JOSEPHUS
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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IN EIGHT VOLUMES

I

THE LIFE AGAINST APION

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Life

The autobiography which appears in this volume renders unnecessary any detailed life of the author. But, as that work mainly relates to a period of only six months, and needs to be supplemented by other notices which appear in the War or elsewhere, the facts may here be briefly summarized.

Son of a priest and with royal blood in his veins on the mother’s side, Joseph ben Matthias was born in the year of the accession of Gaius (Caligula) A.D. 37-38. Pontius Pilate had been recalled from Judaea in the previous year; Herod Agrippa I had just received his liberty and kingdom from the new Emperor. The lad’s memory might perhaps recall the scenes of excitement aroused in Palestine by the attempt of Caligula to erect his statue in the Temple, when the outbreak of war was narrowly averted (A.D. 40-41). Of his education he tells us of his precocious talents which, at the age of 14, brought learned Rabbis to consult him; how at 16 he entered on what may be called his short university course, when he studied the tenets of the three national sects; how he followed this up by three years of ascetic life in the wilderness, and how, on returning
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to Jerusalem at the age of 19, he threw in his lot with the Pharisees. Of his early manhood one outstanding event is related, his visit to Rome at the age of 26 or 27 in the year 64. It was the year of the burning of Rome and the persecution of the Christians, but whether those events preceded his arrival is unknown, and no inference can be drawn from his silence as to his attitude to Christianity. It is idle to conjecture whether, beyond its ostensible object—the liberation of certain Jewish priests—this visit to the capital had any ulterior motive. It impressed him, at any rate, with a sense of Rome’s invincibility; and on his return to Judaea, where he found his countrymen heading for revolt, he vainly endeavoured to pacify the war party. The turbulent state of the country soon brought Čestius Gallus, the Governor of Syria, upon the scene. His unaccountable withdrawal from Jerusalem, when almost within his grasp, was followed by the disastrous rout of his Roman legions in the defiles of Bethhoron in the autumn of 66. The irrevocable step had now been taken and hasty preparations were made for the impending war.

The young priest aged 29, on what qualifications does not appear, was, with two others, entrusted with an important commission in Galilee, if not the actual command of the district. The opening scenes of the Galilaean campaign in A.D. 66-67, which fill most of the pages of the Life, are difficult to follow, and the policy and aims both of Josephus and of the Jerusalem leaders are far from clear. We have two accounts of this period, both biased and in some details inconsistent. In the Life we have the author’s defence against a rival Jewish historian, who accused him and viii
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the Galilaeans of being responsible for the revolt (§ 340); in the Jewish War we have a shorter account written under Roman patronage. In the War Josephus is represented as having been appointed general of Galilee from the first (B. ii. 568); in the Life we are merely told that his commission was to induce the hotheads to lay down their arms (Vita 29, cp. 77). In a recent suggestive but rather fanciful work (see p. xix below) Herr Laqueur lays stress on this difference and supposes that Josephus acted ultra vires in assuming the supreme command of Galilee, and that this accounts for the attempt of John of Gischala to get him superseded. However that may be, he was suspected of harbouring designs of betraying the country to Rome. He may have hoped to avert war by compromise, but events moved fast and forced him to identify himself with the war party. On the advance of Vespasian from Antioch he finally resolved to stand a siege in the fortified town of Jotapata. Of the forty-seven days' siege, the fall of the town (July 67), his capture by the Romans after a narrow escape from being murdered by his companions in hiding, and his prophecy of Vespasian's rise to imperial power, he has given a graphic account in the third book of the Jewish War.

Henceforth, in Roman hands, his life was tolerably secure. Military operations were delayed during the eventful year 68–69, which saw the death of Nero and, in rapid succession, the promotion of three Emperors. In July 69 Vespasian's legions took the law into their own hands and proclaimed him Emperor. One of the first acts of the new Emperor was the liberation of Josephus whose prediction had now come true. Accompanying Vespasian to Alex-
andria, Josephus returned thence with Titus to the siege of Jerusalem. Here his services as interpreter and mediator were in constant requisition. He was now, he tells us, between two fires: bitterly hated by the Jews and suspected of treachery by the Romans whenever they met with a reverse.

Of his life in Rome, after the fall of Jerusalem (A.D. 70), and the various privileges bestowed on him by the Flavian Emperors, he gives us a brief sketch. Awarded the rights of Roman citizenship and a lodging in the privata aedes of Vespasian, he was among the first to be placed on the "civil list" instituted by that Emperor (V. 423; Suet. Vesp. 18). He witnessed the triumph of Vespasian and Titus, and must have seen the new Rome arising from the ashes in which the fire under Nero and the civil war had left it; the new buildings including the Colosseum, the Fora of Vespasian and Titus and the Temple of Peace. Still dogged by Jewish hatred, he, with unfailing tact, succeeded in retaining the imperial favour, even of Domitian, and eluding his foes. The date of his death is unknown, but he outlived Agrippa II (V. 359) who, according to Photius, died in A.D. 100. From Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. iii. 9) we learn that his statue was erected in Rome and his works placed in the public library.

His domestic life had its matrimonial troubles. He was married at least three times, being deserted by one wife and divorcing another (V. 415, 426 f.).
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The Major Works

During the leisure of his life in Rome Josephus produced the four works which have come down to us: the Jewish War, the Antiquities, the Life, and the treatise Against Apion.

The two major works will call for further remark in the sequel. Here it will suffice to say that he must have at once taken in hand his History of the War; that the first (lost) draft was written in Aramaic for the benefit of the natives of Upper Syria (B. i. 3); that, being penned in Vespasian's former palace by his pensioner, it was probably of the nature of a manifesto "inspired" by his imperial patrons, and intended as a warning to the East of the futility of further opposition; that the second, doubtless fuller, edition in Greek was composed with the aid of literary assistants (Ap. i. 50) and appeared towards the end of Vespasian's reign, between A.D. 75 and 79.

Some sixteen years elapsed before the appearance of his next work, the Antiquities, in A.D. 93–94. The interval must have been spent in collecting materials for this magnum opus. But another cause may have contributed to this long break in his literary output. Domitian was the enemy of literature and the position of historians in particular was precarious; writers such as Tacitus, Pliny, and Juvenal preferred to remain silent throughout his reign. Deprived of his imperial patrons, Josephus now found another in a certain Epaphroditus, who is probably to be identified with a grammarian, possessor of a large library and writer on Homer. To him Josephus dedicates all his later works.

At the close of the Antiquities (xx. 267 f.) the author
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tells us of two further literary projects: (1) a summary sketch of the war and the after-history of his nation; (2) "a work in four books concerning God and His being, and concerning the Laws, why some things are permitted to us by them and others are forbidden." Neither work apparently was ever published; but the second, "On Customs and Causes," as he elsewhere calls it, had, as may be inferred from the mention of four books and scattered allusions in the Antiquities to its contents, taken shape in his mind and been partly drafted. The attribution to Josephus by Eusebius (H.E. iii. 10) and others of the so-called Fourth Book of Maccabees is erroneous.

THE MINOR WORKS

The two minor works contained in this volume are, at least in their present form, the latest of our author's writings. The translator has here abandoned chronological order; but it is perhaps appropriate to place the Autobiography in the forefront. Moreover, the question of its date has recently been re-opened and Laqueur's theory, mentioned below, would, if sound, justify the position of priority assigned to it. The second of the minor works is conveniently grouped with the first.

These two works were issued in old age, when the author was upwards of 63, early in the second century under the Emperor Trajan. The Life is brought down to the second century by the allusion (§ 359 f.) to the appearance of a rival history of the War
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after the death of Agrippa II, which, we are told, occurred in A.D. 100. The Contra Apionem is in any case later than 94, the date of the Antiquities, to which reference is made (i. 1, 54; ii. 287). But this work also contains an allusion (i. 46 ff.) to rival historians of the War, and, although no names are here mentioned, the person principally attacked is doubtless the same Justus who is named in the Life. The Contra Apionem may therefore likewise be assigned to the beginning of the second century.

The two treatises form a strange contrast: we see our author at his worst and at his best. Both are controversial, one being an apologia pro vita, the other pro gente sua. But in style, arrangement, and treatment they are so different that one would hardly suppose them to be contemporary productions from the same pen.

Vita.—The Life is an appendix to the Antiquities, and to a second or later edition of the Antiquities. It did not appear in the first edition. This is the natural inference from the concluding paragraphs of Ant. xx. The larger work has two endings. In the first the author writes (§ 259): “Here I will end my Archaeology,” and then, after some recapitulation and self-advertisement, he proceeds (266): “But perhaps it will not be taken amiss if I append a brief statement about my family and career while persons still survive either to refute or to corroborate what I say.” Then comes the second conclusion, beginning (267): “But here I will close the Archaeology;” and the precise date of writing follows, “the 13th year of Domitian and the 56th year of his own age,” that is, A.D. 93–94. The Life, however, mentioned in the previous section, as already stated, did not appear
until after 100. Clearly we have here two perorations; but the author has reversed the order usual in prefaces to separate editions of modern works. The original ending has been allowed to stand, but he has prefixed to it the conclusion of his second edition, leading up to his new matter, the Autobiography.

The event which occasioned this appendix was the publication of a rival history of the Jewish War by a compatriot, Justus of Tiberias, who accused Josephus of causing his native city (Tiberias) to revolt from Rome (§ 336 ff.). The damaging criticisms of Justus were calculated to endanger, not only the sale of Josephus's works, but even his secure position at Rome. They called for an immediate rejoinder. The Life, then, by no means answers to its name; it is not a complete biography. The bulk of it is the author's defence of his conduct during the half-year of his command in Galilee before the siege of Jotapata. To this, brief sketches of his youth in Palestine and his later years in Rome have been added as prologue and epilogue. The work, in which the author indulges his vanity to the full, is, alike in matter and in manner, the least satisfactory of his writings. The weakness of his boasted strategy is on a par with the crudity of the style.

A theory has recently been propounded which would go far to explain the latter defect. Herr Laqueur maintains that the kernel of the Vita is not among the latest, but the very earliest work of our author, written at the age, not of 65, but of 30. In his opinion, it is an official report of his conduct of affairs in Galilee, drafted, before the siege of Jotapata, for submission to the Jerusalem authorities. It is his
defence against the charge brought against him by John of Gischala and others of aiming at a τραυματικός. This theory is based partly on the disproportionate space devoted to the Galilaean period, partly on a comparison of the parallel accounts in the Life and in the War in the few passages where they overlap. Laqueur attempts to prove that the Life presents the older and more trustworthy account. This unliterary report, of which no use was made at the time, was in after life utilized to meet the attack of Justus, and, with a little revision, worked up into an autobiography. It is an attractive theory. That Josephus should have kept some contemporary record of his period of office appears not improbable. If Laqueur were right, we should have an interesting relic of our author's style of composition before he came under the influence of his literary friends in Rome. If, as appears probable, the whole work is really late, the lack of literary finish must be due to hasty production, unaided by his former assistants (cf. Ap. i. 50). The theory seems, in fact, to break down owing to the numerous links of style which connect the Life as a whole with the last book of the Antiquities, suggesting contemporaneous or nearly contemporaneous composition. Laqueur's thesis, in that case, is only tenable on the supposition that the youthful "report" was written in Aramaic.

Phrases which are peculiar to the alleged "early" portions of the Life and to Ant. xx. are: φόβος οὐτὶ μέτριος V. 22, 148 (cp. 122), A. xx. 47; κατάγωγωςιν φέρειι τινι V. 93, A. xx. 83; ταραξάς (-ήρ) καταστέλλειν V. 103, 244, 369, A. xx. 174; ἐς εἶδον εἰς ὁλον κακῶν ἡκονσι μέγεθοι V. 170, A. xx. 123. Among other words and phrases peculiar to the two books are: οἷκ (οὐδέν) ἀποδέχονα (ἀκρο)πόλεος "as large as" V. 246, A. xx. 130, ἀποστολή, διὰ φιλίας ἀφεκέσθαι, πρόροιν σωτηρίας εὑρέσθαι V. 14, A. xx. 54, προστασίαν πιστεύεσθαι V. 115, 393, xv
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Contra Apionem.—As a set-off to the Life, the treatise Contra Apionem, in two books, is the most attractive of our author’s works; exhibiting a well designed plan, great literary skill, an intimate acquaintance with Greek philosophy and poetry, together with a sincere and impassioned zeal for his country’s religion. The title (not the author’s) is not very happily chosen; Apion being merely one representative of Israel’s enemies. Older titles were “On the antiquity of the Jews” (not sufficiently distinctive) and “Against the Greeks.” Designed as a reply to criticisms on the Antiquities and a refutation of current prejudices, the work contains an apologia for Judaism with a demonstration of the antiquity of the race. It gives an interesting insight into the anti-Semitism of the first century. The writer challenges the extreme antiquity claimed by the Greeks; accounts for their silence on Jewish history; marshals an array of evidence (Egyptian, Phoenician, Babylonian, and Greek) for the antiquity of his own nation; successfully rebuts the malignant and absurd fictions of the anti-Semites; and concludes with a glowing defence of the lawgiver and his code, his lofty conception of God being contrasted with the immoral ideas current among the Greeks. Numerous quotations from lost writings give this work a special value.
MSS. and other ancient Authorities for the Greek Text

(a) For the Life:—

P Codex Palatinus (Vaticanus) Graecus 14, cent. ix. or x.
R Codex Regius (Parisinus) Gr. 1423, cent. xiv.
A Codex Ambrosianus (Mediolanensis) F. 128, cent. xi.
M Codex Mediceo-Laurentianus, plut. lxix., cod. 10, cent. xv.
W Codex Vaticanus Gr. 984, a.d. 1354.

Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. iii. 10) quotes §§ 361-364; we have also occasional excerpts made in the Byzantine era.

The mss. may be roughly divided into two groups P(R) and (A)MW, in which R and A are inconstant members. A as a rule sides with MW; R frequently joins that group or stands alone. Of the two modern editors, Niese bases his text mainly on the oldest ms., P; Naber puts greater faith in the readings of the group AMW.

All textual critics of Josephus must gratefully acknowledge their indebtedness to Niese and their dependence upon the evidence collected in his edition. Yet one may respectfully question whether he has established a definitive text. As Naber has remarked, he seems to have somewhat overrated the value of a single ill-written ms., and the true text or the nearest approximation to it is sometimes relegated to his apparatus criticus. The difficulties which confront the editor of Josephus arise from a comparative
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paucity of ancient mss., the inconstancy of some mss., which renders grouping uncertain, and the fact that corruption has often affected the text of all. Each variant has to be considered on its merits; and there is considerable scope for conjectural emendation, on which many eminent scholars have exercised their ingenuity. If Niese over-estimated the value of P, Naber seems to have relied too exclusively on AMW. Speaking generally, the present writer ventures to think that the true text in this book is as a rule to be looked for in P, R, or A; the combination PRA is rarely in error. MW in numerous passages present a manifestly inferior and "doctored" text; yet elsewhere, especially if supported by P, their evidence cannot be neglected. The text printed below, while based on the labours of Niese and Naber, is the outcome of a careful and independent investigation of the ms. evidence in all cases.

(b) For the Contra Apionem:

Here we are dependent on a solitary imperfect ms. viz.

L Codex Laurentianus plut. lxix. 22, cent. xi, of which all other extant mss. appear to be copies. For the long lacuna common to all the mss. (Book II §§ 52-113) we are compelled to have recourse to the old Latin version made by order of Cassiodorus, the minister of Theodoric (ed. C. Boysen in the Vienna Corpus Scriptorum Eccles. Lat. vol. xxxvii., 1898). Here the restoration of the underlying Greek, which the Latin translator has not always understood, is a difficult task. Numerous valuable quotations are made by Eusebius. The text seems to have passed xviii
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through various stages of corruption, which began even before his time, and glosses have occasionally crept into the text of cod. L. In Niese's judgement the relative value of our authorities is (1) Eusebius, (2) the Latin version, (3) cod. L. The editio princeps of the Greek text (Basel, 1544) is of first-rate importance and seems to be derived in part from some ms. unknown to Niese.

Recent Editions of the Greek Text


Other Works

For the Life the reader may consult, with discrimination, the suggestive but speculative work of Richard Laqueur, Der jüdische Historiker Flavius Josephus (ein biographischer Versuch auf neuer quellenkritischer Grundlage), Giessen, 1920.

For the Contra Apionem there is a full commentary by J. G. Müller (Basel, 1877) and a French translation, with valuable notes by the editor, in Œuvres complètes de Flav. Josèphe traduites en Français sous la direction de Théodore Reinach, tome vii. fasc. 1 (Paris, 1902).
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ABBREVIATIONS

A. = Antiquitates Judaicae.
B. = Bellum Judaicum.
V. = Vita.
conj. = conjectural emendation.
ed. pr. = editio princeps (Basel, 1544).
Eus. (H. E.; P. E.) = Eusebius (Historia Ecclesiastica; Praeparatio Evangelica).
is. = 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).

Alii laborauerunt; and the present translator here gratefully acknowledges his constant indebtedness to the work of numerous scholars of various nationalities, notably Benedict Niese, Théodore Reinach, and (for the Life and the War) Robert Traill. The older translation of William Whiston has also been occasionally consulted.

He further desires to acknowledge the kind permission of the editors and publishers of Judaism and the Beginnings of Christianity (Routledge) to use for this Introduction portions of a lecture included in that volume, which he delivered at Jews’ College, London, in 1923.
ΙΩΣΗΠΟΥ ΒΙΟΣ

1 (1) Ἐμοὶ δὲ γένος ἐστὶν οὐκ ἀσημον, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἱερέων ἀνωθὲν καταβεβηκός. ὡσπερ δ' ἡ παρ' ἐκάστοις ἀλλή τις ἐστὶν εὐγενείας ὑπόθεσις, οὕτως παρ' ἡμῖν ἡ τῆς ἱερωσύνης μετουσία τεκμηρίων

2 ἐστὶν γένους λαμπρότητος. Ἐμοὶ δ' οὐ μόνον ἐξ ἱερέων ἐστὶν τὸ γένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρώτης ἐφημερίδος τῶν εἰκοσιτεσσάρων, πολλὴ δὲ καὶ τὸν τοῦτο διαφορά, καὶ τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ φυλῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀρίστης. ὑπάρχω δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς· οἱ γὰρ Ἀσαμωναίους παῖδες, ὃν ἔγγονος ἐκεῖνη, τοῦ ἑθνος ἡμῶν ἐπὶ μήκιστον

3 χρόνων ἡρχιεράτευσαν καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν. Ἐρώ δὲ τὴν διαδοχὴν. ὁ πρόπαππος ἡμῶν Σίμων ὁ Ψελλὸς ἐπικαλούμενος: οὗτος ἔγένετο καθ' ὅν καίρον ἡρχιεράτευσεν Σίμωνος ἀρχιερέως ὁ παῖς, ὅς πρῶτος ἀρχιερέως Ἡρκανὸς ὄνομασθη. γίνονται δὲ τῷ Ψελλῷ Σίμωνι παῖδες ἐννέα· τούτων ἐστὶν Ματθίας ὁ Ἡφαιτου2 λεγόμενος. οὗτος ἡγαγετὸ πρὸς γάμον θυγατέρα Ἰωνάθου ἁρχιερέως· τοῦ πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν Ἀσαμωναίου παιδών γένους

1 ὁ Ὅ Niese: ὁ (δὲ) miss.
2 s.l., Ἡφιλίου, Ἡφιλίου.

ὅτι of Jehoiarib (1 Chron. xxiv. 7). In Λ. vii. 366.
Jos. states that the division of the priests into twenty-four
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(1) My family is no ignoble one, tracing its descent far back to priestly ancestors. Different races base their claim to nobility on various grounds; with us a connexion with the priesthood is the hallmark of an illustrious line. Not only, however, were my ancestors priests, but they belonged to the first of the twenty-four courses—a peculiar distinction—and to the most eminent of its constituent clans. Moreover, on my mother's side I am of royal blood; for the posterity of Asamonaeus, from whom she sprang, for a very considerable period were kings, as well as high-priests, of our nation. I will give the pedigree. My great-grandfather's grandfather was Simon surnamed Psellus. He was a contemporary of the high-priest Hyrcanus, the first of the name to hold that office, previously held by his father Simon. Simon "the stammerer" had nine children, one of whom, Matthias, known as the son of Ephaeus, married the daughter of Jonathan the high-priest, who was the first of the line of Asamonaeus to attain to the high-priesthood, c. 153 B.C.

"families" continued to his day. On the contrary Ap. ii. 108 (extant only in the Latin version) speaks of four courses (tribus) only.

b The Hasmonaeans or Maccabees, called after an eponymous hero Hashmon.

c i.e. "The Stammerer." d 1 Mace. x. 21.
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ἀρχιερατεύσαντος, τοῦ ἄδελφοῦ Σίμωνος τάρχιερέως: καὶ γίνεται πάσιν αὐτῶ Ματθίας ὁ Κυρτὸς ἐπικληθεῖς, ἀρχοντὸς Ἰρκανοῦ τὸν πρῶτον ἐνιαυτόν. τοῦτο γίνεται Ἰὼσήπος ἐνάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας ἀρχῆς, καὶ Ἰωσήπου Ματθίας βασιλεύοντος Ἀρχελάου τὸ δέκατον, Ματθία δὲ ἐγὼ τῷ πρῶτῳ τῆς Γαίου Καίσαρος ἡγεμονίας. ἐμοὶ δὲ παῖδες εἰσὶν πρεῖς, Ἰρκανὸς μὲν ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἐτετάρτῳ τῆς Οὐσσασσαίαν Καίσαρος ἡγεμονίας, ἐβδομῶ δὲ Ἰούστου, ἐνάτῳ δὲ Ἀγρίππας.

6 τῆς μὲν ὅπως τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν διάδοχην, ὡς ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις δέλτοις ἀναγεγραμμένην εὐρων, οὕτως παρατίθεμαι, τόσο διαβάλλειν ἡμᾶς πειρωμένοις χαίρειν φράσας.

7 (2) 'Ὁ πατὴρ δὲ μου Ματθίας οὗ διὰ μόνην τὴν εὐγένειαν ἐπίσημος ἦν, ἀλλὰ πλέον διὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐπηνεῖτο, γνωριμώτατος ὃν ἐν τῇ μεγίστῃ πολεί τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἰεροσολυμίταις. ἐγὼ δὲ συμπαθείον ἄδελφῳ Ματθία τοῦνομα, γεγόνει γὰρ μοι γνήσιος ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τῶν γονέων, εἰς μεγάλην παιδείαν προύκτον ἐπίδοσιν, μνήμην τε καὶ συνέχεις δοκῶν διαφέρειν. ἔτι δ᾽ ἀντίτασιν ὅπως περὶ τεσσαρεσκειδέκατον ἔτος διὰ τὸ φιλογράμματον ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπηνούμην, συνιότων ἂν τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως πρῶτων ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ περὶ τῶν νομίμων ἀκριβέστερον τι γνώναι. περὶ ἐκκαίδεκα δὲ ἐτῆς γεγομένου ἐβουλήθην τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν αἱρέσεων ἐμπειρίαν λαβεῖν τρεῖς δ᾽ εἰσὶν αὐταὶ, Φαρισαῖοι μὲν ἡ πρῶτη καὶ Σαδδουκαίοι ἡ δεύτερα, τρίτη δ᾽ 'Ἐσσηνῶν, καθὼς πολλάκις εἴπομεν· οὕτως γὰρ φόμην αἱρήσεσθαι τὴν ἀρίστην, εἰ πάσας καταμάθουμι. σκληραγω...
and brother of Simon who also held that office. Matthias, in the first year of the reign of Hyrcanus, had a son Matthias, surnamed Curtus; who, in the ninth year of the reign of Alexandra, begot Joseph, and he, in the tenth year of the reign of Archelaus, Matthias, to whom I was born in the year in which Gaius Caesar became Emperor. I have three sons: Hyrcanus, the eldest, born in the fourth, Justus in the seventh, and Agrippa in the ninth year of the reign of Vespasian Caesar. With such a pedigree, which I cite as I find it recorded in the public registers, I can take leave of the would-be detractors of my family. (2) Distinguished as he was by his noble birth, my father Matthias was even more esteemed for his upright character, being among the most notable men in Jerusalem, our greatest city. Brought up with Matthias, my own brother by both parents, I made great progress in my education, gaining a reputation for an excellent memory and understanding. While still a mere boy, about fourteen years old, I won universal applause for my love of letters; insomuch that the chief priests and the leading men of the city used constantly to come to me for precise information on some particular in our ordinances. At about the age of sixteen I determined to gain personal experience of the several sects into which our nation is divided. These, as I have frequently mentioned, are three in number—the first that of the Pharisees, the second that of the Sadducees, and the third that of the Essenes. I thought that, after a thorough investigation, I should be in a position to select the best. So I submitted myself

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a "Hump-back." b See B. ii. 119; A. xiii. 171, xviii. 11.
γῆςας οὖν ἐμαυτὸν καὶ πολλὰ πονηθείς τὰς τρεῖς διήλθον· καὶ μηδὲ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἐμπειρίαν ἱκανὴν ἐμαυτῷ νομίσας εἶναι, πυθόμενός τινα Βασιλείων ὄνομα κατὰ τὴν ἑρμηνίαν διατρίβειν, ἐσθῆτι μὲν ἀπὸ δένδρων χρώμενον, τροφὴν δὲ τὴν αὐτομάτως φυομένην προσφερόμενον, ψυχρὸ δὲ ὑδατι τὴν ἱμέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα πολλάκις λουόμενον πρὸς

12 ἀγνείαν, ξηλωτῆς ἐγενόμην αὐτοῦ. καὶ διατρίψας παρ’ αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτοὺς τρεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τελείωσας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπέστρεψον. ἐννεακαιδέκατῳ δὲ ἐτῶν ἤρξαμαι [τε] πολιτεύομαι τῇ Φαρισαίων αἰρέσει κατακολουθῶν, ἡ παραπλήσιος ἐστὶ τῇ παρ’ Ἐλλησι Στουκη λεγομένη.

13 (3) Μετ’ εἰκοστὸν δὲ καὶ ἐκτὸν ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς Ἄρμην μοι συνέπεσεν ἀναβήναι διὰ τὴν λεχθησομένην αἰτίαν. καθ’ ὁν κρόνον Φήλιξ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπετρόπευνεν, ίερεῖς τινὰς συνήθεις ἐμοὶ καλοὺς κάγαθον διὰ μικρὰν καὶ τὴν τυχοῦσαν αἰτίαν ὅτι εἰς τὴν Ἄρμην ἐπέμψε, λόγον ὑφέξοντας τῷ Καῖσαρι. οἷς ἔγω πόρον εὐρέσθαι βουλόμενος σωτηρίας, μάλιστα δὲ πυθόμενος ὅτι καίπερ ἐν κακοῖς ὀντες οὐκ ἐπελάθοντο τῆς εἰς τὸ θείον εὐσεβείας, διατρέφοντο δὲ σύκοις καὶ καρύοις, ἀφικόμην εἰς τὴν Ἄρμην πολλὰ κινδυνεύσας κατὰ

14 θάλασσαν. βαπτισθέντωσι γὰρ ἡμῶν τοῦ πλοίου κατὰ μέσον τοῦ Ἀδριαν, περὶ ἐξακοσίους τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ὀντες δὴ ὀλὴς τῆς νυκτὸς ἐνηξάμεθα, καὶ περὶ ἀρχομένην ἱμέραν ἐπιφανέντως ἡμῶν κατὰ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν Κυρηναίκοι πλοίου, φθάσαντες τοὺς ἄλλους ἐγὼ τε καὶ τινὲς ἐτεροὶ περὶ ὁγοῦκοντα

15 Θάλασσαν. βαπτισθέντωσι γὰρ ἡμῶν τοῦ πλοίου κατὰ μέσον τοῦ Ἀδριαν, περὶ ἐξακοσίους τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ὀντες δὴ ὀλὴς τῆς νυκτὸς ἐνηξάμεθα, καὶ περὶ ἀρχομένην ἱμέραν ἐπιφανέντως ἡμῶν κατὰ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν Κυρηναίκοι πλοίου, φθάσαντες τοὺς ἄλλους ἐγὼ τε καὶ τινὲς ἐτεροὶ περὶ ὁγοῦκοντα

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to hard training and laborious exercises and passed through the three courses. Not content, however, with the experience thus gained, on hearing of one named Bannus, who dwelt in the wilderness, wearing only such clothing as trees provided, feeding on such things as grew of themselves, and using frequent ablutions of cold water, by day and night, for purity’s sake, I became his devoted disciple. With him I lived for three years and, having accomplished my purpose, returned to the city. Being now in my nineteenth year I began to govern my life by the rules of the Pharisees, a sect having points of resemblance to that which the Greeks call the Stoic school.

(3) Soon after I had completed my twenty-sixth year it fell to my lot to go up to Rome for the reason which I will proceed to relate. At the time when Felix was procurator of Judaea, certain priests of my acquaintance, very excellent men, were on a slight and trifling charge sent by him in bonds to Rome to render an account to Caesar. I was anxious to discover some means of delivering these men, more especially as I learnt that, even in affliction, they had not forgotten the pious practices of religion, and supported themselves on figs and nuts. I reached Rome after being in great jeopardy at sea. For our ship foundered in the midst of the sea of Adria, and our company of some six hundred souls had to swim all that night. About daybreak, through God’s good providence, we sighted a ship of Cyrene, and I and certain others, about eighty in all, out-

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\[a\] Made of leaves or, perhaps, bark.

\[b\] Nero.

\[c\] To avoid eating \(\epsilon\iota\delta\omega\lambda\delta\omicron\omicron\omicron\alpha\), i.e. meat left over from heathen sacrifices; cf. 1 Cor. viii.
16 σύμπαντες ἀνελήφθημεν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον. διασωθείς
δ' εἰς τὴν Δικαιάρχειαν, ἦν Ποτίδαους Ἰταλοὶ
caloúsin, διὰ φιλίας ἁδικόμην Ἁλιτύρῳ, μιμο-
lόγος δ' ἦν οὕτος μάλιστα1 τῷ Νέρωνι καταθύμιος,
Ἰουδαίοι τὸ γένος, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ Ποππαίας2 τῇ τοῦ
Καίσαρος γυναικὶ γνωρισθεῖς προνοῶ ὡς τάχιστα
παρακαλέσας αὐτὴν τοὺς ἱερεῖς λυθῆναι. μεγάλων
δὲ δώρεων πρὸς τῇ εὐεργεσίᾳ ταύτῃ τυχόν παρὰ
τῆς Ποππαίας ὑπέστρεφον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν.
17 (4) Καταλαμβάνω δ' ἦδη νεωτερισμῶν ἀρχὰς καὶ
πολλοῦς ἐπὶ τῇ 'Ρωμαίων ἀποστάσει μέγα φρο-
νώντας. καταστέλλειν οὖν ἐπειρώμην τοὺς στα-
σίωδες καὶ μετανοεῖν ἔπειθον, ποιησάμενος πρὸ
ὀφθαλμῶν πρὸς οὓς πολεμήσουσιν, ὅτι 'Ρωμαίων
οὐ κατ' ἐμπειρίαν μόνον πολεμικὴν ἄλλα καὶ κατ'
evτυχίαν ἑλπτοῦνται, καὶ μὴ προπετῶς καὶ παντα-
pασιν ἀνοίγως πατρίςι καὶ γενεάς καὶ σφίσιν
αὐτοῖς τὸν περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων κακῶν κίνδυνον
19 ἐπάγειν. ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγον καὶ λιπαρῶς ἐνεκείμην
ἀποστρέψων, δυστυχέστατον ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου τὸ
tέλος γενήσεθαι προορόμενος. οὐ μὴν ἐπείσα-
pολὺ γὰρ θῶν ἀπονοηθέντων ἑπεκράτησεν μανία.
20 (5) Δείσας οὖν μὴ ταῦτα συνεχῶς λέγων διὰ
μέσους ἁδικοίμην καὶ ὑποψίας ὡς τὰ τῶν πολεμίων
φρονῶν καὶ κινδυνευόν ψηφίζεις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀν-
αιρεθήναι, ἐχομένης ἢδη τῆς 'Ἀντωνίας, ὀπερ ἦν
21 φρούριον, εἰς τὸ ἐνδοτέρω ἱερὸν ὑπεχώρησα. μετὰ

1 Bekker: καλ[ξ]ιοῦσα mss.
2 The mss. read Ποπλια or Ποππηία; and so below.

a At the N.-W. corner of the temple, which it dominated: so called by Herod after Mark Antony. The "castle" of Acts xxii. 34.
stripped the others and were taken on board. Landing safely at Dicaearchia, which the Italians call Puteoli, I formed a friendship with Aliturus, an actor who was a special favourite of Nero and of Jewish origin. Through him I was introduced to Poppaea, Caesar's consort, and took the earliest opportunity of soliciting her aid to secure the liberation of the priests. Having, besides this favour, received large gifts from Poppaea, I returned to my own country.

(4) There I found revolutionary movements already on foot and widespread elation at the prospect of revolt from Rome. I accordingly endeavoured to repress these promoters of sedition and to bring them over to another frame of mind. I urged them to picture to themselves the nation on which they were about to make war, and to remember that they were inferior to the Romans, not only in military skill, but in good fortune: and I warned them not recklessly and with such utter madness to expose their country, their families and themselves to the direst perils. With such words I earnestly and insistently sought to dissuade them from their purpose, foreseeing that the end of the war would be most disastrous for us. But my efforts were unavailing; the madness of these desperate men was far too strong for me.

(5) I now feared that my incessant reiteration of this warning would bring me into odium and the suspicion of siding with the enemy, and that I should run the risk of being arrested by them and put to death. I therefore sought asylum in the inner court of the Temple; the fortress of Antonia a being already in their hands. When Menahem and
JOSEPHUS

dë tûn ànàrësiv Mavaìmw ou kai tûn pròtôw toû
lêtôrîkou stîfou vûpexêlêwou toû ìerô ðàliw tòis
árcîrêseiv kai tòis pròtôs tòw Òárovìaw ou 22
sûndîêtrîbou. phôbos ð' ouûî métrîos eìxên ëmàs
òròûtas tòm mèn ðûmou èn tòis òploi, autôi ð'
òntes èn àpòrów tî poîhîsmèn, kai tòus neòterístàs
pàûev ou dûnàménuv prôdîhîou ð' ëmû tòu kûnûw
pàrèstîtou, sughkataneîveiv mèn autôn tàis gnò-
mawv èlêgomeiv, sunebîouleûomeiv ðê mènèiv ëf' autôn
kai tòus pòlemiouv èpêlòntas1 èan, ìnà tòu
23 dîkàìwv ànûtrîrëiv ðîplà ðîstîn èûrôntai. tàûta
ð' èp'prâttomev èlîpîzontes ouk eîs màkràv Kèstïou
metà megalhò dûnàmeww ànavbánta pàûseiv tòn
neòteristômov.

24 (6) 'Ò ð' èpêlthôw kai suûmbalwv màkh ënikthè-
pollòn tòw met' autouv pesôntov. kai gînëtai òtô
Kèstïoù ptaîswma suûîfôra òtôv sùmpantos ëmûw
ëthous; èpîhîsíasv ãàrv èpî toûtw mállon ou tòn
pòlemôn agapîhsantes kai ñikhsantes2 toûs 'Rô-
màious eîs tèlòs ëlîswan, pròsgevomênìs kai
25 ètèrâs tînôs touaûtis aîtìas. ou tàs pèrîtê tîs
Sûrîsw pòleis kataîkîntes tòvus par' ënautovs
'Îoudàious suûllambáûntes wûn ìnuavì kai tèknoi
ânìroun, ouðemîan autôi aîtìan ëptikaleûv ëxhontes;
ouîe ãàrv èpî 'Rôûmaîwv ãpòstasîe neòterôn tî
pefroîhîsasv ouîe pròs autôi ëkeîwos èxhôrûn ë
26 èpîboulow. Òkûbtopòltai dê pàntwv èsêbêstata
kai pàrânoîmôtwta dîèprâxanton èpêlòntov ãàrv

1 r./. ãpêlòntas. 2 Perhaps ñikhsen should be read.

a Cf. B. ii. 433-448. Menahem, with some irregular
troops, took the lead of the anti-Roman party, and was
then murdered by a rival faction.

10
the chieftains of the band of brigands had been
put to death. I ventured out of the Temple and once
more consortcd with the chief priests and the leading
Pharisees. We were, however, in a state of great
alarm; we saw the populace in arms and were at a
loss what to do ourselves, being powerless to check
the revolutionaries. In such obvious and imminent
peril we professed to concur in their views, but
suggested that they should make no move and leave
the enemy alone if he advanced, in order to gain the
credit of resorting to arms only in just self-defence.
In so doing we had hopes that ere long Cestius would
come up with a large army and quell the revolution.

(6) He came indeed, but in the engagement which
ensued was defeated with great loss. This reverse
of Cestius proved disastrous to our whole nation;
for those who were bent on war were thereby still
more elated and, having once defeated the Romans,
hoped to continue victorious to the end. To add
to this, they had a further ground for hostility.
The inhabitants of the surrounding cities of Syria
proceeded to lay hands on and kill, with their wives
and children, the Jewish residents among them,
without the slightest ground of complaint; for they
had neither entertained any idea of revolt from
Rome nor harboured any enmity or designs against
the Syrians. The most outrageous and criminal
action of all was that perpetrated by the natives of
Scythopolis. Being attacked by hostile Jews from

\[ b \text{ Text and meaning uncertain; perhaps "allow the } \]
\[ \text{enemy to retire." A Roman garrison was besieged in } \]
\[ \text{Jerusalem, forced to capitulate, and then treacherously } \]
\[ \text{murdered: B. ii. 449 ff.} \]
\[ c \text{ Governor of Syria.} \]
\[ d \text{ B. ii. 499 ff.} \]
\[ e \text{ Bethshan (of the Old Testament), mod. Beisan.} \]
αὐτοῖς Ἰουναίων ἐξώθεν πολεμίων, τοὺς παρ’ αὐτοῖς Ἰουναίους ἐβιάσαντο κατὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ὀπλα λαβεῖν, ὡτε ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἀθέμιτον, καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνων συμβαλόντες ἐκράτησαν τῶν ἐπελθόντων· ἐπειδὴ δ’ ἐνίκησαν, ἐκλαδομένοι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐνόικους καὶ συμμάχους πίστεως πάντας αὐτοὺς 27 διεχρήσαντο πολλὰς μυριάδας ὄντας. ὁμοία δ’ ἐπαθον καὶ οἱ τῆς Δαμασκοῦ Ἰουναίων κατοικοῦντες, ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀκριβέστερον ἐν ταῖς περὶ τοῦ Ἰουναϊκοῦ πολέμου βιβλίοις δεδηλώκαμεν· νῦν δ’ αὐτῶν ἐπεμνήσθην βουλόμενος παραστῆσαι τοὺς ἀναγινώσκουσιν ὅτι οὐ προσάρεσις ἐγένετο τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς Ῥωμαίους Ἰουναίους, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλέον ἀνάγκη.

28 (7) Νικηθέντος οὖν, ὃς ἐφαμεν, τοῦ Κεστίου, τῶν Ἰεροσολυμίτων οἱ πρῶτοι θεασάμενοι τοὺς μὲν ληστὰς ἣμα τοῖς νεωτερισταῖς εὐπορουμένους ὀπλών, δείσαντες δ’ αὐτοὶ μὴ ἀνοπλοὶ καθεστηκότες ὑποχείριοι γένονται τοῖς ἔχθροῖς, δ’ καὶ μετὰ ταύτα συνέβη, καὶ πυθόμενοι τῆς Ἡλλάδος οὕτω πᾶσαν Ῥωμαίων ἀφεστάναι, μέρος δ’ αὐτῆς ἡρεμεῖν ἔτι, 29 πέμποντως ἐμὲ καὶ δύο ἄλλους τῶν ἱερέων καλοὺς κάγαθους ἄνδρας, Ἰωάζαρον1 καὶ Ἰούδαν, πείσοντος τοὺς πονηροὺς καταθέσαι τὰ ὀπλα καὶ διδάξοντας ὡς ἔστιν ἁμένον τοῖς κρατίστοις τοῦ ἐθνος αὐτὰ τηρεῖσθαι. ἐγνωστο δὲ τούτοις ἀεὶ μὲν ἔχειν τὰ ὀπλα πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐτοιμα, περιμένειν δὲ τί πράξοιον Ῥωμαίοι μαθεῖν.

30 (8) Λαβὼν οὖν ἐγὼ τὰς ὑποθήκας ταύτας ἀφ—

1 v.l. Ἰωάζαρον.
another quarter, they compelled their own Jewish residents to bear arms against their compatriots, which we are forbidden to do, and with their assistance engaged and defeated the invaders; and then, after the victory, with no thought of the allegiance due to fellow-citizens and confederates, put them all, to the number of many thousands, to the sword. The Jewish residents in Damascus met with a similar fate. I have given a more detailed account of these incidents in my volumes on the Jewish War; and I merely allude to them here from a desire to convince my readers that the war with the Romans was due not so much to the deliberate choice of the Jews as to necessity.

(7) After the defeat of Cestius, already mentioned, the leading men in Jerusalem, observing that the brigands and revolutionaries were well provided with arms, feared that, being without weapons themselves, they might be left at the mercy of their adversaries, as in fact eventually happened. Being informed, moreover, that the whole of Galilee had not yet revolted from Rome, and that a portion of it was still tranquil, they dispatched me with two other priests, Joazar and Judas, men of excellent character, to induce the disaffected to lay down their arms and to impress upon them the desirability of reserving these for the picked men of the nation. The latter, such was the policy determined on, were to have their weapons constantly in readiness for future contingencies, but should wait and see what action the Romans would take.

(8) With these instructions I came into Galilee.

\[a\] B. ii. 466 ff., 559 ff. For the phraseology cf. Ap. ii. 287.

Mission of Josephus to Galilee.
ικόμην εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν. καὶ Σεπφωρίτας μὲν οὐκ ἐν ὀλίγω περὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγῶνι καθεστώτας εὗρον, διαρράσαι κεκρικότων αὐτήν τῶν Γαλιλαίων διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ὀρωμαίους ἐκείνων φιλίαν καὶ ὅτι Κεστίω Γάλλῳ τῷ τῆς Συρίας ἄγαμον ἐνεχέφεδοντες δεξιάν τε καὶ πίστιν προτείνοντες. ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν ἐγὼ πάντας ἀπήλαξε τοῦ φόβου, πείσας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τὰ πλήθη καὶ ἐπιτρέψας ὀσάκις θέλουσι διαπέμπεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Δώρῳ οἰκείους ὀμηρεύοντας Κεστίων τὰ δὲ Δῶρᾳ πόλις ἐστὶν τῆς Φοινίκης τοὺς ἐν Τιβεριάδι δὲ κατοικοῦντας εὗρον ἐφ' ὀπλα κεχωρηκότας ἠδὴ δι' αὐτίαν τοιαύτην.

31 (9) Στάσεις τρεῖς ἦσαν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, μία μὲν ἄνδρῶν εὐσχήμονων, ἦρχε δ' αὐτῆς Ἰουλίος Κάπελλος. οὐτός δὴ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πάντες, Ἦρωθις ὁ Μιαροῦ καὶ Ἦρωθις ὁ τοῦ Γαμάλου καὶ Κομψὸς ὁ τοῦ Κομψοῦ. Κρίσσως γὰρ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῶν, τὸν μεγάλον βασιλέως γενόμενος ποτε ἐπαρχός, ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις κτήσεως ἐτύγχανεν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου.

32 πάντες οὖν οἱ προειρημένοι κατὰ τὸν καρπὸν ἐκείνων ἐμμένειν συνεβούλευον τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Ὀρωμαίους καὶ τὸν βασιλέα πίστευε. τῇ γνώμῃ δ' οὐ συνηρέσκετο Πίστος παραγόμενος ὑπὸ Ἰουστοῦ τοῦ παιδός· καὶ γὰρ ἦν φύσει πως ἐπιμανῆ. ἡ δευτέρα δὲ στάσις εξ' ἀσημιτάτων συνεστηκία πολεμεῖν

33 ἐκρώμεν. Ἰουστος δὲ ὁ Πίστους παῖς, ὁ τῆς τρίτης μερίδος πρώτος, ὑπεκρίνετο μὲν ἐνδοιάζειν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, νεωτέρων δὲ ἐπεθύμει πραγμάτων, ἐκ τῆς μεταβολῆς οἰόμενος δύναμιν ἑαυτῷ περι· 34 ποιήσειν. παρελθὼν οὖν εἰς μέσους διδάσκειν

1 παντὸς conj. Niese. 2 So the editio princeps: mss. àìa. 3 Dindorf: παραγενόμενος mss.
I found the inhabitants of Sepphoris in great distress concerning their native place, which the Galilaeans had decided to pillage because of their leanings towards the Romans and the overtures of loyalty and allegiance which they had made to Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria. I, however, entirely allayed their fears, by exerting my influence with the populace on their behalf, and by the permission which I gave them to communicate as freely as they chose with their fellow-citizens, who were held as hostages to Cestius at Dora, a city of Phoenicia.

The inhabitants of Tiberias, on the other hand, had, I found, already proceeded to hostilities under the following circumstances.

(9) There were three factions in this city. The first consisted of respectable citizens, headed by Julius Capellus. He and his associates, Herod son of Miarus, Herod son of Gamalus, and Compsus son of Compsus (I do not include his brother Crispus, formerly prefect under the great king, as he was absent on his estates beyond Jordan) were at that time unanimous in recommending the city to continue its allegiance to the Romans and the king. These views were not shared by Pistus, who, besides the malign influence of his son Justus, had a strain of madness in his nature. The second faction, composed of the most insignificant persons, was bent on war. Justus, son of Pistus, the ring-leader of the third party, while feigning hesitation on the subject of hostilities, was really eager for revolution, reckoning that a change of government would bring him into power. So he came forward

\[ a \] Herod Agrippa I.  \[ b \] Agrippa II.
ἐπειράτο τὸ πλήθος ὡς ἡ πόλις ἂεὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀρέσειν ἐπὶ γε τῶν Ἡρώδου χρόνων τοῦ τετράρχου καὶ κτίστον γενομένου, βουληθέντος αὐτοῦ τὴν Σεπφωρίτων πόλιν τῇ Τιβεριέων ὑπακούειν, ἀποβαλεῖν3 δὲ τὸ πρωτείον αὐτοὺς μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα τοῦ πατρός, διαμεῖναι δὲ καὶ μέχρι Φήλικος προεσταμένου τῆς Ἰουνδαίας. νῦν δὲ ἔλεγεν αὐτοὺς ἦττυχενεί τῷ νεωτέρῳ δωρεάν Ἀγρίππα δοθέντα ὑπὸ Νέρωνος. ἀρξεῖν γάρ εὐθὺς τὴν μὲν Σεπφωρίν, ἐπειδὴ Ἡρώμαιος ὑπῆκουσεν, τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καταλυθήναι δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς τὴν τε

38 βασιλικὴν τράπεζαν καὶ τὰ ἁρχεῖα. ταύτα καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἐτερα πολλὰ κατὰ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα λέγων ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸν δήμον εἰς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐρεθίσαι, προσετίθει νῦν εἶναι καιρὸν ἀραμένους ὀπλα καὶ Γαλιλαίους συμμάχους προσλαβόντας—ἀρξεῖν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐκόντων διὰ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς Σεπφωρίτας μίσος ὑπάρχον2 αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τὴν πρὸς Ἡρώμαιος πίστιν διαφυλάσσοντι—μεγάλῃ χειρὶ

39 πρὸς τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τιμωρίαν τραπέζηκα. ταύτα λέγων προετρέξατο τὸ πλήθος ἢ γὰρ ἰκανὸς δημιουργεῖν καὶ τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων τὰ βελτίων περιείναι γοητεία καὶ ἀπάτη τῇ διὰ λόγων, καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἀπειρὸς ἢ παιδείας τῆς παρ' Ἑλληνίσι, ἢ θαρρῶν ἐπεχείρησέν καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν πραγμάτων τούτων ἀναγράφειν ὡς τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ

40 περιεσόμενος τῆς ἀληθείας. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς φαίλος τὸν βίον ἐγένετο καὶ ὡς σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ μικρῷ δεῖν καταστροφῆς αἰτίας ὑπῆρξεν, προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου δηλώσομεν. τότε δὲ πείσας ὁ Ἰουστος τοὺς πολίτας ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὀπλα, πολ-
and endeavoured to instil into the people that their city had always been the capital of Galilee, at least under its founder, Herod the tetrarch, whose intention was that the city of Sepphoris should be subordinate to Tiberias; and that even under King Agrippa the elder they had not lost this primacy, which had continued until Felix became procurator of Judæa. Now, however, he continued, they had had the misfortune of being handed over by Nero as a present to Agrippa the younger; Sepphoris, by submission to Rome, had forthwith become the capital of Galilee and the seat of the royal bank and the archives. To these and many other disparaging remarks upon King Agrippa, calculated to incite the people to revolt, he added: "Now is the time to take up arms and join hands with the Galilæans. Their hatred of Sepphoris for remaining loyal to Rome will make them willing recruits. Now is your opportunity, with ample forces, for revenge." This harangue had its effect on the mob; for he was a clever demagogue and by a charlatan’s tricks of oratory more than a match for opponents with saner counsels. Indeed he was not unversed in Greek culture, and presuming on these attainments even undertook to write a history of these events, hoping by his presentation of the facts to disguise the truth. But of this man’s general depravity and of the fact that to him and his brother our ruin was almost entirely due, I shall adduce proof in the course of this narrative. On this occasion Justus, having prevailed on the citizens to take up arms and forced

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1 ἀποβάλλειν mss. 2 Dindorf: ὑπάρχειν mss.

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λοὺς δὲ καὶ μὴ θελήσαντας ἀναγκάσασθαι, ἔξελθον σὺν πᾶσιν τούτοις ἐμπύμπρησιν τάς τε Γαδαρηνών καὶ Ἰππηνῶν κώμας, αἱ δὴ μεθόριοι τῆς Τιβεριάδος καὶ τῆς τῶν Σκυθοπολιτῶν γῆς ἐτύγχανον κείμεναι.

43 (10) Καὶ Τιβερίας μὲν ἐν τοιούτοις ἦν, τὰ περὶ Γίσχαλα δὲ εἰχὲ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. Ἦωάνης οὖ τοῦ Ληούει, τῶν πολιτῶν τινας ὅρων διὰ τὴν ἀποστασίαν τὴν ἀπὸ Ἔρωμαῖων μέγα φρονοῦντας κατέχειν αὐτοὺς ἐπειράτο καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἦξιον διαφυλάττειν. οὐ μὴν ἤδυνηθη καίτοι πάνω προθυμοῦμενος, τὰ γὰρ περὶς ἐθνη, Γαδαρηνοὶ καὶ Γαδαρηνοὶ, Σωγαναῖοι καὶ Τύριοι, πολλὴν ἄθροισαντες ὅνωμι καὶ τοῖς Γισχαλίους ἐπεισπεσόντες λαμβάνοντι τὰ Γίσχαλα κατὰ κράτος, καὶ πυρπολήσαντες εἰτὰ δὲ καὶ προσκατασκάβαστες εἰς τὴν

44 οἰκείαν ἀνέζευξαν. Ἦωάνης δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ παρασκευαζέως ὀπλίζει πάντας τοὺς μετ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ συμβαλὼν τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐθνεσιν κατὰ κράτος ἐνίκησε, τὰ τῆς Γίσχαλα κρεῖττονα πάλιν ἀνακτίσας τείχισεν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τῆς εἰς ύπερον ὁχύρωσεν.

45 (11) Γάμαλα δὲ πίστει τῇ πρὸς Ἐρωμαῖος ἐνέμεινε δι’ αὐτίαν τοιαύτην. Φίλιππος οἱ Ἰακείμου παῖς, ἔπαρχος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα, σωθεὶς παρὰ δόξαν ἐκ τῆς ἐν Ὠροσολύμπους βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς πολιορκομένης καὶ διαφυγών εἰς ἐπέρεσε κύδωνον, ὡστε ὑπὸ Μαναήμου καὶ τῶν

46 σῶν αὐτῶν λῆστῶν ἀναιρεθήναι: διεκώλυσαν δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι τινὲς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ ἐν Ὠροσολύμπους ὄντες πράξαι τοὺς ληστᾶς τὸ ἔργον. ἐπιμείνας οὖν ἦμερας τέσσαρας ὁ Φίλιππος ἐκεῖ τῇ πέμπτῃ φεύγει περιθετῇ χρησάμενος κόμη τοῦ μὴ κατάδηλος γενέσθαι, καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τῶν
many to do so against their will, marched out with all his followers and set fire to the villages, belonging to Gadara and Hippos, which lay on the frontiers of Tiberias and of the territory of Scythopolis.

(10) Such was the position of affairs at Tiberias; at Gischala the situation was as follows. John, son of Levi, observing that some of the citizens were highly elated by the revolt from Rome, tried to restrain them and urged them to maintain their allegiance. His earnest efforts, however, proved unavailing; for the inhabitants of the neighbouring states, Gadara, Gabara, Sogane and Tyre, mustered a large force, stormed and took Gischala, burnt and razed it to the ground, and returned to their homes. Incensed at this outrage, John armed all his followers, made a determined attack on the aforesaid peoples and defeated them. He then rebuilt Gischala on a grander scale than before and fortified it with walls as a security for the future.

(11) Gamala remained loyal to Rome under the following circumstances. Philip, son of Jacimus, King Agrippa's lieutenant, after miraculously escaping with his life from the royal palace at Jerusalem, when it was besieged, was exposed to the further peril of being slain by Menahem and his brigands. The latter were, however, prevented from accomplishing their purpose by some Babylonian kinsmen of Philip, who were then in Jerusalem. Here he remained for four days and on the fifth escaped, disguised by a wig, and reaching one of the villages under his

\[a \text{ Cf. B. ii. 556 f.; 433 ff.}\]

\(^1\) Emended. The mss., in lieu of the two latter names, have \(\text{Bapagavēi}\) or the like.
τῶν ἐαυτοῦ κωμῶν κατὰ τοὺς ὄρους Γάμαλα τοῦ φρουρίου κειμένην πέμπει πρὸς τινας τῶν ὑπ’ 48 αὐτοῦ προστάσσων ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι. . . ¹ ταῦτα δ’ αὐτὸν ἐννοούμενον ἑμποδίζει τὸ θείον ἐπὶ συμφέροντι μὴ γὰρ τούτου γενομένου πάντως ἄν ἀπολάλει. πυρετοῦ δὴ κατασχόντος αὐτὸν ἐξαίφνης γράφας ἐπιστολάς τοῖς παιῶν Ἀγρίππα καὶ Βερενίκη δίδωσι τῶν ἐξελευθέρων τινὶ κομίζειν 49 πρὸς Οὐάρον. ἦν δ’ οὗτος κατὰ τὸν καρπὸν ἐκείνον ὁ τὴν βασιλείαν διοικῶν, καταστησάντων αὐτὸν τῶν βασιλέων: αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰς Βηθυνὸν ἀφικνοῦντο 50 ὑπαντῆσαι βουλόμενοι Κεστίων. λαβὼν οὖν ὁ Οὐάρος τὰ παρὰ Φιλίππου γράμματα καὶ πυθομενὸς αὐτὸν διασεσόθηκεν διαρέως ἤνεγκεν, ἀχρείος τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτὸς νομίζων φανείσθαι τοῖς βασιλεύσων ἀδικομένου τοῦ Φιλίππου. προσαγαγὼν οὖν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τὸν τὰς ἐπιστολάς κομίσαντα καὶ πλαστογραφίαν ἐπικαλέσας, ψεύδεσθαι τε φήσας αὐτὸν ἀπαγγελλαντα Φιλίππου ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσόλυμοις μετὰ 51 τῶν Ἰουδαίων Ἰωμαίοις πολεμεῖν ἀπέκτεινεν. μὴ ὑποστρέψαντος δὴ τοῦ ἐξελευθέρου Φιλίππου ἀπορῶν τὴν αὐτάν δεύτερον ἐκκέμπει μετ’ ἐπιστολῶν πάλιν τὸν ἀπαγγελοῦντα πρὸς αὐτὸν τί τὸ συμβε- 52 βήκος εἰς τῷ ἀποσταλέντι, δὲ ὁ βραδύνειν. καὶ τοῦτον δὲ παραγενόμενον ὁ Οὐάρος συκοφάντισσας ἀνείλει. καὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ Σύρων ἐπήρτῳ μέγα φρονεῖν, ἀναιρεθήσεσθαι μὲν λεγόντων ὑπὸ Ἰωμαίων τὸν Ἀγρίππαν διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων μαρτυρίας, ² λήψεσθαι δ’ αὐτὸν τὴν ἄρχην ἐκ βασιλέων ὑντα: καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὁμολογούμενως ὁ

¹ The ms. add τὴν Φιλίππου; probably there is a lacuna in the text.

20
jurisdiction on the confines of the fortress of Gamala, sent orders to some of those under his command to join him... His designs, however, were, fortunately for himself, frustrated by Providence; else he would undoubtedly have perished. Being seized with a sudden attack of fever, he wrote to the younger a Agrippa and Berenice a letter which he delivered to one of his freedmen to convey to Varus b; Varus having at the time been appointed administrator of the realm by the king and his royal sister, who had gone to Berytus to wait upon Cestius. The receipt of Philip's communication, acquainting him of his escape, caused Varus great vexation, as he supposed that, now that Philip had arrived, their majesties would have no further use for his own services. He accordingly brought the bearer of the letter before the people and accused him of forging it; he added that he had mendaciously reported that Philip was fighting against the Romans with the Jews in Jerusalem, and then put the man to death. Philip, at a loss to explain the failure of his freedman to return, dispatched a second with further letters and to bring him word what had happened to cause the delay of his first courier. He, too, on his arrival was slain by Varus on some groundless accusation. For Varus had been led to entertain great expectations by the Syrians of Caesarea, who asserted that Agrippa, on the indictment of the Jews, would be put to death by the Romans, and that he, as of royal lineage, would succeed to the throne. As a

a Lit. "the children," se. of Agrippa I., his former chief.  
b Called Noarus in B. ii. 481 ff.

2 μαρτυρίας cod. R: the other mss. have ἀμαρτίας, "for the crimes of the Jews."
The highlands east of the Sea of Galilee, viz. Batanaea (Bashan) and the volcanic district of Trachon or Trachonitis (τ. ἄχων = "rough ground"; mod. El Lej.), were exposed to Arab raiders. To protect the district, which lay on the
descendant of Soemus, who had been a tetrarch in the Lebanon district, Varus's royal extraction was universally admitted. Inflated with these lofty ambitions Varus withheld the letters and contrived to prevent their perusal by the king; guards being posted at all the exits from the town, so that none should escape and report his proceedings to him. Moreover, to ingratiate himself with the Syrians of Caesarea, he put many of the Jews to death.

He had a further scheme of uniting with the people of Trachonitis in Batanaea in an armed attack on the "Babylonian Jews," as they are called, in Ecbatana. He accordingly summoned twelve of the most esteemed of the Caesarean Jews, and instructed them to proceed to Ecbatana and tell their compatriots in that city that a report had reached Varus that they intended to march against the king; he did not credit this report, but had sent this embassy to urge them to lay down their arms; he would regard their compliance as proof that he was right in attaching no weight to the current rumours. He further ordered them to send seventy of their leading men to answer the charge which had been laid against them. The twelve, finding on their arrival at Ecbatana that their compatriots were innocent of any revolutionary designs, urged them to dispatch the seventy; they, with no suspicion of the fate in store for them, sent them off and the deputies travelled down with the twelve envoys to Caesarea.

direct route from Babylon to Jerusalem, Herod the Great settled in Batanaea a colony of Babylonian Jews under Zamaris, grandfather of the Philip named in the text; A. xvii. 23 ff. Ecbatana is not the city in Media, but one of the forts built in this region. A different version of the above narrative is given in B. ii. 481 ff.
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τὴν Καισάρειαν. ὑπαντῆσας οὖν ὁ Οὐαρός μετὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς δυνάμεως σὺν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν πάντας ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἑκβα-58 τάνοις Ἰουδαίοις ἐποιεῖτο. φθάσας δὲ τις ἐκ τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα σωθεὶς ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς, κακεῖνοι τὰ ὅπλα λαβόντες σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις εἰς Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον ὑπεχώρησαν, καταλύοντες τὰς κώμας πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν πλήρεις καὶ βοσκη-59 μάτων πολλὰς μυριάδας ἔχονσας. Φίλιππος δὲ πυθόμενος ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον ἤκεν. παραγενομένου δὲ κατεβά τὸ πλῆθος, ἄρχειν αὐτῶν παρακαλοῦντες καὶ πολεμεῖν πρὸς Οὐαρόν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Καισαρείᾳ Σύρους. δι-εδέδω 

60 Φίλιππος δ’ αὐτῶν κατείχε τὰς ὀρμάς, ύπομμηνή- 

σκών τῶν τε τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνεργείσιν, καὶ τὴν Ἀρμαῖον διηγούμενος ὅση τὰ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις, συμφέρειν οὐκ ἔλεγεν ἄρα σοθαί πρὸς τούτοις πόλεμον, καὶ τέλος ἐπεθεον. ο δὲ βασιλεὺς πυθό- 

μενος ὅτι Οὐαρός μέλλει τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ Καισαρείᾳ Ἰουδαίοις σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις πολλὰς ὄντας μυριάδας ἀναιρῇ ἡμέρα μα, μεταπέμπεται πρὸς αὐτῶν, Λίκουν Μόδιον τρίπασι αὐτῶν διάδοχον, ὃς ἐν ἄλλοις ἐδηλώσαμεν. ο δὲ Φίλιππος Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον κατέσχεν καὶ τὴν περὶς χώραν πίστει τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίοις ἐμμένουσαν.

61 (12) Ἐπεὶ δ’ εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἀφικόμην ἐγὼ καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν ἀπαγγελλόντων ἔμαθον, γράφω

1 διεδέδω Bekker: διαδέδωκτο and διεδέχετο mss.
2 πρὸς is omitted by Bekker.
3 c.l. Μονώδιον.
They were met by the royal troops under Varus, who put them all to death, including the envoys, and proceeded on the march against the Jews of Ecbatana. One of the seventy, however, escaped, and got ahead of him and brought the news to his countrymen; whereupon, seizing their arms, they withdrew with their wives and children to the fortress of Gamala, leaving their villages full of abundant stores and stocked with many thousand head of cattle.

On hearing of this Philip also entered the fortress of Gamala, the people of which on his arrival vociferously called on him to assume the command and make war on Varus and the Syrians of Caesarea, who, according to a rumour which was afloat, had assassinated the king. Philip sought to restrain their impetuosity; reminded them of the benefits which the king had conferred upon them; dilated on the formidable power of the Romans and the inexpediency of entering upon war with such an enemy; and in the end succeeded. The king, meanwhile, hearing that Varus intended to massacre in one day the Jewish population in Caesarea, numbering many thousands, including women and children, recalled him and sent Aequus Modius to take over the command, as I have elsewhere related. The fortress of Gamala and the surrounding district were retained by Philip and thus preserved their allegiance to Rome.

(12) When, on my arrival in Galilee, I was informed of the above position of affairs, I wrote to the San-

\[^a\] Cf. B. ii. 483, where Varus’s deposition is mentioned, but not the name of his successor. For the sequel see § 179 ff. below.
τῶν συνεδρίων τῶν Ἰεροσολυμίτων περὶ τούτων καὶ 63 τί με πράττειν κελεύουσιν ἐρωτῶν. οἱ δὲ προσμείναν 64 παρεκάλεσαν καὶ τοὺς συμπρέσβεις, εἰ δὲ θέλειν, κατασχόντα πρόνοιαν ποιήσασθαι τῆς Γαλιλαίας. 65 οἱ δὲ συμπρέσβεις εὐπορήσαντες πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐκ τῶν διδομένων αὐτοῖς δεκατῶν, ἂς οὕτε ἑρείς ὁφειλομένας ἀπελάμβανον, εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑποστρέφειν γῆν ἐκρίναν· ἐμοὶ δ' αὐτοῖς προσμείνα 66 παρακαλέσαντος ἔως οὗ τὰ πράγματα καταστήσαμεν, πείθονταί. ἀρας οὖν μετ' αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Σεπφωρίτῶν πόλεως εἰς κόμην τινὰ Βηθμανοῦς λεγομένην, ἀπέχουσαν Τιβεριάδος στάδια τέσσαρα, παραγίνομαι, καὶ πέμψας ἔντειθεν [τοὺς] πρὸς τὴν Τιβεριέων βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τοῦ δήμου παρεκάλον ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς με. καὶ παραγενομένων, ἔληλυθε δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰουστός, ἔλεγον ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἰεροσολυμίτων πρεσβεύεισαι μετὰ τούτων πεπόμφθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς, πείσων καθαρεθῆναι τὸν οἶκον τὸν ὑπὸ Ἰρώδου τοῦ τετράρχου κατασκευασθέντα, ζῷων μορφὰς ἔχοντα, τῶν νόμων οὗτως τι κατασκευάζειν ἀπαγορευόντων, καὶ παρεκάλον αὐτοὺς ἐὰν ἤμας ἦ τάχος τοῦτο πράττειν. ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν οὖν οἱ περὶ τὸν Καπέλλαν καὶ τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέπειν οὐκ ἦθελον, βιαζόμενοι δ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν συγκαταθένται. φθάνει δ' Ἰησοῦς δ' τοῦ Σαπφία παῖς, διὸ τῆς τῶν ναυτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀπόρων στάσεως πρώτων ἔφαμεν ἄρβας, παραλυθών τινας Γαλιλαίους καὶ τῆς πάσαν αὐλῆν ἐμπρήσας, πολλῶν οἴμονες εὐπορήσεων ἐξ αὐτῆς χρημάτων, ἐπειδῆ τινας οἰκῶν ὀροφὰς κεκρυσώ- 67 μένως εἶδαν. καὶ διήρπασαν πολλὰ παρὰ γνώμην τῆς ἡμετέραν πράξαντες· ἢμεῖς γὰρ μετὰ τῆς πρὸς
hedrin at Jerusalem and asked for instructions how I should proceed. They advised me to remain at my post and take precautions for Galilee, retaining my colleagues, if willing to stay. My colleagues, having amassed a large sum of money from the tithes which they accepted as their priestly due, decided to return home; but, on my request, consented to stay until we had brought matters into order. I accordingly set out with them from headquarters at Sepphoris and came to a village called Bethmaus, four furlongs distant from Tiberias, and from there sent to the council and principal men of that city, requesting them to come to me. On their arrival, Justus being among them, I told them that I and my associates had been commissioned by the Jerusalem assembly to press for the demolition of the palace erected by Herod the tetrarch, which contained representations of animals—such a style of architecture being forbidden by the laws—and I requested their permission to proceed at once with the work. Capella and the other leaders for a long while refused this, but were finally overruled by us and assented. We were, however, anticipated in our task by Jesus, son of Sapphias, the ringleader, as already stated, of the party of the sailors and destitute class. Joined by some Galilaeans he set the whole palace on fire, expecting, after seeing that the roof was partly of gold, to obtain from it large spoils. There was much looting, contrary to our intention; for we, after our conference with Capella

a Exod. xx. 4.

b Or Capellus, as in § 32 above.

c Not previously mentioned; the reference is apparently to the mention of "the second faction of insignificant persons" in § 34 above.
Καπέλλαν καὶ τοὺς πρώτους Τιβεριέων ὄμιλον εἰς τὴν ἀνω Γαλιλαίαν ἀπὸ Βηθμαῶν ἀνεχωρήσαμεν. ἀναιροῦσιν δ’ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν πάντας τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Ἐλληνας ὅσοι τε πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου γεγονείσαν αὐτῶν ἔχθροι.

68 (13) Πυθόμενος δὲ ἐγὼ ταῦτα παρωξύνθην σφόδρα, καὶ καταβὰς εἰς Τιβεριάδα πρόνοιαν εἰσ-νεγκάμην τῶν βασιλικῶν σκευῶν ὅσα δυνατῶν ἢν τοὺς ἀρπάσαντας ἀφελέσθαι. λυχνίαι δὲ ἦσαν Κορίνθια ταῦτα καὶ τράπεζαι τῶν βασιλικῶν καὶ ἀσήμου ἀργυρίου σταθμὸς ἱκανός. πάντα δ’ ὅσα παρέλαβον, φυλάσσειν τῷ βασιλεί ἕκρινα. μετα-περιψάμενος οὖν τοὺς τῆς βουλῆς πρώτοις δέκα καὶ Καπέλλαν τὸν Ἀντύλλου τὰ σκεύη παρέδωκα, μὴδενὶ παραγεῖλας ἐτέρω πλὴν ἐμοῦ δοῦναι.

70 Κάκειθεν εἰς τὰ Γίσχαλα πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην μετὰ τῶν συμπρέσβεων ἀφικόμην βουλόμενος γνώναι τι ποτε φρονεί. κατείδον δ’ αὐτὸν ταχέως νεωτέρων ὅρεγόμενον πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμῶν ἔχοντα. παρεκάλει γὰρ με τὸν Καίσαρος οἶτον κείμενον ἐν ταῖς τῆς ἀνωθεν Γαλιλαίας κώμαις ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ δοῦναι ἐκφορῆσαι. θέλειν γὰρ ἐξασκεῖν εἰς ἐπισκευὴν τῶν τῆς πατρίδος τειχῶν αὐτὸν ἀναλώσαι. κατανοήσας δὲ ἐγὼ τὴν ἐπιχειρησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὶ διανοοῦσο πράσσειν, οὐκ ἐφην αὐτῶς συγχωρεῖν· ἢ γὰρ Ὄρωμαιοι αὐτῶν ἐνενοοῦμην φυλάττειν ἢ ἐμαυτῷ, διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν ἐκεί πραγμάτων αὐτὸς παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀναλώσας. κατανοήσας δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπρέσβεις ἐτράπετο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀπρονότοι τῶν ἐσομένων καὶ λαβεῖν ἐτοιμότατοι. φθείρει δὲ χρήμασιν αὐτοὺς ψηφί-28
and the leading men of Tiberias, had left Bethmaus for Upper Galilee. Jesus and his followers then massacred all the Greek residents in Tiberias and any others who, before the outbreak of hostilities, had been their enemies.

(13) On hearing of these proceedings I was extremely indignant and went down to Tiberias and devoted my energies to recovering from the plunderers as much as I could of the palace furniture, namely, some candelabra of Corinthian make, royal tables, and a large mass of uncoined silver. I decided to keep all that I obtained in trust for the king, and accordingly sent for ten of the principal councillors, with Capella, son of Antyllus, and committed the property to their charge, with injunctions to deliver it to none but myself.

From Tiberias I went with my colleagues to Gischala to meet John, whose attitude I desired to ascertain. I soon discovered that he was eager for revolution and ambitious of obtaining command. For he requested me to authorize him to lay hands on the imperial corn stored in the villages of Upper Galilee, professing a desire to expend the proceeds on the repair of the walls of his native town. Detecting his ultimate design and present intentions, I declined his request; as the authority entrusted to me by the Jerusalem authorities extended to that district, I intended to reserve the corn either for the Romans or for my own use. Unsuccessful with me he turned to my colleagues, who were blind to coming events and quite open to receive money. These he
σασθαι πάντα τον σίτον αὐτῷ παραδοθήναι τον ἐν τῇ αὑτοῦ ἐπαρχίᾳ κείμενον. καὶ ὁ μόνος ἤττώ−
74 μενος ὑπὸ δύο1 τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἐγν. καὶ δευτέραν Ἰωάννης ἐπεισέβερεν πανοργίαν ἐφη γὰρ Ἰον−
δαῖους τοὺς τὴν Φιλίππου Κασάρειαν κατοικοῦντας, συγκεκλεισμένους κατὰ προσταγῆν τὸν βασι−
λέως ὑπὸ Μοδίου2 τὸ τὴν δυναστείαν διοικοῦντος, πεπομφέναι πρὸς αὐτὸν παρακαλοῦντας, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ
ἐχονυὶ ἔλαιον ὑ χρύσονται3 καθαρὸν, ποιησάμενον πρόνοιαν εὐπορίαν αὐτοῖς τούτον παρασχεῖν, μὴ
δὲ ἀνάγκην Ἐλληνικῷ χρώμενοι τὰ νόμματα παρα−
75 βαίνωσιν. ταῦτα δ’ οὐχ ὑπ’ εὐσεβείας ἔλεγεν Ἰωάννης, δι’ αὐσχροκέρδειαν δὲ φανερωτάτην.
γνώσκων γὰρ παρὰ μὲν ἐκεῖνοις κατὰ τὴν Κασά−
ρειαν τοὺς δύο ξέστας δραχμῆς μᾶς πωλοῦμένους,
ἐν δὲ τοῖς Γισχάλοις τοὺς ὄργομένουν ξέστας
dραχμῶν τεσσάρων, πάν τὸ ἔλαιον ὅσον ἦν ἐκεὶ
dιεπέμβατο, λαβὼν ἐξούσιαν καὶ παρ’ ἐμοὶ τὸ
76 δοκεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἐκὼν ἐπέτρεπον, ἀλλὰ διὰ φόβον
tὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους, μὴ κωλύσω καταλευσθεῖν ὑπὸ αὐτῶν. συγχωρήσαντος οὖν μοι πλεῖστων
χρημάτων ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐκ τῆς κακούργιας ταύτης
eὐπόρησε.
77 (14) Τοὺς δὲ συμπρέσβεις ἀπὸ τῶν Γισχάλων
ἀπολύσας εἰς τὰ Τεροσόλυμα πρόνοιαν ἐποιούμην
ὀπλῶν τε κατασκευῆς καὶ πόλεων ἐξυρότητος.
μεταπεμβάμενος δὲ τῶν λῃστῶν τοὺς ἀνδρειοτά−
tοὺς ἀφελέσθαι μὲν αὐτῶν τὰ ὀπλὰ οὐχ ὅιν τε ὁν
ἐώρων, ἐπεισα δὲ τὸ πλῆθος μισθοφορῶν αὐτοῖς
παρέχειν, ἁμαρτον εἶναι λέγων ἐκόντας ὀλίγα διδόναι

1 So, doubtless correctly, the editio princeps: the mss. have ὑπὸδος, "slipped away and."
30
bribed to vote that all the corn stored in his province should be delivered to him. Unsupported and out-voted by the other two, I held my peace.

This knavish trick John followed up with a second.⁴ He stated that the Jewish inhabitants of Caesarea Philippi, having, by the king's order, been shut up by Modius, his viceroy, and having no pure oil for their personal use, had sent a request to him to see that they were supplied with this commodity, lest they should be driven to violate their legal ordinances by resort to Grecian oil.⁵ John's motive in making this assertion was not piety, but profiteering of the most barefaced description; for he knew that at Caesarea two pints⁶ were sold for one drachm, whereas at Gischala eighty pints could be had for four drachms. So he sent off all the oil in the place, having ostensibly obtained my authority to do so.

My permission I gave reluctantly, from fear of being stoned by the mob if I withheld it. Thus, having gained my consent, John by this sharp practice made an enormous profit.

(14) At Gischala I let my colleagues return to Jerusalem and proceeded to take measures for the provision of arms and the strengthening of the fortifications of the towns. I also summoned the most stalwart of the brigands and, seeing that it would be impossible to disarm them, persuaded the people to pay them as mercenaries; remarking that it was better to give them a small sum voluntarily.

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⁴ With §§ 74 f. cf. B. ii. 591 f. (details rather different).
⁵ Foreign oil was forbidden, according to one Talmudic authority, as likely to be tainted by unclean vessels. Cf. A. xii. 120.
⁶ Sextarri.
² ὑπὸ Μοδίου Holwerda: ὑποδίκου mss. Cf. § 61 with 49.
³ τ.λ. χρήσονται.
μάλλον ἡ τὰς κτήσεις διαρπαξομένας ὑπ' αὐτῶν
78 περιορᾶν. καὶ λαβὼν παρ' αὐτῶν ὀρκούς μὴ ἀφίξεσθαι πρότερον εἰς τὴν χώραν, ἐὰν μὴ μετα-
κληθῶσιν ἢ ὅταν τὸν μισθὸν μὴ λάβωσιν, ἀπέλυσα
παραγγείλας μήτε Ἡρωμαίοις πολεμεῖν μήτε τοῖς
περιοίκοις: εἰρηνεύεσθαι γὰρ πρὸ πάντων τὴν
79 Γαλιλαίαν ἐφρόντιζον. τοὺς δ' ἐν τέλει τῶν Γαλι-
λαίων, ὡς ἐβδομήκοντα πάντας, βουλόμενος ἐν
προφάσει διλίας καθάπερ ὀμηρὰ τῆς πίστεως ἔχειν,
φίλους τε καὶ συνεκδήμους ἐποιησάμην, ἐπὶ τε
κρίσεις παρελάμβανον καὶ μετὰ γνώμης τῆς ἐκείνων
τὰς ἀποφάσεις ἐποιοῦμην, μήτε προπετείᾳ πειρώ-
μενος τοῦ δικαίου διαμαρτάνειν καθαρεύειν τε
παντὸς ἐπ' αὐταῖς λήμματος.
80 (15) Περὶ τριακοστὸν γοῦν ἔτος ὑπάρχων, ἐν ὑ
χρόνῳ, καὶ ἀπέχχει τις τῶν παρανόμων ἐπι-
θυμιῶν, δύσκολον τὰς ἐκ τοῦ φθόνου διαβολᾶς
φεύγειν, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ <ἐπ'> 3 ἐξουσίας οὐντα μεγάλης,
γναίκα μὲν πᾶσαν ἀνύβριστον ἐφύλαξα, πάντων
δὲ τῶν διδομένων ὡς μὴ χρήζων κατεφρόνησα·
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰς ὀφειλομένας μοι ὡς ἱερεὶς ἀδίκως
81 ἀπελάμβανον παρὰ τῶν κομιζόντων. ἐκ μέντοι
τῶν λαθύρων μέρος 4 τούς Σύροις τούς τὰς πέριξ
πόλεις κατοικούσας νικήσας ἔλαβον, ἃ καὶ εἰς
Ἱεροσόλυμα τοὺς συγγενέσιν ὀμολογῷ πεπομφέναι.
82 καὶ δ' οἷς μὲν κατὰ κράτος ἔλων Σεπφωρίτας, Τιβε-
ριεῖς τετράκις, Γαβαρεῖς 5 δ' ἀπαξεῖ, καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννη
πολλάκις ἐπιβουλεύσατα μοι λαβῶν ὑποχείριον,
οὔτ' αὐτὸν οὔτε τινὰς τῶν προειρήμενῶν ἐθνῶν
ἐπιμωρησάμην, ὡς προὶ ὡς ὁ λόγος παραστήσει.

1 τε Bekker: ἕδε mss. 2 v.l. ἐν.
3 ins. Bekker. 4 μέροις mss.
than to submit to raids upon their property. I then bound them by oath not to enter the district unless they were sent for or their pay was in arrear, and dismissed them with injunctions to refrain from attacking either the Romans or their neighbours; for my chief concern was the preservation of peace in Galilee. Wishing, moreover, under the guise of friendliness, to retain the Galilaean authorities, some seventy in all, as hostages for the loyalty of the district, I made them my friends and companions in travel, took them as assessors to cases which I tried, and obtained their approbation of the sentences which I pronounced; endeavouring not to fail in justice through precipitate action and in these matters to keep clear of all bribery.

(15) I was now about thirty years old, at a time of life when, even if one restrains his lawless passions, it is hard, especially in a position of high authority, to escape the calumnies of envy. Yet I preserved every woman's honour; I scorned all presents offered to me as having no use for them; I even declined to accept from those who brought them the tithes which were due to me as a priest. On the other hand, I did take a portion of the spoils after defeating the Syrian inhabitants of the surrounding cities, and admit to having sent these to my kinsfolk in Jerusalem. And though I took Sepphoris twice by storm, Tiberias four times, and Gabara once; and though I had John many times at my mercy when he plotted against me, I punished neither him nor any of the communities I have named, as the course of this narrative will show. To this cause I

\[5 \text{Γαβάρε} \] Niese (after cod. P, Γαβάρε): the other mss. have Τάβαρε.\]
83 διὰ τοῦτ’ οἶμαι καὶ τὸν θεόν, οὐ γὰρ λελήθασιν ἀυτὸν οἱ τὰ δέοντα πράττοντες, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων ρύσασθαι μὲ χειρὸς καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πολλοῖς περιπεσόντα κινδύνους διαφυλάξατε, περὶ ὅν ὑστερον ἀπαντεῖλομεν.

84 (16) Τοσαῦτη δ’ ἦν ἡ πρὸς με τοῦ πλῆθος τῶν Γαλιλαίων εὐνοια καὶ πίστει, ώστε ληφθεισῶν αὐτῶν κατὰ κράτος τῶν πόλεων, γυναικῶν δὲ καὶ τέκνων ἁνδραποδισθέντων, οὐχ οὐτός ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐπεστέναξαν συμφοραῖς ὑσπερ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐφρόντισαν

85 σωτηρίας. ταῦτα δ’ ὁρῶν Ἰωάννης ἐφθόνησε, καὶ γράφει πρὸς με παρακαλῶν ἐπιτρέψαί καταβάντι χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἐν Τιβεριάδι θερμοῖς ὑδασι τῆς τοῦ

86 σώματος ένεκα θεραπείας. κάγω μηδὲν ὑποπτεύσας πράξεων αὐτῶν πονηρῶν οὐκ ἐκώλυσε· πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῆς Τιβεριάδος τὴν διωκὴν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ πεπιστευμένοις κατ’ οἰνομα γράφων κατάλυσαν ἑτοιμότερον τῷ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ τοῖς ἀφιξομένοις σὺν αὐτῷ, πάντων τε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθονίαν παρασχεῖν. διέτριβον δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνων ἐν κόμη τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἡ προσαγορεύεται Κανά.

87 (17) Ὁ δ’ Ἰωάννης ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Τιβεριέων πόλιν ἐπείθη τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀποστάντας τῆς πρός με πίστευες προστίθεσθαι αὐτῷ, καὶ πολλοὶ τὴν παράκλησιν ήδέως ἐδέξαντο, νεωτέρων ἐπιθυμοῦντες αἰεὶ πραγμάτων καὶ φύσει πρὸς μεταβολάς

88 ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντες καὶ στάσεις καθόροντες· μάλιστα δέ Ἰουστος καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Πίπτος ὁρμήκεσαν ἀποστάντες ἐμοὶ προσθέσθαι τῷ Ἰωάννῃ. διεκώ-

89 λυσα δ’ αὐτοὺς φθάσας. ἦκεν γὰρ ἀγγέλος μοι παρὰ Σίλα, ὃν ἐγὼ καθεστάκεων τῆς Τιβεριάδος στρατηγόν, ὥς προειπον, τὴν τῶν Τιβεριέων 34
attribute my deliverance out of their hands by God—for His eye is upon those who do their duty—and my subsequent preservation amid the numerous perils, to be related in the sequel, which I encountered.

(16) The affection and loyalty towards me of the people of Galilee were such that, when their cities were taken by storm and their wives and children enslaved, their lamentations over their own calamities were not so deep as their concern for my safety. Observing this, John’s envy was aroused and he wrote to me for permission to come down and take the hot baths at Tiberias for the good of his health.\(^a\) Having no suspicion of any malign intention, I not only did not prevent him, but went so far as to write separate letters to those whom I had entrusted with the administration of Tiberias, to prepare a lodging for him and any who might accompany him, and to make every provision for them. My quarters at the time were at a village of Galilee called Cana.

(17) On his arrival at Tiberias, John attempted to induce the inhabitants to abandon their allegiance to me and attach themselves to him; and there were many who, ever craving for revolution, by temperament addicted to change and delighting in sedition, gladly responded to his invitation. In particular Justus and his father Pistus were eager to desert me and go over to John. My speedy action, however, thwarted their plans. For a messenger reached me from Silas, whom, as I have already mentioned,\(^b\) I had appointed governor of Tiberias, bringing word

\(^a\) With this and the sequel cf. B. ii. 614 ff.
\(^b\) Not in this work; but see B. ii. 616.
γνώμην ἀπαγγέλλων καὶ εἰ σπεύδεων παρακαλῶν·
βραδύναντος γὰρ ὑπὸ τὴν ἑτέρων ἐξουσίαν γενή-
σεθαί1 τὴν πόλιν. ἐντυχὼν οὐν τοῖς γράμμασι
του Σίλα καὶ διακοσίους ἀναλαβὼν ἄνδρας δι’ ὅλης
τῆς νυκτὸς τὴν πορείαν ἐποιήμην, προπέμψας
ἀγγέλου τὸν τῆν ἐμὴν παρουσίαν τοῖς ἐν τῇ Τιβε-
ρίδι σημανοῦντα. προὶ δὲ πλησιάζοντος ἐμοῦ τῇ
πόλει τὸ πλῆθος ὑπνητίαζεν καὶ Ἰωάννης σὺν
αὐτοῖς· δι’ ὅτι καὶ πάνω μὲ πατραγμένως ἀσπασά-
μενος, δείχος μὴ εἰς ἐλεγχον αὐτῶν τῆς πράξεως
ἀφικομένης ἀπολέσθαι κινδυνεύσῃ, ὁπεχώρησε μετὰ
92 σπουδῆς εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κατάλυσιν. καὶ γὰρ δὲ γενό-
μενος κατὰ τὸ στάδιον, τοὺς περὶ ἐμὲ σωματο-
φύλακας ἀπολύσας πλὴν ἐνός, καὶ μετὰ τούτων
κατασχῶν δέκα τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, δημιουργεῖ ἐπει-
ρόμην τῷ πλήθει τῶν Τιβερίεων στὰς ἐπὶ τριγχοῦ
τινος ὑψηλοῦ, παρεκάλουν τῇ οὖν αὐτῶς αὐτοὺς
93 ταχέως ἀφίστασθαι· κατάγνωσιν γὰρ αὐτοῖς οἴσειν
τὴν μεταβολὴν, καὶ τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα προϊσταμένῳ
dι’ ὑποθίας γενήσεσθαι δικαίας, ὡς μηδὲ τὴν πρὸς
ἐκείνων πιστών φυλαξόντων.
94 (18) Ὁὐπω δὲ μοι πάντα λελάλητο, καὶ τινὸς
ἐξήκουσα τῶν οἰκείων καταβαίνειν κελεύοντος· οὐ
γὰρ μοι καροὺν εἶναι φροντίζειν τῆς παρὰ Τιβερίεων
ἐννοίας, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας καὶ πῶς
95 τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐκφύγω. πεπόμφη δ’ ὁ Ἰωάννης
tῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὀπλιτῶν ἐπιλέξας τοὺς πιστοτάτους
ἐκ τῶν χιλίων οἴσειν αὐτῶν, καὶ προσέταξεν
tοῖς περιπλανέσθαι ἀνελείν με πεπυμμένος ὡς εἶχον
96 μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων μεμονωμένοις. ἤκου δ’ οἱ πεμ-
θέντες, καὶ ἐπεπράχθεσαν τούργον, εἰ μὴ τοῦ
τριγχοῦ θάττου ἀφαλόμενος ἐγὼ μετὰ τοῦ σωματο-
36
of the intention of the citizens and exhorting me to make haste, since, if I delayed, the town would pass into the hands of others. Having read Silas's dispatch I mustered two hundred men and marched all night long, sending a courier in advance to inform the people of Tiberias that I was coming. As I approached the city at dawn I was met by the population, including John, who saluted me in evident confusion and, fearing that the exposure of his proceedings would endanger his life, hastily retired to his lodging. On reaching the stadium I dismissed my bodyguard, except one man whom I retained along with ten soldiers. Then standing on a high parapet I endeavoured to address the crowd of citizens. I urged them not to be so hasty in revolting; such fickleness would be a blot on their character, and they would justly be suspected by a future governor, as likely to prove equally disloyal to him.

(18) I had not completed my speech when I heard one of my men bidding me come down, as it was no time for me to be thinking of the loyalty of the Tiberians, but of my own life and how to elude my foes. John, on hearing that I was left isolated with my personal attendants, had selected the most trustworthy of the thousand armed men at his disposal and sent them with orders to kill me. They duly arrived and would have done their business, had I not instantly leapt from the parapet, with

\[ a \] In B. John feigns sickness and sends a representative to meet Josephus.
\[ b \] B. "on a hill six cubits high."

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1 Niese: γενέσθαι mss.
JOSEPHUS

φύλακος Ἰακώβου καὶ ὑπὸ τινὸς Τιβερίεως Ἡρώ-
δου προσανακουφισθεὶς, ὄδηγηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην καὶ πλοίου λαβόμενος καὶ ἐπιβάς,
παρὰ δόξαν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς διαφυγὼν εἰς Ταριχέας ἀφικόμην.

97 (19) Οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ταῦτην κατοικοῦντες ὡς ἐπιθυμοῦσα τὴν τῶν Τιβερίεων ἀπιστίαν σφόδρα
παρωξύνθησαν. ἀρπάσαντες οὖν τὰ ὅπλα παρεκά-
λουν σφᾶς ἁγεὶν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς· θέλειν γὰρ ἐφασκον
ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ δίκαιον λαβεῖν παρ’ αὐτῶν.

98 δὴ ἡγείλην δὲ τὰ γεγονότα καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν
Γαλιλαίαν πάσιν, ἑρεθίσαι καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τῶν
Τιβερίεων διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχοντες, παρεκάλουν τε
πλείστους συναχθέντας ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ὅνα
μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πράττοσιν τὸ δόξαν.

99 ὅκουν οὖν οἱ Γαλιλαίοι πολλοὶ πανταχόθεν μεθ’
ὅπλων καὶ παρεκελεύνοντό μοι προσβαλεῖν τῇ
Τιβεριάδι καὶ κατὰ κράτος αὐτῆς ἐξελείν καὶ πᾶσαν
ἐδαφος ποιῆσαν τοὺς ἑνόκους σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ
τέκνοις ἀνδραποδίσασθαι. συνεβούλευσι δὲ ταῦτα
καὶ τῶν φίλων οἱ ἐκ τῆς Τιβεριάδος διασωθέντες.

100 ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ συνεπένευον δεινὸν ἡγοῦμενος ἐμφυλῦ
πολέμου κατάρχειν μὲχρι λόγου γὰρ ὢμὴν εἶναι
dεῖν τὴν φιλονεκίαν. καὶ μὴν οὖθ’ αὐτοῖς ἐφασκον
συμφέρειν τοῦτο πράξαι, Ἦρωμαιν ταῖς πρὸς
ἀλλήλους στάσεσιν αὐτοῦς ἀπολείσθαι προσδο-
κῶντοι. ταῦτα δὲ λέγων ἔπαισα τῆς ὀργῆς τοὺς
Γαλιλαίους.

101 (20) Ὅ δὲ Ἰωάννης ἀπράκτου τῆς ἐπιθυμίας
αὐτοῦ γενομένης ἐδείσει περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς περὶ
αὐτὸν ὀπλίτας ἀναλαβὼν ἀπήρεν ἐκ τῆς Τιβεριάδος

1 ἀ. i. πάσαν.
James my bodyguard, and been further aided by one Herod of Tiberias, who picked me up and conducted me to the lake, where I seized a boat, embarked, and, escaping thus beyond all expectation from my enemies, reached Tarichaeae.

(19) The inhabitants of this city, on hearing of the treachery of the Tiberians, were highly indignant, and, seizing their arms, besought me to lead an attack upon them, professing their desire to avenge their general. They also spread the news throughout Galilee, doing their utmost to arouse indignation against the Tiberians, and exhorting the inhabitants to muster in full strength and join them, in order that, with the concurrence of the general, they might act as should seem best. The Galilaeans accordingly came in large numbers from all quarters under arms, and entreated me to attack Tiberias, to take it by storm, raze the whole place to the ground and reduce the inhabitants, women, children and all, to slavery. Their advice was shared by those of my friends who had escaped from Tiberias. I, however, could not assent to their proposal: I was horrified at the thought of opening a civil war, and considered that the quarrel should not go further than verbal remonstrances. Moreover, I told them that the action suggested would not be to their own advantage; since the Romans were only waiting for the rival factions to bring about their own ruin. With these words I appeased the anger of the Galilaeans.

(20) John, when his plot failed, in terror of his life moved off with his armed men from Tiberias to

a Or, perhaps, "accomplish their determined purpose."

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2 Niese: most mss. ἀπολέσθαι, R (perhaps rightly) ἀπολέσαι.
JOSEPHUS

eis tā Γίσχαλα, kal grafei pros me peri tōn pepragmenōn apolologoumenos ὡς μῆ κατὰ γνώμην tēn autōu genomēnon, parakeleite te mehe den uponoein kai autōn, proosthēseis ōrkon kai deiwás touas ārás, δι' ὧν ἦμετο πιστευθήσεθαι peri ὧν ἐπι-
ēsteilev.

102 (21) Οἱ δὲ Γαλιλαίου, πολλοὶ γὰρ ἔτεροι πάλιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας πάσης ἀνήχθησαν μεθ' ὀπλῶν, εἰδότες τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ὡς πονηρὸς ἐστὶν καὶ ἑπίορκος, parakealoun anageine sfas ep' autón, ārdhēn afaní-
sew epagnellōmenoi σὺν autō kai tā Γίσχαλα.

103 xārin mev oðn ἔχειν autōn taís prothumiais ómolo-
goun ἑγὼ kai nikišsein autōn tēn eūnōian ἐπηγ-
egellōmen, parakealoun δ' ὁμως ἐπισχεῖν autous ἀξιῶν kai συγγινώσκειν mou deōmenos prohreménow ta<s> ταξ ταραχάς χωρίς φόνων καταστέλλειν. kal
peisas to pléthos tōn Γαλιλαίων eis tēn Σέπφωριν ἄφικιομην.

104 (22) Οἱ δὲ τῆς πόλιν ταύτην κατοικοῦντες ἄνδρες
kekrıkotes tē prois Ρωμαίους ἐμμείναι πίστει,
ediōtes δὲ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀφιέν, ἐπειράθησαν ἑτέρα με
prāxei perispástantes ἀδειες εἶναι peri autōn.

105 kal δὴ pémisantes pros Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἀρχηγιστὴν eis
tēn Πτολεμαίδος μεθορίαν ὑπέσχοντο δώσειν πολλὰ
χρήματα θελήσαντε μετὰ τῆς σὺν autō dynámewos,
ήσαν δ' ὁκτακόσιον τὸν ἀρθμὸν, πόλεμον ἐξάψαι

106 prōs1 ἡμῖν. δ' ὑπακούσας αὐτῶν ταῖς ὑπο-
schéseis ἦθελησεν ἐπιπέδειν ἡμῖν ἀνετοίμασιν kai
muðen proghnóstoumen. pémis hōn prōs me
parakealεi laβειν ἐξουσιαν ἀσπασάμενον ἀφικέσθαι.
sugχωρήσαντος δὲ mou, tēs γὰρ ἐπιβουλῆσ ὀυδὲν

1 eis PRA.
Gischala. Thence he wrote to me, defending himself on the ground that all that had taken place had been done without his sanction, and entreating me not to entertain any suspicions of him. He ended with oaths and horrible imprecations, by which he thought to gain credit for the statements in his letter.

(21) The Galilaeans, many more of whom had again come up in arms from the whole district, knowing the man to be a perjured villain, pressed me to lead them against him, undertaking to exterminate both him and Gischala. I expressed my gratitude for their zeal on my behalf and promised to outrival their goodwill; but, none the less, I begged and entreated them to desist, and craved their indulgence for my determination to quell these disturbances without bloodshed. My persuasion having proved successful with the Galilaeans, I departed to Sepphoris.

(22) The inhabitants of this city, having decided to remain loyal to Rome, were alarmed at my arrival and sought to secure themselves by diverting my attention elsewhere. They accordingly sent to Jesus, the brigand chief, on the borderland of Ptolemais, and promised him a large sum if he would, with his force, which numbered eight hundred, bring me under the fire of war. Responding to these offers, he was anxious to fall upon me while I was unprepared and knew nothing of his plans. So he sent and requested my permission to come and pay me his respects. Completely ignorant of his designs I gave

\[a\] Or "restrain themselves."
\[b\] Cf. § 30 above.
\[c\] "Us"; the first pers. sing. and plural are constantly interchanged in Josephus.
προσπιστάμην, ἀναλαβὼν τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν λῃστῶν
107 ἐςπευδεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ. οὐ μὴν ἐφθασεν αὐτοῦ τέλος
λαβεῖν ἡ κακουργία. πλησιάζοντος γὰρ ἦδη τῶν
σὺν αὐτῷ τις αὐτομολύσας ἤκεν πρὸς με τὴν
ἐπιχείρησιν αὐτοῦ φράξων, κάγω [ὡς] πυθόμενος
ταῦτα προῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν σκηνάμενος ἀγνοεῖν
τὴν ἐπιβουλήν· ἐπηγόμην δὲ πολλοὺς ὀπλίτας
108 Γαλαταιοὺς, τινὰς δὲ καὶ Τιβερίεων. εἶτα προσ-
tάξας τὰς ὀδοὺς πάσας ἀσφαλέστατα φρουρεῖσθαι
παρήγγειλα τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶν μένον Ἰησοῦν,
ἐπειδὰν παραγένηται, μετὰ τῶν πρῶτων εἰσελθεῖν
έσαι, ἀποκλείσαι δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, βιαζομένους δὲ
τύπτειν. τῶν δὲ τὸ προσταχθὲν ποιησάντων εἰσ-
ῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς μετ' ὀλίγων. καὶ κελεύσαντις ἐμοῦ
ῥύσαι τὰ ὄπλα θάττον, εἰ γὰρ ἀπειθοῦ ἠνηθήσεται,
περιστώτας ὑδὸν πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ τους ὀπλίτας
φοβηθεῖς ὑπήκουσεν· οἱ δ' ἀποκλεισθέντες τῶν
ἐπακολουθοῦντων αὐτῷ πυθόμενοι τὴν σύλληψιν
ἐφυγον. καγὼ τὸν Ἰησοῦν προσκαλεσάμενος κατ'
ἰδίαν οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν ἐφη τὴν ἐπ' ἐμὲ συσκευασθεῖσαν
ἐπιβουλήν οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν πειρῆσθαι· συγγνώσεσθαι
d' ὀμως αὐτῷ τῶν πεπραγμένων, εἰ μέλλων μετα-
nοῆσειν καὶ πιστὸς ἐμοὶ γενήσεσθαι. ὑποσχον-
μένου δὲ πάντα ποιήσειν ἐκεῖνου ἀπέλυσα, συγχω-
rῆσας αὐτῷ συναγαγεῖν πάλιν οὐς πρότερον ἔχεν.
Σεγφορίταις δ' ἠπείλησα, εἰ μὴ παύσαιντο τῆς
ἀγνωστοῦ, λήψεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν δίκας.
110 (23) Κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἄφικνυνται πρὸς
με δύο μεγιστάνες τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ βασι-
λέως ἐκ τῆς τῶν Τραχωνίτων χώρας ἐπαγόμενοι
tοὺς ἐαυτῶν ὑπονόμους καὶ ὀπλα, καὶ χρήματα
111 δ' ὑπεκκομίζοντες. 
113 τούτους περιτέμνεσθαι τῶν
42
my consent; whereupon he made a rapid march upon me with his band of brigands. However, his malicious purpose did not attain its end, for, when he was close upon me, one of his men deserted and came and told me of his meditated attack. On receipt of this intelligence, I proceeded to the market-place, feigning ignorance of the plot; though I brought with me a large body of Galilaeans, under arms, with some Tiberians. I then gave orders for all the roads to be strictly guarded, and instructed the sentries at the gates to admit none but Jesus and the leaders on his arrival, and to exclude the rest, repelling with blows any who tried to force their way in. My orders were carried out and Jesus entered with a few others. On my commanding him instantly to drop his arms, on peril of death, he, seeing himself surrounded by the soldiers, was panic-stricken and complied. His excluded followers fled on hearing of his arrest. I then called Jesus aside and told him that I was not ignorant of the plot which he had contrived against me, nor who were his employers; I would, nevertheless, condone his actions if he would show repentance and prove his loyalty to me. All this he promised, and I let him go, allowing him to reassemble his former force. The Sepphorites I threatened to punish if they did not abandon their unreasonable conduct.

(23) About this time there came to me from the region of Trachonitis two nobles, subjects of the king,\(^a\) bringing their horses, arms, and money which they had smuggled out of their country. The Jews

\(^a\) Agrippa II.

\(^1\) Niese: \(\upsilon\,\pi\omicron\,\omicron\,\iota\,\omicron\,\nu\,\tau\) mss.
JOSEPHUS

Ἰονδαίων ἀναγκαζόντων, εἰ θέλουσιν εἶναι παρ’ αὐτοῖς, οὐκ εἰσάσα βιασθῆναι, φάσκων δεῖν ἐκαστὸν [ἀνθρωπὸν] κατὰ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ μετὰ βίας, χρῆναι δὲ τούτους δι’ ἀσφάλειαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καταφυγόντας μὴ μετανοεῖν. πεισθέντος δὲ τοῦ πλῆθους, τοῖς ἡκούσιν ἀνδράσιν τὰ πρὸς τὴν συνήθη δίαιταν ἀπαντᾷ παρείχον δαιμιλώς.

