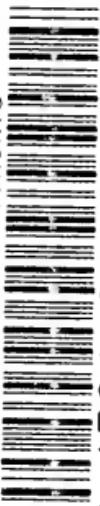


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## JOSEPHUS

II



# JOSEPHUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
H. ST. J. THACKERAY, M.A.

HON. D.D. OXFORD, HON. D.D. DURHAM

IN NINE VOLUMES

II

THE JEWISH WAR, BOOKS I-III



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## INTRODUCTION

THE *History of the Jewish War* is the earliest and the most famous of the works of Josephus. The first-fruits of the leisure which he found in Rome after the war, it was written with all the advantages possessed by an ex-combatant and eyewitness, now a pensioner quartered in the former palace of Vespasian, with the “commentaries” of his imperial patrons, the commanders in the recent campaign, placed at his disposal.<sup>a</sup>

The title by which the author refers to his work is *Title.* “Concerning the Jewish War” (*Περὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου Vita* 412, *A.* xx. 258, cf. xviii. 11). Laqueur, *Der jüd. Historiker Flavius Josephus*, Giessen, 1920, p. 255 and p. 98, considers that this heading plainly betrays the purely *Roman* point of view of the Jewish turncoat. The expanded form, *Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου πρὸς Ρωμαίους*, found at the head of the first two books in Niese’s principal ms P, may, it has been suggested, be an attempt of the author to neutralize the offensive character of the former superscription. But the majority of the mss employ another title, “Concerning (the) capture” (*Περὶ ἀλώσεως*), often with the addition of *Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἱστορίας*. The title *Περὶ ἀλώσεως* is found also in Origen and Jerome, the latter of whom attributes it to the author himself: “quae Josephus Judaicae scriptor historiae septem explicat uoluminibus, quibus imposuit titulum Captiui-

<sup>a</sup> *Ap.* i. 50, *Vita* 358, 423.

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tatis Judaicae id est Περὶ ἀλώσεως" (*Comm. in Isaiam*, cap. 64, *sub fin.*). Niese (vol. i. p. vi) regarded this as a title of Christian origin, introduced at a time when our author's principal works, the *War* and the *Antiquities*, were collected into a single *corpus*, bearing the general title Ἰονδαικὴ ἴστορι, and sub-titles Περὶ ἀλώσεως and Ἀρχαιολογία. Yet the short title is one which the author might well have employed himself: ἀλωσις, often without the article, is constantly used of the final tragedy, e.g. ii. 454 (*προοίμιον ἀλώσεως*), iv. 318, and v. 3 (*ἀλώσεως ἄρξαι, ἀλ. κατῆρξεν τῇ πόλει*).

Dr. Robert Eisler, to whom the present writer is indebted for many suggestions in this Introduction, and whose forthcoming volume on the important Old Russian version of the *War* will throw much light on the genesis of the work, draws a distinction between an older and simpler draft, the *Halosis*, and a later and more elaborate edition, the *Polemos*.

He thinks that "Jewish history" or "histories" (*ἱστοριαι Vita* 345: Euseb. *Histor. Eccl.* i. 8) was the general title of Josephus's "collected works" as they were finally published by Epaphroditus. He emphasizes the fact that all MSS of the Russian version are entitled "On the Capture of Jerusalem" and that a hitherto unidentified quotation from Josephus, *ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ λόγῳ τῆς ἀλώσεως*, in the *Chron. Pasch.* i. 263 Dind., can be traced to certain of those MSS. He hopes to prove in his forthcoming work that the Russian version, as well as the so-called "Egesippus" (Heg.)—a Christianized Latin translation by a converted Jew, Isaac *alias* Gaudentius or Hilarius, a contemporary of Pope Damasus—is based on a lost earlier, somewhat different edition of our work—first published in A.D. 72 for the celebration of the triumph of Titus—which bore the title Φλανιον Ἰωσήπου περὶ ἀλώσεως τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ. This was gradually added to, revised, curtailed, and expanded in subsequent years. He considers Ἰονδαικὸς πόλεμος to be the title of the

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thoroughly revised edition, published during the reign of Domitian, as it survives in the MSS PA and L, while VR and MC represent earlier, less carefully revised editions of the original *“Αλωσις*, such as were used also by the Slavonic translator.

We learn from the proem that the Greek text was First Aramaic edition. not the first draft of the work. It had been preceded by a narrative written in Aramaic and addressed to “the barbarians in the interior,” who are more precisely defined lower down as the natives of Parthia, Babylonia, and Arabia, the Jewish dispersion in Mesopotamia, and the inhabitants of Adiabene, a principality of which the reigning house, as was proudly remembered, were converts to Judaism (*B.* i. 3, 6). Of this Aramaic work the Greek is described as a “version” (*Ἐλλάδι γλώσσῃ μεταβαλών*), made for the benefit of the subjects of the Roman Empire, *i.e.* the Graeco-Roman world at large.

The Aramaic is lost, but two probable inferences may be drawn with regard to (i) its relation to the Greek text, and (ii) its purpose. First, the Greek was not a literal translation. This may be inferred from the language of the historian elsewhere. He describes his *Antiquities* as a translation from the Hebrew Scriptures (*ἐκ τῶν Ἐβραικῶν μεθηρμηνευμένην γραμμάτων*, *A.* i. 5), and again as a rendering of the Hebrew books into Greek (*μεταφράζειν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλαδα γλῶτταν*) without material addition or omission on his own part (*A.* x. 218); but we know in fact that that work is a free paraphrase of the Biblical story, made with the assistance of the LXX translation, and including considerable additions derived from other sources. The *Jewish War* in its Greek form was, we are told, produced with the aid of Greek assistants and shows no

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trace whatever of Semitic phraseology ; we may infer that the older work has been practically rewritten.

With regard to its purpose, written as it was almost immediately after the war under the patronage of Vespasian, there is good ground for believing that it was officially "inspired" (see Laqueur, *Der jüd. Historiker Fl. Josephus*, 126 f.). It was a manifesto intended as a warning to the East of the futility of further opposition and to allay the after-war thirst for revenge, which ultimately led to the fierce outbreaks under Trajan and Hadrian. The danger of a Parthian rising was a constant menace, and it is significant that the Parthians stand in the forefront of the list of contemplated readers (i. 6). Such a motive is in fact admitted in the remark with which Josephus closes his description of the Roman army : "If I have dwelt at some length on this topic, my intention was not so much to extol the Romans as to console those whom they have vanquished and to deter others who may be tempted to revolt" (iii. 108 ; cf. Agrippa's speech ii. 345 ff., with the reference to the Jewish hopes of aid from Mesopotamia).

The Old  
Russian  
version.

The original Aramaic edition was at an early date lost to the Western world. A theory advanced by H. Kottek in 1856 that part of it has survived in the 6th century Syriac version of Book vi was shown by Nöldeke to be untenable. More recently, however, A. Berendts (*ap.* Harnack, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, xiv. 1, 1906) has maintained that it survives in the Old Russian version. That version contains some remarkable deviations from, and additions to, the Greek text of the *War*, including in particular passages relating to John the Baptist, Christ, and the early Christians.

The full text of the Slavonic version has not yet been made available to scholars : but the first four books of the *War* have appeared in a German translation by the late

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A. Berendts, edited by K. Grass (Dorpat, 1924-27). This work reached the hands of the present translator too late for use to be made of it in the volume now issued. He hopes, however, to print in an Appendix to vol. iii a translation of the more important additions in the Slavonic text, together with a list of the passages which it omits.

The theory of Berendts can, according to Dr. Eisler, be accepted only with reservations. The Slavonic text is interpolated, but even after certain Christian interpolations have been detected and set aside, it cannot be derived *directly* from the lost Aramaic: numerous indications prove that it is a translation from a *Greek* text, allied to that contained in the mss VRC. But below this Greek text Dr. Eisler finds, in certain transliterated words, traces of an underlying *Semitic* original. According to him,<sup>a</sup> the Greek was translated into Slavonic in Lithuania between A.D. 1250 and 1260 by a Judaizing heretic priest of the Russian Church, who by chance obtained a copy, or copies, of Josephus's first rough Greek version of the original Aramaic (the *Halosis*), before it was rewritten in the form in which it has come down to us.

The first draft of the Greek work was produced in parts and formed the subject of a long correspondence between the author and King Agrippa, two of whose 62 complimentary letters, one offering further oral information, are reproduced (*Vita* 364 ff.); we may suspect that Agrippa was also consulted on the earlier Aramaic edition. On its completion copies were presented by the author to his imperial patrons and others, Titus giving it his imprimatur: "indeed so anxious was the Emperor Titus that my volumes should be the sole authority from which the world

Product  
of Greek  
edition.

<sup>a</sup> "Les Origines de la traduction slave de Josèphe, l'hérésie judaisante en Russie et la secte des Joséphinistes en Asie Mineur, en Italie et en Provence." Communication au Congrès des Historiens Français le 22 Avril 1927 (*Revue des Études slaves*, Paris, 1927).

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should learn the facts, that he affixed his own signature to them and gave orders for their publication" (*ib.* 363, *Ap.* i. 50 ff.).

The date of publication is commonly regarded as falling within the latter half of the reign of Vespasian, between A.D. 75 and 79, before the death of that Emperor, who received a copy, but after the dedication of the Temple of *Pax* (*B.* vii. 158 ff.) in the year 75 (Dio Cassius, lxvi. 15). It had, we know, been preceded by other narratives of the war (*B.* i. 1 ff., *A.* i. 4).

These limits cannot, however, be pressed and may be applicable only to a single edition. Josephus, as we have come to learn, like other ancient authors, must have constantly retouched and added to his works as fresh copies were called for. We know that in A.D. 93-4, towards the end of his life, he was contemplating a new edition of the *War*, which was to include the after events of his nation's history brought up to date (*A.* xx. 267). Similarly our extant text was not improbably preceded by a shorter draft. From the fact that the "table of contents" in the Greek proem (*B.* i. 29) concludes with the triumph, Dr. Eisler infers that the first Greek edition ended with that event and appeared as early as A.D. 71. He acutely suggests that Josephus strove to complete his work by the day of the triumph and to present a copy to the two emperors on that memorable occasion. The sequel, including the penultimate chapter about the destruction of the other Jewish temple, that of Onias in Egypt, in A.D. 73 (*B.* vii. 420-436), was, in Dr. Eisler's opinion, added after that event, the opportunity being taken at the same time to prefix to the whole work a corresponding chapter about its foundation (*B.* i. 33) and contemporary Hasmonaean history.

A brief preface includes a somewhat inadequate and unsystematic summary of the whole work (i. 19-29); the topics mentioned are probably selected primarily to catch the imperial eye and also to

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attract the general reader. Then follows an inordinately long introduction, occupying the whole of the first and nearly half the second Book, containing a sketch of Jewish history from the previous capture of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes down to the outbreak of the war with Rome, nearly 250 years later. When in later life the author undertook a complete history of his nation, this portion of the narrative was expanded in the *Antiquities*, where it fills seven and a half books (*A.* xiii-xx). A comparison of these two narratives forms an instructive study ; the parallel passages in the *Antiquities* are indicated at the head of the pages of the present translation.

Book i extends from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (c. 170 b.c.) to the death of Herod ; ii continues the history down to the outbreak of war in A.D. 66, the rout of Cestius, and the preparations of Josephus for a campaign in Galilee. Book iii narrates Vespasian's Galilaean campaign of A.D. 67, including the siege of Jotapata and the capture of Josephus ; iv the conclusion of the Galilaean campaign, the isolation of Jerusalem, and the interruption of operations by the acclamation of Vespasian as Emperor (68-69) ; v and vi describe the siege and capture of Jerusalem by Titus in A.D. 70 ; vii the return of the conquerors to Rome, the triumphal procession, the extermination of the last strongholds of the rebels and some later events.

Considered as a literary work the *Jewish War* as Greek is a whole possesses great merits. The style is an excellent specimen of the Atticistic Greek fashionable in the first century, introduced by the school which sought to stem the development of the language that set in with the Alexandrian age and to revive the

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Attic of the age of Pericles. A choice vocabulary, well-knit sentences and paragraphs, niceties in the use of particles and in the order of words, a uniformly classical style but without slavish imitation of classical models, these and other excellences tax and often defy the powers of a translator.

*Vocabulary.*—The following words, among others, are characteristic of the *War*, and do not occur elsewhere in Josephus: ἀδιάλειπτος (-ως), ἀνέδην, ἀτονος (-ως), βασιλεῖαν, δημότης, διεκπαίειν, διέχειν (*distare*, in preference to ἀπέχειν), εἰκαῖος (-ως), ἔξαπινης (in preference to εξαιφνῆς), ἐῳθινός, θαυματᾶν, καταλήγειν, κατατιθολεῖν, κατορρωδεῖν and ὄρρωδεῖν, κοπιάν, λαθραῖος (-ως), λεωφόρος, μεσημβρινός ("southern"), μεταγενέστερος and προγενέστερος, μόνον οὐκ ("almost"), ὀλόφυροις (from Thuc.), παλινόρουεῖν, πανοῦργος (and derivatives), παράστημα ("intrepidity"), πολίχνη and πολίχνιον, πρὸς δέ (adverb: where *Ant.* uses καὶ προσέτι), προσαμύνειν, προσάρκτιος, προστός, πτοεισθαι, σιμιτζεῖν, σιστάδην, διὰ ταχοῦ and κατὰ τάχος, τονοῦν, ὑποδεῖδειν (*epic*), χθαμαλός, χωρισμός ("departure"), χῶρος.

Writing for educated readers, Josephus boasts of having immersed himself in Greek literature (*A.* xx. 263), and taken extraordinary pains to cultivate style. "Among other qualifications," he writes, "the historian . . . needs charm of style, in so far as this is attainable by the choice and nice adjustment (*ἀρμονία*) of words and whatever else may serve to embellish the narrative for his readers" (*A.* xiv. 2); in the "nice adjustment" he refers to the careful avoidance of hiatus or harsh clashing of vowels, which is a marked feature, particularly in the *War*. But such mastery could only have been gradually acquired, and that an author, who had hitherto written solely in Aramaic, should open his literary career with a work showing such a thorough command of Greek.

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niceties would be astonishing, were it not explained by an *obiter dictum* in a later work.

In the *Contra Apionem*, written perhaps a quarter of a century after the *War*, the historian makes a welcome, if tardy, acknowledgement of the help which he had received in the composition of the earlier work. He employed, he tells us, some assistants for the sake of the Greek (*χρησάμενός τισι πρὸς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν συνεργοῖς*, *Ap.* i. 50). The immense debt which he owes to these admirable collaborators is apparent on almost every page of the work. Book vii stands apart; the style here shows many of the characteristics of the *Antiquities*, and the author seems to have been more dependent on his own resources. The author's own style may also perhaps be detected in some autobiographical passages and occasional insertions.

The admission made in the *Contra Apionem* serves to explain the inequalities in the work of Josephus as a whole, and puts us on the track of other "assistants." The cruder style of the *Life* appears to represent the *ipsissima verba* of the author. The *Antiquities* also seem to have been largely written with little assistance, until towards the close, when, having reached the narrative already partially covered in the *War*, the author for nearly five books (xv-xix) entrusts the work to other hands: xv-xvi appear to betray the style of one of the able assistants in the *War*; xvii-xix. 275 exhibit the marked mannerisms of a hack, a slavish imitator of Thucydides. In the *Contra Apionem* the choice diction, recondite classical lore, and excellent arrangement of subject matter again suggest that assistance has been obtained.

Josephus, by the time that he wrote the *Antiquities*, claims to have been thoroughly conversant with the best Greek literature, including, according to the reading of some mss, Greek poetry: *τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν* Classical models.

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δὲ γραμμάτων ἐσποίδαιτα μετασχεῖται τὴν γραμματικὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἀγαλαβών A. xx. 263, where after γραμμάτων Cod. A and the epitome add the words καὶ ποιητικῶν μαθημάτων (+ πολλὰ A). The last words may have dropped out of the other mss through homoioteleuton, or possibly, as Dr. Eisler suggests, through the deliberate malice of his assistant slaves, who knew the truth about these boasted achievements of their master. In his earlier work we may well believe that he is indebted for an occasional classical phrase or allusion to his learned secretaries. Thucydides was naturally a model to which most historians turned.<sup>a</sup> In the *Antiquities* Josephus quarries freely from this mine, and his assistant in Books xvii-xix deserves the ridicule already cast by Cicero on such plagiarists ("ecce autem aliqui se Thucydidios esse profitentur, novum quoddam imperitorum et inauditum genus," *Orator* 30). In the *War*, on the contrary, the use of this source is far more restrained, being confined to an occasional reminiscence or phrase. Similar use is made of Herodotus, Xenophon, Demosthenes, and Polybius.

More interesting is the familiarity shown with Greek poetry, Homer and the tragedians. The poignant narrative of the domestic troubles of Herod the Great is told in the manner of a Greek drama :<sup>b</sup> we hear of Nemesis at the outset (i. 431), of the pollution of the house (*μίσος* 638, cf. 445), the tempest lowering over it (488), the villain and stage-manager

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Eisler draws my attention to Lucian's strictures on such borrowing in his *Quomodo historia sit conscribenda*. The quotation from Cicero I owe to Drüner, *Untersuchungen über Josephus*, 1896.

<sup>b</sup> Eusebius describes this portion of the narrative as *τραγικὴ δραματοιητική* (H.E. i. 8). I am again indebted for the reference to Dr. Eisler.

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of the plot (*τὸν λυμεῶνα τῆς οἰκίας καὶ δραματουργὸν ὅλον τοῦ μίσους* 530), the anxious waiting for “the end of the drama” (543), the avenging deity (*καθ’ ἄδον φέρειν τὸν ἀλάστορα* 596), the ghosts (*δαιμονες*) of the murdered sons roaming the palace and dragging secrets to light (599) or sealing the lips of others (607). But there are other more precise allusions. Sophocles was evidently a favourite ; the allusions to this tragedian, being mainly confined to the *War* and to portions of the *Antiquities*, especially Books xv-xvi, written in the style of the *War*, are probably attributable rather to the assistant than to the historian. From him also doubtless come some apparent allusions to Virgil.

**THUCYDIDES.**—The proem of Josephus (i. 4 *γενομένου γὰρ . . . μεγίστου τοῦδε τοῦ κινήματος . . . ἀκμάζον*) echoes that of Thucydides (i. 1 *κίνησις γὰρ αὐτῇ μεγίστῃ . . . ἐγένετο* with preceding *ἀκμάζοντες*) ; Herod’s speech to his troops disheartened by defeat followed by earthquake (i. 373 ff.) recalls that of Pericles to the Athenians exasperated by invasion and the plague (ii. 60 ff.) ; the reception at Jerusalem of the news of the fall of Jotapata (iii. 432) is reminiscent of the reception at Athens of the news of the Sicilian disaster (viii. 1). In phraseology the following parallels are noteworthy : *βύξην* *B.* iii. 296, vi. 326, Thuc. iv. 8 ; *ἀναρριπτεῖν κίνδυνον* *B.* iv. 217, Thuc. vi. 13 ; *περιαλγεῖν τῷ πάθει* *B.* iv. 590, Thuc. iv. 85, 95 ; *δουλεία ἀκίνδυνος* *B.* vii. 324, cf. Thuc. vi. 80 ; *τὸ (μὴ) βουλόμενον τῆς γνώμης* *B.* vii. 338, Thuc. i. 90 ; *στεριφώτερ(ον) ποιεῖν* *B.* vii. 314, Thuc. vii. 36.

HERODOTUS supplies the following : *τέμενος ἀποδεικνύναι* *B.* i. 403 ; *προκαθίζειν* (*ἐπὶ θρόνου*) ii. 27, cf. Hdt. i. 14 (*ἐς θρόνον*) ; *τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ* (*sc. ὁδὸν*) ii. 231, vi. 155 ; *πάντες ἡβηδόν* iii. 133, cf. iv. 554 ; *τροχοειδῆς λίμνη* iii. 511 ; *ἄκεστις* “cure” iv. 11, vii. 189 ; *πρὸς ἀλκήν τρέπεσθαι* vi. 14, vii. 232 ; *ἀναμάρτητος πρὸς τινα γίνεσθαι* vii. 329 ; *λήματος πλήρης* vii. 340, cf. *λήματος πλέος* Hdt. v. 111.

XENOPHON, *Cyropaedia*, probably furnishes *θήγειν ψυχὰς*

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iv. 174; ἀντιμέτωπος v. 56 and ἀντιπρόσωπος v. 62, 136; τάραχος (for ταραχή) iv. 495; διαδωρεῖσθαι vi. 418; ριψοκίνδυνος vii. 77.

DEMOSTHENES provides phrases for speeches such as ἐπιτετειχισμένη τυραννίς iv. 172, τιμωρίας διακρούεσθαι iv. 257; perhaps also ἀναισθητεῖν iv. 165, ἐκ τῶν εὐόντων vi. 183, βρόχον ἐπισπάν vii. 250, σκευώρημα vii. 449.

From HOMER come ἀναισωτί ii. 495, iv. 40 etc.; εἴχοντο καὶ μετὰ κωκυτῶν iii. 202, cf. κωκυτῷ τ' εἴχοντο Il. xxii. 409; ἐκφορεῖν = "carry out corpse for burial," iv. 330; ἄκολος "morsel" v. 432; ἀμάρα "conduit" and ὄνθος "dung" v. 571; πεπαρμέν(α) ἥλοις vi. 85; φυλακτήρ (for φύλαξ) vii. 291.

SOPHOCLES.—From the *Electra* come ἀφειδεῖν φυχῆς B. iii. 212, *El.* 950, and θράσος ὀπλίζειν B. iii. 153, *El.* 995 f., and we may confidently infer that we have a paraphrase of a line in the near context of that play (*ὅρα πόνου τοι χωρὶς οὐδὲν εὔτυχεῖ El.* 945) in B. iii. 495, v. 501; reminiscences of this play and of the *Ajax* occur also in A. xv-xvi. We find also θάρτος προξενεῖν B. v. 66 from *Trach.* 726; ἐνσκήπτειν θεός B. v. 408, probably from *O.T.* 27; προσψαίειν B. vii. 348, cf. *O.C.* 330 etc., and immediately after ξῆ καὶ τέθηλεν from *Trach.* 235; οὐδὲν ὕγιες φρονεῖν, B. v. 326, cf. *Phil.* 1006.

VIRGIL.—Like a rather younger historian of the same period—Tacitus—the *σινεργός* (for Josephus can here hardly be responsible) seems to have interwoven some Virgilian reminiscences into the narrative. The sack of Jotapata (as in Tacitus the siege of the Capitol under Vitellius, Mackail, *Latin Literature* 219) recalls the sack of Troy. Compare B. iii. 319 περὶ γὰρ τὴν ἐσχάτην φυλακήν, καθ' ἣν ἀνεσίν τε τῶν δεινῶν εόδοιν ἔχειν καὶ καθάπτεται μάλιστα κεκοπωμένων [=mortalibus aegris] ἑωθινὸς ὑπνος . . . 323 ff. ἡσαν ἡσυχῆ πρὸς τὸ τεῦχος, καὶ πρῶτος ἐπιβαίνει Τίτος . . . ἀποσφίξαντες δὲ τοὺς φύλακας εἰσίασιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν with *Aen.* ii. 263 ff. “ . . . primusque Machaon . . . Invadunt urbem somno vinoque sepultam; | caeduntur uigiles. . . . Tempus erat quo prima quies mortalibus aegris incipit et dono divum gratissima serpit.” The personified Φήμη B. iii. 433 f. (with the allusion to facts embroidered by fiction, προτεσχεδιάζετο γε μήν τοῖς πεπραγμένοις καὶ τά μη γενόμενα) recalls the picture

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of Fama in *Aen.* iv. 173 ff. ("et pariter facta atque infecta canebat" 190); cf. *B.* i. 371.

The portrait of John of Gischala in *B.* ii. 585 ff. curiously resembles that of Catiline in Sallust, *Cat.* 5.

The *War* contains no allusions to authorities such sources as are interspersed throughout the *Antiquities*. The historian in this earlier work is silent as to his sources, merely leading us to infer from his proem that his information is largely first-hand and based on his own recollections as an eyewitness (i. 3), that he had new materials and constructed the framework of the narrative himself (*φιλόπονος . . . ὁ μετὰ τοῦ καὶ νὰ λέγειν καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἱστορίας κατασκευάζων ἕδιον*), and that he collected the facts with laborious care (i. 15 f.).

These scanty hints can be supplemented by a few notices in the works produced in later life, the *Contra Apionem* and the *Life*. Here again he emphasizes the personal part which he took in the contest, as commander in Galilee in the opening campaign, after his capture in constant touch with the Roman generals, and during the siege of Jerusalem associated with Titus behind the Roman lines. He tells us that throughout the siege he made careful notes of the proceedings in the Roman camp and was kept aware of events within the city by deserters, whose information he was alone in a position to understand (*Ap.* i. 47-49). We know, moreover, from the *War*, that he was employed on more than one occasion as intermediary to urge his besieged compatriots to surrender. We learn further that King Agrippa, who was kept supplied with a copy of the *War* as it appeared in parts, was in correspondence with the author throughout its production and offered to

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furnish him with information about facts not generally known (*Vita* 364 ff.).

But, besides his own notes and recollections and such further information as he may have obtained from Agrippa, the author appears to have had access to another document of the first importance, the "memoirs" or "commentaries" (*ἐπομνήματα*) of Vespasian and Titus. No reference to this source is made in the *War* itself; this silence is in accordance with the historian's consistent practice of naming no authorities in this work, but may, perhaps without injustice, be partly attributed to vanity. He would have us know that the framework of the narrative is his own (*σῶμα ἴδιον*), and a mention of this source, whatever weight it might add to his authority, might detract from his personal fame. At any rate, like his acknowledgement of indebtedness to his Greek assistants, his allusions to the *Commentaries* only appear in his later works, in reply to the adverse criticism which his *Jewish War* evoked from Justus and other rival historians. His previous silence on other matters (*τὰ μεχρὶ τὴν σεσωπημένα*) evidently formed one of the complaints of his critics (*Vita* 338 f.).

The *Commentaries* are thrice mentioned. Replying to the criticisms of Justus of Tiberias, Josephus reminds him of hostilities for which he and his fellow-citizens were responsible at the opening of the war before Vespasian's arrival, and which were afterwards brought to that general's notice. He adds: "This is no unsupported assertion of my own. The facts are recorded in the *Commentaries* of the emperor Vespasian, which further relate how insistently the inhabitants of Decapolis pressed Vespasian, when at Ptolemais, to punish you as the culprit" (*Vita* 342).

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Ptolemais was the first place to which Vespasian led his army from Antioch, his original base (*B.* iii. 29); we here learn that the *Commentaries* went back to the opening of the campaign. Again, attacking the same opponent, Josephus writes: "Perhaps, however, you will say that you have accurately narrated the events which took place at Jerusalem. How, pray, can that be, seeing that neither were you on the scene of action, nor had you perused the *Commentaries* of Caesar, as is abundantly proved by your account which conflicts with those *Commentaries*?" (*Vita* 358). Again, of certain malignant critics who have dared to compare his *Jewish War* to a schoolboy's prize composition ( $\omega\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho \; \acute{e}v \; \sigma\chi\omega\lambda\hat{\eta} \; \mu\epsilon\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$  γύμνασμα προκείσθαι νομίζοντες), the author writes: "Surely, then, one cannot but regard as audacious the attempt of these critics to challenge my veracity. Even if, as they assert, they have read the *Commentaries* of the imperial commanders, they at any rate had no first-hand acquaintance with our position in the opposite camp" (*Ap.*i.53-56). These two last passages, in which Josephus is contrasting his own qualifications with those of others, clearly imply that the *Commentaries* were before him when he wrote the *War*.

Indeed, as has been suggested by a recent writer (W. Weber, *Josephus und Vespasian*, 1921), there is reason to think that our author has made extensive use of these documents. The *Commentarii principales*, it may be supposed, were the notes, presumably in Latin, made on the field of action by the Roman commanders and their staff, which might sometimes be put out in a more literary shape as the official record of the campaign, like the *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* of Julius Caesar. From this or from some other official

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source must come the information with regard to the disposition of the Roman legions in A.D. 66, which is strikingly confirmed by other evidence and is here worked up into the great speech of King Agrippa (*B.* ii. 345 ff.). Another passage which looks like a direct extract from the *Commentaries* of Titus is the concise itinerary of the march of that general from Egypt to Caesarea, with its bare enumeration of the various stages, though it must be remembered that Josephus accompanied him (*B.* iv. 658-end). Whether Weber is right in referring to this source the geographical sketches of Palestine interspersed throughout the narrative may perhaps be questioned, but the description of the Dead Sea with the mention of Vespasian's visit of inspection (*B.* iv. 477) lends support to his view (*cf.* the rather similar account in Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 6).

Weber goes so far as to maintain that the backbone of the whole history is a "Flavian work," of which the theme was the rise to power of the Flavian dynasty. In his opinion, this work opened with a sketch of the disposition of the legions in A.D. 66 (utilized in Agrippa's speech), included much of the material of *B.* iii-vi, and ended with the passage which stands in Josephus at vii. 157 : it was used by Pliny the Elder and Tacitus. In his review of Weber, Laqueur denies the existence of any such literary work, on the ground that Josephus severely criticizes all previous publications on the war (*B.* i. *ad init.*).

For the pre-war period (Books i-ii) we can confidently name one writer, frequently mentioned in the *Antiquities*, as having furnished material also for the *War*—Nicolas of Damascus (c. 64 B.C. to the end of the century), the intimate friend of Herod the Great and of Augustus, and author of a universal history in 144 books and other works, including probably a

## INTRODUCTION

separate life of Herod. From Nicolas undoubtedly is derived the detailed history of Herod's house, which fills two-thirds of Book i, and of the accession of Archelaus (opening of Book ii), in which he himself played an important part. Here again Josephus had the advantage of a first-rate, if somewhat biased, contemporary authority. After Archelaus the narrative unfortunately becomes meagre, expanding into rather greater fullness when the reign of Agrippa I is reached. With regard to him the historian would obtain information from his son, Agrippa II, and for the events leading up to the war he might draw on his own recollections. For the slight sketch of the Hasmonean house the history of Nicolas is perhaps again the authority ; the historian shows no acquaintance in the *War* with the first book of Maccabees, of which he afterwards made large use in the *Antiquities*.

As historian of the Jewish War Josephus thus comes before us with apparently high credentials ; at any rate few war historians in ancient or modern times can have enjoyed so rare a combination of opportunities for presenting a veracious narrative of events. How does his work appear when tested by the highest of standards, the *History of the Peloponnesian War*? It is natural to compare the Jew and the Athenian because, widely different as were the characters of the two, there were points of similarity in their careers. Like Thucydides, Josephus combined the functions of general and historian ; like him he failed as a commander and was consequently brought into close contact with the enemy and enabled to view the war from the standpoint of both belligerents (Thuc. iv. 104 ff., v. 26 "associating with both sides, with the Peloponnesians quite as much as with

## INTRODUCTION

the Athenians, because of my exile," *cf.* Jos. *B.* i. 3); while the Jewish historian, unlike the Greek, had the further advantage of the use of the official record of the campaign compiled by, or under the supervision of, the enemy's generals.

With access to these first-hand sources, with the weighty authority both of his imperial patrons and of King Agrippa behind him, and with the possibly more questionable benefit of good literary assistants, the historian's narrative *as a whole* cannot but be accepted as trustworthy. Unfortunately reservations must be made. Josephus lacks the sober impartiality of Thucydides and, with all his boasted zeal for truth, shows on occasions, when his statements are subject to control, a lax sense of the meaning of that word. The *Commentaries* themselves were written from the Roman standpoint, and the pro-Roman bias of this client of the conquerors, who from the first had recognized the hopelessness of resistance to imperial Rome, is frequently evident. His repeated references to the clemency of the Roman generals, his hero Titus in particular, and his representation of them as the saviours of an oppressed people, are specially open to suspicion.

In one crucial instance, a statement of Josephus—that Titus desired to spare the temple—is directly contradicted by a later historian. The fourth-century Christian writer, Sulpicius Severus, who has been thought to be here dependent on the lost work of Tacitus, states, like Josephus, that a council of war was held on the subject, at which different opinions were expressed, but here the rôles are reversed and it is Titus who sanctions the destruction of the building. The passages are as follows:

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*Josephus, B. vi.*

- 238 βουλὴν περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ  
 239 προυτίθει. τοῖς μὲν οὖν  
 ἔόσκει χρῆσθαι τῷ τοῦ  
 πολέμου νόμῳ. μὴ γὰρ ἀν  
 ποτε Ἰουδαῖος παύσασθαι  
 νεωτερίζοντας τοῦ ναοῦ  
 μένοντος, ἐφ' ὃν οἱ παν-  
 240 ταχόθεν συλλέγονται. τινὲς  
 δέ παρήνουν, εἰ μὲν κατα-  
 λίποιεν αὐτὸν Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ  
 μηδεὶς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ ὅπλα  
 θεῖη, σώξειν. εἰ δὲ πολεμοίεν  
 ἐπιβάντες, καταφλέγειν . . .  
 241 ὁ δὲ Τίτος οὐδὲ ἀν επιβάντες  
 ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πολεμῶσιν Ἰου-  
 δαῖοι φήσας ἀντίτων ἀνδρῶν  
 ἀμυνεῖσθαι τὰ ἄψυχα οὐδὲ  
 καταφλέξειν ποτὲ τηλικού-  
 τον ἔργον. Ῥωμαῖων γάρ  
 ἔσεσθαι τὴν βλάβην. ὥσπερ  
 καὶ κόσμου τῆς ἡγεμονίας  
 αὐτοῦ μένοντος . . .

*Sulpicius, Chron. ii. 30.*

Fertur Titus adhibito consilio  
 prius deliberasse, an templum  
 tanti operis euerteret. Etenim  
 nonnullis uidebatur, aedem  
 sacratam ultra omnia mortalia  
 illustrem non oportere deleri,  
 quae seruata modestiae  
 Romanae testimonium, diruta  
 perennem crudelitatis notam  
 praeberet. At contra alii *et*  
*Titus ipse euertendum in primis*  
*templum censebant*, quo plenius  
 Iudeorum et Christianorum  
 religio tolleretur: quippe has  
 religiones, licet contrarias sibi,  
 isdem tamen ab auctoribus  
 profetas; Christianos ex  
 Iudeis extitisse: radice sub-  
 lata stirpem facile peritaram.

The evidence of Sulpicius is somewhat vitiated by the final allusion to Christianity which can hardly be correct;<sup>a</sup> but the known partiality of Josephus leaves him under the suspicion of having misrepresented the attitude of Titus, in order to clear him of the imputation of cruelty. Weber (*Josephus und Vespasian* 72 f.) with others upholds Sulpicius against Josephus; Schürer (*Gesch. des jüd. Volkes*, ed. 3, i. 631 f.) inclines to the middle view of Valeton that Josephus, without actual mendacity, has by the suppression of important facts created a false impression.

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Eisler suggests that “Christiani” may be a general designation for Jewish “Messianist” rebels; but here I hesitate to follow him.

## INTRODUCTION

For the earlier pre-war history Josephus has himself provided us with a certain check upon his statements and enabled us to form some estimate of his treatment of his sources by the double narrative which he has left us. The precise relation between the two narratives cannot here be considered. The fuller account in the *Antiquities* was based partly on the same sources which he had used in the *War*, partly on new information since obtained. The subject matter has sometimes been re-arranged, notably in the latter part of Herod's reign, where the *War* separates the external history from the domestic tragedies, while the *Antiquities* keep the chronological order. There are, as is natural, inconsistencies between the two accounts; but, generally speaking, it may be said that the author faithfully follows his written authorities.

It is otherwise with the passages in which the *War* overlaps with the *Life*. Here there are unaccountable discrepancies, and the autobiographical notices of the historian must be pronounced the least trustworthy portion of his writings. The numerous inconsistencies, of a minor or a graver character, between the two accounts of his command in Galilee, to which attention is called in the footnotes to *B. ii.* 569-646, betray either gross carelessness or actual fraud.<sup>a</sup> Laqueur, who holds the *Life*, or certain portions of it, to be the earlier and more faithful record, suspects the author of deliberate misrepresentation of some details in the *War* in order

<sup>a</sup> The latter alternative, Dr. Eisler informs me, is rendered a certainty through his critical comparison of the third, and again quite distinct, account in the Slavonic *Halosis*.

## INTRODUCTION

to ingratiate himself with another patron, King Agrippa.

Nothing, unfortunately, has survived of the earliest, probably Roman, histories of the war criticized by Josephus in his proem, nor yet of the Jewish history of Justus of Tiberias produced soon after A.D. 100, in which his own work was criticized. We possess, however, from the pen of Tacitus early in the second century a brief sketch of the campaign up to the preparations for the siege of Jerusalem (*Hist.* v. 1-13); the sequel is lost. We have also the lives of Vespasian and Titus written at about the same time by Suetonius, and an epitome of this portion (Book lxvi) of the great Roman history of Dion Cassius (early third century) made in the eleventh century by Xiphilinus. The account of Tacitus presents some interesting parallels not only with the *War*, but also, on the origin of the Jewish nation, with the *Contra Apionem* of our author. Though the *Histories* were written at Rome almost within the lifetime of Josephus, the Roman's antipathy to the Jews makes it improbable that he ever consulted his works. But both writers may be dependent on a common source, such as the Flavian *Commentaries*.

The Greek text here printed is based on that of Niese, but is the outcome of a careful and independent investigation of the ms evidence collected in his great edition. The mss and other ancient authorities for the text, in so far as they have been used by Niese, are quoted in the present work with his abbreviations as follows : <sup>a</sup> Greek text and mss.

<sup>a</sup> For particulars with regard to the versions I am indebted to Dr. Eisler.

- P Codex Parisinus Graecus 1425, cent. x. or xi.
- A Codex Ambrosianus (Mediolanensis) D. 50 sup., cent. x. or xi.
- M Codex Marcianus (Venetus) Gr. 383, cent. xi. or xii.
- L Codex Laurentianus, plut. lxix. 19, cent. xi. or xii.
- V Codex Vaticanus Gr. 148, about cent. xi.
- R Codex Palatinus (Vaticanus) Gr. 284, cent. xi. or xii.
- C Codex Urbinas (Vaticanus) Gr. 84, cent. xi.
- Exc. Excerpts made in the tenth century by order of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus.
- Lat. A Latin version known to Cassiodorus in the fifth century and commonly ascribed to Rufinus in the preceding century.
- Heg. Hegesippus, a corruption of Josepus or Josippus: another Latin version, wrongly ascribed to S. Ambrose, written about 370 A.D. by a converted Jew, Isaac, as a Christian called Hilarius or Gaudentius, the so-called Ambrosiaster, a contemporary of Pope Damasus (see Jos. Wittig in Max Sdralek's *Kirchengesch. Abhandlungen* iv; ed. Keber-Caesar, Marburg, 1864). A new edition by Vinc. Ussani for the Vienna Corpus is forthcoming.
- Syr. A Syriac translation of Book vi in *Translatio Syra Pescitto Vet. Test. ex cod Ambrosiano* see. fere vi phololith. edita cura et adnotationibus Antonii Maria Ceriani, Milan, 1876-1883.

To these may be added :

**Yos.** = Josephus Gorionides or Yosippon, a Hebrew paraphrase, derived from Heg., ed. Breithaupt, Gotha, 1727.

**Slav.** A critical edition of the Old Russian Version by Vladimir Istrin is nearing completion. The first four books are published in a German version by Konrad Grass (see above, p. xi).

Among other mss occasionally quoted by Niese are :

**N** Codex Laurentianus, plut. lxix. 17, about cent. xii.

**T** Codex Philippicus, formerly belonging to the library of the late Sir Thomas Phillips, Cheltenham, about cent. xii.

The mss fall into two main groups, PA(ML) and VR(C); M, L, and, to a less extent, C are inconstant members, siding now with one group, now with the other. The first group is decidedly superior to the second. The two types of text go much further back than the date of Niese's oldest mss, since traces of the "inferior" type appear already in Porphyry (3rd century); the diversity of readings must therefore have begun very early. Indeed some variants appear to preserve corrections gradually incorporated by the author himself in later editions of his work.<sup>a</sup> Mixture of the two types also began early, a few instances of "conflation" occurring

<sup>a</sup> A striking instance occurs in *B.* vi. 369, where, beside the neater *τόπος* . . . πᾶς λιμοῦ νεκρὸν εἶχεν ἢ στάσεως, a more prolix and apparently older phrase καὶ πεπλήρωτο νεκρῶν ἢ διὰ στάσιν ἢ διὰ λιμὸν ἀπολωλότων has been left undeleted. See Laqueur, *Der jüd. Historiker Fl. Josephus*, p. 239, whose theory is confirmed, I am told, by Dr. Eisler's analysis of the Old Russian.

already in the fourth-century Latin version. P and A, on which Niese mainly relies, appear to have been copied from an exemplar in which the terminations of words were abbreviated, and are to that extent untrustworthy. The true text seems to have been not seldom preserved in one of the mss of mixed type, L in particular. The mixture in that ms is peculiar: throughout Book i and down to about ii. 242 it sides with VRC, from that point onwards more often with the other group or with the Latin version. In the later books L becomes an authority of the first rank and seems often to have preserved alone, or in combination with the Latin version, the original text.

The translator must finally express his grateful acknowledgement for the assistance which he has received from the labours of many previous workers, of various nationalities, in the same field: notably Dr. Robert Eisler, of whose forthcoming work on the Slavonic version an English version is expected from Messrs. Methuen, Benedict Niese (on whose edition the Greek text is based), the Rev. Robert Traill, D.D., who fell a victim to his devoted exertions for his parishioners during the Irish famine of 1846-47 (for his excellent translation), the Rev. William Whiston (for his pioneering version, produced nearly two centuries ago, as revised by the Rev. A. R. Shilleto, 1889-90), and last, but not least, Dr. Théodore Reinach and his collaborators (for his French translation and invaluable notes, *Oeuvres complètes de Flavius Josèphe*, tome v, *Guerre des Juifs*, livres i-iii, Paris, 1912). Dr. Reinach has graciously permitted me to make use of this work with its admirable commentary, and

my constant indebtedness to this brilliant scholar will be evident to the reader from the references in the footnotes throughout this volume. The works of R. Laqueur and W. Weber must also be mentioned.

The Map of Jerusalem is based partly on that contained in the article *Jerusalem* in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (vol. ii), partly on one published by the Palestine Exploration Fund. The translator gratefully acknowledges the kindness of Messrs. A. & C. Black and of Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, the Hon. Secretary of the Palestine Exploration Fund, in permitting him to make use of their respective publications. He is further indebted to Dr. Masterman for much helpful advice in the matter, as well as to Mr. C. E. Mott, the Hon. Secretary of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem; but the responsibility for the form in which the map is here presented rests solely with himself. The invaluable *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the Holy Land* by Sir George Adam Smith and Dr. J. G. Bartholomew (Hodder & Stoughton, 1915) has been in constant use.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

*A.* = *Antiquitates Judaicae.*

*Ap.* = *Contra Apionem.*

*B.* = *Bellum Judaicum.*

*V.* = *Vita.*

*conj.* = conjectural emendation.

*ed. pr.* = *editio princeps* (Basel, 1544).

*Eus.* (*H.E.* ; *P.E.*) = Eusebius (*Historia Ecclesiastica* ; *Praeparatio Evangelica*).

*ins.* = inserted by.                            *om.* = omit.

Conjectural insertions in the Greek text are indicated by angular brackets, <>; doubtful ms readings and apparent glosses by square brackets, [ ].

The smaller sections introduced by Niese are shown in the left margin of the Greek text. References throughout are to these sections. The chapter-division of earlier editions is indicated on both pages (Greek and English).

# THE JEWISH WAR

VOL. II

B

# ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΙΟΥΔΑΪΚΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΥΣ

## ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Α

(1) Ἐπειδὴ τὸν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον συστάντα μέγιστον οὐ μόνον τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ὥν ἀκοῇ παρειλήφαμεν ἢ πόλεων πρὸς πόλεις ἡ ἐθνῶν ἔθνεσι συρραγέντων, οἵ μὲν οὐ παρατυχόντες τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἀλλ' ἀκοῇ συλλέγοντες εἰκαῖα καὶ ἀσύμφωνα διηγήματα σοφι·  
2 στικῶς ἀναγράφουσιν, οἵ παραγενόμενοι δὲ ἡ κολακείᾳ τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἢ μίσει τῷ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους καταψεύδονται τῶν πραγμάτων, περέ·  
έχει δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅπου μὲν κατηγορίαν ὅπου δὲ ἐγκώ·  
μιον τὰ συγγράμματα, τὸ δ' ἀκριβὲς τῆς ιστορίας  
3 οὐδαμοῦ, προυθέμην ἐγὼ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν, Ἐλλάδι γλώσσῃ μεταβαλὼν ἀ τοῖς ἄνω βαρβάροις τῇ πατρίῳ συντάξας ἀνέπεμψα πρότερον, ἀφηγήσασθαι, Ἰώσηπος Ματθίου παῖς, [γένει Ἐβραῖος,]<sup>1</sup> ἐξ Ἰεροσολύμων ιερεύς, αὐτός

<sup>1</sup> om. P Eus.

# HISTORY OF THE JEWISH WAR AGAINST THE ROMANS

## BOOK I

(1) THE war of the Jews against the Romans—the PREFAC  
whole greatest not only of the wars of our own time, but, so far as accounts have reached us, well nigh of all that ever broke out between cities or nations—has not lacked its historians. Of these, however, some, having taken no part in the action, have collected from hearsay casual and contradictory stories which they have then edited in a rhetorical style; while others, who witnessed the events, have, either from flattery of the Romans or from hatred of the Jews, misrepresented the facts, their writings exhibiting alternatively invective and encomium, but nowhere historical accuracy. In these circumstances, I—Josephus, son of Matthias, a Hebrew by race, a native of Jerusalem and a priest, who at the opening of the war myself fought against the Romans and in the sequel was perforce an onlooker—propose to provide the subjects of the Roman Empire with a narrative of the facts, by translating into Greek the account which I previously composed in my ver-

Inadeq  
of prev  
historia  
Joseph  
creden

τε Ῥωμαίους πολεμήσας τὰ πρῶτα καὶ τοῖς ὕστε-  
ρον παρατυχών ἔξ ἀνάγκης.

- 4 (2) γενομένου γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, μεγίστου τοῦδε  
τοῦ κινήματος, ἐν Ῥωμαίοις μὲν ἐνόσει τὰ οἰκεῖα,  
Ἰουδαίων δὲ τὸ νεωτερίζον τότε τεταραγμένοις  
ἔπανέστη τοῖς καιροῖς ἀκμάζον κατά τε χεῖρα καὶ  
χρήμασιν, ὡς δι' ὑπερβολὴν θορύβων τοῖς μὲν ἐν  
ἔλπidi κτήσεως τοῖς δ' ἐν ἀφαιρέσεως δέει γίνε-  
σθαι τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολήν, ἐπειδὴ Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν  
ἄπαν τὸ ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ὁμόφυλον συνεπαρθήσεο-  
θαι σφίσιν ἥλπισαν, Ῥωμαίους δ' οἱ τε γείτονες  
Γαλάται παρεκίνουν καὶ τὸ Κελτικὸν οὐκ ἥρε-  
μει, μεστὰ δ' ἦν πάντα θορύβων μετὰ Νέρωνα, καὶ  
πολλοὺς μὲν βασιλειᾶν ὁ καιρὸς ἀνέπειθεν, τὰ  
στρατιωτικὰ δὲ ἥρα μεταβολῆς ἔλπidi λημμάτων.  
6 ἄτοπον ἡγησάμενος<sup>1</sup> περιιδεῖν πλαζομένην ἐπὶ  
τηλικούτοις πράγμασι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ Πάρθους  
μὲν καὶ Βαβυλωνίους Ἀράβων τε τοὺς πορρωτάτω  
καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ὁμόφυλον ἡμῖν Ἀδιαβηνούς  
τε γνῶναι διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπιμελείας ἀκριβῶς, ὅθεν  
τε ἥρξατο καὶ δι' ὅσων ἔχωρησεν παθῶν ὁ πόλεμος  
καὶ ὅπως κατέστρεψεν, ἀγνοεῖν δὲ "Ελληνας ταῦτα  
καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὴ ἐπιστρατευσαμένους, ἐντυγ-  
χάνοντας ἢ κολακείαις ἢ πλάσμασι.

<sup>1</sup> Some MSS. have ἄτοπον οὖν ἡγησάμην. But chaps. (1) and (2) apparently form a single sentence, §§ 4 and 5 being a parenthesis.

<sup>a</sup> Aramaic or Hebrew.

<sup>b</sup> The "up-country barbarians" intended are more precisely specified in § 6.

<sup>c</sup> As Reinach points out, this is exaggerated. At the outbreak of war the Roman Empire was free from disorder.

<sup>d</sup> i.e. the Germans. The references are respectively to

## JEWISH WAR, I. 3-6

nacular tongue<sup>a</sup> and sent to the barbarians in the interior.<sup>b</sup>

(2) I spoke of this upheaval as one of the greatest magnitude. The Romans had their own internal disorders. The Jewish revolutionary party, whose numbers and fortunes were at their zenith, seized the occasion of the turbulence of these times for insurrection.<sup>c</sup> As a result of these vast disturbances the whole of the Eastern Empire was in the balance ; the insurgents were fired with hopes of its acquisition, their opponents feared its loss. For the Jews hoped that all their fellow-countrymen beyond the Euphrates would join with them in revolt ; while the Romans, on their side, were occupied with their neighbours the Gauls, and the Celts<sup>d</sup> were in motion. Nero's death, moreover, brought universal confusion ; June A.D. many were induced by this opportunity to aspire to the sovereignty, and a change which might make their fortune was after the heart of the soldiery.

I thought it monstrous, therefore, to allow the truth in affairs of such moment to go astray, and that, while Parthians and Babylonians and the most remote tribes of Arabia with our countrymen beyond the Euphrates and the inhabitants of Adiabene<sup>e</sup> were, through my assiduity, accurately acquainted with the origin of the war, the various phases of calamity through which it passed and its conclusion, the Greeks and such Romans as were not engaged in the contest should remain in ignorance of these matters, with flattering or fictitious narratives as their only guide.

the revolt of Gaul under Vindex (A.D. 68) and to that of the Batavi under Civilis (69).

<sup>a</sup> In the upper Tigris region.

Critical  
condition  
affairs in  
East and  
West.

June A.D.

- 7 (3) Καίτοι γε ἴστορίας αὐτὰς ἐπιγράφειν τολμῶσιν, ἐν αἷς πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς δηλοῦν καὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ δοκοῦσιν ἔμοιγε διαμαρτάνειν. Βούλονται μὲν γὰρ μεγάλους τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀποδεικνύειν, καταβάλλουσιν δὲ ἀεὶ τὰ Ἰουδαίων καὶ ταπεινούσιν· οὐχ ὄρῳ δέ, πῶς ἂν εἴναι μεγάλοι δοκοῖεν οἱ μικροὺς νενικηκότες· καὶ οὕτε τὸ μῆκος αἰδοῦνται τοῦ πολέμου οὕτε τὸ πλῆθος τῆς Ῥωμαίων καμουσῆς στρατιᾶς οὕτε τὸ μέγεθος τῶν στρατηγῶν, οἱ πολλὰ περὶ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἰδρώσαντες, οἵμαι, ταπεινουμένου τοῦ κατορθώματος αὐτοῖς ἀδοξοῦσιν.
- 9 (4) Οὐ μὴν ἐγὼ τοῖς ἐπαίρουσι τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀντιφιλονεικῶν αὐξεῖν τὰ τῶν ὅμοφύλων διέγνων, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἔργα μετ' ἀκριβείας ἀμφοτέρων διέξειμι, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι λόγους ἀνατίθημι τῇ<sup>1</sup> διαθέσει, καὶ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ πάθεσι διδοὺς 10 ἐπολοφύρεσθαι ταῖς τῆς πατρίδος συμφοραῖς. ὅτι γὰρ αὐτὴν στάσις οἰκεία καθεῖλεν, καὶ τὰς Ῥωμαίων χεῖρας ἀκούσας καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὸν [ἄγιον]<sup>2</sup> ναὸν εἴλκυσαν οἱ Ἰουδαίων τύραννοι, μάρτυς αὐτὸς ὁ πορθήσας Καΐσαρ Τίτος, ἐν παντὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τὸν μὲν δῆμον ἐλεήσας ὑπὸ τῶν στασιαστῶν φρουρούμενον, πολλάκις δὲ ἐκὼν τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς πόλεως ὑπερτιθέμενος καὶ διδοὺς τῇ πολιορκίᾳ 11 χρόνον εἰς μετάνοιαν τῶν αἰτίων. εἰ δέ τις ὅσα πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἦ τὸ ληστρικὸν αὐτῶν κατηγορικῶς λέγοιμεν ἢ τοῖς δυστυχήμασι τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιστένοντες συκοφαντοίη, διδότω παρὰ τὸν τῆς

<sup>1</sup> Holwerda inserts *<ιδίᾳ>*.<sup>2</sup> om. PM\*.

(3) Though the writers in question presume to give their works the title of histories, yet throughout them, apart from the utter lack of sound information, they seem, in my opinion, to miss their own mark. They desire to represent the Romans as a great nation, and yet they continually deprecate and disparage the actions of the Jews. But I fail to see how the conquerors of a puny people deserve to be accounted great. Again, these writers have respect neither for the long duration of the war, nor for the vast numbers of the Roman army that it engaged, nor for the prestige of the generals, who, after such herculean labours under the walls of Jerusalem, are, I suppose, of no repute in these writers' eyes, if their achievement is to be underestimated.

(4) I have no intention of rivalling those who extol the Roman power by exaggerating the deeds of my compatriots. I shall faithfully recount the actions of both combatants ; but in my reflections on the events I cannot conceal my private sentiments, nor refuse to give my personal sympathies scope to bewail my country's misfortunes. For, that it owed its ruin to civil strife, and that it was the Jewish tyrants who drew down upon the holy temple the unwilling hands of the Romans and the conflagration, is attested by Titus Caesar himself, who sacked the city ; throughout the war he commiserated the populace who were at the mercy of the revolutionaries, and often of his own accord deferred the capture of the city and by protracting the siege gave the culprits time for repentance. Should, however, any critic censure me for my strictures upon the tyrants or their bands of marauders or for my lamentations over my country's misfortunes, I ask

Erroneous  
disparage-  
ment of  
Jews by  
previous  
historians

The autho-  
personal  
feelings.

# JOSEPHUS

- ίστορίας νόμον συγγράμην τῷ πάθει· πόλιν [μὲν]<sup>1</sup>  
 γὰρ δὴ τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πασῶν τὴν ἡμετέραν  
 ἐπὶ πλεῖστόν τε εὐδαιμονίας συνέβη προελθεῖν καὶ  
 12 πρὸς ἔσχατον συμφορῶν αὖθις καταπεσεῖν. τὰ  
 γοῦν πάντων ἀπ' αἰώνος ἀτυχήματα πρὸς τὰ  
 Ἰουδαίων ἡττῆσθαι δοκῶ κατὰ σύγκρισιν, καὶ  
 τούτων αἴτιος οὐδεὶς ἀλλόφυλος, ὥστε ἀμήχανον  
 ἦν ὁδυρμῶν ἐπικρατεῖν. εἰ δέ τις οἴκτου σκλη-  
 ρότερος εἴη δικαστής, τὰ μὲν πράγματα τῇ ίστορίᾳ  
 προσκρινέτω, τὰς δ' ὀλοφύρσεις τῷ γράφοντι.
- 13 (5) Καίτοι γε ἐπιτιμήσαιμ' ἂν αὐτὸς δικαίως  
 τοῖς Ἑλλήνων λογίοις, οἱ τηλικούτων κατ' αὐτοὺς  
 πραγμάτων γεγενημένων, ἢ κατὰ σύγκρισιν ἐλα-  
 χίστους ἀποδείκνυσι τοὺς πάλαι πολέμους, τούτων  
 μὲν κάθηνται κριταὶ τοῖς φιλοτιμουμένοις ἐπηρεά-  
 ζοντες, ὧν εἴ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ πλεονεκτοῦσι, λεί-  
 πονται τῇ προαιρέσει αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ  
 Μήδων συγγράφουσιν ὥσπερ ἡττον καλῶς ὑπὸ
- 14 τῶν ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων ἀπηγγελμένα. καίτοι  
 τοσούτῳ τῆς ἐκείνων ἡττῶνται δυνάμεως ἐν τῷ  
 γράφειν, ὅσῳ καὶ τῆς γνώμης· τὰ γὰρ καθ' αὐτοὺς  
 ἐσπούδαζον ἔκαστοι γράφειν, ὅπου καὶ τὸ παρα-  
 τυχεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐποίει τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν  
 ἐναργῆ καὶ τὸ ψεύδεσθαι παρ' εἰδόσιν αἰσχρὸν ἦν.
- 15 τό γε μὴν μνήμη τὰ [μὴ]<sup>2</sup> προϊστορηθέντα διδόναι  
 καὶ τὰ τῶν ἴδιων χρόνων τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτὸν συν-  
 ιστάνειν ἐπαίνου καὶ μαρτυρίας ἄξιον· φιλόπονος δὲ  
 οὐχ ὁ μεταποιῶν οἰκονομίαν καὶ τάξιν ἀλλοτρίαν,

<sup>1</sup> ΡΑΜ: om. the rest: Destinon conj. μιαν (after Lat. *soldam*). <sup>2</sup> A<sup>ντ</sup> Lat.: om. the rest.

<sup>a</sup> Literally “ which is contrary to the law of history ”: cf. B. v. 20.

his indulgence for a compassion which falls outside an historian's province.<sup>a</sup> For of all the cities under Roman rule it was the lot of ours to attain to the highest felicity and to fall to the lowest depths of calamity. Indeed, in my opinion, the misfortunes of all nations since the world began fall short of those of the Jews ; and, since the blame lay with no foreign nation, it was impossible to restrain one's grief. Should, however, any critic be too austere for pity, let him credit the history with the facts, the historian with the lamentations.

(5) Yet I, on my side, might justly censure those erudite Greeks who, living in times of such stirring actions as by comparison reduce to insignificance the wars of antiquity, yet sit in judgement on these current events and revile those who make them their special study—authors whose principles they lack, even if they have the advantage of them in literary skill. For their own themes they take the Assyrian and Median empires, as if the narratives of the ancient historians were not fine enough. Yet, the truth is, these modern writers are their inferiors no less in literary power than in judgement. The ancient historians set themselves severally to write the history of their own times, a task in which their connexion with the events added lucidity to their record ; while mendacity brought an author into disgrace with readers who knew the facts. In fact, the work of committing to writing events which have not previously been recorded and of commanding to posterity the history of one's own time is one which merits praise and acknowledgement. The industrious writer is not one who merely remodels the scheme and arrangement of another's work, but one

The  
historian o  
contempor  
ary events  
is superior  
to the  
compiler o  
ancient  
history.

- ἀλλ' ὁ μετὰ τοῦ καινὰ λέγειν καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῆς  
 16 ἱστορίας κατασκευάζων ἕδιον. κάγὼ μὲν ἀνα-  
 λόμασι καὶ πόνοις μεγίστοις ἀλλόφυλος ὃν "Ἐλ-  
 λησί τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις τὴν μνήμην τῶν κατορθω-  
 μάτων ἀνατίθημι· τοῖς δὲ γνησίοις πρὸς μὲν τὰ  
 λήμματα καὶ τὰς δίκας κέχητεν εὐθέως τὸ στόμα  
 καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα λέλυται, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἱστορίαν, ἔνθα  
 χρὴ τάληθῆ λέγειν καὶ μετὰ πολλοῦ πόνου τὰ  
 πράγματα συλλέγειν, πεφίμωνται παρέντες τοῖς  
 ἀσθενεστέροις καὶ μηδὲ γιγάσκουσι τὰς πράξεις  
 τῶν ἡγεμόνων γράφειν. τιμάσθω δὴ παρ' ἡμῖν τὸ  
 τῆς ἱστορίας ἀληθές, ἐπεὶ παρ' "Ἐλλησιν ἡμέληται.
- 17 (6) Ἀρχαιολογεῖν μὲν δὴ τὰ Ἰουδαίων, τίνες τε  
 ὄντες καὶ ὅπως ἀπανέστησαν Αἴγυπτίων, χώραν  
 τε ὅσην ἐπῆλθον ἀλώμειοι καὶ πόσα ἔξῆς κατ-  
 ἐλαβον καὶ ὅπως μετανέστησαν, νῦν τε ἄκαιρον  
 ὡήθην εἶναι καὶ ἄλλως περιττόν, ἐπειδήπερ καὶ  
 Ἰουδαίων πολλοὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ τὰ τῶν προγόνων  
 συνετάξαντο μετ' ἀκριβείας καὶ τινες Ἐλλήνων  
 ἐκεῖνα τῇ πατρίῳ φωνῇ μεταβαλόντες οὐ πολὺ<sup>18</sup>  
 τῆς ἀληθείας διήμαρτον. ὅπου δ' οἱ τε τούτων  
 συγγραφεῖς ἐπαύσαντο καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι προφῆται,  
 τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκεῖθεν ποιήσομαι τῆς συντάξεως.  
 τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν τοῦ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν πολέμου δι-  
 εξοδικώτερον καὶ μεθ' ὅσης ἂν ἐξεργασίας δύνω-  
 μαι δίειμι, τὰ δὲ προγενέστερα τῆς ἐμῆς ἡλικίας  
 ἐπιδραμῶ συντόμως.
- 19 (7) ὡς Ἀντίοχος ὁ κληθεὶς Ἐπιφανῆς ἐλὼν

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps "successively."

<sup>b</sup> An allusion to the works of Demetrius, Philo the elder, Eupolemus, etc.: cf. *Ap.* i. 218, where Josephus speaks in the same terms. Subsequently he thought that these

who uses fresh materials and makes the framework of the history his own. For myself, at a vast expenditure of money and pains, I, a foreigner, present to Greeks and Romans this memorial of great achievements. As for the native Greeks, where personal profit or a lawsuit is concerned, their mouths are at once agape and their tongues loosed ; but in the matter of history, where veracity and laborious collection of the facts are essential, they are mute, leaving to inferior and ill-informed writers the task of describing the exploits of their rulers. Let us at least hold historical truth in honour, since by the Greeks it is disregarded.

(6) To narrate the ancient history of the Jews, the origin of the nation and the circumstances of their migration from Egypt, the countries which they traversed in their wanderings, the extent of the territory which they subsequently <sup>a</sup> occupied, and the incidents which led to their deportation, would, I considered, be not only here out of place, but superfluous ; seeing that many Jews before me have accurately recorded the history of our ancestors, and that these records have been translated by certain Greeks into their native tongue without serious error.<sup>b</sup> I shall therefore begin my work at the point where the historians of these events and our prophets conclude. Of the subsequent history, I shall describe the incidents of the war through which I lived with all the detail and elaboration at my command ; for the events preceding my lifetime I shall be content with a brief summary.

(7) I shall relate how Antiochus, surnamed earlier works still left room for a new “archaeology” (*A. i. proem*).

κατὰ κράτος Ἰεροσόλυμα καὶ κατασχὼν ἔτεσι τρισὶ καὶ μησὶν ἔξ ύπὸ τῶν Ἀσαμωναίου παιδῶν ἐκβάλλεται τῆς χώρας· ἔπειθ' ὡς οἱ τούτων ἔγγονοι περὶ τῆς βασιλείας διαστασιάσαντες εἴλκυσαν εἰς τὰ πράγματα Ῥωμαίους καὶ Πομπήιους· καὶ ὡς Ἡρώδης ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου κατέλυσε 20 τὴν δυναστείαν αὐτῶν ἐπαγαγὼν Σόσσιον, ὅπως τε ὁ λαὸς μετὰ τὴν Ἡρώδου τελευτὴν κατεστάσιασεν Αὐγούστου μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονεύοντος, Κυιντιλίου δὲ Οὐάρου κατὰ τὴν χώραν ὅντος, καὶ ὡς ἔτει δωδεκάτῳ τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς ὁ πόλεμος ἀνερράγη, τά τε συμβάντα κατὰ Κέστιον καὶ ὅσα κατὰ<sup>1</sup> τὰς πρώτας ὄρμὰς ἐπῆλθον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς ὅπλοις.

21 (8) ὅπως τε τὰς περιοίκους ἐτειχίσαντο, καὶ ὡς Νέρων ἐπὶ τοῖς Κεστίον πταίσμασι δείσας περὶ τῶν ὄλων Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἐφίστησι τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ ὡς οὗτος μετὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τῶν παιδῶν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίων χώραν ἐνέβαλεν, ὅσῃ τε χρώμενος Ῥωμαίων στρατιᾶ καὶ τῷσοις σύμμαχοις εἰσέπαισεν<sup>2</sup> εἰς ὄλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, καὶ ὡς τῶν πόλεων αὐτῆς ἂς μὲν ὄλοσχερῶς καὶ κατὰ κράτος 22 ἂς δὲ δι' ὁμολογίας ἔλαβεν· ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐν πολέμοις εὑταξίας καὶ τὴν ἀσκησιν τῶν ταγμάτων, τῆς τε Γαλιλαίας ἐκατέρας τὰ διαστήματα καὶ τὴν φύσιν καὶ τοὺς τῆς Ἰουδαίας ὄρους, ἔπι τε τῆς χώρας τὴν ἴδιότητα, λίμνας τε καὶ πηγὰς τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ τὰ περὶ ἐκάστην πόλιν τῶν ἀλισκομένων πάθη μετὰ ἀκρι-

<sup>1</sup> παρὰ LVNC.

<sup>2</sup> δσοις σιμμάχοις εἰσέπαισεν conj. (after Niese and Naber): δσοι σύμμαχοι ἐκυπησαν MSS.

Epiphanes, took Jerusalem by storm and, after holding it for three years and six months, was expelled from the country by the Hasmonaeans<sup>a</sup>; next how their descendants, in their quarrel for the throne, dragged the Romans and Pompey upon the scene; how Herod, son of Antipater, with the aid of Sossius, overthrew the Hasmonaean dynasty; of the revolt of the people, after Herod's death, when Augustus was Roman Emperor and Quintilius Varus provincial governor; of the outbreak of war in the twelfth year of Nero's principate, the fate which befell Cestius and the success which attended the Jewish arms in overrunning the country in the opening engagements.

(8) Then I shall proceed to tell how they fortified the neighbouring towns; how Nero, apprehensive for the Empire in consequence of the reverses of Cestius, entrusted the conduct of the war to Vespasian; of his invasion of Jewish territory, accompanied by his elder son; of the strength of the forces, Roman and auxiliary, with which he penetrated into Galilee, and of the towns of that province which he captured either by main force or by negotiation. In this connexion I shall describe the admirable discipline of the Romans on active service and the training of the legions; the extent and nature of the two Galilees,<sup>b</sup> the limits of Judaea, the special features of the country, its lakes and springs. I shall give a precise description of the sufferings of the prisoners taken in the several towns, from my own observation

Summary  
whole work  
Book i.

<sup>a</sup> Gr. "the sons of Asamonaeus."

<sup>b</sup> Upper and Lower.

# JOSEPHUS

βείας, ώς εἶδον ἥ ἔπαθον, δίειμι. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ τι συμφορῶν ἀποκρύψομαι, μέλλων γε πρὸς εἰδότας ἔρειν.

- 23 (9) "Επειθ' ώς ἥδη καμνόντων Ἰουδαίοις τῶν πραγμάτων θνήσκει μὲν Νέρων, Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ὡρμημένος ὑπὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀνθέλκεται· τά τε γενόμενα περὶ ταύτης αὐτῷ  
 24 σημεῖα καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης μεταβολάς, καὶ ώς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄκων αὐτοκράτωρ ἀποδείκνυται, καὶ ἀποχωρήσαντος ἐπὶ διοικήσει τῶν ὅλων εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐστασιάσθη τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὅπως τε ἐπανέστησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ τύραννοι, καὶ τὰς τούτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφοράς.  
 25 (10) καὶ ώς ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς Αἴγυπτου Τίτος δεύτερον εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐνέβαλεν, ὅπως τε τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ ὅπου συνήγαγε καὶ ὅπόσας, καὶ ὅπως ἐκ τῆς στάσεως ἡ πόλις διέκειτο παρόντος αὐτοῦ, προσβολάς τε ὅσας ἐποιήσατο καὶ ὅπόσα χώματα, περιβόλους τε τῶν τριῶν τειχῶν καὶ τὰ μέτρα τούτων, τὴν τε τῆς πόλεως ὁχυρότητα καὶ  
 26 τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν διάθεσιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τούτων καὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὰ μέτρα πάντα μετ' ἀκριβείας, ἔθη τε ἑορτῶν ἔνια καὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ ἀγνείας καὶ τὰς τῶν ἱερέων λειτουργίας, ἔτι δὲ τὰς ἐσθῆτας τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ οἷον ἦν τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ἅγιον, οὐδὲν οὔτε

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "the seven purifications," referring doubtless, as  
14

or personal share in them. For I shall conceal nothing even of my own misfortunes, as I shall be addressing persons who are well aware of them.

(9) I shall next relate how, at the moment when the Jewish fortunes were on the decline, Nero's death occurred, and how Vespasian's advance upon Jerusalem was diverted by the call to imperial dignity; the portents of his elevation which he received, and the revolutions which took place in Rome; his proclamation by his soldiers as Emperor against his will; the civil war which, on his departure for Egypt to restore order to the realm, broke out among the Jews, the rise of the tyrants to power and their mutual feuds.

(10) My narrative will proceed to tell of the second invasion of our country by Titus, starting from Egypt; how and where he mustered his forces, and their strength; the condition to which civil war had reduced the city on his arrival; his various assaults and the series of earthworks which he constructed; further, the triple line of our walls and their dimensions; the defences of the city and the plan of the temple and sanctuary, the measurements of these buildings and of the altar being all precisely stated; certain festival customs, the seven degrees of purity,<sup>a</sup> the ministerial functions of the priests, their vestments and those of the high priest, with a description of the Holy of Holies.<sup>b</sup> Nothing shall be concealed,

Reinach suggests, to the zones or rings into which the Holy City was divided, and accessible to persons of various degrees of ceremonial purity. A list of these, omitting the innermost ring (the Holy of Holies), is given in the Mishna, *Kelim*, i. 8 (quoted in Schürer, *GJV*<sup>3</sup>, ii. 273); Josephus gives an incomplete enumeration in *B.* v. 227, cf. *Ap.* ii. 102 ff.

<sup>a</sup> “The holy [place] of the sanctuary.”

ἀποκρυπτόμενος οὐτε προστιθεὶς τοῖς πεφωρα-  
μένοις.

- 27 (11) Ἐπειτα διέξεψι τὴν τε τῶν τυράννων πρὸς  
τοὺς ὄμοφύλους ὡμότητα καὶ τὴν Ἀρμαίων  
φειδὼ πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους, καὶ ὁσάκις Τίτος  
σῶσαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐπιθυμῶν ἐπὶ δεξιὰς  
τοὺς στασιάζοντας προυκαλέσατο. διακρινῶ δὲ  
τὰ πάθη τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὰς συμφοράς, ὅσα τε  
ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ὅσα ὑπὸ τῆς στάσεως καὶ  
28 ὅσα ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ κακωθέντες ἔάλωσαν. παρ-  
λείψω δὲ οὐδὲ τὰς τῶν αὐτομόλων ἀτυχίας οὐδὲ  
τὰς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων κολάσεις, ὥπερ τε ὁ ναὸς  
ἄκοντος ἐνεπρήσθη Καίσαρος καὶ ὅσα τῶν ἱερῶν  
κειμηλίων ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἡρπάγη, τὴν τε τῆς ὅλης  
πόλεως ἄλωσιν καὶ τὰ πρὸ ταύτης σημεῖα καὶ  
τέρατα, καὶ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τῶν τυράννων, τῶν  
τε ἀνδραποδισθέντων τὸ πλῆθος καὶ εἰς ἦν ἔκα-  
29 στοι τύχην διενεμήθησαν· καὶ ὡς Ἀρμαῖοι μὲν  
ἐπεξῆλθον τὰ λείψανα τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὰ ἔρυ-  
ματα τῶν χωρίων καθεῖλον, Τίτος δὲ πᾶσαν ἐπ-  
ελθὼν τὴν χώραν κατεστήσατο, τὴν τε ὑπο-  
στροφὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰς Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὸν θρίαμβον.  
30 (12) Ταῦτα πάντα περιλαβὼν ἐν ἐπτὰ βιβλίοις  
καὶ μηδεμίαν τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις τὰ πράγματα καὶ  
παρατυχοῦσι τῷ πολέμῳ καταλιπὼν ἢ μέμψεως  
ἀφορμὴν ἢ κατηγορίας, τοῖς γε τὴν ἀλήθειαν  
ἀγαπῶσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς ἡδονὴν<sup>1</sup> ἀνέγραψα. ποιή-  
σομαι δὲ ταύτην τῆς ἔξιγγήσεως ἀρχήν, ἥν καὶ  
τῶν κεφαλαίων ἐποιησάμην.
- 31 (i. 1) Στάσεως τοῖς δυνατοῖς Ἰουδαίων ἐμπε-

<sup>1</sup> + ἀφορῶσιν Μ.

nothing added to facts which have been brought to light.<sup>a</sup>

(11) I shall then describe the tyrants' brutal treatment of their fellow-countrymen and the clemency of the Romans towards an alien race, and how often Titus, in his anxiety to save the city and the temple, invited the rival parties to come to terms with him. I shall distinguish between the sufferings and calamities of the people, culminating in their defeat, as attributable respectively to the war, the sedition, and the famine. Nor shall I omit to record either Book vi. the misfortunes of the deserters or the punishments inflicted on the prisoners ; the burning of the Temple, contrary to Caesar's wishes, and the number of the sacred treasures rescued from the flames ; the taking of the whole city and the signs and portents that vi. 288. preceded it ; the capture of the tyrants, the number of the prisoners and the destiny allotted to each ; vi. 414. nor yet how the Romans crushed the last remnants Book vii. of the war and demolished the local fortresses ; how Titus paraded the whole country and restored order ; and lastly his return to Italy and triumph.

(12) All these topics I have comprised in seven books. While I have left no pretext for censure or accusation to persons who are cognisant of the facts and took part in the war, my work is written for lovers of the truth and not to gratify my readers. I will now open my narrative with the events named at the beginning of the foregoing summary.

(i. 1) At the time<sup>b</sup> when Antiochus, surnamed

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Ap.* ii. 80, 107, for the "discoveries" of Antiochus Epiphanes in the Holy of Holies and the "unspeakable mysteries" supposed to take place there.      <sup>b</sup> c. 171 b.c.

σούσης καθ' ὃν καιρὸν Ἀντίοχος ὁ κληθεὶς Ἐπιφανῆς διεφέρετο περὶ ὅλης Συρίας πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ἔκτον (ἡ φιλοτιμία δ' ἦν αὐτοῖς περὶ δυναστείας, ἐκάστου τῶν ἐν ἀξιώματι μὴ φέροντος τοῖς ὄμοίοις ὑποτετάχθαι), Ὁνίας μὲν εἰς τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἐπικρατήσας ἐξέβαλε τῆς πόλεως τοὺς

32 Γωβία νίούς. οἱ δὲ καταφυγόντες πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἱκέτευσαν αὐτοῖς ἡγεμόσι χρώμευον εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐμβαλεῖν. πείθεται δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ὥρμημένος πάλαι, καὶ μετὰ πλείστης δυνάμεως αὐτὸς ὄρμήσας τήν τε πόλιν αἴρει κατὰ κράτος καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος τῶν Πτολεμαίων προσεχόντων ἀναιρεῖ, ταῖς τε ἀρπαγαῖς ἀνέδην ἐπαφιεὶς τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτὸς καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐσύλησε καὶ τὸν ἐνδελεχισμὸν τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐναγισμῶν ἐπαυσεν ἐπ'

33 ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἔξ. ὁ δ' ἀρχιερεὺς Ὁνίας πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον διαφυγὼν καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν τόπον ἐν τῷ Ἡλιοπολίτῃ νομῷ πολίχνην τε τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀπεικασμένην καὶ ναὸν ἔκτισεν ὅμοιον· περὶ ὧν αὐθις κατὰ χώραν δηλώσομεν.

34 (2) Ἀντιόχῳ γε μὴν οὕτε τὸ παρ' ἐλπίδα κρατῆσαι τῆς πόλεως οὕθ' αἱ ἀρπαγαὶ καὶ ὁ τοσοῦτος φόνος ἥρκεσει, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀκρασίας παθῶν καὶ κατὰ μνήμην ὧν παρὰ<sup>1</sup> τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐπαθεν ἡνάγκαζεν Ἰουδαίους, καταλύσαντας τὰ πάτρια, βρέφη τε αὐτῶν φυλάττειν ἀπερίτμητα καὶ σὺς ἐπιθύειν

35 τῷ βωμῷ· πρὸς ἀ πάντες μὲν ἡπείθουν, ἐσφάττοντο δὲ οἱ δοκιμώτατοι. καὶ Βακχίδης ὁ πεμ-

<sup>1</sup> παρὰ Naber, Nieze: περὶ MSS.

<sup>a</sup> “The regular course,” literally “continuity,” i.e. the *Tamid* or continuous (standing) burnt offering. “Sacrifices”;

Epiphanes, was disputing with Ptolemy VI. the suzerainty of Syria, dissension arose among the Jewish nobles. There were rival claims to supreme power, as no individual of rank could tolerate subjection to his peers. Onias, one of the chief priests, gaining the upper hand, expelled the sons of Tobias from the city. The latter took refuge with Antiochus and besought him to use their services as guides for an invasion of Judaea. The king, having long c. 170 B.C. cherished this design, consented, and setting out at the head of a huge army took the city by assault, slew a large number of Ptolemy's followers, gave his soldiers unrestricted licence to pillage, and himself plundered the temple and interrupted, for a period of three years and six months, the regular course of the daily sacrifices.<sup>a</sup> The high priest Onias made his escape to Ptolemy and, obtaining from him a site in the nome of Heliopolis, built a small town on the model of Jerusalem and a temple resembling ours. We shall revert to these matters in due course.<sup>b</sup>

(2) Not content with his unlooked for success in capturing the city and with the plunder and wholesale carnage, Antiochus, carried away by his ungovernable passions and with the rankling memory of what he had suffered in the siege, put pressure upon the Jews to violate the code of their country by leaving their infants uncircumcised and sacrificing swine upon the altar. These orders were disobeyed by all, and the most eminent defaulters were massacred. Bacchides,<sup>c</sup> who was sent by Antiochus to command

the Greek word is that elsewhere used for the Lat. *parentatio* or offering to the *manes* of the dead.

<sup>b</sup> B. vii. 421 ff.

<sup>c</sup> The mention of Bacchides is, as Reinach notes, an anachronism; he did not appear on the scene till some years later, A. xii. 393, 1 Macc. vii. 8.

Antiochus  
(IV)  
Epiphanes  
takes  
Jerusalem  
and inter-  
rupts the  
temple  
worship.

φθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀντιόχου φρούραρχος, τῇ φυσικῇ προσλαβὼν ὡμότητι τὰ ἀσεβῆ παραγγέλματα παρανομίας οὐδεμίαν κατέλιπεν ὑπερβολήν, καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα τοὺς ἀξιολόγους αἰκιζόμενος καὶ κοινῇ καθ' ἥμέραν ἐνδεικνύμενος ὅψιν ἀλώσεως τῇ πόλει, μέχρι ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς τῶν ἀδικημάτων τοὺς πάσχοντας εἰς ἀμύνης τόλμαν ἡρέθισε.

36 (3) Ματθίας γοῦν νίος Ἀσαμωναίου τῶν Ἱερέων εἰς ἀπὸ κώμης Μωδεεὶν ὄνομα, συνασπίσας μετὰ χειρὸς οἰκείας, πέντε γὰρ νίεῖς ἥσαν αὐτῷ, κοπίσιν ἀναιρεῖ τὸν Βακχίδην. καὶ παραχρῆμα μὲν δείσας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν φρουρῶν εἰς τὰ ὅρη καταφεύγει, 37 προσγενομένων δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου πολλῶν ἀναθαρσήσας κάτεισι καὶ συμβαλὼν μάχῃ νικᾷ τε τοὺς Ἀντιόχου στρατηγοὺς καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἔξελαύνει. παρελθὼν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς εὐπραγίας εἰς δυναστείαν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἄρξας τῶν σφετέρων ἐκόντων, τελευτᾶ Ἰούδᾳ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν παίδων καταλιπὼν τὴν ἀρχήν.

38 (4) Ὁ δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἡρεμήσειν Ἀντιόχον ὑπελάμβανε, τάς τ' ἐπιχωρίους συγκροτεῖ δυνάμεις καὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πρῶτος ἐποιήσατο φιλίαν, καὶ τὸν Ἐπιφανῆ πάλιν εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐμβάλλοντα<sup>1</sup> μετὰ καρτερᾶς πληγῆς ἀνέστειλεν. ἀπὸ δὲ θερμοῦ τοῦ κατορθώματος ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει φρουράν, οὕπω γὰρ ἐκκέκοπτο, καὶ ἐκβαλὼν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνω πόλεως συνωθεῖ τοὺς στρατιῶτας εἰς τὴν κάτω· τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ ἄστεος τὸ μέρος

<sup>1</sup> A Lat. (vid.): εἰσβαλόντα the rest.

<sup>a</sup> Mattathias (1 Macc.).

<sup>b</sup> Apelles according to A. xii. 270; the officer is unnamed in 1 Macc. ii. 25.

the garrison, with these impious injunctions to back his innate brutality, was guilty of every excess of iniquity, torturing distinguished individuals one after another, and daily parading before the eyes of all the appearance of a captured city, until by the extravagance of his crimes he provoked his victims to venture on reprisals.

(3) These began with Matthias,<sup>a</sup> son of Asamonaeus, a priest of a village called Modein, who forming an armed band of himself and his family of five sons, slew Bacchides <sup>b</sup> with choppers. Fear of the large garrison drove him to seek refuge at the moment in the hills ; but, on being joined by many of the common people, he summoned courage to descend, fought and defeated the generals of Antiochus, and drove them out of Judaea. This success brought him supreme power ; his expulsion of the foreigners led his countrymen willingly to submit to his rulership, which, on his death, he be- <sup>c. 167 B.C.</sup>queathed to Judas, the eldest <sup>c</sup> of his sons.

(4) Judas, assuming that Antiochus would not remain inactive, besides recruiting a native force, made an alliance—he was the first to do so—with the Romans ; <sup>d</sup> and when Epiphanes <sup>e</sup> again invaded the country struck hard and forced him to retire.Flushed with this success, he attacked the garrison, not yet ousted from the capital, expelled the troops from the upper city and confined them to the lower portion of the town, known as Acre. Being now <sup>165 B.C.</sup>

<sup>a</sup> According to 1 Macc. ii. 4, Judas was the third of the five sons.

<sup>b</sup> Another anachronism : the treaty with Rome, if the narrative of 1 Maccabees (viii.) is to be trusted, fell under Demetrius (162-150 B.C.).

<sup>c</sup> Or rather his generals Lysias and Gorgias (1 Macc.).

"Ακρα κέκληται· κυριεύσας δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τόν τε χῶρον ἐκάθηρε πάντα καὶ περιετείχισε, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας σκεύη καὶ κατασκευάσας εἰς τὸν ναὸν εἰσήνεγκεν ὡς τῶν προτέρων μεμιαμμένων, βωμόν τε ὥκοδόμησεν ἔτερον καὶ τῶν 40 ἐναγισμῶν ἥρξατο. λαμβανούσης δὲ ἄρτι τὸ ἱερὸν κατάστημα τῆς πόλεως τελευτᾶ μὲν Ἀντίοχος, κληρονόμος δὲ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ἀπεχθείας ὁ νίος Ἀντίοχος γίνεται.

41 (5) Συναγαγὼν γοῦν πεζῶν μὲν<sup>1</sup> μυριάδας πέντε, ἵππεis δ' εἰs<sup>2</sup> πειτακισχιλίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ ὄγδοή-κοντα ἐμβάλλει διὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἰs τὴν ὀρεινήν. Βηθσουρὸν μὲν οὖν πολίχνην αἴρει, κατὰ δὲ τόπον ὃς καλεῖται Βεθζαχαρία, στενῆς οὕσης τῆς παρόδου,

42 Ἰούδας ὑπαντᾶ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. πρὶn δὲ συν-άψαι τὰς φάλαγγας Ἐλεάζαρος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ προϊδὼν τὸν ὑψηλότατον τῶν ἐλεφάντων πύργῳ τε μεγάλῳ καὶ περιχρύσοις προτειχίσμασι κεκο-σμημένον, ὑπολαβὼν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀντίοχον εἶναι τῶν τε ἴδιων ἐκτρέχει πολὺ καὶ διακόφας τὸ στῖφος τῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ τὸν ἐλέφαντα διήνυσεν.

43 ἐφικέσθαι μὲν οὖν τοῦ δοκοῦντος εἶναι βασιλέως οὐχ οἷos τε ἦν διὰ τὸ ὕψος, ὁ δὲ τὸ θηρίον ὑπὸ τὴν γαστέρα πλήξας ἐπικατέσεισεν ἑαυτῷ καὶ συν-τριβεὶs ἐτελείτησεν, μηδὲν πλέον δράσας τοῦ με-γάλοις ἐπιβαλέσθαι, θέμενος εὐκλείας ἐν δευτέρῳ τὸ 41 ζῆν. ὅ γε μὴν κυβερνῶν τὸν ἐλέφαντα ἴδιώτης ἦν· καὶ εἰ συνέβη δὲ εἶναι τὸν Ἀντίοχον, οὐδὲν πλέον

<sup>1</sup> Text emended by Destinon.<sup>2</sup> om. εἰs AM.

master of the temple, he cleansed the whole area and walled it round, replaced the old and polluted vessels for the services by others which he caused to be made and brought into the sanctuary, built another altar and reinstated the expiatory sacrifices.<sup>a</sup> The city was just recovering its hallowed character when Antiochus died, leaving his son Antiochus heir, alike to <sup>164 B.C.</sup> his kingdom, and to his detestation of the Jews.

(5) The latter, accordingly, having collected 50,000 infantry, some 5000 horse and 80 elephants, pushed through Judaea into the hill country.<sup>b</sup> After capturing the small town of Bethsuron,<sup>c</sup> he was met at a spot called Bethzacharia, where there is a narrow defile, by Judas at the head of his forces. Before the opposing armies came into action, Eleazar, brother of Judas, observing the tallest of the elephants, surmounted by a huge howdah<sup>d</sup> and an array of gilded battlements, and concluding that it bore Antiochus, rushed out far beyond his own lines and, cutting through the enemy's ranks, made his way to the elephant. Being unable to reach the supposed monarch because of his height from the ground, he struck the beast below the belly, brought its whole weight down upon himself, and was crushed to death; having achieved nothing more than to attempt great things, holding life cheaper than renown. The elephant-rider was, in fact, a commoner; yet, even had he happened to be Antiochus, his

<sup>a</sup> See note on § 32.

<sup>b</sup> There is an independent account of this battle of the elephants in 1 Macc. vi. 28 ff., of which Josephus made use in his later work (*A. xii.*).

<sup>c</sup> According to 1 Macc. vi. 50 (*A. xii.* 376) Bethsuron was not taken until after the battle.

<sup>d</sup> Greek "tower."

ἥνυσεν ἂν ὁ τολμήσας τοῦ δοκεῖν ἐπ' ἐλπίδι μόνῃ λαμπροῦ κατορθώματος ἐλέσθαι τὸν θάνατον.

45 γίνεται δὲ καὶ κληδῶν τάδελφῷ τῆς ὅλης παρατάξεως· καρτερῶς μὲν γὰρ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διηγωνίσαντο, πλήθει δὲ ὑπερέχοντες οἱ βασιλικοὶ καὶ δεξιὰ χρησάμενοι τύχη κρατοῦσι, καὶ πολλῶν ἀναιρεθέντων τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔχων Ἰουδαῖος εἰς τὴν Γοφνιτικὴν τοπαρχίαν φεύγει.

46 Ἀντίοχος δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ καθίσας ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐν αὐτῇ κατὰ σπάνιν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπανίσταται, καταλιπὼν μὲν φρουρὰν ὅσην ἀποχρήσειν ὑπελάμβανε, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν δύναμιν ἀπαγαγὼν χειμεριοῦσαν εἰς τὴν Συρίαν.

47 (6) Πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὑποχώρησιν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰουδαῖος οὐκ ἥρεμει, προσγενομένων δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἔθιους πολλῶν καὶ τοὺς διασωθέντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐπισυγκροτήσας κατὰ κώμην Ἀκέδασαν<sup>1</sup> συμβάλλει τοῖς Ἀντιόχου στρατηγοῖς, καὶ φανεὶς ἄριστος κατὰ τὴν μάχην πολλούς τε τῶν πολεμίων ἀποκτείνας ἀναιρεῖται. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννης ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Ἀντιόχου φρονούντων τελευτᾶ.

48 (ii. 1) Διαδεξάμενος δὲ τοῦτον ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἰωάννης τά τε ἄλλα πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους διὰ φυλακῆς ἥγεν ἔαυτόν, καὶ τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίᾳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκρατύνατο, πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀντιόχου

<sup>1</sup> *Adasa* Lat., perhaps rightly; cf. A. xii. 408.

<sup>a</sup> One of the eleven sub-districts of Judaea (*B.* iii. 55); according to *A.* xii. 375 Judas withdrew to Jerusalem and prepared for a siege.

<sup>b</sup> Strictly Nicanor, the general of Demetrius, 1 Macc. vii. 39 ff.

daring assailant would have gained but the reputation of courting death in the bare expectation of a brilliant exploit. To Eleazar's brother the incident proved an omen of the issue of the engagement. For, long and stubborn as was the resistance of the Jews, the king's forces, with superior numbers and favoured by fortune, were victorious; and, after the loss of many of his men, Judas fled with the remainder to the province of Gophna.<sup>a</sup> Antiochus proceeded to Jerusalem, where, owing to a shortage of supplies, he stayed but a few days; he then left what he considered a sufficient garrison and withdrew the rest of his army to winter quarters in Syria.

(6) After the king's retreat, Judas did not remain inactive. Rallying the survivors of the combat and joined by numerous new recruits from his nation, he gave battle to the generals of Antiochus<sup>b</sup> at the village of Acedasa; where, after winning the honours of the day and slaying a large number of the enemy, he was slain himself.<sup>c</sup> A few days later his brother <sup>161 B.C.</sup> John also perished, a victim of a conspiracy of the partisans of Antiochus.<sup>d</sup>

(ii. 1) Jonathan, his brother, who succeeded him, amongst other safeguards against his countrymen, strengthened his authority by an alliance with Rome<sup>e</sup> and made a truce with the young Antiochus.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Judas was slain, not at the battle of A(ce)dasa, but in a later engagement at Elasa (1 Macc. ix. 5) or Berzetho (A. xii. 422). <sup>b</sup> Cf. 1 Macc. ix. 35 f.; A. xiii. 10 f.

<sup>c</sup> 1 Macc. xii. 1-4; A. xiii. 164 f.

<sup>d</sup> Greek "the son of Antiochus," i.e. presumably of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. But the reference must be to the treaty of Jonathan with Antiochus VI Dionysus, 1 Macc. xi. 57, A. xiii. 145. Josephus has confused Antiochus V and Antiochus VI.

παῖδα διαλλαγὰς ἐποιήσατο. οὐ μήν τι τούτων  
 49 ἥρκεσεν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν· Τρύφων γὰρ ὁ  
 τύραννος, ἐπίτροπος μὲν ὧν τοῦ Ἀντιόχου παιδός,  
 ἐπιβούλεύων δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πρόσθεν, ἀποσκευάζε-  
 σθαι τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ πειρώμενος, ἥκοντα τὸν  
 Ἰωνάθην σὺν ὄλιγοις εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα πρὸς Ἀν-  
 τιόχον δόλῳ συλλαμβάνει καὶ δῆσας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίαν  
 στρατεύει· εἰτ' ἀπελαθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σίμωνος, ὃς ἦν  
 ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ἰωνάθου, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἥπταν ὡργι-  
 σμένος κτείνει τὸν Ἰωνάθην.

50 (2) Σίμων δὲ γενναίως ἀφηγούμενος τῶν πραγ-  
 μάτων αἱρεῖ μὲν Γάζαρά<sup>1</sup> τε καὶ Ἰόπην καὶ Ἰάμ-  
 νειαν τῶν προσοίκων, κατέσκαψε δὲ καὶ τὴν  
 ἄκραν τῶν φρουρῶν κρατήσας. αὖθις δὲ γίνεται  
 καὶ Ἀντιόχῳ σύμμαχος κατὰ Τρύφωνος, ὃν ἐν  
 Δώροις πρὸ τῆς ἐπὶ Μήδους στρατείας ἐποιόρ-  
 51 κει. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔξεδυσώπησεν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως  
 πλεονεξίαν Τρύφωνα συνεξελών· μετ' οὐ πολὺ  
 γὰρ Ἀντιόχος Κενδεβαῖον τὸν αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν  
 μετὰ δυνάμεως δηώσοντα τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἔπειμψεν  
 52 καὶ καταδουλωσόμενον Σίμωνα. ὁ δὲ καίτοι γη-  
 ραιὸς ὃν νεανικώτερον ἀφηγήσατο τοῦ πολέμου·  
 τοὺς μέν τοι γε υἱεῖς αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> μετὰ τῶν ἐρρωμενε-  
 στάτων προεκπέμπει, αὐτὸς δὲ μοῖραν τῆς δυνά-  
 53 μεως ἀναλαβὼν ἐπήει κατ' ἄλλο μέρος. πολλοὺς  
 δὲ πολλαχοῦ κάν τοῖς ὅρεσι προλοχίσας πάσαις  
 κρατεῖ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς, καὶ νικήσας λαμπρῶς  
 ἀρχιερεὺς ἀποδείκνυται καὶ τῆς Μακεδόνων ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> Bernard (*cf. A. xiii. 215*): Γάζαν or Ζαρά mss.

<sup>2</sup> M Lat.: ἐπ' αὐτὸν the rest.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. 1 Macc. xii. 39 ff.; A. xiii. 157 ff.

None, however, of these precautions proved a sufficient protection. For the tyrant Trypho, guardian of the young Antiochus, who was already conspiring against his ward and attempting to make away with his friends, treacherously arrested and imprisoned Jonathan, when on a mission with a small retinue to Antiochus at Ptolemais, and started on a campaign against Judaea. Repulsed by Simon, Jonathan's brother, and indignant at his defeat he then put his captive to death.<sup>a</sup>

(2) Simon's administration of affairs was excellent. SIMON'S  
LEADERSHIP  
142-135 B.C. He captured the towns of Gazara, Joppa, and Jamnia, in the vicinity of the capital, and, after overpowering the garrison at Jerusalem, razed the citadel<sup>b</sup> to the ground. Subsequently, he made alliance with Antiochus<sup>c</sup> against Trypho, whom the king, before his expedition against the Medes, was besieging at Dora. Yet Simon's contribution to the fall of Trypho failed to shame the king out of his cupidity ; for not long after Antiochus sent his general Cendebaeus at the head of an army to ravage Judaea and make a vassal of Simon. The latter, though advanced in years, took command of the war with juvenile energy ; and, sending his sons ahead with the most able-bodied of his troops, proceeded himself, with a division of his army, to the attack on another front. Having, further, posted numerous ambuscades in different parts of the hills, he was successful in all the engagements, and after a brilliant victory was appointed high-priest and liberated the Jews from

<sup>a</sup> Greek "Acra"; *A.* xiii. 215 shows that Jerusalem is referred to.

<sup>c</sup> Antiochus VII Sidetes, *A.* xiii. 223. From this point the two narratives in *B.* and *A.* are closely parallel.

κρατείας μετὰ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη τοὺς  
Ἰουδαίους ἀπαλλάττει.

54 (3) Θυήσκει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἐν συμποσίῳ ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ γαμβροῦ, ὃς αὐτοῦ τὴν τε γυναικα καὶ τοὺς δύο παῖδας ἐγκαθέιρξας ἐπὶ τὸν τρίτον Ἰωάννην, ὃς καὶ Ὑρκανὸς ἐκαλεῖτο, τοὺς ἀναιρήσοντας ἐπεμψεν. προγνοὺς δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον ὁ νεανίσκος παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡπείγετο, πλεῖστον τῷ λαῷ πεποιθώς κατά τε μνήμην τῶν πατρώων κατορθωμάτων καὶ μῆσος τῆς Πτολεμαίου παρανομίας. ὥρμησε δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος εἰσελθεῖν καθ' ἑτέραν πύλην, ἐξεκρούσθη γε μὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ταχέως δεδεγμένων ἦδη τὸν Ὑρκανόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν παραχρῆμα ἀνεχώρησεν εἴς τι τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἱεριχοῦντος ἐρυμάτων, ὁ Δαγὼν καλεῖται· κομισάμενος δὲ τὴν πατρώαν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ὑρκανὸς καὶ θύσας τῷ θεῷ μετὰ τάχους ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίον ὥρμησεν Βοηθήσων τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.

57 (4) Καὶ προσβαλὼν τῷ φρουρίῳ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κρείττων ἦν, ἡττᾶτο δὲ δικαίου πάθους. ὁ γὰρ Πτολεμαῖος ὅπότε καταπονοῖτο, τὴν τε μητέρα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ προάγων ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους εἴς εὔσύνοπτον ἤκιζετο καὶ κατακρημνιεῖν, εἰ μὴ θάττον ἀπανασταίη, διηπείλει. πρὸς ἀ τὸν μὲν Ὑρκανὸν ὄργης πλείων οἰκτος εἰσήγει καὶ δέος, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ οὐδὲν οὕτε πρὸς τὰς αἰκίας οὕτε πρὸς τὸν ἀπειλούμενον αὐτῇ θάνατον ἐνδιδοῦσα χεῖρας ὥρεγε καὶ κατηντιβόλει τὸν παῖδα μήτι πρὸς τὴν

<sup>a</sup> Reckoning from 312 B.C., the first year of the Seleucid era; according to this reckoning Simon's high priesthood

the Macedonian supremacy which had lasted for 170 years.<sup>a</sup>

(3) He too, however, fell a victim to treachery, being murdered at a banquet by his son-in-law Ptolemy. The latter, after incarcerating Simon's wife and two of his sons, sent a body of men to kill the third, John, also called Hyrcanus. This youth, forewarned of their approach, hastened to reach the city, fully confident of the people's support, both from their recollection of his father's achievements and their hatred of Ptolemy's enormities. Ptolemy also rushed to gain entrance by another gate, but was repelled by the populace, who had with alacrity already admitted Hyrcanus. Ptolemy forthwith withdrew to one of the fortresses above Jericho, called Dagon; while Hyrcanus, having gained the high priestly office held by his father before him, offered sacrifice to God and then started in haste after Ptolemy to bring aid to his mother and brethren.

(4) Attacking the fort, he proved superior in other ways, but was overcome by his righteous feelings. For Ptolemy, as often as he was hard pressed, brought forward his mother and brothers upon the ramparts and tortured them within full view of Hyrcanus, threatening to hurl them over the battlements, if he did not instantly retire. At this spectacle indignation in the breast of Hyrcanus gave way to pity and terror. His mother, unshaken by her torments or the menace of death, with outstretched hands implored her son not to be moved

dates from c. 142 B.C., i.e. from the beginning of his leadership, where it is placed in the parallel account in A. xiii. 213. Cf. 1 Macc. xiii. 41 f., "In the hundred and seventieth year was the yoke of the heathen taken away from Israel," and Jerusalem started a new era of its own.

αὐτῆς ὕβριν ἐπικλασθέντα φείσασθαι τοῦ δυσ-  
σεβοῦς, ὡς αὐτῇ γε κρείττονα τὸν ἐκ Πτολεμαίου  
θάνατον ἀθανασίας εἶναι δόντος δίκας ἐφ' οἷς εἰς  
59 τὸν οἶκον αὐτῶν παρηνόμησεν. ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης  
δόποτε μὲν ἐνθυμηθείῃ τὸ παράστημα τῆς μητρὸς  
καὶ κατακούσειε τῆς ἱκεσίας, ὥρμητο προσβάλ-  
λειν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ<sup>1</sup> κατίδοι τυπτομένην τε καὶ σπα-  
ραττομένην, ἐθηλύνετο καὶ τοῦ πάθους ὅλος ἦν.  
60 τριβομένης δὲ διὰ ταῦτα τῆς πολιορκίας ἐπέστη  
τὸ ἄργὸν ἔτος, ὃ κατὰ ἑπταετίαν ἄργεῖται παρὰ  
Ἰουδαίοις ὁμοίως ταῖς ἑβδομάσιν ἡμέραις. καν  
τούτῳ Πτολεμαῖος ἀνεθεὶς τῆς πολιορκίας ἀναιρεῖ  
τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς Ἰωάννου σὺν τῇ μητρὶ καὶ φεύγει  
πρὸς Ζήνωνα τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Κοτυλᾶν· Φιλ-  
αδελφείας δ' ἦν τύραννος.

61 (5) Ἀντίοχος δὲ κατ' ὀργὴν ὃν ὑπὸ Σύμωνος  
ἐπαθεν στρατεύσας εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπολιόρκει  
τὸν Ὑρκανὸν προσκαθεζόμενος τοῖς Ἱεροσολύ-  
μοις. ὁ δὲ τὸν Δαυίδον τάφον ἀνοίξας, ὃς δὴ  
πλουσιώτατος βασιλέων ἐγένετο, καὶ ὑφελόμενος  
ὑπὲρ τρισχίλια τάλαντα χρημάτων τὸν τε Ἀντίο-  
χον ἀνίστησι τῆς πολιορκίας πείσας τριακοσίοις  
ταλάντοις, καὶ δὴ καὶ ξενοτροφεῖν πρῶτος Ἰου-  
δαίων ἐκ τῆς περιουσίας ἤρξατο.

62 (6) Αὐθίς γε μὴν ὡς Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ Μήδους  
στρατεύσας καιρὸν ἀμύνης αὐτῷ παρεῖχεν, εὐθέως  
ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν Συρίᾳ πόλεις, κενάς, ὅπερ ἦν;

<sup>1</sup> ἐπειδὰν δὲ MSS.: ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ Niese.

<sup>a</sup> The sabbatical year: Lev. xxv. 4.

<sup>b</sup> So A. vii. 393; in the parallel account in A. xiii. 249

by her outrageous treatment to spare the monster ; to her, death at Ptolemy's hands would be better than immortality, if he paid the penalty for the wrongs which he had done to their house. John, as often as he took his mother's unflinching courage to heart and gave ear to her entreaties, was impelled to the assault ; but, when he beheld her beaten and mangled, he was unmanned and quite overcome by emotion. The siege consequently dragged on until the year of repose came round, which is kept septennially by the Jews as a period of inaction, like the seventh day of the week.<sup>a</sup> Ptolemy, now relieved of the siege, put John's brethren and their mother to death and fled to Zeno, surnamed Cotulas, the despot of Philadelphia.

(5) Antiochus, smarting under the blows which Simon had dealt him, led an army into Judaea and, sitting down before Jerusalem, besieged Hyrcanus ; who, opening the tomb of David, wealthiest of kings, extracted therefrom upwards of three thousand talents, with three hundred of which he bribed Antiochus to raise the blockade.<sup>b</sup> The surplus he used to pay a mercenary force, being the first Jew to start this practice.

(6) Subsequently, however, the campaign of Antiochus against the Medes gave him an opportunity for revenge.<sup>c</sup> He at once flew upon the cities of Syria, expecting to find them, as he did, drained of efficient

Hyrcanus did not open the tomb until after the departure of Antiochus.

<sup>a</sup> The account in *A.* xiii. 250 ff., is more trustworthy. There Hyrcanus joins Antiochus in his expedition against the Parthians (here called "Medes") in 130 B.C. ; his attack on the Syrian cities only began after the death of Antiochus in 129 B.C.

63 ὑπολαμβάνων τῶν μαχιμωτέρων εύρήσειν. Μεδά-  
βην μὲν οὖν καὶ Σαμαγὰν ἅμα ταῖς πλησίον, ἔτι  
δὲ Σίκιμα καὶ Ἀργαριζὸν αὐτὸς<sup>1</sup> αἴρει, πρὸς αἷς τὸ  
Χουθαίων γένος, οἱ περιώκουν τὸ εἰκασθὲν τῷ ἐν  
Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερόν.<sup>2</sup> αἴρει δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰδου-  
μαίας ἄλλας τε οὐκ ὀλίγας καὶ Ἀδωρεὸν καὶ  
Μάρισαν.

64 (7) Προελθὼν δὲ καὶ μέχρι Σαμαρείας, ἐνθα  
νῦν ἔστιν Σεβαστὴ πόλις ὑφ' Ἡρώδου κτισθεῖσα  
τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ πάντοθεν αὐτὴν ἀποτειχίσας  
τοὺς νίεῖς ἐπέστησε τῇ πολιορκίᾳ Ἀριστόβουλον  
καὶ Ἀντίγονον· ὃν οὐδὲν ἀνιέντων λιμοῦ μὲν εἰς  
τοσοῦτον προήλθον οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἄψα-  
65 σθαι καὶ τῶν ἀγθεστάτων. ἐπικαλοῦνται δὲ βοη-  
θὸν Ἀντίοχον τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Ἀσπένδιον.<sup>3</sup> κάκεῖ-  
νος ἐτοίμως ὑπακούσας ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἀριστό-  
βουλον ἤπτᾶται. καὶ ὁ μὲν μέχρι Σκυθοπόλεως  
διωχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐκφεύγει, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ  
τοὺς Σαμαρεῖς ὑποστρέψαντες τό τε πλῆθος  
πάλιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος συγκλείουσιν καὶ τὴν πόλιν  
ἔλοιτες αὐτὴν τε κατασκάπτουσιν καὶ τοὺς ἐν-  
66 οικοῦντας ἐξηνδραποδίσαντο. προχωρούντων δὲ  
τῶν κατορθωμάτων τὴν ὁρμὴν οὐ κατέψυξαν, ἀλλὰ  
προελθόντες ἅμα τῇ δυνάμει μέχρι τῆς Σκυθο-  
πόλεως ταύτην τε κατέδραμον καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς Καρ-  
μήλου τοῦ ὄρους χώραν ἅπασαν κατενείμαντο.

67 (8) Πρὸς δὲ τὰς εὑπραγίας αὐτοῦ τε Ἰωάννοι  
καὶ τῶν παιδῶν φθόνος ἐγείρει στάσιν τῶν ἐπι-  
χωρίων, καὶ πολλοὶ κατ' αὐτῶν συνελθόντες  
οὐκ ἡρέμουν, μέχρι καὶ πρὸς φανερὸν πόλεμον ἐκ-

<sup>1</sup> I. (in parallel passage) has εὐθίς: ? read οὕτως.

<sup>2</sup> Niese: ἱερῷ MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀσπένδιον MSS.

troops. He thus captured Medabe and Samaga with the neighbouring towns, also Sichem and Argarizin, besides defeating the Cuthaeans,<sup>a</sup> the race inhabiting the country surrounding the temple modelled on that at Jerusalem. He further took numerous cities in Idumaea, including Adoreon and Marisa.

(7) Advancing to Samaria, on the site of which now stands the city of Sebaste, founded by King Herod, he blockaded it by a surrounding wall and entrusted the siege to his sons Aristobulus and Antigonus, who pressed it so vigorously that the inhabitants were reduced by the extremities of famine to make use of the most unheard of food. They summoned to their aid Antiochus, surnamed Aspendius,<sup>b</sup> who, readily complying, was defeated by the forces of Aristobulus. Pursued by the brothers as far as Scythopolis he got away; they on their return to Samaria again confined its people within the walls, captured the town, razed it to the ground, and reduced the inhabitants to slavery. Not allowing the flowing tide of success to cool their ardour, they proceeded with their army to Scythopolis, overran that district, and laid waste the whole country south of<sup>c</sup> Mount Carmel.

(8) The prosperous fortunes of John and his sons, however, provoked a sedition among his envious countrymen, large numbers of whom held meetings to oppose them and continued to agitate, until the smouldering flames burst out in open war and the

<sup>a</sup> The foreigners imported into Samaria at the time of the exile. *A.* ix. 288, 2 Kings xvii. 24.

<sup>b</sup> Antiochus of Aspendus (in Pamphylia) = Antiochus VIII or Grypus; *A.* xiii. 276 names, instead of him, his half-brother and rival, Antiochus IX Cyzicenus.

<sup>c</sup> Literally "within," i.e. "this side of."

68 ριπισθέντες ἡττῶνται. τὸ λοιπὸν δ' ἐπιβιοὺς ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ Ἰωάννης καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν κάλλιστα διοικήσας ἐν<sup>1</sup> καὶ τριάκοντα ὅλοις ἔτεσιν ἐπὶ πέντε υἱοῖς τελευτᾶ, μακαριστὸς ὅντως καὶ κατὰ μηδὲν ἔάσας ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ μεμφθῆναι τὴν τύχην. τρία γοῦν τὰ κρατιστεύοντα μόνος εἶχεν, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην καὶ προ-  
69 φητείαν. ὡμίλει γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον ὡς μηδὲν τῶν μελλόντων ἀγνοεῖν, ὃς γε καὶ περὶ δύο τῶν πρεσβυτέρων νίῶν ὅτι μὴ διαμενοῦσι κύριοι τῶν πραγμάτων προεῖδέν τε καὶ προεφήτευσεν· ὥν τὴν καταστροφὴν ἄξιον ἀφηγήσασθαι, παρ' ὅσον τῆς πατρώας εὐδαιμονίας ἀπέκλιναν.

70 (iii. 1) Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν ὁ πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν Ἀριστόβουλος, τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς βασιλείαν μεταθείσ, περιτίθεται μὲν διάδημα πρωτος μετὰ τετρακοσιοστὸν καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὸν πρωτον ἔτος, πρὸς δὲ μῆνας τρεῖς, ἐξ οὐ κατήει<sup>2</sup> ὁ λαὸς εἰς τὴν χώραν ἀπαλλαγεὶς τῆς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι 71 δουλείας· τῶν δὲ ἀδελφῶν τὸν μὲν μεθ' ἑαυτὸν Ἀντίγονον, ἐδόκει γὰρ ἀγαπᾶν, ἦγεν ἰσοτίμως, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους εἴργυνσι δήσας. δεσμεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα διενεχθεῖσαν περὶ τῆς ἔξουσίας, ταύτην γὰρ κυρίαν τῶν ὅλων ὁ Ἰωάννης ἀπολελοίπει, καὶ μέχρι τοσαύτης ὡμότητος προῆλθεν, ὥστε καὶ λιμῷ διαφθεῖραι δεδεμένην.  
72 (2) Περιέρχεται δὲ αὐτὸν<sup>3</sup> ἡ πουηή<sup>4</sup> εἰς τὸν

<sup>1</sup> Ενὶ (with Hegesippus) Niese, cf. A. xiii. 299, xx. 240: ἐν τρισιν MSS. Lat., ENI having perhaps been read as EN Γ'.

<sup>2</sup> AM: κατήλθεν the rest.

<sup>3</sup> AMC: αὐτῶ(ν) the rest.

<sup>4</sup> AM: τισις the rest.

<sup>1</sup> 481 years according to A. xiii. 301. Both numbers are

rebels were defeated. For the rest of his days John lived in prosperity, and, after excellently directing the government for thirty-one whole years, died leaving five sons ; truly a blessed individual and one who left no ground for complaint against fortune as regards himself. He was the only man to unite in his person three of the highest privileges : the supreme command of the nation, the high priesthood, and the gift of prophecy. For so closely was he in touch with the Deity, that he was never ignorant of the future ; thus he foresaw and predicted that his two elder sons would not remain at the head of affairs. The story of their downfall is worth relating, and will show how great was the decline from their father's good fortune.

(iii. 1) On the death of Hyrcanus, Aristobulus, the ARISTOBULUS I  
eldest of his sons, transformed the government into 105-104  
a monarchy, and was the first to assume the diadem, four hundred and seventy-one years<sup>a</sup> and three months after the return of the people to their country, when released from servitude in Babylon. Of his brothers, he conferred upon Antigonus, the next in seniority, for whom he had an apparent affection, honours equal to his own ; the rest he imprisoned in chains. His mother also, who had disputed his claim to authority, John having left her mistress of the realm, he confined in bonds, and carried his cruelty so far as to starve her to death in prison.

(2) Retribution, however, overtook him<sup>b</sup> in the too large ; the decree of Cyrus for the return of the Jews is dated 537 b.c., 432 years before Aristobulus I. The chronology of Josephus appears to be based on the "seventy weeks" (=490 years) of Dan. ix. 24.

<sup>a</sup> See §§ 81 ff.

ἀδελφὸν Ἀντίγονον, ὃν ἡγάπα τε καὶ τῆς βασιλείας κοινωνὸν εἶχεν· κτείνει γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον ἐκ διαβολῶν, ἃς οἱ πονηροὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ βασίλειον ἐνεσκευάσαντο. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα διηπίστει τοῖς λεγομένοις ὁ Ἀριστόβουλος, ἄτε δὴ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀγαπῶν καὶ διδοὺς φθόνω τὰ πολλὰ τῶν 73 λογοποιουμένων. ὡς δ' ὁ Ἀντίγονος λαμπρὸς ἀπὸ στρατείας ἥλθεν εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν, ἐν ᾧ σκηνοποιεῖσθαι πάτριον τῷ θεῷ, συνέβη μὲν κατ' ἐκείνας τὰς ἡμέρας νόσῳ χρήσασθαι τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον, τὸν δὲ Ἀντίγονον ἐπὶ τέλει τῆς ἑορτῆς ἀναβάντα μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὅπλιτῶν, ὡς ἐνήν μάλιστα κεκοσμημένον, προσκυνῆσαι τὸ πλέον 74 ὑπὲρ τάδελφοῦ. καν τούτῳ προσιόντες οἱ πονηροὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν τε πομπὴν τῶν ὅπλιτῶν ἐδήλουν καὶ τὸ παράστημα τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου μεῖζον ἦ κατ' ἴδιώτην, ὅτι τε παρείη<sup>1</sup> μετὰ μεγίστου συντάγματος ἀναιρήσων αὐτόν· οὐ γὰρ ἀνέχεσθαι τιμὴν μόνον ἐκ βασιλείας ἔχων, παρὸν αὐτὴν κατασχεῖν.

75 (3) Γούτοις κατὰ μικρὸν ἄκων ἐπίστευσεν ὁ Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ προνοῶν τοῦ μήθ' ὑποπτεύων φανερὸς γενέσθαι καὶ προησφαλίσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἄδηλον καθίστησι<sup>2</sup> μὲν τοὺς σωματοφύλακας ἐν τινὶ τῶν ὑπογαίων ἀλαμπεῖ, κατέκειτο δ' ἐν τῇ Βάρει πρότερον αὐθις δ' Ἀντωνίᾳ μετονομασθείσῃ, προστάξας ἀνόπλου μὲν ἀπέχεσθαι, κτείνειν δὲ τὸν Ἀντίγονον, εἰ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων προσίοι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔπειμψεν τοὺς προεροῦντας ἀν- 76 οπλον ἐλθεῖν. πρὸς τοῦτο πάνυ πανούργως ἡ βασίλισσα συντάσσεται μετὰ τῶν ἐπιβούλων

<sup>1</sup> C: παρηι the rest.<sup>2</sup> διαστησι LVN.

person of his brother Antigonus, whom he loved and had made partner of his kingdom ; for he slew him also, owing to calumnies concocted by knavish courtiers. Aristobulus at first distrusted their statements, out of affection for his brother and because he attributed most of these fabricated reports to envy. But one day when Antigonus had come in pomp from a campaign to attend the festival at which, according to national custom, tabernacles are erected in God's honour,<sup>a</sup> Aristobulus happened to be ill ; and, at the close of the ceremony, Antigonus, surrounded by his bodyguard and arrayed with the utmost splendour, went up (to the Temple) and offered special worship on his brother's behalf. Thereupon these villains went off to the king and told him of the military escort and of Antigonus's air of assurance, grander than became a subject, and that he was coming with an immense body of troops to put him to death, disdaining the mere honours of royalty when he might occupy the throne itself.

(3) Gradually and reluctantly Aristobulus came to believe these insinuations. Taking precautions at once to conceal his suspicions and to secure himself against risks, he posted his bodyguards in an unlit subterranean passage—he was lying at the time in the castle formerly called Baris, afterwards Antonia—with orders to let Antigonus pass, if unarmed, but to kill him if he approached in arms. To Antigonus himself he sent instructions to come unarmed. To meet the occasion the queen concerted with the conspirators a very crafty plot. They induced the

<sup>a</sup> The autumn feast of *Sukkoth* or Tabernacles.

τοὺς γὰρ πεμφθέντας πείθουσιν τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως σιωπῆσαι, λέγειν δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον ώς ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἀκούσας ὅπλα τε αὐτῷ παρεσκευακέναι κάλλιστα καὶ πολεμικὸν κόσμον ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, διὰ μὲν τὴν ἀσθένειαν αὐτὸς ἐπίδειν ἔκαστα κωλυθείη, νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ καὶ χωρίζεσθαι μέλλοις, θεάσαιτ' ἄν ἥδιστά σε ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις.

77 (4) Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀντίγονος, ἐνῆγεν δ' ἡ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ διάθεσις μηδὲν ὑποπτεύειν πονηρόν, ἔχώρει μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων, ώς πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν. γενόμενος δὲ κατὰ τὴν σκοτεινὴν πάροδον, Στράτωνος ἐκαλεῖτο πύργος, ὑπὸ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἀναιρεῖται, βέβαιον ἀποδείξας ὅτι πᾶσαν εὔνοιαν καὶ φύσιν κόπτει διαβολὴ καὶ οὐδὲν οὕτως τῶν ἀγαθῶν παθῶν ἴσχυρόν, ὃ τῷ φθόνῳ μέχρι παντὸς ἀντέχει.

78 (5) Θαυμάσαι δ' ἄν τις ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἰούδαν, Ἐσσαῖος ἦν γένος οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε πταίσας ἢ ψευσθεὶς ἐν τοῖς προαπαγγέλμασιν, ὃς ἐπειδὴ καὶ τότε τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐθεάσατο παριόντα διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, πρὸς τοὺς γνωρίμους ἀνέκραγεν, ἥσαν δ' οὐκ ὀλίγοι παρεδρεύοντες αὐτῷ τῶν μανθανόντων,

79 "παπαί, νῦν ἐμοὶ καλόν," ἔφη, "τὸ θανεῖν, ὅτε μου<sup>1</sup> προτέθηνηκεν ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ τι τῶν ὑπὸ ἐμοῦ προρρηθέντων διέψευσται· ζῆ γὰρ Ἀντίγονος οὗτοσὶ σήμερον ὄφείλων ἀνηρῆσθαι. χωρίον δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς σφαγὴν Στράτωνος πύργος εἴμαρτο· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἀπὸ ἔξακοσίων ἐντεῦθεν σταδίων ἔστιν, ὥραι δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἥδη τέσσαρες. ὃ δὴ 80 χρόνος ἐκκρούει τὸ μάντευμα." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν σκυθρωπὸς ἐπὶ συννοίας ὁ γέρων διεκαρτέρει, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Niese: μοι MSS.

messengers to keep the king's orders to themselves, and instead to tell Antigonus that his brother had heard that he had procured for himself some very fine armour and military decorations in Galilee ; that illness prevented him from paying a visit of inspection ; "but, now that you are on the point of departure, I shall be very glad to see you in your armour."

(4) On hearing this, as there was nothing in his brother's disposition to arouse his suspicions, Antigonus went off in his armour as for a parade. On reaching the dark passage, called Strato's Tower, he was slain by the bodyguard ; affording a sure proof that calumny severs all ties of affection and of nature, and that of our better feelings none is strong enough to hold out interminably against envy.

(5) Another feature of this case which may well excite astonishment was the conduct of Judas. He was of Essene extraction, and his predictions had never once proved erroneous or false.<sup>a</sup> On this occasion, seeing Antigonus passing through the court of the temple, he exclaimed to his acquaintances—a considerable number of his disciples were seated beside him—"Ah me ! now were I better dead, since truth has died before me and one of my prophecies has been falsified. For yonder is Antigonus alive, who ought to have been slain to-day. The place predestined for his murder was Strato's Tower, and that is 600 furlongs from here ; and it is already the fourth hour of the day. So time frustrates the prophecy." Having said this, the old man remained plunged in gloomy meditation. A

<sup>a</sup> For the Essenes as prophets see *B. ii.* 159 with note.

μετ' ὀλίγον ἀνηρημένος Ἀντίγονος ἡγγέλλετο κατὰ τὸ ὑπόγαιον χωρίον, ὃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸ Στράτωνος ἐκαλεῖτο πύργος, διμωνυμοῦν τῇ παραλίᾳ Καισαρείᾳ. τοῦτο γοῦν τὸν μάντιν διετάραξεν.

81 (6) Ἀριστοβούλῳ γε μὴν εὐθὺς ἡ περὶ τοῦ μύσους μεταμέλεια νόσον ἐνσκήπτει καὶ πρὸς ἔντοιαν τοῦ φόνου τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχων ἀεὶ τεταραγμένην συιετήκετο, μέχρι τῶν σπλάγχνων ὑπ' ἀκράτου τῆς λύπης σπαραττομένων ἄθρουν αἷμα 82 ἀναβάλλει. τοῦτό τις τῶν ἐν τῇ θεραπείᾳ παιδῶν ἐκφέρων δαιμονίῳ προνοίᾳ σφάλλεται καθ' ὅν τόπον Ἀντίγονος ἐσφακτο, καὶ φαινομένοις ἔτι τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ φόνου σπίλοις τὸ αἷμα τοῦ κτείναντος ἐπεξέχεεν. ἥρθη δ' εὐθὺς οἰμωγὴ τῶν θεασμένων, ὕσπερ ἐπίτηδες τοῦ παιδὸς ἐκεὶ ἐπικατα-  
83 σπείσαντος τὸ αἷμα. τῆς δὲ βοῆς ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπινθάνετο, καὶ μηδενὸς τολμῶντος εἰπεῖν μᾶλλον ἐνέκειτο μαθεῖν ἐθέλων· τέλος δ' ἀπειλοῦντι καὶ βιαζομένῳ τάληθὲς εἶπον. ὃ δὲ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐμπίπλησι δακρύων καὶ 84 στενάξας ὅσον ἦν αὐτῷ δύναμις εἶπεν· “οὐκ ἄρα θεοῦ μέγαν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπ' ἔργοις ἀθεμίτοις λήσειν ἔμελλον, ἀλλά με ταχεῖα μέτεισι δίκη φόνου συγγενοῦς. μέχρι τοῦ<sup>1</sup> μοι, σῶμα ἀναιδέστατον, τὴν ἀδελφῷ καὶ μητρὶ κατάκριτον ψυχὴν καθέξεις; μέχρι τοῦ<sup>1</sup> δ' αὐτοῖς<sup>2</sup> ἐπισπείσω κατὰ μέρος τούμὸν αἷμα; λαβέτωσαν ἀθρόον τοῦτο, καὶ μηκέτι ταῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν σπλάγχνων χοαῖς

<sup>1</sup> Niese: ποῦ MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Destinon (with Lat.): αὐτὸς MSS.

little later came the news that Antigonus had been slain in the underground quarter, also called, like the maritime Caesarea, Strato's Tower.<sup>a</sup> It was this identity of names which had disconcerted the seer.

(6) Remorse for his foul deed had the instant effect of aggravating the malady of Aristobulus. His mind ever distracted with thoughts of the murder, he fell into a decline ; until, sheer grief rending his entrails, he threw up a quantity of blood. While removing this, one of the pages in attendance slipped, so divine providence willed, on the very spot where Antigonus had been assassinated, and spilt on the yet visible stains of the murder the blood of the murderer. An instantaneous cry broke from the spectators, believing that the lad had intentionally poured the bloody libation on that spot. The king, hearing the cry, inquired what was its cause, and, when no one ventured to tell him, became more insistent in his desire to be informed. At length, under pressure of threats, they told him the truth. With tears filling his eyes and a groan such as his remaining strength permitted, he said : " My lawless deeds, then, were not destined to escape God's mighty eye ; swift retribution pursues me for my kinsman's blood. How long, most shameless body, wilt thou detain the soul that is sentenced to a brother's and a mother's vengeance ? How long shall I make them these drop-by-drop libations of my blood ? Let them take it all at once, and let heaven cease to mock them with these dribbling

<sup>a</sup> For Strato's Tower on the coast, afterwards rebuilt by Herod the Great and renamed Caesarea, see *B.* i. 408 ff. The quarter in Jerusalem so called is not mentioned elsewhere except in the parallel passage in *A.* xiii.

ἐπειρωνευέσθω τὸ δαιμόνιον." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν εὐθέως τελευτᾶ βασιλεύσας οὐ πλεῖον ἐνιαυτοῦ.

85 (iv. 1) Λύσασα δ' ἡ γυνὴ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ βασιλέα καθίστησιν Ἀλέξανδρον, τὸν καὶ καθ' ἥλικιαν καὶ μετριότητι προύχειν δοκοῦντα. ὁ δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἔξουσίαν τὸν ἔτερον μὲν τῶν ἀδελφῶν βασιλειῶντα κτείνει, τὸν δὲ καταλιμπανόμενον ἀγαπῶντα τὸ ζῆν δίχα πραγμάτων εἶχεν <ἐν τιμῇ>.<sup>1</sup>

86 (2) Γίνεται δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λάθουρον ἐπικληθέντα Πτολεμαῖον συμβολὴ πόλιν Ἀσωχὶν ἥρηκότα, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνεῖλεν τῶν πολεμίων, ἡ δὲ νίκη πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον ἔρρεψεν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτος ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Κλεοπάτρας διωχθεὶς εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀνεχώρησεν, Ἀλέξανδρος Γαδάρων τε πολιορκίᾳ κρατεῖ καὶ Ἀμαθοῦντος, ὃ δὴ μέγιστον μὲν ἦν ἔρυμα τῶν ὑπὲρ Ιορδάνην, τὰ τιμιώτατα δὲ τῶν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Ζήνωνος κτημάτων ἦν ἐν 87 αὐτῷ. ἐπελθὼν δ' ἔξαιρνης ὁ Θεόδωρος τά τε σφέτερα καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποσκευὴν αἴρει, τῶν δ' Ιουδαίων εἰς μυρίους κτείνει. γίνεται δ' ἐπάνω τῆς πληγῆς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τραπόμενος εἰς τὴν παράλιον αἴρει Γάζαν τε καὶ Ράφιαν καὶ Ἀνθηδόνα τὴν αὐθις ὑφ' Ἡράδου τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγριππιάδα ἐπικληθεῖσαν.

88 (3) Ἐξανδραποδισαμένω δὲ ταύτας ἐπανίσταται τὸ Ιουδαϊκὸν ἐν ἔορτῇ· μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν ταῖς

<sup>1</sup> ἐν τιμῇ om. mss. : inserted by Hudson from *A. xiii. 323.*

<sup>a</sup> Salina (c.l. Salome) or Alexandra, *A. xiii. 320.* Though Josephus never expressly says so, it appears certain that besides the throne, she gave Alexander Jannaeus her hand in marriage. For her subsequent reign see § 107.

offerings from my entrails." With these words on his lips he expired, after a reign of no more than a year.

(iv. 1) The widow of Aristobulus<sup>a</sup> released his imprisoned brothers and placed on the throne Alexander, who had the double advantage over the others of seniority and apparent moderation of character. However, on coming into power, he put to death one brother, who had aspirations to the throne ; the survivor, who was content with<sup>b</sup> a quiet life, he held in honour.

(2) He also had an encounter with Ptolemy, sur- His early wars.  
named Lathyrus, who had taken the town of Asochis ; although he killed many of the enemy, victory inclined to his opponent. But when Ptolemy, pursued by his mother Cleopatra, retired to Egypt,<sup>c</sup> Alexander besieged and took Gadara and Amathus, the latter being the most important of the fortresses beyond Jordan and containing the most precious possessions of Theodorus, son of Zeno. Theodorus, however, suddenly appearing, captured both his own treasures and the king's baggage and put some ten thousand Jews to the sword. Alexander, nevertheless, recovering from this blow, turned towards the coast and captured Gaza, Raphia, and Anthedon, a town which subsequently received from King Herod the name of Agrippias.<sup>d</sup>

(3) After his reduction of these places to servitude, The Jewish revolt  
the Jewish populace rose in revolt against him at against him

<sup>b</sup> Or "loved."

<sup>c</sup> More correctly to Cyprus, where he reigned after his expulsion by Cleopatra from the throne of Egypt ; *A. xiii.* 328, 358.

<sup>d</sup> See *B. i.* 416 (where the name is given as Agrippeion).

εὐωχίαις αὐτῶν στάσις ἅπτεται. καὶ ἐδόκει μὴ  
ἄν κρείττων γενέσθαι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, εἰ μὴ τὸ  
ξενικὸν αὐτῷ παρεβοήθει· Πισίδαι καὶ Κίλικες  
ἡσαν· Σύρους γὰρ οὐκ ἐδέχετο μισθοφόρους διὰ  
τὴν ἔμφυτον αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος ἀπέχθειαν.

89 κτείνας δὲ τῶν ἐπαναστάντων ὑπὲρ ἔξακισχιλίους  
'Αραβίας ἥπτετο, καὶ ταύτης ἐλῶν Γαλααδίτας  
καὶ Μωαβίτας, φόρον τε αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάξας, ἀν-  
έστρεψεν ἐπὶ 'Αμαθοῦντα. Θεοδώρου δὲ πρὸς τὰς  
εὐπραγίας αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> καταπλαγέντος ἔρημον λαβὼν τὸ  
φρούριον κατέσκαψεν.

90 (4) Ἐπειτα συμβαλὼν Ὁβέδᾳ τῷ Ἀράβων  
βασιλεῖ προλοχίσαντι κατὰ τὴν Γαυλάνην ἐνέδρας  
αὐτῷ γενομένης πᾶσαν ἀποβάλλει τὴν στρατιάν:  
συνωσθεῖσαν κατὰ βαθείας φάραγγος καὶ πλήθει  
καμήλων συντριβεῖσαν. διαφυγῶν δ' αὐτὸς εἰς  
'Ιεροσόλυμα τῷ μεγέθει τῆς συμφορᾶς πάλα

91 μισοῦν τὸ ἔθνος ἡρέθισεν εἰς ἐπανάστασιν. γίνεται  
δὲ καὶ τότε κρείττων καὶ μάχαις ἐπαλλήλοις οὐκ  
ἔλαττον πεντακισμυρίων 'Ιουδαίων ἀνεῖλεν ἐν ἐξ  
ἔτεσιν. οὐ μὴν εὐφραίνετό γε ταῖς νίκαις τῇ  
έαυτοῦ βασιλείαν ἀναλίσκων· ὅθεν πανσάμενο-  
τῶν ὅπλων λόγοις ἐπεχείρει διαλύεσθαι πρὸς τὸν

92 ὑποτεταγμένους. οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐμίσουν τὴν μετά  
νοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ τρόπου τὸ ἀνώμαλον, πυνθα-  
νομένω τε [τὸ αἴτιον]<sup>2</sup> τί ἄν ποιήσας καταστείλειε  
αὐτούς, ἀποθανών, ἔλεγον· νεκρῷ γὰρ ἄν διαλ-  
λαγῆναι μόλις τῷ τοσαῦτα δράσαντι. ἅμα δὲ καὶ  
τὸν Ἀκαιρον ἐπικληθέντα Δημήτριον ἐπεκαλοῦντο

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ Lat., Hegesippus: αὐτὸν MSS.

<sup>2</sup> omit Destinon: has probably arisen out of τε τί ἄν.

one of the festivals ; for it is on these festive occasions that sedition is most apt to break out. It was thought that he would never have quelled this conspiracy, had not his mercenaries come to his aid. These were natives of Pisidia and Cilicia ; Syrians he did not admit to the force on account of their innate hatred of his nation. After slaying upwards of six thousand of the insurgents, he attacked Arabia ; there he subdued the people of Galaad and Moab and imposed tribute upon them, and then returned once more to Amathus. Theodorus being overawed by his victories, he found the fortress abandoned and razed it to the ground.

(4) He next attacked Obedas, king of Arabia. The latter having laid an ambuscade near Gaulane, Alexander fell into the trap and lost his entire army, which was cooped into a deep ravine and crushed under a multitude of camels. He himself escaped to Jerusalem, but the magnitude of his disaster provoked the nation, which had long hated him, to insurrection. Yet once again he proved a match for them, and in a succession of engagements in six years killed no fewer than fifty thousand Jews. His victories, however, by which he wasted his realm, brought him little satisfaction ; desisting, therefore, from hostilities, he endeavoured to conciliate his subjects by persuasion. But his change of policy and inconsistency of character only aggravated their hatred ; and when he inquired what he could do to pacify them, they replied "Die ; even death would hardly reconcile us to one guilty of your enormities." They simultaneously appealed for aid to Demetrius, sur-

*His long  
war with  
his subjec-*

*and with  
Demetrius  
theUnread*

ράδίως δὲ ὑπακούσαντος κατ' ἐλπίδα μειζόνων καὶ μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἥκοντος συνέμισγον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς συμμάχοις περὶ Σίκιμα.

93 (5) Δέχεται δ' ἔκατέρους Ἀλέξανδρος ἵππεῦσι μὲν χιλίοις, μισθοφόροις δὲ πεζοῖς ὀκτακισχιλίοις· παρὴν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ εὐνοοῦν Ἰουδαϊκὸν εἰς μυρίους. τῶν δ' ἐναντίων ἵππεῖς μὲν ἦσαν τρισχίλιοι, πεζῶν δὲ μύριοι τετρακισχίλιοι. καὶ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν διακηρύσσοντες οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐπειρῶντο τῶν παρ' ἄλλήλοις ἀποστάσεων, Δημήτριος μὲν τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου μισθοφόρους, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς ἅμα Δημητρίῳ Ἰουδαίους μεταπείσειν ἐλπίσας. ὡς δ' οὕτε οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι θυμῶν,<sup>1</sup> οὕτε οἱ

95 ὅπλοις συμπεσόντες. κρατεῖ δὲ τῇ μάχῃ Δημήτριος, καίτοι πολλὰ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου μισθοφόρων καὶ ψυχῆς ἔργα καὶ χειρὸς ἐπιδειξαμένων. χωρεῖ δὲ τὸ τέλος τῆς παρατάξεως παρὰ δόξαν ἀμφοτέροις· οὕτε γὰρ Δημητρίῳ παρέμειναν νικῶντι οἱ καλέσαντες, καὶ κατ' οἴκτον τῆς μεταβολῆς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσεχώρησαν εἰς τὰ ὅρη καταφυγόντι Ἰουδαίων ἔξακισχίλιοι. ταύτην τὴν ῥοπὴν οὐκ ἦνεγκεν Δημήτριος, ἀλλ' ὑπολαβὼν ἦδη μὲν ἀξιόμαχον εἶναι πάλιν Ἀλέξανδρον, μεταρρεῖν δὲ καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἔθνος εἰς αὐτόν, ἀνεχώρησεν.

96 (6) Οὐ μὴν τό γε λοιπὸν πλῆθος ὑποχωρησάντων τῶν συμμάχων κατέθεντο τὰς διαφοράς, συνεχὴς δὲ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἦν αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος.

<sup>1</sup> C: ὅρκων PAM Lat., whence Destinon restores ὀργῶν.

“ Demetrius III, king of Syria: his nickname is elsewhere given as Eukairos, “ the timely,” here Akairos, “ the untimely.” ”

named the Unready.<sup>a</sup> Hopes of aggrandizement brought from him a prompt response. Demetrius arrived with an army, and the Jews joined their allies in the neighbourhood of Sichem.

(5) Their combined forces, amounting to three thousand horse and fourteen thousand foot, were met by Alexander with one thousand horse and eight thousand foot, mercenaries ; besides these he had some ten thousand Jews who were still loyal to him.<sup>b</sup> Before action the two kings endeavoured by proclamations to cause desertion from the opposite ranks ; Demetrius hoped to win over Alexander's mercenaries, Alexander the Jewish allies of Demetrius. But, when neither would the Jews abate their resentment nor the Greeks their fidelity, they ended by referring the issue to the clash of arms. The battle was won by Demetrius, notwithstanding many feats of gallantry and strength displayed by Alexander's mercenaries. The upshot, however, proved contrary to the expectations of both combatants. For Demetrius, the victor, found himself abandoned by those who summoned him ; while Alexander, who took refuge in the hills, was joined by six thousand Jews, moved by compassion for his reverse of fortune. This turn of affairs was more than Demetrius could stand ; and in the belief that Alexander was now once more his match and that the whole nation was streaming back to him, he withdrew.

(6) The remainder of the people, however, did not, on the withdrawal of their allies, drop their quarrel, but waged continuous war with Alexander,

<sup>a</sup> The numbers in *A. xiii. 377* are different : there Demetrius has 3000 horse and 40,000 foot, Alexander 6200 mercenaries and about 20,000 Jews.

μέχρι πλείστους ἀποκτείνας τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀπήλασεν  
εἰς Βεμέσελιν πόλιν, καὶ ταύτην καταστρεψάμενος  
97 αὐχμαλώπους ἀνήγαγεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. πρού-  
κοψεν δ' αὐτῷ δι' ὑπερβολὴν ὄργῆς εἰς ἀσέβειαν  
τὸ τῆς ὡμότητος· τῶν γὰρ ληφθέντων ὀκτακο-  
σίους ἀνασταυρώσας ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει γυναικάς τε  
καὶ τέκνα αὐτῶν ἀπέσφαξεν <ἐν><sup>1</sup> ταῖς ὄψεσι, καὶ  
ταῦτα πίνων καὶ συγκατακείμενος ταῖς παλλακίσιν  
98 ἀφεώρα. τοσαύτη δὲ κατάπληξις ἔσχεν τὸν δῆμον,  
ῶστε τῶν ἀντιστασιαστῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν  
νύκτα φυγεῖν ὀκτακισχιλίους ἔξω Ἰουδαίας ὅλης,  
οἷς ὄρος τῆς φυγῆς ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου θάνατος κατέστη.  
τοιούτοις ἔργοις ὄψὲ καὶ μόλις ἡσυχίαν τῇ βασιλείᾳ  
πορίσας ἀνεπαύσατο τῶν ὅπλων.

99 (7) Γίνεται δὲ αὐτῷ πάλιν ἀρχὴ θορύβων Ἀν-  
τίοχος ὁ καὶ Διόνυσος<sup>2</sup> ἐπικληθείς, Δημητρίου  
μὲν ἀδελφὸς ὅν, τελευταῖος δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ Σελεύκου.  
τοῦτον γὰρ δείσας στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀραβας  
ώρμημένον, τὸ μὲν μεταξὺ τῆς ὑπὲρ Ἀντιπατρίδος  
παρωρείου καὶ τῶν Ἰόπης αἰγιαλῶν διαταφρεύει  
φάραγγι βαθείᾳ, πρὸ δὲ τῆς τάφρου τεῖχος ἥγειρεν  
100 ὑψηλὸν καὶ ἔυλίνους πύργους ἐνετεκτήνατο τὰς  
εὐμαρεῖς ἐμβολὰς ἀποφράττων. οὐ μὴν εἶρξαί γε  
τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἵσχυσεν· ἐμπρήσας γὰρ τοὺς πύργους  
καὶ τὴν τάφρον χώσας διήλαυνε μετὰ τῆς δυνά-  
μεως. θέμενος δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ τὴν πρὸς τὸν κωλύ-  
101 σαντα ἄμυναν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀραβας ἥει. τῶν  
δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναχωρῶν εἰς τὰ χρησιμώτερα τῆς

<sup>1</sup> ins. Herwerden.

<sup>2</sup> Διονίσιος MSS.: for text cf. A. xiii. 387.

<sup>a</sup> In A. xiii. 380 Bethome (unidentified).

until, after killing a very large number of them, he drove the rest into Bemeselis<sup>a</sup>; having subdued this town, he brought them up to Jerusalem as prisoners. So furious was he that his savagery went His  
massacre  
the Jews to the length of impiety. He had eight hundred of his captives crucified in the midst of the city, and their wives and children butchered before their eyes, while he looked on, drinking, with his concubines reclining beside him. Such was the consternation of the people that, on the following night, eight thousand of the hostile faction fled beyond the pale of Judaea; their exile was terminated only by Alexander's death. Having, by such deeds, at last with difficulty secured tranquillity for the realm, he rested from warfare.

(7) A fresh cause of disturbance, however, arose in the person of Antiochus, surnamed Dionysus, brother of Demetrius and the last of the Seleucid line.<sup>b</sup> This prince having set out on a campaign against the Arabs, Alexander, in alarm, dug a deep dyke to intercept him, extending from the mountain-side above Antipatris to the coast at Joppa, and in front of the trench erected a high wall with wooden towers inserted, in order to bar the routes where attack was easy. However, he failed to check Antiochus, who burnt the towers, levelled the trench and marched across with his army. Deferring his vengeance on the author of this obstruction he at once pushed on against the Arabs. The Arabian king began by retiring to territory more favourable

<sup>a</sup> Antiochus XII Dionysus, c. 86–85 B.C. The last of the Seleucid line, before Syria became a Roman province in 64 B.C., was actually Antiochus XIII Asiaticus (Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, ii. 266 f.).

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χώρας πρὸς τὴν μάχην, ἔπειτα τὴν ἵππον ἐξαίφνης ἐπιστρέψας, μυρία δ' ἦν τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἀτάκτοις ἐπιπίπτει τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον. καρτερᾶς δὲ μάχης γενομένης, ἔως μὲν περιῆν Ἀντίοχος ἀντεῖχεν ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ, καίπερ ἀνέδην ὑπὸ τῶν

102 Ἀράβων φογευόμενοι πεσόντος δέ, καὶ γὰρ προεκινδύνευεν ἀεὶ τοῖς ἡττωμένοις παραβοηθῶν, ἐγκλίνουσι<sup>1</sup> πάντες, καὶ τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τε τῆς παρατάξεως καν τῇ φυγῇ διαφθείρεται, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς καταφυγόντας εἰς Κανὰ<sup>2</sup> κώμην σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀναλωθῆναι συνέβη πλὴν ὀλίγων ἄπαντας.

103 (8) Ἐκ τούτου Δαμασκηνοὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Μενναίον μῆσος Ἀρέταν ἐπάγονται καὶ καθιστῶσιν κοίλης Συρίας βασιλέα. στρατεύεται δ' οὗτος ἐπὶ τὴν Ιουδαίαν καὶ μάχῃ νικήσας

104 Ἀλέξανδροι κατὰ συνθήκας ἀνεχώρησεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Πέλλαν ἐλὼν ἐπὶ Γέρασαν ἥει πάλιν τῶν Θεοδώρου κτημάτων γλιχόμενος, καὶ τρισὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς περιβόλοις ἀποτειχίσας δίχα<sup>3</sup> μάχης

105 τὸ χωρίον παραλαμβάνει. καταστρέφεται δὲ καὶ Γαυλάνην καὶ Σελεύκειαν καὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχου φάραγγα καλουμένην, πρὸς οὓς Γάμαλαν φρούριον καρτερὸν ἐλών, τὸν ἄρχοντα Δημήτριον ἐν αὐτῷ παραλύσας<sup>4</sup> ἐκ πολλῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἐπάνεισιν εἰς Ιουδαίαν, τρία πληρώσας ἔτη τῆς στρατείας. ἀσμένως δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐδέχθη διὰ τὴν εὐ-

<sup>1</sup> Bekker: ἐγκλίνουσι(ν) MSS.

<sup>2</sup> From A. xiii. 391: Ἀνὰν οὐτὸν Αννα MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Destinon: διὰ MSS.: cf. A. xiii. 393 || ἀμαχί, and for the phrase διὰ μάχης B. iv. 372.

<sup>4</sup> Acorr: the other MSS. have περιλύσας or περιδύσας (cf. A. περιέδοσεν).

for battle, and then suddenly wheeling round his cavalry, ten thousand strong, fell upon the troops of Antiochus while in disorder. A hard fought battle ensued. So long as Antiochus lived, his forces held out, though mercilessly cut up by the Arabs. When he fell, after constantly exposing himself in the front while rallying his worsted troops, the rout became general. The bulk of his army perished either on the field or in the flight; the rest took refuge in the village of Cana, where all save a few succumbed to starvation.

(8) On the death of Antiochus, the inhabitants of Damascus, from hatred of Ptolemy, son of Mennaeus, brought in Aretas and made him king of Coele-Syria.<sup>a</sup> The latter made an expedition into Judaea, defeated Alexander in battle, and after concluding a treaty withdrew. Alexander, for his part, captured Pella and proceeded against Gerasa, hankering once more after the treasures of Theodorus.<sup>b</sup> Having blockaded the garrison by a triple line of walls, he carried the place without a battle. He also conquered Gaulane and Seleuceia and took the so-called "Ravine of Antiochus." He further captured the strong fortress of Gamala and dismissed its commander, Demetrius, in consequence of numerous accusations. He then returned to Judaea after a campaign of three whole years. His successful career brought him a cordial welcome from the nation; yet

<sup>a</sup> Ptolemy was king of Chalcis and the surrounding district in Coele-Syria (c. 85-40 b.c.); Aretas was king of the Nabataean Arabs.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. § 86.

- πραγίαν, καὶ λαμβάνει τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν τοῦ πολεμεῖν  
 106 ἀρχὴν νόσου. τεταρταῖς δὲ περιόδοις πυρετῶν  
 ἐνοχλούμενος ὡήθη διακρούσεσθαι<sup>1</sup> τὴν νόσον  
 πάλιν ἀφάμενος πραγμάτων. διὸ δὴ στρατείαις  
 ἀκαίροις ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδιδοὺς καὶ βιαζόμενος παρὰ  
 δύναμιν τὸ σῶμα πρὸς τὰς ἐνεργείας ἀπῆλλαξεν.  
 τελευτῇ γοῦν ἐν μέσοις τοῖς θορύβοις στρεφόμενος  
 βασιλεύσας ἐπτὰ πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν ἔτη.
- 107 (v. 1) Καταλείπει δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀλεξάνδρᾳ  
 τῇ γυναικὶ πεπεισμένος ταύτῃ μάλιστ’ ἀν ύπακοῦ-  
 σαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ἐπειδὴ τῆς ὡμότητος αὐτοῦ  
 μακρὰν ἀποδέουσα καὶ ταῖς παρανομίαις ἀνθ-  
 108 ισταμένη τὸν δῆμον εἰς εὔνοιαν προσηγάγετο.<sup>2</sup> καὶ  
 οὐ διήμαρτεν τῆς ἐλπίδος· ἐκράτησεν γὰρ τῆς  
 ἀρχῆς τὸ γύναιον διὰ δόξαν εὐσεβείας. ἡκρίβου  
 γὰρ δὴ μάλιστα τοῦ ἔθνους<sup>3</sup> τὰ πάτρια καὶ τοὺς  
 πλημμελοῦντας εἰς τοὺς ἱεροὺς νόμους ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 109 προεβάλλετο. δύο δ’ αὐτῇ παίδων ὅντων ἐξ Ἀλεξ-  
 άνδρου, τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτερον Ὑρκανὸν διά τε  
 τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀποδείκνυσιν ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἄλλως ὅντα  
 νωθέστερον ἡ ὥστε ἐνοχλεῖν περὶ τῶν ὅλων, τὸν  
 δὲ νεώτερον Ἀριστόβουλον διὰ θερμότητα κατεῖχεν  
 ἰδιώτην.
- 110 (2) Παραφύονται δὲ αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν  
 Φαρισαῖοι, σύνταγμά τι Ἰουδαίων δοκοῦν εὔσε-  
 βέστερον εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀκρι-  
 111 βέστερον ἀφηγεῖσθαι. τούτοις περισσὸν δή τι  
 προσεῖχεν ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρα σεσοβημένη<sup>4</sup> περὶ τὸ  
 θεῖον. οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀπλότητα τῆς ἀνθρώπου κατὰ

<sup>1</sup> Bekker: διακρούσασθαι miss.

<sup>2</sup> προηγάγετο AM: προσ- is supported by B. i. 153.

<sup>3</sup> νόμου PAM\*.      <sup>4</sup> M margin: σεβομένη the rest.

rest from war proved but the beginning of disease. Afflicted by a quartan ague, he hoped to shake off the malady by a return to active life. He, accordingly, plunged into ill-timed campaigns and, forcing himself to tasks beyond his strength, hastened his end. He died, at any rate, amid stress and turmoil, His d  
78 B.C.

(v. 1) Alexander bequeathed the kingdom to his Queen ALEX  
78-69 wife Alexandra, being convinced that the Jews would bow to her authority as they would to no other, because by her utter lack of his brutality and by her opposition to his crimes she had won the affections of the populace. Nor was he mistaken in these expectations ; for this frail woman firmly held the reins of government, thanks to her reputation for piety. She was, indeed, the very strictest observer of the national traditions and would deprive of office <sup>a</sup> any offenders against the sacred laws. Of the two sons whom she had by Alexander, she appointed the elder, Hyrcanus, high priest, out of consideration alike for his age and his disposition, which was too lethargic to be troubled about public affairs ; the younger, Aristobulus, as a hot-head, she confined to a private life.

(2) Beside Alexandra, and growing as she grew, arose <sup>b</sup> the Pharisees, a body of Jews with the reputation of excelling the rest of their nation in the observances of religion, and as exact exponents of the laws. To them, being herself intensely religious, she listened with too great deference ; while they, gradually taking advantage of an ingenuous woman,

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps “ banish from the realm.”

<sup>b</sup> Literally, “ grew up beside into her power ” (like suckers round a tree).

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μικρὸν ὑπιόντες ἥδη καὶ διοικηταὶ τῶν ὅλων  
ἔγινοντο, διώκειν τε καὶ κατάγειν οὓς ἐθέλοιεν,  
λύειν τε καὶ δεσμεῖν. καθόλου δ' αἱ μὲν ἀπολαύ-  
σεις τῶν βασιλείων ἐκείνων ἦσαν, τὰ δ' ἀναλώ-

112 ματα καὶ αἱ δυσχέρειαι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας. δεινὴ  
δ' ἦν τὰ μείζω διοικεῖν, δύναμίν τε ἀεὶ συγ-  
κροτοῦσα διπλασίονα κατέστησεν καὶ ἔνεικὴν συν-  
ήγαγεν οὐκ ὀλίγην, ὡς μὴ μόνον κρατύνεσθαι τὸ  
οἰκεῖον ἔθνος, φοβερὰν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν εἶναι  
δυνάσταις. ἐκράτει δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων αὐτή,  
Φαρισαῖοι δ' αὐτῆς.

113 (3) Διογένην γοῦν τινα τῶν ἐπισήμων, φίλον  
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γεγενημένον, κτείνουσιν αὐτοί,<sup>1</sup> σύμ-  
βουλον ἐγκαλοῦντες γεγονέναι περὶ τῶν ἀνασταυρω-  
θέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὀκτακοσίων. ἐνῆγον δὲ  
τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν εἰς τὸ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους διαχειρί-  
σασθαι τῶν παροξυνάντων ἐπ' ἐκείνους τὸν Ἀλέξ-  
ανδρον· ἐνδιδούσης δ' ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας ἀνήρουν

114 οὓς ἐθέλοιεν αὐτοί. προσφεύγουσι δὲ Ἀριστο-  
βούλῳ τῶν κινδυνευόντων οἱ προύχειν δοκοῦντες,  
κάκεῖνος πειθεὶ τὴν μητέρα φείσασθαι μὲν διὰ τὸ  
ἀξίωμα τῶν ἀιδρῶν, ἐκπέμψαι δ' αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ  
καθαροὺς ὑπείληφεν, ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. οἱ μὲν οὖν  
δοθείσης ἀδείας ἐσκεδάσθησαν ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν.

115 Ἀλεξάνδρα δὲ ἐκπέμψασα ἐπὶ Δαμασκὸν στρατιάν,  
πρόφασις δ' ἦν Πτολεμαῖος ἀεὶ θλίβων τὴν πόλιν,  
ταύτην μὲν ὑπεδέξατο μηθὲν ἀξιόλογον ἐργασα-  
116 μένην. Τιγράνην δὲ τὸν Ἀρμενίων βασιλέα προσ-  
καθεζόμενον Πτολεμαῖδι καὶ πολιορκοῦντα Κλεο-

<sup>1</sup> οἵτις Destinon.

became at length the real administrators of the state, at liberty to banish and to recall, to loose and to bind, whom they would. In short, the enjoyments of royal authority were theirs ; its expenses and burthens fell to Alexandra. She proved, however, to be a wonderful administrator in larger affairs, and, by continual recruiting doubled her army, besides collecting a considerable body of foreign troops ; so that she not only strengthened her own nation, but became a formidable foe to foreign potentates. But if she ruled the nation, the Pharisees ruled her.

(3) Thus they put to death Diogenes, a distinguished man who had been a friend of Alexander, accusing him of having advised the king to crucify his eight hundred victims.<sup>a</sup> They further urged Alexandra to make away with the others who had instigated Alexander to punish those men ; and as she from superstitious motives always gave way, they proceeded to kill whomsoever they would. The most eminent of the citizens thus imperilled sought refuge with Aristobulus, who persuaded his mother to spare their lives in consideration of their rank, but, if she was not satisfied of their innocence, to expel them from the city. Their security being thus guaranteed, they dispersed about the country.

Alexandra sent an army to Damascus, on the pretext of the constant pressure put upon that city by Ptolemy ; the troops, however, returned to her without having achieved anything remarkable. On the other hand, by means of treaties and presents, she won over Tigranes, king of Armenia, who was c. 70-69

<sup>a</sup> § 97.

πάτραν συνθήκαις καὶ δώροις ὑπηγάγετο. φθάνει δ' ἐκεῖνος ἀπαναστὰς διὰ τὰς οἰκοι ταραχὰς ἐμβεβληκότος εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν Λευκόλλου.

117 (4) Καν τούτω νοσούσης Ἀλεξάνδρας ὁ νεώτερος τῶν παιδῶν Ἀριστόβουλος τὸν καιρὸν ἀρπάσας μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων,<sup>1</sup> εἶχεν δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ πάντας εὔνους διὰ τὴν θερμότητα, κρατεῖ μὲν τῶν ἔρυμάτων ἀπάντων, τοῖς δ' ἐκ τούτων χρήμασιν μισθοφόρους ἀθροίσας ἐαυτὸν ἀποδείκνυσι βασιλέα.

118 πρὸς ταῦτα ὁδυρόμενον τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἡ μῆτηρ οἰκτείρασα τὴν τε γυναικα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας Ἀριστόβουλον καθείργυνσιν εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν· φρούριον δ' ἦν τῷ βορείῳ κλίματι τοῦ ἱεροῦ προσκείμενον, πάλαι μὲν, ὡς ἔφην, Βάρις ὄνομαζόμενον, αὐθις δὲ ταύτης τυχὸν τῆς προσηγορίας ἐπικρατήσαντος Ἀντωνίου, καθάπερ ἀπό τε τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Ἀγρίππα Σεβαστὴ καὶ Ἀγριππὶας πόλεις ἐπωνομάσθησαν. πρὶν δὲ ἐπεξελθεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρα τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον τῆς τάδελφοῦ καταλύσεως τελευτᾶ διοικήσασα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτεσιν ἐννέα.

120 (vi. 1) Καὶ κληρονόμος μὲν ἦν τῶν ὅλων Ὑρκανός, ὡς καὶ ζῶσα τὴν βασιλείαν ἐνεχείρισεν δυνάμει δὲ καὶ φρονήματι προεῖχεν ὁ Ἀριστόβουλος. γενομένης δὲ αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν ὅλων συμβολῆς περὶ Ἱεριχοῦντα καταλιπόντες οἱ πολλοὶ τοὶ Ὑρκανὸν μεταβαίνουσιν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον 121 ὁ δὲ μετὰ τῶν συμμειωάντων φθάνει συμφυγῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν καὶ κυριεύσας τῶν πρὸς σωτη-

<sup>1</sup> οἰκείων Herwerden: οἰκετῶν MSS. and Niese.

<sup>a</sup> Cleopatra or Selene (*A. xiii.* 420), daughter of Ptolemy Physeon, and married to several of the Seleucid kings. W.

seated before Ptolemais, besieging Cleopatra.<sup>a</sup> He, however, had to beat a hasty retreat, recalled by domestic troubles in Armenia, which Lucullus had invaded.

(4) Alexandra now falling ill, her younger son Aristobulus seized his opportunity and with the aid Revolt of her son Aristobulu of his followers—a numerous body, every one of whom was devoted to him because of his fiery nature—took possession of all the fortresses and, with the money which he found there, recruited a mercenary force and proclaimed himself king. The complaints of Hyrcanus at these proceedings moved the compassion of his mother, who shut up the wife and children of Aristobulus in Antonia. This was a fortress adjoining the north side of the temple, which, as I said,<sup>b</sup> was formerly called Baris, but afterwards took this new name under Antony's supremacy; just as Augustus and Agrippa gave their names to the cities of Sebaste<sup>c</sup> and Agrippias.<sup>d</sup> But before Alexandra could take action against Aristobulus for his deposition of his brother, she Her death expired, after a reign of nine years.

(vi. 1) Hyrcanus, to whom even in her lifetime his mother had entrusted the kingdom, was sole heir to the throne, but in capacity and courage was surpassed by Aristobulus. A battle for the crown took place near Jericho, when most of the troops of Hyrcanus deserted him and went over to Aristobulus. Hyrcanus, with those who remained with him, hastily took refuge in Antonia and secured hostages for his earn from Strabo. xvi. 749, that Tigranes on his retreat from Syria carried off Cleopatra as a prisoner and subsequently put her to death.

HYRCANUS II abdicates in favour of ARISTOBULUS II 69-63 B.C.

<sup>b</sup> § 75.

<sup>c</sup> Samaria.

<sup>d</sup> Formerly Anthedon, § 87.

ρίαν ὄμήρων· ταῦτα δ' ἦν ἡ Ἀριστοβούλου γυνὴ  
μετὰ τῶν τέκνων. ἀμέλει πρὶν ἀνηκέστου πάθους  
διελύθησαν, ὅστε βασιλεύειν μὲν Ἀριστόβουλον,  
122 Ὅρκανὸν δὲ ἐκστάντα τῆς ἄλλης ἀπολαύειν τιμῆς  
ὅσπερ ἀδελφὸν βασιλέως. ἐπὶ τούτοις διαλλαγέν-  
τες ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ περιεστῶτος φιλο-  
φρόνως ἄλλήλους ἀσπασάμενοι διήμειψαν τὰς οἰκίας.  
Ἀριστόβουλος μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, Ὅρκανὸς  
δ' ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου οἰκίαν.

123 (2) Δέος δὲ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου  
διαφόρων ἐμπίπτει παρ' ἐλπίδα κρατήσαντος καὶ  
μάλιστα Ἀιτιπάτρῳ πάλαι διαμισουμένω. γένος  
δ' ἦν Ἰδουμαῖος, προγόνων τε ἔνεκα καὶ πλούτου

124 καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἴσχύος πρωτεύων τοῦ ἔθνους. οὗτος  
ἄμα καὶ τὸν Ὅρκανὸν Ἀρέτᾳ προσφυγόντα τῷ  
βασιλεῖ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἀγακτήσασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν  
ἔπειθεν, καὶ τὸν Ἀρέταν δέξασθαι τε τὸν Ὅρκανὸν  
καὶ καταγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, πολλὰ μὲν τὸν  
Ἀριστόβουλον εἰς τὸ ἥθος διαβάλλων, πολλὰ δ'  
ἐπαινῶν τὸν Ὅρκανὸν [παρῆνει δέξασθαι],<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
ώς πρέπον εἴη τὸν οὕτω λαμπρᾶς προεστῶτα  
βασιλείας ὑπερέχειν χεῖρα τῷ ἀδικουμένῳ<sup>2</sup>. ἀδι-  
κεῖσθαι δὲ τὸν Ὅρκανὸν στερηθέντα τῆς κατὰ τὸ

125 πρεσβεῖον αὐτῷ προσηκούσης ἀρχῆς. προκατα-  
σκευάσας δὲ ἀμφοτέρους, νύκτωρ ἀναλαβὼν τὸν  
Ὕρκανὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀποδιδράσκει καὶ συν-  
τόνω φυγῇ χρώμενος εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Πέτραν  
διασώζεται· βασίλειον αὕτη τῆς Ἀραβίας ἔστιν.

126 ἔνθα τῷ Ἀρέτᾳ τὸν Ὅρκανὸν ἐγχειρίσας καὶ  
πολλὰ μὲν καθομιλήσας, πολλοῖς δὲ δώροις ὑπ-  
ελθών, δοῦναι δύναμιν αὐτῷ πείθει τὴν κατάξουσαν

<sup>1</sup> om. Bekker.<sup>2</sup> τῶν ἀδικουμένων Destinon.

safety in the persons of the wife and children of Aristobulus. However, before any irreparable harm was done, the brothers came to terms, to the effect that Aristobulus should be king and Hyrcanus, while abdicating the throne, should enjoy all his other honours as the king's brother. The reconciliation on these terms took place in the temple. In the presence of the surrounding crowd they cordially embraced each other, and then exchanged residences, Aristobulus repairing to the palace, Hyrcanus to the house of Aristobulus.

(2) The unexpected triumph of Aristobulus alarmed his adversaries, and, in particular, Antipater, an old and bitterly hated foe. An Idumaean by race, his ancestry, wealth, and other advantages put him in the front rank of his nation. It was he who now persuaded Hyrcanus to seek refuge with Aretas, king of Arabia, with a view to recovering his kingdom, and at the same time urged Aretas to receive him and to reinstate him on the throne. Heaping aspersions on the character of Aristobulus and encomiums on Hyrcanus, he represented how becoming it would be in the sovereign of so brilliant a realm to extend a protecting hand to the oppressed ; and such, he said, was Hyrcanus, robbed of the throne which by right of primogeniture belonged to him.

Having thus prepared both parties for action, Antipater one night fled with Hyrcanus from the city, and, pushing on at full speed, safely reached the capital of the Arabian kingdom, called Petra. There he committed Hyrcanus into the hands of Aretas, and, by dint of conciliatory speeches and cajoling presents, induced the king to furnish an

Antipater  
with the  
aid of  
Aretas,  
seeks to  
reinstate  
Hyrcanus

αὐτόν· ἦν δ' αὕτη πεζῶν τε καὶ ἵππων πέντε  
μυριάδες. πρὸς ἦν οὐκ ἀντέσχεν Ἀριστόβουλος,  
ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συμβολῇ λειφθεὶς εἰς Ἱερο-  
127 σόλυμα συνελαύνεται. κανὸν ἔφθη κατὰ κράτος λη-  
φθεὶς, εἰ μὴ Σκαῦρος ὁ Ρωμαίων στρατηγὸς ἐπ-  
αιναστὰς αὐτῶν τοῖς καιροῖς ἔλυσε τὴν πολιορκίαν·  
ὅς ἐπέμφθη μὲν εἰς Συρίαν ἀπὸ Ἀρμενίας ὑπὸ  
Πομπήιου Μάγνου πολεμοῦντος πρὸς Τιγράνην,  
παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἑαλωκυῖαν προσ-  
φάτως ὑπὸ Μετέλλου καὶ Λολλίου καὶ τούτους  
μεταστήσας, ἐπειδὴ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπύθετο,  
καθάπερ ἐφ' ἔρμαιον ἡπείχθη.

128 (3) Παρελθόντος γοῦν εἰς τὴν χώραν πρέσβεις  
εὐθέως ἥκον παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἕκατέρου δεο-  
μένου βοηθεῖν αὐτῷ. γίνεται δ' ἐπίπροσθεν τοῦ  
δικαίου τὰ παρὰ Ἀριστοβούλου τριακόσια τάλαντα·  
τοσοῦτον γὰρ λαβὼν Σκαῦρος ἐπικηρυκεύεται πρός  
τε Ὑρκανὸν καὶ τοὺς Ἀραβας, ἀπειλῶν Ρωμαίους  
καὶ Πομπήιου, εἰ μὴ λύσειαν τὴν πολιορκίαν.

129 ἀνεχώρει δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἰς Φιλαδέλφειαν  
Ἀρέτας καταπλαγεὶς, καὶ πάλιν εἰς Δαμασκὸν  
130 Σκαῦρος. Ἀριστοβούλω δ' οὐκ ἀπέχρησεν τὸ μὴ  
ἀλῶναι, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπισυλλέξας εἶπετο  
τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ περὶ τὸν καλούμενον Παπυρῶνα  
συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ ἔξακισχιλίους κτείνει, μεθ'  
ῶν καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Ἀντιπάτρον Φαλλίωνα.

131 (4) Ὑρκανὸς δὲ καὶ Ἀντίπατρος τῶν Ἀράβων  
ἀφαιρεθέντες μετέφερον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους τὴν  
ἐλπίδα, κάπειδὴ Πομπήιος ἐπιὼν τὴν Συρίαν εἰς

<sup>a</sup> A. xiv. 19. " 50,000 cavalry besides infantry."

army, fifty thousand strong, both cavalry and infantry,<sup>a</sup> to reinstate his ward. This force Aristobulus was unable to resist. Defeated in the first encounter he was driven into Jerusalem, and would there have been speedily captured through the storming of the city, had not Scaurus the Roman general, intervening at this critical moment, raised the siege. The latter had been sent into Syria from Armenia by Pompey the Great, then at war with Tigranes. On reaching Damascus, which had recently been captured by Metellus and Lollius, he superseded those officers,<sup>b</sup> and then, hearing of the position of affairs in Judaea, hastened thither to snatch what seemed a god-sent opportunity.

(3) Sure enough, no sooner had he entered Jewish territory, than he received deputations from the brothers, each imploring his assistance. Three hundred talents offered by Aristobulus outweighed considerations of justice; Scaurus, having obtained that sum, dispatched a herald to Hyrcanus and the Arabs, threatening them with a visitation from the Romans and Pompey if they did not raise the siege. Aretas, terror-struck, retired from Judaea to Philadelphia, and Scaurus returned to Damascus. Aristobulus, however, not content with having escaped capture, mustered all his forces, pursued the enemy, fought them in the neighbourhood of a place called Papyron, and killed upwards of six thousand. Among the slain was Phallion, Antipater's brother.

(4) Deprived of their Arab allies, Hyrcanus and Antipater turned their hopes to the opposite party, and when Pompey entered Syria and reached

Interven-  
tion of  
Scaurus  
in the  
brother-  
quarrel

65 B.C.

Both  
brother  
appeal  
POMPEY  
63 B.C.

<sup>b</sup> The meaning of the phrase *καὶ τούτους μεταστήσας* (omitted in A.) is uncertain.

Δαμασκὸν ἦκεν, ἐπ' αὐτὸν καταφεύγουσιν, καὶ δίχα δωρεῶν, αἷς καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀρέταν δικαιολογίαις χρώμενοι, κατηντιβόλουν μισῆσαι μὲν τὴν Ἀριστόβούλου βίαν, κατάγειν δ' ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τὸν καὶ τρόπῳ καὶ καθ' ἡλικίαν προσήκοντα.

132 οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Ἀριστόβούλος ὑστέρει πεποιθὼς τῇ Σκαύρου δωροδοκίᾳ, παρῆν τε καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς οἶόν τε βασιλικώτατα κεκοσμηκώς ἔαυτόν. ἀδοξήσας δὲ πρὸς τὰς θεραπείας καὶ μὴ φέρων δουλεύειν ταῖς χρείαις ταπεινότερον τοῦ σχήματος ἀπὸ Δίου πόλεως<sup>1</sup> χωρίζεται.

133 (5) Πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀγανακτήσας Πομπήιος, πολλὰ καὶ τῶν περὶ Ὑρκανὸν ἱκετευόντων, ὥρμησεν ἐπ' Ἀριστόβούλον, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν τε Ῥωμαϊκὴν δύνα-

134 μιν καὶ πολλοὺς ἐκ τῆς Συρίας συμμάχους. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρελαύνων Πέλλαν καὶ Σκυθόπολιν ἦκεν εἰς Κορέας, ὅθεν ἡ Ἰουδαίων ἄρχεται χώρα κατὰ τὴν μεσόγειον ἀνιόντων, ἀκούσας συμπεφευγέναι τὸν Ἀριστόβούλον εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειον, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν φρούριον τῶν πάνυ φιλοτίμως ἔξησκημένων ὑπὲρ ὅρους ὑψηλοῦ κείμενον, πέμψας καταβαίνειν αὐτὸν

135 ἐκέλευσεν. τῷ δ' ἦν μὲν ὄρμὴ καλουμένῳ δεσποτικώτερον διακινδυνεύειν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπακοῦσαι, καθεώρα δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ὄρρωδοῦν, καὶ παρήνουν οἱ φίλοι σκέπτεσθαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἵσχὺν οὖσαν ἀνυπόστατον. οἷς πεισθεὶς κάτεισιν πρὸς Πομπήιον καὶ πολλὰ περὶ τοῦ δικαίως ἄρχειν ἀπολογηθεὶς ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα. πάλιν τε τάδελφοῦ προκαλουμένου καταβὰς καὶ διαλεχθεὶς

<sup>1</sup> Δίου πόλεως Spanheim: Διὸς ἡλιού πόλεως (probably arising from a glossed text Διὸς ἡ Δίου π.) or Διοσπόλεως MSS.

Damascus, took refuge with him. Coming without presents and resorting to the same pleas which they had used with Aretas, they implored him to show his detestation of the violence of Aristobulus, and to restore to the throne the man whose character and seniority entitled him to it. Nor was Aristobulus behindhand ; relying on the fact that Seaurus was open to bribery, he too appeared, arrayed in the most regal style imaginable. But feeling it beneath his dignity to play the courtier, and scorning to further his ends by a servility that humiliated his magnificence, he, on reaching the city of Dium, took himself off.<sup>a</sup>

(5) Indignant at this behaviour, and yielding to the urgent entreaties of Hyrcanus and his friends, Pompey started in pursuit of Aristobulus, with the Roman forces and a large contingent of Syrian auxiliaries. Passing Pella and Scythopolis, he reached Coreae, at which point a traveller ascending through the interior enters the territory of Judaea. There he heard that Aristobulus had taken refuge in Alexandreion, one of the most lavishly equipped of fortresses, situated on a high mountain, and sent orders to him to come down. At this imperious summons Aristobulus felt disposed to brave the risk rather than obey ; but he saw that the people were terrified, and his friends urged him to reflect on the irresistible power of the Romans. He gave way, came down to Pompey, and after making a long defence in support of his claims to the throne, returned to his stronghold. He descended again on his brother's invitation, discussed the rights of his

Aristobulus  
recalcitrant  
prepares  
war with  
Pompey.

<sup>a</sup> A. has "he went off (from Damascus) to Dium and hence to Judaea."

περὶ τῶν δικαίων ἀπεισιν μὴ κωλύοντος τοῦ  
Πομπηίου. μέσος δ' ἦν ἐλπίδος καὶ δέους, καὶ  
κατήει μὲν ὡς δυσωπήσων Πομπήιον πάντ' ἐπι-  
τρέπειν αὐτῷ, πάλιν δ' ἀνέβαινεν εἰς τὴν ἄκραν,  
137 ὡς μὴ προκαταλύειν δόξειεν αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι  
Πομπήιος ἔξιστασθαί τε τῶν φρουρίων ἐκέλευει  
αὐτῷ καὶ, παράγγελμα τῶν φρουράρχων ἔχόντωι  
μόναις πειθαρχεῖν τὰς αὐτογράφοις ἐπιστολαῖς  
ἡνάγκαζεν αὐτὸν ἑκάστοις γράφειν ἐκχωρεῖν, ποιεῖ  
μὲν τὰ προσταχθέντα, ἀγανακτήσας δὲ ἀνεχώρησει  
εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ παρεσκευάζετο πολεμεῖν πρὸ  
Πομπήιον.

138 (6) 'Ο δ', οὐ γὰρ ἐδίδον χρόνον ταῖς παρα-  
σκευαῖς, εὐθέως εἶπετο, καὶ προσεπέρρωσεν τὴ  
όρμὴν ὁ Μιθριδάτου θάνατος ἀγγελθεὶς αὐτῷ περ  
Ἱεριχοῦντα, ἐνθα τῆς Ἰουδαίας τὸ πιότατον φοίνικ-  
τε πάμπολυν καὶ βάλσαμον τρέφει. τοῦτο λίθοι  
ὅξειν ἐπιτέμνοντες τὰ πρέμνα συνάγουσιν<sup>1</sup> κατ  
139 τὰς τομὰς ἐκδακρύον. καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενο  
ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ μίαν ἐσπέραν ἔωθεν ἡπείγετο πρὸ  
τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. καταπλαγεὶς δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον Ἀρι-  
στόβουλος ἱκέτης ἀπαντᾷ, χρημάτων τε ὑποσχέσει  
καὶ τῷ μετὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτρέπειν καὶ ἔαυτὶ  
140 χαλεπαίνοντα καταστέλλει τὸν Πομπήιον. οὐ μη  
τι τῶν ὀμολογημένων ἐγένετο· τὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ τί  
κομιδὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἐκπεμφθέντα Γαβίνιον οἱ τ  
Ἀριστόβουλον φρονοῦντες οὐδὲ τῇ πόλει δέχονται  
141 (vii. 1) Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀγανακτήσας Πομπήιος  
Ἀριστόβουλον μὲν ἐφρούρει, πρὸς δὲ τὴν πόλ  
ἐλθὼν περιεσκόπει ὅπως δεῖ προσβαλεῖν, τὴν  
οὐχ υρότητα τῶν τειχῶν δυσμεταχείριστον ὄρων κατε-

<sup>1</sup> συλλέγουσι VNC.

case, and withdrew, unimpeded by Pompey. Torn between hope and fear, he would come down determined by importunity to force Pompey to deliver everything to him, and as often ascend to his citadel, lest it should be thought that he was prematurely throwing up his case. In the end, Pompey commanded him to evacuate the fortresses and knowing that the governors had orders only to obey instructions given in Aristobulus's own hand, insisted on his writing to each of them a notice to quit. Aristobulus did what was required of him, but indignantly withdrew to Jerusalem and prepared for war with Pompey.

(6) Pompey, allowing him no time for these preparations, followed forthwith. A further impetus to his pace was given by the death of Mithridates, news of which reached him near Jericho. (The soil here is the most fertile in Judaea and produces abundance of palms and balsam-trees ; the stems of the latter are cut with sharp stones and the balsam is collected at the incisions, where it exudes drop by drop.) At this spot Pompey encamped for an evening only and at daybreak pressed on to Jerusalem. Terrified at his approach, Aristobulus went as a suppliant to meet him, and by the promise of money and of the surrender of himself and the city pacified Pompey's wrath. However, none of his undertakings was fulfilled ; for when Gabinius was dispatched to take over the promised sum, the partisans of Aristobulus refused even to admit him to the city.

(vii. 1) Indignant at this treatment, Pompey kept Aristobulus under arrest and, advancing to the city, <sup>Pompey  
besieges  
Jerusalem  
63 B.C.</sup> carefully considered the best method of attack. He noted the solidity of the walls and the formidable

τὴν πρὸ τούτων φάραγγα φοβερὰν τό τε ἱερὸν  
ἐντὸς τῆς φάραγγος ὁχυρώτατα τετειχισμένου,  
ῶστε τοῦ ἄστεος ἀλισκομένου δευτέραν εἶναι  
καταφυγὴν τοῦτο τοῖς πολεμίοις.

- 142 (2) Διαποροῦντος δ' ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον στάσις  
τοῖς ἔνδον ἐμπίπτει, τῶν μὲν Ἀριστοβούλου  
πολεμεῖν ἀξιούντων καὶ ρύεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα, τῶν  
δὲ τὰ Ὑρκανοῦ φρονούντων ἀνοίγειν Πομπήιώ τὰς  
πύλας· πολλοὺς δὲ τούτους ἐποίει τὸ δέος, ἀφ-  
143 ορῶντας εἰς τὴν τῶν Ρωμαίων εὐταξίαν. ἡττώ-  
μενον δὲ τὸ Ἀριστοβούλου μέρος εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν  
ἀνεχώρησεν καὶ τὴν συνάπτουσαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῇ  
πόλει γέφυραν ἀποκόψαντες ἀντισχεῖν εἰς ἔσχατον  
παρεσκευάζοντο. τῶν δὲ ἑτέρων δεχομένων Ρω-  
μαίους τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ βασίλεια παραδιδόντων,  
ἐπὶ μὲν ταῦτα Πομπήιος ἔνα τῶν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ  
στρατηγῶν Πείσωνα εἰσπέμπει μετὰ στρατιᾶς.  
144 ὃς διαλαβὼν φρουραῖς τὴν πόλιν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν εἰς  
τὸ ἱερὸν καταφυγόντων οὐδένα λόγοις ἐπειθεῖν  
συμβῆναι, τὰ πέριξ εἰς προσβολὰς εὐτρέπιζεν  
ἔχων τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν εἰς τε τὰς ἐπινοίας  
καὶ τὰς ὑπηρεσίας προθύμους.
- 145 (3) Αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ τὸ προσάρκτιον κλίμα τὴν  
τάφρον ἔχου καὶ τὴν φάραγγα πᾶσαν, ὕλην  
συμφορούσης τῆς δυνάμεως. χαλεπὸν δ' ἦν τὸ  
ἀναπληροῦν διὰ βάθος ἅπειρον καὶ τῶν Ιουδαίων  
146 πάντα τρόπον εἰργόντων ἀνωθεν. κανὸν ἀτέλεστος  
ἔμεινεν τοῖς Ρωμαίοις ὁ πόνος, εἰ μὴ τὰς ἑβδο-  
μάδας ἐπιτηρῶν ὁ Πομπήιος, ἐν αἷς παντὸς ἔργοι  
διὰ τὴν θρησκείαν χεῖρας ἀπίσχουσιν Ιουδαῖοι, τὸ  
χῶμα ὑψουν τῆς κατὰ χεῖρα συμβολῆς εἴργων τοὺς

task of their assault, the frightful ravine in front of them, and within the ravine the temple also so strongly fortified as to afford, after the capture of the town, a second line of defence to the enemy.

(2) However, during his long period of indecision, sedition broke out within the walls ; the partisans of Aristobulus insisting on a battle and the rescue of the king, while those of Hyrcanus were for opening the gates to Pompey. The numbers of the latter were increased by the fear which the spectacle of the perfect order of the Romans inspired. The party of Aristobulus, finding themselves beaten, retired into the temple, cut the bridge which connected it with the city, and prepared to hold out to the last. The others admitted the Romans to the city and delivered up the palace. Pompey sent a body of troops to occupy it under the command of Piso, one of his lieutenant-generals. That officer distributed sentries about the town and, failing to induce any of the refugees in the temple to listen to terms, prepared the surrounding ground for an assault. In this work the friends of Hyrcanus keenly assisted him with their advice and services.

(3) Pompey himself was on the north side, engaged in banking up the fosse and the whole of the ravine with materials collected by the troops. The tremendous depth to be filled, and the impediments of every sort to which the work was exposed by the Jews above, rendered this a difficult task. Indeed, the labours of the Romans would have been endless, had not Pompey taken advantage of the seventh day of the week, on which the Jews, from religious scruples, refrain from all manual work, and then proceeded to raise the earthworks, while forbidding

στρατιώτας· ὑπὲρ μόνου γὰρ τοῦ σώματος ἀμύ-  
 147 νονται<sup>1</sup> τοῖς σαββάτοις. ηδη δ' ἀναπεπληρωμένης  
 τῆς φάραγγος πύργους ὑψηλοὺς ἐπιστήσας τῷ  
 χώματι καὶ προσαγαγὼν τὰς ἐκ Τύρου κομισθείσας  
 μηχανὰς ἐπειρᾶτο τοῦ τείχους· ἀνέστελλον δὲ αἱ  
 πετροβόλοι τοὺς καθύπερθεν κωλύοντας. ἀντεῖχον  
 δ' ἐπὶ πλεῖον οἱ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος πύργοι  
 μεγέθει τε καὶ κάλλει διαφέροντες.

148 (4) "Ἐνθα δὴ πολλὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κακοπα-  
 θούντων ὁ Πομπήιος τά τε ἄλλα τῆς καρτερίας  
 τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀπεθαύμαζεν, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ  
 μηδὲν παραλῦσαι τῆς θρησκείας ἐν μέσοις τοῖς  
 βέλεσιν ἀνειλημένους· ὥσπερ γὰρ εἰρήνης βαθείας  
 κατεχούσης τὴν πόλιν αἱ τε θυσίαι καθ' ἡμέραν  
 καὶ οἱ ἐναγισμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θεραπεία κατὰ τάκριβὲς  
 ἔξετελεῖτο τῷ θεῷ. καὶ οὐδὲ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν  
 ἄλωσιν περὶ τῷ βωμῷ φονευόμενοι τῶν καθ'  
 ἡμέραν νομίμων εἰς τὴν θρησκείαν ἀπέστησαν.

149 τρίτῳ γὰρ μηνὶ τῆς πολιορκίας μόλις ἔνα τῶν  
 πύργων καταρρίφαντες εἰσέπιπτον εἰς τὸ ἱερόν  
 ὁ δὲ πρῶτος ὑπερβῆναι τολμήσας τὸ τείχος Σύλλο  
 παῖς ἦν Φαῦστος Κορνήλιος καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἕκα-  
 τοντάρχαι δύο Φούριος<sup>2</sup> καὶ Φάβιος. εἴπετο δὲ  
 ἐκάστῳ τὸ ἴδιον στῖφος, καὶ περισχόντες πανταχὶ<sup>a</sup>  
 τὸ ἱερὸν ἔκτεινον οὓς μὲν τῷ ναῷ προσφεύγοντας  
 οὓς δὲ ἀμυνομένους πρὸς ὀλίγον.

<sup>1</sup> + καὶ VRNC Lat. (*etiam*).

<sup>2</sup> Lat., Heg.: Φρούριος MSS.

<sup>a</sup> Military engines for flinging stones and other missiles.

<sup>b</sup> A. xiv. 66 gives the precise year (Olympiad 179 and the Roman consuls of 63 B.C.) and adds "on the day of the fast," i.e. probably the Day of Atonement (10th Tishri September-October). Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 16, says "on the

his troops to engage in hostilities ; for on the sabbaths the Jews fight only in self-defence. The ravine once filled up, he erected lofty towers on the earthworks, brought up the battering engines which had been conveyed from Tyre, and tried their effect upon the walls ; the *ballistae*,<sup>a</sup> meanwhile, beating off resistance from above. However, the towers, which in this sector were extraordinarily massive and beautiful, long resisted the blows.

(4) While the Romans were undergoing these severe hardships, Pompey was filled with admiration for the invariable fortitude of the Jews, and in particular for the way in which they carried on their religious services uncurtailed, though enveloped in a hail of missiles. Just as if the city had been wrapt in profound peace, the daily sacrifices, the expiations and all the ceremonies of worship were scrupulously performed to the honour of God. At the very hour when the temple was taken, when they were being massacred about the altar, they never desisted from the religious rites for the day. It was the third month of the siege<sup>b</sup> when, having with difficulty succeeded in overthrowing one of the towers, the Romans burst into the temple. The first to venture across the wall was Faustus Cornelius, son of Sulla ; after him came two centurions, Furius and Fabius. Followed by their respective companies, they formed a ring round the court of the temple and slew their victims, some flying to the sanctuary, others offering a brief resistance.

<sup>a</sup>sabbath" (*εν τῷ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ*) : and it has been held by some that "the fast" named in Josephus's non-Jewish source meant the sabbath, according to a mistaken and widespread idea in the Graeco-Roman world that the Jews fasted on the sabbath (Schürer).

- 150 (5) Ἐνθα πολλοὶ τῶν ἱερέων ξιφήρεις τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιόντας βλέποντες ἀθορύβως ἐπὶ τῆς θρησκείας ἔμειναν, σπένδοντες δὲ ἀπεσφάττοντο καὶ θυμιῶντες [καὶ] τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον θεραπείας ἐν δευτέρῳ τὴν σωτηρίαν τιθέμενοι. πλεῖστοι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ὄμοφύλων ἀντιστασιαστῶν ἀνηροῦντο καὶ κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ἔρριπτον ἐαυτοὺς ἅπειροι· καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸ τεῖχος δ' ἔνιοι μανιῶντες ἐν ταῖς 151 ἀμηχανίαις ὑπέπρησαν καὶ συγκατεφλέγοντο. Ἰουδαίων μὲν οὖν ἀνηρέθησαν μύριοι καὶ δισχίλιοι, 'Ρωμαίων δὲ ὀλίγοι μὲν πάνυ νεκροί, τραυματίαι δ' ἐγένοντο πλείους.
- 152 (6) Οὐδὲν δ' οὕτως ἐν ταῖς τότε συμφοραῖς καθήψατο τοῦ ἔθνους ὡς τὸ τέως ἀόρατον ἄγιον ἐκκαλυφθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων. παρελθὼν γοῦν σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Πομπήιος εἰς τὸν ναόν, ἐνθα μόνῳ θεμιτὸν ἦν παριέναι τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, τὰ ἔιδον ἐθεάσατο, λυχνίαν τε καὶ λύχνους καὶ τράπεζαν καὶ σποιδεῖα καὶ θυμιατήρια, ὀλόχρυσα πάντα, πλῆθος τε ἀρωμάτων σεσωρευμένον καὶ 153 ἱερῶν χρημάτων εἰς τάλαντα δισχίλια. οὕτε δε τούτων οὕτε ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν ἱερῶν κειμηλίῳ ἦψατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ μίαν τῆς ἀλώσεως ἡμέραι καθέραι τὸ ἱερὸν τοῖς νεωκόροις προσέταξεν καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἔθους ἐπιτελεῖν θυσίας. αὖθις δ' ἀποδείξας Ὑρκανὸν ἀρχιερέα, τά τε ἄλλα προθυμότατοι ἐαυτὸν ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ παρασχόντα, καὶ διότι τοι κατὰ τὴν χώραν πλῆθος ἀπέστησεν Ἀριστοβούλῳ συμπολεμεῖν<sup>1</sup> ὥρμημένον, ἐκ τούτων, ὅπερ ἦ προσῆκον ἀγαθῷ στρατηγῷ, τὸν λαὸν εύνοιᾳ πλέον ἦ δέει προσηγάγετο. ἐν δὲ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοι

<sup>1</sup> σιμπονεῖν C.

(5) Then it was that many of the priests, seeing the enemy advancing sword in hand, calmly continued their sacred ministrations, and were butchered in the act of pouring libations and burning incense ; putting the worship of the Deity above their own preservation. Most of the slain perished by the hands of their countrymen of the opposite faction ; countless numbers flung themselves over the precipices ; some, driven mad by their hopeless plight, set fire to the buildings around the wall and were consumed in the flames. Of the Jews twelve thousand perished ; the losses of the Romans in dead were trifling, in wounded considerable.

(6) Of all the calamities of that time none so deeply affected the nation as the exposure to alien eyes of the Holy Place, hitherto screened from view Pompey indeed, along with his staff, penetrated to the sanctuary, entry to which was permitted to none but the high priest, and beheld what it contained : the candelabrum and lamps, the table, the vessels for libation and censers, all of solid gold, an accumulation of spices and the store of sacred money amounting to two thousand talents. However, he touched neither these nor any other of the sacred treasures and, the very day after the capture of the temple, gave orders to the custodians to cleanse it and to resume the customary sacrifices. He reinstated Hyrcanus as high priest, in return for his enthusiastic support shown during the siege, particularly in de-  
reinstated as high priest.  
aching from Aristobulus large numbers of the rural population who were anxious to join his standard. By these methods, in which goodwill played a larger part than terrorism, he, like the able general he was, conciliated the people. Among the prisoners was

έλήφθη καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου πειθερός, ὁ δ' αὐτὸς  
ἡν καὶ θεῖος αὐτῷ. καὶ τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους μὲν τοῦ  
πολέμου πελέκει κολάζει, Φαῦστον δὲ καὶ τοὺς  
μετ' αὐτοῦ γειναίως ἀγωνισαμένους λαμπροῖς  
ἀριστείοις δωρησάμενος τῇ τε χώρᾳ καὶ τοῖς  
Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπιτάσσει φόρον.

155 (7) Ἀφελόμενος δὲ τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τὰς ἐν κοίλῃ  
Συρίᾳ πόλεις, ἃς εἶλον, ὑπέταξεν τῷ κατ' ἐκεῖνο  
Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῷ κατατεταγμένῳ καὶ μόνοις  
αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἴδιοις ὅροις περιέκλεισεν. ἀνακτίζει  
δὲ καὶ Γάδαραι ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων κατεστραμμένην,  
Γαδαρίτῃ τινὶ τῶν ἴδιων ἀπελευθέρων Δημητρίῳ  
156 χαριζόμενος. ἡλευθέρωσεν δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς  
ἐν τῇ μεσογείῳ πόλεις, ὅσας μὴ φθάσαντες κατ-  
έσκαψαν, Ἰππον Σκυθόπολίν τε καὶ Πέλλαν καὶ  
Σαμάρειαν καὶ Ἰάμνειαν καὶ Μάρισαιν Ἄζωτόν τε  
καὶ Ἀρέθουσαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς παραλίους  
Γάζαν Ἰόππην Δῶρα καὶ τὴν πάλαι μὲν Στράτωνος  
πύργον καλουμένην, ὕστερον δὲ μετακτισθεῖσάν  
τε ὑφ' Ἡρώδου βασιλέως λαμπροτάτοις κατα-  
157 σκευάσμασιν καὶ μετονομασθεῖσαν Καισάρειαν. ἃς  
πάσας τοῖς γνησίοις ἀποδοὺς πολίταις κατέταξεν  
εἰς τὴν Συριακὴν ἐπαρχίαν. παραδοὺς δὲ ταύτην  
τε καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τὰ μέχρις Αἰγύπτου καὶ  
Εὐφράτου Σκαύρῳ διέπειν καὶ δύο τῶν ταγμάτων  
αὐτὸς διὰ Κιλικίας εἰς Ῥώμην ἡπείγετο τοὶ  
Ἀριστόβουλον ἄγων μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς αἰχμάλωτον  
158 δύο δ' ἥσαν αὐτῷ θυγατέρες καὶ δύο νίεῖς, ὧν  
ἔτερος μὲν Ἀλέξαιδρος ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ διαδιδράσκει

\* Named Absalom (A. xiv. 71).

the father-in-law of Aristobulus, who was also his uncle.<sup>a</sup> Those upon whom lay the main responsibility for the war were executed. Faustus and his brave companions in arms were presented with splendid rewards. The country and Jerusalem were laid under tribute.

(7) Pompey, moreover, deprived the Jews of the cities which they had conquered in Coele-Syria, placing these under the authority of a Roman governor appointed for the purpose,<sup>b</sup> and thus confined the nation within its own boundaries. To gratify Demetrius, one of his freedmen, a Gadarene, he rebuilt Gadara, which had been destroyed by the Jews. He also liberated from their rule all the towns in the interior which they had not already razed to the ground, namely Hippos, Scythopolis, Pella,<sup>c</sup> Samaria, Jamnia, Marisa, Azotus, and Arethusa; likewise the maritime towns of Gaza, Joppa, Dora, and the city formerly called Strato's Tower, which afterwards, when reconstructed by King Herod with magnificent buildings, took the name of Caesarea. All these towns he restored to their legitimate inhabitants and annexed to the province of Syria. That province, together with Judaea and the whole region extending as far as Egypt and the Euphrates, he entrusted, along with two legions, to the administration of Seaurus; and then set out in haste across Cilicia for Rome, taking with him his prisoners, Aristobulus and his family. That prince had two daughters and two sons. Of the latter, one, Alexander, made his escape on the journey;

Judaea  
made  
tributary  
to Rome

Aristobu  
taken  
captive t  
Rome.

<sup>b</sup> κατ' ἐκεῖνο, "ad hoc," or perhaps "of the Roman governor placed over that region."

<sup>c</sup> A. adds Dium.

σὺν δὲ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς ὁ νεώτερος Ἀντίγονος εἰς  
Ρώμην ἐκομίζετο.

159 (viii. 1) Καν τούτῳ Σκαῦρος εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν  
ἐμβαλὼν τῆς μὲν Πέτρας εἴργετο ταῖς δυσχωρίαις,  
ἐπόρθει δὲ τὰ πέριξ πολλὰ καν τούτῳ κακοπαθῶν.  
ἔλιμωττεν γάρ ἡ στρατιά. καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο Ὑρκα-  
νὸς ἐπεβοήθει διὰ Ἀντιπάτρου τάπιτήδεια πέμπων,  
ὅν καὶ καθίησι Σκαῦρος ὅντα συνήθη πρὸς Ἀρέταν,  
ὅπως ἐπὶ χρήμασιν διαλύσαιτο τὸν πόλεμον.  
πείθεται δ' ὁ Ἀραψ τριακόσια δοῦναι τάλαντα,  
κάπι τούτοις Σκαῦρος ἔξῆγεν τῆς Ἀραβίας τὴν  
δύναμιν.

160 (2) Ὁ δ' ἀποδρὰς τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου παιδῶν  
Πομπήιον Ἀλέξανδρος χρόνῳ συναγαγὼν χεῖρα  
συχνὴν βαρὺς ἦν Ὑρκανῷ καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν  
κατέτρεχεν, ἐδόκει τε ἂν καταλῦσαι ταχέως αὐτόν,  
ὅς γε ἥδη καὶ τὸ καταρριφθὲν ὑπὸ Πομπήιου  
τεῖχος ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνακτίζειν ἐθάρρει προσ-  
ελθών, εἰ μὴ Γαβίνιος εἰς Συρίαν πεμφθεὶς  
Σκαύρῳ διάδοχος τά τε ἄλλα γενναῖον ἀπέδειξεν  
ἔαυτὸν ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ ἐπ' Ἀλέξανδρον ὥρμησεν.

161 ὁ δὲ δείσας πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον δύναμίν τε πλείω  
συνέλεγεν, ὡς γενέσθαι μυρίους μὲν ὀπλίτας  
χιλίους δὲ καὶ πεντακοσίους ἵππεῖς, καὶ τὰ ἐπι-  
τήδεια τῶν χωρίων ἐτείχιζεν, Ἀλέξανδρειόν τε  
καὶ Ὑρκανίαν<sup>1</sup> καὶ Μαχαιροῦντα πρὸς τοῖς Ἀρα-  
βίοις ὅρεσιν.

162 (3) Γαβίνιος δὲ μετὰ μέρους τῆς στρατιᾶς  
Μᾶρκον Ἀντώνιον προπέμψας αὐτὸς εἴπετο τὴν

<sup>1</sup> Niese (so it is called elsewhere): Ὑρκάν(ε)ιον miss.

<sup>a</sup> According to Appian, *Syr.* 51, there were two intermediate governors of Syria between Seaurus and Gabinius,

Antigonus, the younger, was conducted with his sisters to Rome.

(viii. 1) Meanwhile Scaurus had invaded Arabia. Being held up at Petra by the difficulties of the ground, he proceeded to lay waste the surrounding country, but here again suffered severely, his army being reduced to starvation. To relieve his wants Hyrcanus sent Antipater with supplies. Antipater being on intimate terms with Aretas, Scaurus dispatched him to the king to induce him to purchase release from hostilities. The Arab monarch consenting to pay three hundred talents, Scaurus on these conditions withdrew his troops from the country.

(2) Alexander, son of Aristobulus, the one who escaped from Pompey, in course of time mustered a considerable force and caused Hyrcanus serious annoyance by his raids upon Judaea. Having already advanced to Jerusalem and had the audacity to begin rebuilding the wall which Pompey had destroyed, he would in all probability have soon deposed his rival, but for the arrival of Gabinius, who had been sent to Syria as successor to Scaurus.<sup>a</sup> Gabinius, whose valour had been proved on many other occasions, now marched against Alexander. The latter, alarmed at his approach, raised the strength of his army to ten thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, and fortified the strategic positions of Alexandreion, Hyrcania, and Machaerus, adjacent to the Arabian mountains.

(3) Gabinius sent Mark Antony ahead with a division of his army, following himself with the main

viz. Marcus Philippus (61-60 b.c., Schürer) and Lentulus Marcellinus (59-58 b.c.).

ὅλην ἔχων δύναμιν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἐπίλεκτοι καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τάγμα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὃν Μάλιχος ἦρχεν καὶ Πειθόλαος, συμμίξαντες τοῖς περὶ Μᾶρκον Ἀντώνιον ἡγεμόσιν ὑπήντων Ἀλεξ-  
άνδρῳ. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρῆν ἄμα τῇ φάλαγγι

163 Γαβίνιος. ἐνουμένην δὲ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων δύναμιν οὐχ ὑπομείνας Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνεχώρει καὶ πλησίον ἥδη Ἱεροσολύμων γενόμενος ἀναγκάζεται συμ-  
βαλεῖν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἔξακισχιλίους ἀπο-  
βαλών, ὃν τρισχίλιοι μὲν ἐπεσον τρισχίλιοι δὲ  
ἔζωγρήθησαν, φεύγει σὺν τοῖς καταλειφθεῖσιν εἰς  
Ἀλεξάνδρειον.

164 (4) Γαβίνιος δὲ πρὸς τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἐλθὼν  
ἐπειδὴ πολλοὺς εὑρεν ἐστρατοπεδευμένους, ἐπει-  
ράτο συγγνώμης ὑποσχέσει περὶ τῶν ἡμαρτη-  
μένων πρὸ μάχης αὐτοὺς προσαγαγέσθαι· μηδὲν  
δὲ μέτριον φρονούντων ἀποκτείνας πολλοὺς τοὺς

165 λοιποὺς ἀπέκλεισεν εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα. κατὰ ταύτην  
ἀριστεύει τὴν μάχην ὁ ἡγεμὼν Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος,  
πανταχοῦ μὲν γενναῖος ἀεὶ φανείς, οὐδαμοῦ δ'  
οὗτως. Γαβίνιος δὲ τοὺς ἔξαιρήσοντας τὸ φρούριον  
καταλιπὼν αὐτὸς ἐπῆρε τὰς μὲν ἀπορθήτους πόλεις  
καθιστάμενος, τὰς δὲ κατεστραμμένας ἀνακτίζων.

166 συνεπολίσθησαν γοῦν τούτου κελεύσαντος Σκυθό-  
πόλις τε καὶ Σαμάρεια καὶ Ἀιθηδῶν καὶ Ἀπολ-  
λωνία καὶ Ἰάμνεια καὶ Ράφεια Μάρισά τε καὶ  
Ἀδώρεος καὶ Γάμαλα<sup>1</sup> καὶ Ἀζωτος καὶ ἄλλαι  
πολλαί, τῶν οἰκητόρων ἀσμένως ἐφ' ἔκαστην  
συνθεόντων.

167 (5) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἐπιμέλειαν ἐπανελθὼν  
πρὸς τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἐπέρρωσεν τὴν πολιορκίαν,

<sup>1</sup> VC: Γάβαλα the rest. Gadara Lat.: Gaza A.||

body. Antipater's picked troops and the rest of the Jewish contingent under the command of Malichus and Peitholaus joined forces with Antony's generals and proceeded against Alexander. Gabinius appeared before long with the heavy infantry. Alexander, unable to withstand the combined forces of the enemy, retired, but when approaching Jerusalem was forced into an engagement. In this battle he lost six thousand of his men, three thousand killed, and as many prisoners. With the remnant of his army he fled to Alexandreion.

