JOSEPHUS

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INTRODUCTION

The History of the Jewish War is the earliest and the most famous of the works of Josephus. The first-fruits of the leisure which he found in Rome after the war, it was written with all the advantages possessed by an ex-combatant and eyewitness, now a pensioner quartered in the former palace of Vespasian, with the "commentaries" of his imperial patrons, the commanders in the recent campaign, placed at his disposal. The title by which the author refers to his work is "Concerning the Jewish War" (Περὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου Vita 412, A. xx. 258, cf. xviii. 11). Laqueur, Der jüd. Historiker Flavius Josephus, Giessen, 1920, p. 255 and p. 98, considers that this heading plainly betrays the purely Roman point of view of the Jewish turncoat. The expanded form, Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου πρὸς Ρωμαίον, found at the head of the first two books in Niese's principal ms P, may, it has been suggested, be an attempt of the author to neutralize the offensive character of the former superscription. But the majority of the ms employ another title, "Concerning (the) capture" (Περὶ ἀλώσεως), often with the addition of Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἱστορίας. The title Περὶ ἀλώσεως is found also in Origen and Jerome, the latter of whom attributes it to the author himself: "quae Josephus Judaicae scriptor historiae septem explicat uoluminibus, quibus imposuit titulum Captiui-

\[Ap. i. 50, Vita 358, 423.\]
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tatis Judaicae id est Περὶ ἀλώσεως" (Comm. in Isaiah, cap. 64, sub fin.). Niese (vol. i. p. vi) regarded this as a title of Christian origin, introduced at a time when our author’s principal works, the War and the Antiquities, were collected into a single corpus, bearing the general title Ἰονᾶδαικὴ ἱστορία, and sub-titles Περὶ ἀλώσεως and Ἄρχαιονολογία. Yet the short title is one which the author might well have employed himself: ἀλώσις, often without the article, is constantly used of the final tragedy, e.g. ii. 454 (προοίμιον ἀλώσεως), iv. 318, and v. 3 (ἀλώσεως ἀρξαί, ἀλ. κατηρξεν τῆς πόλει). Dr. Robert Eisler, to whom the present writer is indebted for many suggestions in this Introduction, and whose forthcoming volume on the important Old Russian version of the War will throw much light on the genesis of the work, draws a distinction between an older and simpler draft, the Halosis, and a later and more elaborate edition, the Polemos.

He thinks that “Jewish history” or “histories” (ἱστορίαι Vita 345; Euseb. Histor. Eccl. i. 8) was the general title of Josephus’s “collected works” as they were finally published by Epaphroditus. He emphasizes the fact that all mss of the Russian version are entitled “On the Capture of Jerusalem” and that a hitherto unidentified quotation from Josephus, ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ λόγῳ τῆς ἀλώσεως, in the Chron. Pasch. i. 263 Dind., can be traced to certain of those mss. He hopes to prove in his forthcoming work that the Russian version, as well as the so-called “Egesippus” (Heg.)—a Christianized Latin translation by a converted Jew, Isaac alias Gaudentius or Hilarius, a contemporary of Pope Damasus—is based on a lost earlier, somewhat different edition of our work—first published in A.D. 72 for the celebration of the triumph of Titus—which bore the title Ἐλαυνῷ Ἰωσήπου περὶ ἀλώσεως τῆς Ἑρωνοσαλήμ. This was gradually added to, revised, curtailed, and expanded in subsequent years. He considers Ἰονᾶδαικὸς πόλεμος to be the title of the
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thoroughly revised edition, published during the reign of Domitian, as it survives in the mss PA and L, while VR and MC represent earlier, less carefully revised editions of the original “Ἀλωσίας, such as were used also by the Slavonic translator.

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

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

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

The original Aramaic edition was at an early date lost to the Western world. A theory advanced by H. Kottek in 1886 that part of it has survived in the 6th century Syriac version of Book vi was shown by Nöldeke to be untenable. More recently, however, A. Berendts (ap. Harnack, Texte und Untersuchungen, xiv. 1, 1906) has maintained that it survives in the Old Russian version. That version contains some remarkable deviations from, and additions to, the Greek text of the War, including in particular passages relating to John the Baptist, Christ, and the early Christians.

The full text of the Slavonic version has not yet been made available to scholars; but the first four books of the War have appeared in a German translation by the late
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A. Berendts, edited by K. Grass (Dorpat, 1924–27). This work reached the hands of the present translator too late for use to be made of it in the volume now issued. He hopes, however, to print in an Appendix to vol. iii a translation of the more important additions in the Slavonic text, together with a list of the passages which it omits.

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

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

\[ \text{“Les Origines de la traduction slave de Josèphe, l'hérésie judaïsante en Russie et la secte des Josèphinistes en Asie Mineur, en Italie et en Provence.” Communication au Congrès des Historiens Français le 22 Avril 1927 (Revue des Études slaves, Paris, 1927).} \]
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should learn the facts, that he affixed his own signature to them and gave orders for their publication” (ib. 363, Ap. i. 50 ff.).

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

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

A brief preface includes a somewhat inadequate and unsystematic summary of the whole work (i. 19-29); the topics mentioned are probably selected primarily to catch the imperial eye and also to
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attract the general reader. Then follows an inordinately long introduction, occupying the whole of the first and nearly half the second Book, containing a sketch of Jewish history from the previous capture of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes down to the outbreak of the war with Rome, nearly 250 years later. When in later life the author undertook a complete history of his nation, this portion of the narrative was expanded in the Antiquities, where it fills seven and a half books (A. xiii-xx). A comparison of these two narratives forms an instructive study; the parallel passages in the Antiquities are indicated at the head of the pages of the present translation.

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

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

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

Vocabulary.—The following words, among others, are characteristic of the War, and do not occur elsewhere in Josephus: ἀδιάλειπτος (w.s), ἀνέδην, ἀτονος (w.s), βασιλείαν, δημοτής, διεκπαιεῖν, διέχειν (distare, in preference to ἀπέχειν), εἰκαῖος (w.s), ἔξαπτυσ (in preference to εξαίφνης), ἐωθινός, βαματάν, καταληγεῖν, κατατεθόλειν, κατορρωθεῖν and ὄρρωθεῖν, κοπίν, θαθραίος (w.s), λεσφόρος, μεσημβρίνος ("southern"), μεταγενέστερον and προγενέστερον, μόνον οὐκ ("almost"), ὀλοφυρσίς (from Thuc.), παλινδρομεῖν, πανοῦργος (and derivatives), παραστῆμα ("intrepidity"), πολίχνη and πολίχνιον, πρὸς δὲ (adverb: where Ant. uses καὶ προσῆτι, προσαμύνειν, προσάρκτιον, προσίτος, προείσται, σιμμεία, σιστάθην, διὰ ταχοῦ and κατὰ τάχος, τοιοῦ, ὑποδείδειν (epic), χαμαλός, χωρισμός ("departure"), χωρός.

Writing for educated readers, Josephus boasts of having immersed himself in Greek literature (A. xx. 263), and taken extraordinary pains to cultivate style. "Among other qualifications," he writes, "the historian needs charm of style, in so far as this is attainable by the choice and nice adjustment (ἀρμονία) of words and whatever else may serve to embellish the narrative for his readers" (A. xiv. 2); in the "nice adjustment" he refers to the careful avoidance of hiatus or harsh clashing of vowels, which is a marked feature, particularly in the War. But such mastery could only have been gradually acquired, and that an author, who had hitherto written solely in Aramaic, should open his literary career with a work showing such a thorough command of Greek xiv.
Niceties would be astonishing, were it not explained by an *obiter dictum* in a later work.

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

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

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

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

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

b Eusebius describes this portion of the narrative as τραγικὴ δραματολογία (H.E. i. 8). I am again indebted for the reference to Dr. Eisler.
of the plot (τὸν λυμέωνα τῆς οἰκίας καὶ δραματουργὸν ὀλον τού μῦτοις 530), the anxious waiting for "the end of the drama" (543), the avenging deity (καθ' άδων φέρειν τὸν ἀλωστόρα 596), the ghosts (δαίμονες) of the murdered sons roaming the palace and dragging secrets to light (599) or sealing the lips of others (607). But there are other more precise allusions. Sophocles was evidently a favourite; the allusions to this tragedian, being mainly confined to the War and to portions of the Antiquities, especially Books xv-xvi, written in the style of the War, are probably attributable rather to the assistant than to the historian. From him also doubtless come some apparent allusions to Virgil.

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

Herodotus supplies the following: τεύμενος ἀποδεικνύαι B. i. 403; προκαθίσεων (ἐπὶ θρόνου) ii. 27, cf. Hdt. i. 14 (ἐς θρόνον); τὴν ἑπὶ θανάτῳ (se. ὀδόν) ii. 231, vi. 155; πάντες ἡγηδῶν iii. 133, cf. iv. 554; προχοεῖδης Λιμνη iii. 511; ἀκεσίας "cure" iv. 11, vii. 189; πρὸς ἅλκην τρέπεσθαι vi. 14, vii. 232; ἀναμάρτητος πρὸς τινα γίνεσθαι vii. 329; Λήματος πλήρης vii. 340, cf. Λήματος πλέος Hdt. v. 111.

Xenophon, Cyropaedia, probably furnishes θήγεν ψυχάς xviι
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Demosthenes provides phrases for speeches such as ἐπιτετειχθείσης τυραννίς iv. 172, τιμωρίας διακροθεῖθαί iv. 257; perhaps also ἀναισθητεῖν iv. 165, ἐκ τῶν εὐόντων vi. 183, βρόχον ἐπιστάνα vii. 250, σκευόρημα vii. 449.

From Homer come ἀναισθιώτικος ii. 495, iv. 40 etc.; εἰκοντο καὶ μετὰ κωκυτῶν iii. 202, cf. κωκυτῶ τ’ εἰκοντο II. xxii. 409; ἐκφορεῖν = “carry out corpse for burial,” iv. 330; ἄκολος “morsel” v. 432; ἀμάρα “conduit” and ὀμοσ “dung” v. 571; πεπαρμένα ἥλιος vi. 85; φυλακτήρ (for φύλαξ) vii. 291.

Sophocles.—From the Electra come ἀφειδεῖν ψυχῆς B. iii. 212, El. 980, and θράσος ὅπλιζεων B. iii. 153, El. 995 f., and we may confidently infer that we have a paraphrase of a line in the near context of that play (ὅρα πόνον τοι χωρίς οὖνεν εὐτιχεῖ El. 945) in B. iii. 495, v. 501; reminiscences of this play and of the Ajax occur also in A. xv-xvi. We find also θάρατος προσένει B. v. 66 from Trach. 726; ἐνυκήπτευεν θός B. v. 408, probably from O.T. 27; προσβαίειν B. vii. 348, cf. O.C. 330 etc., and immediately after ἦν καὶ τέθηλεν from Trach. 235; οὐδέν ύπαξ φρονεῖν, B. v. 326, cf. Phil. 1006.

Virgil.—Like a rather younger historian of the same period—Tacitus—the σινεργός (for Josephus can here hardly be responsible) seems to have interwoven some Virgilian reminiscences into the narrative. The sack of Jotapata (as in Tacitus the siege of the Capitol under Vitellius, Mackail, Latin Literature 219) recalls the sack of Troy. Compare B. iii. 319 πειρα γὰρ τὴν ἐσχάτην φυλακὴν, καθ’ ἣν ἀνείμη τε τῶν δεινῶν εἴδοκεν ἔχειν καὶ καθάπεται μάλιστα κεκοπωμένων [= mortalibus aegris] ἐωθινὸς ὕπνος . . . 323 ff. ἤσαν ἄμυχῃ πρὸς το τείχος. καὶ πρῶτος ἐπιβαίνει Tίτος . . . ἀποσφάζαντες δὲ τοὺς φίλακας εἰσίσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν with Aen. ii. 263 ff. “ . . . primusque Machaon . . . Invadunt urbem somno vinoque sepultam; | caeduntur uixiles. . . . Tempus erat quo prima quies mortalibus aegris incipit et dono divum gratissima serpit.” The personified Φήμη B. iii. 433 ff. (with the allusion to facts embroidered by fiction, προσεχεδιάζετο γε μὴν τοῖς πεπραγμένοις καὶ τά μὴ γενόμενα) recalls the picture
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of Fama in Aen. iv. 173 ff. ("et pariter facta atque infecta canebat" 190); cf. B. i. 371.

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

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

These scanty hints can be supplemented by a few notices in the works produced in later life, the Contra Apionem and the Life. Here again he emphasizes the personal part which he took in the contest, as commander in Galilee in the opening campaign, after his capture in constant touch with the Roman generals, and during the siege of Jerusalem associated with Titus behind the Roman lines. He tells us that throughout the siege he made careful notes of the proceedings in the Roman camp and was kept aware of events within the city by deserters, whose information he was alone in a position to understand (Ap. i. 47-49). We know, moreover, from the War, that he was employed on more than one occasion as intermediary to urge his besieged compatriots to surrender. We learn further that King Agrippa, who was kept supplied with a copy of the War as it appeared in parts, was in correspondence with the author throughout its production and offered to
furnish him with information about facts not generally known (Vita 364 ff.).

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

The Commentaries are thrice mentioned. Replying to the criticisms of Justus of Tiberias, Josephus reminds him of hostilities for which he and his fellow-citizens were responsible at the opening of the war before Vespasian's arrival, and which were afterwards brought to that general's notice. He adds: "This is no unsupported assertion of my own. The facts are recorded in the Commentaries of the emperor Vespasian, which further relate how insistently the inhabitants of Decapolis pressed Vespasian, when at Ptolemais, to punish you as the culprit" (Vita 342).
Ptolemais was the first place to which Vespasian led his army from Antioch, his original base (B. iii. 29); we here learn that the Commentaries went back to the opening of the campaign. Again, attacking the same opponent, Josephus writes: "Perhaps, however, you will say that you have accurately narrated the events which took place at Jerusalem. How, pray, can that be, seeing that neither were you on the scene of action, nor had you perused the Commentaries of Caesar, as is abundantly proved by your account which conflicts with those Commentaries?" (Vita 358). Again, of certain malignant critics who have dared to compare his Jewish War to a schoolboy's prize composition (ὡςπερ ἐν σχολῇ μειρακίων γύμνασμα προκείσθαι νομίζοντες), the author writes: "Surely, then, one cannot but regard as audacious the attempt of these critics to challenge my veracity. Even if, as they assert, they have read the Commentaries of the imperial commanders, they at any rate had no first-hand acquaintance with our position in the opposite camp" (Ap. i.53-56). These two last passages, in which Josephus is contrasting his own qualifications with those of others, clearly imply that the Commentaries were before him when he wrote the War.

Indeed, as has been suggested by a recent writer (W. Weber, Josephus und Vespasian, 1921), there is reason to think that our author has made extensive use of these documents. The Commentarii principales, it may be supposed, were the notes, presumably in Latin, made on the field of action by the Roman commanders and their staff, which might sometimes be put out in a more literary shape as the official record of the campaign, like the Commentarii de Bello Gallico of Julius Caesar. From this or from some other official
source must come the information with regard to the disposition of the Roman legions in a.d. 66, which is strikingly confirmed by other evidence and is here worked up into the great speech of King Agrippa (B. ii. 345 ff.) Another passage which looks like a direct extract from the Commentaries of Titus is the concise itinerary of the march of that general from Egypt to Caesarea, with its bare enumeration of the various stages, though it must be remembered that Josephus accompanied him (B iv. 658-end). Whether Weber is right in referring to this source the geographical sketches of Palestine interspersed throughout the narrative may perhaps be questioned, but the description of the Dead Sea with the mention of Vespasian's visit of inspection (B iv. 477) lends support to his view (cf. the rather similar account in Tacitus, Hist. v. 6).

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

For the pre-war period (Books i-ii) we can confidently name one writer, frequently mentioned in the Antiquities, as having furnished material also for the War—Nicolas of Damascus (c. 64 B.C. to the end of the century), the intimate friend of Herod the Great and of Augustus, and author of a universal history in 144 books and other works, including probably a
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separate life of Herod. From Nicolas undoubtedly is derived the detailed history of Herod’s house, which fills two-thirds of Book i, and of the accession of Archelaus (opening of Book ii), in which he himself played an important part. Here again Josephus had the advantage of a first-rate, if somewhat biased, contemporary authority. After Archelaus the narrative unfortunately becomes meagre, expanding into rather greater fullness when the reign of Agrippa I is reached. With regard to him the historian would obtain information from his son, Agrippa II, and for the events leading up to the war he might draw on his own recollections. For the slight sketch of the Hasmonaean house the history of Nicolas is perhaps again the authority; the historian shows no acquaintance in the War with the first book of Maccabees, of which he afterwards made large use in the Antiquities.

As historian of the Jewish War Josephus thus comes before us with apparently high credentials; at any rate few war historians in ancient or modern times can have enjoyed so rare a combination of opportunities for presenting a veracious narrative of events. How does his work appear when tested by the highest of standards, the History of the Peloponnesian War? It is natural to compare the Jew and the Athenian because, widely different as were the characters of the two, there were points of similarity in their careers. Like Thucydides, Josephus combined the functions of general and historian; like him he failed as a commander and was consequently brought into close contact with the enemy and enabled to view the war from the standpoint of both belligerents (Thuc. iv. 104 ff., v. 26 “associating with both sides, with the Peloponnesians quite as much as with
the Athenians, because of my exile," cf. Jos. B i. 3); while the Jewish historian, unlike the Greek, had the further advantage of the use of the official record of the campaign compiled by, or under the supervision of, the enemy's generals.

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

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

Sulpicius, Chron. ii. 30.

Fertur Titus adhibito consilio prius deliberasse, an templum tanti operis euerteret. Etenim nonnullis uidebatur, aedem sacratam ultra omnia mortalia illustrem non oportere deleri, quae seruata modestiae Romanae testimonium, diruta perennem crudelitatis notam praebet. At contra ali et Titus ipse euertendum in primis templum censebant, quo plenius Judaorum et Christianorum religio tolleretur: quippe has religiones, liet contrarias sibi, isdem tamen ab auctoribus profectas: Christianos ex Iudaicus exstutisse: radice subtala stirpem facile perituram.

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

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

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

\[a\] The latter alternative, Dr. Eisler informs me, is rendered a certainty through his critical comparison of the third, and again quite distinct, account in the Slavonic Halosis.

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to ingratiate himself with another patron, King Agrippa.

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

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

\[a\] For particulars with regard to the versions I am indebted to Dr. Eisler.
P Codex Parisin us Graecus 1425, cent. x. or xi.
A Codex Ambrosianus (Mediolanensis) D. 50 sup., cent. x. or xi.
M Codex Marcianus (Venetus) Gr. 383, cent. xi. or xii.
L Codex Laurentianus, plut. lxix. 19, cent. xi. or xii.
V Codex Vaticanus Gr. 148, about cent. xi.
R Codex Palatinus (Vaticanus) Gr. 284, cent. xi. or xii.
C Codex Urbinas (Vaticanus) Gr. 84, cent. xi.
Exc. Excerpts made in the tenth century by order of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus.
Lat. A Latin version known to Cassiodorus in the fifth century and commonly ascribed to Rufinus in the preceding century.

To these may be added:
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Yos. = Josephus Gorionides or Yosippon, a Hebrew paraphrase, derived from Heg., ed. Breithaupt, Gotha, 1727.

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

Among other mss occasionally quoted by Niese are:

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

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

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

\(^a\) A striking instance occurs in B. vi. 369, where, beside the neater τόπος . . . πᾶς λιμόν νεκρῶν εἰχεν ἡ στάσεως, a more prolix and apparently older phrase καὶ πεπλήρωτο νεκρῶν ἡ διὰ στάσιν ἡ διὰ λιμὸν ἀπολογίτων has been left undeleted. See Laqueur, Der jüd. Historiker Fl. Josephus, p. 239, whose theory is confirmed, I am told, by Dr. Eisler's analysis of the Old Russian.
already in the fourth-century Latin version. P and A, on which Niese mainly relies, appear to have been copied from an exemplar in which the terminations of words were abbreviated, and are to that extent untrustworthy. The true text seems to have been not seldom preserved in one of the mss of mixed type, L in particular. The mixture in that ms is peculiar: throughout Book i and down to about ii. 242 it sides with VRC, from that point onwards more often with the other group or with the Latin version. In the later books L becomes an authority of the first rank and seems often to have preserved alone, or in combination with the Latin version, the original text.

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

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

**Abbreviations**

*A* = *Antiquitates Judaicae.*  
*Ap.* = *Contra Apionem.*  
*B.* = *Bellum Judaicum.*  
*V.* = *Vita.*  
*conj.* = conjectural emendation.  
*ed. pr.* = *editio princeps* (Basel, 1544).  
*Eus.* (*H.E.* ; *P.E.*) = Eusebius (*Historia Ecclesiastica* ; *Praeparatio Evangelica*).  
*ins.* = inserted by.  
*om.* = omit.  

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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).
ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΙΟΥΔΑΪΚΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΥΣ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Α

(1) Ἔπειδὴ τὸν Ἰουδαίον πρὸς Ῥωμαίον πόλεμον συστάντα μέγιστον οὐ μόνον τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς, σχεδόν δὲ καὶ ὧν ἀκοῇ παρειλήφαμεν ἡ πόλεως πρὸς πόλεις ἢ ἐθνῶν ἐθνεὶς συμμαχόντος, οἱ μὲν οὐ παρατυχόντες τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἀλλ' ἀκοῇ συλλέγοντες εἰκαί καὶ ἀσύμφωνα διηγήματα σοφι.

2 στικῶς ἀναγράφουσιν, οἱ παραγενόμενοι δὲ ἡ κολακεία τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίον ἢ μίσει τῷ πρὸς Ἰουδαίον καταψεύδονται τῶν πράγματων, περε-
ἐχει δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅπου μὲν κατηγορίαν ὅπου δὲ ἐγκώ-
μιον τὰ συγγράμματα, τὸ δ' ἀκριβὲς τῆς ἱστορίας.

3 οὐδαμοῦ, προσθέμην ἐγὼ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν, Ἑλλάδι γλώσσῃ μεταβαλὼν ἀ τοῖς ἀνω βαρβάροις τῇ πατρίῳ συντάξας ἀνέπεμψα πρότερον, ἀθηγήσασθαι, Ἰώσηπος Μαθθίου παῖς,
[γένει Ἐβραίος,] εἰς Ἱεροσολύμων ἱερεὺς, αὐτὸς

1 om. P Eus.
HISTORY OF THE JEWISH WAR AGAINST THE ROMANS

BOOK I

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

τε ῥωμαίους πολεμήσας τὰ πρώτα καὶ τοῖς υποτε-ρον παρατυχών εξ ἀνάγκης.

4 (2) γενομένου γάρ, ώς ἔφην, μεγίστου τοῦ τοῦ κινήματος, εἰς ῥωμαίους μὲν ἐνόσει τὰ οίκεια, Ἰουδαίων δὲ τὸ νεωτερίζον τότε τεταραγμένοις ἐπανέστη τοῖς καυροῖς ἀκμάζον κατὰ τε χείρα καὶ χρήσιμως, ώς δὲ ύπερβολὴν θορύβων τοῖς μὲν ἐν ἐλπίδι κτήσεως τοῖς δ' ἐν ἀφαιρέσεως δέει γίνε-5 σθαι τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολὴν, ἐπειδή Ἰουδαίοι μὲν ἀπαν τὸ ὑπέρ Εὐφράτην ὁμόφυλον συνεπαρθήσε-σθαι σφίσιν ἠλπίσαν, 'Ῥωμαίους δ' οἴ τε γείτονες Γαλάται παρεκινοῦν καὶ τὸ Κελτικὸν οὐκ ἠρέ-μει, μεστὰ δ' ἧν πάντα θορύβων μετὰ Νέρωνα, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν βασιλείαν ὁ καυρὸς ἀνέπεθεν, τὰ στρατιωτικὰ δὲ ἡρα μεταβολὴς ἐλπίδι θημάτων.

6 ἄτοπον ἡγησάμενος1 περιεδὼν πλαζομένην ἐπὶ τηλικοῦτος πράγμας τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ Πάρθους μὲν καὶ Βαβυλωνίους Ἀράβων τε τοὺς πορρωτάτως καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ὁμόφυλον ἤμιν Ἀδιαβηνοῦς τε γνώναι διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς ἔπιμελείας ἀκριβῶς, ὅθεν τε ἡρέατο καὶ δι' ὅσων ἐχώρησεν παθῶν οἱ πόλεμος καὶ ὅπως κατέστρεψεν, ἀγνοεῖν δὲ Ἐλλήνας ταῦτα καὶ ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὴ ἐπιστρατευσαμένους, ἐνυγ-χάνοντας ἡ κολακείας ἡ πλάσμασι.

1 Some mss. have ἄτοπον οὖν ἡγησάμεν. But chaps. (1) and (2) apparently form a single sentence, §§ 4 and 5 being a parenthesis.

a Aramaic or Hebrew.

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

c As Reinach points out, this is exaggerated. At the out-
break of war the Roman Empire was free from disorder.

d i.e. the Germans. The references are respectively to
nacular tongue\(^a\) and sent to the barbarians in the interior.\(^b\)

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

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

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

\(^a\) In the upper Tigris region.
7 (3) Καίτοι γε ιστορίας αὐτὰς ἐπιγράφειν τολμώσιν, ἐν αἷς πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ύπεξ ἔδηλον καὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ δοκοῦσιν ἐμοιγε διαμαρτάνειν. Βούλονται μὲν γὰρ μεγάλους τοὺς Ἦρωμαιός ἀποδεικνύειν, καταβάλλουσιν δὲ ἅπε τὰ Ἰουδαίων καὶ ταπεινοῦ
8 σιν' οὐχ ὁρῶ δέ, πῶς ἂν εἴναι μεγάλοι δοκοῖεν οἱ μικροὶς νενικηκότες; καὶ οὔτε τὸ μήκος αἰδοῦνται τοῦ πολέμου οὔτε τὸ πλήθος τῆς Ἦρωμαιών καμοῦ-
σις στρατιᾶς οὔτε τὸ μέγεθος τῶν στρατηγῶν, οἱ πολλὰ περὶ τοῖς Ἰεροσολύμωι ἰδρώσαντες, οἴμαι, ταπεινομένου τοῦ κατορθώματος αὐτοῖς ἀδο-
ξοῦσιν.

9 (4) ጓν μὴν ἑγώ τοῖς ἐπαίρουσι τὰ Ἦρωμαιῶν ἀντιφιλονεικῶν αὔξειν τὰ τῶν ὄμοφύλων δίεγνω, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἔργα μετὰ ἀκριβείας ἀμφοτέρων δι-
έξειμι, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι λόγους ἀνα-
τίθημι τῇ1 διαθέσει, καὶ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ πάθεσι διδοὺς
10 ἐπολοφύρεσθαι ταῖς τῆς πατρίδος συμφοραῖς. ὦτι
γὰρ αὐτὴν στάσις οἰκεία καθεῖλεν, καὶ τὰς Ἦρω-
μαιῶν χεῖρας ἀκούσας καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὸν [ἲγιον]2

ναὸν εἰλίκυσαν οἱ Ἰουδαίων τύραννοι, μάρτυς αὐτὸς ὁ πορθήσας Κάισαρ Τίτος, ἐν παντὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τοῦ μὲν δῆμον ἑλήσας ὕπο τῶν στασιαστῶν φορο-

ρούμενον, πολλακίς δὲ ἐκὼν τὴν ἀλώσων τῆς

πόλεως ὑπερτιθέμενος καὶ διδοὺς τῇ πολιορκία
11 χρόνον εἰς μετάνοιαν τῶν αὐτίων, εἰ δὲ τις ὁσα

πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἢ τὸ λῃστρικὸν αὐτῶν κατη-

γορικῶς λέγομεν ἢ τοῖς δυστυχήμασι τῆς πατρίδος

ἐπιστένοντες συκοφαντοῖ, διδότω παρὰ τὸν τῆς

1 Holwerda inserts <iδίq>.

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

(4) I have no intention of rivalling those who extol the Roman power by exaggerating the deeds of my compatriots. I shall faithfully recount the actions of both combatants; but in my reflections on the events I cannot conceal my private sentiments, nor refuse to give my personal sympathies scope to bewail my country's misfortunes. For, that it owed its ruin to civil strife, and that it was the Jewish tyrants who drew down upon the holy temple the unwilling hands of the Romans and the conflagration, is attested by Titus Caesar himself, who sacked the city; throughout the war he commiserated the populace who were at the mercy of the revolutionaries, and often of his own accord deferred the capture of the city and by protracting the siege gave the culprits time for repentance. Should, however, any critic censure me for my strictures upon the tyrants or their bands of marauders or for my lamentations over my country's misfortunes, I ask
istorias nómon sugyewmhn tòv pàthei. pólin [μέν] 1

γάρ δή τῶν ύπο Ῥωμαίως πασῶν τήν ἠμετέραν ἐπὶ πλείστον τε εὐδαιμονίας συνεβη προελθείν καὶ

12 πρὸς ἐσχατον συμφορῶν αὐθίς καταπεσείν. τὰ γὰρ πάντων ἀπ’ αἰώνος ἀτυχήματα πρὸς τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἠττήσθαι δοκῶ κατὰ σύγκρισιν, καὶ τούτων αὐτίς οὐδεὶς ἄλλῳφιλος, ὦστε ἀμήχανον ἦν ὠδυρμῶν ἐπικρατείν. εἰ δὲ τις οἶκτου σκληροτερος εἰη δικαστής, τὰ μὲν πράγματα τῆς ἱστορίας προσκριμένω, τὰς δ’ ὀλοφύρσεις τῷ γράφοντι.

13 (5) Καίτοι γε ἐπιτιμήσαμεν ἂν αὐτὸς δικαίως τοῖς Ἑλληνῶν λογίοις, οἱ τηλικούτων κατ’ αὐτοὺς πραγμάτων γεγενημένων, ἡ κατὰ σύγκρισιν ἐλαχίστους ἀποδείκνυσι τοὺς πάλαι πολέμους, τούτων μὲν καθηται κριταί τοῖς φιλοτιμομένοις ἐπηρεάζουτε, ὦν εἰ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ πλεονεκτοῦσι, λειποῦνται τῇ προαιρέσει αὐτοῖς δὲ τὰ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Μήδων συγγραφούσιν ὦσπερ ἦττον καλῶς υπὸ

14 τῶν ἀρχαῖων συγγραφέων ἀπηγγελμένα. καίτοι τοσούτω τῆς ἐκείνων ἠττώνται δυνάμεως εν τῷ γράφειν, ὦσω καὶ τῆς γνώμης τὰ γὰρ καθ’ αὐτοὺς ἐσπούδαζον ἐκαστοι γράφειν, ὦπο καὶ τὸ παρατυχείν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐποίει τὴν ἀπαγγέλθαν ἑναργῇ καὶ τὸ ψεύδεσθαι παρ’ εἰδοπίαν αἰσχρὸν ἦν.

15 τὸ γε μὴν μνήμη τὰ [μη] 2 προϊστοριζέντα διδόναι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἱδίων χρόνων τοῖς μεθ’ ἑαυτῶν συνιστάνειν ἑπαίνου καὶ μαρτυρίας ἰξευν. φιλόπονος δὲ οὖχ ὁ μεταποιῶν οἰκονομίαν καὶ τάξιν ἀλλοτρίαν,

1 P.A.M: om. the rest: Destinon conj. μιαν (after Lat. solam).

2 A. Lat.: om. the rest.

"Literally "which is contrary to the law of history": cf. B. v. 20."
his indulgence for a compassion which falls outside an historian's province.\textsuperscript{a} For of all the cities under Roman rule it was the lot of ours to attain to the highest felicity and to fall to the lowest depths of calamity. Indeed, in my opinion, the misfortunes of all nations since the world began fall short of those of the Jews; and, since the blame lay with no foreign nation, it was impossible to restrain one's grief. Should, however, any critic be too austere for pity, let him credit the history with the facts, the historian with the lamentations.

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

\textsuperscript{a} The historian of contemporary events is superior to the compiler of ancient history.
Ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μετὰ τοῦ καὶνὰ λέγειν καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἱστορίας κατασκευάζων ἰδιον. καγὼ μὲν ἀναλώμασι καὶ πόνοις μεγίστοις ἀλλόφυλος ὡν "Ελλησί τε καὶ Ὄρωμαίοις τὴν μνήμην τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἀνατίθημι· τοῖς δὲ γνησίοις πρὸς μὲν τὰ λήμματα καὶ τὰς δίκας κέχηνεν εὐθέως τὸ στόμα καὶ ἡ γλώσσα λέλυται, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἱστορίαν, ἐνθα χρὴ τάληθη λέγειν καὶ μετὰ πολλοῦ πόνου τὰ πράγματα συλλέγειν, πεφύμωνται παρέντες τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις καὶ μηδὲ γυνώσκουσι τὰς πράξεις τῶν ἡγεμόνων γράφειν. τιμᾶθος δὴ παρ᾽ ἢμῖν τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας ἀληθές, ἐπεὶ παρ᾽ "Ελλησι ἡμέληται.

17 (6) Ἀρχαῖολογεῖν μὲν δὴ τὰ Ἰουδαίων, τίνες τε ὅντες καὶ ὅπως ἀπανέστησαν Αἰγυπτίων, χώραν τε ὅσην ἔπηλθον ἀλώμενοι καὶ πόσα ἔξης κατέλαβον καὶ ὅπως μετανέστησαν, νῦν τε ἄκαιρον ωῆθην εἶναι καὶ ἄλλως περιττόν, ἐπειδὴ περὶ καὶ Ἰουδαίων πολλοὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ τὰ τῶν προγόνων συνετάξαντο μετά ἀκριβείας καὶ τίνες "Ελλήνων ἐκείνα τῇ πατρίῳ φωνῇ μεταβαλόντες οὐ πολὺ.

18 τῆς ἀληθείας διήμαρτον. ὅπου δ′ οἳ τε τοῦτων συγγραφεῖς ἐπαύσαντο καὶ οἱ ἠμέτεροι προφητεύειν τὴν ἁρχὴν ἐκείθεν ποιούμοντι τῆς συντάξεως τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν τοῦ κατ᾽ ἐμαυτὸν πολέμου διεξοδικώτερον καὶ μεθ᾽ ὅσης αὐν ἐξεργασίας δύναμαι διέμι, τὰ δὲ προγενέστερα τῆς ἐμῆς ἡλικίας ἐπιδραμῶ συντόμως.

19 (7) ὡς Ἀντίοχος ὁ κληθείς Ἐπιφανῆς ἐλών

—a Perhaps "successively."
— An allusion to the works of Demetrius, Philo the elder, Eupolemus, etc.; cf. Ap. i. 218, where Josephus speaks in the same terms. Subsequently he thought that these
who uses fresh materials and makes the framework of the history his own. For myself, at a vast expenditure of money and pains, I, a foreigner, present to Greeks and Romans this memorial of great achievements. As for the native Greeks, where personal profit or a lawsuit is concerned, their mouths are at once agape and their tongues loosed; but in the matter of history, where veracity and laborious collection of the facts are essential, they are mute, leaving to inferior and ill-informed writers the task of describing the exploits of their rulers. Let us at least hold historical truth in honour, since by the Greeks it is disregarded.

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

(7) I shall relate how Antiochus, surnamed earlier works still left room for a new "archaeology" (A. i. proem).
κατὰ κράτος Ἰεροσόλυμα καὶ κατασχῶν ἔτεσι τρισὶ καὶ μησίν ἐξ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀσαμωναίου παίδων ἐκβάλλεται τῆς χώρας. ἔπειθ’ ὡς οἱ τούτων ἐγγυοὶ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας διαστασίασαντες εὐλυκυσαν εἰς τὰ πράγματα Ῥωμαίους καὶ Πομπήιον καὶ ὡς Ἡρώδης ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου κατέλυσε
20 τὴν δυναστείαν αὐτῶν ἐπαγαγὼν Σῶσσιον, ὅπως τε ὁ λαὸς μετὰ τὴν Ἡρώδου τελευτὴν κατεστασίασεν Ἀνυόνοτου μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονεύοντος, Ὁμοτιλίου δὲ Ὀνάρου κατὰ τὴν χώραν ὄντος, καὶ ὡς ἔτει δωδεκάτῳ τῆς Νέρωνος ἄρχης ὁ πόλεμος ἀνερράγη, τὰ τε συμβάντα κατὰ Κέστιον καὶ ὅσα κατὰ 1 τὰς πρώτας ὀρμᾶς ἐπῆλθον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς ὀκλοῖς.

21 (8) ὅπως τε τὰς περιοίκους ἐτειχίσαντο, καὶ ὡς Νέρων ἐπὶ τοῖς Κέστιον πταίσμασι δεῖσας περὶ τῶν ὅλων Ὀμεσπασιανόν ἐφίστησι τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ ὡς οὕτως μετὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τῶν παίδων εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίων χώραν ἐνέβαλεν, ὅση τε χρώμενος Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰ καὶ ὅσους σύμμαχους εἰσέπαισεν 2 εἰς ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, καὶ ὡς τῶν πόλεων αὐτῆς ἃς μὲν ὀλοσχερῶς καὶ κατὰ κράτος 22 ἃς δὲ δἰ’ ὀμολογίας ἐλαβέν· ἐνθά δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐν πολέμοις εὐταξίας καὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν τῶν ταγμάτων, τῆς τε Γαλιλαίας ἐκατέρασ τὰ διαστήματα καὶ τὴν φύσιν καὶ τοὺς τῆς Ἰουδαίας ὄρους, ἔτι τε τῆς χώρας τὴν ἱδιότητα, λίμνας τε καὶ πηγὰς τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ τὰ περὶ ἐκάστην πόλιν τῶν ἀλισκομένων πάθη μετὰ ἀκρι

1 παρὰ LVNC.
2 ὅσους συμμάχους εἰσέπαισεν conj. (after Niese and Naber): ὅσοι σύμμαχοι ἐκυπηρεῖαν mss.
Epiphanes, took Jerusalem by storm and, after holding it for three years and six months, was expelled from the country by the Hasmonaeans; next how their descendants, in their quarrel for the throne, dragged the Romans and Pompey upon the scene; how Herod, son of Antipater, with the aid of Sossius, overthrew the Hasmonaean dynasty; of the revolt of the people, after Herod's death, when Augustus was Roman Emperor and Quintilius Varus provincial governor; of the outbreak of war in the twelfth year of Nero's principate, the fate which befell Cestius and the success which attended the Jewish arms in overrunning the country in the opening engagements.

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

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a Gr. "the sons of Asamonaeus."

b Upper and Lower.
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beías, ὥς εἶδον ἡ ἔπαθον, δέειμι. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ τι συμφορῶν ἀποκρύψομαι, μέλλων γε πρὸς εἰδότας ἑρεῖν.

23 (9) Ἐπειθ' ὦς ἦδη καμπύντων Ἰουδαίως τῶν πραγμάτων θνήσκει μὲν Νέρων, Οὐσπασιανὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Ἰεροσολύμων ὁμιμενός ὑπὸ τῆς ἕγερμονίας ἀνθέλκεται τά τε γενόμενα περὶ ταύτης αὐτῷ

24 σημεῖα καὶ τάς ἐπὶ Ὀμής μεταβολᾶς, καὶ ὦς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄκων αὐτοκράτωρ ἀποδείκνυται, καὶ ἀποχωρήσαντος ἐπὶ διοικήσει τῶν ὅλων εἰς τὴν Λίγυπτον ἐστασιάσθη τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὅπως τε ἐπανεστησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ τύραννοι, καὶ τὰς τούτων πρὸς ἄλληλους διαφοράς.

25 (10) καὶ ὦς ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς Λίγυπτος Τίτος δεύτερον εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐνεβάλεν, ὅπως τε τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ ὅπου συνήγαγε καὶ ὅποσα, καὶ ὅπως ἐκ τῆς στάσεως ἡ πόλις διέκειτο παρόντος αὐτοῦ, προσβολᾶς τε ὅσα ἐποιήσατο καὶ ὅποσα χώματα, περιβόλους τε τῶν τριῶν τειχῶν καὶ τὰ μέτρα τούτων, τὴν τε τῆς πόλεως όχυρότητα καὶ

26 τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν διάθεσιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τούτων καὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὰ μέτρα πάντα μετ’ ἀκριβείας, ἐθνὶ τε ἔσχατῳ ἐνια καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ ἄγνειας καὶ τὰς τῶν ἱερέων λειτουργίας, ἔτι δὲ τὰς ἐσθήτας τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερείου, καὶ οἶνον ἣν τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ἁγιον, οὐδὲν οὔτε

"the seven purifications," referring doubtless, as
or personal share in them. For I shall conceal nothing even of my own misfortunes, as I shall be addressing persons who are well aware of them. (9) I shall next relate how, at the moment when the Jewish fortunes were on the decline, Nero's death occurred, and how Vespasian's advance upon Jerusalem was diverted by the call to imperial dignity; the portents of his elevation which he received, and the revolutions which took place in Rome; his proclamation by his soldiers as Emperor against his will; the civil war which, on his departure for Egypt to restore order to the realm, broke out among the Jews, the rise of the tyrants to power and their mutual feuds. (10) My narrative will proceed to tell of the second invasion of our country by Titus, starting from Egypt; how and where he mustered his forces, and their strength; the condition to which civil war had reduced the city on his arrival; his various assaults and the series of earthworks which he constructed; further, the triple line of our walls and their dimensions; the defences of the city and the plan of the temple and sanctuary, the measurements of these buildings and of the altar being all precisely stated; certain festival customs, the seven degrees of purity, the ministerial functions of the priests, their vestments and those of the high priest, with a description of the Holy of Holies. Nothing shall be concealed,

Reinach suggests, to the zones or rings into which the Holy City was divided, and accessible to persons of various degrees of ceremonial purity. A list of these, omitting the innermost ring (the Holy of Holies), is given in the Mishna, Kelim, i. 8 (quoted in Schürer, GJV, ii. 273); Josephus gives an incomplete enumeration in B. v. 227, cf. Ap. ii. 102 ff. b "The holy [place] of the sanctuary."
αποκρυπτόμενος ούτε προστίθεις τοῖς πεφωραμένοις.

27 (11) Ἕπειτα διεξειμι τὴν τε τῶν τυράννων πρὸς τοὺς ὀμοφύλους ὁμότητα καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων φειδῶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλοφύλους, καὶ ὅσακις Τίτος σώσαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐπιθυμῶν ἐπὶ δεξιὰς τοὺς στασιάζοντας προκαλέσατο. διακρινώ δὲ τὰ πάθη τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς, ὅσα τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ὅσα ὑπὸ τῆς στάσεως καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ κακωθέντες ἐάλωσαν. παραλείψω δὲ οὐδὲ τὰς τῶν αὐτομόλων ἀτυχίας οὐδὲ τὰς τῶν αἱχμαλώτων κολάσεις, ὅπως τε ὅ ναὸς ἀκοντος ἐνεπρήσθη Καίσαρος καὶ ὅσα τῶν ἱερῶν κειμηλίων ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἡρπάγη, τὴν τε τῆς ὅλης πόλεως ἀλώσων καὶ τὰ πρὸ ταύτης σημεία καὶ τέρατα, καὶ τὴν αἱχμαλωσίαν τῶν τυράννων, τῶν τε ἀνδραποδισθέντων τὸ πλῆθος καὶ εἰς ἣν ἐκα-
29 στοι τύχην διενεμήθησαν καὶ ὡς Ῥωμαίοι μὲν ἐπεξήλθον τὰ λείψανα τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὰ ἐρυματα τῶν χωρίων καθείλουν, Τίτος δὲ πᾶσαν ἐπιελθὼν τὴν χώραν κατεστήσατο, τὴν τε ὑποστροφὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰς Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὸν θρίαμβον.

30 (12) Ταῦτα πάντα περιλαβὼν ἐν ἐπτὰ βιβλίοις καὶ μηδεμίαν τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις τὰ πράγματα καὶ παρατυχοῦσι τῷ πολέμῳ καταλιπῶν ἢ μέμψεως ἀφορμὴν ἢ κατηγορίας, τοῖς γε τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀγαπῶσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀνέγραψα. ποιήσωμαι δὲ ταύτην τῆς ἐξηγήσεως ἀρχὴν, ἣν καὶ τῶν κεφαλαίων ἐπιησάμην.

31 (i. 1) Στάσεως τοῖς δυνατοῖς Ἰουδαίων ἐμπε-

1 + ἀφορμῶσιν Μ.
nothing added to facts which have been brought to light.¹

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

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

(i. 1) At the time when Antiochus, surnamed

¹ Cf. Ap. ii. 80, 107, for the "discoveries" of Antiochus Epiphanes in the Holy of Holies and the "unspeakable mysteries" supposed to take place there. ² c. 171 B.C.
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ςουσης καθ’ ὅν καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐφη "Επιφάνης διεφέρετο περὶ ὅλης Συρίας πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ἔκτον (ἡ φιλοτημία δ’ ἦν αὐτοῖς περὶ δυναστείας, ἐκάστου τῶν ἐν ἄξιωματι μὴ φέροντο τοῖς ὁμοίοις ὑποτελάχθαι), Ὄνιας μὲν εἰς τῶν ἀρχιερεῶν ἐπικρατήσας ἐξέβαλε τῆς πόλεως τοὺς 32 Τωβία νιών. οἱ δὲ καταφυγόντες πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἰκέτευσαν αὐτοῖς ἥγεμον χρώμενον εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐμβαλεῖν. πείθεται δ’ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁρμήμενος πάλαι, καὶ μετὰ πλείστης δυνάμεως αὐτὸς ὀρμήσας τὴν τε πόλιν αἱρεῖ κατὰ κράτος καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος τῶν Πτολεμαίων προσεχόντων ἀναιρεῖ, ταῖς τε ἀρπαγαίς ἀνέδην ἐπαφεῖς τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτὸς καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐσύλησε καὶ τὸν ἐνδελεχισμὸν τῶν καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐναγισμῶν ἐπαυσεν ἐπ’

33 ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἐξ. ὁ δ’ ἀρχιερεὺς Ὄνιας πρὸς Πτολεμαίον διαφυγὼν καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβὼν τὸν ἐν τῷ Ἡλιοπολίτῃ νομῷ πολίχνην τε τοῖς Ἰεροσολύμοις ἀπεικασμένην καὶ ναὸν ἔκτισεν ὁμοίων: περὶ ὁν ἀδίκης κατὰ χώραν δηλώσομεν.

34 (2) Ἀντίοχος γε μὴν οὔτε τὸ παρ’ ἐλπίδα κρατήσας τῆς πόλεως οὐθ’ αἱ ἄρπαγαί καὶ ὁ τοσοῦτος φόνος ἦρκεσεν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀκραίας παθῶν καὶ κατὰ μνήμην ὁ παρὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐπαθεὶ ἡνάγκαζεν Ἰουδαίοις, καταλύσαντας τὰ πάτρια, βρέφη τε αὐτῶν φυλάττειν ἀπερίτυμτα καὶ σὺς ἐπιθύμειν 35 τῷ βωμῷ πρὸς ἀ πάντες μὲν ἑπείθουν, ἐσφάτ-\[1\] τοντο ὃς ὁ δοκιμώτατοι. καὶ Βακχίδης ὁ πεμ-

1 παρὰ Naber, Niese: περὶ mss.

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

(2) Not content with his unlooked for success in capturing the city and with the plunder and wholesale carnage, Antiochus, carried away by his ungovernable passions and with the rankling memory of what he had suffered in the siege, put pressure upon the Jews to violate the code of their country by leaving their infants uncircumcised and sacrificing swine upon the altar. These orders were disobeyed by all, and the most eminent defaulters were massacred. Bacchides, who was sent by Antiochus to command the Greek word is that elsewhere used for the Lat. parentatio or offering to the manes of the dead. B. vii. 421 ff.

b The mention of Bacchides is, as Reinach notes, an anachronism; he did not appear on the scene till some years later, A. xii. 393, 1 Macc. vii. 8.
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φθεὶς ὑπ’ Ἑ. Ἀντίοχον φρούραρχος, τῇ φυσικῇ προσ-
λαβών ωμότητι τὰ ἁσβην παραγγέλματα παρα-
νομίας οὐδεμίαν κατέλιπεν ύπερβολήν, καὶ κατ’
ἄνδρα τοὺς ἀξιολόγους αἰκιζόμενος καὶ κοινῇ καθ’
horesan ἐνδεικνύμενος ὃπων ἁλώσεως τῇ πόλει,
μέχρι ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς τῶν ἀδικημάτων τοὺς πά-
σχοντας εἰς ἁμύνης τόλμαν ἥρεθισε.

36 (3) Ματθιας γοῦν υἱὸς Ἀσαμωναίου τῶν ἱερέων
 eius ἀπὸ κῶμης Μωδείων ὄνομα, συνασπίσας μετὰ
χειρὸς οἰκείας, πέντε γὰρ νεῖσ ἦσαν αὐτῷ, κοπίσαν
ἀναρέτοι τὸν Βακχίδην. καὶ παραχρήμα μὲν δείσας
τὸ πλῆθος τῶν φρουρῶν εἰς τὰ ὀργα καταφεύγει,

37 προσγενομένων δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ δὴμου πολλῶν ἀναθαρ-
σῆσας κάτεις καὶ συμβαλῶν μᾶχη νικᾷ τοὺς
Ἁ. Ἀντίοχον στρατηγοῦς καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐξελαύνει.
παρελθὼν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς εὑραγίας εἰς δυναστείαν
καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἀρξας τῶν
σφετέρων ἐκόντων, τελευτά Ἰουδὰ τῷ πρεσβυ-
τάτῳ τῶν παιδών καταλιπὼν τὴν ἀρχήν.

38 (4) Ο δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἠρεμήσειν Ἡ. Ἀντίοχον ὑπε-
ελάμβανε, τάς τ’ ἐπιχωρίους συγκροτεῖ δυνάμεις
καὶ πρὸς Ἑρωμαίους πρῶτος ἐποιήσατο φιλίαν,
καὶ τὸν Ἐπιφανῆ πάλιν εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐμβάλ-

lontas1 μετὰ καρτερᾶς πληγῆς ἀνέστειλεν. ἀπὸ δὲ
θερμοῦ τοῦ κατορθώματος ὄρμησιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ
πόλει φρουράν, οὕτω γὰρ ἐκκέκοπτο, καὶ ἐκβα-
λῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἅνω πόλεως συνωθεῖ τοὺς στρατιῶ-
τας εἰς τὴν κάτω. τούτῳ δὲ τοῦ ἀστεοῦ τὸ μέρος

1 A Lat. (vid.): εἰσβάλοντα the rest.

a Mattathias (1 Macc.).
b Apelles according to A. xii. 270; the officer is unnamed
in 1 Macc. ii. 25.
the garrison, with these impious injunctions to back
his innate brutality, was guilty of every excess of
iniquity, torturing distinguished individuals one after
another, and daily parading before the eyes of all
the appearance of a captured city, until by the
extravagance of his crimes he provoked his victims
to venture on reprisals.

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

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

\* According to 1 Macc. ii. 4, Judas was the third of the
five sons.

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

\* Or rather his generals Lysias and Gorgias (1 Macc.).
"Ακρα κέκληται κυριεύσας δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τόν τε χώρον ἐκάθερε πάντα καὶ περιετείχισε, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας σκεύη καὶ τὰ κατασκευάζας εἰς τὸν ναὸν εἰσήγεικεν ὡς τῶν προτέρων μεμιαμ-μένων, βωμόν τε ὕψος ὑποδόμησεν ἔτερον καὶ τῶν ἐναγισμῶν ἠρέστῳ. Λαμβανούσης δὲ ἀρτι τὸ ἱερὸν κατάστημα τῆς πόλεως τελευτά μὲν Ἀντίοχος, κηρονόμος δὲ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἰουδαίων ἀπεχθείας ὁ υἱὸς Ἀντίοχος γίνεται.

40 (5) Συναγαγὼν γοῦν πεζῶν μὲν¹ μυριάδας πέντε, ἐπειδὶ δ᾿ εἰς² πεντακισχιλίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ ὄγδον-κοινὰ ἐμβάλλει διὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἰς τὴν ὀρεινήν. Βηθσουρὸν μὲν οὖν πολίχνην αἱρεῖ, κατὰ δὲ τόπον ὃς καλεῖται Βεθζαχαρία, στενῆς οὕσης τῆς παρόδου, Ἰουδαίας ὑπαντὰ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. πρὶν δὲ συν-άφαι ταῖς φάλαγγας Ἑλεάζαρος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ προϊόν τῶν υψηλότατον τῶν ἐλέφαντῶν πύργῳ τε μεγάλῳ καὶ περιχρύσῳ προτειχίσμασι κεκο-σμημένων, ὑπολαβῶν ἐπ` αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀντίοχον εἶναι τῶν τε ἴδιων ἐκτρέχει πολὺ καὶ διακόψας τὸ στίφος τῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ τὸν ἐλέφαντα διήνυσεν.

43 ἐδικέσθαι μὲν οὖν τοῦ δοκοῦντος εἶναι βασιλείως ὡς οἶος τε ἦν διὰ τὸ υψός, ὁ δὲ τὸ θηρίον ὑπὸ τὴν γαστέρα πλήξας ἐπικατέσεισεν ἐαυτῷ καὶ συν-τριβεῖς ἐπελεύσθησεν, μηδὲν πλέον ὅρασας τοῦ με-γάλους ἐπιβαλέσθαι, θέμενος εὐκλείας ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν ἡμ. ὁ γε μὴν κυβερνῶν τὸν ἐλέφαντα ἰδιωτῆς ἦν· κἂν εἰ συνέβη δὲ εἶναι τὸν Ἀντίοχον, οὐδὲν πλέον

¹ Text emended by Destinon.
² om. eis AM.
master of the temple, he cleansed the whole area and walled it round, replaced the old and polluted vessels for the services by others which he caused to be made and brought into the sanctuary, built another altar and reinstalled the expiatory sacrifices. The city was just recovering its hallowed character when Antiochus died, leaving his son Antiochus heir, alike to his kingdom, and to his detestation of the Jews.

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

a See note on § 32.
b There is an independent account of this battle of the elephants in 1 Macc. vi. 28 ff., of which Josephus made use in his later work (A. xii.).
c According to 1 Macc. vi. 50 (A. xii. 376) Bethsuron was not taken until after the battle.
d Greek "tower."
45 γίνεται δὲ καὶ κληρον τάδελφῳ τῆς οὖν παρατάξεως: καρτερῶς μὲν γὰρ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διηγούνταστο, πλὴθεὶ δὲ ὑπερέχουσε οἱ βασιλικοὶ καὶ δεξιὰ χρησάμενοι τύχη κρατοῦσι, καὶ πολλῶν ἀναιρεθέντων τῶν λοιπῶν ἑκὼν Ἰουδας εἰς τὴν Γοφνυτικὴν τοπαρχίαν φεύγει.

46 'Αντίόχος δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ καθίσας ὁλίγας ἡμέρας ἐν αὐτῇ κατὰ σπάνιον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπανιστάτας, καταληπτῶν μὲν φρουρὰν ὅτεν ἀποχρήσειν ὑπελάμβανε, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν δύναμιν ἀπαγάγων χειμερινῶς εἰς τὴν Συρίαν.

47 (6) Πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὑποχώρησιν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰουδας ὡκύ ἤρέμει, προσγενομένων δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐθνὸς πολλῶν καὶ τοὺς διασωθέντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐπισυγκροτήσας κατὰ κόμην Ἀκέδασαν¹ συμβάλλει τοῖς 'Αντίόχου στρατηγοῖς, καὶ φανεῖσ ἄριστος κατὰ τὴν μάχην πολλοὺς τε τῶν πολεμίων ἀποκτείνας ἀναιρεῖται. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ὁλίγας ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννης ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν τα 'Αντίόχου φρονοῦντων τελευτᾶ.

48 (ii. 1) Διαδεξάμενος δὲ τούτον ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἰωάννης τὰ τε ἄλλα πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους διὰ φυλακῆς ἤγεν ἑαυτόν, καὶ τῇ πρὸς Ἰρωμαίους φιλία τῇ ἄρχῃ ἐκρατύνατο, πρὸς τε τῶν 'Αντίόχου

¹ Ἰδασα Lat., perhaps rightly; cf. A. xii. 408.

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

2 Strictly Nicanor, the general of Demetrius, 1 Mace. vii. 39 ff.
daring assailant would have gained but the reputa-
tion of courting death in the bare expectation of a
brilliant exploit. To Eleazar's brother the incident
proved an omen of the issue of the engagement.
For, long and stubborn as was the resistance of the
Jews, the king's forces, with superior numbers and
favoured by fortune, were victorious; and, after
the loss of many of his men, Judas fled with the
remainder to the province of Gophna. Antiochus
proceeded to Jerusalem, where, owing to a shortage
of supplies, he stayed but a few days; he then left
what he considered a sufficient garrison and with-
drew the rest of his army to winter quarters in Syria.

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

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

c Judas was slain, not at the battle of A(ce)dasa, but in a
later engagement at Elasa (1 Macc. ix. 5) or Berzetho
(A. xii. 422).

d Cf. 1 Macc. ix. 35 f.; A. xiii. 10 f.

e 1 Macc. xii. 1-4; A. xiii. 164 f.

f Greek "the son of Antiochus," i.e. presumably of
Antiochus IV Epiphanes. But the reference must be to
the treaty of Jonathan with Antiochus VI Dionysus, 1 Macc.
xi. 57, A. xiii. 145. Josephus has confused Antiochus V
and Antiochus VI.
παίδα διαλλαγάς ἐποιήσατο. οὐ μήν τι τούτων ἦρκεσεν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν. Τρύφων γὰρ ὁ τύραννος, ἐπίτροπος μὲν ὁν τοῦ Ἀντιόχου παιδός, ἐπιβουλεύων δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πρόσθεν, ἀποσκευάζοντα τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ πειρόμενος, ἤκοντα τὸν Ἰωνάθην σὺν ὅλγοις εἰς Πιτολεμαίδα πρὸς Ἀντιόχου δόλω συλλαμβάνει καὶ δῆσας ἀπ' Ἰουδαίαν στρατεύει· εἰτ' ἀπελαθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σίμωνος, ὃς ἦν ἄδελφος τοῦ Ἰωνάθου, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἦτταν ἄργισμένος κτείνει τὸν Ἰωνάθην.

50 (2) Σίμων δὲ γενναίως ἀφηγούμενος τῶν πραγμάτων αἰρεῖ μὲν Γάζαρα χει καὶ Ἰόπην καὶ Ἰάμνειαν τῶν προσοικών, κατέσκαψε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄκραν τῶν φοροῦντος κρατήσας. αὕτης δὲ γίνεται καὶ Ἀντιόχω σύμμαχος κατὰ Τρύφων, ὅπως ἐν Δώρῳ πρὸ τῆς ἑπτά Μήδους στρατεύει· ἐποιήσατο 

51 θεὶς ἐξεδυσώπησε τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως πλεονέξιαν Τρύφωνα συνεξελών· μετ' οὐ πολυ γὰρ Ἀντίοχος Κενδεβαῖον τὸν αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν μετὰ δυνάμεως δηώσοντα τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπεμβεν 

52 καὶ καταδουλωσόμενον Σίμωνα. ὃ δὲ καίτοι γενναίος ὁν νεανικωτέρον ἀφηγήσατο τοῦ πολέμου τους μὲν τοι γε νικείς αὐτοῦ· μετὰ τῶν ἐρρωμενοστάτων προσεπέμπει, αὐτοῦ δὲ μοίραν τῆς δυνάμεως ἀναλαβῶν ἐπηέει κατ' ἀλλὸ μέρος. πολλοὺς δὲ πολλαχοῦ καὶ τοῖς ὀρεσὶ προλοχίσας πάσας κρατεῖ ταῖς ἐπιβολαίς, καὶ νικήσας λαμπρῶς ἀρχιερεὺς ἀποδείκνυται καὶ τῆς Μακεδόνων ἐπι-

1 Bernard (cf. A. xiii. 215): Γάζαν or Ζαρά mss.
2 M Lat.: ἐπὶ αὐτῶν the rest.

a Cf. 1 Macc. xii. 39 ff.; A. xiii. 187 ff.
None, however, of these precautions proved a sufficient protection. For the tyrant Trypho, guardian of the young Antiochus, who was already conspiring against his ward and attempting to make away with his friends, treacherously arrested and imprisoned Jonathan, when on a mission with a small retinue to Antiochus at Ptolemais, and started on a campaign against Judaea. Repulsed by Simon, Jonathan's brother, and indignant at his defeat he then put his captive to death.  

(2) Simon's administration of affairs was excellent. He captured the towns of Gazara, Joppa, and Jamnia, in the vicinity of the capital, and, after overpowering the garrison at Jerusalem, razed the citadel to the ground. Subsequently, he made alliance with Antiochus against Trypho, whom the king, before his expedition against the Medes, was besieging at Dora. Yet Simon's contribution to the fall of Trypho failed to shame the king out of his cupidity; for not long after Antiochus sent his general Cendebaeus at the head of an army to ravage Judaea and make a vassal of Simon. The latter, though advanced in years, took command of the war with juvenile energy; and, sending his sons ahead with the most able-bodied of his troops, proceeded himself, with a division of his army, to the attack on another front. Having, further, posted numerous ambuscades in different parts of the hills, he was successful in all the engagements, and after a brilliant victory was appointed high-priest and liberated the Jews from Greek "Acra"; A. xiii. 215 shows that Jerusalem is referred to.  

A. xiii. 225-227. From this point the two narratives in B. and A. are closely parallel.
κρατείας μετά ἕκατὸν καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ἐτη τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀπαλλάττει.

54 (3) Θυνάσκει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἐν συμποσίῳ ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ γαμβροῦ, ὅσ αὐτοῦ τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς δύο παιδὰς ἐγκαθείρξας ἐπὶ τὸν τρίτον Ἰωάννην, ὅσ καὶ Ὀρκανὸς ἐκαλεῖτο, τοὺς ἀναίρησοντας ἐπεμψεν. προγνοὺς δὲ τὴν ἐφοδον ὁ νεανίσκος παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἧπειροτε, πλείστον τῷ λαῷ πεποιθὼς κατὰ τε μνήμην τῶν πατρῶν κατορθωμάτων καὶ μίσος τῆς Πτολεμαίου παρανομίας. ὦρμησε δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαίος εἰσελθείν καθ' ἐτέραν πύλην, ἐξεκρούσθη γε μήν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ταχέως δεδεγ-μένων ἢδη τὸν Ὀρκανὸν. καὶ ὁ μὲν παραχήμα 

55 ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὶ τῶν ὑπέρ Ἰεριχούντος ἐρυμάτων, ὦ Δαγὼν καλεῖται: κομισάμενος δὲ τὴν πατρῷαν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ὀρκανὸς καὶ θύσας τῷ θεῷ μετὰ τάχους ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίον ὦρμησεν θη-θῆσαν τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄδελφοις.

56 (4) Καὶ προσβαλὼν τῷ φρουρίῳ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κρείττων ἦν, ἤττάτο δὲ δικαίου πάθους. ὁ γὰρ Πτολεμαῖος ὅποτε καταπονοῖτο, τὴν τε μητέρα καὶ τοὺς ἄδελφους αὐτοῦ προάγων ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους εἰς ευσύνοπτον ἥκιστο καὶ κατακρημνίσθεν, εἰ μὴ 

57 θάπτον ἀπανασταίη, διηπείλει. πρὸς ἁ τὸν μὲν Ὀρκανὸν ὄργης πλείων οἴκτος εἰσῆλθε καὶ δέος, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ οὔδὲν ὀυτε πρὸς τὰς αἰκίας οὔτε πρὸς τὸν ἀπειλοῦμενον αὐτῇ θάνατον ἐνδιδοῦσα χείρας ὄφεγε καὶ κατηντιβόλει τὸν παιδὰ μῆτι πρὸς τὴν 

58 Reckoning from 312 B.C., the first year of the Seleucid era: according to this reckoning Simon’s high priesthood 28
the Macedonian supremacy which had lasted for 170 years.²

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

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

dates from c. 142 B.C., i.e. from the beginning of his leadership, where it is placed in the parallel account in A. xiii. 213. Cf. 1 Macc. xiii. 41 f., “In the hundred and seventieth year was the yoke of the heathen taken away from Israel,” and Jerusalem started a new era of its own.
αὐτῆς ὑβριν ἐπικλασθέντα φείσασθαι τοῦ δυσσέβους, ὡς αὐτῇ γε κρείττονα τὸν ἐκ Πτολεμαίου θάνατον ἀθανασίας εἶναι δόντος δίκαι ἐφ' οίς εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῶν παρηνόμησεν. ὦ δὲ Ἰωάννης ὅποτε μὲν ἐνθυμηθεὶς τὸ παράστημα τῆς μητρὸς καὶ κατακούσει τῆς ἱκεσίας, ὦμητο προσβάλλει, ἐπειδὰν δὲ κατίδοι τυπτομένην τε καὶ σπαραττομένην, ἐθηλύνετο καὶ τοῦ πάθους ὀλος ἦν.

τριβομένης δὲ διὰ ταῦτα τῆς πολιορκίας ἐπέστη τὸ ἀργὸν ἔτος, ὦ κατὰ ἐπταετίαν ἀργεῖται παρὰ Ἰουδαίους ὁμοίως ταῖς ἐβδομάδιν ἡμέραις. καὶ τούτω Πτολεμαίος ἀνεθεὶς τῆς πολιορκίας ἀναίρει τοὺς ἄδελφους Ἰωάννου σὺν τῇ μητρὶ καὶ φεύγει πρὸς Ζήνωνα τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Κοτυλάν. Φιλαδελφείας δ' ἦν τύμανος.

(5) 'Αντίοχος δὲ κατ' ὀργὴν ὃν ὑπὸ Σίμωνος ἐπαθεῖν στρατεύσας εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπολιορκεῖ τὸν Ἰρκανών προσκαθεξόμενος τοῖς Ἰεροσολύμοις. ὥ δὲ τὸν Δαυίδου τάφον ἀνοίξας, ὅς δὴ πλουσιώτατος βασιλέων ἐγένετο, καὶ ὠφέλομεν ὑπὲρ τρισχίλια τάλαντα χρημάτων τὸν τε 'Αντίοχον ἀνίστησι τῆς πολιορκίας πείσας τριακοσίων ταλάντους, καὶ δὴ καὶ ξενοτροφεῖν πρῶτος Ἰουδαίων ἐκ τῆς περιουσίας ἠρέστατο.

(6) Ἀδῆς γε μὴν ὡς 'Αντίοχος ἐπὶ Μήδους στρατεύσας καιρὸν ἁμύνης αὐτῷ παρεῖχεν, εὐθέως ὀρμησέν ἐπὶ τᾶς ἐν Συρίᾳ πόλεις, κενάς, ὅπερ ἦν.

1 ἐπειδάν δὲ mss.: ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτ Niese.

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a The sabbatical year: Lev. xxxv. 1.
b So A. vii. 393: in the parallel account in A. xiii. 249
by her outrageous treatment to spare the monster; to her, death at Ptolemy’s hands would be better than immortality, if he paid the penalty for the wrongs which he had done to their house. John, as often as he took his mother’s unflinching courage to heart and gave ear to her entreaties, was impelled to the assault; but, when he beheld her beaten and mangled, he was unmanned and quite overcome by emotion. The siege consequently dragged on until the year of repose came round, which is kept septennially by the Jews as a period of inaction, like the seventh day of the week. Ptolemy, now relieved of the siege, put John’s brethren and their mother to death and fled to Zeno, surnamed Cotulas, the despot of Philadelphia.

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

(6) Subsequently, however, the campaign of Antiochus against the Medes gave him an opportunity for revenge. He at once flew upon the cities of Syria, expecting to find them, as he did, drained of efficient Hyrcanus did not open the tomb until after the departure of Antiochus.

The account in A. xiii. 250 ff., is more trustworthy. There Hyrcanus joins Antiochus in his expedition against the Parthians (here called “Medes”) in 130 B.C.; his attack on the Syrian cities only began after the death of Antiochus in 129 B.C.
63 ὑπολαμβάνων τῶν μαχιμωτέρων εὐφρήσειν. Μεδάβην μὲν οὖν καὶ Σαμαγάν ἀμα ταῖς πλησίον, ἐτὶ δὲ Σίκιμα καὶ Ἀργαρίζων αὐτῶς1 αἴρει, πρὸς αἰς τὸ Χουθαίων γένος, οἱ περιώκουν τὸ εἰκασθέν τῷ ἐν 'Ιεροσολύμοις ιερόν.2 αἴρει δὲ καὶ τῆς 'Ἰδομαίας ἄλλας τῇ οὐκ οἷγας καὶ 'Ἀδωρεῦν καὶ Μάρισαι.

64 (7) Προελθών δὲ καὶ μέχρι Σαμαρειάς, ἔνθα νῦν ἔστιν Σεβαστὴ πόλις υφʿ Ἡρώδου κτισθείσα τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ πάντοθεν αὐτὴν ἀποτειχίσας τοὺς νείς ἐπέστησε τῇ πολιορκίᾳ Ἀριστόβουλον καὶ Ἀντίγονον· ὃν οὐδὲν ἀνιεντῶν λιμοῦ μὲν εἰς τοσοῦτον προῆλθον οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἅφα-65 σθαί καὶ τῶν ἀγθεστάτων. ἐπικαλοῦνται δὲ βοηθῶν 'Ἀντίοχον τοῦ ἐπικληθέντα Ἀσπένδιον3 κακείνος ἐτοίμως ὑπακούσας ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἀριστόβουλον ἠττᾶται. καὶ ο μὲν μέχρι Σκυθοπόλεως διωχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐκφεύγει, οἱ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοὺς Σαμαρείς ὑποστρέφαντες τὸ τα πλήθος πάλιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος συγκλείουσιν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἑλόντες αὐτὴν τε κατασκάπτουσι καὶ τοὺς ἐν-66 οικούντας ἐξηνδραποδίσαντο. προχωροῦντων δὲ τῶν κατορθωμάτων τὴν ὀρμήν οὐ κατέψυξαν, ἀλλὰ προελθόντες ἀμα τῇ δυνάμει μέχρι τῆς Σκυθο-πόλεως ταύτην τε κατέδραμον καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς Καρ-μήλου τοῦ ὀροὺς χώραν ἄπασαν κατενείμαντο.

67 (8) Πρὸς δὲ τὰς εὐπραγίας αὐτοῦ τε Ἰωάννοι καὶ τῶν παίδων φθόνοις ἐγείρει στάσιν τῶν ἐπι-χωρίων, καὶ πολλοὶ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν συνελθόντες οὐκ ἠρέμουν, μέχρι καὶ πρὸς φανερῶν πόλεμον ἑκ·

1 I. (in parallel passage) has εἴθεσ : ? read οὕτως.
2 Niese: iερφ mss.
3 Ἀσπένδιον mss.
troops. He thus captured Medabe and Samaga with the neighbouring towns, also Sichem and Argarizin, besides defeating the Cuthaeans, the race inhabiting the country surrounding the temple modelled on that at Jerusalem. He further took numerous cities in Idumæa, including Adoreon and Marisa.

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

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

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

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

c Literally "within," i.e. "this side of."
68 ῥυπισθέντες ἦττώντας, το λοιπὸν δ’ ἐπιβιοῦς ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ Ἰωάννης καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν κάλλιστα διωκῆσας ἐνὶ καὶ τριάκοντα οὖν έτεσών ἐπὶ πέντε ύιοὶς τελευτᾶ, μακαριστὸς οὖν καὶ κατὰ μηδὲν ἐάσας ἐφ’ ἑαυτῷ μεμφθήναι τὴν τύχην. τρία γοῦν τὰ κρατιστεύοντα μόνος εἶχεν, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην καὶ προ-
69 φητείαν. ὁμιλεῖ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον ὡς μηδὲν τῶν μελλόντων ἀγνοεῖν, ὥσε καὶ περὶ δύο τῶν πρεσβυτέρων νιῶν ὃτι μὴ διαμενούσι κύριοι τῶν πραγμάτων προειδέν τε καὶ προεφήτευσέν των τὴν καταστροφὴν ἄξιον ἀφηγήσασθαι, παρ’ ὅσον τῆς πατρῴας εὐδαιμονίας ἀπέκλιναν.

70 (iii. 1) Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήν τὸ πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν Ἀριστόβουλος, τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς βασιλείαν μεταθεῖσ, περιτίθεται μὲν διάδημα πρῶτος μετὰ τετρακοσιοστόν καὶ ἐβδομηκοστόν πρῶτον ἔτος, πρὸς δὲ μήνας τρεῖς, ἐξ οὗ κατῆκεν ὁ λαὸς εἰς τὴν χώραν ἀπαλλαγεῖς τῆς ἐν Βαβυλὼνι.
71 δουλείας· τῶν δὲ ἀδελφῶν τὸν μὲν μεθ’ ἑαυτῶν Ἀντίγονον, ἐδόκει γὰρ ἀγαπᾶν, ἤγεν ἰσοτίμως, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐγρυνυσι δήσας. δέσμει δὲ καὶ τὴν μυτέρα διενεχθέειν περὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας, ταύτην γὰρ κυρίαν τῶν οἶλων ὁ Ἰωάννης ἀπολελοίπει, καὶ μέχρι τοσαύτης ἄμοιτος προῆλθεν, ὡστε καὶ λιμῷ διαφθείραν δεδεμένην.

72 (2) Περιέρχεται δὲ αὐτὸν ἡ ποινή εἰς τὸν

1 εἰ (with Hegesippus) Niese, cf. A. xiii. 299, xx. 240: εὶ τρισίν μss. Lat., EN Ι having perhaps been read as EN Γ'.
2 AM: κατῆκεν the rest.
3 AMC: αἰτήσ(ν) the rest.
4 AM: τίσις the rest.

481 years according to A. xiii. 301. Both numbers are
rebels were defeated. For the rest of his days John lived in prosperity, and, after excellently directing the government for thirty-one whole years, died leaving five sons; truly a blessed individual and one who left no ground for complaint against fortune as regards himself. He was the only man to unite in his person three of the highest privileges: the supreme command of the nation, the high priesthood, and the gift of prophecy. For so closely was he in touch with the Deity, that he was never ignorant of the future; thus he foresaw and predicted that his two elder sons would not remain at the head of affairs. The story of their downfall is worth relating, and will show how great was the decline from their father's good fortune.

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

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

\[b\] See §§ 81 ff.
ἀδελφὸν Ἀντίγονον, δόν ἡγάπα τε καὶ τῆς βασιλείας κοινωνιῶν εἶχεν· κτείνει γὰρ καὶ τούτον ἐκ διαβολῶν, ἂς οἱ πονηροὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἐνεσκευάσαντο. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα διηπίστει τοῖς λεγομένοις ὁ Αριστόβουλος, ἀτε δὴ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀγαπῶν καὶ διδοὺς φθόνῳ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν λογοποιούμενων. ὥσ δὲ ὁ Ἀντίγονος λαμπρὸς ἀπὸ στρατείας ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν, ἐν ἕκκηνοποιεῖσθαι πάτριον τῶν θεῶν, συνέβη μὲν καὶ ἐκείνης τὰς ἡμέρας νόσῳ χρήσασθαι τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον, τὸν δὲ Ἀντίγονον ἐπὶ τέλει τῆς ἑορτῆς ἀναβάντα μετα τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὀπλιτῶν, ὡς ἐνενεκόλιστα κεκοσμημένον, προσκυνήσας τὸ πλέον ὑπὲρ τάδελφοῦ. καὶ τούτῳ προσιόντες οἱ πονηροὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς πομπῆς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐδήλουν καὶ τὸ παράστημα τοῦ Ἀντίγονον μείζον ἡ κατ’ ἰδιώτην, ὅτι τε παρείς1 μετὰ μεγίστου συντάγματος ἀναιρήσων αὐτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἀνέχεσθαι τιμῆν μόνον ἐκ βασιλείας ἔχων, παρὸν αὐτὴν κατασχεῖν.

73 (3) Τούτως κατὰ μικρὸν ἄκων ἔπιστευσεν ὁ Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ προνοῶν τοῦ μῇθ’ ὑποπτεύων φανερὸς γενέσθαι καὶ προησφαλίσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἅδηλον καθίστησι2 μὲν τοὺς σωματοφύλακας ἐν τινὶ τῶν ὑπογαίων ἀλαμπεί, κατέκειτο δ’ ἐν τῇ Βάρει πρῶτερον αὕθας δ’ Ἀντωνία μετονομασθείσῃ, προστάζας ἀνόπλου μὲν ἀπέχεσθαι, κατείνει δὲ τοῖς Ἀντίγονον, εἰ μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν προσίοι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπεμψε τοὺς προεροῦντας ἄν ὀπλῶν ἐλθεῖν. πρὸς τούτῳ πάνυ πανούργως ἡ βασιλείσσα συντάσσεται μετὰ τῶν ἐπιβούλων

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

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

* The autumn feast of Sukkoth or Tabernacles.
τούς γὰρ πεμφθέντας πείθουσιν τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως σωπῆσαι, λέγειν δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον ώς ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἀκούσας ὅπλα τε αὐτῶ παρεσκευακέναι κάλλιστα καὶ πολεμικὸν κόσμον ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, διὰ μὲν τὴν ἀσθένειαν αὐτὸς ἐπιδεῖν ἐκαστὰ κωλυθεῖν, νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ καὶ χωρίζεσθαι μέλλοις, θεάσατ' ἁν ἦδιστα σε ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς.  
77 (4) Ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀντίγονος, ἐνήγεε δ' ἡ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ διάθεσις μηδὲν ὑποπτεύειν πονηρῶν, ἐχώρει μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν, ώς πρὸς ἐπιδείξειν. γενόμενος δὲ κατὰ τὴν σκοτεινὴν πάροδον, Στράτωνος ἐκαλεῖτο πῦργος, ὑπὸ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἀναίρεται, βέβαιον ἀποδείξας ὅτι πᾶσαν εὐνοιαν καὶ φύσιν κόπτει διαβολή καὶ οὐδὲν ὑπό τῶν ἀγαθῶν παθῶν ἱσχυρόν, ὁ τῷ φθονῷ μέχρι παντὸς ἀντέχει.  
78 (5) Ὁσιάσαι δ' ἂν τις ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἰουδαί, Ἔσσαιος ἢν γένος οὐκ ἔστω ὅτε πταίσας ἡ πενθεῖς ἐν τοῖς προαπαγγέλμασιν, οὐ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τότε τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐθέασατο παρ᾽ ὅς ἱερῶ, πρὸς τοὺς γνωρίμους ἀνέκραγεν, ἦσαν δ' οὐκ ὁλίγοι παρεδρεύοντες αὐτῷ τῶν μανθανόντων, "παπαί, νῦν ἐμοὶ καλόν," ἐφη, "τὸ θανεῖν, ὅτε μου1 προτέθηκεν ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ τι τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ προρρηθετῶν διέλυσαι; εἰ, γὰρ Ἀντίγονος οὕτως σήμερον ὀφείλων ἀνηρήσασε. χωρίον δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς σφαγῆν Στράτωνος πῦργος εἰμαρτο- καὶ τούτο μὲν ἀπὸ ἐξακοσίων ἐντεῦθεν σταδίων ἐστιν, ὥρᾳ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἢδη τέσσαρες. ὁ δ' ἤθος ἀκρούει τῷ μάντευμα." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν σκυ- θρωπός ἐπὶ συννοίας ὁ γέρων διεκαρτέρει, καὶ 1 Niese: μοι mss.
messengers to keep the king's orders to themselves, and instead to tell Antigonus that his brother had heard that he had procured for himself some very fine armour and military decorations in Galilee; that illness prevented him from paying a visit of inspection; "but, now that you are on the point of departure, I shall be very glad to see you in your armour."

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

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

a For the Essenes as prophets see B. ii. 159 with note.
μετ' ὀλίγον ἀνηρμένος Ἀντίγονος ἡγγέλλετο κατὰ τὸ ὑπόγαιον χωρίον, δ' ὁ δὴ καὶ ἄυτό Στράτωνος ἐκαλεῖτο πύργος, ὀμοιωμοῦν τῇ παραλίῳ Καυσαρείᾳ. τοῦτο γοῦν τὸν μάντιν διετάραξεν.

81 (6) Ἀριστοβούλω γε μὴν εὐθὺς ἥπερ τοῦ μέσους μεταμέλεια νόσον ἐνσκήπτει καὶ πρὸς ἔννοιαν τοῦ φόνου τῆς ψυχῆς ἔχων ἀεὶ τεταραγμένην συνετήκετο, μέχρι τῶν σπλάγχνων ὑπ' ἀκράτου τῆς λύπης σπαραττομένων ἀθρούν αἶμα

82 ἀναβάλλει. τοῦτο τις τῶν ἐν τῇ θεραπείᾳ παιδῶν ἐκφέρων δαμονίως προνοίᾳ σφάλλεται καθ' ὅν τόπον Ἀντίγονος ἔσφακτο, καὶ φαινομένοις ἔτι τοῖς ἁπὸ τοῦ φόνου σπίλοις τῷ αἴμα τοῦ κτείναντος ἐπεξέχεεν. ἡρθη δ' εὐθὺς οἰμωγή τῶν θεασμένων, ὡσπερ ἐπίτηδες τοῦ παιδός ἐκεῖ ἐπικατα-

83 σπείσαντος τῷ αἴμα. τῆς δὲ βοῆς ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπινθάνετο, καὶ μηδενὸς τολμῶντος εἰπεῖν μᾶλλον ἐνέκειτο μαθεῖν ἐθέλων· τέλος δ' ἀπειλοῦτι καὶ βιαζομένως τάληθες εἶπον. ὁ δὲ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐμπίπλησε δακρύων καὶ

84 ὑπενάξας ὧσον ἡν αὐτῷ δύναμις εἶπεν: "οὐκ ἁρα θεοῦ μέγαν ὀφθαλμόν ἐπ' ἔργως ἀθεμίτους λήσειν ἐμελλον, ἀλλὰ μὲ ταχεία μετεισὶ δίκη φόνου συγγενοῦς. μέχρι τοῦ 1 μοι, σῶμα ἀναιδε- στατον, τὴν ἀδελφῷ καὶ μητρὶ κατάκριτων ψυχῆν καθέξεις; μέχρι τοῦ 2 ἄυτοις ἐπισπείσως κατὰ μέρος τοῦμον αἴμα; λαβέτωσαν ἀθρόον τοῦτο, καὶ μηκέτι ταῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν σπλάγχνων χοαις

1 Niese: τοῦ mss.
2 Destinon (with Lat.): αὐτὸς mss.
little later came the news that Antigonus had been slain in the underground quarter, also called, like the maritime Caesarea, Strato's Tower. It was this identity of names which had disconcerted the seer.

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

\[ a\] For Strato's Tower on the coast, afterwards rebuilt by Herod the Great and renamed Caesarea, see B. i. 408 ff. The quarter in Jerusalem so called is not mentioned elsewhere except in the parallel passage in A. xiii.
épeirswenévsthw toù daimónion." taut' eipôn ev'thèwos teleutá basileúsas ou' pleión éniautov.

85 (iv. 1) Lússa sa ð' ħ gnū tòus āδelφous āutòv basileá kathísthsan 'Aléxandron, tôn kai kath' ħlikías kai metrikhthtπ prou̇chewn dokou̇nta. ō dè parélthow eis tìn ħkousian tôn ħteron mèn tón āδelφωn basilei̇wnta kteinèi, tôn dè katalmp̄vnomènov āgapównta tò ħnìn díchà pragmatón eìchewn eìn tımı̇̄.1

86 (2) Gínetai ð' autò kai prós tôn Láthouron ēpiklhènta Ptolēmaímón symbólh póliw 'Asoχhìn ħrhkótâ, kai polllous mèn āneîlēn tòw polleímwô, ħ' dè níkè prá̇s Ptolēmaímón ērreîfèn. ἐpèi ð' oŭtòs ħpò tìs ħptròs Klēspáttras dìwkhthic eìs Aû̄γυπtnon ānekhw̄rhi̇fèn, .Aléxandros Γαdáρwôn te poliōrkia kratèi kai 'Amabhoutos, ð' dè mégi̇stô mèn ħn èrmia tòn ħpèr Iordânąn, tâ tímivótata dê tòn Thēdówrou tòu Zēnwos kτhmatôn ħn èn 87 autòw. ἐpêlthown ð' ħkai̇fhnos ὁ Thēdówros tâ te σfétera kai τìn tòu basileòwos ἀposkeuûn aîreî, tòw ð' Ioudaîwôn eìs mu̇rîous kteînèi. gínetai ð' ħpànow tìs plēḡhns 'Aléxandros kai trapaîménov eìs tìn parálwôn aîreî Γά̀zαn te kai 'Râfiai̇n kai 'Anbhdôna tìn aû̄thi̇s ὑφ' 'Hrâdou tòu basileòw 'Agrh̄p̄vvadiâ ēpikklhtheîsan.

88 (3) 'Eξανdρapodhìsmênò de tautas ēpanîstastaì tò 'Ioudaiìkon èn èortì̇̄. málîsta gár èn tâis

1 èn tımı̄̄ om. mss.: inserted by Hudson from A. xiii. 323.

a Salina (c.f. Salome) or Alexandra, A. xiii. 320. Though Josephus never expressly says so, it appears certain that besides the throne, she gave Alexander Jannaeus her hand in marriage. For her subsequent reign see § 107.
offerings from my entrails." With these words on his lips he expired, after a reign of no more than a year.

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{a} Or "loved."

\textsuperscript{b} Or "loved."

\textsuperscript{c} More correctly to Cyprus, where he reigned after his expulsion by Cleopatra from the throne of Egypt; \textit{A. xiii.} 328, 358.

\textsuperscript{d} See \textit{B. i.} 416 (where the name is given as Agrippeion).
eunychiæs autôn stásis áppetai. kai édókei µή ἃν κρείττων γενέσθαι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, εἰ µὴ τὸ ἕξενικὸν αὐτῶ parébōþēre. Πισίδαι καὶ Κίλικες ἦσαν. Σύρους γὰρ οὐκ ἐδέχετο μισοθοφόρους διὰ τὴν ἐμφυτὸν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος ἀπέχθειαν.

