

<sup>6</sup> Niese: ἐσήμηνεν codd. E: ἐσήμηνεν Dindorf.

<sup>7</sup> MW: αὐτὸν ex corr. A: αὐτοῖς E: αὐτὸς Bekker.

<sup>8</sup> οὔτι μέτριος] om. E.

<sup>a</sup> The *Midrash Rabbah on Genesis* xlv. 10, according to

found him reading the law of Moses,<sup>a</sup> he said: “In your ignorance, O king, you are guilty of the greatest offence against the law and thereby against God. For you ought not merely to read the law but also, and even more, to do what is commanded in it. How long will you continue to be uncircumcised? If you have not yet read the law concerning this matter, read it now, so that you may know what an impiety it is that you commit.” Upon hearing these words, Izates <sup>Izates is circum-</sup>the king postponed the deed no longer. Withdrawing <sup>cised.</sup> into another room, he summoned his physician and had the prescribed act performed. Then he sent for both his mother and his teacher Ananias and notified them that he had performed the rite. They were immediately seized with consternation and fear beyond measure that, if it should be proved that he had performed the act, the king would risk losing his throne, since his subjects would not submit to government by a man who was a devotee of foreign practices, and that they themselves would be in jeopardy since the blame for his action would be attributed to them. It was God who was to prevent their fears from being realized. For although Izates himself and his children were often threatened with destruction, God pre-

which the circumcision of Izates occurred while his father was still alive, reports that Izates and his brother Monobazus were once reading the book of Genesis and came to the verse “And ye shall be circumcised in the flesh of your foreskin” (Gen. xvii. 11). Both began to weep and independently decided on circumcision. Some time later, when they once again read from Genesis and reached this verse, each lamented that the other was uncircumcised. They then confided in each other and informed their mother, who, in turn, told their father that a sore had broken out on their sons’ flesh and that the physician had ordered circumcision. Thereupon the father gave his consent to what had already been done

τοὺς ἐκείνου διέσωσεν ἐξ ἀμηχάνων πόρον εἰς σωτηρίαν παρασχών, ἐπιδεικνὺς ὅτι τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀποβλέπουσιν καὶ μόνῳ πεπιστευκόσιν ὁ καρπὸς οὐκ ἀπόλλυται ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἀπαγγελοῦμεν.

- 49 (5) Ἑλένη δὲ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως μήτηρ ὀρώσα τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν εἰρηνευόμενα, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν αὐτῆς μακάριον καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι ζηλωτὸν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοεθνεῖσι διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν,<sup>1</sup> ἐπιθυμίαν ἔσχεν εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἀφικομένη τὸ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις περιβόητον ἱερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ προσκυνῆσαι καὶ χαριστηρίους θυσίας προσενεγκεῖν,  
50 ἐδεῖτό τε τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπιτρέψαι. τοῦ δὲ πάνυ προθύμως τῇ μητρὶ παρακαλοῦση κατανεύσαντος καὶ πολλὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν εἰς τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἐτοιμασμένου καὶ χρήματα πλείστα δόντος, καταβαίνει εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν προπέμποντος ἐπὶ  
51 πολὺ τοῦ παιδός.<sup>2</sup> γίνεται δὲ αὐτῆς ἡ ἄφιξις πάνυ συμφέρουσα τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις<sup>3</sup>. λιμοῦ γὰρ αὐτῶν

<sup>1</sup> καὶ παρὰ . . . πρόνοιαν] et ultra cunctas gentes providentia divina religiosum Lat.

<sup>2</sup> προπέμποντος . . . παιδός] om. E.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ εἰς τὰ μάλιστα χρησίμη post Ἱεροσολυμίταις add. A.

<sup>a</sup> Part of this promise is perhaps fulfilled in §§ 69-91; but we do not hear of the miraculous escape from the dangers that confronted Izates' children. Nor do we hear of God's aid to Izates during the period that elapsed between Izates' conversion, presumably shortly after the beginning of his reign in 31, and Helena's journey to Jerusalem in 46 or 47. The Mishnah *Nazir* iii. 6, however, does tell us of one incident that occurred during this period. Once, when Izates went to war, Helena vowed to become a Nazirite for seven years if he should return safely. Her son returned, and she fulfilled the vow. At the conclusion of the seven years she went

served them, opening a path to safety from desperate straits. God thus demonstrated that those who fix their eyes on Him and trust in Him alone do not lose the reward of their piety. But I shall report these events at a later time.<sup>a</sup>

(5) Helena, the mother of the king, saw that peace prevailed in the kingdom and that her son was prosperous and the object of admiration in all men's eyes, even those of foreigners, thanks to the prudence that God gave him. Now she had conceived a desire to go to the city of Jerusalem and to worship at the temple of God, which was famous throughout the world, and to make thank-offerings there. She consequently asked her son to give her leave. Izates was most enthusiastic in granting his mother's request, made great preparations for her journey, and gave her a large sum of money. He even escorted her for a considerable distance, and she completed her journey to the city of Jerusalem. Her arrival<sup>b</sup> was very advantageous for the people of Jerusalem,

Helena's visit to Jerusalem and her gifts for relief of the famine.

to the land of Israel—presumably her journey in 46 or 47—, where she was told that she would have to become a Nazirite for an additional seven years, since residence outside the land of Israel renders one ritually unclean so far as Nazirite-ship is concerned. She faithfully served the additional seven years, only to become unclean herself at the conclusion of them, and so she started a third period as a Nazirite. It was during this period, in A.D. 55, that Izates died and Helena returned to Adiabene, where she died shortly thereafter.

<sup>b</sup> H. Graetz, "Zeit der Anwesenheit der adiabensischen Königin in Jerusalem, unter der Apostel Paulus," *Monatsschr. f. Gesch. u. Wissen. d. Jud.* xxvi, 1877, pp. 241-255 and 289-306, suggests, though it is only a guess, that Paul was converted to Christianity during Helena's stay in Jerusalem, and that her presence inspired in him a belief that the Messianic age was rapidly approaching and that it was necessary to find some means of converting the heathen.

τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκέεινον πιεζοδντος καὶ πολλῶν ὑπ' ἐνδείας ἀναλωμάτων<sup>1</sup> φθειρομένων ἢ βασιλὶς Ἑλένη πέμπει τιὰς τῶν ἐαυτῆς, τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πολλῶν<sup>2</sup> σῖτον ἄνησομένους χρημάτων,<sup>3</sup> τοὺς δ' εἰς Κύπρον ἰσχάδων φόρτον  
 52 οἰσοντας.<sup>4</sup> ὡς δ' ἐπανήλθον ταχέως κομίζοντες τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις διένειμε τροφήν καὶ μεγίστην αὐτῆς μνήμην<sup>5</sup> τῆς εὐποιίας ταύτης εἰς τὸ πᾶν  
 53 ἡμῶν ἔθνος καταλέλοιπε. πυθόμενος δὲ καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτῆς Ἰζάτης τὰ περὶ τὸν λιμὸν ἔπεμψε πολλὰ κρήματα τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἃ τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> ἀναλωμάτων] ἀναγκαίων Richards et Shutt: βρωμάτων conl. Petersen. <sup>2</sup> E (cf. § 101): πολλὸν codd.

<sup>3</sup> πολλῶν . . . χρημάτων] ut frumenta ex eius pecuniis comparant Lat.

<sup>4</sup> ἰσχάδων φόρτον οἰσοντας] quatenus caricas ex abundantia deferrent Lat. <sup>5</sup> εἰς αἰεὶ διαβουμένην post μνήμην add. A.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Josephus' account of the great famine in Judaea during the reign of Herod the Great and of the relief that Herod, as a kind of second Joseph, secured for his people by the purchase of grain from Egypt (*Ant.* xv. 299-316). According to Acts xi. 28, a certain prophet named Agabus came from Jerusalem to Antioch, where he predicted that there would be a great famine over all the world—a famine which, adds the author of Acts, occurred during the reign of Claudius, and hence appears to be the famine mentioned in our passage. The famine, to judge from Acts xi. 29-30, was not worldwide, since the disciples in Antioch sent relief to Judaea; and C. C. Torrey, *The Composition and Date of Acts*, 1916, p. 21, suggests that Luke, the author of Acts, had an Aramaic source which spoke of the famine as extending throughout "the land," where "the land," as commonly, refers to Palestine, but that he mistakenly rendered it as ὅλη ἡ οἰκουμένη, "all the earth," just as Luke himself (ii. 1) speaks of Quirinius as taxing the whole world (πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην) instead of all the land (of Palestine). The famine occurred in A.D. 46 or 47, perhaps in the spring (so K. S. Gapp, "The Universal Famine under Claudius," *Harv. Theol. Rev.*

for at that time the city was hard pressed by famine<sup>a</sup> and many were perishing from want of money to purchase what they needed.<sup>b</sup> Queen Helena sent some of her attendants to Alexandria<sup>c</sup> to buy grain for large sums and others to Cyprus<sup>d</sup> to bring back a cargo of dried figs. Her attendants speedily returned with these provisions, which she thereupon distributed among the needy. She has thus left a very great name that will be famous forever among our whole people for her benefaction. When her son Izates learned of the famine, he likewise sent a great sum of money to leaders of the Jerusalemites.<sup>e</sup> The dis-

xxviii, 1935, p. 261 n. 11), if the famine referred to in *Ant.* iii. 320-321 is to be identified with our famine (but see Thackeray's note *ad loc.*).

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "from lack of expenses."

<sup>c</sup> Egypt too had suffered from a famine in 45, according to papyrological evidence cited by Gapp, pp. 258 ff. If, as Gapp, p. 260, theorizes, the famine extended to the spring of 46 or 47, Helena's benefaction was all the greater, since the price of grain in 45, at least, was more than twice as high as had ever been recorded previously in the Roman period. Helena did not send to Syria for grain since, as Orosius, *Hist.* vii. 6. 12, states, the famine extended to all of Syria (but cf. Acts xi. 29-30).

<sup>d</sup> See Palestinian Talmud, *Demai* ii. 1, which indicates that fruits from Cyprus were regularly imported into Palestine. Cf. A. Reifenberg, "Das antike zyprische Judentum und seine Beziehungen zu Palästina," *Jour. of the Pal. Or. Soc.* xii, 1932, pp. 209-213.

<sup>e</sup> The Talmud, *Baba Bathra* 11 a, records that King Monobazus, Izates' successor, dissipated all his own hoards and the hoards of his fathers "in years of scarcity"—hence not necessarily referring to this famine and not necessarily referring to relief of a famine in Palestine. His brothers and his father's household—according to *Ant.* xx. 75, they had been converted to Judaism—came in a deputation to him and said: "Your father saved money and added to the treasures of his fathers, and you are squandering them." He replied:

ἐνδεέσι διανεμηθέντα πολλοὺς τοῦ λιμοῦ σφοδροτάτης ἀνάγκης ἀνεκτήσατο.<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἂ τοῖς βασιλευσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἀγαθὰ πέπρακται<sup>2</sup> μετὰ ταῦτα δηλώσομεν.

54 (iii. 1) Ὁ δὲ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεὺς Ἀρταβάνης<sup>3</sup> αἰσθόμενος τοὺς σατράπας ἐπιβουλήν ἐπ' αὐτὸν συνθετικώτας, μένειν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλές οὐχ ὄρων ἔγνω πρὸς Ἰζάτην ἀπαίρειν, πόρον παρ' αὐτοῦ βουλόμενος σωτηρίας εὑρέσθαι καὶ κάθοδον  
55 εἰς τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ δυναθεῖη. καὶ δὴ ἀφικνεῖται συγγενῶν τε καὶ οἰκετῶν περὶ χιλίους<sup>4</sup> τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπαγόμενος συντυγχάνει τε τῷ Ἰζάτῃ καθ' ὁδόν.  
56 αὐτὸς τε σαφῶς ἐκέκινον ἐπιστάμενος, ὑπ' Ἰζάτου δὲ οὐ γινωσκόμενος, πλησίον καταστάς πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ τὸ πάτριον προσεκύνησεν αὐτόν, εἶτα, "βασιλεῦ," φησὶν, "μὴ περιίδῃς με τὸν σὸν ἰκέτην<sup>5</sup> μηδ' ὑπερηφανήσης δεομένου· ταπεινὸς γὰρ ἐκ μεταβολῆς γενόμενος καὶ ἐκ βασιλέως ἰδιώτης τῆς σῆς

<sup>1</sup> ἂ τοῖς . . . ἀνεκτήσατο] A: om. MWE.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ ὅσοι τούτοις ἐκ ταύτης πόροι συνέλεγσαν post πέπρακται add. codex Gallicus teste Hudsono.

<sup>3</sup> γρ Ἀρτάβανος i. marg. A: Artabanus Lat.: Ἀρτάβανος Ant. xviii. 48 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> AW: δισχιλίους M: mille Lat.

<sup>5</sup> A: οἰκέτην MW: servum Lat.

"My fathers stored up below and I am storing above [i.e. in heaven]" (trans. by M. Simon in Soncino edition).

<sup>a</sup> This promise does not appear to have been fulfilled. H. Petersen, "Real and Alleged Literary Projects of Josephus," *Am. Jour. of Philol.* lxxix, 1958, p. 273, says that Josephus probably thought that he had fulfilled this project and refers to §§ 94-95, which mention the pyramids constructed by Helena. But though the building of these pyramids was a blessing to the Jews in that it supplied jobs to construction

workers in Jerusalem, it seems more likely that the good deeds performed by Izates and Helena and referred to here involved more direct benefits to the Jews, such as the distribution of food in the famine mentioned in §§ 51-52. From the Mishnah, *Yoma* iii. 10, we learn of two of the gifts presented by Queen Helena to the temple, namely, a golden candlestick which was placed over the door of the sanctuary and a golden tablet on which was written the section from the Torah (Num. v. 12-31) discussing the suspected adulteress. According to *B.J.* v. 253 and vi. 355 she built a palace in Jerusalem. Another detail of Helena's sojourn in the Holy Land is supplied by the Talmud, *Sukkah* 2 b, which records that she had a *sukkah* built for the Feast of Tabernacles in Lydda which was higher than twenty cubits and that the elders frequented it.

(iii. 1) Artabanus,<sup>b</sup> king of the Parthians, discovering that the satraps had concocted a plot against him and seeing that it was not safe to remain with them, decided to make his way to Izates. His object was to obtain from him some provision for his security as well as for his restoration to his rule if that should be possible. He did succeed in reaching him, followed by about a thousand of his kinsmen and attendants. He met Izates on the road, as it happened. Now Artabanus knew him well, but not being recognized by Izates, he halted beside him and first of all made obeisance to him according to the native custom. He then spoke: "O king, be not indifferent to me, your suppliant, nor scorn my request. For I have been brought low by a turn of fortune, having exchanged kingship for a private life, and am in need of

workers in Jerusalem, it seems more likely that the good deeds performed by Izates and Helena and referred to here involved more direct benefits to the Jews, such as the distribution of food in the famine mentioned in §§ 51-52. From the Mishnah, *Yoma* iii. 10, we learn of two of the gifts presented by Queen Helena to the temple, namely, a golden candlestick which was placed over the door of the sanctuary and a golden tablet on which was written the section from the Torah (Num. v. 12-31) discussing the suspected adulteress. According to *B.J.* v. 253 and vi. 355 she built a palace in Jerusalem. Another detail of Helena's sojourn in the Holy Land is supplied by the Talmud, *Sukkah* 2 b, which records that she had a *sukkah* built for the Feast of Tabernacles in Lydda which was higher than twenty cubits and that the elders frequented it.

<sup>b</sup> Artabanus III; cf. *Ant.* xviii. 48-52, 96-104, 250, 325-338, 353; xx. 37.



57 ἐπικουρίας<sup>1</sup> χρήζω. βλέπον οὖν εἰς τὸ τῆς τύχης  
 ἄστατον καὶ κοινὴν εἶναι<sup>2</sup> νόμισον καὶ ὑπὲρ σαυτοῦ  
 πρόνοιαν<sup>3</sup>. ἐμοῦ<sup>4</sup> γὰρ ἀνεκδικήτου περιοφθέντος  
 58 εἶσονται θρασύτεροι πολλοὶ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων  
 βασιλέων.” ὁ μὲν ταῦτ’ ἔλεγεν δακρύων καὶ τῇ  
 κεφαλῇ κάτω νεύων, ὁ δὲ Ἰζάτης ὡς ἤκουσε τοῦ-  
 νομα καὶ εἶδεν ἰκέτην αὐτῷ παρεστῶτα καὶ ποτινώ-  
 μενον<sup>5</sup> τὸν Ἀρταβάνην, κατεπήδησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵπ-  
 59 που ὀξέως<sup>6</sup> καί, “ θάρσησον,” εἶπεν, “ ὦ βασιλεῦ,  
 μηδέ σε συγχέτω τὸ παρὸν ὡς ἀνήκεστον· ταχεῖα  
 γὰρ ἔσται τῆς λύπης<sup>7</sup> ἢ μεταβολή. φίλον δέ με καὶ  
 σύμμαχον εὐρήσεις κρείττω τῆς ἐλπίδος· ἢ γὰρ εἰς  
 τὴν Πάρθων σε καταστήσω βασιλείαν πάλιν ἢ τῆς  
 ἐμῆς ἐκστήσομαι.”<sup>8</sup>

60 (2) Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀνεβίβαζεν τὸν Ἀρταβάνην ἐπὶ  
 τὸν ἵππον, παρείπετο δ’ αὐτὸς πεζὸς τιμὴν ἀπονέ-  
 μων ταυτηνὶ ὡς<sup>9</sup> ἂν μείζονι βασιλεῖ. θεασάμενος  
 δ’ Ἀρταβάνης βαρέως ἤνεγκεν καὶ τὴν ἐφειστώσαν  
 αὐτῷ τύχην καὶ τιμὴν<sup>10</sup> ἐπωμόσατο<sup>11</sup> καταβήσασθαι  
 61 μὴ<sup>12</sup> κείνου πάλιν ἀναβάντος καὶ προηγουμένου. ὁ  
 δὲ πεισθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἤλατο καὶ ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸν  
 εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν πᾶσαν τιμὴν ἀπένειμεν ἔν τε  
 συνεδρίαις καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὰς ἐστιάσεις προκατα-  
 κλίσεσιν, οὐκ εἰς τὸ παρὸν αὐτοῦ τῆς τύχης ἀπο-  
 βλέπων, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὸ πρότερον ἀξίωμα, καὶ τι καὶ

<sup>1</sup> solatium Lat.

<sup>2</sup> τὴν συμφορὰν τὴν ἐμὴν post εἶναι add. A.

<sup>3</sup> πρόνοιαν] MW: πρόνοιαν ἤγησαι A; καὶ κοινὴν . . . πρό-  
 νοίαν] et hanc scito esse communem et tui similiter habe curam  
 Lat.

<sup>4</sup> MW: λιμοῦ A.

<sup>5</sup> καὶ ποτινώμενον] A: om. MWE.

your help. Cast an eye, therefore, at the instability of fortune and consider that forethought for me is forethought for you also; for if I am disregarded and left unavenged many will be bolder to attack other kings as well.” This he said with tears in his eyes and with bowed head. When Izates heard his name and beheld Artabanus standing beside him as a suppliant and lamenting his fate, he leapt down quickly from his horse and said: “ Take heart, O king, and be not confounded by your present condition as though it were past cure; for there will be a sudden change to end your sadness. You will find me as friend and ally better than you expected. For either I will restore you to the throne of Parthia or I will abandon my own.”

(2) So saying he aided Artabanus in mounting his horse and himself attended him on foot, according him this honour since he was the greater king. But when Artabanus beheld this, he was distressed and swore by the misfortune that had come upon him and by the honour accorded him that he would dismount unless Izates remounted and preceded him. The latter complied, leapt on his horse, and brought him to his kingdom, where he assigned him every honour at his<sup>a</sup> councils and gave him the chief seat at banquets; for Izates had regard not for his present fortune but for his former dignity; moreover, he took

<sup>a</sup> Izates’.

<sup>6</sup> A: mox Lat.: om. MWE.

<sup>7</sup> λύπης] MW: παρούσης λύπης A.

<sup>8</sup> A: στήσομαι MW: constituam Lat.

<sup>9</sup> ταυτηνὶ ὡς] ταύτην μεγίστην ὡς i. ras. 8-9 litt. m. 2 A:  
 ταύτην ὡς E.

<sup>10</sup> καὶ τιμὴν] om. E.

<sup>11</sup> ἐπωμόσατο] ἐπωμόσατο ἡμὴν E.

λογισμῷ διδούς,<sup>1</sup> ὡς κοινὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἰ  
 62 μεταβολαὶ τῆς τύχης. γράφει τε πρὸς τοὺς Πάρ-  
 θους πείθων αὐτοὺς τὸν Ἀρταβάνην ὑποδέξασθαι,  
 πίστιν προτεινὼν τῆς τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀμνηστίας  
 63 δεξιᾶν καὶ ὄρκους καὶ μεσιτείαν τὴν αὐτοῦ.<sup>2</sup> τῶν  
 δὲ Πάρθων δέξασθαι μὲν αὐτὸν θέλει οὐκ ἀρνού-  
 μένων, μὴ δύνασθαι δὲ λεγόντων διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 ἐτέρῳ πεπιστευκέναι, Κίνναμος<sup>3</sup> δ' ἦν ὄνομα τῷ  
 παρεληφότι, καὶ δεδοικέναι, μὴ στάσις αὐτοὺς ἐκ  
 64 τούτου καταλάβῃ,<sup>4</sup> μαθὼν τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῶν<sup>5</sup>  
 ὁ Κίνναμος ταύτην αὐτὸς γράφει τῷ Ἀρταβάνη,  
 τέθραπτο γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ φύσει δ' ἦν καλὸς  
 καὶ<sup>6</sup> ἀγαθός, παρακαλῶν αὐτῷ πιστεύσαντα παρα-  
 65 γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποληψόμενον<sup>7</sup> τὴν αὐτοῦ. καὶ  
 ὁ Ἀρταβάνης πιστεύσας παρῆν. ὑπαντᾷ δ' αὐτῷ  
 ὁ Κίνναμος καὶ προσκυνήσας βασιλέα τε προσαγο-  
 ρεύσας περιτίθησιν αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸ διάδημα  
 ἀφελῶν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ.  
 66 (3) Καὶ Ἀρταβάνης οὕτω διὰ Ἰζάτου<sup>8</sup> πάλιν<sup>9</sup>  
 εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καθίσταται πρότερον αὐτῆς ἐκπεσῶν  
 διὰ τοὺς μεγιστᾶνας.<sup>10</sup> οὐκ ἐγένετο μὴν ἀμνήμων  
 τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν εὐεργεσιῶν, ἀλλ' ἀντιδωρεῖται τὸν  
 67 Ἰζάτην ταῖς μεγίσταις τιμαῖς παρ' αὐτοῖς· τὴν τε

<sup>1</sup> καὶ τι . . . διδούς] eumque ratione frequenter consolatus est Lat.

<sup>2</sup> δεξιᾶν . . . αὐτοῦ] iuramenta Lat.

<sup>3</sup> A: Κιννάμωμος MW: Cinnamum Lat.

<sup>4</sup> Κίνναμος . . . καταλάβῃ] om. E.

into consideration the fact that changes of fortune are the lot of all men. He wrote to the Parthians urging them to welcome back Artabanus, offering his right hand and oaths and his mediation as security that Artabanus would not hold against them what they had done. The Parthians answered that they were not unwilling to receive him, but were unable to do so because they had already entrusted the government to another—Cinnamus<sup>a</sup> was the name of the one who had acceded to it—and they were afraid that to do so would subject them to civil war. Cinnamus, on learning of their policy, himself wrote to Artabanus—for he had been brought up by him and was by disposition a thorough gentleman—inviting him to put faith in him and come back to receive his office. Artabanus trusted him and came. Cinnamus met him and after doing obeisance and addressing him as king removed the diadem from his own head and placed it on that of Artabanus.

(3) Thus, through the aid of Izates,<sup>b</sup> Artabanus was again established on his throne, after having been previously expelled from it by action of the great nobles. Nor was he unmindful of Izates' benefactions to him, but repaid him with the highest of honours that they recognize. For he permitted him

<sup>a</sup> c. A. D. 37. On the name Κίνναμος cf. McCown-Albright, in *Bull. of the Am. Sch. of Or. Res.* lxxvi, Apr. 1937, p. 20.

<sup>b</sup> For "through the aid of Izates" two of the mss. and the Epitome have "after six years."

<sup>5</sup> E Lat. et i. marg. A: αὐτοῦ codd.

<sup>6</sup> φύσει δ' ἦν καλὸς καὶ] ἦν γὰρ E.

<sup>7</sup> πιστεύσαντα . . . ἀποληψόμενον] ληψόμενον W.

<sup>8</sup> διὰ Ἰζάτου] A: δι' ἑξαετοῦς (ἐξ ex ἰζ corr. M) MWE: per Iazatem Lat.

<sup>9</sup> πάλιν] A: πάλιν χρόνου MW: χρόνου πάλιν E.

<sup>10</sup> πρότερον . . . μεγιστᾶνας] om. E.

Izates per-  
suades the  
Parthians  
to reinstate  
Artabanus.

Izates is  
rewarded.

γὰρ τιάραν ὀρθὴν ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ φορεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ κλίνης χρυσοῦς καθέυδειν, ἅπερ μόνων ἐστὶ γέρα καὶ  
 68 σημεῖα τῶν Πάρθων βασιλέων. ἔδωκεν δὲ καὶ  
 χώραν πολλὴν αὐτῷ κάγαθὴν τοῦ τῶν Ἀρμενίων  
 βασιλέως ἀποτεμόμενος, Νίσιβις δὲ ἐστὶν ὄνομα τῇ  
 γῆ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ πρότερον Μακεδόνες ἐκτίσαντο  
 πόλιν Ἀντιόχειαν, ἣν Ἐπιμυγδονίαν<sup>1</sup> προσηγόρευ-  
 σαν. ταύταις μὲν δὴ ταῖς τιμαῖς ὁ Ἰζάτης ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 τῶν Πάρθων βασιλέως ἐτιμήθη.

69 (4) Μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον Ἀρταβάνης τελευτᾷ  
 τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ παιδὶ Οὐαρδάνῃ<sup>2</sup> καταλιπών.  
 οὗτος δὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἰζάτην ἀφικόμενος ἔπειθεν  
 αὐτὸν μέλλων πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν  
 70 συστρατεῦσθαι καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐποιμάζειν. οὐ μὴν  
 ἔπειθεν ὁ γὰρ Ἰζάτης τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν τε

<sup>1</sup> Ἐπιμυγδονίαν] AM: ἐπὶ Μυγδονίαν W: Μυγδονίαν E: In-  
 mygdoniam Lat. <sup>2</sup> Partadani Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Aristophanes, *Birds* 487, likewise mentions the upright tiara (κυρβάσια) of the Persian kings. Cf. Xenophon, *Anab.* ii. 5. 23, where Tissaphernes says: "The King alone may wear upright the tiara that is upon the head, but another, too, with your help, might easily so wear the one that is upon the heart." He thus indicates that with the aid of the Greeks he would possess an authority virtually or perhaps even actually royal; in the latter case this would be a hint of revolt.

<sup>b</sup> Apparently to be distinguished from the Nisibis of *Ant.* xviii. 312 and 379. J. Sturm, "Nisibis," no. 3, Pauly-Wissowa, xvii<sup>1</sup>, 1936, p. 757, asserts that this Nisibis is also to be distinguished from the more famous Nisibis in north-eastern Babylonia; but the surname (Epi)mygdonia seems to argue for identifying the two. A district named Nisibis is, however, otherwise unknown.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Polybius v. 51. 1 and Strabo xvi. 747, who refer to it as Antiocheia in Mygdonia. See J. Sturm, "Nisibis," Pauly-Wissowa, xvii<sup>1</sup>, 1936, pp. 727-730. <sup>d</sup> About A.D. 38.

<sup>e</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 8, says that Artabanus was succeeded

to wear his tiara upright<sup>a</sup> and to sleep on a bed of gold—privileges and symbols that belong only to the kings of the Parthians. He furthermore gave him an extensive and productive territory which he carved from that of the king of Armenia. The district is called Nisibis,<sup>b</sup> and in it the Macedonians had in days of old founded the city of Antioch which they sur-named Epimygdonia.<sup>c</sup> Such were the honours that Izates received from the king of the Parthians.

(4) Not long afterwards<sup>d</sup> Artabanus died, leaving his kingdom to his son Vardanes.<sup>e</sup> The latter, con-templating war on the Romans, came to Izates and urged him to take part in the campaign and to pre-pare an auxiliary force. He failed, however, to con-vince him. For Izates, knowing well the might and

by Gotarzes II, who was, in turn, succeeded by his brother Vardanes. Josephus has Gotarzes (Cotarzes) succeed Var-danes. J. G. C. Anderson, in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* x, 1934, p. 754 n. 1, therefore, contends that Josephus' account is in-accurate. But actually there is no necessary contradiction between Tacitus and Josephus, since, upon the murder of Vardanes, Gotarzes once again assumed the throne (*Tac. Ann.* xi. 10). Hence, Josephus merely omits Gotarzes' first tenure—an omission which, in view of the greater brevity of Josephus' account, is quite understandable. Moreover, since the first tenure of Gotarzes was almost immediately disputed by Vardanes and since, after Vardanes' arrival, Gotarzes withdrew his claim to the throne and came to an agreement with him (*Tac. Ann.* xi. 9), Josephus may have thought it proper to omit Gotarzes' first tenure as not really a reign but as a pretension to the throne. The numismatic evidence for 44/45-45/46 indicates merely that Tacitus has the more complete account in describing the struggle for the Parthian throne for this period. Thus in Seleucia we find the coins of Gotarzes, then a month later those of Vardanes, then six months later those of Gotarzes, then three months later Vardanes again, then nine months later those of Gotarzes again (see R. H. McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, 1935, pp. 189-190).

Vardanes, Artabanus' successor, falls to en-list Izates for war against the Romans.

καὶ τύχην ἐπιστάμενος ἀδυνάτοις αὐτὸν ἐνόμιζεν  
 71 ἐπιχειρεῖν. ἔτι γε πεπομφῶς πέντε μὲν τὸν ἀριθμὸν  
 υἱοὺς τὴν ἡλικίαν νέους γλῶτταν τὴν παρ' ἡμῶν  
 πατέριον καὶ παιδείαν ἀκριβῶς μαθησομένους, τὴν  
 τε μητέρα προσκυνήσουσαν τὸ ἱερόν, ὡς προείπον,  
 ὀκνηρότερος ἦν καὶ τὸν Οὐαρδάνην<sup>1</sup> ἐκώλυεν συν-  
 εχῶς διηγούμενος τὰς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεις<sup>2</sup> τε καὶ  
 πράξεις, διὰ τούτων οἰόμενος αὐτὸν φοβήσῃ καὶ  
 παύσει ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατείας.  
 72 παροξυνθεὶς δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Πάρθος πόλεμον εὐθύς<sup>3</sup>  
 πρὸς Ἰζάτην κατήγγειλεν. οὐ μὴν ἔλαβεν οὐδὲ τῆς  
 ἐπὶ τούτῳ στρατείας ὄντησιν τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς ἐλπίδας  
 73 αὐτοῦ πάσας ὑποπεμόντος· μαθόντες γὰρ οἱ Πάρθοι  
 τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ Οὐαρδάνου καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους  
 στρατεύειν ἔκρινεν, αὐτὸν μὲν ἀναιροῦσιν, τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 74 δὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Κοτάρδῃ<sup>4</sup> παρέδωσαν. καὶ τούτου

<sup>1</sup> Bardanem hic et infra Lat.

<sup>2</sup> δυνάμεις] εὐτυχίαις | δυνάμεις A.

<sup>3</sup> om. E.

<sup>4</sup> Spanheim: Ἰκοτάρδῃ (v. i. ras. o ex ω corr. A) AE: Κα-  
 τάρδῃ MW: Cotardi Lat.: Γοτάρζῃ Hudson.

<sup>a</sup> §§ 49 ff.

<sup>b</sup> Izates' defiance of Vardanes is all the more remarkable in view of the terror that he had inspired in his enemies generally. Cf. Tacitus' tribute to his ability (*Ann.* xi. 10): "He might have been one of the illustrious few among aged princes, had he sought to be loved by his subjects as much as to be feared by his foes."

<sup>c</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 10, says that despite the many victories won by Vardanes and despite the erection of monuments by the Parthians in tribute to his triumphs, the Parthians rebelled against distant service and against his haughty and autocratic attitude towards them after his return homeward. A plot was arranged, and they slew him while hunting.

fortune of the Romans, thought that Vardanes was attempting the impossible. Moreover, he was the more reluctant because he had sent five sons of tender age to get a thorough knowledge of our native language and culture, besides his mother who had gone to worship in the temple, as I have said already.<sup>a</sup> He therefore dissuaded Vardanes by constantly describing the resources and achievements of the Romans, supposing that such accounts would be enough to frighten him and curb his will to make war on them. The Parthian, however, exasperated at this, forthwith declared war on Izates.<sup>b</sup> Nevertheless, he did not derive any advantage from his campaign against Izates, since God cut short all his expectations. For the Parthians, on hearing of Vardanes' intention and of his decision to march against the Romans, put him to death<sup>c</sup> and delivered the government to his brother Cotardes.<sup>d</sup> Not long afterwards he too was

Firdousi's tenth-century epic poem *Shāhmāma*, or "Book of Kings," containing a complete history of Persia, preserves a tradition that Farud (=Vardanes) was actually killed by Bizan and Rahan, both of whom were related to Gudarz (=Gotarzes). See J. C. Coyajee, "The House of Gotarzes," *Jour. and Proc. of the Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, N.S. xxviii, 1932, p. 211.

<sup>d</sup> *i.e.* Gotarzes. Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 10, depicts Gotarzes as ruthless in his dealings with both the nobility and the common people. "Already," he says, "brothers, relatives, and distant kin had been swept off by murder after murder; wives actually pregnant and tender children were added to Gotarzes' victims, while, slothful at home and unsuccessful in war, he made cruelty a screen for his feebleness." Josephus omits the rivalry for the throne between Gotarzes and Meherdates after the murder of Vardanes. In this rivalry, according to Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 13, Izates allied himself with Meherdates, but secretly favoured Gotarzes, and deserted to the latter's side before the crucial battle between the two contenders for the throne.

δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τελευτή-  
σαντα διαδέχεται Οὐολογέσης<sup>1</sup> ὁ ἀδελφός, ὃς δὴ  
καὶ τοῖς ὀμοπατρίοις δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς δυναστείας  
ἐπίστευσε, Πακόρω μὲν τῷ καὶ<sup>2</sup> πρεσβυτέρῳ τὴν  
Μήδων, Τιριδάτῃ δὲ τῷ νεωτέρῳ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν.  
75 (iv. 1) Ὁ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφός Μονόβαζος  
καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς θεωροῦντες τὸν Ἰζάτην διὰ τὴν  
πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν<sup>3</sup> ζηλωτὸν παρὰ πᾶσιν  
ἀνθρώποις γεγεννημένον ἔσχον ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ αὐτοὶ  
τὰ πάτρια καταλιπόντες ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι τοῖς Ἰου-  
76 δαίων.<sup>4</sup> γίνεται δ' ἡ πράξις αὐτῶν κατάφωρος τοῖς  
ὑπηκόοις,<sup>5</sup> κάπῃ τούτῳ χαλεπήναντες οἱ μεγαστᾶνες<sup>6</sup>  
οὐκ ἐφάνερον μὲν τὴν ὀργήν, κατὰ νοῦν δὲ ἔχοντες

<sup>1</sup> ed. pr.: Οὐολυγέσης A: Οὐολυγαίσης MW: Οὐλελέσης E:  
Vologesis Lat.: Οὐλογάσης Hudson.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ] om. I. Levy (Mélanges Dussaud, 1939, p. 547).

<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὴν ἐνοῦσαν αὐτῷ τῶν ἡθῶν χρησιότητα post εὐσέβειαν  
add. E.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ τὴν ἔφεσιν εἰς πέρας ἐξήνεγκαν post Ἰουδαίων add. E.

<sup>5</sup> γίνεται . . . ὑπηκόοις] horum nisis subiectis fuit valde  
gravissimus Lat.

<sup>6</sup> καὶ ὀργίλως διατεθέντες post μεγαστᾶνες add. E.

<sup>a</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 14, mentions no conspiracy, but says  
merely that Gotarzes fell ill and died.

<sup>b</sup> Vologeses, according to Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 14, was the  
son of Vonones.