114 (24) Πέμπει δ’ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας δύναμιν καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπ’ αὐτῆς Λίκουον Μόδιον 1 Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον ἔξαρμότοντας. οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες κυκλώσασθαι μὲν τὸ φρούριον οὐκ ἔρκεσαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς φανερῶς τῶν τοτὸν ἐφεδρεύοντες ἐπολυρκοῦν τὰ

115 Γάμαλα. Αἰβοῦτιος δὲ ὁ δεκάδαρχος δ’ τοῦ μεγάλου πεδίου τὴν προστασίαν πεποιθεμένος, ἀκούσας ὅτι παρείη εἰς Σιμωνιάδα κόμην ἐν μεθορίῳ 2 κεμένην τῆς Γαλιλαίας, αὐτοῦ δ’ ἀπέχουσαν ἔξήκοντα σταδίους, [νυκτὸς] ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ἐκατ’ ὑπεῖ τοὺς ὡς ἔχειν σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τινὰς πεζοὺς περὶ διακοσίους, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Γάβᾳ πόλει κατοικοῦντας ἐπαγόμενος συμμάχους, νυκτὸς ὀδεύσας ἥκεν εἰς τὴν κόμην ἐν ἡ διέτριβον. ἀντιπαρα-

116 ταξιμένου δὲ κάμῳ μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς, δ’ μὲν Αἰβοῦτιος εἰς τὸ πεδίον ὑπάγειν ἡμᾶς ἐπειράτο, σφόδρα γὰρ τοῖς ἵππεσιν ἐπεποίθει. οὐ μὴν ὑπηκοόσαμεν ἐγὼ γὰρ τὸ πλεονέκτημα συνιδῶν τὸ γενησόμενον τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, εἰ καταβαίης εἰς τὸ πεδίον, πεζοὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς συμπάντες ἦμεν, ἐγνων

117 αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολεμίοις συνάπτειν. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τινὸς γενναίως ἀντέσχεν σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ

1 Μονάδιον R; cf. § 61.
2 μορίψ P: μεθορίοις the other mss.
would have compelled them to be circumcised as a condition of residence among them. I, however, would not allow any compulsion to be put upon them, declaring that every one should worship God in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience and not under constraint, and that these men, having fled to us for refuge, ought not to be made to regret that they had done so. Having brought over the people to my way of thinking, I liberally supplied our guests with all things necessary to their customary manner of life.

(24) King Agrippa now sent a force under the command of Aequus Modius to destroy the fortress of Gamala. The troops sent, being insufficient to invest the place, lay in wait on open ground and attempted a siege. Aebutius, the decurion, who had been entrusted with the charge of the Great Plain, hearing that I was at Simonias, a village on the frontier of Galilee, sixty furlongs away from him, set off with the hundred horse at his disposal, some two hundred infantry, and the inhabitants of the town of Gaba as auxiliaries, and by a night march reached the village where I had my quarters. I confronted him with a large force in order of battle. Aebutius, relying mainly on his cavalry, endeavoured to decoy us into the plain. We, however, refused to accommodate him; realizing the advantage which his horse would have over our troops, composed entirely of infantry, should we descend into the plain, I determined to engage the enemy on my own ground. For a time Aebutius and his men

a Of Esdraelon.  
b Semānieh, due west of Nazareth.  
c In the Great Plain; founded by Herod the Great and called "City of Cavalry" after the discharged troops there quartered, B. iii. 36, cf. A. xv. 294.
Αϊβούτιος, ἀξρεῖον δ’ ὅρων κατὰ τὸν τόπον τούτον οὕςαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἵππικήν δύναμιν ἀναζεύγνυσιν ἀπρακτος εἰς Γάβαν πόλιν, τρεῖς άνδρας ἀποβαλὼν

118 κατὰ τὴν μάχην. εἰπόμην δὲ κατὰ πόδας ἐγὼ δισχιλίους ἐπαγόμενος ὀπλίτας· καὶ περὶ Βησάραν πόλιν γενόμενος, ἐν μεθορίῳ μὲν τῆς Πτολεμαίδος κεμένην εἰκοσι δ’ ἀπέχουσαν στάδια τῆς Γάβας, εὐθα διετριβὲν Αϊβούτιος, στήσας τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐξωθέν τῆς κώμης καὶ φρουρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλῶς τὰς ὁδοὺς προστάξας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μη ἐνοχλῆσαι τοὺς

119 πολεμίους ἦμιν ἕως τὸν σίτον ἐκφορήσομεν, πολὺς γὰρ ἀπέκειτο Βερενίκης τῆς βασιλίδος ἐκ τῶν πέριξ κωμῶν εἰς τὴν Βησάραν συλλεγόμενος, πληρώσας τὰς καμήλους καὶ τοὺς ὄνους, πολλοὺς δ’ ἐπηγομήν, διεπέμψα τὸν σίτον εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.

120 τούτο δὲ πράξας προεκαλούμην εἰς μάχην τὸν Αϊβούτιον· οὐχ ὑπακούσαντος δ’ ἐκεῖνον, κατ’επέπληκτο γὰρ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐτοιμότητα καὶ τὸ θράσος, ἐπὶ Νεοπολιτανῶν ἐτραπόμην, τὴν Τιβεριείων χώραν ἀκούσας ὑπ’ αὐτὸν λεηλατεῖσθαι.

121 ἦν δὲ ὁ Νεοπολιτανὸς ὕλης μὲν ἔπαρχος, παρειλήφθει δὲ τὴν Σκυθόπολιν εἰς φυλακὴν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. τούτον οὖν κολύσας ἐπὶ πλέον τὴν Τιβεριείων κακοῦν περὶ τὴν τῆς Γαλιλαίας πρόνοιαν ἐγνώμην.

122 (25) ‘Ο δὲ τοῦ Λευττ παῖς Ἰωάννῃς, δὲν ἔφαμεν εἰς τοῖς Γιαχάλοις διατρίβειν, πυθόμενος πάντα κατὰ νοῦν μοι προχωρεῖν, καὶ δι’ εὐνοίας μὲν εἶναι με τοῖς υπηκόοις, τοῖς πολεμίοις δὲ δι’ ἐκπλήξεως, οὐκ εὔ τὴν γνώμην διετέθη,1 κατάλυσων δ’ αὐτῷ τὴν ἐμὴν εὑπραγίαν φέρειν νομίζων εἰς φθόνον ἐξώκειλεν

46
made a gallant stand; but seeing that his cavalry were useless in such surroundings, he withdrew to the town of Gaba, having failed in his object and lost three men in the engagement. I followed close behind with two thousand infantry, and on reaching the neighbourhood of the town of Besara, on the borders of Ptolemais, twenty furlongs from Gaba, where Aebutius was stationed, I posted my men outside the village, with orders to keep strict guard on the roads, so as to prevent interference from the enemy, while we were removing the corn. Of this a large quantity, belonging to Queen Berenice, had been collected from the neighbouring villages and stored in Besara. I then loaded the camels and asses, which I had brought with me in large numbers, and dispatched the corn to Galilee. This done, I offered Aebutius battle; and when he declined it, overawed by my readiness for action and intrepidity, I turned upon Neopolitanus, who, I heard, was ravaging the district of Tiberias. Neopolitanus was commander of a squadron of horse, who had been commissioned to protect Scythopolis from the enemy. Having prevented him from doing further injury to the Tiberian territory, I devoted my attention to the welfare of Galilee.

(25) But when John, son of Levi, who, as I said,\(^a\) was now at Gischala, heard that everything was proceeding to my satisfaction, that I was popular with those under my authority and a terror to the enemy, he was in no good humour; and, believing that my success involved his own ruin, gave way to

\(^a\) § 101.

1 Niese: ἐτέθη mss.
123 οὐτὶ μέτριον. καὶ παύσειν με τῆς εὐτυχίας ἐλπίσας, εἰ παρὰ τῶν υπηκόων μίσος ἔξωθενε, ἔπειθεν τοὺς τὴν Τιβεριάδα κατοικοῦντας καὶ τοὺς τὴν Σέπφωριν ιπρος τούτοις δὲ καὶ τοὺς Γάβαρα, πόλεις δ’ εἰσὶν αυτὰ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν αὐτὲς μέγισται, τῆς πρός με πίστεως ἀποστάντας αὐτῷ προστίθεσθαι: κρείττον γὰρ ἐμοὶ στρατηγήσειν αυτῶν ἐφασκεν.

124 καὶ Σέπφωρεῖς μὲν, οὐδετέρῳ γὰρ ἡμῶν προσείχον διὰ τὸ Ἰωάννης ἦρμηθαν δεσπότας, οὐκ ἔπένευον αὐτῷ, Τιβεριές δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀπόστασιν οὐκ ἔδέχοντο, [καὶ] αὐτοῦ δὲ συγκατένευον γενήσεσθαι φίλοι. οἱ δὲ Γάβαρα κατοικοῦντες προστίθενται τῷ Ἱωάννῃ· Σίμων δ’ ἦν ὁ παρακαλών αὐτοὺς, πρωτεύον μὲν τῆς πόλεως, ὥς φίλῳ δὲ καὶ ἐταῖρῳ τῷ Ἑωάννῃ 125 χρώμενος. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τοῦ φανεροῦ τὴν ἀπόστασιν οὖν ὀμολόγων θόδορα γὰρ ἐδεδοκίσασαν τοὺς Γαλιλαίους ἅτε δὴ πείραν αὐτῶν τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολλάκις εὐνοίας λαβώντες· ἐκ τοῦ λεληθῶτος δὲ καιρὸν παραφυλάσσοντες ἐπιτήδειοι ἐπεβούλευον. καὶ δὴ ἀφικόμην εἰς κύδυνον τὸν μέγιστον διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν.

126 (26) Νεανίσκοι τινὲς θρασεῖς, Δαβαριττηνοὶ γένος, ἐπιτηρήσαντες τὴν Πτολεμαίου γυναίκα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιτρόπου, μετὰ πολλῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ τινῶν ἱππέων ἀσφαλείας χάριν ἐπομένων διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου πεδίου τῆς πορείαν ποιομενήν ἐκ τῆς τοῖς βασιλείσιν ὑποτελοῦς χώρας εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων 127 ἐπικράτειαν, ἐπιπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς ἀφίω· καὶ τὴν μὲν γυναίκα φυγεῖν ἦμαγκασαν, ὅσα δ’ ἐπεφέρετο: 1 Σο R: the other mss. add νομίζων. 2 ἐπεφέρετο PR.

1 Daberath (Josh. xix. 12), mod. Debūrieh, under the
immoderate envy. Hoping to check my good fortune by inspiring hatred of me in those under my command, he tried to induce the inhabitants of Tiberias, Sepphoris, and Gabara—the three chief cities of Galilee—to abandon their allegiance to me and go over to him, asserting that they would find him a better general than I was. Sepphoris, in pursuance of its policy of submission to Rome, lent no ear to either of us and rejected these overtures. Tiberias, while declining the suggestion of revolt, consented to befriend him Gabara, at the instigation of Simon, a leading citizen and a friend and associate of John, went over to his side. The people of Gabara, it is true, did not openly admit their defection; their dread of the Galilaeans, of whose devotion to me they had had frequent experience, was too great a deterrent. But they secretly laid their plots and watched for a favourable opportunity for their execution; whereby I incurred the gravest peril under the following circumstances.

(26) Some adventurous young men of Dabaritta lay in wait for the wife of Ptolemy, the king’s over-seer. She was travelling in great state, protected by an escort of cavalry, from territory subject to the royal jurisdiction into the region of Roman dominion, when, as she was crossing the Great Plain, they suddenly fell upon the cavalcade, compelled the western slopes of Mt. Tabor. With the whole of this story cf. the parallel account in B. ii. 595 ff.

b Or “finance officer.” The Greek word is that elsewhere used for the Roman procurator.

c Agrippa’s kingdom was the district E. and N.E. of the Sea of Galilee. The lady, who was probably en route for Caesarea, would, after crossing the independent region of Decapolis, enter the Roman province shortly before reaching the Great Plain of Esdraelon.
πάντα διήρπασαν. καὶ ἦκον εἰς Ταριχέας πρός με
tέσσαρας ἥμισονις καταφέρτονς ἄγοντες ἐσθήτος καὶ
sκευών· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρίου σταθμὸς οὐκ
128 οἷς καὶ χρυσῶν πεντακόσιοι. ταῦτ’ ἔγον βου-
λόμενος διαφυλάξει τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ, καὶ γὰρ ἦν
ὄμοφυλος, ἀπηγόρευται δ’ ἦμιν ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων
μηδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀποστερεῖν, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς
κομίσαντας ἑσῆν φυλάττειν αὐτὰ δεῖν, ἵν’ ἐκ τῆς
πράσεως αὐτῶν ἐπισκευασθῇ τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἱερο-
129 σολύμων. οἱ δὲ νεανίας χαλεπῶς ἔσχον οὐ λαβόντες
μόναν ἐκ τῶν λαβόρων καθάπερ προσεδόκησαν,
καὶ πορευθέντες εἰς τὰς περιξ τῆς Τιμερίδος
κόμας προδίδοναι μέλλειν με Ῥωμαίοις τὴν χώραν
130 αὐτῶν ἑλεγον· κεχρήσθαι γὰρ σοφίσματι πρὸς
αὐτῶν λέγοντα τὰ ἕκ τῆς ἄρπαγῆς κομισθέντα
φυλάττειν εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τῶν τείχῶν τῆς
Ἱεροσολυμῶτων πόλεως, ἐγνωκέναι δὲ πάλιν τῷ
131 δεσπότῃ ἀποδοθαί. καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο γε τῆς ἐμῆς
γνώμης οὐ διημαρτον ἀπαλλαγέντων γὰρ αὐτῶν
μεταπεμβάμενος δύο τοὺς πρῶτους, Δασσίωνα καὶ
Ἱανναίου τοῦ τοῦ Αγαγίν, φίλους ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα
tοῦ βασιλέως καθεστῶτας, τὰ ἕκ τῆς ἄρπαγῆς
σκευῆ λαβόντας διαπέμψασθαι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐκεί-
λευον, θάνατον ἀπειλήσας αὐτοῖς τὴν ζημίαν, εἰ
πρὸς ἑτέρους ταῦτα ἀπαγγελθοῦσιν.
132 (27) Ἐπισχούσης δὲ φήμης τῇ Γαλιλαϊᾷ
ἀπασαν ὡς τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν μελλούσης ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ
τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προδίδοσθαι καὶ πάντων παροξυν-
θέντων ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τιμωρίαν, οἱ τὰς Ταριχέας
κατακούντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς νεανίσκους ἀληθεύειν
ὑπολαβόντες πεῖθουσι τοὺς σωματοφύλακας καὶ
tοὺς ὀπλίτας κομίσαντας με καταλιπόντας παρα-
lady to fly, and plundered all her baggage. They then came to me at Tarichaeae with four mules laden with apparel and other articles, besides a large pile of silver and five hundred pieces of gold. My own desire was to keep these spoils for Ptolemy, seeing that he was a compatriot and we are forbidden by our laws to rob even an enemy;\(^a\) to the bearers I said that the goods must be reserved for sale and the proceeds devoted to the repair of the walls of Jerusalem. Indignant at not receiving their expected share of the spoils, the young men went to the villages around Tiberias, declaring that I intended to betray their country to the Romans. My assertion about keeping the outcome of their raid for the repair of the walls of the capital was, they said, a mere blind; I had really decided to restore it to its owner. So far, indeed, they correctly interpreted my intention; for, when they left me, I sent for two of the leaders, Dassion and Jannaeus, son of Levi, who were special friends of the king, and ordered them to take the stolen goods and dispatch them to him, threatening them with capital punishment if they reported the matter to anyone.

(27) A rumour had now spread throughout Galilee that I was intending to betray the country to the Romans, and the feelings of all were roused to demand my punishment. The young men's statement was credited even by the inhabitants of Tarichaeae, who now urged my bodyguards and soldiers to leave me while I was asleep and come at

\(^a\) Cf. Ex. xxiii. 4.

\(^1\) +\(\tau\)\(\alpha\) \(\eta\rho\tau\alpha\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\) most mss. (omit R).
JOSEPHUS

gενέσθαι θάττων εἰς ἵπποδρομον, ὡς ἐκεῖ βουλευσομένους μετὰ πάντων περὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ.

133 πειθομένων δὲ τούτων καὶ συνελθόντων πολὺς ὀχλος ἦδη προσυνηθροιστο, μίαν τε πάντες ἐποι- ούντο φωνήν, κολάζει τὸν προδότην πονηρὸν περὶ

134 αὐτοὺς γεγενημένον. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔξεκαίειν ὁ τοῦ Ἡσιόδους, ἀρχικῶν τότε τῆς Τιβέριάδος, πονηρὸς ἀνθρωπος καὶ ταραξάς μεγάλα πράγματα φύσιν ἔχων, στασιοποιοῖ τε καὶ νεωτε- ριστής ὦς οὐχ ἔτερος. καὶ τότε ἐκ λαβῶν εἰς ἱέρας τοὺς Λωυσείως νόμους καὶ προέλθον ἐκεῖ.

135 μέσον "εἰ μὴ καὶ υπὲρ αὐτῶν," ἐφη, "πολλῖν, μισεῖν δύνασθε Ἰώσηπον, εἰς τοὺς πατρίδοις ἀπο- βλέψαντες νόμους, ὅτι ὁ πρῶτος υἱῶν στρατηγὸς προδότης ἐμελές γίνεσθαι, καὶ μισοπονηρήσαντες υπὲρ τούτων τιμωρήσασθε τὸν τοιαῦτα τολ- μήσαντα."

136 (28) Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους ἐπιβοηθαντος ἀναλαβὼν τινας ὀπλίτας ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐν ἦ κατηγόμεν μεσπευδαν ὡς ἀναιρήσων. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν προαιθόμενος διὰ κόσμον πρὸ τῆς ταραχῆς κατ-

137 εσχήμην.3 Σίμων δ' ὁ τοῦ σώματος μου τὴν φυλακὴν πεπιστευμένοις, ὁ καὶ μόνος παραμείνας, ἵδων τὴν ἐπιδρομήν τῶν πολιτῶν διήγειρέ με καὶ τὸν ἐφέστωτά μοι κίνδυνον ἐξήγγειλεν, ἢςίου τε γενναίως θυνήσκειν ὡς στρατηγὸν ὧδ' αὐτοῦ,4 πρὶν δὲ ἢ ἐλθεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀναγκάσοντας ἢ κτενοῦντας.

138 ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἐλέγεν, ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ θεῷ τὰ κατ' ἐμ- αὐτὸν ἐπιτρέψας εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ὀρμήθην προελθεῖν. μετενδόος οὖν μέλαιναν ἑσθῆτα καὶ τὸ ἔντος ἀπαρ-

2 Niese: προσελθόν mss.

52
once to the hippodrome, to take part in a general discussion on their commander's conduct. Their persuasion prevailed, and the men joining the assembly found a large crowd already collected, unanimously crying for vengeance on one who had proved so base a traitor. The principal instigator of the mob was Jesus, son of Sapphias, at that time chief magistrate of Tiberias, a knave with an instinct for introducing disorder into grave matters, and unrivalled in fomenting sedition and revolution. With a copy of the laws of Moses in his hands, he now stepped forward and said: "If you cannot, for your own sakes, citizens, detest Josephus, fix your eyes on your country's laws, which your commander-in-chief intended to betray, and for their sakes hate the crime and punish the audacious criminal."

(28) After this speech, which was loudly applauded, he hurried, with some soldiers, to the house where I was lodging, intending to kill me. I, quite unaware of what was coming, had, from fatigue, succumbed [to sleep] before the riot. Simon, who was entrusted with the charge of my person and had alone remained with me, seeing the citizens rushing towards me, awoke me and, telling me of my imminent peril, entreated me to die honourably, as a general, by my own hand, before my foes arrived to force me to such action or to kill me themselves. Such were his words; but I, committing my fate to God, hastened to go forth to the people. Changing my raiment for one of black and suspending my sword from my

\[ a \] The same phrase in \textit{A. xvii}. 325.

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\[ ^3 \] \( \nu \pi \nu \varphi \) has probably dropped out; \textit{cf. A. v}. 148.

\[ ^4 \] \( \nu \varphi \ ' a \upsilon \tau \omicron \omicron \upsilon \) \( (= \nu \varphi \ ' \varepsilon \mu \alpha \upsilon \upsilon \tau \omicron \omicron \upsilon) \) cod. \( R \): omit \( M \), \( \upsilon \pi \ ' (\epsilon \pi \ ' ) \ a \upsilon \tau \omicron \omicron \upsilon \) the rest.

\[ ^5 \] Text emended: \( \pi \rho \iota \nu \ \delta \eta \ \epsilon \lambda \theta \epsilon \omicron \upsilon \ R \), \( \pi \rho \iota \nu \ \delta \iota \epsilon \lambda \theta \epsilon \omicron \upsilon \) the rest.
τησάμενος ἐκ τοῦ αὐχένος καθ’ ὅдον ἐτέραν, ἡ μηδένα μου τῶν πολεμίων ὑπαντάσεων ὄμην, ἔτσι τὸν ἐπιπόδρομον, ἀφίνω τε φανεῖς καὶ πρηγήσεως καὶ τὴν γῆν δάκρυσιν φύρων ἐλεεινὸς ἐδοξάζω 139 πᾶσιν. συνείς δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τὴν μεταβολὴν διαστάναι τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν ἐπειρώμην πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ὑποστρέφαται. καὶ συνεχώρουν μὲν ἄδικεῖν, ὡς αὐτοῦ νομίζουσιν, ἐδόξομὲν δὲ διδάξα τούς πρότερον ἐκ τῶν ἄρχα ἐφύλαττον τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς κομισθέντα χρήματα 140 καὶ τὸτε θυγατέρεσθαι, εἰ κελεύσως. τοῦ δὲ πλήθους λέγειν κελεύοντος ἐπῆλθον οἱ ὀπλίται καὶ θεασάμενοι μὲ προσέπεφτον, ὡς κτενοῦντες. ἐπισχεῖς δὲ τοῦ πλῆθους κελεύοντος ἐπείσοδησαν προσδοκώντες, ἐπειδ' ὠμολογήσως πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὰ χρήματα τῷ βασιλεῖ τετηρηκέναι, ὡς ὠμολογήκοτα τὴν προδοσίαν ἀναρίστειν. 141 (29) Σιγής οὖν παρὰ πάντων γενομένης, "ἀνδρεῖς," εἶπον, "ὁμόφυλοι, θανεῖν μὲν εἰ δίκαιον ἔστω, οὐ παραίτούμαι, βούλομαι δ' ὅμως πρὸ τοῦ 142 τελευτήσαι τῇ ἀλήθειαν φράσαι πρὸς ύμᾶς. τὴν γὰρ πόλιν ταύτην φιλοξενώτατην οὖσαν ἐπιστάμενος πληθυσσάντες τε προθύμως τοσοῦτον ἀνδρῶν, οἱ τὰς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδας καταλιπόντες ἀφύκοντο κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενόμενος τύχης, ἐβουλήθην τείχη κατασκευάσαι ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων, περὶ δὲ τὸν ἑαυτοὺς ὑμῶν ὄργην, δαπανῶν 143 μὲνοις εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν αὐτῶν." πρὸς ταῦτα παρὰ μὲν τῶν Ταριχεωτῶν καὶ ξένων ἐγείρεται φωνὴ καὶ ἐξεῖν ὀμολογούντων καὶ ἔφερεν προτρεπομένων, Γαλιλαίοι δὲ καὶ Τιβερίεσ τοῖς θυμοίς ἐπέμενον, καὶ γίνεται στάσις πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τῶν
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neck, I proceeded by another road, on which I expected that no enemy would encounter me, to the hippodrome; where my sudden appearance, as I flung myself on my face and rained tears upon the ground, aroused universal compassion. Observing the effect produced upon the people, I endeavoured to create dissension among them before the soldiers returned from my house. I admitted that, according to their view of the matter, I was guilty, but craved leave to inform them for what purpose I was reserving the money obtained by the raid, before, if they so ordered, I was put to death. The crowd were just bidding me proceed, when the soldiers appeared and, at sight of me, rushed forward to kill me. At the people's order, however, they stayed their hands; expecting, as soon as I had owned to having kept the money for the king, to slay me as an avowed traitor.

(29) Thereupon, amid profound silence, I spoke as follows: "My countrymen, if I deserve to die, I ask no mercy; but, before my death, I desire to tell you the truth. Knowing the lavish hospitality of this city and that it is crowded with vast numbers of persons who have left their homes and gladly come to throw in their lot with ours, I proposed to provide fortifications for it with the money, about which, though it was to be expended on their erection, you are now so indignant." At this a shout was raised by the Tarichaeans and their guests, who expressed their gratitude and bade me not be disheartened. The Galilaeans and Tiberians, however, still maintained their resentment, and a quarrel arose, one party

1 Probably misplaced.
2 γενησόμενοι conj. Niese.
μὲν κολάσεων ἀπειλοῦντων με, τῶν δὲ καταφρονεῖν.

144 ἔπειδὴ δὲ ἐπηγγειλάμην καὶ Τιβεριάδι κατα-
σκευάσειν τείχη καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν αὐτῶν ταῖς
ἀναγκαίαις, πιστεύσαντες ὑπεχώρουν ἐκαστὸς εἰς
τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. κἀγὼ παρὰ πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα διαφυγῶν
τὸν προειρημένον κίνδυνον μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ
ὀπλιτῶν ἐίκοσι εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ὑπέστρεψα.

145 (30) Πάλιν δὲ οἱ λησταὶ καὶ τῆς στάσεως αὐτῶν,
δείχναντες περὶ ἑαυτῶν μὴ δίκας εἰσπραχθῶσιν ὑπὸ
ἐμοῦ τῶν πεπραγμένων, ἀναλαβόντες ἐξακοσίους
ὀπλίτας ἤκουν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐνθα διέστρεβον ἐμπρή-

146 σοντες αὐτῆς. ἀπαγγελθείσης δὲ μοι τῆς ἐφόδου
φεύγειν μὲν ἀπρεπὲς ἡγησάμην, ἐκρίνα δὲ παρα-
βαλόμενος χρήσασθαι τι καὶ τόλμη. προστάξεις
οὐν ἀποκλείσαι τῆς οἰκίας τὰς θύρας αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ
ὑπερφόν ἀναβας παρεκάλον εἰσέμψαι τινὰς ληψο-
μένους τὰ χρήματα: παύσεσθαι1 γὰρ οὕτως τῆς

147 ὀργῆς αὐτοὺς ἐφὴν. εἰσπεμψάντων δὲ τῶν θρα-
σύτατον αὐτῶν,2 μάστιξιν αἰκισάμενος τὴν ἐτέραν
tε τῶν χειρῶν ἀποκόψαι κελεύσας καὶ κρεμάσαι
ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου, τοιοῦτον ἐξέβαλον πρὸς τοὺς
εἰςποστεῖλαντας. τοὺς δὲ ἔλαβεν ἐκπληξῆς καὶ
φόβος οὗτι μέτριοι. δείχναντες οὐν καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῦτα
πείσεσθαι εἰ μένοιεν, εἰκαζόν γὰρ ἐνδον ἔχειν μὲ
πλείους αὐτῶν,3 εἰς φυγὴν ὦρμησαν. κἀγὼ τοιοῦτον
προκηρυκτεῖς χρησάμενος τὴν δευτέραν ἐπιβουλὴν
διέφυγον.

149 (31) Πάλιν δὲ τὸν ὀχλον των ἠρέθιζον τοὺς

1 Niese: παύσασθαι mss.
2 Cod. R adds εἰς τὸ μιχαίτατον παρασύρας τῆς οἰκίας καὶ: probably a gloss from B. ii. 612.
3 So P: the rest add ὀπλίτας.
threatening to have my blood, the other [exhorting me] to disregard [these opponents]. But when I further promised to provide fortifications for Tiberias and for any other of their cities which needed them, they, on the strength of this undertaking, retired to their several homes. Having thus, beyond all expectation, escaped from the peril which I have described, I returned to my house, accompanied by my friends and twenty soldiers.

(30) I was not long left in peace. The brigands and the promoters of the disturbance, fearing that they would be called to account by me for their proceedings, again visited my residence, with six hundred armed men, to set it on fire. Apprised of their coming, and considering it undignified to fly, I decided to risk a course requiring some courage. Ordering the house-doors to be closed, I ascended to the upper story and invited them to send some of their number to receive the money, thinking thus to allay their anger. They sent in the most stalwart among them, whereupon I had him soundly scourged, ordered one of his hands to be severed and hung about his neck and in that condition dismissed him to his employers. Panic-stricken and in great alarm, supposing that I had indoors a force outnumbering their own, and fearing, if they remained, to meet the same fate themselves, my opponents made off in haste. Such was the stratagem by which I eluded this second plot.

(31) The feelings of the masses were once again aroused against me by certain persons who asserted

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\[a\] There is possibly a lacuna in the text.

\[b\] Viz. from the spoils taken by the highwaymen of Dabaritta.
ἀφικομένους πρὸς μὲ βασιλικοὺς μεγιστάνας οὐκ ὁφείλειν ζην λέγοντες, μὴ μεταβηναι θέλοντας εἰς τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς έθη, πρὸς οὓς σωθησόμενοι πάρεισιν ἀνέβαλλον τε φαρμακέας εἶναι λέγοντες καὶ κωλυτὰς τοῦ Ἱωμαίων περιγενέσθαι.  

150 ταχὺ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπείθετο ταῖς τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς χάριν αὐτοῖς πιθανότησιν ἀπατώμενοι. πυθόμενοι δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἐγὼ πάλιν τὸν δήμον ἀνεδίδασκον μὴ δεῖν διώκεσθαι τοὺς καταφυγόντας πρὸς αὐτοὺς, τὸν δὲ φλῦάρον τῆς περὶ τῶν φαρμάκων αὐτίας διέσυρον, οὐκ ᾧ τοσαύτας μυρίάδας στρατιωτῶν Ἱωμαίους λέγων τρέφειν, εἰ διὰ φαρμακέων ἦν νικᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους. ταῦτα λέγοντος ἐμοῦ πρὸς ὅλιγον μὲν ἐπείθοντο, πάλιν δὲ ἀναχωρῆσαντες ὑπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν ἐξηρεθίζοντο κατὰ τῶν μεγιστάνων, καὶ ποτε μεθ' ὀπλῶν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐν Ταριχέα ἐπηλθον ὡς ἀναψήσατε. ἔδειςα δὲ ἐγὼ πυθόμενος μὴ τοῦ μύσους τέλος λαβόντος ἀνεπίβατος γένηται τοῖς καταφυγεῖν εἰς αὐτὴν θέλουσιν. παρεγένομην οὖν εἰς τὴν τῶν μεγιστάνων οἰκίαν μετὰ τινῶν ἐτέρων, καὶ κλείσας διώρυγα τε πονῆσας ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὴν λήμνην ἄγοσαν μεταπεμψάμενος τε πλοῦν καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐμβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν μεθόριον τῶν Ἰππηνῶν διεπέρασα, καὶ δοὺς αὐτοὺς τὴν τυμήν τῶν ἰππῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἡδυνήθην αὐτοὺς ἐπαγαγέσθαι τοιαύτης γενομένης τῆς ἀποδράσεως, ἀπέλυσα πολλὰ παρακαλέσας τὴν προσπεσόσαν ἀνάγκην γενναίοις ἐνεγκεῖν. αὐτὸς τε μεγάλως ἥχομην βιοσθεῖς τοὺς προσφυγόντας ἔκθεσιν πάλιν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν, ἀμείνων δὲ νομίσας παρὰ Ἱωμαίους.
that the noble vassals of the king, who had come to me,\(^a\) ought not to live if they refused to conform to the customs of those with whom they had sought refuge; they also falsely accused them of being sorcerers who made it impossible to defeat the Romans. Deluded by specious assertions designed to catch their ear, the people readily believed them to be true. On hearing of this, I again\(^b\) impressed upon the community that such refugees ought to be free from persecution; and ridiculed the absurdity of the charge of sorcery by remarking that the Romans would not maintain so vast an army if they could defeat their enemies by enchantments. My words had a temporary effect; but, after their departure, their passions were again aroused against the nobles by their villainous advisers, and on one occasion they made an armed assault on their house in Tarichaeae, intending to kill them. On being informed of this I feared that, if so abominable a crime were committed, the place would be rendered untenable as an asylum for would-be refugees. So I went with some others to the residence of the nobles, locked it up, made a canal leading from the house\(^c\) to the lake, summoned a boat, and, embarking with them, crossed over to the frontiers of the district of Hippos.\(^d\) I paid them the price of their horses, which the conditions of our flight made it impossible for me to bring, and so took my leave, earnestly entreating them to bear their hard fate with fortitude. I was myself deeply distressed at being driven to expose these refugees once more on enemy soil; but I thought it better

\(^{a}\) Cf. § 112. \\
\(^{b}\) § 113. \\
\(^{c}\) Presumably close to the water. \\
\(^{d}\) A Greek town of Decapolis, just outside the frontier of King Agrippa's territory.
ἀποθανείν αὐτοὺς, εἰ συμπέσοι, μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν χώραν. οἱ δ' ἄρα διεσώθησαν· συνεχώρησαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς βασιλεύς Ἀχρίππας τὰ ἡμαρτημένα. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ ἑκείνους τούτ' ἔσχε τὸ τέλος.

155 (32) Οἱ δὲ τὴν τῶν Τιβερίεων πόλιν κατοικοῦντες γράφουσιν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα παρακαλοῦντες πέμψαι δύναμιν τὴν φυλάξουσαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν· θέλειν γὰρ αὐτῶι προστίθεσθαι. κάκείνω μὲν ταῦτ' ἔγραφον. ἀφικόμενον δὲ με πρὸς αὐτοὺς παρεκάλουν τὰ τέχνη κατασκευάζειν αὐτοῖς ὡς ὑπεσχήμνην ἡκηκόεισαι δὲ τὰς Ταριχέας ἤδη τετειχίσθαι. κατακεύσασι οὖν ἐγὼ καὶ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομέαν παρασκευασάμενος τοὺς ἀρχιτέκτονας ἐκέλευον

157 ένεργείαν. μετὰ δὲ τρίτην ἡμέραν εἰς Ταριχέας ἀπερχόμενον μου, τῆς Τιβεριάδος ἀπεχούσας στάδια τριάκοντα, συνέβη τινάς Ἦρωμαίων ἱππεῖς οὐ πόρωθεν τῆς πόλεως ὀδοιποροῦσας ὤφθηναί, οἱ δόξαν παρέσχον τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέας δύναμιν ήκειν.

158 εὐθέως γοῦν εἰς μὲν τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ πολλῶν ἑπαίνων ἠφίέσαν φωνᾶς, κατ' ἐμοῖ δὲ βλασφήμους. καὶ ἐπιδραμὼν τις ἀπήγγειλέν μοι τὴν διάνοιαν

159 αὐτῶν, ὡς ἀφίστασθαι μου διεγνώκασιν. ἐγὼ δ' ἀκούσας ἐταράχθην μὲν σφόδρα· τοὺς γὰρ ὀπλῖτας ἔτυχον ἐκ τῶν Ταριχεῶν ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτῶν οἰκήσεις ἀφεικὼς διὰ τοῦ τῆς ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν σάββατον ὑπάρχειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐβουλόμην ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ πλῆθους ἐνοχλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς Ταριχεαῖς.

159 ὁσάκις γοῦν ἐν αὐταῖς διετριβοῦν οὐδὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα φυλακῆς ἐποιούμην πρόνοιαν, πειραὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐνοικοῦντων τῆς πρὸς μὲ πίστεως λαβῶν

161 πολλάκις. μόνον δ' ἐξὼν περὶ ἐμαυτὸν ἐπτὰ τῶν 60
that they should perish, if such destiny awaited them, under Roman hands than within my own province. After all they escaped, obtaining pardon for their errors from King Agrippa. So ended this episode.

(32) The citizens of Tiberias now wrote\(^a\) to the king, requesting him to send some troops to protect their territory, as they desired to attach themselves to him. Such was their letter to him; while they asked me, on my coming among them, to build walls for them in fulfilment of my promise,\(^b\) having heard that Tarichaeae had already been fortified. I agreed and, having made all preparations for building, ordered the foremen to take the work in hand. Three days later, however, as I was on the road to Tarichaeae, which is thirty furlongs distant from Tiberias, some Roman cavalry happened to be seen on the march not far from the town; this created an impression that the king’s troops were approaching. Instantly there was an outburst of shouts; the king was loudly applauded, curses were heaped upon my head. I was informed of their intended defection by one who ran off to me from the town. The news filled me with alarm; for I had dismissed my soldiers from Tarichaeae to their homes because, the next day being the Sabbath, I desired that the Tarichaeans should be spared any annoyance from the presence of the military. Indeed, whenever I had my quarters there, I took no precautions even for my personal security, having received so many proofs of the loyalty of the inhabitants.\(^c\) My present company com-

\(^a\) With this narrative cf. B. ii. 632 ff.

\(^b\) § 144.

\(^c\) An instance of lack of ordinary precautions has been given in §§ 132 ff., on which occasion, however, little “loyalty” was shown!
όπλιτῶν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἦπόρουν δὲ πράξεως. μετα-
πέμπεσθαι γὰρ τὴν ἐμῆν δύναμιν διὰ τὸ λήγειν
ἡδὴ τὴν ἐνεστώσαν ἦμεραν οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζον· οὐδὲ
γὰρ ἀφικομένης αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ὀπλα
λαβεῖν ἤν, 1 κολυντῶν ἡμᾶς τῶν νόμων, κὰν
162 μεγάλη τις ἐπείγειν ἀνάγκη δοκή. εἰ δὲ τοῖς
Ταριχεώταῖς καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῖς έξένοις ἐπι-
τρέψαμι τὴν πόλιν διαρράξειν, ἐώρων οὐχ ἰκανοῦς
ἐσομένους, τὴν δ' έμὴν ὑπέρθεσαν ἐώρων μακρο-
τάτην· φθάσονθαι γὰρ καὶ τὴν παρὰ βασιλέως
δύναμιν ἀφικομένην, καὶ ἐκπεσεῖσθαι τῆς πόλεως
163 φόμην. ἐβουλεύσομην οὖν στρατηγήματι χρήσθαι
τῷ κατ' αὐτῶν. παραχρήμα δὴ τοὺς πιστοτάτους
tῶν φίλων ταῖς πύλαις τῶν Ταριχεών ἐπιστήσας
φυλάξοντας μετ' ἀσφαλείας τοὺς ἔξενοις 2 θέλοντας
καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν οἰκῶν προσκαλεσάμενος,
αὐτῶν ἐκαστὸν ἐκέλευσα καθελκύσαντα πλοίον
ἐμβάντα συνεπαγόμενον τὸν κυβερνήτην ἐπεσθαί
164 μοι πρὸς τὴν Τιβεριέων πόλιν. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ
tῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, οὐς ἔφην ἐπτὰ τὸν
ἀριθμὸν εἶναι, ἐμβας ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Τιβεριάδα.
165 (33) Τιβεριέεις δὲ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως δύναμιν
ὡς ἐγνωσαν οὐχ ἦκουσαν αὐτοῖς, πλοίων δὲ τὴν
λίμνην πᾶσαν ἐθεὰσαντο πλήρη, δείσαντες περὶ τῆς
πόλει καὶ καταπλαγέντες ως ἐπιβατῶν πλήρεις
166 εἶναι νέας, 3 μετατίθενται τὰς γνώμας. ρίψαντες
οὐν τὰ ὀπλα μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παιδῶν ὑπητίαζον,
pολλὰς μετ' ἐπαίνων εἰς ἐμὲ φωνὰς ἀφιέντες,
ἐύκαζον γὰρ οὗ προπεπύθθαι με τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν,
167 καὶ παρεκάλουν φείσασθαι τῆς πόλεως. ἐγὼ δὲ

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1 ἤν inserted by Holwerda.
2 So the edilix prinicps: εξείναι mss.
prising only seven soldiers and some friends, I was at a loss what to do. I was reluctant to recall my disbanded force, because the day was already far spent; and even had they come, it would have been impossible for them to bear arms on the morrow, such action being forbidden by our laws, however urgent the apparent necessity. If, on the other hand, I were to permit the Tarichaeans and their resident aliens to sack Tiberias, I foresaw that their numbers would be insufficient and action on my part would be seriously delayed; the king's troops would have entered ahead of me, and I expected to be repulsed from the town. I determined, therefore, to have recourse to a ruse. Without a moment's delay I posted the friends in whom I placed most confidence at the gates of Tarichaeae, to keep a strict watch on any persons desiring egress. I then summoned the heads of families and ordered each of them to launch a vessel, bring the steersman with them, and follow me to Tiberias. I myself, with my friends and the seven soldiers already mentioned, then embarked and set sail for that city.

(33) The Tiberians, when they understood that no troops from the king had arrived and saw the whole lake alive with shipping, were alarmed for the city, and, terrified in the belief that the vessels were fully manned, changed their plans. Throwing down their arms they came out, with wives and children, to meet me, and, not imagining that I had got wind of their intentions, showered encomiums upon me and besought me to spare the city. On nearing Tiberias

\[a \text{ i.e. the oral law; cf. I Mace. ii. 34 ff.}\]

\[3 \text{ Text doubtful: for } \\varepsilon\iota\nu\alpha \nu \varepsilon\alpha \delta \text{ MW read } \\varepsilon\iota\epsilon\nu \alpha \nu \varepsilon\alpha \nu \varepsilon\alpha.\]
πλησίων γενόμενος ἀγκύρας μὲν ἔτι πόρρω τῆς γῆς ἐκέλευον βαλέσθαι τοὺς κυβερνήτας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ κατάθηλα τοῖς Τιβεριεύσιν εἶναι τὰ πλοῖα κενὰ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν ὄντα, πλησιάσας δ' αὐτὸς ἐν τινὶ πλοίῳ κατεμεφόμην αὐτῶν τὴν ἁνοίαν, καὶ ὅτι δὴ οὕτως εὐχερεῖς εἶν πάσης δικαίας ἀνευ προφά-

168 σεως ἐξήστασθαι τῆς πρὸς με πίστεως. ὀμολογοῦν δ' εἰς γε2 τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοῖς συγγνώσεσθαι βεβαίως, εἰ πέμψειαν δέκα τοῦ πλῆθος προεστῶτας. ὑπ' ακουσάντων δ' ἑτούμως καὶ πεμψάντων ἀνδρᾶς οὕς προείπον, ἐμβιβάσας ἀπέλυνοι εἰς Γαριχέας φυλαχθη-

σομένους.

169 (34) Τῷ στρατηγήματι δὲ τούτῳ τὴν βουλὴν πάσαν κατ' ὀλίγους λαβὼν εἰς τὴν προειρημενὴν πόλιν καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς τοῦ δήμου πρώτους ἀνδρὰς οὐκ ἐλάττους ἑκεῖνων ὄντας διεπεμψάμην. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος, ὡς εἰδον εἰς οἶνον κακῶν ἥκουσι μέγεθος, παρεκάλουν με τὸν αὐτὸν τῆς στάσεως τιμωρήσασθαι. Κλείτος δ' ἦν ὄνομα τούτῳ, θρασὺς τε καὶ προπετῆς νεανίας. ἔγω δ' ἀποκτείναι μὲν οὐχ ὅσιον ἤγούμενος ὁμόφυλον ἀνδρά, κολάσαι δ' ἀνάγκην ἔχων, τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ τινὶ σωματοφυλάκων Ἀρωμὲ κροτάζα προ-

170 ειθόντι κόλασε τοῦ Κλείτο τὴν ἐτέραν τῶν χειρῶν. δείκνυστοι δὲ τοῦ κελευσθέντος εἰς τοσοῦτο πλῆθος προελθεῖν μόνου, τὴν δείλιναν τοῦ στρατιώτου μὴ βουλήθης κατάθηλα γενέσθαι τοῖς Τιβεριεύσιν, αὐτὸν Κλείτον φωνῆσας " ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἄξιος," εἶπον, ὑπ' αρχεις ἀμφοτέρως τὰς χειρὰς ἀποβάλειν οὕτως ἀχάριστος εἰς ἐμὲ γενόμενος, γενὸς σαυτοῦ ὁμοῖος, μὴ καὶ ἀπειθήςας χείρονα τιμωρήσαν ὑπόσχεσιν. τοῦ δὲ τὴν ἐτέραν αὐτῷ συγχωρήσαι

173
I ordered the pilots to cast anchor at some distance from the land, in order to conceal from the Tiberians the absence of any marine force on board the vessels. I myself approached the shore with one ship and severely reprimanded the people for their folly and readiness to abandon their allegiance to me without any just excuse whatever. As to the future, however, I promised that they might rely on my pardon if they would send me ten of their leaders. Promptly accepting this proposal they sent me the men whose names I mentioned first; these I put on board and dispatched to Tarichaeae to be kept under arrest.

(34) By this ruse I made prisoners, in batches, of the whole council, and had them conveyed to Tarichaeae, along with most of the leading commoners, who numbered as many again. Seeing the wretched plight to which they were reduced, the people now urged me to take measures against the author of the sedition, a rash and headstrong youth named Cleitus. Deeming it impious to put a compatriot to death, yet imperatively necessary to punish him, I ordered Levi, one of my bodyguard, to step forward and cut off one of his hands. The man, notwithstanding these orders, was afraid to advance alone into such a crowd, whereupon, wishing to screen the soldier’s cowardice from the Tiberians, I called up Cleitus and said: “For such base ingratitude to me you deserve to lose both hands. Act as your own executioner, lest, if you refuse, a worse punishment befall you.” To his urgent request to spare him one hand I

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1 Emended (cf. e.g. §§ 323, 352): ἀγνοιαν mss.
2 Niese: τε mss.
3 r.l. δήμιος.
πολλὰ δεομένου μόλις κατένευσα. κάκεινος ἀ-σμενὸς ὑπέρ τοῦ μῆ τὰς δύο χεῖρας ἀποβαλεῖν λαβὼν μάχαιραν κόπτει τὴν ἀριστερὰν ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ τοῦτο τὴν στάσιν ἔπαυσεν.

174 (35) Τιβερίεις δὲ, ὡς εἰς τὰς Ταριχέας ἀφικόμην, γνώντες τὴν στρατηγίαν ἢ κατ’ αὐτῶν ἔχρησάμην, ἀπεθαύμαζον ὅτι χωρὶς φόνων ἐπαύσα τὴν ἄγνωμο-

175 σύνην αὐτῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς εἰρκτῆς μετα-

176 πεμψάμενος τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν Τιβερίεων, ἦν δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἰούστος καὶ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ Πίστος, συνιδείπνους ἑποιησάμην, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἐστίασιν ἐλεγον ὅτι τὴν Ῥωμαίῶν δύναμιν οὐδ’ αὐτὸς ἀγνοῶ πασῶν διαφέρουσαν, συγκῆν μέντοι περὶ αὐτῆς διὰ τοὺς ληστάς. καὶ αὐτοῖς δὲ ταύτα συνεβούλευν ποιεῖν τὸν ἐπιτήδειον περιμένουσι καιρὸν καὶ μὴ δυσανασχετεῖν ἐμοὶ στρατηγῷ-

177 ἐπιεικοῦς ὁμοίως τυχεῖν. τὸν Ἰούστον δὲ καὶ ὑπεμίμην ὅτι πρόσθεν ἡ με παραγενέσθαι ἐκ τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων οἱ Γαλλαιῶν τάδελφοῦ τὰς χείρας ἀποκόψειαν αὐτοῦ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου πλα-

178 στῶν αὐτῶ γραμμάτων κακοφυγίαν ἐπικαλέσαντες, καὶ ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν Φιλίππου Γαμαλίται πρὸς Βαβυλωνίους στασίαζοντες ἀν-

έλοιεν Χάριτα, συγγενῆς δ’ ἤν οὔτος τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ ὡς Ἰησοῦν τῶν ἀδελφον αὐτοῦ, ἄνδρα τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ἰούστου, ὀμοφρόνως καλόσειαν. ταύτα παρὰ τὴν ἐστίασιν διαλεχθεῖς τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰούστον ἑωθὲν ἐκελεύει πάντας τῆς φυλακῆς ἀπολυθῆναι.

179 (36) Πρὸ δὲ τούτων συνεβή τὸν Ἰακύμου Φιλ-

180 ἰππον ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ Γάμαλα τοῦ φρούριον τοιαύτης
grudgingly consented; at which, to save himself the loss of both, he gladly drew his sword and struck off his left hand. His action brought the sedition to an end.

(35) The Tiberians, discovering, on my arrival at Tarichaeae, the trick which I had played upon them, were amazed at the manner in which I had checked their arrogance without bloodshed. I now sent for my Tiberian prisoners, among whom were Justus and his father Pistus, and made them sup with me. During the entertainment I remarked that I was well aware myself of the unrivalled might of the Roman arms, but, on account of the brigands, kept my knowledge to myself. I advised them to do the same, to bide their time and not to be intolerant of my command, as they would not easily find another leader as considerate as myself. I further reminded Justus that, before I came from Jerusalem the Galilaeans had cut off his brother's hands on a charge of forging letters prior to the outbreak of hostilities; also how the people of Gamala, after Philip's departure, in an insurrection against the Babylonians, slew Chares, Philip's kinsman, and savagely murdered his brother Jesus, husband of the sister of the man I was addressing. Such was the nature of my conversation at table with Justus and his companions. In the morning I gave orders that all my prisoners should be discharged.

(36) Some time before the revolt of Tiberias, Philip, son of Jacimus, had left the fortress of Gamala

* The narrative, as here told, is confused and ridiculous; the parallel account in B. ii. 642 ff. is consistent.

b For the events referred to cf. §§ 179, 186 below.

1 Naber: σωφρόνως or σωφρόνος mss.
180 αὐτίς θειομένης. Φίλιππος πυθόμενος μεθεστάναι μὲν Οὔαρον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα, διάδοχον δὲ ἀφίχθαι Μόδιον1 Λίκουνον ἄνδρα φίλον αὐτῷ καὶ συνήθη πάλαι, γράφει πρὸς τοῦτον τὸ παρ᾽ εὐαγγέλλων καὶ παρακαλῶν τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντα γράμματα πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας ἀποστείλαι. καὶ Μόδιος2 δεξάμενος τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἑχάρη σφόδρα, σώζεσθαι τὸν Φίλιππον ἡ τοῦ αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσει, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας ἐπέμψε τὰ γράμματα περὶ Βηρυτοῦ ὄντας. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ὡς ἔγνω πεινηθῇ τὴν περὶ Φίλιππον φήμην γενομένην, λόγος γὰρ διήλθεν ὡς στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον, ἐπέμψεν ἵππεῖς τοὺς παραπέμψαντας τὸν Φίλιππον. 182 καὶ παραγενόμενον ἀσπάζεται τε φιλοφρόνως τοῖς τῇ Ῥωμαίοις ἤγεμον ἐπεδείκνυεν ὅτι δὴ Φίλιππος οὐτὸς ἐστιν περὶ νῦν διεξῆνε λόγος ὡς Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάντος. κελεύει δὲ αὐτὸν ἵππεῖς των ἀναλαβόντα θάττον εἰς Γάμαλα τὸ φρουρίον πορευθῆναι, τουσ ὀικείους αὐτῷ πάντας ἔκειθεν ἐξάξοντα καὶ τοὺς Ἄνθρωποὺς εἰς τὴν Βαπτανίαν πάλιν ἀπο-καταστήσαντα. παρῆγγειλε δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς τὸν μὴ γενέσθαι τινὰ νεωτερισμὸν παρὰ τῶν υψηκῶν. Φίλιππος μὲν ὄν, ταύτα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιστείλαντος, ἐσπευδε ποιή-σων ὁ προσέπαξεν. 183 (37) Ἰωσήφος δ᾽ ὁ3 τῆς ἱστορίας πολλοὺς νεανίσκους θρασεῖς προτρεπάμενος αὐτῷ συνάρα- σθαι καὶ ἐπαναστὰς τοῖς ἐν Γάμαλα πρώτοις

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1 Μονόδιον R; cf. §§ 61, 114.
2 Μονόδιος R.
3 ὁ Ναβερ: δὲ mss.
under the following circumstances. On hearing that Varus had been deposed by King Agrippa and that his old friend and comrade, Modius Aequus, had come as his successor, Philip wrote to the latter, relating his recent experiences and requesting him to forward to the king and queen the letters which he had previously transmitted. Modius, delighted at receiving an epistle which assured him of Philip's escape, dispatched the letters to their majesties, who were then in the neighbourhood of Berytus. King Agrippa, on learning that the current rumour concerning Philip was false—it was commonly said that he had taken command of the Jews for the war with the Romans—sent a body of horse to escort him to Berytus. On his arrival, he gave him a warm greeting and presented him to the Roman officers as the identical Philip about whom reports were circulating that he had revolted from Rome. He then instructed him to lose no time in returning with a body of cavalry to the fortress of Gamala, to bring all his friends out of that place, and to reinstate the Babylonians in Batanaea; charging him at the same time to take every precaution to prevent insurrection on the part of his subjects. These royal commands Philip hastened to execute.

(37) [Not long after this] Josephus, the midwife's son, induced a number of adventurous youths to join him, and, assaulting the magistrates of Gamala,

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\(a\) This digression gives the sequel to the history narrated in §§ 46-61 above.  
\(b\) Cf. § 48.  
\(c\) Beirut.  
\(d\) On the origin of the colony of Babylonian Jews in Batanaea see note on § 54 above.  
\(e\) There is no note of time in the Greek; the sequence of events may be inferred from § 177.  
\(f\) "Head-men."
ἐπεθεὶ οὕτως ἀφίστασθαι τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὀπλα, ὡς διὰ τούτων τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀποληψομένους. καὶ τινὰς μὲν ἐβιάσαντο, τοὺς δὲ μὴ συναρεσκομένους αὐτῶν ταῖς γνώμαις ἀνήρονν. κτείνουσὶ δὲ καὶ Χάρητα, καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ τίνα τῶν συγγενῶν Ἰησοῦν καὶ Ἰούστου δὲ τοῦ Τιβερίων ἀδελφόν ἁνείλον, καθὼς ἡ ἁθος προείπομεν. γράφονσι δὲ καὶ πρὸς με παρακαλοῦντες πέμψαι καὶ ὄψαναι αὐτοῖς ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀναστήσοντας αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει τείχη. κἂν πρὸς οὐδέτερον ἀντέιπον δὲν ἰῆλωσαν. ἀφίσταται δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἡ Γαυλανίτις χώρα μέχρι κόμης Σολύμης. Σελευκεία δὲ καὶ Σωγάνη φυσεί κόμαις φιλορωτάταις φιλοδόμησα τείχη, τὰς τε κατὰ τὴν ἀνω Γαλιλαίαν κόμας, καὶ πάνω πετρώδεις οὖσας. 

ἐτείχισα παραπλησίως: ὄνοματα δ’ αὐταῖς Ἰάμνια Ἀμνηρώθ Ἀχαράβη. ὠχυρωσα δὲ καὶ τὰς εὖ τῇ κατῳ Γαλιλαίᾳ, πόλεις μὲν Ταριχέας Τιβεριάδα Σέφωρω, κόμαις δὲ Ἀρβήλων στῆλαιον, Βηροσουβαί Σελαμην Ἰωτάπατα Καφαράθ Ἄκων Ὁσπαναὶ Παφαὶ καὶ τὸ Ἰπαθύριον ὄρος. εἰς ταύτας καὶ σῖτον ἀπεθέμην πολὺν καὶ ὀπλὰ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τὴν μετὰ ταύτα.

189 (38) Ἰωάννη ἰδὼ τῶν Δηνοεῖ τὸ κατ’ ἐμὸν μύσος προσημεύετο βαρέως φέροντι τὴν ἐμὴν εὐπραγίαν. προθέμενοι οὖν πάντως ἐκποδῶν με ποιήσαο ὑμεῖς τῇ μὲν αὐτοῦ πατρίδι τοῖς Ποσχάλοις κατα-

189 σκευάζει τείχη, τῶν ἀδελφῶν δὲ Σίμωνα καὶ τῶν τοῦ Σισέννα Ἰωνάθην <μεθ’> ὀπλιτῶν περὶ ἐκατόν εἰς Ἡροσόλυμα πέμπει πρὸς τῶν τοῦ

1 Most miss. read ἀδέλφην. 2 Inserted by Niese.
brought pressure to bear on them to revolt from the king and take up arms, with the prospect of thereby regaining their independence. Some they forced into compliance; those who declined to acquiesce in their views they put to death. Among others, as already mentioned, they slew Chares and one of his kinsmen, Jesus, and the brother of Justus of Tiberias. To me they wrote, asking me to send them troops and workmen to repair the town walls; neither of these requests did I refuse. The region of Gaulanitis, as far as the village of Solyma, likewise revolted from the king. I erected walls at Seleucia and Sogane, villages with very strong natural defences, and provided similar protection for certain villages in Upper Galilee, also in very rugged surroundings, named Jamnia, Ameroth, and Achirabe. In Lower Galilee I fortified the cities of Tarichaeae, Tiberias, and Sepphoris, and the villages of the Cave of Arbela, Beersubae, Selame, Jotapata, Kapharath, Kōmus, Soganae, Papha and Mount Tabor. These places I stocked with ample supplies of corn and arms for their future security.

(38) Meanwhile, the hatred borne me by John, son of Levi, who was aggrieved at my success, was growing more intense, and he determined at all costs to have me removed. Accordingly, after fortifying his native town of Gischala, he dispatched his brother Simon and Jonathan, son of Sisenna, with about a hundred armed men, to Jerusalem, to Simon, son of

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There is some confusion here. In §§ 177 f. only two persons are named: Chares, kinsman of Philip, and Jesus, brother of Chares and brother-in-law of Justus.

Or Meroth (cf. B. ii. 573).

Text corrupt (cf. B. ibid.).
Γαμαλιήλου Σίμωνα, παρακαλέσοντας αὐτὸν πείσαι τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφελομένους ἐμὲ τῶν Γαλιλαίων αὐτῷ ἱησοῦασθαι τὴν 191 ἐξουσίαν τούτων. ὃ δὲ Σίμων οὗτος ἦν πόλεως μὲν Ἱεροσολύμων, γένους δὲ σφόδρα λαμπροῦ, τῆς δὲ Φαρισαίων αἱρέσεως, οἵ περὶ τὰ πάτρια νόμιμα δοκοῦσιν τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀκριβείᾳ διαφέρειν. 192 ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ πλήρης συνέσεως καὶ λογισμοῦ δυνάμενός τε πράγματα κακῶς κείμενα φρονῆσαι τῇ ἐαυτῷ διορθώσασθαι, φίλος τε παλαίος τῷ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ συνήθῃς, πρὸς ἐμὲ δὲ τότε διαφόρως 193 εἶχεν. δεξάμενος οὖν τὴν παράκλησιν ἐπείθεν τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς "Ανάνου καὶ Ἰησοῦν τὸν τοῦ Γαμαλά τυνάς τε τῶν τῆς αὐτῆς στάσεως ἐκείνους ἐκκόπτεν μὲ φυόμενον καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν ἐπὶ μήκιστον αὑθενθέντα δόξης, συνοίσεων αὐτοῖς λέγων εἰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀφαιρεθεῖν. μὴ μέλλειν δὲ παρεκάλει τοὺς περὶ τὸν "Ανάνου, μὴ καὶ φθάσας γνῶναι μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπέλθου τῇ πόλει δυνάμεως. ὃ μὲν Σίμων ταῦτα συνεβούλευεν, ὃ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς "Ανάνος οὐ ράδιον εἶναι τὸ ἔργῳ ἄπεφαυεν. πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν ἀρχιερεῶν καὶ τοῦ πλήθους προεστώτας μαρτυρεῖν ὅτι καλῶς ἐγὼ στρατηγῶ, ποιεῖσθαι δὲ κατηγορίαν ἀνδρὸς καθ’ οὗ μηδὲν λέγειν δύνανται δίκαιον φαύλων ἔργον εἶναι. 194 (39) Σίμων δ’ ως ἤκουσεν ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀνάνου, συνεπών μὲν ἐκείνους ἠξίωσεν μὴδ’ εἰς πολλοὺς ἐκφέρειν τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν. προνοήσεθαι 2 γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐφασκεν ὡς θάπτων μετασταθείν εἰκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας. προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ

1 Bekker: τῆς αὐτῶν στάσεως ἐκείνου mss.
2 Niese: προνοήσεθαι mss.
Gamaliel, to entreat him to induce the national assembly of Jerusalem to deprive me of the command of Galilee and to vote for his appointment to the post. This Simon was a native of Jerusalem, of a very illustrious family, and of the sect of the Pharisees, who have the reputation of being unrivalled experts in their country’s laws. A man highly gifted with intelligence and judgement, he could by sheer genius retrieve an unfortunate situation in affairs of state. He was John’s old and intimate friend, and, at the time, was at variance with me. On receiving this application he exerted himself to persuade the high-priests Ananus and Jesus, son of Gamalas, and some others of their party to clip my sprouting wings and not suffer me to mount to the pinnacle of fame. He observed that my removal from Galilee would be to their advantage, and urged them to act without delay, for fear that I should get wind of their plans and march with a large army upon Jerusalem. Such was Simon’s advice. In reply, Ananus, the high-priest, represented the difficulties of the action suggested, in view of the testimonials from many of the chief priests and leaders of the people to my capacity as a general; adding that to accuse a man against whom no just charge could be brought was a dishonourable proceeding.

(39) On hearing this speech of Ananus, Simon implored the embassy to keep to themselves and not divulge what had passed at the conference; asserting that he would see to it that I was speedily superseded in Galilee. Then calling up John’s brother

a Or “in the rules of their fathers.” The νόμιμα are the traditional rules (Halakoth, etc.) which grew up round the Law (νόμος).
JOSEPHUS

'Ἰωάννου προσέταξεν πέμπειν δωρεὰς τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀνανοῦν τάχα γὰρ οὕτως ἐφῆ πείσειν αὐτοὺς
196 μεταθέσθαι τὰς γνώμας. καὶ τέλος ἐπραξεν ὁ Σίμων ὁ προύθετος. ὦ γὰρ Ἀνανος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τοῖς χρήμασιν διαφθαρέντες συντίθενται τῇς Γαλι- λαίαις ἐκβαλεῖν με, μηδενὸς ἀλλὸν τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τοῦτο γυνώσκοντος. καὶ δὴ ἐδοξεῖν αὐτοῖς πέμπειν ἄνδρας κατὰ γένος μὲν διαφέροντας, τῇ
197 παιδείᾳ δ' ὅμοιοις. ἦσαν δ' αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν δημοτικοί δύο, Ἰωνάθης καὶ Ἀνανίας, Φαρισαῖοι τῇν αἱρέσιν, ὦ δὲ τρίτος Ἰώζαρος τῇρατικοῦ γένους, Φαρισαῖος καὶ αὐτός, Σίμων δ' εὖ ἄρχιερεῶν νεώτατος
198 ἑκείνων. τούτους ἐκέλευσεν ἀφικομένους εἰς τὸ πλήθος τῶν Γαλιλαίων πυθέσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν αἵτινα δι' ἐν ἐμὲ φιλούσων εἰ δὲ φαίεν ὅτι πόλεως εἶν τῆς 'Ἰροσολύμων, καὶ αὐτοὺς εὖ ἑκείνων λέγειν ὑπάρχειν τούς τέσσαρας, εἰ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν νόμων, μηδ' αὐτοὺς ἀγνοεῖν ἑθη τὰ πάτρια φάσκειν, εἰ δ' αὖ διὰ τὴν ἱερωσύνην λέγοιεν ἀγαπᾶν με, καὶ αὐτῶν ἀποκρίνεσθαι ὑδύ ἱερεῖς ὑπάρχειν.
199 (40) Ταῦθ' ύποθέμενοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην τέσσαρας μυριάδας ἀργυρίου διδόσαν αὐτοὶς ἐκ
200 τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Γαλιλαίων ἡκουσαν, Ἰησοῦν ὄνομα, περὶ αὐτῶν τάξιν ἐξακο- σίων ὀπλιτῶν ἔχειν, ἑπιδημοῦντα τοῖς Ἰεροσο- λύμοις τόσο, μεταπεμφάμενοι τοῦτον καὶ τριῶν μηνῶν μισθὸν δόντες ἐκέλευον ἐπέσθαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην πειθαρχοῦντα αὐτοῖς, καὶ τῶν

1 So (or Ἰωάζαρος) § 324 etc.: the mss. here have Γόξαρος (Γόζαρος).
74
he instructed him to send presents to Ananus and his friends, as a likely method of inducing them to change their minds. Indeed Simon eventually achieved his purpose; for, as the result of bribery, Ananus and his party agreed to expel me from Galilee, while every one else in the city remained ignorant of the plot. The scheme agreed upon was to send a deputation comprising persons of different classes of society but of equal standing in education. Two of them, Jonathan and Ananias, were from the lower ranks and adherents of the Pharisees; the third, Jozar, also a Pharisee, came of a priestly family; the youngest, Simon, was descended from high priests. Their instructions were to approach the Galilaeans and ascertain the reason for their devotion to me. If they attributed it to my being a native of Jerusalem, they were to reply that so were all four of them; if to my expert knowledge of their laws, they should retort that neither were they ignorant of the customs of their fathers; if, again, they asserted that their affection was due to my priestly office, they should answer that two of them were likewise priests.

(40) After thus prompting Jonathan and his colleagues, they presented them with forty thousand pieces of silver out of the public funds; and, on hearing that a Galilaean, named Jesus, was staying in Jerusalem, who had with him a company of six hundred men under arms, they sent for him, gave him three months’ pay and directed him to accompany the party and obey their orders. They

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\( a \) Cf. the shorter account in B. ii. 627-9.

\( b \) If denarii are meant, the sum would be about £1200. Perhaps a smaller silver coin is intended.
JOSEPHUS

πολιτῶν δὲ τριακοσίοις ἀνδράσιν ὀδότες ἀργύριον εἰς προφή τῶν ὀλων προσέπαξαν ἄκολουθείν τοῖς 201 πρέσβεσιν. πεισθέντων οὖν αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐξὸδου εὐτρεπισθέντων ἐξῆσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰω- νάθην σὺν τούτοις, ἐπαγόμενοι καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν 202 τοῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ ὀπλίτας ἐκατόν, λαβόντες ἐντολὰς παρὰ τῶν πεμφάντων, εἰ μὲν ἐκὼν καταθείμην τὰ ὅπλα, ζῶντα πέμπειν εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν, εἰ δ' ἀντιασοσύμην, ἀποκτείναι μηδὲν δεδιώτας.

203 αὐτῶν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ πρόσταγμα. ἐγεγράφεισαν δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ πρὸς τὸν κατ' ἐμοὺ πόλεμον ἐτοιμάζομαι, τοῖς τε Σέπφωριν καὶ Γάβαρα κατοικοῦσιν καὶ Τιβεριεύσι προσέπαττον συμ- μαχίαν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ πέμπειν.

204 (41) Ταῦτα μοι τοῦ πατρὸς γράφαντος, ἐξεῖπε δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἱησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Γαμαλᾶ, τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ βουλῇ γενομένων εἰς, φίλος ὦν καὶ συνήθης ἐμοὶ, σφόδρα περιήλθησα τοὺς τε πολίτας οὕτως περί ἐμὲ γενομένους ἀχαρίστους, ἐπιγνώσει διὰ φθόνου ἀναφθῆναι με προστάξαι, καὶ τῷ τῶν πατέρα διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων πολλά με παρακαλεῖν ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν ποθεῖν γὰρ ἐφ' θεάσασθαι

205 τῶν υἱῶν πρὸ τοῦ τελευτῆσαι. ταῦτα δὴ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπον καὶ ὅτι μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν κατα- λιπῶν τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα πορευ- σομίην. λύπη δ' ἂπαντας τοὺς ἀκούσαντας κατέσχε, παρεκάλουν τε κλαίοντες μὴ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀπολομένους εἰ τῆς ἐμῆς στρατηγίας

206 ἀποστηρηθείεν. οὐ χατανεύοντος δὲ μοι ταῖς ἱκετείαις αὐτῶν, ἄλλα περὶ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ φρον- τίζοντος σωτηρίας, δείσαντες οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι μὴ ἀπελθόντος εὐκαταφρόνητοι τοῖς λησταῖς γένοιτο, 76
THE LIFE, 200–206

further requisitioned three hundred citizens to follow the deputies, providing money for the maintenance of the whole number. The consent of these recruits being obtained and their preparations for the journey completed, the party of Jonathan set out with them; John’s brother and a hundred regulars also accompanied them. They had orders, in the event of my volunteering to lay down my arms, to send me alive to Jerusalem, but if I offered any resistance to kill me regardless of consequences, having the weight of their masters’ commands behind them. They had also written to John to be prepared for an attack upon me, and were issuing orders to Sepphoris, Gabara, and Tiberias to send assistance to John.

(41) My information reached me in a letter from my father, to whom the news was confided by Jesus, son of Gamalas, an intimate friend of mine, who had been present at the conference. I was deeply distressed, both by the base ingratitude of my fellow-citizens, whose jealousy, as I could see, had prompted the order to put me to death, and also by the earnest request in my father’s letter that I would come to him, as he longed to see his son before his death. I told my friends exactly what had happened and of my intention, in three days’ time, to quit the district and go home. All who heard me were overcome with grief and besought me, with tears, not to abandon them to the ruin which awaited them if deprived of my leadership. To these entreaties, out of concern for my own safety, I refused to yield; whereupon the Galilaeans, fearing that my withdrawal would leave them an easy prey

1 κακούσοντας P, ἀκούσαντα RA, ἀκούοντας MW.
JOSEPHUS

πέμπονυς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἀπασαν τοὺς σημανοῦντας τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην περὶ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς. 207 πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πανταχόθεν συνήχθησαν, ὡς ἦκουσαν, μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων, οὐ πόθῳ, δοκῶ 1 μοι, τῷ πρὸς ἐμὲ μᾶλλον ἥ τῷ περὶ αὐτῶν δεῖ τοῦτο πράσσοντες. ἐμοὶ γὰρ παραμένοντος πείσεσθαι κακὸν οὐδὲν ὑπελάμβανον. ἦκον οὖν πάντες εἰς τὸ μέγα πεδίον εἰς ὧ διέτριβον. 'Ασωχίς ἐστιν ὁνόμα αὐτῷ.

208 (42) Διὰ δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης θαυμάσιον οἷον ὄνειρον ἐθεασάμην. ἐπεὶ γὰρ εἰς κοίτην ἐτραπόμην διὰ τὰ γραφέντα λυποῦμένοι καὶ τεταραγμένοι,

209 ἐδοξά τινα λέγειν ἐπιστάντα μοι: "παῦσαι τὴν ψυχῆν, ὃ οὗτος, ἀλγῶν, παντὸς δ' ἀπαλλάσσον ὀδὸν: τὰ γὰρ λυπουότα σε μέγιστον ποιήσει καὶ εἰ πάσιν εὐτυχέστατον, κατορθώσεις δ' οὐ μόνον ταύτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰ ἐτέρα. μὴ κάμνε δή, μέμνησο δ' ὦτι καὶ 'Ῥωμαίωις δεῖ σε πολεμῆσαι.'

210 τούτον δὴ τὸν ὄνειρον θεασάμενος διανίσταμαι καταβηθναί προθυμοῦμένος εἰς τὸ πεδίον. πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐμὴν ὤψιν πάν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Γαλιλαίων, ἦσαν δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς γυναικὲς τε καὶ παιδεῖς, ἐπὶ στόμα ρύθαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ δακρύοντες ἱκέτευον μὴ σφᾶς ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, μηδ' ἀπελθεῖν ἐάσαντα τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐνύβρισμα τοῖς ἔχθροις

211 ἐσομένην. ὡς δὲ ταῖς δεήσεσιν οὐκ ἔπειθον, κατηνάγον ὁρκοὺς μένειν παρ' ἑαυτοῖς, ἐλοιδορούντα τε τῷ δῆμῳ πολλὰ τῶν Ἰεροσολυμιτῶν ὡς εἰρήνευσθαι τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστω.

212 (43) Ταῦτα δὴ καὶ ἐπακούον αὐτῶν καὶ βλέπων τοῦ πλῆθους τὴν κατήφειαν ἐκλάσθην πρὸς ἔλεους,

1 δοκεῖ R.
to the brigands, sent messengers throughout Galilee to announce my intended departure. On hearing of this, large numbers assembled from all quarters, with their wives and children, influenced, I imagine, as much by alarm for themselves as by affection for myself; being convinced that while I remained at my post no harm would befall them. All flocked to the great plain, called the plain of Asochis, in which my quarters lay.

(42) That night I beheld a marvellous vision in my dreams. I had retired to my couch, grieved and distraught by the tidings in the letter, when I thought that there stood by me one who said: "Cease, man, from thy sorrow of heart, let go all fear. That which grieves thee now will promote thee to greatness and felicity in all things." Not in these present trials only, but in many besides, will fortune attend thee. Fret not thyself then. Remember that thou must even battle with the Romans." Cheered by this dream-vision I arose, ready to descend into the plain. On my appearance, the whole crowd of Galilaeans, which included women and children, flung themselves on their faces and with tears implored me not to abandon them to their enemies nor, by my departure, leave their country exposed to the insolence of their foes. Finding entreaties unavailing, they sought with adjurations to coerce me to stay with them; bitterly inveighing against the people of Jerusalem for not allowing their country to remain in peace.

(43) With these cries in my ears and the sight of the dejected crowd before my eyes, my resolution broke down and I was moved to compassion; I felt

a Sahel el Buttauf, running E. and W., in the break in the hills between Jotapata on the north and Nazareth on the south.

b Or perhaps "above all men."
JOSEPHUS

άξιον εἶναι νομίζων ὑπὲρ τοσοῦτον πλῆθους καὶ προδήλους κινδύνους ὑπομένειν. κατανεῶν δὴ μένειν, καὶ πεντακισχιλίους ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀπλίτας ἦκεν κελεύσας ἔχοντας ἐαυτοῖς τροφᾶς ἐπὶ τὰς 213 οἰκίσεις διαφήμα τοὺς ἄλλους. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ πεντακισχιλίοι παρεγένοντο, τούτους ἀναλαβὼν καὶ προσχίλιον τοὺς σὺν ἐμαυτῷ στρατιωτας, ἦπεῖς δὲ οὐδοῆκοντα, τὴν πορείαν εἰς Ἱαβωλὼς κώμην, Πτολεμαϊδος μεθόριον οὕσαν, ἑποιησάμην, κἀκεῖ τὰς δυνάμεις συνείχον ἑτοιμάζεσθαι σκηντόμενος 214 ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Πλάκιδον πόλεμον. ἀφίκετο δ' οὕτως μετὰ δύο σπειρῶν πεζοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ ἢπείων ἰλης μιᾶς ὑπὸ Κεστίον Γάλλου πεμφθεῖς, ἦν ἐμπρήσῃ τὰς κώμας τῶν Γαλλαίων αἰ πλησίον ἦσαν Πτολεμαιδος. βαλλομένου δ' ἐκείνου χάρακα πρὸ τῆς Πτολεμαέων πόλεως τίθεμαι καὶ στρατόπεδον, τῆς κώμης ὅσον ἐξήκοντα σταδίους ἀποσχῶν. 215 πολλάκις μὲν οὖν τὰς δυνάμεις προηγάγομεν ὡς εἰς μάχην, πλέον δ' οὖδὲν ἀκροβολισμῶν ἐπράξαμεν· δ' ἤπερ Πλάκιδος ὀσωπὲρ ἐγίνωσκεν σπεύδοντά με πρὸς μάχην αὐτὸς καταπληγόμενος ὑπεστήλλετο· τῆς μέντοι Πτολεμαιδος οὐκ ἐχωρίζετο.

216 (44) Κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἀφικόμενος Ἰωνᾶθης μετὰ τῶν συμπρέσβεων, ὥν ἐφαμεν ἐκ τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Σίμωνα καὶ Ἀνανίου τὸν ἀρχιερέα πεπέμβας, λαβεῖν <μὲ 1> δὲ ἐνέδρας ἐπεβούλευεν· φανερὸς γὰρ ἐπιχειρεῖν οὐκ ἐτόλμα. γράφει δὲ πρὸς με τουαῦτην ἐπιστολὴν· Ἰωνᾶθης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῶ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰεροσολυμιτῶν Ἰωσὴφω χαίρερε. ἦμεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἰεροσολύμοις πρῶτων, ἀκούσαντων τὸν ἀπὸ

1 ins. ed. princeps, om. mss.
that it was right to face even manifest perils for so vast a multitude. So I consented to remain; and, giving orders that five thousand of them were to join me in arms, bringing their own provisions, I dismissed the rest to their homes. When the five thousand arrived, I set out with them, the three thousand infantry already with me and eighty horse, and marched to Chabolo, a village on the frontiers of Ptolemais, where I kept my forces together, feigning to be making preparations for an engagement with Placidus. The latter had been sent by Cestius Gallus, with two cohorts of infantry and a squadron of horse, to burn the Galilaean villages in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais. While he was entrenching himself in front of that city, I on my side encamped about sixty furlongs from the village of Chabolo. On several occasions we led out our forces, as for battle, but did not proceed beyond skirmishes, because Placidus, in proportion as he saw my eagerness for a combat, became alarmed and declined it. He did not, however, quit his post at Ptolemais.

(44) At this juncture Jonathan arrived with his fellow-envoys, who, as I said, had been sent from Jerusalem by Simon and Ananus the high-priest. Not venturing to attack me openly, he laid a plot to entrap me, writing me the following letter:

"Jonathan and his fellow deputies from Jerusalem to Josephus, greeting. The Jerusalem authorities, having heard that John of Gischala

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*a Cabul (Kābūl), half-way between the Plain of Asochis (§ 207 above) and Ptolemais (Acre).
Γιαγχάλων Ἰωάννης ἐπιβεβουλευκέναι σοι πολλάκις, ἐπέμφθημεν ἐπιπλήξοντες αὐτῷ καὶ παρανέσοντες 218 εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ὑπακούειν σοι. βουλεύσασθαι δὲ σὺν σοι θέλοντες περὶ τῶν κοινῆς πρακτέων παρακαλοῦμεν ἦκεν θάττον πρὸς ἡμᾶς μὴ μετὰ πολλῶν οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ κώμη δύνατ' ἀν στρατιώτων πλῆθος 219 ἐπιδείκασθαι." ταῦτα δ' ἐγραφον προσδοκῶντες δυὸν θάτερον, ἡ δ' χωρίς ὁπλῶν ἀφικόμενον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔξοισιν ὑποχείριον, ἡ πολλοὺς ἐπαγόμενον 220 κρονοῦσι πολέμιον. ἦκεν δὲ μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐππεύχος κομίζων, θρασύς ἄλλως νεανίας τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ ποτὲ στρατευσαμένων ἦν δ' ὁρὰ νικτός ἠδή δευτέρα, καθ' ἦν ἐτύγχανον μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν τῆς Γαλαταίας πρῶτων ἐστιώμενος. 221 οὐτός δὴ, προσαγείλατος οἰκέτου μοι ἦκεν τινὰ ἐππέα Ἰουδαίων, εἰσκληθεῖς ἐμὸν κελεύσαντος ἠσπάσατο μὲν οὐδ' ὀλος, τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δὲ προτείνας, "ταύτην," εἶπεν, "οἱ εἰς Ἱεροσολύμων ήκοντες πεπόμφασι σοι. γράφε δὴ τάχιστα καὶ σύ καὶ γὰρ ἐπείγομαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑποστρέφειν." 222 οἱ μὲν οὖν κατακείμενοι τὴν τοῦ στρατιῶτου τόλμαν ἑθαύμασαν, ἐγὼ δὲ καθέξεσθαι παρεκάλουν καὶ συνεπιπνεῖν ἡμῖν. ἀρνησάμενον δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐπιστολὴν μετὰ χεῖρας εἴχον ὡς ἐδεξάμην, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς φίλους περὶ πραγμάτων ἐτέρων τὴν ἀμυλίαν 223 ἐποιούμην. μετ' οὖν πολλῆν δ' ὠραν ἐξαναστάς καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀπολύσας ἐπὶ κοίτῃ, τέσσαρας δὲ μοι μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων φίλων προσμείναι κελεύσας καὶ τῷ παιδὶ προστάξας οἶνον ἐτομάμας, τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπαντύξας μηδὲν ἐμβλέποντος καὶ αὐτῆς ταχὺ συνεις τὴν τῶν γεγραφότων ἐπίνουαν, 224 πάλιν αὐτὴν ἐσημηνάμην. καὶ ως μὴ προανεγνωκός, 82
THE LIFE, 217–224

has frequently plotted against you, have commissioned us to reprove him and to admonish him in future to show you proper respect. Wishing to confer with you on a concerted line of action, we request you to come to us with all speed, and with but few attendants, as this village could not accommodate a large military force.”

In so writing they expected one of two things to happen: either I would come unprotected and they would have me at their mercy, or, should I bring a large retinue, they would denounced me as a public enemy. The letter was brought to me by a trooper, an insolent young fellow who had formerly served in the king’s army. It was the second hour of the night, and I was dining with my friends and the chief men of Galilee. My servant announcing the arrival of a Jewish horseman, this fellow, being called in by my orders, gave me no salute whatever, but reached out the letter and said: “The party who have come from Jerusalem have sent you this. Write your reply immediately, as I am in a hurry to return to them.” My guests were astonished at the soldier’s audacity; I, for my part, invited him to sit down and join us at supper. He declined. I kept the letter in my hands, as I had received it, and conversed with my friends on other subjects. Not long after I rose and, dismissing the others to their repose, directed four only of my closest friends to stay and ordered my servant to set on wine. Then, when no one was looking, I unfolded the letter, took in at a glance the writers’ design and sealed it up again. Holding it in my hands as though I had not
Τά ντα γράφας δοὺς τῷ στρατιώτῃ φέρειν συνεξεπεμψα τριάκοντα τῶν Γαληλαίων δοκιμωτάτους, ὑποθέμενος αὐτοῖς ἀσπάσασθαι μὲν ἐκεῖνοι, ἐτερον δὲ μηδὲν λέγειν. ἔταξα δὲ καὶ καθ' ετερον τὸν ἀργόρυον καὶ μεθυσθεὶς οὐκέτι τὰ ἀπόρρητα στήγειν ἐδύνατο, ἀλλὰ ἐφραζέν ὦν ἐρωτώμενος τὴν τε συνεσκευασμένην ἐπιβουλήν καὶ ὡς κατευθηνισμένοις εἰς τὴν θάνατον παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς. ταύτ᾽ ἀκούσας ἀντιγράφω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. "Ἰώσηπος Ἰωνάθη καὶ τοῖς συν αὐτῷ χαίρειν. ἔρρωμένους ὦμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαληλαίαν ἤκειν πυθόμενοι ἡδομαί, μάλιστα δὲ ὅτι δυνήσομαι παράδοξος ὦμῖν τὴν τῶν ἐνθάδε πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα πορευ-θήναι. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ πάλαι ποιεῖν ἤθελον. ἔδει μὲν οὖν μὴ μόνον εἰς Ἑαλώθη παραγενέσθαι με πρὸς ὦμᾶς, ἀλλὰ πόρρω καὶ μηδὲ κελευσάντων, συγγνώμης δὲ τυχεῖν ἀξιῶ μὴ δυνάμενος τοῦτο ποιήσαι, παραφυλάσσων 1 ἐν Χαβωλῷ Πλάκιδον εἰς τὴν Γαληλαίαν ἀναβήναι δὲ ἐννοίας ἔχοντα. ἤκεσε οὖν ὦμεῖς πρὸς με τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναγνώστες. ἐρρωσθείς."  

(4.5) Ῥάμαθα γράφας δοὺς τῷ στρατιώτῃ φέρειν συνεξεπεμψα τριάκοντα τῶν Γαληλαίων δοκιμωτάτους, ὑποθέμενος αὐτοῖς ἀσπάσασθαι μὲν ἐκεῖνοι, ἐτερον δὲ μηδὲν λέγειν. ἔταξα δὲ καὶ καθ᾽  

1 Niese: παραφυλάσσω sive P. παραφυλάσσω γὰρ the rest.

*a The standard silver coin, roughly a franc.
yet read it, I ordered twenty drachmas to be presented to the soldier for travelling expenses. He accepted the money and thanked me for it. Noting his cupidity as offering the surest means of gulling him, I said, "If you will consent to drink with us, you shall receive a drachma for every cup." He readily assented and, in order to win more money, indulged so freely in the wine that he became intoxicated and unable to keep his secrets any longer to himself. He told me, without being asked, of the plot that had been hatched and how I had been sentenced to death by his employers. On hearing this I wrote the following reply:

"Josephus to Jonathan and his colleagues, greeting. I am delighted to hear that you have reached Galilee in good health; more especially because I shall now be able to hand over to you the charge of affairs here and return home, as I have long wished to do. I ought certainly to have gone, not merely to Xaloth, but further, to wait upon you, even without your instructions; I must, however, request you to excuse me for my inability to do so, as I am here at Chabolo, keeping watch on Placidus, who is meditating an incursion up country into Galilee. Do you, therefore, on receipt of this letter, come and visit me. Fare you well."

(45) Having written this letter and handed it to the soldier, I sent him off, accompanied by thirty Galilaeans of the highest repute, whom I instructed to pay their respects to the deputies, but to say not a word more. To each of them I attached a soldier

\textsuperscript{b} A village in the Great Plain, on the southern frontier of Galilee, elsewhere called Exaloth (B. iii. 39).
ёκαστον αυτων πιστων ὀπλιτῶν ἐνα παραφυλάξοντα, μή τις τοῖς περιβλέπεσιν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὁμιλία γένηται. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπο-229 πρεύθησαν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην τῆς πρώτης πείρας ἀμαρτόντες ἐτέραν ἐπιστολήν μοι τοιαύτην ἐπεμβαν. "Ἰωνάθης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἰωσήφῳ χαίρειν. παραγγέλλομεν σοι χωρίς ὀπλιτῶν εἰς τρίτην παραγενέσθαι πρὸς ἥμας εἰς Γαβαρωθ κόμην, ἵνα διακοῦσωμεν τῶν πρὸς Ἰωάννην 230 ἐγκλημάτων σοι γεγονότων." ταύτα γράψαντες καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι τοὺς Γαλιλαίους οὑς πεπόμφεων ἀφίκοντο εἰς Ἰάφαν κόμην μεγίστην ὅσαν τῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, τείχεσιν ὁχυρωτάτην καὶ πολλών οἰκητόρων μεστὴν. ὑπηντίαξεν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος αὐ- τοὺς μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων καὶ κατεβόων κελέυοντες ἀπείναε καὶ μὴ φθονεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθοῦ 231 τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. παραρθηλίζοντο δὲ ταῖς φωναῖς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην, καὶ φαινερῶν μὲν τὴν ὀργὴν οὐκ ἐτόλμων, οὐκ ἀξιώσαντες δ' αὐτοὺς ἀπο- κρίσεως εἰς τὰς ἄλλας κόμας ἐπορεύοντο. ομοιαὶ δ' ὑπηντών αὐτοῖς παρὰ πάντων αἱ καταβοήσεις μεταπείσειν αὐτοὺς βοώντων οὐδένα περὶ τοῦ μὴ 232 στρατηγοῦ ἐχειν Ἰωσηπον. ἀπρακτοὶ δὲ παρὰ τούτων ἀπελθόντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην εἰς Σέπφωριν μεγίστην τῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ πόλιν ἀφικνοῦνται οἱ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἀνθρωποὶ πρὸς ῾Ρω- μαίους ταῖς γνώμαις ἀποβλέποντες ἔκεινοι μὲν ὑπηντών, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐτε ἐπήνοιν οὐτε ἐβλασφήμουν. 233 παρὰ δὲ Σεπφώριτῶν εἰς ᾿Ασωχίν καταβάντες, οἱ ἐντεῦθεν παραπλησίως τοῖς ᾿Ιαφηνοῖς κατεβόων

1 Niese: πεπόμφασιν mss., πεπόμφα ed. pr.
2 καταβάντων should perhaps be read.
whom I could trust, to watch them and see that no conversation took place between my emissaries and the other party; and so they set off. Foiled in their first attempt, Jonathan and his friends sent me another letter as follows:

"Jonathan and his colleagues to Josephus, greeting. We charge you in three days’ time to join us, without military escort, at the village of Gabaroth, a that we may give a hearing to your accusations against John."

Having written this letter and taken leave of the Galilaeans whom I had sent, they went on to Japha, b the largest village in Galilee, very strongly fortified and containing a dense population. There they were met by a crowd, including women and children, who in abusive language bade them be off and not grudge them their excellent general. Irritated though they were by these outcries, Jonathan and his colleagues did not dare to show their displeasure, and, not deigning to reply, proceeded to the other villages on their route. But on all sides they were met by similar denunciations, the people loudly protesting that none should induce them to alter their determination to have Josephus for their general. Unsuccessful in the villages the delegates withdrew to Sepphoris, the largest city in Galilee. Here the inhabitants, who inclined to the side of the Romans, went to meet them; refraining, however, from either praise or censure of myself. From Sepphoris they descended to Asochis, which gave them a noisy reception similar to that which had greeted them at

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a Elsewhere called Gabara; some six miles N.E. of Josephus’s quarters at Cabul.
b Doubtless Japhia (Yāfū), a few miles S.W. of Nazareth.
αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ τὴν ὀργὴν οὐκέτι κατασχόντες κελεύουσιν τοῖς μετ' αὐτῶν ὀπλίταις τύπτειν ἔξυλοις τοὺς καταβοῶντας. κατὰ Γάβαρα δὲ γενομένους ύπαντίαξε μετὰ τρισχιλίων ὀπλίτων ὁ Ἰωάννης.

234 ἔγω δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἡδή συνεικώς ὅτι διεγνώκασι πρὸς με πολεμεῖν, ἀναστάσις ἀπὸ Χαβωλῶν μετὰ τρισχιλίων ὀπλίτων, καταλιπτῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὸν πιστότατον τῶν φίλων, εἰς Ἰωνάτατα παρεγενόμην, πλησίον αὐτῶν εἶναι βουλόμενος [ὁσον] ἀπὸ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων, καὶ 235 γράφω πρὸς αὐτοὺς τάδε: "εἰ πάντως με πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν βούλεσθε, διακόσιαι καὶ πέντεκατακάτα τὴν Γαλιλαίαν εἰσὶν πόλεις καὶ κώμαι. τούτων εἰς ἥν θελήσετε παραγενήσομαι χωρίς Γαβάρων καὶ Γισχάλων· ἢ μὲν γὰρ πατρίς ἔστων Ἰωάννου, ἢ δὲ σύμμαχος αὐτῷ καὶ φίλη.

236 (46) Ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα λαβόντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωάνθην οὐκέτι μὲν ἀντιγράφουσιν, συνέδριον δὲ τῶν φίλων καθίσαντες καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην παραλαβόντες ἐβουλεύοντο τίνα τρόπον ἐπιχειρήσωσί μοι. 237 καὶ Ἰωάννη μὲν ἔδοκεν γράφειν πρὸς πόλεις τὰς ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ πόλεις καὶ κώμας, εἶναι γὰρ ἐν ἐκάστῃ πάντως ἔνα γοῦν καὶ δεύτερον διάφορον ἐμοί, καὶ καλεῖν τούτους ὦς ἐπὶ πολέμιοι. ἐκέλευε τε πέμπειν τὸ δόγμα τούτο καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμωτῶν πόλιν, ὡς κακεῖνοι γνόντες ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλιλαίων κεκρίσθαι με πολέμιοι καὶ αὐτοὶ ψηφίσωνται· γενομένου γὰρ τούτοι καὶ τοὺς εὐνοικῶς ἔχοντάς μοι Γαλιλαίους ἐγκαταλείπειν ἑφὶ φοβηθέντας. 238 ταῦτα συμβουλεύσαντος Ἰωάννου σφόδρα καὶ τοῖς 239 ἀλλοις ἦρεσεν τὰ λεχθέντα. περὶ δ' ὦραν τῆς

1 Niese: ἐκέλευε το πέμπειν Ρ, πέμπειν δ' ἐκέλευε the rest.
Unable longer to restrain their wrath, they ordered their military escort to beat the rioters with cudgels. On their arrival at Gabara they were met by John with three thousand men in arms. Having already understood from their letter that they were determined to attack me, I set out from Chabolo, with a force three thousand strong, leaving my most trusted friend in command of the camp; and, being anxious to be near them, removed to Jotapata, where I was about forty furlongs away. I then wrote to them as follows:

"If you seriously desire me to come to you, there are two hundred and four cities and villages in Galilee. I will come to whichever of these you may select, Gabara and Gischala excepted; the latter being John's native place and the former in league and alliance with him."

(46) On receipt of this letter Jonathan and his colleagues, abandoning further correspondence, summoned a meeting of their friends, John included, and deliberated how they should proceed against me. John was of opinion that they should write to every city and village in Galilee, in each of which there would certainly be found at least one or two adversaries of mine, and call out these persons as against an enemy. He further recommended that a copy of this resolution should be sent to Jerusalem, in order that the citizens, on learning that I had been declared an enemy by the Galilaeans, might be induced to pass a similar vote. In that event, he added, even my Galilaean partisans would abandon me in alarm. John's advice was highly approved by the rest of the council. About the third hour of the
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νυκτὸς τρίτην εἰς γνώσιν ἥκε μου ταῦτα, Σακχαίου τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς τινὸς αὐτομολήσαντος πρὸς με καὶ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν αὐτῶν ἀπαγγείλαντος· οὐκέτι δὴ
dein ὑπερτίθεσθαι τὸν καἰρὸν. ἡξιον δὲ κρίγας Ἠάκωβον ὀπλήτην τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ πιστὸν1 κελεύω διακοσίους ὀπλίτας λαβόντα φρονεῖν τὰς ἀπὸ Γαβάρων εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἔξοδους, καὶ τοὺς παροῦντας συλλαμβάνοντα πρὸς ἐμὲ πέμπειν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοὺς μετὰ γραμμάτων ἀλλοκομένους.

241 Ἑιερεύναν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν φίλων μου μεθ' ἐξακοσίων ὀπλιτῶν εἰς τὴν μεθὸριον τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐπεμψα τὰς ἀπὸ ταύτης εἰς τὴν Ἑιεροσολύμων πόλιν ὀδοὺς παραφυλάξοντα, πρόσταγμα δοὺς κάκεινος τοὺς μετ' ἐπιστολῶν ὀδεύοντας συλλαμβάνειν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ἐν δεσμοῖς ἐπὶ τόπου φυλάττειν, τὰ δὲ γράμματα πρὸς ἐμὲ διαπέμπειν.

242 (47) Ταῦτα τοῖς περιπομένοις ἐνυπαλόμενοι Γαλιλαίοις διήγησειλα κελεύων εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὁπλα καὶ τρίων ἡμερῶν τροφὴν εἰς Γαβάρωθ κόμην παραγενέσθαι πρὸς με. τῶν δὲ περὶ ἐμὲ ὀπλιτῶν μοίρας τέταρας νείμας τοὺς πιστοτάτους αὐτῶν περὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος φυλακὴν ἔταξα, ταξιάρχους αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήμας καὶ φροντίζειν κελεύεις ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα στρατιώτην ἀγνωστον

243 αὐτοῖς συναναμíγνυσθαι. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ περὶ πέμπτην ὡραν ἐν Γαβάρωθ γενόμενοι εὐρίσκοι πάν τὸ πεδίον τὸ πρὸ τῆς κόμης ὀπλιτῶν πλήρες τῶν ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν παροῦντων, ὥς αὐτοῖς παρηγγέλκειν· πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν ὄχλος συνέτρεχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καταστάς εἰς αὐτοὺς λέγειν ἡρξάμην, ἐβόων ἄπαντες εὐργevity καὶ σωτῆρα τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν καλοῦντες. 90
night news of these proceedings was brought to me by Sacchaeus, one of their party who deserted and reported their design to me, adding that there was no time to be lost. So, selecting James, a faithful soldier of my bodyguard, as a fit person, I ordered him to take two hundred men and guard the routes leading from Gabara into Galilee, and to arrest all who passed, especially any caught with letters upon them, and to send them to me. I also dispatched Jeremiah, another of my friends, with six hundred men to the frontier of Galilee, to watch the roads leading from the province to Jerusalem, with similar orders to arrest all found travelling with dispatches; such persons were to be kept in chains on the spot, the letters he was to forward to me.

(47) Having given these orders, I sent directions to the Galilaeans to join me on the following day at the village of Gabaroth, with their arms and three days' provisions. I then divided my troops into four companies, formed a bodyguard for myself of those whom I most trusted, and appointed officers to take command, charging them to see that no soldier who was unknown to them mixed with their men. Reaching Gabaroth about the fifth hour on the following day, I found the whole plain in front of the village covered with armed men, who, in obedience to my orders, had rallied to my aid from Galilee; while another large crowd was hurrying in from the villages. When I stood up and was beginning to speak, they all greeted me with acclamations, calling me the benefactor and saviour of their country. I thanked

1 ΠΕΤΩΝ MSS.
καὶ γόργιν αὐτοῖς ἐχειν ὀμολογήσας συνεβούλευον πρὸς μηδένα μὴτε πολεμεὶν μὴτε ἄρπαγη μιλῆνειν τὰς χεῖρας, ἀλλὰ σκηνοῦν κατὰ τὸ πεδίον ἀρκουμένους τοῖς ἐαυτῶν ἑφοδίοις. Θέλειν γὰρ ἐφασκον

τὰς παραχαὶς χωρίς φόνων καταστέλλειν. συνέβη δ᾽ αὐθημερὸν εἰς τὰς ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ κατασταθείσας τῶν ὀδῶν φυλακᾶς τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Ἰωνᾶθου πεμφθέντας μετὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐμπεσείν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἐφυλάχθησαν ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων, ὡς παρῆγειλα, τοῖς δὲ γράμμασιν ἐντυχών πλῆρεις βλασφημῶν καὶ ψευσμάτων, οὔτεν ταῦτα φράσας ὀρμᾶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦς διενοῦμην.

(48) Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ περὶ τοῦ Ἰωνᾶθην περὶ τῆς ἔμης ἀφίξεως τοὺς ἱδίους πάντας ἀναλαβόντες καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ὑπεχώρησαν εἰς τὴν Ἰησοῦν οἰκίαν. βάρις δ᾽ ἦν αὐτῇ μεγάλη καὶ οὔτεν ἀκροπόλεως ἀποδέουσα. κρύβαντες οὖν λόχων ὀπλιτῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀποκλείσαντες θύρας, μίαν δὲ ἀνοίξαντες, προσεδόκων ήκεν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ με πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀσπασόμενον. καὶ δὴ διδόσαν ἐντολὰς τοῖς ὀπλίταις, ἐπειδὰν παραγένωμαι, μόνον εἰσελθείν ἐὰν συν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπερέξαντας, οὕτως γὰρ ἠθονό με γενήσεσθαι ἀρδέως αὐτοῖς ὑποχείρων.

248 ἐφεύσθησαν δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος· ἐγὼ γὰρ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν προαισθώμενος, ὡς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ παρεγενώμην, καταλύσας ἀντικρασ αὐτῶν καθεύδειν ἐσκήπτομην. 249 καὶ οἱ περὶ τοῦ Ἰωνᾶθην ὑπολαμβάνοντες οὕτως ἀναπαύεσθαι με καθυπνωμένον ὠρμησαν καταβάντες εἰς τὸ πεδίον τοῦ πεδίον3 μεταπείθειν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐμοῦ κακῶς στρατηγοῦντος. τὰναντία δὲ αὐτοῖς συνέπεσεν ὀφθέντων γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐγένετο βοὴ παρὰ τῶν Γαλιλαίων4 πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐνυόιας ἄξια,
them and advised them neither to attack anyone nor to sully their hands with rapine, but to encamp in the plain and be content with their rations, as my desire was to quell these disturbances without bloodshed.

It happened, on that very day, that Jonathan's couriers, carrying dispatches, fell into the hands of my sentries posted to guard the roads. The prisoners were, in accordance with my directions, detained on the spot; the letters I perused and, finding them full of slander and lies, decided, without mentioning a word of them to anyone, to advance to meet my foes.

(48) Jonathan, hearing of my coming, retired, with all his own followers and John, to the mansion of Jesus, which was a great castle, as imposing as a citadel. Here they concealed an armed ambuscade, and, locking all but one of the doors, they waited for me to come, after my journey, and pay my salutations. In fact, they gave orders to the soldiers to admit me only, on my arrival, and to exclude my attendants, hoping thus to have me easily at their mercy. In these expectations they were disappointed; for I, discovering their plot, at the end of my march took up my quarters immediately opposite them and pretended to be asleep. Jonathan and his friends, imagining that I was actually resting and asleep, hastened down to the plain, to create disaffection on the ground of my inefficiency as a general. The result was quite the reverse; for, no sooner had they appeared, than the Galilaeans raised a shout as hearty as their loyalty for me, their

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1 So R: the rest have χώρας.
2 So P: the rest have καταστέλλαι.
3 πλήθος MW.
4 Probably τῆς should be inserted.
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κατάμεμψάν τε ἐποιοῦντο τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην, ὧν πάρεισιν οὐδέν μὲν αὐτοὶ κακὸν προπεπονθότες, ἀνατρέψαντες δὲ τὰ ἐκεῖνα πράγματα. καὶ παρεκελεύοντο ἀπιέναι: μὴ γὰρ ἂν ποτε μεταπεισθήναι

251 προστάτην ἔτερον ἀντέ ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν. τούτων ἀπαγγελθέντων μοι προελθεῖν εἰς μέσους οὐκ ὁκνήσα. κατέβαινον οὖν εὐθέως ὡς αὐτοὺς, τι λέγουσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἀκούσομεν. προελθόντος δὲ μου κρότος παρὰ παντὸς τοῦ πλῆθους εὐθὺς ἢν καὶ μετ' εὐφημίων ἐπιβοήσεις χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογοῦντων τῇ ἐμῇ στρατηγίᾳ.