90 ὁπέπα ὑμβαλὼν Ἄραβων βασιλεῖ προλοχίσαντι κατὰ τὴν Γαυλάνην ἐνέδρας αὐτῶ γενομένης πᾶσαν ἀποβάλλει τὴν στρατιάν, συνωσθείσαν κατὰ βαθείας φάραγγος καὶ πλήθει καμήλων συντριβείσαν. διαφυγὼν δ' αὐτὸς εἰς Ἡροσόλυμα τῷ μεγέθει τῆς συμφορᾶς πάλα

91 µισοῦν τὸ ἔθνος ἦρθοιεν εἰς ἐπανάστασιν. γίνεται δὲ καὶ τότε κρείττων καὶ μάχαις ἐπαλλήλως οὐν ἐλαττον πεντακισμυρίων Ἰουδαίων ἀνείλεν ἐν εἰ ἐτεσίν. οὐ µὴν εὐφραίνετο γε ταῖς νῖκαις τῇ ἐαυτῷ βασιλείαν ἀνάλίσκων. οἶν πανοσάμενο τῶν ὀπλῶν λόγους ἐπεχείρει διαλύεσθαι πρὸς τοῦ

92 ύποτεταγμένοις. οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐμίσουν τὴν μετά νοιαν αὐτὸ καὶ τοῦ τρόπου τὸ ἀνώμαλον, πυνθα νομέων τε [τὸ αὑτῶν] τί ἢν ποιήσας καταστείλεις αὐτοὺς, ἀποθανόν, ἐλεγον νεκρῶ γὰρ ἂν διαλ λαγήναι µόλις τὸ τοσαῦτα δράσαντι. ἀµα δὲ κα τὸν Ἀκαιρὸν ἐπικληθέντα Δημήτριον ἐπεκαλοῦντο

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

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

93 (5) Δέχεται δ' ἐκατέρως Ἀλέξανδρος ἱππεὺσι μὲν χιλίοις, μισθοφόροις δὲ πεζοῖς ὀκτακισχίλιοις· παρῆν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ εὐνοοῦν Ἰουδαῖκον εἰς μιρίους. τῶν δ' ἐναντίων ἱππεῖς μὲν ἦσαν τρισ-
χίλιοι, πεζῶν δὲ μύριοι τετρακισχίλιοι. καὶ πρὶν εἰς χείρας ἐλθεῖν διακηρύσσοντες οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐπει-
ρώντο τῶν παρ' ἄλληλοις ἀποστάσεσιν, Δημήτριος μὲν τοὺς 'Ἀλέξανδρον μισθοφόρους, 'Ἀλέξανδρος
dὲ τοὺς ἄμα Δημήτριῳ Ἰουδαίοις μεταπείσειν
94 ἐλπίσας. ὥσ δ' οὔτε οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι θυμῶν, οὔτε οἱ Ἐλληνες ἐπαύσαντο πίστεως, διεκρίνοντο ἡδυ τοῖς
95 ὅπλοις συμπεσόντες. κρατεὶ δὲ τῇ μάχῃ Δημή-
tριος, καὶ τοῖς πολλὰ τῶν Ἀλέξανδρον μισθοφόρων καὶ ψυχῆς ἔργα καὶ χειρὸς ἐπιδειξαμένων. χωρεῖ
dὲ τὸ τέλος τῆς παρατάξεως παρὰ δόξαν ἀμφοτέ-
ροις: οὔτε γὰρ Δημήτριῳ παρέμειναι νικῶντι οἱ
cαλέσαντες, καὶ κατ' οἴκτον τῆς μεταβολῆς Ἀλε-
xάνδρῳ προσεχώρησαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη καταφυγόντι Ἰουδαίων ἐξακισχίλιοι. ταῦτῃ τῇ ῥοπῇ οὐκ ἦνεγκεν Δημήτριος, ἀλλ' ὑπολαβὼν ἦδη μὲν ἀξιό-
μαχον εἶναι πάλιν Ἀλέξανδρον, μεταρρεῖν δὲ καὶ
πάν τὸ ἔθνος εἰς αὐτῶν, ἀνεχώρησεν.

96 (6) Οὐ μὴν τὸ γε λοιπὸν πλήθος ὑποχωρη-
sάντων τῶν συμμάχων κατέθεντο τὰς διαφοράς:
συνεχὴς δὲ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἦν αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος.

1 C: ὅρκων PAM Lat., whence Destinon restores ὅργων.

a Demetrius III, king of Syria: his nickname is elsewhere given as Eukairos, "the timely," here Akairos, "the untimely."
named the Unready. Hopes of aggrandizement brought from him a prompt response. Demetrius arrived with an army, and the Jews joined their allies in the neighbourhood of Sichem.

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

(6) The remainder of the people, however, did not, on the withdrawal of their allies, drop their quarrel, but waged continuous war with Alexander,
μέχρι πλείστους ἀποκτείνας τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀπῆλασεν εἰς Βεμέσελιν πόλιν, καὶ ταύτην καταστρεψάμενος
97 αἰχμαλώτους ἄνηγαγεν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα. προύκοψεν δὲ αὐτῷ δὲ ὑπερβολὴν ὀργῆς εἰς ἁσείθιαν
tὸ τῆς ὁμότητος· τῶν γὰρ ληφθέντων ὁκτακο-
σίους ἀνασταυρῶσας ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει γυναίκας τε
καὶ τέκνα αὐτῶν ἀπέσφαξεν <ἐν> ταῖς ὀψεις, καὶ
tαύτα πόνων καὶ συγκατακείμενος ταῖς παλλακίσιν
98 ἀφεώρα. τοσαῦτη δὲ κατάπληξις ἔσχεν τῶν δήμων,
ὡς τῶν ἀντιστασιαστῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιούσαν
νῦκτα φυγεῖν ὁκτακασξιλίους ἔξω Ἰουναίας ὀλῆς,
οἷς ὀρος τῆς φυγῆς ὁ Ἄλεξάνδρου θάνατος κατέστη.
τοιούτοις ἔργοις ὀψε καὶ μόλις ἡσυχίαν τῇ βασιλείᾳ
πορίζασι ἀνεπαύσατο τῶν ὀπλῶν.

99 (7) Γίνεται δὲ αὐτῷ πάλιν ἀρχῇ θορύβων Ἀν-
tίοχος ὁ καὶ Διόνυσος2 ἐπικληθεῖς, Δημητρίον
μὲν ἄδελφος ὤν, τελευταῖος δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ Σελεύκου.
τοῦτον γὰρ δεῖσας στρατεύουσα ἐπὶ τοὺς "Ἀραβᾶς
ὡριμήμενον, τὸ μὲν μεταξὺ τῆς ὑπὲρ Ἀντιπατρίδος
παρωρείου καὶ τῶν Ἰόπης αἰγιαλῶν διαταφρεύει
φάραγγι βαθείᾳ, πρὸ δὲ τῆς τάφρου τείχους ἤγειρεν
ὕψηλον καὶ ἐξελέων πύργους ἐνεκτήματο τὰς

100 εὐμαρεῖς ἐμβολὰς ἀποφράττων. οὐ μὴν εἴρξαι γε
τῶν Ἀντίοχον ἵσχυσεν ἐμπρήσας γὰρ τοὺς πύργους
καὶ τὴν τάφρον χώσας δυσλαύνε μετὰ τῆς δυνά-
μεως. θέμενοι δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ τῆς πρὸς τὸν κωλύ-
παντα ἄμωμαν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς "Ἀραβᾶς ἦει. τῶν
δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναχωρῶν εἰς τὰ χρησιμώτερα τῆς

1 ins. Herwerden.
2 Διονύσιος mss.: for text cf. A. xiii. 387.

a In A. xiii. 380 Bethome (unidentified).
until, after killing a very large number of them, he drove the rest into Bemeselis; having subdued this town, he brought them up to Jerusalem as prisoners. So furious was he that his savagery went to the length of impiety. He had eight hundred of his captives crucified in the midst of the city, and their wives and children butchered before their eyes, while he looked on, drinking, with his concubines reclining beside him. Such was the consternation of the people that, on the following night, eight thousand of the hostile faction fled beyond the pale of Judaea; their exile was terminated only by Alexander's death. Having, by such deeds, at last with difficulty secured tranquillity for the realm, he rested from warfare.

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

b Antiochus XII Dionysus, c. 86–85 B.C. The last of the Seleucid line, before Syria became a Roman province in 64 B.C., was actually Antiochus XIII Asiaticus (Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, ii. 266 ff.).
χωρας προς την μάχην, ἐπείτα τὴν ἵππουν ἐξαίφνης ἐπιστρέψας, μυρία δ' ἤν τὸν ἁριθμόν, ἀτάκτως ἐπιπίπτει τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον, καρτερᾶς δὲ μάχης γενομένης, ἔως μὲν περὶν Ἀντίοχος ἀντείχεν ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ, καίπερ ἀνέδην ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀράβων φοινυόμενοι πεσόντος δὲ, καὶ γὰρ προεκινδύνευν ἂεὶ τοῖς ἡπτωμένοις παραβοθὼν, ἐγκλίνουσι1 πάντες, καὶ τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ παρατάξεις καὶ τῇ φυγῇ διαφθείρεται, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς καταφυγόντας εἰς Κανά2 κώμην σπάνει τῶν ἐπιπηδείων ἀναλωθῆναι συνέβη πλὴν ὁλίγων ἀπαντας.

102 Ἐκ τούτων Δαμασκηνοὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς Πτολεμαίον τὸν Μενναίου μίσος Ἀρέταν ἐπάγονται καὶ καθιστῶσιν κοίλης Συρίας βασιλέα. στρατεύεται δ' οὕτως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ μάχη νικήσας Ἀλέξανδρον κατὰ συνθήκας ἀνεχώρησεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Πέλλαν ἐλών ἐπὶ Γέρασαν ἦς πάλιν τῶν Θεοδώρου κτημάτων γλυκόμενος, καὶ τρισὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς περιβόλοις ἀποτείχισας δίχα3 μάχης τὸ χωρίον παραλαμβάνει. καταστρέφεται δὲ καὶ Γαυλάνη καὶ Σελεύκειαν καὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχου φάραγγα καλουμένην, πρὸς οἷς Γάμαλαν φρούριον καρτερον ἐλών, τὸν ἁρχοντα Δημήτριον ἐν αὐτῷ παραλύσας4 ἐκ πολλῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἐπάνειος εἰς Ἰουδαίαν, τρία πληρώσας ἐτῆς στρατείας. ἀσμένως δ' ὑπὸ τού ἐθνοῦς ἐδέχθη διὰ τὴν εὐ-

1 Bekker: ἐγκλίνουσι(ν) mss.
2 From A. xiii. 391: Ἀράν or Ἀννα mss.
3 Destinon: dia mss.; cf. A. xiii. 393 ἀμαχί, and for the phrase dia makhis B. iv. 372.
4 Acorr: the other mss. have περιλύσασ or περιδύσασ (cf. A. περιέδισεν).

50
for battle, and then suddenly wheeling round his cavalry, ten thousand strong, fell upon the troops of Antiochus while in disorder. A hard fought battle ensued. So long as Antiochus lived, his forces held out, though mercilessly cut up by the Arabs. When he fell, after constantly exposing himself in the front while rallying his worsted troops, the rout became general. The bulk of his army perished either on the field or in the flight; the rest took refuge in the village of Cana, where all save a few succumbed to starvation.

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

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*a* Ptolemy was king of Chalcis and the surrounding district in Coele-Syria (c. 85–40 B.C.); Aretas was king of the Nabataean Arabs.

*b* Cf. § 86.
πραγμα, καὶ λαμβάνει τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἁρχὴν ιόσου. τεσταταις δὲ περιόδοις πυρετῶν ἐνοχλούμενος ὡθήθη διακρούσεσθαι τὴν νόσου πάλιν ἁμάρμενος πραγμάτων. διὸ δὴ στρατείαις ἀκαίροις ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδίδους καὶ βιαζόμενος παρὰ δύναμιν τὸ σῶμα πρὸς τὰς ἑνεργείας ἀπῆλλαξεν. τελευτᾷ γοῦν ἐν μέσους τοὺς θορύβους στρεφόμενος βασιλεύσας ἐπτὰ πρὸς τοὺς εἰκοσιν ἔτη.

106 (v. 1) Καταλείπει δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀλεξάνδρα τῇ γυναικὶ πεπεισμένοις ταύτῃ μάλιστ' ἂν ὑπακοῦσαι τοὺς Ἰουναῖους, ἔπειδὴ τῆς ὁμότητος αὐτοῦ μακρὰν ἀποδέοισα καὶ ταῖς παρανομίαις ἀνθ.-

107 οὔτε ὑπακούσας τὸν δήμον εἰς εὖνιαν προσηγάγετο, καὶ οὐ διήμαρτεν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐκράτησεν γὰρ τῆς ἁρχῆς τὸ γύναιον διὰ δόξαν εὐσεβείας. ἤκριβον γὰρ δὴ μάλιστα τοῦ ἔθνους τὰ πάτρια καὶ τοὺς πλημμελοῦντας εἰς τοὺς ἱεροὺς νόμους εἰς ἁρχῆς προεβάλλετο. διὸ δ᾽ αὐτῇ παίδων ὄντων εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρου, τὸν μεν προεθυνεν Ἰουρκανὸν διὰ τε τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀποδείκνυσιν ἁρχιερεία καὶ ἄλλως ὄντα νωθέστερον ἢ ὡστε ἐνοχλεῖν περὶ τῶν ὀλων, τὸν δὲ νεώτερον Ἀριστόβουλον διὰ θερμότητα κατείχεν ἰδιωτὴν.

108 (2) Παραφύονται δὲ αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν Φαρισαίοι, σύνταγμα τι Ἰουναίων δοκοῦν εὐσεβέστερον εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀκριβέστερον ἀφηγεῖσθαι. τούτως περιζοῦν δὴ τι προσείχεν ἢ Ἀλεξάνδρα σεσοβημένη περὶ τὸ θείον. οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀπλότητα τῆς ἀνθρώπου κατὰ

1 Bekker: διακρούσεσθαι MSS.
2 προηγάγετο AM: προσ- is supported by B. i. 153.
3 νόμου PAM*. 4 M margin: σεβομένη the rest.
rest from war proved but the beginning of disease. Afflicted by a quartan ague, he hoped to shake off the malady by a return to active life. He, accordingly, plunged into ill-timed campaigns and, forcing himself to tasks beyond his strength, hastened his end. He died, at any rate, amid stress and turmoil, after a reign of twenty-seven years.

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

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

* Or perhaps "banish from the realm."

* Literally, "grew up beside into her power" (like suckers round a tree).
μικρὸν ὑπίοντες ἦδη καὶ διοικηταὶ τῶν ὀλων ἐγύνοντο, διώκειν τε καὶ κατάγειν οὐς ἐθέλοιεν, λύειν τε καὶ δεσμεῖν. καθόλου δ’ αἱ μὲν ἀπολαύσεις τῶν βασιλείων ἐκείνων ἦσαν, τὰ δ’ ἀναλώ-

112 ματα καὶ αἱ δυσχέρειαι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας. δεινὴ δ’ ἦν τὰ μείζων διοικεῖν, δύναμιν τε ἄεὶ συγκροτοῦσα διπλασίονα κατέστησεν καὶ ξενικὴν συνήγαγεν οὐκ οἶληγν, ως μὴ μόνον κρατύνεσθαι τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔθνος, φοβερὰν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐξωθεν εἶναι δυνάσταις. ἐκράτει δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων αὐτῇ, Φαρίσαιοι δ’ αὐτῆς.

113 (3) Διογένην γούν τινα τῶν ἐπισήμων, φίλον Ἀλεξάνδρω γεγενημένον, κτείνουσιν αὐτοῖ, σύμβουλον ἐγκαλοῦντες γεγονέναι περὶ τῶν ἀνασταυρωθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὀκτακοσίων. ἐνήγον δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν εἰς τὸ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους διαχειρίσασθαι τῶν παροξυνάντων ἐπ’ ἐκείνους τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον εὐδιδουσίς δ’ ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας ἀνήρων

114 οὐς ἐθέλοιεν αὐτοῖ. προσφεύγοντο δ’ Ἀριστοβοῦλω τῶν κακουνόντων οἱ προὐχεῖν δοκοῦντες, κάκεινος πεῖθε τὴν μητέρα φείσασθαι μὲν διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἔκπεμψι δ’ αὐτοὺς, εἰ μὴ καθαροὺς ὑπείληφεν, ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. οἱ μὲν οὖν δοθείσης ἀδείας ἐσκεδάσθησαν ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν.

115 Ἀλεξάνδρα δὲ ἐκπέμψασα ἐπὶ Δαμασκόν στρατιῶν, πρόφασις δ’ ἦν Πτολεμαῖος ἅει θλίβων τὴν πόλιν, ταύτην μὲν ὑπεδέξατο μηθὲν ἀξιολογον ἐργασα-

116 μένην. Τιγράνην δὲ τὸν Ἀρμενίων βασιλέα προσκαθεξόμενον Πτολεμαῖδι καὶ πολιορκοῦσα Κλεο-

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

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

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

\[a \ § 97.\]
πάτραν συνθήκαις καὶ δύωρος ὑπηγάγετο. φθάνει
δ’ ἐκείνος ἀπαναστάς διὰ τὰς οἰκοι ταραχὰς ἐμ-
βεβληκότος εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν Λευκόλλου.

117 (4) Καὶ τούτῳ νοσοῦσις Ἀλεξάνδρας ὁ νεώ-
τερος τῶν παίδων Ἀριστόβουλος τὸν καιρὸν
ἀρπάσας μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων, ἐὰν δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ
πάντας εὔνους διὰ τὴν θερμότητα, κρατεῖ μὲν τῶν
ἐρυμάτων ἀπάντων, τοῖς δὲ τούτων χρήμασιν
μισθοφόροις ἄθροίσας εαυτὸν ἀποδείκνυσι βασιλέα.

118 πρὸς ταύτα ὅδυρόμενον τὸν Ἰρκανὸν ἡ μήτηρ
οικτείρασα τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας Ἀριστο-
βοῦλου καθείργυσαν εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν· φρούριον
δὲ ἦν τῷ βορείῳ κλίματι τοῦ ἱερὸν προσκείμενον,
πάλαι μὲν, ὡς ἐφην, Βάρης ὄνομαζόμενον, αὖθις
δὲ ταύτης τυχὸν τῆς προσηγορίας ἐπικρατήσαντος
Ἀντωνίου, καθάπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ
'Αγριππᾶ Σεβαστῆ καὶ 'Αγριππᾶς πόλεις ἐπ-

119 ὄνομάσθησαν. πρὶν δὲ ἐπεξελθεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρα τὸν
Ἀριστόβουλον τῆς τάδελφου καταλύσεις τελευτᾶ
dioikήσασα τὴν ἀρχήν ἔτεσιν ἐννέα.

120 (vi. 1) Καὶ κληρονόμος μὲν ἦν τῶν ὅλων Ἰρ-
κανός, ὃ καὶ ζώσα τὴν βασιλείαν ἐνεχείριειν.
δυνάμει δὲ καὶ φρονήματι προεῖχεν ὁ Ἀριστό-
βουλος. γενομένης δὲ αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν ὅλων συμ-
βολῆς περὶ Ιεριχωνίτα καταλιπόντες οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦ
Ἰρκανὸν μεταβαίνουσιν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον

121 ὃ δὲ μετὰ τῶν συμμεινάντων φθάνει συμφυγώ
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν καὶ κυριεύσας τῶν πρὸς σωτη-

1 oikeiων Herwerden: oiketων mss. and Niese.
seated before Ptolemais, besieging Cleopatra. He, however, had to beat a hasty retreat, recalled by domestic troubles in Armenia, which Lucullus had invaded.

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

(vi. 1) Hyrcanus, to whom even in her lifetime his mother had entrusted the kingdom, was sole heir to the throne, but in capacity and courage was surpassed by Aristobulus. A battle for the crown took place near Jericho, when most of the troops of Hyrcanus deserted him and went over to Aristobulus. Hyrcanus, with those who remained with him, hastily took refuge in Antonia and secured hostages for his earn from Strabo, xvi. 749, that Tigranes on his retreat from Syria carried off Cleopatra as a prisoner and subsequently put her to death.
122 ὤσπερ ἀδελφὸν βασιλέως. ἐπὶ τούτοις διαλλαγέν-
τες ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ περιεστῶτος φιλο-
φρόνως ἄλλης ἀσπασάμενοι διήμεισαν τὰς οἰκίας.
'Αριστόβουλος μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, Ὄρκανὸς
δ' ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν 'Αριστοβούλου οἰκίαν.

123 (2) Δέος δὲ τοῖς τὲ ἄλλοις τῶν 'Αριστοβούλου
διαφόρων ἐμπίπτει παρ' ἑλπίδα κρατήσαντος καὶ
μάλιστα 'Αντιπάτρῳ πάλαι διαμισομένω. γένος
d' ἂν Ἰδουμαίοις, προγόνων τε ἐνεκα καὶ πλούτου
καὶ τῆς ἀλλῆς ἱσχύος πρωτεύων τοῦ ἑθνοῦς. οὕτος
ἀμα καὶ τὸν Ὄρκανὸν Ἀρέτα προσφυγόντα τῷ
βασιλεῖ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἀνακτήσασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν
ἐπεθεῖ, καὶ τὸν Ἀρέταν δέξασθαι τε τὸν Ὄρκανον
καὶ καταγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, πολλὰ μὲν τὸν
'Αριστοβουλοῦ εἰς τὸ ἵθος διαβάλλων, πολλὰ δ' ἐπανών
tὸν Ὄρκανὸν [παρίμενε δέξασθαι], καὶ
ὡς πρέπον εἰς τὸν οὕτω λαμπραὶ προεστώτα
βασιλείας ὑπερέχειν χείρα τῷ ἀδικουμένω. ἀδι-
κεῖσθαι δὲ τὸν Ὄρκανὸν στερηθέντα τῆς κατὰ τὸ

125 πρεσβείων αὐτῷ προσηκούσης ἀρχῆς. προκατα-
σκευάσας δὲ ἀμφοτέρους, νῦκτωρ ἀναλαβὼν τὸν
'Ορκανὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀποδιδράσκει καὶ συν-
τόνῳ φυγῇ χρώμενος εἰς τὴν καλομενὴν Πέτραν
dιασώζεται. βασίλειον αὕτη τῆς Ἀραβίας ἔστιν.

126 ἐνθα τῷ Ἀρέτα τὸν Ὄρκανὸν ἐγχειρίσας καὶ
πολλὰ μὲν καθομιλήσας, πολλοῖς δὲ δύος ὑπ-
ελθὼν, δοῦναι δύναμιν αὐτῷ πείθει τὴν κατάξουσαν

1 om. Bekker. 2 τῶν ἀδικουμένων Destinon.
safety in the persons of the wife and children of Aristobulus. However, before any irreparable harm was done, the brothers came to terms, to the effect that Aristobulus should be king and Hyrcanus, while abdicating the throne, should enjoy all his other honours as the king's brother. The reconciliation on these terms took place in the temple. In the presence of the surrounding crowd they cordially embraced each other, and then exchanged residences, Aristobulus repairing to the palace, Hyrcanus to the house of Aristobulus.

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

Having thus prepared both parties for action, Antipater one night fled with Hyrcanus from the city, and, pushing on at full speed, safely reached the capital of the Arabian kingdom, called Petra. There he committed Hyrcanus into the hands of Aretas, and, by dint of conciliatory speeches and cajoling presents, induced the king to furnish an
αὐτῶν· ἦν δ᾿ αὐτὴ πεζῶν τε καὶ ἱππέων πέντε μυριάδες. πρὸς ἦν οὐκ ἀντέσχεν Ἀριστόβουλος, ἀλλ᾿ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συμβολῇ λειψθεὶς εἰς Ἰερο-
127 σόλυμα συνελαύνεται. κἂν ἔφθη κατὰ κράτος λη-
φθεὶς, εἰ μὴ Σκαύρος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ἐπ-
αναστάς αὐτῶν τοῖς καιροῖς ἔλυσε τὴν πολιορκίαν·
δὲ ἐπέμφθη μὲν εἰς Συρίαν ἀπὸ Ἀρμενίας ὑπὸ
Πομπήιον Μάγνου πολεμοῦντος πρὸς Τιγράνην,
παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἑαλωκυίαν προσ-
φάτως ὑπὸ Μετέλλου καὶ Λολλίου καὶ τούτους
μεταστῆσας, ἔπειδὴ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπύθητο,
καθάπερ ἐφ᾽ ἐρμαιόν ἠπείχθη.
128 (3) Παρελθόντος γοῦν εἰς τὴν χώραν πρέσβεις
εὐθέως ἦκον παρὰ τῶν ἄδελφῶν, ἐκατέρου δεο-
μένου βοηθεῖν αὐτῷ. γίνεται δ᾿ ἐπίπροσθεν τοῦ
dικαίου τὰ παρὰ Ἀριστοβούλου τριακόσια τάλαντα·
tοσοῦτον γὰρ λαβὼν Σκαύρος ἐπικηρυκεύεται πρὸς
τε Ἰρκανὸν καὶ τούς Ἀράβας, ἀπειλῶν Ῥωμαίοις
καὶ Πομπήιον, εἰ μὴ λύσειν τὴν πολιορκίαν.
129 ἀνεχώρησε δ᾿ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἰς Φιλαδέλφειαν
Ἀρέτας καταπλαγεῖς, καὶ πάλιν εἰς Δαμασκὸν
130 Σκαύρος. Ἀριστοβούλῳ δ᾿ οὐκ ἀπέχρησεν τὸ μὴ
ἀλώναι, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπισυνελέξας εἰπετο
τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ περὶ τὸν καλούμενον Παπυρώνα
συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ ἐξακισχιλίους κτείνετε, μεθ᾿
ὀν καὶ τὸν ἄδελφον τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου Φαλλίωνα.
131 (4) Ἰρκανὸς δὲ καὶ Ἀντιπάτρος τῶν Ἀράβων
ἀφαιρεθέντες μετέφερον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίον τὴν
ἐλπίδα, καπεδὴ Πομπήιος ἐπιών τὴν Συρίαν εἰς

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* A. xiv. 19. "50,000 cavalry besides infantry."
army, fifty thousand strong, both cavalry and infantry,\(^a\) to reinstate his ward. This force Aristobulus was unable to resist. Defeated in the first encounter he was driven into Jerusalem, and would there have been speedily captured through the storming of the city, had not Scaurus the Roman general, intervening at this critical moment, raised the siege. The latter had been sent into Syria from Armenia by Pompey the Great, then at war with Tigranes. On reaching Damascus, which had recently been captured by Metellus and Lollius, he superseded those officers,\(^b\) and then, hearing of the position of affairs in Judaea, hastened thither to snatch what seemed a god-sent opportunity.

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

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

\(^a\) The meaning of the phrase καὶ τούτους μεταστήσας (omitted in A.) is uncertain.
Δαμασκὸν ἦκεν, ἐπ’ αὐτὸν καταφεύγουσιν, καὶ δίχα δωρεῶν, αἷς καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀρέταν δικαιολογίας χρώμενοι, κατηγοβόλουν μισῆσαι μὲν τὴν ’Αριστόβουλον βίαν, κατάγειν δ’ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τὸν καὶ τρόπῳ καὶ καθ’ ἡλικίαι προσήκοντα.

132 οὐ μήν οὖδ’ Ἀριστόβουλος ύστερεὶ πεποίθως τῇ Σκαύρον δωροδοκίᾳ, παρὴν τε καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς οἶνον τε βασιλικῶτατα κεκοσμηκῶς ἑαυτὸν. ἀδοξήσας δὲ πρὸς τὰς θεραπείας καὶ μὴ φέρων δουλεύειν ταῖς χρείαις ταπεινότερον τοῦ σχήματος ἀπὸ Δίου πόλεως1 χωρίζεται.

133 (5) Πρὸς ταῦτ’ ἀγανακτήσας Πομπήιος, πολλὰ καὶ τῶν περὶ Ὑρκανὸν ἱκετεύοντων, ὁμιλησεν ἐπ’ Ἀριστόβουλον, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν τε Ὑρμαϊκὴν δύναμιν καὶ πολλοὺς ἐκ τῆς Συρίας συμμάχους. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρελαύνων Πέλλαν καὶ Σκυθότολων ἦκεν εἰς Κορέας, ὅθεν ἡ Ἰουδαίων ἀρχηται χώρα κατὰ τὴν μεσόγειον ἀνιόντων, ἀκούσας συμπεφευγέναι τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειον, τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶν φρούριον τῶν πάνω φιλοτίμως ἐξησκημένων ὕπερ ὁρῶν υψηλοῦ κείμενον, πέμψας καταβαίνειν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσαν. τῶ δ’ ἦν μὲν ὀρμὴ καλουμένως δεσποτικῶτερον διακινδυνεύειν μᾶλλον ἦ ὑπακούσαι, καθεῶρα δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ὀρρωδοῦν, καὶ παρῆκαν οἱ φίλοι σκέπτεσθαι τὴν Ὑρμαϊῶν ἵσχυν ὅπερ ἰσχύσαν ἀνυπόστατον. οἰς πεισθεῖσι κάτεισιν πρὸς Πομπήιον καὶ πολλὰ περὶ τοῦ δικαίως ἀρχεῖν ἀπο-135 λογιθεῖσιν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸ ἔρμα. πάλιν τε τάδελφού προκαλουμένου καταβάς καὶ διαλεχθεῖσι

1 Δίου πόλεως Spanheim: Δίος ἡλίου πόλεως (probably arising from a glossed text Δίος ἡ Δίου π.) or Διοσπόλεως mss.
Damascus, took refuge with him. Coming without presents and resorting to the same pleas which they had used with Aretas, they implored him to show his detestation of the violence of Aristobulus, and to restore to the throne the man whose character and seniority entitled him to it. Nor was Aristobulus behindhand; relying on the fact that Scaurus was open to bribery, he too appeared, arrayed in the most regal style imaginable. But feeling it beneath his dignity to play the courtier, and scorning to further his ends by a servility that humiliated his magnificence, he, on reaching the city of Dium, took himself off.  

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

a A. has "he went off (from Damascus) to Dium and hence to Judaea."
περὶ τῶν δικαίων ἀπείςν μὴ κωλύντος τοῦ Πομπηίου. μέσος δ’ ἦν ἐλπίδος καὶ δέους, καὶ κατηγεὶ μὲν ὡς δυσώπησων Πομπηίου πάντ’ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ, πάλιν δ’ ἀνέβαυνεν εἰς τὴν ἀκραν, 137 ὡς μη προκαταλύειν δόξειν αὐτὸν. ἑπεὶ μὲν τοῦ Πομπηίου ἐξίστασθαι τε τῶν φρουρίων ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ καὶ, παράγγελμα τῶν φρουράρχων ἐχόντων μόναις πειθαρχεῖν ταῖς αὐτογράφοις ἐπιστολαῖς ἡμάγκαζεν αὐτὸν ἐκάστοις γράφειν ἐκχωρεῖν, ποιεὶ μὲν τὰ προσταχθέντα, ἀγανακτήσας δὲ ἀνεχώρησεί εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ παρεσκευάζετο πολεμεῖν πρὸς Πομπηίουν.

138 (6) 'Ὁ δ’, ὁ γὰρ ἐδίδου χρόνον ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, εὐθέως ἐξετο, καὶ προσεπέρρωσεν τῇ ὅρμῃν ὁ Μιθριδάτου θάνατος ἄγγελθεις αὐτῷ περὶ Ἱεριχοῦντα, ἔνθα τῆς Ἰουδαίας τὸ πιότατον φοίνικε τε πάμπολων καὶ βάλσαμον τρέφει. τοῦτο λίθου δέσαν ἐπιτέμνοντες τὰ πρέμνα συνάγουσιν κατὰ τὰς τομὰς ἔκδακρυόν. καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενο ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ μίαν ἐσπέραν ἐσθηθεὶς ἐπείγετο πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. καταπλαγεῖς δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον Ἄριστοβούλου ἱκέτης ἀπαντᾷ, χρημάτων τε ὑποσχέσαι καὶ τῷ μετὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτρέπειν καὶ ἑαυτῷ χαλεπαίνοντα καταστέλλει τὸν Πομπηίον. οὐ μὴν τῶν ὑμολογημένων ἔγενετο· τὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ κομιδῇ τῶν χρημάτων ἐκπεμφθέντα Γαβίνου οἶτιν Ἄριστοβούλου φρονοῦντες οὐδὲ τῇ πόλει δέχονται.

140 (vii. 1) Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀγανακτήσας Πομπηίου Ἄριστοβούλου μὲν ἐφρούρει, πρὸς δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἔλθων περεσκόπει ὡπως δεῖ προσβάλειν, τὴν ὀχυρώτητα τῶν τείχων δυσμεταχείριστον ὄρων καὶ

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

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

(vii. 1) Indignant at this treatment, Pompey kept Aristobulus under arrest and, advancing to the city, carefully considered the best method of attack. He noted the solidity of the walls and the formidable
τὴν πρὸ τούτων φάραγγα φοβερὰν τὸ τε ἱερὸν ἐντὸς τῆς φάραγγος ὁχυρώτατα τετειχισμένον, ὥστε τοῦ ἄστεος ἀλισκομένου δευτέραν εἶναι καταφυγὴν τούτο τοῖς πολεμίοις.

142 (2) Διαποροῦντος δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον στάσις τοῖς ἐνδὸν ἐμπίπτει, τῶν μὲν Ἀριστοβούλου πολεμεῖν ἀξιοῦντων καὶ ρύεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα, τῶν δὲ τὰ Ὕρκανον φρονούντων ἀνοίγειν Πομπήιῳ τὰς πύλας· πολλοὶς δὲ τούτοις ἐποίει τὸ δέος, ἀφ-

143 ὁρῶντας εἰς τὴν τῶν Ὕρμαιῶν εὐπαξίαν. ἦττω-

μενον δὲ τὸ Ἀριστοβούλου μέρος εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνεχώρησεν καὶ τὴν συνάπτουσαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν πόλει γέφυραν ἀποκόψαντες ἀντισχεῖν εἰς ἐσχατὸν παρεσκευάζοντο. τῶν δὲ ἐτέρων δεχομένων Ὕρ-

μαίους τὴ πόλει καὶ τὰ βασίλεια παραδιδόντων, ἐπὶ μὲν ταῦτα Πομπήιος ἕνα τῶν ύφ' ἐαυτῷ στρατηγῶν Πείσωνα εἰσπέμπει μετὰ στρατιάς·

144 ὁς διαλαβῶν φρουρᾶς τὴν πόλιν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καταφυγόντων οὐδένα λόγοι ἐπειθέν συμβῆναι, τὰ πέρις εἰς προσβολάς εὐτρέπιζεν ἐχῶν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ὕρκανον εἰς τὰς ἐπινοιας καὶ τὰς ὑπηρεσίας προθύμους.

145 (3) Αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ τὸ προσάρκτιον κλῖμα τὴν τε τάφρον ἐχου καὶ τὴν φάραγγα πᾶσαν, ὑλῆν συμφορούσης τῆς δυνάμεως. χαλέπων δὲ ἦν τὸ ἀναπληροῦν διὰ βάθος ἀπειρον καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πάντα τρόπον εἰργόντων ἀνωθέν. καὶ ἀτέλεστος ἐμείνεν τοῖς Ὕρμαιοις ὁ πόνος, εἰ μὴ τὰς ἐβδο-

μάδας ἐπιτηρῶν ὁ Πομπήιος, ἐν αἷς παντὸς ἔργοι διὰ τὴν θρησκείαν χεῖρας ἀπίσχουσιν Ἰουδαίοι, τὸ χῶμα ύψου τῆς κατὰ χεῖρα συμβολῆς εὑργῶν τοὺς

66
task of their assault, the frightful ravine in front of them, and within the ravine the temple also so strongly fortified as to afford, after the capture of the town, a second line of defence to the enemy.

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

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

A. xiv. 66 gives the precise year (Olympiad 179 and the Roman consuls of 63 B.C.) and adds "on the day of the fast," i.e. probably the Day of Atonement (10th Tishri September-October). Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 16, says "on th
his troops to engage in hostilities; for on the sabbaths the Jews fight only in self-defence. The ravine once filled up, he erected lofty towers on the earthworks, brought up the battering engines which had been conveyed from Tyre, and tried their effect upon the walls; the *ballistae*,\(^a\) meanwhile, beating off resistance from above. However, the towers, which in this sector were extraordinarily massive and beautiful, long resisted the blows.

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

The sabbath " (ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ)" and it has been held by some that "the fast" named in Josephus's non-Jewish source meant the sabbath, according to a mistaken and widespread idea in the Graeco-Roman world that the Jews fasted on the sabbath (Schürer).
150 (5) "Ενθα πολλοί τῶν ἱερεών ξιφήρεις τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιόντας βλέποντες ἀθορμῆσα ἐπὶ τῆς θρησκείας ἐμειναν, σπένδουτε δὲ ἀπεσφάττωντο καὶ θυμίωντες [καὶ] τῆς πρὸς τὸ θείου θεραπείας ἐν δευτέρῳ τὴν σωτηρίαν τιθέμενοι. πλείστοι δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀμοφύλων ἀντιστασιαστῶν ἀγηροῦντο καὶ κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ἐρριπτὸν ἐαυτοὺς ἀπειροῦν· καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸ τείχος δ᾽ ἐνιοῦ μανιὼντες ἐν ταῖς ἀμηχανίαις ὑπέπρησαν καὶ συγκατεφλέγοντο. Ὦν- δαιὼν μὲν οὖν ἀγηρέθησαν μύριοι καὶ δισχίλιοι, Ἐρωμαῖοι δὲ ὅλιγοι μὲν πάνω νεκροὶ, τραυματίαι δ᾽ ἐγένοντο πλείουσ.

152 (6) Οὐδὲν δ᾽ ὅντως ἐν ταῖς τότε συμφοραῖς καθήσατο τοῦ ἔθνους ὡς τὸ τέως ἄορατον ἄγων ἐκκαλυφθέν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλοφύλων. παρελθὼν γοιν σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Πομπηῖος εἰς τὸν ναὸν, ἐνθα δόμων θεμίτων ἡν παριεῖν τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, τὸ ἑιδὸν ἑθεάσατο, λυχνίαν τε καὶ λύχνους καὶ τραπεζαν καὶ σπουδεία καὶ θυμιατηρία, ὀλόχρυσο πάντα, πλῆθος τε ἀρωμάτων σεσωρυμένον κα

153 ἱερῶν χρημάτων εἰς τάλαντα δισχίλια. οὐτὲ δὲ τούτων οὔτε ἅλλον τινὸς τῶν ἱερῶν κειμηλίων ἐδυνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ μίαν τῆς ἀλώσεως ἠμέρα καθάρι ὁ ἱερὸν τοῖς νεωκόροις προσέταξε καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἔθους ἐπιτελεῖν θυσίας. αὐθίς δ᾽ ἀποδείξα· Ὄρκανον ἀρχιερεῖα, τα τέ ἀλλα προθυμότατοι ἐαυτὸν ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ παρασχόντα, καὶ διότι το κατὰ τὴν χώραν πλήθος ἀπέστησεν Ἄριστοβούλο συμπολεμεῖν ὑφρημένον, ἐκ τούτων, ὑπερ ἡ προσήκον ἁγαθῶ στρατηγῷ, τὸν λαὸν εὖνοις πλέον. ἡ δὲ εἰ τοίς αἰχμαλώτων

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

(6) Of all the calamities of that time none so deeply affected the nation as the exposure to alien eyes of the Holy Place, hitherto screened from view Pompey indeed, along with his staff, penetrated to the sanctuary, entry to which was permitted to none but the high priest, and beheld what it contained: the candelabrum and lamps, the table, the vessels for libation and censers, all of solid gold, an accumulation of spices and the store of sacred money amounting to two thousand talents. However, he touched neither these nor any other of the sacred treasures and, the very day after the capture of the temple, gave orders to the custodians to cleanse it and to resume the customary sacrifices. He reinstated Hyrcanus as high priest, in return for his enthusiastic support shown during the siege, particularly in de-aching from Aristobulus large numbers of the rural population who were anxious to join his standard. By these methods, in which goodwill played a larger part than terrorism, he, like the able general he was, conciliated the people. Among the prisoners was
ἐλήφθη καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοβοῦλος πενθερός, ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἦν καὶ θεῖος αὐτῷ. καὶ τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους μὲν τοῦ πολέμου πελέκει κολάζει, Φαῦστον δὲ καὶ τοὺς μὲτ' αὐτοῦ γενναίως ἀγωνισμένους λαμπρῶς ἀριστεῖος δωρησάμενος τῇ τε χώρᾳ καὶ τοῖς Ἰεροσολύμοις ἐπιτάσσει φόρον.

155 (7) Ἀφελόμενος δὲ τοῦ ἐθνοῦς καὶ τὰς ἐν κοίλῃ Συρία πόλεις, ἃς εἰλικρινῶς ὑπέταξεν τῷ κατ' ἐκεῖνο Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῷ κατατεθαμμένης καὶ μόνοις αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἰδίοις ὀρόις περιέκλεισεν. ἀνακτίζει δὲ καὶ Γάδαραν ὕπο Ἰουδαίων καταστραμμένην, Γαδαρίτη τινὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπελευθέρων Δημητρίῳ

156 χαριζόμενος. ἠλευθέρωσεν δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ μεσογείῳ πόλεις, ὅσας μὴ φθάσαντες κατέσκαψαν, Ἰππον Σκυθόπολιν τε καὶ Πέλλαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν καὶ Ἰάμνειαν καὶ Ἔρασισ ᾿Αξωτόν τε καὶ Ἀρέθουσαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς παραλίους Γάζαν Ἰόππην Δώρα καὶ τὴν πάλαι μὲν Στράτωνος πύργον καλομένην, ὕστερον δὲ μετακτισθεῖσάν τε ύπ' Ἦρωδος βασιλέως λαμπροτάτους κατα-

157 σκευάσμασιν καὶ μετονομασθείσαν Καισάρειαν. ὡς πάσας τοῖς γυναικίσις ἀποδοὺς πολίταις κατέταξεν εἰς τὴν Συριακὴν ἐπαρχίαν. παραδοὺς δὲ ταύτην τε καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τὰ μέχρις Ἀγύπτου καὶ Εὐφράτου Σκαύρῳ διέπειν καὶ δύο τῶν ταγμάτων αὐτῶς διὰ Κιλικίας εἰς Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο τοῖς Ἀριστοβοῦλον ἄγων μετὰ τῆς γενεάς αἰχμάλωτον

158 δύο δ' Ἱσαακ αὐτῷ θυγατέρες καὶ δύο γυναικὲς, ὃν εἴπεροι μὲν Ῥεῖξαιδρος ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ διαδιδράσκει

* Named Absalom (A. xiv. 71).
the father-in-law of Aristobulus, who was also his uncle. Those upon whom lay the main responsibility for the war were executed. Faustus and his brave companions in arms were presented with splendid rewards. The country and Jerusalem were laid under tribute.

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

\[①\] \textit{Kar' \textepsilon\textkappa\textiota\textnu, "ad hoc," or perhaps "of the Roman governor placed over that region."}  
\[②\] \textit{A. adds Dium.}
159 (viii. 1) Καὶ τούτω Σκαύρος εἰς τὴν Ἄραβίαν ἐμβαλὼν τῆς μὲν Πέτρας εὑρητο ταῖς δυσχωρίαις, ἐπόρθει δὲ τὰ πέριξ πολλὰ καὶ τούτω κακοπαθῶν· ἐλίμωττεν γὰρ ἡ στρατιὰ. καὶ πρὸς τούτο Ἰρκανός ἐπεβοίθει διὰ Ἀντιπάτρου τάπιτηδεία πέμπων, διὰ καὶ καθήσι Σκαύρος ὄντα συνήθη πρὸς Ἀρέταν, ὅπως ἐπὶ χρήμασιν διαλύσατο τὸν πόλεμον. πείθεται δ’ ὁ Ἀραβικός σικώνα τάλαντα, κατ’ τούτοις Σκαύρος ἔξηγεν τῆς Ἀραβίας τὴν δύναμιν.

160 (2) Ὁ δ’ ἀποδράσ τῶν Ἀριστοβουλίου παϊδῶν Πομπηίου Ἀλέξανδρος χρόνωι συναγαγών χείρα συχνὴν βαρὺς ἤν Ἰρκανῷ καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν κατέτρεξεν, ἐδόκει τε ἄν καταλῦσαι ταχέως αὐτόν, ὅσ γε ἡδή καὶ τὸ καταρρίφθην ὑπὸ Πομπηίου τεῖχος ἐν Ἰεροσολύμοις ἀνακτίζειν ἐθάρρη προσελθὼν, εἰ μὴ Γαβώνιος εἰς Συρίαν πεμφθαῖς Σκαύρῳ διάδοχος τά τε ἄλλα γενναίον ἀπέδειξεν ἕαυτὸν ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ ἐπ’ Ἀλέξανδρον ἠρμησεν.

161 ὁ δὲ δεύσας πρὸς τὴν ἐφοδίων δύναμιν τε πλεῖω συνέλεγεν, ὡς γενέσθαι μυρίους μὲν ὀπλίτας χιλίους δὲ καὶ πεντακοσίους ἑπταῖς, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῶν χωρίων ἐτείχίζειν, Ἀλέξανδρεῖον τε καὶ Ἰρκανίαν καὶ Μαχαιρωνίτα πρὸς τοῖς Ἀραβίοις ὤρεσιν.

162 (3) Γαβώνιος δὲ μετὰ μέρους τῆς στρατιᾶς Μάρκον Ἀντώνιον προσέμψας αὐτῶς εἴπετο τὴν

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1 Niese (so it is called elsewhere): Ἰρκαν(ε)ιον mss.

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According to Appian, Syr. 51, there were two intermediate governors of Syria between Scaurus and Gabinius, 74.
JEWISH WAR, I. 158-162 (= ANT. XIV. 79-84)

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

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

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

(3) Gabinius sent Mark Antony ahead with a division of his army, following himself with the main viz. Marcius Philippus (61–60 B.C., Schürer) and Lentulus Marcellinus (59–58 B.C.).
ολην ἔχων δύναμιν. οί δὲ περὶ τοῦ 'Ἀντίπατρον ἐπιλεκτοὶ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τάγμα τῶν ᾿Ιουδαίων, ὅν Μάλιχος ἤρχετο καὶ Πειθόλαος, συμμιξάντες τοῖς περὶ Μάρκον ᾿Ἀντώνιον ἠγεμόνων ὑπῆρτων ᾿Αλέξανδρω. καὶ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ παρῆν ἁμα τῇ φάλαγγι
163 Γαβίνιος. ἐνομένῃ δὲ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων δύναμιν ὑπομείνας ᾿Αλέξανδρος ἀνεχώρη καὶ πλησίον ἦδη ῥεσολώμων γενόμενος ἀναγκαζεί συμβαλεῖν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἐξακισχίλιος ἀποβαλὼν, ὅν τρισχίλιοι μὲν ἔπεσον τρισχίλιοι δὲ ἐξωγρύθησαν, φεύγει σὺν τοῖς καταλειφθεῖσιν εἰς ᾿Αλέξανδρεῖον.

164 (4) Γαβίνιος δὲ πρὸς τὸ ᾿Αλέξανδρεῖον ἐλθὼν ἐπειδὴ πολλοὺς εὑρεν ἐστρατοπεδεύμενοι, ἐπειρᾶτο συγγνώμης ὑποχέσει περὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων πρὸ μάχης αὐτοῖς προσαγαγέσθαι. μηδὲν δὲ μέτριον φρονοῦντων ἀποκτείνας πολλούς τοὺς

165 λοιποὺς ἀπέκλεισεν εἰς τὸ ἔριμα. κατὰ ταύτην ἀριστεύει τὴν μάχην ᾿Ηγεμόνι Μάρκος ᾿Αντώνιος, πανταχοῦ μὲν γενναῖος ἐτὶ φανείς, οὐδαμοῦ δ’ οὔτως. Γαβίνιος δὲ τοὺς ἐξαιρήσοντας τὸ φρούριον καταλιπὼν αὐτὸς ἐπήγαῖ τὰς μὲν ἀπορθήτους πόλεις καθιστάμενος, τὰς δὲ κατεστραμμένας ἀνακτίζων.

166 συνεπολίσθησαν γοῦν τούτου κελεύσαντος Σκυθότολίς τε καὶ Σαμάρεια καὶ ᾿Ανθηδῶν καὶ ᾿Απολλωνία καὶ ᾿Ηλίμενα καὶ ᾿Ράφεια Μάρισα καὶ ᾿Αδώρεως καὶ Γάμαλα ἤ καὶ ᾿Αξωτος καὶ ἀλλαὶ πολλαί, τῶν οἰκητῶρῶν ἀσμένως ἐφ’ ἐκάστην συνθεόντων.

167 (5) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἐπιμέλειαν ἐπαινελθῶν πρὸς τὸ ᾿Αλέξανδρεῖον ἐπέρρωσεν τὴν πολιορκιαν,
body. Antipater’s picked troops and the rest of the Jewish contingent under the command of Malichus and Peitholaus joined forces with Antony’s generals and proceeded against Alexander. Gabinius appeared before long with the heavy infantry. Alexander, unable to withstand the combined forces of the enemy, retired, but when approaching Jerusalem was forced into an engagement. In this battle he lost six thousand of his men, three thousand killed, and as many prisoners. With the remnant of his army he fled to Alexandreion.

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

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

(6) They were soon, however, involved in fresh troubles through the escape of Aristobulus from Rome. Once more he succeeded in mustering a large body of Jews, some eager for revolution, others long since his devoted admirers. He began by seizing Alexandreion and attempting to restore the fortifications; but on hearing that Gabinius had dispatched an army against him, under the command Peraea had been severed from Jewish territory by Pompey. The names are elsewhere confused (Schürer). Judaea proper is thus represented by three towns, Galilee by one, and Peraea by one (Amathus), a little E. of Jordan, to the N. of the river Jabbok.
στρατιάν ἐπεμψεν ἐπ' αὐτόν, γνώς ἀνεχώρει ἐπὶ 172 Μαχαιροῦντος. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄχρηστον ὄχλον ἀπεφορτίσατο, μόνους δ' ἐπήγετο τοὺς ὑπλισθέντας, ὡς ἐστὶς ὀκτακισχίλιους, ἐν οἷς καὶ Πειθόλαος ἦν ο ἐξ Ἰεροσολύμων ὑποστράτηγος αὐτομολήσας μετὰ χιλίων. Ἦμεραι δ' ἐπηκολούθουν, καὶ γενομένης συμβολῆς μέχρι πολλοῦ μὲν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον διεκαρτέρους γενναίως ἀγωνιζόμενοι, τέλος δὲ βιασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἦμεραν πίπτουσι μὲν πεντακισχίλιοι, περὶ δὲ δισκυλίους ἄνέφυγον εἰς τινα λόφον, οἱ δὲ λυποὶ χίλιοι σὺν Ἀριστόβουλῳ διακόψαντες τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Ἦμεραν εἰς Μαχαιροῦντα συνελάυνονται.

173 ένθα δὴ τῇ τὴν πρώτῃ ἐσπέραν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς ἑρεπίστας ἐναυλισάμενος εἰς ἐλπίσι μὲν ὧν ἄλλην συναθροίσειν δύναμιν, ἀνοχὴν τοῦ πολέμου διδόντος, καὶ τὸ φρούριον κακῶς χρύρου· προσπεσόντων δὲ Ἦμεραν ἐπὶ δύο ήμέρας αὐτοί ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ἀλίσκεται καὶ μετ' Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ παιδός, οὐκ ἀπὸ Ἦμερας αὐτῶν συναπέδρα, δεσμώτης ἐπὶ Γαβίνου αὐτῆς καὶ ἀπὸ Γαβίνου πάλιν εἰς Ἦμερας.

174 τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἡ σύγκλητος ἐίρξεν, τὰ τέκνα δ' αὐτοῦ διῆκεν εἰς Ἰουβαίαν, Γαβίνου δ' ἐπιστολῶν δηλώσαντος τῇ Ἀριστόβουλῳ γυναικὶ τούτῳ ἀντὶ τῆς παραδόσεως τῶν ἐρματῶν ὠμολογηκέναι.

175 (7) Γαβίνῳ δ' ἐπί Πάρθους ὁμημέρως στρατεύειν γίνεται Πτολεμαίος ἐμπόδιον, ὡς ὑποστρέψας ἀπ' Εὐφράτου κατήγεν εἰς Αἰγυπτον,

1 διῆκεν Destinon (after Lat.; cf. διῆκεν A.): διήγεται

mss.

2 Hudson: ὃς mss.

Servilius, A. xiv. 92, and many mss. of B.  b Cf. § 168.  c Ptolemy Auletes, driven from the throne of Egypt by 80
of Sisenna, Antony, and Servianus, he retreated towards Machaerus. Disencumbering himself of his rabble of inefficient followers, he retained only those who were armed, numbering eight thousand; among these was Peitholaus, the second in command at Jerusalem, who had deserted to him with a thousand men. The Romans pursued and an engagement took place. Aristobulus and his men for long held their ground, fighting valiantly, but were ultimately overpowered by the Romans. Five thousand fell; about two thousand took refuge on a hill; Aristobulus and the remaining thousand cut their way through the Roman lines and flung themselves into Machaerus. There, as he camped among the ruins on that first evening, the king entertained hopes of raising another army, given but a respite from war, and proceeded to erect some weak fortifications; but, when the Romans attacked the place, after holding out beyond his strength for two days, he was taken, and, with his son Antigonus, who had shared his flight from Rome, was conducted in chains to Gabinius, and by Gabinius was sent back once more to Rome. The Senate imprisoned the father, but allowed his children to return to Judaea, Gabinius having written to inform them that he had promised this favour to the wife of Aristobulus in return for the surrender of the fortresses.

(7) An expedition against the Parthians, on which Gabinius had already started, was cut short by Ptolemy, to effect whose restoration to Egypt the former returned from the banks of the Euphrates. Further revolt and defeat of Alexander 55 B.C. his subjects, induced Gabinius by a large bribe to undertake his restoration (55 B.C.). He had since his expulsion in 58 been working for this at Rome and had obtained the influential support of Cicero.
èπιτηδείοις εἰς ἀπαντα χρώμενος κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν Ἰρκανώ καὶ Ἀντιπάτρω καὶ γάρ χρήματα καὶ ὀπλα καὶ σίτων καὶ ἐπικούρους Ἀντιπάτρος προσήγει, καὶ τοὺς ταύτης Ὀιουαίοις φρονοῦντας τὰς κατὰ τὸ Πηλούσιον ἐμβολὰς παρείναι Γαβίνων
176 ἔπεισέν. τῆς δ' ἄλλης Συρίας πρὸς τὸν Γαβίνων χωρισμὸν κινηθείσης καὶ Ὀιουαίοις πάλιν ἀπεστησέν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλιον, μεγίστην δὲ συγκροτήσας δύναμιν ὤρμητο πάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν Ὀιουαίους ἀνέλειν. πρὸς δ' Γαβίνων δείσας, ἣδη δὲ παρήν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου τοῖς τηδὲ θορύβοις ἡπειγμένοις, ἐπὶ τινὰς μὲν τῶν ἀφεττώτων Ἀντιπάτρων προπέμψας μετέπεισεν, συνέμενον δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τρεῖς μυριάδες, κάκεινος ὦρμητο πολεμεῖν. οὕτως ἔζεισαν πρὸς μάχην. ὑπόντων δ' οἱ Ὀιουαίοι, καὶ συμβαλόντων περὶ τὸ Ἰταβύριον ὁρὸς μύριοι μὲν ἀναιροῦνται, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἐσκεδάσθη φυγῇ. καὶ Γαβίνως ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα πρὸς τὸ Ἀντιπάτρον βουλήματα κατεστήσατο τὴν πολιτείαν. ἐνθεὶ ὀρμήσας Ναβαταιῶν τε μάχῃ κρατεῖ καὶ Μιθριδάτην καὶ Ὀρσάνην φυγόντας ἐκ Πάρθων κρύφα μὲν ἀπεπεμψεν, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐλεγεν ἀποδράσας.
178 (8) Καί τούτω Κράσσως αὐτῷ διάδοχος ἐλθὼν παραλαμβάνει Συρίαν. οὕτως εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρατεύεσαν τῶν τε ἀλλων τοῦ ἐν Ἰεροσόλυμοις ναοῦ χρυσὸν πάντα περιέλευν καὶ ἄν δισχύλια τάλαντα ἦρεν, ὃν ἀπέσχετο Πομπηῖος. διαβάς

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a Or "river-mouths." For the charge of the river Nile entrusted to the Jews cf. Ap. ii. 64.

b As Reinach remarks, this detail, which has no relevance to Jewish history, shows that Josephus is abridging a general history. The language, both here (κρύφα ἀπεπεμψεν) and
For this campaign Hyrcanus and Antipater put their services entirely at his disposal. In addition to providing money, arms, corn, and auxiliaries, Antipater further induced the local Jewish guardians of the frontiers at Pelusium to let Gabinius through. His departure, however, was the occasion for a general commotion in Syria; and Alexander, son of Aristobulus, heading a new Jewish revolt, collected a vast army and proceeded to massacre all Romans in the country. Gabinius was alarmed. He was already on the spot, news of the local disturbances having hastened his return from Egypt. Sending Antipater in advance to address some of the rebels he brought them over to reason. Alexander, however, had still thirty thousand left and was burning for action. Gabinius, accordingly, took the field, the Jews met him, and a battle was fought near Mount Tabor, in which they lost ten thousand men; the remainder fled and dispersed. Gabinius then proceeded to Jerusalem, where he reorganized the government in accordance with Antipater’s wishes. From there he marched against the Nabataeans, whom he fought and defeated. Two fugitives from Parthia, Mithridates and Orsanes, he privily dismissed, giving out to his soldiers that they had made their escape.

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

\[\text{\textit{Crassus plunders the temp}}\]

\[\text{\textit{54-53 B.C.}}\]
Δὲ τὸν Εὐφράτην αὐτὸς τε ἀπώλετο καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, περὶ ὧν οὐ νῦν καίρος λέγειν.

180 (9) Πάρθους δὲ μετὰ τὸν Κράσσον ἐπιδιαβαίνειν εἰς Συρίαν ὑμημένους ἀνέκοπτεν Κάσσιος εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν διαφυγῶν. περίποιησάμενος δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας ἦπειγετο, καὶ Ταριχαίας μὲν ἔλθων εἰς τρεῖς μυριάδας Ἰουδαίων ἀνδραποδίζεται, κτείνει δὲ καὶ Πειθόλαιον τοὺς Ἀριστοβοῦλου στασιαστὰς ἐπισυνιστάντα: τοῦ φόνου

181 δὲ ἦν σύμβουλος Ἀντίπατρος. τοῦτῳ γγήματι γυναῖκα τῶν ἐπισήμων ἢ Ἀραβίας, Κύπρον¹ τούνομα, τέσσαρες μὲν ἔνας γίνονται, Φασάλος καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐθίς Ἡρώδης, πρὸς οἷς Ἰώσηπος καὶ Φερώρας καὶ Σαλώμη θυγάτηρ, ἐξωκειομένος δὲ τοὺς πανταχοῦ δυνατοὺς φιλίας τε καὶ ξενίας μᾶλιστα προσηγάγετο τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλέα διὰ τὴν ἐπιγαμβρίαν, κατειδή τὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστοβοῦλον ἀνεῖλετο πόλεμον, ἐκείνῳ παρα-

182 καταθήκην ἐπεμήνει τὰ τέκνα. Κάσσιος δὲ κατὰ συνθήκας ἰσυχάζειν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀναγκάσας ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ὑπέστρεψεν, Πάρθους διαβαίνειν ἀνείρξων, περὶ δὲν ἐν ἑτέροις ἐροῦμεν.

183 (ix. 1) Καίσαρ δὲ Πομπήιον καὶ τῆς συνκλήτου φυγόντων ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰονίον Ῥώμης καὶ τῶν ὀλων κρατήσας ἀνίησε μὲν τῶν δισμῶν τὸν Ἀριστοβοῦλον, παραδοῦς δ' αὐτῷ δύο τάγματα κατὰ τάχος ἐπεμήνει εἰς Συρίαν, ταύτην τε ῥάδιως ἐλπίσας καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν δ' αὐτοῦ προσ-

¹ Hudson: Κύπρων ἀκριταίους.
Euphrates and perished with his whole army; but of those events this is not the occasion to speak.

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

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

\(^{\text{a}}\) Cassius 53-51 B.C.

\(^{\text{b}}\) It is uncertain whether Josephus in this and kindred phrases, mainly relating to Parthia and the Seleucids, has thoughtlessly taken over a formula from his source, or whether he actually wrote, or contemplated writing, a work which has not come down to us.
184 ἀξεσθαι. θάνει δ' ὁ φθόνος καὶ τήν 'Ἀριστοβοῦλον προθυμίαν καὶ τὰς Καίσαρος ἐλπίδας· φαρμάκω γοῦν ἀναιρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Πομπηίου φρονούντων μέχρι πολλοῦ μὲν οὐδὲ ταφῆς ἐν τῇ πατρῷα χώρᾳ μετείχεν, ἐκεῖτο δὲ μέλιτε συντηρομένος ὁ νεκρὸς [αὐτοῦ] ἔως ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου 'Ἰουδαίος ἐπέμφθη τοῖς βασιλικοῖς μνημείοις εἰταφησόμενοι.

185 (2) Ἀναιρεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ νιῶσ αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρος πελέκει ὑπὸ Σκιπίωνος ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, Πομπηίου τοῦτ' ἐπιστείλαντος καὶ γενομένης κατηγορίας πρὸ τοῦ βήματος ὃν 'Ῥωμαίους ἐβλάψεν. τοὺς δ' ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαίος ὁ Μεναινὸς παραλαβὼν, ὁς ἐκράτει τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβάνων Χαλκίδος, Φιλιππίωνα τὸν νιῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἰς Ἀσκάλωνα.

186 πέμπει. κάκεινος ἀποσπάσας τῆς Ἀριστοβοῦλου γυναῖκος Ἀντίγονον καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀνήγαγεν. ἀλοὺς δ' ἐρωτὶ γαμεὶ τὴν ἑτέραν1 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς δι' αὐτὴν κτείνεται· γαμεὶ γὰρ Πτολεμαίος τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν ἀνελὼν τὸν νιῶν καὶ διὰ τὸν γάμον κηδεμονικῶτέρος αὐτὸς ἦν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς.

187 (3) Ἀντίπατρος δὲ μετὰ τὴν Πομπηίου τελευτήσας ἐθεράπευσεν Καίσαρα, καπεδή Μιθριδάτης οὗ Περγαμηνίου μεθ' ἤς ἦγεν ἐπ' Αἰγυπτιοῦ δυνάμεως εἰργόμενος τῶν κατὰ τὸ Πηλοῦσιον ἐμβολῶν ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι κατείχετο, τοὺς τε Ἀραβάς ἡνὸι ὅταν ἐπείσεν ἐπικουρήσαι καὶ αὐτὸς

1 P.A Heg. : ἐσωτέραν the rest (perhaps rightly).

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a Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio, father-in-law of Pompey and governor of Syria; defeated by Julius Caesar at the battle of Thapsus 46 B.C.
the surrounding country to his side. But the zeal of Aristobulus and the hopes of Caesar were thwarted by malice. Poisoned by Pompey's friends, it was long before Aristobulus obtained even burial in his native land; the corpse lay preserved in honey until it was sent to the Jews by Antony for interment in the royal sepulchres.

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

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

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b See § 103. c Another reading "the younger."

a Or "arm of the Nile." The authorities at Pelusium must have sent early notice refusing him a passage; Ascalon was six days' march from that mouth of the Nile (B. iv. 361 ff.).
188 Παρώρμησαν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Συρίᾳ δυνατοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν Βοήθειαν τὸν τ' ἐποικὸν τοῦ Λιβάνου Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἰάμβλιχον, δὴ οὕς αἱ ταύτῃ πόλεις ἐτῶν Μιθριδάτης τῇ προσγενομένῃ δι' Ἀντιπατρον ισχύ ἐπὶ τὸ πολέμου. καὶ θαρρῶν ἦδη Μιθριδάτης τῇ προσγενομένῃ δι' Ἀντιπατρον ἵσχυ πρὸς τὸ Πηλούσιον ἐξελαύνει, κωλυόμενος τε διελθεῖν ἐπολιορκεῖ τῇ πόλιν. γίνεται δὲ καὶ τῇ προσβολῇ διασημότατος Ἀντιπατρος τὸ γὰρ καθ' αὐτὸν μέρος τοῦ τεῖχους διαρρήξας πρῶτος εἰσεπήδησεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ.

190 (§) Καὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον μὲν έέλαυν, πρόσω δ' αὐτοῦ λόγτα εἰργον αὐθίς οἱ τὴν Ὄνιον προσαγορευμένην χώραν κατέχοντες ἦσαν δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι Αἰγύπτιοι. τούτους Ἀντιπατρος οὐ μόνον μὲ κωλύειν ἐπεισεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάπιτῷ δὲ τῇ δυνάμει παρασχεῖν ὅθεν οὐδὲ οἱ κατὰ Μέμφιν ἐτὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἠλθον, ἐκούσιοι δὲ προσέθεντο τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ κακείνος ἦδη τὸ Δέλτα περιελθὼν συνέβαλλεν τοῖς λοιποῖς Αἰγύπτιοι εἰς μάχην κατὰ χώροι ὁς Ἰουδαῖοι στρατόπεδον καλεῖται. κυνυγνοῦσι δ' αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ παρατάξει σὺν ὅλῳ τῷ δεξίῳ κέρατι ρύεται περιελθὼν Ἀντιπατρος παρὰ τὸ περιελθὼν συνέβαλλεν τοῖς λοιποῖς Αἰγύπτιοι εἰς μάχην κατὰ χώροι ὁς Ἰουδαῖοι στρατόπεδον καλεῖται. κυνυγνοῦσι δ' αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ παρατάξει σὺν ὅλῳ τῷ δεξίῳ κέρατι ρύεται περιελθὼν Ἀντιπατρος παρὰ τὸ

192 αἰγιαλόν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῶν γὰρ καθ' ἑαυτὸ ἐκράτει τὸ λαϊν ἐχων κέρας· ἐπειτα προσπεσώ τοῖς διώκοντι Μιθριδάτην ἀπέκτεινεν πολλοὺς καὶ μέχρι τοσούτου τοὺς καταλειπομένους ἐδίωξεν ὡς καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν ἔλειν. ὠγδοηκοντι

— Son of Sohemus (A. xiv. 129), not the son of Mennaeu mentioned above (§ 185), though living in the same region. Nothing more is known of him and Jamblichus.

88
thousand Jewish infantry. It was he who roused in support of Mithridates persons so powerful in Syria as Ptolemy,\(^a\) in his Lebanon home, and Jamblichus through whose influence the cities in those parts readily took their share in the war. Emboldened by the reinforcements which Antipater had brought him, Mithridates now marched on Pelusium, and, being refused a passage, laid siege to the town. In the assault it was Antipater again who won the greatest distinction; for he made a breach in the portion of the wall which faced him and was the first to plunge into the place at the head of his troops.

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

\(^a\) For the Jewish temple built in Egypt by Onias, a refugee from Jerusalem, see B. vii. 421 ff.
\(^b\) A. "fifty."
δὲ μόνους τῶν ἴδιων ἀπέβαλεν, καὶ Μιθριδάτης ἐν τῇ προπῇ περὶ ὀκτακοσίους. σωθεὶς δ’ αὐτὸς παρ’ ἐλπίδα μάρτυς ἀβάσκανοι γίνεται πρὸς Καίσαρα τῶν ’Αντιπάτρου κατορθωμάτων.

193 (5) ’Ο δὲ τότε μὲν τὸν ἄιδρα τοῖς ἐπαινοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν εἰς τοὺς ὑπέρ ἐαυτοῦ κυνδύους ἐπ’ ἐρρωσεν, ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν παραβολότατος ἀγωνιστὴς γενόμενος καὶ πολλὰ τρωθεὶς ἐφ’ ὅλου σχεδὸν τοῦ 

194 σώματος εἶχεν τὰ σημεία τῆς ἀρετῆς. αὕτης δὲ καταστησάμενος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Λίγυππον ὡς ἐπ’ ἀνήκεν εἰς Συρίαν, πολιτεία τε αὐτοῦ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐδωρήσατο καὶ ἀτελεία, τῆς τε ἄλλης τιμῆς καὶ φιλοφρονήσεως ἐνεκεν ἤλωτον ἐποίησεν, καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην δὲ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπεκύρωσεν Ὅρκανῳ.

195 (χ. 1) Κατ’ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ ’Αντιγονος ὁ ’Αριστοβούλου πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα παρών γίνεται παραδόξως ’Αντιπάτρῳ μείζονος προκοπῆς αὐτίος. δέον γὰρ ἀποδύρεσθαι περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς πεφαρμάχθαι δοκοῦντος ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Πομπήιον διαφόρων καὶ περὶ τάδελφοι τῆς Σκίπιδος ῥωμότητα μέμφεσθαι καὶ μηδὲν εἰς τὸν ἐλεον παραμεῖξαι φθονερὸν πάθος, ὁ δ’ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ὅρκανοι καὶ

196 ’Αντιπάτρου κατηγόρει παρελθόν, ὡς παρανομώσατα μὲν αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν πάσης ἀπελαύνοις τῆς πατρίου γῆς, πολλὰ δ’ εἰς τὸ ἔθνος αὐτοῖ διὰ κόρον ἐξυβρίζοιες, καὶ ὁτι θ’ τὴν εἰς Λίγυππον συμμαχίαν οὐκ ἐπ’ εὐνοία αὐτῷ πεμψειαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ δέος τῶν πάλαι διαφόρων

1 οὖν LVR. 2 διότι LVR.
his men; Mithridates in the rout had lost about eight hundred. Thus saved beyond all expectation, Mithridates bore to Caesar’s ears ungrudging witness of Antipater’s prowess.

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

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

\(^a\) §§ 184 f.
καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον φιλίαν ἀποσκευαζόμενοι.

197 (2) Πρὸς ταῦθ' ὁ Ἀντίπατρος ἀπορρίψας τὴν ἐσθήτα τὸ πλήθος ἐπεδείκνυε τῶν τραυμάτων, καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς εἰς Καίσαρα εὐνοίας οὐκ ἔφη λόγον δεῖν αὐτῷ· κεκραγέναι γὰρ τὸ σῶμα σιω-

198 πῶντος· Ἀντιγόνον δὲ θαυμάζειν τὴν τόλμαν, εἰ πολεμίου Ἦρωμαιών υἱὸς ὦν καὶ Ἦρωμαιῶν δρα-

πέτου καὶ τὸ νεωτεροποίος εἶναι καὶ στασιώδης 

αὐτὸς πατρῴων ἔχων, παρὰ τῷ Ἦρωμαιῶν ἡγεμόνι κατηγορεῖν ἐπικεχείρηκεν ἐτέρων καὶ πειράται 

tυχεῖν ἄγαθοῦ τινος, δέον ἀγαπᾶν ὅτι ξῆ καὶ γὰρ 

νῦν ἐφίεσθαι πραγμάτων οὐ τοσούτων δὲ ἀπορίαν, 

ἀλλ᾽ ἐνα Ἰουδαίους διαστασιάζῃ παρελθὼν καὶ κρή-

σηταί κατὰ τῶν δόντων ταῖς ἀφορμαῖς.

199 (3) Τούτων Καίσαρ ἀκούσας Ἰρκαινὸν μὲν 

ἀξιώτερον τῆς ἀρχιερεσίνης ἀπεφήνατο, Ἀντι-

πάτρῳ δὲ δυναστείας αἴρεσιν ἔδωκεν. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ 

tῶν τιμῆσαντι τὸ μέτρον τῆς τιμῆς θέμενος πάσης 

ἐπίτροπος Ἰουδαίας ἀποδεικνύται, καὶ προσεπ-

τυγχάνει τὰ τείχη τῆς πατρίδος ἀνακτίζαι κατ-

200 εστραμμένα. τὰς μὲν δὴ τιμὰς ταύτας Καίσαρ 

ἐπέστελλεν ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ χαραχθῆναι, τῆς τε 

αὐτοῦ δικαιοσύνης σημεῖον καὶ τῆς τάνδρος ἐσο-

μένας ἱ' ἀρετῆς.

201 (4) Ἀντίπατρος δὲ Καίσαρα προσέστρεψας ἐκ τῆς 

Συρίας εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψεν, καὶ πρῶτοι 

μὲν τὸ τείχος ἀνεδείματο τῆς πατρίδος ὑπὸ Πομ-

πηήου κατεστραμμένον καὶ τούς ἀνὰ τὴν χώρα 

θορύβους ἐπιών κατέστελλεν, ἀπειλητὴς ἃμα κα.

1 Niese: ἐσομένης or ἐσομένου μεσ.

* Or "procurator."
of old quarrels and to obliterate the memory of their friendship for Pompey.

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

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

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

\[b\] In A. xiv. 144 this permission is given to Hyrcanus.
σύμβουλος ὃς ἐκάστοις, ὅτι τὰ μὲν Ἰρκανοῦ φρονοῦντες ἐν ὀλβῷ καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν βιώσονται, τῶν τε ἱδίων κτημάτων καὶ κοινῆς εἰρήνης ἀπο- 202 λαύνοντες: εἰ δὲ πείθοντο ταῖς ψυχραίς ἐλπίσων τῶν νεωτερίζειν ἐπὶ κέρδεσιν οἰκείοις ἐθελόντων, ὥς αὐτὸν τε πειράσουσιν ἀντὶ κηδεμόνος δεσπότην καὶ Ἰρκανόν ἀντὶ βασιλέως τύραννον, Ἡρωμαῖος γε μήν καὶ Καίσαρα πολεμίους ἀνθ' ἡγεμόνων καὶ φίλων· οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξεσθαι μετακινούμενον ἐκ τῆς 203 ἀρχῆς διὸ αὐτοῦ κατέστησαν. ἀμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγων καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καθίστατο τὴν χώραν, ὅρων τὸν Ἰρκανόν νουθή τε καὶ βασιλείας ἀτονωτέρον. Φασάηλον μὲν δὴ, τῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον, Ἡροσολύμων καὶ τῶν πέριε στρατηγῶν καθίστη- σων, τὸν δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἡρώδην ἐπὶ τοῖς ὦσις ἐστειλεν εἰς Γαλιλαίαν κομιδῇ νέον.

204 (5) 'Ο δὲ ὃν φύσει δραστήριος ἦλθη εὐθέως εὐρίσκει τῷ φρονήματι. καταλαβὼν οὖν Ἐζεκίαν τὸν ἄρχηλησθήν τὰ προσεχῆ τῇ Συρίᾳ κατα- τρέχοντα μετὰ μεγίστου στίφους, αὐτὸν τε συλ- λαβὼν ἀποκτείνει καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ληστῶν. ὃ δὴ μάλιστα τοῖς Σύροις ἡγάπητο1 κεχαρισμένον· ὑμ- νείσετο γοῦν ἀιά τε τὰς κώμας καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν 'Ἡρώδης ὃς εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἀνασεσώκως. γίνεται δὲ ἐκ τούτου καὶ Σέξτῳ Καίσαρι γνώριμος ὅτι συγγενεῖ τοῦ μεγάλου 205 καὶ διοικοῦντι τὴν Συρίαν. πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἄδελφον εὐδοκίμουντα καὶ Φασάηλος ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο τὴν ἁγαθὴν ἔριν, τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἡροσολύμοις εὐ-

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

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

\[ a \] An incorrect term; Hyrcanus had only the title of ethnarch, A. xiv. 191, etc. 

\[ b \] Herod the Great, whose history fills the greater part of the remainder of this book.
νουστέρους καθιστάμενοι, καὶ δὲ αὐτὸν μὲν ἔχων τὴν πόλιν μηδὲν δ᾽ ἀπειροκάλως εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν
207 ἐξυβρίζων. ἐνθὲν Ἄντιπάτρῳ θεραπεία τε ἦν ἐκ τοῦ ἐθνὸς βασιλικῇ καὶ τιμαὶ παρὰ πάντων ὡς δεσπότη τῶν ὅλων, οὐ μὴν αὐτὸς τῆς πρὸς Ὡρκανὸν εὐνοίας ἢ πίστεως τι μετεκίνησεν.

208 (6) Ἀμήχανον δὲ ἐν εὐπραγίαις φθόνον διαφυγεῖν. Ὡρκανὸς γοῦν ἦδη μὲν καὶ καθ᾽ ἐαυτὸν ἡσυχῆ πρὸς τὸ κλέος τῶν νεανίσκων ἐδάκνετο, μάλιστα δὲ ἐλύπει τὰ Ἡρώδου κατορθώματα καὶ κήρυκες ἐπάληλοι τῆς καθ᾽ ἐκαστον εὐδοξίας προστρέχοντε. πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις βασικάνων ἠρέθιζον, οἷς ἦ τὸ τῶν παιδῶν ἦ τὸ

209 Ἄντιπάτρῳ σωφρονικὸν προσίστατο, λέγοντες ὡς Ἄντιπάτρῳ καὶ τοῖς νῖοῖς αὐτοῦ παραχωρήσας τῶν πραγμάτων καθέξοτο τοῦνομα μόνον βασιλέως ἔχων ἔρημον ἐξουσίας. καὶ μέχρι τοῦ2 πλανηθῆσαι καθ᾽ ἐαυτοῦ βασιλείας ἐπιτρέφων; οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰρωνεύεσθαι τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν αὐτοὺς ἔτι, φανεροὺς δὲ εἶναι δεσπότας παρωσαμενοὺς ἐκεῖνον, εἰ γε μήτε ἐντολὰς δόντος μήτε ἐπιστελλότας αὐτοῖς τοσοῦτος παρὰ τῶν τῶν Ἰουδαίων νόμον ἀνήρηκεν Ἡρώδης: ὦν, εἰ μὴ βασιλεὺς ἐστὶν ἄλλ᾽ ἔτι ἰδιωτὴς, δειν ἐπὶ δίκην ἥκειν ἀποδώσοντα λόγον αὐτὰς τε καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις, οἷς κτείνειν ἀκρίτους οὐκ ἐφιάσων.

210 (7) Τούτοις κατὰ μικρὸν Ὡρκανὸς ἐξεκαίτει καὶ τὴν ὅργην τελευταῖον ἐκρήξας ἐκάλει κριθησόμενον τὸν Ἡρώδην. ὅ δὲ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς παρ

1 ἐνθέ: P. 2 Destimom: τοῦ misunderstanding. 3 ἀκρίτουs Dindorf: ἀκρίτως mss.
larity with the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and kept the city under control without any tactless abuse of authority. Antipater, in consequence,\(^a\) was courted by the nation as if he were king and universally honoured as lord of the realm. Notwithstanding this, his affection for Hyrcanus and his loyalty to him underwent no change.

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

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

\(^a\) Or "thenceforth."

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αινοῦτος καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων διδόντων παρρησίαν ἀνήει, φρουραῖς διαλαβῶν πρότερον τὴν Γαλι-λαίαν. ἦν δὲ μετὰ καρτεροῦ1 στίφους, ὡς μήτε καταλύειν δόξειεν Ὁρκανόν ἄδραν2 ἀγῶν δύναμιν
μήτε γυμνὸς ἐμπέσοι τῷ φθόνῳ. Σέξτος δὲ Καί-σαρ δείσας περὶ τῷ νεανία, μὴ τι παρὰ τοῖς ἐξ-θροῖς ἀποληφθεῖσι πάθη, πέμπει πρὸς Ὁρκανόν τοὺς παραγγελοῦντας διαρρήκτην ἀπολύειν Ὁρώ-δην τῆς φωκικῆς δίκης. ὦ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ὄρμη-μένος, ἡγάπα γὰρ Ὁρώδην, ἀποψηφίζεται.

211 (8) Καὶ ὃς ὑπολαμβάνων ἄκοντος τοῦ βασι-λέως διαφυγεῖν εἰς Σαμασκόν ἀνεχώρησεν πρὸς Σέξτον, παρασκευαζόμενος οὐδ' αὕτης ὑπακούσαι καλοῦντε. καὶ πάλιν οἱ πονηροὶ παρὼξυνον τὸν Ὁρκανὸν κατ' ὄργην τε οἰχεσθαι τὸν Ὁρώδην λέγοντες καὶ παρασκευασμένον κατ' αὐτοῦ πι-στεύων δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ εἶχεν ὁ τι χρή δρᾶν, ὡς

213 ἐώρα μείζονα τοῦ διάφορον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπὸ Σέξτον Καίσαρος καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀνεδείχθη κοίλης Συρίας καὶ Σαμαρείας, οὐ μόνον τε κατ' εὐνοιαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐθνὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ δυνάμει φοβερὸς ὦν, εἰς ἐσχατον δέους κατέπεσεν [Τρικανός],3 οἴον οὕτω προσδοκών ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὀρμήσειν μετὰ στρατιάς.

214 (9) Καὶ οὐ διήμαρτεν τῆς οἰήσεως. Ο γὰρ Ὁρώδης κατ' ὄργην τῆς περὶ τὴν δίκην ἀπειλήσ στρατιάν ἀθροίσας ἐπὶ Ἰεροσολύμων ἤγεν κατα- λύσων τὸν Ὁρκανόν. καὶ ἐφθη τοῦτο ποιήσας,

1 ἄρκετον conj. Destinon (Α. || ἀπογράφοντο).
2 LVRC: λαμπραν ΠΑΜ.
3 ins. P: om. the rest.

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

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

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

\(^a\) In \textit{J. xiv.} 177 Hyrcanus merely adjourns the trial and advises Herod to escape.
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ei μὴ προεξελθόντες ὁ τε πατὴρ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐκλασαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀρμὴν παρακαλοῦντες [καὶ] αὐτῶν ἀπειλῆ καὶ ἀνατάσει μόνη μετρῆσαι τῇ ἄμναν, οὔσασθαι δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὥστε οὐ μέχρι τοσαῦτας δυνάμεως προῆλθεν· δεῖν τε, εἰ κληθείς ἐπὶ δίκην παρών ἦν, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἄφεσιν εὐχαριστεῖν καὶ μὴ πρὸς μὲν τὸ σκυθρωπὸν ἀπαντάν
215 περὶ δὲ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀχάριστον εἶναι. εἰ δὲ ὁ λογιστέος εἰπή καὶ πολέμιον ῥοπᾶς βραβεύσαθα <θεῷ>, θεωρητέον εἶναι τῆς στρατείας τὸ ἀδικον. διὸ δὴ καὶ περὶ τῆς νίκης οὐ χρῆναι καὶ ἀπαν εὐθεῖαν εἶναι, μέλλοντα γε συμβαλλεῖ βασιλεὶ καὶ συντρόπῳ καὶ πολλακις μὲν εὐρεγέτη, πλὴν ὅσων ποιηροὶ συμβούλοις χρώμενος ἐπισείσειν αὐτῷ σκιάν ἀδική ματος. πειθεῖται τούτως Ἡρώδης ὑπολαβὼν εἰ τὰς ἐλπίδας αὐταρκεῖς εἶναι καὶ τὸ τῆς ἰσχύς ἐπιδεικνύει τῷ ἐθνεί.
216 (10) Καὶ τούτω γίνεται περὶ Ἀπάμειαν παραχ ῥωμαίων καὶ πολέμου ἐμφύλιος, Καϊκιλίου μὲ Βάσσου διὰ τὴν εἰς Πομπήιον εὑροτάν δολοφονυ σαιτος Σέβτου Καίσαρα καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμι παραλαβότος, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Καίσαρος στρατι ἄν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τοῦ φόνου Βάσσω συμβαλῶντα
217 μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως. οἱ καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀτρημένων καὶ διὰ τῶν περιόντα Καίσαρα, φίλου ὄντας ἀμφότερος, ο Ἁὐτοπατρὸς διὰ τῶν παιδώ ἐπεμφίη συμμαχίαν. μηκυιομένου δὲ τοῦ πολι

1 om. VC.
2 ἤκαθ. περιστερίον conj. atter Aldrich: θεωρητέον PAMLH εἰς. τίκλεον VC (assimilation to ἤ.).
3 Destinon: στρατιάς mss.
4 χρῆ PAM.
5 Bekker: τε mss.

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

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

*a For τὸ σκυθρωπὸν in this sense cf. A. ii. 156 (opposed to acquittal), and B. i. 542.

*b Or perhaps, with the other reading, "the injustice [of his case] might outweigh an army."
μοῦ Μουρκος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑταλίας Ἀντιστίου παραγίνεται διάδοχος.

218 (XI. 1) Συνίσταται δὲ Ὄρμαιοις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καίρον ὁ μέγας πόλεμος, Κασσίον καὶ Βρούτου κτεινάντων δόλῳ Καίσαρα, κατασχόντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπ’ ἐτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἐπτά. μεγίστου δ’ ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ γενομένου κινήματος καὶ διαστασιασθέντων τῶν δυνάτων ἐκαστὸς ἐλπίσιν οἰκείας ἔχωρει πρὸς ὁ συμφέρει ὑπελάμβανεν, καὶ δὴ καὶ Κάσσιος εἰς Συρίαν καταληψόμενος τὰς περὶ

219 Ἀπάμειαν δυνάμεις. ἦνθα Βάσσω τε Μουρκοῦ καὶ τὰ διεστώτα τάγματα διαλλάξας ἐλευθερίαν μὲν Ἀπάμειαν τῆς πολιορκίας, ἦγοομένος δ’ αὐτὸς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπίμει φορολογῶν τὰς πόλεις καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν τὰς εἰσπράξεις ποιοῦμενος.

220 (2) Κέλευσθεν δὲ καὶ Ὀμβαίους εἰσενεγκεί ἐπτακόσσα τάλαντα, δείσας Ἀντίπατρος τὴν ἀπειλήν τοῦ Κασσίου τοῖς τε νῦν διεἶλεν εἰσπράττει τὰ χρήματα καὶ τισὶν ἄλλοις τῶν ἐπιτηδείων κατο τάχος, ἐν ὅς καὶ Μαλίχω την τῶν διαφόρων

221 οὖτως ἤπειρεν ἡ ἀνάγκη. πρῶτος δ’ ἄπεμειλ ἐστιν Κάσσιον Ἡρώδης τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μοίραν ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας κομίσας ἐκατὸν τάλαντα, καὶ δὴ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς καλίστα φίλος ἦν. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς εἰς βραδυτήταν κακίας αὐταῖς ἐθυμοῦτο ταῖς

222 πόλεσιν. Γόφνα γοῦν καὶ Ἀμμαοῦ καὶ δὴ ἑτέρας τῶν ταπεινωτέρων ἐξαιρετικός ἐχώ

1 Lat. (= C. Antistius Vetus, who besieged Bassus in Apamea before the arrival of Murcus, Dio Cass. xlvii. 27) ἀντὶ Κασσίου Π. ἀντὶ Κεστίου Α. Σέετον the rest (apparently) from Α. ).

2 + ἄφου ρΑΜC.

a See critical note.
on and Murcus arrived from Italy to succeed Antistius.a

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

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

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

c Lydda and Thamna, A. xiv. 275.
ρει μὲν ώς καὶ Μάλιχον ἀναφήσων, ὅτι μὴ σπέυσας εἰςεπραξεν, ἐπέσχεν δὲ τὴν τούτον καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων ἀπωλείαν ’Αντιπάτρως ταχέως ἐκατὸν ταλάντοις θεραπεύσας Κάσσιον.