<sup>c</sup> This is the common spelling, but the name appears as  
"Volagases" on his coins. Cf. *B.J.* vii. 105, where a delega-  
tion from him brings Vespasian a golden crown in recogni-  
tion of his victory over the Jews. Cf. also *B.J.* vii. 237 and  
242. Josephus' account omits the reign of Vonones, who,  
according to Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 14, succeeded Gotarzes. But  
Tacitus himself remarks that Vonones' reign was short and  
inglorious, and since Josephus is giving an abbreviated  
account of the complicated dynastic struggles of the Parthians,  
it is not remarkable that he should have omitted Vonones, for

slain by a conspiracy<sup>a</sup> and was succeeded by his  
brother<sup>b</sup> Vologeses,<sup>c</sup> who thereupon assigned to his  
two brothers<sup>d</sup> by the same father positions of power.  
To the elder, Pacorus,<sup>e</sup> he gave Media and to the  
younger, Tiridates,<sup>f</sup> Armenia.

(iv. 1) Izates' brother Monobazus<sup>g</sup> and his kins-  
men, seeing that the king because of his pious worship  
of God<sup>h</sup> had won the admiration of all men, became  
eager to abandon their ancestral religion and to  
adopt the practices of the Jews.<sup>i</sup> Their action, how-  
ever, was detected and exposed to their subjects.  
The high nobles, though they were angry at this, did  
not reveal their anger but stored it in their hearts and

Monobazus,  
brother of  
Izates, and  
his kinsmen  
plan con-  
version to  
Judaism.

whose reign no coins have yet been found, as N. C. Debe-  
voise, *A Political History of Parthia*, 1938, p. 174, notes.

<sup>a</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 44, also remarks that Vologeses ob-  
tained the throne with the consent of his brothers.

<sup>b</sup> According to Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 2, Pacorus was already  
in possession of Media when Vologeses became king. Cf.  
*B.J.* vii. 247, where he flees from his country upon the ad-  
vance of the Alani, a Scythian tribe.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. the impressive scene in Dio lxxii (lxiii). 4 ff., in which  
Nero proclaims him king of Armenia. Tacitus, *Ann.* xii.  
50-51, tells of Vologeses' unsuccessful attempt to place Tiri-  
dates on the throne through an invasion of Armenia. Cf.  
*Ann.* xv. 2, where, after Tiridates has egged him on, Vologeses  
defends his irresolution in not pressing for Armenia, which,  
he admits, is only a third-rate kingdom (not, as stated here  
in Josephus, a position of power). In *B.J.* vii. 249, Tiridates,  
who has managed to win the rule of Armenia, is defeated by  
the Alani.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. Mishnah, *Yoma* iii. 10, which records the lavish gift  
that he later gave for the temple in Jerusalem, namely, golden  
handles for the vessels used on the Day of Atonement.

<sup>e</sup> The Epitome adds "and goodness of heart in all his  
ways." But the additions of the Epitome in this and in the  
following section are quite clearly interpolations, as indicated  
by Niese, in his preface to vol. iii, p. xxxvii.

<sup>f</sup> The Epitome adds "They carried out this project fully."

καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἐζήτουν δίκην εἰσπράξασθαι  
 77 σπεύδοντες<sup>1</sup> παρ' αὐτῶν. καὶ δὴ γράφουσιν πρὸς  
 Ἀβίαν τὸν Ἀράβων βασιλέα χρήματα πολλὰ δώ-  
 σειν ὑπισχνόμενοι στρατεύσασθαι θελήσαντι κατὰ  
 τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς βασιλέως, ἐπηγγέλλοντο δὲ καὶ  
 περὶ τὴν πρώτην συμβολὴν ἐγκαταλείψειν τὸν βα-  
 σιλέα· θέλειν γὰρ αὐτὸν τιμωρήσασθαι μισήσαντα  
 τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔθνη· καὶ ὄρκους τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
 78 ἐνδησάμενοι πίστιν σπεύδειν<sup>2</sup> παρεκάλουν. πεί-  
 θεται δὲ ὁ Ἄραβ, καὶ πολλὴν ἐπαγόμενος δύναμιν  
 ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰζάτην. μελλούσης δὲ τῆς πρώτης  
 συμβολῆς πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθειν καταλείπουσιν τὸν  
 Ἰζάτην ἐκ συνθήματος πάντες ὡς πανικῶ δείματι  
 κατασχεθέντες,<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὰ νῶτα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐντρέ-  
 79 ψαντες ἔφευγον. οὐ μὴν ὁ Ἰζάτης κατεπλάγη,  
 νοήσας δὲ προδοσίαν ὑπὸ τῶν μεγιστάνων γεγενῆ-  
 σθαι καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον<sup>4</sup> ὑπεχώρησεν,  
 καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ζητήσας ὡς ἔμαθεν συντεταγμένους  
 πρὸς τὸν Ἄραβα, τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους ἀναιρεῖ, τῇ δ'  
 80 ἐπιούσῃ συμβαλὼν πλείστους μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, πάντας  
 δὲ φυγεῖν ἠνάγκασεν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα διώκων  
 εἰς τι φρούριον συνήλασεν Ἄρσαμον καλούμενον,  
 καὶ προσμαχεσάμενος καρτερῶς εἶλε<sup>5</sup> τὸ φρούριον  
 διαρπάσας τε τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ λείαν πᾶσαν, πολλὴ δὲ  
 ἦν, ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν Ἀδιαβηνήν τὸν Ἀβίαν οὐ  
 καταλαβὼν ζῶντα· περικαταλαμβανόμενος γὰρ ἑαυ-  
 τὸν ἀνείλεν πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας συγκλεισθῆ τῷ Ἰζάτου.<sup>6</sup>  
 81 (2) Ἀποτυχόντες δὲ οἱ τῶν Ἀδιαβηνῶν μεγα-

<sup>1</sup> σπεύδοντες] om. E.      <sup>2</sup> σπεύδειν] σπεύδειν τομῶς E.

<sup>3</sup> ὡς πανικῶ δείματι κατασχεθέντες] om. E: velut uno vincti funiculo Lat.

<sup>4</sup> εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον] cum exercitu Lat.

<sup>5</sup> καὶ προσμαχεσάμενος καρτερῶς εἶλε] ἔλαυν τε E.

eagerly sought a convenient opportunity to make them pay the penalty for their act. Consequently they wrote to Abias king of the Arabs, promising him large sums if he would consent to take the field against their king. They further offered to abandon the king at the first onset, for they wished to punish him because he had come to hate their way of life. Having bound themselves to mutual loyalty by oaths, they exhorted Abias to make haste. The Arab king consented and came marching with a great army against Izates. When the first engagement was just about to take place and before they came to blows, the high nobles, at a prearranged signal, deserted Izates, pretending to be possessed by panic, and, turning their backs to the enemy, took to flight. Izates, however, was not panic-stricken, but perceiving that there had been treachery on the part of the high nobles, personally withdrew to the camp. On inquiring into the cause of the flight and on learning that they had joined forces with the Arab, he put the guilty parties to death. On the morrow, joining battle, he slew a great number of the enemy and compelled the rest to flee. The king himself he pursued and hemmed into a certain fortress called Arsamus, which he captured by assault after a stubborn fight. When he had plundered it of all the booty that it contained—and it was much—he returned to Adiabene. He did not take Abias alive; for the latter, being surrounded on all sides, killed himself before he was quite trapped and in the hands of Izates.

Defeat of Abias, king of the Arabs, when he attacks Izates.

(2) Foiled in their first attempt, when God de-

Vologeses, king of

<sup>6</sup> πρὶν . . . Ἰζάτου] A (litt. πρὶν . . . πάλιν Οὐό i. ras. m. 2 A): om. MWE.

στᾶνες τῆς πρώτης ἐπιχειρήσεως παραδόντος αὐ-  
 τοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ βασιλεῖ οὐδ' ὡς ἡρέμουν, ἀλλὰ  
 γράφουσιν πάλιν Οὐλογέση, βασιλεὺς δὲ Πάρθων  
 οὗτος ἦν, παρακαλοῦντες ἀποκτείνειν μὲν τὸν Ἰζά-  
 την, καταστήσαι δ' αὐτοῖς ἕτερον δυνάστην καὶ  
 τῷ γένει Πάρθων· μισεῖν γὰρ ἔλεγον τὸν ἑαυτῶν  
 βασιλέα καταλύσαντα μὲν τὰ πάτρια,<sup>1</sup> ξένων δ'  
 82 ἐραστὴν ἐθῶν γενόμενον. ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Πάρθος  
 ἐπήρθη πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ προφάσεως δικαίας  
 μηδεμίαν ἀφορμὴν ἔχων τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ  
 δοθείσας τιμὰς ἐπεμψεν ἀπαιτῶν, ἀπειθήσαντι δὲ  
 83 πόλεμον κατήγγελλεν. ταρασσεται δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν  
 οὐχὶ μετρίως ὁ Ἰζάτης, ὡς ἤκουσεν ταῦτα, κατὰ-  
 γνωσιν μὲν φέρειν αὐτῷ νομίσας τὸ τῶν δωρεῶν  
 84 ἐξίστασθαι δοκεῖν<sup>2</sup> διὰ φόβον τοῦτο πράξας. εἰδὼς  
 δέ, ὅτι καὶ ἀπολαβὼν ὁ Πάρθος τὰς τιμὰς οὐκ ἂν  
 ἡρεμήσειεν, ἔκρινεν ἐπιτρέψαι τῷ κηδεμόνι θεῷ  
 85 τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς κίνδυνον, καὶ τοῦτον μέγιστον  
 ἠγησάμενος ἔχειν σύμμαχον κατατίθεται μὲν τὰ  
 τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας εἰς τὰ τῶν φρουρίων ἀσφα-  
 λέστατα, τὸν σῖτον δὲ πάντα μὲν<sup>3</sup> εἰς τὰς βάρεις<sup>4</sup>  
 καὶ<sup>5</sup> ἐμπύπρωσιν τὸν τε χόρτον καὶ τὰς νομάς,<sup>6</sup>  
 ταῦτά τε προευτρεπισάμενος ἐξεδέχετο τοὺς πολε-  
 86 μίους. παραγενομένου δὲ τοῦ Πάρθου μετὰ πολλῆς  
 δυνάμεως πεζῶν τε καὶ ἰππέων θάπτον ἐλπίδος,  
 ὠδευσε γὰρ συντόνως, βαλλομένου τε χάρακα πρὸς  
 τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ τὴν Ἀδιαβηνὴν καὶ τὴν Μηδίαν  
 ὀρίζοντι, τίθησι καὶ ὁ Ἰζάτης τὸ στρατόπεδον οὐκ  
 ἀπωθεν ἔχων περὶ αὐτὸν ἰππεῖς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἑξα-

<sup>1</sup> καταλύσαντα . . . πάτρια] om. E.

<sup>2</sup> AW: om. ME: δοκοῦντι Ernesti.

livered them over to the king, the nobles of Adiabene Parthia, is  
 did not even then keep quiet, but wrote another also per-  
 letter, this time to Vologeses king of the Parthians, suaded to  
 urging him to put Izates to death and to appoint attack  
 for them another overlord, of Parthian descent; for, Izates.  
 they said, they had come to loathe their own king,  
 who had overthrown their traditions and had become  
 enamoured of foreign practices. The Parthian king  
 was swayed by their words to seek a war; but having  
 no honest pretext, he sent a message demanding the  
 return of those awards of honour that his father had  
 bestowed on Izates, and threatened to declare war  
 on him if he refused. Izates was sorely perturbed in  
 his mind when he received this message, for he  
 thought that to surrender the gifts would bring him  
 into contempt since it would appear that he had done  
 so through fear. Besides, he knew that the Parthian  
 would not refrain from action even if he recovered  
 the awards, and so he decided, in his present danger,  
 to commit himself to God the protector. Reflecting  
 that he had in God the greatest of allies, he deposited  
 his children and wives in the most secure of his for-  
 tresses, stored all the grain in towers, and burnt over  
 the grass for pasturage. After these preliminary  
 moves he awaited the enemy. The Parthian arrived  
 with a large force of infantry and cavalry sooner than  
 was expected, for he had recourse to forced marches,  
 and threw up a palisaded camp at the river that is  
 the boundary between Adiabene and Media. Izates  
 also, who had with him six thousand horsemen,

<sup>3</sup> μὲν] MW: μὲν τὸν A.

<sup>4</sup> lacunam post βάρεις indicat Niese.

<sup>5</sup> ed. pr.: om. codd. E.

<sup>6</sup> εἰς τὰς . . . νομάς] in munitissimis locis cunctaque fru-  
 menta et foenum et pabula congregavit Lat.

87 κισχιλίου.<sup>1</sup> ἀφικνεῖται δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἰζάτην ἄγγελος παρὰ τοῦ Πάρθου πεμφθείς, ὃς τὴν Πάρθων δύναμιν ὅση τίς ἐστιν ἠγγελλεν ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ μέχρι Βάκτρων τοὺς ὄρους αὐτῆς τιθέμενος καὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους αὐτῆς βασιλέας καταλέγων.  
 88 ἠπειλεῖ δὲ δώσειν αὐτὸν δίκας ἀχάριστον περὶ δεσπότας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενον, καὶ ῥύεσθαι τῶν βασιλέως αὐτὸν χειρῶν οὐδὲ τὸν θεὸν ὃν σέβει  
 89 δυνήσεσθαι. ταῦτα τοῦ ἀγγέλου φράσαντος ὁ Ἰζάτης εἰδέναι μὲν τὴν Πάρθων δύναμιν ἔφη πολλὴ τῆς αὐτοῦ διαφέρουσαν, γινώσκει δ' οὖν ἔτι μᾶλλον πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἔλεγεν κρείσσω τὸν θεόν. καὶ τοιαύτην δοὺς τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱκετείαν ἐτρέπετο τοῦ θεοῦ, χαμαὶ τε ῥίψας αὐτὸν καὶ σποδῶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καταισχύνας μετὰ γυναικὸς<sup>2</sup> καὶ τέκνων ἐνήστευεν ἀνακαλῶν τὸν θεὸν καὶ λέγων,  
 90 " εἰ μὴ μάτην, ὦ δέσποτα κύριε, τῆς σῆς ἐγενομένη<sup>3</sup> χρηστότητος, τῶν πάντων δὲ δικαίως μόνον καὶ πρῶτον ἠγγῆμαι κύριον,<sup>4</sup> ἔλθὲ σύμμαχος οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ μόνον ἀμνυόμενος τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλ' ὅτι  
 91 καὶ τῆς σῆς δυνάμει κατατετολήκασι."<sup>5</sup> ὁ μὲν

<sup>1</sup> ἔχων . . . ἑξακισχιλίου] AM: om. W.

<sup>2</sup> γυναικῶν E Lat.

<sup>3</sup> τῆς σῆς ἐγενομένη] Warmington: τῆς σῆς ἐγενομένη codd.: τῆς σῆς ἐγενομένη <κοινωνός> Richards et Shutt: <προσατάτης> τῆς σῆς ἐγενομένη Petersen.

<sup>4</sup> τῶν πάντων . . . κύριον] τὸν τῶν πάντων δὲ δικαίως μόνον δεσπότην καὶ πρῶτον ἠγγῆμαι προνοητὴν καὶ κύριον i. marg. A.

<sup>5</sup> ἀλλ' ὅτι . . . κατατετολήκασι] sed quia etiam contra tuam virtutem cum nefanda praesumptione locuti sunt Lat.; καὶ μεγαλορρήμονα γλάσσαν ἐπαφείναν οὐ πεφρίκασι post κατατετολήκασι add. ed. pr.

<sup>a</sup> In the northern part of modern Afghanistan and in Russian Turkestan.

pitched his camp not far off. A messenger sent by the Parthian made his way to Izates and reported to him the extent of the Parthian empire, declaring that it was bounded by the river Euphrates and went from there to Bactria.<sup>a</sup> He also called the roll of kings subject to it. Then he threatened that Izates would pay the penalty for ingratitude to his masters, and that even the God whom he worshipped would be unable to deliver him from the king's hands. After the messenger had spoken these words, Izates replied that he was aware that the Parthian empire was far larger than his own, but for all that he was even more certain that God is mightier than all mankind. After giving this reply, he gave himself to supplicating God's favour. He flung himself on the ground and befouled his head with ashes; he fasted, together with his wife and children, calling upon God with these words: "If it is not in vain, O sovereign Lord, that I have had a taste of Thy goodness,<sup>b</sup> and that I have made it my belief that Thou art the first and only rightful Lord of all, come to my aid not only for my sake to defend me from my enemies, but also because it is Thy power that they have had the audacity to challenge."<sup>c</sup> Thus he

<sup>b</sup> Richards and Shutt emend to "I have become a partner in Thy goodness." Prof. Petersen suggests "I have become the champion of Thy goodness."

<sup>c</sup> The *editio princeps* adds "and have not shuddered to utter grandiloquent words." The prayer of Izates bears similarities to the prayer of Hezekiah (2 Kings xix. 15-19) when he was attacked by Sennacherib, particularly in its emphasis on imploring God to show the gentiles that they may not attack or taunt Him with impunity. Both Sennacherib (2 Kings xix. 36) and Vologeses are later forced to depart without carrying out their attacks on the Jewish king.

Izates' prayer and his deliverance from the Parthians.



ταυτ' ἐποτνιατο δακρῶν καὶ ὀδυρόμενος, ἐπήκοος δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἐγένετο, καὶ κατ' ἐκείνην εὐθὺς τὴν νύκτα<sup>1</sup> δεξάμενος Οὐολογέσης ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αἷς ἐγγέγραπτο Δαῶν<sup>2</sup> καὶ Σακῶν<sup>3</sup> χεῖρα μεγάλην καταφρονήσασαν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀποδημίας ἐπιστρατευσαμένην διαρπάξιν τὴν Παρθυνῶν, ἄπρακτος ἀνέλευξεν εἰς τοῦπίσω. καὶ Ἰζάτης οὕτω κατὰ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν τὰς ἀπειλὰς τοῦ Πάρθου διαφεύγει.

92 (3) Μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον πεντηκοστὸν μὲν καὶ πέμπτον ἀπὸ γενεᾶς πληρώσας ἔτος τέταρτον δὲ πρὸς εἰκοστῷ δυναστεύσας, καταλιπὼν παῖδας ἄρρενας εἰκοσιτέσσαρας καὶ θυγατέρας εἰκοσιτέσσαρας<sup>4</sup> καταστρέφει τὸν βίον.<sup>5</sup> τὴν μὲντοι διαδοχὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Μονόβαζον ἐκέλευεν παραλαβεῖν, ἀμειβόμενος αὐτὸν ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς θάνατον πιστῶς φυλάξαι αὐτῷ τὴν δυναστείαν. ἡ δὲ μήτηρ Ἑλένη τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς θάνατον ἀκούσασα βαρέως μὲν ἤνεγκεν ὡς εἰκὸς μητέρα στερομένην εὐσεβεστάτου παιδός, παραμυθίαν δ' ὅμως εἶχεν τὴν διαδοχὴν ἀκούσασα εἰς τὸν πρεσβύτερον αὐτῆς υἱὸν ἤκουσαν, καὶ πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> ἐν ἣ ταῦτα ἐκείνος ἐδεῖτο post νύκτα i. marg. add. A.

<sup>2</sup> Hudson: Δακῶν AME: Δοκῶν W: Dacus (h. e. Δακῶν)

Lat.

<sup>3</sup> A' MWE: Ἰσακῶν ex corr. A: Isacus (h. e. Ἰσακῶν) Lat.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ θυγατέρας εἰκοσι τέσσαρας] A: om. MW: καὶ θυγατέρας τσαύτας E.

<sup>5</sup> καταστρέφει τὸν βίον] E et ut vid. Lat.: om. codd.

<sup>a</sup> These nomadic Scythian tribes are also coupled in *Ant.* xviii. 100.

<sup>b</sup> On twenty-four as a round number in the Biblical and

cried aloud with tears and lamentation, and God hearkened to him. And on that very night Vologeses received letters in which it was written that a great force of Dahae and Sacae,<sup>a</sup> presuming on his absence from home, had invaded and were ravaging the Parthian territory. He consequently retreated in frustration. Thus by the providence of God Izates escaped the threats of the Parthian.

(3) Not long afterwards Izates passed away, having completed fifty-five years of his life and having been monarch for twenty-four; he left twenty-four sons and twenty-four daughters.<sup>b</sup> His orders were that his brother Monobazus should succeed to the throne. Thus Monobazus was rewarded for faithfully keeping the throne for his brother during the latter's absence from home after his father's death. His mother Helena was sorely distressed by the news of her son's death, as was to be expected of a mother bereft of a son so very religious. She was, however, consoled on hearing that the succession had passed to her eldest

Death of Izates and Helena and their burial near Jerusalem.

Talmudic traditions see the index to L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, vii, 1938, p. 484, who cites, among other examples, the twenty-four descendants of Korah who were destined to compose psalms and sing them in the temple. Other examples are the twenty-four (or twenty-two) blessings that God bestowed on Adam, the twenty-four days that Joseph stayed in prison, the twenty-four species of cedar, the twenty-four vines above the throne of Solomon, the twenty-four kinds of disease inflicted on the Egyptians, the twenty-four sects into which Israel was divided before it was exiled, and the twenty-four generations during which it is said that one cannot trust a proselyte. To this list should be added the twenty-four thousand myriad *denarii* spent by Rabbi Judah the Prince on a wedding feast for his son (Bab. *Nedarim* 50 b). On equal numbers of sons and daughters cf. the judge Ibzan of Bethlehem, who had thirty sons and thirty daughters (Judges xii. 9).

αὐτὸν ἔσπευδεν. παραγενομένη δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀδιαβηνὴν οὐ πολὺν Ἰζάτη τῷ παιδί χρόνον ἐπεβίωσεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ γήρῳ καὶ τῷ τῆς λύπης ἀλγύματι πιεζομένη ταχέως ἀπέφυξεν.<sup>1</sup> ὁ δὲ Μονόβαζος τὰ τε ἐκείνης ὄσῳ καὶ τὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ πέμψας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα θάψαι προσέταξεν ἐν ταῖς πυραμίσιν, ἃς ἡ μήτηρ κατεσκευάκει τρεῖς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τρία στάδια 96 τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως ἀπεχούσας. ἀλλὰ Μονόβαζος μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅσα κατὰ τὸν τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον ἔπραξεν, ὕστερον ἀπαγγελοῦμεν.

<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ . . . ἀπέφυξεν] A (in ras. m. 2 A): om. MWE.

<sup>a</sup> The clause "for . . . last" is found in only one ms., the Ambrosian, and there only over an erasure. Niese, in the preface to vol. iii of his edition, p. xxxiii, has no doubt that it is not genuine, but the Ambrosian is definitely our best ms. for Books XVIII-XX, and one should be slow to depart from it.

<sup>b</sup> Presumably for Helena and her two sons, Izates and Monobazus. Helena's "monuments" are mentioned in *B.J.* v. 55 and 147; her tomb as such is noted as a landmark in *B.J.* v. 119. Most archaeologists place these pyramids at the Tombs of the Kings, where F. de Sauley in 1865 found an unopened sarcophagus containing a body which crumbled when exposed to the air. The inscription on the sarcophagus is said to have contained letters of Aramaic or Palmyrene script, with two of the words meaning "Helena the Queen." N. P. Clarke, "Helena's Pyramids," *Pal. Explor. Quart.* lxx, 1938, pp. 88-89, objects to placing the pyramids at the Tombs of the Kings because this site is about four and a half furlongs from the Damascus Gate or from Herod's Gate (from which Josephus apparently measured), whereas Josephus in our passage says that the distance is three furlongs. Clarke argues that the distance must have been well known; but why quibble over a furlong and a half when the inscription on the sarcophagus makes it clear that Helena was buried at the Tombs of the Kings? Clarke, p. 103, holds that before Titus attacked the third wall of Jerusalem he levelled the whole place in front of it, including Helena's pyramids, and that

son and hastened to join him. She arrived in Adiabene but did not long survive her son Izates, for, weighed down with age and with the pain of her sorrow, she quickly breathed out her last.<sup>a</sup> Monobazus sent her bones and those of his brother to Jerusalem with instructions that they should be buried in the three pyramids<sup>b</sup> that his mother had erected at a distance of three furlongs from the city of Jerusalem. As for the acts of King Monobazus during his lifetime, I shall narrate them later.<sup>c</sup>

after the war, her relatives reinterred the queen in the Tombs of the Kings. Pausanias, then, who mentions (viii. 16. 5) Helena's tomb, did not see the pyramids but the Tombs of the Kings, according to Clarke.

<sup>c</sup> Such an account is not to be found in Josephus' extant works, unless perhaps Josephus has in mind the brief mention of the participation of the family of Monobazus in the revolt in 66 (*B.J.* ii. 520, iv. 567, and vi. 356). Petersen, *op. cit.*, pp. 273-274, theorizes that Josephus intended to fulfil this promise, together with the promises contained in §§ 144, 147, and perhaps 53, in his *Vita*, but that he modified his original plan through his desire to present an *apologia pro vita sua*. But the *Vita*, at least as we have it, seems to have been apologetic from the start, and contains no evidence of a plan to fulfil these projects. Josephus could, to be sure, have fulfilled these projects in the *Vita*, since he wrote it later, but only by digressing. We obtain one clue to the events of Monobazus' reign from Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 1 (*cf.* xv. 14), which records his appeal to Vologeses the Parthian king for aid against Tigranes, whom the Romans had appointed to rule Armenia and who was, in 62, ravaging the territory of Adiabene. The Talmud, *Menahot* 32 b, relates that the members of the house of Monobazus were so pious that they carried a mezuzah with them and set it up in the inns where they stayed, even though a mezuzah is not required for such temporary dwelling-places. Not long after the reign of Monobazus, Adiabene was conquered by Trajan and made part of the Roman province of Assyria. In the Talmudic literature (*e.g.* *Shabbath* 68 b) there is reference several times

97 (v. 1) Φάδου δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπεύοντος  
 γόης τις ἀνὴρ Θεοδᾶς<sup>1</sup> ὀνόματι πείθει τὸν πλείστον  
 ὄχλον ἀναλαβόντα τὰς κτήσεις ἔπεισθαι πρὸς τὸν  
 Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν αὐτῷ· προφήτης γὰρ ἔλεγεν  
 εἶναι, καὶ προστάγματι τὸν ποταμὸν σχίσας δίοδον  
 98 ἔχειν<sup>2</sup> ἔφη παρέξειν αὐτοῖς ῥάδιαν. καὶ ταῦτα

<sup>1</sup> Theodas Lat.

<sup>2</sup> A: om. MWE Eus. et fort. Lat.

to a second-century disciple of Rabbi Akiba who is named Monobaz and who is generally regarded (*cf.*, *e.g.*, B. J. Bamberger, *Proselytism in the Talmudic Period*, 1939, p. 228) as a descendant of King Monobazus.

<sup>a</sup> *Cf.* *Ant.* xix. 363-xx. 8 and xx. 14.

<sup>b</sup> The term γόης, which is here used, refers to a sorcerer or a wizard (later a juggler or a cheat) in classical Greek literature (*cf.*, *e.g.*, Herodotus iv. 105, who says that the Neuri, who were neighbours of the Scythians, may be wizards (γόηρες), since all of them are said to turn into wolves once a year). The term is not found in the Septuagint, but in 2 Maccabees xii. 24 we read that Timotheus, who had fallen into the hands of Dositheus and Sosipater, entreated them with much craft (μετὰ πολλῆς γοητείας) to release him, threatening to harm their parents and brothers, who were in his power, if they did not do so. The word γόης is used in our sense in the only occurrence of the term in the New Testament, 2 Timothy iii. 13, where we read that all believers will be persecuted, "while evil men and impostors (γόηρες) will go on from bad to worse, deceivers and deceived." In Philo, *Spec. Leg.* i. 315, the term is used in the sense of false prophet and is the very antithesis of προφήτης: "If anyone cloaking himself under the name and guise of a prophet and claiming to be possessed by inspiration lead us on to the worship of the gods recognized in the different cities, we ought not to listen to him and be deceived by the name of a prophet. For such a one is no prophet, but an impostor [γόης], since his oracles and pronouncements are falsehoods invented by himself."

(v. 1) During the period when Fadus<sup>a</sup> was procurator of Judaea, a certain impostor<sup>b</sup> named Theudas<sup>c</sup> persuaded the majority of the masses<sup>d</sup> to take up their possessions and to follow him to the Jordan River. He stated that he was a prophet and that at his command the river would be parted and would provide them an easy passage. With this talk he

The false prophet Theudas is executed by Fadus.

See Delling, *s.v.* γόης, in G. Kittel's *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, i, 1933, pp. 237-238.

<sup>a</sup> *Cf.* Acts v. 36.

<sup>d</sup> About four hundred according to Acts v. 36. The view that Luke, the author of Acts, used Josephus is propounded at length by M. Krenkel, *Josephus und Lucas*, 1894, and accepted by P. W. Schmiedel, "Theudas," *Ency. Bibl.* iv, 1903, pp. 5051-5056, and by F. C. Burkitt, *The Gospel History and Its Transmission*, 1906, pp. 106-108. But Luke, as C. C. Torrey, *The Composition and Date of Acts*, 1916, p. 71, and H. St. J. Thackeray, *Selections from Josephus*, 1919, p. 194, rightly remark, must have had access to a source other than Josephus, since he is precise in the number, whereas Josephus is not. Though the identity of names is striking, it is, of course, perfectly possible that two different people named Theudas are referred to. Moreover, as A. C. Headlam, "Theudas," *Hastings' Dict. of the Bible*, iv, 1903, p. 750, notes, there is a chronological discrepancy between Josephus and Acts, since the reference to Theudas in Acts is found in a speech which Gamaliel must have made before A.D. 37, whereas the revolt mentioned by Josephus occurred in A.D. 45 or 46. Moreover, whereas Josephus, in § 102, almost immediately after he recounts the incident of Theudas, mentions the crucifixion of the sons of Judas the Galilaean, Gamaliel says that after Theudas Judas the Galilaean arose in the days of the census. Because of these discrepancies, therefore, some have contended that the Theudas referred to in Acts is not the same as the Theudas mentioned by Josephus. But, as Schmiedel, p. 5051, points out, the name Theudas is relatively uncommon and the Theudas who is cited by Gamaliel in Acts must have created a major disturbance if the illustration is to have any effectiveness; hence Josephus is not likely to have passed it over.

λέγων πολλοὺς ἠπάτησεν. οὐ μὴν εἶασεν αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀφροσύνης ὄνασθαι Φᾶδος, ἀλλ' ἐξέπεμψεν Ἰλην ἰππέων ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἧτις ἀπροσδόκητος ἐπιπεσοῦσα πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνείλεν, πολλοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Θεοῦδαν ζωγρήσαντες ἀποτέμνουσι τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ κομίζουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. τὰ μὲν οὖν συμβάντα τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ τοὺς Κοουσίους Φάδου τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς χρόνους ταῦτ' ἐγένετο.

100 (2) Ἦλθε δὲ Φάδω διάδοχος Τιβέριος Ἀλεξάνδρος Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖς τοῦ καὶ ἀλαβαρχήσαντος<sup>1</sup> ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ γένει τε<sup>2</sup> καὶ πλούτῳ πρωτεύσαντος τῶν ἐκεῖ καθ' αὐτόν. διήνεγκε καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείᾳ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου· τοῖς γὰρ

101 πατρίοις οὐκ ἐνέμεινεν οὗτος ἔθασιν. ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ καὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν συνέβη γενέσθαι, καθ' ὃν καὶ ἡ βασίλισσα Ἑλένη πολλῶν χρημάτων ὠνησαμένη σῖτον ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου

102 διένειμεν τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις, ὡς προείπον. πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ οἱ παῖδες Ἰούδα τοῦ Γαλιλαίου ἀνήχθησαν<sup>3</sup> τοῦ τὸν λαὸν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστήσαντος Κυρηνίου τῆς Ἰουδαίας τιμητέοντος, ὡς ἐν

<sup>1</sup> ἀλαβαρχήσαντος] alabarchis id est princeps salis Lat.

<sup>2</sup> γένει τε] A: om. MWE.

<sup>3</sup> A: ἀνήρθησαν MWE et i. marg. A: om. Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Either 500 or 1000 men. Cf. *Ant.* xix. 365.

<sup>b</sup> According to Acts v. 36, Theudas himself was slain and his followers were scattered.

<sup>c</sup> Nephew of the philosopher Philo. Procurator c. 46-48. In *B.J.* ii. 220 Josephus says that he, like Cuspius Fadus, kept the nation at peace by avoiding interference in Jewish customs. Alexander later (63) served under Corbulo in Armenia (*Tac. Ann.* xv. 28) and as prefect of Egypt (*cf. B.J.* ii. 309 and 492-498). When Vespasian was proclaimed emperor, Alexander required the legions and the people to

deceived many. Fadus, however, did not permit them to reap the fruit of their folly, but sent against them a squadron<sup>a</sup> of cavalry. These fell upon them unexpectedly, slew many of them and took many prisoners. Theudas himself was captured, whereupon they cut off his head and brought it to Jerusalem.<sup>b</sup> These, then, are the events that befell the Jews during the time that Cuspius Fadus was procurator.

(2) The successor of Fadus was Tiberius Alexander,<sup>c</sup> the son of that Alexander<sup>d</sup> who had been alabarch in Alexandria and who surpassed all his fellow citizens both in ancestry and in wealth. He was also superior to his son Alexander in his religious devotion, for the latter did not stand by the practices of his people. It was in the administration of Tiberius Alexander<sup>e</sup> that the great famine occurred in Judaea, during which Queen Helena bought grain from Egypt for large sums and distributed it to the needy, as I have stated above.<sup>f</sup> Besides this James and Simon, the sons of Judas the Galilaean, were brought up for trial<sup>g</sup> and, at the order of Alexander, were crucified. This was the Judas<sup>h</sup> who, as I have explained above,<sup>i</sup>

Tiberius Alexander is appointed procurator.

Crucifixion of the sons of Judas the Galilaean.

take an oath of allegiance to him (*B.J.* iv. 616-617). Later he held a military command under Titus (*B.J.* v. 45-46, etc.).

<sup>d</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 159-160, 259; and xix. 276-277.

<sup>e</sup> This is based on the reading of the Epitome. The mss., however, read ἐπὶ τούτοις, which can mean, as remarked by Kirsopp Lake, in Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *op. cit.* v. 454, either "under these circumstances" or "in their [*i.e.* Fadus and Tiberius Alexander's] time." If the latter is the meaning, the famine might have begun in 45. <sup>f</sup> § 51.

<sup>g</sup> Variant "were put to death."

<sup>h</sup> As noted above, Luke, like Josephus, mentions Judas (Acts v. 37) after the incident of Theudas. But his source is probably not Josephus, since he says that it was Judas who perished, whereas Josephus says that it was Judas' sons who were put to death.

<sup>i</sup> *Ant.* xviii. 4 ff.

τοῖς πρὸ τούτων δεδηλώκαμεν, Ἰάκωβος καὶ Σίμων, οὓς ἀνασταυρῶσαι προσέταξεν Ἀλέξανδρος.  
 103 ὁ δὲ τῆς Χαλκίδος βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης μεταστήσας τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης Ἰώσηπον τὸν τοῦ Καμεῖ<sup>1</sup> τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς τιμῆς Ἀνανία τῷ τοῦ Νεδεβαίου<sup>2</sup> δίδωσιν. Τιβερίῳ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Κουμανὸς ἀφ-  
 104 ἴκετο διάδοχος. καὶ τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον Ἡρώδης ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα ἀδελφὸς ὀγδόῃ τῆς Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος ἀρχῆς ἔτει, καταλιπὼν τρεῖς υἱοὺς Ἀριστόβουλον μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πρώτης αὐτῷ τεχθέντα γυναικός, ἐκ Βερενίκης δὲ τῆς τᾶδελφοῦ θυγατρὸς Βερενικιανὸν καὶ Ὑρκανόν. τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ Καῖσαρ Κλαύδιος Ἀγρίππα τῷ νεωτέρῳ δίδωσιν.  
 105 (3) Στάσεως δ' ἐμπεσοῦσης τῇ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλει Κουμανοῦ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πράγματα διοικοῦντος ἐφθάρησαν ὑπὸ ταύτης πολλοὶ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> conī. (cf. § 16): Καμοιδι, οἱ ex ωι corr., i. marg. γρ ἐν ἀλλοῖς Κεμεδί γρ δὲ ἐν ἄλλοις Καμύδου A: Καμύδου MW: Κεμεδῆ E: Cami Lat.

<sup>2</sup> AE (δεβαίου i. ras. m. 1 A): Νεβεδαίου MW: Nibedei Lat.