(4) Gabinius, following him thither, found many of his men camping outside the walls. Before attacking them, he endeavoured, by promise of pardon for past offences, to bring them over to his side ; but, on their proudly refusing all terms, he killed a large number of them and confined the remainder in the fortress. The honours of this combat went to the commanding officer, Mark Antony ; his valour, displayed on every battlefield, was never so conspicuous as here. Leaving the reduction of the fort to his troops, Gabinius made a parade of the country, restoring order in the cities which had escaped <sup>and rest</sup>devastation, and rebuilding those which he found in <sup>order in</sup>country. ruins. It was, for instance, by his orders that Scythopolis, Samaria, Anthedon, Apollonia, Jamnia, Raphia, Marisa, Adoreus, Gamala, Azotus, and many other towns were repeopled, colonists gladly flocking to each of them.

(5) After supervising these arrangements, Gabinius returned to Alexandreion and pressed the siege so

ώστε Ἀλεξανδρος ἀπογυνὸς περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἐπικηρυκεύεται πρὸς αὐτόν, συγγνωσθῆναι τε τῶν ἡμαρτημένων δεόμενος καὶ τὰ συμμένοντα<sup>1</sup> φρούρια παραδίδοντες Ὑρκανίαν καὶ Μαχαιροῦντα· αὐθὶς δὲ 168 καὶ τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἐνεχείρισεν. ἡ πάντα Γαβίνιος ἐναγούσης τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου μητρὸς κατέστρεψεν, ώς μὴ πάλιν ὄρμητήριον γένοιτο δευτέρου πολέμου· παρῆν δὲ μειλισσομένη τὸν Γαβίνιον κατὰ δέος τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ρώμης αἰχμαλώτων, τοῦ τε 169 ἀιδρὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τέκνων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα Γαβίνιος Ὑρκανὸν καταγαγὼν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ παραδοὺς κηδεμονίαν αὐτῷ καθίστατο τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν ἐπὶ προστασίᾳ τῶν ἀρίστων. 170 διεῖλεν δὲ πᾶν τὸ ἔθνος εἰς πέντε συνόδους, τὸ μὲν Ἱεροσολύμοις προστάξας, τὸ δὲ Γαδάροις, οἱ δ' ἵνα συντελῶσιν εἰς Ἀμαθοῦντα, τὸ δὲ τέταρτον εἰς Ἱεριχοῦντα κεκλήρωτο, καὶ τῷ πέμπτῳ Σέπφωρις ἀπεδείχθη πόλις τῆς Γαλιλαίας. ἀσμένως δὲ τῆς ἔξ έντος ἐπικρατείας ἐλευθερωθέντες τὸ λοιπὸν ἀριστοκρατίᾳ διώκουντο.

171 (6) Μετ' οὐ πολὺ γε μὴν αὐτοῖς ἀρχὴ γίνεται θορύβων Ἀριστόβουλος ἀποδράς ἐκ Ρώμης, ὃς αὖθις πολλοὺς Ἰουδαίων ἐπισυνίστη, τοὺς μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦντας μεταβολῆς, τοὺς δ' ἀγαπῶντας αὐτὸν πάλαι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καταλαβόμενος τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἀγατειχίζειν ἐπειράτο· ώς δὲ Γαβίνιος ἵπο Σισέννα καὶ Ἀντωνίω καὶ Σερουνιανῷ

<sup>1</sup> σιλλήφθεντα ΡΑΜ.

\* συνόδους: Reinach would read συνέδρια, "councils," as in the parallel passage *A.* xiv. 91.

<sup>1</sup> So the mss. in *B.* and *A.*: but we should rather read Gazara, i.e. the O.T. Gezer, about half-way between Jerusalem and Joppa. The Hellenistic town Gadara in N.

vigorously that Alexander, despairing of success, sent him a herald with a petition for pardon for his offences and an offer to surrender the fortresses of Hyrcania and Machaerus, still in his possession; subsequently he gave up Alexandreion as well. All these places Gabinius demolished, to prevent their serving as a base of operations for another war. He was instigated to take this step by Alexander's mother, who had come to propitiate him, in her concern for her husband and remaining children, then prisoners in Rome. After this Gabinius reinstated Hyrcanus in Jerusalem and committed to him the custody of the Temple. The civil administration he reconstituted under the form of an aristocracy. He divided the whole nation into five unions;<sup>a</sup> one of these he attached to Jerusalem, another to Gadara,<sup>b</sup> the third had Amathus as its centre of government, the fourth was allotted to Jericho, the fifth to Sepphoris, a city of Galilee. The Jews welcomed their release from the rule of an individual and were from that time forward governed by an aristocracy.

(6) They were soon, however, involved in fresh troubles through the escape of Aristobulus from Rome. Once more he succeeded in mustering a large body of Jews, some eager for revolution, others long since his devoted admirers. He began by seizing Alexandreion and attempting to restore the fortifications; but on hearing that Gabinius had dispatched an army against him, under the command Peraea had been severed from Jewish territory by Pompey. The names are elsewhere confused (Schürer). Judaea proper is thus represented by three towns, Galilee by one, and Peraea by one (Amathus), a little E. of Jordan, to the N. of the river Jabbok.

Aristoc.  
constitu.  
of Judæa

Fresh re  
and re-  
capture  
Aristob.

στρατιὰν ἔπειψεν ἐπ’ αὐτόν, γνοὺς ἀνεχώρει ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 172 Μαχαιροῦντος. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄχρηστον ὅχλον  
 ἀπέφορτίσατο, μόνους δ’ ἐπήγετο τοὺς ὥπλι-  
 σμένους, ὅντας εἰς ὀκτακισχιλίους, ἐν οἷς καὶ  
 Πειθόλαος ἦν ὁ ἔξι Ιεροσολύμων ὑποστράτηγος  
 αὐτομολήσας μετὰ χιλίων. ‘Ρωμαῖοι δ’ ἐπηκο-  
 λούθουν, καὶ γενομένης συμβολῆς μέχρι πολλοῦ  
 μὲν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον διεκαρτέρουν γεν-  
 ναίως ἀγωνιζόμενοι, τέλος δὲ βιασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ‘Ρωμαίων πίπτουσι μὲν πεντακισχίλιοι, περὶ δὲ  
 δισχιλίους ἀνέφυγον εἴς τινα λόφον, οἵ δὲ λοιποὶ<sup>2</sup>  
 χίλιοι σὺν Ἀριστοβούλῳ διακόψαντες τὴν φάλαγγα  
 τῶν ‘Ρωμαίων εἰς Μαχαιροῦντα συνελαύνονται.  
 173 ἔνθα δὴ τὴν πρώτην ἐσπέραν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς  
 ἐρειπίοις ἐναυλισάμενος ἐν ἐλπίσι μὲν ἦν ἄλλην  
 συναθροίσειν δύναμιν, ἀνοχὴν τοῦ πολέμου διδόντος,  
 καὶ τὸ φρούριον κακῶς ὡχύρου προσπεσόντων δὲ  
 ‘Ρωμαίων ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας ἀντισχὼν ὑπὲρ δύναμιν  
 ἀλίσκεται καὶ μετ’ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ παιδός, ὃς ἀπὸ<sup>3</sup>  
 ‘Ρώμης αὐτῷ συναπέδρα, δεσμώτης ἐπὶ Γαβίνιον  
 ἀνήχθη καὶ ἀπὸ Γαβινίου πάλιν εἰς ‘Ρώμην.  
 174 τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἡ σύγκλητος είρξεν, τὰ τέκνα δ’  
 αὐτοῦ διῆκεν<sup>1</sup> εἰς Ιουδαίαν, Γαβινίου δι’ ἐπιστολῶν  
 δηλώσαντος τῇ Ἀριστοβούλου γυναικὶ τοῦτο ἀντὶ<sup>2</sup>  
 τῆς παραδόσεως τῶν ἐρυμάτων ὡμολογηκέναι.

175 (7) Γαβινίώ δ’ ἐπὶ Πάρθους ὠρμημένῳ στρα-  
 τεύειν γίνεται Πτολεμαῖος ἐμπόδιον, δν<sup>2</sup> ὑπο-  
 στρέψας ἀπ’ Εὐφράτου κατῆγεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον,

<sup>1</sup> διῆκεν Destinon (after Lat.; cf. ἀνῆκεν A. ||): διῆγεν  
mss. <sup>2</sup> Hudson: δς mss.

<sup>a</sup> Servilius, A. xiv. 92, and many mss. of B. <sup>b</sup> Cf. § 168.

<sup>c</sup> Ptolemy Auletes, driven from the throne of Egypt by

of Sisenna, Antony, and Servianus,<sup>a</sup> he retreated towards Machaerus. Disencumbering himself of his rabble of inefficient followers, he retained only those who were armed, numbering eight thousand ; among these was Peitholaus, the second in command at Jerusalem, who had deserted to him with a thousand men. The Romans pursued and an engagement took place. Aristobulus and his men for long held their ground, fighting valiantly, but were ultimately overpowered by the Romans. Five thousand fell ; about two thousand took refuge on a hill ; Aristobulus and the remaining thousand cut their way through the Roman lines and flung themselves into Machaerus. There, as he camped among the ruins on that first evening, the king entertained hopes of raising another army, given but a respite from war, and proceeded to erect some weak fortifications ; but, when the Romans attacked the place, after holding out beyond his strength for two days, he was taken, and, with his son Antigonus, who had shared his flight from Rome, was conducted in chains to Gabinius, and by Gabinius was sent back once more to Rome. The Senate imprisoned the father, but allowed his children to return to Judaea, Gabinius having written to inform them that he had promised this favour to the wife of Aristobulus in return for the surrender of the fortresses.<sup>b</sup>

(7) An expedition against the Parthians, on which Gabinius had already started, was cut short by Ptolemy,<sup>c</sup> to effect whose restoration to Egypt the former returned from the banks of the Euphrates.

his subjects, induced Gabinius by a large bribe to undertake his restoration (55 B.C.). He had since his expulsion in 58 been working for this at Rome and had obtained the influential support of Cicero.

Further  
revolt and  
defeat of  
Alexander

55 B.C.

ἐπιτηδείοις εἰς ἄπαντα χρώμενος κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν Ὑρκανῶ καὶ Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ γὰρ χρήματα καὶ ὅπλα καὶ σῖτον καὶ ἐπικούρους Ἀντίπατρος προσῆγεν, καὶ τοὺς ταύτη Ιουδαίους φρουροῦντας τὰς κατὰ τὸ Πηλούσιον ἐμβολὰς παρεῖναι Γαβίνιον 176 ἔπεισεν. τῆς δ' ἄλλης Συρίας πρὸς τὸν Γαβίνιον χωρισμὸν κινηθείσης καὶ Ιουδαίους πάλιν ἀπέστησεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου, μεγίστην δὲ συγκροτήσας δύναμιν ὥρμητο πάντας τοὺς κατὰ 177 τὴν χώραν Ρωμαίους ἀνελεῖν. πρὸς δὲ Γαβίνιος δείσας, ἦδη δὲ παρῆν ἀπ' Αἴγυπτου τοῖς τῇδε θορύβοις ἡπειρυμένος, ἐπὶ τινὰς μὲν τῶν ἀφεστώτων Ἀντίπατρον προπέμψας μετέπεισεν, συνέμενον δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τρεῖς μυριάδες, κάκεῖνος ὥρμητο πολεμεῖν. οὗτος ἔξεισιν πρὸς μάχην. ὑπῆντων δ' οἱ Ιουδαῖοι, καὶ συμβαλόντων περὶ τὸ Ἰταβύριον ὅρος μύριοι μὲν ἀγαροῦνται, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος 178 ἐσκεδάσθη φυγῆ. καὶ Γαβίνιος ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τὸ Ἀντιπάτρου βούλημα κατεστήσατο τὴν πολιτείαν. ἔνθει ὄρμήσας Ναβαταίων τε μάχη κρατεῖ καὶ Μιθριδάτην καὶ Ὁρσάνην φυγόντας ἐκ Πάρθων κρύφα μὲν ἀπέπεμψεν, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔλεγεν ἀποδρᾶναι.

179 (8) Καὶ τούτῳ Κράσσος αὐτῷ διάδοχος ἐλθὼν παραλαμβάνει Συρίαν. οὗτος εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρατείαν τὸν τε ἄλλον τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ναοῦ χρυσὸν πάντα περιεῖλεν καὶ τὰ δισχίλια τάλαντα ἦρεν, ὃν ἀπέσχετο Πομπήιος. διαβὰς

<sup>a</sup> Or "river-mouths." For the charge of the river Nile entrusted to the Jews cf. *Ap.* ii. 64.

<sup>b</sup> As Reinach remarks, this detail, which has no relevance to Jewish history, shows that Josephus is abridging a general history. The language, both here (*κρύφα ἀπέπεμψεν*) and

For this campaign Hyrcanus and Antipater put their services entirely at his disposal. In addition to providing money, arms, corn, and auxiliaries, Antipater further induced the local Jewish guardians of the frontiers <sup>a</sup> at Pelusium to let Gabinius through. His departure, however, was the occasion for a general commotion in Syria ; and Alexander, son of Aristobulus, heading a new Jewish revolt, collected a vast army and proceeded to massacre all Romans in the country. Gabinius was alarmed. He was already on the spot, news of the local disturbances having hastened his return from Egypt. Sending Antipater in advance to address some of the rebels he brought them over to reason. Alexander, however, had still thirty thousand left and was burning for action. Gabinius, accordingly, took the field, the Jews met him, and a battle was fought near Mount Tabor, in which they lost ten thousand men ; the remainder fled and dispersed. Gabinius then proceeded to Jerusalem, where he reorganized the government in accordance with Antipater's wishes. From there he marched against the Nabataeans, whom he fought and defeated. Two fugitives from Parthia, Mithridates and Orsanes, he privily dismissed, giving out to his soldiers that they had made their escape.<sup>b</sup>

(8) The government of Syria now passed into the hands of Crassus, who came to succeed Gabinius. To provide for his expedition against the Parthians, Crassus stripped the temple at Jerusalem of all its gold, his plunder including the two thousand talents left untouched by Pompey.<sup>c</sup> He then crossed the

Crassus  
plunders  
the temp  
54-53 B.C.

<sup>a</sup> in the parallel *A.* xiv. 103 (*τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν*), is based on *Thuc.* i. 128.

<sup>c</sup> §§ 152 f.

δὲ τὸν Εὐφράτην αὐτός τε ἀπώλετο καὶ ὁ στρατὸς  
αὐτοῦ, περὶ ὧν οὐ νῦν καιρὸς λέγειν.

- 180 (9) Πάρθους δὲ μετὰ τὸν Κράσσον ἐπιδια-  
βαίνειν εἰς Συρίαν ὡρμημένους ἀνέκοπτεν Κάσ-  
σιος εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν διαφυγών. περιποιησά-  
μενος δ' αὐτὴν ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας ἥπειγετο, καὶ Ταρι-  
χαίας μὲν ἐλῶν εἰς τρεῖς μυριάδας Ἰουδαίων ἀνδρα-  
ποδίζεται, κτείνει δὲ καὶ Πειθόλαον τοὺς Ἀριστο-  
βούλου στασιαστὰς ἐπισυνιστάντα· τοῦ φόνου  
181 δὲ ἦν σύμβουλος Ἀντίπατρος. τούτῳ γῆμαντι  
γυναικα τῶν ἐπισήμων ἐξ Ἀραβίας, Κύπρου<sup>1</sup>  
τοῦνομα, τέσσαρες μὲν νίεῖς γίνονται, Φασάη-  
λος καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐθις Ἡρώδης, πρὸς οὓς  
Ιώσηπος καὶ Φερώρας καὶ Σαλώμη θυγάτηρ.  
ἐξωκειωμένος δὲ τοὺς πανταχοῦ δυνατοὺς φιλίαις  
τε καὶ ξενίαις μάλιστα προσηγάγετο τὸν Ἀράβων  
βασιλέα διὰ τὴν ἐπιγαμβρίαν, κἀπειδὴ τὸν πρὸς  
τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἀνείλετο πόλεμον, ἐκείνω παρα-  
182 καταθήκην ἔπειψεν τὰ τέκνα. Κάσσιος δὲ κατὸ  
συνθήκας ἡσυχάζειν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀναγκάσας ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup>  
τὸν Εὐφράτην ὑπέστρεψεν, Πάρθους διαβαίνειν ἀν-  
είρξων, περὶ ὧν ἐν ἑτέροις ἔροῦμεν.
- 183 (ix. 1) Καῖσαρ δὲ Πομπηίου καὶ τῆς συγ-  
κλήτου φυγόντων ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰόνιον Ῥώμης καὶ τῶι  
ὅλων κρατήσας ἀνίησι μὲν τῶν δεσμῶν τὸν Ἀριστό-  
βουλον, παραδοὺς δ' αὐτῷ δύο τάγματα κατὰ τάχος  
ἔπειψεν εἰς Συρίαν, ταύτην τε ῥᾳδίως ἐλπίσας  
καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν δι' αὐτοῦ προσ-

<sup>1</sup> Hudson: Κύπριν MSS.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the Euphrates (§ 182).

<sup>3</sup> This promise is not fulfilled; the corresponding phrase

Euphrates and perished with his whole army ; but of those events this is not the occasion to speak.

(9) After the death of Crassus the Parthians rushed to cross the river <sup>a</sup> into Syria, but were repulsed by Cassius, who had made his escape to that province. Having secured Syria, he hastened towards Judaea, capturing Tarichaeae, where he reduced thirty thousand Jews to slavery and put to death Peitholaus, who was endeavouring to rally the partisans of Aristobulus. His execution was recommended by Antipater. Antipater had married a lady named Cypros, of an illustrious Arabian family, by whom he had four sons—Phasael, Herod afterwards king, Joseph, and Pheroras—and a daughter, Salome. He had, by kind offices and hospitality, attached to himself persons of influence in every quarter ; above all, through this matrimonial alliance, he had won the friendship of the king of Arabia, and it was to him that he entrusted his children when embarking on war with Aristobulus. Cassius, having bound over Alexander by treaty to keep the peace, returned to the Euphrates to prevent the Parthians from crossing it. Of these events we shall speak elsewhere.<sup>b</sup>

(ix. 1) When Pompey fled with the Senate across the Ionian Sea, Caesar, now master of Rome and the empire, set Aristobulus at liberty ; and, putting two legions at his service, dispatched him in haste to Syria, hoping by his means to have no difficulty in bringing over both that province and Judaea with

<sup>a</sup> In A. xiv. 122 is ὡς καὶ νπ' ἀλλων δεδήλωται. It is uncertain whether Josephus in this and kindred phrases, mainly relating to Parthia and the Seleucids, has thoughtlessly taken over a formula from his source, or whether he actually wrote, or contemplated writing, a work which has not come down to us.

184 ἀξεσθαι. φθάνει δ' ὁ φθόνος καὶ τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου προθυμίαν καὶ τὰς Καίσαρος ἐλπίδας· φαρμάκῳ γοῦν ἀναιρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Πομπηίου φρονούντων μέχρι πολλοῦ μὲν οὐδὲ ταφῆς ἐν τῇ πατρῷᾳ χώρᾳ μετεῖχεν, ἔκειτο δὲ μέλιτι συντηρούμενος ὁ νεκρὸς [αὐτοῦ] ἕως ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου Ἰουδαίοις ἐπέμφθη τοῖς βασιλικοῖς μνημείοις ἐνταφησόμενος.

185 (2) Ἀναιρεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ νίος αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρος πελέκει ὑπὸ Σκιπίωνος ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, Πομπηίου τοῦτ' ἐπιστείλαντος καὶ γενομένης κατηγορίας πρὸ τοῦ βήματος ὡν Ρωμαίους ἔβλαψεν. τοὺς δ' ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Μενναίον παραλαβών, ὃς ἐκράτει τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ Χαλκίδος, Φιλιππίων τὸν νιὸν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἰς Ἀσκάλωνα 186 πέμπει. κάκεινος ἀποσπάσας τῆς Ἀριστοβούλου γυναικὸς Ἀντίγονον καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀνήγαγεν. ἀλοὺς δ' ἔρωτι γαμεῖ τὴν ἑτέραν<sup>1</sup> καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς δι' αὐτὴν κτείνεται· γαμεῖ γὰρ Πτολεμαῖος τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν ἀνελὼν τὸν νιὸν καὶ διὰ τὸν γάμον κηδεμονικώτερος αὐτὸς ἦν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς.

187 (3) Ἀντίπατρος δὲ μετὰ τὴν Πομπηίου τελευτὴν μεταβὰς ἐθεράπευεν Καίσαρα, κάπειδὴ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Περγαμηνὸς μεθ' ἡς ἦγεν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτου δυνάμεως εἰργόμενος τῶν κατὰ τὸ Πηλούσιον ἐμβολῶν ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι κατείχετο, τούς τε Ἀραβας ἔνος ὡν ἐπεισεν ἐπικουρῆσαι καὶ αὐτὸς

<sup>1</sup> P.A. Heg. : τεωτέραν the rest (perhaps rightly).

<sup>a</sup> Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio, father-in-law of Pompey and governor of Syria; defeated by Julius Caesar at the battle of Thapsus 46 B.C.

the surrounding country to his side. But the zeal of Aristobulus and the hopes of Caesar were thwarted by malice. Poisoned by Pompey's friends, it was long before Aristobulus obtained even burial in his native land ; the corpse lay preserved in honey until it was sent to the Jews by Antony for interment in the royal sepulchres.

Death of  
Aristobulus

(2) His son Alexander also perished ; under Pompey's orders, he was beheaded at Antioch by Scipio,<sup>a</sup> after a trial in which he was accused of the injuries which he had caused to the Romans. Alexander's brother and sisters were taken under the roof of Ptolemy,<sup>b</sup> son of Mennaeus, prince of Chalcis in the Lebanon valley, who sent his son Philippion to Ascalon to fetch them. The latter succeeded in tearing Antigonus and his sisters from the arms of Aristobulus's widow and escorted them to his father. Becoming enamoured of one<sup>c</sup> of the princesses, the young man married her, but was subsequently slain by his father on account of this same Alexandra, whom Ptolemy, after murdering his son, married himself. His marriage made him a more attentive guardian to her brother and sister.

(3) Antipater, on the death of Pompey, went over to his opponent and paid court to Caesar. When Mithridates of Pergamus, with the army which he was leading to Egypt, was forbidden to pass the Pelusiac frontier<sup>d</sup> and was held up at Ascalon, it was Antipater who induced his friends the Arabs to lend their assistance, and himself brought up an army of three

Services  
rendered  
Antipater  
to Caesar  
in Egypt  
48-47 B.C.<sup>b</sup> See § 103.<sup>c</sup> Another reading "the younger."<sup>d</sup> Or "arm of the Nile." The authorities at Pelusium must have sent early notice refusing him a passage; Ascalon was six days' march from that mouth of the Nile (*B. iv.* 361 ff.).

ἥκεν ἄγων Ἰουδαίων εἰς τρισχιλίους ὄπλίτας.  
 188 παρώρμησεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Συρίᾳ δυνατοὺς ἐπὶ  
 τὴν βοήθειαν τόν τ' ἔποικον τοῦ Λιβάνου Πτο-  
 λεμαῖον καὶ Ἰάμβλιχον, δι’ οὓς αἱ ταύτῃ πόλεις  
 189 ἐτοίμασι συνεφήναντο τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ θαρρῶν  
 ἥδη Μιθριδάτης τῇ προσγενομένῃ δι’ Ἀντί-  
 πατρον ἵσχυί πρὸς τὸ Πηλούσιον ἔξελαύνει, κω-  
 λυόμενός τε διελθεῖν ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν. γίνεται  
 δὲ κἀν τῇ προσβολῇ διασημότατος Ἀντίπατρος·  
 τὸ γὰρ καθ’ αὐτὸν μέρος τοῦ τείχους διαρρήξας  
 πρῶτος εἰσεπήδησεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τῶν σὺν  
 αὐτῷ.

190 (4) Καὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον μὲν ἑάλω, πρόσω δὲ  
 αὐτὸν ἰόντα εἵργον αὐθίς οἱ τὴν Ὁνίου προσαγο-  
 ρευομένην χώραν κατέχοντες· ἥσαν δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι·  
 Αἴγυπτοι. τούτους Ἀντίπατρος οὐ μόνον μὲ  
 κωλύειν ἔπεισεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάπιτήδεια τῇ δυνάμει  
 παρασχεῖν· ὅθεν οὐδὲ οἱ κατὰ Μέμφιν ἔτι εἰς  
 χείρας ἥλθον, ἕκούσιοι δὲ προσέθεντο Μιθριδάτη  
 191 κάκεῖνος ἥδη τὸ Δέλτα περιελθὼν συνέβαλλει  
 τοῖς λοιποῖς Αἴγυπτοις εἰς μάχην κατὰ χώροι  
 δι’ Ἰουδαίων στρατόπεδον καλεῖται. κινδυνεύοντες  
 δ’ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ παρατάξει σὺν ὅλῳ τῷ δεξιῷ  
 κέρατι ῥύεται περιελθὼν Ἀντίπατρος παρὰ τὸ  
 192 αἴγιαλὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ· τῶν γὰρ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν  
 ἐκράτει τὸ λαιὸν ἔχων κέρας· ἔπειτα προσπεσὼ  
 τοῖς διώκουσι Μιθριδάτην ἀπέκτεινεν πολλοὺς κα-  
 μέχρι τοσούτου τοὺς καταλειπομένους ἐδίωξεν  
 ὡς καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν ἐλεῖν. ὄγδοήκοντι

<sup>a</sup> Son of Sohemus (A. xiv. 129), not the son of Mennaeus mentioned above (§ 185), though living in the same region. Nothing more is known of him and Jamblichus.

thousand Jewish infantry. It was he who roused in support of Mithridates persons so powerful in Syria as Ptolemy,<sup>a</sup> in his Lebanon home, and Jamblichus through whose influence the cities in those parts readily took their share in the war. Emboldened by the reinforcements which Antipater had brought him, Mithridates now marched on Pelusium, and, being refused a passage, laid siege to the town. In the assault it was Antipater again who won the greatest distinction; for he made a breach in the portion of the wall which faced him and was the first to plunge into the place at the head of his troops.

(4) Thus Pelusium was taken; but the conqueror's advance was again barred by the Egyptian Jews who occupied the district which took its name from Onias.<sup>b</sup> Antipater, however, prevailed on them not only to refrain from opposition, but even to furnish supplies for the troops; with the result that no further resistance was encountered even at Memphis, whose inhabitants voluntarily joined Mithridates. The latter, having now rounded the Delta, gave battle to the rest of the Egyptians at a spot called "Jews' camp." In this engagement he, with the whole of his right wing, was in serious danger, when Antipater, victorious on the left where he was in command, wheeled round and came along the river bank to his rescue. Falling upon the Egyptians who were pursuing Mithridates he killed a large number of them and pushed his pursuit of the remainder so far that he captured their camp. He lost only eighty<sup>c</sup> of

<sup>b</sup> For the Jewish temple built in Egypt by Onias, a refugee from Jerusalem, see *B.* vii. 421 ff.

<sup>c</sup> *A.* "fifty."

δὲ μόνους τῶν ἴδιων ἀπέβαλεν, καὶ Μιθριδάτης ἐν τῇ τροπῇ περὶ ὀκτακοσίους. σωθεὶς δ’ αὐτὸς παρ’ ἐλπίδα μάρτυς ἀβάσκανος γίνεται πρὸς Καίσαρα τῶν Ἀντιπάτρου κατορθωμάτων.

193 (5) Ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν τὸν ἄιδρα τοῖς ἐπαίνοις καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν εἰς τοὺς ὑπέρ ἑαυτοῦ κινδύνους ἐπέρρωσεν, ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν παραβολώτατος ἀγωνιστὴς γενόμενος καὶ πολλὰ τρωθεὶς ἐφ’ ὅλου σχεδὸν τοῦ σώματος εἶχεν τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀρετῆς. αὐθὶς δὲ καταστησάμενος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὡς ἐπανῆκεν εἰς Συρίαν, πολιτείᾳ τε αὐτὸν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐδωρήσατο καὶ ἀτελείᾳ, τῆς τε ἄλλης τιμῆς καὶ φιλοφρονήσεως ἔνεκεν ζηλωτὸν ἐποίησεν, καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην δὲ δι’ αὐτὸν ἐπεκύρωσεν Ὑρκανῷ.

195 (x. 1) Κατ’ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ Ἀιτίγορος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα παρὼν γίνεται παρδόξως Ἀντιπάτρῳ μείζοιος προκοπῆς αἴτιος· δέον γὰρ<sup>1</sup> ἀποδύρεσθαι περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς πεφαρμάχθαι δοκοῦντος ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Πομπήιον διαφορῶν καὶ περὶ τἀδελφοῦ<sup>2</sup> τὴν Σκιπίωνος ὡμότητα μέμφεσθαι καὶ μηδὲν εἰς τὸν ἔλεον παραμῖξαι φθονερὸν πάθος, ὁ δ’ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ὑρκανοῦ καὶ 196 Ἀντιπάτρου κατηγόρει παρελθών, ὡς παρανομώτατα μὲν αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν πάσης ἀπελαύνοιεν τῆς πατρίου γῆς, πολλὰ δ’ εἰς τὸ ἔθνος αὐτοὶ διὰ κόρον ἐξυβρίζοιεν, καὶ ὅτι<sup>2</sup> τὴν εἰς Αἴγυπτον συμμαχίαν οὐκ ἐπ’ εὔνοίᾳ αὐτῷ πέμψειαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ δέος τῶν πάλαι διαφορῶν

<sup>1</sup> γοῦν LVR.

<sup>2</sup> διότι LVR.

his men ; Mithridates in the rout had lost about eight hundred. Thus saved beyond all expectation, Mithridates bore to Caesar's ears ungrudging witness of Antipater's prowess.

(5) The praise bestowed by Caesar at the time on the hero of the day and the hopes which it excited spurred Antipater to further ventures in his service. Showing himself on all occasions the most daring of fighters, and constantly wounded, he bore the marks of his valour on almost every part of his person. Later, when Caesar had settled affairs in Egypt and returned to Syria, he conferred on Antipater the privilege of Roman citizenship with exemption from taxes, and by other honours and marks of friendship made him an enviable man. It was to please him that Caesar confirmed the appointment of Hyrcanus to the office of high-priest.

(x. 1) About this time Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, waited upon Caesar and, contrary to his intentions, became the means of Antipater's further promotion. Antigonus ought to have confined himself to lamentation over his father's fate, believed to have been poisoned on account of his differences with Pompey, and to complaints of Scipio's cruelty to his brother,<sup>a</sup> without mixing up with his plea for compassion any sentiments of jealousy. But, not content with that, he came forward and accused Hyrcanus and Antipater. They had, he said, in utter defiance of justice, banished him and his brothers and sisters from their native land altogether ; they had, in their insolence, repeatedly done outrage to the nation ; they had sent supports into Egypt, not from any goodwill to Caesar, but from fear of the consequences

Antigonus  
accuses  
Antipater  
before  
Caesar.

<sup>a</sup> §§ 184 f.

καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον φιλίαν ἀποσκευαζόμενοι.

197 (2) Πρὸς ταῦθ' ὁ Ἀντίπατρος ἀπορρίφας τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὸ πλῆθος ἐπεδείκνυεν τῶν τραυμάτων, καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς εἰς Καίσαρα εὐνοίας οὐκ ἔφη λόγου δεῖν αὐτῷ κεκραγέναι γὰρ τὸ σῶμα σιωπῶντος. Ἀντιγόνου δὲ θαυμάζειν τὴν τόλμαν, εἰ πολεμίου Ῥωμαίων νίσις ὡν καὶ Ῥωμαίων δραπέτου καὶ τὸ νεωτεροποιὸς εἶναι καὶ στασιώδης αὐτὸς πατρῷον ἔχων, παρὰ τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόνι κατηγορεῖν ἐπικεχείρηκεν ἔτέρων καὶ πειρᾶται τυχεῖν ἀγαθοῦ τινος, δέον ἀγαπᾶν ὅτι ζῆ. καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἔφίεσθαι πραγμάτων οὐ τοσοῦτον δι' ἀπορίαν, ἀλλ' ἵνα Ἰουδαίους διαστασιάσῃ παρελθὼν καὶ χρήσηται κατὰ τῶν δόντων ταῖς ἀφορμαῖς.

199 (3) Τούτων Καίσαρ ἀκούσας Ὑρκανὸν μὲν ἀξιώτερον τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἀπεφήνατο, Ἀντίπατρῳ δὲ δυναστείας αἴρεσιν ἔδωκεν. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τιμήσαντι τὸ μέτρον τῆς τιμῆς θέμενος πάσης ἐπίτροπος Ἰουδαίας ἀποδείκνυται, καὶ προσεπιτυγχάνει τὰ τείχη τῆς πατρίδος ἀνακτίσαι κατεστραμμένα. τὰς μὲν δὴ τιμὰς ταύτας Καίσαρ ἐπέστελλεν ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ χαραχθῆναι, τῆς τε αὐτοῦ δικαιοσύνης σημεῖον καὶ τῆς τάνδρὸς ἐσόμενας<sup>1</sup> ἀρετῆς.

201 (4) Ἀντίπατρος δὲ Καίσαρα προπέμψας ἐκ τῆς Συρίας εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψεν. καὶ πρῶτοι μὲν τὸ τείχος ἀνεδείματο τῆς πατρίδος ὑπὸ Πομπήιον κατεστραμμένον καὶ τοὺς ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν θορύβους ἐπιών κατέστελλεν, ἀπειλητὴς ἅμα καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Niese: ἐσομένης οր ἐσόμενον MSS.

ο Or "procurator."

of old quarrels and to obliterate the memory of their friendship for Pompey.

(2) At these words Antipater stripped off his clothes and exposed his numerous scars. His loyalty to Caesar needed, he said, no words from him ; his body cried it aloud, were he to hold his peace. But the audacity of Antigonus astounded him. The son of an enemy of the Romans, son of a fugitive from Rome, one who inherited from his father a passion for revolution and sedition, presuming to accuse others in the presence of the Roman general and looking for favours when he ought to be thankful to be alive ! Indeed (said Antipater), his present ambition for power was not due to indigence ; he wanted it in order to sow sedition among the Jews and to employ his resources against those who had provided them.

(3) After hearing both speakers, Caesar pronounced Hyrcanus to be the more deserving claimant to the high-priesthood, and left Antipater free choice of office. The latter, replying that it rested with him who conferred the honour to fix the measure of the honour, was then appointed viceroy<sup>a</sup> of all Judaea. He was further authorized to rebuild the ruined walls of the metropolis.<sup>b</sup> Orders were sent by Caesar to Rome for these honours to be graven in the Capitol, as a memorial of his own justice and of Antipater's valour.

Caesar  
upholds  
Antipater

and makes  
him viceroy  
of Judaea

(4) After escorting Caesar across Syria, Antipater returned to Judaea. There his first act was to rebuild the wall of the capital which had been overthrown by Pompey. He then proceeded to traverse the country, quelling the local disturbances, and every-

Antipater  
takes the  
governme  
of Judaea  
into his  
own hand

<sup>a</sup> In A. xiv. 144 this permission is given to Hyrcanus.

σύμβουλος ὃν ἔκάστοις, ὅτι τὰ μὲν Ὑρκανοῦ  
φρονοῦντες ἐν ὅλῳ καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν βιώσονται,  
τῶν τε ἴδιων κτημάτων καὶ κοινῆς εἰρήνης ἀπο-  
202 λαύοντες· εἰ δὲ πείθοιτο ταῖς ψυχραῖς ἐλπίσιν  
τῶν νεωτερίζειν ἐπὶ κέρδεσιν οἰκείοις ἐθελόντων,  
ὡς αὐτὸν τε πειράσσουσιν ἀντὶ κηδεμόνος δεσπότην  
καὶ Ὑρκανὸν ἀντὶ βασιλέως τύραννον, Ῥωμαίους  
γε μὴν καὶ Καίσαρα πολεμίους ἀνθ' ἥγεμόνων καὶ  
φίλων· οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξεσθαι μετακινούμενον ἐκ τῆς  
203 ἀρχῆς ὃν αὐτοὶ κατέστησαν. ἂμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγων  
καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καθίστατο τὴν χώραν, ὄρῶν τὸν  
Ὑρκανὸν ιωθῆ τε καὶ βασιλείας ἀτονώτερον.  
Φασάλον μὲν δή, τῶν παιδῶν τὸν πρεσβύτατον,  
Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τῶν πέριξ στρατηγὸν καθίστη-  
σιν, τὸν δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἡρώδην ἐπὶ τοῖς ἵσοις  
ἔστειλεν εἰς Γαλιλαίαν κομιδῆ νέον.

204 (5) Ὁ δὲ ὃν φύσει δραστήριος ὕλην εὐθέως  
εὑρίσκει τῷ φρονήματι. καταλαβὼν οὖν Ἐζεκίαν  
τὸν ἀρχιληστὴν τὰ προσεχῆ τῇ Συρίᾳ κατα-  
τρέχοντα μετὰ μεγίστου στίφους, αὐτὸν τε συλ-  
205 λαβὼν ἀποκτείνει καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ληστῶν. ὁ δὴ  
μάλιστα τοῖς Σύροις ἡγάπητο<sup>1</sup> κεχαρισμένον· ὑμ-  
νεῖτο γοῦν ἀνά τε τὰς κώμας καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν  
Ἡρώδης ὡς εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς κτήσεις  
ἀνασεσωκώς. γίνεται δ' ἐκ τούτου καὶ Σέξτῳ  
Καίσαρι γνώριμος ὅντι συγγενεῖ τοῦ μεγάλου  
206 Καίσαρος καὶ διοικοῦντι τὴν Συρίαν. πρὸς δὲ τὸν  
ἀδελφὸν εὐδοκιμοῦντα καὶ Φασάλος ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο  
τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἔριν, τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις εὐ-

<sup>1</sup> ἡγάπητο conj. (cf. 4. ἡγαπησαν): ἡγεῖτο ΡΑΜ: κατώρθωκε  
the rest.

where combining menaces with advice. Their support of Hyrcanus, he told them, would ensure them a prosperous and tranquil existence, in the enjoyment of their own possessions and of the peace of the realm. If, on the contrary, they put faith in the vain expectations raised by persons who for personal profit desired revolution, they would find in himself a master instead of a protector, in Hyrcanus a tyrant instead of a king, in the Romans and Caesar enemies instead of rulers and friends ; for they would never suffer their own nominee to be ousted from his office. But, while he spoke in this strain, he took the organization of the country into his own hands, finding Hyrcanus indolent and without the energy necessary to a king.<sup>a</sup> He further appointed his eldest son, Phasael, governor of Jerusalem and the environs ; the second, Herod,<sup>b</sup> he sent with equal authority to Galilee, though a mere lad.

(5) Herod, energetic by nature, at once found material to test his metal. Discovering that Ezekias, a brigand-chief, at the head of a large horde, was ravaging the district on the Syrian frontier, he caught him and put him and many of the brigands to death. This welcome achievement was immensely admired by the Syrians. Up and down the villages and in the towns the praises of Herod were sung, as the restorer of their peace and possessions. This exploit, moreover, brought him to the notice of Sextus Caesar, a kinsman of the great Caesar and governor of Syria. Phasael, on his side, with a generous emulation, vied with his brother's reputation ; he increased his popu-

Youthful  
exploit o  
HEROD in  
Galilee.

c. 47 B.C.  
His brot  
Phasael  
governor  
Jerusale

<sup>a</sup> An incorrect term ; Hyrcanus had only the title of ethnarch, *A. xiv.* 191, etc.

<sup>b</sup> Herod the Great, whose history fills the greater part of the remainder of this book.

νουστέρους καθιστάμενος, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ μὲν ἔχων τὴν πόλιν μηδὲν δ' ἀπειροκάλως εἰς τὴν ἔξουσίαν 207 ἔξυβρίζων. ἔνθεν<sup>1</sup> Ἀντιπάτρῳ θεραπείᾳ τε ἦν ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους βασιλικὴ καὶ τιμαὶ παρὰ πάντων ὡς δεσπότη τῶν ὅλων· οὐ μὴν αὐτὸς τῆς πρὸς Ὑρκα-  
νὸν εὔνοίας ἢ πίστεώς τι μετεκίνησεν.

208 (6) Ἀμήχανον δ' ἐν εὐπραγίαις φθόνον δια-  
φυγεῖν. Ὑρκανὸς γοῦν ἥδη μὲν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἡσυχῇ πρὸς τὸ κλέος τῶν νεανίσκων ἐδάκνετο, μάλιστα δ' ἐλύπει τὰ Ἡρώδου κατορθώματα καὶ κήρυκες ἐπάλληλοι τῆς καθ' ἕκαστον εὐδοξίας προστρέχοντες. πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις βασκάνων ἡρέθιζον, οἷς ἢ τὸ τῶν παίδων ἢ τὸ 209 Ἀντιπάτρου σωφρονικὸν προσίστατο, λέγοντες ὡς Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ παραχωρήσας τῶν πραγμάτων καθέζοιτο τοῦνομα μόνον βασι-  
λέως ἔχων ἔρημον ἔξουσίας. καὶ μέχρι τοῦ<sup>2</sup> πλα-  
νηθῆσεται καθ' ἑαυτοῦ βασιλεῖς ἐπιτρέφων; οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰρωνεύεσθαι τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν αὐτοὺς ἔτι, φανε-  
ροὺς δ' εἶναι δεσπότας παρωσαμένους ἐκεῖνον, εἰ γε μήτε ἐντολὰς δόντος μήτε ἐπιστείλαντος αὐτοῖς τοσούτους παρὰ τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων νόμον ἀνήρηκεν Ἡρώδης· ὅν, εἰ μὴ βασιλεύς ἐστιν ἀλλ' ἔτι ἴδιώ-  
της, δεῦν ἐπὶ δίκην ἥκειν ἀποδώσοντα λόγον αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις, οἱ κτείνειν ἀκρίτους οὐκ ἐφιᾶσιν.

210 (7) Τούτοις κατὰ μικρὸν Ὑρκανὸς ἔξεκαίετο καὶ τὴν ὄργὴν τελευταῖον ἐκρήξας ἐκάλει κριθη-  
σόμενον τὸν Ἡρώδην. ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς παρ-

<sup>1</sup> ἔντείθεν P.

<sup>2</sup> Destinon: ποῦ MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ἀκρίτους Dindorf: ἀκρίτως MSS.

larity with the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and kept the city under control without any tactless abuse of authority. Antipater, in consequence,<sup>a</sup> was courted by the nation as if he were king and universally honoured as lord of the realm. Notwithstanding this, his affection for Hyrcanus and his loyalty to him underwent no change.

(6) But it is impossible in prosperity to escape envy. The young men's fame already caused Hyrcanus a secret pang. He was vexed in particular by Herod's successes and by the arrival of messenger after messenger with news of each new honour that he had won. His resentment was further roused by a number of malicious persons at court, who had taken offence at the prudent behaviour either of Antipater or of his sons. Hyrcanus, they said, had abandoned to Antipater and his sons the direction of affairs, and rested content with the mere title, without the authority, of a king. How long would he be so mistaken as to rear kings to his own undoing? No longer masquerading as viceroys, they had now openly declared themselves masters of the state, thrusting him aside; seeing that, without either oral or written instructions from Hyrcanus, Herod, in violation of Jewish law, had put all this large number of people to death. If he is not king but still a commoner, he ought to appear in court and answer for his conduct to his king and to his country's laws, which do not permit anyone to be put to death without trial.

(7) These words gradually inflamed Hyrcanus; until at last, in an explosion of rage, he summoned Herod to trial. Herod, on his father's advice, and

Hyrcanus  
instigated  
against  
Herod and  
his family

Herod's  
trial and  
acquittal.

<sup>a</sup> Or "thenceforth."

αινοῦντος καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων διδόντων παρρησίαν  
 ἀνήει, φρουραῖς διαλαβὼν πρότερον τὴν Γαλι-  
 λαίαν. ἦει δὲ μετὰ καρτεροῦ<sup>1</sup> στίφους, ὡς μήτε  
 καταλύειν δόξειεν Ὑρκανὸν ἄδρὰν<sup>2</sup> ἄγων δύναμιν  
 211 μήτε γυμνὸς ἐμπέσοι τῷ φθόνῳ. Σέξτος δὲ Καῖ-  
 σαρ δείσας περὶ τῷ νεανίᾳ, μή τι παρὰ τοῖς ἔχ-  
 θροῖς ἀποληφθεὶς πάθη, πέμπει πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν  
 τοὺς παραγγελοῦντας διαρρήδην ἀπολύειν Ἡρώ-  
 δην τῆς φονικῆς δίκης. ὁ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ὥρμη-  
 μένος, ἤγάπα γὰρ Ἡρώδην, ἀποψηφίζεται.

212 (8) Καὶ ὃς ὑπολαμβάνων ἄκοντος τοῦ βασι-  
 λέως διαφυγεῖν εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἀνεχώρησεν πρὸς  
 Σέξτον, παρασκευαζόμενος οὐδ' αὖθις ὑπακοῦσαι  
 καλοῦντι. καὶ πάλιν οἱ πονηροὶ παρώξυνον τὸν  
 Ὑρκανὸν κατ' ὄργὴν τε οἴχεσθαι τὸν Ἡρώδην  
 λέγοντες καὶ παρεσκευασμένον κατ' αὐτοῦ· πι-  
 στεύων δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ εἶχεν ὅ τι χρὴ δρᾶν, ὡς  
 213 ἔώρα μείζονα τὸν διάφορον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπὸ Σέξτου  
 Καίσαρος καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀνεδείχθη κοίλης Συρίας  
 καὶ Σαμαρείας, οὐ μόνον τε κατ' εὗνοιαν τὴν ἐκ  
 τοῦ ἔθνους ἀλλὰ καὶ δυνάμει φοβερὸς ἦν, εἰς  
 ἔσχατον δέους κατέπεσεν [Ὕρκανός],<sup>3</sup> ὃσον οὕπω  
 προσδοκῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὥρμήσειν μετὰ στρατιᾶς.

214 (9) Καὶ οὐ διημαρτεν τῆς οἰήσεως· ὁ γὰρ  
 Ἡρώδης κατ' ὄργὴν τῆς περὶ τὴν δίκην ἀπειλῆς  
 στρατιὰν ἀθροίσας ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἤγεν κατα-  
 λύσων τὸν Ὑρκανόν. κἄν ἔφθη τοῦτο ποιήσας,

<sup>1</sup> ἀρκετοῦ conj. Destinon (*A.* || ἀποχρῶντος).

<sup>2</sup> LVRG: λαμπρὰν ΡΑΜ. <sup>3</sup> ins. P: om. the rest.

with the confidence which his own conduct inspired, went up to the capital, after posting garrisons throughout Galilee. He went with a strong escort, calculated to avoid, on the one hand, the appearance of wishing to depose Hyrcanus by bringing an overwhelming force, and, on the other, the risk of falling unprotected a prey to envy. Sextus Caesar, however, fearing that the young man might be isolated by his adversaries and meet with misfortune, sent express orders to Hyrcanus to clear Herod of the charge of manslaughter. Hyrcanus, being inclined to take that course on other grounds, for he loved Herod, acquitted him.<sup>a</sup>

(8) Herod, however, imagining that his escape was contrary to the king's wishes, retired to join Sextus at Damascus, and made ready to refuse compliance to a second summons. The knaves at court continued to exasperate Hyrcanus, saying that Herod had departed in anger and was prepared to attack him. The king believed them, but knew not what to do, seeing his adversary to be more than a match for himself. But when Sextus Caesar proceeded to appoint Herod governor of Coele-Syria and Samaria, and he was now doubly formidable owing to his popularity with the nation and his own power, Hyrcanus was reduced to consternation, expecting every moment to see him marching upon him at the head of an army.

(9) Nor was he mistaken in his surmise. Herod, <sup>His intended</sup> furious at the threat which this trial had held over him, collected an army and advanced upon Jerusalem to depose Hyrcanus. This object he would indeed have <sup>retaliation forestalled</sup>

<sup>a</sup> In A. xiv. 177 Hyrcanus merely adjourns the trial and advises Herod to escape.

εὶ μὴ προεξελθόντες ὅ τε πατὴρ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς  
ἔκλασαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὄρμὴν παρακαλοῦντες [καὶ]  
αὐτὸν ἀπειλῆ καὶ ἀνατάσει μόνη μετρῆσαι τὴν  
ἄμυναν, φείσασθαι δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὃφ' οὖ μέχρι<sup>1</sup>  
τοσαύτης δυνάμεως προῆλθεν· δεῖν τε, εἰ κληθεὶς  
ἐπὶ δίκην παρώξυνται, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀφέσεως εὐ<sup>2</sup>  
χαριστεῖν καὶ μὴ πρὸς μὲν τὸ σκυθρωπὸν ἀπαντᾶν  
215 περὶ δὲ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀχάριστοι εἶναι. εἰ δὲ δι  
λογιστέον εἴη καὶ πολέμου ρόπαλος βραβεύεσθα  
<θεῶ>, θεωρητέον<sup>3</sup> εἶναι τῆς στρατείας<sup>4</sup> τὸ  
ἀδικοῦ. διὸ δὴ καὶ περὶ τῆς νίκης οὐ χρήναι<sup>5</sup> καθ  
ἄπαν εὔελπιν εἶναι, μέλλοντά γε<sup>6</sup> συμβαλεῖ  
βασιλεῖ καὶ συντρόφῳ καὶ πολλάκις μὲν εὐεργέτῃ  
χαλεπῷ δὲ οὐδέποτε, πλὴν ὅσον πονηροῖς συμ  
βούλοις χρώμενος ἐπισείσειν αὐτῷ σκιὰν ἀδική  
ματος. πειθεται τούτοις Ἡρώδης ὑπολαβὼν εἰ  
τὰς ἐλπίδας αὕταρκες εἶναι καὶ τὸ τὴν ἴσχὺ<sup>7</sup>  
ἐπιδείξασθαι τῷ ἔθνει.

216 (10) Κάν τούτῳ γίνεται περὶ Ἀπάμειαν ταραχή<sup>8</sup>  
Ρωμαίων καὶ πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος, Καικιλίου μὲ  
Βάσσου διὰ τὴν εἰς Πομπήιον εὗνοιαν δολοφονί<sup>9</sup>  
σαντος Σέξτοι Καίσαρα καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμι<sup>10</sup>  
παραλαβόντος, τῶν δ' ἄλλων Καίσαρος στρατι<sup>11</sup>  
γῶν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τοῦ φόιον Βάσσω συμβαλόντα  
217 μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως. οἷς καὶ διὰ τὸν ἀι  
γρημένον καὶ διὰ τὸν περιόντα Καίσαρα, φίλοι  
ὄντας ἀμφοτέρους, ὁ Ἀντίπατρος διὰ τῶν παΐδα<sup>12</sup>  
ἐπεμψεν συμμαχίαν. μηκυνομένου δὲ τοῦ πολε-

<sup>1</sup> om. VC.

<sup>2</sup> θεῶ. θεωρητεον conj. after Aldrich: θεωρητέον PAMLF  
θεῶ. τὴν ον VC (assimilation to A.).

<sup>3</sup> Destinon: στρατιᾶς MSS.

<sup>4</sup> χρῆ PAM.

<sup>5</sup> Bekker: τε MSS.

speedily achieved, had not his father and brother gone out in time to meet him and mollified his rage. They implored him to restrict his revenge to menaces and intimidation, and to spare the king under whom he had attained to such great power. Indignant as he might be at the summons to trial, he ought on the other hand to be thankful for his acquittal; after facing the black prospect of condemnation,<sup>a</sup> he ought not to be ungrateful for escaping with his life. Moreover, if we are to believe that the fortunes of war are in the hands of God, the injustice of his present campaign ought to be taken into consideration.<sup>b</sup> He should not, therefore, be altogether confident of success, when about to make war on his king and companion, frequently his benefactor, never his oppressor, save that, under the influence of evil counsellors, he had menaced him with a mere shadow of injury. To this advice Herod yielded, thinking that he had satisfied his expectations for the future by this exhibition of his strength before the eyes of the nation.

(10) Meanwhile at Apamea the Romans had trouble on their hands leading to civil war. Caecilius Bassus, out of devotion to Pompey, assassinated Sextus Caesar and took command of his army; whereupon Caesar's other generals, to avenge the murder, attacked Bassus with all their forces. Antipater, for the sake of his two friends, the deceased and the surviving Caesar, sent them reinforcements under his sons. The war dragged

War of  
Apamea:  
murder of  
Sextus  
Caesar  
46 B.C.

<sup>a</sup> For τὸ σκυθρωπόν in this sense cf. A. ii. 156 (opposed to acquittal), and B. i. 542.

<sup>b</sup> Or perhaps, with the other reading, “the injustice [of his case] might outweigh an army.”

μου Μούρκος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας Ἀντιστίου<sup>1</sup>  
παραγίνεται διάδοχος.

- 218 (xii. 1) Συνίσταται δὲ Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ τοῦτον  
τὸν καιρὸν ὁ μέγας πόλεμος, Κασσίου καὶ Βρού-  
του<sup>2</sup> κτεινάιτων δόλῳ Καίσαρα, κατασχόντα τὴν  
ἀρχὴν ἐπ’ ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἑπτά. μεγίστου δ’  
ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ γενομένου κινήματος καὶ διαστα-  
σιασθέντων τῶν δυνατῶν ἔκαστος ἐλπίσιν οἰκείαις  
ἔχώρει πρὸς ὃ συμφέρειν ὑπελάμβανεν, καὶ δὴ  
καὶ Κάσσιος εἰς Συρίαν καταληφόμενος τὰς περὶ  
Ἀπάμειαν δυνάμεις. ἔνθα Βάσσω τε Μούρκοι  
καὶ τὰ διεστῶτα τάγματα διαλλάξας ἐλευθεροὶ<sup>3</sup>  
μὲν Ἀπάμειαν τῆς πολιορκίας, ἡγούμενος δὲ  
αὐτὸς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπήει φορολογῶν τὰς πόλεις  
καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν τὰς εἰσπράξεις ποιούμενος.
- 219 (2) Κελευσθὲν δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαίοις εἰσενεγκεῖ  
ἐπτακόσια τάλαντα, δείσας Ἀντίπατρος τὴν ἀπει-  
λὴν τοῦ Κασσίου τοῖς τε νιοῖς διεῖλεν εἰσπράττει  
τὰ χρήματα καὶ τισιν ἄλλοις τῶν ἐπιτηδείων κατο-  
τάχος, ἐν οἷς καὶ Μαλίχῳ τινὶ τῶν διαφόρων  
220 οὕτως ἥπειγεν ἡ ἀνάγκη. πρῶτος δ’ ἀπεμειλί-  
ξατο Κάσσιον Ἡρώδης τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μοῖραν ἐκ τῆς  
Γαλιλαίας κομίσας ἐκατὸν τάλαντα, καὶ διε-  
τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φίλος ἦν. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς  
εἰς βραδυτῆτα κακίσας αὐταῖς ἐθυμοῦτο ταῖς  
222 πόλεσιν. Γόφνα γοῦν καὶ Ἀμμαοῦν καὶ δύ-  
έτέρας τῶν ταπεινοτέρων ἔξανδρα ποδισάμενος ἔχώ-

<sup>1</sup> Lat. (= C. Antistius Vetus, who besieged Bassus in Apamea before the arrival of Marcus, Dio Cass. xlvi. 27) ἀντὶ Κασσίου P: ἀντὶ Κεστίου Λ: Σέξτον the rest (apparently from A. <sup>1</sup>). <sup>2</sup> + ἄφνω ΡΑΜC.

<sup>a</sup> See critical note.

on and Murcus arrived from Italy to succeed Antistius.<sup>a</sup>

(xi. 1) At this time the great war of the Romans broke out, arising out of the death of Caesar, treacherously murdered by Cassius and Brutus after holding sovereign power for three years and seven months.<sup>b</sup> This murder produced a tremendous upheaval; leading men split up into factions; each joined the party which he considered would best serve his personal ambitions. Cassius, for his part, went to Syria to take command of the armies concentrated round Apamea. There he effected a reconciliation between Murcus and Bassus and the opposing legions, raised the siege of Apamea, and, putting himself at the head of the troops, went round the towns levying tribute and exacting sums which it was beyond their ability to pay.

(2) The Jews received orders to contribute seven hundred talents. Antipater, alarmed at the threats of Cassius, to expedite payment distributed the task of collection between his sons and some of his acquaintance, including—so urgent was the necessity of the case—one of his enemies named Malichus. Herod was the first to bring his quota—the sum of one hundred talents—from Galilee, thereby appeasing Cassius and being regarded as one of his best friends. The rest Cassius abused for dilatoriness and then vented his wrath on the cities themselves. Gophna, Emmaus and two other places of less importance<sup>c</sup> he reduced to servitude. He was

Civil war  
after murd  
of Julius  
Caesar

44 B.C.

Cassius in  
Syria : his  
exactions.

<sup>b</sup> “3 years and 6 months,” *A. xiv. 270.* From the battle of Pharsalia (9 August 48) to 15 March 44 the period was just over 3 years and 7 months.

<sup>c</sup> Lydda and Thamna, *A. xiv. 275.*

ρει μὲν ὡς καὶ Μάλιχον ἀναιρήσων, ὅτι μὴ σπεύσας εἰσέπραξεν, ἐπέσχε<sup>a</sup> δὲ τὴν τούτου καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων ἀπώλειαν Ἀντίπατρος ταχέως ἐκατὸν ταλάντοις θεραπεύσας Κάσσιον.

223 (3) Οὐ μὴν Μάλιχος ἀναχωρήσαντος Κασσίου τῆς χάριτος ἀπεμνημόνευσεν Ἀντιπάτρῳ, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ πολλάκις σωτῆρος ἐπιβουλὴν ἐνεσκευάζετο σπεύδων ἀγελεῖν τὸν ἐμπόδιον αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν ὅντα. Ἀντίπατρος δὲ τὴν τε ἴσχὺν καὶ τὸ πανούργον τάιδρὸς ὑποδείσας διαβαίνει τὸν Ἰορδάνην, στρατὸν ἀθροίσων εἰς τὴν τῆς 224 ἐπιβουλῆς ἄμυναν. φωραθεὶς δὲ Μάλιχος ἀναιδείᾳ τῶν Ἀντιπάτρου παίδων περιγίνεται· τὸν τε γὰρ Ἱεροσολύμων φρουρὸν Φασάηλον καὶ Ἡρώδην πεπιστευμένον τὰ ὅπλα πολλαῖς ἀπολογίαις καὶ ὥρκοις ἐκγοητεύσας διαλλακτὰς αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα πείθει γίνεσθαι. πάλιν γοῦν ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου σώζεται πείσαντος Μοῦρκον τὸν τότε στρατηγοῦντα Συρίας, ὃς ὥρμητο κτεῖναι Μάλιχοι ἐδ' οἷς ἐνεωτέρισεν.

225 (4) Συστάντος δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Κάσσιον καὶ Βροῦ τον πολέμου Καίσαρί τε τῷ νέῳ καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ Κάσσιος καὶ Μοῦρκος στρατιὰν ἀθροίσαντες ἐπ τῆς Συρίας, ἐπειδὴ μέγα μέρος εἰς τὰς χρείας Ἡρώδης ἔδοξε, τότε μὲν αὐτὸν Συρίας ἀπάση ἐπιμελητὴν καθιστᾶσιν δύναμιν πεζῆν τε καὶ ἵππικὴν δόντες, μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου καταλυσιν ἀποδείξειν Κάσσιος ὑπέσχετο καὶ Ἰουδαίας βασιλέα. συνέβη δ' Ἀντιπάτρῳ τὴν τε ἴσχὺν τοι παιδὸς καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα αἰτίαν ἀπωλείας γενέσθαι

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps "out of consideration for the large part which H. had played in rendering assistance." The un

proceeding so far as to put Malichus to death for tardiness in levying the tribute; but Antipater saved both his life and the other cities from destruction, by hastily propitiating Cassius with a gift of a hundred talents.

(3) However, on the departure of Cassius, Malichus, far from remembering this service of Antipater, concocted a plot against the man who had often saved his life, impatient to remove one who was an obstacle to his malpractices. Antipater, dreading the man's strength and cunning, crossed the Jordan to collect an army to defeat the conspiracy. Malichus, though detected, succeeded by effrontery in outwitting Antipater's sons; for Phasael, the warden of Jerusalem, and Herod, the custodian of the armoury, cajoled by a multitude of excuses and oaths, consented to act as mediators with their father. Once again Antipater saved Malichus by his influence with Murcus, who when governor of Syria had determined to put him to death as a revolutionary.

(4) When the young Caesar and Antony declared war on Cassius and Brutus, Cassius and Murcus levied an army in Syria, and, regarding Herod's future assistance as a great asset,<sup>a</sup> appointed him then and here prefect <sup>b</sup> of the whole of Syria, putting a force of horse and foot at his disposal; Cassius further promising on the termination of the war to make him king of Judaea. These powers and brilliant expectations of the son proved in the end the occasion

Antipater  
assassinated  
by  
Malichus.

certainty arises from the absence of a verb (*γενήσεσθαι* as in 1. xv. 264, or *γενέσθαι* as *ib.* 307). The addition, *συμβεβλῆσθαι*, in cod. C is a gloss, due to misunderstanding of the Latinism *tagna pars*.

<sup>b</sup> Or "procurator"; *A.* says "governor of Coele-Syria," less considerable and more probable appointment.

ταῦτα γὰρ δείσας ὁ Μάλιχος διαφθείρει τινὰ τῶν  
βασιλικῶν οἰνοχόων χρήμασιν δοῦναι φάρμακον  
Ἀντιπάτρῳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀγώνισμα τῆς Μαλίχου  
παρανομίας γενόμενος μετὰ τὸ συμπόσιον θνήσκει,  
τά τε ἄλλα δραστήριος ἀνὴρ ἐν ἀφηγήσει πραγ-  
μάτων καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνακτησάμενός τε Ὁρκανῷ  
καὶ διαφυλάξας.

227 (5) Μάλιχος δὲ καθ' ὑπόνοιαν τῆς φαρμακείας  
ὅργιζόμενον τὸ πλῆθος ἀριούμενος ἔπειθεν καὶ  
δυνατώτερον ἔαυτὸν κατεσκεύαζεν ὁ πλίτας συ-  
κροτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἡρεμήσειν Ὡρώδην ὑπελάμβανεν,  
ὅς δὴ καὶ παρὴν αὐτίκα στρατὸν ἄγων ἐπὶ  
228 τιμωρίᾳ τοῦ πατρός. Φασαήλου δὲ τάδε λόφου  
συμβουλεύσαντος αὐτῷ μὴ φαινερῶς τὸν ἄνδρα  
μετιέναι, διαστασιάσειν γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος, τότε μὲν  
ἀπολογούμενόν τε προσίεται τὸν Μάλιχον καὶ τῆς  
ὑπονοίας ἀπολύειν ὡμολόγει, λαμπρὰν δὲ πομπὴν  
ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ κηδείας ἐτέλεσεν.

229 (6) Τραπεῖς δ' ἐπὶ Σαμάρειαν στάσει τεταραγ-  
μένην κατεστήσατο τὴν πόλιν· ἔπειτα καθ' ἔօρτὴν  
ὑπέστρεφεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἄγων.  
καὶ πέμπων Ὁρκανός, ἐνῆγεν γὰρ δεδοικὼς τὴν  
ἔφοδον Μάλιχος, ἐκώλυεν τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους εἰσ-  
αγαγεῖν ἐφ' ἀγνεύοντας τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. ὁ δὲ  
τῆς προφάσεως καταφρονήσας καὶ τοῦ προστάσ-  
230 σοντος εἰσέρχεται διὰ νυκτός. καὶ πάλιν Μάλιχος  
προσιὼν ἔκλαιεν Ἀντίπατρον· ἀνθυπεκρίνετο δὲ  
μόλις Ὡρώδης τὸν θυμὸν ἐπέχων καὶ Κασσίω δι'  
ἐπιστολῶν τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀναίρεσιν ἀπωδύρετο  
μισοῦντι καὶ ἄλλως Μάλιχον. ὁ δ' αὐτῷ μετιέναι

of his father's destruction. For Malichus, taking alarm, bribed one of the royal butlers to serve poison to Antipater. Thus, a victim of the villainy of Malichus, Antipater expired after leaving the banquet—<sup>43 B.C.</sup> a man of great energy in the conduct of affairs, whose crowning merit was that he recovered and preserved the kingdom for Hyrcanus.

(5) Malichus, being suspected of poisoning him, appeased the indignant populace by denial, and strengthened his position by mustering troops. For he never supposed that Herod would remain idle, and in fact the latter appeared forthwith at the head of an army to avenge his father. Phasael, however, advised his brother not to proceed to open vengeance on the scoundrel, for fear of exciting a popular riot. Herod, accordingly, for the moment accepted Malichus's defence and professed to clear him from suspicion. He then celebrated with splendid pomp the obsequies of his father.

(6) Samaria being distracted by sedition, Herod betook himself thither, and, after restoring order in the city, set out on the return journey to Jerusalem, then keeping festival, at the head of his troops. Instigated by Malichus, who was alarmed at his approach, Hyrcanus sent orders forbidding him to intrude aliens upon the country-folk during their period of purification. Herod, scorning the subterfuge and the man from whom the order came, entered by night. Malichus again waited on him and wept over Antipater's fate. Herod, scarce able to restrain his wrath, dissembled in his turn. At the same time he sent a letter to Cassius, deplored the murder of his father. Cassius, who had other grounds for hating Malichus, replied, "Have your

Herod's  
revenge on  
Malichus.

τὸν φονέα τοῦ πατρὸς ἀντεπιστείλας καὶ τοῖς ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν χιλιάρχοις λάθρᾳ προσέταξεν Ἡρώδη βοηθεῖν εἰς πρᾶξιν δικαίαν.

231 (7) Κἀπειδὴ Λαοδίκειαν ἐλόντος αὐτοῦ συνῆσαν οἱ πανταχόθεν δυνατοὶ δωρεάς τε καὶ στεφάνους φέροντες, Ἡρώδης μὲν τοῦτον τῇ τιμωρίᾳ τὸν καιρὸν ἀφώρισεν, Μάλιχος δὲ ὑποπτεύσας, ὡς ἐν Τίρῳ γίνεται, τὸν τε νιὸν ὁμηρεύοντα παρὰ τοῖς Τυρίοις ὑπεξαγαγεῖν ἔγνω λάθρᾳ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀποδρᾶντι παρεσκευάζετο. παράξενον δ' αὐτὸν ἡ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπόγνωσις ἐνθυμεῖσθαι καὶ μείζονα τό τε γὰρ ἔθνος ἐπαναστήσειν Ῥωμαίοις ἥλπισεν, Κασσίου τῷ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον πολέμῳ περισπωμένου, καὶ βασιλεύσειν αὐτὸς Ὑρκαϊὸν καταλύσας εὔμαρῶς.

233 (8) Ἐπεγέλα δ' ἄρα τὸ χρεῶν αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν. ὁ γοῦν Ἡρώδης προϊδόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν ὄρμὴν τὸν τε Ὑρκανὸν κάκεῖνον ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐκάλει, παρεστῶτα δ' ἔπειτα τῶν οἰκετῶν τινὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰσέπεμψεν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ δείπνου παρασκευήν, τῷ δὲ ὅντι προειπεῖν τοῖς χιλιάρχοις ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐνέδραν. κάκεῖνοι τῶν Κασσίοι προσταγμάτων ἀναμνησθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως αἰγιαλὸν ἐξῆγεσαν ξιφήρεις, ἐνθα περιστάντες τὸν Μάλιχον πολλοῖς τραύμασιν ἀναιροῦσιν Ὑρκανὸς δὲ παραχρῆμα μὲν λυθεῖς<sup>1</sup> ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως ἔπεσεν, μόλις δὲ ἀνειεγκὼν Ἡρώδην διηρώτα

235 τίς ὁ κτείνας εἴη Μάλιχον. ἀποκριναμένου δε τινος τῶν χιλιάρχων "τὸ Κασσίου πρόσταγμα, "Κάσσιος ἄρα," ἔφη, "κάμε καὶ τὴν πατρίδο μου σώζει τὸν ἀμφοτέρων ἐπίβουλον ἀνελών." εἶτε δὲ φρονῶν Ὑρκανὸς οὕτως εἴθ' ὑπὸ δέους

revenge on the murderer," and gave secret orders to the tribunes under his command to lend Herod aid in a righteous deed.

(7) When Cassius took Laodicea, and the grandees from all parts of the country flocked to him with gifts and crowns, Herod fixed on this as the moment for his revenge. Malichus had his suspicions, and on reaching Tyre resolved to effect the secret escape of his son, then a hostage in that city, while he made his own preparations to fly to Judaea. Desperation stimulated him to conceive yet grander schemes ; he had dreams of raising a national revolt against the Romans, while Cassius was preoccupied with the war against Antony, of deposing Hyrcanus without difficulty, and of mounting the throne himself.

(8) But Destiny derided his hopes. Herod, divining his intention, invited him and Hyrcanus to supper, and then dispatched one of his attendant menials to his house, ostensibly to prepare the banquet, in reality to instruct the tribunes to come out for the ambuscade. Remembering the orders of Cassius, they came out, sword in hand, to the sea-shore in front of the city, and there, surrounding Malichus, stabbed him through and through to death. Hyrcanus from sheer fright instantly swooned and fell ; when brought, not without difficulty, to himself, he asked Herod by whom Malichus was killed. One of the tribunes replied "By Cassius's orders." "Then," said Hyrcanus, "Cassius has saved both me and my country, by destroying one who conspired against both." Whether he expressed his real opinion or

όμόσε τῇ πράξει χωρῶν εἶπεν, ἄδηλον ἦν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Μαλίχον μὲν οὕτως Ἡρώδης μετῆλθεν.

236 (xii. 1) Κασσίου δὲ ἀναχωρήσαντος ἐκ Συρίας πάλιν στάσις ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις γίνεται, "Ἐλικος μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπαναστάντος Φασάηλῷ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑπέρ Μαλίχου τιμωρίαν ἀμύνεσθαι θέλοντος Ἡρώδην εἰς τὸν ἀδελφόν. Ἡρώδης δὲ ἔτυχεν μὲν ὥν παρὰ Φαβίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ κατὰ Δαμασκόν, ὡρμημένος δὲ βοηθεῖν ὑπὸ νόσου κατ-  
237 είχετο. καν τούτῳ Φασάηλος καθ' ἑαυτὸν "Ἐλικος περιγενόμενος Ὑρκανὸν ὠνείδιζεν εἰς ἀχαριστίαν ὥν τε Ἐλικι συμπράξειεν, καὶ ὅτι περιορώη τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Μαλίχου τὰ φρούρια καταλαμβάνοντα πολλὰ γὰρ δὴ<sup>1</sup> κατείληπτο καὶ τὸ πάντων ὁχυρώτατον Μασάδαν.

238 (2) Οὐ μὴν αὐτῷ τι πρὸς τὴν Ἡρώδου βίαιηρκεσεν, ὃς ἀναρρωσθεὶς τά τε ἄλλα παραλαμβάνει κάκεων ἐκ τῆς Μασάδας ἱκέτην ἀφῆκεν ἐξήλασεν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας Μαρίων τὸν Τυρίων τύραινον ἥδη τρία κατεσχηκότα τῶν ἐρυμάτων, τοὺς δὲ ληφθέντας Τυρίους ἔσωσεν μὲν πάντας, ἥσαν δ' οὖς καὶ δωρησάμενος ἀπέπεμψεν εὗνοιαν ἑαυτῷ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῷ τυράννῳ  
239 μῆσος παρασκευαζόμενος. ὁ δὲ Μαρίων ἤξιωτε μὲν τῆς τυραινίδος ὑπὸ Κασσίου τυραινίσιν πᾶσαι διαλαβόντος τὴν Συρίαν, κατὰ δὲ τὸ πρὸς Ἡρώδην ἔχθος συγκατήγαγεν Ἀντίγονον τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου, καὶ τὸ πλέον διὰ Φάβιον, ὃν Ἀντίγονος χρήμασιν προσποιησάμενος βοηθὸν εἶχεν τῆς καθόδου· χορηγὸς δ' ἦν ἀπάντων ὁ κηδεστὴς Πτολεμαῖος Ἀντιγόνω.

<sup>1</sup> ἥδη LVRC.

from fear acquiesced in the deed, was uncertain. Be that as it may, thus was Herod avenged on Malichus.

(xii. 1) The exit of Cassius from Syria was followed <sup>42 B.C.</sup> by a fresh outbreak at Jerusalem. A certain Helix, <sup>Revolt of Helix.</sup> with a body of troops, attacked Phasael, wishing to punish Herod, through his brother, for the chastisement which he had inflicted on Malichus. Herod at the time was with Fabius the Roman general at Damascus, where, though impatient to lend his aid, he was detained by illness. Meanwhile Phasael, unassisted, defeated Helix and reproached Hyrcanus for ingratitude both in abetting the rebel and in allowing the brother of Malichus to take possession of the fortresses. Quite a large number of these had been taken, including Masada, the strongest of all.

(2) But nothing could avail the captor against the might of Herod. Once restored to health, he recovered the other forts and ousted him from Masada, a suppliant for mercy. He likewise expelled from Galilee Marion, the despot of Tyre, already master of three of the strongholds. The Tyrians whom he took prisoners, he spared to a man; some he even sent away with presents, to procure for himself the favour of the citizens and for the tyrant their hatred. Marion owed his position to Cassius, who had cut up the whole of Syria into principalities. Hatred of Herod had led to his taking part in bringing back the exiled Antigonus,<sup>a</sup> son of Aristobulus; and in this he was influenced still more by Fabius, whom Antigonus had induced by bribery to assist in his restoration. All the exile's expenses were met by his brother-in-law,<sup>b</sup> Ptolemy.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. § 173.

<sup>b</sup> § 186.

- 240 (3) Πρὸς οὓς Ἡρώδης ἀντιπαραταξάμενος ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβολῶν τῆς Ἰουδαίας κρατεῖ τὴν μάχην, καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐξελάσας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱερόσολυμα πᾶσιν ἀγαπητὸς ὥν ἐπὶ τῷ κατορθώματι· καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὴ προσέχοντες πάλαι τότε ὥκείωντο διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν ἐπιγαμίαν αὐτῷ. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἦκτο γυναικα τῶν ἐπιχωρίων οὐκ ἄσημον, Δωρὶς ἐκαλεῖτο, ἐξ ἣς ἐγέννησεν Ἀντίπατρον, τότε δὲ γήμας τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου θυγατέρα, θυγατριδῆν δὲ Ὑρκανοῦ, Μαριάμμην οἰκεῖος τῷ βασιλεῖ γίνεται.
- 241 (4) Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κάσσιον περὶ Φιλίππους ἀνελόντες ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς μὲν Ἰταλίαν Καίσαρ ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας<sup>1</sup> Ἀντώνιος, πρεσβευομένων τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων πρὸς Ἀντώνιον εἰς Βιθυνίαν ἥκουν καὶ Ἰουδαίων οἱ δυνατοὶ κατηγοροῦντες Φασαήλουν καὶ Ἡρώδου, βίᾳ μὲν αὐτοὺς κρατεῖν τῶν πραγμάτων, ὅνομα δὲ μόνον περιεῖναι Ὑρκανῷ τίμιον. πρὸς ἀ παρὼν Ἡρώδης καὶ τεθεραπευκὼς οὐκ ὀλίγοις Ἀντώνιον χρήμασιν οὕτως διέθηκεν, ὡς μηδὲ λόγου τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἀνασχέσθαι. καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως διελύθησαν.
- 242 (5) Λῦθις δὲ οἱ ἐν τέλει Ἰουδαίων ἐκατὸν ἄνδρες ἥκουν εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ἀντιόχειαν Δάφνην ἐπ’ Ἀντώνιον ἥδη τῷ Κλεοπάτρας ἔρωτι δεδουλωμένον· οἱ προστησάμενοι τοὺς ἀξιώματι καὶ λόγῳ σφῶν δυνατωτάτους κατηγόρουν τῶν ἀδελφῶν. ὑπήντα δὲ Μεσσάλας ἀπολογούμενος συμπαρεστῶτος Ὑρκανοῦ διὰ τὸ κῆδος. καὶ Ἀντώνιος

<sup>1</sup> L\*VR: τὴν Ασίαν the rest.

<sup>a</sup> Or rather, apparently, betrothed: the marriage is recorded later in § 344.

(3) These enemies were opposed by Herod at the entry to the territory of Judaea, where a battle took place in which he was victorious. Antigonus being banished from the country, Herod returned to Jerusalem, where his success won him all men's hearts. Even those who had hitherto stood aloof were now reconciled by his marriage into the family of Hyrcanus. His first wife was a Jewess of some standing, named Doris, by whom he had a son, Antipater; but now he married<sup>a</sup> Mariamme, daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, and grand-daughter of Hyrcanus, and thus became kinsman of the king.<sup>b</sup>

His  
marriag  
with  
Mariam

(4) After the death of Cassius at Philippi, the victors departed, Caesar going to Italy, Antony to Asia. Embassies from the various states waited upon Antony in Bithynia, and among them came the Jewish leaders, who accused Phasael and Herod of usurping the government and leaving to Hyrcanus merely titular honours. Herod thereupon appeared and by large bribes so wrought upon Antony that he refused his adversaries a hearing. So for the time being these enemies were dispersed.

M. Anto  
after  
hearing  
Jewish  
accusat  
against  
brother  
appoint  
Herod a  
Phasael  
tetrarch  
Judea

42-41 B.C.

(5) But on a later occasion a hundred Jewish officials approached Antony, now a slave to his passion for Cleopatra, at Daphne beside Antioch, and, putting forward the most eminent and eloquent of their number, laid accusations against the brothers. The defence was undertaken by Messala,<sup>c</sup> Hyrcanus supporting him because of his marriage connexion with Herod. After hearing both parties, Antony

<sup>t</sup> Hyrcanus II, incorrectly entitled "king," as in § 203.

<sup>c</sup> M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, c. 70-3 B.C., attached himself in the civil wars respectively to Cassius, Antony and Augustus; author, orator and patron of literature, a friend of Horace and Tibullus.

ἀκούσας ἑκατέρων Ὑρκανοῦ διεπυνθάνετο τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτέρους ὅντας ἄρχειν· τοῦ δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην προκρίναντος,<sup>1</sup> ἡσθείς, ἦν γὰρ ἥδη καὶ ξένος αὐτοῖς πατρῶος, δεχθείς ὑπ’ Ἀντιπάτρου φιλοφρόνως ὅτε εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν σὺν Γαβινίῳ παρέβαλλεν, τετράρχας ἀποδείκνυσιν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς πᾶσαν διοικεῖν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπιτρέπων.

245 (6) Προσαγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων πεντεκαίδεκα μὲν συλλαβὼν εἴργυνσιν, οὓς καὶ ἀνελεῖν ὥρμησεν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς μεθ’ ὕβρεως ἀπήλασεν. πρὸς ὅ μείζων ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις γίνεται ταραχή· χιλίους γοῦν πάλιν ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις εἰς Τύρον, ἵνθι διέτριβεν Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ὥρμημένος. ἐπὶ τούτους κεκραγότας ἐκπέμπει τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν Τυρίων κολάζειν προστάξας οὓς ἀν λάβῃ, συγκατασκευάζειν τε<sup>2</sup> τὴν ἄρχην τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ κατασταθεῖσιν τετράρχαις.

246 (7) Πρὸ δὲ τούτου πολλὰ παρήνει προελθών ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν Ἡρώδης σὺν Ὑρκανῷ μῆθ’ ἔαυτοῖς ἀπωλείας αἰτίους μήτε τῇ πατρίδι πολέμου γίνεσθαι φιλογεικοῦντας ἀκρίτως. τῶν δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀγανακτούντων Ἀντώνιος ἐκπέμψας ὁπλίτας πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, πολλοὺς δὲ ἔτρωσεν· ὧν οἱ τε πεσόντες ταφῆς καὶ οἱ τραυματίαι θεραπείας ἡξιώθησαν ὑπὸ Ὑρκανοῦ. οὐ μὴν οἱ διαφυγόντες ἡρέμουν, ἀλλὰ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν συνταράσσοντες παρώξυναν Ἀντώνιον ὥστε καὶ τοὺς δεσμώτας ἀποκτεῖναι.

248 (xiii. 1) Μετὰ δὲ ἔτη δύο Βαρζαφράνου τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> προκρίνοντος ΡΑ.

<sup>2</sup> MVC: δὲ the rest.

inquired of Hyrcanus who was the best qualified ruler. Hyrcanus pronouncing in favour of Herod and his brother, Antony was delighted, because he had formerly been their father's guest and had been hospitably entertained by Antipater when he accompanied Gabinius on his Judaean campaign. He, accordingly, created the brothers tetrarchs, entrusting to them the administration of the whole of Judaea.

(6) The deputies giving vent to indignation, and massacring the Jewish deputies, Antony arrested and imprisoned fifteen of them, and was even prepared to put them to death; the rest he ignominiously dismissed. His action intensified the agitation in Jerusalem. A second embassy, numbering this time a thousand, was sent to Tyre, where Antony had broken the journey to Jerusalem. To check the clamour of this party he dispatched the governor of Tyre, with orders to chastise all whom he caught and to support the authority<sup>a</sup> of the tetrarchs whom he had appointed.

(7) Before these orders were executed, Herod, accompanied by Hyrcanus, came out to the deputies on the shore, and strongly recommended them not to bring ruin upon themselves and war upon their country by injudicious strife. His words only increasing their fury, Antony ordered out troops, who killed or wounded a large number; burial for the dead and medical attention for the wounded were granted by Hyrcanus. Those who escaped were, even now, not silenced, and by the disturbance which they created in the city so exasperated Antony that he put his prisoners to death.

(xiii. 1) Two years later, Barzapharnes, the Par-

<sup>a</sup> συγκατασκευάζειν τὴν ἀρχήν, after Thuc. i. 93.

Πάρθων σατράπου σὺν Πακόρῳ τῷ βασιλέως νιῶ  
 Συρίαν κατασχόντος Λυσανίας διαδεδεγμένος<sup>1</sup> ἥδη  
 τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήσαντος, Πτολε-  
 μαῖος δ' ἦν οὗτος ὁ Μενναίου, πείθει τὸν σα-  
 τράπην ὑποσχέσει χιλίων ταλάντων καὶ πεντα-  
 κοσίων γυναικῶν καταγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια τὸν  
 249 Ἀντίγονον, καταλῦσαι δὲ τὸν Ὑρκανόν. τούτοις  
 ὑπαχθεὶς Πάκορος αὐτὸς μὲν ἦει κατὰ τὴν παρά-  
 λιον, Βαρζαφράνην δὲ διὰ τῆς μεσογείου προσ-  
 ἔταξεν ἐμβαλεῖν. τῶν δ' ἐπιθαλαττίων Τύριοι  
 Πάκορον οὐκ ἐδέξαντο καίτοι Πτολεμαιῶν καὶ  
 Σιδωνίων δεδεγμένων. ὁ δ' οἰνοχώῳ τινὶ τῶν  
 βασιλικῶν ὄμωνύμῳ μοῖραν τῆς ἵππου παραδοὺς  
 προεμβαλεῖν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, κατα-  
 σκεψόμενόν τε τῶν πολεμίων καὶ πρὸς ἄδειοι  
 βοηθήσοντα Ἀντιγόνῳ.

250 (2) Τῶν δὲ ληζομένων τὸν Κάρμηλον πολλοὶ  
 Ἰουδαῖοι συνδραμόντες πρὸς Ἀντίγονον προ-  
 θύμους ἔαυτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν εἰσβολὴν παρεῖχον. ὁ  
 δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν καλούμενον Δρυμὸν προέπεμψεν  
 τὸ χωρίον καταλαβεῖν· ἐν ᾧ γενομένης συμβολῆς  
 ὡσάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ διώξαντες ἐπὶ  
 Ἱεροσολύμων ἔθεον, γενόμενοί τε πλείους μέχρι  
 251 τῶν βασιλείων προῆλθον. Ὑρκανοῦ δὲ καὶ Φα-  
 σαήλου δεξαμένων αὐτοὺς καρτερῷ στίφει μάχη  
 κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν συρρήγνυται, καθ' ἓν τρεψά-  
 μενοι τοὺς πολεμίους οἵ περ Ἡρώδην κατα-  
 κλείουσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ φρουροὺς αὐτῶν ἄνδρας  
 ἔξηκοντα ταῖς πλησίον οἰκίαις ἐγκατέστησαν.

252 τούτους μὲν<sup>2</sup> ὁ στασιάζων πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς  
 λαὸς ἐπελθὼν ἐμπίπρησιν, Ἡρώδης δὲ τοῦ δῆμου

<sup>1</sup> ἀναδεδεγμένος PAMC.<sup>2</sup> PA: μὲν οὖν the rest.

thian satrap, with Pacorus, the king's son, occupied Syria. Lysanias, who had inherited the principality of his father Ptolemy, son of Mennaeus, induced the satrap, by the promise<sup>a</sup> of a thousand talents and five hundred women, to bring back Antigonus and raise him to the throne, after deposing Hyrcanus. Lured by this offer, Pacorus followed the coast route, directing Barzapharnes to advance through the interior. Of the maritime towns, Tyre closed its gates to Pacorus, Ptolemais and Sidon admitted him. Entrusting a squadron of horse to one of the royal cup-bearers who bore his own name, the prince ordered him to proceed in advance into Judaea, to reconnoitre the enemy's position and to lend Antigonus such aid as he might require.

(2) While these troops were raiding Carmel, Jews flocked to Antigonus in large numbers and volunteered for the invasion. These he sent forward with orders to capture a place called Drymus.<sup>b</sup> Here they came into action, repulsed the enemy, rushed in pursuit to Jerusalem, and, with growing numbers, actually reached the palace. They were received by Hyrcanus and Phasael with a strong force, and a fierce battle ensued in the market-place. The Herodian party routed their adversaries, shut them up in the temple, and posted sixty men in the adjoining houses to keep guard over them. The section of the populace that was in league against the brothers attacked this garrison and burnt them to death, which so enraged Herod that he turned his

Parthian invasion  
of Syria  
40 B.C.

<sup>a</sup> In *A.* this promise is given by Antigonus himself; cf. § 257 below.

<sup>b</sup> "Oak-coppice."

πολλοὺς κατ' ὄργὴν τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀναιρεῖ  
συμβαλῶν, καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπεκθεόντων ἀλλή-  
λοις κατὰ λόχους φόνος ἦν ἀδιάλειπτος.

253 (3) Ἐνστάσης δ' ἔορτῆς, ἥ πεντηκοστὴ καλεῖ-  
ται, τά τε περὶ τὸ ιερὸν πάντα καὶ ἥ πόλις ὅλη  
πλήθους τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἀναπίμπλαται, τὸ  
πλέον ὁπλιτῶν. καὶ Φασάηλος μὲν τὸ τεῦχος,  
‘Ηρώδης δ’ οὐ μετὰ πολλῶν ἐφρούρει τὰ βασί-  
λεια· καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπεκδραμῶν ἀσυντάκτοις  
κατὰ τὸ προάστειον<sup>1</sup> πλείστους μὲν ἀναιρεῖ, τρέ-  
πεται δὲ πάντας καὶ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τοὺς  
δὲ εἰς τὸ ιερόν, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὸ ἔξω χαράκωμα

254 συγκλείει.<sup>2</sup> κἀν τούτῳ διαλλακτὴν μὲν Ἀντί-  
γονος παρακαλεῖ Πάκορον εἰσαφεῖναι, Φασάηλος  
δὲ πεισθεὶς τῇ τε πόλει καὶ ξενίᾳ τὸν Πάρθον  
εἰσδέχεται μετὰ πεντακοσίων ἵππέων, προφάσει  
μὲν ἥκοντα τοῦ παῦσαι τὴν στάσιν, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς

255 Ἀντιγόνω βοηθόν. τὸν γοῦν Φασάηλον ἐν-  
εδρεύων ἀνέπεισεν πρὸς Βαρζαφράνην πρεσβεύ-  
σασθαι περὶ καταλύσεως, καίτοι τε<sup>3</sup> πολλὰ ἀπο-  
τρέποντος ‘Ηρώδου καὶ παραινοῦντος ἀναιρεῖν τὸν  
ἐπίβουλον, ἀλλὰ μὴ ταῖς ἐπιβουλαῖς ἔαυτὸν ἐκ-  
διδόναι, φύσει γὰρ ἀπίστους εἶναι τοὺς βαρβάρους,  
ἔξεισιν ‘Γρκανὸν παραλαβών. καὶ Πάκορος, ὡς  
ἥττον ὑποπτεύοιτο, καταλιπὼν παρ’ ‘Ηρώδῃ  
τινὰς τῶν καλουμένων ‘Ελευθέρων ἵππέων τοῖς  
λοιποῖς προέπεμψεν Φασάηλον.

256 (4) ‘Ως δ’ ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> PA Lat. (so A. ||): προσάρκτιον the rest.

<sup>2</sup> ἐγκλείει PAM.

<sup>3</sup> τε Niese: γε MSS.

<sup>a</sup> Probable, the cup-bearer, not the prince, for, as Reinach remarks, the latter would have been in a position to treat

arms against the citizens and slew many of them. Every day small companies sallied out against each other, and slaughter was incessant.

(3) When the feast called Pentecost came round, the whole neighbourhood of the temple and the entire city were crowded with country-folk, for the most part in arms. Phasael defended the walls; Herod, with a small force, the palace. With this he descended upon the enemy's disordered ranks in the suburb, killed large numbers of them, put the rest to flight and shut them up, some in the city, others in the temple, others in the entrenched camp outside the walls. Thereupon, Antigonus petitioned for the admission of Pacorus<sup>a</sup> as mediator. Phasael consented, and received into the city and offered hospitality to the Parthian, who, with five hundred horsemen, had come ostensibly to put an end to strife, in reality to support Antigonus. With this object, Pacorus insidiously induced Phasael to go on an embassy to Barzapharnes with a view to the cessation of hostilities. So, notwithstanding the strong dissuasion of Herod, who urged his brother to kill the schemer and not to abandon himself to his schemes, barbarians being (he said) by nature perfidious, Phasael left the city, accompanied by Hyrcanus. To allay suspicions, Pacorus left with Herod some of the cavalry called by the Parthians "Freemen";<sup>b</sup> with the remainder he escorted Phasael on his way.

(4) On their arrival in Galilee they found the directly with Phasael and there would have been no need for the subsequent embassy.

<sup>a</sup> More precisely 200 cavalry and 10 "freemen" (A. xiv. 342). Most of the Parthian soldiers were slaves (Justin, xli. 2. 5, quoted by Reinach).

μὲν ἐπιχωρίους ἀφεστῶτας καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντας  
 καταλαμβάνουσιν, τῷ σατράπῃ δ' ἐνετύγχανον  
 πανούργω<sup>1</sup> σφόδρα καὶ ταῖς φιλοφρονήσεσιν τὴν  
 ἐπιβουλὴν καλύπτοντι· δῶρα γοῦν δοὺς αὐτοῖς  
 257 ἔπειτ' ἀναχωροῦντας ἐλόχα. τοῖς δ' αἰσθησις  
 γίνεται τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς καταχθείσιν εἴς τι τῶν  
 παραθαλασσίων χωρίων, δὲ καλεῖται Ἐκδίππων.  
 ἐκεῖ γὰρ τὴν τε ὑπόσχεσιν τῶν χιλίων ἥκουσαν  
 ταλάντων καὶ ὡς Ἀντίγονος τὰς πλείστας τῶν  
 παρ' αὐτοῖς γυναικῶν ἐν ταῖς πεντακοσίαις καθ-  
 255 οσιώσειεν Πάρθοις, ὅτι τε προλοχίζοιτο μὲν  
 αὐτοῖς αἱ νύκτες ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀεὶ, πάλαι  
 δ' ἂν καὶ συνελήφθησαν, εἰ μὴ περιέμενον ἐν Ἱερο-  
 σολύμοις Ἡρώδην πρότερον λαβεῖν, ὡς μὴ προ-  
 πυθόμενος τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς φυλάξαιτο. ταῦτ'  
 οὐκέτι λόγος ἦν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φυλακὰς ἥδη  
 πόρρωθεν<sup>2</sup> ἔαυτῶν ἔβλεπον.

259 (5) Οὐ μὴν Φασάηλος καίτοι πολλὰ παρ-  
 αινοῦντος Ὁφελλίου φεύγειν, πέπυστο γὰρ οὗτος  
 παρὰ Σαραμάλλα τοῦ πλουσιωτάτου τότε Σύρων  
 τὴν σύνταξιν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὅλην, καταλιπεῖν Ὑρκα-  
 νὸν ὑπέμειψεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ σατράπῃ προσελθὼν ἄντι-  
 κρυς ὠνειδίζεν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι  
 γένοιτο τοιοῦτος χρημάτων ἔνεκεν· πλείω γε μὴν  
 αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας δώσειν ὡν Ἀντίγονος ὑπὲρ  
 260 βασιλείας ὑπέσχετο. πρὸς ταῦτα πανούργως ὁ  
 Πάρθος ἀπολογίας τε καὶ ὄρκοις ἀποσκευα-  
 σάμενος τὴν ὑποφίαν ὥχετο πρὸς Πάκορον. εὐ-  
 θέως δὲ τῷν καταλειφθέντων Πάρθων οἷς προσ-  
 ετέτακτο Φασάηλόν τε καὶ Ὑρκανὸν συνελάμβανον,

<sup>1</sup> AM : πανούργως the rest.<sup>2</sup> haud procul Lat.

inhabitants in revolt and up in arms. The satrap,<sup>a</sup> and are captured  
 with whom they had an audience, was a very crafty individual who disguised his plot under a show of benevolence : he gave them presents, and then laid an ambush to catch them on their departure. They discovered the conspiracy at a maritime town, where they halted, named Ekdippa.<sup>b</sup> There they heard of the promise of the thousand talents,<sup>c</sup> and that the five hundred women whom Antigonus had devoted to the Parthians included most of their own ; that the barbarians invariably kept a watch upon them at night ; and that they would long since have been arrested, had not the conspirators been waiting till Herod was caught at Jerusalem, fearing that the news of their capture would put him on his guard. This was now no mere idle gossip ; for already they could see the sentries posted in the distance.

(5) Phasael, however, notwithstanding the urgent exhortations to flee made to him by a certain Ophellius, who had learnt the whole plan of the conspiracy from Saramalla, the wealthiest Syrian of his time, could not bring himself to desert Hyrcanus. Instead, he went to the satrap and frankly reproached him for the plot, and in particular for acting as he had done from mercenary motives ; undertaking, for his part, to give him a larger sum for his life than Antigonus had promised for a kingdom. To this the Parthian made a wily reply, clearing himself of suspicion by protestations and oaths, and went off to join Pacorus.<sup>d</sup> Immediately after, certain Parthians who had been left behind, with orders to do so,

<sup>a</sup> Barzapharnes.

<sup>b</sup> Achzib (*εζ Ζιβ*), half way between Tyre and the promontory of Carmel.

<sup>c</sup> § 248.

<sup>d</sup> Apparently the prince.

πολλὰ<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τὴν ἐπιορκίαν καὶ τὸ ἄπιστον αὐτοῖς καταρωμένους.

261 (6) Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ὁ πεμφθεὶς οἰνοχόος ἐπεβούλευε συλλαβεῖν, ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ἀπατήσας προελθεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐντολὰς εἶχεν. ὁ δὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑποπτεύων τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ τότε πεπυσμένος εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐμπεπτωκέναι τὰ μηνύοντα τὴν ἐπιβούλην αὐτῷ γράμματα, προελθεῖν οὐκ ἡβούλετο, καίτοι μάλα ἀξιοπίστως τοῦ Πακόρου φάσκοντος δεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπαντῆσαι τοῖς τὰς ἐπιστολὰς κομίζουσιν· οὔτε γὰρ ἔαλωκέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτὰς καὶ περιέχειν οὐκ ἐπιβούλην, ἀλλ' ὅπόσα διεπράξατο Φασάηλος. ἔτυχεν δὲ παρ' ἄλλων προακηκοώς τὸν ἀδελφὸν συνειλημμένον, καὶ προσήγει Ὑρκανοῦ θυγάτηρ [Μαριάμμη]<sup>2</sup> συνετωτάτη γυναικῶν, καταντιβολοῦσα μὴ προϊέναι μηδὲ ἐμπιστεύειν ἑαυτὸν ἥδη φανερῶς ἐπιχειροῦσι τοῖς βαρβάροις.

263 (7) Ἔτι δὲ τῶν περὶ Πάκορον σκεπτομένων, πῶς ἂν κρύφα τὴν ἐπιβούλην ἀπαρτίσειαν, οὐ γὰρ ἐκ φαιεροῦ οἴον τ' ἦν ἀιδρὸς οὕτω δυνατοῦ<sup>3</sup> περιγειέσθαι, προλαβὼν Ἡρώδης μετὰ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων προσώπων νύκτωρ ἐπὶ Ἰδουμαίας ἔχώρει λάθρα τῶν πολεμίων. αἰσθόμενοι δ' οἱ Πάρθοι κατεδίωκον. κάκενος τὴν μὲν μητέρα καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς<sup>4</sup> καὶ τὴν καθωμολογημένην παῖδα μετὰ

<sup>1</sup> πολλὰ Destinon (with A. <sup>2</sup>): τά τε ἄλλα MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps a gloss (Niese), or read Μαριάμμης δὲ μήτηρ (Destinon). cf. A. xiv. 351. <sup>3</sup> συνετοῦ LVR Lat.

<sup>4</sup> τὰς ἀδελφὰς Niese, cf. A. ἡ ἀδελφὴν : τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς MSS.

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<sup>a</sup> Pacorus (§ 249): A. incorrectly has εὐροῦχος instead of οἰνοχόος.

arrested Phasael and Hyrcanus, the prisoners cursing them bitterly for their perjury and breach of faith.

(6) Meanwhile a plot to arrest Herod also was in progress, and the cup-bearer <sup>a</sup> who had been sent to execute it was, in accordance with instructions, endeavouring to lure him to come outside the walls. Herod, however, having suspected the barbarians from the first, had now learnt that letters informing him of the conspiracy had fallen into the enemy's hands. He, therefore, refused to come out, notwithstanding the highly plausible assertions of Pacorus that he ought to meet the bearers of the documents, which, he said, had neither been intercepted by his enemies, nor contained any mention of a plot but a full report of Phasael's proceedings. But Herod had already heard from another source of his brother's arrest. Moreover, Mariamme, the daughter <sup>b</sup> of Hyrcanus, most sagacious of women, came and implored him not to venture out or trust himself to the barbarians, who were now openly planning his ruin.

(7) While Pacorus and his accomplices were still deliberating by what stealthy means they might achieve their design, as it was impossible openly to triumph over so powerful an adversary, Herod fore stalled them and, unobserved by his enemies, set out by night, with the nearest and dearest of his family, for Idumaea. The Parthians, discovering his flight, started in pursuit. Herod, thereupon, directed his mother and sisters, the young girl who was betrothed

<sup>a</sup> Strictly grand-daughter (§ 241); but A. xiv. 351 is here probably correct in mentioning "the daughter of Hyrcanus, the *mother* of his betrothed." His bride would hardly be referred to in this way.

τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τοῦ νεωτάτου τῶν ἀδελφῶν προστάξας ὁδεύειν αὐτὸς ἀσφαλῶς μετὰ τῶν θεραπόντων ἀιέκοπτε τοὺς βαρβάρους· καὶ πολλοὺς κατὰ πᾶσαν προσβολὴν ἀποκτείνας εἰς Μασάδαν τὸ φρούριον ἤπειγετο.

- 265 (8) Βαρυτέρους δὲ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν Πάρθων Ἰουδαίους ἐπείρασεν, ἐνοχλήσαντας μὲν διηνεκῶς, ἀπὸ δ' ἔξήκοντα τῆς πόλεως σταδίων καὶ παραταξαμένους ἐπιεικῶς πολὺν χρόνον. ἔνθα κρατήσας Ἡρώδης καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας αὖθις εἰς μνήμην τοῦ κατορθώματος ἔκτισεν τὸ χωρίον καὶ βασιλείοις πολυτελεστάτοις ἐκόσμησεν, καὶ ἀκρόπολιν ὁχυρωτάτην ἀνεδείματο, Ἡρώδειόν τε ἐκάλεσεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ. τηνικαῦτά γε μὴν φεύγοντι καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτῷ προσεγίνοντο πολλοί, καὶ κατὰ 'Ρῆσαν γενομένω<sup>1</sup> τῆς Ἰδουμαίας Ἰώσηπος ἀδελφὸς ὑπαντήσας συνεβούλευεν τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπομένων ἀποφορτίσασθαι, μὴ γὰρ ἀν τοσοῦτον ὄχλον δέξασθαι τὴν Μασάδαιν ἥσαν δ' ὑπὲρ 266 τοὺς ἐνιγκισχιλίους. πεισθεὶς [οὖν]<sup>2</sup> Ἡρώδης τοὺς μὲν βαρυτέρους τῆς χρείας διαφῆκεν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν δοὺς ἐφόδια, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων τοὺς ἀλκιμωτάτους κατασχὼν εἰς τὸ φρούριον διασώζεται. καταλιπὼν δ' ἐνταῦθα ταῖς γυναιξὶν ὀκτακοσίους φύλακας καὶ διαρκῆ τάπιτήδεια πρὸς πολιορκίαν αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἀραβικὴν Πέτραν ἤπειγετο.
- 268 (9) Πάρθοι δ' ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν τραπόμενοι τῶν φυγόντων εἰς τὰς οἰκίας εἰσ-

<sup>1</sup> κατὰ 'Ρ. γενομένῳ Niese: πασᾶσαν γενομένῳ δ' ἐπὶ PAM: κατὰ (τὴν) Θρῆσαν the rest. cf. A. xiv. 361 (ἐν Θρῆσῃ).

<sup>2</sup> om. PA.

to him, with her mother, and his youngest brother to continue their journey, and then, aided by his attendants, secured their retreat, holding the barbarians at bay. In every encounter he slew large numbers of them, and then pressed on to the fortress of Masada.<sup>a</sup>

(8) But he found in this flight the Jews even more troublesome than the Parthians, for they perpetually harassed him, and at a distance of sixty furlongs from the city brought on a regular action which was prolonged for a considerable time. Here Herod eventually defeated them with great slaughter; and here subsequently, to commemorate his victory, he founded a city, adorned it with the most costly palaces, erected a citadel of commanding strength, and called it after his own name Herodium.<sup>b</sup> Thenceforward the fugitive was joined daily by many others, and on reaching Rhesa in Idumaea was advised by his brother Joseph, who met him there, to disencumber himself of the bulk of his followers, Masada being unable to accommodate such a crowd, numbering upwards of nine thousand. Herod, acting on his advice, dispersed throughout Idumaea those who were more an encumbrance than an assistance, after supplying them with provisions; and retaining the most stalwart of them together with his cherished kinsfolk reached the fortress<sup>c</sup> in safety. Leaving there a guard of eight hundred to protect the women, with sufficient supplies to stand a siege, he himself pushed on to Petra in Arabia.

(9) In Jerusalem, meanwhile, the Parthians gave themselves up to pillage, breaking into the houses

<sup>a</sup> Above the west coast of the Dead Sea, near its lower extremity.

<sup>b</sup> A description is given later, §§ 419 ff.

<sup>c</sup> Masada.

έπιπτον καὶ τὸ βασίλειον, ἀπεχόμενοι μόνων τῶν  
 'Γρκανοῦ χρημάτων· ἦν δ' οὐ πλείω τριακοσίων  
 ταλάντων. ἐπετύγχανον δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐχ  
 ὅσοις ἥλπισαν· ὁ γὰρ Ἡρώδης ἐκ πολλοῦ τὴν  
 ἀπιστίαν τῶν βαρβάρων ὑφορώμενος εἰς τὴν Ἰδου-  
 μαίαν τὰ λαμπρότατα τῶν κειμηλίων προαν-  
 εσκεύαστο, καὶ τῶν αὐτῷ προσεχόντων ὄμοιώς  
 269 ἔκαστος. Πάρθοι δὲ μετὰ τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ἐπὶ τοσοῦ-  
 τον ὕβρεως ἔχώρησαν ώς ἐμπλῆσαι μὲν ἀκηρύκτουν  
 πολέμου τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν, ἀνάστατον δὲ ποιῆσαι  
 τὴν Μαρισαίων πόλιν, μὴ μόνον δὲ καταστῆσαι  
 βασιλέα Ἀντίγονον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραδοῦναι αὐτῷ  
 Φασάηλόν τε καὶ Ἡρκανὸν δεσμώτας αἰκίσασθαι.  
 270 ὁ δὲ Ἡρκανοῦ μὲν προσπεσόντος<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸς τὰ ὥτα  
 λωβᾶται τοῖς ὄδοιςιν, ώς μηδὲ αὐθις ἐν μεταβολῇ  
 ποτε δύναιτο τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀπολαβεῖν· δεῖ  
 γὰρ ὀλοκλήρους ἀρχιερᾶσθαι.

271 (10) Τῆς Φασαήλου δὲ ἀρετῆς ὑστερίζει φθάσαν-  
 τος πέτρᾳ προσρήξαι τὴν κεφαλήν, ώς καὶ σιδή-  
 ρου καὶ χειρῶν εἴργετο. κάκενος μέν, Ἡρώδου  
 γνήσιον ἐαυτὸν ἀποδείξας ἀδελφὸν καὶ Ἡρκανὸν  
 ἀγεννέστατον, ἀνδρειότατα θνήσκει, ποιησάμενος  
 τὴν καταστροφὴν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ἔργοις  
 272 πρέπουσαν. κατέχει δὲ καὶ ἄλλος λόγος, ώς ἀν-  
 ενέγκαι μὲν ἐκ τῆς τότε πληγῆς, πεμφθεὶς δ' ἵα-  
 τρὸς ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου θεραπεῦσαι δῆθεν αὐτὸν ἐμ-  
 πλήσειεν τὸ τραῦμα δηλητηρίων φαρμάκων καὶ

<sup>1</sup> προσπεσόντος MLVR : om. Lat. : προσπεσὼν the rest, i.e. "Antigonus personally assaulted H."

<sup>a</sup> Whether from sacrilegious scruples, because H. was high-priest, or more probably as reserved for Antigonus, does not appear.

of the fugitives and into the palace ; refraining only from the funds of Hyrcanus,<sup>a</sup> which, however, amounted to no more than three hundred talents. Elsewhere they found less than they had expected ; for Herod, long since suspecting the barbarians of perfidy, had taken the precaution of removing the most precious of his treasures to Idumaea, and each of his friends had done likewise. After the pillage, the insolence of the Parthians proceeded to extremes. They let loose on the whole country the horrors of implacable <sup>b</sup> war, laid the city of Marisa <sup>c</sup> in ruins, and, not content with raising Antigonus to the throne, delivered up to him Phasael and Hyrcanus, in chains, for torture. Hyrcanus threw himself at the feet of Antigonus, who with his own teeth <sup>d</sup> lacerated his suppliant's ears, in order to disqualify him for ever, under any change of circumstances, from resuming the high priesthood ; since freedom from physical defect is essential to the holder of that office.<sup>e</sup>

(10) Phasael, on the other hand, courageously forestalled the king's malice by dashing his head upon a rock, being deprived of the use of hands or steel. Thus showing himself to be a true brother of Herod, and Hyrcanus the most ignoble of men, he died a hero's death—an end in keeping with his life's career. According to another account, Phasael recovered from his self-inflicted blow, and a physician sent by Antigonus, ostensibly to attend him, injected noxious drugs into the wound and so killed him.

The  
Parthians,  
masters of  
Jerusalem  
place  
Antigonus  
on the  
throne.

<sup>b</sup> Or “ undeclared.”

<sup>c</sup> Mareshah (*Khurbet Mer'ash*), some 25 miles S.W. of Jerusalem, in Idumaea (§ 63).

<sup>d</sup> A. xiv. 366 omits this detail, saying merely “ docked is ears.”

<sup>e</sup> Cf. Lev. xxi. 17-23.

Death of  
Phasael.

διαφθείρειν αὐτὸν. ὁπότερον δ' ἂν ἀληθὲς ἦ,  
τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχει λαμπράν. φασὶν γοῦν αὐτὸν καὶ  
πρὶν ἐκπιεῦσαι πυθόμενον παρὰ γυναιίου τινὸς  
ώς Ἡρώδης διαπεφεύγοι, "νῦν," εἰπεῖν, "εὕθυμος  
ἀπειμι τὸν μετελευσόμενον τοὺς ἔχθροὺς κατα-  
λιπὼν ζῶντα."

273 (11) Ὁ μὲν οὖν οὗτος τελευτᾶ. Πάρθοι δὲ  
καίτοι διημαρτηκότες ὡν μάλιστα ἐπεθύμουν γυ-  
ναικῶν καθιστᾶσιν μὲν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἀντιγόνω-  
τὰ πράγματα, δεσμώτην δ' Ὑρκανὸν ἀνάγουσιν  
εἰς τὴν Παρθυηνήν.

274 (xiv. 1) Ἡρώδης δὲ συντονώτερον ἥλαυνεν εἰς  
τὴν Ἀραβίαν ώς ἔτι τὰδελφοῦ ζῶντος ἐπειγόμενος  
χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως λαβεῖν, οἷς μόνοις  
πείσειν ὑπὲρ Φασαήλου τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἥλπιζεν  
πλεονεξίαν. ἐλογίζετο γάρ, εἰ τῆς πατρώας φιλίας  
ἀμνημονέστερος ὁ Ἀραψ γένοιτο καὶ τοῦ δοῦναι  
δωρεὰν μικρολογώτερος, δανείσασθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς  
τὰ λύτρα ρύσιον θεὶς τὸν τοῦ λυτρουμένου παῖδα

275 καὶ γὰρ ἐπήγετο τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν ὅντα ἐτῶι  
ἐπτά· τάλαντα δ' ἦν ἔτοιμος τριακόσια δοῦναι προ-  
στησάμενος Τυρίους παρακαλοῦντας. τὸ χρεών δ  
ἄρα τὴν αὐτοῦ σπουδὴν ἐφθάκει καὶ Φασαήλοις  
τεθνηκότος εἰς κενὸν Ἡρώδης φιλάδελφος ἦν· οἱ

276 μὴν οὐδὲ παρὰ Ἀραψιν εύρισκει φιλίαν οὖσαν.<sup>1</sup> οι  
γοῦν βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Μάλχος προπέμφας ἐκ τῆς  
χώρας κατὰ τάχος προσέτασσεν ἀναστρέφειν  
προφάσει μὲν χρώμενος Πάρθοις, ἐπικηρυκεύ-  
σασθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκβαλεῖν Ἡρώδην τῆς Ἀρα-  
βιας, τῷ δὲ ὅντι κατασχεῖν προαιρούμενος τὰ παρ-  
Ἀντιπάτρου χρέα καὶ μηδὲν εἰς τὰς ἐκείνου δωρεὰ

<sup>1</sup> Λενοισαν LVRC (perhaps rightly).

But whichever account be true, the initial act redounds to his glorious credit. It is said, moreover, that before he expired, being informed by a woman of Herod's escape, he exclaimed, "Now I shall depart happy, since I leave one behind me who will have vengeance on my foes."

(11) Such was Phasael's end. The Parthians, though disappointed of their most coveted prize, the women, none the less installed Antigonus as master in Jerusalem, and carried off Hyrcanus a prisoner to Parthia.

(xiv. 1) Herod, in the belief that his brother was still alive, was now accelerating his march to Arabia, hastening to obtain from its king the money by which alone he hoped to move the avaricious barbarians on behalf of Phasael. For, should the Arab prove unduly forgetful of the ties of friendship with his (Herod's) father and too mean to make him a present, he counted on borrowing from him the amount of the ransom and leaving in pledge the son of the prisoner whom he wished to redeem ; for he had with him his nephew, a lad of seven years old. He was, moreover, prepared to give three hundred talents, offering as his sureties the Tyrians who had volunteered their services. Fate, however, proved to have outstripped his zeal : Phasael was dead and Herod's fraternal affection was all in vain. He found, too, that the Arabs were no longer his friends. For their king, Malchus, forwarded peremptory orders to him instantly to quit his territory, pretending to have received formal notice from the Parthians to expel Herod from Arabia ; in reality, he was determined not to repay his debts to Antipater, nor to be

Herod,  
repulsed b  
Malchus,  
king of  
Arabia,

ἀντιπαρασχεῖν χρήζουσιν τοῖς τέκνοις δυσωπεῖσθαι.  
συμβούλοις δ' ἔχρητο τῆς ἀναιδείας τοῖς ὁμοίως  
ἀποστερεῖν τὰς Ἀντιπάτρου παρακαταθήκας θέλου-  
σιν· ἦσαν δὲ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν οἱ δυνατώτατοι.

277 (2) Ἡρώδης μὲν δὴ πολεμίους τοὺς Ἀραβας  
εύρων δι' ἄ φιλτάτους ἥλπισεν καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις  
ἀποκρινάμενος<sup>1</sup> ὡς ὑπηγόρευε τὸ πάθος ὑπέστρεψεν  
ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου. καὶ τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἐσπέραν κατά-  
τι τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἱερὸν αὐλίζεται τοὺς ὑπολειφ-  
θέντας ἀιγαλαβών, τῇ δὲ ἔξῆς εἰς Ῥινοκόρουρα  
προελθόντι τὰ περὶ τὴν τάδελφοῦ τελευτὴν ἀπαγ-  
γέλλεται. προσλαβὼν δὲ πένθους<sup>2</sup> ὕσσον ἀπεθήκατο  
φροντίδων ἦει προσωτέρω. καὶ δὴ βραδέως ὁ  
Ἀραψ μετανοήσας ἐπεμψει διὰ τάχους τοὺς ἀνα-  
καλέσοντας τὸν ὑβρισμένον. ἔφθαιεν δὲ καὶ τούτους  
Ἡρώδης εἰς Πηλούσιον ἀφικόμενος, ἔνθα τῆς  
παρόδου μὴ τυγχάνων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφορμούντων<sup>3</sup> τοῖς  
ἡγεμόσιν ἐντυγχάνει κάκεῖνοι τὴν τε φήμην καὶ  
τὸ ἀξίωμα τάνδρὸς αἰδεσθέντες προπέμπουσιν  
278 αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. ὁ δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν  
πόλιν ἐδέχθη μὲν λαμπρῶς ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας στρα-  
τηγὸν ἐλπιζούσῃς ἔξειν εἰς ἄ παρεσκευάζετο  
διακρουσάμενος δὲ τὰς παρακλήσεις τῆς βασιλίδος  
καὶ μήτε τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὑποδείσας μήτε  
τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν θορύβους ἐπὶ Ῥώμης  
ἔπλει.

<sup>1</sup> ἀποκρινόμενος PLV.

<sup>2</sup> πένθος PA.

<sup>3</sup> ἐφορμούντων Spanheim: ἐφορμώντων MSS.

<sup>c</sup> Or Rhinocolura (*el-Arish*), the maritime town on the frontiers of Egypt and Palestine.

<sup>b</sup> Such seems to be the meaning of the text of the best mss., literally "Having taken as much of grief as he laid

forced by any sense of shame into making the slightest return, for all he had received from the father, to his children in their hour of need. His advisers in this shameless conduct were the most powerful men at his court, who like himself desired to embezzle the moneys entrusted to them by Antipater.

(2) Herod, finding the Arabs hostile to him for the very reasons which had made him look for their warm friendship, gave the messengers the reply which his feelings dictated and turned back towards Egypt. The first evening he encamped in one of the temples of the country, where he picked up those of his men who had been left in the rear. The next day he advanced to Rhinocorura,<sup>a</sup> where he received the news of his brother's death. His load of anxiety thus replaced by as heavy a burden of grief,<sup>b</sup> he resumed his march. The Arab king, now tardily repenting his conduct, dispatched messengers in haste to recall his insulted suitor; but Herod outstripped them, having already reached Pelusium. Here, being refused a passage by the fleet stationed in that port, he applied to the authorities, who, out of respect for his fame and rank, escorted him to Alexandria. On entering the city he had a magnificent reception from Cleopatra, who hoped to entrust him with the command of an expedition which she was preparing; but he eluded the queen's solicitations, and, deterred neither by the perils of mid-winter nor by the disturbances in Italy, set sail for Rome.

down of care." Traill, following an inferior text, renders "Having indulged such sorrow as became the occasion, he dismissed his grief"; similarly Whiston and Reinach.

280 (3) Κινδυνεύσας δὲ περὶ Παμφυλίαν καὶ τοῦ φόρτου τὸ πλεῖον ἐκβαλὼν μόλις εἰς Ῥόδον διασώζεται, σφόδρα τῷ πρὸς Κάσσιον πολέμῳ τετρυχωμένην, δεχθεὶς<sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Σαπφινίου τῶν φίλων. καίπερ δ' ὧν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ χρημάτων  
 281 ναυπηγεῖται τριήρη μεγίστην, ἐν ᾧ μετὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς Βρεντέσιον καταπλεύσας, κάκεῖθεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπειχθείς, πρώτῳ διὰ τὴν πατρών φιλίαν ἐνετύγχανεν Ἀντωνίω, καὶ τάς τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ γένους συμφορὰς ἐκδιηγεῖτο, ὅτι τε τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐν φρουρίῳ καταλιπὼν πολιορκουμένους διὰ χειμῶνος πλεύσειν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἱκέτης.  
 282 (4) Ἀντωνίου δὲ ἥπτετο πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν οἶκτος, καὶ κατὰ μιῆμην μὲν τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου ξενίας, τὸ δὲ ὄλον καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ παρόντος ἀρετήν, ἔγνω καὶ τότε βασιλέα καθιστᾶν Ἰουδαίων δὲ πρότερον αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν τετράρχην. ἐνῆγεν δὲ οὐκ ἔλαττον τῆς εἰς Ἡρώδην φιλοτιμίας ἢ πρὸς Ἀντίγονον διαφορά τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ στασιώδη τε  
 283 καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἔχθρὸν ὑπελάμβανεν. Καῖσαρ<sup>2</sup> μὲν οὖν εἶχεν ἔτοιμότερον αὐτοῦ τὰς Ἀντιπάτρου στρατείας<sup>3</sup> ἀνανεούμενος,<sup>4</sup> ἃς κατ’ Αἴγυπτον αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρὶ συνδιήνεγκεν, τὴν τε ξενίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν ἄπασιν εὔνοιαν, ὁρῶντά γε μὴν καὶ τὸ Ἡρώδου  
 284 δραστήριον· συνήγαγεν δὲ τὴν βουλὴν, ἐν ᾧ Μεσσάλας καὶ μετ’ αὐτὸν Ἀτρατῖνος παραστησάμενοι τὸν Ἡρώδην τὰς τε πατρώας εὐεργεσίας καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εὔνοιαν διεξήσαν, ἀποδεικνύντες ἀμα καὶ πολέμιον τὸν Ἀντίγονον οὐ

<sup>1</sup> + δὲ and om. δ' below MLVR.<sup>2</sup> Καῖσαρ PAM : Καῖσαρα the rest.<sup>3</sup> στ. ατηγίας P : στρατιὰς most mss.<sup>4</sup> PM : ἀνανεούμενον the rest.

(3) Nearly shipwrecked off Pamphylia, after throwing overboard the bulk of the cargo, he with difficulty came safe to Rhodes, which had suffered severely from the war with Cassius. Here he was welcomed by his friends Ptolemy and Sapphinius, and, notwithstanding his lack of funds, procured the construction of an immense trireme, which carried him and his friends to Brundisium, whence he sped to Rome. He waited first on Antony, as his father's friend, and told him the story of his own and his family's misfortunes, and how he had left his nearest relatives besieged in a fortress and crossed the sea in the depth of winter to implore his aid.

(4) Antony was moved with compassion at his reverse of fortune; and influenced by the recollection of Antipater's hospitality, but above all by the heroic qualities of the man in front of him, determined then and there to make him king of the Jews whom he had himself previously appointed tetrarch.<sup>a</sup> Besides admiration for Herod, he had as strong an incentive in his aversion for Antigonus, whom he regarded as a promoter of sedition and an enemy of Rome. Caesar proved a yet more ready champion than Antony, as his memory recalled the part which Antipater had borne with his own father in the Egyptian campaigns,<sup>b</sup> his hospitality and invariable loyalty, while his eyes rested on Herod and read his enterprising character. So he convened the Senate, to which Messala, seconded by Atratinus, presented Herod and dwelt on the services rendered by his father and his own goodwill towards the Roman people; demonstrating at the same time that Antigonus was their enemy, not only from the

By Anton  
influence  
the Senat  
declare  
Herod ki  
of the Je

<sup>a</sup> § 244.

<sup>b</sup> §§ 187 ff.

μόνον ἐξ ὧν διηγέχθη τάχιον, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τότε  
διὰ Πάρθων λάβοι τὴν ἀρχὴν Ῥωμαίους ὑπεριδών.  
τῆς δὲ συγκλήτου πρὸς ταῦτα κεκινημένης, ὡς  
παρελθὼν Ἀντώνιος καὶ πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Πάρθων  
πόλεμον βασιλεύειν Ἡρώδην συμφέρειν ἔλεγεν,  
285 ἐπιψηφίζονται πάντες. λυθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς  
Ἀντώνιος μὲν καὶ Καῖσαρ μέσον ἔχοντες Ἡρώδην  
ἐξήσαν, προηγον δὲ σὺν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρχαῖς οἱ  
ὑπατοι θύσοντες τε καὶ τὸ δόγμα ἀναθήσοντες εἰς  
τὸ Καπετάλιον. τὴν δὲ πρώτην Ἡρώδη τῆς βασι-  
λείας ἡμέραν Ἀντώνιος είστια [αὐτὸν].<sup>1</sup>

286 (xv. 1) Παρὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Ἀντίγονος  
ἐπολιόρκει τοὺς ἐν Μασάδᾳ, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις  
ἐπιτηδείοις διαρκουμένους, σπανίζοντας δὲ ὕδατος  
διὸ καὶ Ἰώσηπος ἀδελφὸς Ἡρώδου σὺν διακοσίοις  
τῶν οἰκείων δρασμὸν ἐβουλεύετο εἰς Ἀραβας,  
ἀκηκοώς τῶν εἰς Ἡρώδην ἀμαρτημάτων Μάλχῳ  
287 μεταμέλειν. καν̄ ἔφθη καταλιπὼν τὸ φρούριον, εἰ  
μὴ περὶ τὴν νύκτα τῆς ἐξόδου συνέβη πλεῖστον  
ὑσαι· τῶν γὰρ ἐκδοχείων ὕδατος ἀναπλησθέντων  
οὐκέπ' ἔχρηζεν φυγῆς, ἀλλ' ἐπεξήσαν ἥδη τοῖς  
περὶ τοὺς Ἀντίγονον, καὶ τὰ μὲν φανερῶς συμ-  
πλεκόμενοι, τὰ δὲ λοχῶντες συχνοὺς διέφθειρον.  
οὐ μὴν ἐν ἀπασιν εὔστόχουν, ἔστιν δ' ὅπη<sup>2</sup> καὶ  
αὐτοὶ πταίοντες ἀνέστρεφον.

288 (2) Καν̄ τούτῳ Βεντίδιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρα-  
τηγὸς πεμφθεὶς ἐκ Συρίας Πάρθους ἀνείργειν μετ'  
ἐκείνους εἰς Ἰουδαίαν παρέβαλεν, λόγω μὲν ὡς  
βοηθήσων τοῖς περὶ Ἰώσηπον, ἔργῳ δ' Ἀντίγονον

<sup>1</sup> om. Niese with C.

<sup>2</sup> ὅπου PAM.

earlier quarrel which they had had with him, but because he had also just been guilty of contempt of Rome in accepting his crown from Parthian hands. These words stirred the Senate, and when Antony came forward and said that with a view to the war with Parthia it was expedient that Herod should be king, the proposal was carried unanimously. The meeting was dissolved and Antony and Caesar left the senate-house with Herod between them, preceded by the consuls and the other magistrates, as they went to offer sacrifice and to lay up the decree in the Capitol. On this, the first day of his reign, <sup>40 B.C. (e.)</sup> Herod was given a banquet by Antony.

(xv. 1) All this time Antigonus was besieging the occupants of Masada, who, though well supplied with all other necessaries, were in want of water. In these straits Joseph, Herod's brother, with two hundred of his men resolved to escape to Arabia, having heard that Malchus had repented of his criminal treatment of Herod. He was on the point of leaving the fortress, when on the very night fixed for his departure, rain fell in abundance; the reservoirs were replenished and Joseph saw no further need for flight. Instead, the garrison now began to sally out against the forces of Antigonus and partly in open combat, partly by ambuscades, destroyed a considerable number. They were not, however, uniformly successful, meeting with occasional reverses themselves and being forced to retire.

(2) Meanwhile Ventidius, the Roman general dis-  
patched from Syria to hold the Parthians in check,  
had in his pursuit of them advanced into Judaea,  
nominally to relieve Joseph and his friends, but in

Antigonus  
besieges  
Herod's  
family in  
Masada.

289 ἀργυριούμενος. ἔγγιστα γοῦν Ἱεροσολύμων αὐλι-  
σάμενος, ώς ἐνεπλήσθη χρημάτων, αὐτὸς μὲν  
ἀνεχώρει μετὰ τῆς πλείστης δυνάμεως, Σίλωνα  
δὲ σὺν μέρει κατέλιπεν,<sup>1</sup> ώς μὴ κατάφωρον τὸ  
λῆμμα ποιήσειεν πάντας ἀπαναστήσας. Ἀντί-  
γονος δὲ πάλιν ἐλπίζων Πάρθους ἐπαμυνεῖν καὶ  
Σίλωνα τέως ἐθεράπευεν, ώς μηδὲν ἐνοχλοίη πρὸ<sup>2</sup>  
τῆς ἐλπίδος.<sup>2</sup>

290 (3) "Ηδη δὲ Ἡρώδης καταπεπλευκὼς ἀπὸ τῆς  
Ιταλίας εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα καὶ συναγηοχῶς δύναμιν  
οὐκ ὀλίγην ξένων τε καὶ ὄμοφύλων ἥλαυνεν διὰ  
τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐπ' Ἀντίγονον, συλλαμβανόντων  
Βειτιδίου καὶ Σίλωνος, οὓς Δέλλιος ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου  
291 πεμφθεὶς Ἡρώδην συγκαταγαγεῖν ἔπεισεν. ἐπύ-  
χανεν δὲ Βειτιδίους μὲν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν τὰς διὰ  
Πάρθους ταραχὰς καθιστάμενος, Σίλων δ' ἐν  
Ιουδαίᾳ χρήμασιν ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου διεφθαρμένος.  
οὐ μὴν Ἡρώδης ἰσχύος ἡπόρει, προϊόντι δ' αὐτῷ  
καθ' ἡμέραν ηὐξεῖτο τὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ πλὴν  
292 ὀλίγων πᾶσα ἡ Γαλιλαία προσέθετο. προύκειτο  
μὲν οὖν τὸ ἀγαγκαιότατον ἀγώνισμα Μασάδα καὶ  
τὸ ρύσασθαι πρῶτον τοὺς οἰκείους ἐκ τῆς πολιορ-  
κίας, γίνεται δ' ἐμπόδιον Ἰόππη· ταύτην γὰρ ἐχρῆν  
πολεμίαν οὖσαν ἐξελεῖν πρότερον, ώς μὴ χωροῦντος  
ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων κατὰ τούτου τι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς  
ἔρυμα καταλείποιτο. συνῆπτεν δὲ καὶ Σίλων  
ἀσμένιως τῆς ἀπαναστάσεως πρόφασιν εὑρών, ὡς  
προσέκειντο Ιουδαῖοι διώκοντες.<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ τούτους  
Ἡρώδης ἐκδραμὼν μετ' ὀλίγου στίφους τρέπεται  
ταχέως καὶ Σίλωνα διασώζει κακῶς ἀμυνόμενον.

<sup>1</sup> Destinon: καταλέλοιπεν MSS.

<sup>2</sup> πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας C.

<sup>3</sup> προσήκοντες P.A.

reality to extort money from Antigonus. He accordingly encamped in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem and, after glutting his avarice, retired with the bulk of his troops ; leaving, however, a detachment under the command of Silo, to prevent the detection of his mercenary proceedings which might ensue from the withdrawal of the entire force. Antigonus, on his side, hoping for renewed assistance from the Parthians, meanwhile paid court to Silo, as he had to Ventidius, to prevent any trouble from him before his expectations were realized.

(3) But already Herod, having sailed from Italy to Ptolemais and collected a considerable army of foreign and native troops, was advancing through Galilee upon Antigonus. Ventidius and Silo, induced by Dellius, Antony's emissary, to assist in reinstating Herod, were co-operating. But Ventidius was occupied in quelling local disturbances arising out of the Parthian invasion, while Silo, corrupted by the bribes of Antigonus, lingered in Judaea. Herod, however, had no lack of support : new recruits added daily to his strength as he advanced, and, with few exceptions, all Galilee went over to him. The most urgent task ahead of him was Masada and, above all, the liberation of his relatives from the siege. But Joppa was a preliminary obstacle. For that town being hostile had first to be reduced, in order that there might be no stronghold left in enemy hands in his rear when he marched against Jerusalem. Silo, glad of an excuse for quitting Jerusalem, now proceeded to join him, hotly pursued by the Jews. Herod with a small party flew out upon them and soon routed them, rescuing Silo, who was making but a poor defence.

Herod  
returns to  
Palestine  
39 B.C.

- 293 (4) Ἐπειτα Ἰόππην ἐλῶν πρὸς τὴν Μασάδαν  
ρύσσομενος τοὺς οἰκείους ἡπείγετο. καὶ τῶν ἐπι-  
χωρίων οὓς μὲν πατρώα φιλία προσῆγεν, οὓς δὲ τὸ  
αὐτοῦ κλέος, οὓς δὲ τῆς ἐξ ἀμφοῦ εὑργεσίας  
ἀμοιβή, πλείστους γε μὴν ἐλπὶς ὡς ἐκ βασιλέως  
βεβαίου, δυσνίκητός<sup>1</sup> τε ἥδη δύναμις ἥθροιστο.
- 294 προϊόντα δ' Ἀντίγονος ἐιγήδρευεν τάπιτήδεια τῶν  
παρόδων προλοχίζων, ἐν οἷς οὐδὲν ἦ μικρὰ τοὺς  
πολεμίους ἔβλαπτεν Ἡρώδης δὲ τοὺς ἐκ Μα-  
σάδας οἰκείους παραλαβὼν ῥαδίως καὶ Ῥῆσαν<sup>2</sup> τὸ  
φρούριον ἦσε πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα· συνῆπτε δ'  
αὐτῷ τὸ μετὰ Σίδωνος στρατιωτικὸν καὶ πολλοὶ  
τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὴν ἴσχὺν καταπλαγέντες.
- 295 (5) Στρατοπεδευσαμένους δὲ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δύσιν  
κλίμα τοῦ ἄστεος οἱ ταύτη φύλακες ἐτόξευόν τε  
καὶ ἐξηκόντιζον αὐτούς, ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ στῖφος  
ἐκθέοντες ἀπεπειρώντο τῶν προτεταγμένων.  
Ἡρώδης δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κηρύσσειν περὶ τὸ  
τείχος ἐκέλευεν ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τε παρείη τοῦ δήμου  
καὶ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς πόλεως, μηδὲν μηδὲ<sup>3</sup> τοὺς  
φανεροὺς ἔχθροὺς ἀμυνούμενος, δώσων δὲ καὶ τοῖς  
296 διαφορωτάτοις ἀμνηστίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀντιπαρηγο-  
ροῦντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον οῦτε κατακούειν  
τῶν κηρυγμάτων εἴων τινὰς οῦτε μεταβάλλεσθαι,  
τὸ λοιπὸν ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐπ-  
έτρεπεν τοῖς σφετέροις οἱ δὲ ταχέως ἅπαντας ἀπὸ  
τῶν πύργων ἐτρέψαντο τοῖς βέλεσιν.
- 297 (6) Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ Σίδων ἀπεκαλύφθατο τὴν δωρο-  
δοκίαν· ἐπισκευασάμενος γὰρ πολλοὺς τῶν στρα-

<sup>1</sup> Naber: δυσνίκητος MSS. : the same confusion occurs in A. xviii. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Θρῆσαν MTC: cf. § 266

<sup>3</sup> Bekker: μήτε MSS.

(4) Then, after taking Joppa, he hastened to Masada to rescue his friends. The country-folk rallied to him, some drawn by old affection for his father, others by his own renown; some in return for benefits conferred by both father and son, but the majority attracted by their expectations from one whose claim to the throne seemed assured; so that by now he had assembled a formidable army. Antigonus sought to obstruct his advance by posting ambuscades in suitable passes, but caused little or no injury to the enemy. Herod without difficulty rescued his friends in Masada, recovered the fortress of Rhesa,<sup>a</sup> and then marched against Jerusalem; where he was joined by Silo's troops and by many of the citizens, who were alarmed at the strength of his army.

(5) Having encamped on the west side of the town, his forces were assailed by showers of arrows and javelins from the guards posted at that quarter, while others sallying out in companies made attacks on his outposts. At the outset, Herod ordered heralds to patrol the walls and proclaim that he had come for the good of the people and the salvation of the city, that he had no intention of punishing even avowed enemies and would grant an amnesty to his bitterest foes. But when Antigonus issued counter-exhortations forbidding any to listen to these proclamations or to go over to the enemy, Herod at once gave his men permission to retaliate on their assailants on the ramparts, and with their missiles they soon drove them all out of the towers.

(6) And now Silo's conduct betrayed his corruption. For he induced a large number of his soldiers

He takes  
Joppa and  
relieves  
Masada.

<sup>a</sup> In Idumaea, § 266.

τιωτῶν σπάνιν ἐπιτηδείων ἀναβοᾶν καὶ χρήματα  
 εἰς τροφὰς ἀπαιτεῖν, ἀπάγειν τε σφᾶς χειμεριοῦντας  
 εἰς τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους<sup>1</sup> τόπους, ἐπειδὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν  
 πόλιν ἦν ἔρημα πάντα τῶν περὶ Ἀντίγονον προαν-  
 εσκευασμένων, ἐκίνει τε τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀνα-  
 298 χωρεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο. Ἡρώδης δὲ ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς τε  
 ὑπὸ τὸν Σίλωνα ἡγεμόσιν καὶ κατὰ πλῆθος τοῖς  
 στρατιώταις ἐδεῖτο μὴ καταλιπεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπό τε  
 Καισαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου προ-  
 πεμφθέντα λύσειν γὰρ αὐθημερὸν αὐτῶν τὰς  
 299 ἀπορίας. καὶ μετὰ τὴν δέησιν εὐθέως<sup>2</sup> ὁρμήσας  
 αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν χώραν τοσαύτην αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδείων  
 ἀφθονίαν ἐκόμισεν, ὡς πάσας ἀποκόψαι τὰς  
 Σίλωνος προφάσεις, εἴς τε τὰς ἔξης ἡμέρας μὴ  
 διαλιπεῖν τὴν χορηγίαν προνοούμενος ἐπέστελλεν  
 τοῖς περὶ Σαμάρειαν, ὥκειώτο δὲ ἡ πόλις αὐτῷ,  
 σῖτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ βοσκήματα κατάγειν  
 300 εἰς Ἱεριχοῦντα. ταῦτ' ἀκούσας Ἀντίγονος δι-  
 ἐπεμψεν περὶ τὴν χώραν εἴργειν καὶ λοχᾶν τοὺς  
 σιτηγοὺς κελεύων. οἱ δὲ ὑπήκουον, καὶ πολὺ  
 πλῆθος ὄπλιτῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἱεριχοῦντα συνηθροίσθη.  
 διεκαθέζοντο δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅρων παραφυλάσσοντες  
 301 τοὺς τάπιτήδεια ἐκκομίζοντας. οὐ μὴν Ἡρώδης  
 ἡρέμει, δέκα δὲ σπείρας ἀναλαβών, ὃν πέντε μὲν  
 Ῥωμαίων πέιτε δὲ Ἰουδαίων ἦσαν, ἔχουσαι καὶ  
 μισθοφόρους μιγάδας πρὸς οὓς ὀλίγους τῶν ἵππεων,  
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱεριχοῦντα παραγίνεται, καὶ τὴν μὲν  
 πόλιν καταλειψμένην εύρισκει, πεντακοσίους δὲ  
 τὰ ἄκρα κατειληφότας σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ γενεαῖς.  
 302 αὐτοὺς μὲν οὖν ἀπολύει λαβών, Ῥωμαῖοι δ'

<sup>1</sup> iōios PA.<sup>2</sup> εὐθέως om. PA Lat. Heg., but probably not a gloss from A. (εὐθὺς); εὐθέως is the normal form of the adverb in B.

to raise an outcry about a lack of supplies and to demand money for the purchase of provisions and to be marched to suitable winter quarters, as the troops of Antigonus had already completely cleared the neighbourhood of the city and reduced it to a desert. He, therefore, broke up his camp and attempted to retire. Herod, however, interviewed<sup>a</sup> first the officers of Silo's staff and then the assembled troops, and besought them not to desert him, holding, as he did, a commission from Caesar, Antony, and the senate; "for," said he, "this very day I will relieve your wants." After making this appeal he instantly set off in person into the country and brought back such an abundance of supplies as to cut away all Silo's excuses; while, to ensure that there should be no shortage in the immediate future, he instructed the inhabitants of the district of Samaria, that city having declared in his favour, to bring corn, wine, oil, and cattle down to Jericho. Hearing of this, Antigonus issued orders throughout the country to hold-up and waylay the convoys. Acting on these orders, large bodies of men in arms assembled above Jericho and took up positions on the hills, on the look-out for the conveyors of the supplies. Herod, however, was on the alert, and with ten cohorts, of which five were Roman, and five Jewish with mercenaries intermixed, and a small body of horse, proceeded to Jericho. He found the city deserted and the heights<sup>b</sup> occupied by five hundred persons with their wives and children. These he made prisoners and then released; while

<sup>a</sup> Or "interceded with."

<sup>b</sup> τὰ ἄκρα here and in A.: not τὴν ἄκραν ("the citadel") which might have been expected.

εἰσπεσόντες τὸ λοιπὸν ἃστυ διήρπασαν πλήρεις καταλαμβάνοντες τὰς οἰκίας παντοίων κειμηλίων. Ἱεριχοῦντος μὲν οὖν φρουρὰν ὁ βασιλεὺς καταλιπὼν ὑπέστρεψεν, καὶ χειμεριοῦσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰν εἰς τὰς προσκεχωρηκυίας<sup>1</sup> διαφῆκεν Ἰδουμαίαν καὶ Γαλιλαίαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν. ἐπέτιχεν δὲ καὶ Ἀντίγονος παρὰ τῆς Σίδωνος δωροδοκίας ὑποδέξασθαι τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν ἐν Λύδδοις θεραπεύων Ἀντώνιον.

303 (xvi. 1) Καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐν ἀφθόνοις διῆγον ἀνειμένοι τῶν ὅπλων, Ἡρώδης δ' οὐκ ἡρέμει, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν Ἰδουμαίαν δισχιλίοις πεζοῖς καὶ τετρακοσίοις ἵππεῦσιν διαλαμβάνει πέμφας τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰώσηπον, ὡς μή τι νεωτερισθείη πρὸς Ἀντίγονον<sup>2</sup>. αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν μητέρα καὶ ὄσους ἐκ Μασάδας οἰκείους ἔξεγγαγεν μεταγαγὼν εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ καταστησάμενος ἀσφαλῶς γῆι τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καταστρεψόμενος καὶ τὰς Ἀντίγονου φρουρὰς ἔξελάσων.

304 (2) Πρὸς δὲ τὴν Σέπφωριν ἐν τιφετῷ σφοδροτάτῳ διαιρύσας ἀκονιτὶ παραλαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν, πρὸ τῆς ἐφόδου τῶν φυλάκων ἐκφυγόντων. ἔνθα τοὺς ἐπομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος κακωθέντας ἀναλαβών, πολλὴ δ' ἦν ἀφθονία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις ὥρμητο ληστάς, οἵ πολλὴν τῆς χώρας κατατρέχοντες οὐκ ἐλάττω κακὰ 305 πολέμου διετίθεσαν τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. προπέμφας δὲ πεζῶν τρία τέλη καὶ μίαν ἥλην ἵππεων πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> C (adding πόλεις): προκεχ. the rest.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀντίγονου VC "on the part of A." (perhaps rightly).

the Romans fell upon and rifled the rest of the town, where they found the houses full of treasures of every sort. Leaving a garrison in Jericho, the king returned and dismissed his Roman army to winter quarters in the districts which had joined his standard, Idumaea, Galilee, and Samaria. Antigonus, on his side, to ingratiate himself with Antony, induced Silo by a bribe to billet a division of his troops in Lydda.<sup>a</sup>

Winter  
39-38 B.C.

(xvi. 1) While the Romans were thus living on the fat of the land, at rest from arms, Herod, never idle, occupied Idumaea with two thousand foot and four hundred horse, which he sent thither under his brother Joseph, to prevent any insurrection in favour of Antigonus. His own care was the removal of his mother and other relations, whom he had rescued from Masada, to Samaria; having safely installed them there, he set out to reduce the remaining strongholds of Galilee and to expel the garrisons of and Galilee

Herod's  
winter  
campaign  
Idumaea

(2) He pushed on to Sepphoris through a very heavy snowstorm and took possession of the city without a contest, the garrison having fled before his assault. Here, provisions being abundant, he refreshed his troops, sorely tried by the tempest, and then started on a campaign against the cave-dwelling brigands, who were infesting a wide area and inflicting on the inhabitants evils no less than those of war. Having sent in advance three battalions of infantry and a squadron of cavalry to the village

He defeated  
the brigands  
at Arbel

<sup>a</sup> On the west frontier of Judaea; an action in the enemy's favour apparently intended to weaken the allegiance of the Roman troops.

- "Αρβηλα κώμην, αὐτὸς μετὰ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ἐπῆλθεν μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς δυνάμεως. οὐ μὴν πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον ἔδεισαν οἱ πολέμιοι, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπήντων, ἐμπειρίαν μὲν πολεμικὴν ἔχοντες,  
 306 τὸ δὲ θράσος ληστρικόν. συμβαλόντες γοῦν τῷ σφετέρῳ δεξιῷ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας τῶν Ἡρώδου τρέπονται. περιελθὼν δὲ ταχέως Ἡρώδης ἐκ τοῦ καθ' ἑαυτὸν δεξιοῦ προσεβοήθει, καὶ τὸ μὲν οἰκεῖον ἐπέστρεφεν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς, τοῖς δὲ διώκουσιν ἐμπίπτων ἀνέκοπτεν τὴν ὄρμήν, μέχρι τὰς κατὰ στόμα προσβολὰς μὴ φέροντες ἐξέκλιναν.  
 307 (3) 'Ο δὲ ἦν Ἰορδάνου κτείνων εἶπετο καὶ πολὺ μὲν αὐτῶν μέρος διέφθειρεν, οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ὑπὲρ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσκεδάσθησαν, ὥστε τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐκκεκαθάρθαι φόβων, πλὴν καθόσον οἱ τοῖς σπηλαίοις ἐμφωλεύοντες ὑπελείποντο· κάπι τούτοις  
 308 ἔδει διατριβῆς. διὸ δὴ πρῶτον τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰς ἐκ τῶν πεπονημένων ἐπικαρπίας ἀπεδίδου, διαινέμων ἐκάστῳ δραχμὰς ἐκατὸν πεντήκοντα ἀργυρίου καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν πολυπλασίονα, *καὶ*<sup>1</sup> διέπεμψεν εἰς οὓς ἔχειμέριζον σταθμούς. Φερώρᾳ δὲ τῷ ιεωτάτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπέστελλεν τῆς τε ἀγορᾶς αὐτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν καὶ τειχίζειν Ἀλεξάνδρειον. κάκεῖνος ἀμφοτέρων ἐπεμελήθη.  
 309 (4) 'Εν δὲ τούτῳ περὶ μὲν Ἀθήνας διῆγεν Ἀντώνιος, Βεντίδιος δ' ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Πάρθους πόλεμον Σίλωνά τε καὶ Ἡρώδην μετεπέμπετο, καταστήσασθαι πρότερον ἐπιστέλλων τὰ περὶ Ἰουδαίαν. Ἡρώδης δ' ἀσμένως Σίλωνα πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> I have inserted the conjunction which seems necessary. Without it the sense would be "and sent much larger sums to the officers in their various winter quarters."

of Arbela,<sup>a</sup> he joined them forty days later with the rest of his army. Nothing daunted by his approach, the enemy, who combined the experience of seasoned warriors with the daring of brigands, went armed to meet him, and, coming into action, routed Herod's left wing with their right. Herod instantly wheeling round his troops from the right wing, where he was in command, came to the relief, and not only checked the flight of his own men, but falling upon their pursuers broke their charge, until, overpowered by his frontal attacks, they in turn gave way.

(3) Herod pursued them, with slaughter, to the Jordan and destroyed large numbers of them; the rest fled across the river and dispersed. Thus was Galilee purged of its terrors, save for the remnant still lurking in the caves, and their extirpation required time. So, before proceeding further, Herod awarded to his soldiers the fruits of their labours, distributing to each man a hundred and fifty drachmas of silver and to their officers much larger sums, and then dismissed them to their various winter quarters. He instructed Pheroras, his youngest brother, to take charge of the commissariat department<sup>b</sup> and to fortify Alexandrion; both tasks received his brother's attention.

(4) At this time Antony was residing in the neighbourhood of Athens, and Silo and Herod were summoned by Ventidius for the war with Parthia, being instructed first to settle affairs in Judaea. Herod gladly dismissed Silo to Ventidius, and set out him-

and exterminates the  
cave-dwellers.

<sup>a</sup> *Irbid*, near the Lake of Gennesaret, N.W. of Tiberias.

<sup>b</sup> In A. xiv. 418 it is not Herod's troops which Pheroras is instructed to provision, but Silo and the Romans, whose supplies Antigonus at the end of a month had cut short (see § 302).

Βεντίδιον ἀπολύσας αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς σπη-  
 310 λαίοις ἐστράτευσεν. τὰ δὲ σπῆλαια ταῦτα πρὸς  
 ἀποκρήμνοις ὅρεσιν ἦν οὐδαμόθεν προσιτά, πλαγίας  
 δὲ ἀνόδους μόνον ἔχοντα στενοτάτας. ἡ δὲ κατὰ  
 μέτωπον αὐτῶν πέτρα κατέτεινεν εἰς βαθυτάτας  
 φάραγγας ὄρθιος ἐπιρρέπουσα ταῖς χαράδραις,  
 ὥστε τὸν βασιλέα μέχρι πολλοῦ μὲν ἀπορεῖν πρὸς  
 τὸ ἀμήχανον τοῦ τόπου, τελευταῖον δ' ἐπινοίᾳ  
 311 χρήσασθαι σφαλερωτάτη. τοὺς γοῦν ἀλκίμονες  
 καθιμῶν ἐν λάρναξιν ἐνίει τοῖς στομίοις, οἱ δὲ  
 ἀπέσφαττόν τε αὐτοὺς σὺν γενεαῖς καὶ πῦρ ἐνίεσαν  
 τοῖς ἀμυνομένοις. βουληθεὶς δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ  
 περισῶσαι τινας Ἡρώδης ἐκήρυξεν ἀναχωρεῖν<sup>1</sup>  
 πρὸς αὐτόν. τῶν δὲ ἐθελουσίως μὲν οὐδεὶς προσ-  
 ἔθετο, καὶ τῶν βιαζομένων δὲ πολλοὶ τῆς αἰχμα-  
 312 λωσίας προείλοντο θάνατον. ἔνθα καὶ τῶν γηραιῶν  
 τις, ἐπτὰ παῖδων πατήρ, μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς δεο-  
 μένους τοὺς παῖδας ἐπιτρέψαι σφίσιν ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup>  
 δεξιᾷ κτείνει τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· καθ' ἓνα προϊέναι  
 κελεύσας αὐτὸς ἵστατο ἐπὶ τὸ στόμιον<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὸν  
 ἀεὶ προϊόντα τῶν νίῶν ἀπέσφαττεν. ἐξ ἀπόπτου  
 δὲ Ἡρώδης ἐπιβλέπων τῷ τε πάθει συνεχεῖτο<sup>3</sup> καὶ  
 τῷ πρεσβύτῃ δεξιὰν ὥρεγεν φείσασθαι τῶν τέκνων  
 313 παρακαλῶν. ὁ δὲ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐνδοὺς τῶν λεγο-  
 μένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσονειδίσας τὸν Ἡρώδην εἰς  
 ταπεινότητα, ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἀναιρεῖ καὶ τὴν  
 γυναικα, καὶ καταβαλὼν κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ τοὺς  
 μεκροὺς τελευταῖον ἑαυτὸν ἔρριψεν.

<sup>1</sup> P.A.: ἀποχωρεῖν the rest.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦ στομίου Niese from the parallel passage in A.

<sup>3</sup> So most MSS., cf. B. vii. 200: σινείχετο Niese with C.

• Or "chests."

self on a campaign against the bandits in the caves. These caves, opening on to mountain precipices, were inaccessible from any quarter, except by some tortuous and extremely narrow paths leading up to them ; the cliff in front of them dropped sheer down into ravines far below, with water-courses at the bottom. The king was, consequently, for long baffled by the impracticable nature of the ground, but at length had recourse to a most hazardous scheme. By means of ropes he lowered the most stalwart of his men in cradles<sup>a</sup> and so gave them access to the cavern-mouths ; these then massacred the brigands and their families, hurling in fire-brands upon those who resisted. Anxious to save some of them, Herod, by word of herald, summoned them to his presence. Not one of them voluntarily surrendered,<sup>b</sup> and of those taken by force many preferred death to captivity. It was then that one old man, the father of seven children, being asked by them and their mother permission to leave under Herod's pledge, killed them in the following manner. Ordering them to come forward one by one, he stood at the entrance and slew each son as he advanced. Herod, watching this spectacle from a conspicuous<sup>c</sup> spot, was profoundly affected and, extending his hand to the old man, implored him to spare his children ; but he, unmoved by any word of Herod, and even upbraiding him as a low-born upstart,<sup>d</sup> followed up the slaughter of his sons by that of his wife, and, having flung their corpses down the precipice, finally threw himself over after them.

<sup>b</sup> *Ant.* 427, on the contrary, mentions many cases of surrender. <sup>c</sup> Or "commanding."

<sup>d</sup> Cf. § 478 ; perhaps "for his abject spirit."

314 (5) Χειροῦται μὲν οὕτως τὰ σπήλαια καὶ τοὺς  
ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἡρώδης καταλιπὼν δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ  
μοῖραν ὅσην ἀποχρήσειν ὑπελάμβανεν πρὸς τὰς  
ἐπαναστάσεις καὶ Θολεμαῖον<sup>1</sup> ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἐπὶ Σαμα-  
ρείας ὑπέστρεφεν, ὁπλίτας μὲν τρισχιλίους ἵππεῖς  
315 δὲ ἄγων ἔξακοσίους ἐπ' Ἀντίγονον. ἐνθα πρὸς  
τὴν ἀποχώρησιν αὐτοῦ λαβόντες ἄδειαν οἷς ἔθος  
ἥν θορυβεῖν τὴν Γαλιλαίαν κτείνουσιν μὲν Θολε-  
μαῖον<sup>2</sup> τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀδοκήτως προσπεσόντες,  
ἐπόρθουν δὲ τὴν χώραν ποιούμενοι τὰς ἀναφυγὰς  
εἰς τὰ ἔλη καὶ τὰ δυσερεύνητα τῶν χωρίων  
316 πυθόμενος δὲ Ἡρώδης τὴν ἐπανάστασιν διὰ τάχους  
ἐπεβοήθει καὶ πολὺ μὲν αὐτῶν πλῆθος διαφθείρει  
τὰ φρούρια δὲ πάντα πολιορκίαις ἔξελῶν ἐπιτίμιοι  
τῆς μεταβολῆς εἰσεπράξατο παρὰ τῶν πόλεων  
ἐκατὸν τάλαντα.

317 (6) Ἡδη δὲ Πάρθων μὲν ἔξεληλαμένων, ἀνηρη-  
μένου δὲ Πακόρου, Βεντίδιος ἐπιστείλαντος Ἀν-  
τωνίου πέμπει συμμάχους Ἡρώδη κατ' Ἀντι-  
γόνου χιλίους ἵππεῖς καὶ δύο τάγματα. τούτων δι-  
τὸν στρατηγὸν Μαχαιρᾶν Ἀντίγονος ἱκέτευσεν δι-  
ἐπιστολῶν ἑαυτῷ βοηθὸν ἀφικέσθαι, πολλά τι  
περὶ<sup>3</sup> τῆς Ἡρώδου βίας [καὶ ἐπηρείας τῆς βασι-  
λείας]<sup>4</sup> ἀποδυρόμενος καὶ χρήματα δώσειν ὑπισχ-  
318 νούμενος. ὁ δέ, οὐ γὰρ κατεφρόνει τοῦ πέμψαντος  
ἄλλως τε καὶ πλείον<sup>5</sup> Ἡρώδου διδόντος, εἰς μὲν  
τὴν προδοσίαν οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ὑποκρινόμενος δι-  
φιλίαν κατάσκοπος ἦει τῶν Ἀντιγόνου πραγμάτων

<sup>1</sup> PA: Πτολεμαῖον the rest (as in A ||).

<sup>2</sup> πτολεμιῶν LVRC.

<sup>3</sup> + τε MSS.

<sup>4</sup> The bracketed words only in MVC; omitted, probably  
through homoioteleuton, by the rest.

<sup>5</sup> F: πλέον the rest.

(5) Herod having thus mastered the caves and their inhabitants, leaving behind him under the command of Ptolemy a contingent sufficient, in his opinion, to repress insurrection, returned towards Samaria, bringing to meet Antigonus a force of three thousand heavy infantry and six hundred cavalry. Thereupon, emboldened by his departure, the usual promoters of disturbance in Galilee made a surprise attack on his general Ptolemy and slew him, and proceeded to ravage the country, finding refuge in the marshes and other places difficult to search. Apprised of the revolt, Herod returned in haste to the relief, killed a large number of the rebels, besieged and destroyed all their fortresses, and imposed on the towns, as the penalty for their defection, a fine of a hundred talents.

(6) The Parthians having now at last been expelled and Pacorus slain, Ventidius, under instructions from Antony, dispatched a thousand horse with two legions to support Herod in opposing Antigonus, the officer in command being Machaeras. To this general Antigonus wrote, imploring him instead to come to his own assistance, complaining bitterly of Herod's high-handed and abusive treatment of the realm,<sup>a</sup> and adding a promise of money. Machaeras, not being prepared for such contempt of his superior's orders, especially as Herod was offering him a larger sum, declined the temptation to treason, but, feigning amity, went off to spy out the position of Antigonus,

Fresh ris  
in Galile  
quelled.

Ventidius  
defeats th  
Parthians  
June 33 B

Machaera  
in Judaea  
his  
equivocal  
attitude.

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps "the throne."

- 319 Ἡρώδη μὴ πεισθεὶς ἀποτρέποντι. προαισθόμενος δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν Ἀντίγονος τὴν τε πόλιν ἀπέκλεισεν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ὡς πολέμιον ἤμύνατο, μέχρις αἰδούμενος Μαχαιρᾶς εἰς Ἀμμαοῦντα πρὸς Ἡρώδην ἀναχωρεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὴν διαμαρτίαν θυμούμενος ὅσοις ἐπετύγχανεν Ἰουδαίοις ἀνήρει, μηδεμίαν τῶν Ἡρωδείων φειδὼ ποιούμενος, ἀλλ' ὡς Ἀντιγονείοις χρώμενος ἄπασιν.
- 320 (7) Ἐφ' οἷς χαλεπήνας Ἡρώδης ὥρμησεν μὲν ἀμύνασθαι Μαχαιρᾶν ὡς πολέμιον, κρατήσας δὲ τῆς ὄργῆς ἥλαυνεν πρὸς Ἀντώνιον κατηγορήσων τῆς Μαχαιρᾶς παρανομίας. ὁ δ' ἐν διαλογισμῷ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων γενόμενος ταχέως μεταδιώκει τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πολλὰ δεηθεὶς ἔαυτῷ διαλλάττει.
- 321 οὐ μὴν Ἡρώδης ἐπαύσατο τῆς πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ὄρμῆς ἀκηκοώς δ' αὐτὸν μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως προσπολεμοῦντα Σαμοσάτοις, πόλις δ' ἐστὶν Εὐφράτου πλησίον καρτερά, θάττον ἡπείγετο τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον ὄρῶν πρὸς τε ἐπίδειξιν ἀνδρείας
- 322 καὶ τοῦ μᾶλλον ἀρέσασθαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον. γίνεται γοῦν ἐπελθὼν τέλος αὐτοῖς τῆς πολιορκίας, πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀποκτείνας, πολλὴν δὲ ἀποτεμόμενος λείαν, ὥστε τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιον θαυμάζοντα καὶ πάλαι τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτὸν τότε μᾶλλον οὕτως ἔχειν καὶ προσθεῖναι πολὺ ταῖς τε ἄλλαις τιμαῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐλπίσιν, Ἀντίοχον δὲ τὸν βασιλέα ἀναγκασθῆναι παραδοῦναι τὰ Σαμόσατα.
- 323 (xvii. 1) Κάν τούτω θραύεται τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν Ἡρώδου πράγματα. κατελελοίπει μὲν γὰρ Ἰώσηπον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅλων παραγγείλας μηδὲν μέχρι τῆς ὑποστροφῆς αὐτοῦ παρα-

without listening to Herod, who tried to dissuade him. Antigonus, divining his intention, refused him admittance to the city, and repulsed him from the walls as an enemy; until at length Machaeras, for very shame, was forced to retire to Emmaus and rejoin Herod. Infuriated by his discomfiture, he killed all the Jews whom he met on his march, not even sparing the Herodians, but treating all alike as friends of Antigonus.

(7) At this Herod, in indignation, hastened to attack Machaeras as an enemy, but, restraining his anger, set out instead to lay before Antony an accusation of his enormities. Machaeras, reflecting on his errors, pursued after the king and by dint of entreaties succeeded in pacifying him. Herod, notwithstanding, continued his march to join Antony; the receipt of intelligence that the latter with a large army was assaulting Samosata, a strong city near the Euphrates, quickened his pace, as he saw in this a favourable opportunity for displaying his courage and strengthening his hold upon Antony's affection. His arrival, in fact, brought the siege to a conclusion. He killed numbers of the barbarians and secured booty in abundance, with the result that Antony, who had long admired his valour, now held it in even higher respect, and largely increased both his honours and his high expectations of sovereignty; while King Antiochus was compelled to surrender Samosata.

(xvii. 1) Meanwhile Herod's cause had suffered a grave reverse in Judaea. He had left his brother Joseph in charge of the realm, with injunctions to take no action against Antigonus until his return,

Herod  
assists  
Antony  
in the  
siege of  
Samosata

Defeat and  
death of  
Herod's  
brother  
Joseph.

κινεῖν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον· οὐ γὰρ δὴ βέβαιον εἶναι  
 Μαχαιρᾶν σύμμαχον ἐξ ὧν ἔδρασεν. ὁ δὲ ὡς  
 ἥκουσεν ὅντα πορρωτάτω τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἀμελήσας  
 τῶν παραγγελμάτων ἐπὶ Ἰεριχοῦντος ἔχώρει μετὰ  
 πέντε σπειρῶν, ἃς συνέπεμψεν Μαχαιρᾶς· ἦει δὲ  
 324 τὸν σῖτον ἀρπάσων ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ θέρους. ἐπι-  
 θεμένων δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν καὶ ταῖς δυσχωρίαις  
 τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτός τε θνήσκει, μάλα γενναῖος ἐν τῇ  
 μάχῃ φανεῖς, καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν πᾶν διαφθείρεται·  
 νεοσύλλεκτοι γὰρ ἥσαν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας αἱ σπεῖραι,  
 καὶ οὐδὲν αὐταῖς ἐνεκέρατο τῶν πάλαι στρα-  
 τιωτῶν καλουμένων, ἐπαμύνειν τοῖς ἀπείροις  
 πολέμου δυνάμενον.

325 (2) Ἀντιγόνῳ δὲ οὐκ ἀπέχρησεν ἡ νίκη, προ-  
 ἥλθεν δὲ εἰς τοσοῦτον ὄργης, ὥστε καὶ νεκρὸν αἰκί-  
 σασθαι τὸν Ἰώσηπον· κρατήσας γοῦν τῶν σωμάτων  
 ἀποτέμνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, καίτοι πεντήκοντα  
 τάλαντα λύτρον αὐτῆς Φερώρα τάδελφοῦ διδόντος.

326 τὰ δὲ τῆς Γαλιλαίας μετὰ τὴν Ἀντιγόνου νίκην  
 ἐνεωτερίσθη πρὸς τοσοῦτον, ὥστε τοὺς τὰ Ἡρώδου  
 φρονοῦντας τῶν δυνατῶν προαγαγόντες<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὴν  
 λίμνην κατέδυσαν οἱ προσέχοντες Ἀντιγόνῳ.  
 μετεβάλλετο δὲ πολλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, ἔνθα  
 Μαχαιρᾶς ἀνετείχιζέν τι τῶν ἐρυμάτων· Γιτθὰ  
 327 καλεῖται. τούτων δὲ οὐδὲν οὕπω<sup>2</sup> πέπυστο Ἡρώ-  
 δης· μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Σαμοσάτων ἄλωσιν Ἀντώνιος  
 μὲν καταστήσας ἐπὶ τῆς Συρίας Σόσσιον καὶ  
 προστάξας Ἡρώδη βοηθεῦν ἐπ' Ἀντίγονον αὐτὸς  
 εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀνεχώρησεν, Σόσσιος δὲ δύο μὲν

<sup>1</sup> Niese, with Lat.: προσαγαγόντες or προσάγοντες MSS.

<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲν οὕπω M: οὐδέπω LVR: οὕπω PA: οὐδέν πω Bekker.

<sup>a</sup> Of Gennesaret.

because the previous conduct of Machaeras proved him to be an untrustworthy ally. No sooner, however, did Joseph hear that his brother was at a safe distance, than, disregarding instructions, he marched towards Jericho with five cohorts sent to him by Machaeras, with the object of carrying off the corn-crop in its midsummer prime. On the way he was attacked by his adversaries on difficult ground in the hills ; after displaying great gallantry in the battle he fell, and the whole Roman force was cut to pieces. For the cohorts had been recently levied in Syria and had no leavening of the so-called "veterans" to support these raw recruits.

Summer  
38 B.C.

(2) Not content with his victory, Antigonus was further carried away by rage as actually to do outrage revolt in to Joseph's corpse. Being in possession of the bodies Galilee a of the slain, he had his head cut off, notwithstanding the ransom of fifty talents with which Pheroras, the brother of the deceased, offered to redeem it. In Galilee this victory of Antigonus led to so serious a revolution that his partisans dragged out of their houses the men of rank who were in favour of Herod and drowned them in the lake.<sup>a</sup> There was defection also in many parts of Idumaea,<sup>b</sup> where Machaeras was rebuilding the walls of a fortress called Gittha. Of all this Herod as yet knew nothing. For after the capture of Samosata Antony had appointed Sossius governor of Syria, with orders to support Herod in opposing Antigonus, and had then taken his departure for Egypt.<sup>c</sup> Sossius, thereupon, sent on

<sup>a</sup> A. has Judaea : the position of the fort is uncertain. Smith and Bartholomew (*Hist. Atlas of Holy Land*, map 44) place it S.W. of Hebron.

<sup>b</sup> This, as Reinach points out, is an error. Antony passed the winter of 38-37 b.c. at Athens (*Plut. Ant. 34*).

τάγματα προαπέστειλεν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν Ἡρώδη συμμαχῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς δυνάμεως ἡκολούθει σχεδόν.

328 (3) Ὁντι δ' Ἡρώδη κατὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀντιοχείᾳ<sup>1</sup> Δάφνην ὄνειροι σαφεῖς τὸν τἀδελφοῦ θάνατον προσημαίνουσιν, καὶ μετὰ ταραχῆς ἐκθορόντι τῆς κοίτης εἰσήγεται ἄγγελοι τῆς συμφορᾶς. ὁ δὲ ὀλίγον μὲν προσοιμώξας τῷ πάθει, τὸ πλεῖον δὲ τοῦ πένθους ὑπερθέμενος, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔχθροὺς ἥπει-  
329 γετο, ποιούμενος<sup>2</sup> τὴν πορείαν ὑπὲρ δύναμιν. καὶ διανύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Λίβανον ὀκτακοσίους μὲν τῶν περὶ τὸ ὅρος προσλαμβάνει συμμάχους, Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἐν τάγμα ταύτῃ συνῆψεν. μεθ' ὧν οὐ περιμείνας ἡμέραν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐνέβαλεν, τούς τε πολε-  
330 οίους ὑπαντιάσαντας εἰς δὲ καταλελοίπεσαν χωρίον ῥέπεται, καὶ προσέβαλλεν μὲν συνεχῶς τῷ φρου-  
ρίῳ, πρὶν δὲ ἐλεῖν χειμῶνι βιασθεὶς χαλεπωτάτῳ ταῖς πλησίον ἐνστρατοπεδεύεται κώμαις. ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτῷ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας καὶ τὸ δεύτερον παρὰ Ἀντωνίου<sup>3</sup> τάγμα συνέμιξεν, δείσαντες τὴν ἴσχὺν οἱ πολέμιοι διὰ τυκτὸς ἐξέλιπον τὸ ἔρυμα.

331 (4) Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διὰ Ἱεριχοῦντος ἦει σπεύδων ἢ τάχιστα τοὺς τἀδελφοῦ φοιεῖς μετελθεῖν· ἔνθα<sup>4</sup> καὶ δαιμόνιόν τι αὐτῷ συμβαίνει τέρας, ἐξ οὗ παρ'  
ἐλπίδα σωθεὶς ἀιδρὸς θεοφιλεστάτου δόξαν ἀπηνέγ-  
κατο. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν ἐν τέλει συν-  
εισπιάθησαν κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἐσπέραν, διαλυθέντος  
δὲ τοῦ συμποσίου μετὰ τὸ πάντας ἐξελθεῖν ὁ οἶκος

<sup>1</sup> Destinon: Ἀντιόχειαν MSS.

<sup>3</sup> M: Ἀντωνίῳ the rest.

<sup>2</sup> + ὃ δὲ LVRC.

<sup>4</sup> + δὴ LVRC.

two legions into Judaea to assist Herod, and followed himself close behind with the rest of his troops.

(3) But while Herod was at Daphne, near Antioch, he had a dream distinctly warning him of his brother's death, and springing in horror from his bed was met by the messengers bringing news of the catastrophe. After brief lamentation for his loss, he deferred further mourning for another season and set out in haste to meet his foes. By forced marches he pushed on to Lebanon, where he received a reinforcement of eight hundred of the mountaineers and was joined by one of the Roman legions. With these allies, without waiting for daylight,<sup>a</sup> he invaded Galilee; he was met by the enemy, but drove them back to the position which they had just left. He made repeated attacks upon their fortress, but before he could capture it was compelled by a terrific storm to encamp in the neighbouring villages. A few days later he was joined by the second of Antony's legions,<sup>b</sup> whereupon the enemy, alarmed at his strength, under cover of night evacuated their stronghold.

(4) His subsequent march, accelerated by the desire for speedy vengeance on his brother's murderers, took him through Jericho. Here he had a providential and miraculous escape, the surprising nature of which won him the reputation of a special favourite of heaven. A large company of magistrates had dined with him that evening, and no sooner had the banquet ended and all the guests departed, than the

Herod  
returns to  
Palestine

His  
miraculous  
escape at  
Jericho.

<sup>a</sup> The Greek might mean "without a day's delay"; but the rendering above seems fixed by the parallel in *A.* xiv. 452 (*νυκτὸς ἀναστάς*); *περιμένειν* in Josephus usually means "to wait for." But the narrative is here abbreviated; in *A.* the night march starts not from Lebanon, but from Ptolemais.

<sup>b</sup> § 327.

332 εὐθέως συνέπεσεν. τοῦτο καὶ κινδύνων καὶ σωτηρίας κοινὸν ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλοντι πολέμῳ κρίνας εἶναι σημεῖον ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω διεκίνει τὴν στρατιάν. καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων εἰς ἔξακισχιλίους ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρῶν κατατρέχοντες ἀπεπειρῶντο τῶν προτεταγμένων, κατὰ χεῖρα μὲν συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οὐ σφόδρα θαρροῦντες, πόρρωθεν δὲ χερμάσιν καὶ παλτοῖς<sup>1</sup> ἔβαλλον, ὥστε συχνοὺς κατατιρώσκειν. ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἡρώδης παρελαύνων παλτῷ<sup>2</sup> κατὰ τὴν πλευρὰν ἀκοντίζεται.

333 (5) Βουλόμενος δὲ Ἀντίγονος μὴ μόνον τόλμη τῶν σφετέρων ἀλλὰ καὶ πλήθει περιεῖναι δοκεῖν, Πάππον τινὰ τῶν ἑταίρων μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ Σαμάρειαν περιπέμπει.<sup>3</sup> τούτῳ<sup>4</sup> μὲν οὖν ἦν Μαχαιρᾶς ἀγώνισμα, Ἡρώδης δὲ τὴν πολεμίαν καταδραμῶν πέντε μὲν πολίχνας καταστρέφεται, δισχιλίους δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς διαφθείρει, καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐμπρήσας ὑπέστρεψεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον· ηὔλιστο δὲ περὶ τὴν καλουμένην Κανᾶ κώμην.

335 (6) Προσεγίνετο δ' αὐτῷ καθ' ἡμέραν πολὺ πλῆθος Ἰουδαίων ἐκ τε τῆς<sup>5</sup> Ιεριχοῦντος κάκ τῆς ἄλλης χώρας, οἵ μὲν διὰ μῖσος τὸ πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, οἵ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ κατορθώμασιν κεκινημένοι· τούς γε μὴν πολλοὺς ἐνῆγεν ἐπιθυμία μεταβολῆς ἄλογος. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡπείγετο συμβαλεῖν, οἱ δὲ περὶ Πάππον οὕτε πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος οὕτε πρὸς τὴν δρμὴν ὑποδείσαντες αὐτοῦ προθύμως ἀντεπεξῆλθον.

336 γενομένης δὲ τῆς παρατάξεως τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μέρη πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀντέσχεν, Ἡρώδης δὲ κατὰ μυήμην<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hudson: πελ-οῖς MSS.

<sup>2</sup> πελτῷ MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Γ.Δ.: ἐπιπέμπει the rest.

<sup>4</sup> Destinon: τούτων MSS.

<sup>5</sup> Niese: αὐτῆς MSS.

<sup>6</sup> μῆνιν LVRC.

building collapsed. Seeing in this an omen alike of perils and of preservation during the coming campaign, he at daybreak put his troops in motion. Some six thousand of the enemy rushed down from the hills and assailed his vanguard ; they had not the courage to come to close quarters with the Romans, but pelted them from a distance with stones and darts, wounding many of them. On this occasion Herod himself, while riding along the lines, was struck by a javelin in the side.

(5) Antigonus, wishing to create an impression of the superiority of his men, not only in enterprise but in numbers, dispatched an army to Samaria under one of his comrades named Pappus, whose commission was to oppose Machaeras. Herod, meanwhile, ravaged the enemy's territory, subdued five small towns, slew two thousand of their inhabitants, set fire to the houses, and returned to his camp. His present headquarters were in the neighbourhood of a village called Cana.<sup>a</sup>

(6) Multitudes of Jews now joined him daily from Jericho and elsewhere, some drawn by hatred of Antigonus, others by his own successes, the majority by a blind love of change. Herod was burning for a fight, and Pappus, undeterred either by the number or the ardour of his adversaries, advanced with alacrity to meet them. On coming into action the enemy made a brief stand in other parts of the line ; but Herod, with his memories of his murdered

He defeat  
Pappus,  
general of  
Antigonus

<sup>a</sup> We should doubtless read, as in the parallel account, A. xiv. 458, Isana, a place due north of Jerusalem near the frontier of Judaea and Samaria.

τοῦ φονευθέντος ἀδελφοῦ παραβαλλόμενος, ὡς ἂν  
πίσαιτο τὸν αἰτίους τοῦ φόνου, ταχέως τῶν καθ'  
έαυτὸν ἐκράτει· καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους ἐπὶ τὸ συνεστὸς  
337 αἱεὶ<sup>1</sup> τρεπόμενος ἄπαντας διώκει. φόνος δ' ἦν  
πολύς, τῶν μὲν εἰς τὴν κώμην συνεξωθουμένων ἐξ  
ἥς ὥρμηντο, τοῦ δὲ προσκειμένου τοῖς ὑστάτοις  
καὶ κτείνοντος ἀπείρους. συνεισπίπτει δὲ τοῖς  
πολεμίοις εἷσω, καὶ πᾶσα μὲν ὄπλιτῶν οἰκία  
ιένακτο, τὰ τέγη δ' ἦν ὕπερθεν ἀμυνομένων κατά-  
338 πλεα. κἀπειδὴ περιῆν τῶν ἔξωθεν, τὰς οἰκήσεις  
σπαράττων εἴλκει τὸν ἔνδοθεν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν  
πολλοῖς ἐπικατασείων τοὺς ὄρόφους ἀθρόους<sup>2</sup>  
ἀνήρει, τὸν ὑποφεύγοντας δὲ τῶν ἐρειπίων οἱ  
στρατιῶται ξιφήρεις ἀνεδέχοντο, καὶ τοσοῦτον  
ἐσωρεύθη νεκρῶν πλῆθος, ὥστε τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀπο-  
339 φραγῆναι τοῖς κρατοῦσιν. ταύτην τὴν πληγὴν οὐκ  
ἥνεγκαν οἱ πολέμιοι· τὸ γοῦν ἐπισυλλεγόμενον  
αὐτῶν πλῆθος ὡς ἐθεάσατο τὸν ἀνὰ τὴν κώμην  
διεφθαρμένους, εἰς φυγὴν διεσκεδάσθη, κανεὶς εὐθέως  
τῇ νίκῃ τεθαρρηκὼς Ἡρώδης ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων  
ἥλασεν, εἰ μὴ χειμῶνι διεκωλύθη σφοδροτάτῳ  
τοῦτῳ ἐμπόδιον ἐκείνῳ τε παντελοῦς κατορθώματος  
καὶ ἥττης Ἀντιγόνῳ κατέστη, βουλευομένῳ κατα-  
λιπεῖν ἥδη τὴν πόλιν.

340 (7) Ἡρώδης δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν [ἥδη]<sup>3</sup> τὸν  
φίλους κεκμηκότας ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ τοῦ σώματος  
διαφείς καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἦν ἔτι θερμὸς ἐκ τῶν ὄπλων  
λουσόμενος ἦει στρατιωτικώτερον· εἰς γοῦν αὐτῷ  
παῖς εἶπετο. καὶ πρὶν εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον εἰσελθεῖν,  
ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ τις ἐκτρέχει τῶν πολεμίων ξιφήρης,

<sup>1</sup> αἱεὶ P.<sup>2</sup> PM: ἀθρόως the rest.<sup>3</sup> om. PAM Lat.

brother, hazarding all to be avenged on his murderers, quickly overcame the troops in front of him, and then, successively directing his attacks upon any that still held together, routed the whole body. A scene of carnage ensued, the enemy driven pell-mell back into the village from which they had issued, Herod pressing upon their rear and massacring untold numbers. Rushing with his foes into the village, he found every house packed with soldiers and the roofs thronged with others who attacked him from above. After defeating his enemies in the open, he pulled the buildings to pieces and dragged out those within. Many perished in a mass under the roofs which he brought down upon their heads, while those who escaped from beneath the ruins were met by the soldiers with drawn swords ; and there was such a heap of corpses that the streets were impassable to the victors. This blow was too much for the enemy ; those of them who rallied after the battle, when they saw the village strewn with dead, dispersed and fled. With the confidence of his victory, Herod would instantly have marched upon Jerusalem, had he not been detained by a storm of exceptional severity. This accident impeded the completion of his success and the defeat of Antigonus, who was by now meditating the abandonment of the capital.

(7) That evening. Herod having dismissed his companions to refresh themselves after their fatigues, went himself just as he was, yet hot from the fight, to take a bath, like any common soldier, for only a single slave attended him. Before he entered the bath-house one of the enemy ran out in front of him, sword in hand, then a second and a third,

- 341 ἔπειτα δεύτερος καὶ τρίτος, ἔξῆς δὲ πλείους. οὗτοι καταπεφεύγεσαν μὲν ἐκ τῆς παρατάξεως εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον ὡπλισμένοι, τέως δ' ὑποπεπτηχότες καὶ διαλανθάνοντες, ὡς ἐθεάσαντο τὸν βασιλέα, λυθέντες ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως αὐτὸν μὲν παρέτρεχον γυμνὸν ὅντα τρέμοντες, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς ἔξόδους ἔχώρουν. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων οὐδεὶς παρῆν κατὰ τύχην ὁ συλληψόμενος τοὺς ἄνδρας, Ἡρώδη δ' ἀπέχρη τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν, ὥστε διαφεύγουσιν πάντες.
- 342 (8) Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ Πάππον μὲν τὸν Ἀντιγόνου στρατηγὸν καρατομήσας, ἀνήρητο δ' ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως, πέμπει τὴν κεφαλὴν Φερώρᾳ τάδελφῷ ποινὴν τοῦ φονευθέντος αὐτῶν ἀδελφοῦ· καὶ
- 343 γὰρ οὗτος ἦν ὁ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀνελών. λωφήσαντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἥλαυνεν ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ μέχρι τοῦ τείχους ἀγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν, συνίγετο δ' αὐτῷ τρίτον ἔτος ἐξ οὐ βασιλεὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀπεδέδεικτο, πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ στρατοπεδεύεται ταύτη γὰρ ἦν ἐπίμαχον, καθ' ὃ καὶ πρὶν εἶλει
- 344 Πομπήιος τὴν πόλιν. διελῶν δὲ εἰς ἔργα τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τεμῶν τὰ προάστεια, τρία μὲν ἐγείρειν χώματα καὶ πύργους ἐποικοδομεῖν αὐτοῖς κελεύει, καταλιπὼν δὲ τοὺς ἀνυτικωτάτους τῶι ἔταιρων ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων αὐτὸς εἰς Σαμάρειαν ἦει τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου μετιὼν θυγατέρα καθωμολογημένην, ὡς ἔφαμεν, αὐτῷ καπάρεργον ποιούμενος<sup>1</sup> τῆς πολιορκίας τὸν γάμον ἦδη γὰρ ὑπερηφάνει τοὺς πολεμίους.
- 345 (9) Γήμας δὲ ὑπέστρεψεν ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμωι

<sup>1</sup> PA: ποιεῖται the rest.

followed by more. These were men who had escaped from the combat and taken refuge, fully armed, in the baths. There for a while they had remained lurking and concealed ; but when they saw the king, they were panic-stricken and ran trembling past him, unarmed though he was, and made for the exits. By chance not a man was there to lay hands on them ; but Herod was content to have come off unscathed, and so they all escaped.

(8) On the following day he cut off the head of Pappus, Antigonus's general, who had been killed in the combat, and sent it to his brother Pheroras in retribution for the murder of their brother ; for it was Pappus who had slain Joseph.<sup>a</sup> When the tempest abated, he advanced upon Jerusalem and marched his army up to the walls, it being now just three years since he had been proclaimed king in Rome.<sup>b</sup> He encamped opposite the Temple, for from that quarter the city was open to attack and had on a previous occasion been captured by Pompey.<sup>c</sup> He then appointed his army their several tasks, cut down the trees in the suburbs, and gave orders to raise three lines of earth-works and to erect towers upon them. Leaving his most efficient lieutenants to superintend these works, he went off himself to Samaria to fetch the daughter of Alexander, son of Aristobulus, who, as we have said, was betrothed to him.<sup>d</sup> Thus, so contemptuous was he already of the enemy, he made his wedding an interlude of the siege.

(9) After his marriage he returned with a larger

<sup>a</sup> §§ 323 f.

<sup>b</sup> § 284.

<sup>c</sup> § 145.

<sup>d</sup> § 241.

He besieged  
Jerusalem  
spring of  
37 B.C.

His  
marriage  
with  
Mariamne

- μετὰ μείζονος<sup>1</sup> δυνάμεως· συνῆπτε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ  
Σόσσιος μετὰ πλείστης στρατιᾶς ἵππεων τε καὶ  
πεζῶν, ἦν προεκπέμψας διὰ τῆς μεσογείου τὴν  
346 πορείαν αὐτὸς διὰ Φουνίκης ἐποιήσατο. συν-  
αθροισθείσης δὲ τῆς ὅλης δυνάμεως εἰς ἔνδεκα μὲν  
τέλη πεζῶν, ἵππεῖς δὲ ἔξακισχιλίους δίχα τῶν ἀπὸ  
Συρίας συμμάχων, οἱ μέρος οὐκ ὀλίγον ἥσαν,  
καταστρατοπεδεύονται τοῦ βορείου τείχους πλησίον,  
αὐτὸς μὲν πεποιθὼς τοῖς τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμασιν,  
δι’ ὧν βασιλεὺς ἀπεδέδεικτο, Σόσσιος δὲ Ἀντωνίῳ  
τῷ πέμψαντι τὴν ὑπ’ αὐτῷ στρατιὰν ‘Ηρώδῃ  
σύμμαχον.
- 347 (xviii. 1) Τῶν δ’ ἀγὰ τὴν πόλιν Ἰουδαίων τὸ  
πλῆθος ποικίλως ἐτετάρακτο· καὶ γὰρ περὶ τὸν  
ναὸν ἀθροιζόμενον τὸ ἀσθενέστερον ἐδαιμονία καὶ  
πολλὰ θειωδέστερον πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς ἐλογοποίει,  
καὶ τῶν τολμηροτέρων κατὰ στίφος ἥσαν ληστεῖαι  
πολύτροποι, μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄρπα-  
ζόντων ἐπιτήδεια καὶ μήτε ἵπποις μήτε ἀνδράσι  
348 ὑπολειπομένων τροφήν. τοῦ γε μὴν μαχίμου τὸ  
εὐτακτότερον ἐτέτακτο πρὸς ἄμυναν τῆς πολι-  
ορκίας, τούς τε χωνινύντας εἰργον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους  
καὶ τοῦ ὀργάνοις ἀντιμηχανώμενον ἀεὶ τι κώλυμα  
καινότερον· ἐν οὐδενὶ δ' οὕτως ὡς ἐν ταῖς μεταλ-  
λείαις περιῆσαν τῶν πολεμίων.
- 349 (2) Τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ πρὸς μὲν τὰς ληστείας ἀντεπ-  
ενοήθησαν λόχοι δι’ ὧν ἀνέστελλεν τὰς διεκδρομάς.  
πρὸς δὲ τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπορίαν αἱ πόρρωθει  
συγκομιδαί, τῶν δὲ μαχομένων περιῆν τῇ Ῥωμαίωι

<sup>1</sup> πλείστης PAM: πλείονος τῆς Destinon.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. § 337.

force to Jerusalem. Here too he was joined by Sossius<sup>a</sup> with an imposing army of horse and foot, which that general had sent on ahead through the interior, while he himself took the route by Phoenicia. The total strength of the united armies amounted to eleven battalions of infantry and six thousand cavalry, not including the Syrian auxiliaries, who formed no inconsiderable contingent. The two generals encamped near the north wall : Herod with the confidence inspired by the senatorial decrees, which had proclaimed him king ; Sossius relying on Antony, who had dispatched the army under his command in support of Herod.

(xviii. 1) Throughout the city the agitation of the Jewish populace showed itself in various forms. The feebler folk, congregating round the Temple, indulged in transports of frenzy and fabricated numerous oracular utterances to fit the crisis. The more daring went out in companies on marauding expeditions of all kinds, their main object being to seize all provisions in the neighbourhood of the city and to leave no sustenance for horse or man. Of the military the more disciplined men were employed in repelling the besiegers, from their position on the ramparts beating off the excavators of the earth-works and constantly contriving some new means of parrying the enemy's engines ; but it was above all in their mining operations that they showed their superiority.

(2) To stop the raiders the king arranged ambuscades, by which he succeeded in checking their incursions ; to meet the shortage of provisions he had supplies brought from a distance ; while as for the combatants, the military experience of the

Sossius joins Herod before Jerusalem

The siege

Capture of Jerusalem and wholesale massacre

έμπειρίᾳ, καίτοι τόλμης οὐδεμίαν καταλιπόντων  
 350 ὑπερβολήν φαινερῶς μέν γε οὐ<sup>1</sup> συνερρήγνυντο τοῖς  
 Ρωμαίοις ἐπὶ προύπτῳ τῷ θανεῖν, διὰ δὲ τῶν  
 ὑπονόμων ἐν μέσοις αὐτοῖς ἔξαπίνης ἐφαίνοντο,  
 καὶ πρὶν κατασεισθῆναι τι τοῦ τείχους ἔτερον  
 ἀντωχύρουν· καθόλου τε [εἴπειν]<sup>2</sup> οὔτε χερσὶν οὔτ'  
 ἐπινοίαις ἔκαμνον εἰς ἕσχατον ἀντισχεῖν δι-  
 351 εγνωκότες. ἀμέλει τηλικαύτης δυνάμεως περικαθ-  
 εζομένης πέντε μησὶν διήνεγκαν τὴν πολιορκίαν,  
 ἦν τῶν Ἡρώδου τινὲς ἐπιλέκτων ἐπιβῆναι τοῦ  
 τείχους θαρσήσαντες εἰσπίπτουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν,  
 ἐφ' οἷς ἔκατοντάρχαι Σοσσίου. πρῶτα δὲ τὰ περὶ  
 τὸ ιερὸν ἥλισκετο, καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπεισ-  
 χυθείσης πανταχοῦ φόνος ἦν μυρίος, τῶν μὲν  
 Ρωμαίων τῇ τριβῇ τῆς πολιορκίας διωργισμέ-  
 νων, τοῦ δὲ περὶ Ἡρώδην Ἰουδαιϊκοῦ μηδὲν ὑπο-  
 352 λιπέσθαι σπουδάζοντος ἀντίπαλον. ἐσφάττοντο δὲ  
 παμπληθεῖς ἐν τε τοῖς στενωποῖς καὶ κατὰ τὰς  
 οἰκίας συνωθούμενοι καὶ τῷ ναῷ προσφεύγοντες·  
 ἦν τε οὕτε νηπίων οὕτε γήρως ἔλεος οὔτε ἀσθενείας  
 γυναικῶν, ἀλλὰ καίτοι περιπέμποντος τοῦ βασι-  
 λέως καὶ φειδεσθαι παρακαλοῦντος οὐδεὶς ἐκρά-  
 τησεν τῆς δεξιᾶς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ μεμηνότες πᾶσαν  
 353 ἥλικίαν ἐπεξήγεσαν. ἐνθα καὶ Ἀντίγονος μήτε τῆς  
 πάλαι μήτε τῆς τότε τύχης ἔννοιαν λαβὼν κάτεισιν  
 μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς βάρεως, προσπίπτει δὲ τοῖς Σοσσίου  
 ποσιν. κάκεῦνος μηδὲν αὐτὸν οἰκτείρας πρὸς τὴν  
 μεταβολὴν ἐπεγέλασέν τε ἀκρατῶς καὶ Ἀντιγόνην

<sup>1</sup> μεν γε οὐ M: μέν γε PA: μέν οὖν οὐ the rest.

<sup>2</sup> om. PA.

\* Or (omitting the negative with PA) "They openly hung themselves."

Romans gave him the advantage over them, although their audacity knew no bounds. If they did not openly fling themselves against<sup>a</sup> the Roman lines, to face certain death, they would through their underground passages appear suddenly in the enemy's midst; and before one portion of the wall was overthrown they were erecting another in its stead. In a word, neither in action nor ingenuity did they ever flag, fully resolving to hold out to the last. In fact, notwithstanding the strength of the beleaguered army, they sustained the siege into the fifth month;<sup>b</sup> until some of Herod's picked men ventured to scale the wall and leapt into the city, followed by Sossius's centurions. The environs of the Temple were first secured, and, when the troops poured in, a scene of wholesale massacre ensued; for the Romans were infuriated by the length of the siege, and the Jews of Herod's army were determined to leave none of their opponents alive. Masses were butchered in the alleys, crowded together in the houses, and flying to the sanctuary. No quarter was given to infancy, to age, or to helpless womanhood. Nay, though the king sent messengers in every direction, entreating them to spare, none stayed his hand, but like madmen they wreaked their rage on all ages indiscriminately. In this scene Antigonus, regardless alike of his former fortune and that which now was his, came down from the castle and threw himself at the feet of Sossius. The latter, far from pitying his changed condition, burst into uncontroll-

Summer  
37 B.C.

<sup>a</sup> A. xiv. 487 appears to state, on the contrary, that Jerusalem was taken "in the third month" or even in less, the first wall being captured in 40 days, the second in 15 (*ib.* 476).

ἐκάλεσεν· οὐ μὴν ὡς γυναικά γε καὶ φρουρᾶς  
ἔλεύθερον ἀφῆκεν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δεθεὶς ἐφυλάττετο.

354 (3) Πρόνοια δ' ἦν Ἡρώδης κρατοῦντι τῶν  
πολεμίων τότε κρατῆσαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλοφύλων  
συμμάχων· ὥρμητο γὰρ τὸ ξενικὸν πλῆθος ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
θέμιν τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν ναὸν ἀγίων.  
ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοὺς μὲν παρακαλῶν, τοῖς δ' ἀπ-  
ειλούμενος, ἔστιν δ' οὓς καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀνέστειλεν,  
ἥττης χαλεπωτέραν τὴν νίκην ὑπολαμβάνων, εἴ

355 τι τῶν ἀθεάτων παρ' αὐτῶν ὄφθείη. διεκώλυσεν  
δὲ ἥδη καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀρπαγάς, πολλὰ  
διατεινόμενος πρὸς Σόσσιον, εἰς χρημάτων τε καὶ  
ἀνδρῶν τὴν πόλιν Ῥωμαῖοι κενώσαντες κατα-  
λείψουσιν αὐτὸν ἐρημίας βασιλέα, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τοσούτων πολιτῶν φόνῳ βραχὺ καὶ τὴν τῆς οἰκου-  
356 μένης ἡγεμονίαν ἀντάλλαγμα κρίνοι. τοῦ δὲ ἀντὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τῆς πολιορκίας τὰς ἀρπαγὰς δικαίως τοῖς στρα-  
τιώταις ἐπιτρέπειν φαμένου, αὐτὸς ἔφη διανεμεῖν  
ἐκ τῶν ἴδιων χρημάτων τοὺς μισθοὺς ἐκάστοις.  
οὕτως τε τὴν λοιπὴν ἔξωνησάμενος πατρίδα τὰς  
ὑποσχέσεις ἐπλήρωσεν· λαμπρῶς μὲν γὰρ ἔκαστον  
στρατιώτην, ἀναλόγως δὲ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, βασιλι-  
κώτατα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐδωρήσατο Σόσσιον, ὡς μηδένα  
357 χρημάτων ἀπελθεῖν δεόμενον. Σόσσιος δὲ χρυσοῦν  
ἀναθεὶς τῷ θεῷ στέφανον ἀνέζευξεν ἀπὸ Ἱερο-  
սολύμων, ἄγων δειμώτην Ἀντίγονον Ἀντωνίω.  
τοῦτον μὲν οὖν φιλοψυχήσαντα μέχρις ἐσχάτου διὰ  
ψυχρᾶς ἐλπίδος ἄξιος τῆς ἀγεννείας πέλεκυς  
ἐκδέχεται.

358 (4) Βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἡρώδης διακρίνας τὸ κατὰ<sup>1</sup>  
τὴν πόλιν πλῆθος τοὺς μὲν τὰ αὐτοῦ φρονήσαντας

able laughter and called him Antigone.<sup>a</sup> He did not, however, treat him as a woman and leave him at liberty : no, he was put in irons and kept under strict guard.

(3) Now master of his enemies, Herod's next task was to gain the mastery over his foreign allies ; for this crowd of aliens rushed to see the Temple and the holy contents of the sanctuary. The king ex-postulated, threatened, sometimes even had recourse to weapons to keep them back, deeming victory more grievous than defeat, if these people should set eyes on any objects not open to public view. Now too he put a stop to the pillage of the town, forcibly representing to Sossius that, if the Romans emptied the city of money and men, they would leave him king of a desert, and that he would count the empire of the world itself too dearly bought with the slaughter of so many citizens. Sossius replying that he was justified in permitting the soldiers to pillage in return for their labours in the siege, Herod promised to distribute rewards to each man out of his private resources. Having thus redeemed what remained of his country, he duly fulfilled his engagement, remunerating each soldier liberally, the officers in proportion, and Sossius himself with truly royal munificence ; so that none went unprovided. Sossius, after dedicating to God a crown of gold, withdrew from Jerusalem, taking with him to Antony Antigonus in chains. This prisoner, to the last clinging with forlorn hope to life, fell beneath the axe, a fitting end to his ignominious career.

(4) King Herod, discriminating between the two classes of the city population, by the award of

<sup>a</sup> Or in the general's Latin "Antigona."

εύνουστέρους ταῖς τιμαῖς καθίστατο, τοὺς δὲ  
 Ἀντιγονείους ἀνήρει. καὶ κατὰ σπάγω ἥδη χρη-  
 μάτων ὅσον εἶχεν κόσμου κατανομιστεύσας Ἀν-  
 359 τωνίω καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνέπεμψεν. οὐ μὴν εἰς  
 ἄπαν<sup>1</sup> ἔξωνήσατο τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν ἥδη γὰρ  
 Ἀντώνιος τῷ Κλεοπάτρᾳ ἔρωτι διεφθαρμένος  
 ἦττων ἦν ἐν πᾶσιν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, Κλεοπάτρα δὲ  
 διεξελθοῦσα τὴν γενεὰν τὴν ἑαυτῆς ὡς μηδένα  
 τῶν ἀφ' αἰματος ὑπολείπεσθαι, τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 360 ἔξωθεν ἐφόνα, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει Σύρων διαβάλλουσα  
 πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀναιρεῖν ἔπειθεν, ὡς ἂν τῶν  
 κτήσεων ἑκάστου ῥᾳδίως γινομένη δεσπότις, ἔτι  
 δὲ ἐκτείνοντα τῇρι πλεονεξίαιν ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίους καὶ  
 Ἀραβας ὑπειργάζετο τοὺς ἑκατέρων βασιλεῖς  
 Ἡρώδην καὶ Μάλχον ἀναιρεθῆναι.  
 361 (5) Ἐν μέρει γοῦν τῶν προσταγμάτων ἐπινήψας  
 Ἀντώνιος τὸ κτεῖναι μὲν ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ  
 βασιλεῖς τηλικούτους ἀνόσιον ἥγήσατο, τὸ δὲ  
 τούτων ἔγγιων φίλους<sup>2</sup> διεκρούσατο· πολλὰ δὲ τῆς  
 χώρας αὐτῶν ἀποτεμόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἐν  
 Ἱεριχοῦντι φουιτικῶνα, ἐν ᾧ γεννᾶται τὸ βάλσαμον,  
 δίδωσιν αὐτῇ πόλεις τε πλὴν Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος  
 362 τὰς ἐντὸς Ἐλευθέρου ποταμοῦ πάσας. ὡν γενο-  
 μένη κυρία καὶ προπέμψασα μέχρις Εὐφράτου τὸν  
 Ἀντώνιον ἐπιστρατεύοντα Ηάρθοις ἥλθεν εἰς  
 Ἰουδαίαν δι' Ἀπαμείας καὶ Δαμασκοῦ. κάνταῦθα

<sup>1</sup> εἰς ἄπαξ LVR.

<sup>2</sup> φίλοις PA Exe. Lat.: φίλος εἶναι the rest. Text and meaning uncertain. I follow the Latin "quod autem his mox propter prius est, inter amicos non habuit." Perhaps (reading φίλος εἶναι) "But of any closer friendship he showed no sign."

honours attached more closely to himself those who had espoused his cause, while he exterminated the partisans of Antigonus. Finding his funds now reduced, he converted all the valuables in his possession into money, which he then transmitted to Antony and his staff. Yet even at this price he failed to secure for himself complete exemption from injury ; for Antony, already demoralized by his love for Cleopatra, was becoming wholly enslaved to his passion, and Cleopatra, after killing off her own family, one after another, till not a single relative remained, was now thirsting for the blood of foreigners. Laying before Antony calumnious charges against high officials in Syria, she urged him to put them to death, in the belief that she would have no difficulty in appropriating their possessions ; and now, her ambitions extending to Judaea and Arabia, she was secretly contriving the ruin of their respective kings, Herod and Malchus.

Cleopatra  
plots agai  
Herod

(5) One part, at any rate, of her orders brought Antony to his sober senses : he held it sacrilege to take the lives of innocent men and kings of such eminence. But—what touched them more nearly—he threw over his friends. He cut off large tracts of their territory—including, in particular, the palm-grove of Jericho where the balsam grows—and presented them to Cleopatra, together with all the towns to the south of <sup>a</sup> the river Eleutherus,<sup>b</sup> Tyre and Sidon excepted. Now mistress of all this land, she escorted Antony, who was starting on a campaign against the Parthians, as far as the Euphrates, and then, by way of Apamea and Damascus, came into

<sup>34 B.C.</sup>  
(Schürer)

<sup>a</sup> Greek “within,” i.e. “on this side of.”

<sup>b</sup> North of Tyre.

# JOSEPHUS

- μεγάλαις μὲν αὐτῆς τὴν δυσμένειαν δωρεαῖς  
 Ἡρώδης ἐκμειλίσσεται, μισθοῦται δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς  
 βασιλείας ἀπορραγέντα χωρία διακοσίων ταλάντων  
 εἰς ἔκαστον ἐνιαυτόν, προπέμπει δὲ αὐτὴν μέχρι
- 363 Πηλουσίου πάσῃ θεραπείᾳ καταχρώμενος. καὶ  
 μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρῆν ἐκ Πάρθων Ἀντώνιος ἄγων  
 αἰχμάλωτον Ἀρταβάζην τὸν Τιγράνου παῖδα δῶρον  
 Κλεοπάτρᾳ μετὰ γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῆς  
 λειας ἀπάσης ὁ Πάρθος εὐθὺς ἔχαρισθη.
- 364 (xix. 1) Τοῦ δὲ Ἀκτιακοῦ πολέμου συνερρω-  
 γότος παρεσκεύαστο μὲν Ἡρώδης Ἀντωνίῳ συνεξ-  
 ορμᾶν, ἦδη τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ Ιουδαίαν  
 ἀπηλλαγμένος θορύβων καὶ κεκρατηκὼς Ὑρκα-  
 νίας, ὃ δὴ χωρίον ἡ Ἀντιγόνου κατεῖχεν ἀδελφή.  
 365 διεκλείσθη γε μὴν πανούργως ὑπὸ τῆς Κλεο-  
 πάτρας συμμετασχεῖν τῶν κινδύνων Ἀντωνίῳ τοῖς  
 γὰρ βασιλεῦσιν, ὡς ἔφαμεν, ἐπιβουλεύοντα πείθει  
 τὸν Ἀντώνιον Ἡρώδη διαπιστεῦσαι τὸν πρὸς  
 Ἀραβας πόλεμον, ἵν' ἡ κρατήσαντος Ἀραβίας ἦ-  
 κρατηθέντος Ιουδαίας γένηται δεσπότις καὶ θατέ-  
 ρω τῶν δυναστῶν καταλύσῃ τὸν ἔτερον.
- 366 (2) "Ἐρρεψεν μέντοι καθ' Ἡρώδην τὸ βού-  
 λευμα· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ῥύσια [κατὰ]<sup>1</sup> τῶν πολε-  
 μίων ἄγων καὶ πολὺ συγκροτήσας ἴππικὸν ἐπαφ-  
 ἰησιν αὐτοῖς περὶ Διόσπολιν, ἐκράτησέν τε καίτοι

<sup>1</sup> om. P.