223 (3) Οὐ μὴν Μάλιχος ἀναχωρήσαντος Κάσσιον τὴς χάριτος ἀπεμνημόνευσεν ’Αντιπάτρω, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ πολλάκις σωτήρος ἐπιθυμήσει ἐνεσκευάζετο σπεύδων ἀνελεῖν τὸν ἐμπόδιον αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν ὑπα: ’Αντιπάτρος δὲ τὴν τε ἱσχύν καὶ τὸ πανούργον ταῖδρος ὑποδείσας διαβαίνει τὸν Ἰορδάνην, στρατον ἄθροίσων εἰς τὴν τῆς ἐπιθυμήσεις ἀμμαν. φωραθεὶς δὲ Μάλιχος ἀναδείκνυ τῶν ’Αντιπάτρου παιδῶν περιγίνεται τὸν τε γὰρ Ἱεροσολύμων φρουρὸν Φασάρλου καὶ Ἡρώδη τε πεπιστευμένον τὰ ὅπλα πολλαῖς ἄπολογίαις καὶ ὅρκοις ἐκγοητεύσας διαλλακτάς αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα πείθει γίνεσθαι. πάλιν γοῦν ὑπ’ ’Αντιπάτρου σώζεται πείσαντος Μοῦρκον τὸν τότε στρατηγοῦντα Συρίας, ὅς ὤρμητο κτεῖνα Μάλιχοι ἐδ’ οἷς ἐνεστέρισεν.

225 (4) Συστάντας δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Κάσσιον καὶ Βροῦ τοῦ πολέμου Καίσαρι τε τῶν νέω καὶ ’Αντωνίῳ Κάσσιος καὶ Μοῦρκος στρατιῶν ἄθροίσαντες ἐκ τῆς Συρίας, ἐπειδὴ μέγα μέρος εἰς τὰς χρεῖας Ἡρώδης ἐδοξεῖ, τόπε μὲν αὐτὸν Συρίας ἀπάση ἐπιμελητὴν καθιστᾶσιν δύναμιν πεζῶν τε καὶ ἵππικὴν δόντες, μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου κατὰ λυσιν ἀποδείξειν Κάσσιος ὑπέσχετο καὶ Ἰουδαία: βασιλεά. συνέβη δ’ ’Αντιπάτρω τὴν τε ἱσχύν τοι παιδὸς καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα αὐτίαν ἀπωλείας γενέσθαι.

* Or perhaps “out of consideration for the large part which H. had played in rendering assistance.” The un 104
proceeding so far as to put Malichus to death for tardiness in levying the tribute; but Antipater saved both his life and the other cities from destruction, by hastily propitiating Cassius with a gift of a hundred talents.

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

(4) When the young Caesar and Antony declared war on Cassius and Brutus, Cassius and Murcus levied an army in Syria, and, regarding Herod’s future assistance as a great asset, appointed him then and there prefect of the whole of Syria, putting a force of horse and foot at his disposal; Cassius further promising on the termination of the war to make him king of Judaea. These powers and brilliant expectations of the son proved in the end the occasion of certainty arises from the absence of a verb ( γενῆσεσθαι as in 1. xv. 264, or γενέσθαι as ib. 307). The addition, συμβεβλησθαι, in cod. C is a gloss, due to misunderstanding of the Latinism magna pars.

Or “procurator”; A. says “governor of Coele-Syria,” less considerable and more probable appointment.
ταύτα γάρ δείσας ὁ Μάλιχος διαφθείρει τινά τῶν βασιλικῶν οἶνοχών χρήμασιν δοῦναι φάρμακον Ἀντιπάτρῳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄγωνισμα τῆς Μαλίχου παρανομίας γενόμενος μετὰ τὸ συμπόσιον θυόσκει, τά τε άλλα δραστήριος ἄνηρ ἐν ἀφηγήσει πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς ἀρχής ἀνακτησάμενος τε Ὄρκανῶ καὶ διαφυλάξας.

227 (5) Μάλιχος δὲ καθ' ὑπόνοιαν τῆς φαρμακείας ὀργιζόμενον τὸ πλῆθος ἀριστούμενος ἐπειθὲν καὶ δυνατώτερον ἑαυτὸν κατεσκευάζεις ὀπλίτας συγκροτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἤρεμύσεις Ἡρώδην ὑπελάμβανεν, ὅσ δὴ καὶ παρὶν αὐτίκα στρατὸν ἄγων ἐπὶ 228 τιμωρία τοῦ πατρὸς. Φασάγηλον δὲ τάδελφον συμβουλεύσαντος αὐτῷ μὴ φανερῶς τὸν ἄνδρα μετεῖναι, διαστασιάσειν γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος, τότε μὲν ἀπολογοῦμενον τε προσίεται τὸν Μάλιχον καὶ τῆς ὑπονοίας ἀπολύνει ὀμολόγης, λαμπρὰν δὲ πομπήν ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ κηδείας ἐτέλεσεν.

229 (6) Ῥαπείς δ' ἐπὶ Σαμάρειαν στάσει τεταραγμένη κατεστήσατο τὴν πόλιν· ἐπείτα καθ' ἐορτὴν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἄγων. καὶ πέμπων Ὅρκανὸς, ἐνήγαγεν γὰρ δεδοικῶς τὴν ἔφοδον Μάλιχος, ἐκώλυνεν τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους ἐἰσαγαγεῖν ἐφ' ἀγνεύοντας τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. ὁ δὲ τῆς προφάσεως καταφρονήσας καὶ τοῦ προστάσεως σοντος εἰσέρχεται διὰ νυκτός. καὶ πάλιν Μάλιχος προσιῶν ἐκλαίειν Ἀντιπάτρου· ἀνθυπεκρίνετο δὲ μόλις Ἡρώδης τὸν θυμὸν ἐπέχων καὶ Κασσίων δι' ἐπιστολῶν τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀναίρεσιν ἀπωδύρετο μισοῦντι καὶ ἄλλως Μάλιχον. ὁ δ' αὐτῷ μετιέναι

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

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

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

231 (7) Κάπειδη Λαοδίκειοι πάντα ὅμοιοι διονυσαν όι πανταχόθεν δυνατοὶ δωρεάς τε καὶ στεφάνους χεροντες, Ἦρωδης μὲν τούτῳ τῇ τιμωρίᾳ τὸν καιρὸν ἄφωρισεν, Μάλιχος δὲ ὑποπτεύσας, ὡς ἐν Τίρῳ γίνεται, τόν τε νῦν ὑμηρεύοντα παρὰ τοῖς Τιρίοις ὑπεξαγαγεῖν ἐγνῷ λάθρᾳ καὶ ἀυτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀποδράναι παρεσκευάζετο. παρώξυνεν δ' ἀυτὸν ἡ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπόγνωσις ἐνθυμεῖσθαι καὶ μείζονα· τὸ τε γὰρ ἑνὸς ἐπαναστήσει Ἰωμαίοις ἦλπισεν, Κασσίου τῷ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον πολέμῳ περισσωμένου, καὶ βασιλεύσειν αὐτὸς Ἰτραγόν καταλύσας εὐμαρώς.

232 (8) Ἔπεγέλα δ' ἀρα τὸ χρεῶν αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν. ο γοῦν Ἦρωδῆς προϊδόμενος αὐτοῦ τῇ ὁρμήν τὸν τε Ἰτραγὸν κάκεινον ἐπὶ δείπνων ἐκάλει, παρεστῶτα δ' ἐπείτα τῶν οἰκετῶν τινὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰσέπεμψεν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ δείπνου παρασκευὴν, τὸ δὲ ὅντι προειπεῖν τοῖς χιλιάρχοις ἔξε.

233 〈8〉 Ἐπεγέλα δ' ἀρα τὸ χρεῶν αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν. ο γοῦν Ἦρωδῆς προϊδόμενος αὐτοῦ τῇ ὁρμήν τὸν τε Ἰτραγὸν κάκεινον ἐπὶ δείπνων ἐκάλει, παρεστῶτα δ' ἐπείτα τῶν οἰκετῶν τινὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰσέπεμψεν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ δείπνου παρασκευὴν, τὸ δὲ ὅντι προειπεῖν τοῖς χιλιάρχοις ἔξε.

234 εἴθειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐνέδραν. κάκεινοι τῶν Κασσίου προσταγμάτων ἀναμνησθέντες ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸς τῆς πόλεως αὐγαλῶν εξήςαν εἰρήνεις, ἐνθα περιστάντες τῶν Μάλιχος πολλοῖς προάμασιν ἀναιροῦσιν Ἰτραγὸς δὲ παραχρήμα μὲν λυθεὶς ὡς ἐκπληξίες ἐπεσεν, μόλις δὲ ἀνευγκάς Ἦρωδην διηρώτα

235 τίς ὁ κτείνας εἰη Μάλιχον. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τινος τῶν χιλιάρχων "τῷ Κασσίου πρόσταγμα, "Κάσσιος ἀρα," ἐφη, "καμὲ καὶ τὴν πατρίδο μου σώζει τὸν ἀμφοτέρων ἐπιβουλοῦν ἀνελῶν." εἴπε δὲ φρονῶν Ἰτραγὸς οὕτως εἰθ' ὑπὸ δέος

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

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

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

1 ἐκλύθεις C.
ομόσε τῇ πράξει χωρῶν εἶπεν, ἀδηλον ἤν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Μάλιχον μὲν οὕτως Ἡρώδης μετήλθεν.

236 (xii. 1) Κασσίου δὲ ἀναχωρήσαντος ἐκ Συρίας πάλιν στάσις ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωι γίνεται, "Εἰλικος μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπαναστάντος Φασάηλω καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ Μάλιχον τιμωρίαν ἀμύνεσθαι θέλοντος Ἡρώδης εἰς τὸν ἀδελφὸν. Ἡρώδης δὲ ἐτυχεὶς μὲν ὀν παρὰ Φαβίων τῷ στρατηγῷ κατὰ Δαμασκοῦ, ὀρμημένοις δὲ βοηθείων ὑπὸ νόσου κατ-

237 εἰχετο. καὶ τούτῳ Φασάηλος καθ᾽ ἐαυτὸν "Εἰλικος περιγενόμενος Ἰρκανοῦ ὑνείδετεν εἰς ἀχαριστίαν ὡς τε "Εἰλικε συμπράξειν, καὶ ὅτι περιορώ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Μάλιχον τὰ φρούρια καταλαμβάνωντα:

πολλὰ γὰρ δὴ κατείληπτο καὶ τὸ πάντων ὀχυρώτατον Μασάδαν.

238 (2) Οὐ μὴν αὐτῷ τῷ πρὸς τῇ Ἡρώδου βίαι ἠρκεσεν, δός ἀναρρωσθείς τὰ τε ἄλλα παραλαμβάνει κάκεινον ἔκ τῆς Μασάδας ἰκέτην ἀφήκεν ἐξήλασεν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Παλαιὰς Μαρίωνα τοῦ Τυρίων τύραννον ᾧ δὲ κατεσχηκότα τῶν ἔρυμάτων, τούς δὲ ληφθέντας Τυρίωνες ἐσωσεν μὲν πάντας, ἦσαν δὲ οὕς καὶ δωρησάμενος ἄπεπεμφεν εὔνοιαι ἐαυτῷ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν τυράννων

239 μίσος παρασκευαζόμενος. δὲ Μαρίων ἡξίωτε μὲν τῆς τυραννίδος ὑπὸ Κασσίου τυραννίσαι πᾶσαι διαλαβόντος τῇ Συρίαν, κατὰ δὲ τὸ πρὸς Ἡρώ-

δην ἔχθος συγκατηγαγέν Ἁντίγονον τὸν Ἀριστο-

βουλοῦ, καὶ τὸ πλέον διὰ Φαβίου, ὃν Ἁντίγονος χρήμασιν προσποιησάμενος βοηθὸν εἶχεν τῆς καθ-

όδου κηρηγὸς δ᾽ ἦν ἀπάντων ὁ κηδεστὴς Πτολε-

μαίος Ἁντίγονω.

1 ἡ Ἰ. V.R.C.
from fear acquiesced in the deed, was uncertain. Be that as it may, thus was Herod avenged on Malichus.

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

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

\(^a\) Cf. § 173.

\(^b\) § 186.
(3) Pros oüs Ἡρώδης ἀντιπαρασαγάμενος ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβολῶν τῆς Ἰουδαίας κρατεῖ τῇ μάχῃ, καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐξελάσας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πάσιν ἀγαπητός ὁ ὕπι τῷ κατορθώματι καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὴ προσέχοντες πάλαι τὸτε φικείωντο διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἰρκανοῦ ἐπιγαμίαν αὐτῶ. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἦκετο γυναίκα τῶν ἐπιγραφῶν οὐκ ἄσημοι, Δορίς ἐκαλεῖτο, εἷς ἦς ἐγεννησεν Ἀντιπατροῦ, τότε δὲ γῆμας τὴν Ἀλεξαίδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοβουλοῦ θυγατέρα, θυγατριδὴν δὲ Ἰρκανοῦ, Μαριάμμην οἴκειος τῷ βασιλεῖ γίνεται.

(4) Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κάσσιον περὶ Φιλίππους ἀνελόντες ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς μὲν Ἰταλίαν Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἀντώνιος, πρεσβευομένων τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων πρὸς Ἀντώνιον εἰς Βαθυνίαν ἦκον καὶ Ιουδαίων οἱ δινατοὶ κατηγοροῦντες Φασαήλου καὶ Ἡρώδου, βία μὲν αὐτοὺς κρατεῖν τῶν πραγμάτων, οὐκομα δὲ μόνον περειναι Ἰρκανῷ τίμιον, πρὸς αἱ παρῶν Ἡρώδης καὶ τεθεραπευκός οὐκ ὀλίγος Ἀντώνιον χρήμασιν οὕτως διεέθηκεν, ὡς μὴ δὲ λόγου τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀνασχέσθαι, καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως διελύθησαν.

(5) Ἀδηθς δὲ οἱ ἐν τέλει Ἰουδαίων ἐκατόν ἄνδρες ἦκον εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ἀντιόχειαν Δάφνην ἐπ᾽ Ἀντώνιον ἦδη τῷ Κλεοπάτρας ἐρωτὶ δεδουλωμένοι οἱ προστησάμενοι τοὺς ἀξιώματι καὶ λόγῳ σφῶν δινατωτάτους κατηγόρουν τῶν ἀδελφῶν. ὑπήντα δὲ Μεσσάλας ἀπολογούμενος συμπαρ- εστῶτος Ἰρκανοῦ διὰ τὸ κῆδος. καὶ Ἀντώνιος

1 L*VR: τὴν Ἀσίαν the rest.

* Or rather, apparently, betrothed: the marriage is recorded later in § 344.
(3) These enemies were opposed by Herod at the entry to the territory of Judaea, where a battle took place in which he was victorious. Antigonus being banished from the country, Herod returned to Jerusalem, where his success won him all men’s hearts. Even those who had hitherto stood aloof were now reconciled by his marriage into the family of Hyrcanus. His first wife was a Jewess of some standing, named Doris, by whom he had a son, Antipater; but now he married a Mariamme, daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, and grand-daughter of Hyrcanus, and thus became kinsman of the king.

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

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

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*Hyrcanus II, incorrectly entitled "king," as in § 203.

* M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, c. 70-3 B.C., attached himself in the civil wars respectively to Cassius, Antony and Augustus; author, orator and patron of literature, a friend of Horace and Tibullus.
ἀκούσας ἑκατέρων Ἰρκανοῦ διεπυνθάνετο τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτέρους ὡς τὰς ἀρχεῖν· τοῦ δὲ τοὺς περὶ τῶν Ἡρώδην προκρίναντος, ἤσθεῖς, ἢν γὰρ ἦδη καὶ ξένοις αὐτοῖς πατρῶς, δεχθεῖς ὑπ’ Ἀντιπάτρου φιλοφρόνως ὅτε εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν σὺν Γαβριήλ παρέβαλεν, τετράρχας ἀποδείκνυσιν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς πᾶσαν διοικεῖν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπιτρέπειν.

245 (6) Προσαγαγάκτυντον δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων πεντεκαίδεκα μὲν συλλαβῶν εἰργνυσιν, οὐδὲ καὶ ἄνελεῖν ὀρμησθεν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς μεθ’ ὑβρεῶς ἀπήλασιν. πρὸς δὲ μείζων ἐν τοῖς Ἰεροσολύμωις γίνεται παραχῆ· χιλίους ὑοῦν πάλιν ἐπέμψαν πρέσβεις εἰς Τύρον, ἐνθα διέτριβεν Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ Ἰεροσολύμωις ὀρμημένοις. ἐπὶ τούτους κεκραγότας ἐκπέμπει τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν Τυρίων κολάζειν προστάξας οὐδ’ ἄν λάβη, συγκατασκευάζειν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ κατασταθείσιν τετράρχαις.

246 (7) Πρὸ δὲ τούτου πολλὰ παρῆνε τροελθῶν ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν Ἡρώδησ σὺν Ἰρκανῷ μὴθ’ ἐαυτοῖς ἀπωλείας αἰτίους μῆτε τῇ πατρίδι πολέμου γίνεσθαι φιλοεικονίτας ἁκρίτως. τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἀγανακτοῦντων Ἀντώνιος ἐκπέμψας ὀπλίτας πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, πολλοὺς δὲ ἐτρωσεν· ὅι τε πεσόντες ταφῆς καὶ οἱ τραυματίαι τεραπεῖας ἠξιώθησαν υπὸ Ἰρκανοῦ. οὐ μὴν οἱ διαφυγόντες ἠρέμουν, ἀλλὰ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν συνταράσσοντες παρώξυναν Ἀντώνιον ὡστε καὶ τοὺς δεσμῶτας ἀποκτεῖναι.

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

1 προκρίνωντος ΡΔ. 2 MVC: δὲ the rest.
inquired of Hyrcanus who was the best qualified ruler. Hyrcanus pronouncing in favour of Herod and his brother, Antony was delighted, because he had formerly been their father's guest and had been hospitably entertained by Antipater when he accompanied Gabinius on his Judaean campaign. He, accordingly, created the brothers tetrarchs, entrusting to them the administration of the whole of Judaea.

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

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

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

a συγκατασκευάζεων τὴν ἀρχήν, after Thuc. i. 93.
Πάρθων σατράπου σὺν Πακόρῳ τῷ βασιλέως υἱῷ Συρίαν κατασχόντος Λυσανίας διαδεδεμένον1 ήδη τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήσαντος, Πτολε-μαίος δ' ἦν οὗτος ὁ Μενναίος, πείθει τὸν σα-τράπην ὑποσχέσει χιλίων ταλάντων καὶ πεντα-κοσίων γυναικῶν καταγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια τὸν 249 Ἀντίγονον, καταλύσαι δὲ τὸν Ὄρκανον. τούτους ὑπαχθεῖ Πάκορος αὐτὸς μὲν ἦς κατὰ τὴν παρά-λιον, Βαρζαφράνην δὲ διὰ τῆς μεσογείου προσ-έταξεν ἐμβαλείν. τῶν δ' ἐπιθαλαττίων Τύριοι Πάκορον οὐκ ἐδέξαντο καίτοι Πτολεμαίων καὶ Σιδωνίων δεδεμένων. ὦ δ' οὐνοχῶς τινὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ὁμωνύμῳ μοίραν τῆς ἱπποῦ παράδος προεμβαλείν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, κατα-σκεφόμενον τε τὰ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὶ ἐξεύθεσαν Ἀντιγόνων.

250 (2) Τῶν δὲ ληξιμένων τὸν Κάρμηλον πολλοὶ Ἰουδαίοι συνδραμόντες πρὸς Ἀντίγονον προ-θύμους ἔαντο ἐπὶ τὴν εἰσβολὴν παρεῖχον. ὦ δὲ αὐτός ἐπὶ τὸν καλούμενον Δρυμὸν προέμεινεν τὸ χωρίον καταλαβείν· ἐν δὲ γενομένης συμβολῆς ὑσόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ διώξαντες ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἠθεσθεν, γενόμενοι τε πλείους μέχρι 251 τῶν βασιλείων προῆλθον. Ὅρκανοῦ δὲ καὶ Φα-σαήλου δεξαμένων αὐτοὺς καρτερῷ στίφει μάχη κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν συρρήγνυται, καθ' ἦν τρειζά-μενου τοὺς πολεμίως οἱ περὶ Ἡρώδην κατα-κλείουσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ φρουροὺς αὐτῶν ἀνδρας ἔξηκοντα ταῖς πλησίοις οἰκίαις ἐγκατέστησαν. 252 τούτους μὲν2 οὐ στασιάζων πρὸς τοὺς ἄδελφους λαὸς ἐπελθὼς ἐμπιπτῆσαι, Ἡρώδης δὲ τοῦ ὃμιου

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

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

\[a\] In A. this promise is given by Antigonus himself; cf. § 257 below.

\[b\] "Oak-coppice."
253 (3) 'Ενστάσες δ' ἐξορτήσες, ἡ πεντηκοστή καλεῖται, τὰ τε περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πάντα καὶ ἡ πόλις ὅλη πλήθουσι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἀναπήπται, τὸ πλέον ὀπλιτῶν. καὶ Φασάγλος μὲν τὸ τείχος, Ηρώδης δ' οὐ μετὰ πολλῶν ἐφρούρει τὰ βασιλεία· καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπεκδραμὼν ἀσυντάκτους κατὰ τὸ προάστειον τὸ πλεῖστος μὲν ἀναρεῖ, τρέπεται δὲ πάντας καὶ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὸ ἐξω χαράκωμα

254 συγκλείει.\(^2\) καὶ τούτῳ διαλλακτὴν μὲν Ἀντίγονος παρακαλεῖ Πάκορον εἰσαφεῖνα, Φασάγλος δὲ πεισθεὶς τῇ τε πόλει καὶ ἔνεια τὸν Πάρθον εἰσδέχεται μετὰ πεντακοσίων ἱππέων, προφάσει μὲν ἦκοντα τῷ παῦσαι τὴν στάσιν, τὸ δ’ ἄλθες

255 Ἀντίγονών βοηθόν. τὸν γοῦν Φασάγλον ἐνιεδρεύων ἀνέπεισεν πρὸς Βαρζαφράνην πρεσβεύσασθαι περὶ καταλύσεως, καίτοι τε\(^3\) πολλὰ ἀποτρέποντος Ἦρωδου καὶ παραγωγόντος ἀναρεῖν τὸν ἐπίβουλον, ἀλλὰ μὴ ταῖς ἐπιβουλαῖς ἐαυτὸν ἐκδίδοναι, φύσει γὰρ ἀπίστους εἶναι τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἐξεισών Ἰρκανὸν παραλαβῶν. καὶ Πάκορος, ὡς ἢπτεὶν ὑποπτεύοιτο, καταλίπων παρ’ ἦρωδη τινὰς τῶν καλουμένων Ἑλευθέρων ἱππέων τοῖς λοιποῖς προέπεμψεν Φασάγλον.

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

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1 PA Lat. (so A. ||): προσάρκτιον the rest.
2 ἔγινει PAM.
3 te Niese: γε mss.

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\(^a\) Probable, the cup-bearer, not the prince, for, as Reinach remarks, the latter would have been in a position to treat
arms against the citizens and slew many of them. Every day small companies sallied out against each other, and slaughter was incessant.

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

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

b More precisely 200 cavalry and 10 "freemen" (A. xiv. 342). Most of the Parthian soldiers were slaves (Justin, xli. 2. 5, quoted by Reinach).
μὲν ἐπιχωρίους ἀφεστῶτας καὶ τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ὄντας καταλαμβάνουσιν, τῷ σατράπῃ δὲ ἐνετύχανον πανούργων οὐφόδρα καὶ ταῖς φιλοφρονήσεσιν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν καλύπτοντι· ὅρα γενέ δοὺς αὐτοῖς 257 ἐπειτ' ἀναχωροῦντας ἐλόχα. τοῖς δ' αἰσθησις γίνεται τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς καταχθείσαν εἰς τι τῶν παραβαλασσίων χωρίων, δὲ καλεῖται 'Εκδίππων· ἐκεῖ γὰρ τὴν τε ὑπόσχεσιν τῶν χιλίων ἤκουσαν ταλάντων καὶ ὡς 'Ἀντίγονος τὰς πλείστας τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς γυναικῶν ἔν ταῖς πεντακοσίαις καθ- 258 οἰσίωσειν Πάρθοις, ὅτι τε προλοχίζοιτο μὲν αὐτοῖς αἱ νύκτες ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀεί, πάλαι δ' ἄν καὶ συνεληφθήσαν, εἰ μὴ περιέμενον ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωι 'Ἡρώδην πρότερον λαβεῖν, ὡς μὴ προπυθόμενος τὰ κατ' αὐτοῖς φυλάξατο. ταῦτ' οὐκέτι λόγος ἢν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φυλακᾶς ἤδη πόρρωθεν2 ἐαυτῶν ἐβλέπων.

259 (5) Οὐ μὲν Φασάηλος καίτοι πολλὰ παραινοῦσαν Ὀψελλίοις φεύγειν, πέπυστο γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ Σαραμάλλα τοῦ πλουσιωτάτου τότε Σύρων τὴν σύνταξιν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὅλην, καταλιπεῖν Ἰρκανοῦ ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ σατράπῃ προσελθὼν ἀντικρος ὀνειδίζειν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι γένοιτο τοιούτος χρημάτων ἔνεκεν· πλεῖον γε μὴν αὐτός ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας δώσειν ὃν 'Ἀντίγονος ὑπὲρ 260 βασιλείας ὑπέσχετο, πρὸς ταῦτα πανούργως ὁ Πάρθος ἀπολογίας τε καὶ ὀρκοὺς ἀποσκευασμένος τῇ ὑποψίᾳ ὑχετο πρὸς Πάκορον. εὐθέως δὲ τῶν καταλειψάντων Πάρθων οἷς προσετέτακτο Φασάηλόν τε καὶ Ἰρκανὸν συνελάμβανον,

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

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

261 (6) 'Εν δὲ τούτω καὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ὁ πεμφθεὶς οἰνοχόος ἐπεβούλευεν συλλαβεῖν, ἐξω τοῦ τείχους ἀπατήσας προελθεῖν, ὦσπερ ἐντολὰς εἴχεν. ὁ δὲ ἀρχής ὑποπτεύων τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ τότε πεπυμένοις εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐμπεπτωκέναι τὰ μνήμονα τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτῶ γράμματα, προελθεῖν οὐκ ἢβουλέτο, καίτοι μάλα ἀξιοπίστως τοῦ Πακόρου φῶς κοντὸς δὲ ἐν αὐτῶν ὑπαντήσαι τοῖς τὰς ἐπιστολὰς κομίζουσιν. οὔτε γὰρ ἐιλεκτεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτὰς καὶ περιέχειν οὐκ ἐπι-

262 βουλήν, ἀλλ' ὀπόσα διεπράζετο Φασάγλος. ἔτυχεν δὲ παρ' ἄλλων προακῆσθαι τῶν ἀδελφῶν συν-
eιλημμένων, καὶ προσῆκε ἤρκανον θυγάτηρ [Μα-
ρίάμην] 2 συνετωτάτη γυναικῶν, καταντιβολοῦσα μὴ προίκεια μηδ' ἐμπιστεύειν εαυτῶν ἢδη φανερῶς ἐπιχειροῦσι τοῖς βαρβάρους.

263 (7) Ἔτι δὲ τῶν περὶ Πάκορον σκεπτομένων, πῶς ἄν κρύφα τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἀπατήσειαν, οὐ γὰρ ἑκ φανερῶ οἰόν τ' ἣν ἀνδρὸς οὔτω δυνατοῦ3 περι-
egενέσθαι, προλαβὼν Ἡρώδης μετὰ τῶν οἰκειο-
tάτων προσώπων νῦκτωρ ἐπὶ Ἰδομείας ἔχωρει

264 λάθρα τῶν πολεμίων. αἰσθόμενοι δ' οἱ Πάρθοι κατεδύσκον, κάκεινος τὴν μὲν μητέρα καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς 4 καὶ τὴν καθωμολογημένην παίδα μετὰ

1 πολλα Destinon (with A. 1): τά τε ἄλλα mss.
2 Perhaps a gloss (Niese), or read Μαριάμης δὲ μήτηρ (Destinon). cf. A. xiv. 351. 3 συνετού LVR Lat.

a Pacorus (§ 249): A. incorrectly has εἰνοῦχος instead of οἰνοχόος.

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

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

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

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b Strictly grand-daughter (§ 241); but A. xiv. 351 is here probably correct in mentioning “the daughter of Hyrcanus, the mother of his betrothed.” His bride would hardly be referred to in this way.
τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τοῦ νεωτάτου τῶν ἀδελφῶν προστάξας ὁδείειν αυτὸς ἀσφαλῶς μετὰ τῶν θεραπόντων ἀιέκοπτε τοὺς βαρβάρους· καὶ πολλοὺς κατὰ πάσαν προσβολὴν ἀποκτείνας εἰς Μασάδαν τὸ φρουρίον ἤπειρεν τοῖς ἐκτείνοντοιν ἄμπελοις εἰς Μασάδαν τὸ φρουρίον ἤπειρεν

265 (8) Βαρυτέρους δὲ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν Πάρθων ᾿Ιουδαίους ἐπείρασεν, ἐνοχλήσαντας μὲν διηνεκῆς, ἀπὸ δὲ ἐξήκοντα τῆς πόλεως σταδίων καὶ παραταξάμενος ἐπιεικῶς πολὺν χρόνων, ἔνθα κρατήσας Ἡρώδης καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας αὐτοῖς εἰς μνήμην τοῦ κατορθώματος ἐκτείνει τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἐν τοιούτῳ πολυτελεστάντως ἔκοσμενεν, καὶ ἀκρόπολιν ὑγιείατην ἀνεδείματο, Ἡρώδειον τε ἐκάλεσεν ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ. την καύτα γε μὴν φεύγοντι καθ’ ἡμέραν αὐτῶ προσεύνοντο πολλοὶ, καὶ κατὰ Ὁ ῼ[θ]ᾶν γενομένω τῆς ᾿Ιδομείας ᾿Ιωσήπου ἀδελφὸς ᾿Χριστῆς ὑπαντήσας συνεβούλευσεν τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπομένων ἀποφορτίσασθαι, μὴ γὰρ ἐν τοσοῦτον ὅχλον δεδομένη τὴν Μασάδαν ἤσαν δ’ ὑπὲρ τούς ἐνιακοσκίλιους. πεισθεὶς [οὔ]“ Ηρώδης τοὺς μὲν βαρυτέρους τῆς χρείας διαφῆκεν ἀνὰ τὴν ᾿Ιδομείαν οὐς ἐφόδια, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων τοὺς ἀλκιμωτάτους κατασχὼν εἰς τὸ φρούριον διασώζεται. καταλιπὼν δ’ ἐνταῦθα ταῖς γυναικίς ὀκτακοσίων φύλακας καὶ διαρκῆ τάπιτεια πρὸς πολιορκίαν αὐτῶς εἰς τὴν ᾿Αραβικὴν Πέτραν ἤπειρεν τοῖς ἐκτείνοντοιν τῶν φυγόντων εἰς τὰς οἰκίας εἰσὶν.


2 om. ΡΑ.
to him, with her mother, and his youngest brother to continue their journey, and then, aided by his attendants, secured their retreat, holding the barbarians at bay. In every encounter he slew large numbers of them, and then pressed on to the fortress of Masada.\(^a\)

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

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

\(^a\) Above the west coast of the Dead Sea, near its lower extremity.

\(^b\) A description is given later, §§ 419 ff.

\(^c\) Masada.
269 ἑκαστὸς. Πάρθοι δὲ μετὰ τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὦβρεως ἐχώρησαν ὡς ἐμπλήσαι μὲν ἀκηρύκτων πολέμου τὴν χώραν ἀπασάν, ἀνάστατον δὲ ποιῆσαι τὴν Μαρισαίων πόλιν, μὴ μόνον δὲ καταστήσαι βασιλέα Ἀντίγονον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραδοῦναι αὐτῷ Φασάγλον τε καὶ Ἡρκανόν δεσμῶτας αἰκίσασθαι.

270 ὅ δὲ Ἡρκανόν μὲν προσπεσόντος1 αὐτὸς τὰ ὅτα λωβάται τοῖς ὤδουσιν, ὡς μηδὲ αὕτη ἐν μεταβολῇ ποτὲ δύνατο τὴν ἀρχιερευσύνην ἀπολαβεῖν· δεῖ γὰρ ὀλοκλήρους ἀρχιερᾶσθαι.

271 (10) Τῆς Φασαγλοῦ δὲ ἀρετῆς υπερίζει φθάσαντος πέτρα προσρήζαι τὴν κεφαλήν, ὡς καὶ σιδηροῦν καὶ χειρῶν εἰργετο. κάκεινος μὲν, Ἡρώδου γνήσιον ἐαυτὸν ἀποδείξας ἀδελφον καὶ Ἡρκανὸν ἀγεννεστατον, ἀνδρειότατα θυνήσκει, ποιησάμενος τὴν καταστροφὴν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ἔργοις πρέπουσαν. κατέχει δὲ καὶ ἄλλος λόγος, ὡς ἄνενέγκαι μὲν ἐκ τῆς τότε πληγής, πεμφθεὶς δὲ ἰατρὸς ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου θεραπεύσαι δήθεν αὐτὸν ἐμπλήσειεν τὸ τραύμα δηλητηρίων φαρμάκων καὶ

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1 προσπεσόντος MLVR: om. Lat.: προσπεσῶν the rest, i.e. "Antigonus personally assaulted H."

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

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

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

b Or "undeclared."

c Mareshah (Khubet Mer'ash), some 25 miles S.W. of Jerusalem, in Idumaea (§ 63).

d A. xiv. 366 omits this detail, saying merely "docked is ears."

e Cf. Lev. xxii. 17-23.
JOSEPHUS

diaφθειρειν αυτών. ὁπότερον δ' ἦν ἀληθὲς ἢ, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχει λαμπράν. ἤσιν γοῦν αὐτῶν καὶ πρὶν ἐκπιεύσαι πυθόμενον παρὰ γυναῖον τινὸς ὡς Ὅρωδης διαπεφύγοι, "νῦν," εἰπεῖν, "εὐθύμος ἀπειμὶ τὸν μετελευσόμενον τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κατα-
λιπον ζώντα." 273 (11) Ὅ μὲν οὖν οὕτως τελευτᾷ. Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ ὅτι διημαρτηκότες ὡς μάλιστα ἐπεθύμουσ γυ-

νακῶν καθιστάσως μὲν εὖν Ἱεροσολύμωι Ἀντιγόνω-

τὰ πράγματα, δεσμώτην δ' Ἱρκανὸν ἀνάγουσιν εἰς τὴν Παρθυνὴν. 274 (xiv. 1) Ὅρωδης δὲ συντονώτερον ἦλαυνεν εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν ὡς ἐτὶ τάδελφου ζώντος ἐπειγόμενος χρήματα παρὰ τὸν βασιλέως λαβεῖν, οἷς μόνοις πείσευ ὑπὲρ Φασάγλου τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἠλπίζεν πλεονεξίαν. ἐλογίζετο γάρ, εἰ τῆς πατρίδας φιλίας ἀμνησμονέστερος ο Ἀραβ ἑνοικο καὶ τοῦ δοῦναι δωρεάν μικρολογώτερος, δανείσασθαι παρ' αὐτοῖ

δ' ἦν δύσους θείς τοῦ τοῦ λυτρουμένου παιδά
275 καὶ γάρ ἐπήγετο τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν ὄντα ἐπ' ἐπτὰ τάλαντα δ' ἦν ἐτοιμὸς τριακόσια δοῦναι προ-

ςησάμενος Τυρίων παρακαλοῦντας. τὸ χρεῶν δ' ἀρα τῆς αὐτοῦ σπουδὴν ἐφθάκει καὶ Φασάγλοι τεθυμκότος εἰς κενὸν 'Ορώδης φιλάδελφος ἦν· οι

276 μὴν οὐδὲ παρὰ ᾽Αραβίων εὐρίσκει φιλίαν οὖσαν.1 (γοῦν βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Μάλχος προπέμψας ἐκ τῆς χώρας κατὰ τάχος προσέτασσεν ἀναστρέφειν προθάσει μὲν χρωμένοις Πάρθοιος, ἐπικηρυκεῦ

σαθαί ναρ αὐτοὺς ἑκβαλείν Ὅρωδην τῆς ᾽Αρα

βιας, τῷ δὲ ὅτι κατασχεῖν προαροῦμεν τὰ παρ

'Αντιπάτρου χρέα καὶ μηδὲν εἰς τὰς ἐκείνου δωρεά

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

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

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

277 (2) Ἡρώδης μὲν δὴ πολεμίοις τοὺς Ἀραβας εὐρὸν διὰ τὴν μετανοήσας ἦλπισεν καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἀποκρινάμενος' ὡς ὑπηγόρευε τὸ πάθος ὑπέστρεφεν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου. καὶ τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἐσπέραν κατὰ τι τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἔρθον αὐλίζεται τοὺς ὑπολειψθέντος ἀναλαβῶν, τῇ δ' ἦξις εἰς Ἡρωκόρουρα προελθόντι τὰ περὶ τὴν τάδελφον τελευτὴν ἀπαγ.

278 ἔλλειπαν. προσλαβὼν δὲ πένθους ὁσον ἀπεθάνατο φροντίδων ήτει προσωπέως. καὶ δὴ βραδέως ὁ Ἁραβας μετανοήσας ἐπεμψαν διὰ τάχους τοὺς ἀνακαλέσοντας τὸν ὑβρισμένον. ἐφθαίνει δὲ καὶ τούτοις Ἡρώδης εἰς Πηλούσιον ἀφικόμενος, ἐνθα τῆς παρόδου μη τυγχάνων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφορμοῦντων τοῖς ἠγεμόνων ἐνυγχάνει κάκευνον τὴν τε φήμην καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τάνδρος αἰδευθέντες προπέμπουσι

279 αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. ὁ δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐδέχθη μὲν λαμπρῶς ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας στρατηγοῦ ἐλπιζούσης ἐξεῖν εἰς ἀ παρεσκευάζετο διακρουσάμενος δὲ τὰς παρακλήσεις τῆς βασιλίδος καὶ μῆτε τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὑποδείσας μῆτε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἱταλίαν θορύβους ἐπὶ Ρώμης ἐπλεί.

1 ἀποκρινάμενος PLV. 2 πένθος PA.
3 εφορμούντων Spanheim: εφορμούντων mss.

6 Or Rhinocolura (el.-Arish), the maritime town on the frontiers of Egypt and Palestine.
6 Such seems to be the meaning of the text of the best mss., literally "Having taken as much of grief as he laid
forced by any sense of shame into making the slightest return, for all he had received from the father, to his children in their hour of need. His advisers in this shameless conduct were the most powerful men at his court, who like himself desired to embezzle the moneys entrusted to them by Antipater.

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

down of care.” Traill, following an inferior text, renders “Having indulged such sorrow as became the occasion, he dismissed his grief”; similarly Whiston and Reinach.
280 (3) Κωνσταντίασας δὲ περὶ Παμφυλίαν καὶ τοῦ φόρτου τὸ πλεῖον ἐκβαλὼν μόλις εἰς Ῥόδον δια-
σώζεται, σφόδρα τῷ πρὸς Κάσσιον πολέμων τετρυ-
χωμένην, δεχθεὶς ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Σαμφυῖνος
τῶν φίλων. καίπερ δ᾿ ὦν ἐν ἀπορία χρημάτων
281 ναυπηγεῖται τρίηρη μεγίστην, ἐν ἦ μετὰ τῶν
φίλων εἰς Βρεντέσιον καταπλεύσας, κάκειθεν εἰς
Ῥώμην ἐπειχθεῖς, πρῶτῳ διὰ τὴν πατρῴαν φιλίαν
ἐνετύχανεν Ἀντωνίω, καὶ τὰς τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ
γένους συμφοράς ἐκδοιγμένο, ὅτι τε τοὺς ὑιειο-
τάτους ἐν φρουρίῳ καταλύουν πολυρχομένους διὰ
χειμώνος πλεύσειεν ἐπ᾿ αὐτὸν ἰκέτης.
282 (4) Ἀντωνίου δὲ ἤπτετο πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν
οἰκτος, καὶ κατὰ μνήμην μὲν τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου
ξενίας, τὸ δὲ ὀλον καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ παρόντος
ἀρετήν, ἐγνὼ καὶ τότε βασιλέα καθιστὰν Ἰουδαίων
ὅν πρότερον αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν τετράρχην. ἐνήγεν δὲ
οὐκ ἔλαττον τῆς εἰς Ἡρώδην φιλοτιμίας ἔπρος
Ἀντίγονον διαφορὰ: τούτου γὰρ δὴ στασιώδη τε
283 καὶ Ῥωμαιῶν ἐχθρὸν ὑπελάμβανεν. Καϊσαρὶ
μὲν οὖν εἶχεν ἐτοιμότερον αὐτοῦ τὰς Ἀντιπάτρου
στρατείας ἀνανεούμενος, ἂς κατ᾿ Ἀἰγυπτοῦ αὐτοῦ
τῶν πατρὶ συνδιηγεγεκεν, τὴν τε ξενίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν
ἀπασιν εὐνοιαν, ὄρωντα γε μὴν καὶ τὸ Ἡρώδου
284 δραστήριον συνήγαγεν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ, ἐν ἦ Ἔσσο-
σάλας καὶ μετ᾿ αὐτοῦ Ἀτρατίνος παραστησάμενοι
τὸν Ἡρώδην τὰς τε πατρῴας εὐεργεσίας καὶ τὴν
αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαιῶς εὐνοιαν διεξήγασαν, ἀπο-
δεικνύτες ἀμα καὶ πολέμιον τὸν Ἀντίγονον οὐ

¹ — ὥσπερ and om. οὐ below MLVR.
² Καϊσαρ P.A.M.: Καϊσαρα the rest.
³ οἱ, αὐτοὶ P: στρατάς most ms.
⁴ ΠΜ: ἀνανεοῦμεν the rest.
(3) Nearly shipwrecked off Pamphylia, after throwing overboard the bulk of the cargo, he with difficulty came safe to Rhodes, which had suffered severely from the war with Cassius. Here he was welcomed by his friends Ptolemy and Sapphinius, and, notwithstanding his lack of funds, procured the construction of an immense trireme, which carried him and his friends to Brundisium, whence he sped to Rome. He waited first on Antony, as his father's friend, and told him the story of his own and his family's misfortunes, and how he had left his nearest relatives besieged in a fortress and crossed the sea in the depth of winter to implore his aid.

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

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\[ a \, \S \, 244. \]

\[ b \, \S \S \, 187 \, ff. \]
μόνον ἐξ ὧν διηνέχθη τάχιον, ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ τότε διὰ Πάρθων λάβοι τήν ἀρχὴν Ἦρωμαίους ὑπεριδών. τῆς δὲ συγκλήτου πρὸς ταύτα κεκινημένης, ὡς παρελθὼν Ἀντώνιος καὶ πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Πάρθων πόλεμον βασιλεύειν Ἦρωδην συμβέρειν ἔλεγεν, 285 ἐπιυσαφίζονται πάντες. Λυθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς Ἀντώνιος μὲν καὶ Καίσαρ μέσον ἔχοντες Ἦρωδην ἐξήγοις, προῆγον δὲ σὺν ταῖς ἀλλαῖς ἀρχαῖς οἱ ὑπάτοι θύσιοντες τε καὶ τὸ δόγμα ἀναθήμασαν εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον. τῆς δὲ πρώτης Ἦρωδης ἡ βασιλείας ἦμεραν Ἀντώνιος εἰσίστα [αὐτὸν].

286 (xv. 1) Παρὰ δὲ τῶν χρόνων τούτων Ἀντίγονος ἐπολιόρκει τοὺς ἐν Μασάδᾳ, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐπιτηδείως διαρκομένους, σπαινίζοντας δὲ ὦδας· διὸ καὶ Ἰώσηπος ἀδελφὸς Ἦρωδου σὺν διακοσίοις τῶν οἰκείων δρασμόν ἐβουλεύετο εἰς Ἀραβας, ἀκήκους τῶν εἰς Ἦρωδην ἀμαρτημάτων Μάλχω 287 μεταμέλειαν. κἂν ἐθην καταληπτῶν τὸ φρούριον, εἰ μὴ περὶ τὴν νύκτα τῆς ἐξόδου συνεβη πλείστον ύσαν· τῶν γὰρ ἐκδοχείων ὦδας ἀναπληθεύεων οὐκἐτ’ ἔχρηζεν φυγῆς, ἀλλ’ ἐπεξήγα αὐτὴ τοῖς περὶ τῶν Ἀντίγονον, καὶ τὰ μὲν φανερῶς συμπλεκόμενοι, τὰ δὲ λοχῶντες συχνοὺς διέφθειρον. οὐ μὴν ἐν ἀπασὶν εὐστόχουν, ἐστίν δ’ ὅπη καὶ αὐτοὶ πταίοντες ἀνέστρεφον.

288 (2) Καὶ τούτῳ Βεντίδιος ὁ Ἦρωμαίων στρατηγὸς πεμφθεὶς ἐκ Συρίας Πάρθους ἀνείργειν μετ’ ἐκείνους εἰς Ιουδαίαν παρέβαλεν, λόγω μὲν ὡς βοηθήσων τοῖς περὶ Ἰουσήπου, ἔργῳ δ’ Ἀντίγονον

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

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

(2) Meanwhile Ventidius, the Roman general dispatched from Syria to hold the Parthians in check, had in his pursuit of them advanced into Judaea, nominally to relieve Joseph and his friends, but in
289 ἁργυριούμενος. ἔγινον Ἱεροσολύμων αὐλισάμενος, ώς ἐνεπλήσθη χρημάτων, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀνεχώρη ἐμὲ τῆς πλεῖοτης δυνάμεως, Σίλωνα δὲ σὺν μέρει κατέληπτεν, ὅς μὴ κατάφωρων τὸ λήμμα ποιῆσεν πάντας ἀπαναστήσας. Ἀντίγονος δὲ πάλιν ἐλπίζων Πάρθους ἐπαμυνεῖν καὶ Σίλωνα τέως ἑθεράπευεν, ὃς μηδὲν ἐνοχλοῖ κρο ὑπὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος. 2

290 (3) "Ἡδὴ δὲ Ἡρώδης καταπεπλευκὼς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς Πτολεμαίδα καὶ συναγηγοχῶς δύναμιν ὡς ὅλην ἔξων τε καὶ ὀμοφύλων ἠλαύνει διὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐπὶ Ἀντίγονον, συλλαμβανόντων Βεντίδου καὶ Σίλωνος, οὔς Δέλλιος ὑπ’ Ἀντωνίου

291 περιθέεις Ἡρώδην συγκαταγαγεῖν ἔπεισεν. ἐνυγχαίνει δὲ Βεντίδος μὲν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν τὰς διὰ Πάρθους παραχαὶ καθισάμενος, Σίλων δὲ ἐν Ἰουδαία χρήμασιν ὑπ’ Ἀντιγόνου διεφθαρμένος. οὐ μὴν Ἡρώδης ἵσχὺς ἠπόρει, προϊόντι δ’ αὐτῷ καθ’ ἠμέραν ἥξειτο τὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ πλὴν

292 ὅλην πάσα ἡ Γαλιλαία προσέθετο. προὔκειτο μὲν οὖν τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον ἀγώνισμα Μασάδα καὶ τὸ ῥύσασθαι πρῶτον τοὺς οἰκείους ἐκ τῆς πολυρκίας, γίνεται δ’ ἐμπόδιον Ἰόππην ταύτην γὰρ ἐχρῆν πολεμίαν ὅσαν ἐξελείν πρότερον, ὃς μὴ χωροῦντος ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων κατὰ νότον τι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἑνυμα καταλείποιτο. συνήπτεν δὲ καὶ Σίλων ἀσμένως τῆς ἀπαναστάσεως πρόφασιν εὐρών, ὃς προσέκειτο Ἰουδαίοι διώκοντες. 3 ἐπὶ τούτους Ἡρώδης ἐκδραμὼν μετ’ ὅλην στίφους τρέπεται ταχέως καὶ Σίλωνα διαισόζει κακῶς ἀμυνόμενον.

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

(3) But already Herod, having sailed from Italy to Ptolemais and collected a considerable army of foreign and native troops, was advancing through Galilee upon Antigonus. Ventidius and Silo, induced by Dellius, Antony's emissary, to assist in reinstating Herod, were co-operating. But Ventidius was occupied in quelling local disturbances arising out of the Parthian invasion, while Silo, corrupted by the bribes of Antigonus, lingered in Judaea. Herod, however, had no lack of support: new recruits added daily to his strength as he advanced, and, with few exceptions, all Galilee went over to him. The most urgent task ahead of him was Masada and, above all, the liberation of his relatives from the siege. But Joppa was a preliminary obstacle. For that town being hostile had first to be reduced, in order that there might be no stronghold left in enemy hands in his rear when he marched against Jerusalem. Silo, glad of an excuse for quitting Jerusalem, now proceeded to join him, hotly pursued by the Jews. Herod with a small party flew out upon them and soon routed them, rescuing Silo, who was making but a poor defence.
(4) 'Επειτα Ἰσπην ἔλων πρὸς τὴν Μασάδαν ῥυσόμενος τοὺς οἰκείους ἥπειγετο. καὶ τῶν ἐπι- χωρίων οὐς μὲν πατρώα φιλία προσήχεν, οὐς δὲ τὸ αὐτὸν κλέος, οὐς δὲ τῆς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν εὐεργεσίας ἀμοιβή, πλείστους γε μὴν ἐλπὶς ὡς ἐκ βασιλέως βεβαιοῦ, δυσπίκητός τε ἡδὴ δύναμις ἥθιοιστο.

294 προϊόντα δ' Ἀντίγονος εὐήδρενεν τάπιτηδεια τῶν παρόδων προλοχίζων, ἐν οἷς οὐδέν ἐς μικρὰ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐβλαπτεν. Ἡρώδης δὲ τοὺς ἐκ Μα- σάδας οἰκείους παραλαβὼν ῥαδίως καὶ ᾽Ρῆσαν τὸ φρούριον ἧμε πρὸς τὰ Ἑροσόλυμα: συνήπτε δ' αὐτῷ τὸ μετὰ Σίλωνος στρατιωτικὸν καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὴν ἀσχον καταπλαγέντες.

295 (5) Στρατοπεδευσαμένους δὲ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δύσιν κλίμα τοῦ ἀστεος οἱ ταυτή φύλακες ἐπόδευνον τε καὶ ἔξηκοντιζόν αὐτοὺς, ἀλλοί δὲ κατὰ στιχὸς ἐκθέοντες ἀπεπερώντο τῶν προτεταγμένων. Ἡρώδης δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κηρύσσεν περὶ τὸ τείχος ἐκέλευς ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τε παρείη τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐπὶ σωτηρία τῆς πόλεως, μηδὲν μηδὲ τοὺς φανερὰς ἐχθροὺς ἀμυνοῦμεν, δύσων δὲ καὶ τοῖς διαφορωτάτοις ἀμνηστίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀντιπαρηγο- ροῦντες οἱ περὶ τῶν Ἀντίγονον οὐτε κατακοῦεν τῶν κηρυγμάτων εἰών τινὰς οὐτε μεταβάλλεσθαι, τὸ λοιπὸν ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐπι- ἐτρεπεν τοῖς σφετέροις οἱ δὲ ταχεῖς ἀπαντασ ἀπὸ τῶν πῦργων ἐτρέψατο τοῖς βέλεσιν.

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

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

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

\[a\] In Idumaea, §266.
τιωτῶν σπάνιν ἐπιτηδείων ἀναβοάν καὶ χρήματα εἰς τροφὰς ἀπαιτεῖν, ἀπάγειν τε σφᾶσ χειμερινῶντας εἰς τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους τόπους, ἐπειδὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἦν ἔρημα πάντα τῶν περὶ Ἀντίγονον προαν- εσκευασμένων, ἐκίνει τε τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀνα-
298 χωρεῖν ἐπειράτο. Ἡρώδης δὲ ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς τε ὑπὸ τὸν Σίλωνα ἡγεμόσιν καὶ κατὰ πλῆθος τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐδείτο μὴ καταλιπεῖν αυτὸν ὑπὸ τε Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου προ-
περφυέντα λύσειν γὰρ αὐθήμερον αὐτῶν τὰς
299 ἀπορίας. καὶ μετὰ τὴν δέ ήσιν εὐθέως ὁρμήσας αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν χώραν τοσαῦτην αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθονίαν ἐκόμισεν, ὥς πᾶσαι ἀποκόψαι τὰς Σίλωνος προφάσεις, εἰς τε τὰς ἐξῆς ἡμέρας μὴ διαλιπεῖν τὴν χορηγίαν προνοούμενος ἐπέστελλεν τοῖς περὶ Σαμάρειαν, ὥστε ὁ ἂν πόλις αὐτῷ, σίτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἑλαίον καὶ βοσκήματα κατάγειν
300 εἰς Ἰεριχοῦντα. ταύτ' ἀκούσας Ἀντίγονος δι-
έπεμψεν περὶ τὴν χώραν εἰργεῖν καὶ λοχαγίον τοὺς σιτηρούς κελεύων. οἱ δὲ ὑπῆκοουν, καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ὀπλιτῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἰεριχοῦντα συνηθροίσθη:
301 διεκαθέζοντο δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρων παραφυλάσσοντες τοὺς τάπιτηδεία ἐκκομίζοντας. οὐ μὴν Ἡρώδης ἤρεμει, δικαὶ δὲ σπείρας ἀναλαβὼν, ὅπεν πέντε μὲν Ῥωμαίον πέντε δὲ Ἰουδαίων ἦσαν, ἔχουσαι καὶ 
μισθοφόρους μιγάδας πρὸς οἷς ὄλιγοι τῶν ἵππεων, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰεριχοῦντα παραγίνεται, καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν καταλελειμμένην εὐρίσκει, πεντακοσίους δὲ 
τὰ ἄκρα κατειληφότας σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ γενεαῖς.
302 αὐτοὺς μὲν οὖν ἀπολύει λαβῶν, Ἐρωμαῖοι δ'
to raise an outcry about a lack of supplies and to demand money for the purchase of provisions and to be marched to suitable winter quarters, as the troops of Antigonus had already completely cleared the neighbourhood of the city and reduced it to a desert. He, therefore, broke up his camp and attempted to retire. Herod, however, interviewed first the officers of Silo's staff and then the assembled troops, and besought them not to desert him, holding, as he did, a commission from Caesar, Antony, and the senate; "for," said he, "this very day I will relieve your wants." After making this appeal he instantly set off in person into the country and brought back such an abundance of supplies as to cut away all Silo's excuses; while, to ensure that there should be no shortage in the immediate future, he instructed the inhabitants of the district of Samaria, that city having declared in his favour, to bring corn, wine, oil, and cattle down to Jericho. Hearing of this, Antigonus issued orders throughout the country to hold-up and waylay the convoys. Acting on these orders, large bodies of men in arms assembled above Jericho and took up positions on the hills, on the look-out for the conveyors of the supplies. Herod, however, was on the alert, and with ten cohorts, of which five were Roman, and five Jewish with mercenaries intermixed, and a small body of horse, proceeded to Jericho. He found the city deserted and the heights occupied by five hundred persons with their wives and children. These he made prisoners and then released; while

a Or "interceded with."

b τὰ ἀκρα here and in A.: not τὴν ἀκραν ("the citadel") which might have been expected.
εἰσπεσόντες τὸ λοιπὸν ἀστὶν διήρπασαν πλῆρεις καταλαμβάνοντες τὰς οἰκίας παντοῖον κειμηλίων. ἤπειροντος μὲν οὖν φρουρὰν ὁ βασιλεὺς κατα-
λιπὼν ὑπέστρεφεν, καὶ χειμεριοῦσαν τὴν Ὑπομαῖνον 
στρατιῶν εἰς τὰς προσκεχωρήκουνιας1 διαφῆκεν Ἡπομαῖ
αν καὶ Γαλιλαίαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν. ἐπέ-
έτυχεν δὲ καὶ Ἀντίγονος παρὰ τῆς Σίλωνος δωρο-
dοκίας ὑποδέχασθαι τοῦ στρατοῦ μοίραν ἐν Λύδωνι 
θεραπεύων Ἀντώνιον.

303 (xvi. 1) Καὶ Ὑπομαίοι μὲν ἐν ἀφθόνοις διηγοῦν ἀνειμένου τῶν ὅπλων, Ἤρωδης δ' οὐκ ἦρέμει, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν Ἡπομαίαν δισχίλλιοις πεζοῖς καὶ 
tετρακοσίοις ἵππεσιν διαλαμβάνει πέμψας τὸν ἄδελφον Ἡσσηποὐ, ὥς μὴ τι νεωτερισθῇ πρὸς Ἀντί-
γονον2· αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν μητέρα καὶ ὅσον εκ 
Μασάδας οἰκεῖους ἐξῆγαγεν μεταγαγὸν εἰς Σαμά-
ρειαν καὶ καταστησάμενος ἁσφαλῶς ἦε τὰ λοιπὰ 
τῆς Γαλιλαίας καταστρέφομενος καὶ τὰς Ἀντι-
γόνον φρουρᾶς ἐξελάσων.

304 (2) Πρὸς δὲ τὴν Σέπφωριν ἐν υιφετῷ σφο-
dροτάτῳ διανύσας ἀκοντι παραλαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν, 
πρὸ τῆς ἐφόδου τῶν φυλάκων ἐκφυγόντων. ἐνθα 
tους ἐπομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος κακωθέντας 
ἀναλαβῶν, πολλή δ' ἦν ἀφθονία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, 
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις ὕμητο ληστάς, οἱ 
pολλὴν τῆς χώρας κατατρέχοντες οὖκ ἐλάττω κακὰ 
305 πολέμου διετίθεσαν τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. προπέμψας 
dὲ πεζῶν τρία τέλη καὶ μίαν ἢλην ἵππεων πρὸς

1 C (adding πᾶσιν): προκεχ, the rest.
2 Ἀντίγονον VC "on the part of Α.," (perhaps rightly).
the Romans fell upon and rifled the rest of the town, where they found the houses full of treasures of every sort. Leaving a garrison in Jericho, the king returned and dismissed his Roman army to winter quarters in the districts which had joined his standard, Idumaea, Galilee, and Samaria. Antigonus, on his side, to ingratiate himself with Antony, induced Silo by a bribe to billet a division of his troops in Lydda.\(^a\)

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

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

\(^a\) On the west frontier of Judaea; an action in the enemy's favour apparently intended to weaken the allegiance of the Roman troops.
JOSEPHUS

"Ἀρβηλα κώμην, αὐτὸς μετὰ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ἐπῆλθεν μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς δυνάμεως. οὐ μὴν πρὸς τὴν ἐφοδίαν ἐδείσαν τοὺς πολέμιοι, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἀπήντων, ἐμπειρίαν μὲν πολεμικὴν ἔχοντες, τὸ δὲ θράσος ληστρικὸν. συμβαλόντες γοῦν τῷ σφετέρῳ δεξίῳ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας τῶν Ἡρώδου τρέπονται. περιελθὼν δὲ ταχέως Ἡρώδης ἐκ τοῦ καθ’ ἐαυτὸν δεξίον προσεβοήθη, καὶ τὸ μὲν οἰκείον ἑπέστρεφεν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς, τοῖς δὲ διωκούσιν ἐμπιπτόν τὴν ὀρμήν, μέχρι τὰς κατὰ στῶμα προσβολὰς μὴ φέροντες ἐξέκλιναν.

306 (3) ὃ δὲ ἔσω Ἰορδάνου κτείνων εἴπετο καὶ πολὺ μὲν αὐτῶν μέρος διέφθειρεν, οἱ λοιποὶ δ’ ὑπὲρ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσκεδάσθησαν, ὡστε τὴν Γαλι- 

λαίαν ἐκκεκαθάρθησαι φόβων, πλὴν καθόσον οἱ τοῖς 

σπηλαίοις ἐμφωλεύοντες ὑπελείποντο: κατὰ τούτοις 

308 ἐδει διατριβής. διὸ δὴ πρῶτον τοῖς στρατιώταις 

τὰς ἐκ τῶν πεποιημένων ἐπικαρπίας ἀπεδίδουν, 

diανέμων ἐκάστῳ δραχμάς ἐκατὸν πεντήκοντα 

ἀργυρίου καὶ τοῖς ἥγεμοις πολυπλασίων, καὶ 

1 διέπεμψαν εἰς οὓς ἐχειμερίζον σταθμούς. Φερόμα 

δὲ τῷ νεωτάτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἑπέστηλεν τῆς 

τῷ ἀγορᾷ αὐτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν καὶ 

'Αλεξάνδρειον. κάκεινος ἀμφοτέρων ἐπεμελήθη.

309 (4) Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ περὶ μὲν Ἀθήνας διήγεν 

Ἀντώνιος, Βεντίδιος δ’ ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Πάρθους 

πολέμοι Σιλωνά τε καὶ Ἡρώδην μετεπέμπετο, 

καταστήσασθαι πρότερον ἑπιστέλλων τὰ περὶ 

Ἰουδαίαν. Ἡρώδης δ’ ἀσμένως Σιλωνά πρὸς 

1 I have inserted the conjunction which seems necessary. Without it the sense would be "and sent much larger sums to the officers in their various winter quarters."
of Arbela,\textsuperscript{a} he joined them forty days later with the rest of his army. Nothing daunted by his approach, the enemy, who combined the experience of seasoned warriors with the daring of brigands, went armed to meet him, and, coming into action, routed Herod's left wing with their right. Herod instantly wheeling round his troops from the right wing, where he was in command, came to the relief, and not only checked the flight of his own men, but falling upon their pursuers broke their charge, until, overpowered by his frontal attacks, they in turn gave way.

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

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

\textsuperscript{a}\textit{Irbid}, near the Lake of Gennesaret, N.W. of Tiberias.

\textsuperscript{b} In \textit{A. xiv.} 418 it is not Herod's troops which Pheroras is instructed to provision, but Silo and the Romans, whose supplies Antigonus at the end of a month had cut short (see § 302).
Βεντίδιον ἀπολύσας αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς σπή-310 λαίοις ἐστράτευσεν. τὰ δὲ σπῆλαια ταύτα πρὸς ἀποκρήμνοις ὅρεσιν ἢν οὐδαμόθεν προστά, πλαγίας δὲ ἀνόδους μόνον ἔχοντα στενοτάτας. ἢ δὲ κατὰ μέτωπον αὐτῶν πέτρα κατέτεινεν εἰς βαθυτάτας φάραγγας ὅρθιος ἐπιρρέουσα ταῖς χαράδραις, ὥστε τὸν βασιλέα μέχρι πολλοῦ μὲν ἀπορεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἀμήχανον τοῦ τόπου, τελευταίον δ’ ἐπινοια
311 χρήσασθαι σφαλερωσάτη. τοὺς γοῦν ἀλκίμωσ καθιμῶν ἐν λάρναξιν ἐνεῖε τοῖς στομίοις, οἱ δὲ ἀπέσφαττον τε αὐτούς σὺν γενεάις καὶ πῦρ ἐνείσαν τοῖς ἀμυνομένοις. Βουληθεὶς δ’ εἰς αὐτῶν καὶ περισσῶσα τινας Ἡρώδης ἐκήρυξεν ἀναχωρεῖν1 πρὸς αὐτὸν. τῶν δὲ ἐθελοντίσως μὲν οὐδεὶς προσ-έθετο, καὶ τῶν βιασμένων δὲ πολλοὶ τῆς ἀιχμα-
312 λωσίας προείλουσα θάνατον. ἐνθα καὶ τῶν γηραιῶν τις, ἐπτὰ παίδων πατήρ, μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς δεο-
µένος τοὺς παῖδας ἐπιτρέψας σφίσιν ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ κτείνει τρόπω τοιῶδε καθ’ ἕνα προϊέναι κελεύσας αὐτὸς ἱστατο ἐπὶ τὸ στόμιον2 καὶ τὸν ἅε προϊόντα τῶν νείων ἀπέσφατεν. εἰς ἀπόπτου δὲ Ἡρώδης ἐπιβλέπων τῷ τε πάθει συνεχεῖτο3 καὶ τῷ πρεβυτῷ δεξιῶν ὤρεγεν φείσοσαθαι τῶν τέκνων
313 παρακαλῶν. ο δὲ πρὸς οὖν ἐνδοῦς τῶν λεγο-
µένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσσευδίσαις τῶν Ἡρώδην εἰς ταπεινότητα, ἐπὶ τοῖς παισίν ἀναρεῖ καὶ τὴν γυναίκα, καὶ καταβαλῶν κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ τοὺς νεκροὺς τελευταίον ἐαυτὸν ἔρριψεν.

1 P.A: ἀποχωρεῖν the rest.
2 τοῦ στομίου Niese from the parallel passage in A.
3 So most mss., cf. B. vii. 200: συνεῖχετο Niese with C.

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

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\[a\] Ant. 427, on the contrary, mentions many cases of surrender.

\[b\] Or "commanding."

\[c\] Cf. § 478; perhaps "for his abject spirit."

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314 (5) Χειροταί μὲν οὕτως τὰ σπῆλαια καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἡρώδης καταλιπὼν δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν ὡς ἀποχρήσειν ὑπελάμβανεν πρὸς τὰς ἐπαναστάσεις καὶ Θολεμαίον ἔπ' αὐτῆς ἔπι Σαμα- ρείας ὑπέστρεφεν, ὀπλίτας μὲν τρισχιλίους ἰππεῖς
dὲ ἄγων ἐξακοσίους ἐπ' Ἀντίγονον. ἔνθα πρὸς τὴν ἀποχώρησιν αὐτοῦ λαβόντες ἀδειαν οἰς ἔθος ἦν θορυβεῖν τὴν Γαλιλαίαν κτείνονσι μὲν Θολε-
μαίον τὸν στρατηγὸν ἄδοκήτως προσπεσόντες, ἐπορθοῦν δὲ τὴν χώραν ποιούμενοι τὰς ἀναφυγὼς εἰς τὰ ἐλη καὶ τὰ δυσερεύνητα τῶν χωρίων
316 πυθόμενος δὲ Ἡρώδης τὴν ἐπανάστασιν διὰ τάχους ἐπεβοήθηκαι καὶ πολὺ μὲν αὐτῶν πλῆθος διαφθείρει τὰ φρούρια δὲ πάντα πολιορκίαις ἐξελὼν ἐπιτίμιοι τῆς μεταβολῆς εἰσεπράζατο παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐκατὸν τάλαντα.
317 (6) Ἡδῆ δὲ Πάρθων μὲν ἐξεληλαμένων, ἀνηργ.
μένου δὲ Πακόρου, Βεντίδιος ἐπιστείλαντος Ἀν.
tωνίου πέμπει συμμάχους Ἡρώδη κατ' Ἀντί
gόνου χιλίους ἰππεῖς καὶ δύο τάγματα. τοῦτων δὲ
tὸν στρατηγὸν Μαχαίραν Ἀντίγονος ἰκέτευσεν ἐς ἐπιστολῶν ἑαυτῷ βοηθὸν ἀφικέσθαι, πολλὰ τὸ
περὶ τῆς Ἡρώδου βίας [καὶ ἐπηρείας τῆς βασι
λείας] ἀποδυρόμενος καὶ χρήματα δώσειν ύπισχ
318 νούμενος. ὁ δὲ, οὐ γὰρ κατεφρόνει τοῦ πέμψαιτο
ἀλλὰς τε καὶ πλείονον Ἡρώδου διδόντος, εἰς μὲ
τὴν προδοσίαν οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ὕποκρινόμενος δὲ
πελάτας κατάσκοπος ἦν τῶν Ἀντιγόνου πραγμάτων

1 PA: Πτολεμαίον the rest (as in A ||).
2 ἂ.σμα LVRC.
3 τὲ MSS.
4 The bracketed words only in MVC; omitted, probably through homoioteleuton, by the rest.
5 Π: πέλεον the rest.
(5) Herod having thus mastered the caves and their inhabitants, leaving behind him under the command of Ptolemy a contingent sufficient, in his opinion, to repress insurrection, returned towards Samaria, bringing to meet Antigonus a force of three thousand heavy infantry and six hundred cavalry. Thereupon, emboldened by his departure, the usual promoters of disturbance in Galilee made a surprise attack on his general Ptolemy and slew him, and proceeded to ravage the country, finding refuge in the marshes and other places difficult to search. Apprised of the revolt, Herod returned in haste to the relief, killed a large number of the rebels, besieged and destroyed all their fortresses, and imposed on the towns, as the penalty for their defection, a fine of a hundred talents.

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

* Or perhaps "the throne."
319 'Ηρώδη μὴ πεισθεὶς ἀποτρέποντι. προαιρθόμενος δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν διανοιαν 'Αντίγονος τὴν τε πόλιν ἀπέκλεισεν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ὡς πολέμιον ἡμύνατο, μέχρις αἰδούμενος Μαχαιρᾶς εἰς 'Αμμαοῦντα πρὸς 'Ηρώδην ἀναχωρεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὴν διαμαρτίαν θυμούμενος ὅσοις ἐπετύχανεν 'Ἰουδαῖοι ἀνήρει, μηδεμίαν τῶν 'Ηρωδείων φειδῶ ποιούμενος, ἀλλ' ὡς 'Αντιγόνειος χρώμενος ἀπασίν.

320 (7) 'Εφ' οίς χαλεπήνας 'Ηρώδης ὤρμησεν μὲν ἀμύνασθαι Μαχαιρᾶν ὡς πολέμιον, κρατήσας δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς ἠλαύνεν πρὸς 'Αντώνιον κατηγορήσων τῆς Μαχαιρᾶς παρανομίας. ὃ δ' ἐν διαλογισμῷ τῶν ἡμιμαρτημένων γενόμενος ταχέως μεταδιώκει τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πολλὰ δεθεῖες ἐαυτῷ διαλλᾶττε.

321 οὐ μὴν 'Ηρώδης ἑπαύσατο τῆς πρὸς 'Αντώνιον ὀρμῆς ἀκηκοῦσι δ' αὐτὸν μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως προσπολεμῶντα Σαμοσάτωι, πόλις δ' ἐστὶν Ἑὐφράτου πλησίον καρτερά, θάττον ἥπειγετο τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον ὅρων πρὸς τε ἐπίδειξιν ἀνδρείας καὶ τοῦ μᾶλλον ἀρέσασθαι τὸν 'Αντώνιον. γίνεται γοῦν ἐπελθὼν τέλος αὐτοῖς τῆς πολιορκίας, πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀποκτείνας, πολλὴν δὲ ἀποτεμόμενος λείαν, ὡστε τὸν μὲν 'Αντώνιον θαυμάζοντα καὶ πάλαι τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ τότε μᾶλλον οὕτως ἔχειν καὶ προσθείναι πολὺ ταῖς τε ἄλλαις τιμαῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐλπίσιν, 'Αντίοχον δὲ τὸν βασιλέα ἀναγκασθήναι παραδοῦναι τὰ Σαμοσάτα.

322 (xvii. 1) Καὶ τούτῳ θραύσται τὰ κατὰ τὴν 'Ιουδαίαν 'Ηρώδου πράγματα. κατελελοίπει μὲν γὰρ 'Ἰώσηπον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἅλων παραγγείλας μηδὲν μέχρι τῆς ὑποστροφῆς αὐτοῦ παρα-
without listening to Herod, who tried to dissuade him. Antigonus, divining his intention, refused him admittance to the city, and repulsed him from the walls as an enemy; until at length Machaeras, for very shame, was forced to retire to Emmaus and rejoin Herod. Infuriated by his discomfiture, he killed all the Jews whom he met on his march, not even sparing the Herodians, but treating all alike as friends of Antigonus.

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

(xvii. 1) Meanwhile Herod's cause had suffered a grave reverse in Judaea. He had left his brother Joseph in charge of the realm, with injunctions to take no action against Antigonus until his return,
κινεῖν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον· οὐ γὰρ δὴ βέβαιον εἶναι Μαχαιρᾶν σύμμαχον εἷς ἐνν ἐδρασεν. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἦκουσεν οίντα πορρωτάτω τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἀμελήσας τῶν παραγγελμάτων ἐπὶ Ίεριχούντος ἔχωρει μετὰ πέντε σπειρῶν, ἃς συνήπεμψεν Μαχαιρᾶς ἦν δὲ τὸν οίτον ἀρπάσων ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ θέρους. ἐπιθεμένων δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὀρέσιν καὶ ταῖς δυσχωρίαις τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτός τε θυήσκει, μάλα γενναίος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ φανεῖς, καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν πάν διαφθείρεται· νεοσύλλεκτοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας αἱ σπείραι, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐταῖς ἐνεκέκρατο τῶν πάλαι στρατιωτῶν καλομένων, ἐπαμύνεν τοῖς ἀπείροις πολέμωι δυνάμενοι.

324 (2) Ἀντιγόνῳ δὲ οὐκ ἀπέχρησεν ἡ νίκη, προήλθεν δὲ εἰς τοσοῦτον ὅργησ, ὡστε καὶ νεκρὸν αἰκίσασθαι τὸν Ἰώσηπον· κρατήσας γοῦν τῶν σωμάτων ἀποτέμνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸν πεντῆκοντα τάλαντα λύτρον αὐτῆς Φερώρα τίδιλθοι διδόντος.

326 τὰ δὲ τῆς Γαλιλαίας μετὰ τὴν Ἀντίγονον νίκην ἐνεστέρισθη πρὸς τοσοῦτον, ὡστε τοὺς τὰ Ἡρώδου φρονοῦντας τῶν δυνάτων προαγόντες εἰς τὴν λίμνην κατέδυσαν οἱ προσέχοντες Ἀντίγονος. μετεβάλλετο δὲ πολλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἰδομηνίας, ἐνθα Μαχαιρᾶς ἀνετείχει τι τῶν ἐρυμάτων. Τιτθὰ καλεῖται. τοὺς δὲ οὐδὲν οὕτως πέπυστο Ἡρώδης· μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Σαμοσάτων ἀλωσιν Ἀντώνιος μὲν καταστήσας ἐπὶ τῆς Συρίας Σόσσιον καὶ προστάξας Ἡρώδη βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ Ἀντίγονον αὐτὸς εἰς Λίγυπτον ἀνεχώρησεν, Σόσσιος δὲ δύο μὲν

1 Niese, with Lat.: προσαγόντες or προσάγοντες mss.
2 οὐδὲν οὐ πῶς M: οὐδέπω LVR: οὐ πῶς PA: οὐδὲν πῶς Bekker.

3 Of Gennesaret.

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

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

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

c This, as Reinach points out, is an error. Antony passed the winter of 38-37 B.C. at Athens (Plut. Ant. 34).
JOSEPHUS

tάγματα προαπέστειλεν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν Ἡρώδη συμμαχῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς δυνάμεως ἠκολούθει σχεδὸν.

328 (3) "Ουτὶ δὲ Χρώδη κατὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀντιοχείαν ἰδέαν ὁμοιοί οἱ σαφεῖς τὸν τάδελφον θάνατον προσημαινοῦσαν, καὶ μετὰ παραχῆς ἐκθερόντι τῆς κοίτης εἰσήγαγαν ἄγγελον τῆς συμφοράς. οὐ δὲ ὁλίγον μὲν προσομώξας τῷ πάθει, τὸ πλεῖον δὲ τοῦ πένθους ὑπερβήμενος, ἔπει τοὺς ἔχθροὺς ἦπεὶ-

329 μετο, ποιούμενος̂ τὴν πορείαν ὑπὲρ δύναμιν. καὶ διανύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Λίβανον ὀκτακοσίους μὲν τῶν περὶ τὸ ὄρος προσλαμβάνει συμμάχους, 'Ρωμαίων δὲ ἐν τάγμα ταύτης συνήθεις. μεθ' δὲν οὐ περιμείνας ἡμέραν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐνέβαλεν, τοὺς τε πολειμίους ὑπαντάσαντας εἰς ὁ καταλελοίπεσαν χωρίον

330 ῥέπεται, καὶ προσέβαλλεν μὲν συνεχῶς τῷ φρονίμῳ, πρὶν δὲ ἔλειν χειμώνιω βιασθείς χαλεπώτατος ταῖς πλησίοις ἐνεστατοπεδεύεται κώμαις. ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτῷ μετ' ὁλίγας ἡμέρας καὶ τὸ δεύτερον παρὰ Ἀντωνίου̂ τάγμα συνέμειξεν, δείσαντες τὴν ἱσχύν οἱ πολέμιοι διὰ νυκτὸς ἐξέλισσον τὸ ἔρμα.

331 (4) Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διὰ 'Ιεριχώντος ἢ περὶ σπείδων ἢ τάχιστα τοὺς τάδελφον φοιεῖς μετελθεῖν ἐνθαρ' καὶ δαμόσειον τὴν αὐτῶ προβαίνει τέρας, ἐξ οὗ παρ' ἔλπίδα σωθεῖς ἅν ὁ δρός θεοφιλεστάτου ἄξαν ἀπηνέγκατο. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶ τῶν ἐν τέλει συνεστάθησαν κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἔσπεραν, διαλυθεῖς δὲ τοῦ συμποσίου μετὰ τὸ πάντας ἐξέλθειν ὁ οἶκος

1 Destinon: 'Αντιοχείαν miss. 3 M: 'Ἀντωνίω τὸ rest.

2 + δὲ LVRC.

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

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

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

\[a\] The Greek might mean "without a day's delay"; but the rendering above seems fixed by the parallel in Α. xiv. 452 (νυκτὸς ἀναστάς); περιμένειν in Josephus usually means "to wait for." But the narrative is here abbreviated: in Α. the night march starts not from Lebanon, but from Ptolemais. \[b\] § 327.
332 εὐθέως συνέπεσεν. τούτο καὶ κινδύνων καὶ σωτηρίας κοινὸν ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλοντι πολέμῳ κρίνας εἶναι σημείον ὑπὸ τὴν ἑω διεκίνει τὴν στρατιάν. καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων εἰς ἐξακισχίλιους ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρων κατατρέχοντες ἀπεπερῶντο τῶν προτεταγμένων, κατὰ χείρα μὲν συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οὐ σφόδρα θαρροῦντες, πόρρωθεν δὲ χειμᾶσιν καὶ πάλτους ἐβαλλον, ὦστε συχνῶς κατα-ιτρώσκειν. ἐν ὧ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἡρώδης παρελαύνων παλτῶν κατὰ τὴν πλευρὰν ἀκοντίζεται.

333 (5) Βουλόμενος δὲ Ἀντίγονος μὴ μόνον τόλμη τῶν σφετέρων ἄλλα καὶ πλήθει περιείναι δοκεῖν, Πάππον τινὰ τῶν ἐταίρων μετὰ στρατιάς ἐπὶ Σαμάρειαν περιπέμπει.3 τούτω4 μὲν οὖν ἴνα Μαχαίρας ἀγώνισμα, Ἡρώδης δὲ τὴν πολεμίαν κατα-δραμὼν πέντε μὲν πολίχνας καταστρέφεται, δισ-χιλίους δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς διαφθείρει, καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐμπρήσας ὑπέστρεψεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον· ηὔλιστο δὲ περὶ τὴν καλουμένην Κανᾶ κώμην.

334 (6) Προσεγίνετο δ᾽ αὐτῶ καθ’ ἠμέραν πολὺ πλήθος Ἰουδαίων ἐκ τε τῆς Ἰεριχούντος κἀκ τῆς ἀλλῆς χώρας, οἱ μὲν διὰ μίσος τοῦ πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ κατορθώμασιν κεκυπημένοι τοὺς γε μὴν πολλοὺς ἐνήγεν ἐπιθυμία μεταβολῆς ἀλογοι, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡπείγετο συμβαλεῖν, οἱ δὲ περὶ Πάππον οὔτε πρὸς τὸ πλήθος οὔτε πρὸς τὴν ὀρμήν ὑποδείκνυτε αὐτοῦ προθύμως ἀντεπεξήλθον. 336 γενομένης δὲ τῆς παρατάξεως τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μέρη πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀντέσχεν, Ἡρώδης δὲ κατὰ μνήμην ἐν ὧ δὲ περὶ Πάππον οὔτε πρὸς τὸ πλήθος οὔτε πρὸς τὴν ὀρμήν ὑποδείκνυτε αὐτοῦ προθύμως ἀντεπεξήλθον.

1 Hudson: πελταῖς mss. 3 I.L.: εἶπεντείπει: the rest. 5 Niese: αὐτῆς mss.
2 πελτῶ mss. 4 Destinon: τούτων mss. 6 μέν LVRC.
building collapsed. Seeing in this an omen alike of perils and of preservation during the coming campaign, he at daybreak put his troops in motion. Some six thousand of the enemy rushed down from the hills and assailed his vanguard; they had not the courage to come to close quarters with the Romans, but pelted them from a distance with stones and darts, wounding many of them. On this occasion Herod himself, while riding along the lines, was struck by a javelin in the side.

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

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

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⁵ We should doubtless read, as in the parallel account, A. xiv. 458, Isana, a place due north of Jerusalem near the frontier of Judaea and Samaria.
τοῦ φονευθέντος ἀδελφοῦ παραβαλλόμενος, ὡς ἂν τίσατο τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ φόνου, ταχέως τῶν καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἐκράτει καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνους ἔπι τὸ συνεστὸς

337 αἰεὶ τρεπόμενος ἀπαντᾷ διώκει. φόνος δ’ ἦν πολὺς, τῶν μὲν εἰς τὴν κώμην συνεξωθουμένων ἢς ὤρμητο, τοῦ δὲ προσκειμένου τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ κτείνοντος ἀπείρους. συνεισπίπτει δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰσὶν, καὶ πάσα μὲν ὀπλητῶν οἰκία ἑνακτο, τὰ τέγη δ’ ἦν ὑπέρθεν ἀμυνομένων κατὰ- 338 πλεα. καπεδὴ περὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν, τὰς οἰκήσεις σπαράττων εἰλκεν τοὺς ἐνιδοθεν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς ἐπικατασείων τοὺς ὀρόφους ἄθροος ἄνηρε, τοὺς ὑποβεγιοντας δὲ τῶν ἐρειπίων οἱ στρατιῶται ἔξωθεν εἰδέχοντο, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐσωρεύθη νεκρῶν πλῆθος, ὡστε τὰς οὐδοὺς ἀπο- 339 φραγμῆς τοῖς κρατοῦσιν. ταὐτὴν τὴν πληγήν οὐκ ἣνεγκαν τοὶ πολέμοι. τὸ γοῦν ἐπισυλλεγόμενον αὐτῶν πλῆθος ὡς ἐθεάσατο τοὺς ἀνὰ τὴν κώμην διεφθαρμένους, εἰς φυγὴν διεσκεδάζη, καὶ εὐθέως τῇ νῖκῃ τεθαρρηκὸς Ἰρώνης ἐπὶ Ἰεροσολύμων ἡλάσειν, εἰ μὴ χειμῶν διεκωλυθῇ σφοδροτάτω τούτ’ ἐμπόδιον εἰκεῖς τε παντελοὺς κατορθώματος καὶ ἤπτης Ἀντιγόνης κατέστη, βουλευμένων καταλυθεὶν ἡδῇ τὴν πόλιν.

340 (7) Ἰρώνης δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν [ἡδῆ] 3 τοὺς φίλους κεκμηκότας ἐπὶ θεραπεία τοῦ σώματος διαφεῖς καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἦν ἔτι θερμὸς ἐκ τῶν ὀπλων λουσόμενος ἤτε στρατιωτικῶτερον. εἰς γοῦν αὐτὰ παῖς εἶπετο. καὶ πρὶν εἰς τὸ Βαλανετοῦ εἰσέλθειν, ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ τὸς ἐκτρέχει τῶν πολεμίων ἐξιδήρης;

1 αἰεὶ P.  
2 ΡΜ: ἄθροος the rest.  
3 om. PAM Lat.
JEWISH WAR, I. 336–340 (= ANT. xiv. 458–463)

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

(7) That evening. Herod having dismissed his companions to refresh themselves after their fatigues, went himself just as he was, yet hot from the fight, to take a bath, like any common soldier, for only a single slave attended him. Before he entered the bath-house one of the enemy ran out in front of him, sword in hand, then a second and a third,
341 ἐπείτα δεύτερος καὶ τρίτος, ἐξῆς δὲ πλείους. οὖτοι καταπεφεύγεσαν μὲν ἐκ τῆς παρατάξεως εἰς τὸ
βαλανεῖον ὕπλισμένοι, τέως δ’ ὑποπεπτηχότες καὶ
dιαλαυτάνοντες, ὥς έθεασαντο τὸν βασιλέα, λυ-
θέντες ὑπ’ ἐκπλήξεως αὐτὸν μὲν παρέτρεχον γυμνὸν
ὀντα τρέμοντες, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς ἔξοδους ἐχὼρον. τῶν
μὲν οὖν ἄλλων οὐδεὶς παρῆν κατὰ τύχην ὁ συλ-
ληψόμενος τοὺς ἄνδρας, Ἡρώδη δ’ ἀπέχρη τὸ
μηδὲν παθεῖν, ὡστε διαφεύγουσιν πάντες.

342 (8) Τῇ δ’ υστεραιᾷ Πάππον μὲν τὸν Ἀντιγόνου
στρατηγὸν καρατουμῆσας, ἀνήρητο δ’ ἐπὶ τῆς
παρατάξεως, πέμπει τὴν κεφαλὴν Φερώρα τα-
δελφῷ ποιήν τὸν φονευθέντος αὐτῶν ἀδελφοῦ. καὶ
343 γὰρ οὗτος ἦν ὁ τῶν Ἰώσηππον ἄνελων. λωφή-
σαντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἠλαυνεν ἐπὶ Ἰεροσολύμων
καὶ μέχρι τοῦ τείχους ἀγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν, συν-
ήγετο δ’ αὐτῶ τρίτον ἔτος έξ οὐ βασιλεὺς ἐν Ἡρώμη
ἀπεδέδεικτο, πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ στρατοπεδεύεται
ταύτη γὰρ ἦν ἐπίμαχον, καθ’ ὃ καὶ πρὶν εἰλει
344 Πομπήιος τὴν πόλιν. διελών δὲ εἰς ἔργα τὴν
στρατιάν καὶ τεμῶν τὰ προάστεια, τρία μὲν
ἐγείρειν χώματα καὶ πύργους ἐποικοδομεῖν αὐτοῖς
κελεύει, καταλιπὼν δὲ τοὺς ἀνωτικωτάτους τῶν
ἐταίρων ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶς εἰς Σαμάρειαν ἤμε
τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου μετίων θυγα-
tέρα καθωμολογημένην, ὡς ἐφαμεν, αὐτῶ κα-
pάρεργον ποιούμενος τῆς πολιορκίας τὸν γάμον
ἡδη γὰρ υπερηφάνει τοὺς πολεμίους.

345 (9) Γῆμας δὲ ὑπέστρεψεν ἐπὶ Ἰεροσολύμων

1 ΡΑ: ποιείται the rest.

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

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

(9) After his marriage he returned with a larger

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μετὰ μείζονος¹ δυνάμεως· συνήπτε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Σόσσιος μετὰ πλείστης στρατιάς ἵππεων τε καὶ πεζῶν, ἧν προεκπέμψας διὰ τῆς μεσογείου τὴν

346 πορείαν αὐτὸς διὰ Φοινίκης ἐποιήσατο. συν-

αθροισθείσης δὲ τῆς ὀλης δυνάμεως εἰς ἐνδεκα μὲν

τέλη πεζῶν, ἵππεις δὲ ἐξακισχίλιους δίχα τῶν ἀπὸ

Συρίας συμμάχων, οἱ μέρος οὐκ ὁλίγον ἦσαν,

καταστρατοπεδεύονται τοῦ βορείου τείχους πλησίον,

αὐτὸς μὲν πεποιθῶς τοῖς τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμασιν,

δι' ὧν βασιλεὺς ἀπεδέδεικτο, Σόσσιος δὲ 'Αντωνίῳ

τῷ πέμψας τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατιάν Ἡρώδης

Συμμάχων.