<sup>a</sup> mss. Camoedi, Camudus, Camede. Cf. § 16. But the Latin version reads Cami, and in § 16 above the name is Camei.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. §§ 131 and 205 ff. His murder by brigands in 66 is described in *B.J.* ii. 441. The Talmud, *Pesahim* 57 a, which calls him Johanan the son of Narbai (or Nadbai), praises him by noting that during his administration the law that sacrifices must not be left after the time prescribed for consuming them was always observed. On the other hand, it cites his huge appetite, remarking that he—a marginal note says his household—consumed three hundred calves, drank three hundred barrels of wine, and ate forty *se'ah* of young birds as a dessert for a single meal. He is perhaps to be

had aroused the people to revolt against the Romans while Quirinius was taking the census in Judaea. Herod, king of Chalcis, now removed Joseph, the son of Camei,<sup>a</sup> from the high priesthood and assigned the office to Ananias,<sup>b</sup> the son of Nedebaeus, as successor. Cumanus<sup>c</sup> also came as successor to Tiberius Alexander. <sup>d</sup> Herod, the brother of the great king Agrippa, died in the eighth year of the reign of Claudius Caesar.<sup>e</sup> He left three sons—Aristobulus, born to him by his first wife,<sup>f</sup> and Berenicianus and Hyrcanus, born to him by Berenice, his brother's daughter. Claudius Caesar assigned Herod's kingdom to the younger Agrippa.

(3) <sup>g</sup> While Cumanus was administering affairs in Judaea, an uprising occurred in the city of Jerusalem as a result of which many of the Jews lost their lives.

identified with the Hanin ben Matron whose assassination by Judah the brother of Menahem (perhaps the Menahem who, according to *B.J.* ii. 434, was in command of the rebels against Rome) is mentioned at the end of the Midrashic work *Shir Hashirim Zuta*. S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine*, 1942, p. 181 n. 188, suggests that "ben Matron" may be Μέτριος, "the moderate," and thinks that this would be biting irony in allusion to his gluttony. Or, as he also suggests, the term may be taken literally in allusion to his opposition to the extremists who favoured war with the Romans (cf. *B.J.* ii. 455, which speaks of the moderates, οἱ μέτριοι). Ananias is mentioned in the New Testament as the high priest who orders that Paul be struck by those standing near him (Acts xxiii. 2-5) and as one of those who accuse Paul before the Roman governor (Acts xxiv. 1).

<sup>c</sup> Ventidius Cumanus, procurator A.D. 49. According to Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 54, who assails him for his wickedness, he was governor of Galilee alone.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 221.

<sup>e</sup> A.D. 49.

<sup>f</sup> Mariamme.

<sup>g</sup> With §§ 105-137 cf. the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 223-247.

Cumanus is appointed procurator.

Agrippa II succeeds Herod of Chalcis.

The Jewish calamity during Passover because of a Roman soldier's lewdness.

Ἰουδαίων. καὶ πρότερον ἀφηγήσομαι τὴν αἰτίαν,  
 106 δι' ἣν ταῦτα συνέβη· τῆς πάσχα προσαγορευομένης  
 ἑορτῆς ἐνόστασης, καθ' ἣν ἔθος ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἄζυμα  
 προσφέρεισθαι, πολλοῦ καὶ πανταχόθεν πλήθους  
 συναχθέντος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν δέισας ὁ Κουμανός, μὴ  
 νεώτερόν τι παρὰ τούτων προσπέσει,<sup>1</sup> κελεύει τῶν  
 στρατιωτῶν μίαν τάξιν ἀναλαβοῦσαν τὰ ὄπλα ἐπὶ  
 107 τῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοῶν ἐστάναι καταστελοῦντας τὸν  
 νεωτερισμόν, εἰ ἄρα τις γένοιτο. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ οἱ  
 πρὸ αὐτοῦ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπεύσαντες ἐν ταῖς  
 108 ἑορταῖς ἔπραττον. τετάρτη δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἑορτῆς  
 στρατιώτης τις ἀνακαλύψας ἐπεδείκνυε τῷ πλήθει  
 τὰ αἰδοῖα, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο θεασαμένων ὀργὴ καὶ  
 θυμὸς ἦν οὐχ ἑαυτοῦς ὑβρίσθαι λεγόντων, ἀλλὰ τὸν  
 θεὸν ἡσεβῆσθαι· τινὲς δὲ τῶν θραστέρων τὸν  
 Κουμανὸν ἐβλασφήμουν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατιώτην  
 109 καθέεισθαι<sup>2</sup> λέγοντες. Κουμανὸς δ' ἀκούσας καὶ  
 αὐτὸς οὐ μετρίως ἐρεθίζεται πρὸς τὰς βλασφημίας,  
 παρῆνει μέντοι παύσασθαι νεωτέρων ἐπιθυμοῦντας  
 110 πραγμάτων μηδὲ στάσεις ἐξάπτειν ἐν ἑορτῇ.<sup>3</sup> μὴ  
 πείθων δέ, μᾶλλον γὰρ ἐπέκειντο βλασφημοῦντες,  
 κελεύει τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν τὰς πανοπλίας ἀναλαβὸν  
 ἦκειν εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν, φρούριον δ' ἦν τοῦτο,  
 καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον εἶπομεν, ἐπικείμενον τῷ  
 111 ἱερῷ. παραγενομένους δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας θεασά-

<sup>1</sup> μὴ . . . προσπέσει] ne quae per multitudinem turba aut resultatio nasceretur Lat.

<sup>2</sup> E: καθίστασθαι codd.

<sup>3</sup> ἐν ἑορτῇ] καὶ ταραχὰς E.

<sup>a</sup> A τάξις is a contingent of 128 men.

<sup>b</sup> On the tumult prevailing in Jerusalem during the festivals see Matt. xxvi. 5, cited by Whiston.

I shall first narrate the cause that brought about this uprising. When the festival called Passover was at hand, at which it is our custom to serve unleavened bread, a large multitude from all quarters assembled for it. Cumanus, fearing that their presence might afford occasion for an uprising, ordered one company<sup>a</sup> of soldiers to take up arms and stand guard on the porticoes of the temple so as to quell any uprising that might occur. This had been in fact the usual practice of previous procurators of Judaea at the festivals.<sup>b</sup> On the fourth day of the festival, one of the soldiers uncovered his genitals and exhibited them to the multitude—an action which created anger and rage in the onlookers, who said that it was not they who had been insulted, but that it was a blasphemy against God. Some of the bolder ones also reviled Cumanus, asserting that the soldier had been prompted by him. Cumanus, when informed, was himself not a little provoked at the insulting remarks, but still merely admonished them to put an end to this lust for revolution and not to set disorders ablaze during the festival. Failing, however, to persuade them, for they only attacked him with more scurrilities,<sup>c</sup> he ordered the whole army to take full armour and come to Antonia; this was, as I have said before,<sup>d</sup> a fortress overlooking the temple. The crowd, seeing the arrival of the soldiers, was frightened

<sup>a</sup> Josephus here omits a detail which is supplied by the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 225-226, namely, that some of the more hot-headed young revolutionaries in the crowd actually started a fight and, picking up stones, threw them at the soldiers. It was then that Cumanus sent for reinforcements, who, upon their arrival, created panic among the Jews.

<sup>d</sup> *Ant.* xv. 403-409. Cf. also *Ant.* xiii. 307, xv. 292, xviii. 91, and xx. 6.

μενον τὸ πλῆθος καὶ φοβηθὲν φεύγειν ὤρμησεν, τῶν δ' ἐξόδων στενῶν οὐσῶν διώκεσθαι νομίζοντες ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ συνωθούμενοι κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν πολλοὺς ἀλλήλοις ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς θλιβόμενοι δι-  
 112 ἐφθειρον. δύο γοῦν μυριάδες<sup>1</sup> ἐξηριθμήθησαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν στάσιν ἐκείνην φθαρέντων. πένθος δ' ἦν τὸ λοιπὸν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐορτῆς, καὶ πάντες ἐκλαθόμενοι τῶν εὐχῶν καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἐπὶ θρήνου καὶ κλαυθμοῦς ἐτράποντο. τοιαῦτα μὲν ἐνὸς ἀσέλγεια στρατώτου παθήματα γενέσθαι παρεσκεύασεν.

113 (4) Οὕτω δ' αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον πένθος ἐπέπαυτο καὶ κακὸν ἄλλο προσέπιπτεν· τῶν γὰρ ἀφεστῶτων ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ τινες<sup>2</sup> κατὰ τὴν δημοσίαν ὁδὸν ὡς ἑκατὸν σταδίων ἄπωθεν τῆς πόλεως Στέφανον Καίσαρος δοῦλον ὁδοιποροῦντα ληστεύσαντες ἅπασαν  
 114 αὐτοῦ τὴν κτῆσιν διαρπάζουσιν. ἀκούσας δὲ τὸ πραχθὲν ὁ Κουμανὸς εὐθὺς πέμπει στρατιώτας, κελεύσας αὐτοῖς τὰς πλησίον κώμας<sup>3</sup> διαρπάσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐπιφανεστάτους αὐτῶν δῆσαντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἄγειν  
 115 λόγον τῶν τετολημμένων εἰσπράξαντας.<sup>4</sup> τῆς δὲ πορθήσεως γενομένης<sup>5</sup> τῶν κωμῶν<sup>6</sup> τῶν στρατιωτῶν τις<sup>7</sup> τοὺς Μωυσέως νόμους ἐν τινὶ κώμῃ λαβὼν κειμένους<sup>8</sup> προκομίσας εἰς τὴν πάντων ὄψιν διέσχισεν<sup>9</sup> ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> δύο . . . μυριάδες] ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους (vel ὑπὲρ τρισμυρίους) B.J. ii. 227: τρεῖς μυριάδας Eus.

<sup>2</sup> τῶν γὰρ . . . τινες] quidam enim qui ex illa turba fugientes evaserant Lat.

<sup>3</sup> MW: κώμας AE: vicus Lat.

<sup>4</sup> λόγον . . . εἰσπράξαντας] A: om. MWE.

<sup>5</sup> πορθήσεως γενομένης] πορθήσεως τῶν χωρίων ὑπὸ τῶν πεμφθέντων στρατιωτῶν γενομένης E.

<sup>6</sup> τῶν κωμῶν] A: om. MWE.

<sup>7</sup> τῶν στρατιωτῶν τις] ἀτάσθαλός τις ἐξ αὐτῶν νεανίας E.

and started to flee. But since the exits were narrow, they, supposing that they were being pursued by the enemy, pushed together in their flight and crushed to death many of their number who were caught in the narrow passages. Indeed, the number of those who perished in that disturbance was computed at twenty thousand.<sup>a</sup> So there was mourning henceforth instead of feasting; and all, utterly oblivious of prayers and sacrifices, turned to lamentation and weeping. Such were the calamities produced by the indecent behaviour of a single soldier.

(4) Their first mourning had not yet ceased when another calamity befell them. For some of the seditious revolutionaries robbed Stephen, a slave of Caesar, as he was travelling on the public highway<sup>b</sup> at a distance of about one hundred furlongs<sup>c</sup> from the city, and spoiled him of all his belongings. When Cumanus heard of this, he at once dispatched soldiers with orders to plunder the neighbouring villages and to bring before him their most eminent men<sup>d</sup> in chains so that he might exact vengeance for their effrontery. After the sacking of the villages, one of the soldiers,<sup>e</sup> who had found a copy of the laws of Moses that was kept in one of the villages, fetched it out where all could see and tore it in two while he

Cumanus executes a soldier for destroying a copy of the law.

<sup>a</sup> In the parallel passage, B.J. ii. 227, the number is given as more than thirty thousand according to some mss., and as more than ten thousand according to others.

<sup>b</sup> B.J. ii. 228 supplies the detail that this was the public road leading up to Bethhoron. <sup>c</sup> About twelve miles.

<sup>d</sup> B.J. ii. 229: "with orders to bring up the inhabitants to him in chains."

<sup>e</sup> The Epitome has "one of them, a rash young man."

<sup>8</sup> κειμένους] σεβασίμους κειμένους E.

<sup>9</sup> διέσχισεν] ἀναιδῶς διέσχισεν E.

- 116 βλασφημῶν καὶ πολλὰ κατακερτομῶν.<sup>1</sup> Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες καὶ πολλοὶ συνδραμόντες καταβαίνουσι εἰς Καισάρειαν, ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν ὁ Κουμανὸς ὢν, ἰκετεύοντες μὴ αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ τὸν θεὸν οὐπερ οἱ νόμοι καθυβρίσθησαν ἐκδικῆσαι· ζῆν γὰρ οὐχ ὑπομένειν τῶν πατρίων αὐτοῖς<sup>2</sup> οὕτως περι-  
 117 υβρισμένων. καὶ Κουμανὸς δείσας, μὴ πάλιν νεω-  
 τερίσειεν τὸ πλῆθος, συμβουλευσάντων καὶ τῶν φίλων τὸν ἐνυβρίσαντα τοῖς νόμοις στρατιώτην πελε-  
 κίσας ἔπαυσεν τὴν στάσιν ἐκ δευτέρου μέλλουσαν ἐξάπτεσθαι.  
 118 (vi. 1) Γίνεται δὲ καὶ Σαμαρείταις πρὸς Ἰου-  
 δαίους ἔχθρα δι' αἰτίαν τοιαύτην· ἔθος ἦν τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν παρα-  
 γνομένοις ὀδεύειν διὰ τῆς Σαμαρέων χώρας. καὶ τότε καθ' ὁδὸν αὐτοῖς κώμης Γιναῆς<sup>3</sup> λεγομένης τῆς ἐν μεθορίῳ κειμένης Σαμαρείας τε καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου πεδίου τινὲς συνάψαντες μάχην πολλοὺς

<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἀκρατῶς καθυλακτῶν post κατακερτομῶν add. E.

<sup>2</sup> τῶν πατρίων αὐτοῖς] τῶν πατρίων αὐτοῖς νόμον i. ras. m. 2, i. marg. νόμον suppl. A: τῶν πατρίων καὶ νομίμων αὐτοῖς E: leges patrias Lat.

<sup>3</sup> E: Ναναῆς, va i. ras. maiore, η ex ι corr. A: τῆς Ναῖς MW: Ginais Lat.: Γήμαν B.J. ii. 232.

<sup>a</sup> The Epitome adds "and indulged in uncontrolled clamour like a dog's barking." B.J. ii. 229 adds that he threw the copy into a fire.

<sup>b</sup> Without referring to this incident in particular, Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 54, mentions the long-standing feud between the Jews and the Samaritans which, he says, because of the contempt of both peoples for the procurators Cumanus and Felix, now erupted in plunder and occasional battles.

<sup>c</sup> Gema in the parallel passage, B.J. ii. 232; modern *Jenin*. This village is called Ginaea in B.J. iii. 48, where it is said to be on the northern boundary of Samaria. Thackeray,

uttered blasphemies and railed violently.<sup>a</sup> The Jews, on learning of this, collected in large numbers, went down to Caesarea, where Cumanus happened to be, and besought him to avenge not them but God, whose laws had been subjected to outrage. For, they said, they could not endure to live, since their ancestral code was thus wantonly insulted. Cumanus, alarmed at the thought of a fresh revolution of the masses, after taking counsel with his friends, beheaded the soldier who had outraged the laws and thus prevented the uprising when it was on the verge of breaking out a second time.

(vi. 1) Hatred also arose between the Samaritans and the Jews for the following reason.<sup>b</sup> It was the custom of the Galileans at the time of a festival to pass through the Samaritan territory on their way to the Holy City. On one occasion, while they were passing through, certain of the inhabitants of a village called Ginaë,<sup>c</sup> which was situated on the border between Samaria and the Great Plain,<sup>d</sup> joined battle with the Galileans and slew a great number<sup>e</sup> of them.

Cumanus' failure to act in the quarrel between the Jews and the Samaritans

in his note on B.J. ii. 232, refers to Luke ix. 52-56, which illustrates the hostility shown by the Samaritans towards the Jews on their way to Jerusalem.

<sup>a</sup> The Plain of Esdraelon between Samaria and Galilee.

<sup>b</sup> The parallel passage, B.J. ii. 232, in some of the mss., says that one Galilean was slain, while in other mss., perhaps to make the passage agree with ours, the statement reads that many were slain. But the slaying of a single person, even by the hated Samaritans, would not, in all probability, have aroused so much indignation. M. Aberbach, "The Conflicting Accounts of Josephus and Tacitus concerning Cumanus' and Felix' Terms of Office," *Jewish Quart. Rev.* xl, 1949-1950, p. 1 n. 1, suggests the possibility that Josephus' dependence in the *Bellum* on official Roman sources, which were often anti-Jewish, explains the reduction of the slain to only one.



119 αὐτῶν ἀναιροῦσιν. πυθόμενοι δὲ τὰ πραχθέντα τῶν  
 Γαλιλαίων<sup>1</sup> οἱ πρῶτοι πρὸς Κουμανὸν ἀφίκοντο καὶ  
 παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν μετεῖναι<sup>2</sup> τῶν ἀνηρημένων τὸν  
 φόνον. ὁ δὲ χρήμασι πεισθεὶς<sup>3</sup> ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμαρέων  
 120 τὴν ἐκδίκησιν<sup>4</sup> ὠλιγόρησεν. ἀνανακτήσαντες δὲ  
 ἐπὶ τούτῳ Γαλιλαῖοι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔπει-  
 θον ἐφ' ὄπλα<sup>5</sup> χωρῆσαι καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντέχε-  
 σθαι· δουλείαν γὰρ καὶ καθ' αὐτὴν μὲν πικρὰν  
 ἔλεγον εἶναι, τὴν ἐφ' ὕβρει δὲ παντάπασιν ἀφόρητον.  
 121 τῶν δ' ἐν τέλει καταπραΰνει αὐτοὺς καὶ συστέλ-  
 λειν τὴν ταραχὴν<sup>6</sup> πειρωμένων καὶ πείσειν τὸν Κου-  
 μανὸν ἐπαγγελλομένων δίκας εἰσπράξασθαι παρὰ  
 τῶν ἀνηρηκότων, ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐ προσέσχον, ἀναλα-  
 βόντες δὲ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ βοηθεῖν Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν τοῦ  
 Δειναίου παρακαλέσαντες, ληστής δ' οὗτος ἦν ἔτη  
 πολλὰ τὴν διατριβὴν ἐν ὄρει πεποιημένος, κώμας  
 τινὰς τῶν Σαμαρέων ἐμπρήσαντες διαρπάζουσι.  
 122 Κουμανὸς δὲ τῆς πράξεως εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφικομένης  
 ἀναλαβὼν τὴν τῶν Σεβαστηνῶν ἴλην καὶ πεζῶν

<sup>1</sup> τινὲς καὶ μᾶλλον post Γαλιλαίων add. M.

<sup>2</sup> Coccejī: μετεῖναι codd. E: ut . . . inquireret Lat.

<sup>3</sup> πεισθεὶς] πολλοῖς ἀποτυφλωθεὶς E.

<sup>4</sup> τὴν ἐκδίκησιν] AE: om. MW.

<sup>5</sup> ὄπλα] ὄπλα καὶ φόνους E.

<sup>6</sup> καὶ συστέλλειν τὴν ταραχὴν] AE: om. MW.

<sup>a</sup> *B.J.* ii. 233 gives, as the reason for the dismissal of the petition, Cumanus' concern with other affairs that he deemed more important.

<sup>b</sup> *B.J.* ii. 234 supplies the detail that the masses in Jerusalem abandoned the celebration of the festival and dashed off to Samaria, even though they were without generals.

<sup>c</sup> The Epitome adds "and slaughter." The parallel pas-

The leaders of the Galilaeans, hearing of the occurrence, came to Cumanus and besought him to seek out the murderers of those who had been slain. He, however, having been bribed by the Samaritans, neglected to avenge them.<sup>a</sup> The Galilaeans, indignant at this, urged the Jewish masses to resort to arms and to assert their liberty; for, they said, slavery was in itself bitter, but when it involved insolent treatment, it was quite intolerable. Those in authority tried to mollify them and reduce the disorder, and offered to induce Cumanus to punish the murderers. The masses,<sup>b</sup> however, paid no heed to them, but taking up arms<sup>c</sup> and inviting the assistance of Eleazar<sup>d</sup> son of Deinaeus—he was a brigand who for many years had had his home in the mountains—they fired and sacked certain villages<sup>e</sup> of the Samaritans.<sup>f</sup> When the affair came to Cumanus' ears, he took over the squadron of the Sebastenians<sup>g</sup> and four units<sup>h</sup> of

sage, *B.J.* ii. 233, says that the Jews took up arms even before their leaders went to Cumanus.

<sup>d</sup> *B.J.* ii. 235 adds another leader, Alexander. Eleazar is to be identified with the Ben Dinai who, according to the *Midrash Rabbah on Song of Songs* ii. 18, prematurely tried to free the Jews. According to the *Mishnah, Sotah* ix. 9, he inspired so many murders that the sacrifice of atonement for an unknown murderer was discontinued, and he began to be called Ben Harazhan ("the murderer"). Cf. below, § 161.

<sup>e</sup> These villages bordered on the toparchy of Acrabatene, southeast of Shechem (*B.J.* ii. 235).

<sup>f</sup> *B.J.* ii. 235 adds that the Jews massacred the Samaritan inhabitants without distinction of age.

<sup>g</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xix. 365, which indicates that they were a cavalry unit composed of either 500 or 1000 men.

<sup>h</sup> Since Josephus, *Ant.* xix. 365, speaks of the cavalry unit and the five cohorts (*σπέραι*) of Sebastenians, the term here used, *τάγματα*, which is a general term for army units of various sizes, probably refers to cohorts, each of which had a strength of 500 to 600 men.

τέσσαρα τάγματα τούς τε Σαμαρείς καθοπλίσας ἐξήλθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, καὶ συμβαλῶν<sup>1</sup> πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν πλείους δὲ ζῶντας 123 ἔλαβεν. οἱ δὲ πρῶτοι κατὰ τιμὴν καὶ γένος τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν, ὡς εἶδον εἰς οἶον κακῶν μέγεθος ἤκουσιν, μετενδυσάμενοι σάκκους καὶ σποδοῦ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀναπλήσαντες παντοῖοι τοὺς ἀφεστώτας παρακαλοῦντες ἦσαν καὶ πείθοντες πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν θεμένους κατασκαφησομένην μὲν αὐτῶν τὴν πατρίδα, τὸ δὲ ἱερόν πυρποληθῆσομένον, αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ γυναικῶν σὺν τέκνοις ἀνδραποδισμοὺς ἐσομένους, μεταθέσθαι τὸν λογισμὸν καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ῥίψαντας ἠρεμεῖν εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀποχωρήσαντας εἰς τὰ αὐτῶν. 124 ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντες ἔπεισαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν διελύθησαν, οἱ λησταὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχυροὺς τόπους πάλιν ἀπῆλθον. ἐξ ἐκείνου τε ἡ σύμπασα Ἰουδαία ληστηρίων ἐπληρώθη.

125 (2) Σαμαρέων δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι πρὸς Οὐμμίδιον<sup>2</sup> Κοδράτον<sup>3</sup> τῆς Συρίας προσετηκότα κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον ἐν Τύρῳ τυγχάνοντα παραγενόμενοι κατηγοροῦν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς τὰς κώμας αὐτῶν ἐμ- 126 πρήσειαν καὶ διαρπάσειαν, καὶ περὶ μὲν ὧν αὐτοὶ πεπόνθασι οὐχ οὕτως ἀγανακτεῖν ἔφασκον, ὡς ὅτι Ῥωμαίων καταφρονήσειαν, ἐφ' οὓς κριτὰς ἐχρῆν αὐτοὺς εἶπερ ἡδίκον<sup>4</sup> παραγενέσθαι, ἢ νῦν ὡς οὐκ ἐχόντων ἡγεμόνας Ῥωμαίους καταδραμεῖν ἤκειν

<sup>1</sup> E: συλλαβῶν codd.: facta . . . congressione Lat.

<sup>2</sup> Hudson ex B.J. ii. 239: Νομίδιον (Νομηίδιον W) codd. E Lat.

<sup>3</sup> Κουαδράτον E: Quadratum Lat.

infantry and armed the Samaritans. He then marched out against the Jews and, in an encounter, slew many, but took more alive. Thereupon those who were by rank and birth the leaders of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, when they saw to what depth of calamity they had come, changed their robes for sackcloth and defiled their heads with ashes and went to all lengths entreating the rebels. They urged them to picture to themselves that their country would be rased to the ground, their temple consigned to the flames, and they themselves with their wives and children reduced to slavery. They therefore besought them to think again, to throw down their arms, to return to their homes, and to lead a quiet life in the future. With these words they prevailed. The people dispersed and the brigands returned to their strongholds. From that time the whole of Judaea was infested with bands of brigands.

(2) The leaders of the Samaritans met with Um- <sup>The</sup>midius Quadratus,<sup>a</sup> the governor of Syria, who at <sup>Samaritans</sup>that time was at Tyre, and accused the Jews of firing <sup>appeal to</sup>and sacking their villages. They professed to be <sup>the gover-</sup>indignant not so much because of the treatment that <sup>nor of</sup>they themselves had received as because of the con- <sup>Syria, who</sup>tempt that the Jews had shown for the Romans. For <sup>refers the</sup>the Jews, they said, should have appealed to the <sup>case to the</sup>Romans to decide the matter, if indeed the Samaritans <sup>emperor.</sup>had done them an injustice, and not, as they had now done, have overrun the Samaritan country, as though they did not have the Romans as their governors.

<sup>a</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 54, says that but for Quadratus the armed conflict between the Samaritans and the Jews would have spread throughout Galilee and Samaria.

<sup>4</sup> ἡδικούντο E.

127 οὖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκδικίας τευξόμενοι.<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα μὲν οὖν  
οἱ Σαμαρεῖς κατηγοροῦν. Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ καὶ τῆς  
στάσεως καὶ τῆς μάχης αἰτίους γεγονέναι Σαμα-  
ρεῖς<sup>2</sup> ἔφασαν, πρὸ πάντων δὲ Κουμανὸν δώροισι ὑπ'  
αὐτῶν φθαρέντα καὶ παρασιωπήσαντα τὸν τῶν ἀνη-  
128 ρημένων φόνον. καὶ Κουαδράτος ἀκούσας ὑπερτί-  
θεται τὴν κρίσιν, εἰπὼν ἀποφανείσθαι, ἐπειδὴν εἰς  
τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παραγενόμενος ἀκριβέστερον ἐπίγνω-  
129 τὴν ἀλήθειαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπήεσαν ἀπρακτοί. μετ'  
οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον ὁ Κουαδράτος ἤκεν εἰς Σα-  
μάρειαν, ἔνθα διακούσας αἰτίους τῆς ταραχῆς ὑπέ-  
λαβε γεγονέναι τοὺς Σαμαρεῖς.<sup>3</sup> Σαμαρέων<sup>4</sup> δὲ καὶ  
Ἰουδαίων οὕσιν<sup>5</sup> νεωτερίσαντας ἔμαθεν<sup>6</sup> ἀνε-  
σταύρωσεν οὕς Κουμανὸς ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτους<sup>7</sup>  
130 κάκειθεν εἰς κώμην τινα παραγενόμενος Λύδδαν.  
πόλεως τὸ μέγεθος οὐκ ἀποδέουσαν καθίσας ἐπὶ  
βήματος καὶ δευτέρου τῶν Σαμαρέων διακούσας  
διδάσκειται παρά τινος Σαμαρέως, ὅτι τῶν Ἰου-  
δαίων τις πρῶτος ὄνομα Δόητος<sup>8</sup> καὶ τινες σὺν αὐτῷ

<sup>1</sup> ἐφ' οὓς . . . τευξόμενοι] ad quorum iudicium debuerant pro sua vel si qua fuisset laesione concurrere, nunc autem quasi Romanos iudices non haberent haec ab eis acta dicebant et propterea vindictam fieri postulabant Lat.

<sup>2</sup> κατηγοροῦν . . . Σαμαρεῖς] A: om. MW.

<sup>3</sup> αἰτίους . . . Σαμαρεῖς] i. ras. m. 2 A.

<sup>4</sup> τοὺς Σαμαρεῖς. Σαμαρέων] A: Σαμαρέων MW: Σαμαρεῖς ὡς E.

<sup>5</sup> Ἰουδαίων οὕσιν] Ἰουδαίους τινὰς E.

<sup>6</sup> ἔνθα . . . ἔμαθεν] ubi auctores seditionis audiens et quosdam Samaritanorum ac Iudaeorum indisciplinatos inveniens Lat.

<sup>7</sup> Λύδδαν] Λύδδαν λεγομένην E: nomine Liddam Lat.

<sup>8</sup> A: Δόητος MW: Δόητος E: Doitus Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Included in the Jewish delegation (so *B.J.* ii. 240) was the high priest Jonathan son of Ananus, who was later put to

Therefore, said the Samaritans, they had come to Quadratus to obtain redress. Such were the accusations of the Samaritans. The Jews,<sup>a</sup> on the other hand, said that the Samaritans were responsible for the factional strife and the fighting, but in the highest degree Cumanus, who had been bribed by them to pass over in silence the murder of the Jewish victims. After the hearing, Quadratus deferred judgement, saying that he would announce his decision when he had reached Judaea and had gained a more accurate understanding of the case. Thus the Samaritans departed without attaining their object. Not long afterwards Quadratus reached Samaria,<sup>b</sup> where, after a full hearing, he came to the conclusion that the Samaritans had been responsible for the disorder. He then crucified those of the Samaritans<sup>c</sup> and of the Jews who, he had learned, had taken part in the rebellion and whom Cumanus had taken prisoner. From there he came to Lydda,<sup>d</sup> a village that was in size not inferior to a city, and sat on the judgement seat, where he gave a second thorough hearing to the case of the Samaritans. Here he was informed by a certain Samaritan that a leader of the Jews named Doëtus,<sup>e</sup> together with

death by brigands at the instigation of the procurator Felix (*Ant.* xx. 162-164). <sup>b</sup> Caesarea, according to *B.J.* ii. 241.

<sup>c</sup> The Epitome speaks of his crucifying the Jews only. Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 54, also, after mentioning the constant quarrels between the Samaritans and the Jews, says that Quadratus put to death those of the Jews who had been daring enough to slay Roman soldiers. But the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 241, says that Quadratus crucified all the prisoners—presumably both Jews and Samaritans—taken by Cumanus.

<sup>d</sup> Modern *Ludd*, between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv.

<sup>e</sup> Variants "Dortus," "Doitus."

- 131 νεωτεριστὰί τέσσαρες τὸν ἀριθμὸν πείσειαν τὸν ὄχλον ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάσει. κἀκείνους μὲν ὁ Κουαδράτος ἀνελεῖν προσέταξεν, τοὺς δὲ περὶ Ἀνανίαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἄνανον δῆσας εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνεπέμφεν περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων λόγον ὑφέξοντας Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι. κελύει δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Σαμαρέων πρώτοις καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις<sup>2</sup> Κουμανῶ τε τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ καὶ Κέλери, χιλιάρχος δ' ἦν οὗτος, ἐπ' Ἰταλίας<sup>3</sup> ἀπιέναι<sup>4</sup> πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα κριθησομένους ἐπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ζητήσεων. αὐτὸς δὲ δέισας, μὴ τὸ πλῆθος πάλιν τῶν Ἰουδαίων νεωτερίσειεν, εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἀφικνεῖται καταλαμβάνει δ' αὐτὴν εἰρηνουμένην καὶ πάτριον ἑορτὴν τῷ θεῷ τελούσαν. πιστεύσας οὖν μηδένα νεωτερισμὸν παρ' αὐτῶν γενήσεσθαι<sup>5</sup> καταλιπὼν ἑορτάζοντας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν.
- 134 (3) Οἱ περὶ Κουμανῶν δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Σαμαρέων ἀναπεμφθέντες εἰς Ῥώμην λαμβάνουσι παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἡμέραν, καθ' ἣν περὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμφισβητήσεων λέγειν ἔμελλον.
- 135 σπουδῇ δὲ μεγίστῃ τῷ Κουμανῶ καὶ τοῖς Σα-

<sup>1</sup> τοῖς τῶν Σαμαρέων πρώτοις καὶ] om. E.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις] A: om. MW: τοῖς Ἰουδαίων E Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπ' Ἰταλίας] Lowthius: ἐπὶ τῆς βίας codd. E; χιλιάρχος

... Ἰταλίας] millenario et violentiarum inhibitori Lat.

<sup>4</sup> Hudson: ἀπιέναι codd. E: ut . . . pergerent Lat.

<sup>5</sup> MW: γεγενῆσθαι AE: generari Lat.

<sup>a</sup> According to *B.J.* ii. 242, Cumanus beheaded eighteen Jews who, according to information given him, had participated in the fighting.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. § 103.

<sup>c</sup> Or perhaps better "superintendent." Presumably the reference is to the captain who had custody of the temple, a

four other revolutionaries, had instigated the mob to revolt against the Romans. These<sup>a</sup> also Quadratus ordered to be put to death. As for the high priest Ananias<sup>b</sup> and the captain<sup>c</sup> Ananus<sup>d</sup> and their followers, he put them in chains and sent them up to Rome to render an account of their actions to Claudius Caesar. He further ordered the leaders of the Samaritans, those of the Jews, Cumanus the procurator, and Celer,<sup>e</sup> a military tribune, to set off to Italy to get a decision in the imperial court concerning the matters in dispute between them. He himself, fearing a fresh revolution on the part of the Jewish people, visited the city of Jerusalem, which he found at peace and observing one of the traditional religious festivals.<sup>f</sup> Having satisfied himself, therefore, that there would be no revolt on their part, he left them celebrating the festival and returned to Antioch.

(3) Cumanus and the leaders of the Samaritans with their companions who had been sent to Rome were assigned a day by the emperor on which they were to state their case in the matters at issue involving them. Caesar's freedmen and friends dis-

Claudius, thanks to Agrippa's influence, decides in favour of the Jews.

position mentioned in *B.J.* vi. 294, as well as in Luke xxii. 4, 52; Acts iv. 1, v. 24, 26. He is the *sagan*, second in rank to the high priest. Cf. Mishnah, *Yoma* iii. 1.

<sup>d</sup> The son of Ananias the high priest, according to *B.J.* ii. 243, which also adds that the delegation included the high priest Jonathan.

<sup>e</sup> In view of the drastic punishment inflicted on Celer, whose crime is nowhere indicated, Aberbach, *op. cit.* p. 12, suggests that he may have been the soldier (§§ 108-112) whose lewdness had prompted such calamity for the Jews. But Josephus normally, though not always, gives cross-references and certainly would be expected to do so in so notorious a case as this; moreover, Josephus never calls a military tribune a mere soldier.

<sup>f</sup> Passover, according to *B.J.* ii. 244.

μαρεῦσιν ἦν παρὰ τῶν Καίσαρος ἀπελευθέρων καὶ φίλων, κὰν περιεγένοντο τῶν Ἰουδαίων, εἰ μὴ περ Ἀγρίππας ὁ νεώτερος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τυγχάνων κατασπευδομένους ἰδὼν τοὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρώτους ἐδεήθη πολλὰ τῆς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος γυναικὸς Ἀγριππίνης πείσαι τὸν ἄνδρα διακούσαντα<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δικαιοσύνη τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως. καὶ Κλαύδιος τῇ δεήσει ταύτῃ προεுτρεπισθεὶς καὶ διακούσας, ὡς εὔρε τῶν κακῶν ἀρχηγούς τοὺς Σαμαρείτας γενομένους, τοὺς μὲν ἀναβάνας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἀναιρεθῆναι, τῷ Κουμανῷ δὲ φυγὴν ἐπέβαλεν, Κέλερα δὲ τὸν χιλιάρχον ἐκέλευσεν ἀγαγόντας εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πάντων ὁρώντων ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν σύραντας οὕτως ἀποκτεῖναι.

137 (vii. 1) Πέμπει δὲ καὶ Κλαύδιος<sup>2</sup> Φήλικα Πάλ-

<sup>1</sup> A: δικάσαντα MWE: causam audiens Lat.

<sup>2</sup> E: Κλαύδιον codd.

<sup>a</sup> The granddaughter of Antonia, whose friendship for Agrippa I (*Ant.* xviii. 143) may well have been recalled by Agrippa II's entreaties to her.

<sup>b</sup> Suetonius, *Claud.* 15, to be sure, asserts that he rendered judgements after having heard only one party to a suit; and Seneca, *Apoc.* 12. 3, goes so far as to say that he did so without hearing either party. But V. M. Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius*, 1940, pp. 46-47, rightly defends Claudius against these charges by suggesting that since the courts were cluttered with trivial cases Claudius decided to follow the court procedure later recognized in the Code of Justinian, awarding the decision to the party present at a trial if the other party did not appear.