<sup>a</sup> This Artabazes (Artavasdes) was not a Parthian, but king of Armenia, who, having joined Antony in an attack on his namesake Artavasdes, king of Media, deserted him and was subsequently taken captive by Antony (Plut. *Ant.* 50). Josephus or his source appears to have confused the

Judea. There, by large bounties, Herod appeased her ill will, and agreed to take on lease for an annual sum of two hundred talents the lands which had been detached from his realm. He then escorted her to Pelusium, treating her with every mark of respect. Not long after Antony returned from Parthia bringing, as a present for Cleopatra, his prisoner Artabazes, son of Tigranes ; for upon her, together with the money and all the spoils of war, the Parthian<sup>a</sup> was instantly bestowed.

(xix. 1) On the outbreak of the war of Actium Herod prepared to join forces with Antony ; for he was now rid of disturbances in Judea and had captured the fortress of Hyrcania, hitherto held by the sister of Antigonus. The craft of Cleopatra, however, precluded him from sharing Antony's perils. For, as we have stated,<sup>b</sup> she had designs on the kings, in pursuance of which she now induced Antony to entrust the war against the Arabs to Herod, hoping, if he were successful, to become mistress of Arabia, if unsuccessful, of Judea, and by means of one of the two potentates to overthrow the other.

(2) Her scheme, however, turned to Herod's advantage. For, beginning with raids<sup>c</sup> upon the enemy's territory, he mustered a large body of cavalry, flung them at the foe in the neighbourhood of Diospolis<sup>d</sup> and, though he met with a stubborn

two namesakes (Reinach). In the parallel account, *A. xv.* 104, he is not called a Parthian.

<sup>a</sup> § 360.

<sup>b</sup> Or "reprisals."

<sup>c</sup> In Coele-Syria, not (as stated in Shilleto's Whiston) Lydda, which only received the name Diospolis at a later date ; it has been mentioned in § 132.

Herod's  
war with  
the Arab  
32 B.C.

καρτερῶς ἀντιπαραταξαμένων. πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἥπταν  
μέγα γίνεται κίνημα τῶν Ἀράβων, καὶ συν-  
αθροισθέντες εἰς Κάναθα τῆς κοίλης Συρίας ἅπειροι  
367 τὸ πλήθος τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἔμενον. ἔνθα μετὰ  
τῆς δυνάμεως Ἡρώδης ἐπελθὼν ἐπειράτο προ-  
μηθέστερον ἀφηγεῖσθαι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ στρατό-  
πεδον ἐκέλευε τειχίζειν. οὐ μὴν ὑπήκουσεν τὸ  
πλήθος, ἀλλὰ τῇ προτέρᾳ νίκῃ τεθαρρηκότες  
ῶρμησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀραβας. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν  
πρώτην ἐμβολὴν τραπέντας ἐδίωκον, ἐπιβούλευ-  
ται δὲ Ἡρώδης ἐν τῇ διώξει, τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Κανά-  
θων ἐπιχωρίους ἀνέντος Ἀθηνίωνος, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ  
368 τῶν Κλεοπάτρας στρατηγῶν αἱεὶ διάφορος· πρὸς  
γὰρ τὴν τούτων ἐπίθεσιν ἀναθαρρήσαντες οἱ Ἀρα-  
βες ἐπιστρέφονται καὶ συνάψαντες τὸ πλήθος περὶ  
πετρώδη καὶ δύσβατα χωρία τοὺς Ἡράδον τρέ-  
πονται πλεῖστόν τε αὐτῶν φόνον εἰργάσαντο. οἱ  
δὲ διασωθέντες ἐκ τῆς μάχης εἰς Ὁρμιζα κατα-  
φεύγουσιν, ὅπου καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν περι-  
σχόντες αὔτανδρον εἶλον οἱ Ἀραβες.

369 (3) Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς βοήθειαν  
ἄγων Ἡρώδης παρῆν τῆς χρείας ὑστέραν. ταύ-  
της τῆς πληγῆς αἴτιον αὐτῷ τὸ τῶν ταξιάρχων  
ἀπειθὲς κατέστη· μὴ γὰρ ἐξαπιναίου τῆς συμ-  
βολῆς γενομένης οὐδ' ἄν Ἀθηνίων εὑρεν καιρὸν  
ἐπιβούλησ. ἐτιμωρήσατο μέντοι τοὺς Ἀραβας  
αὗθις ἀεὶ τὴν χώραν κατατρέχων, ὡς ἀνακαλέ-  
370 σασθαι τὴν μίαν αὐτοῖς νίκην πολλάκις. ἀμυνο-  
μένω δὲ τοὺς ἔχθροὺς ἐπιπίπτει συμφορὰ δαι-  
μόνιος ἄλλη, κατ' ἔτος μὲν τῆς βασιλείας ἔβδομον,

<sup>a</sup> Canata or Cana in *J. xv. 112.*

<sup>b</sup> Unidentified; the name is not mentioned in *A.*

resistance, defeated them. This defeat occasioned a great commotion among the Arabs, who assembled in vast numbers at Canatha<sup>a</sup> in Coele-Syria and there awaited the Jews. Herod, arriving with his troops, endeavoured to conduct operations with due caution and ordered the camp to be fortified. His orders, however, were defied by the rank and file, who, flushed with their recent victory, rushed upon the Arabs. With their first charge they routed them and followed at their heels ; but during the pursuit a snare was laid for Herod by Athenion, one of Cleopatra's generals, who had always been hostile to him, and now let loose upon him the natives of Canatha. Encouraged by their allies' attack, the Arabs faced about and, after uniting their forces on rocky and difficult ground, routed Herod's troops with immense slaughter. Those who escaped from the battle took refuge in Ormiza,<sup>b</sup> where, however, the Arabs surrounded and captured their camp with all its defenders.

(3) Shortly after this disaster Herod arrived with reinforcements, too late to be of use. This calamity was brought upon him by the insubordination of the divisional officers ; for, had they not precipitated an engagement, Athenion would have found no opportunity for a ruse. However, Herod subsequently avenged himself on the Arabs by constantly raiding their territory, so that they had frequent occasion to rue<sup>c</sup> their single victory. But while he was punishing his foes, he was visited by another calamity—an act of God which occurred in the seventh<sup>d</sup> year of

<sup>a</sup> Such, or “regretfully recall,” seems to be the meaning.

<sup>b</sup> Reckoning from the year of the taking of Jerusalem, 37 B.C., as the effective beginning of Herod's reign.

ἀκμάζοντος δὲ τοῦ περὶ Ἀκτιον πολέμου. ἀρχομένου γὰρ<sup>1</sup> ἔαρος ή γῆ σεισθεῖσα βοσκημάτων μὲν ἄπειρον πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων δὲ τρεῖς διέφθειρεν μυριάδας, τὸ δὲ στρατιωτικὸν ἔμεινεν ἀβλαβές·  
 371 ὑπαιθρογ γὰρ ηὐλίζετο. καν τούτῳ τοὺς Ἀραβας ἐπὶ μεῖζοι θράσος ἦρεν ή φήμη προσλογοποιοῦσα τοὺς σκυθρωποῖς ἀεὶ τι χαλεπώτερον· ὡς γοῦν ἀπάσης Ἰουδαίας κατερριμμένης οἰηθέντες ἐρήμου τῆς χώρας κρατήσειν ὥρμησαν εἰς αὐτήν, προθυσάμεινοι τοὺς πρέσβεις οἱ παρὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔτυχον  
 372 ἥκοντες πρὸς αὐτούς. πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐμβολὴν καταπλαγὴν τὸ πλῆθος<sup>2</sup> καὶ μεγέθει συμφορῶν ἐπαλλήλων ἕκλυτον συναγαγὼν Ἡρώδης ἐπειρᾶτο παρορμᾶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμυναν λέγων τοιάδε·  
 373 (4) "Παραλογώτατά μοι δοκεῖ τὸ παρὸν ὑμῶν καθάπτεσθαι δέος· πρὸς μέν γε τὰς δαιμονίους πληγὰς ἀθυμεῖν εἰκὸς ἦν, τὸ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρωπίνην ἔφοδον πάσχειν ἀνάνδρων.<sup>3</sup> ἐγὼ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἀποδέω κατεπτηχέναι τοὺς πολεμίους μετὰ τὸν σεισμόν, ὥσθ' ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸν θεὸν Ἀραψιν δέλεαρ τοῦτο καθεικέναι τοῦ δοῦναι δίκας ἡμῖν· οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ὅπλοις ἢ χερσὶν πεποιθότες ὅσον ταῖς αὐτομάτοις ἡμῶν συμφοραῖς ἥκον· σφαλερὰ δ' ἐλπὶς οὐκ ἐξ οἰκείας ἴσχυος ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀλλο-  
 374 τρίας ἡρτημένη κακοπραγίας. οὕτε δὲ τὸ δυστυχεῖν οὕτε τούναντίον ἐν ἀνθρώποις βέβαιον, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐπαμειβομένην εἰς ἔκάτερα τὴν τύχην.

<sup>1</sup> ἀρχ. γὰρ C: κατὰ γὰρ ἀρχομένου the rest: καὶ γὰρ ἀρχ. Destinon.

<sup>2</sup> ἔθρος LVRC.

<sup>3</sup> ἀνανδρον PAM Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. B. iii. 433; Josephus may have known Virgil's description of rumour (*Fama*). Aen. iv. 173 ff.

<sup>b</sup> This speech is quite independent of that contained in  
 174

his reign, when the war of Actium was at its height. In the early spring an earthquake destroyed cattle innumerable and thirty thousand souls; but the army, being quartered in the open, escaped injury. At the same moment the confidence of the Arabs rose, stimulated by rumour which always exaggerates the horrors of a tragedy.<sup>a</sup> Imagining that the whole of Judaea was in ruins and that they had only to take possession of an abandoned country, they hastened to invade it, after massacring the envoys whom the Jews had sent to them. So dismayed were the people at this invasion, and so demoralized by the magnitude of these successive disasters, that Herod called them together and endeavoured to rouse them to resistance by the following speech.<sup>b</sup>

(4) "This alarm which has now laid hold of you seems to me most unreasonable. To be disheartened by the visitations of heaven was natural; but to be similarly despondent at the attack of a human foe is unmanly. For my part, far from being intimidated by the enemy's invasion following the earthquake, I regard that catastrophe as a snare which God has laid to decoy the Arabs and deliver them up to our vengeance. It is not because they have confidence in their weapons or their might that they are here, but because they count on our accidental calamities; but hopes are fallacious which are dependent not on one's own strength, but on the misadventures of another. Moreover, with mankind fortune is never permanently either adverse or favourable; one sees her veering from one mood to the other. Of this you

A. xv. 127. It in some respects recalls that of Pericles in Thuc. ii. 60 ff. (the earthquake is here a "visitation of heaven," as the plague is there).

Earthq.  
in Pales.  
spring c.  
31 B.C.

Herod's  
address  
to his  
disconsolate  
troops.

καὶ τοῦτο μάθοιτ' ἂν ἐξ οἰκείων ὑποδειγμάτων· τῇ γοῦν προτέρᾳ μάχῃ κρατούντων ἐκράτησαν ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς νῦν ἀλώσονται κρατήσειν δοκοῦντες. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄγαν πεποιθός ἀφύλακτον, οἱ φόβοι δὲ διδάσκουσιν προμήθειαν· ὥστε ἔμοιγε κάκ τοῦ δεδοικότος ὑμῶν<sup>1</sup>

375 παρίσταται θαρρεῖν. ὅτε γὰρ ἐθρασύνεσθε πέρα τοῦ δέοντος καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἔχθρων παρὰ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην ἐξωρμήσατε, καιρὸν ἔσχεν ἡ Ἀθηνίωνος ἐνέδρα· τυνὶ δὲ ὁ ὄκνος ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν ἄθυμον

376 ἀσφάλειαν ἔμοὶ νίκης ἐγγυᾶται. χρὴ μέντοι γε μέχρι τοῦ μέλλειν<sup>2</sup> οὕτως ἔχειν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις ἔγείραι τὰ φρονήματα καὶ πεῖσαι τοὺς ἀσεβεστάτους, ὡς οὗτ' ἀνθρώπειόν τι κακὸν οὕτε δαιμόνιον ταπεινώσει ποτὲ τὴν Ἰουδαίων ἀνδραγαθίαν, ἐφ' ὅσον τὰς ψυχὰς ἔχουσιν, οὐδὲ περιόφεται τις "Αραβα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγαθῶν δεσπότην γενόμενον, δν παρ' ὀλίγον<sup>3</sup> πολλάκις αἰχμιάλωτον ἔλαβεν.

377 μηδ' ὑμᾶς ταρασσέτω τὰ τῶν ἀφύχων κινήματα, μηδ' ὑπολαμβάνετε τὸν σεισμὸν ἐτέρας συμφορᾶς τέρας γεγονέναι· φυσικὰ γὰρ τὰ τῶν στοιχείων πάθη καὶ οὐδὲν ἀνθρώποις πλέον ἡ τὴν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς βλάβην ἐπιφέρεται. λοιμοῦ μὲν γὰρ καὶ λιμοῦ καὶ τῶν χθονίων βρασμῶν προγένοιτ' ἀν τι σημεῖον βραχύτερον, αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα περιγραφὴν ἔχει τὸ μέγεθος. ἐπεὶ τι δύναται μεῖζον ἡμᾶς τοῦ σει-

378 σμοῦ βλάψαι καὶ κρατήσας ὁ πόλεμος<sup>4</sup>; τέρας

<sup>1</sup> δεδοικέναι ὑμᾶς ΡΑΜ.<sup>2</sup> ante proelium Lat., reading μέχρι τοῦ πολεμεῖν.<sup>3</sup> παρὰ λόγον LVR.<sup>4</sup> πολέμιος Cocceius.

• " During the period of waiting " seems to be the meaning if the text is right.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Aristot. Meteor. ii. 8 for premonitions of earthquakes.

might find an illustration in your own experiences : conquerors in the first battle you were then conquered by our enemies, who in all probability, expecting a victory, will now be defeated. For excessive confidence throws men off their guard, whereas fear teaches precaution ; so that your very timidity is to me reassuring. When you displayed uncalled for temerity and, disdaining my advice, dashed out upon the foe, Athenion had his opportunity for a ruse ; but now your hesitation and apparent despondency are to me a sure pledge of victory. Appropriate, however, as are such feelings before an impending battle,<sup>a</sup> when once in action your spirits must be roused and you must teach these scoundrels that no disaster, whether inflicted by God or man, will ever reduce the valour of Jews, so long as they have breath in their bodies, and that not one of them will consent to see his property pass into the hands of an Arab, who has often so narrowly escaped becoming his prisoner.

" Do not let the convulsions of inanimate nature disturb you or imagine that the earthquake is a portent of a further disaster. These accidents to which the elements are subject have physical causes, and beyond the immediate injury inflicted bring no further consequences to mankind. A pestilence, a famine, subterranean commotions may possibly be preceded by some slighter premonition,<sup>b</sup> but these catastrophes themselves are limited by their very magnitude to their instant effects. I ask you, can war,<sup>c</sup> even if we are defeated, do us more harm than the earthquake ?

" Our adversaries, on the other hand, have one

<sup>c</sup> Or, with the conjectural reading, " the enemy."

μέντοι μέγιστοι ἀλώσεως γέγονεν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς  
οὐκ αὐτομάτως οὐδὲ διὰ χειρὸς ἀλλοτρίας, οἱ  
πρέσβεις ἡμετέρους παρὰ τὸν πάντων ἀνθρώπων  
ιόμον ὡμῶς ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τοιαῦτα τῷ θεῷ  
θύματα περὶ τοῦ πολέμου κατέστεψαν.<sup>1</sup> ἀλλ' οὐ  
διαφεύξονται τὸν μέγαν ὀφθαλμὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν  
ἀνίκητον δεξιάν, δώσουσιν δ' ἡμῖν αὐτίκα δίκας,  
ἄν τοῦ πατρίου φρονήματος ἥδη σπάσαντες τιμω-  
379 ροὶ τῶν παρεσποιδημένων ἀναστῶμεν. ἵτω τις  
οὐχ ὑπὲρ γυναικὸς οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τέκνων οὐδ' ὑπὲρ  
κινδυνευούσης πατρίδος, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν πρέσβεων  
ἀμυνόμενος· ἐκεῖνοι στρατηγήσουσιν τοῦ πολέμου  
τῶν ζώντων ἡμῶν<sup>2</sup> ἀμεινον. προκινδυνεύσω δὲ  
κάγὼ χρώμενος ὑμῖν πειθηνίοις· εὖ γὰρ ἵστε τὴν  
έαντῶν ἀιδρείαν ἀνυπόστατον, ἐὰν μὴ προπετείᾳ  
τινι βλαβῆτε.

380 (5) Τούτοις παρακροτήσας τὸν στρατὸν ὡς  
έώρα προθύμους, ἔθυεν τῷ θεῷ καὶ μετὰ τὴν  
θυσίην διέβαιεν τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν μετὰ τῆς  
δυτάμεως. στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ περὶ Φιλ-  
αδέλφειαν ἐγγὺς τῶν πολεμίων περὶ τοῦ μεταξὺ  
φρουρίου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡκροβολίζετο βουλόμενος  
ἐν τάχει συμβαλεῖν· ἔτυχον γὰρ κάκενοί τινας  
προπεπομφότες τοὺς καταληφομένους τὸ ἔρυμα.

381 τούτους μὲν οὖν ἀπεκρούσαντο ταχέως οἱ πεμ-  
φθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὸν λόφον κατέσχον,   
αὐτὸς δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν προάγων τὴν δύναμιν εἰς  
μάχην παρετάσσετο καὶ προυκαλεῖτο τοὺς Ἀρα-  
βας. ὡς δ' οὐδεὶς ἐπεξήγει, δεινὴ γάρ τις αὐτοὺς  
κατάπληξις εἶχε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πλήθους ὁ στρατηγὸς

<sup>1</sup> C: κατεστρεψαν the rest.

<sup>2</sup> om. P.A.

<sup>a</sup> Rabbath Ammon, the ancient capital of the Ammonites.

grave portent of impending disaster in a recent incident, due neither to natural causes nor to the action of others. Contrary to the universal law of mankind they have brutally murdered our ambassadors; such are the garlanded victims which they have offered to God to obtain success! But they will not escape his mighty eye, his invincible right hand; and to us they will soon answer for their crimes if, with some vestige of the spirit of our fathers, we now arise to avenge this violation of treaties. Let us each go into action not to defend wife or children or country at stake, but to avenge our envoys. They will conduct the campaign better than we who are alive. I myself will bear the brunt of the battle, if I have you obedient at my back; for, be assured, your courage is irresistible, if you do not by some reckless action bring injury upon yourselves."

(5) Having by this speech reanimated his army, Herod, observing their ardour, offered sacrifice to God, and then proceeded to cross the Jordan with his troops. Encamping in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia,<sup>a</sup> close to the enemy, and anxious to force on an engagement, he began skirmishing with them for the possession of a fort which lay between the opposing lines. The enemy on their side had sent forward a detachment to occupy this post; the party sent by the king promptly beat them off and secured the hill. Daily Herod marched out his troops, formed them in battle array, and challenged the Arabs to combat. But when none came out to oppose him—for a dire consternation had seized them and, even more than the rank and file,<sup>b</sup> their

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps "in presence of his troops."

"Ελθεμος αὗτος ἦν τῷ δέει, προσελθὼν ἐσπάραττεν  
 382 αὐτῶν τὸ χαράκωμα. καὶ τούτῳ συναναγκα-  
 σθέντες ἔξιασιν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἄτακτοι καὶ πε-  
 φυρμένοι τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν οἱ πεζοί. πλήθει μὲν οὖν  
 τῶν Ἰουδαίων περιῆσαι, ἐλείποντο δὲ ταῖς προ-  
 θυμίαις, καίτοι διὰ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τῆς νίκης  
 ὅντες καὶ αὐτοὶ παράβολοι.

383 (6) Διὸ μέχρι μὲν ἀντεῖχον οὐ πολὺς ἦν αὐτῶν  
 φόνος, ὡς δ' ὑπέδειξαν τὰ νῶτα, πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup>  
 τῶν Ἰουδαίων πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν συμ-  
 πατούμενοι διεφθείροντο· πεντακισχίλιοι γοῦν ἔπε-  
 σον ἐν τῇ τροπῇ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἔφθη συν-  
 ωσθὲν εἰς τὸ χαράκωμα. τούτους περισχών ἐπολι-  
 ὄρκει, καὶ μέλλοντας ἀλώσεσθαι τοῖς ὅπλοις προ-  
 κατήπειγεν ἡ δίψα τῶν ὑδάτων ἐπιλειπόντων.

384 ὑπερηφάνει δὲ πρεσβευομένους ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ  
 λύτρα διδόντων πεντακόσια τάλαντα μᾶλλον ἐν-  
 ἔκειτο. τοῦ δὲ δίψους ἐκκαίοντος ἔξιόντες κατὰ  
 πλῆθος ἐνεχείριζον σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις  
 ἐκόντες, ὡς πέντε μὲν ἡμέραις τετρακισχιλίους  
 δεθῆναι, τῇ δ' ἕκτῃ τὸ λειπόμενον πλῆθος ὑπ'  
 ἀπογνώσεως ἔξελθεν ἐπὶ μάχην οἷς συμβαλῶν  
 385 Ἡρώδης πάλιν εἰς ἐπτακισχιλίους κτείνει. τηλι-  
 καύτῃ πληγῇ τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἀμυνάμενος<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
 σβέσας τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰ φρονήματα προύκοψεν  
 ὥστε καὶ προστάτης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους αἴρεθῆναι.

386 (xx. 1) Μεταλαμβάνει δὲ αὐτὸν εὐθέως ἡ  
 περὶ τῶν ὄλων πραγμάτων φροντὶς διὰ τὴν πρὸς  
 Ἀντώνιον φιλίαν, Καίσαρος περὶ Ἀκτιον νευικη-

<sup>1</sup> Bekker: ἀμυνόμενος MSS.

general Elthemus was paralysed<sup>a</sup> with fright—the king advanced and proceeded to tear up their palisades. Thereupon, impelled by necessity, the enemy at length emerged for action, in disorder, infantry and cavalry intermingled. Superior in numbers to the Jews, they had less stomach for a fight, though despair of success rendered even them reckless.

(6) Consequently, so long as they held out, their casualties were slight ; but when they turned their backs multitudes were slain by the Jews, and many others were trodden to death by their own men. Five thousand fell in the rout ; the rest of the crowd succeeded in forcing their way into their entrenched camp. There Herod surrounded and besieged them, and they must have succumbed to an assault, had not the failure of their water-supply and thirst precipitated their capitulation. The king treated their envoys with scorn, and, although they offered a ransom of five hundred talents, only pressed his attack the harder. Parched with thirst, the Arabs came out in crowds and willingly surrendered to the Jews, so that in five days four thousand were made prisoners. On the sixth the remnant in desperation came forth to battle ; these Herod engaged, killing some seven thousand more. Having, by this crushing blow, punished Arabia and broken the spirit of its people, he gained such a reputation with them that the nation chose him for its Protector.

(xx. 1) But, this peril surmounted, Herod was instantly plunged into anxiety about the security of his position. He was Antony's friend, and Antony had been defeated by Caesar<sup>b</sup> at Actium. (In reality,

<sup>a</sup> Literally “dry.”

<sup>b</sup> Octavius.

κότος. παρεῖχεν μέντοι δέοντα πλέον ἥ ἔπασχεν·  
οὕπω γὰρ ἑαλωκέναι Καῖσαρ Ἀντώνιον ἔκρινεν  
 387 Ἰπράδου συμμένοντος. ὃ γε μὴν βασιλεὺς ὅμόσε  
χωρῆσαι τῷ κινδύνῳ διέγνω, καὶ πλεύσας εἰς  
‘Ρόδον, ἐνθα διέτριβεν Καῖσαρ, πρόσεισιν αὐτῷ  
δίχα διαδήματος, τὴν μὲν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὸ σχῆμα  
ἰδιώτης, τὸ δὲ φρόνημα βασιλεύς. μηδὲν γοῦν  
τῆς ἀληθείας ὑποστειλάμενος ἄντικρυς εἶπεν·  
 388 Ἐγώ, Καῖσαρ, ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου βασιλεὺς<sup>1</sup> γενό-  
μενος ἐν πᾶσιν ὁμολογῶ γεγονέναι χρήσιμος  
Ἀντωνίω. καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτ’ ἄν ὑποστειλαίμην  
εἰπεῖν, ὅτι πάντως ἄν με μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐπεί-  
ρασας ἀχώριστον,<sup>2</sup> εἰ μὴ διεκώλυσαν Ἀραβεῖς.  
καὶ συμμαχίαν μέντοι γε αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν  
καὶ σίτου πολλὰς ἐπεμφὰ μυριάδας, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ  
μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀκτίῳ πληγὴν κατέλιπον τὸν εὐ-  
 389 εργέτην, ἐγενόμην δὲ σύμβουλος ἄριστος, ὡς οὐκέτι  
χρήσιμος ἦμην σύμμαχος, μίαν εἶναι λέγων τῶν  
πταισθέντων διόρθωσιν τὸν Κλεοπάτρας θάνατον.  
ἢν ἀνελόντι καὶ χρήματα καὶ τείχη πρὸς ἀσφά-  
λειαν καὶ στρατιὰν καὶ ἐμαυτὸν ὑπισχνούμην  
 390 κοινωνὸν τοῦ πρὸς σὲ πολέμου. τοῦ δ’ ἄρα τὰς  
ἀκοὰς ἀπέφραξαν οἱ Κλεοπατρας ἴμεροι καὶ θεὸς  
ὅ σοὶ τὸ κρατεῖν χαριζόμενος. συνήττημαι δ’  
Ἀντωνίω καὶ τέθεικα μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνου τύχης τὸ  
διάδημα. πρὸς σὲ δὲ ἥλθον ἔχων τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς  
σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα καὶ προλαβὼν ἐξετασθήσεσθαι,  
ποταπὸς φίλος, οὐ τίνος, ἐγενόμην.”

391 (2) Πρὸς ταῦτα Καῖσαρ “ἀλλὰ σώζου γε,”

<sup>1</sup> βασ.λεὺς P Lat.: τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς the rest.

<sup>2</sup> ἀχώριστον Havercamp from a Leyden ms.: ἀχάριστον (“a grateful ally”) PAM Lat.: om. the rest.

he inspired more fear than he felt himself ; for Caesar considered his victory to be incomplete so long as Herod remained Antony's ally).<sup>a</sup> The king, nevertheless, resolved to confront the danger and, having sailed to Rhodes, where Caesar was sojourning, presented himself before him without a diadem, a commoner in dress and demeanour, but with the proud spirit of a king. His speech was direct ; he told the truth without reserve.

Battle of  
Actium  
September  
31 B.C.  
  
Herod  
makes his  
peace with  
Octavius  
30 B.C.

" Caesar," he said, " I was made king by Antony, and I acknowledge that I have in all things devoted my services to him. Nor will I shrink from saying that, had not the Arabs detained me, you would assuredly have found me in arms inseparable from his side. I sent him, however, such auxiliary troops as I could and many thousand measures of corn ; nor even after his defeat at Actium did I desert my benefactor. When no longer useful as an ally, I became his best counsellor ; I told him the one remedy for his disasters—the death of Cleopatra. Would he but kill her, I promised him money, walls to protect him, an army, and myself as his brother in arms in the war against you. But his ears, it seems, were stopped by his infatuation for Cleopatra and by God who has granted you the mastery. I share Antony's defeat and with his downfall lay down my diadem. I am come to you resting my hope of safety upon my integrity, and presuming that the subject of inquiry will be not whose friend, but how loyal a friend, I have been."

(2) To this Caesar replied : " Nay, be assured of

<sup>a</sup> An exaggerated statement, absent from *A.*

ἔφη, “καὶ βασίλευε τὸν βεβαιότερον· ἄξιος γὰρ εἰ πολλῶν ἄρχειν οὕτω φιλίας προϊστάμενος. πειρῶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς εὐτυχεστέροις διαμένειν πιστός, ὡς ἔγωγε λαμπροτάτας ὑπὲρ τοῦ σοῦ φρονήματος ἐλπίδας ἔχω. καλῶς μέντοι γε ἐποίησεν Ἀντώνιος Κλεοπάτρᾳ πεισθεὶς μᾶλλον ἢ σοί· καὶ

392 γὰρ σὲ κεκερδήκαμεν ἐκ τῆς ἀνοίας αὐτοῦ. κατάρχεις δ’, ὡς ἕοικεν, εὐποιίας δι’ ὃν μοι γράφει Κύνιτος Δίδιος<sup>1</sup> συμμαχίαν σε πεπομφέναι πρὸς τοὺς μονομάχους αὐτῷ. τὸν μὲν οὖν δόγματι τὸ βέβαιόν σοι τῆς βασιλείας ἔξαγγέλλω, πειράσομαι δὲ καὶ αὗθις ἀγαθόν τί σε ποιεῖν, ὡς μὴ ζητοίης Ἀντώνιον.”

393 (3) Τούτοις φιλοφρονησάμενος τὸν βασιλέα καὶ περιθεὶς αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα δόγματι διεσήμαινεν τὴν δωρεάν, ἐνῷ πολλὰ μεγαλοφρόνως εἰς ἔπαινον τάγδρὸς ἐφθέγξατο. ὁ δὲ δώροις ἐπιμειλιξάμενος αὐτὸν ἐξητεῖτό τια τῶν Ἀντωνίου φίλων Ἀλεξâνδρη ίκέτην γενόμενον· ἐνίκα δὲ ἡ Καίσαρος ὀργὴ πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ μεμφορένου τὸν ἐξαιτούμενον

394 οἷς διεκρούσατο τὴν δέησιν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πορευόμενον ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον διὰ Συρίας Καίσαρα παντὶ τῷ βασιλικῷ πλούτῳ δεξάμενος Ἡρώδης τότε πρῶτον καὶ συνιππάσατο ποιουμένῳ περὶ Πτολεμαΐδα τῆς δυνάμεως ἐξέτασιν εἰστίασέν τε σὺν ἅπασιν τοῖς φίλοις· μεθ’ οὓς καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ στρα-

395 τιᾳ πρὸς εὐωχίαν πάντα διέδωκεν. προννόησεν

<sup>1</sup> Κύνιτος Δίδιος conj. Hudson from Dio Cass. li. 7: καὶ Δίδιος Niese: καὶ Βεντίδιος or Βεντίδιος MSS.

<sup>a</sup> After the battle of Actium Cleopatra, seeking aid in all directions, sent for some gladiators who were being trained for Antony at Trapezus; the gladiators started but were intercepted.

your safety, and reign henceforth more securely than before. So staunch a champion of the claims of friendship deserves to be ruler over many subjects. Endeavour to remain as loyal to those who have been more fortunate ; since, for my part, I entertain the most brilliant hopes for your high spirit. Antony, however, did well in obeying Cleopatra's behests rather than yours ; for through his folly we have gained you. But you have already, it seems, done me a service ; for Quintus Didius writes to me that you have sent a force to assist him against the gladiators.<sup>a</sup> I therefore now confirm your kingdom to you by decree ; and hereafter I shall endeavour to confer upon you some further benefit, that you may not feel the loss of Antony."

(3) Having thus graciously addressed the king, he placed the diadem on his head, and publicly notified this award by a decree, in which he expressed his commendation of the honoured man in ample and generous terms. Herod, after propitiating Caesar with presents, then sought to obtain pardon for Alexas, one of Antony's friends, who had come to sue for mercy ; but here Caesar's resentment was too strong for him, and with many bitter complaints against Herod's client the emperor rejected his petition. Subsequently, when Caesar passed through Syria on his way to Egypt, Herod entertained him for the first time with all the resources of his realm ; he accompanied the emperor on horseback when he reviewed his troops at Ptolemais ; he entertained him and all his friends at a banquet ; and he followed this up by making ample provision for the good cheer of the rest of the army. Then, for the march

Herod's services to Octavius in his Egyptian campaign 30 B.C.

δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀνύδρου πορευομένοις μέχρι Πηλούσίου παρασχεῖν ὕδωρ ἄφθονον ἐπανιοῦσί τε ὅμοιώς, οὐδὲ ἔστιν ὅ τι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐνεδέησεν τῇ δυνάμει. δόξα γοῦν αὐτῷ τε Καίσαρι καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις παρέστη πολλῷ βραχυτέραν Ἡρώδην περιεῖναι βασιλείαν πρὸς ἄ παρέσχεν. διὰ τοῦτο, ὡς ἦκεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἥδη Κλεοπάτρας καὶ Ἀντωνίου τεθνεώτων, οὐ μόγον αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἀλλαῖς τιμαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ προσέθηκεν τήν τε ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας ἀποτμηθεῖσαν χώραν καὶ ἔξωθεν Γάδara καὶ Ἰππον καὶ Σαμάρειαν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τῶν παραλίων Γάζαν καὶ Ἀνθηδόναν καὶ Ἰόππην καὶ Στράτωνος πύργον· ἐδωρήσατο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος τετρακοσίους Γαλάτας, οἱ πρότεροι ἐδορυφόρουν Κλεοπάτραν. οὐδὲν δὲ οὕτως ἐνῆγεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς δωρεὰς ὡς τὸ μεγαλόφρον τοῦ λαμβάνοντος.

398 (4) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν πρώτην Ἀκτιάδα προστίθησιν αὐτοῦ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τόν τε Τράχωνα καλούμενον καὶ τὴν προσεχῆ Βαταναίαν τε καὶ τὴν Αὔρανῖτιν χώραν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιᾶσδε Ζηνόδωρος ὁ τὸν Λυσανίου μεμισθωμένος οἶκον οὐ διέλειπεν ἐπαφεὶς τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Τράχωνος ληστὰς Δαμασκηνοῖς. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Οὐάρρωνα τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῆς Συρίας καταφυγόντες ἐδεήθησαν δηλῶσαι τὴν συμφορὰν αὐτῶν Καίσαρι. Καῖσαρ δὲ γνοὺς ἀντεπέστελλεν ἐξ-  
399 αιρεθῆναι τὸ ληστήριον. στρατεύσας οὖν Οὐάρρων

<sup>a</sup> §§ 361 f.<sup>b</sup> The later Caesarea.<sup>c</sup> "The games at Actium were celebrated for the first

to Pelusium across the arid desert, and likewise for the return, he took care to furnish the troops with abundance of water; in short, there were no necessaries which the army lacked. The thought could not but occur both to Caesar himself and to his soldiers that Herod's realm was far too restricted, in comparison with the services which he had rendered them. Accordingly, when Caesar reached Egypt, after the death of Cleopatra and Antony, he not only conferred new honours upon him, but also annexed to his kingdom the territory which Cleopatra had appropriated,<sup>a</sup> with the addition of Gadara, Annexion  
to Herod  
kingdom.  
Hippos and Samaria and the maritime towns of Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and Strato's Tower.<sup>b</sup> He further presented him, as a bodyguard, with four hundred Gauls, who had formerly served Cleopatra in the same capacity. And nothing so strongly moved the emperor to this liberality as the generous spirit of him who was the object of it.

(4) After the first period of the Actian era,<sup>c</sup> Subsequent additions  
(Trachonitis etc.)  
c. 23 B.C.  
Caesar added to Herod's realm the country called Trachonitis, with the adjacent districts of Batanaea and Auranitis. The occasion of this grant was as follows. Zenodorus, who had taken on lease the domain of Lysanias, was perpetually setting the brigands of Trachonitis to molest the inhabitants of Damascus. The latter fled for protection to Varro, the governor of Syria, and besought him to report their sufferings to Caesar; on learning the facts Caesar sent back orders to exterminate the bandits. Varro, accordingly, led out his troops, cleared the time in 28 B.C., then in the years 24, 20, 16 B.C., etc. That enlargement of territory therefore took place 'after the course of the first Actiad had run,' i.e. in the end of 24 B.C. or beginning of 23 B.C." (Schürer).

καθαιρεῖ τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν γῆν καὶ ἀφαιρεῖται Ζηγρόδωρον· ἦν ὑστερον Καίσαρ, ὡς μὴ γένοιτο πάλιν δρμητήριον τοῖς λησταῖς ἐπὶ τὴν Δαμασκόν, Ἡρώδῃ δίδωσιν. κατέστησεν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Συρίας ὅλης ἐπίτροπον ἔτει δεκάτῳ πάλιν ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, ὡς μηδὲν ἔξεναι δίχα τῆς ἐκείνου 400 συμβουλίας τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις διοικεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τελευτᾶ Ζηγρόδωρος, προσένειμεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν μεταξὺ Τράχωις καὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας γῆν ἄπασαν. ὃ δὲ τούτων Ἡρώδῃ μεῖζον ἦν, ὑπὸ μὲν Καίσαρος ἐφιλεῖτο μετ' Ἀγρίππαν, ὑπ' Ἀγρίππα δὲ μετὰ Καίσαρα. ἔνθεν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον μὲν εὐδαιμονίας προύκοψεν, εἰς μεῖζον δ' ἔξήρθη φρόνημα καὶ τὸ πλέον τῆς μεγαλονοίας ἐπέτεινεν εἰς εὐσέβειαν.

401 (xxi. 1) Πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ γοῦν ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτὸν τε τὸν ναὸν ἐπεσκεύασεν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνετειχίσατο χώραν τῆς οὕσης διπλασίονα ἀμέτροις μὲν χρησάμενος τοῖς ἀναλόμασιν ἀνυπερβλήτῳ δὲ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ. τεκμήριον δὲ ἥσαι αἱ μεγάλαι στοαι περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ βόρειον ἐπαὐτῷ φρούριον· ἀς μὲν γὰρ ἀνωκοδόμησεν ἐκ θεμελίων, ὃ δ' ἐπισκευάσας πλούτῳ δαψιλεῖ κατούδεν τῶν βασιλείων ἔλαττον Ἀντωνίαν ἐκάλεσει 402 εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίου τιμὴν. τό γε μὴν ἔαυτοι βασίλειον κατὰ τὴν ἄγω δειμάριενος πόλιν, δύο τοὺς μεγίστους καὶ περικαλλεστάτους οἴκους, οἵς

<sup>a</sup> M. Vipsanius Agrippa (63-12 b.c.), the devoted friend minister and presumptive successor to Augustus, builder of the Pantheon and organizer of the Roman navy.

<sup>b</sup> "Or thanks to this favoured position."

<sup>c</sup> According to A. xv. 380 "the eighteenth year": the

district of these pests and deprived Zenodorus of his tenure. This was the territory which Caesar subsequently presented to Herod, to prevent it from again being used by the brigands as a base for raids upon Damascus. When ten years after his first visit <sup>c. 20 B.C.</sup> Caesar returned to the province, he, moreover, gave Herod the position of procurator of all Syria, for the (Roman) procurators were forbidden to take any measures without his concurrence. Finally, on the death of Zenodorus, he further assigned to him all the territory between Trachonitis and Galilee. But what Herod valued more than all these privileges was that in Caesar's affection he stood next after Agrippa,<sup>a</sup> in Agrippa's next after Caesar. Thenceforth <sup>b</sup> he advanced to the utmost prosperity ; his noble spirit rose to greater heights, and his lofty ambition was mainly directed to works of piety.

(XXI. 1) Thus, in the fifteenth year <sup>c</sup> of his reign, he restored the Temple and, by erecting new foundation-walls, enlarged the surrounding area to double its former extent. The expenditure devoted to this work was incalculable, its magnificence never surpassed ; as evidence one would have pointed to the great colonnades around the Temple courts and to the fortress which dominated it on the north. The colonnades Herod reconstructed from the foundations ; the fortress he restored at a lavish cost in a style no way inferior to that of a palace, and called it Antonia in honour of Antony. His own palace, which he erected in the upper city, comprised two most spacious and beautiful buildings, with which latter appears to be the correct date of the beginning of the work (Schürer), which was not completed till c. A.D. 28 (Gospel of S. John ii. 20).

Herod's  
buildings :  
reconstruc-  
tion of the  
Temple  
begun

*c. 20-19 B.C.*

The forte-  
of Antonia

The royal  
palace.

οὐδ' ὁ<sup>ι</sup> ναός πῃ συνεκρίνετο, προσηγόρευσεν ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων τὸν μὲν Καισάρειον τὸν δὲ Ἀγρίπ-πειον.

403 (2) Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ οἴκοις μόνον αὐτῶν τὴν μνήμην καὶ τὰς ἐπικλήσεις περιέγραψεν, διέβη δὲ εἰς ὅλας πόλεις αὐτῷ τὸ φιλότιμον. ἐν μέν γε τῇ Σαμαρείτιδι πόλιν καλλίστῳ περιβόλῳ τειχισά-μενος ἐπὶ σταδίους εἴκοσι καὶ καταγαγὼν ἔξακισ-χιλίους εἰς αὐτὴν οἰκήτορας, γῆν δὲ τούτοις προσ-τείμας λιπαρωτάτην, καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῷ κτίσματι ναόν τε ἐνιδρυσάμενος μέγιστον καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν τέμενος ἀποδείξας τῷ Καίσαρι τριῶν ἡμισταδίων, τὸ ἄστυ Σεβαστὴν ἐκάλεσεν· ἔξαίρετον δὲ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ παρέσχεν εὐνομίαν.

404 (3) Ἐπὶ τούτοις δωρησαμένου τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτὸν ἑτέρας προσθέσει χώρας, ὁ δὲ κάνταυθα ναὸν αὐτῷ λευκῆς μαρμάρου καθιδρύσατο παρὰ τὰς Ἰορδάνου πηγάς· καλεῖται δὲ Πάνειον ἢ τόπος. ἐνθα κορυφὴ μέν τις ὅρος εἰς ἄπειρον ὕψος ἀνατείνεται, παρὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπόρειον λαγόν τοις συνηρεφὲς ἄντρον ὑπανοίγει, δι' οὗ βαραθρώδης κρημνὸς εἰς ἀμέτρητον ἀπορρώγα βαθύνεται πλήθει τε ὕδατος ἀσαλεύτου καὶ τοῖς καθιμῶσίν

406 τι πρὸς ἔρευναν γῆς οὐδὲν μῆκος ἔξαρκεῖ. τοι δὲ ἄντρου κατὰ τὰς ἔξωθεν ρίζας ἀνατέλλουσιν αἱ πηγαὶ· καὶ γένεσις μέν, ὡς ἔνιοι δοκοῦσιν, ἐνθεὶ Ἰορδάνου, τὸ δὲ ἀκριβὲς ἐν τοῖς ἔξης δηλώσομεν

407 (4) Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐν Ἱεριχοῖ μεταξὶ Κύπρου τοῦ φρουρίου καὶ τῶν προτέρων βασι-

<sup>1</sup> οὐδὲ ὁ Bekker from a Leyden ms.: οὐδὲ the rest.

the Temple itself bore no comparison ; these he named after his friends, the one Caesareum, the other Agrippeum.

(2) He was not content, however, to commemorate his patrons' names by palaces only ; his munificence extended to the creation of whole cities. In the district of Samaria he built a town enclosed within magnificent walls twenty furlongs in length, introduced into it six thousand colonists, and gave them allotments of highly productive land. In the centre of this settlement he erected a massive temple, enclosed in ground, a furlong and a half in length, consecrated to Caesar ; while he named the town itself Sebaste. The inhabitants were given a privileged constitution.

(3) When, later on, through Caesar's bounty he received additional territory, Herod there too dedicated to him a temple of white marble near the sources of the Jordan, at a place called Paneion. At this spot a mountain<sup>a</sup> rears its summit to an immense height aloft ; at the base of the cliff is an opening into an overgrown cavern ; within this, plunging down to an immeasurable depth, is a yawning chasm, enclosing a volume of still water, the bottom of which no sounding-line has been found long enough to reach. Outside and from beneath the cavern well up the springs from which, as some think, the Jordan takes its rise ; but we will tell the true story of this in the sequel.<sup>b</sup>

(4) At Jericho, again, between the fortress of Cypros<sup>c</sup> and the former palace, the king constructed Paneas, later Caesarea Philippi, mod. *Banias*, see G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog. of Holy Land*, 473.

<sup>a</sup> See iii. 509 ff.

<sup>b</sup> Built by Herod in honour of his mother, § 417.

Foundation  
of Sebaste  
in Samaria

The Temp.  
of August  
at Paneion

λείων ἄλλα κατασκευάσας ἀμείνω καὶ χρησιμώτερα πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδημίας ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ὡνόμασεν φίλων. καθόλου δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὅντινα τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιτήδειον τόπον τῆς πρὸς Καισαρα τιμῆς γυμνὸν εἴασεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ἴδιαν χώραν ἐπλήρωσεν ναῶν, εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν αὐτοῦ τὰς τιμὰς ὑπερεξέχεεν καὶ πολλαῖς πόλεσιν ἐνιδρύσατο Καισάρεια.

408 (5) Κατιδών δὲ κάν τοῖς παραλίοις πόλιν ἥδη μὲν κάμνουσαν, Στράτωνος ἐκαλεῖτο πύργος, διὰ δὲ εὐφυίαν τοῦ χωρίου δέξασθαι δυναμένην τὸ φιλότιμον αὐτοῦ, πᾶσαν ἀνέκτισεν λευκῷ λίθῳ καὶ λαμπροτάτοις ἐκόσμησεν βασιλείοις, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα τὸ φύσει μεγαλόνουν ἐπεδείξατο. μεταξὺ γὰρ Δώρων καὶ Ἰόππης, ὃν ἡ πόλις μέση κεῖται, πᾶσαν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν τὴν παράλιον ἀλίμενον, ὡς πάντα τὸν τὴν Φοινίκην ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου παραπλέοντα σαλεύειν ἐν πελάγει διὰ τὴν ἐκ λιβὸς ἀπειλήν, ὡς καὶ μετρίως ἐπαυρίζοντι τηλικοῦτον ἐπεγείρεται<sup>1</sup> κῦμα πρὸς ταῖς πέτραις, ὥστε τὴν ὑποστροφὴν τοῦ κύματος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἔξαγριοῦν 409 τὴν θάλασσαν. ἀλλ' ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς ἀναλόμασιν καὶ τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ τικήσας τὴν φύσιν μείζονα μὲν τοῦ Πειραιῶς λιμένα κατεσκεύασεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μυχοῖς αὐτοῦ βαθεῖς ὅρμους ἐτέρους.

411 (6) Καθάπαν δ' ἔχων ἀντιπράσσοντα τὸν τόπον ἐφιλονείκησεν πρὸς τὴν δυσχέρειαν, ὡς τὴν μὲν ὀχυρότητα τῆς δομήσεως δυσάλωτον εἶναι τῇ θαλάσσῃ, τὸ δὲ κάλλος ὡς ἐπὶ μηδενὶ δυσκόλω κεκοσμῆσθαι. συμμετρησάμενος γὰρ ὅσον εἰρή-

<sup>1</sup> ἐπεγείρετο Ρ.Μ.: ἐγείρεται the rest.

new buildings, finer and more commodious for the reception of guests, and named them after the same friends.<sup>a</sup> In short, one can mention no suitable spot within his realm, which he left destitute of some mark of homage to Caesar. And then, after filling his own territory with temples, he let the memorials of his esteem overflow into the province and erected in numerous cities monuments to Caesar.

(5) His notice was attracted by a town on the coast, called Strato's Tower, which, though then dilapidated, was, from its advantageous situation, suited for the exercise of his liberality. This he entirely rebuilt with white stone, and adorned with the most magnificent palaces, displaying here, as nowhere else, the innate grandeur of his character. For the whole sea-board from Dora to Joppa, midway between which the city lies, was without a harbour, so that vessels bound for Egypt along the coast of Phoenicia had to ride at anchor in the open when menaced by the south-west wind; for even a moderate breeze from this quarter dashes the waves to such a height against the cliffs, that their reflux spreads a wild commotion far out to sea. However, by dint of expenditure and enterprise, the king triumphed over nature and constructed a harbour larger than the Piraeus, including other deep roadsteads within its recesses.

(6) Notwithstanding the totally recalcitrant nature of the site, he grappled with the difficulties so successfully, that the solidity of his masonry defied the sea, while its beauty was such as if no obstacle had existed. Having determined upon the comparative size<sup>b</sup> of

<sup>a</sup> Augustus and Agrippa.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. "larger than the Piraeus" (§ 410).

Other  
buildings  
honour of  
Augustus.

καμεν τῷ λιμένι μέγεθος καθίει λίθους ἐπ' ὄργυιὰς  
εἴκοσιν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ὃν ἡσαν οἱ πλεῖστοι μῆκος  
ποδῶν πεντήκοντα, βάθος ἐννέα, εὖρος δέκα, τινὲς  
412 δὲ καὶ μείζους. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεπληρώθη τὸ ὕφαλον,<sup>1</sup>  
οὗτως ἥδη τὸ ὑπερέχον τοῦ πελάγους τεῖχος ἐπὶ  
διακοσίους πόδας ηὔρυνετο· ὃν οἱ μὲν ἑκατὸν  
προδεδόμηντο πρὸς τὴν ἀνακοπὴν τοῦ κύματος,  
προκυμία γοῦν ἐκλήθη, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ὑπόκειται  
τῷ περιθέοντι λιθίνῳ τείχει. τοῦτο δὲ πύργοις  
τε διείληπται μεγίστοις, ὃν ὁ προύχων καὶ περι-  
καλλέστατος ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος προγόνου Δρού-  
σιον κέκληται.

413 (7) Ψαλίδες τε πυκναὶ πρὸς καταγωγὴν τῶν  
ἐνορμιζομένων, καὶ τὸ πρὸ αὐτῶν πᾶν κύκλῳ  
νάγμα τοῖς ἀποβαίνουσιν πλατὺς περίπατος. ὁ δ'  
εἰσπλους βόρειος, αἰθριώτατος γὰρ ἀνέμων τῷ  
τόπῳ βορέας, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος κολοσσοὶ<sup>a</sup>  
τρεῖς ἑκατέρωθεν ὑπεστηριγμένοι κίοσιν, ὃν τοὺς  
μὲν ἐκ λαιᾶς χειρὸς εἰσπλεόντων πύργος ναστὸς  
ἀνέχει, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ δεξιοῦ δύο ὄρθοὶ λίθοι συν-  
εζευγμένοι τοῦ κατὰ θάτερον χεῖλος πύργου μεί-  
414 ζονες. προσεχεῖς δ' οἰκίαι τῷ λιμένι, λευκοῦ καὶ  
αὐταὶ λίθου, καὶ κατατείνοντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν οἱ  
στενωποὶ τοῦ. ἄστεος πρὸς ἐν διάστημα μεμε-  
τρημένοι. καὶ τοῦ στόματος ἀντικρὺ ναὸς Καί-  
σαρος ἐπὶ γηλόφου κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει διάφορος.

<sup>1</sup> Destinon from Lat.: *ὑψηλὸν ΡΑ: βάθος the rest.*

<sup>a</sup> "not less than eighteen," A.

<sup>b</sup> A. adds "who died young." Nero Claudius Drusus (38-9 B.C.), son of Livia, afterwards wife of Augustus, and father of Germanicus.

<sup>c</sup> Or "vaulted chambers," "crypts."

<sup>d</sup> Strictly a temple of Rome and Augustus, as Reinach

the harbour as we have stated, he had blocks of stone let down into twenty fathoms of water, most of them measuring fifty feet in length by nine in depth and ten <sup>a</sup> in breadth, some being even larger. Upon the submarine foundation thus laid he constructed above the surface a mole two hundred feet broad ; of which one hundred were built out to break the surge, whence this portion was called the break-water, while the remainder supported a stone wall encircling the harbour. From this wall arose, at intervals, massive towers, the loftiest and most magnificent of which was called Drusian after the step-son of Caesar.<sup>b</sup>

(7) Numerous inlets <sup>c</sup> in the wall provided landing-places for mariners putting in to harbour, while the whole circular terrace fronting these channels served as a broad promenade for disembarking passengers. The entrance to the port faced northwards, because in these latitudes the north wind is the most favourable of all. At the harbour-mouth stood colossal statues, three on either side, resting on columns ; the columns on the left of vessels entering port were supported by a massive tower, those on the right by two upright blocks of stone clamped together, whose height exceeded that of the tower on the opposite side. Abutting on the harbour were houses, also of white stone, and upon it converged the streets of the town, laid at equal distances apart. On an eminence facing the harbour-mouth stood Caesar's temple,<sup>d</sup> remarkable for its beauty and grand pro-

remarks, referring to Suet. *Aug.* 52 "templa . . . in nulla provincia nisi communi suo Romaeque nomine recepit." This is indicated in Josephus by the mention of the two statues.

ἐν δ' αὐτῷ κολοσσὸς Καίσαρος οὐκ ἀποδέων τοῦ  
Ὀλυμπίασιν Διός, ὡς καὶ προσείκασται, 'Ρώμης  
δὲ ἵσος "Ηρὰ τῇ κατ'" Ἀργος. ἀνέθηκεν δὲ τῇ  
μὲν ἐπαρχίᾳ τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς ταύτῃ δὲ πλοϊζο-  
μένοις τὸν λιμένα, Καίσαρι δὲ τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ  
κτίσματος· Καισάρειαν γοῦν ὠνόμασεν αὐτήν.

415 (8) Τά γε μὴν λοιπὰ τῶν ἔργων, ἀμφιθέατρον  
καὶ θέατρον καὶ ἀγοράς, ἄξια τῆς προσηγορίας  
ἐνιδρύσατο. καὶ πενταετηρικοὺς ἀγῶνας κατα-  
στησάμενος ὁμοίως ἐκάλεσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος,  
πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἀθλα μέγιστα προθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς  
ἐκατοστῆς ἐνενήκοστῆς δευτέρας ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐν  
οἷς οὐ μόνον οἱ νικῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοὺς  
καὶ οἱ τρίτοι τοῦ βασιλικοῦ πλούτου μετελάμ-  
416 βανον. ἀνακτίσας δὲ καὶ Ἀνθηδόνα τὴν παρ-  
λιον καταρριφθεῖσαν ἐν πολέμῳ Ἀγρίππειον προσ-  
ηγόρευεν τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ φίλου δι' ὑπερβολὴν  
εὔνοίας καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης ἐχάραξεν τὸ ὄνομα, ἦν  
αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ναῷ κατεσκεύασεν.

417 (9) Φιλοπάτωρ γε μήν, εἰ καὶ τις ἔτερος· καὶ  
γὰρ τῷ πατρὶ μνημεῖον κατέθηκεν πόλιν, ἦν ἐν  
τῷ καλλίστῳ τῆς Βασιλείας πεδίῳ κτίσας ποταμοῖς  
τε καὶ δένδρεσιν πλουσίαν ὠνόμασεν Ἀντιπατρίδα,  
καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ Ἱεριχοῦντος φρούριον ὄχυρότητι  
καὶ κάλλει διάφορον τειχίσας ἀνέθηκεν τῇ μητρὶ<sup>4</sup>  
418 προσειπὼν Κύπρον. Φασαήλω δὲ τάδελφῷ τὸν  
ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὁμώνυμον πύργον, οὗ τό τε  
σχῆμα καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ μεγέθει πολυτέλειαν διὰ  
τῶν ἔξῆς δηλώσομεν. καὶ πόλιν ἄλλην κτίσας

\* Or Agrippias, *A*: xiii. 357 : the town was close to Gaza.

At Jerusalem ; the particular gate so called is unknown.

portions ; it contained a colossal statue of the emperor, not inferior to the Olympian Zeus, which served for its model, and another of Rome, rivalling that of Hera at Argos. The city Herod dedicated to the province, the harbour to navigators in these waters, to Caesar the glory of this new foundation, to which he accordingly gave the name of Caesarea.

(8) The rest of the buildings—amphitheatre, quin-quennial games at Caesarea  
theatre, public places—were constructed in a style worthy of the name which the city bore. He further instituted quinquennial games, likewise named after Caesar, and inaugurated them himself, in the hundred and ninety-second Olympiad, offering prizes of the highest value ; at these games not the victors only, but also those who obtained second and third places, participated in the royal bounty.

Another maritime town, which had been destroyed in war-time, namely Anthedon, he rebuilt and re-named Agrippium<sup>a</sup> ; and so great was his affection for this same friend Agrippa, that he engraved his name upon the gate which he erected in the Temple.<sup>b</sup>

(9) No man ever showed greater filial affection. of Antipatris,  
As a memorial to his father he founded a city in the fairest plain in his realm, rich in rivers and trees, and named it Antipatris.<sup>c</sup> Above Jericho he built the walls of a fortress, remarkable alike for solidity and beauty, which he dedicated to his mother under the name of Cypros. To his brother Phasael he erected the tower in Jerusalem called by his name, the appearance and splendid proportions of which we shall describe in the sequel.<sup>d</sup> He also gave the

<sup>a</sup> *Ras el 'Ain*, some 10 miles inland from and N.E. of Joppa, on the road from Jerusalem to Caesarea.

<sup>b</sup> v. 166-169.

κατὰ τὸν ἀπὸ Ἱεριχοῦ ἰόντων αὐλῶνα πρὸς  
Βορέαν Φασαηλίδα ὡνόμασεν.

419 (10) Παραδοὺς δ' αἰῶνι τούς τε οἰκείους καὶ  
φίλους οὐδὲ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μνήμης ἡμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ  
φρούριον μὲν ἐπιτειχίσας τῷ πρὸς Ἀραβίαν ὄρει  
προσηγόρευσεν Ἡρώδειον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, τὸν δὲ  
μαστοειδῆ κολωνὸν ὅντα χειροποίητον, ἔξήκοντα  
σπαδίων ἅπωθεν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐκάλεσεν μὲν  
420 ὁμοίως, ἔξησκησεν δὲ φιλοτιμότερον. στρογγύ-  
λοις μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἄκραν πύργοις περιέσχεν, ἐπλή-  
ρωσεν δὲ τὸν περίβολον βασιλείοις πολυτελεστά-  
τοις, ὡς μὴ μόνον τὴν ἔνδον τῶν οἰκημάτων ὅψιν  
εἶναι λαμπράν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν τοίχοις καὶ  
θριγκοῖς καὶ στέγαις περικεχύσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον  
δαψιλῆ. πόρρωθεν δὲ μεγίστοις ἀναλώμασιν ὑδά-  
των πλῆθος εἰσήγαγεν καὶ βαθμοῖς διακοσίοις  
λευκοτάτης μαρμάρου τὴν ἄνοδον διέλαβεν· ἣν γὰρ  
δὴ τὸ γίγλοφον ἐπιεικῶς ὑψηλὸν καὶ πᾶν χειρο-  
421 ποίητον. κατεσκεύασεν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς ρίζας  
ἄλλα βασίλεια τὴν τε ἀποσκευὴν καὶ τοὺς φίλους  
δέξασθαι δυνάμενα, ὥστε τῷ μὲν πάντα ἔχειν  
πόλιν εἶναι δοκεῖν τὸ ἔρυμα, τῇ περιγραφῇ δὲ  
βασίλειον.

422 (11) Τοσαῦτα συγκτίσας πλείσταις καὶ τῶν  
ἔξω πόλεων τὸ μεγαλόψυχον ἐπεδείξατο, Τρι-  
πόλει μὲν [γὰρ]<sup>1</sup> καὶ Δαμασκῷ καὶ Πτολεμαΐδῃ  
γυμνάσια, Βύβλῳ δὲ τεῖχος, ἔξεδρας δὲ καὶ στοὰς  
καὶ ναοὺς καὶ ἀγορὰς Βηρυτῷ κατασκευάσας καὶ  
Τύρῳ, Σιδῶνί γε μὴν καὶ Δαμασκῷ θέατρα, Λαο-

<sup>1</sup> om. Bekker.

<sup>a</sup> Literally "in the form of a breast."

name of Phasaelis to another city which he built in the valley to the north of Jericho.

(10) But while he thus perpetuated the memory of his family and his friends, he did not neglect to leave memorials of himself. Thus he built a fortress in the hills on the Arabian frontier and called it after himself Herodium. An artificial rounded <sup>a</sup> hill, sixty furlongs from Jerusalem, was given the same name, but more elaborate embellishment.<sup>b</sup> The crest he crowned with a ring of round towers ; the enclosure was filled with gorgeous palaces, the magnificent appearance of which was not confined to the interior of the apartments, but outer walls, battlements, and roofs, all had wealth lavished upon them in profusion. He had, at immense expense, an abundant supply of water brought into it from a distance, and provided an easy ascent by two hundred steps of the purest white marble ; the mound, though entirely artificial, being of a considerable height. Around the base he erected other palaces for the accommodation of his furniture and his friends. Thus, in the amplitude of its resources this stronghold resembled a town, in its restricted area a simple palace.

(11) After founding all these places, he proceeded to display his generosity to numerous cities outside his realm. Thus, he provided gymnasia for Tripolis, Damascus and Ptolemais, a wall for Byblus, halls, porticoes, temples, and market-places for Berytus and Tyre, theatres for Sidon and Damascus, an aqueduct

The two buildings called Herodium

Herod's various bounties to foreign cities.

<sup>a</sup> Built in memory of his victory over the Jewish allies of the Parthians, § 265; modern *Jebel Fereidis* ("Hill of Paradise" or Frank mountain), some 4 miles S.E. of Bethlehem. The site of the other Herodium is unidentified.

δικεῦσι δὲ τοῖς παραλίοις ὑδάτων εἰσαγωγήν,  
 Ἀσκαλωνίταις δὲ βαλανεῖα καὶ κρήνας πολυ-  
 τελεῖς, πρὸς δὲ περίστυλα θαυμαστὰ τὴν τε ἐργα-  
 σίαν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος· εἰσὶ δ' οἷς ἄλση καὶ λειμῶ-  
 423 νας ἀνέθηκεν. πολλαὶ δὲ πόλεις ὥσπερ κοινωνοὶ  
 τῆς βασιλείας καὶ χώραν ἔλαβον παρ' αὐτοῦ·  
 γυμνασιαρχίαις δ' ἄλλας ἐπετησίους τε καὶ δι-  
 ηγεκέσιν ἔδωρήσατο προσόδους κατατάξας, ὥσπερ  
 424 Κύώις, ἵνα μηδέποτε ἐκλείπῃ τὸ γέρας. σῖτόν γε  
 μὴν πᾶσιν ἔχορήγησεν τοῖς δεομένοις, καὶ τῇ  
 Ῥόδῳ χρήματα μὲν εἰς ναυτικοῦ κατασκευὴν  
 παρέσχεν πολλαχοῦ<sup>1</sup> καὶ πολλάκις, ἐμπρησθὲν δὲ  
 τὸ Πύθιον ἴδιοις ἀναλώμασιν ἅμεινον ἀνεδείματο.  
 425 καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν τὰς εἰς Λυκίους ἢ Σαμίους δωρεὰς  
 ἢ τὴν δι' ὅλης τῆς Ἰωνίας, ἐν οἷς ἐδεήθησαν ἔκα-  
 στοι, δαψίλειαν; ἀλλ' Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμό-  
 νιοι Νικοπολῖται τε καὶ τὸ κατὰ Μυσίαν Πέργα-  
 μον οὐ τῶν Ἡρώδου γέμουσιν ἀναθημάτων; τὴν  
 δ' Ἀντιοχέων τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ πλατεῖαν οὐ φευκτὴν  
 οὖσαν ὑπὸ βορβόρου κατέστρωσέν τε, σταδίων  
 εἴκοσι τὸ μῆκος οὖσαν, ξεστῇ μαρμάρῳ καὶ πρὸς  
 τὰς τῶν ὑετῶν ἀποφυγὰς ἐκόσμησεν ἵσομήκει  
 στοῦ;

426 (12) Ταῦτα μὲν ἂν τις εἴποι ἕδια τῶν εὖ πα-  
 θόντων<sup>2</sup> δήμων ἐκάστου, τὸ δὲ Ἡλείοις χαρισθὲν  
 οὐ μόνον κοινὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀλλ' ὅλης τῆς  
 οἰκουμένης δῶρον, εἰς ἥν ἡ δόξα τῶν Ὁλυμπίασιν<sup>3</sup>  
 427 ἀγώνων δικυνεῖται. τούτους γὰρ δὴ καταλυ-

<sup>1</sup> πολλὰ Destinon: πολλαχῆ (cf. Plato, Rep. 538 D).

<sup>2</sup> εὐπαθούντων PLV and a Leipzig ms.

<sup>3</sup> Bekker: τῶν ἐν Ὁλυμπίασιν ms.

for Laodicea on sea, baths, sumptuous fountains and colonnades, admirable alike for their architecture and their proportions, for Ascalon ; to other communities he dedicated groves and meadow-land. Many cities, as though they had been associated with his realm, received from him grants of land ; others, like Cos, were endowed with revenues to maintain the annual office of gymnasiarach<sup>a</sup> to perpetuity, to ensure that this honourable post should never lapse. Corn he supplied to all applicants<sup>b</sup> ; to the people of Rhodes he made contributions again and again for shipbuilding,<sup>c</sup> and when their<sup>d</sup> Pythian temple was burnt down he rebuilt it on a grander scale at his own expense. Need I allude to his donations to the people of Lycia or Samos, or to his liberality, extended to every district of Ionia, to meet its needs ? Nay, are not Athenians and Lacedaemonians, the inhabitants of Nicopolis and of Pergamum in Mysia, laden with Herod's offerings ? And that broad street in Syrian Antioch, once shunned on account of the mud—was it not he who paved its twenty furlongs with polished marble, and, as a protection from the rain, adorned it with a colonnade of equal length ?

(12) In these cases, it may be said, the individual communities concerned were the sole beneficiaries ; his bounty to the people of Elis, on the other hand, was a gift not only to Hellas at large but to the whole world, wherever the fame of the Olympic games penetrates. For, observing that these were of festal games and for the maintenance and payment of trainers and training-masters.

<sup>b</sup> Or “to all in need of it.”

<sup>c</sup> Cf. § 280 for his shipbuilding at Rhodes in humbler circumstances.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. A. xvi. 147.

μένους ἀπορίᾳ χρημάτων ὅρῶν καὶ τὸ μόνον λείψαντον τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἑλλάδος ὑπορρέον, οὐ μόνον ἀγωνιθέτης ἦς ἐπέτυχεν πενταετηρίδος εἰς Ῥώμην παραπλέων ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ διηνεκὲς πόρους χρημάτων ἀπέδειξεν, ὡς μηδέποτε  
 428 ἀγωνιθετοῦσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν μνήμην ἐπιλιπεῖν. ἀνήνυτον ἂν εἴη χρεῶν διαλύσεις ἢ φόρων ἐπεξιέναι, καθάπερ Φασηλίταις καὶ Βαλανεώταις καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Κιλικίαν πολιχνίοις τὰς ἐτησίους εἰσφορὰς ἐπεξεκούφισεν. πλεῖστόν γε μὴν αὐτοῦ τῆς μεγαλονοίας ἔθραυσεν ὁ φόβος, ὡς μὴ δόξειν ἐπίφθονος ἢ τι θηράσθαι μεῖζον, εὐεργετῶν τὰς πόλεις πλέον τῶν ἔχοντων.  
 429 (13) Ἐχρίσατο δὲ καὶ σώματι πρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναλόγῳ, κυνηγέτης μὲν ἄριστος ἀεὶ γενόμενος, ἐν ὧ μάλιστα δι' ἐμπειρίαν ἵππικῆς ἐπετύγχανεν· μιᾶς γοῦν ἡμέρα ποτὲ τεσσαράκοντα θηρίων ἐκράτησεν, ἔστι δὲ καὶ συντρόφος μὲν ἡ χώρα, τὸ πλέον δ' ἐλάφων καὶ ὀνάγρων εὔπορος· πολεμιστῆς δ' ἀνυπόστατος. πολλοὶ γοῦν κὰν ταῖς γυμνασίαις αὐτὸν κατεπλάγησαν ἀκοντιστήν τε ἰθυβολώτατον<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοξότην εὐστοχώτατον ἴδοντες. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ψυχικοῖς καὶ τοῖς σωματικοῖς προτερήμασιν ἐχρίσατο καὶ δεξιὰ τύχῃ· καὶ γὰρ σπάνιον ἐπταισεν ἐν πολέμῳ, καὶ τῶν πταισμάτων οὐκ αὐτὸς αἴτιος, ἀλλ' ἢ προδοσίᾳ τινῶν ἢ προπετείᾳ στρατιωτῶν ἐγένετο.

<sup>1</sup> εἰθυβολώτατον RAM Exc.

<sup>a</sup> Either his second visit to Rome (12 B.C.) or his third (c. 8 B.C.) (Schürer).

<sup>b</sup> A maritime town of Lycia.

<sup>c</sup> On the Syrian coast opposite Cyprus, between Laodicea and Aradus.

declining for want of funds and that this solitary relic of ancient Greece was sinking into decay, he not only accepted the post of president for the quadrennial celebration which coincided with his visit<sup>a</sup> on his voyage to Rome, but he endowed them for all time with revenues, which should preserve an unfading memory of his term as president. The enumeration of the debts and taxes discharged by himself would be endless ; it was thus, for instance, that he lightened the burden of their annual taxes for the inhabitants of Phaselis,<sup>b</sup> Balanea<sup>c</sup> and various minor towns in Cilicia. Often, however, his noble generosity was thwarted by the fear of exciting either jealousy or the suspicion of entertaining some higher ambition, in conferring upon states greater benefits than they received from their own masters.

(13)<sup>d</sup> Herod's genius was matched by his physical constitution. Always foremost in the chase, in which he distinguished himself above all by his skill in horsemanship, he on one occasion brought down forty wild beasts in a single day ; for the country breeds boars and, in greater abundance, stags and wild asses. As a fighter he was irresistible ; and at practice spectators were often struck with astonishment at the precision with which he threw the javelin, the unerring aim with which he bent the bow. But besides these pre-eminent gifts of soul and body, he was blessed by good fortune ;<sup>e</sup> he rarely met with a reverse in war, and, when he did, this was due not to his own fault, but either to treachery or to the recklessness of his troops.

<sup>a</sup> This paragraph has no parallel in *A.*

• Cf. and contrast the estimate in *A.* xvii. 191 f.

431 (xxii. 1) Τάς γε μὴν ὑπαίθρους εὐπραγίας ἡ τύχη τοῖς κατ' οἶκον ἀνιαροῦς ἐνεμέσησεν, καὶ κακοδαιμογεῖν ἐκ γυναικὸς ἥρξατο περὶ ἣν μάλι-  
 432 στα ἐσπούδασεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν παρ-  
 ἥλθεν, ἀποπεμψάμενος ἣν ἴδιωτης ἥκτο γαμετήν,  
 γένος ἣν ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων Δωρὶς ὄνομα, γαμεῖ  
 Μαριάμμην τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου  
 θυγατέρα, δι’ ἣν αὐτῷ στασιασθῆναι συνέβη τὸν  
 οἶκον, καὶ τάχιον μέν, μάλιστα δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ  
 433 Ρώμης ἄφιξιν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἐκ τῆς  
 Δωρίδος νιὸν Ἀντίπατρον διὰ τοὺς ἐκ Μαριάμ-  
 μῆς ἐφυγάδευσεν τῆς πόλεως, μόναις ταῖς ἔορταῖς  
 ἐφεὶς<sup>1</sup> κατιέναι· ἐπειτα τὸν πάππον τῆς γυναικὸς  
 Ὑρκανὸν ἐκ Πάρθων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα δι’  
 ὑπόνοιαν ἐπιβουλῆς ἀνεῖλεν, ὃν ἦχμαλωτίσατο μὲν  
 Βαρζαφράνης καταδραμὰν Συρίαν, ἐξηγήσαντο δὲ  
 434 κατ’ οἴκτον οἱ ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ὅμοεθνεῖς. καὶ εἴ  
 γε τούτοις ἐπείσθη παραιωῦσιν μὴ διαβῆναι πρὸς  
 Ἡρώδην, οὐκ ἂν παραπώλετο· δέλεαρ δ’ αὐτῷ  
 θαράτου τῆς νίωνῆς ὁ γάμος κατέστη· τούτῳ γὰρ  
 πεποιθὼς καὶ περισσόν τι τῆς πατρίδος ἐφιέμενος  
 ἦκεν. παρώξυνεν δὲ Ἡρώδην οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀντι-  
 ποιούμενος βασιλείας, ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ τὸ βασιλεύειν  
 ἐπέβαλλεν αὐτῷ.

435 (2) Τῶν δὲ ἐκ Μαριάμμης πέντε τέκνων αὐτῷ  
 γενομένων δύο μὲν θυγατέρες, τρεῖς δ’ ἦσαν νίεῖς.  
 καὶ τούτων ὁ νεώτατος μὲν ἐν Ρώμῃ παιδευό-  
 μενος τελευτᾷ, δύο δὲ τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους βασι-

<sup>1</sup> ἐφεὶς Exe. (the usual verb in Josephus): ἀφεὶς the rest.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. § 241.

<sup>b</sup> § 260.

<sup>c</sup> For his resignation of the throne see B. i. 120 ff.

<sup>d</sup> Salampsio and Cypros.

(xxii. 1) But, in revenge for his public prosperity, fortune visited Herod with troubles at home ; his ill-fated career originated with a woman to whom he was passionately attached. For, on ascending the throne, he had dismissed the wife whom he had taken when he was still a commoner, a native of Jerusalem named Doris, and married Mariamme, daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus.<sup>a</sup> It was she who brought into his house the discord, which, beginning at an earlier date, was greatly aggravated after his return from Rome. For, in the first place, in the interests of his children by Mariamme, he banished from the capital the son whom he had had by Doris, namely Antipater, allowing him to visit it on the festivals only. Next he put to death, on suspicion of conspiracy, Hyrcanus, Mariamme's grandfather, who had come back from Parthia to Herod's court. Hyrcanus had been taken prisoner by Barzapharnes when the latter overran Syria,<sup>b</sup> but had been liberated through the intercession of his compassionate countrymen living beyond the Euphrates. And had he but followed their advice not to cross the river to join Herod, he would have escaped his tragic fate ; but the marriage of his grand-daughter lured him to his death. He came relying upon that and impelled by an ardent longing for his native land, and roused Herod's resentment not by making any claim to the throne, but because it actually belonged to him by right.<sup>c</sup>

(2) Herod had five children by Mariamme, two daughters<sup>d</sup> and three sons. The youngest son died in the course of his training in Rome ; to the two elder sons<sup>e</sup> he gave a princely education, both out

<sup>a</sup> Alexander and Aristobulus.

Herod's  
domestic  
tragedie

Banishm  
of his se  
Antipat

Executi  
of Hyre  
c. 30 B.C.

Herod's  
children  
Mariam

λικῶς ἦγεν διά τε τὴν μητρώαν εὐγένειαν καὶ ὅτι  
 436 βασιλεύοντι ἐγεγόνεισαν αὐτῷ. τὸ δὲ τούτων  
 ἴσχυρότερον ὁ Μαριάμμης ἔρως συνήργει, καθ'  
 ἥμέραν ἐκκαίων Ἡρώδην λαβρότερος, ὡς μηδενὸς  
 τῶν διὰ τὴν στεργομένην λυπηρῶν αἰσθάνεσθαι·  
 τοσοῦτον γάρ ἦν μῖσος εἰς αὐτὸν τῆς Μαριάμμης,  
 437 ὃσος ἐκείνου πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔρως. ἔχονσα δὲ τὴν  
 μὲν ἀπέχθειαν ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων εὔλογον, τὴν  
 δὲ παρρησίαν ἐκ τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι, φανερῶς ὠνείδιζεν  
 αὐτῷ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πάππον Ὑρκανὸν καὶ τὸν  
 ἀδελφὸν Ἰωνάθην· οὐδὲ γάρ τούτου καίπερ ὅντος  
 παιδὸς ἐφείσατο, δοὺς μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχιερω-  
 σύνην ἑπτακαιδεκέτει, μετὰ δὲ τὴν τιμὴν κτείνας  
 εὐθέως, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα λαβόντι καὶ  
 τῷ βωμῷ προσελθόντι καθ' ἔορτὴν ἄθρουν ἐπ-  
 εδάκρυσεν τὸ πλῆθος. πέμπεται μὲν οὖν ὁ παῖς  
 διὰ τοκτὸς εἰς Ἱεριχοῦντα, ἐκεῖ δὲ κατ' ἐντολὴν  
 ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν βαπτιζόμενος ἐν κολυμβήθρᾳ  
 τελευτᾶ.

438 (3) Διὰ ταῦθ' Ἡρώδην μὲν ὠνείδιζεν ἡ Μα-  
 ριάμμη, καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα  
 δειναῖς ἐξύβριζεν λοιδορίαις. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν πεφί-  
 μωτο τοῖς ἡμέροις, δεινὴ δὲ τὰς γυναικας ἀγανά-  
 κτησις εἰσήει, καὶ πρὸς ὁ μάλιστα κινήσειν τὸν  
 Ἡρώδην ἔμελλον, εἰς μοιχείαν διέβαλλον αὐτὴν,  
 439 ἀλλα τε πολλὰ πρὸς τὸ πιθανὸν ἐνσκευαζόμεναι,  
 καὶ κατηγοροῦσαι διότι τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν ἑαυτῆς

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<sup>a</sup> Called Aristobulus (probably his second name) in the narrative in *A.* (xv. 51, etc.).

<sup>b</sup> A detail not in *A.* and, as Reinach points out, an anachronism, as Herod only received his guard of Gauls

of respect for their mother's illustrious parentage, and because they had been born after his accession to the throne. But a still stronger influence in their favour was Herod's passion for Mariamme, the consuming ardour of which increased from day to day, so that he was insensible to the troubles of which his beloved one was the cause ; for Mariamme's hatred of him was as great as was his love for her. As the events of the past gave her just reason for aversion, and her husband's love enabled her to speak plainly, she openly upbraided him with the fate of her grandfather Hyrcanus and her brother Jonathan.<sup>a</sup> For Herod had not spared even this poor lad ; he had bestowed upon him in his seventeenth year the office of high-priest, and then immediately after conferring this honour had put him to death, because, on the occasion of a festival, when the lad approached the altar, clad in the priestly vestments, the multitude with one accord burst into tears. He was, consequently, sent by night to Jericho, and there, in accordance with instructions, plunged into a swimming-bath by the Gauls <sup>b</sup> and drowned.

(3) It was on these grounds that Mariamme upbraided Herod, and then proceeded violently to abuse his mother and sister. He was paralyzed by his infatuation ; but the women, seething with indignation, brought against her the charge which was bound in their opinion to touch Herod most nearly, that of adultery. Among much else which they invented to convince him, they accused Mariamme of having sent her portrait to Antony in

after the death of Cleopatra in 30 b.c. (*A.* xv. 217 ||; *B.* i. 397). Aristobulus was murdered five years earlier.

His pa  
for  
Mariam

He mu  
his bro  
in-law  
Jonath  
(Aristo  
bulus)

35 B.C.

and his  
Mariam

πέμψειεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ δι’ ὑπερβολὴν ἀσελγείας ἀποῦσαν δείξειεν ἔαυτὴν ἀνθρώπῳ

<sup>440</sup> γυναικομανοῦντι καὶ βιάζεσθαι δυναμένῳ. τοῦθ’ ὥσπερ σκηπτὸς ἐμπεσὼν ἐτάραξεν Ἡρώδην, μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα ζηλοτύπως ἔχοντα, λογιζόμενον δὲ καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτρας δεινότητα, δι’ ἣν Λυσανίας τε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνήρητο καὶ Μάλχος ὁ Ἀραψ· οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρέσει γαμετῆς ἐμέτρει τὸν κύndυνον, ἀλλὰ θανάτῳ.

<sup>441</sup> (4) Μέλλων οὖν ἀποδημήσειν Ἰωσήπῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ Σαλώμῃς τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ, πιστὸς δὲ ἦν καὶ διὰ τὸ κῆδος εὔνους, παρατίθεται τὴν γυναικα, κρύφα δοὺς ἐντολὰς ἀναιρεῖν αὐτὴν, εἰ κάκεῖνον Ἀντώνιος. ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος οὕτι κακοήθως, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦ βασιλέως παραστῆσαι τῇ γυναικὶ βουλόμενος, ὡς οὐδὲ ἀποθανὼν αὐτῆς ὑπομένοι <sup>442</sup> διαζευχθῆναι, τὸ ἀπόρρητον ἐκφαίνει. κάκείνη πρὸς ἐπανήκοντα τὸν Ἡρώδην πολλά τε περὶ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὴν συμπαθοῦς ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις ἐπομνύμενον,<sup>1</sup> ὡς οὐδὲ ἐρασθείη ποτὲ γυναικὸς ἄλλης, “πάιν γοῦν,” εἶπεν, “ταῖς πρὸς [τὸν]<sup>2</sup> Ἰώσηπον ἐντολαῖς ἐπεδείξω τὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔρωτα κτεῖναι με προστάξας.”

<sup>443</sup> (5) “Ἐκφρων εὐθέως ἀκούσας τὸ ἀπόρρητον ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἄν ποτε τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐξαγγεῖλαι τὴν ἐντολὴν φάμενος εἰ μὴ διαφθείρειν αὐτὴν, ἐνεθουσίᾳ τῷ πάθει καὶ τῆς κοίτης ἐξαλόμενος<sup>3</sup> ἀνέδην ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀνειλεῖτο. καὶ τοῦτον Σαλώμη ἡ ἀδελφὴ τὸν καιρὸν εἰς τὰς διαβολὰς ἀρπάσασα τὴν εἰς τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐπεβεβαίωσεν

<sup>1</sup> + καὶ C Lat.

<sup>2</sup> P: om. the rest.

<sup>3</sup> Destinon: ἐξαλόμενος MSS.

Egypt and of carrying wantonness so far as to exhibit herself, though at a distance, to a man with a madness for her sex and powerful enough to resort to violence. This accusation struck Herod like a thunderbolt. His love intensified his jealousy ; he reflected on Cleopatra's craft which had brought both King Lysanias <sup>a</sup> and the Arab Malchus to their end ; he was menaced, he reckoned, with the loss not merely of his consort but of his life.

(4) So, being on the eve of departure from his realm, he entrusted his wife to Joseph, the husband of his sister Salome, a faithful friend whose loyalty was assured by this marriage connexion, giving him private injunctions to kill her, should Antony kill him. Joseph, not with any malicious intention, but from a desire to convince her of the love which the king bore her, since even in death he could not bear to be separated from her, betrayed the secret. When Herod, on his return, in familiar intercourse was <sup>c. 29 B.C.</sup>

protesting with many oaths his affection for her and that he had never loved any other woman, "A fine exhibition you gave," she replied, "of your love for me by your orders to Joseph to put me to death !"

(5) He was beside himself, the moment he heard the secret was out. Joseph, he exclaimed, would never have disclosed his orders, had he not seduced her ; and, frenzied with passion, he leapt from the bed and paced the palace to and fro in his distraction. His sister Salome, seizing this opportunity to slander Mariamme, confirmed his suspicion of Joseph.

<sup>a</sup> King of Chalcis ; his murder at Cleopatra's instigation is mentioned in *A.* xv. 92 ; he is not named in the general reference to plots against high officials in Syria in *B.* i. 360. Malchus is named in the last passage as an intended victim of Cleopatra, but there is no further allusion to his end.

ὑποψίαν. ὁ δ' ὑπ' ἀκράτου ζηλοτυπίας ἐκμανεὶς  
 444 ταραχῆμια κτείνειν προσέταξεν ἀμφοτέρους. μετά-  
 γοια δ' εὐθέως εἶπετο τῷ πάθει, καὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ  
 πεσόντος ὁ ἔρως πάλιν ἀνεζωπυρεῖτο. τοσαύτη  
 δ' ἦν φλεγμονὴ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, ὡς μηδὲ τεθνάναι  
 δοκεῖν αὐτήν, ὑπὸ δὲ κακώσεως ὡς ζώσῃ προσ-  
 λαλεῖν, μέχρι τῷ χρόνῳ διδαχθεὶς τὸ πάθος<sup>1</sup>  
 ἀγάλογον τὴν λύπην ἔσχεν τῇ πρὸς περιουσαν<sup>2</sup>  
 διαθέσει.

445 (xxiii. 1) Κληρονομοῦσι δὲ τῆς μητρώας οἱ  
 παῖδες ὄργης καὶ τοῦ μύσους ἔννοιαν λαμβάνοντες  
 ὡς πολέμιον ὑφεώρων τὸν πατέρα, καὶ τὸ πρό-  
 τερον μὲν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης παιδεύομενοι, πλέον δ'  
 ὡς εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψαν· συνηνδροῦτο δ'  
 446 ὑπῶν ταῖς ἥλικίαις ἡ διάθεσις. καὶ ἐπειδὴ γάμων  
 ἔχοντες ὕραν ὁ μὲν τῆς τηθίδος Σαλώμης, ἡ τῆς  
 μητρὸς αὐτῶν κατηγόρησεν, ὁ δὲ ἔγημεν Ἀρχε-  
 λάου τοῦ Καππαδόκων βασιλέως θυγατέρα, προσ-  
 447 λάμβανον ἥδη τῷ μίσει καὶ παρρησίᾳν. ἐκ δὲ  
 τοῦ θράσους αὐτῶν ἀφορμὰς οἱ διαβάλλοντες  
 ἐλάμβανον, καὶ φανερώτερον ἥδη τῷ βασιλεῖ δι-  
 ελέγοντό τινες ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοιτο μὲν ὑπ' ἀμφο-  
 τέρων τῶν νίῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀρχελάω κηδεύσας κα-  
 φυγὴν παρασκευάζοιτο τῷ πενθερῷ πεποιθώς, ἦν  
 448 ἐπὶ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ κατηγορήσειεν. ἀναπλησ-  
 θεὶς δὲ τῶν διαβολῶν Ἡρώδης ὕσπερ ἐπιτεί-  
 χισμα τοῖς νίοῖς κατάγει τὸν ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος  
 Ἀντίπατρον καὶ πάντα τρόπον προτυμᾶν ἄρχεται

<sup>1</sup> Conj. from Lat. "funere cognito": πένθος MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Hudson from Lat.: περιουσίαν MSS.

<sup>a</sup> The narrative of Mariamme's death in A. xv. is differently told. There are there two episodes, curiously similar.

Mad with sheer jealousy, he ordered that both should instantly be put to death. But remorse followed hard upon rage ; his wrath subsided, his love revived. So consuming, indeed, was the flame of his passion that he believed she was not dead, and in his affliction would address her as though she were alive ; until time taught him the reality of his loss, when his grief was as profound as the love which he bore her while she was alive.<sup>a</sup>

(xxiii. 1) The sons inherited their mother's resentment, and, reflecting on their father's abominable crimes, eyed him as an enemy, even in the early days of their education in Rome, and still more on their return to Judaea. The antagonism grew with their years ; and when, on reaching an age to marry, one<sup>b</sup> espoused the daughter of his aunt Salome, their mother's accuser, and the other<sup>c</sup> the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, their hatred found vent in open speech. Their rashness lent a handle to slanderers, and from this time certain persons threw out plainer hints to the king that both his sons were conspiring against him, and that the son-in-law of Archelaus, counting on his father-in-law's influence, was preparing to fly, in order to lay an accusation against his father before the emperor. Herod, drugged with these calumnies, recalled Antipater, his son by Doris, to serve as a bulwark against his other sons, and began to honour him with every mark of his special esteem.

Hostility  
Herod of  
his sons b  
Mariamme  
Alexander  
and  
Aristobulus  
c. 18 B.C.

Recall of  
Antipater  
c. 14 B.C.

An indiscretion of Joseph during a voyage of Herod to Antony (c. 34 B.C.) leads to the execution of Joseph and the imprisonment of Mariamme. A similar indiscretion of Soemus during a voyage of Herod to Augustus (c. 29 B.C.) leads to her trial, condemnation, and death.

<sup>b</sup> Aristobulus.

<sup>c</sup> Alexander.

449 (2) Τοῖς δ' ἀφόρητος ἦν ἡ μεταβολή, καὶ τὸν  
έξι ἰδιώτιδος μητρὸς ὄρῶντες προκόπτοντα, διὰ  
τὴν ἑαυτῶν εὐγένειαν οὐκ ἐκράτουν τῆς ἀγανα-  
κτήσεως, ἐφ' ἐκάστου<sup>1</sup> δὲ τῶν ἀμαρῶν τὴν ὁργὴν  
ἔξεφαινον· ὥσθ'<sup>2</sup> οἱ μὲν καθ' ἡμέραν προσίσταντο  
450 μᾶλλον, ὁ δ' "Ἀντίπατρος ἥδη καὶ δι' αὐτὸν ἐσπου-  
δάζετο, δεινότατος μὲν ὃν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα  
κολακείαις, διαβολὰς δὲ κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ποι-  
κίλας ἐνσκευαζόμενος καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς λογο-  
ποιῶν, τὰ δὲ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους φημίζειν καθιείσ,  
μέχρι παντάπασιν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀπέρρηξεν τῆς  
451 βασιλικῆς ἐλπίδος. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις  
καὶ φανερῶς αὐτὸς ἦν ἥδη διάδοχος· ὡς βασιλεὺς  
γοῦν ἐπέμφθη καὶ πρὸς Καίσαρα τῷ τε κόσμῳ καὶ  
ταῖς ἄλλαις θεραπείαις πλὴν διαδήματος χρώ-  
μενος. χρόνῳ δ' ἔξισχυσεν εἰσαγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν  
Μαριάμμης κοίτην τὴν μητέρα. δυσὶ δ' ὅπλοις  
κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν χρώμενος, κολακείᾳ καὶ δια-  
βολῇ, τὸν βασιλέα καὶ περὶ θανάτου τῶν νίῶν ὑπ-  
ειργάσατο.

452 (3) Τὸν γοῦν Ἀλέξανδρον σύρας μέχρι Ῥώμη·  
οὐ πατὴρ τῆς ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ φαρμακείας ἔκρινεν ἐπ  
Καίσαρος. οὐ δ' εὐρὼν μόλις ὄλοφυρμοῦ παρρη-  
σίαν καὶ δικαστὴν ἐμπειρότατον Ἀντιπάτρου κα  
Ἱρώδου φρονιμώτερον, τὰ μὲν ἀμαρτήματα τοι  
πατρὸς αἰδημόνως ὑπεστείλατο, τὰς δὲ αὐτοὶ<sup>3</sup>  
453 διαβολὰς ἴσχυρῶς ἀπελύσατο.<sup>3</sup> καθαρὸν δὲ κα

<sup>1</sup> ἐκάστον PAMV.<sup>2</sup> Bekker: ὡς δ(έ) MSS.<sup>3</sup> Niese and Naber: ἀπεδύσατο MSS., cf. B. ii. 92.

<sup>a</sup> From the narrative in A. xvi. it appears that both the sons were taken to Italy and that the case was heard not at Rome but at Aquileia (xvi. 91).

(2) To the young men this new departure was intolerable. At the sight of the promotion of this son of a woman of no standing, they in their pride of birth could not restrain their indignation, and on every fresh occasion for annoyance openly displayed their wrath. The result was that, while each succeeding day saw them in greater disfavour, Antipater was now gaining respect on his own merits. Showing remarkable adroitness in flattering his father, he concocted various calumnies upon his half-brothers, some of which he set in motion himself, while others were, at his instigation, circulated by his confidants, until he completely wrecked his brothers' prospects of the throne. For both in his father's will and by public acts he was now declared to be the heir : thus, when he was sent on an embassy to Caesar, he went as a prince, with the robes and all the ceremonial of royalty except the diadem. Eventually his influence was strong enough to bring back his mother to Mariamme's bed ; and by employing against his brothers the two weapons of flattery and slander, he stealthily so wrought upon the king's mind as to make him even contemplate putting his sons to death.

Antipater  
intriguesHe is  
declared  
heir to the  
throne

c. 13 B.C.

(3) One of them, at any rate, namely Alexander, was dragged by his father to Rome and there accused at Caesar's tribunal of attempting to poison him.<sup>a</sup> The young man, finding himself at last at liberty to vent his grievances and in the presence of a judge with far more experience than Antipater, more sagacity than Herod, modestly threw a veil over his father's faults, but forcibly exposed the calumnies directed against himself. He next proved that his

Alexander  
tried before  
Augustus  
who effected  
a reconciliation

c. 12 B.C.

τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀποδείξας κοινωνοῦντα τῶν κινδύνων,  
οὗτως ἥδη τό τε Ἀντιπάτρου πανούργον καὶ τὴν  
αὐτῶν ἀτιμίαν ἀπωδύρετο. συνήργει δ' αὐτῷ  
μετὰ καθαροῦ τοῦ συνειδότος ἡ περὶ λόγους ἴσχυς.

454 ἦν γὰρ δὴ δεινότατος εἰπεῖν. καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον  
φάμενος ὡς τῷ πατρὶ κτείνειν αὐτοὺς ἔστιν τεὶ δὴ<sup>1</sup>  
καὶ προσίεται<sup>2</sup> τὸ ἔγκλημα, προήγαγεν μὲν εἰς  
δάκρυα πάντας, τὸν δὲ Καίσαρα διέθηκεν οὕτως,  
ὡς ἀπογνῶναι μὲν αὐτῶν τὰ κατηγορημένα, δι-  
αλλάξαι δὲ Ἡρώδην εὐθέως. αἱ διαλλαγαὶ δ' ἐπὶ  
τούτοις ἦσαν, ὥστε ἐκείνους μὲν τῷ πατρὶ πάντα<sup>3</sup>  
πειθαρχεῖν, τὸν δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν καταλιπεῖν ὡς  
βούλεται.

455 (4) Μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ἀπὸ Ρώμης ὑπέστρεφεν ὁ  
βασιλεύς, τῶν μὲν ἔγκλημάτων ἀφιέναι<sup>3</sup> τοὺς  
νιόὺς δοκῶν, τῆς δ' ὑπονοίας οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένος  
παρηκολούθει γὰρ Ἀντίπατρος ἡ τοῦ μίσους  
ὑπόθεσις, ἀλλ' εἰς γε τὸ φανερὸν τὴν ἀπέχθειαν  
456 οὐκ ἔξεφερεν τὸν διαλλακτὴν αἰδούμενος. ὡς δὲ  
τὴν Κιλικίαν παραπλέων κατῆρεν εἰς Ἐλαιοῦσαν,  
ἔσπιᾳ μὲν αὐτὸν φιλοφρόνως Ἀρχέλαος, ὑπὲρ τῆς  
τοῦ γαμβροῦ σωτηρίας εὐχαριστῶν καὶ ταῖς δι-  
αλλαγαῖς ἐφηδόμενος, ὡς ἂν καὶ τάχιον γεγραφὼς  
τοῖς ἐπὶ Ρώμης φίλοις συλλαμβάνεσθαι περὶ τὴν  
δίκην Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προπέμπει δὲ μέχρι Ζεφυρίοι  
δῶρα δοὺς μέχρι τριάκοντα ταλάντων.

457 (5) Ως δ' εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα Ἡρώδης ἀφικνεῖ-  
ται, συναγαγὼν τὸν λαὸν καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς νιόὺς  
παραστησάμενος ἀπελογεῖτο περὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας.

<sup>1</sup> εἰ δὴ conj. after Aldrich (εἰ δὲ) : ηδὸν MSS.

<sup>2</sup> προσίεται Holwerda : προστίθεται MVR : προτίθεται the rest. e

<sup>3</sup> ἀφεικέναι (-ηκέναι) VRC : soluisse Lat.

<sup>4</sup> Ἐλιοῦσαν or Ἐλεοῦσαν MSS.

brother, his partner in peril, was equally innocent, and then proceeded bitterly to complain of Antipater's villainy and of the ignominy to which he and his brother were exposed. He was assisted not only by a clear conscience but by his powerful oratory, for he was an extremely able speaker. Concluding with the remark that it was open to their father to put them to death, if he really believed the charge to be true, he ~~had almost~~<sup>had</sup> ~~fallen~~<sup>fallen</sup> to tears, and so ~~affected~~<sup>affected</sup> the accuser and ~~broke~~<sup>broke</sup> ~~the~~<sup>the</sup> agreement were that the sons should render implicit obedience to their father, and that he should be at liberty to bequeath the kingdom to whom he would.

(4) After this the king left Rome on his homeward journey, apparently dismissing his charges against his sons, though not abandoning his suspicions. For he was accompanied by Antipater, the cause of all this hatred, who, however, was withheld by awe of the author of the reconciliation from openly displaying his animosity. Skirting the coast of Cilicia, Herod put in at Elaeusa and received friendly entertainment at the table of Archelaus, who congratulated him on his son-in-law's acquittal and was delighted at the reconciliation; for he had previously written to his friends in Rome to assist Alexander on his trial. He accompanied his guests as far as Zephyrion and made them presents amounting in value to thirty talents.

(5) On reaching Jerusalem, Herod assembled the people, presented to them his three sons, made his excuses for his absence, and rendered profuse thanks

Herod  
Archelaus  
Cappadocia

Herod's  
address to  
the people  
Jerusalem

καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εὐχαρίστει τῷ θεῷ, πολλὰ δὲ  
Καίσαρι καταστησαμένῳ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ τετα-  
ραγμένον καὶ μεῖζόν τι τοῖς νιόις βασιλείας παρ-  
458 σχόντι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν, "ἥν αὐτός," ἔφη, "συν-  
αρμόσω μᾶλλον· ὁ μὲν γάρ ἐμὲ κύριον τῆς ἀρχῆς  
καὶ δικαστὴν διαδόχου κατέστησεν, ἐγὼ δὲ μετὰ  
τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐμαυτῷ κάκεινον ἀμείβομαι."  
τούσδε τοὺς τρεῖς παῖδας ἀποδείκνυμι βασιλεῖς,  
καὶ τῆς γνώμης πρῶτον τὸν θεὸν σύμψηφον,  
καὶ καὶ ὑμᾶς, παῖδες· νῦν οἰνέσθαι τῷ μὲν γάρ  
ἔπειται  
ἡλικία, τοῖς δ' εὐγένειαν ἔχῃν προξενεῖ-  
τό γε μὴν μέγεθος τῆς βασιλείας ἀρκεῖ καὶ πλείο-  
479 σιν. οὓς δὲ Καίσαρι μὲν ηνωσεν, καθίστησιν δὲ  
πατήρ, ὑμεῖς τησατε μήτε ἀδίκους μήτε ἀνω-  
μάλους τιμὰς διδόντες, ἐκάστῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸ  
πορειον· οὐ γάρ τοσοῦτον εὐφρανεῖ τις τὸ  
460 ἀτιμούμενον. οὓς γε μὴν ἐκάστῳ συνεῖναι δεήσει  
συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους, ἐγὼ διαιτεμῶ καὶ τῆς ὅμο-  
νοιας ἐγγυητὰς ἐκείνους καταστήσομαι, σαφῶς  
ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι τὰς στάσεις καὶ τὰς φιλονεικία  
γεννῶσιν αἱ τῶν συνδιατριβόντων κακοτήθειαι, καὶ  
471 ὡσιν οὗτοι χρηστοί, τηροῦσιν τὰς στοργάς. ἀξιοί  
δ' οὐ μόνον τούτους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ στρατι-  
μονι ταξιάρχους ἐν ἑμοὶ μόνον τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχει  
ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος· οὐ γάρ βασιλείαν, ἀλλὰ τιμὴν  
βασιλείας τοῖς νιόις παραδίδωμι, καὶ τῶν μὲ  
ἡδέων ὡς ἄρχοντες ἀπολαύσουσιν, τὸ βάρος δ

<sup>1</sup> ἀμειβόμενος Havercamp on ms. authority.

\* Greek "uneven."

to God, and no less to Caesar, who had re-established his disordered household and had given his sons a greater boon than a kingdom, namely concord.

"The ties of that concord," he continued, "I shall bind more closely myself; for Caesar has appointed me lord of the realm and arbiter of the succession, and I, in consulting my own advantage, also repay my debt to him. I now declare these my three sons kings, and I beseech first God, and then you, to ratify my decision. They are entitled to the succession, this one by his age, the others by their noble birth; indeed the extent of my kingdom would suffice for even a greater number. Those, therefore, whom Caesar has united and their father now nominates, do you uphold; let the honours you award them be neither undeserved nor unequal,<sup>a</sup> but proportioned to the rank of each; for in paying deference to any beyond the deserts of his age, you gratify him less than you grieve the one whom you slight. I myself shall select the advisers and attendants<sup>b</sup> who are to consort with each of my sons, and shall hold them responsible for keeping the peace, being well aware that factions and rivalries among princes are produced by the malign influence of associates, while virtuous companions promote natural affection.

"I must require these persons, however, and not them only but also the officers of my army, for the present to rest their hopes on me alone; for it is not the kingdom, but the mere honours of royalty, which I am now delivering over to my sons. They will enjoy the pleasures of power, as if actual rulers,

He decla  
his three  
sons heir  
the thron

<sup>a</sup> συγγενεῖς and φίλοι are, as Reinach points out, technical terms in the hierarchy of a Hellenistic court.

462 τῶν πραγμάτων ἐμόν ἔστιν, καὶ μὴ θέλω. σκεπτέσθω δ' ἕκαστος τὴν τε ἡλικίαν μου καὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν τοῦ βίου καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν· οὗτε γὰρ οὗτως εἰμὶ γέρων, ὥστ' ἂν ἀπελπισθῆναι ταχέως, οὗτε εἰς τρυφὴν ἐκδιαιτώμενος, ἢ καὶ νέους ἐπιτέμνεται, τὸ δὲ θεῖον οὗτως τεθεραπεύκαμεν, ὥστ'

463 ἂν ἐπὶ μήκιστον βίου προελθεῖν. ὁ δὴ τοὺς ἐμοὺς παῖδας θεραπεύων ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμῇ καταλύσει δώσει μοι καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων δίκας· οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ φθονῶν τοῖς ἐξ ἐμοῦ γεγειημένοις ἀνακόπτω τὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς φιλοτιμίαν, ἐπιστάμενος δὲ τοῖς νέοις

464 γίνεσθαι τὰς σπουδὰς θράσους ἐφόδιον. εἴ γε μὴν ἕκαστος ἐνθυμηθείη τῶν προσιόντων, ὅτι χρηστὸς μὲν ὡν παρ' ἐμοῦ λήψεται τὴν ἀμοιβήν, στασιάζων δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῷ θεραπευομένῳ τὸ κακόηθες ἀνόνητον ἔξει, πάντας οἶμαι τὰ ἐμὰ φρονήσειν, τουτέστιν τὰ τῶν ἐμῶν νῦν· καὶ γὰρ τούτοις συμφέρει κρατεῖν ἐμὲ κάμοὶ τούτους<sup>1</sup> ὅμοιοις νοεῖν. ὑμεῖς δέ, ὡς παῖδες ἀγαθοί, πρῶτον μὲν ἐνθυμούμενοι τὴν ἱερὰν φύσιν, ἃς καὶ παρὰ θηρίοις αἱ στοργαὶ μένουσιν, ἔπειτα τὸν ποιησάμενον ἡμῶν τὰς διαλλαγὰς Καίσαρα, τρίτον ἐμὲ τὸν ἐν οἷς ἔξεστιν ἐπιτάσσειν παρακαλοῦντα, μείνατε ἀδελφοί. δίδωμι δὲ ὑμῖν ἐσθῆτα [τε]<sup>2</sup> ἥδη καὶ θεραπείαν βασιλικήν· ἐπεύχομαι δὲ καὶ τῷ θεῷ

466 τηρῆσαι τὴν ἐμὴν κρίσιν, ἂν δμονοήτε." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ φιλοφρόνως ἕκαστον τῶν νῦν κατασπασάμενος διέλυσεν τὸ πλῆθος, τοὺς μὲν συν-

<sup>1</sup> So the corrector of A: τούτοις the rest.<sup>2</sup> I.R.C: om. the rest.

but upon me, however unwilling, will fall the burden of office. Consider, each one of you, my age, my manner of life, my piety. I am not so old that my life may soon be past praying for, nor given over to the pleasures of luxury, which cut short the lives even of the young : I have served the deity so faithfully that I may hope for the longest term of life. Whoever, then, pays court to my sons to bring about my downfall shall be punished by me for their sakes as well as my own. For it is not jealousy of my offspring which causes me to restrict the homage to be paid them ; it is the knowledge that such flattering attentions foster recklessness in the young. If everyone who is brought into contact with my sons will but remember that, if he acts honourably he will win his reward from me, whereas if he promotes discord his malicious conduct will bring him no benefit even from the object of his flattery, then I think that all will have my interests, in other words my sons' interest, at heart ; for it is to their advantage that I should govern, and to mine that they should live in harmony.

" As for you, my good children, think first of the sacred ties of nature and the constancy of affection which she instils even into the beasts ; think of Caesar, who brought about our reconciliation ; think, lastly, of me, who entreat you, when I might command, and continue as brothers. I present you, from this moment, with the robes and retinue of royalty ; and I pray God to uphold my decision, if you live in unity."

With these words he tenderly embraced each of his sons and then dismissed the multitude. Of these

ευχομένους τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ὅσοι δ' ἐπεθύμουν μετα-  
βολῆς, μηδ' ἀκηκοέναι προσποιουμένους.

467 (xxiv. 1) Συναπήγει δὲ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἡ στάσις,  
καὶ χείρους τὰς ἐπ' ἄλλήλοις ὑπονοίας ἔχοντες  
ἀπηλλάγησαν, Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν καὶ Ἀριστό-  
βουλος ὁδυνώμενοι κεκυρωμένου Ἀντιπάτρῳ τοῦ  
πρεσβείου, Ἀντίπατρος δὲ καὶ τοῦ δευτερεύειν  
468 νεμεσῶν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ποικιλώτατος  
ῶν τὸ ἥθος ἔχειμυθεῖν τε ἥδει καὶ πολλῷ τῷ παν-  
ούργῳ τὸ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκάλυπτε μῖσος, τοῖς δὲ δι'  
εὐγένειαν πᾶν τὸ νοηθὲν ἦν ἐπὶ γλώσσης· καὶ  
παροξύνοντες μὲν ἐνέκειντο πολλοί, πλείους δὲ  
469 τῶν φίλων παρεδίοντο κατάσκοποι. πᾶν δὲ τὸ  
παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ λαληθὲν εὐθέως ἦν παρ' Ἀντι-  
πάτρῳ, καὶ μετὰ προσθήκης μετέβαινεν ἀπὸ Ἀντι-  
πάτρου πρὸς Ἡρώδην· οὕτε γὰρ ἀπλῶς φθεγ-  
ξάμενος ὁ νεανίας ἀνυπεύθυνος ἦν, ἀλλὰ εἰς  
διαβολὴν τὸ ρῆθὲν ἐστρέφετο, καὶ μετρίως παρ-  
ρησιασαμένου μέγιστα τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις προσ-  
470 επλάττετο. καθίει δ' Ἀντίπατρος ἀεὶ τοὺς ἐρεθί-  
σοντας, ὅπως αὐτῷ τὸ ψεῦδος ἔχοι τὰς ἀφορμὰς  
ἀληθεῖς· καὶ τῶν φημιζομένων ἐν τι διελεγχθὲν  
ἄπασιν πίστιν ἐπετίθει. καὶ τῶν μὲν αὐτοῦ  
φίλων ἡ φύσει στεγανώτατος ἦν ἔκαστος, ἡ κατε-  
σκευάζετο δωρεαῖς, ὡς μηδὲν ἐκφέρεσθαι τῶν ἀπορ-  
ρήτων, καὶ τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου βίον οὐκ ἂν ἥμαρτέν  
τις εἰπὼν κακίας μυστήριον· τοὺς δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ  
συνόντας χρήμασιν διαφθείρων ἡ κολακείας ὑπιών,

<sup>a</sup> Cf. the N.T. phrase " mystery of lawlessness " (μυστήριον τῆς ἀνομίας) in 2 Thess. ii. 7.

some joined in his prayer ; while those who hankered for change pretended that they had not even heard him.

(xxiv. 1) But the brothers on parting carried with them discord in their hearts. They separated more suspicious of each other than before : Alexander and Aristobulus aggrieved at the confirmation of Antipater's right of primogeniture, Antipater resenting the rank accorded to his brothers, even though second to his own. The latter, however, with the extreme subtlety of his character, knew how to hold his tongue and, with much adroitness, dissembled his hatred of his brothers ; while they, from their pride of birth, had all their thoughts upon their lips. They were, moreover, beset by many persons trying to excite them, while a still larger number insinuated themselves into their friendship to spy upon them. Every word spoken in Alexander's circle was instantly in the possession of Antipater and passed from Antipater to Herod, with amplifications. The young man could not make the simplest remark without becoming incriminated, so distorted were his words for the purposes of slander ; if he spoke with a little freedom, the merest trifles were magnified into enormities. Antipater was constantly setting his agents on to irritate him, in order that his lies might have some basis of truth ; and if among the speeches reported one item was established, that was sufficient warrant for the rest. His own friends were all either of a very secretive nature or were induced by presents to divulge no secrets ; so that Antipater's life might have been not incorrectly described as a mystery of iniquity.<sup>a</sup> Alexander's associates, on the other hand, either by bribery or by that seductive

Renewed  
discord  
fostered b  
Antipater  
intrigues.

αῖς πάντα κατειργάσατο, πεποιήκει προδότας καὶ  
 471 τῶν πραττομένων ἡ λαλουμένων φῶρας. πάντα  
 δὲ περιεσκεμμένως δραματουργῶν τὰς πρὸς Ἡρώ-  
 δην ὄδοις ταῖς διαβολαῖς ἐποιεῖτο τεχνικωτάτας,  
 αὐτὸς μὲν ἀδελφοῦ προσωπεῖον ἐπικείμενος, καθ-  
 iεὶς δὲ μηνυτὰς ἑτέρους. κάπειδὰν ἀπαγγελθείη  
 τι κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, παρελθὼν ὑπεκρίνετο καὶ  
 διασύρειν τὸ ρῆθὲν ἀρξάμενος, ἔπειτα κατεσκεύα-  
 ζειν ἡσυχῇ καὶ πρὸς ἀγανάκτησιν ἐξεκαλεῖτο τὸν  
 472 βασιλέα. πάντα δ' εἰς ἐπιβουλὴν ἀνήγετο καὶ τὸ  
 δοκεῖν τῇ σφαγῇ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐφεδρεύειν Ἀλέξ-  
 ανδρον· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως πίστιν ἔχορίγει ταῖς δια-  
 βολαῖς, ὡς ἀπολογούμενος Ἀντίπατρος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ.

473 (2) Τούτοις Ἡρώδης ἐξαγριούμενος ὅσον ὑφ-  
 ἴρει καθ' ἡμέραν τῆς πρὸς τὰ μειράκια στοργῆς,  
 τοσοῦτον Ἀντίπατρῷ προσετίθει. συναπέκλιναν  
 δὲ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ βασίλειον οἱ μὲν ἔκόντες, οἱ  
 δ' ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος, ὥσπερ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τιμιώ-  
 τατος τῶν φίλων, οἱ τε ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ  
 πᾶσα ἡ γενεά· πάντα γὰρ Ἀντίπατρος ἦν, καὶ τὸ  
 πικρότατον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, πάντα ἦν ἡ Ἀντί-  
 πάτρου μήτηρ, σύμβουλος κατ' αὐτῶν μητριαῖς χα-  
 λεπωτέρα καὶ πλειόν τι προγόνων μισοῦσα τοὺς ἐκ  
 474 βασιλίδος. πάντες μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐθερά-  
 πευον Ἀντίπατρον ἦδη, συναφίστα δ' ἔκαστον τὰ

<sup>a</sup> Mentioned as entertaining Herod at Rhodes (i. 280), as his executor (i. 667), as befriending Archelaus (ii. 14), etc.

<sup>b</sup> Doris.

flattery, which Antipater invariably found effective, had been converted by the latter into traitors and detectives to report all that was said or done by his brother. With a careful eye to every detail in the staging of the play, he would plan with consummate art the modes of bringing these calumnies to the ears of Herod, himself assuming the rôle of a devoted brother, and leaving that of informer to others. Then, when any word was spoken against Alexander, he would come forward and play his part, and, beginning by ridiculing the allegation, would afterwards quietly proceed to confirm it and so call forth the king's indignation. Everything was interpreted as a plot and made to produce the impression that Alexander was watching his opportunity to murder his father; and nothing lent more credit to these calumnies than Antipater's pleading in his brother's defence.

(2) These insinuations exasperating Herod, his affection for the young princes diminished daily, while his regard for Antipater proportionately increased. The king's alienation from the lads was shared by people at court, some acting of their own accord, others under orders, such as Ptolemy,<sup>a</sup> the most honoured of his friends, the king's brothers and all his family. For Antipater was all-powerful, and —this was Alexander's bitterest blow—all-powerful too was Antipater's mother,<sup>b</sup> who was in league with him against the two and harsher than a stepmother, with a hatred for these sons of a princess greater than for ordinary stepchildren. All persons, accordingly, now paid court to Antipater, because of the expectations which he inspired; everyone was further instigated to desert his rivals by the orders

τοῦ βασιλέως προστάγματα, παραγγείλαντος τοῖς  
 τιμιωτάτοις μήτε προσιέναι μήτε προσέχειν τοῖς  
 περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον. φοβερὸς δ' ἦν οὐ μόνον τοῖς  
 ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν φίλοις.  
 οὐδενὶ γὰρ βασιλέων Καῖσαρ τοσαύτην ἔδωκεν  
 ἔξουσίαν, ὥστε τὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ φυγόντα καὶ μὴ  
 475 προσηκούσης πόλεως ἔξαγαγεῖν. τὰ δὲ μειράκια  
 τὰς μὲν διαβολὰς ἡγνόουν,<sup>1</sup> παρὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀφυ-  
 λάκτως ἐνέπιπτον αὐταῖς· οὐδὲν<sup>2</sup> γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ  
 φανερῶς ἀπεμέμφετο· συνίει δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ ϕύγματος καὶ <ὅτι><sup>3</sup> πρὸς τὸ λυποῦν μᾶλλον  
 ἐτραχύνετο. διέθηκεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν θεῖον  
 Φερώραν Ἀντίπατρος ἔχθρωδῶς καὶ τὴν τηθίδα  
 Σαλώμην, ὡς ἂν γαμετὴν<sup>4</sup> οὖσαν, καθομιλῶν ἀεὶ  
 476 καὶ παροξύνων. συνήργει δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ταύτης  
 ἀπέχθειαν ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου γυνὴ Γλαφύρα γενεα-  
 λογοῦσα τὴν ἑαυτῆς εὐγένειαν, καὶ ὡς πασῶν τῶν  
 κατὰ τὸ βασίλειον εἴη δεσπότις, κατὰ πατέρα μὲν  
 ἀπὸ Τημένου, κατὰ μητέρα δὲ ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ  
 477 Ὑστάσπεως οὖσα. πολλὰ δὲ ὧνείδιζεν εἰς ἀγένειαν  
 τὴν τε ἀδελφὴν τὴν Ἡρώδου καὶ τὰς γυναικας,  
 ὡν ἐκάστη δι' εὐμορφίαν οὐκ ἀπὸ γένους ἡρέθη.  
 πολλαὶ δ' ἦσαν, ὡς ἂν ἐφειμένου τε πατρίως Ἰου-  
 δαίοις γαμεῖν πλείους καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡδομένους  
 πλείοσιν, αἱ πᾶσαι διὰ τὸ μεγάλαυχον τὸ Γλα-  
 φύρας καὶ τὰς λοιδορίας ἐμίσουν Ἀλέξανδρον.

<sup>1</sup> ΡΑΜ: ἡγνόει the rest.

<sup>2</sup> ΡΛ: οὐδενὶ the rest. <sup>3</sup> Ins. Casaubon.

<sup>4</sup> Text suspected: Naber reads συνετὴν, Destinon χαλεπὴν.

of the king, who had forbidden those highest in his favour to approach or pay any attention to Alexander or his brother. Herod's formidable influence extended, moreover, beyond his realm to his friends abroad ; for no other sovereign had been empowered by Caesar, as he had, to reclaim a fugitive subject even from a state outside his jurisdiction. The young men, meanwhile, as their father had never openly reproached them, were ignorant of these calumnies, and being, consequently, off their guard, laid themselves still more open to them ; but little by little their eyes were opened by his coldness and increased asperity whenever anything annoyed him. Antipater further roused against them the enmity of their uncle Pheroras and their aunt Salome, perpetually coaxing and working upon his aunt's feelings, as though she had been his wife. Salome's hostility was aggravated by Glaphyra, Alexander's wife,<sup>a</sup> who boasted of her noble ancestry and claimed to be mistress of all the ladies at court, because she was descended on her father's side from Temenus,<sup>b</sup> on her mother's from Darius, son of Hystaspes. On the other hand, she was constantly taunting with their low birth Herod's sister and his wives, all of whom had been chosen for their beauty and not for their family. His wives were numerous, since polygamy was permitted by Jewish custom and the king gladly availed himself of the privilege. All these, on account of Glaphyra's arrogance and abuse, hated Alexander.

Arrogance  
of Glaphy-  
provokes  
the ladies  
of Herod  
court.

<sup>a</sup> And daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia (§ 446).

<sup>b</sup> One of the Heracleidae, who gave his name to the Temenid kings of Macedonia (Thuc. ii. 99), from whom Archelaus claimed to be descended.

- 478 (3) Τὴν δὲ δὴ Σαλώμην, καίτοι πενθερὰν οὖσαν, αὐτὸς Ἀριστόβουλος ἔαντῷ διεστασίασεν, ὥργισμένην καὶ πρόσθεν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκ Γλαφύρας βλασφημίαις· ὡνείδιζεν γὰρ τῇ γυναικὶ συνεχῶς τὴν ταπεινότητα, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ἴδιωτιν, ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρος γῆμαι βασιλίδα. τοῦτο κλαίουσα τῇ Σαλώμῃ διήγειλεν ἡ θυγάτηρ, προσετίθει δ' ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀδελφῶν τὰς μὲν μητέρας ἀπειλοῦν οἱ περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπειδὴν παραλάβωσιν τὴν βασιλείαν, ἵστουργοὺς ἂμα ταῖς δούλαις ποιήσειν, αὐτοὺς δὲ κωμῶν γραμματεῖς, ἐπισκώπτοντες ὡς πεπαιδευμένους<sup>1</sup> ἐπιμελῶς. πρὸς ἀ τὴν ὄργὴν οὐ κατασχοῦσα Σαλώμη πάντα διήγειλεν Ἡρώδη· σφόδρα δ' ἦν ἀξιόπιστος κατὰ 480 γαμβροῦ λέγουσα. καί τις ἑτέρα διαβολὴ συνέδραμεν ἡ τὸν θυμὸν ὑπεκκαύσασα τοῦ βασιλέως ἥκουσεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀνακαλεῖσθαι μὲν συνεχῶς τὴν μητέρα καὶ κατοιμώζειν ἐπαρωμένους αὐτῷ πολλάκις δ' αὐτοῦ διαδιδόντος τῶν Μαριάμμης ἐσθῆτων τινὰ ταῖς μεταγενεστέραις γυναιξὶν ἀπειλεῖν ὡς ἀντὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐν τάχει περιθήσουσι αὐταῖς ἐκ τρυχῶν<sup>2</sup> πεποιημένας.
- 481 (4) Διὰ ταῦτα καίτοι τὸ φρόνημα τῶν νεανισκῶν ὑποδείσας, ὅμως οὐκ ἀπέκοπτε τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς διορθώσεως, ἀλλὰ προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτοὺς καὶ γὰρ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐκπλεύσειν ἔμελλεν, βραχές μὲν ἡπείλησεν ὡς βασιλεύς, τὰ πολλὰ δ' ἐνουθέτησεν ὡς πατήρ, καὶ φιλεῖν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς παρεκάλει διδοὺς τῶν προημαρτημένων ἄφεσιν, ε 482 πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἀμείνους γένοιντο. οἱ δὲ τὰς μὲν

<sup>1</sup> M: παιδειομένους the rest.

<sup>2</sup> Niese: τριχᾶν "hair-cloth" mss. The parallel passage

(3) Aristobulus himself alienated Salome, his own mother-in-law, furious as she was already at Glaphyra's scurrility; for he was continually upbraiding his wife for her low origin, saying that he had married a woman of the people and his brother Alexander a princess. Salome's daughter reported this, with tears, to her mother; she added that Alexander and Aristobulus had threatened, when they came to the throne, to set the mothers of their other brothers to work at the loom along with the slave-girls, and to make the princes themselves village clerks, sarcastically referring to the careful education which they had received. At that Salome, unable to control her indignation, reported the whole to Herod; as she was accusing her own son-in-law, her evidence carried very great weight. Another calumny came simultaneously to inflame the king's wrath. He was told that the young princes had their mother's name perpetually on their lips, cursing him while they bemoaned her, and that when he distributed, as he often did, some of Mariamme's apparel to his more recent wives, they would threaten that they would ere long strip them of these royal robes and clothe them in rags.

(4) Herod, though he had learnt through such reports to fear these high-spirited young men, did not abandon hopes of their reformation. Just before setting sail for Rome he sent for them, and delivered some curt threats as sovereign, followed by a long paternal admonition, exhorting them to love their brothers and promising to pardon their past offences if they would amend their ways for the

*A. xvi. 204 has τρίχεσιν which appears to be a corruption of τρύχεσιν.*

# JOSEPHUS

διαβολὰς ἀπεσκευάζοντο ψευδεῖς εἶναι λέγοντες,  
πιστώσεσθαι δὲ τὴν ἀπολογίαν τοῖς ἔργοις ἔφα-  
σκον· δεῖν μέντοι κάκεῖνον ἀποφράττειν τὰς λογο-  
πούιας τῷ μὴ πιστεύειν ρᾶδίως· οὐ γὰρ ἐπι-  
λείψειν τοὺς καταψευσομένους αὐτῶν, ἥως ἂν ὁ  
πειθόμενος ἦ.

483 (5) Τούτοις ὡς πατέρα πείσαντες ταχέως τὸν  
μὲν ἐν χερσὶν φόβον διεκρούσαντο, τὴν δὲ εἰς τὰ  
μέλλοντα λύπην προσέλαβον· ἔγνωσαν γὰρ τὴν τε  
Σαλώμην ἔχθρὰν καὶ τὸν θεῖον Φερώραν. ἦσαν  
δὲ βαρεῖς [μὲν]<sup>1</sup> ἀμφότεροι καὶ χαλεποί, Φερώρας  
δὲ μείζων,<sup>2</sup> ὃς πάσης μὲν ἐκοινώνει τῆς βασιλείας  
πλὴν διαδήματος, προσόδους<sup>3</sup> δὲ ἴδιας εἶχεν ἑκα-  
τὸν τάλαντα, τὴν δὲ πέραν Ἰορδάνου πᾶσαν ἐκαρ-  
ποῦτο χώραν λαβὼν παρὰ τάδελφοῦ δῶρον, ὃς  
αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν καὶ τετράρχην αἰτησάμενος παρὰ  
Καίσαρος, βασιλικῶν τε γάμων ἤξιωσεν συνοι-  
κίσας ἀδελφὴν τῆς ἴδιας γυναικός· μετὰ δὲ τὴν  
ἐκείνης τελευτὴν καθωσίωσε τὴν πρεσβυτάτην  
τῶν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρων ἐπὶ προικὶ τριακοσίοις  
484 ταλάντοις. ἀλλ' ἀπέδρα Φερώρας τὸν βασιλικὸν  
γάμον πρὸς ἔρωτα δούλης, ἐφ' ὧ χαλεπήνας  
Ἡρώδης τὴν μὲν θυγατέρα τῷ πρὸς Πάρθων  
ὑστερον ἀναιρεθέντι συνέζευξεν ἀδελφιδῷ· Φερώρᾳ

<sup>1</sup> om. PAM.

<sup>2</sup> μεῖζον ML: amplius Lat.: μειζόνως Destinon.

<sup>3</sup> προσόδου PVC.

<sup>a</sup> Name unknown.

<sup>b</sup> Salampsio, daughter of Mariamme I.

<sup>c</sup> i.e. to the son of his brother Phasael (*A. xvi.* 196), also called Phasael (*A. xvii.* 22). Nothing is known of the fate

future. For their part, they repudiated the charges, declaring that they were false, and assured their father that their actions would vindicate their statement ; he ought, however (they added), on his side to stop the mouths of these tale-bearers by refusing so readily to believe them ; for there would never be wanting persons ready to calumniate them, so long as they found anyone to listen to them.

(5) The father's heart was quickly reassured by their words ; but if the youths thus dispelled their immediate anxiety, the thought of the future brought them new apprehensions, knowing, as they did, the hostility of Salome and their uncle Pheroras. Both were formidable and dangerous, but the more redoubtable was Pheroras, who shared with Herod all the honours of royalty, except the diadem. He had a private income of a hundred talents, exclusive of the revenue derived from the whole of the trans-Jordanic region, a gift from his brother, who had also, after requesting Caesar's permission, appointed him tetrarch. Herod had conferred upon him the further honour of marrying one of the royal family, by uniting him to the sister of his own wife.<sup>a</sup> On her death, he had pledged to him the eldest of his own daughters,<sup>b</sup> with a dowry of three hundred talents ; but Pheroras rejected the royal wedding to run after a slave-girl of whom he was enamoured. Herod, indignant at this slight, married his daughter to one of his nephews,<sup>c</sup> who was subsequently killed by the Parthians ; his resentment, however, subsided

Pheroras  
disfavour  
with Herod

of this youth, and Reinach suggests that in the following words there has been some confusion or corruption of text, and that Josephus intended to say "son of Phasael who had been previously killed by the Parthians" (see *B. i.* 271).

δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τὴν ὄργὴν ἀνίει διδοὺς συγ-  
γνώμην τῇ νόσῳ.

485 (6) Διεβάλλετο δὲ καὶ πάλαι μὲν ἔτι ζώσης τῆς  
βασιλίδος ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ φαρμάκοις, τότε δὲ  
πλεῖστοι μηνυταὶ προσήσαν, ώς καίπερ φιλ-  
αδελφότατον ὅντα τὸν Ἡρώδην εἰς πίστιν ὑπ-  
αχθῆναι τῶν λεγομένων καὶ δέος. πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν  
ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ βασανίσας τελευταῖον ἥλθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς

486 Φερώρου φίλους. ὃν ἐπιβουλὴν μὲν ἄντικρυς  
ώμολόγησεν οὐδείς, ὅτι δὲ τὴν ἐρωμένην ἀρπα-  
σάμενος εἰς Πάρθους ἀποδρᾶναι παρεσκευάζετο,  
συμμετέχοι<sup>1</sup> δὲ τοῦ σκέμματος αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς  
φυγῆς Κοστόβαρος ὁ Σαλώμης ἀνήρ, ὃ συν-  
ώκισεν αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ τοῦ προτέρου

487 διαφθαρέντος. ἦν δ' ἐλευθέρα διαβολῆς οὐδὲ Σα-  
λώμη· καὶ γὰρ αὐτῆς Φερώρας ἀδελφὸς κατ-  
ηγόρει συνθῆκας περὶ γάμου πρὸς Συλλαῖον τὸν  
Ὀβάδα τοῦ Ἀράβων βασιλέως ἐπίτροπον, ὃς ἦν  
ἐχθρότατος Ἡρώδῃ. διελεγχθεῖσα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο  
καὶ πάντ' ὅσα Φερώρας ἐνεκάλει συγγινώσκεται,  
καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ Φερώραν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπέλυσεν τῶν  
ἐγκλημάτων.

488 (7) Μετέβαινεν δὲ ἐπ' Ἀλέξανδρον ὁ χειμῶν  
τῆς οἰκίας καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐκείνου κεφαλὴν ὅλος  
ἀπηρείσατο. τρεῖς ἡσαν εὔνοῦχοι τιμιώτατοι τῷ  
βασιλεῖ, καὶ δῆλον ἐξ ὃν ἐλειτούργουν· τῷ μὲν  
γὰρ οὐοχοεῦν προσετέτακτο, τῷ δὲ δεῖπνον προσ-  
φέρειν, ὁ δ' αὐτὸν κατεκοίμιζέν τε καὶ συγκατ-

<sup>1</sup> Destinon: συμμέτοχοι MSS.

ere long and he made allowance for his love-sick brother.

(6) Long before, while the queen<sup>a</sup> was still alive, and suspected of plotting against him c. 10 B.C. Pheroras had been accused of a plot to poison Herod ; but at the period now reached informers came forward in such numbers that Herod, though the most affectionate of brothers, was led to believe their statements and to take alarm. After putting many suspected persons to the torture he came last of all to the friends of Pheroras. None of these admitted outright that there was such a plot, though they said that Pheroras was preparing to fly to Parthia, carrying off his mistress with him, and that his accomplice in this design and partner in his intended flight was Costobarus, Salome's husband, to whom the king had given his sister, when her former husband was put to death on a charge of adultery. Even Salome herself did not escape calumny : she was accused by her brother Pheroras of signing a contract to marry Syllaeus, the procurator<sup>b</sup> of Obadas, king of Arabia, and Herod's bitterest enemy. However, though convicted of this and of everything else of which she was accused by Pheroras, she was pardoned ; while Pheroras himself was acquitted by the king of the charges against him. Herod pardons him and Salome.

(7) The tempest lowering over Herod's house thus veered round to Alexander and burst in full force about his devoted head. There were three eunuchs who held a special place in the king's esteem, as is indicated by the services with which they were charged : one poured out his wine, another served him his supper, and the third put him to bed and Alexander denounced by Herod's eunuchs

<sup>b</sup> Or " viceroy " ; see *A.* xvi. 220 (Syllaeus administers the realm of the indolent Obadas).

# JOSEPHUS

489 εκλίνετο. τούτους εἰς τὰ παιδικὰ δώροις μεγάλοις  
 ὑπηγάγετο ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. μηνυθὲν δὲ τῷ βασι-  
 λεῖ διηλέγχοντο βασάνοις, καὶ τὴν μὲν συνουσίαν  
 εὐθέως ὡμολόγουν, ἐξέφερον δὲ καὶ τὰς εἰς αὐτὴν  
 ὑποσχέσεις, διν τρόπον ἀπατηθεῖν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάν-  
 490 δρου λέγοντος, ὡς οὐκ ἐν Ἡρώδῃ δέοι τὰς ἐλπίδας  
 ἔχειν, ἀναιδεῖ γέροντι καὶ βαπτομένῳ τὰς κόμας,  
 εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτὸν οἴονται καὶ νέον, αὐτῷ δὲ  
 προσέχειν, ὃς καὶ παρὰ ἄκοντος διαδέξεται τὴν  
 βασιλείαν, οὐκ εἰς μακράν τε τοὺς μὲν ἔχθροὺς  
 ἀμυνεῖται, τοὺς φίλους δ' εὐδαιμονας ποιήσει καὶ  
 491 μακαρίους, πρὸ πὰντων δὲ αὐτούς· εἶναι δὲ καὶ  
 θεραπείαν τῶν δυνατῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον  
 λαθραίαν, τούς τε ἡγεμόνας τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ  
 καὶ τοὺς ταξιάρχους κρύφα πρὸς αὐτὸν συνιέναι.  
 492 (8) Ταῦτα τὸν Ἡρώδην οὕτως ἐξεφόβησεν, ὡς  
 μηδὲ παραχρῆμα τολμῆσαι τὰς μηνύσεις ἐκ-  
 φέρειν, ἀλλὰ κατασκόπους ὑποπέμπων νύκτωρ καὶ  
 μεθ' ἡμέραν ἔκαστα τῶν πραττομένων ἢ λεγο-  
 μένων διηρεύνα καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ὑποφίαις εὐθέως  
 493 ἀνήρει. δεινῆς δὲι ἀνομίας ἐνεπλήσθη τὸ βασί-  
 λειον· κατὰ γὰρ ἔχθραν ἢ μῖσος ἵδιον ἔκαστος  
 ἐπλασσεν τὰς διαβολάς, καὶ πολλοὶ πρὸς τοὺς δια-  
 φόρους φονῶντι τῷ βασιλικῷ θυμῷ κατεχρῶντο.  
 καὶ τὸ μὲν ψεῦδος εἶχεν παραχρῆμα πίστιν, αἱ  
 κολάσεις δὲ τῶν διαβολῶν ἦσαν ὡκύτεραι· κατ-  
 ηγορεῖτο γοῦν τις ἄρτι κατηγορήσας καὶ τῷ  
 πρὸς αὐτοῦ διελεγχθέντι συναπήγετο, τὰς γὰρ  
 ἐξετάσεις τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς κίν-  
 494 δυνος ὑπετέμνετο.<sup>2</sup> προύβη δ' εἰς τοσοῦτον πι-  
 κρίας, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν ἀκαταιτιάτων τινὶ προσβλέ-

<sup>1</sup> ὅη A : itaque Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπετέμνετο AM.

slept in his chamber. Alexander by large presents corrupted these menials for criminal ends ; on being informed of which the king submitted them to trial by torture. They at once confessed their relations with Alexander, and then went on to reveal the promises which had brought them about. Alexander, they said, had inveigled them by saying : " You ought not to place your hopes on Herod, a shameless old man who dyes his hair, unless this disguise has actually made you take him for a youngster ; it is to me, Alexander, that you should look, to me, who am to inherit the throne, whether he will or no, and shall ere long be avenged on my enemies and bring fortune and bliss to my friends, and above all to you." They added that persons of rank secretly paid court to Alexander and that the generals and officers of the army had clandestine interviews with him.

(8) These disclosures so terrified Herod that at the time he did not even dare to divulge them ; but, sending out spies night and day, he scrutinized all that was done or said, and at once put to death any who fell under suspicion. The palace was given over to frightful anarchy. Everyone, to gratify some personal enmity or hatred, invented calumnies ; many turned to base account against their adversaries the murderous mood of wrathful royalty. Lies found instant credit, but chastisement was even swifter than calumny : the accuser of a moment ago found himself accused and led off to death with him whose conviction he had obtained ; for the grave peril to his life cut short the king's inquiries. He grew so embittered that he had no gentle looks even for

πειν ἡμέρως, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἀπηνέστατος· πολλοῖς γοῦν αὐτῶν ἀπεῖπεν τὸ βασίλειον καὶ πρὸς οὓς οὐκ εἶχεν χειρὸς ἔξουσίαν τῷ λόγῳ χαλεπὸς 495 ἦν. συνεπέβη δὲ Ἐγένετο τοις συμφοραῖς Ἀλέξανδρῳ καὶ στῖφος ποιήσας τῶν συγγενῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἥντινα διαβολὴν παρέλιπεν. προήχθη γέ τοι πρὸς τοσοῦτον δέος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῆς τερατείας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν συνταγμάτων, ὡς ἐφεστάναι δοκεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἔιφήρη. 496 συλλαβὼν οὖν<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸν ἔξαπίνης ἔδησεν καὶ πρὸς βάσανον ἔχώρει τῶν φύλων αὐτοῦ. σιγῶντες δὲ ἀπέθνησκον πολλοὶ καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὲρ τὸ συνειδὸς εἰπόντες· οἱ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλγηδόνων ψεύσασθαι βιασθέντες ἔλεγον, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοι τε αὐτῷ μετὸν Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ παραφυλάττει. 497 κυνηγοῦντα κτείνας εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποδρᾶναι. τούς τοις καίπερ οὐ πιθανοῖς οὖσιν ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐσχεδιασμένοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπίστευσεν ἡδέως παραμυθίαν λαμβάνων τοῦ δῆσαι τὸν νιὸν τὸ μιδοκεῖν ἀδίκως.

498 (xxv. 1) Ο δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπεὶ τὸν πατέρι μεταπείθειν ἀμήχανον ἔώρα, τοῖς δεινοῖς ὅμοσχωρεῦν διέγνω, καὶ τέσσαρας κατὰ τῶν ἔχθρων βίβλους συνταξάμενος προσωμολόγει μὲν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, κοινωνοὺς δ' ἀπεδείκνυεν τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν, πρὸ δὲ πάντων Φερώραν καὶ Σαλώμην ταύτην γὰρ δὴ καὶ μιγῆναι ποτε αὐτῷ μὴ θέλοντι 499 νύκτωρ εἰσβιασαμένην. αἱ τε οὖν βίβλοι παρῆσαν Ἡρώδη εἰς χεῖρας πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ κατὰ τῷ

<sup>1</sup> οὖν LTRC.

those who were not accused and treated his own friends with the utmost harshness : many of these he refused to admit to court, while those who were beyond the reach of his arm came under the lash of his tongue. To add to Alexander's misfortunes, Antipater returned to the charge and, raising a band of kindred spirits, had recourse to every conceivable form of calumny. By his portentous fictions and fabrications the king was, in fact, reduced to such a state of alarm, that he fancied he saw Alexander coming upon him sword in hand. He, accordingly, had the prince suddenly arrested and imprisoned, and then proceeded to put his friends to the torture. Many died silent, without saying anything beyond what they knew ; but some were driven by their sufferings to falsehood and declared that Alexander and his brother Aristobulus were conspiring against him and were watching for an opportunity to kill him, while out hunting, meaning then to escape to Rome. This statement, improbable as it was and invented off-hand under the pressure of torment, the king nevertheless found satisfaction in believing, consoling himself for having imprisoned his son with the thought that his action had been justified.

(xxv. 1) Alexander, perceiving the impossibility of shaking his father's belief, resolved boldly to confront the perils that menaced him. He, therefore, composed four books directed against his enemies, in which he avowed the conspiracy, but denounced most of them as accomplices, above all Pheroras and Salome ; the latter, he declared, had one night even forced her way into his chamber and, against his will, had immoral relations with him. These documents — a mass of shocking accusations incriminating per-

Alexander  
written  
statement

δυνατωτάτων βοῶσαι, καὶ διὰ τάχους εἰς Ἰου-  
 ταίαν Ἀρχέλαος ἀφικνεῖται περὶ τῷ γαμβρῷ καὶ  
 τῇ θυγατρὶ δείσας. γίνεται δὲ βοηθὸς αὐτοῖς  
 μάλα προμηθῆς καὶ τέχνη τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως  
 500 ἀπειλὴν διεκρούσατο. συμβαλὼν γὰρ εὐθέως αὐτῷ  
 “ποῦ ποτέ ἐστιν ὁ ἀλιτήριός μου γαμβρός;”  
 ἐβόα, “ποῦ δὲ τὴν πατροκτόνον ὄψομαι κεφαλήν,  
 ἦν ταῖς ἔμαυτοῦ χερσὶν διασπαράξω; προσθήσω  
 δὲ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα μου τῷ καλῷ νυμφίῳ· καὶ  
 γὰρ εἴ μὴ κεκοινώνηκεν τοῦ σκέμματος, ὅτι  
 501 τοιούτου γυνὴ γέγονεν, μεμίανται. θαυμάζω δὲ  
 καὶ σὲ τὸν ἐπιβουλευθέντα τῆς ἀνεξικακίας, εἰ ζῆ  
 μέχρι νῦν Ἀλέξανδρος· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἡπειρούμην ἀπὸ  
 Καππαδοκίας ὡς τὸν μὲν εὑρήσων πάλαι δεδω-  
 κότα δίκας, μετὰ δὲ σοῦ περὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἔξετά-  
 σων, ἦν ἐκείνῳ γε πρὸς τὸ σὸν ἀξίωμα βλέπων  
 ἐνεγύησα.<sup>1</sup> νῦν δὲ περὶ ἀμφοῦ ἡμῖν βουλευτέον,  
 κανὸς πατὴρ λίαν ἥ<sup>2</sup> τοῦ κολάζειν υἱὸν ἀτονώτε-  
 ρος ἐπίβουλον, ἀμεύψωμεν τὰς δεξιὰς καὶ γενώ-  
 μεθα τῆς ἀλλήλων ὄργης διάδοχοι.”

502 (2) Τούτοις περικομπήσας καίπερ παρατεταγ-  
 μένον Ἡρώδην ὑπάγεται· δίδωσι γοῦν αὐτῷ τὰς  
 συνταχθείσας ὑπ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου βίβλους ἀναγνῶ-  
 ναι καὶ καθ’ ἕκαστον ἐφιστὰς κεφάλαιον συν-  
 εσκέπτετο. λαμβάνει δ’ ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἀφορμὴν τοῖς  
 στρατηγήματος καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς τοὺς ἐγγε-  
 γραμμένους καὶ Φερώραν μετήγαγεν τὰς αἰτίας  
 503 ὡς δ’ ἐώρα πιστεύοντα τὸν βασιλέα, “σκεπτέον,”

<sup>1</sup> ειεγγύησα most miss.

<sup>2</sup> ἥ PA: et Lat.: om. the rest.

sons of the highest rank—had passed into Herod's hands, when Archelaus, alarmed for his son-in-law and daughter, arrived in haste in Judaea. Coming with singular sagacity to their aid, he succeeded by stratagem in diverting the king's threats in another direction. For, the moment he met him, he exclaimed : “ Where is my scoundrel of a son-in-law ? Where shall I set eyes on the person of this parricide, that I may tear him in pieces with my own hands ? My daughter, too, shall share the fate of her fine spouse ; for even if she has had no part in his schemes, as the wife of such a miscreant she is polluted. But you too, the intended victim of the plot, astonish me by your forbearance, in leaving, as it seems, Alexander still alive ! For my part, I hurried hither from Cappadocia expecting to find that the culprit had long since paid his penalty and to hold an inquiry with you upon my daughter, whom, out of regard for your exalted rank, I gave away to that wretch. But now, I find, we have to deliberate about the pair of them. If, then, the fondness of a father's heart unnerves you for punishing a rebellious son, let us each lend the other his hand, each take the other's place in visiting our wrath upon our children.”

(2) With this blustering oration he deluded Herod, notwithstanding the latter's attitude of defiance. Herod, at any rate, handed him for perusal the documents composed by Alexander and examined chapter after chapter with him, dwelling upon each. Archelaus, finding here an opportunity for furthering his ruse, little by little shifted the blame on to the persons whose names appeared in the volumes, particularly Pheroras. When he observed that he was

Visit of  
his father-  
in-law  
Archelaus,  
the  
mediator.

Archelaus  
exculpates  
Alexander,

ἔφη, “ μή ποτε τὸ μειράκιον ὑπὸ τοσούτων εἴη πονηρῶν ἐπιβουλευόμενον, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ μειρακίου σύ· καὶ γὰρ οὐχ ὄρāν αἰτίαν, ἐξ ἣς ἂν εἰς τηλικοῦτον μύσος προέπεσεν, ἀπολαύων μὲν ἥδη βασιλείας, ἐλπίζων δὲ καὶ διαδοχήν, εἰ μή τις ἡσαν ἀναπείθοντες καὶ τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας εὔκολον ἐπὶ κακῷ μεταχειριζόμενοι. διὰ γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων ἐξαπατᾶσθαι μὲν οὐκ ἐφίβους μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ γέροντας, οἴκους δὲ λαμπροτάτους καὶ βασιλείας ὅλας ἀνατρέπεσθαι.”

504 (3) Συνήνει τοῖς λεγομένοις Ἡρώδης, καὶ τὴν μὲν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὄργὴν ἐπανίει πρὸς ὀλίγον, πρὸς δὲ Φερώραν παρωξύνετο· τῶν γὰρ τεσσάρων βίβλων οὗτος ἦν ὑπόθεσις. ὃς κατιδὼν τό τε τοῦ βασιλέως ὁξύρροπον καὶ τὴν Ἀρχελάου φιλίαν παρ’ αὐτῷ πάντων κρατοῦσαν, ὡς οὐκ ἐνῇην εὐσχήμων σωτηρίᾳ, τὴν δι’ ἀναιδείας ἐπορίζετο· καταλείψας γοῦν Ἀλέξανδρον προσέφυγεν Ἀρχε-  
505 λάω. κάκεῦνος οὐχ ὄρāν ἔφη, πῶς ἂν αὐτὸν ἐξαιτήσαιτο τοσούτοις ἐνεχόμενον ἐγκλήμασιν, ἐξ ὃν σαφῶς ἀποδείκνυται τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπίβουλος καὶ τῶν παρόντων τῷ μειρακίῳ κακῶν αἴτιος γεγονώς, εἰ μὴ βούλεται τὸ πανοῦργον καὶ τὰς ἀρνήσεις ἀφεὶς προσομολογῆσαι μὲν τὰ κατηγορημένα, συγγιγώμην δ’ αἰτήσασθαι παρὰ τάδελφοῦ<sup>1</sup> καὶ φιλοῦντος· εἰς γὰρ τοῦτο πάντα τρόπον αὐτῷ συνεργῆσειν.

506 (4) Πείθεται Φερώρας, καὶ κατασκευάσας ἑατόν, ὡς ἂν οἰκτρότατος φανείη, μελαίνῃ τε ἐσθῆτι καὶ δακρύοις προσπίπτει τοῖς Ἡρώδου ποσίν, ὡς<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> παρά τ’ ἀδελφοῦ Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτὸς P.L.

<sup>3</sup> ἡς Niese.

gaining the king's confidence, he remarked : " We must be careful to see that all these villains have not been conspiring against this young man, and not the young man against you. For I can see no reason why he should have plunged into such heinous crime, when he already enjoyed the honours of royalty and expected to succeed to the throne, unless there were others seducing him and misguiding the tractable spirit of youth. Such persons, indeed, have been known to impose not only on the young, but on old men as well ; by them the most illustrious houses and entire kingdoms have been overturned."

(3) Herod assented to this speech ; and for a while relaxed his wrath with Alexander and vented it upon Pheroras, as he was the main theme of the four documents. Pheroras, observing this quick change in the king's feelings and the paramount influence exercised on him by his friend Archelaus, despairing of saving himself by honourable means sought protection in effrontery : he abandoned Alexander and threw himself on the mercy of Archelaus. The latter replied that he did not see how he could sue for pardon for a man involved in such grave charges, which clearly proved that he had plotted against the king and been the cause of the young prince's present misfortunes, unless he were prepared to renounce his villainy and his denials, to own up to the crimes of which he was accused, and to ask pardon of his brother, who indeed loved him ; for that object, said Archelaus, he would render him every possible assistance.

(4) Pheroras took his advice, and assuming an attitude calculated to arouse the deepest compassion, in black raiment and in tears, threw himself at

πολλάκις ἔτυχεν συγγνώμης αἰτούμενος καὶ μιαρὸν  
 μὲν ἔαυτὸν ὁμολογῶν, δεδρακέναι γὰρ πάντα, ὅσα  
 κατηγοροῦτο, παρακοπὴν δὲ φρενῶν καὶ μανίαν  
 ὀδυρόμενος, ἃς αἴτιον εἶναι τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς γυναι-  
 507 κὸς ἔλεγεν. παραστήσας δὴ κατήγορον καὶ μάρ-  
 τυν ἔαυτοῦ Φερώραν Ἀρχέλαος οὗτως ἥδη παρ-  
 γητεῖτο καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου κατέστελλεν ὄργὴν χρώ-  
 μενος οἰκείοις ὑποδείγμασιν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς πολλῷ  
 χαλεπώτερα πάσχων ὑπὸ τἀδελφοῦ τῆς ἀμύνης  
 ἐπίπροσθεν τίθεσθαι τὸ τῆς φύσεως δίκαιον· ἐν  
 γὰρ ταῖς βασιλείαις ὥσπερ ἐν μεγάλοις σώμασιν  
 ἀεί τι μέρος φλεγμαίνειν ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους, ὅπερ  
 ἀποκόπτειν μὲν οὐ χρῆναι, θεραπεύειν δὲ πραό-  
 τερον.

508 (5) Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα λέγων Ἡρώδην μὲν ἐπὶ  
 Φερώρᾳ μειλίσσεται, διέμενε δ' αὐτὸς ἀγανακτῶν  
 πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα διαζεύξας  
 ἀπάξειν ἔφασκεν, ἕως περιέστησεν Ἡρώδην ἀντι-  
 παρακαλεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μειρακίου καὶ πάλιν αὐτῷ  
 μνηστεύεσθαι τὴν θυγατέρα. σφόδρα δὲ ἀξιο-  
 πίστως Ἀρχέλαος ὡς βούλεται συνοικίζειν αὐτὴν  
 ἐπέτρεπεν πλὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου· περὶ πλείστου γὰρ  
 ποιεῖσθαι τηρεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ τῆς ἐπιγαμίας  
 509 δίκαια. φαμένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως δῶρον ἔξειν  
 παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν νιόν, εἰ μὴ λύσειεν τὸν γάμον,  
 ὅντων μὲν αὐτοῖς ἥδη καὶ τέκνων, στεργομένης δ'  
 οὗτως ὑπὸ τοῦ μειρακίου τῆς γυναικός, ἣν παρ-

Herod's feet and craved his pardon as he had often successfully done before. He confessed himself a polluted wretch, guilty of all that was laid to his charge, but deplored his mental derangement and madness, which he attributed to his passion for his wife. Archelaus, after thus inducing Pheroras to appear as his own accuser and to bear witness against himself, now proceeded to plead for him and <sup>pleads</sup> <sub>Pheroras</sub>

(5) By many such representations Archelaus succeeded in soothing Herod's anger against Pheroras. He himself, however, affected to be still indignant with Alexander, protesting that he would divorce his daughter and carry her off with him, until he brought Herod round into the position of a suppliant on the young man's behalf and a suitor, once more, for the hand of Archelaus's daughter for his son. With an air of complete sincerity, Archelaus said that he had his permission to unite her to whom he would, save only Alexander; for his dearest desire was to maintain the marriage ties which linked him to Herod. To this the king replied that Archelaus, by consenting not to break the marriage, would really be giving his son back to him, seeing that they already had children and that the young man was so deeply attached to his wife; if she

*and bri-  
about a  
general  
reconcil-  
tion*

μένουσαν μὲν ἔσεσθαι δυσώπημα τῶν ἀμαρτη-  
μάτων, ἀπορραγεῖσαν δὲ αἰτίαν τῆς εἰς ἄπαντα  
ἀπογνώσεως· μαλακωτέρας γὰρ γίνεσθαι τὰς  
510 τόλμας πάθεσιν οἰκείοις περισπωμένας· κατανεύει  
μόλις Ἀρχέλαος διαλλάσσεται τε καὶ διαλλάσσει  
τῷ νεανίσκῳ τὸν πατέρα. δεῦν μέντοι πάντως  
ἔφη πέμπειν αὐτὸν εἰς Ῥώμην Ιαίσαρι διαλεξό-  
μενον· γεγραφέναι γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐκείνῳ περὶ πάντων.  
511 (6) Τὸ μὲν οὖν Ἀρχελάου στρατήγημα, δι' οὗ  
τὸν γαμβρὸν ἐρρύσατο, πέρας εἶχεν· μετὰ δὲ τὰς  
διαλλαγὰς ἐν εὐώχιαις καὶ φιλοφρονήσεσιν διῆγον.  
ἀπιόντα δ' αὐτὸν Ἡρώδης δωρεῖται ταλάντων  
έβδομήκοντα δώροις θρόνῳ τε χρυσῷ διαλίθῳ καὶ  
εὐνούχοις καὶ παλλακίδι, ἥτις ἐκαλεῖτο Παννυχίς,  
τῶν τε φίλων ἐτίμησεν ἐκαστον κατ' ἀξίαν.  
512 ὁμοίως τε καὶ οἵ συγγενεῖς, προστάξαντος τοῦ  
βασιλέως, πάντες Ἀρχελάῳ δῶρα λαμπρὰ ἔδοσαν,  
προεπέμφθη τε ὑπό τε Ἡρώδου καὶ τῶν δυνατῶν  
ἔως<sup>1</sup> Ἀντιοχείας.

513 (xxvi. 1) Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν  
παρέβαλεν ἀνὴρ πολὺ τῶν Ἀρχελάου στρατηγη-  
μάτων δυνατώτερος, ὃς οὐ μόνον τὰς ὑπ' ἐκείνου  
πολιτευθείσας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ διαλλαγὰς ἀνέτρεψεν,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπωλείας αἴτιος αὐτῷ κατέστη. γένος  
ἥν Λάκων, Εύρυκλῆς τοῦνομα, πόθῳ χρημάτων  
εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν εἰσφθαρείς· οὐ γὰρ ἀντεῖχεν  
514 ἔτι ἡ Ἑλλὰς αὐτοῦ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ. λαμπρὰ δ'  
Ἡρώδη δῶρα προσενεγκών, δέλεαρ ὥν ἐθηράτο,

<sup>1</sup> P: μέχρι(s) the rest.

<sup>a</sup> In A. xvi. 270 it is Herod who undertakes to go to Rome.

<sup>b</sup> Mentioned by Pausanias (ii. 3. 5) as the builder of the finest baths at Corinth.

remained with him, her very presence would make him ashamed of his errors, whereas, were she torn from him, he would be driven to utter desperation ; for the domestic affections exercised a chastening and diverting influence on reckless characters. Archelaus was induced, not without difficulty, to assent, was reconciled to the youthful offender, and reconciled him to his father ; he added, however, that it was absolutely essential that the latter should be sent to Rome for an interview with Caesar, as he himself had forwarded a full report of the matter to the emperor.<sup>a</sup>

(6) Such was the end of the ruse by which Arche- Herod's presents  
laus rescued his son-in-law. After the reconciliation Archelaus  
the time was passed in festivity and interchange of courtesies. On his departure Herod presented him with seventy talents, a throne of gold set with precious stones, some eunuchs, and a concubine, named Pannychis ; he conferred other favours upon each of his friends, proportionate to their rank. Magnificent presents were, likewise, by order of royalty, made to Archelaus by all the high officials at court. Herod and his nobles then escorted him as far as Antioch.

(xxvi. 1) Not long after, however, there arrived in Judaea a man whose influence far outmatched the artifices of Archelaus, and who not only broke up the reconciliation which the latter had negotiated in the interest of Alexander, but also proved the cause of that prince's ruin. He was a Lacedaemonian, named Eurycles,<sup>b</sup> whose accursed visit to the realm arose from a craving for money, when Greece could no longer meet his extravagant requirements. He brought with him magnificent presents for Herod, as

καὶ παραχρῆμα πολλαπλασίω λαβὼν οὐδὲν ἡγεῖτο  
τὴν καθαρὰν δόσιν, εἰ μὴ δι' αἴματος ἐμπορεύ-  
515 σεται τὴν βασιλείαν. περιέρχεται γοῦν τὸν βα-  
σιλέα κολακείᾳ καὶ δεινότητι λόγων καὶ περὶ<sup>1</sup>  
αὐτοῦ ψευδέσιν ἐγκωμίοις. ταχέως δὲ συνιδὼν  
τὸν Ἡρώδου τρόπον καὶ πάντα λέγων τε καὶ  
πράττων τὰ πρὸς ἥδονὴν αὐτῷ, φίλος ἐν τοῖς  
πρώτοις γίνεται· καὶ γάρ ὁ βασιλεὺς διὰ τὴν  
πατρίδα καὶ πάντες οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἥδεως προ-  
ετίμων τὸν Σπαρτιάτην.

516 (2) Ο δ' ἐπεὶ τὰ σαθρὰ τῆς οἰκίας κατέμαθεν,  
τὰς τε τῶν ἀδελφῶν διαφορὰς καὶ ὅπως διέκειτο  
πρὸς ἔκαστον ὁ πατήρ, Ἀντιπάτρου μὲν ξενίᾳ  
προκατείληπτο, τὸ φίλια δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον<sup>1</sup> ὑποκρίνε-  
ται ψευσάμενος ἔταῖρον ἔαυτὸν εἶναι καὶ Ἀρχε-  
λάου πάλαι· διὸ δὴ καὶ ταχέως ὡς δεδοκι-  
μασμένος ἐδέχθη, συνίστησιν δ' αὐτὸν<sup>2</sup> εὐθέως  
517 καὶ Ἀριστοβούλῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ. πάντων δ' ἀπο-  
πειραθεὶς τῶν προσώπων ἄλλον ἄλλως ὑπῆρε,  
γίνεται δὲ προηγουμένως μισθωτὸς Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ  
προδότης Ἀλεξάνδρου, τῷ μὲν ὀνειδίζων, εἰ πρε-  
σβύτατος ὃν περιόψεται τοὺς ἐφεδρεύοντας αὐτοῦ  
ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δέ, εἰ γεγενημένος<sup>3</sup> ἐκ  
βασιλίδος καὶ βασιλίδι συνοικῶν ἔάσει διαδέχεσθαι  
τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν ἐξ ἴδιώτιδος, καὶ ταῦτα μεγίστην  
518 ἀφορμὴν ἔχων Ἀρχέλαον. ἦν δὲ πιστὸς τῷ μει-

<sup>1</sup> Text corrupt: φιλίαν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου Bekker.

<sup>2</sup> εἰατὸν LTRC.

<sup>3</sup> γεγενημένος AL.

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<sup>a</sup> Perhaps, as Reinach suggests, because of the pretended relationship of Spartans and Jews, 1 Macc. xii. 21; Jos. A. xii. 226.

a bait to secure his quarry, and instantly found them returned with interest ; but he accounted a pure and simple gift as nothing, if he failed to make merchandise out of the realm at the price of blood. So he proceeded to impose on the king by flattery, clever talk, and lying encomiums upon his merits. Quickly reading Herod's character and studying in all he said or did to please him, he was soon numbered among his principal friends ; indeed the king and the whole court were delighted to show special honour to this Spartan, out of regard for his country.<sup>a</sup>

(2) When he had learnt everything about the rottenness that was sapping the royal house, the quarrel between the brothers and their father's disposition towards each of them, Eurycles, although under a prior obligation to Antipater for the latter's hospitality, nevertheless feigned a friendship for Alexander, falsely claiming to be an old comrade of Archelaus. With this recommendation he was quickly received as a proved friend and was at once introduced by Alexander to his brother Aristobulus. Exploiting in turn all the various personages,<sup>b</sup> he insinuated himself into favour with each by a different method ; but he chiefly acted as a hireling of Antipater and a traitor to Alexander. To the former he represented how disgraceful it was that he, the eldest son, should overlook the intrigues of persons who had an eye upon his prospects ; to Alexander, that he, the son of one princess and husband of another, should suffer the son of a woman of no station to succeed to the throne, especially when he had in Archelaus such powerful support behind him. The fiction of his being a friend of

<sup>a</sup> Or possibly " Trying in turn all the parts in the play."

ρακίω σύμβουλος τὴν Ἀρχελάου φιλίαν πλασά-  
μενος· διὸ μηδὲν ὑποστελλόμενος Ἀλέξανδρος τά  
τε κατ' Ἀντίπατρον ἀπωδύρετο πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ  
ώς Ἡρώδης αὐτῶν τὴν μητέρα κτείνας οὐ παρά-  
δοξον εἴ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν ἐκείνης βασι-  
λείαν· ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Εὐρυκλῆς οἰκτείρειν τε καὶ συν-  
519 αλγεῖν ὑπεκρίνετο. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν Ἀριστό-  
βουλον εἰπεῖν δελεάσας καὶ ταῖς κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς  
μέμψειν ἐνδησάμενος ἀμφοτέρους ὥχετο φέρων  
Ἀντιπάτρῳ τὰ ἀπόρρητα· προσεπιψεύδεται δ'  
ἐπιβουλὴν ως ἐνεδρευόντων αὐτὸν τῶν ἀδελφῶν  
καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐπιφερόντων ἥδη τὰ ξίφη. λαβὼν  
δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις χρημάτων πλῆθος ἐπανέτης ἦν  
520 Ἀντιπάτρου<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον  
ἔργολαβήσας τὸν Ἀριστοβούλον καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρον  
θάνατον κατήγορος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς γίνεται,  
καὶ προσελθὼν ἀντιδιδόναι τὸ ζῆν ἔφασκεν Ἡρώδῃ  
τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν εὑργεσιῶν καὶ τὸ φῶς ἀμοιβὴν τῆς  
ξενίας ἀντιπαρέχειν· πάλαι γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἡκονῆ-  
σθαι ξίφος καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τετονῶσθαι δεξιάν,  
ἐμποδὼν δ' αὐτὸς γεγονέναι τῷ τάχει συνεργεῖν  
521 ὑποκριθείσ· φάναι γὰρ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ως οὐκ  
ἀγαπᾶ βασιλεύσας αὐτὸς Ἡρώδης ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις  
καὶ μετὰ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν φόνον τὴν ἐκείνης  
ἀρχὴν σπαθήσας, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νόθον εἰσάγεται  
διάδοχον Ἀντιπάτρῳ τῷ φθόρῳ τὴν παππών  
αὐτῶν βασιλείαν προτείνων. τιμωρήσειν γε μὴν  
αὐτὸς τοῖς Ὑρκανοῦ καὶ [τοῖς]<sup>2</sup> Μαριάμμης  
δαιμοσιῶν οὐδὲ γὰρ πρέπειν αὐτὸν διαδέξασθαι

<sup>1</sup> + καὶ PA.<sup>2</sup> P: τῆς AM: om. the rest.<sup>a</sup> Or "in which he was an alien."

Archelaus made the young prince regard him as a counsellor to be trusted ; and so, without any reserve, Alexander poured out to him his grievances against Antipater, adding that it would not be surprising if Herod, after murdering their mother, should rob him and his brother of her kingdom. Thereupon Eurycles pretended to pity and condole with him. He then inveigled Aristobulus into using similar language, and having implicated both brothers in complaints against their father, went off with these confidences ; with the addition of his own invention, that the others were plotting against him, watching their opportunity, and even then were almost upon him sword in hand. Richly rewarded for his intelligence, he proceeded to sing the praises of Antipater to his father. Finally, having undertaken at a price to bring about the death of Aristobulus and Alexander, he came to lay his indictment of them before their parent.

Visiting Herod, he declared that he came to bring him life in return for his benefactions to himself, the light of day in repayment for his hospitality. "For," he said, "a sword has long since been sharpened for your destruction and Alexander's right arm braced to wield it. It is I who have retarded the blow by pretending to assist him." Alexander, he continued, had said that Herod, not content with reigning himself over an empire which belonged to others,<sup>a</sup> not content, after murdering their mother, with squandering her realm, was now proceeding to foist in a bastard as his successor and to offer their grandfather's kingdom to that pest, Antipater. But he, Alexander (so Eurycles reported him), would avenge the spirits of Hyrcanus and Mariamme ; for it would

παρὰ τοιούτου πατρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν δίχα φόνου.  
 522 πολλὰ δ' εἶναι τὰ παροξύνοντα καθ' ἡμέραν, ὥστε  
 μηδὲ λαλιᾶς τινα τρόπον ἀσυκοφάντητον κατα-  
 λελεῖφθαι· περὶ μὲν γὰρ εὐγενείας ἔτέρων μνείας  
 γενομένης αὐτὸς ἀλόγως ὑβρίζεσθαι, τοῦ πατρὸς  
 λέγοντος “ὅ μόνος εὐγενὴς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τὸν  
 πατέρα δι’ ἀγένειαν ἀδοξῶν”· κατὰ δὲ τὰς θήρας  
 προσκρούειν μὲν σιωπῶν, ἐπαινέσας δὲ προσ-  
 523 ακούειν εἴρων. πανταχοῦ δ' ἀμείλικτον εὐρίσκειν  
 τὸν πατέρα καὶ μόνῳ φιλόστοργον Ἀντιπάτρῳ, δι’  
 δν<sup>1</sup> ἥδεως καὶ τεθνήξεσθαι μὴ κρατήσας τῆς ἐπι-  
 βολῆς.<sup>2</sup> κτείναντι δὲ εἶναι σωτηρίας ἀφορμὴν  
 πρῶτον μὲν Ἀρχέλαον ὅντα κηδεστήν, πρὸς δὲ  
 διαφεύξεσθαι ραδίως, ἐπειτα Καίσαρα μέχρι νῦν  
 524 ἀγνοοῦντα τὸν Ἡρώδου τρόπον· οὐ γὰρ ὡς πρό-  
 τερον αὐτῷ παραστήσεσθαι πεφρικὼς τὸν ἐφ-  
 εστῶτα πατέρα, οὐδὲ φθέγγεσθαι<sup>3</sup> περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ  
 μόνον ἐγκλημάτων, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν κηρύξειν τὰς  
 τοῦ ἔθνους συμφορὰς καὶ τοὺς μεχρὶ ψυχῆς φορο-  
 λογουμένους, ἐπειτ’ εἰς οἵας τρυφὰς καὶ πράξεις  
 τὰ δι’ αἷματος πορισθέντα χρήματα ἀνηλώθη,  
 τούς τε ἐξ ἡμῶν πλουτήσαντας οἷοι, καὶ τὰς  
 525 θεραπευθείσας πόλεις ἐπὶ τίσιν. ζητήσειν δὲ καὶ  
 τὸν πάππον ἐκεῖ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὰ τῆς  
 βασιλείας μύση πάντα κηρύξειν, ἐφ’ οἷς οὐ κριθή-  
 σεσθαι πατροκτόνος.

<sup>1</sup> δ Destinon: quae Lat.

<sup>2</sup> Destinon: ἐπιβούλης MSS.; cf. B. vi. 64 (some MSS.).

<sup>3</sup> Bekker with Lat.: φθέγξασθαι MSS.

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<sup>a</sup> Rather his great-grandfather, Hyrcanus, who was the father of Alexandra, the mother of Mariamme.

ill become him to inherit the throne from such a father without bloodshed. Then there were the constant daily provocations to which he was subjected, insomuch that he could not utter a single word which escaped calumny. Were allusion made to other persons' noble lineage, his father gratuitously insulted him by remarking, " Nobody is noble but Alexander here, who scorns his father for the baseness of his birth ! " On the hunting-field, were he silent, he gave offence ; did he express commendation, he was pronounced ironical to boot. On all occasions, in fact, he found his father implacable, reserving all his affection for Antipater. He would, therefore, willingly die, if his enterprise miscarried. If, on the other hand, he struck the fatal blow, he had protectors to fall back upon : first Archelaus, his father-in-law, to whom he could easily make his escape ; and then Caesar, who to that very day was ignorant of Herod's true character. For he would not, as once before, stand before the emperor, overawed by his father's presence, nor would he confine his observations to his personal grievances. No ; he would first proclaim to the world the sufferings of his nation, bled to death by taxation, and then go on to describe the luxury and malpractices on which the money obtained by its blood was lavished, the characters of the men who had grown rich at his and his brother's expense, and the motives which had led to the favouritism shown to particular cities. There, too, he would bring up for inquiry the fate of his grandfather <sup>a</sup> and his mother, and make public all the abominations of the realm.<sup>b</sup> Under such conditions he could not be condemned as a parricide.

<sup>b</sup> Or " reign."

526 (3) Τοιαῦτα κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τερατευσάμενος  
 Εύρυκλῆς ἐπήνει πολλὰ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, ὡς ἄρα  
 μόνος τε εἴη φιλοπάτωρ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μέχρι νῦν  
 τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐμπόδιος. μήπω δὲ καλῶς ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 πρώτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς κατεσταλμένος εἰς ἀνήκεστον  
 527 ὄργὴν ἔξαγριοῦται. καὶ πάλιν λαβὼν καιρὸν Ἀντί-  
 πατρος ἑτέρους κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑπέπεμπεν  
 κατηγόρους λέγειν ὅτι Ἰουκούνδῳ καὶ Τυράννῳ  
 λάθρα διαλέγοιντο, τοῖς ἵππάρχοις μέν ποτε τοῦ  
 βασιλέως γενομένοις, τότε δ' ἐκ τινῶν προσ-  
 κρουσμάτων ἀποπεπτωκόσι τῆς τάξεως. ἐφ' οἷς  
 'Ηρώδης ὑπεραγανακτήσας εὐθέως ἐβασάνισεν  
 528 τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν διαβληθέντων  
 ὡμολόγουν, προεκομίσθη δέ τις πρὸς τὸν Ἀλεξ-  
 ανδρείου<sup>1</sup> φρούραρχον ἐπιστολὴ παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 παρακαλοῦντος ἵνα αὐτὸν δέξηται τῷ φρουρίῳ  
 μετὰ Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ κτείναντα τὸν  
 πατέρα, καὶ παράσχῃ τοῖς ὅπλοις χρήσασθαι καὶ  
 529 ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀφορμαῖς. ταύτην Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν  
 εἶναι ἔλεγεν τέχνασμα Διοφάντου· γραμματεὺς δ'  
 ἦν ὁ Διόφαντος τοῦ βασιλέως, τολμηρὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ  
 δεινὸς μιμήσασθαι πάσης χειρὸς γράμματα· πολλὰ  
 γοῦν παραχαράξας τελευταῖον ἐπὶ τούτῳ [καὶ]<sup>2</sup>  
 κτείνεται. βασανίσας δὲ τὸν φρούραρχον Ἡρώδης  
 οὐδὲν ἥκουσεν οὐδὲ παρ' ἐκείνου τῶν διαβεβλη-  
 μένων.

530 (4) Ἀλλὰ καίτοι τοὺς ἐλέγχους εὑρίσκων ἀσθε-  
 νεῖς τοὺς νίοὺς ἐκέλευσεν τηρεῖν, ἔτι μέντοι λελυ-  
 μένους, τὸν δὲ λυμεῶνα τῆς οἰκίας καὶ δραμα-  
 τουργὸν ὅλου τοῦ μύσους Εύρυκλέα, σωτῆρα καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Destinon from Lat.: Ἀλεξάνδρου PA: Ἡρώδου the rest.

<sup>2</sup> om. PAM Lat.

(3) Having delivered this monstrous tirade against Alexander, Eurycles proceeded to extol Antipater to the skies, as the only son who had any filial affection, an affection which had so far enabled him to thwart the plot. The king, who had scarcely recovered his composure after previous shocks, burst into ungovernable fury. Antipater, seizing this new opportunity, privily sent in others to accuse his brothers of holding clandestine interviews with Jucundus and Tyrannus, at one time commanders of the king's cavalry, but now, owing to some misdemeanours, degraded. This report brought Herod's indignation to a climax, and he instantly had the two men put to the torture. They made no confession of the crimes imputed to them; but a letter was produced, addressed by Alexander to the governor of Alexandrion, requesting him to admit him and his brother Aristobulus to that fortress after they had slain their father, and to grant them the use of the arms and the other resources of the place. This letter Alexander declared to be the handiwork of Diophantus, a secretary of the king, an audacious fellow who had a clever knack of imitating any handwriting, and who, after numerous forgeries, was eventually put to death for a crime of that nature. Herod had the keeper of the fortress put to the torture, but from him too failed to elicit anything bearing on the alleged facts.

(4) Notwithstanding the weakness of the obtainable evidence, Herod gave orders for a watch to be kept on his sons, though still leaving them their liberty. As for Eurycles, the bane of his house and stage-manager of the whole abominable business,

The end  
Eurycles

εὐεργέτην καλῶν, πεντήκοντα δωρεῖται ταλάντοις.  
ό δὲ τὴν ἀκριβῆ φήμην φθάσας εἰς Καππαδοκίαν  
ἀργυρίζεται καὶ παρὰ Ἀρχελάου, τολμήσας εἰπεῖν  
531 ὅτι καὶ διαλλάξειν Ἡρώδην Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. διάρας  
δ' εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῖς ἐκ κακῶν κτηθεῖσιν εἰς  
ὅμοια κατεχρήσατο· διὸ γοῦν ἐπὶ Καίσαρος κατ-  
ηγορηθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ στάσεως ἐμπλῆσαι τὴν Ἀχαΐαν  
καὶ περιδύειν τὰς πόλεις φυγαδεύεται. κάκενον  
μὲν οὗτως ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου  
ποιηὴ περιῆλθεν.

532 (5) "Αξιον δὲ ἀντιθεῖναι τὸν Κῶον Εὐάρεστον<sup>1</sup>  
τῷ Σπαρτιάτῃ· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ὃν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα  
φίλος<sup>2</sup> Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν Εὐρυκλεῖ  
καιρὸν ἐπιδημήσας πυνθανομένω τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ  
ῶν ἐκεῖνος διέβαλλεν ὅρκοις τὸ μηδὲν ἀκηκοέναι  
533 [παρὰ]<sup>3</sup> τῶν μειρακίων ἐπιστώσατο. οὐ μὴν  
ῶνησέν γέ τι τοὺς ἀθλίους· μόνων γὰρ ἦν τῶν  
κακῶν ἀκροατὴς ἐτοιμότατος Ἡρώδης καὶ κε-  
χαρισμένος αὐτῷ πᾶς ὁ συμπιστεύων καὶ συν-  
αγανακτῶν.

534 (xxvii. 1) Παρώξυνεν δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Σαλώμη  
τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ὡμότητα. ταύτην γὰρ συν-  
δῆσασθαι τοῖς κινδύνοις ὁ Ἀριστόβουλος θέλων,  
οὖσαν ἔκυραν καὶ τηθίδα, διαπέμπεται σώζειν  
ἔαυτὴν παραινῶν· παρεσκευάσθαι γὰρ βασιλέα  
κτείνειν αὐτὴν διαβληθεῖσαν ἐφ' οἷς καὶ πρότερον,  
ὅτι Συλλαίψ τῷ Ἀραβι γήμασθαι σπουδάζουσα  
λάθρα τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπόρρητα διαγγέλλοι πρὸς  
535 αὐτὸν ἔχθρὸν ὄντα. τοῦθ' ὥσπερ τελευταία θύελλα

<sup>1</sup> Εὐάρεστον RC (through assimilation to A.!!).

<sup>2</sup> Niese: φίλοις MSS.

<sup>3</sup> om. PA.

the king called him his saviour and benefactor, and presented him with fifty talents. That villain then, before the true story of the affair got abroad, made off to Cappadocia, where he extorted more money from Archelaus, having the impudence to assert that he had reconciled Herod to Alexander. Thence he crossed to Greece, where he employed the proceeds of his crimes on equally criminal objects. Twice arraigned before Caesar for spreading sedition throughout Achaia and fleecing the cities of that province, he was condemned to exile. Thus did retribution overtake him for his betrayal of Alexander and Aristobulus.

(5) As a contrast to the conduct of this Spartan may fitly be mentioned that of Euarestus of Cos. The latter, who was one of Alexander's most intimate friends, paid a visit to Judaea at the same time as Eurycles, and on being questioned by the king upon the allegations made by his other guest, affirmed on oath that he had heard nothing of the kind from the young men. His testimony, however, was of no avail to the unfortunate wretches ; for Herod had a ready ear only for slander, and all stood high in his favour who shared his credulity and his indignation.

(xxvii. 1) A further stimulus to Herod's cruelty to his sons was given by Salome. For Aristobulus, wishing to involve her, who was at once his mother-in-law and aunt, in the perils threatening himself, sent her a warning to look to her own safety, as the king was prepared to kill her on the charge previously brought against her<sup>a</sup> : namely that, in her anxiety to marry the Arab Syllaeus, she had privately communicated to him the secrets of the king, whose enemy he was. This was, as it were, the final hurricane

Contrasted  
conduct of  
another  
visitor.

Salome's  
denuncia-  
tion.

χειμαζομένους τοὺς νεανίσκους ἐπεβάπτισεν· ἡ γὰρ Σαλώμη δραμοῦσα πρὸς βασιλέα τὴν παραίνεσιν ἐμήνυσεν. κάκενος οὐκέτι καρτερήσας δεσμεῖ μὲν ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς νίεῖς καὶ διεχώρισεν ἀπ' ἄλλήλων, πέμπει δὲ πρὸς Καίσαρα διὰ τάχους Οὐόλούμνιόν τε τὸν στρατοπεδάρχην καὶ τῶν φίλων<sup>1</sup> "Ολυμπον ἐγγράφους<sup>2</sup> τὰς μηνύσεις φέροντας.

536 οἱ δ' ὡς εἰς 'Ρώμην πλεύσαντες ἀπέδοσαν τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως γράμματα, σφόδρα μὲν ἡχθέσθη Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τοῖς νεανίσκοις, οὐ μὴν ὥετο δεῖν ἀφελέσθαι τὸν πατέρα τὴν περὶ<sup>3</sup> τῶν υἱῶν ἔξουσίαν.  
537 ἀντιγράφει γοῦν κύριον μὲν αὐτὸν καθιστάς, εὑ μέντοι ποιήσειν λέγων, εἴ μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν τε ἴδιων συγγενῶν καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἡγεμόνων ἔξετάσειεν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν· καν μὲν ἐνέχωνται, κτείνειν, ἐὰν δὲ μόνον ὁσιν δρασμὸν βεβουλευμένοι, κολάζειν μετριώτερον.

538 (2) Τούτοις 'Ηρώδης πείθεται, καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Βηρυτόν, ἔνθα προσέταξεν Καῖσαρ, συνῆγε τὸ δικαστήριον. προκαθίζουσίν<sup>4</sup> τε οἱ ἡγεμόνες<sup>5</sup> γραφὲν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, Σατορνῖνός τε καὶ οἱ περὶ Πεδάνιον πρέσβεις, σὺν οἷς καὶ Οὐόλούμνιος [ό]<sup>6</sup> ἐπίτροπος, ἐπειθ' οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλοι, Σαλώμη τε καὶ Φερώρας, μεθ' οὓς οἱ πάσης Συρίας ἄριστοι πλὴν Ἀρχελάου τοῦ βασιλέως· τοῦτον γὰρ ὄντα κηδεστὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου δι' ὑποψίας εἶχεν 'Ηρώδης.

<sup>1</sup> Destinon from Lat.: τὸν φίλον MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἐγγράφως LTRC. <sup>3</sup> PA: κατὰ the rest.

<sup>4</sup> PA: προκαθέζονται the rest.

<sup>5</sup> + κατὰ τὸ PAM.

<sup>6</sup> om. PA.

which submerged the tempest-tossed youths. For Salome ran off to the king and reported the warning which she had received. Herod, his patience exhausted, put both his sons in irons and in separate confinement ; he then hastily dispatched Volumnius, the military tribune, and Olympus, one of his friends, with all the information in writing, to Caesar. Taking ship to Rome they delivered the king's dispatches to the emperor, who, while deeply distressed for the young men, did not think it right to deprive the father of his authority over his sons. He replied accordingly, leaving Herod complete liberty of action, but adding a recommendation to him to hold an inquiry into the plot before a joint council of his own relatives and the provincial governors ; then, if his sons were convicted, to put them to death, but if they had merely meditated flight, to be content with a milder penalty.

(2) Acting on this advice, Herod repaired to Berytus,<sup>a</sup> the place appointed by Caesar, and there assembled the court. In accordance with written instructions received from Caesar, the Roman officers presided, namely Saturninus<sup>b</sup> and his legates, Pedanius and others ; with them was associated Volumnius<sup>c</sup> the procurator. Next came the king's relatives and friends, including Salome and Pheroras, and after these all the aristocracy of Syria, with the exception of King Archelaus ;<sup>d</sup> for, as Alexander's father-in-law, he was regarded by Herod with distrust. His

<sup>a</sup> C. Sentius Saturninus, governor of Syria, previously consul in 19 b.c.

<sup>b</sup> It is uncertain whether he is identical with Herod's friend and ambassador (§ 535).

<sup>c</sup> Cappadocia, it appears, must at this time have been under the superintendence of the governor of Syria.

Herod imprisons the prince and reports the case to Augustus.

Augustus gives Herod a free hand.

Trial held at Berytus c. 7-6 b.c.

539 τούς γε μὴν υἱὸὺς οὐ προίγαγεν εἰς τὴν δίκην μάλα προμηθῶς· ἥδει γὰρ ὅτι καὶ μόνον ὁφθέντες ἐλεηθήσονται πάντως· εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ λόγου μεταλάβοιεν, ρᾳδίως Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπολύσεσθαι τὰς αἰτίας. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐν Πλατάνῃ κώμῃ Σιδωνίων ἐφρουροῦντο.

540 (3) Καταστὰς δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ὡς πρὸς παρόντας διετείνετο, κατηγόρει τε τὴν μὲν ἐπιβουλὴν ἀσθενῶς, ὡς ἂν ἀπορούμενος εἰς αὐτὴν ἐλέγχων, λοιδορίας δὲ καὶ σκώμματα καὶ ὕβρεις καὶ πλημμελείας μυρίας εἰς αὐτόν, ἀ καὶ θανάτου χαλεπώτερα τοῖς συνέδροις ἀπέφηνεν. ἔπειτα μηδενὸς ἀντιλέγοντος ἐποικτισάμενος, ὡς αὐτὸς ἄλισκοιτο καὶ νικῶν<sup>1</sup> νίκην πικρὰν κατὰ τῶν τέκνων, ἐπηρώτα

541 τὴν γνώμην ἑκάστου. καὶ πρῶτος Σατορνῖνος ἀπεφήνατο κατακρίνειν μὲν τῶν νεανίσκων, ἀλλ' οὐ θάνατον· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι θεμιτὸν αὐτῷ, τριῶν παρεστώτων τέκνων, ἔτερου τέκνοις ἀπώλειαν ἐπιψηφίσασθαι. σύμψηφοι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ δύο πρεσβευταὶ γίνονται, καὶ τούτοις ἔτεροί τινες

542 ἡκολούθησαν. Οὐολούμνιος δὲ τῆς σκυθρωπῆς ἀποφάσεως ἥρξατο, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν πάντες θάνατον κατακρίνουσιν τῶν μειρακίων, οἱ μὲν κολακεύοντες, οἱ δὲ μισοῦντες Ἡρώδην, καὶ οὐδεὶς δι' ἀγανάκτη-

543 σιν. ἔνθα δὴ μετέωρος ἦ τε Συρία πᾶσα καὶ τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν ἦν ἐκδεχομένων τὸ τέλος τοῦ δράματος· οὐδεὶς μέντοι ὑπελάμβανεν ἔσεσθαι μέχρι τεκνοκτονίας ὡμὸν Ἡρώδην. ὁ δὲ σύρας τοὺς υἱὸὺς

<sup>1</sup> νικώη M and apparently Lat.

sons were not produced by Herod in court—a very wise precaution, for he knew that their mere appearance would be sure to arouse compassion, while, if they were further permitted to speak, Alexander would have no difficulty in rebutting the charges. So they were detained in custody at Platana,<sup>a</sup> a village in the territory of Sidon.

(3) The king, on rising, nevertheless inveighed against them as though they had been present. His accusation of a plot was, for lack of proofs, weak ; but he dwelt on the affronts, mockeries, insults, and offences innumerable of which he had been the victim, and which, he declared to the court, were more cruel than death itself. After that, none contradicting him, he commiserated his hard fate that even in winning his case against his sons his triumph would be bitter and himself the loser, and then asked them all to express their opinions. Saturninus first delivered his opinion, which was to condemn the young men, but not to death ; as the father of three children present in court, it would not be right for him, he said, to vote for the destruction of the children of another. His two legates voted in the same sense and their example was followed by some others. Volumnius was the first to pronounce a pitiless sentence ; and all who followed him condemned the lads to death, some from flattery, others from hatred of Herod, none from indignation against the prisoners. From that moment all Syria and Jewry were in suspense, anxiously awaiting the last act of the drama ; yet none supposed that Herod would carry his cruelty to the length of murdering his children. He, mean-

Condemna-  
tion of the  
princes.

<sup>a</sup> *Ras Damur*, on the coast, S. of Beirut and about half-way between it and Sidon.

εἰς Τύρον κάκεῖθεν διαπλεύσας εἰς Καισάρειαν τρόπον ἀναιρέσεως τοῖς μειρακίοις ἐσκέπτετο.

544 (4) Παλαιὸς δέ τις τοῦ βασιλέως στρατιώτης, ὄνομα Τίρων, ἔχων νιὸν σφόδρα συνήθη καὶ φίλον Ἀλεξάνδρω καὶ αὐτὸς ἡγαπηκὼς ἴδιᾳ τὰ μειράκια, δι’ ὑπερβολὴν ἀγανακτήσεως ἔκφρων ἐγίνετο,<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐβόα περιῳ̄ πεπατῆσθαι τὸ δίκαιον, ἀπολωλέναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, συγκεχύσθαι τὴν φύσιν, ἀνομίας γέμειν τὸν βίον, καὶ πάνθ’ ὅσα  
 545 μὴ φειδομένω τοῦ ζῆν ὑπηγόρευε τὸ πάθος. τέλος δὲ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τολμήσας προσελθεῖν “ἀλλ’ ἔμοὶ μέν,” ἔφη, “κακοδαιμονέστατος εἶναι δοκεῖς, ὅστις κατὰ τῶν φιλτάτων πείθη τοῖς πονηροτάτοις, εἴ γε Φερώρα καὶ Σαλώμης καταγνοὺς πολλάκις θάνατον πιστεύεις τούτοις κατὰ τῶν τέκνων, οἵ σε τῶν γνησίων περικόπτοντες διαδόχων ἐπ’ Ἀντιπάτρῳ καταλείπουσι μόνῳ, τὸν ἑαυτοῖς εὐ-  
 546 μεταχείριστον αἴρούμενοι βασιλέα. σκέψαι μέντοι γε, μή ποτε κάκείνῳ γένηται μῆσος ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις ὁ τῶν ἀδελφῶν θάνατος· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅστις οὐκ ἐλεεῖ τὰ μειράκια, τῶν δὲ ἡγεμόνων καὶ φανερῶς ἀγανακτοῦσιν πολλοὶ.” ταῦθ’ ἂμα λέγων ὠνόμαζεν τοὺς ἀγανακτοῦντας. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς εὐθέως ἐκείνους τε καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν νιὸν αὐτοῦ συνελάμβανεν.

547 (5) Ἐφ’ ὧ τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐλῆς τις κουρέων, Τρύφων ὄνομα, προεκπηδήσας ἐκ τινος θεοβλαβείας<sup>2</sup> ἑαυτοῦ μηνυτὴς γίνεται. “κάμε,” γὰρ ἔφη, “Τίρων οὗτος ἀνέπειθεν, ὅταν θεραπεύω

<sup>1</sup> PA: ἐγένετο the rest.

<sup>2</sup> PA: φρενοβλαβείας the rest.

while, dragged his sons to Tyre, and, taking ship thence to Caesarea, pondered in his mind over the manner of their execution.

(4) Now there was an old soldier in the king's army, named Tiro, whose son was on very intimate and friendly terms with Alexander, and who had a personal affection himself for the young princes. This man, in the excess of his indignation, lost his reason. At first he went about shouting that justice had been trampled under foot, truth was dead, the laws of nature confounded, the world full of iniquity, and whatever else his emotion suggested to one who was careless of his life. At length he boldly presented himself to the king and thus addressed him : " Most god-forsaken of men, that is my opinion of you, you who to the injury of your nearest and dearest trust the word of the basest of scoundrels, if it be true that Pheroras and Salome, whom you have so often sentenced to death, have now made you believe their slanders upon your children. They are cutting off your legitimate heirs, leaving you none but Antipater, choosing him for king as the most manageable in their leading-strings. But take care that the death of his brothers does not one day rouse against him the hatred of the army ; for there is not a man there who does not pity the lads, and many of the officers are freely expressing their indignation." He forthwith named these malcontents ; and they were promptly arrested by the king, together with Tiro and his son.

(5) Thereupon, one of the court barbers, named Trypho, possessed by some strange frenzy, rushed forward and turned informer against himself. " Me too," he cried, " this Tiro tried to induce to cut your

Action of  
Tiro the  
soldier

and of  
Trypho  
barber.

τῷ ξυρῷ σε διαχειρίσασθαι, μεγάλας τέ μοι παρ'  
 548 Ἀλεξάνδρου δωρεὰς ὑπισχνεῖτο.” ταῦτ’ ἀκούσας  
 ‘Ηρώδης τόν τε Τίρωνα σὺν τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τὸν  
 κουρέα βασάνοις διήλεγχεν, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄρνου-  
 μένων, τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν πλέον λέγοντος, στρεβλοῦν  
 549 ἐκέλευσεν τὸν Τίρωνα σφοδρότερον. ὁ δ’ υἱὸς  
 οἰκτείρας ὑπέσχετο τῷ βασιλεῖ πάντα μηνύσειν,  
 εἰς χαρίσαιτο τὸν πατέρα αὐτῷ. κάκείνου δόντος  
 εἶπεν ὡς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ πεισθεὶς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ  
 θελήσειεν αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν. τοῦθ’ οἱ μὲν εἰς ἀπ-  
 αλλαγὴν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς αἰκίας πεπλάσθαι, τινὲς  
 δὲ ἀληθὲς ἔλεγον.

550 (6) ‘Ηρώδης γε μὴν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν τε ἥγε-  
 μόνων καὶ Τίρωνος κατηγορήσας τὸν λαὸν ἐπ’  
 αὐτοὺς ἐστρατολόγησεν· αὐτόθι γοῦν ἀναιροῦνται  
 μετὰ τοῦ κουρέως ξύλοις βαλλόμενοι καὶ λίθοις.  
 551 πέμψας δὲ καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς εἰς Σεβαστήν, οὓσαν οὐ  
 πόρρω τῆς Καισαρείας, προσέταξεν ἀποπνῖξαι.  
 καὶ τελεσθέντος αὐτῷ ταχέως τοῦ προστάγματος  
 τοὺς τεκροὺς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἐκέλευσεν ἀνα-  
 κομισθῆναι τὸ φρούριον, συνταφησομένους Ἀλεξ-  
 ἀνδρῷ τῷ μητροπάτορι. τὸ μὲν οὖν Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου τέλος τοιοῦτον [ἡν].<sup>1</sup>

552 (xxviii. 1) Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ ἀδήριτον ἔχοντι  
 τὴν διαδοχὴν μῆσος μὲν ἀφόρητον ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους  
 ἐπεγείρεται, πάντων ἐπισταμένων ὅτι τὰς δια-  
 βολὰς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς πάσας ἐπισυντάξειεν οὗτος,  
 ὑποικούρει δὲ καὶ δέος οὐ μέτριον αὐξανομένην  
 ὄρωντι τὴν τῶν ἀνηρημένων γενεάν· ἥσαν γὰρ  
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μὲν ἐκ Γλαφύρας υἱεῖς δύο, Τιγράνης

<sup>1</sup> om. LTRC.

throat with my razor when in attendance upon you, promising me a large reward from Alexander." On hearing this, Herod put Tiro, his son and the barber under the torture, and when father and son denied all and the other would add nothing more, gave orders to rack Tiro still more severely. The son, thereupon, moved with compassion, promised to tell the king everything if he would spare him his father. Herod granting his request, he stated that his father, at the instigation of Alexander, intended to kill him. This statement, according to some, was a fabrication to end his father's sufferings, while others maintained that it was true.

(6) Herod summoned a public assembly, formally accused the officers concerned and Tiro, and enlisted the aid of the populace to dispatch them ; they and the barber were beaten to death on the spot with cudgels and stones. He then sent his sons to Sebaste,<sup>a</sup> a town not far from Caesarea, and ordered them to be strangled. The order was promptly executed, and direction was given to convey the bodies to the fortress of Alexandrion, for burial there with Alexander, their maternal grandfather. Such was the end of Alexander and Aristobulus.

(xxviii. 1) Antipater, having now an indisputable claim to the succession, became an object of intolerable abhorrence to the nation ; for all knew that it was he who had contrived all the calumnies against his brothers. He was, moreover, haunted with grave alarm at the sight of the children of his victims growing to maturity. For Alexander had by Glaphyra two sons, Tigranes and Alexander ; and by his

<sup>a</sup> Samaria.

καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀριστοβούλῳ δ' ἐκ Βερνίκης  
τῆς Σαλώμης Ἡρώδης μὲν καὶ Ἀγρίππας καὶ  
Ἀριστόβουλος νίοι, θυγατέρες δὲ Ἡρωδίας καὶ

553 Μαριάμμη. τὴν μὲν οὖν Γλαφύραν μετὰ τῆς  
προικὸς Ἡρώδης ἀπέπεμψεν<sup>1</sup> εἰς Καππαδοκίαν,  
ώς ἀνεῖλεν Ἀλέξανδρον, τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου δὲ  
Βερνίκην συνώκισεν θείω πρὸς μητρὸς Ἀντι-  
πάτρου· τὴν γὰρ Σαλώμην οὖσαν διάφορον ἔξ-  
οικειούμενος ὁ Ἀντίπατρος τοῦτον ἐπραγματεύσατο

554 τὸν γάμον. περιήει δὲ καὶ τὸν Φερώραν δώροις  
τε καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις θεραπείαις καὶ τοὺς Καίσαρος  
φίλους οὐκ ὀλίγα πέμπων εἰς τὴν Ρωμὴν<sup>2</sup> χρή-  
ματα. οἵ γε μὴν περὶ Σατορνίνον ἐν Συρίᾳ πάντες  
ἐνεπλήσθησαν τῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δωρεῶν. ἐμισεῖτο  
δὲ διδοὺς πλεῖον, ώς ἂν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ μεγαλοφύχου

555 χαριζόμενος ἀλλ' ἀναλίσκων κατὰ δέος. συνέβαινεν  
δὲ<sup>3</sup> τοὺς μὲν λαμβάνοντας οὐδὲν μᾶλλον εὔνους  
γίνεσθαι, χαλεπωτέρους δ' ἔχθρους οἷς μὴ διδοίη.  
λαμπροτέρας δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐποιεῖτο τὰς δια-  
δόσεις, ὅρων τὸν βασιλέα παρ' ἄς αὐτὸς ἐλπίδας  
εἶχεν ἐπιμελούμενον τῶν ὄρφανῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ  
τοῖς ἀνηρημένοις μετάνοιαν ἐμφαίνοντα δι' ὧν  
ηλέει τοὺς ἔξ ἐκείνων.

556 (2) Συναγαγὼν γάρ ποτε Ἡρώδης συγγενεῖς  
τε καὶ φίλους παραστησάμενός τε τὰ παιδία καὶ  
δακρύων ἐμπλήσας τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς εἶπεν· “Ἐμὲ  
τοὺς μὲν τούτων πατέρας σκυθρωπὸς ἀφείλετο  
δαίμων, ταῦτα δέ μοι μετὰ τῆς φύσεως συνίστησιν  
ἔλεος ὄρφανίας. πειρῶμαι δ', εἰ καὶ πατὴρ  
ἐγενόμην ἀτυχέστατος, πάππος γοῦν γενέσθαι

<sup>1</sup> ἀνέπεμψεν M.

<sup>2</sup> επὶ Ρώμης P.

<sup>3</sup> ὡς LRC: τε Niese.

marriage with Bernice, Salome's daughter, Aristobulus had three, Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus, besides two daughters, Herodias and Mariamme. After the execution of Alexander, Herod had sent back Glaphyra to Cappadocia with her dowry; Bernice, the widow of Aristobulus, he gave in marriage to Antipater's maternal uncle,<sup>a</sup> this match being arranged by Antipater in order to conciliate his enemy Salome. Antipater further sought to ingratiate himself with Pheroras by presents and other attentions, and with Caesar's friends by sending considerable sums to Rome. Saturninus and all his staff in Syria were glutted with his gifts. Yet the more he gave, the more he was hated, as it was felt that his bounties were not the outcome of generosity but extorted from him by fear. The result was that the recipients were no better disposed to him than before, while those whom he overlooked became more implacable enemies. The presents distributed, nevertheless, became daily more magnificent, when he saw the king, to the undoing of his own expectations, taking care of the orphans and showing his remorse for the murder of his sons by his compassion for their offspring.

(2) For Herod, one day, assembled his relatives and friends,<sup>b</sup> set the young children before them, and said, with tears in his eyes: "I have been bereaved by some evil genius of the sires of these infants, but pity for the orphans and nature alike commend them to my care. If I have been the most unfortunate of fathers, I will try at any rate to prove

<sup>a</sup> Theudion, *A.* xvii. 70.

<sup>b</sup> Reinach regards these words as having the technical meaning of high officials at court, cf. § 460.

κηδεμονικώτερος καὶ μετ' ἐμὲ ἡγεμόνας αὐτοῖς<sup>1</sup>  
 557 καταλιπεῖν τοὺς ἐμοὶ φιλτάτους. ἔγγυω δὲ τὴν  
 μὲν σήν, ὡς Φερώρα, θυγατέρα τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ  
 τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου παιδων, ἵνα ἡς αὐτῷ  
 κηδεμὼν ἀναγκαῖος, τῷ δὲ σῷ παιδί, Ἀντίπατρε,  
 τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου θυγατέρα γένοιο γὰρ ἂν οὕτω  
 πατὴρ τῆς ὄρφανῆς. καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς ὁ  
 ἐμὸς Ἡρώδης λήψεται, πρὸς μητρὸς ὧν ἀρχιερέως  
 558 πάππου. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐμὰ ταύτην ἔχέτω τὴν  
 κρίσιν, ἣν διακόψῃ<sup>2</sup> μηδεὶς τῶν ἐμὲ φιλούντων.  
 ἐπεύχομαι δὲ καὶ τῷ θεῷ συναρμόσαι τοὺς γάμους  
 ἐπὶ συμφέροντι τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν  
 ἐκγόνων, τά τε παιδία ταυτὶ γαληνοτέροις ἐπιδεῖν  
 ὅμμασιν ἢ τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν.”

559 (3) [Ἐπειδὴ]<sup>3</sup> ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπεδάκρυσέν τε καὶ  
 τῶν παιδῶν συνήρμοσεν τὰς δεξιάς, ἔπειτα κατα-  
 σπασάμενος ἕκαστον φιλοφρόνως διέλυσεν τὸ  
 συνέδριον. ἐπαχνώθη δ' εὐθὺς Ἀντίπατρος καὶ  
 δῆλος ἣν ἅπασιν ὀδυνώμενος· ὑπελάμβανεν γὰρ  
 εἶναι παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ τὴν τῶν ὄρφανῶν τιμὴν  
 ἔαυτοῦ κατάλυσιν, αὐθίς τε κινδυνεύσειν περὶ τῶν  
 δλῶν, εἰ πρὸς Ἀρχελάῳ καὶ Φερώραν ὅντα  
 τετράρχην βοηθὸν ἔχοιεν οἱ Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖδες.  
 560 συνελογίζετο δὲ τὸ ἔαυτοῦ μῆσος καὶ τὸν τῶν  
 ὄρφανῶν ἔλεον ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους, ὅση τε σπουδὴ  
 ζώντων καὶ ὅση μνήμη παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις τῶν δι'

<sup>1</sup> ἡγεμόνας αὐτοῖς PA: κηδεμόνας αὐτοῖς the rest.

<sup>2</sup> M: διακόψει the rest.

<sup>3</sup> Corrupt text: Destinon proposes ἐπεῖδε, to be joined to the preceding sentence.

<sup>a</sup> Names unknown.

<sup>b</sup> Tigranes (§ 552) or perhaps Alexander (A. xviii. 139, where the order of names is reversed).

myself a more considerate grandfather and to leave their tutelage, after my death, to those most dear to me. I affiance your daughter,<sup>a</sup> Pheroras, to the elder of these brothers,<sup>b</sup> Alexander's sons, in order that this alliance may make you his natural guardian. To your son,<sup>a</sup> Antipater, I betroth the daughter of Aristobulus<sup>c</sup>; so may you become a father to this orphan girl. Her sister<sup>d</sup> my own Herod shall take, for on his mother's<sup>e</sup> side he is grandson of a high-priest. Let then effect be given to my wishes, and let no friend of mine frustrate them. And I pray God to bless these unions, to the benefit of my realm and of my descendants, and to look with serener eyes upon these children here than those with which he beheld their fathers."