252 (49) Ταῦτα δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἀκούοντες ἐφοβήθησαν μὴ καὶ κινδυνεύσωσιν ἀποθανεῖν, ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὀρμησάντων τῶν Γαλαλίων κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ χάριν. δρασμὸν οὖν ἐπενόουν: μὴ δυνηθέντες δὲ ἀπελθεῖν, προσμεῖται γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἦξιωσα, κατ-

253 ηφεῖς ἡπείμεναν ἐνωτησάμενοι τῷ λόγῳ. προστάξας οὖν τῷ μὲν πλῆθει τὰς εὐφημίας κατασχεῖν, καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τοὺς πιστοτάτους ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐπιστήσας ὑπὲρ τοῦ φρουρεῖν μὴ ἀπροσδοκήτως ἢμιν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐπιπεσή, παραινέσας δὲ καὶ τοῖς Γαλαλίων ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὁπλα, μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἐφοδον τῶν πολεμίων, ἐὰν γενηται τὸς αἰφνίδιος, ταρα-

254 χθὸσιν, πρῶτον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὑπεμιμνησκόν, ὅτι τρόπων γράφεσαν ύπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἴεροσολυμιτῶν πεπέμφθαι δια-

255 λύσοντες μοι τὰς πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην φιλονεικίας, ὡς παρακαλέσειαν τέ με πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφικέσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα διεξιών τὴν ἐπιστολὴν εἰς μέσους προῦτευον, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀρνήσασθαι δυνηθῶσιν ἐλεγχοῦντων αὐτοὺς τῶν γραμματῶν. "καὶ μὴν," ἐφην, "Ἰωνάθη

1 ὡς αὐτοὺς Ῥ: the rest αὐτοὺς, "to hear with my own ears."
general, and reproached Jonathan's party for coming, unprovoked, upon the scene to throw the province into disorder. They bade them be off, declaring their fixed determination never to receive another governor in my place. Informed of these proceedings I no longer hesitated to show myself, but instantly went down to them to hear what Jonathan was saying. My appearance was the signal for universal applause, and I was hailed with encomiums and expressions of gratitude for my services as commander.

(49) Jonathan and his friends, on hearing these demonstrations, fearing that the Galilaeans, out of devotion to me, might make a rush upon them, became alarmed for their lives. They accordingly meditated flight; but on my requiring them to stay, were unable to escape and stood there shame-facedly while I spoke. After bidding the people restrain their applause, I posted the most trusted of my soldiers on the roads to secure us against any surprise attack from John, and advised the Galilaeans to pick up their arms, in order to avoid confusion in the event of a sudden assault of the enemy. I then began by reminding Jonathan and his colleagues of their letter, how they had written that they had been commissioned by the general assembly at Jerusalem to settle my quarrels with John and how they had desired me to visit them. While relating these facts I held out the letter for all to see, to prevent any possibility of denial, the document being there to convict them. "Moreover, Jonathan and

2 The text is corrupt. That printed above follows cod. R, which alone supplies the finite verb.
ündeis ἔργον ὑπὲρ τοῦ παραστήσαι τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ βίον δύο τινὰς ἢ τρεῖς μάρτυρας καλοὺς κάγαθοὺς ἦγαγον, ὁδηγὸν ὡς αὐγάκην ἢν εἴχετε προεξετάσαντες καὶ τοὺς τούτων βίους ἀπαλλάξανε με τῶν ἐγκλημάτων.

257 ἢν ὅνωτε καλῶς πεπράσχαι μοι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, τρεῖς μὲν μάρτυρας ὄλγους εἶναι νομίζω τῷ καλῶς βεβιωκότι, τούτους δὲ πάντας ὑμῖν δι-

258 ὁμι. παρὰ τούτων ὅλων πύθεσθε τίνα τρόπον ἐβίωσα, εἰ μετὰ πάσης σεμνότητος καὶ πάσης ἁρετῆς ἐνθάδε πεπολίτευμαι. καὶ δὴ ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς, ὡς Γαλιλαίοι, μηδὲν ἐπικρύψασθαι τῆς ἀληθείας, λέγειν δ' ἐπὶ τούτων ὡς δικαστῶν εἰ ἱ ὑ μὴ καλῶς πέπρακται.’’

259 (50) Ταῦτ’ ἐτὶ λέγοντο κοιναὶ παρὰ πάντων ἐγίνοντο φωναὶ καλοῦντων εὐεργετὴν μὲ καὶ σωτῆρα, καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐμαρτυ-

260 ρον, περὶ δὲ τῶν πρακθησιμένων παρεκάλουν. πάντες δ' ὑμῖνον ἀνυβρίστους μὲν ἔχειν τὰς γυναῖκας, λευκῆθαι δὲ μηδέποτε μηδὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ. μετὰ τοῦτο δύο τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ὡς οἱ κατασταθέντες ὑπ' ἐμοῦ φρουρὶ πεμφθείσας ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἐλόντες ἀπεστάλκεσαν πρὸς ἐμὲ, παρανεγκύνωσον τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις, πολλῶν βλασφημῶν πλήρεις καὶ καταβευδομένας ὅτι τυραννίδι μᾶλλον ἡ στρατηγία χρῶμαι κατ’ αὐτοῖς.

261 ἐτέρα τι πολλὰ πρὸς τούτως ἐνεγέγραπτο μηδὲν παραλυπότων ἀνασχύντων ψευδολογίαι. ἐφη ὅτι ἐγὼ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τὰ γράμματα λαβεῖν δόντων ἐκουσίως τῶν κομιζόντων. οὐ γὰρ ἐβουλόμην [αὐτοὺς] ἡ στρατηγία τοὺς ἐναντίους εἰδέναι, μὴ δείσαντες τοῦ γράφειν ἀποστῶσιν.

1 Bekker omits.
you, his colleagues," I proceeded, "had my case against John been tried and had I produced some two or three excellent men as witnesses to my behaviour, it is evident that you would have been compelled, after inquiries into their character, to acquit me of the charges brought against me. Now, in order to convince you of the propriety of my conduct in Galilee, I consider three witnesses too few for one who has lived an honourable life, and I present you with all these here present. Ask them what my life has been, and whether in my official capacity here I have acted with perfect dignity, perfect integrity. And you, Galilaeans, I adjure to conceal nothing of the truth, but to declare in the presence of these men, as before judges in court, whether I have done anything amiss."

(50) Before I had finished speaking, there was a chorus of voices from all sides calling me benefactor and saviour. They bore testimony to my past conduct and exhorted me upon my course in future; and they all swore that the honour of their women-folk had been preserved and that they had never received a single injury from me. I then read aloud to the Galilaeans two of the letters dispatched by Jonathan, which had been intercepted and forwarded to me by the scouts whom I had picketed on the roads. These were full of abuse and maligned me as acting the part of a tyrant rather than a general, with much else beside, including every variety of shameless falsehood. I told the people that these dispatches had been voluntarily surrendered to me by the bearers, because I did not wish my opponents to know of the scouts' share in the matter, lest they should be deterred from writing again.
Ταυτ' ἀκοῦσαν τὸ πλῆθος σφόδρα παροξυσθέν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὅρμα καὶ τοὺς συν αὐτῷ συμπαρόντας ὡς διαφθεροῦντες κἀν ἐπεπράχειαν τὸ ἐργον, εἰ μὴ τοὺς μὲν Γαλιλαίους ἐπαυσα τῆς ὀργῆς, τοῖς δὲ τὸν Ἰωνάθην δ' ἐφην συγγινώσκεις τῶν ἦδη πεπραγμένων, εἰ μὲν ἄλλοι παρανοήσει καὶ πορευθέντες εἰς τὴν πατρίδα λέγοιεν τοῖς πέμψασι

τάληθη περὶ τῶν ἐμὸν πεπολυτευμένων. ταύτ' εἰπὼν ἀπέλυσαν αὐτοὺς καίτοι γινώσκων ὅτι μηδὲν ὡν ὑπεσχημὸν ποιήσαντι. τὸ πλῆθος δ' εἰς ὀργήν ἐξεκάετο καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ μὲ παρεκάλουν ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμήσαντας.

παντοτόσος μὲν οὖν ἐγνώμην πείθων αὐτοὺς φείσασθαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν· πᾶσαν γὰρ ἤδεν στάσιν ὀλέθριον ὑψαν τοῦ κοινῆς συμφέροντος· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐσχεν τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν ὀργὴν ἀμεταβλητὴν, καὶ πάντες ὤρμησαν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐν ᾗ κατήγγειλον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην· ἐγὼ δὲ συνορῶν τὴν ὀρμήν ὑψαν αὐτῶν ἀνεπίσχετον ἀναπήδησας ἐφ' ἱππον ἐκέλευσα τοῖς πλήθεσι πρὸς Σωγάνην κόμην ἐπέσθαι, Γαβάρων ἀπέχουσαν εἰκοσι στάδια. καὶ τοιοῦτω στρατηγή-ματι χρησάμενοι παρέσχουν ἐμαυτῷ τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ἐμφυλίου πολέμου κατάρχειν.

Επεὶ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην· ἐνιστήσασθαί τὸ πλῆθος καὶ παρανέσει χρησάμενος περὶ τοῦ μὴ πρὸς τὸς ὀργάς καὶ ταύτ' ἐπ' ἀν-ηκέστοις τιμωρίαις ὄξεως φέρεσθαι, κελεύω τοὺς καθ' ἥλιον ἦδη προβεβηκότας καὶ πρῶτοις παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐκατον ἀνδρῶς ὡς πορευομένους εἰς τὴν Ἰεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν εὔπρεπίζεσθαι, μέμψιν ποιη-

1 tōs Hudson.
2 Bekker: πορευομένουs miss.
(51) The Galilaeans, on hearing these calumnies, were so much exasperated that they were starting to kill Jonathan and his companions; and they would have effected their purpose had I not repressed their indignation. To Jonathan and his colleagues I promised pardon for the past on condition that they showed their contrition and returned home and gave a true report of my public life to those who had sent them. With that I let them go, well though I knew, that they would fulfil none of their promises. The people, however, burning with rage against them, entreated my permission to punish those who had been guilty of such effrontery. I tried by all means to induce them to spare the men, knowing that party quarrels are invariably fatal to the common weal. Popular feeling was, however, too deep-seated to be affected, and they all rushed towards the house in which Jonathan and his friends had their quarters. Perceiving that their passions were now beyond restraint, I sprang to the saddle, ordering the crowd to follow me to the village of Sogane, twenty furlongs distant from Gabara. By this manœuvre I guarded myself against the imputation of initiating a civil war.

(52) On approaching Sogane I called a halt, and advised the people not to let themselves be so impetuously carried away by their passions, especially where the consequences would be fatal. I then directed a hundred of their leading men, well advanced in years, to make ready for a journey to Jerusalem in order to lodge a complaint before the

\[ a \] Most mss. here have "Soganeae."

\[ b \] Literally, "especially in the case of irremediable punishments," i.e. (probably) those which they wished to inflict.
σομένους ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν τῆς χώραν διαστα-
267 σιαλόντων. "καὶ ἔαν ἐπικλασθῶσιν, ἔφη, "πρὸς
tοὺς λόγους ὑμῶν, παρακαλέσατε τὸ κοινὸν γράψαι
πρὸς ἐμε μένειν κελεύοντας ἐπὶ τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, τοὺς
dὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἀναχωρεῖν ἐκεῖθεν." ταῦτας
ἀυτοῖς τὰς ὑποθήκας δοὺς, ἐναρμοσμένων τε
tαχεῖς ἐκείνων, ἡμέρα τρίτη μετὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
tῆς ἀποστολῆς ἐποιήσαμην, συμπέμψας ὀπλίτας
269 πεντακοσίους. ἔγραψα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ
φίλοις προνοήσασθαί τοῦ ἁσφαλῆς γενέσθαι τὴν
πορείαν αὐτοῖς. ἦδη γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἰωρμαίων ἡ Ἡ
Σαμάρεια καὶ πάντως ἔδει τοὺς ταχὺ βουλομένους
ἀπελθεῖν δι᾿ ἐκείνης πορεύεσθαι τρισίν γὰρ ἡμέρας
ἀπὸ Γαλιλαίας ἐνεστὶν οὕτως εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα
270 καταλύσαι. συμπαρέπεμψα δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις κἀγὼ
μέχρι τῶν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὀρῶν, φύλακας ἐπιστήσας
tαῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ βαδίως τινὰ μαθεῖν ἀπ-
αλλαττομένους. καὶ ταῦτα πράξας ἐν Ἰάφοις τὴν
διατριβὴν ἐποιοῦμην.

271 (53) Οἴ δὲ περὶ τῶν Ἰωνάθην διαμαρτύρσατε τῆς
κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ πράξεως Ἰωάννην ἀπέλυσαν εἰς τὰ
Γίσχαλα, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Τιβερίεων πόλιν πεπό-
ρευντο λήψεσθαι προσδοκῶντες αὐτήν ὑποχειρίων,
ἐπειδὴ καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ κατὰ τὸν καίρον τοῦτον
"ἀρχων" ἐγεγράφει πρὸς αὐτοὺς πείσειν ἐπαγγελ-
λόμενος τὸ πλῆθος ἐλθόντας ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ
272 αὐτοῖς ἐλέσθαι προστεθήναι. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ
tοιαύταις ἐλπίσαν ἀπήλθουν, ἀπαγγέλλει δὲ μοι
tαῦτα Σίλας διὰ γραμμάτων, ὃν ἔφην τῆς Τιβε-
ριάδος ἐπιμελητὴν καταλελοιπέναι, καὶ σπεύδειν
ζέιον. κἀγὼ ταχέως ὑπακούσας αὐτῷ καὶ παρα-
people against those who were splitting the country into factions. "If," I continued, "they are affected by what you say, use your influence with the assembly to send written orders directing me to remain in Galilee and Jonathan and his colleagues to withdraw."

Having given these instructions, and their arrangements being quickly made, on the third day after the meeting I sent them off, with an escort of five hundred men-at-arms. I further wrote to my friends in Samaria to provide for their safe convoy through that district; for Samaria was now under Roman rule and, for rapid travel, it was essential to take that route, by which Jerusalem may be reached in three days from Galilee. I accompanied the delegates myself as far as the frontier of Galilee, posting scouts on the roads to screen their departure. This task accomplished, I settled at Japha.\(^a\)

(53) Foiled in their designs upon me, Jonathan and his colleagues, leaving John to return to Gischala, had proceeded to Tiberias, expecting to receive its submission; for Jesus, at that time its chief magistrate, had written to them, promising that he would persuade the inhabitants to welcome them, if they came, and to decide to join their party. On the strength of these expectations they set out. News of these proceedings reached me in a letter from Silas, urging me to lose no time in coming; I had left him, as I have mentioned already,\(^b\) in charge of Tiberias. Responding instantly to his advice I went,

\(^a\) See § 230 with note. \(^b\) § 89.

\(^1\) om. ἀπάρχων P.
273 αἰτίας των ὤν χιλιάδας κατέστην ἐκ τῆς ἰωνᾶθην γενόμενοι παρὰ τοῖς Τιβεριεύσιν καὶ πολλοὺς πείσαντες ἀποστῆναι μου διαφόροις οὖν ταῖς, ὡς ἦκουσαν τὴν ἐμὴν παρουσίαν, δείσαντες περὶ ἑαυτῶν ἦκον πρὸς ἐμὲ, καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι μακαρίζειν ἐλεγον οὕτως περὶ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἀναστραφέντα, συνήδεσθαι τε διὰ τιμῆς ἀγομένως κόσμον γὰρ ἑαυτῶν εἶναι τὴν ἐμὴν δόξαν ἐφασαν, ὡς ἄν διδασκάλων τέ μου γενομένων καὶ πολιτῶν ὄντων, δικαιοτέραν τε τῆς ἰωάννου τὴν ἐμὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν ὑπάρχειν ἐλεγον, καὶ σπεύδειν μὲν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπελθεῖν, περιμένειν δὲ ἐως ὑποχείριον τον ἰωάννην ἐμοὶ ποιήσωσιν, καὶ ταῦτα λέγοντες ἐπομοσάν τοὺς ἀριστοφαστάτους ὅρκους παρ’ ἡμῖν, δι’ οὓς ἀπιστεῖν οὐ θεμιτὸν ἡγούμενον. καὶ δὴ παρακαλοῦσιν με τὴν κατάλυσιν ἀλλαχόο ποιήσωσθαι διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐπιούσιν ἡμέραν εἶναι σάββατον. ὀχλεῖσθαι δὲ μὴ δεῖν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν τῶν Τιβεριεών ἐφασκόν.

276 (54) Κἀγὼ μηδὲν ὑπονοοῦσα ἐστὶς Ταριχαίας ἀπῆλθοι, καταλιπών ὁμοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει τοὺς πολυπραγμονήσοντας τι περὶ ἡμῶν λέγοιτο. διὰ πάσης δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἀπὸ Ταριχαιῶν εἰς Τιβερίαδα φερούσης ἐπεστήσα πολλοὺς, ἵνα μοι δ’ ἀλλήλων σημαίνωσιν ἀπερ ἕως παρὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει κατα-

277 λειψθέντων πᾶθωνται. κατὰ τὴν ἐπιούσιαν οὖν ἡμέραν συνάγωνται πάντες εἰς τὴν προσευχήν, μέγιστον οἰκήμα καὶ πολὺν ὄχλον ἐπιδεξασθαί δυνάμενον. εἰσελθὼν δὲ ὁ ἰωανάθης φανερῶς μὲν περὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως οὐκ ἑτολμα λέγειν, ἐφη δὲ

1 δ’ ἐως Dind.: δὲ ἐως mss.

1 a Greek "us."
but at the peril of my life, as will appear from the following circumstances.

Jonathan and his party having, during their stay at Tiberias, induced a number of aggrieved persons to desert me, on hearing of my arrival were alarmed about their own safety, and came and paid me their salutations. They congratulated me on my exemplary conduct of affairs in Galilee and professed to be delighted at the honour in which I was held, remarking that my reputation was a tribute to themselves, as my fellow-citizens to whom I owed my instruction. They added that they had more reason to be on friendly terms with me than with John; and that, though anxious to return home, they were waiting until they had delivered him into my hands. As they corroborated these assertions by the most awe-inspiring oaths known to us, I felt that it would be impious to disbelieve them. They ended by requesting me to take up my quarters elsewhere, as the next day was the sabbath, on which, they professed, they ought not to put the city to inconvenience.

(54) Suspecting nothing, I departed for Tarichaeae. I left, however, some of my party in the city to discover what was said about me; and all along the road from Tarichaeae to Tiberias I posted a number of others to pass down the line to me any information obtained from those in the town. The next day there was a general assembly in the Prayer-house, a huge building, capable of accommodating a large crowd. Jonathan, who entered with the rest, while not venturing to speak openly of defection, said that

\[\text{Proseuche, 'oratory,' another name for synagogue;}\]

\[\text{cf. Acts xvi. 13, 16;}\]

\[\text{Juvi. Sat. iii. 296.} \]

\[\text{The distinction sometimes drawn between the two words seems untenable (Schürer).} \]
στρατηγοῦ κρείττους χρείαν τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν
278 ἔχειν. Ἰησοῦς δ’ ὁ ἄρχων οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος ἀναφαίρον ἐπεν: "ἀμενόν ἔστιν, ὅτι πολίται, τέσσαρις ἡμᾶς ἀνδρᾶς ὑπακούειν ἢ ἐνί, καὶ κατὰ γένος λαμπροῖς καὶ κατὰ σύνεσιν οὐκ ἀδόξοις". 279 ὑπεδείκυιε δὲ τοὺς περὶ Ἰωνάθην. ταῦτ’ εἰπόντα τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπήνει παρελθὼν ᾽Ιούστος καὶ τινὰς ἑκ τοῦ δῆμου συνεπίθεν, οὐκ ἥρεσκετο δὲ τοῖς λεχθείσιν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πάντως ἂν εἰς στάσιν ἐχώρησαν, εἰ μή τὴν σύνοδον διέλυσεν ἐπελθοῦσα ἕκτη ὥρα, καθ’ ἣν τοῖς σάββασιν ἀριστοποιεῖτος νόμιμον ἐστιν ἢμῖν. καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην εἰς τὴν ἐπιουσίαν ὑπερθέμενοι τὴν βουλὴν ἀπῆσαν ἀπρακτοί.

280 Ἐνθὺς δὲ μοι τούτων ἀπαγγελθέντων προὶ διέγνων εἰς τὴν Τιβερίεως πόλιν ἄφικέσθαι, καὶ τῇ ἐπιουσίᾳ περὶ [πρώτην] ὦραν ἦκον ἀπὸ τῶν Ταριχσιῶν, καταλαμβάνω δὲ συναγόμενον ἦδη τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὴν πρόσευχὴν ἐφ’ ὃ τι δ’ ἢν αὐτοῖς ἢ σύνοδος οὐκ ἐγίνουσκον οἱ συλλεγόμενοι. 281 οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἀπροσδοκήτως θεασάμενοι με παρόντα διεπαράχθησαν εἰς ἐπιουσίαν δια- δοῦναι λόγον ὥστ’ ῾Ρωμαίοις ἅπεις ἐν τῇ μεθορίῳ πόρρω τριάκοντα σταδίων ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεος, κατὰ 282 τόπον λεγόμενον Ὁμόνοιαν, εἰσών ἐωραμένοι. καὶ προσαγγελθέντων τούτων εὖ ὑποβολῆς παρεκάλων οἱ περὶ τοῦ Ἰωνάθην μὴ περιδεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμων λεηλατομένην αὐτῶν τὴν γῆν. ταῦτα δ’ ἔλεγον δ’ ἐννοιαὶ ἔχοντες ἐμὲ προφάσει τῆς κατεπεισούσης βοηθείας μεταστήματες αὐτοῖς τὴν πόλιν ἐχθραὶν μοι κατασκευάσαι.

1 πρώτην MW; τῷ the other miss.; Niese conj. τρίτην.
their city required a better general. Jesus, the magistrate, however, had no such scruple and said bluntly, "Citizens, it is better for us to take our orders from four men than from one, men, too, of illustrious birth and intellectual distinction," indicating Jonathan and his colleagues. Justus next came forward, and, by his approval of the previous speaker, aided in converting some of the people to his views. The majority, however, were not convinced by these speeches, and a riot would inevitably have ensued, had not the arrival of the sixth hour, at which it is our custom on the Sabbath to take our midday meal, broken off the meeting. Jonathan and his friends, accordingly, adjourned the council to the following day and retired without effecting their object.

These proceedings being at once reported to me, I decided to visit Tiberias early on the morrow. Arriving there about the first hour\(^a\) next day, I found the people already assembling in the Prayer-house, although they had no idea why they were being convened. Seriously perturbed by my unexpected appearance, Jonathan and his party conceived the idea of spreading a report that some Roman cavalry had been descried on the frontier, at a place called Homonoia,\(^b\) at a distance of thirty furlongs from the city. A fictitious message arriving to this effect, Jonathan exhorted me not to remain idle while their country was being plundered by the enemy. Their object in this was to get me away, on the pretext of an urgent call for my services, and to alienate the city from me in my absence.

\(^a\) *i.e.*, 7 A.M.

\(^b\) = "Concord." Probably Umm Jūnieh on the Jordan (the frontier between Galilee and Decapolis), some two miles south of Tarichaeae and seven miles from Tiberias.
283 (55) "Εγώ δὲ καίπερ εἰδὼς αυτῶν τὸ ἐνθύμημα ὀμοιώς υπήκουσα, μὴ δόξαν παράσχω τοῖς Τιβέριεύσιν οὐ προνοούμενος αυτῶν τῆς ἀσφαλείας. ἐξῆλθον οὖν, καὶ γενόμενος κατὰ τὸν τόπον, ὅσ
284 οὖθ᾽ ἰχνὸς πολεμίων εὗρον, ὑποστρέφω συντόνως ὀδεύσας, καὶ καταλαμβάνω τὴν τε βουλὴν πᾶσαν συνεληλυθών καὶ τὸν δημοτικὸν ὄχλον, ποιομένους τε πολλῆς κατηγορίας μου τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην, όσ τοῦ μὲν τὸν πόλεμον ἐπελαφρύνειν αὐτοῖς ἀμελοῦντος, ἐν τρυφαῖς δὲ διάγοντος.
285 ταῦτα δὲ λέγοντες προύφερον ἐπιστολάς τέσσαρας ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ μεθορίᾳ τῆς Γαλατίας γεγραμμένας πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ βοήθειαν ήκειν παρακαλοῦντων, Ἡρωμαίων γὰρ δύναμιν μέλλειν ἵππεών τε καὶ πεζῶν εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ληστατείν, ἐπισπεύδειν τε καὶ μὴ περιοθήκην
286 δεσμένων. ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ Τιβερεῖς, λέγειν ἅληθῆ δόξαντες αὐτοὺς, καταβοήσεις ἐποιοῦντο, μὴ καθέξεσθαι με δεῖν λέγοντες, ἀλλ' ἀπελθεῖν
287 ἐπικουρήσοντα τοῖς ὀμοθυνέσιν αὐτῶν. πρὸς ταῦτ' ἐγώ, συνήκα γὰρ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην, ὑπακούσεσθαι μὲν ἐφὴν ἔτοίμως καὶ χωρὶς ἀναβολῆς ὁμήσεις πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπηγγειλάμην, συνεβούλευον δ' ὀμοῖς, ἐπεὶ τὰ γράμματα κατὰ τέσσαρας τόπους Ἡρωμαίους σημαίνει προσβάλειν, εἰς πέντε μοίρας διελόντας τὴν δύναμιν ἐκάστῃ τούτων ἐπιστήσασαι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ τοὺς
288 ἐταῖρους αὐτοῖς. πρέπειν γὰρ ἀνδρᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς μὴ μόνον συμβουλεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρείας ἐπειγούσης ἡγομένους βοηθεῖν· ἐγὼ γὰρ πλὴν μᾶς μοίρας οὐκ
289 ἐφὴν ἀφηγεῖσθαι δυνατὸς εἶναι. σφόδρα τῷ πλήθει συνήρεσεν ἡ μὴ συμβουλία, κἀκεῖνος οὖν ἦν ἀγακαζόν.
(55) Though well aware of their design, I complied, to avoid giving the Tiberians ground for thinking me careless of their safety. I set out, accordingly, but discovering, on reaching the spot, no trace of an enemy, I returned post haste, and found the whole of the council and populace in conclave, and Jonathan and his associates making a violent tirade against me, as one who lived in luxury and neglected to alleviate their share of the burden of the war. In support of these assertions they produced four letters purporting to have been addressed to them by persons on the Galilee frontier, imploring them to come to their aid, as a Roman force of cavalry and infantry was intending in three days’ time to ravage their territory, with entreaties to hasten to their relief and not to abandon them to their fate. On hearing these statements, which they believed to be authentic, the Tiberians began loudly to denounce me for sitting there when I ought to have gone to the assistance of their countrymen. Fully alive to Jonathan’s designs, I replied that I was quite ready to act on their instructions, and promised to start without delay for the scene of action. At the same time I advised them, as the letters indicated an impending Roman attack on four points, to form their troops into five divisions and to put these severally under the command of Jonathan and his companions. It became brave men (I urged) to give not merely advice but practical assistance by assuming the lead in an emergency; and it was impossible for me to take command of more than a single division. My suggestion was warmly endorsed by the people, who now put compulsion on my opponents also to take
JOSEPHUS

ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξείναι. τοῖς δὲ οὕτωι μετρίως συνεχύθησαν αἱ γνώμαι μὴ κατεργασαμένοις ἃ διενοήθησαν, ἐμοὶ τοῖς ἐπιχειρήμασιν αὐτῶν ἀντι- στρατηγήσαντος.

290 (56) Εἰς δὲ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἁγναίας τούνομα, πονηρὸς ἀνήρ καὶ κακούργος, εἰσηγεῖτο τοῖς πλήθεσι πανερμεὶς νηστείαν εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν τῷ θεῷ προθέσθαι, καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν ἐκέλευεν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον ἀνόπλους παρεῖναι, τῷ θεῷ φανερὸν ποιήσοντας ὅτι μὴ τῆς παρ’ ἐκείνου τυχάνοντες βοηθείας πάν ὀπλον ἀξρηστὸν εἶναι νομίζονσιν.

291 ταῦτα δ’ ἔλεγεν οὐ δ’ εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαβεῖν ἀνοπλὸν με καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς. κἀγὼ δ’ ἀνάγκην ὑπῆκονον, μὴ δόξω καταφρονεῖν τῆς περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ὑποθήκης. ὥς ὁν ἀνεχωρήσαμεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην γράφουσι τῷ Ἰωάννῃ, πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐσθηθεῖν ἀφικέσθαι κελεύντες μεθ’ ὀσων ἂν στρατιωτῶν συνηθῆ. λήψεσθαι γὰρ εὐθὺς μὲ ὑποχείριον καὶ ποιήσειν ἀπερ ἐχει δ’ εὐχὴς. δεξάμενος δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἑκείνος ὑπ’ ακούσει ἐμελλεν. ἐγὼ δὲ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας δύο τῶν περὶ ἔμε σωματοφυλάκων, τοὺς κατ’ ἀνδρείαν δοκιμωτάτους καὶ κατὰ πίστιν βεβαιοῦσ, κελεύως εἰσφείδα κρύβαντας ὑπὸ τὰς ἑσθῆτας ἐμοὶ συμπροελθεῖν, ἐν’ εἰ γένοιτο παρὰ τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἐπίθεσις ἀμυνόμεθα. θώρακα δ’ ἐλάβον αὐτὸς καὶ μάχαιραν ὑπεξωσάμην ὡς οἷον τ’ ἡν ἀφανέστατα, καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὴν προσευχή.

293 (57) Τοὺς μὲν οὖν σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντας ἐκκλεῖσαι προσέταξεν Ἡσυχὸς ὁ ἅρχων, αὐτὸς γὰρ ταῖς θύραις ἐφευστήκει, μόνον δ’ ἐμὲ μετὰ τῶν φίλων εἰσελθεῖν

1 εὐθὺς μὲ R: εὐ ἐμὲ the rest.  2 ὁπερ the rest.
the field. The failure of their scheme through this counter-manoeuvre on my part caused them no little embarrassment.

(56) One of their number, however, a depraved and mischievous man named Ananias, proposed to the assembly that a public fast should be announced, in God's name, for the following day, recommending that they should reassemble at the same place and hour, without arms, in order to attest before God their conviction that without his aid no armour could avail them. This he said, not from motives of piety, but in order to catch me and my friends in this defenceless condition. I felt bound to acquiesce, for fear of being thought contemptuous of a pious suggestion. As soon, therefore, as we had retired to our homes, Jonathan's party wrote instructions to John to come to them next morning with as large a force as he could muster, as he might have me at once at his mercy and do what he chose with me. On receipt of this letter John prepared to act accordingly. For my part, on the following day I ordered two of my bodyguard, of the most approved valour and staunch loyalty, to accompany me, with daggers concealed under their dress, for self-defence in the event of an assault on the part of our foes. I wore a breastplate myself and, with a sword so girt on as to be as little conspicuous as possible, entered the Prayer-house.

(57) Orders having been given by Jesus, the chief magistrate, who kept a watch on the door himself, to exclude all my companions, he allowed only me

\[ a \ § 271; \] possibly also a "ruler of the synagogue."
295 εἶσαν· ἂν ὁ ἡμῶν τὰ νόμιμα ποιοῦντων καὶ
πρὸς εὐχάς τραπεζώνων ἀναστάς ὁ Ἰησοῦς περὶ τῶν
ληφθέντων ἐκ τοῦ ἐμπροσθήκοι τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς
σκευῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀσήμου ἀργυρίου ἐπυνθάνετο μου,
παρὰ τίνι τυγχάνει κείμενα. ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν
dιατρίβειν τὸν χρόνον βουλόμενον, ἐως ᾧν ὁ Ἰωάν-
296 ν ὁς παραγένηται. κάρω πάντα Καπέλλαν ἔχειν
ἐφην καὶ τοὺς δέκα πρῶτους Τιμερέων· “ἀνάκρινε
ὁ αὐτὸς,” εἶπον, “οὐ ψεύδομαι.” τῶν δὲ παρ’ ἐαυ-
τοῖς εἶναι λεγόντων, “οἱ δὲ ἐκκοσίν,” εἶπεν, “χρυσοὶ
οὐς ἔλαβες πωλήσας τινὰ σταθμὸν ἀσήμου, τί
297 γεγόνασιν;” καὶ τούτους ἔφην δεδωκέναι πρέ-
σβεσιν αὐτῶν ἐφόδιον περιθείσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.
πρὸς ταύτα οἱ μὲν περὶ τοῦ Ἰωάνθην οὐ καλῶς
ἔφασαν πεποιηκέναι με δόντα τοῖς πρέσβεσιν τὸν
298 μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ. παραξυνθέντος δὲ τοῦ πλή-
θους ἐπὶ τούτους, ἐνόησαν γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν
πονηρίαν, συνεὶς ἐγὼ στάσιν μελλούσαν ἐξάπτεσθαι
καὶ προσεπερθέσαι μᾶλλον βουλόμενος τὸν δῆμον
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, “ἀλλ’ εἰ γε μὴ ὀρθῶς,”
εἶπον, “ἐπραξά δοὺς τὸν μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῖς
πρέσβεσιν ὕμων, παύεσθε χαλεπαίνοντες· ἐγὼ γὰρ
τοὺς ἐκκοσὶ χρυσοὺς αὐτὸς ἀποτίσω.”
299 (58) Ταῦτ’ εἰπόντος οἱ μὲν περὶ τοῦ Ἰωάνθην
ησύχασαν, ὁ δὲ δήμος ἐτί μᾶλλον κατ’ αὐτῶν
παραξύνθη φανερὰν ἔργα δεικνυμένων τὴν ἀδικον
300 πρὸς ἐμὲ δυσμένειαν. συνιδὼν δὲ τὴν μεταβολὴν
αὐτῶν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὸν μὲν δήμον ἐκέλευεν ἀναχωρεῖν,
προσμείναι δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ἥξιωσεν· οὐ γὰρ δύνασθαι

1 αὐτὸς R: αὐτοῖς the rest.
2 ἔργῳ δεικ. PR: ἐπιδεικνυμένων AMW.
and my [two] friends to enter. We were proceeding with the ordinary service and engaged in prayer, when Jesus rose and began to question me about the furniture and uncoined silver which had been confiscated after the conflagration of the royal palace, asking who had the keeping of them. He raised this point merely in order to occupy the time until John's arrival. I replied that they were all in the hands of Capella and the ten head-men of Tiberias. "Ask them yourself;" I said, "I am not lying." On their admitting that the property was in their custody, "Well," continued Jesus, "what has become of the twenty pieces of gold which you realized from the sale of a quantity of bullion?" I answered that I had given these, for travelling expenses, to their deputies who had been sent to Jerusalem; on which Jonathan and his friends remarked that I had acted wrongly in paying the deputies out of public money. This statement exasperated the people, who now detected the malice of these men; and I, seeing a quarrel impending, and anxious still further to excite the general indignation against them, said, "Well, if I did wrong in paying your deputies out of public money, you need have no further cause for resentment; I will pay the twenty pieces of gold myself."

(58) This rejoinder silenced Jonathan's party, while the feelings of the people were roused still further against them by this open exhibition of groundless animosity against me. Perceiving their altered mood, Jesus ordered the people to withdraw, requesting the council to remain, as it was impossible to follow them. He barely escapes with his life.

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See § 293 (with § 303 below). Jesus apparently excluded the further escort, if any, but allowed the two to pass.

Cf. §§ 66-69.
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θορυβουμένους περὶ πραγμάτων τοιούτων τῆς
301 ἐξέτασαν ποιεῖσθαι. τοῦ δὲ δήμου βοώντος μὴ καταλείψειν παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἔμε μόνον, ἣκεν τις ἀγγέλ-
λων κρύφα τοῦ περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν Ἰωάννην μετὰ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν πλησίασεν. καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωάνθην οὐκέτι κατασχόντες αὐτοὺς, τάχα καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ προνοοῦντος τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας, μὴ γὰρ ἂν γε-
νομένου τούτου πάντως ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου δι-
302 εθάρην, “παύσασθε,” ἔφη, “ὦ Τίβερεῖς, τὴν ἡγήσασθαι εἰκοσὶ χρυσῶν ἔνεκεν. διὰ τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὅπι ἅξιοι ἔστων Ἰωάνης ἀποθανεῖν, ὅτι δὲ τυραν-
νεῖν ἐπεθύμησεν καὶ τὰ τῶν Γαλιλαίων πλῆθη λόγοις ἀπατήσας τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῆς κατεκτήσατο.” ταῦτα λέγοντος εὐθὺς μοι τὰς χεῖρας ἐπέβαλον ἀναιρεῖν²
303 τ’ ἐπειρώντο. ὡς δ’ εἴδον οἱ σὺν ἔμοι τὸ γινόμενον, ὁπασάμενου τὰς μαχαίρας καὶ παίειν⁰ ἀπειλήσαντες εἰ βιάζοντο, τοῦ τε δήμου λίθους ἀραμένου καὶ βάλλεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωάνθην ὀρμήσαντος, ἔξαρπάζονσι με τῆς τῶν πολεμίων βίας.
304 (59) Ἐπεὶ δὲ προελθὼν ὀλίγον ὑπαντῶν ἐμελ-
λον τὸν Ἰωάννην ἴοντα⁴ μετὰ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, δεόσας ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐξεκλίνα, διὰ στενωποῦ τε τινὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἱμνὴν σωθεὶς καὶ πλούσιον λαβόμενος, ἐμβάς εἰς τὰς Ἱαριχαίας διεπεραιώθην ἀπροσδοκήτως τὸν κίν-
305 δυνὸν διαφυγῆν. μεταπέμπομαι τ’ εὐθὺς τοὺς προ-
τεύοντας τῶν Γαλιλαίων καὶ φράζω τὸν τρόπον ὧ παρασπονδήθηκεν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωάνθην καὶ
tους Τίβερεῖς παρ’ ὀλίγον παρ’ αὐτῶν διαφθαρεῖν.
306 ὀργισθέν 
δ’ ἐπὶ τοὺς τῶν Γαλιλαίων τὸ πλῆθος παρεκελευτό μου μηκέτι μέλλειν τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς

1 εἰ. ἐπέβαλλον. 2 ἀρχεῖν PR. 3 παίσειν Cobet.
to investigate such matters in a tumultuous assembly. The people were just crying out that they would not leave me alone with them, when a messenger arrived and whispered to Jesus that John was approaching with his troops. Thereupon Jonathan, throwing off all restraint—the providence of God perhaps, co-operating to save me; for, but for this turn of events, I should undoubtedly have been murdered by John—exclaimed: “Have done with this inquiry, men of Tiberias, about twenty pieces of gold. It is not for them that Josephus deserves to die, but for aspiring to make himself a despot and gaining a position of absolute power by deceitful speeches to the people of Galilee.” As he said these words, he and his party laid hands on me and attempted to kill me. My companions, seeing what was happening, drew their swords and threatened to use them, if recourse were had to violence; and, while the people were starting to hurl at Jonathan the stones which they had picked up, hurried me out of reach of the ferocity of my enemies.

(59) I had not proceeded far when I found myself nearly facing John, advancing with his troops. I turned from him in alarm, and, escaping by a narrow passage to the lake, seized a boat, embarked and crossed to Tarichaeae, having, beyond all expectation, come safe out of this perilous situation. I at once summoned the leading Galilaeans and described how, in violation of the pledges received from Jonathan and the Tiberians, I had so nearly been murdered by them. Indignant at this treatment, the Galilaeans urged me to hesitate no longer to make

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4 τῶν Ἰωάννης προσίωντι R; but the accus. is normal in Josephus.
πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν, ἀλλ' ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς ἐλθούσιν ἕπι τὸν Ἰωάννην ἅρδην αὐτὸν ἀφανίσαι καὶ τοὺς 307 περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην. ἐπείχον δ' ὀμως αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ καίπερ οὖτως ὀργιζομένους, περιμένειν αὐτοὺς κελεύων ἐως μάθωμεν τὶ οἱ περιθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἀπαγγελοῦσιν· μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνων γάρ γνώμης τὰ δοκοῦντα πράξεν 308 αὐτοὺς ἑφην. καὶ ταῦτ' οἰκτώ ἐπείσα. τότε δὴ καὶ Ἰωάννης, οὐ λαβούσης αὐτοῦ τέλος τῆς ἐνέδρας, ἀνεξεύγυνεν εἰς τὰ Γισχαλὰ.

309 (60) Μετ' οὐ πολλὰς δ' ἡμέρας ἀφικνοῦνται πάλιν οὐς ἐπέμψαμεν καὶ ἀπῆγγελλον σφόδρα τὸν δήμον ἕπι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἅλανον καὶ τὸν Σύμωνα τὸν τοῦ Γαμαλιήλου παρωξύθαι, ὡς χωρίς γνώμης τοῦ κοινοῦ πέμψαντες εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐκπεσείν 310 με [ταύτης] ταρσκεύασαν. ἔφασαν δ' οἱ πρέσβεις ὡς καὶ τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν ὃ δήμος οὐρμησεν ἐμπιπράναι. ἔφερον δὲ καὶ γράμματα δὶ' ὅλου οἱ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πρώτου, πολλὰ τοῦ δήμου δειπθέντος αὐτῶν, ἐμοὶ μὲν τὴν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἄρχην ἐβεβαιούν, τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην δὲ προσέτασσον εἰς τὴν 311 οἰκεῖαν ὑποστρέφειν θάσσον. ἐντυχὼν οὖν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς εἰς Ἀρβηλα κώμην ἀφικόμην, ἐνθα σύνοδον τῶν Γαλιλαίων ποιησάμενοι ἐκέλευσα τοὺς πρέσβεις δηγείσας τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὑγρὴν καὶ μισσοπονηρίαν, 312 καὶ ὡς κυρώσειαν ἐμοὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν τὴν προστασίαν, τα τε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην γεγραμμένα περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς, πρὸς οὖς δὴ καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν εὐθέως διεπεμψάμην, πολυπραγμονήσας τὸν κομίσαντα κελεύσας τί ποιεῖν μέλλουσιν. 114
war upon them, and to permit them to proceed against John and utterly exterminate him and Jonathan and his party. Furious as they were, I was yet able to restrain them; advising them to hold their hands until we heard the report of the delegates whom they had sent to Jerusalem, without whose concurrence no action should be taken. This advice had its effect upon them. John, having failed to accomplish his plot, now returned to Gischala.

(60) Not many days later our delegates returned and reported that popular indignation had been deeply roused against Ananus and Simon, son of Gamaliel, for having, without the sanction of the general assembly, sent emissaries to Galilee to procure my expulsion from the province; they added that the people had even set off to burn down their houses. They also brought letters, whereby the leading men of Jerusalem, at the urgent request of the people, confirmed me in my command of Galilee, and ordered Jonathan and his colleagues to return home forthwith. After reading these instructions, I repaired to the village of Arbela, where I convened a meeting of the Galilaeans and instructed the delegates to tell them of the anger and detestation aroused at Jerusalem by the conduct of Jonathan and his colleagues, of the ratification of my appointment as governor of their province, and of the written orders to my rivals to quit. These I at once dispatched to the latter, giving orders to the bearer to take pains to discover how they intended to proceed.

a Irbid, N.W. of Tiberias.

1 Inserted only in R.
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313 (61) Δεξάμενοι δ' ἐκείνου τήν ἐπιστολήν καὶ ταραχθέντες οὕτι μετρίως μεταπέμπονται τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν Τιβερίων τοὺς τε πρωτεύοντας Γαβάραν, βουλήν τε προτιθέασιν σκοπεῖσθαι κελεύοντες τὶ πρακτέον ἐστίν αὐτοῖς.

314 Τιβερίεσσι μὲν οὖν ἀντέχεσθαι μάλλον ἔδοκε τῶν πραγμάτων· οὐ δεῖν γὰρ ἐφασαν ἐγκαταλείπεσθαι τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἀπαξ ἐκείνος προστεθειμένην, ἀλλὰς τε μηδ' ἐμοὶ μέλλοντος αὐτῶν ἀφέξεσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ ὡς ἥπειρηκότος ἐμοὶ κατευθύνοτο.

315 ο δὲ Ἰωάννης οὐ μόνον τούτοις συνηρέσκετο, [καὶ]2 πορευθήσῃ δὲ συνεβούλευεν αὐτῶν τοὺς δύο κατηγορίσοντας μον πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, ὅτι μὴ καλῶς τὰ κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν διοικῶ, καὶ πείσει ράδιως αὐτοὺς ἔφη διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ πάντος πλῆθος εὐτρεπῶς3 ἔχοντος. δοξαστὸς οὖν τοῦ Ἰωάννου κρατίστην εἰσενηνοχέναι γνώμην, ἔδοξε δύο μὲν ἀπεῖνα1 πρὸς τοὺς Ἰεροσολυμίτας, Ἰωάνθην καὶ Ἀνανίαν, τοὺς ἐτέρους δὲ δύο μένοντας ἐν τῇ Τιβεριάδι καταλιπεῖν. συνεπηγάγοντο δὲ φυλακῆς ἐνεκα τῆς ἑαυτῶν ὁπλίτας ἐκατόν.

316 (62) Τιβερίεσι δὲ τὰ μὲν τείχη προονόσαν ἀσφαλισθῆναι, τοὺς ἐνοικοὺς δὲ κελεύοσαν ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὀπλα, καὶ παρὰ Ἰωάννου δὲ μετεπέμψαντο στρατιώτας οὐκ ὀλίγους συμμαχήσοντας, εἰ δεήσειν, αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὸς ἐμε. ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐν Γισχάλοις. οἱ τοίνυν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἀναζευ-ξαντες ἀπὸ τῆς Τιβεριάδος, ὡς ἦκον εἰς Δαβάριττα κόμην ἐν ταῖς ἐσχατιαῖς τῆς Γαλιλαίας κειμένην ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ, περὶ μέσην νῦκτα τοῖς ἐμοίς φυλαξών ἐμπίπτουσιν, οἱ καὶ κελεύσαντες αὐτοὺς 

1 So Josephus usually writes: οὐχὶ mss.
(61) Profoundly agitated by the receipt of this letter, my opponents summoned John and the Tiberian councillors and the leading men of Gabara, and called a meeting to consider what action they should take. The Tiberians were of opinion that they should tighten their hold on the government, since their own city, having once gone over to them, ought not to be abandoned to its fate, particularly as I did not intend to leave them unmolested—falsely implying that I had made such a threat. John not only agreed to this, but further advised that two of their number should proceed to Jerusalem, to accuse me before the people of maladministration of the province of Galilee; adding that their high rank and the usual fickleness of a crowd would facilitate the task of persuasion. John’s proposal being voted the best, it was resolved that two of the envoys, Jonathan and Ananias, should go off to Jerusalem, leaving the other two behind them at Tiberias. The emissaries took with them an armed escort of a hundred men.

(62) The Tiberians now took precautionary measures to secure their fortifications, ordered the inhabitants to be ready in arms, and requisitioned from John, who was back at Gischala, a large force to assist them against me, should the need arise. Meanwhile, Jonathan’s party had left Tiberias and reached the village of Dabaritta, situated on the confines of Galilee in the Great Plain. Here, about midnight, they fell into the hands of my guards, who ordered them to lay down their arms and kept

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2 cod. P: omitted by the rest.  
4 So ed. pr.: ἀπείναι mss.  
3 εἰπρέπτως R.

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319 τὰ ὀπλα καταθέσθαι ἐφύλασσον ἐν δεσμοῖς ἐπὶ τόπον, καθὼς αὐτοῖς ἐντετάλμην. γράφει δὲ πρὸς ἐμὲ ταῦτα δηλῶν Λεονίς, ὅ τιν πυλακῆν πεπιστεύκειν. παραλιπὼν οὖν ἡμέρας δύο καὶ μηδὲν ἐγνωκέναι προσποιησάμενος, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς Τιβερίεις συνεβουλευον αὐτοῖς τὰ ὀπλα καταθεμένους ἀπολύειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς τὴν ἔαυτῶν.

320 οἳ δὲ, δόξαν γὰρ εἶχον τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἡδὴ διαπεπορεῦσθαι, βλασφήμοις ἐποιήσαντο τὰς ἀποκρίσεις. μὴ καταπλαγεῖς δὲ εἰς ἐκ τῶν καταστρατηγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπενόουν. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς πολίτας ἐξάπτειν πόλεμον οὐκ ἐνόμιζον εὐσεβῆς εἶναι, βουλόμενοι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀποσπάσαν τῶν Τιβερίων, μυρίους ὀπλίτας τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐπιλέξας εἰς τρεῖς μοίρας διεῖλον, καὶ τούτους μὲν ἀφανὶς ἐν Ἀδώμαις ἐποσέταξε λοχώντας περιμένειν,

321 χιλίους δὲ εἰς ἑτέραν κόμην, δρενην μὲν ὀμοῖος, ἀπέχουσαν δὲ τῆς Τιβερίαδος τέσσαρας σταδίους, εἰσῆγαγον κελεύσας ἐκείνοις ἐπειδὰν λάβωσιν σημείων εὐθὺς καταβαινεῖν. αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς κόμης προελθὼν ἐν προὔπτῳ καθεξόμην. οὐ δὲ Τιβερίεις ὁρῶντες ἐξέτρεχον συνεχῶς καὶ πολλὰ κατακερτώμον. τοσαύτη γοῦν ἀφροσύνη κατέσχεν αὐτοὺς ὡστε ποιήσαντες εὐτρεπὴ κλίνῃ προὔθεσαν καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν ἱστάμενοι ὦδυροντο μὲ μετὰ παιδίας καὶ γέλωτος. διετιθέμην δὲ ἐγὼ τὴν ψυχὴν ἥδεως τὴν ἀνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐπιβλέπων.

322 (63) Βουλόμενος δὲ δ' ἐνέδρας λαβεῖν τὸν Σιμωνα καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἰουδαρον, πέμψας πρὸς αὐτοὺς παρεκάλουν ὀλγον τῆς πόλεως πόρρω μετὰ φίλων

1 τοῦς οἴν. πρ.: mss. omit.
2 mss. ὀμαι or κώμαι. This emendation, I venture to
them, in chains, on the spot, in accordance with my instructions. The news was reported to me in writing by Levi, to whom I had entrusted the command of the outpost. I then let two days elapse and, feigning ignorance of these events, sent to the Tiberians, advising them to lay down their arms and dismiss the envoys to their home. They, imagining that Jonathan and his colleague had by now reached Jerusalem, sent me an abusive reply. Nothing daunted, I laid my plans to outwit them. To open a campaign upon my fellow-citizens a I regarded as impious; my object was to entice them away from the Tiberians. I accordingly selected ten thousand of my finest troops, and, forming them in three divisions, gave them orders to remain concealed in ambush in Adamah. A thousand more I posted in another village in the hills, four furlongs distant from Tiberias, with instructions to come down as soon as they received a signal. I then advanced and took up a position in the open in front of the village. Seeing this, the Tiberians used constantly to sally out of the town and indulge freely in mockery of me. Indeed, so far did they carry their foolery, that they prepared and laid out a bier, and, standing round it, mourned for me with jests and laughter. I was myself amused at the spectacle of their mad behaviour.

(63) Desiring to lay a trap to catch Simon and Jozar, b I now sent them an invitation to come out a short distance from the city, with numerous friends

a The two envoys from Jerusalem left at Tiberias, § 316.

b § 197.

think, seems convincing. A place-name is needed, and Adamah (Dāmīeh), some six miles S.W. of Tiberias, in the hills, meets the requirements. a με omitted by PRA.
πολλῶν τῶν παραφυλαξόντων αὐτῶν ἔλθειν· βουλεύσας γὰρ ἐφη καταβάς σπείρασθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ διανείμασθαι τὴν προστασίαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας.

325 Σίμων μὲν οὖν διὰ <τε> νεότητα1 καὶ πρὸς ἐλπίδα2 κέρδους ἀπαθηθεῖς οὐκ ὠκυγησεν ἐλθεῖν, ὡδὲ Ἰώζαρος ἐνέδραν ὑποπτεύσας ἔμεινεν. ἀναβάντα δὴ τὸν Σίμωνα μετὰ φίλων τῶν παραφυλασσόντων αὐτὸν ὑπαιτίας ἶσπαξόμην τε φιλοφρόνως καὶ χάρων

326 ἔχειν ὁμολόγουν ἀναβάντι. μετ’ οὐ πολὺ δὲ συμπεριπατῶν ὡς κατὰ μόνας τι βουλόμενος εἶπεῖν, ἐστὶ πορρωτέρω τῶν φίλων ἀπῆγαγον, μέσον ἀράμενος ἀγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν κόμην τοὺς μετ’ ἐμοὶ φίλους ἐδωκα, τοὺς ὀπλίτας δὲ καταβήναν κελεύσας

327 προσέβαλλον μετ’ αὐτῶν τῇ Τιβεριάδι. μάχης δὲ γενομένης ἀμφιέρωθεν καρτερᾶς καὶ ὡς αὐτῷ τῶν Τιβεριέων νικῶντων, πεθυγεισάν γὰρ οἱ παρ’ ἡμῶν ὀπλίται, τὸ γυνόμενον ἰδὼν καὶ τοὺς μετ’ ἐμαυτοῦ παρακαλέσας νικῶντας ἤδη τοὺς Τιβεριείς εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνεδίωξε. ἀπέραν δὲ δύναμιν εἰσφέρουσα3 διὰ τῆς λίμνης προσέταξα τὴν πρῶτην

328 λαβοῦσιν οἰκίαν ἑμπρῆσας. τούτου γενομένου νομισάντες οἱ Τιβερείες εἰλήφθαι κατὰ κράτος αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ φόβου ῥίπτουσιν τὰ ὀπλα, μετὰ γυναικῶν δὲ καὶ τέκνων ἱκέτευν ψεῦσθαι τῆς

329 πόλεως αὐτῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τὰς δεήσεις ἐπικλασθεὶς τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας τῆς ὀρμῆς ἐπέσχον, αὐτὸς δὲ, καὶ γὰρ ἐσπέρα κατάλαβεν, μετὰ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πολιορκίας ὑποστρέψας περὶ τῆν

330 τοῦ σώματος θεραπεῖαν ἐγύνομην. καλέσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίασιν τὸν Σίμωνα παρεμυθούμην περὶ τῶν

1 τε νεότητα. text emended: στενότητα P, νεότητα RMW, τε ἁνοιαν A

120
to protect them, explaining that I was anxious to come down and make terms with them with a view to a division of the supreme command of Galilee. Simon, owing to his years and expectations of personal profit, was deluded and came without hesitation; Jozar, suspecting a plot, remained behind. Simon, accordingly, came up country with his escort of friends; I met him, gave him a friendly greeting, and thanked him for coming. Not long after, walking beside him as though I desired to speak with him in private, I drew him a considerable distance from his party, and then seized him round the waist and handed him over to the friends who attended me, to be conducted to the village. I then ordered down my troops and proceeded with them to the assault of Tiberias. A stubbornly contested engagement ensued, and the Tiberians, owing to the flight of our men, had the battle almost in their hands, when, seeing the situation of affairs, I cheered on the troops that were with me and drove the Tiberians, now on the verge of victory, back into the town. I had also dispatched another contingent to enter the city by way of the lake, with orders to set fire to the first house which they took. This being successfully done, the Tiberians, supposing that their city had been carried by storm, threw down their arms in alarm, and, with their wives and children, implored me to spare it. Moved by their entreaties, I restrained the fury of the soldiers, and, as dusk had now fallen, abandoned the assault together with my troops, and retired for refreshment. I invited Simon to dine with me and consoled him for his fate,
331 (61) Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν μυρίων ἑπαγόμενος ὑπελίτας ἦκον εἰς τὴν Τιβεριάδα, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος εἰς τὸ στάδιον τοὺς πρῶτους αὐτῶν τοῦ πλῆθους ἐκέλευσα φράξειν οὕτως εἶναι αὐτοῖς, ἐξεπεμψα εἰς τὰ 332 ἱεροσόλυμα. Τιβεριεῖς δὲ πάλιν προσελθόντες συγγινώσκειν αὐτοῖς παρεκάλουν περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων, ἐπανορθώσεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῆς μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς ἑμὲ πίστει λέγοντες· τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς διαρκαγῆς περισσεύσαντα σῶσαι με τοῖς ἀπολέσασιν 333 σω ἐδεικτο. καὶ τοῖς ἔχουσιν προσέταττον εἰς μέσον πάντα φέρειν· ἀπειθοῦτων δὲ μέχρι πολλοῦ, θεασάμενος τινα τῶν περὶ ἑμὲ στρατιωτῶν λαμπροτέραν τοῦ συνήθους περικείμενον στολήν ἐπιθύμην 334 πόθεν ἔχουν. εἰπόντος δὲ ἐκ τῆς κατὰ πόλιν ἀρπαγῆς, ἐκεῖνον μὲν πληγαῖς ἐκόλασα, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἀπασὶ ηπείλησα μείζω τιμωρίαν ἐπιθήσεσθαι μὴ κομίσασιν εἰς τούμφανες ὡσα ἤρπακεσαν. πολλῶν δὲ συνενεχθέντων ἕκαστῳ τῶν Τιβεριεῶν τὸ ἐπιγνωσθὲν ἀπέδωκα.

336 (65) Γεγονὼς δὲ ἐνταῦθα τῆς διηγήσεως βουλομαι πρὸς Ἰουστον, καὶ αὐτῶν τὴν περὶ τούτων πραγματείαν γεγραφότα, πρὸς τε τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς
promising him and his companions a safe escort, with 

supplies for the journey, to Jerusalem.

(64) On the following day I entered Tiberias with 
an army of ten thousand men, and summoning the 
leading citizens to the stadium, commanded them to 
give me the names of the authors of the revolt. The 
information being supplied, I dispatched the in-
criminated individuals, in chains, to the town of 
Jotapata. Jonathan and Ananias I released and, 
providing them with supplies, sent them off together 
with Simon and Jozar and five hundred soldiers to 
escort them to Jerusalem. The Tiberians now ap-
proached me again and implored my forgiveness 
for their conduct, promising to make amends for the 
errors of the past by their loyalty in future. They 
desired me at the same time to recover what still 
remained of the plunder for those who had lost their 
property. I accordingly ordered all the possessors to 
produce everything. As there was considerable delay 
in obeying these orders I, observing that one of 
my soldiers was wearing an unusually magnificent 
garment, asked him whence he obtained it. On his 
replying “From the sack of the city,” I punished 
him with the lash, and threatened the rest with 
severer penalties if they failed to surrender their 
spoils. A mass of property being thus collected, I 
restored to each individual what he recognized as 
his own.

(65) Having reached this point in my narrative, I 
propose to address a few words to Justus, who has pro-
duced his own account of these affairs, and to others

\[\text{P: } \sigma\nu\nu\alpha\chi\theta\epsilon\nu\tau\omega\nu \text{ the rest.}\]
ιστορίαν μὲν γράφειν ὑπὸσχονμένους, περὶ δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὁλογράμμως καὶ δι’ ἐχθραν ἦν χάριν τὸ
337 ψεύδος οὐκ εἴπρεπομένους, μικρὰ διελθεῖν]. 1 πράττοσι μὲν γὰρ ὦμοιόν τι τοῖς περὶ συμβολαῖν πλαστὰ γράμματα συντιθείσι, τῷ δὲ μηδεμίαν ὦμοιώς τιμωριὰν ἐκεῖνος δεδείνα καταφρονοῦσι τῆς ἀληθείας. 2 Ἰουστὸς γοῦν συγγράφειν τὰς περὶ τοῦτον ἐπιγειρήσας πράξεις τὸν πόλεμον, ὑπὲρ τοῦ δοκείν φιλότοπον εἶναι ἐμὸν μὲν κατέψυνται, ἠλήθευσε δὲ οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος. οὖθεν, ἀπολογήσασθαι γὰρ νῦν ἀνάγκην ἔσω καταψευδομαρτυροῦμενος,
339 ἐρῶ τὰ μέχρι νῦν σεσιωπημένα. καὶ μὴ θαυμάσῃ τις ὅτι μὴ πάλαι περὶ τοῦτων ἐδήλωσα: τῷ γὰρ ιστορίαν ἀναγράφοντι τὸ μὲν ἀλήθειαν ἀναγκαίον, ἐξεστιν δ’ ὦμος μὴ πικρῶς τὰς τινῶν πονηρίας ἐλέγχειν, οὐ διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον χάριν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ μετριότητα.

340 Ἡῶς οὖν, ἢνα φῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς παρόντα, Ἰουστε, δεινοτάτε συγγραφέων, τοῦτο γὰρ αὐχεῖς περὶ σεαυτοῦ, αὐτοὶ γεγοναμέν ἐγὼ τε καὶ Γαλιλαίοι τῇ πατρίδι σου τῆς πρὸς ᾿Ρωμαίους καὶ πρὸς τὸν 
341 βασιλέα στάσεως, πρόστερον γὰρ ἢ ἐμὲ τῆς Γαλιλαίας στρατηγὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν ᾿Ιεροσολυμίων χειροτονηθῆναι, οὐ καὶ πάντες Τιβερείες οὐ μόνον ἀνειλήφατε τὰ ὀπλα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ δέκα πόλεις ἐπολεμείτε. οὐ γοῦν τὰς κόμικς αὐτῶν ἐνέπρησας καὶ ὁ σὸς οὐκέτις ἐπὶ τῆς παρα-
342 τάξεως ἐκείνης ἐπέσεν. ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἐγὼ λέγω μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ὑπεσπασιανοῦ τοῦ αὐτο-

1 The bracketed words occur in A only.
2 W: the rest τοῦτον.
who, while professing to write history, care little for truth, and, either from spite or partiality, have no scruples about falsehood. The procedure of such persons resembles indeed that of forgers of contracts, but, having no corresponding penalty to fear, they can afford to disdain veracity. Justus, for instance, having taken upon himself to record the history of this war, has, in order to gain credit for industrious research, not only maligned me, but even failed to tell the truth about his native place. Being, therefore, now compelled to defend myself against these false allegations, I shall allude to matters about which I have hitherto kept silence. My omission to make such a statement at an earlier date should not occasion surprise. For, while veracity is incumbent upon a historian, he is none the less at liberty to refrain from harsh scrutiny of the misdeeds of individuals, not from any partiality for the offenders, but because of his own moderation.

How, then, Justus—if I may address him as though he were present—how, most clever of historians, as you boast yourself to be, can I and the Galilaeans be held responsible for the insurrection of your native city against the Romans and against the king; seeing that, before I was elected by the general assembly at Jerusalem to the command of Galilee, you and all the citizens of Tiberias had not only resorted to arms, but were actually at war with the towns of the Syrian Decapolis? It was you who burnt their villages, and your domestic fell in the engagement on that occasion. This is no unsupported assertion of my own. The facts are recorded in the Commentaries of Vespasian. Cf. § 358, and the Commentaries of Julius Caesar on the Gallic War.
κράτορος ὑπομνήμασιν οὕτως γέγραπται, καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἐν Πτολεμαῖδι Οὐεσπασιανοῦ κατεβόησαν οἱ τῶν δέκα πόλεων ἔνοικοι, τιμωρίαν ὑποσχεῖν σε τῶν αὐτίων ἄξιοιντες. καὶ δεδώκεις ἃν δίκην Οὐεσπασιανοῦ κελεύσαντος, εἰ μὴ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίπ-πας λαβῶν ἔξουσίαν ἀποκτεῖναι σε, πολλὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Βερενίκης δεθείης, οὐκ ἄνελῶν δεδε-
μένον ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐφύλαξεν. καὶ αἱ μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ πολιτείαν σου σαφῶς ἐμφανίζουσιν τὸν τε βίον τὸν ἄλλον καὶ ὁτι σὺ τὴν πατρίδα Ἄρωμαίων ἀπέστησας· ὅτι τὰ τεκμήρια κἀγὼ δηλώσω μετ’ ὀλίγων.

Βούλομαι δ’ εἴπειν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Τιβε-ριεῖς ὀλίγα διὰ σὲ καὶ παραστήσαι τοῖς ἐντυγχά-
νευσιν ἐλλογούσιν ταῖς ἱστορίαις ὅτι μήτε φιλορώμαιοι
μήτε φιλοβασιλεῖς γεγονάτε. τῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ πόλεων αἱ μέγισται Σέσφωρις καὶ Τιβερίας ἡ σῇ πατρίς, ὡ Ἰουστε. ἀλλά Σέσφωρις μὲν ἐν τῷ μεσαίτω τῆς Γαλιλαίας κεμένη καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς κόμμας ἔχουσα πολλάς, καὶ τι καὶ ἱρασύνεσθαι δυναμένη πρὸς Ἄρωμαίους, εἴπερ ἠθέλησεν, εὐχερῶς, διεγνωκύια τῇ πρὸς τοὺς διεσπότας ἐμμένειν πίστει κἀμὲ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν ἔξεκλεισε καὶ στρατεύ-
σασθαὶ των τῶν πολιτῶν Ἰουδαίως ἐκώλυσεν.

ὅπως δέ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἄσφαλείς εἶπαν, ἡπάτησαν
με τείχεσιν αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν ὀχυρώσασι προ-
τρέψαντες, καὶ παρὰ Κεστίου Γάλλου τοῦ τῶν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ Ἄρωμαίκων ταγμάτων ἡγεμονεύοντος φρου-
ρῶν ἐκόντες ἑδέσαντο, καταφρονήσαντες ἐμοῦ τότε
μέγα δυναμένου καὶ πάσων δι’ ἐκπλήξεως οὕτως.

πολιορκομένης τε τῆς μεγίστης ἡμῶν πόλεως
of the Emperor Vespasian, which further relate how insistently the inhabitants of Decapolis pressed Vespasian, when at Ptolemais, to punish you, as the culprit. And punished you would have been under his orders, had not King Agrippa, though empowered to put you to death, at the urgent entreaty of his sister Berenice, commuted the death penalty to a long term of imprisonment. Moreover, your subsequent public life is a sure index of character and proves that it was you who caused the revolt of your native city from Rome. Proofs of these statements I shall adduce presently.

I have, however, a few words which I would address, on your account, to the other inhabitants of Tiberias, in order to demonstrate to future readers of this history that you and your fellow-citizens were friendly neither to the Romans nor to the king. Of the cities of Galilee the largest are Sepphoris and Tiberias — your native Tiberias, Justus. Now, Sepphoris, situated in the heart of Galilee, surrounded by numerous villages, and in a position, without any difficulty, had she been so inclined, to make a bold stand against the Romans, nevertheless decided to remain loyal to her masters, excluded me from the town, and forbade any of her citizens to take service with the Jews. Moreover, in order to secure themselves against me, they inveigled me into fortifying the city with walls, and then voluntarily admitted a garrison provided by Cestius Gallus, commander-in-chief of the Roman legions in Syria; flouting me at a time when I exercised great power and was universally held in awe. Again, when Jerusalem, A.D. 70.

a Literally “the histories,” perhaps meaning “our (rival) histories.”
JOSEPHUS

'Ieroseolýmōn kai tōu koivōn páνtωn ἱεροῦ κινδυνεύοντος ēn tῆ tōn polēmīōn ἐξουσία γενέσθαι, συμμαχίαν οὐκ ἐπεμβαν, μη βουλόμενου δοκεῖν 340 κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ὀπλα λαβεῖν. ἡ δὲ σῆ πατρίς, ὦ Ἰουστε, κειμένη ēn¹ tῆ Γεννησαρίτιδι² Λύνη καὶ ἀπέχουσα ᾿Ιπποῦν μὲν στάδια τριάκοντα, Γαδάρων δὲ ἐξῆκοντα, Σκυθοπόλεως δὲ εἶκοσι καὶ ἐκατον τῆς ὑπηκόου βασιλεία, μηδεμίας δὲ πόλεως ᾿Ιουδαίων παρακεμένης, εἰ ἤθελεν τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πίστιν 350 φυλάττειν, ῥαδίως ἐδίνατο. καὶ γὰρ πολὺς ήτε δῆμος καὶ ὀπλῶν ἐπιφορεῖται. ἀλλ', ὡς σὺ φής, αὕτης ύμιν³ ἐγὼ τότε. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὰς, ὦ ᾿Ιουστε; πρὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἰεροσολύμων πολιορκίας οἴδας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους ἐμὲ γενόμενον, καὶ ᾿Ιωτάπατα κατὰ κράτος ληφθέντα φρουρία τε πολλά, πολὺν τε 351 Γαλιλαίων ὄχλον κατὰ τὴν μάχην πεσόντα. τότ’ οὖν ἐχρὴν ύμᾶς πάντος ἀπηλλαγμένους τοῦ δι’ ἐμὲ φόβου ρῆμα τε τὰ ὀπλα καὶ παραστῆσαι τῷ τε βασιλεί καὶ Ῥωμαίως ὅτι δὴ οὔχ ἐκόντες ἀλλ’ ἀναγκασθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὀρμήσατε πόλει 352 μον. ύμεῖς δὲ καὶ περιεμείνατε Οὐδεσποτανόν, ἔως αὐτῶς ἀφικόμενος μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως προσέλθοι τοῖς τείχεσιν, καὶ τότε διὰ φόβου τὰ ὀπλα κατέθεσθε¹ καὶ πάντως ἄν ύμων ἡ πόλις ἤλω κατὰ κράτος, εἰ μη τῷ βασιλεί δεομένω καὶ τὴν
1 ὦ τι Cobet.
2 Γεννησαρίδι PR.
3 Niese: mss. ήμιν (perhaps rightly) or ύμιν.
4 Hudson: καταθέσθαι mss.

¹ This only means that Scythopolis was on the side of Agrippa and the Romans.” It was “an independent town
our capital, was besieged, and the Temple, which was common to us all, was in danger of falling into the enemy's hands, they sent no assistance, wishing to avoid all suspicion of having borne arms against the Romans.

Your native city, Justus, on the contrary, situated on the lake of Gennesaret, and distant from Hippos thirty furlongs, from Gadara sixty and from Seythopolis, which was under the king's jurisdiction, one hundred and twenty, with no Jewish city in the vicinity, might easily, had it so desired, have kept faith with the Romans. You were a populous community and well supplied with arms. But, you maintain, it was I who was responsible for your revolt at that time. Well, who was responsible, Justus, later on? For you are aware that before the siege of Jerusalem I was taken prisoner by the Romans, that Jotapata and many other fortresses had been carried by storm, and that a large number of Galilaeans had fallen in battle. That was the proper occasion for you, when you had nothing whatever to fear from me, to abandon hostilities and to convince the king and the Romans that it was not your own free will but compulsion which drove you into war against them. Instead, you waited until Vespasian arrived in person, with his whole army, beneath your walls; and then, at last, in alarm, you did lay down your arms. But your city would undoubtedly have been taken by storm, had not under Roman supremacy," and never, apparently, in the possession of any of the Herods. Schürer, H.J.P., div. ii., vol. i. p. 112. "You had pro-Roman towns at hand to protect you" is the argument. Josephus is here hard put to it to answer Justus, since, for all his temporizing, he did take the lead against the Romans in the opening campaign.
JOSEPHUS

άνοιαν ὑμῶν παραίτησαν τοῖς αὐτίσις, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οἱ 353 πολέμικὰ ἔφησαντες. ἢ οὔ μεμνησθὲ ὅτι τοσαυτάκις ὑμῶν ἐγκράτης γενόμενος οὐδένα διέθειρα, στασιάζοντες δ' ὑμεῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐ διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τῶν βασιλέα εὐνοιαν, διὰ δὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν αὐτῶν πονηρίαν, ἔκατον ὁργοθκόντα πέντε τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπεκτείνατε, κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον ἐμοὶ πολιορκουμένον ἐν Ἰωσαφάτου ὑπὸ 354 Ῥωμαίων; τί δ'; οὐχὶ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἰεροσολυμῶν πολιορκίαν δισχίλιοι Τιβερίεων ἐξητάσθησαν, οἱ μὲν πεπτωκότες οἱ δὲ λησθέντες αἰχμάλωτοι; ἀλλὰ οὐ πολέμιοι οὐ γεγονέναι φήσεις, ὅτι πρὸς βασιλέα τὸτ' ἐφυγες. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ 355 διὰ τὸν ἐξ ἐμοῦ φόβον φημὶ σε πεποιηκέναι. κάρω μὲν πονηρός, ὡς λέγεις, ὅ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ὁ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ συγχωρήσας ὑπὸ Οὐδεσσασιανοῦ θανεῖν κατακριθέντι, δ' ἐς τοσοῦτος δωρησάμενος χρήμασιν, τίνος ἐνεκεν ὑπερων διὶ μὲν ἐδήσε, τοσαυτάκις δὲ φυγεῖν τὴν πατρίδα προσέταξε καὶ ἀποθανεῖν δὲ κελεύσας ἀπαξ τῇ ἄδελφῃ Βερενίκῃ 356 πολλὰ δεθείση τὴν σῇ σωτηρίαν ἐχάρισατο; καὶ μετὰ τοσαῦτα δὲ σου κακοουργήματα τάξει ἐπιστολῶν σοι πιστεύσας, ὡς καὶ ταῦτας εὑρεβαὶ, ἀπῆλεσε τῆς ὅψεως. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐλέγχειν ἐπ' ἀκρίβεις ἐώ. 357 Θαυμάζειν δ' ἐπεισὶ μοι τὴν σῇ ἀναίδειαν, ὅτι τολμᾶς λέγειν ἀπάντης τῶν τὴν πραγματείαν ταύτην γεγραφότων αὐτὸς ἁμείνων ἐξήγηγελκέναι, μήτε τὰ πραξθέντα κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαϊαν ἐπιστάμενον,
THE LIFE, 352-357

Vespasian yielded to the king's intercession to condone your folly. The responsibility therefore rests not with me, but with you, Tiberians, and your passion for war. Have you forgotten how, often as I had you in my power, I put not one of you to death; whereas you in your party quarrels, not from any loyalty to the Romans and the king, but of your own malice, slew one hundred and eighty-five of your fellow-citizens at the time when I was besieged in Jotapata by the Romans? Again, were there not two thousand Tiberians found at the siege of Jerusalem, of whom some fell and others were taken prisoners?

But you, Justus, will urge that you at least were no enemy [of Rome], because in those early days you sought refuge with the king. I reply that it was fear of me which drove you to do so. I too, then, you assert, was a knave. Well, how do you account for your treatment by King Agrippa, to whom you owed your life, when condemned to death by Vespasian, and all that wealth which he lavished upon you? Why did he subsequently twice put you in irons and as often command you to quit the country, and once order you to execution, when he spared your life only at the earnest entreaty of his sister Berenice? And when, after all your knavish tricks, he had appointed you his private secretary, he detected you once more in fraudulent practices and banished you from his sight. But I forbear to scrutinize these matters too closely.

I cannot, however, but wonder at your impudence in daring to assert that your narrative is to be preferred to that of all who have written on this subject, when you neither knew what happened in Galilee—
JOSEPHUS

358 τῆς παρατάξεως ἐκείνης. ἀλλ' ἦσως τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πραξθέντα μετὰ ἀκριβείας φήσεις συγγεγραφέναι. καὶ πῶς οἶνον τε; οὔτε γὰρ τῷ πολέμῳ παρέτυχε οὔτε τὰ Καίσαρος ἀνέγνως ὑπομνήματα. μέγιστον δὲ τεκμήριον τοῖς [γὰρ] ¹ Καίσαρος ὑπομνήμασιν ἐναντίον πεποίησαι τὴν γραφήν. εἰ δὲ θαρρεῖς ἁμεινον ἀπάντων συγγεγραφέναι, διὰ τὶ ζῶντων Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων τοῦ πολέμου γενομένων² καὶ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα περιόντος ἐτί καὶ τῶν ἐκ γένους αὐτοῦ πάντων, ἀνδρῶν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἥκοντιν, τὴν ἱστορίαν ὦκ έφερες εἰς μέσον; πρὸ γὰρ εἶκοσιν ἐτῶν εἰχές γεγραμμένην καὶ παρ' εἰδότων ἔμελλες τῆς ἀκριβείας τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἀποφέρεσθαι. νῦν δ' ὡτ' ἐκεῖνοι µὲν οὐκέτ' εἰσών µεθ' ἡµῶν, ἑλεγχθήναι δ' οὗ νοµίζεις, τεθάρρηκας.

361 Οὐ µὴν ἐγὼ σοι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον περὶ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ γραφῆς ἐδεισά, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς ἐπέδωκα τοῖς αὐτοκράτορι τὰ βιβλία µόνον οὐ τῶν ἑργῶν ἐτὶ βλεποµένων συνήδειν γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ τετηρηκότι τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας παράδοσιν, ἐφ' ἡ μαρτυρίας τεύξεσθαι προσδοκήσας οὐ διήµαρτον. καὶ ἀλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ εὐθὺς ἐπέδωκα τὴν ἱστορίαν, ὦν ἔνιοι καὶ παρατετεύχεσαν τῷ πολέμῳ, καθάπερ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίπ-

¹ ins. R: the rest omit.
² τοῦ πολ. γεν.] τῶν τῶν πόλεμων κατεργασαµένων R.
for you were then at Berytus with the king—nor acquainted yourself with all that the Romans endured or inflicted upon us at the siege of Jotapata; nor was it in your power to ascertain the part which I myself played in the siege, since all possible informants perished in that conflict. 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 a combatant nor had you perused the Commentaries of Caesar, as is abundantly proved by your contradictory account? But, if you are so confident that your history excels all others, why did you not publish it in the lifetime of the Emperors Vespasian and Titus, who conducted the war, and while King Agrippa and all his family, persons thoroughly conversant with Hellenic culture, were still among us? You had it written twenty years ago, and might then have obtained the evidence of eyewitnesses to your accuracy. But not until now, when those persons are no longer with us and you think you cannot be confuted, have you ventured to publish it.

I had no such apprehensions concerning my work. No; I presented the volumes to the Emperors themselves, when the events had hardly passed out of sight, conscious as I was that I had preserved the true story. I expected to receive testimony to my accuracy, and was not disappointed. To many others also I immediately presented my History, some of whom had taken part in the war, such as King 

\[a\] Beirut.

\[b\] i.e. Titus; cf. § 342 (note).
363 πας καὶ τινες αυτου των συγγενων. ο μεν γαρ αυτοκρατωρ Τιτος [ουτως] ἐκ μονων αυτων ἐβουληθη την γνωσιν τοις ἀνθρωποις παραδοναι των πραξεων, ὡστε χαραξας τη έαυτου χειρι τα
364 βιβλια δημοσιωσαι προσεταξεν ο δε βασιλεüs 'Αγρίππας εξηκοντα δυο γεγραφεν ἐπιστολας τη της ἀληθειας παραδοσει μαρτυρων. ον δη και δυο υπεταξα και Βουληθεντι σοι τα γεγραμμενα γνωναι παρεστων ες αυτων.

365 "Βασιλεὺς 'Αγρίππας 'Ιωσῆτως τῳ φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν. ηδιστα διηλθον την βιβλιων, και μου πολυ έπιμελέστερον ἐδοξας των ταυτα συγγραφάντων ἡκριβωκέανει. πέμπε δε μοι και τας λοιπας. ἐρρωσο."3

366 "Βασιλεὺς 'Αγρίππας 'Ιωσῆτως τῳ φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν. εξ ον έγραφας ουδεμιας έσικας χρηξειν διδασκαλίας υπερ του μαθειν ημας ολους άρχηθην. οταν μεντοι συντύχησι μου, και αυτος σε πολλα κατηχησω των αγνοουμενων."

367 'Εμοι δε4 ἀπαρτισθείσας τής ἱστορίας ἅληθείας,5 ου κολακευνων, ουδε γαρ ἐπέβαλλεν αυτω, ουδε εϊρωνεύμενον, ως συ φήσεις, πόρρω γαρ ην έκεινας τοιαυτης κακοθειας, αλλα την άληθειαν έμαρτυρει, καθαπερ πάντες οι ταις ἱστορίαις ἐντυγγάνοντες. αλλα τα μεν προς Ιουστον ἀναγκαιαν λαβοντα την παρέκβασιν6 μεχρι τοιτων ημων7 λελέχθων.

1 om. PR. 2 βιβλιων PA. 3 RAMW add φιλτατε. 4 Text doubtful: R ουτως δε μοι: Niese marks a lacuna. 5 Doubtful: Hudson suggests 'Αγρίππας. 6 παράβασιν PR. 7 P: the rest omit.

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Agrippa and certain of his relatives. Indeed, so anxious was the Emperor Titus that my volumes should be the sole authority from which the world should learn the facts, that he affixed his own signature to them and gave orders for their publication; while King Agrippa wrote sixty-two letters testifying to the truth of the record. Two of these I subjoin, from which you may, if you will, learn the nature of his communications:

"King Agrippa to dearest Josephus, greeting. I have perused the book with the greatest pleasure. You seem to me to have written with much greater care and accuracy than any who have dealt with the subject. Send me the remaining volumes. Farewell."

"King Agrippa to dearest Josephus, greeting. From what you have written you appear to stand in no need of instruction, to enable us all to learn (everything from you) from the beginning. But when you meet me, I will myself by word of mouth inform you of much that is not generally known."

And, on the completion of my History, not in flattery, which was contrary to his nature, nor yet, as you no doubt will say, in irony, for he was far above such malignity, but in all sincerity, he, in common with all readers of my volumes, bore witness to their accuracy. But here let me close this digression on Justus which he has forced upon me.

a 'The king's alleged "culture " here fails him; the Greek is vulgar and obscure. For ἡμᾶς ὑλέων, " us all," perhaps we should read ἡμᾶς ὑλων, " us completely."

b i.e. Justus, whom he again addresses.
JOSEPHUS

368 (66) Διοικήσας δ’ ἐγὼ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Τιβεριάδα καὶ καθίσας τῶν φίλων συνέδριον ἐβουλευόμην περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἰωάννην πρακτικομένων. ἔδόκει μὲν οὖν πάσι τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις ὁπλίσαντα πάντας ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ λαβεῖν παρ’ αὐτοῦ δίκας

369 ὡς πάσης τῆς στάσεως αὐτῶν γεγονότος, οὐκ ἠρεσκόμην δ’ ἐγὼ ταῖς γνώμαις αὐτῶν προαίρεσιν ἔχων τὰς παραχάς χωρίς φόνου καταστέλλειν. οὔτε δὴ παρήμενοι πάσαν εἰσενέγκασθαι πρόνοιαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γνῶναι τὰ δόματα τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ

370 οἴντων. ποιησάντων δ’ ἐκείνων γνών ἐγὼ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὕτως ἤσαν ἔξεσθηκα πρόγραμμα, διὰ τοῦτο πίστιν καὶ δεξιῶν προείνων τοῖς μετὰ Ἰωάννου θελῆσαι λαβεῖν μετάνοιαν, καὶ ἡμερῶν ἐκκοσι χρόνον προετενα τοῖς βουλεύσασθαι θέλουσιν περὶ τῶν ἐαυτοὺς συμφερόντων. ἠπείλουν δὲ, εἰ μὴ ῥίψουσιν τὰ ὁπλα, καταπρήσεις αὐτῶν τὰς οἰ-

371 κήσεις καὶ δημοσιώσεις τὰς οὔσιας. ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας τοῦ ἀνθρωποὶ καὶ παραχέντες οὐ τι μετρίως καταλείπουσι μὲν τὸν Ἰωάννην, τὰ δ’ ὁπλα ῥίψαντες ἦκον πρὸς μὲ τετρακυκλίου τὸν

372 ἀριθμὸν οἴντων. μόνοι δὲ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ παρέμειναν οἱ πολίται καὶ ἔσεν τινὲς ἐκ τῆς Τυρίων μητροπόλεως ὡς χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. Ἰωάννῃς μὲν οὖν οὕτω καταστρατηγηθεῖς ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι περίφοβος ἔμεινεν.

373 (67) Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν Σεφωρίται θαρρήσαντες ἀναλαμβάνουσιν ὁπλα, πεποιθότες τῇ τε τῶν πειχῶν ὁχυρότητι καὶ τῷ πρὸς ἔτερος οἴντα μὲ όραν. πέμπουσι δὴ πρὸς Κέστιον Γάλλον, Συρίας δ’ ἦν οὕτος ἁγιών, παρακαλοῦντες ἢ αὐτῶν ἡκεῖν θάττων παραληψόμενον αὐτῶν τὴν
(66) Having settled the affairs of Tiberias, \( ^a \) I called a meeting of my friends, to deliberate on the measures to be taken against John. The Galilaeans were unanimously of opinion that I should arm them all, march against him and punish him as the author of all these disturbances. This opinion I was unable to share, being determined to quell these disorders without bloodshed. I, accordingly, advised them to do their utmost to discover the names of John’s followers. This they did, and I, on learning who these men were, issued a proclamation tendering pledges of security to any of John’s adherents who were prepared to change their policy. I allowed twenty days’ grace for deliberation as to the course most conducive to their own interests; threatening, on the other hand, unless they abandoned their arms, to burn their houses to the ground and confiscate their property. On hearing this they were in the utmost alarm, deserted John, flung down their arms, and joined me, to the number of four thousand. John was left with no more than his fellow-citizens and some fifteen hundred foreigners from the Tyrian metropolis. Thus outmanoeuvred by me, he remained thenceforth, completely cowed, in his native town.

(67) About this time the Sepphorites, emboldened by the strength of their walls and my pre-occupation with other affairs, ventured to take up arms. \( ^b \) They accordingly sent a request to Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, either to come himself without delay and take over their city, or to send them a

\( ^a \) The narrative, broken off at § 335, is here resumed. Cf. B. ii. 622-625.  
\( ^b \) Cf. B. ii. 645 f.
JOSEPHUS

374 πόλιν ἢ πέμψαι τοὺς φρουρῆσαιντας. οὗ δὲ Γάλλος ἐλεύσεσθαι μὲν ὑπέσχετο, πότε δὲ οὐ διεσάφησεν. καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα πυθόμενος, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς σὺν ἐμοὶ στρατιώτας καὶ ὀρμήσας ἐπὶ τοὺς Σεσφωρίτας εἰλον αὐτῶν κατὰ κράτος τὴν πόλιν. λαβόμενοι δ’ ἀφορμῆς οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι καὶ παρεῖναι τοῦ μίσους τὸν καιρὸν οὐ βουλήτευτες, εἶχον γὰρ ἀπεχθῶς καὶ πρὸς ταῦτην τὴν πόλιν, ὄρμησαν ὡς ἁρδήν ἄφανί-376 σοντες πάντας σὺν τοῖς ἐποίκοις. εἰσδραμύντες οὖν ἐνεπίμπρασαν αὐτῶν τὰς οἰκίας ἐρήμους καταλαμβάνοντες οἱ γὰρ ἀνθρώποι δεῖσαντες εἰς τὴν ἄκροπολιν συνέφυγον. διήρπαζον δὲ πάντα καὶ τρόπον οὐδένα πορθήσεως κατὰ τῶν ὦμοφόλων 377 παρελμπανον. ταῦτ’ ἐγὼ θεασάμενος σφόδρα διετέθην ἀνιαρὸς καὶ παύεσθαι προσέταττον αὐτῶις, ὑπομιμήσκων ὅτι τοιαύτα δράν ὦμοφόλους οὐκ 378 ἔστων ὦσιον. ἐπεί δ’ οὕτε παρακαλοῦντος οὔτε προστάσσοντος ἥκουν, ἐνίκα δὲ τὸ μίσος τὰς παραινέσεις, τούς πιστοτάτους τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ φίλων ἐκέλευσα διαδούναι λόγους ὡς Ῥωμαίων μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως κατὰ τὸ ἑτερον μέρος τῆς 379 πόλεως εἰσβεβληκότων. ταῦτα δ’ ἔποιοιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῆς φήμης ἐμπεσοῦσης ἐπισχεῖν μὲν τῶν Γαλιλαίων τὰς ὀρμᾶς, διασώσαι δὲ τὴν τῶν Σεσφωρίτων πόλιν. καὶ τέλος προνυχώρησε τὸ 380 στρατηγημα τῆς γὰρ ἀγγελίας ἀκούσαντες ἐφοβήθησαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ καταλιπόντες τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ἐφευγον, μάλιστα δ’ ἐπεὶ κἀκεῖ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἔωρον ταῦτα ποιοῦντα: πρὸς γὰρ τὸ πιστὸν τῆς φήμης ἐσκηπτόμην ὦμοίως αὐτοῖς διατίθεσθαι. Σεσφωρίται δὲ παρ’ ἐλπίδα τὴν ἐαυτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ σοφίσματος ἐσώθησαν. 138
garrison. Gallus promised to come, but named no
date. Apprised of these negotiations, I marched
with such troops as I had against Sepphoris and took
the city by assault. The Galilaeans, seizing this
opportunity, too good to be missed, of venting their
hatred on one of the cities which they detested,
rushed forward, with the intention of exterminating
the population, aliens and all. Plunging into the
town they set fire to the houses, which they found
deserted, the terrified inhabitants having fled in a
body to the citadel. They looted everything, sparing
their countrymen no conceivable form of devastation.
I was deeply distressed by this spectacle and ordered
them to desist, reminding them that such treatment
of one’s compatriots was impious. As, however, they
refused to listen to either remonstration or command,
my exhortations being overborne by their hatred, I
 instructed some of my friends around me, on whom
I could fully rely, to circulate a report that the
Romans had made their way into another quarter
of the city with a large force. I did this in order
that, when the rumour reached their ears, I might
check the fury of the Galilaeans and so save Sepphoris.
The ruse was eventually successful; for on hearing the
news they were in terror of their lives, and abandoned
their spoils and fled. They were the more impelled to
do so, when they saw me, their general, setting
them the example; for, in order to lend colour to
the rumour, I pretended to share their alarm. Thus
were the Sepphorites, beyond their own expectations,
saved by this device of mine from destruction.

1 Hudson: με mss.
JOSEPHUS

381 (68) Καὶ Τιβερίας δὲ παρ’ ὄλιγον ἀνηρπάσθη ὑπὸ Γαλιλαίων τοιαύτης αἰτίας ὑποπεσούσης. τῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς οἱ πρῶτοι γράφουσι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα παρακαλοῦντες ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς
382 παραληψόμενον τὴν πόλιν. ὑπέσχετο δ’ ὁ βασιλεύς ἔρχεσθαι καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀντιγράφει καὶ τῶν περί τὸν κοιτῶνα τινι, Κρίσσων μὲν τούνομα, τὸ δὲ γένος Ἰουδαῖων, δίδωσι πρὸς τοὺς Τιβεριείς
383 φέρειν. τούτων κομίσαντα τὰ γράμματα γνωρίσαντες οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι καὶ συλλαβόντες ἁγουσὶν ἐπ’ ἐμὲ τὸ δὲ πάν πλῆθος, ὡς ἤκουσεν, παροξυνθεὶν
384 ἐφ’ ὁπλα τρέπεται. συναχθέντες δὲ πολλοὶ πανταχόθεν κατὰ τὴν ἐπίουσαν ἥκοιν εἰς Ἀσωκὴν πόλιν, ἐνθα δὴ τὴν κατάλυσιν ἐποιούμην, καταβοήσεις τε σφόδρα ἐποιούντο προδότων ἀποκαλοῦντες τὴν Τιβεριάδα καὶ βασιλέως φίλην, ἐπιτρέπειν τε ἡξίουν αὐτοῖς καταβάσαι ἄρδην ἀφανίσαι καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς Τιβεριείς εἰχον ἀπεχθῶς ὡς πρὸς τοὺς Σεπωρίτας.
385 (69) Ἑγὼ δ’ ἀκούσας ἠπόρουν τίνα τρόπον ἐξαρπάσω τὴν Τιβεριάδα τῆς Γαλιλαίων ὀργῆς, ἀρνήσασθαι γὰρ οὐκ ἑδυνάμην μὴ γεγραφέναι τοὺς Τιβεριείς καλοῦντας τὸν βασιλέα. ἦλεγχον γὰρ αἰ παρ’ ἐκείνου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀντιγραφοῖ τὴν ἀλήθειαν.
386 σύννοντος οὖν πολλὴν γενόμενον ὀραν, ὡς ὁτί μὲν ἠδικήκασιν,’ εἶπον, “Τιβεριείς οἶδα κάγω, τὴν πόλιν δ’ αὐτῶν ὑμᾶς οὐ κοιλύσω διαρπάσαι. δεὶ δ’ ὦμως καὶ μετὰ κρίσεως τὰ τηλικαῦτα πράττειν. οὐ γὰρ μόνοι Τιβεριείς προδόται τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἡμῶν γεγόνασιν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐν Γαλιλαίᾳ
387 δοκιμωτάτων. προσμείνατε δὴ μέχρι τοὺς αἰτίους ἀκριβῶς ἐκμάθω, καὶ τότε πάντας ὑποχειρίους
Tiberias, likewise, had a narrow escape from being sacked by the Galilaeans. The occasion was as follows. The leading councillors had written to the king, inviting him to come and take over their city. The king promised to come, writing a letter in reply, which he handed to a Jew named Crispus, a groom of the bedchamber, to convey to the Tiberians. On his arrival with the letter he was recognized by the Galilaeans, who arrested him and brought him to me. The news created general indignation and all were up in arms. On the following day large numbers flocked together from all quarters to the town of Asochis where I was then residing, loudly denouncing the Tiberians as traitors and friendly to the king, and requiring permission to go down and exterminate their city. For they had the same detestation for the Tiberians as for the inhabitants of Sepphoris.

(69) On hearing this uproar, I was at a loss to discover means of rescuing Tiberias from the rage of the Galilaeans. I could not deny that the Tiberians had sent a written invitation to the king; for his letter in answer to them proved this to be a fact. So, after long and anxious reflection I said: "That the Tiberians have done wrong I am well aware, nor shall I forbid you to sack their city. Yet even such things must be done with discretion. The Tiberians are not the only persons who have betrayed our country's independence; many of the most eminent men in Galilee have done the same. Wait, therefore, until I have discovered exactly who are guilty, and

\[a \text{ Cf. §§ 207, 233.}\]

\[1 \pi ολλαχθεν PMW.\]
JOSEPHUS

388 ἐξετε καὶ ὅσους ἵδια ἐπάξαι δυνήσεσθε.” ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἔπεισα τὸ πλήθος καὶ παυσάμενοι τῆς ὁργῆς διελύθησαν. τὸν παρὰ βασιλέως δὲ πεμφθέντα δῆσαν κελεύσας, μετ’ οὖν πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ χρείων ἐπείγουσαν σκηνάμενοι ἐκ- δημεῖν τῆς βασιλείας, καλέσας τὸν Κρίσπον λάθρα προσέταξε μεθύσαι τὸν στρατιώτην φύλακα καὶ

389 φυγείν πρὸς βασιλέα· μὴ γὰρ διωχθῆσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῖς ὑποθήκαις πεισθεὶς διέφυγε, Τιβερίας δὲ μέλλουσα δεύτερον ἀφανίζεσθαι στρατηγία τῇ ἐμῇ καὶ προνοίᾳ τῇ περὶ αὐτῆς ὑπὸ πάνω κίνδυνον διέφυγεν.

390 (70) Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν Ἰουστος ὁ Πίστου παῖς λαθὼν ἔμε διαδιδράσκει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα· τὴν αἰτίαν δὲ δὴ ἡν τοῦτ’ ἔπραξεν ἀφ- 391 ηγήσομαι. λαβόντος ἄρχην Ἰουδαίας τοῦ πρὸς Ὀρωμαίων πολέμου Τιβεριεῖς διεγνώκεισαν ὑπ- ακούειν βασιλεῖ καὶ Ὀρωμαίων μὴ ἀφίστασθαι. πείθει δ’ αὐτῶς Ἰουστος ἐφ’ ὅπλα χωρῆσαι, νεωτέρων αὐτὸς ἐφιέμενοι πραγμάτων καὶ δὴ ἐλπίδος ἔχων ἀρξεῖν Γαλιλαίων τε καὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ
392 πατρίδος. οὐ μὴν τῶν προσδοκηθέντων ἐπέτυχεν. Γαλιλαίοι τε γὰρ ἐχθρῶς ἔχοντες πρὸς τοὺς Τι- βεριεῖς διὰ μῆνιν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου πεπόνθεισαν, οὐκ ἦνείχοντο στρατηγοῦντος αὐτῶν
393 Ἰουστοῦν, κἂν δὲ τὴν προστασίαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας πιστευθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πολλάκις εἰς τοσαύτην ἥκον ὀργὴν ὥς ὀλίγου δεῖν ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν Ἰουστοῦν, φέρειν αὐτοῦ τὴν μοχθη-

1 μετ’ οὗ εἰς πρ.: μετὰ mss.

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* Tiberias now formed part of the “kingdom” of Agrippa II
then you shall have them all at your mercy, together with any whom you may be able to produce on your own account." With these words I pacified the crowd; their anger subsided and they dispersed. I gave orders to keep the king’s messenger a prisoner, but, a few days later, pretending to be leaving the kingdom on urgent business of my own, I summoned Crispus and gave him secret instructions to make the soldier who guarded him drunk and then escape to the king; assuring him that he would not be pursued. He acted on this hint and took himself off. Thus was Tiberias, when for the second time on the verge of destruction, delivered by my adroitness and considerate forethought from such imminent peril.

(70) It was about this time that Justus, son of Pistus, without my knowledge, absconded to the king. I will explain why he did so. On the outbreak of the war between the Jews and the Romans, the Tiberians had determined to maintain their allegiance to the king and not to revolt from Rome. Justus endeavoured to persuade them to resort to arms, being personally anxious for revolution and having hopes of obtaining the command of Galilee and of his native place. In these expectations he was disappointed; for the Galilaeans, resenting the miseries which he had inflicted on them before the war, were embittered against the Tiberians and would not tolerate him as their chief. Moreover, I myself, when entrusted by the general assembly at Jerusalem with the command of Galilee, was often so bitterly enraged with Justus that, unable to endure his

(B. ii. 252, A. xx. 159); Asochis, the headquarters of Josephus (§ 384), apparently did not.

\[ \text{Cf. } \text{§ 32 ff.} \]

\[ \text{Cf. } \text{§ 341}. \]
JOSEPHUS

ρίαν οὖ δυνάμενος. δείσας οὖν ἐκείνος μή καὶ λάβῃ τέλος ἀπαξ ὁ θυμός, ἔπεμψε πρὸς βασιλέα Κρίσπον, [ὡς] ἀσφαλέστερον οἴκησειν παρ’ ἐκείνω νοµίζων.

394 (71) Σεπφωρίται δὲ παραδόξως τὸν πρώτον κύνδυνον διαφυγόντες πρὸς Κέστιον Γάλλων ἔπεμψαν ἢκει παρακαλοῦντες ὡς αὐτοὺς θάττων παραληψόμενον τὴν πόλιν, ἢ πέμπειν δύναμιν τὴν ἀνακόψουσαν τὰς ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδρομάς. καὶ τέλος ἐπεισάν τὸν Γάλλον πέμψα δύναμιν αὐτοῖς ἵππικην τε καὶ πεζικὴν πάνυ συχνῆ, ἣν 395 ἐλθοῦσαν νυκτὸς εἰσεδέξαντο. κακομενής δὲ υπὸ τῆς 'Ρωμαϊκῆς στρατιάς τῆς πέριξ χώρας ἀναλαβὼν ἐγὼ τοὺς περὶ ἐμὲ στρατιώτας ἢκον εἰς Γαρείς κώμην· ἐνθα βαλόμενος χάρακα πόρρω τῆς Σεπφωρίτῶν πόλεως ἀπὸ σταδίων εἰκοσι, νυκτὸς ἐτέ αὐτῇ προσεμέξα καὶ τοῖς τείχεσι προσέβαλλον, 396 καὶ διὰ κλιμάκων ἐμβιβάσας συχνοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐγκρατής τοῦ πλείστου τῆς πόλεως μέρους ἐγενόμην. μετ’ οὐ πολὺ δὲ διὰ τῆν τῶν τόπων ἀγνοιαν ἀναγκασθέντες ὑπεχωρῆσαμεν, ἀνελόντες μὲν δυσκαίδεκα πεζούς3 ὀλίγους δὲ Σεπφωρίτῶν, 397 αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐνα μόνον ἀπεβάλομεν. γενομένης δ’ ύστερον ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸ πεδίον μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἵππεις μέχρι πολλοῦ καρτερῶς διακυνδυνεύσαντες ἠττήθημεν· περιελθόντων γὰρ τῶν 'Ρωμαιῶν οἱ μετ’ ἐμοῦ δεῖσαντες ἐφυγον εἰς τοῦπισω. πίπτει δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως ἐκείνης εἰς τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὴν τοῦ σώματος μου φυλακῆν, 'Ἰούστος τούνομα, καὶ παρὰ βασιλεῖ ποτὲ τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ἐσχηκὼς.

1 Κρίσπον P, + ὡς R: κρεῖσσον (+ καὶ Α) the rest.
2 Niese: ἐπ’ mss.
3 I retain the shorter text of P. The other mss., in a
villainy, I had almost killed him. Fearing, therefore, that my indignation might one day proceed to extremes, he sent overtures by Crispus to the king, in the hope of enjoying a life of greater security with him.