<sup>c</sup> Aberbach, *op. cit.* pp. 11-12, plausibly suggests that the Jewish cause may have had another strong ally in Pallas, whose influence over Claudius was particularly strong at this time, and who acted in secret. There may well be a con-

played the greatest partiality for Cumanus and the Samaritans, and they would have got the better of the Jews, had not Agrippa the Younger, who was in Rome and saw that the Jewish leaders were losing the race for influence, urgently entreated Agrippina,<sup>a</sup> the wife of the emperor, to persuade her husband to give the case a thorough hearing in a manner befitting his respect for law<sup>b</sup> and to punish the instigators of the revolt.<sup>c</sup> Claudius was favourably impressed by this petition. He then heard the case through, and, on discovering that the Samaritans were the first to move in stirring up trouble, he ordered those of them who had come before him to be put to death,<sup>d</sup> condemned Cumanus to exile, and ordered Celer the tribune to be taken to Jerusalem, where he was to be dragged around the whole city in a public spectacle and then put to death.

(vii. 1) Claudius now sent Felix,<sup>e</sup> the brother of Felix is appointed procurator.

nexion, as indicated by Aberbach, between Pallas' assistance in this case and the championing by the high priest Jonathan of the candidacy of Felix, Pallas' brother, for the procuratorship of Judaea shortly thereafter.

<sup>d</sup> Three Samaritans were executed (*B.J.* ii. 245).  
<sup>e</sup> This is the reading of the Epitome. The mss. read "He now sent Claudius Felix." But Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9, calls him Antonius Felix, and he is so called also in an inscription (*C.I.L.* v. 34). See Schürer, i. 571-572 n. 18, who, therefore, defends the emendation Κλαύδιος. Like his brother Pallas, he probably, as P. von Rohden, "Antonius" no. 54, Pauly-Wissowa, i, 1894, p. 2617, suggests, was freed by Claudius' mother Antonia. Suetonius, *Claud.* 28, mentions Claudius' high regard for him. He was named procurator c. A.D. 52, and it is he before whom Paul is accused in Acts xxiv. 1 ff. Josephus' account of Felix appears to contradict that of Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 54, who states that while Cumanus was in charge of Galilee, Felix was already governing Samaria. Acts xxiv. 10, as noted by Kirsopp Lake, *op. cit.* p. 465, perhaps offers some support for Tacitus' account, for Paul

λαντος ἀδελφὸν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προστησόμενον πραγμάτων. τῆς δ' ἀρχῆς δωδέκατον<sup>1</sup> ἔτος ἦδη πεπληρωκῶς δωρεῖται τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τῇ Φιλίππου τετραρχία καὶ Βαταναία προσθεῖς αὐτῷ τὴν Τραχωῦντιν σὺν Ἀβέλα<sup>2</sup>. Λυσανία δ' αὕτη γεγόνει τετραρχία· τὴν Χαλκίδα δ' αὐτὸν ἀφαιρεῖται δυνα-  
 139 στεύσαντα ταύτης ἔτη τέσσαρα. λαβὼν δὲ τὴν δωρεὰν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος Ἀγρίππας ἐκδίδωσι πρὸς γάμον Ἀζίζῳ τῷ Ἐμεσῶν βασιλεῖ περιτέμνεσθαι θελήσαντι Δρούσιλλαν τὴν ἀδελφήν· Ἐπιφανῆς γὰρ ὁ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως παῖς παρητήσατο

<sup>1</sup> decimum Lat.

<sup>2</sup> A: συνέβαλε M: συνέβαλλε W: σὺν Ἀβέλα E: una cum Abela Lat.

remarks that Felix had been "a judge of this nation" for many years. Cumanus and Felix, according to Tacitus, shared in the spoils collected by the brigands and were unsuccessful in quelling disturbances. Thereupon Ummidius Quadratus, the governor of Syria, brought them to account, sentencing Cumanus, while actually exhibiting Felix as one of the judges. Aberbach, pp. 4-6, in an ingenious attempt to reconcile the accounts of Josephus and Tacitus, suggests that Cumanus was actually procurator of Judaea and Samaria when the disturbance described in §§ 118-124 occurred, while Felix was in charge of Galilee, in which Josephus, until the events of 66, was less interested. But Josephus describes the dispatch of Felix by Claudius to become procurator in the same terms in which he describes the dispatch of other procurators (e.g. Porcius Festus, § 182), and it seems hard to believe that, if Felix was already serving in Palestine, Josephus should not have mentioned that fact but should say that Claudius "sent" ("sent forth," *B.J.* ii. 247) him to take charge of Judaea. On the other hand, Josephus, who normally speaks of a person as being sent to be procurator of Judaea, says (*B.J.* ii. 247) that Felix was sent to be procurator

Pallas,<sup>a</sup> to take charge of matters in Judaea. When he had completed the twelfth year of his reign,<sup>b</sup> he granted to Agrippa the tetrarchy of Philip<sup>c</sup> together with Batanaea, adding thereto Trachonitis<sup>d</sup> and Lysanias' former tetrarchy of Abila<sup>e</sup>; but he deprived him of Chalcis, after he had ruled it for four years. After receiving this gift from the emperor, Agrippa gave his sister Drusilla<sup>f</sup> in marriage to Azizus king of Emesa, who had consented to be circumcised. Epiphanes, son of King Antiochus, had of Judaea, Samaria, Galilee, and Peraea; this would not necessarily be inconsistent with his having served as procurator of one of these districts previously.

<sup>a</sup> A freedman of Antonia (*cf. Ant.* xviii. 182, where he is mentioned as the most trustworthy of Antonia's slaves) and a favourite of the emperor Claudius. He championed the cause of Agrippina, whose lover he supposedly was. In January 52, shortly before the appointment of Felix, Pallas had reached the pinnacle of his power when he was awarded the *ornamenta praetoria* and a large sum of money by the senate. *cf. Pliny, Hist. Nat.* vii. 29. 2 and viii. 16. 3; and *Suet. Claud.* 28. Nero ordained his death in 62 allegedly because of his wealth.

<sup>b</sup> A. D. 53.

<sup>c</sup> *cf. Ant.* xviii. 27-28, 106, etc. According to *B.J.* ii. 247, Agrippa was also presented with the tetrarchy of Varus.

<sup>d</sup> Luke iii. 1 speaks of Trachonitis as part of Philip's tetrarchy, and hence J. W. Hunkin, "St. Luke and Josephus," *Church Quart. Rev.* lxxviii, 1919, p. 100, seems justified in concluding that Luke did not have this passage of the *Antiquities* before him.

<sup>e</sup> Or Abela, north-west of Damascus. *cf. Ant.* xix. 275. It is the Abilene of which Lysanias was tetrarch under Tiberius, according to Luke iii. 1. *cf. Schürer*, i. 716-720.

<sup>f</sup> *cf. Ant.* xviii. 132 for her place in the genealogy of the house of Herod. In *Ant.* xix. 354 she is mentioned as being six years old at the death of her father, Agrippa I. She is identified in Acts xxiv. 24 as Felix's Jewish wife. She is presumably one of the three queens whom Felix married, according to Suetonius, *Claud.* 28.

τὸν γάμον μὴ βουλευθεὶς τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνη μεταλαβείν καίπερ τοῦτο ποιήσῃ προὔπεσχημένος αὐτῆς  
 140 τῷ πατρί. καὶ Μαριάμμην δ' ἐξέδωκεν Ἀρχελάῳ  
 τῷ Ἑλκίου παιδί πρότερον ὑπὸ Ἀγρίππα τοῦ  
 πατρὸς<sup>1</sup> ἄρμωσθεῖσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ γίνεται θυγάτηρ  
 αὐτοῖς ὄνομα Βερενίκη.  
 141 (2) Διαλύονται δὲ τῇ Δρουσίλλῃ πρὸς τὸν Ἀζίζον  
 οἱ γάμοι μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον τοιαύτης ἐμπεσοῦσῃ  
 142 αἰτίας· καθ' ὃν χρόνον τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπετρόπευς  
 Φῆλιξ θεασάμενος ταύτην, καὶ γὰρ ἦν κάλλει πασῶν  
 διαφέρουσα, λαμβάνει τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπιθυμίαν, καὶ  
 Ἄτομον<sup>2</sup> ὀνόματι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων Ἰουδαίων,  
 Κύπριον δὲ τὸ γένος, μάγον εἶναι σκηπτόμενον  
 πέμπων πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπειθεν τὸν ἄνδρα καταλιποῦ-  
 σαν αὐτῷ γήμασθαι, μακαρίαν ποιήσῃ ἐπαγγελ-

<sup>1</sup> MWE Lat. Phot.: παιδὸς A.

<sup>2</sup> AE: Σίμωνα MW Lat. et i. marg. A.

<sup>a</sup> Or "had excused himself from marrying her."

<sup>b</sup> See *Ant.* xix. 355.

<sup>c</sup> See *Ant.* xix. 355.

<sup>d</sup> According to Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9, Felix was now married to Drusilla (not the Drusilla whom he married in § 143; cf. Stein, "Drusilla" no. 2, Pauly-Wissowa, v, 1905, p. 1741, who suggests that there is some confusion), the granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra, and hence he was the grandson-in-law, as Claudius was the grandson, of Antony. Tacitus also mentions that Felix indulged in "every kind of barbarity and lust."

<sup>e</sup> This is the reading of the best ms. and of the Epitome. The other two major mss., a marginal notation in the best ms., and the Latin version have the name as Simoñ. Who is this Atomus or Simon? M. Krenkel, *Josephus und Lukas*, 1894, pp. 178 ff., identifies him with the apostle Paul, who was regarded as the false Simon as opposed to Simon Peter and who was called a Samaritan because he declared that the

rejected the marriage<sup>a</sup> since he was not willing to convert to the Jewish religion, although he had previously<sup>b</sup> contracted with her father to do so. Agrippa also gave his daughter Mariamme in marriage to Archelaus,<sup>c</sup> the son of Helcias, to whom his father had previously betrothed her. Of this marriage there was born a daughter named Berenice.

(2) Not long afterwards Drusilla's marriage to Azizus was dissolved under the impact of the following circumstances. At the time when Felix was procurator of Judaea, he beheld her; and, inasmuch as she surpassed all other women in beauty, he conceived a passion for the lady.<sup>d</sup> He sent to her one of his friends,<sup>e</sup> a Cyprian Jew named Atomus, who pretended to be a magician,<sup>f</sup> in an effort to persuade her to leave her husband and to marry Felix. Felix promised to make her supremely happy<sup>g</sup> if she did

Mosaic law had been abrogated; but, as P. W. Schmiedel "Simon Magus," *Ency. Bibl.* iv, 1903, p. 4556, and H. Waitz, "Simon Magus in der altchristlichen Literatur," *Zeitsch. f. d. Neutest. Wiss.* v, 1904, p. 127, note, there is no evidence that Paul was so called, nor was Paul a Cyprian, as the magician here is said to be. Waitz, in turn, suggests (p. 128) an identification with Simon the Church Father, but the latter was a Samaritan and not a Cyprian. The name Simon is extremely common during this period, and magicians were plentiful.

<sup>f</sup> On Jewish magicians, S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 1952, p. 21, cites Lucian, *Tragopodagra*, verse 173, who satirically refers to a sufferer from podagra who, having tried every remedy, resorts to the incantations of a Jew. Cf. Baron ii. 336 n. 25, who notes the belief, found in Jub. x. 10-15, that Noah had acquired the art of magic healing from the angels and had transmitted it to his son Shem.

<sup>g</sup> In all probability, as noted by Thackeray, *Selections from Josephus*, p. 95 n. 2, there is here a play on the name Felix, meaning "happy."

- 143 *λόμενος μὴ ὑπερηφανήσασαν αὐτόν.*<sup>1</sup> ἢ δὲ κακῶς  
 πράττουσα καὶ φυγεῖν τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Βερε-  
 νίκης βουλομένη φθόνον διὰ γὰρ τὸ κάλλος παρ'  
 ἐκείνης ἐν οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἐβλάπτετο,<sup>2</sup> παραβῆναι τε τὰ  
 πάτρια νόμιμα πείθεται καὶ τῷ Φήλικι γήμασθαι.<sup>3</sup>  
 τεκοῦσα δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ παῖδα προσηγόρευσεν Ἀγρίπ-  
 144 παν. ἀλλ' ὃν μὲν τρόπον ὁ νεανίας οὗτος σὺν τῇ  
 γυναικὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν τοῦ Βεσβίου ὄρους ἐπὶ  
 τῶν Τίτου Καίσαρος χρόνων ἠφανίσθη, μετὰ ταῦτα  
 δηλώσω.  
 145 (3) Βερενίκη δὲ μετὰ τὴν Ἑρώδου τελευτήν, ὃς  
 αὐτῆς ἀνὴρ καὶ θεῖος ἐγεγόνει, πολλὸν χρόνον ἐπι-  
 χηρεύσασα, φήμης ἐπισχοῦσης, ὅτι τὰδελφῶ συνείη,<sup>4</sup>  
 πείθει Πολέμωνα, Κιλικίας<sup>5</sup> δὲ ἦν οὗτος βασιλεὺς,  
 περιτεμόμενον ἀγαγεῖσθαι πρὸς γάμον αὐτῆν· οὕτως  
 146 γὰρ ἐλέγξειν ὤετο ψευδεῖς τὰς διαβολάς. καὶ ὁ

<sup>1</sup> μὴ ὑπερηφανήσασαν αὐτόν] om. E.

<sup>2</sup> διὰ γὰρ . . . ἐβλάπτετο] ed. pr.: αὐτῇ (αὐτῇ MW) διὰ τὸ κάλλος παρεκάλει παρ' ἐκείνης οὐόμενος (γρ ὑποπτευόμενος i. marg. A), οὐκ ἐν (ἐν οὐκ MW) ὀλίγοις ἐβλάπτεν (βλάπτεσθαι Mathieu-Herrmann) codd.

<sup>3</sup> ἢ δὲ . . . γήμασθαι] illa vero non bene faciens declinare volens invidiam Bereniceae sororis propter pulchritudinem suam transcendere paternas sollemnitates flexa est et Felicis nuptias est secuta Lat.

<sup>4</sup> A: γρ συνοικεῖ i. marg. A: συνήει MWE: coiret Lat.

<sup>5</sup> Lyciae Lat.

<sup>a</sup> The clause "for Drusilla . . . beauty" is corrupt in the mss.; the text here adopted follows the *editio princeps*. Mathieu-Herrmann, emending the text of the mss. slightly, translate: "Felix invited her by reason of her beauty, which he believed exposed her to much torment by Berenice."

<sup>b</sup> A.D. 79.

<sup>c</sup> There is no further mention of this in the extant works of Josephus.

not disdain him. She, being unhappy and wishing to escape the malice of her sister Berenice—for Drusilla was exceedingly abused by her because of her beauty<sup>a</sup>—, was persuaded to transgress the ancestral laws and to marry Felix. By him she gave birth to a son whom she named Agrippa. How this youth and his wife disappeared at the time of the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in the times of Titus Caesar,<sup>b</sup> I shall describe later.<sup>c</sup>

(3) After the death of Herod, who had been her uncle and husband, Berenice lived for a long time as a widow. But when a report gained currency that she had a liaison with her brother,<sup>d</sup> she induced Polemo,<sup>e</sup> king of Cilicia, to be circumcised and to take her in marriage; for she thought that she would demonstrate in this way that the reports were false.

Berenice, after Herod's death, marries Polemo, king of Cilicia.

<sup>a</sup> Juvenal vi. 156-160 likewise alludes to this report when he speaks of the famous diamond that the "barbarian" Agrippa gave to his "unchaste" sister. G. H. Macurdy, "Julia Berenice," *Am. Jour. of Philol.* lvi, 1935, p. 251, plausibly suggests that the rumour may have originated because Berenice presided over the court of Agrippa, who was never married. Suetonius (*Tit.* 7), Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 2), and Dio (lxxi. 15 and 18); all of whom speak of Titus' love for her, do not mention the alleged incest with Agrippa. Cf. R. M. Haywood, "A Note on the Dialogus of Tacitus," *Class. Weekly* xxxvi, 1942-1943, p. 255, who suggests that Maternus' Medea (*Tac. Dial.* 3) is Berenice, whom Titus wished to marry. The idea of such a marriage with a foreigner was regarded with repugnance by the Romans. The rumour of the incest between Agrippa and Berenice is perhaps an indication that Agrippa, with whom Josephus had kept up a long correspondence while in Rome (*Vita* 364-367), was dead by 93/94, when these words were written (*Ant.* xx. 267): so Macurdy, p. 250, and J. A. Crook, "Titus and Berenice," *Am. Jour. of Philol.* lxxii, 1951, p. 163 n. 9.

<sup>e</sup> Not the Polemo of *Ant.* xix. 338. See D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, ii, 1950, p. 1407.



Πολέμων ἐπέισθη μάλιστα διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτῆς· οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πολὺ συνέμεινεν ὁ γάμος, ἀλλ' ἡ Βερενίκη δι' ἀκολασίαν, ὡς ἔφασαν, καταλείπει τὸν Πολέμωνα. ὁ δ' ἅμα τοῦ τε γάμου καὶ τοῦ τοῖς  
 147 ἔβησι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐμμένειν ἀπήλλακτο. τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ καιρῷ καὶ Μαριάμμη παραιτησαμένη τὸν Ἀρχέλαον συνώκησε Δημητρίῳ τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίων πρωτεύοντι γένει τε καὶ πλούτῳ· τότε δὴ αὐτῇ παιδίον ἐξ ἐκείνου Ἀγριππίνον<sup>1</sup> προσηγόρευσεν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν ἐκάστου τούτων μετὰ ἀκριβείας ὕστερον ἀπαγγελοῦμεν.

148 (viii. 1) Τελευταῖα δὲ Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ βασιλεύσας ἔτη δεκατρία καὶ μῆνας ὀκτῶ πρὸς ἡμέραις εἴκοσι, καὶ λόγος ἦν παρά τινων, ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς γυ-

<sup>1</sup> Ἀγριππίνον] Agrippae vocabulo Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Such a conversion is invalid according to Jewish law. See the Babylonian Talmud, *Gerim* i. 7: "Whoever converts for the sake of marriage, fear, or love is not a proselyte . . . and whoever does not convert for the sake of Heaven is not a proselyte."

<sup>b</sup> On the office of alabarch see note on *Ant.* xviii. 159.

<sup>c</sup> There is no such account extant.

<sup>d</sup> For §§ 148-178 cf. the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 248-270.

<sup>e</sup> A.D. 54.

<sup>f</sup> This is exact, since Suetonius, *Calig.* 58, gives the date of Gaius' death as 24 January, A.D. 41; and Suetonius (*Claud.* 45), Tacitus (*Ann.* xii. 69), Seneca (*Apo.* 2), and Dio (lx. 34. 3) give the date of Claudius' death as 13 October, A.D. 54.

<sup>g</sup> Tacitus, who has a detailed account (*Ann.* xii. 66-67) of Claudius' death, says definitely that Agrippina attempted to kill him with a slowly acting poison which was inserted by a certain Halotus, Claudius' official taster, in mushrooms, one of the emperor's favourite foods. After administering this poison, she availed herself of the aid of a physician named

Polemo was prevailed upon chiefly on account of her wealth.<sup>a</sup> The marriage did not, however, last long, for Berenice, out of licentiousness, according to report, deserted Polemo. And he was relieved simultaneously of his marriage and of further adherence to the Jewish way of life. At the same time Mariamme took leave of Archelaus and married Demetrius, an Alexandrian Jew who stood among the first in birth and wealth. He also held at that time the office of alabarch.<sup>b</sup> By him she had a son whom she called Agrippinus. But I shall report fully on each of these persons hereafter.<sup>c</sup>

(viii. 1) <sup>d</sup> Claudius Caesar now died<sup>e</sup> after a reign<sup>f</sup> of thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days.<sup>g</sup> It was reported by some<sup>h</sup> that he had been poisoned

Xenophon who put into Claudius' throat a feather smeared with a rapid poison. Suetonius, *Claud.* 44, says that most people think that Claudius was poisoned, but that there is a difference of opinion as to when and by whom. Some, he says, assert that Halotus administered the drug, others that Agrippina herself did so at a banquet by poisoning a dish of mushrooms. Dio lxi. 34. 2-3 says definitely that Claudius died during the night after he had eaten the mushroom in which Agrippina had arranged to have poison placed. But V. M. Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius*, 1940, pp. 92-93, concludes that while the report that Agrippina poisoned Claudius can be neither proved nor disproved, there was a uniform tradition insinuating that every Julio-Claudian emperor had died by foul means. As Scramuzza remarks, we are even asked to believe, to judge from Tacitus' innuendoes, that Augustus, who had been married happily to Livia for fifty years, was put to death by her. On the various versions of Claudius' death see W. Kroll, "De Claudii morte," *Raccolta Ramorino*, 1925, pp. 197-198; A. Momigliano, "Osservazioni sulle fonti per la storia di Caligola, Claudio, Nerone," *Rend. d. Accad. d. Lincei* viii, 1932, pp. 293 ff.; and R. A. Pack, "Seneca's Evidence on the Deaths of Claudius and Narcissus," *Class. Weekly* xxxvi, 1942-1943, pp. 150-151.

ναϊκὸς Ἀγριππίνης φαρμάκοις ἀνήρητο. ταύτης  
 πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Γερμανικὸς ὁ Καίσαρος ἀδελφός, ἀνὴρ  
 δὲ γενόμενος<sup>1</sup> Δομέτιος Ἡνόβαρβος<sup>2</sup> ὁ τῶν ἐπιση-  
 149 μων κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν. οὐ τελευτήσαντος  
 χηρεύουσαν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον Κλαύδιος  
 ἄγεται πρὸς γάμον ἐπαγομένην καὶ παῖδα Δομέτιον  
 ὁμώνυμον τῷ πατρί. προαηρήκει δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα  
 Μεσσαλίαν διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ καὶ παῖ-  
 150 δεσ ἐγεγόνεσαν Βρεττανικὸς τε καὶ Ὀκταουία.<sup>3</sup> ἦν  
 γὰρ Ἀντωνία ἡδὴ καὶ<sup>4</sup> πρεσβυτάτη τῶν ἀδελφῶν,  
 ἦν ἐκ Πετινῆς τῆς πρώτης γυναϊκὸς εἶχεν. καὶ δὴ  
 τὴν Ὀκταουίαν ἤρμοσεν τῷ Νέρωνι· τοῦτο γὰρ  
 ὕστερον αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσεν εἰσποιησάμενος υἱὸν ὁ  
 Καῖσαρ.

151 (2) Δεδουκυῖα δ' ἡ Ἀγριππίνα, μὴ ὁ Βρεττανικὸς

<sup>1</sup> Γερμανικὸς . . . γενόμενος] WE (ὁ om. W): Γερμανικὸς  
 Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἀδελφὸς ἀνὴρ γενόμενος, litt. σ Τιβερίου . . .  
 γενόμενος i. ras. m. 2 paulo spatiosius scriptae A: Γερμανικὸς  
 Καίσαρος ἀδελφός M: Germanicus Caesaris frater vir autem  
 eius Lat.

<sup>2</sup> Δομέτιος Ἡνόβαρβος] ed. pr.: Δομέτιος ἦν ὁ βάρβαρος A:  
 Καίσαρος ἀδελφός Δομέτιος ἦν ὁ βάρβαρος W: Δομέτιος βάρβαρος  
 M: ἦν Δομέτιος ὁ βάρβαρος E: Dometius Barbarus Lat.

<sup>3</sup> Ὀκταουία] Hudson ex Lat.: Ὀκταουίος καὶ Ὀκταουία  
 codd. E.

<sup>4</sup> ἦν γὰρ Ἀντωνία ἡδὴ καὶ] Post: ἦν γὰρ Ἀντωνιανὴ καὶ A:  
 ἡ καὶ MW: om. E: ἦν δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀντωνία Hudson: ἦν γὰρ  
 καὶ Ἀντωνία ἡ coni. Niese.

<sup>a</sup> On his universal popularity see *Ant.* xviii. 206-209.

<sup>b</sup> Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, son of Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, who was consul in 16 B.C., and of Antonia, the daughter of Marcus Antonius and Octavia (the sister of Augustus). His grandfather and great-grandfather had also been consuls. He married Agrippina in 28, and in 32 he served as consul. He died in 40.

by his wife Agrippina. Her father was Germanicus,<sup>a</sup> the brother of the emperor, and her previous husband had been Domitius Ahenobarbus,<sup>b</sup> who was one of the prominent men in the city of Rome. On Domitius' death she remained a widow for a long time until Claudius married her. She brought with her a boy Domitius, who had the same name as his father. Claudius, smitten by jealousy,<sup>c</sup> had previously put to death his wife Messalina,<sup>d</sup> by whom he had had two children, Britannicus and Octavia. He already had had another child, actually his eldest, Antonia, born to him by his first wife Petina.<sup>e</sup> Moreover, he betrothed Octavia to Nero; for so the emperor called Domitius later, when he had adopted<sup>f</sup> him as a son.<sup>g</sup>

(2) Agrippina, fearing that Britannicus on coming

<sup>e</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 26, reports that Messalina, "now grown weary of the very facility of her adulteries, was rushing into strange excesses," when Gaius Silius proposed marriage to her. Messalina agreed, and the marriage contract was actually signed before witnesses (*Tac. Ann.* xi. 27; so also *Suet. Claud.* 26). Messalina, according to A. Momigliano, *Claudius*, 1934, pp. 76 and 120, would not have risked a second marriage unless, as is implied by Tacitus, she meant to start a revolution against Claudius; hence it is significant that her second husband, Silius, was a notable aristocrat who probably favoured the establishment of a true senatorial principate.

<sup>d</sup> Valeria Messalina. A.D. 48.

<sup>e</sup> Aelia Paetina, according to Suetonius, *Claud.* 26, was actually Claudius' second wife, his first wife having been Plautia Urgulanilla.

<sup>f</sup> Cf. *Tac. Ann.* xii. 25-26. Scramuzza, *op. cit.* p. 91, makes the sound suggestion that this adoption was dictated partly by Claudius' desire to heal the rift with the party of Germanicus, who was Nero's grandfather.

<sup>g</sup> A.D. 50, when Nero was twelve years old (*Tac. Ann.* xii. 25). R. M. Geer, "Notes on the Early Life of Nero," *Trans. of the Am. Philol. Assoc.* lxii, 1931, p. 63, after examining the possible forms of adoption, suggests that it was irregular.

How Nero became emperor. His barbartties.

ἀνδρωθείς αὐτὸς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν παρα-  
 λάβοι, τῷ δὲ αὐτῆς παιδί προαρπάσαι βουλομένη  
 τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τά τε περὶ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κλαυδίου,  
 152 καθάπερ ἦν λόγος, διεπράξατο, καὶ παραχρήμα  
 πέμπει τὸν τῶν στρατευμάτων ἑπαρχὸν Βούρρον  
 καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς χιλιάρχους τῶν τε ἀπελευθέρων  
 τοὺς πλείστον δυναμένους ἀπάξοντας εἰς τὴν παρ-  
 εμβολὴν τὸν Νέρωνα καὶ προσαγορεύοντας αὐτὸν  
 153 αὐτοκράτορα. Νέρων δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὕτως παρα-  
 λαβὼν Βρετανικὸν μὲν ἀδήλως τοῖς πολλοῖς  
 ἀναιρεῖ διὰ φαρμάκων, φανερώς δ' οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν<sup>1</sup>  
 τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φονεύει, ταύτην ἀμοιβὴν  
 ἀποτίσας αὐτῇ οὐ μόνον τῆς γενέσεως ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ  
 ταῖς ἐκείνης μηχαναῖς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν  
 παραλαβεῖν. κτείνει δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν, ἣ  
 συνώκει, πολλοὺς τε ἐπιφανεῖς ἄνδρας ὡς ἐπ' αὐτὸν  
 ἐπιβουλὰς συντιθέντας.

154 (3) Ἄλλα περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐὼ πλείω γράφειν  
 πολλοὶ γὰρ τὴν περὶ Νέρωνα συντετάχασιν ἱστο-  
 ρίαν, ὧν οἱ μὲν διὰ χάριν εὖ πεπονηότες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
 τῆς ἀληθείας ἡμέλησαν, οἱ δὲ διὰ μῖσος καὶ τὴν  
 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέχθειαν οὕτως ἀναιδῶς ἐνεπαράνθησαν  
 τοῖς ψεύσμασιν, ὡς ἀξίους αὐτοὺς εἶναι καταγνώ-

<sup>1</sup> φανερώς δ' οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν] om. Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Britannicus was now fourteen years old.

<sup>b</sup> So also Dio Cassius lxi. 1. 1. But Scramuzza, *op. cit.* p. 91, says that Josephus and Dio, who thought in terms of Hellenistic kingship, where the succession was from father to son,

to manhood<sup>a</sup> might fall heir<sup>b</sup> to his father's office, and wishing to forestall this by snatching the empire for her own child, contrived, according to report, the death of Claudius. She also immediately sent Burrus,<sup>c</sup> the prefect of the praetorian guard, and with him the military tribunes and the most influential of the freedmen, to conduct Nero to the camp and to proclaim him emperor.<sup>d</sup> Nero, having thus succeeded to the throne, brought about the death of Britannicus by poison,<sup>e</sup> keeping it hidden from the public. Not long afterwards he openly murdered his own mother.<sup>f</sup> This was the compensation that he paid her not only for giving birth to him but also for having obtained for him, through her devices, the Roman imperial throne. He also put to death Octavia,<sup>g</sup> to whom he was married, as well as many illustrious men, on the charge that they had conspired against him.

(3) On these matters, however, I forbear to write more. For many historians have written the story of Nero, of whom some,<sup>h</sup> because they were well treated by him, have out of gratitude been careless of truth, while others from hatred and enmity towards him have so shamelessly and recklessly revelled in are mistaken in their view that the succession would belong to Claudius' son Britannicus, since "there was no such thing as hereditary right to the throne in the constitution of the Roman Empire, least of all a right by natural heredity."<sup>i</sup> Sextus Afranius Burrus. Tacitus speaks of him at length in *Ann.* xiii. 2 ff.

<sup>a</sup> So also Tac. *Ann.* xii. 69.

<sup>b</sup> A.D. 55. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 16.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 1-13.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 60-64.

<sup>e</sup> As A. Momigliano, in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* x, 1934, p. 702, notes, we do not know the name of even one of those historians who looked favourably upon Nero. Hence, our accounts of his reign are one-sided.

- 155 σεως. καὶ θαυμάζειν οὐκ ἔπεισί μοι τοὺς περὶ  
 Νέρωνος ψευσαμένους, ὅπου μηδὲ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ  
 γενομένων γράφοντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῆς ἱστορίας  
 τετηρήκασιν, καίτοι πρὸς ἐκείνους αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν  
 μίσος ἦν ἄτε μετ' αὐτοὺς πολλῶ χρόνῳ γενομένοις.  
 156 ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῖς μὲν οὐ προνοουμένοις τῆς ἀληθείας  
 ἐξέστω γράφειν ὡς θέλουσιν, τούτῳ γὰρ χαίρειν  
 157 εὐόκασιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ σκοπὸν προθέμενοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν  
 τὰ μὲν ἀπηρητημένα τῆς προκειμένης ἡμῖν πραγ-  
 ματείας ἐπ' ὀλίγον μνήμης ἀξιούμεν, τὰ δ' ἡμῶν<sup>1</sup>  
 τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συμπεσόντα δηλοῦμεν οὐ παρέργως  
 μήτε τὰς συμφορὰς<sup>2</sup> μήτε τὰς ἀμαρτίας διασαφεῖν  
 ὀκνοῦντες. ἐπανήξω<sup>3</sup> τοῖνυν τὸν λόγον<sup>4</sup> ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν  
 οἰκείων πραγμάτων διήγησιν.
- 158 (4) Τῷ γὰρ πρώτῳ τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς ἔτει τε-  
 λευτήσαντος τοῦ Ἐμέτων δυνάστου<sup>5</sup> Ἀζίζου Σόε-  
 μος<sup>6</sup> ἀδελφὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεται. τὴν δὲ τῆς  
 μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας προστασίαν Ἀριστόβουλος Ἡρώ-  
 δου τῆς Χαλκίδος βασιλέως παῖς ὑπὸ Νέρωνος ἐγ-  
 159 χειρίζεται. καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν δὲ δωρεῖται μοῖρα  
 τινὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὁ Καῖσαρ Τιβεριάδα καὶ Ταρι-  
 χέας<sup>7</sup> ὑπακοῦειν αὐτῷ κελεύσας,<sup>8</sup> δίδωσι δὲ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> AM: ἡμῶν W.

<sup>2</sup> μήτε τὰς συμφορὰς] AM: om. W.

<sup>3</sup> AΕ (sed in Busb. utrum ἐπανήξω an ἐπανήξω scriptum sit certo distingui non potest): ἐπανήξω E (cod. Laur.): ἐπανήξω MW: revertar Lat.

<sup>4</sup> τὸν λόγον] AΕ: om. MW.

<sup>5</sup> A: βασιλέως MW: rege Lat.

<sup>6</sup> E: ὁ ἐμὸς A: ἐμὸς MW: meus Lat.

<sup>7</sup> MW: Ταριχάας, ai i. ras. A: Taricae Lat.

<sup>8</sup> ὑπακοῦειν αὐτῷ κελεύσας] om. E.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. § 139.

<sup>a</sup> A. D. 54.  
<sup>c</sup> C. Julius Sohaemus. This Sohaemus, according to Anderson, in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* x, 1934, p. 758 n. 3, and Magie,

falsehoods as to merit censure. Nor can I be surprised at those who have lied about Nero, since even when writing about his predecessors they have not kept to the facts of history. Surely they had no hatred for those emperors, since they lived long after them. Nevertheless, we must let those who have no regard for the truth write as they choose, for that is what they seem to delight in. But I, who have set as my target the truth, see no reason to give more than brief mention to matters unconnected with my proposed theme. On the other hand, my exposition of the fate of my own people, the Jews, is not merely incidental; and in my treatment I do not hesitate to give a full account either of our misfortunes or of our mistakes. I shall accordingly return to the narrative of our own affairs.

(4) In the first year<sup>a</sup> of Nero's reign, Azizus,<sup>b</sup> the overlord of Emesa, died and was succeeded on the throne by his brother Sohaemus.<sup>c</sup> The government of Armenia Minor was placed by Nero in the hands of Aristobulus,<sup>d</sup> son of Herod, king of Chalcis. The emperor also bestowed on Agrippa a certain portion of Galilee, giving orders to the cities of Tiberias and Tarichaeae<sup>e</sup> to submit to him. He also gave him

Tiberias, Tarichaeae, and Julius are given to Agrippa by Nero.

*op. cit.* ii. 1412 n. 41, is hardly to be identified with the Sohaemus, a prince of Emesa to whom as a client-king Sophene, a district adjoining Armenia, was given by Nero (*Tac. Ann.* xiii. 7). The two districts, Sophene and Emesa, are too far apart to make the identity of the two men likely. So also Stein, "Sohaemus" no. 4, Pauly-Wissowa, 2. Reihe, iii, 1929, p. 797.

<sup>d</sup> On Aristobulus cf. *Ant.* xviii. 134, 137; xx. 13, 104; and *B.J.* ii. 221, 252. Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 7, also reports that Nero entrusted Armenia Minor to Aristobulus.

<sup>e</sup> A city in Galilee frequently mentioned by Josephus, particularly in his *Vita*, 96, 127, etc.

Ἰουλιάδα πόλιν τῆς Περαιᾶς καὶ κώμας τὰς περὶ αὐτὴν δεκατέσσαρας.<sup>1</sup>  
 160 (5) Τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πράγματα πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον αἰεὶ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν ἐλάμβανεν· ληστηρίων γὰρ ἢ χώρα πάλιν ἀνεπλήσθη καὶ γοήτων ἀνθρώπων, οἱ  
 161 τὸν ὄχλον ἠπάτων. ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν ὁ Φῆλιξ πολλοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν σὺν τοῖς λησταῖς λαμβάνων ἀνήρει, καὶ Ἐλεάζαρον δὲ τὸν Διναίου παῖδα τὸν συστησάμενον τῶν ληστῶν τὸ σύνταγμα δι' ἐνέδρας εἶλεν ζῶντα· πίστιν γὰρ αὐτῷ προτείνας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν πείσεσθαι κακὸν πείθει πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 162 ἀφικέσθαι καὶ δῆσας ἀνέπεμψεν εἰς Ῥώμην. ἔχων δὲ καὶ ἀπεχθῶς πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἰωνάθην ὁ Φῆλιξ διὰ τὸ πολλάκις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ νουθετεῖσθαι περὶ τοῦ κρειττόνως προϊστασθαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πραγμάτων, μὴ καὶ μέμψιν αὐτὸς ὀφλοῖη παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεσιν αἰτησάμενος ἐκείνον παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πεμφθῆναι τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπίτροπον, πρόσφασιν ἐπενόει δι' ἧς μεταστήσεται τὸν συνεχῶς ὀχληρὸν αὐτῷ γινόμενον· βαρὺ γὰρ τοῖς ἀδικεῖν  
 163 θέλουσιν τὸ συνεχῶς νουθετοῦν. καὶ δὴ διὰ τοιαύτης αἰτίας ὁ Φῆλιξ τὸν πιστότατον τῶν Ἰωνάθου φίλων Ἱεροσολυμίτην τὸ γένος Δωρᾶν ὀνόματι πείθει πολλὰ χρήματα δώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος ἐπ-

<sup>1</sup> δεκατέσσαρας] A : τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα MW : δέκα Phot.