(3) Having thus spoken he gave way to tears and joined the children's hands, and then fondly embracing one after the other dismissed the assembly. At that Antipater's blood ran cold<sup>f</sup> and his chagrin was evident to all. For he imagined that the honour bestowed by his father on the orphans was his own ruin and that his claims to the throne would be again endangered, if Alexander's children were to have, in addition to the support of Archelaus, that of Pheroras, a tetrarch. He reflected on the hatred which the nation bore him and their pity for the orphans, the enthusiasm which the Jews had shown for his brothers in their lifetime and their fond memory of them now that, in his interest, they were

<sup>c</sup> Mariamme.

<sup>d</sup> The celebrated Herodias mentioned in the New Testament.

<sup>e</sup> Mariamme II, daughter of the high priest Simon, son of Boethus (*A.* xv. 320).

<sup>f</sup> Or "Antipater instantly shuddered."

αὐτὸν ἀπολωλότων ἦν ἀδελφῶν. ἔγνω δὴ πάντα τρόπον διακόπτειν τὰς ἐγγύας.

561 (4) Καὶ τὸ μὲν ὑπιέναι πανούργως ἔδεισε τὸν πατέρα χαλεπὸν ὅντα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ὑποψίας κινούμενον ὀξέως, ἐτόλμησεν δὲ προσελθὼν ἵκετεύειν ἄντικρυς μὴ στερίσκειν αὐτὸν ἡς ἡξίωσεν τιμῆς, μηδὲ αὐτῷ μὲν ὄνομα βασιλείας, δύναμιν δὲ ὑπάρχειν ἄλλοις· οὐ γὰρ κρατήσειν τῶν πραγμάτων, εἰ πρὸς Ἀρχελάῳ πάππῳ καὶ Φερώραν  
562 κηδεστὴν ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖς προσλάβοι. κατηντι-  
βόλει δὲ πολλῆς οὖσης γενεᾶς κατὰ τὸ βασίλειον μεταθεῖναι τοὺς γάμους. ἥσαν γὰρ τῷ βασιλεῖ γυναῖκες μὲν ἐννέα, τέκνα δ' ἐκ τῶν<sup>1</sup> ἑπτά, αὐτὸς μὲν Ἀντίπατρος ἐκ Δωρίδος, Ἡρώδης δ' ἐκ Μαριάμμης τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως θυγατρός, Ἀντίπας δὲ καὶ Ἀρχέλαος ἐκ Μαλθάκης τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος,  
καὶ θυγάτηρ Ὁλυμπιάς, ἦν ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς αὐτοῦ  
Ἰώσηπος εἶχεν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἱεροσολυμίτιδος Κλεο-  
πάτρας Ἡρώδης καὶ Φίλιππος, ἐκ δὲ Παλλάδος  
563 Φασάηλος. ἐγένοντο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλαι θυγατέρες,  
Ῥωξάνη τε καὶ Σαλώμη, ἡ μὲν ἐκ Φαιδρας, ἡ  
δὲ ἐξ Ἐλπίδος. δύο δ' εἶχεν ἀτέκνους, ἀνεψιάν  
τε καὶ ἀδελφιδῆν· χωρὶς δὲ τούτων δύο ἀδελφὰς  
Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου τὰς ἐκ Μαριάμμης.  
οὖσης δὲ πολυπροσώπου τῆς γενεᾶς ὁ Ἀντίπατρος  
ἔδεῖτο μετατεθῆναι τοὺς γάμους.

564 (5) Χαλεπῶς δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἤγανάκτησεν κατα-  
μαθὼν αὐτοῦ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ὄρφανοὺς ἥθος, ἔννοιά

<sup>1</sup> τῶν of LTRC must surely be right: τούτων PAM.

<sup>a</sup> Not including the deceased Mariamme I, who raises the total to ten. See Appendix, "The Herodian Family."

dead. He resolved accordingly at all costs to break off these betrothals.

(4) Afraid of practising a ruse upon so harsh a father, whose suspicions were easily aroused, he boldly ventured into his presence and besought him outright not to deprive him of the honour which he had deigned to confer on him, nor to leave him the mere title of king while others enjoyed the power ; for he would never be master of affairs, should Alexander's son, with Archelaus as his grandfather, also have Pheroras as his father-in-law. He therefore earnestly entreated him, as the palace contained a numerous family, to modify these matrimonial arrangements. The king, in fact, had nine <sup>a</sup> wives and issue by seven of them. Antipater himself was son of Doris, Herod (II) of Mariamme (II), the high-priest's daughter, Antipater and Archelaus were sons of Malthace, the Samaritan ; Olympias, a daughter by this last wife had married Joseph,<sup>b</sup> the king's nephew. By Cleopatra, a native of Jerusalem, he had Herod and Philip ; by Pallas, Phasael. He had besides other daughters, Roxane and Salome, one by Phaedra, the other by Elpis. Two of his wives, one a cousin, the other a niece, were childless. In addition there were two daughters <sup>c</sup> by Mariamme (I), sisters of Alexander and Aristobulus. In view of this large family Antipater begged for an alteration in the projected marriages.

(5) The king, on discovering Antipater's attitude to the orphans, was highly indignant, and the thought

<sup>a</sup> Son of Herod's brother Joseph, who was killed at the battle of Jericho (§§ 323 f.).

<sup>c</sup> Salampsio and Cypros.

τε αὐτῷ παρέστη περὶ τῶν ἀνηρημένων, μή ποτε κάκεῖνοι γένοιντο τῶν Ἀντιπάτρου διαβολῶν  
565 ἀγώνισμα. τότε μὲν οὖν πολλὰ πρὸς ὄργὴν ἀποκριτάμενος ἀπέλαύνει τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, αὐθις δὲ ὑπαχθεὶς αὐτοῦ ταῖς κολακείαις μεθηρμόσατο, καὶ αὐτῷ μὲν τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου συνώκισεν θυγατέρα, τὸν δὲ νιὸν αὐτοῦ τῇ Φερώρᾳ θυγατρί.

566 (6) Καταμάθοι δέ ἂν τις, ὅσον ἵσχυσεν ἐν τούτοις κολακεύων Ἀντίπατρος, ἐκ τοῦ Σαλώμην ἐν ὁμοίοις ἀποτυχεῖν. ταύτην γὰρ δὴ καίπερ οὖσαν ἀδελφὴν καὶ πολλὰ διὰ Λιονίας<sup>1</sup> τῆς γυναικὸς Καίσαρος ἴκετεύουσαν γαμηθῆναι τῷ Ἀραβὶ Συλλαίῳ, διωμόσατο μὲν ἔχθροτάτην ἔξειν, εἰ μὴ παύσαιτο τῆς σπουδῆς, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἀκουσαν Ἀλεξᾶ τινι τῶν φίλων συνώκισεν, καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτῆς τὴν μὲν τῷ Ἀλεξᾶ παιδί, τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν τῷ πρὸς μητρὸς Ἀντιπάτρου θείῳ.<sup>2</sup> τῶν δέ ἐκ Μαριάμμης θυγατέρων ἡ μὲν ἀδελφῆς νιὸν Ἀντίπατρον εἶχεν, ἡ δὲ ἀδελφοῦ Φασάηλον.

567 (xxix. 1) Διακόψας δὲ τὰς τῶν ὄρφανῶν ἐλπίδας δὲ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον αὐτῷ τὰς ἐπιγαμίας ποιησάμενος, ὡς ἐπὶ βεβαίοις μὲν ὥρμει ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, προσλαβὼν δὲ τῇ κακίᾳ τὸ πεποιθὸς ἀφόρητος ἦν· τὸ γὰρ παρ' ἕκαστῳ μῆσος ἀποσκευάσασθαι μὴ δυνάμενος ἐκ τοῦ φοβερὸς εἶναι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐπορίζετο. συνήργει δὲ καὶ Φερώρας ὡς ἂν ἦδῃ [καὶ]<sup>3</sup> βασιλεῖ βεβαίῳ.

<sup>1</sup> Niese with Heg.: Λενίας PA (as in § 641): 'Ιουλίας the rest.

<sup>2</sup> +σπουδάσαντος ὡς ἔφαμεν Ἀντιπάτρον PAM (doubtless a gloss).

<sup>3</sup> P: om. the rest.

crossed his mind—might not his murdered sons also have been the victims of this man's slanders? He, accordingly, at the moment replied in a long and angry speech, and dismissed Antipater from his presence. Subsequently, however, seduced by his flatteries, he made other arrangements, and gave the daughter of Aristobulus to Antipater himself, and the daughter of Pheroras to his son.

(6) How powerful was the effect of Antipater's adulation on this occasion may be gauged from Salome's ill success in a similar suit. For, although she was Herod's sister and had recourse to the intercession of the Empress Livia to plead with him for permission to marry the Arab Syllaeus.<sup>a</sup> Herod swore that he would regard her as his bitterest enemy if she did not renounce this passion; and, in the end, he married her, against her will, to one of his friends, named Alexas, and one of her daughters<sup>b</sup> to the son<sup>b</sup> of Alexas, the other<sup>c</sup> to Antipater's maternal uncle.<sup>d</sup> Of his daughters by Mariamne, one<sup>e</sup> was given to Antipater, his sister's, the other<sup>f</sup> to Phasael, his brother's son.

(xxix. 1) Antipater, having cut off the orphans' expectations and arranged the marriages to his own advantage, regarded his prospects as securely anchored, and, with assurance now added to villainy, became insufferable. For, unable to avert the hatred which he inspired in all, he sought security in intimidation. He was assisted by Pheroras, who

<sup>a</sup> §§ 487, 534. In *A.* xvii. 10 it is stated that the empress (Julia) took Herod's side and sought to break off Salome's proposed match with Syllaeus.

<sup>b</sup> Names unknown. <sup>c</sup> Berenice, widow of Aristobulus.

<sup>d</sup> Theudion (§ 553 note). <sup>e</sup> Cypros. <sup>f</sup> Salampsio.

Under  
Antipa  
influen  
Herod  
modifie  
propose  
unions.

Enforce  
marriag  
Salome

Intrigu  
Antipa

568 γίνεται δὲ καὶ γυναικῶν σύνταγμα κατὰ τὴν αὐλήν,  
 ὁ νεωτέρους ἐκίνησεν θορύβους. ἡ γὰρ Φερώρα  
 γυνὴ μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς προσ-  
 λαβοῦσα καὶ τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου μητέρα πολλὰ μὲν  
 ἡσέλγαιεν κατὰ τὸ βασίλειον, ἐτόλμησεν δὲ καὶ  
 τοῦ βασιλέως ὑβρίσαι δύο θυγατέρας, δι' ἣ δὴ  
 μάλιστα ταύτην ἐκεῖνος προβέβλητο· μισούμεναί  
 569 γε μὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπεκράτουν. μόνη  
 δὲ τῆς ὁμονοίας αὐτῶν ἀντίπαλος ἦν Σαλώμη καὶ  
 βασιλεῖ διέβαλλεν τὴν σύνοδον, ὡς οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ  
 τῶν αὐτοῦ πραγμάτων εἴη. γνοῦσαι δ' ἐκεῖναι  
 τὴν διαβολὴν καὶ ὡς ἀγανακτήσειεν Ἡρώδης, τῆς  
 μὲν φανερᾶς συνόδου καὶ τῶν φιλοφρονήσεων  
 ἐπαύσαντο, τούναντίον δ' ὑπεκρίνοντο καὶ δια-  
 φέρεσθαι πρὸς ἄλλήλας ἀκούοντος βασιλέως· αἰς  
 συνυπεκρίνετο καὶ Ἀντίπατρος, ἐν τῷ φανερῷ  
 570 προσκρούων Φερώρᾳ. συνουσίαι δὲ ἵσαν αὐτῶν  
 λάθρα καὶ κῶμοι νυκτεριοί, τὴν τε ὁμόνοιαν ἡ  
 παρατήρησις ἐπέτεινεν. ἡγνόει δὲ οὐδὲν Σαλώμη  
 τῶν πραττομένων καὶ πάνθ' Ἡρώδῃ διήγγελλεν.  
 571 (2) Ἐξεκαίετο δ' ἐκεῖνος εἰς ὄργὴν καὶ μάλιστα  
 ἐπὶ τὴν Φερώρου γυναικα· ταύτην γὰρ πλέον ἡ  
 Σαλώμη διέβαλλεν. ἀθροίσας οὖν συνέδριον τῶν  
 τε φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ τῆς ἀνθρώ-  
 που κατηγόρει καὶ τὴν εἰς τὰς ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρας  
 ὕβριν, ὅτι τε Φαρισαίοις μὲν χορηγήσειεν μισθοὺς  
 κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῷ κατασκευάσειεν  
 572 πολέμιον ἐνδησαμένη φαρμάκοις. τελευταῖον δ'  
 εἰς Φερώραν ἀπέστρεφεν τὸν λόγον, δυοῖν θάτερον

<sup>a</sup> Salome and Roxana.

<sup>b</sup> She had paid the fine imposed upon them for refusing

looked on Antipater's claim to the throne as already assured. There was, moreover, a gang of women at court who created new disturbances. The wife of Pheroras, in league with her mother and sister and the mother of Antipater, displayed constant effrontery in the palace, and even ventured to insult two young daughters of the king.<sup>a</sup> She became, in consequence, the object of Herod's special aversion ; yet, notwithstanding the king's hatred, these women domineered over the rest. The sole opponent of their league was Salome, who reported it to the king as a conclave not conducive to the interests of his realm. Informed of this denunciation and of Herod's wrath, they abandoned their public meetings and all signs of friendly recognition, and on the contrary pretended to quarrel with one another in the king's hearing ; Antipater joined in their dissimulation by taking offence, in public, at Pheroras. But they continued to hold clandestine meetings and nocturnal carousals, and the knowledge that they were watched only bound them closer together. Salome, however, was ignorant of none of their proceedings and reported everything to Herod.

(2) The king was furiously indignant, particularly at the wife of Pheroras, the principal object of Salome's charges. He, accordingly, assembled a council of his friends and relations and accused the wretched woman of numerous misdeeds, among others of insulting his own daughters, of subsidizing the Pharisees to oppose him,<sup>b</sup> and of alienating his brother, after bewitching him with drugs. In conclusion, he addressed Pheroras and told him that he to take the oath of allegiance to Herod on his accession (*A. xvii. 42*).

έλέσθαι λέγων, ἡ ἑαυτὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡ τὴν γυναικα.  
τοῦ δὲ θάττον ἀπολείψει τὸ ζῆν ἡ τὴν γυναικα  
φήσαντος, οὐκ ἔχων ὅ τι χρὴ δρᾶν μετέβαινεν ἐπ’  
Ἀντίπατρον, ὃ παρήγγειλεν μήτε τῇ Φερώρᾳ  
γυναικὶ μήτε αὐτῷ μήτ’ ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν ἐκείνης  
διαλέγεσθαι. ὁ δὲ φανερῶς μὲν οὐ παρέβαινεν<sup>1</sup> τὸ  
πρόσταγμα, λάθρα δὲ διενυκτέρευεν σὺν ἐκείνοις.

573 καὶ δεδοικὼς τὴν ἐπιτηροῦσαν Σαλώμην πραγ-  
ματεύεται διὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας φίλων τὴν εἰς  
Ῥώμην ἀποδημίαν αὐτῷ γραψάντων γὰρ ἐκείνων  
δεῖν Ἀντίπατρον διὰ χρόνου πεμφθῆναι πρὸς  
Καίσαρα, ὁ δὲ οὐ τι μελλήσας ἐξέπεμψεν θεραπείαν  
τε λαμπρὰν καὶ πλεῖστα δοὺς χρήματα τὴν τε  
διαθήκην κομίζειν, ἐν ᾧ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ἀντίπατρος  
ἐγέγραπτο, Ἀντιπάτρου δὲ Ἡρώδης διάδοχος ὁ ἐκ  
Μαριάμμης τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως θυγατρὸς γεγονώς.

574 (3) Ἐπλευσεν δὲ καὶ Συλλαῖος ὁ Ἀραψ ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup>  
Ῥώμης, ἡμεληκὼς μὲν τῶν Καίσαρος προσ-  
ταγμάτων, ἀνταγωνιούμενος δὲ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον  
περὶ ὧν δεδίκαστο Νικολάῳ τάχιον. οὐ μικρὸς  
δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς Ἀρέταν ἥν ἀγὼν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ  
βασιλέα· τούτου γὰρ ἄλλους τε φίλους ἀνηρήκει

575 καὶ Σόαιμον τῶν ἐν Πέτρᾳ δυνατωτάτων.<sup>2</sup> πείσας  
δὲ πολλοῖς χρήμασιν Φάβατον τὸν Καίσαρος δι-  
οικητὴν ἐχρῆτο βοηθῶ καὶ καθ’ Ἡρώδου. πλείονα  
δὲ δοὺς Ἡρώδης ἀφίστησίν τε ἀπὸ Συλλαίου  
Φάβατον καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ Καί-  
σαρος εἰσέπραττεν. ὁ δὲ μηδὲν ἀποδοὺς ἔτι καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Niese: μετέβαινεν miss.

<sup>2</sup> Niese: τὸν ἐν Η. δυνατώτατον ΡΑΜ, τῶν ἐν Η. τὸν δυνατώ-  
τατον the rest.

<sup>a</sup> Mariamme II, daughter of Simon the high priest.

must choose one or the other, either his brother or his wife. Pheroras replying that he would sooner part with his existence than with his wife, Herod, in perplexity, turned to Antipater and ordered him to have no further intercourse either with the wife of Pheroras, or with her husband, or with any of her set. Antipater, while not openly violating this injunction, continued secretly and at night to associate with them ; but fearing the vigilance of Salome he contrived, with the help of friends in Italy, a visit to Rome. A letter arriving from them, suggesting that Antipater ought to be sent before long to Caesar's court, Herod without a moment's delay sent him off with a brilliant retinue, a large sum of money and his will, in which Antipater was named as heir to the throne, and Herod, the king's son by Mariamme, the high-priest's daughter,<sup>a</sup> as Antipater's successor.

(3) Syllaeus the Arab also set sail for Rome ; he had disregarded Caesar's orders and went to maintain against Antipater the case which he had previously pleaded against Nicolas.<sup>b</sup> There was also a grave matter at issue between him and his own sovereign, Aretas, for he had put to death a number of that prince's friends, including Soaemus, one of the most powerful personages in Petra. By a large bribe he secured the services of Fabatus, Caesar's treasurer, whom he also employed to assist him against Herod. The latter, however, by even larger bribes, detached Fabatus from Syllaeus and endeavoured, through him, to exact from Syllaeus the penalty imposed by Caesar.<sup>c</sup> But Syllaeus still refused to pay anything,

<sup>a</sup> Nicolas of Damascus had, in the course of an attempted mediation between Herod and Augustus (c. 7 B.C.), accused Syllaeus of treasonable designs (*A.* xvi. 335 ff., no parallel in *B.*).

<sup>b</sup> *A.* xvi. 352 f.

Antipater  
visit to  
Rome.  
c. 6 B.C.

Intrigue  
of Syllaeus  
the Arab

# JOSEPHUS

κατηγόρει Φαβάτου παρὰ Καισαρι, διοικητὴν εἶναι λέγων οὐ τῶν ἐκείνω, τῶν δὲ Ἡρώδῃ συμ-  
 576 φερόντων. ἐφ' οἷς ὀργισθεὶς Φάβατος, ἥν δ' ἔπι παρὰ Ἡρώδῃ μάλιστα τιμώμενος, γίνεται προ-  
 δότης Συλλαίου τῶν ἀπορρήτων, τῷ τε βασιλεῖ φῆσιν ὅτι Συλλαῖος διαφθείρειεν αὐτοῦ τὸν σωματο-  
 φύλακα Κόρινθον χρήμασιν, διν δεῖ φυλάπτεσθαι.  
 πείθεται δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς· καὶ γὰρ τέθραπτο μὲν ὁ  
 Κόρινθος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ, γένος δ' ἥν "Αραψ.  
 577 συλλαμβάνει δ' εὐθέως οὐκ αὐτὸν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ δύο ἔτερους "Αραβας εύρων παρ' αὐτῷ, τὸν μὲν φίλον Συλλαίου τὸν δὲ φύλαρχον. οἱ δὲ βασανι-  
 ζόμενοι πεῖσαι Κόρινθον ὡμολόγησαν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς χρήμασιν Ἡρώδην ἀνελεῖν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἀνα-  
 κριθέντες καὶ παρὰ Σατορινῷ τῷ διέποντι τὴν Συρίαν ἀνεπέμφθησαν εἰς Ρώμην.

578 (4) Ἡρώδης δ' οὐκ ἀνίει Φερώραν βιαζόμενος ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς γυναικός, οὐδ' ἐπεινόει μηχανὴν δι' ἣς ἂν τιμωρήσαιτο τὴν ἄνθρωπον, πολλὰς τοῦ μίσους ἔχων αἰτίας, ἔως ὑπεραγανακτήσας σὺν 579. αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκβάλλει. Φερώρας δὲ ἀγαπήσας τὴν ὕβριν ἀπαλλάσσεται μὲν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τετραρχίαν δύμόσας ὅρον ἔξειν ἔνα τῆς φυγῆς τὸν Ἡρώδου θάνατον καὶ μηδέποτε πρὸς ζῶντα ὑποστρέψειν, ἐπανῆλθεν δὲ οὐδὲ πρὸς νοσοῦντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν καίτοι λιπαρῶς μεταπεμ-  
 πόμενον· ἐβούλετο γὰρ αὐτῷ τινας ἐντολὰς κατα-  
 580 λείψειν ὡς τεθνηξόμενος. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παρ' ἐλπίδα σώζεται, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ νοσεῖ Φερώρας, εὔρίσκετο

<sup>1</sup> ο δ' ορ ο δε Ρ.Λ.Μ.

and furthermore accused Fabatus to Caesar, asserting that the emperor's agent was acting not for his but for Herod's interests. Indignant at this and still highly paid by Herod, Fabatus betrayed the secrets of Syllaeus, informing the king that he had by bribery corrupted Corinthus, one of his bodyguard, and warning him to be on his guard against this man. The king acted on this advice, knowing that this Corinthus, though brought up within his dominion, was an Arab by birth. He straightway had him arrested and with him two other Arabs, whom he discovered in his company, one a friend of Syllaeus, the other the chief of a tribe. Being put to the torture, these men confessed that Corinthus had by large bribes induced them to kill Herod. They were, accordingly, after being further examined by Saturninus, the governor of Syria, sent up for trial to Rome.

Discovery  
of a plot  
another  
Arab aga-  
Herod.

(4) Herod, meanwhile, never relaxed his efforts to compel Pheroras to divorce his wife. But, notwithstanding the abundant cause which he had for his hatred of the creature, he could devise no means of punishing her, until finally, in extreme indignation, he banished both her and his brother from the realm. Pheroras, accepting this affront with equanimity, departed to his own tetrarchy,<sup>a</sup> swearing that the only limit to his exile should be Herod's death, and that never, so long as his brother lived, would he return to him. Nor, in fact, would he revisit his brother, even during his illness, though urgently pressed to do so; for Herod, believing that he was dying, desired to leave him certain instructions. Herod, however, unexpectedly recovered, and not long after Pheroras himself fell sick; Herod thereupon dis-

Exile and  
death of  
Pheroras  
5 B.C.

<sup>a</sup> Peraea (§ 483).

δὲ Ἡρώδης μετριώτερος καὶ γὰρ ἥκει πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ συμπαθῶς ἐθεράπευεν. οὐ μὴν ὑπερίσχυσεν τοῦ πάθους· μετὰ γὰρ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἀποθυῆσκει 581 Φερώρας. ὃν καίπερ ἀγαπήσας Ἡρώδης μέχρι τελευταίας ἡμέρας ὅμως καὶ αὐτὸν ἀνελεῦ ἐφημίσθη φαρμάκῳ. τόν γε μὴν νεκρὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα κομίσας πέιθος τε μέγιστον δλῷ τῷ ἔθνει κατήγγειλεν καὶ κηδείας ἡξίωσεν λαμπροτάτης. ἔνα μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου φονέων τοιοῦτον περιέρχεται τέλος.

582 (xxx. 1) Μετέβαινεν δ' ἐπὶ τὸν αὐθέντην Ἀντίπατρον ἡ ποιηὴ τὸν Φερώρα θάνατον ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσα. τῷ τούτου γάρ τινες ἀπελευθέρων κατηφεῖς τῷ βασιλεῖ προσελθόντες τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ διεφθάρθαι φαρμακοῖς ἔλεγον· προσενεγκεῖν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ τι τὴν γυναῖκα τῶν οὐ συνήθως ἐσκευασμένων, φαγόντα δ' εὐθέως εἰς τὴν νόσον 583 καταπεσεῖν. ἀγηοχέναι τε πρὸ δυοῖν ἡμερῶν τὴν μητέρα ταύτης<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν γύναιον ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας φαρμακῶν ἔμπειρον, ὅπως φίλτροι σκευάσῃ τῷ Φερώρᾳ, δεδωκέναι δ' ἀντὶ τούτοις θανάσιμον Συλλαίου πραγματευσαμένου· τούτῳ γὰρ ἦν γνώριμον.

584 (2) Πληγεὶς οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑποφίαις πλείοσι θεραπαίνας τε καὶ τινας τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἐβασάνιζεν ἐβόα δέ τις ἐν ταῖς ἀλγηδόσιν “θεὸς ὁ γῆν καὶ οὐρανὸν διέπων μετέλθοι τὴν τούτων ἡμῖν τῷ κακῷν αἴτιαν, τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου μητέρα.” ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς λαβόμενος ἐπεξήγει πρόσου τὴν ἀλήθειαν.<sup>2</sup> ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τὴν τε φιλίαν τῆς

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῆς PM.

<sup>2</sup> + επιζητῶν LTRC.

played greater humanity, for he went to him and affectionately tended him. But he could not cope with the malady, and a few days later Pheroras expired. Notwithstanding the love which Herod had for his brother to his dying day, a report was spread that he had poisoned even him. Anyhow, he had the corpse conveyed to Jerusalem, gave orders for a solemn national mourning, and honoured him with the most imposing funeral. Such was the end to which came one of the murderers of Alexander and Aristobulus.

(xxx. 1) But retribution was now, in turn, descending upon the real perpetrator of that crime, Antipater; this retribution arose out of the death of Pheroras. For certain freedmen of the deceased came, in dejection, to the king and informed him that his brother had been carried off by poison; his wife, they said, had served up to him some extraordinary concoction, after eating which he was immediately taken ill. They added that, two days before, her mother and sister had brought from Arabia a woman who was an expert in drugs, to make up a love-potion for Pheroras; but, instead of this, she had given him a deadly poison, at the instigation of Syllaeus, who knew her.

(2) Beset with all sorts of suspicions, the king put the women-servants and some ladies above that rank to the torture. One victim in her agonies exclaimed, "May God who governs earth and heaven punish the author of our present miseries, Antipater's mother!"<sup>a</sup> Clutching at this clue, the king pushed his search for the facts yet further. The woman

Herod  
discovers  
that  
Pheroras  
has been  
poisoned.

<sup>a</sup> Doris.

Αντιπάτρου μητρὸς πρὸς Φερώραν καὶ τὰς ἐκείνου γυναικας ἔδήλου καὶ τὰς λαθραίας αὐτῶν συνόδους, ὅτι τε Φερώρας καὶ Ἀντίπατρος σὺν ἐκείναις πίνοιεν, ὑποστρέφοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, δι’ ὅλης<sup>1</sup> νυκτός, μηδένα μήτε οἰκέτην μήτε θεράπαιναν ἔῶντες παρατυγχάνειν. μία δὴ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ταῦτα μηνύει.

- 586 (3) Τὰς δὲ δούλας χωρὶς ἐκάστην Ἡρώδης ἐβασάνιζεν. ἐρρήθη δὲ παρὰ πάσαις τὰ προειρημένα σύμφωνα, καὶ διότι κατὰ συνθήκην Ἀντίπατρος μὲν εἰς Ρώμην, Φερώρας δ’ ὑποχωρήσειν εἰς τὴν Περαίαν· πολλάκις γὰρ αὐτοὺς διαλαλεῖν, ὡς μετ’ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς Ἡρώδης μεταβήσεται καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναικας· οὐ γὰρ φείσεσθαι<sup>2</sup> μετὰ Μαριάμμην καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνης ἐτέρου τινός, ὥστε ἄμεινον εἶναι φεύγειν ὡς πορρωτάτω τοῦ θηρίου. πολλάκις δὲ ἀποδυρόμενον πρὸς τὴν μητέρα τὸν Ἀντίπατρον εἰπεῖν ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν εἴη πολιὸς ἥδη, νεάζοι δὲ καθ’ ἡμέραν ὁ πατήρ, φθάσαι δ’ ἂν τάχα καὶ τελευτήσας πρὶν ἄρξασθαι βασιλείας ἀληθοῦς. εἰ δὲ καί ποτε ἐκεῖνος τελευτήσειν, (πότε δ’ ἂν γένοιτο τοῦτο;) παντάπασιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῆς διαδοχῆς γίνεσθαι σύντομον. ὑποβλαστάνειν δὲ τὰς τῆς ὕδρας κεφαλάς, τοὺς Ἀριστοβούλου καὶ Ἀλέξανδρου παιᾶς. ἀφηρῆσθαι δ’ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τέκνοις ἐλπίδα· διάδοχον γὰρ οὐ τῶν αὐτοῦ τινα παιδῶν μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐκ Μαριάμμης Ἡρώδην γεγραφέναι. καὶ κατὰ τοῦτό γε παντάπασιν παραγηράν οἰόμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ διαθήκας μεινεῖν κυρίας· αὐτὸν γὰρ προνοήσειν μηδένα τῆς γενεᾶς ἀπολιπεῖν. ὅντα

then revealed the intimacy of Antipater's mother with Pheroras and the ladies of his family, and their clandestine meetings ; she added that Pheroras and Antipater, on their return from the king, would pass the whole night drinking with those women, without allowing a single servant, male or female, to be present. This information was given by one of the ladies of rank.

(3) Herod had each of the slave girls separately tortured. All their evidence agreed with that already stated ; they added that it was by a mutual arrangement that Antipater had withdrawn to Rome and Pheroras to Peraea ; for they were constantly saying to each other, " After Alexander and Aristobulus, we and our wives will be Herod's next victims. Having slain Mariamme and her offspring, he will spare none ; so it will be better to flee as far as possible from the ferocious beast." Antipater, they continued, would often complain to his mother that he was already grey-headed, while his father grew younger every day ; he would perhaps be the first to die, before he began to be really king. Even supposing his father ever did die (and when would that be ?) his enjoyment of his heritage must be extremely short. Then there were these hydra heads, the sons of Aristobulus and Alexander, shooting up. His father had robbed him of his hopes for his children, by nominating as the next heir to the throne not one of his own children, but Herod, the son of Mariamme. In that at least he betrayed his extreme senility, if he supposed that that part of his will would stand ; for he, Antipater, would take good care to leave none of the family alive. Never had

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<sup>1</sup> +τῆς A.M.

<sup>2</sup> Bekker : φείσασθαι MSS.

γε μὴν τῶν πώποτε πατέρων μισοτεκνότατον Ἡρώδην πολὺ μᾶλλον εἶναι μισάδελφον· δοῦναι γοῦν αὐτῷ πρώην ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ διαλέγεσθαι Φερώρᾳ. τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος “τί γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐβλάπτομεν;” ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν Ἀντιπάτρον “εἴθε πάνθ’ ἡμᾶς ἀφελόμενος γυμνοὺς ἔάσειεν<sup>1</sup> ζῶντας. ἀλλ’ ἀμήχανον ἐκφυγεῖν οὕτω φονικὸν θηρίον, παρ’ ω̄ μηδὲ φιλεῖν τις ἔξεστι φανερῶς. λάθρα γοῦν νῦν ἀλλήλοις σύνεσμεν, ἔξεσται δὲ φανερῶς, ἐὰν σχῶμέν ποτ’ ἀνδρῶν φρόνημα καὶ χεῖρας.”

590 (4) Ταῦτ’ ἔλεγον αἱ βασανιζόμεναι, καὶ ὅτι Φερώρας βουλεύσαιτο φυγεῖν μετ’ αὐτῶν εἰς Πέτραν. ἐπίστευσεν δ’ Ἡρώδης πᾶσι τοῖς λεγομένοις ἐκ τῶν ἑκατὸν ταλάντων· μόνῳ γὰρ Ἀντιπάτρῳ διείλεκτο περὶ αὐτῶν. ἀποσκήπτει δ’ εἰς πρώτην δὲ θυμὸς Δωρίδα τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου μητέρα· καὶ γυμνώσας αὐτὴν παντὸς οὖ δεδώρητο κόσμου, 591 πολλῶν δ’ ἦν ταλάντων, ἐκβάλλει δεύτερον. τὰς δὲ Φερώρου γυναικας ἀπὸ τῶν βασάνων ἐτημέλει διηλλαγμένος. ἐπτόητο δὲ τῷ φόβῳ καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ὑπόνοιαν ἔξερριπίζετο, πολλούς τε τῶν οὐκ αἰτίων εἶλκεν εἰς βασάνους, δεδοικὼς μή τινα τῶν αἰτίων παραλίπῃ.

592 (5) Κάν τούτῳ τρέπεται πρὸς τὸν Σαμαρείτην Ἀντιπάτρον, δος ἦν ἐπίτροπος Ἀντιπάτρου. βασανίζων δὲ αὐτὸν ἥκουσεν ὅτι μετεπέμψατο μὲν Ἀντιπάτρος ἔξ Αἰγύπτου δηλητήριον φάρμακον ἐπ’ αὐτὸν διά τινος τῶν ἐταίρων Ἀντιφίλου, λάβοι δὲ παρ’ ἐκείνου Θευδίων δὲ θεῖος<sup>2</sup> Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf: ἔάσει γε or ἔάσει μεσ.

<sup>2</sup> φίλος PAM Heg.: for text cf. A. xvii. 70.

father so hated his children, yet Herod hated his brother far more ; only the other day he had given him (Antipater) a hundred talents to break off all intercourse with Pheroras. And when Pheroras remarked, "Why, what harm were we doing him ?" he had replied : "Would to heaven he would rob us of everything and leave us to live in nakedness. But it is impossible to escape so blood-thirsty a beast, who will not even allow us to show affection for anyone. Now we must meet in secret ; we shall be able to do so openly, if ever we possess the courage and arms of men."

(4) To these revelations the tortured women added that Pheroras had had designs of flying with them to Petra. Herod believed all these statements because of the detail of the hundred talents, which he had mentioned to none but Antipater. The first to feel the explosion of his wrath was Doris, Antipater's mother ; he stripped her of all the finery which he had bestowed on her and for the second time dismissed her from court. With the ladies of Pheroras's household he made his peace and showed them special attentions after their tortures. But he was scared with fright and flared up at the least suspicion, and many innocent persons were haled by him to torture, for fear that a single culprit should escape him.

(5) His attention was now directed to Antipater the Samaritan, agent to his son Antipater. From him, under torture, he learnt that Antipater had procured from Egypt, through Antiphilus, one of his companions, a deadly poison intended for the king ; that from Antiphilus it had passed into the hands of Theudion, Antipater's uncle, who had delivered it

Repudiation  
of Doris,  
Antipater's  
mother.

Discovery  
of a plot  
Antipater  
and  
Pheroras  
to poison  
Herod.

παραδοίη Φερώρᾳ· τούτῳ γάρ ἐντείλασθαι τὸν  
 Ἀντίπατρον Ἡρώδην ἀνέλειν ᾧς αὐτός ἐστιν  
 ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῆς ὑπονοίας κεχωρισμένος· Φερώραν  
 593 δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ παραθέσθαι τὸ φάρμακον. ταύτην  
 οὖν<sup>1</sup> ὁ βασιλεὺς μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτίκα τὸ  
 ληφθὲν ἐκέλευσεν κομίζειν. ἡ δ' ἔξεισι μὲν ὡς  
 κομιοῦσα, ρίπτει δ' ἐαυτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους τὸν τε  
 ἔλεγχον καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως αἰκίαν φθάνουσα·  
 προνοίᾳ δ', ὡς ἔοικεν, θεοῦ μετιόντος Ἀντίπατρον  
 οὐκ ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ θάτερα πεσοῦσα δια-  
 594 σώζεται. κομισθεῖσαν δ' αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνα-  
 κτησάμενος, κεκάρωτο γάρ ἀπὸ τοῦ πτώματος,  
 ἥρωτα δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ρύψειν ἐαυτήν, εἰ μὲν εἴποι  
 τάληθές, ἀφήσειν πάσης τιμωρίας ἐπομνύμενος, εἰ  
 δ' ὑποστείλαιτο, δαπανήσειν αὐτῆς ἐν βασάνοις τὸ  
 σῶμα καὶ μηδὲ τάφῳ καταλείψειν.

595 (6) Πρὸς ταῦθ' ἡ γυνὴ μικρὸν διαλιποῦσα "καὶ  
 τί γάρ," εἶπεν, "ἔτι φείδομαι τῶν ἀπορρήτων,  
 Φερώρα τεθνεῶτος; ἡ<sup>2</sup> σώζουσα τὸν ἀπολέσαντα  
 πάντας ἡμᾶς Ἀντίπατρον; ἄκουε, βασιλεῦ, καὶ  
 μετὰ σοῦ θεὸς ὁ μάρτυς ἐμοὶ τῆς ἀληθείας πλανη-  
 596 θῆναι μὴ δυνάμενος. ὅτε ἀποθνήσκοντι Φερώρᾳ  
 παρεκαθέζου δεδακρυμένος, τότε με προσκαλεσά-  
 μενος ἐκεῖνος 'ἡ πολύ γε,' ἔφη, 'ὦ γύναι, τῆς  
 εἰς ἐμαυτὸν διανοίας τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ διήμαρτον, τὸν  
 οὕτως στέργοντα μισήσας καὶ κτείναι βουλευ-  
 σάμενος τὸν οὕτως ἐπ' ἐμοὶ μηδὲ τεθνεῶτι πα-  
 συγχεόμενον. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπέχω τῆς ἀσεβείας  
 τὸ ἐπιτίμιον, σὺ δ' ὁ φυλάσσεις κατ' αὐτοῦ φάρ-  
 μακον ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου καταλειφθὲν ἡμῖν φέρε καὶ  
 βλέποντός μου ταχέως ἀφάνισον, ἵνα μὴ καὶ καθ-

<sup>1</sup> AM Lat.: om. the rest.

<sup>2</sup> ἡ conj.: ἡ θεός.

to Pheroras, since it was he whom Antipater had commissioned to kill Herod while he himself was at Rome and out of the way of suspicion ; and that Pheroras had entrusted the poison to his wife. The king sent for her and ordered her instantly to produce what she had received. She went out, as though to fetch it, and then flung herself from the roof, in order to evade conviction and the king's rack. However, by the providence, it seems, of God, whose vengeance was pursuing Antipater, she fell not on her head, but on another part of her body, and was not killed. She was carried to the king, who had restoratives applied, as she was stunned by the fall ; he then asked her why she had thrown herself from the roof, and swore that, if she told the truth, he would exempt her from all punishment, but, if she prevaricated, he would tear her body to pieces with tortures and leave not a limb for burial.

(6) At this the woman hesitated an instant and then replied : " After all, why should I longer guard these secrets, now that Pheroras is dead ? Merely to save Antipater who has been the ruin of us all ? Listen to me, O king, and may God hear me too, a witness to the truth of my words who cannot be deceived ! At the time when you were sitting weeping beside the dying Pheroras, he called me to him and said, ' Much have I been mistaken, my wife, in my brother's feelings towards me ; I hated him who loves me so tenderly ; I plotted to kill him who is so overwhelmed with grief for me even before my death. I am but receiving the reward of my impiety ; as for you, bring that poison which Antipater left us, and you are keeping for his destruction, and promptly destroy it under my eyes, lest I carry away

597 ἄδου φέροιμι τὸν ἀλάστορα.' καὶ κελεύσαντος  
ἐκόμισα καὶ πλεῖστον μὲν εἰς τὸ πῦρ ὄρῶντος  
αὐτοῦ κατεκένωσα, βραχὺ δὲ ἐμαυτῇ πρὸς τὸ  
ἄδηλα καὶ τὸν ἐκ σοῦ φόβον ἐτήρησα.'

598 (7) Ταῦτ' εἰποῦσα προκομίζει τὴν πυξίδα παν-  
τάπασιν ἔχουσαν τοῦ φαρμάκου βραχύ. βασιλεὺς  
δ' ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Ἀντιφίλου καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν  
τὰς βασάνους μετέφερεν, κάκενοι τὸν Ἀντίφιλον  
κομίσαι τε ἀπ' Αἴγυπτου τὴν πυξίδα ὡμολόγουν  
καὶ λαβεῖν παρ' ἀδελφοῦ τὸ φάρμακον ἔφασκοι  
599 ἰατρεύοντος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. περιιόντες δὲ οἱ  
Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου δαίμονες ἅπαν το-  
βασίλειον ἐρευνηταί τε καὶ μηνυταὶ τῶν ἀδήλω-  
ἐγίνοντο, τούς τε πορρωτάτω τῆς ὑποψίας ὅντα-  
ἔσυρον εἰς τοὺς ἐλέγχους. εὑρίσκεται γοῦν καὶ  
τοῦ ἀρχιερέως θυγάτηρ Μαριάμμη τῆς ἐπιβουλῆ-  
συνίστωρ· βασανιζόμενοι γὰρ τοῦτ' ἀπέδειξα  
600 αὐτῆς οἱ ἀδελφοί. βασιλεὺς δὲ τῆς μητρώας τόλ-  
μης καὶ τὸν οὐίὸν ἡμύννατο· τὸν γοῦν ἐξ αὐτῆς  
Ἡρώδην, ὅντα διάδοχον Ἀντιπάτρου, τῆς δια-  
θήκης ἐξήλειψεν.

601 (xxxii. 1) Ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ Βάθυλλος εἰς τοὺς  
ἐλέγχους συνέδραμεν, ἡ τελευταία πίστις τῷ  
Ἀντιπάτρῳ βεβουλευμένων· ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἀπελεύ-  
θερος αὐτοῦ, κομίζων δὲ ἦκεν ἄλλο δηλητήριον  
ἰοὺς ἀσπίδων καὶ χυλοὺς ἐτέρων ἔρπετῶν, ἵνα εἴ-  
τὸ πρῶτον ἀσθενήσει<sup>1</sup> φάρμακον, τούτῳ Φερώρα  
μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ὄπλίσαιτο κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως  
602 πάρεργον δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα τόλμης ἐκόμιζε  
τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐσκευωρημένας ἐπιστολὰ  
ὑπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου· ἦσαν γὰρ Ἀρχέλαος καὶ Φίλ-

<sup>1</sup> ἀσθενήσει Dindorf.

my command. And I bid thee without more delay make speed to Egypt, pressing forward by night and day, and by no dallying to prolong the time for the Hebrews, now suffering in servitude."

(4) Moses, unable to doubt the promises of the Deity, after having seen and heard such confirmation of them, prayed and entreated that he might be vouchsafed this power in Egypt; he also besought Him not to deny him the knowledge of His name, but, since he had been granted speech with Him and vision of Him, further to tell him how He should be addressed, so that, when sacrificing, he might invoke Him by name to be present at the sacred rites. Then God revealed to him His name, which ere then had not come to men's ears, and of which I am forbidden to speak.<sup>a</sup> Moreover, Moses found those miracles at his service not on that occasion only but at all times whensoever there was need of them; from all which tokens he came to trust more firmly in the oracle from the fire, to believe that God would be his gracious protector, and to hope to be able to deliver his people and to bring disaster upon the Egyptians.

(xiii. 1) Accordingly, on learning that the king of Egypt, the Pharaohs under whom he had fled the country, was dead, he besought Raguel to permit him for the welfare of his countrymen to go to Egypt; and, taking with him Sapphora,<sup>b</sup> his wife, daughter of Raguel, and the children whom he had by her, Gêrsos

Revelation  
of the  
divine nam  
Ex. iii. 13.

Moses  
returns to  
Egypt.  
Ex. iv. 18.

donai (*LXX Kύριος*) was employed, and JHVH in Hebrew ss. was written with the vowels of the latter, to indicate "Read Adonai"; hence, through later neglect of the intention of the scribes, arose the form Jehovah, which has acquired a sacredness of its own, but in its origin is a hybrid.

<sup>a</sup> Bibl. Zipporah (*LXX Σεπφώρα*).

ιππος βασιλέως παιδες ἐπὶ 'Ρώμης παιδευόμενοι,  
603 μειράκια τε ἥδη καὶ φρονήματος μεστοί. τούτους  
ἐπανακύπτοντας αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἀποσκευά-  
σασθαι σπεύδων Ἀντίπατρος ἡς μὲν πλάττεται κατ'  
αὐτῶν ἐπιστολὰς ἔξ ὄνόματος τῶν ἐπὶ 'Ρώμης  
φίλων, οὓς δὲ ἐπειθεὶς γράψαι διαφθείρας χρήμασιν,  
ώς πολλὰ μὲν βλασφημοῦεν τὸν πατέρα, φανερῶς  
δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον ὁδύρουιτο, πρὸς  
δὲ τὴν μετάκλησιν ἀγανακτοῦεν· ἥδη γὰρ<sup>1</sup> αὐτοὺς  
ὅ πατὴρ μετεπέμπετο, καὶ τοῦτο ἦν τὸ μάλιστα  
ταράσσον Ἀντίπατρον.

604 (2) "Ετι δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀποδημίας ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ  
μένων τοιαύτας κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ 'Ρώμης ἡγόραζεν  
ἐπιστολάς, προσιών τε ὡς ἀνύποπτος εἴη τῷ πατρὶ<sup>2</sup>  
περὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν<sup>3</sup> ἀπελογεῖτο, τὰ μὲν ψευδῆ  
λέγων εἶναι τῶν γραφομένων, ἀ δὲ νεότητος ἀμαρ-  
605 τήματα. τηνικαῦτά γε μὴν τοῖς γράφουσιν κατὰ  
τῶν ἀδελφῶν πλεῖστα δοὺς χρήματα συμφύρειν  
ἐπειρᾶτο τὸν ἔλεγχον, ἐσθῆτάς τε πολυτελεῖς καὶ  
στρωμνὰς ποικίλας ἐκπώματά τε ἀργυρᾶ καὶ  
χρυσᾶ συνωνούμενος ἄλλα τε πολλὰ τῶν κειμηλίων.  
ἴνα τῷ πλίθει τῆς εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνης τοὺς εἰς  
ἐκεῖνα μισθοὺς ἐγκατακρύψῃ<sup>3</sup>. διακόσια γοῦν ἀνα-  
λώματος ἀνήνεγκεν τάλαντα, καὶ τούτων μεγίστη  
606 πρόφασις ἦν ἡ πρὸς Συλλαῖον δίκη. πάντων δ'  
αὐτοῦ τότε καὶ τῶν βραχυτέρων ἐν τῷ μείζονι  
κακῷ διακαλυφθέντων, ὅθ' αἱ μὲν βάσανοι πᾶσαι

<sup>1</sup> γὰρ Niese from Lat.: δ' or δὲ MSS.

<sup>2</sup> The alternative reading of LTRC καὶ προσιών τέως  
ἀνύποπτος ἦν τῷ πατρὶ περὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν δὲ ("and then, while  
as yet his father had no suspicion of him, would go to him  
and" etc.) is specious.

<sup>3</sup> LTRC Lat.: εγκαταγράψῃ PAM (perhaps rightly).

sons of the king, now growing lads and full of manly spirit, were receiving their education in Rome. Anxious to rid himself of these scions springing up to dash his hopes, Antipater forged several letters to their injury in the name of their friends in Rome, while he prevailed on others by bribery to write that the young princes were constantly railing at their father, publicly deplored the fate of Alexander and Aristobulus, and indignant at their own recall; for their father was now summoning them back, and it was this fact which caused Antipater the greatest uneasiness.

His forgery  
of letters to  
injure his  
half-  
brothers.

(2) Even before his departure abroad, Antipater, while still in Judaea, used to procure, at a price, the sending of such letters of abuse of his brothers written in Rome, and then, in order to avoid suspicion, would go to his father and make excuses for his brothers, urging that such and such statements were false, while other matters mentioned were mere youthful indiscretions. Now, in Rome, having to pay immense sums to the writers of these letters against his brothers, his efforts were directed to confusing the evidence of such outlay. To this end he bought up costly apparel, embroidered carpets, cups of silver and gold, and many other precious objects, in order to conceal under the enormous total of these outgoings the wages paid for the other affair. His returns showed an expenditure of 200 talents, of which the greater part was put down to his suit with Syllaeus. But now, though even all these petty knaveries were exposed with the larger crime, now when every fresh torture was loudly

τὴν πατροκτονίαν, αἱ δὲ ἐπιστολαὶ δευτέρας  
 ἀδελφοκτονίας κεκράγεσαν, ὅμως οὐδεὶς τῶν  
 εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφικνουμένων ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτῷ τὰς  
 ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ τύχας, καίτοι μεταξὺ τῶν ἐλέγχων καὶ  
 τῆς ἐπανόδου διελθόντων ἔπτὰ μηνῶν· τοσοῦτον  
 607 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ πάντων μῆσος ἦν. τάχα καὶ τοὺς  
 ἀπαγγέλλειν προηρημένους οἱ τῶν ἀνηρημένων  
 δαιμονες ἀδελφῶν ἐφίμουν. γράφει γοῦν ἀπὸ  
 Ῥώμης ἄφιξιν ἑαυτοῦ ταχεῖαν εὐαγγελιζόμενος,  
 καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ Καίσαρος μετὰ τιμῆς ἀπολυθείη.

608 (3) Ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ εἰς χεῖρας λαβεῖν σπεύδων  
 τὸν ἐπίβουλον καὶ δεδοικώς μή ποτε προγνοὺς  
 φυλάξηται, δι’ ἐπιστολῆς ἀνθυπεκρίνετο, τά τε  
 ἄλλα φιλοφρονούμενος καὶ σπεύδειν παρακαλῶν·  
 θήσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς πρὸς τὴν μητέρα  
 μέμψεις ἐπειχθέντος· οὐ γὰρ ἥγνοει τὴν ἐκβολὴν  
 609 τῆς μητρὸς Ἀντίπατρος. πρότερον μὲν οὖν εὐλή-  
 φει τὴν περὶ τῆς Φερώρα τελευτῆς ἐπιστολὴν ἐι-  
 Τάραντι καὶ μέγιστον ἐποιήσατο πένθος, ὃ τινες  
 ὡς ἐπὶ θείῳ καθύμνουν, ἦν δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐπὶ  
 διαμαρτίᾳ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἡ σύγχυσις καὶ οἱ  
 Φερώραν κλαίοντος, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑπηρέτην· ἥδη δε  
 καὶ φόβος ἐπῆρε τις αὐτὸν τῶν τετελεσμένων, μη-  
 610 ποτε φωραθείη τὸ φάρμακον. τότε δὲ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ  
 λαβὼν ἦν προειρήκαμεν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπι-  
 στολὴν παραχρῆμα μὲν ἔσπευδεν, ὡς δὲ εἰς Κελέν-  
 δεριν κατέπλει, λαμβάνει τις αὐτὸν ἔννοια τῷ  
 περὶ τὴν μητέρα κακῷ, προμαντευομένης ἥδη κα-

<sup>a</sup> On the borders of Pamphylia and Cilicia. Reinach  
 suspects some confusion as Celenderis was the first port in  
 Cilicia which he would reach.

proclaiming him a parricide, when the letters were revealing him as once more a fratricide, none the less not one of the visitors to Rome told him of the turn of his fortunes in Judaea, although seven months elapsed between his conviction and his return ; so intense was the hatred which all bore him. Perhaps, moreover, the lips of those who were minded to speak were sealed by the spirits of his murdered brothers. However that may be, he wrote from Rome to announce the good news of his early return and of the honours paid to him by Caesar in taking leave of him.

(3) The king, impatient to lay hands on the conspirator and fearing that he might be forewarned and on his guard, replied in an equally dissembling letter, couched in affectionate terms and bidding him hasten his return ; because, if he made speed, added Herod, he would be prepared to relinquish his complaints against his mother. For Antipater was not ignorant of her dismissal from court. He had previously received at Tarentum a letter announcing the death of Pheroras and had displayed the profoundest grief, for which some applauded him, attributing it to the loss of an uncle ; but his emotion, it seems, was due to the failure of the plot : he wept not for Pheroras but for his accomplice. He was, moreover, already alarmed at the thought of his past proceedings : had the poison been discovered ? But now, when he received in Cilicia the above mentioned letter from his father, he instantly pressed on. However, as he was entering the harbour of Celenderis,<sup>a</sup> the thought of his mother's disgrace came over him, and even without such prompting <sup>b</sup> his soul had already

Return of  
Antipater  
ignorance  
of his  
detection

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps "involuntarily," *proprio motu*.

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- 611 καθ' ἔαυτὴν τῆς ψυχῆς. οἱ μὲν οὖν προμηθέστεροι τῶν φίλων συνεβούλευον μὴ πρότερον ἐμπίπτειν τῷ πατρὶ πρὶν πυθέσθαι σαφῶς δι' ἄς αἰτίας ἐξέβαλεν αὐτοῦ τὴν μητέρα· δεδιέναι γάρ, μή ποτε 612 προσθήκη γένοιτο τῶν κατ' ἐκείνης διαβολῶν. οἱ δὲ ἀσκεπτότεροι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα σπεύδοντες ἵδεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ συμφέρον Ἀντιπάτρῳ σκοποῦντες, ἐπείγεσθαι παρήνουν καὶ μὴ τῇ μελλήσει παρασχεῖν τῷ πατρὶ μὲν ὑποψίαν φαύλην, τοῖς διαβάλλουσι δὲ ἀφορμήν· καὶ γὰρ νῦν, εἴ τι κεκίνηται κατ' αὐτοῦ, παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν γέγονεν· μηδὲ γὰρ ἂν τολμῆσαι παρόντος· ἄτοπον δ' εἶναι δι' ἀδήλους ὑποψίας προδήλων ἀγαθῶν στερίσκεσθαι, καὶ μὴ θάττον ἀποδοῦναι μὲν ἔαυτὸν τῷ πατρί, κομίσασθαι δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ μόνῳ σαλεύονταν.
- 613 πείθεται τούτοις, ἐνῆγεν γὰρ τὸ δαιμόνιον, καὶ διαπεράσας εἰς τὸν Σεβαστὸν λιμένα τῆς Καισαρείας κατάγεται.
- 614 (4) Παρυπήντησεν δ' αὐτῷ παρὰ δόξαν ἐρημία πολλή, πάντων ἐκτρεπομένων καὶ μηδενὸς προσιέναι τολμῶντος· ἐμισεῖτο μὲν γὰρ ἐπίσης, καὶ τότε φανῆναι τὸ μῖσος ἔσχεν παρρησίαν, πολλοὺς δὲ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως φόβος ἀπέστρεψεν,<sup>1</sup> ἐπειδὴ πᾶσα πόλις ἦδη τῆς κατ' Ἀντιπάτρου φήμης πεπλήρωτο καὶ μόνος ἥγνοει τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν<sup>2</sup> Ἀντίπατρος· οὔτε δὲ προεπέμφθη λαμπρότερόν τις ἐκείνου πλέοντος ἐπὶ Ρώμης οὔτε ἀτιμότερον 615 ὑπεδέχθη. ὁ δὲ ἦδη μὲν ἐνενόει τὰς οἰκοις συμφοράς, ἔτι δὲ ἐκ πανουργίας ὑπεκρύπτετο καὶ τῷ

<sup>1</sup> PA: ἀπέστρεψεν the rest.

<sup>2</sup> καθ' ἔαυτὸν LTR.

a premonition of the future. The more far-sighted of his friends advised him not to put himself into his father's clutches until he had clearly ascertained the reasons for his mother's dismissal, as they feared that his arrival might only serve to swell the charges<sup>a</sup> against her. But the less reflective, anxious rather to see their native country than to serve Antipater's interests, urged him to push on and not by procrastinating to afford his father ground for sinister suspicions and his traducers a handle for calumny. "Even supposing," they said, "any intrigue against you is now on foot, it is because of your absence; none would have ventured on such a thing had you been there. It is absurd to let vague suspicions rob you of certain happiness, and not to run to your father's arms to receive the kingdom which is tottering on his unaided shoulders." Antipater, under the impulse of his evil genius, followed their advice, and sailing across landed at the port of Augustus, at Caesarea.

(4) Here he found a solitude, unlooked for, profound, and ominous; all avoided him, none ventured to approach him. For, equally hated though he had always been,<sup>b</sup> this hatred was now at liberty to show itself. Moreover, fear of the king kept many aloof, for every city by now was full of the Antipater scandal, and the only person ignorant how he stood was Antipater himself. No man ever had a more brilliant escort than his when he sailed for Rome, none on return a more ignominious reception. Divining now the disasters which had befallen at home, he still maintained a crafty dissimulation and,

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps "feared that there might have been some addition to the charges."      <sup>b</sup> Or "as he was by all."

δέει τεθνηκώς ἔνδοθεν σοβαρὸς εἶναι τὸ πρόσωπον  
 616 ἐβιάζετο. φυγὴ δ' οὐκέτι ἦν οὐδ' ἐκ τῶν περι-  
 εχόντων ἀνάδυσις, καὶ σαφὲς μὲν οὐδέν<sup>1</sup> τι τῶν  
 οἴκοθεν ἀπηγγέλλετο διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως  
 ἀπειλήν, ὑπελείπετο δὲ ἐλπὶς ἱλαρωτέρα, τάχα  
 μὲν μηδὲν πεφωρᾶσθαι, τάχα δ', εἴ τι καὶ πε-  
 φώραται, διασκευάσειν ἀναιδείᾳ καὶ δόλοις, ἅπερ  
 ἦν αὐτῷ μόνα τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐφόδια.

617 (5) Φραξάμενος οὖν αὐτοῖς ἥκεν εἰς τὸ βασίλειον  
 δίχα τῶν φίλων· οὗτοι γὰρ ὑβρισθέντες ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 πρώτου πυλῶνος εἴρχθησαν· ἔτυχεν δ' ἔνδον ὧν  
 Οὔαρος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμών. ὁ δὲ εἴσεισι πρὸς  
 τὸν πατέρα καὶ τῇ τόλμῃ παρακροτήσας ἐαυτὸν  
 618 ἥγγιζεν ὡς ἀσπασόμενος. κάκεῖνος τὰς χεῖρας  
 προβαλὼν καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν παρακλίνας, "ἔστιν,"  
 ἔξεβόησεν, "καὶ τοῦτο πατροκτόνου τὸ περι-  
 πλέκεσθαί μοι θέλειν ἐν τηλικαύταις αἰτίαις ὅντα.  
 φθείρου, δυσσεβεστάτη κεφαλή, μηδέ μου φαύσης  
 πρὶν ἀποσκευάσασθαι τὰ ἐγκλήματα. δίδωμι δέ  
 σοι δικαστήριον καὶ δικαστὴν εὐκαίρως ἥκοντα  
 Οὔαρον. ἵθι καὶ σκέπτου τὴν ἀπολογίαν εἰς αὔριον.  
 παρέχω γάρ σου<sup>2</sup> καιρὸν τοῖς πανουργεύμασιν.<sup>3</sup>"

619 πρὸς ταῦτα μηδὲν ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως ἀποκρίνασθαι  
 δυνηθεὶς αὐτὸς ὑπέστρεψεν, παραγενόμεναι δὲ πρὸς  
 αὐτὸν ἐκδιηγήσαντο πάντας τοὺς ἐλέγχους ἡ τε  
 μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνή. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀνανήψας ἐν  
 σκέψει τῆς ἀπολογίας ἦν.

<sup>1</sup> οὐδὲ ἔκει LTRC Lat.

<sup>2</sup> σοι Naber.

<sup>3</sup> πανουργήμασιν AMLR.

though dead with fright at the bottom of his heart, contrived to preserve an imposing exterior. There was no longer any possibility of flight or retreat from the perils encompassing him. However, he had received no definite tidings of events at the palace—owing to the king's threats against informers—and he still cherished a ray of hope: perhaps nothing had been discovered, perhaps, even if anything had been discovered, he might mend matters by effrontery and guile, his sole means of salvation.

(5) Armed, then, with these weapons he entered the palace, without his friends, for they had been insolently stopped at the outer gate. At the time there was a visitor within—Varus,<sup>a</sup> the governor of Syria. Antipater proceeded to his father's presence and, seeking courage in audacity, approached as though to kiss him. Herod, with arms extended and head averted, cried out: “That too betrays the parricide: he would embrace me, with such accusations against him! Perdition take thee, most impious wretch, and touch me not until you have cleared yourself of the charges. I offer you a tribunal and for judge this timely visitor, Varus. Go and prepare your defence for to-morrow; I leave you that interval for your artifices.” Unable through consternation to utter a word in reply, Antipater withdrew, and his mother and his wife<sup>b</sup> came to him and told him in detail of all the evidence against him. Then he collected himself and applied himself to preparing his defence.

and at  
Herod's  
court.

<sup>a</sup> P. Quintilius Varus, *legatus* of Syria c. 6-4 B.C., afterwards slain by Arminius and the Germans at the battle of Teutoburg.

<sup>b</sup> The daughter of Herod's predecessor Antigonus, A. xvii. 92, not his other wife, the daughter of Aristobulus (§ 565).

# JOSEPHUS

620 (xxxii. 1) Τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ συνέδριον μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀθροίζει τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων, εἰσ-  
καλεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀντιπάτρου φίλους προ-  
καθέζεται δὲ αὐτὸς ἄμα Οὐάρω καὶ τοὺς μηνυτὰς  
πάντας ἐκέλευσεν εἰσαγαγεῖν, ἐν οἷς εἰσήχθησαν  
καὶ τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου μητρὸς οἰκέται τινὲς οὐ πρὸ<sup>621</sup>  
πολλοῦ συνειλημμένοι, κομίζοντες γράμματα παρ'  
αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν τοιάδε· “ἐπεὶ<sup>1</sup> πεφώραται  
πάντα ἐκεῖνα τῷ πατρί σου, μὴ παραγίνου πρὸς  
αὐτόν, ἂν μὴ τινα πορίσῃ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος  
δύναμιν.” τούτων σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰσηγμένων  
Ἀντίπατρος εἰσέρχεται καὶ πεσὼν πρηνῆς πρὸ<sup>622</sup>  
τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ πατρός, “ἴκετεύω, πάτερ,” ἔφη,  
“μηδέν μου προκατεγνωκέναι, παρασχεῖν δέ μοι  
τὰς ἀκοὰς ἀκεραίους εἰς τὴν ἀπολογίαν· ἀποδείξω  
γὰρ ἐμαυτὸν καθαρόν, ἂν σὺ θέλησ.“  
622 (2) ‘Ο δ’ αὐτῷ σιγᾶν ἐγκραγῶν<sup>2</sup> πρὸς τὸν  
Οὔαρον εἶπεν· “ἄλλ’ ὅτι μὲν καὶ σύ, Οὔαρε, καὶ  
πᾶς δικαστὴς ὅσιος Ἀντίπατρον ἔξωλη κρινεῖ,  
πέπεισμαι. δέδοικα δὲ μὴ κάμοῦ μισήσης τὴν  
τύχην, κάμε κρίνης πάσης ἄξιον συμφορᾶς τοιού-  
τους υἱοὺς γεγεννηκότα. χρὴ δέ με διὰ τοῦτο  
ἔλεεῖσθαι πλέον, ὅτι πρὸς οὕτω μιαροὺς καὶ φιλο-  
623 στοργότατος πατὴρ ἐγενόμην. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ προ-  
τέρους βασιλείας τε ἔτι νέους ἀξιώσας καὶ πρὸς  
τοῖς ἐν Ρώμῃ τροφείοις φίλους Καίσαρος, ζηλω-  
τοὺς δὲ ποιήσας βασιλεῦσιν ἑτέροις, εὗρον ἐπι-  
βούλους, οἵ τεθνήκασι τὸ πλέον Ἀντιπάτρω· νέω  
γὰρ ὅντι καὶ διαδόχῳ τούτῳ μάλιστα τὴν ἀσφά-  
624 λειαν ἐποριζόμην. τὸ δὲ μιαρὸν τοῦτο θηρίον τῆς  
ἐμῆς ὑπερεμπλησθὲν ἀνεξικακίας ἥνεγκεν κατ' ἐμοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ἐπείπερ LTRC.

<sup>2</sup> κεκραγῶς (sic) PA.

(xxxii. 1) On the following day the king assembled a council of his relatives and friends, inviting Antipater's friends to attend as well. He himself presided, with Varus, and ordered all the informers to be produced. Among these were some domestics of Antipater's mother, recently arrested in the act of carrying a letter from her to her son in these terms : "As your father has discovered all, do not come near him, unless you have obtained support from Caesar." When these witnesses had been brought in with the rest, Antipater entered and, falling prostrate at his father's feet, said : "I beseech you, father, do not condemn me in advance, but lend an unprejudiced ear to my defence ; for I shall, if you permit, establish my innocence."

(2) Herod burst out upon him to be silent and then addressed Varus : "That you, Varus, and every honest judge will condemn Antipater as an abandoned criminal, I am fully persuaded. What I fear is that my fate may also appear hateful to you and that you may judge me deserving of every calamity for having begotten such sons. And yet you ought rather to pity me for having been the most devoted of fathers to such abominable wretches. My late sons, whom when they were quite young I thought fit to destine for the throne, whom I not only expensively educated in Rome, but introduced to Caesar's friendship, and made an object of envy to other sovereigns, these I found to be conspirators. They have died, mainly to further Antipater's interests : he was young, he was the heir, and to secure him was the object which I had most at heart. And now this foul monster, gorged with the benefits of my for- Herod's  
indictme

τὸν κόρον· ἔδοξα γὰρ αὐτῷ πολὺν ζῆν χρόνον,  
καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν γῆρας ἐβαρύνθη, βασιλεύς τ' οὐχ  
ὑπέμεινεν εἰ μὴ διὰ πατροκτονίας γενέσθαι, δίκαια  
γοῦν βουλευσάμενος, ὅτι καταγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ  
τῆς χώρας ἀπερριψμένον καὶ παρωσάμενος τοὺς  
625 ἐκ βασιλίδος μοι γεγενημένους ἀπέδειξα τῆς  
ἀρχῆς διάδοχον. ἔξομολογοῦμαί σοι, Οὐαρε, τὴν  
ἐμαυτοῦ φρενοβλάβειαν· ἐγὼ [γὰρ]<sup>1</sup> τοὺς νίοὺς  
ἐκείνους κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ παρώξυνα, δικαίας αὐτῶν  
ἀποκόφας ἐλπίδας δι' Ἀντίπατρον. καὶ τί μὲν  
ἐκείνους εὐεργέτησα τηλικοῦτον, ἡλίκον τοῦτον;  
ῳ γε ζῶν μὲν ὀλίγου δεῦν παρεχώρησα τῆς ἔξ-  
ουσίας, φανερῶς δὲ ταῖς διαθήκαις ἐνέγραψα τῆς  
ἀρχῆς διάδοχον καὶ πρόσοδον μὲν ἴδιᾳ πεντήκοντα  
ταλάντων ἔνειμα, τῶν δ' ἐμῶν ἔχορήγησα χρη-  
μάτων ἀνέδην, πλέοντι δὲ νῦν εἰς Ρώμην ἔδωκα  
τριακόσια τάλαντα, Καίσαρι δ' ἔξ ὅλης τῆς γενεᾶς  
626 μόρον ὡς σωτῆρα τοῦ πατρὸς παρεθέμην. τί δ'  
ἐκεῖνοι τοιοῦτον ἡσέβησαν, οἷον Ἀντίπατρος; ᾧ  
τίς ἔλεγχος ἡνέχθη κατ' αὐτῶν, ἡλίκος ἀπο-  
627 δείκνυσιν τοῦτον ἐπίβουλον; ἀλλὰ φθέγγεσθαι τι  
τετόλμηκεν ὁ πατροκτόνος καὶ πάλιν δόλοις τὴν  
ἀλήθειαν ἐπικαλύψειν ἐλπίζει. Οὐαρε, σοὶ φυλακ-  
τέον· ἐγὼ [μὲν]<sup>2</sup> γὰρ οἶδα τὸ θηρίον καὶ προ-  
ορῶμαι τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀξιοπιστίαν καὶ τὸν ἐπί-  
πλαστον ὄλοφυρμόν. οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ παραινῶν ἐμοὶ  
ποτε φυλάττεσθαι ζῶντα Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ μὴ  
πᾶσιν πιστεύειν τὸ σῶμα· οὗτος ὁ μέχρι τῆς  
κοίτης εἰσάγων καὶ μή μέ τις ἐνεδρεύοι περι-  
βλέπων· οὗτος ὁ ταμίας τῶν ὕπνων καὶ χορηγὸς  
τῆς ἀμεριψνίας, ὁ παραμυθούμενος τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> P: om. the rest.

bearance, has turned his bloated insolence upon me. He thought me too long-lived ; my old age oppressed him ; he could not endure the idea of becoming king by other means than parricide. Justly indeed has he served me for bringing him back, a castaway, from the country, ousting the sons whom a princess bore me and declaring him heir to the throne ! I admit, Varus, my own infatuation. It was I who exasperated those sons against me by cutting off their just expectations in the interests of Antipater. When did I ever indulge them as I have this scoundrel ? To him in my own lifetime I well nigh resigned my power ; I nominated him in my will, in the public eye, heir to the throne ; I assigned him a private income of fifty talents, apart from liberal contributions from my personal revenues ; recently, when he set sail for Rome, I presented him with three hundred talents, and recommended him to Caesar, alone of all my children, as his father's preserver. What crime did those others commit comparable to that of Antipater ? Or what proof was brought against them so convincing as that which establishes this traitor's guilt ?

" However, this parricide has presumed to open his mouth, hoping once more to smother the truth under his wiles. Varus, you must be on your guard. *I* know the creature and foresee the plausible pleading, the hypocritical lamentations, that are to follow. This is the man who, in former days, when Alexander was alive, advised me to beware of him and not to trust my life to all men's hands ; this is he who conducted me to my couch and looked round to see that no assassin was concealed ; this is he who dispensed my hours of slumber, ensured my freedom from care,

ἀνηρημένοις λύπην καὶ διακρίνων τὴν τῶν ζώντων  
εὗνοιαν ἀδελφῶν, ὁ ὑπερασπιστὴς ὁ ἐμός, ὁ σωματο-  
628 φύλαξ. ὅταν ἀναμνησθῶ, Οὔαρε, τὸ πανοῦργον  
ἐν ἑκάστῳ καὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν, ἀπιστίᾳ μὲ τοῦ  
ζῆν εἰσέρχεται καὶ θαυμάζω πῶς βαθὺν<sup>1</sup> οὕτως  
ἐπίβουλον διέφυγον. ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ δαίμων τις ἔξερημοι  
τὸν ἐμὸν οἶκον καὶ μοι τοὺς φιλτάτους ἐπανίστησιν  
ἀεί, κλαύσομαι μὲν ἐγὼ τὴν ἄδικον εἴμαρμένην καὶ  
κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν στενάξω τὴν ἐρημίαν, διαφεύξεται  
δ’ οὐδεὶς διψήσας τούμὸν αἷμα, κἄν διὰ πάντων  
μου τῶν τέκνων ὁ ἔλεγχος ἔλθῃ.”

629 (3) Τοιαῦτα λέγων αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπὸ συγχύσεως  
ἐνεκόπη, Νικολάω δ’ ἐνὶ τῶν φίλων λέγειν τὰς  
ἀποδείξεις ἔνευσεν. μεταξὺ δ’ ὁ Ἀντίπατρος  
ἐπάρας τὴν κεφαλήν, ἔμενεν γὰρ δὴ βεβλημένος  
630 πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ πατρός, ἐκβοᾷ· “σύ, πάτερ,  
ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πεποίηκας<sup>2</sup> τὴν ἀπολογίαν· πῶς γὰρ  
ἐγὼ πατροκτόνος, δὸν ὁμολογεῖς φύλακα διὰ παντὸς  
ἔσχηκέναι; τερατείαν δέ μου καὶ ὑπόκρισιν λέγεις  
τὴν εὐσέβειαν. πῶς ὁ πανοῦργος ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις  
οὕτως ἄφρων ἐγενόμην, ὡς μὴ νοεῖν, ὅτι λαθεῖν  
οὐδ’ ἀνθρώπους ράδιον τηλικοῦτον μύσος ἐνσκευα-  
ζόμενον, τὸν δ’ ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ δικαστὴν ἀμήχανον,  
631 ὃς ἔφορᾶ πάντα καὶ πανταχοῦ πάρεστιν; ἢ τὸ  
τῶν ἀδελφῶν τέλος ἡγνόουν, οὓς ὁ θεὸς οὕτως  
μετῆλθε τῆς εἰς σὲ κακοβουλίας; τί δέ με καὶ  
παρώξυνεν κατὰ σοῦ; βασιλείας ἐλπίς; ἀλλ’ ἐβα-  
σίλευον. ὑπόνοια μίσους; οὐ γὰρ ἐστεργόμην;  
φόβος ἐκ σοῦ τις ἄλλος; ἀλλὰ μὴν σὲ τηρῶν

<sup>1</sup> Ζαρὲν PA Lat.

<sup>2</sup> πεποίησαι LVRC.

consoled me in my sorrow for my victims, and sounded the feelings of his surviving brothers ; this is my buckler, my bodyguard ! When I recall, Varus, his knavery and hypocrisy on each occasion, I can scarce believe I am alive and marvel how I escaped so deep a schemer. But since some evil genius is bent on desolating my house and raising up against me one after another those who are nearest to my heart, I may weep over my unjust destiny, I may groan in spirit over my forlorn state, but not one shall escape who thirsts for my blood, no, not though conviction should extend to all my children."

(3) Here his emotion rendered further speech impossible, and he signalled to Nicolas, one of his friends, to state the evidence. But now Antipater, who still lay prostrate at his father's feet, raised his head and cried out : " You, father, have made my defence yourself. For, how could I be a parricide, I who, as you admit, have ever served as your protector ? You call my filial piety imposture and hypocrisy. How could I, cunning in all else, have been so senseless as not to perceive that, while it was difficult to conceal from man the concoction of so atrocious a crime, it was impossible to hide it from the Judge in heaven, who sees all, who is present everywhere ? Was I ignorant of my brothers' fate, whom God so relentlessly punished for their wicked designs upon you ? And then, what motive could have instigated me against you ? Aspiration to the throne ? But I reigned already ! Suspicion of your hatred ? But was I not beloved ? Had I other reason to fear you ? <sup>a</sup> Nay, by preserving you I

Speech of  
Antipater

<sup>a</sup> Possibly for *ἐκ σοῦ* we should read *ξω σοῦ*: " Had I reason to fear others beside you ? "

632 ἔτέροις φοβερὸς ἥμην. ἔνδεια χρημάτων; καὶ τίνι  
 μᾶλλον ἐξῆν ἀναλίσκειν; εἰ γὰρ ἐξωλέστατος  
 πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγενόμην καὶ θηρίου ψυχὴν  
 εἶχον ἀνημέρου, πάτερ, οὐκ ἄν ταῖς σαῖς εὐεργε-  
 σίαις ἐνικήθην, δὲν κατήγαγες μέν, ὡς ἔφης αὐτός,  
 προέκρινας δὲ τοσούτων τέκνων, ἀπέδειξας δὲ ζῶν  
 βασιλέα, δι’ ὑπερβολὴν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν  
 633 ἐποίησας ἐπίφθονον; Ὡς τάλας ἐγὼ τῆς πικρᾶς  
 ἀποδημίας, ὡς πολὺν ἔδωκα καιρὸν τῷ φθόνῳ καὶ  
 μακρὰν τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσι διωρίαν. σοὶ δέ, πάτερ,  
 καὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀπεδήμουν, ἵνα μὴ Συλλαῖος  
 τοῦ σοῦ γήρως καταφρονήσῃ. 'Ρώμη μοι μάρτυς  
 τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης προστάτης  
 Καῖσαρ, ὁ φιλοπάτορα πολλάκις με εἰπών. λάβε,  
 πάτερ, τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ γράμματα. ταῦτα τῶν  
 ἐνθάδε διαβολῶν πιστότερα, ταῦτα ἀπολογία μοι  
 μόνη, τούτοις τῆς εἰς σὲ φιλοστοργίας τεκμηρίοις  
 634 χρῶμαι. μέμνησο δὲ ὡς οὐχ ἔκὼν ἐπλεον, ἐπ-  
 ιστάμενος τὴν ἐμφωλεύουσαν τῇ βασιλείᾳ κατ' ἐμοῦ  
 δυσμένειαν. σὺ δέ με, πάτερ, ἄκων ἀπώλεσας,  
 ἀναγκάσας καιρὸν διαβολῆς δοῦναι τῷ φθόνῳ.  
 πάρειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐλέγχους, πάρειμι διὰ γῆς καὶ  
 θαλάσσης οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ παθὼν ὁ πατροκτόνος.  
 635 ἀλλὰ μήπω με τούτῳ φίλει<sup>1</sup> τῷ τεκμηρίῳ· κατ-  
 ἐγνωσμαι γὰρ καὶ παρὰ θεῷ καὶ παρὰ σοί, πάτερ.  
 κατεγνωσμένος δὲ δέομαι μὴ ταῖς ἄλλων βασάνοις  
 πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐμοῦ φερέσθω τὸ πῦρ,

<sup>1</sup> μήπω . . . φίλει PAM Lat.: μήπω τούτῳ ὠφέλημαι the rest; text apparently corrupt.

<sup>a</sup> "Lover of his father."

<sup>b</sup> Text doubtful; perhaps "I do not ask to be given the benefit of this evidence."

inspired fear in others. Was it lack of money? Who had more at his disposal than I? Even had I been the most abandoned of men, with the heart of a ferocious beast, must I not have been reclaimed, father, by your benefactions? For, as you have said yourself, you recalled me from exile, you gave me preference over such a number of sons, you proclaimed me king in your own lifetime, and by loading me with other favours made me the envy of all. Ah me! that fatal journey! What an opportunity I gave to jealousy, what an ample period to those who were intriguing against me! Yet it was for you, father, and to fight your battles that I took that journey, to prevent Syllaeus from treating your old age with contempt. Rome is witness to my filial piety and Caesar, the lord of the universe, who has often called me 'Philopator.'<sup>a</sup> Take, father, these letters from him. These are more trustworthy than the calumnies against me here; these are my sole indication; here are the proofs which I offer of my tender feelings for you. Remember how reluctantly I embarked, knowing the lurking hostility to me within this realm. It was you, father, who involuntarily brought about my ruin, by compelling me to give my envious foes an opportunity for calumny. But here I am to meet my accusers; here I am, the parricide, who has traversed sea and land, and nowhere been molested! But I do not ask for your ove on the strength of the evidence so far given of my innocence;<sup>b</sup> for I stand condemned before God and before you, father. But, condemned though I am, I entreat you not to rely on admissions extracted by the torture of others. Let the fire be

όδευέτω διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν σπλάγχνων τὰ ὄργανα,  
μὴ φειδέσθω<sup>1</sup> τοῦ μιαροῦ σώματος· εἰ γὰρ εἰμὶ  
πατροκτόνος, οὐκ ὀφείλω θυήσκειν ἀβασάνιστος.<sup>2</sup>

636 τοιαῦτα μετ' ὀλοφυρμοῦ καὶ δακρύων ἐκβοῶν τούς  
τε ἄλλους ἅπαντας καὶ τὸν Οὔαρον εἰς οἶκον  
προυκαλέσατο, μόνον δὲ ὁ θυμὸς Ἡρώδην ἄδακρυν  
διεκράτει τοὺς ἐλέγχους ἀληθεῖς ἐπιστάμενον.

637 (4) Ἐν τούτῳ Νικόλαος τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύ-  
σαντος πολλὰ πρὸς τὸ πανοῦργον τὸ Ἀντιπάτρου  
προειπὼν καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ διαχέας ἔλεον, ἔπειτα  
πικρὰν κατηγορίαν κατέτείνατο, πάντα μὲν τὰ  
κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν κακουργήματα περιτιθεὶς αὐτῷ,  
μάλιστα δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἀποδεικνὺς  
ταῖς ἐκείνου διαβολαῖς ἀπολωλότας. ἐπιβουλεύειν  
δὲ αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν καὶ τοῖς περιοῦσιν ὡς ἐφέδροις  
τῆς διαδοχῆς· τὸν γὰρ παρασκευάσαντα πατρὶ<sup>3</sup>  
φάρμακον ἥ πού γ' ἄν ἀδελφῶν ἀποσχέσθαι;  
638 προελθὼν δ' ἐπὶ τὸν ἔλεγχον τῆς φαρμακείας τάς  
τε μηνύσεις [ἔξῆς]<sup>3</sup> ἐπεδείκνυεν καὶ περὶ Φερώρα  
κατεσχετλίαζεν, ὅτι κάκεῖνον Ἀντίπατρος ποιή-  
σειεν ἀδελφοκτόνον καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους τῷ βασιλεῖ  
διαφθείρας ὅλον τοῦ μύσους ἀναπλήσειεν τὸν οἶκον,  
ἄλλα τε πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις εἰπὼν καὶ ἀποδείξας  
καταπαύει τὸν λόγον.

639 (5) Οὔαρος δὲ ἀπολογεῖσθαι κελεύσας τὸν Ἀντί-  
πατρον, ὡς οὐδὲν πλέον εἰπὼν ἥ “θεός ἐστίν μοι  
τοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν μάρτυς” ἔκειτο σιγῶν, αἰτήσας

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. add ὀλοφυρμὸς (ορ -οῦ), an obvious gloss, absent from Lat.

<sup>2</sup> Bekker: ἀβασάνιστος MSS.

<sup>3</sup> om. PAM.

applied to me ! Let the instruments of torment course through my frame nor spare this polluted body ! For, if I am a parricide, I ought not to die without being put upon the rack."

These ejaculations, accompanied by moaning and tears, moved all to compassion, including Varus. Herod alone remained dry-eyed, furious and knowing that the evidence was true.<sup>a</sup>

(4) Thereupon Nicolas, as ordered by the king, <sup>Speech of Nicolas.</sup> addressed the assembly. He began with a full exposure of Antipater's knavery, dissipating the commiseration which his speech had aroused. He then launched out into a severe indictment, attributing to him all the crimes which had been committed throughout the realm, and in particular the execution of his brothers, demonstrating that they owed their death to Antipater's calumnies. He added that he had further designs on the survivors as presumptive heirs to the throne ; "Would one who had prepared to poison his father have stopped short at his brothers ?" Passing on to the evidence for the poisoning plot, he brought forward in succession all the information extracted ; being roused to indignation on the subject of Pheroras, at the idea of Antipater converting even him into a fratricide and, by corrupting the king's nearest of kin, infecting the whole palace with pollution. With many more observations, supported by proofs, Nicolas concluded his speech.

(5) Varus then called on Antipater for his defence. <sup>Outcome of the trial of Antipater.</sup> But he would say no more than "God is witness of my innocence" and remained prostrate and silent.

<sup>a</sup> According to *A.* xvii. 106 even Herod was not unmoved, though he sought to conceal his emotion.

τὸ φάρμακον δίδωσί τινι τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ κατα-  
640 κρίτων δεσμώτη πιεῖν. τοῦ δὲ παραχρῆμα τελευ-  
τήσαντος, ὁ μὲν ἀπορρήτους ποιήσας τὰς πρὸς  
‘Ηρώδην ὄμιλίας καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸ συνέδριον Καίσαρι  
γράψας μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν χωρίζεται· δεσμεῖ δὲ  
ὅ βασιλεὺς ‘Αντίπατρον καὶ πρὸς Καίσαρα τοὺς  
δηλώσοντας τὴν συμφορὰν ἔξεπεμψεν.

641 (6) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ κατὰ Σαλώμης ἐπί-  
βουλος ‘Αντίπατρος εὐρίσκεται<sup>1</sup>. τῶν γὰρ ‘Αντι-  
φίλου τις οἰκετῶν ἦκεν ἐπιστολὰς κομίζων ἀπὸ  
‘Ρώμης παρὰ Λιουΐας<sup>2</sup> θεραπαινίδος, Ακμῆς τοῦ-  
νομα. καὶ παρὰ μὲν ταύτης ἐπέσταλτο βασιλεῖ  
τὰς παρὰ Σαλώμης ἐπιστολὰς ἐν τοῖς Λιουΐας<sup>3</sup>  
εὑρηκέναι γράμμασιν, πεπομφέναι δὲ αὐτῷ λάθρα  
642 δι’ εὗνοιαν. αἱ δὲ τῆς Σαλώμης λοιδορίας τε τοῦ  
βασιλέως περιεῖχον πικροτάτας καὶ κατηγορίαν  
μεγίστην. ταύτας δὲ πλάσας ‘Αντίπατρος καὶ τὴν  
643 Ακμὴν διαφθείρας ἔπεισεν ‘Ηρώδη πέμψαι. δι-  
ηλέγχθη δὲ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολῆς· καὶ  
γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τὸ γύναιον ἔγραψεν· “ώς ἐβουλήθης,  
ἔγραψά σου τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἐκείνας  
ἔπειμψα, πεπεισμένη τὸν βασιλέα μὴ φείσεσθαι τῆς  
ἀδελφῆς, ὅταν ἀναγνῷ. καλῶς δὲ ποιήσεις, ἔπει-  
δὰν ἀπαρτισθῆ πάντα, μιημονεύσας ὃν ὑπέσχου.”

644 (7) Ταύτης φωραθείσης τῆς ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τῶν  
κατὰ Σαλώμης ἐνσκευασθεισῶν, ἔννοια μὲν ἐμ-  
πίπτει τῷ βασιλεῖ τάχα καὶ <τὰ><sup>3</sup> κατ’ ‘Αλεξάνδρου  
πλασθῆναι γράμματα, περιαλγής δ’ ἦν ὑπὸ τοῦ  
πάθους ὡς παρ’ ὄλίγον καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀπο-

<sup>1</sup> επιβουλὰς ‘Αντ. εὐρίσκ. πεποιηκὼς ΡΑΜ.

<sup>2</sup> Λευΐας ΡΑ: Ιουλίας the rest; cf. § 566.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὰ Destinon: καὶ MSS.

The governor, thereupon, called for the poison and had it applied to a prisoner under sentence of death, who drank it and instantly expired. Then, after a private interview with Herod, Varus drafted his report of the meeting for Caesar, and a day later took his departure. The king had Antipater put in irons and dispatched messengers to the emperor to inform him of the catastrophe.

(6) It was subsequently discovered that Antipater had also plotted against Salome. For a domestic of Antiphilus arrived from Rome with letters from a maid-servant of Livia,<sup>a</sup> named Acme ; she wrote to the king to say that she had found among Livia's papers some letters from Salome, which, as his well-wisher, she had privately transmitted to him. These letters of Salome, containing the most cruel abuse of the king and the most scathing condemnation of his conduct, were forgeries of Antipater, who had bribed Acme to send them to Herod. He was convicted by the letter which the woman addressed at the same time to him, in these terms : " As you desired, I have written to your father and forwarded those letters, and feel sure that, when he has read them, he will not spare his sister. Be good enough, when all is over, to remember what you promised."

(7) When this letter was brought to light, with those concocted to injure Salome, a suspicion crossed the king's mind that perhaps the letters incriminating Alexander were also forgeries.<sup>b</sup> He was, moreover, deeply distressed at the thought that he had almost killed his sister also, owing to Antipater's intrigues.

<sup>a</sup> Livia Drusilla, the wife of Augustus, and after his death known as Julia Augusta ; by her former husband she was mother of the emperor Tiberius.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. § 528.

κτείνας δι' Ἀντίπατρον· οὐκέτι οὖν ἀνεβάλλετο  
 645 λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων. ὡρημένος δ'  
 ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἐπεσχέθη νόσω χαλεπῆ· περὶ  
 μέντοι τῆς Ἀκμῆς καὶ τῶν κατὰ Σαλώμης ἐσκευ-  
 646 ωρημένων ἐπέστειλεν Καισαρι. τὴν τε διαθήκην  
 αἰτήσας μετέγραφεν, καὶ βασιλέα μὲν ἀπεδείκνυεν  
 Ἀντίπαν ἀμελῶν τῶν πρεσβυτάτων, Ἀρχελάου  
 καὶ Φιλίππου· διαβεβλήκει γὰρ καὶ τούτους  
 Ἀντίπατρος Καισαρι δὲ σὺν τοῖς δίχα<sup>1</sup> χρημάτων  
 δώροις χίλια τάλαντα, τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλοις καὶ ἀπελευθέροις περὶ πεντακόσια,  
 ἀπένειμεν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παισὶν<sup>2</sup> τῆς τε χώρας  
 οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ τῶν χρημάτων· λαμπροτάταις δὲ  
 δωρεαῖς ἐτίμα Σαλώμην τὴν ἀδελφήν. ἐν μὲν οὖν  
 τοῖς διαθήκαις ταῦτα διωρθώσατο.

647 (xxxiii. 1) Προήει δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ χαλεπώ-  
 τερον ἡ νόσος, ἅτε δὴ τῶν ἀρρωστημάτων ἐν  
 γήρᾳ καὶ ἀθυμίᾳ ἐπιπεσόντων· ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἥδη  
 σχεδὸν ἔτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, τεταπείνωτο δὲ τὴν  
 ψυχὴν ταῖς περὶ τῶν τέκνων συμφοραῖς, ὡς μηδ'  
 ἐν ὑγιείᾳ<sup>3</sup> τι τῶν ἥδεων προσίσθαι. τῆς νόσου  
 δ' ἦν ἐπίτασις ζῶν Ἀντίπατρος, διν οὐκ ἐν παρέργῳ,  
 ράισας δὲ προήρητο ἀνελεῖν.

648 (2) Γίνεται δ' ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς αὐτῷ καὶ  
 δημοτική τις ἐπανάστασις. δύο ἥσαν σοφισταὶ  
 κατὰ τὴν πόλιν μάλιστα δοκοῦντες ἀκριβοῦν τὰ

<sup>1</sup> Havercamp on ms. authority: διὰ most MSS.: cf. B. i.  
 104 for the same error.

<sup>2</sup> Destinon (after A. xvii. 147 νιέσιν): ἄπασιν MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ὑγείᾳ MSS.

<sup>a</sup> Literally "without money."

<sup>b</sup> Greek "sophists." The Greek term, originally free from any sinister associations, for a paid professor of

He determined, therefore, to delay no longer to punish him for all his crimes. But when proceeding to extreme measures against Antipater, he was arrested by a serious illness. He wrote, however, to Caesar on the subject of Acme and the fraud which had been practised on Salome ; he also called for his will and modified it. He now named Antipas king, passing over his eldest sons, Archelaus and Philip, who had also been the objects of Antipater's calumnies. To Augustus he bequeathed, besides gifts in kind,<sup>a</sup> one thousand talents ; to the empress, to the children, friends and freedmen of the emperor about five hundred ; to the other members of his own family he assigned large tracts of territory and considerable sums of money, honouring his sister Salome with the most magnificent presents of all. Such were the corrections which Herod made in his will.

(xxxiii. 1) His illness steadily grew worse, aggravated as were the attacks of disease by age and despondency. For he was now nearly seventy years old, and his tragic experiences with his children had so broken his spirit, that even in good health he no longer enjoyed any of the pleasures of life. His malady was further increased by the thought that Antipater was still alive ; for he had determined that his execution should be no casual affair, but seriously undertaken on his recovery.

(2) To his other troubles was now added an insurrection of the populace. There were in the capital two doctors<sup>b</sup> with a reputation as profound experts in the laws of their country, who con-

<sup>A sedi-  
attemp-  
pull do-  
the gob-  
eagle fi-  
the Te-  
4 B.C.</sup>  
rhetoric etc. is employed by Josephus as the equivalent of the Jewish "Rabbi."

# JOSEPHUS

πάτρια καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν παντὶ τῷ ἔθνει μεγίστης  
 ἡξιωμένοι δόξης, Ἰούδας τε νίos Σεπφωραίου<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
 649 Ματθίας ἑτερος Μαργάλου. τούτοις οὐκ ὀλέγοι  
 προσήσαν τῶν νέων ἔξηγουμένοις τοὺς νόμους,  
 καὶ συχνὸν συνεῖχον<sup>2</sup> ὁσημέραι τῶν ἡβώντων στρα-  
 τόπεδοι. οἱ τότε τὸν βασιλέα πυνθανόμενοι ταῖς  
 ἀθυμίαις ὑπεκρέοντα<sup>3</sup> καὶ τῇ νόσῳ λόγον καθίεσαν  
 εἰς τοὺς γνωρίμους, ὡς ἄρα καιρὸς ἐπιτηδειότατος  
 εἴη τιμωρεῦν ἥδη τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰ κατασκευασθέντα  
 650 παρὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ἔργα κατασπάν. ἀ-  
 θέμιτον γὰρ εἶναι κατὰ τὸν ναὸν ἢ εἰκόνας ἢ προ-  
 τομὰς ἢ ζώου τιὸς ἐπώνυμον ἔργον εἶναι· κατ-  
 εσκευάκει δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὲρ τὴν μεγάλην πύλην  
 ἀετὸν χρυσοῦν· ὃν δὴ τότε παρήνουν ἐκκόπτειν οἱ  
 σοφισταί, καλὸν εἶναι λέγοντες, εἰ καὶ τις γένοιτο  
 κίνδυνος, ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρίου νόμου θνήσκειν· τοῖς  
 γὰρ οὕτω τελευτῶσιν ἀθάνατον τε τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ  
 τὴν ἐν ἀγαθοῖς αἰσθησιν αἰώνιον παραμένειν, τοὺς  
 δὲ ἀγεννεῖς<sup>4</sup> καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν σοφίας ἀπείρους  
 ἀγνοοῦντας φιλοψυχεῦν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δι' ἀρετῆς τὸν  
 ἐκ νόσου θάνατον αἱρεῖσθαι.

651 (3) "Αμα δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνων λόγοις διεφημίσθη  
 καὶ θιήσκειν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὥστε θαρραλεώτερον  
 ἥπτοντο τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως οἱ νέοι. μέσης γοῦν  
 ἡμέρας καὶ πολλῶν κατὰ τὸ ιερὸν ἀναστρεφομένων  
 σχοίνοις παχείαις καθιμήσαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ τέγους τὸν χρυσοῦν ἀετὸν ἔξεκοπτον πελέκεσιν.

<sup>1</sup> Variant readings Σεπφεραίου, Σεπφαιρέου: *A.* || has Σερφαίου. <sup>2</sup> σιχνὸν συνεῖχον *P:* συνῆγον the rest.

<sup>3</sup> LVRC: ὑπορ(ρ)έοντα the rest.

<sup>4</sup> ἀγεννεῖς *PC.*

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps in imitation of the pediments of Greek temples. In the early temples of Zeus the flat surface of the pediment

sequently enjoyed the highest esteem of the whole nation ; their names were Judas, son of Sepphoraeus, and Matthias, son of Margalus. Their lectures on the laws were attended by a large youthful audience, and day after day they drew together quite an army of men in their prime. Hearing now that the king was gradually sinking under despondency and disease, these doctors threw out hints to their friends that this was the fitting moment to avenge God's honour and to pull down those structures which had been erected in defiance of their fathers' laws. It was, in fact, unlawful to place in the temple either images or busts or any representation whatsoever of a living creature ; notwithstanding this, the king had erected over the great gate a golden eagle.<sup>a</sup> This it was which these doctors now exhorted their disciples to cut down, telling them that, even if the action proved hazardous, it was a noble deed to die for the law of one's country ; for the souls of those who came to such an end attained immortality and an eternally abiding sense of felicity ; it was only the ignoble, uninitiated in their philosophy, who clung in their ignorance to life and preferred death on a sick-bed to that of a hero.

(3) While they were discoursing in this strain, a rumour spread that the king was dying ; the news caused the young men to throw themselves more boldly into the enterprise. At mid-day, accordingly, when numbers of people were perambulating the temple, they let themselves down from the roof by stout cords and began chopping off the golden eagle

Punish  
of the  
culprits

was ornamented with an eagle as a symbol of the god, whence the whole pediment derived its name (*αετός* or *αετωμα*).

# JOSEPHUS

652 ἡγγέλθη δ' εὐθέως τῷ βασιλέως στρατηγῷ, κάκεῖ-  
νος μετὰ χειρὸς οὐκ ὀλίγης ἀναδραμὼν περὶ τεσσα-  
ράκοντα νεανίας συλλαμβάνει καὶ κατήγαγεν πρὸς  
653 βασιλέα. πινθανομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ πρῶτου, εἰ τολμή-  
σειαν τὸν χρυσοῦν ἀετὸν ἐκκόπτειν, ὥμολόγουν.  
ἔπειτα, τίνος κελεύσαντος, ἀπεκρίναντο τοῦ πατρίου  
νόμου. τί δ' οὕτως γεγήθασιν διερωτήσαντος,  
ἀναιρεῖσθαι μέλλοντες, ἔλεγον ὅτι πλειόνων ἀγαθῶν  
ἀπολαύσουσιν μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν.

654 (4) Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς δι' ὑπερβολὴν  
ὅργῆς κρείττων τῆς νόσου γενόμενος πρόεισιν εἰς  
ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν κατηγορήσας  
ώς ἱεροσύλων καὶ προφάσει τοῦ νόμου πειραζόντων  
655 τι μεῖζον ἡξίου κολάζειν ώς ἀσεβεῖς. ὁ δὲ δῆμος  
δείσας, μὴ διὰ πολλῶν ὁ ἔλεγχος ἔλθῃ, παρεκάλει  
πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ὑποθεμένους τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἔπειτα  
τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ συλληφθέντας κολάσαντα τοῖς λοι-  
ποῖς τὴν ὄργὴν ἀφιέναι. πείθεται μόλις ὁ βα-  
σιλεὺς, καὶ τοὺς μὲν καθιμήσαντας ἔαυτοὺς ἅμα  
τοῖς σοφισταῖς κατέκαυσε ζῶντας, τοὺς λοιποὺς  
δὲ τῶν συλληφθέντων παρέδωκεν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις  
ἀνελεῖν.

656 (5) Ἐνθεν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα πᾶν ἡ νόσος δια-  
λαβοῦσα ποικίλοις πάθεσιν ἐμερίζετο· πυρετὸς μὲν  
γάρ ἦν οὐ λάβρος, κνησμὸς δὲ ἀφόρητος τῆς ἐπι-  
φανείας ὅλης καὶ κόλου συνεχεῖς ἀλγηδόνες, περί  
τε τοὺς πόδας ὕσπερ ὑδρωπιῶντος οἰδήματα, τοῦ  
τε ἥτρου φλεγμονὴ καὶ δὴ<sup>1</sup> αἰδοίου σηπεδῶν σκώ-

<sup>1</sup> δὴ Niese: δι' MSS.

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<sup>a</sup> Perhaps “the captain of the Temple” is intended (*cf.* Acts iv. 1, v. 24).

with hatchets. The king's captain,<sup>a</sup> to whom the matter was immediately reported, hastened to the scene with a considerable force, arrested about forty of the young men and conducted them to the king. Herod first asked them whether they had dared to cut down the golden eagle ; they admitted it. "Who ordered you to do so ?" he continued. "The law of our fathers." "And why so exultant, when you will shortly be put to death ?" "Because, after our death, we shall enjoy greater felicity."

(4) These proceedings provoked the king to such fury that he forgot his disease and had himself carried to a public assembly,<sup>b</sup> where at great length he denounced the men as sacrilegious persons who, under the pretext of zeal for the law, had some more ambitious aim in view, and demanded that they should be punished for impiety. The people, apprehensive of wholesale prosecutions, besought him to confine the punishment to the instigators of the deed and to those who had been arrested in the perpetration of it, and to forgo his anger against the rest. The king grudgingly consented ; those who had let themselves down from the roof together with the doctors he had burnt alive ; the remainder of those arrested he handed over to his executioners.

(5) From this time onwards Herod's malady began <sup>Herod's</sup> illness. to spread to his whole body and his sufferings took a variety of forms. He had fever, though not a raging fever, an intolerable itching of the whole skin, continuous pains in the intestines, tumours in the feet as in dropsy, inflammation of the abdomen and

<sup>a</sup> A meeting of the magistrates in the theatre at Jericho, according to *A.* xvii. 160 f.

ληκας γεννῶσα, πρὸς τούτοις ὄρθόπνοια καὶ δύσ-  
πνοια καὶ σπασμοὶ πάντων τῶν μελῶν, ὥστε τοὺς  
ἐπιθειάζοντας ποινὴν εἶναι τῶν σοφιστῶν τὰ  
657 νοσήματα λέγειν. ὁ δὲ παλαιών τοσούτοις πάθεσιν  
ὅμως τοῦ ζῆν ἀντείχετο, σωτηρίαν τε ἥλπιζεν καὶ  
θεραπείας ἐπενόει· διαβὰς γοῦν τὸν Ἰορδάνην τοῖς  
κατὰ Καλλιρρόην ἔχρητο θερμοῖς· ταῦτα δ' ἔξεισι  
μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀσφαλτῖτιν λίμνην, ὑπὸ γλυκύτητος  
δ' ἐστὶ [καὶ]<sup>1</sup> πότιμα. δόξαν δὲ ἐνταῦθα τοῖς  
ἰατροῖς ἐλαίω θερμῷ πᾶν ἀναθάλψαι τὸ σῶμα  
χαλασθὲν εἰς πλήρη πύελον, ἐκλύει καὶ τοὺς  
658 ὄφθαλμοὺς ὡς τεθνεὼς ἀνέστρεψεν. θορύβου δὲ  
τῶν θεραπευόντων γενομένου πρὸς μὲν τὴν φωνὴν  
ἀνήνεγκεν, εἰς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπογνοὺς τὴν σωτηρίαν  
τοῖς τε στρατιώταις ἀνὰ πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς  
ἐκέλευσεν διανεῖμαι καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα τοῖς  
ἡγεμόσι καὶ τοῖς φίλοις.

659 (6) Αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποστρέφων εἰς Ἰεριχοῦντα παρα-  
γίνεται μελαγχολῶν ἥδη, καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἀπειλῶν  
αὐτῷ τῷ θανάτῳ προέκοπτεν εἰς ἐπιβολὴν<sup>2</sup> ἀ-  
θεμίτου πράξεως· τοὺς γὰρ ἀφ' ἐκάστης κώμης  
ἐπισήμους ἄνδρας ἔξ ὅλης Ἰουδαίας συναγαγὼν  
εἰς τὸν καλούμενον ἱππόδρομον ἐκέλευσεν συγ-  
660 κλεῖσαι προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ Σαλώμην τὴν ἀδελ-  
φὴν καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ταύτης Ἀλεξάν "οἶδα," ἔφη,  
"Ἰουδαίους τὸν ἐμὸν ἔορτάσοντας θάνατον, δύνα-

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

<sup>2</sup> Hudson: επιβολὴ: οὕτω.

gangrene of the privy parts, engendering worms,<sup>a</sup> in addition to asthma,<sup>b</sup> with great difficulty in breathing, and convulsions in all his limbs. His condition led diviners to pronounce his maladies a judgement on him for his treatment of the professors. Yet, struggling as he was with such numerous sufferings, he clung to life, hoped for recovery, and devised one remedy after another. Thus he crossed the Jordan to take the warm baths at Callirhoe, the waters of which descend into the Lake Asphaltitis<sup>c</sup> and from their sweetness are also used for drink. There, the physicians deciding to raise the temperature of his whole body with hot oil, he was lowered into a bath full of that liquid, whereupon he fainted and turned up his eyes as though he were dead. His attendants raising an uproar, their cries brought him to himself, but, now despairing of recovery, he gave orders to distribute fifty drachmas per head to the soldiers and considerable sums to their officers and to his friends.

(6) He started on his return journey and reached Jericho in an atrabilious condition, in which, hurling defiance as it were at death itself, he proceeded to devise an outrageous scheme. Having assembled the distinguished men from every village from one end of Judaea to the other, he ordered them to be locked into the hippodrome. He then summoned his sister Salome and her husband Alexas and said : "I know that the Jews will celebrate my death by

<sup>a</sup> Cf. the description of the death of his grandson, Herod Agrippa I, "eaten of worms," in Acts xii. 23.

<sup>b</sup> The Greek word means inability to breathe except in an upright posture.

<sup>c</sup> The Dead Sea. Callirhoe ("Baths of Herod") was near the N.E. end of it.

Herod at  
Callirhoe

Herod at  
Jericho :  
arrest of  
notables.

# JOSEPHUS

μαι δὲ πενθεῖσθαι δι' ἑτέρων καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐπιτάφιον  
ἔχειν, ἃν ύμεις θελήσητε ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἐντολαῖς  
ὑπουργῆσαι. τούσδε τοὺς φρουρούμενους ἄνδρας  
ἐπειδὰν ἐκπνεύσω τάχιστα κτείνατε, περιστήσαν-  
τες τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἵνα πᾶσα Ἰουδαία καὶ πᾶς  
οἶκος ἄκων ἐπ' ἐμοὶ δακρύσῃ.”

- 661 (7) Ταῦτα ἐνετέλετο, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ  
πρέσβεων ἥκον ἐπιστολαί, δι' ὧν Ἀκμὴ μὲν ἀν-  
ηρημένη κελεύσαντος Καίσαρος ἐδηλοῦτο, θανάτῳ  
δ' Ἀντίπατρος κατάκριτος· ἔγραφόν γε μὴν ὡς,  
εἰ καὶ φυγαδεύειν αὐτὸν ἐθελήσειεν ὁ πατήρ,  
662 ἐπιτρέποι Καῖσαρ. ὁ δὲ βραχὺ μὲν πρὸς τὴν  
εὐθυμίαν ἀνήνεγκεν, αὖθις δέ, καὶ γὰρ ἐνδείᾳ  
τροφῆς καὶ βηχὶ σπασμώδει διετείνετο, τῶν ἀλγη-  
δόνων ἡσαγθεὶς φθάσαι τὴν εἵμαρμένην ἐπεβάλετο.  
λαβὼν δὲ μῆλον ἥτησεν καὶ μαχαίριον, εἰώθει γὰρ  
ἀποτέμνων ἐσθίειν, ἔπειτα περιαθρήσας μή τις ὁ  
κωλύων εἴη, ἐπῆρεν τὴν δεξιὰν ὡς πλήξων ἑαυτόν.  
προσδραμὼν δὲ ἐκώλυσεν Ἀχίαβος ὁ ἀνεψιὸς  
663 αὐτοῦ τὴν χεῖρα κατασχών. οἷμαγὴ δ' εὐθέως  
ἥρθη μεγίστη κατὰ τὸ βασίλειον ὡς οἰχομένου  
βασιλέως, καὶ ταχέως ἀκούσας Ἀντίπατρος ἀνα-  
θαρρεῖ τε καὶ γεγηθώς τοὺς φύλακας ἵκέτευεν ἐπὶ  
χρήμασιν ἔξαφεῖναι λύσαντας αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ ἡγεμὼν  
οὐ μόνον ἐκώλυσεν ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖ δραμὼν

<sup>a</sup> A. xvii. 176, “He was not blind to the feelings of the Jews and knew what relief and intense delight his death would bring them.” A Jewish festival on the seventh of the month Kislev (December), of which the occasion is unrecorded in the Jewish calendar known as *Megillath Taanith*, is said by a late Scholiast to commemorate Herod’s death;

a festival ;<sup>a</sup> yet I can obtain a vicarious mourning and a magnificent funeral, if you consent to follow my instructions. You know these men here in custody ; the moment I expire have them surrounded by the soldiers and massacred ; so shall all Judaea and every household weep for me, whether they will or no."

(7) At the moment when he was giving these instructions, he received letters from his ambassadors at Rome, informing him that Acme<sup>b</sup> had been executed by Caesar's orders and Antipater condemned to death ; but, the letter continued, if his father were content with banishing him, he had Caesar's permission to do so. At this news he for a while recovered his spirits, but later, under the strain of lack of nourishment and a convulsive cough, overpowered by his tortures, he endeavoured to anticipate the hour of destiny. He took an apple and called for a knife, as it was his custom to cut up this fruit when eating it, and then, looking round to see that there was no one to prevent him, raised his hand to strike himself. However, his cousin Achiab rushed up and seizing his hand arrested the blow. Instantly there arose loud lamentations throughout the palace, in the belief that the king had passed away. Antipater, quick to catch the sound, took heart again and, radiant with joy, besought his jailers, for a remuneration, to loose him and let him go. The head jailer, however, not only prevented this, but hastened to the king and reported his prisoner's

Execution  
of Acme.

Herod  
attempts  
suicide.

Execution  
Antipater.

but the tradition is untrustworthy. It appears from the sequel (*B. ii. 10*) that Herod died a little before Passover. See Zeitlin, *Megillat Taanit*, pp. 100 f., Schürer, *G.J.V.* ed. 3) i. 416 f.

<sup>b</sup> § 641.

# JOSEPHUS

664 ἀνήγγειλεν τὴν ἐπιβολήν.<sup>1</sup> ἀνέκραγεν δ' ἐκεῖνος  
ἰσχυρότερον τῆς νόσου καὶ παραχρῆμα πέμψας  
τοὺς δορυφόρους ἀποκτείνει τὸν Ἀντίπατρον.  
θάψαι δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ προστάξας ἐν Ὑρκανίᾳ  
πάλιν τὰς διαθήκας ἐπανορθοῦται, καὶ διάδοχον  
μὲν Ἀρχέλαον τὸν πρεσβύτατον νίόν, ἀδελφὸν δὲ  
Ἀντίπα, γράφει, τετράρχην δὲ Ἀντίπαν.

665 (8) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπιβιοὺς  
πέντε ἡμέρας τελευτᾶ, βασιλεύσας ἀφ' οὗ μὲν  
ἀποκτείνας Ἀντίγονον ἐκράτησεν τῶν πραγμάτων  
ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ τριάκοντα, ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥω-  
μαίων ἀπεδείχθη βασιλεὺς ἐπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα,  
καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τύχη δεξιὰ χρησά-  
μενος, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος, ὅστις κατεκτήσατο βασι-  
λείαν ἴδιώτης ὥν καὶ τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ φυλάξας  
ἴδιοις τέκνοις κατέλιπεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατ' οἶκον

666 ἀτυχέστατος. πρὶν δὲ γνῶναι τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ  
τὸ στρατιωτικόν, προελθοῦσα μετὰ τάνδρὸς<sup>2</sup> ἡ  
Σαλώμη διαφῆκεν τοὺς δεσμώτας, οὓς κτείνειν ὁ  
βασιλεὺς ἐνετείλατο, μεταπεισθῆναι τὸν βασιλέα  
λέγουσα καὶ πάλιν ἀναπέμπειν ἔκαστον εἰς τὰ  
ἴδια. τούτων δ' οἰχομένων ἐδήλουν ἦδη τοῖς  
στρατιώταις καὶ συνῆγον αὐτοὺς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν  
μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ πλήθους ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἱεριχοῦντα  
667 ἀμφιθεάτρῳ. ἐνθα παρελθὼν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ καὶ  
τὸν σημαντῆρα δακτύλιον παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως  
πεπιστευμένος τὸν τε βασιλέα κατευδαιμονίζει καὶ  
τὸ πλῆθος παρακαλεῖ, καὶ τὴν ἀπολειφθεῖσαν τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> Niese: ἐπιβολὴν οἶσε.      <sup>2</sup> Destinon: μετ' ἀνδρὸς οἶσε.

design. Herod, with a shout which might have seemed beyond a sick man's strength, instantly sent his guards and had Antipater executed. He ordered his body to be buried at Hyrcanum.<sup>a</sup> After that he again amended his will, nominating Archelaus, his eldest son and brother of Antipas, heir to the throne, and Antipas tetrarch.<sup>b</sup>

(8) Herod survived the execution of his son but five days. He expired after a reign of thirty-four years, reckoning from the date<sup>c</sup> when, after putting Antigonus to death, he assumed control of the state ; of thirty-seven years, from the date<sup>d</sup> when he was proclaimed king by the Romans. In his life as a whole he was blessed, if ever man was, by fortune : a commoner, he mounted to a throne, retained it for all those years and bequeathed it to his own children ; in his family life, on the contrary, no man was more unfortunate. Before the army had learnt of his decease, Salome left the palace with her husband and released the prisoners whom Herod had ordered to be put to death, telling them that the king had changed his mind and now dismissed them all to their homes. Not until after their departure did she and her husband announce the news to the soldiers, summoning them and the rest of the people to a public assembly in the amphitheatre at Jericho. Here Ptolemy, to whom the king had entrusted his signet-ring, came forward, pronounced a benediction on the deceased king, delivered an exhortation to the people, and read a letter which Herod had left

Herod's last will in favour of Archelaus.

Herod's death 4 B.C. (about March).

Reading of his will.

<sup>a</sup> Greek here "Hyrcania."

<sup>b</sup> Both sons of the Samaritan Malthace.

<sup>c</sup> 37 B.C.

<sup>d</sup> 40 B.C. (end). Josephus reckons the short portions of Roman calendar year at the beginning and end of the year as complete years (Schürer, *G.J.V.* i. 416).

στρατιώταις ἀνεγίνωσκεν ἐπιστολήν, ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ  
περὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν διάδοχον εὔνοίας παρεκάλει.  
668 μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν λύσας τὰς ἐπιδιαθήκας  
ἀνεγίνωσκεν, ἐν αἷς Φίλιππος μὲν τοῦ Τράχωνος  
καὶ τῶν γειτνιώντων χωρίων κληρονόμος, τετράρ-  
χης δ', ὡς προείπαμεν, Ἀντίπας, βασιλεὺς δ'  
669 Ἀρχέλαος ἀπεδείκνυτο. τούτῳ [δὲ]<sup>1</sup> τὸν τε δα-  
κτύλιον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Καίσαρι φέρειν ἐνετέλλετο καὶ  
τὰς διοικήσεις τῆς βασιλείας σεσημασμένας· κύριον  
γὰρ ἀπάντων ὅν διατάξειεν καὶ βεβαιωτὴν τῶν  
διαθηκῶν εἶναι Καίσαρα· τά γε μὴν λοιπὰ κατὰ  
τὰς προτέρας διαθήκας φυλάττειν.

670 (9) Βοὴ δ' εὐθὺς ἐγένετο τῶν Ἀρχελάω συν-  
ηδομένων, καὶ κατὰ στῖφος οἱ στρατιώται μετὰ  
τοῦ πλήθους προσιόντες ὑπισχνοῦντο μὲν τὴν  
ἑαυτῶν εὔνοιαν, συνηγόντο δὲ καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ  
θεοῦ, [καὶ]<sup>2</sup> μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς ταφὴν ἐτρέποντο  
671 τοῦ βασιλέως. παρέλιπεν δ' οὐδὲν Ἀρχέλαος εἰς  
πολυτέλειαν, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὸν βασιλικὸν κόσμοι  
προτίνευκεν συμπομπεύσοντα τῷ νεκρῷ κλίνη μὲν  
γὰρ ὄλόχρυσος ἦν διάλιθος, στρωμνὴ δὲ ἀλουργὸς  
ποικίλη, τὸ σῶμα δ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς πορφύρᾳ κεκα-  
λυμμένον, καὶ διάδημα μὲν ἐπέκειτο τῇ κεφαλῇ  
στέφανος δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ χρυσοῦς, τὸ δὲ σκῆπτροι  
672 παρὰ τὴν δεξιάν. καὶ περὶ τὴν κλίνην οἱ τε νίεῦ-  
καὶ τὸ πλήθος τῶν συγγενῶν, ἐφ' οἷς οἱ δορυφόροι  
καὶ τὸ Θράκιον στῖφος, Γερμανοί τε καὶ Γαλάται  
673 διεσκευασμένοι πάντες ὡς εἰς πόλεμον. προηγεῖ  
δ' ἡ λοιπὴ δύναμις ὠπλισμένη τοῖς ἥγεμόσιν κα-

<sup>1</sup> om. P.<sup>2</sup> P: om. the rest.

for the troops, in which he earnestly appealed to them to be loyal to his successor. After this letter, he opened and read the codicils : under these Philip<sup>a</sup> inherited Trachonitis and the neighbouring districts, Antipas, as we have already mentioned,<sup>b</sup> was appointed tetrarch,<sup>c</sup> and Archelaus king. The last-named received a charge from Herod to carry his ring to Caesar, with the documents relating to the administration of the realm, under seal, because he had vested in Caesar the control of all his dispositions and the ratification of the will ; in the remaining particulars the directions of the previous will were to hold good.

(9) Archelaus was instantly hailed with acclamations and congratulations ; and the troops advancing by companies, with the people, made promises of allegiance on their own part, and invoked upon him the blessing of God. The king's funeral next occupied attention. Archelaus, omitting nothing that could contribute to its magnificence, brought forth all the royal ornaments to accompany the procession in honour of the deceased. The bier was of solid gold, studded with precious stones, and had a covering of purple, embroidered with various colours ; on this lay the body enveloped in a purple robe, a diadem encircling the head and surmounted by a crown of gold, the sceptre beside his right hand. Around the bier were Herod's sons and a large group of his relations ; these were followed by the guards, the Thracian contingent, Germans and Gauls, all equipped as for war. The remainder of the troops marched in front, armed and in orderly array, led by

<sup>a</sup> Son of Cleopatra.

<sup>b</sup> § 664.

<sup>c</sup> Of Galilee and Peraea (*A. xvii.* 188).

## JOSEPHUS

ταξιάρχοις ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐν κόσμῳ, πεντακόσιοι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ ἀπελευθέρων ἄρωματοφόροι. σταδίους δ' ἐκομίσθη τὸ σῶμα διακοσίους<sup>1</sup> εἰς Ἡρώδειον, ὅπου κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἐτάφη. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἡρώδην τοιοῦτον ἔσχεν πέρας.

<sup>1</sup> LVRC Lat. Heg.: ἐβδομήκοντα PAM (reading ο' for ρ'). The procession starts from Jericho which was 150 stades (N.E.) from Jerusalem (*B. iv. 474*); Herodion was 60 stades south of Jerusalem (*B. i. 265, 419*).

their commanders and subordinate officers ; behind these came five hundred of Herod's servants and freedmen, carrying spices. The body was thus conveyed for a distance of two hundred furlongs to Herodium, where, in accordance with the directions of the deceased, it was interred. So ended Herod's reign.

## ΛΟΓΟΣ Β'

1 (i. 1) Ἀρχελάω δὲ νέων ἥρξε θορύβων ἡ τῆς  
ἐπὶ Ρώμην ἀποδημίας ἀνάγκη. πενθήσας γὰρ  
ἥμέρας ἐπτὰ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν ἐπιτάφιον ἔστίασιν  
πολυτελῆ τῷ πλήθει παρασχών· ἔθος δὲ τοῦτο παρὰ  
Ἰουδαίοις πολλοῖς πενίας αἴτιον, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος  
ἔστιαν οὐκ ἄνευ ἀνάγκης,<sup>1</sup> εἰ γὰρ παραλείποι τις,  
οὐχ ὅσιος μεταλαμβάνει μὲν ἐσθῆτα λευκήν,  
πρόεισι δὲ εἰς τὸ ιερόν, ἔνθα ποικίλαις αὐτὸν  
2 εὑφημίαις ὁ λαὸς ἐκδέχεται. κάκεῖνος τὸ πλῆθος  
ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ βήματος καὶ χρυσοῦ θρόνου δεξιωσά-  
μενος τῆς τε σπουδῆς, ἦν ἐνεδείξαντο περὶ τὴν  
κτηδείαν τοῦ πατρός, εὐχαριστεῖ καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν  
θεραπείας ὡς πρὸς βέβαιον ἥδη βασιλέα· φείδεσθαι  
γε μὴν οὐ μόνον ἔφη τῆς ἔξουσίας ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἔως ἣν αὐτῷ Καῖσαρ  
ἐπικυρώσῃ τὴν διαδοχήν, ὁ καὶ κατὰ τὰς διαθήκας  
3 τῶν ὅλων δεσπότης· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν Ἱεριχοῦντι τῆς  
στρατιᾶς τὸ διάδημα περιαπτούσης αὐτῷ δεδέχθαι·  
τοῦ μέντοι προθύμου καὶ τῆς εύνοίας, ὥσπερ τοῖς  
στρατιώταις, οὕτω καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πλήρεις ἀπο-

<sup>1</sup> δια . . . ἀνάγκης oīn. Lat.

## BOOK II

(i. 1)<sup>a</sup> The necessity under which Archelaus found himself of undertaking a journey to Rome was the signal for fresh disturbances. After keeping seven days' mourning for his father and providing the usual funeral banquet for the populace on a sumptuous scale—a Jewish custom which reduces many to poverty, such entertainment of the people being considered obligatory and its omission an act of impiety—he changed into white raiment and went forth to the Temple, where the people received him with varied acclamations. Speaking from a golden throne on a raised platform he greeted the multitude. He thanked them for the zeal which they had displayed over his father's funeral and for the marks of homage shown to himself, as to a king whose claim to the throne was already confirmed. He would, however, he said, for the present abstain not only from the exercise of the authority, but even from the assumption of the titles, of royalty, until his right to the succession had been ratified by Caesar, to whose ruling everything had been submitted under the terms of the will. Even when, as he reminded them, the army at Jericho had desired to place the diadem on his head, he had declined it. He would, none the less, make an ample return alike to the soldiers and to the citizens for their devotion and

Accessio  
and  
promises  
ARCHELA  
4 B.C.

<sup>a</sup> §§ 1-3 = *A.* xvii. 200-203.

# JOSEPHUS

δώσειν τὰς ἀμοιβάς, ὅπόταν ὑπὸ τῶν κρατούντων  
βασιλεὺς ἀποδειχθῆ βέβαιος· σπουδάσειν γὰρ ἐν  
πᾶσιν πρὸς αὐτοὺς φανῆναι τοῦ πατρὸς ἀμείνων.

4 (2) Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡδόμενον τὸ πλῆθος εὐθέως  
ἀπεπειράτο τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ μεγάλοις αἰτή-  
μασιν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐβόων ἐπικουφίζειν τὰς εἰσ-  
φοράς, οἱ δὲ ἀναιρεῖν τὰ τέλη, τινὲς δὲ ἀπολύειν  
τοὺς δεσμώτας. ἐπένευσε δ' ἔτοιμως ἄπασι θερα-  
πεύων τὸ πλῆθος. ἔπειτα θύσας ἐν εὐωχίᾳ μετὰ  
5 τῶν φίλων ἦν. ἐνθα δὴ περὶ δεῖλην ἀθροισθέντες  
οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν νεωτερίζειν προηρημένων ἥρξαντο  
ἰδίου πένθους, ὅτε τὸ κοινὸν ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ  
πέπαυτο, κατολοφυρόμενοι τοὺς κολασθέντας ὑπὸ<sup>a</sup>  
‘Ηρώδου διὰ τὸν ἐκκοπέντα χρυσοῦν ἀετὸν τῆς  
6 πύλης τοῦ ναοῦ. ἦν δὲ τὸ πένθος οὐχ ὑπ-  
εσταλμένον, ἀλλ' οἷμωγαὶ διαπρύσιοι καὶ θρῆνος  
ἐγκέλευστος κοπετοί τε περιηχοῦντες ὅλην τὴν  
πόλιν, ὡς ἂν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν οὓς ἔφασκον ὑπὲρ τῶν  
πατρίων νόμων καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ [πυρὶ]<sup>1</sup> παραπολέσθαι.  
7 τιμωρεῖν δ' αὐτοῖς ἀνεβόων ἐκ τῶν ὑφ' ‘Ηρώδου  
τετιμημένων χρῆναι<sup>2</sup> καὶ πρῶτον τὸν ὑπ' ἐκείνου  
κατασταθέντα παύειν ἀρχιερέα· προσήκειν γὰρ  
αὐτοῖς εὐσεβέστερον αἴρεῖσθαι καὶ καθαρώτερον.

8 (3) Πρὸς ἀ παρωξύνετο μὲν Ἀρχέλαος, ἐπεῖχε  
δὲ τὴν ἄμυναν ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἔξοδον ἐπείξεως,  
δεδοικώς μήποτε τὸ πλῆθος ἐκπολεμώσας κατα-  
σχεθείη τῷ κινήματι. διὸ πειθοῖ μᾶλλον ἢ βίᾳ

<sup>1</sup> om. LVRC Lat.; cf. i. 655.

<sup>2</sup> VC: χρήμασι the rest with Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Duties on sales, A. xvii. 205.

<sup>b</sup> Judas, Matthias and their followers, B. i. 648-655.

<sup>c</sup> Joazar, A. xvii. 164.

goodwill, as soon as the supreme authorities had definitely declared him king ; for it would be his earnest and constant endeavour to treat them better than they had been treated by his father.

(2) Delighted at these professions, the multitude at once proceeded to test his intentions by making large demands. One party clamoured for a reduction of the taxes, another for the abolition of the duties,<sup>a</sup> a third for the liberation of the prisoners. To all these requests, in his desire to ingratiate himself with the people, he readily assented. Then, after offering a sacrifice, he regaled himself with his friends. Towards evening, however, a large number of those who were bent on revolution assembled on the same spot, and, now that the public mourning for the king was ended, began a lamentation on their own account, bewailing the fate of those whom Herod had punished for cutting down the golden eagle from the gate of the Temple.<sup>b</sup> This mourning was in no subdued tones : there were piercing shrieks, a dirge directed by a conductor, and lamentations with beating of the breast which resounded throughout the city ; all this in honour of the unfortunate men who, they asserted, had in defence of their country's laws and the Temple perished on the pyre. These martyrs ought, they clamoured, to be avenged by the punishment of Herod's favourites, and the first step was the deposition of the high-priest whom he had appointed,<sup>c</sup> as they had a right to select a man of greater piety and purer morals.

Demands  
the Jews

Their  
sedition  
on the  
occasion  
of the  
obsequie  
of the  
martyred  
doctors

(3) Archelaus, exasperated by these proceedings, but in haste to depart, wished to defer retaliation, from fear that, if he provoked the hostility of the people, he would be detained by a general rising.

καταστέλλειν ἐπειράτο τοὺς νεωτερίζοντας καὶ τὸν  
 9 στρατηγὸν ὑποπέμψας παύσασθαι παρεκάλει. τοῦτον  
 εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν παρελθόντα, πρὶν φθέγξασθαι τι,  
 λίθοις ἀπήλαυνον οἱ στασιασταὶ καὶ τοὺς μετ'  
 αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σωφρονισμῷ προσιόντας, ἐνίει δὲ πολ-  
 λοὺς ὁ Ἀρχέλαος, καὶ πάντα πρὸς ὄργὴν ἀπ-  
 εκρίναντο, δῆλοί τε ἡσαν οὐκ ἡρεμήσοντες, εἰ  
 10 πλήθους ἐπιλάβοντο. καὶ δὴ τῆς τῶν ἀζύμων ἐν-  
 στάσης ἔορτῆς, ἡ πάσχα παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις καλεῖται,  
 πολύ τι θυμάτων πλῆθος ἐκδεχομένη, κάτεισι μὲν  
 ἐκ τῆς χώρας λαὸς ἅπειρος ἐπὶ τὴν θρησκείαν,  
 οἱ δὲ τοὺς σοφιστὰς πενθοῦντες ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ συν-  
 11 ειστήκεσαν τροφὴν τῇ στάσει ποριζόμενοι. πρὸς  
 ὁ δείσας Ἀρχέλαος, πρὶν δι' ὅλου τοῦ πλήθους  
 διαδραμεῖν τὴν νόσον, ὑποπέμπει μετὰ σπείρας  
 χιλίαρχον προστάξας βίᾳ τοὺς ἐξάρχοντας τῆς  
 στάσεως κατασχεῖν. πρὸς οὓς τὸ πλῆθος ἅπαν  
 παροξύνεται καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς τῆς σπείρας  
 βάλλοντες λίθοις διέφθειρον, ὁ δὲ χιλίαρχος ἐκ-  
 12 φεύγει τραυματίας μόλις. ἐπειθ' οἱ μὲν ὡς μηδενὸς  
 δεινοῦ γεγονότος ἐτρέποντο πρὸς θυσίαν· οὐ μὴν  
 Ἀρχελάῳ δίχα φόνου καθεκτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος  
 ἐφαίνετο, τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν ἐπαφίησιν αὐτοῖς ὅλην,  
 τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀθρόους, τοὺς δὲ  
 13 ἵππεis ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον· οἱ θύουσιν ἐκάστοις ἔξαιφνης

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps the "captain of the Temple" (*Sagan*), Acts iv. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Greek "sustenance." In the parallel *A.* xvii. 214 the writer (an assistant of Josephus), using the same source, appears to have taken the word *τροφή* literally: "they had no lack of food for the rebels, not being ashamed to beg for it."

<sup>c</sup> Apparently rounding the N.W. side of the city outside

He, accordingly, endeavoured to appease the rebels by persuasion, without resort to force, and quietly sent his general <sup>a</sup> to entreat them to desist. This officer on entering the Temple and before he had even opened his mouth, was driven off by the rioters with a shower of stones ; many others whom Archelaus sent in after him to call them to reason were similarly treated. To all remonstrances they replied with anger, and it was evident that, given any accession to their numbers, they had no intention of remaining inactive. And now the feast of unleavened bread, which the Jews call Passover, came round ; it is an occasion for the contribution of a multitude of sacrifices, and a vast crowd streamed in from the country for the ceremony. The promoters of the mourning for the doctors stood in a body in the temple, procuring recruits <sup>b</sup> for their faction. This alarmed Archelaus, who, wishing to prevent the contagion from spreading to the whole crowd, sent in a tribune in command of a cohort, with orders to restrain by force the ringleaders of the sedition. Indignant at the appearance of the troops, the whole crowd pelted them with stones ; most of the cohort were killed, while their commander was wounded and escaped with difficulty. Then, as if nothing serious had happened, the rioters returned to their sacrifices. Archelaus, however, now felt that it would be impossible to restrain the mob without bloodshed, and let loose upon them his entire army, the infantry advancing in close order through the city, the cavalry by way of the plain.<sup>c</sup> The soldiers falling unexpectedly upon the

the walls, while the infantry struck straight across from the palace which lay on the S.W. of the city to the Temple on the N.E.

προσπεσόντες διαφθείρουσι μὲν περὶ τρισχιλίους, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος εἰς τὰ πλησίον ὅρη διεσκέδασαν. εἴποντο δὲ Ἀρχελάου κήρυκες κελεύοντες ἔκαστον ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπ' οἴκου, καὶ πάντες ὥχοντο τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀπολιπόντες.

14 (ii. 1) Αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῶν φίλων Ποπλᾶ καὶ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Νικολάου κατήγει πρὸς θάλασσαν καταλιπὼν ἐπίτροπόν τε τῶν βασιλείων καὶ κηδεμόνα τῶν οἰκείων Φίλιππον. συνεξήγει δ' ἄμα τοῖς τέκνοις Σαλώμη καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφιδοῖ τε καὶ γαμβροί, τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν συναγωνιούμενοι περὶ τῆς διαδοχῆς Ἀρχελάῳ, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς κατηγορήσοντες περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν παρανομηθέντων.

16 (2) Συναντᾷ δ' αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν Καισάρειαν Σαβῖνος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἐπίτροπος εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἀνιών ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν Ἡρώδου χρημάτων. τούτον ἐπέσχεν προσωτέρω χωρεῖν ἐπελθὼν Οὔαρος, διὰ Πτολεμαίου πολλὰ δεηθεὶς Ἀρχέλαος μετ-  
17 επέμψατο. τότε μὲν οὖν Σαβῖνος Ούάρῳ χαριζόμενος οὕτ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἄκρας ἔσπευσεν οὕτε τὰ ταμιεῖα τῶν πατρώων χρημάτων ἀπέκλεισεν Ἀρχελάῳ, μέχρι δὲ τῆς Καίσαρος διαγνώσεως ἡρεμήσειν  
18 ὑπέσχετο καὶ διέτριβεν ἐπὶ τῆς Καισαρείας. ὡς δὲ τῶν ἐμποδιζόντων ὁ μὲν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἀπῆρεν, Ἀρχέλαος δὲ εἰς Ρώμην ἀνήχθη, διὰ τάχους ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ὄρμήσας παραλαμβάνει τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ μεταπεμπόμενος τούς τε φρουρ-

<sup>a</sup> Malthace.

<sup>b</sup> Called Ptollas in A. xvii. 219.

<sup>c</sup> Herod's chief friend and executor, B. i. 473, 667, ii. 21.

<sup>d</sup> Of Damascus, another friend of Herod, and the historian on whose work Josephus is here probably dependent.

various parties busy with their sacrifices slew about three thousand of them and dispersed the remainder among the neighbouring hills. The heralds of Archelaus followed and ordered everyone to return home ; so they all abandoned the festival and departed.

(ii. 1) Archelaus himself with his mother<sup>a</sup> and his friends. Poplas,<sup>b</sup> Ptolemy,<sup>c</sup> and Nicolas,<sup>d</sup> now descended to the coast, leaving Philip to take charge of the palace<sup>e</sup> and to protect his private interests. Salome,<sup>f</sup> with her children, also accompanied him, and the nephews and sons-in-law of the late king, ostensibly to support the claims of Archelaus to the succession, but in reality to accuse him of the recent illegal proceedings in the Temple.

Archelaus departs for Rome.

(2) At Caesarea the party were met by Sabinus, procurator of Syria,<sup>g</sup> on his way up to Judaea to take charge of Herod's estate. He was prevented from continuing his journey by the arrival of Varus,<sup>h</sup> whose presence Archelaus had, through Ptolemy, urgently solicited. Sabinus, in deference to Varus, abandoned for the moment his intention of rushing to the castles and excluding Archelaus from access to his father's treasuries, and, promising to take no action until Caesar had given his decision, remained at Caesarea. But as soon as those who had obstructed his designs had left, Varus for Antioch,<sup>i</sup> Archelaus for Rome, he sped to Jerusalem and took possession of the palace ; and then, summoning the

Mercerar designs Sabinus t procurato

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps "the realm."

<sup>f</sup> Herod's sister.

<sup>b</sup> More accurately described in A. xvii. 221 as Καισαρος ἐπίτροπος τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ πραγμάτων, i.e. imperial finance officer for the province.

<sup>c</sup> Quintilius Varus, governor (*legatus*) of Syria (B. i. 617).

<sup>d</sup> Before returning to Antioch he visited Jerusalem and left a legion there to keep order (§ 40).

# JOSEPHUS

- άρχους καὶ διοικητὰς ἐπειρᾶτο διερευνᾶν τοὺς  
τῶν χρημάτων ἀναλογισμοὺς τάς τε ἄκρας παρ-  
19 λαμβάνειν. οὐ μὴν οἱ φύλακες τῶν Ἀρχελάου  
κατημέλουν ἐντολῶν, ἔμενον δὲ φρουροῦντες  
ἔκαστα καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἀνατιθέντες Καίσαρι  
μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀρχελάῳ.
- 20 (3) Καν τούτῳ πάλιν Ἀντίπας ἀμφισβητῶν  
περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπέξεισιν ἀξιῶν τῆς ἐπιδιαθή-  
κης κυριωτέραν εἶναι τὴν διαθήκην, ἐν ᾧ βασιλεὺς  
αὐτὸς ἐγέγραπτο. συλλήψεσθαι δ' αὐτῷ προϋπ-  
έσχετο Σαλώμη καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν σὺν Ἀρχελάῳ  
21 πλεόντων συγγενῶν. ἐπήγετο δὲ τὴν μητέρα καὶ  
τὸν ἀδελφὸν Νικολάου Πτολεμαῖον, ρόπην εἶναι  
δοκοῦντα διὰ τὴν παρὰ Ἡρώδη πίστιν γεγόνει  
γὰρ δὴ τῶν φίλων ἐκείνου τιμιώτατος πλεῖστον  
μέντοι πεποίθει διὰ δεινότητα λόγων Εἰρηναίω τῷ  
ρήτορι, διὸ καὶ τοὺς νουθετοῦντας εἴκειν Ἀρχελάῳ  
κατὰ τὸ πρεσβεῖον καὶ τὰς ἐπιδιαθήκας διεκρού-  
22 σατο. μεθίστατο δὲ ἐν Ρώμῃ πάντων πρὸς αὐτὸν  
ἡ σπουδὴ τῶν συγγενῶν, οἵς διὰ μίσους ἦν Ἀρχέ-  
λαος, καὶ προηγουμένως ἔκαστος αὐτονομίας  
ἐπεθύμει στρατηγῷ Ρωμαίων διοικουμένης, εἰ δὲ  
τοῦτο<sup>1</sup> διαμαρτάνοι, βασιλεύειν Ἀντίπαν ἥθελεν.
- 23 (4) Συνήργει δ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τοῦτο καὶ Σαβῖνος δι'  
ἐπιστολῶν, κατηγορήσας μὲν Ἀρχελάου παρὰ  
24 Καίσαρι, πολλὰ δ' ἐπαινέσας Ἀντίπαν. συν-  
τάξαντες δὲ τὰ ἐγκλήματα οἱ περὶ Σαλώμην ἐν-  
εχείρισαν Καίσαρι, καὶ μετὰ τούτους Ἀρχέλαος τά  
τε<sup>2</sup> κεφάλαια τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δικαίων γράψας καὶ τὸν

<sup>1</sup> τούτου LVRC.

<sup>2</sup> + ἄλλα PAM.

governors of the forts and the controllers of the treasury, endeavoured to search into the accounts and to take possession of the castles. These officers, however, mindful of the injunctions of Archelaus, continued to guard their respective trusts, for which they professed to hold themselves responsible to Caesar, rather than to Archelaus.

(3) Meanwhile another claimant to the throne had set out for Rome, namely, Antipas, who maintained that the will in which he had been named king had greater validity than the codicil.<sup>a</sup> He had received previous promises of support from Salome and from many of his relations who had sailed with Archelaus. He had won over his mother<sup>b</sup> and Ptolemy, brother of Nicolas, from whose influence much was expected, owing to the confidence reposed in him by Herod, who had honoured him above all his friends. But what Antipas mainly relied on was the brilliant eloquence of his advocate Irenaeus ; on the strength of this he refused to listen to those who advised him to give way to Archelaus, in consideration of his rights of seniority and the terms of the codicil. At Rome, all the relations, who detested Archelaus, transferred their support to him ; the object that was uppermost in the minds of every one of these was autonomy under the administration of a Roman governor, but, in default of that, they preferred to have Antipas for king.

(4) They were aided in this design by Sabinus, who, in dispatches to Caesar, accused Archelaus and highly commended Antipas. Salome and her friends now drew up their indictment and placed it in Caesar's hands ; Archelaus responded by drafting a summary statement of his rights and sending in his father's

δακτύλιον τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοὺς λόγους<sup>1</sup> εἰσπέμπει  
 25 διὰ Πτολεμαίου. προσκεψάμενος δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰ  
 παρ' ἀμφοῖν κατ' ἴδιαν, τό τε μέγεθος τῆς βασι-  
 λείας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς προσόδου, πρὸς οὓς τὸν  
 ἀριθμὸν τῆς Ἡρώδου γενεᾶς, προαναγνοὺς<sup>2</sup> δὲ  
 καὶ τὰ παρὰ Οὐάρου καὶ Σαβίνου περὶ τούτων  
 ἐπεσταλμένα, συνέδριον μὲν ἀθροίζει τῶν ἐν τέλει  
 Ῥωμαίων, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸν ἔξ 'Αγρίππα καὶ Ἰουλίας  
 τῆς θυγατρὸς θετὸν παῖδα Γάιον πρώτως ἐκάθισεν,  
 ἀποδίδωσι δὲ λόγον αὐτοῖς.

26 (5) "Ενθα καταστὰς ὁ Σαλώμης υἱὸς Ἀντί-  
 πατρος, ἦν δὲ τῶν ἐναντιουμένων Ἀρχελάῳ δεινό-  
 τατος εἴπειν, κατηγόρει φάσκων τοῖς μὲν λόγοις  
 ἀμφισβητεῖν ἄρτι βασιλείας Ἀρχέλαον, τοῖς δ'  
 ἔργοις πάλαι γεγονέναι βασιλέα, κατειρωνεύεσθαι  
 δὲ νῦν τῶν Καίσαρος ἀκοῶν, διν δικαστὴν τῆς  
 27 διαδοχῆς οὐ περιέμεινεν, εἴ γε μετὰ τὴν Ἡρώδου  
 τελευτὴν ἐγκαθέτους μὲν ὑποπέμψας τοὺς περι-  
 θήσοντας αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα, προκαθίσας δ' ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ θρόνου καὶ χρηματίσας<sup>3</sup> βασιλεύς, τάξεις τε  
 τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀμείψας καὶ προκοπὰς χαρισάμενος,  
 28 ἔτι δὲ τῷ δήμῳ πάντα κατανεύσας ὅσων ὡς παρὰ  
 βασιλέως τυχεῖν ἡξίουν, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ μεγίσταις  
 αἰτίαις παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς δεδεμένους λύσας, νῦν  
 ἥκει παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου σκιὰν αἰτησόμενος  
 βασιλείας, ἥσ ήρπασεν ἑαυτῷ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ποιῶν  
 οὐ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀλλὰ τῶν ὄνομάτων κύριον  
 29 Καίσαρα. προσωνείδιζεν δ' ὡς καὶ τὸ πένθος

<sup>1</sup> rationes administrationis Lat. (apparently reading λογισμοὺς, as in A. !!).

<sup>2</sup> PAV\*. ποσαναγνοὺς the rest (perhaps rightly).

<sup>3</sup> + ὡς MLVRC.

ring and papers<sup>a</sup> by Ptolemy to the emperor. Caesar, after reflecting in private on the allegations of both parties, the extent of the kingdom, the amount of the revenue, as well as the number of Herod's children, and after perusing the letters on the subject which he had received from Varus and Sabinus, summoned a council of leading Romans, at which for the first time he gave a seat to Caius, the son of Agrippa and his daughter Julia, whom he had adopted himself; he then called upon the parties to speak.

(5) Thereupon Antipater, son of Salome, the ablest orator among the opponents of Archelaus, rose as his accuser. Archelaus, he stated, although at the moment ostensibly suing for a crown, had in reality long since acted as king. He was now merely playing upon the patient ears of Caesar, whose sentence upon the subject of the succession he had not awaited. For, after Herod's death, had he not suborned persons to place the diadem on his head, sat in state upon the throne and given audience as a king, made changes in the ranks of the army and conferred promotions, assented to all the favours which the people had claimed from him as sovereign, and liberated those whom his father had imprisoned for the gravest crimes? And after all this he had now come to beg from his lord for the shadow of royalty, of which he had already appropriated the substance, thus making Caesar a dispenser not of realities, but of mere titles! A further charge which Antipater brought against

Council  
held by  
Augustus

Antipater  
son of  
Salome,  
accuses  
Archelaus

<sup>a</sup> Or, with the other reading λογισμοὺς, “(public) accounts.”

κατειρωνεύσατο τοῦ πατρός, μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν  
 ἐπισχηματίζων τὸ πρόσωπον εἰς λύπην, νύκτωρ  
 δὲ μέχρις κώμων μεθυσκόμενος, ἐν ὧ καὶ τὴν  
 τιραχήν τοῦ πλήθους ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀγα-  
 30 γακτήσεως ἔλεγεν γεγονέναι. καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ  
 λόγου παντὸς ἐναπηρείσατο τῷ πλήθει τῶν περὶ  
 τὸν ναὸν φονευθέντων, οὓς ἐληλυθέναι μὲν ἐφ'  
 ἑορτήν, παρὰ δὲ ταῖς ἴδιαις θυσίαις ὡμῶς ἀπ-  
 εσφάχθαι· καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ σεσωρεῦσθαι  
 τεκρῶν πλῆθος, ὅσον οὐδ' [ἄν]<sup>1</sup> ἀλλόφυλος ἐσώ-  
 31 ρευσειν πόλεμος ἐπελθὼν ἀκήρυκτος. ταύτην μέντοι  
 τὴν ὡμότητα προσκεψάμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν πατέρα  
 μηδ' ἐλπίδος αὐτόν ποτε ἀξιῶσαι βασιλικῆς, ἢ  
 ὅτε χεῖρον τὴν ψυχὴν κάμνων τοῦ σώματος  
 ἀκρατῆς ἦν ὑγιαίνοντος λογισμοῦ καὶ οὐδ' ὅν  
 ἔγραφεν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιδιαθήκαις ἥδει διάδοχον, καὶ  
 ταῦτα μηδὲν τὸν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις μέμψασθαι  
 δινάμενος, ἃς ἔγραψεν ὑγιαίνων μὲν τὸ σῶμα,  
 32 καθαρὰν δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχων πάθους παντός. εἱ  
 μέντοι καὶ κυριωτέραν τιθείη τις τὴν τοῦ κάμνον-  
 τος κρίσιν, ἀποκεχειροτονῆσθαι βασιλείας Ἀρχέ-  
 λαον ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ τοῦς εἰς αὐτὴν παρανομηθεῖσιν·  
 ποταπὸν γὰρ ἀν γενέσθαι λαβόντα τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 παρὰ Καίσαρος τὸν πρὶν λαβεῖν τοσούτους ἀν-  
 γηρηκότα;

33 (6) Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα διεξελθὼν Ἀντίπατρος καὶ  
 τοὺς πλείστους τῶν συγγενῶν παραστησάμενος  
 ἐφ' ἕκάστῳ τῶν κατηγορημένων μάρτυρας κατα-

<sup>1</sup> om. PA.

Archelaus was that even in his mourning for his father he had played the hypocrite, in the day-time assuming a pose of grief, at night drinking to riotous excess. In this connexion, he added that the recent outbreak of the populace was attributable to their indignation at such conduct. Proceeding to the main contention of his speech, he laid great stress on the multitude of Jews who had been massacred around the sanctuary, poor people who had come for a festival and, while offering their sacrifices, had themselves been brutally immolated.<sup>a</sup> There had been, he said, such a pile of corpses in the temple as would never have been raised even by the ruthless inroad of a foreign foe. It was, indeed, because he foresaw this ferocity of Archelaus that his father had never deigned to hold out to him even a hope of ascending the throne, until the day when, more stricken in mind than in body, and incapable of sound reasoning, he did not even know whose name he was inscribing in the codicil as that of his successor ; when, moreover, he had no fault to find with the heir named in the will which he had drafted while he possessed health of body and a mind quite unclouded by affliction. But, he continued, even if greater weight were attached by any to the decision of an invalid, Archelaus had pronounced his own deposition from the kingdom by his outrages upon it. What would he become, once invested with authority by Caesar, who before receiving it had massacred such multitudes !

(6) After dilating at length in this strain, and producing most of the relatives as witnesses to each item in his accusation, Antipater concluded his speech.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. the charge against Pilate of mingling the blood of Galilaeans with their sacrifices, Luke xiii. 1.

# JOSEPHUS

- 34 παύει τὸν λόγον. ἀνίσταται δὲ Νικόλαος ὑπὲρ  
 Ἀρχελάου, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ φόνον ἀναγ-  
 καῖον ἀπέφηνεν· πολεμίους γὰρ γεγονέναι τοὺς ἀν-  
 ηρημένους οὐ τῆς βασιλείας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ  
 35 δικάζοντος αὐτὴν Καίσαρος. τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐγ-  
 κλημάτων συμβούλους ἀπεδείκνυεν αὐτοὺς τοὺς κατ-  
 ηγόρους γεγονέναι. τήν γε μὴν ἐπιδιαθήκην ἡξίου  
 διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα εἶναι κυρίαν, ὅτι βεβαιωτὴν ἐν  
 36 αὐτῇ Καίσαρα καθίστατο τοῦ διαδόχου· ὁ γὰρ  
 σωφρονῶν ὥστε τῷ δεσπότῃ τῶν ὄλων παραχωρεῖν  
 τῆς ἔξουσίας οὐ δήπου περὶ κληρονόμου κρίσιν  
 ἐσφάλλετο, σωφρονῶν δ' ἥρεῖτο καὶ τὸν καθ-  
 ιστάμενον ὁ γινώσκων τὸν καθιστάντα.
- 37 (7) Διεξελθόντος δὲ πάντα καὶ Νικολάου παρ-  
 ελθὼν Ἀρχέλαος προπίπτει<sup>1</sup> τῶν Καίσαρος γονάτων  
 ἡσυχῆ. κάκεῦνος αὐτὸν μάλα φιλοφρόνως ἀνα-  
 στήσας ἐνέφηνεν μὲν ὡς ἄξιος εἴη τῆς πατρώας  
 38 διαδοχῆς, οὐ μὴν τι βέβαιον ἀπεφήνατο. διαλύσας  
 δὲ τοὺς συνέδρους ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας καθ' ἑαυτὸν  
 περὶ ὧν διήκουσεν ἐσκέπτετο, εἴτε χρὴ τῶν ἐν  
 ταῖς διαθήκαις καταστῆσαι τινα διάδοχον, εἴτε καὶ  
 πάσῃ τῇ γενεᾷ διανεῖμαι τὴν ἀρχήν· ἐδόκει γὰρ  
 ἐπικουρίας χρῆζειν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν προσώπων.
- 39 (iii. 1) Πρὸν δὲ ὄρισαι τι περὶ τούτων Καίσαρα  
 τελευτᾶ μὲν ἡ Ἀρχελάου μήτηρ Μαλθακὴ νοσή-  
 σασα, παρὰ Οὐάρου δ' ἐκομίσθησαν ἐκ Συρίας  
 40 ἐπιστολαὶ περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀποστάσεως, ἦν  
 προϊδόμενος ὁ Οὔαρος, ἀνέβη γὰρ μετὰ τὸν Ἀρχε-  
 λάου πλοῦν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τοὺς παρακινοῦντας  
 καθέξων, ἐπειδὴ πρόδηλον ἦν τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ

<sup>1</sup> προσπίπτει most mss.

Nicolas then rose in defence of Archelaus. He maintained that the slaughter in the Temple had been rendered necessary, because the victims had shown themselves enemies not only of the kingdom, but also of Caesar, the arbiter of the kingdom. As for the other charges made against Archelaus, he showed that his accusers themselves had advised him to act as he did. The validity of the codicil, he claimed, was proved by this fact above all, that in it Caesar was constituted surety for the succession ; one who was sane enough to cede his authority to the master of the world was surely not mistaken in his selection of an heir. The sagacity shown in his choice of the donor was a guarantee of his sanity in the choice of the recipient.

(7) Nicolas on his side having fully stated his case, Archelaus came forward and fell, in silence, at the knees of Caesar. The emperor very graciously raised him up, intimating that he thought him worthy to succeed his father, but pronouncing no final decision. After dismissing his council, he passed the day in reflection on what he had heard, considering whether he ought to appoint as successor one of those named in the wills or to divide the dominion among all the children ; for the numerous members of this family all seemed in need of support.

(iii. 1) But before Caesar had come to any decision on these matters, Malthace, the mother of Archelaus, was taken ill and died, and dispatches arrived from Varus in Syria concerning the revolt of the Jews. This outbreak had been foreseen by Varus, who, after the sailing of Archelaus, had gone up to Jerusalem to repress its promoters, and, as it was evident that the people would not remain quiet,

Nicolas  
Damascu  
for the  
defence.

Perplexit  
of  
Augustu

Further  
sedition a  
Pentecos  
provoked  
by the  
conduct o  
Sabinus a  
Jerusale

# JOSEPHUS

ἡρεμῆσον, ἐν τῶν τριῶν ἀπὸ Συρίας ταγμάτων,  
 41 ὅπερ ἄγων ἦκεν, ἐν τῇ πόλει καταλείπει. καὶ  
 αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, ἐπελθὼν  
 δὲ ὁ Σαβῖνος ἀφορμὴν αὐτοῖς παρέσχεν νεωτερο-  
 ποιίας· τούς τε γὰρ φρουροὺς παραδιδόναι τὰς  
 ἄκρας ἐβιάζετο καὶ πικρῶς τὰ βασιλικὰ χρήματα  
 διηρεύνα, πεποιθὼς οὐ μόνον τοῖς ὑπὸ Οὐάρου  
 καταλειφθεῖσι στρατιώταις, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλήθει δού-  
 λων ἴδιων, οὓς ἀπαντας ὀπλίσας ὑπηρέταις ἔχρητο  
 42 τῆς πλεονεξίας. ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς,  
 οὗτῳ καλοῦσίν τινα ἑορτὴν Ἰουδαῖοι παρ' ἑπτὰ  
 γινομένην ἑβδομάδας καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἡμερῶν  
 προσηγορίαν ἔχουσαν, οὐχ ἡ συνήθης θρησκεία  
 43 συνήγαγεν τὸν δῆμον, ἀλλ' ἡ ἀγανάκτησις. συν-  
 ἔδραμεν γοῦν πλῆθος ἀπειρον ἐκ τε τῆς Γαλιλαίας  
 καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, Ἱεριχοῦντός τε καὶ τῆς  
 ὑπὲρ Ἰορδάνην Περαίας, ὑπερεῖχεν δὲ πλήθει καὶ  
 προθυμίαις ἀνδρῶν ὁ γνήσιος ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἰουδαίας  
 44 λαός. διανείμαντες δὲ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς τρία μέρη  
 τριχῇ στρατοπεδεύονται, πρὸς τε τῷ βορείῳ τοῦ  
 ἱεροῦ κλίματι καὶ πρὸς τῷ μεσημβρινῷ κατὰ τὸν  
 ἵπποδρομον, ἡ δὲ τρίτη μοῖρα πρὸς τοῖς βασιλείοις  
 κατὰ δύσιν. περικαθεζόμενοι δὲ πανταχόθεν τοὺς  
 Ῥωμαίους ἐπολιόρκουν.

45 (2) Ὁ δὲ Σαβῖνος πρὸς τε τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν  
 ὑποδείσας καὶ τὰ φρονήματα, συνεχεῖς μὲν ἀγ-  
 γέλους ἐπεμπεν πρὸς Οῦαρον ἐπαμύνειν ἐν τάχει  
 δεόμενος, ὡς εἰ βραδύνοι κατακοπησομένου τοῦ  
 46 τάγματος· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ὑψηλότατον τοῦ φρου-  
 ρίου πύργον ἀναβάσ, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Φασάηλος ἐπ-

<sup>1</sup> κατὰ Hudson (after Lat.).

had left in the city one of the three legions from Syria which he had brought with him ; he himself then returned to Antioch. It was the arrival of Sabinus<sup>a</sup> which gave the Jews an occasion for insurrection. For this officer endeavoured to force the guardians of the citadels to hand them over to him and instituted an exacting search for the royal treasures, relying for this task not only on the soldiers left by Varus, but on a crowd of his own slaves, all of whom he armed and employed as instruments of his avarice. So, on the arrival of Pentecost—thus End of M.  
the Jews call a feast which occurs seven weeks after<sup>4 B.C.</sup> (Passover),<sup>b</sup> and takes its name from the number of intervening days—it was not the customary ritual so much as indignation which drew the people in crowds to the capital. A countless multitude flocked in from Galilee, from Idumaea, from Jericho, and from Peraea beyond the Jordan, but it was the native population of Judaea itself which, both in numbers and ardour, was pre-eminent. Distributing themselves into three divisions, they formed three camps, one on the north of the Temple, another on the south, adjoining the hippodrome,<sup>c</sup> and the third near the palace, on the west. Thus investing the Romans on all sides, they held them under siege.

(2) Sabinus, terrified at their numbers and determination, dispatched messenger after messenger to Varus, begging for his prompt support and assuring him that, if he delayed, the legion would be cut to pieces. He himself mounted to the highest tower in

<sup>b</sup> Such must be the meaning, but this sense of παρά is unusual.

<sup>c</sup> Mentioned here only and in the parallel in A. xvii. 255 ; its exact position is unknown. It was probably built by Herod.

ώνυμον ἔχων ἀδελφὸν Ἡράδον διαφθαρέντα ὑπὸ Πάρθων, ἐντεῦθεν κατέσειεν τοῖς ἐν τῷ τάγματι στρατιώταις ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις· δι’ ἐκπληξιν γὰρ οὐδὲ εἰς τοὺς σφετέρους καταβαίνειν ἐθάρρει.

47 παραπεισθέντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται προπηδῶσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ μάχην καρτερὰν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συνάπτουσιν, ἐν ᾧ μέχρι μὲν οὐδεὶς καθύπερθεν ἐπήμυνεν περιησαν ἐμπειρίᾳ πολέμου τῶν ἀπέίρων.  
 48 ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὶ Ἰουδαίων ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὰς στοάς κατὰ κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν ἡφίεσαν τὰ βέλη, συνετρίβοντο πολλοὶ καὶ οὕτε τοὺς ἄνωθεν βάλλοντας ἀμύνεσθαι ράδιον ἦν, οὕτε τοὺς συστάδην μαχομένους ὑπομένειν.

49 (3) Καταπονούμενοι δὲ<sup>1</sup> πρὸς ἀμφοτέρων ὑποπιμπρᾶσιν τὰς στοάς, ἔργα θαυμάσια μεγέθους τε καὶ πολυτελείας ἔνεκεν· οἱ δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ἐξαίφνης ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς περισχεθέντες πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ διεφθάρησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πηδῶντες εἰς αὐτούς, τινὲς δ’ εἰς τούπισω κατὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐκρημνίζοντο, ἔνιοι δ’ ὑπ’ ἀμηχανίας τοῖς 50 ἴδιοις ξίφεσιν τὸ πῦρ ἔφθανον· ὅσοι δὲ καθερπύσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἤξαν εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εὐμεταχείριστοι διὰ τὴν ἐκπληξιν ἦσαν. καὶ<sup>2</sup> τῶν μὲν ἀπολωλότων, τῶν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους σκεδασθέντων, ἐρήμῳ τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ θησαυρῷ προσ-

<sup>1</sup> μὲν PA, which Destinon retains, writing συνετρίβοντό <τε> above and making the apodosis begin at καταπονούμενοι.

<sup>2</sup> μέχρι LVRC Lat.

the fortress—called Phasael, after Herod's brother, who was slain by the Parthians<sup>a</sup>—and thence signalled to the legionaries to attack the enemy, for he was in such a panic that he had not even the courage to descend to his own men. The soldiers, obedient to this poltroon, leapt into the Temple and engaged in a stubborn contest with the Jews. So long as they remained unassailed from above, their military experience gave them the advantage over the novices opposed to them; but when a large body of Jews mounted the porticoes and poured their missiles down upon their heads, many fell, and the Romans found it no easy task either to defend themselves against those attacking them from above or to hold their ground against their other opponents in hand-to-hand fight.

(3) Harassed by these two foes, the legionaries set fire to the porticoes, which for massive grandeur and magnificence were wonderful works of art. Of the Jews who occupied them, many, suddenly enveloped, perished in the flames; many leapt down among their enemies and were slain by them; some flung themselves over the precipitous wall in their rear; others, in despair, threw themselves on their own swords to avoid becoming victims of the flames; while any who successfully crept down from the wall and dashed at the Romans fell an easy prey, owing to their dazed condition. Then, their enemies either slain or dispersed in panic, the soldiers fell upon God's treasury, now reft of defenders, and plundered it to the amount of some

Burning  
of the  
porticoes  
and pillars  
of the  
treasury.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. B. i. 271 f., and for the tower of Phasael i. 418, v. 166.

πεσόντες οἱ στρατιῶται περὶ τετρακόσια τάλαντα διήρπασαν, ὃν ὅσα μὴ διεκλάπη Σαβῖνος ἥθροισεν.

51 (4) Ἰουδαίους δὲ ἡ τε τῶν ἔργων καὶ ἀνδρῶν φθορὰ πολὺ πλείους καὶ μαχιμωτέρους ἐπισυνέστησεν Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ περισχόντες τὰ βασίλεια πάντας ἡπείλουν διαφθείρειν, εἰ μὴ θάττον ἀπίοιεν· ὑπισχνοῦντο γὰρ ἄδειαν τῷ Σαβίνῳ βουλομένῳ 52 μετὰ τοῦ τάγματος ἔξιέναι. συνελάμβανον δ' αὐτοῖς<sup>1</sup> οἱ πλείους τῶν βασιλικῶν αὐτομολήσαντες. τὸ μέντοι πολεμικώτατον μέρος, Σεβαστηνοὶ τρισχίλιοι, Ῥοῦφός τε καὶ Γράτος ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὃ μὲν τοὺς πεζοὺς τῶν βασιλικῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἔχων, Ῥοῦφος δὲ τοὺς ἵππεῖς, ὃν ἐκάτερος καὶ χωρὶς ὑπηκόου δυνάμεως δι' ἀλκῆν καὶ σύνεσιν ἦν 53 πολέμου ρόπη,<sup>2</sup> προσέθεντο Ῥωμαίοις. Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν οὖν ἐνέκειντο τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, τῶν τειχῶν ἀμα πειρώμενοι τοῦ φρουρίου καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Σαβῖνον ἐμβοῶντες ἀπιέναι, μηδ' ἐμποδὼν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ κομιζομένοις τὴν πάτριον 54 αὐτονομίαν. Σαβίνῳ δ' ἀγαπητὸν μὲν ἦν ὑπεξελθεῖν, ἡπίστει δὲ ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν καὶ τὸ πρᾶον αὐτῶν δέλεαρ εἰς ἐνέδραν ὑπώπτευεν· ἀμα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Οὐάρου βοήθειαν ἐλπίζων διέτριβεν τὴν πολιορκίαν.

55 (iv. 1) Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν

<sup>1</sup> ed. pr.: αὐτοὺς miss.

<sup>2</sup> ἦν πολέμου ρόπη Naber: ἦ πολέμου ρόπην most miss.

<sup>a</sup> According to *A.* xvii. 264 Sabinus secured 400 talents apart from the sums stolen by the soldiers. The writer of *A.* is clearly imitating *Thue.* vii. 85 τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀθροισθὲν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐς τὸ κοινὸν οὐ πολὺ ἐγένετο, τὸ δὲ διακλαπὲν πολύ, a passage of which there may be a faint reminiscence here.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. troops drafted in the region of Sebaste = Samaria.

four hundred talents ; of this sum all that was not stolen by them was collected by Sabinus.<sup>a</sup>

(4) However, the effect of this loss of buildings and of lives was only to rally the Jews in far greater strength and efficiency against the Romans. Surrounding the palace, they threatened to kill them to a man unless they promptly withdrew ; if Sabinus were prepared to retire with his legion, they guaranteed him a safe conduct. The rebels now had with them the bulk of the royal troops which had deserted to their side. The most efficient division, however, of those troops still adhered to the Romans, namely, three thousand Sebastenians,<sup>b</sup> under Rufus and Gratus, the latter commanding the royal infantry, the former the cavalry ;—a pair, either of whom, even without any force under him, was worth an army,<sup>c</sup> owing to their bravery and acumen. So the Jews pressed the siege, making assaults on the fortress, while at the same time they loudly called on Sabinus and his followers to depart and not to stand in the way of men who after such a lapse of time were on the road to recovering their national independence. Sabinus would have been quite content to slink away, but he mistrusted their promises, and suspected that their mildness was a bait to ensnare him ; he was, moreover, hoping for succour from Varus and so let the siege drag on.

(iv. 1) Meanwhile, the country also, in various

These cohorts of *Sebasteni* are often mentioned in inscriptions, and elsewhere in Josephus, e.g. *B.* ii. 58, 63, 74, 236. The *σπεῖρα Σεβαστή* mentioned in *Acts xxvii. 1* as quartered at Caesarea was probably one of them, though *Σεβαστή* = *Augusta*, not *Sebastenian* ; its full title was probably *cohors Augusta Sebastenorum* (*Schürer*).

<sup>a</sup> Literally “ sufficient to turn the scale of war.”

Sabinus  
besieged  
in the  
palace.

πολλαχόθει ἐταράσσετο, καὶ συχνοὺς βασιλεῖαν ὁ  
καιρὸς ἀνέπειθεν. κατὰ μὲν γε τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν  
δισχίλιοι τῶν ὑπὸ Ἡρώδη πάλαι στρατευσαμένων  
συστάντες ἔνοπλοι διεμάχοντο τοῖς βασιλικοῖς· οἷς  
Ἀχίαβος ἀνεψιὸς βασιλέως ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρυμνοτάτων  
χωρίων ἐπολέμει, ὑποφεύγων τὴν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις  
56 συμπλοκήν· ἐν δὲ Σεπφώρει τῆς Γαλιλαίας Ἰούδας,  
νιὸς Ἐζεκίᾳ τοῦ κατατρέχοντός ποτε τὴν χώραν  
ἀρχιληστοῦ καὶ χειρωθέντος ὑφ' Ἡρώδου βασι-  
λέως, συστήσας πλῆθος οὐχ ὀλίγον ἀναρρήγνυσιν  
τὰς βασιλικὰς ὄπλοθήκας καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν  
ὅπλίσας τοῖς τὴν δυναστείαν ζηλοῦσιν ἐπεχείρει.

57 (2) Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Περαιάν Σίμων τις τῶν βασι-  
λικῶν δούλων, εὔμορφίᾳ σώματος καὶ μεγέθει  
πεποιθώς, περιπίθησιν μὲν ἑαυτῷ διάδημα, περιών  
δὲ μεθ' ὧν συνήθροισεν ληστῶν τά τε ἐν Ἱεριχοὶ<sup>1</sup>  
βασίλεια καταπίμπρησιν καὶ πολλὰς ἐτέρας τῶν  
πολυτελῶν ἐπαύλεις, ἀρπαγὰς ράδίως ἐκ τοῦ  
58 πυρὸς αὐτῷ ποριζόμενος. καὶ ἔφθη πᾶσαν οἰκησιν  
εὐπρεπῆ καταφλέξας, εἰ μὴ Γράτος ὁ τῶν βασιλι-  
κῶν πεζῶν ἡγεμὼν τούς τε Τραχωνίτας<sup>2</sup> τοξότας  
καὶ τὸ μαχιμώτατον τῶν Σεβαστηνῶν ἀναλαβὼν  
59 ὑπαντιάζει τὸν ἄνδρα. τῶν μὲν οὖν Περαιῶν<sup>3</sup>  
συχνοὶ διεφθάρησαν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τὸν Σίμωνα δ'  
οὐτὸν ἀναφεύγοντα δι' ὄρθίου φάραγγος ὁ Γράτος  
ὑποτέμνεται καὶ φεύγοντος ἐκ πλαγίου τὸν αὐχένα  
πλιγές ἀπέρρηξεν.<sup>3</sup> κατεφλέγη δὲ καὶ τὰ πλησίον

<sup>1</sup> Hudson from Lat.: Τραχαιώτας etc. MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Destinon from A.: παιῶν. παιῶν or πεζῶν MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ἀπέρρηξεν P.A.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. Herod, whom he had once saved from suicide, E. i. 662; cf. ii. 77.

<sup>b</sup> B. i. 204.

districts, was a prey to disorder, and the opportunity induced numbers of persons to aspire to sovereignty. In Idumaea, two thousand of Herod's veterans formed up in arms and took the field against the royal troops. They were opposed by Achiab, the king's<sup>a</sup> cousin, who, avoiding an engagement in the plain, fell back on the strongest positions. At Sepphoris in Galilee Judas, son of Ezechias, the brigand-chief who in former days infested the country and was subdued by King Herod,<sup>b</sup> raised a considerable body of followers, broke open the royal arsenals, and, having armed his companions, attacked the other aspirants to power.

(2) In Peraea Simon,<sup>c</sup> one of the royal slaves, proud of his tall and handsome figure, assumed the diadem. Perambulating the country with the brigands whom he had collected, he burnt down the royal palace at Jericho and many other stately mansions, such incendiарism providing him with an easy opportunity for plunder. Not a house of any respectability would have escaped the flames, had not Gratus, the commander of the royal infantry, with the archers of Trachonitis and the finest troops of the Sebastenians, gone out to encounter this rascal. In the ensuing engagement numbers of the Peraeans fell. Simon himself, endeavouring to escape up a steep ravine, was intercepted by Gratus, who struck the fugitive from the side a blow on the neck, which severed his head from his body. The palace at Betharamatha,<sup>d</sup>

Anarchy in  
Palestine.

Revolt of  
Herod's  
veterans in  
Idumaea

and of  
Judas in  
Galilee.

The usurpation  
of  
Simon in  
Peraea.

<sup>a</sup> Mentioned by Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9 "post mortem Herodis . . . Simo quidam regium nomen inuaserat" (Reinach).

<sup>b</sup> Beth-haram of the Old Test. (Jos. xiii. 27), Beth-ramtha of the Talmud, rebuilt by Herod Antipas and renamed Julias (A. xviii. 27) or Livias; some six miles north of the head of the Dead Sea and east of the Jordan.

# JOSEPHUS

Ιορδάνου βασίλεια κατὰ Βηθαράμαθα<sup>1</sup> συστάντων  
έτερων τινῶν ἐκ τῆς Περαιᾶς.

- 60 (3) Τότε καὶ ποιμήν τις ἀντιποιηθῆναι βασι-  
λεῖας ἐτόλμησεν. Ἀθρογγαῖος ἐκαλεῖτο, πρου-  
ξένει δ' αὐτῷ τὴν ἐλπίδα σώματος ἵσχὺς καὶ ψυχὴ  
θανάτου καταφρονοῦσα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀδελφοὶ<sup>61</sup>  
τέσσαρες ὄμοιοι. τούτων ἑκάστῳ λόχον ὑποζεύξας  
ἔνοπλον ὕσπερ στρατηγοῖς ἔχρητο καὶ σατράπαις  
ἐπὶ τὰς καταδρομάς, αὐτὸς δὲ καθάπερ βασιλεὺς<sup>62</sup>  
τῶν σεμνοτέρων ἥπτετο πραγμάτων. τότε μὲν  
οὖν ἔαυτῷ περιτίθησιν διάδημα, διέμεινεν δ'  
ὑστερον οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον τὴν χώραν κατατρέχων  
σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς· καὶ τὸ κτείνειν αὐτοῖς προ-  
ηγούμενον ἦν Ἡρωμαίους τε καὶ τοὺς βασιλικούς,  
διέφευγεν δ' οὐδὲ Ἰουδαίων εἴ τις εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθοι<sup>63</sup>  
φέρων κέρδος. ἐτόλμησαν δέ ποτε Ἡρωμαίων  
λόχον ἄθρουν περισχεῖν κατ' Ἀμμαοῦντα· σῆτα δ'  
οὗτοι καὶ ὅπλα διεκόμιζον τῷ τάγματι. τὸν μὲν  
οὖν ἑκατοντάρχην αὐτῶν Ἡρειον καὶ τεσσαράκοντα  
τοὺς γενναιοτάτους κατηκόντισαν, οἵ δὲ λοιποὶ<sup>64</sup>  
κινδυνεύοντες ταῦτὸ παθεῖν, Γράτου σὺν τοῖς  
Σεβαστηνοῖς ἐπιβοηθήσαντος, ἐξέφυγον. πολλὰ  
τοιαῦτα τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους  
παρ' ὅλον τὸν πόλεμον ἐργασάμενοι μετὰ χρόνου  
οἱ μὲν τρεῖς ἔχειρώθησαν, ὑπ' Ἡρχελάου μὲν ὁ  
πρεσβύτατος, οἱ δὲ ἐξῆς δύο Γράτω καὶ Πτο-  
λεμαίω περιπεσόντες· ὁ δὲ τέταρτος Ἡρχελάω<sup>65</sup>  
προσεχώρησεν κατὰ δεξιάν. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ  
τέλος ὑστερον αὐτοὺς ἐξεδέχετο, τότε δὲ ληστρικοῦ  
πολέμου τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πᾶσαν ἐνεπίμπλασαν.

<sup>1</sup> Niese: Βηθαράμιν ἔνθα ορ Βηθαραμάθου MSS.: ἐν Ἀμμάθοις  
A. II, Βηθαραυφθᾶ A. xviii. 27.

near the Jordan, was likewise burnt to the ground by another body of Peraean insurgents.

(3) Now, too, a mere shepherd had the temerity to aspire to the throne. He was called Athrongaeus, and his sole recommendations, to raise such hopes, were vigour of body, a soul contemptuous of death, and four brothers resembling himself. To each of these he entrusted an armed band and employed them as generals and satraps for his raids, while he himself, like a king, handled matters of graver moment. It was now that he donned the diadem, but his raiding expeditions throughout the country with his brothers continued long afterwards. Their principal object was to kill Romans and royalists, but no Jew, from whom they had anything to gain, escaped, if he fell into their hands. On one occasion they ventured to surround, near Emmaus,<sup>a</sup> an entire Roman company,<sup>b</sup> engaged in convoying corn and arms to the legion. Their centurion Arius and forty of his bravest men were shot down by the brigands ; the remainder, in danger of a like fate, were rescued through the intervention of Gratus with his Sebastians. After perpetrating throughout the war many such outrages upon compatriot and foreigner alike, three of them were eventually captured, the eldest by Archelaus, the two next by Gratus and Ptolemy ; the fourth made terms with Archelaus and surrendered.<sup>c</sup> Such was the end to which they ultimately came ; but at the period of which we are speaking, these men were making the whole of Iudea one scene of guerilla warfare.

<sup>a</sup> See § 71 note.

<sup>b</sup> *Centuria.*

<sup>c</sup> There were five in all (§ 60) : the fate of the fifth is unrecorded.

# JOSEPHUS

66 (v. 1) Οὐάρῳ δὲ δεξαμένῳ τὰ παρὰ Σαβίνου  
 καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων γράμματα δεῖσαι τε περὶ τοῦ  
 τάγματος ὅλου παρέστη καὶ σπεύδειν ἐπὶ τὴν  
 67 βοήθειαν. ἀναλαβὼν δὴ τὰ λοιπὰ δύο τάγματα  
 καὶ τὰς σὺν αὐτοῖς τέσσαρας ἔλας ἵππέων ἐπὶ  
 Πτολεμαΐδος ἦει, προστάξας ἐκεῖ καὶ τοὺς παρὰ  
 τῶν βασιλέων καὶ δυναστῶν ἐπικούρους συνελθεῖν·  
 προσέλαβεν δὲ καὶ παρὰ Βηρυτίων διερχόμενος  
 68 τὴν πόλιν χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους ὄπλιτας. ἐπεὶ  
 δ' εἰς τὴν Πτολεμαΐδα τό τε ἄλλο συμμαχικὸν  
 πλῆθος αὐτῷ παρῆν καὶ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς Ἡρώδην  
 ἔχθος Ἀρέτας ὁ Ἀραψ οὐκ ὀλίγην ἄγων δύναμιν  
 ἵππικήν τε καὶ πεζικήν, μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς εὐθέως  
 ἐπεμπεν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν γειτνιῶσαν τῇ Πτολε-  
 μαΐδῃ καὶ Γάιον<sup>1</sup> ἡγεμόνα τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων, δι-  
 τοὺς τε ὑπαντιάσαντας τρέπεται καὶ Σέπφωριν  
 πόλιν ἐλὼν αὐτὴν μὲν ἐμπίρησι, τοὺς δ' ἐν-  
 69 οικοῦντας ἀνδραποδίζεται. μετὰ δὲ τῆς ὅλης δυνά-  
 μεως αὐτὸς Οὔαρος εἰς Σαμάρειαν ἐλάσας τῆς μὲν  
 πόλεως ἀπέσχετο, μηδὲν ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων θο-  
 ρύβοις παρακεκινηκίαν εύρων, αὐλίζεται δὲ περὶ  
 τινα κώμην Ἀροῦν καλουμένην· κτῆμα δὲ ἦν  
 Πτολεμαίου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀράβων  
 διηρπάσθη μηνιόντων καὶ τοῖς Ἡρώδου φίλοις.  
 70 ἔνθεν εἰς Σαπφὼ πρόεισιν, κώμην ἐτέραν ἐρυμνήν,  
 ἥν ὄμοιώς διήρπασαν τάς τε προσόρους<sup>2</sup> πάσας  
 ὅσαις ἐπετύγχανον. πυρὸς δὲ καὶ φόνου πεπλή-  
 ρωτο πάντα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀρπαγὰς τῶν Ἀράβων

<sup>1</sup> Γάιον] Galli filio Lat.: τῷ νιῷ A. ||.

<sup>2</sup> Destinon and Niese: προσόρους MSS.

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<sup>a</sup> Lat. *alae*, i.e. regiments of auxiliary cavalry, usually

(v. 1) On receiving the dispatches from Sabinus and his officers, Varus was alarmed for the whole legion and resolved to hasten to its relief. Accordingly, mobilizing the two remaining legions with the four regiments<sup>a</sup> of horse which were attached to them, he marched for Ptolemais, having ordered the auxiliary troops furnished by the kings and chieftains to assemble at that place. On his way through Berytus,<sup>b</sup> his army was further increased by 1500 armed recruits from that city. When the other contingent of allies had joined him at Ptolemais, as well as Aretas the Arab who, in memory of his hatred of Herod, brought a considerable body of cavalry and infantry, Varus at once sent a detachment of his army into the region of Galilee adjoining Ptolemais, under the command of his friend Gaius ; the latter routed all who opposed him, captured and burnt the city of Sepphoris and reduced its inhabitants to slavery. Varus himself with the main body pursued his march into the country of Samaria ; he spared the city, finding that it had taken no part in the general tumult, and encamped near a village called Arous<sup>c</sup> ; this belonged to Ptolemy and for that reason was sacked by the Arabs, who were infuriated even against the friends of Herod. Thence he advanced to Sappho,<sup>d</sup> another fortified village, which they likewise sacked, as well as all the neighbouring villages which they encountered on their march. The whole district became a scene of fire and blood, and nothing was safe against the ravages of the consisting of 500 horse, as distinct from the strictly "legionary" squadrons of cavalry, consisting of only 120 horse, 3. iii. 120 (Reinach).

<sup>a</sup> Beirut.<sup>c</sup> Position unknown.<sup>d</sup> Unknown ; Sampho in A. xvii. 290.

Varus  
marches t  
the relief  
of Sabinus

His cam-  
paign in  
Galilee an  
Samaria.

- 71 οὐδὲν ἀντεῖχεν. κατεφλέγη δὲ καὶ Ἐαμμαοῦς φυγόντων τῶν οἰκητόρων, Οὐάρου δι' ὁργὴν τῷ περὶ Ἀρειον ἀποσφαγέντων κελεύσαντος.
- 72 (2) Ἐνθένδε<sup>1</sup> εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα προελθὼν ὀφθείς τε μόνον μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως τὰ στρατόπεδα τῷ 73 Ἰουδαίων διεσκέδασεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὥχοντο φυγόντες ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν· δεξάμενοι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ κατὸ τὴν πόλιν ἀπεσκευάζοντο τὰς αἰτίας τῆς ἀποστάσεως, αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐδὲν παρακινῆσαι λέγοντες, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀναγκαίως δεξάμενοι τὸ πλῆθος συμπολιορκηθῆναι μᾶλλον Ῥωμαίοις ἢ συμπολεμῆσαι τοῖς ἀποστάσιν. προϋπηντήκεισαν δε αὐτῷ Ἰώσηπός [τε]<sup>2</sup> ὁ ἀνεψιὸς Ἀρχελάου καὶ σὺν Γράτῳ Ῥοῦφος, ἄγοντες ἂμα τῷ βασιλικῷ στρατῷ καὶ τοὺς Σεβαστηνούς, οἵ τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ τάγματος τὸν συνήθη τρόπον κεκοσμημένοι· Σαβῖνος μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' εἰς ὅψιν ὑπομείνα- ἐλθεῖν Οὐάρῳ προεξῆλθεν τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. Οὔαρος δὲ [κατὰ]<sup>3</sup> μοῖραν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπιτοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ κινήματος ἔπειμψεν περὶ<sup>4</sup> τὴν χώραν, καὶ πολλῶν ἀγομένων τοὺς μὲν ἥπτο θορυβώδεις φανέντας ἐφρούρει, τοὺς δ' αἴτιωτάου ἀνεσταύρωσεν περὶ δισχιλίους.
- 76 (3) Ἡγγέλθη δ' αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἔπι συμμένειν μυρίους ὁπλίτας. ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν Ἀραβαίους οὐ συμμάχων ἥθος ἔχοντας, ἀλλ' ἴδιως πάθει στρατευομένους καὶ πέρα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως τὴν χώραν κακοῦντας ἔχθει τῷ πρὸς Ἡρώδην ἀποπέμπεται, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἴδιων ταγμάτων ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> P: ἔνθεν δὲ AM: ἔνθεν the rest. <sup>2</sup> om. PAM.<sup>3</sup> om. LVRC.<sup>4</sup> ἐπὶ PAM.

Arabs. Emmaus, the inhabitants of which had fled, was burnt to the ground by the orders of Varus, in revenge for the slaughter of Arius and his men.<sup>a</sup>

(2) Proceeding thence to Jerusalem, he had only to show himself at the head of his troops to disperse the Jewish camps. Their occupants fled up country; but the Jews in the city received him and disclaimed all responsibility for the revolt, asserting that they themselves had never stirred, that the festival had compelled them to admit the crowd, and that they had been rather besieged with the Romans than in league with the rebels. Prior to this, Varus had been met outside the city by Joseph, the cousin of Archelaus,<sup>b</sup> with Rufus and Gratus, at the head of the royal army and the Sebastenians, and by the Roman legionaries, in their customary equipment; for Sabinus, not venturing to face Varus, had previously left the city for the coast. Varus now detached part of his army to scour the country in search of the authors of the insurrection, many of whom were brought in. Those who appeared to be the less turbulent individuals he imprisoned; the most culpable, in number about two thousand, he crucified.

(3) He was informed that in Idumaea ten thousand still held together in arms. Finding that the Arabs were not properly conducting themselves as allies, but were rather making war to gratify their private resentment, and, from hatred of Herod, were doing more injury to the country than he had intended, he dismissed them, and with his own legions marched of Lydda at the foot of the Judaean hills, mod. *Amwas*, at one time Nicopolis, not the village much nearer to Jerusalem mentioned in Luke xxiv. 13.

<sup>a</sup> Joseph, son of Herod's brother Joseph, who was killed at Jericho (*A.* xviii. 134, *B.* i. 323 f.).

He quells  
the insur-  
rection in  
Jerusalem

and in  
Idumaea.

77 τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας ἡπείγετο. κάκεῖνοι πρὸν εἰς  
 χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν Ἀχιάβου συμβουλεύσαντος σφᾶς  
 αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν, Οὔαρος δὲ τῷ πλήθει μὲν ἥφει  
 τὰς αἰτίας, τοὺς δὲ ἡγεμόνας ἔξετασθησομένους  
 78 ἔπειμπεν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα. Καίσαρ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις  
 συνέγνω, τινὰς δὲ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως συγγενῶν,  
 ἃσαν γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔνιοι προσήκοντες Ἡρώδῃ  
 κατὰ γένος, κολάσαι προσέταξεν, ὅτι κατ’ οὐκείουν  
 79 βασιλέως ἐστρατεύσαντο. Οὔαρος μὲν οὖν τοῦτον  
 τὸν τρόπον καταστησάμενος τὰ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις  
 καὶ φρουρὰν καταλιπὼν τὸ καὶ πρότερον τάγμα  
 εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπάνεισιν.

80 (vi 1) Ἀρχελάῳ δ’ ἐπὶ ‘Ρώμης πάλιν ἄλλη  
 συνίσταται δίκη πρὸς Ἰουδαίους, οἱ πρὸ τῆς ἀπο-  
 στάσεως ἐπιτρέψαντος Οὐάρου πρέσβεις ἔξελη-  
 λύθεσαν περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτονομίας· ἃσαν δὲ  
 πεντήκοντα μὲν οἱ παρόντες, συμπαρίσταντο δὲ  
 αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπὶ ‘Ρώμης Ἰουδαίων ὑπὲρ ὀκτακισ-  
 81 χιλίους. ἀθροίσαντος δὲ Καίσαρος συνέδριον τῶν  
 ἐν τέλει ‘Ρωμαίων καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸ  
 Παλάτιον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ, κτίσμα δ’ ἦν ἕδιον  
 αὐτοῦ θαυμασίῳ πολυτελείᾳ κεκοσμημένον, μετὰ  
 μὲν τῶν πρεσβευτῶν τὸ Ἰουδαιϊκὸν πλῆθος ἐστη.  
 82 σὺν δὲ τοῖς φίλοις ἄντικρυς Ἀρχέλαος, τῶν δὲ  
 τούτου συγγενῶν οἱ φίλοι παρ’ οὐδετέροις, συμπαρ-  
 ίστασθαι μὲν Ἀρχελάῳ διὰ μῖσος καὶ φθόνον οὐχ  
 ὑπομένοντες, ὀφθῆναι δὲ μετὰ τῶν κατηγόρων  
 83 ὑπὸ Καίσαρος αἰδούμενοι. τούτοις συμπαρῆν<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
 Φίλιππος ἀδελφὸς Ἀρχελάου, προπεμφθεὶς κατ  
 εὗνοιαν ὑπὸ Οὐάρου δυοῖν ἔνεκα, Ἀρχελάῳ τε  
 συναγωνίσασθαι, καν διανέμῃ τὸν Ἡρώδου Καίσαρ  
 οἴκον πᾶσι τοῖς ἐγγόνοις, κλήρου τινὸς ἀξιωθῆναι

in haste to meet the rebels. They, before any action took place, on the advice of Achiab,<sup>a</sup> surrendered ; Varus discharged the rank and file and sent the leaders to Caesar for trial. Caesar pardoned all with the exception of certain individuals of royal blood, for their number included some relatives of Herod ; these he ordered to be punished for taking up arms against a sovereign who was of their own family. Having thus restored order in Jerusalem, Varus left as garrison the legion previously quartered there and returned to Antioch.

(vi. 1) Meanwhile, Archelaus in Rome had to defend himself in a new suit against certain Jewish deputies who, before the revolt, had set out with the permission of Varus to plead for the autonomy of their nation. Fifty deputies appeared, but more than eight thousand of the Jews in Rome espoused their cause. Caesar assembled a council, composed of the Roman magistrates and his friends, in the temple of the Palatine Apollo, a building erected by himself with astonishingly rich ornamentation. The Jewish crowd took up a position with the deputies ; opposite them was Archelaus with his friends ; the friends of his relatives appeared neither on the one side nor on the other, scorning through hatred and envy to join Archelaus, yet ashamed to let Caesar see them among his accusers. Another person present was Philip, brother of Archelaus, whom Varus, out of friendliness, had sent off under escort with two objects : primarily to support Archelaus, but also to come in for a share of Herod's estate in case Caesar should distribute it among all his descendants.

<sup>a</sup> § 55.

<sup>1</sup> M : *τούτοις παρῆν* PA : *ἐπὶ τούτοις παρῆν* the rest.

84 (2) Ἐπιτραπὲν δὲ λέγειν τοῖς κατηγόροις τὰς Ἡρώδου παρανομίας πρῶτον διεξήσαν, οὐ βασιλέα λέγοντες, ἀλλὰ τῶν πώποτε τυραννησάντων ὡμότατον ἐνηνοχέναι τύραννον· πλείστων γοῦν ἀνηργούμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοιαῦτα πεπονθέναι τοὺς καταλειφθέντας, ὥστε μακαρίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀπολωλότας.

85 βεβασανικέναι γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὰ σώματα τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πόλεις· τὰς μὲν γὰρ ιδίας λελωβῆσθαι, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων κεκοσμηκέναι καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας αἷμα κεχαρίσθαι

86 τοῖς ἔξωθεν δήμοις. ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐδαιμονίας καὶ τῶν πατρίων νόμων πενίας τὸ ἔθνος καὶ παρανομίας ἐσχάτης πεπληρωκέναι, καθόλου δὲ πλείους ὑπομεμενηκέναι τὰς ἐξ Ἡρώδου συμφορὰς ἐν ὄλιγοις ἔτεσιν Ἰουδαίους ὅν ἐν παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἀναχώρησιν ἐπαθον οἱ πρόγονοι, Ξέρξου βασιλεύοντος ἀπανα-

87 στάντες. εἰς τοσοῦτον μέντοι μετριότητος<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοῦ δυστυχεῖν ἔθους προελθεῖν, ὥστε ὑπομεῖναι τῆς πικρᾶς δουλείας καὶ διαδοχὴν αὐθαίρετον

88 Ἀρχέλαον γοῦν τὸν τηλικούτου τυράννου παῖδα μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν βασιλέα τε προσειπεῖν ἐτοίμως καὶ συμπενθῆσαι τὸν Ἡρώδοι θάνατον αὐτῷ καὶ συνεύξασθαι περὶ τῆς διαδοχῆς

89 τὸν δ' ὥσπερ ἀγωνιάσαντα, μὴ νόθος νίος εἶναι δόξειεν Ἡρώδου, προοιμιάσασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν τρισχιλίων πολιτῶν φόνῳ, καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν παρεστακέναι θύματα περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ θεῷ, τοσούτοις

<sup>1</sup> PAM Lat.: ταπεινότητος the rest.

<sup>2</sup> εκ Hudson, Bekker.

(2) The plaintiffs, being given permission to state their case, began by enumerating Herod's enormities. "It was not a king," they said, "whom they had had to tolerate, but the most cruel tyrant that ever existed. Numerous had been his victims, but the survivors had suffered so much that they envied the fate of the dead. For he had tortured not only the persons of his subjects, but also their cities; and while he crippled the towns in his own dominion, he embellished those of other nations, lavishing the life-blood of Judaea on foreign communities. In place of their ancient prosperity and ancestral laws, he had sunk the nation to poverty and the last degree of iniquity. In short, the miseries which Herod in the course of a few years had inflicted on the Jews surpassed all that their forefathers had suffered during all the time since they left Babylon to return to their country in the reign of Xerxes.<sup>a</sup> And yet so chastened and habituated to misfortune had they become, that they had consented to this bitter servitude being made hereditary and had actually chosen the heir themselves! This Archelaus, son of such a tyrant, they had, on his father's decease, promptly acclaimed king; they had joined in his mourning for Herod's death, in his prayers for the prosperity of his own reign. But he, anxious apparently not to be taken for a bastard son of Herod, had ushered in his reign with the massacre of three thousand citizens; that was the grand total of the victims which he had offered to God on behalf of his throne, that was the number of corpses with which he had filled the

<sup>a</sup> i.e. the return under Ezra, which Josephus (*A.* xi. 120) places in the reign of Xerxes, not as in the O.T. in that of Artaxerxes.

90 δ' ἐμπεπληκέναι νεκροῖς τὸ ιερὸν ἐν ἑορτῇ. τοὺς  
 μέντοι περιλειφθέντας ἐκ τοσούτων κακῶν εἰκότως  
 ἐπεστράφθαι ποτὲ ἥδη<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ  
 πολέμου τόμῳ τὰς πληγὰς ἔθέλειν κατὰ πρόσωπον  
 δέχεσθαι, δεῖσθαι δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐλεῆσαι τά τε<sup>2</sup>  
 τῆς Ἰουδαίας λείψανα καὶ μὴ τὸ περισσὸν αὐτῆς  
 91 ὑπορρίψαι τοῖς ὡμῶς σπαράττουσιν, συνάψαντας  
 δὲ τῇ Συρίᾳ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν διοικεῖν ἐπ' ἰδίοις  
 ἡγεμόσιν· ἐπιδείξεσθαι γάρ, ὡς οἱ νῦν στασιώδεις  
 διαβαλλόμενοι καὶ πολεμικοὶ φέρειν οἴδασιν με-  
 92 τρίους ἡγεμόνας. Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῆς κατ-  
 ηγορίας κατέληξαν εἰς τοιαύτην ἀξίωσιν, ἀναστὰς  
 δὲ Νικόλαος ἀπελύσατο<sup>3</sup> μὲν τὰς εἰς τοὺς βασιλεῖς  
 αἰτίας, κατηγόρει δὲ τοῦ ἔθνους τό τε δύσαρκτον  
 καὶ τὸ δυσπειθὲς φύσει πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς.  
 συνδιέβαλλε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀρχελάου συγγενεῖς,  
 ὅσοι πρὸς τοὺς κατηγόρους ἀφειστήκεσαν.

93 (3) Τότε μὲν οὖν Καῖσαρ ἀκούσας ἐκατέρων  
 διέλυσε τὸ συνέδριον, μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας  
 τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ τῆς βασιλείας Ἀρχελάω δίδωσιν  
 ἔθναρχην προσειπών, ὑποσχόμενος δὲ καὶ βασιλέα  
 94 ποιήσειν, εἰ ἄξιον ἔαυτὸν παράσχοι,<sup>4</sup> τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν  
 ἥμισυ διελὼν εἰς δύο τετραρχίας δυσὶν ἐτέροις  
 παισὶν Ἡρώδου δίδωσιν, τὴν μὲν Φιλίππω, τὴν  
 δὲ Ἀντίπα τῷ πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον ἀμφισβητοῦντι  
 95 περὶ τῆς βασιλείας. ἐγένετο δὲ ὑπὸ τούτῳ μὲν ᾧ  
 τε Περαία καὶ Γαλιλαία, πρόσοδος διακοσίων  
 ταλάντων, Βατανέα δὲ καὶ Τράχων Αύραντίς τε

<sup>1</sup> ἥδη ποτε LVRC.<sup>2</sup> trs. τε τὰ ed. pr.<sup>3</sup> Niese and others from Lat.: ἀπεόισατο MSS.; cf. B. i. 452.<sup>4</sup> Niese: παράσχη MSS.

Temple at a festival ! It was, however, but natural that those who had survived such disasters should now at length turn and confront their calamities and desire to face their blows, in accordance with the laws of war. They implored the Romans to take pity on the relics of Judaea and not to fling what remained of it to those who were savagely rending it in pieces, but to unite their country to Syria and to entrust the administration to governors from among themselves. The Jews would then show that, calumniated though they now were as factious and always at war, they knew how to obey equitable rulers." With this petition the Jews brought their accusation to a close. Nicolas then rose and, after refuting the charges brought against the occupants of the throne, retorted by an accusation of the national character, impatient of all authority and insubordinate towards their sovereigns. The relatives of Archelaus who had gone over to his accusers also came in for a share of his strictures.

and of  
Nicolas.

(3) Caesar, after hearing both parties, dismissed the assembly. His decision was announced a few days later : he gave half the kingdom to Archelaus, with the title of ethnarch, promising, moreover, to make him king, should he prove his deserts ; the other half he divided into two tetrarchies, which he presented to two other sons of Herod, one to Philip, the other to Antipas, who had disputed the throne with Archelaus. Antipas had for his province Peraea and Galilee, with a revenue of two hundred talents. Batanaea, Trachonitis, Auranitis and certain portions

καὶ μέρη τινὰ τοῦ Ζήνωνος οἴκου τὰ περὶ Πανιάδα,<sup>1</sup>  
 πρόσοδον ἔχοντα ταλάντων ἑκατόν, ὑπὸ Φιλίππω  
 96 τέτακτο. τῆς Ἀρχελάου δ' ἐθναρχίας Ἰδουμαία  
 τε καὶ Ἰουδαία πᾶσα καὶ Σαμαρεῖτις ἦν, κεκου-  
 φισμένη τετάρτῳ μέρει τῶν φόρων εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ  
 97 μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστῆναι. πόλεις δ' ὑπ-  
 ηκόους παρέλαβεν Στράτωνος πύργον καὶ Σεβαστὴν  
 καὶ Ἰόππην καὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα· τὰς γὰρ Ἑλληνίδας  
 Γάζαν καὶ Γάδara καὶ Ἰππον ἀποτεμόμενος τῆς  
 βασιλείας προσέθηκεν Συρίᾳ. πρόσοδος [δ']<sup>2</sup> ἦν  
 τῆς Ἀρχελάω δοθείσης χώρας τετρακοσίων ταλάν-  
 98 των. Σαλώμη δὲ πρὸς οὓς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ταῖς  
 διαθήκαις κατέλιπεν Ἰαμνείας τε καὶ Ἀζώτου καὶ  
 Φασαηλίδος ἀποδείκνυται δεσπότις, χαρίζεται δ'  
 αὐτῇ Καῖσαρ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι βασίλεια·  
 συνήγετο δ' ἐκ πάντων ἔξηκοντα προσόδου τάλαντα·  
 τὸν δὲ οἶκον αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀρχελάου τοπαρχίαν  
 99 ἔταξεν. τῆς δ' ἄλλης Ἡρώδου γενεᾶς ἔκαστος τὸ  
 καταλειφθὲν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις ἐκομίζετο. δυσὶ  
 δ' αὐτοῦ θυγατράσι παρθένοις Καῖσαρ ἔξωθεν  
 χαρίζεται πεντήκοντα μυριάδας ἀργυρίου καὶ  
 100 συνώκισεν αὐτὰς τοῖς Φερώρα παισίν. μετὰ δὲ  
 τὸν οἶκον ἐπιδιένειμεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἑαυτῷ κατα-  
 λειφθεῖσαν ὑφ' Ἡρώδου δωρεάν, οὖσαν χιλίων

<sup>1</sup> So Reinach after Graetz and Schürer, cf. A. xvii. 189: the MSS. have Ἰινάρω, Ἰιν or Ἰάμνειαν, the last a worthless conjecture, conflicting with § 98. <sup>2</sup> om. P.

<sup>a</sup> Called in the parallel passage (A. xvii. 319) and elsewhere (e.g. B. i. 398) Zenodorus.

of the domain of Zeno<sup>a</sup> in the neighbourhood of Panias,<sup>b</sup> producing a revenue of a hundred talents, were allotted to Philip. The ethnarchy of Archelaus comprised the whole of Idumaea and Judaea, besides the district of Samaria, which had a quarter of its tribute remitted in consideration of its having taken no part in the insurrection. The cities subjected to Archelaus were Strato's Tower,<sup>c</sup> Sebaste,<sup>d</sup> Joppa and Jerusalem; the Greek towns of Gaza, Gadara, and Hippos were, on the other hand, detached from his principality and annexed to Syria. The territory given to Archelaus produced a revenue of four hundred<sup>e</sup> talents. Salome, besides the legacy which the king had left her in his will, was declared mistress of Jamnia, Azotus and Phasaelis; Caesar also made her a present of the palace of Ascalon, her revenue from all sources amounting to sixty talents; her estates, however, were placed under the jurisdiction<sup>f</sup> of Archelaus. Each of the other members of Herod's family received the legacy named in the will. To the king's two unmarried daughters<sup>g</sup> Caesar presented, in addition, 500,000 (drachms) of silver and gave them in marriage to the sons of Pheroras. After this division of the estate, he further distributed among the family Herod's legacy to himself, amount-

<sup>a</sup> The region to the south and east of Caesarea Philippi and referred to as "Ituraea" in Luke iii. 1 ("Philip, tetrarch of the region of Ituraea and Trachonitis").

<sup>b</sup> Caesarea-on-sea.

<sup>c</sup> Samaria.

<sup>e</sup> 600 according to *A.* xvii. 320.

<sup>f</sup> Greek "toparchy."

<sup>g</sup> Roxane and Salome (i. 563).

ταλάντων, εύτελῆ τινα τῶν κειμηλίων εἰς τὴν τοῦ κατοιχομένου τιμὴν ἔξελόμενος.