347 (xviii. 1) Ὡν δ' ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν Ἰουδαίων τὸ

πλῆθος ποικίλως ἑτετάρακτο· καὶ γὰρ περὶ τὸν

ναὸν ἀθροιζόμενον τὸ ἀσθενέστερον ἐδαμένια καὶ

πολλὰ θειωδέστερον πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς ἐλογοποίει,

καὶ τῶν τολμηρότερων κατὰ στίφος ἦσαν ληστεῖαι

πολύτροποι, μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀρπα-

ζόντων ἐπιτήδεια καὶ μήτε ἵππος μήτε ἀνδράσι

348 ὑπολειπομένων τροφῆν. τοὺς γε μὴν μαχίμου τὸ

εὐτακτότερον ἑτέτακτο πρὸς ἀμυναν τῆς πολι-

ορκίας, τοὺς τε χωνινύντας εἰργόν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους

καὶ τοὺς ὀργάνοις ἀντιμηχανώμενον ἀεὶ τι κώλυμα

καυσώντερον· ἐν οὐδενὶ δ' οὕτως ὡς ἐν ταῖς μετα-

λείαις περιῆγαν τῶν πολεμίων.

349 (2) Τῷ δὲ βασιλεὶ πρὸς μὲν τὰς ληστείας ἀντεπ-

ενοθῆσαν λόχοι δι' ὧν ἀνέστελλεν τὰς διεκδρομάς,

πρὸς δὲ τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπορίαν αἱ πόρρωθει

συγκομιδαί, τῶν δὲ μαχομένων περιῆγαν τῇ Ὁρμαῖοι

¹ πλείστης PAM: πλείονος τῆς Destinon.

⁰ Cf. § 327.
force to Jerusalem. Here too he was joined by Sossius with an imposing army of horse and foot, which that general had sent on ahead through the interior, while he himself took the route by Phoenicia. The total strength of the united armies amounted to eleven battalions of infantry and six thousand cavalry, not including the Syrian auxiliaries, who formed no inconsiderable contingent. The two generals encamped near the north wall: Herod with the confidence inspired by the senatorial decrees, which had proclaimed him king; Sossius relying on Antony, who had dispatched the army under his command in support of Herod.

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

(2) To stop the raiders the king arranged ambuscades, by which he succeeded in checking their incursions; to meet the shortage of provisions he had supplies brought from a distance; while as for the combatants, the military experience of the
ἐμπειρία, καίτοι τόλμης ουδεμίαν καταλιπόντων
350 ύπερβολὴν φανερῶς μὲν γε οὐ' συνερρήγυντο τοῖς
Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ προοπτῶ τῷ θανείν, διὰ δὲ τῶν
ὑπονόμων ἐν μέσοις αὐτοῖς ἐξαπίνης ἐφαίνοντο,
καὶ πρὶν κατασεισθῆναι τι τοῦ τείχους έτερον
άντωυρον: καθόλου τε [εἰπεῖν] ὑπερ-
έπνοιας έκαμον εἰς ἔσχατον ἀντισχεῖν δι-
351 εγνωκότες. ἀμέλει τηλικαύτης δυνάμεως περικαθ-
εξομένης πέντε μησίδος διήνεκαν τὴν πολιορκίαν,
ἐὼς τῶν Πρώδου τινὲς ἐπιλέκτων ἐπιβηνεν τοῦ
τείχους θαρσήσαντες εἰσπίπτουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν,
ἐφ' οἷς ἐκατοντάρχαι Σωσσίου. πρῶτα δὲ τὰ περὶ
tο ἱερὸν ἡλίσκετο, καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπεισ-
χυθείσης πανταχοῦ φόνος ἡν μυρίως, τῶν μὲν
Ῥωμαίων τῇ τριβῇ τῆς πολιορκίας διωργισμέ-
νων, τοῦ δὲ περὶ Πρώδην Ἰουνδαίκοι μηδὲν ὑπο-
352 λιπέσθαι σπουδάζοντος ἀντίπαλον. ἐσφάττοντο δὲ
παμπληθεῖσι ἐν τε τοῖς στενωποῖς καὶ κατὰ τὰς
οἰκίας συνωθούμενοι καὶ τῶν ναῶν προσφεύγοντες,
ὅταν τοῦ ὑπερμείνῃς ήτος γῆρως ἔλεος οὔτε ἀσθενείας
γυναικῶν, ἀλλὰ καίτοι περιπέμποντος τοῦ βασι-
λέως καὶ φείδουται παρακαλοῦντος οὔδεις ἐκρα-
τησεν τῆς δεξιᾶς, ἀλλ' ὑστερ μεμηνότες πάσαν
353 ἡλίκιαν ἐπεχείσαν. ἕνθα καὶ 'Αντίγονος μῆτε τῆς
πάλαι μῆτε τῆς τότε τύχης ἐννοιαν λαβών κάτεσιν
μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς βάρεως, προσπιπτεὶ δὲ τοῖς Σωσσίοις
ποσιν. κάκεινοι μηδὲν αὐτὸν οἰκτείρας πρὸς τὴν
μεταβολὴν ἐπεγέλασεν τε ἀκρατῶς καὶ 'Αντιγόνην

1 μὲν γε οὐ M: μὲν γε PA: μὲν οὖν οὐ the rest.
2 om. PA.

Or (omitting the negative with PA) "They openly hung themselves."
Romans gave him the advantage over them, although their audacity knew no bounds. If they did not openly fling themselves against the Roman lines, to face certain death, they would through their underground passages appear suddenly in the enemy's midst; and before one portion of the wall was overthrown they were erecting another in its stead. In a word, neither in action nor ingenuity did they ever flag, fully resolving to hold out to the last. In fact, notwithstanding the strength of the beleaguering army, they sustained the siege into the fifth month; until some of Herod's picked men ventured to scale the wall and leapt into the city, followed by Sossius's centurions.

The environs of the Temple were first secured, and, when the troops poured in, a scene of wholesale massacre ensued; for the Romans were infuriated by the length of the siege, and the Jews of Herod's army were determined to leave none of their opponents alive. Masses were butchered in the alleys, crowded together in the houses, and flying to the sanctuary. No quarter was given to infancy, to age, or to helpless womanhood. Nay, though the king sent messengers in every direction, entreatying them to spare, none stayed his hand, but like madmen they wreaked their rage on all ages indiscriminately. In this scene Antigonus, regardless alike of his former fortune and that which now was his, came down from the castle and threw himself at the feet of Sossius. The latter, far from pitying his changed condition, burst into uncontroll-

\[a\] A. xiv. 487 appears to state, on the contrary, that Jerusalem was taken "in the third month" or even in less, the first wall being captured in 40 days, the second in 15 (ib. 476).
354 (3) Πρόνοια δ' ἦν Ἡρώδη κρατοῦντι τῶν πολεμίων τότε κρατήσαι καὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων συμμάχων, ὄρμητο γὰρ τὸ ξενικὸν πλήθος ἐπὶ θέων τοῦ τε ίεροῦ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν ναὸν ἄγιων. οὐ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοὺς μὲν παρακαλῶν, τοῖς δ' ἀπειλούμενος, ἐστιν δ' οὗς καὶ τοῖς ὁπλοῖς ἀνέστειλεν, ἦττης χαλεπωτέραν τὴν νίκην ὑπολαμβάνων. εἰ τῶν ἀθεάτων παρ' αὐτῶν ὁμθείη. διεκόλυσεν δὲ ἡδή καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀρπαγάς, πολλὰ διατευνόμενος πρὸς Σόσσιον, εἰ χρημάτων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν τὴν πόλιν Ῥωμαίοι κενώσαντες καταλείψαντι αὐτὸν ἐρημίας βασιλεά, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτων πολιτῶν φόνῳ βραχῦ καὶ τὴν τῆς οἰκου.

356 μένης ἡγεμονίαν ἀντάλλαγμα κρίνοι. τοῦ δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς πολιορκίας τὰς ἀρπαγὰς δικαίως τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπιτρέπειν φαμένου, αὐτὸς ἐφε διανεμεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἱδίων χρημάτων τοὺς μισθοὺς ἑκάστοις. οὕτως τε τὴν λοιπὴν ἐξωνησάμενοι πατρίδα τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἐπλήρωσεν: λαμπρῶς μὲν γὰρ ἐκαστὸν στρατιώτην, ἀναλόγως δὲ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, βασιλικῶτα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐδωρήσατο Σόσσιον, ὡς μηδένα

357 χρημάτων ἀπελθεῖν δεόμενον. Σόσσιος δὲ χρυσοὺς ἀναθεῖς τῷ θεῷ στέφανον ἀνέζευξεν ἀπὸ ἱερο-υπολόμων, ἀγων δειμώτην Ἄντιγονον Ἀντωνίῳ. τούτων μὲν οὖν φιλοψυχήσαντα μέχρις ἐσχάτου διὰ ψυχρᾶς ἐλπίδος ἄξιος τῆς ἀγεννείας πέλεκυς ἔκδεχεται.

358 (4) Βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἡρώδης διακρίνας τὸ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πλήθος τοὺς μὲν τὰ αὐτοῦ φρονήσαντας

166
able laughter and called him Antigone. He did not, however, treat him as a woman and leave him at liberty: no, he was put in irons and kept under strict guard.

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

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

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a Or in the general’s Latin “Antigona.”
JOSEPHUS

ευνουστέρους ταῖς τιμαίς καθίστατο, τοὺς δ' Ἀντιγονεῖοις ἀνήρει. καὶ κατὰ σπάνισ  ἤδη χρη- 
μάτων ὅσον ἔχειν κόσμον κατανομιστεύσας Ἀν- 
359 τοινός καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνέπεμφεν. οὗ μὴν εἰς 
ἀπαν ἐξωνήσατο τὸ µηδὲν παθεῖν. ἢδη γὰρ 
Ἀντώνιος τῷ Κλεοπάτρας ἔρωτι διεθαρμένος 
ήττων ἢν ἐν πᾶσιν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, Κλεοπάτρα δὲ 
διεξελθούσα τὴν γενεὰν τῆν ἐαυτῆς ὡς µηδένα 
tῶν ἀφ' αἰματός ὑπολείπεσθαι, τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς 
360 ἐξωθεὶν ἐφόνα, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει Σύρων διαβάλλουσα 
πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀναίρειν ἐπείθεν, ὡς ἄν τῶν 
κτήσεων ἐκάστου ραδίως γινοµένη δεσπότις, ἐτι 
δ' ἐκτείνουσα τὴν πλεονεξίαν ἐπὶ Ἰουναῖους καὶ 
Ἀραβας ὑπειργάζεστο τοὺς ἐκατέρων βασιλεῖς 
Ἱππόδημην καὶ Μάλχον ἀναρεθῆναι.

361  (5) Ἔν μέρει γοῦν τῶν προσταγµάτων ἐπινήψας 
Ἀντώνιος τὸ κτεῖναι μὲν ἄνδρας ἁγαθοὺς καὶ 
βασιλεῖς τηλικούτοις ἀνόσιον ἡγήσατο, τὸ δὲ 
tοῦτων ἔγγειον φίλους² διεκρούσατο: πολλὰ δὲ τῆς 
χώρας αὐτῶν ἀποτεµόµενοι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἐν 
Ἰεριχώντι φοινικῶν, ἐν ὦ γεννᾶται τὸ βάλσαµον, 
διδώσων αὐτῇ πόλεις τε πλὴν Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος 
362 ταῖς ἐντὸς Ἐλευθέρου ποταµοῦ πάσας. ὃν γενο- 
µένη κυρία καὶ προσπέµψασα μέχρις Εὐφράτου τὸν 
Ἀντώνιον ἐπιστρατεύοντα Πάρθοις ἠλθεν εἰς 
Ἰουναίαν δι' Ἀπαµείας καὶ Δαµασκοῦ. κἂνταῦθα

1 εἰς ἄπαξ LVRC.
² σιλεις PA Exc. Lat.: φίλος εἶναι the rest. Text and 
meaning uncertain. I follow the Latin "quod autem his 
motte proptius est, inter amicos non habuit." Perhaps 
(reading σιλος εἶναι) "But of any closer friendship he showed 
no sign."
honours attached more closely to himself those who had espoused his cause, while he exterminated the partisans of Antigonus. Finding his funds now reduced, he converted all the valuables in his possession into money, which he then transmitted to Antony and his staff. Yet even at this price he failed to secure for himself complete exemption from injury; for Antony, already demoralized by his love for Cleopatra, was becoming wholly enslaved to his passion, and Cleopatra, after killing off her own family, one after another, till not a single relative remained, was now thirsting for the blood of foreigners. Laying before Antony calumnious charges against high officials in Syria, she urged him to put them to death, in the belief that she would have no difficulty in appropriating their possessions; and now, her ambitions extending to Judaea and Arabia, she was secretly contriving the ruin of their respective kings, Herod and Malchus.

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

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{34}} \text{ B.C.} \]

\( \text{\textsuperscript{a}} \) Greek "within," \( i.e. \) "on this side of."

\( \text{\textsuperscript{b}} \) North of Tyre.
This Artabazes (Artavasdes) was not a Parthian, but king of Armenia, who, having joined Antony in an attack on his namesake Artavasdes, king of Media, deserted him and was subsequently taken captive by Antony (Plut. Ant. 50). Josephus or his source appears to have confused the
Judaea. There, by large bounties, Herod appeased her ill will, and agreed to take on lease for an annual sum of two hundred talents the lands which had been detached from his realm. He then escorted her to Pelusium, treating her with every mark of respect. Not long after Antony returned from Parthia bringing, as a present for Cleopatra, his prisoner Artabazes, son of Tigranes; for upon her, together with the money and all the spoils of war, the Parthian was instantly bestowed.

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

(2) Her scheme, however, turned to Herod's advantage. For, beginning with raids upon the enemy's territory, he mustered a large body of cavalry, flung them at the foe in the neighbourhood of Diospolis and, though he met with a stubborn two namesakes (Reinach). In the parallel account, A. xv. 104, he is not called a Parthian.

In Coele-Syria, not (as stated in Shilleto's Whiston) Lydda, which only received the name Diospolis at a later date; it has been mentioned in § 132.
καρτερώς ἀντιπαραταξαμένων. πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἦτταν μέγα γίνεται κίνημα τῶν Ἀράβων, καὶ συν"αθροισθέντες εἰς Κάναβα τῆς κοίλης Συρίας ἀπείροι
367 τὸ πλῆθος τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἔμενον. ἔνθα μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως Ἡρώδης ἐπελθὼν ἐπειράτο προ-
μηθέοικον αἴρησε ἀπὸ τοὺς πολέμοις καὶ στρατο-
πεδοὺς ἐκέλευε τειχίζειν. οὐ μὴν ὑπήκουσι τὸ τ
πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ τῇ προτέρᾳ νίκῃ τεθαρρηκότες ὠρμησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀραβὰς. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἐμβολήν τραπέντας ἐδίωκον, ἐπιβουλεύε-
ται δὲ Ἡρώδης ἐν τῇ διώξει, τοὺς ἑκ τῶν Κανά-
θων ἐπιχυρώσως ἀνέντος Ἀθηνίων, ὅτι ἦν αὐτῶ
368 τῶν Κλεοπάτρας στρατηγῶν αἱεί διάφορος. πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τούτων ἐπίθεσιν ἀναθαρρήσαντες οἱ Ἀρα-
βὲς ἐπιστρέφονται καὶ συνάψαντες τὸ πλῆθος περὶ
πετρώδη καὶ δύσβατα χωρία τοὺς Ἡρώδου τρέ-
pοντα πλείστον τε ἄντων φόνον εἰργάσαντο. οἱ
dὲ διασωθέντες ἕκ τῆς μάχης εἰς Ὄρμμα κατα-
πεύχοντες, ὅπου καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἄντων περι-
σχόντες αὐτανδρον εἶλον οἱ Ἀραβὲς.
369 (3) Μετ’ οὐ πολὺ δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς βοήθειαν
ἀγων Ἡρώδης παρῆκ τῆς χρείας υστέραν. ταύ-
tῆς τῆς πληγῆς ἄντων ἄντω τὸ τῶν ταξιάρχων
ἀπειθεὶς κατέστη. μὴ γὰρ ἐξαιπιναίον τῆς συμ-
βολῆς γενομένης οὐδ’ ἀν Ἀθηνίων εὑρεν καιρὸν ἐπιβουλῆς. ἐτιμωρήσατο μέντοι τοὺς Ἀραβὰς
αὐθις ἀεὶ τὴν χώραν καταπρέξων, ὡς ἀνακαλέ-
370 σασθαι τὴν μιᾷ ἀυτοῖς νίκην πολλάκις. ἀμυνο-
μένω δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιπλέπτει συμφορὰ δαι-
μόνιος ἀλλη, κατ’ ἐτος μὲν τῆς βασιλείας ἐβδομον,

\[a\] Canata or Cana in .1. xv. 112.
\[b\] Unidentified; the name is not mentioned in .
resistance, defeated them. This defeat occasioned a great commotion among the Arabs, who assembled in vast numbers at Canatha in Coele-Syria and there awaited the Jews. Herod, arriving with his troops, endeavoured to conduct operations with due caution and ordered the camp to be fortified. His orders, however, were defied by the rank and file, who, flushed with their recent victory, rushed upon the Arabs. With their first charge they routed them and followed at their heels; but during the pursuit a snare was laid for Herod by Athenion, one of Cleopatra's generals, who had always been hostile to him, and now let loose upon him the natives of Canatha. Encouraged by their allies' attack, the Arabs faced about and, after uniting their forces on rocky and difficult ground, routed Herod's troops with immense slaughter. Those who escaped from the battle took refuge in Ormiza, where, however, the Arabs surrounded and captured their camp with all its defenders.

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

Such, or "regretfully recall," seems to be the meaning.

Reckoning from the year of the taking of Jerusalem, 37 B.C., as the effective beginning of Herod's reign.
JOSEPHUS

άκμαζοντος δὲ τοῦ περὶ "Ακτιον πολέμου. ἀρχομένου γὰρ ἡ γῆ σεισθέισα βοσκημάτων μεν ἀπειρον πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων δὲ τρεῖς διέφθειρεν μυριάδας, τὸ δὲ στρατιωτικὸν ἔμεινεν ἀβλαβές.

371 ὑπαιθρον γὰρ ἦλιξετο. καὶ τούτῳ τοὺς "Ἀραβας ἐπὶ μείζον θράσος ἤρεν ἡ φήμη προσλογοποιούσα τοὺς σκυθρωποῖς ἀεὶ τι χαλεπώτερον. ὡς γονὸν ἀπάσης Ἰουδαίας κατερρυμένης οἰηθέντες ἐρήμου τῆς χώρας κρατήσειν ὄρμησαν εἰς αὐτὴν, προθυσάμενοι τοὺς πρέσβεις οἱ παρὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐτυχον

372 ἢκονες πρὸς αὐτοὺς. πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐμβολὴν καταπλαγέν τὸ πλῆθος ² καὶ μεγέθει συμφορῶν ἐπιαλλήλων ἐκλυτὸν συναγαγὼν Ἡρώδης ἐπειρᾶτο παρομιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμμαν λέγων τοιάδε:

373 (1) "Παραλογώτατά μοι δοκεῖ τὸ παρὸν ὕμων καθάπτεσθαι δέος. πρὸς μὲν γε τὰς δαμαινούς πληγὰς ἀθυμεῖν εἰκὸς ἢν, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρωπίνην ἐφοδον πάσχειν ἀνάνδρων. ³ ἐγὼ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἀποδέω κατεπτηχέναι τοὺς πολεμίους μετὰ τὸν σεισμὸν, ὥστε ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸν θεόν "Ἀραβὸν δέλεαρ τούτῳ καθεικέναι τοῦ δοῦναι δίκας ἢμῖν' οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ὅπλοις ἢ χερσὶν πεποιθότες ὅσον ταῖς αὐτομάτοις ἡμῶν συμφοραῖς ἡκον σφαλερά δὲ ἐλπὶς οὐκ ἐξ οἰκείας ἰσχύος ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀλλο-

374 τριάς ἡρτημένη κακοπραγίας. οὐτε δὲ τὸ δυστυχεῖν οὔτε τοιναντίον ἐν ἀνθρώποις βέβαιον, ἀλλ' ἐστιν ἰδεῖν ἐπαμειβομένην εἰς ἐκάτερα τὴν τύχην.

¹ ἀρχ. γὰρ C: κατὰ γὰρ ἀρχομένου τοῦ ρεσ: καὶ γὰρ ἀρχ. Destinon.
² ἐθρός LVRC.
³ ἀνανδρον PAM Lat.

² Cf. B. iii. 433: Josephus may have known Virgil's description of rumour (Fama), Aen. iv. 173 ff.
³ This speech is quite independent of that contained in 174
his reign, when the war of Actium was at its height. In the early spring an earthquake destroyed cattle innumerable and thirty thousand souls; but the army, being quartered in the open, escaped injury. At the same moment the confidence of the Arabs rose, stimulated by rumour which always exaggerates the horrors of a tragedy. Imagining that the whole of Judaea was in ruins and that they had only to take possession of an abandoned country, they hastened to invade it, after massacring the envoys whom the Jews had sent to them. So dismayed were the people at this invasion, and so demoralized by the magnitude of these successive disasters, that Herod called them together and endeavoured to rouse them to resistance by the following speech.

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

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

καὶ τοῦτο μάθοιτ' ἂν ἐξ οἰκείων ύποδειγμάτων:

τῇ γονὶ προτέρα μάχη κρατοῦντων ἐκράτησαν ἥμων οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ κατὰ τὸ εἰκός νῦν ἀλώ-

σονται κρατήσεως δοκοῦντες. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄγαν πε-

ποιθὸς ἀφύλακτον, οἱ φόβοι δὲ διδάσκουσιν προ-

μήθειαν: ὥστε ἐρμογε κακὸν τοῦ δεδοικότος ύμῶν

375 παρίσταται θαρρείν. ὅτε γὰρ ἐθρασύνεσθε πέρα

τοῦ δέοντος καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἔχθρῶν παρὰ τὴν ἐμὴν

γνώμην ἐξωρρήσατε, καιρὸν ἔσχεν ἡ Ἀθηναίων ἐνέδρα: ἦν δὲ ὁ ὀκνος ύμῶν καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν ἄθυμον

376 ἀσφάλειαν ἔμοι νίκης ἐγγυᾶται. χρὴ μέντοι γε

μέχρι τοῦ μελλέων οὕτως ἔχειν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις

ἐγείραι τὰ φρονήματα καὶ πείσαι τοὺς ἀεβεστά-

τοὺς, ὡς οὔτ' ἀνθρώπων τι κακὸν οὔτε δαιμό-

νιον ταπεινώσει ποτὲ τὴν Ἰουδαίων ἀνδραγαθίαν,

ἔφ' ὅσον τὰς ψυχὰς ἔχουσιν, οὔδε περισσεῖται τις

"Αραβά τῶν ἐαυτοῦ ἁγαθῶν δεσπότην γενόμενον,

ὡν παρ' ὀλίγον3 πολλάκις αἰχμαλωτὸν ἔλαβεν.

377 μηδ' ύμᾶς παρασσέτω τὰ τῶν ἀμύχων κινήματα,

μηδ' ὑπολαμβάνετε τὸν σεισμὸν ἐτέρας συμφορᾶς

τέρας γεγονέναι: φυσικὰ γὰρ τὰ τῶν στοιχείων

πάθη καὶ οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπως πλέον ἡ τὴν ἐν ἐαυτοῖς

βλάβην ἐπιφέρεται. λοιμὸν μὲν γὰρ καὶ λιμὸν καὶ

τῶν χθονίων βρασμῶν προγένοιτ' ἂν τι σημεῖον

βραχύτερον, αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα περιγραφὴν ἔχει τὸ

μέγεθος. ἐπεὶ τὶ δύναται μείζων ύμᾶς τού σει-

378 σμοὶ βλάψαι καὶ κρατήσας ὁ πόλεμος4; τέρας

1 δεδοκέναι ύμᾶς PAM.
2 ante proelium Lat., reading μέχρι τοῦ πολεμεῖν.
3 παρ' ὀλίγον LVR.
4 πολέμος Cocceius.

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

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

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

"Our adversaries, on the other hand, have one

\(a\) Or, with the conjectural reading, "the enemy."
μέντοι μέγιστον ἀλώσεως γέγονεν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς οὐκ αὐτομάτως ουδὲ διὰ χειρὸς ἀλλοτρίας, οἱ πρέσβεις ἡμετέρους παρὰ τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμον ὡμός ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τοιαῦτα τῷ θεῷ θύματα περὶ τοῦ πολέμου κατέστησαν. ἂν δὲν διαφεύγειται τῶν μέγαν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀνίκητον δεξιάν, δῶσον δὲ ἡμῖν αὐτίκα δίκας, ἄν τοῦ πατρίου φρονήματος ἣδη σπάσαντες τιμω-379 ροὶ τῶν παρεσπονδημένων ἀναστώμεν. ὦτῳ τῶν οὐχ ὑπὲρ γυναικὸς οὔδ᾽ ὑπὲρ τέκνων οὔδ᾽ ὑπὲρ κυνωνευώσης πατρίδος, ἂλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῶν πρέσβεων ἀμνώμενος· ἐκεῖνοι στρατηγήσουσιν τοῦ πολέμου τῶν ἠώνων ἥμιν ἠμείνον. προκινδυνεύωσι δὲ καγὼ χρώμενος ύμῖν πειθόνιοι· εὐ γὰρ ἵστε τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀνδρείαν ἀνυπόστατον, ἐὰν μὴ προπετεία τινι βλαβήτεν.

378 (5) Τούτους παρακροτήσας τὸν στρατὸν ὡς ἐώρα προθύμους, ἑθεῦν τῷ θεῷ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἰσιόν διεβαινεν τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ περὶ Φιλ- αδέλφειαν ἔγνυ τῶν πολεμίων περὶ τοῦ μεταξὺ φοιρίου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡκροβολίζετο βουλόμενος ἐν τάχει συμβαλεῖν· ἐτυχον γὰρ κάκεινοι τινας προπεπομφότες τοὺς καταληψομένους τὸ ἐρύμα. 381 τούτους μὲν οὖν ἀπεκρούσαν ὑμεῖς οἱ μετ- φθέιες ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ λόφου κατέσχον, αὐτοὶ δὲ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν προάγων τῆς δύναμιν εἰς μάχην παρετάσσετο καὶ προκαλεῖτο τοὺς Ἀρα- βας. ὡς δ᾽ οὖν ἐπεξῆγε, δεινὴ γάρ τις αὐτοῦ καταπληγέεις εἴχε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πλήθους ὁ στρατηγὸς

1 C: κατέστρεψαν the rest. 2 om. P.A.

ο Rabbath Ammon, the ancient capital of the Ammonites.

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

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

b Or perhaps “in presence of his troops.”
"Ελθεμος αύτος ἕν τῷ δέει, προσελθὼν ἐσπάραττεν
382 αὐτῶν τὸ χαράκωμα. κἂν τούτῳ συναναγκα-
σθέντες ἔξισαιν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἀτακτοί καὶ πε-
φυμένοι τοὺς ἑπενῶν οἱ πεζοὶ. πλήθηκεν μὲν οὖν
τῶν Ἰουδαίων περίτας, ἐλείποντο δὲ ταῖς προ-
θυμίαις, καὶ τοῖς διὰ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τῆς νίκης
ὀντες καὶ αὐτοὶ παράβολοι.
383 (6) Διὸ μέχρι μὲν ἀντείχον οὖ πολὺς ἤν αὐτῶν
φόνος, ὡς δ’ ὑπέδειξαν τὰ νῶτα, πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ
tῶν Ἰουδαίων πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν συμ-
pατοῦμενοι διεφθείροντο. πεντακισχίλιοι γοῦν ἔπε-
σαν ἐν τῇ τροπῇ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἐφθη συν-
ωσθέν εἰς τὸ χαράκωμα. τούτους περισσῶν ἐπολυ-
όρκει, καὶ μέλλοντας ἀλώσεσθαι τοῖς ὀπλοῖς προ-
kατήπειγεν ἡ δίψα τῶν ὑδάτων ἐπιλειπόντων.
384 ὑπερηφάνει δὲ πρεσβευομένους ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ
λύτρα διδόντων πεντακόσια τάλαντα μᾶλλον ἐν-
έκειτο. τοὺ δὲ δύσους ἐκκαίοιτος ἔξισαντες κατὰ
πλῆθος ἐνεχειρίζον σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις
ἐκόντες, ὡς πέντε μὲν ἡμέρας πεντακισχίλιοις
δεθήναι, τῇ δ’ ἐκτῇ τὸ λειπόμενον πλῆθος ὑπ’
ἀπογνώσεως ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ μάχην ὀἱς συμβαλῶν
385 Ἡρώδης πάλιν εἰς ἐπτακισχίλίους κτείνει. τῆλι-
καύτῃ πληγῇ τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἀμυνάμενος1 καὶ
σβέσας τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰ φρουρία προῦκοψεν
ὡςτε καὶ προστάτης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐθνοῦς αἱρεθήναι.
386 (xx. 1) Μεταλαμβάνει δὲ αὐτῶν εὐθέως ἡ
περὶ τῶν ὀλὼν πραγμάτων φροντίς διὰ τὴν πρὸς
Ἀντώνιον φιλίαν, Καίσαρος περὶ "Ἀκτιόν νεικη-

1 Bekker: ἀμυνόμενος mss.
general Elthemus was paralysed with fright—the king advanced and proceeded to tear up their palisades. Thereupon, impelled by necessity, the enemy at length emerged for action, in disorder, infantry and cavalry intermingled. Superior in numbers to the Jews, they had less stomach for a fight, though despair of success rendered even them reckless.

(6) Consequently, so long as they held out, their casualties were slight; but when they turned their backs multitude were slain by the Jews, and many others were trodden to death by their own men. Five thousand fell in the rout; the rest of the crowd succeeded in forcing their way into their entrenched camp. There Herod surrounded and besieged them, and they must have succumbed to an assault, had not the failure of their water-supply and thirst precipitated their capitulation. The king treated their envoys with scorn, and, although they offered a ransom of five hundred talents, only pressed his attack the harder. Parched with thirst, the Arabs came out in crowds and willingly surrendered to the Jews, so that in five days four thousand were made prisoners. On the sixth the remnant in desperation came forth to battle; these Herod engaged, killing some seven thousand more. Having, by this crushing blow, punished Arabia and broken the spirit of its people, he gained such a reputation with them that the nation chose him for its Protector.

(xx. 1) But, this peril surmounted, Herod was instantly plunged into anxiety about the security of his position. He was Antony's friend, and Antony had been defeated by Caesar at Actium. (In reality,}

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\[^a\] Literally "dry."

\[^b\] Octavius.
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κότος. παρείχεν μέντοι δέους πλέον ἢ ἐπασχεν· οὔπω γὰρ ἐαλωκέναι Καίσαρ Ἀντώνιον ἑκρων 387 Ἡρώδου τυμμένοντος. ὦ γε μὴν βασιλεὺς ὁμόσε χωρήσαι τῷ κινδύνῳ διέγνω, καὶ πλεύσας εἰς Ἁρώδου, ἐνθὰ διέτριβεν Καίσαρ, πρόσειον αὐτῷ δίχα διαδήματος, τὴν μὲν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὸ σχῆμα ἰδιώτης, τὸ δὲ φρόνημα βασιλεύς. μηδὲν γοῦν τῆς ἀληθείας ὑποστειλάμενος ἀντικροσ εἶπεν· 388 Ἔγω, Καίσαρ, ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου βασιλεὺς1 γενόμενος ἐν πᾶσιν ὁμολογῶ γεγονέναι χρήσιμος Ἀντωνίῳ. καὶ οὔδὲ τοῦτ ἀν ὑποστειλάμην εἴπειν, ὅτι πάντως ἂν με μετὰ τῶν ὁπλῶν ἐπείρασας ἀχώριστον,2 εἰ μὴ διεκώλυσαν "Ἀραβες. καὶ συμμαχίαν μέντοι γε αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ σίτου πολλᾶς ἐπεμψα μυρίάδας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀκτίῳ πληγήν κατέλυσον τὸν εὐ- 389 εργετὴν, ἐγενόμην δὲ σύμβουλος ἀριστος, ὡς οὐκέτι χρήσιμος ἢ μὴν σύμμαχος, μίαν εἴναι λέγων τῶν πταισθέντων διορθώσων τὸν Κλεοπάτρας θανατον. ἦν ἀνελόντι καὶ χρήματα καὶ τείχη πρὸς ἀσφαλειαν καὶ στρατιάν καὶ ἦματον ὑπσιχυνοῦν ἐν κοινωνόν τοῦ πρὸς σὲ πολέμου. τοῦ δ' ἀρα τὰς ἀκοὰς ἀπέφραξαν οἱ Κλεοπάτρας ἵμεροι καὶ θεός ὦ σοι τὸ κρατεῖν χαριζόμενος. συνήτηται δ' Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ τέθεικα μετά τῆς ἐκείνου τύχης τὸ διάδημα. πρὸς σὲ δὲ ἡλθον ἐχὼν τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα καὶ προλαβὼν ἐξετασθήσεθαι, ποταπός φίλος, οὐ τίνος, ἐγενόμην." 390 (2) Πρὸς ταῦτα Καίσαρ "ἀλλὰ σώζου γε,"

1 βασιλεὺς P Lat.: τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς the rest.
2 ἀχώριστον Havercamp from a Leyden ms.: εὖχάριστον ("a grateful ally ") PAM Lat.: om. the rest.

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he inspired more fear than he felt himself; for Caesar considered his victory to be incomplete so long as Herod remained Antony’s ally. The king, nevertheless, resolved to confront the danger and, having sailed to Rhodes, where Caesar was sojourning, presented himself before him without a diadem, a commoner in dress and demeanour, but with the proud spirit of a king. His speech was direct; he told the truth without reserve.

“Caesar,” he said, “I was made king by Antony, and I acknowledge that I have in all things devoted my services to him. Nor will I shrink from saying that, had not the Arabs detained me, you would assuredly have found me in arms inseparable from his side. I sent him, however, such auxiliary troops as I could and many thousand measures of corn; nor even after his defeat at Actium did I desert my benefactor. When no longer useful as an ally, I became his best counsellor; I told him the one remedy for his disasters—the death of Cleopatra. Would he but kill her, I promised him money, walls to protect him, an army, and myself as his brother in arms in the war against you. But his ears, it seems, were stopped by his infatuation for Cleopatra and by God who has granted you the mastery. I share Antony’s defeat and with his downfall lay down my diadem. I am come to you resting my hope of safety upon my integrity, and presuming that the subject of inquiry will be not whose friend, but how loyal a friend, I have been.”

(2) To this Caesar replied: “Nay, be assured of

* An exaggerated statement, absent from A.
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εφη, "καὶ βασίλευε νῦν βεβαιώτερον ἄξιος γὰρ εἰ πολλῶν ἄρχειν οὕτω φιλίας προϊστάμενος. πειρώ δὲ καὶ τοῖς εὐτυχεστέροις διαμένειν πιστός, ὡς ἐγώγη λαμπροτάτας ύπέρ τοῦ σοῦ φρονήματος ἐλπίδας ἐχω. καλῶς μέντοι γε ἐποίησεν Ἀντώνιος Κλεοπάτρα πεισθεὶς μᾶλλον ἡ σοὶ καὶ γὰρ σε κεκερδήκαμεν ἐκ τῆς ἀνοίας αὐτοῦ. κατ-άρχεις δ', ώς ἐοικεν, εὐποιώς σὺν ὑπνοιάς τοῦ καθαρέου Κύντωνος Δίδιος' συμμαχίαν σε πεπομφέναι πρὸς τοὺς μονομάχους αὐτῷ. νῦν μὲν οὖν δόγματι τὸ βέβαιον σου τῆς βασιλείας ἐξαγγέλλω, πειρά-σομαι δὲ καὶ αὕτης ἀγαθὸν τί σε ποιεῖν, ὡς μὴ ξητοίης Ἀντώνιον."

392 (3) Τούτως φιλοφρονησάμενος τὸν βασιλέα καὶ περιθεὶς αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα δόγματι διεσήμανεν τὴν δωρεάν, ἐν ὑπὸ πολλὰ μεγαλοφρόνως εἰς ἔπαινον τῶν δώρων ἐπηθέγξατο. ὁ δὲ δώρως ἐπημελιζόμενος αὐτὸν ἐξητεῖτό τοια τῶν Ἀντωνίου φίλων Ἀλεξάνδρου γενόμενον· ἐνίκα δὲ ἡ Καίσαρος ὀργὴ πολλαὶ καὶ χαλέπα μεμφομένου τὸν ἐξαιτούμενον

393 οἶς διεκρούσατο τὴν δέησιν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πο- ρευόμενον ἐπ' Ἀγύπτου διὰ Συρίας Καίσαρα πάντι τῷ βασιλικῷ πλούτῳ δεξάμενος Ἡρώδης τότε πρῶτον καὶ συνιππάσατο ποιομένω περὶ Πτο- λεμαίδα τῆς δυνάμεως ἐξέτασιν εἰσπλάσαν τε σὺν ἀπασιν τοῖς φίλοις· μεθ' οὖς καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ στρα- τείᾳ πρὸς εὐωχίαν πάντα διεδώκεν. προουόησεν

1 Κύντως Δίδιος conj, Hudson from Dio Cass. li. 7: καὶ Δίδιος Niese: καὶ Βερτίδιος or Βερτίδιος MSS.

3 After the battle of Actium Cleopatra, seeking aid in all directions, sent for some gladiators who were being trained for Antony at Trapezus; the gladiators started but were intercepted.

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your safety, and reign henceforth more securely than before. So staunch a champion of the claims of friendship deserves to be ruler over many subjects. Endeavour to remain as loyal to those who have been more fortunate; since, for my part, I entertain the most brilliant hopes for your high spirit. Antony, however, did well in obeying Cleopatra's behests rather than yours; for through his folly we have gained you. But you have already, it seems, done me a service; for Quintus Didius writes to me that you have sent a force to assist him against the gladiators. I therefore now confirm your kingdom to you by decree; and hereafter I shall endeavour to confer upon you some further benefit, that you may not feel the loss of Antony.''

(3) Having thus graciously addressed the king, he placed the diadem on his head, and publicly notified this award by a decree, in which he expressed his commendation of the honoured man in ample and generous terms. Herod, after propitiating Caesar with presents, then sought to obtain pardon for Alexas, one of Antony's friends, who had come to sue for mercy; but here Caesar's resentment was too strong for him, and with many bitter complaints against Herod's client the emperor rejected his petition. Subsequently, when Caesar passed through Syria on his way to Egypt, Herod entertained him for the first time with all the resources of his realm; he accompanied the emperor on horseback when he reviewed his troops at Ptolemais; he entertained him and all his friends at a banquet; and he followed this up by making ample provision for the good cheer of the rest of the army. Then, for the march
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de kai dia tis anoudrou poroenvmenous mekrī Πη-
louisiou paraskheiv òdwr afθonon epainoudai te
ômoois, oude' estin d tis tôn epitetheioi evendēseis
thi dynamei. de' sαv ouv_autw te Kaišari kai tois
strapitwtais parèstis polw' bryxu'tera'n 'Hrōdē
396 perei'navi basileiain protos a parē'achei. dia tou'to,
ws hèken eis A'gupton, ἤδη Kleopátratas kai
'Antωnion tebneotow, ou' monon auton tais al-
lais tимai's, alla kai th basileia prosesthkev
tin te upo Kleopátratas apotmytheiasan χωran kai
'ξwvthen Gādana kai 'Ippon kai Samārēias, protos
de tou'tos tôn paralwv Gāzan kai 'Anbhdona
397 kai 'Ioppηn kai Stratwνos pýrgōn' edwrrhσato
d' autw kai protos fylakην tov σômato tetrak-
kosiouν Galataς, oi proterov edoruvfóron Kleo-
pátraw. oude' de ou'tos eunγhe auton eis tas
dwra's ws to megalo'fron tov λamβánoνtous.
398 (4) Metα de thn prōthn 'Aktiáda prōstithsoi
'autou ἥ basileia ton te Tráxwνa kalou'menoν
kai thn prosechη Batavanaian te kai thn Aυρανίτu
χώran e' autias toiais' Ζηνοδωρον o tov Lusa-
vνo me'misvθwmenos oikon ou dielēipen ἐpaphéis
thous e'k tov Tráxwνos ληστᾶς Δαμασκηνοις. oi
de' eπi Ovárwvna ton hgemōna ths Suvias kata-
φυγόντes e'dēbqhsan dhlwvsai thn svmfora'n auton
Kaišari: Kaišar de' gnous aυtpepestellev eξ-
399 aivreθnai to ληστήριον. strateu'sas oivn Ovárwvν

a §§ 361 f. b The later Caesarea.
c "The games at Actium were celebrated for the first
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to Pelusium across the arid desert, and likewise for the return, he took care to furnish the troops with abundance of water; in short, there were no necessaries which the army lacked. The thought could not but occur both to Caesar himself and to his soldiers that Herod's realm was far too restricted, in comparison with the services which he had rendered them. Accordingly, when Caesar reached Egypt, after the death of Cleopatra and Antony, he not only conferred new honours upon him, but also annexed to his kingdom the territory which Cleopatra had appropriated, with the addition of Gadara, Hippos and Samaria and the maritime towns of Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and Strato's Tower. He further presented him, as a bodyguard, with four hundred Gauls, who had formerly served Cleopatra in the same capacity. And nothing so strongly moved the emperor to this liberality as the generous spirit of him who was the object of it.

(4) After the first period of the Actian era, Caesar added to Herod's realm the country called Trachonitis, with the adjacent districts of Batanaea and Auranitis. The occasion of this grant was as follows. Zenodorus, who had taken on lease the domain of Lysanias, was perpetually setting the brigands of Trachonitis to molest the inhabitants of Damascus. The latter fled for protection to Varro, the governor of Syria, and besought him to report their sufferings to Caesar; on learning the facts Caesar sent back orders to exterminate the bandits. Varro, accordingly, led out his troops, cleared the time in 28 B.C., then in the years 24, 20, 16 B.C., etc. That enlargement of territory therefore took place 'after the course of the first Actiad had run,' i.e. in the end of 24 B.C. or beginning of 23 B.C.' (Schürer).
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καθαίρει τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀφαιρεῖ τινά Ζηνοδωρον. ἦν ύστερον Καίσαρ, ως μὴ γένοιτο πάλιν ὀρμητήριον τοῖς λησταῖς ἐπὶ τὴν Δαμασκοῦ, Ἦρωδη δίδωσιν. κατέστησεν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Συρίας ὅλης ἐπιτροπον ἐτει δεκάτῳ πάλιν ἔλθον εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, ως μηδὲν ἐξείναι δίχα τῆς ἐκείνου

400 συμβουλίας τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις διοικεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τελευτά Ζηνόδωρος, προσένειμεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν μεταξὺ Τράχωνος καὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας γῆν ἀπασαν. ὁ δὲ τούτων Ἦρωδη μείζον ἦν, ύπο μὲν Καίσαρος ἐφιλεῖτο μετ᾽ Ἀγρίππαν, ὑπ᾽ Ἀγρίππαν δὲ μετὰ Καίσαρα. ἐνθεὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον μὲν εὐδαιμονίας προύκοψε, εἰς μείζον δ᾽ ἐξήρθη φρόνημα καὶ τὸ πλέον τῆς μεγαλονοίας ἐπέτεινεν εἰς εὐσέβειαν.

401 (xxi. 1) Πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ γοῦν ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ τε τῶν ναὸν ἐπεσκεύασεν καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀνετειχίσατο χώραν τῆς οὐσίας διπλασίονα ὁμέτρου μὲν χρησάμενος τοῖς ἀναλώμασιν ἀνυπερβλητῶ δὲ τῇ πολυτελεῖα. τεκμηριῶν δὲ ἤσαι αἱ μεγάλαι στοι σερί τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ βόρειον ἐπὶ αὐτῷ φρούριον. ἃς μὲν γὰρ ἀνυκιδόμησαν ἐκ θεμελίων, ὁ δ᾽ ἐπισκευάσας πλούτῳ δαβίλει κατ' οὐδὲν τῶν βασιλείων ἔλαττον Ἀντωνιαν ἐκάλεσεν

402 εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίου τιμήν. τὸ γε μὴν ἐαυτοὶ βασιλεῖον κατὰ τὴν ἀνώ δειμάμενος πόλιν, δύο τοὺς μεγίστους καὶ περικαλλεστάτους οἴκους, οἷς

a M. Vipsanius Agrippa (63-12 B.C.), the devoted friend minister and presumptive successor to Augustus, builder of the Pantheon and organizer of the Roman navy.

b "Or thanks to this favoured position."

c According to A. xv. 380 "the eighteenth year"; the
district of these pests and deprived Zenodorus of his tenure. This was the territory which Caesar subsequently presented to Herod, to prevent it from again being used by the brigands as a base for raids upon Damascus. When ten years after his first visit c. 20 B.C. Caesar returned to the province, he, moreover, gave Herod the position of procurator of all Syria, for the (Roman) procurators were forbidden to take any measures without his concurrence. Finally, on the death of Zenodorus, he further assigned to him all the territory between Trachonitis and Galilee. But what Herod valued more than all these privileges was that in Caesar’s affection he stood next after Agrippa,\(^a\) in Agrippa’s next after Caesar. Thenceforth \(^b\) he advanced to the utmost prosperity; his noble spirit rose to greater heights, and his lofty ambition was mainly directed to works of piety.

(XXI. 1) Thus, in the fifteenth year\(^c\) of his reign, he restored the Temple and, by erecting new foundation-walls, enlarged the surrounding area to double its former extent. The expenditure devoted to this work was incalculable, its magnificence never surpassed; as evidence one would have pointed to the great colonnades around the Temple courts and to the fortress which dominated it on the north. The colonnades Herod reconstructed from the foundations; the fortress he restored at a lavish cost in a style no way inferior to that of a palace, and called it Antonia in honour of Antony. His own palace, which he erected in the upper city, comprised two most spacious and beautiful buildings, with which latter appears to be the correct date of the beginning of the work (Schürer), which was not completed till c. A.D. 28 (Gospel of S. John ii. 20).
οὐδ’ ὁ ναὸς της συνεκρύνετο, προσηγόρευσεν ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων τὸν μὲν Καίσαρειον τὸν δὲ Ἀγρίππην.

403 (2) Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ οἶκοι μόνον αὐτῶν τὴν μνήμην καὶ τὰς ἐπικλήσεις περιέγραψεν, διέβη δὲ εἰς ὅλας πόλεις αὐτῷ τὸ φιλότιμον. ἐν μὲν γε τῇ Σαμαρείτιδι πόλιν καλλιστώ περιβόλω τειχισάμενος ἐπὶ σταδίους εἰκοσι καὶ καταγαγῶν ἐξακισχιλίους εἰς αὐτὴν οἰκήτορας, γῆν δὲ τούτοις προσνείμασι λιπαρωτάτην, καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῷ κτίσματι ναὸν τε ἐνιδρυσάμενος μέγιστον καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν τέμενος ἀποδείξας τῷ Καίσαρι τριῶν ἡμισταδίων, τὸ ἀςτὶ Σεβαστὴν ἐκάλεσεν· ἐξαίρετον δὲ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ παρέσχεν εὐνομίαν.

404 (3) Ἐπὶ τούτων δωρησάμενον τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτῶν ἔτερας προσθέσει χώρας, δὸ δὲ κανταῦθα ναὸν αὐτῷ λευκῆς μαρμάρου καθιδρύσατο παρὰ τὰς Ἰορδάνου πηγάς· καλεῖται δὲ Πάνειον ὁ τόπος. ἐνθα κορυφῇ μὲν τις ὄρους εἰς ἀπεριο ύψος ἀνατείνεται, παρὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπόρειον λαγὸν συνερβάθης ἄντρων ὑπανοίηει, δι’ οὐ βαραθρώδης κρημνὸς εἰς ἀμέτρητον ἀπορρώγα βαθύνεται πλῆθει τε ὕδατος ἀσαλευτὸν καὶ τοῖς καθιμώσι 405 τι πρὸς ἐρευνᾶν γῆς οὐδὲν μήκος ἐξαρκεῖ. τοι δὲ ἄντρον κατὰ τὰς ἐξωθὲν μίξας ἀνατέλλουσιν αἱ πηγαί· καὶ γένεσις μὲν, ὡς ἐνιοῦ δοκοῦσιν, ἐνθεὶ Ἰορδάνου, τὸ δ’ ἀκριβεῖς ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς δηλώσομεν 406 τι πρὸς ἐρευνᾶν γῆς οὐδὲν μήκος ἐξαρκεῖ. τοι δὲ ἄντρον κατὰ τὰς ἐξωθὲν μίξας ἀνατέλλουσιν αἱ πηγαί· καὶ γένεσις μὲν, ὡς ἐνιοῦ δοκοῦσιν, ἐνθεὶ Ἰορδάνου, τὸ δ’ ἀκριβεῖς ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς δηλώσομεν

407 (4) ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐν Ἰεριχοί μεταξὶ Κύπρου τοῦ φρουρίου καὶ τῶν προτέρων βασι

1 οὔδ’ ὁ Bekker from a Leyden ms.: οὐδὲ the rest.

a Mount Hermon. For a description of Paneion o
the Temple itself bore no comparison; these he named after his friends, the one Caesareum, the other Agrippeum.

(2) He was not content, however, to commemorate his patrons' names by palaces only; his munificence extended to the creation of whole cities. In the district of Samaria he built a town enclosed within magnificent walls twenty furlongs in length, introduced into it six thousand colonists, and gave them allotments of highly productive land. In the centre of this settlement he erected a massive temple, enclosed in ground, a furlong and a half in length, consecrated to Caesar; while he named the town itself Sebaste. The inhabitants were given a privileged constitution.

(3) When, later on, through Caesar's bounty he received additional territory, Herod there too dedicated to him a temple of white marble near the sources of the Jordan, at a place called Paneion. At this spot a mountain a rears its summit to an immense height aloft; at the base of the cliff is an opening into an overgrown cavern; within this, plunging down to an immeasurable depth, is a yawning chasm, enclosing a volume of still water, the bottom of which no sounding-line has been found long enough to reach. Outside and from beneath the cavern well up the springs from which, as some think, the Jordan takes its rise; but we will tell the true story of this in the sequel.b

(4) At Jericho, again, between the fortress of Cypros c and the former palace, the king constructed Paneas, later Caesarea Philippi, mod. Banias, see G. A. Smith, Hist. Geog. of Holy Land, 473.

b See iii. 509 ff.

c Built by Herod in honour of his mother, § 417.
λείων ἀλλα κατασκευάσας ἁμείνω καὶ χρησιμώ-
τερα πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδημίας ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ὦνό-
μασεν φίλων. καθὸλου δὲ οὐκ ἔστω ἐπείν ὄντων
τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιτήδειον τόπων τῆς πρὸς Καίσαρα
τιμῆς γυμνὸν εἰάσεν. ἐπεί δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν
ἐπλήρωσεν ναῶν, εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν αὐτοῦ τὰς
τιμὰς ὑπερεξέχειν καὶ πολλαῖς πόλεσιν ἐνιδρύ-
σατο Καίσαρεια.

408 (5) Κατιδὼν δὲ καὶ τοῖς παραλλοῖς πόλιν ἡδη
μὲν κάμνουσαν, Στράτωνος ἐκαλεῖτο πύργος, διὰ
δὲ εὐφυίαν τοῦ χωρίου δἐξισθαι δυναμένην τὸ
φιλότιμον αὐτοῦ, πᾶσαν ἀνέκτισεν λευκῶς
καὶ λαμπροτάτοις ἐκόσμησεν βασιλείας, ἐν ἦ

409 μάλιστα τὸ φύσει μεγαλόνουν ἐπεδείξατο. μεταξὺ
γὰρ Δώρων καὶ Ἰλαπῆς, ὅταν ἡ πόλις μέση κεῖται,
pᾶσαν εἶναι συμβεβηκεν τὴν παραλίαν ἀλίμενον,
ὡς πάντα τῶν τὴν Φοινίκην ἐπὶ Ἀιγύπτου παρα-
πλέοντα σαλεύειν ἐν πελάγει διὰ τὴν ἐκ λιβὸς
ἀπειλῆν, ὃ καὶ μετρίως ἐπαυρίζοντι τηλικοῦτον
ἐπεγείρεται κύμα πρὸς ταῖς πέτραις, ὡστε τὴν
ὑποστροφὴν τοῦ κύματος ἐπὶ πλείστων ἑξαγριῶν

410 τὴν θάλασσαν. ἀλλὰ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοῖς ἀναλώμασι
καὶ τῇ φιλοστιμίᾳ νικήσας τὴν φύσιν μείζονα μὲν
tοῦ Πειραιῶς λιμένα κατεσκεύασεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς
μυχοῖς αὐτοῦ βαθέις ὀρμοὺς ἑτέρους.

411 (6) Καθάπαν δ’ ἔσχων ἀντιπρᾶσσοντα τὸν τόπον
ἔφιλονείκησεν πρὸς τὴν δυσχέρειαν, ὡς τὴν μὲν
ἄχυροτητα τῆς δομῆσεως δυσάλωτον εἶναι τῇ
θαλάσσῃ, τὸ δὲ κάλλος ὡς ἐπὶ μηδενὶ δυσκόλῳ
κεκοσμήσθαι. συμμετρησάμενος γὰρ ὁσον εἰρή-

1 ἐπεγείρετο Ρ.Μ.: ἐγείρεται the rest.
new buildings, finer and more commodious for the reception of guests, and named them after the same friends. In short, one can mention no suitable spot within his realm, which he left destitute of some mark of homage to Caesar. And then, after filling his own territory with temples, he let the memorials of his esteem overflow into the province and erected in numerous cities monuments to Caesar.

(5) His notice was attracted by a town on the coast, called Strato's Tower, which, though then dilapidated, was, from its advantageous situation, suited for the exercise of his liberality. This he entirely rebuilt with white stone, and adorned with the most magnificent palaces, displaying here, as nowhere else, the innate grandeur of his character. For the whole sea-board from Dora to Joppa, midway between which the city lies, was without a harbour, so that vessels bound for Egypt along the coast of Phoenicia had to ride at anchor in the open when menaced by the south-west wind; for even a moderate breeze from this quarter dashes the waves to such a height against the cliffs, that their reflux spreads a wild commotion far out to sea. However, by dint of expenditure and enterprise, the king triumphed over nature and constructed a harbour larger than the Piraeus, including other deep roadsteads within its recesses.

(6) Notwithstanding the totally recalcitrant nature of the site, he grappled with the difficulties so successfully, that the solidity of his masonry defied the sea, while its beauty was such as if no obstacle had existed. Having determined upon the comparative size of

\[ a \] Augustus and Agrippa.

\[ b \] i.e. "larger than the Piraeus" (§ 410).
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καμεν τω λιμενι μεγεθος καθιε λιθους επ' οργυιας εικοσιν εις το πελαγος, δνν γεαι οι πλειστοι μηκος ποδων πεντηκοντα, βαθος ευνεα, ευρος δεκα, τινες δε και μείζους. επει δε ανεπληρωθη το υφαλον,1 ουτως ήδη το υπερεχον του πελαγος τεχος επι διακοσιους ποδας ηυρυνεο των οι μεν οκατων προδεδομητο προς την ανακοπην του κυματος, προκυμια γουν εκληθη, το δε λοιπον υποκειται τω περιθεουν λιθινω τεχει. τοιτο δε πυργοι τε διειληπται μεγιστοι, δνν ο προυχων και περικαλλεστατος απο του Καισαρος προγονου Δρουσιον κεκληται.

412 (7) Ψαλίδες τε πυκναι προς καταγωγην των ενορμιζομενων, και το προ αυτων παν κυκλω ναγμα τοις αποβαινουσι πλατυς περιπατος. δ δε εισπλους βορειος, αιθριωτατος γαρ ανεμων τω τοπω βορεας, και επι του στοματος κολοσσοι τρεις εκατερωθεν υπεστηριγμενοι κιοσιν, δνν τους μεν εκ λαιας χειρος εισπλεοντων πυργος ναστος ανεχει, τους δε εκ δεξιου δυο ορθοι λιθοι συνεξεγμενοι του κατα θατερον χειλος πυργου μειιονες. προσεχεις δ' οικια τω λιμενι, λευκου και αυτα λιθου, και κατατεινοντες επι αυτων οι στενωποι του στενας προς εν διαστημα μεμετρημενοι, και του στοματος αντικρυ ναος Καισαρος επι γηλοφου καλλε και μεγεθει διαφορος.

1 Destinon from Lat.: υφαλον PA: βαθος the rest.

5 "not less than eighteen," A.
6 A. adds "who died young." Nero Claudius Drusus (35–9 B.C.), son of Livia, afterwards wife of Augustus, and father of Germanicus.
7 Or "vaulted chambers," "crypts."
8 Strictly a temple of Rome and Augustus, as Reinach

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the harbour as we have stated, he had blocks of stone let down into twenty fathoms of water, most of them measuring fifty feet in length by nine in depth and ten \(a\) in breadth, some being even larger. Upon the submarine foundation thus laid he constructed above the surface a mole two hundred feet broad; of which one hundred were built out to break the surge, whence this portion was called the breakwater, while the remainder supported a stone wall encircling the harbour. From this wall arose, at intervals, massive towers, the loftiest and most magnificent of which was called Drusion after the step-son of Caesar.\(^b\)

(7) Numerous inlets \(c\) in the wall provided landing-places for mariners putting in to harbour, while the whole circular terrace fronting these channels served as a broad promenade for disembarking passengers. The entrance to the port faced northwards, because in these latitudes the north wind is the most favourable of all. At the harbour-mouth stood colossal statues, three on either side, resting on columns; the columns on the left of vessels entering port were supported by a massive tower, those on the right by two upright blocks of stone clamped together, whose height exceeded that of the tower on the opposite side. Abutting on the harbour were houses, also of white stone, and upon it converged the streets of the town, laid at equal distances apart. On an eminence facing the harbour-mouth stood Caesar's temple,\(^d\) remarkable for its beauty and grand pro-

\(^a\) ref. to the editor's notes.

\(^b\) ref. to the editor's notes.

\(^c\) ref. to the editor's notes.

\(^d\) ref. to the editor's notes.
ἐν δ' αὐτῶ κολοσσὸς Καίσαρος οὐκ ἀποδέων τοῦ Ὀλυμπίασιν Δίος, ὥ καὶ προσεῖκασται, Ὀψίμης δὲ ἵσος Ἰππα τῇ κατ᾽ Ἀργος. ἀνέθηκεν δὲ τῇ μὲν ἐπαρχίᾳ τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς ταύτῃ δὲ πλοιζο-μένοις τὸν λιμένα, Καίσαρι δὲ τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ κτίσματος: Καίσαρειαν γοῦν ωνόμασεν αὐτὴν.

415 (8) Τά γε μήν λοιπὰ τῶν ἔργων, ἀμφιθέατρον καὶ θέατρον καὶ ἀγοράς, ἀξία τῆς προσηγορίας ἐνιδρύσατο. καὶ πενταετηρικοὺς ἄγωνας κατα-στησάμενος ὁμοίως ἐκάλεσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἄθλα μέγιστα προθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκατοστῆς ἐνενικοστῆς δευτέρας ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐν οἷς οὐ μόνον οἱ νικώντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ τρίτοι τοῦ βασιλικοῦ πλούτου μετελάμ-βανον. ἀνακτίσας δὲ καὶ Ἀνθηδόνα τὴν παρα-λίου καταρριθεῖσαν ἐν πολέμῳ Ἀγρίππειον προση-γόρευσε τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ φίλου δι' ὑπερβολὴν εὐνοίας καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης ἔχαραξεν τὸ ὅνομα, ἦν αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ναῷ κατεσκεύασεν.

416 (9) Φιλοπάτωρ γε μήν, εἰ καὶ τὰς ἑτέρας: καὶ γὰρ τῷ πατρὶ μνήμειον κατέθηκεν πόλιν, ἦν ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ τῆς βασιλείας πεδίῳ κτίσας ποταμοῖς τε καὶ δεύοσιν πλουσίαν ὄνομασεν Ἀντιπατρίδα, καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ Ἰεριχούντος φρούριον ὁχυρώτητι καὶ κάλλει διάφορον τειχίσας ἀνέθηκεν τῇ μητρὶ προσειπὼν Κύπρον. Φασαήλω δὲ τάδελφῳ τον ἐν Ἰεροσολύμοις ὁμῶνυμον πύργον, οὗ τὸ τε σχῆμα καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ μεγέθει πολυτελείαν διὰ τῶν ἐξῆς δηλώσουμεν, καὶ πόλιν ἀλλὴν κτίσας

* Or Agrippias, A. xiii. 357; the town was close to Gaza.
* At Jerusalem; the particular gate so called is unknown.
portions; it contained a colossal statue of the emperor, not inferior to the Olympian Zeus, which served for its model, and another of Rome, rivalling that of Hera at Argos. The city Herod dedicated to the province, the harbour to navigators in these waters, to Caesar the glory of this new foundation, to which he accordingly gave the name of Caesarea.

(8) The rest of the buildings—amphitheatre, theatre, public places—were constructed in a style worthy of the name which the city bore. He further instituted quinquennial games, likewise named after Caesar, and inaugurated them himself, in the hundred and ninety-second Olympiad, offering prizes of the highest value; at these games not the victors only, but also those who obtained second and third places, participated in the royal bounty.

Another maritime town, which had been destroyed in war-time, namely Anthedon, he rebuilt and renamed Agrippium; and so great was his affection for this same friend Agrippa, that he engraved his name upon the gate which he erected in the Temple.

(9) No man ever showed greater filial affection. As a memorial to his father he founded a city in the fairest plain in his realm, rich in rivers and trees, and named it Antipatris. Above Jericho he built the walls of a fortress, remarkable alike for solidity and beauty, which he dedicated to his mother under the name of Cypros. To his brother Phasael he erected the tower in Jerusalem called by his name, the appearance and splendid proportions of which we shall describe in the sequel. He also gave the

c Ras el 'Ain, some 10 miles inland from and N.E. of Joppa, on the road from Jerusalem to Caesarea.

d v. 166-169.
κατὰ τὸν ἀπὸ Ἰεριχωὺς ἴόντων αὐλῶνα πρὸς Βορέαν Φασανίλδα ωὐνόμασεν.

419 (10) Παραδοὺς δ’ αἰώνι τοὺς τε οἰκείους καὶ φίλους οὓδε τῆς ἐαυτοῦ μνήμης ἡμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ φρούριον μὲν ἐπιτειχίσας τῷ πρὸς Ἀραβίαν ὅρει προσηγόρευεν Ἦρωδειον ἀφ’ ἐαυτοῦ, τὸν δὲ μαστοειδῆ κωλωνὸν ὅντα χειροποιήτων, ἐξήκοντα σταδίων ἀπωθεὶ Ἰεροσολύμων, ἐκάλεσεν μὲν ὁμοίως, ἐξήκησεν δὲ φιλοτιμότερον, στρογγυλοὺς μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀκραν πύργους περιέσχεν, ἐπιλήρωσεν δὲ τὸν περίβολον βασιλείοις πολυτελεστάτοις, ὡς μὴ μόνον τὴν ἐνδοῦ τῶν οἰκημάτων ὁμοί εἰναι λαμπρὰν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐξῳθεὶν τοῖχοις καὶ θριγκοῖς καὶ στέγαις περικεχύσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον δαμηλῆ. πόρρωθεν δὲ μεγίστους ἀναλώμασιν ὑδάτων πλῆθος εἰσῆγαγεν καὶ βαθμοῖς διακοσίοις λευκοτάτης μαρμάρου τὴν ἀνοδον διέλαβεν. ὥν γὰρ ἰὴ τὸ γῆλοφον ἐπιεικῶς ὑψηλὸν καὶ πᾶν χειροποίητων. κατεσκεύασεν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς βίζας ἀλλὰ βασίλεια τὴν τε ἀποσκευὴν καὶ τοὺς φίλους δέξασθαι δυνάμενα, οὕτε τῷ μὲν πάντα ἔχειν πόλιν εἶναι δοκεῖν ὑπὸ ἄρμα, τῇ περιγραφῇ δὲ βασίλειον.

421 (11) Τοσαῦτα συγκτίσας πλείστασι καὶ τῶν ἐξω πόλεων τὸ μεγαλόφυχον ἐπεδείξατο, Τριπόλει μὲν γὰρ ἔπεσεν καὶ Δαμασκῷ καὶ Πτολεμαϊδὶ γυμνασίᾳ, Βύζμῳ δὲ τείχος, ἐξέδρας δὲ καὶ στοὰς καὶ ναοὺς καὶ ἀγορὰς Βηθνατῷ κατασκευάσας καὶ Τύρῳ, Σιδῶνι γε μὴν καὶ Δαμασκῷ θέατρα, Ἀσσ.

1 om. Bekker.

*Literally “in the form of a breast.”*
name of Phasaelis to another city which he built in the valley to the north of Jericho.

(10) But while he thus perpetuated the memory of his family and his friends, he did not neglect to leave memorials of himself. Thus he built a fortress in the hills on the Arabian frontier and called it after himself Herodium. An artificial rounded hill, sixty furlongs from Jerusalem, was given the same name, but more elaborate embellishment. The crest he crowned with a ring of round towers; the enclosure was filled with gorgeous palaces, the magnificent appearance of which was not confined to the interior of the apartments, but outer walls, battlements, and roofs, all had wealth lavished upon them in profusion. He had, at immense expense, an abundant supply of water brought into it from a distance, and provided an easy ascent by two hundred steps of the purest white marble; the mound, though entirely artificial, being of a considerable height. Around the base he erected other palaces for the accommodation of his furniture and his friends. Thus, in the amplitude of its resources this stronghold resembled a town, in its restricted area a simple palace.

(11) After founding all these places, he proceeded to display his generosity to numerous cities outside his realm. Thus, he provided gymnasiums for Tripolis, Damascus and Ptolemais, a wall for Byblus, halls, porticoes, temples, and market-places for Berytus and Tyre, theatres for Sidon and Damascus, an aqueduct

b Built in memory of his victory over the Jewish allies of the Parthians, §265; modern Jebel Fereidis ("Hill of Paradise" or Frank mountain), some 4 miles S.E. of Bethlehem. The site of the other Herodium is unidentified.
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dikeũs ñ ñ τοῖς παραλίοις υδάτων εἰσαγωγήν, Ἄσκαλωνίταις δὲ βαλανεία καὶ κρήνας πολυ-
teleis, πρὸς δὲ περίστυλα θαυμαστά τὴν τε ἐργα-
σιάν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος· εἰσὶ δ’ οἷς ἀληθὲς καὶ λειμω-
νας ἀνέθηκεν. πολλάι δὲ πόλεις ὤσπερ κοινωνοὶ τῆς 
βασιλείας καὶ χώραν ἔλαβον παρ’ αὐτοῦ.

423 γυμνασιαρχίαι δ’ ἄλλας ἐπετησίους τε καὶ δι-

ηνεκέσιν ἐδωρήσατο προσόδους κατατάξας, ὤσπερ
424 Κώσις, ἵνα μηδέποτε ἐκλείψῃ τὸ γέρας. σιτόν γε
μὴν πάσων ἐχορήγησεν τοῖς δεομένοις, καὶ τῇ
Ῥόδῳ χρήματα μὲν εἰς ναυτικὸν κατασκευὴν
παρέσχεν πολλάχως καὶ πολλάκις, ἐμπρησθέν δὲ
τὸ Πύθιον ἱδίοις ἀναλώμασιν ἁμενον ἀνεδείματο.

425 καὶ τὶ δεὶ λέγειν τὰς εἰς Ἀνυκίους ἦ Σαμιῶν 
δωρεὰς ὑ τὴν δι’ ὅλης τῆς Ἰωνίας, ἐν οἷς ἐδείχθησαν ἐκα-
στοι, δαφάλειαν; ἀλλ’ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ Λακεδαμό-

νοι Νικοπολίται τε καὶ τὸ κατὰ Μυσίαν Πέργα-

μον οὐ τῶν Ἡρώδου γέμουσιν ἀναθημάτων; τὴν
d’ Ἀντιοχέων τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ πλατείαν οὐ φευκτὴν
οὔσαν ὑπὸ βορβόρου κατέστρωσέν τε, σταδίων
ἐκοσὶ τὸ μῆκος οὔσαν, ἔστη μαρμάρῳ καὶ πρὸς

τὰς τῶν ὕετῶν ἀποφυγάς ἐκόσμησεν ἵσομήκει

426 (12) Ταῦτα μὲν ἄν τις εἶποι ἵδια τῶν εὐ πα-
θοῦτων ἤ δήμων ἐκάστοι, τὸ δὲ Ἡλείως χαρισθέν
οὐ μόνον κοινῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἄλλ’ οὗτος τῇς

οἰκουμενίας δῶρον, εἰς ἐν ἥ δόξα τῶν Ὠλυμπίασιν

427 ἄγωνων δικυνεῖται. τούτως γὰρ δὴ καταλυ-

2 εἰ παθοῦτων PLV and a Leipzig ms.
3 Bekker: τῶν ἐν Ὠλυμπίαις mss.

a Keeper of the gymnasium, responsible for the conduct
for Laodicea on sea, baths, sumptuous fountains and colonnades, admirable alike for their architecture and their proportions, for Ascalon; to other communities he dedicated groves and meadow-land. Many cities, as though they had been associated with his realm, received from him grants of land; others, like Cos, were endowed with revenues to maintain the annual office of gymnasiarch to perpetuity, to ensure that this honourable post should never lapse. Corn he supplied to all applicants; to the people of Rhodes he made contributions again and again for shipbuilding, and when their Pythian temple was burnt down he rebuilt it on a grander scale at his own expense. Need I allude to his donations to the people of Lycia or Samos, or to his liberality, extended to every district of Ionia, to meet its needs? Nay, are not Athenians and Lacedaemonians, the inhabitants of Nicopolis and of Pergamum in Mysia, laden with Herod's offerings? And that broad street in Syrian Antioch, once shunned on account of the mud—was it not he who paved its twenty furlongs with polished marble, and, as a protection from the rain, adorned it with a colonnade of equal length?

(12) In these cases, it may be said, the individual communities concerned were the sole beneficiaries; his bounty to the people of Elis, on the other hand, was a gift not only to Hellas at large but to the whole world, wherever the fame of the Olympic games penetrates. For, observing that these were of festal games and for the maintenance and payment of trainers and training-masters.

\[\text{His endowment of the Olympic games.}\]

\[\text{His endowment of the Olympic games.}\]

\[\text{Cf. A. xvi. 147.}\]

\[\text{Cf. A. xvi. 147.}\]

\[\text{Cf. A. xvi. 147.}\]

\[\text{Cf. A. xvi. 147.}\]

\[\text{Cf. A. xvi. 147.}\]
Josaphus

The page contains a passage in Greek text. It seems to be a historical or rhetorical text, possibly from a work by Josaphus, known for his writings on Jewish history. The text appears to discuss a subject related to his travels or experiences, referencing Roman historical events and possibly mentioning a maritime town. The passage includes references to historical events and places, indicating a narrative rich with historical context.

The text refers to a location in Lycia, a region known for its maritime significance, and mentions specific events that possibly involve Roman or Greek historical figures and locations. The narrative style suggests a blend of historical recounting and perhaps a didactic or persuasive purpose, typical of the era's literary style.

The document reflects the scholarly nature of Josaphus' writing, aiming to instruct or inform on specific historical events and their implications. The references to Roman and Greek historical figures indicate a discussion that likely places a significant emphasis on the interconnectedness of these civilizations during the time period in question.

The text is a valuable source for understanding the historical context and the narrative style of early modern historians, providing insights into the methodologies and thematic approaches of historical writing in the ancient world.
declining for want of funds and that this solitary relic of ancient Greece was sinking into decay, he not only accepted the post of president for the quadrennial celebration which coincided with his visit on his voyage to Rome, but he endowed them for all time with revenues, which should preserve an unfading memory of his term as president. The enumeration of the debts and taxes discharged by himself would be endless; it was thus, for instance, that he lightened the burden of their annual taxes for the inhabitants of Phaselis, Balanea and various minor towns in Cilicia. Often, however, his noble generosity was thwarted by the fear of exciting either jealousy or the suspicion of entertaining some higher ambition, in conferring upon states greater benefits than they received from their own masters.

(13) Herod’s genius was matched by his physical constitution. Always foremost in the chase, in which he distinguished himself above all by his skill in horsemanship, he on one occasion brought down forty wild beasts in a single day; for the country breeds boars and, in greater abundance, stags and wild asses. As a fighter he was irresistible; and at practice spectators were often struck with astonishment at the precision with which he threw the javelin, the unerring aim with which he bent the bow. But besides these pre-eminent gifts of soul and body, he was blessed by good fortune; he rarely met with a reverse in war, and, when he did, this was due not to his own fault, but either to treachery or to the recklessness of his troops.

\[d\] This paragraph has no parallel in A.

\[c\] Cf. and contrast the estimate in A. xvii. 191 f.
(xxii. 1) Tás ge μὴν ὑπαίθρου εὐπραγίας ἡ
túkh tōs kai' oíkon ánairoῖς ἐνεμέσησεν, kai
kakodaimoīnein ek γυναικὸς ἥρατο περὶ 
μᾶλ-
sta ἐσπούδασεν. ἔπειδὴ γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἄρχην παρ-
ήλθεν, ἀποπεμψάμενος ἢν ἰδιώτης ἧκτο
γαμετήν,
γένος ἢν εἰ 'Ιεροσολύμων Δωρίς ὄνομα, γαμεῖ
Μαριάμμην τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ 'Αριστοβούλου
θυγατέρα, δι' ἦν αὐτῷ στασιασθῆναι συνεβή 
tὸν
οίκον, καὶ τάχιον μὲν, μάλιστα δὲ μετὰ 
tὴν ἐκ

'Ῥώμης ἀφείξεν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἐκ 
τῆς
Δωρίδος υἱὸν 'Ἀντίπατρον διὰ τοὺς ἐκ Μαριάμ-
μῆς ἐφυγάδευσεν τῆς πόλεως, μόναι 
taῖς ἐστὶν ἐφείς
catiēnai. ἐπείτα τὸν πάππον τῆς γυναικὸς
'Τρκανὸν ἐκ Πάρθων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα 
di'
yπόνοιαν ἐπιβουλῆς ἀνέλευ, ὁ ἠχυμαλωτήσατο 
μὲν 
Βαρζαφράνης καταδραμὼν Συρίαν, ἐξητήσαντο δὲ
κατ' οἴκτον οἱ ὑπὲρ Εὐθράτην ὀμοεθνεῖς. καὶ 
ei

gε τοῦτος ἐπείσθη παραφώσαν ἰὴ διαβήναι πρὸς
'Ἡρώδην, οὐκ αὐτὸν 
παραπώλητο. δὲλεαρ δ' αὐτῶ
θανάτου τῆς υἱόνης ὁ γάμος κατέστη. τούτῳ γὰρ
πεποίθω, καὶ περισσόν τι τῆς 

πατρίδος ἐφείμενος
ἵκεν. παρώξυνε 
dὲ 'Ἡρώδην οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀντι-

ποιούμενος 

βασιλείας, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὸ 

βασιλεύειν
eπέβαλλεν αὐτῷ.

2 (2) Τῶν 
de ἐκ 

Μαριάμμης 

πέντε 
tεκνών 

αὐτῶ

γενομένων δύο 

μὲν 

θυγατέρες, 

τρεῖς 

d' ἦσαν 

νικὲι.

καὶ 
tούτων 

ὁ 

νεώτατος 

μὲν 

ἐν

'Ῥώμη 

παιδεύ-

μενος 

τελευτᾶ, 

dύο 

dὲ 
tοὺς 

πρεσβυτάτους 

βασι-

1 ἐφείς Exc. (the usual verb in Josephus): ἀφείς the rest.

2 Cf. § 241.
3 § 260.
4 For his resignation of the throne see B. i. 120 ff.
5 Salampsio and Cypros.

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But, in revenge for his public prosperity, fortune visited Herod with troubles at home; his ill-fated career originated with a woman to whom he was passionately attached. For, on ascending the throne, he had dismissed the wife whom he had taken when he was still a commoner, a native of Jerusalem named Doris, and married Mariamme, daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus. It was she who brought into his house the discord, which, beginning at an earlier date, was greatly aggravated after his return from Rome. For, in the first place, in the interests of his children by Mariamme, he banished from the capital the son whom he had had by Doris, namely Antipater, allowing him to visit it on the festivals only. Next he put to death, on suspicion of conspiracy, Hyrcanus, Mariamme's grandfather, who had come back from Parthia to Herod's court. Hyrcanus had been taken prisoner by Barzapharnes when the latter overran Syria, but had been liberated through the intercession of his compassionate countrymen living beyond the Euphrates. And had he but followed their advice not to cross the river to join Herod, he would have escaped his tragic fate; but the marriage of his grand-daughter lured him to his death. He came relying upon that and impelled by an ardent longing for his native land, and roused Herod's resentment not by making any claim to the throne, but because it actually belonged to him by right.

(2) Herod had five children by Mariamme, two daughters and three sons. The youngest son died in the course of his training in Rome; to the two elder sons he gave a princely education, both out
λικώς ἦγεν διὰ τὴν μητρώαν εὐγενείαν καὶ ὅτι
436 βασιλεύοντι ἐγεγονεῖσαν αὐτῷ. τὸ δὲ τοῦτον ἵσχυρότερον ὁ Μαριάμμης ἔρως συνήργης, καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκκαίων Ἡρώδην λαβρότερος, ὡς μηδενὸς τῶν διὰ τὴν στεργομένην λυπηρῶν αἰσθάνεσθαι·
tosouen γὰρ ἤν μῖσος εἰς αὐτὸν τῆς Μαριάμμης,
437 ὅσος ἐκεῖνον πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔρως. ἔχουσα δὲ τὴν
μὲν ἀπέχθειαν ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων εὐλογον, τὴν
δὲ παρρησίαν ἐκ τοῦ φιλείσθαι, φανερῶς ὅνειδιζεν
αὐτῷ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πάππον Ἡρκανὸν καὶ τὸν
ἀδελφὸν Ἰωνάθην· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτον καίπερ ὅντος
παιδὸς ἐφείσατο, δοῦν μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχιερω-
sύνην ἐπτακαιδεκέτει, μετὰ δὲ τὴν τιμῆν κτείνας
ἐυθέως, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἔεραν ἐσθήτα λαβώντι καὶ
τῷ βωμῷ προσελθόντι καθ' ἐορτὴν ἁδροῦν ἐπ-
edάκρυσεν τὸ πλῆθος. πέρπεται μὲν οὖν ὁ παῖς
diὰ νυκτὸς εἰς Ἰεριχοῦντα, ἐκεὶ δὲ κατ' ἐντολὴν
ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν βαπτιζόμενος ἐν κολυμβήθρᾳ
teleuτα.

438 (3) Διὰ ταῦτ' Ἡρώδην μὲν ὅνειδιζεν ἡ Μα-
ριάμμη, καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα
dεναις ἐξύβριζεν λοιδορίαις. ἀλλ' ο μὲν πεφι-
μωτο τοῖς ὑμέροις, δενὴ δὲ τὰς γυναίκας ἀγανά-
cτησις εἰσῆ, καὶ πρὸς ὁ μάλιστα κινήσεων τὸν
Ἁρώδην ἔμελλον, εἰς μοιχεῖαν διέβαλλον αὐτὴν,
439 ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ πρὸς τὸ πιθανὸν ἐνσκευαζόμεναι,
καὶ κατηγοροῦσα διότι τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν ἐαυτῆς

a Called Aristobulus (probably his second name) in the
narrative in Α. (xv. 51, etc.).

b A detail not in Α. and, as Reinach points out, an
anachronism, as Herod only received his guard of Gauls
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of respect for their mother's illustrious parentage, and because they had been born after his accession to the throne. But a still stronger influence in their favour was Herod's passion for Mariamme, the consuming ardour of which increased from day to day, so that he was insensible to the troubles of which his beloved one was the cause; for Mariamme's hatred of him was as great as was his love for her. As the events of the past gave her just reason for aversion, and her husband's love enabled her to speak plainly, she openly upbraided him with the fate of her grandfather Hyrcanus and her brother Jonathan. For Herod had not spared even this poor lad; he had bestowed upon him in his seventeenth year the office of high-priest, and then immediately after conferring this honour had put him to death, because, on the occasion of a festival, when the lad approached the altar, clad in the priestly vestments, the multitude with one accord burst into tears. He was, consequently, sent by night to Jericho, and there, in accordance with instructions, plunged into a swimming-bath by the Gauls and drowned.

(3) It was on these grounds that Mariamme upbraided Herod, and then proceeded violently to abuse his mother and sister. He was paralyzed by his infatuation; but the women, seething with indignation, brought against her the charge which was bound in their opinion to touch Herod most nearly, that of adultery. Among much else which they invented to convince him, they accused Mariamme of having sent her portrait to Antony in after the death of Cleopatra in 30 B.C. (A. xv. 217 ||; B. i. 397). Aristobulus was murdered five years earlier.
πέμψειεν εἰς Ἀιγυπτὸν Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ δι’ ὑπερβολὴν ἀσελγείας ἀπόδοσαν δεἶξειν ἑαυτῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γυναικομανοῦντι καὶ βιάζεσθαι δυναμένῳ. τοῦτ’ ὡσπερ σκηπτῆς ἐμπεσὼν ἐτάραξεν Ἑρώδην, μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα ζηλοτύπους ἔχοντα, λογιζόμενον δὲ καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτρας δεινότητα, δι’ ἦν Λυσανίας τε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνήρρητο καὶ Μάλχος ὁ Ἀγαφί οὗ γὰρ ἀφαιρέσει γαμετὴν ἐμέτρει τὸν κύδυνον, ἀλλὰ θανάτῳ.

4.1 (4) Μέλλων οὖν ἀποδημήσειν Ἰωσήπου τῷ ἄνδρι Σαλώμης τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ, πιστὸς δὲ ἦν καὶ διὰ τὸ κήδος εὖνους, παρατίθεται τῇ γυναικῇ, κρύφα δους ἐντολάς ἀναίρειν αὐτῆς, εἰ κακείνου Ἀντώνιος. ὁ δὲ Ἰωσήπος οὔτι κακοήθως, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦ βασιλέως παραστήσας τῇ γυναικὶ βουλόμενος, ὃς οὐδὲ ἀποθανὼν αὐτῆς ὑπομένοι διαζευχθῆναι, τὸ ἀπόρρητον ἐκφαίνει. κακείνη πρὸς ἐπανήκοντα τοῦ Ἑρώδην πολλά τε περὶ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν συμπάθους ἐν ταῖς ὀμιλίαις ἐπομνύμενον, ὡς οὖν ἐρασθείη ποτὲ γυναικὸς ἄλλης, "πάνω γοῦν," εἶπε, "ταῖς πρὸς [τὸν] Ἰωσήπου ἐντολάῖς ἐπεδείξει τὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔρωτα κτεῖναι με προστάξασιν." 4.2 (5) Ἐκφρων εὐθέως ἀκούσας τὸ ἀπόρρητον ἦν, καὶ οὖκ ἂν ποτε τὸν Ἰωσήπον ἔφαγειλα τῇ ἐντολῇ φάμενος εἰ μὴ διαφθείρειν αὐτήν, ἐνεθυνών τῷ πάθει καὶ τῆς κοίτης ἐξαλόμενον ἀνέδρα ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀνειλεῖτο. καὶ τοῦτον Σαλώμη ἡ ἀδελφὴ τῶν καίρων εἰς τὰς διαβολάς ἀρπάσασα τὴν εἰς τὸν Ἰωσήπου ἐπεβεβαιώσειν

1 + καὶ C Lat. 2 P: om. the rest. 3 Destinon: ἐξαλόμενος miss.

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Egypt and of carrying wantonness so far as to exhibit herself, though at a distance, to a man with a madness for her sex and powerful enough to resort to violence. This accusation struck Herod like a thunderbolt. His love intensified his jealousy; he reflected on Cleopatra’s craft which had brought both King Lysanias and the Arab Malchus to their end; he was menaced, he reckoned, with the loss not merely of his consort but of his life.

4 So, being on the eve of departure from his realm, he entrusted his wife to Joseph, the husband of his sister Salome, a faithful friend whose loyalty was assured by this marriage connexion, giving him private injunctions to kill her, should Antony kill him. Joseph, not with any malicious intention, but from a desire to convince her of the love which the king bore her, since even in death he could not bear to be separated from her, betrayed the secret. When Herod, on his return, in familiar intercourse was protesting with many oaths his affection for her and that he had never loved any other woman, “A fine exhibition you gave,” she replied, “of your love for me by your orders to Joseph to put me to death!”

5 He was beside himself, the moment he heard the secret was out. Joseph, he exclaimed, would never have disclosed his orders, had he not seduced her; and, frenzied with passion, he leapt from the bed and paced the palace to and fro in his distraction. His sister Salome, seizing this opportunity to slander Mariamme, confirmed his suspicion of Joseph.

a King of Chalcis; his murder at Cleopatra’s instigation is mentioned in A. xv. 92; he is not named in the general reference to plots against high officials in Syria in B. i. 360. Malchus is named in the last passage as an intended victim of Cleopatra, but there is no further allusion to his end.
JOSEPHUS

υποψιαν. ο δ' υπ' ἀκράτου ζηλωτυπίας ἐκμανεὶς
444 ταραχὴμα κτείνειν προσεταξεν ἀμφοτέρους. μετά-
νοια δ' εὐθέως εἶπετο τῷ πάθει, καὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ
πεσόντος ο ἔρως πάλιν ἀνεξωπυρεῖτο. τοσαύτη
δ' ἦν φλεγμονὴ τῆς ἑπιθυμίας, ὡς μιθὲ τεθνάναι
δοκεῖν αὐτήν, ὅποι δὲ κακώσεως ὡς ζωή προσ-
λαλεῖν, μέχρι τῷ χρόνῳ διδαχθεῖς τὸ πάθος1
ἀνάλογον τῇ λύπῃν ἐσχεν τῇ πρὸς περιουσιαν2
διαθέσει.