<sup>a</sup> Betharamphtha, east of the Jordan. Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 27, where it is said to have been named after Julia (Livia), the wife of the emperor Augustus.

<sup>b</sup> In the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 252, Nero is reported to have given Agrippa four cities with their districts, namely, Abila (not mentioned in our passage) and Julias in Peræa and Tarichæae and Tiberias in Galilee.

Julias,<sup>a</sup> a city in Peræa, and the fourteen villages that go with it.<sup>b</sup>

(5) In Judæa matters were constantly going from bad to worse. For the country was again infested with bands of brigands and impostors who deceived the mob. Not a day passed, however, but that Felix captured and put to death many of these impostors and brigands. He also, by a ruse, took alive Eleazar<sup>c</sup> the son of Dinaeus, who had organized the company of brigands; for by offering a pledge that he would suffer no harm, Felix induced him to appear before him. Felix then imprisoned him and dispatched him to Rome. Felix also bore a grudge against Jonathan<sup>d</sup> the high priest because of his frequent admonition to improve the administration of the affairs of Judæa. For Jonathan feared that he himself might incur the censure of the multitude in that he had requested Caesar to dispatch Felix as procurator of Judæa. Felix accordingly devised a pretext that would remove from his presence one who was a constant nuisance to him; for incessant rebukes are annoying to those who choose to do wrong. It was such reasons that moved Felix to bribe Jonathan's most trusted friend, a native of Jerusalem named Doras, with a promise to pay a great sum, to bring in brigands<sup>e</sup> to

Felix puts down the brigands and impostors.

Felix has the high priest Jonathan murdered by sicarii.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. § 121. According to *B.J.* ii. 253, Eleazar had ravaged the country for twenty years.

<sup>d</sup> His appointment as high priest is reported in *Ant.* xviii. 95 and his removal in *Ant.* xviii. 123. In *Ant.* xix. 313-316, where Agrippa I offers to restore the high priesthood to him, he declines and recommends his brother Matthias.

<sup>e</sup> In *B.J.* ii. 254 Josephus distinguishes between the old brigands, of whom Felix successfully cleared the country, and a new species, the so-called *sicarii*, "who committed murders in broad daylight in the heart of the city." Jonathan, he says (*B.J.* ii. 256), was the first victim of the *sicarii*.

αγαγείν τῷ Ἰωνάθῃ τοὺς ληστὰς<sup>1</sup> ἀναιρήσοντας,  
 κακέινος ὑπακούσας ἐμηχανήσατο διὰ τῶν ληστῶν  
 164 πραχθῆναι τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ τὸν φόνον· ἀνέβησαν  
 τινες αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὡς προσκυνήσοντας τὸν  
 θεὸν ὑπὸ τὰς ἐσθήτας ἔχοντες ξιφίδια καὶ συνανα-  
 165 μίγντες τῷ Ἰωνάθῃ κτείνουσι αὐτόν. ἀνεκδική-  
 του δὲ τούτου τοῦ φόνου μεμενηκότος μετὰ πάσης  
 τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδείας ἀναβαίνοντες ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς<sup>2</sup> ἰοί-  
 λησται καὶ τὸν σίδηρον ὁμοίως κεκρυμμένον ἔχοντες  
 συναναμιγνύμενοι τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἀνήρουν μὲν τινας  
 ἑαυτῶν ἐχθρούς, οὓς δ' ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἄλλοις ὑπηρε-  
 τοῦντες, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 κατὰ τὸ ἱερόν ἐπίουσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ σφάττειν ἐτόλ-  
 166 μων, οὐδ' ἐν τούτῳ δοκοῦντες ἀσεβεῖν. διὰ τοῦτ'  
 οἶμαι καὶ τὸν θεὸν μισήσαντα τὴν ἀσεβειαν<sup>3</sup> αὐτῶν  
 ἀποστραφῆναι μὲν ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν, τὸ δὲ ἱερόν  
 οὐκέτι καθαρὸν οἰκητήριον αὐτῶ κρίναντα Ῥω-  
 μαίους ἐπαγαγείν ἡμῖν καὶ τῇ πόλει καθάρσιον πῦρ  
 καὶ δουλείαν ἐπιβαλεῖν σὺν γυναιξίν καὶ τέκνοις  
 σωφρονίσαι ταῖς συμφοραῖς βουλόμενον ἡμᾶς.  
 167 (6) Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν ληστῶν ἔργα τοιαύτης ἀνοσιό-  
 τητος ἐπλήρου τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ γόητες καὶ ἀπα-  
 τεῶνες ἄνθρωποι τὸν ὄχλον ἔπειθον αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν  
 168 ἐρημίαν ἔπεσθαι· δείξειν γὰρ ἔφασαν ἐναργῆ τέρατα  
 καὶ σημεῖα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν γινόμενα.  
 καὶ πολλοὶ πεισθέντες τῆς ἀφροσύνης τιμωρίας

<sup>1</sup> susp. Niese.<sup>2</sup> ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς] om. E.<sup>3</sup> μισήσαντα τὴν ἀσεβειαν] om. Lat.

<sup>a</sup> The panic created by these brigands, says Josephus, *B.J.* ii. 256-257, was even more alarming than the actual murders that they committed; and people "would not even trust their friends when they approached."

attack Jonathan and kill him. Doras agreed and contrived to get him murdered by the brigands in the following way. Certain of these brigands went up to the city as if they intended to worship God. With daggers concealed under their clothes, they mingled with the people about Jonathan and assassinated him. As the murder remained unpunished, from that time forth the brigands with perfect impunity used to go to the city during the festivals and, with their weapons similarly concealed, mingle with the crowds.<sup>a</sup> In this way they slew some because they were private enemies, and others because they were paid to do so by someone else. They committed these murders not only in other parts of the city but even in some cases in the temple; for there too they made bold to slaughter their victims, for they did not regard even this as a desecration. This is the reason why, in my opinion,<sup>b</sup> even God Himself, for loathing of their impiety, turned away from our city and, because He deemed the temple to be no longer a clean dwelling place for Him, brought the Romans upon us and purification by fire upon the city, while He inflicted slavery upon us together with our wives and children; for He wished to chasten us by these calamities.

(6) With such pollution did the deeds of the brigands infect the city. Moreover, impostors and deceivers called upon the mob to follow them into the desert. For they said that they would show them unmistakable marvels and signs that would be wrought in harmony with God's design. Many were, in fact, persuaded and paid the penalty of their folly; for

Impostors lead Jews into the desert. The false prophet from Egypt.

<sup>b</sup> Similar sentiments are expressed by Josephus, *B.J.* iv. 323, v. 19, and elsewhere.

ὑπέσχον· ἀναχθέντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς Φῆλιξ ἐκόλασεν.  
 169 ἀφικνεῖται δέ τις ἐξ Αἰγύπτου κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν  
 καιρὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα προφήτης εἶναι λέγων καὶ  
 συμβουλευῶν τῷ δημοτικῷ πλήθει σὺν αὐτῷ πρὸς  
 ὄρος τὸ προσαγορευόμενον Ἐλαιῶν, ὃ τῆς πόλεως  
 170 ἀντικρυς κείμενον ἀπέχει στάδια πέντε· θέλειν γὰρ  
 ἔφασκεν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιδείξαι, ὡς κελεύσαν-  
 τος αὐτοῦ πίπτοι τὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τεῖχη, δι-  
 ὧν καὶ τὴν εἴσοδον αὐτοῖς παρέξειν ἐπηγγέλλετο.  
 171 Φῆλιξ δ' ὡς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, κελεύει τοὺς στρατιώ-  
 τας ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὄπλα καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν ἰππέων τε  
 καὶ πεζῶν<sup>1</sup> ὀρμήσας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων<sup>2</sup> προσ-  
 βάλλει τοῖς περὶ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, καὶ τετρακοσίους  
 μὲν αὐτῶν ἀνείλεν, διακοσίους δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν.  
 172 ὁ δ' Αἰγύπτιος αὐτὸς διαδράς ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀφανῆς  
 ἐγένετο. πάλιν δ' οἱ λησται τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὸν πρὸς  
 Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἠρέθιζον μηδὲν ὑπακούειν αὐτοῖς  
 λέγοντες,<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀπειθούντων κώμας ἐμπι-  
 πράντες διήρπαζον.

<sup>1</sup> μετὰ πολλῶν ἰππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν] μετ' αὐτῶν E; τε καὶ πεζῶν] om. Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων] om. E.      <sup>3</sup> θέλοντες E.

<sup>a</sup> For the pattern of the story of the Egyptian prophet see R. Grant, "The Coming of the Kingdom," *Jour. of Bibl. Lit.* lxxvii, 1948, p. 300. R. T. Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, 1903, p. 345 n. 1, suggests the possibility that the Egyptian false prophet is the Ben Stada described in the Talmud (*Shabbat* 104 b) as having brought sorcery from Egypt "in a cut upon his flesh," i.e. with the magic formulas tattooed or inserted into his flesh, which had been cut open. Two witnesses, according to Bab. *Sanhedrin* 67 a, heard him at Lydda and brought him to the Jewish tribunal; and as a result, he was stoned. On the later confusion resulting in the identification of Ben Stada with Jesus of Nazareth see J. Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Pales-*

they were brought before Felix and he punished them. At this time there came to Jerusalem from Egypt a man who declared that he was a prophet <sup>a</sup> and advised the masses <sup>b</sup> of the common people to go out with him to the mountain called the Mount of Olives, which lies opposite the city at a distance of five furlongs. For he asserted that he wished to demonstrate from there that at his command Jerusalem's walls would fall down, through which he promised to provide them an entrance into the city.<sup>c</sup> When Felix heard of this he ordered his soldiers to take up their arms. Setting out from Jerusalem with a large force of cavalry and infantry, he fell upon the Egyptian and his followers, slaying four hundred of them and taking two hundred prisoners.<sup>d</sup> The Egyptian himself escaped from the battle and disappeared. And now the brigands <sup>e</sup> once more incited the populace to war with Rome, telling them not to obey them. They also fired and pillaged the villages of those who refused to comply.

*tine*, i, 1867, pp. 468-471; J. Gutmann, "Ben Stada," *Ency. Jud.* iv, 1929, p. 73; and M. Goldstein, *Jesus in the Jewish Tradition*, 1950, pp. 57-62.

<sup>b</sup> This false prophet gained a following of 30,000, according to *B.J.* ii. 261. He is probably the Egyptian for whom Paul was mistaken and who, according to Acts xxi. 38, "recently stirred up a revolt and led the 4000 men of the *sicarii* out into the wilderness."

<sup>c</sup> *B.J.* ii. 262 adds that the impostor intended to establish himself as a tyrant, with those who had joined him acting as his bodyguard.

<sup>d</sup> *B.J.* ii. 263, without giving actual numbers, says that most of the Egyptian's followers were slain or captured.

<sup>e</sup> According to *B.J.* ii. 264-265 the brigands and impostors banded together in inciting the people to throw off the Roman yoke. In particular they pillaged the houses of the wealthy and murdered the owners.

- 173 (7) Γίνεται δὲ καὶ τῶν Καισάρειαν οἰκούντων Ἰουδαίων στάσις πρὸς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ Σύρους περὶ ἰσοπολιτείας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἰουδαῖοι πρῶτευεῖν ἤξιουν διὰ τὸ τὸν κτίστην τῆς Καισαρείας Ἡρώδην αὐτῶν βασιλέα γεγονέναι τὸ γένος Ἰουδαῖον, Σύροι δὲ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ὠμολόγουν, ἔφασκον δὲ τὴν Καισάρειαν Στράτωνος πύργον τὸ πρότερον καλεῖσθαι καὶ τότε μηδένα γεγονέναι τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν
- 174 Ἰουδαῖον οἰκήτορα. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ τῆς χώρας ἔπαρχοι λαβόντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς στάσεως πληγαῖς ἠκίσαντο καὶ τὴν ταραχὴν
- 175 οὕτω κατέστειλαν πρὸς ὀλίγον. πάλιν γὰρ οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ πλούτῳ θαρροῦντες καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καταφρονοῦντες τῶν Σύρων ἐβλασφήμουν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐρεθίσειν προσδοκῶντες. οἱ δὲ χρήμασιν μὲν ἠττώμενοι, μέγα δὲ φρονοῦντες<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκεῖ στρατευομένων Καισαρεῖς εἶναι καὶ Σεβαστηνοὺς μέχρι μὲν τινος καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους λόγῳ ὕβριζον, εἶτα λίθοις ἀλλήλους ἔβαλλον, ἕως πολλοὺς παρ' ἀμφοτέρα τρωθήναι τε καὶ πεσεῖν συνέβη· νικῶσί γε μὴν
- 177 Ἰουδαῖοι. Φηλιξ δ' ὡς ἐθεάσατο φιλονεικίαν ἐν πολέμῳ τρόπῳ γενομένην προπηδήσας παύεσθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους παρεκάλει, μὴ πειθομένοις δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὀπίσθας ἐπαφήσι καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐ-

<sup>1</sup> μέγα δὲ φρονοῦντες] sed sapientia fortiores Lat.

<sup>a</sup> The story of Herod's rebuilding of Strato's Tower is told in *Ant.* xv. 331-341. It is probably to be identified with the tower of Shir (var. Shed, *i.e.* "demon") mentioned in Bab. *Megillah* 6 a as having been captured by the house of the Hasmonaeans (so I. Epstein, in the Soncino edition of the Talmud, p. 28 n. 7).

(7) There arose also a quarrel between the Jewish and Syrian inhabitants of Caesarea on the subject of equal civic rights. The Jews claimed that they had the precedence because the founder of Caesarea, their king Herod, had been of Jewish descent; the Syrians admitted what they said about Herod, but asserted that Caesarea had before that been called Strato's Tower,<sup>a</sup> and that before Herod's time there had not been a single Jewish inhabitant in the city.<sup>b</sup> When the magistrates of the district heard of this quarrel they arrested those on both sides who were responsible for it and gave them a sound beating. Thus they calmed the disturbance for a time but not for long. For the Jews in the city, drawing confidence from their wealth<sup>c</sup> and consequently despising the Syrians, again started reviling them, expecting thereby to provoke the Syrians against the Jews. The Syrians, though inferior in wealth, yet taking great pride in the fact that most of those in military service there under the Romans were from Caesarea and Sebaste,<sup>d</sup> for a while retaliated by using insulting language to the Jews. Next the Jews and Syrians took to casting stones at each other, until it came about that many on both sides were wounded and fell. Nevertheless, it was the Jews who carried the day. When Felix saw that their rivalry had taken on the shape of war, he rushed ahead and summoned the Jews to desist. When they did not obey, he armed his soldiers, let them loose upon them, and

The quarrel between Jews and Syrians at Caesarea over civic rights.

<sup>b</sup> The Syrians offer a different argument in *B.J.* ii. 266, namely, that the city was built for the Greeks, since, if it were meant for the Jews, Herod would not have erected statues and temples there.

<sup>c</sup> "And physical strength" (*B.J.* ii. 268).

<sup>d</sup> *Cf. Ant.* xix. 365 and xx. 122.



τῶν ἀνεῖλεν, πλείους δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν, οἰκίας δὲ  
 178 μούσας διαρπάζειν ἐφῆκεν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων  
 ἐπιεικέστεροι καὶ προὔχοντες κατὰ τὴν ἀξίωσιν  
 δείσαντες περὶ ἑαυτῶν παρεκάλουν τὸν Φήλικα  
 τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀνακαλέσασθαι τῇ σάλπιγγι<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
 φείσασθαι τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτῶν δοῦναι τε μετάνοιαν ἐπὶ  
 179 τοῖς πεπραγμένοις. καὶ Φήλιξ ἐπέισθη.<sup>2</sup>  
 (8) Κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίπ-  
 πας δίδωσιν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ἰσμαήλῳ· Φαβεῖ<sup>3</sup>  
 180 παῖς οὗτος ἦν. ἐξάπτεται δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν  
 ἔχθρα τις εἰς ἀλλήλους καὶ στάσις καὶ<sup>4</sup> πρὸς τοὺς  
 ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς<sup>5</sup> πρώτους τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Ἱερο-  
 σολυμιτῶν,<sup>6</sup> ἕκαστός τε αὐτῶν στίφος ἀνθρώπων  
 τῶν θραυστάτων καὶ νεωτεριστῶν ἑαυτῷ ποιήσας  
 καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν συναγεῖρας<sup>7</sup> ἡγεμῶν<sup>8</sup> ἦν, καὶ συρ-  
 ράσσοντες ἐκακολόγουν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ λίθοις

<sup>1</sup> τῇ σάλπιγγι] turba missa Lat.

<sup>2</sup> δοῦναι . . . ἐπέισθη] quod Felix facere eorum precibus adquivit Lat.

<sup>3</sup> MW: Φιαβὶ A Lat.: Φαβίου Jos. Hypom. ap. Fabricium.

<sup>4</sup> ἀρχιερεῖσι . . . στάσις καὶ] A (litt. ερεῖσι . . . πλήθους i. ras. m. 2): ἀρχιερεῖσι στάσις MW Lat. Eus.

<sup>5</sup> ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς] E: om. codd.

<sup>6</sup> ἀρχιερεῖσι . . . Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν] ἀρχιερεῖσι πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἔχθρα τις πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ διάστασις E.

<sup>7</sup> καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν συναγεῖρας] A: om. MWE.

<sup>8</sup> ἐμῶν] ἡγεμῶν καὶ ἑξαρχος στάσεως E.

thus slew many of the Jews and took more alive. He also allowed his men to plunder certain houses of the inhabitants that were laden with very large sums of money. The more moderate<sup>a</sup> Jews and those who were of eminent rank, alarmed for themselves, besought Felix to sound the trumpet so as to recall the soldiers, and to show mercy from then on, thus giving them a chance to repent for what they had done. And Felix was prevailed upon to do so.<sup>b</sup>

(8) At this time King Agrippa conferred the high priesthood upon Ishmael,<sup>c</sup> the son of Phabi. There now was enkindled mutual enmity and class warfare between the high priests, on the one hand, and the priests and the leaders of the populace of Jerusalem, on the other. Each of the factions formed and collected for itself a band of the most reckless revolutionaries and acted as their leader.<sup>d</sup> And when they clashed, they used abusive language and pelted each

The high priests quarrel with ordinary priests and with popular leaders.

<sup>a</sup> Or "respectable," "decent."

<sup>b</sup> In *B.J.* ii. 270 Josephus records that the quarrel between the Syrians and Jews continued and that Felix selected leaders from both groups to argue their cases before Nero. Josephus does say in the *Antiquities* (xx. 182-184) that the leaders of the Jews and of the Syrians of Caesarea went to Rome to accuse Felix; but this, we are told, occurred after the removal of Felix and his replacement by Porcius Festus.

<sup>c</sup> Appointed in A.D. 59. He served for ten years, according to the Talmud, *Yoma* 9 a. Since Josephus does not give a cross-reference, as he generally does in the case of someone whom he has cited previously, this Ishmael is probably not to be identified with the Ishmael ben Phabi who was high priest in A.D. 15-16 (*Ant.* xviii. 34). The rabbin recognized his zeal for God by calling him Phineas' disciple (*Bab. Pesachim* 57 a). We also learn that his mother made him a tunic worth one hundred minas which he used at a private service and then donated to the community.

<sup>d</sup> The Epitome adds "and prime mover of strife."

- ἔβαλλον. ὁ δ' ἐπιπλήξων<sup>1</sup> ἦν οὐδὲ εἰς,<sup>2</sup> ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ἀπροστατήτῳ πόλει ταύτ' ἐπράσσετο μετ' ἐξουσίας.
- 181 τοσαύτη δὲ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς κατέλαβεν ἀναίδεια καὶ τόλμα, ὥστε καὶ πέμπειν δούλους ἐτόλμων ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλωνας τοὺς ληψομένους τὰς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὀφειλομένας δεκάτας, καὶ συνέβαινεν τοὺς ἀπορουμένους τῶν ἱερέων ὑπ' ἐνδεΐας τελευτᾶν. οὕτως ἐκράτει τοῦ δικαίου παντὸς ἢ τῶν στασιαζόντων βία.
- 182 (9) Πορκίου δὲ Φήστου διαδόχου Φήλικι πεμφθέντος ὑπὸ Νέρωνος οἱ πρωτεύοντες τῶν τῆν Καισάρειαν κατοικούντων Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀναβαίνουσιν Φήλικος κατηγοροῦντες, καὶ πάντως ἂν ἐδεδώκει τιμωρίαν τῶν εἰς Ἰουδαίους ἀδικημάτων, εἰ μὴ πολλὰ αὐτὸν ὁ Νέρων τὰ δελφῶ Πάλλαντι παρακαλέσαντι συνεχώρησεν μάλιστα δὴ
- 183 τότε διὰ τιμῆς ἄγων ἐκείνον. καὶ τῶν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι Σύρων<sup>3</sup> Βήρυλλον,<sup>4</sup> παιδαγωγὸς
- <sup>1</sup> ἐπιπλήξων] ἐπιπλήξων καὶ τὴν στάσιν κωλύσων E.  
<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲ εἰς] A : οὐδεὶς MW : non Lat.  
<sup>3</sup> οἱ πρῶτοι Σύρων] A : οἱ πρῶτοι δύο Σύροι MW : Σύρων οἱ πρῶτοι E.  
<sup>4</sup> Βοῦρρον Hudson.

<sup>a</sup> The Talmud, *Pesahim* 57 a, also refers to the violence used by the adherents of Ishmael. "Woe is me," laments one of the rabbis, "because of the house of Ishmael the son of Phabi, woe is me because of their fists!"

<sup>b</sup> The Epitome adds "and put an end to the strife."

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Bab. *Pesahim* 57 a, which records that the servants of the high priests Hanin (= Ananus), Kathros (= Cantheras), and Ishmael "beat the people with staves." It was forbidden for a priest even to assist in the threshing floors, since such assistance might have been thought to induce the Israelite to give him the tithe (Bab. *Kiddushin* 6 b).

<sup>d</sup> See S. Belkin, *Philo and the Oral Law*, 1940, pp. 72-78, for a brief account of the history of the practice with respect to the collection of the tithes. Because, as he notes, pp. 73-74, the priests could secure the tithe before it was brought to the

other with stones.<sup>a</sup> And there was not even one person to rebuke them.<sup>b</sup> No, it was as if there was no one in charge of the city, so that they acted as they did with full licence. Such was the shamelessness and effrontery which possessed the high priests that they actually were so brazen as to send slaves<sup>c</sup> to the threshing floors to receive the tithes<sup>d</sup> that were due to the priests, with the result that the poorer priests starved to death. Thus did the violence of the contending factions suppress all justice.

(9) When Porcius Festus<sup>e</sup> was sent by Nero as successor to Felix, the leaders of the Jewish community of Caesarea went up to Rome to accuse Felix. He would undoubtedly have paid the penalty for his misdeeds<sup>f</sup> against the Jews had not Nero yielded to the urgent entreaty of Felix's brother Pallas,<sup>g</sup> whom at that time he held in the highest honour. Moreover, the leaders of the Syrians in Caesarea, by offering a large bribe, prevailed on Beryllus,<sup>h</sup> who was

Festus succeeds Felix as procurator. The Jews accuse Felix before Nero.

The Syrians in Caesarea obtain a rescript from Nero cancelling Jewish rights.

temple and thus deprive the Levites of their share, John Hyrcanus instituted centralized collection of the tithes. But, as indicated in our passage, the high priests took unfair advantage; and thus the rabbis of the Mishnah once again allowed individual collection of the tithes by priests and Levites.

<sup>e</sup> Procurator A.D. 60-62. It was Festus who sent Paul to Rome after Felix had left him with the case (Acts xxiv. 27 ff.).

<sup>f</sup> Even Tacitus, in a passage hardly marked by friendliness towards the Jews, admits (*Hist.* v. 9) that Felix, during his term of office, indulged in every kind of barbarity and "exercised the power of a king in the spirit of a slave." Cf. *Ann.* xii. 54: "Felix . . . , by ill-timed remedies, stimulated disloyal acts."

<sup>g</sup> Cf. § 137.

<sup>h</sup> Naber, following Hudson, reads Βοῦρρον and thus identifies him with Afranius Burrus (§ 152), Nero's commander of the praetorian guard; and those who make this identification equate *rector imperatoriae iuventutis* (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 2)

δ' ἦν οὗτος τοῦ Νέρωνος τάξιν τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλλη-  
νικῶν ἐπιστολῶν πεπιστευμένος, πείθουσι πολλοῖς  
χρήμασιν αἰτήσασθαι παρὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος αὐτοῖς  
ἐπιστολὴν ἀκυροῦσαν τὴν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς αὐτοὺς  
184 ἰσοπολιτείαν. καὶ Βήρυλλος<sup>1</sup> τὸν αὐτοκράτορα πα-  
ρακαλέσας ἐπέτυχε γραφῆναι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν. αὕτη  
τῷ ἔθνει ἡμῶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα κακῶν τὰς αἰτίας  
παρέσχεν· πυθόμενοι γὰρ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Καισάρειαν  
Ἰουδαῖοι τὰ γραφέντα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Σύρους στά-  
σεως μᾶλλον εἶχοντο μέχρι δὴ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξῆψαν.  
185 (10) Ἀφικομένου δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν Φήστου  
συνέβαινε τὴν Ἰουδαίαν<sup>2</sup> ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν κακοῦ-  
σθαι τῶν κωμῶν ἀπασῶν ἐμπιπραμένων τε καὶ  
186 διαρπαζομένων. καὶ οἱ σικάριοι δὲ καλούμενοι,  
λησται δὲ εἰσιν οὗτοι, τότε μάλιστα ἐπλήθυνον χρώ-  
μενοι ξιφιδίοις παραπλησίοις μὲν τὸ μέγεθος τοῖς  
τῶν Περσῶν ἀκινάκαις, ἐπικαμπέσι δὲ καὶ ὁμοίαις  
ταῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων σίκαις<sup>3</sup> καλουμέναις, ἀφ' ὧν  
καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν οἱ ληστεύοντες ἔλαβον πολλοὺς

<sup>1</sup> Βοῦρρος Hudson.    <sup>2</sup> Φήστου . . . Ἰουδαίαν] om. E.  
<sup>3</sup> ἐπικαμπέσι . . . σίκαις] A: om. MW.

with the term *παιδαγωγός* here used by Josephus. But if Beryllus were the same as Burrus the name would not, in all probability, have been spelled differently in § 152 and in our section so shortly afterwards; and we would be likely to get a cross-reference, of which Josephus is so fond. See Heinze, "Beryllus," Pauly-Wissowa, iii, 1897, p. 319; and E. Katterfeld, "Beryllus-Burrus," *Berl. Philol. Woch.* xxxiii, 1913, p. 59.

<sup>a</sup> The position of *ab epistulis Graecis*.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 271.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *B.J.* ii. 254-255. This term (*sikarin*) is found in Talmudic literature in reference to the terrorists during the  
100

Nero's tutor and who had been appointed secretary of Greek correspondence,<sup>a</sup> to apply for a rescript from Nero annulling the grant of equal civic rights to the Jews. Beryllus exhorted the emperor and succeeded in getting his authorization for the rescript. This rescript provided the basis that led to the subsequent misfortunes that befell our nation. For the Jewish inhabitants of Caesarea, when they learned of Nero's rescript, carried their quarrel with the Syrians further and further until at last they kindled the flames of war.

(10) <sup>b</sup> When Festus arrived in Judaea, it happened <sup>Festus and the sicarii.</sup> that Judaea was being devastated by the brigands, for the villages one and all were being set on fire and plundered. The so-called *sicarii*<sup>c</sup>—these are brigands—were particularly numerous at that time. They employed daggers, in size resembling the scimitars<sup>d</sup> of the Persians, but curved and more like the weapons called by the Romans *sicae*,<sup>e</sup> from which these brigands took their name because they slew so many in this

siege of Jerusalem (see M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim*, etc., 1903, p. 986).

<sup>a</sup> Greek *ἀκινάκης*, Latin *acinaces*. Cf. the story in Herodotus iii. 118 of the Persian Intaphernes, who, upon being refused admission to the king by a gate-warden and a messenger, drew his scimitar (*ἀκινάκης*) and cut off their noses and ears. Again, a golden *ἀκινάκης* is enumerated among the gifts given by the Persian king Cyrus to Syennesis (*Xen. Anab.* i. 2. 27). Evidently the *acinaces* was sometimes employed in quarrels that arose while drinking, especially at nocturnal banquets, for Horace, *Odes* i. 27. 5-6, urging an end of such strife, exclaims: "How utterly at variance with wine and lamps is the Median *acinaces*!"

<sup>e</sup> The term *sicarii* is found in the sense of bandits in the *Lex Cornelia de Sicariis* and in Cicero, *Rosc. Am.* 8, 39, 103, cited by Hug, "Sica," Pauly-Wissowa, 2. Reihe; ii, 1923, p. 2184.

- 187 ἀναιροῦντες. ἀναμιγνύμενοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς, καθὼς καὶ πρότερον εἶπομεν, τῷ πλήθει τῶν πανταχόθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν συρρεόντων οὓς βουλευθεῖεν ραδίως ἀπέσφαττον, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ μεθ' ὄπλων ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀφ-  
 188 ικόμενοι διήρπαζον καὶ ἐνεπίμπρασαν. πέμπει δὲ Φῆστος δύναμιν<sup>1</sup> ἵππικὴν τε καὶ πεζικὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπατηθέντας ὑπὸ τινος ἀνθρώπου γόητος σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγελλομένους καὶ παῦλαν κακῶν, εἰ βουλευθεῖεν ἔπεσθαι μέχρι τῆς ἐρημίας αὐτῷ, καὶ αὐτόν τε ἐκείνον τὸν ἀπατήσαντα καὶ τοὺς ἀκολουθήσαντας διέφθειραν οἱ πεμφθέντες.  
 189 (11) Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τούτου ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ὠκοδομήσατο μεγέθει διαφέρον οἶκμα ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πλησίον τοῦ  
 190 ξυστοῦ. τὸ δὲ βασιλείον ἐγεγόνει πάλαι<sup>2</sup> ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀσαμωναίου<sup>3</sup> παιδων, ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ δὲ τόπου κείμενον τοῖς κατοπτεύειν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ βουλομένοις τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτερπεστάτην παρείχεν τὴν θέαν, ἧς ἐφιέμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκείθεν ἀφεώρα κατακείμενος τὰ  
 191 κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν πρασσόμενα.<sup>4</sup> ταῦτα δὲ θεασάμενοι τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν οἱ προὔχοντες δεινῶς ἐχαλέπαινον· οὐ γὰρ ἦν πάτριον<sup>5</sup> τὰ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν δρώμενα κατοπτρεύεσθαι καὶ μάλιστα τὰς ἱεουργίας. τοῖχον οὖν ἐγείρουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξέδρας ὑψηλόν, ἧτις

<sup>1</sup> πέμπει . . . δύναμιν] interea diversis rebus turbata provincia Festus multitudinem destinavit Lat.

<sup>2</sup> A: om. MW.

<sup>3</sup> A: Ἀσαμωναίου M: Ἀσσαμωναίου W.

<sup>4</sup> κατακείμενος . . . πρασσόμενα] AW: om. M: τὰ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν πραττόμενα πάντα κατακείμενος E.

<sup>5</sup> πάτριον] MW: πάτριον οὐδὲν νόμιμον A: πάτριον οὐδὲ νόμιμον E: πάτριον οὐδὲ νόμιμον ἡμῶν ed. pr.

way. For, as we said previously,<sup>a</sup> they would mingle at the festivals with the crowd of those who streamed into the city from all directions to worship, and thus easily assassinated any that they pleased. They would also frequently appear with arms in the villages of their foes and would plunder and set them on fire. Festus also sent a force of cavalry and infantry against the dupes of a certain impostor who had promised them salvation and rest from troubles, if they chose to follow him into the wilderness. The force which Festus dispatched destroyed both the deceiver himself and those who had followed him.

(11) About this time King Agrippa built a chamber of unusual size in his palace at Jerusalem adjoining the colonnade. The palace had been erected long before by the sons of Asamoniaios<sup>b</sup> and, being situated on a lofty site, afforded a most delightful view to any who chose to survey the city from it. The king was enamoured of this view and used to gaze, as he reclined at meals there, on everything that went on in the temple. The eminent men of Jerusalem, seeing this, were extremely angry; for it was contrary to tradition<sup>c</sup> for proceedings in the temple—and in particular the sacrifices—to be spied on. They therefore erected a high wall upon the arcade that was

Agrippa's  
addition to  
his palace.

<sup>a</sup> § 165.

<sup>b</sup> The Hasmonaeans; cf. *Ant.* xii. 265.

<sup>c</sup> The Ambrosian ms. and the Epitome add "and to the law"; but there does not appear to be anything contrary to Jewish law in what Agrippa did, however distasteful the Jews might have found it. The Mishnah, *Yoma* iii. 8, notes that on the Day of Atonement the people stood in the court of the temple and presumably saw the sacrifices. The only prohibition was on being in the temple itself when the priestly functions were performed.

192 ἦν ἐν τῷ ἔσωθεν ἱερῷ τετραμμένη πρὸς δύσιν. οὐ  
μόνον δὲ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τρικλίνου τὴν ἀποψιν οὗτος  
οἰκοδομηθεὶς ἀπετέμνετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς δυτικῆς  
στοᾶς τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἔξωθεν ἱερὸν οὔσης, ἔνθα τὰς  
φυλακὰς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἐποιοῦντο διὰ τὸ  
193 ἱερὸν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἠγανάκτησεν ὁ τε βασιλεὺς  
Ἀγρίππας, μάλιστα δὲ Φῆστος ὁ ἑπαρχος, καὶ  
προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς καθελεῖν. οἱ δὲ παρεκάλεσαν  
ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῖς δοῦναι πρεσβεῦσαι περὶ τούτου  
πρὸς Νέρωνα· ζῆν γὰρ οὐχ ὑπομένειν καθαιρεθέντος  
194 τινὸς μέρους τοῦ ἱεροῦ. συγχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ  
Φῆστου πέμπουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν πρὸς Νέρωνα τοὺς  
πρώτους δέκα καὶ Ἰσμάηλον τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ  
195 Ἐλκίαν τὸν γαζοφύλακα. Νέρων δὲ διακούσας  
αὐτῶν οὐ μόνον συνέγνω περὶ τοῦ πραχθέντος, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ συνεχώρησεν ἕαν οὕτως τὴν οἰκοδομίαν, τῇ  
γυναικὶ Ποππαία,<sup>1</sup> θεοσεβῆς γὰρ ἦν, ὑπὲρ τῶν  
Ἰουδαίων δεηθείση χαριζόμενος, ἢ τοῖς μὲν δέκα  
προσέταξεν ἀπιέναι,<sup>2</sup> τὸν δ' Ἐλκίαν καὶ τὸν Ἰσ-  
196 μάηλον ὀμηρεύσοντας παρ' ἑαυτῇ κατέσχεν. ὁ δὲ  
βασιλεὺς ταῦθ' ὡς ἐπύθετο δίδωσιν τὴν ἀρχιερω-

<sup>1</sup> Niese: Πομπηία codd.: Πομπαία E: Pompeiae Lat.:  
cf. Vita 16.

<sup>2</sup> ed. pr.: ἀπιέναι codd. E: redire Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps "because the temple itself was sacred," i.e.  
no non-Jew could be admitted to the inner temple.

<sup>b</sup> See § 179.

<sup>c</sup> Mistress (A.D. 58) and later (62) wife of Nero. When  
Josephus (Vita 16) came to Rome in 64 seeking the release  
from captivity of certain priests, he accomplished his mission  
through her intercession. Poppaea died in 65.