- 101 (vii. 1) Κάν τούτῳ νεανίας τις Ἰουδαῖος μὲν τὸ γένος, τραφεὶς δ' ἐν Σιδῶνι παρά τῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπελευθέρῳ,<sup>1</sup> δι' ὅμοιότητα μορφῆς ψευδόμενος ἐαυτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν ἀναιρεθέντα ὑφ' Ἡρώδου, κατ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ λήσειν ἦκεν εἰς 102 Ῥώμην. συνεργὸς δ' ἦν τις ὁμόφυλος αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπιστάμενος, ὡφ' οὐδὲ διδαχθεὶς ἔλεγεν, ὡς οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου δι' οἰκτον ἐκκλέψειαν αὐτοὺς ὁμοίων ὑποβολῇ σωμάτων. 103 τούτοις γοῦν τοὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ Ἰουδαίους ἔξαπατήσας καὶ λαμπρῶς ἐφοδιασθεὶς διέπλευσεν εἰς Μῆλον· ἔνθα συναγείρας πολλῷ πλέον δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἀξιοπιστίας ἀνέπεισεν καὶ τοὺς ἴδιοξένους 104 εἰς Ῥώμην αὐτῷ συνεκπλεῦσαι. καταχθεὶς δὲ εἰς Δικαιάρχειαν δῶρά τε παμπληθῆ παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίων λαμβάνει καὶ καθάπερ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν πατρῶν προεπέμφθη φίλων. προεληλύθει δ' εἰς τοσοῦτον πίστεως τὸ τῆς μορφῆς ὅμοιον, ὥστε τοὺς ἑωρακότας Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ 105 σαφῶς ἐπισταμένους διόμνυσθαι τοῦτον εἶναι. τό γε μὴν Ἰουδαϊκὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἄπαν ἔξεχύθη πρὸς τὴν θέαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πλῆθος ἄπειρον ἦν περὶ τοὺς στενωποὺς δι' ὧν ἐκομίζετο· καὶ γὰρ [δὴ]<sup>2</sup> προῆλθον εἰς τοσοῦτον φρενοβλαβείας οἱ Μήλιοι,

<sup>1</sup> Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἀπελειθέρων many MSS.

<sup>2</sup> om. P.

ing to a thousand<sup>a</sup> talents, reserving only some trifling works of art which he kept in honour of the deceased.

(vii. 1) At this time a young man who, though by birth a Jew, had been brought up at Sidon at the house of a Roman freedman, on the strength of a certain physical resemblance passed himself off as the prince Alexander, whom Herod had put to death,<sup>b</sup> and came to Rome in the hope of imposing upon others. He had as his assistant a compatriot, perfectly acquainted with the affairs of the realm, acting upon whose instructions he gave out that the executioners sent to kill him and Aristobulus had, out of compassion, stolen them away, substituting in their stead the corpses of individuals who resembled them. With this tale he completely deceived the Jews of Crete, and, being handsomely furnished with supplies, sailed across to Melos, where, through the extreme plausibility of his story, he collected a much larger sum and even induced his hosts to embark with him for Rome. Landing at Dicaearchia,<sup>c</sup> he was loaded with presents by the Jewish colony there and was escorted on his way like a king by the friends of his supposed father. The resemblance was so convincing that those who had seen Alexander and known him well swore that this was he. At Rome all Jewry poured forth to see him, and vast crowds thronged the narrow streets through which he was borne; for the crazy Melians went so far as to carry

given in *B.* is probably right: we are told in *B.* i. 646 (as in the parallel passage in *A.*) that Herod left 1000 talents to Augustus and 500 to his wife, children, and friends. A drachm was "the ordinary day wage of a labourer": a talent was 6000 drachms.

<sup>a</sup> i. 551.

<sup>b</sup> The Greek name for Puteoli (*Vita* 16).

ῶστε φορείω τε αὐτὸν κομίζειν καὶ θεραπείαν  
βασιλικὴν ἴδιοις παρασχεῖν ἀναλώμασιν.

106 (2) Καῖσαρ δὲ γινώσκων [ἀκριβῶς]<sup>1</sup> τοὺς Ἀλέξ-  
άνδρου χαρακτῆρας, κατηγόρητο γὰρ ὑφ' Ἡρώδου  
παρ' αὐτῷ, συνεώρα μὲν καὶ πρὶν ἴδειν τὸν  
ἄνθρωπον τὴν τῆς ὁμοιότητος ἀπάτην, διδοὺς  
δέ τι καὶ [πίστεως]<sup>2</sup> ταῖς ἱλαρωτέραις ἐλπίσιν  
Κέλαδόν τινα πέμπει τῶν σαφῶς ἐπισταμένων  
Ἀλέξανδρον, κελεύσας ἀγαγεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν νεανί-  
107 σκον. ὃ δὲ ὡς εἶδεν, ἐτεκμήρατο μὲν τάχιστα καὶ  
τὰς διαφορὰς τοῦ προσώπου, τὸ δὲ ὅλον σῶμα  
σκληρότερον τε καὶ δουλοφανὲς καταμαθὼν ἐνόησεν  
108 πᾶν τὸ σύνταγμα. πάνυ δὲ αὐτὸν παρώξυνεν ἡ  
τόλμα τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ λεγομένων· τοῖς γὰρ  
πυνθανομένοις περὶ Ἀριστοβούλου σώζεσθαι μὲν  
κάκεῖνον ἔλεγεν, ἀπολελεῖθαι δ' ἐπίτηδες ἐν  
Κύπρῳ τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς φυλασσόμενον· ἥπτον γὰρ  
109 ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι διεζευγμένους. ἀπολαβόμενος οὖν  
αὐτὸν κατ' ἴδιαν "μισθόν," ἔφη, "παρὰ Καίσαρος  
ἔχεις τὸ ζῆν τοῦ μηνῦσαι τὸν ἀναπείσαντά σε  
πλανᾶσθαι<sup>3</sup> τηλικαῦτα." κάκεῖνος αὐτῷ δηλώ-  
σειν εἰπὼν ἔπειται πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Ἰουδαίον  
ἐνδείκνυται καταχρησάμενον αὐτοῦ τῇ ὁμοιότητι  
πρὸς ἐργασίαν· τοσαῦτα γὰρ εἰληφέναι δῶρα καθ'  
ἐκάστην πόλιν ὅσα ζῶν Ἀλέξανδρος οὐκ<sup>4</sup> ἔλαβεν.  
110 γελάσας δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν μὲν ψευδαλέξ-  
ανδρον δι' εὐεξίαν σώματος ἐγκατέταξεν τοῖς ἐρέ-  
ταις, τὸν ἀναπείσαντα δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἀναιρεθῆναι·  
Μηλίοις δ' ἥρκεσεν ἐπιτίμιον τῆς ἀνοίας τὰ ἀνα-  
λώματα.

<sup>1</sup> om. PAM.      <sup>2</sup> om. Lat., perhaps rightly; cf. A. II.

<sup>3</sup> πλάσασθαι LVRG.

<sup>4</sup> om. οὐκ PAM.

him in a litter and to provide a royal retinue at their own expense.

(2) Caesar, who had an exact recollection of Alexander's features, as he had been arraigned by Herod at his tribunal,<sup>a</sup> divined, even before he had seen the fellow, that the affair was an imposture, based on resemblance ; however, to give a chance to a more favourable hope, he sent Celadus, one of those who knew Alexander best, with orders to bring the young man to him. Celadus had no sooner set eyes on him than he detected the points of difference in the face, and noting that his whole person had a coarser and servile appearance, penetrated the whole plot. The audacity of the fellow's statements quite exasperated him. For, when questioned about Aristobulus, he was in the habit of replying that he, too, was alive, but had been purposely left behind in Cyprus as a precaution against treachery, as they were less exposed to assault when separated. Celadus, therefore, took him aside and said, "Caesar will reward you by sparing your life, if you will inform him who induced you to play such a trick." Promising Celadus to give the required information, he accompanied him to Caesar and denounced the Jew who had thus traded upon his resemblance to Alexander ; for, as he said, he had in every town received more presents than Alexander ever received in his lifetime. Caesar laughed at these words and enrolled the pseudo-Alexander, as an able-bodied man, among the oarsmen of his galleys ; his inspiring genius he ordered to execution. As for the Melians he considered them sufficiently punished for their folly by their lavish extravagance.

<sup>a</sup> i. 452.

- 111 (3) Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἔθναρχίαν Ἀρχέλαος καὶ κατὰ μνήμην τῶν πάλαι διαφορῶν οὐ μόνον Ἰουδαίοις ἀλλὰ καὶ Σαμαρεῦσι χρησάμενος ὡμῶς, πρεσβευσαμένων ἑκατέρων κατ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Καίσαρα ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐνάπτω φυγαδεύεται μὲν αὐτὸς εἰς Βίενναν πόλιν τῆς Γαλλίας. ἡ οὐσία δ' αὐτοῦ  
 112 τοῖς Καίσαρος θησαυροῖς ἐγκατατάσσεται. πρὶν κληθῆναι δ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄναρ ἰδεῖν φασιν τοιόνδε· ἔδοξεν ὁρᾶν στάχυς ἐννέα πλήρεις καὶ μεγάλους ὑπὸ βιών καταβιβρωσκομένους. μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τοὺς μάντεις καὶ τῶν Χαλδαίων τινὰς ἐπυνθάνετο, τί σημαίνειν δοκοῖεν.  
 113 ἄλλων δ' ἄλλως ἐξηγούμενων Σίμων τις Ἐσσαΐος τὸ γένος ἔφη τοὺς μὲν στάχυς ἐνιαυτοὺς νομίζειν, βόας δὲ μεταβολὴν πραγμάτων διὰ τὸ τὴν χώραν ἀροτριῶντας ἄλλάσσειν, ὥστε βασιλεύειν μὲν αὐτὸν τὸν τῶν σταχύων ἀριθμόν, ἐν ποικίλαις δὲ πραγμάτων μεταβολαῖς γενόμενον τελευτήσειν. ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἀρχέλαος μετὰ πέντε ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην μετεκλήθη!  
 114 (4) "Αξιον δὲ μνήμης ἡγησάμην καὶ τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Γλαφύρας ὄναρ, ἥπερ ἦν θυγάτηρ μὲν Ἀρχελάου τοῦ Καππαδόκων βασιλέως, γυνὴ δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου γεγονυῖα τὸ πρῶτον, ὃς ἦν ἀδελφὸς Ἀρχελάου περὶ οὗ διέξιμεν, νιὸς δ' Ἡρώδου τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ἐκλήθη P.

<sup>a</sup> From this point until the outbreak of the war the narrative becomes much more condensed. Probably the work of Nicolas of Damascus, the source hitherto followed, ended here.

<sup>b</sup> "The tenth" *A.* xvii. 342; so Dio Cass. iv. 27, and cf. the allusion to the 10th year of Archelaus in *Vita 5* (Reinach).

(3) Archelaus,<sup>a</sup> on taking possession of his eth-narchy, did not forget old feuds, but treated not only the Jews but even the Samaritans with great brutality. Both parties sent deputies to Caesar to denounce him, and in the ninth<sup>b</sup> year of his rule he<sup>c</sup> was banished to Vienna,<sup>d</sup> a town in Gaul, and his property confiscated to the imperial treasury. It is said that, before he received his summons from Caesar, he had this dream : he thought he saw nine tall and full-grown ears of corn on which oxen were browsing. He sent for the soothsayers and some Chaldaeans and asked them their opinion of its meaning. Various interpretations being given, a certain Simon, of the sect<sup>e</sup> of the Essenes, said that in his view the ears of corn denoted years and the oxen a revolution, because in ploughing they turn over the soil ; he would therefore reign for as many years as there were ears of corn and would die after a chequered experience of revolutionary changes.<sup>f</sup> Five days later Archelaus was summoned to his trial.

(4) I think mention may also fitly be made of the dream of his wife Glaphyra. Daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, she had for her first husband Alexander,<sup>g</sup> the brother of Archelaus, of whom we have been speaking, and son of King Herod, who

<sup>a</sup> A city of the Allobroges in Gallia Narbonensis, on the east bank of the Rhone, mod. *Vienne*.

<sup>b</sup> Greek "race."

<sup>c</sup> Reinach suggests that the dream of Archelaus, modelled on Pharaoh's dream in Genesis, is a piece of Essene *Haggadah* which Josephus learnt during his stay with the hermit Bannus (*Vita* 11). The historian claims to be an interpreter of dreams himself (*B.* iii. 352).

<sup>d</sup> i. 446. After Alexander's death Herod sent her back to her father with her dowry but without her children (i. 553).

Cruelty an  
deposition  
Archelaus

His  
prophetic  
dream.

History of  
his wife  
Glaphyra.

ἐκ γὰρ τοιαύτης ὕλης κατεσκεύασε τὴν σκηνήν.  
 ἡ δ' οὐδὲν μεταφερομένου καὶ συμπερινοστοῦντος  
 104 ναοῦ διέφερε. τούτων οὖν κατὰ σπουδὴν συγ-  
 κομισθέντων, ἑκάστου καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν φιλο-  
 τιμησαμένου, ἀρχιτέκτονας τοῖς ἔργοις ἐφίστησι κατ'  
 ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ οὓς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἂν ἐπελέξατο  
 105 τῆς ἔξουσίας ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενομένης. τὰ δὲ ὄνόματα  
 αὐτῶν, καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἀναγέγρα-  
 πται, ταῦτ' ἦν· Βασάηλος [μὲν] Οὐρὶ παῖς τῆς Ἰούδα  
 φυλῆς νίωνος<sup>1</sup> δὲ Μαριάμμης τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ  
 στρατηγοῦ, Ἐλίθαζος δὲ Ἰσαμάχου Δάιιδος φυλῆς.  
 106 τὸ δὲ πλῆθος οὕτως ὑπὸ προθυμίας τοῖς ἐγχειρου-  
 μένοις ἐπῆλθεν, ὥστε Μωυσῆς ἀνεῖρξεν αὐτοὺς  
 ὑποκηρυξάμενος ἀρκεῦν τοὺς ὅντας· τοῦτο γὰρ οἱ  
 δημιουργοὶ προειρήκεσαν· ἔχώρουν οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς  
 107 σκηνῆς κατασκευήν, καὶ Μωυσῆς αὐτοὺς ἔκαστα  
 περὶ τῶν μέτρων κατὰ τὴν ὑποθήκην τοῦ θεοῦ  
 καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους ὅσα τε δεῖ σκεύη χωρεῖν αὐτὴν  
 ἀνεδίδασκε πρὸς τὰς θυσίας ὑπηρετήσοντα. ἐφιλο-  
 τιμοῦντο δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες περὶ τε στολὰς ἱερατικὰς  
 καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσων ἔχρηζε τὸ ἔργον κόσμου τε  
 καὶ λειτουργίας ἔνεκα τοῦ θεοῦ.

108 (2) Πάντων δ' ἐν ἐτοίμῳ γεγενημένων χρυσίου  
 τε [καὶ ἀργύρου]<sup>2</sup> καὶ χαλκοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑφαντῶν,  
 προειπὼν ἑορτὴν Μωυσῆς καὶ θυσίας κατὰ τὴν  
 ἑκάστου δύναμιν ἵστη τὴν σκηνήν, πρῶτον μὲν  
 αἴθριον διαμετρησάμενος τὸ μὲν εὑρος πεντήκοντα

<sup>1</sup> Bernard: *vios* codd.

<sup>2</sup> ins. Lat.: om. codd.

<sup>a</sup> Bibl. Bezalel.

<sup>b</sup> mss. erroneously "son." Exodus mentions his grandfather Hur, and Hur according to Josephus was the husband of Miriam (§ 54).

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. Oholiab (*LXX* Ἐλιάβ), son of Ahisamach.

put him to death, as we have already related. After his death she married Juba, king of Libya,<sup>a</sup> on whose decease<sup>b</sup> she returned home and lived in widowhood with her father. There Archelaus, the ethnarch, saw her and fell so passionately in love with her that he instantly divorced his wife Mariamme<sup>c</sup> and married her. So she came back to Judaea, where, not long after her arrival, she imagined that Alexander stood beside her and said : " Your Libyan marriage might have sufficed you, but, not content with that, you now return to my hearth and home, having taken to yourself a third husband, and him, audacious woman, my own brother.<sup>d</sup> But I will not brook this outrage and shall reclaim you whether you will or no." After relating this dream she survived barely two days.

(viii. 1) The territory of Archelaus was now reduced to a province, and Coponius, a Roman of the equestrian order, was sent out as procurator, entrusted by Augustus with full powers, including the infliction of capital punishment. Under his administration, a Galilaean, named Judas,<sup>e</sup> incited his countrymen to revolt, upbraiding them as cowards.

Judaea, Roman province under the procurat  
Coponius  
<sup>c</sup> 6-9 A.D.

Rising of  
Judas the  
Galilean

childless, when it was obligatory, Deut. xxv. 5 (Mark xii. 19). Glaphyra had two children by Alexander: *A. xvii. 341* emphasizes this fact.

<sup>e</sup> Judas of Galilee (as he is called here and in Gamaliel's speech in *Acts v. 37*) or of Gamala in Gaulanitis (*A. xviii. 4*) was the founder of the Zealots, whose fanaticism and violence under Florus, the last of the procurators, hastened the war with Rome. Of the issue of the revolt we learn only from *Acts loc. cit.*: Judas was killed and his followers dispersed. There is no sufficient reason for identifying this fanatic doctor, as Schürer does, with the brigand Judas, son of Ezechias, who raised an insurrection in Galilee after the death of Herod (*B. ii. 56*).

φόρον τε Ἀρωματίοις τελεῖν ὑπομενοῦσιν καὶ μετὰ τὸν θεὸν οἴσουσι θυητοὺς δεσπότας. ἦν δ' οὗτος σοφιστὴς ἴδιας αἱρέσεως οὐδὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις προσεικώς.

- 119 (2) Τρία γὰρ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις εἶδη φιλοσοφεῖται, καὶ τοῦ μὲν αἱρετισταὶ Φαρισαῖοι, τοῦ δὲ Σαδδουκαῖοι, τρίτον δέ, ὁ δὴ καὶ δοκεῖ σεμνότητα ἀσκεῖν, Ἐσσηνοὶ καλοῦνται, Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν γένος 120 ὄντες, φιλάλληλοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλέον. οὗτοι τὰς μὲν ἥδονὰς ὡς κακίαν ἀποστρέφονται, τὴν δὲ ἔγκράτειαν καὶ τὸ μὴ τοῖς πάθεσιν ὑποπίπτειν ἀρετὴν ὑπολαμβάνουσιν. καὶ γάμου μὲν παρ' αὐτοῖς ὑπεροφία, τοὺς δ' ἄλλοτρίους παιδας ἐκλαμβάνοντες ἀπαλοὺς ἔτι πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα συγγενεῖς ἥγοῦνται καὶ τοῖς ἥθεσιν αὐτῶν ἐντυποῦσι, 121 τὸν μὲν γάμον καὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ διαδοχὴν οὐκ ἀναιροῦντες, τὰς δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀσελγείας φυλαττόμενοι καὶ μηδεμίαν τηρεῖν πεπεισμένοι τὴν πρὸς ἓν πίστιν.
- 122 (3) Καταφρονηταὶ δὲ πλούτου, καὶ θαυμάσιον [παρ']<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς τὸ κοινωνικόν, οὐδὲ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν κτήσει τινὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὑπερέχοντα· νόμος γὰρ τοὺς εἰς τὴν αἱρεσιν εἰσιόντας δημεύειν τῷ τάγματι

<sup>1</sup> om. P.

<sup>a</sup> An exaggerated statement, corrected in *A.* xviii. 23 ("while they agree in all other respects with the Pharisees, they have an invincible passion for liberty and take God for their only leader and lord").

<sup>b</sup> A shorter sketch of the three sects is given in *A.* xviii. 11-22, where the author refers to the fuller statement in the

for consenting to pay tribute to the Romans and tolerating mortal masters, after having God for their lord. This man was a sophist who founded a sect of his own, having nothing in common with the others.<sup>a</sup>

(2) Jewish philosophy, in fact, takes three forms. The followers of the first school are called Pharisees,<sup>b</sup> of the second Sadducees, of the third Essenes.<sup>c</sup>

The Essenes have a reputation for cultivating peculiar sanctity.<sup>c</sup> Of Jewish birth, they show a greater attachment to each other than do the other sects. They shun pleasures as a vice and regard temperance and the control of the passions as a special virtue. Marriage they disdain, but they adopt other men's children, while yet pliable and docile, and regard them as their kin and mould them in accordance with their own principles. They do not, indeed, on principle, condemn wedlock and the propagation thereby of the race, but they wish to protect themselves against women's wantonness, being persuaded that none of the sex keeps her plighted troth to one man.

(3) Riches they despise, and their community of goods is truly admirable; you will not find one among them distinguished by greater opulence than another. They have a law that new members on admission to the sect shall confiscate their property present passage. He has first-hand knowledge, having "passed through the three courses" himself (*Vita* 11).

<sup>a</sup> Or "solemnity." The name Essene probably means "pious" (Aram. *ḥasa*); Philo connected it with the Greek *ὅστιος*: Ἐσσαῖοι . . . παρώνυμοι ὁσιότητος (*Quod omnis probus liber*, § 12); καλοῦνται μὲν Ἐσσαῖοι παρὰ τὴν ὁσιότητα μοὶ δοκῶ τῆς προσηγορίας ἀξιωθέντες (*ap. Eus. Praep. Ev.* viii. 11). Philo, Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* v. 17), and Josephus are our three authorities on the sect.

- τὴν οὐσίαν, ὥστε ἐν ἄπασιν μήτε πενίας ταπεινότητα φαίνεσθαι μήθ' ὑπεροχὴν πλούτου, τῶν δὲ ἔκαστου κτημάτων ἀγαμεμνύμένων μίαν ὥσπερ  
 123 ἀδελφοῖς ἄπασιν οὐσίαν εἶναι. κηλίδα δὲ ἵπολαμβάνουσι τοῦλαιον, κανὸν ἀλειφθῆ τις ἄκων, σμήχεται τὸ σῶμα· τὸ γὰρ αὐχμεῖν ἐν καλῷ τίθενται, λευχειμονεῖν τε διαπαντός. χειροτονητοὶ δὲ οἱ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμεληταὶ καὶ αἵρετοι<sup>1</sup> πρὸς ἀπάντων εἰς τὰς χρείας ἔκαστοι.
- 124 (4) Μία δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῶν πόλις, ἀλλὰ ἐν ἔκαστῃ μετοικοῦσιν πολλοί. καὶ τοῖς ἐτέρωθεν ἦκουσιν αἵρετισταῖς πάντ' ἀναπέπταται τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὅμοίως ὥσπερ ἴδια, καὶ πρὸς οὓς οὐ πρότερον εἶδοι εἰσίασιν ὡς συνηθεστάτους· διὸ καὶ ποιοῦνται τὰς ἀποδημίας οὐδὲν μὲν ὅλως ἐπικομιζόμενοι, διὰ δὲ τοὺς ληστὰς ἔνοπλοι. κηδεμῶν δὲ ἐν ἔκαστῃ πόλει τοῦ τάγματος ἔξαιρέτως τῶν ξένων ἀποδείκνυται, ταμιεύων ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὰ  
 125 ἐπιτήδεια. καταστολὴ δὲ καὶ σχῆμα σώματος ὅμοιον τοῖς μετὰ φόβου παιδαγωγούμενοις παισίν. οὔτε δὲ ἐσθῆτας οὔτε ὑποδήματα ἀμείβουσι πρὶν διαρραγῆναι τὸ πρότερον παιτάπατιν ἢ δαπα-
- 126 νηθῆναι τῷ χρόνῳ. οὐδὲν δὲ ἐν ἀλλήλοις οὕτ'  
 ἀγοράζουσιν οὕτε πωλοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ χρήζοντι διδοὺς ἔκαστος τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ τὸ [παρ' ἐκείνου]<sup>2</sup> χρήσμον ἀντικομίζεται· καὶ χωρὶς δὲ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως ἀκώλυτος ἡ μετάληψις αὐτοῖς παρ'<sup>3</sup> ὃν ἂν θέλωσιν.
- 128 (5) Πρὸς γέ μὴν τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβεῖς ἴδιως· πρὶν

<sup>1</sup> Bekker on ms. authority: ἀδιαιρετοι the rest. <sup>2</sup> om. P.

<sup>3</sup> om. παρ' Bekker, Naber, "to take whatever they choose."

to the order, with the result that you will nowhere see either abject poverty or inordinate wealth ; the individual's possessions join the common stock and all, like brothers, enjoy a single patrimony. Oil they consider defiling, and anyone who accidentally comes in contact with it scours his person ; for they make a point of keeping a dry skin and of always being dressed in white. They elect officers to attend to the interests of the community, the special services of each officer being determined by the whole body.

(4) They occupy no one city, but settle in large <sup>Their</sup> <sup>settleme</sup> numbers in every town. On the arrival of any of the sect from elsewhere, all the resources of the community are put at their disposal, just as if they were their own ; and they enter the houses of men whom they have never seen before as though they were their most intimate friends. Consequently, they carry nothing whatever with them on their journeys, except arms as a protection against brigands. In every city there is one of the order expressly appointed to attend to strangers, who provides them with raiment and other necessaries. In their dress and deportment they resemble children under rigorous discipline. They do not change their garments or shoes until they are torn to shreds or worn threadbare with age. There is no buying or selling among themselves, but each gives what he has to any in need and receives from him in exchange something useful to himself ; they are, moreover, freely permitted to take anything from any of their brothers without making any return.

(5) Their piety towards the Deity takes a peculiar

γὰρ ἀνασχεῖν τὸν ἥλιον οὐδὲν φθέγγονται τῶν  
 βεβίλων, πατρίους δέ τινας εἰς αὐτὸν εὐχάσ,  
 129 ὥσπερ ἵκετεύοντες ἀνατεῖλαι. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα  
 πρὸς ἄς ἔκαστοι τέχνας ἵσασιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπι-  
 μελητῶν διαφίενται, καὶ μέχρι πέμπτης ὥρας ἐρ-  
 γασάμενοι συντόνως πάλιν εἰς ἐν συναθροίζονται  
 χωρίον, ζωσάμενοί τε σκεπάσμασιν λινοῖς οὕτως  
 ἀπολούονται τὸ σῶμα ψυχροῖς ὕδασιν, καὶ μετὰ  
 ταύτην τὴν ἀγνείαν εἰς ἴδιον οἴκημα συνίασιν,  
 ἔιθα μηδενὶ τῶν ἐτεροδόξων ἐπιτέτραπται παρ-  
 ελθεῖν, αὐτοί τε καθαροὶ καθάπερ εἰς ἄγιον τι  
 130 τέμενος παραγίνονται τὸ δειπνητήριον. καὶ καθ-  
 ισάντων μεθ' ἡσυχίας ὁ μὲν σιτοποιὸς ἐν τάξει  
 παρατίθησι τοὺς ἄρτους, ὁ δὲ μάγειρος ἐν ἀγγεῖον  
 131 ἔξ οὖτος ἐδέσματος ἔκάστῳ παρατίθησιν. προ-  
 κατεύχεται δ' ὁ ἱερεὺς τῆς τροφῆς, καὶ γεύσασθαι  
 τινα πρὶν τῆς εὐχῆς ἀθέμιτον ἀριστοποιησαμένοις<sup>1</sup>  
 δ' ἐπεύχεται πάλιν ἀρχόμενοί τε καὶ πανόμενοι  
 γεραίρουσι θεὸν ὡς χορηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς. ἔπειθ'  
 ὡς ἱερὰς καταθέμενοι τὰς ἐσθῆτας πάλιν ἐπ' ἔργα  
 132 μέχρι δείλης τρέπονται. δειπνοῦσι δ' ὅμοιώς  
 ὑποστρέψαντες συγκαθεζομένων τῶν ξένων, εἰ  
 τύχοιεν αὐτοῖς παρόντες. οὕτε δὲ κραυγὴ ποτε  
 τὸν οἶκον οὕτε θόρυβος μιαίνει, τὰς δὲ λαλιὰς ἐν  
 133 τάξει παραχωροῦσιν ἀλλήλοις. καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν ὡς  
 μυστήριον τι φρικτὸν ἡ τῶν ἐνδον σιωπὴ κατα-  
 φαίνεται, τούτου δ' αἴτιον ἡ διηνεκῆς νῆψις καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Some MSS. of Porphyry: ἀριστοποιησάμενος MSS. of Josephus.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. § 148, "the rays of the God." How far the Essenes, with their affinities to Judaism, can be regarded as sun-worshippers is doubtful. But, un-Jewish as this custom

form. Before the sun is up they utter no word on <sup>Their</sup> mundane matters, but offer to him certain <sup>their</sup> prayers, <sup>the sun.</sup> which have been handed down from their forefathers, as though entreating him to rise.<sup>a</sup> They are then dismissed by their superiors to the various crafts in which they are severally proficient and are strenuously employed until the fifth hour, when they again assemble in one place and, after girding their loins with linen cloths, bathe their bodies in cold water. After this purification, they assemble in a private apartment which none of the uninitiated is permitted to enter; pure now themselves, they repair to the refectory, as to some sacred shrine. When they have <sup>Their</sup> taken their seats in silence, the baker serves out the <sup>refector</sup> loaves to them in order, and the cook sets before each one plate with a single course. Before meat the priest says a grace, and none may partake until after the prayer. When breakfast is ended, he pronounces a further grace; thus at the beginning and at the close they do homage to God as the bountiful giver of life. Then laying aside their raiment, as holy vestments, they again betake themselves to their labours until the evening. On their return they sup in like manner, and any guests who may have arrived sit down with them. No clamour or disturbance ever pollutes their dwelling; they speak in turn, each making way for his neighbour. To persons outside the silence of those within appears like some awful mystery; it is in fact due to their invariable sobriety and to the limitation of their

seems, there was a time when even Jews at Jerusalem "turned their backs on the Temple and their faces towards the east and worshipped the sun towards the east" (Mishnah, *Sukkah*, v. 2-4; *Ezek.* viii. 16).

# JOSEPHUS

τὸ μετρεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς τροφὴν καὶ ποτὸν  
μέχρι κόρου.

134 (6) Τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι μὴ τῶν  
ἐπιμελητῶν προσταξάντων ἐνεργοῦσι, δύο δὲ ταῦτα  
παρ' αὐτοῖς αὐτεξούσια, ἐπικουρία καὶ ἔλεος·  
βοηθεῖν τε γὰρ τοῖς ἀξίοις, ὅπόταν δέωνται, καὶ  
καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐφίεται καὶ τροφὰς ἀπορουμένοις  
όρέγειν. τὰς δὲ εἰς τοὺς συγγενεῖς μεταδόσεις

135 οὐκ ἔξεστι ποιεῖσθαι δίχα τῶν ἐπιτρόπων. ὀργῆς  
ταμίαι δίκαιοι, θυμοῦ καθεκτικοί, πίστεως προ-  
στάται, εἰρήνης ὑπουργοί. καὶ πᾶν μὲν τὸ ρῆθὲν  
ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἴσχυρότερον ὅρκου, τὸ δὲ ὄμνύειν  
[αὐτοῖς]<sup>1</sup> περιίσταται χείρον τῆς ἐπιορκίας ὑπο-  
λαμβάνοντες· ἥδη γὰρ κατεγνῶσθαι φασιν τὸν  
136 ἀπιστούμενον δίχα θεοῦ. σπουδάζουσι δ' ἐκτόπως  
περὶ τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν συντάγματα, μάλιστα τὰ  
πρὸς ὡφέλειαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἐκλέγοντες·  
ἔνθεν αὐτοῖς πρὸς θεραπείαν παθῶν ρίζαι τε  
ἀλεξητήριοι καὶ λίθων ἴδιότητες ἀνερευνῶνται.

137 (7) Τοῖς δὲ ζηλοῦσιν τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτῶν οὐκ  
εὐθὺς ἡ πάροδος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἔξω μένοντι  
τὴν αὐτὴν ὑποτίθενται δίαιταν, ἀξιωρίον τε καὶ  
τὸ προειρημένον περίζωμα καὶ λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα  
138 δόντες. ἐπειδὰν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πεῖραν ἐγ-  
κρατείας δῶ, πρόσεισιν μὲν ἔγγιον τῇ διαίτῃ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> om. Dindorf with one ms.: the incorrect reading περι-  
σταται has probably caused the insertion of the pronoun.

<sup>a</sup> Or “when they ask an alms.”

<sup>b</sup> Herod himself excused them from taking the oath of  
allegiance (A. xv. 371). The “tremendous oaths” sworn  
on admission to the order (§ 139) form a curious exception.

<sup>c</sup> i.e. probably charms or amulets. Lightfoot, *Colossians*

allotted portions of meat and drink to the demands of nature.

(6) In all other matters they do nothing without orders from their superiors ; two things only are left to individual discretion, the rendering of assistance and compassion. Members may of their own motion help the deserving, when in need,<sup>a</sup> and supply food to the destitute ; but presents to relatives are prohibited, without leave from the managers. Holding righteous indignation in reserve, they are masters of their temper, champions of fidelity, very ministers of peace. Any word of theirs has more force than an oath ; swearing they avoid, regarding it as worse than perjury, for they say that one who is not believed without an appeal to God stands condemned already.<sup>b</sup> They display an extraordinary interest in the writings of the ancients, singling out in particular those which make for the welfare of soul and body ; with the help of these, and with a view to the treatment of diseases, they make investigations into medicinal roots and the properties of stones.<sup>c</sup>

(7) A candidate anxious to join their sect is not immediately admitted. For one year, during which he remains outside the fraternity, they prescribe for him their own rule of life, presenting him with a small hatchet,<sup>d</sup> the loin-cloth already mentioned,<sup>e</sup> and white raiment. Having given proof of his temperance during this probationary period, he is brought into closer touch with the rule and is allowed

(ed. 8), pp. 89 f. note, connecting this passage with *Ant.* viii. 44 ff. (on Solomon's power over demons), regards the "writings" as Solomonian books and the Essenes as primarily dealers in charms, rather than physicians.

<sup>a</sup> The object of this is explained below (§ 148).

<sup>c</sup> § 129.

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καθαρωτέρων τῶν πρὸς ἀγνείαν ὑδάτων μεταλαμβάνει, παραλαμβάνεται δὲ εἰς τὰς συμβιώσεις οὐδέπω. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν τῆς καρτερίας ἐπίδειξιν δυσὶν ἄλλοις ἔτεσιν τὸ ἥθος δοκιμάζεται καὶ φανεῖς

139 ἄξιος οὕτως εἰς τὸν ὅμιλον ἐγκρίνεται. πρὶν δὲ τῆς κοινῆς ἄψασθαι τροφῆς ὄρκους αὐτοῖς ὅμινσι φρικώδεις, πρῶτον μὲν εὐσεβήσειν τὸ θεῖον, ἔπειτα τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δίκαια φυλάξειν καὶ μήτε κατὰ γνώμην βλάψειν τινὰ μήτε ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος, μισήσειν δ' ἀεὶ τοὺς ἀδίκους καὶ συν-

140 αγωγιεῖσθαι τοῖς δικαίοις· τὸ πιστὸν ἀεὶ πᾶσιν παρέχειν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς κρατοῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ δίχα θεοῦ περιγενέσθαι<sup>1</sup> τινὶ τὸ ἄρχειν· κανὸν αὐτὸς ἄρχη, μηδέποτε ἐξυβρίσειν εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν, μηδ' ἐσθῆτι ἢ τινὶ πλείονι κόσμῳ τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους ὑπερ-

141 λαμπρυνέσθαι<sup>2</sup>. τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀγαπᾶν ἀεὶ καὶ τοὺς ψευδομένους προβάλλεσθαι<sup>3</sup>. χεῖρας κλοπῆς καὶ ψυχῆν ἀνοσίου κέρδους καθαρὰν φυλάξειν, καὶ μήτε κρύψειν τι τοὺς αἴρετιστὰς μήθ' ἐτέροις αὐτῶν τι μηνύσειν, κανὸν μέχρι θανάτου τις βιάζηται.

142 πρὸς τούτους ὅμινσιν μηδενὶ μὲν μεταδοῦναι τῶν δογμάτων ἐτέρως ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς μετέλαβεν, ἀφέξεσθαι δὲ ληστείας καὶ συντηρήσειν ὁμοίως τά τε τῆς αἵρεσεως αὐτῶν βιβλία καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ὄνόματα. τοιούτοις μὲν ὄρκοις τοὺς προσιόντας ἐξασφαλίζοιται.

143 (8) Τοὺς δ' ἐπ' ἄξιοχρέοις ἀμαρτήμασιν ἀλόντας ἐκβάλλουσι τοῦ τάγματος. ὁ δ' ἐκκριθεὶς οἰκτίστω

<sup>1</sup> περιγίγεσθαι LVR Porph.

<sup>2</sup> Herwerden: ὑπερλαμπρύνεσθαι MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Porph.: ἐλέγχειν προβάλλεσθαι MSS.

to share the purer kind of holy water, but is not yet received into the meetings of the community. For after this exhibition of endurance, his character is tested for two years more, and only then, if found worthy, is he enrolled in the society. But, before he may touch the common food, he is made to swear tremendous oaths : first that he will practise piety towards the Deity, next that he will observe justice towards men : that he will wrong none whether of his own mind or under another's orders ; that he will for ever hate the unjust and fight the battle of the just ; that he will for ever keep faith with all men, especially with the powers that be, since no ruler attains his office save by the will of God ;<sup>a</sup> that, should he himself bear rule, he will never abuse his authority nor, either in dress or by other outward marks of superiority, outshine his subjects ; to be for ever a lover of truth and to expose liars ; to keep his hands from stealing and his soul pure from unholy gain ; to conceal nothing from the members of the sect and to report none of their secrets to others, even though tortured to death. He swears, moreover, to transmit their rules exactly as he himself received them ; to abstain from robbery ; and in like manner carefully to preserve the books of the sect and the names of the angels.<sup>b</sup> Such are the oaths by which they secure their proselytes.

(8) Those who are convicted of serious crimes they expel from the order ; and the ejected individual

Expulsion  
from the  
order.

<sup>a</sup> Reinach compares *A.* xv. 374, where the Essene Menahem says to Herod : " You will reign, for God has deemed you worthy." Cf. also Rom. xiii. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Reinach conjectures that the developed angelology of Rabbinic Judaism was partly of Essene origin. Lightfoot finds in this esoteric doctrine a link with Zoroastrianism.

πολλάκις μόρω διαφθείρεται· τοῖς γὰρ ὅρκοις καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἐνδεδεμένος οὐδὲ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις τροφῆς δύναται μεταλαμβάνειν, ποηφαγῶν δὲ καὶ  
 144 λιμῷ τὸ σῶμα τηκόμενος διαφθείρεται. διὸ δὴ πολλοὺς ἐλεήσαντες ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἀναπνοαῖς ἀνέλαβον, ἵκανὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν τὴν μέχρι θανάτου βάσανον ἡγούμενοι.

145 (9) Περὶ δὲ τὰς κρίσεις ἀκριβέστατοι καὶ δίκαιοι, καὶ δικάζουσι μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν ἑκατὸν συνελθόντες, τὸ δ' ὄρισθεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀκίνητον. σέβας δὲ μέγα παρ' αὐτοῖς μετὰ τὸν θεὸν τοῦνομα τοῦ νομοθέτου, καν βλασφημήσῃ  
 146 τις εἰς τοῦτον, κολάζεται θανάτῳ. τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις ὑπακούειν καὶ τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐν καλῷ τίθενται· δέκα γοῦν συγκαθεζομένων οὐκ ἀν λαλή-  
 147 σειέν τις ἀκόντων τῶν ἐννέα. καὶ τὸ πτύσαι δὲ εἰς μέσους ἢ τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος φυλάσσονται, καὶ ταῖς ἑβδομάσιν ἔργων ἐφάπτεσθαι διαφορώτατα Ἰουδαίων ἀπάντων· οὐ μόνον γὰρ τροφὰς ἑαυτοῖς πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας παρασκευάζουσιν, ὡς μὴ πῦρ ἐναύοιεν<sup>1</sup> ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ σκεῦός  
 148 τι μετακινῆσαι θαρροῦσιν οὐδὲ ἀποπατεῖν. ταῖς δ' ἄλλαις ἡμέραις βόθρον ὀρύσσοντες βάθος ποδιαῖον τῇ σκαλίδι, τοιοῦτον γάρ ἐστιν τὸ διδόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀξινίδιον τοῖς νεοσυστάτοις, καὶ περικαλύψαντες θοιμάτιον,<sup>2</sup> ὡς μὴ τὰς αὐγὰς ὑβρίζοιεν  
 149 τοῦ θεοῦ, θακεύουσιν εἰς αὐτόν. ἐπειτα τὴν ἀνορυχθεῖσαν γῆν ἐφέλκουσιν εἰς τὸν βόθρον· καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἐναφθεῖεν PA\*: ἐναφθῆ A (corrector): ἐνάπτοιεν correctors of LR.

<sup>2</sup> ἰμάτιον PAM: θοιματίφ Porph.

<sup>a</sup> Moses.

often comes to a most miserable end. For, being bound by their oaths and usages, he is not at liberty to partake of other men's food, and so falls to eating grass and wastes away and dies of starvation. This has led them in compassion to receive many back in the last stage of exhaustion, deeming that torments which have brought them to the verge of death are a sufficient penalty for their misdoings.

(9) They are just and scrupulously careful in their trial of cases, never passing sentence in a court of less than a hundred members ; the decision thus reached is irrevocable. After God they hold most in awe the name of their lawgiver,<sup>a</sup> any blasphemer of whom is punished with death. It is a point of honour with them to obey their elders, and a majority ; for instance, if ten sit together, one will not speak if the nine desire silence. They are careful not to spit into the midst of the company or to the right,<sup>b</sup> and are stricter than all Jews in abstaining from work on the seventh day ; for not only do they prepare their food on the day before, to avoid kindling a fire on that one, but they do not venture to remove any vessel or even to go to stool. On other days they dig a trench a foot deep with a mattock—such is the nature of the hatchet which they present to the neophytes<sup>c</sup>—and wrapping their mantle about them, that they may not offend the rays of the deity,<sup>d</sup> sit above it. They then replace the excavated soil in

<sup>a</sup> Reinach refers to a similar prohibition, applying only to prayer-time, in the Jerusalem Talmud (*Berachoth*, iii. 5).

<sup>b</sup> § 137.

<sup>c</sup> The sun, cf. § 128. Schürer contrasts the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*, *Benj.* 8 (the sun is not defiled by the sight of ordure, but purifies it).

τοῦτο ποιοῦσι τοὺς ἐρημοτέρους τόπους ἐκλεγόμενοι. καίπερ δὲ<sup>1</sup> φυσικῆς οὕσης τῆς τῶν<sup>2</sup> λυμάτων ἐκκρίσεως ἀπολούεσθαι μετ' αὐτὴν καθάπερ μεμιασμένοις ἔθιμον.

150 (10) Διήρηται δὲ κατὰ χρόνον τῆς ἀσκήσεως εἰς μοίρας τέσσαρας, καὶ τοσοῦτον οἱ μεταγενέστεροι τῶν προγενεστέρων ἐλαττοῦνται ὥστ', εἰ ϕαύσειαν αὐτῶν, ἐκείνους ἀπολούεσθαι καθάπερ 151 ἀλλοφύλω συμφυρέντας. καὶ μακρόβιοι μέν, ὡς τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑκατὸν παρατείνειν ἔτη, διὰ τὴν ἀπλότητα τῆς διαίτης, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖν, καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν, καταφρονηταὶ δὲ τῶν δεινῶν, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀλγηδόνας τικῶντες τοῖς φρονήμασι, τὸν δὲ θάγατον, εἰ μετ' εὐκλείας προσίοι,<sup>3</sup> νομίζοντες 152 ἀθανασίας ἀμείνονα. διήλεγξεν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν ἅπασιν τὰς ψυχὰς ὁ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμος, ἐν ὧ στρεβλούμενοί τε καὶ λυγιζόμενοι, καιόμενοί τε καὶ κλώμενοι καὶ διὰ πάντων ὀδεύοντες τῶν βασανιστηρίων ὄργανων, ἵν' ἦ βλασφημήσωσιν τὸν νομοθέτην ἦ φάγωσίν τι τῶν ἀσυνήθων, οὐδέτερον ὑπέμειναν παθεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κολακεῦσαι ποτε τοὺς 153 αἰκιζομένους ἦ δακρῦσαι. μειδιῶντες δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀλγηδόσιν καὶ κατειρωνευόμενοι τῶν τὰς βασάνους προσφερόντων εὕθυμοι τὰς ψυχὰς ἤφιεσαν ὡς πάλιν κομιούμενοι.

154 (11) Καὶ γὰρ ἔρρωται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἥδε ἡ δόξα, φθαρτὰ μὲν εἶναι τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν ὕλην οὐ

<sup>1</sup> Most MSS. δὴ: οὖν M: om. P.A.

<sup>2</sup> + σωματικῶν MLVRC.

<sup>3</sup> πρόσεισι PAM.

<sup>a</sup> As Reinach remarks, the whole procedure, except the final ablution, follows the directions given in Deut. xxiii. 12-14.

the trench. For this purpose they select the more retired spots. And though this discharge of the excrements is a natural function, they make it a rule to wash themselves after it, as if defiled.<sup>a</sup>

(10) They are divided, according to the duration of their discipline, into four grades ;<sup>b</sup> and so far are the junior members inferior to the seniors, that a senior if but touched by a junior, must take a bath, as after contact with an alien. They live to a great age—most of them to upwards of a century—in consequence, I imagine, of the simplicity and regularity of their mode of life. They make light of danger, and triumph over pain by their resolute will ; death, if it come with honour, they consider better than immortality. The war with the Romans tried their souls through and through by every variety of test. Racked and twisted, burnt and broken, and made to pass through every instrument of torture, in order to induce them to blaspheme their lawgiver or to eat some forbidden thing, they refused to yield to either demand, nor ever once did they cringe to their persecutors or shed a tear. Smiling in their agonies and mildly deriding their tormentors, they cheerfully resigned their souls, confident that they would receive them back again.

(11) For it is a fixed belief of theirs that the body is corruptible and its constituent matter impermanent,

<sup>a</sup> Lightfoot (*Col.* p. 363, note) remarks that the passage must be read in connexion with the account of the admission to the order (§§ 137 f.). The three lowest grades are the novices in their first, second, and third years of probation. “After passing through these three stages in three successive years, [the Essene] enters upon the fourth and highest grade, thus becoming a perfect member.”

μόνιμον αὐτῶν, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἀθανάτους ἀεὶ δια-  
μένειν, καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ λεπτοτάτου  
φοιτώσας αἰθέρος ὥσπερ είρκταις τοῖς σώμασιν  
155 ἵνγι τινι φυσικῇ κατασπωμένας, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀν-  
εθῶσι τῶν κατὰ σάρκα δεσμῶν, οἷα δὴ μακρᾶς  
δουλείας ἀπηλλαγμένας, τότε χαίρειν καὶ μετεώ-  
ρους φέρεσθαι. καὶ ταῖς μὲν ἀγαθαῖς, ὅμο-  
δοξοῦντες παισὶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀποφαίνονται τὴν  
ὑπὲρ ὡκεανὸν δίαιταν ἀποκεῖσθαι καὶ χῶρον οὔτε  
ὅμβροις οὔτε νιφετοῖς οὔτε καύμασι βαρυνόμενον,  
ἀλλ’ ὃν ἐξ ὡκεανοῦ πραῦς ἀεὶ ζέφυρος ἐπιπνέων  
ἀναψύχει· ταῖς δὲ φαύλαις ζοφώδῃ καὶ χειμέριον  
ἀφορίζονται μυχόν, γέμοντα τιμωριῶν ἀδιαλείπ-  
156 των. δοκοῦσι δέ μοι κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔννοιαν  
“Ἐλληνες τοῖς τε ἀνδρείοις αὐτῶν, οὓς ἥρωας καὶ  
ἡμιθέους καλοῦσιν, τὰς μακάρων νήσους ἀνα-  
τεθεικέναι, ταῖς δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν ψυχαῖς καθ’ ἄδου  
τὸν<sup>1</sup> ἀσεβῶν χῶρον, ἔνθα καὶ κολαζομένους τινὰς  
μυθολογοῦσιν, Σισύφους καὶ Ταντάλους Ἰξίονάς  
τε καὶ Τιτυούς, πρῶτον μὲν ἀιδίους ὑφιστάμενοι  
τὰς ψυχάς, ἐπειτα εἰς προτροπὴν ἀρετῆς καὶ  
157 κακίας ἀποτροπὴν. τούς τε γάρ ἀγαθοὺς γίνεσθαι  
κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀμείνους ἐλπίδι τιμῆς καὶ μετὰ τὴν  
τελευτὴν, τῶν τε κακῶν ἐμποδίζεσθαι τὰς ὄρμας  
δέει προσδοκῶντων, εἰ καὶ λάθοιεν ἐν τῷ ζῆν,  
μετὰ τὴν διάλυσιν ἀθάνατον τιμωρίαν ὑφέξειν.  
158 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἐσσηνοὶ περὶ ψυχῆς θεολογοῦσιν,  
ἄφυκτον δέλεαρ τοῖς ἀπαξ γενσαμένοις τῆς σοφίας  
αὐτῶν καθιέντες.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> τῶν PLV: τὸν τῶν M.<sup>2</sup> PAM (cf. i. 373): ἐγκαθιέντες the rest.

but that the soul is immortal and imperishable.<sup>a</sup> Emanating from the finest ether, these souls become entangled, as it were, in the prison-house of the body, to which they are dragged down by a sort of natural spell; but when once they are released from the bonds of the flesh, then, as though liberated from a long servitude, they rejoice and are borne aloft. Sharing the belief of the sons of Greece, they maintain that for virtuous souls there is reserved an abode beyond the ocean, a place which is not oppressed by rain or snow or heat, but is refreshed by the ever gentle breath of the west wind coming in from ocean; while they relegate base souls to a murky and tempestuous dungeon, big with never-ending punishments. The Greeks, I imagine, had the same conception when they set apart the isles of the blessed<sup>b</sup> for their brave men, whom they call heroes and demigods, and the region of the impious for the souls of the wicked down in Hades, where, as their mythologists tell, persons such as Sisyphus, Tantalus, Ixion, and Tityus are undergoing punishment. Their aim was first to establish the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and secondly to promote virtue and to deter from vice; for the good are made better in their lifetime by the hope of a reward after death, and the passions of the wicked are restrained by the fear that, even though they escape detection while alive, they will undergo never-ending punishment after their decease. Such are the theological views of the Essenes concerning the soul, whereby they irresistibly attract all who have once tasted their philosophy.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. A. xviii. 18.

<sup>b</sup> First mentioned in Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 170 ff. "they dwell with care-free hearts in the isles of the blessed beside the deep-eddying ocean, those happy heroes," etc.

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- 159 (12) Εἰσὶν δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς οἱ καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα προγνώσκειν ὑπισχνοῦνται, βίβλοις ἱεραῖς καὶ διαφόροις ἀγνείαις καὶ προφητῶν ἀποφθέγμασιν ἐμπαιδοτριβούμενοι· σπάνιον δ' εἴ ποτε ἐν ταῖς προαγορεύσεσιν ἀστοχοῦσιν.
- 160 (13) Ἐστιν δὲ καὶ ἔτερον Ἐσσηνῶν τάγμα, δίαιταν μὲν καὶ ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοφρονοῦν, διεστῶς δὲ τῇ κατὰ γάμου δόξῃ· μέγιστον γὰρ ἀποκόπτειν οἴονται τοῦ βίου μέρος, τὴν διαδοχήν, τοὺς μὴ γαμοῦντας, μᾶλλον δέ, εἰ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ φρονήσειαν, ἐκλιπεῖν ἀν τὸ γένος τάχιστα.
- 161 δοκιμάζοντες μέντοι τριετίᾳ τὰς γαμετάς, ἐπειδὰν τρὶς καθαρθῶσιν εἰς πεῖραν τοῦ δύνασθαι τίκτειν, οὕτως ἄγονται. ταῖς δ' ἐγκύμοσιν οὐχ ὅμιλοῦσιν, ἐνδεικνύμενοι τὸ μὴ δι' ἥδονὴν ἀλλὰ τέκνων χρείαν γαμεῖν. λουτρὰ δὲ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἀμπεχομέναις ἐνδύματα, καθάπερ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐν περιζώματι. τοιαῦτα μὲν ἔθη τοῦδε τοῦ τάγματος.
- 162 (14) Δύο δὲ τῶν προτέρων Φαρισαῖοι μὲν οἱ μετ' ἀκριβείας δοκοῦντες ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ νόμιμα καὶ τὴν πρώτην ἀπάγοντες αἵρεσιν εἰμαρμένη τε
- 163 καὶ θεῶ προσάπτουσι πάντα, καὶ τὸ μὲν πράπτειν τὰ δίκαια καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κεῖσθαι, βοηθεῖν δὲ εἰς ἔκαστον καὶ τὴν εἰμαρμένην· ψυχήν τε πᾶσαν μὲν ἄφθαρτον, μετα-

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<sup>a</sup> Josephus quotes three instances of Essene predictions which were fulfilled, those of Judas (*B. i.* 78), Simon (*ii.* 113) and Menahem (*A. xv.* 373 ff.). They taught their art to disciples (*A. xiii.* 311). This gift of fortune-telling was perhaps connected with magic or astrology; it is not treated as inspired (Lightfoot, *Col.* p. 89, note 1).

(12) There are some among them who profess to foretell the future, being versed from their early years in holy books, various forms of purification and apophthegms of prophets ; and seldom, if ever, do they err in their predictions.<sup>a</sup>

(13) There is yet another order of Essenes, which, while at one with the rest in its mode of life, customs, and regulations, differs from them in its views on marriage. They think that those who decline to marry cut off the chief function of life, the propagation of the race, and, what is more, that, were all to adopt the same view, the whole race would very quickly die out. They give their wives, however, a three years' probation, and only marry them after they have by three<sup>b</sup> periods of purification given proof of fecundity. They have no intercourse with them during pregnancy, thus showing that their motive in marrying is not self-indulgence but the procreation of children. In the bath the women wear a dress, the men a loin-cloth. Such are the usages of this order.

(14) Of the two first-named<sup>c</sup> schools, the Pharisees, (ii.) *The Pharisees* who are considered the most accurate interpreters of the laws, and hold the position of the leading sect, attribute everything to Fate and to God ; they hold that to act rightly or otherwise rests, indeed, for the most part with men, but that in each action Fate co-operates.<sup>d</sup> Every soul, they maintain, is im-

<sup>b</sup> The text can hardly be right ; the Lat. has “*constanti purgatione.*”

<sup>c</sup> “more ancient,” Reinach.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. the saying of R. Akiba : “Everything is foreseen and freewill is given.” *Sayings of Jewish Fathers*, iii. 22 (24). Josephus, as Reinach remarks, substitutes “Fate” for “Providence” for his Gentile readers.

βαίνειν δὲ εἰς ἔτερον σῶμα τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν μόνην,  
τὰς δὲ τῶν φαύλων ἀιδίῳ τιμωρίᾳ κολάζεσθαι.

164 Σαδδουκαῖοι δέ, τὸ δεύτερον τάγμα, τὴν μὲν  
εἵμαρμένην παντάπασιν ἀναιροῦσιν καὶ τὸν θεὸν  
165 ἔξω τοῦ δρᾶν τι κακὸν ἢ ἐφορᾶν τίθενται· φασὶν  
δ' ἐπ' ἀιθρώπων ἐκλογῇ τό τε καλὸν καὶ τὸ κακὸν  
προκεῖσθαι καὶ κατὰ γνώμην ἐκάστου τούτων  
ἔκάτερον<sup>1</sup> προσιέναι. ψυχῆς τε τὴν διαμονὴν καὶ  
τὰς καθ' ἄδου<sup>2</sup> τιμωρίας καὶ τιμᾶς ἀναιροῦσιν.  
166 καὶ Φαρισαῖοι μὲν φιλάλληλοί τε καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸ  
κοινὸν ὁμόνοιαν ἀσκοῦντες, Σαδδουκαίων δὲ καὶ  
πρὸς ἄλλήλους τὸ ἥθος ἀγριώτερον, αἱ τε ἐπιμιξίαι  
πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίους ἀπηνεῖς ὡς πρὸς ἄλλοτρίους.  
τοιαῦτα μὲν περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰουδαίοις φιλοσοφούντων  
εἶχον εἰπεῖν.

167 (ix. 1) Τῆς Ἀρχελάου δ' ἐθναρχίας μετα-  
πεσούσης εἰς ἐπαρχίαν οἱ λοιποί, Φίλιππος καὶ  
Ἡρώδης ὁ κληθεὶς Ἀντίπας, διώκουν τὰς έαυτῶν  
τετραρχίας· Σαλώμη γὰρ τελευτῶσα Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ  
τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ γυναικὶ τὴν τε αὐτῆς τοπαρχίαν  
καὶ Ἰάμνειαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Φασαγλίδι φοινικῶνας  
168 κατέλιπεν. μεταβάσης δὲ εἰς Τιβέριον τὸν Ἰου-  
λίας νιὸν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας μετὰ τὴν  
Αὔγούστου τελευτήν, ἀφηγησαμένου τῶν πραγ-

<sup>1</sup> Herwerden: ἐκατέρων V: ἐκατέρω the rest.  
<sup>2</sup> καθ' ἄδου C: καθέλοι the rest

<sup>a</sup> The doctrine of the reincarnation of the soul is expressed in rather similar terms in *B. iii. 374* (*cf. Ap. ii. 218*).

perishable, but the soul of the good alone passes into another body,<sup>a</sup> while the souls of the wicked suffer eternal punishment.

The Sadducees, the second of the orders, do away (iii.) <sup>The</sup> with Fate altogether, and remove God beyond, not merely the commission, but the very sight, of evil. They maintain that man has the free choice of good or evil, and that it rests with each man's will whether he follows the one or the other. As for the persistence of the soul after death, penalties in the underworld, and rewards, they will have none of them.

The Pharisees are affectionate to each other and cultivate harmonious relations with the community. The Sadducees, on the contrary, are, even among themselves, rather boorish in their behaviour, and in their intercourse with their peers<sup>b</sup> are as rude as to aliens. Such is what I have to say on the Jewish philosophical schools.

(ix. 1) When the ethnarchy of Archelaus was converted into a province, the other princes, Philip and Herod surnamed Antipas, continued to govern their respective tetrarchies; as for Salome, she at her death<sup>c</sup> bequeathed her toparchy to Julia, the wife of Augustus, together with Jamnia and the palm-groves of Phasaelis. On the death of Augustus, who had directed the state for fifty-seven years six months

<sup>The</sup>  
tetrarchs  
Philip and  
Herod  
Antipas.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. with the other sects or generally with their compatriots.

<sup>c</sup> Which took place under the second of the procurators, M. Ambivius (c. 9-12 A.D.): *A.* xviii. 31. For her share in the division of Herod's kingdom see § 98. Jamnia was in the lowlands of Philistia, Phasaelis in the Jordan valley, as also was Archelais which is added to the list of Julia's legacies in *A. loc. cit.*

μάτων ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα, πρὸς δὲ μησὶν ἔξι καὶ ἡμέραις δύο, διαμείναντες ἐν ταῖς τετραρχίαις ὅ τε Ἡρώδης καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος, ὁ μὲν πρὸς ταῖς τοῦ Ἰορδάνου πηγαῖς ἐν Πανεάδι πόλιν κτίζει Καισάρειαν, κανὸν τῇ κάτω Γαυλανιτικῆς Ἰουλιάδα, Ἡρώδης δ' ἐν μὲν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ Τιβεριάδα, ἐν δὲ τῇ Περαιᾷ φερώνυμον Ἰουλίας.

169 (2) Πεμφθεὶς δὲ εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἐπίτροπος ὑπὸ Τιβερίου Πιλᾶτος νύκτωρ κεκαλυμμένας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παρεισκομίζει τὰς Καίσαρος εἰκόνας, αἱ 170 σημαῖαι καλοῦνται. τοῦτο μεθ' ἡμέραν μεγίστην ταραχὴν ἢγειρεν Ἰουδαίοις· οἵ τε γὰρ ἐγγὺς πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἔξεπλάγησαν ὡς πεπατημένων αὐτοῖς τῶν νόμων, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀξιοῦσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει δείκηλον τίθεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγανάκτησιν τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἄθρους δ' ἐκ τῆς χώρας λαὸς 171 συνέρρευσεν. ὄρμήσαντες δὲ πρὸς Πιλᾶτον εἰς Καισάρειαν ἱκέτευον ἔξενεγκεῖν ἔξι Ἱεροσολύμων τὰς σημαῖας καὶ τηρεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰ πάτρια. Πιλᾶτος δ' ἀρνουμένου περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν πρηνεῖς κατ-

<sup>a</sup> This figure, repeated in *A.* xviii. 32, is about a month too long. From the death of Caesar (15 March 44 B.C.) to the death of Augustus (19 Aug. A.D. 14, *Suet. Aug.* 100) is 57 years 5 months and 4 days. The four days may be reduced to two by reckoning from the opening of Caesar's will (17 March) as proposed by Gardthausen, quoted by Reinach: the latter accounts for the error in the number of months by a confusion of the figures for 5 ( $\epsilon'$ ) and 6 ( $\zeta'$ ).

<sup>b</sup> By her former husband, Tiberius Claudius Nero.

<sup>c</sup> Caesarea Philippi of the N.T., mod. *Banias*.

<sup>d</sup> Bethsaida Julias (*et-Tell*) east of the Jordan a little to

and two days,<sup>a</sup> the empire of the Romans passed to Tiberius, son of Julia.<sup>b</sup> On his accession, Herod (Antipas) and Philip continued to hold their tetrarchies and respectively founded cities : Philip built Caesarea<sup>c</sup> near the sources of the Jordan, in the district of Paneas, and Julias<sup>d</sup> in lower Gaulanitis ; Herod built Tiberias in Galilee and a city which also took the name of Julia, in Peraea.<sup>e</sup>

(2) Pilate, being sent by Tiberius as procurator to Judaea, introduced into Jerusalem by night and under cover the effigies of Caesar which are called standards.<sup>f</sup> This proceeding, when day broke, aroused immense excitement among the Jews ; those on the spot were in consternation, considering their laws to have been trampled under foot, as those laws permit no image to be erected in the city ; while the indignation of the townspeople stirred the country-folk, who flocked together in crowds. Hastening after Pilate to Caesarea, the Jews implored him to remove the standards from Jerusalem and to uphold the laws of their ancestors. When Pilate refused, they fell prostrate around his house and for five

the north of the head of the Sea of Galilee. It was called after Julia, daughter of Augustus, A. xviii. 28 : as she was banished in 2 B.C., Schürer infers that the refoundation of the town by Philip must have been earlier than that date.

<sup>e</sup> The Peraean Julias (formerly Betharamatha, B. ii. 59 note) opposite Jericho was called after the Empress Julia = Livia (A. xviii. 27) ; other writers call it Livias and that, rather than Julias, was probably the name given by the founder.

<sup>f</sup> More correctly described in A. xviii. 55, "The busts (or "medallions") of Caesar which were attached to the standards." Tacitus (*Hist.* iv. 62) records how these *imperatorum imagines* were torn down by Civilis and his victorious Gauls.

Accession  
TIBERIUS  
14 A.D.

Foundati  
of Caesar  
Philippi,  
Tiberias,  
etc.

PILATE  
(26-36 A.D.)  
excites the  
Jews by  
(i.) the  
affair of the  
standard.

πεσόντες ἐπὶ πέντε ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ἵσας ἀκίνητοι διεκαρτέρουν.

172 (3) Τῇ δ' ἔξῆς ὁ Πιλᾶτος καθίσας ἐπὶ βήματος ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ σταδίῳ καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸ πλήθος ὡς ἀποκρίνασθαι δῆθεν αὐτοῖς θέλων, δίδωσιν τοῖς στρατιώταις σημεῖον ἐκ συντάγματος κυκλώσασθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις.

173 περιστάσης δὲ τριστιχεὶ τῆς φάλαγγος Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν ἀχανεῖς ἥσαν πρὸς τὸ ἀδόκητον τῆς ὄψεως, Πιλᾶτος δὲ κατακόψειν εἰπὼν αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ προσδέξαιντο τὰς Καίσαρος εἰκόνας, γυμνοῦν τὰ

174 ξίφη τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔνευσεν. οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι καθάπερ ἐκ συνθήματος ἀθρόοι καταπεσόντες καὶ τοὺς αὐχένας παρακλίναντες ἐτοίμους ἀναιρεῖν<sup>1</sup> σφᾶς ἐβόων μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν νόμον παραβῆναι. ὑπερθαυμάσας δὲ ὁ Πιλᾶτος τὸ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἄκρατον ἐκκομίσαι μὲν αὐτίκα τὰς σημαίας Ἱεροσολύμων κελεύει.

175 (4) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ταραχὴν ἐτέραν ἐκίνει τὸν ἱερὸν θησαυρὸν, καλεῖται δὲ κορβωνᾶς,<sup>2</sup> εἰς καταγωγὴν ὑδάτων ἔξαναλίσκων· κατῆγεν δὲ ἀπὸ τετρακοσίων<sup>3</sup> σταδίων. πρὸς τοῦτο τοῦ πλήθους ἀγανάκτησις ἦν, καὶ τοῦ Πιλάτου παρόντος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα περιστάντες τὸ βῆμα κατεβόων.

176 ὁ δέ, προϊδει γάρ αὐτῶν τὴν ταραχὴν, τῷ πλήθει τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐνόπλους [ἐν]<sup>4</sup> ἐσθῆσιν ἴδιωτικαῖς κεκαλυμμένους ἐγκαταμίξας καὶ ξίφει μὲν χρήσασθαι κωλύσας, ξύλοις δὲ παίειν τοὺς κεκραγότας ἐγκελευσάμενος, σύνθημα δίδωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βή-

<sup>1</sup> PA : εἰς ἀναίρεσιν the rest.

<sup>2</sup> P and correctors of A and L: κορβωνᾶς the rest.

<sup>3</sup> τριακοσίων Lat. Eus.: διακοσίων A. ||.

whole days and nights remained motionless in that position.

(3) On the ensuing day Pilate took his seat on his tribunal in the great stadium and summoning the multitude, with the apparent intention of answering them, gave the arranged signal to his armed soldiers to surround the Jews. Finding themselves in a ring of troops, three deep, the Jews were struck dumb at this unexpected sight. Pilate, after threatening to cut them down, if they refused to admit Caesar's images, signalled to the soldiers to draw their swords. Thereupon the Jews, as by concerted action, flung themselves in a body on the ground, extended their necks, and exclaimed that they were ready rather to die than to transgress the law. Overcome with astonishment at such intense religious zeal, Pilate gave orders for the immediate removal of the standards from Jerusalem.

(4) On a later occasion he provoked a fresh uproar (ii.) the affair of aqueduct by expending upon the construction of an aqueduct the sacred treasure known as *Corbonas*<sup>a</sup>; the water was brought from a distance of 400 furlongs. Indignant at this proceeding, the populace formed a ring round the tribunal of Pilate, then on a visit to Jerusalem, and besieged him with angry clamour. He, foreseeing the tumult, had interspersed among the crowd a troop of his soldiers, armed but disguised in civilian dress, with orders not to use their swords, but to beat any rioters with cudgels. He now from

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Matt. xxvii. 6. τὸν κορβανᾶν (v.l. κορβωνᾶν) = "the sacred treasury," the only parallel for this use of the word. *Corban* = "devoted," "taboo" (cf. *Ap.* i. 167).

177 ματος. τυπτόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πληγῶν, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ καταπατηθέντες ἀπώλοντο. πρὸς δὲ τὴν συμφορὰν τῶν ἀνηρημένων καταπλαγὴν τὸ πλῆθος ἐσιώπησεν.

178 (5) Κάν τούτῳ κατήγορος Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετραρχοῦντος Ἀγρίππας νὺὸς Ἀριστοβούλου, δῆν ὁ πατὴρ Ἡρώδης ἀπέκτεινεν, παραγίνεται πρὸς Τιβέριον. τοῦ δὲ μὴ προσδεξαμένου τὴν κατηγορίαν μένων ἐπὶ Ρώμης τούς τε ἄλλους τῶν γνωρίμων ἐθεράπευεν καὶ μάλιστα τὸν Γερμανικοῦ

179 παῖδα Γάιον, ἰδιώτην ἔπι ὅντα. καὶ δή ποτε ἐστιῶν αὐτὸν τά τε ἄλλα ποικίλως ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο, καὶ τελευταῖον τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας φανερῶς ἥξατο θᾶττον αὐτὸν θεάσασθαι τῶν ὅλων δεσπό-

180 την ἀποθανόντος Τιβερίου. τοῦτό τις τῶν οἰκετῶν αὐτοῦ διαγγέλλει τῷ Τιβερίῳ, καὶ δῆς ἀγανακτήσας εἴργνυσιν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν καὶ μετ' αἰκίας εἶχεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ μῆνας ἕξ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ, μέχρις αὐτὸς ἐτελεύτησεν ἡγεμονεύσας ἔτη δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ μησὶν ἕξ.

181 (6) Ἀποδειχθεὶς δὲ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀνίησίν τε τῶν δεσμῶν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου τετραρχίας, θνήσκει<sup>1</sup> γὰρ οὗτος, καθίστησι βασιλέα. παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀγρίππας φθόνω

<sup>1</sup> P: τεθνήκει the rest.

<sup>a</sup> i. 551.

<sup>b</sup> The whole story is told in much greater detail in *J. xviii.* (? from some Roman source), where, however, there is no mention of this object of his visit. The visit was made "in the year before Tiberius died" (*J. xviii. 126*).

<sup>c</sup> Eutychus, his freedman and charioteer, *J. xviii. 168*; according to the account there given the words were spoken during a drive, not at dinner.

his tribunal gave the agreed signal. Large numbers of the Jews perished, some from the blows which they received, others trodden to death by their companions in the ensuing flight. Cowed by the fate of the victims, the multitude was reduced to silence.

(5) At this time Agrippa, son of the Aristobulus who was put to death by his father Herod,<sup>a</sup> came to Tiberius to accuse Herod the tetrarch.<sup>b</sup> The emperor having declined to countenance the charge, Agrippa remained in Rome, paying court to various notabilities and in particular to Gaius, son of Germanicus, who was still a private citizen. On one occasion when he was entertaining him at dinner, Agrippa, after paying him all kinds of compliments, finally raised his hands to heaven and openly prayed that he might soon see Gaius master of the world, through the decease of Tiberius. This was reported by one of Agrippa's domestics<sup>c</sup> to Tiberius; whereupon the emperor, in indignation, threw Agrippa into prison, where he kept him under rigorous treatment for six months until his own death, which closed a reign of twenty-two years, six months and three days.<sup>d</sup>

(6) Gaius, on being proclaimed emperor, liberated Agrippa and gave him, with the title of king, the tetrarchy of Philip, now deceased.<sup>e</sup> Agrippa's arrival to take possession of his kingdom<sup>f</sup> aroused

<sup>a</sup> 22 years 5 months and 3 days according to *A.* xviii. 224 (cf. § 168 for confusion of the numbers 5 and 6). But neither statement quite agrees with our secular authorities: the reign lasted from 19 Aug. 14 (death of Augustus) to 16 March (Tac. ; or 26 March, Dion), i.e. 22 years 6 months and 28 days (or 22 years 7 months 7 days).

<sup>b</sup> He had died in the twentieth year of the reign of Tiberius (*A.* xviii. 106), i.e. in A.D. 33-4.

<sup>c</sup> A.D. 38-39.

- τὰς Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετράρχου διήγειρεν ἐπιθυμίας.  
 182 ἐνῆγε δὲ μάλιστα τοῦτον εἰς ἐλπίδα βασιλείας  
 Ἡρωδιᾶς ἡ γυνή, κατονειδίζοντα τὴν ἀργίαν καὶ  
 φαμένη παρὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι πλεῦν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα  
 στερίσκεσθαι μείζονος ἀρχῆς· ὅπου γὰρ Ἀγρίπ-  
 παν ἐξ ἴδιωτου βασιλέα πεποίηκεν, ἥπου γ' ἂν  
 183 ἐκεῖνον διστάσειεν ἐκ τετράρχου; τούτοις ἀνα-  
 πεισθεὶς Ἡρώδης ἦκεν πρὸς Γάιον, ὑφ' οὗ τῆς  
 πλεονεξίας ἐπιτιμᾶται φυγῆ εἰς Σπανίαν<sup>1</sup>. ἥκο-  
 λούθησεν γὰρ αὐτῷ κατήγορος Ἀγρίππας, ὃς καὶ  
 τὴν τετραρχίαν τὴν ἐκείνου προσέθηκεν Γάιος.  
 καὶ Ἡρώδης μὲν ἐν Σπανίᾳ συμφυγούσης αὐτῷ  
 καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τελευτᾶ.
- 184 (x. 1) Γάιος δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξύβρι-  
 σεν εἰς τὴν τύχην, ὥστε θεὸν ἔαυτὸν καὶ δοκεῖν<sup>2</sup>  
 βούλεσθαι καὶ καλεῖσθαι, τῶν τε εὐγενεστάτων  
 ἀνδρῶν ἀκροτομῆσαι τὴν πατρίδα, ἐκτεῖναι δὲ τὴν  
 185 ἀσέβειαν καὶ ἐπὶ Ιουδαίαν. Πετρώνιον μὲν οὖν  
 μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ Ιεροσολύμων ἐπεμψεν ἐγ-  
 καθιδρύσοντα τῷ ναῷ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας αὐτοῦ,  
 προστάξας, εἰ μὴ δέχοιντο Ιουδαῖοι, τούς τε  
 κωλύοντας ἀνελεῖν καὶ πᾶν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔθνος  
 186 ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι. θεῷ δ' ἄρα τῶν προσταγ-  
 μάτων ἔμελεν. καὶ Πετρώνιος μὲν σὺν τρισὶ  
 τάγμασι καὶ πολλοῖς ἐκ τῆς Συρίας συμμάχοις εἰς  
 187 τὴν Ιουδαίαν ἤλαυνεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας, Ιου-  
 δαίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἡπίστουν ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου

<sup>1</sup> So (or Ισπανίαν) all MSS.: Γαλλίαν Niese and Γαλλία below, to conform to A. xviii. 252.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ δοκεῖν Niese: δοκεῖν καὶ PAM Exe.: καὶ δοκεῖν καὶ the rest.

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<sup>a</sup> According to A. xviii. 252 to Lyons in Gaul.

the envy and ambition of Herod the tetrarch. But it was above all his wife Herodias who instigated the tetrarch to aspire to a throne ; she reproached him for his indolence and told him that it was only his reluctance to set sail and wait upon Caesar which kept him out of promotion. "Now that he has made a king of Agrippa, a mere commoner," she said, "surely he could not hesitate to confer the same title on a tetrarch." Yielding to these solicitations, Herod presented himself to Gaius, who punished him for his cupidity by banishing him to Spain.<sup>a</sup> For an accuser had followed him in the person of Agrippa,<sup>b</sup> to whose kingdom Gaius annexed his rival's tetrarchy. Herod died in Spain, whither his wife had accompanied him into exile.

(x. 1) The insolence with which the emperor Gaius defied fortune surpassed all bounds : he wished to be considered a god and to be hailed as such, he cut off the flower of the nobility of his country, and his impiety extended even to Judaea. In fact, he sent Petronius with an army to Jerusalem to instal in the sanctuary statues of himself ; in the event of the Jews refusing to admit them, his orders were to put the recalcitrants to death and to reduce the whole nation to slavery. But these orders, as the sequel showed, were under God's care. Petronius, accordingly, with three legions<sup>c</sup> and a large contingent of Syrian auxiliaries, left Antioch on the march for Judaea. Among the Jews, some put no belief in the

The end  
Philip an  
of Herod  
Antipas.

Gains ordered  
the erection  
of his statue  
in the Temple.

Arrival of  
Petronius  
Ptolemais  
to execute  
the order  
40 A.D.

<sup>b</sup> In A. xviii. 247 Agrippa sends his freedman Fortunatus to accuse Antipas.

<sup>c</sup> Two only, according to A. xviii. 262 (and so Philo, *Leg. ad Caium* 31, § 207 "half his army"; there were four legions in Syria at this time).

# JOSEPHUS

φήμαις, οἱ δὲ πιστεύοντες ἡσαν ἐν ἀμηχάνῳ πρὸς τὴν ἄμυναν· ταχὺ δὲ ἔχώρει διὰ πάντων τὸ δέος ἥδη παρούσης<sup>1</sup> εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα τῆς στρατιᾶς.

188 (2) Πόλις δὲ ἐστὶν αὕτη τῆς Γαλιλαίας παράλιος κατὰ τὸ μέγα πεδίον ἐκτισμένη, περιέχεται δὲ ὅρεσιν ἐκ μὲν τοῦ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν κλίματος ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑξήκοντα τῷ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ μεσημβριοῦ τῷ Καρμήλῳ διέχοντι σταδίους ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι, τῷ δὲ ὑψηλοτάτῳ κατ' ἄρκτον, ὃ καλοῦσιν κλίμακα Τυρίων οἱ ἐπιχώριοι· καὶ τοῦτο 189 δὲ σταδίους ἀφέστηκεν ἑκατόν. τοῦ δὲ ἄστεος ὅσον ἀπὸ δύο σταδίων ὁ καλούμενος Βήλεος ποταμὸς παραρρεῖ παντάπασιν ὀλίγος, παρ' ὧ τὸ Μέμνονος μνημεῖον ἐστιν ἔχον ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ τόπον 190 ἑκατονταπήχη θαύματος ἄξιον· κυκλοτερῆς μὲν γάρ ἐστιν καὶ κοῦλος, ἀναδίδωσιν δὲ τὴν ὑελίνην φάμμον, ἦν δὲ τὸν ἐκκενώση πολλὰ πλοῖα προσσχόντα,<sup>2</sup> πάλιν ἀντιπληροῦται τὸ χωρίον, κατασυρόντων μὲν ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες τότε τῶν ἀνέμων εἰς αὐτὸ τὴν ἔξωθεν ἀργὴν φάμμον, τοῦ δὲ μετάλλου πᾶσαν εὐθέως μεταβάλλοντος εἰς ὕελον. θαυμασιώτερον [δὲ]<sup>3</sup> τούτου μοι δοκεῖ τὸ τὴν ὑπερχυθεῖσαν ὕελον ἐκ τοῦ τόπου πάλιν φάμμον γίνεσθαι εἰκαίαν. τὸ μὲν οὖν χωρίον τοῦτο τοιαύτην εἰληχεν φύσιν.

192 (3) Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων ἀθροισθέντες εἰς τὸ πεδίον τὸ πρὸς Πτολεμαΐδην καθικέτευνον τὸν Πετρώνιον ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίων νόμων πρῶτον, ἔπειτα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ πρός τε τὸ πλήθος καὶ τὰς δεήσεις ἐνδοὺς τοὺς μὲν

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf: γὰρ οἵσης μεσ.

<sup>2</sup> Dindorf: προσχύντα μεσ.

<sup>3</sup> om. most μεσ.

rumours of war, others believed, but saw no means of defence; alarm, however, soon became universal, the army having already reached Ptolemais.

(2) Ptolemais is a maritime town in Galilee, built at the entrance to the Great Plain, and encompassed with mountains. To the east, at a distance of 60 furlongs, is the Galilaean range; to the south, 120 furlongs off, lies Carmel; to the north is the highest chain of all, called by the natives the "Ladder of the Tyrians," 100 furlongs away. At a distance of about two furlongs from the town runs the diminutive river Beleus<sup>a</sup>; on its bank stands the tomb of Memnon, and close to it is a very remarkable region, a hundred cubits in extent. It consists of a circular basin which produces vitreous sand. Numerous boats put in to this spot and empty the basin of its sand, whereupon it is filled up again by the action of the winds, which, as if by design, drift into it the common sand outside, the latter being all promptly converted by this mine into vitreous matter. But the phenomenon which, to my mind, is even more remarkable, is that the excess particles of glass which overflow from the cavity become ordinary sand as before. Such are the curious properties of this spot.

(3) The Jews assembled with their wives and children in the plain of Ptolemais and implored Petronius to have regard first for the laws of their fathers, and next for themselves. Yielding so far to this vast multitude and their entreaties, he left the

<sup>a</sup> Belus in *Tac. Hist.* v. 7 and *Pliny, N.H.* xxxvi. 190, modern *Nahr Na'man*.

# JOSEPHUS

ἀνδριάντας καὶ τὰς στρατιὰς<sup>1</sup> ἐν Πτολεμαΐδι λείπει,  
 193 προελθὼν<sup>2</sup> δὲ εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν καὶ συγκαλέσας  
 τό τε πλῆθος καὶ τοὺς γνωρίμους πάντας εἰς  
 Τιβεριάδα τὴν τε Ῥωμαίων διεξήει δύναμιν καὶ  
 τὰς Καίσαρος ἀπειλάς, ἔτι δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἀπ-  
 194 ἔφαινεν ἀγνώμονα· πάντων γὰρ τῶν ὑποτεταγ-  
 μένων ἔθνῶν κατὰ πόλιν συγκαθιδρυκότων τοῖς  
 ἄλλοις θεοῖς καὶ τὰς Καίσαρος εἰκόνας, τὸ μόνους  
 ἐκείνους ἀντιτάσσεσθαι πρὸς τοῦτο σχεδὸν ἀφ-  
 ισταμένων εἶναι καὶ μεθ' ὕβρεως.

195 (4) Τῶν δὲ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος  
 προτεινομένων καὶ ὡς οὐδὲ θεοῦ τι δείκηλον, οὐχ  
 ὅπως ἀνδρός, οὐ κατὰ τὸν ναὸν μόνον ἀλλ' οὐδὲ  
 ἐν εἰκαίῳ τινὶ τόπῳ τῆς χώρας θέσθαι θεμιτὸν  
 εἶη, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Πετρώνιος "ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐμοὶ  
 φυλακτέος ὁ τούμοιον δεσπότου νόμος," ἔφη·  
 "παραβὰς γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ φεισάμενος ὑμῶν  
 ἀπολοῦμαι δικαίως. πολεμήσει δ' ὑμᾶς ὁ πέμψας  
 με καὶ οὐκ ἐγώ· καὶ γὰρ αὐτός, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς,  
 196 ἐπιτάσσομαι." πρὸς ταῦτα τὸ πλῆθος πάντ'  
 ἔβοα πρὸ τοῦ νόμον πάσχειν ἐτοίμως ἔχειν.  
 καταστείλας δ' αὐτῶν ὁ Πετρώνιος τὴν βοήν,  
 197 "πολεμήσετε," εἶπεν, "ἄρα Καίσαρι;" καὶ Ἰου-  
 δαῖοι περὶ μὲν Καίσαρος καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν  
 Ῥωμαίων δὶς τῆς ἡμέρας θύειν ἔφασαν, εἰ δὲ  
 βούλεται τὰς εἰκόνας ἐγκαθιδρύειν, πρότερον αὐτὸν  
 δεῖν ἀπαν τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος προθύσασθαι·  
 παρέχειν δὲ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐτοίμους εἰς τὴν σφαγὴν  
 198 ἅμα τέκνοις καὶ γυναιξίν. ἐπὶ τούτοις θάῦμα καὶ  
 οἴκτος εἰσήει τὸν Πετρώνιον τῆς τε ἀνυπερβλήτου

<sup>1</sup> So PAM: τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας the rest.

<sup>2</sup> C: προσελθὼν the rest.

statues and his troops at Ptolemais and advanced into Galilee, where he summoned the people, with all persons of distinction, to Tiberias. There he dwelt upon the power of the Romans and the emperor's menaces, and, moreover, pointed out the recklessness of their request ; all the subject nations, he urged, had erected in each of their cities statues of Caesar, along with those of their other gods, and that they alone should oppose this practice amounted almost to rebellion, aggravated by insult.

(4) When the Jews appealed to their law and the custom of their ancestors, and pleaded that they were forbidden to place an image of God, much more of a man, not only in their sanctuary but even in any unconsecrated spot throughout the country, Petronius replied, " But I too must obey the law of my master ; if I transgress it and spare you, I shall be put to death, with justice. War will be made on you by him who sent me, not by me ; for I too, like you, am under orders." At this the multitude cried out that they were ready to endure everything for the law. Petronius, having checked their clamour, said, " Will you then go to war with Caesar ? " The Jews replied that they offered sacrifice twice daily for Caesar<sup>a</sup> and the Roman people, but that if he wished to set up these statues, he must first sacrifice the entire Jewish nation ; and that they presented themselves, their wives and their children, ready for the slaughter. These words filled Petronius with astonishment and pity at the spectacle of the incomparable

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Ap.* ii. 77 with note. From the present passage we may infer that the daily sacrifice for the Emperor was offered partly at the morning, partly at the evening service.

# JOSEPHUS

θρησκείας τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ πρὸς θάνατον  
ἔτοιμου παραστήματος. καὶ τότε μὲν ἅπρακτοι  
διελύθησαν.

- 199 (5) *Tais δ' ἔξῆς ἀθρόους τε τοὺς δυνατοὺς κατ'*  
*ἰδίαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐν κοινῷ συλλέγων<sup>1</sup> ποτὲ μὲν*  
*παρεκάλει, ποτὲ δὲ συνεβούλευεν, τὸ πλέον μέντοι*  
*διηπείλει, τὴν τε Ῥωμαίων ἐπανατεινόμενος ἴσχὺν*  
*καὶ τοὺς Γαῖου θυμοὺς τὴν τε ἰδίαν πρὸς τούτοις*  
200 *ἀνάγκην. πρὸς δὲ μηδεμίαν πείραν ἐνδιδόντων,*  
*ώς ἔώρα καὶ τὴν χώραν κινδυνεύουσαν ἀσπορον*  
*μεῖναι, κατὰ γὰρ ὡραν σπόρου πεντήκοντα ἡμέρας*  
*ἀργὰ προσδιέτριβεν αὐτῷ τὰ πλήθη, τελευταῖον*  
201 *ἀθροίσας αὐτοὺς καὶ "παρακινδυνευτέον ἐμοὶ*  
*μᾶλλον," εἰπών, "ἢ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ συνεργοῦντος*  
*πείσας Καίσαρα σωθήσομαι μεθ' ὑμῶν ἡδέως,*  
*ἢ παροξυνθέντος ὑπὲρ τοσούτων ἔτοίμως ἐπιδώσω*  
*τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ψυχήν," διαφῆκεν τὸ πλῆθος πολλὰ*  
*κατευχόμενον<sup>2</sup> αὐτῷ, καὶ παραλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν*  
*ἐκ τῆς Πτολεμαΐδος ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιό-*  
202 *χειαν. ἔνθεν εὐθέως ἐπέστελλεν Καίσαρι τὴν τε*  
*ἔμβολὴν τὴν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἱκεσίας*  
*τοῦ ἔθνους, ὅτι τε, εἰ μὴ βούλεται πρὸς τοὺς*  
*ἀνδράσιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀπολέσαι, δέοι φυλάπτειν*  
*τε αὐτοῖς<sup>3</sup> τὸν νόμον καὶ παριέναι τὸ πρόσταγμα.*  
203 *ταύταις ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς οὐ σφόδρα μετρίως ἀντ-*  
*έγραψεν ὁ Γάιος, ἀπειλῶν Πετρωνίῳ θάνατον, ὅτι*  
*τῶν προσταγμάτων αὐτοῦ βραδὺς ὑπηρέτης ἐγί-*  
*νετο.<sup>4</sup> ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν τούτων γραμματοφόρους*  
*σινέβη χειμασθῆναι τρεῖς μῆνας ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ,*

<sup>1</sup> συλλεγεντων ΡΑ, whence συλλεγέντεν Destinon.

<sup>2</sup> κατευχόμενων ΡΑ\* <sup>3</sup> Niese: αὐτοὺς MSS.

<sup>4</sup> ΡΑ: εγένετο the rest.

devotion of this people to their religion and their unflinching resignation to death. So for the time he dismissed them, nothing being decided.

(5) During the ensuing days he held crowded private conferences<sup>a</sup> with the aristocracy, and public meetings with the people ; at these he had recourse alternatively to entreaty, to advice, most often, however, to threats, holding over their heads the might of the Romans, the fury of Gaius, and the necessity which circumstances imposed upon himself. As, however, none of these efforts would induce them to yield, and as he saw that the country was in danger of remaining unsown—for it was seed-time and the people had spent fifty<sup>b</sup> days idly waiting upon him—he finally called them together and said : “ It is better that I should take the risk. Either, God aiding me, I shall prevail with Caesar and have the satisfaction of saving myself as well as you, or, if his indignation is roused, I am ready on behalf of the lives of so many to surrender my own.” With that he dismissed the multitude, who rained blessings on his head, and collecting his troops left Ptolemais and returned to Antioch. From that city he hastened to report to Caesar his expedition into Judaea and the entreaties of the nation, adding that, unless he wished to destroy the country as well as its inhabitants, he ought to respect their law and revoke the order. To this dispatch Gaius replied in no measured terms, threatening to put Petronius to death for his tardiness in executing his orders. However, it so happened that the bearers of this message were weather-bound for three months at sea, while others, who brought

<sup>a</sup> These later conferences were held at Tiberias, *A.* xviii. 269 ff.

<sup>b</sup> 40 according to *A.* xviii. 272.

τὸν δὲ Γαῖου θάνατον ἄλλοι καταγγέλλοντες εὐπλόουν. ἔφθη γοῦν τὰς περὶ τούτων Πετρώνιος λαβῶν ἐπιστολὰς ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις ἡ τὰς καθ' ἑαυτοῦ.

204 xi. (1) Γαῖου δὲ ἡγεμονεύσαντος ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ὀκτὼ καὶ δολοφονηθέντος ἀρπάζεται μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ στρατευμάτων [εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν]<sup>1</sup>

205 Κλαύδιος, ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος, ἐξηγουμένων τῶν ὑπάτων Σεντίου Σατορινίου καὶ Πομπωνίου Σεκούνδου, τρισὶν ταῖς συμμενούσαις σπείραις ἐπιτρέψασα φυλάττειν τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον ἥθροισθη, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὡμότητα τὴν Γαῖου Κλαυδίω πολεμεῖν ἐψηφίζετο· καταστήσεσθαι γὰρ δι' ἀριστοκρατίας, ὥσπερ οὖν πάλαι διωκεῖτο, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡ κριωεῖν ψήφῳ τὸν ἄξιον τῆς ἡγεμονίας.

206 (2) Συνέβη [δὲ]<sup>2</sup> τηνικαῦτα πρὸς ἐπιδημοῦντα τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τὴν τε σύγκλητον καλοῦσαν εἰς συμβουλίαν πέμψαι καὶ Κλαύδιον ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς, ὅπως πρὸς ἄ δέοι χρήσιμος αὐτοῖς γένοιτο.

[κάκεῖνος]<sup>2</sup> συνιδὼν τὸν ἥδη τῇ δυνάμει Καίσαρα πρὸς Κλαύδιον ἀπεισιν. ὁ δ' αὐτὸν πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀναπέμπει δηλοῦντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προαιρεσιν, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἄκων ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀρπαγείη, καὶ οὕτε τὴν ἐκείνων

<sup>1</sup> om. P.

<sup>2</sup> om. PA.

<sup>a</sup> In the account of this affair of Petronius *A.* xviii. again enters much more into detail than *B.* ii.: outstanding additions are the providential rainfall and the intercession of Agrippa with Gaius at Rome on behalf of the Jews.

<sup>b</sup> So *A.* xix. 201; in reality just over 3 years and 10 months (16 March 37 to 24 January 41 A.D.)

<sup>c</sup> The story of the assassination is told at length from some

the news of the death of Gaius, had a fortunate passage. So Petronius received this last information twenty-seven days earlier than the letter conveying his own death-warrant.<sup>a</sup>

The temple  
saved by  
the death  
of Gaius  
Jan. 41 A.D.

(xi. 1) When Gaius, after a reign of three years and eight months,<sup>b</sup> was assassinated,<sup>c</sup> the troops in Rome<sup>d</sup> carried off Claudius by force to make him emperor. But the senate, on the motion of the consuls, Sentius Saturninus and Pomponius Secundus, after entrusting the protection of the city to the three<sup>e</sup> cohorts that remained loyal to them, assembled in the Capitol and, on the ground of the savagery of Gaius, decreed war on Claudius; they were determined either to revert to their former constitution as an aristocracy, or to elect by suffrage a leader worthy of the empire.

Accession  
CLAUDIUS

(2) Agrippa was at the time in Rome, and, as chance would have it, he received a summons alike from the senate, calling him into consultation, and from Claudius in the camp<sup>f</sup>; both parties solicited his services in this pressing emergency. Agrippa, reflecting that Claudius was already virtually emperor with the power at his back, repaired to him. Claudius, thereupon, sent him off as his envoy to inform the senate of his sentiments. He was to state, in the first place, that it was against his will that he had been carried off by the soldiers; at the same time he considered it both unjust to betray

Important  
part played  
by Agrippa  
as mediator  
between  
Claudius  
and the  
Senate.

first-hand authority in *A.* xix., where it fills more than half the book. In the accession of Claudius, Agrippa plays a larger part in *B.* than in *A.*

<sup>a</sup> The praetorian guard. <sup>e</sup> Four according to *A.* xix. 188.

<sup>b</sup> The praetorian camp established by Sejanus in A.D. 23 on the N.E. of Rome, outside the ancient city, but afterwards included within the Aurelian walls; the site is used to-day for barracks for the Italian army.

# JOSEPHUS

σπουδὴν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν δίκαιον οὐτε ἀσφαλὲς τὴν  
έαυτοῦ τύχην κρίνοι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ τυχεῖν τῆς  
208 ἡγεμονικῆς κλήσεως ἐπικίνδυνον εἶναι· ἔπειθ' ὅτι  
διοικήσει<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἀρχὴν ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸς προστάτης.  
οὐχ ὡς τύραννος· ἀρκεῖσθαι γὰρ τῇ τιμῇ τῆς  
προσηγορίας, τὴν δ' ἐφ' ἔκαστῳ τῶν πραγμάτων  
βουλὴν πᾶσιν ἀποδώσειν· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ φύσει  
μέτριος ἦν, ἵκανὸν ὑπόδειγμα σωφροσύνης αὐτῷ  
προκεῖσθαι τὸν Γαῖον θάνατον.

209 (3) Ταῦτ' ἀπήγγειλεν Ἀγρίππας. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ  
ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ στρατῷ καὶ γνώμαις ἀγαθαῖς  
πεποιθυῖα δουλείαν ἐκούσιον οὐχ ὑπομενεῖν. καὶ  
Κλαύδιος ὡς ἥκουσεν τὰ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, πάλιν  
ἔπειμψεν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἀπαγγελοῦντα αὐτοῖς ὅτι  
προδοῦναι μὲν τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν ὁμονοήσαντας<sup>2</sup> οὐχ  
ὑπομένοι, πολεμήσειν δ' ἄκων πρὸς οὓς ἥκιστα  
210 βούλοιτο. δεῖν μέντοι προαποδειχθῆναι τῷ πο-  
λέμῳ χωρίον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως· οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον διὰ  
τὴν αὐτῶν κακοβουλίαν ὁμοφύλω φόνῳ μιαίνεσθαι  
τὰ τεμένη τῆς πατρίδος. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀκούσας  
ταῦτα τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἀπήγγειλεν.

211 (4) Μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν μετὰ τῆς συγκλήτου στρα-  
τιωτῶν τις σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος "ἄνδρες,  
ἔβόησεν, "συστρατιῶται, τί παθόντες ἀδελφο-  
κτονεῖν βουλόμεθα καὶ κατὰ τῶν μετὰ Κλαυδίοι  
συγγενῶν ὄρμāν, ἔχοντες μὲν αὐτοκράτορα μηδὲν  
μεμφθῆναι δυνάμενον, τοσαῦτα δὲ τὰ δίκαια πρὸς  
212 οὓς μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων χωρεῖν μέλλομεν;" ταῦτα

<sup>1</sup> διοικῆσαι LVR.

<sup>2</sup> ὁμόσαντας LVRC.

<sup>a</sup> There is no verb in the Greek: Reinach suspects the text.

<sup>b</sup> Or, with the other reading, "had sworn fidelity to him."

such devoted supporters and unsafe (to abandon)<sup>a</sup> the fortune which had befallen him, for the mere fact of having received the imperial title entailed risks. Agrippa was further to state that he would govern the empire as a virtuous ruler and not as a tyrant ; he would be content with the honour of the title, and on all public affairs would consult the whole people ; indeed, were he not by nature inclined to moderation, the fate of Gaius would serve as a sufficient warning to him to act with discretion.

(3) To this message, delivered by Agrippa, the senate replied that, relying on the army and the wisdom of their own resolutions, they would not submit to voluntary servitude. When Claudius heard this answer of the senate, he again sent Agrippa to tell them that he would not consent to betray those who had unanimously elected him,<sup>b</sup> and must therefore reluctantly fight those who were the last persons in the world he wished to have as his enemies. It would, however, he said, be necessary to select for the conflict some spot outside the city, as it would be monstrous that their obstinate perversity should cause the sacred precincts of their country to be polluted with her children's blood. Agrippa noted and delivered this message to the senators.

(4) In the midst of these negotiations one of the soldiers who had adhered to the senate, drawing his sword, cried out : " Comrades in arms, what has possessed us that we should wish to murder our brothers and to rush upon our kinsmen in the ranks of Claudius, when we have an emperor with whom no fault can be found and are united by such close ties with those against whom we propose to take the

εἰπὼν διὰ μέσης ὥρμησεν τῆς βουλῆς πάντας  
 τοὺς συστρατιώτας ἐφελκόμενος. οἱ δ' εὐπατρίδαι  
 παραχρῆμα μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἀπόλειψιν περιδεῶς  
 ἔσχον, αὐθὶς δ' ὡς ἀποστροφὴ σωτήριος οὐ  
 κατεφαίνετο, τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὄδὸν ἡπείγοντο  
 213 πρὸς Κλαύδιον. ὑπήντων δ' αὐτοῖς πρὸ τοῦ  
 τείχους γυμνοῖς τοῖς ξίφεσιν οἱ σφοδρότερον  
 κολακεύοντες τὴν τύχην· καν συνέβη κινδυνεῦσαι  
 τοὺς προάγοντας πρὶν γνῶναι τὴν ὥρμὴν τῶν  
 στρατιωτῶν Κλαύδιον, εἰ μὴ προσδραμὼν Ἀγρίπ-  
 πας αὐτῷ τὸ κινδύνευμα τῆς πράξεως ἐδήλωσεν,  
 ὅτι τε εἰ μὴ κατάσχοι τὴν ὥρμὴν τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 εὐπατρίδας λελυσσηκότων, ἀπολέσας δι' οὓς τὸ  
 κρατεῖν ἔστι περίοπτον ἐρημίας ἕσοιτο βασιλεύς.  
 214 (5) Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας Κλαύδιος κατέσχεν τὰς  
 ὥρμὰς τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ, προσδέχεται τε τὴν  
 σύγκλητον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ φιλοφρονησά-  
 μενος ἔξήει σὺν αὐτοῖς αὐτίκα θύσων τῷ θεῷ  
 215 τὰ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας χαριστήρια. καὶ τὸν  
 Ἀγρίππαν εὐθέως ἐδωρεῖτο τῇ πατρῷᾳ βασιλείᾳ  
 πάσῃ, προστιθεὶς ἔξωθεν καὶ τὰς ὑπ' Αὐγούστου  
 δοθείσας Ἡρώδη Τραχωνίτων καὶ Αύρανίτων,  
 χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἐτέραν βασιλείαν τὴν Λυσανίου  
 216 καλούμενην. καὶ τῷ μὲν δήμῳ διατάγματι τὴν  
 δωρεὰν ἐδήλου, τοῖς ἀρχουσιν δὲ προσέταξεν  
 ἐγχαράξαντας δέλτοις χαλκαῖς τὴν δόσιν εἰς τὸ  
 217 Καπετώλιον ἀναθεῖναι. δωρεῖται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ

field?" With those words he rushed through the midst of the senate, with all his fellow-soldiers at his heels. At this desertion the patricians were momentarily struck with dismay; then, perceiving no other refuge to which to turn, they followed the soldiers and hastened to Claudius. Outside the walls they found themselves faced by the more hot-headed courtiers of fortune, with bared swords, and the lives of the leaders of the party would have been imperilled before Claudius even knew of the fury of the soldiers, had not Agrippa run to him and told him of the perilous situation and that unless he checked the impetuosity of the troops, who were mad against the patricians, he would lose the very men who lent lustre to his sovereignty and be left monarch of a wilderness.

(5) On receiving this message, Claudius repressed the fury of the soldiers, admitted the senators to his camp, and, after warmly greeting them, went off with them without delay to sacrifice thank-offerings to God on his accession to the empire. Upon Agrippa he forthwith conferred the whole of his grandfather's kingdom, annexing to it from over the border not only the districts of Trachonitis and Auranitis of which Augustus had made a present to Herod,<sup>a</sup> but a further principality known as the kingdom of Lysanias.<sup>b</sup> This donation he announced to the people by an edict, and ordered the magistrates to have it engraved on brazen tablets to be deposited in the Capitol. He, moreover, presented Herod,

Agrippa  
made kin  
of Judaea

<sup>a</sup> *B. i.* 398.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* Abila (north-west of Damascus) and parts of Lebanon (*A. xix.* 275). Caligula had already given Agrippa "the tetrarchy of Lysanias" (*A. xviii.* 237); Claudius merely confirms this gift.

# JOSEPHUS

τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ὡρώδην, ὁ δ' αὐτὸς καὶ γαμβρὸς  
ἥν Βερνίκη συνοικῶν, βασιλεία τῆς Χαλκίδης.

218 (6) Ταχέως δ', ως ἂν ἐκ τοσαύτης ἀρχῆς,  
πλοῦτος Ἀγρίππᾳ συνέρρει, καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν  
αὐτὸς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν<sup>1</sup> κατεχρήσατο· τηλικοῦτον  
γὰρ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις περιβαλεῖν ἥρξατο τεῖχος,  
ἡλίκον ἂν τελεσθὲν ἀνήνυτον Ῥωμαίοις ἐποίησεν  
219 τὴν πολιορκίαν. ἀλλ' ἔφθη πρὶν ὑψώσαι τὸ ἔργον  
τελευτήσας ἐν Καισαρείᾳ, βεβασιλευκῶς μὲν ἔτη  
τρία, πρότερον δὲ τῶν τετραρχιῶν τρισὶν ἔτεροις  
220 ἔτεσιν ἀφηγησάμενος. καταλείπει δὲ τρεῖς μὲν  
θυγατέρας ἐκ Κύπρου γεγεννημένας, Βερνίκην καὶ  
Μαριάμμην καὶ Δρουσίλλαν, νιὸν δὲ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς  
Ἀγρίππαν. οὖν παντάπασιν ὅντος νηπίου πάλιν  
τὰς βασιλείας Κλαύδιος ἐπαρχίαν ποιήσας ἐπί-  
τροπον πέμπει Κούσπιον Φᾶδον, ἔπειτα Τιβέριον  
Ἀλέξανδρον, οἵ μηδὲν παρακινοῦντες τῶν ἐπι-  
221 χωρίων ἐθῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸ ἔθιος διεφύλαξαν. μετὰ  
ταῦτα καὶ ὁ βασιλεύων τῆς Χαλκίδος Ὡρώδης  
τελευτᾷ, καταλιπὼν ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἀδελφιδῆς Βερ-  
νίκης δύο παῖδας Βερνικιανόν τε καὶ Ὑρκανόν, ἐκ  
δὲ τῆς προτέρας Μαριάμμης Ἀριστόβουλον. τε-

<sup>1</sup> μεκρὰ Hudson from Lat. "in rebus exiguis."

<sup>a</sup> Bernice was Herod's second wife: he had previously married Mariamme, grand-daughter of Herod the Great (*A. xviii.* 184).

<sup>b</sup> On the north of the city, to enclose the suburb Bezetha or "new city" (*B. v.* 151 ff., *A. xix.* 326).

<sup>c</sup> The work was stopped, before Agrippa's death, by Marsus, the governor of Syria, under orders from Claudius (*B. v.* 152, *A. xix.* 326 f.)

<sup>d</sup> A more precise statement is given in *A. xix.* 351. He reigned four years in all under Gaius (37-41) and three under Claudius (41-44): for the first three years under Gaius he

who was at once the ~~son~~ <sup>brother</sup> and, by his marriage with Bernice, the son-in-law of Agrippa,<sup>a</sup> with the kingdom of Chalcis. and his brother Herod, k of Chalcis

(6) From so extensive a realm wealth soon flowed in to Agrippa, nor was he long in expending his riches. For he began to surround Jerusalem with a wall<sup>b</sup> on such a scale as, had it been completed, would have rendered ineffectual all the efforts of the Romans in the subsequent siege. But before the work had reached the projected height, he died<sup>c</sup> at Caesarea, after a reign of three years, to which must be added his previous three years' tenure of his tetrarchies.<sup>d</sup> He left issue by his wife Cypros,<sup>e</sup> three daughters—Bernice, Mariamme, and Drusilla—and one son, Agrippa. As the last was a minor,<sup>f</sup> Claudius again reduced the kingdoms to a province and sent as procurators, first Cuspius Fadus,<sup>g</sup> and then Tiberius Alexander,<sup>h</sup> who by abstaining from all interference with the customs of the country kept the nation at peace. Subsequently Herod, king of Chalcis, died; he left by his marriage with his niece Bernice, two sons, Bernicianus and Hyrcanus, and by his previous wife, Mariamme, a third, Aristobulus.

held the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, for the fourth he held that of Herod Antipas as well. His "reign" in the present passage is limited to his tenure of the whole kingdom of Herod the Great. Death of Herod ki of Chalcis A.D. 48.

<sup>e</sup> Daughter of Phasael, the nephew, and of Salampsio, the daughter of Herod the Great (A. xviii. 130 f.)

<sup>f</sup> He was seventeen years old (A. xix. 354).

<sup>g</sup> c. A.D. 44-45.

<sup>h</sup> c. A.D. 46-48. Of a distinguished Jewish family of Alexandria, son of the Alabarch Alexander and nephew of Philo; renounced Judaism to take service under the Romans, as procurator of Judaea, as prefect of Egypt (ii. 309), and as chief of the general staff of Titus at the siege of Jerusalem (vi. 237).

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θυήκει δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἔτερος ἀδελφὸς Ἀριστόβουλος  
 222 ἴδιωτης καταλιπὼν Ἰωτάπην θυγατέρα. οὗτοι  
 μὲν οὖν ἦσαν, ὡς προεῖπον, Ἀριστόβουλον τοῦ  
 Ἡρώδου παῖδες, Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξ-  
 ανδρος ἐκ Μαριάμμης Ἡρώδη γεγόνεισαν νίεῖς,  
 οὓς ὁ πατὴρ ἀγείλεν· ή δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου γενεὰ τῆς  
 μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας ἐβασίλευσει.

223 (xii. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἡρώδου τελευτήν, ὃς  
 ἦρχε τῆς Χαλκίδος, καθίστησιν Κλαύδιος εἰς  
 τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θείου τὸν Ἀγρίππαν νίὸν  
 Ἀγρίππα· τῆς δ' ἄλλης ἐπαρχίας διαδέχεται τὴν  
 ἐπιτροπὴν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου Κουμανός, ἐφ' οὐ  
 θόρυβοί τε ἥρξαντο καὶ φθορὰ πάλιν Ἰουδαίων  
 224 ἐγένετο. συνεληλυθότος γὰρ τοῦ πλῆθος ἐπὶ  
 τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν ἀζύμων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τῆς  
 Ῥωμαϊκῆς σπείρας ὑπὲρ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοὰν  
 ἐφεστώσης, ἔνοπλοι δ' ἀεὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς παραφυλάτ-  
 τουσιν, ὡς μή τι νεωτερίζοι τὸ πλῆθος ἡθροι-  
 σμένον, εἰς τις τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνασυράμενος τὴν  
 ἐσθῆτα καὶ κατακύψας ἀσχημόνως προσαπέστρε-  
 ψεν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὴν ἔδραν καὶ τῷ σχήματι  
 225 φωνὴν ὁμοίαν ἐπεφθέγξατο. πρὸς τοῦτο ἄπαν  
 μὲν τὸ πλῆθος ἡγανάκτησεν, καὶ κατεβόων τοῦ  
 Κουμανοῦ κολάζειν τὸν στρατιώτην, οἱ δὲ ἥπτον  
 νήφοντες τῶν νέων καὶ τὸ φύσει στασιῶδες ἐκ  
 τοῦ ἔθνους ἔχώρουν ἐπὶ μάχην, λίθους τε ἀρπά-  
 226 σαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐβαλλον. καὶ Κου-

<sup>a</sup> i.e. of Agrippa.

<sup>b</sup> Called after her mother, a princess of Emesa (A. xviii. 135).

<sup>c</sup> Agrippa, Herod of Chaleis, Aristobulus.

<sup>d</sup> Alexander II and Tigranes. Tigranes was made king of Armenia by Augustus, but was soon deposed; another

Another brother,<sup>a</sup> Aristobulus, died in private station, leaving a daughter Jotape.<sup>b</sup> These three,<sup>c</sup> as I have previously stated, were the children of Aristobulus, son of Herod ; Aristobulus and Alexander were the issue of Herod's marriage with Mariamme and were put to death by their father. The posterity of Alexander became kings of Greater Armenia.<sup>d</sup>

(xii. 1) After the death of Herod, sovereign of Chalcis, Claudius presented his kingdom to his nephew Agrippa, son of Agrippa. As procurator of the rest of the province (Tiberius) Alexander was succeeded by Cumanus<sup>e</sup> ; under his administration disturbances broke out, resulting in another<sup>f</sup> large loss of Jewish lives. The usual crowd had assembled at Jerusalem for the feast of unleavened bread, and the Roman cohort had taken up its position on the roof of the portico of the temple ; for a body of men in arms invariably mounts guard<sup>g</sup> at the feasts, to prevent disorders arising from such a concourse of people. Thereupon one of the soldiers, raising his robe, stooped in an indecent attitude, so as to turn his backside to the Jews, and made a noise in keeping with his posture.<sup>h</sup> Enraged at this insult, the whole multitude with loud cries called upon Cumanus to punish the soldier ; some of the more hot-headed young men and seditious persons in the crowd started a fight, and, picking up stones, hurled them at the Tigranes, son of Alexander II, was given the same kingdom by Nero (*A.* xviii. 139 f., *cf.* *Tac. Ann.* ii. 3).

Agrippa I  
king of  
Chalcis.  
Cumanus  
procurator  
A.D. 48-54

Sedition at  
Jerusalem  
at Passover  
caused by  
lewdness  
of a Rom  
soldier.

<sup>a</sup> Ventidius Cumanus (*Tac. Ann.* xii. 54).

<sup>b</sup> *Cf. B.* ii. 51.

<sup>c</sup> We cannot infer from the present tense, as Reinach does, the use of a source anterior to A.D. 70 ; *cf.* the similar use of this tense in *Ap.* ii. 193 (note).

<sup>d</sup> Reinach appositely quotes Horace, *Sat.* i. 9. 69 “hodie tricesima sabbata : vin tu | curtis Iudeis oppedere ?”

μανὸς δείσας, μὴ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἐπ' αὐτὸι  
όρμη γένοιτο, πλείους ὄπλίτας μεταπέμπεται.  
τῶν δὲ ταῖς στοᾶις ἐπιχειρούντων φόβος ἐμπίπτει  
τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀκατάσχετος, καὶ τραπέντες ἐκ  
227 τοῦ ἱεροῦ διέφευγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. τοσαύτη δὲ  
περὶ τὰς ἔξοδους βίᾳ συνωθουμένων ἐγένετο,  
ῶστε πατηθέντας ὑπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ συντριβέντας  
ὑπὲρ τρισμυρίους<sup>1</sup> ἀποθανεῖν, γενέσθαι δὲ τὴν  
έορτὴν πένθος μὲν ὅλῳ τῷ ἔθνει, θρῆνον δὲ καθ'  
ἐκάστην οἰκίαν.

228 (2) Μετελάμβανεν δὲ ταύτην τὴν συμφορὰν  
[ἄλλος]<sup>2</sup> ληστρικὸς θόρυβος. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Βαι-  
θωρὰ δημοσίαν ἄνοδον<sup>3</sup> Στεφάνου τιὸς δούλου  
Καίσαρος ἀποσκευὴν κομιζομένην διήρπασαν λη-  
229 σταὶ προσπεσόντες. Κουμανὸς δὲ περιπέμψας τοὺς  
ἐκ τῶν πλησίον κωμῶν δεσμώτας ἐκέλευσεν  
ἀνάγεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐπικαλῶν ὅτι μὴ διώξαντες  
τοὺς ληστὰς συλλάβοιεν. ἐνθα τῶν στρατιωτῶν  
τις εύρὼν ἐν τινι κώμῃ τὸν ἱερὸν νόμον διέρρηξέν  
230 τε τὸ βιβλίον καὶ εἰς πῦρ κατέβαλεν. Ἰουδαῖοι  
δὲ ὡς ὅλης αὐτοῖς τῆς χώρας καταφλεγείσης  
συνεχύθησαν, καὶ καθάπερ ὄργάνω τινὶ τῇ δεισι-  
δαιμονίᾳ συιελκόμενοι πρὸς ἐν κήρυγμα πάντες  
εἰς Καισάρειαν ἐπὶ Κουμανὸν συνέδραμον, ἵκετεύον-  
τες τὸν οὕτως εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν νόμον αὐτῶι  
231 ἐξυβρίσαντα μὴ περιιδεῖν ἀτιμώρητον. ὁ δέ  
οὐ γὰρ ἡρέμει τὸ πλῆθος, εἰ μὴ τύχοι παρα-

<sup>1</sup> PAM Lat. (Eus.): τοὺς μι·ρίους the rest: δύο μυριάδες A. II.

<sup>2</sup> om. M Lat.

<sup>3</sup> PA Lat.: ὁδὸν the rest.

<sup>a</sup> 20,000 according to A. xx. 112.

<sup>b</sup> The two Bethhorons (Upper and Lower), some ten and twelve miles respectively north-west of Jerusalem, on the

troops. Cumanus, fearing a general attack upon himself, sent for reinforcements. These troops pouring into the porticoes, the Jews were seized with irresistible panic and turned to fly from the temple and make their escape into the town. But such violence was used as they pressed round the exits that they were trodden under foot and crushed to death by one another ; upwards of thirty thousand <sup>a</sup> perished, and the feast was turned into mourning for the whole nation and for every household into lamentation.

(2) This calamity was followed by other disorders, originating with brigands. On the public road leading up to Bethhoron <sup>b</sup> some brigands attacked one Stephen, a slave of Caesar, and robbed him of his baggage. Cumanus, thereupon, sent troops round the neighbouring villages, with orders to bring up the inhabitants <sup>c</sup> to him in chains, reprimanding them for not having pursued and arrested the robbers. On this occasion a soldier, finding in one village a copy of the sacred law, tore the book in pieces and hung it into the fire.<sup>d</sup> At that the Jews were roused as though it were their whole country which had been consumed in the flames ; and, their religion acting like some instrument <sup>e</sup> to draw them together, all on the first announcement of the news hurried in a body to Cumanus at Caesarea, and implored him not to leave unpunished the author of such an outrage on God and on their law. The procurator, seeing that the multitude would not be pacified unless they obtained

The affair  
of the  
profanation  
of Scripture

main road to Joppa, famous in history : the defile was the scene of the defeat of Cestius described below (*B. ii. 546 ff.*).

<sup>a</sup> *A. xx. 114*, "the notables."

<sup>b</sup> The burning of the book is not mentioned in *A.*

<sup>c</sup> Or, as we should say, a magnet.

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μυθίας, ἡξίου τε προάγειν τὸν στρατιώτην καὶ διὰ μέσων τῶν αἰτιωμένων ἀπαχθῆναι τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ κελεύει. καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν ἀνεχώρουν.

232 (3) Αὐτὸς δὲ Γαλιλαίων καὶ Σαμαρέων γίνεται συμβολή. κατὰ γὰρ Γήμαν καλούμενην κώμην, ἥτις ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ κεῖται τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος, πολλῶν ἀναβαινόντων Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ τὴν ἔορτὴν

233 ἀγαρεῖται τις Γαλιλαῖος.<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τοῦτο πλεῖστοι μὲν ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας συνέδραμον ὡς πολεμήσοντες τοῖς Σαμαρεῦσι, οἱ γνώριμοι δ' αὐτῶν ἐλθόντες πρὸς Κουμανὸν ἡντιβόλουν, πρὶν ἀνηκέστου πάθους εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν διαβάντα τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ φόνου· μόνως γὰρ ἂν οὕτως διαλυθῆναι πρὸ πολέμου τὸ πλῆθος. Κουμανὸς μὲν οὖν ἐν δευτέρῳ τὰς ἐκείνων ἴκεσίας τῶν ἐν χερσὶ<sup>2</sup> πραγμάτων θέμενος ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμψεν τοὺς ἱκέτας.

234 (4) Ἀγγελθὲν δὲ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τὸ πάθος τοῦ πεφονευμένου τὰ πλήθη συνετάριξεν καὶ τῆς ἔορτῆς ἀφέμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαμάρειαν ἔξωρμων ἀστρατήγητοι καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων κατέχοντι πειθό-

235 μενοι. τοῦ λῃστρικοῦ δ' αὐτῶν καὶ στασιώδους Δειναίου τις νίος Ἐλεάζαρος καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔξηρχον, οἱ τοῖς ὄμόροις τῆς Ἀκραβατηνῆς τοπαρχίας προσπεσόντες αὐτούς τε ἀνήγρουν μηδεμιᾶς ἡλικίας φειδὼ ποιούμενοι καὶ τὰς κώμας ἐνεπίμ- πρασαν.

<sup>1</sup> For πολλῶν . . . ἀναιρ. τις Γαλιλαῖος PAM have πολλο- τῶν . . . ἀναιροῦνται (accommmodation to *A. xx. 118?*).

<sup>2</sup> χειρὶ PAM.

<sup>a</sup> Tacitus, *Ann. xii. 54*, gives a different account of the events recorded in (3)-(7) (Reinach). According to him Cumanus was governor of Galilee and Felix of Samaria.

<sup>b</sup> Ginae (*A. xx. 118*), Ginaea (*B. iii. 48*), where it is named

satisfaction, thought fit to call out the soldier and ordered him to be led to execution through the ranks of his accusers. On this the Jews withdrew.

(3) Next came a conflict between the Galilaeans and the Samaritans.<sup>a</sup> At a village called Gema,<sup>b</sup> situate in the great plain of Samaria, a Galilaeon, one of a large company of Jews on their way up to the festival, was murdered.<sup>c</sup> Thereupon, a considerable crowd assembled in haste from Galilee with the intention of making war on the Samaritans; meanwhile, the notables of the country went off to Cumanus, and entreated him, ere any irreparable mischief was done, to repair to Galilee and punish the perpetrators of the murder, as that was the only means of dispersing the crowd before they came to blows. Cumanus, however, treating their request as less important than other affairs on his hands,<sup>d</sup> dismissed the petitioners without any satisfaction.

(4) When the news of the murder reached Jerusalem, the masses were profoundly stirred, and, abandoning the festival, they dashed off to Samaria, without generals and without listening to any of the magistrates who sought to hold them back. The brigands and rioters among the party had as their leaders Eleazar, son of Deinaeus, and Alexander,<sup>e</sup> who, falling upon the borderers of the toparchy of Acrabatene,<sup>f</sup> massacred the inhabitants without distinction of age and burnt the villages.

Battle  
between  
Jews and  
Samaritan  
arising out  
of murder  
of a  
Galilaeon.

<sup>a</sup> is the northern frontier of Samaria, En-gannim of the Old Testament (*Jos. xix. 21*), mod. *Jenin*; at the head of the Great Plain of Esdraelon. With the incident cf. *Luke ix. 52 f.*

<sup>b</sup> According to *A. xx. 118* several pilgrims were murdered.

<sup>c</sup> *A.* says "bribed by the Samaritans."

<sup>d</sup> Alexander is not mentioned in *A.*

<sup>e</sup> South-east of Shechem.

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236 (5) Κουμανὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Καισαρείας μίαν ἥλην ἵππεων καλουμένην Σεβαστηνῶν ἐξεβοήθει τοῖς πορθουμένοις, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον πολλοὺς μὲν συνέλαβεν, πλείστους δ' ἀπ-  
237 ἔκτεινεν. πρὸς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τῶν πολεμεῖν τοῖς Σαμαρεῦσιν ὡρμημένων οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκδραμόντες σάκκους ἀμπεχόμενοι καὶ τέφραν τῶν κεφαλῶν καταχέοντες ἵκέτευον ἀναχωρεῖν, καὶ μὴ διὰ τὴν εἰς Σαμαρεῖς ἅμυναν ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα Ῥωμαίους παροξύνειν, ἐλεῆσαι τε τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸν ναόν, τέκνα τε καὶ γυναικας ἴδιας, ἢ πάντα κινδυνεύειν δι' ἐνὸς ἐκδικίαν Γαλι-  
238 λαίου παραπολέσθαι. τούτοις πεισθέντες Ἰουδαῖοι διελύθησαν. ἐτράποντο δὲ πολλοὶ πρὸς ληστείαν διὰ τὴν ἄδειαν, καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν ἀρπαγαί 239 τε ἥσαν καὶ τῶν θρασυτέρων ἐπαναστάσεις. καὶ τῶν Σαμαρέων οἱ δυνατοὶ πρὸς Οὐμμίδιον Κουαδράτον, ὃς ἦν ἡγεμὼν τῆς Συρίας, εἰς Τύρον παρ-  
γενόμενοι δίκην τινὰ παρὰ τῶν πορθησάντων τὴν  
240 χώραν ἤξιον λαβεῖν. παρόντες δὲ καὶ οἱ γνώ-  
ριμοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰωνάθης τὸν Ἀνάνου κατάρξαι μὲν ἔλεγον τῆς ταραχῆς Σαμαρέας διὰ τὸν φόγον, αἵτιον δὲ τῶν ἀποβεβη-  
κότων Κουμανὸν γεγονέναι, μὴ θελήσαντα τοὺς αὐθέντας τοῦ σφαγέντος ἐπεξελθεῖν.  
241 (6) Κουαδράτος δὲ τότε μὲν ἑκατέρους ὑπερ-  
τίθεται φῆσας, ἐπειδὰν εἰς τοὺς τόπους παρα-  
γένηται, διερευνήσειν ἔκαστα, αὐθὶς δὲ παρελθὼ

<sup>a</sup> Lat. *ala*.

<sup>b</sup> See ii. 52 (note): *A.* adds “and four companies (*τάγματα*, ? cohorts) of infantry.”

<sup>c</sup> Later the first victim of the *sicarii*, § 256.

(5) Cumanus, taking with him from Caesarea a troop<sup>a</sup> of cavalry known as "Sebastenians,"<sup>b</sup> now set off to the assistance of the victims of these ravages; he made prisoners of many of Eleazar's companions and killed a yet larger number. As for the rest of the party who had rushed to war with the Samaritans, the magistrates of Jerusalem hastened after them, clad in sackcloth and with ashes strewn upon their heads, and implored them to return home and not, by their desire for reprisals on the Samaritans, to bring down the wrath of the Romans on Jerusalem, but to take pity on their country and sanctuary, on their own wives and children; all these were threatened with destruction merely for the object of avenging the blood of a single Galilean. Yielding to these remonstrances the Jews dispersed. Many of them, however, emboldened by impunity, had recourse to robbery, and raids and insurrections, fostered by the more reckless, broke out all over the country. The leading Samaritans, accordingly, went off to Tyre to see Ummidius Quadratus, the governor of Syria, and urged him to punish the authors of these depredations. The Jewish notables, including the high-priest Jonathan,<sup>c</sup> son of Ananus, also presented themselves, and maintained that it was the Samaritans, by the murder in question, who had originated the disturbance, but that the responsibility for all that ensued lay with Cumanus for refusing to take proceedings against the assassins.

(6) Quadratus, at the moment, deferred giving a reply to either party, telling them that when he visited the district he would investigate the particulars; subsequently he proceeded to Caesarea,<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> "To Samaria" (A. xx. 129).

εἰς Καισάρειαν τοὺς ὑπὸ Κουμανοῦ ζωγρηθέντας  
 242 ἀνεσταύρωσεν πάντας. ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Λύδα παρ-  
 γενόμενος πάλιν διήκουσεν τῶν Σαμαρέων, καὶ  
 μεταπεμψάμενος ὁκτωκαΐδεκα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οὓς  
 ἐπέπυστο μετεσχηκέναι τῆς μάχης, πελέκει δι-  
 243 εχειρίσατο. δύο δ' ἔτέρους τῶν δυνατωτάτων καὶ  
 τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς Ἰωνάθην καὶ Ἀνανίαν, τὸν τε  
 τούτου παῖδα Ἀνανον καὶ τινας ἄλλους Ἰουδαίων  
 γνωρίμους ἀνέπεμψεν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα, ὅμοίως δὲ  
 244 καὶ Σαμαρέων τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους. παρήγγειλεν  
 δὲ καὶ Κουμανῷ καὶ Κέλερι τῷ χιλιάρχῳ πλεῦν  
 ἐπὶ Ρώμης δώσοντας Κλαυδίῳ λόγον ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 γεγενημένων. ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀπὸ Λύδδων  
 ἀνέβαινεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸ  
 πλῆθος ἄγον τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτὴν ἀθορύβως  
 εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπανήει.

245 (7) Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ρώμην Καίσαρ ἀκούσας  
 Κουμανοῦ καὶ Σαμαρέων, παρῆν δὲ καὶ Ἀγρίππας  
 ἐκθύμως ὑπεραγωνιζόμενος Ἰουδαίων, ἐπειδὴ καὶ  
 Κουμανῷ πολλοὶ τῶν δυνατῶν παρίσταντο, Σαμα-  
 ρέων μὲν καταγνοὺς τρεῖς ἀνελεῖν προσέταξεν τοὺς  
 246 δυνατωτάτους, Κουμανὸν δὲ ἐφυγάδευσεν. Κέλερα  
 δὲ δεσμώτην ἀναπέμψας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παρ-  
 δοθῆναι Ἰουδαίοις πρὸς αἰκίαν ἐκέλευσεν καὶ  
 περισυρέντα τὴν πόλιν οὗτω τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπο-  
 κοπῆναι.

247 (8) Μετὰ ταῦτα Ἰουδαίας μὲν ἐπίτροπον Φήλικα  
 τὸν Πάλλαντος ἀδελφὸν ἐκπέμπει τῆς τε Σαμα-  
 ρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας καὶ Περαίας, ἐκ δὲ τῆς

where he crucified all the prisoners taken by Cumanus. From there he went on to Lydda, where he gave another hearing to the Samaritans. He then sent for eighteen<sup>a</sup> Jews, who, as he was informed, had taken part in the combat, and had them beheaded. He sent up to Caesar, along with two other persons of the highest eminence, the high-priests Jonathan and Ananias, Ananus,<sup>b</sup> the son of the latter, and some other Jewish notables, together with the most distinguished of the Samaritans. He also directed Cumanus and Celer, the tribune, to take ship for Rome and to render an account of their conduct to Claudius. Having taken these measures, he left Lydda and went up to Jerusalem ; and, finding the people peaceably celebrating the feast of unleavened bread,<sup>c</sup> he returned to Antioch.

(7) At Rome Caesar gave his hearing to Cumanus and the Samaritans in the presence of Agrippa, who made a spirited defence on behalf of the Jews, while Cumanus on his side was supported by many eminent persons. The emperor condemned the Samaritans, ordered three of their most prominent men to be executed, and banished Cumanus. Celer he sent back in chains to Jerusalem, with orders that he was to be delivered over to Jewish outrage : after being dragged round the city, he was then to be beheaded.

(8) After this Claudius sent out Felix, the brother of Pallas, as procurator of Judaea, Samaria, Galilee,

Claudius gives judgment for Jews and banishes Cumanus.

Felix, procurator A.D. 52-60.

<sup>a</sup> A certain Doetus with four others (*A. xx. 130*).

<sup>b</sup> "Ananus the captain" (? of the temple) in *A. xx. 131*, where Jonathan's name is omitted.

<sup>c</sup> "A national feast" (unspecified), *A. xx. 133*. According to *B.* the disturbances described in this chapter must have extended over a whole year from one Passover (§ 224) to the next.

Χαλκίδος Ἀγρίππαν εἰς μείζονα βασιλείαν μετατίθησιν, δοὺς αὐτῷ τὴν τε Φιλίππου γενομένην ἐπαρχίαν, αὗτη δ' ἦν Τραχωνῖτις καὶ Βατανέα καὶ Γαυλανῖτις, προσέθηκεν δὲ τὴν τε Λυσανίου βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν Οὐάρου γενομένην τετραρχίαν  
 248 αὐτὸς δὲ διοικήσας τὴν ἥγεμονίαν ἔτεσι τρισκαΐδεκα, πρὸς δὲ μησὸν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις τελευτῇ καταλιπὼν Νέρωνα τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον  
 249 δὸν ταῖς Ἀγριππίνης τῆς γυναικὸς ἀπάταις ἐπ κληρονομίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἰσεποιήσατο, καίπερ νιὸι ἔχων γυνῆσιν Βρεττανικὸν ἐκ Μεσσαλίνης τὴν προτέρας γυναικὸς καὶ Ὁκταουίαν θυγατέρα τὴν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ζευχθεῖσαν Νέρωνι· γεγόνει δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ Πετίνης Ἀντωνία.

250 (xiii. 1) "Οσα μὲν οὖν Νέρων δι’ ὑπερβολὴν εὐδαιμονίας τε καὶ πλούτου παραφρονήσας ἐξ ὑβρισεν εἰς τὴν τύχην, ἡ τίνα τρόπον τόν τε ἀδελφὸν καὶ τὴν γυναικὰ καὶ τὴν μητέρα διεξῆλθει ἀφ’ ὧν ἐπὶ τοὺς εὐγενεστάτους μετήνεγκεν τὴν ὡμότητα, καὶ ὡς τελευταῖον ὑπὸ φρενοβλαβείας ἐξώκειλεν εἰς σκηνὴν καὶ θέατρον, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὅχλου πᾶσιν ἐστιν, παραλείψω, τρέφομαι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ Ἰουδαίοις κατ’ αὐτὸν γενόμενα.

252 (2) Τὴν μὲν οὖν μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν δίδωσι βασιλεύειν Ἀριστοβούλῳ τῷ Ἡράδου, τῇ ἡ Ἀγρίππα βασιλείᾳ τέσσαρας πόλεις προστίθησον ταῖς τοπαρχίαις, Ἀβέλα μὲν καὶ Ἰουλιάδ-

<sup>a</sup> Antonius Felix (Tac. *Hist.* v. 9; the reading Κλαύδιος Φήλικα in *A.* xx. 137 is doubtful) was probably, like his influential brother Pallas, a freedman of Antonia, mother of Claudius. According to Tacitus (here probably untrustworthy) he had already been procurator of Samaria (§ 2; note).

and Peraea.<sup>a</sup> Agrippa he transferred from Chalcis to a larger kingdom, assigning to him Philip's former province, namely Trachonitis, Batanaea, and Gaulanitis; to this he added the kingdom of Lysanias and the old tetrarchy of Varus.<sup>b</sup> After governing the empire for thirteen years eight months and twenty days,<sup>c</sup> Claudius died, leaving Nero as his successor. Yielding to the artifices of his wife Agrippina, he had adopted this prince as heir to the throne, although he had by his former wife, Messalina, a legitimate son, Britannicus, besides a daughter, Octavia, whom he had given in marriage to Nero; he had also, by Petina, another daughter, Antonia.

(xiii. 1) All the outrageous acts in defiance of fortune of which Nero was guilty, when excess of prosperity and riches drove him mad; how he successively made away with his brother, wife, and mother; how his cruelty then found fresh victims in the highest of the nobility; how his infatuation finally landed him on the stage and the boards of the theatre—all these subjects, being so hackneyed, I propose to pass over and to turn to the events of Jewish history under his reign.

(2) He presented the kingdom of the Lesser Armenia to Aristobulus, son of Herod<sup>d</sup>; he annexed Agrippa's kingdom enlarged. to Agrippa's kingdom four cities with their districts,<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Varus is identified by Schürer with the minister of Agrippa II, mentioned in *Vita* 48 ff., where he is described as a descendant of Soemus who had been a tetrarch in the Lebanon district (*ib.* 52); it is assumed that he inherited or at one time a part of this tetrarchy.

<sup>b</sup> The calculation, repeated in *A.* xx. 148, is here correct: Claudius reigned from 24th January 41 to 13th October 54.

<sup>c</sup> Of Chalcis, grandson of Herod the Great.

<sup>d</sup> Greek "toparchies."

Agrippa II  
king of  
Trachonit  
etc., A.D. 5

Death of  
Claudius,  
A.D. 54.

- κατὰ τὴν Περαίαν, Ταριχαίας δὲ καὶ Τιβεριάδα  
 τῆς Γαλιλαίας, εἰς δὲ τὴν λοιπὴν Ἰουδαίαν Φήλικα  
 253 κατέστησεν ἐπίτροπον. οὗτος τόν τε ἀρχιληστὴν  
 Ἐλεάζαρον ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι τὴν χώραν λησάμενον  
 καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ζωγρήσας ἀνέπεμψεν  
 εἰς Ῥώμην· τῶν δ' ἀνασταυρωθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
 ληστῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ κουωνίᾳ φωραθέντων δημο-  
 τῶν, οὓς ἐκόλασεν, ἅπειρόν τι πλῆθος ἦν.
- 254 (3) Καθαρθείσης δὲ τῆς χώρας ἔτερον εἶδος  
 ληστῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπεφύετο, οἱ καλούμενοι  
 σικάριοι, μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει  
 255 φονεύοντες ἀνθρώπους. μάλιστα [δέ]<sup>1</sup> ἐν ταῖς  
 ἑορταῖς μισγόμενοι τῷ πλήθει καὶ ταῖς ἐσθῆσιν  
 ὑποκρύπτοντες μικρὰ ξιφίδια, τούτοις ἔνυπτον  
 τοὺς διαφόρους, ἔπειτα πεσόντων μέρος ἐγίνοντο  
 τῶν ἐπαγανακτούντων οἱ πεφοιευκότες, διὸ καὶ  
 παντάπασιν ὑπὸ ἀξιοπιστίας ἦσαν ἀνεύρετοι.
- 256 πρῶτος μὲν οὖν ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἰωνάθης ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς  
 ἀποσφάττεται, μετὰ δ' αὐτὸν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀν-  
 γροῦντο πολλοί· καὶ τῶν συμφορῶν ὁ φόβος ἦν  
 χαλεπώτερος, ἐκάστου καθάπερ ἐν πολέμῳ καθ'  
 257 ὥραν τὸν θάνατον προσδεχομένου. προεσκοποῦντες  
 δὲ πόρρωθεν τοὺς διαφόρους, καὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς φίλοις  
 προσιοῦσιν<sup>2</sup> πίστις ἦν, ἐν μέσαις δὲ ταῖς ὑπονοίαις  
 καὶ ταῖς φυλακαῖς ἀνηροῦντο· τοσοῦτον τῶν ἐπι-  
 βουλευόντων τὸ τάχος ἦν καὶ τοῦ λαθεῖν ἡ τέχνη
- 258 (4) Συνέστη δὲ πρὸς τούτοις στίφος ἔτεροι  
 πονηρῶν, χειρὶ μὲν καθαρώτερον, ταῖς γνώμαις

<sup>1</sup> om. PALV: γὰρ Εὐ.

<sup>2</sup> + ἔπι LVRC.

<sup>a</sup> Abila is not mentioned in *A.* xx. 159; there were several places of the name and the exact position of this one is doubtful. For Julias = Livias see § 168 (note).

namely, Abila and Julias in Peraea,<sup>a</sup> and Tarichaeae and Tiberias in Galilee; he appointed <sup>b</sup> Felix to be procurator of the rest of Judaea. Felix took prisoner Eleazar,<sup>c</sup> the brigand chief, who for twenty years had ravaged the country, with many of his associates, and sent them for trial to Rome. Of the brigands whom he crucified, and of the common people who were convicted of complicity with them and punished by him, the number was incalculable.

Felix quelled  
the  
brigands.

(3) But while the country was thus cleared of these pests, a new species of banditti was springing up in Jerusalem, the so-called *sicarii*,<sup>d</sup> who committed murders in broad daylight in the heart of the city. The festivals were their special seasons, when they would mingle with the crowd, carrying short daggers concealed under their clothing, with which they stabbed their enemies. Then, when they fell, the murderer joined in the cries of indignation and, through this plausible behaviour, were never discovered. The first to be assassinated by them was Jonathan the high-priest; after his death there were numerous daily murders. The panic created was more alarming than the calamity itself; every one, on the battlefield, hourly expecting death. Men kept watch at a distance on their enemies and would not trust even their friends when they approached. Yet, even while their suspicions were aroused and they were on their guard, they fell; so swift were the conspirators and so crafty in eluding detection.

(4) Besides these there arose another body of <sup>and of false</sup> illains, with purer hands but more impious intentions, <sup>prophets.</sup>

<sup>b</sup> i.e. confirmed his previous appointment (§ 247).

<sup>c</sup> Son of Deinæus, § 235.

<sup>d</sup> "Assassins," from Lat. *sica*, a curved dagger.

# JOSEPHUS

δὲ ἀσεβέστερον, ὅπερ οὐδὲν ἥττον τῶν σφαγέων  
 259 τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τῆς πόλεως ἐλυμήνατο. πλάνοι  
 γὰρ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἀπατεῶνες, [ύπὸ]<sup>1</sup> προσχήματι  
 θειασμοῦ νεωτερισμοὺς καὶ μεταβολὰς πραγ-  
 ματευόμενοι, δαιμονᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἔπειθον<sup>2</sup> καὶ  
 προηγον εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν, ὡς ἐκεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ δείξοντος  
 260 αὐτοῖς σημεῖα ἐλευθερίας. ἐπὶ τούτοις Φῆλιξ,  
 ἐδόκει γὰρ ἀποστάσεως εἶναι καταβολή, πέμψας  
 ἵππεis καὶ πεζοὺς ὁπλίτας πολὺ πλῆθος διέφθειρεν.  
 261 (5) Μείζονι δὲ [τούτου]<sup>3</sup> πληγῇ Ἰουδαίους  
 ἐκάκωσεν ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ψευδοπροφήτης. παρα-  
 γενόμενος γὰρ εἰς τὴν χώραν ἄνθρωπος γόης καὶ  
 προφήτου πίστιν ἐπιθεὶς ἐαυτῷ περὶ τρισμυρίους  
 262 μὲν ἀθροίζει τῶν ἡπατημένων, περιαγαγῶν δὲ  
 αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐρημίας εἰς τὸ ἐλαιῶν καλούμενον  
 ὄρος, ἐκεῖθεν οὖσα τε ἦν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παρελθεῖν  
 βιάζεσθαι καὶ κρατήσας τῆς [τε]<sup>4</sup> Ῥωμαϊκῆς  
 φρουρᾶς [καὶ]<sup>5</sup> τοῦ δῆμου τυραννεῖν, χρώμενος  
 263 τοῖς συνεισπεσοῦσιν δορυφόροις. φθάνει δ' αὐτοῦ  
 τὴν ὄρμὴν Φῆλιξ ὑπαντήσας<sup>6</sup> μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν  
 ὁπλιτῶν, καὶ πᾶς ὁ δῆμος συνεφήψατο τῆς ἀμύνης,  
 ὥστε συμβολῆς γενομένης τὸν μὲν Αἰγύπτιον  
 φυγεῖν μετ' ὀλίγων, διαφθαρῆναι δὲ καὶ ζωγρη-  
 θῆναι πλείστους τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν  
 πλῆθος σκεδασθὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἔκαστον δια-  
 λαθεῖν.

<sup>1</sup> om. VRC.

<sup>2</sup> ἀνέπειθον VRC.

<sup>3</sup> om. Lat.: τούτων Eus.: ταύτης VRC.

<sup>4</sup> om. PAM.

<sup>5</sup> om. Lat.

<sup>6</sup> PA Eus.: ὑπαντιάσας the rest.

who no less than the assassins ruined the peace of the city. Deceivers and impostors, under the pretence of divine inspiration fostering revolutionary changes, they persuaded the multitude to act like madmen, and led them out into the desert under the belief that God would there give them tokens of deliverance.<sup>a</sup> Against them Felix, regarding this as but the preliminary to insurrection, sent a body of cavalry and heavy-armed infantry, and put a large number to the sword.

(5) A still worse blow was dealt at the Jews by <sup>The</sup> Egyptian false prophet. A charlatan, who had gained for himself the reputation of a prophet, this man appeared in the country, collected a following of about thirty thousand<sup>b</sup> dupes, and led them by a circuitous route from the desert to the mount called the mount of Olives. From there he proposed to force an entrance into Jerusalem and, after overpowering the Roman garrison, to set himself up as tyrant of the people, employing those who poured in with him as his bodyguard. His attack was anticipated by Felix, who went to meet him with the Roman heavy infantry, the whole population joining him in the defence. The outcome of the ensuing engagement was that the Egyptian escaped with a few of his followers; most of his force were killed or taken prisoners; the remainder dispersed and stealthily escaped to their several homes.

prophets and shall show great signs . . . they shall say unto you, Behold he is in the wilderness." Theudas was an earlier impostor of this type, and met with a similar fate, *A. xx. 97.*

<sup>a</sup> 4000 according to *Acts xxi. 38*; S. Paul was mistaken for this impostor.

- 264 (6) Κατεσταλμένων δὲ καὶ τούτων ὥσπερ ἐν νοσοῦντι σώματι πάλιν ἔτερον μέρος ἐφλέγμαινεν. οἱ γὰρ γόητες καὶ λῃστρικοὶ συναχθέντες πολλοὺς εἰς ἀπόστασιν ἐνῆγον καὶ πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν παρ-εκρότουν, θάνατον ἐπιτιμῶντες τοῖς πειθαρχοῦσιν τῇ Ἀρμαίων ἡγεμονίᾳ καὶ πρὸς βίαν ἀφαιρή-σεσθαι λέγοντες τοὺς ἔκουσίως δουλεύειν προαιρου-  
265 μένους. μεριζόμενοι δ' εἰς τὴν χώραν κατὰ λόχους διήρπαζόν τε τὰς τῶν δυνατῶν οἰκίας καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνήρουν καὶ τὰς κώμας ἐνεπίμπρασαν, ὥστε τῆς ἀπονοίας αὐτῶν πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀναπίμ-πλασθαι. καὶ οὗτος μὲν ὁ πόλεμος καθ' ἡμέραν ἀνερριπίζετο.
- 266 (7) Ἐτέρα δὲ ταραχὴ συνίσταται περὶ Καισά-ρειαν τῶν ἀναμεμιγμένων Ἰουδαίων πρὸς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ Σύρους στασιασάντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἡξίουν σφετέραν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν Ἰουδαίον γεγονέναι τὸν κτίστην αὐτῆς λέγοντες· ἦν δὲ Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεύς· οἱ δὲ ἔτεροι τὸν οἰκιστὴν μὲν προσωμολόγουν Ἰουδαίον, αὐτὴν μέντοι γε τὴν πόλιν Ἑλλήνων ἔφασαν· οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἀνδριάντας καὶ ναοὺς ἐγκαθ-  
267 ιδρῦσαι Ἰουδαίοις αὐτὴν ἀνατιθέντα. διὰ ταῦτα διημφισβήτουν<sup>1</sup> ἔκάτεροι, προϊέντες δ' αὐτοῖς τὸ φιλό-νεικον εἰς ὅπλα καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν οἱ θρασύτεροι παρ' ἀμφοῦν προεπήδων ἐπὶ μάχην· οὕτε<sup>2</sup> γὰρ Ἰουδαίων οἱ γεραιοὶ τοὺς ἴδίους στασιαστὰς κατ-έχειν οἷοί τε ἦσαν καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν αἰσχος ἐδόκει  
268 Ἰουδαίων ἐλαττοῦσθαι. προεῖχον δ' οἱ μὲν πλούτων καὶ σωμάτων ἀλκῆ, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν τῇ παρὰ

<sup>1</sup> Destinon: οὖτε ἡμφισβήτοιν MSS.

<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲ PAML.

<sup>a</sup> Where S. Paul then probably lay a prisoner.

(6) No sooner were these disorders reduced than the inflammation, as in a sick man's body, broke out again in another quarter. The impostors and brigands, banding together, incited numbers to revolt, exhorting them to assert their independence, and threatening to kill any who submitted to Roman domination and forcibly to suppress those who voluntarily accepted servitude. Distributing themselves in companies throughout the country, they looted the houses of the wealthy, murdered their owners, and set the villages on fire. The effects of their frenzy were thus felt throughout all Judaea, and every day saw this war being fanned into fiercer flame.

(7) Another disturbance occurred at Caesarea,<sup>a</sup> where the Jewish portion of the population rose against the Syrian inhabitants. They claimed that the city was theirs on the ground that its founder, King Herod, was a Jew. Their opponents admitted the Jewish origin of its second founder, but maintained that the city itself belonged to the Greeks, since Herod would never have erected the statues and temples which he placed there had he destined it for Jews.<sup>b</sup> Such were the points at issue between the two parties, and the quarrel eventually led to an appeal to arms. Every day the more venturesome in either camp would rush into combat ; for the older members of the Jewish community were incapable of restraining their turbulent partisans, and the Greeks considered it humiliating to give way to the Jews. The latter had the advantage of superior wealth and physical strength, the Greeks that of the

Further  
brigandage

Disorders  
at Caesarea  
Jews v.  
Syrians,

c. A.D. 59-60

<sup>a</sup> In *A.* xx. 173 their argument is that the older city, Strato's Tower, had not a single Jewish inhabitant.

τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀμύνη· τὸ γὰρ πλέον 'Ρωμαίοις  
 τῆς ἐκεῖ δυνάμεως ἐκ Συρίας ἦν κατειλεγμένον  
 καὶ καθάπερ συγγενεῖς ἦσαν πρὸς τὰς βοηθείας  
 269 ἔτοιμοι. τοῖς γε μὴν ἐπάρχοις φροντὶς ἦν ἀνα-  
 στέλλειν τὴν ταραχὴν καὶ τοὺς μαχιμωτέρους ἀεὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 συλλαμβάνοντες ἐκόλαζον μάστιξι καὶ δεσμοῖς. οὐ  
 μὴν τὰ πάθη τῶν συλλαμβανομένων ἐνεποίει τοῖς  
 270 καταλειπομένοις ἀνακοπὴν ἢ δέος, ἀλλ’ ἔτι μᾶλλον  
 παρωξύνοντο πρὸς τὴν στάσιν. νικῶντας δέ ποτε  
 τοὺς Ἰουδαίους προελθὼν<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ὁ Φῆλιξ  
 μετ’ ἀπειλῆς ἐκέλευσεν ἀναχωρεῖν. τῶν δὲ μὴ  
 πειθομένων ἐπιπέμψας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναιρεῖ  
 συχνούς, ὃν διαρπαγῆναι συνέβη καὶ τὰς οὐσίας.  
 μενούσης δὲ τῆς στάσεως ἐπιλέξας ἐκατέρωθεν  
 τοὺς γνωρίμους ἐπεμψεις πρέσβεις ἐπὶ Νέρωνα  
 διαλεξομένους περὶ τῶν δικαίων.

271 (xiv. 1) Διαδεξάμενος δὲ παρὰ τούτου τὴν  
 ἐπιτροπὴν ὁ Φῆστος τὸ μάλιστα λυμαινόμενον τὴν  
 χώραν ἐπεξήγει· τῶν γοῦν ληστῶν συνέλαβέν τε  
 272 πλείστους καὶ διέφθειρεν οὐκ ὀδίγους. ἀλλ’ οὐχ  
 ὁ μετὰ Φῆστον Ἀλβῖνος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐξ-  
 ηγήσατο τῶν πραγμάτων, οὐκ ἔστιν δὲ ἥντινα κα-  
 273 κουργίας ἰδέαν παρέλειπεν. οὐ μόνον γοῦν ἐν τοῖς  
 πολιτικοῖς πράγμασιν ἐκλεπτεν καὶ διήρπαζεν τὰς  
 ἐκάστων οὐσίας, οὐδὲ τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος ἐβάρει ταῖς  
 εἰσφοραῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ ληστείᾳ δεδεμένους  
 ὑπὸ τῆς παρ’ ἐκάστοις βουλῆς ἢ τῶν προτέρων  
 ἐπιτρόπων ἀπελύτρου τοῖς συγγενέσιν, καὶ μόνος

<sup>1</sup> PM: παρελθὼν (-ειν C) the rest.

<sup>a</sup> Porcius Festus died in office (A. xx. 200). A more favourable estimate of his successor (Lucceius) Albinus is given in A. xx. than in the War. There he begins by putting  
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support of the military ; for the troops stationed here were mainly levied by the Romans from Syria, and were consequently always ready to lend aid to their compatriots. The magistrates, indeed, were at pains to repress these disorders, and constantly arrested the more pugnacious offenders and punished them with the scourge and imprisonment ; but the sufferings of those arrested, so far from checking or intimidating the remainder, only served as a stimulus to sedition. On one occasion when the Jews had been victorious, Felix came forward into the market-place and ordered them in menacing tones to retire ; on their refusing to obey, he set his troops upon them, when many were killed, their property being subsequently plundered. The quarrel, nevertheless, continuing, Felix selected the notables of the two parties and sent them to Nero as deputies to discuss before him their respective rights.

(xiv 1) Festus, who succeeded Felix as procurator, proceeded to attack the principal plague of the country : he captured large numbers of the brigands and put not a few to death.

The administration of Albinus,<sup>a</sup> who followed Festus, was of another order ; there was no form of villainy which he omitted to practise. Not only did he, in his official capacity, steal and plunder private property and burden the whole nation with extraordinary taxes, but he accepted ransoms from their relatives on behalf of those who had been imprisoned or robbery by the local councils or by former procurators ; and the only persons left in gaol as

own the *sicarii*, though he ends, on hearing of his supersession, by opening the prisons and thus filling the country with brigands.

The last  
three  
procurators  
Festus,  
A.D. 60-62.

Albinus,  
A.D. 62-64.

ό μὴ δοὺς τοῖς δεσμωτηρίοις ώς πονηρὸς ἐγκατ-  
 274 ελείπετο. τηνικαῦτα καὶ τῶν νεωτερίζειν βουλο-  
 μένων ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐθάρσησαν αἱ τόλμαι, καὶ  
 χρήμασιν μὲν οἱ δυνατοὶ τὸν Ἀλβίνον προσελάμι-  
 βανοι ὥστε τοῦ στασιάζειν αὐτοῖς παρέχειν ἀδειαν,  
 τοῦ δημοτικοῦ δὲ τὸ μὴ χαῖρον ἡσυχίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς  
 275 Ἀλβίνου κοινωνοὺς ἀπέκλινεν. ἔκαστος δὲ τῶν  
 πονηρῶν ἕδιον στῖφος ὑπεζωσμένος αὐτὸς μὲν  
 ὥσπερ ἀρχιληστῆς ἢ τύραινος προανεῖχεν ἐκ τοῦ  
 λόχου, τοῖς δορυφοροῦσι δὲ πρὸς ἀρπαγὰς τῶν  
 276 μετρίων κατεχρῆτο. σινέβαινεν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀφ-  
 γημένους ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀγανακτεῖν ἔχρην σιωπᾶν,  
 τοὺς ἀπλῆγας δέ, δέει τοῦ μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ παθεῖν,  
 καὶ κολακεύειν τὸν ἄξιον κολάσεως. καθόλου δὲ  
 ἡ μὲν παρρησία πάντων περικέκοπτο, τυραννὶς δ'  
 ἦν διὰ πλειόνων, καὶ τὰ σπέρματα τῆς μελλούσης  
 ἀλώσεως ἔκτοτε τῇ πόλει κατεβάλλετο.

277 (2) Τοιοῦτον δ' ὅντα τὸν Ἀλβίνον ἀπέδειξεν  
 ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐλθὼν Γέσσιος Φλῶρος ἀγαθώτατον  
 κατὰ σύγκρισιν. ὁ μέν γε λάθρα τὰ πολλὰ καὶ  
 μεθ' ὑποστολῆς ἔκακούργησεν, Γέσσιος δὲ τὰς  
 εἰς τὸ ἔθνος παρανομίας ἐπόμπευσεν, καὶ ὥσπερ  
 ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ κατακρίτων πεμφθεὶς δῆμος οὔτε  
 278 ἀρπαγῆς τινα τρόπον οὔτε αἰκίας παρέλιπεν. ἦν  
 δὲ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἐλεεινοῖς ὡμότατος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς  
 αἰσχροῖς ἀναιδέστατος· οὔτε δὲ πλείω τις ἀπιστίαν  
 τῆς ἀληθείας κατέχεεν οὔτε ἐν τῷ πανουργεῖν  
 δολιωτέρας ὄδοὺς ἐπενόησεν. ὥ τὸ μὲν κατ'  
 ἄνδρα κερδαίνειν μικρὸν ἐδόκει, πόλεις δ' ὅλας  
 ἐξεδίδυσκε καὶ δήμους ἀθρόους ἐλυμαίνετο, καὶ

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<sup>a</sup> Literally “unbelief”; “was more successful in smothering the truth” (Traill).

malefactors were those who failed to pay the price. Now, too, the audacity of the revolutionary party in Jerusalem was stimulated; the influential men among their number secured from Albinus, by means of bribes, immunity for their seditious practices; while of the populace all who were dissatisfied with peace joined hands with the governor's accomplices. Each ruffian, with his own band of followers grouped around him, towered above his company like a brigand chief or tyrant, employing his bodyguard to plunder peaceable citizens. The result was that the victims of robbery kept their grievances, of which they had every reason to complain, to themselves, while those who escaped injury cringed to wretches deserving of punishment, through fear of suffering the same fate. In short, none could now speak his mind, with tyrants on every side; and from this date were sown in the city the seeds of its impending fall.

(2) Such was the character of Albinus, but his successor, Gessius Florus, made him appear by comparison a paragon of virtue. The crimes of Albinus were, for the most part, perpetrated in secret and with dissimulation; Gessius, on the contrary, ostentatiously paraded his outrages upon the nation, and, as though he had been sent as hangman of condemned criminals, abstained from no form of robbery or violence. Was there a call for compassion, he was the most cruel of men; for shame, none more shameless than he. No man ever poured greater contempt<sup>a</sup> on truth; none invented more crafty methods of crime. To make gain out of individuals seemed beneath him: he stripped whole cities, ruined entire populations, and almost went the

and  
G. Florus  
his excesses  
A.D. 64-66.

## JOSEPHUS

μόνον οὐκ ἐκήρυξεν ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν πᾶσιν ἔξειναι  
 ληστεύειν, ἐφ' ὧ μέρος αὐτὸς λήψεται τῶν λαφύ-  
 279 ρων. διὰ γοῦν τὴν ἐκείνου πλεονεξίαν πάσας  
 ἐρημωθῆναι συνέβη τὰς πόλεις<sup>1</sup> καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν  
 πατρίων ἥθῶν<sup>2</sup> ἐξαναστάντας φυγεῖν εἰς τὰς ἄλλο-  
 φύλους ἐπαρχίας.

280 (3) Μέχρι μὲν οὖν ἐν Συρίᾳ Κέστιος Γάλλος  
 ἦν διέπων τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, οὐδὲ πρεσβεύσασθαι τις  
 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐτόλμησεν κατὰ τοῦ Φλώρου· παρα-  
 γενόμενον δὲ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τῆς τῶν ἀζύμων  
 ἑορτῆς ἐνεστώσης περιστὰς ὁ δῆμος, οὐκ ἐλάττους  
 τριακοσίων μυριάδων, ἵκετενον ἐλεῆσαι τὰς τοῦ  
 ἔθνους συμφορὰς καὶ τὸν λυμεῶνα τῆς χώρας  
 281 Φλώρου ἐκεκράγεσαν· ὁ δὲ παρὼν καὶ τῷ Κεστίῳ  
 παρεστὼς διεχλεύαζεν τὰς φωνάς. ὅ γε μὴν  
 Κέστιος τὴν ὄρμὴν τοῦ πλήθους καταστείλας καὶ  
 δοὺς ἔμφασιν ὡς πρὸς τὸ μέλλον αὐτοῖς τὸν  
 Φλώρον κατασκευάσειν μετριώτερον, ὑπέστρεφεν  
 282 εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν. προέπεμπε δ' αὐτὸν μέχρι Και-  
 σαρείας Φλώρος ἐξαπατῶν καὶ πόλεμον ἥδη τῷ  
 ἔθνει σκοπούμενος, ὃ μόνω συγκρύψειν τὰς ἑαυτοῦ  
 283 παρανομίας ὑπελάμβανεν· εἰρήνης μὲν γὰρ οὕσης  
 κατηγόρους ἔξειν ἐπὶ Καισαρος Ἰουδαίους προσ-  
 εδόκα, πραγματευσάμενος δὲ ἀπόστασιν αὐτῶν τῷ  
 μείζονι κακῷ περισπάσειν τὸν ἐλεγχον ἀπὸ τῶν  
 μετριωτέρων. ὁ μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἂν ἀπορραγείη τὸ  
 ἔθνος, καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπέτεινεν αὐτοῖς τὰς συμφοράς.

284 (4) Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ Καισαρέων Ἑλληνες,  
 νικήσαντες παρὰ Νέρωνι τῆς πόλεως ἄρχειν, τὰ

<sup>1</sup> τοπαρχίας LVRC Exc.

<sup>2</sup> Destinon from A. xx. 256 and Lat.: ἥθῶν MSS.

length of proclaiming throughout the country that all were at liberty to practise brigandage, on condition that he received his share of the spoils. Certainly his avarice brought desolation upon all the cities, and caused many to desert their ancestral haunts and seek refuge in foreign provinces.<sup>a</sup>

(3) So long as Cestius Gallus remained in Syria discharging his provincial duties, none dared even to send a deputation to him to complain of Florus ; but when he visited Jerusalem on the occasion of the feast of unleavened bread, the people pressed round him, and a crowd of not less than three millions <sup>b</sup> implored him to have compassion on the calamities of the nation, and loudly denounced Florus as the ruin of the country. Florus, who was present at Cestius's side, scoffed at their outcry. Cestius, for his part, having quieted the excitement of the crowd, pledged himself to secure for them greater moderation on the part of Florus in future, and so returned to Antioch. Florus escorted him as far as Caesarea, playing upon his credulity, and already contemplating the prospect of war with the nation—his only hope of covering up his own enormities. For, if the peace were kept, he expected to have the Jews accusing him before Caesar ; whereas, could he bring about their revolt, he hoped that this larger crime would divert inquiry into less serious offences. In order, therefore, to produce an outbreak of the nation, he daily added to their sufferings.

(4) Meanwhile the Greeks of Caesarea had won their case at Caesar's tribunal,<sup>c</sup> and obtained from him the government of that city ; they brought back

<sup>a</sup> Here the parallel narrative in the *Antiquities* ceases.

<sup>b</sup> An impossible figure.

<sup>c</sup> See § 270.

τῆς κρίσεως ἐκόμισαν γράμματα, καὶ προσ-  
ελάμβανεν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ πόλεμος δωδεκάτῳ μὲν  
ἔτει τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας, ἑπτακαιδεκάτῳ δὲ  
285 τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας, Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός. πρὸς  
δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἔξ αὐτοῦ συμφορῶν οὐκ ἀξίαν  
ἔσχεν πρόφασιν. οἱ γὰρ ἐν Καισαρείᾳ Ἰουδαῖοι,  
συναγωγὴν ἔχοντες παρὰ χωρίον, οὗ δεσπότης ἦν  
τις Ἐλλην Καισαρεύς, πολλάκις μὲν κτήσασθαι  
τὸν τόπον ἐσπούδασαν τιμὴν πολλαπλασίονα τῆς  
286 ἀξίας διδόντες· ὡς δ' ὑπερορῶν τὰς δεήσεις πρὸς  
ἐπήρειαν ἔτι καὶ παρωκοδόμει<sup>1</sup> τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνος  
ἔργαστήρια κατασκευαζόμενος, στενήν τε καὶ  
παντάπασιν βιαίαν πάροδον ἀπέλειπεν αὐτοῖς, τὸ  
μὲν πρῶτον οἱ θερμότεροι τῶν νέων προπηδῶντες  
287 οἰκοδομεῖν ἐκώλυον. ὡς δὲ τούτους εἶργεν τῆς  
βίας Φλῶρος, ἀμηχανοῦντες οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν  
Ἰουδαίων, σὺν οἷς Ἰωάννης ὁ τελώνης, πείθουσι  
τὸν Φλῶρον ἀργυρίου ταλάντοις ὀκτὼ διακωλῦσαι  
288 τὸ ἔργον. ὁ δὲ πρὸς μόνον τὸ λαβεῖν ὑποσχόμενος  
πάντα συμπράξειν, λαβὼν ἔξεισιν τῆς Καισαρείας  
εἰς Σεβαστὴν καὶ καταλείπει τὴν στάσιν αὐτ-  
εξούσιον, ὥσπερ ἄδειαν πεπρακώς Ἰουδαίοις τοῦ  
μάχεσθαι.

289 (5) Τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἑβδομάδος οὖσης,  
τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν συναθροισθέν-  
των, στασιαστής τις Καισαρεὺς γάστραν κατα-  
στρέψας<sup>2</sup> καὶ παρὰ τὴν εἴσοδον αὐτῶν θέμενος

<sup>1</sup> προσωκοδόμει VRC.

<sup>2</sup> Niese ingeniously conjectures καταστέψας “wreathed like an altar”; cf. B. i. 378 where the words are confused, but here no correction seems necessary.

with them the text of the decision, and it was now that the war opened, in the twelfth year of the principate of Nero, and the seventeenth of the reign of Agrippa, in the month of Artemisius.<sup>a</sup> The ostensible pretext for war was out of proportion to the magnitude of the disasters to which it led. The Jews in Caesarea had a synagogue adjoining a plot of ground owned by a Greek of that city ; this site they had frequently endeavoured to purchase, offering a price far exceeding its true value. The proprietor, disdaining their solicitations, by way of insult further proceeded to build upon the site and erect workshops, leaving the Jews only a narrow and extremely awkward passage. Thereupon, some of the hot-headed youths proceeded to set upon the builders and attempted to interrupt operations. Florus having put a stop to their violence, the Jewish notables, with John the tax-collector, having no other expedient, offered Florus eight talents of silver to procure the cessation of the work. Florus, with his eye only on the money, promised them every assistance, but, having secured his pay, at once quitted Caesarea for Sebaste,<sup>b</sup> leaving a free field to sedition, as though he had sold the Jews a licence to fight the matter out.

(5) On the following day, which was a sabbath, when the Jews assembled at the synagogue, they found that one of the Caesarean mischief-makers had placed beside the entrance a pot, turned bottom

earlier, since the decisive part in the matter was played by Pallas (*A. xx.* 182), who died in 62 (*Tac. Ann. xiv.* 65). But the decision led to increased trouble at Caesarea and *ultimately* to war (*A. xx.* 184). Artemisius is a month in spring or early summer in the Macedonian calendar which is followed throughout the *War*. <sup>b</sup> Samaria.

<sup>c. May</sup>  
<sup>A.D. 66.</sup>

<sup>The affair  
of the  
Synagog  
at Caesa</sup>

# JOSEPHUS

ἐπέθυεν ὅρνεις. τοῦτο τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀνηκέστως  
 παρώξυνεν ὡς ὑβρισμένων [μὲν]<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς τῶν  
 290 νόμων, μεμιασμένου δὲ τοῦ χωρίου. τὸ μὲν οὖν  
 εὔσταθὲς καὶ πρᾶον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἀναφεύγειν  
 ᾔτο χρῆναι, τὸ στασιῶδες δὲ καὶ ἐν<sup>2</sup> νεότητι  
 φλεγμαῖνοι ἐξεκαίτο πρὸς μάχην. παρεσκευασμέ-  
 νοι δ' εἰστήκεσαν οἱ τῶν Καισαρέων στασιασταί,  
 τὸν γὰρ ἐπιθύσοντα προπεπόμφεσαν ἐκ συντάγ-  
 ματος, καὶ ταχέως ἐγένετο συμβολή. προσελθὼν  
 291 δὲ Ἰούκουνδος ὁ διακωλύειν τεταγμένος ἵππαρχης  
 τὴν τε γάστραν αἴρει καὶ καταπαύειν ἐπειράτο τὴν  
 στάσιν. ἡπτωμένου δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς τῶν Καισαρέων  
 βίας Ἰουδαῖοι τοὺς νόμους ἀρπάσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν  
 εἰς Νάρβατα· χώρα τις αὐτῶν οὕτω καλεῖται  
 292 σταδίους ἔξηκοντα διέχουσα τῆς Καισαρείας· οἱ  
 δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἱωάννην δυνατοὶ δώδεκα πρὸς Φλώρον  
 ἐλθόντες εἰς Σεβαστὴν ἀπωδύροντο περὶ τῶν πε-  
 πραγμένων καὶ βοηθεῖν ἱκέτευον, αἰδημόνως ὑπο-  
 μιμήσκοντες τῶν ὀκτὼ ταλάντων. ὁ δὲ καὶ συλ-  
 λαβὼν ἔδησεν τοὺς ἄνδρας, αἰτιώμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 τοὺς νόμους ἔξενεγκεῖν τῆς Καισαρείας.  
 293 (6) Πρὸς τοῦτο τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀγανά-  
 κτησις ἦν, ἔτι μέντοι τοὺς θυμοὺς κατεῖχον. ὁ δὲ  
 Φλώρος ὥσπερ ἡργολαβηκῶς ἐκριπίζειν τὸν πόλε-  
 μον, πέμψας ἐπὶ τὸν ἱερὸν θησαυρὸν ἐξαιρεῖ  
 δεκαεπτὰ τάλαντα, σκηψάμενος εἰς τὰς Καίσαρος

<sup>1</sup> C: om. the rest.

<sup>2</sup> om. ἐν Niese.

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<sup>a</sup> An insinuation as acutely suggested by Reland, that the Jews were lepers, for whom, under the Law, birds were to  
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upwards, upon which he was sacrificing birds.<sup>a</sup> This spectacle of what they considered an outrage upon their laws and a desecration of the spot enraged the Jews beyond endurance. The steady-going and peaceable members of the congregation were in favour of immediate recourse to the authorities ; but the factious folk and the passionate youth were burning for a fight. The Caesarean party, on their side, stood prepared for action, for they had, by a concerted plan, sent the man on to the mock sacrifice ; and so they soon came to blows. Jucundus, the cavalry commander commissioned to intervene, came up, removed the pot and endeavoured to quell the riot, but was unable to cope with the violence of the Caesareans. The Jews, thereupon, snatched up their copy of the Law and withdrew to Narbata, a Jewish district sixty furlongs distant from Caesarea.<sup>b</sup> Their leading men, twelve in number, with John at their head, waited upon Florus at Sebaste, bitterly complained of these proceedings and besought his assistance, delicately reminding him of the matter of the eight talents.<sup>c</sup> Florus actually had them arrested and put in irons on the charge of having carried off the copy of the Law from Caesarea.

(6) This news roused indignation at Jerusalem, though the citizens still restrained their feelings. But Florus, as if he had contracted to fan the flames of war, sent to the temple treasury and extracted seventeen talents, making the requirements of the

be killed in an earthen vessel (Lev. xiv. 4 f.). The charge that Moses and the Israelites whom he led out of Egypt were lepers occurs constantly in the *Contra Apionem* (e.g. i. 279 ff.).

<sup>a</sup> The "toparchy" of Narbata is mentioned later, § 509.

<sup>c</sup> § 287.

294 χρείας. σύγχυσις δ' εὐθέως εἶχεν τὸν δῆμον, καὶ συνδραμόντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν βοᾶς διαπρυσίοις τὸ Καίσαρος ἀνεκάλουν ὄνομα καὶ τῆς Φλώρου τυραννίδος ἐλευθεροῦν σφᾶς ἵκέτευον. ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν στασιαστῶν λοιδορίας αἰσχίστους εἰς τὸν Φλώρον ἐκεκράγεσαν καὶ κανοῦν περιφέροντες ἐπήγτουν<sup>1</sup> αὐτῷ κέρματα καθάπερ ἀκλήρῳ καὶ ταλαιπώρῳ. τούτοις οὐκ ἀνετράπη τὴν φιλαργυρίαν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ 296 τὸ μᾶλλον χρηματίσασθαι παρωργίσθη. δέον γοῦν εἰς Καισάρειαν ἐλθόντα σβέσαι τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πῦρ ἐκεῖθεν ἀρχόμενον καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς ἀνελεῖν τὰς αἰτίας, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ μισθὸν ἔλαβεν, ὁ δὲ μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἵππικῆς τε καὶ πεζικῆς ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ὅρμησεν, ἵνα τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ὅπλοις ἐργάσηται<sup>2</sup> καὶ τῷ δέει καὶ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς περιδύσῃ τὴν πόλιν.

297 (7) Ὁ δὲ δῆμος προδυσωπῆσαι τὴν ὄρμὴν αὐτοῦ βουλόμενος ὑπαντά τοῖς στρατιώταις μετ' εὐφημίας καὶ τὸν Φλώρον θεραπευτικῶς ἐκδέχεσθαι παρεσκευάσατο. κάκείνος προπέμψας σὺν ἵππεσιν πεντήκοντα Καπίτωνα ἐκατοντάρχην ἀναχωρεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν, καὶ μὴ πρὸς ὃν οὕτως ἐλοιδόρησαν αἰσχρῶς εἰρωνεύεσθαι τὰς νῦν φιλοφρονήσεις· δεῖν γὰρ αὐτούς, εἴπερ γενναιοί εἰσιν καὶ παρρησιασταί, σκώπτειν μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ παρόντα, φαίνεσθαι δὲ μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, 300 ἀλλὰ καν τοῖς ὅπλοις φιλελευθέρους. τούτοις καταπλαγὲν τὸ πλῆθος, ἅμα καὶ τῶν περὶ Καπίτωνα ἵππέων εἰς μέσον φερομένων, διεσκεδάσθη πρὶν ἀσπάσασθαι τὸν Φλώρον ἢ τοῖς στρατιώταις

<sup>1</sup> ἀπήγτουν Ρ.Α.Μ.<sup>2</sup> → τὸ βουλόμενον C: cf. "ad quod uolebat uteretur" Lat. and for τὸ β. A. xvii. 396.

imperial service his pretext.<sup>a</sup> Instantly fired by this outrage, the people rushed in a body to the temple and with piercing cries invoked the name of Caesar, imploring him to liberate them from the tyranny of Florus. Some of the malcontents railed on the procurator in the most opprobrious terms and carrying round a basket begged coppers for him as for an unfortunate destitute. These proceedings, however, far from checking his avarice, only provoked him to further peculation. Accordingly, instead of betaking himself, as he should have done, to Caesarea, to extinguish the flames of war, there already breaking out, and to root out the cause of these disorders—a task for which he had been paid—he marched with an army<sup>b</sup> of cavalry and infantry upon Jerusalem, in order to attain his object with the aid of the Roman arms, and by means of intimidation and menaces to fleece the city.

(7) The citizens, anxious to forestall and make him ashamed of his intention, went to meet the troops with acclamations, and prepared to give Florus an obsequious reception. He, however, sent on ahead a centurion, Capito, with fifty horsemen, and ordered the Jews to retire and not to mock with this show of cordiality one whom they had so grossly abused; if they were courageous and outspoken persons (so ran his words) they ought to jeer at him in his very presence and to show their love of liberty not only in words but with arms in hand. Dismayed by this message and by Capito's cavalrymen charging into their ranks, the crowd dispersed, before they had a chance of saluting Florus or giving the soldiers proof

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps because their payment of tribute was in arrear, § 403 (Reinach).

<sup>b</sup> Apparently he had only a single cohort (§ 332).

# JOSEPHUS

φανερὸν ποιῆσαι τὸ πειθήνιον. ἀναχωρήσαντες  
δὲ εἰς τὰς οἰκίας μετὰ δέους καὶ ταπεινότητος  
ἐνυκτέρευσαν.<sup>1</sup>

301 (8) Φλῶρος δὲ τότε μὲν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις  
αὐλίζεται, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ βῆμα πρὸ αὐτῶν  
θέμενος καθέζεται, καὶ προσελθόντες οἱ τε ἀρχι-  
ερεῖς καὶ δυνατοὶ τό τε γνωριμώτατον τῆς πόλεως<sup>2</sup>  
302 παρέστησαν τῷ βήματι. τούτοις ὁ Φλῶρος ἐκέ-  
λευσεν τοὺς λοιδορήσαντας αὐτὸν ἐκδοῦναι, φάμε-  
νος αὐτοὺς ἀπολαύσειν τῆς ἀμύνης, εἰ μὴ προ-  
άγοιεν τοὺς αἴτίους. οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν δῆμον ἀπέφηναν<sup>3</sup>  
εἰρηνικὰ φρονοῦντα, τοῖς δὲ παραφθεγξαμένοις  
303 ἥτοιντο συγγνώμην· ἐν γὰρ τοσούτῳ πλήθει θαυ-  
μαστὸν μὲν οὐδὲν εἶναι τινας θρασυτέρους καὶ δι'  
ἥλικιαν ἄφρονας, ἀμήχανον δὲ τῶν ἡμαρτηκότων  
τὴν διάκρισιν ἔκάστου μετανοοῦντος καὶ δέει<sup>4</sup> ἀ  
304 δέδρακεν ἀρνουμένου. δεῖν μέντοι γε ἐκεῖνον, εἰ  
προνοεῖ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἔθνος εἰρήνης καὶ βούλεται  
‘Ρωμαίοις περισώζειν τὴν πόλιν, μᾶλλον διὰ τοὺς  
πολλοὺς ἀκαταιπιάτους συγγνῶναι καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις  
πλημμελήσασιν ἢ δι' ὀλίγους πονηροὺς ταράξαι  
δῆμον ἀγαθὸν τοσοῦτον.

305 (9) Πρὸς ταῦτα μᾶλλον παροξυνθεὶς ἐμβοᾶ τοῖς  
στρατιώταις διαρπάζειν τὴν ἄνω καλουμένην  
ἀγορὰν καὶ κτείνειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας. οἱ δ'  
ἐπιθυμίᾳ κέρδους προσλαβόντες ἡγεμονικὴν παρ-  
κέλευσιν οὐ μόνον ἐφ' ὃν ἐπέμφθησαν τόπον  
ἥρπαζον, ἀλλ' εἰς πάσας ἐμπηδῶντες τὰς οἰκίας

<sup>1</sup> ὁιενυκτέρευσαν VRC (the usual word in Josephus).

<sup>2</sup> + πᾶν VRC.

<sup>3</sup> ἀπέφαινον VRC.

<sup>4</sup> Destinon: δι' MSS.

of their obedience. They retired to their homes and passed the night in terror and dejection.

(8) Florus lodged at the palace, and on the following day had a tribunal placed in front of the building and took his seat ; the chief priests, the nobles, and the most eminent citizens then presented themselves before the tribunal. Florus ordered them to hand over the men who had insulted him, declaring that they themselves would feel his vengeance if they failed to produce the culprits. The leaders, in reply, declared that the people were peaceably disposed and implored pardon for the individuals who had spoken disrespectfully. It was not surprising, they said, that in so great a crowd there should be some reckless spirits and foolish youths ; but to pick out the delinquents was impossible, as everyone was now penitent and would, from fear of the consequences, deny what he had done. If, then, Florus cared for the peace of the nation and wished to preserve the city for the Romans, he ought to pardon the few offenders for the sake of the many innocent, rather than, because of a few rascals, to bring trouble upon such a host of good citizens.

(9) This speech merely increased the exasperation of Florus, who now shouted to the soldiers to sack the agora known as the "upper market,"<sup>a</sup> and to kill any whom they encountered. The troops, whose lust for booty was thus backed by their general's order, not only plundered the quarter which they were sent to attack, but plunged into every house and

He delivered  
the city to  
his soldiers  
for plunder  
and massacre

<sup>a</sup> The upper city or upper agora, viz. the south-west quarter of the town. See *B. v.* 137 f. for the city hills : (1) upper city [S.W.], (2) lower city or Akra [S.E.], (3) a third which had disappeared in the time of Josephus [probably N.E.] ; with G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. 448 note.

306 ἔσφαζον τοὺς οἰκήτορας. φυγὴ δ' ἦν ἐκ τῶν στενωπῶν καὶ φόνος τῶν καταλαμβανομένων, τρόπος τε ἀρπαγῆς οὐδεὶς παρελείπετο, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν μετρίων συλλαβόντες ἐπὶ τὸν Φλῶρον ἀνῆγον· οὓς μάστιξι προαικισάμενος ἀνεσταύ-  
307 ρωσεν. ὁ δὲ<sup>1</sup> σύμπας τῶν ἐκείνης ἀπολομένων τῆς ἡμέρας ἀριθμὸς σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ τέκνοις, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἥηπίων ἀπέσχοντο, περὶ τρισχιλίους<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἔξα-  
308 κοσίους συνήχθη. βαρυτέραν τε ἐποίει τὴν συμφορὰν τὸ καινὸν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ὡμότητος· ὃ γὰρ μηδεὶς πρότερον τότε Φλῶρος ἐτόλμησεν, ἄνδρας ἵππικοῦ τάγματος μαστιγώσαι τε πρὸ τοῦ βήματος καὶ σταυρῷ προσηλώσαι, ὃν εἰ καὶ τὸ γένος Ἰουδαῖον<sup>3</sup> ἀλλὰ γοῦν τὸ ἀξίωμα Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἦν.

309 (xv. 1) Κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ἔτυχεν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πεπορευμένος, ὅπως Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνησθείη πεπιστευμένῳ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὑπὸ Νέρωνος καὶ πεμφθέντι διέπειν. τὴν ἀδελφὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ Βερνίκην παροῦσαν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ τὴν παρανομίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν θεωμένην δεινὸν εἰσῆρε πάθος, καὶ πολλάκις τοὺς τε ἵππάρχους ἔαυτῆς καὶ σωματοφύλακας πέμπουσα πρὸς Φλῶρον ἐδεῖτο  
310 παύσασθαι τοῦ φόνου. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὔτε εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀναιρουμένων οὔτε εἰς τὴν εὐγένειαν, τῆς παρακαλούσης, ἀλλ' εἰς μόνον τὸ λυσιτελέσ-  
311 παύσασθαι τοῦ φόνου. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὔτε εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐλύσσησεν καὶ κατὰ τῆς βασιλίδος· οὐ μόνον γοῦν ἐν ὅμμασιν αὐτῆς ἤκι-  
ζοντο τοὺς ἀλισκομένους καὶ διέφθειρον, ἀλλὰ

<sup>1</sup> ὁ γοῦν VRC.

<sup>2</sup> VRC: τριάκοντα PAM.

<sup>3</sup> ML: Ἰουδαίων or Ἰουδαῖοι the rest.

slaughtered the inmates. There ensued a stampede through the narrow alleys, massacre of all who were caught, every variety of pillage ; many of the peaceable citizens were arrested and brought before Florus, who had them first scourged and then crucified. The total number of that day's victims, including women and children, for even infancy received no quarter, amounted to about three thousand six hundred. The calamity was aggravated by the unprecedented character of the Romans' cruelty. For Florus ventured that day to do what none had ever done before, namely, to scourge before his tribunal and nail to the cross men of equestrian rank, men who, if Jews by birth, were at least invested with that Roman dignity.

(xv. 1) King Agrippa, at this moment, was absent, having gone to Alexandria to offer his congratulations to Alexander,<sup>a</sup> recently sent to take over the government of Egypt, with which he had been entrusted by Nero. Agrippa's sister Bernice, however, who was at Jerusalem, witnessed with the liveliest emotion the outrages of the soldiers, and constantly sent her cavalry-commanders and life-guards to Florus to implore him to put a stop to the carnage. But he, regarding neither the number of the slain nor the exalted rank of his suppliant, but only the profit accruing from the plunder, turned a deaf ear to her prayers. The mad rage of the soldiers even vented itself upon the queen. Not only did they torture and put their captives to death under her eyes, but

Ineffectual  
appeal of  
Queen  
Bernice to  
Florus.

<sup>a</sup> Tiberius Alexander, previously procurator of Judaea (§ 220 note), and brother-in-law of Bernice (*A. xix.* 276 f.).

# JOSEPHUS

κάν αὐτὴν ἀνεῖλον, εἰ μὴ καταφυγεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν αὐλὴν ἔφθη, κάκεὶ διενυκτέρευσεν μετὰ φυλακῆς δεδοικυῖα τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔφοδον.

313 ἐπεδήμει δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις εὐχὴν ἐκτελοῦσα τῷ θεῷ τοὺς γὰρ ἥ νόσῳ καταπονουμένους ἥ τισιν ἄλλαις ἀνάγκαις ἔθος εὕχεσθαι πρὸ τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν ἥσ ἀποδώσειν μέλλοιεν θυσίας οἴνου

314 τε ἀφέξεσθαι καὶ ξυρήσεσθαι<sup>1</sup> τὰς κόμας. ἂ δὴ καὶ τότε τελοῦσα Βερνίκη γυμνόπους τε πρὸ τοῦ βήματος ἵκέτευε τὸν Φλῶρον, καὶ πρὸς τῷ μὴ τυχεῖν αἰδοῦς αὐτὴ<sup>2</sup> τὸν περὶ τοῦ ζῆν κίνδυνον ἐπείρασεν.

315 (2) Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔξκαιδεκάτη μηνὸς Ἀρτεμισίου συνηνέχθη, τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ὑπερπαθῆσαν εἰς τὴν ἄνω συνέρρευσεν ἀγορὰν καὶ βοαις ἔξαισίοις περὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀνωδύρετο· τὸ πλέον δὲ ἥσαν εἰς τὸν Φλῶρον ἐπίφθονοι φωναί.

316 πρὸς δὲ δείσαντες οἱ δυνατοὶ σὺν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν τὰς ἐσθῆτας περιερρήξαντο, καὶ προσπίπτοντες ἐκάστοις<sup>3</sup> ἐδέοντο παύσασθαι καὶ μὴ πρὸς οὓς πεπόνθασιν εἰς ἀνήκεστόν τι τὸν Φλῶρον ἐρεθίζειν.

317 ἐπείσθη δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ταχέως αἰδοῖ τε τῶν παρακαλούντων καὶ κατ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι τὸν Φλῶρον εἰς αὐτοὺς παρανομήσειν.

318 (3) Ὁ δὲ σβεσθείσης τῆς ταραχῆς ἤχθετο καὶ πάλιν αὐτὴν ἀνάψαι πραγματευόμενος τούς τε ἀρχιερεῖς σὺν τοῖς γνωρίμοις μεταπέμπεται καὶ μόνον ἔφη τεκμήριον ἔσεσθαι τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι τὸν

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf: ξυρήσασθαι (-ίσασθαι) MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Destinon: αὐτὴν MSS.

<sup>3</sup> VRC (Lat. ?): ἐκαστος the rest.

they would have killed her also, had she not hastened to seek refuge in the palace, where she passed the night surrounded by guards, dreading an attack of the troops. She was visiting Jerusalem to discharge a vow to God; for it is customary for those suffering from illness or other affliction to make a vow to abstain from wine and to shave their heads during the thirty days preceding that on which they must offer sacrifices.<sup>a</sup> These rites Bernice was then undergoing, and she would come barefoot before the tribunal and make supplication to Florus, without any respect being shown to her, and even at the peril of her life.

(2) These events took place on the sixteenth of <sup>3 June  
66 A.D.<sup>b</sup></sup> the month Artemisius. On the following day the multitude, overcome with distress, flocked to the upper *agora*, uttering terrific lamentations for the dead, but the shouts of imprecation upon Florus preponderated. Alarmed at this outburst, the leading men and the chief priests rent their clothes and, falling at the feet of one after another of the mob, implored them to desist, and not to provoke Florus, after all they had endured, to some new and irreparable outrage. The multitude promptly complied, alike out of respect for their petitioners, and in the hope that Florus would spare them further enormities.

(3) The procurator was vexed at the extinction of the tumult, and, with the object of relighting the flames, sent for the chief priests and leading citizens and told them that the people had but one way of proving that they intended to refrain from any the period of purification prescribed by the school of Shammai for Nazirites completing a vow in Palestine; the school of Hillel was apparently more severe (*Mishna, Nasir*, iii. 6, quoted by Schürer).

<sup>a</sup> According to Niese's calculation.

Florus  
brings to  
cohorts  
from  
Caesarea

δῆμον νεωτερίσειν, εἰ προελθόντες ὑπαντήσουσιν  
τοῖς ἀπὸ Καισαρείας ἀνιοῦσιν στρατιώταις· παρεγί-  
319 νοντο δὲ δύο σπεῖραι. τῶν δ' ἔτι συγκαλούντων  
τὸ πλῆθος προπέμψας διεδήλου τοῖς τῶν σπειρῶν  
έκατοντάρχοις, ὅπως παραγγείλωσιν τοῖς ὑφ'  
ἔαυτοὺς μήτε ἀντασπάσασθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους,  
καν τι κατ' αὐτοῦ φθέγξωνται χρήσασθαι τοῖς  
320 ὅπλοις. οἱ δ' ἀρχιερεῖς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὴν πληθὺν  
συναγαγόντες ὑπαντάν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παρεκάλουν  
καὶ πρὸ ἀνηκέστου πάθους τὰς σπείρας δεξιοῦσθαι.  
τούτοις τὸ στασιώδες ἡπείθει, καὶ διὰ τοὺς  
ἀπολωλότας τὸ πλῆθος ἔρρεπεν πρὸς τοὺς θρασυ-  
τέρους.

321 (4) "Ενθα δὴ πᾶς μὲν ἱερεὺς πᾶς δ' ὑπηρέτης  
τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ ἄγια σκεύη προκομίσαντες καὶ τὸν  
κόσμον, ἐν ᾧ λειτουργεῖν ἔθος ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἀνα-  
λαβόντες, κιθαρισταί τε καὶ ὑμνῳδοὶ μετὰ τῶν  
ὄργανων προσέπιπτον καὶ κατηντιβόλουν φυλάξαι  
τὸν ἱερὸν κόσμον αὐτοῖς καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἀρπαγὴν  
322 τῶν θείων κειμηλίων Ῥωμαίους ἐρεθίσαι. τοὺς  
δ' ἀρχιερεῖς αὐτοὺς ἦν ἵδεῖν καταμαμένους μὲν  
τῆς κεφαλῆς κόνιν,<sup>1</sup> γυμνοὺς δὲ τὰ στέρνα τῶν  
ἐσθήτων διερρηγμένων.<sup>2</sup> ὀνομαστὶ δ' ἔκαστον τῶν  
γνωρίμων καὶ κοινῇ τὸ πλῆθος ἴκέτευον μὴ δι'  
ἐλαχίστης πλημμελείας προδοῦναι τὴν πατρίδα

323 τοῖς ἐπιθυμοῦσιν πορθῆσαι· τίνα γὰρ ἡ τοῖς  
στρατιώταις φέρειν ὠφέλειαν τὸν ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων  
ἀσπασμὸν ἡ διόρθωσιν αὐτοῖς τῶν συμβεβηκότων  
324 τὸ μὴ νῦν προελθεῖν; εἰ δὲ δὴ δεξιώσαιντο τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> LVRC (*cf.* § 601): τὴν κεφαλὴν κόνιει PAM.

<sup>2</sup> περιερρηγμένων LVRC.

further revolutionary proceedings, namely to go out and meet the troops coming up from Caesarea—two cohorts being at the time on their way. Then, while the leaders were still convening the people for the purpose, Florus sent word to the centurions of the cohorts to instruct their men not to return the salute of the Jews, and if they uttered a word in disparagement of himself, to make use of their arms. The chief priests, meanwhile, having assembled the multitude in the temple, exhorted them to meet the advancing Romans and to prevent any irremediable disaster by giving a courteous reception to the cohorts. To this advice the factious party refused to listen, and the crowd, influenced by their memory of the fallen, inclined to the bolder policy.

and sends  
them  
private  
instruc-  
tions.

The priest  
urge the  
Jews to  
submit.

(4) Then it was that every priest and every minister of God, bearing in procession the holy vessels and wearing the robes in which they were wont to perform their priestly offices, the harpers also and the choristers with their instruments, fell on their knees and earnestly implored the people to preserve for them these sacred ornaments, and not to provoke the Romans to pillage the treasures of the house of God. Even the chief priests might then have been seen heaping dust upon their heads, their breasts bared, their vestments rent. They appealed by name to each of the notables individually and to the people as a whole not, by offending in so trifling a matter, to deliver up their country to those who were eager to sack it. "After all," they asked, "what would the troops profit by receiving a salute from the Jews? What reparation for past events would they themselves obtain by now refusing to go out? If, on the contrary, they welcomed these new-comers

προσιόντας ὡς ἔθος, Φλώρω μὲν ἀποκοπήσεσθαι τὴν ἀφορμὴν τοῦ πολέμου, κερδήσειν δ' αὐτοὺς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν πλέον. ἄλλως τε καὶ τὸ πείθεσθαι στασιάζουσιν ὀλίγοις, δέον αὐτοὺς δῆμον ὅντας τοσοῦτον συναναγκάζειν κακείνους συνευγνωμονεῖν,<sup>1</sup> δεινῆς ἀκρασίας εἶναι.

325 (5) Τούτοις μειλισσόμενοι τὸ πλῆθος ἄμα καὶ τῶν στασιαστῶν οὓς μὲν ἀπειλᾶις, οὓς δὲ αἰδοῖ κατέστειλαν. ἔπειτα ἐξηγούμενοι μεθ' ἡσυχίας τε καὶ κόσμου τοῖς στρατιώταις ὑπήντων καὶ πλησίον γενομένους ἡσπάσαντο· τῶν δὲ μηδὲν ἀποκριναμένων οἱ στασιασταὶ Φλώρου κατεβόων.  
 326 τοῦτ' ἦν σύνθημα κατ' αὐτῶν δεδομένον· αὐτίκα γοῦν οἱ στρατιώται περισχόντες αὐτοὺς ἔπαιον ἔνδοις, καὶ φεύγοντας οἱ ἵππεῖς καταδιώκοντες συνεπάτουν. ἔπιπτον δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων τυπτόμενοι, πλείους δ' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων βιαζόμενοι. δεινὸς δὲ περὶ τὰς πύλας ὠθισμὸς ἦν, καὶ φθάνειν ἕκαστον σπεύδοντος βραδυτέρα μὲν ἡ φυγὴ πᾶσιν ἐγίνετο, τῶν δὲ σφαλέντων ἀπώλεια δεινή· πνιγόμενοι γὰρ καὶ κλώμενοι πλήθει τῷ ἐπιβαινόντων ἡφανίζοντο, καὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς ταφήι  
 327 τις γνώριμος τοῖς ἴδιοις κατελείπετο. συνεισ-  
 328 ἔπιπτον<sup>2</sup> δὲ καὶ στρατιώται παίοντες ἀνέδην τοὺς καταλαμβανομένους καὶ διὰ τῆς Βεζεθὰ καλουμένης ἀνεώθουν τὸ πλῆθος, βιαζόμενοι παρελθεῖν καὶ κρατῆσαι τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίας

<sup>1</sup> συνειδαιμονεῖν PAL.

<sup>2</sup> Bekker: συνέπιπτον MSS.

<sup>a</sup> Or "New city," the northernmost suburb, included within the unfinished wall of Agrippa I (*B. v.* 151 ff.).

with their customary courtesy, they would cut away from Florus all ground for hostilities and gain for themselves their country and freedom from further molestation. And then, above all, what utter feebleness it showed to be guided by a handful of rebels, when they ought instead with their numerous body to coerce even these malcontents to join in their own rational policy ! ”

(5) By these remonstrances they succeeded in soothing the multitude, while they quelled the rebels partly by menaces, partly by appealing to their feelings of respect. Then, taking the lead, they advanced in quiet and orderly fashion to meet the troops, and on the approach of the latter saluted them. The cohorts making no response, the rebels started clamouring against Florus. This was the given signal for falling upon the Jews. In an instant the troops were round them, striking out with their clubs, and on their taking flight the cavalry pursued and trampled them under their horses’ feet. Many fell beneath the blows of the Romans, a still larger number under the pressure of their own companions. Around the gates the crush was terrible ; as each strove to pass in first, the flight of all was retarded, and dreadful was the fate of any who stumbled ; suffocated and mangled by the crowds that trod them down, they were obliterated and their bodies so disfigured that their relatives could not recognize them to give them burial. The troops pushed in with the fugitives, mercilessly striking anyone who fell into their hands, and so thrust the crowd back through the quarter called Bezetha,<sup>a</sup> trying to force their way through and occupy the temple and the castle of

Reception  
of the  
cohorts :  
a fresh  
collision.

- ῶν καὶ Φλῶρος ἐφιέμενος ἔξῆγε τῆς βασιλικῆς  
αὐλῆς τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς τὸ φρούριον ἐλθεῖν  
329 ἡγωνίζετο. διήμαρτέν γε μὴν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς<sup>1</sup>  
οἱ γὰρ δῆμος ἄντικρυς ἐπιστραφεὶς εἰργεν τὴν  
όρμην,<sup>2</sup> καὶ διαστάντες ἐπὶ τῶν τεγών τοὺς 'Ρω-  
μαίους ἔβαλλον. καταπονούμενοι δὲ τοῖς ὑπερθεν  
βέλεσιν καὶ διακόψαι τὸ τοὺς στενωποὺς ἐμφράξαν  
πλῆθος ἀσθενήσαντες, ἀνεχώρουν εἰς τὸ πρὸς τοῖς  
βασιλείοις στρατόπεδον.
- 330 (6) Οἱ δὲ στασιασταὶ δείσαντες μὴ πάλιν  
ἐπελθὼν οἱ Φλῶρος κρατήσῃ τοῦ ἱεροῦ διὰ τῆς  
'Αντωνίας, ἀναβάντες εὐθέως τὰς συνεχεῖς στοὰς  
331 τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρὸς τὴν 'Αντωνίαν διέκοψαν. τοῦτ'  
ἔψυξεν τὴν Φλώρου πλεονεξίαν· τῶν γὰρ τοῦ  
θεοῦ θησαυρῶν ἐφιέμενος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρελθεῖν  
ἐπιθυμῶν εἰς τὴν 'Αντωνίαν, ὡς ἀπερράγησαν αἱ  
στοαί, τὴν ὄρμὴν ἀνετράπη, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος  
τούς τε ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τὴν βουλὴν αὐτὸς μὲν  
ἐξιέναι τῆς πόλεως ἔφη, φρουρὰν δ' ἐγκαταλείψειν  
332 αὐτοῖς ὅσην ἂν ἀξιώσωσιν. τῶν δὲ πάντα περὶ<sup>3</sup>  
ἀσφαλείας καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν νεωτερίσειν ὑποσχομέ-  
νων, εἰ μίαν αὐτοῖς καταλείποι σπεῖραν, μὴ μέν-  
τοι τὴν μαχεσαμένην, πρὸς γὰρ ταύτην ἀπεχθῶς  
δι' ἣ πέπονθεν ἔχειν τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλάξας τὴν  
σπεῖραν, ὡς ἡξίουν, μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς δυνάμεως  
ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Καισάρειαν.
- 333 (xvi. 1) Ἐπέραν δὲ ἐπιβολὴν<sup>3</sup> τῷ πολέμῳ  
ποριζόμενος ἐπέστελλεν Κεστίω 'Ιουδαίων ἀπό-

<sup>1</sup> L Lat.: ἐπιβολὴς the rest.   <sup>2</sup> τῆς ὄρμῆς P: om. Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπιβολὴν PAM and second hand of L.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. the cohort which Florus himself had brought into the city (§ 296) and which had sacked the Upper Market.

Antonia. Florus, with the same object in view, led his men out from the court of the palace and struggled to reach the fortress. But he was foiled in this purpose ; for he found himself faced by the people, who turned upon him and checked his advance, while others, posting themselves along the roofs, kept the Romans under continuous fire. Overwhelmed by the missiles from above and incapable of cutting their way through the crowds that blocked the narrow alleys, the soldiers beat a retreat to their camp adjoining the palace.

(6) Fearing, however, that Florus might return to the attack and capture the temple by way of the fortress Antonia, the Jewish revolutionaries instantly mounted the porticoes which connect the two buildings and cut the communication. This manœuvre cooled the cupidity of Florus ; for it was God's treasures that he coveted and that had made him so eager to reach Antonia, and now that the porticoes were broken down, his ardour was checked ; he sent for the chief priests and the council, and told them that he intended to quit the city, but would leave them whatever garrison they desired. In reply, they undertook to maintain perfect order and to prevent any revolution, provided that he left them a single cohort, but not the one which had fought,<sup>a</sup> as the people bore it a grudge on account of what they had suffered from it. He, accordingly, changed the cohort, as they requested, and with the remainder of his forces returned to Caesarea.

(xvi. 1) With a view to providing further ground for hostilities, Florus now sent a report to Cestius,

The Jews  
destroy the  
porticoes  
adjoining  
Antonia.

Florus  
evacuates  
Jerusalem

Florus leaves one of the two cohorts which had just arrived from Caesarea.

Cestius  
sends an  
emissary  
investigat-

στασιν καταψευδόμενος, τήν τε ἀρχὴν τῆς μάχης περιθεὶς αὐτοῖς, καὶ δρᾶσαι λέγων ἐκείνους ἃ πεπόνθεσαν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ οἱ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἄρχοντες ἐσίγησαν, ἀλλ’ αὐτοί τε καὶ Βερνίκη τῷ Κεστίῳ περὶ ὧν Φλώρος εἰς τὴν πόλιν παρηνό-  
 334 μησεν ἔγραφον. ὁ δὲ τὰ παρ’ ἀμφοῦν ἀναγνοὺς μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐβούλευετο. τοῖς μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν<sup>1</sup> ἐδόκει Κέστιον μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἀναβαίνειν ἥ τιμωρησόμενον τὴν ἀπόστασιν, εἰ γέγονεν, ἥ βεβαιοτέρους καταστήσοντα Ἰουδαίους καὶ συμ- μένοντας, αὐτῷ δὲ προπέμψαι<sup>2</sup> τῶν ἑταίρων τὸν κατασκεψόμενον τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὰ φρονήματα  
 335 τῶν Ἰουδαίων πιστῶς ἀναγγελοῦντα. πέμπει δή<sup>3</sup> τινα τῶν χιλιάρχων Νεαπολιτανόν,<sup>4</sup> δις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ὑποστρέφοντι περιτυχῶν Ἀγρίππα τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ Ἰάμνειαν τόν τε πέμψαντα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐδήλωσεν.

336 (2) "Ενθα καὶ Ἰουδαίων οἵ τε ἀρχιερεῖς ἅμοι τοῖς δυνατοῖς καὶ ἡ βουλὴ παρῆν δεξιουμένη τὸις βασιλέα. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εἰς ἐκεῖνον θεραπείαν ἀπ- αδύροντο τὰς ἑαυτῶν συμφορὰς καὶ τὴν Φλώροι  
 337 διεξήσαν ὡμότητα. πρὸς ἣν ἡγανάκτει μὲν Ἀγρίππας, στρατηγικῶς δὲ τὴν ὄργην εἰς οὐ- ἥλεει Ἰουδαίους μετέφερεν, ταπεινοῦν αὐτῶν βου- λόμενος τὰ φρονήματα καὶ τῷ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀδίκω-  
 338 τι παθεῖν τῆς ἀμύνης ἀποτρέπων. οἱ μὲν οὖν, ὡ-

<sup>1</sup> LC: αὐτῶν the rest: om. Lat.

<sup>2</sup> P: + τινὰ the rest.

<sup>3</sup> Cardwell: δὲ or οὐδὲ MSS.

<sup>4</sup> Νεαπολιτανόν here and below VRC (as in *Vita* 121).

falsely accusing the Jews of revolt, representing them as the aggressors in the recent fighting, and charging them with crimes of which in fact they were the sufferers. However, the magistrates of Jerusalem, on their side, did not remain silent : they, too, wrote to Cestius, as did also Bernice, on the subject of the iniquities perpetrated upon the city by Florus. Cestius, having read the dispatches from both parties, took counsel with his officers. They were of opinion that Cestius should go up in person to Jerusalem with an army, either to punish the authors of the revolt, if it was a fact, or to confirm the Jews in their allegiance, if they still remained loyal to Rome. The governor, however, decided first to send one of his colleagues to investigate the position of affairs and to present a faithful report to him of the temper of the Jews. He accordingly dispatched the tribune Neapolitanus, who fell in at Jamnia<sup>a</sup> with king Agrippa as he was returning from Alexandria, and informed him who it was that had sent him on this mission and what was its object.