445 (xxiii. 1) Κληρονομοῦσι δὲ τῆς μητρώας οἱ
παῖδες ὀργῆς καὶ τοῦ μύσους ἐννοοιεν λαμβάνοντες
ὅς πολέμουν ὕφεωρων τὸν πατέρα, καὶ τὸ πρό-
τερον μὲν ἐπὶ 'Ῥώμης παιδεύομενοι, πλέον δ' ὡς
eἰς Ἰουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψαν· συνηδροῦτο δ' ὧν
υτῶν ταῖς ἥλικίαις ἡ διάθεσις. καὶ ἐπειδὴ γάμων
ἐχοντες ὁραν ὁ μὲν τῆς τηθίδος Σαλώμης, ἡ τῆς
μητρὸς αὐτῶν κατηγόρησεν, ὁ δ' ἐγνημεν Ἀρχε-
λάου τοῦ Καππαδόκων βασιλέως θυγατέρα, προσ-
447 λάμβανοι ήδη τῷ μίσει καὶ παρρησιάν. ἐκ δὲ
tοῦ θράσους αὐτῶν ἀφορμάς οἱ διαβαλλόντες
ἐλάμβανοι, καὶ φανερώτερον ήδη τῷ βασιλεί δυ-
ελέγοντα τινὲς ώς ἐπιβουλεύοντο μὲν ὑπ' ἀμφο-
tέρων τῶν νιῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀρχελάως κηδεύσας καὶ
φυγὴν παρασκευάζοι τῷ πενθερῷ πεποιθώς, ὦν
448 πι Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ κατηγορήσειν. ἀνάπλησ-
θεὶς δὲ τῶν διαβολῶν Πρώδης ὡσπέρ ἐπιτεί-
χίσμα τοῖς νιόισ κατάγει τὸν ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος
'Ἀντίπατρον καὶ πάντα τρόπον προτόμαν ἄρχεται

1 Conj. from Lat. "funere cognito": πένθος mss.
2 Hudson from Lat. : περιουσιαν mss.

The narrative of Mariamme’s death in A. xv. is differently told. There are there two episodes, curiously similar.

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Mad with sheer jealousy, he ordered that both should instantly be put to death. But remorse followed hard upon rage; his wrath subsided, his love revived. So consuming, indeed, was the flame of his passion that he believed she was not dead, and in his affliction would address her as though she were alive; until time taught him the reality of his loss, when his grief was as profound as the love which he bore her while she was alive.\(^a\)

(xxiii. 1) The sons inherited their mother’s resentment, and, reflecting on their father’s abominable crimes, eyed him as an enemy, even in the early days of their education in Rome, and still more on their return to Judaea. The antagonism grew with their years; and when, on reaching an age to marry, one\(^b\) espoused the daughter of his aunt Salome, their mother’s accuser, and the other\(^c\) the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, their hatred found vent in open speech. Their rashness lent a handle to slanderers, and from this time certain persons threw out plainer hints to the king that both his sons were conspiring against him, and that the son-in-law of Archelaus, counting on his father-in-law’s influence, was preparing to fly, in order to lay an accusation against his father before the emperor. Herod, drugged with these calumnies, recalled Antipater, his son by Doris, to serve as a bulwark against his other sons, and began to honour him with every mark of his special esteem.

An indiscretion of Joseph during a voyage of Herod to Antony (c. 34 B.C.) leads to the execution of Joseph and the imprisonment of Mariamme. A similar indiscretion of Soemus during a voyage of Herod to Augustus (c. 29 B.C.) leads to her trial, condemnation, and death.

\(^a\) Aristobulus. \(^b\) Aristobulus. \(^c\) Alexander.
449 (2) Τοῖς δ' ἀφόρητος ἢν ἡ μεταβολή, καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἴδιωτίδος μητρὸς ὅρωντες προκόπτοντα, διὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν εὐγένειαν οὐκ ἐκράτουν τὴς ἀγανακτήσεως, ἐφ' ἐκάστουν1 δὲ τῶν ἀνιαρῶν τὴν ὄργην ἐξέφαινον. ὡς2 οἱ μὲν καθ' ἤμεραν προσάισταντο μᾶλλον, οὐ δ' Ἀντιπατρος ἦδη καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἐσπονδάζετο, δεινότατος μὲν ὄν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα κολακείας, διαβολὰς δὲ κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ποικίλας ἐνσκευαζόμενος καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς λογοποιοῦν, τὰ δὲ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους φημίζειν καθεῖς, μέχρι παντάπασιν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀπέρρηξεν τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐλπίδος. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις καὶ φανερῶς αὐτὸς ἦν ἠδὴ διάδοχος· ὡς βασιλεὺς γοῦν ἑπέμφθη καὶ πρὸς Καίσαρα τῷ τε κόσμῳ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις θεραπείαις πλὴν διαδήματος χρώμενος. χρόνῳ δ' ἐξίσχυσεν εἰσαγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ Μαριάμμης κοίτην τὴν μητέρα. δυσὶ δ' ὀπλοῖς κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν χρώμενος, κολακεία καὶ διαβολή, τὸν βασιλέα καὶ περὶ θανάτου τῶν υἱῶν ὑπειράγαστο.  

450 (3) Τῶν γοῦν Ἀλέξανδρον σύρας μέχρι Ῥώμης. οὗ πατήρ τῆς ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ φαρμακείας ἐκρινεν ἐπὶ Καίσαρος. οὗ δ' εὐρών μόλις ὀλοφυρμοῦ παρῃσιαν καὶ δικαστὴν ἐμπειρότατον 'Ἀντιπάτρον καὶ Πρώδων φρονμωτέρου, τὰ μὲν ἀμαρτήματα τοῦ πατρὸς αἰδημόνως ὑπεστείλατο, τὰς δ' αὐτοῖς διαβολὰς ἵσχυρῶς ἀπελύσατο.3 καθαρὸν δὲ κα

1 ἐκάστου ΠΑΜΥ.  
2 Bekker: ὡς δ(ε) mss.  
3 Niese and Naber: ἀπεδύσατο mss., cf. B. ii. 92. 

a From the narrative in A. xvi. it appears that both the sons were taken to Italy and that the case was heard not at Rome but at Aquileia (xvi. 91).  

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(2) To the young men this new departure was intolerable. At the sight of the promotion of this son of a woman of no standing, they in their pride of birth could not restrain their indignation, and on every fresh occasion for annoyance openly displayed their wrath. The result was that, while each succeeding day saw them in greater disfavour, Antipater was now gaining respect on his own merits. Showing remarkable adroitness in flattering his father, he concocted various calumnies upon his half-brothers, some of which he set in motion himself, while others were, at his instigation, circulated by his confidants, until he completely wrecked his brothers' prospects of the throne. For both in his father's will and by public acts he was now declared to be the heir: thus, when he was sent on an embassy to Caesar, he went as a prince, with the robes and all the ceremonial of royalty except the diadem. Eventually his influence was strong enough to bring back his mother to Mariamme's bed; and by employing against his brothers the two weapons of flattery and slander, he stealthily so wrought upon the king's mind as to make him even contemplate putting his sons to death.

(3) One of them, at any rate, namely Alexander, was dragged by his father to Rome and there accused at Caesar's tribunal of attempting to poison him. The young man, finding himself at last at liberty to vent his grievances and in the presence of a judge with far more experience than Antipater, more sagacity than Herod, modestly threw a veil over his father's faults, but forcibly exposed the calumnies directed against himself. He next proved that his
τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀποδείξας κοινωνοῦντα τῶν κινδύνων,
oúτως ἦδη τὸ τε Ἀντιπάτρου πανοῦργον καὶ τὴν
αὐτῶν ἀτιμίαν ἀπωδύρετο. συνήργει δ’ αὐτῷ
μετὰ καθαροῦ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἢ περὶ λόγους ἰσχύς:

454 ἢν γὰρ δὴ δεινότατος εἶπεῖν. καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον
φάμενος ὃς τῷ πατρὶ κτείνειν αὐτοὺς ἔστων ἔξει δὴ
cαὶ προσίεται 2 τὸ ἐγκλήμα, προῆγαγεν μὲν εἰς
dάκρυα πάντας, τὸν δὲ Καίσαρα διέθηκεν οὕτως,
ὡς ἀπογυνώνα μὲν αὐτῶν τὰ κατηγορημένα, δι-
αλλάξαι δὲ Ἡρώδην εὐθέως. αἱ διαλλαγαὶ δ’ ἐπὶ
tοῦτοι ἦσαν, ὡστε ἐκείνους μὲν τῷ πατρὶ πάντα
πειθαρχεῖν, τὸν δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν καταλιπεῖν ὡ
βούλεται.

455 (4) Μετὰ ταῦτα δ’ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ὑπέστρεφεν ὁ
βασιλεὺς, τῶν μὲν ἐγκλημάτων ἀφιέναι 3 τοὺς
υἱοὺς δοκῶν, τῆς δ’ ὑπονοίας οὐκ ἀπηλλαγένοις:
παρηκολούθει γὰρ Ἀντιπάτρος ἡ τοῦ μίσους
ὑπόθεσις, ἀλλ’ εἰς γε τὸ φανερὸν τὴν ἀπέχθειαν

456 οὐκ ἐξέφερεν τὸν διαλλακτὴν αἰδούμενον. ὡς δὲ
tὴν Κιλικίαν παραπλέων κατήρεν εἰς Ἑλαιοῦσαν’
ἐστιά μὲν αὐτὸν φιλοφρόνος Ἀρχέλαος, ὑπὲρ τῆς
tοῦ γαμβροῦ σωτηρίας εὐχαριστῶν καὶ ταῖς δι-
αλλαγαῖς ἐφηδόμενος, ὡς ἄν καὶ τάχινο γεγραφώς
tοῖς ἔπε τῷ Ῥώμης φίλοις συλλαμβάνεσθαι περὶ τῆς
dίκην Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, προσέμπει δὲ μέχρι Ζεφυρίοι
δῶρα δοὺς μέχρι τριάκοντα ταλάντων.

457 (5) Ὡς δ’ εἰς Ιεροσόλυμα Ἡρώδης ἀφικνεῖ-
tαι, συναγαγόν τὸν λαὸν καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς υἱοὺς
παραστησάμενος ἀπελογεῖτο περὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας.

1 ei δὴ conj. after Aldrich (ei δὲ) : ἐδῶ mss.
2 προσίεται Holwerda : προστίθεται MVR : προσίεται the rest.
3 αφικέναι (ἡκέναι) VRC : soluisse Lat.
4 Ἑλαιοῦσαν or Ἑλεοῦσαν mss.
brother, his partner in peril, was equally innocent, and then proceeded bitterly to complain of Antipater's villainy and of the ignominy to which he and his brother were exposed. He was assisted not only by a clear conscience but by his powerful oratory, for he was an extremely able speaker. Concluding with the remark that it was open to their father to put them to death, if he really believed the charge to be true, he reduced all his arguments to tears, and so affected the audience that the agreement on which the condition of the reconciliation were that the sons should render implicit obedience to their father, and that he should be at liberty to bequeath the kingdom to whom he would.

(4) After this the king left Rome on his homeward journey, apparently dismissing his charges against his sons, though not abandoning his suspicions. For he was accompanied by Antipater, the cause of all this hatred, who, however, was withheld by awe of the author of the reconciliation from openly displaying his animosity. Skirting the coast of Cilicia, Herod put in at Elaeusa and received friendly entertainment at the table of Archelaus, who congratulated him on his son-in-law's acquittal and was delighted at the reconciliation; for he had previously written to his friends in Rome to assist Alexander on his trial. He accompanied his guests as far as Zephyrion and made them presents amounting in value to thirty talents.

(5) On reaching Jerusalem, Herod assembled the people, presented to them his three sons, made his excuses for his absence, and rendered profuse thanks
καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εὐχαριστεῖ τῷ θεῷ, πολλὰ δὲ Καίσαρι καταστησαμένῳ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ τεταραγμένον καὶ μειζόν τι τοῖς νῦσι βασιλείας παρα-
458 σχόντι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν, "ην αὐτός," ἔφη, "συν-
αρμόσω μάλλον ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐμὲ κύριον τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ δικαστὴν διαδόχου κατέστησεν, ἐγὼ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐμαυτῷ κάκεινον ἀμείβομαι. ¹
tούτῳ τοὺς τρεῖς παῖδας ἀποδείκνυμι βασιλείας,
tῆς γνώμης πρὸ τοῦ τὸν θεὸν σύμψηφον, καὶ καὶ ύμᾶς, παῖς, ἵνα νεκρέσθαι τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐπείτη ἡλικία, τοῖς δὲ εὐγενέστατοι τὸ γε μή μέγεθος τῆς βασιλείας ἀρχεῖ καὶ πλείον 
459 συν. οὐς δὲ Καίσαρ μὴ ἤνωσεν, καθίστησιν δὲ 
πατήρ, ύμεῖς τηστατε μήτε ἀδίκους μήτε ἀνω-
πατήρ, ὑμεῖς τηστατε μήτε ἀδίκους μήτε ἀνω-
τὸ γε μὴ μέγεθος τῆς βασιλείας ἀρχεῖ καὶ πλείο
μάλοις — τιμᾶς διδόντες, ἐκάστῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸ 
- ειον. οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον εὐφρανεῖ τὶς τοῦ 
πορ' ἡλικίαν θεραπεύομενον, ὅσον ὄδυνήσει τοῖς 
460 ἀτμοῦμενον. οὕς γε μὴν ἐκάστῳ συνεῖναι δεῖσε 
συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους, ἐγὼ διαγεμῷ καὶ τῆς ὁμο-
νοιας ἐγγυντας ἑκεῖνος καταστήσομαι, σαφῶ 
ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι τὰς στάσεις καὶ τὰς φιλονεκρι 
γενώσοι αἱ τῶν συνιστριβόντων κακοθείωσαι, κα 
451 ὅσιν οὕτως χρηστοί, τηροῦσι τὰς στοργάς. ἄξιε 
ὅ οὐ μόνον τούτους ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ στρατι 
μου ταιώρχους ἐν ἐμοὶ μόνον τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐχε 
ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος: οὐ γὰρ βασιλείαν, ἄλλα τιμή 
βασιλείας τοῖς νῦσι παραδίδωμι, καὶ τῶν μὲ 
ηδέων ὡς ἄρχοντες ἀπολαύσοντος, τὸ βάρος δ

¹ ἀμείβομενος Havercamp on ms. authority.

" Greek "uneven."
to God, and no less to Caesar, who had re-established his disordered household and had given his sons a greater boon than a kingdom, namely concord.

"The ties of that concord," he continued, "I shall bind more closely myself; for Caesar has appointed me lord of the realm and arbiter of the succession, and I, in consulting my own advantage, also repay my debt to him. I now declare these my three sons kings, and I beseech first God, and then you, to ratify my decision. They are entitled to the succession, this one by his age, the others by their noble birth; indeed the extent of my kingdom would suffice for even a greater number. Those, therefore, whom Caesar has united and their father now nominates, do you uphold; let the honours you award them be neither undeserved nor unequal, but proportioned to the rank of each; for in paying deference to any beyond the deserts of his age, you gratify him less than you grieve the one whom you slight. I myself shall select the advisers and attendants who are to consort with each of my sons, and shall hold them responsible for keeping the peace, being well aware that factions and rivalries among princes are produced by the malign influence of associates, while virtuous companions promote natural affection.

"I must require these persons, however, and not them only but also the officers of my army, for the present to rest their hopes on me alone; for it is not the kingdom, but the mere honours of royalty, which I am now delivering over to my sons. They will enjoy the pleasures of power, as if actual rulers,

\[\text{συγγενεῖς and φίλοι are, as Reinach points out, technical terms in the hierarchy of a Hellenistic court.}\]
462 τῶν πραγμάτων ἐμὸν ἔστιν, καὶ μὴ θέλω. σκέπτεσθω δ’ ἕκαστος τὴν τε ἡλικίαν μου καὶ τὴν ἁγωγὴν τοῦ βίου καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν: οὖτε γὰρ οὕτως εἰμὶ γέρων, ὥστ’ ἂν ἀπελπισθῆναι ταχέως, οὔτε εἰς τρυφὴν ἐκδιαίτωμενος, ἥ καὶ νέους ἐπιτέμνεται, τὸ δὲ θεῖον οὕτως τεθεραπεύκαμεν, ὥστ’ ἄν ἐπὶ μήκιστον βίου προελθεῖν. ὅ δὲ τοὺς ἐμοὺς παιδας θεραπεύων ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμῇ καταλύσει δώσει μοι καὶ περὶ ἑκείνων δίκας· οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ φθονῶν τοῖς ἐξ ἐμοῦ γεγενημένους ἀνακόπτω τὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς φιλοτιμίαν, ἐπιστάμενος δὲ τοῖς νέοις.

463 γίνεσθαι τὰς σπουδὰς θράσους ἐφόδιον. εἰ γε μὴν ἕκαστος ἐνθυμηθεὶς τῶν προσώπων, ὅτι χρηστὸς μὲν ὅν παρ’ ἐμοῦ λήφεται τῇ ἁμοιβήν, στασίαζω δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῷ θεραπευομένῳ τὸ κακόθεος ἀνόνητον ἔξει, πάντας οἴμαι τὰ ἐμὰ φρονήσειν, τούτεστιν τὰ τῶν ἐμῶν νῦν καὶ γὰρ τούτοις συμφέρει κρατεῖν ἐμὲ καμοὶ τούτους ὁμονοεῖν. ὥμεις δὲ, ὃ παιδας ἀγαθοὶ, πρωτόν μὲν ἐνθυμούμενοι τὴν ἑραὶν φύσιν, ἢς καὶ παρὰ θηρίοις αἱ στοργαὶ μένουσιν, ἐπειτα τὸν ποιησάμενον ἦμων τὰς διαλλαγὰς Καίσαρα, τρίτον ἔμε τὸν ἐν ὅις ἐξεστὶν ἐπιτάσσειν παρακαλοῦντα, μείνατε ἀδελφοί. δίδωμι δὲ ὑμῖν ἐσθήτα [τε] ἢ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος ἐκαστον τῶν νῦν κατασκευῆς διέλυσεν τὸ πλῆθος, τοὺς μὲν συν-

1 So the corrector of A: τοῦτοις the rest.
2 L.tC: om. the rest.
JEWISH WAR, I. 462-466 (cf. ANT. xvi. 135)

but upon me, however unwilling, will fall the burden of office. Consider, each one of you, my age, my manner of life, my piety. I am not so old that my life may soon be past praying for, nor given over to the pleasures of luxury, which cut short the lives even of the young: I have served the deity so faithfully that I may hope for the longest term of life. Whoever, then, pays court to my sons to bring about my downfall shall be punished by me for their sakes as well as my own. For it is not jealousy of my offspring which causes me to restrict the homage to be paid them; it is the knowledge that such flattering attentions foster recklessness in the young. If everyone who is brought into contact with my sons will but remember that, if he acts honourably he will win his reward from me, whereas if he promotes discord his malicious conduct will bring him no benefit even from the object of his flattery, then I think that all will have my interests, in other words my sons' interest, at heart; for it is to their advantage that I should govern, and to mine that they should live in harmony.

"As for you, my good children, think first of the sacred ties of nature and the constancy of affection which she instils even into the beasts; think of Caesar, who brought about our reconciliation; think, lastly, of me, who entreat you, when I might command, and continue as brothers. I present you, from this moment, with the robes and retinue of royalty; and I pray God to uphold my decision, if you live in unity."

With these words he tenderly embraced each of his sons and then dismissed the multitude. Of these
euxomévous tois eirhmenois, osoi de' épevdúmovn metabolh, µηδ' ákkekóeýnai prospothymévousoi.

467 (xxiv. 1) Συναπήει δε tois ádelphois ἡ στάσις, καὶ χείρους τᾶς ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ύπονοιας εὑχοντες ἀπηλλάγησαν, Ἀλεξάνδρος µὲν καὶ Ἄριστο-βουλος ὄδυνωμενοι κεκυρωμένου Ἀντιπάτρῳ τοῦ πρεσβείου, Ἀντιπάτρος δε καὶ τοῦ δευτερεύειν

468 νεμεσῶν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. ἀλλ' ὁ µὲν ποικιλώτατος ὅν τὸ ἡθος εχεμυθεῖν τε ἦδει καὶ πολλῷ τῷ παν-ούργῳ τῷ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκάλυπτε µίσος, τοῖς δὲ δι' εὐγένειαν πᾶν τὸ νοηθὲν ἢν ἐπὶ γλώσσης· καὶ παροξύνοντες µὲν ἐνέκειντο πολλοί, πλείους δὲ

469 τῶν φίλων παρεδύνοντο κατάσκοποι. πάν δὲ τὸ παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ λαληθὲν εὐθέως ἢν παρ' Ἀντι-πάτρῳ, καὶ µετὰ προσθήκης µετέβαινεν ἀπὸ Ἀντι-πάτρου πρὸς Ἡρώδῃν· οὔτε γὰρ ἀπλῶς φθεγ-ξάµenos ὃ νεανίας ἀνυπεύθυνος ἦν, ἀλλὰ εἰς διαβολὴν τὸ ῥηθὲν ἐστρέφετο, καὶ µετρίως παρ-ηροιασµένοι µέγιστα τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις προσ-

470 επλάττετο. καθεῖ δ' Ἀντιπάτρος ἀεὶ τοὺς ἐρεθί-σοντας, ὅπως αὐτῷ τὸ ψευδὸς ἔχοι τὰς ἀφορµᾶς ἀληθεὶς· καὶ τῶν φηµιζοµένων ἐν τι διελεγχθὲν ἀπασιν πίστιν ἐπετίθει. καὶ τῶν µὲν αὐτοῦ φίλων ἡ φύσει στεγανώτατος ἦν ἐκαστος, ἡ κατε-σκευάζετο δωρεαίς, ὡς µηδὲν ἐκφέρεσθαι τῶν ἀπορ-ρήτων, καὶ τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου βίον οὐκ ἂν ἦµαρτεν τις εἰπὼν κακίας µυστήριον· τοὺς δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνόντας χρήµασιν διαφθείρων ἡ κολακείαις ὑπίων,

a Cf. the N.T. phrase "mystery of lawlessness" (µυστήριον τῆς ἀνοµίας) in 2 Thess. ii. 7.

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some joined in his prayer; while those who hankered for change pretended that they had not even heard him.

(xxiv. 1) But the brothers on parting carried with them discord in their hearts. They separated more suspicious of each other than before: Alexander and Aristobulus aggrieved at the confirmation of Antipater's right of primogeniture, Antipater resenting the rank accorded to his brothers, even though second to his own. The latter, however, with the extreme subtlety of his character, knew how to hold his tongue and, with much adroitness, dissembled his hatred of his brothers; while they, from their pride of birth, had all their thoughts upon their lips. They were, moreover, beset by many persons trying to excite them, while a still larger number insinuated themselves into their friendship to spy upon them. Every word spoken in Alexander's circle was instantly in the possession of Antipater and passed from Antipater to Herod, with amplifications. The young man could not make the simplest remark without becoming incriminated, so distorted were his words for the purposes of slander; if he spoke with a little freedom, the merest trifles were magnified into enormities. Antipater was constantly setting his agents on to irritate him, in order that his lies might have some basis of truth; and if among the speeches reported one item was established, that was sufficient warrant for the rest. His own friends were all either of a very secretive nature or were induced by presents to divulge no secrets; so that Antipater's life might have been not incorrectly described as a mystery of iniquity. Alexander's associates, on the other hand, either by bribery or by that seductive
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αἰς πάντα κατειργάσατο, πεποίηκε προδότας καὶ ἡ λαλουμένων φώρας. πάντα δὲ περιεσκεμένως δραματουργῶν τὰς πρὸς Ἰηρώνος ὄδους ταῖς διαβολαῖς ἐποιεῖτο τεχνικώτατας, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀδελφοῦ προσωπείων ἐπικείμενος, καθ’ ἑαυτοῦ δὲ μηνυτὰς ἔτέρους. καπεδαν ἀπαγγέλθεις τι καὶ Ἀλέξανδροι, παρελθὼν ὑπεκρίνει καὶ διασύρει τῷ ῥήθεν ἀρξάμενος, ἔπειτα κατεσκευάζειν ἥσυχὴ καὶ πρὸς ἀγανάκτησιν ἐξεκαλεῖτο τὸ;

472 βασιλεία. πάντα δ’, εἰς ἐπιβουλὴν ἀνήγγει καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν τῇ σφαγῇ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐφεδρεῖν ’Αλέξανδροι’ οὗδεν γὰρ οὔτως πίστιν ἔχορίγγης ταῖς διαβολαῖς, ὡς ἀπολογούμενος ’Ἀντίπατρος υπὲρ αὐτοῦ.

473 (2) Τούτοις Ἰηρώνης ἐξαγριωμένοις ὅσον ὑφήρει καθ’ ἡμέραν τῆς πρὸς τὰ μειράκια στοργῆς, τοσοῦτον ’Ἀντίπατρῳ προσετίθειν. συναπέκλιναν δὲ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ βασίλειον οἱ μὲν ἐκόντες, οἱ δ’ ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος, ὡσπερ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τιμιωτάτος τῶν φίλων, οἱ τε ἀδελφοί τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πάσα ἡ γενεά: πάντα γὰρ ’Ἀντίπατρος ἦν, καὶ τὸ πικρότατον ’Αλέξανδρως, πάντα ἦν ἡ ’Ἀντίπατρου μήτηρ, σύμβουλος καὶ αὐτῶν μητριώς χαλεπωτέρα καὶ πλεῖόν τι προγόνων μισοῦσα τοὺς ἐκ βασιλίδοις. πάντες μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἔθεράπευον ’Ἀντίπατρον ἦδη, συναφίστα δ’ ἐκαστὸν τὰ

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a Mentioned as entertaining Herod at Rhodes (i. 280), as his executor (i. 667), as befriending Archelaus (ii. 14), etc.

b Doris.

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flattery, which Antipater invariably found effective, had been converted by the latter into traitors and detectives to report all that was said or done by his brother. With a careful eye to every detail in the staging of the play, he would plan with consummate art the modes of bringing these calumnies to the ears of Herod, himself assuming the rôle of a devoted brother, and leaving that of informer to others. Then, when any word was spoken against Alexander, he would come forward and play his part, and, beginning by ridiculing the allegation, would afterwards quietly proceed to confirm it and so call forth the king's indignation. Everything was interpreted as a plot and made to produce the impression that Alexander was watching his opportunity to murder his father; and nothing lent more credit to these calumnies than Antipater's pleading in his brother's defence.

(2) These insinuations exasperating Herod, his affection for the young princes diminished daily, while his regard for Antipater proportionately increased. The king's alienation from the lads was shared by people at court, some acting of their own accord, others under orders, such as Ptolemy, the most honoured of his friends, the king's brothers and all his family. For Antipater was all-powerful, and —this was Alexander's bitterest blow—all-powerful too was Antipater's mother, who was in league with him against the two and harsher than a stepmother, with a hatred for these sons of a princess greater than for ordinary stepchildren. All persons, accordingly, now paid court to Antipater, because of the expectations which he inspired; everyone was further instigated to desert his rivals by the orders
τοῦ βασιλέως προστάγματα, παραγγείλαντος τοῖς
τιμιωτάτοις μήτε προσιέναι μήτε προσέχειν τοῖς
peri Ἀλεξάνδρου. φοβερὸς δ' ἦν οὐ μόνον τοῖς
ἔκ τῆς βασιλείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐξωθεὶς φίλοις·
οὐδενὶ γὰρ βασιλέων Καίσαρ τοσαῦτην ἔδωκεν
ἐξουσίαν, ὡστε τὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ φυγόντα καὶ μὴ
475 προσηκούσης πόλεως ἔξαγαγεῖν. τὰ δὲ μειράκια
τὰς μὲν διαβολὰς ἥγνουν,1 παρὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ἄφυ-
λάκτως ἐνέπιπτον αὐταῖς· οὔδεν2 γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ
φανερῶς ἀπεμέμφετο· συνίει δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπὸ
τοῦ ψυγματος καὶ <οὖτι3> πρὸς τὸ λυποῦν μᾶλλον
ἐτραχύνετο. διέθηκεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν θείου
Φερώραν 'Αντίπατρος ἐχθρωδῶς καὶ τὴν τηθίδα
Σαλώμην, ὡς ἂν γαμετήν4 οὐδαν, καθομιλῶν ἄει
476 καὶ παροξύνων. συνήργη δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ταύτης
ἀπέχθειαν ἢ Ἀλεξάνδρου γυνὴ Γλαφύρα γενεα-
λογοῦσα τὴν ἑαυτῆς εὐγένειαν, καὶ ὡς πασῶν τῶν
κατὰ τὸ βασιλείον εἰη δεσπότης, κατὰ πατέρα μὲν
ἀπὸ Τημένου, κατὰ μητέρα δὲ ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ
477 Ὑστάσπεως οὖσα. πολλὰ δὲ οὐνείδιζεν εἰς ἀγένειαν
τὴν τε ἀδελφὴν τὴν 'Ηρώδου καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας,
ὡν ἐκάστῃ δι' εὐμορφίαιν οὐκ ἀπὸ γένους ἥρέθην.
πολλαί δ' ἦσαν, ὡς ἂν ἐφειμένου τε πατρίως Ἰου-
δαῖοις γαμείν πλείους καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡδομένου
πλείουσιν, αἱ πᾶσαι διὰ τὸ μεγάλαυχον τὸ Γλα-
φύρας καὶ τὰς λοιδορίας ἐμίσουν Ἀλεξάνδρου.

1 PAM: ἦγνου τὸν ἄλλον τοῦ τοῦτος.  
2 P.A: οὐδένι τὸν τοῦ τοῦτος ἄλλον οὗ.  
3 Ins. Casaubon.  
4 Text suspected: Naber reads συνετήν, Destinon χαλεπήν.
of the king, who had forbidden those highest in his favour to approach or pay any attention to Alexander or his brother. Herod's formidable influence extended, moreover, beyond his realm to his friends abroad; for no other sovereign had been empowered by Caesar, as he had, to reclaim a fugitive subject even from a state outside his jurisdiction. The young men, meanwhile, as their father had never openly reproached them, were ignorant of these calumnies, and being, consequently, off their guard, laid themselves still more open to them; but little by little their eyes were opened by his coldness and increased asperity whenever anything annoyed him. Antipater further roused against them the enmity of their uncle Pheroras and their aunt Salome, perpetually coaxing and working upon his aunt's feelings, as though she had been his wife. Salome's hostility was aggravated by Glaphyra, Alexander's wife, who boasted of her noble ancestry and claimed to be mistress of all the ladies at court, because she was descended on her father's side from Temenus, on her mother's from Darius, son of Hystaspes. On the other hand, she was constantly taunting with their low birth Herod's sister and his wives, all of whom had been chosen for their beauty and not for their family. His wives were numerous, since polygamy was permitted by Jewish custom and the king gladly availed himself of the privilege. All these, on account of Glaphyra's arrogance and abuse, hated Alexander.

a And daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia (§ 446).
b One of the Heracleidae, who gave his name to the Temenid kings of Macedonia (Thuc. ii. 99), from whom Archelaus claimed to be descended.
478 (3) Τὴν δὲ δὴ Σαλώμην, καίτοι πενθερὰν οὖσαν, αὐτὸς Ἀριστοβουλὸς ἐαυτῷ διεστασίασεν, ὡργισμένην καὶ πρόσθεν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκ Γλαφύρας βλασφημίαις. οὐνεὶδίεχαν γὰρ τῇ γυναικὶ συνεχῶς τὴν ταπευνότητα, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ἰδιώτων, δ' ὁ δὲ ᾠδέλφος αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρος γῆμαι βασιλίδα. τοῦτο κλαίοντα τῇ Σαλώμη διήγησεν ἡ θυγάτηρ, προσετίθει δ' ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ᾠδέλφων τὰς μὲν μητέρας ἀπείλοιεν οἱ περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, ἑπείδαιν παραλάβωσιν τὴν βασιλείαν, ἱστοργοῦσ ἀμα ταῖς δούλαις πονήσεω, αὐτοὺς δὲ κωμῶν γραμματείς, ἑπισκώποντες ὡς πεπαιδευμένους ἑπιμελῶς. πρὸς ἅ την ὀργήν οὐ κατασχοῦσα Σαλώμη πάντα διήγησεν Ἡρώδης σφόδρα δ' ἴνα ἀξιόπιστος κατὰ 480 γαμβρὸν λέγονσα. καὶ τις ἔτερα διαβολὴ συνέδραμεν ἢ τὸν θυμὸν ὅπεκαύσασα τοῦ βασιλέως· ἦκουσεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀνακαλέσθαι μὲν συνεχῶς τὴν μητέρα καὶ κατομαώξειν ἑπαρμένους αὐτῶν πολλάκις δ' αὐτοῦ διαδιδόντος τῶν Μαριάμμης ἔσθητον τινὰ ταῖς μεταγενεστέραις γυναιξὶν ἀπείλειν ὡς ἀντὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐν τάχει περιθήσουσι αὐταί ἐκ τρυχῶν ² πεποιημένασ.

481 (4) Διὰ ταύτα καίτοι τὸ φρόνημα τῶν νεανισκῶν ὑποδείγασ, ὅμως οὐκ ἀπέκοπτε τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς διορθώσεως, ἀλλὰ προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτοὺς καὶ γὰρ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐκπλεύσεων ἐμελλεῖν, βραχές μὲν ἠπείλησεν ως βασιλεύς, τὰ πολλὰ δ' ἐνοπλοθέτησεν ὡς πατὴρ, καὶ φιλείν τοὺς ἄδελφους παρεκάλει διδοὺς τῶν προημαρτημένων ἀφεσιν, εἰ 482 πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἀμείνους γένοιτο. οἱ δὲ τὰς μὲι

¹ Μ: παιδευμένους the rest.
² Niese: τριχῶν "hair-cloth" mss. The parallel passage
(3) Aristobulus himself alienated Salome, his own mother-in-law, furious as she was already at Glympyra's scurrility; for he was continually upbraiding his wife for her low origin, saying that he had married a woman of the people and his brother Alexander a princess. Salome's daughter reported this, with tears, to her mother; she added that Alexander and Aristobulus had threatened, when they came to the throne, to set the mothers of their other brothers to work at the loom along with the slave-girls, and to make the princes themselves village clerks, sarcastically referring to the careful education which they had received. At that Salome, unable to control her indignation, reported the whole to Herod; as she was accusing her own son-in-law, her evidence carried very great weight. Another calumny came simultaneously to inflame the king's wrath. He was told that the young princes had their mother's name perpetually on their lips, cursing him while they bemoaned her, and that when he distributed, as he often did, some of Mariamme's apparel to his more recent wives, they would threaten that they would ere long strip them of these royal robes and clothe them in rags.

(4) Herod, though he had learnt through such reports to fear these high-spirited young men, did not abandon hopes of their reformation. Just before setting sail for Rome he sent for them, and delivered some curt threats as sovereign, followed by a long paternal admonition, exhorting them to love their brothers and promising to pardon their past offences if they would amend their ways for the

_A. xvi. 204 has τρίχεσιν which appears to be a corruption of τρύχεσιν._
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διαβολάς ἀπεσκευάζοντο ψευδεῖς εἶναι λέγοντες, πιστώσεθαι δὲ τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ τοῖς ἐργοῖς ἐφα-
σκον: δεῖν μέντοι κάκεινον ἀποφράττειν τὰς λογο-
ποιὰς τῷ μὴ πιστεύειν ἁδιως: οὐ γὰρ ἐπι-
λείψειν τοὺς καταψευσομένους αὐτῶν, ἐως ἃν ἐν τῇ πειθόμενος ἦ.

433 (5) Τούτοις ὡς πατέρα πείσαντες ταχέως τὸν
μὲν ἐν χερσὶν φόβον διεκρουσαντο, τῇ δὲ εἰς τὰ
μέλλοντα λύπην προσέλαβον· ἐγνωσαν γὰρ τὴν τῇ
Σαλώμην ἐχθρὰν καὶ τὸν θείον Φερώραν. ἦσαν
δὲ βαρεῖς μὲν ἄμφοτεροι καὶ χαλεποὶ, Φερώρας
dὲ μεῖζων,2 ὃς πάσης μὲν ἐκοινώνει τῆς βασιλείας
πλὴν διαδήματος, προσόδους3 δὲ ἰδίας εἰχεν ἑκα-
tον τάλαντα, τῇ δὲ πέραν Ἰορδάνου πᾶσαν ἑκα-
pούτο χώραν λαβὼν παρὰ τάδελφον δῶρον, ὃς
ἀυτὸν ἐποίησεν καὶ τετράρχην αἰτησάμενος παρὰ
Καῖσαρος, βασιλικῶν τε γὰμμων ἥξιωσεν συνοι-
kίσας ἀδελφὴν τῆς ἱδίας γυναικὸς: μετὰ δὲ τῇ
ἐκεῖνης τελευτην καθωσίσσε τὴν πρεσβυτάτην
τῶν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρων ἐπὶ προικὶ τριακοσίοις
434 ταλάντωις. ἀλλ' ἀπέδρα Φερώρας τὸν βασιλικὸν
γάμμων πρὸς ἐρωτα δούλης, ἐφ' ὃ χαλεπῆνας
Ἡρώδης τὴν μὲν θυγατέρα τῷ πρὸς Πάρθων
ὑστερων ἀναρεθέντι συνέζευξεν ἀδελφίδω. Φερώρα

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μὲν ἐν χερσὶν φόβον διεκρουσαντο, τῇ δὲ εἰς τὰ
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πλὴν διαδήματος, προσόδους3 δὲ ἰδίας εἰχεν ἑκα-
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ἀυτὸν ἐποίησεν καὶ τετράρχην αἰτησάμενος παρὰ
Καῖσαρος, βασιλικῶν τε γάμμων ἥξιωσεν συνοι-
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ὑστερων ἀναρεθέντι συνέζευξεν ἀδελφίδω. Φερώρα

1 om. PAM.
2 μεῖζων ML: amplius Lat.; μεῖζων Destinon.
3 προσόδου PVC.

a Name unknown.
b Salampsio, daughter of Mariamme I.
c ἤδιοτο to the son of his brother Phasael (A. xvi. 196), also
called Phasael (A. xvii. 22). Nothing is known of the fate
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future. For their part, they repudiated the charges, declaring that they were false, and assured their father that their actions would vindicate their statement; he ought, however (they added), on his side to stop the mouths of these tale-bearers by refusing so readily to believe them; for there would never be wanting persons ready to calumniate them, so long as they found anyone to listen to them.

(5) The father's heart was quickly reassured by their words; but if the youths thus dispelled their immediate anxiety, the thought of the future brought them new apprehensions, knowing, as they did, the hostility of Salome and their uncle Pheroras. Both were formidable and dangerous, but the more re-doubtable was Pheroras, who shared with Herod all the honours of royalty, except the diadem. He had a private income of a hundred talents, exclusive of the revenue derived from the whole of the trans-Jordanic region, a gift from his brother, who had also, after requesting Caesar's permission, appointed him tetrarch. Herod had conferred upon him the further honour of marrying one of the royal family, by uniting him to the sister of his own wife. On her death, he had pledged to him the eldest of his own daughters, with a dowry of three hundred talents; but Pheroras rejected the royal wedding to run after a slave-girl of whom he was enamoured. Herod, indignant at this slight, married his daughter to one of his nephews, who was subsequently killed by the Parthians; his resentment, however, subsided of this youth, and Reinach suggests that in the following words there has been some confusion or corruption of text, and that Josephus intended to say "son of Phasael who had been previously killed by the Parthians" (see B. i. 271).
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δὲ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ τὴν ὀργὴν ἀνίει διδοὺς συγγνώμην τῇ νόσῳ.

455 (6) Διεβάλλετο δὲ καὶ πάλαι μὲν ἐτὶ ζῶσης τῆς βασιλίδος ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ φαρμάκοις, τότε δὲ πλείστοι μηνυταί προσήσαν, ὡς καίπερ φιλαδελφότατον ὤντα τὸν Ἡρώδην εἰς πίστιν ὑπαχθήναι τῶν λεγομένων καὶ δέος. πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ βασανίσας τελευταῖον ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Φερώρου φίλους. ὦν ἐπιβουλήν μὲν ἀντικρυσ ὑμολόγησεν οὐδείς, ὃτι δὲ τὴν ἐρωμένην ἄρτασάμενος εἰς Πάρθους ἀποδράναι παρεσκευάζετο, συμμετέχοι δὲ τοῦ σκέμματος αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς φυγῆς Κοσσόβαρος ὁ Σαλώμης ἀνήρ, ὃς συνώκυσεν αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ τοῦ προτέρου διαφθαρέντος. ἦν δ' ἐλευθέρα διαβολής οὐδ' Σαλώμη καὶ γὰρ αὐτῆς Φερώρας ἀδελφὸς κατηγόρει συνθήκας περὶ γάμου πρὸς Συλλαίον τὸν Ὄβαδα τοῦ Ἀράβων βασιλέως ἐπίτροπον, ὡς ἦν ἐχθρότατος Ἡρώδην. διελεχθεῖσα δὲ καὶ τούτο καὶ πάνθ' ὡσα Φερώρας ἐνεκάλει συγγινώσκεται, καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ Φερώραν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπέλυσεν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων.

457 (7) Μετέβαινεν δὲ ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρὸν ὁ χειμῶν τῆς οἰκίας καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐκείνου κεφαλῆς ὅλος ἀπηρείσατο. τρεῖς ἦσαν εὐνούχοι τιμωτάτοι τῷ βασιλεί, καὶ δὴλον ἐξ ὁν ἐλειτουργοῦν τῷ μὲν γὰρ οἰωνοχεῖν προσετέκτω, τῷ δὲ δείπνον προσφέρειν, ὃ δ' αὐτῶν κατεκομμέζειν τε καὶ συγκατ- 1 Destinon: συμμέτοχοι miss.

a Mariamme I.

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ere long and he made allowance for his love-sick brother.

(6) Long before, while the queen a was still alive, Pheroras had been accused of a plot to poison Herod; but at the period now reached informers came forward in such numbers that Herod, though the most affectionate of brothers, was led to believe their statements and to take alarm. After putting many suspected persons to the torture he came last of all to the friends of Pheroras. None of these admitted outright that there was such a plot, though they said that Pheroras was preparing to fly to Parthia, carrying off his mistress with him, and that his accomplice in this design and partner in his intended flight was Costobarus, Salome's husband, to whom the king had given his sister, when her former husband was put to death on a charge of adultery. Even Salome herself did not escape calumny: she was accused by her brother Pheroras of signing a contract to marry Syllaeus, the procurator b of Obadas, king of Arabia, and Herod's bitterest enemy. However, though convicted of this and of everything else of which she was accused by Pheroras, she was pardoned; while Pheroras himself was acquitted by the king of the charges against him.

(7) The tempest lowering over Herod's house thus veered round to Alexander and burst in full force about his devoted head. There were three eunuchs who held a special place in the king's esteem, as is indicated by the services with which they were charged: one poured out his wine, another served him his supper, and the third put him to bed and

a Or "viceroy"; see A. xvi. 220 (Syllaeus administers the realm of the indolent Obadas).
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489 εκλίνετο. τούτους εἰς τὰ παιδικὰ δύροις μεγάλους ὑπηγάγετο ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος. μηνυθέν δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ διηλέγχοντο βασάνοις, καὶ τὴν μὲν συνουσίαν εὐθέως ωμολόγουν, ἐξέφερον δὲ καὶ τὰς εἰς αὐτὴν ὑποσχέσεις, ὅν τρόπον ἀπατηθεῖεν ὑπὸ 'Αλέξανδρον λέγοντος, ὡς οὐκ ἐν 'Ἡρώδῃ δέοι τὰς ἐπίδιας ἔχειν, ἀναίδει γέροντι καὶ βαπτομένῳ τὰς κόμας, εἰ μὴ διὰ τούτ’ αυτοῦ οἴονται καὶ νέον, αὐτῷ δὲ προσέχειν, ὅσ καὶ παρὰ ἄκοντος διαδέχεται τὴν βασιλείαν, οὐκ εἰς μακράν τε τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς ἀμυνεῖται, τοὺς φίλους δ’ εὐδαιμονας ποιήσει καὶ μακριόνς, πρὸ πάντων δὲ αὐτοῦς· εἰναι δὲ καὶ θεραπεῖαν τῶν δυνατῶν περὶ τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον λαθραίαν, τοὺς τε ἡγεμόνας τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ καὶ τοὺς ταξιάρχους κρύφα πρὸς αὐτὸν συνείναι.

490 (8) Ταῦτα τὸν 'Ἡρώδην οὕτως ἐξεφόβησεν, ὡς μηδὲ παραχρῆμα τολμῆσαι τὰς μηνύσεις ἐκ-φέρειν, ἀλλὰ κατασκόπους ὑποπέμπτων νῦκτωρ καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἐκαστα τῶν πραττομένων ἡ λεγομένων διηρεύνα καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ὑποψίαις εὐθέως ἀνὴρει. δεινὴς δὲ’ ἀνομίας ἐνεπλήσθη τὸ βασιλεῖον· κατὰ γὰρ ἐχθραν ἡ μίσος ἰδιον ἐκαστος ἐπλάσσει τὰς διαβολὰς, καὶ πολλοὶ πρὸς τοὺς διαφόρους φονῶντε τῶ βασιλικῷ θυμῷ κατεχόντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἤσθος εἰχεν παραχρῆμα πίστιν, αἱ κολάσεις δὲ τῶν διαβολῶν ἤσαν ὁκυτεραί· κατηγορεῖτο γούν τις ἄρτι κατηγορήσας καὶ τῶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ διελεγχέντι συναπήγετο, τὰς γὰρ ἐξετάσεις τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς κιν.

492 δυνος ὑπετέμενετο.² προύβη δ’ εἰς τοσοῦτον πι-κρίας, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν ἀκαταιτιῶν των προσβλέ-

¹ δὴ Α: itaque Lat. ² ὑπετέμενετο ΑΜ.
slept in his chamber. Alexander by large presents corrupted these menials for criminal ends; on being informed of which the king submitted them to trial by torture. They at once confessed their relations with Alexander, and then went on to reveal the promises which had brought them about. Alexander, they said, had inveigled them by saying: "You ought not to place your hopes on Herod, a shameless old man who dyes his hair, unless this disguise has actually made you take him for a youngster; it is to me, Alexander, that you should look, to me, who am to inherit the throne, whether he will or no, and shall ere long be avenged on my enemies and bring fortune and bliss to my friends, and above all to you." They added that persons of rank secretly paid court to Alexander and that the generals and officers of the army had clandestine interviews with him.

(8) These disclosures so terrified Herod that at the time he did not even dare to divulge them; but, sending out spies night and day, he scrutinized all that was done or said, and at once put to death any who fell under suspicion. The palace was given over to frightful anarchy. Everyone, to gratify some personal enmity or hatred, invented calumnies; many turned to base account against their adversaries the murderous mood of wrathful royalty. Lies found instant credit, but chastisement was even swifter than calumny: the accuser of a moment ago found himself accused and led off to death with him whose conviction he had obtained; for the grave peril to his life cut short the king's inquiries. He grew so embittered that he had no gentle looks even for
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πειν ἡμέρας, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἀπηνέστατος·
pollois goiν avtow anpeτευν to basileiou καὶ próς
ous ouk eiche χειρὸς ἐξουσίαν τῷ λόγῳ χαλεπῶς
495 ἦν. συνεπέβη δὲ Ἄντιπατρὸς ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ στίφος ποιήσας τῶν συγγενὼν
ouk ἔστω ἡμῖνα διαβολὴν παρέλιπεν. προήχθη
gε τοι πρὸς τοσοῦτον δέος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῆς
teratείας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν συνταγμάτων, ὡς ἐφ-
estάναι dοκεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον ἔιφήρη.
496 συλλαβῶν οὖν αὐτὸν ἔξαπών ἔδησεν καὶ πρὸς
βάσανον ἐκώρει τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ. συγώντες δὲ
ἀπεθνηκον πολλοὶ καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὲρ τὸ συνειδὸς
εἰτόντες· οἱ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλγηδόνων ψεudsαθαι
βιασθέντες ἔλεγον, ὡς ἐπιβουλεοῦν τε αὐτῷ μετὸ
'Αριστοβουλοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ παραφιλάττε
497 κυνηγοῦντα κτείνας εἰς 'Ῥώμην ἀποδράναι. τοῦ-
toις καίπερ οὖ πιθανοὶ οὖν ἄλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγ
κης ἐσχεδιασμένοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπίστευσεν ἦδεως
παραμυθίαν λαμβάνων τοῦ δῆσαι τὸν υἱὸν τὸ μι
dοκεῖν ἀδικως.
498 (xxv. 1) Ὁ δ' Ἀλεξάνδρος ἐπεὶ τὸν πατέρι
mεταπείθειν ἁμήχανον ἑώρα, τοῖς δεινοῖς ὁμός
χωρεῖν διέγνω, καὶ τέσσαρας κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
βίβλους συνταξάμενος προσωμολόγης μὲν τὴν ἑπί
βουλῇ, κοινωνίας δ' ἀπεδείκνυεν τοὺς πλείστου
aὐτῶν, πρὸ δὲ πάντων Φερώραν καὶ Σαλώμη
ταύτην γὰρ δῆ καὶ μιγῆναι ποτε αὐτῶ ἡ ἥθενον
499 νύκτωρ εἰσβιασαμένην. αἰ τε οὖν βιβλοί παρῆσα
Ἡρώδη εἰς χειρὰς πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ κατὰ τῶ

1 ἵδον LTRC.
those who were not accused and treated his own friends with the utmost harshness: many of these he refused to admit to court, while those who were beyond the reach of his arm came under the lash of his tongue. To add to Alexander's misfortunes, Antipater returned to the charge and, raising a band of kindred spirits, had recourse to every conceivable form of calumny. By his portentous fictions and fabrications the king was, in fact, reduced to such a state of alarm, that he fancied he saw Alexander coming upon him sword in hand. He, accordingly, had the prince suddenly arrested and imprisoned, and then proceeded to put his friends to the torture. Many died silent, without saying anything beyond what they knew; but some were driven by their sufferings to falsehood and declared that Alexander and his brother Aristobulus were conspiring against him and were watching for an opportunity to kill him, while out hunting, meaning then to escape to Rome. This statement, improbable as it was and invented off-hand under the pressure of torment, the king nevertheless found satisfaction in believing, consoling himself for having imprisoned his son with the thought that his action had been justified.

(xxv. 1) Alexander, perceiving the impossibility of shaking his father's belief, resolved boldly to confront the perils that menaced him. He, therefore, composed four books directed against his enemies, in which he avowed the conspiracy, but denounced most of them as accomplices, above all Pheroras and Salome; the latter, he declared, had one night even forced her way into his chamber and, against his will, had immoral relations with him. These documents—a mass of shocking accusations incriminating per-
JoSEPHUS

δυνατωτάτων βοώσαι, καὶ διὰ τάχους εἰς Ἰου-
tαίαν Ἀρχέλαος ἀφικνεῖται περὶ τῷ γαμβρῷ καὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ δείσας. γίνεται δὲ βοηθὸς αὐτοῖς
μάλα προμηθῆς καὶ τέχνη τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως
ἀπειλήν διεκρούσατο. συμβαλῶν γὰρ εὐθέως αὐτῷ
"ποῦ ποτὲ ἐστιν ὁ ἀληθής μου γαμβρός;" ἔβοα, "ποῦ δὲ τὴν πατροκτόνον ὁφομαι κεφαλῆν,
ἡν ταῖς ἐμαυτοῦ χερσῖν διασπαράξω; προσθῆσω
δὲ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα μου τῷ καλῷ νυμφίῳ. καὶ
gὰρ εἰ μὴ κεκοιμωνήκεν τοῦ σκέμματος, ὅτι
τοιούτου γυνὴ γέγονεν, μεμίαται. θαυμάζω δὲ
καὶ σὲ τὸν ἐπιβουλεύθέντα τῆς ἀνεξικακίας, εἰ ζῇ
μέχρι νῦν Ἀλέξανδρος. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἠπειγόμην ἀπὸ
Καππαδοκίας ὥς τὸν μὲν εὐρήσων πάλαι δεδω-
κότα δίκας, μετὰ δὲ σοῦ περὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἑξετά-
σων, ἣν ἐκεῖνω σὺ πρὸς τὸ σὸν ἀξίωμα βλέπων ἐνεγύησα. 1

νῦν δὲ περὶ ἀμφοῖν ἡμῖν βουλευτέον, κἂν ἡς πατὴρ λίαν ἡ τοῦ κολάζεων νῦν ἀτονοτέ-
ρος ἐπίβουλον, ἀμείψωμεν τὰς δεξίας καὶ γενώ-
μεθα τῆς ἄλληλων ὀργῆς διάδοχοι."

502 (2) Τούτων περικομπήσας καὶ περ παρατεταγ-
μένων Ἡρώδην ὑπάγεται διδώσι γοῦν αὐτῷ τὰς
συνταχθέοις ὑπ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου βίβλους ἀναγνώ-
ραι καὶ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἐφιστᾶς κεφάλαιον συν-
εσκέπτετο. λαμβάνει δ’ ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἀφορμὴν τοῖς
στρατηγήμασι καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς τοὺς ἐγγε-
γαμμένους καὶ Φερώραν μετήγαγεν τὰς αἰτίας
503 ὡς δ’ ἐώρα πιστεύοντα τὸν βασιλέα, "σκεπτέον,

1 εἰενεγύησα most uss.
2 η PA: et Lat.: om. the rest.
sons of the highest rank—had passed into Herod's hands, when Archelaus, alarmed for his son-in-law and daughter, arrived in haste in Judaea. Coming with singular sagacity to their aid, he succeeded by stratagem in diverting the king's threats in another direction. For, the moment he met him, he exclaimed: "Where is my scoundrel of a son-in-law? Where shall I set eyes on the person of this parricide, that I may tear him in pieces with my own hands? My daughter, too, shall share the fate of her fine spouse; for even if she has had no part in his schemes, as the wife of such a miscreant she is polluted. But you too, the intended victim of the plot, astonish me by your forbearance, in leaving, as it seems, Alexander still alive! For my part, I hurried hither from Cappadocia expecting to find that the culprit had long since paid his penalty and to hold an inquiry with you upon my daughter, whom, out of regard for your exalted rank, I gave away to that wretch. But now, I find, we have to deliberate about the pair of them. If, then, the fondness of a father's heart unnerves you for punishing a rebellious son, let us each lend the other his hand, each take the other's place in visiting our wrath upon our children."

(2) With this blustering oration he deluded Herod, notwithstanding the latter's attitude of defiance. Herod, at any rate, handed him for perusal the documents composed by Alexander and examined chapter after chapter with him, dwelling upon each. Archelaus, finding here an opportunity for furthering his ruse, little by little shifted the blame on to the persons whose names appeared in the volumes, particularly Pheroras. When he observed that he was
504 (3) Συνήνει τοῖς λεγομένοις Ἦρωδης, καὶ τὴν μὲν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὀργήν ἐπανεῖ πρὸς ολίγον, πρὸς δὲ Φερώραν παρωξύνετο· τῶν γὰρ τεσσάρων βιβλίων οὗτος ἦν ὑπόθεσις. ὁς κατιδὼν τὸ τε τοῦ βασιλέως ὁξύρροπον καὶ τὴν Ἀρχελάου φιλίαν παρ' αὐτῷ πάντων κρατοῦσαν, ὡς οὐκ ἐνήν εὐ-σχήμων σωτηρία, τὴν δὲ ἀναίδειας ἐπορίζετο· καταλείψας γοῦν Ἀλέξανδρον προσέφυγεν Ἀρχε-
505 λάω. κακεῖνος οὖν ὁρᾶν ἔφη, πῶς ἂν αὐτὸν ἐξαιτήσας τοσοῦτος ἐνεχόμενον ἐγκλήμασιν, ἐξ ὧν σαφῶς ἀποδείκνυται τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπίβουλος καὶ τῶν παρόντων τῷ μειρακίῳ κακῶν αἰτίων γεγονός, εἰ μὴ βούλεται τὸ πανοῦργον καὶ τὰς ἀργήσεις ἄφεις προσομολογήσαι μὲν τὰ κατηγορη-
μένα, συγγνώμην δ' αἰτήσασθαι παρὰ τάδελφού και φιλούντος· εἰς γὰρ τοῦτο πάντα τρόπον αὐτῶν συνεργῆσειν.

506 (4) Πείθεται Φερώρας, καὶ κατασκευάζας ἐαυ-
τὸν, ὡς ἂν οἰκτρότατος φανεῖ, μελαίνη τε ἐσθήτι καὶ δακρύους προσπίπτει τοῖς Ἦρωδον ποσίν, ὡς'

1 παρά τ' ἀδελφοῦ Cobet.
2 αὐτός P.A.
3 ἦς Niese.

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gaining the king's confidence, he remarked: "We must be careful to see that all these villains have not been conspiring against this young man, and not the young man against you. For I can see no reason why he should have plunged into such heinous crime, when he already enjoyed the honours of royalty and expected to succeed to the throne, unless there were others seducing him and misguiding the tractable spirit of youth. Such persons, indeed, have been known to impose not only on the young, but on old men as well; by them the most illustrious houses and entire kingdoms have been overturned."

(3) Herod assented to this speech; and for a while relaxed his wrath with Alexander and vented it upon Pheroras, as he was the main theme of the four documents. Pheroras, observing this quick change in the king's feelings and the paramount influence exercised on him by his friend Archelaus, despairing of saving himself by honourable means sought protection in effrontery: he abandoned Alexander and threw himself on the mercy of Archelaus. The latter replied that he did not see how he could sue for pardon for a man involved in such grave charges, which clearly proved that he had plotted against the king and been the cause of the young prince's present misfortunes, unless he were prepared to renounce his villainy and his denials, to own up to the crimes of which he was accused, and to ask pardon of his brother, who indeed loved him; for that object, said Archelaus, he would render him every possible assistance.

(4) Pheroras took his advice, and assuming an attitude calculated to arouse the deepest compassion, in black raiment and in tears, threw himself at
507 ἕλεγεν. παραστήσας δὴ κατήγορον καὶ μάρτυν ἐαυτοῦ Φερώραν Ἀρχέλαος οὕτως ἤδη παρηγέτειτο καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου κατέστελλεν ὄργην χρώμενος οἰκεῖοις ὑποδείγμασιν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς πολλῷ χαλεπώτερα πάσχον ὑπὸ τάδελφον τῆς ἀμύνης ἐπίπροσθεν τίθεσθαι τὸ τῆς φύσεως δίκαιον· ἐν γὰρ ταῖς βασιλείαις ὅσπερ ἐν μεγάλοις σῶμασιν ἀεὶ τι μέρος φλεγμαίνειν ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους, ὅπερ ἀποκόπτειν μὲν οὐ χρήναι, θεραπεύειν δὲ πρᾶτερον.

508 (5) Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα λέγων Ἡρώδην μὲν ἐπὶ Φερώρα μειλίσσεται, διεμενε δὲ αὐτὸς ἀγανακτῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα διαξεύξας ἀπάξειν ἐφασκεν, ἔως περιέστησεν Ἡρώδην ἀντιπαρακαλεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μειρακίου καὶ πάλιν αὐτῷ μυνηστεύσας τὴν θυγατέρα. σφόδρα δὲ ἀξιοπίστως Ἀρχέλαος ὃ βούλεται συνοικίζειν αὐτὴν ἐπέτρεπεν πλὴν Ἀλέξανδρον περὶ πλεῖστον γὰρ ποιεῖσθαι τηρεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ τῆς ἐπιγαμίας δίκαια. φαμένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως δῶρον ἔξειν παρ’ αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱὸν, εἰ μὴ λύσειν τὸν γάμον, ὄντων μὲν αὐτοῖς ἤδη καὶ τέκνων, στεργομένης δὲ οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ μειρακίου τῆς γυναικὸς, ἦν παρα
JEWISH WAR, I. 506-509 (cf. ANT. XVI. 269)

Herod’s feet and craved his pardon as he had often successfully done before. He confessed himself a polluted wretch, guilty of all that was laid to his charge, butdeplored his mental derangement and madness, which he attributed to his passion for his wife. Archelaus, after thus inducing Pheroras to appear as his own accuser and to bear witness against himself, now proceeded to plead for him and sought to appease Herod’s wrath, citing parallel cases in his own family history. He had himself, he said, suffered much worse injury from his brother, but had preferred the claims of natural affection to revenge; for in kingdoms, as in corpulent individuals, there was always some member becoming inflamed from the weight which it supported; yet what it needed was not amputation but some milder method of cure.

(5) By many such representations Archelaus succeeded in soothing Herod’s anger against Pheroras. He himself, however, affected to be still indignant with Alexander, protesting that he would divorce his daughter and carry her off with him, until he brought Herod round into the position of a suppliant on the young man’s behalf and a suitor, once more, for the hand of Archelaus’s daughter for his son. With an air of complete sincerity, Archelaus said that he had his permission to unite her to whom he would, save only Alexander; for his dearest desire was to maintain the marriage ties which linked him to Herod. To this the king replied that Archelaus, by consenting not to break the marriage, would really be giving his son back to him, seeing that they already had children and that the young man was so deeply attached to his wife; if she
μένουσαν μὲν ἐσεθαί δυσώπημα τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, ἀπορραγείσαν δὲ αἰτίαν τῆς εἰς ἀπαντα ἀπογυνώσεως· μαλακωτέρας γὰρ γίνεσθαι τὰς τόλμας πάθεσιν οἰκείοις περισσωμένας· κατανεύει μόλις Ἀρχέλαος διαλλάσσεται τε καὶ διαλλάσσει τῷ νεανίσκῳ τὸν πατέρα. δεῖν μέντοι πάντως ἐφ' ρέμπειν αὐτῶν εἰς Ῥώμην Καίσαρι διαλεξόμενον· γεγραφεῖα γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνω περὶ πάντων.

511 (6) Τὸ μὲν οὖν Ἀρχέλαον στρατηγήμα, δι' οὗ τὸν γαμβρὸν ἐρρύσατο, πέρας εἰχεν· μετὰ δὲ τὰς διαλλαγὰς ἐν εὐωχίας καὶ φιλοφρονήσεως διήγον. ἀπίοντα δ' αὐτὸν Ἡρώδης δωρεῖται ταλάντων ἐβδομήκοντα δώροις θρόνω τε χρυσῷ διαλίθῳ καὶ εὔνοιας καὶ παλλακίδι, ἦτις ἐκαλεῖτο Παννυχίς, τῶν τε φίλων ἐτίμησεν ἕκαστον κατ' ἄξιαν.

512 ὅμως τε καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς, προστάξαντος τοῦ βασιλέως, πάντες Ἀρχέλαῳ δώρα λαμπρὰ ἔδοσαν, προεπέμφθη τε ὑπὸ τε Ἡρώδου καὶ τῶν δυνατῶν ἕως Ἀντιοχείας.

513 (xxvi. 1) Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παρέβαλεν ἀνήρ πολὺ τῶν Ἀρχέλαον στρατηγημάτων δυνατώτερος, δός οὐ μόνον τάς ὑπ' ἐκείνου πολυτευθείας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ διαλλαγὰς ἀνέτρεψεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπωλείας αὐτίσι αὐτῷ κατέστη. γένος ἦν Λάκων, Εὐρυκλῆς τούνομα, πόθῳ χρημάτων εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν εἰσφθαρείς· οὐ γὰρ ἀντείχεν

514 ἢ τῇ Ἑλλάς αὐτοῦ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ. λαμπρὰ δ' Ἡρώδη δώρα προσενεγκών, δέλεαρ ὅν ἐθηράτο, 1

1 P: μέ'χρι(s) the rest.

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a In A. xvi. 270 it is Herod who undertakes to go to Rome.

b Mentioned by Pausanias (ii. 3. 5) as the builder of the finest baths at Corinth.
remained with him, her very presence would make him ashamed of his errors, whereas, were she torn from him, he would be driven to utter desperation; for the domestic affections exercised a chastening and diverting influence on reckless characters. Archelaus was induced, not without difficulty, to assent, was reconciled to the youthful offender, and reconciled him to his father; he added, however, that it was absolutely essential that the latter should be sent to Rome for an interview with Caesar, as he himself had forwarded a full report of the matter to the emperor.\(^a\)

(6) Such was the end of the ruse by which Archelaus rescued his son-in-law. After the reconciliation the time was passed in festivity and interchange of courtesies. On his departure Herod presented him with seventy talents, a throne of gold set with precious stones, some eunuchs, and a concubine, named Pannychis; he conferred other favours upon each of his friends, proportionate to their rank. Magnificent presents were, likewise, by order of royalty, made to Archelaus by all the high officials at court. Herod and his nobles then escorted him as far as Antioch.

(xxvi. 1) Not long after, however, there arrived in Judaea a man whose influence far outmatched the artifices of Archelaus, and who not only broke up the reconciliation which the latter had negotiated in the interest of Alexander, but also proved the cause of that prince's ruin. He was a Lacedaemonian, named Eurycles,\(^b\) whose accursed visit to the realm arose from a craving for money, when Greece could no longer meet his extravagant requirements. He brought with him magnificent presents for Herod, as
καὶ παραχρῆμα πολλαπλασίων λαβῶν οὔ δεν ἤγειτο τῇν καθαρὰν δόσιν, εἰ μὴ δι’ αἵματος ἐμπορεύ-
σεται τῇν βασιλείαν. περιέρχεται γοῦν τὸν βα-
sιλέα κολακεία καὶ δεινότητι λόγων καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ψευδείς ἐγκωμίοις. ταχέως δὲ συνιδών τὸν Ἡρώδου τρόπον καὶ πάντα λέγων τε καὶ πράττων τα πρὸς ἥδων αὐτῶ, φίλος ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις γίνεται· καὶ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς διὰ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ πάντες οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἢδεως προ-
ετίμων τὸν Σπαρτιάτην.

516 (2) Ὅ δ’ ἐπεὶ τὰ σαθρὰ τῆς οὐκίας κατέμαθεν, 
tὰς τε τῶν ἀδελφῶν διαφορὰς καὶ ὁπως διέκειτο πρὸς ἐκαστὸν ὁ πατήρ, Ἀντιπάτρου μὲν ἔξινα προκατειλήπτο, ἥφιλία δὲ Ἀλέξανδρου ὑποκρίνε-
tαί ψευδάμενος ἐταίρον ἐαυτὸν εἶναι καὶ Ἀρχε-
lάου πάλαι· διὸ δὴ καὶ ταχέως ὡς διδοκι-
μασμένος ἐδέχθη, συνιστησιν ὁ αὐτὸν εὐθέως 
καὶ Ἀριστοβούλῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ. πάντων δ’ ἀπο-
περαθέσ τῶν προσώπων ἄλλων ἄλλως υπῆκεν, 
γίνεται δὲ προηγουμένως μεσθωτος Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ 
προδότις Ἀλέξανδρου, τῷ μὲν ὀνειδίζων, εἰ πρε-
σβύτατος ὁ περιόψεται τοὺς ἐφεδρεύοντας αὐτοῦ 
ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, Ἀλέξανδρῳ δὲ, εἰ γεγεννημένος ἐκ 
βασιλίδος καὶ βασιλίδι συνοικίων ἐάσει διαδέχεσθαι 
tὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν ἐξ ἱδωτίδος, καὶ ταῦτα μεγίστην 
ἀφορμήν ἐχων Ἀρχέλαον. ἦν δὲ πιστὸς τῷ μεν-

1 Text corrupt: φιλίαν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρου Bekker.
2 εαυτὸν LTRC.
3 γεγεννημένος AL.

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a Perhaps, as Reinach suggests, because of the pretended relationship of Spartans and Jews, 1 Macc. xii. 21; Jos. A. xii. 226.
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a bait to secure his quarry, and instantly found them returned with interest; but he accounted a pure and simple gift as nothing, if he failed to make merchandise out of the realm at the price of blood. So he proceeded to impose on the king by flattery, clever talk, and lying encomiums upon his merits. Quickly reading Herod's character and studying in all he said or did to please him, he was soon numbered among his principal friends; indeed the king and the whole court were delighted to show special honour to this Spartan, out of regard for his country.

(2) When he had learnt everything about the rottenness that was sapping the royal house, the quarrel between the brothers and their father's disposition towards each of them, Eurycles, although under a prior obligation to Antipater for the latter's hospitality, nevertheless feigned a friendship for Alexander, falsely claiming to be an old comrade of Archelaus. With this recommendation he was quickly received as a proved friend and was at once introduced by Alexander to his brother Aristobulus. Exploiting in turn all the various personages, he insinuated himself into favour with each by a different method; but he chiefly acted as a hireling of Antipater and a traitor to Alexander. To the former he represented how disgraceful it was that he, the eldest son, should overlook the intrigues of persons who had an eye upon his prospects; to Alexander, that he, the son of one princess and husband of another, should suffer the son of a woman of no station to succeed to the throne, especially when he had in Archelaus such powerful support behind him. The fiction of his being a friend of

Or possibly "Trying in turn all the parts in the play."
ρακίω σύμβουλος τὴν Ἀρχελάου φιλίαν πλασάμενος: διὸ μηδὲν ὑποστελλόμενος Ἀλεξάνδρος τά τε κατ’ Ἀντιπατρον ἀπωδύρετο πρὸς αὐτόν καὶ ὡς Ἡρώδης αὐτῶν τὴν μητέρα κτείνας οὐ παράδοξον εἰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν ἐκείνης βασιλείαν· ἐφ’ οίς ὁ Εὐρυκλῆς ὀικτείρει τε καὶ συν-519 ἀλγεῖν ὑπεκρίνετο. τὰ δ’ αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοβουλὸν εἰπεῖν δελεάσας καὶ ταῖς κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μέμψειν ἐνδησάμενος ἀμφοτέρους ὑχετο φέρων Ἀντιπάτρῳ τὰ ἀπόρρητα: προσεπιψευδηται δ’ ἐπιβουλήν ὡς ἐνεδρεύοντων αὐτῶν τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐπιφερόντων ἡδὴ τὰ ξέφη. λαβὼν δ’ ἐπὶ τούτοις χρημάτων πλῆθος ἐπανέτηθι ἦν Ἰ520 Ἀντιπάτρου πρὸς τον πατέρα. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἐργολαβήσας τὸν Ἀριστοβουλοῦ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου βάνατον κατήγορος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς γίνεται, καὶ προσελθὼν ἀντιδίδοναι τὸ ἦν ἐφασκεν Ἡρώδη τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐνεργεσίων καὶ τὸ φῶς ἁμοιβὴν τῆς ἁγιασμὸς ἀντιπαρέχειν πάλαι γὰρ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἠκονήσαι ξῆθος καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου Τετονώθηκαι δεξιάν, ἐμποδῶν δ’ αὐτὸς γεγονέναι τῷ τάχει συνεργεῖν ὑποκριθεὶς φάναι γὰρ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον, ὡς οὐκ ἀγαπᾶ βασιλεύσας αὐτὸς Ἡρώδης ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ καὶ μετὰ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν φόνον τὴν ἐκείνης ἀρχὴν σπαθῆςας, ἀλλ’ ἔτι καὶ νόθον εἰσάγεται διάδοχον Ἀντιπάτρῳ τῷ φθόρῳ τὴν παππώμαν αὐτῶν βασιλείαν προτείνων. τιμωρῆσεις γε μὴν αὐτὸς τοῖς Ἡρκανοῦ καὶ [τοῖς] Ἔριμάμμης δαίμοσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ πρέπειν αὐτὸν διαδεξασθαι

1 +καὶ ΡΑ.  
2 Ρ: τῆς ΑΜ: om. the rest.

*a Or "in which he was an alien."*
Archelaus made the young prince regard him as a counsellor to be trusted; and so, without any reserve, Alexander poured out to him his grievances against Antipater, adding that it would not be surprising if Herod, after murdering their mother, should rob him and his brother of her kingdom. Thereupon Eurycles pretended to pity and condole with him. He then inveigled Aristobulus into using similar language, and having implicated both brothers in complaints against their father, went off with these confidences with the addition of his own invention, that the brothers were plotting against him, watching their opportunity and even then were almost upon him sword in hand. Richly rewarded for his intelligence, he proceeded to sing the praises of Antipater to his father. Finally, having undertaken at a price to bring about the death of Aristobulus and Alexander, he came to lay his indictment of them before their parent.

Visiting Herod, he declared that he came to bring him life in return for his benefactions to himself, the light of day in repayment for his hospitality. "For," he said, "a sword has long since been sharpened for your destruction and Alexander's right arm braced to wield it. It is I who have retarded the blow by pretending to assist him." Alexander, he continued, had said that Herod, not content with reigning himself over an empire which belonged to others, a not content, after murdering their mother, with squandering her realm, was now proceeding to foist in a bastard as his successor and to offer their grandfather's kingdom to that pest, Antipater. But he, Alexander (so Eurycles reported him), would avenge the spirits of Hyrcanus and Mariamme; for it would
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παρὰ τοιούτου πατρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν δίχα φόνου. 522 πολλά δ’ εἶναι τὰ παροξύνοντα καθ’ ἡμέραν, ὥστε μηδὲ λαλιάς τινα τρόπον ἀσυκοφάντητον καταλειφθαί. περὶ μὲν γὰρ εὐγενείας ἐτέρων μνείας γενομένης αὐτὸς ἀλόγως ὑβρίζεσθαι, τοῦ πατρὸς λέγοντος “ὁ μόνος εὐγενὴς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τὸν πατέρα δὲ ἀγένειαν ἀδοξῶν”· κατὰ δὲ τὰς θήρας προσκρούειν μὲν σιωπῶν, ἐπανέσας δὲ προσ-523 ακούειν εἴρων. πανταχοῦ δ’ ἀμείλικτον εὐρύσκειν τὸν πατέρα καὶ μόνω φιλόστοργον Ἀντιπάτρω, δι’ ὃν ἤδεως καὶ τεθνήσεσθαι μὴ κρατησάς τῆς ἐπι-βολῆς. 2 κτείναντι δὲ εἶναι σωτηρίας ἀφορμὴν πρῶτον μὲν Ἀρχέλαιον ὅντα κηδεστὴν, πρὸς ὃν διαφεύγεσθαι ῥαδίως, ἔπειτα. Καίσαρα μέχρι νῦν 524 ἀγνοοῦντα τὸν ‘Ἡρώδου τρόπον· οὐ γὰρ ὄς πρό-τερον αὐτῷ παραστήσεσθαι πενηκίως τὸν ἐφ-εστῶτα πατέρα, οὐδὲ φθέγξεσθαι3 περὶ τῶν έαυτοῦ μόνον ἐγκλημάτων, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν κηρύξειν τὰς τοῦ ἐθνὸς συμφορὰς καὶ τοὺς μεχρὶ ψυχῆς φορο-λογομένους, ἔπειτ’ εἰς οἷς τρυφᾶς καὶ πράξεις τὰ δὲ αἵματος πορισθέντα χρήματα ἀνηλώθη, τοὺς τε ἐξ ἡμῶν πλουτήσαντας οἶοι, καὶ τὰς 525 θεραπευθείςας πόλεις ἐπὶ τίσιν. ζητήσεων δὲ καὶ τὸν πάππον ἐκεῖ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας μύση πάντα κηρύξειν, ἐφ’ οἷς οὐ κριθη-σεσθαι πατροκτόνος.

1 Ὁ Destinon: quae Lat.
2 Destinon: ἐπιβολῆς mss.; cf. B. vi. 64 (some mss.).
3 Bekker with Lat.: φθέγξασθαι mss.

4 Rather his great-grandfather, Hyrcanus, who was the father of Alexandra, the mother of Mariamme.
ill become him to inherit the throne from such a father without bloodshed. Then there were the constant daily provocations to which he was subjected, insomuch that he could not utter a single word which escaped calumny. Were allusion made to other persons' noble lineage, his father gratuitously insulted him by remarking, "Nobody is noble but Alexander here, who scorns his father for the base-ness of his birth!" On the hunting-field, were he silent, he gave offence; did he express commendation, he was pronounced ironical to boot. On all occasions, in fact, he found his father implacable, reserving all his affection for Antipater. He would, therefore, willingly die, if his enterprise miscarried. If, on the other hand, he struck the fatal blow, he had protectors to fall back upon: first Archelaus, his father-in-law, to whom he could easily make his escape; and then Caesar, who to that very day was ignorant of Herod's true character. For he would not, as once before, stand before the emperor, overawed by his father's presence, nor would he confine his observations to his personal grievances. No; he would first proclaim to the world the sufferings of his nation, bled to death by taxation, and then go on to describe the luxury and malpractices on which the money obtained by its blood was lavished, the characters of the men who had grown rich at his and his brother's expense, and the motives which had led to the favouritism shown to particular cities. There, too, he would bring up for inquiry the fate of his grandfather and his mother, and make public all the abominations of the realm. Under such conditions he could not be condemned as a parricide.

b Or "reign."
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526 (3) Τοιοῦτα κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τερατευσάμενος Εὐρυκλῆς ἐπήνει πολλὰ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, ὡς ἄρα μόνος τε εἰς φιλοπάτωρ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μέχρι νῦν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐμπόδιος. μήπω δὲ καλῶς ἐπὶ τοῖς πρώτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς κατεσταλμένος εἰς ἀνήκεστον

527 ὀργην ἔξαγρυνται. καὶ πάλιν λαβὼν καρφὸν Ἀντι- πατρός ἐτέρους κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑπέπεμπεν κατηγόρους λέγειν ὅτι Ἰουκούνδῳ καὶ Τυράννῳ λάθρα διαλέγοιτο, τοῖς ἱππάρχοις μὲν ποτὲ τοῦ βασιλέως γενομένοις, τότε δ' ἐκ τινῶν προσ- κρουσμάτων ἀποπεπτωκόσι τῆς τάξεως. ἐφ' οίς Ἡρώδης ὑπεραγανακτήσας εὐθέως ἐβασάνωσεν

528 τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν διαβληθέντων ὠμολόγουν, προεκμισθη δέ τις πρὸς τὸν Ἁλεξ- ανδρείου φρούραρχον ἐπιστολή παρὰ Ἁλεξάνδρου παρακαλοῦντος ἵνα αὐτὸν δέχηται τῷ φρούρῳ μετὰ Ἀριστοβοῦλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ κτείναντα τὸν πατέρα, καὶ παράσχῃ τοῖς ὀπλοῖς χρήσασθαι καὶ

529 ταῖς ἀλλαῖς ἀφορμαῖς. ταῦτην Ἁλεξάνδρος μὲν εἶναι ἔλεγεν τέχνασμα Διοφάντου· γραμματεὺς δ' ἦν ὁ Διοφάντος τοῦ βασιλέως, τολμηρὸς ἀνήρ καὶ δεινὸς μιμήσασθαι πάσης χειρὸς γράμματα· πολλὰ γοῦν παραχαράξας τελευταίον ἐπὶ τούτων [καὶ] 2 κτείνεται. βασανίσας δὲ τῶν φρούραρχον Ἡρώδης οὐδὲν ἤκουσεν οὐδὲ παρ' ἐκείνου τῶν διαβεβλη- μένων.

530 (4) Ἀλλὰ καίτοι τοὺς ἐλέγχουσι εὐρίσκων ἀσθε- νεῖς τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐκέλευσεν τηρεῖν, ἐπὶ μέντοι λευ- μένους, τὸν δὲ λυμεῶνα τῆς οἰκίας καὶ δραμα- τουργὸν ὀλοῦ τοῦ μύσους Εὐρυκλέα, σωτήρα καὶ

1 Destinon from Lat.: Ἀλεξάνδρον PA: Ἡρώδου the rest.
2 om. PAM Lat.

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(3) Having delivered this monstrous tirade against Alexander, Eurycles proceeded to extol Antipater to the skies, as the only son who had any filial affection, an affection which had so far enabled him to thwart the plot. The king, who had scarcely recovered his composure after previous shocks, burst into ungovernable fury. Antipater, seizing this new opportunity, privily sent in others to accuse his brothers of holding clandestine interviews with Jucundus and Tyrannus, at one time commanders of the king's cavalry, but now, owing to some misdeemeanours, degraded. This report brought Herod's indignation to a climax, and he instantly had the two men put to the torture. They made no confession of the crimes imputed to them; but a letter was produced, addressed by Alexander to the governor of Alexandrion, requesting him to admit him and his brother Aristobulus to that fortress after they had slain their father, and to grant them the use of the arms and the other resources of the place. This letter Alexander declared to be the handiwork of Diophantus, a secretary of the king, an audacious fellow who had a clever knack of imitating any handwriting, and who, after numerous forgeries, was eventually put to death for a crime of that nature. Herod had the keeper of the fortress put to the torture, but from him too failed to elicit anything bearing on the alleged facts.

(4) Notwithstanding the weakness of the obtainable evidence, Herod gave orders for a watch to be kept on his sons, though still leaving them their liberty. As for Eurycles, the bane of his house and stage-manager of the whole abominable business,
εὐεργετὴν καλὸν, πεντήκοντα δωρεῖται ταλάντοις.
ο ὁ δὲ τὴν ἀκριβὴ φήμην φθάσας εἰς Καππαδοκίαν ἀργυρίζεται καὶ παρὰ 'Αρχελάου, τολμήσας εἰπεῖν
531 ὅτι καὶ διαλλάξειν Ἡρώδην 'Αλεξάνδρῳ. διάρας
δ' εἰς τὴν Ἐλλάδα τοῖς ἐκ κακῶν κτηθεῖσιν εἰς
όμοια κατεχρήσατο. διὸ γοῦν ἐπὶ Κάισαρος κατ
ηγορθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ στάσεως ἐμπλήσαι τὴν Ἀχαϊαν
καὶ περιδύνει τὰς πόλεις φυγάδευται. κάκεινον
μὲν οὕτως ἡ 'Αλεξάνδρου καὶ 'Ἀριστοβούλου
ποιῆν περιήλθεν.
532 (5) 'Αξίον δὲ ἀντιθείναι τὸν Κῶνον Εὐάρεστον
τῷ Σπαρτιάτῃ καὶ γὰρ οὕτος ὄν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα
φίλοις ἡ 'Αλεξάνδρῳ καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν Εὐρυκλεῖ
kαιρὸν ἐπιδημήσας πυνθανομένω τῷ βασιλεί περὶ
ὅν ἔκεινος διέβαλλεν ὀρκοὺς τὸ μηδὲν ἀκηκοέναι
533 [παρὰ] τῶν μειρακίων ἐπιστώσατο. οὐ μὴν
ώνησέν γε τι τοὺς ἄθλιους μόνων γὰρ ἢν τῶν
κακῶν ἀκροατῆς ἐτομόστατο Ἡρώδης καὶ κε
χαρισμένος αὐτῷ πᾶς ὁ συμπιστεύων καὶ συν
αγανακτῶν.
534 (xxvii. 1) Παρώξυνεν δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Σαλώμη
τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ὁμότητα. ταύτην γὰρ συν
δήσασθαι τοῖς κινδύνοις ὁ 'Αριστόβουλος θέλων,
οὕσαν ἐκυρᾶν καὶ τηθίδα, διαπέμπτει σῶζειν
ἐαυτὴν παραμῶν' παρεσκεύασθαι γάρ βασιλέα
κτείνειν αὐτὴν διαβληθεῖσαν ἐφ' ὀς καὶ πρότερον,
ὅτι Συλλαίῳ τῷ Ἀραβί γῆμασθαι σπουδάζουσα
λάθρα τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπόρρητα διαγγέλλοι πρὸς
535 αὐτοῦ ἐχθρὸν ὅντα. τοῦθ' ὡςπερ τελευταία θύελλα

1 Εὐάρεστον RC (through assimilation to Α."").
2 Niese: φίλοις mss.
3 om. ΡΑ.

ο Cf. s 457.

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the king called him his saviour and benefactor, and presented him with fifty talents. That villain then, before the true story of the affair got abroad, made off to Cappadocia, where he extorted more money from Archelaus, having the impudence to assert that he had reconciled Herod to Alexander. Thence he crossed to Greece, where he employed the proceeds of his crimes on equally criminal objects. Twice arraigned before Caesar for spreading sedition throughout Achaia and fleecing the cities of that province, he was condemned to exile. Thus did retribution overtake him for his betrayal of Alexander and Aristobulus.

(5) As a contrast to the conduct of this Spartan may fitly be mentioned that of Euarestus of Cos. The latter, who was one of Alexander’s most intimate friends, paid a visit to Judaea at the same time as Eurycles, and on being questioned by the king upon the allegations made by his other guest, affirmed on oath that he had heard nothing of the kind from the young men. His testimony, however, was of no avail to the unfortunate wretches; for Herod had a ready ear only for slander, and all stood high in his favour who shared his credulity and his indignation.

(xxvii. 1) A further stimulus to Herod’s cruelty to his sons was given by Salome. For Aristobulus, wishing to involve her, who was at once his mother-in-law and aunt, in the perils threatening himself, sent her a warning to look to her own safety, as the king was prepared to kill her on the charge previously brought against her¹: namely that, in her anxiety to marry the Arab Syllaeus, she had privately communicated to him the secrets of the king, whose enemy he was. This was, as it were, the final hurricane
χειμαζομένους τοὺς νεανίσκους ἐπεβάπτισεν· ἢ γὰρ Σαλώμη δραμοῦσα πρὸς βασιλέα τὴν παραινεσιν ἐμήνυσεν. κάκείνος οὐκέτι καρτερήσας δεσμεὶ μὲν ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς υἱές καὶ διεχώρισεν ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων, πέμπτε δὲ πρὸς Καίσαρα διὰ τάχους Οὐολούμινιον τε τὸν στρατοπεδάρχην καὶ τῶν φίλων ὁ Ολυμπὸν ἐγγράφους τὰς μηνύσεις φέροντας.

536 οἱ δ’ ὡς εἰς 'Ῥώμην πλεύσαντες ἀπέδοσαν τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως γράμματα, σφόδρα μὲν ἡχόθη Καίσαρ ἐπὶ τοῖς νεανίσκοις, οὐ μὴν ἦτο δεῖν ἀφελέσθαι τὸν πατέρα τὴν περί τῶν υἱῶν ἐξουσίαν.

537 ἀντιγράφει γοῦν κύριοι μὲν αὐτὸν καθιστάς, ἦν μεντο ποιήσεις λέγων, εἰ μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν τε ἱδίων συγγενῶν καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἡγεμόνων ἐξετάσειν τὴν ἐπιβούλην· κἂν μὲν ἐνέχωνται, κτείνειν, ἕαν δὲ μόνον ὡσιν δραμοῦ βεβουλευμένοι, κολάζειν μετρῶτερον.

538 (2) Τούτοις 'Ἡρώδης πείθεται, καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Βηθτόν, ἔνθα προσέταξεν Καίσαρ, συνήγε τὸ δικαστήριον. προκαθέζουσιν τε οἱ ἡγεμόνες γραφὲν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, Σατορ-νῦν τε καὶ οἱ περὶ Πεδάνιον πρέσβεις, σὺν οἷς καὶ Οὐολούμινος ὁ ἐπίτροπος, ἐπείδι οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλοι, Σαλώμη τε καὶ Φερώρας, μεθ’ οὓς οἱ πάσης Συρίας ἀριστοὶ πλὴν 'Αρχελάου τοῦ βασιλέως: τούτων γὰρ ὄντα κηδεστὴν 'Αλεξάνδρου δι’ ὑποψίας εἰχὲν ‘Ἡρώδης.

1 Destinon from Lat.: τὸν φίλον mss.
2 εγγράφου LTRC.
3 PA: κατὰ the rest.
4 PA: προκαθέζονται the rest.
5 + κατὰ τὸ PAM.
6 om. PA.

a Beirut.
which submerged the tempest-tossed youths. For Salome ran off to the king and reported the warning which she had received. Herod, his patience exhausted, put both his sons in irons and in separate confinement; he then hastily dispatched Volumnius, the military tribune, and Olympus, one of his friends, with all the information in writing, to Caesar. Taking ship to Rome they delivered the king’s dispatches to the emperor, who, while deeply distressed for the young men, did not think it right to deprive the father of his authority over his sons. He replied accordingly, leaving Herod complete liberty of action, but adding a recommendation to him to hold an inquiry into the plot before a joint council of his own relatives and the provincial governors; then, if his sons were convicted, to put them to death, but if they had merely meditated flight, to be content with a milder penalty.