(71) The Sepphorites, after their unexpected escape from the first crisis, dispatched a messenger to Cestius Gallus, requesting him either to come at once and take over the city, or to send sufficient troops to repel the incursions of the enemy. They eventually prevailed on him to send quite a large force of both cavalry and infantry, which arrived and was admitted under cover of night. The neighbourhood being now molested by the Roman troops, I proceeded with such soldiers as I had to the village of Garis, where I entrenched myself at a distance of twenty furlongs from Sepphoris. I then made a night attack upon it, and, assailing the walls, threw in a considerable number of my men by means of scaling-ladders and so became master of the greater part of the city. Our ignorance of the locality, however, compelled us before long to retire, after killing twelve of the infantry and a few Sepphorites, with the loss of only one of our own men. In a subsequent encounter with the cavalry in the plain we, after a long and stubborn resistance, were defeated; for, on being surrounded by the Romans, my men took alarm and fled. In that engagement I lost one of my bodyguard, named Justus, who had formerly served the king in the same capacity.

\[ \text{\textit{§ 373 ff.}} \]

variety of forms, which betrays the glossator, insert an unnecessary Πωμαίον and, unfamiliar with the form δινοκαιδέκα, expand the twelve infantry into two cavalry and ten infantry.
JOSEPHUS

398  Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἡ παρὰ βασιλέως δύναμις ἦκεν ἐπική τε καὶ πεζική καὶ Σύλλας ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἤγεμών, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων. οὗτος οὖν βαλόμενος στρατόπεδον Ἰουλιάδος ἀπέχον σταδίους πέντε φρουρᾶν ἔφιστησον ταῖς ὁδοῖς, τῇ τε εἰς Σελευκείαν ἁγούσῃ καὶ τῇ εἰς Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον, ὕπερ τοῦ τὰς παρὰ τῶν Γαλιλαίων ωφελείας τοῖς ἐνοίκοις ἀποκλείειν.

399  (72) Ταῦτα δ' ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπιθύμησα πέμπω δισχιλίους ὀπλίτας καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Ἰερεμίαν, οἰ δῆ καὶ χάρακα θέντες ἀπὸ σταδίου τῆς Ἰουλιάδος πλησίον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ πλέον ἀκροβολισμῶν οὐδὲν ἐπρᾶξαν, μέχρι τρισχιλίους στρατιώτας αὐτὸς ἀναλαβὼν ἦκον πρὸς αὐτούς. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἧμέραν ἐν τινὶ φάραγγι καθίσας λόχον οὐκ ἀπωθεῖν αὐτῶν τοῦ χάρακος προεκαλούμην τοὺς βασιλικοὺς εἰς μάχην, παρανεύσας τοῖς μετ' ἐμοῦ στρατιώταις στρέφαι τὰ νοῦτα μέχρις ἃν ἐπισπάσωνται τοὺς πολεμίους προελθεῖν ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο.

400  Σύλλας γὰρ εἰκάσας ταῖς ἀληθείαις τοὺς ἁμετέρους φεύγειν προελθὼν ἐπιδιώκειν οἶδος τε ἂν, κατὰ νότου δ' αὐτῶν λαμβάνουσιν οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας καὶ σφόδρα πάντας ἐθορύβησαν. ἐγὼ δ' εὐθὺς ὀξεία χρησάμενος ὑποστροφῇ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ὑπήντησα τοῖς βασιλικοῖς καὶ εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψα. καὶ κατὼρθωτό μοι κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἡ πράξις μὴ ἐμποδῶν γενομένου δαίμονός τινος· ὁ γὰρ ὑποσ ἐφ' ὃ τὴν μάχην ἐποιούμην εἰς τελματωδὴ τόπον ἐμπεσόν συγκατήγεγκε με ἐπὶ τοῦδαφος, θραύσεως δὲ τῶν ἄρθρων γενομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ταρσὸν τῆς

1 Κατὰ Μ. W.  2 ἀπήντητα Π.

a Cf. § 381.

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About this time reinforcements arrived from the king, both horse and foot, under the command of Sulla, the captain of his bodyguard. He pitched his camp at a distance of five furlongs from Julias, and put out pickets on the roads leading to Seleucia and to the fortress of Gamala, to prevent the inhabitants [of Julias] from obtaining supplies from Galilee.

(72) On receiving intelligence of this, I dispatched a force of two thousand men under the command of Jeremiah, who entrenched themselves a furlong away from Julias close to the river Jordan, but took no action beyond skirmishing until I joined them with supports, three thousand strong. The next day, after laying an ambuscade in a ravine not far from their earthworks, I offered battle to the royal troops, directing my division to retire until they had lured the enemy forward; as actually happened. Sulla, supposing that our men were really flying, advanced and was on the point of following in pursuit, when the others, emerging from their ambush, took him in the rear and threw his whole force into the utmost disorder. Instantly wheeling the main body about, I charged and routed the royalists; and my success on that day would have been complete, had I not been thwarted by some evil genius. The horse on which I went into action stumbled on a marshy spot and brought me with him to the ground. Having fractured some bones in the wrist, I was carried to a

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b Bethsaida Julias (et-Tell) at the northern extremity of the Lake of Gennesaret, E. of the Jordan.

c Selukiyeh, N.E. of Julias.

d Probably identified on the E. side of the Lake of Gennesaret, i.e. S. of Julias.
χειρός, ἐκομίσθην εἰς κῶμην Κεφαρνωκόν λέγο-

404 μένην. οἱ δ' ἐμοὶ ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες καὶ δедο-
kότες μὴ τι χείρον ἔπαθον, τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ πλέον
dιώξεως ἀπέσχοντο, ὑπέστρεφον δὲ περὶ ἐμὲ λί
ἀγωνιώντες. μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν ἱατροὺς καὶ
θεραπευθεῖς τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ κατέμεινα
πυρέξας, δόξαν τε τοῖς ἱατροῖς τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς
Ταριχαίας μετεκομίσθην.

405 (73) Σύλλας δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ πυθόμενοι τὰ
cat' ἐμὲ πάλιν ἐθάρρησαν, καὶ γνώντες ἀμελεῖσθαι
tὰ περὶ τὴν ψυλακὴν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, διὰ νυκτὸς
ἰππεύσιν λόχων ἱδρύσαντες ἐν τῷ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορ-
dάνου, γενομένης ἡμέρας εἰς μάχην ἡμᾶς προ-

406 εκαλέσαντό. τῶν δ' ὑπακούσαντων καὶ μέχρι τοῦ
πεδίων προελθόντων ἐπιφανεῖτες οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας
ἰππεῖς καὶ παράξαντες αὐτοὺς εἰς φυγὴν ἐπερχό
ὲς τε τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπέκτειναν. οὐ μὴν μέχρι
τέλους τῆς νύκτης ἡμᾶς καταπεπλευκεῖναι γὰρ
τυχα διπλὰ ἀκούσαντες ἀπὸ Ταριχαίων εἰς
Ἰουλιάδα φοβηθέντες ἀνεχώρησαν.

407 (74) Μετ' οὖν πολὺν δὲ χρόνον Οὐεσπασιανὸς εἰς
Τύρον ἀφικνεῖται καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἁγρίπ-
pας. καὶ οἱ Τύριοι βλασφημεῖν ἠρέσαντο τὸν
βασιλέα, Τυρίων' αὐτὸν καλοῦντες καὶ Ῥωμαίων
πολέμιον τὸν γὰρ στρατοπεδάρχην αὐτοῦ Φιλίππο
ἐλέγον προδεδωκέναι τὴν βασιλικὴν αὐλὴν καὶ τὰς
Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεις τὰς οὐσὰς ἐν Ἰεροσολύμοις

408 κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόσταξιν. Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ
ἀκούσας Τυρίως μὲν ἐπέπληξεν ὑβρίζονσιν ἄνδρα
καὶ βασιλέα καὶ Ῥωμαίους φίλον, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ
παρῆνεσεν πέμψαι Φιλίππον εἰς Ῥώμην ὑφέξοντα

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village called Cepharncus. My men, hearing of this, and fearing that a worse fate had befallen me, desisted from further pursuit and returned in the deepest anxiety on my account. I sent for physicians and, after receiving their attention, remained there for that day in a feverish condition; at night, under medical advice, I was removed to Tarichaeae.

(73) Sulla and his troops, learning of my accident, again took heart; and, finding that the watch kept in our camp was slack, placed, under cover of night, a squadron of cavalry in ambush beyond the Jordan, and at daybreak offered us battle. Accepting the challenge, my troops advanced into the plain, when the cavalry, suddenly appearing from their ambush, threw them into disorder and routed them, killing six of our men. They did not, however, follow up their success; for, on hearing that reinforcements shipped at Tarichaeae had reached Julias, they retired in alarm.

(74) Not long after this Vespasian arrived at Tyre, accompanied by King Agrippa. The king was met by the invectives of the citizens, who denounced him as an enemy of their own and of the Romans; because, as they asserted, Philip, his commander-in-chief, had, under orders from him, betrayed the royal palace and the Roman forces in Jerusalem. Vespasian, having heard them, reprimanded the Tyrians for insulting one who was at once a king and an ally of the Romans; at the same time advising the king to send Philip to Rome to render an
Λόγον Νέρωνι περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων. Φίλιππος δὲ πεμφθεὶς οὗς ἤκεν εἰς οὐφυ Νέρωνι καταλαβὼν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ὠντα διὰ τὰς ἐμπεσοῦσας ταραχὰς καὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ὑπέστρεψε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. ἔπει δὲ Οὐσπασιανὸς εἰς Πτολεμαίδα παρεγένετο, οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν τῆς Συρίας Δεκαπόλεως κατεβόων Ἰουστοῦ τοῦ Τιβερίεως, ὅτι τὰς κώμας αὐτῶν ἐμπρήσεις. παρέδωκεν οὖν αὐτὸν Οὐσπασιανὸς τῷ βασιλεί κολασθησόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς βασιλείας ὑποτελῶν· ὃ βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτὸν ἔδησεν, ἐπικρυφάμενος τούτῳ Οὐσπασιανόν, ὃς ἀνωτέρω δεδηλώκαμεν. Σεπφωρίται δ' ὑπαντήσαντες καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι Οὐσπασιανὸν λαμβάνοντι δύναμιν καὶ στρατηγὸν Πλάκιδον, ἀναβάντες δὲ μετὰ τούτων . . . ἓ ἐπομένου μου ἄχρι τῆς εἰς ἑπτάκοσιον Οὐσπασιανὸν ἀφίξεως. περὶ ἣς τίνα τρόπον ἐγένετο, καὶ πῶς περὶ Γάρις κόμην τὴν πρώτην πρὸς ἐμὲ μάχιν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ὃς ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τὰ Ἰωτάπατα ἀνεχώρησα, καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα μοι κατὰ τὴν ταύτης πολυρκίαν, καὶ δὲν τρόπον ζῶν λήψεις ἐδέθην, καὶ πῶς ἐλύθην, πάντα τε τὰ πεπραγμένα μοι κατὰ τὸν Ἰουδαίκον πόλεμον καὶ τὴν Ἰεροσολύμων πολυρκίαν μετ' ἀκριβείας ἐν ταῖς περὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαίκου πολέμου βίβλοις ἀπ‒ ἡγγέλκα. ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἐστὶν, ὡς οἶμαι, καὶ ὥσα μὴ κατὰ τὸν Ἰουδαίκον πόλεμον ἀνέγραψα τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ μου πεπραγμένων νῦν προσαναγράψαι.

(75) Τῆς γὰρ τῶν Ἰωταπάτων πολυρκίας λαβοῦσης τέλος γενόμενος παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας ἐφυλασσόμην, τὰ πολλὰ διὰ
account of his actions to Nero. Thither, accordingly, Philip was dispatched, but never had audience of Nero, whom he found in extremities owing to the prevailing disorders and the civil war, and so returned to the king.

On reaching Ptolemais, Vespasian received indignant remonstrances from the chief men of the Syrian Decapolis against Justus of Tiberias for setting fire to their villages. Vespasian handed him over to the king for execution by the subjects of his realm. The king, however, merely detained him in prison, concealing this from Vespasian, as previously narrated.\(^a\)

The Sepphorites, who met and saluted Vespasian, were given a garrison under the command of Placidus. With this force they proceeded into the interior, being closely followed by me until Vespasian’s arrival in Galilee. Of the manner of his arrival and of his first engagement with me in the neighbourhood of the village of Garis; of my withdrawal from there to Jotapata and my conduct during the siege of that place; of my capture, imprisonment, and subsequent liberation; of my conduct throughout the whole campaign and at the siege of Jerusalem, I have given a detailed description in my books on the Jewish War. It is, however, I think, incumbent upon me now to append an account of such particulars of my life as were not recorded in my earlier work.

(75) After the siege of Jotapata I was in the hands of the Romans and was kept under guard, while receiving every attention. Vespasian showed in\(^a\) Cf. §§ 341-3.

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1 Lacuna in text.
2 Τάρσος (Ταρσός) mss.: B. iii. 129 supplies the correct name.
3 ἐποτεσσαρτό ὝΡΑ.
τημήσ ἁγοντος με Οὐεσπασιανοῦ. καὶ δὴ κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ ἡγαγόμην τινὰ παρθένον ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλωτίδων τῶν κατὰ Καισάρειαν ἁλυσών

415 ἐγχώριον· οὐ παρέμενεν δ’ αὐτὴ μοι πολὺν χρόνον, ἀλλὰ λυθέντος καὶ μετὰ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ πορευθέντος εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀπηλλάγη. 1

416 ἐτέραν ἡγαγόμην κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. κάκειθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων πολιορκίαν συμπεμφθείς Τίτῳ πολλάκις ἀποθανεῖν ἐκκυδῶνευσα, τῶν τε Ἰουνδαίων διὰ σπουδῆς ἐχώντων ὑποχειροῖν με λαβεῖν τιμωρίας ἕνεκα, καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὁσάκι νικηθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦ λαβεῖν τιμωρίας ἑγίνοντο, κολάζειν με ὑς καὶ αὐτῶν προδότην ἀξιοῦν.

417 τοὺς. Τίτος δὲ Καῖσαρ τὰς πολέμου τύχας οὐκ ἀγνοοῦν σιγῇ τάς ἐπὶ ἐμὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐξέλυνεν ὀρμάς. ἦδη δὲ κατὰ κράτος τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πολεως ἐχομένης Τίτος Καῖσαρ ἐπειθέν με πολλάκις ἐκ τῆς κατασκαφῆς τῆς πατρίδος πᾶν ὦ τιθέλοιμι λαβεῖν· συγχωρεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐφασκεν.

418 ἐγὼ δὲ τῆς πατρίδος πεσοῦσης μηδὲν ἔχων τιμω- τερον, ὃ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ συμφορῶν εἰς παραμυθίαν λαβών φυλάξαμι, σωμάτων ἐλευθέρων τὴν αὐτής ἐποιούμην Τίτον καὶ βιβλίων ἱερῶν . . . 2 ἔλαβον

419 χαρισμένου Τίτου. μετ’ οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μετὰ πεντήκοντα φίλων αἰτησάμενος οὐκ ἀπέτυχον. καὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν δὲ πορευθεῖς Τίτου τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὁδότος, ἐνθα πολὺ πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων ἐγκέκλειστο γυναικῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς και τέκνων, ὁσοὺς ἐπέγνωνοι φίλων ἔμων καὶ συνήθων ὑπάρχοντας

1 So ed. pr.: ἀπηλλάγην mss.
2 Apparent lacuna: Bekker inserts καὶ.
many ways the honour in which he held me, and it was by his command that I married one of the women taken captive at Caesarea, a virgin and a native of that place. She did not, however, remain long with me, for she left me on my obtaining my release and accompanying Vespasian to Alexandria. There I married again. From Alexandria I was sent with Titus to the siege of Jerusalem, where my life was frequently in danger, both from the Jews, who were eager to get me into their hands, to gratify their revenge, and from the Romans, who attributed every reverse to some treachery on my part, and were constantly and clamorously demanding of the Emperor that he should punish me as their betrayer. Titus Caesar, however, knowing well the varying fortunes of war, repressed by his silence the soldiers' outbursts against me.

Again, when at last Jerusalem was on the point of being carried by assault, Titus Caesar repeatedly urged me to take whatever I would from the wreck of my country, stating that I had his permission. And I, now that my native place had fallen, having nothing more precious to take and preserve as a solace for my personal misfortunes, made request to Titus for the freedom of some of my countrymen; I also received by his gracious favour a gift of sacred books. Not long after I made petition for my brother and fifty friends, and my request was granted. Again, by permission of Titus, I entered the Temple, where a great multitude of captive women and children had been imprisoned, and liberated all the friends and acquaintances whom I recognized, in
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ēρυσάμην, περὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑνενήκοντα ὀντας τὸν ἀριθμὸν, καὶ οὐδὲ λύτρα καταθημένους ἄπελυσα
420 συγχωρήσας αὐτοὺς τῇ προτέρᾳ τύχῃ. πεμφθεὶς δ᾽ ὑπὸ Τίτου Καίσαρος σὺν Κερεαλίῳ καὶ χιλίοις ἵππεσιν εἰς κόμην τινὰ Θεκῶαν λεγομένην προκατανοήσων εἰ τόπος ἐπιτήθειον ἐστὶν χάρακα δεξασθαι, ὡς ἐκείθεν ὑποστρέφων εἶδον πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀνεσταυρωμένους καὶ τρεῖς ἐγνώρισα συνήθεις μοι γενομένους, ἡλγησά τε τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ
421 μετὰ δακρύων προσελθὼν Τίτων ἐίπον. ὁ δ᾽ εὐθὺς ἐκέλευσεν καθαιρεθέντας αὐτοὺς θεραπείας ἐπι-
μελεστάτης τυχεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν δύο τελευτῶσιν θεραπευόμενοι, ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἔξησεν.

422 (76) Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπαυσεν τάς ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ταραχὰς Τίτος, εἰκάσας τοὺς ἀγροὺς οὕς εἶχον ἐν
toῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνοικήτους ἐσομένους μοι διὰ
tὴν μέλλουσαν ἔκει Ρωμαίων φρονρὰν ἐγκαθ-
ἔξεσθαι, ἐδωκεν ἐτέραν χώραν ἐν πεδίῳ μέλλων
tε ἀπαίρειν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην σύμπλουν ἐδέξατο πάλαι
423 τιμὴν ἀπονέμων. ἠπεὶ δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἤκομεν,
pολλῆς ἐτυχον παρὰ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ προνοίας: καὶ
gὰρ καὶ κατάλυσαν ἐδωκεν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ πρὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτῶ γενομένη, πολιτεία τε Ῥωμαίων
ἐτίμησεν καὶ σύνταξεν χρημάτων ἐδωκεν, καὶ
tιμῶν διέτελε μέχρι τῆς ἐκ τοῦ βίου μεταστάσεως
οὐδὲν τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ χρηστότητος ύφελὼν· ὁ μοι
424 διὰ τοῦ φθόνου ἤνεγκε κύδυνου. Ἰουδαίος γὰρ τις,
Ἰωνάθης τούνομα, στάσιν ἐξεγείρας ἐν Κυρήνῃ καὶ

* Meaning doubtful. Traill renders: “paying that compliment to their former fortune.”

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number about a hundred and ninety; I took no ransom for their release and restored them to their former fortune. Once more, when I was sent by Titus Caesar with Cerealiius and a thousand horse to a village called Tekoa, to prospect whether it was a suitable place for an entrenched camp, and on my return saw many prisoners who had been crucified, and recognized three of my acquaintances among them, I was cut to the heart and came and told Titus with tears what I had seen. He gave orders immediately that they should be taken down and receive the most careful treatment. Two of them died in the physicians’ hands; the third survived.

(76) When Titus had quelled the disturbances in Judaea, conjecturing that the lands which I held at Jerusalem would be unprofitable to me, because a Roman garrison was to be quartered there, he gave me another parcel of ground in the plain. On his departure for Rome, he took me with him on board, treating me with every mark of respect. On our arrival in Rome I met with great consideration from Vespasian. He gave me a lodging in the house which he had occupied before he became Emperor; he honoured me with the privilege of Roman citizenship; and he assigned me a pension. He continued to honour me up to the time of his departure from this life, without any abatement in his kindness towards me.

My privileged position excited envy and thereby exposed me to danger. A certain Jew, named Jonathan, who had promoted an insurrection in

b The birth-place of Amos, some twelve miles S. of Jerusalem.

c Cf. B. vii. 437-450 (Jonathan is tortured and burnt alive).
diσχιλίους τῶν ἐγχωρίων συναναπείσας ἐκεῖνοι μὲν αὐτίς ἀπωλείας ἐγένετο, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς χώρας ἡγεμονεύοντος δεθεὶς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτοκράτορα περιβείς ἐφασκεν ἐμὲ αὐτῷ ὅπλα πεπομφέναι
425 καὶ χρήματα. οὐ μὴν Ὀὐεσπασιανὸν ἰησοῦν έλαθεν, ἀλλὰ κατέγνω θάνατον αὐτοῦ, καὶ παραδοθεὶς ἀπέθανεν. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν βασιλείωντων μοι τῆς εὐνυχίας κατηγορίας ἐπ᾿ ἐμὲ συνεδρίων θεοῦ προνοίᾳ πάσας διεσφυγον. ἐλαβον δὲ παρὰ Ὀὐεσπασιανοῦ δωρεάν γῆν οὐκ
426 ὀλίγην ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ. καθ᾿ ὃν δὴ καυρὸν καὶ τὴν γυναίκα μὴ ἄρεσκόμενος αὐτῆς τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἀπεπεμψάμην, τριῶν παίδων γενομένην μητέρα, ὅν οἱ μὲν δύο ἑπελεύτησαν, εἰς δὲ ὃν Ἰῳκανὸν προσηγώ-
427 ῥευσα περίεστιν. μετὰ ταῦτα ἡγαγόμην γυναίκα κατωκηκήκιαν μὲν ἐν Κρήτῃ, τὸ δὲ γένος Ἰουδαίαν, γονέων εὐγενεστάτων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπιφανεστάτων, ἤθει πολλῶν γυναικῶν διαφέ-
ροισαν, ὡς ὃ μετὰ ταῦτα βίος αὐτῆς ἀπέδειξεν. ἐκ ταύτης δὴ μοι γίνονται παῖδες δύο, πρεσβύτερος μὲν Ἰουστος, Συμμοῦνις δὲ μετ᾿ ἐκείνον, ὃ καὶ
428 Ἀγρίππας ἐπικληθεῖς. ταῦτα μὲν μοι τὰ κατὰ τὸν οἶκον.

Διέμεινεν δὲ ὁμοία καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοκρά-
τόρων. Ὀὐεσπασιανοῦ γὰρ τελευτήσαντος Τίτος
τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος ὁμοίαν τῷ πατρὶ τὴν
τιμὴν μοι διεφύλαξεν, πολλάκις τε κατηγορηθέντος
429 οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν. διαδεξάμενος δὲ Τίτον Δομετιανὸς
καὶ προσηύξησεν τὰς εἰς ἐμὲ τιμὰς: τούς τε γὰρ
cατηγορήσαντας μου Ἰουδαίους ἐκόλασεν καὶ
dούλου εὐνοῦχον, παιδαγωγὸν τοῦ παιδὸς μου,
cατηγορήσαντα κολασθῆναι προσέταξεν, ἐμοὶ δὲ

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Cyrene, occasioning the destruction of two thousand of the natives, whom he had induced to join him, on being sent in chains by the governor of the district to the Emperor, asserted that I had provided him with arms and money. Undeceived by this mendacious statement, Vespasian condemned him to death, and he was delivered over to execution. Subsequently, numerous accusations against me were fabricated by persons who envied me my good fortune; but, by the providence of God, I came safe through all. Vespasian also presented me with a considerable tract of land in Judaea.

At this period I divorced my wife, being displeased at her behaviour. She had borne me three children, of whom two died; one, whom I named Hyrcanus, is still alive. Afterwards I married a woman of Jewish extraction who had settled in Crete. She came of very distinguished parents, indeed the most notable people in that country. In character she surpassed many of her sex, as her subsequent life showed. By her I had two sons, Justus the elder, and then Simonides, surnamed Agrippa. Such is my domestic history.

The treatment which I received from the Emperors continued unaltered. On Vespasian's decease Titus, A.D. 79, who succeeded to the empire, showed the same esteem for me as did his father, and never credited the accusations to which I was constantly subjected. Domitian succeeded Titus and added to my honours. A.D. 81. He punished my Jewish accusers, and for a similar offence gave orders for the chastisement of a slave, a eunuch and my son's tutor. He also exempted my
τῆς ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ χώρας ἀτέλειαν ἐδωκεν, ἤπερ ἔστι μεγίστη τιμή τῶν λαβόντων. καὶ πολλὰ δὲ ἡ τοῦ Καίσαρος γυνὴ Δομετία διετέλεσεν εὐεργετοῦσά με.

430 Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ πεπραγμένα μοι διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου ἐστίν, κρινότωσαν δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸ ἡθος ὅπως ἄν ἔθελωσιν ἑτεροί. σοὶ δὲ ἀποδεδωκὼς, κράτιστε ἄνδροι Ἐπαφρόδιτε, τὴν πᾶσαν τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας ἀναγραφὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐνταῦθα καταπαύω τὸν λόγον.
property in Judaea from taxation—a mark of the highest honour to the privileged individual. Moreover, Domitia, Caesar's wife, never ceased conferring favours upon me.

Such are the events of my whole life; from them let others judge as they will of my character.

Having now, most excellent Epaphroditus, rendered you a complete account of our antiquities, I shall here for the present conclude my narrative.

a The *Life* (at least in its final edition) formed an appendix to the *Antiquities*. See *Ant.* xx. 266, with Introduction to this volume, p. xiii.
AGAINST APION

OR

ON THE ANTIQUITY OF THE JEWS
1 (1) Ἰκανῶς μὲν ὑπολαμβάνω καὶ διὰ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν συγγραφῆς, κράτιστε ἀνδρῶν Ἐπι- αφρόδιτε, τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις αὐτῇ πεπωγήκεναι φα- νερῶν περὶ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὅτι καὶ παλαιότατον ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν πρώτην ὑπόστασιν ἔσχεν ἱδίαν, καὶ πώς τὴν χώραν ἢν νῦν ἔχομεν καταφέρεσθαι. τὴν1 πεντακισχιλίων ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἱστορίαν περιέχουσαν ἐκ τῶν παρ᾽ ἢμῖν ἱερῶν βιβλίων διὰ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς φωνῆς συγγραφήμην.

2 ἐπεὶ δὲ συχνῶς ὀρῶ τοῖς ὑπὸ δυσμενείας ὑπὸ πινον εἴρημέναι προσέχοντας βλασφημίας καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν ὑπὸ ἔρωτι γεγραμμένον ἀπιστοῦντας τεκμήριον τε ποιομένους τοῦ νεωτεροῦ εἶναι το γένος ἡμῶν τὸ μηδεμίας παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιφανέσι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱστοριογράφων μνήμης

3 ἡξιώσθαι, περὶ τούτων ἀπαντῶν φήθην δεῖν γράψαι συντόμως, τῶν2 μὲν λοιδορούντων τὴν δυσμενείαν καὶ τὴν ἐκούσιον ἐλέγξαι ψευδολογίαν, τῶν δὲ τὴν ἄρνοιαν ἐπανορθώσασθαι, διδάξαι

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1 κατάφησε L.; ἢν added in "ed. pr.
2 καὶ τῶν (with Lat.) Bekker.
AGAINST APION

OR ON THE ANTIQUITY OF THE JEWS

BOOK I

(1) In my history of our Antiquities, most excellent Epaphroditus, I have, I think, made sufficiently clear to any who may peruse that work the extreme antiquity of our Jewish race, the purity of the original stock, and the manner in which it established itself in the country which we occupy to-day. That history embraces a period of five thousand years, and was written by me in Greek on the basis of our sacred books. Since, however, I observe that a considerable number of persons, influenced by the malicious calumnies of certain individuals, discredit the statements in my history concerning our antiquity, and adduce as proof of the comparative modernity of our race the fact that it has not been thought worthy of mention by the best known Greek historians, I consider it my duty to devote a brief treatise to all these points; in order at once to convict our detractors of malignity and deliberate falsehood, to correct the ignorance of others, and to

a The same round number in A. i. 13.
JOSEPHUS

δὲ πάντας ὅσοι τάληθες εἰδέναι βούλονται περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχαιότητος. χρήσομαι δὲ τῶν μὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεγομένων μάρτυσι τοῖς ἀξιοπιστοτάτοις εἶναι περὶ πάσης ἀρχαιολογίας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κεκριμένως, τοὺς δὲ βλασφήμως περὶ ἡμῶν καὶ ψευδῶς γεγραφότας αὐτοὺς δι’ ἑαυτῶν ἐλεγχο-5 μένους παρέξω. πειράσομαι δὲ καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἀποδοῦναι, δι’ ἃς ὦ πολλοὶ τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις "Ελληνες ἐμμημονεύκασιν. ἔτι μὲντοι καὶ τοὺς οὐ παραλιπόντας τὴν περὶ ἡμῶν ἱστορίαν ποιήσω φανερῶς τοῖς μὴ γιγνώσκοισιν ἡ προσ-ποιουμένας ἀγνοεῖν.

6 (2) Πρώτον οὖν ἐπέρχεται μοι πάνυ θαυμάζειν τοὺς οἰομένους δεῖν περὶ τῶν παλαιοτάτων έργων μόνοις προσέχειν τοῖς "Ελλησι καὶ παρὰ τούτων πυθόμεθα τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἀπιστεῖν. πάν γαρ ἐγὼ τούναντίον ὅρῳ συμβεβηκός, εἰ γε δεῖ μὴ ταῖς ματαιώσις δόξαις ἐπακολουθεῖν, ἂλλ’ εἴξ αὐτῶν τὸ δικαίον τῶν 7 πραγμάτων λαμβάνειν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς "Ελλησι ἀπαντά νέα καὶ χθές καὶ πρώην, ὡς ὃν εἴποι τις, εὐροὶ1 γεγονότα, λέγω δὲ τὰς κτίσεις τῶν πόλεων καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐπινοίας τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς τῶν νόμων ἀναγραφάς πάντων δὲ νεωτάτῃ σχεδὸν ἐστὶ παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἡ περὶ τοῦ 8 συγγράφεων τὰς ἱστορίας ἐπιμέλεια. τὰ μέντοι παρ’ Αἰγυπτίως τε καὶ Χαλδαίως καὶ Φοίνιξιν, ἐω γὰρ νῦν ἡμᾶς ἐκείνοις συγκαταλέγειν, αὐτοὶ 1 cognovi (εὑρον i) Lat.

a Josephus in this and the following sections (note the reference to "catastrophes" in § 10) borrows from Plato, 164
AGAINST APION, I. 3–8

instruct all who desire to know the truth concerning the antiquity of our race. As witnesses to my statements I propose to call the writers who, in the estimation of the Greeks, are the most trustworthy authorities on antiquity as a whole. The authors of scurrilous and mendacious statements about us will be shown to be confuted by themselves. I shall further endeavour to set out the various reasons which explain why our nation is mentioned by a few only of the Greek historians; at the same time I shall bring those authors who have not neglected our history to the notice of any who either are, or feign to be, ignorant of them.

(2) My first thought is one of intense astonishment at the current opinion that, in the study of primeval history, the Greeks alone deserve serious attention, that the truth should be sought from them, and that neither we nor any others in the world are to be trusted. In my view the very reverse of this is the case, if, that is to say, we are not to take idle prejudices as our guide, but to extract the truth from the facts themselves. For in the Greek world everything will be found to be modern,* and dating, so to speak, from yesterday or the day before: I refer to the foundation of their cities, the invention of the arts, and the compilation of a code of laws; but the most recent, or nearly the most recent, of all their attainments is care in historical composition. On the contrary, as is admitted even by themselves, the Egyptians, the Chaldaeans, and the Phoenicians—for the moment I omit to add our nation to the

*Timoaeus, 22 b and c, where an Egyptian priest discourses to Solon in similar terms on the modernity of the Greeks. Cf. Ap. ii. 192, 224 for other parallels to that dialogue.
JOSEPHUS

δὴπούθεν ὤμολογούσιν ἀρχαιοτάτην τε καὶ μονιμω-
9 τάτην ἔχειν τῆς μνήμης τὴν παράδοσιν' καὶ γὰρ
tόπους ἀπαντεῖσ οἰκούσιν ἦκιστα ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ
περιέχοντος φθοραίς ὑποκειμένους καὶ πολλὴν
ἐπουήσαντο πρόνοιαν τού μηδὲν ἀμνηστον τῶν παρ'
αὐτοῖς πραττομένων παραλιπέιν, ἀλλ' ἐν δημοσίαις
ἀναγράφαις ὑπὸ τῶν σοφώτατων ἀεὶ καθεροῦσθαι.
10 τὸν δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόπον μνημα μὲν φθοράι
κατέσχον ἐξαλείφουσαν τὴν μνήμην τῶν γεγονότων,
ἀεὶ δὲ καίνοντ καθιστάμενον βίους τοῦ παντὸς
ἐνόμιζον ἀρχεῖν ἐκαστοι τῶν ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν, ὅπερ δὲ
καὶ μόλις ἐγνωσαν φύσιν γραμμάτων. οἱ γοῦν
ἀρχαιοτάτην αὐτῶν τὴν χρήσιν εἶναι θέλοντες
παρὰ Φοινίκων καὶ Κάδμου σεμνύονται μαθεῖν.
11 οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἀπ' ἐκείνων τοῦ χρόνου δύναιτό τις
ἀν δείξαι σωζόμενην ἀναγράφην οὐτ' ἐν ἱεροῖς
οὐτ' ἐν δημοσίαις ἀναθήμασιν, ὅποιον γε καὶ περὶ
tῶν ἐπὶ Τροόν τοσούτους ἔτεσι στρατευσάντων
ὕστερον πολλὴ γέγονεν ἀπορία τε καὶ ξήτησις,
eἰ γράμμασιν ἔχρωντο, καὶ τάληθες ἐπικρατεῖ
μᾶλλον περὶ τοῦ τὴν νῦν οὕσαν τῶν γραμμάτων
12 χρήσιν ἐκείνων ἄγνοειν. ὅλως δὲ παρὰ τοῖς
"Ἑλλησιν οὐδὲν ὤμολογούμενον εὐρίσκεται γράμμα
τῆς Ὁμήρου ποιήσεως πρεσβύτερον, οὕτως δὲ
καὶ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν υἱότερον θαύμωτα γενόμενον,
καὶ φασιν οὐδ' οὕτως τοῦτον ἐν γράμμασι τὴν αὐτοῦ
ποίησαν καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ διαμνημονευμένην ἐκ
τῶν ἱστότων ὕστερον συντεθήκαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο

1 So Eus. (one ms.): τῶν L. 2 Eus.: επ' L Lat.

a Perhaps referring to stories of the floods of Ogyges and
Deucalion, etc.

b Cf., e.g., Herod. v. 58.

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list—possess a very ancient and permanent record of the past. For all these nations inhabit countries which are least exposed to the ravages of the atmosphere, and they have been very careful to let none of the events in their history be forgotten, but always to have them enshrined in official records written by their greatest sages. The land of Greece, on the contrary, has experienced countless catastrophes, which have obliterated the memory of the past; and as one civilization succeeded another the men of each epoch believed that the world began with them. They were late in learning the alphabet and found the lesson difficult; for those who would assign the earliest date to its use pride themselves on having learnt it from the Phoenicians and Cadmus. Even of that date no record, preserved either in temples or on public monuments, could now be produced; seeing that it is a highly controversial and disputed question whether even those who took part in the Trojan campaign so many years later made use of letters, and the true and prevalent view is rather that they were ignorant of the present-day mode of writing. Throughout the whole range of Greek literature no undisputed work is found more ancient than the poetry of Homer. His date, however, is clearly later than the Trojan war; and even he, they say, did not leave his poems in writing. At first transmitted by memory, the scattered songs were not united until later; to which circumstance

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*Allusion to the debated interpretation of the phrase σήματα λυγρά, "baneful tokens" (Hom. II. vi. 168); referring to a message intended to bring about the death of Bellerophon. "The balance of probabilities seems to be in favour of the view that" the words "denote some kind of alphabetic or syllabic writing" (Jebb, Homer, 1887, p. 112).
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13 πολλὰς ἐν αὐτῇ σχεῖν τὰς διαφωνίας. οἱ μέντοι τὰς ἱστορίας ἐπιχειρήσαντες συγγράφειν παρ’ αὐτοῖς, λέγω δὲ τοὺς περὶ Κάδμου τε τὸν Μιλήσιον καὶ τὸν Ἀργεῖον Ἀκούσιλαον καὶ μετὰ τούτων εἰ τινὲς ἄλλοι λέγονται γενέσθαι, βραχὺ τῆς Περσῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατείας τῷ χρόνῳ προέλαβον.

14 ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων τε καὶ θείων πρώτους παρ’ Ἑλλησι φιλοσοφήσαντας, οἰον Φερεκύδην τε τὸν Σύριον καὶ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Θάλητα, πάντες συμφώνους ὁμολογοῦσιν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Χαλδαίων γενομένους μαθητὰς ὁλίγα συγγράψας, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἑλλησι εἶναι δοκεῖ πάντων ἀρχαίοτατα καὶ μόλις αὐτὰ πιστεύουσιν ὑπ’ ἐκείνων γεγράφθαι.

15 (3) Πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἐστὶν ἄλογον τετυφώσθαι τούς Ἑλληνοὺς ὡς μόνους ἐπισταμένους τάρχαια καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν περὶ αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς παραδιδόντας; ἐν γὰρ παρ’ αὐτῶν ἄν ἄλογα συγγραφέως μάθοι βαδίως, ὅτι μὴ ἔγερσεν ἐπὶ βεβαιώς εἰδότες συνέγραφον, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐκαστοὶ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰκαζοῦν; τὸ πλέον γοῦν διὰ τῶν βιβλίων ἄλληλοι ἐλεγχοῦσι καὶ τάναντιώτατα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγειν

16 οὐκ ὅκινουσιν. περίεργος δ’ ἂν ἔγνω εἰς τοὺς ἐμοὶ μᾶλλον ἐπισταμένους διδάσκοντες ὡς μὲν Ἑλλάνικος Ἀκούσιλαος περὶ τῶν γενεαλογιῶν διαπεφώνηκεν, ὡς δὲ διορθότατος τὸν Ἡσιόδον Ἀκούσιλαος, ὥς τίνα τρόπον Ἕφορος μὲν Ἑλλάνικον ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις ψευδόμενον ἐπιδείκνυσιν, Ἕφορον δὲ

1 eἰκαζοῦν : τὸ Gutschmid: εἰκαζώντο L.

—a This is one of the passages on which Wolf relied in his epoch-making Prolegomena (1795).

b i.e., the phenomena of the heavenly bodies.

c Of Mitylene, 5th cent. B.C., a contemporary of Herodotus.
the numerous inconsistencies of the work are attributable.\textsuperscript{a} Again, the Greeks who [first] essayed to write history, such as Cadmus of Miletus and Aeusilaus of Argos and any later writers who are mentioned, lived but a short time before the Persian invasion of Greece. Once more, the first Greek philosophers to treat of celestial\textsuperscript{b} and divine subjects, such as Pherereydes of Syros, Pythagoras, and Thales, were, as the world unanimously admits, in their scanty productions the disciples of the Egyptians and Chaldaeans. These are the writings which the Greeks regard as the oldest of all, and they are sceptical even about their authenticity.

(3) Surely, then, it is absurd that the Greeks should be so conceited as to think themselves the sole possessors of a knowledge of antiquity and the only accurate reporters of its history. Anyone can easily discover from the historians themselves that their writings have no basis of sure knowledge, but merely present the facts as conjectured by individual authors. More often than not they confute each other in their works, not hesitating to give the most contradictory accounts of the same events. It would be superfluous for me to point out to readers better informed than myself what discrepancies there are between Hellanicus\textsuperscript{c} and Aeusilaus on the genealogies,\textsuperscript{d} how often Aeusilaus corrects Hesiod, how the mendacity of Hellanicus in most of his statements is exposed by Ephorus,\textsuperscript{e} that of Ephorus by Timaeus,\textsuperscript{f} that of

\textsuperscript{a} Traditions about Greek origins arranged in genealogical form.

\textsuperscript{b} Pupil of Isocrates, latter half of 4th cent.

\textsuperscript{c} Circa 352–256 B.C.; wrote a voluminous history of Sicily, his native country, down to 264 B.C.; nicknamed Ἐπιτίματος, "Fault-finder"; attacked by Polybius.
Τίμαιος, καὶ Τίμαιον οἱ μετ’ ἐκείνων γεγονότες,

17 Ἡρώδοτον δὲ πάντες. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν Σικελικῶν τοῖς περὶ Ἀντιοχον καὶ Φίλιστον ἡ Καλλίαν 
Τίμαιος συμφωνεῖν ἤξισεν, οὐδ’ αδ’ περὶ τῶν 
Ἀττικῶν οἱ τὰς Ἀθηδᾶς συγγεγραφότες ἢ περὶ 
tῶν Ἀργολικῶν οἱ τὰ περὶ Ἀργος ἱστοροῦντες

18 ἀλλ’ οὓς κατηκολουθήκασι, καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν 
περὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις καὶ βραχυτέρων, ὅπου γε 
περὶ τῆς Περσικῆς στρατείας καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῆ 
πραξόντων οἱ δοκιμῶσαν διαφωνήκασιν; πολλὰ 
δὲ καὶ Θουκυδίδης ὡς θευδόμενος ὑπὸ τινῶν κατ-

ηγορεῖται, καίτοι δοκῶν ἀκριβέστατα τὴν1 καθ’ 
αὐτὸν ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν.

19 (4) Ἀξίας δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης2 διαφωνίας πολλαὶ 
μὲν ὅσως ἢν καὶ ἔτερα τοῖς βουλομένοις ζητεῖν 
ἀναφανεῖν,3 ἐγώ δὲ Δυσὶ ταῖς λεχθηκομέναι τὴν 
μεγίστην ἱσχῦν ἀνατίθημι· καὶ προτέραν ἐρώ τὴν 

20 κυριωτέραν εἶναι μοι δοκοῦναι. τὸ γὰρ ἔξ ἀρχῆς 
μὴ σπουδασθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς "Ελλησι δημοσίας 
γίνεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐκάστοτε πραττόμενων ἀνα-

gραφάς τοῦτο μάλιστα δὴ καὶ τὴν πλάνην καὶ τὴν 
ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ψευδοσθήναι τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα βουλή-

21 θείσαι περὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τι γράφεων παρέσχειν. οὐ 

γὰρ μόνων παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις "Ελλησιν ἡμελήθη τὰ 

περὶ τὰς ἀναγραφάς, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς4 Ἀθη-

ναίοις, οὔς αὐτόχθονας εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ παιδείας 

ἐπιμελεῖς, οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον εὐρίσκεται γενόμενον, 

ἀλλὰ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων ἀρχαιοτάτους

1 ἀκριβέστατα την Holwerda: ἀκριβεστάτην L.
2 Eus.: τοσαίτης L.
3 ἢν φανεῖν Niese.
4 παρ’ αὐτοῖς Eus. Lat.
AGAINST APION, I. 16-21

Timaeus by later writers, and that of Herodotus by everybody. Even on Sicilian history Timaeus did not condescend to agree with Antiochus, Philistus, or Callias; there is similar divergence on Attic affairs between the authors of the "Atthides" and on Argive affairs between the historians of Argos. What need, however, to speak of the histories of individual states and matters of minor importance, when contradictory accounts of the Persian invasion and the events which accompanied it have been given by writers of the first rank? On many points even Thucydides is accused of error by some critics, notwithstanding his reputation for writing the most accurate history of his time.

(4) For such inconsistency many other causes might possibly be found if one cared to look for them; for my part, I attach the greatest weight to the two which I proceed to mention. I will begin with that which I regard as the more fundamental. The main responsibility for the errors of later historians who aspired to write on antiquity and for the licence granted to their mendacity rests with the original neglect of the Greeks to keep official records of current events. This neglect was not confined to the lesser Greek states. Even among the Athenians, who are reputed to be indigenous and devoted to learning, we find that nothing of the kind existed, and their most ancient public records are said to be

a e.g. Manetho (Ap. i. 73), Ctesias, Strabo, pseudo-Plutarch.

b Of Syracuse, 4th cent., wrote histories of Sicily (to 424 B.C.) and Italy. Philistus and Callias were also Syracusans (4th-3rd cent.).

c Historical and geographical works on Attica; among the authors were Philochorus, Demon, and Ister.

da "Autochthonous."
εἶναι φασὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ Δράκοντος αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν φοινικῶν ὁγραφέντας νόμους, ὁλίγων διότερον τῆς Πεισιοτράτου τυραννίδος ἀνθρώπου γεγονότος.  
22 περὶ μὲν γὰρ Ἀρκάδων τὸ δεῖ λέγειν αὐχοῦτων ἀρχαιότητα; μόλις γὰρ οὖν καὶ μετά ταύτα γράμμασι ἐπαιδεύθησαν.
23 (5) "Ατε δὴ τοινν ὄνδεμιάς προκαταβεβλημένης ἀναγραφῆς, ἢ καὶ τοὺς μαθεῖν βουλομένους διδάξειν ἐμελλε καὶ τοὺς ψευδομένους ἐλέγχειν, ἢ πολλῆς ἀλλήλους ἐγένετο διαφωνία τοῖς συγγραφεύον.
24 δευτέραν δὲ πρὸς ταύτη θετέον ἐκείνην αἰτίαν. οἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ γράφειν ὀρμῆσαντες οὐ περὶ τὴν ἅληθειαν ἐσπούδασαν, καὶ τοῦτο πρόχειρον ἔστων ἦν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα, λόγων δὲ δύναμιν ἐπεδείκνυτο,
25 καὶ καθ' οὔτων πρότοπον ἐν τούτω παρευδοκιμήσει τοὺς ἀλλους ὑπελάμβανον, κατὰ τούτον ἡμιόζωτον, τινὲς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ μυθολογεῖν πρεπόμενοι, τινὲς δὲ πρὸς χάριν ἢ τὰς πόλεις ἢ τοὺς βασιλέας ἐπαινοῦντες. ἀλλοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ κατηγορεῖν τῶν πράξεων ἢ τῶν γεγραφότων ἐχώρησαν ἐνευδοκιμήσει τούτων εἰπηκίοντες.
26 ὅλως δὲ τὸ πάντων ἐναντιώστατον ἱστορία πράπτοντες διατελοῦσι. τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἀληθοῦς ἐστὶ τεκμήριον ἱστορίας, εἰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπαντες ταύτα καὶ λέγοιεν καὶ γράφοιεν, οί δ' εἰ ταύτα γράμμειαν ἑτέρως, ὁμοίως ἐνομίζον
27 αὐτοὶ φανεῖραν πάντων ἀληθεστατοί. λόγων μὲν ὑν ἐνέκει καὶ τῆς ἐν τούτοις δεινότητος δεὶ παραχωρεῖν ἡμᾶς τοῖς συγγραφεῦοι τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς, οὐ μὴν καὶ τῆς περὶ τῶν ἀρχαῖων ἀληθοῦς ἱστορίας καὶ μάλιστα γε τῆς περὶ τῶν ἐκάστοις ἐπιχωρίων.

1 ed. pr.: φοινικῶν L Lat. Eus. 2 ed. pr.: δὴ L. 3 εἰ μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ γράψ. ἑτέρως Eus.
the laws on homicide drafted for them by Draco, a man who lived only a little before the despotism of Pisistratus. Of the Arcadians and their vaunted antiquity it is unnecessary to speak, since even at a still later date they had hardly learnt the alphabet.

(5) It is, then, this lack of any basis of documentary evidence, which would have served at once to instruct the eager learner and to confute the liar, that accounts in the main for the inconsistencies between different historians. But a second reason must be added. Those who rushed into writing were concerned not so much to discover the truth, notwithstanding the profession which always comes readily to their pen, as to display their literary ability; and their choice of a subject was determined by the prospect which it offered them of outshining their rivals. Some turned to mythology, others sought popularity by encomiums upon cities or monarchs; others, again, set out to criticize the facts or the historians as the road to a reputation. In short, their invariable method is the very reverse of historical. For the proof of historical veracity is universal agreement in the description, oral or written, of the same events. On the contrary, each of these writers, in giving his divergent account of the same incidents, hoped thereby to be thought the most veracious of all. While, then, for eloquence and literary ability we must yield the palm to the Greek historians, we have no reason to do so for veracity in the history of antiquity, least of all where the particular history of each separate foreign nation is concerned.

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a Also regarded as autochthonous (Herod. viii. 73).

b Cf. A. i. 2.
"Oti mēn oūn par' Agupptious te kai Bavulwioioi èk makropatwv ánwbhev chronon tîn peri tâs anagrapfâs epimelieian òpou mēn oi iereis ἂsan ēgkekheirismenoi kai peri taútais épifilosofous, Xalδaioi de para tois Bavulwiois, kai òti máliosta òtô tôn "Ellhsin épimugmhmewn èchrízantō Poínikes grâmmasiv eîs tê tâs peri tôn bion oikonoamias kai prôs tîn tôn kouwn èrgon parâdousin, épêidh' sychwruônwn âpantâs, èásew mou dokôw.

29 peri de tôn hmetérwv progonôn oti tîn autîn, èw gar légein êi kai pleiw tôn eîrhmewn, èpouh-santo peri tâs anagrapfâs epimelieian, tôis ârhk- iereûsi kai tôis proboûtais tou to prostatâxantês, kai òs méxri tôn kath' hms chronon pefûlaktai meta pollhs àkrıbeias, êi de òdei1 thrausûteron eîpeîn kai phulachthîsetai, peirâsomai svntómws didáskein.

30 (7) Óu gar múnon êe árchês èpî touâtôn2 touâs árístouâs kai tî therapeiâ tou thêu podredvòntas kath- èsthasan, allî òpws to ñéwns tôn ierewv âmikton kai katharôn diámeîn proounôsan. Òdei gar toû metêchouta tîs ierwswînês êe ómoeuthous ðunaikos pайдopoiewthai kai mh' prôs chrîmata mûde tâs ãllas ápoñlêpein tîmas, allà to ñéwns êeîstáccon ëk tôn árchiwv3 lambávonta tîn diadochhn kai pòllous parêchómenon márturas. kai taûta prót-

1 ins. Gutschmid from the Lat.
2 touâtê Niese.
3 Gutschmid: ârchaioï L.

As Reinach remarks, Jos. confuses the keeping of genealogical registers by the priesthood in the time of the second Temple with the wholly different manner in which the books of the Old Testament were written. It must be remembered
(6) Of the care bestowed by the Egyptians and Babylonians on their chronicles from the remotest ages, and how the charge and exposition of these was entrusted, in the former country to the priests, in the latter to the Chaldaeans; and how, among the nations in touch with the Greeks, it was the Phoenicians who made the largest use of writing, both for the ordinary affairs of life and for the commemoration of public events; of all this I think I need say nothing, as the facts are universally admitted. But that our forefathers took no less, not to say even greater, care than the nations I have mentioned in the keeping of their records—a task which they assigned to their chief priests and prophets—a and that down to our own times these records have been, and if I may venture to say so, will continue to be, preserved with scrupulous accuracy, I will now endeavour briefly to demonstrate.

(7) Not only did our ancestors in the first instance set over this business men of the highest character, devoted to the service of God, but they took precautions to ensure that the priests' lineage should be kept unadulterated and pure. A member of the priestly order must, to beget a family, marry a woman of his own race without regard to her wealth or other distinctions; but he must investigate her pedigree, obtaining the genealogy from the archives and producing a number of witnesses.

that the historical books of the Old Testament after the Pentateuch were included in the second or prophetical portion of the Hebrew Canon and attributed to prophetical writers.

a Cf. Lev. xxi. 7 ff. b Cf. the pedigree of his own family taken from "the public registers" by Josephus, Vita, 3-6.

c 1b. 14.
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tομεν οὐ μόνον ἐπ’ αὐτῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἀλλ’ ὁποιον ποτὲ σύστημα τοῦ γένους ἔστην ἡμῶν κάκει τὸ ἀκριβεῖς ἀποσώζεται τοῖς ἱερεῦσι περὶ τοὺς γάμους.

33 λέγω δὲ τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Βαβυλῶνι καὶ εἶ που τῆς ἄλλης οἰκουμένης τοῦ γένους τῶν ἱερέων εἰσὶ τινες διεσπαρμένοι. σέμπουσι γὰρ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα συγγράφαντες πατρόθεν τούνομα τῆς τε γαμητῆς καὶ τῶν ἔπανω προγόνων καὶ τινες οἱ

34 μαρτυροῦντες. πόλεμος δ’ εἰ κατάσχοι, καθάπερ ἡδη γέγονε πολλάκις, Ἀντιόχου τε τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐμβαλόντος καὶ Πομπηίου Μάγνου καὶ Κυντιλίου Οὐάρου μάλιστα δὲ καὶ ἐν

35 τοῖς καθ’ ἡμᾶς χρόνοις, οἱ περιλειπόμενοι τῶν ἱερέων καυνα πάλιν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχείων γράμματα συνιστανται καὶ δοκιμάζουσι τάς ὑπολειφθείσας γυναίκας. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰς αἰχμαλώτους γενομένας προσιέται πολλάκις γεγονόσις αὐταῖς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλόφυλον κοινωνίαν ὑφορόμενοι. τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον τῆς ἀκριβείας: οἱ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖς οἱ παρ’ ἡμῖν ἀπὸ δισχιλίων ἑτῶν ὀνομαστοὶ παῖδες ἐκ πατρός εἴσον ἐν ταῖς ἀναγράφαις. τοῖς δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ὅτι οὖν παραβάσιν ἀπηγόρευται μῆτε τοῖς βωμοῖς παρίστασθαι μῆτε μετέχειν τῆς ἄλλης ἁγιστείας.

36 Ἐλκώτως οὖν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναγκαίως, ἀπὸ μῆτε τοῦ γράφειν αὐτεξοσύνοι πᾶσιν ὄντος μῆτε τινὸς ἐν τοῖς γραφομένοις ἑνοῦσις διαφωνίας, ἀλλὰ

1 τῆς τε γαμητῆς Niese (Lat. nuptiae): τῆς γεγραμμένης L: τῶν γειναμένων ed. μν.
2 ἀρχείων γράμματα Gutschmid: ἀρχαίων γραμμάτων L.
3 ed. μν.: ἐπὶ L.
4 παραβάσιν Niese (after Lat.): γένοιτο εἰς παράβασιν L.
5 Niese: τὸ (τοῦ ed. μν.) ὑπόγραφειν L.

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And this practice of ours is not confined to the home country of Judaea, but wherever there is a Jewish colony, there too a strict account is kept by the priests of their marriages; I allude to the Jews in Egypt and Babylon and other parts of the world in which any of the priestly order are living in dispersion. A statement is drawn up by them and sent to Jerusalem, showing the names of the bride and her father and more remote ancestors, together with the names of the witnesses. In the not infrequent event of war, for instance when our country was invaded by Antiochus Epiphanes, by Pompey the Great, by Quintilius Varus, and above all in our own times, the surviving priests compile fresh records from the archives; they also pass scrutiny upon the remaining women, and disallow marriage with any who have been taken captive, suspecting them of having had frequent intercourse with foreigners. But the most convincing proof of our accuracy in this matter is that our records contain the names of our high priests, with the succession from father to son for the last two thousand years. And whoever violates any of the above rules is forbidden to minister at the altars or to take any other part in divine worship.

It therefore naturally, or rather necessarily, follows (seeing that with us it is not open to everybody to write the records, and that there is no discrepancy in what is written; seeing that, on the contrary, the

\[a\] Cf. \(A\). iii. 276, xiii. 292. Yet Josephus himself, a priest, married a captive, \(Vita\) 414.

\[b\] Cf. \(A\). i. 16 and xx. 227.

\[1\] 170-168 B.C.
\[2\] 63 B.C.
\[3\] c. 4 B.C.
\[4\] A.D. 66-70.
Joanou tou profeveqon ta meon anwvatoq kai palaiotata kata tina eipipnouse tina apo touo theou mabon- toux, ta de kath' autoqous ows egeneveto saffos sun-
38 grafoqon, (8) ou murmades bibliwv eidoq par' hmin
asymfowqon kai macomewqon, duo de mona proq tois
ekosi biblia tou pantos exounta chronou tina
39 anagrapheq, ta dikaiwes' pepistemevna. kai tou-
ton pente meon esti ta Mousoewos, tois te vnomous
periechei kai tina ap' anthrapogonias paraqoson
mexri tis autou telenctheis' ouqos o chronos apo-
40 lenei triscelwv olygon eton. apo de tis
Mousoewos telenctheis meqris' 'Artaxerxes tou meta
Xerqes Pheroqon basilewos ou metaq Mousoqh pro-
phetai ta kath' autous praxhentra sunegraphan ev
triso kai deka bibliwos. ai de loitaq tesisare
umwous eis ton theon kai tois anthropois upothekas
41 tou bivou periechousin. apo de 'Artaxerxes meqri
tou kath' hminas chronos xegraphta meq ekastat,
pisteswv de oux omoias qesiota tois pro autqon
dia to me qenesthai tina ton profeveqon akribh'
diadoxh.

42 Dplon de estin ergw pows hmeis proqmenei tois
idious gramaqes.3 tosovtov gar auwqos hth
parwkhqtono ouste prosotheivai tis oudeq ouste

1 + theia Eus.
2 meqris (after Lat.) Gutschmid: meqri tis L.
3 proqmene . . . gramaqes Eus.: tois idious gramaqes pe-
pisteukamev L Lat.

Artaxerxes I (Longimanus) succeeded Xerxes in 465
B.C. He is identified elsewhere in Josephus (J. xi. 181)
and in the LXX with Ahasuerus of the book of Esther,
and is mentioned here because of his supposed connexion
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AGAINST APION, I. 37–42

prophets alone had this privilege, obtaining their
knowledge of the most remote and ancient history
through the inspiration which they owed to God, and
committing to writing a clear account of the events
of their own time just as they occurred)—it follows,
I say, that (8) we do not possess myriads of inco-
sistent books, conflicting with each other. Our books,
those which are justly accredited, are but two and
twenty, and contain the record of all time.

Of these, five are the books of Moses, comprising
the laws and the traditional history from the birth
of man down to the death of the lawgiver. This
period falls only a little short of three thousand years.
From the death of Moses until Artaxerxes, a who
succeeded Xerxes as king of Persia, the prophets
subsequent to Moses wrote the history of the events
of their own times in thirteen b books. The remain-
ing four c books contain hymns to God and precepts
for the conduct of human life.

From Artaxerxes to our own time the complete
history has been written, but has not been deemed
worthy of equal credit with the earlier records,
because of the failure of the exact succession of the
prophets.

We have given practical proof of our reverence for d Jews'
our own Scriptures. For, although such long ages
have now passed, no one has ventured either to add,
with that work, chronologically the latest of the “thirteen
books.”

b Probably (1) Joshua, (2) Jd. + Ruth, (3) Sam., (4) Kings,
(5) Chron., (6) Ezra + Neh., (7) Esther, (8) Job, (9) Isaiah,
(10) Jeremiah + Lam., (11) Ezekiel, (12) Minor Prophets,
(13) Daniel.

c Probably (1) Psalms, (2) Song of Songs, (3) Proverbs,
(4) Ecclesiastes.

d Lit. “how we approach.”

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ἄφελεν αὐτῶν οὕτε μεταθείναι τετόλμηκεν, πάσι δὲ σύμφωνοι ἐστίν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως Ἰούδαίως τὸ νομίζειν1 αὐτὰ θεοῦ δόγματα καὶ τούτοις ἐμμένειν καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἰ δέοι, θυνήσειν ἡδέως. ἦδη οὖν πολλοὶ πολλάκις ἐώρανται τῶν αἰχμαλώτων στρέβλας καὶ παντοτών θανάτων τρόπους ἐν θεάτροις ὑπομένοντες ἐπὶ τῶν μηδὲν ρήμα προέσθαι παρὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰς μετὰ τούτων ἀναγράφας.

44 ὁ τίς ἄν ὑπομείνειν Ἑλλήνων ὑπὲρ <τῶν> αὐτῶν; ἄλλωστε ὑπὲρ τοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀφανισθῆναι συγγράμματα τὴν τυχόσαν ὑποστήσεται βλάβην: λόγους γὰρ αὐτὰ νομίζουσιν εἶναι κατὰ τὴν τῶν γραφάντων βούλησιν ἔσχε- διασμένους. καὶ τοῦτο δικαίως καὶ περὶ τῶν παλαιοτέρων φρονοῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν ἐνίοτον ὀρόσι τολμῶντας περὶ τούτων συγγράφειν, οἷς μήτ᾽ αὐτοὶ παρεγένοντο μήτε πυθέσθαι παρὰ τῶν εἰδήτων ἐφιλοτυμήθησαν. ἀμέλει καὶ περὶ τοῦ γενομένου μὲν ἢμῖν πολέμου τινές ἱστορίας ἐπιγράφαντες ἐξευθοκάσων οὕτ᾽ εἰς τοὺς τόπους παραβαλόντες οὕτε πλησίον τούτων πραττομένων προσελθόντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ παρακουσμάτων ὀλίγα συνθέντες τῷ τῆς ἱστορίας ὀνόματι λίαν ἀναιδῶς ἐνεπαραίνησαν.

47 (9) Ἔγώ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου παντὸς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῶ2 κατὰ μέρος γενομένων ἀληθῆ τῆν ἀναγραφὴν ἐποιησάμην τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐτοῖς ἀπασι παρατυχών. ἔστρατηγοὺς μὲν γὰρ τῶν παρ᾽ ἢμῖν Γαλιλαίων ὀνομαζομένων ἔως ἀντέχειν δυνα-

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1 τὸ νομίζειν Eus.: ὀνομάζειν L Lat.
2 ἐν αὐτῷ ed. pr.: αὐτῷ L: ἰὴ (= αὐτόι) Lat.
or to remove, or to alter a syllable; and it is an instinct with every Jew, from the day of his birth, to regard them as the decrees of God, to abide by them, and, if need be, cheerfully to die for them. Time and again ere now the sight has been witnessed of prisoners enduring tortures and death in every form in the theatres, rather than utter a single word against the laws and the allied documents.

What Greek would endure as much for the same cause? Even to save the entire collection of his nation’s writings from destruction he would not face the smallest personal injury. For to the Greeks they are mere stories improvised according to the fancy of their authors; and in this estimate even of the older historians they are quite justified, when they see some of their own contemporaries venturing to describe events in which they bore no part, without taking the trouble to seek information from those who know the facts. We have actually had so-called histories even of our recent war published by persons who never visited the sites nor were anywhere near the actions described, but, having put together a few hearsay reports, have, with the gross impudence of drunken revellers, miscalled their productions by the name of history.

(9) I, on the contrary, have written a veracious account, at once comprehensive and detailed, of the war, having been present in person at all the events. I was in command of those whom we call Galilaeans,

\[a\] Cf. Deut. iv. 2, “Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish from it.”


\[c\] Cf. B. i. 1 ff. For a rival history of the war by Justus of Tiberias see Vita 336 ff. Here he seems to allude to untrustworthy histories by Greek writers.
τὸν ἦν, ἐγενόμην δὲ παρὰ 'Ῥωμαίων συλληφθεὶς αἰχμάλωτος καὶ με διὰ φυλακῆς Οὐσπασιανὸς καὶ Τίτος ἔχοντες ἀδιαπόστατοι αὐτοῖς ἦν· ἄγκασαν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον δεδεμένον, αὐθείς δὲ λυθεὶς συνεπέμφθην ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας Τίτῳ πρὸς 49 τὴν Ἰερουσαλήμον πολιορκίαν. ἐν δὴ χρόνῳ τῶν πραττομένων οὐκ ἔστω δὲ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώσιν διεφυγεν· καὶ γὰρ τὰ κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ 'Ῥωμαίων ὁρὸν ἐπιμελῶς ἀνέγραφον καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν αὐτο-50 μόλων ἀπαγγελλόμενα μόνος αὐτὸς συνίειν. εἶτα σχολῆς ἐν τῇ 'Ῥώμῃ λαβόμενος, πάσης μοι τῆς πραγματείας ἐν παρασκευῇ γεγενημένης, χρησάμενός τις πρὸς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνῆν συνεργοῖς, οὕτως ἐποιησάμην τῶν πράξεων τὴν παράδοσιν. τοσοῦτον δὲ μοι περίθης θάρσος τῆς ἀληθείας ὅστε πρῶτοι πάντων τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας τοῦ πολέμου γενομένους Οὐσπασιανὸν καὶ Τίτον ἦξισα λαβεῖν 51 μάρτυρας. πρῶτοι γὰρ ἐδωκαὶ τὰ βιβλία καὶ μετ' ἑκείνους πολλοῖς μὲν 'Ῥωμαίων τοῖς συμ- πεπολεμηκόσι, πολλοῖς δὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἑπι- πρασκον, ἀνδράσι καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς σοφίας μετασχηκόσιν, ἃν ἐστιν Ἰουλίως Ἀρχέλαος, Ἡρώ- δης ὁ σεμιτάτος, αὐτὸς ὁ θαυμασίωτατος βασιλεὺς 52 Ἀγρίππας. οὕτου μὲν οὖν ἀπαντεῖς ἑμαρτύρησαν ὅτι τῆς ἀληθείας προστηθῆ ἐπιμελῶς, οὐκ ἃν ὑποστειλάμενοι καὶ σιωπήσαντες, εἰ τι κατ' ἀγνοίαν ἡ χαριζόμενος μετέθηκα τῶν γεγονότων ἡ παρέλιπον.

1 + γενομένην L (om. Lat.).
2 Niese: δέδωκα L.

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a B. iii. 408.  
b B. iv. (x. 7) 622 ff.  
c Cf. B. iv. 658.  
d Cf. Vita 361 ff.
so long as resistance was possible; after my capture I was a prisoner in the Roman camp. Vespasian and Titus, keeping me under surveillance, required my constant attendance upon them, at first in chains; subsequently I was liberated and sent from Alexandria with Titus to the siege of Jerusalem. During that time no incident escaped my knowledge. I kept a careful record of all that went on under my eyes in the Roman camp, and was alone in a position to understand the information brought by deserters. Then, in the leisure which Rome afforded me, with all my materials in readiness, and with the aid of some assistants for the sake of the Greek, at last I committed to writing my narrative of the events. So confident was I of its veracity that I presumed to take as my witnesses, before all others, the commanders-in-chief in the war, Vespasian and Titus. They were the first to whom I presented my volumes, copies being afterwards given to many Romans who had taken part in the campaign. Others I sold to a large number of my compatriots, persons well versed in Greek learning, among whom were Julius Archelaus, the most venerable Herod, and the most admirable King Agrippa himself. All these bore testimony to my scrupulous safeguarding of the truth, and they were not the men to conceal their sentiments or keep silence had I, through ignorance or partiality, distorted or omitted any of the facts.

In the parallel account (Vita 362) King Agrippa II is named, with others, as receiving a presentation copy. Son of Chelcias and husband of Mariamne, sister of King Agrippa II; A. xix. 355, xx. 140. Unknown; not, as Reinach suggests, Herod, king of Chalcis, who died before the war (A. xx. 104). Agrippa II.
53 (10) Φαύλοι δὲ τινες ἀνθρωποι διαβάλλειν μου τήν ἱστορίαν ἐπικεχειρήκασιν ὡσπερ ἐν σχολῇ μειρακίων γύμνασμα προκείσθαι νομίζοντες, κατηγορίας παραδόξου καὶ διαβολῆς, δέον ἐκεῖνο γνωστότερον, ὅτι δὲ τῶν ἄλλως παράδοσιν πράξεων ἀληθινῶν ὑπισχυόμενον αὐτῶν ἐπιστασθαι ταῦτα πρότερον ἀκριβῶς, ἡ παρηκολοουθήκοτα τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἦ

54 παρὰ τῶν εἰδώτων πυθανόμενον. ὡσπερ ἐγὼ μᾶλλον περὶ ἀμφοτέρας νομίζω πεποιηκέναι τὰς πραγματείας. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἄρχαιοι, ὡσπερ ἐφήν, ἐκ τῶν ἑρωών γραμμάτων μεθηρμήνευκα γεγονός ἑρευς ἐκ γένους καὶ μετεσχηκὼς τῆς

55 φιλοσοφίας τῆς ἐν ἑκεῖνοι τοῖς γράμμασι τοῦ δὲ πολέμου τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐγγαμαὶ πολλῶν μὲν αὐτουργοῖ πράξεων, πλείστων δ᾽ αὐτόπτης γεγονός, ὀλος δὲ τῶν λεχθέντων ἦ πραχθέντων

56 οὐδ᾽ ὁτιοῦν ἀγνοήσας. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἅν θρασεῖς τις ἡγήσατο τοὺς ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι μοι περὶ τῆς ἀλθείας ἐπικεχειρηκότας, οἱ κἂν τοῖς τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ὑπομνήμασιν ἐντυχεῖν λέγωσιν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ γέ καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις τῶν ἀντιπολεμοῦντων πράγμασι παρέτυχον;

57 (11) Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀναγκαίαν ἐποιησάμεν τὴν παρέκβασιν ἐπισημήνασθαι βουλώμενος τῶν ἐπαγγελλομένων τὰς ἱστορίας συγγράφειν τὴν εὐ-58 χέρειαν. ἰκανὸς δὲ φανερῶν, ὃς οἴμαι, πεποιηκώς

a Cf. Thuc. i. 22, “My history is an everlasting possession, not a prize composition which is heard and forgotten.”

Others, making the genitives κατηγορίας . . . διαβολῆς dependent on γύμνασμα, would render: “treating it as an exercise for the display of perverse accusation and calumny, such as is set,” etc.

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(10) Nevertheless, certain despicable persons have essayed to malign my history, taking it for a prize composition \(^a\) such as is set to boys at school. What an extraordinary accusation and calumny! Surely they ought to recognize that it is the duty of one who promises to present his readers with actual facts first to obtain an exact knowledge of them himself, either through having been in close touch with the events, or by inquiry from those who knew them. That duty I consider myself to have amply fulfilled in both my works. In my *Antiquities*, as I said, I have given a translation of our sacred books; \(^b\) being a priest and of priestly ancestry, I am well versed in the philosophy \(^c\) of those writings. My qualification as historian of the war was that I had been an actor in many, and an eyewitness of most, of the events; in short, nothing whatever was said or done of which I was ignorant. 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, \(^d\) they at any rate had no first-hand acquaintance with our position in the opposite camp.

(11) My desire to expose the levity of those who profess to write history has compelled me to digress. Having now, I think, sufficiently shown that the

\(^a\) *Cf. A. i. 5, xx. 261.* In the *Antiquities* (first half), he implies, he has given his own paraphrase and interpretation of the Old Testament; but in reality he is largely dependent on an older Greek version, the Septuagint.

\(^b\) Or “study,” “scientific treatment”; Josephus shows some knowledge of traditional exegesis (*Halakoth*, etc.).

\(^c\) *Cf. Vita 342, 358.*
"οτι πάτριος ἦστιν ἡ περὶ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀναγραφὴ
tois ἑβραῖοις μᾶλλον ἡ τοῖς "Ελλησι, βοῦλομαι
μικρὰ πρότερον διαλεχθῆναι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦν-
tas νέαν ἡμῶν ἀποφαίνειν τὴν κατάστασιν ἐκ τοῦ
μηδὲν περὶ ἡμῶν, ὅσ φασιν ἐκεῖνοι, λελέχθαι παρὰ
59 τοῖς 'Ελληνικοῖς συγγραφεύσεσι. εἰτα δὲ τὰς μαρ-
tυρίας τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἐκ τῶν παρ' ἄλλοις γραμ-
mάτων παρέξω καὶ τοὺς βεβλασφημηκότας ἡμῶν
tο γένος ἀποδείξω λιαν ἀλόγως\(^1\) βλασφημοῦντας.

60 (12) Ἡμεῖς τοῖνοι οὕτε χῶραν οἰκοῦμεν παράλιον
οὕτ' ἐμπορίας χαίρομεν οὔδε ταῖς πρὸς ἄλλους διὰ
tοῦτων ἐπιμεῖξαι, ἀλλ' εἰσὶ μὲν ἡμῶν αἱ πόλεις
μακρὰν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνωκισμέναι, χῶραν δὲ
ἀγαθήν νεμόμενοι ταῦτῃ ἐκπονοῦμεν, μάλιστα δὴ
πάντων περὶ παιδοτροφίαν φιλοκαλουντες καὶ
τὸ φυλάττειν τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν κατὰ τοῦτον
παραδεδομένην εὐσέβειαν ἔργον ἀναγκαίοτατον

61 πάντος τοῦ βίου πεποιημένοι. προσούσης τοῖνοι
τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον ἡμῶν ἱδιό-
tητος οὐδέν\(^2\) ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς χρόνοις\(^3\) ποιοῦν ἡμῶν
πρὸς τοὺς "Ελλήνας ἐπιμεῖξαι, ὡσπερ Αἰγυπτίοις
μὲν τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐξαγόμενα καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς
εἰσαγόμενα, τοῖς δὲ τὴν παράλιον τῆς Φοινίκης
κατακυκοῦσιν ἡ περὶ τὰς κατηλείας καὶ περὶ τὰς

62 ἐμπορίας σπούδη διὰ τὸ φιλοχρηματεῖν. οὐ μὴν
οὔδε πρὸς ληστείας, ὡσπερ ἄλλοι τινες, ἢ τὸ
πλέον ἔχειν ἄξιον πολεμοῦντες\(^4\) ἐτράπησαν ἡμῶν
οἱ πατέρες, καίτοι πολλὰς τῆς χῶρας ἐχούσης

63 μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἀτόλμων. διὰ τοῦτο Φοινίκες
μὲν αὐτοὶ κατ' ἐμπορίαν τοῖς "Ελλησι ἐπεισπλέον-

1 ἀλόγως Hudson: εν τοῖς λόγοις L.
2 ἠν ed. pr.
3 = τὸ ed. pr.
4 ἀξιωτε μεροὶ πολέμους Lat. (apparently).
AGAINST APION, I. 58–63

tradition of keeping chronicles of antiquity is found rather among the non-Hellenic \(^a\) races than with the Greeks, I propose, in the first place,\(^b\) to reply briefly to those critics who endeavour to prove the late origin of our constitution from the alleged silence of the Greek historians concerning us. I shall then\(^c\) proceed to cite testimonies to our antiquity from external literature, and finally\(^d\) to show the utter absurdity of the calumnies of the traducers of our race.

(12) Well, ours is not a maritime country; neither commerce nor the intercourse which it promotes with the outside world has any attraction for us. Our cities are built inland, remote from the sea; and we devote ourselves to the cultivation of the productive country with which we are blessed. Above all we pride ourselves on the education of our children, and regard as the most essential task in life the observance of our laws and of the pious practices, based thereupon, which we have inherited. If to these reasons one adds the peculiarity of our mode of life, there was clearly nothing in ancient times to bring us into contact with the Greeks, as the Egyptians were brought by their exports and imports, and the inhabitants of the sea-board of Phoenicia by their mercenary devotion to trade and commerce. (Nor, again, did our forefathers, like some others, have recourse to piracy,\(^e\) or to military schemes of aggrandizement, although their country contained myriads of courageous men.) It was to their coming on their ships to traffic with the Greeks

\(^a\) "Barbarian."
\(^b\) §§ 60-68.
\(^c\) §§ 69-218.
\(^d\) Ap. i. 219-ii. 144.
\(^e\) After Thuc. i. 5 (who says that before the time of Minos piracy was regarded as an honourable occupation); cf. Hom. Od. iii. 71 ff.
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tes eûthûs ἐγνώσθησαν, καὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνων Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ πάντες ἄφ' ὄν τὸν φόρτον εἰς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας
dieikóμιζον μεγάλα πελάγη διαήροτες. Μὴδοι δὲ
μετὰ παῦτα καὶ Πέρσαι φανεροὶ κατέστησαν τῆς
Ἀσίας ἐπάρξαντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐτέρας
_HINT_ Πέρσαι στρατεύσαντες. Ἐρᾶκες δὲ διὰ
gειτονίαν καὶ τὸ Σκυθικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν εἰς τὸν Πόντον
63 ἐγνώσθη πλεόντων. ὅλως γὰρ ἀπαντεῖ οἱ παρὰ τὴν
θάλατταν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ταῖς ἀνατολᾶς καὶ τῆς
ἐσπέριον κατουκώντες τοίς συγγράφει τι βου-
lομένους γνωριμώτεροι κατέστησαν, οἱ δὲ παῦτης
ἀνωτέρω τὰς οἰκήσεις ἔχοντες ἐπὶ πλείστων ἄγνοι-
66 θῆσαν. καὶ τούτῳ φαίνεται καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἐυρώπην
συμβεβηκός, ὅποιον γε τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως,
tουαύτην ἐκ μακροῦ δύναμιν κεκτημένης καὶ
tουαύτας πράξεις κατορθούσης πολεμικάς, οὐθὲ
Ἡρόδοτος οὔτε Θουκυδίδης οὔτε τῶν ἁμα τούτων
γενομένων οὐδὲ εἰς ἐμνημόνευκεν, ἀλλ' οὗτος ροτε
καὶ μόλις αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἡ γνώσις
67 διεξήλθεν. περὶ μὲν γὰρ Γαλατῶν τε καὶ Ἰβηρῶν
οὕτως ἡγενόσαν οἱ δοκοῦντες ἀκριβέστατοι συγ-
grαφεῖς, ὁν ἦστιν Ἐφορος, ὥστε πόλιν οἴεται
μίαν εἶναι τοὺς Ἰβηράς τοὺς τοσοῦτο μέρος τῆς
ἔσπερίον γῆς κατουκώντας, καὶ τὰ μὴν γενόμενα
παρ' αὐτῶς ἑθη μὴτε λεγόμενα γράφειν ὅς ἐκείνων
68 αὐτῶς χρωμένων ἐπόλιμοναν. αὕτων δὲ τοῦ μὲν μὴ
gιγνώσκειν τάληθες τὸ λίαν ἀνεπιμικτον, τοῦ δὲ
grάφειν ἰευδὴ τὸ βουλεύθαι δοκεῖν τι πλέον τῶν

1 ἐτέρας (= Lat. alteram) Hudson: ἡμετέρας L.
2 Niese: ἀπὸ L.
3 + πρὸς L.
4 + δ L.

a So Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1st century b.c.), Ant. 188
that the Phoenicians owed their own early notoriety; and through their agency the Egyptians became known and all whose merchandise the Phoenicians conveyed across great oceans to the Greeks. At a later date, the Medes and Persians were brought before the world by their dominion in Asia, the latter more particularly by their invasion of the other continent. The Thracians were known as near neighbours, the Scythians through the navigators of the Euxine. As a general rule, all the nations with a sea-board, whether on the eastern or the western sea, were better known by authors desirous of writing history, while those who lived further inland remained for the most part unknown. That this rule holds good also for Europe appears, for instance, from the fact that the city of Rome, which had long before their time attained such power and been so successful in war, is mentioned neither by Herodotus nor by Thucydides nor by anyone of their contemporaries; it was only at quite a late date that a knowledge of the Romans with difficulty penetrated to the Greeks.\(^a\) On the Gauls and Iberians such was the ignorance of persons reputed to be the most exact of historians, such as Ephorus, that this writer imagined that the Iberians, who occupy so large a portion of the western world, were a single city; while others ventured to ascribe to them customs destitute of all foundation in fact or tradition. While their ignorance of the facts is explained by their never having had the remotest relations with those peoples,\(^b\) their false statements are due to an am-

\(^{a}\) Rom. i. 4. 2, "The ancient history of the city of Rome is still unknown to wellnigh all the Greeks."

\(^{b}\) Or, perhaps, "by the complete isolation [of these nations] from the world."
ἀλλων ἵστορεῖν. πῶς οὖν ἐτι θαυμάζειν προσήκειν, 
εἰ μηδὲ τὸ ἡμέτερον ἑθνὸς πολλοὶς ἐγγυνώσκετο 
μηδὲ τῆς ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασι μνήμης ἀφορμῆν 
παρέσχεν, οὕτως μὲν ἀπωκισμένον τῆς θαλάσσης, 
οὕτως δὲ βιοτεύειν προηρμένον;

69 (13) Φέρε τοίνυν ἡμᾶς ἄξιον τεκμηρίων χρῆσθαι 
περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅτι μὴ παλαιὸν ἐστιν αὐτῶν τὸ 
γένος, τῷ μηθεν ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἀναγράφαισι περὶ 
αὐτῶν εἰρήσθαι. ἀρ' οὖχι πάντως ἂν κατεγέλων 
αὐτάς, οἷμαι, τὰς ὑπ' ἕμοι ὑνὸν εἰρημένας κομίζοντες 
αἰτίας, καὶ μάρτυρας ἂν τοὺς πλησιοχώρους 
παρεῖχοντο τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχαίοτητος; καγὼ τοίνυν 
πειράσομαι τούτῳ ποιεῖν. Ἀγνυπτίοις γὰρ καὶ 
Φοινίξι μάλιστα δὴ χρῆσομαι μάρτυσιν, οὐκ ἂν 
τινος ὡς φευδῇ τήν μαρτυρίαν διαβάλλει δυνηθέντος: 
φαίνονται γὰρ καὶ δὴ μάλιστα πρὸς ἡμᾶς 
δυσμενῶς διατεθέντες κοινῇ μὲν ἀπαντὲς Ἀγνυπτίοι, 
71 Φοινίκων δὲ Τύριοι. περὶ μέντοι Χαλδαίων οὐκέτι 
ταὐτὸ τούτο1 δυναίμην ἂν λέγειν, ἐπεῖ καὶ τοῦ 
γένους ἡμῶν ἀρχηγοὶ καθεστήκασι καὶ διὰ τὴν 
συγγένειαν ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀναγραφαῖς Ἰουδαίων 
72 μνημονεύουσιν. ὅταν δὲ τὰς παρὰ2 τούτων πίστεις 
παράσχω, τότε καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφέων 
ἀποφανῶ τοὺς μνήμην Ἰουδαίων πεποιηκότας, 
οὐα μηδὲ ταύτην ἐτί τὴν πρόφασιν οἱ βασκαίνοντες 
ἐχωσι τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀντιλογίας.

73 (14) "Ἀρξομαι δὴ πρώτον ἀπὸ τῶν παρ' Ἀγνυπτίοις 
γραμμάτων. αὐτὰ μὲν οὖν οὐχ οἶνον τε παρα-
τίθεσθαι τάκεινων, Μανέθως3 δ' ἢν τὸ γένος Ἀλ-

1 ταύτῳ τούτῳ| hoc Lat.  
2 conj.: pερὶ L.  
3 Eus.: Μανέθων L Lat. (and so elsewhere).
bition to appear better informed than the rest of the world. Surely, then, it should no longer excite surprise that our nation, so remote from the sea, and so deliberately living its own life, likewise remained largely unknown and offered no occasion to historians to mention it.

(13) Suppose that we were to presume to dispute the antiquity of the Greek nation and to base our contention on the absence of any mention of them in our literature. Would they not undoubtedly laugh us to scorn? They would, I imagine, offer the very reasons which I have just given for such silence, and produce the neighbouring nations as witnesses to their antiquity. Well, that is just what I shall endeavour to do. As my principal witnesses I shall cite the Egyptians and Phoenicians, whose evidence is quite unimpeachable; for the Egyptians, the whole race without exception, and among the Phoenicians the Tyrians, are notoriously our bitterest enemies. Of the Chaldaeans I could not say the same, because they are the original ancestors of our race, and this blood-relationship accounts for the mention which is made of the Jews in their annals. After producing the evidence supplied by these nations, I shall then bring forward those Greek historians who have spoken of the Jews, in order to deprive our jealous enemies of even this pretext for controversy.

(14) I will begin with the Egyptian documents. I cannot quote from the originals; but in Manetho we

\[ \text{a} \text{ An Egyptian priest who lived under the first and, probably, the second of the Ptolemies, “the first Egyptian who gave in the Greek language an account of the doctrines, wisdom, history and chronology of his country,” based on Egyptian records; his History was divided into three books.} \]
γύπτιος, ἂν ἦρ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς μετεσχηκὼς παιδείας, ὡς δὴ λόγος ἐστὶν γέγραφε γὰρ Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ τὴν πάτριον ἑστορίαν ἐκ δέλτων ἱερῶν, ὡς φησὶν αὐτὸς, μεταφράσας, ὃς καὶ πολλὰ τὸν Ἡρώδοτον ἐλέγχει τῶν Ἀιγυπτιακῶν ὑπὸ ἀγνοίας ἐπεμπεσμένον. οὗτος δὴ τοίνυν ὁ Μανέθως ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Ἀιγυπτιακῶν ταῦτα περὶ ἡμῶν γράφειν παραθήσομαι δὲ τὴν λέξιν αὐτοῦ καθάπερ αὐτὸν ἐκείνον παραγαγὼν μάρτυρα·

75 "Τοιτίμαιος, ἐπὶ τοῦτον οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως ὁ θεὸς ἀντεπνευσας καὶ παραδόξως ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν μερῶν ἀνθρωποὶ τὸ γένος ἁσημοὶ καταθαρῆσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐστράτευσαν καὶ ἱδίως ἀμαχητὶ ταύτην κατὰ κράτος εἶλον, καὶ τοὺς ὑγιεινονευσαντας ἐν αὐτῇ χειρωσάμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν τὰς πολέις ὑμῶς ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἱερὰ κατεσκαφαν, πάσι δὲ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἐχθροτάτα πῶς ἐχρήσαντο, τοὺς μὲν σφαξοντες, τῶν δὲ καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς δουλεῖαν ἄγοντες. πέρας δὲ καὶ βασιλέα ἕνα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐποίησαν, ὃ ὅνομα ἦν Σάλτις καὶ οὕτως ἐν τῇ Μέμφιδι κατεγέννετο τὴν τὲ ἄνω καὶ κάτω χώραν δασμολογών καὶ φοινείς ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδειστάτοις καταλείπων τόποις. μάλιστα δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἡσφαλιστὰ μέρη, προορόμενος Ἀσυρίων ποτὲ μείζον ἱσχυόντων ἐσομένην ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἐφοδον. εὕρων δὲ ἐν νομῷ τῷ Σεθροῦτη·

1 δέλτων Gutschmid: τε ἡ δ. L. 2 ὃς Eus.: om. L. After Gutschmid and Reinach: τοῦ Τίμαιος ὄνομα L. Eus. (the last word probably a gloss).
4 ὁ Eus.: om. L.
5 Σαλτίς Manetho as cited by others.
6 ed. pr.: καταλείπων L. 7 Bekker: ἐπιθυμίαν L.
have one who was both a native of Egypt and also proficient in Greek learning. This is evident from the history of his nation which he wrote in Greek, a translation, as he says himself, from the sacred books, in which he convicts Herodotus of being misled through ignorance on many points of Egyptian history. In the second book of his History of Egypt this Manetho writes about us as follows. I will quote his own words, just as if I had produced the man himself in the witness-box:

"Tutimaeus. In his reign, I know not why, a blast of God's displeasure broke upon us. A people of ignoble origin from the east, whose coming was unforeseen, had the audacity to invade the country, which they mastered by main force without difficulty or even a battle. Having overpowered the chiefs, they then savagely burnt the cities, razed the temples of the gods to the ground, and treated the whole native population with the utmost cruelty, massacring some, and carrying off the wives and children of others into slavery. Finally they made one of their number, named Salitis, king. He resided at Memphis, exacted tribute from Upper and Lower Egypt, and left garrisons in the places most suited for defence. In particular he secured his eastern flank, as he foresaw that the Assyrians, as their power increased in future, would covet and attack his realm. Having discovered in the Sethroite nome a city very

a Or "tablets."
b Possibly "massacring the men . . . their wives and children."

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8 Manetho (as elsewhere cited): Σαίρης L.
πόλιν ἐπικαιροτάτην, κειμένην μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολήν τοῦ Βουβαστίτου ποταμοῦ, καλουμένην δ' ἀπ' τινὸς ἀρχαίας θεολογίας Αὔαριν, ταύτην ἐκτισέν τε καὶ τοίς τείχεσιν ὀχυρωτάτην ἐποίησεν, ἐνοικίσας αὐτῇ καὶ πλῆθος ὄπλιτῶν εἰς ἐκκοσι καὶ 79 τέσσαρας μυριάδας ἄνδρων προφυλακήν. ἐνθάδε1 κατὰ θέρειαν ἢρχετο τὰ μὲν σιτομετρῶν καὶ μυσθοφόρων παρεχόμενος, τὰ δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐξ-οπλισίαις πρὸς φόβον τῶν ἐξωθεὶν ἐπιμελῶς γυμνά-ζον, ἀρξας δ' ἐνεκακάδεκα ἐτή τὸν βιον ἐτελεύτησε.
80 μετὰ τούτον δὲ ἔτερον ἐβασίλευσεν τέσσαρα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἐτή καλουμένοις Βνών,2 μεθ' ὦν ἀλλος Ἀπαχνᾶς ἔξε καὶ τρίακοντα ἐτή καὶ μήνας ἐπτά, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ Ἀπωφυς ἐν καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ 81 Ἰαννᾶς πεντήκοντα καὶ μήνα ἑνα, ἐπὶ πάσι δὲ καὶ Ἀσσις ἑνεά καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ μήνας δύο. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἔξ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐγενήθησαν πρῶτοι ἄρχοντες, ποθοῦντες3 ἀεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον τῆς Ἀιγύπτου.
82 ἐξάραι τὴν βίζαν. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ σύμπαν αὐτῶν4 ἐδνος 'Τκσώς,5 τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν βασιλείας ποιμένες· τὸ γὰρ ὦκ καθ' ἱεράν γλώσσαν βασιλέα σημαίνει, τὸ δὲ σως ποιμὴν ἐστὶ καὶ ποιμένες κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον, καὶ οὗτος συντιθέμενον γίνεται Ἀτκσώς. τυνὲς δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς Ἀραβᾶς εἶναι.'
83 [ἐν6 δ' ἀλλω ἀντιγράφῳ οὐ βασιλείας σημαίνεσθαι

1 ἐνθὰ δὲ Lat.
2 Jul. Africanus: Βηγών L.
3 ποθοῦντες L: text of clause doubtful.
4 σύμπαν αὐτῶν Eus., Lat.: om. L.
5 Τκσώς Eus. (and so always).
6 The bracketed clause (already in Eus.) is apparently a gloss.

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favourably situated on the east of the Bubastis arm of the river, called after some ancient theological tradition Aauris,\(^a\) he rebuilt and strongly fortified it with walls, and established a garrison there numbering as many as two hundred and forty thousand armed men to protect his frontier. This place he used to visit every summer, partly to serve out rations and pay to his troops, partly to give them a careful training in manoeuvres, in order to intimidate foreigners. After a reign of nineteen years he died. A second king, named Bnon, succeeded and reigned for forty-four years; his successor, Apachnas, ruled for thirty-six years and seven months; next Apophis for sixty-one, and Jannas for fifty years and one month; and finally Assis for forty-nine years and two months. The continually growing ambition of these six, their first rulers, was to extirpate the Egyptian people. Their race bore the generic name of Hycosos,\(^b\) which means ‘king-shepherds.' For Hyc in the sacred language denotes ‘king,' and sos in the common dialect means ‘shepherd’ or ‘shepherds’; the combined words form Hycosos. Some say that they were Arabians.”

[In another copy, however, it is stated that the

\(^a\) Cf. § 237. Aauris is perhaps Pelusium.

\(^b\) The correct form Hycussos means, according to W. E. Crum (art. Egypt, Hastings, B.D. i. 659 b), “Sheikhs of the (south Syrian) Bedawin”; he regards the interpretation of the last syllable as “shepherd” as a late gloss. The domination of the Hycosos lasted from (?) c. 1800 B.C. to c. 1580 B.C. They were finally expelled by Ahmose, the founder of the eighteenth dynasty. Their connexion with the Jews is a disputed question, but in the opinion of some critics (e.g. Dr. H. R. Hall) Josephus is correct in regarding their expulsion as the original of the Biblical story of the Exodus.

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Διὰ τῆς τοῦ ὡς προσηγορίας, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον αἰχμαλώτους δηλοῦσθαι πομένας.¹ τὸ γάρ ὡς πάλιν Ἀγνώστη καὶ τὸ ἀκ δασυόμενον αἰχμαλώτους ῥήτὼς μηνύει.] καὶ τοῦτο μᾶλλον πιθανώτερον μοι φαίνεται καὶ παλαιὰς ἱστορίας ἐχόμενον.

84 Τούτους τοὺς προκατωνομασμένους βασιλέας [καὶ] τοὺς τῶν πομένων καλομένων καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν γενομένους κρατῆσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου
85 φησὶν ἐτη πρὸς τοὺς πεντακόσιοι ἑνδέκα. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Θηβαίους καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων γενέσθαι φησὶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πομένας ἐπανάστασιν καὶ πόλεμον² συρραγῆναι
86 μέγαν καὶ πολυχρόνιον. ἐπὶ δὲ βασιλέως, ὃ οὐνόμα εἶναι Μισφαραγμούθωσι,³ ὑπομένους⁴ φησὶν τοὺς πομένας⁵ ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου πάσης ἐκπεσείν, κατακλεισθῆναι δὲ εἰς τόπον ἄρουρων ἐχοντα μυρίων τῆν περίμετρον. Αὔρις ὄνομα τῷ
87 τόπῳ. τούτων φησὶν ὁ Μανέθως ἀπαντά τείχει τε μεγάλῳ καὶ ἰσχυρῷ περιβάλειν τοὺς πομένας, ὅπως τὴν τε κτῆσιν ἀπασαν ἑξωσιν ἐν ὀχυρῷ
88 καὶ τὴν λείαν τῆν ἑαυτῶν. τὸν δὲ Μισφαραγμοῦ-

¹ After Eus.
² = αὐτοῖς L Lat.: om. Eus.
³ Eus.: Ἀλισφαραγμοῦθωσι L (Lat.) and so below.
⁴ ηττομένους should probably be read (Niese).
⁵ = ἐξ αὐτοῦ L: om. Eus.

ᵃ If this passage is genuine, "in another copy" must mean "in another book (of Manetho)"; cf. § 91. But ἀντίγραφον is not interchangeable with Βιβλίον, and the paragraph is suspicious on other grounds, viz. (1) its partial repetition in § 91, (2) the proximity of two marginal notes in the ms. of Josephus, in §§ 92 and 98, referring to readings found 196
AGAINST APION, I. 83–88

word Hyc does not mean “kings,” but indicates, on the contrary, that the shepherds were “captives.” For Hyc in Egyptian, as well as ḫḥ with an aspirate, expressly denotes “captives.”[a]

This view appears to me the more probable and more reconcilable with ancient history.

The kings of the so-called shepherds, enumerated above, and their descendants, remained masters of Egypt, according to Manetho, for five hundred and eleven years.

Then[b] the kings of the Thebaid and of the rest of Egypt rose in revolt against the shepherds, and a great war broke out, which was of long duration. Under a king named Misphragmouthosis, the shepherds, he says, were defeated, driven out of all the rest of Egypt, and confined in a place called Auaris, containing ten thousand arourae.[c] The shepherds, according to Manetho, enclosed the whole of this area with a great strong wall, in order to secure all their possessions and spoils. Thoum-

“in another copy,” i.e. as is clear in §92, of Josephus. The bracketed words here are doubtless a similar gloss which has crept into the text. What the “other copy” may have been we do not know; but Josephus, who contemplated a fuller treatment of this subject (§92), may have revised this work as he revised his Antiquities, and conceivably we have in these glosses relics of another edition. The last sentence of §83 apparently forms no part of the gloss. The “view” here referred to is that the Hycsos were Arabians, which Josephus regards as “more probable” than that mentioned later, that they were ancestors of the Jews.

In this paragraph Josephus gives a paraphrase of Manetho.

Lit. “containing a circumference of 10,000 arourae.” The aroura was an Egyptian measure of land (=about half an acre), which Josephus, by his paraphrase, appears to have mistaken for a measure of length. For Auaris cf. §78.
JOSEPHUS

θώσεως γιόν Θούμμωσίν ἐπιχειρήσαι μὲν αὐτοῦς
dιὰ πολιορκίας ἔλειν κατὰ κράτος, ὅκτω καὶ τεσ-
sαράκοντα μυριάσι στρατοῦ προσεδρέσαντα τοῖς
tεῖχεσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπέγνω, ποιή-
sασθαί συμβάσεις, ὦνα τὴν Αἰγυπτίων ἐκλυπόντες
89 ὅποι βούλονται πάντες ἁβλαβεῖς ἀπέλθωσι. τοὺς
dὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁμολογίας πανοικησίᾳ μετὰ τῶν
κτήσεων οὐκ ἐλάττους μυριάδων ὄντας εἰκοσὶ καὶ
tεσσάρων ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγυπτίων τὴν ἔρημον εἰς Συρίαν
90 διοδοιπορήσαι. φοβούμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων
δυναστείαν, τόσε γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τῆς Ἁσίας κρατεῖν,
ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἰουδαίᾳ καλουμένη πόλιν οἰκοδομησά-
mένους τοσαύτας μυριάσιν ἀνθρώπων ἀρκέσουσαν
Ἱεροσόλυμα ταῦτην ὁνομάσαι.

91 Ἔν ἀλλὴ δὲ τῶν βιβλίων τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν
Μανέθως τοῦτο φησιν τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τούς καλοῦ-
mένους ποιμένας αἰχμαλώτους ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς
αὐτῶν βιβλίοις γεγράφθαι, λέγων ὥρθως· καὶ
γὰρ τοῖς ἀνωτάτω προγόνοις ἦμῶν ὅ τοι ποιμαίεων
πάτριον ἦν καὶ νομαδικῶν ἔχοντες τὸν βίον οὕτως
92 ἐκαλοῦντο ποιμένες. αἰχμαλωτοῖ τε πάλιν οὐκ
ἀλόγως υπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀνεγράφησαν, ἐπειδὴ-
pερ ὁ πρόγονος ἦμῶν Ἰώσηπος ἐαυτὸν ἔφη πρὸς
τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων αἰχμαλώτων εἶναι,
καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς εἰς τὴν Αἰγυπτίων ὑστερον
μετεπέμψατο τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιτρέψαντος. ἄλλα

1 τὴν πολιορκίαν Ευς.
AGAINST APION, I. 88–92

mosis, the son of Misphragmouthosis (he continues), invested the walls with an army of 480,000 men, and endeavoured to reduce them to submission by siege. Despairing of achieving his object, he concluded a treaty, under which they were all to evacuate Egypt and go whither they would unmolested. Upon these terms no fewer than two hundred and forty thousand,\(^a\) entire households with their possessions, left Egypt and traversed the desert to Syria. Then, terrified by the might of the Assyrians, who at that time were masters of Asia, they built a city in the country now called Judaea, capable of accommodating their vast company, and gave it the name of Jerusalem.

In another book of his Egyptian history Manetho states that this race, the so-called shepherds, were described as captives in the sacred books of his country.\(^b\) In this statement he is correct. Sheep-breeding was a hereditary custom of our remotest ancestors, and from this nomadic life they came to be called shepherds. But their other name of captives in the Egyptian records was given not without reason, since our ancestor Joseph told the king of Egypt\(^c\) that he was a captive, and afterwards, with the king's permission, had his brethren brought

\(^a\) The number of the garrison mentioned in § 78.\(^1\)

\(^b\) Lit. "in their sacred books"; § 92 shows that the Egyptian books are intended.

\(^c\) In the Biblical account he told his cup-bearer (Gen. xl. 15). The Florentine ms. adds the following marginal note: "In another copy was found this reading: 'was sold by his brethren and brought down into Egypt to the king of Egypt; and again Afterwards, with the king's permission, sent for his brethren.'" See note \(^a\) on p. 196.
περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν ἄλλοις ποιήσομαι τὴν ἔξτασιν ἀκριβεστέραν.

93 (15) Χωνὶ δὲ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ταῦτης παρατίθεμαι τοὺς Ἁγιοπτίους μᾶρτυρας. πάλιν οὖν τὰ τοῦ Μανέθω¹ πῶς ἔχει πρὸς τὴν τῶν χρόνων τάξιν ὑπογράψω. φησί δὲ οὕτως· "μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν εἰς Ἀγιοπτὸν τὸν λαὸν τῶν ποιμένων εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα ὁ ἐκβαλὼν αὐτοὺς εἰς Ἀγιοπτὸν βασιλεὺς Τέθμωσις ἐβασίλευσεν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐτῆ εἰκοσιπέντε καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας καὶ ἑτελεύτησεν, καὶ παρέλαβεν τὴν ἁρχὴν ὁ αὐτοῦ υἱὸς Χέβρων ἐτῆ δεκατρία. 95 μεθ’ ὅν Ἀμενωφις εἴκοσι καὶ μῆνας ἐπτά. τοῦ δὲ ἀδελφῆς Ἀμεσσῆς εἴκοσι ἐν καὶ μῆνας ἑννέα. τῆς δὲ Μήφρης δώδεκα καὶ μῆνας ἑννέα. τοῦ δὲ Μηθραμοῦθωσις εἴκοσι πέντε καὶ μῆνας δέκα. 96 τοῦ δὲ Ὄμωσις ἑννέα καὶ μῆνας ὀκτώ. τοῦ δ’ Ἀμενωφις τριάκοντα καὶ μῆνας δέκα. τοῦ δὲ Ὄμρος τριάκοντα ἐξ καὶ μῆνας πέντε. τοῦ δὲ θυγατηρὸς Ἀκεγχηρῆς δώδεκα καὶ μῆνα ἑνα. τῆς 97 δὲ Ἡρωτις ἀδελφὸς ἑννέα. τοῦ δὲ Ἀκεγχηρῆς δώδεκα καὶ μῆνας πέντε. τοῦ δὲ Ἀκεγχηρῆς ἐτερος δώδεκα καὶ μῆνας τρεῖς. τοῦ δὲ Ἄρμαῖς τέσσαρα καὶ μῆνα ἑνα. τοῦ δὲ Ἡρωτις ἑν καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρα. τοῦ δὲ Ἡρωτις Μιᾶμοῦν ἑξήκοντα ἐξ καὶ μῆνας δύο. τοῦ δὲ Ἀμενωφις 98 δεκαεννέα καὶ μῆνας ἐξ. τοῦ δὲ Σέθως ὁ καὶ Ἡρωτις ἑπτικὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν ἑνων δύναμιν

¹ Μανεθάνος L.
² Σέθως ὁ καὶ Ἡρωτ. Ευσ.: Σέθως καὶ Ἡρωτις L.