Agrippa returns to Jerusalem

(2) To Jamnia also came the chief priests of the Jews, the leading citizens and the council, to welcome the king. After paying homage to him, they proceeded to deplore the calamities which had befallen them and to recount the brutalities of Florus. Agrippa was indignant at their narrative, but diplomatically turned his resentment upon the Jews whom at heart he pitied, wishing to humiliate their pride and, by appearing to disbelieve that they had been at all ill-treated, to divert them from revenge.

Inquiry of  
Neapolitanus at  
Jerusalem

<sup>a</sup> Jamnia (*Yebnah*) in Philistia not being on the direct route to Jerusalem from Caesarea (or Antioch), it is supposed that Neapolitanus went out of his way to meet Agrippa.

ἀν ὅντες ἔκκριτοι καὶ διὰ τὰς ἑαυτῶν κτήσεις ἐπιθυμοῦντες εἰρήνης, συνίεσαν εὐνοϊκὴν τὴν ἐπί-  
 πληξιν τοῦ βασιλέως· ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσο-  
 λύμων ἐπὶ ἔξηκοντα προελθὼν σταδίους ἐδεξιοῦτο  
 339 τὸν Ἀγρίππαν καὶ τὸν Νεαπολιτανόν. ἐκώκυον  
 δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀπεσφαγμένων αἱ γυναῖκες προεκ-  
 θέουσαι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τούτων οἰμωγὴν ὁ δῆμος  
 εἰς ὀλοφυρμοὺς τραπόμενος ἐπικουρεῖν τὸν Ἀγρίπ-  
 παν ἵκέτευεν, τοῦ τε Νεαπολιτανοῦ κατεβόων ὅσα  
 πάθοιεν ὑπὸ Φλώρου, καὶ παρελθοῦσιν εἰς τὴν  
 πόλιν τὴν τε ἀγορὰν ἡρημωμένην ἐπεδείκνυσαν καὶ  
 340 πεπορθημένας τὰς οἰκίας. ἔπειτα δι' Ἀγρίππα  
 πείθουσι τὸν Νεαπολιτανὸν σὺν ἐνὶ θεράποντι  
 περιελθεῖν μέχρι τοῦ Σιλωᾶ τὴν πόλιν, ἵνα γνῷ  
 Ἰουδαίους τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις Ῥωμαίοις ἀπασιν  
 εἴκοντας, μόνῳ δ' ἀπεχθανομένους Φλώρω δι'  
 ὑπερβολὴν τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς ὠμότητος. ὁ δ' ὡς  
 διοδεύσας πεῖραν ἰκανὴν ἔλαβεν τῆς πραότητος  
 341 αὐτῶν, εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀναβαίνει. ἐνθα συγκαλέσας  
 τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εἰς πίστιν αὐτοὺς τὴν  
 πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπαινέσας, πολλὰ δὲ εἰς τὸ τηρεῖν  
 τὴν εἰρήνην προτρεψάμενος καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ προσ-  
 κυνήσας ὅθεν ἐξῆν τὰ ἄγια, πρὸς Κέστιον ἐπανῆει.  
 342 (3) ὁ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ τε τὸν  
 βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς τραπόμενον πέμπειν  
 κατὰ Φλώρου πρέσβεις ἡξίου πρὸς Νέρωνα καὶ  
 μὴ σιωπῶντας ἐπὶ τοσούτῳ φόνῳ καταλιπεῖν  
 ἑαυτοῖς ὑπόνοιαν ἀποστάσεως· δόξειν γὰρ αὐτοὶ

<sup>a</sup> The pool of Siloam at the south-east extremity of the city.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. without passing the stone balustrade or parapet (*δρύφακτος, soreg*), which separated the outer from the inner

They indeed, being men of position, and as owners of property desirous of peace, understood the benevolent intention of the king's reprimand. But the people of Jerusalem also came out to a distance of sixty furlongs from the city to welcome Agrippa and Neapolitanus ; the widows of the slain ran on in advance uttering piercing cries, and to their shrieks the people responded with lamentations, entreating Agrippa to succour them, and loudly declaiming to Neapolitanus all that they had suffered from Florus. When they entered the city the Jews showed them the *agora* a scene of desolation, and the houses plundered. Then, through the agency of Agrippa, they induced Neapolitanus to make the tour of the city as far as Siloam,<sup>a</sup> with a single attendant, in order to assure himself that the Jews were duly subordinate to all the Roman officials, Florus alone excepted, whom they hated for the excessive cruelty with which he had treated them. Having traversed the city and satisfied himself as to the amenable temper of the inhabitants, Neapolitanus went up to the Temple. Here he called the multitude together, highly commended them for their loyalty to the Romans and earnestly exhorted them to keep the peace ; then, after paying his devotions to the sanctuary of God from the permitted area,<sup>b</sup> he returned to Cestius.

(3) The Jewish populace now turning to the king and the chief priests pressed them to send an embassy to Nero to denounce Florus, and not to remain silent after so frightful a massacre, thereby leaving the Jews under the suspicion of revolt ; as they would be court, entry to the latter being forbidden to Gentiles under pain of death (*B. v.* 193 f.).

The citizen  
press for  
embassy  
Nero.

# JOSEPHUS

κατάρξαι τῶν ὅπλων, εἰ μὴ φθάσαντες ἐνδείξαιντο  
 343 τὸν κατάρξαντα. φανεροὶ δ' ἡσαν οὐκ ἡρεμήσοντες,  
 εἰ τὴν πρεσβείαν τις ἀποκωλύοι.<sup>1</sup> Ἀγρίππα δὲ  
 τὸ μὲν χειροτονεῖν Φλώρου κατηγόρους ἐπίφθονον,  
 τὸ περιιδεῖν δὲ Ἰουδαίους εἰς πόλεμον ἐκριπι-  
 344 σθέντας οὐδὲ<sup>2</sup> αὐτῷ λυσιτελὲς κατεφαίνετο. προσ-  
 καλεσάμενος δὲ εἰς τὸν ξυστὸν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ  
 παραστησάμενος ἐν περιόπτῳ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Βερ-  
 νίκην ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσαμωναίων οἰκίας, αὗτη γὰρ ἦν  
 ἐπάνω τοῦ ξυστοῦ πρὸς τὸ πέραν τῆς ἀνω πόλεως,  
 καὶ γέφυρα τῷ ξυστῷ τὸ ίερὸν συνήπτεν, Ἀγρίπ-  
 πας ἔλεξεν τοιάδε.

345 (4) “Εἰ μὲν ἔώρων πάντας ὑμᾶς πολεμεῖν  
 ‘Ρωμαίοις ὠρμημένους καὶ μὴ τοῦ δήμου τὸ  
 καθαρώτατον καὶ εἱλικρινέστατον εἰρήνην ἄγειν  
 προηρημένους, οὕτ’ ἂν παρῆλθον εἰς ὑμᾶς οὕτε  
 συμβούλευειν ἐθάρρησα· περισσὸς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ  
 δέοντα ποιεῖν πᾶς λόγος, ὅταν ἢ τῶν ἀκουόντων  
 346 πάντων πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ὁμόνοια. ἐπεὶ δὲ τινὰς  
 μὲν ἡλικία τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ κακῶν ἀπείρατος, τινὰς  
 δὲ ἐλπὶς ἀλόγιστος ἐλευθερίας, ἐνίους δὲ πλεονεξία

<sup>1</sup> ἀποκωλύει PAM.

<sup>2</sup> C: οὕτε the rest.

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<sup>a</sup> The meaning of *πρὸς τὸ πέραν τῆς ἀνω πόλεως* is uncertain; Reinach renders “et sa façade regardait les terrains qui font vis-à-vis à la ville haute.”

<sup>b</sup> The Xystus, perhaps the gymnasium originally built by Jason (2 Macc. iv. 9), was a place of exercise, apparently mainly open to the air, with “polished” flag-stones from which it took its name. Its exact position is uncertain: it seems to have lain on the lower slopes of the western hill (the upper city) above the Tyropoeon valley, which separated the west and the east hills, or (G. A. Smith) in the valley itself. The palace of the Hasmonaeans was to the west of it, higher up the western hill; in this palace Agrippa I had

regarded as having commenced hostilities, unless prompt measures were taken to denounce the real aggressor. It was clear that they did not intend to submit quietly to any opposition to the proposed embassy. Agrippa saw how odious would be the task of electing a body to accuse Florus, but realized also the danger, even to himself, of letting the flames now smouldering in Jewish breasts break out into war. He, accordingly, summoned the people to the Xystus and placed his sister Bernice in a commanding position on the roof of the palace of the Hasmonaeans, which stood above the Xystus on the opposite side of the upper town <sup>a</sup>; the Xystus was connected with the Temple by a bridge.<sup>b</sup> Agrippa then delivered the following speech <sup>c</sup> :—

(4) "Had I found you all bent on war with the Romans, instead of seeing that the most honest and single-minded members of the community are determined to preserve the peace, I should not have presented myself before you, nor ventured to offer advice; for any speech in support of the right policy is thrown away when the audience unanimously favours the worse. But seeing that the stimulus to war is for some of you mere youthfulness which lacks experience of its horrors, for others an unreflecting hope of regaining independence, for yet others

constructed an apartment which commanded a view of the interior of the Temple (*A.* xx. 189 f.).

<sup>a</sup> On the accuracy of the information given in the following speech, and apparently derived from some official source, nonographs have been written by Friedländer, *De fonte quo Josephus*, B.J. ii. 16. 4, *usus sit* (Königsberg, 1873), and Domaszewski, "Die Dislokation des römischen Heeres im Jahre 66 n. Chr." (*Rheinisches Museum*, 1892, pp. 207-218). I owe these references to Drs. Th. Reinach and E. Schürer.

## JOSEPHUS

τις παροξύνει καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων, ἐὰν τὰ πράγματα συγχυθῆ, κέρδος, ὅπως αὐτοί τε σωφρονισθέντες μεταβάλωνται καὶ μὴ τῆς ἐνίων κακοβουλίας οἱ ἀγαθοὶ παραπολαύσωσιν, ὡήθην δεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πάντας ὑμᾶς συναγαγὼν εἰπεῖν  
347 ἀ νομίζω συμφέρειν. θορυβήσῃ δέ μοι μηδείς, ἐὰν μὴ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούῃ· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀνηκέστως ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπόστασιν ὥρμημένοις ἔνεστι καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν παραίνεσιν ταῦτα φρονεῖν, ἐμοὶ δὲ διαπίπτει καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούειν ἐθέλοντας ὁ λόγος,  
348 ἐὰν μὴ παρὰ πάντων ἡσυχία γένηται. οἶδα μὲν οὖν ὅτι πολλοὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ὕβρεις καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐγκώμια τραγῳδοῦσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ πρὶν ἐξετάζειν τίνες ὄντες τίσιν ἐπιχειρεῖτε πολεμεῖν, πρῶτον διαζεύξω τὴν συμπλοκὴν τῶν  
349 προφάσεων. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀμύνεσθε τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας, τί σεμνύνετε τὴν ἐλευθερίαν; εἰ δὲ τὸ δουλεύειν ἀφόρητον ἡγεῖσθε, περισσὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἡ μέμψις· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων μετριαζόντων αἰσχρὸν  
350 ὅμοίως τὸ δουλεύειν. σκοπεῖτε δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τούτων ὡς ἔστιν μικρὰ τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἡ ὑπόθεσις, καὶ πρῶτά γε τὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ἐγκλήματα. θεραπεύειν γάρ, οὐκ ἐρεθίζειν χρὴ τὰς ἐξουσίας.  
351 ὅταν δὲ τῶν μικρῶν ἀμαρτημάτων τοὺς ἐξονειδισμοὺς ποιῆσθε μεγάλους, καθ' ἑαυτῶν τοὺς

perhaps avarice and the prospect of enriching themselves at the expense of the weak in the event of a general convulsion, I, in order to bring these misguided persons to reason and a better frame of mind, and to prevent virtuous citizens from reaping the consequences of the errors of a few, have thought it my duty to call you all together and to tell you what I conceive to be to your interest. If my remarks are not to the liking of any of my audience, pray let him not create a disturbance. For those who have irreversibly determined to rebel will still be at liberty, after my exhortation, to retain their sentiments; but my words will be lost even upon those who are anxious to hear them, unless you all give me a quiet hearing.

" Now, I know that there are many who wax <sup>Your</sup> eloquent on the insolence of the procurators and <sup>motives for</sup> pronounce pompous panegyrics on liberty; but, for <sup>war are</sup> my part, before examining who you are and who are <sup>mixed.</sup> this people whom you are undertaking to fight, I would first consider apart two distinct pretexts for hostilities which have been confused. For, if your object is to have your revenge for injustice, what good is it to extol liberty? If, on the other hand, it is servitude which you find intolerable, to complain of your rulers is superfluous; were they the most considerate of men, servitude would be equally disgraceful.

" Consider then these arguments apart and how <sup>(i) Your</sup> weak, on either ground, are your reasons for going to <sup>accusation against</sup> war; and first the charges against the procurators. <sup>individual</sup> The powers that be should be conciliated by flattery, <sup>Roman pr</sup> not irritated; when you indulge in exaggerated <sup>curators do</sup> reproaches for minor errors, you only injure your- <sup>not justify</sup> <sup>war with</sup> Rome.

# JOSEPHUS

οὐειδιζομένους ἀπελέγχετε, καὶ παρέντες τὸ λάθρα  
 καὶ μετ' αἰδοῦς ὑμᾶς βλάπτειν πορθοῦσι φανερῶς.  
 οὐδὲν δὲ οὕτως τὰς πληγὰς ὡς τὸ φέρειν ἀνα-  
 στέλλει, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἡσύχιον τοῖς  
 352 ἀδικοῦσι γίνεται διατροπή. φέρε δ' εἶναι τοὺς  
 'Ρωμαίων ὑπηρέτας ἀνηκέστως χαλεπούς· οὕπω  
 'Ρωμαῖοι πάντες ἀδικοῦσιν ὑμᾶς οὐδὲ Καΐσαρ,  
 πρὸς οὓς αἴρεσθε<sup>1</sup> τὸν πόλεμον· οὐδὲ γάρ ἐξ  
 ἐντολῆς ἥκει τις πονηρὸς ἀπ' ἐκείνων, οὐδέ γε  
 τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν ἀνατολὴν οἱ ἀφ' ἐσπέρας ἐπιβλέ-  
 πουσιν· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀκούειν ταχέως τὰ ἐντεῦθεν ἔκει  
 353 ράδιον. ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ δι' ἕνα πολλοῖς καὶ διὰ  
 μικρὰς αἰτίας τηλικούτοις καὶ μηδὲ γινώσκουσιν  
 354 ἀ μεμφόμεθα πολεμεῖν. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἡμετέρων  
 ἐγκλημάτων ταχεῖα γένοιτ<sup>2</sup> ἄν [ἡ]<sup>3</sup> διόρθωσις·  
 οὔτε γάρ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπίτροπος μενεῖ<sup>3</sup> διὰ παντός, καὶ  
 τοὺς διαδεξομένους εἰκὸς ἐλεύσεσθαι μετριωτέρους·  
 κινηθέντα δ' ἅπαξ τὸν πόλεμον οὗτ' ἀποθέσθαι  
 355 ράδιον δίχα συμφορῶν οὔτε βαστάζειν. ἀλλὰ μὴν  
 τό γε νῦν ἐλευθερίας ἐπιθυμεῖν ἄωρον, δέον ὑπὲρ  
 τοῦ μηδὲ ἀποβαλεῖν αὐτὴν ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρότερον.  
 ἡ γάρ πεῖρα τῆς δουλείας χαλεπή, καὶ περὶ τοῦ  
 356 μηδ' ἄρξασθαι ταύτης ὁ ἀγὼν δίκαιος· ὁ δ' ἅπαξ  
 χειρωθείς, ἔπειτα ἀφιστάμενος, αὐθάδης δοῦλος  
 ἔστιν, οὐ φιλελεύθερος. τότε τοιγαροῦν ἐχρῆν  
 πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δέξασθαι 'Ρωμαίους ποιεῖν.  
 357 ὅτε<sup>4</sup> ἐπέβαινεν τῆς χώρας Πομπήιος. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν  
 ἡμέτεροι<sup>5</sup> πρόγονοι καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Cobet (cf. e.g. B. ii. 638): αἴρεισθε MSS.

<sup>2</sup> om. PAL.

<sup>3</sup> μένει PAL.

<sup>4</sup> + τὴν ἀρχὴν MVRC.

<sup>5</sup> ὑμέτεροι AL. Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Or "turns the wrongdoer aside."

selves by your denunciation of those whom you incriminate ; instead of maltreating you, as before, in secret and with a sense of shame, they will now despoil you openly. There is nothing to check blows like submission, and the resignation of the wronged victim puts the wrongdoer to confusion.<sup>a</sup> Granted that the Roman ministers are intolerably harsh, it does not follow that all the Romans are unjust to you any more than Caesar ; yet it is against them, against him, that you are going to war. It is not by their orders that an oppressive governor comes from them to us, and they cannot see in the west their officers in the east ; it is not easy even promptly to hear yonder the news from these parts. How absurd it were, because of one man to make war on a whole people, for trifling grievances to take arms against so mighty a power, which does not even know the nature of our complaints ! The wrongs which we lay to their charge may be speedily rectified ; for the same procurator will not remain for ever, and it is probable that the successors of this one will show greater moderation on taking office. But war once set on foot cannot be lightly either broken off or carried through without risk of disaster.

" Passing to your present passion for liberty, I say (ii) Your  
that it comes too late. The time is past when you  
passion for  
ought to have striven never to lose it. For servitude  
independ-  
ence is  
belated.  
is a painful experience and a struggle to avoid it once  
for all is just ; but the man who having once accepted  
the yoke then tries to cast it off is a contumacious  
slave, not a lover of liberty. There was, to be sure,  
a time when you should have strained every nerve to  
keep out the Romans ; that was when Pompey  
invaded this country. But our forefathers and their

χρήμασιν καὶ σώμασιν καὶ ψυχαῖς ἄμεινον ὑμῶν  
 πολλῷ διακείμενοι, πρὸς μοῖραν ὀλίγην τῆς Ῥω-  
 μαίων δυνάμεως οὐκ ἀντέσχον· ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ τὸ μὲν  
 ὑπακούειν ἐκ διαδοχῆς παρειληφότες, τοῖς πράγ-  
 μασιν δὲ τῶν πρώτων ὑπακουσάντων τοσοῦτον  
 ἐλαττούμενοι, πρὸς ὅλην ἀνθίστασθε τὴν Ῥωμαίων  
 358 ἡγεμονίαν; καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οἱ περὶ τῆς τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας παραδόντες ποτὲ καὶ πυρὶ  
 τὴν πόλιν, οἱ τὸν ὑπερίφανον Ξέρξην διὰ γῆς  
 πλεύσαντα καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης ὁδεύσαντα καὶ μὴ  
 χωρούμενον μὲν τοῖς πελάγεσιν, πλατυτέραν δὲ  
 τῆς Εὐρώπης τὴν στρατιὰν ἄγοντα, οἷα δραπέτην  
 ἐπὶ μιᾶς νεὼς διώξαντες, περὶ δὲ τῇ σμικρᾷ  
 Σαλαμῖνι τὴν τοσαύτην Ἀσίαν κλάσαντες ιῦν  
 δουλεύουσιν Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίδα τῆς  
 Ἑλλάδος πόλιν διοικεῖ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας προσ-  
 359 τάγματα. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μετὰ Θερμοπύλας  
 καὶ Πλαταιὰς καὶ τὸν ἐρευνήσαντα τὴν Ἀσίαν  
 360 Ἀγησίλαον ἀγαπῶσιν τοὺς αὐτοὺς δεσπότας, καὶ  
 Μακεδόνες ἔτι φανταζόμενοι Φίλιππον καὶ τὴν  
 σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παρασπείρουσαν<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς τὴν τῆς  
 οἰκουμένης ἡγεμονίαν ὄρωντες, φέρουσιν τὴν τοσαύ-  
 την μεταβολὴν καὶ πρὸς οὓς μεταβέβηκεν ἡ τύχη  
 361 προσκυνοῦσιν. ἄλλα τε ἔθνη μυρία πλείονος γέ-  
 μοντα πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν παρρησίας εἴκει. μόνοι δ'  
 ὑμεῖς ἀδοξεῖτε δουλεύειν οἷς ὑποτέτακται τὰ πάντα;

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf's conjecture *παρασπαίρουσαν* is unnecessary; the noun *τύχην* must be understood, but need not be inserted, as it is by Destinon.

<sup>a</sup> Alluding to the canal of Athos and the bridge across the Hellespont.

<sup>b</sup> His campaigns in Asia against Tissaphernes and Phar-

kings, though in wealth and in vigour of body and soul far your superiors, yet failed to withstand a small fraction of the Roman army ; and will you, to whom thraldom is hereditary, you who in resources fall so far short of those who first tendered their submission, will you, I say, defy the whole Roman empire ?

“ Look at the Athenians, the men who, to maintain the liberty of Greece, once consigned their city to the flames ; the men before whose pursuit the haughty Xerxes, who navigated the land and trod the sea,<sup>a</sup> Xerxes for whom the deep was too narrow and whose army overflowed Europe, fled like a fugitive slave on a single galley ; the men who, off the coast of little Salamis, broke the immense might of Asia. Those men today are the servants of the Romans and the city that was queen of Greece is governed by orders from Italy. Look at the Lace-<sup>(b)</sup> Spartans : after Thermopylae and Plataea, after Agesilaus the explorer of Asia,<sup>b</sup> they are content to serve the same masters. Look at the Macedonians, <sup>(c)</sup> Macedonians who still cherish Philip in their imagination, still have before their eyes the vision of her<sup>c</sup> who with Alexander scattered broadcast for them the seeds of the empire of the world ; yet they submit to endure such a reversal of fate and bow before those to whom Fortune has transferred her favours. Myriads of other nations, swelling with greater pride in the assertion of their liberty, have yielded. And will you alone disdain to serve those to whom the universe is subject ?

nabazus in 396-394 b.c. were cut short by his recall to war at home.

<sup>a</sup> The goddess Fortune.

ποίᾳ στρατιᾷ, ποίοις πεποιθότες ὅπλοις; ποῦ  
μὲν ὁ στόλος ὑμῖν διαληψόμενος τὰς Ἀρμαίων θα-  
λάσσας; ποῦ δ' οἱ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς ἔξαρκέσοντες  
362 θησαυροί; πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους ἄρα καὶ πρὸς Ἀραβias  
οἴεσθε κινεῖν τὸν πόλεμον; οὐ περισκέψεσθε τὴν  
Ἀρμαίων ἡγεμονίαν; οὐ μετρήσετε τὴν ἑαυτῶν  
ἀσθένειαν; οὐ τὰ μὲν ἡμέτερα<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῶν προσοίκων  
ἔθνων ἡπτήθη πολλάκις, ἡ δὲ ἐκείνων ἴσχὺς διὰ  
363 τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀνίκητος; μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ταύτης  
ἐζήτησάν τι πλέον. οὐ γὰρ ἔξήρκεσεν αὐτοῖς ὅρος<sup>2</sup>  
Ἐύφρατης ὑπὸ τὴν ἀνατολήν, οὐδὲ τῶν προσ-  
αρκτίων ὁ Ἰστρος, ἦ τε μεσημβρινὴ μέχρι τῶν  
ἀοικήτων ἐρευνηθεῖσα Λιβύη καὶ Γάδειρα πρὸς  
ἔσπέραν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὥκεανὸν ἐτέραν ἐζήτησαν  
οἰκουμένην καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἀνιστορήτων πρότερον  
364 Βρεττανῶν διήνεγκαν τὰ ὅπλα. τί οὖν; ὑμεῖς  
πλουσιώτεροι Γαλατῶν, ἴσχυρότεροι Γερμανῶν,  
Ἐλλήνων συνετώτεροι, πλείους τῶν κατὰ τὴν  
οἰκουμένην ἔστε πάντων; τί τὸ πεποιθὸς ὑμᾶς  
365 κατὰ Ἀρμαίων ἐπαίρει; χαλεπὸν τὸ δουλεύειν,  
ἐρεῖ τις. πόσῳ μᾶλλον Ἐλλησιν, οἱ τῶν ὑφ' ἡλίῳ  
πάντων προύχοντες εὐγενείᾳ<sup>3</sup> καὶ τοσαύτην νε-  
μόμενοι χώραν ἔξ Ἀρμαίων ὑπείκουσιν ῥάβδοις,  
τοσαύταις δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνες οἱ δικαιότερον ὑμῶν  
366 ὀφείλοντες ἐλευθερίας ἀντιποιεῖσθαι. τί δ' αἱ

<sup>1</sup> ὡμέτερα MLC Lat.<sup>2</sup> Niese, Destinon: ὅλος MSS.<sup>3</sup> προύχοντες εὐγενείᾳ P: προύχειν εὐγενείᾳ δοκοῦντες καὶ έντες  
A: προύχειν εὐγενείᾳ (or εὐγ. προυχ.) δοκοῦντες the rest.

“ What are the troops, what is the armour, on which you rely? Where is your fleet to sweep the Roman seas? Where is your treasury to meet the cost of your campaigns? Do you really suppose that you are going to war with Egyptians or Arabs? Will you shut your eyes to the might of the Roman empire and refuse to take the measure of your own weakness? Have not our forces been constantly defeated even by the neighbouring nations, while theirs have never met with a reverse throughout the whole known world? Nay, even that world has not sufficed for their ambition. For, not content with having for their frontiers on the east the Euphrates, on the north the Ister,<sup>a</sup> on the south Libya explored into desert regions, on the west Gades,<sup>b</sup> they have sought a new world beyond the ocean and carried their arms as far as the Britons, previously unknown to history. I ask you, then, are you wealthier than the Gauls, stronger than the Germans, more intelligent than the Greeks, more numerous than all the peoples of the world? What is it which inspires you with confidence to defy the Romans?

“ ‘ It is hard to serve,’ you will tell me. How much harder for Greeks who, though noblest of all races under the sun and occupants of so vast a territory, are yet subservient to six rods of a Roman magistrate<sup>c</sup>! A like number suffices to curb the Macedonians,<sup>d</sup> who with better right than you might claim their liberty. And then the five hundred cities

Contrast  
your lack  
resources  
with the  
might of t  
Roman  
Empire.

Other  
nations  
besides  
Greece an  
Macedon  
have bow  
to Rome,

<sup>c</sup> The *lictor's fasces*. Achaea, since 27 b.c. (except under Tiberius, when it was an imperial province, and for a short period under Nero, when Greece was proclaimed free) was a senatorial province governed by a proconsul of praetorian rank, who was attended by six lictors.

<sup>d</sup> Another senatorial province.

πεντακόσιαι τῆς Ἀσίας πόλεις; οὐ δίχα φρουρᾶς  
 ἔνα προσκυνοῦσιν ἡγεμόνα καὶ τὰς ὑπατικὰς  
 ράβδους; τί χρὴ λέγειν Ἡνιόχους τε καὶ Κόλχους  
 καὶ τὸ τῶν Ταύρων φῦλον, Βοσπορανούς τε καὶ  
 τὰ περίοικα τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τῆς Μαιώπιδος ἔθνη;  
 367 παρ' οἷς πρὶν μὲν οὐδ' οἰκεῖος ἐγιγνώσκετο  
 δεσπότης, νῦν δὲ τρισχιλίοις ὄπλίταις ὑποτάσ-  
 σεται, καὶ τεσσαράκοντα νῆες μακρὰ τὴν πρὶν  
 368 ἀπλωτὸν καὶ ἀγρίαν εἰρηνεύουσι θάλασσαν. πόσα  
 Βιθυνία καὶ Καππαδοκία καὶ τὸ Παμφύλιον ἔθνος  
 Λύκιοί τε καὶ Κίλικες ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἔχοντες  
 εἰπεῖν χωρὶς ὅπλων φορολογοῦνται; τί δαί; Θράκες  
 οἱ πέντε μὲν εὑρόσ, ἐπτὰ δὲ μῆκος ἡμερῶν χώραν  
 διειληφότες, τραχυτέραν τε καὶ πολλῷ τῆς ὑμετέρας  
 ὁχυρωτέραν καὶ βαθεῖ κρυμῷ τοὺς ἐπιστρατεύ-  
 σοντας<sup>1</sup> ἀνακόπτουσαν, οὐχὶ δισχιλίοις Ῥωμαίων  
 369 ὑπακούουσιν φρουροῖς; οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τούτων Ἰλλυριοὶ  
 τὴν μέχρι Δαλματίας ἀποτεμνομένην Ἰστρῷ κατ-  
 οικοῦντες, οὐ δυσὶν μόνοις τάγμασι ὑπείκουσιν,  
 μεθ' ὧν αὐτοὶ τὰς Δακῶν ἀνακόπτουσιν ὄρμάς;  
 370 οἱ δὲ τοσαντάκις πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν ἀναχαιτίσαντες  
 Δαλμάται καὶ πρὸς μόνον ἀεὶ χειρωζέντες τὸ

<sup>1</sup> PL: ἐπιστρατεύοντας or -εύσαντας the rest.

<sup>a</sup> The number agrees with that named by Philostratus (*Lives of Sophists*, ii. 1. 4): the geographer Ptolemy reckons only 140 (Reinach). Asia was senatorial with a governor of consular rank.

<sup>b</sup> The Colchians, of whom the Heniochi were a tribe, were settled on the east and south-east of the Black Sea.

<sup>c</sup> Inhabiting the Tauric Chersonese, the modern Crimea.

<sup>d</sup> The sea of Azov.

of Asia<sup>a</sup>: do they not, without a garrison, bow (*d*) Asia, before a single governor and the consular *fasces*? Need I speak of the Heniochi, the Colchians,<sup>b</sup> the race of the Taurians,<sup>c</sup> the people of the Bosporus, the nations bordering on the Euxine and Lake Maeotis<sup>d</sup>? These peoples, who formerly recognized no master, not even one from their own ranks, are now in subjection to three thousand soldiers, while forty battle-ships bring peace to that once unnavigated and savage sea.<sup>e</sup> What strong claims to liberty might be advanced by Bithynia, Cappadocia, the Pamphylian nation, Lycians and Cilicians? Yet they pay their tribute without resort to arms.<sup>f</sup> Then, what of the Thracians, who are (*e*) Thracians spread over a country five days' march in breadth and seven in length, a country more rugged and far stronger than your own, the rigour of whose icy climate repels an invader: do they not obey the orders of two thousand Roman guards?<sup>g</sup> The Illyrians, their neighbours, who inhabit the region (*f*) Illyria extending from Dalmatia to the frontier of the Ister, are they not kept in check by no more than two legions,<sup>h</sup> with whom they themselves unite to repel the incursions of the Dacians? The Dalmatians, (*g*) Dalmatia too, who have so often reared their heads <sup>i</sup> for liberty,

<sup>a</sup> The numbers of troops and ships here mentioned cannot be checked: the military occupation of these districts appears to date from the annexation of the kingdom of Pontus on the deposition of Polemon II c. A.D. 63.

<sup>b</sup> Or perhaps "without constraint of arms" (Reinach).

<sup>c</sup> Detached from the two legions stationed in Moesia; Thrace, after several risings, was finally converted into a Roman province in 46 A.D.

<sup>d</sup> The two legions of Moesia (not Illyria) are intended: viz. VIII Augusta and VII Claudia (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 85).

<sup>e</sup> Greek "manes."

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συλλεξάμενοι<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἵσχυν πάλιν ἀποστῆναι, νῦν οὐχ  
 371 ὑφ' ἐνὶ τάγματι 'Ρωμαίων ἡσυχίαν ἄγουσιν; ἀλλὰ  
 μὴν εἴ γέ τινας εἰς ἀπόστασιν ὥφειλον ἀφορμαῖ  
 μεγάλαι παροξύνειν, μάλιστα Γαλάτας ἔχρην, τοὺς  
 οὗτος ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως τετειχισμένους, ἐξ ἀνατολῆς  
 μὲν ταῖς "Αλπεσιν, πρὸς ἄρκτῳ δὲ 'Ρήνῳ ποταμῷ,  
 μεσημβρινοῖς δὲ τοῖς Πυρηναίοις ὄρεσιν, ὡκεανῷ  
 372 δὲ πρὸς δυσμῶν.<sup>2</sup> ἀλλὰ καίτοι τηλικαῦτα μὲν  
 ἔρκη περιβεβλημένοι, πέντε δὲ καὶ τριακοσίοις  
 πληθύοντες ἔθνεσιν, τὰς δὲ πηγάς, ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι,  
 τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐπιχωρίους ἔχοντες καὶ τοῖς ἀγα-  
 θοῖς σχεδὸν ὅλην ἐπικλύζοντες τὴν οἰκουμένην,  
 ἀνέχονται 'Ρωμαίων πρόσοδος ὅντες καὶ ταμιευό-  
 373 μενοι παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν οἰκείαν εὐδαιμονίαν. καὶ  
 τοῦθ' ὑπομένουσιν οὐ διὰ φρονημάτων μαλακίαν,  
 οὐδὲ δι' ἀγένειαν, οἵ γε διήνεγκαν ὄγδοήκοντα ἔτη  
 πόλεμον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῆς  
 δυνάμεως 'Ρωμαίων καὶ τὴν τύχην καταπλαγέντες,  
 ἦτις αὐτοῖς κατορθοῖ πλείονα τῶν ὅπλων. τοι-  
 γαροῦν ὑπὸ χιλίοις καὶ διακοσίοις στρατιώταις  
 δουλεύουσιν, ὧν ὀλίγου δεῖν πλείους ἔχουσι πόλεις  
 374 οὐδὲ "Ιβηρσιν ὁ γεωργούμενος χρυσὸς εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ  
 τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐξήρκεσεν πόλεμον, οὐδὲ τὸ το-  
 σοῦτον ἀπὸ 'Ρωμαίων γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης διάστημα

<sup>1</sup> Text emended by Niese: πρὸς τὸ μόνον ἀεὶ χειρ. τότε  
 σιλλεξ. MSS.

<sup>2</sup> δυσμῶν MVRC.

<sup>a</sup> Apparently XI Claudia (*cf.* Tac. *Hist.* iii. 50).

<sup>b</sup> 400 according to Appian, *Celt.* i. 2, 300 according to Plutarch, *Caes.* 15: the "nations" intended are the *pagi* or "cantons," a subdivision of the *civitates* (Reinach).

<sup>c</sup> From the campaign of M. Fulvius Flaccus (125 B.C.) which led to the foundation of the Provincia Narbonensis

whose constant defeats have only led them to muster their forces for a fresh revolt, do they not now live in peace under a single Roman legion <sup>a</sup>?

"But if there is one people above all others which <sup>(b)</sup> Gaul should be tempted by its grand opportunities to raise the standard of revolt, it is surely the Gauls with their magnificent natural ramparts, on the east the Alps, on the north the river Rhine, on the south the chain of the Pyrenees, on the west the ocean. But, though encompassed by such formidable barriers, though swarming with a population of three hundred and five nations,<sup>b</sup> possessing, so to say, in their native soil the springs of prosperity and irrigating well-nigh the whole world with the overflow of their products, the Gauls are yet content to be treated as a source of revenue to the Romans and to have their own prosperous fortune meted out to them at their hands. And this they tolerate, not from any lack of spirit or because they are an ignoble race, they who for full eighty years<sup>c</sup> fought for their independence, but because they are overawed at once by the power of Rome and by her fortune, which brings her more triumphs even than her arms. That is why they submit to the orders of twelve hundred soldiers,<sup>d</sup> they who have cities enough almost to outmatch that number.<sup>e</sup> Then the Iberians—neither the gold <sup>(i)</sup> Spain which their soil produces, nor the vast extent of land and sea which separates them from the Romans, nor up to the end of Caesar's campaigns was a period of about seventy-five years.

<sup>a</sup> Two *cohortes urbanae* established at Lyons, one of which (the eighteenth) is mentioned in Tac. *Hist.* i. 64, and the other (the seventeenth) in an inscription, Mommsen, *Hermes*, xvi. 645 (Reinach).

• "More than 800 cities" (App. *Celt.* i. 2; Plut. *Caes.* 15),

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φῦλά τε Λουσιτανῶν καὶ Καντάβρων ἀρειμάνια,  
οὐδὲ γείτων ὡκεανὸς φοβερὰν καὶ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις  
375 ἄμπωτιν ἐπάγων, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἡρακλείους στή-  
λας ἐκτείναντες τὰ ὅπλα καὶ διὰ νεφῶν ὁδεύ-  
σαντες τὰ Πυρηναῖα<sup>1</sup> ὅρη, καὶ τούτους ἐδουλώ-  
σαντο· Ῥωμαῖοι· φρουρὰ δ' ἥρκεσεν τῶν οὗτως  
δυσμάχων καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπωκισμένων ἐν τάγμα.  
376 τίς ύμῶν οὐκ ἀκοῇ παρείληφεν τὸ Γερμανῶν  
πλῆθος; ἀλκὴν μὲν γὰρ καὶ μεγέθη σωμάτων  
εἴδετε δήπου πολλάκις, ἐπεὶ πανταχοῦ Ῥωμαῖοι  
377 τοὺς τούτων αἰχμαλώτους ἔχουσιν. ἀλλ' οὗτοι  
γῆν μὲν ἅπειρον νειρόμενοι, μείζω δὲ τῶν σωμάτων  
ἔχοντες τὰ φρονήματα καὶ τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν θανάτου  
καταφρονοῦσαν, τοὺς δὲ θυμοὺς τῶν ἀγριωτάτων  
θηρίων σφοδροτέρους, Ῥῆνον τῆς ὁρμῆς ὅρον  
ἔχουσιν καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὀκτὼ τάγμασιν δαμαζό-  
μενοι δουλεύουσιν μὲν ἀλόντες, τὸ δ' ὅλον αὐτῶν  
378 ἔθνος φυγῇ διασώζεται. σκέψασθε δὲ καὶ τὸ  
Βρεττανῶν τεῖχος οἱ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμων τείχεσιν  
πεποιθότες· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους περιβεβλημένους  
ὡκεανὸν καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης οὐκ ἐλάσ-  
σονα νῆσον οἰκοῦντας πλεύσαντες ἐδουλώσαντο  
‘Ῥωμαῖοι, τέσσαρα δὲ τάγματα τὴν τοσαύτην  
379 νῆσον φυλάσσει. καὶ τί δεῖ πολλὰ λέγειν, ὅπου

<sup>1</sup> Πυρηνίων ΡΑΜ.

<sup>a</sup> VI *Victrix*, the legion which proclaimed Galba emperor (Tac. *Hist.* v. 16; Suet. *Galba*, 10).

<sup>b</sup> Four in Upper, four in Lower Germany. In A.D. 69 (when the upper army numbered only three) the seven legions were IV, XXI, XXII; I, V, XV, XVI. The eighth

the tribes of the Lusitanians and Cantabrians with their fever for war, nor the neighbouring ocean, the ebb and flow of whose tides terrifies the very inhabitants, none of these sufficed in their struggle for independence ; no, the Romans carrying their arms beyond the Pillars of Hercules, traversing through clouds the mountains of the Pyrenees, have reduced even them to servitude ; to guard this nation of fighters, so stubborn, so remote, a single legion now suffices.<sup>a</sup> Which of you has not heard tell of the horde of Germans ? Nay, you have surely often seen (j) Germania their stalwart and burly figures, for the Romans have captives from that nation everywhere. This people occupies an immense country, their hearts are even greater than their stature, their souls disdainful of death, their rage fiercer than that of the most savage of beasts ; yet the Rhine sets a bound to their impetuosity and, tamed by eight Roman legions,<sup>b</sup> the captured are reduced to slavery, while the rest of the nation has found safety in flight. Again, consider what a wall of defence had the Britons, you who put your trust in the walls of Jerusalem : the ocean surrounds them, they inhabit an island no less in extent than the part of the world in which we live ;<sup>c</sup> yet the Romans crossed the sea and enslaved them, and four legions<sup>d</sup> now secure that vast island. But k) Britain

in A.D. 66 is thought to have been X Gemina. Mommsen, *Provinces*, i. 118 f., 132, Domaszewski, *op. cit.* (§ 344 note).

<sup>e</sup> i.e. Palestine. Or possibly 'the whole of our inhabited continent' ; for before Agricola's campaign of A.D. 84 the Romans had a very imperfect conception of the size of Britain (Merivale, *Romans under Empire*, vii. 90).

<sup>d</sup> II Augusta, IX Hispana, XIV Gemina Martia Victrix (recalled in 68), XX Valeria Victrix. Domaszewski, *op. cit.*, cf. Mommsen, *Provinces*, i. 174, note 4.

καὶ Πάρθοι, τὸ πολεμικώτατον φῦλον, τοσούτων ἄρχοντες ἐθνῶν καὶ τηλικαύτην περιβεβλημένοι δύναμιν, ὁμήρους πέμπουσιν 'Ρωμαίοις, καὶ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῆς 'Ιταλίας ἵδεῖν ἐν εἰρήνης προφάσει δου-  
380 λεύουσαν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς εὐγένειαν. πάν-  
των δὴ σχεδὸν τῶν ὑφ' ἡλίῳ τὰ 'Ρωμαίων ὅπλα  
προσκυνούντων ὑμεῖς μόνοι πολεμήσετε, μηδὲ τὸ  
Καρχηδονίων τέλος σκοποῦντες, οἱ τὸν μέγαν  
αὐχοῦντες 'Αννιβαν καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Φοινίκων εύ-  
381 γένειαν ὑπὸ τὴν Σκιπίωνος δεξιὰν ἔπεσον; οὔτε δὲ  
Κυρηναῖοι, τὸ Λακώνων γένος, οὔτε Μαρμαρίδαι,  
τὸ μέχρι τῆς διψάδος ἐκτεταμένον φῦλον, οὕθ' αἱ  
φοβεραὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν Σύρτεις, Νασαμῶνές  
τε καὶ Μαῦροι καὶ τὸ Νομάδων ἄπειρον πλῆθος  
382 τὰς 'Ρωμαίων ἀνέκοψαν ἀρετάς. τὴν δὲ τρίτην  
τῆς οἰκουμένης μοῖραν, ἃς οὐδὲ ἔξαριθμήσασθαι  
τὰ ἐθνη ῥάδιον, ὁρίζομένην 'Ατλαντικῷ τε πελάγει  
καὶ στήλαις 'Ηρακλείοις καὶ μέχρι τῆς 'Ερυθρᾶς  
θαλάσσης τοὺς ἄπειρους νέμουσαν Αἰθίοπας ἔχει-  
383 ρώσαντο μὲν ὅλην, χωρὶς δὲ τῶν ἐτησίων καρπῶν,  
οἱ μησὶν ὀκτὼ τὸ κατὰ τὴν 'Ρώμην πλῆθος τρέ-  
φουσιν, [καὶ]<sup>1</sup> ἔξωθεν παντοίως φορολογοῦνται καὶ  
ταῖς χρείαις τῆς ἡγεμονίας παρέχουσιν ἔτοιμους  
τὰς εἰσφοράς, οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων ὕσπερ  
ὑμεῖς ὕβριν ἥγούμενοι, καίπερ ἐνὸς τάγματος  
384 αὐτοῖς παραμένοντος. καὶ τί δεῖ πόρρωθεν ὑμῖν  
τὴν 'Ρωμαίων ὑποδεικνύαι δύναμιν, παρὸν ἔξ-

<sup>1</sup> om. PAL.

<sup>a</sup> Reinach instances Tiridates I (king of Armenia and brother of the king of Parthia), who in A.D. 63 did homage to Nero and left his daughter in Rome as a hostage (Tac. Ann. xv. 29 f.).

why enlarge, when the Parthians themselves, that (l) Parthian race of finest warriors, lords of so many nations, provided with so vast an army, send hostages to the Romans, and the nobility of the east may be seen in Italy, under the pretext of peace, bending to the yoke ? <sup>a</sup>

“ Thus, when almost every nation under the sun (m) does homage to the Roman arms, are you alone to Carthage, Cyrene, and the tribes of Africa, defy them, regardless of the fate of the Carthaginians, who, for all their pride in the great Hannibal and in the nobility of their Phoenician descent, fell beneath the hand of Scipio ? Neither Cyrenians, of Spartan breed, nor Marmaridae, that race that stretches to the regions of drought, nor Syrtes, whose very name strikes terror, Nasamons, Maurians, Numidians in their countless hosts, none have checked the valour of Rome. This third part of the inhabited world, <sup>b</sup> the mere enumeration of whose nations is no easy task, bounded by the Atlantic ocean and the pillars of Hercules, and supporting right up to the Red Sea Ethiopians innumerable, they have subdued it all ; and these peoples, besides their annual produce, which feeds for eight months of the year the populace of Rome, over and above this pay tribute of all kinds and ungrudgingly devote their contributions <sup>c</sup> to the service of the empire, far from seeing, as do you, an outrage in the orders which they receive, although but one legion <sup>d</sup> is quartered among them.

“ But why seek so far afield for proofs of the power (n) Egypt and Alexandria, of Rome, when I can find them at your very door, in

<sup>b</sup> Africa.

<sup>c</sup> *εισφορά* in Attic Greek is a sort of super-tax.

<sup>d</sup> III Augusta, stationed in the senatorial or western portion of the province of Africa.

# JOSEPHUS

385 Αἰγύπτου τῆς γειτνιώσης, ἥτις ἐκτεινομένη μέχρις  
 Αἴθιόπων καὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονος Ἀραβίας, ὅρμος<sup>1</sup>  
 τε οὖσα τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, πεντήκοντα πρὸς τὰς ἑπτα-  
 κοσίαις ἔχουσα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων δίχα τῶν  
 Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κατοικούντων, ὡς ἔνεστιν ἐκ τῆς  
 καθ' ἐκάστην κεφαλὴν εἰσφορᾶς<sup>2</sup> τεκμήρασθαι, τὴν  
 Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν οὐκ ἀδοξεῖ, καίτοι πηλίκον  
 ἀποστάσεως κέντρον ἔχουσα τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν  
 πλήθους τε ἀνδρῶν ἔνεκα καὶ πλούτου, πρὸς δὲ  
 386 μεγέθους· μῆκος μέν γε αὐτῆς τριάκοντα σταδίων,  
 εῦρος δ' οὐκ ἔλαττον δέκα, τοῦ δὲ ἐνιαυσιαίου  
 παρ' ὑμῶν φόρου καθ' ἕνα μῆνα πλέον Ῥωμαίοις  
 παρέχει καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἔξωθεν τῇ Ῥώμῃ  
 σῖτον μηνῶν τεσσάρων· τετείχισται δὲ πάντοθεν  
 ἢ δυσβάτοις ἐρημίαις ἢ θαλάσσαις ἀλιμένοις ἢ  
 387 ποταμοῖς ἢ ἔλεσιν. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἴσχυρό-  
 τερον εὑρέθη τῆς Ῥωμαίων τύχης, δύο δ' ἐγκαθ-  
 ἡμενα τῇ πόλει τάγματα τὴν βαθεῖαν Αἰγυπτον  
 388 ἅμα τῇ Μακεδόνων εὐγενείᾳ χαλινοῖ. τίνας οὖν  
 ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκ τῆς ἀοικήτου παραλήψεοθε  
 συμμάχους; οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης πάντες  
 εἰσὶν Ῥωμαῖοι, εἰ μή τις ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ἐκτείνει  
 τὰς ἐλπίδας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀδιαβηνῆς ὁμοφύλους  
 389 οἴεται προσαμνεῖν.<sup>3</sup> οἱ δ' οὔτε δι' αἰτίαν ἄλογον

<sup>1</sup> ὅμορος VC Lat.

<sup>2</sup> συνεισφορᾶς P.

<sup>3</sup> Niese from Lat.: προσαμίνειν or ἐπαμύνειν MSS.

<sup>a</sup> Diodorus Siculus, writing some seventy years earlier gives the population of Egypt as seven millions (i. 31 Reinach), that of Alexandria as 300,000 (xvii. 52).

<sup>b</sup> Or, perhaps, "a centre for revolt."

<sup>c</sup> "Seven or eight," Strabo xvii. 1. 8 (Reinach); Strabo agrees with Josephus as to the length.

Egypt? This country, which extends as far as Ethiopia and Arabia Felix, which is the port for India, which has a population of seven million five hundred thousand souls,<sup>a</sup> exclusive of the inhabitants of Alexandria, as may be estimated from the poll-tax returns, this country, I say, does not disdain to submit to Roman domination; and yet what an incentive to revolt<sup>b</sup> she has in Alexandria, so populous, so wealthy, so vast! The length of that city is thirty furlongs, its breadth not less than ten<sup>c</sup>; the tribute which she yields to Rome in one month surpasses that which you pay in a year; besides money she sends corn to feed Rome for four months;<sup>d</sup> she is protected on all sides by trackless deserts, by seas without ports, by rivers or lagoons. Yet none of these assets proved a match for the fortune of Rome, and two legions<sup>e</sup> stationed in the city curb this far-reaching Egypt and the proud nobility of Macedon.

“What allies then do you expect for this war? You cannot expect aid from Jews beyond the Euphrate

<sup>a</sup> The corn for the capital for the other eight months of the year being furnished by Africa (§ 383).

<sup>b</sup> These in A.D. 69 were III and XXII (*Tac. Hist.* v. 1); under Augustus there had been a third legion, Mommsen, *Provinces*, ii. 273.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *B. i.* 5 for these expectations. “Proselytes” would have been a more correct term than “kinsmen”; the dynasty of Adiabene, a region east of the Tigris on the Parthian frontier, had under Claudius been converted to Judaism (*A. xx.* 17 ff.). Some members of the royal family fought on the side of the Jews (*B. ii.* 520, vi. 356).

τηλικούτῳ πολέμῳ συνεμπλέξουσιν ἑαυτούς, οὐτε  
 βουλευσαμένοις κακῶς ὁ Πάρθος ἐπιτρέψει· πρό-  
 νοια γὰρ αὐτῷ τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐκεχειρίας,  
 καὶ παραβαίνειν οἰήσεται τὰς σποιδάς, ἃν τις τῶν  
 390 ὑπ’ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἥη. λοιπὸν οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν  
 τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχίαν καταφευκτέον. ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 τοῦτο παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τέτακται· δίχα γὰρ θεοῦ  
 391 συστῆναι τηλικαύτην ἡγεμονίαν ἀδύνατον. σκέ-  
 φασθε δ’ ὡς ὑμῖν τὸ τῆς θρησκείας ἄκρατον, εἰ  
 καὶ πρὸς εὐχειρώτους πολεμοίητε, δυσδιοίκητον,  
 καὶ δι’ ἀ μᾶλλον τὸν θεὸν ἐλπίζετε σύμμαχον,  
 ταῦτ’ ἀναγκαζόμενοι παραβαίνειν ἀποστρέψετε.  
 392 τηροῦντές γε μὴν τὰ τῶν ἑβδομάδων ἔθη καὶ  
 πρὸς μηδεμίᾳν πρᾶξιν κινούμενοι ρᾳδίως ἀλώσεσθε,  
 καθάπερ οἱ πρόγονοι Πομπηίω, ταύτας μάλιστα  
 τὰς ἡμέρας ἐνεργοὺς ποιησαμένω τῆς πολιορκίας,  
 393 ἐν αἷς ἥργοντιν οἱ πολιορκούμενοι παραβαίνοντες δ’  
 ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τὸν πάτριον νόμον οὐκ οἶδ’ ὑπὲρ  
 ὅτου λοιπὸν ποιήσεσθε τὸν ἀγῶνα· σπουδὴ γὰρ  
 394 ὑμῖν μία τὸ μὴ τῶν πατρίων τι καταλῦσαι. πῶς  
 δ’ ἐπικαλέσεσθε τὸ θεῖον πρὸς τὴν ἄμυναν οἱ  
 παραβάντες ἐκουσίως τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν θεραπείαν;  
 ἐπαναιροῦνται δὲ ἕκαστοι πόλεμον ἢ θείᾳ πεποι-  
 θότες ἢ ἀνθρωπίνῃ βοηθείᾳ· ὅταν δὲ τὴν παρ’  
 ἀμφοῖν τὸ εἰκὸς ἀποκόπτῃ, φανερὰν ἄλωσιν οἱ  
 395 πολεμοῦντες αἴρονται. τί δὴ κωλύει ταῖς ἑαυτῶι  
 χερσὶν διαχρήσασθαι τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν  
 περικαλλεστάτην πατρίδα ταύτην καταφλέξαι; μα-

<sup>a</sup> Cf. B. i. 146; A. xiv. 63 ff.

frivolous pretext, let themselves be embroiled in so serious a war, and, if they did contemplate such folly, the Parthian would not permit it ; for he is careful to maintain the truce with the Romans, and would regard it as a violation of the treaty if any of his tributaries were to march against them.

“ The only refuge, then, left to you is divine assistance. But even this is ranged on the side of the Romans, for, without God’s aid, so vast an empire could never have been built up. Consider, too, the difficulty of preserving your religious rules from contamination, even were you engaging a less formidable foe ; and how, if compelled to transgress the very principles on which you chiefly build your hopes of God’s assistance, you will alienate Him from you. If you observe your sabbath customs and refuse to take any action on that day, you will undoubtedly be easily defeated, as were your forefathers by Pompey, who pressed the siege most vigorously on the days when the besieged remained inactive ;<sup>a</sup> if, on the contrary, you transgress the law of your ancestors, I fail to see what further object you will have for hostilities, since your one aim is to preserve inviolate all the institutions of your fathers. How could you invoke the aid of the Deity, after deliberately omitting to pay Him the service which you owe Him ?

“ All who embark on war do so in reliance on the support either of God or man ; but when, in all probability, no assistance from either quarter is forthcoming, then the aggressor goes with his eyes open to certain ruin. What is there, then, to prevent you from dispatching with your own hands your children and wives and from consigning this surpassingly beautiful home of yours to the flames ?

nor from  
God, who  
on the side  
of Rome.

Your  
religion  
will ham-  
you in w-

You have  
allies ; be  
warned in  
time.

# JOSEPHUS

νέντες γὰρ οὗτως τό γε τῆς ἥπτης ὄνειδος κερ-  
 396 δήσετε. καλόν, ὡ φίλοι, καλόν, ἔως ἔτι ἐν ὅρμῳ  
 τὸ σκάφος, προσκέπτεσθαι<sup>1</sup> τὸν μέλλοντα χειμῶνα  
 μηδ' εἰς μέσας τὰς θυέλλας ἀπολουμένους<sup>2</sup> ἀναχθῆ-  
 ναι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀδήλων ἐμπεσοῦσιν<sup>3</sup> δεινοῖς  
 τὸ γοῦν ἐλεεῖσθαι περίεστιν, ὁ δ' εἰς πρόδηλον  
 397 ἀπώλειαν ὄρμήσας καὶ προσονειδίζεται. πλὴν εἰ  
 μή τις ὑπολαμβάνει κατὰ συνθήκας πολεμήσειν  
 καὶ Ἐρωμαίους κρατήσαντας ὑμῶν μετριάσειν, ἀλλ'  
 οὐκ εἰς ὑπόδειγμα τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν καταφλέξειν  
 μὲν τὴν Ἱερὰν πόλιν, ἀναιρήσειν δὲ πᾶν ὑμῶν τὸ  
 φῦλον· οὐδὲ γὰρ περιλειφθέντες φυγῆς εὔρήσετε  
 τόπον, ἀπάντων ἔχόντων Ἐρωμαίους δεσπότας ἦ  
 398 δεδοικότων σχεῖν. ὁ δὲ κίνδυνος οὐ τῶν ἐνθάδε  
 μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας κατοικούντων  
 πόλεις· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης δῆμος ὁ  
 399 μὴ μοῖραν ἡμετέραν ἔχων. οὓς ἀπαντας πολεμη-  
 σάντων ὑμῶν κατασφάξουσιν οἱ διάφοροι, καὶ δι'  
 ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν κακοβούλιαν πᾶσα πλησθήσεται<sup>4</sup>  
 πόλις Ἰουδαϊκοῦ φόνου. καὶ συγγνώμη μὲν τοῖς  
 τοῦτο πράξασιν· ἂν δὲ μὴ πραχθῆ, λογίσασθε πῶς  
 πρὸς οὕτω φιλανθρώπους ὅπλα κινεῖν ἀνόσιον.  
 Του εἰσελθέτω δ' οἶκτος ὑμᾶς εἰ καὶ μὴ τέκνων καὶ  
 γυναικῶν, ἀλλὰ τῆς γε μητροπόλεως ταύτης καὶ  
 τῶν Ἱερῶν περιβόλων. φείσασθε τοῦ Ἱεροῦ καὶ  
 τὸν ναὸν ἑαυτοῖς μετὰ τῶν ἀγίων τηρήσατε· ἀφ-  
 ἔξονται γὰρ οὐκέτι Ἐρωμαῖοι τούτων κράτησαντες,

<sup>1</sup> περισκέπτεσθαι P.

<sup>2</sup> PA: ἀπολλυμένους L: ἀπὸ λιμένος MVRC (perhaps rightly).

<sup>3</sup> M: ἐπιπεσοῦσιν the rest.

<sup>4</sup> P: πληρωθήσεται the rest

By such an act of madness you would at least spare yourselves the ignominy of defeat. It were well, my friends, it were well, while the vessel is still in port, to foresee the coming storm, and not to put out into the midst of the hurricane to meet your doom.<sup>a</sup> For to the victims of unforeseen disaster there is left at least the meed of pity ; but he who rushes into manifest destruction incurs opprobrium to boot.

"There may be some who imagine that the war will be fought under special terms, and that the Romans, when victorious, will treat you with consideration ; on the contrary, to make you an example to the rest of the nations, they will burn the holy city to the ground and exterminate your race. Even the survivors will find no place of refuge, since all the peoples of the earth either have, or dread the thought of having, the Romans for their masters. The peril, moreover, threatens not only us Jews here, but also all who inhabit foreign cities ; for there is not a people in the world which does not contain a portion of our race.<sup>b</sup> All these, if you go to war, will be butchered by your adversaries, and through the folly of a handful of men every city will be drenched with Jewish blood. Such massacre would be excusable ; but, should it not take place, think what a crime it were to take up arms against such humane opponents ! Take pity, then, if not on your children and yourselves, at least on your mother city and its sacred precincts. Spare the temple and preserve for yourselves the sanctuary with its holy places<sup>c</sup> ; for the Romans, once masters of these, will refrain their

Do not look  
for mercy ;  
have pity on  
your race,  
your city  
and your  
Temple.

<sup>a</sup> Or, with the other reading, "put out from harbour into the midst of the hurricane."

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Ap.* ii. 282.

<sup>c</sup> Or "treasures."

- 401 ὡν φεισάμενοι πρότερον ἡχαρίστηνται. μαρτύρομαι δὲ ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῶν τὰ ἄγια καὶ τοὺς ἵεροὺς ἀγγέλους τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρίδα τὴν κοινήν, ὡς οὐδὲν τῶν σωτηρίων ὑμῶν καθυφηκάμην, ὑμεῖς δὲ βουλευσάμενοι μὲν τὰ δέοντα κοινὴν σὺν ἐμοὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἔξετε, προαχθέντες δὲ τοῖς θυμοῖς χωρὶς ἐμοῦ κινδυνεύσετε.”
- 402 (5) Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπεδάκρυσέν τε μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ πολὺ τῆς ὄρμῆς αὐτῶν ἔπαυσεν τοῦ δακρύοις. ἀνεβόων δὲ οὐ 'Ρωμαίοις, ἀλλὰ Φλώρῳ  
 403 δι' ἀ πεπόνθασιν πολεμεῖν. πρὸς τοῦτο βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας “ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔργα,” ἔφη, “'Ρωμαίοις ἥδη πολεμούντων ἐστίν· οὔτε γὰρ Καίσαρι δεδώκατε τὸν φόρον καὶ τὰς στοὰς ἀπεκόψατε τῆς  
 404 Ἀντωνίας. ἀποσκευάσαισθε<sup>2</sup> δ' ἂν τὴν αἰτία τῆς ἀποστάσεως, εἰ ταύτας τε συνάψετε πάλι καὶ τελέσετε τὴν εἰσφοράν· οὐ γὰρ δή γε Φλώρῳ τὸ φρούριόν ἐστιν ἢ Φλώρῳ τὰ χρήματα δώσετε.
- 405 (xvii. 1) Τούτοις ὁ δῆμος ἐπείθετο, καὶ μετ τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς τε Βερνίκης ἀναβάντες εἰς τὸν κατήρξαντο τῆς τῶν στοῶν δομήσεως, εἰ δὲ τὰς κώμας οἵ τε ἄρχοντες καὶ βουλευταὶ μερισθέντες τοὺς φόρους συνέλεγον· ταχέως δὲ τεσσαράκοντα τάλαντα, τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἔλειπε  
 406 ἡθροίσθη. καὶ τοῦ μὲν πολέμου τότε οὕτω τὶς ἀπειλὴν κατεῖχεν Ἀγρίππας, αὖθις δὲ ἐπειρᾶτο πείθειν τὸ πλῆθος ὑπακούειν Φλώρῳ, μέχρις ἀν αὐτοῦ πέμψει<sup>3</sup> Καίσαρ διάδοχον· πρὸς ὁ παῖς οξυνθέντες ἐβλασφήμουν εἰς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τι-

<sup>1</sup> τὰς PAL (cf. Lat. Antonianas).<sup>2</sup> Dindorf: ἀποσκευάσασθε or the like MSS.<sup>3</sup> M: πέμψῃ the rest.

hands no more, seeing that their forbearance in the past met only with ingratitude. As for me, I call your sanctuary and God's holy angels and our common country to witness, that I have kept back nothing which could conduce to your preservation ; as for you, if you decide aright, you will enjoy with me the blessings of peace, but, if you let yourselves be carried away by your passion, you will face, without me, this tremendous peril."

(5) Having spoken thus, he burst into tears, as did also his sister ; and his emotion much restrained the passion of his hearers. Still they began to cry out that they were not taking up arms against the Romans, but against Florus, because of all the wrong that he had done them. To this king Agrippa replied : " But your actions are already acts of war against Rome : you have not paid your tribute to Caesar, and you have cut down the porticoes communicating with Antonia. If you wish to clear yourselves of the charge of insurrection, re-establish the porticoes and pay the tax ; for assuredly the fortress does not belong to Florus, and it is not Florus to whom your money will go."

(xvii. 1) Acting on this advice, the people went up to the temple, with the king and Bernice, and began the reconstruction of the porticoes, while the magistrates and the members of the council dispersed to the various villages and levied the tribute. The arrears, amounting to forty talents, were rapidly collected. Thus for the moment Agrippa dispelled the menace of war. Subsequently, he endeavoured to induce the people to submit to the orders of Florus until a successor was sent by Caesar to replace him. But this exasperated the Jews, who heaped abuse upon

Agrippa's  
advice :  
" Pay yo  
tribute a  
restore t  
porticoes

πόλεως αὐτὸν ἐξεκήρυσσον, ἐτόλμων δέ τινες τῶν  
 407 στασιαστῶν καὶ λίθους ἐπ' αὐτὸν βάλλειν. ὁ δὲ  
 βασιλεὺς ιδὼν τὴν ὄρμὴν ἥδη τῶν νεωτεριζόντων  
 ἀκατάσχετον καὶ χαλεπήνας ἐφ' οἷς προπεπηλά-  
 κιστο,<sup>1</sup> τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν ἅμα τοῖς δυνα-  
 τοῖς ἔπειτε πρὸς Φλῶρον εἰς Καισάρειαν, ἵν'  
 ἐκεῖνος ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποδείξῃ τοὺς τὴν χώραν  
 φορολογήσοντας, αὐτὸς δ' ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν  
 βασιλείαν.

408 (2) Καν τούτῳ τινὲς τῶν μάλιστα κινούντων  
 τὸν πόλεμον συνελθόντες ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ φρούριον  
 τι καλούμενον Μασάδαν, καὶ καταλαβόντες αὐτὸ-  
 λάθρα τοὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίων φρουροὺς ἀπέσφαξαν,  
 409 ἔτερους δ' ἐγκατέστησαν ιδίους. ἅμα δὲ καὶ κατὰ  
 τὸ ιερὸν Ἐλεάζαρος νιὸς Ἀνανίᾳ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως,  
 νεανίας θρασύτατος, στρατηγῶν τότε τοὺς κατὰ  
 τὴν λατρείαν λειτουργοῦντας ἀναπειθεὶ μηδενὸς  
 ἀλλοτρίου δῶρον ἢ θυσίαν προσδέχεσθαι. τοῦτο  
 δ' ἦν τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμου καταβολή·  
 τὴν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τούτων θυσίαν καὶ<sup>2</sup> Καίσαρος ἀ-  
 410 ἐρριψαν. καὶ πολλὰ τῶν τε ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῶν  
 γνωρίμων παρακαλούντων μὴ παραλιπεῖν τὸ ὑπὲρ  
 τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἔθος οὐκ ἐνέδοσαν, πολὺ μὲν καὶ  
 τῷ σφετέρῳ πλήθει πεποιθότες, καὶ γὰρ τὸ  
 ἀκμαιότατον τῶν νεωτεριζόντων συνήργει, μά-

<sup>1</sup> προπεπηλάκισται P.A.

<sup>2</sup> om. καὶ VRC.

<sup>a</sup> As opposed to the tribute already collected from Jerusalem and the environs (§ 405).

<sup>b</sup> Close to the Dead Sea, more than half-way down the west coast, modern Sebbeh.

<sup>c</sup> i.e. "captain of the Temple" (Acts iv. 1, etc.), or *Sagan*,

the king and formally proclaimed his banishment from the city ; some of the insurgents even ventured to throw stones at him. The king, seeing that the passions of the revolutionaries were now beyond control, and indignant at the insults which he had received, sent the magistrates and principal citizens to Florus at Caesarea, in order that he might appoint some of their number to collect the tribute in the country <sup>a</sup> ; he then withdrew to his own dominions.

(2) And now some of the most ardent promoters of hostilities banded together and made an assault on a fortress called Masada <sup>b</sup> ; and having gained possession of it by stratagem, they slew the Roman guards and put a garrison of their own in their place.

Capture of  
Masada by  
Jewish  
insurgents  
summer of  
A.D. 66.  
Another incident occurred at the same time in the Temple. Eleazar, son of Ananias the high-priest, a very daring youth, then holding the position of captain,<sup>c</sup> persuaded those who officiated in the Temple services to accept no gift or sacrifice from a foreigner. This action laid the foundation of the war with the Romans ; for the sacrifices offered on behalf of that nation and the emperor were in consequence rejected.<sup>d</sup> The chief priests and the notables earnestly besought them not to abandon the customary offering for their rulers, but the priests remained obdurate. Their numbers gave them great confidence, supported as they were by the stalwarts of the revolutionary

in official who in the hierarchy ranked next to the high priest.

<sup>a</sup> These sacrifices, offered twice daily (*B. ii. 197*), were instituted by Augustus and consisted of two lambs and a bull (*Philo, Leg. ad Caium*, 157, 317 Cohn). The expense, according to Philo, was borne by the Emperor (*ἐκ τῶν ιδίων τροσόδων*), according to Josephus (*Ap. ii. 77*) by the Jewish nation.

# JOSEPHUS

λιστα δ' ἀφορῶντες εἰς τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον στρα-  
τηγοῦντα.

- 411 (3) Συνελθόντες γοῦν<sup>1</sup> οἱ δυνατοὶ τοῖς ἀρχ-  
ιερεῦσιν εἰς ταῦτὸν καὶ τοῖς τῶν Φαρισαίων  
γνωρίμοις ὡς ἐπ' ἀνηκέστοις ἥδη συμφορᾶς  
ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ τῶν ὅλων καὶ δόξαν ἀποπειρα-  
θῆναι τῶν στασιαστῶν λόγοις, πρὸ τῆς χαλκῆς  
πύλης ἀθροίζουσι τὸν δῆμον, ἥτις ἦν τοῦ ἔνδον  
412 ἱεροῦ τετραμμένη πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἥλιου. καὶ  
πρῶτον αὐτῶν πολλὰ πρὸς τὴν τόλμαν τῆς ἀπο-  
στάσεως χαλεπήναντες καὶ τὸ τηλικοῦτον ἐπι-  
σείειν τῇ πατρίδι πόλεμον, ἔπειτα τὸ τῆς προ-  
φάσεως ἄλογον διήλεγχον, φάμενοι τοὺς μὲν  
προγόνους αὐτῶν κεκοσμηκέναι τὸν γαὸν ἐκ τῶν  
ἀλλοφύλων τὸ πλέον, ἀεὶ προσδεχομένους τὰς ἀπὸ  
413 τῶν ἔξωθεν ἔθνῶν δωρεάς, καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐδὲ  
κεκωλυκέναι θυσίας τινῶν, τοῦτο γὰρ ἀσεβέστατον.  
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ βλεπόμενα καὶ<sup>2</sup> παραμένοντα [τὸν]  
τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἀγαθήματα περὶ τῷ ἱερῷ καθ-  
414 ιδρυκέναι. αὐτοὺς δὲ νῦν ἐρεθίζοντας τὰ 'Ρω-  
μαίων ὅπλα καὶ μητευομένους τὸν ἀπ' ἐκείνῳ  
πόλεμον καινοτομεῖν θρησκείαν ξένην, καὶ μετὶ  
τοῦ κινδύνου καταψηφίσασθαι τῆς πόλεως ἀ-  
σέβειαν, εἰ παρὰ μόνοις Ἰουδαίοις οὕτε θύσει τι  
415 ἀλλότριος οὕτε προσκυνήσει. καν μὲν ἐπὶ ἴδιώτοι  
τις ἑνὸς τοῦτον εἰσφέρῃ τὸν νόμον, ἀγανακτεῖ  
ὡς ὅριζομένης ἀπανθρωπίας, περιορᾶν δ' ὅτι  
416 'Ρωμαῖοι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔκσπονδος γίνεται. δεδοι

<sup>1</sup> οἵν VRC.

<sup>2</sup> + τὰ MSS.

<sup>3</sup> om. PAML

party ; but they relied above all on the authority of the captain Eleazar

(3) Thereupon the principal citizens assembled with the chief priests and the most notable Pharisees to deliberate on the position of affairs, now that they were faced with what seemed irreparable disaster. Deciding to try the effect of an appeal to the revolutionaries, they called the people together before the bronze gate—that of the inner Temple facing eastward.<sup>a</sup> They began by expressing the keenest indignation at the audacity of this revolt and at their country being thus threatened with so serious a war. They then proceeded to expose the absurdity of the alleged pretext. Their forefathers, they said, had adorned the sanctuary mainly at the expense of aliens and had always accepted the gifts of foreign nations ; not only had they never taken the sacrilegious step of forbidding anyone to offer sacrifice, but they had set up around the Temple the dedicatory offerings which were still to be seen and had remained there for so long a time. But now here were these men, who were provoking the arms of the Romans and courting a war with them, introducing a strange innovation into their religion, and, besides endangering the city, laying it open to the charge of impiety, if Jews henceforth were to be the only people to allow no alien the right of sacrifice or worship. Should such a law be introduced in the case of any private individual, they would be indignant at so inhumane a decree ; yet they made light of putting the Romans and Caesar outside the pale. It was to be feared,

Expostula-  
tion of the  
Jewish  
rulers.

the east of the women's court and identical with "the Beautiful gate" of Acts iii. 2 and "Nicanor's gate" of the Mishna.

κέναι μέντοι μὴ τὰς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἀπορρίψαντες  
θυσίας κωλυθῶσι θύειν καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν,  
γένηται τε ἔκσπουδος τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἡ πόλις, εἰ  
μὴ ταχέως σωφρονήσαντες ἀποδώσουσιν τὰς  
θυσίας, καὶ πρὶν ἐξελθεῖν ἐφ' οὓς ὑβρίκασιν τὴν  
φήμην διορθώσονται τὴν ὕβριν.

417 (4) Ἄμα ταῦτα λέγοντες παρῆγον τοὺς ἐμ-  
πείρους τῶν πατρίων ἴερεῖς, ἀφηγουμένους ὅτι  
πάντες οἱ πρόγονοι τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἀλλογενῶν  
θυσίας ἀπεδέχοντο. προσεῖχεν δὲ οὐδεὶς τῶν  
νεωτεριζόντων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ προσήσαν<sup>1</sup> οἱ λει-  
τουργοὶ<sup>2</sup> τὴν τοῦ πολέμου καταβολὴν ἐνσκευαζό-  
418 μενοι. συνιδόντες οὖν οἵ δυνατοὶ τήν τε στάσιν  
ἥδη δυσκαθαίρετον ὑπ' αὐτῶν οὖσαν καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ  
Ῥωμαίων κίνδυνον ἐπὶ πρώτους αὐτοὺς ἀφ-  
ιξόμενον, ἀπεσκευάζοντο τὰς αἰτίας, καὶ πρέσβεις  
οὓς μὲν πρὸς Φλώρον ἐπεμπον, ὃν ἥρχεν νιὸς  
Ἀνανίου Σίμων, οὓς δὲ πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν, ἐν οἷς  
ἥσαν ἐπίσημοι Σαῦλός τε καὶ Ἀντίπας καὶ  
Κοστόβαρος προσήκοντες τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ γένος.  
419 ἐδέοντο δὲ ἀμφοτέρων ἀναβῆναι μετὰ δυνάμεως  
εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ πρὶν γενέσθαι δυσκαθαίρετοι  
420 ἐπικόψαι τὴν στάσιν. Φλώρῳ μὲν οὖν δεινὸν  
εὐαγγέλιον ἦν, καὶ προηρημένος ἐξάπτειν τὸν  
421 πόλεμον οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς· Ἀγρίπ-  
ππας δὲ κηδόμενος ἐπίσης τῶν τε ἀφισταμένων  
καὶ πρὸς οὓς ὁ πόλεμος ἡγείρετο, βουλόμενός τε

<sup>1</sup> MLC: προσίσαν the rest.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀγρικοὶ PAM\*: + καὶ PAL; the text is doubtful.

<sup>3</sup> τὸ δεινὸν C "the dire news was a godsend": τοῦτο δεινὸν MVR.

however, that, once they rejected the sacrifices for the Romans, they might not be allowed to offer sacrifice even for themselves, and that their city would be placed outside the pale of the empire, unless, with a speedy return to discretion, they restored the sacrifices and made amends for the insult before the report reached the ears of those whom they had insulted.

(4) In the course of these remonstrances they produced priestly experts on the traditions, who declared that all their ancestors had accepted the sacrifices of aliens. But not one of the revolutionary party would listen to them; even the Temple ministers failed to come to their support and were thus instrumental in bringing about the war. Thereupon, the leading citizens, perceiving that it was now beyond their power to suppress the insurrection and that they would be the first victims of the vengeance of Rome, took steps to exonerate themselves from blame, and dispatched two deputations, one to Florus, headed by Simon, son of Ananias, and another to Agrippa, including some eminent persons, Saul, Antipas and Costobar,<sup>a</sup> all members of the royal family. They besought them both to come up to the city with troops and to crush the revolt before it became insuperable. To Florus the news was a wonderful godsend; determined as he was to kindle the war, he gave the emissaries no reply. Agrippa, on the other hand, equally solicitous for the rebels and for the nation against which they were rising in arms, anxious that the Romans should

<sup>a</sup> Saul and Costobar were brothers who, after the defeat of Cestius, made a timely exit from Jerusalem; Antipas, who remained, was slain by the insurgents (*B. ii.* 556 f., *iv.* 140).

# JOSEPHUS

‘Ρωμαίοις μὲν Ἰουδαίους σώζεσθαι, Ἰουδαίους δὲ τὸ ίερὸν καὶ τὴν μητρόπολιν, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἔαυτῷ λυσιτελήσειν τὴν ταραχὴν ἐπιστάμενος, ἐπεμπεν τοὺς ἐπαμυνοῦντας<sup>1</sup> τῷ δήμῳ δισχιλίους ἵππεῖς, Λύρανίτας τε καὶ Βαταναίους καὶ Τραχωνίτας, ὑπὸ Δαρείω μὲν ἵππάρχῃ, στρατηγῷ δὲ τῷ Ἰακίμου Φιλίππῳ.

- 422 (5) Τούτοις θαρσήσαντες οἱ δυνατοὶ σὺν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ πᾶν ὅσον τοῦ πλήθους εἰρήνην ἡγάπα τὴν ἄνω καταλαμβάνονται πόλιν· τῆς κάτω γὰρ τὸ στασιάζον ἐκράτει καὶ τοῦ ἰεροῦ.  
 423 χερμάσιν μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῖς ἐκτηβόλοις ἀδιαλείπτως ἔχρωντο, καὶ συνεχεῖς ἡσαν βελῶν ἀφέσεις ἐξ ἐκατέρων τῶν κλιμάτων· ἔστιν δ’ ὅτε καὶ κατὰ λόχους ἐκτρέχοντες συστάδην ἐμάχοντο, τόλμαις μὲν οἱ στασιασταὶ προέχοντες, ἐμπειρίᾳ δὲ οἱ  
 424 βασιλικοί, καὶ τούτοις μὲν ἦν ἀγὼν τοῦ ἰεροῦ κρατῆσαι μάλιστα καὶ τοὺς μιαίνοντας τὸν ναὸν ἐξελάσαι, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον στασιασταῖς πρὸς οὓς ἔσχον καὶ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν προσλαβεῖν. ἐπτὰ μὲν οὖν ἡμέραις συχνὸς ἀμφοτέρων φόνος ἐγίνετο, καὶ οὐδέτεροι τοῦ καταληφθέντος μέρους εἶκον.

- 425 (6) Τῇ δ’ ἔξῆς τῆς τῶν ξυλοφορίων ἔορτῆς οὕσης, ἐν ᾧ πᾶσιν ἔθος ἦν ὕλην τῷ βωμῷ προσφέρειν, ὅπως μήποτε τροφὴ τῷ πυρὶ λείποι,

<sup>1</sup> I.e.: ἐπαμυνοῦντας the rest.

not lose the Jews nor the Jews their Temple and mother city, conscious, moreover, that he had nothing to gain from this disorder, dispatched to the aid of the citizens two thousand horse from Auranitis, Batanaea, and Trachonitis, under Darius, as cavalry commander, and Philip,<sup>a</sup> son of Jacimus, as general.

(5) Encouraged by these reinforcements, the leading men, the chief priests and all the people who were in favour of peace occupied the upper city ; for the lower city and the Temple were in the hands of the insurgents. Stones and slings were incessantly in action ; from one quarter and from the other there was a continuous hail of missiles ; sometimes companies even sallied out and there was a hand-to-hand engagement, the insurgents having the superiority in daring, the king's soldiers in skill. The objective of the royal troops was to capture the Temple and to expel those who were polluting the sanctuary ; Eleazar and the rebels strove to gain the upper city in addition to the ground which they held already. So for seven days there was great slaughter on both sides, neither of the combatants surrendering the portion of the town which he occupied.

(6) The eighth day was the feast of wood-carrying, when it was customary for all to bring wood for the altar, in order that there might be an unfailing supply

(*επαρχος*) of Agrippa II, are narrated at length in the *Life* (46, etc.). His father Jacimus had held a high position (according to one text as "tetrarch") under Agrippa (probably I) ; his grandfather Zamaris had been placed by Herod the Great in charge of a colony of Babylonian Jews in Batanaea (*A.* xvii. 23-29). Waddington's supposed discovery of the name Darius on an inscription in Trachonitis referring to Agrippa has been shown to be erroneous (Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscr. Sel.* i. 422 Reinach).

Struggle  
between  
pro-Roma  
and the  
insurgent

διαμένει γὰρ ἄσβεστον ἀεί, τοὺς μὲν διαφόρους  
 τῆς θρησκείας ἐξέκλεισαν, τῷ δ' ἀσθενεῖ λαῷ  
 συνεισρύντας πολλοὺς τῶν σικαρίων, οὕτως γὰρ  
 ἐκάλουν τοὺς ληστὰς ἔχοντας ὑπὸ τοῖς κόλποις  
 ξίφη, προσλαβόντες θαρραλεώτερον ἡπτοντο τῆς  
 426 ἐπιχειρήσεως. ἡττῶντο δ' οἱ βασιλικοὶ πλήθει  
 τε καὶ τόλμῃ καὶ βιασαμένοις εἶκον ἐκ τῆς ἄνω  
 πόλεως. οἱ δὲ ἐπιπεσόντες τὴν τε Ἀνανίου τοῦ  
 ἀρχιερέως οἰκίαν καὶ τὰ Ἀγρίππα καὶ Βερνίκης  
 427 ὑποπιμπρᾶσιν βασίλεια· μεθ' ἀ τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὰ  
 ἀρχεῖα ἔφερον ἀφανίσαι σπεύδοντες τὰ συμβόλαια  
 τῶν δεδανεικότων καὶ τὰς εἰσπράξεις ἀποκόψαι  
 τῶν χρεῶν, ὅπως αὐτοί τε πλῆθος προσλάβωσιν  
 τῶν ὥφεληθέντων καὶ μετ' ἀδείας τοῖς εὐπόροις  
 ἐπαναστήσωσι τοὺς ἀπόρους. φυγόντων δὲ τῶν  
 428 πρὸς τῷ γραμματοφυλακείῳ τὸ πῦρ ἐνίεσαν. ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ τὰ νεῦρα τῆς πόλεως καταφλέξαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 ἔχθροὺς ἔχώρουν, ἔνθα δὴ τῶν δυνατῶν καὶ τῶν  
 ἀρχιερέων οἱ μὲν εἰς τοὺς ὑπονόμους καταδύντες  
 429 διελάνθαιον, οἱ δὲ σὺν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς εἰς τὴν  
 ἀνωτέρω καταφυγόντες αὐλὴν ταχέως ἀπέκλεισαν  
 τὰς θύρας, σὺν οἷς Ἀνανίας ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐζεκίας  
 τε ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ πρεσβεύσαντες πρὸς  
 Ἀγρίππαν ἦσαν. τότε μὲν οὖν τῇ νίκῃ καὶ τοῖς  
 ἐμπρησθεῖσιν ἀρκεσθέντες ἀνεπαύσαντο.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Lev. vi. 12 f. According to the Mishna, *Taanith*, iv. 5, the wood was carried by respective families on nine separate days in the year, but the principal day was the 15th of Ab (July-August). Josephus, however (see § 430), appears to place the feast on the preceding day, 14th Ab.

<sup>b</sup> Probably additions of Agrippa II to the old palace of the Hasmonaeans (cf. A. xx. 189 f.).

of fuel for the flames, which are kept always burning.<sup>a</sup> The Jews in the Temple excluded their opponents from this ceremony, but along with some feebler folk numbers of the *sicarii*—so they called the brigands who carried a dagger in their bosom—forced their way in; these they enlisted in their service and pressed their attacks more boldly than before. The royalists, now outmatched in numbers and audacity, were forced to evacuate the upper city. The victors burst in and set fire to the house of Ananias the high-priest and to the palaces of Agrippa and Bernice<sup>b</sup>; they next carried their combustibles to the public archives,<sup>c</sup> eager to destroy the money-lenders' bonds and to prevent the recovery of debts, in order to win over a host of grateful debtors and to cause a rising of the poor against the rich, sure of impunity. The keepers of the Record Office having fled, they set light to the building. After consuming the sinews of the city in the flames, they advanced against their foes; whereupon the notables and chief priests made their escape, some hiding in the underground passages,<sup>d</sup> while others fled with the royal troops to the palace situated higher up,<sup>e</sup> and instantly shut the gates; among the latter were Ananias the high-priest, his brother Ezechias and the members of the deputation which had been sent to Agrippa. Satisfied with their victory and incendiary proceedings, the insurgents paused for that day.

<sup>a</sup> The Archives building was finally burnt down by the Romans (*B. vi.* 354); it is there spoken of as adjoining the Akra (or citadel, thought to be the old city of David) and the council-chamber (of the Sanhedrin).

<sup>b</sup> Or "sewers."

<sup>c</sup> The palace of Herod the Great on the highest terrace of the upper city, described in *B. v.* 176 ff.

## JOSEPHUS

- 430 (7) Τῇ δ' ἔξῆς, πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ δ' ἦν Λώου μηνός, ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ φρουροὺς δυσὶν ἡμέραις πολιορκήσαντες αὐτούς τε εἶλον καὶ κατέσφυξαν καὶ τὸ φρούριον ἐνέπρησαν. ἔπειτα μετέβαινον εἰς τὴν αὐλήν, εἰς ἦν οἱ βασιλικοὶ κατέφυγον, καὶ διανείμαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη τῶν τειχῶν ἐπειρῶντο. τῶν δ' ἐνδον πρὸς ἐκδρυμὴν μὲν οὐδεὶς ἔθαρρει διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐφεστώτων, διυστάμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ θωράκια καὶ τοὺς πύργους ἔβαλλον τοὺς προσιόντας, καὶ συχνοὶ τῶν ληστῶν ὑπὸ τοῖς 432 τείχεσιν ἐπιπτον. οῦτε δὲ νυκτὸς οῦτε ἡμέρας διέλειπεν ἡ συμβολή, τῶν μὲν στασιαστῶν ἀπαγορεύσειν τοὺς ἐνδον οἰομένων ἐνδείᾳ τροφῆς, τῶν δ' ἐνδοθεν καμάτῳ τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας.
- 433 (8) Κάν τούτῳ Μανάημός τις, υἱὸς Ἰούδα τοῦ καλουμένου Γαλιλαίου, σοφιστῆς<sup>1</sup> δεινότατος, δ καὶ ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου ποτὲ Ἰουδαίους ὀνειδίσας ὅτι 'Ρωμαίοις ὑπετάσσοντο μετὰ τὸν θεόν, ἀναλαβὼν 434 τοὺς γνωρίμους ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Μασάδαν, ἐνθα τὴν Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως δπλοθήκην ἀναρρήξας καὶ πρὸς τοῖς δημόταις ἐτέρους ληστὰς καθοπλίσας, τούτοις τε χρώμενος δορυφόροις, οἷα δὴ βασιλεὺς ἐπάνεισιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ γενόμενος ἡγεμὼν τῆς στάσεως διέτασσεν τὴν πολιορκίαν.
- 435 ἀπορίᾳ δ' ἦν ὅργανων, καὶ φανερῶς ὑπορύπτειν τὸ τεῖχος οὐχ οἶον τε ἦν ἄνωθεν βαλλομένους. ὑπόνομον δὴ πόρρωθεν ἐφ' ἕνα τῶν πύργων ὑπορύξαντες ἀνεκρήμνισαν αὐτόν, ἔπειτα τὴν ἀνέχουσαν

<sup>1</sup> ὃς ἦν σοφιστῆς VRC: Destinon suggests σοφιστῆς <ἢν> or that the whole clause (to θεον) is a gloss.

(7) On the next day, being the fifteenth of the month Lous,<sup>a</sup> they attacked Antonia, and, after a siege of two days, captured the garrison, put them to the sword and set fire to the fortress. They then repaired to the palace, in which the king's followers had taken refuge, and forming themselves into four sections made repeated assaults on the walls. None of the blockaded party ventured on a sally because of the large number of their assailants ; but, posted along the breastworks and towers, they showered missiles upon all who approached, and numbers of the brigands fell beneath the walls. The combat continued incessantly day and night, the insurgents hoping to exhaust the besieged through failure of supplies, the defenders to wear down the besiegers by fatigue.

(8) At this period a certain Menahem, son of Judas surnamed the Galilaean—that redoubtable doctor who in old days, under Quirinius, had upbraided the Jews for recognizing the Romans as masters when they already had God<sup>b</sup>—took his intimate friends off with him to Masada,<sup>c</sup> where he broke into king Herod's armoury and provided arms both for his fellow-townsmen and for other brigands ; then, with these men for his bodyguard, he returned like a veritable king to Jerusalem, became the leader of the revolution, and directed the siege of the palace. The besiegers, however, lacked engines, and, exposed as they were to missiles from the wall, found it impossible to undermine it under the enemy's eyes ; they accordingly started digging a mine at a distance, continued it as far as one of the towers, which they

They capture fort Antonia and besiege the Roman citizens in Herod's palace.

Menahem assumes command of the rebels and directs the siege.

<sup>a</sup> Roughly the equivalent in the Macedonian calendar of the Hebrew Ab and of our August.

<sup>b</sup> See § 118.

<sup>c</sup> § 408.

- 436 ὥλην ἐμπρήσαντες ἐξῆλθον. ὑποκαέντων δὲ τῶν στηριγμάτων ὁ μὲν πύργος ἐξαίφνης κατασείεται, τεῖχος δ' ἔτερον ἔνδοθεν ἀντωκοδομημένον<sup>1</sup> δι-εφάνη· τὴν γὰρ ἐπιβουλὴν<sup>2</sup> αὐτῶν προαισθόμενοι, τάχα καὶ τοῦ πύργου κινηθέντος ὡς ὑπωρύττετο,
- 437 δεύτεροι ἔαυτοῖς ἔρυμα κατεσκεύασαν. πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἀδοκήτως ιδόντων καὶ κρατεῦν ἦδη πεπεισμένων κατάπληξις ἦν. οἱ δὲ ἔνδοθεν πρὸς τε τὸν Μανάημον καὶ τοὺς ἐξάρχοντας τῆς στάσεως ἐπεμπον ἀξιοῦντες ἐξελθεῖν ὑπόσπονδοι. καὶ δοθὲν μόνοις τοῖς βασιλικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις οἱ μὲν ἐξήσαν.
- 438 ἀθυμία δὲ τοὺς Ἀρμαίους καταλειφθέντας μόνους ὑπέλαβεν· οὕτε γὰρ βιάσασθαι τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ἐδύναντο καὶ τὸ δεξιὰς αἴτεῦν ὅνειδος ὑπελάμ-
- 439 βανον, πρὸς τῷ μηδὲ πιστεύειν, εἰ διδοῖτο. κατα-λιπόντες δὴ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὡς εὐάλωτον ἐπὶ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς ἀνέφυγον πύργους, τόν τε Ἰπ-πικὸν καλούμενον καὶ Φασάλον καὶ Μαριάμμην.
- 440 οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Μανάημον εἰσπεσόντες ὅθεν οἱ στρατιῶται διέφυγον ὅσους τε αὐτῶν κατ-ελάμβανον μὴ φθάσαντας ἐκδραμεῖν διέφθειραν, καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς διαρπάσαντες ἐνέπρησαν τὸ στρατόπεδον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἕκτη Γορπιαίου μηνὸς ἐπράχθη.
- 441 (9) Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ὁ τε ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανίας περὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς εὔριπον διαλανθάνων ἀλίσκεται καὶ πρὸς τῶν ληστῶν ἀναιρεῖται σὺν Ἐζεκίᾳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ τοὺς πύργους περισχόντες<sup>3</sup> οἱ στασιαστὰ παρεφύλαττον,

<sup>1</sup> ἀνοικοδομημένον PA.<sup>2</sup> ἐπιβολὴν Niese.<sup>3</sup> Naber after Lat. "circumscidentes": ἐπισχόντες MSS.

shored up, and then, after setting light to the supports retired. When the props were consumed, the tower suddenly collapsed, but only to reveal another wall constructed in its rear ; for the besieged, foreseeing their stratagem, perhaps warned by the tower shaking during the mining operations, had provided themselves with a second rampart. This unexpected sight dismayed the assailants who believed that victory was already theirs. However, the garrison now sent to Menahem and the leaders of the insurrection a request for permission to quit the fortress under treaty. This was granted, but only to the king's troops and natives of the country, who came out accordingly. The Romans, left alone, were now despondent ; they despaired of forcing their way through such a multitude and were ashamed to sue for terms ; besides, even were they granted, they could put no faith in them. They, accordingly, abandoned their camp, as untenable, and retired to the royal towers, known as Hippicus, Phasael and Mariamme.<sup>a</sup> Menahem's followers, rushing into the quarters just deserted by the soldiers, killed all the stragglers whom they could lay hands on, rifled the baggage and set fire to the camp. These events took place on the sixth of the month Gorpiaeus.<sup>b</sup>

(9) On the following day the high-priest Ananias was caught near the canal<sup>c</sup> in the palace grounds, where he was hiding, and, with his brother Ezechias, was killed by the brigands ; while the rebels invested and kept strict watch on the towers, to prevent any

<sup>a</sup> These towers, built by Herod the Great and described in *B.* v. 161 ff., were on the old city wall (173) on the north side of the palace enclosure (176).

<sup>b</sup> = Hebrew Elul (August-September).

<sup>c</sup> For the canals in the palace gardens see *B.* v. 181.

Evacuation  
of the  
palace.

Murder  
Menahem

442 μή τις τῶν στρατιωτῶν διαφύγοι.<sup>1</sup> τὸν δὲ Μανάημον ἦ τε τῶν ὄχυρῶν καταστροφὴ χωρίων καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, Ανανίου θάνατος ἐτύφωσεν εἰς ὡμότητα, καὶ μηδένα νομίζων ἔχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 443 πράγμασιν ἀντίπαλον ἀφόρητος ἦν τύραννος. ἐπανίστανται δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον αὐτῷ, καὶ λόγον ἀλλήλοις δόντες. ὡς οὐ χρὴ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάντας δι’ ἐλευθερίας πόθου καταπροέσθαι ταύτην οἰκείω δημίω<sup>2</sup> καὶ δεσπότην φέρειν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν πράττοι βίαιον, ἀλλ’ οὖν ἐαυτῶν ταπεινότερον εἰ γὰρ καὶ δέοι τινὰ τῶν ὅλων ἀφηγεῖσθαι, παντὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνῳ προσήκειν, συντίθενται καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπεχείρουν αὐτῷ.  
 444 σοβαρὸς γὰρ ἀναβεβήκει προσκυνήσων ἐσθῆτί τε βασιλικῇ κεκοσμημένος καὶ τοὺς ζηλωτὰς ἐν-  
 445 ὄπλους ἐφελκόμενος. ὡς δ’ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ὥρμησαν, ὃ τε λοιπὸς δῆμος [ἐπὶ τὰς δργὰς]<sup>3</sup> λίθους ἀρπάσαντες τὸν σοφιστὴν ἔβαλλον, οἰόμενοι τούτου καταλυθέντος διατρέψειν ὅλην  
 446 τὴν στάσιν, πρὸς ὀλίγον<sup>4</sup> οἱ περὶ τὸν Μανάημον ἀντισχόντες ὡς εἴδον πᾶν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς τὸ πλῆθος ὥρμησαν, ἔφυγον ὅπη τις ἵσχυσεν, καὶ φόνος μὲν ἦν τῶν καταληφθέντων, ἔρευνα δὲ τῶν ἀπο-  
 447 κρυπτομένων. καὶ διεσώθησαν ὀλίγοι λάθρα διαδράντες εἰς Μασάδαν, σὺν οἷς Ἐλεάζαρος νιὸς Ταείρου, προσήκων τῷ Μανάημῷ κατὰ γένος,  
 448 ὃς ὕστερον ἐτυράννησεν τῆς Μασάδας. αὐτὸν τε τὸν Μανάημον εἰς τὸν καλούμενον Ὀφλᾶν συμφυγόντα κάκει ταπεινῶς ὑπολανθάνοντα ζωγρή-

<sup>1</sup> Naber: διαφύγῃ MSS.<sup>2</sup> Destinon: δῆμῳ MSS.<sup>3</sup> om. L Lat.<sup>4</sup> C: +δὲ the rest.<sup>a</sup> Greek "zealots."<sup>b</sup> Text and meaning doubtful.

soldier from escaping. But the reduction of the strongholds and the murder of the high-priest Ananias inflated and brutalized Menahem to such an extent that he believed himself without a rival in the conduct of affairs and became an insufferable tyrant. The partisans of Eleazar now rose against him ; they remarked to each other that, after revolting from the Romans for love of liberty, they ought not to sacrifice this liberty to a Jewish hangman and to put up with a master who, even were he to abstain from violence, was anyhow far below themselves ; and that if they must have a leader, anyone would be better than Menahem. So they laid their plans to attack him in the Temple, whither he had gone up in state to pay his devotions, arrayed in royal robes and attended by his suite of armed fanatics.<sup>a</sup> When Eleazar and his companions rushed upon him, and the rest of the people to gratify their rage<sup>b</sup> took up stones and began pelting the arrogant doctor, imagining that his downfall would crush the whole revolt, Menahem and his followers offered a momentary resistance ; then, seeing themselves assailed by the whole multitude, they fled whithersoever they could : all who were caught were massacred, and a hunt was made for any in hiding. A few succeeded in escaping by stealth to Masada, among others Eleazar, son of Jairus and a relative of Menahem, and subsequently despot of Masada.<sup>c</sup> Menahem himself, who had taken refuge in the place called Ophlas<sup>d</sup> and there ignominiously concealed himself, was

<sup>a</sup> B. vii. 275 ff. The siege of Masada ended the war in Palestine.

<sup>b</sup> The 'Ophel (= " protuberance "), a region in the lower city, " either the whole of the east hill south of the Temple or some part of it " (G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 154).

# JOSEPHUS

σαντες εἰς τὸ φανερὸν ἐξείλκυσαν καὶ πολλαῖς  
αἰκισάμενοι βασάνοις ἀνεῦλον, ὅμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς  
ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνας τόν τε ἐπισημότατον τῆς  
τυραινίδος ὑπηρέτην Ἀφάλωμον.

449 (10) Ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος, ὡς ἔφην, εἰς ταῦτα  
συνήργησεν ἐλπίζων τινὰ τῆς ὄλης στάσεως  
διόρθωσιν· οἱ δὲ οὐ καταλῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον  
σπεύδοντες, ἀλλ' ἀδεέστερον πολεμεῖν, Μανάημον  
450 ἀνηρήκεσαν. ἀμέλει πολλὰ τοῦ δήμου τοῖς στρα-  
τιώταις ἀνεῖναι τὴν πολιορκίαν παρακαλοῦντος,  
οἱ δὲ προσέκειντο χαλεπώτερον, μέχρι μηκέτι  
ἀντέχοντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Μετίλιον, οὗτος γὰρ ἦν  
τῶν Ρωμαίων ἔπαρχος, διαπέμπονται πρὸς τοὺς  
περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ἐξαιτούμενοι μόνας τὰς  
ψυχὰς ὑποσπόνδους, τὰ δὲ ὅπλα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν  
451 κτῆσιν παραδώσειν λέγοντες. οἱ δὲ καὶ τὴν  
ἰκεσίαν ἀρπάσαντες ἀνέπεμψαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς Γω-  
ρίονά τε Νικομήδους<sup>1</sup> υἱὸν καὶ Ἀνανίαν Σαδούκι  
καὶ Ἰούδαν Ἰωνάθου δεξιάν<sup>2</sup> τε καὶ ὄρκους δώσον-  
τας. ὃν γενομένων κατῆγεν τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁ  
452 Μετίλιος. οἱ δὲ μέχρι μὲν ἥσαν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις,  
οὕτ' ἐπεχείρει τις τῶν στασιαστῶν αὐτοῖς οὕτ'  
ἐνέφαυεν ἐπιβουλήν· ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας  
ἀπαντες ἀπέθεντο τοὺς θυρεοὺς καὶ τὰ ξίφη καὶ  
453 μηδὲν ἔπι ὑποπτεύοντες ἀνεχώρουν, ὥρμησαν ἐπ'  
αὐτοὺς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον καὶ περισχόντες  
ἀνήρουν οὕτε ἀμυνομένους οὕτε ἰκετεύοντας, μόνας  
δὲ τὰς συνθήκας καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους ἀναβοῶντας.  
454 οἱ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ὡμῶς ἀπεσφάγησαν ἀπαντες  
πλὴν Μετιλίου, τοῦτον γὰρ ἰκετεύσαντα καὶ μέχρι  
περιτομῆς ἰουδαΐσειν ὑποσχόμενον διέσωσαν μόνον,

<sup>1</sup> Nicodemi Lat.

<sup>2</sup> δεξιας LVRC.

caught, dragged into the open, and after being subjected to all kinds of torture, put to death. His lieutenants, along with Absalom, his most eminent supporter in his tyranny, met with a similar fate.

(10) The people, as I said,<sup>a</sup> co-operated in this plot in the hope of its producing some radical cure for the revolt ; but the conspirators, in killing Menahem, had no desire to end the war, but only to prosecute it at greater liberty. In fact, though the civilians urgently entreated the soldiers to abandon the siege, they, on the contrary, only pressed it more vigorously ; until Metilius, the commander of the Roman garrison, unable to prolong his resistance, sent envoys to Eleazar, asking, under terms of capitulation, for no more than their lives, and offering to surrender their arms and all their belongings. The besiegers, grasping at this petition, sent up to them Gorion son of Nicomedes, Ananias son of Sadok, and Judas son of Jonathan, to give a pledge of security and to take the necessary oaths. That done, Metilius marched his men down. So long as the soldiers retained their arms, none of the rebels molested them or gave any indication of treachery ; but when, in accordance with the covenant, they had all laid down their bucklers and swords and, with no suspicion remaining, were taking their departure, Eleazar's party fell upon them, surrounded and massacred them ; the Romans neither resisting nor suing for mercy, but merely appealing with loud cries to "the covenant" and "the oaths." Thus, brutally butchered, perished all save Metilius ; he alone saved his life by entreaties and promises to turn Jew, and even to be circumcised. To the

Capitula-  
tion and  
massacre  
of the  
Roman  
garrison.

<sup>a</sup> § 445.

# JOSEPHUS

τὸ δὲ πάθος Ὄρωμαίοις μὲν ἦν κοῦφον, ἐκ γὰρ ἀπλέτου δυνάμεως ἀπαναλώθησαν ὀλίγοι, Ἰουδαίοις<sup>1</sup>

455 δὲ προοίμιον ἀλώσεως ἔδοξεν. καὶ κατιδόντες ἀιηκέστους μὲν ἥδη τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου, τὴν δὲ πόλιν τηλικούτῳ μιάσματι πεφυρμένην, ἐξ οὐδαιμόνιον τι μήνυμα προσδοκᾶν εἰκὸς ἦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὴν ἐκ Ὄρωμαίων ἄμυναν, ἐπένθουν δημοσίᾳ, καὶ πλήρης μὲν κατηφείας ἦν ἡ πόλις, ἔκαστος δὲ τῶν μετρίων ὡς αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν 456 στασιαστῶν δίκας δώσων τετάρακτο. καὶ γὰρ δὴ σαββάτῳ συνέβη πραχθῆναι τὸν φόνον, ἐν ᾧ διὰ τὴν θρησκείαν καὶ τῶν ὄσιων ἕργων ἔχουσιν ἔκεχειρίαν.

457 (xviii. 1) Τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας, ὥσπερ ἐκ δαιμονίου προνοίας, ἀνήρουν Καισαρεῖς τοὺς παρ' ἑαυτοῖς Ἰουδαίους, ὡς ὑπὸ μίαν ὥραν ἀποσφαγῆναι μὲν ὑπὲρ δισμυρίους, κειωθῆναι δὲ πᾶσαν Ἰουδαίων τὴν Καισάρειαν· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς διαφεύγοντας ὁ Φλῶρος συλλαβὼν κατῆγεν<sup>2</sup> δεσμώ-

458 τας εἰς τὰ νεώρια. πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Καισαρείας πληγὴν ὅλον τὸ ἔθνος ἐξαγριοῦται, καὶ διαμερισθέντες τάς τε κώμας τῷ Σύρῳ καὶ τὰς προσεχούσας ἐπόρθουν πόλεις, Φιλαδέλφειάν τε καὶ Ἐσεβωνῖτιν<sup>3</sup> καὶ Γέρασαν καὶ Πέλλαν καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Ἰούδαιων PAL Lat.

<sup>2</sup> κατήγαγε LVRC.

<sup>3</sup> Hudson: Σεβωνῖτιν L: Γεζ(ε)ωνῖτιν the rest.

<sup>a</sup> The day of the month was perhaps 17th Elul (Gorpiaeus), if we may identify the massacre as the event referred to in the old Jewish calendar *Megillath Taanith*: "On the 17th of Elul the Romans evacuated Judah and Jerusalem" (vi. (b) in Zeitlin's edition, Philadelphia, 1922); Zeitlin's identifica-

Romans this injury—the loss of a handful of men out of a boundless army—was slight ; but to the Jews it looked like the prelude to their ruin. Seeing the grounds for war to be now beyond remedy, and the city polluted by such a stain of guilt as could not but arouse a dread of some visitation from heaven, if not of the vengeance of Rome, they gave themselves up to public mourning ; the whole city was a scene of dejection, and among the moderates there was not one who was not racked with the thought that he would personally have to suffer for the rebels' crime. For, to add to its heinousness, the massacre took place on the sabbath,<sup>a</sup> a day on which from religious scruples Jews abstain even from the most innocent acts.

(xviii. 1) The same day and at the same hour, as it were by the hand of Providence, the inhabitants of Caesarea massacred the Jews who resided in their city ; within one hour more than twenty thousand were slaughtered, and Caesarea was completely emptied of Jews, for the fugitives were arrested by orders of Florus and conducted, in chains, to the dockyards. The news of the disaster at Caesarea infuriated the whole nation ; and parties of Jews sacked the Syrian villages and the neighbouring cities,<sup>b</sup> Philadelphia, Heshbon and its district, Gerasa, Jewish reprisals tion of that event as the capitulation mentioned in § 437 is open to the double objection that no terms were then made with the Romans and that Josephus dates that incident on the 6th of the month. The Romans held out, it seems, for eleven days more.

<sup>a</sup> The enumeration following begins in the south of Decapolis, proceeds northwards, rounds Galilee, and then generally follows the coast line from north to south. Separate parties probably started from Peraea, Galilee, and Judaea.

# JOSEPHUS

459 Σκυθόπολιν. ἔπειτα Γαδάροις καὶ Ἰππῷ καὶ τῇ  
 Γαυλανίτιδι προσπεσόντες τὰ<sup>1</sup> μὲν καταστρεψά-  
 μενοι, τὰ<sup>1</sup> δ' ὑποπρήσαντες ἔχώρουν ἐπὶ Κάδασα  
 τὴν Τυρίων καὶ Πτολεμαΐδα Γάβαν<sup>2</sup> τε καὶ  
 460 Καισάρειαν. ἀντέσχεν δ' οὕτε Σεβαστὴ ταῖς  
 ὄρμαις αὐτῶν οὕτε Ἀσκάλων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ταύταις  
 πυρποληθείσαις Ἀνθηδόνα καὶ Γάζαν κατέσκαπ-  
 τον. πολλαὶ δὲ περὶ<sup>3</sup> ἐκάστην τούτων τῶν πόλεων  
 ἀνηρπάζοντο κῶμαι, καὶ τῶν ἀλισκομένων ἀνδρῶν  
 φόνος ἦν ἅπειρος.

461 (2) Οὐ μὴν οἱ Σύροι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔλαττον  
 πλῆθος ἀνήρουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς  
 πόλεσιν λαμβανομένους ἀπέσφαττον οὐ μόνον κατὰ  
 μῖσος, ὡς πρότερον, ἀλλ' ἥδη καὶ τὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς  
 462 κίνδυνον φθάνοντες. δεινὴ δὲ ὅλην τὴν Συρίαν  
 ἐπεῖχεν ταραχή, καὶ πᾶσα πόλις εἰς δύο διήρητο  
 στρατόπεδα, σωτηρία δὲ τοῖς ἑτέροις ἦν τὸ τοὺς  
 463 ἑτέρους φθάσαι. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐν αἷματι  
 διῆγον, τὰς δὲ νύκτας δέει χαλεπωτέρας· καὶ γὰρ  
 ἀπεσκευάσθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους δοκοῦντες ἔκαστοι  
 τοὺς ἰουδαϊζοντας εἶχον ἐν ὑποφίᾳ, καὶ τὸ παρ'  
 ἐκάστοις ἀμφίβολον οὕτε ἀνελεῖν τις προχείρως  
 ὑπέμενεν, καὶ μεμιγμένον ὡς βεβαίως ἀλλόφυλον  
 464 ἐφοβεῖτο. προυκαλεῖτο δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς σφαγὰς τῶν  
 διαφόρων καὶ τοὺς πάλαι πραοτάτους πάνυ  
 δοκοῦντας ἡ πλεονεξία· τὰς γὰρ οὐσίας τῶν  
 ἀναιρεθέντων ἀδεῶς διήρπαζον καὶ καθάπερ ἐκ  
 παρατάξεως τὰ σκῦλα τῶν ἀνηρημένων εἰς τοὺς  
 σφετέρους οἴκους μετέφερον, ἐνδοξός τε ἦν ὁ

<sup>1</sup> Many mss. read τὰς.

<sup>2</sup> Γάβαλαν PAM.

<sup>3</sup> καθ' A : om. P (reading ἐκάστη for -ην).

Pella, and Scythopolis. Next they fell upon Gadara, Hippos, and Gaulanitis, destroying or setting fire to all in their path, and advanced to Kedasa,<sup>a</sup> a Tyrian village, Ptolemais, Gaba,<sup>b</sup> and Caesarea. Neither Sebaste<sup>c</sup> nor Ascalon withstood their fury ; these<sup>d</sup> they burnt to the ground and then razed Anthedon and Gaza. In the vicinity of each of these cities many villages were pillaged and immense numbers of the inhabitants captured and slaughtered.

(2) The Syrians on their side killed no less a number of Jews ; they, too, slaughtered those whom they caught in the towns, not merely now, as before, from hatred, but to forestall the peril which menaced themselves. The whole of Syria was a scene of Syria a scene of  
massacre  
frightful disorder ; every city was divided into two camps, and the safety of one party lay in their anticipating the other. They passed their days in blood, their nights, yet more dreadful, in terror. For, though believing that they had rid themselves of the Jews, still each city had its Judaizers, who aroused suspicion ; and while they shrank from killing offhand this equivocal element in their midst, they feared these neutrals as much as pronounced aliens. Even those who had long been reputed the very mildest of men were instigated by avarice to murder their adversaries ; for they would then with impunity plunder the property of their victims and transfer to their own homes, as from a battle-field, the spoils of the slain, and he who gained the most

<sup>a</sup> Kedesh-Naphtali, north-west of Lake Merom, " always at war with Galilee " (iv. 105).

<sup>b</sup> A pro-Roman town in Galilee, built by Herod the Great for his veteran cavalry (*B. iii. 36, Vita 115*).

<sup>c</sup> Samaria.

<sup>d</sup> Or rather the surrounding villages (Reinach).

# JOSEPHUS

- 465 πλεῖστα κερδάνας ὡς κατισχύσας πλειόνων. ἦν  
δὲ ἵδεν τὰς πόλεις μεστὰς ἀτάφων σωμάτων καὶ  
νεκροὺς ἄμα νηπίοις γέροιτας ἐρριμμένους, γύναιά  
τε μηδὲ τῆς ἐπ’ αἰδοῖ<sup>1</sup> σκέπης μετειληφότα, καὶ  
πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἐπαρχίαν μεστὴν ἀδιηγήτων  
συμφορῶν, μείζονα δὲ τῶν ἔκαστοτε τολμωμένων  
τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπειλουμένοις ἀνάτασιν.<sup>2</sup>
- 466 (3) Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων Ἰουδαίοις πρὸς τὸ  
ἀλλόφυλον ἥσαν προσβολαί, κατατρέχοντες δὲ εἰς  
Σκυθόπολιν τοὺς παρ’ ἐκείνοις Ἰουδαίους ἐπείρα-  
σαν πολεμίους· ταξάμενοι γὰρ μετὰ τῶν Σκυθο-  
πολιτῶν καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλείας ἐν δευτέρῳ  
θέμενοι τὴν συγγένειαν, ὅμοσε τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις  
467 ἔχώρουν. ὑπωπτεύθη δ’ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ λίαν πρό-  
θυμον· οἱ γοῦν Σκυθοπολῖται δείσαντες μὴ νύκτωρ  
ἐπιχειρήσωσι τῇ πόλει καὶ μετὰ μεγάλης αὐτῶν  
συμφορᾶς τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀπολογήσωνται περὶ τῆς  
ἀποστάσεως, ἐκέλευνον αὐτούς, εἰ βούλονται τὴν  
ὅμονοιαν βεβαιώσαι καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοεθνεῖς  
πιστὸν ἐπιδείξασθαι, μεταβαίνειν ἄμα ταῖς γενεαῖς  
468 εἰς τὸ ἄλσος. τῶν δὲ ποιησάντων τὸ προσταχθὲν  
χωρὶς ὑποψίας, δύο μὲν ἡμέρας ἡρέμησαν οἱ  
Σκυθοπολῖται τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν δελεάζοντες, τῇ  
δὲ τρίτῃ ἰνκτὶ παρατηρήσαντες τοὺς μὲν ἀφυλά-  
κτους, οὓς δὲ κοιμωμένους, ἄπαντας ἀπέσφαξαν  
διτας τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὑπὲρ μυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους,  
τὰς δὲ κτήσεις διήρπασαν ἀπάντων.
- 469 (1) "Ἄξιον δ’ ἀφηγήσασθαι καὶ τὸ Σίμωνος

<sup>1</sup> I.: αἰδῶ the rest.

<sup>2</sup> Εὐν.: ἀνάστασιν (μετάστασιν) MSS.

covered himself with glory as the most successful murderer. One saw cities choked with unburied corpses, dead bodies of old men and infants exposed side by side, poor women stripped of the last covering of modesty, the whole province full of indescribable horrors ; and even worse than the tale of atrocities committed was the suspense caused by the menace of evils in store.

(3) Thus far the Jews had been faced with aliens only, but when they invaded Scythopolis<sup>a</sup> they found their own nation in arms against them ; for the Jews in this district ranged themselves on the side of the Scythopolitans, and, regarding their own security as more important than the ties of blood, met their own countrymen in battle. However, this excess of ardour brought them under suspicion : the people of Scythopolis feared that the Jews might attack the city by night and inflict upon them some grave disaster, in order to make amends to their brethren for their defection. They, therefore, ordered them if they wished to confirm their allegiance and demonstrate their fidelity to their foreign allies, to betake themselves and their families to the adjoining grove. The Jews obeyed these orders, suspecting nothing. For two days the Scythopolitans made no move, in order to lull them into security, but on the third night, watching their opportunity when some were off their guard, and others asleep, they slaughtered them all to the number of upward of thirteen thousand and pillaged all their possessions.<sup>b</sup>

Perfidy of  
the Scytho-  
politans to  
their Jew-  
ish allies.

(4) Mention may here be made of the tragic fate

of the ten cities of Decapolis which lay west of the Jordan, between it and Mt. Gilboa.

<sup>a</sup> This incident is referred to again in the *Life*, § 26.

πάθος, ὃς νίσις μὲν ἦν Σαούλου τινὸς τῶν οὐκ  
ἀσήμων, ρώμη δὲ σώματος καὶ τόλμη διαφέρων  
ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν ὅμοφύλων ἀμφοτέροις κατεχρήσατο.  
470 προῖὼν γοῦν ὀσημέραι πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνήρει τῶν  
πρὸς τὴν Σκυθοπόλει Ἰουδαίων, τρεπόμενος δὲ  
πολλάκις αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας μόνος ἦν ρόπη τῆς  
471 παρατάξεως. περιέρχεται δ' αὐτὸν ἀξία ποινὴ  
τοῦ συγγενικοῦ φόνου· ἐπεὶ γὰρ περισχόντες οἱ  
Σκυθοπολῖται κατηκόντιζον αὐτοὺς ἀνὰ τὸ ἄλσος,  
σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἐπ' οὐδένα μὲν ὥρμησεν τῶν  
πολεμίων, καὶ γὰρ ἔώρα τὸ πλῆθος ἀνήνυτον,  
472 ἀγαβοήσας δὲ μάλα ἐκπαθῶς “ἄξια γε ὡν ἔδρασα  
πάσχω, Σκυθοπολῖται [καθ' ὑμῶν],<sup>1</sup> οἵ<sup>2</sup> τοσούτῳ  
φόνῳ συγγενῶν τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς<sup>3</sup> εὔνοιαν ἐπιστωσά-  
μεθα.<sup>4</sup> τοιγαροῦν οἷς ἅπιστον μὲν εὐλόγιας εὔρηται  
τὸ ἄλλόφυλον, ἡσέβηται δὲ εἰς ἔσχατα τὸ οἰκεῖον,  
θνήσκωμεν ὡς ἐιαγεῖς χερσὶν ἴδιαις· οὐ γὰρ  
473 πρέπον ἐν<sup>5</sup> ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων. τὸ αὐτὸν δ' ἄν  
εἴη μοι καὶ ποινὴ τοῦ μιάσματος ἀξία καὶ πρὸς  
ἄιδρείαν ἐπαινος, ἵνα μηδεὶς τῶν ἔχθρῶν τὴν ἐμὴν  
αὐχήσῃ σφαγὴν μηδ' ἐπαλαζούεύσηται πεσόντι.”  
474 ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐλεοῦσιν ἄμα καὶ τεθυμωμένοις ὅμ-  
μασιν περισκέπτεται τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γενεάν· ἦν δ'  
αὐτῷ καὶ γυνὴ καὶ τέκνα καὶ γηραιοὶ γονεῖς.  
475 ὁ δὲ πρῶτον [μὲν]<sup>6</sup> τὸν πατέρα τῆς πολιᾶς ἐπι-  
σπασάμενος διελαύνει τῷ ξίφει, μεθ' ὃν οὐκ  
ἄκουσαι τὴν μητέρα, κἀπὶ τούτοις τὴν τε γυναικα  
καὶ τὰ τέκνα, μόνον οὐχ ὑπαπαντῶντος ἐκάστου  
τῷ ξίφει καὶ σπεύδοντος φθάσαι τοὺς πολεμίους.

<sup>1</sup> om. Lat. Heg.: ταρ' ἐμῶν Hudson.<sup>2</sup> ὁ-ι MLVRC.<sup>3</sup> uos Lat.: uobis Heg.<sup>5</sup> ἦν Bekker.<sup>4</sup> ΓΑΛ: ἐπιστωσάμην the rest.<sup>6</sup> P Lat.: om. the rest.

Heroic  
death of  
Simon the  
Jewish  
renegade

of Simon, whose father, Saul, was a man of some distinction. Endowed with exceptional physical strength and audacity, he abused both gifts to the detriment of his countrymen. Day by day he had marched out and slain large numbers of the Jews who were attacking Scythopolis ; often had he put their whole force to flight, his single arm turning the scale in the engagement. But now this slaughter of his kin met with its due penalty. For when the Scythopolitans had surrounded the grove and were shooting down its occupants with their javelins, he drew his sword, and then, instead of rushing upon one of the enemy, whose numbers he saw were endless, he exclaimed in a tone of deep emotion : “ Justly am I punished for my crimes, men of Scythopolis, I and all who by such a slaughter of our kinsmen have sealed our loyalty to you. Ah ! well, let us who have but naturally experienced the perfidy of foreigners, us who have been guilty of the last degree of impiety towards our own people, let us, I say, die, as cursed wretches, by our own hands ; for we are not meet to die at the hands of the enemy. This, God grant, shall be at once the fit retribution for my foul crime and the testimony to my courage, that none of my foes shall be able to boast of having slain me or glory over my prostrate body.” With these words he cast a glance of mingled pity and rage over his family : he had wife, children, and aged parents. First seizing his father by his hoary hair, he ran his sword through his body ; after him he killed his mother, who offered no resistance, and then his wife and children, each victim almost rushing upon the blade, in haste to anticipate the enemy. After slaying every member

476 ὁ δὲ διελθὼν πᾶσαν τὴν γενεὰν καὶ περίοπτος ἐπιστὰς τοῖς σώμασιν τὴν τε δεξιὰν ἀνατείνας, ὡς μηδένα λαθεῖν, ὅλον εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σφαγὴν ἐβάπτισεν τὸ ξίφος, ἄξιος μὲν ἐλέους [ό]<sup>1</sup> νεανίας δι' ἀλκὴν σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς παράστημα, τῆς δὲ πρὸς ἄλλοφύλους πίστεως ἔνεκεν ἀκολούθοις πάθεσι χρησάμενος.

477 (5) Πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν Σκυθοπόλει φθορὰν αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις ἐπανίσταντο τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτὴν Ἰουδαίοις ἐκάστη, καὶ πεντακοσίους μὲν ἐπὶ δισχιλίους Ἀσκαλωνῖται, Πτολεμαῖς δὲ δισχιλίους 478 ἀνεῖλον, ἔδησάν τ' οὐκ ὀλίγους. καὶ Τύριοι συχνοὺς μὲν διεχειρίσαντο, πλείους<sup>2</sup> δ' αὐτῶν δεσμώτας ἐφρούρουν, Ἰππηνοί τε καὶ Γαδαρεῖς ὅμοιας τοὺς μὲν θρασυτέρους ἀπεσκευάσαντο, τοὺς δὲ φοβεροὺς διὰ φυλακῆς εἶχον, αἱ τε λοιπαὶ πόλεις τῆς Συρίας, ὅπως ἐκάστη πρὸς τὸ Ἰου-  
479 δαϊκὸν ἥ μίσους ἥ δέους εἶχον. μόνοι δ' Ἀντιοχεῖς καὶ Σιδώνιοι καὶ Ἀπαμεῖς ἐφείσαντο τῶν μετοικούντων καὶ οὕτε ἀνελεῖν τινας Ἰουδαίων ἵπέμεναν οὕτε δῆσαι, τάχα μὲν καὶ διὰ τὸ σφέτερον πλῆθος ἵπερορῶντες αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰ κυήματα, τὸ πλέον δ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖν<sup>3</sup> οἴκτῳ πρὸς  
480 οὓς οὐδὲν ἔώρων νεωτερίζοιτας. Γερασηνοί τε οὕτε εἰς τοὺς ἐμμείναντας ἐπλημμέλησαν καὶ τοὺς ἐξελθεῖν ἐθελήσαντας προέπεμψαν μέχρι τῶν ὅρων.

481 (6) Συνέστη δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀγρίππα βασιλείαν ἐπιβουλὴ κατὰ Ἰουδαίων. αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐπεπόρευτο πρὸς Κέστιον Γάλλον εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, κατα-

<sup>1</sup> om. L.

<sup>2</sup> Lat. (plures): πλειστούς PAM: τὸ πλεῖον οἱ τὸ πλεῖστον the rest.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: δοκεῖ MSS.

of his family, he stood conspicuous on the corpses, and with right hand uplifted to attract all eyes, plunged the sword up to the hilt into his own throat. So perished a youth who, in virtue of his strength of body and fortitude of soul, deserves commiseration, but who by reason of his trust in aliens met the consequent fate.

(5) As a sequel to the holocaust at Scythopolis, the other cities rose against the Jews in their respective territories. The inhabitants of Ascalon slew 2500, those of Ptolemais 2000, besides putting multitudes in irons. The Tyrians dispatched a considerable number, but imprisoned the majority in chains ; similarly the people of Hippos and Gadara made away with the more daring of their enemies and kept the timid folk in custody ; and so with the remaining cities of Syria, the action of each being governed by their feelings of hatred or fear of their Jewish neighbours. Only Antioch, Sidon and Apamea<sup>a</sup> spared the residents and refused either to kill or to imprison a single Jew ; perhaps, with their own vast populations, these cities disdained the possibility of Jewish risings, but what mainly influenced them, in my opinion, was their pity for men who showed no revolutionary intentions. The people of Gerasa<sup>b</sup> not only abstained from maltreating the Jews who remained with them, but escorted to the frontiers any who chose to emigrate.

(6) Even within Agrippa's dominion a plot was formed against certain Jews. The king himself had gone to visit Cestius Gallus at Antioch, leaving in

<sup>a</sup> On the Orontes, south of Antioch.

<sup>b</sup> In the south-east of Decapolis, north of the river Jabbok.

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λέλειπτο δὲ διοικεῖν τὰ πράγματα τούτου τῶν ἔταίρων τις τοῦνομα Νόαρος, Σοαίμω τῷ βασιλεῖ  
 482 προσήκων κατὰ γένος. ἦκον δ' ἐκ τῆς Βαταναίας ἑβδομήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἄνδρες, οἵ κατὰ γένος καὶ σύνεσιν τῶν πολιτῶν δοκιμώτατοι, στρατιὰν αἰτοῦντες, ἵν<sup>τ</sup>, εἴ τι γένοιτο κίνημα καὶ περὶ σφᾶς, ἔχοιεν ἀξιόχρεων φυλακὴν κωλύειν  
 483 τοὺς ἐπανισταμένους. τούτους ὁ Νόαρος ἐκπέμψας νύκτωρ τῶν βασιλικῶν τινας ὀπλιτῶν ἅπαντας ἀναιρεῖ, τολμήσας μὲν τοῦργον δίχα τῆς Ἀγρίππα γνώμης, διὰ δὲ φιλαργυρίαν ἀμετρον εἰς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ἐλόμενος ἀσεβεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν διέφθειρεν· διετέλει τε ὡμῶς εἰς τὸ ἔθνος παρανομῶν, μέχρι πυθόμενος Ἀγρίππας ἀνελεῖν μὲν αὐτὸν ἥδεσθη διὰ Σόαιμον, ἔπαυσεν δὲ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς.  
 484 οἱ δὲ στασιασταὶ καταλαβόμενοί τι φρούριον, ὁ καλεῖται μὲν Κύπρος, καθύπερθεν δ' ἦν Ἰεριχοῦντος, τοὺς μὲν φρουροὺς ἀπέσφαξαν, τὰ δ'  
 485 ἐρύματα κατέρριψαν εἰς γῆν. κατὰ δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας καὶ τῶν ἐν Μαχαιροῦντι Ἰουδαίων τὸ πλῆθος ἐπειθεν τοὺς φρουροῦντας Ῥωμαίους ἐκ-  
 486 λείπειν τὸ φρούριον καὶ παραδιδόναι σφίσιν. οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐκ βίας ἀφαίρεσιν εὐλαβηθέντες συντίθενται πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκχωρήσειν ὑπόσπονδοι καὶ λαβόντες τὰ πιστὰ παραδιδόσαι τὸ φρούριον, ὅπερ φυλακῇ κρατυνάμενοι κατεῖχον οἵ Μαχαιρῖται.

<sup>a</sup> Called Varus in the parallel account in *Vita*, 48 ff. and possibly in *B. ii.* 247.

<sup>b</sup> King of Emesa (*Homs*, in N. Syria), mentioned in *B. ii.* 501 as furnishing a contingent to the Romans, and elsewhere. In *Vita* 52 Varus is called a descendant (? grandson) of another Soemus, who had been “a tetrarch in the

charge of the government one of his friends named Noarus,<sup>a</sup> a relative of King Soaemus.<sup>b</sup> At this juncture here arrived from Batanaea a deputation of seventy persons, pre-eminent among their fellow-citizens by birth and ability, to ask for a body of troops in order, in the event of trouble arising in their district, to be in a position to repress the insurgents. Noarus sent out by night some of the king's heavy infantry and massacred the whole deputation. This outrageous action he took without consulting Agrippa; unbounded avarice led him thus deliberately and impiously to murder his countrymen, to the great injury of the kingdom. He continued this brutal maltreatment of the nation until Agrippa, being informed of his conduct, but withheld by respect for Soaemus from putting him to death, deposed him from his regency.<sup>c</sup> It was now that the insurgents took the fortress called Cypros,<sup>d</sup> which dominated Jericho, massacred the garrison and levelled the defences. About the same time the Jewish population of Machaerus<sup>e</sup> succeeded in inducing the Roman garrison to evacuate that fortress and to hand it over to them. The Romans, fearing that it would be carried by assault, agreed to retire under treaty, and having received the necessary pledges surrendered the fort, which the people of Machaerus thereupon occupied and garrisoned.

Massacre of  
Jews by  
Agrippa's  
viceroy.

Capture of  
the forts  
Cypros and  
Machaerus  
by the  
rebels.

ebanon district," and is probably identical with the "king of Ituræa" mentioned in Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 23 (died A.D. 49).

<sup>c</sup> The story of Varus's aspirations to supplant Agrippa, his further massacres of Jews, and his supersession is told in detail in *Vita* 52-61.

<sup>d</sup> Built by Herod the Great and named after his mother (i. 417).

<sup>e</sup> Above the east coast of the Dead Sea.

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487 (7) Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀεὶ μὲν ἦν στάσις πρὸς τὸ Ἰουδαικὸν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἀφ' οὗ χρησάμενος προθυμοτάτοις κατὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Ἰουδαίοις Ἀλέξανδρος γέρας τῆς συμμαχίας ἔδωκεν τὸ μετοικεῖν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐξ ἴσομοιρίας<sup>1</sup> πρὸς 488 τοὺς "Ελληνας. διέμεινεν δ' αὐτοῖς ἡ τιμὴ καὶ παρὰ τῶν διαδόχων, οἵ καὶ τόπον ἴδιον αὐτοῖς ἀφώρισαν, ὅπως καθαρωτέραν ἔχοιεν τὴν δίαιταν, ἥπτον ἐπιμισγομένων τῶν ἀλλοφύλων, καὶ χρηματίζειν ἐπέτρεψαν Μακεδόνας ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι κατεκτήσαντο τὴν Αἴγυπτον, οὕτε Καῖσαρ ὁ πρῶτος οὕτε τῶν μετ' αὐτόν τις ὑπέμεινεν τὰς ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τιμὰς Ἰουδαίων ἐλαττώσαι. 489 συμβολαὶ δ' ἥσαν αὐτῶν ἀδιάλειπτοι πρὸς τοὺς "Ελληνας, καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων πολλοὺς ὁσημέραι παρ' ἀμφοῦν κολαζόντων ἡ στάσις μᾶλλον παρ· 490 ωξύνετο. τότε δ' ὡς καὶ <τὰ><sup>2</sup> παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐτετάρακτο, μᾶλλον ἐξήφθη τὰ παρ' ἐκείνοις καὶ δὴ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησιαζόντων περ ἥς ἔμελοι ἐκπέμπειν πρεσβείας ἐπὶ Νέρωνα συνερρύησαν μὲν εἰς τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον ἅμα τοῦ 491 "Ελλησιν συχιοὶ Ἰουδαίων, κατιδόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ διάφοροι παραχρῆμα [μὲν]<sup>3</sup> ἀνεβόων πολεμίου καὶ κατασκόπους λέγοντες ἐπειτα ἀναπηδήσαντε ἐπέβαλλον τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς. οἱ μὲν οὖν λοιποὶ φεύγοντες διεσπάρησαν,<sup>4</sup> τρεῖς δὲ ἄνδρας συλλαβόντες ἔσυρον ὡς ζῶντας καταφλέξοντες. ἦρθ

<sup>1</sup> Destinon: ἐξ ἴσοιςις (sic) PA: εξ ἴσοτιμιας the rest.

<sup>2</sup> ins. Destinon.

<sup>3</sup> A: om. the rest.

<sup>4</sup> Naber with Lat.: διεφθαρησαν MSS.

<sup>a</sup> Josephus elsewhere states that this quarter was given them by Alexander (Ap. ii. 35 with note). The privilege

(7) At Alexandria there had been incessant strife between the native inhabitants and the Jewish settlers since the time when Alexander, having received from the Jews very active support against the Egyptians, granted them, as a reward for their assistance, permission to reside in the city on terms of equality with the Greeks. This privilege was confirmed by his successors, who, moreover, assigned them a quarter of their own,<sup>a</sup> in order that, through mixing less with aliens, they might be free to observe their rules more strictly ; and they were also permitted to take the title of Macedonians. Again, when the Romans took possession of Egypt, neither the first Caesar nor any of his successors would consent to any diminution of the honours conferred on the Jews since the time of Alexander. They were, however, continually coming into collision with the Greeks, and the numerous punishments daily inflicted on the rioters of both parties by the authorities only served to embitter the quarrel. But now that disorder had become universal, the riots at Alexandria broke out more furiously than ever. On one occasion, when the Alexandrians were holding a public meeting on the subject of an embassy which they proposed to send to Nero, a large number of Jews flocked into the amphitheatre along with the Greeks ; their adversaries, the instant they caught sight of them, raised shouts of "enemies" and "spies," and then rushed forward to lay hands on them. The majority of the Jews took flight and scattered, but three of them were caught by the Alexandrians and dragged off to be burnt alive. Thereupon the whole Jewish

Riots at  
Alexandri  
Greeks v.  
Jews.

bestowed on the Alexandrian Jews by the Ptolemies and the Romans are stated more fully in *Ap.* ii. 42-64.

δὲ πᾶν τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμυναν, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λίθοις τοὺς Ἐλληνας ἔβαλλον, αὖθις δὲ λαμπάδας ἀρπασάμενοι πρὸς τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον ὥρμησαν, ἀπειλοῦντες ἐν αὐτῷ καταφλέξειν τὸν δῆμον αὕταινδρον. καὶ ἔφθησαν τοῦτο δράσαντες,

εἰ μὴ τοὺς θυμοὺς αὐτῶν ἀνέκοψεν Τιβέριος  
493 Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἡγεμών. οὐ μὴν οὗτός γε ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων ἥρξατο σωφρονίζειν, ἀλλ' ὑποπέμψας τοὺς γνωρίμους αὐτοῖς παύσασθαι παρεκάλει καὶ μὴ καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐρεθίζειν τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα. καταχλευάζοντες δὲ τῆς παρακλήσεως οἱ στασιώδεις ἐβλασφήμουν τὸν Τιβέριον.

494 (8) Κάκενος συνιδὼν ὡς χωρὶς μεγάλης συμφορᾶς οὐκ ἀν παύσαιντο νεωτερίζοντες, ἐπαφίσαι αὐτοῖς τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν Ῥωμαίων δύο τάγματα καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς δισχιλίους<sup>1</sup> στρατιώτας κατὰ τύχην παρόντας εἰς τὸν Ἰουδαίων ὅλεθρον ἐκ Λιβύης ἐπέτρεψεν δ' οὐ μόνον ἀγαιρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς κτήσεις αὐτῶν διαρπάζειν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας καταφλέγειν. οἱ δ' δρμήσαντες εἰς τὸ καλούμενοι Δέλτα, συνώκιστο γὰρ ἐκεῖ τὸ Ἰουδαϊκόν, ἐτέλοι τὰς ἐντολάς, οὐ μὴν ἀναιμωτί· συστραφέντες γὰρ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ τοὺς ἄμεινον ὠπλισμένους ἑαυτῷ προταξάμενοι μέχρι πλείστου μὲν ἀντέσχον, ἅπας 495 δ' ἐγκλίναντες<sup>2</sup> ἀνέδην διεφθείροντο. καὶ παν τοῖς ἦν αὐτῶν ὅλεθρος, τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καταλαμβανομένων, τῶν δ' εἰς τὰς οἰκίας συνωθου μένων. ὑπεπίμπρασαν δὲ καὶ ταύτας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι

<sup>1</sup> πεντακισχιλίους LVRC Lat.

<sup>2</sup> Bekker: δὲ ἐκκλίναντες or δὲ κλίναντες MSS.

<sup>a</sup> And prefect (viceroy) of the whole province of Egypt see B. ii. 220 note and iv. 616.

colony rose to the rescue ; first they hurled stones at the Greeks, and then snatching up torches rushed to the amphitheatre, threatening to consume the assembled citizens in the flames to the last man. And this they would actually have done, had not Tiberius Alexander, the governor of the city,<sup>a</sup> curbed their fury. He first, however, attempted to recall them to reason without recourse to arms, quietly sending the principal citizens to them and entreating them to desist and not to provoke the Roman army to take action. But the rioters only ridiculed this exhortation and used abusive language of Tiberius.

(8) Understanding then that nothing but the infliction of a severe lesson would quell the rebels, he let loose upon them the two Roman legions stationed in the city,<sup>b</sup> together with two thousand soldiers, who by chance had just arrived from Libya to complete the ruin of the Jews ; permission was given them not merely to kill the rioters but to plunder their property and burn down their houses. The troops, thereupon, rushed to the quarter of the city called "Delta,"<sup>c</sup> where the Jews were concentrated, and executed their orders, but not without bloodshed on their own side ; for the Jews closing their ranks and putting the best armed among their number in the front offered a prolonged resistance, but when once they gave way, wholesale carnage ensued. Death in every form was theirs ; some were caught in the plain, others driven into their houses, to which the Romans set fire after stripping

The Roman  
soldiers  
let loose  
upon the  
Alexandrian  
Jews.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. § 387 note.

<sup>c</sup> The five quarters of Alexandria were called after the first five letters of the alphabet, two being occupied by Jews (Philo, *In Flaccum*, § 55 Cohn ; quoted by Reinach).

προδιαρπάζοντες τὰ ἔνδον, καὶ οὕτε νηπίων ἔλεος  
αὐτοὺς οὕτε αἰδὼς εἰσήσει γερόντων, ἀλλὰ διὰ  
497 πάσης ἡλικίας ἔχώρουν κτείνοντες, ὡς ἐπικλυσθῆναι  
μὲν αἷματι πάντα τὸν χῶρον, πέντε δὲ μυριάδες  
ἐσωρεύθησαν νεκρῶν, περιελείφθη δ' ἂν οὐδὲ τὸ  
λοιπόν, εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἵκετηρίας ἐτράποντο. κατ-  
οικτείρας δ' αὐτοὺς Ἀλεξανδρος ἀναχωρεῖν τοὺς  
498 Ῥωμαίους ἐκέλευσεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἔθους τὸ  
πειθήνιον ἔχοντες ἄμα νεύματι τοῦ φονεύειν ἐπαύ-  
σαντο, τὸ δημοτικὸν δὲ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων δι'  
ὑπερβολὴν μίσους δυσανάκλητον ἦν καὶ μόλις  
ἀπεσπάτο τῶν σωμάτων.

499 (9) Τοιοῦτον μὲν τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν  
πάθος συνηνέχθη. Κεστίω δὲ οὐκέτι ἡρεμεῖν  
ἐδόκει πανταχοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκπεπολεμωμένων.  
500 ἀναλαβὼν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας τὸ μὲν δωδέ-  
κατον τάγμα πλῆρες, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνὸ  
δισχιλίους ἐπιλέκτους, πεζῶν τε ἐξ σπείρας κα-  
τέσσαρας ἥλιας ἵππεων, πρὸς αἷς τὰς παρὰ τῷ  
βασιλέων συμμαχίας, Ἀντιόχου μὲν δισχιλίους  
ἵππεῖς καὶ πεζοὺς τρισχιλίους, τοξότας πάντας  
501 Ἀγρίππα δὲ πεζοὺς μὲν τοὺς ἵσους ἵππεῖς δι-  
δισχιλίων ἐλάττους, εἶπετο δὲ καὶ Σόαιμος μετὶ  
τετρακισχιλίων, ὃν ἥσαν ἵππεῖς ἡ τρίτη μοῖρα κα-  
τὸ πλέον τοξόται, προηλθεν εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα  
502 πλεῖστοι δὲ κὰκ τῶν πόλεων ἐπίκουροι συνελέγη

<sup>a</sup> Governor of Syria, ii. 280, etc.

<sup>b</sup> There were four legions in Syria, as there had been since the time of Augustus (Tac. Ann. iv. 5, quoted by Reinach)

them of their contents ; there was no pity for infancy, no respect for years : all ages fell before their murderous career, until the whole district was deluged with blood and the heaps of corpses numbered fifty thousand ; even the remnant would not have escaped, had they not sued for quarter. Alexander, now moved to compassion, ordered the Romans to retire. They, broken to obedience, ceased massacring at the first signal ; but the Alexandrian populace in the intensity of their hate were not so easily called off and were with difficulty torn from the corpses.

(9) Such was the catastrophe which befell the Jews of Alexandria. Cestius,<sup>a</sup> now that on all sides war was being made upon the Jews, decided to remain inactive no longer. He accordingly left Antioch, taking with him the twelfth legion in full strength, two thousand picked men from each of the other legions,<sup>b</sup> and in addition six cohorts of infantry and four squadrons of cavalry ; besides these he had the auxiliary contingents furnished by the kings, of which Antiochus<sup>c</sup> supplied two thousand horse and three thousand foot, all archers, Agrippa an equal number of foot and rather less than two thousand horse, Soaemus<sup>d</sup> following with four thousand, of which one-third were cavalry and the majority archers. With these troops he advanced upon Ptolemais. Further auxiliaries in very large numbers were

Cestius  
Gallus tak  
the field.

viz. III Gallica, VI Ferrata, X Fretensis, XII Fulminata : Mommsen, *Provinces*, ii. 63 note.

<sup>c</sup> Antiochus IV, king of Commagene (in N. Syria) from A.D. 38 to 72, when he was deprived of his kingdom on the charge of conspiracy (*B. vii.* 219 ff.).

<sup>d</sup> King of Emesa, § 481 note.

σαν, ἐμπειρίᾳ μὲν ἡττώμενοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν,  
 ταῖς δὲ προθυμίαις καὶ τῷ κατὰ Ἰουδαίων μίσει  
 τὸ λεῖπον ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις ἀντιπληροῦντες.  
 παρῆν<sup>1</sup> δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀγρίππας Κέστιώ τῆς τε  
 503 ὄδοι καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων ἔξηγούμενος. ἀνα-  
 λαβὼν δὲ μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως Κέστιος ὥρμησεν  
 ἐπὶ πόλιν καρτερὰν τῆς Γαλιλαίας, Χαβουλῶν<sup>2</sup> κα-  
 λεῖται<sup>3</sup>, διορίζει δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους τὴν Πτολεμαΐδα.  
 504 καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτὴν ἔρημον μὲν ἀνδρῶν, ἀνα-  
 πεφεύγει γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὰ ὅρη, πλήρη δὲ  
 παντοίων κτημάτων, τὰ μὲν ἐφῆκεν τοῖς στρατιώ-  
 ταις διαρπάζειν, τὸ δὲ ἄστυ καίτοι θαυμάσας τοῦ  
 κάλλους, ἔχον τὰς οἰκίας ὅμοιώς ταῖς ἐν Τύρῳ  
 καὶ Σιδῶνι καὶ Βηρυτῷ δεδομημένας, ἐνέπρησεν.  
 505 ἔπειτα τὴν χώραν καταδραμὼν καὶ διαρπάσας  
 μὲν πᾶν τὸ προσπῖπτον καταφλέξας δὲ τὰς πέριξ  
 506 κώμας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν Πτολεμαΐδα. πρὸς δὲ  
 ταῖς ἀρπαγαῖς ἔτι τῶν Σύρων ὅντων καὶ τὸ πλέον  
 Βηρυτίων ἀναθαρσήσαντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ γὰρ  
 ἀποκεχωρηκότα συνίεσαν Κέστιον, τοῖς ἀπο-  
 λειφθεῖσιν ἀδοκήτως ἐπέπεσον καὶ περὶ δισχιλίους  
 αὐτῶν διέφθειραν.

507 (10) Ὁ δὲ Κέστιος ἀναζεύξας ἀπὸ τῆς Πτο-  
 λεμαΐδος αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς Καισάρειαν ἀφικνεῖται,  
 μοῖραν δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς προέπεμψεν εἰς Ἰόπην,  
 προστάξας, εἰ μὲν καταλαβέσθαι δυνηθεῖεν τὴν  
 πόλιν, φρουρεῖν, εἰ δὲ προαισθοιτο τὴν ἔφοδον,  
 508 περιμένειν αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν. τῶν  
 δ' οἱ μὲν κατὰ θάλασσαν οἱ δὲ κατὰ γῆν ἐπει-

<sup>1</sup> συμπαρῆν MVRC.    <sup>2</sup> Niese (cf. iii. 38): Ζαβουλῶν MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ἡ (οr ἥ) καλεῖται ἀνδρῶν MSS.: ἀνδρῶν has probably come in from the next sentence (Niese).

collected from the towns ; these, though lacking the experience of the regulars, made good their deficiency in technical training by their ardour and their detestation of the Jews. Agrippa personally accompanied Cestius, to guide and to provide for the interests of the army. With a detachment of these troops, Cestius marched against a fortified city of Galilee, called Chabulon,<sup>a</sup> on the frontier of Ptolemais Capture of  
Chabulon and Jewish territory. He found it deserted by its inhabitants, who had all fled up into the hills, but stocked with goods of all kinds, which he allowed his soldiers to pillage ; the town itself, although he admired its beauty, with its houses built in the style of those at Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus, he set on fire. He next overran the district, sacking everything in his path and burning the surrounding villages, and then returned to Ptolemais. But while the Syrians and in particular those of Berytus were still occupied in pillage, the Jews, understanding that Cestius had departed, recovered courage, and, falling unexpectedly on the troops which he had left behind, killed about two thousand of them.

(10) Leaving Ptolemais and resuming his march, and Joppa Cestius himself proceeded to Caesarea, but sent forward a detachment of his force to Joppa, with orders to garrison the town, if they succeeded in taking it by surprise, but if the inhabitants obtained previous intelligence of their approach, to await his arrival with the main body. These troops advancing rapidly in two parties, by sea and land, easily carried

<sup>a</sup> Called Chabolo in the *Life*, 213, etc., modern Kabul ; it probably gave its name to the district presented by Solomon to Hiram (1 Kings ix. 13).

## JOSEPHUS

χθέιτες ἀμφοτέρωθεν αἱροῦσιν τὴν πόλιν ράδίως·  
καὶ μηδὲ φυγεῖν φθασάντων τῶν οἰκητόρων, οὐχ  
ὅπως παρασκευάσασθαι πρὸς μάχην, ἐμπεσόντες  
ἀπαντας ἀνεῖλον σὺν ταῖς γενεαῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν  
509 διαρπάσαντες ἐνέπρησαν· ὁ δὲ ἀριθμὸς τῶν φονευ-  
θέντων τετρακόσιοι πρὸς ὅκτακισχιλίοις. ὄμοιῶς  
δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν ὅμορον τῆς Καισαρείας Ναρβατηνὴν  
τοπαρχίαν ἔπειμψεν συχνοὺς τῶν ἵππεων, οἵ την  
τε γῆν ἔτεμον καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος διέφθειραν τῶν  
ἐπιχωρίων, τὰς τε κτήσεις διήρπασαν καὶ τὰς  
κώμας κατέφλεξαν.

510 (11) Εἰς δὲ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἀπέστειλεν Και-  
σέννιον Γάλλον ἡγεμόνα τοῦ δωδεκάτου τάγματος,  
παραδοὺς δύναμιν ὅσην ἀρκέσειν πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος  
511 ὑπελάμβανεν. τοῦτον ἡ καρτερωτάτη τῆς Γαλι-  
λαίας πόλις Σέπφωρις μετ' εὐφημίας δέχεται, καὶ  
πρὸς τὴν ταύτης εὐβουλίαν αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις  
ἡρέμουν. τὸ δὲ στασιῶδες καὶ ληστρικὸν πᾶν  
ἔφυγεν εἰς τὸ μεσαίτατον τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὄρος, ὃ  
κείται μὲν ἀντικρὺ τῆς Σεπφώρεως, καλεῖται δὲ  
Ἀσαμῶν. τούτοις ὁ Γάλλος ἐπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν.  
512 οἱ δ' ἔως μὲν ἦσαν ὑπερδέξιοι, ράδίως τοὺς Ῥω-  
μαίους ἡμύναντο προσιόντας καὶ πρὸς διακοσίους  
αὐτῶν ἀνεῖλον, περιελθόντων δὲ καὶ γενομένων ἐν  
τοῖς ὑψηλοτέροις ἥπτῶντο ταχέως, καὶ οὕτε γυμ-  
νῆτες ὄπλίτας συστάδην ἔφερον οὕτε ἐν τῇ τροπῇ  
τοὺς ἵππεis ἐξέφευγον, ὥστε ὀλίγους μὲν ἐν ταῖς  
δυσχωρίαις διαλαθεῖν, ἀναιρεθῆναι δὲ ὑπὲρ δισ-  
χιλίους.

513 (xix. 1) Γάλλος μὲν οὖν ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι ἔώρα  
κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν νεωτεριζόμενον, ὑπέστρεφεν  
μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰς Καισάρειαν. Κέστιος δὲ  
520

the town by an attack on both elements ; the inhabitants had no time to fly, much less to prepare for defence, and the Romans, bursting in, slew them all with their families, and sacked and burnt the town ; the victims numbered eight thousand four hundred. Cestius likewise dispatched a strong force of cavalry into the toparchy of Narbatene,<sup>a</sup> which borders on Caesarea ; these ravaged the country, killed a large number of the inhabitants, pillaged their property and burnt their villages.

(11) To Galilee he sent Caesennius Gallus, commander of the twelfth legion, with such forces as he considered sufficient for the reduction of that province. Sepphoris, the strongest city in Galilee, received Gallus with open arms, and, following the sage advice of this city, the rest remained quiet. All the rebels and brigands in the district fled to the mountain in the heart of Galilee, which faces Sepphoris and is called Asamon<sup>b</sup> ; against these Gallus led his troops. So long as the enemy held the superior position, they easily beat off the attacks of the Romans and killed some two hundred of them, but when the Romans turned their flank and gained the higher ground, they were quickly defeated ; being lightly armed, they could not sustain the charge of the heavy-armed legionaries, nor when routed outdistance the cavalry ; consequently a few only succeeded in concealing themselves in<sup>c</sup> broken ground, while more than two thousand perished.

(xix. 1) Gallus, seeing no further signs of revolt in Galilee, returned with his troops to Caesarea ; where-

March of  
Cestius u  
Jerusalem

<sup>a</sup> Cf. ii. 291.

<sup>b</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>c</sup> Or perhaps "escaping over."

# JOSEPHUS

μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἀναζεύξας ἐνέβαλεν εἰς  
 Ἀντιπατρίδα, καὶ πυθόμενος ἐν τωι πύργῳ  
 Ἀφεκοῦ καλουμένῳ συνηθροῖσθαι Ἰουδαίων δύνα-  
 μιν οὐκ ὀλίγην, προύπεμψε τοὺς συμβαλοῦντας.  
 514 οἱ δὲ πρὸν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν δέει τοὺς Ἰουδαίους  
 διεσκέδασαν, ἐπελθόντες δὲ ἔρημον τὸ στρατόπεδον  
 515 καὶ τὰς πέριξ κώμας ἐνέπρησαν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς  
 Ἀντιπατρίδος Κέστιος εἰς Λύδδα προελθὼν κενὴν  
 ἀνδρῶν τὴν πόλιν καταλαμβάνει· διὰ γὰρ τὴν τῆς  
 516 σκηνοπηγίας ἑορτὴν ἀναβεβήκει πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος εἰς  
 Ἱεροσόλυμα. πεντήκοντα δὲ τῶν παραφανέντων  
 διαφθείρας καὶ τὸ ἄστυ κατακαύσας ἔχώρει πρόσω,  
 καὶ διὰ Βαιθώρων ἀναβὰς στρατοπεδεύεται κατά  
 τινα χῶρον Γαβαὼ καλούμενον, ἀπέχοντα τῶν  
 Ἱεροσολύμων πεντήκοντα σταδίους.

517 (2) Οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι κατιδόντες ἥδη πλησιάζοντα  
 τῇ μητροπόλει τὸν πόλεμον, ἀφέμενοι τὴν ἑορτὴν  
 ἔχωρουν ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ μέγα τῷ πλήθει θαρ-  
 ροῦντες ἄτακτοι [καὶ]<sup>1</sup> μετὰ κραυγῆς ἔξεπήδων  
 ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, μηδὲ τῆς ἀργῆς ἐβδομάδος ἔννοιαν  
 λαβόντες· ἦν γὰρ δὴ τὸ μάλιστα παρ’ αὐτοῖς  
 518 θρησκευόμενον σάββατον. ὁ δὲ ἐκσείσας αὐτοὺς  
 τῆς εὐσεβείας θυμὸς ἐποίησεν πλεονεκτῆσαι καὶ  
 κατὰ τὴν μάχην· μετὰ τοσαύτης γοῦν ὄρμῆς τοῦς  
 Ῥωμαίοις προσέπεσον, ὡς διαρρήξαι τὰς τάξεις  
 519 αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ μέσων χωρεῖν ἀναιροῦντας. εἰ δὲ  
 μὴ τῷ χαλασθέντι τῆς φάλαγγος οἵ τε ἵππεῖς

<sup>1</sup> om. PAL.

<sup>a</sup> In the plain of Sharon, north-east of Joppa.

<sup>b</sup> Or perhaps “called after Aphek.” Several places of the name are mentioned in the O.T.: this may be the Aphek

upon Cestius resumed his march with his entire army and entered Antipatris.<sup>a</sup> Learning that a considerable body of Jews had assembled in a tower called Apheku,<sup>b</sup> he sent on a detachment to attack them. Fear, however, dispersed the Jews before any engagement took place ; and the Romans, on invading their camp, found it evacuated, and burnt it and the neighbouring villages. From Antipatris Cestius advanced to Lydda<sup>c</sup> and found the city deserted, for the whole population had gone up to Jerusalem for the Feast of Tabernacles. Fifty persons who showed themselves he put to the sword, and after burning down the town resumed his march ; and, ascending through Beth-horon, pitched his camp at a place called Gabao,<sup>d</sup> fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem.

c. October  
A.D. 66 (15  
Tishri).

(2) The Jews, seeing the war now approaching the capital, abandoned the feast and rushed to arms ; and, with great confidence in their numbers, sprang in disorder and with loud cries into the fray, with no thought for the seventh day of rest, for it was the very sabbath which they regarded with special reverence.<sup>e</sup> But the same passion which shook them out of their piety brought them victory in the battle ; for with such fury did they fall upon the Romans that they broke and penetrated their ranks, slaughtering the enemy. Had not the cavalry, with a body of infantry which was not so hard pressed as in Sharon (Jos. xii. 18, some LXX mss.), doubtfully identified with *el Mejdel*, south-east of Caesarea.

<sup>a</sup> *Ludd*, south of Antipatris, at the point where the road from the north joins the route from Joppa via Beth-horon to Jerusalem.

<sup>b</sup> The O.T. Gibeon, modern *el Jib*, five or six miles northwest of Jerusalem ; the distance given in A. vii. 283 is only 40 furlongs (stadia). For Beth-horon see § 547 note.

<sup>c</sup> Falling within the week of the Feast of Tabernacles.

A success  
Jewish  
charge  
outside  
Jerusalem

# JOSEPHUS

έκπεριελθόντες ἐπήμυναν καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ μὴ σφόδρα κάμνον, καὶ ἐκινδύνευσεν ὅλη τῇ δυνάμει Κέστιος. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ῥωμαίων πεντακόσιοι δεκαπέντε· τούτων ἡσαν οἱ τετρακόσιοι πεζοί, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἵππεῖς· τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων δύο πρὸς τοὺς 520 εἴκοσι. γενναιότατοι δ' αὐτῶν ἔδοξαν οἱ Μονοβάζου τοῦ τῆς Ἀδιαβηνῆς βασιλέως συγγενεῖς, Μονόβαζός τε καὶ Κενεδαῖος, μεθ' οὓς ὁ Περαΐτης Νίγερ καὶ Σίλας ὁ Βαβυλώνιος αὐτομολήσας εἰς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀπ' Ἀγρίππα τοῦ βασιλέως· 521 ἐστρατεύετο γὰρ παρ' αὐτῷ. κατὰ πρόσωπον μὲν οὖν ἀνακοπέντες Ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὑπέστρεφον, κατόπιν δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ τὴν Βεθώραν<sup>1</sup> ἀνιοῦσιν προσπεσὼν ὁ τοῦ Γιώρα Σίμων πολὺ τῆς οὐραγίας ἐσπάραξεν καὶ συχνὰ τῶν σκευοφόρων ἀποσπάσας ἤγαγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. 522 μένοντος δὲ τοῦ Κεστίου κατὰ χώραν τρισὶν ἡμέραις οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὰ μετέωρα κατειληφότες ἐπετήρουν τὰς παρόδους, δῆλοί τε ἡσαν οὐκ ἡρεμήσοντες ἀρξαμένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁδεύειν. 523 (3) "Ἐνθα δὴ κατιδὼν Ἀγρίππας οὐδὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀκίνδυνα, πλήθους ἀπείρου πολεμίων τὰ ὅρη περισχόντος, ἔκρινεν ἀποπειραθῆναι τῶν Ἰουδαίων λόγοις· ἦ γὰρ πάντας πείσειν καταθέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἦ τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων ἀποστήσειν τὸ 524 μὴ συμφρονοῦν. ἔπειμψεν οὖν τῶν παρ' ἑαυτῷ τοὺς μάλιστα γνωρίμους ἐκείνοις, Βόρκιόν τε καὶ Φοῖβον, δεξιάς τε παρὰ Κεστίου καὶ συγγνώμην παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἀσφαλῆ περὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων

<sup>1</sup> PAL: Βαιθωρᾶν the rest.

<sup>a</sup> King Monobazus, like his brother Izates, whom he had

the rest, wheeled round to the relief of the broken line, Cestius and his whole army would have been in jeopardy. The Roman killed were five hundred and fifteen, of whom four hundred were infantry and the rest cavalry ; the Jews lost but two and twenty. In the Jewish ranks the most distinguished for valour were Monobazus and Cenedaeus, kinsmen of Monobazus,<sup>a</sup> king of Adiabene ; next to them came Niger of Peraea and Silas the Babylonian,<sup>b</sup> a deserter to the Jews from the army of King Agrippa. The Jews, when their frontal attack was checked, retired to the city ; but from the back of their lines Simon, son of Gioras, fell upon the Romans as they were mounting towards Beth-horon, cut up a large part of their rear-guard, and carried off many of the baggage mules, which he brought with him into the city. While Cestius for three days remained in his former quarters, the Jews occupied the heights and kept guard on the defiles, clearly not intending to remain inactive, should the Romans begin to move.

(3) At this juncture, Agrippa, perceiving that, with the enemy in such countless numbers in possession of the surrounding mountains, even a Roman army was in a perilous position, decided to try the effect of parley with the Jews ; he hoped either to prevail on all to abandon hostilities, or at least to detach from their opponents those who did not share the views of the war party. He accordingly sent his two friends, whom the Jews knew best, Borcius and Phoebus, with an offer of a treaty on the part of Cestius and of sure pardon for their misdoings on the recently succeeded, and his mother Helena, was a convert to Judaism : cf. § 388 note.

<sup>a</sup> Probably one of the colony of Babylonian Jews settled in Batanaea (*Vita* 54 note).

ὑπισχνούμενος, εἰ τὰ ὅπλα ρίψαντες πρὸς αὐτοὺς  
 525 μεταβάλοιντο. δείσαντες δ' οἱ στασιασταὶ, μὴ  
 πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἀδείας ἐλπίδι πρὸς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν  
 μεταβάληται, τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πρεσβεύοντας ὥρ-  
 526 μησαν ἀνελεῖν. καὶ πρὶν ἡ φθέγξασθαι τὸν μὲν  
 Φοῖβον διέφθειραν, ὁ δὲ Βόρκιος τρωθεὶς ἔφθη  
 διαφυγεῖν· τοῦ δήμου δὲ τοὺς ἀγανακτήσαντας  
 λίθοις καὶ ἔύλοις παίοντες εἰς τὸ ἄστυ συνήλασαν.  
 527 (4) Κέστιος δὲ τὴν πρὸς ἄλλήλους αὐτῶν τα-  
 ραχὴν εὔκαιρον ἴδων εἰς ἐπίθεσιν, ἀπασαν ἐπῆγεν  
 τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τραπέντας μέχρι Ἱεροσολύμων  
 528 κατεδίωξεν. στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ κα-  
 λουμένου Σκοποῦ, διέχει δ' οὗτος ἑπτὰ τῆς πόλεως  
 σταδίους, τρισὶ μὲν ἡμέραις οὐκ ἐπεχείρει τῇ  
 πόλει, τάχα τι παρὰ τῶν ἔνδον ἐνδοθήσεσθαι  
 προσδοκῶν, εἰς δὲ τὰς πέριξ κώμας ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν  
 σίτου πολλοὺς διαφῆκεν τῶν στρατιωτῶν· τῇ  
 τετάρτῃ δέ, ἥτις ἦν τριακὰς Ὁπερβερεταίου  
 μηνός, διατάξας τὴν στρατιὰν εἰσῆγεν εἰς τὴν  
 529 πόλιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος ὑπὸ τοῖς στασιασταῖς  
 ἔμφρουρος ἦν, οἱ δὲ στασιασταὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν τῶν  
 Ῥωμαίων καταπλαγέντες τῶν μὲν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως  
 μερῶν εἶκον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐνδοτέρω καὶ τὸ ιερὸν  
 530 ἀνεχώρουν. Κέστιος δὲ παρελθὼν ὑποπίμπρησιν  
 τὴν τε Βεζεθὰν προσαγορευομένην τὴν καὶ<sup>1</sup> Καινό-  
 πολιν καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Δοκῶν ἀγοράν, ἐπειτα  
 πρὸς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἐλθὼν ἀντικρὺ τῆς βασιλικῆς  
 531 αὐλῆς ἐστρατοπεδεύετο. καν εἴπερ ἡθέλησεν κατ'

<sup>1</sup> τὴν καὶ Reland: καὶ τὴν MSS.

\* A hill to the north-west and commanding a "view"

part of the Romans, if they would lay down their arms and return to their allegiance. But the insurgents, fearing that the prospect of an amnesty would induce the whole multitude to go over to Agrippa, made a murderous assault upon his emissaries. Phoebus was slain before he had uttered a syllable ; Boreius was wounded but succeeded in escaping. Any citizens who raised indignant protests were assailed with stones and clubs and driven into the town.

(4) Cestius, seeing that these internal dissensions offered a favourable opportunity for attack, brought up his whole force, routed the enemy, and pursued them to Jerusalem. Having pitched his camp in the region called Scopus,<sup>a</sup> distant seven furlongs from the city, for three days he suspended all attack upon it, expecting perhaps that the defenders would show signs of surrender ; but he sent out to the surrounding villages numerous foraging parties to collect corn. On the fourth day, the thirtieth of the month Hyperberetaeus, he deployed his forces and led them into the city. For the people were at the mercy of the rebels, and the latter, overawed by the orderly discipline of the Romans, abandoned the suburbs and retired upon the inner city and the Temple.<sup>c</sup> Cestius, on entering, set fire to the district known as Bezetha or "New City" and the so-called Timber Market ; he then proceeded to the upper city and encamped opposite the royal palace. Had he, at that particular

(whence its name) of the city (*A. xi.* 329, where it is called Saphein).

<sup>b</sup> November 17, according to Niese's reckoning.

<sup>c</sup> They abandoned the unfinished third wall (that of Agrippa I, see § 218) as untenable : Cestius advanced to the second wall, enclosing the upper city : for the northern suburb Bezetha between the two walls *cf.* § 328.

Cestius  
occupies  
suburb  
Bezetha,

Novembe  
A.D. 66

αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ὥραν ἐντὸς τῶν τειχέων βιάσασθαι, παραυτίκα τὴν πόλιν ἔσχεν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον συνέβη καταλεύσθαι<sup>1</sup>. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ τε στρατοπεδάρχης Τυράννιος Πρῖσκος καὶ τῶν ἵππαρχων οἱ πλεῖστοι χρήμασιν ὑπὸ Φλώρου δεκασθέντες<sup>2</sup>

532 ἀπέστρεψαν αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως. καὶ παρὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην ὁ τε πόλεμος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μῆκος προύβη καὶ ἀνηκέστων Ἰουδαίους συμφορῶν ἀναπλησθῆναι συνέπεσεν.

533 (5) Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ πολλοὶ τῶν γνωρίμων δημοτῶν, Ἀνάνῳ τῷ Ἰωνάθου παιδὶ πεισθέντες, ἐκάλουν τὸν Κέστιον ὡς ἀνοίξοντες αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας.

534 ὁ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ὄργὴν ὑπεριδὼν καὶ μὴ πάνυ πιστεύσας διεμέλλησεν, ἕως οἱ στασιασταὶ τὴν προδοσίαν αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἀνανον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους κατέβαλον καὶ λίθοις παίοντες συγγέλασαν εἰς τὰς οἰκίας, αὐτοὶ δὲ διαστάντες ἀπὸ<sup>3</sup> τῶν πύργων τοὺς ἀποπειρωμένους τοῦ τείχους

535 ἔβαλλον. πέντε μὲν οὖν ἡμέραις πάντοθεν ἐπιχειροῦσιν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀμήχανος ἦν ἡ προσβολή, τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ ἀναλαβὼν ὁ Κέστιος τῶν τε ἐπιλέκτων συχνοὺς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας κατὰ τὸ προσάρκτιον ἐπεχείρει κλίμα τῷ ἰερῷ. Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς εἵργον, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἀπεκρούσαντο τοὺς τῷ τείχει προσελθόντας, τέλος δὲ τῷ πλήθει τῶν βέλῶν ἀνακοπέντες ἀνεχώρησαν.

536 τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων οἱ πρῶτοι τοὺς θυρεοὺς ἔξερείσαντες εἰς τὸ τείχος καὶ κατὰ τούτων οἱ κατόπιν ἄλλους οἱ τε ἔξῆς ὅμοιώς τὴν καλουμένην παρ' αὐτοῖς χελώνην ἐφράξαντο, καθ' ἃς τὰ βέλη

καταλύεσθαι P.A.M.L.

<sup>2</sup> L: δελεασθέντες the rest.<sup>3</sup> επι Bekker, Naber.

moment, decided to force his way through the walls, he would have captured the city forthwith, and the war would have been over; but his camp-prefect<sup>a</sup> Tyrannius Priscus, with most of the cavalry commanders, bribed by Florus, diverted him from the attempt. Hence it came about that the war was so long protracted and the Jews drained the cup of irretrievable disaster.

(5) Many of the leading citizens, at the instance of Ananus, son of Jonathan,<sup>b</sup> now sent an invitation to Cestius, promising to open the gates to him. These overtures, however, partly from anger and disdain, partly because he did not wholly credit them, he hesitated to accept, until the insurgents, discovering the treason, pulled down Ananus and his confederates from the wall and drove them, with showers of stones, into their houses; then, posting themselves on the towers, they kept up a fire on the enemy who were attempting to scale the wall. For five days the Romans pressed their attack on all sides without success; on the sixth Cestius led a large force of picked men with the archers to an assault on the north side of the Temple. The Jews from the roof of the portico resisted the attack and time after time repulsed those who had reached the wall, but at length, overpowered by the hail of missiles, gave way. The front rank of the Romans then planted their bucklers against the wall, those behind them placed theirs upon the first row of shields, and the rest did likewise, forming a screen which they call "the tortoise,"<sup>c</sup> from which the

and attacked  
the inner  
city and  
Temple.

<sup>a</sup> Quartermaster-general.

<sup>b</sup> Jonathan, probably the high-priest and first victim of the *sicarii* (§ 256).

<sup>c</sup> *testudo*.

φερόμενα περιωλίσθανεν ἄπρακτα, μηδὲν δ' οἱ στρατιῶται κακούμενοι τὸ τεῖχος ὑπέσυρον καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὴν πύλην ὑποπιμπράναι παρεσκευάζοντο.

538 (6) Δεινὴ δὲ τοὺς στασιαστὰς ἔκπληξις κατέλαβεν, ἥδη τε<sup>1</sup> πολλοὶ διεδίδρασκον ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ὡς ἀλωσομένης αὐτίκα. τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἐπὶ τούτοις συνέβαινεν θαρρεῖν, καὶ καθὸ παρείκοιεν οἱ πονηροί, προσήγεσαν αὐτοὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξοντες καὶ δεξόμενοι τὸν Κέστιον ὡς εὐεργέτην. ὃς εἰ βραχὺ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ προσελιπάρησεν, κανὸν εὐθέως τὴν πόλιν παρέλαβεν· ἀλλ' οἶμαι διὰ τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀπεστραμμένος ὁ θεὸς ἥδη καὶ τὰ ἄγια, τέλος λαβεῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκώλυσεν τὸν πόλεμον.

540 (7) Ὁ γοῦν Κέστιος, οὗτε τὴν τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἀπόγνωσιν οὗτε τοῦ δήμου τὸ φρόνημα συνιδῶν, ἔξαιφνης ἀνεκάλεσεν τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ καταγνοὺς ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾷ πληγῇ τῶν ἐλπίδων 541 παραλογώτατα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀνέζευξεν. πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀδόκητον αὐτοῦ τροπὴν ἀναθαρσήσαντες οἱ λησταὶ κατὰ τῶν ὑστάτων ἐπεξέδραμον καὶ 542 συχνοὺς τῶν ἵππέων καὶ πεζῶν διέφθειραν. τότε μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν Σκοπὸν αὐλίζεται στρατοπέδῳ Κέστιος, τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ προσωτέρω χωριζόμενος μᾶλλον ἔξεκαλέσατο τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τοὺς ὑστάτους αὐτῶν προσκείμενοι διέφθειρον καὶ καθ' ἐκάτερον τῆς ὁδοῦ περιόντες ἡκόντιζον εἰς 543 πλαγίους. οὗτε δὲ ἐπιστραφῆναι πρὸς τοὺς κατόπιν τιτρώσκοντας ἐθάρρουν οἱ τελευταῖοι, ἀπειρόν τι πλῆθος οἰόμενοι διώκειν, καὶ τοὺς κατὰ πλευρὸν ἐγκειμένους ἀναστέλλειν οὐχ ὑπέμενον,

<sup>1</sup> Destinon: δὲ mss.

missiles, as they fell, glanced off harmlessly, while the soldiers with immunity undermined the wall and prepared to set fire to the gate of the Temple.

(6) A terrible panic now seized the insurgents, many of whom were already slinking out of the city in the belief that it was on the verge of capture. The people <sup>a</sup> thereupon took heart again, and the more the miscreants gave ground, the nearer did these advance to the gates, to open them and welcome Cestius as a benefactor. Had he but persisted for a while with the siege, he would have forthwith taken the city ; but God, I suppose, because of those miscreants, had already turned away even from His sanctuary and ordained that that day should not see the end of the war.

(7) At any rate, Cestius, realizing neither the despair of the besieged nor the true temper of the people, suddenly recalled his troops, renounced his hopes, without having suffered any reverse, and, contrary to all calculation, retired from the city. On this unexpected retreat, the brigands, plucking up courage, sallied out upon his rear and killed a considerable number of cavalry and infantry. Cestius passed that night in his camp at Scopus. The following day, by continuing his retreat, he invited further opposition from the enemy ; hanging upon his heels they cut up his rear, and enclosing the troops on either side of the route poured their missiles on the flanks of the column. The rear ranks did not dare to round upon those who were wounding them from behind, supposing that they were pursued by an innumerable host ; nor did the rest venture to beat off those who were pressing their flanks, being heavily

Unexpected  
and  
disastrous  
retreat of  
Cestius.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. the moderates.

αύτοὶ μὲν ὄντες βαρεῖς καὶ δεδοικότες τὴν τάξιν  
 διασπᾶν, τοὺς δὲ Ἰουδαίους ὄρωντες κούφους καὶ  
 πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς εὐκόλους· ὥστε συνέβαινεν  
 αὐτοῖς πολλὰ κακοῦσθαι μηδὲν ἀντιβλάπτουσιν  
 544 τοὺς ἔχθρούς. παρ’ ὅλην δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν παιόμενοι  
 καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος ἐκσειόμενοι κατέπιπτον, μέχρι  
 πολλῶν διαφθαρέντων, ἐν οἷς ἦν Πρῖσκος μὲν  
 στρατάρχης τάγματος ἕκτου, Λογγῖνος δὲ χιλί-  
 αρχος, ἑπαρχος δὲ Ἰλῆς Αἰμίλιος Ἰούκουνδος ὄνομα,  
 μόλις εἰς Γαβαῶ<sup>1</sup> κατήντησαν ἐπὶ τὸ πρότερον  
 στρατόπεδον, τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν σκευῶν ἀποβα-  
 545 λόντες. ἔνθα δύο μὲν ἡμέρας ἐπέμεινεν ὁ Κέστιος  
 ἀμηχανῶν, ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν, τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ πολλῷ  
 πλείους τοὺς πολεμίους θεασάμενος καὶ πάντα τὰ  
 κύκλῳ μεστὰ Ἰουδαίων, ἔγνω καθ’ ἑαυτοῦ τε βρα-  
 δύνας κανὸν ἔτι μείνη πλείοσιν χρησόμενος ἔχθροῖς.

546 (8) Ἰνα δὴ<sup>2</sup> συντονωτέρᾳ<sup>3</sup> χρήσαιτο φυγῆ, τὰ  
 τὴν στρατιὰν ἀνθέλκοντα περικόπτειν προσέταξεν.  
 διαφθαρέντων δὲ τῶν τε ὄρέων καὶ τῶν ὄνων ἔτι  
 δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων, πλὴν ὅσα βέλη παρεκόμιζεν  
 καὶ μηχανάς, τούτων γὰρ διὰ τὴν χρείαν περι-  
 είχοντο καὶ μάλιστα δεδοικότες μὴ Ἰουδαίοις κατ’  
 αὐτῶν ἀλῶ, προῆγε τὴν δύναμιν κατὰ<sup>4</sup> Βαιθώρων.  
 547 οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι κατὰ μὲν τὰς εὐρυχωρίας ἥπτον  
 ἐπέκειντο, συνειληθέντων δ’ εἰς τὰ στενὰ καὶ τὴν  
 κατάβασιν οἱ μὲν φθάσαντες εἶργον αὐτοὺς τῆς

<sup>1</sup> Γαβαῶν PA (cf. § 516).   <sup>2</sup> L Lat. (itaque): δὲ the rest.

<sup>3</sup> Dindorf: συντομωτέρᾳ MSS.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπὶ VRC.

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps identical with Jucundus, the cavalry commander at Caesarea, § 291.

<sup>b</sup> From Upper Beth-horon (1730 feet) to Lower Beth-horon (1240 feet): this famous pass has been the scene of numerous defeats (G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the*

armed themselves and afraid of opening out their ranks, while the Jews, as they saw, were light-armed and prepared to dash in among them. The result was that they suffered heavily, without any retaliation upon their foes. All along the route men were continually being struck, torn from the ranks, and dropping on the ground. At length, after numerous casualties, including Priscus, the commander of the sixth legion, Longinus, a tribune, and Aemilius Jucundus,<sup>a</sup> commander of a troop of horse, with difficulty the army reached their former camp at Gabao, having further abandoned the greater part of their baggage. Here Cestius halted for two days, uncertain what course to pursue ; but, on the third, seeing the enemy's strength greatly increased and all the surrounding country swarming with Jews, he decided that the delay had been detrimental to him and, if further prolonged, would but increase the number of his foes.

(8) To accelerate the retreat, he gave orders to retrench all impedimenta. So the mules, asses, and all the beasts of burthen were killed, excepting those that carried missiles and engines of war ; these they clung to for their own use, and, still more, from fear of their falling into Jewish hands and being employed against themselves. Cestius then led his army on down the road to Beth-horon. On the open ground their movements were less harassed by the Jews, but, once the Romans became involved in the defiles and had begun the descent,<sup>b</sup> one party of the enemy went ahead of them and barred their egress, another *Holy Land*, 210 f.). It was down this same road from Gibeon on the plateau (2300 feet), through the two Beth-horons, to the maritime plain that Joshua pursued the five Canaanite kings (Jos. x. 10 f.).

Scene in  
pass of  
Beth-hor-

ἔξοδου, ἄλλοι δὲ τοὺς ύστάτους κατεώθουν εἰς τὴν φάραγγα· τὸ δὲ πᾶν πλῆθος παρεκταθὲν ὑπὲρ τὸν αὐχένα τῆς ὁδοῦ κατεκάλυπτε τὴν φάλαγγα τοῖς βέλεσιν. ἔνθα καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ἀμηχανούντων προσαμύνειν ἕαυτοῖς ἐπισφαλέστερος τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν ὁ κίνδυνος ἦν· οὕτε γὰρ ἐν τάξει κατὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ βαδίζειν ἐδύναντο βαλλόμενοι, καὶ τὸ πρόσαντες 548 ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἵππάσιμον οὐκ ἦν· τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα κρημνοὶ καὶ φάραγγες, εἰς οὓς ἀποσφαλέντες κατεφθείροντο. καὶ οὕτε φυγῆς τις τόπον οὕτε ἀμύνης εἶχεν ἐπίνοιαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀμηχανίας ἐπ' οἰμωγὴν ἐτράποντο καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἀπογνώσεσιν ὀδυρμούς· ἀντήχει δ' αὐτοῖς τὸ παρὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐγκέλευσμα καὶ κραυγὴ χαιρόντων ἄμα καὶ τεθυμωμένων. ὀλίγου δὲ δεῖν πᾶσαν ἄν ἥρπασαν τὴν ἄμα Κέστιῳ δύναμιν, εἰ μὴ νὺξ ἐπέλαβεν, ἐν ἣ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν εἰς τὴν Βεθώραν κατέφυγον, Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ πάντα τὰ κύκλῳ περισχόντες ἐφρούρουν αὐτῶν τὴν ἔξοδον.

551 (9) "Ενθα δὴ Κέστιος τὴν φανερὰν ὁδὸν ἀπογιοὺς δρασμὸν ἐβουλεύετο, καὶ διακρίνας τοὺς εὑψυχοτάτους στρατιώτας ὡσεὶ τετρακοσίους ἐπέστησεν τῶν δωμάτων, προστάξας ἀναβοῶν τὰ σημεῖα τῶν ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις φυλάκων, ὅπως [οἱ]<sup>1</sup> Ἰουδαῖοι πᾶσαν οἴωνται τὴν δύναμιν κατὰ χώραν μέιειν· αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀναλαβὼν 552 ἡσυχῇ τριάκοντα πρόεισιν σταδίους. ἔωθεν δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι κατιδόντες ἔρημον τὴν ἔπαυλιν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔξαπατήσαντας τετρακοσίους ἔδραμον, κάκείνους μὲν ταχέως κατηκόντισαν, ἐδίωκον δὲ 553 τὸν Κέστιον. ὁ δὲ τῆς τε νυκτὸς οὐκ ὀλίγον

<sup>1</sup> om. P.

drove the rearguard down into the ravine, while the main body lined the heights above the narrowest part of the route and covered the legions with showers of arrows. Here, while even the infantry were hard put to it to defend themselves, the cavalry were in still greater jeopardy ; to advance in order down the road under the hail of darts was impossible, to charge up the slopes was impracticable for horse ; on either side were precipices and ravines, down which they slipped and were hurled to destruction ; there was no room for flight, no conceivable means of defence ; in their utter helplessness the troops were reduced to groans and the wailings of despair, which were answered by the war-whoop of the Jews, with mingled shouts of exultation and fury. Cestius and his entire army were, indeed, within an ace of being captured ; only the intervention of night enabled the Romans to find refuge in Beth-horon.<sup>a</sup> The Jews occupied all the surrounding points and kept a lookout for their departure.

(9) Cestius, now despairing of openly pursuing his march, laid plans for secret flight. Selecting about four hundred of his bravest men, he posted them upon the roofs, with orders to shout out the watchwords of the camp-sentinels, that the Jews might think that the whole army was still on the spot ; he himself with the remainder then stealthily advanced another thirty furlongs. At daybreak the Jews, discovering that the enemy's quarters were deserted, rushed upon the four hundred who had deluded them, rapidly dispatched them with their javelins, and then hastened in pursuit of Cestius. He had gained much

Flight of  
Cestius.

<sup>a</sup> The lower Beth-horon at the foot of the pass.

προειλήφει καὶ συντονώτερον ἔφευγεν μεθ' ἡμέραν,  
ῶστε τοὺς στρατιώτας ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως καὶ δέους  
τάς τε ἐλεπόλεις καὶ τοὺς ὀξυβελεῖς καὶ τὰ πολλὰ  
τῶν ἄλλων ὄργανων καταλιπεῖν, ἀ τότε Ἰουδαῖοι  
λαβόντες αὐθις ἔχρησαντο κατὰ τῶν ἀφέντων.

554 προῆλθον δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διώκοντες μέχρις  
Ἀντιπατρίδος. ἔπειθ' ὡς οὐ κατελάμβανον, ὑπο-  
στρέφοντες τάς τε μηχανὰς ἥρον καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς  
ἐσύλων, τήν τε ἀπολειφθεῖσαν λείαν συνῆγον καὶ  
μετὰ παιάνων εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν ἐπαλινδρόμουν,

555 αὐτοὶ μὲν ὄλιγοις ἀποβεβλημένοι παντάπασιν, τῶν  
δὲ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων πεζοὺς μὲν  
πεντακισχιλίους καὶ τριακοσίους ἀνηρηκότες,  
ἵππεῖς δὲ ὄγδοήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίους.<sup>1</sup> τάδε  
μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη Δίου μηνὸς ὄγδοῃ, δωδεκάτῳ τῆς  
Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας ἔτει.

556 (xx. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Κεστίου συμφορὰν πολλοὶ<sup>2</sup>  
τῶν ἐπιφανῶν Ἰουδαίων ὥσπερ βαπτιζομένης  
νεώς ἀπενήχοντο τῆς πόλεως. Κοστόβαρος γοῦν  
καὶ Σάουλος ἀδελφοὶ σὺν Φιλίππῳ τῷ Ἰακίμου,  
στρατοπεδάρχης δ' ἦν οὗτος Ἀγρίππα τοῦ βα-  
σιλέως, διαδράντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὥχοντο πρὸς

557 Κέστιον· ὁ δὲ σὺν τούτοις κατὰ τὴν βασιλικὴν  
αὐλὴν πολιορκηθεὶς Ἀντίπας ὑπεριδὼν τὴν φυγὴν  
αὐθις ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν στασιαστῶν διεφθάρη δηλώ-  
558 σομεν. Κέστιος δὲ τοὺς περὶ Σάουλον ἀξιώσαντας  
ἀνέπεμψεν εἰς Ἀχαΐαν πρὸς Νέρωνα τὴν τε αὐτῶν

<sup>1</sup> PL: τριακοσίους the rest and Heg.: nongentis Lat.

<sup>2</sup> November 25 (Niese).

upon them during the night, and, when day came, quickened his flight to such a pace that the men in consternation and terror abandoned the battering-rams, catapults, and most of the other machines, which the Jews then captured and afterwards employed against those who had relinquished them. The Jews continued the pursuit as far as Antipatris, and then, failing to overtake the Romans, turned and carried off the machines, plundered the corpses, collected the booty which had been left on the route, and, with songs of triumph, retraced their steps to the capital. Their own losses had been quite inconsiderable; of the Romans and their allies they had slain five thousand three hundred infantry and four hundred and eighty of the cavalry. This action took place on the eighth of the month Dius in the twelfth<sup>b</sup> year of Nero's principate.

November  
A.D. 66.

(xx. 1) After this catastrophe of Cestius many distinguished Jews abandoned the city as swimmers desert a sinking ship. Thus the brothers Costobar and Saul<sup>c</sup> with Philip,<sup>d</sup> son of Jacimus, prefect of king Agrippa's army, fled from Jerusalem and joined Cestius. We shall tell later<sup>e</sup> how Antipas, who had been besieged with them in the royal palace and disdained to fly, was killed by the rebels. Cestius dispatched Saul and his companions, at their request, to Nero in Achaia, to inform him of the straits to

Eminent  
Jews quit  
Jerusalem

<sup>b</sup> As the date of the accession of Nero was 13 October 54, it appears probable that Josephus is slightly in error, and that the battle of Beth-horon took place early in his thirteenth year.

<sup>c</sup> § 418.

<sup>d</sup> Philip had escaped from Jerusalem after the siege of the palace (*Vita* 46 ff.), and we are not told that he had returned.

• iv. 140.

δηλώσοντας ἀνάγκην καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου  
τρέψοντας εἰς Φλῶρον· τὴν γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον ὄργὴν  
κουφίσειν καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ κινδύνους ἥλπισεν.

559 (2) Καν τούτῳ Δαμασκηνοὶ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων  
φθορὰν πυθόμενοι τοὺς παρ' ἑαυτοῖς Ἰουδαίους  
560 ἀνελεῖν ἐσπούδασαν. καὶ καθὸ μὲν εἶχον αὐτοὺς  
ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ συνηθροισμένους πάλαι, διὰ τὰς  
ὑποψίας τοῦτο πραγματευσάμενοι, ράστην τὴν  
ἐπιχείρησιν ἐδόκουν, ἐδεδοίκεισαν δὲ τὰς ἑαυτῶν  
γυναικας ἀπάσας πλὴν ὀλίγων ὑπηγμένας τῇ  
561 Ἰουδαϊκῇ θρησκείᾳ· διὸ μέγιστος αὐτοῖς ἀγῶν  
ἐγένετο λαθεῖν ἐκείνας, τοὺς δὲ Ἰουδαίους ὡς ἂν  
ἐν στενῷ χωρίῳ, τὸν ἀριθμὸν μυρίους καὶ πεντα-  
κοσίους, πάντας ἀνόπλους ἐπελθόντες ὑπὸ μίαν  
ῶραν ἀδεῶς ἀπέσφαξαν.

562 (3) Οἱ δὲ διώξαντες τὸν Κέστιον ὡς ὑπ-  
έστρεψαν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, τοὺς μὲν βίᾳ τῶν ἔπι-  
ρωμαϊζόντων τοὺς δὲ πειθοὶ προσήγοντο, καὶ  
συναθροισθέντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν στρατηγοὺς ἀπεδεί-  
563 κνυσαν τοῦ πολέμου πλείονας. ἥρεθη δὲ Ἰώσηπός  
τε νίὸς Γωρίους καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανος τῶν τε  
κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀπάντων αὐτοκράτορες καὶ μά-  
564 λιστα τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως ἀνεγείρειν· τὸν γὰρ  
τοῦ Σίμωνος νίὸν Ἐλεάζαρον, καίπερ ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ  
πεποιημένον τὴν Ῥωμαίων λείαν καὶ τὰ ἀρπαγέντα  
Κεστίου χρήματα, πρὸς οὓς πολλὰ τῶν δημοσίων  
θησαυρῶν, ὅμως οὐκ ἐπέστησαν ταῖς χρείαις.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. ex-high priest. Ananus, son of Ananus (the father seems to be the Annas of the N.T.), a Sadducee, was appointed high priest by Agrippa II and deposed after three months on account of his action in punishing James the brother of "Jesus called Christ" (A. xx. 197 ff.). The harsh character there given of him forms a strange contrast to the

which they were reduced, and to lay upon Florus the responsibility for the war ; for he hoped, by exciting Nero's resentment against Florus, to diminish the risk to himself.

(2) Meanwhile, the people of Damascus, learning of the disaster which had befallen the Romans, were fired with a determination to kill the Jews who resided among them. As they had for a long time past kept them shut up in the gymnasium—a precaution prompted by suspicion—they considered that the execution of their plan would present no difficulty whatever ; their only fear was of their own wives who, with few exceptions, had all become converts to the Jewish religion, and so their efforts were mainly directed to keeping the secret from them. In the end, they fell upon the Jews, cooped up as they were and unarmed, and within one hour slaughtered them all with impunity, to the number of ten thousand five hundred.

(3) The Jews who had pursued Cestius, on their return to Jerusalem, partly by force, partly by persuasion, brought over to their side such pro-Romans as still remained ; and, assembling in the Temple, appointed additional generals to conduct the war. Joseph, son of Gorion, and Ananus the high priest <sup>a</sup> were elected to the supreme control of affairs in the city, with a special charge to raise the height of the walls. As for Eleazar, son of Simon, notwithstanding that he had in his hands the Roman spoils, the money taken from Cestius, and a great part of the public treasure, they did not entrust him with office, picture drawn of him in the *War*. Here he is a leader of the moderate party, opposes the Zealots, and on being murdered by the mob receives an encomium worthy of a Pericles (*B. iv. 319 ff.*).

Massacre  
the Jews  
Damascu

Selection  
Jewish  
generals  
for the w

αὐτόν τε τυραννικὸν ὄρῶντες καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ  
 565 ζηλωτὰς δορυφόρων ἔθεσι χρωμένους. κατ' ὀλίγον  
 γε μὴν ἦ τε χρεία τῶν χρημάτων καὶ γοητεύων  
 Ἐλεάζαρος ἐκπεριῆλθε τὸν δῆμον ὥστε αὐτῷ  
 πειθαρχεῖν περὶ τῶν ὅλων.

566 (4) Εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἐτέρους ἐπελέξαντο  
 στρατηγοὺς Ἰησοῦν νίὸν Σαπφᾶ<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἀρχιερέων  
 ἵνα καὶ Ἐλεάζαρον ἀρχιερέως νίὸν Νέου<sup>2</sup> τῷ δ'  
 ἄρχοντι τότε τῆς Ἰδουμαίας Νίγερι, γένος δ' ἦν  
 ἐκ τῆς ὑπὲρ<sup>3</sup> Ιορδάνην Περαιάς, διὸ καὶ Περαιῶς  
 ἐκαλεῖτο, προσέταξαν ὑποτάσσεσθαι τοῖς στρα-  
 567 τηγοῖς. ἡμέλουν δὲ οὐδὲ τῆς ἄλλης χώρας, ἀλλ'  
 εἰς μὲν Ἱεριχοῦν Ἰώσηπος ὁ Σίμωνος, εἰς δὲ τὴν  
 Περαιάν Μανασσῆς, Θαμνᾶ δὲ τοπαρχίας Ἰωάννης  
 ὁ Ἐσσαῖος στρατηγήσων ἐπέμφθη προσκεκλήρωτο  
 568 δ' αὐτῷ Λύδδα καὶ Ἰόπη καὶ Ἀμμαοῦς. τῆς δὲ  
 Γοφιτικῆς καὶ Ἀκραβεττηνῆς ὁ Ἀνανίου Ἰωάννης  
 ἡγεμὼν ἀποδείκνυται καὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐκατέρας  
 Ἰώσηπος Μαθθίου προσώριστο δὲ τῇ τούτου  
 στρατηγίᾳ καὶ Γάμαλα τῶν ταύτῃ πόλεων ὄχυ-  
 ρωτάτη.

569 (5) Τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν ἐκαστος ὡς  
 εἶχεν προθυμίας ἦ συνέσεως διώκει τὰ πεπι-  
 στευμένα. Ἰώσηπος δὲ εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐλθὼν

<sup>1</sup> Niese: Σαπφῶ or Σαπφᾶν mss.: Σαπφία Hudson (cf. § 599).

<sup>2</sup> Ἀνανίου Hudson.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: περὶ mss.

<sup>a</sup> No high priest of this name is known: if we read Ananias with Hudson. Eleazar will be the son of Ananias already mentioned as mainly responsible for the war (§ 409).

<sup>b</sup> § 520.

<sup>c</sup> i.e. his province was the north and west of Judaea

because they observed his despotic nature, and that his subservient admirers conducted themselves like his bodyguard. Gradually, however, financial needs and the intrigues of Eleazar had such influence with the people that they ended by yielding the supreme command to him.

(4) Other generals were selected for Idumaea, namely, Jesus son of Sapphas, one of the chief priests, and Eleazar, son of the high-priest Neus<sup>a</sup>; and the existing governor of Idumaea, Niger, called the Peraean<sup>b</sup> because he was a native of Peraea beyond Jordan, received instructions to act under the orders of these officers. Nor were the other districts neglected; Joseph, son of Simon, was sent to take command at Jericho, Manasseh to Peraea, John the Essene to the province of Thamna, with Lydda, Joppa and Emmaus also under his charge.<sup>c</sup> John, son of Ananias, was appointed commanding officer of the provinces of Gophna and Acrabetta<sup>d</sup>; Josephus, son of Matthias<sup>e</sup> was given the two Galilees, with the addition of Gamala,<sup>f</sup> the strongest city in that region.

(5) Each of these generals executed his commission Josephus to the best of his zeal or ability. As for Josephus, organizes the defense of Galilee on his arrival in Galilee, he made it his first care to

Thamna is in the region of Mt. Ephraim; for Emmaus see § 71 note.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. of the N.E. of Judaea.

<sup>b</sup> The historian. In his *Life* § 29, he tells us that his commission was of a purely pacific nature—to disarm the disaffected. There is a noticeable change in the character and style of the narrative where the historian turns to his personal history and seems to take the pen into his own hand; the marks of the skilled assistant whose services he has hitherto employed (*Ap.* i. 50) are less conspicuous.

<sup>c</sup> In Gaulanitis, east of the sea of Galilee.

πρῶτον ἐφρόντισεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὸν εὔνοίας τῶν  
 ἐπιχωρίων, εἰδὼς ὅτι ταύτη πλεῖστα κατορθώσει,  
 570 καν τᾶλλα διαμαρτάνῃ. συνιδὼν δ' ὅτι τοὺς μὲν  
 δυνατοὺς οἴκειώσεται μεταδιδοὺς τῆς ἐξουσίας  
 αὐτοῖς, τὸ δὲ πᾶν πλῆθος, εἰ δι' ἐπιχωρίων καὶ  
 συνήθων τὰ πολλὰ προστάσσοι, τῶν μὲν γηραιῶν  
 ἐβδομήκοντα τοὺς σωφρονεστάτους ἐπιλέξας ἐκ  
 τοῦ ἔθνους κατέστησεν ἀρχοντας ὅλης τῆς Γαλι-  
 571 λαίας, ἐπτὰ δ' ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει δικαστὰς τῶν  
 εὐτελεστέρων διαφόρων· τὰ γὰρ μείζω πράγματα  
 καὶ τὰς φοινικὰς δίκας ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἀναπέμπειν  
 ἐκέλευσεν καὶ τοὺς ἐβδομήκοντα.

572 (6) Καταστησάμενος δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἄλλήλους  
 νόμιμα τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔξωθεν αὐτῶν  
 573 ἀσφάλειαν ἔχωρει. καὶ γινώσκων Ῥωμαίους  
 προεμβαλοῦντας εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν τάπιτήδεια τῶν  
 χωρίων ἐτείχιζεν, Ἰωτάπατα μὲν καὶ Βηρσαβὲ  
 καὶ Σελάμην, ἕπι δὲ Καφαρεκχὼ καὶ Ἰαφα καὶ  
 Σιγῶφ τό τε Ἰταβύριον καλούμενον ὄρος καὶ  
 Ταριχαίας καὶ Τιβεριάδα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὰ περὶ  
 Γεννησὰρ τὴν λίμνην σπήλαια κατὰ τὴν κάτω  
 καλουμένην Γαλιλαίαν ἐτειχίσατο, τῆς δὲ ἄνω  
 Γαλιλαίας τὴν τε προσαγορευομένην Ἀκχαβάρων  
 574 πέτραν καὶ Σὲπφ καὶ Ἰαμνεὶθ καὶ Μηρώ. κατὰ  
 δὲ τὴν Γαυλανιτικὴν Σελεύκειάν τε καὶ Σωγαναίαν  
 καὶ Γάμαλαν ὡχύρωσεν· μόνοις δὲ Σεπφωρίταις  
 ἐφῆκε<sup>1</sup> καθ' ἑαυτοὺς τεῖχος ἀναδείμασθαι, χρη-  
 μάτων τε εὐπόρους ὄρῶν ὄντας καὶ προθύμους

<sup>1</sup> Bekker: ἐφη PAL: ἀφῆκε the rest (Josephus uses ἐφιέναι, not ἀφιέναι, in this sense).

win the affection of the inhabitants, knowing that this would be of the greatest advantage to him, however he might otherwise fail. He realized that he would conciliate the leaders by associating them with him in his authority, and the people at large, if his orders were in the main given through the medium of their local acquaintances. He, therefore, selected from the nation seventy persons<sup>a</sup> of mature years and the greatest discretion and appointed them magistrates of the whole of Galilee, and seven individuals in each city to adjudicate upon petty disputes, with instructions to refer more important matters and capital cases to himself and the seventy.

(6) Having established these principles for the internal regulation of the various towns, he proceeded to take measures for their security from external attack. Foreseeing that Galilee would bear the brunt of the Romans' opening assault, he fortified the most suitable places, namely, Jotapata, Bersabe,<sup>b</sup> Selame, Caphareccho, Japha, Sigoph, the mount called Itabyrion,<sup>b</sup> Tarichaeae, and Tiberias; he further provided with walls the caves in Lower Galilee in the neighbourhood of the lake of Gennesareth;<sup>c</sup> and in Upper Galilee the rock known as Acchabaron, Seph, Jamnith, and Mero. In Gaulanitis he fortified Seleucia, Soganaea and Gamala.<sup>c</sup> The inhabitants of Sepphoris alone were authorized by him to erect walls on their own account, because he saw that they were in affluent circumstances and,

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Vita* 79.

<sup>b</sup> Mt. Tabor.

<sup>c</sup> This enumeration of fortified places is repeated, with some variations, in *Vita* 187 f.; the "caves" are there identified as those of Arbela (see *B. i.* 304 f.).

575 ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον δίχα προστάγματος. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Γίσχαλα Ἰωάννης ὁ Λητὸν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐτείχιζεν Ἰωσήπου κελεύσαντος· τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἐρύμασιν ἅπασιν αὐτὸς συμπονῶν ἅμα καὶ προστάσσων παρῆν. κατέλεξεν δὲ καὶ δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὑπὲρ δέκα μυριάδας νέων ἀνδρῶν, οὓς πάντας ἐκ<sup>1</sup> τῶν συλλεγομένων παλαιῶν ὅπλων ἐγκατασκευαζόμενος ὥπλιζεν.

577 (7) Ἐπειτα συνιδὼν ἀγήττητον τὴν Ἀρωμαίων ἴσχὺν γεγενημένην εὐπειθείᾳ μάλιστα καὶ μελέτῃ τῶν ὅπλων, τὴν μὲν διδασκαλίαν ἀπέγυνω τῇ χρείᾳ διωκομένην, τὸ δ' εὐπειθὲς ὄρῶν περιγινόμενον ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἡγεμόνων ῥώμαικώτερον ἔτεμνεν τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ πλείους καθίστατο 578 ταξιάρχους. στρατιωτῶν τε γὰρ ἀπεδείκνυεν διαφοράς, καὶ τούτους μὲν ὑπέτασσεν δεκαδάρχαις καὶ ἑκατοντάρχαις, ἔπειτα χιλιάρχοις, κάπι τούτοις ἡγεμόνας ταγμάτων ἀδροτέρων ἀφηγου- 579 μένους. ἐδίδασκεν δὲ σημείων παραδόσεις καὶ σάλπιγγος προκλήσεις τε καὶ ἀνακλήσεις, προσβολάς τε κεράτων καὶ περιαγωγάς, καὶ πῶς δε πρὸς μὲν τὸ κάμνον ἐπιστρέφειν ἐκ τοῦ περιόντος 580 ἐν δὲ τῷ πονοῦντι συμπαθεῖν. ὅσα τε εἰς παράστασιν ψυχῆς ἢ καρτερίαν συνετέλει σώματος ἀφηγεῖτο· μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἤσκει πρὸς τὸ πόλεμον παρ' ἔκαστα τὴν Ἀρωμαίων εὐταξίαν διηγούμενος, καὶ ὡς πολεμήσουσιν πρὸς ἄνδρας οἵ δι' ἀλκὴν σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς παράστημα

<sup>1</sup> C: most mss. add τε.

<sup>a</sup> This conflicts with the account in the *Life* (§§ 30, etc. which represents Sepphoris as consistently pro-Roman; cf. *B. ii.* 511 (the welcome given to the Romans)).

even without orders, eager for hostilities.<sup>a</sup> Similarly, John, son of Levi, fortified Gischala at his own expense, on the instruction of Josephus.<sup>b</sup> The other fortresses were all built under the personal superintendence of Josephus, who both assisted in and directed the operations. He, moreover, levied in Galilee an army of upwards of a hundred thousand young men, all of whom he equipped with old arms collected for the purpose.