(2) Acting on this advice, Herod repaired to Berytus, the place appointed by Caesar, and there assembled the court. In accordance with written instructions received from Caesar, the Roman officers presided, namely Saturninus and his legates, Pedanius and others; with them was associated Volumnius, the procurator. Next came the king’s relatives and friends, including Salome and Pheroras, and after these all the aristocracy of Syria, with the exception of King Archelaus; for, as Alexander’s father-in-law, he was regarded by Herod with distrust. His

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539 τοὺς γε μὴν υἱοὺς οὐ προῆγαγεν εἰς τὴν δίκην μάλα προμηθῶς· ἦδει γὰρ ὅτι καὶ μόνον ὁφθέντες ἐλεηθῆσονται πάντως· εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ λόγον μεταλάβουεν, ῥαδίως 'Αλέξανδρον ἀπολύσεσθαι τὰς αἰτίας. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐν Πλατάνη κώμῃ Σιδωνίων ἐφρουροῦντο.

540 (3) Καταστάς δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ὡς πρὸς παρόντας διετεῖνετο, κατηγόρει τε τὴν μὲν ἐπιβουλὴν ἀσθενείς, ὡς ἄν ἀπορούμενος εἰς αὐτὴν ἐλέγχων, λοιδορίας δὲ καὶ σκώμματα καὶ ύβρεις καὶ πλημμελείας μυρίας εἰς αὐτούς, ἀ καὶ θανάτου χαλεπώτερα τοῖς συνεδροῖς ἀπέφηνεν. ἔπειτα μηδενὸς ἀντιλέγοντος ἐποικτισάμενος, ὡς αὐτὸς ἀλίσκοιτο καὶ νικῶν νίκην πικρὰν κατὰ τῶν τέκνων, ἐπηρώτα 541 τὴν γνώμην ἐκάστου. καὶ πρῶτος Σατορίνος ἀπεφήνατο κατακρίνειν μὲν τῶν νεανίσκων, ἀλλ' οὐ θανάτον· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι θεμιτὸν αὐτῷ, τριῶν παρεστώτων τέκνων, ἐτέρου τέκνους ἀπώλειαν ἐπιψηφίσασθαι. σύμψηφοι δ' αὐτῶ καὶ οἱ δύο πρεσβευταὶ γίνονται, καὶ τούτοις ἑτεροί τινες 542 ἡκολούθησαν. Οὐολούμνιος δὲ τῆς σκυθρώπης ἀποφάσεως ἤρξατο, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν πάντες θάνατον κατακρίνουσι τῶν μειρακίων, οἱ μὲν κολακεύοντες, οἱ δὲ μισοῦντες Ἡρώδην, καὶ οὐδεὶς δὴ ἀγανάκτη- 543 σιν. ἐνθα δὴ μετέωρος ἦ τε Συρία πᾶσα καὶ τὸ Ἰουδαίκον ἦν ἐκδεχομένων τὸ τέλος τοῦ δράματος· οὐδεὶς μέντοι ὑπελάμβανεν ἔσεσθαι μέχρι τεκνοκτονίας ὦμον Ἡρώδην. ὁ δὲ σύρας τοὺς υἱοὺς

1 νικών M and apparently Lat.
sons were not produced by Herod in court—a very wise precaution, for he knew that their mere appearance would be sure to arouse compassion, while, if they were further permitted to speak, Alexander would have no difficulty in rebutting the charges. So they were detained in custody at Platana, a village in the territory of Sidon.

(3) The king, on rising, nevertheless inveighed against them as though they had been present. His accusation of a plot was, for lack of proofs, weak; but he dwelt on the affronts, mockeries, insults, and offences innumerable of which he had been the victim, and which, he declared to the court, were more cruel than death itself. After that, none contradicting him, he commiserated his hard fate that even in winning his case against his sons his triumph would be bitter and himself the loser, and then asked them all to express their opinions. Saturninus first delivered his opinion, which was to condemn the young men, but not to death; as the father of three children present in court, it would not be right for him, he said, to vote for the destruction of the children of another. His two legates voted in the same sense and their example was followed by some others. Volumnius was the first to pronounce a pitiless sentence; and all who followed him condemned the lads to death, some from flattery, others from hatred of Herod, none from indignation against the prisoners. From that moment all Syria and Jewry were in suspense, anxiously awaiting the last act of the drama; yet none supposed that Herod would carry his cruelty to the length of murdering his children. He, mean-

\* \* \* 

\* Ras Damur, on the coast, S. of Beirut and about halfway between it and Sidon.
eis Týron kákeíthen diapleúsas eis Kaisárēian trópon anairésews tois meirakíous ēsképteto.

544 (4) Palaiós de tis toû basileós stratiótēs, ónoma Týron, ēxwv viōn sfoárda sumpēthē kai fílon 'Aleξándrōn kai autós ēgγαπηκώς idia tā meirákia, di' ūperebolēn ēgγανακτήsews ēkforwn ēγώνeto,1 kai tō méν prōton ēβόα periw kai πανθ' óssa

545 μὴ féiðoménων tōû zénū uphγóreue tō páthos. tēlōs de kai tō basileí toλmēsas prōselthēvein ' ἀλλ' ēmōi méν,' éph, ' 'kakodaimonéstatos eiνai dokēis, óstis kαtā tōν fīltatōn pēθē tois pōnērotatōis, eî ge Fērōra kai Salwēmēs katanouν pollākis thānaton pisteuεis toυtōis kαtā tōn tēknōn, os tōn γηνησίων perikōpontes diadōχων ēp'

'Antipatrō katalēpουσι μόνω, tōn ēautōis eu-

546 metaxheíristōn aírōmenou basileá. skēfai ménto
ge, μὴ pote kákeínω γένηtai μίσos ēn tois strati-
tiṓtaios ὁ tōn ἀδελφῶν thānatos; ou γαρ ēstw
ótis ōuk ἐλεεὶ tα meirάκia, tōn de ἡγερμόνων kai
faneρwos ēgγανακτούσων polloś.' ταῦθ' āma léγw
ωνόμαξεν tōs ēgγανακτούντας. ὁ de basileus
edhēwos ēkeínous te kai autōn kai tōn viōn autōu
sυνελάμβανεν.

547 (5) 'Εφ' ὅ tōn ēk tῆs aυλῆs tīs koupēwv,
Tρύfōwv ónoma, προεκπηδήςas ēk tīnos theo-
bλαβēias2 ēautōu mēnūτhīs γίνεται. "kāmē,"
går éph, "Tīron ouτos ēnepieidev, oτan thērapew

1 PA: ēγένετο the rest.
2 PA: φρενοβλαβειας the rest.
while, dragged his sons to Tyre, and, taking ship thence to Caesarea, pondered in his mind over the manner of their execution.

(4) Now there was an old soldier in the king's army, named Tiro, whose son was on very intimate and friendly terms with Alexander, and who had a personal affection himself for the young princes. This man, in the excess of his indignation, lost his reason. At first he went about shouting that justice had been trampled under foot, truth was dead, the laws of nature confounded, the world full of iniquity, and whatever else his emotion suggested to one who was careless of his life. At length he boldly presented himself to the king and thus addressed him: "Most god-forsaken of men, that is my opinion of you, you who to the injury of your nearest and dearest trust the word of the basest of scoundrels, if it be true that Pheroras and Salome, whom you have so often sentenced to death, have now made you believe their slanders upon your children. They are cutting off your legitimate heirs, leaving you none but Antipater, choosing him for king as the most manageable in their leading-strings. But take care that the death of his brothers does not one day rouse against him the hatred of the army; for there is not a man there who does not pity the lads, and many of the officers are freely expressing their indignation." He forthwith named these malcontents; and they were promptly arrested by the king, together with Tiro and his son.

(5) Thereupon, one of the court barbers, named Trypho, possessed by some strange frenzy, rushed forward and turned informer against himself. "Me too," he cried, "this Tiro tried to induce to cut your
τῷ ξυρῷ σε διαχειρίσασθαι, μεγάλας τέ μοι παρ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου δώρεας ὑπισχνείτο.” ταῦτ’ ἀκούσας Ἡρώδης τὸν τε Τίρωνα σὺν τῷ παιδί καὶ τὸν κουρέα βασάνοις διήλεγχεν, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἁρνούμενων, τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν πλέον λέγοντος, στρεβλοῦν ἐκέλευσεν τὸν Τίρωνα σφοδρότερον. Ὁ δ’ νῦν οἰκτείρας ὑπέσχετο τῷ βασιλεῖ πάντα μηνύσειν, εἰ χαρίσαι τὸν πατέρα αὐτῷ. κακεῖνον δόντος εἶπεν ώς ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ πεισθεὶς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ θελήσειν αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν. τοῦθ’ οἱ μὲν εἰς ἀπαλλαγήν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς αἰκίας πεπλάσθαι, τινὲς δὲ ἠλθῆσε ἐλεγον.

550 (6) Ἡρώδης γε μὴν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν τε ἡγεμόνων καὶ Τίρωνος κατηγορήσας τὸν λαὸν ἐπ’ αὐτούς ἑστρατολόγησεν· αὐτὸδί γοὺν ἁναιροῦνται μετὰ τοῦ κουρέως ἡνίων βαλλόμενοι καὶ λίθοις.

551 πέμψας δὲ καὶ τοὺς νεεῖς εἰς Σεβαστὴν, οὕσαν οὐ πόρρω τῆς Καισαρείας, προσέταξεν ἀποπνικαί. καὶ τελεσθέντος αὐτῷ ταχέως τοῖς προστάγματος τοὺς νεκροὺς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἐκέλευσεν ἀνακομισθῆναι τὸ φρούριον, συνταφθησόμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ μητροπάτορι. τὸ μὲν οὖν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀριστοβουλοῦ τέλος τοιοῦτον [ἡν].

552 (xxviii. 1) Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ ἀδήμων ἔχοντι τὴν διαδοχῆν μίσος μὲν ἀφόρητον ἐκ τοῦ θένους ἐπεγείρεται, πάντων ἐπισταμένων ὅτι τὰς διαβολὰς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς πάσας ἐπισυντάξειεν οὕτως, ὑποκούρει δὲ καὶ δέος οὐ μέτριον αὐξανομένης ὀρῶντι τὴν τῶν ἀνηρμενέων γενεάν· ἦσαν γὰρ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μὲν ἐκ Γλαφύρας νεεῖς δύο, Τιγράνης

1 om. LTRC.
throat with my razor when in attendance upon you, promising me a large reward from Alexander.” On hearing this, Herod put Tiro, his son and the barber under the torture, and when father and son denied all and the other would add nothing more, gave orders to rack Tiro still more severely. The son, thereupon, moved with compassion, promised to tell the king everything if he would spare him his father. Herod granting his request, he stated that his father, at the instigation of Alexander, intended to kill him. This statement, according to some, was a fabrication to end his father’s sufferings, while others maintained that it was true.

(6) Herod summoned a public assembly, formally accused the officers concerned and Tiro, and enlisted the aid of the populace to dispatch them; they and the barber were beaten to death on the spot with cudgels and stones. He then sent his sons to Sebaste, a town not far from Caesarea, and ordered them to be strangled. The order was promptly executed, and direction was given to convey the bodies to the fortress of Alexandrion, for burial there with Alexander, their maternal grandfather. Such 7-6 B.C. was the end of Alexander and Aristobulus.

(xxviii. 1) Antipater, having now an indisputable un
claim to the succession, became an object of intolerable abhorrence to the nation; for all knew that it was he who had contrived all the calumnies against his brothers. He was, moreover, haunted with grave alarm at the sight of the children of his victims growing to maturity. For Alexander had by Glaphyra two sons, Tigranes and Alexander; and by his

a Samaria.
καὶ 'Αλέξανδρος, 'Αριστοβούλως δ' ἐκ Βερνίκης τῆς Σαλώμης Ἡρώδης μὲν καὶ Ἀγρίππας καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος νῦν, θυγατέρες δὲ Ἡρωδίας καὶ 
553 Μαριάμμη. τὴν μὲν οὖν Γλαφύραν μετὰ τῆς προικὸς Ἡρώδης ἀπέπεμψεν εἰς Καππαδοκίαν, ὥς ἀνείλεν 'Αλέξανδρον, τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου δὲ Βερνίκην συνώκισεν θείων πρὸς μητρὸς Ἀντι-
πάτρου τὴν γὰρ Σαλώμην οὔσαν διάφορον ἐξ-
οικειούμενος ὁ Ἀντίπατρος τοῦτον ἐπραγματεύσατο 
554 τὸν γάμον. περιήγει δὲ καὶ τὸν Φερώραν δῶροις 
τε καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις θεραπείαις καὶ τοὺς Καίσαρος 
φίλους οὐκ ὅλιγα πέμπων εἰς τὴν Ἡρωμὴν χρή-
ματα. οἳ γε μὴν περὶ Σατορίνου ἐν Συρίᾳ πάντες 
ἐνεπλήθησαν τῶν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ δωρεῶν. ἐμισεῖτο 
δὲ διδοὺς πλεῖον, ὡς ἂν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ μεγαλοψύχου 
555 χαριζόμενοι ἅλλ’ ἀναλίσκων κατὰ δέος. συνεβαινει 
δὲ τοὺς μὲν λαμβάνοντας οὐδὲν μάλλον εἰσόν 
γένεσθαι, χαλεπωτέρους δ’ ἐχθροὺς οῖς μὴ διδοῖν. 
λαμπροτέρας δὲ καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐποιεῖτο τὰς δια-
δόσεις, ὅρων τὸν βασιλέα παρ’ ἅς αὐτὸς ἐλπίδας 
eἰχεν ἐπιμελοῦμενον τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ 
τοὺς ἀνηρμικοὺς μετάνοιαν ἐμφαίνοντα δι’ ὧν 
ηλέει τοὺς εἰς ἐκείνους.

556 (2) Συναγαγὼν γάρ ποτὲ Ἡρώδης συνγενεῖς 
tε καὶ φίλους παραστησάμενος τε τὰ παιδία καὶ 
δακρύων ἐμπλήσας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπεν: ‘‘ἔμε 
tοὺς μὲν τούτων πατέρας σκυθρωπότας ἀφείλετο 
δαίμων, ταῦτα δὲ μοι μετὰ τῆς φύσεως συνήστησιν 
ἐλεος ὀρφανίας. πειρώμαι δ’, εἰ καὶ πατὴρ 
ἐγενόμην ἀτυχέστατος, πάππος γούν γενέσθαι

1 ἀνέπεμψεν Μ. 2 επὶ Ῥώμης Ρ. 3 δὴ LRC; τὲ Nieße.
marriage with Bernice, Salome’s daughter, Aristobulus had three, Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus, besides two daughters, Herodias and Mariamme. After the execution of Alexander, Herod had sent back Glaphyra to Cappadocia with her dowry; Bernice, the widow of Aristobulus, he gave in marriage to Antipater’s maternal uncle, this match being arranged by Antipater in order to conciliate his enemy Salome. Antipater further sought to ingratiate himself with Pheroras by presents and other attentions, and with Caesar’s friends by sending considerable sums to Rome. Saturninus and all his staff in Syria were glutted with his gifts. Yet the more he gave, the more he was hated, as it was felt that his bounties were not the outcome of generosity but extorted from him by fear. The result was that the recipients were no better disposed to him than before, while those whom he overlooked became more implacable enemies. The presents distributed, nevertheless, became daily more magnificent, when he saw the king, to the undoing of his own expectations, taking care of the orphans and showing his remorse for the murder of his sons by his compassion for their offspring.

(2) For Herod, one day, assembled his relatives and friends, set the young children before them, and said, with tears in his eyes: “I have been bereaved by some evil genius of the sires of these infants, but pity for the orphans and nature alike commend them to my care. If I have been the most unfortunate of fathers, I will try at any rate to prove

a Theudion, A. xvii. 70.

b Reinach regards these words as having the technical meaning of high officials at court, cf. § 460.
κηδεμονικῶτερος καὶ μετ’ ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν·
557 καταλιπέτειν τοὺς ἐμοὶ φιλτάτους. ἐγγυῶ δὲ τὴν
μὲν σὴν, ὡς Ψερώρα, θυγατέρα τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ
tῶν ἀδελφῶν 'Αλεξάνδρου παίδων, ἦν ἡ αὐτῷ
κηδεμον παρασκευασμένος, τῷ δὲ σῷ παιδὶ, Ἀντίπατρε,
tὴν Ἀριστοβουλίου θυγατέρα ἁγίου γὰρ ἃν οὔτω
πατὴρ τῆς ὀρφανῆς. καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς ὁ
ἔμοι Ἡρώδης λήψεται, πρὸς μητρὸς ὧν ἀρχιερέως
558 πάππου. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐμὰ ταύτην ἐχέτω τὴν
κρίσιν, ἢν διακόψῃ μηδείς τῶν ἐμὲ φιλούντων,
ἐπεύχομαι δὲ καὶ τῷ θεῷ συναρμόσαι τοὺς γάμους
ἐπὶ συμφέροντι τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν
ἐγκύων, τὰ τε παιδία ταύτα γαληνοτέρους ἐπιδεὶκ
ὀμμασίν ἢ τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν."

559 (3) ['Επείδη]3 ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπεδάκρυσεν τε καὶ
tῶν παίδων συνήρμοσεν τὰς δεξιὰς, ἐπείτα κατα-
σπασάμενος ἐκαστὸν φιλοσφόρως διέλυσεν τὸ
συνέδριον. ἐπαχώθη δ' εὐθὺς Ἀντίπατρος καὶ
dῆλος ἢν ἀπασιν ὀδυνώμενος· ὑπελάμβανεν γὰρ
ἐναὶ παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ τὴν τῶν ὀρφανῶν τιμὴν
evαυτοῦ καταλύσας, ἀθῆς τε κινδυνεύσεις περὶ τῶν
όλων, εἰ πρὸς Ἀρχελάῳ καὶ Ψερώραν ὄντα
τετράρχην βοηθῶν ἔχοιεν οἱ 'Αλεξάνδρου παίδες.
560 συνελογίζετο δὲ τὸ ἐαυτὸῦ μῖσος καὶ τὸν τῶν
ὀρφανῶν ἔλευν ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους, ὡς τε σπουδὴ
ζώντων καὶ ὡς μνήμη παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις τῶν δι·

1 ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν PA: κηδεμόνας αὐτῶς the rest.
2 M: διακόψει the rest.
3 Corrupt text: Destinon proposes ἐπείδη, to be joined to
the preceding sentence.

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* Names unknown.
* Tigranes (§ 552) or perhaps Alexander (A. xviii. 139,
where the order of names is reversed).
myself a more considerate grandfather and to leave their tutelage, after my death, to those most dear to me. I affiance your daughter,\(^a\) Pheroras, to the elder of these brothers,\(^b\) Alexander's sons, in order that this alliance may make you his natural guardian. To your son,\(^a\) Antipater, I betroth the daughter of Aristobulus \(^c\); so may you become a father to this orphan girl. Her sister \(^d\) my own Herod shall take, for on his mother's \(^e\) side he is grandson of a high-priest. Let then effect be given to my wishes, and let no friend of mine frustrate them. And I pray God to bless these unions, to the benefit of my realm and of my descendants, and to look with serener eyes upon these children here than those with which he beheld their fathers.”

(3) Having thus spoken he gave way to tears and joined the children's hands, and then fondly embracing one after the other dismissed the assembly. At that Antipater's blood ran cold \(^f\) and his chagrin was evident to all. For he imagined that the honour bestowed by his father on the orphans was his own ruin and that his claims to the throne would be again endangered, if Alexander's children were to have, in addition to the support of Archelaus, that of Pheroras, a tetrarch. He reflected on the hatred which the nation bore him and their pity for the orphans, the enthusiasm which the Jews had shown for his brothers in their lifetime and their fond memory of them now that, in his interest, they were

\(^a\) Mariamme.

\(^b\) The celebrated Herodias mentioned in the New Testament.

\(^c\) Mariamme II, daughter of the high priest Simon, son of Boethus (\(A.\) xv. 320).

\(^d\) Or "Antipater instantly shuddered."

\(^e\) Mariamme.

\(^f\) Or "Antipater instantly shuddered."
auton apolwolotov hym adelphwn. eywn de pantai tropou diakoptein tas egynas.

561 (4) Kai to mene upienai panourgwos edeise ton patera xalepov onta kai pro's tas upoias kynoumenon oxeis, e tolhiseun de proselthwv ike-teuein antikrus maph stereiskein auton hys 'exwsev tnmis, meph autw men onoma basilieias, dynamen de uparchein allous ou gar krateis ten prag-matwn, ei pro's 'Arxelaos pappw kai Ferwra

562 khessthn h ALEXANDROW paitis proslaboi. katauni-bolei de pollhs ouous geneas kata to basilieion metadeinai touz glamous. hisan gar tw basiliei gynaikes men ennea, tekna de 'ek twv' etpata, autos men 'Antipatros ek Douridos, 'Hrodis 'e ek Mariamn his tov archeirewos thugatros, 'Antipas de kai 'Arxelaos ek Malthakis his Samareitidos, kai thugatir 'Olymniias, hym 'adelphidous auton Iwsipto einex, ek de his Ierosolymitidos Kleopatra 'Hrodis kai Filippos, ek de Pallados

563 Phasallos. egenvnto 'e autw kai allai thugateres, 'Rwzani te kai Salwmh, h men 'ek Faidras, h de 'ex 'Elpidos. duo de 'exekyw, aneypwv te kai 'adelphiwmh' xwris de touvtwv duo 'adelphas ALEXANDROU kai 'Aristoboulou tas ek Mariamn. ouous de poluprosowpou his geneas o 'Antipatros edeito metateqhna touz glamous.

564 (5) Xalepws 'e 'h basilieus 'yanaktihsen kata-mathwn autou to pro's touz orfanous hodos, ennoia

1 twv of LTRC must surely be right: toutwv PAM.

\[^a\] Not including the deceased Mariamme I, who raises the total to ten. See Appendix, "The Herodian Family."
dead. He resolved accordingly at all costs to break off these betrothals.

(4) Afraid of practising a ruse upon so harsh a father, whose suspicions were easily aroused, he boldly ventured into his presence and besought him outright not to deprive him of the honour which he had deigned to confer on him, nor to leave him the mere title of king while others enjoyed the power; for he would never be master of affairs, should Alexander's son, with Archelaus as his grandfather, also have Pheroras as his father-in-law. He therefore earnestly entreated him, as the palace contained a numerous family, to modify these matrimonial arrangements. The king, in fact, had nine a wives and issue by seven of them. Antipater himself was son of Doris, Herod (II) of Mariamme (II), the high-priest's daughter, Antipater and Archelaus were sons of Malthace, the Samaritan; Olympias, a daughter by this last wife had married Joseph, the king's nephew. By Cleopatra, a native of Jerusalem, he had Herod and Philip; by Pallas, Phasael. He had besides other daughters, Roxane and Salome, one by Phaedra, the other by Elpis. Two of his wives, one a cousin, the other a niece, were childless. In addition there were two daughters c by Mariamme (I), sisters of Alexander and Aristobulus. In view of this large family Antipater begged for an alteration in the projected marriages.

(5) The king, on discovering Antipater's attitude to the orphans, was highly indignant, and the thought

b Son of Herod's brother Joseph, who was killed at the battle of Jericho (§§ 323 f.).

c Salampsio and Cypros.
te autò parèstè peri tòv ánghfhmènov, mò potè kàkeínav gènovoto tòv 'Antipátrov diabòlon
565 ágònìsma. toòte mèn òvòn pollà proò òrgoùn ápò-
krinamènov àpelaunèi tòv 'Antipátrov, aðhèis d' 
úpakhèis autòd tais kolakeíaìs mètheimòsato, kai 
autò mèn tìn 'Aristoboulòu synókisis thugatèra, 
tòv dè ùdòn autòd tìn Fèróra thugatì.
566 (6) Katamáthoi d' àn tis, òsson íschiwèn ên
outòìs kolakeùnov 'Antipátrov, èk tòv 'Salómhn 
eì òmòiòs ápòtuçheì. taùtnì gárv òh' kàpìer 
ouvìan àdelphìn kai pollà dià Lìounías 1 tìn 
ýnànikos Kaisaros ìkètevounan gamaìhìsqi 
tò 'Araìbi Sýl-
lawìs, ðíwìmòsato mèn êxþrotátthn ëxeiv, eì mì 
pauùsato tìn ñpoudìs, tò de têleuòtaiò ìkounan 
'Alèxà tìnì tòw filòw synókisèn, kai tòw thugatèron 
aùtìs tìnì mèn tòw 'Alèxà páidì, tìnì ò 
ètèran tòw proò ìmòtron 'Antipátrov ðéiw. 2 tòw 
d' èk Mariamìnhìs thugatèrôn ò mèn àdelphìs ùdòn 
'Antipátrov èìxèn, òì dè àdèlphòi Fàsàlìon.
567 (xxix. 1) Dìakóìças dé tòs tòw òrfanòv 
èlpidàs d' 'Antipátrov kai proò tò symphèron 
aùtìs tòs ènigamìas poìshìmenos, òs èptì bebaìous 
mèn ówrìme tais èlpìsìs, proòlabòw dé tìn kàkìa 
tò pepeìdos àfórhìs òìvì to 'gàr par' ekàstw 
mìsos àpòskèusàsòsìs òì mì dìnàmenos èk tòu 
boìeròs èni òìvì àfòrhìs èpòruìceìto. sunìrègei 
dè kàlì Fèróras òsì òn òòhì [kài] 3 bàsilìeì bebaìous.

1 Nìesse with Heg.: Lèvías PA (as in § 641): 'Iouìías the rest.
2 + ñpònuðasantos òsì èphamei 'Antipátrov PAM (doubtless 
a gloss).
3 P: om. the rest.

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crossed his mind—might not his murdered sons also have been the victims of this man’s slanders? He, accordingly, at the moment replied in a long and angry speech, and dismissed Antipater from his presence. Subsequently, however, seduced by his flatteries, he made other arrangements, and gave the daughter of Aristobulus to Antipater himself, and the daughter of Pheroras to his son.

(6) How powerful was the effect of Antipater’s adulation on this occasion may be gauged from Salome’s ill success in a similar suit. For, although she was Herod’s sister and had recourse to the intercession of the Empress Livia to plead with him for permission to marry the Arab Syllaes.\(^a\) Herod swore that he would regard her as his bitterest enemy if she did not renounce this passion; and, in the end, he married her, against her will, to one of his friends, named Alexas, and one of her daughters \(^b\) to the son \(^b\) of Alexas, the other \(^c\) to Antipater’s maternal uncle.\(^d\) Of his daughters by Mariamme, one \(^e\) was given to Antipater, his sister’s, the other \(^f\) to Phasael, his brother’s son.

(xxiv. 1) Antipater, having cut off the orphans’ expectations and arranged the marriages to his own advantage, regarded his prospects as securely anchored, and, with assurance now added to villainy, became insufferable. For, unable to avert the hatred which he inspired in all, he sought security in intimidation. He was assisted by Pheroras, who

\(^a\) §§ 487, 534. In A. xvii. 10 it is stated that the empress (Julia) took Herod’s side and sought to break off Salome’s proposed match with Syllaes.

\(^b\) Names unknown. \(^c\) Berenice, widow of Aristobulus. \(^d\) Theudion (§ 553 note). \(^e\) Cypros. \(^f\) Salampsio.
568 γίνεται δὲ καὶ γυναικῶν σύνταγμα κατὰ τὴν αὐλήν, ὁ νεωτέρους ἐκίνησεν θορύβους. Ἦ γαρ Φερώρα γυνὴ μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς προσλαβοῦσα καὶ τὴν 'Αντιπάτρον μητέρα πολλὰ μὲν ἑσέλγαυεν κατὰ τὸ βασιλείον, ἐτόλμησεν δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ὑβρίσαι δύο θυγατέρας, δι' ἀδιὰ μάλιστα ταύτην ἐκεῖνον προβέβλητο· μισοῦμεναί. 569 γε μὴν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπεκράτουν. μόνη δὲ τῆς ὁμονοίας αὐτῶν ἀντίπαλος ἦν Σαλώμη καὶ βασιλεῖ διέβαλλεν τὴν σύνδον, ώς οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ τῶν αὐτοῦ πραγμάτων εἰτ. γνοῦσαι δὲ ἐκεῖναι τὴν διαβολὴν καὶ ὡς ἀγανακτήσειν Ἡρώδης, τῆς μὲν φανερᾶς συνόδου καὶ τῶν φιλοφρονήσεων ἐπαύσαντο, τοῦναντίον δ’ ὑπεκρίνοντο καὶ διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἀκούοντος βασιλέως· αἰς συνυπεκρίνετο καὶ Ἡρώδης, ἐν τῷ φανερῷ προσκρούων Φερώρα. συνουσία δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῶν λάθρα καὶ κώμοι νυκτερινοί, τὴν τε ὁμονοίαν ἡ παρατήρησις ἐπέτεινεν. ἦγνοεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν Σαλώμη τῶν πραπτομείνων καὶ πάνθ’ Ἡρώδη διήγγελλεν. 570 (2) Ἐξεκαίτετο δ’ ἐκεῖνος εἰς ὅργῃ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τὴν Φερώρον γυναίκα· ταύτην γὰρ πλέον ἡ Σαλώμη διεβαλλεν. ἀθροίσας οὖν συνέδριον τῶν τε φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ τῆς ἀνθρώπου κατηγόρει καὶ τὴν εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν θυγατέρας ὑβρίν, ὅτι τε Φαρισαίοις μὲν χορηγήσειν μισθοὺς κατ’ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ κατασκεύασειν 571 πολέμιον ἐνδησαμενὴ φαρισάκοις. τελευταίον δ’ εἰς Φερώραν ἀπέστρεφεν τῶν λόγων, δυοὶ θάτερον

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a Salome and Roxana.
b She had paid the fine imposed upon them for refusing.
looked on Antipater’s claim to the throne as already assured. There was, moreover, a gang of women at court who created new disturbances. The wife of Pheroras, in league with her mother and sister and the mother of Antipater, displayed constant effrontery in the palace, and even ventured to insult two young daughters of the king.\textsuperscript{a} She became, in consequence, the object of Herod’s special aversion; yet, notwithstanding the king’s hatred, these women domineered over the rest. The sole opponent of their league was Salome, who reported it to the king as a conclave not conducive to the interests of his realm. Informed of this denunciation and of Herod’s wrath, they abandoned their public meetings and all signs of friendly recognition, and on the contrary pretended to quarrel with one another in the king’s hearing; Antipater joined in their dissimulation by taking offence, in public, at Pheroras. But they continued to hold clandestine meetings and nocturnal carousals, and the knowledge that they were watched only bound them closer together. Salome, however, was ignorant of none of their proceedings and reported everything to Herod.

(2) The king was furiously indignant, particularly at the wife of Pheroras, the principal object of Salome’s charges. He, accordingly, assembled a council of his friends and relations and accused the wretched woman of numerous misdeeds, among others of insulting his own daughters, of subsidizing the Pharisees to oppose him,\textsuperscript{b} and of alienating his brother, after bewitching him with drugs. In conclusion, he addressed Pheroras and told him that he to take the oath of allegiance to Herod on his accession (\textit{A. xvii. 42}).
ἐλέσθαι λέγων, ἢ ἐαυτὸν ἀδελφὸν ἢ τὴν γυναῖκα. τοῦ δὲ θάττων ἀπολείψει τὸ ξῆν ἢ τὴν γυναῖκα φήσαντος, ὅν κέ ἔχων ὁ τι χρὴ δρᾶν μετέβαινεν ἐπί Ἀντιπατρον, ὃς παρήγγειλεν μῆτε τῇ Φερώρᾳ γυναικὶ μῆτε αὐτῷ μητί ἀλλω τινὶ τῶν ἐκείνης διαλέγεσθαι, ὁ δὲ φανερῶς μὲν οὐ παρέβαινεν τῷ πρόσταγμα, λάθρα δὲ διενυκτέρευς σὺν ἐκείνοις.

573 καὶ δεδοικώς τὴν ἐπιτηροῦσαν Σαλώμην πραγματεύεται διὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας φίλων τὴν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποδημίαν αὐτῷ γραφάντων γὰρ ἐκείνων δεῖν Ἀντιπατρον διὰ χρόνου πεμφθῆναι πρὸς Καίσαρα, ὁ δὲ οὐ τι μελλῆσας ἐξέπεμψεν θεραπείαν τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ πλείστα δοὺς χρήματα τῇ τε διαθήκῃ κομίζειν, ἐν ἡ βασιλεύς μὲν Ἀντιπατρος ἐγέραττο, Ἀντιπάτρου δὲ Ἡρώδης διάδοχος ὁ ἐκ Μαριάμμης τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως θυγατρός γεγονός.

574 (3) Ἐπλευσεν δὲ καὶ Συλλαῖος ὁ Ἀραψ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης, ἡμελήκως μὲν τῶν Καίσαρος προσταγμάτων, ἀνταγωνισομένος δὲ πρὸς Ἀντιπατρον περὶ δὲν δεδικαστὸ Νικολάων τάχιον. οὐ μικρὸς δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς Ὁρέταν ἤν ἰγών τὸν ἐαυτοῦ βασιλέα τούτου γὰρ ἄλλους τε φιλοὺς ἀνερήκει

575 καὶ Σόαμον τῶν ἐν Πέτρα δυνατώτατῶν,2 πείσας δὲ πολλοὶς χρήμασιν Φάβατον τῶν Καίσαρος διοικητὴν ἐχρῆτο βοηθῶ καὶ καθ' Ἡρώδου. πλείονα δὲ δοὺς Ἡρώδης ἀφίστησιν τε ἀπὸ Συλλαῖου Φάβατον καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ Καίσαρος εἰσέπραττεν. ὁ δὲ μηδὲν ἀποδοὺς ἐτι καὶ

1 Niese: μετέβαινεν miss.
2 Niese: τῶν ἐν Π. δυνατώτατον ΡΑΜ, τῶν ἐν Π. τῶν δυνατώτατον the rest.

* Mariamme II, daughter of Simon the high priest.
must choose one or the other, either his brother or his wife. Pheroras replying that he would sooner part with his existence than with his wife, Herod, in perplexity, turned to Antipater and ordered him to have no further intercourse either with the wife of Pheroras, or with her husband, or with any of her set. Antipater, while not openly violating this injunction, continued secretly and at night to associate with them; but fearing the vigilance of Salome he contrived, with the help of friends in Italy, a visit to Rome. A letter arriving from them, suggesting that Antipater ought to be sent before long to Caesar’s court, Herod without a moment’s delay sent him off with a brilliant retinue, a large sum of money and his will, in which Antipater was named as heir to the throne, and Herod, the king’s son by Mariamme, the high-priest’s daughter, as Antipater’s successor.

(3) Syllaeus the Arab also set sail for Rome; he had disregarded Caesar’s orders and went to maintain against Antipater the case which he had previously pleaded against Nicolas. There was also a grave matter at issue between him and his own sovereign, Aretas, for he had put to death a number of that prince’s friends, including Soaemus, one of the most powerful personages in Petra. By a large bribe he secured the services of Fabatus, Caesar’s treasurer, whom he also employed to assist him against Herod. The latter, however, by even larger bribes, detached Fabatus from Syllaeus and endeavoured, through him, to exact from Syllaeus the penalty imposed by Caesar. But Syllaeus still refused to pay anything,

b Nicolas of Damascus had, in the course of an attempted mediation between Herod and Augustus (c. 7 B.C.), accused Syllaeus of treasonable designs (A. xvi. 335 ff., no parallel in B.).

c A. xvi. 352 f.
κατηγόρει Φαβάτου παρὰ Καίσαρι, διοικητήν εἶναι
λέγων οὗ τῶν ἐκεῖνω, τῶν δὲ Ἡρώδη συμ-
570 φερόντων. ἐφ' οἷς ὄργυσθεὶς Φάβατος, ἢν δ' ἦτο
παρὰ Ἡρώδη μᾶλιστα τιμώμενος, γίνεται προ-
δότης Συλλαίου τῶν ἀπορρήτων, τῷ τε βασιλεί
φησιν ὅτι Συλλάιος διαφθείρειν αὐτοῦ τῶν σωματο-
φύλακα Κόρινθον χρήμασιν, δὲν δὲι φυλαττεσθαι.
πεῖθεται δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς: καὶ γὰρ τέθραπτο μὲν ὁ
Κόρινθος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ, γείνος δ' ἦν Ἀραβ.
577 συλλαμβάνει δ' εὐθέως οὐκ αὐτὸν μόνον ἄλλα καὶ
dύο ἐτέρους Ἀραβας εὑρὼν παρ' αὐτῷ, τὸν μὲν
φιλον Συλλαίου τὸν δὲ φύλαρχον. οἱ δὲ βασανι-
ξόμενοι πείσαι Κόρινθον ὁμολόγησαν ἐπὶ πολλοὶς
χρήμασιν Ἡρώδην ἄνελεῖν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἀνα-
κριθέντες καὶ παρὰ Σατορίνῳ τῷ διέποντι τὴν
Συρίαν ἀνεπέμφθησαν εἰς Ῥώμην.
578 (4) Ἡρώδης δ' οὐκ ἀνίει Φερώραν βιαζόμενος
ἀπαλλαγῇν τῆς γυναικός, οὐδ' ἐπενόει μηχανήν
dι' ἣς ἢν τιμωρήσαντο τὴν ἀνθρωπον, πολλαὶ τοῦ
μίσους ἔχων αἰτίας, ἔως ὑπεραγανακτήσας σὺν
579.αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν ἐκβάλλει. Φερώρας δὲ
ἀγαπῆσας τὴν ὑβριν ἀπαλλάσσεται μὲν εἰς τὴν
ἐαυτοῦ τετραρχίαν ὁμόσας ὧρον ἔξειν ἓνα τῆς
φυγῆς τὸν Ἡρώδου θάνατον καὶ μηδέποτε πρὸς
zählτα ὑποστρέψεων, ἐπανήλθεν δὲ οὐδὲ πρὸς
νοσοῦντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ τοὺς λιπαρῶς μεταπε-
πόμενον ἐρούλετο γὰρ αὐτῷ τινάς ἐντολάς κατα-
580 λεῖψειν ὡς τεθυντόμενος. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παρ' ἐλπίδα
σώζεται, μετ' οὔ πολύ δὲ νοσεῖ Φερώρας, εὐρίσκετο

1 ὁ δ' ὁ δὲ Ρ.ΑΜ.
and furthermore accused Fabatus to Caesar, asserting that the emperor’s agent was acting not for his but for Herod’s interests. Indignant at this and still highly paid by Herod, Fabatus betrayed the secrets of Syllaeus, informing the king that he had by bribery corrupted Corinthus, one of his bodyguard, and warning him to be on his guard against this man. The king acted on this advice, knowing that this Corinthus, though brought up within his dominion, was an Arab by birth. He straightway had him arrested and with him two other Arabs, whom he discovered in his company, one a friend of Syllaeus, the other the chief of a tribe. Being put to the torture, these men confessed that Corinthus had by large bribes induced them to kill Herod. They were, accordingly, after being further examined by Saturninus, the governor of Syria, sent up for trial to Rome.

(1) Herod, meanwhile, never relaxed his efforts to compel Pheroras to divorce his wife. But, notwithstanding the abundant cause which he had for his hatred of the creature, he could devise no means of punishing her, until finally, in extreme indignation, he banished both her and his brother from the realm. Pheroras, accepting this affront with equanimity, departed to his own tetrarchy,\(^a\) swearing that the only limit to his exile should be Herod’s death, and that never, so long as his brother lived, would he return to him. Nor, in fact, would he revisit his brother, even during his illness, though urgently pressed to do so; for Herod, believing that he was dying, desired to leave him certain instructions. Herod, however, unexpectedly recovered, and not long after Pheroras himself fell sick; Herod thereupon dis-

\(^a\) Peraea (§ 483).
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δὲ Ἡρώδης μετριώτερος καὶ γὰρ ἦκει πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ συμπαθῶς ἔθεράπευεν. οὐ μὴν ὑπερίσχυσεν τοῦ πάθους· μετὰ γὰρ ἡμέρας ὅλιγας ἀποθνῄσκει

581 Φερώρας. δὴ καὶ περ ἡγαπήσας Ἡρώδης μέχρι τελευταίας ἡμέρας ὅμως καὶ αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν ἐφημίσθη φαρμάκως. τὸν γε μὴν νεκρὸν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα κομίσας πένθος τε μεγίστον ὅλω τῷ ἔδει κατηγγειλεν καὶ κηδείας ἦξισεν λαμπροτάτης. ἓνε μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀριστοβοῦλου φονεύων τοιοῦτον περιέρχεται τέλος.

582 (xxx. 1) Μετέβαινεν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐθεντὴν Ἀντιπάτρου η ὁ ποιή τὸν Φερώρα θάνατον ἄρχην λαβοῦσα. τῶν τούτων γὰρ τινας ἀπελευθέρων κατηφεῖς τῷ βασιλεὶ προσελθόντες τὸν ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ διεφθάρμα τοι φαρμακάς ἐλεγον προσενεγκεῖν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τῶν οὐ συνήθως ἐσκευασμένων, φαγόντα δὲ εὐθέως εἰς τὴν νόσον

553 καταπεσεῖν. ἀγγοχέναι τε πρὸ δυοῖν ἡμερῶν τὴν μητέρα ταύτης καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν γύναικαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας φαρμάκων ἐμπειρόν, ὅπως φίλτροι σκευάσῃ τῷ Φερώρα, δεδωκέναι δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦτοι θανάσιμον Συλλαίον πραγματευσαμένου τοῦτα γὰρ ἦν γνώριμον.

584 (2) Πληγείς δὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑποψίαις πλείοσι θεραπαίνας τε καὶ τινας τῶν ἔλευθερῶν ἑβασάνιζεν ἐβοῦ δὲ τις ἐν ταῖς ἀληθοῖς "θεὸς ὁ γῆν καὶ οὐρανὸν διέσω μετέλθοι τὴν τούτων ἕμιν τῶι κακῶν αἰτίαν, τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου μητέρα." ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς λαβόμενος ἐπεξήνευ τούς τῆν ἀληθείαν. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τῆς τε φιλίαν τῆς

1 αὐτῆς PM. 2 ἐπιζητῶν LTRC.
played greater humanity, for he went to him and affectionately tended him. But he could not cope with the malady, and a few days later Pheroras expired. Notwithstanding the love which Herod had for his brother to his dying day, a report was spread that he had poisoned even him. Anyhow, he had the corpse conveyed to Jerusalem, gave orders for a solemn national mourning, and honoured him with the most imposing funeral. Such was the end to which came one of the murderers of Alexander and Aristobulus.

(XXX. 1) But retribution was now, in turn, descending upon the real perpetrator of that crime, Antipater; this retribution arose out of the death of Pheroras. For certain freedmen of the deceased came, in dejection, to the king and informed him that his brother had been carried off by poison; his wife, they said, had served up to him some extraordinary concoction, after eating which he was immediately taken ill. They added that, two days before, her mother and sister had brought from Arabia a woman who was an expert in drugs, to make up a love-potion for Pheroras; but, instead of this, she had given him a deadly poison, at the instigation of Syllaeus, who knew her.

(2) Beset with all sorts of suspicions, the king put the women-servants and some ladies above that rank to the torture. One victim in her agonies exclaimed, “May God who governs earth and heaven punish the author of our present miseries, Antipater’s mother!” Clutching at this clue, the king pushed his search for the facts yet further. The woman

* Doris.
'Αντιπάτρος μητρός πρὸς Φερὼραν καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖνου γυναῖκας έδήλου καὶ τὰς λαθραίας αὐτῶν συνόδους, ὅτι τε Φερὼρας καὶ 'Αντιπατρὸς σὺν ἐκεῖναις πίνοιεν, ὑποστρέφοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, δι’ οἶλης νυκτὸς, μηδένα μήτε οἰκέτῃν μήτε θεράπαιναν ἐώντες παρατυγχάνειν. μία δὴ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ταῦτα μηνύει.

586 (3) Τὰς δὲ δούλας χωρὶς ἐκάστην Ἡρώδης εβασάνιζεν. ἑρρήθη δὲ παρὰ πάσαις τὰ προειρημένα σύμφωνα, καὶ διότι κατὰ συνθήκην 'Αντιπατρὸς μὲν εἰς 'Ρώμην, Φερὼρας δ’ ὑποχωρήσειεν εἰς τὴν Περαιάν: πολλάκις γὰρ αὐτοὺς διαλαλεῖν, ὥς μετ’ 'Αλέξανδρον καὶ 'Αριστοβούλου ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς Ἡρώδης μεταβήσεται καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας: οὐ γὰρ φείσεσθαι μετὰ Μαριάμμην καὶ τοὺς εἰς ἐκεῖνης ἐτέρου τυώς, ὡστε ἁμινυν εἶναι φεύγειν τὸς τοῦ θηρίου. πολλάκις δὲ ἀποδυρὸμενον πρὸς τὴν μητέρα τῶν 'Αντιπατρού εἰπεῖν ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς πολίος ἡδή, νεάζοι δὲ καθ’ ἡμέραν ὁ πατήρ, φθάσας δ’ ἃν τάχα καὶ τελευτῆσας πρὸς ἀρξασθαι βασιλείας ἀληθοῦς. εἰ δὲ καὶ ποτε ἐκείνος τελευτησεῖν, (πότε δ’ ἃν γένοιτο τοῦτο;) παντάπασιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῆς διαδοχῆς γίνεσθαι σύντομον. ὑποβλαστάνειν δὲ τὰς τῆς ὑδρας κεφάλας, τοὺς 'Αριστοβούλου καὶ 'Αλεξάνδρου παῖδας. ἀφηρήσθαι δ’ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τέκνους ἑλπίδα: διαδοχὸν γὰρ ὃ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ τινα παῖδων μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐκ Μαριάμμης Ἡρώδην γεγραφέναι. καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο γε παντάπασιν παραγγηραῖν οἰόμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ διαθήκας μενείν κυρίας: αὐτὸν γὰρ προνοήσειν μηδένα τῆς γενεὰς ἀπολυπεῖν. ὁντα
then revealed the intimacy of Antipater’s mother with Pheroras and the ladies of his family, and their clandestine meetings; she added that Pheroras and Antipater, on their return from the king, would pass the whole night drinking with those women, without allowing a single servant, male or female, to be present. This information was given by one of the ladies of rank.

(3) Herod had each of the slave girls separately tortured. All their evidence agreed with that already stated; they added that it was by a mutual arrangement that Antipater had withdrawn to Rome and Pheroras to Peraea; for they were constantly saying to each other, “After Alexander and Aristobulus, we and our wives will be Herod’s next victims. Having slain Mariamme and her offspring, he will spare none; so it will be better to flee as far as possible from the ferocious beast.” Antipater, they continued, would often complain to his mother that he was already grey-headed, while his father grew younger every day; he would perhaps be the first to die, before he began to be really king. Even supposing his father ever did die (and when would that be?) his enjoyment of his heritage must be extremely short. Then there were these hydra heads, the sons of Aristobulus and Alexander, shooting up. His father had robbed him of his hopes for his children, by nominating as the next heir to the throne not one of his own children, but Herod, the son of Mariamme. In that at least he betrayed his extreme senility, if he supposed that that part of his will would stand; for he, Antipater, would take good care to leave none of the family alive. Never had

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1 +τῆς ΑΜ.  
2 Bekker: φείδασθαι mss.
γε μὴν τῶν πώποτε πατέρων μισοτεκνότατον Ἡρώδην πολὺ μάλλον εἶναι μισάδελφον· δοῦναι γοῦν αὐτῷ πρώην ἐκατὸν τάλαντα ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ δια-λέγεσθαι Φερώρα. τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος "τι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐβλάπτομεν;" ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν Ἀντί-πατρον "εἴθε πάνθη ἡμᾶς ἀφελόμενος γυμνοὺς ἔσευεν ξόντας· ἀλλ' ἀμήχανον ἐκφυγεὶν οὕτω φονικὸν θηρίον, παρ' ὃ μηδὲ φιλεὶν τινας ἐξεστὶ φανερῶς. λάθρα γοῦν νῦν ἄλληλοις σύνεσμεν, ἐξέσται δὲ φανερῶς, εὰν σχῶμεν ποτ' ἀνδρῶν φρόνιμα καὶ χειρὰς."

590 (1) Ἒλεγον αἱ βασανίζομεναι, καὶ ὅτι Φερώρας βουλεύσατο φυγεῖν μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς Πέτραν. ἐπίστευσεν δ' Ἡρώδης πάσιν τοῖς λεγο-μένοις ἐκ τῶν ἐκατόν τάλαντων· μόνῳ γὰρ Ἀντί-πάτρῳ διείλεκτο περὶ αὐτῶν. ἀποσκήπτει δ' εἰς πρῶτην ὁ θυμὸς Δωρίδα τὴν Ἀντίπατρον μητέρα· καὶ γυμνώσας αὐτὴν παντὸς οὗ δεδώρητο κόσμου, πολλῶν δ' ἦν ταλάντων, ἐκβάλλει δεύτερον. τὰς δὲ Φερώρου γυναῖκας ἀπὸ τῶν βασάνων ἐτημέλει δυσλαγμένας. ἐπτότο δὲ τῷ φόβῳ καὶ πρὸς πάσαν ὑπόνοιαν ἐξερρυπώτετο, πολλοὺς τε τῶν οὐκ αἰτίων ἐκλεκὴν εἰς βασανίσως, δεδουκός μὴ τινα τῶν αἰτίων παραλίπη.

592 (5) Καὶ τούτῳ τρέπεται πρὸς τὸν Σαμαρείτην Ἀντίπατρον, ὡς ἦν ἐπίτροπος Ἀντίπατρον. βα-σανίζων δὲ αὐτοῦ ἤκουσεν ὅτι μετεπέμψατο μὲν Ἀντίπατρος ἐξ Αἰγύπτου δηλητηρίου φάρμακον ἐπ' αὐτὸν διὰ τινος τῶν ἑταίρων Ἀντιφίλου, λάβοι δὲ παρ' ἐκείνου Θεουλίων ὁ θεῖος Ἀντίπατρον καὶ

1 Dindorf: ἐάσει γε or ἐάσει mss.
2 φιλος PAM Heg.: for text cf. A. xvii. 70.

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father so hated his children, yet Herod hated his brother far more; only the other day he had given him (Antipater) a hundred talents to break off all intercourse with Pheroras. And when Pheroras remarked, "Why, what harm were we doing him?" he had replied: "Would to heaven he would rob us of everything and leave us to live in nakedness. But it is impossible to escape so blood-thirsty a beast, who will not even allow us to show affection for anyone. Now we must meet in secret; we shall be able to do so openly, if ever we possess the courage and arms of men."

(4) To these revelations the tortured women added that Pheroras had had designs of flying with them to Petra. Herod believed all these statements because of the detail of the hundred talents, which he had mentioned to none but Antipater. The first to feel the explosion of his wrath was Doris, Antipater's mother; he stripped her of all the finery which he had bestowed on her and for the second time dismissed her from court. With the ladies of Pheroras's household he made his peace and showed them special attentions after their tortures. But he was scared with fright and flared up at the least suspicion, and many innocent persons were haled by him to torture, for fear that a single culprit should escape him.

(5) His attention was now directed to Antipater, the Samaritan, agent to his son Antipater. From him, under torture, he learnt that Antipater had procured from Egypt, through Antiphilus, one of his companions, a deadly poison intended for the king; that from Antiphilus it had passed into the hands of Theudion, Antipater's uncle, who had delivered it
παραδοίη Φερώρα· τούτω γάρ ἐντείλασθαί τὸν Ἀντίπατρον Ἡρώδην ἀνελεῖν ἐως αὐτὸς ἐστιν ἐν Ἡρώμη τῆς υπονοιας κεχωρισμένος. Φερώραν 593 δὲ τῇ γνωαικὶ παραθέσαται τὸ φάρμακον. ταύτην ὅνι· οἱ βασιλεὺς μεταπεμφάμενος αὐτίκα τὸ ληφθὲν ἐκελεύσεν κομίζειν. ἢ δ’ ἐξεισὶ μὲν ὡς κομίζουσα, ρίπτει δ’ ἐαυτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους τὸν τε ἐλεγχον καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως αἰκίαν φθάνουσα· προνοία δ’, ὡς έουκεν, θεοὺ μετιόντος Ἀντίπατρον ὅνι ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ θάτερα πεσοῦντα δια- 594 σώζεται. κομισθείςαν δ’ αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνακτησάμενος, κεκάρωτο γάρ ἀπὸ τοῦ πτώματος, ἡρῶτα δ’ ἦν αὐτίαν ρίψειν ἐαυτὴν, εἰ μὲν εἴποι τάλθες, ἀφήσειν πάσης τιμωρίας ἐπομνύμενος, εἰ δ’ ὑποστείλατο, δαπανήσει αὐτῆς ἐν βασάνοις τὸ σώμα καὶ μηδὲ τὰφοι καταλεύσειν. 595 (6) Πρὸς ταῦθ’ ἡ γυνὴ μικρὸν διαλιποῦσα † καὶ τί γὰρ,” εἶπεν, † ἐμὶ χείδομαι τῶν ἀπορρήτων, Φερώρα τεθνεῶτος; ἡ δ’ σώζουσα τὸν ἀπολέσαντα πάντας ἡμᾶς Ἀντίπατρον; ἄκουε, βασιλεῦ, καὶ μετὰ σοῦ θεὸς ὁ μάρτυς ἐμοὶ τῆς ἀληθείας πλανη- 596 θῆμαι μὴ δυνάμενος. οτε ἀποθνησκοῦντι Φερώρα παρεκαθέσεοι δεδακρυμένοι, τότε με προσκαλεσά- μενος ἑκεῖνος † ἡ πολὺ γε,’ ἐφη, † ὃ γύναι, τῆς εἰς ἐμαυτὸν διανοίας τοῦ ἀδελφὸν διήμαρτον, τοῖς οὔτως στέργοντα μισήσας καὶ κτείναι βουλευ- σάμενος τοὺς οὔτως ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ μηδὲ τεθνεῶτί πω συγχεόμενον. ἀλλ’ ἔγω μὲν ἀπέχω τῆς ἀσεβείας τὸ ἐπιτίμιον, σὺ δ’ ὁ φυλάσσεις κατ’ αὐτοῦ φάρ- μακον ὑπ’ Ἀντιπάτρον καταλείψθεν ἡμῖν φέρε καὶ βλέποντός μου ταχέως ἀφάνισον, ἵνα μὴ καὶ καθ’ 1 ΛΜ Lat.: om. the rest. 2 ἡ conj.: ἡ MSS.
to Pheroras, since it was he whom Antipater had commissioned to kill Herod while he himself was at Rome and out of the way of suspicion; and that Pheroras had entrusted the poison to his wife. The king sent for her and ordered her instantly to produce what she had received. She went out, as though to fetch it, and then flung herself from the roof, in order to evade conviction and the king's rack. However, by the providence, it seems, of God, whose vengeance was pursuing Antipater, she fell not on her head, but on another part of her body, and was not killed. She was carried to the king, who had restoratives applied, as she was stunned by the fall; he then asked her why she had thrown herself from the roof, and swore that, if she told the truth, he would exempt her from all punishment, but, if she prevaricated, he would tear her body to pieces with tortures and leave not a limb for burial.

(6) At this the woman hesitated an instant and then replied: "After all, why should I longer guard these secrets, now that Pheroras is dead? Merely to save Antipater who has been the ruin of us all? Listen to me, O king, and may God hear me too, a witness to the truth of my words who cannot be deceived! At the time when you were sitting weeping beside the dying Pheroras, he called me to him and said, 'Much have I been mistaken, my wife, in my brother's feelings towards me; I hated him who loves me so tenderly; I plotted to kill him who is so overwhelmed with grief for me even before my death. I am but receiving the reward of my impiety; as for you, bring that poison which Antipater left us, and you are keeping for his destruction, and promptly destroy it under my eyes, lest I carry away..."
597 άδου φέρομαι τούν ἀλάστορα. \(\text{καὶ κελεύσατος} \) 
ἐκόμισα καὶ πλείστον μὴν εἰς τὸ πῦρ ὅρωντος \(\text{αὐτοῦ κατεκένωσα, βραχῦ} \) 
δὲ ἐμαυτῇ πρὸς τὸ ἀδηλα καὶ τὸν ἐκ σοῦ φόβον ἐτήρησα.'

599 (7) Ταύτ' εἰποῦσα προκομίζει τὴν πυξίδα πανταπασιν ἔχουσαν τοῦ φαρμάκου βραχῦ. 
βασιλεὺς δ' ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Ἀντιφίλου καὶ τὸν ἀδελφοῦ 
τὰς βασάνους μετέφερεν, κἀκεῖνοι τὸν Ἀντιφίλου 
κομίσαι τε ἅπ' Ἀιγύπτου τὴν πυξίδα ὠμολόγουν 
καὶ λαβεῖν παρ' ἀδελφοῦ τὸ φάρμακον ἐφασκοῦν

600 ἰατρεύοντος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. περιόντες δὲ οἱ 
Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀριστοβουλίου δαίμονες ἀπαν 
το βασίλειον ἐρευνηταί τε καὶ μηνυταί τῶν ἀδήλων 
ἔγινοντο, τοὺς τε πορρωτάτως τῆς υποψίας ὡντα 
ἐσυρον εἰς τοὺς ἐλέγχους. εὐρίσκεται γοῦν καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιερέως 
θυγάτηρ Μαριάμμη τῆς ἐπιβουλῆ 
συνίστωρ· βασανίζομενοι γὰρ τούτ' ἀπέδειξα

601 αὐτὴς οἱ ἀδελφοί. βασιλεὺς δὲ τῆς μητρώας τὸλ 
μή καὶ τὸν ὑῖόν ἦμυνατο· τὸν γοῦν ἐξ αὐτῆ 
'Ἡρώδην, ὅντα διάδοχον Ἀντιπάτρου, τῆς διὰ 
θήκης ἐξήλευσεν.

602 (xxxi. 1) Ἐπὶ τούτως καὶ Βάθυλλος εἰς τοὺ 
ἐλέγχους συνέδραμεν, ή τελευταία πίστις τῶ 
Ἀντιπάτρῳ βεβουλευμένως· ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἀπελευ 
θερος αὐτοῦ, κομίζων δ' ἦκεν ἀλλο δηλητήριον 
ιοὺς ἀσπίδων καὶ χυλοὺς ἐτέρων ἐρπτῶν, ἢν ε 
τὸ πρῶτον ἀσθενήσει φάρμακον, τοῦτος Φερώρα 
μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ὁπλίσατο κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως

1 ἀσθενήσει Dindorf.
my command. And I bid thee without more delay make speed to Egypt, pressing forward by night and day, and by no dallying to prolong the time for the Hebrews, now suffering in servitude."

(4) Moses, unable to doubt the promises of the Deity, after having seen and heard such confirmation of them, prayed and entreated that he might be vouchsafed this power in Egypt; he also besought Him not to deny him the knowledge of His name, but, since he had been granted speech with Him and vision of Him, further to tell him how He should be addressed, so that, when sacrificing, he might invoke Him by name to be present at the sacred rites. Then God revealed to him His name, which ere then had not come to men's ears, and of which I am forbidden to speak. Moreover, Moses found those miracles at his service not on that occasion only but at all times whensoever there was need of them; from all which tokens he came to trust more firmly in the oracle from he fire, to believe that God would be his gracious protector, and to hope to be able to deliver his people and to bring disaster upon the Egyptians.

(xiii. 1) Accordingly, on learning that the king of Egypt, the Pharaohes under whom he had fled the country, was dead, he besought Raguel to permit him or the welfare of his countrymen to go to Egypt; and, taking with him Sapphora, his wife, daughter of Raguel, and the children whom he had by her, Gêrsos donai (lxx Kópios) was employed, and JHVH in Hebrew ss. was written with the vowels of the latter, to indicate Read Adonai”; hence, through later neglect of the intention of the scribes, arose the form Jehovah, which has acquired a sacredness of its own, but in its origin is a hybrid.

b Bibl. Zipporah (lxx Σεπφωρα).
ιππος βασιλέως παίδες ἐπὶ Ὁ ῥώμης παιδευόμενοι, 603 μειράκια τε ἤδη καὶ φρονήματος μεστοί, τούτους ἐπανακύπτοντας αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐλπίσις ἀποσκευάσασθαι σπεύδων Ἀντίπατρος ἃς μὲν πλάττεται κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιστολὰς ἐξ ὀνόματι τῶν ἐπὶ Ὁ ῥώμης φιλῶν, οὐς δὲ ἐπειθεὶς γράφαι διαφθέρασ χρήμασιν, ὡς πολλὰ μὲν βλασφημοῖς τὸν πατέρα, φανερῶς δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον ὀδύρωντο, πρὸς δὲ τὴν μετάκλησιν ἀγανακτοίες ἦδη γὰρ 1 αὐτοὺς ὁ πατήρ μετεπέμπτετο, καὶ τοῦτο ἢν τὸ μάλιστα ταράσσον Ἀντίπατρον.

604 (2) Ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀποδημίας ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ μένων τουαύτας κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Ὁ ῥώμης ἡγόραζεν ἐπιστολὰς, προσιών τε ὡς ἀνύποπτος εἰη τῷ πατρὶ περὶ τῶν ἄδελφων 2 ἀπελογεῖτο, ὁ ταῖς μὲν ψευδή λέγοις εἶναι τῶν γραφομένων, ὁ δὲ νεότητος ἀμαρτήματα. τηνικαύτα γε μὴν τοῖς γράφοντο κατὰ τῶν ἄδελφων πλεῖστα δοὺς χρήματα συμφύρει ἐπειράτο τὸν ἑλεγχον, ἐσθητάς τε πολυτελείς καὶ στρωμνὰς ποικίλας ἐκπώματα τε ἀγυρά καὶ χρυσὰ συνωνομένοις ἀλλα τε πολλὰ τῶν κειμηλίων, ἵνα τῷ πλῆθει τῆς εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνης τοὺς εἰς ἐκεῖνα μισθοὺς ἐγκατακρύψῃ 3. διακόσια γοῦν ἀναλώματος ἀνήργευκεν τάλαντα, καὶ τούτων μεγίστη 605 πρόφασις ἢν ἢ πρὸς Συλλαίον δίκη. πάντων δ' αὐτοῦ τότε καὶ τῶν βραχυτέρων ἐν τῷ μείζονι κακῷ διακαλυφθέντων, ὅθ' αἰ μὲν βάσανοι πάσαι

1 γὰρ Niese from Lat.: δ' or δὲ mss.
2 The alternative reading of LTRC καὶ προσιών τέως ἀνύποπτος ἢν τῷ πατρὶ περὶ τῶν ἄδελφων δὲ ("and then, while as yet his father had no suspicion of him, would go to him and" etc.) is specious.
3 LTRC Lat.: εγκαταγράψῃ PAM (perhaps rightly).
sons of the king, now growing lads and full of manly spirit, were receiving their education in Rome. Anxious to rid himself of these scions springing up to dash his hopes, Antipater forged several letters to injure their injury in the name of their friends in Rome, while he prevailed on others by bribery to write that the young princes were constantly railing at their father, publicly deploring the fate of Alexander and Aristobulus, and indignant at their own recall; for their father was now summoning them back, and it was this fact which caused Antipater the greatest uneasiness.

(2) Even before his departure abroad, Antipater, while still in Judaea, used to procure, at a price, the sending of such letters of abuse of his brothers written in Rome, and then, in order to avoid suspicion, would go to his father and make excuses for his brothers, urging that such and such statements were false, while other matters mentioned were mere youthful indiscretions. Now, in Rome, having to pay immense sums to the writers of these letters against his brothers, his efforts were directed to confusing the evidence of such outlay. To this end he bought up costly apparel, embroidered carpets, uppers of silver and gold, and many other precious objects, in order to conceal under the enormous total of these outgoings the wages paid for the other affair. His returns showed an expenditure of 200 talents, of which the greater part was put down to his suit with Syllaeus. But now, though even all these petty knaveries were exposed with the larger rime, now when every fresh torture was loudly
t'hv patroktovian, ai d' episotola d'evteras adefoktonias kekragesan, omws oudeis twn eis 'Rwmh aviknoymewn aiptygeilei autw tas ev Ioudaia tuxas, kaito metaex twv eloguewn kai tis 'epanoudi diekhtontwn epta mhnw' tosoouto

607 pros auton ek pantwn misos hyn. tacha kai tous apagyellew proorphmenous oi twv anherhmewn daimones adefawv efymonw. grafei gouv anpo 'Rwmh afigxwn euavtoin taceian evanggeleiomevno, kai wsi upo Kaiparos meta timis apoluthi.

608 (3) O basileus de eis cheiras labein stpeudwn tov epiboulon kai dedoukws mh pote proynous fyladzetai, di' episotolhs anvupekerinento, ta te alla philofronoumenos kai stpeudew parakalwv thsesei gar autou kai tas pros thn mhtera mevies epieixhentoj. ou gar hynoei thn ekbolh ths mhtros 'Antipatros. proteron mewn oun elhfei thn peri ths Ferwra telenths episotolhn ei Taranthi kai megiston epoysasto penhos, o tines wos ep' theiw kathumwv, hyn d', wsi eoikey, epi diamartia ths epiboulhs h sychvusi kai oI Ferwran klaiontos, allta ton uphretin. ndh de kai fobos epehei tis auton ton tetelamewn, mp

610 pote fwarthei to faramakon. tote d' en Kilkis labwv hiv proerhkmewn para tov patros epistolhn parachyma men espwden, wos d' eis Kelen- derin katepliei, lamvanei tis auton ennoia twi peri thn mhtera kavov, proamanteuomevns ndh kai

On the borders of Pamphylia and Cilicia. Reinacl suspects some confusion as Celenderis was the first port in Cilicia which he would reach.

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proclaiming him a parricide, when the letters were revealing him as once more a fratricide, none the less not one of the visitors to Rome told him of the turn of his fortunes in Judaea, although seven months elapsed between his conviction and his return; so intense was the hatred which all bore him. Perhaps, moreover, the lips of those who were minded to speak were sealed by the spirits of his murdered brothers. However that may be, he wrote from Rome to announce the good news of his early return and of the honours paid to him by Caesar in taking leave of him.

(3) The king, impatient to lay hands on the conspirator and fearing that he might be forewarned and on his guard, replied in an equally dissembling letter, couched in affectionate terms and bidding him hasten his return; because, if he made speed, added Herod, he would be prepared to relinquish his complaints against his mother. For Antipater was not ignorant of her dismissal from court. He had previously received at Tarentum a letter announcing the death of Pheroras and had displayed the profoundest grief, for which some applauded him, attributing it to the loss of an uncle; but his emotion, it seems, was due to the failure of the plot: he wept not for Pheroras but for his accomplice. He was, moreover, already alarmed at the thought of his past proceedings: had the poison been discovered? But now, when he received in Cilicia the above mentioned letter from his father, he instantly pressed on. However, as he was entering the harbour of Celenderis,\(^a\) the thought of his mother's disgrace came over him, and even without such prompting \(^b\) his soul had already

\(^{a}\) Perhaps "involuntarily," \textit{proprio motu}.
JOSEPHUS

611 καθ' έαυτήν τής ψυχής. οἱ μὲν οὖν προμηθέστεροι τῶν φίλων συνεβούλευον μὴ πρότερον ἐμπίπτειν τῷ πατρί πρὶν πυθέσθαι σαφῶς δι' ἂς αἰτίας ἔξεβαλεν αὐτοῦ τῇ τήν μητέρα· δεδεῖναι γάρ, μὴ ποτὲ προσθήκη γένοιτο τῶν κατ’ εκείνης διαβολῶν. οἱ δὲ ἀσκεπτότεροι καὶ τῆν πατρίδα σπεύδοντες ἰδεῖν μᾶλλον ἡ τὸ συμφέρον 'Ἀντιπάτρω σκοποῦντες, ἐπείγεσθαι παρῆκαν καὶ μὴ τῇ μελλήσει παρασχεῖν τῷ πατρὶ μὲν υποψίαν φαύλην, τοῖς διαβάλλουσι δὲ ἀφορμήν· καὶ γὰρ νῦν, εἰ τι κεκίνηται κατ' αὐτοῦ, παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν γέγονεν· μηδὲ γὰρ ἂν τολμήσαι παρὸντος· ἀτοπον δ' εἶναι δὲ ἀδήλιον υποψίαν προδήλων ἀγαθῶν στερίσκεσθαι, καὶ μὴ θάττων ἀποδοῦναι μὲν ἐαυτόν τῷ πατρί, κομίσασθαι δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ μόνῳ σαλεύονσαν.

612 πείθεται τούτοις, ἐνῆγεν γὰρ τὸ δαιμόνιον, καὶ διαπεράσας εἰς τὸν Σεβαστόν λιμένα τῆς Καισα-ρείας κατάγεται.

613 (4) Παρυπήνυσεν δ' αὐτῷ παρὰ δοξαν ἑρημία πολλή, πάντων ἐκτρεπομένων καὶ μηδενὸς προσ-ιέναι τολμῶντος· ἐμισείτο μὲν γὰρ ἐπίσης, καὶ τότε φανήθη εἰς τὸ μίσος ἐσχεν παρρησίαιν, πολλοὺς δὲ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως φόβος ἀπέστρεψεν, ἕπειδὴ πᾶσα πόλις ἦδη τῆς κατ' 'Ἀντιπάτρου φήμης πεπλήρωτο καὶ μόνος ἦγνοεί τὰ κατ' αὐτῶν· 'Αντι-πατρὸς· οὔτε δὲ προπεμβηθε λαμπρότερον τις ἑκείνων πλέοντος ἔτι 'Ῥώμης οὔτε ἀτιμότερον

615 ὑπεδέχθη. ὁ δὲ ἦδη μὲν ἐνενόει τὸς οἶκος συμ-φοράς, ἔτι δὲ ἐκ πανουργίας ὑπεκρύπτετο καὶ τῶ

1 ΡΔ: ἀπέστρεψεν the rest.
2 καθ' ἐαυτὸν LTR.
a premonition of the future. The more far-sighted of his friends advised him not to put himself into his father's clutches until he had clearly ascertained the reasons for his mother's dismissal, as they feared that his arrival might only serve to swell the charges against her. But the less reflective, anxious rather to see their native country than to serve Antipater's interests, urged him to push on and not by procrastinating to afford his father ground for sinister suspicions and his traducers a handle for calumny. "Even supposing," they said, "any intrigue against you is now on foot, it is because of your absence; none would have ventured on such a thing had you been there. It is absurd to let vague suspicions rob you of certain happiness, and not to run to your father's arms to receive the kingdom which is tottering on his unaided shoulders." Antipater, under the impulse of his evil genius, followed their advice, and sailing across landed at the port of Augustus, at Caesarea.

(4) Here he found a solitude, unlooked for, profound, and ominous; all avoided him, none ventured to approach him. For, equally hated though he had always been, this hatred was now at liberty to show itself. Moreover, fear of the king kept many aloof, for every city by now was full of the Antipater scandal, and the only person ignorant how he stood was Antipater himself. No man ever had a more brilliant escort than his when he sailed for Rome, none on return a more ignominious reception. Divining now the disasters which had befallen at home, he still maintained a crafty dissimulation and,

*a* Or perhaps "feared that there might have been some addition to the charges."  
*b* Or "as he was by all."
δει τεθνήκως ενδοθεν σοβαρός είναι το πρόσωπον
616 εβιάζετο. φυγή δ' ουκέτι ην ουδ' εκ των περι-
εχόντων ανάδυσις, και σαφές μεν ουδέν1 τι των
οικοθεν ἀπηγγέλλετο διὰ την εκ τοῦ βασιλέως
ἀπειλήν, ὑπελείπετο δὲ ἐλπὶς ἰλαρωτέρα, τάχα
μὲν μηδὲν πεφωράσθαι, τάχα δ', εἰ τι καὶ πε-
φώραται, διασκενάσειν ἀναίδεια καὶ δόλοις, ἀπερ
ην αυτῷ μόνα τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας ἑφόδια.
617 (5) Φραζάμενος οὖν αυτοὶς ήκεν εἰς τὸ βασιλείον
dίχα τῶν φίλων· οὗτοι γὰρ υβρισθέντες ἐπὶ τοῦ
πρώτου πυλῶν τις δεχόμενοι ἐπὶ τοῦ
Οὐαροῦ δὲ τῆς Συρίας ἑγεμών. τις δὲ εἴδομεν τὸς
τὸν πατέρα καὶ τῆ τόλμη παρακροτήσας ἑαυτὸν
ἕγοικεν ὡς ἀσπασόμενος. κάκεινος τάς χείρας
προβαλῶν καὶ τήν κεφαλὴν παρακλίνας, "ἔστιν,"
ἐξεβόησεν, "καὶ τούτῳ πατροκτόνῳ τῷ περι-
πλέκεσθαι μοι θέλειν ἐν τηλικαύταις αἵτίαις ὄντα.
φθείρον, δυσσεβεστάτῃ κεφαλῇ, μηδὲ μοι σαῦσης
πρῶν ἀποσκευάσασθαι τὰ ἐγκλήματα. δίδωμι δέ
σοι δικαστήριου καὶ δικαστὴν εὐκαίρως ἐκοντα
Οὐαροῦ. θὰ καὶ σκέπτου τὴν ἀπολογίαν εἰς αὐριον
παρέχω γὰρ σοῦ2 καιρὸν τοῖς πανουργεύμασιν.3"
619 πρὸς ταύτα μηδὲν ὑπ’ ἐκπλήξεως ἀποκρίνασθαι
dυνηθεῖς αὐτῶς ὑπέστρεψεν, παραγενόμεναι δὲ πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἐκδηγήσαντο πάντας τοὺς ἐλέγχους ἤ τε
μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ. καὶ τὸτε μὲν ἀνανήψας ἐν
σκέψει τῆς ἀπολογίας ἤν.

1 οὐδὲ ἐκεῖ LTRC Lat. 2 οἱ Naber. 3 πανουργήμασι AMLR.
though dead with fright at the bottom of his heart, contrived to preserve an imposing exterior. There was no longer any possibility of flight or retreat from the perils encompassing him. However, he had received no definite tidings of events at the palace—owing to the king's threats against informers—and he still cherished a ray of hope: perhaps nothing had been discovered, perhaps, even if anything had been discovered, he might mend matters by effrontery and guile, his sole means of salvation.

(5) Armed, then, with these weapons he entered the palace, without his friends, for they had been insolently stopped at the outer gate. At the time there was a visitor within—Varus,\(^a\) the governor of Syria. Antipater proceeded to his father's presence and, seeking courage in audacity, approached as though to kiss him. Herod, with arms extended and head averted, cried out: "That too betrays the parricide: he would embrace me, with such accusations against him! Perdition take thee, most impious wretch, and touch me not until you have cleared yourself of the charges. I offer you a tribunal and for judge this timely visitor, Varus. Go and prepare your defence for to-morrow; I leave you that interval for your artifices." Unable through consternation to utter a word in reply, Antipater withdrew, and his mother and his wife\(^b\) came to him and told him in detail of all the evidence against him. Then he collected himself and applied himself to preparing his defence.

\(^a\) P. Quintilius Varus, \textit{legatus} of Syria c. 6–4 B.C., afterwards slain by Arminius and the Germans at the battle of Teutoburg.

\(^b\) The daughter of Herod's predecessor Antigonus, \textit{A. xvii. 92}, not his other wife, the daughter of Aristobulus (§ 565).
Τῇ δ' ἔπιούσῃ συνέδριον μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀθροίζει τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων, εἰσκαλεὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀντιπάτρον φίλους προκαθέξεται δὲ αὐτὸς ἀμα Οὐάρῳ καὶ τοὺς μηνυτάς πάντας εἴκελευσεν εἰσαγαγεῖν, ἐν οἷς εἰσήχθησαν καὶ τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου μητρὸς οἴκεται τινὲς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ συνειλημμένοι, κομίζωντες γράμματα παρ' αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν τοιᾶδε: "ἐπεί πεφώραται πάντα ἐκεῖνα τῷ πατρί σου, μὴ παραγίνου πρὸς αὐτόν, ἂν μὴ τινα πορίσῃ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος δύναμιν." τούτων σὺν τοῖς ἀλλοίς εἰσηγημένων Ἀντιπάτρος εἰσέρχεται καὶ πεσὼν πρῆνής πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ πατρός, "ἰκετεύω, πάτερ," ἐφη, "μηδὲν μου προκατεγρωκέναι, παρασχεῖν δὲ μοι τὰς ἀκοὰς ἀκεράίους εἰς τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἀποδείξω γὰρ ἐμαυτὸν καθαρὸν, ἂν σὺ θέλῃς."

(2) Ὁ δ' αὐτῷ σιγὰν ἐγκραγὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐάρον εἶπεν: "ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν καὶ σὺ, Οὐαρε, καὶ πᾶς δικαστὴς ὁσίος Ἀντιπάτρον ἐξώλη κρινεῖ, πέπεισμαι. δέδοικα δὲ μὴ κάμοι μισήσῃς τὴν τύχην, κἀμε κρύπης πάσης ἀξίων συμφοράς τοιούτους υἱοὺς γεγεννηκότα. χρῆ δὲ με διὰ τοῦτο ἐλεεῖσθαι πλέον, ὅτι πρὸς οὕτω μιαροὺς καὶ φιλο-

στοργότατος πατήρ ἐγενόμην. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ προτέρους βασιλείας τε ἐπὶ νέους ἀξίωσας καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἐν Ρώμῃ τροφείοις φίλους Καίσαρος, ξηλωτοὺς δὲ ποιήσας βασιλεύσαν ἐτέροις, εὐρον ἐπιβούλους, οἱ σεβηθήσας τὸ πλέον Ἀντιπάτρων νέω γάρ οὕτω καὶ διαδόχω τοῦτω μάλιστα τὴν ἁσφα-

λειαν ἐποριζόμην. τὸ δὲ μιαρὸν τοῦτο θηρίον τῆς ἐμῆς υπερεμπλήθεσθεν ἀνεξικακίας ἦνεγκεν κατ' ἐμοῦ

1 ἐπείπερ LTRC. 2 κεκραγὼς (sic) PA.
On the following day the king assembled a council of his relatives and friends, inviting Antipater's friends to attend as well. He himself presided, with Varus, and ordered all the informers to be produced. Among these were some domestics of Antipater's mother, recently arrested in the act of carrying a letter from her to her son in these terms: "As your father has discovered all, do not come near him, unless you have obtained support from Caesar." When these witnesses had been brought in with the rest, Antipater entered and, falling prostrate at his father's feet, said: "I beseech you, father, do not condemn me in advance, but lend an unprejudiced ear to my defence; for I shall, if you permit, establish my innocence."

(2) Herod burst out upon him to be silent and then addressed Varus: "That you, Varus, and every honest judge will condemn Antipater as an abandoned criminal, I am fully persuaded. What I fear is that my fate may also appear hateful to you and that you may judge me deserving of every calamity for having begotten such sons. And yet you ought rather to pity me for having been the most devoted of fathers to such abominable wretches. My late sons, whom when they were quite young I thought fit to destine for the throne, whom I not only expensively educated in Rome, but introduced to Caesar's friendship, and made an object of envy to other sovereigns, these I found to be conspirators. They have died, mainly to further Antipater's interests: he was young, he was the heir, and to secure him was the object which I had most at heart. And now this foul monster, gorged with the benefits of my for-
τὸν κόρον· ἐδοξά γάρ αὐτῷ πολὺν ξῆν χρόνον, καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν γῆρας ἐβαρύνθη, βασιλεὺς τῷ οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν εἰ μή διὰ πατροκτονίας γενέσθαι, δίκαια γοὺς βουλευσάμενος, ὡς καταγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἀπερριμένου καὶ παρωσάμενος τοὺς ἐκ βασιλίδος μοι γεγεννημένους ἀπέδειξα τῆς
625 ἀρχῆς διάδοχον. ἐξομολογούμαι σοι, Ὁὐαρε, τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ φρενοβλάβειαν· ἐγὼ [γάρ]¹ τοὺς νῦν ἐκείνους κατ᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ παρώξυνα, δίκαια αὐτῶν ἀποκόψας ἔλπιδας δι᾽ Ἀντίπατρον. καὶ τί μὲν ἐκείνους εὐεργέτησα τηλικοῦτον, ἥλικον τοῦτον; ὦ γε ξῶν μὲν ὅλιγον δεῖν παρεχώρησα τῆς ἔξωσίας, φανερῶς δὲ ταῖς διαθήκαις ενέγραψα τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον καὶ πρόσοδον μὲν ἵδια πεντήκοντα ταλάντων ένειμα, τῶν δὲ ἐμῶν ἐχορήγησα χρημάτων ἀνέδην, πλέοντι δὲ νῦν εἰς 'Ρώμην ἐδωκα τρικόσια τάλαντα, Καίσαρι δὲ εὖ ὄλης τῆς γενεᾶς
626 μόνον ὡς σωτῆρα τοῦ πατρὸς παρεθέμην. τί δὲ ἐκείνου τοιοῦτον ἱσέβησαν, οἳον Ἀντίπατρος; ἡ τίς ἔλεγχος ἴηνεκήθη κατ᾽ αὐτῶν, ἥλικος ἀπό-
627 δεικνύσων τοῦτον ἐπίβουλον; ἀλλὰ φθέγγεσθαι τι τετόλμηκεν ὁ πατροκτόνος καὶ πάλιν δόλοις τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐπικαλύψεις ἐλπίζει. Ὁὐαρε, σοι φυλακτέον· ἐγὼ [μὲν]³ γὰρ οἶδα τὸ θηρίον καὶ προ-
ορώμαι τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀξιοπιστίαν καὶ τὸν ἐπι-
πλαστὸν ὀλοφυρμόν. οὕτως ἐστιν ὁ παρανύων ἐμοί ποτε φυλάττεσθαι ζῶντα Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ μὴ πᾶσιν πιστεύων τὸ σῶμα· οὕτως ὁ μέχρι τῆς κοίτης εἰςάγων καὶ μὴ μὲ τὸς ἐνεδρεύον περί-
βλέπων· οὕτως ὁ παμίας τῶν ὑπνῶν καὶ χορήγος 
τῆς ἀμερμνίας, ὁ παραμυθούμενος τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς

¹ P: om. the rest.

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bearance, has turned his bloated insolence upon me. He thought me too long-lived; my old age oppressed him; he could not endure the idea of becoming king by other means than parricide. Justly indeed has he served me for bringing him back, a castaway, from the country, ousting the sons whom a princess bore me and declaring him heir to the throne! I admit, Varus, my own infatuation. It was I who exasperated those sons against me by cutting off their just expectations in the interests of Antipater. When did I ever indulge them as I have this scoundrel? To him in my own lifetime I well nigh resigned my power; I nominated him in my will, in the public eye, heir to the throne; I assigned him a private income of fifty talents, apart from liberal contributions from my personal revenues; recently, when he set sail for Rome, I presented him with three hundred talents, and recommended him to Caesar, alone of all my children, as his father's preserver. What crime did those others commit comparable to that of Antipater? Or what proof was brought against them so convincing as that which establishes this traitor's guilt?

"However, this parricide has presumed to open his mouth, hoping once more to smother the truth under his wiles. Varus, you must be on your guard. I know the creature and foresee the plausible pleading, the hypocritical lamentations, that are to follow. This is the man who, in former days, when Alexander was alive, advised me to beware of him and not to trust my life to all men's hands; this is he who conducted me to my couch and looked round to see that no assassin was concealed; this is he who dispensed my hours of slumber, ensured my freedom from care,
ἀνηρημένοις λύπην καὶ διακρίνων τὴν τῶν ζωτῶν εὐνοιαν ἀδελφῶν, ὁ ὑπερασπιστὴς ὁ ἐμὸς, ὁ σωματο-
628 φύλαξ. ὅταν ἀναμνησθῶ, Ὄψαρε, τὸ πανοῦργον ἐν ἐκάστῳ καὶ τὴν ὕποκρισιν, ἀπιστία με τοῦ
ζῆν εἰσέρχεται καὶ θαυμάζω πῶς βαθὺν1 οὕτως ἐπίβουλον διέφυγον. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δαίμον τις ἑξερημοῦ
τὸν ἐμὸν οἶκον καὶ μου τοὺς φιλτάτους ἐπανίστησον ἀεί, κλαῦσομαι μὲν ἐγὼ τὴν ἁδικὸν ἐιμαρμένην καὶ
κατ' ἐμαυτόν στενάξω τὴν ἐρημίαν, διαφείβεται δ' οὐδεὶς διψήσας τούμον αἷμα, κἂν διὰ πάντων
μου τῶν τέκνων ὁ ἐλεγχὸς ἔλθῃ.'

629 (3) Τοιαῦτα λέγων αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπὸ συγχύσεως ἐννεκόπη, Νικολάω δ' ἐνὶ τῶν φίλων λέγειν τὰς
ἀποδείξεις ἐνευσέν. μεταξὺ δ' ὁ 'Ἀντίπατρος ἐπάρας τὴν κεφαλήν, ἔμενεν γὰρ δὴ βεβλημένος
630 πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ πατρός, ἐκβοᾷ: "σὺ, πάτερ, ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πεποίηκας2 τὴν ἀπολογίαν· πῶς γὰρ
ἐγὼ πατροκτόνος, ὁν ὁμολογεῖς φύλακα διὰ παντὸς ἐσχηκέναι; τερατείαν δὲ μου καὶ ὑπόκρισιν λέγεις
τὴν εὐσέβειαν. πῶς ὁ πανοῦργος ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις οὕτως ἀφρῶν ἐγενόμην, ὡς μὴ νοεῖν, ὅτι λαθεῖν
οὐδ' ἀνθρώπους ῥάδιον τηλικούτον μύσος ἐνσκευα-
631 ζόμενον, τὸν δ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ δικαστὴν ἀμήχανον,

1 Βαρίν ΠΑ Λατ.
2 πεποίηκα LVRC.
consoled me in my sorrow for my victims, and sounded the feelings of his surviving brothers; this is my buckler, my bodyguard! When I recall, Varus, his knavery and hypocrisy on each occasion, I can scarce believe I am alive and marvel how I escaped so deep a schemer. But since some evil genius is bent on desolating my house and raising up against me one after another those who are nearest to my heart, I may weep over my unjust destiny, I may groan in spirit over my forlorn state, but not one shall escape who thirsts for my blood, no, not though conviction should extend to all my children."