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AGAINST APION, I. 92–98

into Egypt. However, I propose to investigate these matters more fully elsewhere.\(^a\)

(15) For the moment I am citing the Egyptians as witnesses to our antiquity. I will therefore resume my extracts from Manetho bearing on the chronology. The following are his words:

"After the departure of the pastoral people from Egypt to Jerusalem, Tethmosis,\(^b\) the king who expelled them from Egypt, reigned twenty-five years and four months, and on his death the kingdom passed to his son Chebron, who reigned thirteen years. After him Amenophis reigned twenty years and seven months; then his sister Amesses twenty-one years and nine months; her son Mephes twelve years and nine months; then from father to son Mephramouthosis twenty-five years and ten months, Thmosis nine years and eight months, Amenophis thirty years and ten months, Orus thirty-six years and five months; his daughter Akenchëres twelve years and one month; her brother Rathotis nine years; then from father to son Akenchëres twelve years and five months, Akenchëres II twelve years and three months, Harmais four years and one month, Ramesses one year and four months, Harmessës Miamoun sixty-six years and two months, Amenophis nineteen years and six months, and then Sethosis,\(^c\) also called Ramesses. The last-named king, who possessed an army of cavalry and

\(^a\) Perhaps looking on to §§ 227 ff., where he reverts to Manetho. But we should expect ὑστερον or the like; ἐν ἀλλοισ usually refers to a separate work.

\(^b\) Called Thounmmos above, § 88. Perhaps Thmosis (§ 96) is the correct form.

\(^c\) Perhaps " Sethos " (cf. § 231).
τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν Ἄρμαῖϊν ἐπίτροπον τῆς Αἰγύπτου κατέστησεν καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν ἄλλην βα-
σιλικὴν περιεθηκεν ἐξοισίαν, μόνον δὲ ἐνετείλατο διάδημα μὴ φορεῖν μηδὲ τὴν βασιλίδα μητέρα τε τῶν τέκνων ἀδικεῖν, ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
99 βασιλικῶν παλλακίδων. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Κύπρον καὶ
Φοινίκην καὶ πάλιν Ἀσσυρίους τε καὶ Μήδους στρατεύσας ἀπαντας, τοὺς μὲν δόρατι, τοὺς δὲ ἀμαχητὶ φόβῳ δὲ τῆς πολλῆς δυνάμεως ὑποχειρίους ἐλαβε, καὶ μέγα φρονήσας ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐπραγίαις ἔτι καὶ θαρσαλώτερον ἐπεπορεύετο τὰς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς
100 πόλεις τε καὶ χώρας καταστρεφόμενος. χρόνου
τε ἰκανοῦ γεγονότος "Ἀρμαῖς ὁ καταλείψεις ἐν
Αἰγύπτῳ πάντα τάμπαλιν οἷς ἀδελφὸς1 παρῆμεν
μὴ ποιεῖν ἄδεως ἐπραττεν· καὶ γὰρ τὴν βασιλίδα βιαῖς ἐσχεν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις παλλακίσις ἄφειδῶς
dιετέλει χρώμενος, πειθόμενος δὲ2 υπὸ τῶν φίλων
101 διάδημα ἐφόρει καὶ ἀντίρρε τῷ ἀδελφῷ. ο δὲ
tεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῶν ιερῶν3 τῆς Αἰγύπτου γράψας
βιβλίον ἐπεμίσε τῷ Σεθώσει, δηλὼν αὐτῷ πάντα καὶ ὅτι ἀντίρρεν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῶ4 "Ἀρμαῖς. παρα-
χρῆμα οὖν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Πηλούσιον καὶ ἐκράτησεν
102 τῆς ἱδίας βασιλείας. ἡ δὲ χώρα ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ τοῦ
αὐτοῦ ὄνοματος Αἰγύπτος." λέγει γὰρ ὅτι ὃ μὲν

1 ἀδελφὸς Gutschmid: ἀδελφὸς L.
2 τε Niese.
3 Hudson (after Lat. and Eus.): ιερέων L.
4 Niese: αὐτοῦ L.

a In § 231 called Hermaeus.
b The MS. has the marginal note: "In another copy was
found this reading: ' After him Sethosis and Ramesses, two
brothers. The former, possessing a strong fleet, blockaded
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a strong fleet, made his brother Harmais a viceroy of Egypt b and conferred upon him all the royal prerogatives, except that he enjoined upon him not to wear a diadem, not to wrong the queen, the mother of his children, and to show similar respect to the royal concubines. He then departed on a campaign against Cyprus and Phoenicia, and later against the Assyrians and Medes, and with or without a contest, through the terror inspired by his mighty army, reduced all these nations to submission. Emboldened by these successes he, with yet greater audacity, continued his advance, subduing the cities and districts of the east. Meanwhile, some time after his departure, Harmais, whom he had left in Egypt, unscrupulously defied all his brother's injunctions. He violated the queen, freely indulged himself with the concubines, and, at the instigation of his friends, put on a diadem and rose in revolt against his brother. The keeper of the Egyptian temples thereupon wrote a letter which he sent to Sethosis, telling him everything, including the insurrection of his brother Harmais. Sethosis instantly returned to Pelusium and recovered his kingdom; and the country was called after him Aegyptus."

This maritime opponents who were causing great loss of life† [text doubtful]. Not long after he slew Ramesses and appointed Harmais, another of his brothers, viceroy of Egypt."

See note a on p. 196, and, for the naval action of Sethos(is) in the Red Sea, Herod. ii. 102, to which Josephus alludes in A. viii. 260 ff.; Herodotus calls him Sesostris, Josephus there identifies him with Shishak, the enemy of Rehoboam. The relationship of Ramesses to Sethos(is) is variously stated in the accounts. In the text above R. is another name of Sethos(is); in the marginal note he is his brother; in § 231 below Rampses is his son.
Σέθως ἐκαλεῖτο Αὐγυπτος, "Ἀρμαῖς δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Δανάος.

103 (16) Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Μανέθως. ἤλθον δ' ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐτῶν τοῦ χρόνου συλλογισθέντος ὧτι οἱ καλούμενοι ποιμένες, ἡμέτεροι δὲ1 πρόγονοι, τρισὶ καὶ ἐνενίκοντα καὶ τριακοσίοις πρόσθεν ἔτεσιν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀπαλλαγέντες τὴν χώραν ταύτην ἐπώκησαν ἡ Δανάος εἰς "Ἀργος ἀφικέσθαι καίτοι

104 τούτον ἄρχαιότατον Ἀργείοι νομίζουσι. δύο τοίνυν ὁ Μανέθως ἡμῖν τὰ μέγιστα μεμαρτύρηκεν ἐκ τῶν παρ' Αἰγυπτίων γραμμάτων, πρότον μὲν τὴν ἐπέρωθεν ἀφίξεων εἰς Αἰγύπτον, ἐπείτα δὲ τὴν ἐκείθεν ἀπαλλαγήν οὔτως ἄρχαιαν τοῖς χρόνοις, ὡς ἐγγὺς πον προσέρειν2 αὐτὴν τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ἔτεσί χιλίοις.

105 ὑπὲρ ὧν δ' ὁ Μανέθως οὐκ ἐκ τῶν παρ' Αἰγυπτίως γραμμάτων,3 ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὸς ὁμολογήκεν ἐκ τῶν ἀδεσπότως μυθολογομένων προστέθεικεν, ὥστερον ἐξελέγχει κατὰ μέρος ἀποδεικτὸς τὴν ἀπίθανον αὐτοῦ ὑπενδολογίαν.

106 (17) Βουλομαί τοίνυν ἀπὸ τούτων ἦδη4 μετελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Φοίνιξι ἀναγεγραμμένα περὶ τοῦ γενός ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἐκείνων μαρτυρίας παρα-

107 σχέσιν. ἔστι τοίνυν παρὰ Τυρίως απὸ παμπόλλων5 ἐτῶν γράμματα δημοσία γεγραμμένα καὶ πεφυλαγ-

μένα λίαν ἐπιμελῶς περὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς γενο-

μένων καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους6 πραχθέντων μνήμης ἄξιον. 

108 ἐν τούτοις γέγραπται ὅτι ὁ ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωι ψικο-

1 δὲ Eus.: om. L Lat.
2 πον προσέρειν Eus., Lat.: τοῦ προτεροῦ L.
3 πραγμάτων L.
4 Eus.: ἐτ Γ (Lat. rursus).
5 ἀπὸ παμπ.] πολλῶν L Lat.
6 Gutschmid: ἀληθοὺς L Lat.
For Manetho states that Sethos was called Aegyptus and his brother Harmais Danaus.\(^a\)

(16) Such is Manetho's account; and, if the years which he enumerates are summed up, it is clear that the so-called shepherds, our ancestors, left Egypt and settled in our country \(^b\) 393 years \(^c\) before Danaus came to Argos. Yet the Argives regard him as one of the most ancient of men.\(^d\) Manetho has thus furnished us with evidence from Egyptian literature on two most important points: first that we came into Egypt from elsewhere, and secondly, that we left it at a date so remote in the past that it preceded the Trojan War by nearly a thousand years. His additional statements, which he derived not from the Egyptian records, but, as he admits himself, from fables of unknown authorship, I shall refute in detail later on \(^e\) and show the improbability of these lying stories.

(17) I therefore now propose to pass on to the allusions to our race in the Phoenician chronicles, and to produce the evidence which they afford. For very many years past the people of Tyre have kept public records, compiled and very carefully preserved by the state, of the memorable events in their internal history and in their relations with foreign nations. It is there recorded that the Temple at

\(^a\) Cf. § 231.

\(^b\) Lit. "this."

\(^c\) The total length of the reigns enumerated in chap. 15 from the expulsion of the Hycos to the accession of Sethosis is only 333 years. To this Josephus (or his source) seems to have added sixty years for the reign of Sethosis, the duration of which is given in § 231 as fifty-nine years.

\(^d\) The mythical Inachus was held to be still more ancient.

\(^e\) §§ 227 ff.
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dομήθη ναὸς ὑπὸ Σολόμωνος τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτεσιν θάττον ἐκατόν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τρισίν καὶ μήσιν.

109 ὁκτὼ τοῦ κτίσαι Τυρίων Καρχηδόνα. ἀνεγράφη δὲ παρ’ ἑκεῖνοι ὡκ ἄλογως ἡ τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευή τοῦ παρ’ ἡμῖν. Ἐξέρχομαι γὰρ ὁ τῶν Τυρίων βασιλεὺς φίλος ἤ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν Σολόμωνος

110 πατρικὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν διαδεδημένος. οὕτως ὡγν συμφιλιτιμοῦμενος εἰς τὴν τοῦ κατασκευάσματος τῷ Σολόμωνι λαμπρότητα χρυσίου μὲν εἰκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν ἐδωκε τάλαντα, τεμὼν δὲ καλλίστην ἔλη ἐκ τοῦ ὀρούς, ὁ καλεῖται Λίβανος, εἰς τὸν ὄροφον ἀπέστειλεν. ἀντεδωρήσατο δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Σολόμων ἀλλοις τε πολλοῖς καὶ γῆ κατὰ χώραν τῆς Γαλαταίας ἐν τῇ Χαβούλων λεγομένη. μάλιστα δ’ αὐτοῖς εἰς φιλίαν ἢ τῆς σοφίας συνήγευν ἐπιθυμία προβλήματα γὰρ ἀλλήλως ἀνταπέστειλον λύειν κελεύοντες, καὶ κρεῖττων ἐν τούτοις ἢν ὁ Σολόμων ἄνων καὶ τάλας σοφώτερος. σώζονται δὲ μέχρι νῦν παρὰ τοῖς Τυρίοις πολλαῖ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἕς ἑκεῖνοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγγραψαν.

112 Ὁτι δ’ οὐ λόγος ἐστίν ὑπ’ ἑμοῦ συγκείμενος ὁ περὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Τυρίοις γραμμάτων, παράθεσομαι μάρτυρα Δίου, ἀνδρα περὶ τὴν Φωινικικὴν

1 οὐκ ἄλογως Eus.: om. L Lat.
2 Naber: αὕτω L. The text of the whole sentence is doubtful.
3 ins. Niese.

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1 a Calculation derived from the duration of the reigns of the Tyrian kings: see chap. 18, especially § 126, below. The date given for the foundation of Carthage varies in different authorities from c. 1234 to c. 793 B.C.
2 Biblical Hiram, occasionally spelt Hirom (יוֹרָן).
Against Apion, I. 108–112

Jerusalem was built by King Solomon 143 years and eight months before the foundation of Carthage by the Tyrians.\(^a\) There was good reason why the erection of our temple should be mentioned in their records, for Hirom,\(^b\) king of Tyre, was a friend of our king Solomon, a friendship which he had inherited from his father.\(^c\) Sharing Solomon’s zeal for the splendour of the edifice, Hirom gave him 120 talents of gold, and also cut down the finest timber from the mountain called Libanus and sent it to him for the roof. In return Solomon, among many other gifts, made him a present of land in Galilee in the district called Chabulon.\(^d\) But the main bond of friendship between them was their passion for learning. They used to send each other problems to solve; in these Solomon showed the greater proficiency, as, in general, he was the cleverer of the two. Many of the letters which they exchanged are preserved at Tyre to this day.\(^e\)

To prove that these assertions about the Tyrian archives are not of my own invention, I will call upon Dios,\(^f\) who is regarded as an accurate historian of

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\(^a\) Cf. 2 Sam. v. 11, 1 Kings v. 1, where it is Solomon who inherits from his father David a friendship with Hiram.

\(^b\) 1 Kings ix. 10-13. The district apparently took its name from the town or village of Cabul, called Chabolo in the Life § 213.

\(^c\) Letters between Hiram and Solomon on the building of the temple are given in 1 Kings v., paraphrased in Josephus, A. viii. 50-54, and others of a more literary character are quoted from Eupolemus (2nd cent. B.C.) in Euseb. Praep. Ev. ix. 33 f. None of these refer to the riddles mentioned below; the origin of these may perhaps be sought in the story of the Queen of Sheba and her “hard questions” (1 Kings x. 1).

\(^d\) The same extract is quoted in A. viii. 147. Nothing more is known of Dios.
ιστορίαν ἀκριβῆ γεγονέναι πεπιστευμένον. οὗτος τούτων ἐν ταῖς περὶ Φοινίκων ιστορίαις γράφει τὸν
113 τρόπον τούτον: "Ἀβιβάλου τελευτήσαντος ὁ νῦς αὐτοῦ Εἰρώμος ἐβασίλευσεν. οὗτος τὰ πρὸς ἀνα-
τολᾶς μέρη τῆς πόλεως προσέχωσεν καὶ μείζον τὸ ἀστυ ἐποίησεν1 καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Δίος τὸ ἑρόν,
καθ’ ἐαυτὸ ὃν ἐν νήσῳ, χώσας τὸν μεταξὺ τόπον συνήμε τῇ πόλει καὶ χρυσὸς ἀναθήμασιν ἐκόσμησεν,
ἀναβάς δὲ εἰς τὸν Λίβανον ὑλοτόμησεν πρὸς τὴν τῶν
114 ναῶν2 κατασκευὴν. τὸν δὲ τυραννοῦντα Ἱεροσο-
λύμων Σολομώνα σέμψαντο πολὺ πρὸς τὸν Εἰρώμον
αινίγματα καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἄξιον, τὸν δὲ
μὴ δυνηθέντα διακρίνει τῷ λύσαντι χρήματα ἀπο-
115 τίνες. ὁμολογήσαντα δὲ τὸν Εἰρώμον καὶ μὴ δυνη-
θέντα λύσαι τὰ αἰνίγματα πολλά τῶν χρημάτων εἰς
tὸ ἐπιείκειόν ἀναλώσαε. εἰτὰ δὲ3 Ἀβδήμου ων τῶν
Τύρων ἀνδρὰ τὰ προτεθέντα λύσαι καὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλα
προβαλεῖν, ἀ μὴ λύσαντα τὸν Σολομώνα πολλά τῶν
Εἰρώμοι προσφοροῖς χρήματα." Δίος μὲν οὖν
οὗτο περὶ τῶν προειρημένων ἡμῖν μεμαρτύρηκεν.
116 (18) Ἀλλὰ πρὸς τούτων παραθήσομαι καὶ Μέναν-
δρον τὸν Ἐφέσιον. γέγραφεν δὲ οὗτος τὰς ἑφ’
ἐκάστου τῶν βασιλέων πράξεις τὰς παρὰ τοῖς Ἐλλησι
καὶ βαρβάρους γενομένας, ἐκ τῶν παρ’ ἐκάστους4 ἐπι-
χωρίων γραμμάτων σπουδάσας τὴν ιστορίαν μαθεῖν.
117 γράφων τούτων5 περὶ τῶν ἐν Τύρῳ βεβασιλευκότων,
ἐπειτα γενόμενοι κατὰ τὸν Εἰρώμον ταῦτα φησιν.

1 πεποίηκεν L.
2 ierōn Eus. and Jos. Ant. viii. 117.
3 δὴ L.
4 Eus., Lat.: ἐκείνοις L.
5 Eus.: δὴ L.

a Or "tyrant." b In J. viii. 149 "Abdemon."
Phoenicia, for his witness. In his history of the Phoenicians he writes as follows:

"On the death of Abibalus, his son Hirom came to the throne. He levelled up the eastern part of the city with embankments, enlarged the town, united to it by a causeway the temple of Olympian Zeus, which was isolated on an island, and adorned it with offerings of gold; he also went up to Libanus and had timber cut down for the construction of temples. It is said that Solomon, the sovereign of Jerusalem, sent riddles to Hirom and asked for others from him, on the understanding that the one who failed to solve them should pay a sum of money to him who succeeded. Hirom agreed, and being unable to guess the riddles, spent a large part of his wealth on the fine. Afterwards they were solved by a certain Abdemun of Tyre, who propounded others. Solomon, failing to solve these, paid back to Hirom more than he had received."

Thus has Dius attested my previous statements.

(18) I will, however, cite yet a further witness, Menander of Ephesus. This author has recorded the events of each reign, in Hellenic and non-Hellenic countries alike, and has taken the trouble to obtain his information in each case from the national records. Writing on the kings of Tyre, when he comes to Hirom he expresses himself thus:

"The extract below is quoted also in A. viii. 144. The writer is probably the same person as the Menander of Pergamum quoted by Clement of Alexandria (Strom. i. p. 140, § 114) as stating that "Hiram gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon at the time when Menelaus visited Phoenicia after the capture of Troy.""

"Barbarian."

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"τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀβιβάλου διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ ὁ νῦς Εἴρωμος, ὡς βιώσας ἔτη ὃς'

118 ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη λα', ὡς τοὺς Ἐυρύγωρον τὸν τε χρυσοῦν κίονα τὸν ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Δίος ἀνέδηκεν, ἐπὶ τε ὅλην ἔβαφον ἀπελθὼν ἐκοιμήν ἀπὸ τοῦ λεγομένου ὄρους Λιβάνου κέδρυν ἔβλα ἐις τὰς τῶν ἠρων στέγας, καθελών τε τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἑρά καινοὺς ναοὺς τούτοις ὕψοντοι τὸν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους καὶ τῆς

119 Ἀστάρτης,3 πρὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐγέρσων ἐποιήσατο ἐν τῷ Περιτίῳ μηνι.4 τοῖς τε Ἰτυκάιοις5 ἐπεστρατεύσατο μὴ ἀποδιδοὺς τοὺς φόρους, οὐς καὶ ὑποτάξας ἐαυτῷ πάλιν ἀνέστρεψεν. ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἡ Ἀβδήμωνος παῖς νεῶτερος, ὡς ἅπα κέινα 6 τὰ προβλήματα, ὁ ἐπέταττε Σολομὼν ὁ Ἰεροσολύμων

121 βασιλεὺς. 7 ψυφίζεται δὲ ὁ χρόνος ἀπὸ τοῦτον τοῦ βασιλέως ἀχρὶ τῆς Καρχηδόνος κτίσεως οὕτως· τελευτήσαντος Εἰρώμου διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν Βαλβάζερος νῦος, ὡς βιώσας ἔτη μη/ ἐβασίλευσεν

122 ἔτη ὃς.8 μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀβδάστρατος νῦος βιώσας ἔτη λθ' ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη θ'. τοῦτον οἱ τῆς τροφοῦ αὐτοῦ νιὸ πέσσαρες ἐπιβουλεύσατες ἀπώλεσαν, ὡν ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐβασίλευσεν9 Μεθοσάσταρτος ὁ Δελαιαστάρτου, ὡς βιώσας ἔτη νδ' ἐβασίλευσεν

123 ἔτη ἰβ'. μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ ἄδελφος αὐτοῦ Ἀθάρυμος

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1 ἐπὶ τε Ευσ. (Lat.): ἐπτατα Λ: ἐπὶ δὲ Jos. Αντ. viii. 145.
2 καινοὺς ναοὺς Dind.: και ναοὺς Λ.
3 + τέμενος ἀνέρεισεν Λ. 4 + εἰτα το τῆς Ἀστάρτης Λ.
5 τοῖς τε Ἰτ. Gutschmid (ηφ. Αντ. viii. 146): ἐπτατε Τιτυνώς Λ.
6 + λῦτων Eus.
7 Βαλβάζερος Λ. 8 ἐπτατα L Lat.
9 + ἔτη δεκαδ’ οισ (for Med.) μεθ’ οἰς Ἀσταρτος Λ.

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*Connecting old Tyre on the mainland with the new island city.*

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“On the death of Abibalus the kingdom passed to his son Hirom, who lived fifty-three years and reigned thirty-four. He laid the embankment of the Broad Place, dedicated the golden pillar in the temple of Zeus, went and cut down cedar wood on the mount called Libanus for timber for the roofs of temples, demolished the ancient temples, and built new shrines dedicated to Heracles and Astarte. That of Heracles he erected first, in the month Peritius. He undertook a campaign against the people of Utica who refused to pay their tribute, and did not return home till he had reduced them to submission. Under his reign lived Abdemun, a young lad, who always succeeded in mastering the problems set by Solomon, king of Jerusalem.”

The period intervening between this king and the foundation of Carthage is computed as follows:

On the death of Hirom the throne passed to his son Balbazer, who lived forty-three years and reigned seventeen. His successor Abdastratus lived thirty-nine years and reigned nine. The four sons of his nurse conspired against him and slew him. The eldest of these, Methusastartus, son of Deleastartus, mounted the throne and lived fifty-four years and reigned twelve. He was followed by his brother, Astharymus, who lived

According to Eupolemus a present from Solomon to Suron ( = Hiram); Eus. P.E. ix. 34. Herod. (ii. 44) saw a golden stele in the temple of Heracles, probably the temple here called that of Zeus; he mentions two temples of Heracles and none of Zeus.

The fourth month of the Macedonian year (? January).

In this paragraph Josephus apparently paraphrases his authority.
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βιώσας ἐτή νη' ἐβασίλευσεν ἐτή θ'. οὗτος ἀπώλετο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Φέλλητος, ὅσ λαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν ἡρέξεν μήνας η' βιώσας ἐτή ν'. τούτοιν ἀνείλεν Ίθόβαλος ὁ τῆς Ἀστάρτης ιερεύς, ὅς

124 βιώσας ἐτή μη' ἐβασίλευσεν ἐτή λβ'. τούτοιν διεδέχετο Βαλέζωρος νῖός, ὅσ βιώσας ἐτή με' ἐβασίλευσεν

125 ἐτή ζέ.1 τούτοις διάδοχοι γέγονε Μέττηνος2 νῖός, ὅσ βιώσας ἐτή λβ' ἐβασίλευσεν ἐτή κβ'.3 τούτοις διάδοχοι γέγονεν Πυγμαλίων, ὅσ βιώσας ἐτή νη'4 ἐβασίλευσεν ἐτή μζ'. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπι αὐτοῦ ἐβδόμῳ ἐτεί ἡ ἀδελφή αὐτοῦ φυγοῦσα ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ πόλιν ὕψος ἄρχοντος Καρχηδόνα.

126 Συνάγεται [δῆ]5 πᾶς ὁ χρόνος ἀπὸ τῆς Εἰρώμου βασιλείας μέχρι Καρχηδόνος κτίσεως ἐτή μνε' μήνες η'. ἐπεὶ δὲ δωδεκάτῳ ἐτεί τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ὁ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμωι ὕψος ἄρρητη οὐκ ἔχει, γέγονεν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκοδομής τοῦ ναοῦ μέχρι Καρχηδόνος κτίσεως ἐτή μνε' μήνες η'.

127 Τῆς μὲν οὖν παρὰ Φωκίκων μαρτυρίας τί δεί προσθέτει πλέον, βλέπεται γὰρ τάλαθας ἵσχυς ὑμολογημένων. καὶ πολὺ δῆπον προάγει τῆς τοῦ νεῶ κατασκευῆς η ὁ τῶν προγόνων ἥμων εἰς τὴν χώραν ἅφεξι ὅτε γὰρ αὐτὴν πάσαν πολέμων παρελαβον, τότε τῶν νεῶν κατεσκεύασαν. καὶ τάτα σαφῶς ἔκ τῶν ιερῶν γραμμάτων ὑπ' ἐμοὶ δεδήλωται διὰ τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας.

1 η' (elsewhere νη') Eus.: ζ' Theophilus.
2 Μάττηνος L. 3 ε.λλ. ἐννέα L, ὠκτώ, κε'.
4 νζ' L Lat. 5 ins. ed. pr.
fifty-eight years and reigned nine. He was slain by his brother Phelles, who seized the throne and reigned eight months, having reached the age of fifty, when he was slain by Ithobal, priest of Astarte, who lived forty-eight years and reigned thirty-two. He was succeeded by his son Balezor, who lived forty-five years and reigned six. He, in turn, was succeeded by his son Metten, who lived thirty-two years and reigned twenty-nine; and he by Pygmalion, who lived fifty-eight years and reigned forty-seven. It was in the seventh year of his reign that his sister a took flight, and built the city of Carthage in Libya.

The whole period from the accession of Hirom to the foundation of Carthage thus amounts to 155 years and eight months; b and, since the temple at Jerusalem was built in the twelfth year of King Hirom's reign, c 143 years and eight months elapsed between the erection of the temple and the foundation of Carthage.

What need is there to add further Phoenician evidence? The agreement of the witnesses, as will be seen, affords strong confirmation of their veracity. Of course our ancestors arrived in the country long before the temple was built; for it was not until they had conquered the whole land that they erected it. The facts, derived from the sacred books, have been clearly stated in my Archaeology.d

a Elissa, commonly known as Dido.

b There has been some corruption in the figures for the individual reigns, which do not amount to the total here given.

c The source for this statement is unknown. In A. viii. 62 the date given for the commencement of the building is the eleventh year of Hiram's reign.

d A. viii. 61 f.
(19) Ἀποκραμμένα καὶ ἱστορούμενα περὶ ἡμῶν, ἀπερ ἔχει πολλὴν ὁμολογίαν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἡμετέρους γράμμασι. μάρτυς δὲ τούτων Βηθρώσος, ἀνὴρ Χαλδαῖος μὲν τὸ γένος, γνώριμος δὲ τοῖς περὶ παίδειαν ἀναστρεφομένοις, ἑπειδὴ περὶ τα ἀστρονομίας καὶ περὶ τῶν παρὰ Χαλδαίους φιλοσοφομένων αὐτὸς εἰς τοὺς "Ἐλλήνας ἔξηγεν γε τάς συγγραφάς.

οὗτος τούν ὁ Βηθρώσος ταῖς ἀρχαιοτάταις ἐπι- ακολουθῶν ἀναγραφαῖς περὶ τοῦ γενομένου κατα- κλυσμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ φθορᾶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καθάπερ Μωυσῆς, οὗτως ἱστορήκει καὶ περὶ τῆς λάρνακος, ἐν Ἡ νόχος ὁ τοῦ γενός ἡμῶν ἀρχηγός διεσώθη προσενεχθείσης αὐτῆς ταῖς ἀκρωρείαις τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὄρων. εἶτα τούς ἀπὸ Νόχου κατα- λέγων καὶ τοὺς χρόνους αὐτοῖς προστίθει ἐπὶ Ναβο- παλάσσαρον παραγίνεται, τὸν Βαβυλῶνος καὶ Χαλ- δαίων βασιλέα, καὶ τὰς τούτων πράξεις ἀφήγουμεν λέγει τίνα πρόπον πέμψαι ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν γῆν τοῦ υἱῶν τὸν ἐαυτοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορον1 μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως, ἐπει- δήπερ ἀφεστῶτας αὐτοὺς ἐπύθετο,2 πάντων ἐκράτησε καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐνέπρησε τὸν ἐν Ἶεροσολύμοις, ὅλως τε πάντα τὸν παρ’ ἡμῶν λαὸν ἀναστήσας εἰς Βαβυλῶνα μετώκισεν· συνέβη δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐρημωθήναι χρόνον ἐτῶν ἐβδομήκοντα μέχρι Κύρου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως. κρατῆσαι δὲ φησὶ τοὺν Βαβυλώνων Αἰγύπτου Συρίας Φωικῆς Ἀραβίας, πάντας ὑπερβαλόμενον ταῖς πράξεις τοὺς πρὸ

1 Ναβοκοδωρόσορον (after Eus.) Niese; and so below.
2 Emend. (after Eus. and Lat.) L. Bos: ὑπέθετο L.
(19) I will now proceed to the allusions made to us in the records and literature of the Chaldaecans; on various points these are in close agreement with our own scriptures. My witness here is Berosus, a Chaldaean by birth, but familiar in learned circles through his publication for Greek readers of works on Chaldaean astronomy and philosophy. This author, following the most ancient records, has, like Moses, described the flood and the destruction of mankind thereby, and told of the ark in which Noah, the founder of our race, was saved when it landed on the heights of the mountains of Armenia. Then he enumerates Noah’s descendants, appending dates, and so comes down to Nabopolassar, king of Babylon and Chaldaea. In his narrative of the actions of this monarch he relates how he sent his son Nabuchodonosor with a large army to Egypt and to our country, on hearing that these people had revolted, and how he defeated them all, burnt the temple at Jerusalem, dislodged and transported our entire population to Babylon, with the result that the city lay desolate for seventy years until the time of Cyrus, king of Persia.

He adds that the Babylonian monarch conquered Egypt, Syria, Phoenicia, and Arabia, his exploits surpassing those of all previous kings of Chaldaea.

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a Beros(s)us, priest of the temple of Bel at Babylon, c. 330-250 B.C., wrote a history of Babylon (Χαλδαϊκά or Βαβυλωνικά) comprising at least three books (§ 142), besides works on astronomy and astrology.

b An extract from his account of the flood is given in Α. i. 93. The name mentioned by Berosus was not Noah, but, as we learn from Syncellus, Xisuthrus.

c The burning of the temple, not mentioned in the extract which follows, is presumably interpolated by Josephus, and erroneously placed in the reign of Nabopolassar.
αὐτοῦ ἡ Ἑλλάδα καὶ Βαβυλωνία βεβασιλευκότας.

134 [ἐθ' ἐξῆς ὑποκαταβὰς ὅλιγον θ' Βηθῶσος πάλιν παρατίθεται ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἱστοριογραφίᾳ.] 2 αὐτὰ δὲ παραθήσομαι τὰ τοῦ Βηθὼσον
135 τοῦτον ἐχοντα τὸν τρόπον: “ἀκούσας δ' ο πατήρ αὐτοῦ Ναβοπαλάσαρος ὅτι ὁ τεταγμένος σατράπης ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Σύριαν τῇ Κολύμη καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην τόποις ἀποστάτης γέγονεν, οὐ δυνάμενος αὐτὸς ἐτί κακοπαθεῖν, συντήσας τῷ ὑπὸ Ναβοουχοδονοσόρῳ ὅντι ἔτι ἐν ἡλικίᾳ μέρη τινά
136 τὴν δυνάμεως ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπ' αὐτόν. συμμέιξας δὲ Ναβοουχοδονοσόρου τῷ ἀποστάτῃ καὶ παρατάξα-μενος αὐτοῦ τ' ἐκυρίευσε καὶ τὴν χώραν ἔξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῶν βασιλείαν ἐποιήσατο. τῷ τε πατρὶ αὐτοῦ συνέβη Ναβοπαλάσαρῳ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἀρρωστήσαντι ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίαν πόλει μεταλλάξει τὸν βίον ἔτη βεβασιλευκότι κα'.

137 αὐθόμενος δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευταῖαν Ναβοουχοδονοσόρου, καταστήσας τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἰγύπτου πράγματα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν χώραν, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ Φοινίκων καὶ Σύρων [καὶ] τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἰγύπτου ἑθνῶν συντάξας τοῖς τῶν φίλων μετὰ τῆς βαρυτάτης δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ὁφελείας ἀνακομίζειν εἰς τὴν Βα-

138 δὶ τῆς ἔρημου εἰς Βαβυλώναν. καταλαβὼν δὲ τὰ πράγματα διοικούμενα ὑπὸ Ἑλλάδαν καὶ διαιτημένην τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου αὐτῶν, κυριεύσας ὁ λοκλήρου τῆς πατρικῆς ἀρχῆς τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους παραγενομένοις συνέταξεν ἀποκιά

1 ed. pr.: αὐτῶν L.
AGAINST APION, I. 133–138

and Babylon. But I will quote Berosus’s own words, which are as follows:

"His father Nabopalassar, hearing of the defection of the satrap in charge of Egypt, Coele-Syria, and Phoenicia, and being himself unequal to the fatigues of a campaign, committed part of his army to his son Nabuchodonosor, still in the prime of life, and sent him against the rebel. Nabuchodonosor engaged and defeated the latter in a pitched battle and replaced the district under Babylonian rule. Meanwhile, as it happened, his father Nabopalassar sickened and died in the city of Babylon, after a reign of twenty-one years. Being informed ere long of his father’s death, Nabuchodonosor settled the affairs of Egypt and the other countries. The prisoners—Jews, Phoenicians, Syrians, and those of Egyptian nationality—were consigned to some of his friends, with orders to conduct them to Babylonia, along with the heavy troops and the rest of the spoils; while he himself, with a small escort, pushed across the desert to Babylon. There he found the administration in the hands of the Chaldaeans and the throne reserved for him by their chief nobleman. Being now master of his father’s entire realm, he gave orders to allot to the captives, on

a Here follows the gloss: "Then again [a passage] a little lower down in Berosus is cited in his history of antiquity" (or perhaps "in the narrative of the Antiquities." with reference to A. x. 219).

b The passage is quoted also in A. x. 220 ff.

2 The bracketed words, omitted by Eus. and Lat., are an obvious gloss in cod. L.

3 avro Eus. cod. and A. x. 221.

4 Eus.: eikošenvela L.

5 + ἐξ L.

6 Text follows A. x.
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139 ἀποδείξαι, αὐτὸς δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου λαφύρων τὸ τε Βήλου ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κοσμήσας φυλοτίμως τὴν τε ύπάρχουσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πόλιν ἀναι σκευάζειν,1 πρὸς τὸ μηκέτι δύνασθαι τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας τὸν ποιμῶν ἀναστρέφοντας ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασκευάζειν,2 περεβάλετο τρεῖς μὲν τῆς ἐνδον πόλεως περιβόλους, τρεῖς δὲ τῆς ἔξω, τούτων [ὅτε] τοὺς μὲν ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλύνθου καὶ ἀσφάλτου, τοὺς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πλύνθου. καὶ τειχίσας ἁξιολόγως τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς πυλῶνας κοσμήσας ἑροπρεπῶς προσκατεσκεύασεν τοῖς πατρικοῖς βασιλείοις ἑτέρα βασιλεία ἐχόμενα ἐκεῖνων, ὡν3 τάνάστημα4 καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν πολυτελείαν μακρὸν ἰσως ἐσται ἐάν τις ἐξηγηται, πλὴν ὅντα γε ύπερβολὴν ὑπὸ μεγάλα καὶ υπερήφανα συν-

eπελέσθη ἦμεραις δεκάπεντε. ἐν δὲ τοῖς βασιλείοις τούτοις ἀναλήμματα λίθων ψηλὰ ἀνοικοδομήσας καὶ τὴν ὅψιν ἀποδοὺς ὁμοιότατην τοῖς ὄρεσι, καταφυτεύσας δεινὸτερον παντοδαποῖς, ἐξειργάσατο καὶ κατεσκεύασε τὸν καλούμενον κρεμαστὸν παράδεισον διὰ τὸ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς ὀρείας διαθέσεως τεθραμμένην ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Μηδίαν τόποις."

140 (20) Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπάρχειν περὶ τοῦ προερημένου βασιλέως καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τούτους ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ βίβλῳ τῶν Χαλδαίκων, ἐν ὥ μεμφεται τοῖς Ἐλλη-

1 Text corrupt. Perhaps for ἀναγκάσας read ἀνακαυνίσας with two mss. of A. (or ἀναχώσας Gutschmid), omit the preceding καὶ and transpose the participle after πόλιν. For προσχαρισ. προσοχυρισάμενος has been suggested (Herwerden).

2 accedere Lat.

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their arrival, settlements in the most suitable districts of Babylonia. He then magnificently decorated the temple of Bel and the other temples with the spoils of war, † restored † the old city, and added a new one outside the walls, and, in order to prevent the possibility in any future siege of † access being gained † to the city by a diversion of the course of the river, he enclosed both the inner and the outer city with three lines of ramparts, those of the inner city being of baked brick and bitumen, those of the outer city of rough brick. After fortifying the city on this grand scale and adorning the gateways in a manner worthy of their sanctity, he constructed a second palace adjoining that of his father. It would perhaps be tedious to describe the towering height and general magnificence of this building; it need only be remarked that, notwithstanding its immense and imposing proportions, it was completed in fifteen days. Within this palace he erected lofty stone terraces, in which he closely reproduced mountain scenery, completing the resemblance by planting them with all manner of trees and constructing the so-called hanging garden; because his wife, having been brought up in Media, had a passion for mountain surroundings.”

(20) Such is the account given by Berosus of this king, besides much more in the third book of his History of Chaldaea, where he censures the Greek

* Regarded as one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. A fuller account is quoted from Ctesias in Diodorus, ii. 7 ff.

3 ὅν Ἰ.: ἵππος Ὕν Syncellus: ἐπαίρων L.
4 Gutschmid: ἀνάστημα L. 5 οὗτος Naber.
Ctesias (4th cent.) is the main authority for the story of Semiramis and Ninus, the mythical founders of the Assyrian Empire; cf. Herod. i. 184.

Philostratus, writer on Indian and Phoenician history, known to us only through Josephus; cf. A. x. 228 (allusion to the same passage).
AGAINST APION, I. 142–146

historians⁴ for their deluded belief that Babylon was founded by the Assyrian Semiramis and their erroneous statement that its marvellous buildings were her creation. On these matters the Chaldaean account must surely be accepted. Moreover, statements in accordance with those of Berosus are found in the Phoenician archives, which relate how the king of Babylon subdued Syria and the whole of Phoenicia. To the same effect writes Philostratus in his History, where he mentions the siege of Tyre,⁵ and Megasthenes⁶ in the fourth book of his History of India, where he attempts to prove that this king of Babylon, who according to this writer subdued the greater part of Libya and Iberia, was in courage and in the grandeur of his exploits more than a match for Heracles.⁷

The assertions which were made above concerning the temple at Jerusalem, that it was burnt down by the Babylonian invaders and that its re-erection began on the succession of Cyrus to the throne of Asia, will be clearly proved by a further quotation from Berosus. His words in his third book are as follows:

"After beginning the wall of which I have spoken, Nabuchodonosor fell sick and died, after a reign of forty-three years, and the realm passed to his son Evilmaraduch. This prince, whose

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⁴ The writer to whom later Greek authors mainly owed their knowledge of India; was sent by Seleucus I (Nicator) on an embassy to the Indian king Chandragupta (Sandra-cottus) c. 300 B.C.

⁵ The same passage is referred to in A. x. 227, and quoted (from Abydenus) in Eus. P.E. ix. 41.

⁶ § 132. The quotation which follows obviously affords no proof of these assertions.
147 οὗτος προστάς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνόμως καὶ ἀσελγῶς ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ Νηριγλίσαρος ἀνηρέθη βασιλεύσας ἐτῆ β'). μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀναιρεθήναι τούτου διαδεξάμενος τῆς ἄρχῃν δ' ἐπιβουλεύσας αὐτῷ Νηριγλίσαρος ἐβασιλεύσεν ἐτῇ δ'. τούτου ύιὸς Λαβδοροσοάρδοχος εἰκουσε μὲν τῆς βασιλείας παις ὃν μῆνας θ'). ἐπιβουλευθεὶς δὲ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἐμφαίνει κακοῆθη ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἁπ-
149 ετυμπανίσθη, ἀπολομένου δὲ τούτου συνελθόντες οἱ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες αὐτῷ κοινῇ τὴν βασιλείαν περιεθηκαν Ναβοννήδῳ τοῖς τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ὀντὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπισυνοπέσωσ. ἐπὶ τούτου τὰ περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τεῖχη τῆς Βαβυλωνίας πόλεως εἴ
150 ὀπτής πλήθου καὶ ἀσφάλτου κατεκοσμήθη. οὕσης δὲ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐπτακαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει προεξελπιθεὶς Κύρος ἐκ τῆς Περσίδος μετὰ δυνά-
151 μεως πολλῆς καὶ τακτρεφάμενος τὴν λοιπὴν βασιλείαν πᾶσαν ὀρμήσεν ἐπὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. αἰσθόμενος δὲ Ναβοννήδος τὴν ἐφοδὸν αὐτοῦ, ἀπαντήσας μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ παραταξάμενος, ἠττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ καὶ φυγὼν ὀλυγοστὸς συν-
152 εκλείσθη εἰς τὴν Βορσιππηνῶν πόλιν. Κύρος δὲ Βαβυλῶνα καταλαβόμενος καὶ συντάξας τὰ ἐξω τῆς πόλεως τείχη κατασκάμαι διὰ τὸ λίαν αὐτῷ πραγματική καὶ δυσάλωτον φανήτα τὴν πόλιν ἀνέειεξεν ἐπὶ Βορσιππων ἐκπολιορκήσας τῶν Ναβοννηδον. τοῦ δὲ Ναβοννήδου οὐχ ὑπομείναντος τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἀλλ' ἐγχειρήσαντος αὐτὸν πρότερον, χρησάμενος Κύρος φιλανθρώπως καὶ δόος οἰκητή-
153 ριον αὐτῷ Καρμανίαν ἐξέπεμψεν ἐκ τῆς Βαβυ-

1 Eus.: Νηριγλίσαροβ Λ (and so below).
2 Niese: χόδος Λ.
government was arbitrary and licentious, fell a victim to a plot, being assassinated by his sister's husband, Neriglisar, after a reign of two years. On his death Neriglisar, his murderer, succeeded to the throne and reigned four years. His son, Laborosoardoch, a mere boy, occupied it for nine months, when, owing to the depraved disposition which he showed, a conspiracy was formed against him, and he was beaten to death by his friends. After his murder the conspirators held a meeting, and by common consent conferred the kingdom upon Nabonnedus, a Babylonian and one of their gang. In his reign the walls of Babylon abutting on the river were magnificently built with baked brick and bitumen. In the seventeenth year of his reign Cyrus advanced from Persia with a large army, and, after subjugating the rest of the kingdom, marched upon Babylonia. Apprised of his coming, Nabonnedus led his army to meet him, fought and was defeated, whereupon he fled with a few followers and shut himself up in the town of Borsippa. Cyrus took Babylon, and after giving orders to raze the outer walls of the city, because it presented a very redoubtable and formidable appearance, proceeded to Borsippa to besiege Nabonnedus. The latter surrendering, without waiting for investment, was humanely treated by Cyrus, who dismissed him from Babylonia, but gave him Carmania for his residence. There

\[ a \] Mod. Birs Nimrud, south of Babylon.
\[ b \] A district on the Persian Gulf.

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3 L : om. Eus., Lat.
4 Eus. : 'Asia L Lat.
5 Gutschmid: Börpeπον L Eus.
λωνίας. Ναβόννηδος μὲν οὖν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου διαγενόμενος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ χώρᾳ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον.

154  (21) Ταῦτα σύμφωνον ἔχει ταῖς ἡμετέραις βίβλοις τὴν ἀλήθειαν. γέγραπται γαρ ἐν αὐταῖς ὅτι Ναβουχοδονόσορος ὁκτώκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἔτει τὸν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ναὸν ἐρήμωσεν, καὶ ἦν ἀφανὴς ἕτη πεντήκοντα,1 δευτέρω δὲ τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας ἔτει τῶν θεμελίων ὑποβληθέντων δευτέρω2 πάλιν
155 τῆς Δαρείου βασιλείας ἀπετελέσθη. προσθήσω δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν Φοινίκων ἀναγραφάς: οὐ γὰρ παραλειπέτεον τῶν ἀποδείξεων τὴν περιουσίαν. ἔστι δὲ
156 τοιαύτῃ τῶν χρόνων ἡ καταράθμησις. ἐπ᾽ Θωμᾶλον τοῦ βασιλέως ἑπολύρκησε Ναβουχοδονόσορος τὴν Τύρων ἔπ᾽ ἔτη δεκατριά. μετὰ τούτον ἐβασίλευσε
157 Βααλ ἔτη δέκα. μετὰ τούτου δικασταὶ κατεστάθησαν καὶ ἐδίκασαν 'Εκνίβαλος Βασιλῆχου μήνας β', Νέλβης 'Αβδαίου μήνας ι', 'Αββαρος3 ἀρχιερεύς μήνας γ', Μύττυνος καὶ Γεράστρατος τοῦ 'Αβδηλίμου δικασταὶ ἔτη ε', δὲν μεταξὺ ἐβασίλευσε Βαλά.
158 τορος ἐνιαυτὸν ἐνα. τούτου τελευτήσαντος ἀποστελλάντες μετεπέμψαντο Μέρβαλον ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος, καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη δ'. τούτου τελευτήσαντος μετεπέμψαντο τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Εἰρωμον,

1 Eus.: ἐπτά L Lat.
2 δεκάτῳ Eus. P.E.: sexto Eus. (Arm.).
3 Abibus Lat. Eus. (Arm.).

1 "The nineteenth year," according to 2 Kings xxv. 8 and Jer. lii. 12, was the date of the burning of the Temple by Nebuzaradan: the eighteenth year was that of the capture of the city by Nebuchadrezzar (Jer. lii. 29).
2 The captivity, reckoned from the fall of Zedekiah
Nabonnedus spent the remainder of his life, and there he died."

(21) This statement is both correct and in accordance with our books. For in the latter it is recorded that Nabuchodonosor in the eighteenth \(^a\) year of his reign devastated our temple, that for fifty \(^b\) years it ceased to exist, that in the second \(^c\) year of the reign of Cyrus the foundations were laid, and lastly that in the second \(^d\) year of the reign of Darius it was completed. I must not, however, neglect any of the superabundant proofs available, and will therefore append the Phoenician record.\(^e\) The chronological calculation there appears as follows:

Under King Ithobal,\(^f\) Nabuchodonosor besieged Tyre for thirteen years. The next king, Baal, reigned ten years. After him judges were appointed and held office as follows: Eknibal, son of Baslech, two months; Chelbes, son of Abdaeus, ten months; Abbar the high-priest, three months; Myttyn and Gerastratus, son of Abdelimus, six years; after them Balator was king for one year. On his death his subjects sent to Babylon and fetched from there Merbal, who reigned four years; and on his death they sent for his brother

\(^{(587 \text{ B.C.})}\) to the edict in the first year of Cyrus (538 \text{ B.C.}), lasted forty-nine years. The seventy years of Jer. xxv. 12 (§ 132 above) was a round number.

\(^{c\text{ Cf. Ezra iii. 8.}}\)

\(^{d\text{ Cf. Ez. iv. 24; but this date marks the resumption of the interrupted work. The building was not completed till four years later (ib. vi. 15).}}\)

\(^{e\text{ Probably from Menander of Ephesus.}}\)

\(^{f\text{ Ithobal II. An earlier king of the name is mentioned in § 123.}}\)

\(^{g\text{ A. x. 228 (on the authority of Philostratus).}}\)


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159 Περσῶν ἐδυνάστευσεν. οὐκοῦν ὁ σύμπας χρόνος ἔτη νῦν καὶ τρεῖς μῆνες πρὸς αὐτοῖς. ἐβδόμῳ 1 μὲν γὰρ ἐτεῖ τῆς Ναβουχοδονοσόρου βασιλείας ἥρατο πολιορκεῖν Τύρον, τεσσαρεσκαΐδεκάτω δ’ ἐτεῖ τῆς Εἰρώμου Κύρος ὁ Πέρσης τὸ κράτος παρέλαβεν.

160 καὶ σύμφωνα μὲν ἐπὶ 1 τοῦ ναοῦ τοῖς ἡμετέρους γράμμασι τὰ Χαλδαῖων καὶ Τυρίων, ὡμολογημένη δὲ καὶ ἀναντίρρητος ἡ περὶ τῶν εἰρημένων μοι μαρτυρία τῆς τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἄρχαιότητος. τοῖς μὲν οὖν μὴ σφόδρα φιλονείκοις ἄρκεσειν ὕπολαμβάνω τὰ προειρήμενα.

161 (22) Δεί δ’ ἄρα καὶ τῶν ἀπιστοῦντων μὲν ταῖς 2 τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀναγραφαῖς μόνοις δὲ τοῖς "Ελλησι πιστεύειν ἄξιοντων ἀποπληρώσαι τὴν ἐπιζήτησιν, καὶ παρασχεῖν πολλοὺς καὶ τούτων ἐπισταμένους τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν καὶ καθ’ ὅ τοις ἦν αὐτοῖς μιμομενοῦντας παραθέσθαι ἐν ἱδίοις αὐτῶν συγγράμμασι.

162 Πυθαγόρας τοίνυν ὁ Σάμιος ἄρχαίος ὄν, σοφία δὲ καὶ τῇ περὶ τὸ θείον εὐσεβεία πάντων ὑπειλημμένοι διενεγκείν τῶν φιλοσοφήσαντων, οὐ μόνον ἐγνωκός τὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν δήλος ἑστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζητῶς αὐτῶν ἐκ πλείστου γεγενημένος. αὐτοῖ μὲν οὖν οὔδὲν ὁμολογεῖται σύγγραμμα, πολλοὶ δὲ τὰ

1 Text probably corrupt.
2 tais en ed. pr.: om. L.

a The total of the component figures given above is fifty-five years three months. The total of Josephus seems to be reached by giving μεταξὺ its classical sense, "between," and excluding the one year of Balator. Reinach, with Gutschmid, 226
Hirom, who reigned twenty years. It was in his reign that Cyrus became monarch of Persia.

The whole period thus amounts to fifty-four years and three months. For it was in the seventh year of his reign that Nabuchodonosor began the siege of Tyre, and in the fourteenth year of Hirom’s reign that Cyrus the Persian came into power. Thus there is complete agreement, on the subject of the temple, between our own books and those of the Chaldaeans and Tyrians, and the evidence for my assertions as to the antiquity of our race is consistent and incontrovertible. None but the most contentious of critics, I imagine, could fail to be content with the arguments already adduced.

(22) I am, however, it seems, under the further obligation of satisfying the requirements of persons who put no faith in non-Hellenic documents, and maintain that none but Greeks are to be trusted. I must therefore produce a further array of these authors who were acquainted with our nation, and quote the occasional allusions which they make to us in their own works.

Now, Pythagoras, that ancient sage of Samos, who for wisdom and piety is ranked above all the philosophers, evidently not only knew of our institutions, but was even in those distant ages an ardent admirer of them. Of the master himself we possess no corrects the total to fifty years three months, to agree with the fifty years of §154 above.

b (?) Read “seventeenth.”

c The famous head of the fraternity of Crotona in S. Italy in the 6th century B.C.

d ἐκ πλείστου elsewhere in Josephus (Ἀ. xv. 223) has a temporal sense “long since.” Whiston, however, renders “to a very great degree,” and so Reinach.
JOSEPHUS

"... 'Ερμιππος, ἀνὴρ περὶ πάσαν ἱστορίαν ἐπι-

164 μελῆς. λέγει τοῖς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν περὶ Πυθαγόρου βιβλίων ὁτι Πυθαγόρας, ἐνὸς αὐτοῦ τῶν συνοψιαστῶν τελευτήσαντος, τοῦνομα Καλλι-

φῶντος τὸ γένος Κροτωνιάτου, τὴν ἐκείνου ψυχὴν ἐλεγε συνδιατρίβεν αὐτῷ καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ’ ἥμεραν, καὶ ὁτι παρεκελεύνετο μὴ διέρχεσθαι τὸπον ἐφ’ ὄν ἀν’ ὄνος ὀκλάσῃ, καὶ τῶν διψῶν ὕδατων

165 ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ πάσης ἀπέχεων βλασφημίας. εἰτα προστίθησι μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τάδε. "ταῦτα δὲ ἔπραττε καὶ ἐλεγε τὰς 'Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ὁρακῶν δόξας μμούμενοι καὶ μεταφέρων εἰς ἑαυτόν." λέγεται γὰρ ὁσ ἀληθῶς ο ἀνὴρ ἐκείνος πολλὰ τῶν παρὰ 'Ἰουδαίοις νομίμων εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ μετενεγκεῖν φιλοσοφίαν.

166 Ἡν δὲ καὶ κατὰ πόλεις οὐκ ἀγνωστον ἡμῶν πάλαι τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἔθων εἰς τινας ἡδὴ διαπεφοιτήκει καὶ ξύλου παρὲ ἐνίοις ἤξιοτο. 

167 δηλοὶ δὲ ὁ Θεόφραστος ἐν τοῖς περὶ νόμων. λέγει γὰρ ὑπὶ κωλύουσιν οἱ Τυρίων νόμοι ξενικοὺς ὅρκους ὁμώνων, ἐν οἷς μετὰ τινων ἄλλων καὶ τῶν καλούμενον ὅρκον κορβᾶν καταριθμεῖ. παρ’ οὐδὲνι δ’ ἐν ὅτισ εὐρεθείν πλην μόνοις 'Ἰουδαίοις, δηλοὶ

1 μεθ’ ed. pr.: καθ’ L.
2 ῇν ἀν ed. pr.: ὄν L, ἀν ἀν Niese.

α Of Smyrna, 3rd cent. b.c.; wrote biographies of the philosophers and others.

β Possibly referring to the fable of the Jewish cult of the ass (Ap. ii. 80, etc.): allusion to the story of Balaam (Numb. xxii. 27) is improbable.

γ Lit. "thirsty": exact sense uncertain. The Latin version has "dirty" (feculenta): Reinach "brackish." J. 228
AGAINST APION, I. 163–167

authentic work, but his history has been told by many writers. The most distinguished of these is Hermippus,\(^a\) always a careful historian. Now, in the first book of his work on Pythagoras, this author states that the philosopher, on the death of one of his disciples, named Calliphon, a native of Crotona, remarked that his pupil's soul was with him night and day, and admonished him not to pass a certain spot, on which an ass had collapsed,\(^b\) to abstain from thirst-producing\(^c\) water, and to avoid all calumny.\(^d\)

Then he proceeds as follows:

"In practising and repeating these precepts he was imitating and appropriating the doctrines of Jews and Thracians."

In fact, it is actually said\(^e\) that that great man introduced many points of Jewish law into his philosophy.

In ancient times various cities were acquainted with the existence of our nation, and to some of these many of our customs have now found their way, and here and there been thought worthy of imitation. This is apparent from a passage in the work of Theophrastus\(^f\) on Laws, where he says that the laws of the Tyrians prohibit the use of foreign oaths, in enumerating which he includes among others the oath called "Corban." Now this oath will be found in no other nation except the Jews, and, translated

Müller quotes from Diogenes Laertius an allusion to the Pythagorean practice of drinking plain water (λιπτὸν ὑδρα).\(^d\)

\(^a\) Cf. Ex. xxii. 28; Lev. xix. 16.

\(^b\) e.g. by Aristobulus ap. Eus. P.E. xiii. 12, 664 a.

\(^c\) Pupil and successor of Aristotle as head of the Peripatetic school. His work on Laws, recapitulating the laws of various nations, seems to have been designed as a pendant to Aristotle's Politics. Another allusion of his to the Jews is quoted by Eusebius, P.E. ix. 2, 404 a.
JOSEPHUS

δ’, ως ἂν εἴποι τις, ἐκ τῆς Ἐβραίων μεθερμηνευό-

μενος διαλέκτου δῶρον θεοῦ.

168 Καὶ μὴν οὗδε Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς ἡγνώ-

κευν ἡμῶν τὸ ἐθνὸς, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ τωδε φαίνεται 

μεμνημένος. περὶ γὰρ Κόλχων ἑστορῶν ἐν τῇ 

dευτέρα βίβλω φησὶν οὕτως: "μοῦνοι δὲ πάντων," 

φησὶ, "Κόλχοι καὶ Ἀἰγύπτιοι καὶ Αἰθίοπες περι-

tέμνονται ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς τὰ αἰδοῖα. Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ 

Σῦριοι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ καὶ οὕτως ὁμολογοῦσι 

169 παρ’ Ἀἰγύπτιοις μεμαθηκέναι. Σῦριοι δὲ οἱ περὶ 

Θερμώδοντα καὶ Παρθένων ποταμὸν καὶ Μά-

κρωνες οἱ τοῦτοι ἀστυγείτονες ὀντες ἀπὸ 

Κόλχων φασὶ νεωτὲρες μεμαθηκέναι. οὕτω γὰρ 

eἰσιν οἱ περιτεμνὸμενοι ἀνθρώπων μοῦνοι καὶ 

οὕτω Αἰγύπτιοις φαίνονται ποιοῦντες κατὰ ταῦτα. 

αὐτῶν δὲ Ἀἰγύπτιων καὶ Αἰθιόπων οὐκ ἐξω εἰπεῖν 

171 ὁπότεροι παρὰ τῶν ἐτέρων ἐξέµαθον." οὐκοῦν 

ἐἴρηκε Σῦρους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ περιτέµνε-

σθαι τῶν δὲ τῆς Παλαιστίνης κατοικούντων μόνοι 

τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν Ἰουδαίοι. τοῦτο ἀρὰ γιγνώσκων 

εἴρηκεν περὶ αὐτῶν.

172 Καὶ Χοιρίλος δὲ ἀρχαῖος ἑνὸμενος ποιητὴς 

μέμνηται τοῦ ἐθνοῦς ἡμῶν, ὅτι συνεστάτευται

1 om. pr.: οὔτε L.  

2 αὐτοὶ Herodotus.  

3 Eus., Lat.: ἀρχαῖότεροι L.

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ι Strictly “a gift,” as interpreted in Josephus, A. iv. 73, 

Mark vii. 11; of obligations to God in the sense of “tabooed,” 

and then apparently used of the oath which accompanied the 

vow. For corban as an oath cf. Matt. xxiii. 16 with J. 

Lightfoot’s note in Hor. Hebr.

2 Herod. ii. 104; a passage to which Josephus alludes in 

A. viii. 262.

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from the Hebrew, one may interpret it as meaning "God's gift." Nor, again, has our nation been ignored even by Herodotus of Halicarnassus, who has an evident, if not explicit, allusion to it. Speaking of the Colchians in his second book, he makes the following statement:

"The Colchians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians are the only nations with whom the practice of circumcision is primitive. The Phoenicians and the Syrians of Palestine admit that they learnt it from the Egyptians. The Syrians on the banks of the rivers Thermodon and Parthenius, and their neighbours the Macrones, say that they have adopted it recently from the Colchians. These are the only circumcised peoples in the world, and it is clear that they all imitate the Egyptians. Of the two nations of Egypt and Ethiopia, I cannot say which learnt the practice from the other."

Herodotus thus says that the Palestinian Syrians were circumcised; but the Jews are the only inhabitants of Palestine who adopt this practice. He must therefore have known this, and his allusion is to them.

Again, Choerilus, an ancient poet, mentions our race as taking part in the expedition of Xerxes, king of Persia.

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c If, as is probable, Herodotus refers to the Philistines, he was mistaken, as they were uncircumcised in Biblical times. Josephus is therefore justified in inferring that he alludes to the Jews.

d Rivers in Asia Minor.  
e In Pontus.

f Of Samos, a younger contemporary and friend of Herodotus. A few other fragments of his epic poem on the war of the Greeks and Persians are extant, e.g. in Strabo vii. 9. 303.
Josephus adopts an older identification of Solymi and its supposed derivative, Hierosolyma, with the Jews and Jerusalem, and equates the "broad lake" with the Dead Sea. His inference is more ingenious than sound. The people referred to in the above lines are doubtless the eastern Ethiopians. Choerilus takes over "the Solymian hills" from Homer, Od. v. 283 (where they are named immediately after the Ethiopians): he has also in mind the description of his friend Herodotus of the E. Ethiopians in his catalogue of Xerxes’ army (Herod. vii. 70). "These differed from the W. Ethiopians "only in their language and their hair.”
of Persia, against Greece. After enumerating all the other nations, he finally includes ours in these lines:

"Closely behind passed over a race of wonderful aspect;
Strangely upon their lips the tongue of Phoenicia sounded;
In the Solymian hills by a broad lake their habitation;
Shorn in a circle, unkempt was the hair on their heads, and above them
Proudly they wore their hides of horse-heads, dried in the hearth-smoke."

It is obvious, I imagine, to everybody that he is referring to us, because the Solymian hills are in our country and inhabited by us; there too is the so-called Bituminous Lake, which is broader and more extensive than all the lakes in Syria.\(^a\) Here then we have an allusion to us in Choerilus.

Not only did the Greeks know the Jews, but they admired any of their number whom they happened to meet. This statement applies not to the lowest class of Greeks, but to those with the highest reputation for wisdom, and can easily be proved. Clearchus, a disciple of Aristotle, and in the very first rank of peripatetic philosophers, relates, in his first

They had "straight hair," and "wore upon their heads the scalps of horses, with the ears and mane attached . . . the ears being made to stand upright" \((ibid.)\). They spoke Phoenician, because "the Phoenicians, according to their own account, originally dwelt by the Red Sea" \((ib.\ vii.\ 89)\)—the "broad lake" of the poet. The round tonsure was practised by the neighbouring Arabs \((ib.\ iii.\ 8)\), but was expressly forbidden to the Jews \((Lev.\ xix.\ 27;\ cf.\ Jer.\ ix.\ 26)\).
ΟΥΠΟΝ ΒΒΒΛΙΩΝ ΦΗΣΙΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΝ ΤΟΝ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΙΝΟΣ ΆΝΔΡΟΣ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟΥ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΙΣΤΟΡΕΙΝ, ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΕ ΤΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΕΙ ΠΕΡΙΤΙΘΕΙΤΙ έστι

177 ἰδέ οὐτῶς γεγραμμένοι: "ἈΛΛΑ ΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΜΑΚΡΟΝ ἂΝ ΕΙΤΗ ΛΕΓΕΙΝ, ΌΣΑ Δ' ΕΧΕΙ ΤῌΝ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΥ ΘΑΥΜΑΣΙΟΤΗΤΑ ΤΙΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΝ ὙΜΟΙΟΣ ΔΙΕΛΘΕΙΝ ΟΥ ΧΕΙΡΟΝ. ΣΑΦῶς Δ' ἩΣΙΘΙ, ΕΙΠΕΝ, 'ὙΠΕΡΟΧΙΔΗ, [ΘΑΥΜΑΣΤΟΝ] ὅΝΕΙΡΟΥ ἩΣΑ ΣΟΙ ΔΟΞΩ ΛΕΓΕΙΝ. ΚΑΙ Ο 'ὙΠΕΡΟΧΙΔΗΣ ΕΥΛΑΒΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ, ΔΙ' ΑΥΤΟ ΓΑΡ, ἝΦΗ, ΤΟΥΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΗΤΟΥ-

178 ΜΕΝ ἈΚΟΟΣΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ. ΟΥΚΟΙΝ, ΕΙΠΕΝ Ο 'ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ, ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΤΩΝ ΡΗΤΟΡΙΚΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΛΜΑ ΤΟ ΓΕΝΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΔΙΕΛΘΩΜΕΝ, ἩΝ ΜΗ ἈΠΕΙΘΩΜΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΑΓΓΕΛΛΩΝ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΙΣ. ΛΕΓΕ, ΕΙΠΕΝ Ο 'ὙΠΕ-

179 ΡΟΧΙΔΗΣ, ΟΥΤΩΣ ΕΙ' ΔΟΚΕΙ. ΚΑΚΕΙΝΟΙ ΤΟΙΝΝ ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΓΕΝΟΣ ΉΝ 'ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟΣ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΚΟΙΛΗΣ ΣΥΡΙΑΣ. ΟΥΤΟΙ Δ' ΕΙΣΙΝ ἈΠΟΓΟΝΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ 'ΙΝΔΟΙΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΙΝ, ΚΑΛΟΥΝ-

ΤΑΙ ΔΕ, ὩΣ ΦΑΣΙΝ, ΟΙ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΜΕΝ 'ΙΝΔΟΙΣ ΚΑΛΑΝΟΙ, ΠΑΡΑ ΔΕ ΣΥΡΟΙΣ 'ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟΙ, ΤΟΥΝΟΜΑ ΛΑ-

ΒΟΝΤΕΣ ἈΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΠΟΥΝ ΠΡΟΣΑΓΟΡΕΥΕΤΑΙ ΓΑΡ ὙΝ ΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΥΣΙ ΤΟΠΟΝ 'ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑ. ΤΟ ΔΕ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ὌΝΟΜΑ ΠΑΝΥ ΣΚΟΛΙΟΝ ΕΣΤΙΝ. 'ἩΡΟΥΣΑΛΗΜΗΝ 5

180 ΓΑΡ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΚΑΛΟΥΘΝ. ΟΥΤΟΣ ΟΥΝ Ο ΆΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ ΕΠΗ-

ΞΕΝΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΕ ΠΟΛΛΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΆΝΩ ΤΟΠΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ἘΠΙΘΑΛΑΤΤΙΟΥΣ ὝΠΟΚΑΤΑΒΑΙΝΩΝ 'ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΣ ΉΝ ΟΥ

181 ΤΗ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΩ ΜΟΝΟΝ, ἈΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΨΥΧΗ. ΚΑΙ ΤΟΤΕ

1 Gutschmid: παρατίθεις L, ἀνατίθησι Eus.
2 Om. Eus. cod.
3 Eus.: ἐπαγγελιῶν L.
4 οὕτως εἰ Eus., Lat.: εἰ τί σοι L.
5 Ἡροουσαλήμ Eus.: hierosolyma Lat.

4 Quoted also by Eus. P.E. ix. 5.

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book on Sleep, the following anecdote told of a certain Jew by his master. He puts the words into the mouth of Aristotle himself. I quote the text:

"'It would take too long to repeat the whole story, but there were features in that man's character, at once strangely marvellous and philosophical, which merit description. I warn you, Hyperochides,' he said, 'that what I am about to say will seem to you as wonderful as a dream.' Hyperochides respectfully replied, 'That is the very reason why we are all anxious to hear it.' 'Well,' said Aristotle, 'in accordance with the precepts of rhetoric, let us begin by describing his race, in order to keep to the rules of our masters in the art of narration.' 'Tell the story as you please,' said Hyperochides. 'Well,' he replied, 'the man was a Jew of Coele-Syria. These people are descended from the Indian philosophers. The philosophers, they say, are in India called Calani, in Syria by the territorial name of Jews; for the district which they inhabit is known as Judaea. Their city has a remarkably odd name: they call it Hierusaleme. Now this man, who was entertained by a large circle of friends and was on his way down from the interior to the coast, not only spoke Greek, but had the soul of a Greek.

b Clearchus in his work On Education traced the descent of the Indian gymnosophists from the Magi, and Diogenes Laertius (proem. 9), who is our authority, adds, "Some assert that the Jews also are descended from the Magi." Jews and Brahmans are also associated by Megasthenes (Clem. Strom. i. 15). I owe this note to Th. Reinach.

c Calanus was the name of a gymnosophist who followed Alexander the Great, and burnt himself to death in presence of his army (Plut. Alex. 65, etc.).
JOSEPHUS

διατριβόντων ἡμῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν παραβαλῶν εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους ἀνθρωπος ἑντυγχάνει ἡμῖν τε καὶ τιςν ἐτέρους τῶν σχολαστικῶν πειρώμενοι αὐτῶν τῆς σοφίας. ὡς δὲ πολλοὶς τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ

182 συνωφείωτοι, παρεδίδου τι μᾶλλον ὃν εἶχεν." ταῦτ' εἰρήκεν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης παρὰ τῷ Κλεάρχῳ καὶ προσέτι πολλὴν καὶ θαυμάσιον καρτερίαν τοῦ Ἰουδαίου ἀνδρὸς ἐν τῇ διαίτῃ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ διεξόμων. ἐνεστὶ δὲ τοῖς βουλομένους ἕξι αὐτὸς τὸ πλέον γνῶναι τοῦ βιβλίου φυλάττομαι γὰρ ἑγὼ τὰ πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν παρατίθεσθαι.

183 Κλεάρχος μὲν οὖν ἐν παρεκβάσει ταῦτ' εἰρήκεν, τὸ γὰρ προκείμενον ἣν αὐτῷ καθ' ἐτέρου, οὕτως ἡμῶν μνημονεύσαι. Ἐκαταῖος δὲ ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης, ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος ἁμα καὶ περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἱκανότατος, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ συνακμάσας καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Λάγου συγγενόμενος, οὐ παρέργγως, ἀλλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίων συγγέγραφε βιβλίον, εἴς οὖ βουλομαι κεφαλαιωδῶς ἐπιδραμεῖν ἐνα τῶν εἰρημένων. καὶ πρῶτον ἐπιδείξω τῶν χρόνων μνημονεύει γὰρ τῆς Πτολεμαίου περὶ Γάζαν πρὸς Δημήτριου μάχης, αὐτῇ δὲ γέγονεν ἐνδεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς, ἐπὶ δὲ ὀλυμπιάδος ἐβδόμης καὶ δεκάτης καὶ ἐκατοστῆς, ὡς ἱστορεῖ 185 Κάστωρ. προσθεὶς γὰρ ταῦτην τὴν ὀλυμπιάδα φησίν. "ἐπὶ ταῦτης Πτολεμαίος ὁ Λάγου ἐνίκα

1 ἀνθρωπος Eus. (-ov L).

2 προσθεὶς Cobet.

a At Atarneus, in Mysia, with his friend Hermias, c. 347–344 B.C.

b That Hecataeus (4th–3rd cent. B.C.) wrote on the Jews, whether a separate work or as part of his History of 236
AGAINST APION, I. 181–185

During my stay in Asia,\(^a\) he visited the same places as I did, and came to converse with me and some other scholars, to test our learning. But as one who had been intimate with many cultivated persons, it was rather he who imparted to us something of his own.'”

These are the words of Aristotle as reported by Clearchus, and he went on to speak of the great and astonishing endurance and sobriety displayed by this Jew in his manner of life. Further information can be obtained, if desired, from the book itself; I forbear to quote more than is necessary.

This allusion of Aristotle to us is mentioned parenthetically by Clearchus, who was dealing with another subject. Of a different nature is the evidence of Hecataeus of Abdera,\(^b\) at once a philosopher and a highly competent man of affairs, who rose to fame under King Alexander, and was afterwards associated with Ptolemy, son of Lagus. He makes no mere passing allusion to us, but wrote a book entirely about the Jews, from which I propose briefly to touch on some passages. I will begin with fixing his date. He mentions the battle near Gaza between Ptolemy and Demetrius, which, as Castor\(^c\) narrates, was fought eleven years after the death of Alexander, in the 117th Olympiad. For under the head of this Olympiad he says:

“In this period Ptolemy, son of Lagus, defeated Egypt, appears certain. But it is no less certain that apocryphal Jewish productions were fathered upon him. Recent critics (T. Reinaeh, J. G. Müller) regard the extracts which follow as genuine. All refer to the time of Alexander and the Diadochi and seem above suspicion.

\(^{c}\) Author of work on chronology, probably 2nd cent. B.C.

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κατὰ Γάζαν μάχη Δημήτριον τὸν Ἀντιγόνου τὸν ἑπικληθέντα Πολιορκητὴν." Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τεθνάναι πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος. δήλον οὖν ὅτι καὶ κατ' ἐκεῖνον καὶ κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον ἥκμαζεν ἡμῶν 186 τὸ ἔθνος. λέγει τοῖς ὦ Ἐκαταιὸς πάλιν τάδε, ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἐν Γάζῃ μάχῃ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐγένετο τῶν περὶ Συρίαν τόπων ἐγκρατῆς, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πυθανόμενοι τῇ ἡπιώτητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου συναπάρειν εἰς Αὐγούστον αὐτῷ καὶ κοινωνεῖν τῶν πραγμάτων ἠβουληθήσαν. 187 "ἀν εἰς ἥν," φησίν, "Ἐζεκίας ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἀνθρωπὸς τὴν μὲν ἡλικίαν ὡς ἐξήκοντα ἐξ ἐτῶν, τῷ δ' ἀξιώματι τῷ παρὰ τοῖς ὁμοθένους μέγας καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς οὐκ ἄνοητος, ἐτί δὲ καὶ λέγεω δυνατὸς καὶ τοῖς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, εἴπερ τις 188 ἄλλος, ἐμπειρὸς. καίτοι," φησίν, "οἱ πάντες ἔρεις τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ τῇ ἐκκατάρτῃ τῶν γενομένων λαμβάνοντες καὶ τά κοινά διουκοῦντες περὶ χιλίων 189 μάλιστα καὶ πεντακοσίους εἰσίν." πάλιν δὲ τοῦ προειρημένου μνημονεύων ἀνδρός "οὗτος," φησίν, "ὁ ἀνθρωπὸς τετευχὼς τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης καὶ συνήθης ἡμῖν γενόμενος, παραλαβὼν τινὰς τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τῆν [τε] διαφορὰν ἄνεγρω πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς· εἰκέν γὰρ τὴν κατοικησίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆν πολιτείαν 190 γεγραμμένην." εἶτα Ἐκαταιὸς δῆλοι πάλιν πῶς ἐχομεν πρὸς τοὺς νόμους, ὃτι πάντα πάσχειν ὑπὲρ

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*a ἀρχιερεὺς (without article) need not mean "the high-priest." Ezechias is not mentioned elsewhere: the high-priest at this epoch was apparently Onias (A. xi. 347). 238*
AGAINST APION, I. 185–190

in a battle at Gaza Demetrius, son of Antigonus, surnamed Poliorcetes."

And all agree that Alexander died in the 114th Olympiad. It is evident, therefore, that our race was flourishing both under Ptolemy and under Alexander.

Hecataeus goes on to say that after the battle of Gaza Ptolemy became master of Syria, and that many of the inhabitants, hearing of his kindliness and humanity, desired to accompany him to Egypt and to associate themselves with his realm.

"Among these (he says) was Ezechias, a chief priest of the Jews, a man of about sixty-six years of age, highly esteemed by his countrymen, intellectual, and moreover an able speaker and unsurpassed as a man of business. Yet (he adds) the total number of Jewish priests who receive a tithe of the revenue and administer public affairs is about fifteen hundred."

Reverting to Ezechias, he says:

"This man, after obtaining this honour and having been closely in touch with us, assembled some of his friends and read to them [a statement showing] all the advantages [of emigration]; for he had in writing the conditions attaching to their settlement and political status."

In another passage Hecataeus mentions our regard for our laws, and how we deliberately choose and

\[b\] The exact sense of the word κατηδί in § 188 and of "this honour" in § 189 (the high-priesthood or some special appointment awarded him by Ptolemy Soter?) is not clear: Josephus is probably condensing his authority.
τοῦ μὴ παραβῆναι τούτους προαιρούμεθα καὶ καλὸν 191 εἶναι νομίζομεν. "τοιγαροῦν," φησί, "καὶ κακῶς ἀκούοντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων καὶ τῶν εἰσαφθικουμένων πάντες καὶ προπηλακιζόμενοι πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῶν Περσικῶν βασιλέων καὶ σατραπῶν οὐ δύνανται μεταπεισθῆναι τῇ διανοίᾳ, ἀλλὰ γεγυμνωμένως περὶ τούτων καὶ αἰκίαις καὶ θανάτοις δεινοτάτοις μάλιστα πάντων ἀπαντῶσι, μὴ ἀρνοῦν-192 μενοί τὰ πατρῴα.2" παρέχεται δὲ καὶ τεκμήρια τῆς ἱσχυρογνωμοσύνης τῆς περὶ τῶν νόμων οὐκ ὀλίγα. φησὶ γάρ, Ἀλέξανδρον ποτὲ ἐν Βαβυλώνι γενομένου καὶ προελομένου τὸ τοῦ Βήλου πεπτωκος ῥεον ἀνακαθάραι καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς τοῖς στρατιώταις ὁμοίως φέρειν τῶν χούν προστάξαντος, μόνον δὲ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οὐ προσσχεῖν, 3 ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάς υπομείναι πληγᾶς καὶ ζημίας ἀποτίσαι μεγάλας, ἐώς αὐτοῖς συγγνώμνα τὸν βασιλέα δοῦναι 193 τὴν ἀδειαν. ἔτι4 γε μὴν τῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν, φησί, πρὸς αὐτούς ἀφίκουμενοι νεώς καὶ βωμοὺς κατασκευασάντων ἀπαντὰ ταῦτα κατέσκαπτον, καὶ τῶν μὲν ζημίαν τοῖς στρατάπαισι εξέτινω, περὶ τῶν δὲ καὶ συγγνώμης μετελάμβανον καὶ προσεπτίθησιν ότι δίκαιον ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ θαυμάζειν. 194 λέγει δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ πολυανθρωπότατον γεγονόντα ἡμῶν τὸ ἔθνος: πολλὰς μὲν γὰρ ἡμῶν,5 φησίν, ἀνασπάστους εἰς Βαβυλώνα Πέρσαι πρότερον [ἂν] ἐποίησαν μυριάδας, οὐκ ὀλίγαι δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον θάνατον εἰς Λύγυπτον καὶ

1 πάντων εἰς, μῦ.
2 πάτρια Niese.
3 Bekker: προσχεῖν L.
4 Niese: ἐπεὶ (sic) L.
5 Josephus is paraphrasing; hence no need to reject (Niese) or to emend to αὐτῶν (Bekker).
6 Om. Lat., Bekker.

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AGAINST APION, I. 190–194

hold it a point of honour to endure anything rather
than transgress them.

“And so (he says), neither the slander of their
neighbours and of foreign visitors, to which as a
nation they are exposed, nor the frequent outrages
of Persian kings and satraps can shake their deter-
mination; for these laws, naked and defenceless,
they face tortures and death in its most terrible
form, rather than repudiate the faith of their
forefathers.”

Of this obstinacy in defence of their laws he
furnishes several instances. He tells how on one
occasion Alexander, when he was at Babylon and had
undertaken to restore the ruined temple of Bel, gave
orders to all his soldiers, without distinction, to
bring materials for the earthworks; and how the
Jews alone refused to obey, and even submitted to
severe chastisement and heavy fines, until the king
pardoned them and exempted them from this task.
Again, when temples and altars were erected in
the country by its invaders, the Jews razed them all to
the ground, paying in some cases a fine to the satraps,
and in others obtaining pardon. For such conduct,
he adds, they deserve admiration. Then he goes
on to speak of our vast population, stating that,
though many myriads of our race had already been
deported to Babylon by the Persians, yet after
Alexander's death myriads more migrated to Egypt

\[a\] This enterprise is attested by Arrian, Exped. Alex. vii.
17, and Strabo, xvi. 1. 5, 738. I owe these references to
Reinach.

\[b\] A mistake of Hecataeus for the Chaldaeans; a Jewish
forger (as the writer here quoted is suspected of being) would
not have been guilty of such a confusion.
195 Ἰούδαίην μετέστησαν διὰ τὴν ἐν Συρίᾳ στάσιν. οὔτε αὐτὸς ὅτε ἀνήρ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς χώρας ἦν κατοικοῦμεν καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἑστώρηκεν: "τριακοσίας γὰρ μυριάδας ἀρουρῶν σχεδὸν τῆς ἀρίστης καὶ παμφορωτάτης χώρας νέμονται," φησίν: "ἡ γὰρ Ἰούδαία ποσαῦτη πλάτος1 ἔστιν." ἀλλὰ μὴν ὃτι καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καλλίστην τε καὶ μεγίστην ἐκ παλαιστάτων κατοικοῦμεν καὶ περὶ πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ νεὼ κατασκευῆς 196 οὖτως αὐτὸς2 διηγεῖται: "ἔστι γὰρ τῶν Ἰούδαίων τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ὀχυρώματα κατὰ τὴν χώραν καὶ κώμαι, μία δὲ πόλις ὀχυρὰ πεντήκοντα μάλιστα σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον, ἦν οἰκοῦσι μὲν ἀνθρώπων περὶ δώδεκα μυριάδες, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν Ἱεροσό- 197 λυμα. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἔστι κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα τῆς πόλεως περίβολος λίθων, μῆκος ὡς πεντάπλεθρος, εὔρος δὲ πηχῶν ρ', ἔχων διπλὰς πύλας. ἐν ὦ βωμὸς ἐστὶ τετράγωνος ἀτμήτων συλλέκτων ἀργῶν λίθων οὕτω συγκείμενος, πλευράν μὲν ἐκάστην εἵκοσι πηχῶν, ύψος δὲ δεκάπηχυ. καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν οἰκήμα μέγα, ὁβ βωμὸς ἐστὶ καὶ λυχνίον, ἀμφότερα χρυσᾶ 198 δύο τάλαντα τὴν ὀλκῆν. ἐπὶ τούτων φῶς ἐστὶν ἀναπόσβεστον καὶ τὰς νύκτας καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας.

1 Hudson: πλῆθος L.
2 ὁ αὐτὸς (after Lat.) Bekker.

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a See § 86, note.
b Galilee alone had 204 cities and villages in the time of Josephus (Vita, 235).
c The stade was a little longer than our furlong. 50 stades is an exaggeration. Other estimates are 40 stades (Timochares ap. Eus. P.E. ix. 35, Aristeas, 105); 33 (Josephus, B. v. 159); 27 ("the land surveyor of Syria," ap. Eus. ib. 36, 242
and Phoenicia in consequence of the disturbed condition of Syria.

The same writer has referred to the extent and beauty of the country which we inhabit in the following words:

"They occupy almost three million *arourae* of the most excellent and fertile soil, productive of every variety of fruits. Such is the extent of Judaea."

Again, here is his description of Jerusalem itself, the city which we have inhabited from remote ages, of its great beauty and extent, its numerous population, and the temple buildings:

"The Jews have many fortresses and villages in different parts of the country, but only one fortified city, which has a circumference of about fifty *stades* and some hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants; they call it Jerusalem. Nearly in the centre of the city stands a stone wall, enclosing an area about five *plethra* long and a hundred cubits broad, approached by a pair of gates. Within this enclosure is a square altar, built of heaped up stones, unhewn and unwrought; each side is twenty cubits long and the height ten cubits. Beside it stands a great edifice, containing an altar and a lampstand, both made of gold, and weighing two talents; upon these is a light which is never extinguished by night or day. There is whose figure for the 2nd cent. B.C. is probably nearest the mark)."

*a* "Hierosolyma."

*e* The *plethron* was 100 Greek (about 98 English) feet.

*f* Another exaggeration apparently; 60 cubits was the breadth prescribed by Cyrus (Ezra vi. 3).
ἀγαλμα δ’ οὐκ ἐστιν οὐδ’ ἀνάθημα τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲ φύτευμα παντελῶς οὐδὲν, οἷον ἀλσώδες ἢ τι τοιοῦτον. διατρίβουσι δ’ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς νύκτας καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ιερείς ἀγνείας τινὰς ἀγνεύοντες καὶ τὸ 200 παράπαν οὐν οὐ πίνοντες ἐν τῷ ιερῷ.’’ ἔτι γε μὴν ὅτι καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ βασιλείς συνεστρατεύσαντο καὶ μετὰ ταύτα τοῖς διαδόχοις αὐτοῦ μεμαρτύρηκεν οἷς δ’ αὐτὸς παρατυχεῖ θηον ὑπ’ ἄνδρος Ἰουναίου κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν γενομένους, τοῦτο2 παραθήκοι-201 μαί. λέγει δ’ οὖν: “ἔμοι γοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρυ-θράν θάλασσαν βαδίζοντος συνηκολούθει τις μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παραπεμπόντων ἡμᾶς ἐπέειν Ἰουναίων3 ὅνομα Μοσόλλαμος, ἀνθρώπος ἰκανὸς κατὰ ψυχὴν, εὐρωστὸς καὶ τοξότης4 δὴ πάντων ὁμολογομένως5 καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρ-202 βάρων ἀριστος. οὖν οὐν ὁ ἀνθρώπος διαβαδι-ζοντων πολλῶν κατὰ τὴν ὄδον καὶ μάντεως τινος ὀρνιθευμένου καὶ πάντως ἐπισχέων ᾠδεύοντος ἡρώ-203 της, διὰ τι προσμένουσι. δειξαντος δὲ τοῦ μάν-τεως αὐτῷ τὸν ὀρνιθα καὶ φησαίτος, ἐὰν μὲν αὐτῷ μένῃ προσμένεις συμφέρειν πᾶσιν, ἐὰν δ’ ἀναστὰς εἰς τούμπροσθεῖν πέτηται προάγειν, ἐὰν δ’ εἰς τοῦ- πισθεῖν ἀναχωρεῖν αὕτης, σωπήσας καὶ παρελκύσας τὸ τόξον ἐβαλε καὶ τὸν ὀρνιθα πατάξας ἀπέκτεινεν. 204 ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τοῦ μάντεως καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων καὶ καταρωμένων αὐτῷ, “τὶ μαίνεσθε,” ἐφη, “κακοδαίμονες;” εἰτα τὸν ὀρνιθα λαβὼν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας, “πῶς γάρ,” ἐφη, “οὔτος τὴν αὐτοῦ σωτη-
not a single statue or votive offering, no trace of a plant, in the form of a sacred grove or the like. Here priests pass their nights and days performing certain rites of purification, and abstaining altogether from wine while in the temple.”

The author further attests the share which the Jews took in the campaigns both of King Alexander and of his successors. One incident on the march, in which a Jewish soldier was concerned, he states that he witnessed himself. I will give the story in his own words:

“When I was on the march towards the Red Sea, among the escort of Jewish cavalry which accompanied us was one named Mosollamus,\(^b\) a very intelligent man, robust, and, by common consent, the very best of bowmen, whether Greek or barbarian. This man, observing that a number of men were going to and fro on the route and that the whole force was being held up by a seer who was taking the auspices, inquired why they were halting. The seer pointed out to him the bird he was observing, and told him that if it stayed in that spot it was expedient for them all to halt; if it stirred and flew forward, to advance; if backward, then to retire. The Jew, without saying a word, drew his bow, shot and struck the bird, and killed it. The seer and some others were indignant, and heaped curses upon him. ‘Why so mad, you poor wretches?’ he retorted; and then, taking the bird in his hands, continued, ‘Pray, how could any sound information about our

\(^a\) Lev. x. 9; Ezek. xliv. 21; cf. \(A\)p. ii. 108.

\(^b\) Hellenized form of Meshullam (Ezra viii. 16).
JOSEPHUS

205 Ἄλλα τῶν μὲν Ἐκαταίον μαρτυριῶν ἄλισ· τοῖς γὰρ βουλομένους πλεῖον μαθεῖν τῷ βιβλίῳ ράδιον ἔστιν ἐνυχεῖν. οὐκ οἰκυνήσω δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπ' εὐθείας διασυνωμῷ, καθάπερ αὐτὸς οἴεται, μνήμην

206 πεποιημένον ἡμῶν Ἀγαθαρχίδην ὑνομᾶσαι. διηγούμενος γὰρ τὰ περὶ Στρατονίκην, δὲν τρόπον ἠλθεν μὲν εἰς Συρίαν ἕκ Μακεδονίας καταληψάσα τὸν ἐαυτῆς ἄνδρα Δημήτριον, Σελεύκου δὲ γαμεῖν αὐτήν οὐθελήσαντος, ὅπερ ἐκείνη προσεδόκησεν, ποιομένου [δὲ]¹ τὴν ἀπὸ Βαβυλὼνος στρατείαν αὐτοῦ,

207 τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἀνεωτέρισεν· εἰθ᾽ ὡς ἀνέστρεψεν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἀλυσκομένης τῆς Ἀντιόχειας, εἰς Σελεύκειαν φυγοῦσα, παρὸν αὐτῆς ἁχέως ἀποπλεῖν, ἐνυπνίῳ κωλύσας, διεκαίρη τοὺς πεισθείσας ἐλήφθη καὶ

208 ἀπέθανεν· ταῦτα προειπόν ὁ Ἀγαθαρχίδης καὶ ἐπισκόπων τῇ Στρατονίκῃ τὴν δευτεραμονίαν παραδείγματι χρῆται τῷ περὶ ἡμῶν λόγῳ καὶ

209 γέγραφεν οὕτως. "οἱ καλομένοι Ἰουδαῖοι πόλει οἱκουντες ἀρχωτάτην πασῶν, ἥν καλεῖν Ἰεροσόλυμα συμβαίνει τοὺς ἐγχωρίους, ἀργεῖν εἰθυσμένοι δι᾽ ἐβδόμης ἡμέρας καὶ μήτε² τὰ ὀπλα βαστάζειν

¹ Om. Lat. ² Bekker: μηδὲ L.

— Of Cnidos, 2nd cent. B.C., author of many historical and geographical works, in particular one on the Erythraean (Red) Sea.

— Stratonice, daughter of Antiochus I (Soter), was married to Demetrius II of Macedonia. When Demetrius contracted

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march be given by this creature, which could not provide for its own safety? Had it been gifted with divination, it would not have come to this spot, for fear of being killed by an arrow of Mosollamus the Jew.’”

But I have given enough evidence from Hecataeus; any who care to pursue the subject can easily peruse his book. There is another writer whom I shall name without hesitation, although he mentions us only to ridicule our folly, as he regards it—I mean Agatharcides.\(^a\) He is telling the story of Stratonice,\(^b\) how she deserted her husband Demetrius and came from Macedonia to Syria, and how, when Seleucus disappointed her by refusing to marry her, she created a revolution at Antioch while he was starting on a campaign from Babylon; and then how, after the king’s return and the capture of Antioch, she fled to Seleucia,\(^c\) and instead of taking sail immediately, as she might have done, let herself be stopped by a dream, was captured and put to death. After telling this story and deriding the superstition of Stratonice, Agatharcides quotes in illustration a tale told about us. The following are his words: \(^d\)

“The people known as Jews, who inhabit the most strongly fortified of cities, called by the natives Jerusalem,\(^e\) have a custom of abstaining from work every seventh day; on those occasions

a second marriage, about 239 B.C., she fled for aid to her nephew, Seleucus II (Callinicus). A slightly different account in Justin, xxviii. 1.

\(^a\) Quoted in a condensed form in A. xii. 6.

\(^b\) "Hierosolyma."
JOSEPHUS

έν τοῖς εἰρημένοις χρόνοις μήτε γεωργίας ἀπεσθαί μήτε ἄλλης ἐπιμελείσθαι λειτουργίας μηδεμίας, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐκτετακότες τὰς χεῖρας εὐχεσθαι
210 μέχρι τῆς ἐσσέρας, εἰσιόντος εἰς τὴν πόλιν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀντὶ τοῦ φυλάττειν τὴν πόλιν διατηροῦντων τὴν ἀνοιαν, ἢ μὲν πατρίς εἰλήφει δεσπότην πικρόν, ὁ δὲ νόμος ἐξηλέγχθη φαύλον ἔχων ἔθισμόν.
211 τὸ δὲ συμβαίνειν πλὴν ἐκείνων τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὀδίδαχε τὴν καταφύγειν εἰς ἐνύπνια καὶ τὴν περί τοῦ νόμου παραδεδομένην ὑπόνοιαν, ἡνίκα ἢν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις λογισμὸι περὶ τῶν διαπορο-
212 μένων ἐξασθενήσωσιν." τούτῳ μὲν Ἄγαθαρχίδη καταγέλωτος ἄξιον δοκεῖ, τοῖς δὲ μὴ μετὰ δυσμενεῖας ἐξετάζουσι φαίνεται μέγα καὶ πολλῶν ἄξιον ἐγκωμίων, εἰ καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ πατρίδος ἀνθρωποὶ τινες νόμων φυλακῆν καὶ τὴν πρὸς θεῶν εὐσεβείαν ἀεὶ προτιμῶσιν.

213 (23) ὁτι δε οὐκ ἀνυσούντες ἐνιοὶ τῶν συγγραφέων τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ φθόνου τινὸς ἢ δ᾽ ἄλλας αἰτίας οὐχ ύπερεῖ τὴν μνήμην παρέλιπον, τεκμηρίων οἴμαι παρέχειν. Ἡρώνυμος γὰρ ὁ τὴν περὶ τῶν διαδόχων ἱστορίας συγγεγραφῶς κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν μὲν ἢν Ἔκαταίων χρόνον, φίλος δ᾽ ὁν Ὁντιγόνου
214 τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν Συρίαν ἐπετρόπευεν. ἀλλ᾽ ὡμοὶ Ἔκαταίως μὲν καὶ βιβλιών ἐγγραφὲ περὶ ἡμῶν, Ἡρώνυμος δ᾽ οὐδαμοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐμνη-

1 eis L Lat.: om. Grotius, the sense then being "to avoid dreams . . . when . . .”

2 Date unknown. Appian refers to the reduction of Jerusalem by Ptolemy I (Syr. 50).
3 οf Cardia in the Thracian Chersonese, c. 360-265; his
they neither bear arms nor take any agricultural operations in hand, nor engage in any other form of public service, but pray with outstretched hands in the temples until the evening. Consequently, because the inhabitants, instead of protecting their city, persevered in their folly, Ptolemy, son of Lagus, was allowed to enter with his army; the country was thus given over to a cruel master, and the defect of a practice enjoined by law was exposed. That experience has taught the whole world, except that nation, the lesson not to resort to dreams and traditional fancies about the law, until its difficulties are such as to baffle human reason.”

Agatharcides finds such conduct ridiculous; dispassionate critics will consider it a grand and highly meritorious fact that there are men who consistently care more for the observance of their laws and for their religion than for their own lives and their country’s fate.

(23) That the omission of some historians to mention our nation was due, not to ignorance, but to envy or some other disingenuous reason, I think I am in a position to prove. Hieronymus, who wrote the history of Alexander’s successors, was a contemporary of Hecataeus, and, owing to his friendship with King Antigonus, became governor of Syria. Yet, whereas Hecataeus devoted a whole book to us, Hieronymus, although he had lived almost within

history of the Diadochi from the death of Alexander to that of Pyrrhus was a leading authority on that period. His Syrian appointment is not mentioned elsewhere.

Surnamed the One-eyed, c. 381-301 B.C., general of Alexander and after his death monarch of Asia.
βούζωμεν εὐγνωμον ἑπεσκότησεν. ἀρκοῦσι δ’ ὅμως εἰς τήν ἀπόδειξιν τής ἀρχαιότητος αἱ τε Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Χαλδαίων καὶ Φουίκων ἀναγραφαί πρὸς ἑκείνας τε τοσοῦτοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφεῖς.

216 ἐς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς εἰρημένους Θεόφιλος καὶ Θεόδωτος καὶ Μνασέας καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης καὶ Ἐρμογένης, Ἐνήμερός τε καὶ Κόνων καὶ Ζωπυρίων καὶ πολλοὶ τινες ἄλλοι τάχα, οὐ γάρ ἐγγυε πάσων ἑντεῦχηκα τοῖς βιβλίοις, οὐ παρέργους ἡμῶν.

217 ἐμνημονεύσασιν. οὶ πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀνδρῶν τῆς μὲν ἀληθείας τῶν εἰ ἀρχῆς πραγμάτων διήματον, ὅτι μὴ ταῖς ἑραῖς ἡμῶν βιβλίοις ἑντεῦχον, κοινῶς μέντοι περὶ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἀπαντεῖς με-

218 μαρτυρήσασιν, ὑπὲρ ἣς τὰ νῦν λέγειν προεθέμην. ὁ μέντοι Φαληρεύς Δημήτριος καὶ Φίλων ὁ πρεσβύτερος καὶ Εὐπόλεμος οὐ πολὺ τῆς ἀληθείας διήματον. οἰς συγγυγνώσκειν ἄξιον· οὐ γάρ ἐνὴν αὐτοῖς μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας τοῖς ἡμετέροις γράμμασι παρακολούθειν.

219 (24) Ἔν ἐς μοι κεφαλαίον ὑπολείπεται τῶν κατὰ τήν ἀρχὴν προτεθέντων τοῦ λόγου, τὰς διαβολὰς καὶ

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*a* Josephus perhaps owes his knowledge of these names to second-hand information, whether written (Alexander Polyhistor or Nicolas of Damascus), or orally supplied by literary friends in Rome. Reinach thinks they are all derived from Alexander Polyhistor. This is probable in the case of the two first named. Theodotus (if the author of a hexameter poem on Sichem and the story of Dinah is meant)
AGAINST APION, I. 214-219

our borders, has nowhere mentioned us in his history. So widely different were the views of these two men. One thought us deserving of serious notice; the eyes of the other, through an ill-natured disposition, were totally blind to the truth. However, our antiquity is sufficiently established by the Egyptian, Chaldaean, and Phoenician records, not to mention the numerous Greek historians. In addition to those already cited, Theophilus, Theodotus, Mnaseas, Aristophanes, Hermogenes, Euhemerus, Conon, Zopyrion, and, may be, many more—for my reading has not been exhaustive—have made more than a passing allusion to us. The majority of these authors have misrepresented the facts of our primitive history, because they have not read our sacred books; but all concur in testifying to our antiquity, and that is the point with which I am at present concerned. Demetrius Phalereus, the elder Philo, and Eupolemus are exceptional in their approximation to the truth, and [their errors] may be excused on the ground of their inability to follow quite accurately the meaning of our records.

(24) I have still to deal with one of the topics proposed at the beginning of this work, namely, to was probably a Samaritan. Mnaseas is mentioned again in Ap. ii. 112 and A. i. 94. Aristophanes may be the famous Alexandrian librarian. Euhemerus is celebrated for his rationalistic explanation of Greek mythology.

\[\text{Further Greek witnesses.}\]

\[c. 345-283 \text{ B.C.}; \text{an Attic orator and afterwards librarian at Alexandria under Ptolemy I, credited by pseudo-Aristeas and Josephus (Ap. ii. 46) with having been instrumental in obtaining a Greek version of the Pentateuch. But he is here probably confused with another Demetrius, a Jewish historian.}\]

\[\text{Jewish writers on Biblical subjects of the second cent. B.C.; "the elder Philo" an epic poet, Eupolemus a historian.}\]

\[\text{§§ 4 f.}\]

251
220 ταύτας καθ’ έαυτών χρήσασθαι μάρτυσιν. ὦτι μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐτέρως τούτῳ πολλοῖς συμβέβηκε διὰ τὴν ἐνίων δυσμένειαν, οἴμαι γιγνώσκειν τοὺς πλέον ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἐντυγχάνοντας. καὶ γὰρ ἑθνῶν τινὲς καὶ τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων πόλεων ῥυπαίνειν τὴν εὐγένειαν καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἐπεχείρησαν λοιδορεῖν,

221 Θεόπομπος μὲν τὴν Ἀθηναίων, τὴν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων Πολυκράτης, ὦ δὲ τὸν Τριπολιτικὸν γράψας, οὐ γὰρ ὄτι Θεόπομπος ἔστιν ὡς οἴονταί τινες, καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων πόλιν προσέδακεν, ἡν ἐκκλήσεσθαι νομίζοντες, παρὰ μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἄνωτος ταύτης οὐ διαμαρτάνοισι τῆς ἐλπίδος, οἱ δὲ ψυχαίνοντες τῇ κρίσει πολλὴν αὐτῶν μοχθηρίαν καταδικάζουσι.


223 (25) Τῶν δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς βλασφημοῦν ἢρξαντο μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι: βουλόμενοι δὲ ἑκείνους τινὲς χαρίζεσθαι παρατρέπειν ἐπεχείρησαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὕτε τὴν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἄφιεσίν ὡς ἐγένετο τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων ὁμολογοῦντες, οὕτε τὴν ἐξοδον ἄλη-

224 θεύνοντες. αἰτίας δὲ πολλὰς ἐλαβον τοῦ μισείν

1 So. with Naber, I conjecture, from the Lat. *momordit* : προσέλαβεν L.

2 Dind.: κενολογείν L.

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*a* Of Chios, c. 378-300, pupil of Isocrates and an acrimonious historian.