<sup>d</sup> Poppaea is usually identified (e.g. by R. H. Pfeiffer,

in the inner temple facing west. This when built  
blocked not only the view from the royal dining room  
but also that from the western portico of the outer  
temple, where the Romans used to post their guards  
at the festivals for the sake of supervising the temple.<sup>a</sup>  
At this King Agrippa was indignant, and still more  
Festus the procurator; the latter ordered them to  
pull it down. But they entreated him for permission  
to send an embassy on this matter to Nero; for, they  
said, they could not endure to live any longer if any  
portion of the temple was demolished. When Festus  
granted their request, they sent to Nero the ten  
foremost of their number with Ishmael<sup>b</sup> the high  
priest and Helcias the keeper of the treasury. Nero,  
after a full hearing, not only condoned what they  
had done, but also consented to leave the building as  
it was. In this he showed favour to his wife Poppaea,<sup>c</sup>  
who was a worshipper of God<sup>d</sup> and who pleaded on  
behalf of the Jews. She then bade the ten depart  
but detained Helcias and Ishmael in her house as  
hostages. The king, on hearing this, gave the high

The Jewish  
embassy to  
Nero about  
the wall  
built in the  
temple;  
Poppaea's  
interven-  
tion.

*History of New Testament Times*, 1949, p. 195) as a "sympathizer" with Judaism, i.e. one who observed certain Jewish practices and held certain Jewish beliefs without actually becoming a proselyte to Judaism. But the term θεοσεβῆς ("worshipper of God") which is here used does not necessarily identify Poppaea as a sympathizer in the technical sense. J. Klausner, *From Jesus to Paul*, 1943, p. 43, compares Poppaea with the Roman senator who was a "God-fearing man" and who, according to the *Midrash Rabbah on Deut. ii. 24*, committed suicide so as to nullify a decree against the Jews. But the senator is called a God-fearing man even before it is learned that he actually had been circumcised shortly before his death; and the term there used is a technical term for "sympathizer." Cf. my "Jewish 'Sympathizers' in Classical Literature and Inscriptions," *Trans. of the Am. Philol. Assoc.* lxxxii, 1950, pp. 200-208.

σύνην Ἰωσήπῳ τῷ Σίμωνος παιδί ἀρχιερέως ἐπι-  
καλουμένῳ δὲ Καβί.<sup>1</sup>  
197 (ix. 1) Πέμπει δὲ Καίσαρ Ἀλβίνον εἰς τὴν Ἰου-  
δαίαν ἑπαρχὸν Φήστον τὴν τελευταίαν πυθόμενος. ὁ  
δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀφείλετο μὲν τὸν Ἰώσηπον τὴν ἱερω-  
σύνην, τῷ δὲ Ἀνάου παιδί καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀνάου  
198 λεγομένῳ τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔδωκεν. τοῦτον  
δὲ φασὶ τὸν πρεσβύτατον Ἀνανὸν εὐτυχέστατον  
γενέσθαι· πέντε<sup>2</sup> γὰρ ἔσχε παῖδας καὶ τούτους πάν-  
τας συνέβη ἀρχιερατεῦσαι τῷ θεῷ, αὐτὸς πρότερος  
τῆς τιμῆς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀπολαύσας, ὅπερ οὐδενὶ  
199 συνέβη τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀρχιερέων. ὁ δὲ νεώτερος  
Ἀνανός, ὃν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἔφαμεν εἰληφέναι,  
θρασύς ἦν τὸν τρόπον καὶ τολμητῆς διαφερόντως,  
αἵρεσιν δὲ μετῆει τὴν Σαδδουκαίων, οἵπερ εἰσὶ  
περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ὡμοὶ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους,  
200 καθὼς ἤδη δεδηλώκαμεν. ἅτε δὴ οὖν τοιοῦτος ὢν  
ὁ Ἀνανός, νομίσας ἔχειν καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον διὰ τὸ  
τεθνάναι μὲν Φήστον, Ἀλβίνον δ' ἔτι κατὰ τὴν  
ὁδὸν ὑπάρχειν, καθίζει συνέδριον κριτῶν καὶ παρ-

<sup>1</sup> A: Καβεί MW: Κάμης Jos. Hypom. ap. Fabricium: Cadis Lat.: Καμί supra § 16, cf. § 103. <sup>2</sup> πέντε] om. Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps to be identified with the Joseph son of Simon who was sent to take command at Jericho at the beginning of the war against the Romans in A.D. 66 (*B.J.* ii. 567).

<sup>b</sup> Cf. the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 272.

<sup>c</sup> Luceius Albinus, appointed procurator c. A.D. 62. He arrived from Alexandria (§ 202), where he had perhaps held (see Stein, "Luceius" no. 11, Pauly-Wissowa, xiii, 1913, p. 1559) the position of prefect of the camp or prefect of the army. He later served as procurator of Mauretania Caesariensis, where he met his death (see Tac. *Hist.* ii. 58-59).

<sup>d</sup> In contrast with the very unfavourable picture of Ananus which is here given, compare the encomium in *B.J.* iv. 319-

priesthood to Joseph,<sup>a</sup> who was surnamed Kabi, son of the high priest Simon.

(ix. 1) <sup>b</sup> Upon learning of the death of Festus, Caesar sent Albinus <sup>c</sup> to Judæa as procurator. The king removed Joseph from the high priesthood, and bestowed the succession to this office upon the son of Ananus, who was likewise called Ananus.<sup>d</sup> It is said that the elder Ananus <sup>e</sup> was extremely fortunate. For he had five sons, all of whom, after he himself had previously enjoyed the office for a very long period, became high priests of God—a thing that had never happened to any other of our high priests. The younger Ananus, who, as we have said, had been appointed to the high priesthood, was rash in his temper and unusually daring. He followed the school of the Sadducees, who are indeed more heartless <sup>f</sup> than any of the other Jews, as I have already explained,<sup>g</sup> when they sit in judgement. Possessed of such a character, Ananus thought that he had a favourable opportunity because Festus was dead and Albinus was still on the way. And so he convened the judges of the Sanhedrin and brought before

Albinus is appointed procurator.

Ananus the high priest has James, the brother of Jesus, stoned.

321, which, as Thackeray says in his note *ad loc.*, makes him the veritable counterpart of Pericles. He is particularly praised for putting the public welfare above his private interests and for his skill both as a general and as an orator. His bravery in opposing the Zealots is described at length with obvious sympathy by Josephus in *B.J.* iv. 160 ff.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. note on *Ant.* xviii. 26.

<sup>f</sup> Or "savage."  
<sup>g</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xiii. 294, where King Hyrcanus, who had forsaken the Pharisees for the Sadducees, asks the Pharisees what penalty they thought Eleazar deserved for saying that Hyrcanus was unfit to be high priest because his mother had been a captive. They reply that he deserves merely stripes and chains; "for they do not think it right to sentence a man to death for calumny, and anyway the Pharisees are naturally lenient in the matter of punishments."

αγαγὼν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου  
 Χριστοῦ, Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, καὶ τινες ἑτέρους,  
 ὡς παρανομησάντων κατηγορίαν ποιησάμενος παρ-  
 201 ἔδωκε λευσθησομένους. ὅσοι δὲ ἐδόκουν ἐπιει-  
 κέστατοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καὶ περὶ τοὺς  
 νόμους ἀκριβεῖς βαρέως ἤνεγκαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ  
 πέμπουσιν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα κρύφα παρακαλοῦν-  
 τες αὐτὸν ἐπιστεῖλαι τῷ Ἀνάῳ μηκέτι τοιαῦτα  
 πράσσειν· μηδὲ γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν πε-  
 202 ποιηκέναι. τινὲς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν Ἀλβίνον ὑπαντι-  
 ἀζουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ὁδοιποροῦντα καὶ  
 διδάσκουσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἔξὸν ἦν Ἀνάῳ χωρὶς τῆς ἐκεί-  
 203 νου γνώμης καθίσαι συνέδριον. Ἀλβίνος δὲ πεισθεὶς  
 τοῖς λεγομένοις γράφει μετ' ὀργῆς τῷ Ἀνάῳ  
 λήψεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ δίκας ἀπειλῶν. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς  
 Ἀγρίππας διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφελόμενος  
 αὐτὸν ἄρξαντα μῆνας τρεῖς Ἰησοῦν τὸν τοῦ Δα-  
 μναίου<sup>1</sup> κατέστησεν.

204 (2) Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκεν ὁ Ἀλβίνος εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἱερο-  
 σολυμιτῶν πόλιν, πᾶσαν εἰσηνέγκατο σπουδῆν καὶ  
 πρόνοιαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν χώραν εἰρηνεύεσθαι τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> A: Δαμνέου MW: Δαμμαίου Eus.: Μνασέα Zonaras: Damnaei Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Unlike the passage on Jesus (*Ant.* xviii. 63-64), few have doubted the genuineness of this passage on James (on which see Schürer, i. 546). If it had been a Christian interpolation it would, in all probability, have been more laudatory of James. Hegesippus (quoted by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 23. 11-18) says that James was thrown down from the "pinnacle" of the temple, stoned, and finally killed by a fuller's club (cited by Thackeray, *Selections from Josephus*, p. 95).

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 63, where the mss. omit "called."

<sup>c</sup> i.e., as explained in § 202, in convening the Sanhedrin without Albinus' consent. Another possible translation is:

them a man named James,<sup>a</sup> the brother of Jesus who was called the Christ,<sup>b</sup> and certain others. He accused them of having transgressed the law and delivered them up to be stoned. Those of the inhabitants of the city who were considered the most fair-minded and who were strict in observance of the law were offended at this. They therefore secretly sent to King Agrippa urging him, for Ananus had not even been correct in his first step,<sup>c</sup> to order him to desist from any further such actions. Certain of them even went to meet Albinus, who was on his way from Alexandria, and informed him that Ananus had no authority to convene the Sanhedrin without his consent.<sup>d</sup> Convinced by these words, Albinus angrily wrote to Ananus threatening to take vengeance upon him. King Agrippa, because of Ananus' action, deposed him from the high priesthood which he had held for three months and replaced him with Jesus the son of Damnaeus.<sup>e</sup>

(2) When Albinus reached the city of Jerusalem, he bent every effort and made every provision to ensure peace in the land by exterminating most of

"for this was not the first time that Ananus had acted unjustly."

<sup>d</sup> F. Büchel, "Noch einmal: Zur Blutgerichtsbarkeit des Synedrions," *Zeitschr. f. d. Neutest. Wiss.* xxxiii, 1934, p. 86, conjectures from Albinus' anger that the high priests did not have the power to impose the death penalty during the period of the procurators.

<sup>e</sup> The sufferings that the Jews endured during the war against the Romans are said by Origen (*Cels.* i. 47) and Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 23) to have been ascribed by Josephus to God's vengeance for the death of James, but there is no such passage extant in Josephus. Origen and Eusebius may be thinking of Josephus' statement about the divine vengeance for the murder of John the Baptist by Herod (*Ant.* xviii. 116).

205 πολλοὺς<sup>1</sup> τῶν σικαρίων διαφθείρας. ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς  
 Ἀνανίας καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπὶ μέγα προὔκοπτε  
 δόξης καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν εὐνοίας τε καὶ  
 τιμῆς ἤξειοτο λαμπρῶς· ἦν γὰρ χρημάτων πορι-  
 στικός· καθ' ἡμέραν γοῦν τὸν Ἀλβίνου καὶ τὸν  
 206 ἀρχιερέα δώροις ἐθεράπευεν. εἶχεν δ' οἰκέτας πάντ  
 μοχθηροὺς, οἱ συναναστρεφόμενοι τοῖς θραυστάτοις  
 ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλwanas πορευόμενοι τὰς τῶν ἱερέων δέκα-  
 τας ἐλάμβανον βιαζόμενοι καὶ τοὺς μὴ δίδοντας  
 207 οὐκ ἀπέιχοντο τύπτειν, οἳ τε ἀρχιερεῖς<sup>2</sup> ὅμοια τοῖς  
 ἐκείνου δούλοις ἔπρασσον μηδενὸς κωλύειν δυνα-  
 μένου. καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τοὺς πάλαι ταῖς δεκάταις  
 τρεφομένους τότε συνέβαινε θνήσκειν τροφῆς ἀπο-  
 ρία.

208 (3) Πάλιν δ' οἱ σικάριοι κατὰ τὴν ἑορτήν, ἐνει-  
 στήκει γὰρ αὕτη, διὰ νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν πόλιν παρελ-  
 θόντες συλλαμβάνουσι ζῶντα τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ  
 στρατηγούτου Ἐλεαζάρου, παῖς δ' ἦν οὗτος  
 Ἀνανίου<sup>3</sup> τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ δήσαντες ἐξήγαγον.

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς πολλοὺς] A : πολλοὺς MWE : plurimos Lat.

<sup>2</sup> οἳ τε ἀρχιερεῖς] sed etiam alii pontifices Lat.

<sup>3</sup> A Lat. : Ἀνάου MWE.

<sup>a</sup> The estimates that Josephus gives of Albinus' work in *B.J.* ii. 272-276 and in the present passage disagree, chiefly in the omission from the former of Albinus' zeal in putting down the *sicarii*; but A. Momigliano, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* x, 1934, p. 855, concludes that Albinus initiated, in his brief term of office, a policy of mildness that caused him to be accused of corruption.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. §§ 103, 131.

<sup>c</sup> Or perhaps "had a flair for making money," a translation which leads S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine*, 1942, p. 182 n. 195, to suggest that he was perhaps nicknamed "Ben Nadbai," i.e. "the generous one," in ironic allusion to this avarice. But our passage indicates that Ananias had

the *sicarii*.<sup>a</sup> Now the high priest Ananias<sup>b</sup> daily advanced greatly in reputation and was splendidly rewarded by the goodwill and esteem of the citizens; for he was able to supply them with money<sup>c</sup>: at any rate he daily paid court with gifts to Albinus and the high priest.<sup>d</sup> But Ananias had servants who were utter rascals and who, combining operations with the most reckless men, would go to the threshing floors and take by force the tithes of the priests; nor did they refrain from beating those who refused to give. The high priests were guilty of the same practices as his slaves, and no one could stop them. So it happened at that time that those of the priests who in olden days were maintained by the tithes now starved to death.<sup>e</sup>

The influ-  
ence of the  
high priest  
Ananias.

(3) Once more the *sicarii* at the festival, for it was now going on, entered the city by night and kidnapped the secretary<sup>f</sup> of the captain<sup>g</sup> Eleazar<sup>h</sup>— he was the son of Ananias<sup>i</sup> the high priest—and led

*Sicarii* kid-  
nap the  
secretary of  
the captain  
Eleazar.

won popularity among the people, and it is hardly likely that greed would have done so. There is nothing, however, to prevent our taking the nickname literally and as a compliment.

<sup>a</sup> Jesus the son of Damnaeus.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. § 181.

<sup>f</sup> Or "officer," in which sense the term is found in Egyptian Greek, including the Septuagint (cf. G. A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 1901, p. 110, cited by H. A. Wolfson, *Philo*, ii, 1947, p. 345).

<sup>g</sup> Lit. "general," but presumably the reference is to the office of captain of the temple (see note on § 131).

<sup>h</sup> In *B.J.* ii. 409 he is described as a very daring youth who laid the foundation of the war against the Romans by persuading the priests to refuse the sacrifices that were offered on behalf of the emperor and of the Roman nation. Derenbourg, *op. cit.* p. 248 n. 1, identifies him with the Eleazar who was the high priest under the procurator Gratus (*Ant.* xviii. 34), but this identification is doubtful.

<sup>i</sup> Variant Ananus. Cf. Schürer, i. 584 n. 50.



- 209 εἶτα πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν Ἀνανίαν ἀπολύσειν ἔφασαν τὸν γραμματέα πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰ πείσειεν τὸν Ἀλβίνον δέκα δεσμώτας τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν ληφθέντας ἀπολύσαι. καὶ ὁ Ἀνανίας διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην πεί-
- 210 σας τὸν Ἀλβίνον τῆς ἀξιώσεως ἐπέτυχεν. τοῦτο μειζόνων κακῶν ἦρξεν· οἱ γὰρ λησταὶ παντοίως ἐπεμηχανῶντο τῶν Ἀνανίου τινὰς συλλαμβάνειν οἰκείων καὶ συνεχῶς ζωγροῦντες οὐκ ἀπέλυον πρὶν ἢ τινὰς τῶν σικαριῶν ἀπολάβοιεν γενόμεοί τε πάλιν ἀριθμὸς οὐκ ὀλίγος ἀναθαρρήσαντες τὴν χώραν ἄπασαν ἐκάκουν.
- 211 (4) Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας μείζονα τὴν Φιλίππου καλουμένην Καισάρειαν κατασκευάσας εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Νέρωνος Νερωνιάδα προσηγόρευσεν, καὶ Βηρυτίοις δὲ θέατρον ἀπὸ πολλῶν χρημάτων κατεσκευασμένον ταῖς κατ' ἔτος θεαῖς ἐδωρέιτο πολλὰς εἰς τοῦτο μυριάδας
- 212 ἀναλίσκων· σίτον γὰρ ἐδίδου τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἔλαιον διένεμεν<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δὲ πόλιν ἀνδριάντων ἀναθέσειν καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀποτύποις εἰκόσιν ἐκόσμηι καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν πάντα τὸν τῆς βασιλείας κόσμον ἐκεῖ μετήνεγκεν. μῖσος οὖν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἠϋξέτο διὰ τὸ περιαιρούμενον τὰ
- 213 ἐκείνων εἰς ξένην πόλιν κοσμεῖν. λαμβάνει δὲ καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Γαμαλιήλου τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰησοῦν ἀφελομένου

<sup>1</sup> σίτον . . . διένεμεν] frumenta namque populo copiosa et oleum opulenter exhibuit Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Or "household." <sup>b</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 28 and *B.J.* ii. 168.

<sup>c</sup> The name appears also on coins; cf. F. W. Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, 1864, p. 116, and *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, pp. 145-146.

him off in bonds. They then sent to Ananias saying that they would release the secretary to him if he would induce Albinus to release ten of their number who had been taken prisoner. Ananias under this constraint persuaded Albinus and obtained this request. This was the beginning of greater troubles; for the brigands contrived by one means or another to kidnap some of Ananias' staff<sup>a</sup> and would hold them in continuous confinement and refuse to release them until they had received in exchange some of the *sicarii*. When they had once more become not inconsiderable in number, they grew bold again and proceeded to harass every part of the land.

(4) At this time King Agrippa enlarged Caesarea Philippi,<sup>b</sup> as it is called, and renamed it Neronias<sup>c</sup> in honour of Nero. He furthermore built at great expense a theatre<sup>d</sup> for the people of Berytus and presented them with annual spectacles, spending many tens of thousands of drachmas upon this project. Moreover, he used to give the people grain and distribute olive oil. He also adorned the whole city by erecting statues, as well as replicas of ancient sculptures. He thus transferred to that place well-nigh all the ornaments of the kingdom. The hatred of his subjects for him consequently increased because he stripped them of their possessions to adorn a foreign city. And now the king deposed Jesus the son of Damnaeus from the high priesthood and appointed as his successor Jesus the son of Gamaliel. In conse-

Agrippa  
offends the  
Jews by his  
buildings  
and spec-  
tacles at  
Berytus.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xix. 335-336, which describes the special favours that Agrippa's father had likewise conferred upon Berytus, including a theatre "surpassing many others in its costly beauty," an amphitheatre, baths, and porticoes. Herod had also provided porticoes, temples, and a market-place for Berytus (*B.J.* i. 422).

τὸν τοῦ Δαμναίου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο στάσις αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγένετο· σύστημα γὰρ τῶν θραυστάτων ποιησάμενοι πολλάκις μέχρι λίθων βολῆς ἀπὸ τῶν βλασφημιῶν ἐξέπιπτον. ὑπερείχεν δὲ Ἀνανίας τῷ πλούτῳ προσαγόμενος τοὺς λαμβάνειν ἐτοιμούς.

214 Κοστόβαρος<sup>1</sup> δὲ καὶ Σαούλος<sup>2</sup> αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς μοχθηρὰ πλήθη συνήγον γένους μὲν ὄντες βασιλικοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν συγγένειαν εὐνοίας τυγχάνοντες, βίαιοι δὲ καὶ ἀρπάζειν τὰ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων ἐτοιμοί. ἐξ ἐκείνου μάλιστα τοῦ καιροῦ συνέβη τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν νοσεῖν προκοπτόντων πάντων ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον.

215 (5) Ὡς δ' ἤκουσεν Ἀλβίνος διάδοχον αὐτῷ Γέσιον Φλώρον ἀφικνεῖσθαι, βουλόμενος δοκεῖν τι τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις παρεσχῆσθαι προαγαγῶν<sup>3</sup> τοὺς δεσμώτας, ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν προδήλως θανεῖν ἄξιοι, τούτους προσέταξεν ἀναιρεθῆναι, τοὺς δ' ἐκ μικρᾶς καὶ τῆς τυχούσης αἰτίας εἰς τὴν εἰρκτὴν κατατεθέντας χρήματα λαμβάνων αὐτὸς ἀπέλυνεν. καὶ οὕτως ἡ μὲν φυλακὴ τῶν δεσμωτῶν ἐκαθάρθη, ἡ χώρα δὲ ληιστῶν ἐπληρώθη.

216 (6) Τῶν δὲ Λευιτῶν, φυλὴ<sup>4</sup> δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη, ὅσοι περ ἦσαν ὑμνωδοὶ πείθουσι τὸν βασιλέα καθίσαντα

<sup>1</sup> Custobarus Lat.

<sup>2</sup> i. marg. A: Σαλοῦς AM Exc. Peiresc.: Σαλοῦλος W: Σάλοους E: Saul Lat.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: producens Lat.: προαγαγῶν codd. E Exc. Peiresc.

quence, a feud arose between the latter and his predecessor. They each collected a band of the most reckless sort and it frequently happened that after exchanging insults they went further and hurled stones. Ananias, however, kept the upper hand by using his wealth to attract those who were willing to receive bribes. Costobar and Saul<sup>a</sup> also on their own part collected gangs of villains. They themselves were of royal lineage and found favour because of their kinship with Agrippa, but were lawless and quick to plunder the property of those weaker than themselves. From that moment particularly, sickness fell upon our city, and everything went steadily from bad to worse.

(5)<sup>b</sup> When Albinus heard that Gessius Florus<sup>c</sup> Albinus releases Jewish prisoners, thus filling the country with brigands was coming to succeed him, he sought to gain a name as one who had done some service to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. He therefore brought out those prisoners who clearly deserved to be put to death and sentenced them to execution, but released for a personal consideration those who had been cast into prison for a trifling and commonplace offence. Thus the prison was cleared of inmates and the land was infested with brigands.

(6) Those of the Levites—this is one of our tribes<sup>d</sup> Levite singers obtain permission to wear linen like priests.—who were singers of hymns urged the king to con-

<sup>a</sup> Costobar and Saul were brothers (*B.J.* ii. 556) who formed part of a delegation sent by the leading citizens to Agrippa in 66 (*B.J.* ii. 418) urging him to send troops to crush the incipient revolt of the Jewish revolutionaries. After the rout of Cestius, the Roman governor of Syria, they abandoned the city and joined the Roman forces (*B.J.* ii. 556).

<sup>b</sup> Cf. the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 273.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. §§ 252-258.

<sup>d</sup> Variant "this is a watch."

<sup>4</sup> MW: φυλακὴ A.

συνέδριον φορεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπίσης τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐπι-  
 τρέψαι λινῆν στολήν· πρέπειν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς τῆς  
 ἀρχῆς χρόνοις ἔφασκον ἀφ' ὧν μνημονευθήσεται  
 217 καινοποιεῖν. καὶ τῆς ἀξιώσεως οὐ διήμαρτον· ὁ  
 γὰρ βασιλεὺς μετὰ γνώμης τῶν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον  
 ἐποιχομένων συνεχώρησεν τοῖς ὑμνωδοῖς ἀποθε-  
 μένους τὴν προτέραν ἐσθήτα φορεῖν λινῆν ὅτιαν  
 218 ἠθέλησαν. μέρους δέ τινος τῆς φυλῆς λειτουργοῦν-  
 τος κατὰ τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τούτοις ἐπέτρεψεν τοὺς  
 ὕμνους ἐκμαθεῖν, ὡς παρεκάλουν. πάντα δ' ἦν  
 ἐναντία ταῦτα τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις,<sup>1</sup> ὧν παραβα-  
 θέντων οὐκ ἐνῆν μὴ οὐχὶ δίκας ὑποσχεῖν.  
 219 (7) "Ἦδη δὲ τότε καὶ τὸ ἱερόν ἐτετέλεστο. βλέ-  
 πων οὖν ὁ δῆμος ἀργήσαντας τοὺς τεχνίτας ὑπὲρ  
 μυρίου καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίου ὄντας καὶ μισθοφορίας  
 ἐνδεεῖς ἐσομένους διὰ τὴν τροφήν ἐκ τῆς κατὰ  
 220 τὸ ἱερόν ἐργασίας κομίζεσθαι,<sup>2</sup> καὶ χρήματα μὲν  
 ἀπόθετα διὰ τὸν ἐκ Ῥωμαίων φόβον ἔχειν οὐ  
 θέλων, προνοούμενος δὲ τῶν τεχνιτῶν καὶ εἰς τού-  
 τους ἀναλοῦν τοὺς θησαυροὺς βουλόμενος, καὶ γὰρ  
 εἰ μίαν τις ὥραν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐργάσαιτο, τὸν μισθὸν

<sup>1</sup> A: om. MWE.

<sup>2</sup> A: πορίζεσθαι MW.

<sup>a</sup> See Wolfson, *op. cit.* ii. 346, who appositely notes that the first judges and officers were appointed by Moses, who is regarded in both the Jewish tradition and in Philo as a king, and that it was he who thus fulfilled the Biblical commandment: "Judges and officers shalt thou make thee in all thy gates" (Deut. xvi. 18). Thus Agrippa, in convening the Sanhedrin, was simply exercising the Scriptural prerogative to appoint judges.

<sup>b</sup> The Levites were divided into two groups, the "singers"

vene the Sanhedrin<sup>a</sup> and get them permission to wear linen robes on equal terms with the priests, maintaining that it was fitting that he should introduce, to mark his reign, some innovation by which he would be remembered. Nor did they fail to obtain their request; for the king, with the consent of those who attended the Sanhedrin, allowed the singers of hymns to discard their former robes and to wear linen ones such as they wished. A part of the tribe that served in the temple were also permitted to learn the hymns by heart,<sup>b</sup> as they had requested. All this was contrary to the ancestral laws, and such transgression was bound to make us liable to punishment.

(7) Just now, too, the temple had been completed. The people therefore saw that the workmen, numbering over eighteen thousand, were out of work and would be deprived of pay, for they earned their living by working on the temple. Moreover, owing to their fear of the Romans, they did not want to have any money that was kept on deposit. Hence, out of regard for the workmen and choosing to expend their treasures upon them—for if anyone worked for but one hour of the day, he at once received his pay for and the "gate-keepers," as indicated in their separate enumeration in Ezra ii. 41-42 (see Rashi's comment *ad loc.*), vii. 7, x. 24, and in Nehemiah x. 28. Membership in each of these groups was gained by birth. There was a sharp division between them, the singers being regarded as lower in rank, as is indicated by the Talmud, *Arakin* 11 b, in which Abaye says that according to tradition a singing Levite who did his colleague's work at the gate actually incurs the penalty of death. But in any case all the rabbis agree that a transgression is involved. On the background of the dispute see the exhaustive study by H. Vogelstein, *Der Kampf zwischen Priestern und Leviten*, 1889; and, more briefly, R. Meyer, "Levitishe Emanzipationsbestrebungen in nachexilischer Zeit," *Orient. Literaturzeit.* xli, 1938, pp. 721-728, esp. 727.

Completion of the temple; work found for the idle workmen.

ὑπὲρ ταύτης εὐθέως ἐλάμβανεν, ἔπειθον τὸν βασιλέα  
 221 τὴν ἀνατολικὴν στοᾶν ἀνεγείραι. ἦν δὲ ἡ στοὰ τοῦ  
 μὲν ἕξωθεν ἱεροῦ, κειμένη δ' ἐν φάραγγι βαθείᾳ  
 τετρακοσίων πηχῶν τοὺς τοίχους ἔχουσα ἐκ λίθου  
 τετραγώνου κατεσκευάστο καὶ λευκοῦ πάνυ, τὸ μὲν  
 μήκος ἐκάστου λίθου πῆχεις εἴκοσι, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἕξ,  
 ἔργον Σολόμωνος τοῦ βασιλέως πρώτου δειμαμένου  
 222 τὸ σύμπαν ἱερόν. ὁ βασιλεὺς δ', ἐπιπίστευτο ἰγάρ  
 ὑπὸ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ,  
 λογισάμενος παντὸς μὲν ἔργου τὴν καθαίρεισιν εἶναι  
 ῥαδίαν δυσχερῆ δὲ τὴν κατασκευήν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς  
 στοᾶς ταύτης καὶ μᾶλλον, χρόνου τε γὰρ καὶ πολ-  
 λῶν χρημάτων εἰς τοῦργον δεήσειν, ἠρνήσατο μὲν  
 περὶ τούτου δεομένοις, καταστορέσαι δὲ λευκῶ  
 223 λίθῳ τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν. Ἰησοῦν δὲ τὸν τοῦ  
 Γαμαλιήλου τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφελόμενος ἔδωκεν  
 αὐτὴν Μαθθίᾳ τῷ Θεοφίλου, καθ' ὃν καὶ ὁ πρὸς  
 Ῥωμαίους πόλεμος Ἰουδαίους ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν.<sup>1</sup>  
 224 (x. 1) Ἀναγκαῖον δ' εἶναι νομίζω καὶ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ  
 ταύτῃ προσῆκον διηγησασθαι περὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων,  
 πῶς ἀρξάμενοι καὶ τίσιν ἕξεσι τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης  
 225 μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ πόσοι γεγόνασιν μέχρι τῆς τοῦ  
 πολέμου τελευτῆς. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πάντων λέγου-  
 σιν Ἀαρῶνα τὸν Μωυσέως ἀδελφόν ἀρχιερατεῦσαι  
 τῷ θεῷ, τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου διαδέξασθαι τοὺς  
 226 παῖδας εὐθύς κατ' ἐκείνων τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτῶν  
 διαμεῖναι τὴν τιμὴν ἅπασιν. ὅθεν καὶ πατρίον ἔστι  
<sup>1</sup> Ἰουδαίους . . . ἀρχήν] ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς Ἰουδαίους καὶ ἐπὶ  
 μέγα προκεχωρήκει E.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Deut. xxiv. 15: "In the same day thou shalt give him his hire, neither shall the sun go down upon it." See also the Talmudic discussion in *Baba Mezia* 111 a. Cf. Matt.

this <sup>a</sup>—, they urged the king to raise the height of the east portico. This portico was part of the outer temple, and was situated in a deep ravine. It had walls four hundred cubits <sup>b</sup> long and was constructed of square stones, completely white, each stone being twenty cubits long and six high. <sup>c</sup> This was the work of King Solomon, who was the first to build the whole temple. The king, who had been appointed by Claudius Caesar to be curator of the temple, reasoned that it is always easy to demolish a structure but hard to erect one, and still more so in the case of this portico, for the work would take time and a great deal of money. He therefore refused this request of theirs; but he did not veto the paving of the city with white stone. He also deprived Jesus the son of Gamaliel of the high priesthood and gave it to Matthias the son of Theophilus, under whom the war of the Jews with the Romans began.

(x. 1) Now I think it necessary and befitting in this history to give a detailed account of the high priests—how they began, who may lawfully participate in this office, and how many there were up to the end of the war. <sup>d</sup> It is said that Aaron the brother of Moses was the first to act as high priest to God, that after his death his sons at once succeeded him, and that thereafter the office remained permanently with all their descendants. Wherefore it is also a tradition

Enumera-  
tion of the  
high priests  
until the  
first temple.

xx. 8, where, when evening comes, the owner of the vineyard says to his steward: "Call the labourers and pay them their wages."

<sup>b</sup> 586 feet.

<sup>c</sup> About 29 feet long and 8·8 feet high.

<sup>d</sup> That Josephus' account of the high priests here is not a mere summary of his previous accounts can be seen from divergencies and new facts added in the present listing.

μηδένα τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην λαμβάνειν ἢ τὸν  
 ἐξ αἵματος τοῦ Ἀαρῶνος, ἑτέρου δὲ γένους οὐδ' ἂν  
 227 βασιλεὺς ὢν τύχη τεύξεται τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης. ἐγέν-  
 οντο οὖν πάντες τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀπὸ Ἀαρῶνος, ὡς  
 ἔφαμεν, τοῦ πρώτου γενομένου μέχρι Φανάσου<sup>1</sup> τοῦ  
 228 ἀναδειχθέντος ὀγδοήκοντα τρεῖς. ἐκ τούτων κατὰ  
 τὴν ἔρημον ἐπὶ τῶν Μωυσέως χρόνων τῆς σκηνῆς  
 ἐστῶσης, ἦν Μωυσῆς τῷ θεῷ κατασκεύασεν, μέχρι  
 τῆς εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἀφίξεως, ἔνθα Σολόμων ὁ βα-  
 σιλεὺς τῷ θεῷ τὸν ναὸν ἤγειρεν, ἀρχιεράτευσαν  
 229 δεκατρεῖς. τὸ γὰρ πρῶτον ἕως τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς  
 τὰς ἀρχιερωσύνας εἶχον, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ παρὰ ζών-  
 των διεδέχοντο. οἱ τοίνυν δεκατρεῖς οὗτοι τῶν δύο  
 παίδων Ἀαρῶνος ὄντες ἑγγονοὶ κατὰ διαδοχὴν τὴν  
 τιμὴν παρελάμβανον. ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτῶν<sup>2</sup> ἀριστο-  
 κρατικὴ μὲν ἢ πρώτη πολιτεία, μετὰ ταύτην δὲ  
 230 μοναρχία, βασιλείων δὲ τρίτη. γίνεται δὲ τῶν ἐτῶν

<sup>1</sup> γρ ἐν ἄλλοις Φηνάσου i. marg. A : Φινέσου E : Finasum  
 Lat. : Φαννί aut Φαννίτης B.J. iv. 155.

<sup>2</sup> δὲ αὐτῶν] codd. E Phot. : autem Hebreorum Lat. : δ' ἐπ'  
 αὐτῶν coni. Niese.

<sup>a</sup> Variants Phenasus, Phineesus, Finasus. In *B.J.* iv. 155  
 he is called Phanni (or Phannites) the son of Samuel. He  
 was chosen by lot by the Zealots and is said not only not to  
 have been descended from high priests but also to have been  
 such a clown as not to have any conception of what the high  
 priesthood meant.

<sup>b</sup> According to Bab. *Yoma* 9 a, there were more than three  
 hundred high priests during the period of the second temple  
 alone. The Palestinian *Yoma* i. 1 says that the number is  
 between eighty and eighty-five.

<sup>c</sup> In his narrative in the earlier books of the *Antiquities*,  
 Josephus likewise enumerates thirteen : Aaron, Eleazar,

that none should hold God's high priesthood save  
 him who is of Aaron's blood, and that no one of  
 another lineage, even if he happened to be a king,  
 should attain to the high priesthood. The total  
 number of the high priests beginning with Aaron,  
 who, as I have said, was the first, up to Phanasus,<sup>a</sup>  
 who during the war was appointed high priest by the  
 revolutionary party, is eighty-three.<sup>b</sup> Of these,  
 thirteen<sup>c</sup> served as high priests from the sojourn in  
 the wilderness in the time of Moses, when the taber-  
 nacle was standing which Moses constructed for God,  
 until the arrival in Judaea, when King Solomon  
 erected the temple to God. At first they held the  
 high priesthoods for life, but afterwards succeeded to  
 it during the lifetime of their predecessors. These  
 thirteen consequently, being descendants of Aaron's  
 two sons, received the office in succession. Their<sup>d</sup>  
 first constitution<sup>e</sup> was an aristocracy, then followed  
 monarchy,<sup>f</sup> and thirdly came the rule of the kings.

Phinees, Abiezer, Bokki, Ozis, Eli (v. 361-362), Jesus (viii.  
 12), Achias (vi. 107), Achitob (vi. 122), Abimelech (vi. 242),  
 Sadok (vii. 110), and Abiathar (vii. 110). Jesus (viii. 12),  
 however, is perhaps to be identified with Abiezer (so Marcus,  
 note *ad loc.*).

<sup>d</sup> The Jews'.

<sup>e</sup> Under Moses and Joshua (*Ant.* vi. 84). In his previous  
 enumeration of the Jewish constitutions Josephus notes that  
 after Joshua's death there was anarchy for eighteen years  
 (*ibid.*).

<sup>f</sup> Presumably the rule of the Judges, who are represented  
 as ruling one at a time. This is clear from *Ant.* xi. 112,  
 where Josephus says that during this period the Jews were  
 ruled by "men called judges and monarchs." Cf. *Ant.* vi.  
 85, where Josephus says that during this interval the nation  
 returned to an aristocratic rule, "entrusting supreme judicial  
 authority to him who in battle and in bravery had proved  
 himself the best; and that is why they called this period of  
 their political life the age of Judges."