(3) Here his emotion rendered further speech impossible, and he signalled to Nicolas, one of his friends, to state the evidence. But now Antipater, who still lay prostrate at his father’s feet, raised his head and cried out: "You, father, have made my defence yourself. For, how could I be a parricide, I who, as you admit, have ever served as your protector? You call my filial piety imposture and hypocrisy. How could I, cunning in all else, have been so senseless as not to perceive that, while it was difficult to conceal from man the concoction of so atrocious a crime, it was impossible to hide it from the Judge in heaven, who sees all, who is present everywhere? Was I ignorant of my brothers’ fate, whom God so relentlessly punished for their wicked designs upon you? And then, what motive could have instigated me against you? Aspiration to the throne? But I reigned already! Suspicion of your hatred? But was I not beloved? Had I other reason to fear you?" Nay, by preserving you I

a Possibly for ἐκ σοῦ we should read ἐξω σοῦ: "Had I reason to fear others beside you?"
632 ετέρως φοβερός ἦμιν. ἐνδεια χρημάτων; καὶ τίνι μᾶλλον ἐξήν ἀναλίσκει; εἰ γὰρ ἐξωλόστατος πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγενόμην καὶ θηρίον ψυχὴν εἶχον ἀνημέρου, πάτερ, οὐκ ἂν ταῖς σαις ἐνεργε-σίαις ἐνικήθην, διὸ κατήγαγες μὲν, ὅς ἐφής αὐτὸς, προέκρινας δὲ τοσούτων τέκνων, ἀπέδειξας δὲ ζών βασιλέα, δὴ ὑπερβολὴν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἐποίησας ἐπίθυμον; ὁ τάλας ἐγὼ τῆς πικρᾶς ἀποδημίας, ὅς πολὺν ἐδωκα καίρον τῷ φθόνῳ καὶ μακράν τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσι διωρίαν. σοὶ δὲ, πάτερ, καὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἁγώσων ἀπεδήμουν, ἵνα μὴ Συλλαῖος τοῦ σοῦ γήρως καταφρονήσῃ. Ἡ ρώμη μοι μάρτυς τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης προστάτης Καῖσαρ, ὁ φιλοπάτορα πολλάκις με εἰπών. λάβε, πάτερ, τὰ παρ’ αὐτοῦ γράμματα. ταῦτα τῶν ἐνθάδε διαβολῶν πιστότερα, ταῦτα ἀπολογία μοι μόνη, τούτοις τῆς εἰς σὲ φιλοστοργίας τεκμηρίοις χρώματι. μέμνησο δὲ ὅσοι ἔκων ἐπλεον, ἐπιστάμενοι τὴν ἐμφωλεύουσαν τῇ βασιλεία κατ’ ἐμοῦ δυσμένειαν. σοὶ δὲ με, πάτερ, ἄκων ἀπώλεσας, ἀναγκάσας καίρον διαβολής δοθαί τῷ φθόνῳ. πάρεμι δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐλέγχους, πάρεμι διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ παθὼν ὁ πατροκτόνος.

634 άλλα μήπω με τούτω φίλει τῷ τεκμηρίῳ κατεγνωσμαι γὰρ καὶ παρὰ θεῷ καὶ παρὰ σοί, πάτερ. κατεγνωσμένος δὲ δέομαι μη ταῖς ἄλλων βασάνως πιστεύειν, άλλα κατ’ ἐμοῦ ψεῦσθω τὸ πῦρ,

1 μῆτω . . . ὁλεί PAM Lat.: μῆτω τούτῳ ὄσεληνai the rest; text apparently corrupt.

"Lover of his father."

"Text doubtful; perhaps "I do not ask to be given the benefit of this evidence."

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inspired fear in others. Was it lack of money? Who had more at his disposal than I? Even had I been the most abandoned of men, with the heart of a ferocious beast, must I not have been reclaimed, father, by your benefactions? For, as you have said yourself, you recalled me from exile, you gave me preference over such a number of sons, you proclaimed me king in your own lifetime, and by loading me with other favours made me the envy of all. Ah me! that fatal journey! What an opportunity I gave to jealousy, what an ample period to those who were intriguing against me! Yet it was for you, father, and to fight your battles that I took that journey, to prevent Syllaes from treating your old age with contempt. Rome is witness to my filial piety and Caesar, the lord of the universe, who has often called me 'Philopator.'a Take, father, these letters from him. These are more trustworthy than the calumnies against me here; these are my sole indication; here are the proofs which I offer of my tender feelings for you. Remember how reluctantly I embarked, knowing the lurking hostility to me within this realm. It was you, father, who involuntarily brought about my ruin, by compelling me to give my envious foes an opportunity for calumny. But here I am to meet my accusers; here I am, the parricide, who has traversed sea and land, and nowhere been molested! But I do not ask for your love on the strength of the evidence so far given of my innocence; b for I stand condemned before God and before you, father. But, condemned though I am, I entreat you not to rely on admissions extracted by the torture of others. Let the fire be
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οδευέτω διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν σπλάγχνων τὰ ὀργάνα, μὴ φειδέσθω τοῦ μιαροῦ σώματος· εἰ γὰρ εἰμὶ πατροκτόνος, οὐκ ὤφείλω θυήσκεν ἀβασάνιστος. 2

636 τοιαύτα μετ' ὀλοφυρμοῦ καὶ διακρύων ἐκβοῶν τοὺς τε ἀλλοὺς ἀπαντας καὶ τὸν Ὄὐαρον εἰς οίκτον προυκαλέσατο, μόνον δὲ ὁ θυμὸς 'Ἡρώδην ἀδακρων διεκράτει τοὺς ἐλέγχους ἀληθείς ἐπιστάμενον.

637 (4) Ἔν τούτῳ Νικόλαος τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντος πολλὰ πρὸς τὸ πανοῦργον τὸ 'Αντιπάτρου προειπὼν καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ διαχέας ἔλεον, ἐπείτα πικρὰν κατηγορίαν κατετείνατο, πάντα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν κακουργήματα περιτιθείς αὐτῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἀποδεικνύσας ταῖς ἐκείνου διαβολαῖς ἀπολωλότας. ἐπιβουλεύων δὲ αὐτὸν ἐλεγεν καὶ τοῖς περιοῦσιν ὡς ἐφέδροις τῆς διαδοχῆς· τὸν γὰρ παρασκευάσαντα πατρὶ φάρμακον ἦ ποῦ γ' ἂν ἄδελφοι ἀποσχέσθαι;

638 προελθὼν δ' ἐπὶ τὸν ἐλέγχον τῆς φαρμακείας τάς τε μηνύσεις [ἐξῆς] ἐπεδείκνυσαν καὶ περὶ Φερώρα κατεσχετλίαζεν, ὅτι κάκεινον 'Αντιπατρὸς ποιήσειν ἀδελφοκτόνον καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους τῷ βασιλεί διαφθείρας ὅλον τοῦ μύσους ἀναπλησίειν τὸν οίκον, ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ πρὸς τούτους εἰπὼν καὶ ἀποδείχας καταπαύει τῶν λόγων.

639 (5) Ὅωρας δὲ ἀπολογείσθαι κελεύσας τοὺς 'Αντιπατροῦ, ὡς οὐδὲν πλέον εἰπὼν ἦ "θεὸς ἐστὶν μοι τοῦ μηδὲν ἄδικειν μάρτυς" ἐκείτο σιγῶν, αἰτήσας

1 The mss. add ὀλοφυρμός (or -οῦ), an obvious gloss, absent from Lat.
2 Bekker: ἀβασανιστῶς mss. 3 om. PAM.
applied to me! Let the instruments of torment course through my frame nor spare this polluted body! For, if I am a parricide, I ought not to die without being put upon the rack.”

These ejaculations, accompanied by moaning and tears, moved all to compassion, including Varus. Herod alone remained dry-eyed, furious and knowing that the evidence was true."

(4) Thereupon Nicolas, as ordered by the king, addressed the assembly. He began with a full exposure of Antipater’s knavery, dissipating the commiseration which his speech had aroused. He then launched out into a severe indictment, attributing to him all the crimes which had been committed throughout the realm, and in particular the execution of his brothers, demonstrating that they owed their death to Antipater’s calumnies. He added that he had further designs on the survivors as presumptive heirs to the throne; “Would one who had prepared to poison his father have stopped short at his brothers?” Passing on to the evidence for the poisoning plot, he brought forward in succession all the information extracted; being roused to indignation on the subject of Pheroras, at the idea of Antipater converting even him into a fratricide and, by corrupting the king’s nearest of kin, infecting the whole palace with pollution. With many more observations, supported by proofs, Nicolas concluded his speech.

(5) Varus then called on Antipater for his defence. But he would say no more than “God is witness of my innocence” and remained prostrate and silent.

According to A. xvii. 106 even Herod was not unmoved, though he sought to conceal his emotion.
τὸ φάρμακον διδώσα τινὶ τῶν ἔπὶ θανάτῳ κατα-
640 κρίτων δεσμώτη πιεῖν. τοῦ δὲ παραχρῆμα τελευ-
tήσαντος, ὁ μὲν ἀπορρήτους ποιήσας τὰς πρὸς Ἡρωδῆν ὀμιλίας καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸ συνέδριον Καίσαρι
gράφας μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν χωρίζεται: δεσμεῖ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίπατρον καὶ πρὸς Καίσαρα τοὺς
dηλώσοντας τὴν συμφορὰν ἐξέπεμψεν.

641 (6) Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα καὶ κατὰ Σαλώμης ἐπί-
βουλος Ἀντίπατρος εὐρίσκεται· τῶν γὰρ Ἀντι-
φίλου τις οἴκετῶν ἦκεν ἐπιστολὰς κομίζων ἀπὸ Ἡ-
ρώμης παρὰ Λιουίας2 θεραπαινίδος, Ἀκμῆς τοῦ-
νομα. καὶ παρὰ μὲν ταύτης ἐπέσταλτο βασιλεῖ
tὰς παρὰ Σαλώμης ἐπιστολὰς ἐν τοῖς Λιουίας2
eὐρηκέναι γράμμασιν, πεπομφέναι δὲ αὐτῷ λάθρα
642 δ᾽ εὐνοιαν. αἱ δὲ τῆς Σαλώμης λοιδορίας τε τοῦ
βασιλέως περιείχον πικροτάτας καὶ κατηγοριὰν
μεγίστην. ταύτας δὲ πλάσας Ἀντίπατρος καὶ τὴν
643 Ἀκμῆν διαφθείρας ἐπεισεν Ἡρώδη πέμψαι. δι-
ηλέγχθη δὲ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολῆς· καὶ
gὰρ ἐκείνῳ τὸ γύναιον ἐγραφεῖν "ὡς ἐβουλήθης,
ἐγγαφά σοι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἐκεῖνας
ἐπεμψα, πεπεισμὲνη τὸν βασιλέα μὴ φείδεσθαι τῆς
ἀδελφῆς, ὅταν ἀναγνώ. καλῶς δὲ ποιήσεις, ἐπει-
δαν ἀπαρτισθῇ πάντα, μὴ μομενεύσας ὑμν ὑπέσχον."}

644 (7) Ταύτης φωραθείσης τῆς ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τῶν
κατὰ Σαλώμης ἐνσκευασθεισῶν, ἐννοια μὲν ἐμ-
πίπτει τῷ βασιλεῖ τάχα καὶ <τὰ>3 κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρου
πλασθήναι γράμματα, περιαλγῆς δ᾽ ἦν ὑπὸ τοῦ
πάθους ὡς παρ᾽ ὀλύγου καὶ τὴν ἀδελφῆν ἀπο-

1 επίθουλας Ἀντ. εὐρίσκ. πεποιηκὼς ΡΑΜ.
2 Λευίας ΡΑ: ιουλιάς the rest; cf. § 566.
3 καὶ τὰ Destinon: καὶ mss.

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The governor, thereupon, called for the poison and had it applied to a prisoner under sentence of death, who drank it and instantly expired. Then, after a private interview with Herod, Varus drafted his report of the meeting for Caesar, and a day later took his departure. The king had Antipater put in irons and dispatched messengers to the emperor to inform him of the catastrophe.

(6) It was subsequently discovered that Antipater had also plotted against Salome. For a domestic of Antiphilus arrived from Rome with letters from a maid-servant of Livia, named Acme; she wrote to the king to say that she had found among Livia's papers some letters from Salome, which, as his well-wisher, she had privately transmitted to him. These letters of Salome, containing the most cruel abuse of the king and the most scathing condemnation of his conduct, were forgeries of Antipater, who had bribed Acme to send them to Herod. He was convicted by the letter which the woman addressed at the same time to him, in these terms: "As you desired, I have written to your father and forwarded those letters, and feel sure that, when he has read them, he will not spare his sister. Be good enough, when all is over, to remember what you promised."

(7) When this letter was brought to light, with those concocted to injure Salome, a suspicion crossed the king's mind that perhaps the letters incriminating Alexander were also forgeries. He was, moreover, deeply distressed at the thought that he had almost killed his sister also, owing to Antipater's intrigues.

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\( ^a \) Livia Drusilla, the wife of Augustus, and after his death known as Julia Augusta; by her former husband she was mother of the emperor Tiberius.

\( ^b \) Cf. § 528.
κτείνας δὲ 'Antipatrou: οὐκέτι οὖν ἀνεβάλλετο
645 λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων. ὡμοιμένος δὲ
ἐπὶ τὸν 'Antipatrou ἐπεσχέθη νόσῳ χαλεπῆ: περὶ
μέντοι τῆς 'Ακμῆς καὶ τῶν κατὰ Σαλώμης ἐσκευ.
646 ὡρημένων ἐπέστειλεν Καίσαρι. τὴν τε διαθήκην
αἰτήσας μετέγραφεν, καὶ Βασιλέα μὲν ἀπεδείκνυεν
'Antipan ἀμελῶν τῶν προσβυτάτων, 'Αρχελάον
καὶ Φιλίππον: διαβεβλήκει γὰρ καὶ τούτοις
'Antipatros: Καίσαρι δὲ σὺν τοῖς δίχα' χρημάτων
δῶροις χίλια τάλαντα, τῇ δὲ γυναικι καὶ τέκνοις
αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλοις καὶ ἀπελευθέρωσεν περὶ πεντακόσια,
ἀπενεμεῖν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παισίν2 τῆς τε χώρας
οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ τῶν χρημάτων: λαμπροτάταις δὲ
δωρεάς ἐτήμα Σαλώμην τὴν ἅδελφην. ἐν μὲν οὖν
ταῖς διαθήκαις ταῦτα διωρθώσατο.
647 (xxxiii. 1) Προῆε δ’ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ χαλεπώ-
τερον ἡ νόσος, ἀπε δὴ τῶν ἀρρωστημάτων ἐν
γῆρα καὶ ἀθυμία ἐπιπεσόντων· ἢν μὲν γὰρ ἦδη
σχεδὸν ἐτῶν ἐβδομήκοντα, τεταπείνωτο δὲ τὴν
ψυχὴν ταῖς περὶ τῶν τέκνων συμφοραῖς, ὡς μηδ’
ἐν ύγιείᾳ3 τι τῶν ἠδέων προσίεσθαι. τῆς νόσου
δ’ ἦν ἐπίτασις ζῶν 'Antipatros, διὸ οὐκ ἐν παρέργῳ,
ραίσας δὲ προήριτο ἀνελείν.
648 (2) Γίνεται δ’ ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς αὐτῷ καὶ
dημοσική της ἐπανάστασις. δύο ἦσαν σοφισταὶ
kατὰ τὴν πόλιν μάλιστα δοκοῦντες ἀκριβοῦν τὰ

1 Havercamp on ms. authority: ἔδα most mss.; cf. B. i. 104 for the same error.
2 Destinon (after A. xvii. 147 νῦν): ἀπασίων mss.
3 i.7,εμ mss.

a Literally "without money."

b Greek "sophists." The Greek term, originally free from any sinister associations, for a paid professor of
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He determined, therefore, to delay no longer to punish him for all his crimes. But when proceeding to extreme measures against Antipater, he was arrested by a serious illness. He wrote, however, to Caesar on the subject of Acme and the fraud which had been practised on Salome; he also called for his will and modified it. He now named Antipas king, passing over his eldest sons, Archelaus and Philip, who had also been the objects of Antipater's calumnies. To Augustus he bequeathed, besides gifts in kind, one thousand talents; to the empress, to the children, friends and freedmen of the emperor about five hundred; to the other members of his own family he assigned large tracts of territory and considerable sums of money, honouring his sister Salome with the most magnificent presents of all. Such were the corrections which Herod made in his will.

(xxxiii. 1) His illness steadily grew worse, aggravated as were the attacks of disease by age and despondency. For he was now nearly seventy years old, and his tragic experiences with his children had so broken his spirit, that even in good health he no longer enjoyed any of the pleasures of life. His malady was further increased by the thought that Antipater was still alive; for he had determined that his execution should be no casual affair, but seriously undertaken on his recovery.

(2) To his other troubles was now added an insurrection of the populace. There were in the capital two doctors with a reputation as profound experts in the laws of their country, who con-

rhetoric etc. is employed by Josephus as the equivalent of the Jewish "Rabbi."
πάτρια καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν πάντι τῷ ἔθνει μεγίστης ἡξιωμένου δόξης, Ἰούδας τε νῦν Σεπφωραῖον καὶ Ματθαίας ἐτέρος Μαργάλων. τούτοις οὐκ ὁλίγοι προσήχουσι τῶν νέων ἐξηγούμενοι τοὺς νόμους, καὶ συχνῶν συνείχον ὁσιμέρα τῶν ἡβώντων στρατόπεδων. οἱ τὸτε τὸν βασιλέα πυθανόμενοι ταῖς αθυμίαις ὑπεκρέοντά καὶ τῇ νόσῳ λόγον καθίσαν εἰς τοὺς γνωρίμους, ὡς ἀρα καὶ ἐπιτηδειότατος εἶη τιμωρεῖν ἢδη τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰ κατασκευασθέντα παρὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ἔργα καταστάν. ἀθέμιτον γὰρ εἶναι κατὰ τὸν ναὸν ἡ εἰκόνασ ἡ προτομάς ἡ ξώμος τινὸς ἐπώνυμον ἐργον εἶναι κατασκευάκει ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὲρ τὴν μεγάλην πύλην ἂτον χρυσῶν· ὅπερ τὸτε παρῆν ἐκκόπτειν οἱ σοφισταί, καλὸν εἶναι λέγοντες, εἰ καὶ τὸς γένοιτο κίνδυνος, ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρίου νόμου θυσίας· τοῖς γὰρ οὕτω τελευτῶσιν ἄθανατον τε τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν ἐν ἁγαθοῖς αἰσθησιν αἰώνιον παραμένειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀγένειεσ καὶ τῆς ἐαυτῶν σοφίας ἀπείρους ἀγνοοῦντας φιλοσύνειν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δι’ ἀρετῆς τὸν ἐκ νόσου θάνατον αἰρείσθαι.

651 (3) Ἀμα δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνων λόγοις διεφημίσθη καὶ θυσίας ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὡστε θαρραλεώτερον ἤπτοτο τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως οἱ νεοῖ. μέσης γοῦν ἠμέρας καὶ πολλῶν κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀναστρεφομένων σχοίνως παχείας καθιμήσαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους τὸν χρυσῶν ἂτον ἐξέκοπτον πελέκεσιν.

1 Variant readings Σεπφωραῖον, Σεπφωρέων: A. || has Σαμφαῖον.  
2 σιχνὸς συνείχον P: συνήγονοι the rest. 
3 LVRC: ὑπορεῖοντα the rest.  
4 αγενεῖς PC.

* Perhaps in imitation of the pediments of Greek temples.  
In the early temples of Zeus the flat surface of the pediment 308
sequently enjoyed the highest esteem of the whole nation; their names were Judas, son of Sepphoraeus, and Matthias, son of Margalus. Their lectures on the laws were attended by a large youthful audience, and day after day they drew together quite an army of men in their prime. Hearing now that the king was gradually sinking under despondency and disease, these doctors threw out hints to their friends that this was the fitting moment to avenge God’s honour and to pull down those structures which had been erected in defiance of their fathers’ laws. It was, in fact, unlawful to place in the temple either images or busts or any representation whatsoever of a living creature; notwithstanding this, the king had erected over the great gate a golden eagle. This it was which these doctors now exhorted their disciples to cut down, telling them that, even if the action proved hazardous, it was a noble deed to die for the law of one’s country; for the souls of those who came to such an end attained immortality and an eternally abiding sense of felicity; it was only the ignoble, uninitiated in their philosophy, who clung in their ignorance to life and preferred death on a sick-bed to that of a hero.

(3) While they were discoursing in this strain, a rumour spread that the king was dying; the news caused the young men to throw themselves more boldly into the enterprise. At mid-day, accordingly, when numbers of people were perambulating the temple, they let themselves down from the roof by stout cords and began chopping off the golden eagle was ornamented with an eagle as a symbol of the god, whence the whole pediment derived its name (αετός or αέτωμα).
Perhaps "the captain of the Temple" is intended (cf. Acts iv. 1, v. 24).
with hatchets. The king's captain, a to whom the matter was immediately reported, hastened to the scene with a considerable force, arrested about forty of the young men and conducted them to the king. Herod first asked them whether they had dared to cut down the golden eagle; they admitted it. “Who ordered you to do so?” he continued. “The law of our fathers.” “And why so exultant, when you will shortly be put to death?” “Because, after our death, we shall enjoy greater felicity.”

(4) These proceedings provoked the king to such fury that he forgot his disease and had himself carried to a public assembly, b where at great length he denounced the men as sacrilegious persons who, under the pretext of zeal for the law, had some more ambitious aim in view, and demanded that they should be punished for impiety. The people, apprehensive of wholesale prosecutions, besought him to confine the punishment to the instigators of the deed and to those who had been arrested in the perpetration of it, and to forgo his anger against the rest. The king grudgingly consented; those who had let themselves down from the roof together with the doctors he had burnt alive; the remainder of those arrested he handed over to his executioners.

(5) From this time onwards Herod’s malady began to spread to his whole body and his sufferings took a variety of forms. He had fever, though not a raging fever, an intolerable itching of the whole skin, continuous pains in the intestines, tumours in the feet as in dropsy, inflammation of the abdomen and

b A meeting of the magistrates in the theatre at Jericho, according to A. xvii. 160 f.
ληκας γεννώσα, πρὸς τούτοις ὀρθόπνοια καὶ δύσ-πνοια καὶ σπασμοὶ πάντων τῶν μελῶν, ὡστε τοὺς ἐπιθειάζοντας ποινὴν εἶναι τῶν σοφιστῶν τὰ 657 νοσήματα λέγειν. ὃ δὲ παλαίων τοσούτοις πάθεσιν ὃμως τοῦ ζῆν ἀντείχετο, σωτηρίαν τε ἡλπίζειν καὶ θεραπείας ἐπενόει: διαβὰς γοῦν τὸν Ἰορδάνην τοῖς κατὰ Καλλιρρόην ἐχρῆτο θερμοῖς· ταῦτα δ' ἔξεισι μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀσφαλτίτων λίμνην, ὑπὸ γλυκύτητος ὁ ἐστὶ [καὶ]¹ πότιμα. δόξαν δὲ ἐνταῦθα τοῖς ἱατροῖς ἐλαιῶν θερμῶν πάν ἀναθάλυσαι τὸ σῶμα χαλασθὲν εἰς πλήρη πύελον, ἐκλύει καὶ τοὺς 658 ὀφθαλμοὺς ὡς τεθνεὼς ἀνέστρεφεν. θορύβου δὲ τῶν θεραπευόντων γενομένου πρὸς μὲν τὴν φωνὴν ἀνήνεγκεν, εἰς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπογνώς τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῖς τε στρατιώταις ἀνὰ πεντήκοντα δραχμάς ἐκέλευσεν διανειμαί καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα τοῖς ἱγεμόσι καὶ τοῖς φίλοις.

659 (6) Αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποστρέφων εἰς Ἱεριχοῦντα παρα-γίνεται μελαγχολῶν ἢδη, καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἀπειλῶν αὐτῷ τῷ θανάτῳ προέκοπτοι εἰς ἐπιβολὴν² ἀ-θεμίτου πράξεως· τοὺς γὰρ ἀφ' ἐκάστης κώμης ἐπισήμους ἀνδρας ἐξ ὀλης Ἰουδαίας συναγαγόν εἰς τὸν καλούμενον ἵππον ῥομον ἐκέλευσεν συν-

660 κλείσαι προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ Ἀλωμήνῃ τὴν ἀδελ-φῆν καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ταύτης Ἀλεξάιν ὡς ἤδη, ἐφ' ὁ Ἰουδαίους τὸν ἐμὸν ἐορτάσοντας θαίταν, δύνα-

¹ om. PAM Lat.
² Hudson: ἐπιβολή: ms9.
gangrene of the privy parts, engendering worms,\(^a\) in addition to asthma,\(^b\) with great difficulty in breathing, and convulsions in all his limbs. His condition led diviners to pronounce his maladies a judgement on him for his treatment of the professors. Yet, struggling as he was with such numerous sufferings, he clung to life, hoped for recovery, and devised one remedy after another. Thus he crossed the Jordan to take the warm baths at Callirrhoe, the waters of which descend into the Lake Asphaltitis\(^c\) and from their sweetness are also used for drink. There, the physicians deciding to raise the temperature of his whole body with hot oil, he was lowered into a bath full of that liquid, whereupon he fainted and turned up his eyes as though he were dead. His attendants raising an uproar, their cries brought him to himself, but, now despairing of recovery, he gave orders to distribute fifty drachmas per head to the soldiers and considerable sums to their officers and to his friends.

(6) He started on his return journey and reached Jericho in an atrabilious condition, in which, hurling defiance as it were at death itself, he proceeded to devise an outrageous scheme. Having assembled the distinguished men from every village from one end of Judaea to the other, he ordered them to be locked into the hippodrome. He then summoned his sister Salome and her husband Alexas and said:

"I know that the Jews will celebrate my death by

\(^a\) Cf. the description of the death of his grandson, Herod Agrippa I, "eaten of worms," in Acts xii. 23.
\(^b\) The Greek word means inability to breathe except in an upright posture.
\(^c\) The Dead Sea. Callirrhoe ("Baths of Herod") was near the N.E. end of it.
mae de pevtheïsai de' eiterwv kai lauprov epitafion ókei, de úmeis theleshte taïs émais evtolais úpourgias. tonúde ton xhouroumeinous ándras epieidan ekpnevusw táxista kteivate, perisostosan-
tes tois stratistwvas, òna pása 'Ioudaia kai pás oíkos akwos ep' émio daktúsi.

661 (7) Taúta ènvestelleto, kai parà tovn ev 'Pwmi
prébsen òkhou epistolai, di' ón 'Akmh mèn án-
hriméne kelevsantois Kaisaros édholuto, thvnto
ò 'Antipatros katákrítos: égrafon ge ùhn ws, ev
kai fygadeuein auton evpelisai o patír,  
662 èpitrepú Kaísar. ò de braxw mèn prós tìn
evthimían anýnegken, autìs de, kai gar éndeiá
tropos kai bexi spasmoudi diateineto, tòv ólgh-
dónwv Ísasthéis phásw tìn eimarménein èperebalto.
labw de mèlw Ítosei kai makhírou, eíwthei gar
ápotemwn èsthlei, èpeita periaithèsa mú tis o
kvolwn eìn, èpíreven tìn deizw ùs plèsowv eauton.
prosdrámov de ekìlwsev 'Achiados ò aneyíos
663 autov tìn xêira kataxhôwn. oìmwnh d' evthèsw  
ýrthi megísth kata to basileiov ùs oìxoménou
basilewos, kai tachéws akóusas 'Antipatros òna-
tharrei te kai geinths toùs fylakas íketevein èpi
xhímasin èxafeinai lúsanatas auton. ò de ïgmein
ou mónon èkìlwsev allá kai basilei dramwv

A. xvii. 176, "He was not blind to the feelings of the
Jews and knew what relief and intense delight his death
would bring them." A Jewish festival on the seventh of
the month Kislev (December), of which the occasion is un-
recorded in the Jewish calendar known as Megillath Taanith,
is said by a late Scholiast to commemorate Herod's death;
a festival; \(^a\) yet I can obtain a vicarious mourning and a magnificent funeral, if you consent to follow my instructions. You know these men here in custody; the moment I expire have them surrounded by the soldiers and massacred; so shall all Judaea and every household weep for me, whether they will or no."

(7) At the moment when he was giving these instructions, he received letters from his ambassadors at Rome, informing him that Acme \(^b\) had been executed by Caesar's orders and Antipater condemned to death; but, the letter continued, if his father were content with banishing him, he had Caesar's permission to do so. At this news he for a while recovered his spirits, but later, under the strain of lack of nourishment and a convulsive cough, overpowered by his tortures, he endeavoured to anticipate the hour of destiny. He took an apple and called for a knife, as it was his custom to cut up this fruit when eating it, and then, looking round to see that there was no one to prevent him, raised his hand to strike himself. However, his cousin Achiab rushed up and seizing his hand arrested the blow. Instantly there arose loud lamentations throughout the palace, in the belief that the king had passed away. Antipater, quick to catch the sound, took heart again and, radiant with joy, besought his jailers, for a remuneration, to loose him and let him go. The head jailer, however, not only prevented this, but hastened to the king and reported his prisoner's

\(^a\) See Zeitlin, Megillat Taanit, pp. 100 f., Schürer, G.J.V. ed. 3) i. 416 f.

\(^b\) § 641.
664 ἀνήγγειλεν τὴν ἐπιβολὴν. ᾧ ἀνέκραγεν δ' ἐκείνος ἵσχυρότερον τῆς νόσου καὶ παραχρῆμα πέμψας τοὺς δορυφόρους ἀποκτείνει τὸν 'Αντίπατρον. θάψας δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ προστάξας ἐν Ὑρκανίᾳ πάλιν τὰς διαθήκας ἐπανορθοῦται, καὶ διάδοχον μὲν 'Αρχέλαον τὸν πρεσβύτατον ύιόν, ἀδελφὸν δὲ Ἀντίπα, γράφει, τετράρχην δὲ Ἀντίπαν.

665 (8) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπιβιούς πέντε ἡμέρας τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας ἀφ' οὗ μὲν ἀποκτείνας Ἀντίγονον ἐκράτησεν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐτη τέσσαρα καὶ τριάκοντα, ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀπεδείχθη βασιλεὺς ἐπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα, καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τύχη δεξία χρησάμενος, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος, ὡς τις κατεκτήσατο βασιλείαν ἰδιώτης ὡν καὶ τοσούτω χρόνω φυλάξας ἰδιοῖς τέκνοις κατέληπεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατ' οἰκον ἀτυχέστατος. πρὶν δὲ γυνώναι τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν, προελθοῦσα μετὰ τάνδρας ἡ Σαλώμη διαφῆκεν τοὺς δεσμῶτας, οὓς κτείνειν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνετείλατο, μεταπεισθῆναι τὸν βασιλέα λέγουσα καὶ πάλιν ἀναπέμπειν ἡκαστὸν εἰς τὰ ἱδια. τούτων δ' οἰχομένων ἐδῆλουν ἡδὴ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ συνήγον αὐτοὺς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ πλῆθους ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἱεριχοῦντα ἀμφιθεάτρῳ. εἶθα παρελθὼν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ καὶ τὸν σημαντήρα δακτύλιον παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πεπιστευμένος τὸν τε βασιλέα κατευδαμονίζει καὶ τὸ πλῆθος παρακαλεῖ, καὶ τὴν ἀπολειφθεῖσαν τοῖς

1 Niese: ἐπιβολὴν miss. 2 Destinon: μετ' ἀνδρὸς miss.
design. Herod, with a shout which might have seemed beyond a sick man's strength, instantly sent his guards and had Antipater executed. He ordered his body to be buried at Hyrcanium. After that he again amended his will, nominating Archelaus, his eldest son and brother of Antipas, heir to the throne, and Antipas tetrarch.

(8) Herod survived the execution of his son but five days. He expired after a reign of thirty-four years, reckoning from the date when, after putting Antigonus to death, he assumed control of the state; of thirty-seven years, from the date when he was proclaimed king by the Romans. In his life as a whole he was blessed, if ever man was, by fortune: a commoner, he mounted to a throne, retained it for all those years and bequeathed it to his own children; in his family life, on the contrary, no man was more unfortunate. Before the army had learnt of his decease, Salome left the palace with her husband and released the prisoners whom Herod had ordered to be put to death, telling them that the king had changed his mind and now dismissed them all to their homes. Not until after their departure did she and her husband announce the news to the soldiers, summoning them and the rest of the people to a public assembly in the amphitheatre at Jericho. Here Ptolemy, to whom the king had entrusted his signet-ring, came forward, pronounced a benediction on the deceased king, delivered an exhortation to the people, and read a letter which Herod had left

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a Greek here "Hyrcania."
b Both sons of the Samaritan Malthace.
c 37 B.C.
d 40 B.C. (end). Josephus reckons the short portions of Roman calendar year at the beginning and end of the reign as complete years (Schürer, G.J.V. i. 416).
στρατιώτας ἀνεγίνωσκεν ἐπιστολήν, ἐν ἡ πολλά
περὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν διάδοχον εὐνοίας παρεκάλει.
668 μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν λύσας τὰς ἐπιδιαθήκας
ἀνεγίνωσκεν, ἐν αἷς Φίλιππος μὲν τοῦ Τράχωνος
καὶ τῶν γειτνιώτων χωρίων κληρονόμων, πετράρ-
χῆς δ', ὡς προείπαμεν, Ἀντίπας, βασιλεὺς δ'  
669 'Αρχέλαος ἀπεδείκνυτο. τούτω [δὲ]¹ τὸν τε δα-
κτύλιον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Καίσαρι φέρειν ἐνετέλεσε καὶ
τὰς διοικήσεις τῆς βασιλείας σεσημασμένας· κύριον
 γὰρ ἀπάντων ὃν διατάξειν καὶ βεβαιώτην τῶν
dιαθήκων εἶναι Καίσαρα· τὰ γε μὴν λοιπὰ κατὰ
tὰς προτέρας διαθήκας φυλάττειν.
670 (9) Βοῇ δ' εὐθὺς ἐγένετο τῶν 'Αρχέλαω συν-
ηδομένων, καὶ κατὰ στίφος οἱ στρατιώται μετὰ
tοῦ πλήθους προσιόντες ὑπισχυόντο μὲν τὴν
ἐαυτῶν εὐνοίαν, συννήχουτο δὲ καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ
θεοῦ, [καὶ]² μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς ταφὴν ἔτρεποντο
tοῦ βασιλέως. παρέλιπεν δ' οὕδεν 'Αρχέλαος εἰς
πολυτέλειαν, ἄλλα πάντα τὸν βασιλικὸν κόσμοι
προήγευκεν συμπομπεύοντα τῷ νεκρῷ· κλίνη μὲν
γὰρ ὀλόχρυσος ἢν διάλιθος, στρωμμῆς ἔπειρας
ποικίλη, τὸ σῶμα δ' ἐπὶ αὐτῆς πορφύρα κεκα
λυμένον, καὶ διάδημα μὲν ἐπέκειτο τῇ κεφαλῇ
στέφανος δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ χρυσοῦς, τὸ δὲ σκῆπτρο;
671 παρὰ τὴν δεξιάν. καὶ περὶ τὴν κλίνην οἱ τε υἱοὶ
καὶ τὸ πλήθος τῶν συγγενῶν, ἐφ' οίς οἱ δορυφόροι
καὶ τὸ Ὄρακιον στίφος, Γερμανοὶ τε καὶ Γαλάται
672 διεσκευασμένοι πάντες ὃς εἰς πόλεμον. προῆγει
δ' ἡ λοιπὴ δύναμις ὑπολισμένη τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν κα

¹ om. P.  
² P: om. the rest.
for the troops, in which he earnestly appealed to them to be loyal to his successor. After this letter, he opened and read the codicils: under these Philip inherited Trachonitis and the neighbouring districts, Antipas, as we have already mentioned, was appointed tetrarch, and Archelaus king. The last-named received a charge from Herod to carry his ring to Caesar, with the documents relating to the administration of the realm, under seal, because he had vested in Caesar the control of all his dispositions and the ratification of the will; in the remaining particulars the directions of the previous will were to hold good.

(9) Archelaus was instantly hailed with acclamations and congratulations; and the troops advancing by companies, with the people, made promises of allegiance on their own part, and invoked upon him the blessing of God. The king's funeral next occupied attention. Archelaus, omitting nothing that could contribute to its magnificence, brought forth all the royal ornaments to accompany the procession in honour of the deceased. The bier was of solid gold, studded with precious stones, and had a covering of purple, embroidered with various colours; on this lay the body enveloped in a purple robe, a diadem encircling the head and surmounted by a crown of gold, the sceptre beside his right hand. Around the bier were Herod's sons and a large group of his relations; these were followed by the guards, the Thracian contingent, Germans and Gauls, all equipped as for war. The remainder of the troops marched in front, armed and in orderly array, led by

a Son of Cleopatra.  
§ 664.  
b Of Galilee and Peraea (A. xvii. 188).
JOSEPHUS

ταξιάρχοις ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐν κόσμῳ, πεντακόσιοι δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς τῶν ὀικετῶν καὶ ἀπελευθέρων ἀρωματοφόροι. σταδίους δ’ ἐκομίσθη τὸ σῶμα διακοσίους¹ εἰς Ἡρώδειον, ὅπου κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἐτάφη. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἡρώδην τοιοῦτον ἔσχεν πέρας.

¹ LVRC Lat. Heg.: ἔβδομήκοντα PAM (reading o’ for o’). The procession starts from Jericho which was 150 stades (N.E.) from Jerusalem (B. iv. 474); Herodion was 60 stades south of Jerusalem (B. i. 365, 419).
their commanders and subordinate officers; behind these came five hundred of Herod's servants and freedmen, carrying spices. The body was thus conveyed for a distance of two hundred furlongs to Herodion, where, in accordance with the directions of the deceased, it was interred. So ended Herod's reign.
ΛΟΓΟΣ Β'

1 (i. 1) Ἄρχελάω δὲ νέων ἠρέξεθορύβων ἡ τῆς ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ἀποδημίας ἀνάγκη. πενθήσας γὰρ ἡμέρας ἐπτὰ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν ἐπιτάφιον ἐστίασιν πολυτελὴ τῷ πλήθει παρασχὼν· ἔθος δὲ τούτῳ παρὰ Ἰουδαίως πολλοῖς πενίας αὐτίον, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐστὶν ὦκ ἀνευ ἀνάγκης, εἰ γὰρ παραλείποι τις, οὐχ ὀσίος· μεταλαμβάνει μὲν ἑσθῆτα λευκῆν, πρόεισι δὲ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, ἐνθα ποικίλαις αὐτὸν εὐφημίαις ὁ λαὸς ἐκδέχεται. κάκεινος τὸ πλῆθος ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ βῆματος καὶ χρυσοῦ θρόνου δεξιωσάμενος τῆς τε σπουδῆς, ἢν ἐνεδείξαντο περὶ τὴν κηδείαν τοῦ πατρός, εὐχαριστεῖ καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν θεραπειας ως πρὸς βέβαιον ἢδη βασιλέα· φείδεσθαι γε μὴν οὐ μόνον ἐφι τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὁνομάτων, ἔως ἂν αὐτῷ Καίσαρ ἐπικυρώσῃ τὴν διαδοχήν, ὁ καὶ κατὰ τὰς διαθήκας τῶν ὅλων δεσπότης· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν Ἰεριχὸντι τῆς στρατιάς τὸ διάδημα περιπατοῦσις αὐτῷ δεδέχθαι· τοῦ μέντοι προθύμου καὶ τῆς εὐνοίας, ὥσπερ τοῖς στρατιώταις, οὕτω καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ πλήρεις ἀπο-

1 δια ... ἀνάγκης om. Lat.
BOOK II

(i. 1) The necessity under which Archelaus found himself of undertaking a journey to Rome was the signal for fresh disturbances. After keeping seven days' mourning for his father and providing the usual funeral banquet for the populace on a sumptuous scale—a Jewish custom which reduces many to poverty, such entertainment of the people being considered obligatory and its omission an act of impiety—he changed into white raiment and went forth to the Temple, where the people received him with varied acclamations. Speaking from a golden throne on a raised platform he greeted the multitude. He thanked them for the zeal which they had displayed over his father's funeral and for the marks of homage shown to himself, as to a king whose claim to the throne was already confirmed. He would, however, he said, for the present abstain not only from the exercise of the authority, but even from the assumption of the titles, of royalty, until his right to the succession had been ratified by Caesar, to whose ruling everything had been submitted under the terms of the will. Even when, as he reminded them, the army at Jericho had desired to place the diadem on his head, he had declined it. He would, none the less, make an ample return alike to the soldiers and to the citizens for their devotion and

\[ a \, \S\, 1-3 = A. \, xvi. \, 200-203. \]
δώσειν τὰς ἀμοιβάς, ὅποταν ὑπὸ τῶν κρατοῦντων βασιλεὺς ἀποδειχθῆ βέβαιος· σπουδάσεων γὰρ ἐν πᾶσιν πρὸς αὐτούς φανῆναι τοῦ πατρὸς ἁμείνων.

4 (2) Ἔπει τούτοις ἢδομενον τὸ πλῆθος εὐθέως ἀπεπειράτο τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ μεγάλους αἰτήμασιν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐβόων ἔπικουφίζειν τὰς εἰσφορὰς, οἱ δὲ ἀναίρειν τὰ τέλη, τινὲς δὲ ἀπολύειν τοὺς δεσμῶτας. ἐπένευσε δὲ ἐτοίμως ἀπασι θεραπεύων τὸ πλῆθος. ἐπείτα θύσας ἐν εὐωχίᾳ μετὰ ὧν τῶν φίλων ἦν. ἔνθα δὴ περὶ δείλην ἀθροισθέντες οὐκ ὅλοις τῶν νεωτερίζειν προηρημένων ἥραντο ἵδιοι πένθους, ὡς τὸ κοών ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ πέπαυτο, κατολοφυρόμενοι τοὺς κολασθέντας ὑπὸ Ἦρωδου διὰ τὸν ἐκκόπητα χρυσοῦν ἀετὸν τῆς πύλης τοῦ ναοῦ. ἦν δὲ τὸ πένθος οὐκ ὑπεσταλμένον, ἀλλ’ οἰμωγαὶ διαπρύσιοι καὶ θρήνοι ἐγκέλευστος κοπετοὶ τε περιηχοῦντες ὅλην τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἄν ἐπ’ ἀνδράσιν οὕς ἐφασκον ὕπερ τῶν πατρίων νόμων καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ [πυρί]1 παραπολέσθαι.

7 τιμωρεῖν δ’ αὐτοῖς ἀνεβόων ἐκ τῶν υφ’ Ἦρωδου τετιμημένων χρῆμα2 καὶ πρώτων τὸν υπ’ ἤκεινον κατασταθέντα παύειν ἀρχιερεὰ προσήκες γὰρ αὐτοῖς εὐσεβέστερον αἱρεῖσθαι καὶ καθαρώτερον.

8 (3) Πρὸς ἅ παρωξύνετο μὲν Ἀρχέλαος, ἐπείχε δὲ τὴν ἀμμαν ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἔξοδον ἐπείξεως, δεδοικῶς μήποτε τὸ πλῆθος ἐκπολεμώσας κατασχεθεὶ τῷ κινήματι. διὸ πειθοὶ μάλλον ἥ βία

1 om. LVRC Lat.; cf. i. 655.
2 VC: χρήμα: the rest with Lat.

a Duties on sales, A. xvii. 205.
b Judas, Matthias and their followers, B. i. 648-655.
c Joazar, A. xvii. 164.
goodwill, as soon as the supreme authorities had definitely declared him king; for it would be his earnest and constant endeavour to treat them better than they had been treated by his father.

(2) Delighted at these professions, the multitude at once proceeded to test his intentions by making large demands. One party clamoured for a reduction of the taxes, another for the abolition of the duties, a third for the liberation of the prisoners. To all these requests, in his desire to ingratiate himself with the people, he readily assented. Then, after offering a sacrifice, he regaled himself with his friends. Towards evening, however, a large number of those who were bent on revolution assembled on the same spot, and, now that the public mourning for the king was ended, began a lamentation on their own account, bewailing the fate of those whom Herod had punished for cutting down the golden eagle from the gate of the Temple. This mourning was in no subdued tones: there were piercing shrieks, a dirge directed by a conductor, and lamentations with beating of the breast which resounded throughout the city; all this in honour of the unfortunate men who, they asserted, had in defence of their country's laws and the Temple perished on the pyre. These martyrs ought, they clamoured, to be avenged by the punishment of Herod's favourites, and the first step was the deposition of the high-priest whom he had appointed, as they had a right to select a man of greater piety and purer morals.

(3) Archelaus, exasperated by these proceedings, but in haste to depart, wished to defer retaliation, from fear that, if he provoked the hostility of the people, he would be detained by a general rising.
katastelleiv epieiratio tous neostepizontas kai ton
9 stratevovon upopemias paússasathai parakealei. tov-
ton eis to ierov parelthona, prwi phègexasai ti, 
lithous apylanoun oi staasiasai kai tous met'
auton epit swhronismò prosointas, eniei de pol-
lovs o 'Arxelaos, kai panta pros orghn ap-
ekrivanteo, deioi te hiasan ouk hremhsontes, ei
10 plithous epilaBowto. kai de ths twn ažýmwn en-
stasís eortís, h pásocha parà 'Ioudaioi kaleíntai,
poli ti thumátovn plíðos ekdechoméni, katheuvi mén
ek ths xwras laos ápeiros epit thn thrskeiavn, 
oi de tous sofištás pevthontes en to ierw syn-
11 eiosthkeisan trofoth th stasíei porizómenoi. prós 
ó deisias 'Arxelaos, prwi di' olou tov plíðovs 
diadrámein thn voson, upopémpe meta spéiras 
khíarakhs proostásas bia tous eixárhoantas ths 
stasésws katasthein. prós ovs to plíðos apan 
paразýnetai kai tous mén pollous ths spéiras 
balloanthes lithous dieftheiron, o de khíarakhs ek-
12 fevgei tramaatías mólis. 'Epieĩth ois men wós mydenvos 
devnov geonoutos etréponto prós thueían oii mhn 
'Arxeláw dià fóvon kathèvtov epit to plíðos 
efaineto, th de stratiavn epafhíssan autòis olhn, 
tous mèn pezous dia ths pólèwos áþróous, tous de
13 ípeis aná to pedión. oii thóousin ékástous éxaíphnhs

a Or perhaps the "captain of the Temple" (Sagan), Acts iv. 1.

b Greek "sustenance." In the parallel A. xvii. 214 the 
writer (an assistant of Josephus), using the same source, 
appears to have taken the word trophë literally: "they had no 
lack of food for the rebels, not being ashamed to beg for it."

c Apparently rounding the N.W. side of the city outside
He, accordingly, endeavoured to appease the rebels by persuasion, without resort to force, and quietly sent his general to entreat them to desist. This officer on entering the Temple and before he had even opened his mouth, was driven off by the rioters with a shower of stones; many others whom Archelaus sent in after him to call them to reason were similarly treated. To all remonstrances they replied with anger, and it was evident that, given any accession to their numbers, they had no intention of remaining inactive. And now the feast of unleavened bread, which the Jews call Passover, came round; it is an occasion for the contribution of a multitude of sacrifices, and a vast crowd streamed in from the country for the ceremony. The promoters of the mourning for the doctors stood in a body in the temple, procuring recruits for their faction. This alarmed Archelaus, who, wishing to prevent the contagion from spreading to the whole crowd, sent in a tribune in command of a cohort, with orders to restrain by force the ringleaders of the sedition. Indignant at the appearance of the troops, the whole crowd pelted them with stones; most of the cohort were killed, while their commander was wounded and escaped with difficulty. Then, as if nothing serious had happened, the rioters returned to their sacrifices. Archelaus, however, now felt that it would be impossible to restrain the mob without bloodshed, and let loose upon them his entire army, the infantry advancing in close order through the city, the cavalry by way of the plain. The soldiers falling unexpectedly upon the walls, while the infantry struck straight across from the palace which lay on the S.W. of the city to the Temple on the N.E.
προσπεσόντες διαφθείρουσι μὲν περὶ τρισχιλίους,
τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος εἰς τὰ πλῆσιόν ὅρη δι-
eskédasav. εἶποντο δὲ Ἁρχελάοι κήρυκες κε-
λεύντες ἑκαστὸν ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπὶ οἶκου, καὶ
πάντες ὄχροντο τὴν ἔορτὴν ἀπολιπόντες.

14 (ii. 1) Αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῶν
φίλων Ποπλά καὶ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Νικολάου
κατῆκε πρὸς θάλασσαν καταλιπὼν ἐπίτροπον τε
τῶν βασιλείων καὶ κηδεμόνα τῶν οἰκείων Φίλ-

15 ὑπον. συνεχίζει δ’ ἀμα τοῖς τέκνοις Σαλώμη καὶ
tοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφοῦ τε καὶ γαμβροῦ, τῶ
μὲν δοκεῖν συναγωνισμοῦνει περὶ τῆς διαδοχῆς
Ἁρχελάῳ, τὸ δ’ ἀληθὲς κατηγορήσοντες περὶ
tῶν κατὰ τὸ ἑρῶν παρανομηθέντων.

16 (2) Συναντᾷ δ’ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν Καίσαρειαν
Σαβίνος ὅ τῆς Συρίας ἐπίτροπος εἰς Ἰουδαίαν
ἀνιῶν ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν Ἡρώδου χρημάτων. τοῦ-
tον ἐπέσχεν προσωτέρω χωρεῖν ἐπελθὼν Ὀὐαρος,
dεν διὰ Πτολεμαίου πολλὰ δεθεῖς Ἁρχελάος μετ-

17 επέμψατο, τότε μὲν ὁν Σαβίνος Ὀυάρῳ χαριζό-
μενος οὔτ’ ἐπὶ τὰς ἄκρας ἐσπευσάν ὑπετὸ τὰ ταμεῖα
tῶν πατρῶν χρημάτων ἀπέκλεισεν Ἁρχελάῳ,
μέχρι δὲ τῆς Καίσαρεος διαγνώσεως ἥρμησεν

18 ὑπέσχετο καὶ διέτριβεν ἐπὶ τῆς Καίσαρείας. ὥσ
de τῶν ἐμποδίζοντων ὁ μὲν εἰς Ἀντιοχειαν
ἀπῆρεν, Ἁρχελάος δὲ εἰς Ἐρώμην ἀνήχθη, διὰ
tάχος ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ὀρμῆσας παραλαμβάνει
tὰ βασιλεία, καὶ μεταπεμπόμενοι τοὺς τε φρουρ-

a Malthace.
b Called Ptollas in A. xvii. 219.
c Herod's chief friend and executor, B. i. 473, 667, ii. 21.
d Of Damascus, another friend of Herod, and the historian
on whose work Josephus is here probably dependent.

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various parties busy with their sacrifices slew about three thousand of them and dispersed the remainder among the neighbouring hills. The heralds of Archelaus followed and ordered everyone to return home; so they all abandoned the festival and departed.

(ii. 1) Archelaus himself with his mother and his friends, Poplas, Ptolemy, and Nicolas, now descended to the coast, leaving Philip to take charge of the palace and to protect his private interests. Salome, with her children, also accompanied him, and the nephews and sons-in-law of the late king, ostensibly to support the claims of Archelaus to the succession, but in reality to accuse him of the recent illegal proceedings in the Temple.

(2) At Caesarea the party were met by Sabinus, procurator of Syria, on his way up to Judaea to take charge of Herod's estate. He was prevented from continuing his journey by the arrival of Varus, whose presence Archelaus had, through Ptolemy, urgently solicited. Sabinus, in deference to Varus, abandoned for the moment his intention of rushing to the castles and excluding Archelaus from access to his father's treasuries, and, promising to take no action until Caesar had given his decision, remained at Caesarea. But as soon as those who had obstructed his designs had left, Varus for Antioch, Archelaus for Rome, he sped to Jerusalem and took possession of the palace; and then, summoning the

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* Or perhaps "the realm."
* More accurately described in A. xvii. 221 as Καίσαρος επίτροπος τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ πραγμάτων, i.e. imperial finance officer for the province.
* Quintilius Varus, governor (legatus) of Syria (B. i. 617).
* Before returning to Antioch he visited Jerusalem and left a legion there to keep order (§ 40).
JOSEPHUS

άρχους καὶ διοικητὰς ἐπειρᾶτο διερευνᾶν τοὺς τῶν χρημάτων ἀναλογισμοὺς τὰς τε ἀκρας παρα-

19 λαμβάνειν. οὐ μὴν οἱ φίλαικες τῶν Ἀρχελάου κατημέλουν ἑντολῶν, ἐμενον δὲ φρουροῦντες ἐκαστὰ καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἀνατιθέντες Κάισαρι μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀρχελάω.

20 (3) Καὶ τούτῳ πάλιν Ἀντίπας ἀμφισβητῶν περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπέξεισιν ἄξιών τῆς ἐπιδιαθή-

κης κυριωτέραν εἶναι τὴν διαθήκην, ἐν δὲ βασιλεὺς

αὐτὸς ἐγέραττο. συλλήψεσθαι δ' αὐτῷ προὐπ-

έσχετο Σαλώμη καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν συν Ἀρχελάω

21 πλεόντων συγγενῶν. ἐπήγετο δὲ τὴν μητέρα καὶ

τὸν Ἀδελφὸν Νικολάου Πτολεμαίον, ῥοπὴν εἶναι
dοκοῦντα διὰ τὴν παρὰ 'Ἡρώδη πίστιν: γεγόνει

γὰρ δὴ τῶν φίλων ἔκεινον τιμώτατος: πλείστον

μέντοι πεποίθει διὰ δεινότητα λόγων Εἰρήναιω τῷ

ῥήτορι, διὸ καὶ τοὺς νοοῦντοντας εἰκεῖν 'Αρχελάω

κατὰ τὸ πρεσβεῖον καὶ τὰς ἐπιδιαθήκας διεκροῦ-

σατο. μεθίστατο δὲ ἐν 'Ῥώμῃ πάντων πρὸς αὐτὸν

ἡ σπουδὴ τῶν συγγενῶν, οἷς διὰ μίσους ἢν 'Αρχέ-

λαος, καὶ προηγομένως ἐκαστὸς αὐτονομίας

ἐπεθύμει στρατηγῷ 'Ῥωμαίων διοικουμένης, εἶ δὲ

tοῦτο1 διαμαρτάνοι, βασιλεῦειν Ἀντίπαν ᾦθελεν.

23 (4) Συνήργηει δ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τοῦτο καὶ Σαβίνοις δι' ἐπιστολῶν, κατηγορήσας μὲν Ἀρχελάον παρὰ

24 Κάισαρι, πολλὰ δ' ἐπανεσάς Ἀντίπαν. συν-

τάξαντες δὲ τὰ ἐγκλήματα οἱ περὶ Σαλώμην ἐν-

εχείρισαν Κάισαρι, καὶ μετὰ τούτους Ἀρχέλαος τὰ

tε2 κεφάλαια τῶν ἐαυτοῦ δικαίων γράφας καὶ τὸν

1 τοῦτον LVRC. 2 + ἀλλα PAM.

a B. i. 646. b Malthace who had sailed with her other son, § 14. 330
governors of the forts and the controllers of the treasury, endeavoured to search into the accounts and to take possession of the castles. These officers, however, mindful of the injunctions of Archelaus, continued to guard their respective trusts, for which they professed to hold themselves responsible to Caesar, rather than to Archelaus.

(3) Meanwhile another claimant to the throne had set out for Rome, namely, Antipas, who maintained that the will in which he had been named king had greater validity than the codicil. He had received previous promises of support from Salome and from many of his relations who had sailed with Archelaus. He had won over his mother and Ptolemy, brother of Nicolas, from whose influence much was expected, owing to the confidence reposed in him by Herod, who had honoured him above all his friends. But what Antipas mainly relied on was the brilliant eloquence of his advocate Irenaeus; on the strength of this he refused to listen to those who advised him to give way to Archelaus, in consideration of his rights of seniority and the terms of the codicil. At Rome, all the relations, who detested Archelaus, transferred their support to him; the object that was uppermost in the minds of every one of these was autonomy under the administration of a Roman governor, but, in default of that, they preferred to have Antipas for king.

(4) They were aided in this design by Sabinus, who, in dispatches to Caesar, accused Archelaus and highly commended Antipas. Salome and her friends now drew up their indictment and placed it in Caesar’s hands; Archelaus responded by drafting a summary statement of his rights and sending in his father’s
25, 26. "Euntha katastas o Sakwymhs wios 'Anti-patros, eis de toon enantioymenon 'Arxelavw deino-tatos eipein, kathgoroie faskwn tois, mev logois amfisbhtein arti basileias 'Arxelaovn, tois de 'rygouis palaiyegonveni basilea, katereynunsebhai de wun toon Kaiyaroнос akowin, on dikasthyn tois
diadoxhs ou periemeven, eis ge meta tois 'Hrywdo
teleuthin egkathoutous, men upopemvas tois perithsontas autw to diadhma, prokathias de 'epi
tou vrwnou kai xrmatiasbasileus, tazes tes
tis stratiads ameibhas kai prokopas xarissamenos,
28, 29. 'Eti de tw deymw panta katavenisas oswn wos para
basilewos txhein hxiyon, kai tois 'epi megistsais
aitiais para tou patros dedemewn lwsas, wun
'ikei para to deiropo to skian aitithsomenos
basileias, hys hrapasei evautw to soma, kai poioi
ou tou pragmaton alla tou onomatwn kyrmon
Kaiyaro. proswneidizev de os kai to penbhos

1 rationes administrationis Lat. (apparently reading
logismous, as in A. 11).
2 PAV*: prooanayvonos the rest (perhaps rightly).
3 *+ ωι MLVRC.
ring and papers\textsuperscript{a} by Ptolemy to the emperor. Caesar, after reflecting in private on the allegations of both parties, the extent of the kingdom, the amount of the revenue, as well as the number of Herod’s children, and after perusing the letters on the subject which he had received from Varus and Sabinus, summoned a council of leading Romans, at which for the first time he gave a seat to Caius, the son of Agrippa and his daughter Julia, whom he had adopted himself; he then called upon the parties to speak.

(5) Thereupon Antipater, son of Salome, the ablest orator among the opponents of Archelaus, rose as his accuser. Archelaus, he stated, although at the moment ostensibly suing for a crown, had in reality long since acted as king. He was now merely playing upon the patient ears of Caesar, whose sentence upon the subject of the succession he had not awaited. For, after Herod’s death, had he not suborned persons to place the diadem on his head, sat in state upon the throne and given audience as a king, made changes in the ranks of the army and conferred promotions, assented to all the favours which the people had claimed from him as sovereign, and liberated those whom his father had imprisoned for the gravest crimes? And after all this he had now come to beg from his lord for the shadow of royalty, of which he had already appropriated the substance, thus making Caesar a dispenser not of realities, but of mere titles!

\textsuperscript{a} Or, with the other reading \textit{λογισμοῖς}, “(public) accounts.”
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κατείρωνεύσατο τοῦ πατρὸς, μεθ’ ἡμέραν μὲν ἐπισχήματιζων τὸ πρόσωπον εἰς λύπην, νύκτωρ δὲ μέχρις κόμιων μεθυσκόμενος, ἐν ὦ καὶ τὴν ταραχήν τοῦ πλῆθους ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τούτους ἁγα-31 χώνακτήσεως ἐλεγεν γεγονέναι. καὶ τὸν ἄγωνα τοῦ λόγου παντὸς ἐναπηρείσατο τῷ πλῆθει τῶν περὶ τὸν ναὸν φονευθέντων, οὓς ἐλήλυθεν μὲν ἐφ’ ἐορτήν, παρὰ δὲ ταῖς ἰδίαις θυσίαις ὁμός ἀπεσφάχθαι καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ σεσωρεύσαται μεκρῶν πλῆθος, ὅσον οὐδὲν [ἂν] 1 ἀλλόφυλος ἐσώ-32 τῆς τροφῆς πόλεμος ἐπελθὼν ἀκήρυκτος. ταύτην μέντοι τήν ὁμότητα προσκεφάλισαν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν πατέρα μηδ’ ἐλπίδος αὐτῶν ποτὲ ἄξιοις βασιλικῆς, ἢ ὅτε χείρον τὴν ψυχὴν κάμων τοῦ σώματος ἀκρατῆς ἢν υγιαίνοντος λογισμῷ καὶ οὐδὲν ἔγραφεν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιδιαθήκαις ἦδεις διάδοχον, καὶ ταύτα μιθῆς τὸν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις μέμψασθαι δυνάμενος, ἂς ἔγραφεν υγιαίνων μὲν τὸ σῶμα, 33 καθαρὰν δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐχών πάθους παντός. εἰ μέντοι καὶ κυριωτέραν τιθείς τις τὴν τοῦ κάμων-34 τος κρίσιν, ἀποκεχειροτονήσθαι βασιλείας 'Αρχε- λαον ὑφ’ ἐαυτοῦ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὴν παρανομηθείσην- τοπατῶν γὰρ ἂν γενέσθαι λαβόντα τὴν ἄρχην παρὰ Καίσαρος τὸν πρὶν λαβεῖν τοσοῦτος ἀν- γηρηκότα;

(6) Πολλά τοιαῦτα διεξέλθων 'Αντίπατρος καὶ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν συγγενῶν παραστησάμενος ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ τῶν κατηγορημένων μάρτυρας κατα-1 om. PA.
Archelaus was that even in his mourning for his father he had played the hypocrite, in the day-time assuming a pose of grief, at night drinking to riotous excess. In this connexion, he added that the recent outbreak of the populace was attributable to their indignation at such conduct. Proceeding to the main contention of his speech, he laid great stress on the multitude of Jews who had been massacred around the sanctuary, poor people who had come for a festival and, while offering their sacrifices, had themselves been brutally immolated. There had been, he said, such a pile of corpses in the temple as would never have been raised even by the ruthless inroad of a foreign foe. It was, indeed, because he foresaw this ferocity of Archelaus that his father had never deigned to hold out to him even a hope of ascending the throne, until the day when, more stricken in mind than in body, and incapable of sound reasoning, he did not even know whose name he was inscribing in the codicil as that of his successor; when, moreover, he had no fault to find with the heir named in the will which he had drafted while he possessed health of body and a mind quite unclouded by affliction. But, he continued, even if greater weight were attached by any to the decision of an invalid, Archelaus had pronounced his own deposition from the kingdom by his outrages upon it. What would he become, once invested with authority by Caesar, who before receiving it had massacred such multitudes!

(6) After dilating at length in this strain, and producing most of the relatives as witnesses to each item in his accusation, Antipater concluded his speech.

* Cf. the charge against Pilate of mingling the blood of Galilaeans with their sacrifices, Luke xiii. 1.
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34 παύει τὸν λόγον. ἀνίσταται δὲ Νικόλαος ὑπὲρ Ἀρχελάου, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ φόνον ἀναγκαίον ἀπέφηνεν· πολεμίους γὰρ γεγονέναι τοὺς ἀνθρωποὺς οὐ τῆς βασιλείας μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τοῦ δικάζοντος αὐτὴν Καῖσαρος. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐγκλημάτων συμβουλοὺς ἀπεδείκνυεν αὐτοὺς τοὺς κατηγόρους γεγονέναι. τὴν γε μὴν ἐπιδιαθήκην ἥξιον διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα εἶναι κυρίαν, ὅτι βεβαιωτὴν ἐν 36 αὐτῇ Καῖσαρα καθίστατο τοῦ διαδόχου· ὁ γὰρ σωφρόνων ὡστε τῷ δεσπότῃ τῶν ὅλων παραχωρεῖν τῆς ἐξουσίας οὐ δήποτε περὶ κληρονόμου κρίσιν ἐσφάλλετο, σωφρόνων δὲ ἡρείτο καὶ τὸν καθιστάμενον ὁ γινώσκων τὸν καθιστάντα.

37 (7) Διεξελθόντος δὲ πάντα καὶ Νικόλαου παρελθὼν Ἀρχελαός προσπίπτει τῶν Καίσαρος γονάτων ἡσυχία. κακείνος αὐτῶν μάλα φιλοφρόνως ἀναστήσας ἐνέφηνεν μὲν ὡς ἄξιος εἶν τῆς πατρίας διαδοχῆς, οὐ μὴν τι βέβαιον ἀπεφήνατο. διαλύσας δὲ τοὺς συνεδρίους ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας καθ' ἑαυτὸν περὶ ὧν διήκουσεν ἐσκέπτετο, εἰτε χρῆ τῶν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις καταστήσαί τινα διάδοχον, εἰτε καὶ πάση τῇ γενεᾶ διανείμαι τὴν ἀρχήν· ἐδοκεῖ γὰρ ἐπικουρίας χρήζειν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν προσώπων.

38 (iii. 1) Πρὶν δὲ ὁρίσαι τι περὶ τούτων Καίσαρα τελευτᾷ μὲν ἡ Ἀρχελάος μῆτηρ Μαλθακῆ νοσήσασα, παρὰ Οὐάρου δ' ἐκομισθήσαν ἐκ Συρίας ἐπιστολαὶ περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀποστάσεως, ἦν προϊδόμενος ὁ Οὐάρος, ἀνέβη γὰρ μετὰ τὸν Ἀρχελάον πλοῦν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τοὺς παρακινοῦντας καθέσων, ἑπειδὴ πρόδηλον ἦν τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ 1 προσπιπτει most mss.
Nicolas then rose in defence of Archelaus. He maintained that the slaughter in the Temple had been rendered necessary, because the victims had shown themselves enemies not only of the kingdom, but also of Caesar, the arbiter of the kingdom. As for the other charges made against Archelaus, he showed that his accusers themselves had advised him to act as he did. The validity of the codicil, he claimed, was proved by this fact above all, that in it Caesar was constituted surety for the succession; one who was sane enough to cede his authority to the master of the world was surely not mistaken in his selection of an heir. The sagacity shown in his choice of the donor was a guarantee of his sanity in the choice of the recipient.

(7) Nicolas on his side having fully stated his case, Archelaus came forward and fell, in silence, at the knees of Caesar. The emperor very graciously raised him up, intimating that he thought him worthy to succeed his father, but pronouncing no final decision. After dismissing his council, he passed the day in reflection on what he had heard, considering whether he ought to appoint as successor one of those named in the wills or to divide the dominion among all the children; for the numerous members of this family all seemed in need of support.

(iii. 1) But before Caesar had come to any decision on these matters, Malthace, the mother of Archelaus, was taken ill and died, and dispatches arrived from Varus in Syria concerning the revolt of the Jews. This outbreak had been foreseen by Varus, who, after the sailing of Archelaus, had gone up to Jerusalem to repress its promoters, and, as it was evident that the people would not remain quiet,
ὁρεμήσον, ἐν τῶν τριῶν ἀπὸ Συρίας ταγμάτων,
41 ὅπερ άγων ἦκεν, ἐν τῇ πόλει καταλείπει. καὶ
αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, ἐπελθὼν
δὲ ὁ Σαβῖνος ἀφορμὴν αὐτοῖς παρέσχεν νεωτερο-
ποιῶς: τοὺς τε γὰρ φρουροὺς παραδίδοναι τὰς
ἀκρας ἐβίαζετο καὶ πικρῶς τὰ βασιλικὰ χρήματα
dιηρύνα, πεποιθῶς οὐ μόνον τοῖς ὑπὸ Οὐάρου
καταλείφθησθαι στρατιῶται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλήθει δοῦ-
λων ἱδίων, οὐς ἀπαντᾷ ὀπλίσας ὑπηρέταις ἔχρητο
42 τῆς πλεονεξίας. ἔνστασις δὲ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς,
οὕτω καλοῦσίν τινα ἐορτὴν Ἰουδαίοι παρ᾽ ἐπτὰ
gυνομένην ἐβδομάδας καὶ τὸν ἄριθμὸν τῶν ἡμερῶν
προσηγορίαν ἐχοῦσαν, οὐχ ἡ συνήθης θρησκεία
43 συνήγαγεν τῶν δήμων, ἀλλὰ ἡ ἀγανάκτησις. συν-
έδραμεν γοῦν πλῆθος ἀπειρον ἐκ τε τῆς Γαλιλαίας
καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰδουμαιάς, Ἰεριχούντως τε καὶ τῆς
ὑπὲρ Ἰορδάνην Περαιάς, ὑπερείχεν δὲ πλῆθει καὶ
προδυνάμεις ἀνδρῶν ὁ γνήσιος ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἰουδαίας
44 λαὸς. διανεῖμαντες δὲ σφᾶς αὐτῶν εἰς τρία μέρη
τριχὴ στρατοπεδεύονται, πρὸς τε τῶν βορείων τοῦ
ἰεροῦ κλίματι καὶ πρὸς τῶν μεσημβρινῶν κατὰ τὸν
ιππόδρομον, ἡ δὲ τρίτη μοῖρα πρὸς τοὺς βασιλείους
κατὰ δύσων. περικαθεξόμενοι δὲ πανταχόθεν τοὺς
Ῥωμαίους ἐπολιόρκουν.
45 (2) Ὅ δὲ Σαβῖνος πρὸς τε τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν
ὑποδείγας καὶ τὰ φρονήματα, συνεχεῖς μὲν ἀγ-
γέλους ἐπεμπὲν πρὸς Οὐαροῦ ἐπαμύνειν ἐν τάχει
dεόμενοι, ὡς εἰ βραδύνῳ κατακοπησομένου τοῦ
46 τάγματος· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ὑψηλότατον τοῦ φρου-
ρίου πύργον ἀναβὰς, ὄς ἐκαλεῖτο Φασάλλος ἐπ-

1 κατὰ Hudson (after Lat.).

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a § 16.
had left in the city one of the three legions from Syria which he had brought with him; he himself then returned to Antioch. It was the arrival of Sabinus which gave the Jews an occasion for insurrection. For this officer endeavoured to force the guardians of the citadels to hand them over to him and instituted an exacting search for the royal treasures, relying for this task not only on the soldiers left by Varus, but on a crowd of his own slaves, all of whom he armed and employed as instruments of his avarice. So, on the arrival of Pentecost—which the Jews call a feast which occurs seven weeks after (Passover), and takes its name from the number of intervening days—it was not the customary ritual so much as indignation which drew the people in crowds to the capital. A countless multitude flocked in from Galilee, from Idumaea, from Jericho, and from Perea beyond the Jordan, but it was the native population of Judaea itself which, both in numbers and ardour, was pre-eminent. Distributing themselves into three divisions, they formed three camps, one on the north of the Temple, another on the south, adjoining the hippodrome, and the third near the palace, on the west. Thus investing the Romans on all sides, they held them under siege.

(2) Sabinus, terrified at their numbers and determination, dispatched messenger after messenger to Varus, begging for his prompt support and assuring him that, if he delayed, the legion would be cut to pieces. He himself mounted to the highest tower in

Such must be the meaning, but this sense of παρά is unusual.

Mentioned here only and in the parallel in A. xvii. 255; its exact position is unknown. It was probably built by Herod.
οίνυμον ἔχων ἀδελφὸν Ἡρώδου διαφθαρέντα ὑπὸ Πάρθων, ἐντεῦθεν κατέσειεν τοῖς ἐν τῷ τάγματι στρατιώταις ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις· δὴ ἐκπληξὶς γὰρ οὐδ᾽ εἰς τοὺς σφετέρους καταβαίνειν ἔθαρρει. 47 παραπεισθέντες δὲ οἱ στρατιώται προπηδῶσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ μάχῃ καρτερὰν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συνάπτουσιν, ἐν ᾗ μέχρι μὲν οὐδὲς καθύπερθεν ἐπήμουνεν περιήγαν ἐμπειρία πολέμου τῶν ἀπείρων. 48 ἔπει δὲ πολλοὶ Ἰουδαίων ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὰς στοὰς κατὰ κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν ἥφισαν τὰ βέλη, συνετρίβοντο πολλοὶ καὶ οὔτε τοὺς ἀνωθεν βάλλοντας ἀμύνεσθαι ράδιον ἦν, οὔτε τοὺς συστάδην μαχομένους ὑπομένειν. 49 (3) Καταπονούμενοι δὲ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρων ὕποπιμπράσιν τὰς στοὰς, ἔργα θαυμάσια μεγέθους τε καὶ πολυτελείας ἐνεκεν· οἱ δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ἐξαίφνης ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς περισσιθέντες πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ διεφθάρησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πηδῶντες εἰς αὐτούς, τινὲς δ’ εἰς τούπισον κατὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐκρημνίζοντο, ἐνιοῦ δ’ ὑπ’ ἀμηχανίας τοῖς ἱδίοις ἔφεσιν τὸ πῦρ ἐφθανον. ὅσοι δὲ καθερπύσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν τείχων ἤξαν εἰς τοὺς Ὁρμαίοις εὐμεταχείριστοι διὰ τὴν ἐκπληξίαν ἦσαν. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀπολωλότων, τῶν δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους σκεδασθέντων, ἐρήμω τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ θησαυρῷ προσ-

1 μὲν P.A, which Destinon retains, writing συνετρίβοντο <τε> above and making the apodosis begin at καταπονούμενοι.
2 μέχρι LVRC Lat.
the fortress—called Phasael, after Herod's brother, who was slain by the Parthians—and thence signalled to the legionaries to attack the enemy, for he was in such a panic that he had not even the courage to descend to his own men. The soldiers, obedient to this poltroon, leapt into the Temple and engaged in a stubborn contest with the Jews. So long as they remained unassailed from above, their military experience gave them the advantage over the novices opposed to them; but when a large body of Jews mounted the porticoes and poured their missiles down upon their heads, many fell, and the Romans found it no easy task either to defend themselves against those attacking them from above or to hold their ground against their other opponents in hand-to-hand fight.

(3) Harassed by these two foes, the legionaries set fire to the porticoes, which for massive grandeur and magnificence were wonderful works of art. Of the Jews who occupied them, many, suddenly enveloped, perished in the flames; many leapt down among their enemies and were slain by them; some flung themselves over the precipitous wall in their rear; others, in despair, threw themselves on their own swords to avoid becoming victims of the flames; while any who successfully crept down from the wall and dashed at the Romans fell an easy prey, owing to their dazed condition. Then, their enemies either slain or dispersed in panic, the soldiers fell upon God's treasury, now reft of defenders, and plundered it to the amount of some

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a Cf. B. i. 271 f., and for the tower of Phasael i. 418, v. 166.
According to A. xvii. 264 Sabinus secured 400 talents apart from the sums stolen by the soldiers. The writer of A. is clearly imitating Thuc. vii. 85 το μὲν οὖν ἄθροισθεν τοῖς στρατεύματος ἐσ τὸ κοινὸν οὐ πολὺ ἐγένετο, τὸ δὲ διακλαπὲν πολὺ, a passage of which there may be a faint reminiscence here.

i.e. troops drafted in the region of Sebaste = Samaria.
four hundred talents; of this sum all that was not stolen by them was collected by Sabinus.\(^a\)

(4) However, the effect of this loss of buildings and of lives was only to rally the Jews in far greater strength and efficiency against the Romans. Surrounding the palace, they threatened to kill them to a man unless they promptly withdrew; if Sabinus were prepared to retire with his legion, they guaranteed him a safe conduct. The rebels now had with them the bulk of the royal troops which had deserted to their side. The most efficient division, however, of those troops still adhered to the Romans, namely, three thousand Sebastenians,\(^b\) under Rufus and Gratus, the latter commanding the royal infantry, the former the cavalry;—a pair, either of whom, even without any force under him, was worth an army,\(^c\) owing to their bravery and acumen. So the Jews pressed the siege, making assaults on the fortress, while at the same time they loudly called on Sabinus and his followers to depart and not to stand in the way of men who after such a lapse of time were on the road to recovering their national independence. Sabinus would have been quite content to slink away, but he mistrusted their promises, and suspected that their mildness was a bait to ensnare him; he was, moreover, hoping for succour from Varus and so let the siege drag on.

(iv. 1) Meanwhile, the country also, in various

These cohorts of Sebasteni are often mentioned in inscriptions, and elsewhere in Josephus, \textit{e.g.} \textit{B. ii.} 58, 63, 74, 236. The \textit{σπείρα Σεβαστή} mentioned in Acts xxvii. 1 as quartered at Caesarea was probably one of them, though \textit{Σεβαστή = Augusta}, not Sebastenian; its full title was probably \textit{cohors Augusta Sebastenorum} (Schürer).

\(^a\) Literally "sufficient to turn the scale of war."
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πολλαχόθεν ἑταράσσετο, καὶ συχνὸς βασιλείαν ὁ
καιρὸς ἀνέπειθεν. κατὰ μὲν γε τὴν Ἰδομαιὰν
dισχίλιοι τῶν ὑπὸ Ἡρώδη πάλαι στρατευσαμένων
συστάντες ἑνοπλοῦ διεμάχοντο τοῖς βασιλικοῖς, οίς
'Αχίαβος ἀνεβήσας βασιλέως ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρμυνοτάτων
χωρίων ἐπολέμησε, ὑποβεύγων τὴν ἐν τοῖς πέδιοις
56 συμπλοκῆν· εἰ δὲ Σεπφώρει τῆς Γαλαταίας 'Ιουδᾶς,
νῦν Ἐζεκίᾳ τοῦ κατατρέχοντος ποτὲ τὴν χώραν
ἀρχιληστοῦ καὶ χειρωθέντος ὑφ’ Ἡρώδου βασι-
λέως, συστήσας πλῆθος οὐχ ὀλίγον ἀναρρήγχων
τὰς βασιλικὰς ὀπλοθήκας καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν
ὀπλίσας τοὺς τὴν δυναστείαν ξηλοῦσιν ἐπεχειρεῖν.
57 (2) Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Περαιάν Σίμων τις τῶν βασι-
lικῶν δοῦλων, εὐμορφία σώματος καὶ μεγέθει
πεποιθώς, περιτίθησι μὲν ἑαυτῷ διάδημα, περιμῶν
dὲ μεθ’ ὄν συνήθροισεν ληστῶν τὰ τε ἐν Ἰεριχοῦ
βασιλεία καταπίμπησι καὶ πολλὰς ἐτέρας τῶν
πολυτελῶν ἐπαύλεις, ἄρπαγάς ῥαδίως ἐκ τοῦ
58 πυρὸς αὐτῶ ποριζόμενον. καὶ ἔφθη πάσαν οἰκησιν
eὐπρεπὴ καταφλέξας, εἰ μὴ Γράτος ὁ τῶν βασιλ-
lικῶν πεζῶν ἡγεμόν τοὺς τε Τραχωνίτας1 τοξότας
καὶ τὸ μαχιμώτατον τῶν Σεβαστηνῶν ἀναλαβὼν
59 ὑπαντιάζει τὸν ἄνδρα. τῶν μὲν οὖν Περαιῶν2
συνοι ἀνεβάρησαν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τὸν Σίμωνα δ’
αὐτὸν ἀναφεύγοντα δι’ ὀρθίου φάραγγος ὁ Γράτος
ἐποτεμεῖται καὶ φεύγοντος ἐκ πλαγίου τὸν αὐχένα
πληξας ἀπέρραξεν.3 κατεφλέγῃ δὲ καὶ τὰ πλῆσιν

1 Hudson from Lat.: Ῥαχωνίτας etc. mss.
2 Destinon from A.: παίων, παῖδων or πεζῶν mss.
3 ἀπέρραξεν PA.

1 i.e. Herod, whom he had once saved from suicide,
L. i. 662; cf. ii. 77.
2 B. i. 204.
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districts, was a prey to disorder, and the opportunity
induced numbers of persons to aspire to sovereignty.
In Idumaea, two thousand of Herod's veterans formed
up in arms and took the field against the royal troops.
They were opposed by Achiab, the king's cousin,
who, avoiding an engagement in the plain, fell back
on the strongest positions. At Sepphoris in Galilee
Judas, son of Ezechias, the brigand-chief who in
former days infested the country and was subdued
by King Herod, raised a considerable body of
followers, broke open the royal arsenals, and, having
armed his companions, attacked the other aspirants
to power.

(2) In Peraea Simon, one of the royal slaves, proud
of his tall and handsome figure, assumed the diadem.
Perambulating the country with the brigands whom
he had collected, he burnt down the royal palace at
Jericho and many other stately mansions, such incen-
diarism providing him with an easy opportunity
for plunder. Not a house of any respectability would
have escaped the flames, had not Gratus, the com-
mander of the royal infantry, with the archers of
Trachonitis and the finest troops of the Sebastenians,
gone out to encounter this rascal. In the ensuing
engagement numbers of the Peraeans fell. Simon
himself, endeavouring to escape up a steep ravine,
was intercepted by Gratus, who struck the fugitive
from the side a blow on the neck, which severed his
head from his body. The palace at Betharamatha.

* Mentioned by Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9 "post mortem Herodis ...
* Simo quidam regium nomen inuaserat " (Reinach).
* Beth-haram of the Old Test. (Jos. xiii. 27), Beth-ramtha
of the Talmud, rebuilt by Herod Antipas and renamed Julias
A. xviii. 27) or Livias; some six miles north of the head
of the Dead Sea and east of the Jordan.
"Ιορδάνου βασιλεία κατὰ Βηθαράμαθα ίσοντων ἐτέρων τινῶν ἐκ τῆς Περαιας.

60 (3) Τότε καὶ ποιμῆν τις ἀντιποιηθῆναι βασιλείας ἐτόλμησεν. Ἀθρογγαῖος ἑκαλεῖτο, προῦξένει δ' αὐτῷ τὴν ἐλπίδα σώματος ἰσχύς καὶ ψυχῆς θανάτου καταφρονοῦσα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀδελφοὶ τέσσαρες ὁμοίοι. τούτων ἐκάστω λόγῳ ὑποξεύξας ἐνοπλοῦν ύστερος στρατηγοῖς ἐχρῆτο καὶ σατράπαις ἐπὶ τὰς καταδρομὰς, αὐτὸς δὲ καθάπερ βασιλεὺς τῶν σεμνοτέρων ἦππετο πραγμάτων. τότε μὲν οὖν ἐαυτῷ περιτιθῆσαι διάδημα, διέμεινεν δ' ύστερον οὐκ ὅλιγον χρόνον τὴν χώραν κατατρέχων σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς· καὶ τὸ κτείνειν αὐτοῖς προηγούμενον ἦν Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς, διέφευγεν δ' οὐδὲ Ἰουδαῖων εἰ τις εἰς χεῖρας ἠλθοῦν φέρον κέρδος. ἐτόλμησαν δὲ ποτε Ῥωμαίων λόγον ἀθρούν περισχεῖν κατ' Ἀμμαούντα· σίτα δ' οὕτω καὶ ὅπλα διεκόμιζον τῷ τάγματι. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐκατοντάρχην αὐτῶν Ἀρείον καὶ πεσσαράκοντα τοὺς γενναιότατος κατηκότυσαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ κινδυνεύοντες ταυτὸ παθεῖν, Γράτου σὺν τοῖς φεβάσθησαν, ἐξέφυγον. πολλὰ τοιαῦτα τοὺς ἐπιχείρίους καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους παρ' οἷον τὸν πόλεμον ἐργασάμενοι μετὰ χρόνον οἱ μὲν τρεῖς ἔχειρωθῆσαν, ύπ' Ἀρχελάοι μὲν ὁ πρεσβύτατος, οἱ δ' ἔξης δύο Γράτῳ καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ περιπεσόντες· ὁ δὲ τέταρτος Ἀρχελάω τοῖς πολέμοις κατὰ δεξιὰν. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τὸ τέλος ύστερον αὐτοὺς ἐξεδέχετο, τότε δὲ ληστρικοῦ πολέμου τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πάσαν ἐνεπιμπλασαν.

1 Niese: Βηθαράμαν ἐπὶ οὐ Bηθαραμάθου αὐτ. A. 11. Bηθαραμάθα A. xviii. 27. 346
near the Jordan, was likewise burnt to the ground by another body of Peraean insurgents.

(3) Now, too, a mere shepherd had the temerity to aspire to the throne. He was called Athrongaeus, and his sole recommendations, to raise such hopes, were vigour of body, a soul contemptuous of death, and four brothers resembling himself. To each of these he entrusted an armed band and employed them as generals and satraps for his raids, while he himself, like a king, handled matters of graver moment. It was now that he donned the diadem, but his raiding expeditions throughout the country with his brothers continued long afterwards. Their principal object was to kill Romans and royalists, but no Jew, from whom they had anything to gain, escaped, if he fell into their hands. On one occasion they ventured to surround, near Emmaus, an entire Roman company, engaged in convoying corn and arms to the legion. Their centurion Arius and forty of his bravest men were shot down by the brigands; the remainder, in danger of a like fate, were rescued through the intervention of Gratus with his Sebastenians. After perpetrating throughout the war many such outrages upon compatriot and foreigner alike, three of them were eventually captured, the eldest by Archelaus, the two next by Gratus and Ptolemy; the fourth made terms with Archelaus and surrendered. Such was the end to which they ultimately came; but at the period of which we are speaking, these men were making the whole of Judaea one scene of guerilla warfare.

\(^a\) See § 71 note. \(^b\) Centuria. \(^c\) There were five in all (§ 60); the fate of the fifth is unrecorded.
66 (v. 1) ὁὐάρῳ δὲ δεξαμένῳ τὰ παρὰ Σαβίνου καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων γράμματα δείσαι τε περὶ τοῦ τάγματος ὁλου παρέστη καὶ σπεύδειν ἐπὶ τὴν
67 βοήθειαν. ἀναλαβὼν δὴ τὰ λοιπὰ δύο τάγματα καὶ τὰς συν αὐτοῖς τέσσαρας ἀλας ἐπιέων ἐπὶ Πτολεμαϊδος ἦν, προστάξας ἐκεῖ καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ δυναστῶν ἐπικούρους συνελθεῖν προσέλαβεν δὲ καὶ παρὰ Βηρυτίων διερχόμενος
68 τὴν πόλιν χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους ὀπλίτας. ἐπεὶ δ’ εἰς τὴν Πτολεμαΐδα τὸ τε ἀλλο συμμαχικὸν πλήθος αὐτῷ παρῆν καὶ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς Ἡρώδην ἔχθος Ἀρέτας ὁ Ἀραβὰ ὁ μεγάλης ἄγων δύναμιν ἐπικήν τε καὶ πεζικήν, μέρος τῆς στρατιάς εὐθέως ἐπεμπεν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν γειτνιῶσαν τῇ Πτολεμαΐδι καὶ Γάιον¹ ἡγεμόνα τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων, ὃς τοὺς τε ὑπαντιάσαντας τρέπεται καὶ Σεπφωρίν πόλιν ἔλων αὐτήν μὲν ἐμπίπρησα, τοὺς δ’ ἐν- 69 οὐκοῦντας ἀνδραποδίζεται. μετὰ δὲ τῆς ὅλης δυνάμεως αὐτὸς ὁ ὁμός Ἡρώδης εἰς Σαμάρειαν ἐλάσας τῆς μὲν πόλεως ἀπέσχετο, μηδὲν ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων θω- ρύβοις παρακεκινηκυίαν εὑρών, αὐλίζεταί δὲ περὶ τινα κώμην Ἀροῦν καλουμένην· κτῆμα δὲ ἦν Πτολεμαίου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀράβων διηρπάσθη μηνιόντων καὶ τοῖς Ἡρώδου φίλοις. 70 ἐνθεὶ εἰς Σαπφῶ προέσωσι, κώμην ἐτέραν ἐρυμνή, ἡν όμοιως διηρπασαν τὰς τε προσόρους² πάσας ὀσιας ἐπετύγχανον. πυρὸς δὲ καὶ φόνου πεπλή- ρωτο πάντα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄρπαγὰς τῶν Ἀράβων

¹ Γάιον Galli filio Lat.: τῷ τιθ. Λ. ||
² Destinon and Niese: προσόρους mss.