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expose the fictitious nature of the accusations and aspersions cast by certain persons upon our nation, and to convict the authors of them out of their own mouths. That many others have, through the animosity of individuals, met with the same fate, is a fact of which, I imagine, all habitual readers of history are aware. Various authors have attempted to sully the reputation of nations and of the most illustrious cities, and to revile their forms of government. Theopompus attacked Athens, Polycrates Lacedaemon; the author of the Tripoliticus (who was certainly not, as some suppose, Theopompus) included Thebes in his strictures; Timaeus in his histories freely abused these and other states besides. These critics are most virulent in their attacks on persons of the highest celebrity, some out of envy and spite, others in the belief that the novelty of their language will procure them notoriety. In this expectation they find fools who do not disappoint them; by men of sound judgement their depravity is severely condemned.

(25) The libels upon us originated with the Egyptians. To gratify them, certain authors undertook to distort the facts; they misrepresented the circumstances of the entry of our ancestors into Egypt, and gave an equally false account of their departure. The Egyptians had many reasons for

His Laconica is mentioned by Athenaeus iv. 139 d; doubtfully identified with a fourth-century Athenian sophist.

The “Three states book,” also called the “Three-headed book” (Τρικάρανος), a pamphlet attacking Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, put out in the name of Theopompus by his enemy Anaximenes of Lampsacus, who so successfully imitated the style of Theopompus as to bring the latter into universal odium (Pausan. vi. 18. 3).

Nicknamed Ἐπιτίμανος, “fault-finder”; cf. § 16 note.
καὶ φθονεῖν, τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὃτι κατὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐδυνάστευσαν ἡμῶν οἱ προγονοὶ κάκειθεν ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν πάλιν εὐδαιμόνησαν. εἴθε τούτων ὑπεναντιώτης πολλῆς αὐτοῖς ἐνεποίησεν ἔχθραν, τοσοῦτον τῆς ἁμητέρας διαφεροῦν· σης εὐσβείας πρὸς τὴν ὑπὸ ἕκεινων νεομιμενήν, 225 ὁσον θεοῦ φύσις ζῶνων ἀλόγων διέστηκε. κατὸν μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἔστι πάτριον τὸ ταῦτα θεοὺς νομίζειν, ἰδία δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς αὐτῶν διαφέρονται. κούφοι δὲ καὶ ἀνόητοι παντάπασιν ἀνθρώποι, κακῶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰθυμένου δοξάζειν περὶ θεῶν, μιμήσασθαι μὲν τὴν σεμνότητα τῆς ἁμητέρας θεολογίας οὐκ ἔχωρησαν, ὀρῶντες δὲ ξηλουμένους 226 ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐφθὸνησαν. εἰς τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἥλθον ἀνοίας καὶ μικροψυχίας ἐνοι τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς, ὡστ᾽ οὐδὲ ταῖς ἀρχαῖαις αὐτῶν ἀναγραφαῖς ὤκνησαν ἐναντία λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐναντία γράφοντες ὑπὸ τυφλότητος τοῦ πάθους ἠγνώσαν.

227 (26) Ἔφ᾽ ἐνὸς δὲ πρώτου στῆσυ τοῦ λόγου, ὃ καὶ μάρτυρι μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεθὲν τῆς ἁρχαιότητος ἐχρησάμην. ὁ γὰρ Μανέθως οὗτος, ὁ τὴν Αἰγυπτιακὴν ἱστορίαν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων μεθερμηνεύσας ὑπεσχήμενος, προειπὼν τοὺς ἁμητέρους προγόνους πολλαῖς μυριάσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων ἔθνος κρατήσας τῶν ἐνοικούντων, εἰτ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὀμολογῶν χρόνω πάλιν ύστερον ἐκπεσόντας τὴν νῦν Ἰουδαίαν κατασχεῖν καὶ κτίσαντας Ἰεροσόλυμα τῶν νεῶν κατασκευάσασθαι, μέχρι μὲν τούτων ἠκολού-

1 τούτων L Lat.: τῶν ἱερῶν Spanheim.

a i.e. in the time of the patriarch Joseph. Josephus ζ54
AGAINST APION, I. 224–228

their hatred and envy. There was the original grievance of the domination of our ancestors over their country, and their renewed prosperity when they had left it and returned to their own land. Again, the profound contrast between the two cults created bitter animosity, since our religion is as far removed from that which is in vogue among them as is the nature of God from that of irrational beasts. For it is their national custom to regard animals as gods, and this custom is universal, although there are local differences in the honours paid to them. These frivolous and utterly senseless specimens of humanity, accustomed from the first to erroneous ideas about the gods, were incapable of imitating the solemnity of our theology, and the sight of our numerous admirers filled them with envy. Some of them carried their folly and narrow-mindedness so far that they did not hesitate to contradict their ancient chronicles, nay, in the blindness of their passion, they failed to perceive that in what they wrote they actually contradicted themselves.

(26) The first writer, on whom I propose to dwell at some length, is one whose evidence has already served me a little way back to prove our antiquity— I mean Manetho. This author, having promised to translate the history of Egypt from the sacred books, begins by stating that our ancestors entered Egypt in their myriads and subdued the inhabitants, and goes on to admit that they were afterwards driven out of the country, occupied what is now Judaea, founded Jerusalem, and built the temple. So far apparently identifies the Hycos with the ancestors of the Jews (§ 103).

b Or "nations."

c Cf. e.g. Juvenal, Sat. xv., and Ap. ii. 65 below.

d § 73.
229 θησε ταίς ἀναγραφαῖς. ἔπειτα δὲ δοὺς ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ φάναι γράψειν τὰ μυθενόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων λόγους ἀπιθάνους παρενέβαλεν, ἀναμέται βουλόμενος ἢμῖν πλήθος Αἰγυπτίων λεπρῶν καὶ ἔπι ἄλλοις ἀρρωστῆμασιν, ὡς φησι, φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καταγωγοθέντων.

230 Ἀμένωφιν γὰρ βασιλέα προσθείς, ψευδές ὄνομα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρόνον αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ὁρίσαι μὴ τολμήσας, καὶ τοιοῦ γε ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων ἀκριβῶς τὰ ἐπὶ προστηθείς, τούτω προσάπτει τινὰς μυθολογίας, ἐπιλαθόμενος σχεδόν ὅτι πεντακοσίοις ἑτείς καὶ δεκακότω πρότερον ἱστόρηκε γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν ποιμένων ἑξοδον εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα.

231 Τέθησις γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία ὡς ἑξῆσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦτο τῶν μεταξὺ βασιλέων κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τρικόσια ἑνενήκοντα τρία ἐτη μέχρι τῶν δύο ἀδελφῶν Σέθω καὶ Ἑρμαίου, ὡς τὸν μὲν Σέθων Αἰγύπτου, τὸν δὲ Ἑρμαίου Δαναὸν μετονομασθήναι φησιν, διὸ ἐκβαλὼν ὁ Σέθως ἔβασιλευσεν ἐτη νῆ’ καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν ὁ προσβύτερος τῶν νῦν αὐτοῦ 'Ῥάμψης ξές'. τοσοῦτοι οὖν πρότερον ἑτείς ἀπελθεῖν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοὺς πατέρας ἥμων ὁμολογηκῶς ἐίτα τὸν 'Ἀμένωφιν εἰσποιήσας ἐμβόλιμον

1 τούτων τῶν μεταξύ (after Lat.) Niese: τούτων μεταξὺ τῶν L.

a Cf. "the boil of Egypt" (perhaps elephantiasis), Deut. xxviii. 27.

b Lit. "adding."

c Josephus's criticism is unreasonable. Manetho clearly distinguished between two expulsions from Egypt: (1) that of the Hycsos who founded Jerusalem (§ 85-90); (2) that of the lepers, etc., under Osarsiph (= Moses) who, with the descendants of the Hycsos, returned and overran the country 256
he followed the chronicles; but at this point, under the pretext of recording fables and current reports about the Jews, he took the liberty of introducing some incredible tales, wishing to represent us as mixed up with a crowd of Egyptian lepers and others, who for various maladies<sup>d</sup> were condemned, as he asserts, to banishment from the country. Inventing<sup>b</sup> a king named Amenophis, an imaginary person, the date of whose reign he consequently did not venture to fix (although he adds the exact years of the other kings whom he mentions), he attaches to him certain legends, having presumably forgotten that he has already stated that the departure of the shepherds for Jerusalem took place 518 years previously.<sup>c</sup> For it was in the reign of Tethmosis<sup>d</sup> that they left, and, according to Manetho, the succeeding reigns covered a period of 393 years<sup>e</sup> down to the two brothers, Sethos and Hermaeus,<sup>f</sup> the former of whom, he says, took the name of Aegyptus and the latter that of Danaus.<sup>g</sup> Sethos, after expelling Hermaeus, reigned fifty-nine years, and his eldest son Rampses, who succeeded him, sixty-six. Thus after admitting that all those years had elapsed since our forefathers left Egypt, he now interpolates this fictitious Amenophis.

(§ 232-250). The identification of the Amenophis under whom the second expulsion took place is doubtful, but Josephus is not justified in calling him "an imaginary person." Manetho has already mentioned three kings of that name (§ 95-97). Josephus, notwithstanding his criticism, clearly, by his calculation of an interval of 518 years (= 393 + 59 + 66, § 231 f.), identified him with a later Amenophis IV. This, according to most commentators, was also the identification of Manetho. Reinaçh, however, gives reasons to show that Manetho identified him with Amenophis III (§ 97).

<sup>d</sup> § 94; = Thoummosis, § 88. 
<sup>e</sup> Cf. § 103. 
<sup>f</sup> Called Harmais §§ 98 ff. 
<sup>g</sup> § 102.
βασιλεά φησι τούτων ἐπιθυμήσαι θεών γενέσθαι θεατήν, ὡσπερ Ὄρι εἰς τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βεβασιλευκότων, ἀνενεχάειν δὲ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ὁμονύμω μὲν αὐτῷ Ὄμενώφει, πατρός δὲ Παάτιος· ὃντι, θείας δὲ δοκοῦντι μετεσχηκέναι φύσεως κατὰ τε 233 σοφίαν καὶ πρόγνωσιν τῶν ἐσομένων. εἰπεὶν οὖν αὐτῷ τούτων τῶν ὁμώνυμων ὅτι δυνῆσται θεοὺς ἱδεῖν, εἰ καθαρὰν ἀπὸ τὸ λεπτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μιαρῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν χώραν ἀπασάν ποιήσειν.

234 ἤσθεντα δὲ τὸν βασιλέα πάντας τοὺς τὰ σώματα λελωβημένους ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου συναγαγεῖν· γενέ-235 σθαί δὲ τὸ πλήθος μυριάδας ὁκτώ, καὶ τούτους εἰς τὰς λιθοτομίας τὰς ἐν τῷ πρὸς ἀνατολήν μέρει τοῦ Νείλου ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτῶν, ὅπως ἐργάζοντο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων εἰεν κεχωρισμένοι. εἶναι δὲ τινὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν λογίων ἱερέων φησι λέπτα 236 συνεχομένους. τὸν δὲ Ὅμενώφιον ἐκείνον, τὸν σοφὸν καὶ μαντικὸν ἄνδρα, ὑποδείσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα χόλον τῶν θεῶν, εἰ βιασθέντες ὠφθησονται καὶ προσθέμενον εἰπεῖν ὃτι συμμαχή-237 σουσί τινας τοῖς μιαροῖς καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου κρα- τήσουσι ἐπ᾽ ἐτη δεκατριά, μὴ τολμῆσαι μὲν αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν ταῦτα τῷ βασίλει, γραφὴν δὲ κατα- λιπόντα περὶ πάντων ἑαυτῶν ἀνελεῖν, εὖ ἀθυμία

1 ed. pr. (cf. § 243): Πάπιος L.,
2 Niese (after Lat.): τοῦ πλήθους L.,
3 εἰεν κεχ. (with Holwerda): ό εἰκεχωρισμένοι L.,
4 Dindorf: σιγκεχωρισμένοι L.,
5 Dind.: ὑποδείσθαι L.

Orus, ninth king of the XVIIIth Dynasty (§ 96); 258
This king, he states, wishing to be granted, like Or, one of his predecessors on the throne, a vision of the gods, communicated his desire to his namesake, Amenophis, son of Paapis, whose wisdom and knowledge of the future were regarded as marks of divinity. This namesake replied that he would be able to see the gods if he purged the entire country of lepers and other polluted persons. Delighted at hearing this, the king collected all the maimed people in Egypt, numbering 80,000, and sent them to work in the stone-quarries on the east of the Nile, segregated from the rest of the Egyptians. They included, he adds, some of the learned priests, who were afflicted with leprosy. Then this wise seer Amenophis was seized with a fear that he would draw down the wrath of the gods on himself and the king if the violence done to these men were detected: and he added a prediction that the polluted people would find certain allies who would become masters of Egypt for thirteen years. He did not venture to tell this himself to the king, but left a complete statement in writing, and then put an end to himself. The king was greatly disheartened.

Then Manetho proceeds (I quote his actual words):

"When the men in the stone-quarries had con-
probably confused with the god Horus. Herodotus (ii. 42) tells a similar story of Heracles in Egypt desiring a vision of the Theban Zeus (Amun).

Apparently a historical person, viz. Amenothes (or Amenophis), son of Hapi, minister of Amenophis III, whose statue with an inscription was discovered by Mariette (Maspero, Hist. ancienne, 1897, ii. 299, 448; quoted by Reinach).

Cf. Herod. ii. 8."
ο Ικανός διήλθεν ταλαιπωροῦντων, ἀξιωθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἱνα πρὸς κατάλυσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ σκέψῃ ἀπομερίσῃ τὴν τότε τῶν ποιμένων ἔρημωθείσαν πόλιν Ἀναρίν συνεχώρησεν: ἔστι δ' ἡ πόλις (κατὰ τὴν 238 θεολογίαν ἀνωθεν) Τυφώνιος. οἱ δὲ εἰς ταῦτην εἰσελθόντες καὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον εἰς ἀπόστασιν ἔχοντες, ἤγερον αὐτῶν λεγόμενον τινὰ τῶν Ἡλιοπολίτῶν ἱερέων Ὄσάρσιφων ἔστήσαντο καὶ τούτῳ πειθαρχήσοντες ἐν πάσιν ὀρκωμότησαν. 239 ο δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς νόμον ἔθετο μήτε προσκυνεῖν θεοὺς μήτε τῶν μάλιστα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θεμιστομεμενών ἱερῶν ξών ἀπέκεχεσθαι μηδενός, πάντα δὲ θύειν καὶ ἀναλῦν, συναπτέσθαι δὲ 240 μηδενὶ πλὴν τῶν συνωμοσμένων. τοιαῦτα δὲ νομοθετήσας καὶ πλείστα ἄλλα μάλιστα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἔθισμοι ἐναντιούμενα ἐκέλευσεν πολυχειρία τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκευάζειν τείχη καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἑτοίμους γίνεσθαι τὸν πρὸς Ἀμένωφιν τὸν 241 βασιλέα. αὐτὸς δὲ προσλαβόμενος μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων καὶ συμμερμαμενῶν ἐπεμψε πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀπελασθέντας ποιμένας εἰς πόλιν τὴν καλυμμένην Ἰεροσόλυμα, καὶ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς συνατμασθέντας δηλώσας ἥξιον συνεπιστρατεύειν ὁμο- 242 θυμαδὸν ἔπ. Αἰγύπτου. ἐπάξειν 2 μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐπηγγείλατο πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Ἀναρίν τὴν προγονικὴν αὐτῶν πατρίδα καὶ τα ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς ὀχλοῖς παρέξειν ἄφθονος, ὑπερμαχήσεσθαι δὲ ὅτε δὲ οἰ καὶ ῥαδίως ὑποχείριον αὐτοῖς τὴν χώραν ποιήσειν.

1 ed. pr.: ἄσπαντες L. 2 ἐπανάξειν Cobet.
continued long in misery, the king acceded to their request to assign them for habitation and protection the abandoned city of the shepherds, called Auaris, and according to an ancient theological tradition dedicated to Typhon.\(^a\) Thither they went, and, having now a place to serve as a base for revolt, they appointed as their leader one of the priests of Heliopolis called Osarsiph,\(^b\) and swore to obey all his orders. By his first law he ordained that they should not worship the gods nor abstain from the flesh of any of the animals held in special reverence in Egypt, but should kill and consume them all, and that they should have no connexion with any save members of their own confederacy. After laying down these and a multitude of other laws, absolutely opposed to Egyptian custom, he ordered all hands to repair the city walls and make ready for war with King Amenophis. Then, in concert with other priests and polluted persons like himself, he sent an embassy to the shepherds, who had been expelled by Tethmosis, in the city called Jerusalem, setting out the position of himself and his outraged companions, and inviting them to join in a united expedition against Egypt. He undertook to escort them first to their ancestral home at Auaris, to provide abundant supplies for their multitudes, to fight for them when the moment came, and without difficulty to reduce the country to submission. The shepherds, delighted

\(^a\) Cf. §§ 78, 86.

\(^b\) Although Osarsiph plays the part of, and is identified with, Moses (§ 250), the name, as Reinach suggests, looks like a transformation of Joseph, the Egyptian Osiris being substituted for the first syllable, incorrectly regarded as derived from the Hebrew Ḥā."
243 οἱ δὲ ὑπερχαρεῖς γενόμενοι πάντες προθύμως εἰς κ' μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν συνεξώρμησαν καὶ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ ἦκον εἰς Λύαριν. Ἀμέμορφος δ’ ὁ τῶν Ἀγνυττίων βασιλεὺς ὡς ἐπύθετο τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἑκείνων ἐφοδιον, οὐ μετρίως συνεχύθη τῆς παρὰ Ἀμεμόρφως τοῦ Παύπτου μνησθείσ δροθηλώσσεως.

244 καὶ πρότερον συναγαγὼν πλῆθος Ἀγνυττίων καὶ βουλευσάμενος μετὰ τῶν ἐν τούτων ἠγέρμων τὰ πετε ἱερὰ ἤδη τὰ πρῶτα1 μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τιμώμενα ὡς ἑαυτὸν2 μετεπέμβατο καὶ τοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἱερεύνη παρῆγγελλεν ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα τῶν θεῶν συγκρύψατι τὰ ἔσονα. τὸν δὲ νῦν Σέθων, τὸν καὶ Ῥαμεσην ἀπὸ Ῥαβφόγοι τοῦ πατρὸς ὄνομασμένον, πενταέτη ὄντα ἐξέθετο πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον. αὐτὸς δὲ διαβὰς συν τὸ ἀλλος Ἀγνυττίως, οὕτω εἰς τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἄνδρων μαχητῶτας, καὶ τοῖς πολεμίως ἀπ’-

245 αὐτήσας3 οὐ συνέβαλεν, ἀλλὰ μέλλειν4 θεομαχεῖν νομίσας παλινδρομήσας ἤκεν εἰς Μέμφιω, ἀναλαβὼν τὸν τὸ τέμνων καὶ τὰ ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐκεῖσε μεταπεμ-

246 φθέντα ἱερὰ ἔξω εὕθυς εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν σὺν ἀπαντί τῷ στόλῳ καὶ πλήθει τῶν Ἀγνυττίων ἁνεχθῆς. χάριτι γὰρ ἦν αὐτῶν ὑποχείριος ὁ τῶν Αἰθιόπων βασιλεύς.

247 ὃς5 ὑποδεξάμενος καὶ τοὺς χλὸς πάντας ὑπολαβὼν ὃς ἔσχεν ἡ χώρα τῶν πρὸς ἀνθρωπίνην τροφὴν ἐπιτηδείως, καὶ πόλεις καὶ κώμας πρὸς τὴν τῶν πεπρωμένων τρισκαίδεκα ἐστῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρχης αὐτοῦ6 ἐκπτωσιν αὐτάρκειος, οὐχ ἤτον δὲ καὶ

1 Om. Lat.
2 Niese: ὃς ἐς αὐτὼν L.
3 Niese (after Lat.): ἀπαντήσασιν L.
4 μὴ δείν (cf. § 263) Herwerden.
5 Niese (after Lat.): διέθ L.
6 + eis τῆς L; a verb such as παρέσχην is desiderated.
with the idea, all eagerly set off in a body numbering 200,000 men, and soon reached Auaris.

"The news of their invasion sorely perturbed Amenophis, king of Egypt, who recalled the prediction of Amenophis, son of Paapis. He began by assembling the Egyptians, and, after deliberation with their chiefs, sent for the sacred animals which were held in most reverence in the temples, and instructed the priests in each district to conceal the images of the gods as securely as possible. His five-year-old son Sethos, also called Ramesses after his grandfather Ra(m)pse, a he entrusted to the care of a b friend. He then crossed [the Nile, with] 300,000 of the most efficient warriors of Egypt and met the enemy. Instead, however, of engaging them, he, under the belief that he was about to fight against the gods, turned back and repaired to Memphis. There he picked up Apis and the other sacred animals which he had ordered to be brought thither, and at once, with all his army and the Egyptian population, started up country for Ethiopia, whose king was under obligation to him and at his service. The latter made him welcome and maintained the whole multitude with all the products of the country suitable for human consumption, assigned them cities and villages sufficient for the destined period of thirteen years' banishment from the realm, and moreover c

a The genealogy here given supports Reinach's opinion that the King Amenophis of this story (according to Josephus an imaginary person, § 230) = Amenophis III (cf. § 97).

b Literally, "his"; (?) the king of Ethiopia named later.

c Or "above all."

263
στρατόπεδον Αἰθιοπικὸν πρὸς φυλακὴν ἐπέταξε τοῖς παρ' Ἀμενώφεως τοῦ βασιλέως ἕπι τῶν 248 ὀρίων τῆς Αἰγύπτου. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Αἰθιο-
πίαν τοιαῦτα· οἱ δὲ Σολομᾶται κατελθόντες σὺν τοῖς μιαροῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὐτοὺς ἀνοσῶς1 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις προσηύχησαν, ὡστε τὴν τῶν προειρη-
μένων κράτησιν χρυσὸν φαίνεσθαι τοῖς τότε τὰ 249 τοῦτων ἀσεβήματα θεωμένοις· καὶ γὰρ οὐ μόνον πόλεις καὶ κώμας ἐνέπρησαν, οὐδὲ ἱεροσυλούντες οὐδὲ λυμαινόμενοι ἔσοντας θεῶν ἡρκοῦντο, ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς ἀδύτοις2 ὀπταίοις τῶν σεβαστευμένων ἱερῶν ἔσοντα χρώμενοι διετέλουν, καὶ θύτας καὶ σφαγεῖς τοῦτων ἱερεῖς καὶ προφήτας ἱνάγκαζον γίνεσθαι 250 καὶ γυμνοὺς ἐξέβαλλον. λέγεται δὲ ὅτι ὁ τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς καταβαλόμενος ἱερεὺς τὸ γένος Ἑλιοπολίτης ὄνομα Ὄσαρος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Ἑλιουπόλει θεοῦ Ὄσίρεως, ὡς μετ-
έβη εἰς τούτῳ τὸ γένος, μετετέθη τούνομα καὶ προσηγορεύθη Μωυσῆς.

251 (27) "Α μὲν οὖν Αἰγύπτιοι φέρουσι περὶ τῶν Ἰου-
δαίων ταύτ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἐτερα πλείονα, ἀ παρίημι συντομίας ἐνεκα. λέγει δὲ ο Μανέθως πάλιν ὅτι μετὰ ταύτα ἐπήλθεν ὁ Ἀμένωφες ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ῥάμψης, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐχών δύναμιν, καὶ συμβαλόντες οἱ δύο τοῖς ποιμέσι καὶ τοῖς μιαροῖς ἐνίκησαν αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείναντες ἐδίωξαν αὐτοὺς ἀχρὶ τῶν 252 ὀρίων τῆς Συρίας. ταύτα μὲν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα Μανέθως συνέγραψεν· ὅτι δὲ ληρεῖ καὶ ψευδεται

1 + καὶ L.  
2 Bekker: αὐτοῖς L.
stationed an Ethiopian army on the Egyptian frontier to protect King Amenophis and his subjects.

"Such was the condition of affairs in Ethiopia. Meanwhile the Solymites \(^a\) came down \(^b\) with the polluted Egyptians, and treated the inhabitants in so sacrilegious a manner that the regime of the shepherds seemed like a golden age \(^c\) to those who now beheld the impiety's of their present enemies. Not only did they set cities and villages on fire, not only did they pillage the temples and mutilate the images of the gods, but, not content with that, they habitually used the very sanctuaries as kitchens for roasting the venerated sacred animals, and forced the priests and prophets to slaughter them and cut their throats, and then turned them out naked. It is said that the priest who gave them a constitution and code of laws was a native of Heliopolis, named Osarsiph \(^d\) after the Heliopolitan god Osiris, and that when he went over to this people he changed his name and was called Moses."

(27) Such and much more, which, for brevity's sake, I omit, is Egyptian gossip about the Jews. Manetho adds that Amenophis subsequently advanced from Ethiopia with a large army, his son Rampses at the head of another, and that the two attacked and defeated the shepherds and their polluted allies, killing many of them and pursuing the remainder to the frontiers of Syria. That, with more of a similar kind, is Manetho's account. Before

\(^a\) *i.e.* the inhabitants of Hierosolyma (§ 241); cf. §§ 173 f. with note.

\(^b\) Or "back."  

\(^c\) Literally, "gold."  

\(^d\) Cf. § 238.
περιφανῶς ἐπιδείξω, προδιαστειλάμενος ἐκεῖνο τῶν ὕστερον πρὸς ἄλλους ἴμετο ῥεχθησομένων ἔνεκα. δέδωκε γὰρ οὗτος ἦμιν καὶ ὤμολόγηκεν εξ ἀρχῆς τὸ μή εἶναι τὸ γένος Αἰγυπτίους, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἐξώθην ἐπελθόντας κρατῆσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ πάλιν εὗρεν ἀνεμίζθησαν ἦμιν ὕστερον τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὐ τὰ σώματα λελωβημένοι, καὶ οτί ἐκ τούτων οὐκ ἦν Μωσῆς ὁ τὸν λαὸν ἀγαγὼν, ἀλλ' πολλαὶς ἐγενόμει γενεαῖς πρότερον, ταύτα πειράσομαι διὰ τῶν ὅπ' αὐτοῦ λεγομένων ἐλέγχειν.

254 (28) Πρῶτην δὴ τὴν αὑτῶν τοῦ πλάσματος ύποτίθεται καταγέλαστον. ὁ βασιλεὺς γὰρ, φησιν, Ἀμένωφις ἐπεθύμησε τοὺς θεοὺς ἱδεῖν. ποιοὺς; εἰ μὲν τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς νεομοθετήμενος, τὸν βοῦν καὶ τράγον καὶ κροκοδέλους καὶ κυνοκεφᾶλος, έωρα. τοὺς οὐρανίους δὲ πῶς ἐδύνατο; καὶ διὰ τὰ πρῶτην ἐσχῆ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν; ὁτι νὴ Δία καὶ πρότερος αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς άλλος ἐωράκει. παρ' ἐκείνου τούτων ἐπέπνυστο ποταποὶ τνὲς εἶσι καὶ τίνα πρῶτον αὐτοῦς εἶδεν, ὅστε καυχὴς αὐτῷ τέχνης οὐκ ἐδει. ἀλλά σοφὸς ἦν ὁ μάντις δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο κατερθώσειν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπελάμβανε. καὶ πῶς οὐ προέγνω το ἄδυνατον αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας; οὐ γὰρ ἀπέβη. τίνα δὲ καὶ λόγον εἶχε διὰ τοὺς ἡκρωτηριασμένους ἦ λεπρώντας ἀφανεὶς εἶναι τοὺς θεοὺς; ὀργίζονται γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀσεβήμασιν, τέχνης οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλαπτώμασι τῶν σωμάτων. ὅκτω

1 Niese: ἄλλους L. 2 Niese: τε L.

"Lit: (yes,) by Zeus." This common Greek phrase.
proceeding to show the manifest absurdity and untruthfulness of his statements, I will make one preliminary observation, which bears on the replies to be made later on to other authors. Manetho has granted us one fact. He has admitted that our race was not of Egyptian origin, but came into Egypt from elsewhere, conquered it, and afterwards left it. The further facts that we were not, in the sequel, mixed up with Egyptian cripples, and that Moses, the leader of our people, so far from being one of them, lived many generations earlier, I shall now endeavour to prove from Manetho's own statements.

(28) At the outset, the very hypothesis of his fictitious story is ridiculous. King Amenophis, he says, desired to see the gods. What gods? If those established by their law are intended—bull, goat, crocodiles, and dog-faced baboons—he saw them already. Or the celestial gods—how could he have seen them? And why had he this passionate desire? Because, forsooth, another king before him had seen them. He had therefore learnt from his predecessor what they were like and how he saw them; consequently no new method of procedure was required. Again, the seer, by whose help the king hoped to achieve his end, was a sage. How was it then that he failed to foresee the impossibility of attaining it? For it was not realized. And what ground was there for attributing the invisibility of the gods to the presence of mutilated persons or lepers? Impiety excites their wrath, not physical deformities. Then, how could 80,000 lepers and which sounds strange in a Jewish work, recurs (according to the restored text) in Ap. ii. 263. Or (§ 232).

Possibly we should insert ἄντω, "would therefore have learnt."
δὲ μυριάδας τῶν λεπρῶν καὶ κακῶς διακειμένων πῶς οίνῳ τε μιᾷ σχεδὸν ἡμέρα συλλεγήμαι; πῶς δὲ παρήκουσεν τοῦ μάντεως ὁ βασιλεὺς; ὅ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἔξορισαί τῆς Ἀγίωττος τοὺς λειώβημένους, ὁ δ’ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς λιθοτομίας ἐνέβαλεν, ὥσπερ τῶν ἐργασομένων δεόμενος, ἀλλ’ 258 οὐχὶ καθάραι τὴν χώραν προαιρούμενος. φησὶ δὲ τὸν μὲν μάντων αὐτὸν ἄνελείν τὴν ὅργην τῶν θεῶν προορώμενον καὶ τὰ συμβησόμενα περὶ τὴν Ἀγίοττον, τῷ δὲ βασιλεὶ γεγραμμένην τὴν πρὸρ-
259 ρησι1 καταλιπεῖν. έίτα πῶς οὖκ ἔξ ἄρχῃς ὁ μάντως τῶν αὐτοῦ θάνατον προηγήσατο; πῶς δὲ οὖκ εὐθὺς ἀντείπει τῷ βασιλεὶ βουλομένῳ τοὺς θεοὺς ἱδεῖν; πῶς δ’ εὐλόγος ὁ φόβος τῶν μὴ παρ’ αὐτῶν συμβησομένων κακῶν; ἡ τί χείρον ἐδει παθεῖν οὐ δράν2 ἐαυτὸν ἐσπευδέν;
260 Τὸ δὲ δὴ πάντων εὐθέστατον ἔδωμεν. πυθό-
μενος γὰρ ταύτα καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων φοβηθείς τοὺς λειώβημένους ἐκείνους, ὅν αὐτῷ καθαρεύσαι προείρητο τὴν Ἀγίοττον, οὐδὲ τότε τῆς χώρας ἐξηλασεν, ἀλλὰ δεηθείσους αὐτοῖς ἐδωκε πόλιν, ὡς φησι, τὴν πάλαι μὲν οἰκηθεύσαν ὑπὸ τῶν ποιμένων,
261 Ἀὐραμὶ δὲ καλομένην. εἷς ἦν ἀθροισθέντας αὐτοὺς ἡγεμόνα φησίν ἐξελέσθαι τῶν ἔξ Ἦλιονπόλεως πάλαι γεγονότων ἱερέων, καὶ τοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἐισ-
ηγήσασθαι μήτε θεοὺς προσκυνεῖν μήτε τῶν ἐν3 Ἀγίωττος θρησκευμένων ζώων ἀπέχεσθαι, πάντα δὲ θυεῖν καὶ κατεσθεῖν, συνάπτεσθαι δὲ μηδενὶ πλὴν τῶν συνωμοσμένων, ὥρκοις τε τὸ πλῆθος ἐνδησάμενον, ἡ μὴν τούτως ἐμμενεῖν τοὺς νόμοις,

1 ed. pr.: πρόσρησιν L.
2 οὐ δράν Herwerden: οὐδ’ ἀν L.
3 Niese: ἐπ’ L.
invalids be collected in practically a single day? And why did the king neglect the seer's advice? The latter had bidden him banish the cripples from Egypt, whereas the king put them into the quarries, like one in need of labourers, rather than one who was determined to purge his country. Manetho further states that the seer killed himself, because he fore-saw the anger of the gods and the fate in store for Egypt, leaving to the king his prediction in writing. Then how was it that the seer did not divine his own death from the first? Why did he not at once oppose the king's desire to see the gods? Was it reasonable to fear misfortunes that were not to happen in his lifetime? Or what worse fate could have befallen him than the suicide he was in such a hurry to commit?

But let us consider the most ludicrous item in the whole story. Notwithstanding the warning he had received and his dread of the future, the king even then did not expel from the country the cripples, of whose presence he had been already told to purge Egypt, but instead gave them at their request a city called Auaris, once (according to Manetho) the residence of the shepherds. Here, he continues, they assembled, and chose for their leader one who had formerly been a priest of Heliopolis; and by him were instructed not to worship the gods nor to abstain from the flesh of the animals reverenced in Egypt, but to kill and devour them all, and to have no connexion with any save members of their own confederacy. Then, after binding his followers by oath faithfully to abide by these laws, he fortified

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a This is not mentioned in § 234.
καὶ πειθόμενα τὴν Αὖαριν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα
262 πόλεων ἐξενεγκείν. καὶ προστίθησιν ὅτι ἐπεμψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παρακαλῶν ἐκεῖνος αὐτοῖς συμ-
μαχεῖν καὶ δώσειν αὐτοῖς τὴν Αὖαριν ὑπισχυνό-
μενος, εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὴν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων
ἀφιξομένοις προγονικὴν, ἀφ’ ἣς ὀρμωμένοις αὐτοὺς
263 πάσαν τὴν Ἀγγυπτον καθέξεσιν. εἰτα τοὺς μὲν ἐπελθείν εὔκοσι στρατοῦ μυριάς λέγει, τὸν βασιλέα
dὲ τῶν Ἀγγυπτίων Ἀμένωφιν οὐκ οἴόμενον δειν ἑθεμαχεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀθηνίαν εὐθὺς ἀποδράναι, τὸν
dὲ Ἀπνὶ καὶ τινὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν ξών παρα-
τεθεικέναι τοῖς ἱερεύσι διαφυλάττεσθαι κελέσαντα.
264 εἰτα τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἐπελθόντας τάς τε πόλεις ἀνιστάναι καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ κατακαίειν καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας1
ἀποσφάτειν, ὅλως τε μηδεμίας ἀπέχεσθαι παρα-
265 νομίας μηδὲ ὁμότητος. ο δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ
tous νόμους αὐτοῖς καταβαλόμενος2 ἱερεύς, φησίν,
ην τὸ γένος Ἡλιοπολίτης, ὄνομα δ’ Ἡσαρσίφ
ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐν ოἷς Ἡλιουσέλει θεοῦ Ὀσέρεως, μεταθέμενος
266 δὲ Μωυσῆν αὐτὸν προσηγόρευσε. τρισκαίδεκάτῳ
dὲ φησιν ἐτεὶ τὸν Ἀμένωφιν, τοσοῦτον γὰρ αὐτῷ
χρόνον εἶναι τῆς ἐκπούσεως πεπρωμένων, εἴ
Ἀθηνίης ἐπελθόντα μετὰ πολλῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ
συμβαλόντα τοῖς πομέσι καὶ τοῖς μιαροῖς νικήσαι
tε τῇ μάχῃ καὶ κτείναι πολλοὺς ἐπιδιώκαντα
μέχρι τῶν τῆς Συρίας ὀρῶν.
267 (29) Ἔν τούτοις πάλιν οὐ συνήγησεν ἀπιθάνως ψευ-
dόμενος. οἱ γὰρ λεπροὶ καὶ τὸ μετ’ αὐτῶν πλήθος,
eὶ καὶ πρότερον ὑργίζοντο τῷ βασιλεὶ καὶ τοῖς
tὰ περὶ αὐτοὺς πεποιηκόσι κατὰ τε ἔ3 τὴν τοῦ
μάντεως προσγόρευσιν, ἀλλ’ ὅτε τῶν λιθοτομῶν

1 Bekker: ἵππεας L Lat.
Auaris and declared war on the king. He also, adds Manetho, sent an invitation to the inhabitants of Jerusalem to make an alliance with him, promising them the city of Auaris, as the ancestral home of any recruits from Jerusalem, and as a base from which to become masters of the whole of Egypt. Thereupon, he proceeds, they brought up an army of 200,000 men, and Amenophis, king of Egypt, thinking it wrong to fight against the gods, fled forthwith to Ethiopia, after entrusting Apis and some of the other sacred animals to the custody of the priests. The Jerusalemites then overran the country, destroyed the cities, burnt down the temples, massacred the priests, and in short indulged in every kind of crime and brutality. The priest who gave them a constitution and a code was, according to Manetho, a native of Heliopolis, named Osarsiph after the Heliopolitan god Osiris, but changed his name to Moses. Thirteen years later—that being the destined period of his exile—Amenophis, says our author, advanced from Ethiopia with a large army, attacked and defeated the shepherds and their polluted allies, and pursued them, with great slaughter, to the Syrian frontier.

(29) Here again the author is unconscious of the improbability of his fictitious tale. However indignant the lepers and their horde may formerly have been with the king and the others who had, under the seer’s directions, so ill-treated them, yet surely on emerging from the stone-quarries and being pre-

\[ ^{2} \textit{ed. pr.}: \kappaα\tau\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\omicron\nu\sigma \ \text{L.} \quad ^{3} \text{Om. Lat.} \]
εξήλθον καὶ πόλιν παρ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ χώραν ἔλαβον, πάντως ἐὰν γεγόνεσαν πρῶτοι πρὸς αὐτόν. 268 εἰ δὲ δὴ κακέοιν εὑμίζουν, ἵδια μὲν ἂν αὐτῷ ἐπεβούλευον, οὐκ ἂν δὲ πρὸς ἄπαντας ἡραντο πόλεμον, δῆλον ὅτι πλείστας ἔχοντες συγκενεῖας 269 τοσοῦτοι γε τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες. ὃμως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πολεμεῖν διεγνωκότες οὐκ ἂν εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν θεοὺς πολεμεῖν ἑτομένην οὐδὲ ὑπεναντιωτάτους ἐθεντο νόμους τοῖς πατρίοις αὐτῶν καὶ 270 ὅς ἐνετράφησαν. δεῖ δὲ ἡμᾶς τῷ Μανέθῳ χάριν ἔχειν, ὅτι ταύτης τῆς παρανομίας οὐχί τούς εξ Ἰεροσολύμων ἑλθόντας ἄρχηγοὺς γενέσθαι φησίν, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ὄντας Αἰγυπτίους καὶ τούτων μάλιστα τοὺς ἱερεάς ἐπινοήσαί τε ταῦτα καὶ ὀρκωμοτήσα τὸ πλῆθος.

271 Ἐκείνο μέντοι πὼς οὐκ ἄλογον, τῶν μὲν οἰκείων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων συναποστήναι οὐδένα μηδὲ τοῦ πολέμου τὸν κίνδυνον συνάρασθαι, πέμψα τοὺς μιαροὺς εἰς Ἰεροσολῦμα καὶ τὴν παρ’ ἐκείνων 272 ἐπάγεσθαι συμμαχίαν; πολας αὐτοῖς φιλίας ἡ τίνος αὐτοῖς οἰκειότητος προϋπηργείμης; τοῦνατιόν γὰρ ἦσαν πολέμου καὶ τοῖς έθέσι πλείστον διέφερον. ὦ δὲ φήσιν εὐθὺς ὑπακοῦσαι τοῖς ὑπειραμένοις ὅτι τὴν Αἰγύπτων καθέξουσιν, ὥσπερ αὐτῶν οὐ σφόδρα τῆς χώρας ἐμπείρως ἔχοντων, 273 ἡς βιασθέντες ἐκπεπτώκασιν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀπόρως ἡ κακῶς ἐπραττὸν, ὅσως ἄν καὶ παρεβάλλοντο, πόλιν δὲ κατοικοῦντες ευδαίμονα καὶ χώραν

1 ed. pr.: πάντες L Lat. 2 εἰ δ’ ἔτι Lat. (apparently).
3 ἂν αὐτῷ ed. pr.: ἂνῳ Lat. 4 Μανεθὼν L.
5 Bekker: συναποστήσαι L.
6 Hudson (Lat. moribus): ἡθεσί L.
sentenced by him with a city and land, their feelings towards him would have been mollified. Even supposing their hatred of him still persisted, they would have conspired against him alone, and not have declared war on the whole nation, which must obviously have included very many relations of their numerous body. Granted that they decided on war with the Egyptians, they would never have ventured to make war on their gods, nor would they have framed laws directly opposed to the national code under which they had been brought up. However, we must be grateful to Manetho for stating that this violation of the laws originated, not with the immigrants from Jerusalem, but with the Egyptians themselves, and that it was their priests in particular who conceived the idea and administered the oath to the people.

Again, how absurd to suppose that, while none of their own relations and friends joined in the revolt and shared the perils of war, these pariahs sent to Jerusalem and obtained recruits from that quarter! What alliance, what connexion existed previously between them? On the contrary, these people were enemies, and their customs utterly opposed to their own. Yet, says Manetho, they lent a ready ear to the promise that they should occupy Egypt, as if they were not intimately acquainted with the country from which they had been forcibly expelled! Had they been in straitened circumstances or unfortunate, they might, conceivably, have undertaken the risk; but inhabiting, as they did, an opulent city and enjoying the fruits of an extensive country, superior
πολλὴν κρείττω τῆς Ἀιγύπτου καρπούμενοι, διὰ τί ποτ’ ἂν ἐχθροὶς μὲν πάλαι τὰ δὲ σῷματα λε-λωβημένοι, οὐς μηδὲ τῶν οἰκείων οὐδεὶς ὑπέμενε, τούτους ἐμελλόν παρακυκνυνεύσειν βοηθοῦντες; οὐ γὰρ δὴ γε τὸν γενησόμενον προῆδεσαν δρασμὸν
274 τοῦ βασιλέως. τούναντίον γὰρ αὐτὸς εὑρηκεν ὡς ὁ παῖς τοῦ Ἀμενώφιος τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἐχὼν εἰς τὸ Πηλούσιον ὑπηρτίαζεν. καὶ τούτο μὲν ἤδεισαν πάντως οἱ παραγινόμενοι, τὴν δὲ μετά-νοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν φυγὴν πόθεν εἰκάζειν ἔμελλον;
275 ἐπειτα¹ κρατήσαντας φησὶ τῆς Ἀιγύπτου πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ δρᾶν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων ἐπι-στρατεύσαντας, καὶ περὶ τούτων ὤνειδίζει καθάπερ οὐ πολείμους αὐτοῖς ἐπαγαγὼν ἢ δέον τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἐπικληθείσιν ἐγκαλεῖν, ὅποτε ταῦτα πρὸ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀφίσεως ἐπραττον καὶ πράξειν ὁμομό-
276 κεσαν οἱ τὸ γένος Ἀιγύπτων. ἀλλὰ καὶ χρόνοις ὑστερον Ἀμενώφιος ἐπελθὼν ἐνίκησε μάχη καὶ κτείνων τοὺς πολείμους μέχρι τῆς Συρίας ἡλα-σεν. οὐτω γὰρ παντάπασιν ἔστιν ἡ Ἀιγύπτου τοῖς 277 ὀποθενδηποτοῦν ἐπιοῦσαν εὐάλωτος. καὶ <τοὺς>² οἱ τότε πολέμων κρατοῦντες αὐτῆς, ξὴν πυνθανόμενοι τον Ἀμενώφιο, οὐτε τὰς ἐκ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ἐμβολὰς ὀχύρωσαν, πολλὴν εἰς τοῦτο παρασκευὴν ἐχόντες, οὐτε τὴν ἄλλην ἠτοίμασαν δύναμιν. ὁ δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῆς Συρίας ἀναίρων, φησὶν, αὐτοὺς ἑκολούθησε διὰ τῆς ψάμμου τῆς αἰώνων, δῆλον ὅτι οὐ τῶν οὐδὲ ἀμαχεὶ στρατοπέδῳ διελθεῖν.

¹ ἐπειτά (after Lat.) Hudson: τὰ σιτία Λ.
² καίτοι conj.: καὶ Λ.
to Egypt, what inducement could there be to hazard their lives in support of their former foes, those maimed cripples, whom not one even of their own people would tolerate? For of course they did not foresee that the king would take flight. On the contrary, the author himself has told us that the son of Amenophis \(^a\) marched to Pelusium to meet them at the head of 300,000 men. Of his approach the advancing enemy would undoubtedly be aware; how could they possibly conjecture that he would change his mind and flee? After conquering Egypt, our author proceeds, the Jerusalem invaders committed many horrible crimes; and for these he reproaches them, as though he had not brought them on to the scene as enemies, or as if actions when performed by imported foreigners deserved reprobation, which before their arrival were being performed by the native Egyptians, who had sworn to continue the practice. In the sequel, however, Amenophis returned to the charge, won a battle, and drove the enemy back, with slaughter, to Syria. So easy a prey, it appears, is Egypt to invaders from whatever quarter! And yet its former conquerors, though aware that Amenophis was alive, neither fortified the passes between it and Ethiopia, notwithstanding their ample resources for the purpose, nor had the rest of their army in readiness! Amenophis, says our author, pursued them to Syria, killing them all the way, across the sandy desert. But the difficulty of marching an army across the desert, even without a battle, is notorious.

\(^a\) Rather, Amenophis himself, the son being only five years old (§ 245); probably written \textit{per incuriam}. Reinach reads "he," regarding "of Amenophis" as a misplaced gloss on "the king" in the previous line.
JOSEPHUS

278 (30) Κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸν Μανέθων οὔτε ἐκ τῆς Αἰ-
γύπτου τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ἐστὶν οὔτε τῶν ἐκείθεν τινὲς ἀνεμίχθησαν. τῶν γὰρ λεπρῶν καὶ νοσοῦντων πολλοὺς μὲν εἰκὸς ἐν ταῖς λιθοτομίαις ἀποθανεῖν πολὺν χρόνον ἐκεί γενομένους καὶ κακοπαθοῦντας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἐν ταῖς μετὰ ταῦτα μάχαις, πλεῖστους δὲ ἐν τῇ τελευταίᾳ καὶ τῇ φυγῇ.

279 (31) Δοιπότις μοι πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν περὶ Μωυσέως
τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα θαυμαστόν μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ θείον νομίζουσι, βούλουται δὲ προσποιεῖν αὐτοῖς μετὰ βλασφημίας ἀπιθάνουν, λέγοντες Ἡλιο-
πολίτην εἶναι τῶν ἐκείθεν ἱερέων ἕνα διὰ τὴν

280 λέπραν συνεξεληλασμένον. δείκνυται δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς ὁκτωκαίδεκα σὺν τοῖς πεντακοσίοις πρότερον ἔτεσι γεγονὸς καὶ τοὺς ἠμετέρους ἐξαγαγών ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πατέρας εἰς τὴν

281 χώραν τὴν νῦν οἰκουμένην ύφ᾽ ἡμῶν. ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ συμφορὰς τινι ποιαίτης περὶ τὸ σώμα κεχρημένος ἦν, ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δῆλος ἐστὶ. τοῖς γὰρ λεπρῶσιν ἀπείρηκε μῆτε μένειν ἐν πόλει μὴν ἐν κώμῃ κατοικεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνους περιπατεῖν κατ᾽-εσχισμένος τὰ ἱμάτια, καὶ τὸν ἰσθάμενον αὐτῶν

282 ἡ ὀμωρόφιον γενομένον οὐ καθαρὸν ἰγεῖται. καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῦ θεραπευθῆ τὸ νόσημα καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἀπολάβη, προειρηκέν τινας ἀγνείας, 1 καθαρ-

283 μοὺς πηγαίων ὑδάτων λοιπροῖς καὶ ἐξαρῆσεις πάσης τῆς τριχῆς, πολλάς τε κελεύει καὶ παν-

τοίᾳς ἐπιτελέσαντα θυσίας τότε παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν

1 ὲν καὶ Lat.

2 ed. pr.: καὶ Λ.

276
(30) We have therefore Manetho's authority for saying both that our race was not of Egyptian origin, and that there was no mixture of the races. For, presumably, many of the lepers and other sick folk died during that long period of hardship in the quarries, many more in the subsequent battles, and most of all in the final engagement and the rout.

(31) It remains for me to say a word to Manetho about Moses. The Egyptians, who regard that man as remarkable, indeed divine, wish to claim him as one of themselves, while making the incredible and calumnious assertion that he was one of the priests expelled from Heliopolis for leprosy. The chronicles, however, prove that he lived 518 years earlier and conducted our forefathers out of Egypt into the country which we inhabit to-day. And that he suffered from no physical affliction of this nature is clear from his own statements. In fact, he forbids lepers either to stay in a town or to reside in a village; they must be solitary vagrants, with their clothes rent; anyone who touches or lives under the same roof with them he considers unclean. Moreover, even if the malady is cured and the victim returns to his normal condition, Moses prescribes certain rites of purification—to cleanse himself in a bath of spring-water and to cut off all his hair—and requires him to offer a numerous variety of sacrifices before entering the holy city. Yet one would have

a Cf. §§ 75, 104, 252.
b Reinach supposes that there is a lacuna in this paragraph; as the text stands the argument is not very clear.
c Cf. § 230. Manetho never mentions Moses in connexion with the expulsion of the Hycchos.
d For the laws on leprosy, here summarized, see Lev. xiii. (especially 45 f.) and xiv.
τινὶ καὶ φιλανθρωπία χρῆσασθαι τὸν ἐν τῇ συμ-
φορᾷ ταύτῃ γεγονότα πρὸς τοὺς ὄμοιοὺς1 αὐτῷ
284 δυστυχήσαντας. οὐ μόνον δὲ περὶ τῶν λεπρῶν
οὕτως ἐνομοθέτησας, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τοὺς καὶ τὸ βραχύ-
τατόν τι τοῦ σῶματος ἥκρωτημασμένοις ἱεράσθαι
συγκεχώρηκεν, ἀλλ’ εἰ καὶ μεταξὺ τίς ἱερώμενοις
τοιαύτῃ χρῆσαι το συμφορὰ, τὴν τιμήν αὐτὸν
285 ἀφείλετο. πῶς οὖν εἰκὸς ἐκεῖνον2 ταύτα νομο-
θετεῖν ἄνωτέρως ἡ τοὺς3 ἀπὸ τοιούτων συμ-
φορῶν συνελεγμένους προσέθαι4 καθ’ ἐαυτῶν εἰς
ὁνείδος τε καὶ βλάβην νόμως συνικαθίσαντος;
286 ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τούνομα λιὰν ἀπιθάνως μετατέθεικεν ·
"Οσαρσίφ5 γὰρ, φησίν, ἐκαλείτο. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν
εἰς τὴν μετάθεσιν οὐκ ἐναρμόζει, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς
ὄνομα δηλοῖ τὸν ἑκ τοῦ ὑδατος σωθέντα [Μωσῆν].6
τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ οἱ Ἀγνύττιοι μ五官 ναλοῦσαν.
287 'Ἰκανῶς οὖν γεγονέναι νομίζω κατάδηλον7 ὀτι
Μανέθως, ἐως μὲν ἡκολούθει ταῖς ἀρχαῖαις ἀνα-
γραφαῖς, οὐ πολὺ τῆς ἀληθείας δημάρτανεν, ἐπὶ
δὲ τοὺς ἀδεσπότους μῦθους τραπόμενος ἡ συν-
εθήκεν αὐτοὺς ἀπιθάνως ἡ τις τῶν πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν
εἰρηκτόντων ἐπίστευσαν.
288 (32) Μετὰ τοῦτον ἔξετάσαι βούλομαι Χαῖρήμονα.
καὶ γὰρ οὖτος Ἀγνυπτικὴν φάσκον ἱστορίαν συγ-
γράφειν καὶ προσθείπα παυτὸ ὅνομα τοῦ βασιλέως
ὀπέρ ὁ Μανέθως, 'Ἀμένωφι, καὶ τὸν νῦν αὐτοῦ
289 Ραμέσσην, φησίν ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἡ "Ἰσις

1 ed. μι.: ὄμοιος L Lat. 2 ἡ κεῖνον Niese.
3 ins. Niese. 4 Niese: προέσθαι L.
5 Ῥαρσίφ L. 6 Probably a gloss.
7 κατάδηλον Bekker: καὶ δήλον ὁ L.

a Lev. xxi. 17-23.
expected, on the contrary, a victim of this calamity to have shown some consideration and fellow-feeling for others equally unfortunate. His legislation on these lines was not confined to lepers. The very slightest mutilation of the person was a disqualification for the priesthood, and a priest who in the course of his ministry met with such an accident was deprived of his office. Is it likely that he was so foolish as to make, or persons brought together by such misfortunes to approve, laws enacted against themselves, to their own disgrace and injury? One more remark. Manetho’s transformation of the name is extremely unconvincing. He was called, he says, Osarsiph. This name bears no relation to that which it replaces. The true name signifies “one saved out of the water”; for water is called by the Egyptians “möu.”

The conclusion, I think, is sufficiently obvious. So long as Manetho followed the ancient records, he did not go far wrong; but when he had recourse to unauthenticated legends, he either concocted from them a most improbable story, or else trusted the statements of prejudiced opponents.

(32) The next witness I shall cross-examine is Chaeremon. This writer likewise professes to write the history of Egypt, and agrees with Manetho in giving the names of Amenophis and Ramesses to the king and his son. He then proceeds to state that

b This etymology, which recurs in A. ii. 228 (with the addition that ēsēs = “persons saved”) and in Philo, De vit., Mos. i. 4. § 17, is now generally abandoned. In Ex. ii. 10 the name is derived from Hebr. mashāh, “draw out.”

c 1st cent. A.D.; Stoic philosopher, librarian of Alexandria, and afterwards tutor of Nero; besides his chief work, the History of Egypt, wrote on hieroglyphics, etc.
ἔφανη τῷ Ἀμενώφει, μεμφομένη αὐτοῦ ὅτι τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κατέσκαπται. Φρυτοβαύτην ἤ ἱερογραμματέα φάναι, ἐὰν τῶν τοὺς μολυσμοὺς ἐχόντων ἀνδρῶν καθάρῃ τὴν Αἰγύπτου, 290 παύσεσθαι τῆς πτοῖας αὐτῶν. ἐπιλέξαντα δὲ τῶν ἐπισυνών μυριάδας εἰκοσιπέντε ἐκβαλεῖν. ἤγείσθαι δ' αὐτῶν γραμματέας Μωυσῆν τε καὶ Ἰώσηπον, καὶ τούτων ἱερογραμματεά, Αἰγύπτια δ' αὐτοῖς ὀνόματα εἶναι τῷ μὲν Μωυσεῖ Τισιθέν, 291 τῷ δὲ Ἰωσήπῳ Πετεσῆφ. τούτοις δ' εἰς Πηλούσιον ἔλθειν καὶ ἐπιτυχεῖν μυρίας τριακοντακτῶν καταλελειμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀμενώφιος, ὡς οὐ θέλειν εἰς τὴν Αἰγύπτου διακομίζειν. οἷς 4 φιλίαις 292 συνθεμένους ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγύπτου στρατεύει. τὸν δὲ Ἀμενώφιον οὕς ὑπομείναντα τὴν ἐφοδὸν αὐτῶν εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν φυγεῖν καταλυόντας τὴν γυναῖκα ἕγκυνον, ἢν κρυβομένην ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις τεκεῖν παῖδα ὀνόμα 'Ραμέσσην, ὅν ἀνδρωθέντα ἐκδιώξατο τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, ἄντας περὶ εἰκοσὶ μυριάδας, καὶ τὸν πατέρα Ἀμενώφιον ἐκ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας καταδέξασθαι. 293 (33) Καὶ ταύτα μὲν ὁ Χαρῆμων. οὖν οὐ εἰς αὐτόθεν φανερὰν εἶναι ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων τὴν ἀμφοῖν ψευδολογίαν. ἀληθείας μὲν γὰρ τῶν ὑποκειμένης ἀδύνατον ἢν διαφωνεῖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, οὗ δὲ τα ψευδή συντιθέντες οὗς ἐπερ ὑπόλυλα γράφουσιν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς τὰ δόξαντα πλάττουσιν. 294 ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ἐπιθυμῶν τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς τοὺς θεοὺς ὑδι φησίν ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι τῆς τῶν μισρῶν

1 After Lat.: Φρυτοβαύτην L: Φρυτοβάντην (here and in § 295) ed. pr.
2 Niese: παύσασθαι L.
3 πτοῖας ed. pr.
4 ed. pr.: εἰς L.

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AGAINST APION, I. 289–294

Isis appeared to Amenophis in his sleep, and reproached him for the destruction of her temple in war-time. The sacred scribe Phritobautes told him that, if he purged Egypt of its contaminated population, he might cease to be alarmed. The king, thereupon, collected 250,000 afflicted persons and banished them from the country. Their leaders were scribes, Moses and another sacred scribe—Joseph! Their Egyptian names were Tisithen (for Moses) and Pete-seph (Joseph). The exiles on reaching Pelusium fell in with a body of 380,000 persons, left there by Amenophis, who had refused them permission to cross the Egyptian frontier. With these the exiles concluded an alliance and marched upon Egypt. Amenophis, without waiting for their attack, fled to Ethiopia, leaving his wife pregnant. Concealing herself in some caverns she gave birth to a son named Ramesses, who, on reaching manhood, drove the Jews, to the number of about 200,000, into Syria, and brought home his father Amenophis from Ethiopia.

(33) Such is Chaeremon's account. From these statements the mendacity of both writers is, I think, self-evident. Had they any foundation in fact, such wide discrepancy would be impossible. But consistency with others is not the concern of authors of fiction; they invent according to their fancy. Thus, according to Manetho, the expulsion of the contaminated people originated in the king's desire to

a Or perhaps "and Joseph, the latter also a sacred scribe." But it is doubtful whether any antithesis between "scribe" and "sacred tribe" is intended.
JOSEPHUS

ἐκβολῆς, ὃ δὲ Χαϊρήμων ἵδιον ὡς τῆς Ἴσιδος 295 ἐνύπνιον συντέθεικε. κάκεινος μὲν Ἀμενώφων εἶναι λέγει τὸν προειπόντα τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν καθαρμόν, οὗτος δὲ Φριστοβαύτην. ὃ δὲ δὴ τοῦ πλῆθους ἁριθμὸς καὶ σφόδρα σύνεγγυς, ὁκτὼ μὲν μυριάδας ἐκείνου λέγοντος, τούτῳ δὲ πέντε πρὸς ταῖς 296 εἴκοσιν. ἔτι τοῖνυν ὃ μὲν Μανέθως πρότερον εἰς τὰς λειτουργίας τοὺς μιαροὺς ἐκβαλὼν, εἶτα αὐτοῖς τῆν Αὐαρίν δοὺς ἐγκατοικεῖν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Αἴγυπτους ἐκπολεμῶσας,2 τότε φησὶν ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν παρὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμίτων αὐτῶν 297 τοὺς ἐπικουρίαν. ὃ δὲ Χαϊρήμων ἀπαλλαττομένους ἐκ τῆς Αἴγυπτου περὶ Πηλούσιον εὐφειών ὁκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων καταλελεμμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀμενώφιος καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνων πάλιν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐμβαλεῖν, φυγεῖν3 δὲ τὸν 298 Ἀμενώφιον εἰς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν. τὸ δὲ δὴ γενναίοτατον, οὐδὲ τίνες ἢ πόθεν ἦσαν αἱ τοιοῦται τοῦ στρατοῦ μυριάδες εὐρηκεν, εἰτε Αἴγυπτοι τὸ γένος εἰτ’ ἔξωθεν ἥκοντες, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τὴν αὔτίαν διεσάφησε, δι’ ἢν αὐτούς ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀνάγειν4 οὐκ ἦθελησεν, ὁ περὶ τῶν λεπρῶν 299 τὸ τῆς Ἴσιδος ἐνύπνιον συμπλάσας. τῷ δὲ Μωσῆι καὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ὁ Χαϊρήμων ὡς ἐν ταύτῳ χρόνῳ συνεξεληλασμένον προστέθεικεν, τὸν πρὸ Μωσέως πρεσβύτερον τέσσαρις γενεαῖς τετελευτηκότα, ὅπως 300 ἔστων ἐτη σχεδὸν ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν. ἀλλὰ

1 quasi proprium Lat.: ἡδίων, ὡς Niese.
2 ed. pr.: ἐκπολεμῆσαί L.
3 ed. pr.: φεῦγειν L.
4 ἀγαγεῖν ed. pr.
AGAINST APION, I. 294–300

see the gods: Chaeremon invents his own story of the appearance of Isis in a dream. Manetho says that this mode of purification was suggested to the king by Amenophis: Chaeremon mentions Phrito-bautes. Observe too how nearly their figures coincide in their estimate of the crowd; one speaks of 80,000, the other of 250,000! Again, Manetho begins by throwing the polluted wretches into the quarries, then makes them a present of Auaris for their abode and incites them to war against the rest of the Egyptians, and not until then does he represent them as appealing for aid to Jerusalem. According to Chaeremon’s account, they found, on their departure from Egypt, in the neighbourhood of Pelusium, 380,000 persons left there by Amenophis, with whom they retraced their steps and made a raid upon Egypt, resulting in the flight of Amenophis to Ethiopia. But the gem of his narrative is his omission to state who these myriads of soldiers were or whence they came, whether they were native Egyptians or foreign immigrants. He does not even explain why the king would not admit them into Egypt, though his Isis dream about the lepers showed no lack of imagination. With Moses, Chaeremon has associated, as a contemporary and companion in exile, Joseph, who died four generations, that is to say about 170 years, before Moses.\(^a\) Again, according

\(^a\) The four generations come from Ex. vi. 16–20, some forty-two years being reckoned to a generation. “P [the Priestly editor of the Pentateuch] consistently represents Moses or his contemporaries as being in the *fourth* generation (cf. Gen. xv. 16) from one or other of Jacob’s sons” (Driver); and yet inconsistently makes the duration of the sojourn in Egypt 430 years (Ex. xii. 40; cf. Jos. A. ii. 204, “400 years”).
JOSEPHUS

μὴν ὁ Ῥαμέσσης ὁ τοῦ Ἀμενώφιος υἱὸς κατὰ μὲν τὸν Μανέθων νεανίας συμπολεμεῖ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ συνεκπίπτει φυγῶν εἰς τὴν Ἁλισσίαν, οὕτος δὲ πεποίηκεν αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήν ἐν σπηλαίῳ τινὶ γεγενημένον καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα νικῶντα μάχῃ καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰς Συρίαν ἐξελάνυοντα, τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντας περὶ μυριάδας κ’.

301 ὦ τῆς εὐχερείας: οὔτε γὰρ πρότερον οἵτινες ἦσαν αἱ τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτὼ μυριάδες εἶπεν, οὔτε πῶς αἱ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ πρεῖς διεφθάρησαν, πότερον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κατέπεσον ἡ πρὸς τὸν Ῥαμέσσην μετεβάλοντο. τὸ δὲ δὴ θαυμασιώτατον, οὐδὲ τίνας καλεῖ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους δυνατὸν ἔστι παρ’ αὐτὸν μαθεῖν ἡ ποτέροις αὐτῶν τίθεται ταύτην τὴν προσγορίαν, ταῖς κε’ μυριάσι τῶν λεπρῶν.

302 ἡ ταῖς η’ καὶ λ’ ταῖς περὶ τὸ Πηλουσίων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εὐρίθες ἰσως ἂν εἶν διὰ πλείονων ἐλέγχει τοὺς ύπ’ ἐαυτῶν ἐληλεγμένους τὸ γὰρ ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἕνα μετρώστερον.

303 (34) Ἠσεισάξω δὲ τούτους Λυσίμαχον, εὐληφότα μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς προειρημένοις ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ ψεύδηματος περὶ τῶν λεπρῶν καὶ λελωβημένων, ὑπερ-πεπαίκότα δὲ τὴν ἑκεῖνων ἀπιθανότητα τοῖς πλάσμασι, δῆλος συντεθεικός κατὰ πολλὴν ἄπ-305 ἐχθειαν. λέγει γὰρ ἐπὶ Βοκχόρεως τοῦ Ἀιγυπτίων βασιλέως τὸν λαὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, λεπρὸς ὄντας

1 ed. pr.: eikosi L.  2 ed. pr.: autois L.

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a A careless contradiction of Chaeremon’s statement (§ 292).

b The figure given in ed. pr. must be right. 250,000 lepers + 380,000 Pelusians = a total of 630,000. Of these only 200,000 are accounted for (§ 292). Josephus inquires what became of the remainder.

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to Manetho, Ramesses, son of Amenophis, fought as a young man in his father's army, and shared his flight and banishment to Ethiopia: according to Chaeremon's version, he was born in a cave after his father's death, and subsequently defeated the Jews and drove them out, to the number of about 200,000, into Syria. What reckless levity! First he omitted to state who the 380,000 were; then he tells us nothing of the fate of the 430,000, whether they fell in battle or went over to Ramesses. But—most astounding fact of all—it is impossible to discover from him whom he means by the Jews or to which of the two groups he applies this designation, the 250,000 lepers or the 380,000 at Pelusium. However, it would, I think, be foolish to spend more time in refuting authors who refute each other. To have left refutation to others would have shown more decency.

(34) I will next introduce Lysimachus. He brings up the same theme as the writers just mentioned, the mendacious story of the lepers and cripples, but surpasses both in the incredibility of his fictions, obviously composed with bitter animus. His account is this:

In the reign of Bocchoris, king of Egypt, the Jewish people, who were afflicted with leprosy,

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\(^{a}\) Alexandrian writer of uncertain date, but later than Mnaseas (2nd cent. B.C.) whom he quotes. We hear more of him in Ap. ii., once (§ 28) as siding with Apion.

\(^{b}\) A Bocchoris of the XXIVth Dynasty (c. 8th cent.) is mentioned by Manetho. That is the date assigned by Apion to the Exodus (Ap. ii. 17), and may be that intended by Lysimachus. Josephus, however (\(\text{ib.}\) 16), assigns to Bocchoris a far earlier date; Diodorus also (i. 65) mentions an older Bocchoris. Like Lysimachus, with whose account he shows other parallels, Tacitus, Hist. v. 3, places the exodus in the reign of Bocchoris.
καὶ ψωρόσ καὶ ἄλλα νοσήματα τινα ἔχοντας εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ καταφεύγοντας μεταίτειν τροφῆν, παμπόλλων δὲ ἀνθρώπων νοσηλεία περιπεσόντων ἀκαρπίαν ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ γενέσθαι. Βόκχωριν δὲ τοὺς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα εἰς Ἀμμωνα πέμψατε περὶ τῆς ἀκαρπίας τοὺς μαντευσομένους, τὸν θεὸν δὲ ἀναιρεῖν τὰ ἱερὰ καθάραι ἀπ’ ἀνθρώπων ἀνάγκων καὶ δυσσεβῶν, ἐκβαλέσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν εἰς τόπους ἐρήμους, τοὺς δὲ ψωροὺς καὶ λεπρὰς βυθίσατε, ὥς τοῦ ἥλιου ἀγανακτοῦντος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦτων ξού, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἀγνίσαι, καὶ οὕτω την γῆν καρποφόρησεν. τὸν δὲ Βόκχωριν τοὺς χρήσιμοὺς λαβόντα τοὺς τε ἱερεῖς καὶ ἐπιμορίας προσ- καλεσάμενον κελεύσατε ἐπιλογὴν ποιησάμενος τῶν ἀκαθάρτων τοὺς στρατιώτας τούτους παραδοῦναι κατάξειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἐρήμον, τοὺς δὲ λεπρῶν εἰς μολιβδίνους χάρτας ἑνδήσαντας, ἵνα καθώσιν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος. βυθισθέντων δὲ τῶν λεπρῶν καὶ ψωρῶν τοὺς ἄλλους συναθροισθέντας εἰς τόπους ἐρήμους ἐκπετῆσθαι ἐπὶ ἀπωλεία, συναχθέντας δὲ βουλευσάθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιγενομένης πῦρ καὶ λύχνους καύσαντας φυλάττειν ἑαυτοὺς, τὴν τ’ ἐπιοῦσαι νῦκτα νηστεύσαντας ἑλάσκεσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς περὶ τοῦ σώσατε αὐτοὺς. τῇ δ’ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Μωυσῆν τινα συμβουλεύσα σα αὐτοῖς παρα- βαλλομένους μίαν ὀχουν σεμενον ἄχρις ἀν ἐκ τούτου ἐλθοσον εἰς τόπους οἰκουμένους, παρακελεύσασθαί τε αὐτοῖς μήτε ἀνθρώπων των εὐνοεῖν μήτε

1 ed. pr. (Lat.?): ἔχοντων L.
2 I. Lat.: ἐμμωνος Bekker (cf. § 312).
4: read ἑνδῆσατε.
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AGAINST APION, I. 305–309

scurvy, and other maladies, took refuge in the temples and lived a mendicant existence. The victims of disease being very numerous, a dearth ensued throughout Egypt. King Bocchoris thereupon sent to consult the oracle of Ammon \(^a\) about the failure of the crops. The god told him to purge the temples of impure and impious persons, to drive them out of these sanctuaries into the wilderness, to drown those afflicted with leprosy and scurvy, as the sun was indignant that such persons should live, and to purify the temples; then the land would yield her increase. On receiving these oracular instructions, Bocchoris summoned the priests and servitors at the altars, and ordered them to draw up a list of the unclean persons and to deliver them into military charge to be conducted into the wilderness, and to pack the lepers into sheets of lead and sink them in the ocean. The lepers and victims of scurvy having been drowned, the others were collected and exposed in the desert to perish. There they assembled and deliberated on their situation. At nightfall they lit up a bonfire and torches, and mounted guard, and on the following night kept a fast and implored the gods to save them. On the next day a certain Moses advised them to take their courage in their hands and make a straight track until they reached inhabited country, instructing them to show goodwill to no man,\(^b\) to

\(^a\) So Tac. *Hist.* v. 3, "adito Hammonis oraculo." The famous oracle of Amun in an oasis in the Libyan desert.

\(^b\) Cf. *Ap.* ii. 121; Tac. *Hist.* v. 5, "aduersus omnes alios hostile odium."

\(^5\) *ed. pr.*: -πένας L.

\(^6\) *om. ed. pr.*

\(^7\) Niese: εὐνοῆσειν L.
τάριστα συμβουλεύειν· ἀλλὰ τὰ χείρων, θεών τε ναοὺς καὶ βωμούς, οἷς ἂν περιτύχωσιν, ἀνατρέπειν.
310 συνανεσάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τὰ δοχθέντα ποιοῦντας διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου πορεύεσθαι, ἴκανῶς δὲ ὀχληθέντας ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην χώραν, καὶ τοὺς τε ἀνθρώπους ύβρίζοντας καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συλλόγον ταὶ ἐμπρήσαντας ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν νῦν Ἰουδαίαν προσαγορευμένην, κτίσαντας δὲ πόλιν ἐνταῦθα
311 κατοικεῖν. τὸ δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦτο Ἰεροσολύμα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκεῖνων διαθέσεως ὁνομάσθαι. ὦστερον δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπικρατήσαντας χρόνων διαλλάξαι τὴν ὄνομασίαν πρὸς τὸ <μή> ὀνειδίζεσθαι, καὶ τὴν τε πόλιν Ἰεροσολύμα καὶ αὐτοῦ Ἰεροσολυμῖτας προσαγορευέσθαι.
312 (35) Οὐτός ουδὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον εὗρεν εἶπεν βασιλέα, καὶ νότορον δ' ὄνομα συντέθεικεν, καὶ παρεῖς ἐνύπνιον καὶ προφήτην Λεγόμπτιον εἰς Ἀμμωνὸς ἀπελήλυθεν περὶ τῶν ψυρῶν καὶ λεπτῶν χρησμῶν
313 οὕσων. φησὶ γὰρ εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ συλλέγεσθαι πλῆθος Ἰουδαίων. ἀρά γε τοῦτο τοῖς λεπροῖς ὄνομα θέμενος ἢ μόνων τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοῖς νοσήμασι περιπεσόντων; λέγει γὰρ "ὁ λαὸς τῶν Ἰου-
314 δαίων." ὁ ποίος; ἠ ἐπήλυς ἢ τὸ γένος ἐγχώριος; διὰ τὰ τοίνυν Λεγόμπτίον αὐτοῦ ὄντας Ἰουδαίους καλείς; εἰ δὲ ξένουι, διὰ τὰ πόθεν οὐ λέγεις; πῶς δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν βυθίσαντος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς εἰς ἑρήμους τόπους ἔκβαλοντο, τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὑπε-
315 ελείφθησαν; ἡ τίνα τρόπον διεξῆλθον μὲν τὴν

1 Niese: ἀριστα συμβουλεύειν L.
2 ed. mi.: Ἰεροσολύμα L.  
3 ins. Hudson.
4 + οὐν Lat. (apparently) 
5 ὁ ποίος; Herwerden: ὁ ποίος L.
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AGAINST APION, I. 309-315

offer not the best but the worst advice, and to overthrow any temples and altars of the gods which they found. The rest assenting, they proceeded to put these decisions into practice. They traversed the desert, and after great hardships reached inhabited country: there they maltreated the population, and plundered and set fire to the temples, until they came to the country now called Judaea, where they built a city in which they settled. This town was called Hierosyla a because of their sacrilegious propensities. At a later date, when they had risen to power, they altered the name, to avoid the disgraceful imputation, and called the city Hierosolyma and themselves Hierosolymites.

(35) Lysimachus actually differs from the previous writers in mentioning a king discovered by himself; he has invented a fresh name, and, neglecting the dream and the Egyptian prophet, has gone to Ammon for an oracle concerning the victims of scurvy and leprosy. When he speaks of a multitude of Jews congregating in the temples, does he under this name refer to the lepers, or were the Jews the only persons afflicted with these diseases? He says, "the people of the Jews." What sort of people? Foreigners or natives? If they were Egyptians, why call them Jews? If foreigners, why do you not say where they came from? After the king had drowned many of them in the sea and banished the rest into the wilderness, how came so large a number to survive? How did they traverse the desert, conquer the

\[^{a}i.e.\text{"(town) of temple-robbers."}\]
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316 μήσαντο πάσιν περιβοήτουν; ἔχρην δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ νομοθέτου μὴ μόνον εἰπεῖν τούνομα, δηλώσαι δὲ καὶ τὸ γένος οὕτων ἢ καὶ τίνων. διὰ τί δὲ τοιούτους ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐπεχείρησε τιθέναι νόμους περὶ θεῶν καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἁδικίας κατὰ τὴν πορείαν; εἶτε γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ γένος ἦσαν, οὐκ ἂν ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν οὔτως ραδίως μετεβάλοντο, εἰτ' ἀλλαχόθεν ἦσαν, πάντως τινὲς ὑπήρξαν αὐτοῖς νόμοι διὰ μακρᾶς συνήθειας πεφυλαγμένοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν ἐξελασάντων αὐτοὺς ὠμοσαν μηδέποτε εὐνοήσειν, λόγον εἰχεν εἰκότα, πάσι δὲ πόλεμον ἀνθρώπως ἀκριμικτὸν ἀρασθαί τούτους, εἰπέρ ἐπραττόν ὡς αὐτὸς λέγει κακῶς, παρὰ πάντων βοηθείας δεομένους, ἀνοίαν οὐκ ἐκείνουν ἀλλὰ τοῦ ψευδομένου πάνυ πολλῆν παρίστησιν, ὅσ' ἡ γε καὶ τούνομα θέσθαι τῇ πόλει ἀπὸ τῆς ἱεροσυλίας αὐτοὺς ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν, τούτο δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα παρατρέπει.

319 δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ὑστερον γενομένοις αἰσχύνην τούνομα καὶ μῖσος ἐφερεν, αὐτοὶ δ' οἱ κτίζοντες τὴν πόλιν κοσμήσεως αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανον οὕτως ὁνομάζοντες. δ' ἐγενναῖος ὑπὸ πολλῆς <τῆς>¹ τοῦ λουδορεῖν ἀκρασίας οὐ συνήκες ὅτι ἱεροσυλεῖν οὐ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν φωνὴν ἱουδαίοι τοίς Ἐλλήσων ὀνομάζομεν. τί <ἀν> οὖν ἐπὶ² πλείον τις λέγοι πρὸς τὸν ψευδόμενον οὕτως ἀνασχύντως;

Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ σύμμετρον ἦδη τὸ βιβλίον ἐξήλθε μέγεθος, ἐτέραν ποιησάμενος ἀρχὴν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν εἰς τὸ προκείμενον πειράσομαι προσαποδοῦναι.

¹ ins. Niese. ² ἐπὶ ed. μv. (but cf. ii. 262).
AGAINST APION, I. 315–320

country which we inhabit to-day, found a city, and build a temple of world-wide renown? He should not have been content with mentioning the law-giver's name; he should have told us of his descent and parentage. And what could have induced him to draw up such laws for them about the gods and about the injuries they were to inflict on mankind during their march? If they were Egyptians, they would not so lightly have abandoned their national customs for others; if they came from elsewhere, they certainly had some laws, cherished by the habits of a lifetime. For an oath of eternal enmity against those who had expelled them there was reasonable ground: but that men who, in the straits in which he represents them to have been, needed assistance from every quarter, should declare implacable war on all mankind, indicates extraordinary folly, not on their part, but on the part of the lying historian. He has, further, ventured to assert that they gave their city a name derived from their temple robberies and afterwards modified it. Obviously the name brought their descendants into disgrace and odium, but the actual founders of the city thought to do themselves honour by so naming it! The worthy man, in his intemperate abuse, has not observed that we Jews do not use the same word as the Greeks to express robbery of temples. What more need be said to so impudent a liar?

This book, however, having already run to a suitable length, I propose at this point to begin a second, in which I shall endeavour to supply the remaining portion of my subject.
ΛΟΓΟΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ

1 (1) Διὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ προτέρου βιβλίου, τιμωτάτε μοι Ἑπαφρόδιτε, περί τε τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἡμῶν ἔπεδειξα, τοῖς Φοινίκωις καὶ Χαλδαίοις καὶ Αἰγυπτίωις γράμμασι πιστωσάμενος τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφεῖς παρασχόμενος μάρτυρας, τὴν τε ἀντιρρησίαν ἐποιησάμην πρὸς Μανεθώνα καὶ Χαρήμονα καὶ τινὰς ἑτέρους.

2 ἀρξόμαι δὲ νῦν τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους τῶν γεγραφοτῶν τι καθ’ ἡμῶν ἐλέγχων. καίτοι περὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἀπίωνα τὸν γραμματικὸν ἀντιρρήσεως 3 ἐπηλθὲ μοι διαπορεῖν, εἰ χρὴ σπουδάσαι τὰ μὲν γάρ ἐστὶ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένων τοῖς ὑπ’ ἄλλων εἰρημένοις ὁμοία, τὰ δὲ λινὰς ψυχρῶς προστέθειτε, τὰ πλεῖστα δὲ βωμολοχίαν ἔχει καὶ πολλὴν, εἰ δὲ τάληθες εἰπεῖν, ἀπαιδευθεὶς, ὡς ἄν ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπου συγκείμενα καὶ φαύλου τὸν πρόπον καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον ὀχλαγμοῦ γεγο- 4 νότος. ἐπεί δ’ οῖ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀνοικαν ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἁλίσκονται λόγων

1 καίτοι περὶ ed. pr.: καὶ τοίς L.
2 So ed. pr.: + τετολμημένοις L: Niese suspects a lacuna.

a Apion was born in upper Egypt (Ap. ii. 29), studied at Alexandria, and taught rhetoric in Rome under Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius. Under Caligula he headed the anti-
BOOK II

(1) In the first volume of this work, my most esteemed Epaphroditus, I demonstrated the antiquity of our race, corroborating my statements by the writings of Phoenicians, Chaldaeans, and Egyptians, besides citing as witnesses numerous Greek historians; I also challenged the statements of Manetho, Chaereemon, and some others. I shall now proceed to refute the rest of the authors who have attacked us. I am doubtful, indeed, whether the remarks of Apion a the grammarian deserve serious refutation. Some of these resemble the allegations made by others, some are very indifferent b additions of his own; most of them are pure buffoonery, and, to tell the truth, display the gross ignorance of their author, a man of low character and a charlatan to the end of his days. Yet, since most people are so foolish as to find greater attraction in such compositions than in works of a Jewish deputation sent from Alexandria to the Emperor, when he was opposed to Philo, the spokesman of the Alexandrian Jews (A. xviii. 257 ff.). An erudite, but ostentatious, writer, he was best known as an interpreter of Homer (Ap. ii. 14). He also wrote a History of Egypt in five books, which included references to the Jews (ib. 10): whether he wrote a separate work on the Jews is doubtful. His researches earned for him the nickname of ὀχθος (labor), his ostentatious parade that of cymbalum mundi, given him by the Emperor Tiberius.

a Refutation of anti-Semitic calumnies continued. (iv.) Apion.

b Or "frigid."
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mállov ἡ τῶν μετὰ τινος σπουδῆς γεγραμμένων, καὶ χαίρονσι μὲν ταῖς λοιδορίαις, ἀγχονται δὲ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην εἶναι μηδὲ τὸν τοῦτο ἀνεξέταστον καταλυτείν, κατηγορίαν ἢμῶν ἀντικρὺς ὡς ἐν δίκη γεγραφώτα, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ κάκειν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὃρῶ παρακολουθοῦν, τὸ λίαν ἐφῆδεθαί ὅταν τὶς ἀρξάμενος βλασφημεῖν ἔτερον αὐτός ἐλέγχηται περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν προσόντων κακῶν. ἔστι μὲν οὖν οὐ βάδιον αὐτοῦ διελθεῖν τὸν λόγον οὔτε σαφῶς γνώναι τι λέγειν βούλεται, σχεδὸν δ’, ὡς ἐν πολλῇ παραχῇ καὶ ψευσμάτων συγχύσει, τὰ μὲν εἰς τὴν ὁμοίαν ἰδέαν πέπτει τοῖς προεξηταισμένοις περὶ τῆς ἢ Αἰγύπτου τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων μεταναστάσεως, τὰ δ’ ἐστὶ κατηγορία τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρεία κατοικούσιν Ἰουδαίων. τρίτον δ’ ἐπὶ τούτους μέμικται περὶ τῆς ἀγιστείας τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἠμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νομίμων κατηγορία.¹

8 (2) Ὄτι μὲν οὖν οὔτε Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ γένος ἦσαν ἡμῶν οἱ πατέρες οὔτε διὰ λύμνην σωμάτων ἡ τοιαύτας ἀλλὰ συμφοράς τινας ἐκείθεν ἐξηλάσθησαν, οὐ μετρίως μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πέρα τοῦ συμμέτρου προσποδεδείχθαι νομίζω, περὶ ὧν δὲ προσπέθησαν ὁ Ἄπιων ἐπιμνησθήσομαι συντόμως. φησὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν τάδε. Ἡ Ἑλλάδος, ὡς ἥκουσα παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἢν Ἡλιοπόλετης, ὁς πατρίως ἐθεσὶ κατηγορούμενοι αἰθρίους προσευχᾶς ἀνήγειν εἰς οἴους εἶχεν τῇ πόλις.²

¹ Bekker: κατηγορίας L Lat.
² ἡ πόλις "d. pr.: Ἡλίως L: perhaps Ἡλίων πόλις should be read.
AGAINST APION, II. 4-10

serious nature, to be charmed by abuse and impatient of praise, I think it incumbent upon me not to pass over without examination even this author, who has written an indictment of us formal enough for a court of law. For I observe, on the other hand, that people in general also have a habit of being intensely delighted when one who has been the first to malign another has his own vices brought home to him. His argument is difficult to summarize and his meaning to grasp. But, so far as the extreme disorder and confusion of his lying statements admit of analysis, one may say that some fall into the same category as those already investigated, relating to the departure of our ancestors from Egypt; others form an indictment of the Jewish residents in Alexandria; while a third class, mixed up with the rest, consists of accusations against our temple rites and our ordinances in general.

(2) That our ancestors neither were Egyptians by race nor were expelled from that country in consequence of contagious diseases or any similar affliction, I think I have already given not merely sufficient, but even superabundant, proof. I propose, however, briefly to mention the details added by Apion. In the third book of his History of Egypt he makes the following statement:

"Moses, as I have heard from old people, in Egypt, was a native of Heliopolis, who, being pledged to the customs of his country, erected prayer-houses, open to the air, in the various

\[\text{(2) On the exodus from Egypt.}\]

\[a\] So Josephus interprets below; possibly Apion meant "the elders" (in official sense).

\[b\] So Manetho, of Osarsiph, Ap. i. 238.
τοιαύτη μὲν τὶς ἡ θαυμαστή τοῦ γραμματικοῦ φράσις, τὸ δὲ ψεύσμα λόγων οὐ δεόμενον, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων περιφανές. οὐτε γὰρ αὐτὸς Μωσῆς, ὅτε τὴν πρώτην σκηνήν τῷ θεῷ κατεσκεύασεν, οὐθὲν ἐκτύπωμα τοιούτον εἰς αὐτὴν ἐνέθηκεν, οὐτε ποιεῖν τοῖς ἑπείτα προσέταξεν, ὃ τε μετὰ ταῦτα κατασκευάσας τὸν ναὸν τῶν ἐν Τερεσολύμως Σολομών πάσης ἀπέσχετο τοιαύτης περιεργίας οίνων συμπέπλεκεν Ἀπίων. ἀκούσαι δὲ φησι τῶν προσβυτέρων ὅτι Μωσῆς ἢ ἢ Ἡλιοπολῖτης, δῆλον ὅτι νεώτερος μὲν ὁν ἄυτός, ἐκείνοις δὲ πιστεύσας τοῖς διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἑπισταμένοις αὐτὸν καὶ συγ- γενομένους. καὶ περὶ μὲν Ὄμηρον τοῦ ποιητοῦ γραμματικοῦ ὅν αὐτός οὐκ ἄν ἔχοι, τὸς αὐτοῦ πατρὸς ἐστὶ, διαβεβαιωσάμενος εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲ περὶ Πυθαγόρου μόνον οὐκ ἔχθες καὶ πρώτην γεγονότος, περὶ δὲ Μωσέως τοσούτω πλήθει προαγόντος ἑκείνου ἐτῶν οὕτως ἀποφαίνεται βαδίσως, πιστεύων ἀκοῇ προσβυτέρων, ὡς δῆλος ἐστὶ καταβευσά- μενος.

1 Conjecture of translator: ἄνδρος L.
2 Huet: ὃτι L.
3 fuit Lat.: ὃ L.

a Or "on the various walls."
b For the obelisks of Heliopolis cf. Herod. ii. 111.
c Or "basin" (Gr. σκάφη, the technical term for the concave base of a sun-dial).
d Emended text: i.e. a human figure surmounting the pillar. The ms. has "the shadow of a man."

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AGAINST APION, II. 10-14

precincts\(^{a}\) of the city, all facing eastwards; such being the orientation also of Heliopolis. In place of obelisks\(^{b}\) he set up pillars, beneath which was a model of a boat\(^{c}\); and the shadow cast on this basin by the statue\(^{d}\) described a circle corresponding to the course of the sun in the heavens.”

Such is the grammarian’s amazing statement. Its mendacious character needs no comment; it is exposed by the facts. When Moses built the first tabernacle for God, he neither placed in it himself, nor instructed his successors to make, any graven imagery of this kind. When Solomon, later on, built the temple at Jerusalem, he too refrained from any curiosities of art such as Apion has conceived. He tells us that he heard from “old people” that Moses was a Heliopolitan. Obviously, as a junior, he believed what he was told by men old enough to have known and associated with him!\(^{e}\) Literary critic as he was, he could not positively have stated what was the birthplace of the poet Homer,\(^{f}\) or even of Pythagoras,\(^{g}\) who lived, one may say, but the other day. But when asked about Moses, who preceded them by such a vast number of years, he, on the strength of the old men’s report, answers with an assurance which proclaims him a liar.

\(^{a}\) Reinach aptly compares Athen. i. § 29 (p. 161): “Apion the Alexandrian says that he heard from Cteson of Ithaca the nature of the game of draughts played by the suitors (of Penelope).”

\(^{b}\) Cf. the old distich: “Smyrna, Rhodos, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Argos, Athenae, Orbis de patria certat, Homere, tua.”

\(^{c}\) Variously described as a Samian, Tyrrenian, Syrian (?) native of Syros), or Tyrian (Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 14, § 62, quoted by Reinach).
15 Τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν χρόνων ἐν οἷς φησὶ τὸν Μωσήν ἐξαγαγεῖν τοὺς λεπρῶντας καὶ τυφλοὺς καὶ τὰς βάσεις πεπηρωμένους, σφόδρα δὴ τοῖς πρὸ αὐτοῦ συμπεθώνηκεν, ὡς οἶμαι, ὁ γραμματικὸς ὁ ἀκριβῆς.
16 Μανέθως μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Θεομόσιον βασιλείαν ἀπαλλαγῆναι φησὶν ἐκ Αἰγύπτου τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, πρὸ ἐτῶν τριακοσίων ἑνεκηκοντατριῶν τῆς εἰς Ἀργος Δαναοῦ φυγῆς, Λυσίμαχος δὲ κατὰ Βόκχορυν τὸν βασιλέα, τούτεστι πρὸ ἐτῶν χιλίων ἑπτακοσίων, Μόλων δὲ καὶ ἄλλου τινὸς ὡς αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἐδοξεῖν. οὐκ ἐγὼ γὰρ πάντων πιστότατος Ἀπίων ὥρισατο τὴν ἕξοδον ἀκριβῶς κατὰ τὴν ἐβδομῆν ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ ταύτης ἔτος εἶναι πρῶτον, ἐν δὲ, φησὶ, Καρχηδόνα Φοίνικες ἐκτισαν. τούτο δὲ πάντως προσέθηκε τῷ Καρχηδόνα τεκμηρίων οἰόμενος αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τῆς ἀληθείας ἐναργεῖσθαι, οὐ συνήκε δὲ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ἐλεγχὸν ἐπιπτομένος.
18 εἰ γάρ τις Φοίνικών ἀναγραφαί, ἐν ἑκείναις Εἰρώμος ὁ βασιλεὺς γέγραπται πρεσβύτερος τῆς Καρχηδόνος κτίσεως ἐτεσι πλείσι πρὸς τοῖς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἕκατον, περὶ αὐτῶν πίστεις ἀνωτέρω παρέσχου ἐκ τῶν Φοίνικών ἀναγραφῶν, ἵνα Σολομῶντι τῷ τὸν ναὸν οἰκοδομησαμένῳ τὸν ἐν Ιεροσολύμαις φίλος ἢν Εἰρώμος καὶ πολλὰ συνεβάλλετο πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευήν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Σολομῶν ὄραξο νομίσως τὸν ναὸν μετὰ τὸ ἑξελθεῖν ἐκ Αἰγύπτου τοὺς Ἰουδαίους δώδεκα καὶ ἑξακοσίως ἐτεσιν ὕστερον.

1 + περὶ τῆς ἀπιστίας L Lat., — περὶ τῆς ἀποκλίας ed. pr., "on the subject of the colony" (which should perhaps stand).

a Ap. i. 103.
b Tb. 305.
c Apollonius Molo, born in Caria, taught rhetoric in Rhodes 298
AGAINST APION, II. 15–19

On the question of the date which he assigns to the exodus of the lepers, the blind and the lame under Moses' leadership, we shall find, I imagine, this accurate grammarian in perfect agreement with previous writers. Well, Manetho states that the departure of the Jews from Egypt occurred in the reign of Tethmosis, 393 years before the flight of Danaus to Argos; Lysimachus says, under King Bocchoris, that is to say, 1700 years ago; Molon and others fix a date to suit themselves. Apion, however, the surest authority of all, precisely dates the exodus in the seventh Olympiad, and in the first year of that Olympiad, the year in which, according to him, the Phoenicians founded Carthage. This mention of Carthage he has doubtless inserted under the belief that it would afford a striking proof of his veracity; he has failed to see that he has thereby brought upon himself his own refutation. For, if the Phoenician chronicles may be trusted, it is there recorded that King Hirom lived more than 150 years before the foundation of Carthage. Evidence from those chronicles to this effect has been given earlier in this work, where I showed that Hirom was a friend of Solomon, who built the Temple at Jerusalem, and that he contributed largely towards its construction. But Solomon himself built the Temple 612 years after the departure of the Jews from Egypt.

and at Rome; Cicero and Julius Caesar were among his pupils. His diatribes on the Jews are frequently mentioned in this book.

d Also the date of the foundation of Rome.

e Ap. i. 126.

f Ib. 109 f.

g So Josephus in A. xx. 230; elsewhere (A. viii. 61) he gives the period as 592 years; the Biblical figure (1 Kings vi. 1) is 480.
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20 Τόν δὲ ἄριθμὸν τῶν ἐλασθέντων τὸν αὐτὸν Λυσιμάχου σχεδιάσασι, ἐνδέκα γαρ αὐτοὺς εἶναι φησὶ μυριάδας, θαυμαστὴν τινα καὶ πιθανὴν ἀποδίδωσι αἰτίαν, ἀδ' ἂς φησὶ τὸ σάββατον

21 ὁνομάσθαι. "οδεύσαντες," γαρ φησιν, "ἐξ ἡμερῶν ὅδον βουβώνας ἔσχον καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ἦμέρᾳ ἀνεπαύσαντο σωθέντες εἰς τὴν χώραν τὴν νῦν Ἰουδαίαν λεγομένην, καὶ ἐκάλεσαν τὴν ἦμέραν σάββατον σωθέντες τὴν Ἀγιυπτίων γλῶτταν· τὸ γαρ βουβώνος ἄλγος

22 καλοῦσιν Ἀγιυπτίοις σαββώ. 1' οὐκ ἄν οὖν τις ἡ καταγελάσει τῆς φλυαρίας ἡ τοιοῦτον μισήσει τὴν ἐν τῷ τοιαύτα γράφειν ἀναίδειαν; δῆλον γαρ ὅτι πάντες ἐβουβωνιάσαν ἐνδέκα μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἦσαν ἐκεῖνοι τυφλοί καὶ χωλοὶ καὶ πάντα τρόπων νοσοῦντες, ὅποιος αὐτοὺς εἶναι φῆσιν Ἀπίων, οὖδ' ἂν μιᾶς ἦμέρας προελθεῖν ὅδον ἠδυνήθησαν· εἰ δ' οἶοι βαδίζειν διὰ πολλῆς ἐρήμιας καὶ προσέτι νικάν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνθισταμένους μαχόμενοι πάντες, οὐκ ἄν ἄθροοι μετὰ τὴν ἐκτην

23 ἦμέραν ἐβουβωνιάσαν. οὔτε γαρ φύσει πως γίνεται τὸ τοιοῦτον τοῖς βαδίζουσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μυριάδες στρατοπέδων ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἦμέρας τὸ σύμμετρον ἀεὶ βαδίζουσιν, οὔτε κατὰ ταυτόμορον εἰκὸς οὕτως συμβῆναι· πάντων γαρ

24 ἀλογώτατον. ὅ δὲ θαυμαστὸς Ἀπίων διὰ μὲν ἐξ ἡμερῶν αὐτοὺς ἀλλεῖπεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προείρηκε, πάλιν δὲ τὸν Μωσῆν εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς Ἀγίυπτου καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας ὀρος, ὁ καλεῖται Σίναιον, ἀνα-

1 Reinach with the Lat.: σαββώτως L. Cf. §§ 26 f.
2 ins. Bekker.

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After stating that the fugitives numbered 110,000, in which imaginary figure he agrees with Lysimachus, he gives an astonishing and plausible explanation of the etymology of the word "sabbath"!

"After a six days' march," he says, "they developed tumours in the groin, and that was why, after safely reaching the country now called Judaea, they rested on the seventh day, and called that day sabbaton, preserving the Egyptian terminology; for disease of the groin in Egypt is called sabbo."

One knows not whether to laugh at the nonsense, or rather to be indignant at the impudence, of such language. Clearly all these 110,000 persons were attacked by tumours. But if they were blind and lame and suffering from all kinds of disease, as represented by Apion, they could not have accomplished a single day's march. If, on the contrary, they were capable not only of traversing a vast desert, but of defeating their adversaries in battles in which they all took part, they would not have succumbed in a body to the tumours after six days. For persons on a forced march are not naturally subject to a malady of this kind; myriads of men in armies maintain a regular pace for many days in succession. Nor can one attribute such an accident to chance; that would be the height of absurdity. This astonishing Apion, after stating that they reached Judaea in six days, tells us elsewhere that Moses went up into the mountain called Sinai, which lies between Egypt

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\(^a\) No figure is given in the extract from Lysimachus above (Ap. i. chap. 34).

\(^b\) Apion does not say this in the extract above (§ 21), though his words lend themselves to such an interpretation.
βάντα φησιν ήμέρας τεσσαράκοντα κρυβήναι, κάκειθεν καταβάντα δούναι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οὓς νόμους. καίτοι πῶς οἶον τε τούς αὐτοὺς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα μένειν ήμέρας ἐν ἐρήμῳ καὶ ἀνύδρῳ τόπῳ καὶ τὴν μεταξὺ πᾶσαν ἐν ἡμέραις ἔξι δι-
26 ελθεῖν; ἢ δὲ περὶ τὴν ὄνομασίαν τοῦ σαββάτου γραμματικὴ μετάθεσις ἀναίδειαν ἔχει πολλὴν ἢ
27 δεινὴν ἀμαθίαν. τὸ γὰρ σαββῶ καὶ σαββάτον πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων διαφέρει τὸ μὲν γὰρ σάββατον κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίων διάλεκτον ἀνάπαυσις ἐστὶν ἀπὸ παντὸς ἐργοῦ, τὸ δὲ σαββῶ, καθάπερ ἐκείνος φησι, δηλοὶ παρ' Ἀγγέλους τὸ βουβώνος ἄλγος.
28 (3) Τοιαῦτα μὲν τινα περὶ Μωσέως καὶ τῆς ἔξι Ἀγγέλους γενομένης τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀπαλλαγῆς ὁ Ἀγγέλεως Ἀπίων ἐκαινοποίησεν παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπινοήσας. καὶ τι γε δεὶ θαυμάζειν εἰ περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων φεύγειν προγόνων, λέγων αὐτοὺς εἶναι
29 τὸ γένος Ἀγγέλους; αὐτὸς γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦνατιν ἐφεύγετο καὶ γεγενημένος1 ἐν Ὄασει τῆς Ἀγγέλους, πάντων Ἀγγέλους πρῶτος ὄν, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ πατρίδα καὶ τὸ γένος ἐξωμόζατο, Ἀλέξανδρεὺς δὲ εἶναι καταφευγόμενος
30 ὁμολογεῖ τὴν μοχθηρίαν τοῦ γένους. εἰκότως οὖν οὐς μισεῖ καὶ βούλεται λοιδορεῖν τούτους Ἀγ-
γέλους καλεῖ. εἰ μὴ γὰρ φαυλοτάτοις εἶναι ἐνόμιζεν Ἀγγέλους, οὐκ ἂν τὸ γένος2 αὐτὸς ἔφυγεν, ὡς οὗ γε μεγαλοφρονοῦντες ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐαυτῶν πατρίσι σεμνύνονται μὲν ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτοῖς χρηματίζοντες, τοὺς ἀδίκους3 δ' αὐτῶν ἀντι-
31 ποιουμένους ἐλέγχουσι. πρὸς ἦμᾶς δὲ δυοῖν θάτε-

1 ed. pr.: γεγενημένος L.
2 Lat. genus: τοῦ γένους L.
3 ed. pr.: ἀδίκους L.
AGAINST APION, II. 25–31

and Arabia, remained in concealment there for forty days, and then descended and gave the Jews their laws. However could the same body of men stay forty days in a desert and waterless region, and yet cover the whole distance to their destination in six days? The grammarian’s distortion of the word "sabbath" betrays either gross impudence or shocking ignorance; there is a wide difference between sabbo and sabbaton. Sabbathon in the Jews’ language denotes cessation from all work, while sabbo among the Egyptians signifies, as he states, disease of the groin.

(3) Such are some of the novel features which the Egyptian Apion, improving upon other authors, has introduced into the story of Moses and the departure of the Jews from Egypt. That he should lie about our ancestors and assert that they were Egyptians by race is by no means surprising. He told a lie which was the reverse of this one about himself. Born in the Egyptian oasis, more Egyptian than them all, as one might say, he disowned his true country and falsely claimed to be an Alexandrian, thereby admitting the ignominy of his race. It is therefore natural that he should call persons whom he detests and wishes to abuse Egyptians. Had he not had the meanest opinion of natives of Egypt, he would never have turned his back on his own nation. Patriots are proud to bear their country’s name, and denounce those who lay unjust claim to the title of citizens. In their relation to us, Egyptians are

\(^a\) The Great Oasis, in upper Egypt (cf. §41), west of Thebes.
The Jewish quarter was on the N.E. of Alexandria, separated from the Great Harbour by the promontory of Lochias, on which stood the royal palace (Strabo, xvii. 9. 794: cf. § 36 below). The necropolis (§ 36) was at the other end, the extreme west, of the city.
AGAINST APION, II. 31–36

swayed by one of two feelings: either they feign to be our kinsmen in order to gain prestige, or else they drag us into their ranks to share their bad reputation. The noble Apion's calumny upon us is apparently designed as a sort of return to the Alexandrians for the rights of citizenship which they bestowed upon him. Knowing their hatred of their Jewish neighbours in Alexandria, he has made it his aim to vilify the latter, and has included all the rest of the Jews in his condemnation. In both these attacks he shows himself an impudent liar.