(7) Another task remained. He understood that the Romans owed their invincible strength above all to discipline and military training ; if he despaired of providing similar instruction, to be acquired only by long use, he observed that their discipline was due to the number of their officers, and he therefore divided his army on Roman lines and increased the number of his company commanders. He instituted various ranks of soldiers and set over them decurions and centurions, above whom were tribunes, and over these generals in command of more extensive divisions. He taught them the transmission of signals, the trumpet-calls for the charge and the retreat, attacks by the wings and enveloping manœuvres, how relief should be sent by the victorious portion to those who were hard pressed and aid extended to any in distress. He expounded all that conduces to fortitude of soul or bodily endurance ; but above all he trained them for war by continually dwelling upon the good order maintained by the Romans and telling them that they would have to fight against men who by their vigour and intrepidity

and trains  
an army of  
Roman  
lines.

<sup>a</sup> On the contrary the *Life* states that John was the enemy of Josephus and fortified Gischala without consulting him (§§ 45, 189).

581 πάσης ὀλίγου δεῦν τῆς οἰκουμένης κρατοῦσιν. ἔφη δὲ πεῖραν αὐτῶν λήψεσθαι τῆς κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πειθαρχίας καὶ πρὸ παρατάξεως, εἰ τῶν συνήθων ἀδικημάτων ἀπόσχοιντο, κλοπῆς τε καὶ ληστείας καὶ ἄρπαγῆς, τοῦ τε ἐξαπατᾶν τὸ ὄμόφυλον, τοῦ τε<sup>1</sup> κέρδος οἰκεῖον ἥγεῖσθαι τὴν βλάβην τῶν συν-  
582 ηθεστάτων. διοικεῖσθαι γὰρ κάλλιστα τοὺς πο- λέμους παρ' οἷς ἀν ἀγαθὸν τὸ συνειδὸς ἔχωσιν [πάντες]<sup>2</sup> οἱ στρατευόμενοι, τοὺς δὲ οἴκοθεν φαύ- λους οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν ἔχθροῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ χρῆσθαι πολεμίῳ.

583 (8) Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα παραινῶν διετέλει. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔτοιμον εἰς παράταξιν αὐτῷ συνεκεκρότητο πεζῶν μὲν ἔξ μυριάδες, ἵππεis δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι,<sup>3</sup> χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, οἷς ἐπεποίθει μάλιστα, μισθοφόροι περὶ τετρακισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους· ἐπιλέκτους δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν 584 ἔξακοσίους φύλακας τοῦ σώματος. ἔτρεφον δὲ πλὴν τῶν μισθοφόρων τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν αἱ πόλεις ῥᾳδίως· τῶν γὰρ καταλεγέντων ἕκαστη τοὺς ἡμίσεις ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν<sup>4</sup> ἐκπέμπουσα τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπὶ συμπορισμὸν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων κατείχεν, ὡς τοὺς μὲν εἰς ὅπλα, τοὺς δὲ εἰς ἔργασίαν διηρῆσθαι, καὶ τοῖς τὰ σῆτα πέμπουσιν ἀντιχορηγεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν ὄπλιτῶν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.  
585 (xxi. 1) Διοικοῦντι δ' οὕτως τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν παρανίσταται τις ἐπίβουλος ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ Γισχάλων, υἱὸς Ληΐου, Ἰωάννης ὄνομα, πανουργότατος μὲν καὶ δολιώτατος τῶν ἐπισήμων

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ τε Dindorf: τὸ, τοῦ or τό τε the best MSS.

<sup>2</sup> om. VRC Lat. and placed after στρατευόμενοι by AM: perhaps a gloss.

<sup>3</sup> διακόσιοι καὶ πεντήκοντα VRC Lat.

had become masters of well-nigh the whole world. He told them that he should test their military discipline, even before they went into action, by noting whether they abstained from their habitual mal-practices, theft, robbery and rapine, and ceased to defraud their countrymen and to regard as personal profit an injury sustained by their most intimate friends. For, he added, the armies that are most successful in war are those in which every combatant has a clear conscience ; whereas those who were depraved at heart would have to contend not only with their adversaries but also with God.

(8) Such was the tenor of his unceasing exhortations. He had now mustered an army, ready for action, of sixty thousand <sup>a</sup> infantry and three hundred and fifty cavalry, besides some four thousand five hundred mercenaries, in whom he placed most confidence ; he had also a bodyguard of six hundred picked men about his person. These troops, the mercenaries excepted, were maintained without difficulty by the towns : each town sent out on service only one half of its levy and kept back the remainder to provide them with supplies ; thus one party was told off for military, and the other for fatigue duty, and in return for the corn which their comrades sent them the men under arms assured them protection.

(xxi. 1) While Josephus was thus directing affairs in Galilee, there appeared upon the scene an intriguer, <sup>Intrigues and raids of John o</sup> a native of Gischala, named John, son of Levi, the <sup>Gischala.</sup> most unscrupulous and crafty of all who have ever

<sup>a</sup> Contrast § 576, "over 100,000" ; presumably the rest were not yet "ready for action."

<sup>4</sup> Destinon : *στρατιὰν* MSS.

ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς πονηρεύμασιν ἀπάντων, πένης δὲ  
τὰ πρῶτα καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ κώλυμα σχὼν τῆς  
586 κακίας τὴν ἀπορίαν, ἔτοιμος μὲν φεύσασθαι, δεινὸς  
δ' ἐπιθεῖναι πίστιν τοῖς ἐψευσμένοις, ἀρετὴν ἡγού-  
μενος τὴν ἀπάτην καὶ ταύτην κατὰ τῶν φιλτάτων  
587 χρώμενος, ὑποκριτὴς φιλανθρωπίας καὶ δι' ἐλπίδα  
κέρδους φονικώτατος, ἀεὶ μὲν ἐπιθυμήσας μεγάλων,  
τρέφων δὲ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐκ τῶν ταπεινῶν κακουρ-  
γημάτων· ληστὴς γὰρ ἦν μονότροπος, ἔπειτα καὶ  
συνοδίαν εὑρεν τῆς τόλμης, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγην,  
588 προκόπτων δ' ἀεὶ πλείονα. φροντὶς δ' ἦν αὐτῷ  
μηδένα προσλαμβάνειν εὐάλωτον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς εὐεξίᾳ  
σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς παραστήματι καὶ πολέμων  
ἐμπειρίᾳ διαφέροντας ἐξελέγετο, μέχρι καὶ τετρα-  
κοσίων ἀνδρῶν στῖφος συνεκρότησεν, οἱ τὸ πλέον  
ἐκ τῆς Τυρίων χώρας καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ κωμῶν  
589 φυγάδες ἥσαν· δι' ὧν πᾶσαν ἐλήζετο τὴν Γαλι-  
λαίαν καὶ μετεώρους ὅντας ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλοντι πο-  
λέμῳ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐσπάρασσεν.

590 (2) "Ηδη δ' αὐτὸν στρατηγιῶντα καὶ μειζόνων  
ἐφιέμενον ἔνδεια χρημάτων κατεῖχεν. ἐπεὶ δέ  
τὸν Ἰώσηπον ὄρώῃ<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ [σφόδρα]<sup>2</sup> χαιροντο  
τῷ δραστηρίᾳ, πείθει πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῷ πι-  
στεῦσαι τὸ τεῖχος ἀνοικοδομῆσαι τῆς πατρίδος  
ἐν ὧ πολλὰ παρὰ τῶν πλουσίων ἐκέρδανεν  
591 ἔπειτα συνθεὶς σκηνὴν πανουργοτάτην, ὡς ἄρε-

<sup>1</sup> M: ὄρῶν (without construction, reading H as N?) the rest.

<sup>2</sup> om. PM Lat.

<sup>a</sup> This portrait of John (blacker than any drawn of him in the *Life*) recalls Sallust's description of Catiline: "animus audax, subdolus, varius, cuius rei lubet simulator ac dis simulator . . . nimis alta semper cupiebat . . . agitabatur

gained notoriety by such infamous means. Poor at the opening of his career, his penury had for long thwarted his malicious designs ; a ready liar and clever in obtaining credit for his lies, he made a merit of deceit and practised it upon his most intimate friends ; while affecting humanity, the prospect of lucre made him the most sanguinary of men ; always full of high ambitions, his hopes were fed on the basest of knaveries.<sup>a</sup> For he was a brigand, who at the outset practised his trade alone, but afterwards found for his daring deeds accomplices, whose numbers, small at first, grew with his success. He was, moreover, careful never to take into partnership anyone likely to fall an easy prey to an assailant, but selected good, strapping fellows, with stout hearts and military experience. He ended by mustering a band of four hundred men, for the most part fugitives from the region of Tyre and the villages in that neighbourhood. With their help he plundered the whole of Galilee and harried the masses, whose minds were already distracted by the impending war.

(2) He was already aspiring to the command and had yet higher ambitions, but was checked by impecuniosity. Perceiving that Josephus was delighted at his energy, John first induced him to entrust him with the rebuilding of the walls of his native town, in undertaking in which he made a large profit at the expense of the wealthy citizens.<sup>b</sup> He next contrived to play a very crafty trick : with the avowed

nagis magisque in dies animus ferox *inopia rei familiaris*" *De Cat. coni.* 5).

His  
antagonist  
to Josephus

<sup>b</sup> According to *Vita* 71 ff., John obtained permission from Josephus's colleagues to sell the imperial corn stored in Upper Galilee, and to devote the proceeds to the repair of the walls of Gischala.

φυλάττοιντο πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν Ἰουδαῖοι  
 ἐλαίῳ χρῆσθαι μὴ δι' ὁμοφύλων ἐγκεχειρισμένῳ,  
 592 πέμπειν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν μεθορίαν ἔξητήσατο. συν-  
 ανούμενος δὲ τοῦ Τυρίου νομίσματος, ὁ τέσσαρας  
 Ἀττικὰς δύναται, τέσσαρας ἀμφορεῖς, τῆς αὐτῆς  
 ἐπίπρυσκεν τιμῆς ἡμιαμφόριον. οὕσης δὲ τῆς  
 Γαλιλαίας ἐλαιοφόρου μάλιστα καὶ τότε εὑφορη-  
 κυίας, εἰς σπανίζοντας εἰσπέμπων πολὺ καὶ μόνος  
 ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος συνῆγεν χρημάτων, οἷς εὐθέως  
 593 ἔχρητο κατὰ τοῦ τὴν ἔργασίαν<sup>1</sup> παρασχόντος. καὶ  
 ὑπολαβών, εἰ καταλύσειεν τὸν Ἰώσηπον, αὐτὸς  
 ἡγήσεσθαι τῆς Γαλιλαίας, τοῖς μὲν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ  
 λησταῖς προσέταξεν εὔτονώτερον ἐγχειρεῖν ταῖς  
 ἄρπαγαις, ὅπως πολλῶν νεωτεριζομένων κατὰ τὴν  
 χώραν ἥ διαχρήσαιτό που τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐκ  
 βοηθοῦντα λοχήσας ἥ περιορῶντα τοὺς ληστὰς  
 594 διαβάλλοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. ἐπειτα διεφῆμιζει  
 πόρρωθεν ὡς ἄρα προδιδοίη<sup>2</sup> τὰ πράγματα 'Ρω  
 μαίοις Ἰώσηπος, καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς κατά-  
 λυσιν τάνδρος ἐπραγματεύετο.

595 (3) Καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἀπὸ Δαβαρίθθων κώμη  
 νεανίσκοι τινὲς τῶν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ καθ  
 ξζομένων φυλάκων, ἐνεδρεύσαντες Πτολεμαῖον τὸ  
 Ἀγρίππα καὶ Βερνίκης ἐπίτροπον, ἀφείλοντι

<sup>1</sup> εὐεργεσίαν PAM Lat.: the text finds a parallel in  
 Acts xvi. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Dindorf: προδιδώῃ MSS.

<sup>a</sup> In the account in *Vita* (74 f.) there are again slight differences. The persons to be protected from the forbidden use of foreign oil are there not "all the Jews of Syria," but only those who had been confined by order in Caesarea Philippi. In the *Life* John makes a profit of 10 : 1 (buying

object of protecting all the Jews of Syria from the use of oil not supplied by their own countrymen, he sought and obtained permission to deliver it to them at the frontier. He then bought up that commodity, paying Tyrian coin of the value of four Attic drachms for four *amphorae* and proceeded to sell half an *amphora* at the same price.<sup>a</sup> As Galilee is a special home of the olive and the crop had been plentiful, John, enjoying a monopoly, by sending large quantities to districts in want of it, amassed an immense sum of money, which he forthwith employed against the man who had brought him his gains. Supposing that, if he could get rid of Josephus, he would himself become governor of Galilee, he directed his band of brigands to push their raids more vigorously than ever; in the anarchy thus produced throughout the district, either the governor would go to the rescue, in which case he would find means of laying an ambush and making away with him, or if Josephus neglected to take measures against the brigands, he would calumniate him to his countrymen. Lastly, he had long since been spreading a report that Josephus intended to betray the country to the Romans, and in numerous similar ways he was scheming to ruin his chief.

(3) About this time some young men of the village of Dabarittha,<sup>b</sup> units of the guard posted in the great plain, laid an ambush for Ptolemy,<sup>c</sup> the overseer<sup>d</sup> of Agrippa and Bernice, and robbed him of all the

The affair  
Dabaritt  
and  
Agrippa's  
stolen  
goods.

80 *sextarii* for 4 drachms and selling 2 *sextarii* for 1 drachm), here of 8 : 1.

<sup>b</sup> O.T. Daberath, modern *Deburieh*, under the western slopes of Mt. Tabor; the "great plain" is that of Esdraelon. Cf. the parallel account in *Vita* 126 ff.

<sup>c</sup> Ptolemy's wife, *Vita* 126.

<sup>d</sup> Or "finance officer."

πᾶσαν ὅσην ἦγεν ἀποσκευήν, ἐν ᾧ πολυτελεῖς τε  
 ἐσθῆτες οὐκ ὀλίγαι καὶ πλῆθος ἐκπωμάτων  
 596 ἀργυρῶν χρυσοῦ τε ἥσαν ἔξακόσιοι. μὴ δυνά-  
 μενοι δὲ διαθέσθαι<sup>1</sup> κρύφα τὴν ἀρπαγὴν πάντα  
 597 πρὸς Ἰώσηπον εἰς Ταριχαίας ἐκόμισαν. ὁ δὲ  
 μεμψάμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλικοὺς  
 βίαιον τίθησιν τὰ κομισθέντα παρὰ τῷ δυνα-  
 τωτάτῳ τῶν Ταριχαιατῶν Ἀιναιώ, πέμψαι κατὰ  
 καιρὸν τοῖς δεσπόταις προαιρούμενος· ὃ δὴ μέγιστον  
 598 αὐτῷ κύndυνον ἐπήγαγεν. οἱ γὰρ ἀρπάσαντες ἄμα  
 μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ μηδεμιᾶς τυχεῖν μερίδος ἐκ τῶν  
 κεκομισμένων ἀγανακτοῦντες, ἄμα δὲ καὶ προ-  
 σκεψάμενοι τοῦ Ἰωσήπου τὴν διάνοιαν, ὅτι  
 μέλλοι τὸν πόνον αὐτῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν χαρί-  
 ζεσθαι, νύκτωρ εἰς τὰς κώμας διέδραμον καὶ  
 πᾶσιν ἐνεδείκνυντο τὸν Ἰώσηπον ὡς προδότην.  
 ἐνέπλησαν δὲ καὶ τὰς πλησίουν πόλεις ταραχῆς,  
 ὥστε ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω δέκα μυριάδας ὁπλιτῶν ἐπ'  
 599 αὐτὸν συνδραμεῖν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐν τῷ  
 κατὰ Ταριχαίας ἵπποδρόμῳ συνηθροισμένον πολλὰ  
 πρὸς ὄργὴν ἀνεβόα καὶ<sup>2</sup> καταλεύειν οἱ δὲ καίειν  
 τὸν προδότην ἐκεκράγεσαν· παρώξυνεν δὲ τοὺς  
 πολλοὺς ὁ Ἰωάννης καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἰησοῦς τις  
 600 νιὸς Σαπφία, τότε ἄρχων τῆς Τιβεριάδος. οἱ μὲν  
 οὖν φίλοι καὶ σωματοφύλακες τοῦ Ἰωσήπου, κατα-  
 πλαγέντες τὴν ὄρμὴν τοῦ πλήθους, ἔφυγον πλὴν  
 τεσσάρων πάντες, αὐτὸς δὲ κοιμώμενος ἥδη προσ-  
 601 φερομένου τοῦ πυρὸς διαινίσταται, καὶ παραινούν-  
 των φεύγειν τῶν τεσσάρων, οἱ παρέμειναν, οὕτε  
 πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἔαυτὸν ἐρημίαν οὕτε πρὸς το-

<sup>1</sup> διελέσθαι PAML.<sup>2</sup> + οἱ μὲν Hudson (after Lat.)

baggage which he was convoying, including a large number of rich vestments, a quantity of silver goblets and six hundred <sup>a</sup> pieces <sup>b</sup> of gold. Being unable to dispose secretly of such booty, they brought the whole to Josephus, then at Tarichaeae. He censured them for this act of violence to servants of the king, and committed the goods to the keeping of Annaeus,<sup>c</sup> the most important citizen of Tarichaeae, intending to return them to their legitimate owners when an opportunity presented itself. This action brought him into the greatest peril. For the plunderers, indignant at receiving no portion of the spoil, and divining the intention of Josephus to present the king and queen with the fruits of their labours, ran round the villages by night, denouncing Josephus to all as a traitor ; they also created a ferment in the neighbouring cities, with the result that at daybreak a hundred thousand men in arms had collected against him. The multitude, assembled in the hippodrome at Tarichaeae, made loud and angry demonstrations ; some clamoured for the stoning of the traitor, others to have him burnt alive ; the mob was instigated by John,<sup>d</sup> who was seconded by Jesus, son of Sapphias, then chief magistrate of Tiberias. The friends and bodyguard of Josephus, terrified at the assault of the crowd, all fled, with the exception of four <sup>e</sup> ; he himself was asleep and awoke only at the moment when his enemies were about to set fire to the house. His four faithful companions urged him to fly <sup>f</sup> ; but he, undaunted by the general

Josephus,  
denounced  
as a  
traitor at  
Tarichaeae

<sup>a</sup> 500, *Vita* 127.   <sup>b</sup> Unspecified : " staters " (Reinach).

<sup>c</sup> Dassion and Jannaeus, friends of Agrippa, according to *Vita* 131.   <sup>d</sup> John is not mentioned in *Vita*.

<sup>e</sup> One (Simon), *Vita* 137.

<sup>f</sup> Simon advises Josephus to kill himself, *Vita ib.*

πλῆθος τῶν ἐφεστώτων καταπλαγεῖς προπηδᾶ,  
 περιρρηξάμενος μὲν τὴν ἐσθῆτα, καταπασάμενος<sup>1</sup>  
 δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς κόνιν, ἀποστρέψας δὲ ὅπίσω τὰς  
 χεῖρας καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ξίφος ἐπιδήσας τῷ τένοντι.  
 602 πρὸς ταῦτα τῶν μὲν οἰκείως ἔχόντων καὶ μάλιστα  
 τῶν Ταριχαιατῶν οἶκτος ἦν, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας  
 καὶ τῶν πλησίον ὅσοις ἐδόκει φορτικὸς ἐβλα-  
 σφήμουν, προφέρειν τε τὰ κοινὰ χρήμata θάττον  
 ἐκέλευν καὶ τὰς προδοτικὰς συνθήκας ἔξομολο-  
 603 γεῖσθαι· προειλήφεσαν<sup>2</sup> γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ σχήματος  
 οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἀρνήσεσθαι τῶν ὑπονοηθέντων, ἀλλ'  
 ἐπὶ συγγνώμης πορισμῷ πάντα πεποιηκέναι τὰ  
 604 πρὸς τὸν ἔλεον. τῷ δὲ ἦν ἡ ταπείνωσις προ-  
 παρασκευὴ στρατηγήματος, καὶ τεχνιτεύων τοὺς  
 ἀγανακτοῦντας καθ' αὐτοῦ κατ' ἄλλήλων στα-  
 σιάσαι, ἐφ' οἷς ὥργιζοντο πάνθ' ὁμολογήσων,<sup>3</sup>  
 605 ἐπειτα δοθὲν αὐτῷ λέγειν, “ἐγὼ ταῦτα,” ἔφη,  
 “τὰ χρήμata οὔτε ἀναπέμπειν Ἀγρίππα προ-  
 ηρούμην οὔτε κερδαίνειν αὐτός· μὴ γὰρ ἡγησαίμην  
 ποτὲ ἡ φίλον τὸν ὑμῖν διάφορον ἢ κέρδος τὸ  
 606 φέρον τῷ κοινῷ βλάβην. ὄρῶν δέ, ὁ Ταρι-  
 χαιᾶται, μάλιστα τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν ἀσφαλείας  
 δεομένην καὶ πρὸς κατασκευὴν τείχους χρήζουσαν  
 ἀργυρίου, δεδοικώς δὲ τὸν Τιβεριέων δῆμον καὶ  
 τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἐφεδρευούσας τοῖς ἡρπαγμένοις,  
 κατασχεῖν ἡσυχῇ τὰ χρήμata προειλόμην, ἵν  
 607 ὑμῖν περιβάλωμαι τείχος. εἰ μὴ δοκεῖ, προφέρω  
 τὰ κεκομισμένα καὶ παρέχω διαρπάζειν, εἰ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> καταμησάμενος L Suid.

<sup>2</sup> Bekker: προειλήφεσαν MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ὁμολογήσειν ἵπισχνεῖτο C: Destinon and Niese suspect a lacuna.

desertion or by the number of his assailants, rushed out with raiment rent and ashes sprinkled on his head, his hands behind his back and his sword suspended from his neck. At this spectacle his familiar friends, the Tarichaeans in particular, were moved to compassion, but the country-folk and those of the neighbourhood who regarded him as a nuisance, railed at him and bade him instantly produce the public money and confess his treasonable compact ; for they concluded from his demeanour that he would deny none of the crimes of which they suspected him, and had only made all this pitiable exhibition of himself in order to procure their pardon. But, in reality, this pose of humiliation was merely part of a stratagem ; with the design of producing dissension among his indignant opponents he promised to make a full confession on the subject which had roused their ire, and on obtaining permission to speak, thus addressed them : “ About this money—I had no intention of either sending it to Agrippa or appropriating it myself ; far be it from me ever to reckon as a friend one who is your foe, or as personal gain anything involving loss to the community. But as I saw, citizens of Tarichaeae, that your city above all needed to be put in a state of defence and that it was in lack of funds to construct ramparts ; as, moreover, I feared that the people of Tiberias and of the other cities had their eyes on these spoils, I decided quietly to keep this money in order to encompass you with a wall. If this does not meet your approval, I am prepared to produce what was brought to me and leave you to plunder it ; if, on the contrary, I have

καλῶς ὑμῖν ἐβούλευσά μην, «μὴ» κολάζετε<sup>1</sup> τὸν εὐεργέτην.”

608 (4) Ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ταριχαιάται μὲν αὐτὸν ἀνευφήμουν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Τίβεριάδος σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκάκιζον καὶ διηπείλουν· καταλιπόντες δὲ ἐκάτεροι τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἄλλήλοις διεφέροντο. κακεῖνος θαρρῶν ἥδη τοῖς ωκειωμένοις, ἥσαν δὲ εἰς τετρακισμυρίους Ταριχαιάται, παντὶ τῷ πλήθει 609 παρρησιαστικώτερον ὡμίλει. καὶ πολλὰ τὴν πρόπετειαν αὐτῶν κατονειδίσας ἐκ μὲν τῶν παρόντων Ταριχαιάς ἔφη τειχίσειν, ἀσφαλιεῖσθαι δὲ ὅμοίως καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις· οὐ γὰρ ἀπορήσειν χρημάτων, ἐὰν ὁμονοῶσιν ἔφ’ οὓς δεῖ πορίζειν καὶ μὴ παροξύνωνται κατὰ τοῦ πορίζοντος.

610 (5) Ἔνθα δὴ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλῆθος τῶν ἡπατημένων ἀνεχώρει καίτοι διωργισμένον, δισχίλιοι δὲ πέπ’ αὐτὸν ὕρμησαν ἐνοπλοι, καὶ φθάσαντος εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον παρελθεῖν ἀπειλοῦντες ἐφεστήκεσαν.

611 ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἰώσηπος ἀπάτη δευτέρᾳ χρῆται· ἀναβὰς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ τέγος καὶ τῇ δεξιᾷ καταστείλας τὸν θόρυβον αὐτῶν ἀγνοεῖν ἔφη, τίνων ἀξιοῦσιν τυχεῖν· οὐ γὰρ κατακούειν διὰ τὴν τῆς βοῆς σύγχυσιν· ὅσα δὲ ἂν κελεύσωσιν πάντα ποιήσειν, εἰ τοὺς διαλεξομένους ἡσυχῇ πέμψειν 612 εἴσω πρὸς αὐτόν. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ γνώριμοι σὺν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν εἰσήσαν. ὁ δὲ σύρας αὐτοὺς

<sup>1</sup> Text as emended by Hudson and Cobet, partly supported by Lat.: *εἰ* (or *εἰ δε*) *μὴ* καλῶς *ιμῖν* *ἐβούλ.* κολάζετε  
mss.: the negative appears to have been misplaced.

<sup>a</sup> Or, perhaps, “unite with him in opposing the enemy who ought to provide it” (from whom they should extract it, viz. the Romans). <sup>b</sup> 600, *Vita* 145.

consulted your best interests, do not punish your benefactor."

(4) At these words the people of Tarichaeae applauded, but those from Tiberias and elsewhere vilified and threatened him ; and the two parties let Josephus alone and fell to quarrelling with each other. He, now relying on the supporters he had won—the Tarichaeans numbered as many as forty thousand—proceeded to address the whole multitude more freely. He severely censured them for their precipitance, promised to fortify Tarichaeae with the funds at his disposal, and undertook to provide similar protection for the other cities as well ; money, he added, would be forthcoming, would they but agree who was the enemy against whom its provision was necessary,<sup>a</sup> instead of furiously attacking the man who provided it.

(5) Thereupon the majority of the deluded crowd withdrew, though still highly excited ; but two thousand <sup>b</sup> men in arms made a rush upon him. He was too quick for them and succeeded in regaining his lodging, which they beset with menacing cries. Josephus now had recourse to a second ruse. He mounted to the roof, quelled their clamour with a motion of his hand and said that he had no idea what they wanted, as their confused shouts prevented him from hearing them ; he would, however, comply with all their demands, if they would send in a deputation to confer quietly with him. On hearing that, the leaders of the party, with the magistrates, entered the house.<sup>c</sup> He then haled them to the most

Another attempt of  
Josephus' life frustrated by  
stratagem

<sup>a</sup> In *Vita* 147 only one delegate is sent in ; he, besides being scourged, has one of his hands severed and suspended to his neck.

εἰς τὸ μυχαίταν τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τὴν αὐλειον  
ἀποκλείσας ἐμαστίγωσεν, μέχρι πάντων τὰ  
σπλάγχνα γυμνῶσαι περιειστήκει δὲ τέως τὸ  
πλῆθος δικαιολογεῖσθαι μακρότερα τοὺς εἰσελθόν-  
613 τας οἰόμενον. ὁ δὲ τὰς θύρας ἔξαπίνης ἀνοίξας  
ἡμαγμένους ἔξαφῆκεν τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τοσαύτην  
τοῖς ἀπειλοῦσιν ἐνειργάσατο κατάπληξι, ὥστε  
ρίψαντας τὰ ὅπλα φεύγειν.

614 (6) Πρὸς ταῦτα Ἰωάννης ἐπέτεινεν τὸν φθόνον  
καὶ δευτέραν ἥρτυσεν ἐπιβουλὴν κατὰ τοῦ Ἰωσή-  
που. σκηψάμενος δὴ νόσον ἵκετευσεν δι’ ἐπι-  
στολῆς τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐπιτρέψαι πρὸς θεραπείαν  
αὐτῷ χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἐν Τιβεριάδι θερμοῖς ὕδασιν.  
615 ὁ δέ, οὕπω γὰρ ὑπάπτεινεν τὸν ἐπίβουλον, γράφει  
τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὑπάρχοις ξενίαν τε καὶ τά-  
πιτήδεια Ἰωάννη παρασχεῖν. ὃν ἀπολαύσας μετὰ  
δύο ἡμέρας ἐφ' ὁ παρῆν διεπράττετο, καὶ τοὺς  
μὲν ἀπάταις τοὺς δὲ χρήμασι διαφθείρων ἀνέπειθεν  
616 ἀποστῆναι Ἰωσήπου. καὶ γνοὺς ταῦτα Σίλας ὁ  
φυλάσσειν τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ Ἰωσήπου καθεσταμένος  
γράφει τὰ περὶ<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτῷ κατὰ τάχος.  
ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος ὡς ἔλαβεν τὴν ἐπιστολήν, νυκτὸς  
όδεύσας συντόνως ἐωθινὸς παρῆν πρὸς τὴν Τιβε-  
617 ριάδα. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλῆθος αὐτῷ ὑπήντα,  
Ἰωάννης δέ, καίτοι τὴν παρουσίαν ὑποπτεύσας  
ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὅμως πέμψας τινὰ τῶν γνωρίμων  
ὑπεκρίνατο τὴν ἀσθένειαν καὶ κλινήρης ὃν ὑστε-

<sup>1</sup> κατὰ MVRC.

<sup>a</sup> Or "envy." The incidents at Tiberias in this and the following chapter ( §§ 614-623) are placed before the Tari-  
chaeae affair ( §§ 595-613) in the parallel narrative (*Vita* 84-  
103). In the *Life* the "envy" (*ἐφθόνησε* 85) of John is  
558

secluded portion of the building, closed the outer door, and had them scourged till he had flayed them all to the bone. The mob, meanwhile, remained standing round the house, supposing their delegates to be engaged in a prolonged parley. Suddenly Josephus had the doors thrown open and the men dismissed, all covered with blood, a spectacle which struck such terror into his menacing foes that they dropped their arms and fled.

(6) These proceedings intensified John's malice <sup>a</sup> John of Gischala promotes opposition to Joseph at Tiberias and he devised a second plot against Josephus. Feigning sickness, he wrote to Josephus to request his permission to take the hot baths at Tiberias for the good of his health. Thereupon Josephus, whose suspicions of the conspirator were not yet aroused, wrote to his lieutenants in the town to give John hospitality and to provide for his needs. He, after enjoying these benefits for two days, proceeded to carry into effect the object of his visit : by deception or bribery he corrupted the citizens and endeavoured to induce them to revolt from Josephus. Hearing of this, Silas, whom Josephus had appointed to guard the town, hastened to inform his chief of the conspiracy. Josephus, on receipt of his letter,<sup>b</sup> set off and, after a rapid night march, reached Tiberias at daybreak. The whole population came out to meet him except John ; he, though suspecting that this visit boded ill for himself, sent one of his acquaintances with a message, pretending to be indisposed and bedridden, and so prevented from paying his explained by the popularity of Josephus : here the context supplies no such link. This suggests that the *Life* has preserved the true connexion of events and lends support to Laqueur's theory that it is the older work.

<sup>a</sup> He was then at Cana (*Vita* 86).

618 ρῆσαι τῆς θεραπείας ἔλεγεν. ὡς δὲ εἰς τὸ στάδιον τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς ἀθροίσας ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐπειράτῳ διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐπεσταλμένων, ὑποπέμψας  
 619 ὄπλίτας προσέταξεν αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν. τούτους τὰ ἔιφη γυμνοῦντας ὁ δῆμος προϊδὼν ἀνεβόησεν· πρὸς δὲ τὴν κραυγὴν ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐπιστραφεὶς καὶ θεασάμενος ἐπὶ τῆς σφαγῆς ἥδη τὸν σίδηρον ἀπεπήδησεν εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλόν· είστηκει δὲ δημηγορῶν ἐπὶ βουνοῦ τυνος ἔξαπήχους τὸ ὑψος· καὶ παρορμοῦντος ἐπιπηδήσας σκάφους σὺν δυσὶν σωματοφύλαξιν εἰς μέσην τὴν λίμνην ἀνέφευγειν.<sup>1</sup>

620 (7) Οἱ στρατιῶται δ' αὐτοῦ ταχέως ἀρπάσαντες τὰ ὄπλα κατὰ τῶν ἐπιβούλων ἔχώρουν. ἔνθα δείσας ὁ Ἰώσηπος, μὴ πολέμου κινηθέντος ἐμφυλίου δι' ὀλίγων φθόνον παραναλώσῃ τὴν πόλιν, πέμπει τοῖς σφετέροις ἄγγελον μόνης προνοεῖν τῆς ἔαυτῶν ἀσφαλείας, μήτε δὲ κτείνειν τινὰ  
 621 μήτ' ἀπελέγχειν τῶν αἰτίων. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῷ παραγγέλματι πεισθέντες ἡρέμησαν, οἱ δ' ἀνὰ τὴν πέριξ χώραν πυθόμενοι τὴν τ' ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ τὸν συσκευάσαντα συνηθροίζοντο κατὰ Ἰωάννου· φθάνει δ' ἐκεῖνος εἰς Γίσχαλα φυγὰν τὴν πατρίδα.

622 συνέρρεον δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἰώσηπον οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι κατὰ πόλεις, καὶ πολλαὶ μυριάδες ὄπλιτῶν γενόμεναι παρεῖναι σφᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν κοινὸν ἐπιβουλὸν ἐβόων· συγκαταφλέξειν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν  
 623 ὑποδεξαμένην πόλιν. ὁ δὲ ἀποδέχεσθαι μὲν αὐτῶν ἔφασκεν τὴν εὔνοιαν, ἀνείργεν δὲ τὴν ὄρμήν,

<sup>1</sup> ἀνέφυγεν L.

respects.<sup>a</sup> But when Josephus had assembled the Tiberians in the stadium and was endeavouring to address them on the subject of the news which he had received, John secretly sent out some soldiers with orders to kill him. The people, seeing these men drawing their swords, raised a shout ; at their cries Josephus turned round, beheld the blade actually at his throat, leapt down to the beach—he had been standing, to harangue the people, on a hillock six cubits high—and jumping with two of his guards <sup>b</sup> into a boat that was moored hard by, escaped to the middle of the lake.

(7) His soldiers, however, hastily seized their arms and advanced against the conspirators. Thereupon Josephus, fearing that the outbreak of civil war might bring ruin upon the city, all for the misdeeds of a few envious individuals, sent instructions to his men to restrict themselves to providing for their own safety, to kill nobody and to call none of the culprits to account.<sup>c</sup> In accordance with these orders they took no further action ; but the inhabitants of the district, on learning of the plot and the contriver of it, mustered in force to attack John, who hastily made his escape to Gischala, his native place. The Galilaeans from one town after another flocked to Josephus ; myriads of men in arms came and protested that they were there to punish John, the public enemy, and that they would burn him alive with the city that harboured him. Josephus thanked them for their goodwill, but checked their im-

<sup>a</sup> In *Vita* 91 John comes in person to meet Josephus, but hastily retires.

<sup>b</sup> James, his bodyguard, and Herod, a citizen of Tiberias, are his two companions in *Vita* 96.

<sup>c</sup> This sentence and the preceding have no parallel in *Vita*.

χειρώσασθαι συνέσει τοὺς ἔχθροὺς μᾶλλον ἢ  
 624 κτεῖναι προαιρούμενος. ἐκλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς ἀφ'  
 ἑκάστης πόλεως Ἰωάννη συναφεστῶτας κατ'  
 ὄνομα, προθύμως δὲ ἐνεδείκνυντο τοὺς σφετέρους  
 οἱ δημόται, καὶ διὰ κηρύκων ἀπειλήσας<sup>1</sup> ἐντὸς  
 ἡμέρας πέμπτης τῶν μὴ καταλιπόντων Ἰωάννην  
 τὰς τε οὐσίας διαρπάσειν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἅμα τὰς  
 625 γενεαῖς καταφλέξειν, τρισχιλίους μὲν ἀπέστησεν  
 εὐθέως, οἱ παραγενόμενοι τὰ ὅπλα παρὰ τοῖς  
 ποσὶν ἔρριψαν αὐτοῦ, σὺν δὲ τοῖς καταλειφθεῖσιν,  
 ἥσαν δ' ὅσον εἰς δισχιλίους Σύρων φυγάδες,  
 ἀνέστελλεν<sup>2</sup> Ἰωάννην<sup>3</sup> πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς λαθραίους  
 626 ἐπιβουλὰς ἐκ τῶν φανερωτέρων. κρύφα γοῦν  
 ἐπεμπεν ἀγγέλους εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα διαβάλλων τὸν  
 Ἰώσηπον ἐπὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς δυνάμεως, φάσκων  
 ὅσον οὐδέπω τύραννον ἐλεύσεσθαι τῆς μητρο-  
 627 πόλεως, εἰ μὴ προκαταληφθείη. ταῦθ' ὁ μὲν δῆμος  
 προειδὼς οὐ προσεῖχεν, οἱ δυνατοὶ δὲ κατὰ φθόνον  
 καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τινὲς λάθρα τῷ Ἰωάννῃ χρή-  
 ματα πρὸς συλλογὴν μισθοφόρων ἐπεμψαν, ὅπως  
 πολεμῆ<sup>4</sup> πρὸς Ἰώσηπον. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καθ' ἑα-  
 τὸν καὶ μετακαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατηγίας.  
 628 οὐ μὴν ἡξίουν ἀποχρήσειν τὸ δόγμα, δισχιλίους  
 δὲ καὶ πεντακοσίους ὅπλίτας καὶ τέσσαρας τῶν  
 ἐπιφανῶν ἄνδρας ἔστειλαν, τόν τε τοῦ Νομικοῦ

<sup>1</sup> A (margin): ἀπειλησάντων (-αντος L) the rest.

<sup>2</sup> ἀνέστειλεν L. <sup>3</sup> Niese: Ἰωάννης MSS.

<sup>4</sup> πολεμήσωσιν PAM.

<sup>a</sup> "20 days," *Vita* 370.

<sup>b</sup> "4000," *Vita* 371.

<sup>c</sup> We should probably read "Tyrian" as in *Vita* 372 (cf. § 588 above).

<sup>d</sup> This episode (§§ 624 f.) is placed, probably correctly

petuous, preferring to overcome his enemies by diplomacy rather than by slaughter. Instead, he obtained from each city a list of names of those who had joined in John's revolt, this information being readily given by their fellow-citizens, and then issued a public proclamation that all who within five <sup>a</sup> days had not abandoned John would have their property seized and their houses burnt to the ground, along with their families. This threat immediately produced the desertion of three <sup>b</sup> thousand of his followers, who came to Josephus and threw down their arms at his feet ; with the remainder, some two thousand Syrian <sup>c</sup> fugitives, John, abandoning open hostilities, was again driven to resort to clandestine plots.<sup>d</sup>

He accordingly now sent secret emissaries to Jerusalem <sup>e</sup> to denounce Josephus as growing too great, declaring that he might at any moment appear at the capital as its tyrant, unless he were checked in time. The people, who foresaw these calumnies, attached no importance to them ; but their leaders, with some of the magistrates, from motives of envy, secretly supplied John with money to enable him to collect mercenaries and make war on Josephus. They further took it upon themselves to pass a decree recalling him from his command. As, however, they did not regard this decree as sufficient, they sent out a force of two thousand five hundred men <sup>f</sup> with four men of mark, namely, Joesdrus,<sup>g</sup> son of Nomicus, much later in the other narrative, after the conflict with the deputies from Jerusalem (*Vita* 368-372).

<sup>e</sup> The story of the attempt to supersede Josephus is narrated at much greater length in *Vita* 189-332.

<sup>f</sup> Only 600 soldiers and 300 citizens in *Vita* 200.

<sup>g</sup> Called Joazar or Jozar in *Vita*.

'Ιώεσδροι καὶ Ἀγανίαν Σαδούκι καὶ Σίμωνα καὶ  
 'Ιούδην Ἰωνάθου, πάντας εἰπεῖν δυνατωτάτους, ὃν  
 οὗτοι τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἰώσηπον εὔνοιαν ἀποστρέ-  
 ψωσιν, καν μὲν ἐκῶν παραγένηται, λόγον ὑποσχεῖν  
 ἐᾶν αὐτόν, εἰ δὲ βιάζοιτο μένειν, ὡς πολεμίω  
 629 χρῆσθαι. Ἰωσήπῳ δὲ παραγίνεσθαι μὲν στρατιὰν  
 ἐπεστάλκεσαν οἱ φίλοι, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν οὐ προεδή-  
 λουν, ἄτε δὴ λάθρα τῶν ἔχθρῶν βεβουλευμένων.  
 διὸ καὶ μὴ προφυλαξαμένου τέσσαρες πόλεις  
 εὐθέως πρὸς τοὺς διαφόρους ἀπέστησαν ἐλθόντας,  
 Σέπφωρίς τε καὶ Γάβαρα<sup>1</sup> καὶ Γίσχαλα καὶ Τι-  
 630 βεριάς. ταχέως δὲ καὶ ταύτας προσηγάγετο δίχα  
 τῶν ὅπλων καὶ χειρωσάμενος στρατηγήμασιν τοὺς  
 τέσσαρας ἥγεμόνας τῶν τε ὅπλιτῶν τοὺς δυνατωτά-  
 631 τοὺς ἀνέπεμψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. πρὸς οὓς ὁ δῆμος  
 οὐ μετρίως ἡγανάκτησεν καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὥρμησεν  
 τοὺς προπέμψαντας ἀνελεῖν, εἰ μὴ φθάσαντες ἀπ-  
 ἐδρασαν.

632 (8) Ἰωάννην δὲ λοιπὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ Γισχάλων  
 τείχους ὁ παρὰ Ἰωσήπου φόβος ἐφρούρει. καὶ  
 μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας πάλιν ἀπέστη Τιβεριὰς ἐπι-  
 καλεσαμένων τῶν ἕνδον Ἀγρίππαν τὸν βασιλέα.  
 633 καὶ τοῦ μὲν μὴ καταντήσαντος ἐφ' ἦν συντέτακτο  
 προθεσμίαν, 'Ρωμαϊκῶν δὲ ὀλίγων ἵππεων κατ'  
 ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν παραφανέντων, τὸν Ἰώσηπον  
 634 ἐξεκήρυσσον. τῷ<sup>2</sup> δὲ ἡγγέλη μὲν εἰς Ταριχαίας  
 ἡ ἀπόστασις εὐθέως, ἐκπεπομφὰς δὲ πάντας τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> Destinon with Lat. and Vita 203: Γάδαρα or Γάμαλα  
 MSS.

<sup>2</sup> R (corrector): τῷ the rest. VRC preserve the true text  
 in this clause.

Ananias, son of Sadok, Simon and Judas,<sup>a</sup> sons of Jonathan, all very able speakers, with the object of undermining the popularity of Josephus; if he were prepared to leave without demur, they were to allow him an opportunity of rendering an account of himself, if he insisted on remaining, they were to treat him as a public enemy. Friends of Josephus had, meanwhile, sent him word that troops were on their way to Galilee, but gave no hint of the reason, as his adversaries had planned their scheme in secret conclave. Consequently he had taken no precautions and four cities went over to his opponents as soon as they appeared, namely, Sepphoris, Gabara, Gischala, and Tiberias. These,<sup>b</sup> however, he soon reclaimed without recourse to arms, and then by stratagem got the four leaders into his power with the best of their troops and sent them back to Jerusalem. The citizens were highly indignant at these individuals, and would have killed them, as well as their employers, had they not promptly taken flight.

(8) John from this time forth was confined by fear of Josephus within the walls of Gischala. A few days later Tiberias again revolted, the inhabitants having appealed to King Agrippa for aid. He did not arrive on the agreed date, but on that same day a small body of Roman cavalry happening to appear, the Tiberians issued a proclamation excluding Josephus from the city. Their defection was immediately reported to him at Tarichaeae. He had

<sup>a</sup> For Judas, son of Jonathan, *Vita* 197 etc. has Jonathan.

<sup>b</sup> Gischala excepted.

στρατιώτας ἐπὶ σίτου συλλογὴν οὔτε μόνος ἔξ-  
ορμᾶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποστάντας οὔτε μένειν ὑπέμενεν,  
δεδοικῶς μὴ βραδύναντος αὐτοῦ φθάσωσιν οἱ  
βασιλικοὶ παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν  
ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἐνεργὸν ἔξειν ἔμελλεν ἐπέχοντος  
635 σαββάτου. δόλῳ δὴ<sup>1</sup> περιελθεῖν ἐπενόει τοὺς ἀπο-  
στάντας. καὶ τὰς μὲν πύλας τῶν Ταριχαίων ἀπο-  
κλεῖσαι κελεύσας, ώς μὴ προεξαγγείλειέ τις τὸ  
σκέμμα τοῖς ἐπιχειρουμένοις, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης  
σκάφη πάντα συναθροίσας, τριάκοντα δ' εὑρέ-  
θησαν καὶ διακόσια,<sup>2</sup> καὶ ναῦται τεσσάρων οὐ  
πλείους ἦσαν ἐν ἕκαστῳ, διὰ τάχους ἐλαύνει πρὸς  
636 τὴν Τιβεριάδα. καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀποσχῶν τῆς πόλεως  
ἔξ ὅσου συνιδεῖν οὐ ράδιον ἦν, κενὰς τὰς ἀλιάδας  
μετεύρους σαλεύειν ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μόνους  
ἐπτὰ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἐνόπλους<sup>3</sup> ἔχων ἔγγιον  
637 ὄφθηναι προσήγει. θεασάμενοι δ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν  
τειχῶν ἔτι βλασφημοῦντες οἱ διάφοροι καὶ διὰ  
τὴν ἐκπληξιν πάντα τὰ σκάφη γέμειν ὄπλιτῶν  
νομίσαντες ἔρριψαν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ κατασείοντες  
ἰκετηρίας ἐδέοντο φείσασθαι τῆς πόλεως.

638 (9) 'Ο δὲ Ἰώσηπος πολλὰ διαπειλησάμενος αὐ-  
τοῖς καὶ κατονειδίσας, εἰ πρῶτον μὲν ἀράμενοι τὸν  
πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον εἰς στάσεις ἐμφυλίους  
προαναλίσκουσιν τὴν ἴσχὺν καὶ τὰ εὐκταιότατα  
δρῶσιν τοῖς ἔχθροῖς, ἐπειτα τὸν κηδεμόνα τῆς  
ἀσφαλείας αὐτῶν ἀναρπάσαι σπεύδουσιν καὶ κλείειν

<sup>1</sup> L: δὲ the rest.

<sup>2</sup> τριακόσια PA.

<sup>3</sup> Destinon and others (a correction required by the sequel, § 642): ἀνόπλους MSS.

just sent all his soldiers on a foraging excursion ;<sup>a</sup> he could neither go out alone to face the rebels nor afford to remain idle, for fear that the king's troops, profiting by his delay, might forestall him in occupying the town ; on the following day, moreover, he could take no action owing to the restrictions of the sabbath. In this dilemma the idea occurred to him of circumventing the rebels by a ruse. After ordering the gates of Tarichaeae to be closed, in order that no hint of his project might reach the city which was the objective of his attack, he collected all the boats which he could find on the lake—there were two hundred and thirty, with no more than four sailors on board each—and with this fleet sailed at full speed for Tiberias. Keeping far enough from the town to prevent the inhabitants from detecting that his ships were unmanned, he let them ride in the offing, while he, with no more than seven of his armed guards, advanced within view of all. On perceiving him from the walls, where they were still heaping invectives upon him, his adversaries, imagining that all the boats were filled with troops, were terrified, threw down their arms and, waving suppliants' olive-branches, implored him to spare the city.

(9) Josephus severely threatened and reproached them, first for their folly, after taking up arms against Rome, in wasting their strength beforehand upon civil strife and so fulfilling their enemies' fondest wishes ; next for their eagerness to make away with their guardian and protector, and their shamelessness

the next day being the sabbath, I desired to spare the Tarichaeans annoyance from the presence of the military ” (*Vita* 159).

οὐκ αἰδοῦνται τὴν πόλιν αὐτῷ τῷ τειχίσαντι, προσδέχεσθαι τοὺς ἀπολογησομένους ἔφασκεν καὶ δι' 639 ὃν βεβαιώσεται<sup>1</sup> τὴν πόλιν. κατέβαινον δ' εὐθέως δέκα τῶν Τιβεριέων οἱ δυνατώτατοι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀναλαβὼν μιᾶ τῶν ἀλιάδων ἀνήγαγεν πορρωτέρω, πεντήκοντα δὲ ἐτέρους τῆς βουλῆς τοὺς μάλιστα γνωρίμους κελεύει προελθεῖν, ὡς καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων 640 πίστιν τινὰ βουλόμενος λαβεῖν. ἔπειτα καινοτέρας σκήψεις ἐπινοῶν ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις ὡς ἐπὶ συνθήκας προυκαλεῖτο. τοῖς δὲ κυβερνήταις ἐκέλευσεν τῶν<sup>2</sup> πληρουμένων διὰ τάχους εἰς Ταριχαίας ἀναπλεῖν καὶ συγκλείειν τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, μέχρι πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν βουλὴν οὖσαν ἔξακοσίων, περὶ δὲ δισχιλίους τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου συλλαβὼν ἀνήγαγεν σκάφεσιν εἰς Ταριχαίας.

642 (10) Βοώντων δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν αἵτιον εἶναι μάλιστα τῆς ἀποστάσεως Κλείτον τινα καὶ παρακαλούντων εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀπερείδεσθαι τὴν ὁργήν, δὲ Ἰώσηπος ἀνελεῖν μὲν οὐδένα προήρητο, Λευὶν δέ τινα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φυλάκων ἐκέλευσεν ἐξελθεῖν, 643 ἵνα ἀποκόψῃ τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ Κλείτου. δείσας δὲ ἐκεῖνος εἰς ἔχθρῶν στῖφος ἀποβήσεσθαι μόνος οὐκ ἔφη. σχετλιάζοντα δὲ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐπὶ τοῦ σκάφους ὁ Κλείτος ὅρῶν καὶ προθυμούμενον αὐτὸν ἐπιπηδᾶν ἐπὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν ἱκέτευεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκτῆς 644 τὴν ἐτέραν τῶν χειρῶν καταλιπεῖν. κάκείνου κατενεύσαντος ἐφ' ὧ τὴν ἐτέραν αὐτὸς ἀποκόψειεν ἑαυτοῦ, σπασάμενος τῇ δεξιᾷ τὸ ξίφος ἀπέκοψεν τὴν λαιάν· εἰς τοσοῦτον δέους ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου 645 προήχθη. τότε μὲν δὴ κενοῖς σκάφεσιν καὶ δορυφόροις ἐπτὰ τὸν δῆμον αἰχμαλωτισάμενος πάλιν

<sup>1</sup> Destinon: Βεβαιώσηται οὐ -ώσαιτο MSS.

in closing their city to him, who had built its walls ; he declared himself ready, notwithstanding, to receive deputies who would offer an apology and assist him to secure the town. At once ten citizens, the principal men of Tiberias, came down ; these he took on board one of the vessels and conveyed some distance from the land. Next he required fifty more, the most eminent members of the council, to come forward, ostensibly to give him their word as well. And so, always inventing some new pretext, he called up one party after another, presumably to ratify the agreement. As the boats were successively filled, he gave orders to the skippers to sail with all speed to Tarichaeae and to shut the men up in prison. Thus, in the end, he arrested the whole council of six hundred members and some two thousand other citizens, and shipped them off to Tarichaeae.

(10) Those who were left indicated, with loud cries, a certain Cleitus as the prime mover of the revolt, and urged the governor to vent his wrath upon him. Josephus, being determined to put no one to death, ordered one of his guards, named Levi, to go ashore and cut off Cleitus's hands. The soldier, afraid to venture alone into the midst of a host of enemies, refused to go. Cleitus, thereupon, seeing Josephus on the boat fuming with anger and prepared to leap out himself to chastise him, implored him from the beach to leave him one of his hands. The governor consenting to this, on condition that he cut off the other himself, Cleitus drew his sword with his right hand and severed the left from his body ; such was his terror of Josephus. Thus, with empty ships and seven guards, he captured, on that occasion, an

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<sup>2</sup> + σκαφῶν Bekker (after Lat.).

Τιβεριάδα προσηγάγετο, μετὰ δ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας Σεπφωρίταις συναποστᾶσαν εύρων<sup>1</sup> ἐπέτρεψε μὲν  
646 διαρπάσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, συναγαγὼν μέντοι πάντα τοῖς δημόταις ἔδωκεν, τοῖς τε κατὰ Σέπ-  
φωριν ὄμοιώσι καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους χειρωσάμενος νουθετῆσαι διὰ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς ἡθέλησεν, τῇ δ'  
ἀποδόσει τῶν χρημάτων πάλιν εἰς εὔνοιαν προσ-  
ηγάγετο.

647 (xxii. 1) Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Γαλιλαίαν ἐπέπαυτο κινήματα, καὶ τῶν ἐμφυλίων παυσάμενοι θορύβων ἐπὶ τὰς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐτράποντο παρασκευάς,  
648 ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις "Ανανός τε ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ τῶν δυνατῶν ὅσοι μὴ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐφρόνουν τό τε τεῖχος ἐπεσκεύαζον καὶ πολλὰ τῶν πολε-  
649 μιστηρίων ὀργάνων. καὶ διὰ πάσης μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἔχαλκεύετο βέλη καὶ πανοπλία, πρὸς ἀτάκτοις<sup>2</sup> δὲ γυμνασίαις τὸ τῶν νέων πλῆθος ἦν, καὶ μεστὰ πάντα θορύβου, δεινὴ δὲ κατήφεια τῶν μετρίων, καὶ πολλοὶ τὰς μελλούσας προορώμενοι  
650 συμφορὰς ἀπωλοφύροντο. θειασμοί τε τοῖς εἰρή-  
νην ἀγαπῶσιν δύσφημοι, τοῖς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξ-  
άφασιν ἐσχεδιάζοντο πρὸς ἥδονήν, καὶ τὸ κατά-  
στημα τῆς πόλεως πρὶν ἐπελθεῖν Ῥωμαίους ἦν  
651 οἶνον ἀπολουμένης. Ἀνάνῳ γε μὴν φροντὶς ἦν κατὰ μικρὸν ἀφισταμένῳ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῶν κάμψαι πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τούς τε στασιαστὰς καὶ τὴν τῶν κληθέντων ζηλωτῶν

<sup>1</sup> PA : ἐλῶν the rest.

<sup>2</sup> iussis Lat., i.e. τακταῖς "regular."

entire population, and once more reduced Tiberias to submission. But a few days later, discovering that the city had revolted again along with Sepphoris, he delivered it over to his soldiers to plunder it. However, he collected all the spoil and restored it to the townsfolk. He followed the same procedure at Sepphoris ; for that town also was subdued by him, and he wished to give the inhabitants a lesson by pillaging it, and then by restoring their property to regain their affection.

Reduction  
and pillag-  
ing of  
Tiberias  
and  
Sepphoris

(xxii. 1) The disturbances in Galilee were thus quelled ; and, their civil strife now ended, the Jews turned to preparations for the struggle with the Romans. In Jerusalem Ananus the high-priest and all the leading men who were not pro-Romans busied themselves with the repair of the walls and the accumulation of engines of war. In every quarter of the city missiles and suits of armour were being forged ; masses of young men were undergoing a desultory training ; and the whole was one scene of tumult. On the other side, the dejection of the moderates was profound ; and many, foreseeing the impending disasters, made open lamentation. Then, too, there were omens,<sup>a</sup> which to the friends of peace boded ill, although those who had kindled the war readily invented favourable interpretations for them. In short, the city before the coming of the Romans wore the appearance of a place doomed to destruction. Ananus, nevertheless, cherished the thought of gradually abandoning these warlike preparations and bending the malcontents and the infatuated so-called zealots to a more salutary policy ; but he

Prepara-  
tions at  
Jerusalem  
for war.  
Winter of  
A.D. 66-67

<sup>a</sup> A description of these is given later, vi. 288-315.

ἀφροσύνην, ἡττήθη δὲ τῆς βίας, καν τοῖς ἔξησ  
οῖου τέλους ἔτυχεν δηλώσομεν.

652 (2) Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀκραβατηνὴν<sup>1</sup> τοπαρχίαν ὁ  
Γιώρα Σίμων πολλοὺς τῶν νεωτεριζόντων συ-  
στησάμενος ἐφ' ἀρπαγὰς ἐτράπετο καὶ οὐ μόνον τὰς  
οἰκίας ἐσπάρασσεν<sup>2</sup> τῶν πλουσίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ  
σώματα κατηκίζετο, δῆλος τε ἦν ἡδη πόρρωθεν  
653 ἀρχόμενος τυραννεῖν. πεμφθείσης δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν  
ὑπὸ Ἀνάνου καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων στρατιᾶς, πρὸς  
τοὺς ἐν Μασάδᾳ ληστὰς μεθ' ὧν εἶχεν κατέφυγεν,  
κάκει μέχρι τῆς Ἀνάνου καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων  
ἐχθρῶν ἀναιρέσεως μένων συνελήζετο τὴν Ἰδου-  
654 μαίαν, ὥστε τοὺς ἀρχοντας τοῦ ἔθνους διὰ τὸ  
πλῆθος τῶν φονευομένων καὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς ἀρ-  
παγὰς στρατιὰν ἀθροίσαντας ἐμφρούρους τὰς  
κώμας ἔχειν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν  
ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

<sup>1</sup> Ἀκραβετινὴν PA.

<sup>2</sup> ἐτάρασσεν PAML Lat.

succumbed to their violence, and the sequel of our narrative will show the fate which befell him.<sup>a</sup>

(2) In the toparchy of Acrabatene Simon, son of Gioras, mustering a large band of revolutionaries, devoted himself to rapine; not content with ransacking the houses of the wealthy, he further maltreated their persons, and plainly showed, even at that early date, that he was entering on a career of tyranny.<sup>b</sup> When Ananus and the magistrates sent an army against him, he fled with his band to the brigands at Masada,<sup>c</sup> and there he remained until Ananus and his other opponents were killed. Meanwhile, with his brigand friends, he worked such havoc in Idumaea, that the local magistrates, in consequence of the number of the slain and the continuous raids, raised an army and garrisoned the villages. Such was the condition of affairs in Idumaea.

Raids of  
Simon, so  
of Gioras,  
Samaria a  
Idumaea.

<sup>a</sup> *B. iv.* 315 ff.; for Ananus see the note on § 563 above.

<sup>b</sup> He becomes a prominent figure in the siege of Jerusalem.

<sup>c</sup> §§ 408, 433, 447.

## ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Γ

1 (i. 1) Νέρωνι δ' ὡς ἡγγέλη τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πταισμάτα, λεληθυῖα μὲν ὡς εἰκὸς ἔκπληξις ἐμπίπτει καὶ δέος, φανερῶς δ' ὑπερηφάνει καὶ 2 προσωργίζετο, στρατηγῶν<sup>1</sup> μὲν ῥᾳστώνη μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἀρεταῖς γεγονέναι τὰ συμβάντα λέγων, πρέπειν δ' ἡγούμενος ἐαυτῷ διὰ τὸν ὅγκον τῆς ἡγεμονίας κατασοβαρεύεσθαι τῶν σκυθρωπῶν καὶ δοκεῖν δεινοῦ παντὸς ἐπάνω τὴν 3 ψυχὴν ἔχειν. διηλέγχετό γε μὴν ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς θόρυβος ὑπὸ τῶν φροντίδων (2) σκεπτομένου<sup>2</sup> τίνι πιστεύσει κινουμένην τὴν ἀνατολήν, ὃς τιμωρήσεται μὲν τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπανάστασιν, προκαταλήψεται δ' αὐτοῖς ἦδη καὶ τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη 4 συννοσοῦντα. μόνον [οὖν]<sup>3</sup> εὑρίσκει Οὐεσπασιανὸν ταῖς χρείαις ἀναλογοῦντα καὶ τηλικούτου πολέμου μέγεθος ἀναδέξασθαι δυνάμενον, ἄνδρα ταῖς ἀπὸ νεότητος στρατείαις ἐγγεγηρακότα καὶ προειρηνεύσαντα μὲν πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἐσπέραν ὑπὸ Γερμανῶν ταρασσομένην, προσκτησάμενον δὲ τοῖς ὅπλοις Βρεττανίαν τέως λανθάνουσαν, ὅθεν αὐτοῦ

<sup>1</sup> PA: στρατηγοῦ the rest (perhaps rightly).

<sup>2</sup> σκεπτόμενος δὲ C.

<sup>3</sup> MA (corrector) Lat.: om. the rest.

## BOOK III

(i. 1) The news of the reverses sustained in Judaea Nero's reception of the news of events in Judaea. filled Nero, as was natural, with secret consternation and alarm, but in public he affected an air of disdain and indignation. "These unfortunate incidents," he said, "were due to remiss generalship rather than to the valour of the enemy;" and the majesty of empire made him think it became him to treat such tidings with lofty contempt and to appear to possess a soul superior to all accidents. His inward perturbation, however, was betrayed by his anxious effection.

(2) He was deliberating into whose hands he should entrust the East in its present commotion, with the double task of punishing the Jewish rebels, and of forestalling a revolt of the neighbouring nations, which were already catching the contagion. He could find none but Vespasian a match for the emergency and capable of undertaking a campaign on so vast a scale. Vespasian was one who had been a soldier from his youth and grown grey in the service; he had already earlier in his career pacified and restored to Roman rule the West when consulled by the Germans; he had by his military genius added to the Empire Britain, till then almost unknown, and thus afforded Claudius, Nero's father,<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Step-father; he adopted Nero (*cf. B. ii. 249*).

καὶ τῷ πατρὶ Κλαυδίῳ παρέσχε χωρὶς ἴδρωτος  
ἰδίου θρίαμβον καταγαγεῖν.

6 (3) Ταῦτά τε δὴ προκληδονιζόμενος καὶ σταθε-  
ρὰν μετ' ἐμπειρίας τὴν ἡλικίαν ὄρων, μέγα<sup>1</sup> δὲ  
πίστεως αὐτοῦ τοὺς υἱοὺς ὅμηρον καὶ τὰς τού-  
των ἀκμὰς χεῖρα τῆς πατρώας συνέσεως, τάχα  
τι καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἥδη τοῦ θεοῦ προοικονο-  
μουμένου, πέμπει τὸν ἄνδρα ληφόμενον τὴν ἡγε-  
μονίαν τῶν ἐπὶ Συρίας στρατευμάτων, πολλὸ  
πρὸς τὸ ἐπεῖγον οἷα κελεύονται αἱ ἀνάγκαι μειλι-  
ξάμενός τε καὶ προθεραπεύσας. ὁ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς  
'Αχαιᾶς, ἔνθα συνήν τῷ Νέρωνι, τὸν μὲν υἱὸν  
Τίτον ἀπέστειλεν ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας τὸ πέμπτον  
καὶ δέκατον<sup>2</sup> ἐκεῖθεν ἀναστήσοντα τάγμα, πε-  
ράσας δ' αὐτὸς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον πεζὸς εὖ  
Συρίαν ἀφικνεῖται, κἀκεῖ τὰς τε Ῥωμαϊκὰς δυνά-  
μεις συνήγαγε καὶ συχνοὺς παρὰ τῶν γειτνιώντων  
βασιλέων συμμάχους.

9 (ii. 1) Ιουδαῖοι δὲ μετὰ τὴν Κεστίου πληγὴν  
ἐπηρμένοι ταῖς ἀδοκήτοις εὐπραγίαις ἀκρατεῖ  
ἡσαν ὄρμῆς καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκριπιζόμενοι τῇ τύχῃ  
προσωτέρω τὸν πόλεμον ἐξῆγον· πᾶν γοῦν εὐθέως  
ὅσον ἦν μαχιμώτατον αὐτοῖς ἀθροισθέντες ὥρ-  
μησαν ἐπ' Ἀσκάλωνα. πόλις ἐστὶν ἀρχαία τῶν  
'Ιεροσολύμων εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς πεντακοσίοις ἀπ-

<sup>1</sup> Destinon: μετὰ MSS.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ δέκατον Niese, etc., cf. B. iii. 65 (and Tacit. *Hist.* v. 1),  
καὶ τὸ δέκατον MSS.

<sup>a</sup> He was sent by Claudius to Germany and subsequently

the honours of a triumph which cost him no personal exertion.<sup>a</sup>

(3) Regarding, therefore, this record as of happy augury, seeing in Vespasian a man with the steadiness resulting from years <sup>b</sup> and experience, with sons who would be a sure hostage for his fidelity, and whose ripe manhood would act as the arm of their father's brain, moved, may be, also by God, who was already shaping the destinies of empire, Nero sent this general to take command of the armies in Syria, lavishing upon him, at this urgent crisis, such soothing and flattering compliments as are called for by emergencies of this kind. From Achaia, where he was in attendance on Nero, Vespasian dispatched his son Titus to Alexandria to call up the fifteenth legion from that city ; he himself, after crossing the Hellespont, proceeded by land to Syria, where he concentrated the Roman forces and numerous auxiliary contingents furnished by the kings of the neighbouring districts.

(ii. 1) The Jews, after the defeat of Cestius, elated by their unexpected success, could not restrain their ardour, and, as though stirred into activity by this gust of fortune, thought only of carrying the war further afield. Without a moment's delay their most effective combatants mustered and marched upon Ascalon. This is an ancient city, five hundred and twenty furlongs from Jerusalem,<sup>c</sup> but the hatred

Unsuccess-  
ful Jewish  
attack on  
Ascalon.

in A.D. 43 (aet. 34), to Britain, where his career of victory, which included the reduction of the Isle of Wight, was "the beginning of his fortune" (Tac. *Agric.* 13; Suet. *Vesp.* 4).

<sup>b</sup> Vespasian, born in A.D. 9, was now 57.

<sup>c</sup> About fifty-nine miles (the *stade* being rather longer than our "furlong") ; the distance as the crow flies is just over forty miles.

έχουσα σταδίους, ἀεὶ διὰ μίσους Ἰουδαίοις γεγε-  
νημένη, διὸ καὶ τότε ταῖς πρώταις ὄρμαις ἐγγίων  
11 ἔδοξεν. ἐξηγοῦντο δὲ τῆς καταδρομῆς τρεῖς ἄν-  
δρες ἀλκήν τε κορυφαῖοι καὶ συνέσει,<sup>1</sup> Νίγερ τε ὁ  
Περαΐτης καὶ ὁ Βαβυλώνιος Σίλας, πρὸς οὓς  
12 Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἐσσαῖος. ἡ δὲ Ἀσκάλων ἐτετείχιστο  
μὲν καρτερῶς, βοηθείας δὲ ἦν σχεδὸν ἔρημος·  
ἐφρουρεῖτο γὰρ ὑπό τε σπείρας πεζῶν καὶ ὑπὸ<sup>2</sup>  
μιᾶς ὥλης ἵππέων, ἥσ εἶπῆρχεν Ἀντώνιος.<sup>3</sup>

13 (2) Οἱ μὲν οὖν πολὺ ταῖς ὄρμαις<sup>3</sup> συντονώτερον  
όδεύσαντες ὡς ἐγγύθεν ὡρμημένοι καὶ δὴ παρῆσαν.  
14 ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος, οὐ γὰρ ἤγνοει μέλλουσαν ἔτι τὴν  
ἔφοδον αὐτῶν, προεξήγαγε τοὺς ἵππεῖς, καὶ οὐδὲν  
οὔτε πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος οὔτε τὴν τόλμαν ὑποδείσας  
τῶν πολεμίων καρτερῶς τὰς πρώτας ὄρμας ἀν-  
εδέξατο καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὡρμημένους ἀν-  
15 ἐστειλεν. τοῖς δὲ πρὸς ἐμπείρους πολέμων ἅπειροις  
καὶ πεζοῖς πρὸς ἵππεῖς, ἀσυντάκτοις τε πρὸς  
ἥνωμένους καὶ πρὸς ὄπλίτας ἐξηρτυμένους εἰ-  
καιότερον ὡπλισμένοις, θυμῷ τε πλέον ἦ βουλή  
στρατηγούμενοις πρὸς εὐπειθεῖς καὶ νεύματι πάντοις  
16 πράττοντας ἀντιτασσόμενοις πόνος ἦν ράδιος.<sup>4</sup> ὡς  
γὰρ αὐτῶν ἅπαξ ἥδη συνεταράχθησαν αἱ πρῶται  
φάλαγγες, ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου τρέπονται, καὶ τοῖς  
κατόπιν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος βιαζομένοις περι-

<sup>1</sup> PA : σύνεσιν the rest.

<sup>2</sup> + ἡγεμῶν (οἱ ἡγ. P) PAM.

<sup>3</sup> PAL (corr.) : ὄργαις the rest with Lat. (perhaps rightly).

<sup>4</sup> I retain with hesitation the text of PAM (Lat.) : for πόνος ἦν ράδιος the rest have πονοῦσιν ράδιως, beginning the sentence with οἱ δὲ and replacing the subsequent datives by nominatives.

with which the Jews had always regarded it <sup>a</sup> made the distance of this, the first objective selected for attack, seem less. The expedition was led by three men of first-rate prowess and ability, Niger of Peraea, Silas the Babylonian,<sup>b</sup> and John the Essene.<sup>c</sup> Ascalon had solid walls, but was almost destitute of defenders, its garrison consisting of but one cohort of infantry and one squadron<sup>d</sup> of cavalry under the command of Antonius.

(2) The ardour of the Jews so accelerated their pace that they reached the spot as though they had just issued from a neighbouring base. But Antonius was ready for them; informed of their intended attack he led out his cavalry and, undaunted either by the numbers or the audacity of the enemy, firmly sustained their first charge and repulsed those who were rushing forward to the ramparts. It was a case of novices against veterans, infantry against cavalry, ragged order against serried ranks, men casually armed against fully equipped regulars, on the one side men whose actions were directed by passion rather than policy, on the other disciplined troops acting upon the least signal from their commander. Thus outmatched, the Jews were soon in difficulties. For, once their front ranks were broken by the cavalry, a rout ensued, and, the fugitives falling foul of those in their rear who were pressing forward to the wall,

<sup>a</sup> Philo, *Legat. ad Gaium*, 205 (Cohn), mentions this irreconcilable feud; the Jews had recently devastated the town (*B. ii. 460*). It had since 104 b.c. been independent.

<sup>b</sup> Both these distinguished themselves in the first engagement with Cestius, ii. 520; Niger was the governor, or ex-governor, of Idumaea, ii. 566.

<sup>c</sup> Recently appointed general for N.W. Judaea, ii. 567.

<sup>d</sup> *ala*, a body of auxiliary cavalry.

πίπτοντες ἀλλήλων ἥσαν πολέμιοι, μέχρι πάντες  
 ταῖς τῶν ἵππεων ἐμβολαῖς εἴξαντες ἐσκεδάσθησαν  
 ἀνὰ πᾶν τὸ πεδίον· τὸ δὲ ἦν πολὺ καὶ πᾶν ἵπ-  
 17 πάσιμον. ὁ δὴ καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συνεργῆσαν  
 πλεῖστον εἰργάσατο τῶν Ἰουδαίων φόνον· τούς τε  
 γὰρ φεύγοντας αὐτῶν φθάνοντες ἐπέστρεφον καὶ  
 τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δρόμου συνειλουμένων διεκπαίοντες  
 ἀπείρους ἀνήρουν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλους ὅπῃ τρέποντο  
 κυκλούμενοι καὶ περιελαύνοντες κατηκόντιζον ῥά-  
 18 δίως. καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἰουδαίοις τὸ ἴδιον πλῆθος  
 ἔρημία παρὰ τὰς ἀμηχανίας κατεφαίνετο, Ῥω-  
 μαῖοι δ' ἐν ταῖς εὐπραγίαις, καίπερ ὅντες ὀλίγοι,  
 τῶν πολεμίων<sup>1</sup> καὶ περισσεύειν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑπ-  
 19 ελάμβανον. καὶ τῶν μὲν προσφιλονεικούντων τοῖς  
 πταίσμασιν αἰδοῖ τε φυγῆς ταχείας καὶ μετα-  
 βολῆς ἐλπίδι, τῶν δὲ μὴ κοπιώντων ἐν οἷς εὐ-  
 τύχουν, παρέτεινεν ἡ μάχη μέχρι δείλης, ἕως ἀν-  
 γρέθησαν μὲν μύριοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸν ἀριθμὸν  
 ἀνδρες καὶ δύο τῶν ἡγεμόνων, Ἰωάννης τε καὶ  
 20 Σίλας· οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ τραυματίαι τὸ πλέον σὺν τῷ  
 περιλειπομένῳ τῶν ἡγεμόνων Νίγερι τῆς Ἰδου-  
 μαίας εἰς πολίχινην τινά, Χάαλλις<sup>2</sup> καλεῖται, συν-  
 21 ἐφυγον. ὀλίγοι δέ τινες καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ  
 τῆσδε τῆς παρατάξεως ἐτρώθησαν.  
 22 (3) Οὐ μὴν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τηλικαύτῃ συμφορᾷ  
 κατεστάλησαν τὰ φρονήματα, μᾶλλον δ' αὐτῶν  
 τό πάθος ἤγειρε τὰς τόλμας, ὑπερορῶντές τε τοὺς  
 ἐν ποσὶ νεκροὺς ἐδελεάζοντο τοῖς προτέροις<sup>3</sup>  
 23 κατορθώμασιν ἐπὶ πληγὴν δευτέραν. διαλιπόντες

<sup>1</sup> Conj. Niese: τῷ πολέμῳ MSS.

<sup>2</sup> PAM• Lat. (Challis): Σάλλις the rest.

<sup>3</sup> προγενεστέροις PAM.

they became their own enemies, until at length the whole body, succumbing to the cavalry charges, were dispersed throughout the plain. This was extensive and wholly adapted to cavalry manœuvres, a circumstance which materially assisted the Romans and caused great carnage among the Jews. For the cavalry headed off and turned the fugitives, broke through the crowds huddled together in flight, slaughtering them in masses, and, in whatever direction parties of them fled, the Romans closed them in and, galloping round them, found them an easy mark for their javelins. The Jews, notwithstanding their multitude, felt themselves isolated in their distress ; while the Romans, few as they were, imagined, in their unbroken success, that they even outnumbered their enemies. However, the former continued to struggle on under their reverses, ashamed of being so quickly routed, and in hopes of a return of fortune, while the latter were indefatigable in pushing their success ; so that the combat was prolonged till evening, when ten thousand of the Jewish rank and file, with two of the generals, John and Silas, lay dead upon the field. The remainder, most of them wounded, took refuge with Niger, the one surviving general, in a country town of Idumaea, called Chaallis.<sup>a</sup> The Romans, on their side, had but a few wounded in this engagement.

(3) Far, however, from the spirit of the Jews being crushed by such a calamity, their discomfiture only redoubled their audacity ; and, disregarding the dead bodies at their feet, they were lured by the memory of former triumphs to a second disaster.

<sup>a</sup> Unidentified.

γοῦν οὐδ' ὅσον ιάσασθαι τὰ τραύματα καὶ τὴν  
δύναμιν πᾶσαν ἐπισυλλέξαντες ὀργιλώτερον καὶ  
πολλῷ πλείους ἐπαλινδρόμουν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσκάλωνα.

24 παρείπετο δ' αὐτοῖς μετά τε τῆς ἀπειρίας καὶ  
τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς πόλεμον ἐλασσωμάτων ἡ προτέρα

25 τύχη· τοῦ γὰρ Ἀντωνίου τὰς παρόδους προ-  
λοχίσαντος ἀδόκητοι ταῖς ἐνέδραις ἐμπεσόντες καὶ  
ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππέων πρὶν εἰς μάχην συντάξασθαι  
κυκλωθέντες, πάλιν πίπτουσι μὲν ὑπέρ ὀκτακισ-  
χιλίους, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ πάντες ἔφυγον, σὺν οἷς  
καὶ Νίγερ, πολλὰ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν εὐτολμίας ἐπι-  
δειξάμενος ἔργα, συνελαύνονταί <τε><sup>1</sup> προσκειμένων  
τῶν πολεμίων εἴς τινα πύργον ὁχυρὸν κώμης Βελ-

26 ζεδὴκ καλουμένης. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον,  
ώς μήτε τρίβοιτο περὶ τὸν πύργον ὅντα δυσ-  
άλωτον μήτε ζῶντα τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ γειναιότατον  
τῶν πολεμίων περιύδοιεν, ὑποπιμπρᾶσι τὸ τεῖχος.

27 φλεγομένου δὲ τοῦ πύργου Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἀνα-  
χωροῦσι γεγηθότες ώς διεφθαρμένου καὶ Νίγερος,  
ὁ δὲ εἰς τὸ μυχαίτατον τοῦ φρουρίου σπῆλαιον  
καταπηδήσας ἐκ τοῦ πύργου<sup>2</sup> διασώζεται, καὶ  
μεθ' ἡμέρας τρεῖς τοῖς μετ' ὄλοφυρμοῦ πρὸς

28 κηδείαν αὐτὸν ἐρευνῶσιν ὑποφθέγγεται. προελθὼν  
δὲ χαρᾶς ἀνελπίστον πάντας ἐπλήρωσεν Ἰουδαίους  
ώς προνοίᾳ θεοῦ σωθεὶς αὐτοῖς στρατηγὸς εἰς τὰ  
μέλλοντα.

29 (†) Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀναλαβὼν  
ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας, ἡ μητρόπολις ἐστι τῆς Συρίας,  
μεγέθους τε ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐδαιμονίας

<sup>1</sup> ins. Destinon (after Lat.): om. mss.

<sup>2</sup> πρὸς conj. Destinon and Niese.

Without even leaving time for wounds to heal, they reassembled all their forces and, more furious and in far greater strength, returned to the assault on Ascalon. But, with the same inexperience and the same military disqualifications, the same fortune attended them as before. Antonius had placed ambuscades in the passes ; into these traps they inconsiderately fell, and before they could form up in battle order they were surrounded by the cavalry and again lost upwards of eight thousand men. All the remainder fled—including Niger, who distinguished himself in the retreat by numerous feats of valour—and, hard pressed by the enemy, were driven into a strong tower in a village called Belzedek.<sup>a</sup> The troops of Antonius, unwilling either to expend their strength upon a tower that was almost impregnable, or to allow the enemy's general and bravest hero to escape alive, set fire to the walls. On seeing the tower in flames, the Romans retired exultant, in the belief that Niger had perished with it ; but he had leapt from the tower and found refuge in a cave in the recesses of the fortress, and three days later his lamenting friends, while searching for his corpse for burial, overheard his voice beneath them. His reappearance filled all Jewish hearts with unlooked-for joy ; they thought that God's providence had preserved him to be their general in conflicts to come.<sup>b</sup>

(4) Vespasian had now set in motion his forces assembled at Antioch, the capital of Syria, and a city which, for extent and opulence, unquestionably ranks

Vespasian  
advances  
from  
Antioch to  
Ptolemais.

<sup>a</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>b</sup> He was murdered by the Zealots during the siege of Jerusalem (*B.* iv. 359).

τρίτον ἀδηρίτως ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Ρωμαίους οἰκου-  
 μένης ἔχουσα τόπον, ἐνθα μετὰ πάσης τῆς ἴδιας  
 ἰσχύος ἐκδεχόμενον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἄφιξιν καὶ Ἀγρίπ-  
 παν τὸν βασιλέα κατειλήφει, ἐπὶ Πτολεμαῖδος  
 30 ἡπείγετο. καὶ κατὰ ταύτην ὑπαντῶσιν αὐτῷ τῇ  
 πόλιν οἱ τῆς Γαλιλαίας Σέπφωριν νεμόμενοι  
 31 μόνοι τῶν τῇδε εἰρηνικὰ φρονοῦντες· οἱ καὶ τῆς  
 ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς Ρωμαίων ἰσχύος οὐκ  
 ἀπρονόητοι πρὶν ἀφικέσθαι Οὐεσπασιανὸν Και-  
 σεννίῳ Γάλλῳ πίστεις τε ἔδοσαν καὶ δεξιὰς ἔλαβοι  
 32 καὶ παρεδέξαντο φρουράν. τότε γε μὴν φιλο-  
 φρόνως ἐκδεξάμενοι τὸν ἡγεμόνα προθύμως σφᾶ-  
 αὐτοὺς ὑπέσχοντο κατὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων συμ-  
 33 μάχους· οἷς ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀξιώσασι τέως πρὸ-  
 ἀσφάλειαν ἵππεῖς τε καὶ πεζοὺς παραδίδωσι  
 ὅσους ἀνθέξειν ταῖς καταδρομαῖς, εἴ τι Ἰουδαῖο  
 34 παρακινοῖεν, ὑπελάμβανεν· καὶ γὰρ οὐ μικρὸ-  
 ἐδόκει τὸ κινδύνευμα πρὸς τὸν μέλλοντα πόλεμο  
 ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὴν Σέπφωριν, μεγίστην μὲν οὖσα  
 τῆς Γαλιλαίας πόλιν, ἐρυμνοτάτῳ δ' ἐπιτετειχι-  
 σμένην χωρίῳ καὶ φρουρὰν ὅλου τοῦ ἔθνους ἐσο-  
 μένην.

35 (iii. 1) Δύο δ' οὕσας τὰς Γαλιλαίας, τὴν τ-  
 ἄνω καὶ τὴν κάτω προσαγορευομένην, περιίσχε  
 μὲν ἡ Φοινίκη τε καὶ Συρία, διορίζει δ' ἀπὸ μὲ  
 δύσεως ἥλιον Πτολεμαῖς τοῖς τῆς χώρας τέρμασ-  
 καὶ Κάρμηλος, τὸ πάλαι μὲν Γαλιλαίων, νῦν δ  
 36 Τυρίων ὄρος· ὧ προσίσχει Γάβα,<sup>1</sup> πόλις ἵππεων  
 οὗτω προσαγορευομένη διὰ τὸ τοὺς ὑψὸν Ἡράδο

<sup>1</sup> So Lat. (*cf. A. xv. 294, Vita 115*): Γαβαὰ, Γάβαλα etc.  
 MSS.

third <sup>a</sup> among the cities of the Roman world. Here he had found, among others, king Agrippa awaiting his arrival with all his own troops. From Antioch Vespasian pushed on to Ptolemais. At this city he was met by the inhabitants of Sepphoris in Galilee, the only people of that province who displayed pacific sentiments. For, with an eye to their own security and a sense of the power of Rome, they had already, before the coming of Vespasian, given pledges to Caesennius Gallus, received his assurance of protection, and admitted a Roman garrison; <sup>b</sup> now they offered a cordial welcome to the commander-in-chief, and promised him their active support against their countrymen. At their request, the general provisionally assigned them for their protection as large a force of cavalry and infantry as he considered sufficient to repel invasions in the event of the Jews causing trouble; indeed, it appeared to him that the loss of Sepphoris would be a hazard gravely affecting the impending campaign, as it was the largest city of Galilee, a fortress in an exceptionally strong position in the enemy's territory, and adapted to keep guard over the entire province.

(iii. 1) Galilee, with its two divisions known as Upper and Lower Galilee, is enveloped by Phoenicia and Syria. Its western frontiers are the outlying territory of Ptolemais and Carmel, a mountain once belonging to Galilee, and now to Tyre; adjacent to Carmel is Gaba, the "city of cavalry," so called from the cavalry who, on their discharge by King Herod

<sup>a</sup> After Rome and Alexandria.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. ii. 510 (Caesennius was commander of the 12th legion) with *Vita* 394 (Sepphoris asks for and obtains a garrison from Cestius Gallus).

A.D. 67  
(spring).

Submission  
of Sep-  
phoris.

βασιλέως ἀπολυομένους ἵππεῖς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικεῖν  
 37 ἀπὸ δὲ μεσημβρίας Σαμαρεῖτίς τε καὶ Σκυθό-  
 πολις μέχρι τῶν Ἰορδάνου ναμάτων. πρὸς ἓν  
 δ' Ἰππηνῆ τε καὶ Γαδάροις ἀποτέμνεται καὶ τῇ  
 Γαυλανίτιδι<sup>1</sup>. ταύτῃ καὶ τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείᾳ  
 38 ὄροι. τὰ προσάρκτια δ' αὐτῆς Τύρω τε καὶ τῇ  
 Τυρίων χώρᾳ περατοῦται. καὶ τῆς μὲν κάτω  
 καλονυμένης Γαλιλαίας ἀπὸ Τιβεριάδος μέχρι  
 Χαβουλών, ἡς ἐν τοῖς παραλίοις Πτολεμαῖ-  
 39 γείτων, τὸ μῆκος ἔκτείνεται. πλατύνεται δ' ἀπὸ  
 τῆς ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ κειμένης κώμης, Ξαλὼθ  
 καλεῖται, μέχρι Βηρσάβης, ἥ καὶ τῆς ἄνω Γαλι-  
 λαίας εἰς εὑρος ἀρχὴ μέχρι Βακὰ κώμης· αὕτη  
 40 δὲ τὴν Τυρίων γῆν ὄρίζει. μηκύνεται δὲ μέχρι  
 Μηρὼθ ἀπὸ Θελλᾶ κώμης Ἰορδάνου γείτονος.  
 41 (2) Τηλικαῦται δ' οὖσαι τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τοσού  
 τοις ἔθνεσιν ἀλλοφύλοις κεκυκλωμέναι πρὸς πᾶσα  
 42 ἀεὶ πολέμου πεῖραν ἀντέσχον· μάχιμοί τε γὰρ ἐι-  
 νηπίων καὶ πολλοὶ Γαλιλαῖοι πάντοτε, καὶ οὗτοι  
 δειλία ποτὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας οὔτε λιπανδρία τὴν χώρα  
 κατέσχεν, ἐπειδὴ πίων τε πᾶσα καὶ εῦβοτος κα-  
 δένδρεσι παντοίοις κατάφυτος, ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς εὐ-  
 πετείας προκαλέσασθαι καὶ τὸν ἥκιστα γῆς φιλό-  
 43 πονον. προσησκήθη γοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκητόρων  
 πᾶσα, καὶ μέρος αὐτῆς ἀργὸν οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ κα-  
 πόλεις πυκναὶ καὶ τὸ τῶν κωμῶν πλῆθος πανταχοὶ  
 πολυάνθρωπον διὰ τὴν εὐθηνίαν, ὡς τὴν ἐλαχίστην

<sup>1</sup> Γαιλωνίτιδι ΡΑ.

'Εξαλὼθ PAL: Ξαλὼθ the rest, cf. Vitu 227.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. A. xv. 294; called Geba by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 19  
75.

settled in this town.<sup>a</sup> On the south the country is bounded by Samaria and the territory of Scythopolis up to the waters of Jordan ; on the east by the territory of Hippo, Gadara, and Gaulanitis, the frontier-line of Agrippa's kingdom ; on the north Tyre and its dependent district mark its limits. Lower Galilee extends in length from Tiberias to Chabulon, which is not far from Ptolemais on the coast ; in breadth, from a village in the Great Plain called Xaloth <sup>b</sup> to Bersabe. At this point begins Upper Galilee, which extends in breadth to the village of Baca, the frontier of Tyrian territory ; in length, it reaches from the village of Thella, near the Jordan, to Meroth.

(2) With this limited area, and although surrounded by such powerful foreign nations, the two Galilees have always resisted any hostile invasion, for the inhabitants are from infancy inured to war, and have at all times been numerous ; never did the men lack courage nor the country men. For the land is everywhere so rich in soil and pastureage and produces such variety of trees, that even the most indolent are tempted by these facilities to devote themselves to agriculture. In fact, every inch of the soil has been cultivated by the inhabitants ; there is not a parcel of waste land. The towns, too, are thickly distributed, and even the villages, thanks to the fertility of the soil, are all so densely populated

<sup>a</sup> Mentioned as on the southern frontier in *Vita* 227, " I ought to have gone to Xaloth or beyond " (to meet a deputation coming from Jerusalemi to Galilee) ; lying on the " flanks " of Mt. Tabor, it is the O.T. Chisloth-tabor, Jos. xix. 12, modern *Iksal*. Josephus by " length " here means the measurement from east to west, by " breadth " that from south to north.

νπέρ πεντακισχιλίους πρὸς τοῖς μυρίοις ἔχειν  
οἰκήτορας.

- 44 (3) Καθόλου δ', εἰ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τις ἐλαττώ-  
σειε τῆς Περαιᾶς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, προέλοιτο δ' ἂν  
τῇ δυνάμει· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐνεργὸς ὅλη καὶ συνεχέσ·  
ἔστιν καρποφόρος, ἡ Περαιά δὲ πολὺ μὲν μείζων,  
ἔρημος δὲ καὶ τραχεῖα τὸ πλέον, πρὸς τε καρπῶν  
45 ἡμέρων αὐξησιν ἀγριωτέρα (τό γε μὴν μαλθακὸν  
αὐτῆς καὶ πάμφορον, καὶ τὰ πεδία δένδρεσι ποι-  
κίλοις κατάφυτα τὸ πλεῖστόν τε ἐλαίαν [τε]<sup>2</sup> καὶ  
ἄμπελον καὶ φοινικῶνας ἥσκηται) διαρδομένη  
χειμάρροις τε τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρῶν καὶ πηγαῖς  
ἀεινάοις ἄλις, εἴ ποτ' ἔκεινοι σειρίω φθίνοιεν.  
46 μῆκος μὲν [οὖν]<sup>3</sup> αὐτῆς ἀπὸ Μαχαιροῦντος εἰς  
Πέλλαν, εὑρος δ' ἀπὸ Φιλαδελφείας μέχρι Ἰορδά-  
47 νου. καὶ Πέλλη μέν, ἣν προειρήκαμεν, τὰ πρὸς  
ἄρκτον ὁρίζεται, πρὸς ἑσπέραν δὲ Ἰορδάνη· με-  
σημβρινὸν δ' αὐτῆς πέρας ἡ Μωαβῖτις, καὶ πρὸς  
ἀνατολὴν Ἀραβίᾳ τε καὶ Ἐσεβωνίτιδι,<sup>4</sup> πρὸς δὲ  
Φιλαδελφηνῇ καὶ Γεράσοις<sup>5</sup> ἀποτέμνεται.  
48 (4) Ἡ δὲ Σαμαρεῖτις χώρα μέση μὲν τῆς Γαλι-  
λαίας ἔστι καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας· ἀρχομένη γὰρ ἀπὸ  
τῆς ἐν τῷ [μεγάλῳ]<sup>6</sup> πεδίῳ κειμένης Γιναίας<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Destinon, cf. Lat. assidue: συνεχής MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἐλαίαν (om. τε) PAL: εἰς ἐλαίαν τε the rest.

<sup>3</sup> om. PAL.

<sup>4</sup> Reinach after Schürer (Σεβωνίτιδι): Σιλωνίτιδι or Σιλ-  
βωνίτιδι MSS.

<sup>5</sup> VR: Γεράσοις the rest. <sup>6</sup> om. PAL.

<sup>7</sup> C: Γηνεῶς or Γηνέας the rest: the place is called Γήμα(ν)  
B. ii. 232, Γιναῆς A. xx. 118.

<sup>a</sup> We may suspect exaggeration. There were 204 towns

that the smallest of them contains above fifteen thousand inhabitants.<sup>a</sup>

(3) In short, if Galilee, in superficial area, must be reckoned inferior to Peraea, it must be given the preference for its abundant resources ; for it is entirely under cultivation and produces crops from one end to the other, whereas Peraea, though far more extensive, is for the most part desert and rugged and too wild to bring tender fruits to maturity. However, there, too, there are tracts of finer soil which are productive of every species of crop ; and the plains are covered with a variety of trees, olive, vine, and palm being those principally cultivated. The country is watered by torrents descending from the mountains and by springs which never dry up and provide sufficient moisture when the torrents dwindle in the dog-days. Peraea extends in length from Machaerus to Pella,<sup>b</sup> in breadth from Philadelphia<sup>c</sup> to the Jordan. The northern frontier is Pella, which we have just mentioned, the western frontier is the Jordan ; on the south it is bounded by the land of Moab, on the east by Arabia, Heshbonitis, Philadelphia, and Gerasa.

(4) The province of Samaria lies between Galilee<sup>Samaria</sup> and Judaea<sup>Judaea</sup> ; beginning at the village of Ginaea<sup>d</sup> situate in the Great Plain, it terminates at the and villages in Galilee (*Vita* 235) : the largest village was Japha (*ib.* 230), the largest town Sepphoris (*ib.* 232).

<sup>b</sup> Including Machaerus, but excluding Pella (mod. *Fahil*) which was in Decapolis : Peraea is the Jewish province, not comprising the northern trans-Jordanic region (Decapolis).

<sup>c</sup> The O.T. Rabbah of Ammon, called Philadelphia after Ptolemy II Philadelphus, modern *Amman* ; it was in Decapolis, but a neighbouring village was the scene of a bloody boundary dispute between its citizens and the Peraean Jews (*A. xx. 2*). <sup>d</sup> Cf. *B. ii. 232* (Gema).

δῖομα κώμης ἐπιλήγει τῆς Ἀκραβετηνῶν τοπ-  
αρχίας· φύσιν δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας κατ' οὐδὲν διά-  
49 φορος. ἀμφότεραι γὰρ ὄρειν καὶ πεδιάδες, εἰς  
τε γεωργίαν μαλθακαὶ καὶ πολύφοροι, κατάδειδροι  
τε καὶ ὅπωρας ὄρειν ἡς καὶ ἡμέρου μεσταί, παρ'  
οσον οὐδαμοῦ φύσει διψάδες, ὕονται δὲ τὸ πλέον·  
50 γλυκὺ δὲ νᾶμα πᾶν διαφόρως ἐν αὐταῖς, καὶ διὰ  
πλῆθος πόας ἀγαθῆς τὰ κτήνη πλέον ἢ παρ'  
ἄλλοις γαλακτοφόρα. μέγιστον γε μὴν τεκμήριον  
ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐθηνίας τὸ πληθύειν ἀνδρῶν ἔκατέραν.  
51 (5) Μεθόριος δ' αὐτῶν ἡ Ἀνονάθον Βόρκαιος  
προσαγορευομένη κώμη· πέρας αὗτη τῆς Ἰουδαίας  
τὰ πρὸς βορέαν, τὰ νότια δ' αὐτῆς ἐπὶ μῆκος  
μετρουμένης ὀρίζει προσκυροῦσα τοῖς Ἀράβων  
ὅροις κώμη, καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Ἰαρδάν<sup>1</sup> οἱ τῇδε  
Ἰουδαῖοι. εὑρός γε μὴν ἀπὸ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ  
52 μέχρις Ἰόππης ἀναπέπταται. μεσαιτάτη δ' αὐτῆς  
πόλις τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα κεῖται, παρ' ὁ καὶ τινες οὐκ  
ἀσκόπως ὀμφαλὸν τὸ ἀστυν τῆς χώρας ἐκάλεσαν.  
53 ἀφήρηται δ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ θαλάσσης τερπνῶν ἡ  
Ἰουδαία τοῖς παραλίοις κατατείνουσα μέχρι Πτολε-  
54 μαῖδος. μερίζεται δ' εἰς ἑνδεκα κληρουχίας, ὥν

<sup>1</sup> C: Ἰορδάν the rest.

<sup>a</sup> South-east of Shechem.

<sup>b</sup> The Lat. has "Anunath which is also called Borcea"; Borcea is the modern *Berkit*, nine miles due south of Shechem. <sup>c</sup> Or, perhaps, "at its greatest length."

<sup>d</sup> Or Iarda; perhaps the modern *Tell Arad*, sixteen mile nearly due south of Hebron.

<sup>e</sup> Strictly, rather to the north-east of the centre of Judaea. The usual Rabbinic tradition, however, was that (like Delphi to the Greek) Jerusalem was the navel (*tabur*) of the whole world, a position assigned to it in some mediaeval maps. See the *Book of Jubilees*, viii. 19, "Mount Zion, the centre of

toparchy of Acerabatene.<sup>a</sup> Its character differs in no wise from that of Judaea. Both regions consist of hills and plains, yield a light and fertile soil for agriculture, are well wooded, and abound in fruits, both wild and cultivated; both owe their productivity to the entire absence of dry deserts and to a rainfall for the most part abundant. All the running water has a singularly sweet taste; and owing to the abundance of excellent grass the cattle yield more milk than in other districts. But the surest testimony to the virtues and thriving condition of the two countries is that both have a dense population.

(5) On the frontier separating them lies the village <sup>Judaea</sup> called Anuath Borcaeus,<sup>b</sup> the northern limit of Judaea; its southern boundary, if one measures the country lengthwise,<sup>c</sup> is marked by a village on the Arabian frontier, which the local Jews call Iardan.<sup>d</sup> In breadth it stretches from the river Jordan to Joppa. The city of Jerusalem lies at its very centre,<sup>e</sup> for which reason the town has sometimes, not inaptly, been called the "navel" of the country. Judaea is, moreover, not cut off from the amenities of the sea, because it slopes down towards the coast on a ridge extending as far as Ptolemais.<sup>f</sup> It is divided into

the navel of the earth," Talm. Bab. *Sanhedrin*, 37 a, with other passages cited by Charles (on *Jub.* viii. 12); the idea was based, *inter alia*, on *Ezek.* xxxviii. 12.

<sup>f</sup> A difficult clause. Not "having a coast extending as far as Ptolemais," for the maritime plain was not in Jewish possession; and Ptolemais, in Phoenician territory, was far north, not only of Judaea, but of Samaria. The reference, it seems, is to the central mountain chain, which, sloping westwards to the Mediterranean and extending northwards through the Judaean plateau and Mt. Ephraim, terminates in Mt. Carmel, a little south of Ptolemais; perhaps also to the view obtainable therefrom.

άρχει μὲν βασίλειον τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα προαισχουσα  
 τῆς περιοίκου πάσης ὥσπερ ἡ κεφαλὴ σώματος·  
 αἱ λοιπαὶ δὲ μετ' αὐτὴν διήρηνται<sup>1</sup> τὰς τοπαρχίας,  
 55 Γόφνα δευτέρα καὶ μετὰ ταύτην Ἀκράβετα,  
 Θάμνα πρὸς ταύταις καὶ Λύδα, Ἀμμαοῦς καὶ  
 Πέλλη καὶ Ἰδουμαία καὶ Ἔνγαδδαὶ καὶ Ἡρώδειον  
 56 καὶ Ἱεριχοῦς· μεθ' ἃς Ἰάμνεια καὶ Ἰόπη τῶν  
 περιοίκων ἀφηγοῦνται, κάπι ταύταις ἡ τε Γαμα-  
 λιτικὴ καὶ Γαυλανῖτις Βαταναία τε καὶ Τραχω-  
 νῖτις, αἱ καὶ τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας εἰσὶ μοῖραι.  
 57 ἀρχομένη δὲ ἀπὸ Λιβάνου ὅρους καὶ τῶν Ἰορδάνου  
 πηγῶν ἡ χώρα μέχρι τῆς πρὸς Τιβεριάδι<sup>2</sup> λίμνης  
 εὐρύνεται, ἀπὸ δὲ κώμης καλουμένης Ἀρφᾶς  
 μέχρις Ἰουλιάδος ἐκτείνεται τὸ μῆκος. οἰκοῦσι  
 58 δ' αὐτὴν μυγάδες Ἰουδαῖοι τε καὶ Σύροι. τὰ μὲν  
 δὴ περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ πέριξ χώρας ὡς  
 ἐνῆν μάλιστα συντόμως ἀπηγγέλκαμεν.

59 (iv. 1) Ἡ δ' ὑπὸ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ πεμφθεῖσα  
 Σεπφωρίταις βοήθεια, χίλιοι μὲν ἵππεῖς ἔξακισ-  
 χίλιοι δὲ πεζοί, Πλακίδου χιλιαρχοῦντος αὐτῶν,  
 ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι δι-  
 αιροῦνται, καὶ τὸ μὲν πεζὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρὸς  
 φυλακὴν αὐτῆς, τὸ δ' ἵππικὸν ἐπὶ τῆς παρεμβολῆς

<sup>1</sup> κατὰ has possibly dropped out.

<sup>2</sup> πρὸς Τιβεριάδι Niese: πρὸς Τιβεριάδα or Τιβεριάδος the rest.

<sup>a</sup> Or "allotments." Viewed from the Jewish standpoint they are κληρουχίαι (cf. B. v. 160 ἡ Ἐβραίων κληρουχία and often in A. of the allotments of the tribes in Canaan), from the Roman standpoint, for administrative and revenue-collecting purposes, τοπαρχίαι. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 14. 70. mentions the division of Judaea into *ten* toparchies; he omits Idumaea and Engaddi, inserts Joppa (incorrectly), and sub-

eleven districts,<sup>a</sup> among which Jerusalem as the capital is supreme, dominating all the neighbourhood as the head towers above the body ; in the case of the other minor districts the divisions coincide with the toparchies. Gophna is the second, then come Acerabeta, Thamna, Lydda, Emmaus, Pella,<sup>b</sup> Idumaea, Engaddi, Herodion, and Jericho. To these must be added <sup>c</sup> Jamnia and Joppa, which have jurisdiction over the surrounding localities, and lastly the territories of Gamala, Gaulanitis, Batanaea, and Trachonitis, which form, moreover, part of Agrippa's kingdom. That kingdom, beginning at Mount Libanus and the sources of the Jordan, extends in breadth<sup>d</sup> to the lake of Tiberias, and in length<sup>e</sup> from a village called Arpha<sup>f</sup> to Julias<sup>g</sup> ; it contains a mixed population of Jews and Syrians. Such, in briefest possible outline, is my description of the country of the Jews and of their neighbours.

Kingdom  
Agrippa I

(iv. 1) The supports sent by Vespasian to the people of Sepphoris<sup>h</sup> consisted of a thousand cavalry and six thousand infantry under the command of the tribune Placidus ; the troops at first camped in the Great Plain and then divided, the infantry taking up quarters in the town for its protection, the cavalry

The Roma  
garrison a  
Sepphoris  
ravages  
Galilee.

stitutes (correctly) for Pella Betholethephene (= Bethleptephah, B. iv. 445).

<sup>b</sup> See previous note.

<sup>c</sup> Josephus here appends to the four main provinces of Jewish territory (1) the only two maritime towns whose population was predominantly Jewish, (2) Agrippa's kingdom in the north, also containing a large Jewish element.

<sup>d</sup> From north to south.

<sup>e</sup> From east to west.

<sup>f</sup> Unidentified (east of Trachonitis).

<sup>g</sup> Bethsaida Julias at the head of the Sea of Galilee.

<sup>h</sup> Resuming the narrative of §§ 33 f.

60 αὐλίζεται. προϊόντες δὲ ἔκατέρωθεν συνεχῶς καὶ τὰ πέριξ τῆς χώρας κατατρέχοντες μεγάλα τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐκάκουν, ἀτρεμοῦντάς τε κατὰ πόλεις<sup>1</sup> ἔξωθεν λῃζόμενοι καὶ προθέοντας ὅπότε 61 θαρρήσειαν ἀνακόπτοντες. ὥρμησέ γε μὴν Ἰώσηπος ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν αἱρήσειν ἐλπίσας, ἦν αὐτὸς πρὶν ἀποστῆναι Γαλιλαίων ἐτείχισεν, ὡς καὶ Ῥωμαίοις δυσάλωτον εἶναι· διὸ καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀφήμαρτεν, τοῦ τε βιάζεσθαι καὶ τοῦ μεταπείθειν 62 Σεπφωρίτας ἀσθενέστερος εύρεθείς. παρώξυνεν δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, καὶ οὕτε νύκτωρ οὕτε μεθ' ἡμέραν ὄργῃ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς<sup>2</sup> οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διέλιπον δηοῦντες αὐτῶν τὰ πεδία καὶ διαρπάζοντες τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας κτήματα, καὶ κτείνοντες μὲν ἀεὶ τὸ μάχυμον, ἀνδραποδιζόμενοι 63 δὲ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς. πυρὶ δὲ ἡ Γαλιλαία καὶ αἷματι πεπλήρωτο πᾶσα, πάθους τε οὐδενὸς ἢ συμφορᾶς ἀπείρατος ἦν· μία γὰρ καταφυγὴ διωκομένοις αἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου τειχισθεῖσαι πόλεις ἦσαν.

64 (2) Ὁ δὲ Τίτος περαιωθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀχαΐας εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὠκύτερον ἢ κατὰ χειμῶνος ὥραν, παραλαμβάνει μὲν ἐφ' ἦν ἐσταλτο δύναμιν. συντόνῳ δὲ χρώμενος πορείᾳ διὰ τάχους εἰς 65 Πτολεμαΐδα ἀφικνεῖται. κάκει καταλαβὼν τὸν πατέρα δυσὶ τοῖς ἄμα αὐτῷ τάγμασιν, ἦν δὲ τὸ ἐπισημότατα τὸ πέμπτον καὶ τὸ δέκατον, ζεύγνυσι 66 τὸ ἀχθὲν ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ πεντεκαιδέκατον. τούτοις

<sup>1</sup> text Niese: ἀτρεμοῦντα τὰς τε πόλεις most MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Destinon: ἐπιβουλῆς MSS.

remaining in camp. Both divisions made constant  
 allies and overran the surrounding country, causing  
 serious trouble to Josephus and his men : if the latter  
 remained stationary in their cities, the Romans  
 ravaged the surrounding district ; whenever they  
 ventured out, the Romans beat them back. Josephus  
 did, in fact, attempt an assault on the city in hopes  
 of capturing it, although he had himself, before it  
 abandoned the Galilean cause, so strongly fortified  
 as to render it practically impregnable even to the  
 Romans ; consequently his hopes were foiled and he  
 found it beyond his power either to compel or to  
 persuade Sepphoris to surrender.<sup>a</sup> Indeed he drew  
 down fiercer hostilities upon the country ; for the  
 Romans, enraged at his enterprise, never ceased,  
 night or day, to devastate the plains and to pillage  
 the property of the country-folk, invariably killing  
 all capable of bearing arms and reducing the in-  
 sufficient to servitude. Galilee from end to end  
 became a scene of fire and blood ; from no misery,  
 calamity was it exempt ; the one refuge for  
 the hunted inhabitants was in the cities fortified  
 by Josephus.

(2) Meanwhile Titus,<sup>b</sup> after a swifter passage from  
 Chaia to Alexandria than is usual in the winter  
 season, had taken command of the forces which he  
 had been sent to fetch, and by a forced march soon  
 reached Ptolemais. There he found his father with  
 two legions, the most distinguished of all, the  
 eighth and the tenth, and now united to them the  
 fifteenth which he had brought himself. These

Josephus  
unsuccess-  
fully  
attacks  
Sepphoris.

Titus joins  
Vespasian at  
Ptolemais.

Total  
strength of  
the Roman  
forces.

A similar, though apparently distinct, attack of Josephus  
 on Sepphoris (*before* the arrival of Vespasian) is recorded in  
 'a 395 ff.

<sup>b</sup> § 8.

εἴποντο ὁκτωκαΐδεκα σπεῖραι προσεγένοντο δι-  
καὶ ἀπὸ Καισαρείας πέντε καὶ ἵππεων ἥλη μία  
67 πέντε δὲ ἔτεραι τῶν ἀπὸ Συρίας ἵππεων. τῶν δι-  
σπειρῶν αἱ δέκα μὲν εἰχον ἀνὰ χιλίους πεζούς  
αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ δεκατρεῖς ἀνὰ ἑξακοσίους μὲν πεζούς  
68 ἵππεῖς δὲ ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν. συχνὸν δὲ καὶ παρ-  
τῶν βασιλέων συνήχθη συμμαχικόν, Ἀντιόχου μὲν  
καὶ Ἀγρίππα καὶ Σοαιμού παρασχομένων ἀν-  
δισχιλίους πεζούς τοξότας καὶ χιλίους ἵππεῖς, το-  
δὲ Ἀραβος Μάλχου χιλίους πέμψαντος ἵππεῖς ἐπ-  
πεζοῦς πεντακισχιλίοις, ὃν τὸ πλέον ἦσαν τοξότα  
69 ὡς τὴν πᾶσαν δύναμιν συνεξαριθμουμένων τὰ  
βασιλικῶν ἵππεας τε καὶ πεζοὺς εἰς ἔξ ἀθροίζεσθαι  
μυριάδας δίχα θεραπόντων, οἵ παμπληθεῖς με-  
εἴποντο, διὰ δὲ συνάσκησιν πολεμικὴν οὐκ ἀ-  
ἀποτάσσοιτο τοῦ μαχίμου, κατὰ μὲν εἰρήνην ταῖς  
μελέταις τῶν δεσποτῶν ἀεὶ στρεφόμενοι  
συγκινδυνεύοντες δὲ ἐν πολέμοις, ὡς μήτ' ἐμπειρι-  
μήτ' ἀλκῆ τινος πλὴν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐλαττοῦσθα

70 (v. 1) Κάν τούτῳ μὲν οὖν θαυμάσαι τις οἱ  
‘Ρωμαίων τὸ προμηθέσ, κατασκευαζομένων ἑαυτο-  
τὸ οἰκετικὸν οὐ μόνον εἰς τὰς τοῦ βίου διακονού-  
71 ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους χρήσιμον. εἰ δέ ταῦτῶν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην σύνταξιν τῆς στρατι

<sup>a</sup> The cohort was the tenth part of a legion, normal numbering about 600 men.

<sup>b</sup> Antiochus IV, king of Commagene; Soemus, king Emesa (*B. ii. 500 f.*).

<sup>c</sup> The items supplied work out at not far short of the figure. An exact computation is impossible owing to u

legions were accompanied by eighteen cohorts<sup>a</sup>; five more cohorts with one squadron of cavalry came to join them from Caesarea, and five squadrons of cavalry from Syria. Of the twenty-three cohorts, ten numbered each a thousand infantry, the remaining thirteen had each a strength of six hundred infantry and a hundred and twenty cavalry. A further considerable force of auxiliaries had been mustered by the kings Antiochus, Agrippa, and Boaemus,<sup>b</sup> each of whom furnished two thousand unmounted bowmen and a thousand cavalry; the Arab Malchus sent a thousand cavalry and five thousand infantry, mainly bowmen. Thus the total strength of the forces, horse and foot, including the contingents of the kings, amounted to sixty thousand,<sup>c</sup> without counting the servants who followed in vast numbers and may properly be included in the category of combatants, whose military training they shared; for, taking part in peace time in all their masters' manœuvres and in war time in their dangers, they yielded to none but them in skill and prowess.

(v. 1) One cannot but admire the forethought shown in this particular by the Romans, in making their servant class useful to them not only for the administrations of ordinary life but also for war. If one goes on to study the organization of their army<sup>d</sup> certainty as to the strength of the squadrons (*alae*) of cavalry. The legion=about 6120 men. If the *alae* are reckoned at 30 men each, the total is 55,720; if at 1000 men, it amounts to 58,720.

<sup>a</sup> This remarkable chapter, a first-rate authority on the Roman army in the first century, should be compared with the passage which probably suggested it—the more detailed digression of Polybius (vi. 19-42) on the army of three centuries earlier.

Digression  
on the  
Roman  
army.

ἀπίδοι, γνώσεται τὴν τοσήνδε ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοὺς  
 72 ἀρετῆς κτῆμα ἔχοντας, οὐ δῶρον τύχης. οὐ γὰρ  
 αὐτοῖς ἀρχὴ τῶν ὅπλων [ό] πόλεμος, οὐδέ τέ  
 μόνας τὰς χρείας τῷ χείρᾳ κινοῦσιν ἐν εἰρήνῃ  
 προηργηκότες, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ συμπεφυκότες τοῖς  
 ὅπλοις οὐδέποτε τῆς ἀσκήσεως λαμβάνουσιν ἐκείνης  
 73 χειρίαν οὐδὲ ἀναμένουσιν τοὺς καιρούς. αἱ μελέται  
 δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν τῆς κατὰ ἀλήθειαν εὔτονίαν  
 ἀποδέουσιν, ἀλλ’ ἔκαστος ὁ σημέραι στρατιώτῃ,  
 πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ καθάπερ ἐν πολέμῳ γυμνάζεται  
 74 διὸ κουφότατα τὰς μάχας διαφέρουσιν· οὕτε γὰρ  
 ἀταξία διασκίδησιν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν ἔθει συνιτί<sup>τάξεως</sup>, οὕτε δέος ἐξίστησιν, οὕτε δαπανᾶ πόνο  
 ἐπεται δὲ τὸ κρατεῖν ἀεὶ κατὰ τῶν οὐχ ὁμοία  
 75 βέβαιον. καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι τις εἰπὼν τὰς μάχες  
 μελέτας αὐτῶν χωρὶς αἴματος παρατάξεις, τις  
 76 παρατάξεις δὲ μεθ’ αἵματος μελέτας. οὐδὲ γέ  
 ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς εὐάλωτοι πολεμίοις· ὅπη δὲ τοῖς  
 ἐμβάλωσιν εἰς ἐχθρῶν γῆν, οὐ πρὶν ἄπτονται  
 77 μάχης ἢ τειχίσαι στρατόπεδον. τὸ δὲ οὐκ εἰκαῖ  
 οὐδὲ ἀνώμαλον ἐγείρουσιν, οὐδὲ πάντες ἢ ἀτάκτα  
 διαλαβόντες, ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν ἀνώμαλος ὃν τύχη  
 χῶρος, ἐξομαλίζεται· διαμετρεῖται δὲ παρεμβολ  
 78 τετράγωνος αὐτοῖς. καὶ τεκτόνων πλῆθος ἐπετί<sup>τῶν</sup>  
 τῶν τε πρὸς τὴν δόμησιν ἐργαλείων.<sup>1</sup>

79 (2) Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔνδον εἰς σκηνὰς διαλαμβα-

<sup>1</sup> τά τε . . . ἐργαλεῖα MVRC.

as a whole, it will be seen that this vast empire of theirs has come to them as the prize of valour, and not as a gift of fortune.

For their nation does not wait for the outbreak of war to give men their first lesson in arms ; they do not sit with folded hands in peace time only to put them in motion in the hour of need. On the contrary, as though they had been born with weapons in hand, they never have a truce from training, never wait for emergencies to arise. Moreover, their peace manœuvres are no less strenuous than veritable warfare ; each soldier daily throws all his energy into his drill, as though he were in action. Hence that perfect ease with which they sustain the shock of battle : no confusion breaks their customary formation, no panic paralyses, no fatigue exhausts them ; and as their opponents cannot match these qualities, victory is the invariable and certain consequence. Indeed, it would not be wrong to describe their manœuvres as bloodless combats and their combats as sanguinary manœuvres.

The Romans never lay themselves open to a surprise attack ; for, whatever hostile territory they may invade, they engage in no battle until they have fortified their camp. This camp is not erected at random or unevenly ; they do not all work at once or in disorderly parties ; if the ground is uneven, it is first levelled ;<sup>a</sup> a site for the camp is then measured out in the form of a square. For this purpose the army is accompanied by a multitude of workmen and of tools for building.

(2) The interior of the camp is divided into rows

Romans in constructing a camp ; the former follow the lie of the ground and spare themselves the trouble of entrenching.

νουσιν, ἔξωθεν δ' ὁ κύκλος τείχους ὅψιν ἐπέχει,  
 80 πύργοις ἐξ ἵσου διαστήματος κεκοσμημένος. ἐπὶ  
 δὲ τῶν μεταπυργίων τούς τε ὀξυβελεῖς καὶ κατα-  
 πέλτας καὶ λιθοβόλα καὶ πᾶν ἀφετήριον ὄργανον  
 81 τιθέασιν, πάντα πρὸς τὰς βολὰς ἔτοιμα. πύλαι  
 δὲ ἐνοικοδομοῦνται τέσσαρες καθ' ἕκαστον τοῦ  
 περιβόλου κλίμα, πρὸς τε εἰσόδους τῶν ὑποζυγίων  
 εὐμαρεῖς καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκδρομὰς αὐτῶν, εἰ κατ-  
 82 επείγοι, πλατεῖαι. ρύμοτομοῦσι δ' εὐδιαθέτως εἴσω  
 τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ μέσας μὲν τὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων  
 σκηνὰς τίθενται, μεσαίτατον δὲ τούτων τὸ στρατή-  
 83 γιον ναῷ παραπλήσιον· ὥσπερ δὲ ἐν σχεδίῳ πόλις  
 καὶ ἀγορά τις ἀποδείκνυται καὶ χειροτέχναις  
 χωρίον, θῶκοί τε λοχαγοῖς καὶ ταξιάρχοις, ὅπῃ  
 84 δικάζοιεν, εἴ τινες διαφέροιντο. τειχίζεται δὲ ὁ  
 περίβολος καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα θάττον ἐπινοίας  
 πλήθει καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ τῶν πονούντων· εἰ δ' ἐπείγοι,  
 καὶ τάφρος ἔξωθεν περιβάλλεται, βάθος τετρά-  
 πηχυς καὶ εὑρος ἵση.

85 (3) Φραξάμενοι δ' αὐλίζονται κατὰ συντάξεις  
 ἕκαστοι μεθ' ἡσυχίας τε καὶ κόσμου. πάντα δ'  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ τάλλα μετ' εὐταξίας ἀνύεται καὶ ἀσφα-  
 λείας, ξυλεία τε καὶ ἐπισιτισμός, εἰ δέοιτο, κα-  
 86 ὑδρεία κατὰ συντάξεις ἔκάστοις. οὐδὲ γὰρ δεῖπνοι  
 ἢ ἄριστον, ὅπότε θελήσειαν, αὐτεξούσιον ἔκάστω  
 πᾶσιν δ' ὁμοῦ, τούς τε ὑπνους αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς  
 φυλακὰς καὶ τὰς ἔξεγέρσεις σάλπιγγες πρ-

<sup>a</sup> ὀξυβελεῖς and καταπέλται, species of *catopultaē*, mechanical contrivances for discharging arrows by means of a windlass: λιθοβόλα, *ballistae*, for discharging stones with high angle fire.

<sup>b</sup> The *praetorium*.

of tents. The exterior circuit presents the appearance of a wall and is furnished with towers at regular intervals ; and on the spaces between the towers are placed “quick-firers,” catapults, “stone-throwers,”<sup>a</sup> and every variety of artillery engines, all ready for use. In this surrounding wall are set four gates, one on each side, spacious enough for beasts of burden to enter without difficulty and wide enough for sallies of troops in emergencies. The camp is intersected by streets symmetrically laid out ; in the middle are the tents of the officers, and precisely in the centre the headquarters of the commander-in-chief,<sup>b</sup> resembling a small temple. Thus, as it were, an improvised city springs up,<sup>c</sup> with its market-place, its artisan quarter, its seats of judgement, where captains and colonels<sup>d</sup> adjudicate upon any differences which may arise. The outer wall and all the buildings within are completed quicker than thought, so numerous and skilled are the workmen. In case of need, the camp is further surrounded by a fosse, four cubits deep and of equal breadth.

(3) Once entrenched, the soldiers take up their quarters in their tents by companies, quietly and in good order. All their fatigue duties are performed with the same discipline, the same regard for security : the procuring of wood, food-supplies, and water, as required—each party has its allotted task. The hour for supper and breakfast is not left to individual discretion : all take their meals together. The hours for sleep, sentinel-duty, and rising, are announced

Daily  
routine of  
life in camp

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Polyb. vi. 31 ὁ μὲν εἰς ἀγορὰν γίνεται τόπος ὁ δ' ἔτερος ϕ τε ταμιεῖω . . . πόλει παραπλησίαν ἔχει τὴν διάθεσιν.

<sup>b</sup> Perhaps centurions (*λόχος* = a century ii. 63) and tribunes (Reinach). But *ταξιαρχοί* appear to be distinguished from *χιλιαρχοί* in § 87 and in A. vii. 26.

σημαίνουσιν, οὐδ' ἔστιν ὅ τι γίνεται δίχα παρ-  
 87 αγγέλματος. ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἔω τὸ στρατιωτικὸν μὲν  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑκατοντάρχας ἕκαστοι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς  
 χιλιάρχους οὗτοι συνίασιν ἀσπασόμενοι, μεθ' ὧν  
 πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν ὄλων οἱ ταξίαρχοι πάντες.  
 88 ὁ δ' αὐτοῖς τό τε ἔξι ἔθους σημεῖον καὶ τὰλλα  
 παραγγέλματα διαδίδωσιν<sup>1</sup> διαφέρειν εἰς τοὺς  
 ὑποτεταγμένους. ὁ δὴ κάπι παρατάξεως πράτ-  
 τοντες ἐπιστρέφονται [τε] ταχέως, ἵνα<sup>2</sup> δέοι, καὶ  
 πρὸς τὰς ἐφόδους αὐτοῖς<sup>3</sup> καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀνακλήσεις  
 ὑποχωροῦσιν ἀθρόοι.

89 (4) Ἐξιέναι δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου δέον ὑπο-  
 σημαίνει μὲν ἡ σάλπιγξ, ἡρεμεῖ δ' οὐδείς, ἀλλ  
 ἅμα τεύματι τὰς μὲν σκηνὰς ἀναιροῦσιν, πάντα δ'  
 90 ἐξαρτύονται πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον. καὶ πάλιν α  
 σάλπιγγες ὑποσημαίνουσιν παρεσκευάσθαι. οἱ δ  
 ἐν τάχει τοῖς τε ὄρεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοι  
 ἐπιθέντες τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἐστᾶσιν ὥσπερ ἐφ'  
 ὑσπληγος ἐξορμᾶν ἔτοιμοι, ὑποπιμπρᾶσίν τε ἦδι  
 τὴν παρεμβολήν, ὡς αὐτοῖς μὲν ὃν ῥάδιον ἐκεῖ  
 πάλιν τειχίσασθαι, μὴ γένοιτο δ' ἐκεῦνό ποτε τοῖ  
 91 πολεμίοις χρήσιμον. καὶ τρίτον δ' ὁμοίως<sup>4</sup> α  
 σάλπιγγες προσημαίνουσιν τὴν ἔξοδον, ἐπισπέρ  
 χουσαι τοὺς δι' αἰτίαν τιὰ βραδύναντας, ὡς μ  
 92 τις ἀπολειφθείη [τῆς]<sup>5</sup> τάξεως. ὅ τε κῆρυξ δεξιὸ

<sup>1</sup> PAM: διδωσιν the rest.

<sup>2</sup> RC = "where": + εἰ the rest.

<sup>3</sup> Text doubtful.

<sup>4</sup> ὑφ' P: ἀφ' Naber.

<sup>5</sup> om. Destinon (so apparently Lat.).

<sup>6</sup> Havercamp with one ms.: ὅμως the rest.

<sup>7</sup> ins. Bekker with one ms.

y the sound of the trumpet ; nothing is done without word of command. At daybreak the rank and file report themselves to their respective centurions, the centurions go to salute the tribunes,<sup>a</sup> the tribunes with all the officers <sup>b</sup> then wait on the commander-in-chief, and he gives them, according to custom, the watchword and other orders to be communicated to the lower ranks. The same precision is maintained in the battle-field : the troops wheel smartly round in the requisite direction, and, whether advancing to the attack or retreating, all move as a unit at the word of command.

(4) When the camp is to be broken up, the trumpet sounds a first call ; <sup>c</sup> at that none remain idle : instantly, at this signal, they strike the tents and make all ready for departure. The trumpets sound second call to prepare for the march : at once they file their baggage on the mules and other beasts of burden and stand ready to start, like runners breasting the cord on the race-course. They then set fire to the encampment, both because they can easily construct another [on the spot], and to prevent the enemy from ever making use of it. A third time the trumpets give a similar signal for departure, to hasten the movements of stragglers, whatever the reason for their delay, and to ensure that none is out of his place in the ranks. Then the herald, standing on

Breaking camp : the army on the march.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Polyb. vi. 36. 6 (at daybreak the inspectors of night-triaries report to the tribunes).

<sup>b</sup> *ταξιαρχοι*=either "officers" generally, including centurions and tribunes (Reinach), or perhaps "legates," i.e. commanders of the legions, for which, however, *επαρχος* is used in § 310.

<sup>c</sup> Polybius, vi. 40, similarly describes three trumpet-calls before the march : (1) lower tents and collect baggage, (2) load beasts of burden, (3) march.

τῷ πολεμάρχῳ παραστάς, εἰ πρὸς πόλεμον εἰσι  
ἔτοιμοι, τῇ πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ τρὶς ἀναπυνθάνεται  
κάκεῖνοι τοσαυτάκις ἀντιβοῶσιν μέγα τι καὶ πρό<sup>τ</sup>  
θυμον, ἔτοιμοι λέγοντες εἶναι, φθάνουσιν δὲ τὸ  
ἐπερωτῶντα, καὶ τινος ἀρητοῦ πνεύματος ὑπὸ<sup>τ</sup>  
πιμπλάμενοι τῇ βοῇ συνεξαίρουσιν τὰς δεξιάς.

93 (5) Ἐπειτα προϊόντες ὁδεύουσιν ἡσυχῇ καὶ μετ  
κόσμου πάντες, ὥσπερ ἐν πολέμῳ τὴν ἴδιαν τάξιν  
ἔκαστος φυλάσσον, οἱ μὲν πεζοὶ θώραξίν [τε]  
πεφραγμένοι καὶ κράνεσιν καὶ μαχαιροφοροῦντε<sup>ν</sup>  
94 ἀμφοτέρωθεν. μακρότερον δ' αὐτῶν τὸ λαικό<sup>ν</sup>  
ξίφος πολλῷ τὸ γὰρ κατὰ [τὸ]<sup>1</sup> δεξιὸν σπιθαμῆ<sup>ν</sup>  
95 οὐ πλέον ἔχει τὸ μῆκος. φέρουσι δ' οἱ μὲν περὶ<sup>τ</sup>  
τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπίλεκτοι πεζοὶ λόγχην καὶ ἀσπίδα<sup>ν</sup>  
ἡ δὲ λοιπὴ φάλαγξ ἔνστόν τε καὶ θυρεὸν ἐπιμήκι<sup>ν</sup>  
πρὸς οὓς πρίονα καὶ κόφινον, ἅμην τε καὶ πέλεκυ<sup>ν</sup>  
πρὸς δὲ ἴμάντα καὶ δρέπανον καὶ ἄλυσιν, ἡμερά<sup>ν</sup>  
τε τριῶν ἐφόδιον· ὡς ὀλίγον ἀποδεῖν τῶν ἀχθοφοροῦντων ὀρέων τὸν πεζόν. τοῖς δὲ ἵππεῦσι<sup>ν</sup>  
96 μάχαιρα μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν μακρὰ καὶ κοντὸς ἐπιμήκης ἐν χειρί, θυρεὸς δὲ παρὰ πλευρὸν ἵπποι<sup>ν</sup>  
πλάγιος, καὶ κατὰ γωρυτοῦ παρήρτηνται τρεῖς<sup>ν</sup>  
πλείους ἄκοντες, πλατεῖς μὲν αἰχμάς, οὐκ ἀπιδέοντες δὲ δοράτων μέγεθος· κράνη δὲ καὶ θώρακ<sup>ν</sup>  
97 ὁμοίως τοῖς πεζοῖς ἄπασιν. οὐδεὶν δὲ ὅπλοι διαλλάττονται οἱ περὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἔκκριτοι<sup>ν</sup>  
τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἔλαις ἵππέων. κλήρῳ δὲ τῶν ταμάτων ἀεὶ τὸ λαχὸν ἡγεῖται.

<sup>1</sup> P: om. the rest.

<sup>a</sup> About 9 inches. On the monuments this order reversed, the poniard (*pugio*) being on the left; similar 604

the right of the war-lord, inquires three times in their native tongue whether they are ready for war. Three times they loudly and lustily shout in reply, "We are ready," some even anticipating the question; and, worked up to a kind of martial frenzy, they along with the shout raise their right arms in the air.

(5) Then they advance, all marching in silence and in good order, each man keeping his place in the ranks, as if in face of the enemy.

The infantry are armed with cuirass and helmet and carry a sword on either side; that on the left is far longer of the two, the dagger on the right being no longer than a span.<sup>a</sup> The picked infantry, forming the general's guard, carry a lance<sup>b</sup> and round shield,<sup>c</sup> the regiments of the line a javelin<sup>d</sup> and oblong buckler<sup>e</sup>; the equipment of the latter further includes a saw, a basket, a pick and an axe, not to mention a strap, a bill-hook, a chain and three days' rations, so that an infantry man is almost as heavily laden as a pack-mule.

The cavalry carry a large sword on their right side, <sup>and of</sup> long pike in the hand, a buckler resting obliquely on the horse's flank, and in a quiver slung beside them three or more darts with broad points and as long as spears; their helmets and cuirasses are the same as those worn by all the infantry. The select cavalry, forming the general's escort, are armed in precisely the same manner as the ordinary troopers. The legion which is to lead the column is always selected by lot.<sup>f</sup>

lybius, who omits the poniard, states that the sword is worn on the right (vi. 23. 6).

<sup>a</sup> *Hasta.*      <sup>b</sup> *Parma.*      <sup>c</sup> *Pilum.*      <sup>d</sup> *Scutum.*

According to Polyb. vi. 40. 9 the order of march was governed by a daily rotation.

Arms and equipment of infantry

98 (6) Τοιαῦται μὲν οὖν αἱ Ἀρμαίων πορεῖαι ταὶς καταλύσεις, πρὸς δὲ ὅπλων διαφοράι, οὐδὲ δὲ ἀπροβούλευτον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς σχέδιον, ἀλλὰ γνώμη μὲν ἀεὶ παντὸς ἔργου προάγεται τοῖς δοχθεῖσι δ' ἔπειται τὰ ἔργα· παρ' ὁ καὶ σφάλλονται μὲν ἡκιστα, καν πταίσωσι δέ, ρᾳδία 100 ἀναλαμβάνουσι τὰ σφάλματα. ἡγοῦνται τε ταὶς ἀπὸ τύχης ἐπιτευγμάτων ἀμείνους τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ προβούλευθεῖσιν διαμαρτίας, ὡς τοῦ μὲν αὐτοῦ μάτου καλοῦ δελεάζοντος εἰς ἀπρομήθειαν, τις σκέψεως δέ, καν ἀτυχήσῃ ποτέ, πρὸς τὸ μένθις καλὴν ἔχούσης μελέτην· καὶ τῶν μὲν αὐτοῦ μάτων ἀγαθῶν οὐ τὸν λαβόντα αἴτιον εἶναι, τέ δὲ παρὰ γνώμην προσπεσόντων σκυθρωπῶν παριμοθίαν τό γε προσηκόντως βεβουλεῦσθαι.

101 (7) Παρασκευάζουσι μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς μελέταις τῶν ὅπλων οὐ τὰ σώματα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τις ψυχὰς ἀλκίμους, προσασκοῦνται δέ καὶ τῷ φόβῳ 103 οἵ τε γὰρ νόμοι παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐ λιποταξίου μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ρᾳστώνης ὀλίγης θανατικοί, οἵ στρατηγοὶ τῶν νόμων φοβερώτεροι· ταῖς γὰρ προτὸς ἀγαθοὺς τιμᾶς ρύονται τὸ<sup>1</sup> δοκεῦν ὡμοίων πρὸς τοὺς κολαζομένους. τοσοῦτον δὲ αὐτῶν 104 πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας πειθήνιον, ὡς ἐν τε εἰρήνης κόσμον εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ παρατάξεως ἐν σώματα τοῦ ὄλην στρατιάν. οὕτως αὐτῶν συναφεῖς<sup>2</sup> μὲν τάξεις, εὔστροφοι δὲ εἰσὶν αἱ περιαγωγαί, ὅξει δὲ ἀκοαὶ μὲν παραγγέλμασιν, ὅψεις δὲ σημείοις ἔργοις δὲ χεῖρες. ὅθεν δρᾶσαι μὲν ἀεὶ ταχεῖς βραδύτατοι δὲ παθεῖν εἰσιν, οὐδὲ ἔστιν ὅπου στ

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ Dindorf.<sup>2</sup> L., cf. Lat. copulati: ἀσφαλεῖς or ἀφελεῖς the rest.

(6) Such is the routine of the Roman army on the Tactics. march and in camp, such are the various arms which they bear. In battle nothing is done unadvisedly or left to chance : consideration invariably precedes action, and action conforms to the decision reached. Consequently the Romans rarely err, and, if they do make a slip, easily repair their error. They consider, moreover, that a well-concerted plan, even if it ends in failure, is preferable to a happy stroke of fortune, because accidental success is a temptation to improvidence, whereas deliberation, though occasionally followed by misfortunes, teaches the useful lesson how to avoid their recurrence. They further reflect that one who profits by a happy accident can take no credit for it, while disasters which occur contrary to all calculations leave one at least the consolation that no proper precautions were neglected.

(7) By their military exercises the Romans instil Discipline. into their soldiers fortitude not only of body but also of soul ; fear, too, plays its part in their training. For they have laws which punish with death not merely desertion of the ranks, but even a slight neglect of duty ; and their generals are held in even greater awe than the laws. For the high honours with which they reward the brave prevent the offenders whom they punish from regarding themselves as treated cruelly.

This perfect discipline makes the army an ornament of peace-time and in war welds the whole into a single body ; so compact are their ranks, so alert their movements in wheeling to right or left, so quick their ears for orders, their eyes for signals, their hands to act upon them. Prompt as they consequently ever are in action, none are slower than they

Rome owes  
its Empire  
to its  
efficient  
army.

θέντες<sup>1</sup> ἡ πλήθους ἡσσήθησαν ἡ στρατηγημάτωι  
ἡ δυσχωρίας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τύχης· καὶ γὰρ ταύτης  
107 αὐτοῖς τὸ κρατεῦν βεβαιότερον. οἷς οὖν βουλί<sup>2</sup>  
μὲν ἄρχει πράξεως,<sup>3</sup> ἔπειται δὲ τοῖς βεβουλευ-  
μένοις στρατὸς οὗτῳ δραστήριος, τί θαυμαστόν  
εἰ πρὸς ἕω μὲν Εὐφράτης, ὥκεανὸς δὲ πρὸς  
ἔσπέραν, μεσημβρινὸν δὲ Λιβύης τὸ πιότατον  
καὶ πρὸς ἄρκτον Ἰστρος τε καὶ Ῥῆνος τῇ  
ἡγεμονίας ὄροι; δεόντως γὰρ ἂν τις εἴποι το-  
κτῆμα τῶν κτησαμένων ἔλασσον.

108 (8) Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν διεξῆλθον οὐ Ῥωμαίου  
ἐπαινέσαι προαιρούμενος τοσοῦτον, ὃσον εἰς τὴν  
παραμυθίαν τῶν κεχειρωμένων καὶ εἰς ἀποτροπὴν  
109 τῶν νεωτεριζόντων· εἴη δ' ἂν τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν τῶν  
φιλοκαλούντων καὶ πρὸς ἐμπειρίας ἡ ἀγωγὴ τῆς  
Ῥωμαίων στρατιᾶς. ἐπάνειμι δ' ὅθεν ἐπὶ ταῦτα  
ἔξεβην.

110 (vi. 1) Οὐεσπασιανὸς μὲν ἄμα τῷ παιδὶ Τίτῳ  
διατρίβων τέως ἐν τῇ Πτολεμαΐδι συνέτασσεν τὶς  
δυνάμεις, ὁ δὲ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν κατατρέχων Πλε-  
κιδος ἐπεὶ πολὺ μὲν πλῆθος ἀνηρήκει τῶν κατε-  
λαμβανομένων, τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ ἀσθενέστερον Γαλ-  
111 λαίων καὶ ταῖς φυγαῖς<sup>4</sup> ἐναποκάμνον, ὅρων τοις  
συμφεῦγον ἀεὶ τὸ μάχιμον εἰς τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωση-

<sup>1</sup> PAL: συστάντες the rest.

<sup>2</sup> παρατάξεως PAL.

<sup>3</sup> M (margin): φιλακαῖς or ψυχαῖς the rest.

<sup>4</sup> The motive here admitted is significant. As has been said elsewhere (vol. i. Introd. p. xi), the *Jewish War*, "penn in Vespasian's former palace by his pensioner, was probably of the nature of a manifesto inspired by his imperial patron."

in succumbing to suffering, and never have they been known in any predicament to be beaten by numbers, by ruse, by difficulties of ground, or even by fortune; for they have more assurance of victory than of fortune. Where counsel thus precedes active operations, where the leaders' plan of campaign is followed up by so efficient an army, no wonder that the Empire has extended its boundaries on the east to the Euphrates, on the west to the ocean, on the south to the most fertile tracts of Libya, on the north to the Ister and the Rhine. One might say without exaggeration that, great as are their possessions, the people that won them are greater still.

(8) If I have dwelt at some length on this topic, my intention was not so much to extol the Romans as to console those whom they have vanquished and to deter others who may be tempted to revolt.<sup>a</sup> Perhaps, too, any cultured readers<sup>b</sup> who are unacquainted with the subject may profit by an account of the organization of the Roman army. I will now resume my narrative at the point where I digressed.

(vi. 1) Vespasian was detained for some time with his son Titus at Ptolemais, consolidating his forces. Meanwhile Placidus<sup>c</sup> was scouring Galilee and had begun by killing large numbers of those who fell into his hands, these being weak civilians who were exhausted by flight; afterwards, observing that the combatants always took refuge in the cities which had intended as a warning to the East of the futility of further opposition." The danger of a rising of the Parthians or of the Jews of Babylon (ii. 388 f.) was a constant menace.

Unsuccess-  
ful attack on  
Placidus at  
Jotapata.

<sup>a</sup> τῶν φιλοκαλούντων: cf. Polybius vi. 26. 12 τις γὰρ οὕτως τὴν ἀπεικόνισην πρὸς τὰ καλὰ κτλ.

<sup>c</sup> § 59.

που τειχισθείσας πόλεις ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν ὁχυρω  
τάτην αὐτῶν Ἰωταπάταν, οἰόμενος ἐξ ἐφόδου μὲ  
αἱρήσειν ράδιως, μέγα δὲ κλέος αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῖ  
ἡγεμόσιν κάκείνοις ὄφελος εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ παρ  
ἔξειν· προσχωρήσειν γὰρ δέει τὰς ἄλλας πόλει  
112 τῆς καρτερωτάτης οἰχομένης.<sup>1</sup> πολύ γε μὴν δι  
ήμαρτεν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐπιόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰωτα  
πατηνοὶ προαισθόμενοι πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐκ  
δέχονται, καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συρραγέντες ἀδοκήτοι  
πολλοὶ καὶ πρὸς μάχην ἔτοιμοι, πρόθυμοι τε ὡ  
ἄν ὑπὲρ κινδυνευούσης πατρίδος καὶ γυναικῶν κα  
113 τέκνων, τρέπονται ταχέως. καὶ πολλοὺς μὲ  
τιτρώσκουσι τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἐπτὰ δὲ ἀναιροῦσι  
διὰ τὸ μήτε ἄτακτον αὐτῶν τὴν ὑποχώρησι  
γενέσθαι καὶ τὰς πληγὰς ἐπιπολαίους πεφραγ  
μένων πάντοθεν τῶν σωμάτων, τούς τε Ἰουδαίοι  
πόρρωθεν βάλλειν πλέον ἢ συμπλέκεσθαι θαρρεῖ  
114 γυμνῆτας ὄπλιταις. ἔπεισον δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων  
τρεῖς ἄνδρες καὶ ἐτρώθησαν ὀλίγοι. Πλάκιδος με  
οῦν τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὥρμῆς ἀτονώτερος εὑρεθε  
φεύγει.

115 (2) Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ὥρμημένος αὐτὸς ἐμβαλε  
εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐξελαύνει τῆς Πτολεμαΐδος  
διατάξας τὴν στρατιὰν ὅδεύειν καθὰ Ῥωμαίο  
116 ἔθος. τοὺς μέν γε ψιλοὺς τῶν ἐπικούρων κι  
τοξότας προάγειν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς ἀνακόπτοιεν το  
ἐξαπιναίους τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδρομὰς καὶ δ  
ερευνῶν τὰς ὑπόπτους καὶ λοχᾶσθαι δυναμένε  
ῦλας, οἷς εἶπετο καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὄπλιτικὴ μοῖρα  
117 πεζοί τε καὶ ἵππεῖς. τούτοις ἀφ' ἐκάστης ἐκατον

<sup>1</sup> MVRC, cf. iv. 128: ἐχομένης PAL.

Josephus had fortified, he proceeded to attack the most formidable of them, Jotapata. He expected to have no difficulty in capturing it by a sudden assault, and thus to procure for himself a high reputation with his chiefs and for them a considerable advantage for the future campaign ; for, once the strongest town had fallen, terror would induce the rest to surrender. In this hope, however, he was greatly deceived. Forewarned of his approach, the people of Jotapata awaited his coming outside the town and burst unexpectedly upon the Romans. Being a large body, well prepared for battle, and kindled by the thought of the danger threatening their native city, their wives and their children, they quickly routed their opponents and wounded a large number of them. They killed no more than seven, because the Romans retired in good order and, their bodies being completely protected, received only superficial wounds, while their Jewish assailants, lightly equipped and opposed to heavy-armed regulars, kept their distance and did not venture to come to close quarters with them. The Jews on their side had three killed and a few wounded. Tacitus, thus finding himself too feeble for an assault on the town, beat a retreat.

(2) But Vespasian, impatient to invade Galilee himself, now set out from Ptolemais, after drawing up his army for the march in the customary Roman order. The auxiliary light-armed troops and archers were sent in advance, to repel any sudden incursions of the enemy and to explore suspected woodland suited for the concealment of ambuscades. Next came a contingent of heavy-armed Roman soldiers, infantry and cavalry. They were followed by a detachment

Vespasian advances into Galilee. Order of his army on the march.

αρχίας ἡκολούθουν δέκα τὴν τε ἑαυτῶν σκευὴν  
 118 καὶ τὰ μέτρα τῆς παρεμβολῆς φέροντες, καὶ μετ'  
 αὐτοὺς ὁδοποιοὶ τά τε σκολιὰ τῆς λεωφόρου  
 κατευθύνειν καὶ χθαμαλοῦν τὰ δύσβατα καὶ τὰς  
 ἐμποδίους ὕλας προανακόπτειν, ὡς μὴ ταλαιπω-  
 119 ροῖτο δυσποροῦν τὸ στράτευμα. κατόπιν δὲ τού-  
 των τάς τε ἴδιας καὶ τὰς τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνωι  
 ἔταξεν ἀποσκευὰς καὶ συχνοὺς ἐπὶ τούτοις πρὸς  
 120 ἀσφάλειαν τῶν ἵππεων. μεθ’ οὓς αὐτὸς ἐξήλαυνει  
 τοὺς τε ἐπιλέκτους τῶν πεζῶν καὶ ἵππεων καὶ  
 τοὺς λογχοφόρους ἔχων. εἴπετο δ’ αὐτῷ τὸ ἴδιοι  
 τοῦ τάγματος ἵππικόν· ἴδιοι γὰρ ἐκάστου τάγματο-  
 121 εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν ἵππεis. τούτοις δὲ  
 ἡκολούθουν οἱ τὰς ἐλεπόλεις φέροντες ὄρεis καὶ  
 122 τὰ λοιπὰ μηχανήματα. μετὰ τούτους ἡγεμόνει  
 τε καὶ σπειρῶν ἐπαρχοὶ σὺν χιλιάρχοις, ἐπιλέκτου  
 123 περὶ σφᾶς στρατιώτας ἔχοντες· ἔπειτα αἱ σημαῖοι  
 περίσχουσαι τὸν ἀετόν, ὃς παντὸς ἄρχει· 'Ρω  
 μαίοις τάγματος, βασιλεύς τε οἰωνῶν ἀπάντω  
 καὶ ἀλκιμώτατος ὅν· δ δὴ καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονία  
 τεκμήριον αὐτοῖς καὶ κληδών, ἐφ’ οὓς ἂν ἴωσι  
 124 τοῦ κρατήσειν δοκεῖ. τοῖς δὲ ἱεροῖς ἡκολούθοις  
 οἱ σαλπιγκταί, καὶ κατόπιν αὐτῶν ἡ φάλαγξ τ  
 στῖφος εἰς ἐξ πλατύνασα. τούτοις παρείπετό τι  
 ἑκατόνταρχος ἐξ ἔθους τὴν τάξιν ἐπισκοπούμενος  
 125 τὸ δὲ οἰκετικὸν ἐκάστου τάγματος ἄπαν τοῖς  
 πεζοῖς εἴπετο, τὰς ἀποσκευὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἄγοντε-

composed of ten men from each century, carrying their own kit and the necessary instruments for marking out the camp ; after these came the pioneers to straighten sinuosities on the route, to level the rough places and to cut down obstructing woods, in order to spare the army the fatigues of a toilsome march. Behind these Vespasian posted his personal equipage and that of his lieutenants with a strong mounted escort to protect them. He himself rode behind with the pick of the infantry and cavalry and his guard of lancers. Then came the cavalry units of the legions ; for to each legion are attached a hundred and twenty horse. These were followed by the mules carrying the siege towers <sup>a</sup> and the other machines. Then came the legates, the prefects of the cohorts and the tribunes, with an escort of picked troops. Next the ensigns surrounding the eagle, which in the Roman army precedes every legion, because it is the king and the bravest of all the birds : it is regarded by them as the symbol of empire, and, whoever may be their adversaries, an omen of victory. These sacred emblems were followed by the trumpeters, and behind them came the solid column, marching six abreast. A centurion, according to custom, accompanied them <sup>b</sup> to superintend the order of the ranks. Behind the infantry the servants attached to each legion followed in a body, conducting the mules and other beasts of burden which carried the soldiers' kit. At the end of the

<sup>a</sup> For carrying battering-rams : in iii. 230 the word *λέπολις* seems to mean the battering-ram itself.

<sup>b</sup> Reinach thinks that a centurion for each legion must be intended.

126 κατόπιν δὲ πάντων τῶν ταγμάτων ὁ μίσθιος ὅχλος,  
οἵσι οὐραγοὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἡκολούθουν πεζοὶ τε  
καὶ ὄπλιται καὶ τῶν ἵππέων συχνοί.

127 (3) Οὗτως ὁδεύσας Οὐεσπασιανὸς μετὰ τῆς  
δυνάμεως εἰς τὸν ὄρους ἀφικνεῖται τῆς Γαλι-  
λαίας, ἐνθα καταστρατοπεδευσάμενος ὥρμημένους  
εἰς πόλεμον τὸν στρατιώτας κατεῖχεν, ἐπι-  
δεικνύμενός τε τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς κατάπληξιν τοὺς  
πολεμίοις καὶ μετανοίας καιρὸν διδούς, εἰ πρὶ<sup>1</sup>  
μάχης μεταβάλοιντο· ἂμα δὲ καὶ πρὸς πολιορκίαι  
128 τῶν ἐρυμάτων ἔξηρτύετο. μετάνοιαν μὲν οὖν τῆς  
ἀποστάσεως ὀφθεὶς ὁ στρατηγὸς πολλοῖς ἐνειρ-  
129 γάστο, κατάπληξιν δὲ πᾶσιν οἱ μὲν γὰρ περ  
τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐστρατοπεδευκότες οὐκ ἄπωθεν τῇ  
Σεπφώρεως [παρὰ πόλιν Γαρὶν καλουμένην],<sup>1</sup> ἐπε-  
πλησιάζοντα τὸν πόλεμον ἡκουσαν ὅσον τε οὕπο  
τοὺς Ῥωμαίους συμμίξοντας σφίσιν, οὐ μόνο  
πρὸ μάχης, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὶν ἴδειν τὸν ἔχθρον  
130 διασκίδνανται φυγῆ. καταλείπεται δ' ὁ Ἰώση-  
πος μετ' ὀλίγων, καὶ κατιδὼν ὡς οὔτε δέχεσθα  
τὸν πόλεμούς ἀρκετὴν ἔχοι<sup>2</sup> δύναμιν καὶ πε-  
πτώκοι τὰ φρονήματα τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἄσμενοί τ  
ἄν, εἰ πιστεύοιτο, χωροῖεν οἱ πλείους ἐπὶ σπονδάς  
131 ἐδεδίει μὲν ἦδη περὶ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου, τότ  
δ' ὡς πορρωτάτῳ χωρίζεσθαι τῶν κινδύνων ἔκρι-

<sup>1</sup> om. PAL Lat.; perhaps a gloss from *Vita* 395, 412.

<sup>2</sup> ἔχει PM.

column came the crowd of mercenaries,<sup>a</sup> and last of all for security a rearguard composed of light and heavy infantry and a considerable body of cavalry.

(3) Proceeding with his army in this order Vespasian reached the frontiers of Galilee. Here he established his camp and restrained the ardour of his soldiers, who were burning for the fray, being content to parade his forces before the enemy, with a view to intimidating them and giving time for reconsideration, if they wished, before an engagement, to desert their friends.<sup>b</sup> At the same time he made preparations for besieging the strongholds. The general's appearance on the scene in fact aroused in many regret for their revolt, and in all alarm. The troops under the command of Josephus, who were camping beside a town called Garis, not far from Sepphoris,<sup>c</sup> discovering that the war was upon them, and that they might at any moment be attacked by the Romans, dispersed and fled, not only before any engagement, but before they had even seen their foes. Josephus was left with a few companions ; he saw that he had not sufficient forces to await the enemy, that the Jews were crestfallen, and that the majority of them, if they could gain the enemy's confidence, would gladly capitulate. Already he had fears for the ultimate issue of the war ; for the moment he decided to remove as far as possible from

portion only has been mentioned in § 116. Similarly, in olyb. vi. 40. 6-8, "the left wing of the auxiliaries" bring up the rear ; if an enemy attack in the rear is expected the picked auxiliaries "are transferred to that quarter from the van.

<sup>a</sup> Or, perhaps, "come to a better frame of mind."

<sup>c</sup> Twenty furlongs from Sepphoris (*Vita* 395, where Garis called a village).

Josephus,  
deserted by  
his troops,  
retires to  
Tiberias.

νεν, ἀναλαβών τε<sup>1</sup> τοὺς συμμείναντας εἰς Τιβεριάδα καταφεύγει.

132 (vii. 1) Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τῇ πόλει τῶν Γαβάρων<sup>2</sup> ἐπελθὼν αἱρεῖ τε κατὰ πρώτην ἔφοδον αὐτήν μαχίμου πλήθους ἔρημον καταλαβών, καὶ παρελθὼν εἴσω πάντας ἡβῆδὸν ἀγαιρεῖ μηδεμιᾶς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡλικίας ἔλεον ποιουμένων μίσει [τῷ πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος καὶ μνήμῃ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Κέστιον αὐτῶν παρανομίας. ἐμπίμπρησιν δ' οὐ μόνον αὐτὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πέριξ κώμας πάσας τε καπολίχιας, ἃς μὲν παντελῶς ἐκλειειμμένας, ἔστι δ' ἃς αὐτὸς ἐξανδραποδιζόμενος.

135 (2) Ὁ δ' Ἰώσηπος ἦν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν εἶλετο πόλιν αὐτὸς ἐνέπλησεν δέους καταφυγῶν· οἱ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Τιβεριάδος οὐκ ἄν, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ πᾶν ἀπεγιώκει τὸν πόλεμον, τραπῆναι ποτε αὐτὸν ϕοιτο. καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο γε οὐ διημάρτανον αὐτὸν τῆς γιώμης· ἔώρα μὲν γὰρ ποιὸν ῥέψει τὰ Ἰουδαίων τέλους, καὶ μίαν αὐτῶν ἥδει σωτηρίαν, εἰ μεταβάλοιτο. αὐτὸς δὲ καίπερ συγγιωσθήσεσθαι παρίστημας προσδοκῶν, ὅμως τεθνάναι μᾶλλον εἶλετο πολλάκις ἢ καταπροδούς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐμπιστευθεῖσαν αὐτῷ στρατηγίαν ὑβρίσας εὐτυχεῖν παρ' οἷς πολεμήσων ἐπέμφθη. γράφει οὖν τοῖς ἐν τέλει τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων διέγνω μετὰ ἀκριβείας τὰ πράγματα, ὡς μήτ' ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἐξάρας τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἴσχὺν αῦθις εἰς δειλία κακίζοιτο, μήτε ἐνδεέστερον ἀπαγγείλας κανό μετα-

<sup>1</sup> Niese after Lat.: δὲ MSS.: δῆ Bekker.

<sup>2</sup> Gfroerer: Γαδάρων or Γαδαρέων MSS. Gadara was in Decapolis and pro-Roman (B. iv. 413): Gabara was principal city of Galilee, due east of Ptolemais (Vita 123).

<sup>3</sup> From Lat.: δὲ MSS.

the risk of a conflict. Accordingly, with the remnant of his troops, he took refuge in Tiberias.

(vii. 1) Vespasian's first objective was the city of Gabara, which he carried at the first assault, finding it deprived of effective combatants. Entering the city he slew all males who were of age, the Romans showing no mercy to old or young, so bitter was their hatred of the nation and their memory of the affront which had been done to Cestius. Not content with setting fire to the city, Vespasian burnt all the villages and country towns in the neighbourhood ; some he found completely deserted, in the others he reduced the inhabitants to slavery.

(2) The arrival of Josephus filled with alarm the city which he had chosen as his refuge, for the people of Tiberias felt that he would never have fled, had he not abandoned all hope of success in the contest. In this they correctly interpreted his opinion ; for he foresaw the final catastrophe for which the fortunes of the Jews were heading, and recognized that their only hope of salvation lay in submission. As for himself, although he might look for pardon from the Romans, he would have preferred to suffer thousand deaths rather than betray his country and disgracefully abandon the command which had been entrusted to him, in order to seek his fortune among those whom he had been commissioned to fight. He decided therefore to write to the authorities at Jerusalem an exact statement of the position of affairs, neither exaggerating the strength of the enemy, which might subsequently lead to his being unfeared with cowardice, nor underrating it, for fear

Vespasian captures and destroys Gabara.

Josephus writes to Jerusalem for instructions.

- 139 νοήσαντας ἵσως θρασύνειεν,<sup>1</sup> ἵνα τε ἡ σπουδὰς  
αἴρούμενοι ταχέως ἀντιγράψωσιν, ἡ πολεμεῖ  
ἐγνωκότες πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀξιόμαχον αὐτῷ πέμ  
140 ψωσι δύναμιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν ταῦτ' ἐπιστείλας πέμπε  
διὰ τάχους ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων τοὺς τὰ γράμματα  
κομίζοντας.
- 141 (3) Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ὥρμημένος ἐξαιρεῖν τὴν  
Ἰωταπάταν, πέπυστο γὰρ εἰς αὐτὴν πλείστου  
τῶν πολεμίων συμπεφευγέναι καὶ ἄλλως ὀρμητή  
ριον ἰσχυρὸν οὖσαν αὐτῶν, πέμπει πεζούς τε καὶ  
ἱππεῖς τοὺς προεξομαλιοῦντας τὴν ὁδὸν ὄρειν ἡ  
ὑπάρχουσαν καὶ πετρώδη, δύσβατον δὲ καὶ πεζοῖς  
142 ἱππεῦσιν δ' ἀμήχανον. οἱ μὲν οὖν τέσσαροι  
ἡμέραις ἐξειργάσαντο καὶ πλατεῖαν ἥνοιξαν τ  
στρατιὰ λεωφόρον· τῇ πέμπτῃ δ' ὁ Ἱώσηπος  
αὗτη δ' ἦν Ἀρτεμισίου μηνὸς μία καὶ εἰκά  
φθάνει παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν Ἱωταπάταν ἐκ τῆς  
Τιβεριάδος καὶ πεπτωκότα τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐγείρει  
143 τὰ φρονήματα. Οὐεσπασιανῷ δέ τις εὐαγγελίζεται  
τὴν μετάβασιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτόμολος καὶ καὶ  
ήπειγεν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὡς μετ' ἐκείνης αἱρήσοντ  
πᾶσαν Ἰουδαίαν, εἰ λάβοι τὸν Ἱώσηπον ὑποχείριο  
144 ὁ δ' ἀρπάσας ὕσπερ μέγιστον εὔτύχημα τὶ  
ἀγγελίαν καὶ προνοίᾳ θεοῦ τὸν συνετώτατον εἶνι  
δοκοῦντα τῶν πολεμίων οἰόμενος εἰς είρκτι  
αὐθαίρετον παρελθεῖν, εὐθέως μὲν σὺν χιλίοις

<sup>1</sup> LC: θρασύνοιεν the rest.

of encouraging them to hold out when possibly inclined to repent. If the magistrates intended to negotiate, they were asked to reply to that effect without delay ; if they decided to continue the war, they should send him a force capable of coping with the Romans. Having written a letter to this effect, he sent it by express messengers to Jerusalem.

(3) Vespasian was impatient to make an end of Jotapata, having heard that it was the refuge to which most of the enemy had retired, and that it was, moreover, their strong base ; he accordingly sent a body of infantry and cavalry in advance to level the road leading to it, a stony mountain track, difficult for infantry and quite impracticable for mounted troops.<sup>a</sup> In four days their task was completed and a broad highway opened for the army. On the 15th, which was the twenty-first<sup>b</sup> of the month Artemisius, Josephus hurriedly left Tiberias and entered Jotapata, his arrival raising the dejected spirits of the Jews. A deserter brought to Vespasian the welcome intelligence of the general's movement, and urged him to hasten to attack the city, because its fall, could he but secure Josephus, would amount to the capture of all Judaea. Vespasian caught at his information as a godsend, regarding it as by God's providential ordering that the man who was reputed to be the most sagacious of his enemies had thus deliberately entered a prison ; he instantly

Josephus  
enters  
Jotapata :  
Vespasian  
invests it.

May-June  
A.D. 67.

ightly underestimated in *Vita* 234 as "about 40 stades" ; it is six miles due south.

<sup>b</sup> There is some doubt about this figure, which it is difficult to reconcile with the statement that Jotapata was taken on the first of Panemus (§ 339) after a siege of forty-seven days (316). The 21st of Artemisius, according to Niese's calculation, was the 8th of June, A.D. 67.

ἱππεῦσιν πέμπει Πλάκιδον καὶ δεκαδάρχην Αἰ-  
βούτιον, ἄνδρα τῶν ἐπισήμων κατὰ χεῖρα κα-  
σύνεσιν, περικατασχεῖν κελεύσας τὴν πόλιν, ὡς  
μὴ λάθοι διαδρᾶς ὁ Ἰώσηπος.

145 (4) Αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν ἀναλαβὼι  
πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν εἶπετο καὶ μέχρι δείλη  
146 ὁδεύσας πρὸς τὴν Ἰωταπάταν ἀφικνεῖται. ἀνα-  
λαβὼν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὸ προσάρκτιον αὐτῆ  
μέρος ἔν τινι λόφῳ στρατοπεδεύεται διέχοντ  
σταδίους ἐπτὰ τῆς πόλεως, πειρώμενος ὡς μά-  
λιστα τοῖς πολεμίοις εὐσύνοπτος εἶναι πρὸς ἔκ-  
147 πληξιν· ἥ καὶ παραχρῆμα τοσαύτη τοὺς Ἰουδαίους  
κατέσχεν, ὡς μηδένα τοῦ τείχους τολμῆσαι προ-  
148 ελθεῖν. ‘Ρωμαῖοι δ’ εὐθὺς μὲν ἀπώκνησαν προσ-  
βαλεῖν, δι’ ὅλης ὡδευκότες ἡμέρας, διπλῇ δὲ τ  
φάλαγγι κυκλοῦνται τὴν πόλιν καὶ τρίτην ἔξωθε  
περιστᾶσιν τὴν ἵππον, πάσας ἀποφράσσοντε  
149 αὐτοῖς τὰς ἔξόδους. τοῦτ’ ἐν ἀπογνώσει σωτη-  
ρίας παρώξυνε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους πρὸς τόλμαν· οὐδὲ  
γὰρ ἀνάγκης ἐν πολέμῳ μαχιμώτερον.

150 (5) Γενομένης δὲ μεθ’ ἡμέραν προσβολῆς τ  
μὲν πρῶτον Ἰουδαῖοι κατὰ χώραν μένοντε  
ἀντεῖχον, ἀντικρὺ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐστρατοπεδεῖ  
151 κότες<sup>1</sup> πρὸ τοῦ τείχους· ὡς δὲ Οὐεσπασιανὶ<sup>2</sup>  
τούτοις μὲν τοὺς τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας κα-  
πᾶν τὸ τῶν ἐκηβόλων πλῆθος ἐπιστήσας ἐπε-  
τρεψειν βάλλειν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν εἰς τ

<sup>1</sup> The Lat. translates ἐστρατοπεδευκότων.

<sup>2</sup> Aebutius, in the service of Agrippa, had at an early stage of the war been entrusted with the oversight of the

dispatched Placidus and the decurion Aebutius,<sup>a</sup> a man of marked energy and ability, with a thousand horse, with orders to invest the town and prevent Josephus from escaping secretly.

(4) Vespasian followed them the next day with all his army and, marching until evening, arrived before Jotapata. Leading his troops up to the north side of the city he encamped on a hill seven furlongs distant from it, seeking a position as conspicuous as possible to the enemy in order to intimidate them. In fact the spectacle had such an instantaneous effect on the Jews that none ventured outside the walls. The Romans, after their full day's march, were not prepared to make an immediate attack, but they surrounded the city with a double cordon of infantry, and posted outside these a third line of cavalry, blocking all means of exit. This manœuvre, cutting off hope of escape, stimulated the Jews to deeds of gallantry ; for nothing in war so rouses the martial spirit as necessity.

(5) Next day an attack was made. At first those of the Jews who were encamped opposite the Romans outside the walls<sup>b</sup> merely held their ground against the enemy ; but when Vespasian brought up his archers, slingers, and all his other marksmen in full force and gave orders to shoot down these opponents, while he himself with the infantry pushed up the

First  
fighting at  
Jotapata.

Great Plain and had an encounter with Josephus (*Vita* 14 ff.) ; his previous acquaintance with Josephus doubtless accounts for his selection on this occasion.

<sup>b</sup> The Jews may well have had a camp *extra muros* in the early days of the siege : this must have been rapidly driven in as we hear no more of it. The Latin has, "the Jews merely held their ground opposite the Romans who were encamped outside the walls."

πρόσαντες ἀνέώθει<sup>1</sup> καθ' ὁ τὸ τεῖχος ἦν εὐάλωτον,  
 δείσας ὁ Ἰώσηπος περὶ τῆς πόλει προπηδᾶ καὶ  
 152 σὺν αὐτῷ πᾶν τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πλῆθος. συμ-  
 πεσόντες δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀθρόοι τοῦ μὲν τείχους  
 ἀνέστειλαν αὐτούς, πολλὰ δ' ἐπεδείκνυντο χειρῶν  
 ἔργα καὶ τόλμης. οὐκ ἐλάσσω<sup>2</sup> γε μὴν ὥν ἔδρων  
 153 ἀντέπασχον· ὅσον γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἡ τῆς σωτηρίας  
 ἀπόγνωσις, τοσοῦτο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους αἰδὼς παρ-  
 εκρότει, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐμπειρία μετ' ἀλκῆς, τοὺς  
 δὲ θράσος ὄπλιζε τῷ θυμῷ στρατηγουμένους.  
 154 παραταξάμενοι δὲ δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας νυκτὶ δια-  
 λύονται, τρώσαντες μὲν πλείστους Ῥωμαίων  
 δεκατρεῖς δ' ἀνελόντες· αὐτῶν δ' ἐπεσον μὲν  
 δεκαεπτά, τραυματίαι δ' ἐγένοντο ἔξακόσιοι.  
 155 (6) Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ [ἡμέρᾳ] πάλιν προσβάλ-  
 λουσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεξελθόντες καὶ πολὺ καρ-  
 τερώτερον ἀντιπαρετάξαντο, θαρραλεώτεροι μὲν ἐκ  
 τοῦ παρὰ λόγον ἀντισχεῖν τῇ προτέρᾳ<sup>3</sup> γεγενημένοι  
 χρώμενοι δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις μαχιμωτέροις  
 156 ὑπὸ γὰρ αἰδοῦς εἰς ὄργὴν ἐξεκαίοντο, τὸ μὲν  
 157 ταχέως νικᾶν ἥπταν ἥγούμενοι. καὶ μέχρι πέμπτης  
 ἡμέρας προσβολαὶ μὲν ἐγίνοντο τῶν Ῥωμαίων  
 ἀδιάλειπτοι, ἐκδρομαὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰωταπατηνῶν κα-  
 τειχομαχίαι καρτερώτεραι, καὶ οὕτε Ἰουδαῖοι τῇ  
 τῶν πολεμίων ἴσχὺν κατωρράδουν οὕτε Ῥωμαῖοι  
 πρὸς τὸ τῆς πόλεως δυσάλωτον ἀπέκαμνον.  
 158 (7) Ἐστιν δ' Ἰωταπάτα πλὴν ὀλίγου πᾶσαν

<sup>1</sup> conj. with Naber: ἀνώθει (*sic!*) MSS.: ἀνωθεῖ Niese.

<sup>2</sup> ἔλασσον PL.

<sup>3</sup> προτεραίᾳ Niese.

<sup>a</sup> The phrase θράσος ὄπλιζεν comes from Soph. *El.* 995 f. a play of which there are other reminiscences in Josephus cf. ψυχῆς ἀφειδεῖν *B.* iii. 212, Soph. *El.* 980.

slope at the point where the wall offered little difficulty, Josephus, alarmed for the fate of the town, made a sally with the whole multitude of the Jews. Falling in a body upon the Romans they drove them from the ramparts and performed many signal feats of prowess and daring. However, they suffered as much loss as they inflicted, for if the Jews were emboldened by despair, the Romans were no less roused by shame ; on the one side were skilled experience and strength, the other had recklessness for its armour,<sup>a</sup> and passion for its leader. The battle lasted all day, and night alone parted the combatants. Of the Romans very many were wounded and thirteen killed. The Jewish casualties were seventeen killed and six hundred wounded.

(6) On the following day, when the Romans returned to the attack, the Jews made a fresh sally and offered a much more stubborn resistance, from the confidence inspired by their unexpectedly successful resistance on the previous day. But the Romans on their side proved more resolute opponents, being enflamed to fury by shame and regarding a lack of instant victory as tantamount to defeat. So for five days the Romans incessantly renewed their assaults, and the garrison of Jotapata their sallies and their yet more stubborn defence from the ramparts, the Jews undaunted by their enemy's strength, the Romans undeterred by the difficulties which their objective presented.

(7) The town of Jotapata <sup>b</sup> is almost entirely built Site of  
Jotapata.

<sup>b</sup> Modern *Jefat*, Talmudic *Jodaphath* (according to the Mishna it was an old town, walled since the time of Joshua) : in the hills to the north of the plain of Asochis, midway between Gabara (N.) and Sepphoris (S.).

κρημνός, ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν πάντοθεν  
 φάραγξιν ἀπείροις ἀπότομος, ὡς τῶν κατιδεῖν  
 πειρωμένων τὰς ὕψεις προεξασθενεῖν τοῦ βάθους,  
 ἀπὸ Βορέου δὲ προσιτὴ μόνον, καθ' ὃ λήγοντι  
 159 τῷ ὅρει πλαγίως<sup>1</sup> προσέκτισται.<sup>2</sup> καὶ τοῦτο δ' ὃ  
 Ἰώσηπος ἐμπεριειλήφει τειχίζων τὴν πόλιν, ὡς  
 ἀκατάληπτον εἶναι πολεμίοις τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς  
 160 ἀκρώρειαν. κυκλόθεν δ' ἄλλοις ὅρεσιν καλυπτο-  
 μένη, πρὶν εἰσαφίκοιτό τις εἰς αὐτήν, παντελῶς  
 ἀόρατος ἦν. εἶχε μὲν οὖν οὕτως ὀχυρότητος  
 Ἰωταπάτη.

161 (8) Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τῇ τε φύσει τοῦ χωρίου  
 καὶ ταῖς τόλμαις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀντιφιλονεικῶν  
 ἔγνω καρτερώτερον ἀπτεσθαι τῆς πολιορκίας, καὶ  
 προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἥγεμόνας ἐβού-  
 162 λεύετο περὶ τῆς προσβολῆς. δόξαιν δὲ χῶσαι τὸ  
 προσιτὸν τοῦ τείχους, ἐπὶ συγκομιδὴν ὕλης  
 ἐκπέμπει πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ κοπέντων τῷ  
 περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὄρῳ, συναλισθείσης τε ἄμα τοῖς  
 163 ξύλοις ἀπείρου χερμάδος, οἱ μὲν πρὸς ἀλεωρὰί  
 τῶν ὑπερθεν ἀφιεμένων βελῶν γέρρα διατείναντες  
 ὑπὲρ χαρακωμάτων ἔχουν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲν τὴν  
 μικρὰ βλαπτόμενοι ταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους βολαῖς.  
 164 οἱ δὲ τοὺς πλησίον ὅχθους ἀνασπῶντες γῆν αὐτοῖς  
 ἀδιαλείπτως προσέφερον, καὶ τριχῆ διηρημένωι  
 165 ἀργὸς ἦν οὐδείς. οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι πέτρας τε  
 μεγάλας ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν τοῖς σκεπάσμασιν αὐτῶν  
 ἐπηφίεσαν καὶ πᾶν εἶδος βελῶν· ἦν δὲ καὶ μὴ  
 δικινουμένων πολὺς ὁ ψόφος καὶ φοβερὸς ἐμπόδιον  
 τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις.

<sup>1</sup> ML: πλαγίω the rest.<sup>2</sup> προσέκτείνεται P\*ALM: for text cf. B. v. 148.

on precipitous cliffs, being surrounded on three sides by ravines so deep that sight fails in the attempt to fathom the abyss. On the north side alone, where the town has straggled sideways up a descending spur of the mountains, is it accessible. But this quarter, too, Josephus, when he fortified the city, had enclosed within his wall, in order to prevent the enemy from occupying the ridge which commanded it. Concealed by other mountains surrounding it, the town was quite invisible until one came right up to it. Such was the strong position of Jotapata.

(8) Vespasian, pitting his strength against the <sup>The siege begun.</sup> nature of the ground and the determination of the Jews, resolved to press the siege more vigorously ; he accordingly summoned his principal officers to deliberate with him on the plan of attack. It was decided to erect earthworks against the accessible portion of the wall, whereupon the whole army was sent out to procure the necessary materials. The mountain forests surrounding the town were stripped, and, besides timber, enormous masses of stones were collected. Then one party of soldiers spread screens of hurdles over palisades, as a cover from missiles from above, and thus protected constructed the earthworks, suffering little or no injury from their assailants on the ramparts ; while others pulled to pieces the adjacent mounds and kept their comrades constantly supplied with earth. With this triple division of labour not a man was idle. The Jews, meanwhile, launched from the walls great boulders upon the enemy's shelters with all sorts of projectiles, the crash of which, even when they failed to penetrate, was so loud <sup>a</sup> and terrific as to impede the workers.

<sup>a</sup> Or "continuous."

- 166 (9) Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τὰς ἀφετηρίους μηχανὰς ἐπιστήσας, τὰ πάντα δ’ ἦν ἔκατὸν ἔξη-  
 κοντα ὅργανα, βάλλειν ἐκέλευσεν τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 167 τείχους. ὁμοῦ δ’ οἵ τε καταπέλται τὰς λόγχας ἀνερροίζουν καὶ ταλαντιῖαι λίθοι μέγεθος ἐκ τῶν πετροβόλων ἐβάλλοντο, πῦρ τε καὶ πλῆθος ἀθρόων οἰστῶν, ἅπερ οὐ μόνον τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεπίβατον τοῖς ’Ιουδαίοις ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς ὁσης  
 168 ἐφικνεῖτο χώρας· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀράβων τοξοτῶν πλῆθος ἀκοντισταί τε καὶ σφενδονῆται  
 169 πάντες ἄμα τοῖς μηχανήμασιν ἐβαλλον. οὐ μὴν εἰργόμενοι τῆς καθύπερθεν ἀμύνης ἡρέμουν· ἐκτρέ-  
 χοντες γὰρ ληστρικώτερον κατὰ λόχους περιέσπων τε τῶν ἐργαζομένων τὰς σκέπας καὶ τοὺς γυμνου-  
 μένους ἐπαιον, καὶ καθ’ ὃ παρείκοιεν ἐκεῖνοι διερρίπτουν τε τὸ χῶμα καὶ τὰ χαρακώματα σὺν  
 170 τοῖς γέρροις ἐνεπίμπρασαι, μέχρι συνεὶς Οὐεσπα-  
 σιανὸς τὴν διαιρεσιν τῶν ἔργων αἰτίαν εἶναι τῆς βλάβης, τὰ γὰρ διαστήματα τοῖς ’Ιουδαίοις προσ-  
 βολῆς παρεῖχεν τόπον, ἐνοὶ τὰ σκεπάσματα, καὶ συναφθείσης ἄμα αὐτοῖς τῆς δυνάμεως ἀνείρχθησαν αἱ τῶν ’Ιουδαίων παραδύσεις.
- 171 (10) Ἐγειρομένου δὲ τοῦ χώματος ἥδη καὶ ταῖς ἐπάλξεσιν ὅσον οὕπω πλησιάζοντος, δεινὸν ὁ ’Ιώσηπος νομίσας εὶ μηδὲν ἀντιμηχανήσαιτο τῇ πόλει σωτήριον, συναθροίζει τέκτονας καὶ τὸ τεῖχος  
 172 ἐκέλευσεν ὑψοῦν. τῶν δ’ ἀδύνατον εἶναι φαμένων οἰκοδομεῖν τοσούτοις βέλεσι βαλλομένους, σκέπην  
 173 αὐτοῖς ἐπινοεῖ τοιάνδε· δρυφάκτους πήξασθαι

<sup>a</sup> Vegetius ii. 25 reckons 55 catapults to a legion in his time (end of 4th century); this would give 165 of these engines to Vespasian's army of 3 legions (Reinach).

(9) Vespasian now had his artillery engines—numbering in all one hundred and sixty<sup>a</sup>—brought into position round the spot and gave orders to fire upon the defenders on the wall. In one tremendous volley the catapults sent lances hurtling through the air, the stone-projectors discharged blocks of the weight of a talent,<sup>b</sup> fire-brands flew, and there was a hail of arrows, with the effect not only of driving the Jews from the ramparts, but of rendering untenable all the space behind them which came within range of the missiles. For the artillery fire was reinforced by a simultaneous volley from a host of Arab archers, javelin-men, and slingers. Though checked in their defence of the ramparts, the Jews did not remain inactive. Parties of them sallied out in guerilla fashion, stripped off the enemy's shelters and assailed the workmen thus exposed; and, wherever the latter fell back, they demolished the earthworks and set fire to the palisades and hurdles. At length Vespasian, on tracing the cause of this injury to the separation of the earthworks (as the intervals afforded the Jews a loophole for attack) united the various shelters and simultaneously closed up his troops, with the result that further Jewish incursions were repressed.

(10) The embankment was now rising and almost on a level with the battlements, when Josephus, thinking it shameful if he could not devise some counter-measures to save the town, summoned masons and directed them to increase the height of the wall. On their protesting that building was impossible under such a hail of missiles, he invented the following protection for them. Palisades were, by his

<sup>a</sup> About three quarters of a hundredweight, if the Attic commercial standard is followed.

κελεύσας ἐμπετάσαι τε βύρσας νεοδόρους βοῶν,  
ώς ἀναδέχοιντο μὲν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πετροβόλων  
λίθους κολπούμεναι, περιολισθάνοι δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν  
[καὶ] τὰ λοιπὰ βέλη καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ τῆς ἴκμάδος

174 εἴργοιτο, προανίστησιν τῶν τεκτόνων. ὑφ' οἷς  
ἀσφαλῶς ἐργαζόμενοι δι' ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς  
τὸ τεῖχος ἥγειραν εἰς εἴκοσι πήχεις τὸ ὑψος, καὶ  
συχνοὺς μὲν πύργους ἐνωκοδόμησαν αὐτῷ, καρ-  
175 τερὰν δὲ ἔπαλξιν ἐφηρμόσαντο. τοῦτο τοῖς 'Ρω-  
μαίοις ἥδη τῆς πόλεως ἐντὸς οἰομένοις εἶναι  
πολλὴν ἐποίησεν ἀθυμίαν, καὶ πρὸς τε τὴν ἐπίνοιαν  
τοῦ Ἰωσήπου καὶ τὸ παράστημα τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς  
πόλεως κατεπλάγησαν.

176 (11) Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ πανοῦργον  
τοῦ στρατηγήματος καὶ πρὸς τὰς τόλμας παρ-

177 ωξύνετο τῶν Ἰωταπατηνῶν· πάλιν γὰρ ἀναθαρσή-  
σαντες ἐπὶ τῷ τειχισμῷ τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις ἐπεξέθεον,  
καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐγίνοντο συμπλοκαὶ κατὰ λόχους  
ἐπίνοιά τε ληστρικὴ πᾶσα καὶ τῶν προστυχόντων

178 ἀρπαγαὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων πυρπολήσεις, ἕως  
Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἀναπαύσας τὴν στρατιὰν μάχης  
διέγνω προσκαθεζόμενος σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων

179 αἵρεν τὴν πόλιν· ἦ γὰρ ἀναγκαζομένους ταῖς  
ἀπορίαις ἰκετεύσειν αὐτὸν ἦ μέχρι παντὸς ἀπανθα-

180 δισαμένους διαφθαρήσεσθαι λιμῷ· πολὺ τε ράοσιν  
αὐτοῖς ἡξίου χρήσεσθαι κατὰ τὴν μάχην, εἰ δια-  
λιπὼν αὐθις ἐκτετρυχωμένοις ἐπιπέσοι. φρουρεῖν  
δὴ πάσας αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν τὰς ἐξόδους.

181 (12) Τοῖς δὲ σίτου μὲν πλῆθος ἦν ἔνδον καὶ τῶν

<sup>a</sup> Reinach quotes Vegetius iv. 15, showing that this method of defence was known to the Romans.

orders, fixed to the wall, and over these were spread hides of oxen that had just been flayed, to catch in their folds the stones hurled by the engines, while the other projectiles would glance off their surface and their moisture would extinguish the flaming brands.<sup>a</sup> Under this screen the builders, working in security day and night, raised the wall to a height of twenty cubits, erected numerous towers and crowned the whole with a stout parapet. At this spectacle the Romans, who imagined themselves already masters of the town, were greatly disheartened ; the ingenuity of Josephus and the perseverance of the inhabitants astounded them.

(11) Vespasian was no less provoked both at the cleverness of this stratagem and at the audacity of the people of Jotapata ; for, emboldened by their new fortification, they recommenced their sallies against the Romans. Every day parties of them came into conflict with the besiegers, employing all the ruses of guerilla warfare, pillaging whatever fell in their way and setting fire to the rest <sup>b</sup> of the Roman works. This continued until Vespasian, ordering his troops to cease fighting, resolved to resort to a blockade and to starve the city into surrender : the defenders, he reckoned, would either be reduced by their privations to sue for mercy or, if they remained obdurate to the last, would perish of hunger. Moreover, if it came to a battle, he counted on obtaining a far easier victory, if, after an interval, he renewed his attack upon exhausted opponents. He accordingly gave orders to keep a strict guard on all the exits from the city.

(12) The besieged had abundance of corn and of

<sup>a</sup> i.e. apparently other than the embankments which had been protected by the method described in § 170 (Reinach).

ἄλλων πλὴν ἄλλος ἀπάντων, ἔνδεια δ' ὕδατος ὡς ἄν  
πηγῆς μὲν οὐκ οὕσης κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, τῷ δ'  
182 ὅμβριῷ διαρκουμένων τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ σπάνιον δ' εἴ  
ποτε τὸ κλίμα<sup>1</sup> θέρους ὕεται. καὶ κατὰ ταύτην  
τὴν ὥραν πολιορκουμένων ἀθυμία δεινὴ πρὸς τὴν  
τοῦ δίφους ἐπίνοιαν ἦν, ἀσχαλλόντων ἦδη ὡς  
183 καθάπαν ἐπιλελοιπότος ὕδατος· ὁ γὰρ Ἰώσηπος  
τὴν τε πόλιν δρῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων εὔπορον  
καὶ τὰ φροιγήματα γενναῖα τῶν ἀνδρῶν, βουλόμενός  
τε παρ' ἐλπίδα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐκτεῖναι τὴν πολιορ-  
κίαν, μέτρῳ τὸ ποτὸν αὐτοῖς διένειμεν [εὐθέως].<sup>2</sup>  
184 οἱ δὲ τὸ ταμιεύεσθαι χαλεπώτερον ἔνδείας ὑπελάμ-  
βανον, καὶ τὸ μὴ αὐτεξούσιον αὐτῶν πλέον ἐκίνει  
τὴν ὅρεξιν, καὶ καθάπερ εἰς ἔσχατον ἦδη δίφους  
προήκοντες ἀπέκαμνον. διακείμενοι δ' οὕτως οὐκ  
185 ἐλάνθανον τοὺς Ῥωμαίους· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ κατάντους  
ἔώρων αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸ τεῖχος ἐφ' ἔνα συρρέοντας  
τόπον καὶ μετρουμένους τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐφ' ὃν καὶ τοῖς  
δξυβελέσιν ἐξικνούμενοι πολλοὺς ἀνήρουν.  
186 (13) Καὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς μὲν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τῶν  
ἐκδοχείων κειωθέντων ἥλπιζεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης  
187 αὐτῷ παραδοθήσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν· ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος  
κλάσαι τὴν ἐλπίδα ταύτην αὐτῷ προαιρούμενος  
ἐμβρέξαι κελεύει πλείστους τὰ ἴματα καὶ κατ-  
κρεμάσαι περὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις, ὥστε περιρρεῖσθαι  
188 πᾶν ἐξαπίνης τὸ τεῖχος. πρὸς τοῦτ' ἀθυμία τῶν  
Ῥωμαίων καὶ κατάπληξις ἦν θεασαμένων εἰς  
χλεύην τοσοῦτον παραναλίσκοντας ὕδατος οὓς οὐδὲ  
ποτὸν ἔχειν ὑπελάμβανον, ὥστε καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν  
ἀπογνόντα τὴν δι' ἔνδείας ἄλωσιν τρέπεσθαι πάλιν

<sup>1</sup> + τοῦτο Hudson with one ms. (Lat. illo tractu).

<sup>2</sup> διένειμεν εὐθέως PA: διένεμεν εὐθέως L: διένεμεν the rest.

all other necessities, salt excepted, but they lacked water, because, there being no springs within the town, the inhabitants were dependent on rain-water ; but in this region rain rarely, if ever, falls in summer, which was precisely the season at which they were besieged. The mere idea of thirst filled them with dire despondency, and already they were chafing, as though water had entirely failed. For Josephus, seeing the abundance of the city's other supplies and the courageous spirit of its defenders, and desirous to prolong the siege beyond the expectation of the Romans, had from the first put them on water rations. This control system appeared to them harder than actual want ; the constraint of their liberty only increased their craving and they became as limp as though they had already reached the last extremity of thirst. The Romans were not ignorant of their plight : from the slopes above they could see over the wall the Jews flocking to one place and having their water doled out to them, and, directing their catapults<sup>a</sup> upon the spot, killed numbers of them.

(13) Vespasian expected that the water in the cisterns would ere long be exhausted and the city reduced to capitulate. To crush this hope, Josephus had a number of dripping garments hung round the battlements, with the result that the whole wall was suddenly seen streaming with water. The Romans were filled with dismay and consternation at the spectacle of all this water being wasted as a jest by those who they supposed had not even enough to drink. The general himself, despairing of reducing the place by famine, reverted to armed measures and

<sup>a</sup> Greek “ quick-firers ” (§ 80).

189 πρὸς ὅπλα καὶ βίᾳν δὲ δὴ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις δι’ ἐπιθυμίας ἦν· ἀπεγνωκότες γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν πρὸ λιμοῦ καὶ δίψης τὸν ἐν πολέμῳ θάνατον ἤροῦντο.

190 (14) Ὁ μέντοι γε Ἰώσηπος πρὸς τῷδε τῷ στρατηγήματι καὶ ἔτερον ἐπενόησεν εἰς περιουσίαν

191 αὐτῷ· διὰ τιος χαράδρας δυσβάτου καὶ διὰ τοῦθ’ ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάκων ἀμελουμένης κατὰ τὰ πρὸς δύσιν μέρη τῆς φάραγγος ἐκπέμπων τινὰς γράμματά τε πρὸς οὓς ἡβούλετο τῶν ἔξω Ἰουδαίων διεπέμφατο καὶ παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐλάμβανεν, παντός τε ἐπιτηδείου τῶν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιλελοιπότων εὑπόρησεν.

192 ἔρπειν τὰ πολλὰ παρὰ τὰς φυλακὰς κελεύσας τοῖς ἔξιοῦσιν καὶ τὰ ιῶτα καλύπτειν νάκεσιν, ὡς εἰ καὶ κατίδοι τις αὐτοὺς νύκτωρ, φαντασίαν παρέχοιεν κυνῶν, μέχρι συναισθόμενοι τὴν ἐπίνοιαν οἱ φρουροὶ περιύσχουσιν τὴν χαράδραν.

193 (15) Καὶ τόθ’ ὁ Ἰώσηπος μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὅρῶν ἀιθέξειν, ἐν ἀπόρῳ δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν εἰ μένοι, δρασμὸν ἀμα τοῖς δυνατοῖς ἐβουλεύετο. συναισθόμενοι δὲ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ περιχυθέν αὐτῷ κατηντιβόλουν μὴ σφᾶς περιιδεῖν

194 ἐπ’ αὐτῷ μόνῳ κειμένους εἶναι γὰρ τῇ πόλει καὶ σωτηρίας μὲν ἐλπίς παραμένων,<sup>2</sup> παντὸς ἀγωνισομένου δι’ αὐτὸν προθύμως, καν ἀλούσιν δέ,

195 παραμυθίαν. πρέπειν δὲ αὐτῷ μήτε φυγεῖν τοὺς ἔχθροὺς μήτ’ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τοὺς φίλους μήτ’ ἀποπηδᾶν ὥσπερ χειμαζομένης νεώς. εἰς δὲ ἐν γαλήνῃ

196 παρῆλθεν ἐπιβαπτίσειν γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὴν πόλιν.

<sup>1</sup> ιαυτῶν Ρ.Α.

<sup>2</sup> Text uncertain: Herwerden reads ἐπιδία παραμένοντα.

force. That was just what the Jews desired ; for, having given up all hope for themselves and the city, they preferred death in battle to perishing of hunger and thirst.

(14) After this stratagem, Josephus devised yet another to procure himself supplies in abundance. There was, leading down to the ravine on the west side, a gully so difficult to traverse that it had been neglected by the enemy's outposts ; by this route Josephus succeeded in sending letters, by some of his men, to Jews outside the city with whom he wished to communicate, and receiving replies from them ; by the same means he stocked the town with all necessaries when its supplies began to fail. The messengers sent out had general orders to creep past the sentries on all fours and to wear fleeces on their backs, in order that, if they were seen at night, they might be taken for dogs. However, the guards eventually detected the ruse and blocked the gully.

(15) Josephus, now recognizing that the city could not long hold out and that his own life would be endangered if he remained there, took counsel with the principal citizens about the means of flight. The people discovered his intention and crowded round him, imploring him not to abandon them, as they depended on him alone. If he remained, they urged, he would be their one hope of the town being saved, as everyone, because he was with them, would put his heart into the struggle ; were capture in store for them, even then he would be their one consolation. Moreover, it would be unworthy of him to fly from his foes, to desert his friends, to leap in the storm from the vessel on which he had embarked in a calm. For his departure would wreck

# JOSEPHUS

μηδενὸς ἔτι τοῖς πολεμίοις τολμῶντος ἀνθίστασθαι,  
δι’ ὃν ἀν θαρσοῦν οἰχομένου.

- 197 (16) ‘Ο δὲ Ἰώσηπος τὸ καθ’ αὐτὸν ἀσφαλὲς  
ὑποστελλόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔφασκεν ποιεῖσθαι  
198 τὴν ἔξοδον· μένων μὲν γὰρ εἴσω οὕτ’ ἀν ὡφελῆσαι  
τι μέγα σωζομένους, κανάλισκωνται, συναπο-  
λεῖσθαι περιπτῶς, ἐκδὺς δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας ἔξωθεν  
199 αὐτοὺς ὡφελήσειν μέγιστα· τούς τε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς  
χώρας Γαλιλαίους συναθροίσειν ἢ τάχος καὶ ‘Ρω-  
μαίους ἐπέρω πολέμω τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν ἀντι-  
200 περισπάσειν. οὐχ ὄρāν δέ, τί παρακαθεζόμενος  
αὐτοῖς χρήσιμος <ἀν><sup>1</sup> εἴη νῦν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ ‘Ρω-  
μαίους παροξύνων μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν, οὓς  
περὶ πλείστου ποιεῖσθαι λαβεῖν αὐτόν· εἰ δ’ ἐκ-  
δράντα πύθουντο, πολὺ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὄρμῆς  
201 ἀνήσειν. οὐκ ἔπειθεν δὲ τούτοις,<sup>2</sup> ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον  
ἔξεκανσεν τὸ πλῆθος αὐτοῦ περιέχεσθαι· παιδία  
γοῦν καὶ γέροντες καὶ γύναια μετὰ νηπίων ὁδυρό-  
μενα προσέπιπτον αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐμπλεκό-  
202 μενοι πάντες εἶχοντο, καὶ μετὰ κωκυτῶν κοιωνῶν  
σφίσι τῆς τύχης μένειν ἵκετενον, οὐ φθόνω τῆς  
ἐκείνου σωτηρίας, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐλπίδι τῆς  
έαυτῶν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡξίουν πείσεσθαι δεινὸν Ἰω-  
σήπου μένοντος.
- 203 (17) ‘Ο δὲ πειθομένω μὲν ἵκετηρίαν ταῦτα  
νομίσας, βιαζομένω δὲ φρουράν, πολὺ δ’ αὐτοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ins. Niese.

<sup>2</sup> L Lat.: τούτοις or αὐτοῖς the rest.

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<sup>a</sup> εἶχοντο καὶ μετὰ κωκυτῶν : a reminiscence of Hom. Il. xxii. 408 (the mourning over Hector) ἀμφὶ δὲ λαοὶ κωκυτῷ τ’ εἶχοντο καὶ οἰμωγῇ κατὰ ἄστυ. There is a similar scene in Vita 210 ff.

the town, as none would have the heart to resist the enemy any longer, when he whose presence would have given them courage was gone.

(16) Josephus, suppressing any allusion to his own safety, assured them that it was in their own interests that he had contemplated departure ; for his presence in the town could not materially assist them if they were saved, and if they were taken what end would be served by his perishing with them ? Were he, on the contrary, once clear of the siege, he could from outside render them the greatest service, for he would promptly muster the Galilaeans from the country and, by creating a diversion elsewhere, draw off the Romans from their city. He failed to see how his presence at their side could assist them in present circumstances, or have any other effect except to spur the Romans to press the siege more vigorously than ever, as they attached so much importance to his capture ; whereas, if they heard that he had fled, they would considerably relax the ferocity of their attack. Unmoved, however, by these words, the multitude only clung to him more ardently : children, old men, women with infants in their arms, all threw themselves weeping before him ; they embraced and held him by his feet, they implored him with sobs<sup>a</sup> to stay and share their fortune. All this they did, I cannot but think, not because they grudged him his chance of safety, but because they thought of their own ; for, with Josephus on the spot, they were convinced that no disaster could befall them.

(17) Josephus suspected that this insistence would not go beyond supplication if he yielded, but meant that watch would be kept upon him if he opposed their wishes. Moreover, his determination to leave

His  
intention  
prevented

τῆς εἰς τὴν ἀπόλειψιν ὄρμῆς καὶ ὁ τῶν ὀδυρομένων  
 204 ἔκλασεν οἶκτος, μένειν τε ἔγνω, καὶ τὴν κοινὴν τῆς  
 πόλεως ἀπόγνωσιν ὅπλισάμενος, "νῦν καιρός,"  
 εἰπών, "ἄρχεσθαι μάχης, ὅτ' ἐλπὶς οὐκ ἔστι  
 σωτηρίας· καλὸν εὔκλειαν ἀντικαταλλαξάμενον τοῦ  
 βίου καὶ δράσαντά τι γενναῖον εἰς μνήμην ὄψιγενῶν  
 205 πεσεῖν," ἐπ' ἔργα τρέπεται. καὶ προελθὼν μετὰ  
 τῶν μαχιμωτάτων διεσκίδνα τε τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ  
 μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατέτρεχεν,  
 καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν χωμάτων δέρρεις, αἷς ὑπ-  
 εσκήνουν, διέσπα, τοῖς δὲ ἔργοις ἐνέβαλλεν πῦρ.  
 206 τῇ θ' ἔξῆς ὅμοίως καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ ἐπὶ συχνὰς  
 ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας πολεμῶν οὐκ ἔκαμνεν.

207 (18) Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τῶν<sup>1</sup> Ῥωμαίων κακου-  
 μένων ταῖς ἐκδρομαῖς, τρέπεσθαι τε γὰρ ὑπὸ<sup>2</sup>  
 Ἰουδαίων ἥδοῦντο καὶ τραπέντων ἐπιδιώκειν  
 βάρει τῶν ὅπλων ἥσαν βραδεῖς, οἵ τε Ἰουδαῖοι  
 πρίν τι παθεῖν ἀεὶ δρῶντες ἀνέφευγον εἰς τὴν  
 208 πόλιν, τοῖς μὲν ὄπλίταις τὰς ὄρμὰς αὐτῶν ἐκ-  
 κλίνειν ἐκέλευσεν καὶ μὴ συμπλέκεσθαι θανατῶσιν  
 209 ἀνθρώποις οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀλκιμώτερον εἶναι τῆς  
 ἀπογνώσεως, περισβέννυσθαι δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς ὄρμὰς  
 210 σκοπῶν ἀπορουμένας, ὥσπερ ὑλῆς τὸ πῦρ προσ-  
 ἤκειν γε μὴν καὶ Ῥωμαίοις μετ' ἀσφαλείας κα-  
 τὸ νικᾶν, ὡς ἂν οὐκ ἔξι ἀνάγκης πολεμοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ  
 211 προσκτωμένοις. τοῖς δὲ τῶν Ἀράβων τοξόταις  
 καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας σφενδονήταις καὶ λιθο-  
 βόλοις τὰ πολλὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀνέστελλεν  
 ἡρέμει δ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἀφετηρίων ὀργάνων τὸ πλῆθος  
 212 οἱ δὲ τούτοις μὲν εἴκον κακούμενοι, τῶν δὲ πόρρα

<sup>1</sup> + τε MSS.: om. Lat.

them was greatly shaken by compassion for their distress. He therefore decided to remain, and, making the universal despair of the city into a weapon for himself,<sup>a</sup> "Now is the time," he exclaimed, "to begin the combat, when all hope of deliverance is past. Fine is it to sacrifice life for renown and by some glorious exploit to ensure in falling the memory of posterity!" Suiting his action to his words, he sallied out with Jewish sallies, his bravest warriors, dispersed the guards, and penetrating to the Romans' camp, tore up the tents of skin under which they were sheltered on the embankment, and set fire to the works. This he repeated the next day, and the day after that, and for a series of days and nights indefatigably continued the fight.

(18) The Romans suffered from these sallies, for they were ashamed to fly before Jews, and when they put the latter to flight the weight of their arms impeded them in the pursuit, while the Jews always did some mischief before the enemy could retaliate, and then took refuge in the town. In view of this, Vespasian ordered his legionaries to shun these attacks and not to be drawn into an engagement with men who were bent on death. "Nothing," he said, "is more redoubtable than despair, and their impetuosity, deprived of an objective, will be extinguished, like fire for lack of fuel. Besides, it becomes even Romans to think of safety as well as victory, since they make war not from necessity, but to increase their empire." Thenceforth he relied mainly on his Arab archers and the Syrian slingers and stone-throwers to repel the Jewish assaults; the greater part of his artillery was also constantly in action. Severely handled by the engines, the Jews

<sup>a</sup> Cf. § 153 note.

βαλλομένων ἐνδοτέρω γιγόμενοι προσέκειντο τοῖς  
‘Ρωμαίοις χαλεποὶ καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἀφει-  
δοῦτες ἐμάχοντο, ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐκάτεροι τὸ κε-  
κμηκὸς ἑαυτῶν ἀναλαμβάνοντες.

- 213 (19) Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἡγούμενος τῷ μήκει τοῦ  
χρόνου καὶ ταῖς ἐκδρομαῖς ἀντιπολιορκεῖσθαι, τῶν  
χωμάτων ἥδη τοῖς τείχεσι πελαζόντων προσάγειν  
214 ἔγνω τὸν κριόν. ὁ δὲ ἐστὶν ὑπερμεγέθης δοκὸς  
ἴστῳ νεώς παραπλήσιος· ἐστόμωται δὲ παχεῖ  
σιδήρῳ κατ’ ἄκρον εἰς κριοῦ προτομήν, ἀφ’ οἵ  
215 καὶ καλεῖται, τετυπωμένῳ. καταιωρεῖται δὲ κά-  
λοις μέσος ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πλάστιγγος ἔτέρας δοκοῦ,  
σταυροῖς ἐκατέρωθεν ἔδραιοις ὑπεστηριγμένης.  
216 ἀγωθούμενος δὲ ὑπὸ πλήθους ἀνδρῶν εἰς τὸ κατό-  
πιν, τῶν αὐτῶν ἀθρόως πάλιν εἰς τοῦμπροσθεν ἐπι-  
βρισάντων τύπτει τὰ τείχη τῷ προανέχοντι σιδήρῳ  
217 καὶ οὐδεὶς οὕτως καρτερὸς πύργος ἢ περίβολος  
πλατύς, ὃς καν τὰς πρώτας πληγὰς ἐνέγκῃ<sup>1</sup> κατ-  
218 ἴσχυσεν<sup>2</sup> τῆς ἐπιμονῆς. ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν πεῖραν ἐ-  
στρατηγὸς τῶν ‘Ρωμαίων μετέβαινεν βίᾳ τὴν  
πόλιν ἐλεῦν σπεύδων, ὡς τὸ προσκαθέζεσθαι  
219 βλαβερὸν ἦν Ἰουδαίων οὐκ ἡρεμούντων. οἱ μὲν  
οὖν τούς τε καταπέλτας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἀφε-  
τηρίων, ὡς ἔξικνοῦτο τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους κω-  
λύειν πειρωμένων, ἔγγιον προσαγαγόντες ἔβαλλον·  
ὅμοιῶς δὲ συνήγγιζον οἱ τοξόται καὶ σφενδονῆται.  
220 διὰ δὲ ταῦτα μηδενὸς τῶν περιβόλων ἐπιβῆναι  
τολμῶντος, προσῆγον ἔτεροι τὸν κριὸν γέρροις  
τε διηγεκέσι καὶ καθύπερθεν πεφραγμένον δέρρει

<sup>1</sup> Niese: ἐνεγκεῖν or ἐνέγκαι mss.

<sup>2</sup> κατισχύσει VRC.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Soph. El. 980 ψυχῆς ἀφειδήσαντε with note on § 153.

gave way, but once past the reach of their adversaries' long-range projectiles they flung themselves furiously on the Romans and fought desperately, prodigal of life and limb,<sup>a</sup> one party after another relieving their exhausted comrades.