ἀριθμὸς ὧν ἤρξαν οἱ δεκατρεῖς ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐξέλιπον Αἴγυπτον Μωυσέως ἄγοντος μέχρι τῆς τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευῆς, ὃν Σολόμων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνήγειρεν, ἔτη δώδεκα πρὸς τοῖς ἑξακοσίοις.

231 (2) Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς δεκατρεῖς ἀρχιερέας ἐκείνους οἱ δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἔσχον ἀπὸ Σολόμωνος βασιλέως ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις αὐτὴν διαδεξάμενοι, μέχρι οὗ Ναβουχοδονόσορος ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς ἐπιστρατεύσας τῇ πόλει τὸν μὲν ναὸν ἐνέπρησεν, τὸ δὲ ἔθνος ἡμῶν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα μετήνεγκεν καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἰωσαδάκην<sup>1</sup> αἰχ-  
232 μάλωτον ἔλαβεν. τούτων χρόνος τῆς ἱερωσύνης τετρακοσίων<sup>2</sup> ἑξήκονταἕξ ἔτων ἐστὶ μνηῶν ἑξ ἡμε-  
233 ρῶν δέκα ἢδη βασιλευμένων Ἰουδαίων. μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ἔτων ἀλώσεως ἑβδομήκοντα τῆς ὑπὸ Βαβυλωνίων γενομένης Κῦρος ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἀπέλυσεν τοὺς ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος Ἰουδαίους ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν γῆν πάλιν καὶ συνεχώρησεν τὸν ναὸν ἀν-  
234 εγεῖραι. τότε δὴ τῶν ὑποστρεψάντων αἰχμαλώτων Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ἰωσεδέκ εἰς ὧν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην

<sup>1</sup> MW: Ἰωσεδέκην, ε utrumque ex a corr. A: Iosedec Lat.: Ἰωσεδέκ Photius habuisse vid. nunc corruptus.

<sup>2</sup> W: τριακοσίων AM Phot.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Ap.* ii. 19, which also gives 612 years from the Exodus to the building of Solomon's temple. In *Ant.* viii. 61 Josephus gives 592 years. The Bible (1 Kings vi. 1) has 480.

<sup>b</sup> According to *Ant.* x. 152-153, the number is seventeen; cf. Marcus' note *ad loc.* The Talmud, *Yoma* 9 a, agrees with

The number of years during which the thirteen held office from the day when our fathers left Egypt under the leadership of Moses down to the building of the temple which King Solomon erected in Jerusalem was six hundred and twelve.<sup>a</sup>

(2) After these thirteen high priests, eighteen<sup>b</sup> others held the high priesthood in succession from the time of Solomon, who was king in Jerusalem, until the time when Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, led his army against the city, set fire to the temple and carried away our nation to Babylon, taking prisoner the high priest Josadakes.<sup>c</sup> The period covered by the high priesthood of these men was four hundred and sixty-six years,<sup>d</sup> six months, and ten days, during which time the Jews were now governed by kings. After a period of seventy<sup>e</sup> years of captivity under the Babylonians, Cyrus, king of the Persians, freed the Jews from Babylon and permitted them to return to their own land and to rebuild the temple. At that time Jesus<sup>f</sup> son of Josedek,<sup>g</sup> who was one of the captives who returned,<sup>h</sup>

Josephus in stating that there were eighteen high priests during the period of the first temple.

<sup>a</sup> Biblical Jehozadak (Jozadak, Josedech). Cf. *Ant.* x. 150 and 153, where the name is spelled Josadacos, and xi. 73, where it is spelled Josedekos.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. note on *Ant.* x. 147 (470 years, six months, ten days). Josephus carelessly subtracts four years from the duration of the temple instead of adding; the total should be 474 years, six months, and ten days. The Talmud, *Yoma* 9 a, says that the first temple stood for 410 years.

<sup>c</sup> So also *Ant.* xi. 1.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xi. 73 ff.

<sup>e</sup> This is the Josadakes who is mentioned above (§ 231) as having been taken prisoner by the Babylonians.

<sup>f</sup> The Epitome has "Jesus, son of Josedek, who had been taken captive, being one of those who returned."

λαμβάνει.<sup>1</sup> λαμβάνει δ' οὗτος αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἔγγονοι  
αὐτοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα συνάπαντες μέχρι βασιλέως  
'Αντιόχου τοῦ Εὐπάτορος, ἐπολιτεύοντο δὲ δημο-  
κρατικῶς ἔτη τετρακόσια<sup>2</sup> δεκατέσσαρα.

235 (3) Πρῶτος δ' Ἀντίοχος ὁ προειρημένους καὶ ὁ  
στρατηγὸς αὐτοῦ Λυσίας τὸν Ὀνίαν, ᾧ Μενέλαος  
ἐπικλήν, παύουσι τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἀνελόντες  
αὐτὸν ἐν Βεροίᾳ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τῆς διαδοχῆς ἀπελά-  
σαντες<sup>3</sup> καθιστᾶσιν Ἰάκιμον<sup>4</sup> ἀρχιερέα, γένους μὲν  
236 τοῦ Ἀαρῶνος, οὐκ ὄντα δὲ τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης. διὰ

<sup>1</sup> τότε δὴ . . . λαμβάνει] τότε τῶν ὑποστρεψάντων εἰς ὧν ὁ τοῦ  
αἰχμαλωτισθέντος Ἰωσαδάκου παῖς Ἰησοῦς λαμβάνει τὴν ἀρχ-  
ιερωσύνην E : εἰς ὧν τῶν ἀναχθέντων αἰχμαλώτων λαμβάνει τὴν  
ἀρχιερωσύνην Phot. : captivis igitur remeantibus Sison pontifi-  
catum sumpsit Lat.

<sup>2</sup> τριακόσια E.

<sup>3</sup> τὸν παῖδα . . . ἀπελάσαντες] AE Phot. p. 52 : om. MW  
Phot. p. 317.

<sup>4</sup> Ἰωάκειμον E : Joachim Lat.

<sup>a</sup> 164/163 B.C. Cf. *Ant.* xii. 360-361.

<sup>b</sup> If Josephus is counting from the return from Babylon  
(537 B.C.) until Antiochus Eupator, the number should be  
373, if from the beginning of the captivity it should be 443 ;  
if he is reckoning from the end of the captivity and in accord-  
ance with the chronology implicit in *B.J.* i. 70, it should be  
411, if in accordance with the chronology implicit in *Ant.*  
xiii. 301 it should be 421. In *Ant.* xiii. 301 Josephus says  
that Aristobulus I transformed the government into a king-  
dom ; if Josephus regards the democracy as having extended

assumed the office of high priest. He and his descen-  
dants, fifteen in all, held the office until the reign of  
Antiochus Eupator<sup>a</sup> ; and for four hundred and four-  
teen years<sup>b</sup> they lived under a democratic<sup>c</sup> form of  
government.

(3) The aforesaid Antiochus and his general Lysias  
were the first<sup>d</sup> to depose anyone from the high priest-  
hood. This they did in the case of Onias,<sup>e</sup> surnamed  
Menelaus ; for they put him to death<sup>f</sup> at Beroea,<sup>g</sup>  
excluded his son from the succession, and appointed  
as high priest Jacimus,<sup>h</sup> who was of Aaron's line but  
not of the same family as Onias.<sup>i</sup> In consequence of

from the end of the captivity until the beginning of his reign  
(104 B.C.), the number should be 433 (Josephus there actually  
gives 481, and in *B.J.* i. 70 gives 471).

<sup>c</sup> Contrast *Ant.* xi. 111, where Josephus says that the form  
of government from the return until the Hasmonaean kings  
was a mixture of aristocracy and oligarchy, with the high  
priests at the head of the people.

<sup>d</sup> But according to *Ant.* xii. 237-241 and xv. 41, it was  
Antiochus Epiphanes, the father of Antiochus Eupator, who  
first deposed a high priest, for he removed Jesus (Jason) the  
son of Simon from this office and replaced him with Onias  
(Menelaus), who is the Onias here mentioned as having been  
murdered by order of Antiochus Eupator and Lysias.

<sup>e</sup> In *Ant.* xii. 384-385, however, Lysias advises Eupator to  
put Menelaus to death in order to keep the Jews quiet, since  
it was Menelaus, he says, who had caused all the trouble for  
Epiphanes by persuading him to force the Jews to give up  
their ancestral religion. The implication is, therefore, that  
his removal was justified.

<sup>f</sup> See *Ant.* xii. 383-385.

<sup>g</sup> Aleppo in Syria. Cf. *Ant.* xii. 385. It was so called by  
Seleucus Nicator in remembrance of the Macedonian city of  
the same name.

<sup>h</sup> The Hebrew equivalent (*i.e.* Joachim) of Alcimus (*Ant.*  
xii. 385, where the name is spelled Ἰάκιμος in some mss., as in  
the Epitome here).

<sup>i</sup> So also *Ant.* xii. 387.

τοῦτο καὶ Ὀνίας<sup>1</sup> ὁ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος Ὀνίου  
 ἐξάδελφος ὁμώνυμος τῷ πατρὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς  
 Αἴγυπτον καὶ διὰ φιλίας ἀφικόμενος Πτολεμαίῳ  
 τῷ Φιλομήτορι καὶ Κλεοπάτρα τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ,  
 πείθει τούτους κατὰ τὸν Ἡλιοπολίτην<sup>2</sup> νομὸν<sup>3</sup> δει-  
 μαμένους τῷ θεῷ ναὸν παραπλήσιον τῷ ἐν Ἱερο-  
 237 σολύμοις αὐτὸν ἀρχιερέα καταστήσαι. ἀλλὰ περὶ  
 μὲν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ κατασκευασθέντος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ  
 πολλάκις ἐδηλώσαμεν.<sup>4</sup> ὁ δὲ Ἰάκιμος ἔτη τρία τὴν  
 ἀρχιερωσύνην κατασχὼν ἐτελεύτησεν. διεδέξατο  
 δ' αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ διετέλεσεν ἡ πόλις ἑνιαυ-  
 238 τοὺς ἑπτὰ χωρὶς ἀρχιερέως οὔσα. πάλιν δὲ οἱ τῶν  
 Ἀσαμωναίου παίδων ἔγγονοι τὴν προστασίαν τοῦ  
 ἔθνους πιστευθέντες καὶ πολεμηθέντες καὶ<sup>5</sup> πολεμη-

<sup>1</sup> Niese: Ἀνανίας A Phot.: ὁ Ἀνανίας MW: νεανίας E:  
 Ananias Lat.: ὁ Ὀνίας Hudson.

<sup>2</sup> A: Ἡλιουπολίτην MWE Phot.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: νόμον codd. E Lat.

<sup>4</sup> ἀλλὰ περὶ . . . ἐδηλώσαμεν om. E Phot.

<sup>5</sup> πολεμηθέντες καὶ A: om. MWE.

<sup>a</sup> V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, 1959, p. 277, remarks that since Onias fled to Egypt during a period (c. 162-160 B.C.) when the temple was once again functioning properly so that even the Hasidim recognized Alcimus as high priest, his motive in leaving Palestine could not have been to create a replacement for the desecrated temple. But Tcherikover neglects what appears to be the real reason, namely, the one given here, that Onias was discontented with having the high priesthood pass out of the hands of his family. Once he had arrived in Egypt, Onias may have found other reasons for establishing a temple, namely, a desire for personal glory (*Ant.* xiii. 63), a desire to build a place where Egyptian Jews could gather and pray for the welfare of the Egyptian rulers (xiii. 67), or a desire to

this,<sup>a</sup> Onias,<sup>b</sup> who was the nephew<sup>c</sup> of the deceased Onias and who bore the same name as his father,<sup>d</sup> made his way to Egypt, where he won the friendship of Ptolemy Philometor<sup>e</sup> and Cleopatra his queen, and persuaded them to build a temple to God in the nome of Heliopolis,<sup>f</sup> similar to the one at Jerusalem, and to appoint him high priest. I have, however, frequently<sup>g</sup> told the story of the temple that was constructed in Egypt. Now Jacimus died after holding the high priesthood for three years.<sup>h</sup> No one succeeded him; and the city continued for seven years without a high priest.<sup>i</sup> Then the descendants of the sons of Asamoniaios, entrusted with the leadership of the nation, after war had been waged against

The Has-  
monaeans  
high  
priests.

build a shrine for the Jewish military colony at Leontopolis (so Tcherikover, pp. 278-280).

<sup>b</sup> Onias IV.

<sup>c</sup> So also *Ant.* xii. 387.

<sup>d</sup> From this account, as from *Ant.* xii. 237-238, it would appear that both Onias' father and the latter's brother were named Onias. S. Krauss, "Onias III," *Jewish Ency.* ix, 1905, p. 403, suggests that this confusion may have arisen from the Greek transcription of the related names, Johanan, Honya, and Nehonya. From the account in *B.J.* vii. 423, which mentions the name of Onias' father as Simon, it appears that the temple was built by Onias III, the father of Onias IV.

<sup>e</sup> Reigned between 182 and 146 B.C.

<sup>f</sup> At Leontopolis, probably to be identified with modern Tell el-Yehudiyeh, at the southern end of the Nile Delta.

<sup>g</sup> *Ant.* xii. 387-388, xiii. 62-73, 285; *B.J.* i. 33, vii. 422-432.

<sup>h</sup> Four years in *Ant.* xii. 413, where part of a year is counted as a full year.

<sup>i</sup> Contrast *Ant.* xii. 434, which records that after the death of Jacimus, Judas the Maccabee served as high priest for three years. But there was an interval of seven years (not four, as stated in *Ant.* xiii. 46) between the death of Judas in 159 B.C. and the assumption of the high priesthood by Johathan in 152 B.C. (1 Macc. x. 21).



σαντες Μακεδόσιν Ἰωνάθην ἀρχιερέα καθιστάσιν, ὃς  
 239 ἦρξεν ἐνιαυτοὺς ἑπτὰ. τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἐξ ἐπιβου-  
 λῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνέδρας τῆς ὑπὸ Τρύφωνος μηχανη-  
 θείσης, ὡς ἀνωτέρω πον προειρηκάμεν, λαμβάνει  
 240 τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Σίμων ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ. καὶ τοῦ-  
 τον δὲ δόλω παρὰ συμπόσιον ὑπὸ τοῦ γαμβροῦ  
 διαφθαρέντα διεδέξατο παῖς Ἵρκανὸς ὄνομα ὃν  
 κατασχόντα τὴν ἱερωσύνην πλείονα τὰδελφοῦ χρό-  
 νον ἐνιαυτῶ, τριακονταὲν ἔτη τῆς τιμῆς Ἵρκανὸς  
 ἀπολαύσας τελευτᾷ γηραιὸς Ἰούδα τῶ καὶ Ἀριστο-  
 241 βούλῳ κληθέντι τὴν διαδοχὴν καταλιπών. κληρο-  
 νομεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἀδελφὸς<sup>1</sup> Ἀλέξανδρος, ὑπὸ  
 νόσου μὲν τελευτήσαντα, τὴν ἱερωσύνην δὲ κατα-  
 σχόντα μετὰ βασιλείας, καὶ γὰρ διάδημα πρῶτος  
 περιέθετο ὁ Ἰούδας, ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα.  
 242 (4) Βασιλεύσας δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἱερατεύσας  
 ἔτη εἰκοσιεπτὰ καταστρέφει τὸν βίον Ἀλεξάνδρα  
 τῇ γυναικὶ καταστήσαι τὸν ἀρχιερατευσόμενον ἐπι-  
 τρέψας. ἡ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ἵρκανῶ δίδω-  
 σιν, αὐτῇ δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔτη ἑννέα κατασχούσα  
 τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον· τὸν ἴσον δὲ χρόνον τὴν ἀρχιερω-

<sup>1</sup> ἀδελφός] ἀδελφὸς βασιλεὺς E.

<sup>a</sup> According to *Ant.* xiii. 45-46, it is not the Hasmonaeans but Alexander Balas, the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, who named Jonathan as high priest.

<sup>b</sup> Four years according to *Ant.* xiii. 212. Both figures are incorrect: Jonathan was high priest for ten years, from 152 to 143/142 B.C. See Marcus' note on *Ant.* xiii. 212.

<sup>c</sup> *Ant.* xiii. 187-212; the story is also told briefly in *B.J.* i. 49.

<sup>d</sup> *Ant.* xiii. 213.

<sup>e</sup> *Ant.* xiii. 228.

<sup>f</sup> Named Ptolemy (*ibid.*).

<sup>g</sup> So also *Ant.* xiii. 228. Simon served from 142 to 135 B.C.

<sup>h</sup> *Ant.* xiii. 230.

them and they had taken the offensive against the Macedonians, resumed the tradition, appointing as high priest Jonathan,<sup>a</sup> who held office for seven years.<sup>b</sup> When he was killed by a plot and ambush devised by Tryphon, as I have already described somewhere in the preceding narrative,<sup>c</sup> his brother Simon<sup>d</sup> obtained the high priesthood. Simon likewise was killed<sup>e</sup> craftily by his son-in-law<sup>f</sup> at a banquet after he had held the high priesthood one year longer than his brother.<sup>g</sup> He was succeeded by his son named Hyrcanus,<sup>h</sup> who, after enjoying the office for thirty-one years, died in old age,<sup>i</sup> leaving the succession to Judas,<sup>j</sup> also called Aristobulus. Judas died of illness after having held the high priesthood for one year<sup>k</sup> together with the kingship, for Judas also put the diadem upon his head for a single year, being the first<sup>l</sup> to hold both offices. His heir was his brother Alexander.<sup>m</sup>

(4) Alexander departed this life after holding the kingship and the high priesthood for twenty-seven years,<sup>n</sup> entrusting his wife Alexandra<sup>o</sup> with the appointment of a successor to the latter office. She gave the high priesthood to Hyrcanus<sup>p</sup> and herself occupied the throne for nine years,<sup>q</sup> after which she died; her son Hyrcanus held the high priesthood for

<sup>i</sup> The earlier account, *Ant.* xiii. 299, omits the fact that Hyrcanus lived to an old age. His rule lasted from 135 to 105 B.C.

<sup>j</sup> The alternate name, Judas, is a new detail not found in the earlier account, *Ant.* xiii. 301-319, where he is called simply Aristobulus.

<sup>k</sup> 104-103 B.C.; so also *Ant.* xiii. 318.

<sup>l</sup> So also *Ant.* xiii. 301. <sup>m</sup> Jannaeus. *Ant.* xiii. 320.

<sup>n</sup> From 103 to 76 B.C. So also *Ant.* xiii. 404.

<sup>o</sup> So also *Ant.* xiii. 407.

<sup>p</sup> *Ant.* xiii. 408.

<sup>q</sup> 76 to 67 B.C. So also *Ant.* xiii. 430.

243 σύννην ὁ παῖς αὐτῆς Ὑρκανὸς ἔσχεν· μετὰ γὰρ τὸν  
θάνατον αὐτῆς πολεμήσας πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφὸς  
Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ νικήσας ἀφαιρεῖται μὲν ἐκείνον  
τὴν ἀρχὴν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐβασίλευέ τε καὶ ἀρχιεράτευεν  
244 τοῦ ἔθνους. ἔτει δὲ τρίτῳ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ πρὸς  
μησὶν τοῖς ἴσοις Πομπήϊος ἐλθὼν καὶ τὴν τῶν  
Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος ἐλὼν αὐτὸν μὲν  
εἰς Ῥώμην μετὰ τῶν τέκνων<sup>1</sup> δήσας ἐπέμψεν, τῷ  
δ' Ὑρκανῷ πάλιν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀποδοὺς τὴν  
μὲν τοῦ ἔθνους προστασίαν ἐπέτρεψεν, διάδημα δὲ  
245 φορεῖν ἐκώλυσεν. ἤρξεν δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἐννέα τοῖς  
πρώτοις ὁ Ὑρκανὸς τέσσαρα καὶ εἴκοσι.<sup>2</sup> Βαρ-  
ζαβάνης<sup>3</sup> δὲ καὶ Πάκορος οἱ τῆς Παρθυηνῆς δυνά-  
σται διαβάντες τὸν Εὐφράτην καὶ πολεμήσαντες  
Ὑρκανῷ αὐτὸν μὲν ζωγρία συνέλαβον, τὸν Ἀριστο-  
βούλου δὲ υἱὸν Ἀντίγονον κατέστησαν βασιλέα.  
246 τρία δ' ἔτη καὶ τρεῖς μῆνας ἄρξαντα τοῦτον Σόσ-  
σιός τε καὶ Ἡρώδης ἐξεπολιόρκησαν, Ἀντώνιος δ'  
ἀνείλεν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἀναχθέντα.

<sup>1</sup> μετὰ τῶν τέκνων] om. E.

<sup>2</sup> τέσσαρα καὶ εἴκοσι] viginti tres Lat.

<sup>3</sup> codd. E: γρ Βαρζαφράνης i. marg. A: Barzanes Lat.:  
Βαζαφαρμανης Phot. p. 318: Φαρναβαζου Phot. p. 53: Βαζα-  
φρανης Niese.

<sup>a</sup> According to *Ant.* xv. 180, he served for three months  
after Alexandra's death.

<sup>b</sup> *Ant.* xiv. 4-7; cf. *B.J.* i. 120-122.

<sup>c</sup> So also *Ant.* xiv. 41, 97.

<sup>d</sup> 65-63 B.C. Lit. "In the third year of his reign and after  
as many months." Marcus' note on *Ant.* xiv. 5 should be  
corrected, since our passage is inconsistent with *Ant.* xiv. 97,  
which he cites as being in accordance with ours, but which  
states that Aristobulus served for three years and six months.

<sup>e</sup> 63 B.C. See *Ant.* xiv. 34-79 and *B.J.* i. 127-158.

<sup>f</sup> 63-40 B.C. Forty years, according to *Ant.* xv. 180.

an equal period.<sup>a</sup> For after her death, Hyrcanus' brother Aristobulus made war upon him, defeated him, deprived him of his office<sup>b</sup> and himself became both king and high priest<sup>c</sup> of the nation. When he had reigned two years and three months,<sup>d</sup> Pompey<sup>e</sup> came and took the city of Jerusalem by storm and sent him with his children to Rome in bonds. Pompey also restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus and permitted him to have the leadership of the nation, but forbade him to wear a diadem. Hyrcanus ruled for twenty-four years,<sup>f</sup> in addition to the nine years of his previous rule. Then Barzabanes<sup>g</sup> and Pacorus,<sup>h</sup> the rulers of Parthia, crossing the Euphrates, made war on Hyrcanus, captured him alive, and appointed Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, king. The latter ruled for three years and three months,<sup>i</sup> following which he was captured after a siege by Sossius and Herod.<sup>j</sup> When he had been taken to Antioch, he was slain by Antony.

<sup>a</sup> Barzaphranes in *Ant.* xiv. 330, where he is called a Parthian satrap.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xiv. 340 ff.

<sup>c</sup> 40-37 B.C. The length of Antigonus' reign is not given in Josephus' earlier account of his death, *Ant.* xiv. 487-491 and xv. 8-10. The total number of years during which the Hasmonaeans, starting from Jonathan, ruled is, therefore, 112½ years. In *Ant.* xiv. 490 the total given is 126 years. In *Ant.* xvii. 162, however, the total is 125 years, but these last two totals presumably include Judas, who assumed his leadership upon the death of Mattathias in 167/166 B.C. The Talmud, 'Abodah Zarah 8 b, gives the duration of the Hasmonaeen dynasty as 103 years, reckoning, it would appear (so J. Lehmann, "Quelques Dates importantes de la chronologie du 2<sup>e</sup> Temple," *Rev. d. Ét. juiv.* xxxvii, 1898, pp. 1-44), from the official recognition of the dynasty by the Romans in 140 B.C. to the victory of the Roman general Sossius over the Hasmonaeen Antigonus in 37 B.C.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xiv. 468 ff. and *B.J.* i. 345 ff.

247 (5) Τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν Ἡρώδης παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐγχειρισθεὶς οὐκέτι τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀσαμωναίου γένους καθίστησιν ἀρχιερεῖς, ἀλλὰ τισιν ἀσήμοις καὶ μόνον ἐξ ἱερέων οὖσιν πλὴν ἐνὸς Ἀριστοβούλου τὴν  
 248 τιμὴν ἀπένεμεν. τὸν δ' Ἀριστόβουλον Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ ὑπὸ Πάρθων ληφθέντος υἱόνων ὄντα καταστήσας ἀρχιερέα τῇ ἀδελφῇ αὐτοῦ συνώκησεν Μαρι-  
 ἀμμη, τὴν τοῦ πλήθους πρὸς ἑαυτὸν θηρώμενος εὐνοίαν διὰ τὴν Ὑρκανοῦ μνήμην. εἶτα φοβηθεὶς, μὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον πάντες ἀποκλίνωσιν, ἀνείλεν αὐτὸν ἐν Ἱεριχοῖ πνιγῆναι μηχανησάμενος  
 249 κολυμβῶντα, καθὼς ἤδη δεδηλώκαμεν. μετὰ τοῦτον οὐκέτι τοῖς ἐγγούσι τῶν Ἀσαμωναίου παίδων τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐπίστευσεν. ἔπραξεν δὲ ὅμοια τῷ Ἡρώδῃ περὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν ἱερέων Ἀρχελάος τε ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 250 Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων παραλαβόντες. εἰσὶν οὖν οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἡρώδου χρόνων ἀρχιερατεύσαντες μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας, ἧς τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν Τίτος ἔλων ἐπυρπόλησεν, οἱ πάντες εἴκοσι καὶ ὀκτώ,  
 251 χρόνος δὲ τούτων ἔτη πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν ἑπτὰ. καὶ τινὲς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπολιτεύσαντο ἐπὶ τε Ἡρώδου βασιλεύοντος καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀρχελάου τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ,

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xv. 22, where Herod appoints an obscure priest from Babylon named Ananelus as high priest.

<sup>b</sup> Son of Alexander and Alexandra. Cf. *Ant.* xv. 39-41.

<sup>c</sup> *Ant.* xv. 51-56; cf. *B.J.* i. 437.

<sup>d</sup> For a convenient listing and a critical evaluation of the worth of Josephus' list see G. Hölischer, *Die Hohenpriesterliste bei Josephus und die evangelische Chronologie*, 1940, esp. pp. 9-19. The total number of high priests, according to Josephus (§ 227), from Aaron to the destruction of the second temple is eighty-three (or eighty-four if we include

(5) Herod, when the kingdom was committed to him by the Romans, abandoned the practice of appointing those of Asamonean lineage as high priests, and, with the exception of Aristobulus alone, assigned the office to some insignificant persons who were merely of priestly descent.<sup>a</sup> Herod appointed as high priest Aristobulus,<sup>b</sup> the grandson of that Hyrcanus who was taken captive by the Parthians; and Herod married Aristobulus' sister Mariamme, hoping to capture the goodwill of the people for himself, thanks to their recollection of Hyrcanus. Afterwards, fearing that everyone would incline to Aristobulus, he put him to death at Jericho by contriving to have him strangled while swimming, as I have reported.<sup>c</sup> After Aristobulus' death Herod ceased to entrust the high priesthood to the descendants of the sons of Asamoneios. Herod's son Archelaus also followed a similar policy in the appointment of high priests, as did the Romans after him when they took over the government of the Jews. Now those who held the high priesthood from the times of Herod up to the day on which Titus captured and set fire to the temple and the city numbered twenty-eight<sup>d</sup> in all, covering a period of one hundred and seven years.<sup>e</sup> Of these some held office during the reigns of Herod and

Herod's policy of appointing undistinguished high priests.

Alcimus). The Babylonian Talmud, *Yoma* 9 a, as noted above, says that there were more than 300 for the period of the second temple alone. The Palestinian Talmud, *Yoma* 1, gives a number in the 80's, but only for the high priests of the period of the second temple. H. Bloch, *Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus*, 1879, pp. 149-150, asserts his belief that Josephus had at his disposal official lists of the high priests and refers to *Ap.* i. 30 ff.

<sup>e</sup> 37 B.C.—A.D. 70. The Talmud, *'Abodah Zarah* 8 b, gives the number of years as 103, presumably reckoning from 37 B.C. to the beginning of the revolt in A.D. 66.

μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων τελευταίην ἀριστοκρατία μὲν ἦν ἡ πολιτεία, τὴν δὲ προστασίαν τοῦ ἔθνους οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἐπεπίστευτο. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἱκανὰ ταῦτα.

252 (xi. 1) Γέσσιος δὲ Φλώρος ὁ πεμφθεὶς Ἀλβίνου διάδοχος ὑπὸ Νέρωνος πολλῶν ἐνέπλησε κακῶν Ἰουδαίους. Κλαζομένιος μὲν ἦν τὸ γένος οὗτος, ἐπήγετο δὲ γυναῖκα Κλεοπάτραν, δι' ἣν φίλην ὕδασαν Ποππαίας<sup>1</sup> τῆς Νέρωνος γυναικὸς καὶ πονηρίας μηδὲν αὐτοῦ διαφέρουσαν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπέτυχεν.

253 οὕτω δὲ περὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐγένετο κακὸς καὶ βίαιος, ὥστε διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῶν κακῶν Ἀλβίνου ἐπήγουσαν ὡς εὐεργετήν Ἰουδαίους· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἐπεκρύπτετο τὴν πονηρίαν καὶ τοῦ μὴ παντάσῃσι κατάφωρος εἶναι προνόει, Γέσσιος δὲ Φλώρος καθάπερ εἰς ἐπίδειξιν πονηρίας πεμφθεὶς τὰς εἰς τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν παρανομίας ἐπόμπευεν, μήτε ἀρπαγῆς παραλιπὼν μηδένα τρόπον μήτε ἀδίκου κολάσεως· ἦν γὰρ ἀτεγκτος μὲν πρὸς ἔλεον, παντὸς ἰὲ κέρδους ἀπληστος, ᾧ γε μηδὲ τὰ πλείεστα τῶν ἱλίων διεφέρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λησταῖς ἐκοινώνησεν<sup>2</sup>. ἀδεῶς γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦτ' ἐπραττον ἐχέγγυον παρ' ἐκεῖνου τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς μέρεσιν ἔχειν πεπι-

256 στευκότες.<sup>3</sup> καὶ τοῦτο μέτριον οὐκ ἦν. ἀλλ' οἱ δυστυχεῖς Ἰουδαῖοι μὴ δυνάμενοι τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> Niese: Πομπηίας codd. Lat. Exc. Peiresc.: Πομπαίας E; cf. § 195.

<sup>2</sup> παντὸς . . . ἐκοινώνησεν] et omnibus lucris avarus qui etiam in latronum direptione communicabat Lat.

Archelaus his son. After the death of these kings, the constitution became an aristocracy, and the high priests were entrusted with the leadership of the nation. This will suffice about the high priests.

(xi. 1) <sup>a</sup> Gessius Florus,<sup>b</sup> who had been sent by Nero as successor to Albinus, filled the cup of the Jews with many misfortunes. He was a native of Clazomenae<sup>c</sup> and brought with him a wife Cleopatra, who was not a whit behind him in wickedness. It was through her influence that he obtained the post, she being a friend of Poppaea,<sup>d</sup> Nero's consort. So wicked and lawless was Florus in the exercise of his authority that the Jews, owing to the extremity of their misery, praised Albinus as a benefactor. For the latter used to conceal his villainy and took precautions not to be altogether detected; but Gessius Florus, as if he had been sent to give an exhibition of wickedness, ostentatiously paraded his lawless treatment of our nation and omitted no form of pillage or unjust punishment. Pity could not soften him, nor any amount of gain sate him; he was one who saw no difference between the greatest gains and the smallest, so that he even joined in partnership with brigands. In fact, the majority of people practised this occupation with no inhibitions, since they had no doubt that their lives would be insured by him in return for his quota of the spoils. There was no limit in sight.<sup>e</sup> The ill-fated Jews, unable to endure the devastation

Gessius Florus' outrageous administration as procurator.

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 252-256 cf. the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 277-279.

<sup>b</sup> Procurator A.D. 64. See § 215.

<sup>c</sup> On the central coast of Asia Minor.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. § 195.

<sup>e</sup> Or "And this was intolerable."

<sup>3</sup> ἐχέγγυον . . . πεπιστευκότες] cum illius promissione de sua salute minime cogitarent Lat.

ληστῶν γινομένας πορθήσεις ὑπομένειν ἠναγκάζοντο  
 τῶν ἰδίων ἡθῶν<sup>1</sup> ἐξανιστάμενοι φεύγειν ἅπαντες,  
 ὡς κρεῖττον ὁπουδήποτε παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοφύλοις  
 257 κατοικήσουσιν. καὶ τί δεῖ πλείω λέγειν;<sup>2</sup> τὸν γὰρ  
 πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ὁ καταναγκάσας ἡμᾶς  
 ἄρασθαι Φλώρος ἦν κρεῖττον ἡγουμένους ἀθρόως ἢ  
 κατ' ὀλίγον ἀπολέσθαι. καὶ δὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν  
 ὁ πόλεμος δευτέρῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς Φλώρου,  
 258 δωδεκάτῳ δὲ τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς. ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν  
 δρᾶν ἠναγκάσθημεν ἢ παθεῖν ὑπεμείναμεν, ἀκριβῶς  
 γινῶναι πάρεστιν τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐντυχεῖν ταῖς ὑπ'  
 ἐμοῦ περὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου βίβλοις γεγραμ-  
 μέναις.

259 (xii. 1) Παύσεται δ' ἐνταῦθά μοι τὰ τῆς ἀρχαιο-  
 λογίας μεθ' ἣν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἠρξάμην γράφειν.  
 περιέχει δ' αὕτη τὴν ἀπὸ πρώτης γενέσεως ἀνθρώ-  
 που παράδοσιν μέχρι ἔτους δωδεκάτου τῆς Νέρωνος  
 ἡγεμονίας τῶν ἡμῖν συμβεβηκότων τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις  
 κατὰ τε τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Παλαιστίνην,  
 260 ὅσα τε πεπόνθαμεν ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων τε καὶ Βαβυ-  
 λωνίων, τίνα τε Πέρσαι καὶ Μακεδόνες δεινὰ<sup>3</sup> δια-  
 τεθεῖκασιν ἡμᾶς, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους Ῥωμαῖοι πάντα

<sup>1</sup> MW: ἔθῶν A: sollemnitatibus Lat.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ τί δεῖ πλείω λέγειν] om. Lat.

<sup>3</sup> AE: om. MW.

<sup>a</sup> So also Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 10: "Yet the endurance of the Jews lasted till Gessius Florus was procurator."

<sup>b</sup> A.D. 66. The same dating is found in *B.J.* ii. 284.

<sup>c</sup> R. Laqueur, *Der jüdische Historiker Flavius Josephus*, 1920, p. 5, presents the theory that there were two different editions of the *Antiquities*, the first omitting both §§ 259-266 and the *Vita*, and the second omitting § 258 and §§ 267-268.

by brigands that went on were one and all forced to abandon their own country and flee, for they thought that it would be better to settle among gentiles, no matter where. What more need be said? It was Florus who constrained us to take up war with the Romans,<sup>a</sup> for we preferred to perish together rather than by degrees. The war in fact began in the second year of the procuratorship of Florus and in the twelfth of Nero's reign.<sup>b</sup> But all the things that we were forced to do or sufferings that we endured may be learnt with accuracy by any who choose to read the books that I have written on the Jewish war.

(xii. 1) Here will be the end of my *Antiquities*,<sup>c</sup> following which begins my account of the war.<sup>d</sup> The present work contains the recorded history,<sup>e</sup> from man's original creation up to the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, of the events that befell us Jews in Egypt, in Syria, and in Palestine.<sup>f</sup> It also comprises all that we suffered at the hands of Assyrians and Babylonians, and the harsh treatment that we received from the Persians and Macedonians and after

The second edition, he suggests, was due to the publication of a rival account of the Jewish war by Justus of Tiberias, who had attacked Josephus for the rôle which he had played in that revolt. Hence Josephus decided to append an apology, namely his *Vita*, to the *Antiquities*, while introducing §§ 259-266 to provide the transition.

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "after which I began to write an account of the war." But since the *Bellum Judaicum* was written before the *Antiquities*, what Josephus means is that the *Antiquities* ends at the point at which the *Bellum Judaicum* begins.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "the tradition."

<sup>c</sup> Cf. G. Hölscher, "Josephus," Pauly-Wissowa, ix, 1916, pp. 1956-1957, who says that the term "Palestine" is not found before A.D. 70 except here in Josephus. Elsewhere Josephus uses the older expression, the land of the Philistines (cf. also *B.J.* v. 384).

Conclusion of the *Antiquities*. Josephus speaks of himself and of his future writings.