(4) Let us investigate the grave and shocking charges which he has brought against the Jewish residents in Alexandria. "They came," he says, "from Syria and settled by a sea without a harbour, close beside the spot where the waves break on the beach." Well, if fault is to be found with the locality, he is stigmatizing, I do not say his native place, but what he professes to be his native place, Alexandria. For the sea-board forms part of the city, and is, by universal consent, its finest residential quarter.° If the Jews owed their occupation and subsequent undisturbed tenure of this quarter to force of arms, that is a proof of their valour. In fact, however, it was presented to them as their residence by Alexander, and they obtained privileges on a par with those of the Macedonians. (I do not know what Apion would have said if the Jews had been quartered

° From other passages in Josephus it would appear that the Alexandrian Jews owed their separate quarters and their privilege of ἰδιωτατήτα to Ptolemy Soter, rather than to Alexander. Cf. B. ii. 487 f. (a "place of their own" is given by the Diadochi), A. xii. 6 (ἰδιωτατήτα by Ptolemy Soter).

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νεκροπόλει κατάκοιν καὶ μή πρὸς τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ἥσαν ἰδρυμένοι.) καὶ μέχρι νῦν αὐτῶν ἡ φυλὴ τὴν 31 προσηγορίαν εἶχεν Μακεδόνες. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀναγνώσεις Ἄλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὰς Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου, καὶ τῶν μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τῆς Λιγύπτου βασιλέων ἐντυχῶν τοῖς γράμμασι, καὶ τὴν στήλην τὴν ἐστῶσαν ἐν Ἄλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα περέχουσαν, ἀ Καίσαρ ὁ μέγας τοῖς Ιουδαίοις ἔδωκεν, εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα, φημὶ, γυνώσκων τάναντια γράφειν ἐτόλμα, πονηρὸς ἦν, εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἡπίστατο τούτων, ἀπαίδευτος.

38 Τὸ δὲ δὴ θαυμάζειν πῶς Ἰουδαίοι οἴντες Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἐκλήθησαν, τῆς ὁμοίας ἀπαίδευσίας. πάντες γὰρ οἱ εἰς ἀποκλίαν τινὰ κατακληθέντες, καὶ πλείστων ἄλληλων τοῖς γένεσι διαφέρωσιν, ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιστῶν τὴν προσηγορίαν λαμβάνουσιν. καὶ τὰ δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων λέγειν; αὐτῶν γὰρ ἦμων οἱ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν κατοικοῦντες Ἀντιοχεῖας ὁμομάζοντας τὴν γὰρ πολιτείαν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν ὁ κτίστης Σέλευκος. ὁμοίως οἱ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰωνίαν τοῖς αὐθεντικοῖς πολίταις ὁμωνυμοῦσιν, τοῦτο παρασχόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν διαδόχων.

40 ἢ δὲ Ῥωμαίων φιλανθρωπία πάσων οὐ μικρὸν δεῖν τῆς αὐτῶν προσηγορίας μεταδέωπεν; οὐ μόνον ἀνδράσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγάλοις ἔθνεσιν ὀλοί; Ἐβηρεῖς

1 καὶ ed.pr.: om. L Lat.

This sentence is perhaps a later, and misplaced, insertion of the author. Niese and Reinach transpose it to the end of § 34.

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in the neighbourhood not of the palace, but of the necropolis!')

Down to the present time their local tribe bore the name of "Macedonians." If Apion had read the letters of King Alexander and of Ptolemy, son of Lagus, if he had set eyes on the papers of their successors on the throne of Egypt, or the slab which stands in Alexandria, recording the rights bestowed upon the Jews by Caesar the Great; if, I say, he knew these documents and yet had the face to contradict them in what he wrote, he was a knave; if he had no knowledge of them, an ignorant fool.

His astonishment at the idea of Jews being called Alexandrians betrays similar stupidity. All persons invited to join a colony, however different their nationality, take the name of the founders. It is needless to go outside our race for instances. Our Jewish residents in Antioch are called Antiochenes, having been granted rights of citizenship by its founder, Seleucus. Similarly, those at Ephesus and throughout the rest of Ionia bear the same name as the indigenous citizens, a right which they received from Alexander's successors. Have not the Romans, in their generosity, imparted their name to well-nigh all mankind, not to individuals only, but to great nations as a whole? Thus those who were

\[\text{Their claim to Alexandrian citizenship.}\]
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γοῦν οἱ πάλαι καὶ Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ Σαβίνοι Ρωμαίοι καλοῦνται. εἰ δὲ τούτον ἀφαίρεται τὸν πρόσων τῆς πολιτείας Αἱπίων, παυσάσθω λέγων αὐτὸν Ἀλεξάνδρεώς γεννηθεὶς γὰρ, ὡς προείπον, ἐν τῷ βαθυτάτῳ τῆς Ἀγάπου τῶς ἀν Ἀλεξάνδρεώς εἶη, τῆς κατὰ δόσιν πολιτείας, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἥξιωκεν, ἀναιρομένης; καὶ τοιούτους Ἀγάπητοις οἱ κύριοι τῶν Ρωμαίοι τῆς οἰκουμένης μετα- λαμβάνειν ἁστινοσοῦν πολιτείας ἀπειρήκασιν. ὁ δ' οὕτως ἐστι γεγονός, ὡς μετέχεων ἄξιων αὐτὸς ἄν τυχεῖν εἰκολύνετο συκοφαντεῖν ἐπεχείρησε τοὺς δικαίως λαβόντας.

Οὐ γὰρ ἀπορία γε τῶν οἰκησόντων τὴν μετὰ σπουδῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πόλων κτιζομένην Ἀλεξάνδρος τῶν ἡμετέρων τινὰς ἕκει συνηθροίσεν, ἄλλα πάντας δοκιμάζων ἐπιμελῶς ἀρετῆς καὶ πίστεως τούτο 43 τοῖς ἡμετέραις τὸ γέρας ἔδωκεν. ἐτίμα γὰρ ἡμῶν τὸ ἔθνος, ὡς καὶ φήσαι Ἐκαταιοῖς περὶ ἡμῶν, ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν καὶ πίστιν, ἤν αὐτῷ παρέσχοι Ἰουδαίοι, τὴν Σαμαρείτων χώραν προσέθηκαν ἔχειν 44 αὐτοῖς ἄφορολόγητον. ὅμως δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρείᾳ κατοικούντων ἐφρόνησεν καὶ γὰρ τὰ κατὰ τὴν

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a This statement, so far as the Iberians are concerned, is, as Reinaich points out, an exaggeration. Fifty Spanish communities enjoyed full Roman citizenship under Augustus; Vespasian bestowed the ius Latii (an inferior privilege) on the whole peninsula: Mommsen, Provinces of Rom. Emp. i. 68 f.

b § 29.

c An exaggerated statement, repeated in § 72 below. Native Egyptians were treated, alike by the Ptolemies and by the Roman emperors, as on a lower level than the Greeks. But they could obtain rights of Roman citizenship on the following conditions: (1) that they had previously obtained 308
once Iberians, Tyrrhenians, Sabines are now called Romans. If Apion disallows this class of citizenship, let him cease to call himself an Alexandrian. Born, as I have already mentioned, in the depths of Egypt, how can he be an Alexandrian, if, as he claims in our case, honorary rights of citizenship are to be ruled out? Indeed, Egyptians are the only people to whom the Romans, now lords of the universe, have refused admission to any citizen rights whatever. Yet Apion displays such noble generosity as to claim for himself privileges from which he was debarred, while he undertakes to calumniate those who have fairly obtained them.

For it was not lack of inhabitants to people the city, whose foundation he had so much at heart, that led Alexander to assemble in it a colony of our nation. This privilege he conferred on our people, after careful and thorough scrutiny, as a reward of valour and fidelity. The honour in which he held our nation may be illustrated by the statement of Hecataeus that, in recognition of the consideration and loyalty shown to him by the Jews, he added to their territory the district of Samaria free of tribute. Alexander's opinion of the Jews of Alexandria was shared by Ptolemy, son of Lagus. He entrusted the fortresses the citizenship of Alexandria, a privilege rarely accorded (Pliny to Trajan, Ep. vi., with Trajan's reply, Ep. vii.); (2) that they were ineligible for admission to the Senate. Reinach, in loc.; cf. Mommsen, Provinces, ii. 241 f.

This statement (? of pseudo-Hecataeus) is certainly exaggerated, and perhaps an anachronism. Three small districts of Samaria (not the whole country) were ceded to the Jews, free of tribute, by Demetrius II c. 145 B.C. (1 Macc. xi. 34; cf. x. 30, 38); but the language of 1 Macc. suggests that Demetrius may have been confirming some concession of earlier date.
Aığnu'tọv au'tōi's ἐνεχείρισε φρούρια, πιστῶς ἁμα καὶ γενναίως φυλάξεω ὑπολαμβάνων, καὶ Κυρήνης ἐγκρατῶς ἀρχεῖν βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ πόλεων, εἰς αὐτὰς μέρος Ἰουδαίων

45 ἐπεμψε κατοικήσον. ὁ δὲ μετ' αὐτῶν Πτολεμαίος, ὁ Φιλάδελφος ἐπικληθεὶς, οὐ μόνον εἰ τινὲς ἦσαν αἰχμάλωτοι παρ' αὐτῷ τῶν ἥμετέρων πάντας ἀπέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρῆματα πολλάκις ἐδωρήσατο καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἐπιθυμητής ἐγένετο τοῦ γνώναι τοὺς ἥμετέρους νόμους καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν

46 βιβλίων ἔπεισεν. ἐπεμψε γοῦν ἄξιῶν ἀνδρας ἀποσταλήναι τοὺς ἐρμηνεύσοντας αὐτῷ τὸν νόμον, καὶ τοῦ γράφει χαῦτα καλῶς τὴν ἐπιμελείαν ἐπέταξεν οὐ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ Δημήτριον τὸν Φαληρέα καὶ Ἀρδέαν καὶ Αριστέα, τῶν μὲν παιδεία τῶν καθ' ἐαυτὸν διαφέροντας Δημήτριον,

47 τοὺς δὲ τὴν τοῦ σώματος αὐτῶν φυλακῆν ἐγκεχειρισμένους, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας ταύτης ἐπέταξεν, οὐκ ἂν ἤτοι τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν πάτριον ἡμῶν φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιθυμήσας ἐκμαθεῖν, εἰ τῶν χρωμένων αὐτοῖς ἀνδρῶν κατεφρόνει καὶ μὴ λίαν ἐθαυμάζειν.

48 (5) Ἀπίωνα δὲ σχεδὸν ἐφεξῆς πάντες ἔλαθον οἱ τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ Μακεδόνων ἑκατονταποδοτὰς ἐνδεικτὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς διατεθέντες, καὶ γὰρ τρίτος Πτολεμαῖος, ὁ λεγόμενος Ἑυεργέτης, κατασχῶν ὀλίγην

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1 ed. pr.: διαφερόντων L.
2 Ironical: needlessly omitted by Naber and Reinach.

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a Josephus is dependent, here and in A. xii. 8, on Aristeas 13: but several Jewish garrisons are known to have existed in Egypt (Schurer, G. J. I., ed. 3, 22). One of these, the "Jewish camp" in the Delta, is mentioned in B. i. 191 (= A. xiv. 133).
of Egypt to their keeping,\(^a\) confident of their loyalty and bravery as guards; and, when he was anxious to strengthen his hold upon Cyrene and the other cities of Libya, he sent out a party of Jews to settle there.\(^b\) His successor, Ptolemy surnamed Philadelphus, not only surrendered all prisoners of our race within his realm, but was liberal in his presents of money. The highest compliment, however, which he paid us lay in his keen desire to know our laws and to read the books of our sacred scriptures. It is, at any rate, the fact that he sent and requisitioned the services of Jewish deputies to interpret the law to him: and, to ensure accuracy in transcription, entrusted the task to no ordinary persons. Demetrius of Phalerum,\(^c\) with Andreas and Aristeas, the first the most learned man of his time, the others his own bodyguards, were his appointed commissioners.\(^d\) Surely he would not have shown such keen interest in our laws and the creed\(^e\) of our ancestors, had he despised, instead of holding in the highest admiration, those to whom they are the rule of their lives.

(5) Apion has further ignored the extreme kindness shown to us successively by nearly all the kings of his Macedonian\(^f\) ancestors. Thus, Ptolemy III surnamed Euergetes,\(^g\) after his conquest of the

\(^{247-222}\) B.C.

\(^a\) The Jews of Cyrene in the time of Sulla formed one of the four classes of the inhabitants (Strabo \textit{ap.} Jos. \textit{Ant.} xiv. 115).

\(^b\) \textit{Ap.} i. 218.

\(^c\) These statements are derived from the so-called \textit{Letter of Aristeas}, paraphrased by Josephus in \textit{Ant.} xii. 12 ff.

\(^d\) Greek "philosophy."

\(^e\) See note 2 opposite.

\(^f\) Of his achievements in the Syrian War at the beginning of his reign he left a record at Adulê on the coast of the Red Sea (Mahaffy, \textit{Emp. of Ptolemies}, 199); for his sacrifices at Jerusalem Josephus is the sole authority.
JOSEPHUS

Συρίαν κατὰ κράτος οὗ τοῖς ἐν Ἀἰγύπτῳ θεοῖς χαριστῆρια τῆς νίκης ἔθυσεν, ἀλλὰ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πολλάς, ὡς ἤμιν νόμιμῳ ἔστιν, ἐπετέλεσε θυσίας τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἀνέθηκεν ἀναθήματα τῆς νίκης ἄξιως. οὐ δὲ Φιλομήτωρ Πτολεμαῖος καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Κλεοπάτρα τὴν βασιλείαν ὅλην τὴν ἑαυτῶν Ἰουδαίως ἐπίστευσαν, καὶ στρατηγοὶ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἤσαν Ὁνίας καὶ Δοσίθεος Ἰουδαίοι, δὲν Ἀπίων σκώπτει τὰ ὀνόματα, δέον τὰ ἔργα θαυμάζειν καὶ μὴ λουδορεῖν, ἀλλὰ χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν, ὅτι διέσωσαν τῆν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἕως 50 ὡς πολιτίς ἀντιποιεῖται. πολεμοῦντων γὰρ αὐτῶν τῆς βασιλίας Κλεοπάτρα καὶ κινδυνεύοντων ἀπολέσθαι κακῶς, οὕτως συμβάσεις ἐποίησαν καὶ τῶν ἐμφυλίων κακῶς ἀπῆλλαξαν. ἀλλὰ "μετὰ ταῦτα," φησίν, "Ὅνιας ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἤγαγε στρατόν ὕλιγον, οὗτος ἐκεῖ Θέρμου τοῦ παρὰ 51 Ῥωμαίων πρεσβευτοῦ καὶ παρόντος." Ὄρθως δὲ ποιῶν, φαίνῃ ἂν, καὶ μάλα δικαίως. ὁ γὰρ Φύσκων ἐπικληθεῖς Πτολεμαῖος, ἀποθανόντος αὐτῶ τοῦ ἄδελφοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλομήτωρος, ἀπὸ Κυρήνης ἐξῆλθε Κλεοπάτραν ἐκβαλεῖν θουλόμενος τῆς βα- 52 συλείας et filios regis, ut ipse regnum in iuste sibimet applicaret; propter haec ergo Onias aduersus eum bellum pro Cleopatra suspect et fidem, quam habuit

1 ins. Holwerda.
2 Lacuna in L to§ 114 (see Introduction p. xviii).

— By some identified as Onias IV, the founder of the Temple at Leontopolis (c. 154 B.C.): but the name was not uncommon. Of Dositheus nothing is known.
— Doubtless deriving Onias from Greek ὁνός.
— On the death of Philometor in 146 B.C., his widow
AGAINST APION, II. 48-52

whole of Syria, instead of sacrificing to the gods of Egypt in thanksgiving for his success, came to Jerusalem, and there, after our manner, offered numerous sacrifices to God, and dedicated votive gifts appropriate to such a victory. Again, Ptolemy Philometor and his consort Cleopatra entrusted the whole of their realm to Jews, and placed their entire army under the command of Jewish generals, Onias and Dosithens. Apion ridicules their names, when he ought rather to admire their achievements, and, instead of abusing them, to thank them for saving Alexandria, of which he claims to be a citizen. For, when the Alexandrians were at war with Queen Cleopatra and in imminent danger of annihilation, it was they who negotiated terms and rid them of the horrors of civil war. "But," says Apion, "Onias subsequently advanced at the head of a large army against the city, when Thermus, the Roman ambassador, was actually on the spot." He was right and perfectly justified in so acting, I venture to say. For, on the death of his brother Ptolemy Philometor, Ptolemy surnamed Physcon left Cyrene with the intention of dethroning Cleopatra and the deceased king's sons, and iniquitously usurping the crown himself. That was why, on Cleopatra's behalf, Onias took up arms against him, refusing to abandon at a crisis his allegiance to the

Cleopatra proclaimed king their young son Ptolemy VIII (Philopator Neos). The brother of the dead king, however, Ptolemy IX (Euergetes II, Physcon), was recalled from Cyrene by the Alexandrians, slew his youthful rival, seized the throne, and married the widowed queen, his sister (Justin, epitome by Trogus Pompeius, xxxviii. 8. 2-4).

\(^d\) Doubtless the Lucius Thermus who acted on behalf of Physcon on a previous occasion (Polyb. frag. xxxiii. 5).
circum reges, nequaquam in necessitate deseruit. Testis autem deus iustitiae eius manifestus apparuit; nam Fyscon Ptolomaeus cum adversum exercitum quidem Oniae pugnare non praesumeret, omnes uero Iudaeos in ciuitate positos cum filiis et uxoribus eapiens nudos atque uinctos elephantis subieisset, ut ab eis conculecati deficerent, et ad hoc etiam bestias ipsas inebriasset; in contrarium quae praeparauerat euenerunt. Elephanti enim relinquentes sibi appositos Iudaeos impetu facto super amicos eius multos ex ipsis interemerunt. Et post haec Ptolomaeus quidem aspectum terribilem contemplatus est prohibitem se, ut illis noceret hominibus: concubina uero sua carissima, quam alii quidem Ithacam, alii uero Hirenen denominant, supplicante ne tantam impietatem perageret, ei concessit et ex his quae iam egerat uel acturus erat paenitentiam egit. Unde recte hanc diem Iudaei Alexandria constituti, eo quod aperte a deo salutem promeruerunt, celebrare nescuntur. Apion autem omnium calumniator etiam propter bellum aduersus Fysconem gestum Iudaeos accusare praesumpsit, cum eos laudare debuerit.

Is autem etiam ultimae Cleopatrae Alexandrinorum reginae meminit, ueluti nobis improperans quoniam circa nos fuit ingrata, et non potius illam redarguere studuit: cui nihil omnino iniustitiae et malorum operum defuit uel circa generis necessarios uel circa maritos suos, qui etiam dilexerunt eam, uel in communi contra Romanos omnes et benefactores

1 ins. Reinach.  
2 debriasset mss.

* The incident of the elephants is attributed in 3 Macc. v-vi to Ptolemy IV. Philopator (222–205 B.C.). The common origin of both stories is doubtless traceable to a festival of the Alexandrian Jews, analogous to that of Purim.
AGAINST APION, II. 53–57

throne. Moreover, the justice of his action was signally attested by God. For Ptolemy Physcon, though [not] daring to face the army of Onias, had arrested all the Jews in the city with their wives and children, and exposed them, naked and in chains, to be trampled to death by elephants, the beasts being actually made drunk for the purpose. However, the outcome was the reverse of his intentions. The elephants, without touching the Jews at their feet, rushed at Physcon's friends, and killed a large number of them. Afterwards Ptolemy saw a terrible apparition, which forbade him to injure these people. His favourite concubine (some call her Ithaca, others Irene) adding her entreaty to him not to perpetrate such an enormity, he gave way and repented of his past actions and further designs. That is the origin of the well-known feast which the Jews of Alexandria keep, with good reason, on this day, because of the deliverance so manifestly vouchsafed to them by God. Apion, however, whose calumny nothing escapes, ventures to find another charge against the Jews in their war on Physcon, for which they deserve his commendation.

He further alludes to Cleopatra, the last queen of Alexandria, apparently reproaching us for her ungracious treatment of us. He ought, instead, to have set himself to rebuke that woman, who committed every kind of iniquity and crime against her relatives, her devoted husbands, the Romans in (cf. 3 Mace. vi. 36). The independent account of Josephus is the less improbable of the two.

51–30 B.C. For a similar catalogue of her crimes cf. A. xv. 89 ff.

Perhaps "her husbands and even her lovers": the Latin translator having misunderstood the original (Reinach).
suos imperatores; quae etiam sororem Arsinoen occidit in templo nihil sibi nocentem, peremit autem et fratrem insidiis paternosque deos et sepulcra progenitorum depopulata est; percipiensque regnum a primo Caesare eius filio et successori rebellare praesumpsit, Antoniumque corrumpens amatoriiis rebus et patriae inimicum fecit et infidelem circa suos amicos instituit, alios quidem genere regali spolians, alios autem demens et ad mala gerenda compellens. Sed quid oportet amplius dici, cum illum ipsum in nauali certamine relinquens, id est maritum et parentem communium filiorum, tradere eum exercitum et principatum et se sequi coegit? Nouissime nero Alexandria a Caesare capta ad hoc usque perducta est, ut salutem hinc sperare se iudicaret, si posset ipsa manu sua Iudaeos perimere, eo quod circa omnes crudelis et infidelis extaret. Putasne gloriandum nobis non esse, si quemadmodum dicit Apion famis tempore Iudaeis triticum non est mensa?

Sed illa quidem poenam subiit competentem, nos autem maximo Caesare utimur teste solacii atque fidei, quam circa eum contra Aegyptios gessimus, necnon et senatu eiusque dogmatibus et epistulis Caesaris Augusti, quibus nostra merita comprobantur.

Has litteras Apionem oportebat inspiceret et secundum

1 v.l. deiiciens.
2 The Lat. is manifestly absurd. Probably, as Reinach suggests, the Greek had something like εἰ δίναται αὐτὴν αὑτὸχειρ φονεῖν: αὐτὴν was corrupted to αὐτοῦς and thence to Ιούδαῖος.

a Slain by Antony, under Cleopatra's orders, in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus (Jos. A. xv. 89) or at Miletus (App. Bell. Civ. v. 9).
b Ptolemy XV, the younger of her two brothers, her
AGAINST APION, II. 57–62

general, and their emperors, her benefactors; who slew her innocent sister Arsinoe in the temple,\textsuperscript{a} treacherously assassinated her brother,\textsuperscript{b} plundered her country's gods and her ancestors' sepulchres\textsuperscript{c}; who, owing her throne to the first Caesar, dared to revolt against his son and successor, and, corrupting Antony by sensual passion, made him an enemy to his country and faithless to his friends, robbing some of their royal rank, discharging\textsuperscript{d} others, and driving them into crime. But what more need be said, when she deserted even him—her husband and the father of their children—in the naval battle,\textsuperscript{e} and compelled him to surrender his army and imperial title to follow her? In the end, when Alexandria was captured by Caesar,\textsuperscript{f} she was reduced to such extremities as to see no hope for herself but in suicide, after the cruelty and treachery which she had practised towards all. If, as Apion asserts, this woman in time of famine refused to give the Jews any rations of corn, is not that, pray, a fact of which we should be proud?

She, however, met with the punishment which she deserved. We, on our side, have the great Caesar to witness to the loyal support which we rendered him against the Egyptians;\textsuperscript{g} we have also the senate and its decrees and the letters of Caesar Augustus which attest our services. Apion ought to have consulted these letters and examined, under their husband and co-regent, believed to have been poisoned by her at Rome c. 44 B.C.; cf. \textit{A.} xv. 89.

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. \textit{A.} xv. 90.
\textsuperscript{b} Of Actium, 31 B.C.
\textsuperscript{c} Of Actium, 31 B.C.
\textsuperscript{d} Text and meaning doubtful.
\textsuperscript{e} Of Actium, 31 B.C.
\textsuperscript{f} Octavius, 30 B.C.
\textsuperscript{g} The Jewish contingent under Antipater served with Julius Caesar in his war with Alexandria after the death of Pompey, 47 B.C.; \textit{B.} i. 187 ff.; \textit{A.} xiv. 127 ff.
genera examinare testimonia sub Alexandro facta et omnibus Ptolomaeis, et quae a senatu constituta sunt, necnon et a maximis Romanis imperatoribus. 

63 Si uero Germanicus frumenta cunctis in Alexandria commorantibus metiri non potuit, hoc indicium est sterilitatis ac necessitatis frumentorum, non accusatio Iudaerum. Quid enim sapiant omnes imperatores de Iudaeis in Alexandria commorantibus, palam est.

64 Nam amministratio tritici nihilo minus ab eis quam ab aliis Alexandrinis translata est: maximam uero eis fidem olim a regibus datam conservauerunt, id est fluminis custodiam totiusque custodiae, nequaquam his rebus indignos esse iudicantes.

65 (6) Sed super haec, "quomodo ergo," inquit, "si sunt ciues, eosdem deos quos Alexandrini non colunt?" Cui respondeo, quomodo etiam, cum uos sitis Aegyptii, inter alterutros proelio magno et sine foedere de religione contenditis? An certe propterea non uos omnes dicimus Aegyptios et neque comminiter homines, quoniam bestias aduersantes naturae nostrae colitis multa diligentia nutrientes? Cum genus utique nostrorum unum atque idem esse uideatur. Si autem in uobis Aegyptiis tantae differentiae opinionum sunt, quid miraris super his, qui aliunde in Alexandriam aduenerunt, si in legibus a principio constitutis circa talia permanserunt?

1 Perhaps read prouinciae (Boysen).

2 nostrorum unum atque] r.l. nostrum uestrumque.

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a Or "generals."

b Germanicus, nephew of Tiberius, visited Egypt in A.D. 19, and ingratiated himself by opening the granaries and reducing the price of corn (Tac. Ann. ii. 59).

c Cf. B. i. 175 (a Jewish guard in charge of the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile).

d Cf. for these local religious feuds Juv. Sat. xv. 33 ff., and Ap. i. 225 above.
respective heads, the testimonials given under Alexander and under all the Ptolemies, with those emanating from the senate and the most distinguished Roman emperors.\(^a\) If Germanicus was unable to distribute corn to all the inhabitants of Alexandria,\(^b\) that merely proves a barren year and a dearth of corn, and cannot be made an accusation against the Jews. For the opinion which all the emperors have held of the Jewish residents in Alexandria is notorious. The administration of the corn supplies has, indeed, been withdrawn from them, as from the rest of the Alexandrians; but the most signal mark of the confidence reposed in them by the former kings, I mean the charge of the river\(^c\) and of the entire province\(^?)\), has been preserved to them by the emperors, who regarded them as not unworthy of such a trust.

(6) "But," Apion persists, "why, then, if they are citizens, do they not worship the same gods as the Alexandrians?" To which I reply: "Why do you, on your side, though Egyptians, wage with one another bitter and implacable war on the subject of religion?"\(^d\) Indeed, is not the reason why we refuse to call you all Egyptians, or even collectively men, because you worship and breed with so much care animals that are hostile to humanity? We, on the other hand, obviously form a single and united race.\(^e\) Wide, however, as may be these differences of opinion among your natives of Egypt, why should you be surprised at the allegiance to their original religious laws of a people who came to Alexandria from another country?

\(^e\) The text and meaning of this section are doubtful.
Is autem etiam seditionis causas nobis apponit, qui si cum ueritate ob hoc accusat Iudaeos in Alexandria constitutos, cur omnes nos culpatus ubique positos eo quod nosceamur habere concordiam?


Ipsi igitur molestiae huius fuisse principium, nequaquam populo Macedonicam habente constantiam neque prudentiam Graecam, sed cunctis seclicit ubentibus malis moribus Aegyptiorum et antiquas inimicitias aduersum nos exercentibus.

E diuerso namque factum est quod nobis impro-perare praesumunt. Nam cum plurimi eorum non opportune ius eius ciuitatis optineant, peregrinos uocant eos, qui hoc priuilegium a dominis impetrassent nosceuntur. Nam Aegyptiis neque regum quisquam uidetur ius ciuitatis fuisse largitus, neque nunc quilibet imperatorum. Nos autem Alexander quidem introduxit, reges autem auxerunt, Romani uero semper custodire dignati sunt.

Itaque derogare nobis Apion conatus est, quia

1 Boysen: ad omnes imperasse mss.
He further accuses us of fomenting sedition. But, if it be granted that he is justified in bringing this accusation against the Jews of Alexandria, why then does he make a grievance against the Jews at large of the notorious concord of our race? Moreover, the real promoters of sedition, as anyone can discover, have been citizens of Alexandria of the type of Apion. The Greeks and Macedonians, so long as the citizenship was confined to them, never rose against us, but left us free to enjoy our ancient worship. But when, owing to the prevailing disorders, their numbers were swelled by a host of Egyptians, sedition became chronic. Our race, on the contrary, remained unadulterated. It is they, then, who originated these disturbances, because the populace, possessing neither the Macedonian’s strength of character nor the Greek’s sagacity, universally adopted the evil habits of the Egyptians and indulged their long-standing hatred of us.

The reproach which they dare to cast at us is applicable, on the contrary, to them. The majority of them hold their position as citizens of Alexandria under no regular title; yet they call those who notoriously obtained this privilege from the proper authorities “aliens”! Not a single king, it appears, not a single emperor in our times, ever conferred citizen rights upon Egyptians.\(^a\) We, on the contrary, owe our position in the city to Alexander, our privileges were extended by the kings, and those privileges the Romans have been pleased to safeguard for all time.

Apion has consequently attempted to denounce

\(^a\) Cf. § 41 with note.
imperatorum non statuamus imagines, tamquam illis hoc ignorantibus aut defensione Apionis indigentibus; cum potius debuerit ammirari magnanimitatem mediocritatemque Romanorum, quoniam subieetos non cogunt patria iura transcendere, sed suscipiunt honores sicut dare offerentes pium atque legitimum est. Non enim honoribus\textsuperscript{1} gratiam habent qui ex necessitate et uiolentia conferuntur. Graecis itaque et aliis quibusdam bonum esse creditur imagines instituere; denique et patrum et uxorum filiorumque figuras deingentes exultant, quidam uero etiam nihil sibi competentium sumunt imagines, alii uero et servos diligentes hoc faciunt. Quid ergo mirum est si etiam principibus ac dominis hunc honorem praebere uideantur? Porro noster legislator, non quasi prophetans Romanorum potentiam non hono-randam, sed tamquam causam neque deo neque hominibus utilem despiciens, et quoniam totius animati, multo magis dei inanimati, ut\textsuperscript{2} probatur inferius, interdixit imagines fabricari. Aliis autem honoribus post deum colendos non prohibuit uiros bonos, quibus nos et imperatores et populum Romanorum dignitatibus ampliamus. Facimus autem pro eis continua sacrificia et non solum cotidianis diebus ex impensa communi omnium Iudaeorum talia celebramus, uerum cum nullas alias hostias ex com-

\textsuperscript{1} honoris mss.: honores Boysen.
\textsuperscript{2} inanimati ut] inanimatu mss.

\textsuperscript{a} Josephus probably has in mind Caligula's order to erect his statue in the Temple at Jerusalem (\textit{A.xviii.} 261 ff.) and the part played by Apion in the deputation to the emperor at that time.

\textsuperscript{b} \textit{Cf.} §§ 167, 190 f. below.
us on the ground that we do not erect statues of the emperors. As if they were ignorant of the fact or needed Apion to defend them! a He should rather have admired the magnanimity and moderation of the Romans in not requiring their subjects to violate their national laws, and being content to accept such honours as the religious and legal obligations of the donors permit them to pay. They are not grateful for honours conferred under compulsion and constraint. The Greeks, with some other nations, think it right to make statues: they delight in depicting the portraits of parents, wives, and children; some even obtain likenesses of persons totally unconnected with them, others do the same for favourite slaves. What wonder, then, to find them rendering this honour to their emperors and masters as well? On the other hand, our legislator, not in order to put, as it were, a prophetic veto upon honours paid to the Roman authority, but out of contempt for a practice profitable to neither God nor man, forbade the making of images, alike of any living creature, and much more of God, who, as is shown later on, b is not a creature. He did not, however, forbid the payment of homage of another sort, secondary to that paid to God, to worthy men; such honours we do confer upon the emperors and the people of Rome. For them we offer perpetual sacrifices; and not only do we perform these ceremonies daily, c at the expense of the whole Jewish community, d but, while we offer no other victims in our corporate capacity, even

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muni neque pro filiiis peragamus, solis imperatoribus
hunc honorem praecipuum pariter exhibemus, quem
hominum nulli persoluimus. Haec itaque communiter
satisfacio posita sit aduersus Apionem pro his quae
de Alexandria dicta sunt.

79 (7) Ammiror autem etiam eos qui ei huiusmodi
fomitem praebuerunt, id est Posidonium et Apollonium Molonis, quoniam accusant quidem nos, quare
nos eosdem deos cum aliis non colimus, mentientes
autem pariter et de nostro templo blasphemias
componentes incongruas non se putant impie agere;
dum sit ualde turpissimum liberis qualibet ratione
mentiri. multo magis de templo apud cunctos homines
nominat o tanta sanctitate pollente.

80 In hoc enim sacrificio Apion praesumpsit edicere
asini caput collocasse Iudaeos et eum1 colere ac
dignum facere tanta religione, et hoc affirmat fuisset
depalatum, dum Antiochus Epiphanes expoliasset
templum et illud caput inuentum ex auro com-
positum multis pecuniis dignum. Ad haec igitur
prius equidem dico, quoniam Aegyptius, uel si aliquid
tale apud nos fuisset, nequaquam debuerat increpare,
cum non sit deterior asinus furonis et hircis et aliis,

1 id Naber.

a Such seems to be the meaning of neque pro filiiis; cf.
Ezra vi. 10 ("pray for the life of the king and of his sons");
Bar. i. 11.

b Posidonius of Apameia, c. 135-51 B.C., famous Stoic
philosopher and historian, a friend of Pompey and Cicero.

c As he is called elsewhere; cf. § 16 above. The text has
Molonis, i.e. "(son) of Molon."

d Liberis, apparently = ἐλευθερίους.

e This widespread calumny of uncertain origin appears in
various forms. Tacitus, Hist. v. 3 f., narrates that Moses,
by following a herd of wild asses, discovered water in the

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for the [imperial] family,\textsuperscript{a} we jointly accord to the emperors alone this signal honour which we pay to no other individual. I have now given, I think, a comprehensive and sufficient reply to Apion’s remarks on the subject of Alexandria.

(7) I am no less amazed at the proceedings of the authors who supplied him with his materials, I mean Posidonius\textsuperscript{b} and Apollonius Molon.\textsuperscript{c} On the one hand they charge us with not worshipping the same gods as other people; on the other, they tell lies and invent absurd calumnies about our temple, without showing any consciousness of impiety. Yet to high-minded men\textsuperscript{d} nothing is more disgraceful than a lie, of any description, but above all on the subject of a temple of world-wide fame and commanding sanctity.

Within this sanctuary Apion has the effrontery to assert that the Jews kept an ass’s head,\textsuperscript{e} worshipping that animal and deeming it worthy of the deepest reverence; the fact was disclosed, he maintains, on the occasion of the spoliation of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes,\textsuperscript{f} when the head, made of gold and worth a high price, was discovered. On this I will first remark that, even if we did possess any such object, an Egyptian should be the last person to reproach us; for an ass is no worse than the cats\textsuperscript{g} (\textit{furonibus}), he-goats, and other creatures which in his wilderness, whence the Jews \textit{effigiem animalis quo monstrante errorem sitimque depulerant penetrali sacravere}. Diodorus (xxxiv. frag.) states that Ant. Epiphanes found in the temple a statue of a bearded man (= Moses) seated on an ass. The charge of ass-worship was afterwards transferred to the Christians (Tertull. \textit{Apol.} 16).

\textsuperscript{c} Calumnies about the temple ritual.

\textsuperscript{Ridiculous story of the worship of an ass’s head.}

\textsuperscript{c. 170 B.C.}

\textsuperscript{325}

\textsuperscript{f} Cf. \textit{A.} xii. v. 4 (where no mention is made of the ass’s head).

\textsuperscript{g} \textit{furonibus} (word elsewhere unknown).
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82 quae sunt apud eos dii. Deinde quomodo non intellexit operibus increpatus de incredibili suo mendacio? Legibus namque semper utimur hisdem, in quibus sine fine consistimus, et cum uarii casus nostrum ciuitatem sicut etiam aliorum uexauerint, et Pius\(^1\) ac Pompeius Magnus et Licinius Crassus et ad nouissimum Titus Caesar bello uincentes opinuerunt, nihil huiusmodi illice inuenerunt, sed purissimam pietatem, de qua nihil nobis est apud alios effabile. Quia uero Antiochus neque iustam fecit templi depraedationem, sed egestate pecuniarum ad hoc accessit, cum non esset hostis, et super nos auxiliares suos et amicos adgressus est, nec aliquid dignum derisione illic inuenit, multi et digni conscriptores super hoc quoque testantur, Polybius Megalopolita, Strabon Cappadox, Nicolaus Damascenus, Timagenis et Castor temporum conscriptor et Apollodorus; omnes dicunt pecuniiis indigentem Antiochum transgressum foedera Iudaeorum ex-poliasse\(^2\) templum auro argentoque plenum. Hae igitur Apion debuit respicere, nisi cor asini ipse potius habuisset et impudentiam canis, qui apud ipsos assolet coli: neque enim extrinsecus aliqua ratiocinatione mentitus est. Nos itaque asinis neque honorem neque potestatem aliquam damus, sicut

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1 Dios mss.: Pius Niese, i.e. Antiochus VII surnamed Eusebes, from his piety at the siege of Jerusalem. c. 135 B.C., A. xiii. 244. Josephus perhaps wrote \(\theta\varepsilon\oslash\) (=Diuus) through confusion with Antiochus VI surnamed Theos, A. xiii. 218.

2 Niese: et spoliasse mss.

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\(^a\) Governor of Syria 54–53 B.C.; A. xiv. 105 ff.

\(^b\) As the emphasis in this context is on the absence of mysteries in Jewish worship, Reinaeh is probably right in emending \(\text{effabile}\) to \(\text{ineffabile}\), which occurs in §§ 94, 107. In 326
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country rank as gods. Next, how did it escape him that the facts convict him of telling an incredible lie? Throughout our history we have kept the same laws, to which we are eternally faithful. Yet, notwithstanding the various calamities which our city, like others, has undergone, when the temple was occupied by successive conquerors, [Antiochus] the Pious, Pompey the Great, Licinius Crassus, and most recently Titus Caesar, they found there nothing of the kind, but the purest type of religion, the secrets of which we may not reveal to aliens. That the raid of Antiochus [Epiphanes] on the temple was iniquitous, that it was impecuniosity which drove him to invade it, when he was not an open enemy, that he attacked us, his allies and friends, and that he found there nothing to deserve ridicule; these facts are attested by many sober historians. Polybius of Megalopolis, Strabo the Cappadocian, Nicolas of Damascus, Timagenes, Castor the chronicler, and Apollodorus all assert that it was impecuniosity which induced Antiochus, in violation of his treaties with the Jews, to plunder the temple with its stores of gold and silver. There is the evidence which Apion should have considered, had he not himself been gifted with the mind of an ass and the impudence of the dog, which his countrymen are wont to worship. An outsider can make no sense of his lies. We Jews attribute no honour or virtue to asses, such as is that case translate: “of which we have no secrets to conceal from aliens.”

\[^c\] Historian of 1st cent. B.C.; Josephus knew his work at second hand through Strabo.

\[^d\] Ap. i. 184.

\[^e\] 2nd cent. B.C.; author of Chronica and of the best ancient work on Greek mythology.

\[^f\] Meaning doubtful; I take extrinsecus as \(= \langle \tau \phi \rangle \) \(\varepsilon \xi \omega \theta \epsilon \nu \).
Aegyptii crocodillis et aspidibus, quando eos qui ab istis mordentur et a crocodillis rapiuntur felices et deo dignos arbitrantur. Sed sunt apud nos asini quod apud alios sapientes uiro sibimet imposita sustinentes, et licet ad areas accedentes comedant aut uiam propositam non adimpleant, multas ualde plagas accipiunt. quippe operibus et ad agris culturae rebus necessariis ministrantes. Sed aut omnium gurdissimus fuit Apion ad componendum uerba fallacia aut certe ex rebus initia sumens haec impleare non ululit, quando nulla potest contra nos blasphemiam prouenire.

(8) Alteram uero fabulam derogatione nostra plenam de Graecis apposuit, de quo hoc dicere sat erit, quoniam qui de pietate loqui praesumunt oportet eos non ignorare minus esse inmundum per templum transire quam in sacerdotibus secelsta uerba confingere. Isti uero magis studuerunt defendere sacrilegum regem quam iusta et ueracia de nostris et de templo conscribere. Uolentes enim Antiocho praestare et infidelitatem ac sacrilegium eiis tegere, quo circa gentem nostram est usus propter egestatem pecuniarum, detrahentes nobis etiam quae in futuro sunt. Propheta uero aliorum factus est Apion et dixit Antiochum in templo inuenisse lectum et hominem in eo iacentem et propositam ei mensam maritimis terrenisque et uolatilium dapibus plenam, et obstipuisset his homo. Illum uero mox adorasse regis ingressum tamquam maximum ei solacium praebiturum ac procidentem ad eius genua

1 Niese: essent mss.  
2 + quod Naber.

\( ^a \) Meaning doubtful.  
\( ^b \) Or, perhaps, "about Greeks."  
\( ^c \) homo = ὃ ἀνθρώπος (elsewhere used with such nuance). If Antiochus were meant, as Niese supposes, we should expect uir (= ὁ ἀνήρ).
ascribed to crocodiles and asps by Egyptians, who regard persons bitten by a viper or mauled by a crocodile as blessed souls found worthy of God. With us, as with other sensible people, asses are beasts that carry loads on their backs, and if they invade our threshing-floors and eat the corn, or stop short on the road, they are soundly beaten, as humble ministers for labour and agriculture. Either Apion was the greatest blockhead as a writer of fiction, or, to say the least, he could draw no just conclusion from such facts as he had to start from: for every one of his calumnies upon us is a failure.

(8) He adds a second story, of Greek origin, which is a malicious slander upon us from beginning to end. On this it will suffice to remark that persons who venture upon religious topics ought to be aware that there is less profanity in violating the precincts of a temple than in calumniating its priests. But these authors are more concerned to uphold a sacrilegious king than to give a fair and veracious description of our rites and temple. In their anxiety to defend Antiochus and to cover up the perfidy and sacrilege practised upon our nation under pressure of an empty exchequer, they have further invented, to discredit us, the fictitious story which follows. Apion, who is here the spokesman of others, asserts that:

Antiochus found in the temple a couch, on which a man was reclining, with a table before him laden with a banquet of fish of the sea, beasts of the earth, and birds of the air, at which the poor fellow was gazing in stupification. The king’s entry was instantly hailed by him with adoration, as about to procure him profound relief; falling at the
extensa dextra poposcisse libertatem; et iubente rege ut confideret et diceret, quis esset uel cur ibidem habitaret uel quae esset causa ciborum eius, tunc hominem cum gemitu et lacrimis lamentabiler

se Graecum, et dum peragraret prouinciam propter uitae causam direptum se subito ab alienigenis hominibus atque deductum ad templum et inclusum illic, et a nullo conspici, sed cuncta dapium prae-

paratione saginari. Et primum quidem haec sibi inopinabilia beneficia prodidisse et detulisse laetitiam, deinde suspiccionem, postea stuporem, ac postremum consulentem a mini-tris ad se accedentibus audisse legem ineffabilem Iudaorum, pro qua nutriebatur, et hoc illos facere singulisannis quodam tempore

constituto: et compræchendere quidem Graecum peregrinum eumque annali tempore saginare, et deductum ad quandam siluam occidere quidem eum hominem eiusque corpus sacrificare secundum suas sollemnitates, et gustare ex eius uisceribus, et iusjurandum facere in immolatione Graeci, ut inimi-
citias contra Graecos haberent. et tunc in quandam

foueam reliqua hominis percutitis abicere. Deinde refert eum dixisse paucos iam dies de uita1 sibimet superesse atque rogasse ut, erubescens Graecorum deos et superans2 in suo sanguine insidias Iudaorum, de malis eum circumstantibus liberaret.

Huiusmodi ergo fabula non tantum omni tragoedia plenissima est, sed etiam impudentia crudeli redundat.

1 de uita conj. Boysen: debita mss.
2 superantes mss.: text doubtful.
king's knees, he stretched out his right hand and implored him to set him free. The king reassured him and bade him tell him who he was, why he was living there, what was the meaning of his abundant fare. Thereupon, with sighs and tears, the man, in a pitiful tone, told the tale of his distress. He said that he was a Greek and that, while travelling about the province for his livelihood, he was suddenly kidnapped by men of a foreign race and conveyed to the temple; there he was shut up and seen by nobody, but was fattened on feasts of the most lavish description. At first these unlooked for attentions deceived him and caused him pleasure; suspicion followed, then consternation. Finally, on consulting the attendants who waited upon him, he heard of the unutterable law of the Jews, for the sake of which he was being fed. The practice was repeated annually at a fixed season. They would kidnap a Greek foreigner, fatten him up for a year, and then convey him to a wood, where they slew him, sacrificed his body with their customary ritual, partook of his flesh, and, while immolating the Greek, swore an oath of hostility to the Greeks. The remains of their victim were then thrown into a pit. The man (Apion continues) stated that he had now but a few days left to live, and implored the king, out of respect for the gods of Greece, to defeat this Jewish plot upon his life-blood and to deliver him from his miserable predicament.

A tale of this kind is not merely packed with all the horrors of a tragedy; it is also replete with the

\[a\] Lat. *uiscera*: *i.e.* all except skin, bones and blood.
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Non tamen a sacrilegio priuat Antiochum, sicut arbitrati sunt qui haec ad illius gratiam conscripserunt; non enim praesumpsit aliquid tale, ut ad templum accederet, sed sicut aiunt inuenit non sperans. Fuit ergo ululantem iniquus impius et nihilominus sine deo, quantauis sit mendacii superfuitas, quam ex ipsa re cognoscere ulde facillimum est. Non enim circa solos Graecos discordia legum esse dinoscitur, sed maxime aduersus Aegyptios et plurimos alios. Quem enim horum non contigit aliquando circa nos peregrinari, ut aduersus solos <Graecos> renouata coniuratione per effusionem sanguinis ageremus? Vel quomodo possibile est ut ad has hostias omnes Judaei colligerentur et tantis milibus ad gustandum uiscera illa sufficerent, sicut ait Apion? Vel cur inuentum hominem quicumque fuit, non enim suo nomine conscripsit, aut quomodo eum in suam patriam rex non cum pompa deduxit, dum posset hoc faciens ipse quidem putari pius et Graecorum amator eximius, assumere uero contra Iudaeorum odium solacia magna cunctorum? Sed haec relinquo; insensatos enim non uerbis sed operibus decet arguere.

Sciunt igitur omnes qui uiderunt constructionem templi nostri qualis fuerit et intransgressibilem eius purificationis integritatem. Quattuor etenim habuit in circuitu porticus, et harum singulae propriam secundum legem habuere custodiam. In exteriorum itaque ingredi licebat omnibus etiam alienigenis; mulieres tantummodo menstruatae transire pro-

1 quanta iussit mss.
2 ins. Hudson.
3 egeremus mss.: Reinach would here insert §§ 121-124.
4 Niese suspects a lacuna.
AGAINST APION, II. 97–103

cruelty of impudence. It does not, for all that, acquit Antiochus of sacrilege, as its obsequious authors imagined. He suspected nothing of the sort when he invaded the temple; the discovery admittedly surprised him. His iniquity, impiety, and godlessness were, therefore, none the less gratuitous, however many lies may be told about him. These reveal their character on their face. Greeks, as is well known, are not the only people with whom our laws come into conflict; those principally so affected are Egyptians and many others. Is there one of these nations whose citizens have not happened at some time or other to visit our country? Why should Greeks be the only objects of our periodically repeated conspiracy and bloodthirsty assault? Again, how is it conceivable that all Jews should assemble to partake of these victims, and that the flesh of one should suffice for so many thousand participants, as Apion asserts? Why in the world after discovering this man, whoever he was (his name is not given in the story), did not the king convey him in triumph to his country, when by so doing he might have gained a reputation for piety and rare devotion to the Greeks, and encountered Jewish hatred with the powerful support of public opinion? But I refrain to pursue these inquiries; fools must be refuted, not by argument, but by facts.

All who ever saw our temple are aware of the general design of the building, and the inviolable barriers which preserved its sanctity. It had four surrounding courts, each with its special statutory restrictions. The outer court was open to all, foreigners included; women during their impurity

\[a\] Not as reported above.
hibebantur. In secundam uero porticum cuncti Iudaei ingrediebantur eorumque coniuges, cum essent ab omni pollutione mundae; in tertiam masculi Iudaeorum mundi existentes atque purificati; in quartam autem sacerdotes stolis induti sacerdotalibus; in adytum uero soli principes sacerdotum propria stola circumamicti. Tanta uero est circa omnia prouidentia pietatis, ut secundum quasdam horas sacerdotes ingredi constitutum sit. Mane etenim aperto templo oportebat facientes traditas hostias introire et meridie rursus, dum clauderetur templum. Denique nee uas aliquod portari licet in templum, sed erant in eo solummodo posita altare mensa turibulum candelabrum, quae omnia et in lege conscripta sunt. Etenim nihil amplius neque mysteriorum aliquorum ineffabilium agitur, neque intus ulla epulatio ministratur. Haec enim quae praedicta sunt habent totius populi testimonium manifestationemque gestorum. Licet enim sint tribus quattuor sacerdotum et harum tribuum singulae habeant hominum plus quam quinque milia, fit tamen observatio particulariter per dies certos, et his transactis alii succedentes ad sacrificia ueniunt et congregati in templum mediante die a praecedentibus clausæ templi et ad numerum omnia uasa percipiunt, nulla re, quae ad cibum aut potum adtineat, in templo delata. Talia namque etiam ad

\* Or "the victims delivered to them."
\* Cf. Mark xi. 16. The sequel shows that the Holy Place (the "vaðs") is intended.
\* Cf. B. v. 216 (where only three objects are named, no altar).
\* The four priestly clans which returned with Zerubbabel
were alone refused admission. To the second court all Jews were admitted and, when uncontaminated by any defilement, their wives; to the third male Jews, if clean and purified; to the fourth the priests robed in their priestly vestments. The sanctuary was entered only by the high-priests, clad in the raiment peculiar to themselves. So careful is the provision for all the details of the service, that the priests' entry is timed to certain hours. Their duty was to enter in the morning, when the temple was opened, and to offer the customary sacrifices, and again at mid-day, until the temple was closed. One further point: no vessel whatever might be carried into the temple, the only objects in which were an altar, a table, a censer, and a lampstand, all mentioned in the Law. There was nothing more; no unmentionable mysteries took place, no repast was served within the building. The foregoing statements are attested by the whole community, and conclusively proved by the order of procedure. For, although there are four priestly tribes, each comprising upwards of five thousand members, these officiate by rotation for a fixed period of days; when the term of one party ends, others come to offer the sacrifices in their place, and assembling at mid-day in the temple, take over from the outgoing ministers the keys of the building and all its vessels, duly numbered. Nothing of the nature of food or drink is brought within the temple; objects of this kind may not even be offered on

(Ezra ii. 36; Neh. vii. 39). Elsewhere Josephus mentions only the division into twenty-four courses (Vita, 2; cf. A. vii. 365 f.), which was normal from the time of the Chronicler (1 Chron. xxiv. 7) onwards.

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altare offerre prohibitum est, praeter illa quae ad sacrifcia praeparantur.

Quid ergo Apionem [esse] dicimus nisi nihil horum examinantem uerba incredula protulisse? Sed turpe est; historiae enim ueram notitiam se proferre grammaticus non promisit? At\(^1\) sciens templi nostri pietatem hanc quidem praetermisit, hominis autem Graeci compræhensionem finxit et pabulum ineffabile et ciborum opulentissimam claritatem et seruos ingredientes ubi nec nobilissimos Iudaeorum licet intrare, nisi fuerint sacerdotes. Hoc ergo pessima est impietas atque mendacium spontaneum ad eorum seductionem, qui noluerint discutere ueritatem. Per ea siquidem mala et ineffabilia, quae praedicta sunt, nobis detrhere temptauerunt.

\(^{110}\) \footnote{Rursumque tamquam piissimus deridet adiciens fabulae suae Mnaseam. Ait enim illum rettulisse, dum bellum Iudaei contra Idumaeos\(^2\) haberent longo quodam tempore, in aliqua ciuitate Idumaeorum,\(^2\) qui Dorii nominantur, quendam eorum qui in ea Apollinem colebat uenisse ad Iudaeos, cuius hominis nomen dicit Zabidon, deinde quia\(^3\) eis promisisset traditurum se eis Apollinem deum Doriensium uenturumque illum ad nostrum templum, si omnes abscederent. Et credidisse omnem multitudinem Iudaeorum; Zabidon uero fecisse quoddam machina-mentum ligneum et circumposuisse sibi et in eo tres ordines infixisse lucernarum et ita ambulasse; ut\footnote{\footnote{1 conj.; et mss.} \footnote{2 Hudson: Iudaeos (-orum) mss.} \footnote{3 Boysen: qui mss.}}
AGAINST APION, II. 109–113

the altar, save those which are prepared for the sacrifices.

Are we then left to conclude that Apion put out this incredible story without any investigation of these facts? But that is disgraceful; as a learned doctor, did he not profess to present an accurate historical picture? No; he knew the pious rites of our temple, but passed them over when he concocted this story of a kidnapped Greek, an unmentionable banquet of the richest and most sumptuous fare, and slaves entering precincts to which even the highest Jewish nobles are not admitted, unless they are priests. Here, then, we have rank impiety at its worst, and a gratuitous lie, designed to mislead persons who do not trouble to investigate the facts. For the one aim of the inventors of the unspeakable horrors to which I have alluded is to bring us into odium.

(9) This model of piety derides us again in a story which he attributes to Mnaseas. The latter, according to Apion, relates that:—

in the course of a long war between the Jews and the Idumaeans, an inhabitant of an Idumaean city, called Dorii, who worshipped Apollo and bore (so we are told) the name of Zabidus, came out to the Jews and promised to deliver into their hands Apollo, the god of his city, who would visit our temple if they all took their departure. The Jews all believed him; whereupon Zabidus constructed an apparatus of wood, inserted in it three rows of lamps, and put it over his person. Thus arrayed he walked about, presenting the appear-

b Dor or Dora on the coast of Palestine, some ten miles north of Caesarea, south of Mt. Carmel.
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procul stantibus appareret, quasi stellae per terram.

τὴν πορείαν ποιομένων, τοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους ὑπὸ τοῦ παραδόξου τῆς θέας καταπεπληγμένους πόρρω μένοντας ἥσυχίαν ἀγεν. τὸν δὲ Ζαβίδον ἐπὶ πολλῆς ἥσυχίας εἰς τὸν ναὸν παρελθεῖν καὶ τὴν χρυσὴν ἀποσύρα τοῦ κάνθωνος κεφαλῆς, οὕτω γὰρ ἀστειώμενος γέγραφεν, καὶ πάλιν εἰς Δῶρα τὸ τάχος ἀπελθεῖν.

Αρα οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐὰν εἴπομεν ὅτι τὸν κάνθωνα, τοιτέστιν ἐαυτόν, Ἀπίων ἐπιφορτίζει καὶ ποιεῖ τῆς μυρολογίας ἀμα καὶ τῶν ψευσμάτων κατάγομον; καὶ γὰρ τόπους οὐκ ὄντας γράφει καὶ πόλεις οὐκ εἰδὼς μετατίθησιν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἰδουμαία τῆς ἡμετέρας χώρας ἐστὶν ὄμορος, κατὰ Γάζαν κεφαλήν, καὶ Δῶρα ταύτης ἐστὶν οὐδεμία πόλις. τῆς μέντοι Φοινίκης παρὰ τὸ Καρμήλιον ὅρος Δῶρα πόλις ὄνομαίται, μηδὲν ἐπικοινωνοῦσα τοῖς Ἀπίωνοις φλαρήμασι: τεσσάρων γὰρ ἠμερῶν

ὁδὸν τῆς Ἰδουμαιάς ἀφέστηκεν. τι δ’ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ κατηγορεῖ τὸ μὴ κοινοὺς ἔχειν τοῖς ἀλλοίς θεοὺς, εἰ ραδίως οὐτώς ἐπείσθησαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἦξεν τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα πρὸς αὐτούς καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀστρων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ψήθησαν ὅραν αὐτοῦ περι-

πατοῦντα; λύχνου γὰρ ὀυδέπω δῆλον ὅτι πρόσθεν ἐωράκασιν οἱ τάς τοσαῦτας καὶ τηλικαύτας λυχνο- καύσις ἐπιτελοῦντες. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τις αὐτῷ βαδίζοντι κατὰ τὴν χώραν τῶν τοσοῦτων μυριάδων ὑπήντη- σεν, ἔρημα δὲ καὶ τα τείχη φυλάκων εὑρε πολέμου

συνεστηκότος· ἐώς τάλλα. τοῦ ναοῦ δ’ αἱ θύραι τὸ μὲν ύψος ἦσαν ἑξῆκοντα πηχῶν, εἰκοσὶ δὲ τὸ

1 End of lacuna in L.
2 Hudson: ἀκανθῶνος L (and so below).
ance to distant onlookers of stars perambulating the earth. Astounded at this amazing spectacle, the Jews kept their distance, in perfect silence. Meanwhile, Zabidus stealthily passed into the sanctuary, snatched up the golden head of the pack-ass (as he facetiously calls it), and made off post-haste to Dora.

May we not, on our side, suggest that Apion is overloading the pack-ass, that is to say himself, with a crushing pack of nonsense and lies? He writes of places which do not exist, and shifts the position on the map of cities of which he knows nothing. Idumaea, in the latitude of Gaza, is conterminous with our territory. It has no city called Dora. There is a town of that name in Phoenicia, near Mount Carmel, but that has nothing in common with Apion’s ridiculous story, being at a distance of four days’ march from Idumaea. Again, how can he continue to accuse us of not having the same gods as the rest of the world, if our forefathers were so easily induced to believe that Apollo would visit them, and imagined that they saw him walking with a train of stars upon the earth? Obviously they had never before seen a lamp, these people whose festivals are such a blaze of illumination! Not one of all those myriads encountered him as he paraded the country! He found the walls unguarded in war-time! I refrain from further comment, merely remarking that the gates of the sanctuary were sixty

\[\text{In particular the Feast of Tabernacles (see the vivid description of the all-night illumination in the Mishnah, Sukkah, v. 2-4) and the Feast of Dedication, popularly known as the "Feast of Lights," A. xii. 325. Cf. § 282 below.}\]

\[\text{So Lat.: } \Delta \omega \rho \nu \ L. \quad \text{4 Niese: } \'I\nu\delta\alpha\iota\alpha\varsigma \ L.\]

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πλάτος, κατάχρυσοι δὲ πάσαι καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν 
σφυρήλατοι. ταύτας ἐκλειον ὡκ ἔλαττους ὄντες 
ἀνδρες διακόσιοι καθ’ ἕκαστην ἡμέραν καὶ τὸ 
καταλιπεῖν ὑπογιμένας ἡν ἀδέμητον. Ῥαδίως οὖν 
αὐτὰς ὁ λυχνοφόρος ἐκεῖνος ἀνέῳξεν, οἶμαι, μόνος ¹ 
καὶ τὴν τοῦ κάθωνος ὑψητὸν ¹ κεφαλὴν ἐχὼν. 
πότερον οὖν αὐτὴν πάλιν ὡς ἡμᾶς ἀνέστρεψεν ἡ 
λαβῶν Ἅπιων αὐτὴν εἰσεκόμισεν, ἵνα Ἄντιοχος 
εὐρή πρὸς δευτέραν Ἅπιων μυθολογίαιν; 

121 (10) Καταψευδεῖται δὲ καὶ ὄρκον ἡμῶν ὡς ὀμνυντὼν 
τῶν τῶν θεῶν τοῦ ποιῆσαντα τὸν ὀφράνον καὶ τὴν 
γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν μηδεὶς εὐνοῆσει ἀλλοφύλων. 

122 μᾶλλον δὲ "Ελληνων. Ἕδει δὲ καταψευδόμενον 
ἀπαξ εἰπεῖν μηδεὶς εὐνοῆσει ἀλλοφύλων, μᾶλλον 
δ’ Ἀγνωπτίως: οὖτως γὰρ ἂν τοῖς ἐξ ἄρχης αὐτὸ 
πλάσμασιν ἡμιστετεν τὰ περὶ τοῦ ὄρκον, εἴπερ 
ἥσαν ὑπὸ Ἀγνωπτίων τῶν συγγενῶν οἱ πατέρες 
ἡμῶν οὐχὶ διὰ πονηρίαν ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς 

123 ἔξελθαςμένους. τῶν "Ελληνων δὲ πλέον τοῖς 
τόποις ἡ τοῖς ἐπιτηθεύμασιν ἀφεστήκαμεν, ὡστε 
μηδεμίαν ἡμῖν εἶναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχθραν μηδὲ 
ζηλοτυπίαν. τοῦπαντίον μὲντοι πολλοὶ παρ’ αὐτῶν 
eἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους νόμους συνέβησαν εἰσελθεῖν, 
καὶ τους μὲν ἐνέμειναι, εἰς δ’ οἱ τὴν καρτερίαν 

124 οὖχ ὑπομείναντες πάλιν ἀπέστησαν. καὶ τούτων ³ 
¹ Text emended by Niese. 
² ed. pr.: καταψευσθαί τίνα L. 
³ τοῦτον L (corrector’s hand) Lat. 

ᵃ The dimensions given in B. v. 202 are 30 x 15 cubits. 
ᵇ Or perhaps "all overlaid with gold, almost of the solidity 
of hammered gold plates." 
ᶜ In B. vi. 293 we are told that it took twenty men to close 
the east gate of the inner court. Hudson, accordingly, 
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cubits high and twenty broad, all gilded and almost entirely covered with plates of wrought gold; it took no fewer than 200 men to close them every day, and it was forbidden to leave them open. Our lamp-carrier, I presume, had no difficulty in opening them by himself and making off with the pack-ass’s head. But did he return it to us, or was it Apion who recovered and reinstated it in the temple for Antiochus to find, in order to provide him with a second good story?

Then he attributes to us an imaginary oath, and would have it appear that we swear by the God who made heaven and earth and sea to show no goodwill to a single alien, above all to Greeks. Having once started false accusations, he should have said, “show no goodwill to a single alien, above all to Egyptians”; for then this reference to the oath would have been in keeping with his original fiction, if, as we are given to understand, the cause of the expulsion of our forefathers by their Egyptian “kinsmen” was not their malice, but their misfortunes. From the Greeks we are severed more by our geographical position than by our institutions, with the result that we neither hate nor envy them. On the contrary, many of them have agreed to adopt our laws; of whom some have remained faithful, while others, lacking the necessary endurance, have again seceded. Of these not one has ever said that corrects the figure here to twenty; but Josephus may mean that separate gangs of twenty men each were employed to close the ten gates of the temple.

Reinauch transfers this paragraph (§§ 121-124), which opens abruptly, to the end of § 99 above, where it seems more in place. Cf. Tac. Hist. v. 5, “adversus omnes alios hostile odium.”

Cf. §§ 280 ff. below.
οὔτεὶ πώποτε τὸν ὀρκον εἶπεν ἀκούσαι παρ' ἧμῖν ἀμοσμένον, ἀλλὰ μόνος Ἀπίων, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἦκουσεν αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ συνθεὶς αὐτὸν ἦν.

125 (11) Σφόδρα τούνων τῆς πολλῆς συνέσεως καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μέλλωντι ῥήθησεσθαι ταυμάζειν ἄξιον ἐστὶν Ἀπίων. τεκμηρίων γὰρ εἶναι φησιν τοῦ μήτε νόμου ἡμᾶς χρῆσθαι δικαίως μήτε τοῦ θεοῦ εὑσβεῖν ὡς προσῆκεν [τὸ μὴ ἄρχειν], δουλεύειν δὲ μᾶλλον ἐθνεσιν [καὶ] ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις καὶ τὸ κεχρήσθαι συμφοράς τισι περὶ τὴν πόλιν, αὐτῶν δὲ ἤλθον ὄτι πόλεως ἡγεμονικώτατης ἐκ τῶν ἀνωθεν ἄρχειν ἀλλὰ μὴ Ῥωμαίοις δουλεύειν συνειδησιμένων. αὐτοῖς ταύτων ἀν τις ἀνάσχοιτο τοιαύτης μεγαλαυχίας. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων οὐκ ἔστων ὡς ἀνθρώπων οὐχ ἰκανῶς καθ' αὐτοῦ φαίη τούτον ὕππηρξεν ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας διὰ καιροπτίας γενέσθαι, καὶ τούτους αἰ μεταβολαὶ πάλιν ἄλλοις δουλεύειν ὑπέξεισαι, τὸ πλεῖότων δὲ φύλον ἄλλων ὑπακήκοεν πολλάκις. Αἰγύπτιοι δ' ἄρα μόνοι διὰ τὸ καταφυγεῖν, ὡς φασίν, εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ σωθῆραι μεταβαλόντας εἰς μορφὰς θηρίων ἐξαιρετῶν γέρας εὐφορόντο τὸ μηδενὶ δουλεύσαι τῶν τῆς Ἀσίας ἡ τῆς Ἑλλάδος κρατησάντων, οἱ μίαν ἡμέραν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰώνος ἑλευθερίας οὐ τυχόντες, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παρὰ τῶν οἰκοδεσποτῶν. 129 οὕτως μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐχθρήσαντο Πέρσαι τρόπον, οὐχ ἀπαξ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις πορθοῦντες τὰς

1 ὀμοσμένον L. 2 ed. pr.: συνείσεσθαι L. 3 ins. ed. pr. 4 ed. pr.: αὐτοῖ L. 5 So ed. pr.: in L Ῥωμαίοις is placed before ἐκ. 6 Niese: ἀπόσχοιτο L (= perhaps "Even a Roman would refrain from so lofty a claim").

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he had heard the oath in question pronounced by any of us. Apion is apparently the only man who has heard it, for the good reason that he invented it.

(11) In the argument to which I now proceed Apion's extraordinary sagacity is most astonishing. A clear proof, according to him, that our laws are unjust and our religious ceremonies erroneous is that we are not masters of an empire, but rather the slaves, first of one nation, then of another, and that calamity has more than once befallen our city. As if his fellow-countrymen from time immemorial had been the masters of a sovereign state, and had never known what it was to serve the Romans! On Roman lips such a lofty claim might be tolerated. For the rest of the world, there is not a man who would not admit that this argument of Apion closely touches himself. It has been the lot of few, by waiting on opportunity, to gain an empire, and even they have, through the vicissitudes of fortune, been reduced once more to servitude beneath a foreign yoke; most races have frequently had to submit to others. The Egyptians alone, so it seems, because the gods, according to their account, took refuge in their country and saved themselves by assuming the forms of wild animals, gained the exceptional privilege of never being the slaves of any of the conquerors of Asia or Europe—the Egyptians, who have never, since the world began, had a day of liberty, even from their domestic masters! For the rough handling which they received from the Persians, who not once but on many occasions sacked

\[\text{Cf. Ovid, } \textit{Metamorph.} \text{ v. 321-331.}\]

\[\text{Niese: } \textit{μεγαλοψυχίας L.}\]
póleis, ἵερα κατασκάπτοντες, τοὺς παρ’ αὐτοῖς νομιζομένους θεοὺς κατασφάζοντες, οὐκ ἂν ὁνειδισαμεὶς μεμείσθαι γὰρ οὐ προσήκεν τὴν Ἀπίωνος ἀπαίδευσιν, ὅσον τὰς Ἀθηναίων τύχας οὐκέ τὰς Δακεδαμονίων ἐνενόησεν, ὡν τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρειοτάτους εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ εὐσεβεστάτους τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἀπαντεῖ κατέγονοι, ἐκ βασιλεὰς τοὺς ἐπ’ εὐσεβεῖα διαβοηθέντας ἵνα ἔινα Κροίσον, οἵας ἔχρησαντο συμφοραῖς βίου. ἐκ τὴν κατατρις θείας Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν, τὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ναὸν, τὸν ἐν Νελφοῖς, ἀλλοις μυρίους, καὶ οὐδείς ῥωδίσσεν·

132 ταῦτα τοῖς παθοῦσιν, ἄλλα τοῖς δράσασιν. καὶ ὁ ἀντίγορος ἦμων Ἀπίων ἡγεῖθη τῶν ἄδικων αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἀιγύπτου κακῶν ἐκλαθόμενον, ἄλλα Σέσωστρις αὐτὸν ὁ μυθεῖόμενος Ἀιγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἐπύφλωσεν.

‘Ημεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἠμέτέρους οὐκ ἂν εἰπώμεν βασιλείας, Δαυίδην καὶ Σολομώνα, πολλὰ χειρωσάμενος έθνη; τούτους μὲν οὐν παραλίπωμεν τὰ δὲ γνώριμα πάσων Ἀπίων ἡγούμηκεν, ὅτι Περσῶν καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνους ἠγούμηκεν τῆς Ἀσίας Μακεδόνων Ἀιγύπτου μὲν ἐδούλευον ἀνδραπόδων οὐδὲν διαφέροντες, ἡμεῖς δὲ οὕτως ἐλεύθεροι προσέτη καὶ τῶν πέρικε πόλεων ἠρχομὲν ἐπὶ σχεδὸν εἰκοσὶ ποι νῦν ρ’ μέχρι Μάγνου Πομπηίου, καὶ πάνω ἐκπολεμηθέντων πρὸς Ρωμαιοὺς τῶν πανταχοῦ

1 Perhaps a gloss.
2 ἐκπολεμωθέντων πρὸς Ρωμαιοὺς Niese.

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a Cf. Acts xvii. 22 (quoted in the margin of the ms.).
b By Xerxes, Herod. viii. 53.
c The temple of Artemis, burnt down by Herostratus on the night, as was said, of Alexander’s birth, 356 B.C.
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city, razed their temples, and slaughtered the creatures they took for gods, I will not reproach them. I must not imitate the ignorance of Apion, who never thought of the misfortunes of the Athenians or the Lacedaemonians, the latter, by common consent, the bravest, the former the most pious, of the Greeks. I pass over the calamities in the lives of monarchs (like Croesus) renowned for piety. I pass over the burning of the acropolis of Athens, the temple of Ephesus, that of Delphi, and myriads more; no one ever reproached the victims, rather than the perpetrators, for these atrocities. It was left for Apion to bring this novel type of accusation against us, quite forgetting the disasters of his own Egypt. Its mythical king Sesostris has doubtless blinded him.

For our part, might we not quote our kings, David and Solomon, who subjugated many nations? But let us pass them over and merely refer to a notorious fact, ignored by Apion: that is, that the Egyptians were the slaves and veritable menials, first of the Persians, and then of the Macedonians, the next rulers of Asia; while we were not merely independent, but had dominion over the surrounding states for about 120 years up to the time of Pompey the Great. And when war had been declared by the Romans on all the monarchs in the world, our kings

d The older temple was accidentally burnt down c. 548-547 B.C.; Josephus refers to some later occasion of incendiarism.

e Both Sesostris and his son (Herod. ii. 111) are said to have been struck blind.

f A slightly exaggerated estimate of the period from the Maccabean insurrection to Pompey's entry into Jerusalem (168-63 B.C.); eighty years, from c. 143 B.C. (1 Macc. xiii. 41), would have been more accurate.
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βασιλέων μόνοι διὰ πίστιν οἱ παρ’ ἡμῖν σύμμαχοι καὶ φίλοι διεφύλαξθησαν.

135 (12) Ἀλλὰ θαυμαστοὺς ἄνδρας οὐ παρεσχήκαμεν, οἴον τεχνῶν τινῶν εὑρετάς ἡ σοφία διαφέροντας. καὶ καταριθμεῖ Σωκράτην καὶ Ζήνωνα καὶ Κλε-ἀνθήν καὶ τοιούτους τινάς. εἶτα τὸ θαυμασιώτατον τοῖς εἰρημένοις αὐτῶν προστίθησι καὶ μακαρίζει τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ὅτι τοιούτον ἔχει

136 πολιτήν[, ὀρθῶς ποιῶν]. ἐδεί γὰρ αὐτῷ μάρτυρος ἐστιν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις ἀπασιν ὀχλαγωγός ἐδόκει πονηρὸς εἶναι, καὶ τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ διεφθαρμένος, ὡστε εἰκοτώς ἐλεήσαι τις ἃν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, εἴπερ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγα ἐφρόνει. περὶ δὲ τῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν ἄνδρων γεγονότων οὐδενὸς ἡμῶν ἐπαίνου τυγχάνειν ἄξιον ἰσασιν οἱ ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἀρχαιολογίαις ἐνυγχάνοντες.

137 (13) Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ γεγραμμένων ἄξιον ἢν ἰσως ἀναπολόγητα παραλιπέται, ὦ γὰρ αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀιγυπτίων ἢ δ’ κατηγορῶν. ἐγκαλεῖ γὰρ ὅτι ζωὰ θύουμεν ἡμερὰς καὶ χοῦρον οὐκ ἠσθίομεν, καὶ τὴν τῶν αἰδοίων χλενάζει περὶ-

138 τομήν. τὸ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς τῶν ἡμέρων χρῶν ἀνατρέσεως κοινῶν ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἀπαντάς, Ἀπίων δὲ τοῖς θύουσιν ἐγκαλῶν αὐτὸν ἐξῆλεγξεν ὅντα τὸ γένος Ἀιγυπτίων; οὐ γὰρ ἂν Ἐλλην ὁν ἡ Μακεδών ἐχαλέπαινεν. οὐτοὶ γὰρ εὐχονται θεοὶ καὶ θεοὶ καὶ χρῶνται τοῖς ἱερείοις πρὸς εὐωχίαν, καὶ οὐ διὰ τούτῳ συμβέβηκεν ἐρημωθοῦσα τὸν κόσμον τῶν βοσκη-

1 Niese (after Lat.): τῶν εἰρημένων L.
2 Niese (after Lat.): om. L.
3 Ins. Niese (after Lat.).

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alone, by reason of their fidelity, remained their allies and friends.

(12) "But" (urges Apion) we "have not produced any geniuses, for example, inventors in arts and crafts or eminent sages." a He enumerates Socrates, Zeno, Cleanthes, b and others of that calibre; and then—most astounding master-stroke—adds his own name to the list, and felicitates Alexandria on possessing such a citizen! Indeed he needed this testimonial from himself; for the rest of the world took him for a low charlatan, whose life was as dissolute as his language, in so much that Alexandria might fairly be pitied if she prided herself upon him. Our own famous men, who are entitled to rank with the highest, are familiar to readers of my Antiquities.

(13) The remaining counts in his indictment had better perhaps have remained unanswered, so that Apion might be left to act as his own and his countrymen's accuser. He denounces us for sacrificing domestic animals and for not eating pork, and he derides the practice of circumcision. Well, the custom of slaughtering domestic animals we share with the rest of mankind; and Apion, by criticizing those who practise it, betrays his Egyptian birth. No Greek or Macedonian would have been moved to indignation. Their nations, indeed, vow sacrifices of hecatombs to the gods, c and make a feast off the victims; yet this has not had the result, apprehended by Apion, of leav-

a A charge repeated by Apollonius Molon, § 148 below.

b Cleanthes in 263 B.C. succeeded Zeno as head of the Stoic school, founded by the latter.

c Cf. Hom. Od. xvii. 50.
139 μάτων, ὀπερ Ἀπίων ἔδεισεν. εἰ μέντοι τοῖς Ἀγινπτίων ἐθεσιν ἡκολούθουν ἀπαντες, ήρήμωτο μὲν ἂν ὁ κόσμος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ἀγνωστάτων δὲ θηρίων ἐπληθύνθη, ὁ θεοὺς ὑδοίοι νομίζοντες
140 ἐπιμελῶς ἐκτρέφουσιν. καὶ μὴν εἶ τις αὐτῶν ἦρετο, τῶν πάντων Ἀγινπτίων τίνας εἶναι καὶ σωφτάτους καὶ θεοσεβεῖς νομίζει, πάντως ἃν
141 ὠμολόγησε τοὺς ἱερεῖς· δύο γὰρ αὐτούς φασὶν ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταύτα προστετάχθαι, τὴν τε τῶν θεῶν θεραπείαν καὶ τῆς σοφίας τὴν ἐπι-
μέλειαν. ἐκεῖνοι τούν ἀπαντες καὶ περιτεμνονται καὶ χορειῶν ἀπέχουται βρωμάτων· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀγινπτίων οὐδὲ εἰς ὑν θυεῖ τοῖς θεοῖς.
142 ἀρ' ὁν τυφλὸς ἢν τὸν νοῦν Ἀπίων ὑπὲρ Ἀγινπτίων ἡμᾶς λοιδορεῖν συνθέμενος, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ κατηγορῶν, οὗ χρῶνται τοῖς ὑπὸ τούτου λοιδο-
ρουμένους ἔθεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλους ἐδίδαξαν περιτεμνεσθαι, καθάπερ εἴρηκεν Ἡρόδοτος;
143 ὁθὲν εὐκότως μοι δοκεῖ τῆς εἰς τοὺς πατρίους αὐτοῦ νόμους βλασφημίας δοῦναι δίκην Ἀπίων τὴν πρέπουσαν· περιετμήθη γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης,
ἐλκώσως αὐτῶ περὶ τὸ αἰδώλιον γενομένης, καὶ μηδὲν ὁφεληθείς ὑπὸ τῆς περιτομῆς ἀλλὰ σηπό-
144 μενος ἐν δειναῖς ὀδύναις ἀπέθανεν. δεὶ γὰρ τοὺς εὗ φρονοῦντας τοῖς μὲν οἰκείοις νόμοις περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἀκριβῶς ἐμμένειν, τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων
μὴ λοιδορεῖν. ὁ δὲ τούτους μὲν ἐφυγεν, τῶν ἡμετέρων δὲ κατεφεύγατο. τοῦτο μὲν Ἀπίων
1 ὑν θεύει Niese: συνθύει L Lat.

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ing the world without cattle. If, on the other hand, mankind had adopted Egyptian customs, the world would have been left without human beings, and been overrun with those wildest of beasts, which they sedulously rear in the belief that they are gods. Again, had Apion been asked who, in his opinion, were the wisest and most god-fearing of all the Egyptians, he would undoubtedly have made the admission, “the priests”; for they, as is said, originally received two commissions from royalty: divine worship and the charge of learning. But all those priests are circumcised, and all abstain from swine’s flesh. Even among the rest of the Egyptians there is not a man who sacrifices a pig to the gods. Was, then, Apion’s mind blinded when, in the interest of the Egyptians, he undertook to revile us and actually condemned them? For not only do they practise the customs which he abuses, but, as Herodotus has informed us, they have taught others to adopt circumcision.

I cannot, therefore, but regard the penalty which Apion paid for maligning his country’s laws as just and appropriate. An ulcer on his person rendered circumcision essential; the operation brought no relief, gangrene set in, and he died in terrible tortures. A wise man’s duty is to be scrupulously faithful to the religious laws of his country, and to refrain from abuse of those of others. Apion was a defaulter to his country’s laws and told lies about ours. Such was his end, and here let me bring my remarks [upon him] to a close.

On the Egyptians’ practice of circumcision see Herod. ii. 37, 104; on their abstinence from pork, except on certain occasions, ib. ii. 47.

Herod. ii. 104 (quoted in Ap. i. 169).
145 (14) Ἐπει δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Μόλων καὶ Λυσίμαχος καὶ τινὲς ἄλλοι τὰ μὲν ὑπ’ ἄγνοιας, τὸ πλείστον δὲ κατὰ δυσμένειαν, περὶ τε τοῦ νομοθετήσαντος ἦμιν Μωσέως καὶ περὶ τῶν νόμων πεποίησατι λόγους οὕτε δικαίους οὕτε ἄλθεῖς, τὸν μὲν ὡς γόητα καὶ ἀπατεώνα διαβάλλοντες, τους νόμους δὲ κακίας ἦμιν καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρετῆς φάσκοντες εἰναι διδασκάλους, βουλομαί συντόμως καὶ περὶ τῆς ὀλης ἦμιν καταστάσεως τοῦ πολιτεύματος καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος, ὡς ἂν ὁ δυνάτος, 146 εἴπειν. οἴμαι γὰρ ἐσεσθαι φανερὸν ὅτι καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν καὶ πρὸς κοινωνίαν τὴν μετ’ ἄλληλων καὶ πρὸς τὴν καθολοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πόνοις καρτερίαν καὶ θανάτου περιφρόνησιν ἀριστα κειμένους ἔχομεν 147 τοὺς νόμους. ἐπακαλῶ δὲ τοὺς ἐντευξομένους τῇ γραφῇ μή μετὰ φθόνου ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν, οὐ γὰρ ἐγκώμιον ἦμιν αὐτῶν προειλόμην συγγράφειν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ ψευδῆ καθηγορουμένους ἦμιν ταύτην ἀπολογίαν δικαιοστάτην εἶναι νομίζω τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων, καθ’ οὓς ἔσωντες διατελοῦμεν. 148 ἄλλως τε καὶ τὴν κατηγορίαν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος οὐκ ἄθροι εἰσπέρ ὁ Ἀπίων ἔταξεν, ἀλλὰ σποράδην καὶ διὰ πάσης τῆς συγγραφῆς ποτὲ μὲν ὡς ἀθέους καὶ μισανθρώπους λοίδορεῖ, ποτὲ δ’ αὐθελίαν ἦμιν ὀνειδίζει, καὶ τοὺς πάλιν ἔστων ὅπου τόλμαν κατηγορεῖ καὶ ἀπόνοιαν. λέγει δὲ καὶ ἀφυσιατοὺς εἶναι τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηδὲν εἰς 149 τὸν βίον εὔρημα συμβεβλήσθαι μόνους. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα διελεγχθῆσθαι νομίζω σαφῶς, εἰ τάναντία 350
AGAINST APION, II. 145–149

(14) Seeing, however, that Apollonius Molon, Lysimachus, and others, partly from ignorance, mainly from ill will, have made reflections, which are neither just nor true, upon our lawgiver Moses and his code, maligning the one as a charlatan and impostor, and asserting that from the other we receive lessons in vice and none in virtue, I desire to give, to the best of my ability, a brief account of our constitution as a whole and of its details. From this, I think, it will be apparent that we possess a code excellently designed to promote piety, friendly relations with each other, and humanity towards the world at large, besides justice, hardihood, and contempt of death. And I beg any into whose hands these pages may fall to read them without bias.²

My object is not to compose a panegyric upon our nation; but I consider that, in reply to the numerous false accusations which are brought against us, the fairest defence which we can offer is to be found in the laws which govern our daily life. I adopt this line the more readily because Apollonius, unlike Apion, has not grouped his accusations together, but scattered them here and there all over his work, reviling us in one place as atheists and misanthropes, in another reproaching us as cowards, whereas elsewhere, on the contrary, he accuses us of temerity and reckless madness. He adds that we are the most witless of all barbarians, and are consequently the only people who have contributed no useful invention to civilization. All this tirade will, I think, be clearly refuted, if it be shown that the precepts

a Or "jealousy."

¹ ἐπειδὲ Dindorf after Lat.: ἐπειδῆ L.
² διὰ ἐν διαγραφῆς ed. pr.: δη ἐίπας L. Text doubtful.
τῶν εἰρημένων φανείη καὶ διὰ τῶν νόμων ἡμῶν προστεταγμένα καὶ πραπτόμενα μετὰ πάσης ἀκρι-
150 βείας ύψ’ ἡμῶν. εἰ δ’ ἄρα βιασθεῖν μυησθήναι τῶν παρ’ ἐτέροις ὑπεναντίως νενομισμένων, τού-
του δίκαιος τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχειν εἶσιν οἱ τὰ παρ’ ἡμῶν ὡς χείρω παραβάλλει ἀξιοῦντες. οἷς ουδέτερον ἀπολειφθήσεσθαι νομίζω λέγειν, οὕθ’ ὦς οὐχὶ 
τούτων ἔχομεν τοὺς νόμους, ὅν ἐγὼ παραθήσομαι 
toύς κεφαλαιωδεστάτους, οὐθ’ ὦς οὐχὶ μάλιστα 
pάντων ἐμμένομεν τοῖς ἐαυτῶν νόμωι.

151 (15) Μικρὸν οὖν ἀναλαβὼν τὸν λόγον τοῦτ’ ἄν 
eἰπομεν πρῶτον, ὅτι τῶν ἀνόμως καὶ ἀτάκτως βιοῦν-
tων οὶ πάξεως καὶ νόμου κοινωνίας ἐπιθυμηταί γενό-
μενοι καὶ πρῶτοι καταρξάντες εἰκότως ἄν ἡμερότητι 
152 καὶ φύσεως ἀρετῇ διενεγκέων μαρτυρηθεῖν. ἀμέλει 
πειρώνται τὰ παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐκαστοί πρὸς τὸ ἀρχαιό-
tατον ἀνάγειν, ἵνα μη’ μιμεῖσθαι δόξωσιν ἐτέρους, 
ἀλλ’3 αὐτοῖ τού ἐξὶν νομίμως ἀλλοις υφηγύσασθαι. 
153 τούτων δὲ τούτων ἐχόντων τῶν τρόπων, ἀρετῇ μὲν 
ἐστι νομοθέτου τὰ βέλτιστα συνιδεῖν καὶ πεῖσαι 
tοὺς χρησμομένους περὶ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τιθεμένων, 
πλήθους δὲ τὸ πάσι τοῖς δόξασιν ἐμμεῖναι καὶ μῆτε 
eυτυχίας μῆτε συμφοραίς αὐτῶν μηδὲν μετα-
βάλλειν.
154 Φημὶ τούν τὸν ἡμέτερον νομοθέτην τῶν ὅπου-
δηποτοῦν μνημονευμένων νομοθετῶν προάγειοι 
ἀρχαιότητι. Λυκοδρόμοι γὰρ καὶ Σόλωνες καὶ 
Ζάλευκος ὁ τῶν Λοκρῶν καὶ πάντες οἱ θαυμαζο-

1 ed. pr.: ὑπεναντίων L Lat.
2 ed. pr.: om. L Lat.
3 ed. pr.: + οὐκ L Lat.

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of our laws, punctiliously practised in our lives, are in direct conflict with the above description. If I may be forced to allude to legislation of a contrary nature in vogue elsewhere, the blame must rest with those who claim that our laws are, by comparison, inferior to their own. These critics will, I think, have no excuse in future for denying either that we possess these laws, the most salient of which I propose to cite, or that we are the most law-abiding of all the nations.

(15) Resuming, then, after this slight digression, I would begin with the remark that persons who have espoused the cause of order and law—one law for all—and been the first to introduce them, may fairly be admitted to be more civilized and virtuously disposed than those who lead lawless and disorderly lives. In fact, each nation endeavours to trace its own institutions back to the remotest date, in order to create the impression that, far from imitating others, it has been the one to set its neighbours an example of orderly life under law. That being so, the virtue of a legislator is to have insight to see what is best, and to win over to the laws which he introduces those who are to live under them; the virtue of the masses is loyalty to abide by the laws adopted and, in prosperity or in adversity, to make no change in them.

Now, I maintain that our legislator is the most ancient of all legislators in the records of the whole world. Compared with him, your Lycurguses and Solons, and Zaleucus, who gave the Locrians their laws, and all who are held in such high esteem by

Moses the ancient of legislators.

c. 800 B.C.
638-558 B.C.
c. 660 B.C.
μενοὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησπόντιοι ἔχθες ὡς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον παραβαλλόμενοι φαίνονται γεγονότες, ὅπως ἐπεῖς ἄντων πάλαι ἐγείροντο. 155 τοῦ νόμου παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησπόντιοι ἕκαστος ἀνώτερος χρησάμενος. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν κατὰ τούτων, ἀλλὰ ἡμῶν καὶ ἀντίστοις τὰ πλῆθη διωκεῖτο καὶ προστάγμασι τῶν βασιλέων ἢ' οὗ καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διέμειναν ἐδεικνύον ἄγράφους κρόμμους καὶ πολλὰ τούτων ἠεὶ πρὸς τὸ συν-
156 τυγχάνον μετατιθέντες. οὔτε ἐκείνος νομοθέτης ἀρχαίοτατος γεγονός, τούτο γὰρ δήποτε ᾗν ὀμολογεῖται καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πάντα καθ' ἡμῶν λεγόμενοι, ἐκεῖνος τὸ παρέσχεν ἁριστόν τοῖς πλῆθεσιν ἢγεμόνα καὶ σύμβουλον, τὴν τὴν κατασκευὴν αὐτοῖς ὁλῆν τοῦ βίου τῷ νόμῳ περιλαβὸν ἔπεισεν παραδεξασθαι καὶ βεβαιοτάτην εἰς ἢ' οὗτοι φυλαχθῆναι παρεσκευάσεως. 157 (16) Ἰδομεν ἐν τοῖς ἔργων αὐτοῦ τῶν πρῶτων μεγαλεῖν. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν, ἐπεὶ πλὴν ἐδοξεῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν Αἰγύπτου ἐκλυποῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν πάτριον γῆν ἐπανέναι, πολλὰς τὰς μυριάδας παραλαβὼν ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ ἀμυχώνων διέσωσεν εἰς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀνυδρόν αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλὴν ψάμμων ἐδει διοδοτοπορῆσαι καὶ νικῆσαι πολεμίους καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ λείαν ὁμοῦ σώζειν 158 μαχομένους. ἐν οἷς ἀπασὶ καὶ στρατηγὸς ἄριστος ἐγένετο καὶ σύμβουλος συνετῶτατος καὶ πάντων κηδεμῶν ἀληθέστατος. ἦπαιν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἢ' αὐτὸν ἀνηρτήσαθα παρεσκευάσεως, καὶ περὶ παντὸς

1 ὡς ἔχθες L.  
2 Bekker: παραλαβὼν L.  
3 εἰς ἢ' οὗ Bekker: ἔσοι L.  
4 Niese: πολέμους L, Lat.  

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the Greeks appear to have been born but yesterday. Why, the very word "law" was unknown in ancient Greece. Witness Homer, who nowhere employs it in his poems.\(^a\) In fact, there was no such thing in his day; the masses were governed by maxims not clearly defined and by the orders of royalty, and continued long afterwards the use of unwritten customs, many of which were from time to time altered to suit particular circumstances. On the other hand, our legislator, who lived in the remotest past (that, I presume, is admitted even by our most unscrupulous detractors)\(^b\), proved himself the people's best guide and counsellor; and after framing a code to embrace the whole conduct of their life, induced them to accept it, and secured, on the firmest footing, its observance for all time.

(16) Let us consider his first magnificent achievement. When our ancestors decided to leave Egypt and return to their native land, it was he who took command of all those myriads and brought them safely through a host of formidable difficulties. For they had to traverse a vast, waterless and sandy desert, to defeat their enemies, and to protect their wives, their children and their chattels while engaged in battle. Throughout all this he proved the best of generals, the sagest of counsellors, and the most conscientious of guardians. He succeeded in making the whole people dependent upon himself, and,

\(^a\) The word ṛōmos appears first in Hesiod; older terms were θέμαστες (Homer) and θεομοί, "ordinances."

\(^b\) Apion, however, brought his date down to the eighth century (§ 17).
ἔχων πεισθέντας [ἀντὶ τοῦ κελευσθέντος] ἐὰς οὐδεμίαν οἰκείαν ἐλαβεν ταῦτα πλεονεξίαν, ἀλλ’ ἐν ὧ μάλιστα τοῦ καιροῦ δυνάμεις μὲν αὐτοῖς περιβάλλονται καὶ τυραννίδας οἱ προεστηκότες, ἔθιζονοι

159 δὲ τὰ πλήθη μετὰ πολλῆς ἦς ἀνομίας, ἐν τούτῳ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκείνως καθεστηκός τούναντίον ωῆθη δεῖν εὑσβείν καὶ πολλῆν εὐνομίαν τοῖς λαοῖς ἐμπαρασκείν, οὖτως αὐτὸς τε τὰ μάλιστα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδείξεν τὴν αὐτοῦ νομίζειν καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῖς αὐτὸν ἤγεμονα πεποιημένοις βεβαιο-

160 τάτην παρέξεων. καλῆς οὖν αὐτῶ προαίρεσεως καὶ πράξεων μεγάλων ἐπιτυγχανομένων εἰκότως εὔμιξεν ἤγεμόνα τε καὶ σύμβουλον θεοῦ ἐχειν, καὶ πεῖσας πρότερον ἐαυτῶν ᵃτι κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων βούλησιν ἀπάντα πράττει καὶ διανοεῖται, ταῦτην ὃτε δεῦ πρὸ παντὸς ἐμποίησαι τὴν ὑπόληψιν τοῖς πλήθεσιν. οἱ γὰρ πυστεύσαντες ἐπισκοπεῖν θεοῦ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν βίους οὐθὲν ἀνέχονται ἐξαμαρτεῖν.

161 τουσὶ τού γὰρ τοὺς ἤμων ὁ νομοθέτης, οὐ γόθῃς οὐδ’ ἀπατεῶν, ἀπερ λοιδοροῦντες λέγουσιν ἀδίκως, ἀλλ’ οἶνον παρὰ τοῖς "Ελλησιν αὐχοῦσιν τῶν Μίνω γεγονέναι καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄλλους νομοθέτας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τοὺς νόμους ὑποτιθενταὶ Ἰδίι, οἱ δ’ εἰς τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὸ Δέλφικον αὐτῶν μαντεῖον ἀνέφερον, ἦτοι τάλθοις οὖτως ἐχεῖν νομίζοντες ἢ πεῖσειν βάσαν ὑπολαμβάνοντες.

163 τίς δ’ ἦν τὸ μάλιστα κατορθώσας τοὺς νόμους καὶ τῆς δικαιοτάτης περὶ θεοῦ πίστεως ἐπιτυχών,

1 Om. Lat.: αὐτοὶς τοῦ κελ. ed. pr.
2 Niese after Hudson with Lat.: om. L.
3 Niese (cf. B. i. 403): εὐνοικαν L.
4 Text doubtful.
5 Lat.: θείον L.
6 Om. Lat.
having secured their obedience in all things, he did not use his influence for any personal aggrandizement. No; at the very moment when leading men assume absolute and despotic power and accustom their subjects to a life of extreme lawlessness, he, on the contrary, having reached that commanding position, considered it incumbent on him to live piously and to provide for his people an abundance of good laws, in the belief that this was the best means of displaying his own virtue and of ensuring the lasting welfare of those who had made him their leader. With such noble aspirations and such a record of successful achievements, he had good reason for thinking that he had God for his guide and counsellor. Having first persuaded himself that God's will governed all his actions and all his thoughts, he regarded it as his primary duty to impress that idea upon the community; for to those who believe that their lives are under the eye of God all sin is intolerable. Such was our legislator; no charlatan or impostor, as slanderers unjustly call him, but one such as the Greeks boast of having had in Minos and later legislators. For among these some attributed their laws to Zeus, others traced them to Apollo and his oracle at Delphi, either believing this to be the fact, or hoping in this way to facilitate their acceptance. But the question, who was the most successful legislator, and who attained to the truest conception of God, may be answered

a Reputed king and legislator of Crete.

b "Some," e.g. Minos; "others," e.g. Lycurgus.
The word was apparently coined by Josephus; the idea goes back to the O.T.
by contrasting the laws themselves with those of others, and to these I must now turn.

There is endless variety in the details of the customs and laws which prevail in the world at large. To give but a summary enumeration: some peoples have entrusted the supreme political power to monarchies, others to oligarchies, yet others to the masses. Our lawgiver, however, was attracted by none of these forms of polity, but gave to his constitution the form of what—if a forced expression be permitted—may be termed a "theocracy," placing all sovereignty and authority in the hands of God. To Him he persuaded all to look, as the author of all blessings, both those which are common to all mankind, and those which they had won for themselves by prayer in the crises of their history. He convinced them that no single action, no secret thought, could be hid from Him. He represented Him as One, uncreated and immutable to all eternity; in beauty surpassing all mortal thought, made known to us by His power, although the nature of His real being passes knowledge.

That the wisest of the Greeks learnt to adopt these conceptions of God from principles with which Moses supplied them, I am not now concerned to urge; but they have borne abundant witness to the excellence of these doctrines, and to their consonance with the nature and majesty of God. In fact, Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Plato, the Stoics who succeeded him, and indeed nearly all the philosophers appear to have

\[\text{His constitution a "theocracy."}\]

A religion for the many, not (like Greek philosophy) for the few.

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\[\text{Not born like the Greek gods (see § 240 below).}\]

\[\text{Or "form": cf. § 190.}\]

\[\text{Or "essence."}\]

\[\text{This theory, first propounded by Aristobulus (2nd cent. B.C.), was adopted by Philo and later writers.}\]
οὕτω φαίνονται περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φύσεως πε-?

169 φρονηκότες. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πρὸς ὀλίγους φιλο-

σοφοῦντες εἰς πλῆθη δόξας προκατελημμένα τὴν

ἀλήθειαν τοῦ δόγματος ἐξενεγκείν οὐκ ἔτολμησαν,

ὁ δ' ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης, ἄτε δὴ τὰ ἔργα παρέχων

σύμφωνα τοῖς λόγοις, 1 οὐ μόνον τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν

ἐπεισεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνων ἂεὶ γενησο-

μένους τὴν περὶ θεοῦ πίστιν ἐνέφυσεν ἀμετακίνη-

τον. αὕτων δ' ὅτι καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς νομοθεσίας

πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον πάντων [αἰ] 2 πολὺ διήνεγκεν:

οὐ γὰρ μέρος ἀρετῆς ἐποίησεν τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλὰ

ταύτης μέρη τάλλα, λέγω δὲ τὴν δικαιοσύνην, τὴν

σωφροσύνην, τὴν καρτερίαν, τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν

170 πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν ἀπασί συμφωνών. ἀπασαί γὰρ

αἱ πράξεις καὶ διατριβαὶ καὶ λόγοι πάντες ἐπὶ

τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν εὐσέβειαν ἔχουσι τὴν ἀνα-

φορὰν; οὐδὲν γὰρ τούτων ἀνεξέταστον οὐδ' ἀόριστον

παρέλιπεν.

Δύο μὲν γὰρ εἰσὶν ἀπάσης παιδείας τρόποι καὶ

τῆς περὶ τὰ ἡθη κατασκευῆς, ὅν ὁ μὲν λόγω

dιδασκαλίκος, ὁ δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀσκήσεως τῶν ἡθῶν.

172 οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι νομοθέται ταῖς γνώμαις διέστησαν

καὶ τὸν ἔτερον αὐτῶν, ὅν ἔδοξεν ἐκάστους, ἔλομενοι

τὸν ἔτερον παρέλιπον, οὗν Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ

Κρῆταις ἔθεσιν ἐπαίδευσον, οὐ λόγοις, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ

καὶ σχεδόν οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες Ἑλληνες α μὲν χρῆ

πράττειν ἢ μὴ προσέτασθον διὰ τῶν νόμων, τοῦ

173 δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰ διὰ τῶν ἐργῶν ἐθίζειν ὁλυγώρων.

(17) 'Ο δ' ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης ἄμφω ταύτα συνήρ-

1 συμφ. τ. λογ. L Lat.: τοῖς νόμοις σύμφωνα Eus.

2 Ομ. ἂεὶ Eus.
AGAINST APION, II. 168–173

held similar views concerning the nature of God. These, however, addressed their philosophy to the few, and did not venture to divulge their true beliefs to the masses who had their own preconceived opinions; whereas our lawgiver, by making practice square with precept, not only convinced his own contemporaries, but so firmly implanted this belief concerning God in their descendants to all future generations that it cannot be moved. The cause of his success was that the very nature of his legislation made it [always] far more useful than any other; for he did not make religion a department of virtue, but the various virtues—I mean, justice, temperance, fortitude, and mutual harmony in all things between the members of the community—a—departments of religion. Religion governs all our actions and occupations and speech; none of these things did our lawgiver leave unexamined or indeterminate.

All schemes of education and moral training fall into two categories; instruction is imparted in the one case by precept, in the other by practical exercising of the character. All other legislators, differing in their opinions, selected the particular method which each preferred and neglected the other. Thus the Lacedaemonians and Cretans employed practical, not verbal, training; whereas the Athenians and nearly all the rest of the Greeks made laws enjoining what actions might or might not be performed, but neglected to familiarize the people with them by putting them into practice.

(17) Our legislator, on the other hand, took great

a The four cardinal virtues of the Platonic School, except that Harmony (συμφωνία) here replaces the usual Wisdom (φρόνησις).
JOSEPHUS

174 katέλειπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ συτίων, ὅσων ἀπέχεσθαι χρῇ καὶ τίνα προσφέρεσθαι, καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινωνισόντων τῆς διαίτης, ἔργων τε συντονίας καὶ τούμπων, ἀναπαύσεως ὤρον ἐθηκεν αὐτὸς καὶ κανόνα τὸν νόμον, ὦν ὠσπερ ὑπὸ πατρὶ τούτῳ καὶ δεσπότῃ ἐξώντες μήτε βουλόμενοι μηθὲν μῆθ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀγνοίας ἀμαρτάνομεν.