(19) The length of the siege and the sallies of the enemy made Vespasian feel that the position was reversed and himself the besieged ; so, now that the earthworks were approaching the ramparts, he decided to bring up the "ram." This is an immense beam, like the mast of a ship, reinforced at its extremity with a mass of iron in the form of a ram's head, whence the machine takes its name. It is suspended at its middle point by ropes, like the beam of a balance, to another beam which is supported at either end by posts fixed in the ground. A large body of men first draw the ram backward and then, all pushing together with all their weight, heave it forward so that it batters the wall with the projecting iron. And there is no tower so strong, no wall so thick, as, even though it sustain the initial impact, to withstand the repeated assaults of this engine. Such was the expedient to which the Roman general had recourse, being impatient to carry the city by storm, as the long blockade, coupled with the activity of the Jews, was proving injurious. The Romans now brought forward the catapults and the rest of their artillery within range of the Jews on the ramparts who were endeavouring to beat them off, and put these engines into action ; the archers and slingers simultaneously advanced. While the fire of these troops would not permit any to venture on the ramparts, another party brought up the ram, protected by a long line of hurdles, over which was a covering

The  
battering-  
ram applicator

πρός τε αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ μηχανήματος ἀσφάλειαν.  
 221 καὶ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην πληγὴν διεσείσθη μὲν τὸ  
 τεῖχος, κραυγὴ δὲ μεγίστη παρὰ τῶν ἔνδον ἥρθη  
 καθάπερ ἑαλωκότων ἥδη.  
 222 (20) Πολλάκις δὲ εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν παιόντος<sup>1</sup> τόπον  
 ὁ Ἰώσηπος ὄρῳ ὅσον οὕπω καταρριφθησόμενον  
 τὸ τεῖχος, σοφίζεται πρὸς<sup>2</sup> ὀλίγον τὴν βίαν τοῦ  
 223 μηχανήματος. σάκκους ἀχύρων πληρώσαντας ἐκέ-  
 λευσεν καθιμάν καθ' ὃ φερόμενον ἀεὶ τὸν κριὸν  
 ὄρῳεν, ὡς πλάζοιτό τε ἡ ἐμβολὴ καὶ δεχόμενοι  
 224 τὰς πληγὰς ἐκκενοῦεν τῇ χαυνότητι. τοῦτο πλεί-  
 στην διατριβὴν παρέσχεν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, καθ' ὃ  
 μὲν τρέποιεν τὴν μηχανὴν ἀντιπαραγόντων τοὺς  
 σάκκους τῶν ὕπερθεν, ὑποβαλλόντων τε<sup>3</sup> ταῖς ἐμ-  
 βολαῖς, ὡς μηδὲν κατ' ἀντιτυπίαν βλάπτεσθαι τὸ  
 225 τεῖχος· ἔως ἀντεπινοήσαντες κοντοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι  
 μακροὺς καὶ δρέπανα δήσαντες ἐπ' ἄκρων τοὺς  
 226 σάκκους ἀπέτεμνον. ἐνεργοῦ δὲ οὕτω τῆς ἐλε-  
 πόλεως γενομένης καὶ τοῦ τεῖχους, νεοπαγὴς γάρ  
 ἦν, ἐνδιδόντος ἥδη, τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκ πυρὸς  
 227 ἄμυναν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ὥρμησαν. ἀψάμενοι  
 δὲ ὅσον αὐτοὶ εἶχον ὕλης τριχόθεν ἐπεκθέουσιν,  
 καὶ τά τε μηχανήματα καὶ τὰ γέρρα καὶ τὰ  
 228 χώματα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπεπίμπρασαν. οἱ δὲ  
 κακῶς ἐπεβοήθουν, πρός τε τὴν τόλμαν αὐτῶν  
 καταπεπληγότες καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς τὰς ἄμυνας

<sup>1</sup> Niese: παιόντες, παιόντα s, or παιόνται MSS.

<sup>2</sup> κατ' Ρ.Α.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: δὲ MSS.

<sup>a</sup> Sacks of rags (*centones*) were used by the Romans (Veget. iv. 23, quoted by Reinach). <sup>b</sup> Or "continually."

<sup>c</sup> The *ἐλέπολις*, here used for the ram, was originally the

skin for the greater security of themselves and of their engine. At the first blow the wall was shaken and a piercing cry arose from the interior of the town ; though it had already been taken.

(20) Josephus, seeing that under the repeated blows constantly directed upon the same spot the wall was on the verge of collapsing, devised a method of paralysing for a while the force of the machine. He directed that sacks filled with chaff<sup>a</sup> should be let down by ropes at the place which the ram was seen from time to time<sup>b</sup> to be battering, with the object of deflecting the head and deadening the force of the blow by the soft cushion which received it. This seriously retarded the Romans, for, wherever they turned their engine, those above retorted by opposing their sacks beneath the strokes, and so the wall suffered no injury from the impact ; until the Romans invented a counter-device of long poles to the ends of which were attached scythes, with which they cut the cords supporting the sacks. The engine<sup>c</sup> having thus recovered its efficacy, and the newly built wall already showing signs of giving way, Josephus and his comrades, as a last resort, had recourse to fire. Snatching up<sup>d</sup> all the dry wood which they could find, they rushed out from three quarters of the town and set fire to the engines,icker shelters, and props of the enemy's earth-works. The Romans did little to save them, stupefied by their opponents' audacity and outstripped by the

Counter-devices  
of the  
besieged :  
they set fire  
to the  
Roman  
engines.

time given to a movable tower, invented by Demetrius, with several stories for the carriage of artillery and troops (*cf.* § 121).  
<sup>a</sup> ἀψάμενοι : *cf.* ἀράμενοι πῦρ πάλιν, § 234. The meaning "kindle" (so Reinach) is usually expressed by the *active* τίειν, though the middle is used for "set fire to" (a building), *B. v.* 287 τῶν ἔργων ἤπιετο τὸ πῦρ.

φθανόμενοι· ξηρᾶς γὰρ ὅλης, πρὸς δὲ ἀσφάλτο-  
τε καὶ πίσσης, ἕπι δὲ θείου, διύπτατο τὸ πῦ  
ἐπιωίας τάχιον, καὶ τὰ πολλῷ καμάτῳ πεπονγ-  
μένα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ μιᾶς ὥρας ἐνέμετο.

229 (21) Ἐνθα καὶ ἀνήρ τις ἔξεφάνη Ἰονδαίων  
λόγου καὶ μνήμης ἄξιος· Σαμαίου<sup>1</sup> μὲν παῖς ἦ-  
'Ελεάζαρος δ' ἐκαλεῖτο, Σαβᾶ<sup>2</sup> δὲ πατρὶς αὐτοῦ  
230 τῆς Γαλιλαίας· οὗτος ὑπερμεγέθη<sup>3</sup> πέτραν ἀρό-  
μενος ἀφίησιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλέπολι-  
μετὰ τοσαύτης βίας, ὥστε ἀπορρῆξαι τὴν κεφαλὴν  
τοῦ μηχανῆματος, ἦν καὶ καταπηδήσας ἐκ μέσου  
αἱρεται τῶν πολεμίων καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀδείας  
231 ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος ἔφερεν. σκοπὸς δὲ πᾶσιν τοῖς  
ἔχθροῖς γειώμενος καὶ γυμνῶ τῷ σώματι τὸ  
πληγὰς δεξάμενος πέντε μὲν διαπείρεται βέλεσι  
232 πρὸς οὐδὲν δὲ τούτων ἐπιστραφεῖς, ὅτε τὸ τείχος  
ἀιέβη καὶ περίοπτος πᾶσιν τῆς εὐτολμίας ἔστι  
τότε ἰλυσπώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν τραυμάτων μετὰ τοῦ  
233 κριοῦ κατέπεσεν. ἄριστοι μετ' αὐτὸν ἔφάνησι  
ἀδελφοὶ δύο Νετείρας καὶ Φίλιππος, ἀπὸ 'Ρούμι-  
κώμης, Γαλιλαῖοι καὶ αὐτοί, [οἵ]<sup>4</sup> προπηδῶσι με-  
τεῖς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ δεκάτου τάγματος, τοσούτῳ  
ροίζω καὶ βίᾳ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συνέπεσον, ὡς δι-  
αρρῆξαι τε τὰς τάξεις καὶ τρέψασθαι καθ' οὓς ἐξ-  
ορμήσειαν ἄπαιτας.

234 (22) Μετὰ τούτους ὁ τε Ἰώσηπος καὶ τοι-  
λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἀράμενοι πῦρ πάλιν τὰ μηχανή-  
ματα καὶ τὰς ὑποδύσεις ἄμα τοῖς ἔργοις ὑφῆψι-  
τοῦ τε πέμπτου καὶ τοῦ δεκάτου τραπέντος τάχ-

<sup>1</sup> Σαμίοις I A.L.

<sup>2</sup> So or Σαβᾶα or Σαβᾶ the MSS.: Niese suggests Γάβα, known town of Galilee.

lames in their efforts to rescue them ; for fed by dry  
inder, with the addition of bitumen, pitch, and  
ulphur, the fire flew in all directions quicker than  
hought, and works which had cost the Romans such  
evere labour were consumed in a single hour.

(21) On this occasion one Jew who made his mark <sup>Jewish heroes.</sup> deserves record and remembrance ; his name was Eleazar, son of Sameas, a native of Saba in Galilee. Lifting an enormous stone, he hurled it from the wall at the ram with such force that he broke off its head ; then, leaping down, he carried off this trophy from the midst of the enemy and bore it with perfect composure to the foot of the ramparts. Now become target for all his foes, and receiving their hits in his defenceless body, he was pierced by five arrows. But, without a thought for these, he scaled the wall and there stood conspicuous to all the admirers of his rascality ; then, writhing under his wounds, he fell headlong with the ram's head in his hands. Next to him those who most distinguished themselves were two brothers, Netiras and Philip, also Galileans, from the village of Ruma<sup>a</sup> : dashing out against the lines of the tenth legion, they charged the Romans with such impetuosity and force that they broke their ranks and put to flight all whom they encountered.

(22) Following in the wake of these men, Josephus and the rest of the people, with fire-brands in their hands, again sallied out and set fire to the machines, shelters and earthworks of the fifth legion and of

<sup>a</sup> Modern *Rumah*, a few miles from Jotapata on the south of the Plain of Asochis.

<sup>3</sup> οὗτος ὑπερμεγέθη M (Lat.) : ὑπερμεγέθη δὲ or ὑπερμεγέθη <sup>4</sup> ins. M Lat. : om. the rest.

# JOSEPHUS

ματος, οι λοιποὶ δὲ φθάσαντες καὶ τὰ ὄργανα καὶ  
 235 πᾶσαν ὕλην κατέχωσαν. περὶ δὲ δείλην πάλιν  
 ἀναστήσαντες προσῆγον τὸν κριὸν ἥπατον προπεπονήκει  
 236 τυπτόμενον τὸ τεῖχος. ἐνθα τις τῶν ἀμυνομένων  
 νων ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ βάλλει τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν βέλει  
 κατὰ τὸν ταρσὸν τοῦ ποδὸς καὶ τιτρώσκει μὲν  
 ἐπιπολαίως, προεκλύσαντος τὸ βληθὲν τοῦ δια-  
 στήματος, μέγιστον δὲ θόρυβον ἐνεποίησεν τοὺς  
 237 Ῥωμαίους· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ αἷμα ταραχθέντων τῷ  
 πλησίον φήμη διὰ παντὸς ἐπήει τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ  
 τῆς πολιορκίας οἱ πλείους ἀφέμενοι μετ’ ἐκπλή-  
 238 ξεως καὶ δέους ἐπὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν συνέθεον. προ-  
 δὲ πάντων Τίτος δείσας περὶ τῷ πατρὶ παρῆν  
 ὡς τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸν ἡγούμενον εὔνοϊ  
 καὶ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀγωνίᾳ συγχυθῆναι. ρᾶστι  
 μέντοι τόν τε υἱὸν ὁ πατὴρ δεδιότα καὶ τὴν στρα-  
 239 τιὰν ἔπαυσεν τοῦ θορύβου· τῶν γὰρ ἀλγηδόνω  
 ἐπάνω γενούμενος καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐπτοημένοις δι-  
 αὐτὸν ὀφθῆναι σπουδάσας χαλεπώτερον Ἰουδαίοι  
 ἐπήγειρε<sup>1</sup> τὸν πόλεμον· ἔκαστος γὰρ ὡς τιμωρὸ-  
 τοῦ στρατηγοῦ προκινδυνεύειν ἦθελεν, καὶ βο-  
 παρακροτοῦντες ἀλλιγίλους ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὥρμων.  
 240 (23) Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον, καίπερ ἐπ-  
 ἀλλιγίλοις πίπτοντες ὑπὸ τῶν καταπελτικῶν καὶ  
 τῶν πετροβόλων, ὅμως οὐκ ἀπετρέποντο το-  
 τείχους, ἀλλὰ πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ πέτροις τοὺς  
 ὑπὸ<sup>2</sup> τὰ γέρρα τὸν κριὸν ἐπιβρίθοντας ἔβαλλοι

<sup>1</sup> ἐπῆγεν PA; for text cf. B. v. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Destinon, Holwerda: ἐπὶ mss.

the tenth which had been routed<sup>a</sup>; the other legions hastily buried their machinery and all combustible materials. Towards evening the Romans re-erected the ram and brought it up to the spot where the wall had been weakened by its previous blows. At this moment, one of the defenders of the ramparts hit <sup>Vespasian</sup>  
wounded. Vespasian with an arrow in the sole of the foot. The wound was slight, the distance having broken the force of the missile, but the incident created a vast commotion among the Romans: the sight of blood alarmed those immediately surrounding Vespasian, the news at once spread through the whole army, and most of the soldiers, abandoning the siege, came running towards their general in consternation and terror. The first on the spot was Titus, with grave fears for his father, so that the troops were doubly agitated, both by their affection for their chief and by the sight of his son's anguish. However, Vespasian found little difficulty in allaying both the fears of his son and the tumult of the army. Mastering his pain, he hastened to show himself to all who had trembled for his life, and so roused them to fight the Jews more fiercely than ever. Each vished to be the first to brave danger in avenging his general, and, with shouts of mutual encouragement, they rushed for the ramparts.

(23) Josephus and his men, though falling one upon another under the hail of missiles from the catapults and stone-projectors, still were not driven from the battlements, but with fire, iron,<sup>b</sup> and stones continued to assail the soldiers who, under cover of their wicker shelters, were propelling the ram. How-

Fierce night  
assault of  
the Roman

<sup>a</sup> Usually = "sword-blade": here probably iron arrow-heads are meant (*Hom. Il.* iv. 123).

241 καὶ ἥινον μὲν οὐδὲν ἡ μικρόν, αὐτοὶ δ' ἀδια-  
 λείπτως ἔπιπτον ὑπὸ μὴ βλεπομένων καθορώ-  
 242 μενοι· αὐτοί τε γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς σφετέρας περι-  
 λαμπόμενοι φλογὸς σκοπὸς ἦσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις  
 εὐσύνοπτος, ὡσπερ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ τῶν ὄργάνων  
 πόρρωθεν μὴ βλεπομένων δυσφύλακτον ἦν τὸ  
 243 βαλλόμενον. ἡ γοῦν<sup>1</sup> τῶν ὁξυβελῶν καὶ κατα-  
 πελτῶν βία πολλοὺς ἅμα διήλαυνεν, καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ<sup>2</sup>  
 τῆς μηχανῆς ἀφιεμένων πετρῶν ὁ ροῖζος ἐπάλξεις  
 τε ἀπέσυρεν καὶ γωνίας ἀπέθρυπτε πύργων  
 244 ἀνδρῶν μὲν γὰρ <οὐδὲν><sup>2</sup> οὕτως ἴσχυρὸν στῖφος  
 ὁ μὴ μέχρις ἐσχάτης στρώνυνται φάλαγγος βίος  
 245 τε καὶ μεγέθει τοῦ λίθου. μάθοι δ' ἂν τις τὴν  
 τοῦ μηχανῆματος ἀλκὴν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆσδε τῆ-  
 νυκτὸς γενομένων πληγεὶς γάρ τις ἀπ' αὐτοὶ<sup>3</sup>  
 τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐστώτων ἀνὰ τὸ τεῖχο-  
 ἀπαράσσεται τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑπὸ τῆς πέτρας, καὶ  
 τὸ κρανίον ἀπὸ τριῶν ἐσφενδονήθη σταδίων  
 246 γυναικός τε μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐγκύμονος πληγείσῃ  
 τὴν γαστέρα, προήει δὲ νέον ἐξ οἰκίας, ἐξέσεισε  
 ἐφ' ἡμιστάδιον τὸ βρέφος· τοσαύτη ἦν ἡ το-  
 247 λιθοβόλου βία. τῶν οὖν ὄργάνων φοβερώτερος  
 248 ροῖζος, τῶν δὲ βαλλομένων ἦν ὁ ψόφος. ἐπ-  
 ἀλληλοι δὲ ἐκτύπουν οἱ νεκροὶ κατὰ τοῦ τείχου  
 ριπτόμενοι, καὶ δεινὴ μὲν ἐνδοθειν κραυγὴ γυναικῶν  
 ἡγείρετο, συνήχουν δ' ἐξωθεν οἴμωγαὶ φονευο-  
 249 μένων. αἷματι δ' ἐρρεῖτο πᾶς ὁ πρὸ τῆς μάχης

<sup>1</sup> Niese: τε οἵτε MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Niese: om. PA\* L: A<sup>2</sup> has οὐδενὶ, the other MSS. ins. οἱ τε before or after οἴτως.

<sup>a</sup> § 80.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. the λιθοβόλον, Lat. *ballista*, § 80; Reinach identifies

ever, their efforts had little or no effect, and they were incessantly falling, because the enemy saw them without being seen ; for, with the glare of their own lights all round them, they formed as conspicuous a mark for the enemy as in broad daylight, while they found difficulty in avoiding the projectiles from the engines which they could not see in the distance. Thus the missiles from the "quick-firers"<sup>a</sup> and catapults came with such force as to strike down whole files, and the whizzing stones hurled by the engine<sup>b</sup> carried away the battlements and broke off the angles of the towers. Indeed, there is no body of troops, however strong, which the force and mass of these stones cannot lay low to the last rank. Some incidents of that night will give an idea of the power of this engine. One of the men standing on the wall beside Josephus had his head carried away by a stone, and his skull was shot, as from a sling, to a distance of three furlongs ; a woman with child was struck on the belly just as she was leaving her house at day-break, and the babe in her womb was flung half a furlong away.<sup>c</sup> So mighty was the force of these stone-projectors. More alarming even than the engines was their whirring drone, more frightful than the missiles the crash.<sup>d</sup> Then there was the thud of the dead falling one after another from the wall. Fearful shrieks from the women within the town mingled with the moans of the dying victims without. The whole surrounding area in front of the fight-

Examples  
the force of  
the Roman  
engines.

he "engine" as the *onager*, another form of stone-projector, but apparently not invented till later.

<sup>a</sup> Josephus is prone to exaggeration.

<sup>b</sup> It seems unnecessary to correct *φοβερώτερος* to *φοβερός* or *φοβερώτατος* with Reinach, who renders "Terrible aussi tait le sifflement des machines et le fracas de leur ravage."

περίβολος, καὶ προσβατὸν ὑπὸ πτωμάτων τοῦ  
 250 τεῖχος ἐγίνετο. φοβερωτέραν δ' ἐποίουν τὴν βοὴν  
 περιηχοῦντα τὰ ὅρη, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνης τῆς  
 νυκτὸς οὔτε εἰς ἀκοῆς οὔτε εἰς ὄψεως κατάπληξι  
 251 ἀπελείπετο. πλεῖστοι μέν γε τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰωτα-  
 πάτης ἀγωνιζόμενοι γενναιώς ἔπεσον, πλεῖστοι δὲ  
 ἐγένοντο τραυματίαι, καὶ μόλις περὶ τὴν ἑωθινὴν  
 φυλακὴν ἐνδίδωσι τοῖς μηχανήμασι τὸ τεῖχον  
 252 ἀδιαλείπτως τυπτόμενον· οἱ δὲ φραξάμενοι τοῦ  
 σώμασι καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις τὸ καταρριφθὲν ἀντ-  
 ωχύρωσαν, πρὶν βληθῆναι τὰς ἐπιβατηρίους ὑπὸ τῶν  
 'Ρωμαίων μηχανάς.

253 (24) Ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἔω Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐπὶ τὴν  
 κατάληψιν τῆς πόλεως συνῆγεν τὴν στρατιάν  
 ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τοῦ νυκτερινοῦ πόνου διαναπαύσας  
 254 βουλόμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν καταρριφθέντων περι-  
 σπάσαι τοὺς εἴργοντας, τοὺς μὲν γενναιοτάτουν  
 τῶν ἵππων ἀποβήσας [τῶν ἵππων]<sup>1</sup> τριχῇ διέταξε  
 κατὰ τὰ πεπτωκότα τοῦ τείχους, πάντοθεν πεφραγ-  
 μένους τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ τοὺς κοντοὺς προΐσχοντας  
 ὡς ὁπότε τὰς ἐπιβατηρίους βάλλοιεν μηχανὰ  
 255 κατάρχοιντο τῆς εἰσόδου· κατόπιν δὲ αὐτῶν ἔταξε  
 τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ ἀκμαιότατον, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἵππικὸν  
 ἀντιπαρεξέτεινεν τῷ τείχει κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ὁρεινὴν  
 πρὸς τὸ μηδένα τῶν ἀναφευγόντων ἐκ τῆς ἀλώσεως  
 256 διαλαθεῖν. κατόπιν δὲ τούτων περιέστησεν τοὺς  
 τοξότας ἔχειν κελεύσας ἔτοιμα τὰ βέλη πρὸ  
 ἄφεσιν, ὅμοίως δὲ καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τοὺς ἐπ'  
 257 τῶν μηχανημάτων, ἔτέρους δὲ κλίμακας ἀραμένου  
 προσφέρειν ἐπάνω τοῖς ἀκεραίοις τείχεσιν, ἵν'

<sup>1</sup> om. as gloss Destinon; cf. iii. 449.

ng line ran with blood, and the piles of corpses formed a path to the summit of the wall. The echo from the mountains around added to the horrible din ; in short nothing that can terrify ear or eye was wanting in that dreadful night. Multitudes of the defenders of Jotapata fell in valiant fight, multitudes were wounded ; and not till towards the hour of the morning watch did the wall, after incessant battering, succumb to the machines. The besieged, however, blocking the breach with their persons and their weapons, threw up a makeshift defence before the Romans could lay the gangways for the escalade.

A breach  
the wall.

(24) Vespasian, having allowed his troops a brief respite after the fatigues of the night, reassembled them soon after daybreak for the final assault. His object was to draw off the defenders from the breach. With this intention, he ordered the bravest of his cavalry to dismount and marshalled them in three divisions <sup>a</sup> opposite the ruined portions of the wall ; protected by armour from head to foot and with lances couched, they were to be the first to enter the town the moment the gangways were laid ; behind these he placed the flower of the infantry. (The rest of the cavalry were deployed all along the mountain side facing the ramparts, to prevent the escape of a single fugitive when the town was taken.<sup>b</sup>) Further in the rear he posted the archers in a semicircle, with directions to have their arrows ready to shoot, along with the slingers and the artillery, under similar orders. Other parties were then told off to bring up ladders and plant them against the wall where it was

Prepara-  
tions for t  
escalade.

<sup>a</sup> Or "three deep."

<sup>b</sup> As Reinach suggests, § 255 appears to be a parenthesis, and § 256 follows, in the order of battle, immediately after 254.

μὲν τούτους κωλύειν πειρώμενοι καταλίποιεν τὴν  
ἐπὶ τοῖς καταρριφθεῖσιν φυλακήν, οἱ λοιποὶ δ'  
ὅπ' ἀθρόων βιαζόμενοι τῶν βελῶν εἴξασιν τῆς  
εἰσόδου.

258 (25) Ἰώσηπος δὲ συνιεὶς<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ἐπὶ μὲν  
τοῦ μένοντος τείχους σὺν τοῖς κεκμηκόσιν ἵστησι  
τοὺς γηραιοὺς ὡς μηδὲν ταύτη βλαβησομένους.  
εἰς δὲ τὰ παρερρωγότα<sup>2</sup> τοῦ τείχους τοὺς δυνα-  
τωτάτους καὶ πρὸ πάντων ἀνὰ ἔξ ανδρας, μεθ'  
ῶν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ προκυαδυνεύειν ἐκληρώσατο  
259 ἐκέλευσέν τε πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἀλαλαγμὸν τῶν ταγμά-  
των ἀποφράξαι τὰς ἀκοάς, ὡς ἂν μὴ καταπλαγεῖεν  
πρὸς δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βελῶν συνοκλάσαντας  
καλύψασθαι καθύπερθεν τοῖς θυρεοῖς, ὑποχωρῆσα-  
τε πρὸς ὀλίγον,<sup>3</sup> ἕως τὰς φαρέτρας κενώσωσιν ο  
260 τοξόται· βαλλόντων δὲ τὰς ἐπιβατηρίους μηχανὰ  
αὐτοὺς προπηδᾶν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἴδιων ὄργανων  
ἀπαντᾶν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀγωνίζεσθαι τε ἔκαστο  
οὐχ ὡς ὑπὲρ σωθησομένης, ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὲρ ἀπ  
261 ολωλινίας ἥδη τῆς πατρίδος ἀμυνόμενον, λαμβάνει  
τε πρὸ ὄφθαλμῶν σφαγησομένους γέροντας κο-  
τέκνα καὶ γυναικας ἀναιρεθησομένας<sup>4</sup> ὑπὸ τῶν  
ἔχθρων ὅσον οὐδέπω, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς μελλούσαις  
συμφοραῖς θυμὸν προαλίσαντας ἐναφεῖναι τοῖς δρό-  
σουσιν αὐτάς.

262 (26) Ἔταξεν μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐκάτερον· τὸ ἁ-  
ργὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως πλῆθος, γύναια καὶ παῖδες

<sup>1</sup> συνεις MVRC.

<sup>2</sup> κατερρωγότα PAML.

<sup>3</sup> πρὸς ὀλίγον] κατ' ὀλίγον "little by little" L Lat. (perhaps  
rightly).

<sup>4</sup> εὑρεθησομένοις (-μένας) P(AL): capi Lat.

still intact, in order that some of the besieged, in the attempt to repel them, might be induced to abandon the defence of the breach, and the remainder, overwhelmed by a hail of missiles, be forced to give way.

(25) Josephus, penetrating this design, entrusted the protection of the intact portions of the wall to the fatigued and older men, expecting that there they would come to no harm ; but he placed at the breach the most vigorous of his men, and at the head of each group six men,<sup>a</sup> drawn by lot, among whom he himself drew for his place <sup>b</sup> to bear the brunt of the battle. He instructed his men, when the legions raised their war-cry, to stop their ears, so as not to be frightened ; when the volley of missiles came, to crouch down and cover their bodies with their bucklers, and to fall back for a while, until the archers had emptied their quivers ; but, the instant the gangways were laid, to spring on to them themselves and confront the enemy by means of his own instruments.<sup>c</sup> “ Let each man fight,” he continued, ‘ not as the saviour of his native place, but as its avenger, as though it were lost already. Let him picture to himself the butchery of the old men, the fate of the children and women at the hands of the foe, momentarily impending. Let the anticipation of these threatened calamities arouse his concentrated fury, and let him vent it upon the would-be perpetrators.’

(26) Such was the disposition of his two divisions. But when the crowd of non-combatant townsfolk,

<sup>a</sup> Meaning a little doubtful. These leaders are the *ρόμαχοι* mentioned in § 270.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. § 263 (*ἢ ἔλαχεν*).

<sup>c</sup> “The engineer hoist with his own petard” (*Hamlet*, II. iv.).

ώς ἐθεάσαντο τριπλῆ μὲν φάλαγγι τὴν πόλιν  
 ἔξωσμένην, οὐδὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν μάχην μετακεκίνητο  
 τῶν πάλαι φυλακῶν, πρὸς δὲ τοῖς βεβλημένοις  
 τείχεσιν τοὺς πολεμίους ξιφήρεις καὶ τὴν καθ-  
 ύπερθεν ὄρειν ἡλικίαν ὅπλοις, τά τε βέλη  
 τοῖς τοξόταις ὑπερανέχοντα<sup>1</sup> τῶν Ἀράβων, ὕστα-  
 τόν τινα κωκυτὸν ἀλώσεως συνήχησαν, ὡς οὐκ  
 ἀπειλουμένων ἔτι τῶν κακῶν ἀλλ' ἥδη παρόντων.  
 263 ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος τὰς μὲν γυναικας, ὡς μὴ θηλύνοιεν  
 οἴκτω τὰς ὄρμὰς τῶν σφετέρων, κατακλείει ταῖς  
 οἰκίαις μετ' ἀπειλῆς ἡσυχάζειν κελεύσας· αὐτὸς  
 264 δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐρειφθέντων ἥ ἔλαχεν παρήει. τοῖς  
 μὲν οὖν καθ' ἔτερα προσφέρουσι τὰς κλίμακας οὐ  
 προσεῖχεν, ἀπεκαραδόκει δὲ τὴν ὄρμὴν τῶν βελῶν.  
 265 (27) Ὁμοῦ δ' οἱ τε σαλπικταὶ τῶν ταγμάτων  
 ἀπάντων συνήχησαν καὶ δεινὸν ἐπηλάλαξεν ἥ  
 στρατιά, καὶ πάντοθεν ἀφιεμένων ἀπὸ συνθήματος  
 266 τῶν βελῶν τὸ φῶς ὑπετέμνετο. μεμνημένοι γε  
 μὴν τῶν τοῦ Ἰωσήπου προσταγμάτων οἱ σὺν  
 αὐτῷ τάς τε ἀκοὰς πρὸς τὴν βοὴν καὶ τὰ σώματα  
 267 πρὸς τὰς ἀφέσεις ἐφράξαντο, καὶ βαλλόντων τὰς  
 μηχανὰς ἐπεξέδραμον δι' αὐτῶν πρὶν ἐπιβῆναι τοὺς  
 268 βάλλοντας, συμπλεκόμενοί τε<sup>2</sup> τοῖς ἀνιοῦσιν παν-  
 τοῖα καὶ χειρῶν ἔργα καὶ ψυχῆς ἐναπεδείκνυντο,  
 πειρώμενοι παρὰ τὰς ἐσχάτας συμφορὰς μὴ χεί-  
 ρους φαίνεσθαι τῶν ἐν ἀκινδύνῳ τῷ κατὰ σφᾶς  
 269 ἀνδριζομένων· ὥστε οὐ πρότερον ἀπερρήγνυντο  
 270 τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρὶν ἥ πεσεῖν ἥ διαφθεῖραι. ὡς  
 δ' οἱ μὲν ἔκαμνον διηνεκῶς ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> conj.: ἐπανέχοντα MSS.<sup>2</sup> γε μὴν LVRC.

women and children, beheld the city encircled by a triple cordon of troops—for the Romans had not shifted for the battle any of the guards which they had posted at the outset,<sup>a</sup>—when they saw, moreover, at the foot of the ruined walls the enemy sword in hand, and above them the mountain-side gleaming with arms and higher still the arrows of the Arab archers pointed at the town, they shrieked aloud, a last shriek, as it were, at their capture, as though the catastrophe were no longer imminent but already upon them. Josephus, fearing that the wailing of the women might unman the combatants, had them shut up in their houses, ordering them with threats to hold their peace. He then took up his allotted position at the breach, and, regardless of the ladders which were being brought up elsewhere, breathlessly awaited the hail of arrows.

(27) And now the trumpeters of all the legions simultaneously sounded, the troops raised a terrific shout, and at a given signal arrows poured from all quarters, intercepting the light. Mindful of the injunctions of Josephus, his comrades screened their ears from the shout and their bodies from the volleys; and, as the planks were laid, they dashed out across them, before those who had laid them could set foot on them. In the ensuing hand-to-hand fight with their mounting enemy, they displayed all manner of feats of strength and gallantry, endeavouring in the depth of calamity to prove themselves not inferior to men who, without the same interests at stake, were so courageous. None relaxed his struggle with a Roman until he had killed him or perished. But whereas the Jews, now becoming exhausted by the incessant combat, had none

Hand-to-  
hand fight  
on the  
gangways

προμάχους ἀμείβειν οὐκ ἔχοντες, τὸ κεκμηκὸς δὲ τῶν Ἀρμαίων ἀκραιφνεῖς διεδέχοντο καὶ ταχέως ἀντὶ τῶν ἀποβιασθέντων ἐπέβαινον ἔτεροι, παρακελευσάμενοί τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ πλευρὰν μὲν ἐιώσαντες, τοῖς δὲ θυρεοῖς καθύπερθεν φραξάμενοι στῖφος ἄρρηκτον ἐγένοντο, καὶ καθάπερ ἐνὶ σώματι πάσῃ τῇ φάλαγγι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀνθοῦντες ἥδη τοῦ τείχους ἐπέβαινον.

- 271 (28) Ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος ἐν ταῖς ἀμηχανίαις σύμβουλον λαβὼν τὴν ἀνάγκην, ἡ δ' ἐστὶν δεινὴ πρὸς ἐπίνοιαν, ὅταν αὐτὴν ἀπόγνωσις ἐρεθίζῃ, ζέον ἔλαιον ἐκέλευσεν καταχεῖν τῶν συνησπικότων. οἱ δ', ὡς παρεσκευασμένον ἔχοντες, μετὰ τάχους πολλοὶ καὶ πολὺ πάντοθεν τῶν Ἀρμαίων κατέχεον συνεπαφιέντες καὶ τὰ ἀγγεῖα βρασσόμενα τῇ θέρμῃ. 273 τοῦτο καιομένιων τῶν Ἀρμαίων διεσκέδασεν τὴν τάξιν, καὶ μετὰ δεινῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἀπεκυλινδοῦντο 274 τοῦ τείχους· ράστα μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἔλαιον ἀπὸ κορυφῆς μέχρι ποδῶν ἵπο τὰς πανοπλίας διέρρει τοῦ σώματος ὅλου, καὶ τὴν σάρκα φλογὸς οὐδὲν ἔλασσον ἐπεβόσκετο, θερμαίνομενόν τε φύσει ταχέως καὶ 275 ψυχόμενον βραδέως διὰ τὴν πιότητα. τοῖς δὲ θώραξιν καὶ τοῖς κράνεσιν ἐνδεδεμένων ἀπαλλαγὴ τῆς καύσεως οὐκ ἦν, πηδῶντες δὲ καὶ συνειλοίμενοι ταῖς ἀλγηδόσιν ἀπὸ τῶν γεφυρωμάτων ἐπιπτον· οἱ δὲ τραπέντες εἰς τοὺς σφετέρους πρόσω βιαζομένους εὐχείρωτοι τοῖς κατόπιν τιτρώσκουσιν ἦσαν.

- 276 (29) Ἐπέλειπεν<sup>1</sup> δ' οὔτε Ἀρμαίους ἐν ταῖς κακοπραγίαις ἴσχὺς οὔτε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους σύνεσις,

<sup>1</sup> ἐτέλιπεν P.A.

See § 255.

to replace their foremost champions,<sup>a</sup> in the Roman ranks the exhausted men were relieved by fresh troops, and when one party was driven back another instantly took its place ; the assailants cheered each other on, and, side linked to side, with their bucklers protecting them above, they formed an invulnerable column,<sup>b</sup> which with its united mass, like one solid body, pushed the Jews before them and was even now mounting the ramparts.

(28) In this critical situation, Josephus, taking counsel from necessity,—ready as she is in invention when stimulated by despair,—ordered boiling oil to be poured upon this roof of close-locked shields. His men had it ready, and at once from all quarters deluged the Romans with large quantities, flinging after it the vessels, still scalding hot. This broke their formation ; the Romans, burning and in excruciating agony, rolled headlong from the ramparts. For the oil instantaneously penetrated beneath their armour from head to foot, spreading over the whole surface of their bodies and devouring the flesh with the fierceness of a flame, this liquid being, from its nature, quick in absorbing heat and, from its fatty properties, slow in cooling. Encumbered with their cuirasses and their helmets, the victims had no escape from the scalding fluid : leaping and writhing in anguish, they dropped from the scaling-bridges. Those who turned to fly were blocked by their comrades pressing forward to the assault and became an easy mark for Jewish assailants in their rear.

(29) But, in the midst of these trials, the Romans showed no lack of fortitude, nor yet the Jews of

<sup>b</sup> The *testudo* formation (*cf. B. ii. 537*).

ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν καίπερ οἰκτρὰ πάσχοντας ὄρῶντες  
 τοὺς καταχυθέντας ὅμως εἰς τοὺς καταχέοντας  
 ἐφέροντο, τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ κακίζων ἔκαστος ὡς  
 277 ἐμπόδιον ὄντα τῆς ρύμης<sup>1</sup>. οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι δόλῳ  
 δευτέρῳ τὰς προσβάσεις<sup>2</sup> αὐτῶν ἐπέσφαλλον τῇλιν  
 · ἔφθην ὑποχέοντες<sup>3</sup> ταῖς σανίσιν, ἥσ<sup>4</sup> ἐπολισθάνοντες  
 278 ὑπεσύροντο. καὶ οὕτε τῶν τρεπομένων οῦτε τῶν  
 προσβαινόντων<sup>5</sup> τις ὀρθὸς ἔμενεν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐπ'  
 αὐτῶν ὑπιαζόμενοι τῶν ἐπιβατηρίων μηχανῶν  
 συνεπατοῦντο, πολλοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τὸ χῶμα κατέπιπτον.  
 279 ἐπαίοντο δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ πεσόντες·  
 ἐσφαλμένων γὰρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὗτοι, τῆς κατὰ  
 χεῖρα συμπλοκῆς ἐλευθερωθέντες, εἰς τὰς βολὰς  
 280 εὔστόχουν.<sup>6</sup> πολλὰ δὲ κακουμένους ἐν τῇ προσβολῇ  
 τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁ στρατηγὸς περὶ δείλην ἀνεκάλει.  
 281 ἐπεσον δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ πλείους  
 ἐτρώθησαν, τῶν δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωταπάτης ἀπέθανον  
 μὲν ἔξι ἄνδρες, τραυματίαι δ' ὑπὲρ τριακοσίους  
 282 ἀνεκομίσθησαν. εἰκάδι μὲν Δαισίου μηνὸς ἡ  
 παράταξις ἦν.  
 283 (30) Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι τὴν  
 στρατιὰν παραμυθούμενος, ὡς θυμουμένους ἔώρα  
 284 καὶ οὐ προτροπῆς ἀλλ' ἔργων δεομένους, προσ-  
 υψώσαι μὲν τὰ χώματα, πύργους δὲ τρεῖς,  
 πεντήκοντα ποδῶν τὸ ὕψος ἔκαστον, κατασκευάσαι  
 κελεύσας πάντοθεν σιδήρω κεκαλυμμένους, ὡς  
 ἔδραιοί τε εἶν ύπὸ βρίθους καὶ δυσάλωτοι πυρί,  
 285 τῶν χωμάτων ἐπέστησεν, συνεπιβήσας αὐτοῖς

<sup>1</sup> Destinon (*cf.* A. vii. 239 φερόμενος μετὰ ρύμης): ρύμης MSS.  
<sup>2</sup> προβάσεις PAML.  
<sup>3</sup> επιχέοντες Hudson with one ms.  
<sup>4</sup> αἰς MVRC. <sup>5</sup> προβαινόντων PAL.  
<sup>6</sup> οὐ τολοιν "had leisure to take good aim" LVRC.

resourcefulness. The former, though they saw their comrades in tortures from the drenching oil, none the less rushed on against those who poured it, each cursing the man in front of him for impeding the charge. The Jews, on their side, invented a second ruse to trip their assailants, by pouring over the gangway-planks boiled fenugreek<sup>a</sup>, on which the Romans slipped and stumbled backward. Whether attempting to retreat or to advance, not a man could remain erect : some collapsed on their backs on the gangways and were crushed under foot, many fell off on to the earthworks, where they were pierced by the arrows of the Jews ; for, in consequence of this prostration of the Romans, the defenders, relieved from hand-to-hand fighting, showed good marksmanship. After severe losses sustained in this assault the troops, towards evening, were called off by the general. The Romans had many dead and more wounded. The defenders of Jotapata lost only six dead, but upwards of three hundred wounded were brought back to the town. This combat took place on the twentieth of the month Daesius.

Another Jewish ruse.

The assault repulsed.

June-July A.D. 67.

Vespasian raises and fortifies his earth-works.

(30) Vespasian at first sought to console his troops for their recent experiences. But when he found them in sullen mood and calling, not for encouragement, but for action, he ordered them to raise the height of the embankments and to construct three towers, each fifty feet high, entirely covered with sheet-iron, both to ensure their stability by their weight and to render them fire-proof. He then had these erected on the earth-works and mounted upon

<sup>a</sup> *Foenum Graecum* ; Reinach remarks that this plant would be in flower precisely at this season (June-July).

<sup>b</sup> 8 July (Niese's reckoning).

# JOSEPHUS

άκοντιστάς τε καὶ τοξότας καὶ τῶν ἀφετηρίων  
όργανων τὰ κουφότερα, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ρώμα-  
λεωτάτους σφενδονήτας· οἱ μὴ καθορώμενοι διὰ  
τὸ ὑψος καὶ τὰ θωράκια τῶν πύργων εἰς καθ-  
ορωμένους τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἔβαλλον. οἱ δὲ  
μήτε κατὰ κόρσης φερομένων τῶν βελῶν ἐκκλίνειν  
ῥᾳδίως δυνάμενοι μήτε τοὺς ἀφανεῖς ἀμύνεσθαι,  
καὶ τὸ μὲν ὑψος τῶν πύργων δυσέφικτον ὄρῶντες  
ἐκ χειρὸς βέλει, πυρὶ δὲ τὸν περὶ αὐτοῖς σίδηρον  
ἀνάλωτον, ἔφευγον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ προσ-  
βάλλειν πειρωμένοις ἐπεξέθεον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ  
τῆς Ἰωταπάτης ἀντεῖχον οὕτως, ἀναιρούμενοί τε  
καθ' ἡμέραν πολλοὶ καὶ μηδὲν ἀντικακοῦν τοὺς  
πολεμίους, ὅτι μὴ μετὰ κινδύνων ἀνείργειν ἔχοντες.  
289 (31) Κατὰ δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας Οὐεσπασιανὸς  
ἐπὶ τινα τῶν τῆς Ἰωταπάτης ἀστυγειτόνων πόλιν,  
"Ιαφα καλεῖται, νεωτερίζουσαν καὶ τῶν Ἰωτα-  
πατηνῶν παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεχόντων ἐπαιρομένην,  
Τραϊανὸν ὅντα τοῦ δεκάτου τάγματος ἡγεμόνα  
ἐκπέμπει παραδοὺς αὐτῷ χιλίους μὲν ἵππεῖς.  
290 πεζοὺς δὲ δισχιλίους. ὃ δὲ τὴν μὲν πόλιν δυσ-  
άλωτον καταλαβών, πρὸς γὰρ τῷ φύσει καρτερὸν  
τυγχάνειν οὖσα καὶ διπλῷ περιβόλῳ τετείχιστο, προ-  
απηντηκότας δὲ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐτοίμους εἰς μάχην  
ἰδὼν συμβάλλει καὶ πρὸς ὄλιγον ἀντισχόντας  
291 ἐδίωκεν. συμφυγόντων δὲ εἰς τὸ πρῶτον τείχος  
οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ πόδας προσκείμενοι συνεισ-  
292 ἐπεσον. ὄρμήσαντας δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὸ δεύτερον

<sup>a</sup> The father of the future emperor of that name.

<sup>b</sup> Japhia of the O.T. (Joshua xix. 12), modern *Yafa*, som-  
ten miles south of Jotapata and two miles south-west o-

them, besides the lighter artillery, the javelin-men, archers, and the most robust of the slingers. These troops, being screened from view by the height of the towers and their breastworks, opened fire on the besieged who were plainly visible to them on the wall. The Jews, finding no means of avoiding the projectiles directed at their heads or of avenging themselves on an invisible foe, seeing these lofty towers inaccessible to missiles thrown by hand and protected against fire by their iron casing, abandoned the wall and made sallies against any who attempted to renew the escalade. Thus did Jotapata continue to hold out ; day by day many of its defenders fell ; powerless to retaliate on the enemy, they could only hold them at bay at peril of their lives.

(31) In the course of these days Vespasian dispatched Trajan,<sup>a</sup> the commander of the tenth legion, with a thousand horse and two thousand foot, against a town in the vicinity of Jotapata, called Japha,<sup>b</sup> which had revolted, encouraged by the surprising resistance of their neighbours at Jotapata. Trajan found a city presenting formidable difficulties, for in addition to its naturally strong situation, it was protected by a double ring of walls. However, its inhabitants ventured to advance to meet him, prepared, as he saw, for action ; he charged them and, after a brief resistance, routed them and started in pursuit. They burst into the first enclosure, whither the Romans, following hard on their heels, penetrated with them. But when the fugitives rushed on to the

Capture  
of Japha  
Trajan and  
Titus.

Nazareth, here called a "city," but elsewhere described as 'the largest village in Galilee,' *Vita* 230 ; at one time the headquarters of Josephus (*ib.* 270).

τεῖχος ἀποκλείουσιν τῆς πόλεως οἱ σφέτεροι, δει-  
 203 σαντες μὴ συνεισβάλωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι. θεὸς δ'  
 ἦν ἄρα ὁ Ἀρμαίοις τὰ Γαλιλαίων πάθη χαριζό-  
 μενος, ὃς καὶ τότε τὸν τῆς πόλεως λαὸν αὐτανδρον,  
 χερσὶν οἰκείαις ἐκκλεισθέντα, πρὸς ἀπώλειαν ἔκ-  
 204 δοτον φονῶσιν ἔχθροῖς παρέστησεν. ἐμπίπτοντες  
 γὰρ ἀθρόοι ταῖς πύλαις καὶ πολλὰ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐ-  
 τῶν ὀνομαστὶ καλοῦντες ἐν μέσαις ἀπεσφάττον-  
 205 το ταῖς ἰκεσίαις. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοῖς  
 τεῖχος οἱ πολέμιοι, τὸ δεύτερον δ' ἐκλεισαν οἱ  
 206 σφέτεροι· μέσοι δὲ τοῦ δυοῖν κατειλούμενοι περι-  
 βόλων βύζην,<sup>1</sup> πολλοὶ μὲν τοῖς ἀλλήλων, πολλοὶ  
 δὲ τοῖς ἴδιοις περιεπείροντο ξίφεσιν, ἀπειροι δὲ  
 ὑπὸ Ἀρμαίων ἐπιπτον οὐδὲ ὅσον εἰς ἄμυναι  
 ἀναθαρροῦντες· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ καταπεπλῆχθαι τοὺς  
 πολεμίους τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἐκλασεν ἡ τῶν οἰκείων  
 207 προδοσία. πέρας ἐθνησκον οὐ Ἀρμαίοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς  
 ἴδιοις<sup>2</sup> καταρώμενοι, μέχρι πάντες ἀπώλοντο μύριοι.  
 208 καὶ δισχίλιοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὅντες. κενὴν δὲ μαχίμωι  
 λογιζόμενος εἶναι τὴν πόλιν ὁ Τραιανός, εἰ δε  
 καὶ τινες ἔνδον εἶεν, οἰόμενος μηδὲν αὐτοὺς τολμή-  
 σειν ὑπὸ δέους, ἀνετίθει τῷ στρατηγῷ τὴν ἄλωσιν  
 καὶ στείλας ἀγγέλους πρὸς Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἥτεῖτο  
 πέμψαι τὸν νιὸν αὐτοῦ<sup>3</sup> Τίτον ἐπιθήσοντα τῇ νίκῃ  
 209 τέλος. ὁ δὲ συμβαλὼν ὑπολείπεσθαι τινα πόνοι  
 μετὰ στρατιᾶς τὸν νιὸν ἐπιπέμπει πεντακοσίῳ  
 300 μὲν ἵππέων, χιλίων δὲ πεζῶν. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν  
 πόλιν ἐλθὼν διὰ τάχους καὶ διατάξας τὴν στρατιὰν

<sup>1</sup> om. PL: the word recurs in B. vi. 326.

<sup>2</sup> οἰκείοις P.

<sup>3</sup> C: ἴαυτοῦ VR, suum Lat.: αὐτῷ the rest.

second wall, their own fellow-citizens shut them out, for fear of the enemy forcing their way in at the same time. God, and no other, it was who made a present to the Romans of the wretched Galilaeans ; it was He who now caused the population of the town to be excluded by the hands of their own people and delivered them to their murderous foes, to be exterminated to a man. Vainly did the swarming crowds batter the gates and implore the sentinels by their names to let them in : while their supplications were on their lips they were butchered. The first wall was closed to them by the enemy, the second by their friends. Cooped up and huddled together between the two ramparts, they fell, many impaled on their comrades' swords, many on their own, while prodigious numbers were slain by the Romans, without even having the heart to defend themselves ; for to their terror of the enemy was added the perfidy of their friends, and that broke their spirit. Cursing, in their dying moments, not the Romans but their own people, in the end they all perished, to the number of twelve thousand. Trajan, judging that the city was bereft of combatants or that any who still remained within would be paralysed by fear, decided to reserve for his chief the credit of capturing the place. He accordingly dispatched a message to Vespasian, requesting him to send his son Titus to complete the victory.<sup>a</sup> The general, conjecturing that some work still remained to be done, sent with his son reinforcements consisting of five hundred cavalry and a thousand infantry. Titus rapidly marched to the city, drew up his troops for battle,

of Ammon, 2 Sam. xii. 26 ff.; this courtesy was common to Jews and Romans.

ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ λαιοῦ κέρως τὸν Τραϊανὸν ἴστησιν,  
 αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχων ἔξηγεῖτο πρὸς τὴν πολι-  
 301 ορκίαν. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν κλίμακας πάντοθεν  
 τῷ τείχει προσφερόντων πρὸς ὀλίγον οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι  
 καθύπερθεν ἀμυνάμενοι<sup>1</sup> λείπουσιν τὸν περίβολον,  
 302 ἐπιπηδήσαντες δ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Τίτον τῆς μὲν  
 πόλεως ἐκράτησαν ταχέως, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἔνδον  
 αὐτοῖς συστραφέντας καρτερὰ μάχη συρρήγνυται·  
 303 καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς οἱ δυνατοὶ προσέπιπτον  
 καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν αἱ γυναικες ἔβαλλον πᾶν τὸ  
 304 προστυχὸν αὐταῖς. καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἔξ ὥρῶν ἀντεῖχον  
 μαχόμενοι, δαπανηθέντων δὲ τῶν μαχίμων τὸ  
 λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἐν τε τοῖς ὑπαίθροις καὶ κατὰ τὰς  
 οἰκίας ἀπεσφάττοντο, νέοι τε ὁμοῦ καὶ γέροντες·  
 οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄρρεν ὑπελείφθη δίχα νηπίων, ἃ μετὰ  
 305 γυναικῶν ἐξηνδραποδίσαντο. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἀν-  
 αιρεθέντων ἀνά τε τὴν πόλιν κάπὶ τῆς προτέρας  
 παρατάξεως ἀριθμὸς μύριοι πρὸς τοῖς πεντα-  
 κισχιλίοις ἦν, τὰ δ' αἰχμάλωτα δισχίλια ἑκατὸν  
 306 καὶ τριάκοντα. τοῦτο συνέβη τὸ πάθος Γαλιλαίοις  
 πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι Δαισίου μηνός.

307 (32) "Εμειναν δὲ οὐδὲ Σαμαρεῖς ἀπείρατοι συμ-  
 φορῶν· ἀθροισθέντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ Γαριζεῖν καλού-  
 μενον ὅρος, ὅπερ αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἄγιον, κατὰ χώραν  
 μὲν ἔμενον, πολέμου δ' εἶχεν ἀπειλὴν ἡ τε σύνοδος  
 308 αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ φρονήματα. καὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς γειτνιῶσι  
 κακοῖς ἐσωφρονίζοντο, πρὸς δὲ τὰς Ῥωμαίων  
 εὐπραγίας ἐν ἀλογίστῳ τὴν κατὰ σφᾶς ἀσθένειαν<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Destinon: ἀμινόμενοι MSS.

<sup>2</sup> PA: τῇ κατὰ σφᾶς ἀσθενείᾳ the rest; text doubtful.

posting Trajan on the left wing, and himself taking command of the right, and led them to the assault. As the soldiers were bringing up ladders to every portion of the wall, the Galilaeans, after a brief defence from that quarter, abandoned it ; the troops of Titus thereupon sealed the ramparts and were instantly masters of the town. But within the walls, where the inhabitants had rallied to meet them, a desperate struggle ensued : the able-bodied fell upon the Romans in the narrow alleys, while from the houses the women pelted them with whatever missiles came to hand. For six hours the contest was maintained ; the more efficient combatants were at length exterminated, and the rest of the population was then massacred in the open or in their houses, young and old alike. For no males were spared, except infants ; these, along with the women, the Romans sold as slaves. The slain, whether in the city or in the previous action, amounted in all to fifteen thousand ; the captives numbered two thousand one hundred and thirty. This disaster befell the Galilaeans on the twenty-fifth of the month Daesius.<sup>a</sup>

(32) The Samaritans, too, did not escape their share of calamity. Assembling on their sacred mountain called Garizim, they did not move from the spot, but this mustering of the clan and their determined attitude contained a menace of war. They had learnt nothing from their neighbours' calamities ; the successes of the Romans only made them ridiculously conceited of their own feebleness, and they were

Massacre  
of the  
Samarita  
on Mt.  
Gerizim  
Cerealius

<sup>a</sup> 13 July, A.D. 67 (according to Niese's reckoning).

ώδουν καὶ μετέωροι πρὸς ταραχὴν ὑπῆρχον.  
 309 ἔδόκει δὲ Οὐεσπασιανῷ φθάσαι τὸ κίνημα καὶ τὰς  
 ὁρμὰς αὐτῶν ὑποτέμνεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ εἰ<sup>1</sup> φρουραῖς  
 ἡ Σαμαρεῖτις ὅλη διείληπτο, τό γε<sup>2</sup> πλῆθος τῶν  
 310 ἐληλυθότων καὶ ἡ σύνταξις ἦν φοβερά. Κερεάλιον  
 οὖν ἐπαρχον ὅντα τοῦ πέμπτου τάγματος μεθ'  
 ἔξακοσίων ἵππεων καὶ πεζῶν τρισχιλίων πέμπει.  
 311 τούτῳ προσβαίνειν μὲν τὸ ὄρος καὶ συνάπτειν  
 μάχην οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἔδοξεν πολλῶν καθύπερθεν  
 τῶν πολεμίων ὅντων, κυκλωσάμενος δὲ τῇ δυνάμει  
 πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπόρειον δι' ὅλης αὐτοὺς ἐφρούρει τῆς  
 312 ἡμέρας. συνέβη δὲ ὕδατος ἀπορουμένων τῶν  
 Σαμαρέων ἐκφλεγῆναι τότε καὶ καῦμα δεινόν·  
 ὥρα δ' ἦν θέρους καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τὸ πλῆθος  
 313 ἀπαράσκευον· ὡς τινὰς<sup>3</sup> μὲν αὐθημερὸν ὑπὸ<sup>4</sup>  
 τοῦ δίψους ἀποθανεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης  
 ἀπωλείας τὸ δουλεύειν προαιρουμένους· Ρωμαίοις  
 314 προσφυγεῖν. ἐξ ὧν συνεὶς ὁ Κερεάλιος καὶ τοὺς  
 ἔπι συμμένοντας ὑπὸ τῶν δεινῶν κατεαγότας  
 ἐπαναβαίνει τῷ ὄρει, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐν κύκλῳ  
 περιστήσας τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ<sup>5</sup>  
 δεξιὰς προυκαλεῖτο καὶ σώζεσθαι παρεκάλει, δια-  
 315 βεβαιούμενος ἀσφάλειαν τὰ ὅπλα ρύψασιν. ὡς δ'  
 οὐκ ἐπειθεν, προσπεσὼν ἀπέκτεινεν πάντας, χιλίους  
 ἔξακοσίους ἐπὶ μυρίοις ὅντας· ἐβδόμη καὶ εἰκάδι  
 Δαισίου μηνὸς ἐπράχθη. καὶ τοιαύταις μὲν συμ-  
 φοραῖς Σαμαρεῖται ἐχρήσαντο.  
 316 (33) Τῶν δ' ἀνὰ τὰ Ἰωτάπατα καρτερούντων

<sup>1</sup> M (Lat. etsi): om. P.A.: ἀεὶ the rest.

<sup>2</sup> M (Lat. tamen): τε the rest.

<sup>3</sup> το. s P.

<sup>4</sup> Bekker: ἀπὸ mss.

eagerly contemplating the prospect of revolt.<sup>a</sup> Vespasian accordingly decided to anticipate the movement and to curb their ardour; for, although the whole district of Samaria was already occupied by garrisons, this large assemblage and their confederacy gave ground for alarm. He therefore dispatched to the spot Cerealius,<sup>b</sup> commander of the fifth legion, with a force of six hundred cavalry and three thousand infantry. This officer, considering it hazardous to ascend the mountain and engage in battle, as the enemy were in such strength on the summit, confined himself to surrounding the entire base of Garizim with his troops and kept strict guard during the whole day. The Samaritans happened to be short of water just at the period of a terrific heat-wave; it was the height of summer and the multitude had not laid in provisions. The result was that several died of thirst that very day, while many others, preferring slavery to such a fate, deserted to the Romans. Cerealius, concluding therefrom that the rest, who still held together, were broken down by their sufferings, now ascended the mountain and, having disposed his troops in a circle round the enemy, began by inviting them to treat, exhorting them to save their lives and assuring them of security if they laid down their arms. These overtures proving ineffectual, he attacked and slew them to a man, eleven thousand six hundred in all; this was on the twenty-seventh of the month Daesius.<sup>c</sup> Such was the catastrophe which overtook the Samaritans.

(33) Meanwhile the defenders of Jotapata were <sup>The fall of</sup> <sub>Jotapata.</sub>

<sup>a</sup> The historian's animus against the Samaritans appears elsewhere, notably in *A.* ix. 290 f.

<sup>b</sup> Sextus Cerealis Vettulenus. <sup>c</sup> 15 July, A.D. 67 (Niese).

καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα τοῖς δεινοῖς ἀντεχόντων τεσ-  
σαρακοστῇ μὲν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐβδόμῃ τὰ χώματα  
 317 τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπερήρθη τὸ τεῖχος, αὐτομολεῖ δέ  
 τις πρὸς τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας τὴν  
 τε ὀλιγότητα τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἔξαγγέλλων καὶ  
 318 τὴν ἀσθένειαν, καὶ ὡς ἀγρυπνίᾳ διηνεκεῖ καὶ  
 μάχαις ἐπαλλήλοις δεδαπανημένοι δυνατοὶ μὲν  
 εἰν οὐδὲ βιαζομένους ἔτι φέρειν, καὶ δόλῳ δ' ἄν  
 319 ἀλοῖεν, εἴ τις ἐπιθοῖτο· περὶ γὰρ τὴν ἐσχάτην  
 φυλακήν, καθ' ἣν ἄνεσίν τε τῶν δεινῶν ἐδόκουν  
 ἔχειν καὶ καθάπτεται μάλιστα κεκοπωμένων ἐω-  
 θινὸς ὕπνος, καταδαρθάνειν ἔφασκεν τοὺς φύλακας,  
 συνεβιούλευεν τε κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ὥραν ἐπελθεῖν.  
 320 τῷ δ' ἣν μὲν δι' ὑπονοίας ὁ αὐτόμολος, τό τε  
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους πιστὸν εἰδότι τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ  
 321 τὴν πρὸς τὰς κολάσεις ὑπεροφίαν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ  
 πρότερον ληφθείσι τις τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωταπάτης  
 πρὸς πᾶσαν αἰκίαν βασάνων ἀντέσχεν καὶ μηδὲν  
 διὰ πυρὸς ἔξερεννωσι τοῖς πολεμίοις περὶ τῶν  
 ἔνδον εἰπὼν ἀνεσταυρώθη τοῦ θανάτου κατα-  
 322 μειδιῶν· τά γε μὴν εἰκότα πιστὸν ἐποίει τὸν  
 προδότην, καὶ τάχα μὲν ἀληθεύειν ἐκεῖνον, μηδὲν  
 δ' αὐτὸς ἔξ ἐνέδρας πείσεσθαι μέγα προσδοκῶν,  
 τὸν μὲν φυλάσσειν ἐκέλευσεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν κατά-  
 ληψιν τῆς πόλεως παρεσκεύαζε τὴν στρατιάν.  
 323 (34) Κατὰ δὲ τὴν μηνυθεῖσαν ὥραν ἢεσαν ἡσυχῆ  
 324 πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ πρῶτος ἐπιβαίνει Τίτος σὺν  
 ἐινὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων Δομετίῳ Σαβίνῳ, τῶν ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ πέμπτου καὶ δεκάτου τάγματος ὀλίγους ἄγων.

<sup>a</sup> The writer possibly has a more famous siege in mind, that of Troy; cf. "tempus erat quo prima quies mortalibus aegris incipit," Virg. *Aen.* ii. 268, and just before "inuadunt

still holding out and beyond all expectation bearing up under their miseries, when on the forty-seventh day of the siege the earthworks of the Romans overtopped the wall. That same day a deserter reported to Vespasian the reduced numbers and strength of the defence, and that, worn out with perpetual watching and continuous fighting, they would be unable longer to resist a vigorous assault and might be taken by stratagem, if the attempt were made. He stated that about the last watch of the night—an hour when they expected some respite from their sufferings and when jaded men easily succumb to morning slumber <sup>a</sup>—the sentinels used to drop asleep ; and that was the hour when he advised the Romans to attack. Vespasian, knowing the Jews' loyalty to each other and their indifference to chastisement, regarded the deserter with suspicion. For on a former occasion a man of Jotapata who had been taken prisoner had held out under every variety of torture, and, without betraying to the enemy a word about the state of the town, even under the ordeal of fire, was finally crucified, meeting death with a smile. However, the probability of his account lent credit to the traitor ; and so, thinking that the man might be speaking the truth, and that, even if his story were a trap, no serious risk would be run by acting upon it, Vespasian ordered him into custody and made ready his army for the capture of the city.

(34) At the hour named they advanced in silence to the walls. The first to mount them was Titus, with one of the tribunes, Domitius Sabinus, followed by a few men of the fifteenth legion. They cut down urbem somno uinoque sepultam : caeduntur uigiles " 265 f. with § 325 (*ἀποσφάξαντες δὲ τοὺς φύλακας εἰσίασιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν*) and § 327 (*ὕπνῳ διαλέλυντο*).

325 ἀποσφάξαντες δὲ τοὺς φύλακας εἰσίασιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. μεθ' οὓς Σέξτος τις Καλουάριος χιλιάρχης καὶ Πλάκιδος τοὺς ὑπὸ σφίσι τεταγμένους εἰσῆγον.  
 326 κατειλημμένης δὲ τῆς ἄκρας καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν μέσῳ στρεφομένων, ἦδη δὲ καὶ ἡμέρας οῦσης, ὅμως οὕπω τῆς ἀλώσεως τοῖς κρατουμένοις αἱ-  
 327 σθησις ἦν· καμάτῳ τε γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ὑπνῷ διαλέλυντο, καὶ τῶν διαινισταμένων ὁμίχλῃ τὰς ὅψεις ἀπήμβλυνεν πολλὴ κατὰ τύχην τότε τῇ  
 328 πόλει περιχυθεῖσα, μέχρι πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰσπεσούσης πρὸς μόνην τὴν τῶν κακῶν αἴσθησιν ἔξανέστησαν καὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν ἐπίστευον ἀναιρού-  
 329 μενοι. 'Ρωμαίους δὲ κατὰ μνήμην ὥν ἐκ<sup>1</sup> τῆς πολιορκίας ἔπαθον οὔτε φειδὼς εἰσήει τινὸς οὔτ'<sup>2</sup> ἔλεος, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ κάταντες<sup>2</sup> ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας τὸν  
 330 λεών συνωθοῦντες ἐφόνευον. ἔνθα καὶ τοὺς ἔτι μάχεσθαι δυναμένους ἡ δυσχωρία τὴν ἄμυναν ἀφείλετο· θλιβόμενοι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς καὶ κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς ὑπολισθάνοντες ρέοντι κατ'  
 331 ἄκρας ἐκαλύπτοντο τῷ πολέμῳ. τοῦτο πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐπιλέκτων ἐπ' αὐτο-χειρίαν παρώξυνεν· κατιδόντες γὰρ ὡς οὐδένα τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἀνελεῖν δύνανται, τό γε πεσεῖν αὐτοὺς<sup>3</sup> ὑπὸ 'Ρωμαίων προέλαθον καὶ συναθροι-σθέντες ἐπὶ τὰ καταλήγοντα τῆς πόλεως σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀνεῖλον.  
 332 (35) Ὅσοι γε μὴν ὑπὸ πρώτην τῆς καταλήψεως αἴσθησιν τῶν φυλάκων διαφυγεῖν ἐφθασαν ἀνα-βάντες εἰς τινα τῶν προσαρκτίων πύργων μέχρι μέν τινος ἀπημύναντο, περισχεθέντες δὲ πλήθει

<sup>1</sup> επὶ Niese: the inferior mss. have περὶ (τὴν πολιορκίαν).

<sup>2</sup> + ἀπαντες PAML.

<sup>3</sup> Text doubtful.

the sentries and entered the city. Behind them came Sextus Calvarius, a tribune, and Placidus with the troops under their command. The citadel had actually been taken, the enemy was ranging through the heart of the town, and it was now broad daylight, before the vanquished inhabitants were aware of the capture. Most of them were worn out with fatigue and asleep, and if any awoke, a thick mist, which happened at the time to envelop the city, obscured their vision. At length, when the whole army had poured in, they started up, but only to realize their calamity ; the blade at their throat brought home to them that Jotapata was taken.

The Romans, remembering what they had borne during the siege, showed no quarter or pity for any, but thrust the people down the steep slope from the citadel in a general massacre. Even those still able to fight here found themselves deprived of the means of defence by the difficulties of the ground : crushed in the narrow alleys and slipping down the declivity, they were engulfed in the wave of carnage that streamed from the citadel. The situation even drove many of Josephus's picked men to suicide ; seeing themselves powerless to kill a single Roman, they could at least forestall death at Roman hands, and, retiring in a body to the outskirts of the town, they there put an end to themselves.

(35) Those soldiers of the guard who, the moment it was known that the town was taken, had succeeded in escaping, took refuge in one of the northern <sup>a</sup> towers, where for some time they held their own ; but, being surrounded by large numbers of the

<sup>a</sup> The Romans had entered from the north (§§ 158, 162).

τῶν πολεμίων ὁψὲ παρεῖσαν τὰς δεξιὰς καὶ τοῖς  
 333 ἐφεστῶσιν τὴν σφαγὴν εὕθυμοι παρέσχον. ἀναι-  
 μακτον δ' ἂν ἦν αὐχῆσαι 'Ρωμαίους τὸ τέλος τῆς  
 πολιορκίας, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν εἴς ἔπεσέν  
 τις· ἑκατοντάρχης ἦν Ἀντώνιος, θνήσκει δ' ἐξ  
 334 ἐνέδρας. τῶν γὰρ εἰς τὰ σπῆλαιά τις συμ-  
 πεφευγότων, πολλοὶ δ' οὗτοι πλῆθος ἦσαν, ἵκετεύει  
 τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὀρέξαι δεξιὰν αὐτῷ, πίστιν τε  
 335 σωτηρίας καὶ βοήθειαν πρὸς ἄνοδον· ὁ δ' ἀ-  
 φυλάκτως ὥρεγε τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ φθάσας αὐτὸν  
 ἐκεῖνος νύπτει κάτωθεν ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup> τὸν βουβῶνα δόρατι  
 καὶ παραχρῆμα διεργάζεται.

336 (36) Κατ' ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν τὸ  
 φανερὸν πλῆθος ἀνεῖλον οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι, ταῖς δ'  
 ἐπιούσαις ἀνερευνώμενοι τὰς καταδύσεις τοὺς ἐν  
 τοῖς ὑπονόμοις καὶ τοῖς σπηλαίοις ἐπεξήσαν καὶ  
 διὰ πάσης ἔχώρουν ἡλικίας πλὴν νηπίων καὶ  
 337 γυναικῶν. καὶ τὰ μὲν αἰχμάλωτα χίλια πρὸς τοῖς  
 διακοσίοις συνήχθη, νεκροὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν  
 καὶ τὰς πρότερον μάχας συνηριθμίθησαν τετρα-  
 338 κισμύριοι. Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τήν τε πόλιν κατα-  
 σκάψαι κελεύει καὶ τὰ φρούρια πάντα προσεμ-  
 339 πίπρησιν αὐτῆς. 'Ιωτάπατα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔάλω  
 τρισκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας ἔτει Πανέ-  
 μου νοῦμηνίᾳ.

340 (viii. 1) 'Ρωμαῖοι δὲ τὸν 'Ιώσηπον ἀναζητοῦν-  
 τες κατά τε ὄργὴν σφετέραν καὶ σφόδρα τοῦ  
 στρατηγοῦ φιλοτιμουμένου, μεγίστη γὰρ ἦν μοῖρα  
 τοῦ πολέμου ληφθείσ, τούς τε νεκροὺς διηρεύνων

<sup>1</sup> επὶ PAL.

enemy, they at length surrendered and cheerfully extended their throats to their assailants. The Romans might have boasted that this last phase of the siege had cost them no loss of life, had not one of them, the centurion Antonius, fallen when the town was captured. He was killed by treachery. One of the many fugitives who had taken refuge in the caverns besought Antonius to extend his hand to him, as a pledge of protection and to assist him to rise ; the centurion inadvertently complied, whereupon the Jew from below instantly stabbed him with his spear beneath the groin, and killed him on the spot.

(36) On that day the Romans massacred all who showed themselves ; on the ensuing days they searched the hiding-places and wreaked their vengeance on those who had sought refuge in subterranean vaults and caverns, sparing none, whatever their age, save infants and women. The prisoners thus collected were twelve hundred ; the total number of the dead, whether killed in the final assault or in the previous combats, was computed at forty thousand. Vespasian ordered the city to be razed and had all its forts burnt to the ground. Thus was Jotapata taken in the thirteenth year of the principate of Nero, on the new moon of Panemus.<sup>a</sup>

(viii. 1) A search for Josephus was then instituted by the Romans, to satisfy both their own resentment and the keen desire of their general, who considered that the issue of the war depended largely on his capture. So the bodies of the slain and the men in

Josephus  
in hiding  
a cave,

<sup>a</sup> 20 July, A.D. 67 (Niese).

341 καὶ τοὺς ἀποκρύφους.<sup>1</sup> ὁ δὲ<sup>2</sup> τῆς πόλεως ἄλι-  
σκομένης, δαιμονίῳ τινὶ συνεργίᾳ χρησάμενος,  
μέσον μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἐκκλέπτει τῶν πολεμίων, καθ-  
άλλεται δὲ εἰς τινὰ βαθὺν λάκκον, ὡς πλατὺ σπήλαιον  
342 διέζευκτο κατὰ πλευρὰν τοῖς ἄνωθεν ἀόρατον. ἔνθα  
τεσσαράκοντα μὲν τῶν ἐπισήμων ἄνδρας κατα-  
λαμβάνει λανθάνοντας, παρασκευὴν δ' ἐπιτηδείων  
343 οὐκ ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις διαρκεῖν δυναμένην. μεθ'  
ἡμέραν μὲν οὖν ὑπεστέλλετο τῶν πολεμίων πάντα  
διειληφότων, νυκτὸς δ' ἀνιών ἐζήτει δρασμοῦ  
διάδυσιν καὶ τὰς φυλακὰς κατεσκέπτετο. φρουρου-  
μένων δὲ πάντοθεν πάντων δι' αὐτόν, ὡς λαθεῖν  
344 οὐκ ἦν, αὐθις εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον κατήει. δύο μὲν  
οὖν ἡμέραις διαλανθάνει, τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ γυναικὸς  
ἀλούσης τῶν ἄμα αὐτοῖς μηνύεται, καὶ Οὐεσπα-  
σιανὸς αὐτίκα μετὰ σπουδῆς πέμπει δύο χιλιάρ-  
χους, Παυλίνον καὶ Γαλλικανόν, δεξιάς τε τῷ  
Ἰωσήπῳ δοῦναι κελεύσας καὶ προτρεψυμένους  
ἀνελθεῖν.

345 (2) Ἀφικόμενοι γοῦν παρεκάλουν οὗτοι τὸν  
ἄνδρα καὶ πίστεις περὶ σωτηρίας ἐδίδοσαν, οὐ  
346 μὴν ἐπειθον· ἐκ γὰρ ὧν εἰκὸς ἦν τοσαῦτα δράσαντα  
παθεῖν, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ φύσει τῶν παρακαλούντων  
ἡμέρου τὰς ὑποφίας συνέλεγεν, ἐδεδίει τε ὡς  
ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν προκαλουμένους, ἥως Οὐεσπασιανὸς  
τρίτον ἐπιπέμπει χιλίαρχον Νικάνορα, γνώριμον

<sup>1</sup> + τῆς πόλεως αὐχούς MVRC. "the secret recesses of the city."

<sup>2</sup> + ἀρτι MVRC.

<sup>2</sup> Probably, as Reinach suggests, a relative of M. Valerius Paulinus, a friend of Vespasian, and in A.D. 69 governor of Gallia Narbonensis (Tac. *Hist.* iii. 43).

hiding were closely examined. But Josephus, when the city was on the point of being taken, aided by some divine providence, had succeeded in stealing away from the midst of the enemy and plunged into a deep pit, giving access on one side to a broad cavern, invisible to those above. There he found forty persons of distinction in hiding, with a supply of provisions sufficient to last for a considerable time. During the day he lay hid, as the enemy were in occupation of every quarter of the town, but at night he would come up and look for some loophole for escape and reconnoitre the sentries ; but, finding every spot guarded on his account and no means of eluding detection, he descended again into the cave. So for two days he continued in hiding. On the third, his secret was betrayed by a woman of the party, who was captured ; whereupon Vespasian at once eagerly sent two tribunes, Paulinus<sup>a</sup> and Gallicanus, with orders to offer Josephus security and to urge him to come up.

(2) On reaching the spot they pressed him to do so and pledged themselves for his safety, but failed to persuade him. His suspicions were based not on the humane character of the envoys, but on the consciousness of all he had done and the feeling that he must suffer proportionately. The presentiment that he was being summoned to punishment persisted, until Vespasian sent a third messenger, the tribune Nicanor,<sup>b</sup> an old acquaintance and friend of

is discovered  
by the  
Romans :  
invited to  
surrender,

His parle  
with the  
Roman  
officers.

<sup>a</sup> A friend of Titus, who was afterwards wounded while endeavouring, in company with Josephus, to parley with the Jews of Jerusalem, by whom he was known, *B. v.* 261. It has been suggested that he may have served under Agrippa and so become acquainted with Josephus (Kohout).

347 τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ καὶ συνήθῃ πάλαι. παρελθὼν δ'  
οὗτος τό τε φύσει Ῥωμαίων χρηστὸν πρὸς οὓς  
ἄν ἅπαξ ἔλωσι διεξήει, καὶ ὡς δι' ἀρετὴν αὐτὸς  
θαυμάζοιτο μᾶλλον ἢ μισοῖτο πρὸς τῶν ἡγεμόνων,  
348 σπουδάζειν τε τὸν στρατηγὸν οὐκ ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ  
ἀναγαγεῖν αὐτόν, ἐνεῖναι γὰρ ταύτην καὶ παρὰ  
μὴ προϊόντος λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ σῶσαι προαιρούμενοι  
349 ἄνδρα γενναῖον. προσετίθει δ' ὡς οὗτ' ἄν Οὐε-  
σπασιανὸς ἐνεδρεύων φίλον ἔπειμπεν, ἵνα τοι  
κακίστου πράγματος προστήσηται τὸ κάλλιστον.  
ἀπιστίας φιλίαν, οὐδ' ἄν αὐτὸς ἀπατήσων ἄνδρο  
φίλον ὑπήκουσεν ἐλθεῖν.

350 (3) Ἐνδοιάζοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου καὶ πρὸς  
τὸν Νικάνορα, τὸ μὲν στρατιωτικὸν ὑπ' ὁργῆς  
ἐκκαίειν τὸ σπῆλαιον ὥρμητο, κατεῖχεν δ' αὐτοὺς  
ὅ πολέμαρχος ζωγρῆσαι τὸν ἄνδρα φιλοτιμούμενος  
351 ὡς δ' ὃ τε Νικάνωρ προσέκειτο λιπαρῶν καὶ τὰ  
ἀπειλὰς τοῦ πολεμίου πλήθους ὃ Ἰώσηπος ἔμαθεν  
ἀνάμνησις αὐτὸν τῶν διὰ νυκτὸς ὀνείρων εἰσέρχεται  
δι' ὧν ὁ θεὸς τὰς τε μελλούσας αὐτῷ συμφορὰ  
προεσήμανεν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίω  
352 βασιλεῖς ἐσόμενα. ἦν δὲ καὶ περὶ κρίσεις ὀνείρω  
ἴκανὸς συμβαλεῖν τὰ ἀμφιβόλως ὑπὸ τοῦ θεού  
λεγόμενα· τῶν γε μὴν ἱερῶν βίβλων οὐκ ἤγνοε  
τὰς προφητείας ὡς ἄν αὐτός τε ὧν ἱερεὺς κα  
353 ἱερέων ἔγγονος. ὧν ἐπὶ τῆς τότε ὥρας ἐνθου  
γενόμενος καὶ τὰ φρικώδη τῶν προσφάτω  
ὀνείρων σπάσας φαντάσματα προσφέρει τῷ θεῷ  
354 λεληθυῖαν εὐχήν, καὶ "ἐπειδὴ τὸ Ἰουδαίων," ἔφη

<sup>a</sup> Cf. "Romane, memento . . . parcere subiectis," Virg. *Aen.* vi. 851 ff.

<sup>b</sup> Did he claim kinship with his namesake, the patriarch?

Josephus He, on his arrival, dwelt on the innate generosity of the Romans to those whom they had once subdued,<sup>a</sup> assuring him that his valour made him an object rather of admiration, than of hatred, to the commanding officers, and that the general was anxious to bring him up from his retreat, not for punishment—that he could inflict though he refused to come forth—but from a desire to save a brave man. He added that Vespasian, had he intended to entrap him, would never have sent him one of his friends, thus using the fairest of virtues, friendship, as a cloak for the foulest of crimes, perfidy; nor would he himself have consented to come in order to deceive a friend.

(3) While Josephus was still hesitating, even after Nicanor's assurances, the soldiers in their rage attempted to set fire to the cave, but were restrained by their commander, who was anxious to take the Jewish general alive. But as Nicanor was urgently pressing his proposals and Josephus overheard the threats of the hostile crowd, suddenly there came back into his mind those nightly dreams, in which God had foretold to him the impending fate of the Jews and the destinies of the Roman sovereigns. He was an interpreter of dreams and skilled in divining the meaning of ambiguous utterances of the Deity;<sup>b</sup> a priest himself and of priestly descent, he was not ignorant of the prophecies in the sacred books. At that hour he was inspired to read their meaning, and, recalling the dreadful images of his recent dreams, he offered up a silent prayer to God. 'Since it pleases thee,' so it ran, 'who didst create

Joseph? For his interest in dreams cf. *B.* ii. 112-116: he tells us of another dream at a crisis in his life, *Vita* 208 ff.

"φῦλον κλάσαι<sup>1</sup> δοκεῖ σοι τῷ κτίσαντι, μετέβι  
δὲ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἡ τύχη πᾶσα, καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν  
ψυχὴν ἐπελέξω τὰ μέλλοντα εἰπεῖν, δίδωμι μὲν  
Ῥωμαίοις τὰς χεῖρας ἔκὼν καὶ ζῶ, μαρτύρομα  
δὲ ὡς οὐ προδότης, ἀλλὰ σὸς ἅπειρι διάκονος·

355 (4) Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐνεδίδου τῷ Νικάνορι. καὶ  
τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ συγκαταφυγόντες ὡς τὸν Ἰώση  
πον συνίεσαν εἴκοντα τοῖς παρακαλοῦσιν, ἀθρόο  
356 περιστάντες, "ἢ μεγάλα γ' ἂν στενάξειαν,  
ἐβόων, "οἱ πάτριοι νόμοι, καὶ κατηφήσαι<sup>2</sup> θεὸ  
Ἰουδαίοις ὁ κτίσας ψυχὰς θανάτου καταφρονούσας  
357 φιλοζωεῖς,<sup>3</sup> Ἰώσηπε, καὶ φῶς ὑπομένεις ὄρα  
δοῦλος; ὡς ταχέως ἐπελάθου σαυτοῦ πόσου  
358 ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἀποθήσκειν ἔπεισας ψευδῆ μὲν  
ἄρα δόξαν ἀνδρείας, ψευδῆ δὲ καὶ συνέσεως εἶχες  
εἴ γε σωτηρίαν μὲν ἔχειν ἐλπίζεις παρ' οἷς οὕτω  
ἐπολέμησας, σώζεσθαι δ' ὑπ' ἐκείνων, καν  
359 βέβαιον, θέλεις. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ σοὶ λήθην σεαυτο  
κατέχεεν ἡ Ῥωμαίων τύχη, προνοητέον ἡμῖν το  
πατρίου κλέους. χρήσομέν σοι δεξιὰν καὶ ξίφος  
σὺ δ' ἂν μὲν ἔκὼν θυνήσκης, Ἰουδαίων στρατηγός  
360 ἂν δ' ἄκων, προδότης τεθνήξῃ." ταῦθ' ἄμ  
λέγοντες ἐπανετείναντο τὰ ξίφη καὶ διηπείλον  
ἀναιρήσειν αὐτόν, εἰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐνδιδοίη.<sup>4</sup>  
361 (5) Δείσας δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον ὁ Ἰώσηπος καὶ προ  
δοσίαν ἥγούμενος εἶναι τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ προσταγ  
μάτων, εἰ προαποθάνοι τῆς διαγγελίας, ἥρχετ  
362 πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης. "τ

<sup>1</sup> A Leyden ms. quoted by Naber: κολάσαι PAML  
δκλάσαι the rest (followed by Niese and Naber). "that  
should sink into the dust."

<sup>2</sup> καὶ κατηφήσαι MVRG: οὐς κατέφησεν the rest.

the Jewish nation, to break thy work, since fortune has wholly passed to the Romans, and since thou hast made choice of my spirit to announce the things that are to come, I willingly surrender to the Romans and consent to live ; but I take thee to witness that I go, not as a traitor, but as thy minister." His intention to surrender

(4) With these words he was about to surrender to Nicanor. But when the Jews who shared his retreat understood that Josephus was yielding to entreaty, they came round him in a body, crying out, " Ah ! well might the laws of our fathers groan aloud and God Himself hide His face for grief—God who implanted in Jewish breasts souls that scorn death ! Is life so dear to you, Josephus, that you can endure to see the light in slavery ? How soon have you forgotten yourself ! How many have you persuaded to die for liberty ! False, then, was that reputation or bravery, false that fame for sagacity, if you can hope for pardon from those whom you have fought so bitterly, or, supposing that they grant it, can deign to accept your life at their hands. Nay, if the fortune of the Romans has cast over you some strange forgetfulness of yourself, the care of our country's honour evolves on us. We will lend you a right hand and sword. If you meet death willingly, you will have died as general of the Jews ; if unwillingly, as traitor." With these words they pointed their words at him and threatened to kill him if he surrendered to the Romans.

(5) Josephus, fearing an assault, and holding that it would be a betrayal of God's commands, should he die before delivering his message, proceeded, in this emergency, to reason philosophically with them.

γὰρ τοσοῦτον," ἔφη, "σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἑταῖροι  
 φονῶμεν; ἡ τί τὰ φίλτατα διαστασιάζομεν, σῶμα  
 363 καὶ ψυχήν; ἡλλάχθαι<sup>1</sup> τις ἐμέ φησιν. ἀλλ  
 οἴδασιν ὑπότιμοι τοῦτό γε. [καὶ] καλὸν ἔι  
 πολέμωθι θνήσκειν, ἀλλὰ πολέμου νόμῳ, τουτέστι  
 364 ὑπὸ τῶν κρατούντων. εἰ μὲν οὖν τὸν ὑπότιμον  
 ἀποστρέφομαι σίδηρον, ἄξιος ἀληθῶς εἰμι τούμοι  
 ἔιφους καὶ χειρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς· εἰ δ' ἐκείνους εἰσ  
 ἔρχεται φειδὼ πολεμίου, πόσῳ δικαιότερον ἂν ἡμᾶς·  
 ἡμῶν αὐτῶν εἰσέλθοι; καὶ γὰρ ἡλίθιον ταῦτα  
 δρᾶν σφᾶς αὐτούς, περὶ ὧν πρὸς ἐκείνους δι  
 365 ιστάμεθα. καλὸν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀπο  
 θνήσκειν· φημὶ κάγω, μαχομένους μέντοι, καὶ ὑπ  
 τῶν ἀφαιρουμένων αὐτήν. νῦν δ' οὔτ' εἰς μάχην  
 ἀντιάζουσιν ἡμῖν οὔτ' ἀναιροῦσιν ἡμᾶς· δειλὸ  
 δὲ ὄμοιώς ὁ τε μὴ βουλόμενος θνήσκειν ὅταν δέ  
 366 καὶ ὁ βουλόμενος, ὅταν μὴ δέῃ. τί δὲ καὶ δεδοικό  
 τες πρὸς ὑπότιμον οὐκ ἄνιψιν; ἀρ' οὐχὶ θάνατον  
 367 εἴθ' ὃν δεδοίκαμεν ἐκ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑποπτευόμενοι  
 ἔαυτοῖς βέβαιον ἐπιστήσομεν; ἀλλὰ δουλείαι  
 368 ἐρεῖ τις. πάνυ γοῦν νῦν ἐσμὲν ἐλεύθεροι. γεν  
 ναῖον γὰρ ἀνελεῖν ἔαυτόν, φήσει τις. οὐ μεν οὐδὲ  
 ἀλλ' ἀγενέστατον, ὡς ἔγωγε καὶ κυβερνήτην ἥγοον  
 μαι δειλότατον, ὅστις χειμῶνα δεδοικώς πρὸ τῆ  
 369 θυέλλης ἐβάπτισεν ἔκὼν τὸ σκάφος. ἀλλὰ μὴν  
 αὐτοχειρία καὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἀπάντων ζώων φύσεω  
 ἀλλότριον καὶ πρὸς τὸν κτίσαντα θεὸν ἡμᾶς ἐστι  
 370 ἀσέβεια. τῶν μέν γε ζώων οὐδέν ἐστιν ὁ θνήσκε  
 μετὰ προνοίας ἢ δι' αὐτοῦ· φύσεως γὰρ νόμο

<sup>1</sup> ἡλλάχθαι PAMIL

"Why, comrades," said he, "this thirst for our own blood? Why set asunder such fond companions as soul and body? One says that I am changed: well, the Romans know the truth about that. Another says, 'It is honourable to die in war': yes, but according to the law of war, that is to say by the hand of the conqueror. Were I now flinching from the sword of the Romans, I should assuredly deserve to perish by my own sword and my own hand; but if they are moved to spare an enemy, how much stronger reason have we to spare ourselves? It would surely be folly to inflict on ourselves treatment which we seek to avoid by our quarrel with them. 'It is honourable to die for liberty,' says another: I concur, but on condition that one dies fighting, by the hands of those who would rob us of it. But now they are neither coming to fight us nor to take our lives. It is equally cowardly not to wish to die when one ought to do so, and to wish to die when one ought not. What is it we fear that prevents us from surrendering to the Romans? Is it not death? And shall we then inflict upon ourselves certain death, to avoid an uncertain death, which we fear, at the hands of our foes? 'No, it is slavery we fear,' I shall be told. Much liberty we enjoy at present! 'It is noble to destroy oneself,' another will say. Not so, I retort, but most ignoble; in my opinion there could be no more arrant coward than the pilot who, for fear of a tempest, deliberately sinks his ship before the storm.

"No; suicide is alike repugnant to that nature which all creatures share, and an act of impiety towards God who created us. Among the animals there is not one that deliberately seeks death or kills itself; so firmly rooted in all is nature's law—the

ἰσχυρὸς ἐν ἄπασιν τὸ ζῆν ἐθέλειν· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς φανερῶς ἀφαιρουμένους ἡμᾶς τούτου πολεμίους ἥγονούμεθα καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἐνέδρας τιμωρούμεθα.

371 τὸν δὲ θεὸν οὐκ οἴεσθε ἀγανακτεῖν, ὅταν ἀνθρωπος αὐτοῦ τὸ δῶρον ὑβρίζῃ; καὶ γὰρ εἰλήφαμεν παρ’ ἐκείνους τὸ εἶναι καὶ τὸ μηκέτι εἶναι πάλιν ἐκείνῳ

372 διδῷμεν.<sup>1</sup> τὰ μέν γε σώματα θυητὰ πᾶσιν καὶ ἐκ φθαρτῆς ὕλης δεδημιούργηται, ψυχὴ δὲ ἀθάνατος ἀεὶ καὶ θεοῦ μοῖρα τοῖς σώμασιν ἐνοικίζεται· εἴτ’ ἔὰν μὲν ἀφανίσῃ τις ἀνθρώπου παρακαταθήκην ἢ διαθῆται κακῶς, πονηρὸς εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ ἀπιστος,

εἰ δέ τις τοῦ σφετέρου σώματος ἐκβάλλει τὴν παρακαταθήκην τοῦ θεοῦ, λεληθέναι δοκεῖ τὸν 373 ἀδικούμενον; καὶ κολάζειν μὲν τοὺς ἀποδράντας οἰκέτας δίκαιον νενόμισται, κανὸν πονηροὺς καταλείπωσι δεσπότας, αὐτοὶ δὲ κάλλιστον δεσπότην ἀποδιδράσκοντες τὸν θεὸν οὐ δοκοῦμεν ἀσεβεῖν;

374 ἀρ’ οὐκ ἴστε, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἐξιόντων τοῦ βίου κατὰ τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον καὶ τὸ ληφθὲν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χρέος ἐκτινύντων, ὅταν ὁ δοὺς κομίσασθαι θέλῃ, κλέος μὲν αἰώνιον, οἰκοι δὲ καὶ γενεαὶ βέβαιοι, καθαραὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπήκοοι μένουσιν αἱ ψυχαί, χῶρον οὐράνιον<sup>2</sup> λαχοῦσαι τὸν ἀγιώτατον, ἔνθεν ἐκ περιτροπῆς αἰώνων ἀγνοῖς πάλιν ἀντενοικί-

375 ζονται σώμασιν· ὅσοις δὲ καθ’ ἑαυτῶν ἐμάνησαν αἱ χεῖρες, τούτων ἄδης μὲν δέχεται τὰς ψυχὰς σκοτεινότερος, ὁ δὲ τούτων πατὴρ θεὸς εἰς ἐγ-

<sup>1</sup> Niese: διδόμεν, δίδομεν ορ δίδωμεν (sic) MSS.

<sup>2</sup> P: οὐρανοῦ the rest.

will to live. That is why we account as enemies those who would openly take our lives and punish as assassins those who clandestinely attempt to do so. And God—think you not that He is indignant when man treats His gift with scorn? For it is from Him that we have received our being, and it is to Him that we should leave the decision to take it away. All of us, it is true, have mortal bodies, composed of perishable matter, but the soul lives for ever, immortal: it is a portion of the Deity housed in our bodies. If, then, one who makes away with or misapplies a deposit entrusted to him by a fellow-man is reckoned a perjured villain, how can he who casts out from his own body the deposit which God has placed there, hope to elude Him whom he has thus wronged? It is considered right to punish a fugitive slave, even though the master he leaves be a scoundrel; and shall we fly from the best of masters, from God Himself, and not be deemed impious? Know you not that they who depart this life in accordance with the law of nature and repay the loan which they received from God, when He who lent is pleased to reclaim it, win eternal renown; that their houses and families are secure; that their souls, remaining spotless and obedient, are allotted the most holy place in heaven, whence, in the revolution of the ages, they return to find in chaste bodies a new habitation?<sup>a</sup> But as for those who have laid mad hands upon themselves, the darker regions of the nether world receive their souls, and God, their

<sup>a</sup> With this passage cf. *Ap.* ii. 218 ". . . to those who observe the laws and, if they must needs die for them, willingly meet death, God has granted a renewed existence and in the revolution (of the ages) the gift of a better life."

γόνους τιμωρεῖται τοὺς τῶν πατέρων ὑβριστάς.<sup>1</sup>  
 376 διὰ τοῦτο μεμίσηται παρὰ θεῶ τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ  
 377 τῷ σοφωτάτῳ κολάζεται νομοθέτη· τοὺς γοῦν  
 ἀναιροῦντας ἐαυτὸς παρὰ μὲν ἡμῖν μέχρις ἥλιου  
 δύσεως ἀτάφους ἐκρίπτειν ἐκριναν, καίτοι καὶ  
 378 πολεμίους θάπτειν θεμιτὸν ἡγούμενοι, παρ' ἔτεροις  
 δὲ καὶ τὰς δεξιὰς τῶν τοιούτων νεκρῶν ἀπο-  
 κόπτειν ἐκέλευσαν, αἷς ἐστρατεύσαντο καθ' ἐαυτῶν,  
 ἡγούμενοι, καθάπερ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀλλότριον,  
 379 οὗτως καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ σώματος. καλὸν οὖν,  
 ἔταιροι, δίκαια φρονεῦν καὶ μὴ ταῖς ἀνθρωπίναις  
 συμφοραῖς προσθεῖναι τὴν εἰς τὸν κτίσαντα ἡμᾶς  
 380 δυσσέβειαν. εἰ σώζεσθαι δοκεῖ, σωζώμεθα· καὶ  
 γὰρ οὐκ ἄδοξος ἡ σωτηρία παρ' οἷς διὰ τοσούτων  
 ἔργων ἐπεδειξάμεθα τὰς ἀρετάς· εἰ τεθνάναι, καλὸν  
 381 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλόντων. οὐ μεταβήσομαι δ' ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν  
 τῶν πολεμίων τάξιν, ἵν' ἐμαυτοῦ προδότης γένω-  
 μαι· καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἴην πολὺ τῶν αὐτομολούντων  
 πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἥλιθιώτερος, εἴ γ' ἐκεῖνοι  
 μὲν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦτο πράττουσιν, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup>  
 382 ἀπωλείᾳ, καὶ γε τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ. τὴν μέντοι 'Ρω-  
 μαίων ἐνέδραν εὔχομαι· μετὰ γὰρ δεξιὰν ἀν-  
 αιρούμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν εὔθυμος τεθνήσομαι, τὴν  
 τῶν ψευσαμένων ἀπιστίαν νίκης μείζονα ἀποφέρων  
 παραμυθίαν."

<sup>1</sup> Text corrupt: I suggest τὰς τῶν πατέρων ὑβρεῖς; the text may have arisen out of an erroneous τοὺς corrected in the margin to τὰς.

<sup>2</sup> Josephus apparently refers to some Rabbinical tradition: the Pentateuch is silent on the subject of suicide. For the burial at sunset of the hanged criminal see Deut. xxi. 22 f., and of the slain enemy, Joshua viii. 29, x. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Such was the Athenian custom, as appears from Aeschines,

father, visits upon their posterity the outrageous acts of the parents. That is why this crime, so hateful to God, is punished also by the sagest of legislators. With us it is ordained that the body of a suicide should be exposed unburied until sunset, although it is thought right to bury even our enemies slain in war.<sup>a</sup> In other nations the law requires that a suicide's right hand, with which he made war on himself, should be cut off, holding that, as the body was unnaturally severed from the soul, so the hand should be severed from the body.<sup>b</sup>

" We shall do well then, comrades, to listen to reason and not to add to our human calamities the crime of impiety towards our creator. If our lives are offered us, let us live : there is nothing dishonourable in accepting this offer from those who have had so many proofs of our valour ; if they think fit to kill us, death at the hands of our conquerors is honourable. But, for my part, I shall never pass over to the enemy's ranks, to prove a traitor to myself ; I should indeed then be far more senseless than deserters who go over to the enemy for safety, whereas I should be going to destruction—my own destruction.<sup>c</sup> I pray, however, that the Romans may prove faithless ; if, after pledging their word, they put me to death, I shall die content, for I shall carry with me the consolation, better than a victory, that their triumph has been sullied by perjury."

*Cont. Ctesiph.* 244 (quoted by Reinach) εάν τις αὐτὸν μαχρήσηται, τὴν χεῖρα τὴν τοῦτο πράξασαν χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος ἀπτομέν. For this piece of erudition, comparable to other instances in the *Contra Apionem*, Josephus is doubtless indebted to his Greek assistants (*Ap.* i. 50).

<sup>a</sup> " The consciousness of such treachery would be my ruin." seems to be the meaning.

383 (6) Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰώσηπος πολλὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς  
 384 ἀποτροπὴν τῆς αὐτοχειρίας ἔλεγεν οἵ δὲ πεφραγ-  
 μένας ἀπογνώσει τὰς ἀκοὰς ἔχοντες, ὡς ἂν πάλαι  
 καθοσιώσαντες ἐαυτοὺς τῷ θανάτῳ, παρωξύνοντες  
 πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ προστρέχων ἄλλος ἄλλοθει  
 ξιφίρεις ἐκάκιζόν τε εἰς ἀνανδρίαν καὶ ὡς ἐκαστος  
 385 αὐτίκα πλίξων δῆλος ἦν. ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν ὄνομαστον  
 καλῶν, τῷ δὲ στρατηγικώτερον ἐμβλέπων, τοῦ δε  
 δρυσσόμενος τῆς δεξιᾶς, ὃν δὲ δεήσει δυσωπῶν  
 καὶ ποικίλοις διαιρούμενος πάθεσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνάγ-  
 κης εἶργεν ἀπὸ τῆς σφαγῆς πάντων τὸν σίδηρον  
 ὥσπερ τὰ κυκλωθέντα τῶν θηρίων ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸν  
 386 καθαπτόμενον ἀντιστρεφόμενος. τῶν δὲ καὶ παρεῖ-  
 τὰς ἐσχάτας συμφορὰς ἔτι τὸν στρατηγὸν αἰδουν  
 μένων παρελύοντο μὲν αἱ δεξιαι, περιωλίσθανε-  
 δὲ τὰ ξίφη, καὶ πολλοὶ τὰς ρουφαίας ἐπιφέροντες  
 αὐτομάτως παρεῖσαν.<sup>1</sup>

387 (7) Ὁ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἀμηχανίαις οὐκ ἡπόρησε  
 ἐπινοίας, ἀλλὰ πιστεύων τῷ κηδεμόνι θεῷ τῇ  
 388 ιωτηρίᾳ παραβάλλεται, καὶ "ἐπεὶ δέδοκται τ.  
 θυνήσκειν," ἔφη, "φέρε κλήρω τὰς ἀλλήλων σφαγὰ  
 ἐπιτρέψωμεν, ὁ λαχὼν δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ μετ'<sup>2</sup> αὐτὸν  
 389 πιπτέτω, καὶ διοδεύσει πάντων οὗτως ἡ τύχη,  
 μηδ' ἐπὶ τῆς ιδίας κείσθω δεξιᾶς ἐκαστος· ἄδικο  
 γάρ οἰχομένων τινὰ τῶν ἄλλων μετανοήσαντ-  
 σωθῆναι." πιστὸς [δ'] ἔδοξεν ταῦτα εἰπών κα-  
 390 συνεκληροῦτο πείσας. ἔτοιμην δ' ὁ λαχὼν τῷ μετ'  
 αὐτὸν παρεῖχεν τὴν σφαγήν, ὡς αὐτίκα τεθνη-  
 ξομένου καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ· ζωῆς γάρ ἡδίω τὸ  
 391 μετὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου θάνατον ἡγούντο κατα-

<sup>1</sup> παρείθησαν .. were paralysed" MVRC.

(6) By these and many similar arguments Josephus sought to deter his companions from suicide. But desperation stopped their ears, for they had long since devoted themselves to death ; they were, therefore, infuriated at him, and ran at him from this side and that, sword in hand, upbraiding him as a coward, each one seeming on the point of striking him. But he, addressing one by name, fixing his general's eye of command upon another, clasping the hand of a third, shaming a fourth by entreaty, and torn by all manner of emotions at this critical moment, succeeded in warding off from his throat the blades of all, turning like a wild beast surrounded by the hunters to face his successive assailants. Even in his extremity, they still held their general in reverence ; their hands were powerless, their swords glanced aside, and many, in the act of thrusting at him, spontaneously dropped their weapons.

(7) But, in his straits, his resource did not forsake him. Trusting to God's protection, he put his life to the hazard, and said : " Since we are resolved to die, come, let us leave the lot to decide the order in which we are to kill ourselves ; let him who draws the first lot fall by the hand of him who comes next ; fortune will thus take her course through the whole number, and we shall be spared from taking our lives with our own hands. For it would be unjust that, when the rest were gone, any should repent and escape." This proposal inspired confidence ; his advice was taken, and he drew lots with the rest. Each man thus selected presented his throat to his neighbour, in the assurance that his general was forthwith to share his fate ; for sweeter to them than life was the thought of death with Josephus. He,

His  
companion  
kill each  
other and  
he escapes

# JOSEPHUS

λείπεται δ' οὗτος, εἴτε ὑπὸ τύχης χρὴ λέγειν, εἴτε<sup>¹</sup>  
ὑπὸ θεοῦ προνοίας, σὺν ἔτέρῳ, καὶ σπουδάζων  
μήθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ κλήρου καταδικασθῆναι μήτε, εἰ  
τελευταῖος λείποιτο, μιᾶναι τὴν δεξιὰν ὁμοφύλω  
φόνω πείθει κάκενον ἐπὶ πίστει ζῆν

392 (8) Ὁ μὲν οὖν οὔτως τὸν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὸν  
οἰκεῖον<sup>²</sup> διαφυγῶν πόλεμον ἐπὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸν  
393 ἤγετο ὑπὸ τοῦ Νικάνορος οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι πάντες  
ἐπὶ θέαν αὐτοῦ συνέτρεχον, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους  
συνθλιβομένου περὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ θόρυβος ἦν  
ποικίλος, τῶν μὲν γεγηθότων ἐπὶ τῷ ληφθέντι,  
τῶν δ' ἀπειλούντων, τῶν δ' ἐγγύθειν ἵδειν βιαζο-  
394 μένων. καὶ οἱ μὲν πόρρωθεν κολάζειν ἐβόων τὸν  
πολέμιον, τοὺς<sup>³</sup> δὲ πλησίον ἀνάμυησις αὐτοῦ τῶν  
395 ἔργων εἰσῆι καὶ πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν θάμβος, τῶν  
τε ἡγεμόνων οὐδεὶς ἦν ὅς, εἰ καὶ πρότερον ὠργί-  
ζετο, τότε πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ ἐνέδωκεν αὐτοῦ.  
396 μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Τίτον ἔξαιρέτως<sup>⁴</sup> τό τε καρτερικὸν  
ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἥρει τοῦ Ἰωσήπου καὶ πρὸς  
τὴν ἡλικίαν ἔλεος, ἀναμιμνησκομένῳ τε τὸν<sup>⁵</sup> πάλαι  
μαχόμενον καὶ τὸν ἐν χερσὶν ἐχθρῶν ἄρτι κείμενον  
ὅρωντι παρῆν [δὲ]<sup>⁶</sup> νοεῖν, ὅσον δύναται τύχη, καὶ  
ώς ὀξεῖα μὲν πολέμου ρόπη, τῶν δ' ἀνθρωπίνων  
397 οὐδὲν Βέβαιον· παρὸ καὶ τότε συνδιέθηκεν μὲν  
πλείστους ἑαυτῷ καὶ πρὸς οἰκτον τοῦ Ἰωσήπου,  
πλείστη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ μοῖρα σω-

<sup>¹</sup> εἴτε υπὸ τύχης χρὴ λέγειν, εἴτε om. PAL.

<sup>²</sup> τὸν οἰκεῖον L: τῶν οἰκείων most MSS.: τὸν τῶν οἰκείων Naber.

<sup>³</sup> MC: τῶν the rest.

<sup>⁴</sup> ἐξ ἀρχῆς LVRC and in the margin of PA.

<sup>⁵</sup> —οὐν VRC, mistaking the use, frequent in Josephus, of τιχία = "formerly," "recently."

<sup>⁶</sup> om. Lat.

however (should one say by fortune or by the providence of God?), was left alone with one other ; and, anxious neither to be condemned by the lot nor, should he be left to the last, to stain his hand with the blood of a fellow-countryman, he persuaded this man also, under a pledge, to remain alive.<sup>a</sup>

(8) Having thus survived both the war with the Romans and that with his own friends, Josephus was brought by Nicanor into Vespasian's presence. The Romans all flocked to see him, and from the multitude crowding around the general arose a hubbub of discordant voices : some exulting at his capture, some threatening, some pushing forward to obtain a nearer view. The more distant spectators clamoured for the punishment of their enemy, but those close beside him recalled his exploits and marvelled at such a reversal of fortune. Of the officers there was not one who, whatever his past resentment, did not then relent at the sight of him. Titus in particular was specially touched by the fortitude of Josephus under misfortunes and by pity for his youth.<sup>b</sup> As he recalled the combatant of yesterday and saw him now a prisoner in his enemy's hands, he was led to reflect on the power of fortune, the quick vicissitudes of war, and the general instability of human affairs. So he brought over many Romans at the time to share his compassion for Josephus, and his pleading with his father was the

Josephus  
before  
Vespasian

<sup>a</sup> The historian's veracity in this narrative is not above suspicion ; his inconsistency in other autobiographical passages, doubly reported, does not inspire confidence. That his companions would have tolerated the rhetorical speech on suicide is incredible.

<sup>b</sup> Josephus, born in A.D. 37 (*Vita* 5), was now thirty years old.

398 τηρίας ἐγένετο. ὁ μέντοι Οὐεσπασιανὸς φρουρεῖν αὐτὸν μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας προσέταττεν ὡς ἀναπέμψων αὐτίκα Νέρωνι.

399 (9) Τοῦτο ἀκούσας ὁ Ἰώσηπος μόνῳ τι διαλεχθῆναι θέλειν ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ. μεταστησαμένου δ' ἐκείνου πλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς Τίτου καὶ δυοῖν φίλων τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας "σὺ μέν," εἶπεν, "Οὐεσπασιανέ, νομίζεις αἰχμάλωτον αὐτὸ μόνον εἰληφέναι τὸν Ἰώσηπον, ἐγὼ δ' ἄγγελος ἡκω σοι μειζόνων· μὴ γὰρ ὑπὸ θεοῦ προπεμπόμενος ἥδειν τὸν Ἰουδαίων νόμον, καὶ πῶς στρατηγοῖς ἀποθνήσκειν πρέπει. Νέρωνί με πέμπεις; τί γάρ; • \*<sup>1</sup> οἱ μετὰ Νέρωνα μέχρι τοῦ διάδοχοι μενοῦσιν; σὺ Καῖσαρ, Οὐεσπασιανέ, καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ, σὺ καὶ 402 παῖς ὁ σὸς οὗτος. δέσμει δέ με νῦν ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ τήρει σεαυτῷ δεσπότης μὲν γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἔμοῦ σύ, Καῖσαρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν δέομαι φρουρᾶς μείζονος, εἰ κατασχεδιάζω<sup>2</sup> καὶ 403 θεοῦ." ταῦτ' εἰπόντος παραχρῆμα μὲν Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἀπιστεῖν ἔδόκει καὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ὑπελάμβανεν ταῦτα περὶ σωτηρίας πανουργεῖν, κατὰ μικρὸν δὲ εἰς πίστιν ὑπήγετο, τοῦ θεοῦ διεγείροντος αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἥδη καὶ τὰ σκῆπτρα δι' ἔτέρων σημείων προδεικνύντος.

405 ἀτρεκῆ δὲ τὸν Ἰώσηπον καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις κατ-

<sup>1</sup> A mention of Nero's impending death seems to have dropped out.

<sup>2</sup> κατασχεδιάσω PAML Suid.

\* For the sending of prisoners of importance to be tried by the Emperor cf. B. ii. 243 f. (Cumanus the procurator and the leading rebels), Vita 408 f. (Philip ben Jacimus), and in the N.T the case of S. Paul (at his own appeal).

main influence in saving the prisoner's life. Vespasian, however, ordered him to be guarded with every precaution, intending shortly to send him to Nero.<sup>a</sup>

(9) On hearing this, Josephus expressed a desire for a private interview with him Vespasian having ordered all to withdraw except his son Titus and two of his friends, the prisoner thus addressed him : " You imagine, Vespasian, that in the person of Josephus you have taken a mere captive ; but I come to you as a messenger of greater destinies. Had I not been sent on this errand by God, I knew the law of the Jews and how it becomes a general to die. To Nero do you send me ? Why then ? Think you that [Nero and] those who before your accession succeed him will continue ? You will be Caesar, Vespasian, you will be emperor, you and your son here. Bind me then yet more securely in chains and keep me for yourself ; for you, Caesar, are master not of me only, but of land and sea and the whole human race. For myself, I ask to be punished by stricter custody, if I have dared to rifle with the words of God." To this speech Vespasian, at the moment, seemed to attach little credit, supposing it to be a trick of Josephus to save his life. Gradually, however, he was led to believe it, for God was already rousing in him thoughts of empire and by other tokens foreshadowing the throne.<sup>b</sup> He found, moreover, that Josephus had

<sup>a</sup> These omens and oracles are mentioned by Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 10 (" ostentis ac responsis destinatum Vespasiano perisque eius imperium "), ii. 1 (" praesaga responsa "), and in other passages cited by Reinach. The widespread belief that " persons proceeding from Judaea were to become masters of the world," is reported in almost identical terms by Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 13) and Suetonius (*Vesp.* 4).

# JOSEPHUS

ελάμβανεν· τῶν γὰρ τοῖς ἀπορρήτοις παρατυχόντων φίλων [ό] ἔτερος θαυμάζειν ἔφη πῶς οὕτε τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰωταπάτων περὶ ἀλώσεως οὕθ' ἔαυτῷ προμαντεύσαιτο αἰχμαλωσίαν, εἰ μὴ ταῦτα λῆρος εἴη  
 406 διακρουομένου τὰς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁργάς. ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος καὶ τοῖς Ἰωταπατηνοῖς ὅτι μετὰ τεσσαρακοστὴν ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν ἀλώσονται προειπεῖν ἔφη, καὶ  
 407 ὅτι πρὸς Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸς ζωγρηθήσεται. ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων κατ' ἴδιαν ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐκπυθόμενος ὡς εὑρισκεν ἀληθῆ, οὕτω πιστεύειν<sup>1</sup>  
 408 περὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἥρκτο. φρουρᾶς μὲν οὖν καὶ δεσμῶν οὐκ ἀνίει τὸν Ἰώσηπον, ἐδωρεῖτο δ' ἐσθῆτι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κειμηλίοις, φιλοφρονούμενός τε καὶ περιέπων διετέλει τὰ πολλὰ Τίτοι τῇ τιμῇ συνεργοῦντος.

409 (ix. 1) Τετάρτη δὲ Πανέμου μηνὸς ἀναζεύξα: εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα κάκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν παράλιον ἀφικνεῖται Καισάρειαν, μεγίστην τῆς τε Ἰουδαία πόλιν καὶ τὸ πλέον<sup>2</sup> ὑψὸν Ἐλλήνων οἰκουμένην  
 410 ἐδέχοντο δὲ καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸ μετὰ πάσης εὐφημίας καὶ φιλοφροσύνης οἱ ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> + καὶ Niese.

<sup>2</sup> πλεῖστον PAML.

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<sup>a</sup> The fact of this prediction of Josephus to Vespasian confirmed by Suet. *Vesp.* 5 “unus ex nobilibus captiuo Iosepus, cum coiceretur in vincula, constantissime asseuerauit fore ut ab eodem breui solueretur, uerum iam impera-

proved a veracious prophet in other matters. For one of the two friends in attendance at the private interview remarked : " If these words are not a nonsensical invention of the prisoner to avert the storm which he has raised, I am surprised that Josephus neither predicted the fall of Jotapata to its inhabitants nor his own captivity." To this Josephus replied that he had foretold to the people of Jotapata that their city would be captured after forty-seven days and that he himself would be taken alive by the Romans. Vespasian, having privately questioned the prisoners on these statements and found them true, then began to credit those concerning himself. While he did not release Josephus from his custody or chains, he presented him with raiment and other precious gifts, and continued to treat him with kindness and solicitude, being warmly supported by Titus in these courtesies.<sup>a</sup>

(ix. 1) On the fourth of the month of Panemus,<sup>b</sup> Vespasian led off his troops to Ptolemais and from there to Caesarea-on-sea, one of the largest cities of Judaea with a population consisting chiefly of Greeks.<sup>c</sup> The inhabitants received the army and its general with blessings and congratulations of

tore," and by Dio Cassius (epitome, lxvi. 1) who instead of *breui* (" shortly ") writes more precisely *μετ' ἐνιαυτόν*. Reinach, who quotes these passages, refers also to the curious Rabbinic attribution of this prophecy to Johanan ben Zakkai, on the occasion of his escape from the siege of Jerusalem.

<sup>b</sup> 23 July A.D. 67 (Niese's reckoning).

<sup>c</sup> Notwithstanding its predominant Greek population the city from the time of its refoundation by Herod the Great " always continued united with Judaea " (Schürer).

χώριοι, καὶ κατ' εῦνοιαν μὲν τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους,  
τὸ δὲ πλέον ἔχθει τῶν κατεστραμμένων διὸ καὶ  
τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀθρόοι καταβοῶντες ἡξίουν κολάζειν.  
 411 Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τὴν [μὲν] περὶ τούτου δέησιν  
ώς ὑπ' ἀκρίτου γινομένην πλήθους ἔξελυσεν  
 412 ἡσυχίᾳ· τῶν δὲ ταγμάτων τὰ μὲν δύο χειμε-  
ρίσοντα ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τῆς Καισαρείας, ἐπιτήδειον  
όρων τὴν πόλιν, τὸ δέκατον δὲ καὶ πέμπτον εἰς  
Σκυθόπολιν, ώς μὴ θλίβοι παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ τὴν  
 413 Καισάρειαν. ἀλεεινὴ δ' ἦν κάκείνη χειμῶνος  
ῶρα, καθ' ὃσον πνιγώδης θέρους ὑπὸ καυμάτων.  
πεδιὰς οὖσα καὶ παράλιος.  
 414 (2) Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ συναθροισθέντες οἱ τε κατὰ  
στάσιν ἐκπίπτοντες τῶν πόλεων<sup>1</sup> καὶ οἱ δια-  
φυγόντες ἐκ τῶν κατεστραμμένων, πλῆθος οὐκ  
όλιγον, ἀνακτίζουσιν Ἰόππην ὄρμητήριον σφίσιν,  
 415 ἐρημωθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Κεστίου πρότερον, καὶ τῆς  
χώρας ἐκπεπολεμωμένης ἀνειργόμενοι μεταβαίνειν  
 416 ἔγρωσαν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. πηξάμενοί τε πειρα-  
τικὰ σκάφη πλεῖστα τόν τε Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης  
καὶ τὸν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου πόρον ἐλήστευνον, ἅπλωτά  
 417 τε πᾶσιν ἐποίουν τὰ τῆδε πελάγη. Οὐεσπασιανὸς  
δὲ ὡς ἔγρω τὴν σύνταξιν αὐτῶν, πέμπει πεζούς  
τε καὶ ἵππεis ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰόππην, οἱ νύκτωρ ώς ἀ-  
 418 φύλακτον εἰσέρχονται τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ  
προήσθοντο μὲν τὴν εἰσβολὴν καὶ καταδείσαντες  
τοῦ μὲν εἴργειν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀπετρέποντο,

<sup>1</sup> V: πολεμίων the rest.

\* The 5th and 10th (§ 65).

\* Bethshan, thirty-five miles due east of Caesarea.

every description, prompted partly by goodwill towards the Romans, but mainly by hatred of the vanquished. This feeling showed itself in a loud and universal demand for the punishment of Josephus; but Vespasian by his silence quashed this petition emanating from an incompetent crowd. Of his three legions he established two<sup>a</sup> in winter quarters at Caesarea, finding the city suitable for the purpose; the fifteenth legion he sent to Scythopolis,<sup>b</sup> in order not to burden Caesarea with his whole army. The climate of the last-named city is, like Scythopolis,<sup>c</sup> as genial in winter as it is suffocatingly hot in summer, from its situation in the plain and on the coast.

(2) Meanwhile, the Jews who had been driven by sedition from the towns and the refugees, whose homes had been destroyed, had united their not inconsiderable forces, and, to provide themselves with a base, rebuilt Joppa, recently devastated by Cestius<sup>d</sup>; and then, finding themselves cut off from the country, which had passed into the enemy's hands, they resolved to take to the sea. They accordingly built themselves a fleet of piratical ships and made raids on the traffic along the coast of Syria and Phoenicia and the route to Egypt, rendering navigation in those seas quite impossible. Vespasian, on learning of this gang, dispatched to Joppa a body of infantry and cavalry, who entered the city by night, finding it unguarded. The inhabitants had received news of the coming attack, but in their alarm made no attempt to

The pirates  
of Joppa  
pursued  
the Romans

<sup>c</sup> κάκείνη : Reinach, referring the pronoun to Scythopolis, suggested reducing παράλιος to παραποτάμιος.

<sup>d</sup> B. ii. 507 f.

συμφυγόντες δ' εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐξωτέρω βέλους  
διενυκτέρευσαν.

- 419 (3) Ἀλιμένου δ' οὕσης φύσει τῆς Ἰόππης, αἰ-  
γιαλῷ γάρ ἐπιλήγει τραχεῖ καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πᾶν  
ὄρθιώ, βραχὺ δὲ συννεύοντι κατὰ τὰς κεραίας  
420 ἐκατέρωθεν· αἱ δέ εἰσιν κρημνοὶ βαθεῖς καὶ πρού-  
χουσαι σπιλάδες εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ἔνθα καὶ τῶν  
Ἀνδρομέδας δεσμῶν ἔτι δεικνύμενοι τύποι πι-  
421 στοῦνται τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τοῦ μύθου, τύπτων δὲ  
τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐναντίος βορέας καὶ πρὸς ταῖς  
δεχομέναις πέτραις ὑψηλὸν ἀνακόπτων<sup>1</sup> τὸ κῦμα  
σφαλερώτερον ἐρημίας τὸν ὄρμον ἀπεργάζεται.  
422 κατὰ τοῦτον σαλεύοντιν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰόππης  
ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω πνεῦμα βίαιον ἐπιπίπτει· μελαμβόριον  
423 ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτῃ πλοϊζομένων καλεῖται· καὶ τὰς  
μὲν ἄλλήλαις τῶν νεῶν αὐτόθι συνήραξεν, τὰς δὲ  
πρὸς ταῖς πέτραις, πολλὰς δὲ πρὸς ἄντίον κῦμα  
βιαζομένας εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, τόν τε γὰρ αἰγιαλὸν  
ὅντα πετρώδη καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πολεμίους  
ἐδεδοίκεσαν, μετέωρος ὑπεραρθεὶς ὁ κλύδων ἐβά-  
424 πτιζεν. ἦν δ' οὗτε φυγῆς τόπος οὗτε μένουσιν  
σωτηρία, βίᾳ μὲν ἀνέμου τῆς θαλάσσης ἐξ-  
αθουμένοις, Ῥωμαίων δὲ τῆς πόλεως. καὶ πολλὴ  
μὲν οἰμωγὴ συρρηγνυμένων ἐγίνετο τῶν σκαφῶν,  
425 πολὺς δ' ἀγνυμένων ὁ ψόφος. καὶ τοῦ πλήθους  
οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων καλυπτόμενοι διεφθεί-

<sup>1</sup> ἀναπέμπων P\*Λ\*L.

<sup>a</sup> The localization of this legend at Joppa is widely attested. Reinach quotes Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 69 (marks of the chains shown on a projecting rock), Strabo xvi. 2. 28 (*ἴντανθα μιθεύοντι τινες τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν ἐκτεθῆναι τῷ κήτει*), Pausanias iv. 35. 9 (a blood-red spring where Perseus washed himself after slaying the monster), Jerome, *In Jon.* i.

oppose the Romans and sought refuge in their ships, where they passed the night out of bowshot.

(3) Nature has not provided Joppa with a port. It terminates in a rugged shore, which runs for nearly its whole length in a straight line, but is slightly curved at its two extremities in crescent fashion ; these horns consist of steep cliffs and reefs jutting far out into the deep ; here are still shown the impressions of Andromeda's chains, to attest the antiquity of that legend.<sup>a</sup> The north wind, beating full upon the coast, dashes the waves high against the face of the rocks and renders this roadstead more perilous to sailors than the watery waste.<sup>b</sup> It was here that the people of Joppa were tossing, when, towards dawn, a furious blast burst upon them, the wind called by navigators in those parts the "Black Norther." Some of the ships were dashed to pieces against each other on the spot, others were shattered upon the rocks. Many from dread of this rock-strewn coast and the enemy that occupied it, strove to gain the open sea in the teeth of the gale, and foundered among the towering billows. There was neither means of flight, nor hope of safety if they remained where they were : the fury of the wind repelled them from the sea, that of the Romans from the town. Piercing were the shrieks as the vessels collided, terrific the crash as they broke up. Of the crews who perished, some were engulfed in the waves, many crushed by the

the holes through which had passed the rings of the chains were still shown in his day). Cf. G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog. of Holy Land*, 163 f.

<sup>a</sup> Literally "than a desert": I adopt the late Dr. R. Traill's happy paraphrase, and see no reason to suspect the text.

and destroyed  
by a storm  
at sea.

ροντο. πολλοὶ δὲ τοῖς ναυαγίοις ἐμπλεκόμενοι·  
 τινὲς δ' ὡς κουφοτέρω τὴν θάλατταν ἔφθανον τῷ  
 426 σιδήρῳ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναιροῦντες. τό γε μὴν  
 πλεῖστον ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων ἐκφερόμενον περι-  
 εξαίνετο ταῖς ἀπορρῶξι, ὡς πίμαχθῆναι μὲν ἐπὶ  
 πλεῖστον τὸ πέλαγος, πληρωθῆναι δὲ νεκρῶν τὴν  
 παράλιον· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγαλὸν ἐκ-  
 φερομένους ἐφεστῶτες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διέφθειρον.  
 427 ἀριθμὸς [δὲ] τῶν ἐκβρασθέντων σωμάτων τετρα-  
 κισχίλιοι πρὸς τοῖς διακοσίοις ἦν. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ  
 λαβόντες ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασκάπτουσιν.  
 428 (4) Ἰόππη μὲν οὖν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ δεύτερον ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup>  
 429 Ῥωμαίοις ἔάλω. Οὐεσπασιανὸς δ' ὡς μὴ πάλι  
 οἱ πειραταὶ συναλισθεῖεν εἰς αὐτήν. στρατόπεδον  
 τε ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐγείρει καὶ τὸ ἵππικὸν ἐι-  
 430 αῦτῷ καταλείπει μετὰ πεζῶν ὀλίγων, ὃν οὗτοι μὲν  
 κατὰ χώραν μένοντες φρουρῶσι τὸ στρατόπεδον  
 οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς προνομεύωσι τὴν πέριξ καὶ τὰς  
 περιοίκους κώμας τε καὶ πολίχνας ἐξαιρῶσιν τῆς  
 431 Ἰόππης. οἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὰ προσταχθέντα τὴν  
 χώραν κατατρέχοντες καθ' ἡμέραν ἔτεμνόν τε κα-  
 ḥρήμουν ἄπασαν.  
 432 (5) Ὡς δὲ εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα τὸ κατὰ τὴν  
 Ἰωταπάτην πάθος ἡγγέλη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡπί-  
 στουν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς  
 καὶ διὰ τὸ μηδένα τῶν λεγομένων αὐτόπτηι  
 433 παρεῖναι διεσώθη γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄγγελος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν  
 μάτη<sup>1</sup> διεκήρυξεν φήμη τὴν ἄλωσιν, οἰκεία φύσει  
 434 τῶν σκυθρωποτέρων. κατ' ὀλίγον δὲ διὰ τῶν  
 προσχώρων ὥδενε τάληθὲς καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀμφι-

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοματὶ ΡΑ.

wreckage from which they could not extricate themselves ; others, regarding the sword as a lighter evil than the sea, anticipated drowning by suicide. The majority, however, were swept to shore by the waves and their bodies hurled and mangled against the cliffs. A wide area of sea was red with their blood, and the coast was covered with corpses ; for the Romans, lining the beach, massacred those who were cast up. The number of bodies washed up amounted to four thousand two hundred. The Romans took the town without opposition and razed <sup>Joppa is razed to the ground.</sup> t to the ground.

(4) Thus was Joppa, after a brief interval, for the second time<sup>a</sup> captured by the Romans. Vespasian, in order to prevent the pirates from congregating here again, established a camp on the acropolis and left in it the cavalry with a small body of infantry. The latter were to remain on the spot and guard the camp, the cavalry to ravage the neighbourhood and destroy the villages and small towns around Joppa: in obedience to these orders, they daily scoured the country, pillaging and reducing it to an utter desert.

(5) When the news of the fate of Jotapata reached Jerusalem, it was received at first with general incredulity, both because of the magnitude of the calamity and because no eyewitness had come to confirm the report. In fact, not a man had escaped to tell the tale ; rumour, with its natural propensity to black tidings,<sup>b</sup> spontaneously spread the news of the city's fall. Little by little, however, the truth made its way from place to place, and was soon

Reception at Jerusalem of the news of the fall of Jotapata.

<sup>a</sup> ii. 507 f.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. the description of "Fama" in Virg. *Aen.* iv. 173 ff., especially 190, "facta atque infecta canebat," with "facts embroidered by fiction" in Josephus.

βολίας ἦν ἥδη βεβαιότερον· προσεσχεδιάζετό γε  
μὴν τοῖς πεπραγμένοις καὶ τὰ μὴ γενόμενα,  
τεθνεῶς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως καὶ ὁ Ἰώσηπος  
435 ἡγγέλλετο. τοῦτο μεγίστου τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πέν-  
θους ἐπλήρωσεν· κατὰ μὲν γε οἴκους καὶ κατὰ  
συγγενείας οἵς προσήκων ἔκαστος ἦν τῶν ἀπολω-  
436 λότων ἐθρηνεῖτο, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ πένθος  
ἐδημεύθη, καὶ οἱ μὲν ξένους, οἵ δὲ συγγενεῖς, οἱ  
δὲ φίλους [οἱ δὲ ἀδελφοὺς]<sup>1</sup> ἐθρήνουν, τὸν Ἰώ-  
437 σηπον δὲ πάντες· ὡς ἐπὶ τριακοστὴν μὲν ἡμέραι  
μὴ διαλιπεῖν τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις ἐν τῇ πόλει, πλει-  
στους δὲ μισθοῦσθαι τοὺς αὐλητάς, οἱ θρήνωι  
αὐτοῖς ἔξῆρχον.  
438 (6) 'Ως δὲ τάληθή διεκαλύπτετο τῷ χρόνῳ κα-  
τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰωταπάτην ὥσπερ εἶχεν, ἐσχεδια-  
σμένον δὲ τὸ κατὰ τὸν Ἰώσηπον πάθος εύρισκετο  
ζῆν δ' αὐτὸν ἔγνωσαν καὶ παρὰ 'Ρωμαίοις ὅντι-  
καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἡγεμόνων πλέον ἢ κατ' αἰχμαλώτο  
τύχην περιέπεσθαι, τοσοῦτον ὄργῆς ἐπὶ ζῶντο  
ὅσον εὔνοίας ἐπὶ τεθνάναι δοκοῦντος πρότερο  
439 ἀνελάμβανον. καὶ παρ' οἷς μὲν εἰς ἀνανδρίαι  
παρ' οἷς δ' εἰς προδοσίαν ἐκακίζετο, πλήρης τ  
ἀγανακτήσεως ἦν καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοῦ βλασφημιῶ  
440 ἡ πόλις. παρωξύνοντο δὲ ταῖς πληγαῖς καὶ προσ  
εξεκαίοντο ταῖς κακοπραγίαις· τό γε μὴν πταίει  
δὲ γίνεται τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν ἀσφαλείας καὶ τὰ  
όμοιῶν φυλακῆς αἴτιον, ἐκείνοις κέντρον ἔτέρα  
ἔγινετο συμφορῶν, καὶ τὸ τέλος ἀεὶ τῶν κακῶν

<sup>1</sup> om. P.A.<sup>a</sup> Or "guest-friend."<sup>b</sup> The period, as Reinach remarks, of the mourning for

regarded by all as established beyond doubt. But the facts were embroidered by fiction ; thus Josephus himself was reported to have fallen when the city was taken. This intelligence filled Jerusalem with the profoundest grief ; whereas in each household and family there was mourning of the relatives for their own lost ones, the lamentation for the commander was national. While some mourned for a host,<sup>a</sup> others for a relative, some for a friend, others for a brother, all alike wept for Josephus. Thus for thirty days <sup>b</sup> the lamentations never ceased in the city, and many of the mourners hired flute-players <sup>c</sup> to accompany their funeral dirges.

(6) But when time revealed the truth and all that had really happened at Jotapata, when the death of Josephus was found to be a fiction, and it became known that he was alive and in Roman hands and being treated by the commanding officers with a respect beyond the common lot of a prisoner, the demonstrations of wrath at his being still alive were as loud as the former expressions of affection when he was believed to be dead. Some abused him as a coward, others as a traitor, and throughout the city there was general indignation, and curses were heaped upon his devoted head. The citizens were, moreover, exasperated by their reverses, and their misfortunes only added fuel to the flames. A defeat, which with the wise induces precaution and care to provide against similar misadventures, only goaded them to further disasters ; and the end of one calamity was always the beginning of the next.

men such as Moses (Deut. xxxiv. 8) and Aaron (Numb. xx. 29). The normal period was seven days (Eccl. xxii. 12).

<sup>a</sup> Such funeral flute-players are mentioned in Matt. ix. 23.

# JOSEPHUS

- 441 αὐθις ἀρχή· μᾶλλον γοῦν ὥρμων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀρ-  
μαίους ὡς καὶ Ἰώσηπον ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀμυνούμενοι.  
 442 τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τοιοῦτοι  
θόρυβοι κατεῖχον.
- 443 (7) Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ καθ' ἴστορίαν τῆς Ἀγρίπ-  
πα βασιλείας, ἐνῆγεν γὰρ βασιλεὺς αὐτόν,<sup>1</sup> ἅμα  
[δὲ] καὶ δεξιώσασθαι τὸν ἡγεμόνα σὺν τῇ στρα-  
τιᾳ τῷ κατὰ τὸν οἶκον ὅλῳ προαιρούμενος καὶ  
καταστεῖλαι δι' αὐτῶν τὰ νοσοῦντα τῆς ἀρχῆς,  
ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς παράλου Καισαρείας εἰς τὴν Φιλ-  
 444 ἵππου καλουμένην μεταβαίνει Καισάρειαν. ἔνθα  
μέχρι μὲν ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι τὴν στρατιὰν διαναπαύων  
καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν εὐωχίαις ἦν, ἀποδιδοὺς τῷ θεῷ  
 445 χαριστήρια τῶν κατωρθωμένων. ὡς δ' αὐτῷ  
Τιβεριὰς μὲν νεωτερίζειν, ἀφεστάναι δ' ἡγγέλλοντο  
Ταριχαῖαι, μοῖρα δὲ τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας ἥσαν  
ἀμφότεραι, πάντοθεν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καταστρέ-  
φεσθαι διεγνωκὼς τὴν ἐπὶ τούτους<sup>2</sup> στρατείαν  
εὔκαιρον ἥγεῖτο καὶ δι' Ἀγρίππαν, ὡς εἰς ξενίας  
 446 ἀμοιβὴν σωφρονίσων αὐτῷ τὰς πόλεις. πέμπει  
δὴ τὸν νιὸν Τίτον εἰς Καισάρειαν μετάξοντα τὴν  
ἐκεῖθεν στρατιὰν εἰς Σκυθόπολιν ἡ δ' ἐστὶν  
μεγίστη τῆς Δεκαπόλεως καὶ γείτων τῆς Τιβε-  
 447 ριάδος ἔνθα καὶ αὐτὸς παραγενόμενος ἐκδέχεται  
τὸν νιόν, καὶ μετὰ τριῶν ταγμάτων προελθὼν  
στρατοπεδεύεται μὲν ἀπὸ τριάκοντα τῆς Τιβεριά-  
δος σταδίων κατά τινα σταθμὸν εὺσύνοπτον τοῖς  
 448 νεωτερίζουσιν. Σειναβρὶς ὄνομάζεται. πέμπει δὲ<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> PA: αὐτός the rest.

<sup>2</sup> Niese: τούτου or τούτοις MSS.

<sup>3</sup> δὴ PAL.

<sup>a</sup> Or rather a part of them (§ 446).

<sup>b</sup> ii. 168.

They were now animated with greater fury against the Romans by the thought that, in having their revenge on them, they would also be avenged on Josephus. Such was the state of agitation prevailing in Jerusalem.

(7) Vespasian, however, had gone to visit Agrippa's kingdom, to which the king had invited him with the double object of entertaining the general and his troops<sup>a</sup> with all the wealth of his royal household and of quelling, by their aid, the disorders within his realm. Leaving Caesarea-on-sea, Vespasian, accordingly repaired to the other Caesarea called Caesarea Philippi.<sup>b</sup> There for twenty days he rested his troops, while he was being fêted himself and rendering thankofferings to God for the successes which he had obtained. But when he learnt that Tiberias was disaffected and Tarichaeae already in revolt—both cities formed part of Agrippa's realm—he thought that now was the time to march against these rebels, in pursuance of his fixed intention of crushing the Jews wherever they rose, and also to oblige Agrippa and to repay his hospitality by recalling these cities of his to their allegiance. He accordingly sent his son Titus to Caesarea to fetch the troops quartered there and march them to Scythopolis, the largest city of Decapolis and in the neighbourhood of Tiberias.<sup>c</sup> Thither he proceeded himself to receive his son, and then, advancing with three legions, encamped thirty furlongs from Tiberias at a station, well within view of the rebels, called Sennabris.<sup>d</sup> From there he sent the decurion

Vespasian  
Agrippa's  
guest at  
Caesarea  
Philippi

Tiberias,  
attempting  
revolution

<sup>a</sup> Scythopolis is some twenty miles south of Tiberias.

<sup>b</sup> Modern *Sinn en-Nabrah*, on the south-west side of the Lake of Gennesareth, near Tarichaeae.

# JOSEPHUS

δεκαδάρχην Οὐαλεριανὸν σὺν ἵππεῦσιν πεντή-  
κοντα διαλεχθησόμενον εἰρηνικὰ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν  
πόλιν καὶ προτρεψόμενον ἐπὶ πίστεις ἀκηκόει  
γάρ, ὡς ἐπιθυμοίη μὲν εἰρήνης ὁ δῆμος, κατα-  
στασιάζοιτο δ' ὑπὸ τινῶν πολεμεῖν βιαζομένων.

449 προσελάσας δ' Οὐαλεριανὸς ἐπεὶ πλησίον ἦν τοῦ  
τείχους, αὐτός τε καταβαίνει καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ  
τῶν ἵππεων ἀπέβησεν, ὡς μὴ δοκοῖεν ἀκροβολι-  
ζόμενοι παρεῖναι. καὶ πρὶν εἰς λόγους ἐλθεῖν  
ἐπεκθέουσιν αὐτῷ τῶν στασιαστῶν οἱ δυνατώ-

450 τατοι μεθ' ὅπλων. ἔξηγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν Ἰησοῦς τις  
ὄνομα, παῖς Σαφάτου,<sup>1</sup> τοῦ ληστρικοῦ στίφους

451 κορυφαιότατος. Οὐαλεριανὸς δὲ οὕτε παρὰ τὰς  
ἐντολὰς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ συμβαλεῖν ἀσφαλὲς ἥγουν  
μενος, εἰ καὶ τὸ νικᾶν εἴη βέβαιον, καὶ σφαλερὸι  
τὸ μάχεσθαι πολλοῖς μετ' ὀλίγων ἀπαρασκευάστοις

452 τε πρὸς ἔτοιμους, καὶ ἄλλως ἐκπλαγεὶς τὴν  
ἀδόκητον τῶν Ἰουδαίων τόλμαν, φεύγει πεζός  
ἔτεροί τε ὄμοιώς πέντε τοὺς ἵππους ἀπέλιπον, οὐ  
οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν γεγη  
θότες ὡς μάχῃ ληφθέντας, οὐκ ἐνέδρᾳ.

453 (8) Τοῦτο καταδείσαντες οἱ γηραιοὶ τοῦ δήμο  
καὶ προύχειν δοκοῦντες φεύγουσι μὲν εἰς τὸ τῶ

454 Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον, ἐπαγόμενοι δὲ τὸν βασιλέα  
προσπίπτουσιν ἱκέται Οὐεσπασιανῷ, μὴ σφᾶ  
περιιδεῖν δεόμενοι, μηδὲ τὴν ὀλίγων ἀπόνοια

455 ἡγήσασθαι τῆς πόλεως ὅλης, φείσασθαι δὲ το  
δήμου Ῥωμαίοις φίλα φρονοῦντος ἀεί, καὶ τοὺς  
αἰτίους τιμωρήσασθαι τῆς ἀποστάσεως, ὑφ' ὧ  
αὗτοὶ φρουρηθῆναι μέχρι νῦν, ἐπὶ δεξιὰς ἐπ

<sup>1</sup> MC (cf. ii. 599, Vita 66, 134, where he is called son of Σαπφίας): most mss. have Τούφα.

Valerianus with fifty horsemen to make peaceful proposals to the townsfolk and to urge them to treat; for he had heard that the people in general desired peace, but were overruled and being driven to hostilities by some seditious individuals. Valerianus advanced on horseback and, on approaching the wall, dismounted and directed his troop to do the same, to prevent any suspicion that they had come to skirmish. But before any parley had taken place, the principal promoters of the rising dashed out in arms to meet him, headed by a certain Jesus,<sup>a</sup> son of Saphat, the ringleader of this band of brigands. Valerianus thought it both imprudent to fight them in defiance of his general's orders, however certain of victory, and, moreover, dangerous with a small and unprepared force to face a large army equipped for battle. In short, he was taken aback by the unexpected daring of the Jews, and fled on foot, leaving of his companions likewise abandoning their horses. The troops of Jesus brought back these standards in triumph to the town, as jubilant as if they had taken them in battle and not by a surprise attack.

(8) Dreading the consequences of this incident, the elders and the more respected of the citizens fled to the Roman camp and, after obtaining the king's support, threw themselves as suppliants at Vespasian's feet, entreating him not to disregard them nor to impute to the whole city the madness of a few; let him spare a people who had always shown themselves friendly to the Romans and punish the authors of the revolt, under whose power they themselves had been kept to this day, long as they

is reduced  
to sub-  
mission,

<sup>a</sup> Chief magistrate of Tiberias, *B. ii.* 599.

# JOSEPHUS

456 ειγόμενοι πάλαι. ταύταις ἐνεδίδου ταῖς ἵκεσίαις ἐ<sup>τ</sup>  
 στρατηγός, καίτοι διὰ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ἵππων  
 ἐφ' ὅλην ὡργισμένος τὴν πόλιν καὶ γὰρ ἀγωνιῶντος  
 457 περὶ αὐτῆς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἔώρα. λαβόντων δι-  
 τούτων τῷ δήμῳ<sup>1</sup> δεξιὰς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν  
 οὐκέτ' ἀσφαλὲς ἥγοντες μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς Τιβε-  
 458 ριάδος εἰς Ταριχαίας ἀποδιδράσκουσιν. καὶ μεθε-  
 ἥμέραν Οὐεσπασιανὸς σὺν ἵππεῦσιν προπέμπε-  
 πρὸς τὴν ἀκρώρειαν Τραϊανὸν ἀποπειραθῆναι το-  
 459 πλήθους, εἰ πάντες εἰρηνικὰ φρονοῦσιν. ὡς δὲ  
 ἔγνω τὸν δῆμον δόμοφρονοῦντα τοῖς ἵκεταις, ἀνα-  
 λαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἦει πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ τά-  
 τε πύλας ἀνοίγουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ μετ' εὐφημια-  
 ὑπήντων σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην ἀνακαλοῦντε-  
 460 τῆς δὲ στρατιᾶς τριβομένης περὶ τὴν τῶν εἰσόδων  
 στενότητα παραρρῆξαι τοῦ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν τε  
 χους Οὐεσπασιανὸς κελεύσας πλατύνει τὴν εἰσβολήν  
 461 αὐτοῖς ἀρπαγῆς μέντοι καὶ ὑβρεως ἀπέχεσθαι πα-  
 ήγγειλεν, τῷ βασιλεῖ χαριζόμενος, τῶν τε τειχῶν  
 διὰ τοῦτον ἐφείσατο, συμμενεῖν πρὸς τὸ λοιπόν  
 ἐγγυωμένου τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πολλὰ κεκακωμ-  
 νην τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῆς στάσεως ἀνελάμβανεν.  
 462 (x 1) Ἐπειτα προελθὼν αὐτῆς τε μεταξὺ καὶ  
 Ταριχαιῶν στρατοπεδεύεται, τειχίζει τε τὴν πα-  
 εμβολὴν ὄχυρωτέραν, ὑφορώμενος ἐκεῖ πολέμον

<sup>1</sup> VR Lat.: τοῦ δήμου the rest.

<sup>a</sup> The meaning must surely be "to proceed along the ridge" (shown in Smith and Bartholomew's Map of Galilee on the west of the lake) and to enter the town.

<sup>b</sup> Ordinarily identified with the modern Kerak at the south-west corner of the lake (cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 71).

had been anxious to sue for terms. The general, though indignant at the whole city on account of the capture of the horses, none the less yielded to these entreaties, because he saw that Agrippa was seriously concerned for the town. The delegates had secured terms on behalf of their fellow-citizens, whereupon Jesus and his party, thinking themselves no longer safe at Tiberias, fled to Tarichaeae. The next day Vespasian sent forward Trajan to the edge of the hill to discover whether the whole multitude were peaceably disposed. Having assured himself that the people were of one mind with the petitioners, he then advanced with his army to the city. The population opened their gates to him and went out to meet him with acclamations, calling him as saviour and benefactor. As the troops were incommoded by the narrowness of the entrances, Vespasian ordered part of the south wall to be thrown down and so opened a broad passage for his soldiers. However, as a compliment to the king, he strictly forbade any pillage or violence, and for the same reason spared the walls, after receiving from Agrippa a guarantee for the future fidelity of the inhabitants. He thus brought new life to a city which had sorely suffered from the effects of sedition.

(x. 1) Vespasian, then continuing his march, pitched his camp between Tiberias and Tarichaeae,<sup>b</sup> fortifying it with more than ordinary care, in anticipa-

Vespasian advances upon Tarichaeae the centre of revolution

eridie Tarichea"). Reinach, however, with others, argues from the word προελθών, and the previous line of march from south to north, that Tarichaeae lay to the *north* of Tiberias. The ordinary identification is supported by the fact that Vespasian's camp was at Ammathus ("warm baths," *B. iv. 11*), undoubtedly the modern *Hammam* south of Tiberias.

- 463 τριβὴν αὐτῷ γενησομένην· συνέρρει γὰρ εἰς τὰ Ταριχαίας πᾶν τὸ νεωτερίζον, τῇ τε τῆς πόλεω ὁχυρότητι καὶ τῇ λίμνῃ πεποιθότες, ἡ καλεῖτο  
 464 Γεινησάρ πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων. ἡ μὲν γὰρ πόλις ὥσπερ ἡ Τιβεριὰς ὑπώρειος οὖσα, καθὰ μὴ τὴν λίμνην προσεκλύζετο πάντοθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωσήπο  
 τετείχιστο καρτερῶς, ἔλασσον μέντοι τῆς Τιβε  
 465 ριάδος· τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖ περίβολον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῇ ἀποστάσεως δαψιλείᾳ χρημάτων καὶ δυνάμεω  
 ἐκρατύνατο, Ταριχαῖαι δ' αὐτοῦ τὰ λεύφανα τῆς  
 466 φιλοτιμίας μετέλαβον. σκάφη δ' ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐτ  
 τῆς λίμνης παρεσκευασμένα πολλὰ πρὸς τε τ  
 συμφεύγειν ἐπὶ γῆς ἡττωμένους, κανὸν εἰ δέοι διο  
 467 ναυμαχεῖν ἐξηρτυμένα. περιβαλλομένων δὲ τὰ  
 'Ρωμαίων τὸ στρατόπεδον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῖ  
 οὔτε πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος οὔτε πρὸς τὴν εὐταξίο  
 468 τῶν πολεμίων ὑποδείσαντες προθέουσιν, καὶ πρὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 τὴν πρώτην ἔφοδον τῶν τειχοποιῶν σκεδασθέντα  
 ὀλίγα τῆς δομήσεως σπαράξαντες, ὡς ἔώρων τοι  
 ὅπλίτας ἀθροιζομένους, πρὶν τι παθεῖν εἰς τοι  
 σφετέρους ἀνέφευγον· ἐπιδιώξαντες δὲ 'Ρωμαῖ  
 469 συνελαύνουσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ σκάφη. καὶ οἱ με  
 ἀναχθέντες εἰς ὅσον ἐξικνεῖσθαι τῶν 'Ρωμαίων  
 βάλλοντες δύναντο τάς τε ἀγκύρας ἔβαλλον καὶ  
 πυκνώσαντες ὥσπερ φάλαγγα τὰς ναῦς ἐπαλλήλοι  
 470 τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς πολεμίοις διεναυμάχουν. Οὐεσπο  
 σιανὸς δὲ τὸ πολὺ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἡθροισμένος  
 ἀκούων ἐν τῷ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πεδίῳ πέμπει τὸ  
 νιὸν σὺν ἵππεῦσιν ἔξακοσίοις ἐπιλέκτοις.

<sup>a</sup> This flatly contradicts Vita 156, where it is said that the people of Tiberias pressed Josephus to build walls for the city "having heard that Tarichaeæ had already been fortified."

tion of prolonged hostilities. For the whole body of revolutionaries was flocking into Tarichaeae, relying upon the strength of the place and its proximity to the lake, which the native inhabitants call Gennesar. The city, built like Tiberias at the foot of the hills, had in fact been completely surrounded by Josephus, except on the side washed by the lake, with solid ramparts, though not so strong as those at Tiberias ; for the fortifications there had been built by him at the outbreak of the revolt in the plenitude of his resources and his power, whereas Tarichaeae only obtained the eavings of his bounty.<sup>a</sup> The inhabitants, moreover, had ready on the lake a considerable fleet, to serve as a refuge if they were defeated on land, and equipped for naval combat, if required for that purpose. While the Romans were intrenching their camp, Jesus and his companions, undeterred by the strength and orderly discipline of the enemy, made sally, and at the first onset dispersed the workmen and pulled down a portion of the structure. However, when they saw the legionaries mustering, they hastily fell back upon their own party, before sustaining any loss ; the Romans pursued and drove them to their ships. Putting out into the lake just far enough to leave the Romans within bowshot, they then cast anchor and, closing up their vessels one against another like an army in line of battle, they kept up as it were a sea-fight with their enemy on shore. However, Vespasian, hearing that the main body of the Jews was assembled in the plain outside the town, sent thither his son with six hundred picked cavalry.

- 471 (2) Ὁ δ' ὑπέρογκον εύρων τὴν τῶν πολεμίων πληθὺν πρὸς μὲν τὸν πατέρα πέμπει, πλείονος δυνάμεως αὐτῷ δεῖν λέγων, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν ἵππεων ὥρμημένους ὄρῶν καὶ πρὶν ἀφικέσθαι βοήθειαν, ἔστιν δ' οὖς ἡσυχῆ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων καταπεπληγότας, ἐν ἐπηκόῳ
- 472 στὰς [ἔλεξεν ὥδε]<sup>1</sup>. “ἄνδρες,” ἔφη, “Ρωμαῖοι, καλὸν γάρ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν λόγων ὑπομνῆσαι τοῖς γένους ὑμᾶς, ὦ εἰδῆτε, τίνες ὅντες<sup>2</sup> πρὸς τίνας
- 473 μάχεσθαι μέλλομεν. τὰς μέν γε ἡμετέρας χεῖρας οὐδὲν εἰς τοῦτο τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης δια- πέφευγεν, Ἰουδαῖοι δέ, ὦ εἴπωμεν καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μέχρι νῦν οὐ κοπιῶσιν ἡττώμενοι. καὶ δεινόν ἐκείνων ἔστώτων ἐν ταῖς κακοπραγίαις, ὑμᾶς τοῖς
- 474 εὔτυχήμασιν ἐγκάμνειν. προθυμίας μὲν εἰς τὶς φανερὸν ὑμᾶς εὖ ἔχοντας χαίρω βλέπων, δέδοικο δὲ μή τινι τῶν πολεμίων τὸ πλῆθος κατάπληξι
- 475 λεληθυῖαν ἐνεργάσηται. λογισάσθω δὴ πάλιν οἶος πρὸς οἷους παρατάξεται, καὶ διότι Ἰουδαῖοι μέν εἰ καὶ σφόδρα τολμηταὶ καὶ θανάτου κατα- φρονοῦντες, ἀλλ' ἀσύντακτοί τε καὶ πολέμῳ ἀπειροι καὶ ὄχλος ἀν ἄλλως, οὐ στρατιὰ λέγοιντο τὰ δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐμπειρίας καὶ τάξεως τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν; ἐπὶ τοῦτο μέντοι γε μόνοι καὶ κατ- είρηνην ἀσκούμεθα τοῖς ὅπλοις, ὦ ἐν πολέμῳ
- 476 μὴ πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἀριθμῶμεν ἔαυτούς. ἐπεὶ τίς ὅνησις τῆς διηνεκοῦς στρατείας, ἀν ἵσοι πρὸς
- 477 ἀστρατεύτους ἀντιτασσώμεθα; λογίζεσθε δὲ ὅτι καὶ πρὸς γυμνῆτας ὄπλιται καὶ ἵππεῖς πρὸς πε-

<sup>1</sup> PA : om. the rest.<sup>2</sup> + καὶ MSS. : om. Bekker.

(2) Titus, finding the enemy in prodigious strength, sent word to his father that he required more troops. For his own part, observing that, although most of his cavalry were burning for action without waiting for the arrival of the reinforcements, there were others who betrayed secret dismay at this immense number of Jews, he took up a position where he was audible to all and spoke as follows :

" Romans—it is well at the outset of my address to remind you of the name of your race, that you may bear in mind who you are and whom we have to fight. Our hands to this hour no nation in the habitable world has succeeded in escaping ; though the Jews, to give them their due, so far staunchly refuse to accept defeat. If they in their disasters still stand fast, would it not be disgraceful for our courage to flag in the full tide of success ? I rejoice to see in your faces such admirable ardour ; but I fear that the multitude of our enemies may have inspired some of you with a lurking alarm. Let such an one reflect once more who he is and against whom he is going into battle. Let him remember that the Jews, however dauntless and reckless of life they may be, are yet undisciplined and unskilled in war and deserve to be called a mere rabble, rather than an army. Of our experience and our discipline is there any need to speak ? If, alone of all nations, we exercise ourselves in arms in peace-time, it is for this very object, that in war-time we need not contrast our numbers with those of our opponents. What would be the use of this perpetual training, if we must be equal in numbers to an untrained foe before we face them ? Consider again that you will contend in full armour against men that have scarcely

Titus before  
Tarichaea  
addresses  
his troops

ζοὺς καὶ στρατηγούμενοι πρὸς ἀστρατηγήτους δι-  
αγωνίζεσθε, καὶ ὡς ὑμᾶς μὲν ταῦτα πολλαπλασίους  
ποιεῖ τὰ πλεονεκτήματα, πολὺ δὲ τοῦ τῶν πολε-  
μίων ἀριθμοῦ παραιρεῖται τὰ ἐλαττώματα. κατ-  
ορθοῖ δὲ τοὺς πολέμους οὐ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων, καν-  
ῆ μάχιμον,<sup>1</sup> ἀνδρεία δέ, καν ἐν ὀλίγοις· οἱ μέν γε<sup>2</sup>  
καὶ τάξασθαι<sup>3</sup> ράδιοι καὶ προσαμύνειν ἔαυτοῖς, αἱ  
δ' ὑπέρογκοι δυνάμεις ὑφ' ἔαυτῶν βλάπτονται  
πλέον ἢ τῶν πολεμίων. Ἰουδαίων μὲν οὖν τόλμα  
καὶ θράσος ἥγεῖται καὶ ἀπόνοια,<sup>4</sup> πάθη κατὰ μὲν  
τὰς εὐπραγίας εὔτονα, σβεννύμενα δ' ἐν ἐλαχίστοις  
σφάλμασιν· ἡμῶν δ' ἀρετὴ καὶ εὐπείθεια καὶ τὸ  
γενναῖον, δ καν τοῖς [ἄλλοις]<sup>5</sup> εὐτυχήμασιν ἀκμάζει  
καν τοῖς πταίσμασιν μέχρι τέλους οὐ σφάλλεται.  
καὶ ὑπὲρ μειζόνων δὲ ἢ Ἰουδαῖοι διαγωνιεῖσθε·  
καὶ γὰρ εἰ περὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ πατρίδων ἐκείνοις  
δ πόλεμος κινδυνεύεται, τί μεῖζον ἡμῖν εὑδοξίας  
καὶ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν μετὰ τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἥγε-  
μονίαν ἐν ἀντιπάλῳ τὰ Ἰουδαίων τίθεσθαι; σκε-  
πτέον δ' ὅτι καὶ παθεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον ἡμῖν  
φόβος· πολλοὶ γὰρ οἱ βοηθήσοντες καὶ πλησίον  
ἀρπάσαι δὲ τὴν νίκην δυνάμεθα, καὶ χρὴ τοὺς ὑπὲ-  
τοῦ πατρὸς πεμπομένους ἡμῖν συμμάχους φθάνειν  
ἵν' ἀκοινώνητόν τε ἦ τὸ κατόρθωμα καὶ μεῖζον  
νομίζω δ' ἔγωγε ἐπὶ τῆσδε τῆς ὥρας καὶ τὸι  
πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν κρίνεσθαι κάμε καὶ ὑμᾶς, εἰ τῷ  
μὲν προκατωρθωμένων ἄξιος ἐκεῖνος, ἔγὼ δ'  
ἐκείνου παῖς, στρατιώται δ' ὑμεῖς ἐμοῦ· καὶ γὰρ  
ἐκείνῳ τὸ νικᾶν ἔθος, κάγὼ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπο-

<sup>1</sup> ἀμήχανον Destinon, "however huge," but this sense is unparalleled in Josephus.

<sup>2</sup> μέν γὰρ M.L.

<sup>3</sup> παρατάξασθαι MVRC.

any, that you are cavalry against infantry, that you have generals and they have none ; these advantages greatly multiply your effective strength, as the enemy's disadvantages greatly detract from his. Wars are not won by numbers, however efficient the soldiers, but by courage, however few the men : small forces are easily manœuvred and brought up to each other's support, whereas unwieldy armies do themselves more injury than they receive from the enemy. The Jews are led on by audacity, temerity and despair, emotions which are bracing in the flush of success but are damped by the slightest check ; we, by valour, discipline, and a heroism which, though doubtless seen to perfection when favoured by fortune, in adversity also holds on to the last. Again, you will contend for a higher cause than the Jews ; for, though they face war for liberty and country in jeopardy, what higher motive could there be for us than glory and the determination, after having dominated the world, not to let the Jews be regarded as a match for ourselves ? Nor should you forget that we have no irretrievable disaster to fear. Our supports are numerous and at hand ; yet we can snatch a victory, and we ought to anticipate the arrival of the reinforcements now on their way from my father. Our triumph will be more glorious if unshared. For myself, I believe that in this hour my father and I and you are all on our trial ; it will be seen whether he is really worthy of his past successes, whether I am worthy to be his son, and you to be my soldiers. Victory to him is habitual ; how

<sup>4</sup> ἀπόνοια] + καὶ PA : ἀπονοίας (omitting preceding καὶ) the rest.

<sup>5</sup> om. LVR.

483 στρέφειν οὐκ ἀν ὑπομείναιμι λειφθείσ. ὑμεῖς δὲ πῶς οὐκ ἀν αἰσχύνοισθε προκινδυνεύοντος ἡγεμόνος ἥπτώμενοι; προκινδυνεύσω γάρ, εὖ ἴστε, καὶ 484 πρῶτος εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐμβαλῶ. μὴ λείπεσθε δ' ὑμεῖς ἐμοῦ πεπεισμένοι τὴν ἐμὴν ὄρμὴν παρακροτεῖσθαι θεῷ συμμάχῳ, καὶ προγινώσκετε σαφῶς, ὅτι τῆς ἔξω μάχης πλέον τι κατορθώσομεν."

485 (3) Ταῦτα τοῦ Τίτου διεξιόντος προθυμίᾳ δαιμόνιος ἐμπίπτει τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, καὶ προσγενομένου πρὶν συμβαλεῖν Τραϊανοῦ μετὰ τετρακοσίων ἵππεων ἥσχαλλον ὡς μειουμένης τῆς νίκης αὐτοῖς 486 διὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν. ἔπειμψεν δὲ Οὐεσπασιανὸς καὶ Ἀντώνιον Σίλωνα σὺν δισχιλίοις τοξόταις, κελεύσας καταλαβόντας τὸ ἀντικρὺ τῆς πόλεως ὄρος 487 τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἀνείργειν. καὶ οἱ μέν, ὡς προσετέτακτο, τοὺς ταύτη πειρωμένους ἐκβοηθεῖν περιέσχον, ὁ δὲ Τίτος πρῶτος τὸν ἵππον ἥλαυνεν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ σὺν κραυγῇ μετ' αὐτὸν οἱ λοιποὶ παρεκτείναντες ἑαυτοὺς εἰς ὅσον ἔπειχον οἱ πολέμιοι τὸ πεδίον, παρὸ καὶ πολὺ πλείους 488 ἔδοξαν. οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι, καίτοι τὴν τε ὄρμὴν καὶ τὴν εύταξίαν αὐτῶν καταπλαγέντες, πρὸς ὀλίγον μὲν ἀντέσχον ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς, νυσσόμενοι δὲ τοῖς κοντοῖς καὶ τῷ ροίζῳ τῶν ἵππεων ἀνατρεπόμενοι 489 συνεπατοῦντο. πολλῶν δὲ πανταχοῦ φονευομένων διασκίδνανται καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἔκαστος 490 εἶχεν τάχους ἔφευγον. Τίτος δὲ τοὺς μὲν κατόπιν προσκείμενος ἀνήρει, τῶν δὲ διεκπαίων ἀθρόων, οὓς δὲ φθάνων κατὰ στόμα διήλαυνεν, πολλοὺς

\* Or "if you abandoned me."

could I dare return to him if defeated <sup>a</sup>? And you, surely you would be ashamed to be surpassed when your chief leads the way to danger. For lead I will, be sure of it, and will charge the enemy at your head. Do you then not fail me, have confidence that God is on my side and supports my ardour, and be assured that, beyond mere victory in this battle outside the walls, we shall achieve some further success."

(3) As Titus thus harangued them a supernatural frenzy took possession of his men, and when, before the engagement, Trajan joined them with four hundred cavalry, they chafed as though these partners had come to detract from their own credit for the victory. Vespasian at the same time sent Antonius Silo with two thousand archers to occupy the hill opposite the town and beat off the enemy on the ramparts ; these troops, in accordance with their instructions, prevented any attempts from that quarter to assist the Jewish army outside. Titus now led the charge, spurring his horse against the enemy ; behind him, with loud shouts, came his men, deploying across the plain so as to cover the whole of the enemy's front, thereby materially increasing their apparent strength. The Jews, though dismayed by the impetuosity and good order of this attack, for a while sustained the Roman charges ; but pierced by the lances and overthrown by the rush of cavalry they fell and were trampled under foot. When the plain on all sides was covered with corpses, they dispersed and fled to the city, as fast as each man's legs could carry him. Titus, hotly pursuing, now cut down the laggards in the rear, now made lanes through their bunched masses ; here rode ahead of them and charged them in front, there

Defeat of  
the Jewish  
army  
outside the  
town.

δὲ συνηλοία περὶ ἀλλήλους πεσόντας ἐμπηδῶν,  
491 πᾶσιν δὲ τὰς πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος φυγὰς ὑπετέμνετο  
καὶ πρὸς τὸ πεδίον ἀπέστρεφεν, ἔως τῷ πλήθει  
βιασάμενοι καὶ διεκπεσόντες<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὴν πόλιν συν-  
έφευγον.

492 (4) Ἐκδέχεται δὲ αὐτοὺς πάλιν στάσις εἴσω  
χαλεπή. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐπιχωρίοις διά τε τὰς  
κτήσεις καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐδόκει πολεμεῖν ἀπ'  
493 ἀρχῆς, καὶ τότε διὰ τὴν ἡτταν πλέον· ὁ δ' ἐπηλυς  
πολὺς ὃν πλεῖον ἐβιάζετο, καὶ διωργισμένων ἐπ'  
ἀλλήλοις κραυγή τε ἦν καὶ θόρυβος ὡς ὅσον οὕπω  
494 φερομένων εἰς ὅπλα. κατακούσας δὲ τῆς ταραχῆς  
Τίτος, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄπωθεν τοῦ τείχους, "οὗτος  
ἡν ὁ καιρός," ἐκβοᾷ, καὶ "τί, συστρατιώται,  
μέλλομεν ἐκδιδόντος ἡμῖν Ἰουδαίους θεοῦ; δέ-  
495 ἔξασθε τὴν νίκην. οὐκ ἀκούετε βοῆς; στασιά-  
ζουσιν οἱ τὰς χεῖρας ἡμῶν διαφυγόντες."<sup>2</sup> ἔχομεν  
τὴν πόλιν, ἐὰν ταχύνωμεν· δεῖ δὲ πόνου πρὸς  
τῷ τάχει καὶ λήματος· οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν μεγάλων  
496 φιλεῖ δίχα κινδύνου κατορθοῦσθαι. φθάνειν δ' οὐ  
μόνον χρὴ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ὁμόνοιαν, οὓς  
ἀνάγκη διαλλάξει ταχέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν  
ἡμετέρων βοήθειαν, ἵνα πρὸς τῷ νικῆσαι τοσοῦτον  
πλῆθος ὀλίγοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔλωμεν μόνοι."

<sup>1</sup> PA: διεκπαίσαντες L (improbable repetition of verb already used).

<sup>2</sup> διεκφιγόντες P (for text cf. § 473).

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a Probably, as suggested by Reinach, the incident recorded in Suet. *Tit.* 4 took place on this occasion: "Taricheas et Gamalam (the latter was really taken by Vespasian, iv. 4 ff.) . . . in potestatem redegit, equo quadam acie sub feminibus amissō alteroque inscenso, cuius rector circa se dimicans occubuerat."

dashed into groups which had fallen foul of each other and trampled them to pieces. For all, in short, he sought to intercept retreat to the walls and to head them off into the plain, until at length, by superior numbers, they succeeded in forcing a way through and flinging themselves into the town.<sup>a</sup>

(4) But there a new and terrible contention awaited them. The indigenous population, intent on their property and their city, had from the first disapproved of the war, and after this defeat were now more opposed to it than ever. But the crowd from outside, a numerous body, were only the more determined to hold them to it. There were mutual angry recriminations, shouts and uproar ; the two parties seemed on the point of coming to blows. From his position not far from the wall, Titus overheard this commotion.

Capture of Taricheae by Titus.

“ Now is the time,” he cried ; “ why tarry, comrades, when God himself delivers the Jews into our hands ? Hail the victory that is given you. Do you not hear that clamour ? They are at strife with each other—those men who have just slipped through our hands. The town is ours if we are quick. But besides haste we need effort and resolution ; great successes never come without risks.<sup>b</sup> We must not wait till concord is re-established among our enemies : necessity will reconcile them all too soon. But neither let us wait for assistance from our friends : after defeating such a multitude with our small force, let us have the further honour of taking the city unaided.”

<sup>a</sup> A reminiscence of Soph. *Electra* 945 ὅπα πόνου τοι χωρὶς οὐδὲν εὔτυχεῖ, similarly paraphrased elsewhere (*B. v.* 501 δίχα πόνου κατορθοῦν τι τῶν μεγάλων οὐδὲν ῥάδιον, cf. *A. iii.* 58 τῷ πονεῖν . . πάντα ληπτά). We have already had other phrases drawn from the same context (*B. iii.* 153, 212).

497 (5) Ταῦθ' ἅμα λέγων ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀναπηδᾶ  
 καὶ καθηγεῖται πρὸς τὴν λίμνην, δι’ ἣς ἐλάσας  
 πρῶτος εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέρχεται καὶ μετ’ αὐτὸν  
 498 οἱ λοιποί. δέος δὲ πρὸς τὴν τόλμαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς  
 ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἐνέπεσεν, καὶ μάχεσθαι μὲν ἡ  
 διακωλύειν οὐδεὶς ὑπέμεινεν, λιπόντες δὲ τὴν  
 φρουρὰν οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν διὰ τῆς χώρας  
 499 ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην καταθέοντες ὑπ-  
 αντιάζουσιν τοῖς πολεμίοις περιέπιπτον· ἐκτείνοντο  
 δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπιβαίνοντες τῶν σκαφῶν, οἱ δὲ τοῖς  
 500 ἀναχθεῖσιν προσνεῦν<sup>1</sup> πειρώμενοι. πολὺς δὲ τῶν  
 κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἦν φόνος, τῶν μὲν ἐπηλύδων ὅσοι  
 μὴ διαφυγεῖν ἔφθασαν ἀντιτασσομένων, ἀμαχητὶ<sup>2</sup>  
 δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων· κατὰ γὰρ ἐλπίδα δεξιᾶς καὶ  
 τὸ συνειδὸς τοῦ μὴ βεβουλεῦσθαι<sup>3</sup> πολεμεῖν μάχης  
 501 ἀπετρέποντο, μέχρι Τίτος τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους ἀνελών,  
 οἰκτείρας δὲ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἀνεπαύσατο φόνου.<sup>3</sup>  
 502 καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν λίμνην καταφυγόντες ἐπεὶ τὴν  
 πόλιν εἶδον ἑαλωκυῖαν, ὡς πορρωτάτω τῶν πολε-  
 μίων ἀνήχθησαν.

503 (6) Τίτος δὲ ἐκπέμψας τινὰ τῶν ἵππέων εὐ-  
 504 αγγελίζεται τῷ πατρὶ τὸ ἔργον. ὁ δὲ, ὡς εἰκός,  
 ὑπερησθεὶς τῇ τε τοῦ παιδὸς ἀρετῇ καὶ τῷ κατ-  
 ορθώματι, μεγίστη γὰρ ἐδόκει καθηρῆσθαι μοῖρα  
 τοῦ πολέμου, τότε μὲν ἐλθὼν περισχόντας τὴν  
 πόλιν φρουρεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς μὴ διαλάθοι τις ἐξ  
 505 αὐτῆς, καὶ κτείνειν προσέταξεν<sup>4\*\*</sup>, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ

<sup>1</sup> Destinon from Lat. natando assequi: προσμένειν L: προσπίπτειν most mss.

<sup>2</sup> βεβουλῆσθαι R      <sup>3</sup> Hudson from Lat.: πόνου mss.

<sup>4</sup> P: ἐκέλευσεν the rest; there is apparently a lacuna.

(5) As he spoke he leapt on his horse, led his troops to the lake, rode through the water <sup>a</sup> and was the first to enter the town, followed by his men. Terror-struck at his audacity, none of the defenders on the ramparts ventured to fight or to resist him ; all abandoned their posts and fled, the partisans of Jesus across country, the others down to the lake. The latter ran into the arms of the enemy advancing to meet them ; some were killed while boarding their boats, others endeavouring to swim out to their companions, who had previously gained the open water.<sup>b</sup> In the town itself there was great slaughter, without discrimination between the strangers who had not succeeded in escaping and now made some resistance, and the residents who offered none, their hope of pardon and their consciousness of having disconcerted the war leading them to lay down their arms. At length, Titus, after the real culprits had been slain, took pity on the natives of the place and stopped the massacre. Those who had taken refuge on the lake, seeing the city taken, sailed off and kept as far as possible out of range of the enemy.

(6) Titus dispatched a trooper to convey the gratifying news of this achievement to his father. Vespasian, as was to be expected, was highly delighted at his son's valour and at the success of his enterprise, which seemed like the termination of a serious portion of the war. Repairing instantly to the spot he gave orders to keep a strict guard round the city, to prevent any from escaping, and to kill *<any who attempted to do so>*. The next day he

<sup>a</sup> The town was unwalled on the side facing the lake (§ 464).

<sup>b</sup> § 469.

πρὸς τὴν λίμνην καταβὰς σχεδίας ἐκέλευσεν πήσσειν<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ τοὺς καταπεφευγότας· αἱ δὲ ἐγίνοντο ταχέως ἀφθονία τε ὕλης καὶ πλήθει τεχνιτῶν.

506 (7) Ἡ δὲ λίμνη Γεννησάρ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προσ-  
έχοντος χώρας καλεῖται, σταδίων δὲ εὑρος οὖσα  
τεσσαράκοντα καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἑτέρων ἑκατὸν  
τὸ μῆκος, γλυκεῖά τε ὅμως ἔστι καὶ ποτιμωτάτη·

507 καὶ γὰρ τῆς ἑλώδους παχύτητος ἔχει τὸ νᾶμα  
λεπτότερον, καθαρά τ' ἔστιν πάντοθεν αἰγιαλοῖς  
ἐπιλήγουσα καὶ φάμμῳ, πρὸς δὲ εὔκρατος ἀρύ-  
σσθαι, ποταμοῦ μὲν ἡ κρήνης προσηνεστέρα,  
ψυχροτέρα δὲ ἡ κατὰ λίμνης διάχυσιν ἀεὶ μένουσα.

508 τὸ μὲν γε ὕδωρ οὐκ ἀπάδει χιόνος ἔξαιθριασθέν,  
ὅπερ θέρους νυκτὸς ποιεῖν ἔθος τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις.

γένη δὲ ἰχθύων ἐν αὐτῇ διάφορα πρὸς τοὺς ἀλ-  
509 λαχοῦ γεννίσιν τε καὶ ἴδεαν. μέση δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ  
Ἰορδάνου τέμνεται. καὶ δοκεῖ μὲν Ἰορδάνου

πηγὴ τὸ Πάνειον, φέρεται δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν εἰς τοῦτο

510 κρυπτῶς ἐκ τῆς καλούμένης Φιάλης· ἡ δὲ ἔστιν  
ἀνιόντων εἰς τὴν Τραχωνῖτιν ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑκατὸν

εἴκοσι Καισαρείας, τῆς ὁδοῦ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος  
511 οὐκ ἄπωθεν. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τῆς περιφερείας ἑτύμως<sup>2</sup>

Φιάλη καλεῖται τροχοειδῆς οὖσα λίμνη, μένει δὲ

<sup>1</sup> + ὡς P.

<sup>2</sup> Hudson after Lat.: ἑτύμως MSS.

<sup>o</sup> i.e. about 16 miles long by 4½ broad; the Greek *stade*, rendered "furlong", = 606½ English feet. The real measurements on a modern map are about 12½ miles by 7 miles (at its broadest part). Josephus possibly intends to give the *average* breadth (the breadth at Tiberias is about 5 miles); but the length is, anyhow, overstated, and there is no authority for regarding (with Reinach) the words *πρὸς τούτοις ἑτέρων* as interpolated, thus reducing it to 100 *stades* (=about 11½ miles).

descended to the lake and gave directions for the construction of rafts for the pursuit of the fugitives. With an abundance of wood and of workmen, the flotilla was soon ready.

(7) The lake of Gennesar takes its name from the adjacent territory. It is forty furlongs broad and a hundred and forty long.<sup>a</sup> Notwithstanding its extent, its water is sweet to the taste and excellent to drink : clearer than marsh water with its thick sediment, it is perfectly pure, the lake everywhere ending in pebbly or sandy beaches. Moreover, when drawn it has an agreeable temperature, more pleasant than that of river or spring water, yet invariably cooler than the great expanse of the lake would lead one to expect. It becomes as cold as snow when one has exposed it to the air, as the people of the country are in the habit of doing during the summer nights. The lake contains species of fish different, both in taste and appearance, from those found elsewhere. The Jordan runs through the middle of the lake. This river has its apparent source at Panion<sup>b</sup>; in reality it rises in the pool called Phiale from which it passes by an unseen subterranean channel to Panion. Phiale will be found at a distance of a hundred and twenty furlongs from Caesarea (Philippi), on the right of and not far from the road ascending to Trachonitis ; the pool derives its name Phiale<sup>c</sup> from its circular form ;

<sup>a</sup> "Pan's grotto" (*cf. B. i. 404 ff.*), in the neighbourhood of which Philip the Tetrarch built Paneas (Caesarea Philippi, *Banias*), *B. ii. 168.*

<sup>b</sup> Meaning "saucer." The pool is probably the modern *Birket Ram*, some four miles south-east of Caesarea Philippi; but the possibility of any connexion between this pool and Panion is denied by modern geographers (Reinach).

επὶ χείλους αὐτῆς ἀεὶ τὸ ὕδωρ μήθ' ὑπονοστοῦν  
 εἰς μήθ' ὑπερχεόμενον. ἀγνοούμενος δὲ τέως ὁ Ἰορ-  
 δάνης ἐντεῦθεν ἄρχεσθαι διὰ τοῦ τετραρχήσαντος  
 513 Γραχωνιτῶν ἡλέγχθη Φιλίππου· βαλὼν γὰρ οὗτος  
 εἰς τὴν Φιάλην ἄχυρα κατὰ τὸ Πάνειον, ἔνθεν  
 ἐδόκουν οἱ παλαιοὶ γεννᾶσθαι τὸν ποταμόν, εὑρεν  
 514 ἀνενεχθέντα. τοῦ μὲν οὖν Πανείου τὸ φυσικὸν  
 κάλλος ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς προσεξήσκηται πολυ-  
 τελείας, τῷ<sup>1</sup> Ἀγρίππα πλούτῳ κεκοσμημένον  
 515 ἀρχόμενος δὲ φανεροῦ ρέύματος ὁ Ἰορδάνης ἀπὸ  
 τοῦδε τοῦ ἄντρου κόπτει μὲν τὰ τῆς Σεμε-  
 χωνίτιδος λίμνης ἔλη καὶ τέλματα, διαμείφας δ'  
 ἐτέρους ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι σταδίους μετὰ πόλιν Ἰου-  
 λιάδα διεκπαίει τὴν Γεννησάρ μέσην, ἐπειτα πολ-  
 λὴν ἀναμετρούμενος ἐρημίαν εἰς τὴν Ἀσφαλτῖτιν  
 ἔξεισι λίμνην.

516 (8) Παρατείνει δὲ τὴν Γεννησάρ ὅμώνυμος  
 χώρα, θαυμαστὴ φύσιν τε καὶ κάλλος· οὕτε γὰρ  
 αὐτῇ τι φυτὸν ἀρνεῖται διὰ τὴν πιότητα, καὶ πᾶν  
 πεφυτεύκασιν οἱ νεμόμενοι, τοῦ δ' ἀέρος τὸ  
 517 εὔκρατον ἀρμόζει καὶ τοῖς διαφόροις. καρύαι μέν  
 γε, φυτῶν τὸ χειμεριώτατον, ἀπειροι τεθήλασιν,  
 ἔνθα φοίνικες, οἱ καύματι τρέφονται, συκαὶ δὲ  
 καὶ ἐλαῖαι πλησίον τούτων, αἷς μαλθακώτερος  
 518 ἀὴρ ἀποδέδεικται. φιλοτιμίαν ἃν τις εἴποι τῆς  
 φύσεως βιασαμένης εἰς ἐν συναγαγεῖν τὰ μάχιμα,  
 καὶ τῶν ὥρῶν ἀγαθὴν ἔριν, ἐκάστης ὥσπερ ἀντι-

<sup>1</sup> Bekker: τὸν (or τῶν) MSS. with subsequent πλούτου in most.

<sup>a</sup> Modern *Bahirat el Huleh* (perhaps the "waters of Merom" of Josh. xi. 5).

the water always fills the basin to the brim without ever subsiding or overflowing. It was for long unknown that this was the true source of the Jordan, but the fact was proved by Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis : he had chaff thrown into the pool of Phiale and found it cast up at Panion, where the ancients believed that the stream had its origin. The natural beauties of Panion have been enhanced by royal munificence, the place having been embellished by Agrippa at great expense. After issuing from this grotto the Jordan, whose course is now visible, intersects the marshes and lagoons of Lake Semechonitis,<sup>a</sup> then traverses another hundred and twenty furlongs, and below the town of Julias<sup>b</sup> cuts across the Lake of Gennesar, from which, after meandering through a long desert region, it ends by falling into the Lake Asphaltitis.<sup>c</sup>

(8) Skirting the lake of Gennesar, and also bearing that name, lies a region whose natural properties and beauty are very remarkable.<sup>d</sup> There is not a plant which its fertile soil refuses to produce, and its cultivators in fact grow every species ; the air is so well-tempered that it suits the most opposite varieties. The walnut, a tree which delights in the most wintry climate, here grows luxuriantly, beside palm-trees, which thrive on heat, and figs and olives, which require a milder atmosphere. One might say that nature had taken pride in thus assembling, by a *tour de force*, the most discordant species in a single spot, and that, by a happy rivalry, each of the seasons wished to claim this region for her own.

<sup>a</sup> B. ii. 168.

<sup>c</sup> The Dead Sea.

<sup>b</sup> The plain of Gennesaret (*el Ghuweir*) on the north-west of the lake between Capernaum and Magdala.

The fer  
district  
Gennes  
reth.

ποιουμένης τοῦ χωρίου· καὶ γὰρ οὐ μόνον τρέφει  
 παρὰ δόξαν τὰς διαφόρους ὄπώρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 519 διαφυλάσσει. τὰ μὲν γε βασιλικώτατα, σταφυλήν  
 τε καὶ σῦκον, δέκα μησὶν ἀδιαλείπτως χορηγεῖ,  
 τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς καρποὺς δι' ἔτους ὅλου περιγηρά-  
 σκοντας ἑαυτοῖς<sup>1</sup>. πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τῶν ἀέρων εὐκρασίᾳ  
 καὶ πηγῇ διάρδεται γονιμωτάτη, Καφαρναούμ  
 520 αὐτὴν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καλοῦσιν. ταύτην φλέβα τοῦ  
 Νείλου τινὲς ἔδοξαν, ἐπεὶ γεννᾷ τῷ κατὰ τὴν  
 521 Ἀλεξανδρέων λίμνην κορακίνῳ παραπλήσιον. μῆ-  
 κος δὲ τοῦ χωρίου παρατείνει κατὰ τὸν αἰγαλὸν  
 τῆς ὁμωνύμου λίμνης ἐπὶ σταδίους τριάκοντα  
 καὶ εὑρος εἴκοσι. ταῦτα μὲν [οὖν] οὕτως φύσεως  
 ἔχει.

522 (9) Οὐεσπασιανὸς δ', ἐπεὶ παρεσκευάσθησαν αἱ  
 σχεδίαι, τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιβήσας ὅσον ὕετο τοῖς  
 κατὰ τὴν λίμνην ἀνταρκέσειν ἐπανήγετο. τοῖς  
 δὲ συνελαυνομένοις οὕτ' ἐπὶ γῆν διαφεύγειν ἦν  
 ἐκπεπολεμωμένων πάντων οὕτ' ἐξ ἵσου δια-  
 523 ναυμαχεῖν· τά τε γὰρ σκάφη μικρὰ ὄντα καὶ  
 ληστρικὰ πρὸς τὰς σχεδίας ἦν ἀσθενῆ, καὶ καθ'  
 ἔκαστον ἐμπλέοντες ὄλιγοι πρὸς ἀθρόους ἐφ-  
 εστῶτας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐγγίζειν ἐδεδοίκεισαν.  
 524 ὅμως δ' οὖν ἐκπεριπλέοντες τὰς σχεδίας, ἔστιν δ'  
 ὅπου καὶ πλησιάζοντες, πόρρωθεν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους  
 ἔβαλλον λίθοις καὶ παραξύοντες ἐγγύθεν ἔπαιον.

<sup>1</sup> L: om. Lat.: *αὐτοῖς* the rest: text doubtful.

For not only has the country this surprising merit of producing such diverse fruits, but it also preserves them: for ten months without intermission it supplies those kings of fruits, the grape and the fig; the rest mature on the trees the whole year round. Besides being favoured by its genial air, the country is watered by a highly fertilizing spring, called by the inhabitants Capharnaum<sup>a</sup>; some have imagined this to be a branch of the Nile, from its producing a fish resembling the *coracin* found in the lake of Alexandria.<sup>b</sup> This region extends along the border of the lake which bears its name for a length of thirty furlongs and inland to a depth of twenty. Such is the nature of this district.

(9) Vespasian, when his rafts were ready, put on board as many troops as he considered necessary to cope with the fugitives on the lake and launched his flotilla. The Jews, thus rounded up, could neither escape to land, where all were in arms against them, nor sustain a naval combat on equal terms. For their skiffs, being small and built for piracy, were no match for the rafts, and each was manned by no more than a handful of men who were afraid to close with the dense ranks of their Roman assailants. However, they hovered round the rafts, occasionally even approaching them, now flinging stones from a distance at the Romans, now scraping alongside and attacking them at close

been identified either with *Khan Minyeh* (more probable) or with *Tell Hum*, farther north. The latter is a waterless site (G. A. Smith); above the former rises a copious spring which communicates by a canal with the plain.

<sup>b</sup> The Lake Mareotis. The *coracin*, so called from its raven-black colour, seems to have resembled an eel; Martial, xiii. 85, calls it “princeps Niliaci macelli.”

525 ἐκακοῦντο δ' αὐτοὶ πλέον κατ' ἀμφότερα· ταῖς τε  
 γὰρ χερμάσιν οὐδὲν δρῶντες ὅτι μὴ κτύπον ἐπ-  
 ἄλληλον, εἰς γὰρ πεφραγμένους ἔβαλλον, ἐφικτοὶ  
 τοῖς 'Ρωμαίων ἐγίνοντο βέλεσιν, καὶ πλησιάζειν  
 τολμῶντες πρὶν δρᾶσαι τι παθεῖν ἔφθανον καὶ  
 526 σὺν αὐτοῖς ἔβαπτίζοντο τοῖς σκάφεσιν. τῶν δὲ  
 διεκπαίειν πειρωμένων πολλοὺς μὲν ἐφικνούμενοι  
 κοντοῖς διέπειρον, οὓς δὲ ξιφίρεις ἐπιπηδῶντες  
 εἰς τὰ σκάφη, τινὰς δὲ συντρεχούσαις ταῖς σχε-  
 δίαις ἐναποληφθέντας μέσους εἶλον<sup>1</sup> ἄμα ταῖς  
 527 ἀλιάσιν. τῶν δὲ βαπτισθέντων τοὺς ἀνανεύοντας  
 [ἢ] βέλος ἔφθανεν ἢ σχεδία κατελάμβανεν, καὶ  
 προσβαίνειν ὑπ' ἀμηχανίας εἰς τοὺς ἔχθροὺς  
 πειρωμένων ἢ κεφαλὰς ἢ χεῖρας ἀπέκοπτον οἱ  
 528 'Ρωμαῖοι. πολλή τε ἦν αὐτῶν καὶ ποικίλῃ φθορᾷ  
 πανταχοῦ, μέχρι τραπέντες εἰς γῆν ἐξεώσθησαν  
 οἱ λοιποὶ κεκυκλωμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀλιάδων.  
 529 ἐκχεόμενοι<sup>2</sup> δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ κατηκοντίζοντο  
 τῇ λίμνῃ, πολλοὺς δ' ἐκπηδήσαντας οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι  
 διέφθειραν ἐπὶ γῆς. ἦν δ' ἵδεῖν κεκραμένην μὲν  
 αἷματι, πεπληρωμένην δὲ νεκρῶν τὴν λίμνην  
 530 ἅπασαν· διεσώθη γὰρ οὐδείς. δεινὴ δὲ ταῖς ἐξῆς  
 ἡμέραις περιεῖχε τὴν χώραν ὁδμή τε καὶ ὅψις· οἱ  
 μὲν γὰρ αἰγιαλοὶ ναυαγίων ἄμα καὶ διοιδούντων  
 ἔγεμον σωμάτων, ἐκκαιόμενοι δὲ καὶ μυδῶντες οἱ  
 νεκροὶ τὸν ἀέρα διέφθειρον, ὡς μὴ μόνον οἰκτρὸν  
 'Ιουδαίοις γενέσθαι τὸ πάθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ μίσους  
 531 τοῖς δράσασιν ἐλθεῖν. τοῦτο μὲν ἐκείνης τῆς  
 ναυμαχίας τὸ τέλος, ἀπέθανον δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἐπὶ

<sup>1</sup> MVRC Lat.: ἥλθον PA: (σιν)ηλόων Destinon.

<sup>2</sup> PAL Lat. (cf. B. vii. 69, 101): ἐκκλειόμενοι the rest.

range. But in both these manœuvres they sustained greater injury themselves : their stones produced nothing but a continuous rattle in striking men well protected by armour, while they were themselves exposed to the arrows of the Romans ; on the other hand, when they ventured to approach, before they had time to do anything they instantly came to grief and were sent to the bottom with their skiffs. If they tried to break through the line, the Romans could reach them with their lances and transfixed numbers of them, or leaping upon the barks passed their swords through their bodies ; sometimes the rafts closed in and caught their enemies between them, capturing men and vessels. When any who had been sunk rose to the surface, an arrow quickly reached or a raft overtook them ; if in their despair they sought to board the enemy's fleet, the Romans cut off their heads or their hands. Thus perished these wretches on all sides in countless numbers and countless manners, until the survivors were routed and forced to the shore, their vessels surrounded by the enemy. As they streamed forth from them many were speared in the water ; many sprang on land, where they were slain by the Romans. One could see the whole lake red with blood and covered with corpses, for not a man escaped. During the following days the district reeked with a dreadful stench and presented a spectacle equally horrible. The beaches were strewn with wrecks and swollen carcases : these corpses, scorched and clammy in decay, so polluted the atmosphere that the catastrophe which plunged the Jews in mourning inspired even its authors with disgust. Such was the issue of this naval engagement. The dead, including those who

τῆς πόλεως πρότερον πεσοῦσιν ἔξακισχίλιοι ἑπτακόσιοι.<sup>1</sup>

532 (10) Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην καθίζει μὲν ἐπὶ βήματος ἐν Ταριχαίαις, διακρίνων δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τὸν ἐπηλυν λεών, κατάρξαι γὰρ οὗτος ἐδόκει πολέμου, μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων εἰ χρὴ ε33 καὶ τούτους σώζειν ἐσκέπτετο. φαμένων δὲ τούτων βλαβερὰν ἔσεσθαι τὴν ἄφεσιν αὐτῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἡρεμήσειν ἀπολυθέντας ἀνθρώπους ἐστερημένους μὲν τῶν πατρίδων, βιάζεσθαι δὲ καὶ πρὸς οὓς 534 ἄν καταφύγωσιν πολεμεῖν δυναμένους, Οὐεσπασιανὸς ὡς μὲν οὕτ' ἄξιοι σωτηρίας εἶεν καὶ διαφείξονται κατὰ τῶν ἀφέντων<sup>3</sup> ἐγίνωσκεν, τὸν 535 δὲ τρόπον αὐτῶν τῆς ἀναιρέσεως διενοεῖτο. καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθι κτείνων ἐκπολεμώσειν ὑφεωράτο τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξεσθαι φονευομένων ἵκετῶν τοσούτων παρ' αὐτοῖς, καὶ μετὰ πίστεις ἐπιθέσθαι 536 προελθοῦσιν οὐχ ὑπέμενεν. ἔξενίκων δ' οἱ φίλοι μηδὲν κατὰ Ἰουδαίων ἀσεβὲς εἶναι λέγοντες καὶ χρῆναι τὸ συμφέρον αἴρεῖσθαι πρὸ τοῦ πρέποντος, 537 ὅταν ἦ μὴ δυνατὸν ἄμφω. κατανεύσας οὖν αὐτοῖς ἄδειαν ὀμφίβολον ἐπέτρεψεν ἔξιέναι διὰ μόνης 538 τῆς ἐπὶ Τιβεριάδα φερούσης ὁδοῦ. τῶν δὲ ταχέως πιστευσάντων οἷς ἥθελον καὶ μετὰ φανερῶν <ώς><sup>4</sup> ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τῶν χρημάτων ἥπερ ἐπετράπη χω-

<sup>1</sup> PA Heg.: πεντακόσιοι the rest.

<sup>2</sup> K: κάν or καὶ εἰ the rest.

<sup>3</sup> + ὀπλιζεσθαι M.

<sup>4</sup> ins. Destinon, Niese.

<sup>a</sup> This naval engagement was, it seems, commemorated in the triumphal procession at Rome by the "numerous ships" which accompanied it (B. vii. 147). Reinach refers

fell in the previous defence of the town, numbered six thousand seven hundred.<sup>a</sup>

(10) After the battle Vespasian took his seat on his tribunal at Tarichaeae, and separating the native population from the crowd of immigrants who had evidently given the signal for hostilities, consulted with his lieutenants whether the lives of the latter also should be spared. All unanimously declared that their liberation would be pernicious ; once let loose, these expatriated men would never keep quiet, and would, moreover, be capable of forcing into revolt those with whom they sought refuge. Vespasian recognized that they were undeserving of pardon and that they would only abuse their liberty to the detriment of their liberators, but he asked himself how he could make away with them : if he killed them on the spot, he suspected that he would bitterly alienate the residents, who would not tolerate the massacre in their city of all these refugees who had sued for mercy ; on the other hand, he could not bring himself to let them go, and then, after pledging his word, to fall upon them. However, in the end his friends overcame his scruples by telling him that against Jews there could be no question of impiety, and that he ought to prefer expediency to propriety when the two were incompatible. Vespasian accordingly granted these aliens an amnesty in equivocal terms, but permitted them to quit the city by only one route, that leading to Tiberias. Prompt to believe what they earnestly desired, the wretches set out in complete confidence, carrying their effects without any disguise, in the

to bronzes of Vespasian and his sons bearing the legend  
VICTORIA NAVALIS.

ρούντων, διαλαμβάνουσιν μὲν οἱ Ἀρμαῖοι τὴν  
 μέχρι Τιβεριάδος πᾶσαν, ὡς μή τις ἀποκλίνειεν,  
 539 συγκλείονται δ' αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ Οὐεσπα-  
 σιανὸς ἐπελθὼν ἵστησι πάντας ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ,  
 καὶ γηραιοὺς μὲν ἄμα τοῖς ἀχρήστοις διακοσίους  
 540 ἐπὶ χιλίοις ὅντας ἀνελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, τῶν δὲ νέων  
 ἐπιλέξας τοὺς ἴσχυροτάτους ἔξακισχιλίους ἐπεμ-  
 ψεν εἰς τὸν ἴσθμὸν Νέρωνι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος  
 εἰς τρισμυρίους καὶ τετρακοσίους ὅντας πιπράσκει  
 541 χωρὶς τῶν Ἀγρίππα χαρισθέντων· τοὺς γὰρ ἐκ  
 τῆς τούτου βασιλείας ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ ποιεῖν εἴ-  
 τι<sup>1</sup> βούλοιτο· πιπράσκει δὲ καὶ τούτους ὁ βασιλεύς.  
 542 ὁ μέντοι γε ἄλλος ὄχλος Τραχωνῖται καὶ Γαυ-  
 λανῖται καὶ Ἰππηνοὶ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Γαδαρίτιδος τὸ  
 πλέον ὡς<sup>2</sup> στασιασταὶ καὶ φυγάδες καὶ οἵς τὰ  
 τῆς εἰρήνης<sup>3</sup> ὄνειδη τὸν πόλεμον προυξένει. ἔάλω-  
 σαν [δὲ] Γορπιαίου μηνὸς ὅγδοη.

<sup>1</sup> εἰ τι] ὡς τι VRC.

<sup>2</sup> ήσαν Havercamp with one ms.

<sup>3</sup> τῆς εἰρήνης] ἐν εἰρήνῃ PAML.

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<sup>a</sup> i.e. of Corinth, to be employed on the work of the canal,

prescribed direction. The Romans, meanwhile, lined the whole road to Tiberias, to prevent any deviation from it, and on their arrival shut them into that town. Vespasian followed in due course and had them all removed to the stadium. He then gave orders for the execution of the old and unserviceable, to the number of twelve hundred; from the youths he selected six thousand of the most robust and sent them to Nero at the isthmus.<sup>a</sup> The rest of the multitude, numbering thirty thousand four hundred, he sold, excepting those of whom he made a present to Agrippa, namely the former subjects of his realm; these Vespasian permitted him to deal with at his discretion, and the king in his turn sold them. The remainder of this mob consisted, for the most part, of people from Trachonitis, Gaulanitis, Hippos, and Gadara, a crowd of seditious individuals and fugitives, to whom their infamous careers in peace-time gave war its attractions. Their capture took place on the eighth of the month Gorpiaeus.<sup>b</sup>

for which Nero himself had recently dug the first sod (*Suet. Nero*, 19).

<sup>b</sup> 26 September A.D. 67 (Niese's reckoning).

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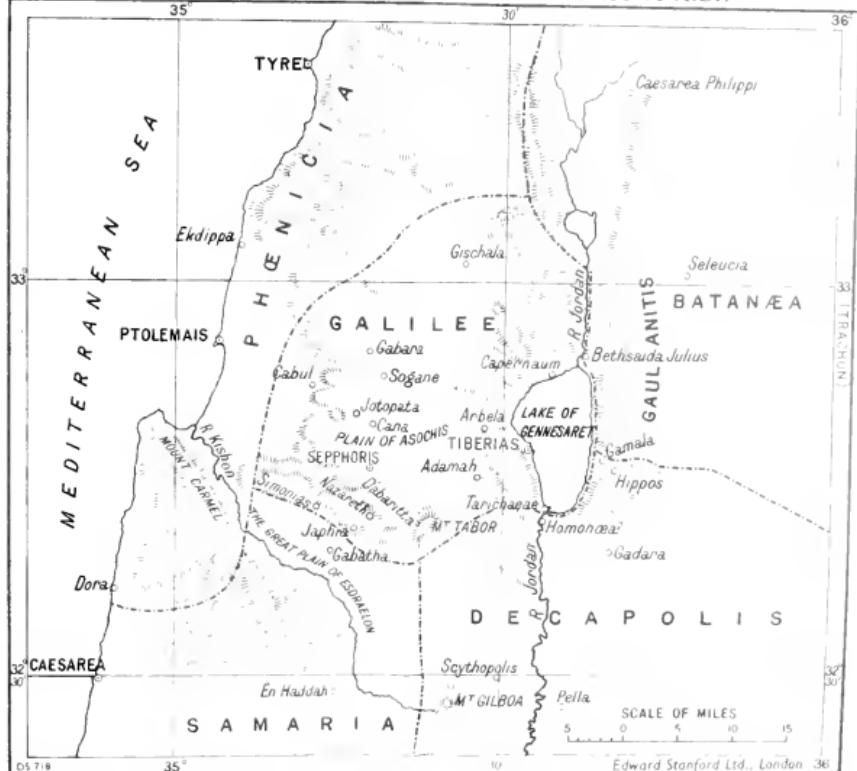
# THE HERODIAN FAMILY

executed 34 n.c.  
Salome (1)



Names mentioned more than once on this page are followed by figures in brackets for cross-reference.

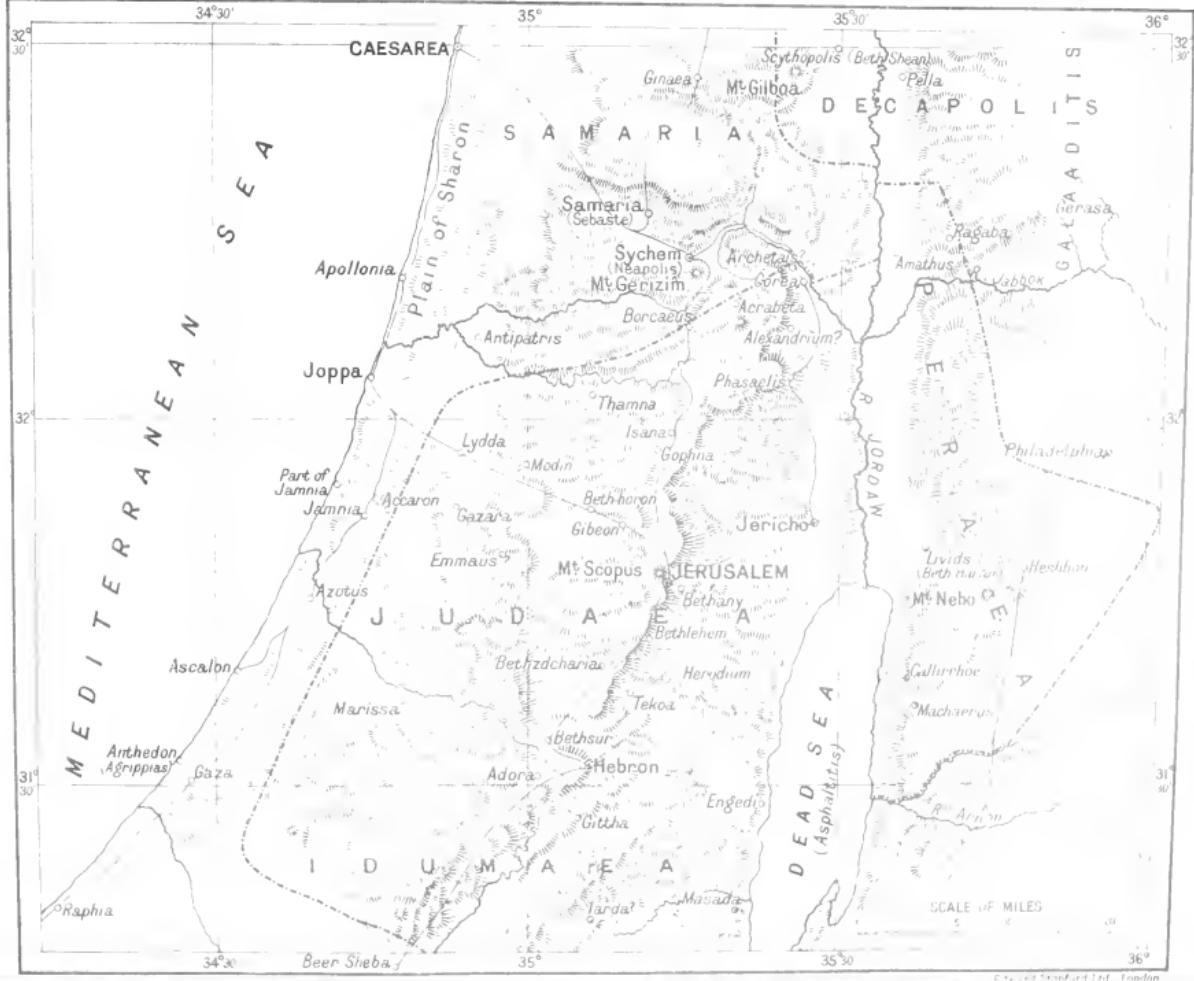
# GALILEE & SURROUNDING DISTRICT (50-70 A.D.)



Gaulanitis, Batanea etc = Kingdom of Agrippa II Decapolis independent. The rest under Roman Procurators.



CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN PALESTINE (50-70 A.D.)





# JERUSALEM



— Existing walls.

— Approximate line of first (old) wall

— Supposed line of second wall

— Alternative supposed lines of third / Herod's wall

— Supposed ancient streets.

— Sites of ancient buildings

The lines of the second and third walls are uncertain  
Remains recently (1925) discovered favor the more  
northerly position for the third wall; the line of the  
second wall is identified by some with the existing  
North wall



contour lines are drawn at intervals of 30 feet

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