γὰρ οἶμαι μετ' ἀκριβείας ἀπάσης<sup>1</sup> συντεταχέναι.  
 261 τηρῆσαι δὲ πεπείραμαι καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἀνα-  
 γραφὴν τῶν ἐν δισχιλίους ἔτεσι γενομένων. ἀπλανῆ  
 δὲ πεποίημαι καὶ τὴν περὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς διαδοχὴν  
 τε καὶ ἀγωγὴν<sup>2</sup> τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς<sup>3</sup> πολιτείας  
 ἀπαγγέλλον μοναρχῶν τε δυναστείας, ὡς αἱ ἱεραὶ  
 βίβλοι περὶ πάντων ἔχουσι τὴν ἀναγραφὴν· τοῦτο  
 γὰρ ποιήσεν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐπηγγειλάμην.  
 262 λέγω δὴ θαρσύνσας ἤδη διὰ τὴν τῶν προτεθέντων  
 συντέλειαν,<sup>4</sup> ὅτι μηδεὶς ἂν ἕτερος ἠδυνήθη θελήσας  
 μήτε Ἰουδαῖος μήτε ἀλλόφυλος τὴν πραγματείαν  
 263 ταύτην οὕτως ἀκριβῶς εἰς Ἑλληνας ἐξευεγκεῖν· ἔχω  
 γὰρ ὁμολογούμενον παρὰ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν πλείστον  
 αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν<sup>5</sup> παιδείαν  
 διαφέρειν καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δὲ γραμμάτων καὶ  
 ποιητικῶν μαθημάτων πολλὰ<sup>6</sup> ἐσπούδασα μετα-  
 σχεῖν τὴν γραμματικὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἀναλαβῶν, τὴν  
 δὲ περὶ τὴν προφορὰν ἀκριβείαν πάτριος ἐκώλυσεν  
 264 συνήθεια. παρ' ἡμῶν γὰρ οὐκ ἐκείνους ἀποδέχονται  
 τοὺς πολλῶν ἐθνῶν διάλεκτον ἐκμαθόντας καὶ γλα-

<sup>1</sup> A: om. MWE.

<sup>2</sup> τε καὶ ἀγωγὴν] A: om. MWE.

<sup>3</sup> τε καὶ ἀγωγὴν τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς] i. ras. m. 2 A.

<sup>4</sup> συντέλειαν] ὑποθέσεων ἀνακεφαλῶσεων καὶ i. ras. m. 2 A:  
 ἀνακεφαλαίωσι καὶ συντέλειαν E.

<sup>5</sup> καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν A: om. MWE.

<sup>6</sup> καὶ ποιητικῶν μαθημάτων πολλὰ] A: καὶ ποιητικῶν μαθη-  
 μάτων E: om. MW.

<sup>a</sup> Ant. i. 5 ff.

<sup>b</sup> Epitome: "the summary and consummation."

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Vita 9, where Josephus asserts that when he was  
 only fourteen, the high priests and the leaders of Jerusalem

them the Romans. For I think that I have drawn up  
 the whole story in full and accurate detail. I have  
 also endeavoured to preserve the record of the line of  
 the high priests who have served during a space of  
 two thousand years. I have further noted without  
 error the succession and conduct of the kings, report-  
 ing their achievements and policies, as well as the  
 period of rule by the Judges—all as recorded by the  
 Holy Scriptures. For this was what I promised to  
 do at the beginning of my history.<sup>a</sup> And now I take  
 heart from the consummation<sup>b</sup> of my proposed work  
 to assert that no one else, either Jew or gentile, would  
 have been equal to the task, however willing to under-  
 take it, of issuing so accurate a treatise as this for  
 the Greek world. For my compatriots admit that in  
 our Jewish learning I far excel them.<sup>c</sup> I have also  
 laboured strenuously to partake of the realm of Greek  
 prose<sup>d</sup> and poetry, after having gained a knowledge  
 of Greek grammar,<sup>e</sup> although the habitual use of my  
 native tongue has prevented<sup>f</sup> my attaining precision  
 in the pronunciation.<sup>g</sup> For our people do not favour  
 those persons who have mastered the speech of many  
 constantly used to consult him on particular points of Jewish  
 law.

<sup>a</sup> Or "learning."

<sup>b</sup> Or perhaps "after acquiring practice in writing." G. C.  
 Richards, "The Composition of Josephus' Antiquities,"  
*Class. Quart.* xxxiii, 1939, p. 36, says that the meaning is "I  
 learned by rote the scholarship of the language."

<sup>c</sup> Or "the usages of our nation have prevented."

<sup>d</sup> Josephus, *Ap.* i. 50, says that in writing the *Bellum  
 Judaicum* he employed "some assistants for the sake of the  
 Greek." On Josephus' knowledge of Greek and on his use  
 of assistants see H. St. J. Thackeray, *Josephus the Man and  
 the Historian*, 1929, pp. 100-124. That there were many  
 Jews, including rabbis, who knew the Greek language and  
 literature well has been amply illustrated by S. Lieberman,

φυρότητι λέξεων τὸν λόγον ἐπικομψεύοντας<sup>1</sup> διὰ τὸ κοινὸν εἶναι νομίζειν τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τοῦτο μόνον οὐκ ἐλευθέρους<sup>2</sup> τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν τοῖς θέλουσι, μόνους δὲ σοφίαν μαρτυροῦσιν τοῖς τὰ νόμιμα σαφῶς ἐπισταμένοις καὶ τῆν τῶν ἱερῶν  
 265 γραμμάτων δυνάμιν ἐρμηνεύσαι δυναμένοις. διὰ τοῦτο πολλῶν ποιησάντων περὶ τὴν ἀσκήσιν ταύτην μόλις δύο τινές ἢ τρεῖς κατῴρθωσαν καὶ τῶν  
 266 πόνων τὴν ἐπικαρπίαν εὐθὺς ἔλαβον. ἴσως δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπίφθονον γένοιτο οὐδὲ σκαιὸν τοῖς πολλοῖς φανήσεται<sup>3</sup> καὶ περὶ γένους τοῦμοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πράξεων βραχέα διεξελθεῖν ἕως ἔχω ζῶντας ἢ τοὺς ἐλέγξοντας ἢ τοὺς μαρτυρήσοντας.  
 267 Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ καταπαύσω τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν βιβλίοις μὲν ἑκόσι περιειλημμένην, ἕξ δὲ μυριάσι

<sup>1</sup> καὶ γλαφυρότητι λέξεων τὸν λόγον ἐπικομψεύοντας] A: om. MWE.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦτο μόνον οὐκ ἐλευθέρους] οὐκ ἐλευθέρων τοῦτο μόνον E: τοῦτο οὐκ ἐλευθέρους μόνον Hudson.

<sup>3</sup> οὐδὲ σκαιὸν τοῖς πολλοῖς φανήσεται] A: om. MWE.

*Greek in Jewish Palestine*, 1942, esp. pp. 1-67. Especially impressive is the statement of Rabbi Simeon the son of Rabban Gamaliel (*Sotah* 49 b, cited by Lieberman, p. 20) that his father, at the beginning of the second century, had a thousand students, five hundred of whom studied Torah, while five hundred studied Greek wisdom. The large number of Greek loan-words, perhaps as many as 1500, in the Talmudic literature and the prevalence of Greek inscriptions on Jewish tombstones in Palestine are other indications that Greek was well known. See M. Hadas, *Hellenistic Culture*, 1959, pp. 35-39 and 48-49.

<sup>a</sup> But cf. Mishnah, *Shekalim* v. 1, where Mordecai is said, in an obvious tone of approbation, to have known seventy languages.

nations,<sup>a</sup> or who adorn their style with smoothness of diction, because they consider that not only is such skill common to ordinary freemen but that even slaves who so choose may acquire it. But they give credit for wisdom to those alone who have an exact knowledge of the law and who are capable of interpreting the meaning of the Holy Scriptures. Consequently, though many have laboriously undertaken this training, scarcely two or three have succeeded, and have forthwith reaped the fruit of their labours. Perhaps it will not seem to the public invidious or awkward for me to recount briefly my lineage and the events of my life<sup>b</sup> while there are still persons living who can either disprove or corroborate my statements.

With this I shall conclude my *Antiquities*, contained in twenty books<sup>c</sup> with sixty thousand lines.<sup>d</sup> God

<sup>b</sup> The reference is to Josephus' *Vita*, which seems to be attached to the *Antiquities*, though Schürer, i. 87, asserts that the two works are not connected.

<sup>c</sup> The division into twenty books was most probably prompted, as Thackeray, *Josephus*, p. 56, suggests, by the similar division into twenty books of a work by Dionysius of Halicarnassus which bore a like title, *Ῥωμαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία (Roman Antiquities)*.

<sup>d</sup> Since the *Antiquities* consists, in Niese's division, of 7375 subsections, this would make an average subsection consist of a little over eight lines. There were, therefore, somewhat fewer letters per line in Josephus' original edition than is the case in the present edition. Among other purposes served by such a count of lines was to indicate how much was to be paid the one who copied the manuscript, the scribe being paid by the hundred lines (see Thackeray, *Josephus*, p. 73, who cites R. Harris, *Stichometry*, p. 26). Usually, however, this count was not included in the text but was appended separately at the end of the manuscript. See Weinberger, "Stichometrie," Pauly-Wissowa, 2. Reihe, iii, 1929, pp. 2487-2489.

στίχων, κὰν τὸ θείον ἐπιτρέπη κατὰ περιδρομὴν ὑπομνήσω πάλιν τοῦ τε πολέμου καὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἡμῖν μέχρι τῆς νῦν ἐνεστῶσης ἡμέρας, ἣτις ἐστὶν τρισκαίδεκάτου μὲν ἔτους τῆς Δομετιανοῦ Καίσαρος ἀρχῆς, ἐμοὶ δ' ἀπὸ γενέσεως πεντηκοστοῦ 268 τε καὶ ἑκτου. προήρημαι δὲ συγγράψαι κατὰ τὰς

<sup>a</sup> Or "I shall once more."

<sup>b</sup> Petersen, *op. cit.* p. 260, says (he had been anticipated on this point by H. Clementz in his German translation of the *Antiquities*) that the reference here is to Josephus' autobiography, and that "our" is really, as so commonly in Josephus, used in place of "my." He cites as an indication of this the fact that Josephus gives not only the year of Domitian's reign, but also his own age, the latter being appropriate in an autobiography but not in a history. But in § 266, where the reference is clearly to Josephus' autobiography, the first person singular is used; and at the end of § 267, in speaking of his own age, Josephus likewise uses the first person singular. When, therefore, he uses the first person plural here, he probably refers not to his own autobiography but to the history of the Jewish people, just as the running account of the war, with which it is coupled, refers to the events that befell the Jewish people in the war. The statement of his own age seems to be, like the statement of the year of Domitian's reign, merely a way of dating the completion of the *Antiquities*; since Josephus has just spoken of his personal qualifications for writing history it is not inappropriate to continue in this vein by citing his age at the time of the completion of the work. Petersen finds it difficult to believe that Josephus would have intended to write another account of the Jewish war, since he had already described it in a lost work in Aramaic and in the extant work in Greek, the latter of which he recommends to his readers in § 258. But Josephus is here proposing a running account of the war, which will presumably be considerably briefer than the extant work: such a work would surely find a much wider audience than the existing, rather detailed work, even as the epitomes of such bulky works as Livy's history achieved considerable popularity in Rome during Josephus' time (*cf.*

willing, I shall at some future time <sup>a</sup> compose a running account of the war and of the later events of our history up to the present day, <sup>b</sup> which belongs to the thirteenth year of the reign of Domitian Caesar and to the fifty-sixth of my life. <sup>c</sup> It is also my intention to compose a work in four books <sup>d</sup> on the opinions

Martial xiv. 190). The autobiography, however, is too personal, too brief, and too spotty to be called a running account of the war.

<sup>a</sup> A. D. 93/94.

<sup>d</sup> *Cf. Ant.* i. 25. Petersen, *op. cit.* pp. 263-265, proposes the identification of this work with the so-called *Contra Apionem*. That the *Contra Apionem* is in and was intended to comprise two books is not an insurmountable obstacle, he states; Josephus' prophecy here simply did not turn out to be correct. But the real objection to Petersen's identification is that, while the *Contra Apionem* does contain a discussion of the nature of God (ii. 180, 188-192, 197) and of the Jewish code of laws (ii. 145-187, etc.), this discussion is brief and is surely not the central theme of that work, whereas we are told here that the work is to be about these subjects. H. R. Moehring, in his doctoral dissertation *Novelistic Elements in the Writings of Flavius Josephus*, 1957, pp. 11-12, presents the following conspectus of the contents of this work, basing his reconstruction on the many references to it in Josephus and assuming, as is probably the case, that the references are to the same work: the bulk of the Law (*Ant.* iii. 94); the law concerning "mutual relations" distinguished from laws concerning the political constitution (iv. 198, 302); ritual of the sacrifices (iii. 205); details in the laws of Moses, in particular the reasons why some things are forbidden and others allowed (xx. 268); clean and unclean food (iii. 259); reason for circumcision of Jews (i. 192); table of shewbread (iii. 143, 257); two daily sacrifices of the priests (iii. 257); sin offerings (iii. 230); cessation of shining of breastplate (iii. 218); comparison of Essenes with Pythagoreans (xv. 371); Israelites in Egypt (*Ap.* i. 92) (Moehring has omitted Josephus' statement here that he intends to discuss God and His essence, probably at the beginning of his work.) From this, Moehring, p. 12, plausibly suggests that Josephus had at least drawn up an outline of this work.



JOSEPHUS

ἡμετέρας δόξας τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐν τέσσαρσι βίβλοις  
περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν νόμων,  
διὰ τί κατ' αὐτοὺς τὰ μὲν ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν ποιεῖν, τὰ  
δὲ κεκώλυται.

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that we Jews hold concerning God and His essence,  
as well as concerning the laws, that is, why according  
to them we are permitted to do some things while we  
are forbidden to do others.

APPENDIX A  
AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

BIBAION K

- α'.<sup>1</sup> Ὡς Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ μετὰ τὴν Ἀγρίππιου τελευτὴν Φᾶδον ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἐπίτροπον.  
β'. Στάσις<sup>2</sup> Φιλαδελφινῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Περαιᾷ κατοικοῦντας Ἰουδαίους περὶ ὄρων κώμης μιᾶς, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ τούτων πολλῶν ἀναιρεθέντων Φιλαδελφινῶν<sup>3</sup> Φᾶδος ἀγανακτήσας τῶν Περαιτῶν<sup>4</sup> Ἰουδαίων τοὺς πρώτους τρεῖς ἄνδρας λαβὼν ἀπέκτεινεν.  
γ'. Ὡς Θολομαῖος<sup>5</sup> ὁ ἀρχιληστής τοὺς Ἀραβας ληστεύων ληφθεὶς καὶ ἐπὶ Φᾶδον ἀχθεὶς ἀηρέθη.<sup>6</sup>  
δ'. Ὡς Φᾶδος καὶ Κάσσιος Λογγίνος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν ἀναβάντες εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκέλευσαν τὸν ποδῆρη καὶ τὴν ἱεράν στολὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀντωνίᾳ καταθέσθαι ὑπὸ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐξουσίᾳ, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον ἦν.  
ε'. Παράκλησις<sup>7</sup> ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς Φᾶδον καὶ Λογγίνον ἀξιούντων αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέψαι

<sup>1</sup> numeros hab. (α'-κε' W, I-XX Lat.) W Lat.

<sup>2</sup> στάσις] et seditio Lat. cap. I continuans.

<sup>3</sup> A: Φιλαδελφῶν MW: Filadelphinorum Lat.

<sup>4</sup> A: Περαιατῶν MW.

<sup>5</sup> conl. (cf. supra, p. 392): Θολομαῖος codd.: Tholomeus Lat.

<sup>6</sup> ὡς Θολομαῖος . . . ἀηρέθη] A: om. MW.

<sup>7</sup> A: παρακλήσεις MW.

APPENDIX A  
AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

BOOK XX

		In this edition	
		SECTION	PAGE
(i)	How Claudius Caesar sent Fadus to Judaea as procurator after the death of Agrippa	1	3
(ii)	The strife of the Philadelphians with the Jewish inhabitants of Peraea over the boundaries of one village, and how Fadus, indignant because many Philadelphians were slain by the Peraean Jews, seized three of the leaders of the latter and put them to death	2	3
(iii)	How Tholomaeus, <sup>a</sup> the archbrigand who had been robbing the Arabs, was apprehended, brought before Fadus and put to death	5	5
(iv)	How Fadus and Cassius Longinus the governor of Syria went up to Jerusalem and ordered the leaders of the Jews to deposit the full-length tunic and the sacred robe in custody of the Romans in Antonia, as they had customarily done in times past	6	5
(v)	The petition thereupon of the Jews to Fadus and Longinus asking		
<sup>a</sup> mss. Tholemaeus. But cf. § 5, where the spelling is Tholomaeus.			

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XX

πέμψαι πρεσβείαν πρὸς Καίσαρα Κλαύδιον περὶ τούτου.

ζ'. Ὡς Φάδος λαβὼν ὁμήρους ἐπέτρεψεν.<sup>1</sup>

ζ'. Ὡς Κλαύδιος Καίσαρ παρακληθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀγρίππα τοῦ νεωτέρου συνεχώρησεν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὰ αἰτήματα καὶ πρὸς Φάδον ἔγραψε περὶ τούτων.

η'. Ὁν τρόπον Ἑλένη ἢ τῶν Ἀδιαβηνῶν βασιλῆς καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτῆς Μονόβαζος καὶ Ἰζάτης<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὸ πᾶν γένος αὐτῶν ἐζήλωσαν τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνη.

θ'. Ὡς Ἡρώδου τελευτήσαντος τοῦ τῆς Χαλκίδος βασιλέως Ἀγρίππας ὁ νεώτερος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν δόντος αὐτῷ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος.<sup>3</sup>

ι'. Ὡς Τιβέριος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπίτροπος εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἐλθὼν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰούδα τοῦ Γαλιλαίου τὸν ὄχλον ἀπατώντας ἐκόλασεν.

ια'. Περὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ τοῦ γενομένου κατὰ τὴν χώραν.<sup>4</sup>

ιβ'. Κουμάνου ἄφιξις εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπιτρόπου πεμφθέντος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος.

<sup>1</sup> παράκλησις . . . ἐπέτρεψεν] et quia rogantes Iudaei Fadum et Longinum eis concedentibus datis obsidibus legationem ad Caesarem Claudium destinarunt Lat.

<sup>2</sup> Iazatis cod. Ambr. Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ὡς Ἡρώδου . . . Καίσαρος] infra post cap. XII exhibent MW (ια' in W), post cap. X Lat. (VIII in Lat.), ut capitum ordo in MW hic sit: VIII, X, XI, XII, IX, XIII; in Lat. vero hic: VIII, XI, X, IX, (XII + XIII).

<sup>4</sup> περὶ . . . χώραν] post cap. VIII exhibet numero VI ascripto Lat.

<sup>a</sup> The table omits special mention of how Artabanus was

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	SECTION	PAGE
them for permission to send a delegation to Claudius Caesar about this matter . . . . .	7	5
(vi) How Fadus, upon receiving hostages, granted them permission . . . . .	8	7
(vii) How Claudius Caesar, after an appeal by the younger Agrippa, granted the petition of the Jews and wrote to Fadus indicating what he had done . . . . .	9	7
(viii) How Helena, the queen of Adiabene, and her sons Monobazus and Izates and their entire family became converts to Judaism <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	17	11
(ix) How, at the death of Herod the king of Chalcis, Agrippa the Younger received his kingdom by grant of Claudius Caesar . . . . .	104	57
(x) <sup>b</sup> How Tiberius Alexander came as procurator to Judaea and punished the sons of Judas the Galilaeen for deceiving the people . . . . .	100	55
(xi) Concerning the famine that occurred in the land . . . . .	101	55
(xii) The arrival of Cumanus, who had been sent as procurator to Judaea by Caesar . . . . .	103	57

restored to the Parthian throne through Izates' intervention (§§ 54-68), how Artabanus' son Vardanes was frustrated in his attempt to wage war against Izates (§§ 69-74), and how Izates, despite being betrayed by his own nobles, was delivered from the Arabs and later from the Parthians (§§ 75-91). It also omits mention of the impostor Theudas (§§ 97-99).

<sup>b</sup> This section, as well as sections xi and xii, belongs before section ix.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XX

ιγ'. Ὡς ἐπὶ τούτου πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων<sup>1</sup> κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπώλοντο.<sup>2</sup>

ιδ'. Στάσις Ἰουδαίων πρὸς Σαμαρεῖς καὶ ὡς πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν.

ιε'. Ὡς Μόδιος<sup>3</sup> Κουαδράτος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμῶν ἀκούσας ταῦτα καὶ ἀναβὰς εἰς Ἰουδαίαν τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ Σαμαρειτῶν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀναβῆναι, ὁμοίως<sup>4</sup> καὶ Κούμανοῦ τὸν ἐπίτροπον καὶ Κέλερα τὸν χιλιάρχον λόγον ὑφ-έξοντας Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων, τινὰς δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαίων αὐτὸς ἐκόλασεν.

ισ'. Ὡς Κλαύδιος ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους τῆς αἰτίας ἀπέλυσεν παρακληθεῖς ὑπὸ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα, Κούμανον δὲ ἐξώρισε, Κέλερα δὲ τὸν χιλιάρχον καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν ἐκόλασεν.

ιζ'. Ὡς Φῆλιξ ἐπίτροπος πεμφθεὶς καὶ καταλαβὼν τὴν χώραν κεκακωμένην ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν προῦνοήσατο διαφθείρας αὐτοὺς εἰρήνην ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καταστήσαι, τὸν δὲ πρῶτον τῶν ληστῶν Ἐλεάζαρον ὄνομα δῆσας εἰς Ῥώμην<sup>5</sup> ἀνέπεμψε.

ιη'. Ὡς ἐπιδημήσαντος Αἰγυπτίου τινὸς γόητος

<sup>1</sup> τῶν Ἰουδαίων] sacerdotum Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ὡς ἐπὶ τούτου . . . ἀπώλοντο] in Lat. antecedentibus continuo adiuncta sunt (cap. VIII).

<sup>3</sup> codd. Lat. : Νομίδιος i. marg. A, idem ed. pr. et Latinae editiones ex § 125 : Οὔμμιδιος Norisius.

<sup>4</sup> ὁμοίως] novum cap. incip. A.

<sup>5</sup> εἰς Ῥώμην] ad Caesarem Lat.

<sup>a</sup> The Latin version has "many of the priests," but in § 111 it is the Jewish masses who are said to have perished.

<sup>b</sup> So according to § 125 (Hudson's emendation, based on *B.J.* ii. 239); mss. : Modius.

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	SECTION	PAGE
(xiii) How, during Cumanus' administration, many of the Jews <sup>a</sup> perished in the temple . . .	105	57
(xiv) The strife of the Jews with the Samaritans and the great slaughter among the Samaritans . . .	118	63
(xv) How Ummidius <sup>b</sup> Quadratus the governor of Syria, when he was informed of this, proceeded to Judaea and ordered the leaders of the Jews and of the Samaritans, as well as Cumanus the procurator and Celer the military tribune, to go to Rome to render an account of their actions to Claudius Caesar, and how he also punished some of the Jews . . .	125	67
(xvi) How Claudius gave them a hearing and, upon being entreated by King Agrippa, acquitted the Jews of the charge against them, banished Cumanus, and punished Celer the military tribune and the leaders of the Samaritans . . .	134	71
(xvii) How Felix was sent as procurator and how, finding that the country had been devastated by brigands, he took measures to establish peace in the land by exterminating them, and how he imprisoned the foremost of the brigands, Eleazar by name, and dispatched him to Rome . . .	137	73
(xviii) How, when a certain impostor		

<sup>c</sup> The table omits special mention of the marriages contracted by Agrippa's sisters (§§ 139-147).

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XX

καὶ πολλῶν Ἰουδαίων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πλανηθέντων  
Φηλιεῖ ἐπεξελεθῶν αὐτοῖς πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν.

ιβ'. Ὡς στασιάζοντας Ἰουδαίων τοὺς πρώτους  
ἐν Καισαρείᾳ πρὸς τοὺς Σύρους Φηλιεῖ ὁ ἐπίτροπος  
ἔπαυσεν.

κ'. Ὁν τρόπον Κλαυδίου τελευτήσαντος Νέρων  
τὴν ἀρχὴν διεδέξατο.<sup>1</sup>

κα'. Ὡς Πορκίου Φήστου πεμφθέντος εἰς Ἰου-  
δαίαν ἐπιτρόπου συνέβη κακωθῆναι τὴν χώραν ὑπὸ  
τῶν σικαρίων.

κβ'. Περὶ τῆς στοᾶς τοῦ ἔσωθεν ἱεροῦ καὶ ὃν  
τρόπον ὑψωσαν αὐτὴν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι.<sup>2</sup>

κγ'. Ὡς Φήστος ἀγανακτήσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοὺς  
πρώτους τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν πρὸς  
Νέρωνα πείσοντας αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων.

κδ'. Ὡς τελευτήσαντος Φήστου ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ  
Ἀλβίνος ἦλθεν διάδοχος.<sup>3</sup>

κε'. Ὡς ἐπὶ τούτου ἐπαύσαντο οἱ σικάριοι τὴν  
χώραν κακοποιεῖν.

κς'. Ὡς Φλώρος ἐλθὼν Ἀλβίνῳ διάδοχος τοσ-  
αὔτα διέθηκε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κακά, ὡς ἀναγκάσαι  
αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ὄπλα χωρῆσαι.

<sup>1</sup> ὃν τρόπον . . . διεδέξατο] post cap. XVI tr. MW, post  
cap. XVII tr. Lat., Niesio superadditum vid.

<sup>2</sup> περὶ τῆς στοᾶς . . . οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι] priori capiti (κ' in W)  
adiungunt MW.

<sup>3</sup> ὡς Φήστος . . . διάδοχος] Lat. priori capiti (XVIII) ad-  
iungens.

<sup>a</sup> This section belongs before section xviii.

<sup>b</sup> The table omits special mention of how James, the  
brother of Jesus, was sentenced to death (§§ 199-203).

<sup>c</sup> The table omits special mention of the attempt of the

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	SECTION	PAGE
from Egypt had come to reside in the land and had led astray many of the Jews, Felix made a sally against them and put many to death . . . . .	169	98
(xix) How Felix the procurator put a halt to the quarrel between the leaders of the Jews in Caesarea and the Syrians . . . . .	173	95
(xx) <sup>a</sup> How Nero succeeded to the throne upon the death of Claudius . . . . .	148	81
(xxi) How, when Porcius Festus was sent to Judaea as procurator, it came about that the land was devastated by the <i>sicarii</i> . . . . .	182	99
(xxii) Concerning the portico of the inner temple and how the Jews built it higher . . . . .	189	103
(xxiii) How Festus, though indig- nant at this, sent the leaders of the Jews to Rome to Nero to obtain his sanction for the action that they had taken . . . . .	193	105
(xxiv) How, upon the death of Fes- tus in Judaea, Albinus came as his successor <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	197	107
(xxv) How in his administration the <i>sicarii</i> ceased to harass the land <sup>c</sup> . . . . .	204	109
(xxvi) How Florus came as Albinus' successor and inflicted so many in- juries upon the Jews that they were forced to take up arms . . . . .	252	135

Levites to gain certain privileges reserved for the priests  
(§§ 216-218), the completion of the building of the temple (§§  
219-222), and Josephus' catalogue of the high priests (§§ 224-  
251).

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XX

κζ'. Περὶ Ἰωσήπου καὶ γένους αὐτοῦ καὶ πολι-  
τείας.<sup>1</sup>

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν κβ'.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> περὶ Ἰωσήπου . . . πολιτείας] A: om. Lat.: περὶ γένους  
Ἰωσήπου καὶ πολιτείας MW.

<sup>2</sup> W: κς' AME Lat.

<sup>a</sup> This is to be found not in the *Antiquities* but in the auto-  
biography, which forms a sequel to it.

<sup>b</sup> A.D. 44-66. This is the reading of one of the mss.; the  
others have twenty-six years, *i.e.* from 44 to 70, the year of

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	SECTION	PAGE
(xxvii) Concerning Josephus, his family, and his public career <sup>a</sup>	262	139

This book covers a period of twenty-two years.<sup>b</sup>

the destruction of the temple. But in § 257 Josephus says  
that he is closing his narrative with the start of the Jewish  
revolt against the Romans, which, he says, occurred in the  
second year of Florus' procuratorship and the twelfth of  
Nero's reign, *i.e.* A.D. 66. Similarly in § 259 Josephus says  
that the *Antiquities* covers the period from creation to the  
twelfth year of Nero's reign.

## APPENDIX B

### SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE CONVERSION OF KING IZATES AND THE ADIABENIANS TO JUDAISM (*Ant.* xx. 17-96)

- Bamberger, B. J., *Proselytism in the Talmudic Period*, esp. pp. 45-52, 225-228. 1939.
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- Schürer, E., *Geschichte* iii<sup>4</sup>, 1909, 169-172.

## APPENDIX C

### SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE HIGH PRIESTS DURING THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA (*Ant.* xviii. 26 ff. and esp. xx. 224-251)

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- Schürer, E., "Die ἀρχιερείς im Neuen Testamente," *Stud. u. Krit.*, pp. 593-657. 1872.
- Schürer, E., *Geschichte* ii<sup>4</sup>, 1907, 267-277.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE (1980)

UNDER the direction of K. H. Rengstorff a *Concordance to Josephus* in four volumes has been planned (Leiden, Brill), of which the following have appeared: Vol. I, A-Δ, 1973; Vol. II, E-K, 1975. A supplement, *Namenwörterbuch zu Flavius Josephus*, by A. Schalit, preceded the above in 1968.

Note also H. Schreckenberg, *Bibliographie zu Flavius Josephus*, Leiden 1968.

## GENERAL INDEX

This is primarily an index of names. References are to books and to the sections shown in the left margin of the Greek text and in the headline of the English text (Arabic figures). References are cited in the order in which Josephus composed his works: B. (= *Bellum Judaicum*), A. (= *Antiquities*), V. (= *Vita*), Ap. (= *Contra Apionem*). A number in parentheses indicates that the reference is not by name.

- AARON, brother of Moses, A. ii. 279; his age at the Exodus, ii. 319; supports Moses in fight against Amalekites, iii. 54; iii. 64; appointed high priest, iii. 188-192; his four sons, iii. 192; iii. 205; two of his sons burnt to death, iii. 208-211; abused by Hebrews, iii. 307; iii. 310; his authority as high priest challenged by Korah, iv. 15, 18, 21, 23; iv. 26, 29, 33, 46, 54, 56-58; budding of his rod quells rebels, iv. 64-66; his death, iv. 83; v. 361; vi. 86, 89; viii. 228; ix. 224; x. 65; first high priest (in genealogy of high priests), xx. 225-227, 229, 235
- Ab. See Abba
- Abaiz (var. Baiz; Bibl. Boaz), name of one of the columns in the temple in Jerusalem, A. viii. 78
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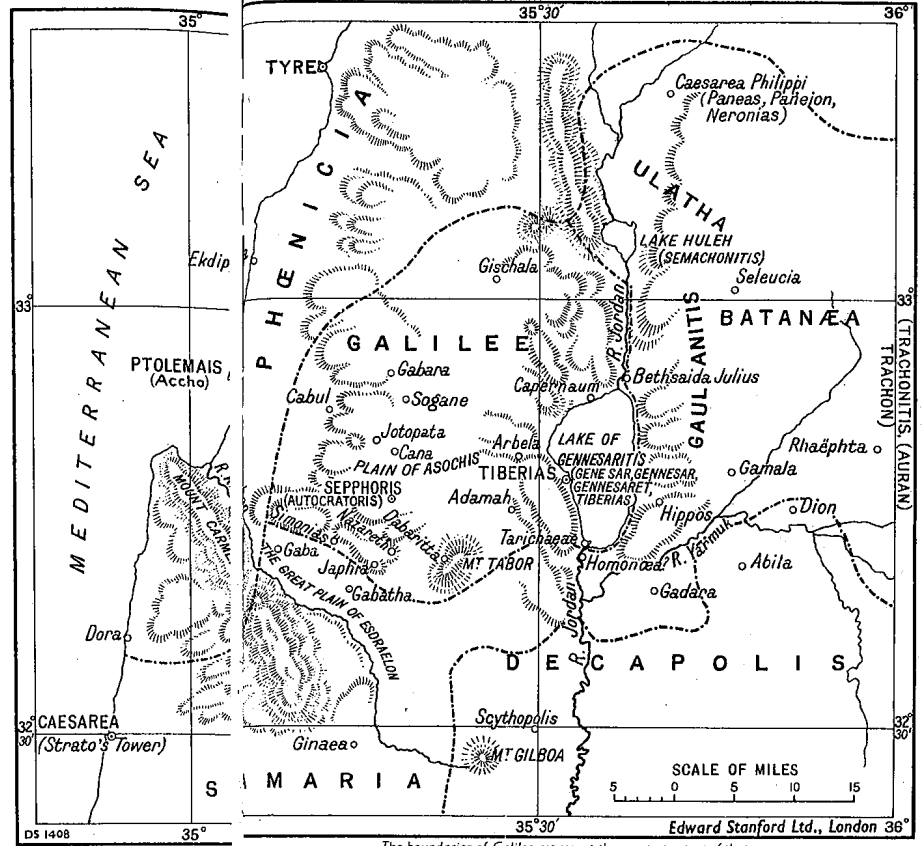
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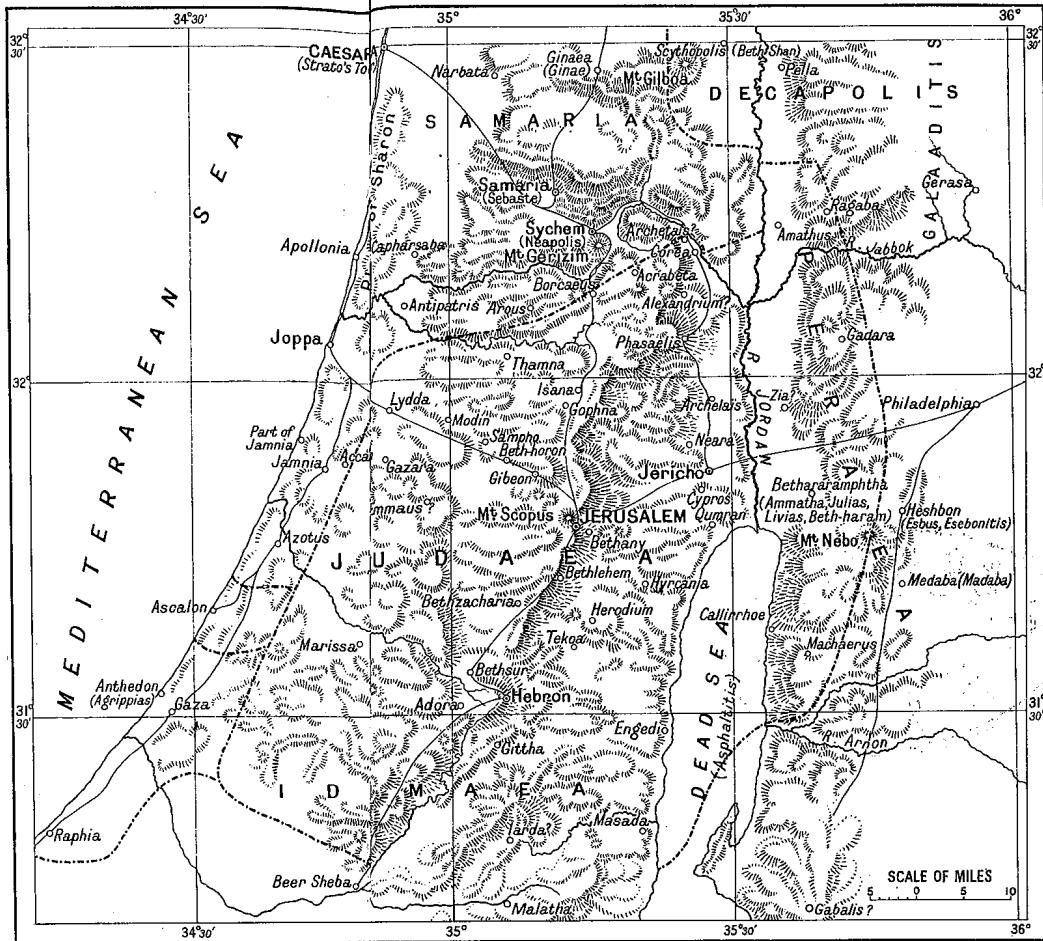


The boundaries of Galilee represent the greatest extent of that territory during the reign of Herod the Great.

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# THE MIDDLE EAST IN JOSEPHUS' WRITINGS

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