175 Ὑδὲ γὰρ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγνοίας ὑποτίμησιν κατέλειπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κάλλιστον καὶ ἀναγκαίωτατον ἀπέδειξε παίδευμα τὸν νόμον, οὐκ εἰσάγαγ γέροντες ως ὄντι ὅ πολλάκις, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκάστης ἐβδομάδος τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων ἀφεμένους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν ἐκέλευσε τὸν νόμον συλλέγεσθαι καὶ τοῦτον ἀκριβῶς ἐκμαθήκαν. οὗ δὴ πάντες ἑοίκασιν οἱ νομοθέται παραλιπέιν.

176 (18) Καὶ τοσοῦτον οἱ πλείστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπεξουσί τοῦ κατὰ τοὺς οἰκείους νόμους ζῆν, ὥστε σχεδὸν αὐτοὺς ὤντ᾽ ἔσασιν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν ἐξαμάρτησαν, τότε παρ᾽ ἄλλων μανθάνουσιν ὅτι τὸν νόμον παραβεβήκασιν, οἳ τε τὰς μεγίστας καὶ κυριωτάτας παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἄρχας διοικοῦντες ὁμό-

1 Eus. : κατὰ τὸ (νῦ. πρ. : τὸν Λ) οἰκείον ἐκάστῳ Λ.
2 αὐτός Niese.
3 ὑπὸ Eus.
4 Eus. : ἡνέχεσθο καταλιπεῖν Λ.

α Cf. Philo's eulogy of Moses for avoiding the one-sided extremes of other legislators (De opif. mundi 1).
β Lit. "dumb."
γ Or "diet."
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AGAINT APION, II. 173–177

care to combine both systems.a He did not leave practical training in morals inarticulate b; nor did he permit the letter of the law to remain inoperative. Starting from the very beginning with the food of which we partake from infancy and the private life c of the home, he left nothing, however insignificant, to the discretion and caprice of the individual. What meats a man should abstain from, and what he may enjoy; with what persons he should associate; what period should be devoted respectively to strenuous labour and to rest—for all this our leader made the Law the standard and rule, that we might live under it as under a father and master, d and be guilty of no sin through wilfulness or ignorance.

For ignorance he left no pretext. He appointed the Law to be the most excellent and necessary form of instruction, ordaining, not that it should be heard once for all or twice or on several occasions, but that every week men should desert their other occupations and assemble to listen to the Law and to obtain a thorough and accurate knowledge of it, e a practice which all other legislators seem to have neglected.

(18) Indeed, most men, so far from living in accordance with their own laws, hardly know what they are. Only when they have done wrong do they learn from others that they have transgressed the law. Even those of them who hold the highest and most important offices admit their ignorance; for

a Cf. Gal. iii. 24 for the law as "tutor" (παιδαγωγός).

b Josephus follows the Rabbinical tradition (Talm. Jer. Megilla, iv. 1), which ascribed to Moses the introduction of the custom of public reading of the Law on Sabbaths and festivals. Cf. A. xvi. 43; Philo, De opif. mund. § 128 (Cohn); and Dr. Büchler's art. in J.Q.R. v. 427 (1893). Deut. xxxi. 10 provides merely for a septennial reading.
JOSEPHUS

λογοῦσι τὴν ἁγνοιαν· ἐπιστάται γὰρ παρακαθήσαταί τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων οἰκονομίας τοὺς

178 ἐμπειρίαν ἔχειν τῶν νόμων ὑπισχισμένους. ἦμῶν δ' ὄντων τις ἔριοτο τοὺς νόμους ἐπὶ πάντας ἡ τούνομα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ. τουγαροῦν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης εὐθὺς αἰσθήσεως αὐτοὺς ἐκμανθάνοντες ἔχομεν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὡσπερ ἐγκεχαραγμένους, καὶ σπάνιος μὲν ὁ παραβαίνων, ἀδύνατος δ' ἡ τῆς κολάσεως παραίτησις.

179 (19) Τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀπάντων τὴν θαυμαστὴν ὄμοιον ἢμῖν ἐμπεποίηκεν. τὸ γὰρ μίαν μὲν ἔχειν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν δόξαν περὶ θεοῦ, τῷ βίῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσι μηδὲν ἀλλήλων διαφέρειν, καλλιστὴν ἐν ἔθεσιν ἀνθρώπων συμφωνίαν ἀποτελεῖ. παρ' ἢμῖν γὰρ μόνως οὔτε περὶ θεοῦ λόγους ἀκούσεται τις ἀλλήλους ὑπεναντίους, ὥσποτα πολλὰ παρ' ἑτέροις οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων μόνον κατὰ τὸ προσπεσοῦν ἐκάστων λέγεται πάθος, ἄλλα καὶ παρὰ τισὶ τῶν φιλοσοφών ἀποτετολμηταί, τῶν μὲν τὴν ὀλην τοῦ θεοῦ φύσιν ἀναφέρειν τοῖς λόγοις ἐπικεχερικότων, ἄλλων δὲ τὴν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν πρὸοιοναν ἀφαιρομένων· οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι τῶν βίων ὄλεται διαφοράν, ἄλλα κοινὰ μὲν ἐργα πάντων παρ' ἢμῖν, εἰς δὲ λόγους ὁ τῷ νόμῳ συμφωνών περὶ θεοῦ, πάντα λέγων ἑκεῖνον ἐφορᾶν. καὶ μὴν περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ὅτε δὲ πάντα τάλλα τέλος ἔχειν τὴν εὐσεβείαν, καὶ γυναικῶν ἀκούσειν ἃν τις καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν.

181 (20) Ὄθεν δὴ καὶ τὸ προφερόμενον ἢμῖν ὑπὸ τινῶν ἐγκλήμα, τὸ δὴ μὴ κακῶν εὐρετὰς ἔργων ἡ λόγων

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they employ professional legal experts as assessors and leave them in charge of the administration of affairs. But, should anyone of our nation be questioned about the laws, he would repeat them all more readily than his own name. The result, then, of our thorough grounding in the laws from the first dawn of intelligence is that we have them, as it were, engraven on our souls. A transgressor is a rarity; evasion of punishment by excuses an impossibility.

(19) To this cause above all we owe our admirable harmony. Unity and identity of religious belief, perfect uniformity in habits and customs, produce a very beautiful concord in human character. Among us alone will be heard no contradictory statements about God, such as are common among other nations, not only on the lips of ordinary individuals under the impulse of some passing mood, but even boldly pro- pounded by philosophers; some putting forward crushing arguments against the very existence of God, others depriving Him of His providential care for mankind. Among us alone will be seen no difference in the conduct of our lives. With us all act alike, all profess the same doctrine about God, one which is in harmony with our Law and affirms that all things are under His eye. Even our womenfolk and dependants would tell you that piety must be the motive of all our occupations in life.

(20) This, in fact, is the origin of the reproach brought against us by some critics of our having

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\( ^a \) Assessors (\( \pi \rho \epsilon \delta \rho o \)) were attached to the Athenian archons; Roman provincial governors had legal advisers.

\( ^b \) Sceptics such as Pyrrhon and his disciple Timon.

\( ^c \) e.g., the Epicureans.

\( ^d \) Cf. §§ 135, 148.
ände ἀνδρᾶς παρασχεῖν, ἐντεῦθεν συμβέβηκεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι τὸ μηδενὶ τῶν πατρίων ἐμμένειν καλὸν εἶναι νομίζουσι καὶ τοῖς τολμῶσι ταῦτα παραβαίνειν μάλιστα σοφίας δεινότητας μαρτυροῦσιν, 183 ἡμεῖς δὲ τούναντίον μίαν εἶναι καὶ φρόνησιν καὶ ἀρετὴν ὑπειλήφαμεν τὸ μηδὲν ὅλως ὑπεναντίον μήτε πράξαι μήτε διανοηθῆναι τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς νομοθετηθείσιν. ὅπερ εἰκότως ἂν εἴη τεκμήριον τοῦ κάλλιστα τῶν νόμων τεθῆναι τὰ γὰρ μὴ τούτον ἔχοντα τῶν τρόπων αἱ πείραι δεόμεναι διορθώσεως ἑλέχυσον.

184 (21) Ἦμιν δὲ τοῖς πεισθεὶσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τεθῆναι τῶν νόμων κατὰ θεοῦ βουλήσεως οὐδὲ εὐσέβεις ἢ τούτον μὴ φυλάττειν. τι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸς ἀν μετακινήσειν, ἢ τὸ κάλλιον ἐξεύρειν, ἢ τὶ παρέ τέρων ὡς ἄμενον μετήμεγκεν; ἄρα γε τὴν ὅλην κατάστασιν τοῦ πολιτεύματος; καὶ τὸς ὃν καλλίων ἡ δικαιωτέρα γένοιτο τῆς θεοῦ μὲν ἦγεμόνα τῶν ἄλων πεποιημένης, τοῖς ιερεύσι δὲ κοινῆ μὲν τὰ μέγιστα διοικεῖν ἐπιτρεπόσχησι, τῶ δὲ πάντων ἀρχιερεῖ πάλιν αὖ πεπιστευκύιας τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων ἥγεμονίας; οὐς οὐ κατὰ πλοῦτον οὐδὲ τισιν ἄλλωσ προὔχονται αὐτομάτοις πλεονεξίας τὸ πρῶτον εὐθὺς ὁ νομοθέτης ἐπὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἑταξεν, ἂλλ' ὅσοι τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ πειθοὶ τε καὶ σωφροσύνη τῶν ἄλλων διέφερον, τοῦτοι τὴν περὶ τὸν θεοῦ μάλιστα 186 θεραπεῖαν ἐνεχείρισθης. τοῦτον δὲ ἤν καὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηθευμάτων ἀκριβῆς ἐπιμέλεια· καὶ γὰρ ἐπόπται πάντων καὶ δικασταὶ τῶν

1 + ἦγείσθαι Eus.  
2 τῆς τιμῆς Niese.  
3 Eus.: τοῦτον L: τοῖς ed. pr. (so Lat. apparently).
produced no inventors in crafts or literature. In the
eyes of the world at large there is something fine in
breaking away from all inherited customs; those
who have the temerity to defy them are credited
with the possession of consummate ability. To us,
on the other hand, the only wisdom, the only virtue,
consists in refraining absolutely from every action,
from every thought that is contrary to the laws
originally laid down. This may fairly be claimed as a
proof of their excellent draftsmanship; codes which
are not of this character are proved by experience
to need amendment.

(21) For us, with our conviction that the original
institution of the Law was in accordance with the will
of God, it would be rank impiety not to observe it.
What could one alter in it? What more beautiful
one could have been discovered? What improve-
ment imported from elsewhere? Would you change
the entire character of the constitution? Could
there be a finer or more equitable polity than one
which sets God at the head of the universe, which
assigns the administration of its highest affairs to the
whole body of priests, and entrusts to the supreme
high-priest the direction of the other priests? These
men, moreover, owed their original promotion by the
legislator to their high office, not to any superiority
in wealth or other accidental advantages. No; of
all his companions, the men to whom he entrusted
the ordering of divine worship as their first charge
were those who were pre-eminently gifted with per-
suasive eloquence and discretion. But this charge
further embraced a strict superintendence of the Law
and of the pursuits of everyday life; for the appointed
duties of the priests included general supervision, the
Josephus

ἀμφισβητουμένων καὶ κολασταὶ τῶν κατεγνωσμένων οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐτάχθησαν.

188 (22) Τίς ἂν οὖν ἄρχῃ γένοιτο ταύτης ὁσιωτέρα; τίς δὲ τιμὴ θεῶ μᾶλλον ἁρμόζουσα, πάντως μὲν τού πλήθους κατεσκευασμένον πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἐξαίρετον δὲ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἱερών πεπιστευμένων, ὡσπερ δὲ τελετῆς τυνὸς τῆς ὁλῆς πολυτείας

189 οἰκονομομενένης; ὁ γὰρ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἄριθμὸν ἐπιτηδεύοντες ἄλλοι φυλάττειν οὐ δύνανται, μυστήρια καὶ τελετὰς ἐπονομάζοντες, ταῦτα μεθ᾽ ἡδονῆς καὶ γνώμης ἀμεταθέτου φυλάττομεν ἡμεῖς διὰ τοῦ πάντος αἰῶνος. 3

190 Τίνες οὖν εἶσιν αἱ προφήτες καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεις4; ἀπλαὶ τε καὶ γνώριμοι. πρώτη δ᾽ ἤγειται ἡ περί θεοῦ λέγουσα ὅτι5 θεος ἔχει τὰ σύμπαντα, παντελῆς καὶ μακάριος, αὐτὸς αὐτῷ καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτάρκης, ἄρχη καὶ μέσα καὶ τέλος ὡστοῖς τῶν πάντων, ἔργοις μὲν καὶ χάρισιν ἄναργρης καὶ παντὸς ὀστινοσοῦν φανερότερος, μορφήν δὲ καὶ μέγεθος ἡμῖν ἀφα-191 πάσα μὲν γὰρ ὕλη πρὸς εἰκόνα τὴν τοῦτον καὶ ἡ πολυτελῆς ἄτιμος, πᾶσα δὲ τέχνη πρὸς μυθήσεως ἐπίνοιαν ἅτεχνος· οὐδὲν ὡμοίον οὔτε εἰδομεν οὔτε ἐπινοοῦμεν οὔτε εἰκάζειν ἐστὶν ὅσιον.

1 Eus.: ἀλλόφιλου L Lat.
2 Eus.: ἁμεταπ(e)στον L. ed. pr.
3 ὁι αἰώνοι Eus. codd.
4 προαγορεύσεις Eus.
5 Niese: ὁ L.
6 ἀφανέστατος Eus.

There is a similar passage in Hecataeus's sketch of Judaism (ap. Diod. Sic. xI sub fn.), which Josephus apparently has in mind, on the selection of the priests and their duties, and the supremacy of the high-priest.

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trial of cases of litigation, and the punishment of condemned persons."

(22) Could there be a more saintly government than that? Could God be more worthily honoured than by such a scheme, under which religion is the end and aim of the training of the entire community, the priests are entrusted with the special charge of it, and the whole administration of the state resembles some sacred ceremony? Practices which, under the name of mysteries and rites of initiation, other nations are unable to observe for but a few days, we maintain with delight and unflinching determination all our lives.

What, then, are the precepts and prohibitions of our Law? They are simple and familiar. At their head stands one of which God is the theme. The universe is in God's hands; perfect and blessed, self-sufficing and sufficing for all, He is the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things. By His works and bounties He is plainly seen, indeed more manifest than ought else; but His form and magnitude surpass our powers of description. No materials, however costly, are fit to make an image of Him; no art has skill to conceive and represent it. The like of Him we have never seen, we do not imagine, and it is impious to conjecture. We behold His

\[ b \] Or "rite of initiation."

\[ c \] For "the beginning and the end" cf. Apoc. i. 8, xxi. 6. For "the middle" Reinach quotes a rabbinical tradition (Talm. Jer. Sanhed. 18a) that God is represented by the word for "truth" (πρὸς), because it consists of the first, "middle" (incorrect), and last letter of the Hebrew alphabet, but suspects that the three letters (Aleph, Mem, Taw) are really a transcription of the initials of the Greek words ἀρχή, μέσον, τέλος.

The first commandment. The Jewish conception of God.
JOSEPHUS

192 ἑργα βλέπομεν αὐτοῦ φῶς, οὐρανόν, γῆν, ἡλιον, ὑδατα, ζώων γενέσεις, καρπῶν ἀναδόσεις. ταῦτα θεός ἐποίησεν οὐ χερσίν, οὐ πόνοις, οὐ πινον συνεργασμένων ἐπιδεικθεῖς, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ θελήσαντος καλῶς ἢν εὐθὺς γεμοῦτα. τοῦτον θεραπευτέον ἀσκοῦτας ἄρετήν' τρόπος γὰρ θεοῦ θεραπείας οὗτος ὁσιώτατος.

193 (23) Εἰς ναὸς εἶναι θεοῦ, φίλον γὰρ ἄνετα τὸ ὅμοιον, κοινὸς ἀπάντων κοινοῦ θεοῦ ἀπάντων. τοῦτον θεραπεύοντος μὲν διὰ τοῦτος οἱ ἑρεῖς, ἦγενται δὲ τούτων οἱ πρώτοι ἄνετα κατὰ γένος. οὗτος μετὰ τῶν συνιερέων θύσει τῷ θεῷ, φυλάξει τούς νόμους, δικάσει περὶ τῶν ἁμφισβητουμένων, κολάσει τοὺς ἑλεγχθέντας. ο τούτῳ μὴ πειθόμενος ὑφεξε δίκην ὡς εἰς θεον αὐτοῦ ἀσέβων. θύμομεν τὰς θυσίας οὐκ εἰς μέθην ἑαυτοῖς, ἀβούλητον γὰρ θεω τόδε, ἀλλ' εἰς σωφροσύνην. καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις χρὴ πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς εὐχεσθαι σωτηρίας, εἰθ' ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν· ἐπὶ γὰρ κοινωνία γεγονομεν, καὶ ταύτην ὁ προτιμῶν τοῦ καθ' αὐτὸν ἓδιον μάλιστ' ἐνθ' θεῶ κεχαρισμένος. δέησις δ' ἐστω πρὸς τὸν θεον, οὐχ ὅπως δῆ ιαγαθά,

1 Niese: συνεργασμένων L Eus.
2 δῆ Εus.

\[a\] Plato (Tim. 41 c, 42 e) represented God as employing collaborators in the work of creation. He was followed by Philo (De opif. mund. § 72 Cohn), who from Gen. i. 26 ("let us make man") infers a plurality of ὅμων ὑμων for the creation of man, whereas for the rest of creation ἀδενός ἔσχη τοῦ συνεργήστοις. Josephus has used the Timaeus above (.1p. i. 7): but his language is here so similar to that of Philo that he may be combating the latter.

\[b\] Gen. i. 31.
works: the light, the heaven, the earth, the sun, the waters, the reproductive creatures, the sprouting crops. These God created, not with hands, not with toil, not with assistants of whom He had no need;\(^a\) He willed it so, and forthwith they were made in all their beauty.\(^b\) Him must we worship by the practice of virtue; for that is the most saintly manner of worshipping God.

(23) We have\(^c\) but one temple for the one God (for like ever loveth like),\(^d\) common to all as God is common to all. The priests are continually engaged in His worship, under the leadership of him who for the time is head of the line. With his colleagues he will sacrifice to God, safeguard the laws, adjudicate in cases of dispute, punish those convicted of crime.\(^e\) Any who disobey him will pay the penalty as for impiety towards God Himself. Our sacrifices are not occasions for drunken self-indulgence—such practices are abhorrent to God—but for sobriety.\(^f\) At these sacrifices prayers for the welfare of the community must take precedence of those for ourselves; for we are born for fellowship, and he who sets its claims above his private interests is specially acceptable to God. We should beseech God not to give us blessings, for He has given them spontane-

\(^a\) The Greek has no verb here; the present and future tenses in §§ 193-5 are noteworthy in a work written after A.D. 70, which brought the temple cult to an end.

\(^b\) Cf. Aristot. Eth. ix. 3. 3 ("like is dear to like"); Sirach xiii. 15 (19).

\(^c\) Cf. § 187.

\(^d\) So Eusebius. Cod. L, which throughout this portion has interpolations, reads "and would be an excuse for insolence and extravagance—but sober, orderly, noble (perhaps read 'simple'), in order that we may show special sobriety when sacrificing."
JOSEPHUS

deòwke gar autòs ékōn kai pásow eis méson kata-
tétheien, ἀλλ' ὀπως δέχεσθαι δυνάμεθα καὶ λα-
βόντες φυλάττωμεν. ἀγνείας ἐπὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς
dιείρηκεν ὁ νόμος ἀπὸ κῆδους, ἀπὸ λεχοῦς, ἀπὸ
koinonías τῆς πρὸς γυναῖκα καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων
[ἂν μακρῶν ἄν eἰ̂ν γράφειν. τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ περὶ
θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου θεραπείας λόγος ἦμῖν ἐστιν,
ὅ δ' αὐτὸς ἀμα καὶ νόμος].

199 (21) Τίνες δ' οἱ περὶ γάμων νόμοι; μᾶξω μόνην
οίδεν ὁ νόμος τὴν κατὰ φύσιν τὴν πρὸς γυναῖκα,
καὶ ταύτην εἰ μέλλοι τέκνων ἕνεκα γίνεσθαι. τὴν
δὲ πρὸς ἄρρενας ἀρρένων ἐστύγηκε, καὶ θάνατος
τοῦπιτίμιον εἰ τις ἐπιχειρήσεις. γαμεῖν δὲ κελεύει
μὴ προικὶ προσέχοντας, μηδὲ βιαίοις ἀρπαγαίς,
μηδ' αὐτὸ ἄλω καὶ ἀπάτη πείσαντας, ἀλλὰ μησ-
teένων παρὰ τοῦ δοῦναι κυρίου καὶ κατὰ συγγένειαν

200 τὴν ἐπιτήδειον.3 γυνὴ χειρῶν, φησίν, ἄνδρος εἰς
ἀπαντά. ποιγαροῦ ὑπακουέτω, μὴ πρὸς ὑβριν, ἀλλ'
ἀρχηταί. θεοῖς γάρ ἄνδρι τὸ κράτος ἔδωκεν.]

ταύτη συνεῖναι δεῦ τὸν γῆμαντα μόνην, το ὁ ὑπὸ
ἀλλοι πείραν ἀνόσιον. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα πράξειεν,
οὐδεμία θανάτου παραίτησις, οὔτ' εἰ βιάσατω
παρθένον ἐπέρῳ προσωμολογημέννην, οὔτ' εἰ πείσειε

201 τὴν γεγαμημένην. τέκνα τρέφειν ἀπαντά προσέταξεν,

1 λεχοῦς Naber: λέχος L Eus.
2 The bracketed words are absent from the best mss. of
Eus. and are perhaps a gloss.
3 τὴν ἐπιτήδειον L: ἐπιτήδειον Eus. codd.
4 Passage suspected by Niese: cf. Ephes. v. 22 and other
N.T. parallels.
5 Niese: προσωμολογημένην L.

a Cod. L adds: "which it would be tedious to mention.
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ouslly and put them at the disposal of all, but for capacity to receive, and, having received, to keep them. In view of the sacrifices the Law has prescribed purifications for various occasions: after a funeral, after child-birth, after conjugal union, and many others.¹

(24) What are our marriage laws? The Law recognizes no sexual connexions, except the natural union of man and wife, and that only for the pro-creation of children.ᵇ Sodomy it abhors, and punishes any guilty of such assault with death.ᶜ It commands us, in taking a wife, not to be influenced by dowry, not to carry off a woman by force, nor yet to win her by guile and deceit, but to sue from him who is authorized to give her away the hand of one who is not ineligible on account of nearness of kin.ᵈ The woman, says the Law, is in all things inferior to the man.ᵉ Let her accordingly be submissive, not for her humiliation, but that she may be directed; for the authority has been given by God to the man. The husband must have union with his wife alone; it is impious to assault the wife of another. For any guilty of this crime the penalty of death is inexorable, whether he violates a virgin betrothed to another or seduces a married woman.ᶠ The Law orders all the offspring to be brought up, and forbids women either

Such is our doctrine, and the Law is to the same effect, concerning God and His worship."  

ᵇ Restriction not specified in the Pentateuch, but implied by the Talmud (passages cited by Reinach).  Cf. the practice of one order of Essenes, B. ii. 161.  
ᶜ Lev. xx. 13; xviii. 22 with 29.  
ᵈ For the forbidden marriages of near of kin Lev. xviii. 6 ff.; the other injunctions in this sentence rest on tradition.  
ᵉ Gen. iii. 16.  
ᶠ Lev. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 22-27.
JOSEPHUS

καὶ γυναιξιν ἀπείπε μήτ’ ἀμβλοῦν τὸ σπαρέν μήτε διαφθείρειν, ἀλλ’ ἣν φανεῖ θενοκτόνος ἂν εἰη, ἀψυχὴν ἀφανίζουσα καὶ τὸ γένος ἐλαττοῦσα. τοι- γαροῦν οὐδ’ εἰ’ τις ἐπὶ λέχοις φθορὰν παρέλθοι, καθαρὸς εἶναι τότε προσήκει. καὶ μετὰ τὴν νόμι- μον συνουσίαν ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναίκος ἀπολούσασθαι. ψυχὴν γὰρ ἔχειν τούτῳ μερισμὸν πρὸς ἄλλην χώραν ὑπέλαβεν καὶ γὰρ ἐμφυομένη σώματι κακοπαθεῖ, καὶ τούτων ἀν ἀνατάτω διακριθεῖσα. διόπερ ἄγνεῖας ἐπὶ πάσι τοῖς ποιοῦτοις ἔταξεν.

203 (25) Οὐ μὴν οὖν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν παιδῶν γενέσεσιν ἐπέτρεψεν εὐωχίας συντελεῖν καὶ προφάσεις ποιεῖ- σθαι μέθης, ἀλλὰ σώφρωνα τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς τῆς τροφῆς ἔταξε. καὶ γράμματα παιδεύειν ἐκέλευσεν <καί> τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τῶν προγόνων τὰς πράξεις ἐπίστασθαι, τὰς μὲν ἣν μιμῶναι, τοὺς δ’ ἣν συντρεφόμενοι μήτε παραβαίνωσι μήτε σκῆσιν ἄγνοιας ἔχωσι.

205 (26) Τῆς εἰς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας προσυνόνης σοίας οὗ πολυτελείας ἐνταῦθα, οὗ κατασκευάζε τινι- μείων ἐπιφανῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν κηδείαν τοῖς οἰκειοτάτοις ἐπιτελεῖν, πάσι δὲ τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ προσελθεῖν καὶ συναποδύρασθαι. καθαίρειν

1 λέχοις Naber: λέχοις L Eus.
2 Text of this clause uncertain: I follow Eus. with Niese. The other texts are: ψυχῆς τε γὰρ καὶ σῶματος ἐγγίνεται μολυσμὸς ὡς πρὸς ἄλλην χώραν ἐποβαλλεν L: hoc enim partem animae pollvere indicavit Lat.
3 Ins. Niese.
4 Eus.: περὶ τε τοῖς νόμοις ἀναστρέφεσθαι L.
5 Eus.: περιούσιοι, "survivors," L Lat.

οο Νot in the Law.

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to cause abortion or to make away with the foetus; a woman convicted of this is regarded as an infanticide, because she destroys a soul and diminishes the race.\(^a\) For the same reason none who has intercourse with a woman who is with child can be considered pure. Even after the legitimate relations of husband and wife ablutions are required.\(^b\) For the Law regards this act as involving a partition of the soul [part of it going] into another place\(^c\); for it suffers both when being implanted in bodies,\(^d\) and again when severed from them by death. That is why the Law has enjoined purifications in all such cases.

(25) Again the Law does not allow the birth of our children to be made occasions for festivity and an excuse for drinking to excess.\(^e\) It enjoins sobriety in their upbringing from the very first. It orders that they shall be taught to read, and shall learn both the laws and the deeds of their forefathers,\(^f\) in order that they may imitate the latter, and, being grounded in the former, may neither transgress nor have any excuse for being ignorant of them.

(26) The pious rites which it provides for the dead do not consist of costly obsequies or the erection of conspicuous monuments.\(^g\) The funeral ceremony is to be undertaken by the nearest relatives, and all who pass while a burial is proceeding must join the procession and share the mourning of the family.\(^h\)

from the father." I am indebted for this explanation of an obscure passage to Dr. T. E. Page.

\(^a\) An Essene (and Platonic) view; cf. B. ii. 154 f.

\(^b\) The Talmud, however, recognizes family feasts at birth and circumcision (Reinach).

\(^c\) Deut. vi. 7, xi. 19.

\(^d\) Talmudic regulations, not in the Law. For sharing in mourning cf. Sir. vii. 34.
JOSEPHUS

dē kai τὸν οἶκον καὶ τοὺς ἑνοικοῦντας ἀπὸ κήδους [ίνα πλείστου ἀπέχῃ] τοῦ δοκεῖν καθαρὸς εἶναι τις φόνον ἐργασάμενος].

206 (27) Γονέων τιμὴν μετὰ τὴν πρὸς θεού δευτέραν ἔταξε καὶ τοὺς οὐκ ἁμειβόμενον τὰς παρ' αὐτῶν χάριτας ἀλλ' ἐις ὅπιον ἔλλειποντα λευσθησόμενον παραδίδωσι. καὶ παντὸς τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τιμὴν ἐξεῖν τοὺς νέους φησίν, ἐπεὶ πρεσβυτάτον ὁ θεὸς.

207 κρύπτειν οὐδέν ἐὰ πρὸς φίλους· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι φιλίαν τὴν μὴ πάντα πιστεύονσαν. καὶ συμβῆ τις ἔχθρα, τἀπορρητὰ λέγειν κεκόλυκε. δικάζων εἰ διώρα τις λάβοι, θάνατος ἡ ζημία. περιορων ἰκέτην

208 βοηθεῖν ἐνὸν υπεύθυνος. δ' ἡ κατέθηκε τις οὐκ ἅναρῆσεται, τῶν ἀλλοτρίων οὐδενὸς ἅμεται, τόκου οὐ λήμεται. ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ τούτως ὠμοια τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμῶν συνεχεί κοινωνίᾳ.

209 (28) Πῶς δὲ καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλοφίλους ἐπιεικείας ἐφρόντισεν ὁ νομοθέτης, ἢξιον ίδειν· φανεῖται γὰρ ἄριστα πάντων προνοησάμενος ὑπὸς μήτε τὰ οἰκεῖα διαφθείρωμεν μήτε φθονήσωμεν τοῖς μετ-

210 ἐξεῖν τῶν ἡμετέρων προσιρρομένως. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἐθέλονσιν ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτῶς ἡμῶν νόμους ζῆν ὑπελθόντες δέχεται φιλοφρόνως, οὗ τῷ γένει μόνον,

1 Probably a gloss.
2 Niese: τοῖτων ἀπορρητα Ευσ.

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*a Cf. Numb. xix. 11 ff.
*b The fifth commandment (Ex. xx. 12; Deut. v. 16) follows first after those relating to God. Cf. Aristeas, § 228 (ἐντολὴ μεγίστη); Rabbinical parallels in Abrahams, Stud. in Pharisaism, i. 26.
*c Deut. xxi. 18 ff.
*d Lev. xix. 32.
*e Cf. Dan. vii. 9 (the "ancient of days"), and perhaps Lev. xix. 32.
*f An Essene doctrine, B. ii. 141; not in Pentateuch.
After the funeral the house and its inmates must be purified \( ^a \) [in order that anyone guilty of murder may be very far from thinking himself pure].

(27) Honour to parents the Law ranks second only to honour to God,\( ^b \) and if a son does not respond to the benefits received from them—for the slightest failure in his duty towards them—it hands him over to be stoned.\( ^c \) It requires respect to be paid by the young to all their elders,\( ^d \) because God is the most Ancient of all.\( ^e \) It allows us to conceal nothing from our friends, for there is no friendship without absolute confidence;\( ^f \) in the event of subsequent estrangement, it forbids the disclosure of secrets. A judge who accepts bribes suffers capital punishment.\( ^g \) He who refuses to a suppliant the aid which he has power to give is accountable to justice.\( ^h \) None may appropriate goods which he did not place on deposit,\( ^i \) lay hands on any of his neighbour’s property,\( ^j \) or receive interest.\( ^k \) These and many similar regulations are the ties which bind us together.

(28) The consideration given by our legislator to the equitable treatment of aliens also merits attention. It will be seen that he took the best of all possible measures at once to secure our own customs from corruption, and to throw them open ungrudgingly to any who elect to share them. To all who desire to come and live under the same laws with us, he gives a gracious welcome, holding that it is not

\( ^a \) Ex. xxiii. 8; Deut. xvi. 19, xxvii. 25; but capital punishment is nowhere mentioned.
\( ^b \) Deut. xv. 7 ff. (as a moral precept only).
\( ^c \) Cf. Lev. vi. 2.
\( ^d \) Ex. xx. 15, etc.
\( ^e \) Ib. xxii. 25; Lev. xxv. 36 f.; Deut. xxiii. 20 (except from a foreigner).
211 (29) Τάλλα δὲ προείρηκεν, ἃν ἡ μετάδοσις ἔστιν ἀναγκαία· πάσιν παρέχειν τοῖς δεομένοις πῦρ ὑδωρ τροφῆν, ὡδευς φράζειν, ἀταφω μὴ περιορᾶν, ἐπιεικεῖς δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κριθέντας
212 εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἐὰ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν πυρπολεῖν οὐδὲ τέμνειν ἥμερα δένδρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ σκυλεῦειν ἀπείρηκε τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσόντας καὶ τῶν αἱχμαλώτων προνύμησεν, ὅπως αὐτῶν ὑβρίς ἀπῆ, μάλιστα δὲ
213 γυναικῶν. οὐτως δ' ἡμερότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ἡμᾶς ἐξεπαιδεύσεν, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων ὄλγορείς, ἀλλὰ μόνην ἐφήκε1 τούτων χρῆσυν τὴν νόμιμον, πάσαν δ' ἐτέραν ἐκώλυσεν· ἃ δ' ὅσπερ ἰκετεύοντα προσφεύγει ταῖς οἰκίαις ἀπείπεν ἀνελεῖν. οὐδὲ νεοτοῖς τοὺς γονέας αὐτῶν ἐπέτρεψε συνεξαιρέειν, φείδεσθαι δὲ καὶ τῇ πολεμίῳ τῶν ἐργασιῶν ἐξεπαιδεύσεν, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων ἀπείπεν ἀνελεῖν. οὐδὲ νεοτοῖς τοὺς γονέας αὐτῶν ἐπέτρεψε συνεξαιρέειν, φείδεσθαι δὲ καὶ τῇ πολεμίῳ τῶν ἐργασιῶν ἐξεπαιδεύσεν.
214 ζομένων ζώων καὶ μὴ φονεύειν. οὐτὼ πάνταχόθεν τὰ πρὸς ἐπιείκειαν περιεσκέψατο, διδασκαλικοῖς μὲν τοῖς προειρημένοις χρησάμενος νόμοις, τοὺς δ' αὐτὰ κατὰ τῶν παραβαίνοντων τιμωρητικοῦς τάξας ἀνευ προφάσεως.
215 (30) Ζημία γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν παραβαίνοντων ὁ θάνατος, ἂν μοιχεύσῃ τις, ἂν βιάσηται κόρην,

1 ἀφήκε Eus.

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a For "the stranger within the gates" cf. Ex. xx. 10, xxii. 21, etc.

b Perhaps alluding to the exclusion of the alien from Passover, Ex. xii. 43 (Reinach).

c So A. iv. 276 (generally) : Deut. xxvii. 18 (to the blind).

Josephus had doubtless heard the calumny upon his nation
family ties alone which constitute relationship, but agreement in the principles of conduct. On the other hand, it was not his pleasure that casual visitors should be admitted to the intimacies of our daily life.

(29) The duty of sharing with others was inculcated by our legislator in other matters. We must furnish fire, water, food to all who ask for them, point out the road, not leave a corpse unburied, show consideration even to declared enemies. He does not allow us to burn up their country or to cut down their fruit trees, and forbids even the spoiling of fallen combatants; he has taken measures to prevent outrage to prisoners of war, especially women. So thorough a lesson has he given us in gentleness and humanity that he does not overlook even the brute beasts, authorizing their use only in accordance with the Law, and forbidding all other employment of them. Creatures which take refuge in our houses like suppliants we are forbidden to kill. He would not suffer us to take the parent birds with their young, and bade us even in an enemy’s country to spare and not to kill the beasts employed in labour. Thus, in every particular, he had an eye to mercy, using the laws I have mentioned to enforce the lesson, and drawing up for transgressors other penal laws admitting of no excuse.

(30) The penalty for most offences against the Law is death: for adultery, for violating an unmarried mentioned in Juvenal, Sat. xiv. 103 f. ("non monstrare uias," etc.).

a Cf. Deut. xxi. 23; Tobit i. 17 ff.

b Not in the Law.

c Deut. xx. 19.

d Ib. xxi. 10 ff.

f i.e. on the Sabbath, ib. v. 14.

e Ib. xxii. 6.

i.e. on the Sabbath, ib. v. 14.

j Lev. xx. 10.
JOSEPHUS

ἀν ἁρρεν τολμὴση πείραν προσφέρειν, ἀν ὑπομείνῃ παθεῖν ὁ πειρασθεῖς. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ δούλως ὁμοίως ὁ νόμος ἀπαραίτητος. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ μέτρων εἰ τις κακούργησειν ἢ σταθμῶν, ἢ περὶ πράσεως ἀδίκου καὶ δόλῳ γενομένης, καὶ ὕφεληται τις ἀλλότριον, κἂν ὁ μὴ κατέθηκεν ἄνεληται, πάντων εἰσὶ κολάσεις οὐχ οἴαι παρ' ἑτέροις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον. περὶ μὲν γὰρ γονέων ἄδικίας ἢ τῆς εἰς θεὸν ἄσεβείας, κἂν μελλῆση τις, εὐθὺς ἀπόλλυται.

Τοῖς μέντοι γε νομίμως βιοῦσι γέρας ἐστὶν οὐκ ἀργυρὸς οὐδὲ χρυσὸς, οὐ κοτίνου στέφανος ἢ σελίνου καὶ τοιαύτη τις ἀνακήρυξις, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐκαστός αὐτῷ τὸ συνειδός ἐχων μαρτυροῦν πεπιστευκέν, τοῦ μὲν νομοθέτου προφητεύσαντος, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ τὴν πίστιν ἵσχυρὰν παρεσχηκότος, ὅτι τοῖς τούς νόμους διαφυλάξασι κἂν εἰ δεοι θηνίσκειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πρὸσφόρων ἀποθανοῦσι δὲδωκεν ὁ θεὸς γενέσθαι τε πάλιν καὶ βίον ἄμεινα λαβέιν ἐκ περιτροπῆς. οὕκειν δ' ἀν ἐγὼ ταῦτα γράφειν, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν ἐργῶν ἀπασν ἢν φανερὸν ὅτι πολλοί καὶ πολλάκις ἢδη τῶν ἢμετέρων περὶ τοῦ μηδὲ ῥῆμα φθέγξασθαι παρὰ τὸν νόμον πάντα παθεῖν γενναίους προελλοντο.

220 (31) Καίτοι γε εἰ μὴ συμβεβήκει γνώριμον ἡμῶν τὸ

1 ἢν Eus. cod. 2 μέλλῃ Eus. 3 Eus.: ἡχυρὰν L.

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a Deut. xxii. 23 (if betrothed). b Lev. xx. 13.
c Cf. Lev. xix. 11-13, 35-36; Deut. xxv. 13 ff.; no punishments are there named.
d Cf. Deut. xxi. 18; Lev. xxiv. 13.
e As in the Olympic games.

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 AGAINST APION, II. 215–220

woman,\(^\text{a}\) for outrage upon a male,\(^\text{b}\) for consent of one so tempted to such abuse. The Law is no less inexorable for slaves. Even fraud in such matters as weights or measures, or injustice and deceit in trade, or purloining another man’s property, or laying hands on what one did not deposit—all such crimes have punishments\(^\text{c}\) attached to them which are not on the same scale as with other nations, but more severe. For example, the mere intention of doing wrong to one’s parents or of impiety against God is followed by instant death.\(^\text{d}\)

For those, on the other hand, who live in accordance with our laws the prize is not silver or gold, no crown of wild olive\(^\text{e}\) or of parsley\(^\text{f}\) with any such public mark of distinction.\(^\text{g}\) No; each individual, relying on the witness of his own conscience and the lawgiver’s prophecy, confirmed by the sure testimony of God, is firmly persuaded that 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.\(^\text{h}\) I should have hesitated to write thus, had not the facts made all men aware that many of our countrymen have on many occasions ere now preferred to brave all manner of suffering rather than to utter a single word against the Law.\(^\text{i}\)

(31) Now suppose that our nation had not happened

\(^{\text{a}}\) As in the Isthmian and Nemean games.
\(^{\text{b}}\) Greek “public proclamation.”
\(^{\text{c}}\) Here, as in his speech at Jotapata (B. iii. 374), Josephus gives expression to the belief, which he held as a Pharisee, in a future life; in the latter passage he uses the full phrase \(\varepsilon \kappa \pi \varepsilon \rho \iota \tau \rho \omicron \omicron \pi \varsigma \alpha \iota \omega \nu \nu\), which explains \(\varepsilon \kappa \pi \varepsilon \rho \iota \tau \rho \omicron \pi \varsigma \) here. For the Pharisaic belief cf. A. xviii. 14.
\(^{\text{f}}\) Cf. Ap. i. 43, ii. 233; B. ii. 152 f. (of Essene martyrs).
JOSEPHUS

έθνος ἀπασιν ἀνθρώπους ὑπάρχειν κἂν φανερῷ κείσθαι τὴν ἑθελούσιον ἡμῶν τοῖς νόμοις ἀκολουθεῖ 221 θίαν, ἀλλὰ τις ἤ συγγράψαι λέγων αὐτὸς ἀνεγίνωσκε τοῖς Ἔλλησιν, ἢ που γε3 περιτυχεῖν ἐξω τῆς γνω-

σκομένης γῆς ἔφασκεν ἀνθρώποις τοιαύτην μὲν ἐχουσι δόξαν οὐτω σεμνὴν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, τοιούτους δὲ νόμους πολὺν αἰῶνα βεβαιῶς ἐμμεμενήκοσι, πάντας ἢν οἴμαι θαυμάσαι διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς παρ'.
222 αὐτοῖς μεταβολάς. ἀμέλει τῶν γράψαι τι παρα-

πλήσιον εἰς πολυτείαν καὶ νόμους ἐπιχειρησάντων ὡς θαυμαστὰ συνθέντων κατηγοροῦσι, φάσκοντες αὐτοῖς λαβεῖν ἀδινάτους ὑποθέσεις. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους παραλείπων φιλοσόφους, ὃς τι τοιοῦτον 223 ἐν τοῖς γράμμασινε4 ἐπραγματεύσαντο, Πλάτων δὲ θαυμαζόμενος παρὰ τοῖς Ἔλλησιν ὡς καὶ σεμ-

νότητι βίον διενεγκών καὶ δυνάμει λόγων καὶ πειθῶν πάντας ὑπεράρας τοὺς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ γεγο-

νότας, ὑπὸ τῶν φασκόντων δεινῶν εἶναι τὰ πολιτικὰ μικρὸν δεῖν χλευαζόμενος καὶ κωμῳδούμενος 224 διατελεῖ. καὶ τοῦ τάκείνου σκοπῶν συχνῶς3 τις ἀν εὗροι ρᾶνα ὑντα4 καὶ τῆς5 τῶν πολλῶν ἐγγον συνθεῖας,6 αὐτὸς δὲ Πλάτων ὡμολόγηκεν ὅτι τὴν ἀληθῆ περὶ θεοῦ δόξαν εἰς τὴν τῶν ὀχλῶν ἀγνοιαν7 οὐκ ἢν ἀσφαλές ἐξενεγκεῖν.
225 Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Πλάτωνος λόγους τινὲς εἶναι κενοὺς νομίζουσι, κατὰ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν κεκαλλι-

γραφημένους, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν νομοθετῶν Λυκ-

1 Om. ἦ Eus.
2 συγγραμμασιν L Lat. Eus. cod.
3 I suggest συχνῷ.
4 ed. pr.: ρᾶν ὑντα L. ρᾶν Eus.
5 Naüber: τὰς Eus., ταῖς L.
6 συνθεῖαις L.
7 Λ Lat.: ἄνοιαν Eus.

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to be known to all the world and our voluntary obedience to our laws were not a patent fact, and suppose that some one had delivered a lecture to the Greeks which he admitted to be the outcome of his own imagination, or asserted that somewhere outside the known world he had met with people who held such sublime ideas about God and had for ages continued steadily faithful to such laws as ours; his words would, I imagine, astonish all his hearers, in view of the constant vicissitudes in their own past history. In fact, those who have attempted to draft a constitution and code on any such lines are accused of inventing something miraculous, based, according to their critics, on impossible premisses. I pass over other philosophers who have handled such topics in their writings. I need name only Plato, who, admired, as he is, by the Greeks for his outstanding dignity of character, and as one who in oratorical power and persuasive eloquence outmatched all other philosophers, is yet continually being, I may almost say, scoffed at and held up to ridicule by those who claim to be expert statesmen. And yet, on examination, his laws will be found to be frequently \(^a\) easier than ours, and more closely approximating to the practice of the masses. Plato himself admits that it is hazardous to divulge the truth about God to the ignorant mob.\(^b\)

There are, however, men who regard Plato’s dialogues as futile,\(^c\) brilliant but very fanciful compositions, and the legislator for whom they have the

\(^a\) Or (reading \(\sigma\nu\chi\nu\phi\)) “far.”

\(^b\) Plato, \(T\i m.\ 28\, c\) : “When we have found him [viz. the maker of the universe], to speak of his nature to all men is impossible.”

\(^c\) Greek “empty.”
οὐργὸν τεθαιμάκασι, καὶ τὴν Ἑπάρτην ἀπαντεῖ ὑμοῦσιν, ὅτι τοῖς ἐκείνου νόμοις ἐτὶ πλείστον
226 ἐνεκαρτέρησεν. ὃνκοιν τοῦτο μὲν ὁμολογήσασθω τεκμήριον ἁρετῆς εἶναι τὸ πεθεσθαί τοῖς νόμοις: οἱ δὲ Λακεδαίμονιοι θαυμάζοντες τὸν ἐκείνων χρόνων ἀντιπαραβάλλετοσαν τοῖς πλείσσων ἢ δισ-
227 χιλίους ἑτεσὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πολιτείας, καὶ προσετὶ λογίζεσθωσαν, ὅτι Λακεδαίμονιοι ὡσον ἐφ᾽ ἐαυτῶν χρόνων εἶχον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀκριβῶς ἔδοξαν τοὺς νόμους διαφυλάττειν, ἐπεὶ μέντοι περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐγένοντο μεταβολαὶ τῆς τύχης, μικροῦ δεῖν ἀπάντων
228 ἐπελάθοντο τῶν νόμων. ἦμεῖς δὲ ἐν τὐχαῖς γεγο-
νότες μυρίας διὰ τὰς τῶν βασιλευσάντων τῆς Ἀσίας μεταβολάς οὐδ᾽ ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῶν
dεινῶν τοὺς νόμους προὸδομεν, οὐκ ἀργίας οὔδὲ
τρυφῆς αὐτοὺς χάριν περιέποντες, ἀλλὰ εἰ τις ἐθέλουσι σκοπεῖν, πολλῶ τυχὴ τῆς δοκοῦσι ἐπι-
tετάχθαι Λακεδαίμονιοι καρτερίας μειόνοις ἁ-
229 θλοὺς καὶ πόνους ἦμιν ἐπιτιθέντας. οἱ μὲν γε μὴτε
gὰρ ἐργαζόμενοι μήτε περὶ τέχνας πονοῦντες,
ἀλλὰ πάσης ἐργασίας ἀφετοι, λιπαροὶ καὶ τὰ
σώματα πρὸς κάλλος ἁσκοῦντες, ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως
230 διήγον, ἀλλοίς ὑπηρέταισ πρὸς ἀπαντα τὰ τοῦ βίου
χρώμενοι καὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἐσωμην παρ᾽ ἐκεῖνων
λαμβάνοντες, ἐφ᾽ ἐν δὴ τούτο μόνον τὸ καλὸν
ἐργὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἀπαντα καὶ πράπτειν καὶ
πάσχεον ὑπομένοντες, τὸ κρατεῖν πάντων ἐφ᾽ οὐς
231 ἀν στρατεύσων. ὅτι δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο κατώρθωσαν,
ἔως λέγειν ὁυ γὰρ καθ᾽ ἔνα μόνον, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ
πολλάκις ἄθροώς τῶν τοῦ νόμου προσταγμάτων

1 ἐνεκαρτέρησαν Eus. (Lat.). 2 Dindorf: τροφῆσι L.
3 Cotélér: μαρτυρίας L. 4 Bekker: ἦν L.
highest admiration is Lycurgus; the praises of Sparta are sung by all the world, because she remained for so long faithful to his laws. Be it, then, conceded that obedience to law is a proof of virtue; but let the admirers of the Lacedaemonians set the duration of that state over against the period of upwards of two thousand years of our constitution.\textsuperscript{a} Let them further reflect that the Lacedaemonians thought good strictly to observe their laws only so long as they retained their liberty and independence, but when they met with reverses of fortune forgot well-nigh all of them. We, on the contrary, notwithstanding the countless calamities in which changes of rulers in Asia have involved us, never even in the direst extremity proved traitors to our laws; and we respect them not from any motive of sloth or luxury. A little consideration will show that they impose on us ordeals and labours far more severe than the endurance commonly believed to have been required of the Lacedaemonians. Those men neither tilled the ground nor toiled at crafts, but, exempt from all business, passed their life in the city, sleek of person and cultivating beauty by physical training; for all the necessaries of life they had others to wait on them, by whom their food was prepared and served to them; and the sole aim for which they were prepared to do and suffer everything was the noble and humane object of defeating all against whom they took the field. Even in this, I may remark in passing, they were unsuccessful. The fact is that not isolated individuals only, but large numbers have frequently, in defiance of the injunctions of their

\textsuperscript{a} \textit{i.e.} from Moses to Titus.
ἀμελήσαντες αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν ὀπλών παρέδοσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις.

232 (32) Ἀρ οὖν καὶ παρ’ ἡμῖν, οὐ λέγω τοσοῦτος, ἀλλὰ δύο ἣ τρεῖς ἔγνω τις ἡ προδότας γενομένους τῶν νόμων ἡ θάνατον φοβηθέντας, οὐχὶ τὸν βάστον ἐκείνων λέγω τὸν συμβαίνοντα τοῖς μαχομένοις, ἀλλὰ τὸν μετὰ λύμης τῶν σωμάτων, ὅποιος εἶναι

233 δοκεῖ πάντων χαλεπώτατος; διὸ ἐγὼ γένοις τινὰς κρατήσαντας ἡμῶν οὐχ ὑπὸ μίσους προσ-φέρειν τοῖς ὑποχείροις, ἀλλὰ ὡς θαυμαστὸν τι θέαμα βουλομένους ἱδεῖν, εἰ τινὲς εἰσὶν ἀνθρώποι οἱ μόνον εἶναι κακὸν αὐτοῖς πεπιστευκότες, εἰ ἦς πράξαι τι παρὰ τοὺς ἐαυτῶν νόμους ἡ λόγον εἶπεῖν

234 παρ’ ἐκεῖνοις παραβιασθεῖν. οὐ χρὴ δὲ θαυμά-ζειν εἰ πρὸς θάνατον ἀνδρείως ἐχομεὶν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντας: οὐδὲ γάρ τα βάστα δοκοῦντα τῶν ἤμετέρων ἐπιτηθισμάτων ἀλλοι βαθίως ὑπομένουσιν, αὐτουργίαν λέγω καὶ τροφῆς λιτότητα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν εἰκῇ μηδ’, ὡς ἔτυχεν ἐκατός ἐπιτεθεμηκὼς φαγεῖν ἡ πιεῖν, ἡ συνοισία προσελθεῖν ἡ πολυτελεία, καὶ πάλιν ἄργια ὑπο-

235 μείναι τάξιν ἀμετακίνητον. ἀλλ’ οἱ τοῖς ξίφεσιν ὀμόσε χωροῦντες καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ζέε ἐφόδου τρεπόμενοι τοῖς προστάγμασι τοῖς περὶ διαίτης οὐκ ὄντ’ ἀντιβλέψειαν. ἡμῖν δὲ πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ περὶ ταύτα τῶν νόμων πειθαρχεῖν ἢ δεῖς καὶ καθ’ περί σειν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὸ γενναῖον.

236 (33) Εἶτα Λυσίμαχοι καὶ Μόλωνες καὶ τοιοῦτοί τινες ἄλλοι συγγραφεῖς, ἀδόκιμοι σοφισταὶ, μειρακίων

1 ἔγνω τις ed. pr.: ἔγνων L.
2 εἰ ἦς Niese: εἰ L: ἦ Lat., ed. pr.
AGAINST APION, II. 231–236

law, surrendered in a body with their arms to the enemy.\(^a\)

(32) Has anyone ever heard of a case of our people, not, I mean, in such large numbers, but merely two or three, proving traitors to their laws or afraid of death? I do not refer to that easiest of deaths, on the battlefield, but death accompanied by physical torture, which is thought to be the hardest of all. To such a death we are, in my belief, exposed by some of our conquerors, not from hatred of those at their mercy, but from a curiosity to witness the astonishing spectacle of men who believe that the only evil which can befall them is to be compelled to do any act or utter any word contrary to their laws. There should be nothing astonishing in our facing death on behalf of our laws with a courage which no other nation can equal. For even those practices of ours which seem the easiest others find difficult to tolerate: I mean personal service, simple diet, discipline which leaves no room for freak or individual caprice in matters of meat and drink, or in the sexual relations, or in extravagance, or again the abstention from work at rigidly fixed periods.\(^b\) No; the men who march out to meet the sword and charge and rout the enemy could not face regulations about everyday life. On the other hand, our willing obedience to the law in these matters results in the heroism which we display in the face of death.

(33) For all that, the Lysimachuses and Molons and other writers of that class, reprobate sophists

\(^a\) e.g. at Sphacteria (Thuc. iv. 38).
\(^b\) i.e. the Sabbaths.

\(^3\) Hudson: \(\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\theta\upsilon\nu\mu\rho\kappa\circ\ \varepsilon\delta.\ \mu\nu.\ \mu\nu.\ (\kappa\epsilon\nu\ L).\) 387
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ἀπατεώνες, ὡς πάντα ἡμᾶς φανολοτάτους ἀνθρώπων
237 λοιποροῦσιν. ἔγὼ δ’ οὐκ ἂν ἐβουλόμην περὶ τῶν
παρ’ ἑτέρους νομίμων ἐξετάζειν· τὰ γὰρ αὐτῶν
ἡμῶν φυλάττειν πάτριον ἐστιν, οὐ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων
κατηγορεῖν, καὶ περὶ γε τοῦ μήτης χλευάζειν μήτε
βλασφημεῖν τοὺς νομιζομένους θεοὺς παρ’ ἑτέρους
ἀντικριν ἡμῶν ὁ νομοθέτης ἀπείρηκεν, αὐτῆς
238 ἕνεκα προσηγορίας τοῦ θεοῦ. τῶν δὲ κατηγόρων
dia τῆς ἀντιπαραθέσεως ἡμᾶς ἐλέγχειν οἰομένων
οὐχ οἶνον τε κατασκοτᾶν, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ τοῦ λόγου
μέλλοντος οὐχ ὑφ’ ἡμῶν λεχθήσεσθαι1 νῦν αὐτῶν
συντιθέντων, ἀλλ’ ύπό πολλῶν εἰρημένον καὶ λίαν
εὐδοκιμοῦντων.2

239 Τίς γὰρ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησθὶν ἐπὶ σοφία
tēθαυμασμένων οὐκ ἐπιτείμηκε καὶ ποιητῶν τοῖς
ἐπιφανεστάτοις καὶ νομοθετῶν τοῖς μάλιστα πεπι-
στευμένοις, ὅτι τοιαύτας δόξας περὶ θεῶν εἰς ἀρχής
240 τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐγκατέσπειραν; ἀριθμὸς μὲν ὀπόσους
ἂν αὐτοὶ θελήσωσιν ἀποφαίνομενοι,3 εἰς ἀλλήλων
dε γνωμένους καὶ κατὰ παντοίους τρόπους γενέσεων,
tούτους δὲ καὶ διαφοροῦντες τοὺς καὶ διαίτας,
ώσπερ τῶν ἐξόν τὰ γένη, τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ γῆν, τοὺς
δ’ ἐν θαλάττῃ, τοὺς μέντοι πρεσβυτάτους αὐτῶν
241 ἐν τῷ ταρτάρῳ δεδεμένους. οὕσως δὲ τὸν οὐρανὸν
ἀπένειμαν, τούτους πατέρα μὲν τῷ λόγῳ, τύραννον
dε τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ δεσπότην ἐφιστάντες, καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο συνισταμένην ἐπιβουλὴν ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ
γυναικὸς καὶ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ θυγατρός, ἢν ἐκ τῆς

1 Niese: ἔλεγεν ἡσθαι L.
2 Lowth: εὐδοκιμοῦντος L.
3 Niese (after Lat.): ἀποφήμασθαί L.

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and deceivers of youth, rail at us as the very vilest of mankind. Gladly would I have avoided an investigation of the institutions of other nations; for it is our traditional custom to observe our own laws and to refrain from criticism of those of aliens. Our legislator has expressly forbidden us to deride or blaspheme the gods recognized by others, out of respect for the very word “God.” But since our accusers expect to confute us by a comparison of the rival religions, it is impossible to remain silent. I speak with the more assurance because the statement which I am about to make is no invention of my own for the occasion, but has been made by many writers of the highest reputation.

Who, in fact, is there among the admired sages of Greece who has not censured their most famous poets and their most trusted legislators for sowing in the minds of the masses the first seeds of such notions about the gods? They represent them to be as numerous as they choose, born of one another and engendered in all manner of ways. They assign them different localities and habits, like animal species, some living under ground, others in the sea, the oldest of all being chained in Tartarus. Those to whom they have allotted heaven have set over them one who is nominally Father, but in reality a tyrant and despot; with the result that his wife and brother and the daughter, whom he begot from his

\[ a \] Ex. xxii. 28 (“Thou shalt not revile God”), as interpreted by the LXX (θεοὶς οὐκακολογήσετε), by Josephus again in A. iv. 207, and by Philo (with the same idea of hallowing the Name), Vita Mos. ii. (26) 205; De spec. leg. i. (7) 53 Cohn.

\[ b \] Hades, Persephone, etc.

\[ c \] Poseidon, Amphitrite, Proteus.

\[ d \] The Titans.
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εαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς ἐγέννησεν, ἵνα δὴ συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν καθεξῆς, ὡσπερ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐαυτοῦ.

242 (34) Ταῦτα δικαίως μέμψεως πολλῆς ἀξιοῦσιν οἱ φρονῆσαι διαφέροντες. καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοι καταγελῶσιν, εἰ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς μὲν ἁγιεῖν καὶ μειράκια, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ γενειώντας εἶναι χρῆ δοκεῖν, ἄλλους δὲ τεταχθαί πρὸς ταῖς τέχναις, χαλκεύοντα τινα, τίν δ᾽ υφαίνουσαν, τὸν δὲ πολεμοῦντα καὶ μετ᾽ ἀνθρώπων μαχόμενον,

243 τοὺς δὲ κιθαρίζοντας ἡ τοξική χαίροντα, εἰπ’ αὐτοῖς ἐγγυνυμένας πρὸς ἄλληλους στάσεις καὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπων φιλονείκιας, μέχρι τοῦ μὴ μόνον ἄλληλοι τὰς χείρας προσφέρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων πραγματιζόμενους ὁδύρεσθαι καὶ κακο-

244 παθεῖν. τὸ δὲ δὴ πάντων ἀσελγέστερον, τὴν περὶ τὰς μίξεις ἀκρασίαν καὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας πῶς οὐκ ἄτοπον μικροῦ δεῖν ἀπασι προσάψαι καὶ τοῖς ἀρρεσι τῶν θεῶν καὶ ταῖς θηλείαις; εἰπ’ ὁ γενεαότατος καὶ πρῶτος, αὐτὸς ὁ πατήρ, τὰς ἀπατηθείσας ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ γενομένας ἐγκύους καθεργυμένας ἡ καταποντιζομένας περιορά, καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονότας οὕτε σώζειν δύναται, κρατούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς εἰμαρμένης, οὕτ᾽ ἀδικρυτί

245 τοὺς θανάτους αὐτῶν ὑπομένειν. καλὰ γε ταῦτα καὶ τοῦτοι ἁλλὰ ἐπόμενα, μοιχεῖας μὲν ἐν οὐρανῷ βλεπομένης οὕτως ἀνασχύντως ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν, ὡστε τινὰς καὶ ξηλοῦν ὑμολογεῖν τοὺς ἐπ’ αὐτὴν δεδεμένους. τί γὰρ οὐκ ἐμελλον, ὡπότε μὴ

1 τοῖς ἄλλοις Hudson (with Lat.): τοῖς ἄλλοις L.

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own head,\(^a\) conspire against him, to arrest and imprison him, just as he himself had treated his own father.

(34) Justly do these tales merit the severe censure which they receive from their intellectual leaders. Moreover, they ridicule the belief that some gods are beardless striplings, others old and bearded; \(^b\) that some are appointed to trades, this one being a smith,\(^c\) that goddess a weaver,\(^d\) a third a warrior who fights along with men,\(^e\) others lute-players\(^f\) or devoted to archery;\(^g\) and again that they are divided into factions and quarrel about men, in so much that they not only come to blows with each other, but actually lament over and suffer from wounds inflicted by mortals.\(^h\) But—and here outrageousness reaches its climax—is it not monstrous to attribute those licentious unions and amours to well-nigh all the deities of both sexes? Furthermore, the noblest and chief of them all, the Father himself, after seducing women\(^i\) and rendering them pregnant, leaves them to be imprisoned or drowned in the sea; and is so completely at the mercy of Destiny that he cannot either rescue his own offspring or restrain his tears at their death. Fine doings are these, and others that follow, such as adultery in heaven, with the gods as such shameless onlookers that some of them confessed that they envied the united pair.\(^j\) And well they might, when even the eldest of them,

\(^a\) "Iovem semper barbatum, Apollinem semper imberbem," Cic. De nat. deor. i. 30 (83).
\(^b\) "Hephaestus.
\(^c\) "Athene, Hom. Iliad, xiv. 178 f.
\(^d\) "Ares.
\(^e\) "Apollo.
\(^f\) "Apollo and Artemis.
\(^g\) "Hom. Iliad v. 335 ff.; 375 ff.
\(^h\) "e.g. Danaë, Io, Leto, Semele.
\(^i\) "Cf. Hom. Od. v. 118 ff.
ο πρεσβύτατος καὶ βασιλεὺς ᾧν ἦν ἱδυνήθη τῆς πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα μίξεως ἐπισχεῖν τὴν ὀρμήν ὅσον γοῦν 247 εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον ἀπελθεῖν; οἱ δὲ δὴ δουλεύοντες τοὺς ἄνθρωπος θεοὶ καὶ νῦν μὲν οὐκοδομοῦντες ἐπὶ μισθῷ, νῦν δὲ ποιμαίνοντες, ἀλλοι δὲ τρόπον κακοῦργον ἐν χαλκῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ δεδεμένοι, τίνα τῶν εὗ φρονοῦντων οὐκ ἂν παροξύνειν καὶ τοῖς ταύτα συνθείσιν ἐπιπλῆξαι καὶ πολλὴν εὔθειαν 248 καταγνώσαι τῶν προσεμένων; οἱ δὲ καὶ δείχνον τινα καὶ φόβον, ἣν δὲ καὶ λύσσαν καὶ ἀπάτην καὶ τί γὰρ οὐχὶ τῶν κακίστων παθῶν εἰς θεοῦ φύσιν καὶ μορφῆν ἀνέπλασαν· τοῖς δ’ εὐφημο-τέροις τούτων καὶ θυεῖν τὰς πόλεις ἔπεισαν. 249 τοιγαροῦν εἰς πολλὴν ἀνάγκην καθίστανται τοὺς μὲν τινας τῶν θεῶν νομίζειν δοτήρας ἀγαθῶν, τοὺς δὲ καλεῖν ἀποτροπαίους, εἰτα δὲ τοῦτος, ὅσπερ τοὺς πονηροτάτους τῶν ἄνθρώπων, χάρισι καὶ δόρους ἀποσέειται, μέγα τι λήμφεσθαι κακῶν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν προσδοκῶντες, εἰ μὴ μισθὸν αὐτοῖς παράσχοιεν. 250 (35) Τί τούν τὸ αὐτῖν τῆς τοσαῦτης ἀνωμαλίας καὶ περὶ τὸ θεῖον πλημμελείας; ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπο- λαμβάνω τὸ μήτε τὴν ἀλήθη τοῦ θεοῦ φύσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς συνιδεῖν αὐτῶν τοὺς νομοθέτας, μὴθ’ ὅσον καὶ λαβεῖν ἱδυνῆθης ἀκριβῆ γνώσιν διορίσαντας, πρὸς τοῦτο ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἄλλην τάξιν τοῦ 251 πολιτεύματος, ἀλλ’ ὅσπερ ἄλλα τι τῶν φαυλο- τάτων ἐφήκαν τοῖς μὲν ποιηταῖς οὐστινώς ἂν βοῦ-

1 Niese: προεμένων Λ.

a Iliad xiv. 312 ff.
b Poseidon and Apollo, Iliad xxi. 442-5.
 AGAINST APION, II. 246–251

the king, could not restrain his passion for his consort long enough to permit of withdrawal to his chamber. The king, could not restrain his passion for his consort long enough to permit of withdrawal to his chamber. Then there are the gods in bondage to men, hired now as builders, now as shepherds; and others chained, like criminals, in a prison of brass. What man in his senses would not be stirred to reprimand the inventors of such fables and to condemn the consummate folly of those who believed them? They have even deified Terror and Fear, nay, Frenzy and Deceit (which of the worst passions have they not transfigured into the nature and form of a god?), and have induced cities to offer sacrifices to the more respectable members of this pantheon. Thus they have been absolutely compelled to regard some of the gods as givers of blessings and to call others "(gods) to be averted." They then rid themselves of the latter, as they would of the worst scoundrels of humanity, by means of favours and presents, expecting to be visited by some serious mischief if they fail to pay them their price.

(35) Now, what is the cause of such irregular and erroneous conceptions of the deity? For my part, I trace it to the ignorance of the true nature of God with which their legislators entered on their task, and to their failure to formulate even such correct knowledge of it as they were able to attain and to make the rest of their constitution conform to it. Instead, as if this were the most trifling of details, they allowed

*e* Apollo, *ib.* 448 f.
*d* The Titans.
*e* Deimos and Phobos, attendants of Ares, *Iliad* xv. 119.
*f* Or "auspicious."
*g* Greek ἀποτροπαῖος, *i.e.* averteres, "aversors of evil." Josephus, as is clear from the context, gives it a passive meaning, "whose evil influence is to be averted."
λωνταί θεοὺς εἰσάγειν πάντα πάσχοντας, τοῖς δὲ ῥήτοροι πολυτογραφεῖν κατὰ ψῆφισμὰ τῶν Ξένων
252 θεῶν τὸν ἐπιτηδείουν. πολλὴς δὲ καὶ ζωγράφοι καὶ πλάσται τῆς εἰς τούτῳ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπέλαυσαν ἐξουσίας, αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸς τινα μορφὴν ἐπιστήμων, ὁ μὲν ἐκ πηλῷ πλάττων, ὁ δὲ γράφων, οἱ δὲ μάλιστα δὴ θεαμαζόμενοι τῶν δημιουργῶν τὸν ἐλέφαντα καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν ἔχουσι τῆς ἀεὶ καὶ
253 οὐργίας τῆς ὑπόθεσιν. [καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐν ἐρημίᾳ παντελῶς εἰσών, τὰ δὲ ἐμπεριστούδαστα καθάρσεσθαι παντодαπᾶς περικοσμούμενα.] 1 εἰθοὶ οἱ μὲν πρότερον ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς ἀκμάζοντες θεοὶ γεγοράκασιν: οἱ δὲ ὑπακμάζοντες τούτων ἐν δευτέρᾳ τάξει ὑποβεβληται 1 οὕτω γὰρ εὐφημότερον 254 λέγειν: ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ νιώς εἰσαγόμενοι θρησκείας τυγχάνουσιν [ὡς ἐν παρεκβάσει διὸ προείπομεν τοὺς τόπους ἐρημωθέντας καταλιπεῖν]. 2 καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τα μὲν ἐρημωθοῦντα, τὰ δὲ νεωστὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων 3 βούλησιν ἐκαστὸς ἠδονέω, δέον 4 τούναντιν τῆν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξαν αὐτοῦς καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν τιμὴν ἀμετακίνητον διαφυλάττειν.
255 (36) Ἀπολλώνιος μὲν οὖν ὁ Μόλων τῶν ἀνοητῶν εἰς ἤν καὶ τετυφωμένων. τοὺς μὲν τοὺς καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς φιλοσοφήσαντας οὕτε τῶν προειρημένων οὐδὲν διελαθεῖ, οὕτε τὰς ψυχρὰς προφάσεις τῶν ἀληθορρών ἡγιότησαν, διότι τῶν μὲν εἰκότως κατεφρόνησαν, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀλήθη καὶ πρέπουσαν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξαν ἡμῖν συνεφώνησαν.
256 ἀφ᾽ ἦς ορμηθεῖς ὁ Πλάτων οὐτε τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἐνα ποιητῶν φησι δεῖν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν παρα-

1 The bracketed words are glosses, which have crept into the text of L and are absent from the Latin.

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the poets to introduce what gods they chose, subject to all the passions, and the orators to pass decrees for entering the name of any suitable foreign god on the burgess-roll. Painters also and sculptors were given great licence in this matter by the Greeks, each designing a figure of his own imagination, one moulding it of clay, another using paints. The artists who are the most admired of all use ivory and gold as the material for the novelties which they are constantly producing. And now the gods who once flourished with honours are grown old, that is the kinder way of putting it; and others, newly introduced, are the objects of worship. Some temples are left to desolation, others are but now being erected, according to individual caprice; whereas they ought, on the contrary, to have preserved immutably their belief in God and the honour which they rendered to Him.

(36) Apollonius Molon was but one of the crazy fools. The genuine exponents of Greek philosophy were well aware of all that I have said, nor were they ignorant of the worthless shifts to which the allegorists have resort. That was why they rightly despised them and agreed with us in forming a true and befitting conception of God. From this standpoint Plato declares that no poet ought to be admitted and licence given to poets and artists.

The ms. at these points adds the following glosses: "Some temples are completely desolate; the most celebrated are being renovated, with all manner of purifications"; "and those who flourished after them have been relegated to a secondary position"; "so that, as (?) we said before in a digression, the sites are left desolate."

Greek "frigid."

2 τῶν ἄνθρωπον Λ: aĭtῶν Lat.
3 + τοῖννυ L (om. ed. pr.).
δέχεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Ὄμηρον εὐφήμως ἀποσπέμπεται στεφανώσας καὶ μύρον αὐτοῦ καταχέας, ὡν δὴ μὴ τὴν ὀρθὴν δόξαν περὶ θεοῦ τοῖς μύθοις ἀφανίσειε. 257 μάλιστα δὲ Πλάτων μεμήμηται τῶν ἡμέτερον νομοθέτην καὶ τῷ μηδὲν οὕτω παïδευμα προσ- τάττειν τοῖς πολίταις ὡς τὸ πάντας ἀκριβῶς τοὺς νόμους ἐκμαθάνειν, καὶ μὴν καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ὡς ἐτυχεὶ ἐπιμέγνυσθαι τινας ἔξωθεν, ἀλλ' εἶναι καθαρὸν τὸ πολίτευμα τῶν ἐμμενόντων τοῖς 258 νόμοις προωνήσειν. ὅπως δὲν λογισάμενος ὃ Μόλων Ἀπολλώνιος ἠμῶν κατηγόρησεν, ὅτι μὴ παρα- δεχόμεθα τοὺς ἄλλας προκατελημμένους δόξας περὶ θεοῦ, μηδὲ κοινωνεῖν ἑθέλομεν τοῖς καθ' 259 ἐτέραν συνήθειαν βίου ζήν προαιρομένους. ἀλλ' οὔτε τοῦτ' ἐστιν ὅδιον ἠμῶν, κοινὸν δὲ πάντων, οὐχ Ἐλλήνων δὲ μόνων, ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἐλλησιν εὐδοκιμοτάτων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ ξενηλασίας ποιούμενοι διετέλουν καὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἀποδημεῖν πολίταις οὐκ ἐπέτρεπον, διαφθορὰν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν υφοροῦμεν γενήσεσθαι περὶ τῶν νόμων. 260 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν τάχ' ἂν ἡ δυσκολία τις ὁνειδίσειεν εἰκότως: οὔδεν γὰρ οὔτε τῆς πολιτείας οὔτε τῆς 261 παρ' αὐτοῖς μετεδίδοσαν διατριβῆς. ἠμεῖς δὲ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ζηλοῦν οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν, τοὺς μὲντοι μετέχειν τῶν ἡμετέρων βουλομένους ἠδέως δεχό- μεθα. καὶ τοῦτο ἂν εἰῇ τεκμήριον, οἴμαι, φιλ- ανθρωπίας ἀμα καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας. 262 (37) Ἐω περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ πλεῖον λέγειν. οἴ 263 δὲ κοινὴν εἶναι τὴν ἐαυτῶν δόξαντες πόλιν Ἀθηναίοι 1 Niese: τάχα L.
to the republic, and dismisses even Homer in laudatory terms, after crowning and anointing him with unguents, in order to prevent him from obscuring by his fables the correct doctrine about God. In two points, in particular, Plato followed the example of our legislator. He prescribed as the primary duty of the citizens a study of their laws, which they must all learn word for word by heart. Again, he took precautions to prevent foreigners from mixing with them at random, and to keep the state pure and confined to law-abiding citizens. Of these facts Apollonius Molon took no account when he condemned us for refusing admission to persons with other preconceived ideas about God, and for declining to associate with those who have chosen to adopt a different mode of life. Yet even this habit is not peculiar to us; it is common to all, and shared not only by Greeks, but by Greeks of the highest reputation. The Lacedaemonians made a practice of expelling foreigners and would not allow their own citizens to travel abroad, in both cases apprehensive of their laws being corrupted. They might perhaps be justly reproached for discourtesy, because they accorded to no one the rights either of citizenship or of residence among them. We, on the contrary, while we have no desire to emulate the customs of others, yet gladly welcome any who wish to share our own. That, I think, may be taken as a proof both of humanity and magnanimity.

(37) Of the Lacedaemonians I will say no more. But the Athenians, who considered their city open

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\(^a\) Plato, *Rep.* iii. 398 Α; and on poets generally *ib.* ii. sub fin.


\(^c\) Plato, *Legg.*, esp. xii. 949 ε ff.
πῶς περὶ τούτων εἶχον, Ἀπολλώνιος ἤγνώησεν, ὅτι καὶ τους ῥῆμα μόνον παρὰ τοὺς ἐκεῖνοι νόμους 
θηρεγὲς μένου ἐν περὶ θεῶν ἀπαρατητῶς ἐκόλασαν. 

263 τίνος γὰρ ἔτερον χάριν Σωκράτης ἀπέθανεν; οὐ 
γὰρ ὅτι προεδίδον τὴν πόλιν τοῖς πολεμίως οὐδὲ 
τῶν ἔρων ἐσύλησεν οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ ὅτι καίνους ῥόκους 
ὡμνὺς καὶ τὸ δαμάσκον αὐτῷ σημαίνει ἐφάσκε 
νῇ Δίᾳ παῖς,

264 εὐνώσθη κώνειον πιὸν ἀποθανεῖν. καὶ διαφθείρειν 
δὲ τοὺς νέους ὁ κατηγορος αὐτὸν ἕττά τοῖς 
πατρίοις πολυτείας καὶ τῶν νόμων ὁ προήγε 
αὐτῶς καταφρονεῖν. Σωκράτης μὲν οὖν πολίτης 
265 Ἀθηναῖος ὄν

τοιαῦτην ὑπέμεινεν τιμωρίαν. Ἀναξι 
αγόρας δὲ Κλαῖομένιος ἦν, ἀλλὰ ὅτι νομικῶν 
Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἕλεν εἶναι θεὸν ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐφ᾽ 
μύδρον εἶναι διάπυρον, θάνατον αὐτοῦ παρ᾽ ὀλίγας 
266 ψήφους κατέγνωσαν. καὶ Διαγόρας τῷ Μηλίῳ 
τάλαντον ἐπεκήρυξαν, εἰ τις αὐτὸν ἀνέλει, ἐπεὶ 
τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτῶς μυστήρια χλευάζειν ἐλέγετο. καὶ 
Πρωταγόρας εἰ μὴ θάττον ἐφυγε, συλληφθεῖς ἂν 
ἐπεθνήκει, γράψαι τῷ δοξάσον ὁμολογούμενον 
267 τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις περὶ θεῶν. τὶ δὲ δεῖ θαυμάζειν, 
εἰ πρὸς ἄνδρας οὕτως ἀξιοπίστους διετῆσαν, οὐ 
γε μηδὲ γυναικῶν ἐφείσαντο; Νίνον

1 Niese (cf. i. 253): ἐφάσκεν ἡ διαπαίζων L. 
2 Niese: Ἀθηναίων L. 
3 Naber: ὅδε L. 
4 Hudson: μύδρον L. 
5 A brilliant emendation of Weil for the ms. νῦν. She is 
mentioned by Demosthenes, Adv. Boeot. 995, 1010 and by 
scholiasts on De falsa leg. 131 and elsewhere.

— By the dog — (νῦ τῶν κυρὰ) was his favourite oath. 

Lit. "by Zeus." 

c Plato, Apol. 31 d. 

a Meletus. 

c Apol. 23 d. 
to all comers—what was their attitude in this matter? Apollonius was ignorant of this, and of the inexorable penalty which they inflicted on any who uttered a single word about the gods contrary to their laws. On what other ground was Socrates put to death? He never sought to betray his city to the enemy, he robbed no temple. No; because he used to swear strange oaths\(^a\) and give out (in jest, surely,\(^b\) as some say) that he received communications from a spirit,\(^c\) he was therefore condemned to die by drinking hemlock. His accuser\(^d\) brought a further charge against him of corrupting young men,\(^e\) because he stimulated them to hold the constitution and laws of their country in contempt. Such was the punishment of Socrates, a citizen of Athens. Anaxagoras\(^f\) was a native of Clazomenae, but because he maintained that the sun, which the Athenians held to be a god, was an incandescent mass, he escaped by a few votes only from being condemned by them to death. They offered a talent for the head of Diagoras of Melos,\(^g\) because he was reported to have jeered at their mysteries. Protagoras,\(^h\) had he not promptly fled, would have been arrested and put to death, because of a statement about the gods in his writings which appeared to conflict with Athenian tenets. Can one wonder at their attitude towards men of such authority when they did not spare even women? They put Ninus the priestess to death, because

\(^a\) Circa 499-427; he owed his escape to the influence of Pericles.

\(^b\) A contemporary of Anaxagoras and known in antiquity as "the atheist."

\(^c\) Of Abdera, 5th cent. B.C. The book on which he was impeached began with the words: "Respecting the gods, I am unable to know whether they exist or do not exist."
Josephus

Visited Athens in the time of Solon; cf. Herod. iv. 76.

Cf. for such Persian practices Herod. vi. 32.

268 εἰςαγόντων θεόν ὠριστο θάνατος. οἱ δὲ τοιούτω νόμῳ χρώμενοι δῆλον ὧτι τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ἐνόμιζον εἶναι θεοῦ· οὗ γὰρ ἂν αὐτοῖς πλείονων ἀπολαύειν ἐφθόνιον.

269 Τὰ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναίων ἐχέτων καλῶς. Σκόται δὲ φῶνοι χαίροντες ἄνθρωπων καὶ βραχὺ τῶν θηρίων διαφέροντες, ὡμώς τὰ παρ’ αὐτοῖς οἴονται δεῖν περιστέλλειν, καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐπὶ σοφία θαυμασθέντα, τὸν Ἀνάχαρσιν, ἐπανελθόντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνείλον, ἐπεὶ τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν ἑθῶν ἐδοξέην ἥκειν ἀνάπλεως. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ παρὰ Πέρσας ἃν τις εὐροὶ καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν κεκο-λασμένους. ἄλλα δῆλον ὧτι τοῖς Περσῶν ἔχαιρε νόμοις ὃ Ἀπολλώνιος κάκεινος ἔθαυμαζεν, ὧτι τῆς ἄνδρείας αὐτῶν ἀπέλαυσαν οἱ Ἐλληνες καὶ τῆς ὁμογνωμοσύνης ἂς εἴχον περὶ θεῶν, ταύτης μὲν [οὖν] ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς κατέπρησαν, τῆς ἄνδρείας δὲ δουλεύσαι παρὰ μικρὸν ἐλθόντες. ἀπάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων μμητῆς ἐγένετο τῶν Περσικῶν γυναῖκας ἀλλοτρίας ὑβρίζων καὶ παίδας ἐκτέμων.

270 Παρ’ Ἰμιὼν δὲ θάνατος ὠρισται, καὶ ἀλογῶν τις ὀυτῶν ἐξων ἀδική· καὶ τούτων ἠμᾶς τῶν νόμων ἀπαγαγεῖν οὔτε φόβοι ἱσχύσε τῶν κρατησάντων οὔτε ἔχλοι τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις τετμημένων.

271 Παρ’ Ἰμιὼν δὲ θάνατος ὠρισται, καὶ ἀλογῶν τις ὀυτῶν ἐξων ἀδική· καὶ τούτων ἠμᾶς τῶν νόμων ἀπαγαγεῖν οὔτε φόβοι ἱσχύσε τῶν κρατησάντων οὔτε ἔχλοι τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις τετμημένων.

272 οὔτε τὴν ἄνδρείαν ἵσκησαμεν ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμου

1 Niese: χέτο L.
2 θεών Lat.

400
some one accused her of initiating people into the mysteries of foreign gods; this was forbidden by their law, and the penalty decreed for any who introduced a foreign god was death. Those who had such a law evidently did not believe that the gods of other nations were gods; else they would not have denied themselves the advantage of increasing the number of their own.

So much may be said to the credit of the Athenians. But even Scythians, who delight in murdering people and are little better than wild beasts, nevertheless think it their duty to uphold their national customs; and Anacharsis, whose wisdom won the admiration of the Greeks, was on his return put to death by his compatriots, because he appeared to have come back infected with Greek habits. In Persia, also, numerous instances will be found of persons being executed for the same reason. Apollonius, however, had an affection for the laws of the Persians and a high opinion of the people; evidently because Greece had a taste of their courage and the benefit of their agreement with herself in religious beliefs! The latter she experienced when she saw her temples burnt to the ground, their courage in her bare escape from subjection to their yoke. Apollonius actually imitated all the Persian practices, outraging his neighbours' wives and castrating their children.

With us such maltreatment even of a brute beast is made a capital crime. And from these laws of ours nothing has had power to deflect us, neither fear of our masters, nor envy of the institutions esteemed by other nations. We have trained our courage, not

\[e\] An exaggeration of the law in Lev. xxii. 24 (Deut. xxiii. 1); cf. A. iv. 290 f.


273 έγκαρτερούμεν. διά τι γάρ ἂν καὶ ζηλώσαμεν τοὺς ἑτέρων νόμους ὀρόντες μὴ δὲ παρὰ τοῖς θεμένοις αὐτοὺς πετηρημένους; πῶς γάρ οὖν ἐμελλόν Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τῆς ἀνεπιμίκτου καταγνώσθαι πολιτείας καὶ τῆς περὶ τοὺς γάμους ὀλυγωρίας, Ἡλείοι δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι τῆς παρὰ φύσιν καὶ ̣[άγαν] ̣2 ἀνέδην πρὸς τοὺς ἄρρενας μίξεως; ὁ γανόν πάλαι κάλλιστα καὶ συμφορώτατα πράττειν ὑπελάμβανον, ταῦτ᾽ εἰ καὶ μὴ παντάπασι 274 τοῖς ἑργοῖς περιεύγασιν, οὐχ ὀμολογοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν νόμους ἀπόμυνται3 τοσοῦτον ποτὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἔλλησιν ἴσχύσαντας, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς τὰς τῶν ἐρρέων μίξεις ἐπεφήμισαν, κατὰ τὸν αὐτῶν δὲ λόγον καὶ τοὺς τῶν γυνῶν ἀδελφῶν γάμους, ταύτην ἀπολογίαν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀτόπων καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ἤδονων συντιθέντες.

276 (38) Ἐδ νῦν περὶ τῶν τιμωριῶν λέγειν, ὡσας μὲν ἔξ ἀρχῆς ἔδοσαν οἱ πλείστοι νομοθέται τοῖς πονηροῖς διαλύσεις,4 ἐπὶ μοιχείας μὲν ἥμισις χρημάτων, ἐπὶ φθορᾶς δὲ καὶ γάμους νομοθετήσαντες, ὡσας δὲ5 περὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας προφάσεις περιέχουσιν ἀρνήσεως, εἰ καὶ τις ἐπιχειρήσεις ἐξετάζειν. Ἡδὲ γάρ παρὰ τοῖς πλείοσι μελέτη γέγονε τοῦ παρα- 277 βαίνειν τοὺς νόμους. οὐ μὴν καὶ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ

1 Dindorf: μὴ τε L. 2 Om. Lat.
3 Niese: ἀποτελεσταῖ L Lat. 4 διαδύσεις Cobet.
5 Dindorf (with Lat.): καὶ L.
with a view to waging war for self-aggrandizement, but in order to preserve our laws. To defeat in any other form we patiently submit, but when pressure is put upon us to alter our statutes, then we deliberately fight, even against tremendous odds, and hold out under reverses to the last extremity. And why should we envy other nations their laws when we see that even their authors do not observe them? The Lacedaemonians were, of course, bound in the end to condemn their unsociable constitution and their contempt for marriage, and the people of Elis and Thebes the unnatural vice so rampant among them. At any rate, if they have not in fact altogether abandoned them, they no longer openly avow practices which once they considered very excellent and expedient. But they go further than this, and repudiate their laws on the subject of these unions—laws which at one time carried such weight with the Greeks that they actually attributed to the gods the practice of sodomy and, on the same principle, the marriage of brother and sister, thus inventing an excuse for the monstrous and unnatural pleasures in which they themselves indulged.

(38) In the present work I pass over the various penalties, and all the modes of compounding for them which the majority of legislators provided in their codes at the outset for offenders—accepting fines in case of adultery, marriage in that of immorality—and, in matters of impiety, all the subterfuges which they left open for denying the facts, if anyone took the trouble to open an inquiry. Nowadays, indeed, violation of the laws has with most nations become a fine art. Not so with us. Robbed though
καὶ πλούτου καὶ πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν στερηθῶμεν, ὃ γοῦν νόμος ἡμῖν ἀθάνατος διαμένει, καὶ οὕτως Ἰουδαίων οὐτε μακρὰν οὕτως ἀν ἀπέλθοι τῆς πατρίδος οὗτε πικρόν φοβηθήσεται δεσπότην, 278 ὥς μή πρὸ ἐκείνου δεδιέναι τὸν νόμον. εἰ μὲν οὖν διὰ τὴν ἁρετὴν τῶν νόμων οὕτως πρὸς αὐτοὺς διακείμεθα, συγχωρησάτωσαν ὦτι κρατίστους ἔχο- μεν νόμους. εἰ δὲ φαύλους οὕτως ἡμᾶς ἐμμένεις ὑπολαμβάνουσι, τί οὐκ ἂν αὐτοὶ δικαίως πάθοιεν τοὺς κρείττοντες οὐ φυλάττοντες;

279 Ἐπεί τοῖς ὁ πολὺς χρόνος πιστεύεται πάντων εἶναι δοκιμαστὴς ἀληθέστατος, τοῦτον ἂν ποιη- σαίμιν ἔγω μάρτυρα τῆς ἁρετῆς ἡμῶν τοῦ νομο- θέτου καὶ τῆς ὑπ’ ἐκείνου φήμης περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ παραδοθείσης. ἀπείρου γὰρ τοῦ χρόνου γεγονότος, εἰ τὸς αὐτὸν παραβάλλοι ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἡλικίαις 280 νομοθετῶν, παρὰ πάντ’ ἂν1 εὗροι τοῦτον (39) <ὁτι>2 ὑπ’ ἡμῶν τῆς διηλέγχθησαν οἱ νόμοι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασίν ἀνθρώποις ἂεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ζήλον ἐμπεπούηκας.

281 Πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ οἱ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἠλευρο- σοφήσαντες τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν τὰ πάτρια διεφύλαττον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι τῷ ἠλευρικοῖς ἠλευρίσαν4 κατηκολούθησαν, ὡμοίᾳ μὲν περὶ θεοῦ φρονοῦντες, εὐτέλειαν δὲ βίον καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλος κοινωνίαν 282 διδάσκοντες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πλῆθειν ἦδη πολὺς ζῆλος γέγονεν ἐκ μακροῦ τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβείας, οὐδὲ ἐστὶν οὐ πόλις Ἑλλήνων οὖθ’

1 πάντ’ ἂν Niese: πάντας L.
2 ins. Niese.
3 γράμμασι conj. Niese.
4 ἔκεινοις Bekker (with Lat.).
we be of wealth, of cities, of all good things, our Law at least remains immortal; and there is not a Jew so distant from his country, so much in awe of a cruel despot, but has more fear of the Law than of him. If, then, our attachment to our laws is due to their excellence, let it be granted that they are excellent. If, on the contrary, it be thought that the laws to which we are so loyal are bad, what punishment could be too great for persons who transgress those which are better?

Now, since Time is reckoned in all cases the surest test of worth, I would call Time to witness to the excellence of our lawgiver and of the revelation concerning God which he has transmitted to us. An infinity of time has passed since Moses, if one compares the age in which he lived with those of other legislators; yet it will be found (39) that throughout the whole of that period not merely have our laws stood the test of our own use, but they have to an ever increasing extent excited the emulation of the world at large.

Our earliest imitators were the Greek philosophers, who, though ostensibly observing the laws of their own countries, yet in their conduct and philosophy were Moses' disciples, holding similar views about God, and advocating the simple life and friendly communion between man and man. But that is not all. The masses have long since shown a keen desire to adopt our religious observances; and there is not

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*a* Cf. in a contemporary work Bar. iv. 1: "the law that endureth for ever."

*b* Cf. Soph. *Ajax* 646 ff. "All things the long and countless years of Time first draw from darkness, then bury from light," etc. (a play of which there are other reminiscences in Josephus).

*c* Cf. §§ 168, 257.
Ητισοῦν οὔδὲ βάρβαρος, οὔδὲ ἐν ἑθνοι, ἐνθά μὴ ὁ τής ἐβδομάδος, ἢν ἀργοὺμεν ἡμεῖς, ἐθος δια-
πεφοίτηκεν, καὶ αἱ νηστείαι καὶ λύχνους ἀνα-
κάυσεις καὶ πολλὰ τῶν εἰς βρῶσιν ἡμῖν οὐ νενο-
283 μισμένων παρατετήρηται. μιμεῖσθαι δὲ πειρώνται καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμῶν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅντων ἀνάδοσιν καὶ τὸ φιλεργὸν ἐν ταῖς τέχναις καὶ τὸ καρτερικὸν ἐν ταῖς υπὲρ τῶν νόμων ἀνάγκαιοι. τὸ γὰρ θαυμασιώτατον, ὅτι χωρὶς του τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐπαγγευμὸν δελέατος αὐτὸς καθ' ἕαυτὸν ἴσχυσεν ὁ νόμος, καὶ ὡσπερ ὁ θεὸς διὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου πεφοίτηκεν, οὔτως ὁ νόμος διὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων βεβάδυκεν. αὐτὸς δὲ τις ἐκαστὸς τῆς πατρίδα καὶ τὸν οἰκὸν ἐπισκοπῶν τὸν αὐτὸν τοῖς 285 ὑπ' ἔμοι λεγομένως οὐκ ἀπιστήσει. χρῆ τοῖνυν πάντων ἀνθρώπων καταγγέλλων πονηρίαις ἐθελο-
σιον, εἰ πάλιν καὶ φαῦλα πρὸ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ καλῶν ζηλοῦν ἐπιτεθυμήκασιν, ἡ παύσασθαι 286 βασκαίνοντας ἡμῖν τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας. οὔδὲ γὰρ ἐπιφθόνου τινὸς ἀντιποιούμεθα πράγματος τῶν αὐτῶν τιμῶντες νομοθέτην καὶ τοῖς ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου προφητευθεῖσι περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πεπιστευκότες· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ συνίεμεν αὐτοὶ τῆς ἐρετῆς τῶν νόμων, πάντως ἣν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ζηλοῦντων μέγα φρονεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶι προήχθημεν.

287 (40) Ἀλλὰ γὰρ περὶ μὲν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πολι-
τείας τῆς ἀκριβῆ πεποίημαι παράδοσιν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἀρχαιολογίας μοι γραφεῖσι. νυνὶ δ' αὐτῶι

1 βάρβαρος Niese. 2 ἐθος] τὸ ἐθος δὲ L.
3 δελέατος Niese: οὐ δελεαστός L.
4 Niese: ἀπάντων L.
one city, Greek or barbarian, nor a single nation, to which our custom of abstaining from work on the seventh day\(^a\) has not spread, and where the fasts and the lighting of lamps\(^b\) and many of our prohibitions in the matter of food are not observed. Moreover, they attempt to imitate our unanimity, our liberal charities, our devoted labour in the crafts, our endurance under persecution on behalf of our laws. The greatest miracle of all is that our Law holds out no seductive bait of sensual pleasure,\(^c\) but has exercised this influence through its own inherent merits; and, as God permeates the universe, so the Law has found its way among all mankind. Let each man reflect for himself on his own country and his own household, and he will not disbelieve what I say. It follows, then, that our accusers must either condemn the whole world for deliberate malice in being so eager to adopt the bad laws of a foreign country in preference to the good laws of their own, or else give up their grudge against us. In honouring our own legislator and putting our trust in his prophetical utterances concerning God, we do not make any arrogant claim justifying such odium. Indeed, were we not ourselves aware of the excellence of our laws, assuredly we should have been impelled to pride ourselves upon them by the multitude of their admirers.

\(^{(40)}\) I have given an exact account of our laws and Recapitulation of our constitution in my previous work on our Antiquities.

\(^a\) Aristobulus finds traces of the Sabbath even in Homer and Hesiod! (Eus. P.E. xiii. 12).

\(^b\) Cf. § 118.

\(^c\) Cf. §§ 217.
JOSEPHUS

ἐπεμνήσθην ἐφ' ὅσον ἦν ἀναγκαίον, οὐτέ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ψέγευν οὐτέ τὰ παρ' ἦμῖν ἐγκωμιάζειν προθέμενος, ἀλλ' ἢν τοὺς περὶ ἦμῶν ἀδίκως γεγραφότας ἐλέγξω πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀναιδῶς τὴν ἀλήθειαν

288 πεφιλονεικηκότας. καὶ δὴ μοι δοκῶ πεπληρῶσθαι διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἰκανῶς ἂ προσπεσχόμην. καὶ γὰρ ἀρχιστητῇ προσπάρχου ἐπέδειξα τὸ γένος, τῶν κατηγόρων ὅτι νεώτατον ἑστὶν εἰρηκότων, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασιν ἐμνημονευκότας ἢμῶν ἀρχαίους παρεσχόμην² μάρτυρας, ἐκείνων ὧν μηδεῖς ἐστὶ διαβεβαιομένων. ἀλλὰ μὴν Ἀὐγυπτίων ἐφασαν ἢμῶν τοὺς προγόνους· ἐδείχθησαν δ᾽ εἰς Ἀὐγυπτίων ἐλθόντες ἐτέρωθεν. διὰ δὲ λύμην σωμάτων αὐτοὺς ἐκβληθῆναι κατεψευσάντο· προαιρέσθε καὶ περιουσία ρώμης ἐφάνησαν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ὑποστρέψαντες γῆν. οἱ μὲν όσοι φαντότατον ἢμῶν τὸν νομοθέτην ἐλοιδόρησαν· τῷ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς πάλαι μὲν ὁ θεός, μετ᾽ ἐκείνων δὲ μάρτυρος ὁ χρόνος εὐρήται γεγενημένος.

290 (41) Περὶ τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἐδείχσε λόγου πλείονος. αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐωράθησαν δὲ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀσέβειαν μὲν εὐσέβειαν δ᾿ ἀληθεστάτην διδάσκοντες, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ μισανθρωπίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὀντῶν κοινωνίας παρακαλούντες, ἀδικίας ἐχθροί, δικαιοσύνης ἐπιμελεῖς, ἄργιαν καὶ πολυτέλειαν ἐξορίζοντες, αὐτοῖς άρκεις καὶ φιλοσόφους εἶναι διδάσκοντες, πολέμων μὲν ἀπείροντες εἰς πλεονεξίαν, ἀνδρείους δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἶναι παρασκευάζοντες, ἀπαραίτητοι πρὸς

¹ καὶ γὰρ L (om. Lat.).
² Cobet (with Lat.): παρέσχομεν L.
³ εἰς Niese.
Here I have alluded to them only so far as was necessary for my purpose, which was neither to find fault with the institutions of other nations nor to extol our own, but to prove that the authors who have maligned us have made a barefaced attack on truth itself. I have, I think, in the present work adequately fulfilled the promise made at the outset.\(^a\) I have shown that our race goes back to a remote antiquity, whereas our accusers assert that it is quite modern. I have produced numerous ancient witnesses, who mention us in their works, whereas they confidently affirm that there is none. They further maintained that our ancestors were Egyptians; it has been shown that they migrated to Egypt from elsewhere. They falsely asserted that the Jews were expelled from that country as physical wrecks \(^b\); it has been made clear that they returned to their native land of deliberate choice, and thanks to their exceptional physical strength. They reviled our legislator as an insignificant personage; his sterling merits have found a witness of old in God, and, after God, in Time.

(41) Upon the laws it was unnecessary to expatiate. A glance at them showed that they teach not impiety, but the most genuine piety; that they invite men not to hate their fellows, but to share their possessions; that they are the foes of injustice and scrupulous for justice, banish sloth and extravagance, and teach men to be self-dependent and to work with a will; that they deter them from war for the sake of conquest, but render them valiant defenders of the laws themselves; inexorable in punishment,

\(^a\) Ap. i. 2 ff.

\(^b\) Or "for bodily impurity."
τὰς τιμωρίας, ἀσώφιστοι λόγων παρασκευαῖς, τοῖς ἔργοις ἅει βεβαιούμενοι· ταῦτα γὰρ [ἀεὶ] ἡμεῖς 293 παρέχομεν τῶν γραμμάτων ἑναργέστερα. διότι ἐγὼ θαρσήσας ἃν εἴποιμι πλείστων ἀμα καὶ καλ·
λίστων ἡμᾶς εἰσηγητάς τοῖς ἄλλοις γεγονέναι. τί γὰρ εὐσεβείας ἀπαραβάτου κάλλιον; τί δὲ τοῦ 294 πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς νόμοις δικαιότερον; ἢ τί συμ-

φροτρώτερον τοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμονοεῖν, καὶ μήτ' ἐν συμφοραῖς διστασθαί μήτ' ἐν εὐτυχίαις στα-
σιάζειν ἐξυβρίζοντας, ἄλλ' ἐν πολέμῳ μὲν θανάτου καταφροεῖν, ἐν εἰρήνῃ δὲ τέχναι ἢ γεωργίαις προσανέχειν, πάντα δὲ καὶ πανταχοῦ πεπείσθαι 295 τὸν θεὸν ἐποπτεύοντα διέπειν; ταῦτ' εἰ μὲν παρ' ἐτέρους ἢ ἐγράφη πρότερον ἢ ἐφυλάξθη βε-
βαιότερον, ἡμεῖς ἃν ἐκεῖνοι χάριν ὑφείλομεν ὡς μαθηταὶ γεγονότες· εἰ δὲ καὶ χρώμενοι μάλιστα πάντων βλεπόμεθα καὶ τὴν πρώτην εὑρέσιν αὐτῶν ἡμετέραν οὐσαν ἐπεδείχαμεν, 'Απίωνες μὲν καὶ Μόλωνες καὶ πάντες ὅσοι τῷ ψεύδεσθαι καὶ λοι-

δορεῖν χαίρομεν ἐξεληλέγχωσαν. 296 Σοὶ δὲ, Ἐπαφρόδιτε, μάλιστα τὴν ἄληθειαν ἀγαπῶντι, καὶ διὰ σὲ τοῖς ὁμόσως βουλησομένους περὶ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν εἰδέναι, τούτο τὲ καὶ τὸ πρὸ αὐτῶν γεγράφθων βιβλίων.

1 Dindorf: πρῶτον L Lat.
2 Niese: βουλησομένουs L.
3 ed. pr.: om. L.
not to be duped by studied words,\textsuperscript{a} always supported by actions. For actions are our invariable testimonials, plainer than any documents. I would therefore boldly maintain that we have introduced to the rest of the world a very large number of very beautiful ideas. What greater beauty than inviolable piety? What higher justice than obedience to the laws? What more beneficial than to be in harmony with one another, to be a prey neither to disunion in adversity, nor to arrogance and faction in prosperity; in war to despise death, in peace to devote oneself to crafts or agriculture; and to be convinced that everything in the whole universe is under the eye and direction of God? Had these precepts been either committed to writing or more consistently observed by others before us, we should have owed them a debt of gratitude as their disciples. If, however, it is seen that no one observes them better than ourselves, and if we have shown that we were the first to discover them, then the Apions and Molons and all who delight in lies and abuse may be left to their own confusion.

To you, Epaphroditus, who are a devoted lover of truth, and for your sake\textsuperscript{b} to any who, like you, may wish to know the facts about our race, I beg to dedicate this and the preceding book.

\textsuperscript{a} Or “unsophisticated in oratorical display.”

\textsuperscript{b} διὰ σέ, “for your sake,” but half suggesting “through your kind offices” (διὰ σοῦ) in helping to advertise the work.
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