Lat. alae, i.e. regiments of auxiliary cavalry, usually

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(v. 1) On receiving the dispatches from Sabinus and his officers, Varus was alarmed for the whole legion and resolved to hasten to its relief. Accordingly, mobilizing the two remaining legions with the four regiments of horse which were attached to them, he marched for Ptolemais, having ordered the auxiliary troops furnished by the kings and chieftains to assemble at that place. On his way through Berytus, his army was further increased by 1500 armed recruits from that city. When the other contingent of allies had joined him at Ptolemais, as well as Aretas the Arab who, in memory of his hatred of Herod, brought a considerable body of cavalry and infantry, Varus at once sent a detachment of his army into the region of Galilee adjoining Ptolemais, under the command of his friend Gaius; the latter routed all who opposed him, captured and burnt the city of Sepphoris and reduced its inhabitants to slavery. Varus himself with the main body pursued his march into the country of Samaria; he spared the city, finding that it had taken no part in the general tumult, and encamped near a village called Arous; this belonged to Ptolemy and for that reason was sacked by the Arabs, who were infuriated even against the friends of Herod. Thence he advanced to Sappho, another fortified village, which they likewise sacked, as well as all the neighbouring villages which they encountered on their march. The whole district became a scene of fire and blood, and nothing was safe against the ravages of the consisting of 500 horse, as distinct from the strictly "legionary" squadrons of cavalry, consisting of only 120 horse, 3. iii. 120 (Reinach).

b Beirut. c Position unknown. d Unknown; Sampho in A. xvii. 290.
71 οὐδὲν ἀντείχεν. κατεφλέγη δὲ καὶ Ἀμμαὸς φυγόντων τῶν οἰκητῶν, Οὐάρου δὲ ὄργην τῶν
περὶ Ἄρειον ἀποσφαγέντων κελεύσαντος.
72 (2) Ἕνθενδε1 εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα προελθὼν ὁφθεῖς
tε μόνον μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως τὰ στρατόπεδα τῶν
73 Ἰουδαίων διεσκέδασεν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ὤχοντο φυ-
gόντες ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν, δεξάμενοι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ κατὸ
tὴν πόλιν ἀπεσκευάζοντα τὰς αἰτίας τῆς ἀπο-
stάσεως, αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐδὲν παρακινήσασι λέγον-
tες, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἐορτὴν ἀναγκαίως δεξάμενοι τοῖς
πλῆθος συμπολιορκηθῆναι μάλλον Ῥωμαίοις ἡ συμπληρόθηκαν εἰς τοὺς ἄποστάσιν. προϋπηρτήκεισαν δὲ
74 αὐτῷ Ἰωσηπός [τε]2 ὁ ἀνεψιός Ἀρχελάου κα
σὺν Γράτῳ Ῥοῦτος, ἄγοντες ἀμα τῷ βασιλικῷ
στρατῷ καὶ τοὺς Σεβάστηνος, οἳ τε ἀπὸ τοῦ
Ῥωμαϊκοῦ τάγματος τὸν συνήθη τρόπον κεκοσμή
μένοι. Σαβίνος μὲν γὰρ οὐδ’ εἶς ὁμιν ὑπομείνα-
έλθειν Οὐάρῳ προεξῆλθεν τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ θάλασ
75 σαν. Οὐαρός δὲ [κατὰ]3 μοίραν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπ
τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ κινήματος ἐπεμψεν περὶ4 τῇ
χώρᾳν, καὶ πολλῶν ἀγομένων τοὺς μὲν ἄκτο
θορυβώδεις φανέντας ἐφρούρει, τοὺς δ’ αἰτιωτᾶτον
ἀνεσταύρωσεν περὶ διαχιλίους.
76 (3) Ἡγγέλθη δ’ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἔτ
συμμένειν μυρίους ὀπλίτας. ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν Ἀραβά
εὐρῶν οὐ συμμάχων ἢδος ἔχοντας, ἀλλ’ ἰδίων πάθε
στρατευμένοις καὶ πέρα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσεω
τῆς χώρᾳν κακοῦντας ἔχθει τῷ πρὸς Ὑρώδη
ἀποπέμπται, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ταγμάτων ἔπ

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1 P: ἐνθέν δὲ AM: ἐνθέν the rest.  
2 om. PAM.  
3 om. LVRC.  
4 ἐπὶ PAM.  

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a § 63. The Emmaus intended is doubtless the town S.E. 
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JEWISH WAR, II. 71-76 (=ANT. xvii. 291-297)

Arabs. Emmaus, the inhabitants of which had fled, was burnt to the ground by the orders of Varus, in revenge for the slaughter of Arius and his men.¹

(2) Proceeding thence to Jerusalem, he had only to show himself at the head of his troops to disperse the Jewish camps. Their occupants fled up country; but the Jews in the city received him and disclaimed all responsibility for the revolt, asserting that they themselves had never stirred, that the festival had compelled them to admit the crowd, and that they had been rather besieged with the Romans than in league with the rebels. Prior to this, Varus had been met outside the city by Joseph, the cousin of Archelaus,² with Rufus and Gratus, at the head of the royal army and the Sebastenians, and by the Roman legionaries, in their customary equipment; for Sabinus, not venturing to face Varus, had previously left the city for the coast. Varus now detached part of his army to scour the country in search of the authors of the insurrection, many of whom were brought in. Those who appeared to be the less turbulent individuals he imprisoned; the most culpable, in number about two thousand, he crucified.

(3) He was informed that in Idumaea ten thousand still held together in arms. Finding that the Arabs were not properly conducting themselves as allies, but were rather making war to gratify their private resentment, and, from hatred of Herod, were doing more injury to the country than he had intended, he dismissed them, and with his own legions marched of Lydda at the foot of the Judæan hills, mod. Amwas, at one time Nicopolis, not the village much nearer to Jerusalem mentioned in Luke xxiv. 13.

³ Joseph, son of Herod's brother Joseph, who was killed at Jericho (A. xviii. 134, B. i. 323 f.).

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JOSEPHUS

77 τοὺς áφεστῶτας ἠπείγετο. κάκείνοι πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθειν Ἀχιάβου συμβουλεύσαντος σφᾶς αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν, Οὐάρος δὲ τῷ πλήθει μὲν ἢφει τὰς αὐτίας, τοὺς δὲ ἡγεμόνας ἐξετασθησομένους ἐπεμπεν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα. Καίσαρ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις συνέγνω, τινὰς δὲ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως συγγενῶν, ἂσαν γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἕνως προσήκοντες Ἡρώδη κατὰ γένος, κολάσαι προσέταξεν, ὧτι κατ’ οἰκείον

78 βασιλέως ἐστρατεύσαντο. Οὐάρος μὲν οὖν τούτου τὸν πρόπον καταστησάμενος τὰ ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωι καὶ φρουρᾶν καταλιπὼν τὸ καὶ πρότερον τάγμα εἰς ’Ἀντίοχειαν ἐπάνειοι.

79 (vi 1) ‘Αρχελάω δ’ ἐπὶ ’Ῥώμης πάλιν ἀλλή συνισταται δίκη πρὸς ’Ἰουδαίον, οἱ πρὸ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐπιτρέψαντο Οὐάρον πρέσβεις ἐξελιθωσαν περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτονομίας. ἤσαν δὲ πεντήκοντα μὲν οἱ παρόντες, συμπαρίσταντο δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπὶ ’Ῥώμης ’Ἰουδαίων ὑπὲρ ὦκτακισ-χιλίων. ἀθροίσαντος δὲ Καίσαρος συνέδριον τῶν ἐν τέλει ’Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸ Παλάτιον ’Ἄπόλλωνος ἱερῷ, κτίσμα δ’ ἦν ἴδιον αὐτοῦ θαυμασίω πολυτελεία κεκοσμημένου, μετὰ μὲν τῶν προσβευτῶν τὸ ’Ἰουδαϊκὸν πλῆθος ἐστη.

80 συν δὲ τοῖς φίλοις ἄντικρυς ’Αρχέλαος, τῶν δὲ τούτου συγγενῶν οἱ φίλοι παρ’ οὐδετέροις, συμπαριστασθαί μὲν ’Αρχελάω διὰ μίσος καὶ φθόνον οὐχ ὑπομένοντες, οὐφηναι δὲ μετὰ τῶν κατηγόρων ὑπὸ Καίσαρος αἰδοῦμενοι. τούτοις συμπαρῆν1 καὶ Φίλιππος ἄδελφος ’Αρχελάου, προπεμφθεὶς καὶ εὐνοιαν ὑπὸ Οὐάρου δυοὶ ἐνεκα, ’Αρχελάω τε συναγωνίσασθαι, κἂν διανέμῃ τὸν Ἡρώδου Καίσαρ οἶκον πάσι τοῖς ἐγγόνοις, κλήρου τινὸς ἂξιωθῆναι

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in haste to meet the rebels. They, before any action took place, on the advice of Achiab,\(^a\) surrendered; Varus discharged the rank and file and sent the leaders to Caesar for trial. Caesar pardoned all with the exception of certain individuals of royal blood, for their number included some relatives of Herod; these he ordered to be punished for taking up arms against a sovereign who was of their own family. Having thus restored order in Jerusalem, Varus left as garrison the legion previously quartered there and returned to Antioch.

(vi. 1) Meanwhile, Archelaus in Rome had to defend himself in a new suit against certain Jewish deputies who, before the revolt, had set out with the permission of Varus to plead for the autonomy of their nation. Fifty deputies appeared, but more than eight thousand of the Jews in Rome espoused their cause. Caesar assembled a council, composed of the Roman magistrates and his friends, in the temple of the Palatine Apollo, a building erected by himself with astonishingly rich ornamentation. The Jewish crowd took up a position with the deputies; opposite them was Archelaus with his friends; the friends of his relatives appeared neither on the one side nor on the other, scorning through hatred and envy to join Archelaus, yet ashamed to let Caesar see them among his accusers. Another person present was Philip, brother of Archelaus, whom Varus, out of friendliness, had sent off under escort with two objects: primarily to support Archelaus, but also to come in for a share of Herod’s estate in case Caesar should distribute it among all his descendants.

\(^a\) § 55.
84 (2) 'Επιτραπέν δὲ λέγειν τοὺς κατηγόροις τὰς 'Ηρώδου παρανομίας πρῶτον διεξήγεσαν, οὐ βασιλέα λέγοντες, ἀλλὰ τῶν πώποτε τυραννησάντων ὁμότατον ἐννοικέναι τύραννον: πλείστων γοῦν ἀνηρμένων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοιαύτα πεποιθέναι τοὺς καταλειφθέντας, ὡστε μακαρίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀπολωλότας.

85 βεβασανικέναι γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὰ σώματα τῶν ὕποτεταγμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πόλεις· τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἰδίας λειψῆθαι, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων κεκοσμηκέναι καὶ τὸ τῆς 'Ἰουδαίας ἀἷμα κεχαρίσθαι ποὺς ἔξωθεν δήμοις. ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐδαιμονίας καὶ τῶν πατρίων νόμων πενίας τὸ ἔθνος καὶ παρανομίας ἐσχάτης πεπληρωκέναι, καθόλου δὲ πλείους ὑπομεμενεκέναι τὰς ἐξ Ἡρώδου συμφορὰς ἐν ὅλιγοις ἔτεσι 'Ἰουδαίων ἢν ἐν παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Βαβυλώνος ἀναχώρησιν ἔπαθον οἱ πρόγονοι, Ἐρέξου βασιλεύσοντος ἀπανα-

87 στάντες. εἰς τοσούτον μέντοι μετριῶτητος1 καὶ τοῦ δυστυχεὶν ἔθους προελθεῖν, ὡστε ὑπομεῖναι τῆς πικρᾶς δουλείας καὶ διαδοχῆς αὐθαίρετον.

88 Ἀρχέλαον γοῦν τὸν τηλικοῦτον τυράννου παῖδα μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτῆν βασιλέα τε προσεπειν ἐποίμως καὶ συμπενθῆσαι τὸν Ἡρώδου βάνατον αὐτῷ καὶ συνείξασθαι περὶ τῆς διαδοχῆς.

89 τοῦ δ’ ὥσπερ ἄγωνιάσαντα, μὴ νόθος νῦν ἐστιν δέξειν Ἡρώδου, προοιμάσασθαι τὴν βασιλεία τρισχιλίων πολιτῶν φόνων, καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν παρεστακέναι θύματα περὶ τῆς ἄρχης τῷ θεῷ, τοσούτους

1 ΡΑΜ Lat.: ταπεινιότητος the rest.
2 ἐκ Hudson, Bekker.
(2) The plaintiffs, being given permission to state their case, began by enumerating Herod’s enormities. “It was not a king,” they said, “whom they had had to tolerate, but the most cruel tyrant that ever existed. Numerous had been his victims, but the survivors had suffered so much that they envied the fate of the dead. For he had tortured not only the persons of his subjects, but also their cities; and while he crippled the towns in his own dominion, he embellished those of other nations, lavishing the life-blood of Judaea on foreign communities. In place of their ancient prosperity and ancestral laws, he had sunk the nation to poverty and the last degree of iniquity. In short, the miseries which Herod in the course of a few years had inflicted on the Jews surpassed all that their forefathers had suffered during all the time since they left Babylon to return to their country in the reign of Xerxes. And yet so chastened and habituated to misfortune had they become, that they had consented to this bitter servitude being made hereditary and had actually chosen the heir themselves! This Archelaus, son of such a tyrant, they had, on his father’s decease, promptly acclaimed king; they had joined in his mourning for Herod’s death, in his prayers for the prosperity of his own reign. But he, anxious apparently not to be taken for a bastard son of Herod, had ushered in his reign with the massacre of three thousand citizens; that was the grand total of the victims which he had offered to God on behalf of his throne, that was the number of corpses with which he had filled the

\*i.e. the return under Ezra, which Josephus (A. xi. 120) places in the reign of Xerxes, not as in the O.T. in that of Artaxerxes.
90 δ' ἐμπεπληκέναι νεκροὶς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐν ἔορτῃ. τοὺς μέντοι περιλειφθέντας ἐκ τοσοῦτων κακῶν εἰκότως ἐπεστράφθαι ποτὲ ἦδη¹ πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ πολέμου νόμω τὰς πληγὰς ἐθέλειν κατὰ πρόσωπον δέχεσθαι, δείσθαι δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἔλεησαι τὰ τε τῆς Ἰουδαίας λείψανα καὶ μὴ τὸ περίσσον αὐτῆς ὑπορρίψαι τοῖς ἁμίσωσ σπαράττουσιν, συνάψαντας δὲ τῇ Συρίᾳ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῖς διωκεῖν ἐπὶ ἵδιος ἡγεμόναν ἐπιδιεξεθαί γὰρ, ὡς οἱ νῦν στασιώδεις διαβαλλόμενοι καὶ πολεμικοὶ φέρειν οὐδασιν μετρίους ἡγεμόνας. Ἰουδαίου μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῆς κατηγορίας κατέληξαν εἰς τοιαύτην ἀξίωσιν, ἀναστὰς δὲ Νικόλαος ἀπελύσατο³ μὲν τὰς εἰς τοὺς βασιλεῖς αἰτίας, κατηγόρει δὲ τοῦ ἐθνοῦς τὸ τε δύσαρκτον καὶ τὸ δυσπεθὲς φύσει πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς. συνιδέσαλλε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀρχελάον συγγενεῖς, ὅσιο πρὸς τοὺς κατηγόρους ἀφειστήκεσαν.

92 (3) Τότε μὲν οὖν Καίσαρ ἄκούσας ἐκατέρων διέλυσε τὸ συνέδριον, μετὰ δ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας τὸ μὲν ἡμισὺ τῆς βασιλείας Ἀρχελάω δίδωσιν ἐθνάρχην προσείπων, ὑποσχόμενος δὲ καὶ βασιλέα ποιήσειν, εἰ ᾧν ἐαυτὸν παράσχοι, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἡμισὺ διελὼν εἰς δύο τετραρχίας δυσὶν ἐτέρους παίσιν Ἡρώδου δίδωσιν, τὴν μὲν Φιλίππω, τὴν δὲ Ἀντίπα τῷ πρὸς Ἀρχελάον ἀμφισβήτησιν

93 περὶ τῆς βασιλείας. ἐγένετο δὲ ὑπὸ τούτῳ μὲν ἥ τε Περαιά καὶ Γαλιλαία, πρόσοδος διακοσίων ταλάντων, Βατανέα δὲ καὶ Τράχων Αὐρανίτις τε

¹ ἦδη ποτὲ LVRC. ² trs. τε τὰ ed. pr. ³ Niese and others from Lat. ἀπελύσατο mss.; cf. B. i. 452. ⁴ Niese: παράσχη mss.
Temple at a festival! It was, however, but natural that those who had survived such disasters should now at length turn and confront their calamities and desire to face their blows, in accordance with the laws of war. They implored the Romans to take pity on the relics of Judaea and not to fling what remained of it to those who were savagely rending it in pieces, but to unite their country to Syria and to entrust the administration to governors from among themselves. The Jews would then show that, calumniated though they now were as factious and always at war, they knew how to obey equitable rulers." With this petition the Jews brought their accusation to a close. Nicolas then rose and, after refuting the charges brought against the occupants of the throne, retorted by an accusation of the national character, impatient of all authority and insubordinate towards their sovereigns. The relatives of Archelaus who had gone over to his accusers also came in for a share of his strictures.

(3) Caesar, after hearing both parties, dismissed the assembly. His decision was announced a few days later: he gave half the kingdom to Archelaus, with the title of ethnarch, promising, moreover, to make him king, should he prove his deserts; the other half he divided into two tetrarchies, which he presented to two other sons of Herod, one to Philip, the other to Antipas, who had disputed the throne with Archelaus. Antipas had for his province Peraea and Galilee, with a revenue of two hundred talents. Batanaea, Trachonitis, Auranitis and certain portions
καὶ μέρη τινὰ τοῦ Ζήνωνος οἰκοῦ τὰ περὶ Πανιάδα, ¹ πρόσοδον ἔχοντα ταλάντων ἐκατόν, ὕπὸ Φιλίππως τέτακτο. τῆς Ἀρχελάου δ' ἐθναρχίας Ἰδουμαία τε καὶ Ἰουδαία πᾶσα καὶ Σαμαρείτις ἤν, κεκοφισμένη τετάρτῳ μέρει τῶν φόρων εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστήματος. πόλεις δ' ύπηκόους παρέλαβεν Στράτωνος πύργον καὶ Σεβαστὴν καὶ Ἰούπτων καὶ Ἰερουσαλήμ. τὰς γὰρ Ἑλληνίδας Γάζαν καὶ Γάδαρα καὶ Ἰππον ἀποτεμόμενος τῆς βασιλείας προσέθηκεν Συρία. πρόσοδος [δ'] ² ἦν τῆς Ἀρχελάου δοθείσης χώρας τετρακοσίων ταλάντων. Σαλώμη δὲ πρὸς οίς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις κατέλυπεν Ἰαμνείας τε καὶ Ἀζώτου καὶ Φασαγιόδος ἀποδείκνυται δεσπότης, χαρίζεται δ' αὐτῇ Καίσαρ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀσκαλώνι βασιλείας συνήγετο δ' ἐκ πάντων ἔξηκοντα προσόδου τάλαντά τὸν δ' οἰκίαν αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀρχελάου τοπορχίαν ἐταξέν. τῆς δ' ἄλλης Ἡρώδου γενεὰς ἐκαστὸς τὸ καταλειφθὲν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις ἐκομιζέτο. δυσὶ δ' αὐτοῦ θυγατράσι παρθένοις Καίσαρ ἔξωθεν χαρίζεται πεινήκοντα μυρίάδας ἀργυρίου καὶ ¹ So Reinach after Graetz and Schürer, cf. A. xvii. 189: the mss. have Ἴννανο, Ἰναν or Ἐνωνειαν, the last a worthless conjecture, conflicting with § 98. ² om. P.

100 συνώκησεν αὐτὸς τοῖς Φερώμα παισίν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦ οἰκίαν ἐπιδιένεμεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἕαυτῷ καταλείφθείσαι ὑφ' Ἡρώδου δωρεάν, οὐσαν χιλίων

a Called in the parallel passage (A. xvii. 319) and elsewhere (e.g. B. i. 398) Zenodorus.
of the domain of Zeno in the neighbourhood of Panias, producing a revenue of a hundred talents, were allotted to Philip. The ethnarchy of Archelaus comprised the whole of Idumaea and Judaea, besides the district of Samaria, which had a quarter of its tribute remitted in consideration of its having taken no part in the insurrection. The cities subjected to Archelaus were Strato's Tower, Sebaste, Joppa and Jerusalem; the Greek towns of Gaza, Gadara, and Hippos were, on the other hand, detached from his principality and annexed to Syria. The territory given to Archelaus produced a revenue of four hundred talents. Salome, besides the legacy which the king had left her in his will, was declared mistress of Jamnia, Azotus and Phasaelis; Caesar also made her a present of the palace of Ascalon, her revenue from all sources amounting to sixty talents; her estates, however, were placed under the jurisdiction of Archelaus. Each of the other members of Herod's family received the legacy named in the will. To the king's two unmarried daughters Caesar presented, in addition, 500,000 (drachms) of silver and gave them in marriage to the sons of Pheroras. After this division of the estate, he further distributed among the family Herod's legacy to himself, amount-

b The region to the south and east of Caesarea Philippi and referred to as "Ituraea" in Luke iii. 1 ("Philip, tetrarch of the region of Ituraea and Trachonitis").

c Caesarea-on-sea.

d Samaria.

e 600 according to A. xvii. 320.

f Greek "toparchy."

g Roxane and Salome (i. 563).
talántwv, éutelh tina twn keimηlìwn eis tìn tòu katóixoménon tìmìn exe粮油nos.

101 (vii. 1) Kàv toutrw neaìas tìs Ἰουδαίως μέν tò gênos, trageìs dé en Σιδώνι parà tìw tòw Ἰωμαιών ἀπελευθέρω,1 di' ómioístta morfìs ψευδόμενος εὐαυτών Ἀλέξανδρον τòν ἀναρεθέντα ὑφ' Ἡρώδου, káti ἐλπιδα τοῦ λήσειν ἤκεν εἰς

102 Ὀμήν. συνεργος δ' ἢν τις όμοφυλος αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπιστάμενος, ὡς οἱ περιμένετε ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Ἀριστοβουῦλου δι' οἰκτῶν ἐκκλήσειαν αὐτῶν ὑποβολῆ σωμάτων.

103 τούτων γοῦν τοὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ Ἰουδαίους ἐξε- απατήσας καὶ λαμπρῶς ἐφοδιάσθησις διέπλευσεν εἰς Μήλων. εἴθα συναγείρας πολλῷ πλέων δι' ύπερβολῆ ἀξιοπιστίας ἀνέπεισεν καὶ τοὺς ἰδιοκένους

104 εἰς Ὀμήν ἀυτῷ συνεκπλεῦσαι. καταχθείς δὲ εἰς Δικαιώρχειαν δώρα τε παμπληθῇ παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίων λαμβάνει καὶ καθάπερ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν πατρών προεπέμφθη φίλων. προ- εληφθεὶ δ' εἰς τοσοῦτον πίστεως τοῦ τῆς μορφῆς ὁμοίων, ὡστε τοὺς ἑωρακότας Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ

105 σαφῶς ἐπισταμένους διόμισθαι τούτων εἶναι. τὸ γε μὴν Ἰουδαίκον ἐν τῇ Ὀμῆν ἄπαν ἑξεχύθη πρὸς τὴν θέαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πλῆθος ἀπειρον ἢν περὶ τοὺς στενωποὺς δι' ὤν ἐκομίζετο· καὶ γὰρ [δή]2 προῆλθον εἰς τοσοῦτον φρενοβλαβείας οἱ Μήλιοι,

1 Ἰωμαιῶν ἀπελευθέρων many mss.
2 om. P.
ing to a thousand a talents, reserving only some trifling works of art which he kept in honour of the deceased.

(vii. 1) At this time a young man who, though by birth a Jew, had been brought up at Sidon at the house of a Roman freedman, on the strength of a certain physical resemblance passed himself off as the prince Alexander, whom Herod had put to death, b and came to Rome in the hope of imposing upon others. He had as his assistant a compatriot, perfectly acquainted with the affairs of the realm, acting upon whose instructions he gave out that the executioners sent to kill him and Aristobulus had, out of compassion, stolen them away, substituting in their stead the corpses of individuals who resembled them. With this tale he completely deceived the Jews of Crete, and, being handsomely furnished with supplies, sailed across to Melos, where, through the extreme plausibility of his story, he collected a much larger sum and even induced his hosts to embark with him for Rome. Landing at Dicaearchia, c he was loaded with presents by the Jewish colony there and was escorted on his way like a king by the friends of his supposed father. The resemblance was so convincing that those who had seen Alexander and known him well swore that this was he. At Rome all Jewry poured forth to see him, and vast crowds thronged the narrow streets through which he was borne; for the crazy Melians went so far as to carry

given in B. is probably right: we are told in B. i. 646 (as in the parallel passage in A.) that Herod left 1000 talents to Augustus and 500 to his wife, children, and friends. A drachm was “the ordinary day wage of a labourer”; a talent was 6000 drachms.

b i. 551. c The Greek name for Puteoli (Vita 16).
JOSEPHUS

όστε φορείω τε αυτόν κομίζειν καὶ θεραπείαν 
βασιλικήν ἰδίοις παρασχείν ἄναλώμασιν.

106 (2) Καίσαρ δὲ γυνώσκων [άκριβῶς]¹ τοὺς Ἀλεξ-
άνδρου χαρακτήρας, κατηχόρητο γὰρ ὑφ 'Ἡρώδου
παρ' αὐτῷ, συνεώρα μὲν καὶ πρὶν ἵδειν τὸν
ἀνθρώπον τὴν τῆς ὁμοιότητος ἀπάτην, διδοὺς
dὲ τι καὶ [πίστεως]² ταῖς ὦλαρωτέραις ἔλπισιν
Κέλαδόν τινα πέμπει τῶν σαφῶς ἐπισταμένων
Ἀλέξανδρον, κελεύσας ἀγαγεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν νεανί-

107 σκον. ὦ δὲ ὃς εἶδεν, ἐτεκμήρατο μὲν τάχιστα καὶ
tὰς διαφορὰς τοῦ προσώπου, τὸ δὲ ὀλὸν σώμα
σκληρότερον τε καὶ δουλοφανές καταμαθῶν εὖνὸσεν

108 πάν τὸ σύνταγμα. πάνυ δὲ αὐτὸν παρώξυνεν ἡ
τόλμα τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ λεγομένων. τοὺς γὰρ
πυνθανομένοις περὶ Ἀριστοβούλου σώζεσθαι μὲν
κάκεινον ἔλεγεν, ἀπολεείφθαι δ' ἔπιτηθες ἐν
Κύπρῳ τὰς ἑπιβουλὰς φυλασσόμενον. ἤττον γὰρ

109 ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι διεξευγμένους. ἀπολαβόμενος οὖν
αὐτὸν κατ' ἴδιαν "μυσθὸν," ἔφη, "παρὰ Καίσαρος
ἐχεις τὸ ζήν τοῦ μηνύσαι τὸν ἀναπείσαντά σε
πλανᾶσθαι τηλικαύτα." κάκεινος αὐτῷ δηλώ-
σεως ἐπίσης ἐπιται πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Ἰουδαίον
ἐνδείκνυται καταχρησάμενον αὐτοῦ τῇ ὁμοιότητι
ἐνδέχεσθαι τοις ἔργοις καὶ τὸν ἐλεεθέναι δώρα καθ'
ἐκάστην πόλιν ὁσα ζῶν Ἀλεξανδρὶ ὦκε ἔλαβεν.

110 γελάσας δὲ Καίσαρ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν μὲν ψευδάλεξ-
άνδρον δι' ἑυεξίαν σώματος ἐγκατέταξεν τοῖς ἑρέ-
ταις, τὸν ἀναπείσαντα δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἀναφεθῆναι.
Μὴλίοις δ' ἥρκεσεν ἐπιτίμιον τῆς ἀνοίας τὰ ἀνα-
λώματα.

1 om. P.A.M. 2 om. Lat., perhaps rightly; cf. A. ||. ³ πλάσασθαι LVRC. ⁴ om. οὖκ P.A.M.
him in a litter and to provide a royal retinue at their own expense.

(2) Caesar, who had an exact recollection of Alexander's features, as he had been arraigned by Herod at his tribunal, detected, even before he had seen the fellow, that the affair was an imposture, based on resemblance; however, to give a chance to a more favourable hope, he sent Celadus, one of those who knew Alexander best, with orders to bring the young man to him. Celadus had no sooner set eyes on him than he detected the points of difference in the face, and noting that his whole person had a coarser and servile appearance, penetrated the whole plot. The audacity of the fellow's statements quite exasperated him. For, when questioned about Aristobulus, he was in the habit of replying that he, too, was alive, but had been purposely left behind in Cyprus as a precaution against treachery, as they were less exposed to assault when separated. Celadus, therefore, took him aside and said, "Caesar will reward you by sparing your life, if you will inform him who induced you to play such a trick." Promising Celadus to give the required information, he accompanied him to Caesar and denounced the Jew who had thus traded upon his resemblance to Alexander; for, as he said, he had in every town received more presents than Alexander ever received in his lifetime. Caesar laughed at these words and enrolled the pseudo-Alexander, as an able-bodied man, among the oarsmen of his galleys; his inspiring genius he ordered to execution. As for the Melians he considered them sufficiently punished for their folly by their lavish extravagance.

\[a i. 452.\]
From this point until the outbreak of the war the narrative becomes much more condensed. Probably the work of Nicolas of Damascus, the source hitherto followed, ended here.

"The tenth" A. xvii. 342: so Dio Cass. lv. 27, and cf. the allusion to the 10th year of Archelaus in Vita 5 (Reinach).
(3) Archelaus,\(^a\) on taking possession of his eth-
narchy, did not forget old feuds, but treated not only the Jews but even the Samaritans with great brutality. Both parties sent deputies to Caesar to
denounce him, and in the ninth \(^b\) year of his rule he was banished to Vienna,\(^c\) a town in Gaul, and his property confiscated to the imperial treasury. It is said that, before he received his summons from Caesar, he had this dream: he thought he saw nine tall and full-grown ears of corn on which oxen were
browsing. He sent for the soothsayers and some Chaldaeans and asked them their opinion of its meaning. Various interpretations being given, a
certain Simon, of the sect \(^d\) of the Essenes, said that in his view the ears of corn denoted years and the oxen a revolution, because in ploughing they turn over the soil; he would therefore reign for as many years as there were ears of corn and would die after a chequered experience of revolutionary changes.\(^e\) Five days later Archelaus was summoned to his trial.

(4) I think mention may also fitly be made of the
dream of his wife Glaphyra. Daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, she had for her first husband Alexander,\(^f\) the brother of Archelaus, of whom we have been speaking, and son of King Herod, who

\(^a\) A city of the Allobroges in Gallia Narbonensis, on the east bank of the Rhone, mod. Vienne.
\(^b\) Greek "race."
\(^c\) Reinach suggests that the dream of Archelaus, modelled on Pharaoh's dream in Genesis, is a piece of Essene Haggadah which Josephus learnt during his stay with the hermit Bannus (Vita 11). The historian claims to be an interpreter of dreams himself (B. iii. 352).
\(^d\) i. 446. After Alexander's death Herod sent her back to her father with her dowry but without her children (i. 553).
Πάντων δ’ ἐν ἑτοίμῳ γεγενημένων χρυσίου τε [καὶ ἄργυρον] καὶ χαλκοῦ καὶ τῶν υφαντῶν, προειπὼν ἔστρα Ἡλιουσί Πυθαγόρας καὶ θυσίας κατ’ τὴν ἑκάστου δύναμιν ἵστη τὴν σκηνήν, πρῶτον μὲν αἰθριον διαμετρησάμενος το μὲν εὗρος πεντήκοντα

1 Bernard: viōs codd., 2 ins. Lat.: om. codd.

a Bibl. Bezalel.
b mss. erroneously “son.” Exodus mentions his grandfather Hur, and Hur according to Josephus was the husband of Miriam (§ 54).
JEWISH WAR, II. 114–118 (=ANT. xvii. 349–xvii. 4)

put him to death, as we have already related. After his death she married Juba, king of Libya,\(^a\) on whose decease\(^b\) she returned home and lived in widowhood with her father. There Archelaus, the ethnarch, saw her and fell so passionately in love with her that he instantly divorced his wife Mariamme\(^c\) and married her. So she came back to Judaea, where, not long after her arrival, she imagined that Alexander stood beside her and said: “Your Libyan marriage might have sufficed you, but, not content with that, you now return to my hearth and home, having taken to yourself a third husband, and him, audacious woman, my own brother.\(^d\) But I will not brook this outrage and shall reclaim you whether you will or no.” After relating this dream she survived barely two days.

(viii. 1) The territory of Archelaus was now reduced to a province, and Coponius, a Roman of the equestrian order, was sent out as procurator, entrusted by Augustus with full powers, including the infliction of capital punishment. Under his administration, a Galilaean, named Judas,\(^e\) incited his countrymen to revolt, upbraiding them as cowards childless, when it was obligatory, Deut. xxv. 5 (Mark xii. 19). Glaphyra had two children by Alexander; A. xvii. 341 emphasizes this fact.

\(^a\) Judas of Galilee (as he is called here and in Gamaliel’s speech in Acts v. 37) or of Gamala in Gaulanitis (A. xviii. 4) was the founder of the Zealots, whose fanaticism and violence under Florus, the last of the procurators, hastened the war with Rome. Of the issue of the revolt we learn only from Acts loc. cit.: Judas was killed and his followers dispersed. There is no sufficient reason for identifying this fanatic doctor, as Schürer does, with the brigand Judas, son of Ezechias, who raised an insurrection in Galilee after the death of Herod (B. ii. 56).
φόρον τε 'Ρωμαίους τελείν ύπομενοῦσιν καὶ μετὰ τὸν θεὸν οἴσουσι βυητοὺς δεσπότας. ἦν δ’ οὗτος σοφιστὴς ἴδιας αἰρέσεως οὐδὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις προσεοικώς.

119 (2) Τρία γὰρ παρὰ 'Ιουδαίοις εἶδη φιλοσοφεῖται, καὶ τοῦ μὲν αἱρετισταὶ Φαρισαίοι, τοῦ δὲ Σαδ- δονκαίοι, τρίτον δὲ, ὁ δὴ καὶ δοκεῖ σεμνότητα ἀσκεῖν, 'Εσσηνοὶ καλοῦνται, 'Ιουδαίοι μὲν γένος ὄντες, φιλάλληλοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλέον. οὗτοι τὰς μὲν ἴδουνας ὡς κακίαν ἀποστρέφονται, τὴν δὲ ἐγκράτειάν καὶ τὸ μὴ τοῖς πάθεσιν ύποπίπτειν ἁρετὴν ύπολαμβάνουσιν, καὶ γάμου μὲν παρ’ αὐτοῖς υπεροψία, τοὺς δ’ ἀλλοτρίους παίδας ἐκ- λαμβάνοντες ἀπαλοῦσ’ ἐτι πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα συγ- γενεῖς ἤγονται καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσιν αὐτῶν ἐντυποῦσι, τοὺς μὲν γάμου καὶ τὴν ἔξ αὐτοῦ διαδοχὴν οὐκ ἀναρότυντες, τὰς δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν ἁσελγείας φυλαττόμενοι καὶ μηδεμίαν τηρεῖν πεπεισμένοι τὴν πρὸς ἐνα πίστιν.

121 (3) Καταφρονηταὶ δὲ πλοῦτου, καὶ θαυμάσιον [παρ’] αὐτοῖς τὸ κοινωνικόν, οὐδὲ ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν κτῆσει τινὰ παρ’ αὐτοῖς ὑπερέχοντα· νόμος γὰρ τοὺς εἰς τὴν αἰρέσιν εἰσιόντας δημεῦει τῷ τάγματι

1 om. P.

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a An exaggerated statement, corrected in A. xviii. 23 ("while they agree in all other respects with the Pharisees, they have an invincible passion for liberty and take God for their only leader and lord").

b A shorter sketch of the three sects is given in A. xviii. 11-22, where the author refers to the fuller statement in the
for consenting to pay tribute to the Romans and tolerating mortal masters, after having God for their lord. This man was a sophist who founded a sect of his own, having nothing in common with the others.\footnote{a}

(2) Jewish philosophy, in fact, takes three forms. The followers of the first school are called Pharisees, of the second Sadducees, of the third Essenes.\footnote{b}

The Essenes have a reputation for cultivating peculiar sanctity.\footnote{c} Of Jewish birth, they show a greater attachment to each other than do the other sects. They shun pleasures as a vice and regard temperance and the control of the passions as a special virtue. Marriage they disdain, but they adopt other men’s children, while yet pliable and docile, and regard them as their kin and mould them in accordance with their own principles. They do not, indeed, on principle, condemn wedlock and the propagation thereby of the race, but they wish to protect themselves against women’s wantonness, being persuaded that none of the sex keeps her plighted troth to one man.

(3) Riches they despise, and their community of goods is truly admirable; you will not find one among them distinguished by greater opulence than another. They have a law that new members on admission to the sect shall confiscate their property present passage. He has first-hand knowledge, having “passed through the three courses” himself (\textit{Vita} 11).

\footnote{c} Or “solemnity.” The name Essene probably means “pious” (Aram. \textit{haša}); Philo connected it with the Greek ὅσιος: ‘Εσσαίοι . . . παρώνυμοι ὁσίότητος (\textit{Quod omnis probus liber}, § 12); καλούνται μὲν Ἦσσαίοι παρὰ τὴν ὁσίότητα μοι δοκῶ τῆς προσηγορίας ἀξιωθέντες (\textit{ap. Eus. Praep. Ev.} viii. 11). Philo, Pliny (\textit{Nat. Hist.} v. 17), and Josephus are our three authorities on the sect.
τὴν οὐσίαν, ὡστε ἐν ἄπασιν μὴτε πενίας ταπεινότητα φαίνεσθαι μὴθ' ὑπεροχὴν πλούτου, τῶν δ' ἐκάστου κτημάτων ἀναμεμημένων μιᾶν ὠσπερ
123 ἀδελφοῖς ἄπασιν οὐσίαν εἶναι. κηλίδα δ' ὑπολαμβάνουσι τούλαιον, κἂν ἀλειφθῇ τις ἄκων, σμήχεται τὸ σῶμα· τὸ γὰρ αὐχεῖν ἐν καλῷ τίθενται, λευχεμοῦνει τε διαπαντός. χειροτονητοῖ δ' οἱ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμεληταὶ καὶ αἱρετοὶ πρὸς ἀπάντων εἰς τὰς χρείας ἐκάστου. 

124 (4) Μία δ' οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῶν πόλεις, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκάστῃ μετοικοῦσιν πολλοί. καὶ τοῖς ἐπέρωθεν ἥκουσιν αἱρετισταῖς πάντ' ἀναπέπταται τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως ὠσπερ ἴδια, καὶ πρὸς οὐς οὐ πρό-
125 τερον εἰδον εἰσίασιν ὡς συνηθεστάτους· διό καὶ ποιοῦνται τὰς ἀποδημίας οὐδὲν μὲν ὀλος ἐπικομιζόμενοι, διὰ δὲ τοὺς ληστὰς ἐνοπλοι. κηδε- 
126 μῶν δ' ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει τοῦ τάγματος ἐξαιρέτως τῶν ξένων ἀποδεικνυταὶ, ταμιεύων ἐσθήτα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. καταστολὴ δὲ καὶ σχῆμα σώματος ὁμοίου τοῖς μετὰ φόβου παιδαγωγοῦ ἕνωσ παισίν. οւτε δὲ ἐσθήτας ουτε ὑποδήματα ἀμείβοντο πρὶν διαρραγήναι τὸ πρότερον παιτάπατων ἤ δᾶπα-
127 νηθήμαι τῷ χρόνῳ. οὐδὲν δ' ἐν ἄλληλοις ουτ' ἀγοράζοντοι ουτε πωλοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν χρησιμοτι 
διόδους ἐκαστὸς τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ τὸ [παρ' ἐκείνου] ἡ δῆμος ἀντικομιζέται· καὶ χωρὶς δὲ τῆς ἀντι-
128 δόσεως ἀκόλυτος ἡ μετάληψις αὐτοῖς παρ' ἔν ἄν ἀν 

1 Bekker on ms. authority: ἀδαιρέτω· the rest. 2 om. P. 3 om. παρ' Bekker, Naber, "to take whatever they choose."

127)
to the order, with the result that you will nowhere see either abject poverty or inordinate wealth; the individual's possessions join the common stock and all, like brothers, enjoy a single patrimony. Oil they consider defiling, and anyone who accidentally comes in contact with it scours his person; for they make a point of keeping a dry skin and of always being dressed in white. They elect officers to attend to the interests of the community, the special services of each officer being determined by the whole body.

(4) They occupy no one city, but settle in large numbers in every town. On the arrival of any of the sect from elsewhere, all the resources of the community are put at their disposal, just as if they were their own; and they enter the houses of men whom they have never seen before as though they were their most intimate friends. Consequently, they carry nothing whatever with them on their journeys, except arms as a protection against brigands. In every city there is one of the order expressly appointed to attend to strangers, who provides them with raiment and other necessaries. In their dress and deportment they resemble children under rigorous discipline. They do not change their garments or shoes until they are torn to shreds or worn threadbare with age. There is no buying or selling among themselves, but each gives what he has to any in need and receives from him in exchange something useful to himself; they are, moreover, freely permitted to take anything from any of their brothers without making any return.

(5) Their piety towards the Deity takes a peculiar
γάρ ἀνασχείν τὸν ἥλιον οὐδὲν φθέγγονται τῶν βεβήλων, πατρίους δὲ τινας εἰς αὐτὸν εὐχᾶς.

129 ὥσπερ ἱετεύοντες ἀνατείλαι. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς ὅσ ἐκαστοί τέχνας ἱσασὶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν διαφέρεται, καὶ μέχρι πεμπτῆς ὥρας ἐργασάμενοι συντόνως πάλιν εἰς ἐν συναθροίζονται χωρίον, ξωσάμενοι τε σκεπάσμασιν λινοῖς οὕτως ἀπολούονται τὸ σώμα φυχροὶ ὕδασιν, καὶ μετὰ ταύτην τὴν ἄγνείαν εἰς ἕδιον οἴκημα συνίασιν, ἐνθα μηδενὶ τῶν ἐπεροδοξῶν ἐπιτετραπτα παρελθείν, αὐτὸς τε καθαροὶ καθάπερ εἰς ἁγίον τι

130 τέμενος παραγίνονται τὸ δειπνητήριον. καὶ καθισάντων μεθ᾽ ἡσυχίας ὁ μὲν σιτοποιοῦ ἐν τάξι παρατίθησι τοὺς ἄρτους, ὁ δὲ μάγειρος ἐν ἁγγείον

131 ἐξ ἔνος ἐδέσματος ἐκάστῳ παρατίθησιν. προκατεύχεται δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς τῆς τροφῆς, καὶ γεύσασθαι τινα πρὶν τῆς εὐχῆς ἀθέμιτον ἀριστοποιησάμενοι

δ᾽ ἐπενύχεται πάλιν ἀρχόμενοι τε καὶ πανόμενοι γεραῖοι θεοῦ ὡς χορηγοῖ τῆς ζωῆς. ἐπειδὴ ὡς ἱερᾶς καθαρέμενοι τᾶς ἐσθήτας πάλιν ἐπ᾽ ἐργα

132 μέχρι δείλης τρέπονται. δειπνοῦσι δ᾽ ὀμοίως ὑποστρέφαντες συνκαθεξομένων τῶν ἔξων, εἰ τύχοιν αὐτοῖς παρόντες. οὔτε δὲ κραυγὴ ποτὲ τὸν οἶκον οὔτε θόρυβος μιαίνει, τὰς δὲ λαλιὰς ἐν

133 τάξει παραχωροῦσιν ἀλλήλοις. καὶ τοῖς ἐξωθεν ὡς μυστήριον τι φρικτὸν ἢ τῶν ἐνδον σιωπὴ καταφαίεται, τοῦτον δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἡ διηνεκὴς νήψις καὶ

1 Some mss. of Porphyry: ἀριστοποιησάμενοι mss. of Josephus.

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"Cf. § 145. "the rays of the God." How far the Essenes, with their affinities to Judaism, can be regarded as sun-worshippers is doubtful. But, un-Jewish as this custom
Before the sun is up they utfer no word on mundane matters, but offer to him certain prayers, which have been handed down from their forefathers, as though entreatiug him to rise. They are then dismissed by their superiors to the various crafts in which they are severally proficient and are strenuously employed until the fifth hour, when they again assemble in one place and, after girding their loins with linen cloths, bathe their bodies in cold water. After this purification, they assemble in a private apartment which none of the uninitiated is permitted to enter; pure now themselves, they repair to the refectory, as to some sacred shrine. When they have taken their seats in silence, the baker serves out the loaves to them in order, and the cook sets before each one plate with a single course. Before meat the priest says a grace, and none may partake until after the prayer. When breakfast is ended, he pronounces a further grace; thus at the beginning and at the close they do homage to God as the bountiful giver of life. Then laying aside their raiment, as holy vestments, they again betake themselves to their labours until the evening. On their return they sup in like manner, and any guests who may have arrived sit down with them. No clamour or disturbance ever pollutes their dwelling; they speak in turn, each making way for his neighbour. To persons outside the silence of those within appears like some awful mystery; it is in fact due to their invariable sobriety and to the limitation of their seems, there was a time when even Jews at Jerusalem “turned their backs on the Temple and their faces towards the east and worshipped the sun towards the east” (Mishnah, Sukkah, v. 2-4; Ezek. viii. 16).
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τὸ μετρεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς τροφῆν καὶ ποτὸν μέχρι κόρου.

134 (6) Τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τι μὴ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν προσταξάντων ἐνεργοῦσι, δύο δὲ ταύτα παρ' αὐτοῖς αὐτεξούσια, ἔπικουρία καὶ ἐλεος· βοηθεῖν τε γὰρ τοὺς ἄξιοις, ὅποταν δέωνται, καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐφίεται καὶ τροφᾶς ἀπορομένοις ὁρέγειν. τάς δὲ εἰς τοὺς συγγενεῖς μεταδόσεις
135 οὐκ ἔστι ποιεῖσθαι δίχα τῶν ἐπιτρόπων. ὄργῆς ταμία δίκαιοι, θυμοῦ καθεκτικοὶ, πίστεως προστάται, εἰρήνης ὑπουργοὶ. καὶ πάν μὲν τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἵσχυστὸν ὄρκου, τὸ δὲ ὁμοῦν [αὐτοῖς]1 περισταται χείρων τῆς ἐπιορκίας ὑπολαμβάνοντες: ἥδη γὰρ κατεγνώσθαι φασιν τὸν
136 ἀπιστοῦμενον δίχα θεοῦ. σπουδάζουσι δ' ἐκτόπως περὶ τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν συντάγματα, μάλιστα τὰ πρὸς ὑφέλειαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἐκλέγοντες· ἐνθεν αὐτοῖς πρὸς θεραπείαν παθῶν βίζαι τε ἀλεξητήριοι καὶ λίθων ἱδίοτητες ἀνερευνώνται.

137 (7) Τοῖς δὲ ἐξῆλθον τὴν αὐγεσιν αὐτῶν οὐκ εὐθὺς ἢ πάροδος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἔξω μένοντι τὴν αὐτὴν ὑποτίθενται δίαιταν, ἄξιωρίον τε καὶ τὸ προερημένον περίζωμα καὶ λευκὴν ἐσθήτα
138 δόντες. ἐπειδὰν δὲ τούτω τῷ χρόνῳ πειραν ἐγκρατείας δῶ, πρόσεισιν μὲν ἐγγυον τῇ διαίτῃ καὶ

1 om. Dindorf with one ms.: the incorrect reading περισταται has probably caused the insertion of the pronoun.

a Or “when they ask an alms.”
b Herod himself excused them from taking the oath of allegiance (J. xv. 371). The “tremendous oaths” sworn on admission to the order (§ 139) form a curious exception.
c i.e. probably charms or amulets. Lightfoot, Colossians
allotted portions of meat and drink to the demands of nature.

(6) In all other matters they do nothing without orders from their superiors; two things only are left to individual discretion, the rendering of assistance and compassion. Members may of their own motion help the deserving, when in need, and supply food to the destitute; but presents to relatives are prohibited, without leave from the managers. Holding righteous indignation in reserve, they are masters of their temper, champions of fidelity, very ministers of peace. Any word of theirs has more force than an oath; swearing they avoid, regarding it as worse than perjury, for they say that one who is not believed without an appeal to God stands condemned already. They display an extraordinary interest in the writings of the ancients, singling out in particular those which make for the welfare of soul and body; with the help of these, and with a view to the treatment of diseases, they make investigations into medicinal roots and the properties of stones.

(7) A candidate anxious to join their sect is not immediately admitted. For one year, during which he remains outside the fraternity, they prescribe for him their own rule of life, presenting him with a small hatchet, the loin-cloth already mentioned, and white raiment. Having given proof of his temperance during this probationary period, he is brought into closer touch with the rule and is allowed (ed. 8), pp. 89 f. note, connecting this passage with Ant. viii. 44 ff. (on Solomon’s power over demons), regards the “writings” as Solomonian books and the Essenes as primarily dealers in charms, rather than physicians.

d The object of this is explained below (§ 148).

§ 129.
καθαρωτέρων τῶν πρὸς ἀγνεῖαν ὤδατων μεταλαμβάνει, παραλαμβάνεται δὲ εἰς τὰς συμβιώσεις οὐδέπως. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν τῆς καρτερίας ἐπίδειξιν δυσὶν ἄλλοις ἔτεσιν τὸ ἤθος δοκιμάζεται καὶ φανεῖς

139 ἄξιος οὖτως εἰς τὸν ὁμιλον ἐγκρίνεται. πρὶν δὲ τῆς κοινῆς ἁψασθαι προφήτης ὁρκοὺς αὐτοῖς ὀμνυσὶ φρικώδεις, πρῶτον μὲν εὑσεβήσεως τὸ θεῖον, ἐπειτὰ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δίκαια φυλάξειν καὶ μῆτε κατὰ γνώμην βλάψειν τινὰ μήτε ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος, μισθεῖσθαι δ' ἢ ἂν τοὺς ἀδίκους καὶ συν-

140 ἀγωνιεῖσθαι τοῖς δικαίοις: τὸ πιστὸν ἢ ἂν πᾶσιν παρέξειν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς κρατοῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ δίχα θεοῦ περιγενέσθαι τινὶ τῷ ἄρχειν· κἂν αὐτῶς ἄρχῃ, μηδέποτε ἐξευβρίσειν εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν, μηδὲ ἐσθῆτι ἢ τὴν πλείον κόσμῳ τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους ὑπερ-

141 λαμπροιεῖσθαι· τὴν ἀληθείαν ἁγαπάν ἢ ἂν καὶ τοὺς ψευδόμενους προβάλλεσθαι· χείρας κλοπῆς καὶ ψυχῆς ἁνοσίου κέρδους καθαράν φυλάξειν, καὶ μῆτε κρύψειν τι τοὺς αἱρετιστὰς μήθ᾽ ἐτέρους αὐτῶν τι μηνύσεων, κἂν μέχρι θανάτου τις βιάζηται.

142 πρὸς τούτους ὀμνυσιν μηδεὶς μὲν μεταδοῦναι τῶν δογμάτων ἐτέρως ἡ ὡς αὐτὸς μετελάβειν, ἀφέξεισθαι δὲ ληστείας καὶ συντηρήσεως ὀμοίως τά τε τῆς αἱρέσεως αὐτῶν βιβλία καὶ τά τῶν ἀγγέλων ὁνοματ. τοιούτοις μὲν ὠρκοὺς τοὺς προσίνοτας ἐξασφαλίζονται.

143 (8) Τοὺς δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἀξιοχρέοις ἀμαρτήμασιν ἀλώντας ἐκβάλλουσι τοῦ τάγματος. ὁ δὲ ἐκκριθεὶς οἰκτίστω

1 περιγενέσθαι LVR Porph.
2 Herwerden: ὑπερλαμπρύνεσθαι mss.
3 Porph.: ἐλέγχειν προβάλλεσθαι mss.
to share the purer kind of holy water, but is not yet received into the meetings of the community. For after this exhibition of endurance, his character is tested for two years more, and only then, if found worthy, is he enrolled in the society. But, before he may touch the common food, he is made to swear tremendous oaths: first that he will practise piety towards the Deity, next that he will observe justice towards men: that he will wrong none whether of his own mind or under another's orders; that he will for ever hate the unjust and fight the battle of the just; that he will for ever keep faith with all men, especially with the powers that be, since no ruler attains his office save by the will of God; \(^a\) that, should he himself bear rule, he will never abuse his authority nor, either in dress or by other outward marks of superiority, outshine his subjects; to be for ever a lover of truth and to expose liars; to keep his hands from stealing and his soul pure from unholy gain; to conceal nothing from the members of the sect and to report none of their secrets to others, even though tortured to death. He swears, moreover, to transmit their rules exactly as he himself received them; to abstain from robbery; and in like manner carefully to preserve the books of the sect and the names of the angels.\(^b\) Such are the oaths by which they secure their proselytes.

(8) Those who are convicted of serious crimes they expel from the order; and the ejected individual

\(^a\) Reinach compares A. xv. 374, where the Essene Mena-hem says to Herod: “You will reign, for God has deemed you worthy.” Cf. also Rom. xiii. 1.

\(^b\) Reinach conjectures that the developed angelology of Rabbinic Judaism was partly of Essene origin. Lightfoot finds in this esoteric doctrine a link with Zoroastrianism.
πολλάκις μόρω διαφθείρεται· τοῖς γὰρ ὅρκοις καὶ τοῖς ἐθέσιν ἐνδεδεμένοις οὐδὲ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις προφής δύναται μεταλαμβάνειν, ποιφαγὼν δὲ καὶ λιμῷ τὸ σῶμα τηκόμενος διαφθείρεται. διὸ δὴ πολλοὺς ἐλεήσαντες ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἀναπνοαῖς ἀνέλαβον, ἵκανήν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν τὴν μέχρι θανάτου βάσανον ἥγοιμενοι.

145 (9) Περὶ δὲ τὸς κρίσεις ἀκριβεστάτου καὶ δίκαιοι, καὶ δικάζουσι μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν ἐκατόν συνελθόντες, τὸ δ’ ὑρσθεὶν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀκίνητον. σέβας δὲ μέγα παρ’ αὐτοῖς μετὰ τὸν θεον τούνομα τοῦ νομοθέτου, καὶ ἀλασφημήσῃ τίς εἰς τούτον, κολάζεται θανάτω. τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις ὑπακούει καὶ τοῖς πλείοις ἐν καλῷ τίθενται· δέκα γούν συγκαθεξομένων οὐκ ἂν λαλήσῃ σειεν τις ἀκόντων τῶν ἐννέα. καὶ τὸ πτύσαι δὲ εἰς μέσους ή τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος φυλάσσονται, καὶ ταῖς ἐβδομάσιν ἐγρω ἐφάπτεσθαι διαφορώτατα Ἰουδαίων ἀπάντων· οὐ μόνον γὰρ τροφὰς ἐαυτοῖς πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας παρασκευάζουσιν, ως μὴ πῦρ ἐναύοιεν ἐκείνη τὴν ἡμέραν, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ σκεῦσις τι μετακινήσαι θαρροῦσιν οὐδὲ ἀποπατεῖν. ταῖς δ’ ἀλλας ἡμέραις βόθρον ὑρύσσοντες βάθος ποδιαῖον τῇ σκαλίδι, τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἐστὶν τὸ διδόμενον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀξιώδιον τοῖς νεοσυντάτοις, καὶ περικαλύπτας θομάτιον, ὡς μὴ τὰς αὐγάς ὑβρίζων τοῦ θεοῦ, θακεύουσιν εἰς αὐτών. ἐπειτα τὴν ἀνορυθείσαν γην ἐφέλκουσιν εἰς τὸν βόθρον· καὶ

1 ἐναφθείεν PA*: ἐναφθῇ A (corrector): ἐνάπτοιεν correctors of LR.
2 ὑμάτιον PAM: θοιωτιφ Porph.

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α Moses.
often comes to a most miserable end. For, being bound by their oaths and usages, he is not at liberty to partake of other men's food, and so falls to eating grass and wastes away and dies of starvation. This has led them in compassion to receive many back in the last stage of exhaustion, deeming that torments which have brought them to the verge of death are a sufficient penalty for their misdoings.

(9) They are just and scrupulously careful in their trial of cases, never passing sentence in a court of less than a hundred members; the decision thus reached is irrevocable. After God they hold most in awe the name of their lawgiver, any blasphemer of whom is punished with death. It is a point of honour with them to obey their elders, and a majority; for instance, if ten sit together, one will not speak if the nine desire silence. They are careful not to spit into the midst of the company or to the right, and are stricter than all Jews in abstaining from work on the seventh day; for not only do they prepare their food on the day before, to avoid kindling a fire on that one, but they do not venture to remove any vessel or even to go to stool. On other days they dig a trench a foot deep with a mattock—such is the nature of the hatchet which they present to the neophytes—and wrapping their mantle about them, that they may not offend the rays of the deity, sit above it. They then replace the excavated soil in

b Reinach refers to a similar prohibition, applying only to prayer-time, in the Jerusalem Talmud (Berachoth, iii. 5).

c § 137.

d The sun, cf. § 128. Schürer contrasts the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, Benj. 8 (the sun is not defiled by the sight of ordure, but purifies it).
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τοῦτο ποιοῦσι τοὺς ἐρημοτέρους τόπους ἐκλεγόμενοι. καὶ πέρ, δὲ φυσικῆς οὐσίας τῆς τῶν λυμάτων ἐκκόψεως ἀπολούσθαι μετὰ αὐτὴν καθάπερ μεμιασμένοις ἔθιμον.

150 (10) Διήρηται δὲ κατὰ χρόνον τῆς ἄσκησεως εἰς μοίρας τέσσαρας, καὶ τοσοῦτον οἱ μεταγενεστέροι τῶν προγενεστέρων ἔλαττοῦται ὡστε, εἰ ψαύσειαν αὐτῶν, ἐκεῖνοὺς ἀπολούσθαι καθάπερ

151 ἀλλοφύλῳ συμφυρεῖτας. καὶ μακρόβιοι μὲν, ως τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑκατὸν παρατείνειν ἔτη, διὰ τὴν ἀπλότητα τῆς διαίτης, ἐμοιγε δοκείν, καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν, καταφρονηταί δὲ τῶν δεινῶν, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀλγηδόνας νικῶντες τοῖς φρονήμασιν, τὸν δὲ θάνατον, εἰ μετ᾽ εὐκλείας προσόιν, νομίζοντες

152 ἀθανασίας ἀμείνονα. διήλεγεν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν ἀπασίν τὰς ψυχὰς ὁ πρὸς Ἱῳμαίους πόλεμος, ἐν ὧν στρεβλούμενοι τε καὶ λυγιζόμενοι, καιόμενοι τε καὶ κλώμενοι καὶ διὰ πάντων ὀδεύοντες τῶν βασανιστηρίων ὀργάνων, ὡς ἡ βλασφημήσωσι τὸν νομοθέτην ἡ φάγωσιν τι τῶν ἁσυνήθων, οὐδέτερον υπέμεεναν παθεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ κολακεύσαί ποτε τούς

153 αἰκίζομένους ἡ δακρύσαι. μειδώντες δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀλγηδόσιν καὶ κατερωνεύομενοι τῶν τὰς βασάνους προσφερόντων εὐθυμοὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἥφιεσαν ὡς πάλιν κομιμοῦμενοι.

154 (11) Καὶ γὰρ ἔρρωται παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἢδε ἡ δόξα, φθαρτὰ μὲν εἶναι τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν ύλην οὐ

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1 Most miss. δή: οἷν M: om. PA.
2 + σωματικῶν MLVRC.
3 πρόσεις PA.M.

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*a* As Reinach remarks, the whole procedure, except the final ablution, follows the directions given in Deut. xxiii. 12-14.

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the trench. For this purpose they select the more retired spots. And though this discharge of the excrements is a natural function, they make it a rule to wash themselves after it, as if defiled.\(^a\)

(10) They are divided, according to the duration of their discipline, into four grades;\(^b\) and so far are the junior members inferior to the seniors, that a senior if but touched by a junior, must take a bath, as after contact with an alien. They live to a great age—most of them to upwards of a century—in consequence, I imagine, of the simplicity and regularity of their mode of life. They make light of danger, and triumph over pain by their resolute will; death, if it come with honour, they consider better than immortality. The war with the Romans tried their souls through and through by every variety of test. Racked and twisted, burnt and broken, and made to pass through every instrument of torture, in order to induce them to blaspheme their lawgiver or to eat some forbidden thing, they refused to yield to either demand, nor ever once did they cringe to their persecutors or shed a tear. Smiling in their agonies and mildly deriding their tormentors, they cheerfully resigned their souls, confident that they would receive them back again.

(11) For it is a fixed belief of theirs that the body is corruptible and its constituent matter impermanent,

\(b\) Lightfoot (Col. p. 363, note) remarks that the passage must be read in connexion with the account of the admission to the order (§§ 137 f.). The three lowest grades are the novices in their first, second, and third years of probation. "After passing through these three stages in three successive years, [the Essene] enters upon the fourth and highest grade, thus becoming a perfect member."
μόνιμον αυτῶν, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἀθανάτους ἀεὶ δια-
μένειν, καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ λεπτοτάτου
φοιτώσας αἰθέρος ὃσπερ εἰρκταῖς τοῖς σῶμασιν
155 ὕψης τινὶ φυσικῇ καταστρωμένας, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀν-
εθώσι τῶν κατὰ σάρκα δεσμῶν, οἷα ἡ μακρᾶς
δουλείας ἀπηλλαγμένας, τότε χαίρειν καὶ μετεώ-
ρους φέρεσθαι. καὶ ταῖς μὲν ἀγαθαῖς, ὀμο-
δοξοῦντες παιών. Ἐλλήνων, ἀποφαίνονται τῇν
ὑπὲρ ὁκεανῶν διαίτην ἀποκείσθαι καὶ χώρον οὔτε
ἡμβροὺς οὔτε νυφετοῖς οὔτε καύμασι βαρυνώμενον,
ἀλλ’ ὃν ἐξ ὁκεανοῦ πραῦς ἀεὶ ξέφυρον ἐπιπνέων
ἀναψύχει. ταῖς δὲ φαύλαις ζοφώδη καὶ χειμέριον
ἀφορίζονται μυχῶν, γέμοντας τιμωρίων ἀδιαλείπ-
των. δοκοῦσι δὲ μοι κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔννοιαν
"Ἑλληνες τοίς τε ἀνδρείοις αὐτῶν, οὕς ἤρως καὶ
ἡμιθέους καλοῦσι, τὰς μακάρις νήσους ἀνα-
τεθεικέναι, ταῖς δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν ψυχαῖς καθ’ ᾧδον
τὸν ἀσεβῶν χώρον, ἑνθα καὶ κολαζομένους τινὰς
μυθολογοῦσιν, Σισύφους καὶ Ταυτάλους Ἰξίωνᾶς
τε καὶ Τιτυνιός, πρῶτον μὲν αἰδίους υφιστάμενοι
τὰς ψυχὰς, ἔπειτα εἰς προπροτήν ἀρέτης καὶ
157 κακίας ἀποτροπῆν. τούς τε γὰρ ἀγαθοὺς γίνεσθαι
κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀμείνους ἐλπίδι τιμῆς καὶ μετὰ τὴν
teleutήν, τῶν τε κακῶν ἐμποδίζεσθαι τὰς ὄρμας
dεέι προσδοκώστων, εἰ καὶ λάθοιεν ἐν τῷ ζήν,
μετὰ τὴν δισύνων ἀθάνατον τιμωρίαν υφέξειν.
158 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἐσσηνοὶ περὶ ψυχῆς θεολογοῦσιν,
ἀφυκτὸν δὲλαρ τοίς ἀπαξ γευσαμένοις τῆς σοφίας
αὐτῶν καθιέντες.

1 τῶν PLV: τῶν τῶν M.
2 PAM (cf. i. 373): ἐγκαθίεντες the rest.
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but that the soul is immortal and imperishable. Emanating from the finest ether, these souls become entangled, as it were, in the prison-house of the body, to which they are dragged down by a sort of natural spell; but when once they are released from the bonds of the flesh, then, as though liberated from a long servitude, they rejoice and are borne aloft. Sharing the belief of the sons of Greece, they maintain that for virtuous souls there is reserved an abode beyond the ocean, a place which is not oppressed by rain or snow or heat, but is refreshed by the ever gentle breath of the west wind coming in from ocean; while they relegate base souls to a murky and tempestuous dungeon, big with never-ending punishments. The Greeks, I imagine, had the same conception when they set apart the isles of the blessed for their brave men, whom they call heroes and demi-gods, and the region of the impious for the souls of the wicked down in Hades, where, as their mythologists tell, persons such as Sisyphus, Tantalus, Ἰξίος, and Τίτυς are undergoing punishment. Their aim was first to establish the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and secondly to promote virtue and to deter from vice; for the good are made better in their lifetime by the hope of a reward after death, and the passions of the wicked are restrained by the fear that, even though they escape detection while alive, they will undergo never-ending punishment after their decease. Such are the theological views of the Essenes concerning the soul, whereby they irresistibly attract all who have once tasted their philosophy.

a Cf. A. xviii. 18.
b First mentioned in Hesiod, Works and Days, 170 ff. "they dwell with care-free hearts in the isles of the blessed beside the deep-eddying ocean, those happy heroes," etc.
Josephus quotes three instances of Essene predictions which were fulfilled, those of Judas (B. i. 78), Simon (ii. 113) and Menahem (A. xv. 373 ff.). They taught their art to disciples (A. xiii. 311). This gift of fortune-telling was perhaps connected with magic or astrology; it is not treated as inspired (Lightfoot, Col. p. 89, note 1).
There are some among them who profess to foretell the future, being versed from their early years in holy books, various forms of purification and apophthegms of prophets; and seldom, if ever, do they err in their predictions.

(13) There is yet another order of Essenes, which, while at one with the rest in its mode of life, customs, and regulations, differs from them in its views on marriage. They think that those who decline to marry cut off the chief function of life, the propagation of the race, and, what is more, that, were all to adopt the same view, the whole race would very quickly die out. They give their wives, however, a three years’ probation, and only marry them after they have by three periods of purification given proof of fecundity. They have no intercourse with them during pregnancy, thus showing that their motive in marrying is not self-indulgence but the procreation of children. In the bath the women wear a dress, the men a loin-cloth. Such are the usages of this order.

(14) Of the two first-named schools, the Pharisees, who are considered the most accurate interpreters of the laws, and hold the position of the leading sect, attribute everything to Fate and to God; they hold that to act rightly or otherwise rests, indeed, for the most part with men, but that in each action Fate co-operates. Every soul, they maintain, is im-

\[\text{Their gift of prophecy.}\]

\[\text{Essene schismatarians who practise marriage.}\]

\[\text{The text can hardly be right; the Lat. has "constanti purgatione."}\]

\[\text{"more ancient,” Reinach.}\]

\[\text{Cf. the saying of R. Akiba: “Everything is foreseen and freewill is given.” Sayings of Jewish Fathers, iii. 22 (24). Josephus, as Reinach remarks, substitutes “Fate” for “Providence” for his Gentile readers.}\]
J O S E P H U S

βαίνειν δὲ εἰς ἐτερον σῶμα τὴν τῶν ἁγαθῶν μόνην, τὰς δὲ τῶν φαύλων ἀϊδίω τιμωρίας κολάζεσθαι.
164 Σαδδουκαίοι δὲ, τὸ δεύτερον τάγμα, τὴν μὲν εἰμιαρμένην παντάπασιν ἀναιροῦσι καὶ τὸν θεὸν
165 ἔξω τοῦ δρᾶν τι κακὸν ἢ ἐφορᾶν τίθενται: φασὶν δ᾽ ἐπὶ αὐθρώπων ἐκλογὴ τὸ τε καλὸν καὶ τὸ κακὸν
προκείσθαι καὶ κατὰ γνώμην ἐκάστου ποιῶν ἐκάτερον προσιέναι. ψυχῆς τε τὴν διαμονὴν καὶ
tὰς καθ᾽ ἄδου τιμωρίας καὶ τιμὰς ἀναιροῦσιν.
166 καὶ Φαρισαῖοι μὲν φιλάλληλοι τε καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ὀρμοῖς ἀσκοῦτες, Σαδδουκαίων δὲ καὶ
πρὸς ἄλληλους τὸ ἡθος ἀγριωτέρον, αἰ τε ἐπιμείξαι
πρὸς τοὺς ὀρμοὺς ἀπημεῖς ὡς πρὸς ἄλλοτρίους.
τοιαύτα μὲν περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰουδαίων φιλοσοφοῦντων
eἴχον εἰπεῖν.

167 (ix. 1) Τῆς Ἀρχελάου δὲ ἐθναρχίας μετα-
πεσοῦσις εἰς ἐπαρχίαν οἱ λοιποὶ, Φίλιππος καὶ
'Ἡρώδης ὁ κληθεὶς Ἀντίπας, διόκουν τὰς ἐαυτῶν
τετραρχίας. Σαλώμη γὰρ τελευτῶσα Ἰουλία τῇ
tοῦ Σεβαστοῦ γυναικὶ τὴν τε αὐτῆς ὁπορχῶν
καὶ Ιάμνειαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Φασαλίδι φοινικῶνας
168 κατέλιπεν. μεταβάσις δὲ εἰς Τιβέριον τὸν Ἰου-
λίας νῦν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας μετὰ τὴν
Ἀγγοῦστον τελευτήν, ἀφηγησαμένου τῶν πραγ-

1 Herwerden: ἵκατέρων V: ἱκατέρω the rest.
2 καθ᾽ ἄδου C: καθόλου the rest

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* The doctrine of the reincarnation of the soul is expressed in rather similar terms in B. iii. 374 (cf. Ap. ii. 218).

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perishable, but the soul of the good alone passes into another body,\(^a\) while the souls of the wicked suffer eternal punishment.

The Sadducees, the second of the orders, do away with Fate altogether, and remove God beyond, not merely the commission, but the very sight, of evil. They maintain that man has the free choice of good or evil, and that it rests with each man's will whether he follows the one or the other. As for the persistence of the soul after death, penalties in the underworld, and rewards, they will have none of them.

The Pharisees are affectionate to each other and cultivate harmonious relations with the community. The Sadducees, on the contrary, are, even among themselves, rather boorish in their behaviour, and in their intercourse with their peers\(^b\) are as rude as to aliens. Such is what I have to say on the Jewish philosophical schools.

(ix. 1) When the ethnarchy of Archelaus was converted into a province, the other princes, Philip and Herod surnamed Antipas, continued to govern their respective tetrarchies; as for Salome, she at her death\(^c\) bequeathed her toparchy to Julia, the wife of Augustus, together with Jamnia and the palm-groves of Phasaelis. On the death of Augustus, who had directed the state for fifty-seven years six months

\(^a\) i.e. with the other sects or generally with their compatriots.

\(^b\) Which took place under the second of the procurators, M. Ambivius (c. 9-12 a.d.): \(l. x v i i i . 3 1 .\) For her share in the division of Herod's kingdom see § 98. Jamnia was in the lowlands of Philistia, Phasaelis in the Jordan valley, as also was Archelais which is added to the list of Julia's legacies in \(l. l o c . c i t .\)
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μάτων ἔτεσιν ἐπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα, πρὸς δὲ μησὶν ἕξ καὶ ἡμέραις δύο, διαμεινάντες ἐν ταῖς τετραπχιαις ὁ τε Ἰρώδης καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος, ὁ μὲν πρὸς ταῖς τοῦ Ἰορδάνου πηγαίς ἐν Πανεάδι πόλιν κτίζει Καισάρειαν, καὶ τῇ κατώ Γαυλαντικῇ Ἰουλίαδα, Ἰρώδης δὲ ἐν μὲν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ Τιβερίαδα, ἐν δὲ τῇ Περαιάς φερώνυμον Ἰουλίας.

169 (2) Πεμφθεὶς δὲ εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἐπίτροπος ὑπὸ Τιβερίου Πιλάτου νῦκτωρ κεκαλυμμένας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παρεισκομίζει ταῖς Καίσαρος εἰκόνας, αἱ 170 σημαίαι καλοῦνται. τοῦτο μὲθ' ἡμέραν μεγίστην ταραχὴν ἤγειρεν Ἰουδαίοις: οἱ τε γὰρ ἐγγὺς πρὸς τὴν ὀψιν ἐξεπλάγησαν ὡς πεπατημένων αὐτοῖς τῶν νόμων, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀξιοῦσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει δείκηλον τίθεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγανάκτησιν τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἄθρους ὁ ἐκ τῆς χώρας λαὸς συνέρρευσεν. ὀρμῆσαντες δὲ πρὸς Πιλάτον εἰς Καισάρειαν ἱκέτευον ἐξενεγκείων ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων τὰς σημαίας καὶ τηρείν αὐτοῖς τὰ πάτρια. Πιλάτον δὲ ἀρνομένου περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν πρηνεῖς κατα-

a This figure, repeated in A. xviii. 32, is about a month too long. From the death of Caesar (15 March 44 B.C.) to the death of Augustus (19 Aug. A.D. 14, Suet. Aug. 100) is 57 years 5 months and 4 days. The four days may be reduced to two by reckoning from the opening of Caesar’s will (17 March) as proposed by Gardthausen, quoted by Reinach: the latter account— for the error in the number of months by a confusion of the figures for 5 (ε') and 6 (ζ').

b By her former husband, Tiberius Claudius Nero.

c Caesarea Philippi of the N.T., mod. Banias.

d Bethsaida Julias (et-Tell) east of the Jordan a little to
and two days, the empire of the Romans passed to Tiberius, son of Julia. On his accession, Herod (Antipas) and Philip continued to hold their tetrarchies and respectively founded cities: Philip built Caesarea near the sources of the Jordan, in the district of Paneas, and Julias in lower Gaulanitis; Herod built Tiberias in Galilee and a city which also took the name of Julia, in Peraea.

(2) Pilate, being sent by Tiberius as procurator to Judaea, introduced into Jerusalem by night and under cover the effigies of Caesar which are called standards. This proceeding, when day broke, aroused immense excitement among the Jews; those on the spot were in consternation, considering their laws to have been trampled under foot, as those laws permit no image to be erected in the city; while the indignation of the townspeople stirred the country-folk, who flocked together in crowds. Hastening after Pilate to Caesarea, the Jews implored him to remove the standards from Jerusalem and to uphold the laws of their ancestors. When Pilate refused, they fell prostrate around his house and for five days, the north of the head of the Sea of Galilee. It was called after Julia, daughter of Augustus, A. xviii. 28; as she was banished in 2 B.C., Schürer infers that the refoundation of the town by Philip must have been earlier than that date.

The Peraean Julias (formerly Betharamatha, B. ii. 59 note) opposite Jericho was called after the Empress Julia = Livia (A. xviii. 27); other writers call it Livias and that, rather than Julias, was probably the name given by the founder.

More correctly described in A. xviii. 55, "The busts (or "medallions") of Caesar which were attached to the standards." Tacitus (Hist., iv. 62) records how these imperatorum imagines were torn down by Civilis and his victorious Gauls.
πεσόντες ἐπὶ πέντε ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ἵπας ἀκίνητοι διεκαρτέρουν.

172 (3) Τῇ δ' ἔξης ὁ Πιλάτος καθίσας ἐπὶ βήματος ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ σταδίῳ καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸ πλῆθος ὃς ἀποκρίνασθαι δῆθεν αὐτοῖς θέλων, δίδωσιν τοῖς στρατιώταις σημεῖον ἐκ συντάγματος κυκλώσασθαι τοὺς 'Ἰουδαίους ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις.

173 περιστάσεις δὲ τριστιχεὶ τῆς φάλαγγος Ἰουδαίου μὲν ἄχαιες ἦσαν πρὸς τὸ ἀδόκητον τῆς ὁμοίως, Πιλάτος δὲ κατακόψεις εἰπὼν αὐτοὺς, εἰ μή προσδέξαμεν τὰς Καίσαρος εἰκόνας, γυμνοῖς τά

174 ξίφη τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔνευσεν. οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαίοι καθάπερ ἐκ συνθήματος ἀθρόοι καταπεσόντες καὶ τοὺς αὐχένας παρακλίναντες ἐτοίμους ἀναιρεῖν ἁφᾶς ἐβόων μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν νόμον παραβήναι. ὑπερθαυμάσας δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος τὸ τῆς δευσιδαιμονίας ἀκρατόν ἐκκομίσαι μὲν αὐτίκα τὰς σημαίας Ἰεροσόλυμων κελεύει.

175 (4) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ταραχὴν ἐτέραν ἐκύνει τὸν ἱερὸν θησαυρὸν, καλεῖται δὲ κορβωναῖς, εἰς καταγωγὴν ὑδάτων ἐξαναλίσκων κατάγειν δὲ ἀπὸ τετρακοσίων σταδίων. πρὸς τούτο τοῦ πλῆθους ἀγανάκτησις ἦ, καὶ τοῦ Πιλάτου παρόντος εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα περιστάντες τὸ βῆμα κατεβόων.

176 ὁ δὲ, προῆδει γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν ταραχὴν, τῷ πλῆθει τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐνόπλους [ἐν] ἐσθῆσιν ἰδιωτικάς κεκαλυμμένους ἐγκαταμίξας καὶ ξίφη εἰς πολίτες κεκραγότας ἐγκελευσάμενος, σύνθημα δίδωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βή-

1 ΡΑ: εἰς ἀναίρεσιν the rest.
2 Π and correctors of A and L: κορβωναῖς the rest.
3 τριακοσίων Lat. Eus.: διακοσίων Λ. ||.
whole days and nights remained motionless in that position.

(3) On the ensuing day Pilate took his seat on his tribunal in the great stadium and summoning the multitude, with the apparent intention of answering them, gave the arranged signal to his armed soldiers to surround the Jews. Finding themselves in a ring of troops, three deep, the Jews were struck dumb at this unexpected sight. Pilate, after threatening to cut them down, if they refused to admit Caesar's images, signalled to the soldiers to draw their swords. Thereupon the Jews, as by concerted action, flung themselves in a body on the ground, extended their necks, and exclaimed that they were ready rather to die than to transgress the law. Overcome with astonishment at such intense religious zeal, Pilate gave orders for the immediate removal of the standards from Jerusalem.

(4) On a later occasion he provoked a fresh uproar by expending upon the construction of an aqueduct the sacred treasure known as Corbonas; the water was brought from a distance of 400 furlongs. Indignant at this proceeding, the populace formed a ring round the tribunal of Pilate, then on a visit to Jerusalem, and besieged him with angry clamour. He, foreseeing the tumult, had interspersed among the crowd a troop of his soldiers, armed but disguised in civilian dress, with orders not to use their swords, but to beat any rioters with cudgels. He now from

\[\text{Cf. Matt. xxvii. 6. ἁτὸν κορβανάν (v.l. κορβωνάν) = "the sacred treasury," the only parallel for this use of the word. Corban = "devoted," "taboo" (cf. Ap. i. 167).}\]

\[\text{PAM: om. the rest.}\]
177 ματος. τυπτόμενοι δὲ οἱ 'Ιουδαῖοι πολλοὶ μὲν ύπὸ τῶν πληγῶν, πολλοὶ δὲ ύπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ καταπατηθεῖνες ἀπώλοντο. πρὸς δὲ τὴν συμφορὰν τῶν ἀνηρμένων καταπλαγέν τὸ πλῆθος ἐσιώπησεν.

178 (5) Κἂν τούτῳ κατήγορος Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετραρχοῦντος Ἀγρίππας ύιὸς Ἀριστοβοῦλου, διὸ πατήρ Ἡρώδης ἄπεκτεινεν, παραγίνεται πρὸς Τιβέριον. τοῦ δὲ μὴ προσδεξαμένου τὴν κατηγορίαν μένων ἐπὶ Ὀώμης τοὺς τε ἄλλους τῶν γνωρίμων ἑδεράπευνεν καὶ μάλιστα τὸν Γερμανικὸν παῖδα Γάιον, ἱδιώτην ἔτι ὄντα. καὶ ὡς ποτὲ ἐστιῶν αὐτὸν τά τε ἄλλα ποικίλως ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο, καὶ τελευταῖον τάς χειρᾶς ἀνατείνας φανερῶς ηὗξατο θάπττων αὐτὸν θέασασθαι τῶν ὅλων δεσπο-τῆς ἀποθανόντος Τιβερίου. τοῦτο τις τῶν οἰκετῶν αὐτοῦ διαγγέλλει τῷ Τιβερίῳ, καὶ ὃς ἀγανακτήσας εἰργανυσών τὸν Ἀγρίππαν καὶ μετ' αἰκίας εἶχεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ μῆνας ἔξ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ, μέχρι αὐτός ἐτελεύτησεν ἠγεμονεύσας ἐτῆ δύο πρὸς τοὺς ἐϊκοσὶ καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ μησίν ἔξ.

181 (6) Ἀποδειχθεῖς δὲ Γάιος Καίσαρ ἀνήσυχ τῇ τῶν δεσμῶν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου πετραρχίας, θυνήσει 1 γὰρ οὕτος, καθίστησι βασιλεά. παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀγρίππας φθόνῳ

1 P: τεθυήκει the rest.

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a i. 551.
b The whole story is told in much greater detail in A. xviii. (? from some Roman source), where, however, there is no mention of this object of his visit. The visit was made "in the year before Tiberius died" (A. xviii. 126).
c Eutychus, his freedman and charioteer, A. xviii. 168; according to the account there given the words were spoken during a drive, not at dinner. 392
his tribunal gave the agreed signal. Large numbers of the Jews perished, some from the blows which they received, others trodden to death by their companions in the ensuing flight. Cowed by the fate of the victims, the multitude was reduced to silence.

(5) At this time Agrippa, son of the Aristobulus who was put to death by his father Herod, came to Tiberius to accuse Herod the tetrarch. The emperor having declined to countenance the charge, Agrippa remained in Rome, paying court to various notabilities and in particular to Gaius, son of Germanicus, who was still a private citizen. On one occasion when he was entertaining him at dinner, Agrippa, after paying him all kinds of compliments, finally raised his hands to heaven and openly prayed that he might soon see Gaius master of the world, through the decease of Tiberius. This was reported by one of Agrippa's domestics to Tiberius; whereupon the emperor, in indignation, threw Agrippa into prison, where he kept him under rigorous treatment for six months until his own death, which closed a reign of twenty-two years, six months and three days.

(6) Gaius, on being proclaimed emperor, liberated Agrippa and gave him, with the title of king, the tetrarchy of Philip, now deceased. Agrippa's arrival to take possession of his kingdom aroused

\[\text{d} \text{ 22 years 6 months and 3 days according to } A. \text{ xviii. 224} \]  
\[\text{cf. § 168 for confusion of the numbers 5 and 6). But neither statement quite agrees with our secular authorities: the reign lasted from 19 Aug. 14 (death of Augustus) to 16 March (Tac. ; or 26 March, Dion), i.e. 22 years 6 months and 28 days (or 22 years 7 months 7 days).} \]
\[\text{e} \text{ He had died in the twentieth year of the reign of Tiberius (A. xviii. 106), i.e. in A.D. 33–4.} \]
\[\text{f} \text{ A.D. 38–39.} \]
πᾶς Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετράρχου διήγειρεν ἐπιθυμίας. 
182 ἐνήγη δὲ μάλιστα τούτον εἰς ἐλπίδα βασιλείας Ἡρώδιας ἡ γυνὴ, κατονευδίζονσα τὴν ἀρχήν καὶ φαμένη παρὰ τὸ μῆ βούλεσθαι πλεῖν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα στερίσκεσθαι μεῖζονος ἀρχῆς; ὅπου γὰρ Ἀγρίπ- 
παν ἐξ ἰδίωτου βασιλεία πεποίηκεν, ἥπου γ' ἂν
183 ἐκείνων διστάσειεν ἐκ τετράρχου; τούτοις ἀνα-
πεισθεὶς Ἡρώδης ἦκεν πρὸς Γάιον, ὅφ' οὐ τῆς 
πλεονεξίας ἐπιτιμᾶται φυγῇ εἰς Σπανίαν. ἦκο-
λουθησεν γὰρ αὐτῷ κατήγορος Ἀγρίππας, ὃ καὶ 
tὴν τετραρχίαν τὴν ἐκείνου προσέθηκεν Γάιος. 
καὶ Ἡρώδης μὲν ἐν Σπανίᾳ συμφυγούσης αὐτῷ 
καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τελευτᾶ.

184 (χ. 1) Γάιος δὲ Καίσαρ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξύβρι-
σεν εἰς τὴν τύχην, ὡστε θέον ἕαυτον καὶ δοκείν 
βούλεσθαι καὶ καλεῖσθαι, τῶν τε εὐγενεστάτων 
ἀνδρῶν ἀκροτομῆσαι τὴν πατρίδα, ἐκτείναι δὲ τὴν 
185 ἀσέβειαν καὶ ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίαν. Πετρώνιον μὲν οὖν 
μετὰ στρατιάς ἐπὶ ἱεροσολύμων ἐπεμβεν ἐγ-
καθιδρύσοντα τῷ ναῷ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας αὐτοῦ, 
προστάξας, εἰ μὴ δέχοντο Ἰουδαίων, τοὺς τε 
kωλύντας ἀνελεῖν καὶ πᾶν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔθνος 
186 ἐξαιροποδίσασθαι. θεῶ δ' ἄρα τῶν προσταγ-
μάτων ἐμελεῖν. καὶ Πετρώνιος μὲν σὺν τρισὶ 
tάγμασι καὶ πολλοῖς ἐκ τῆς Συρίας συμμάχους εἰς 
187 τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἤλαυνεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας, Ἰου-
δαίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἡπίστουν ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου

1 So (or Ἰσπανίαν) all mss.: Γαλλίαν Niese and Γαλλία 
below, to conform to A. xviii. 252.
2 καὶ δοκεῖν Niese: δοκεῖν καὶ Ρ.Α.Μ Exc.: καὶ δοκεῖν καὶ the 
rest.

a According to A. xviii. 252 to Lyons in Gaul.

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the envy and ambition of Herod the tetrarch. But it was above all his wife Herodias who instigated the tetrarch to aspire to a throne; she reproached him for his indolence and told him that it was only his reluctance to set sail and wait upon Caesar which kept him out of promotion. "Now that he has made a king of Agrippa, a mere commoner," she said, "surely he could not hesitate to confer the same title on a tetrarch." Yielding to these solicitations, Herod presented himself to Gaius, who punished him for his cupidity by banishing him to Spain. For an accuser had followed him in the person of Agrippa, to whose kingdom Gaius annexed his rival's tetrarchy. Herod died in Spain, whither his wife had accompanied him into exile.

(x. 1) The insolence with which the emperor Gaius defied fortune surpassed all bounds: he wished to be considered a god and to be hailed as such, he cut off the flower of the nobility of his country, and his impiety extended even to Judaea. In fact, he sent Petronius with an army to Jerusalem to instal in the sanctuary statues of himself; in the event of the Jews refusing to admit them, his orders were to put the recalcitrants to death and to reduce the whole nation to slavery. But these orders, as the sequel showed, were under God's care. Petronius, accordingly, with three legions and a large contingent of Syrian auxiliaries, left Antioch on the march for Judaea. Among the Jews, some put no belief in the

b In A. xviii. 247 Agrippa sends his freedman Fortunatus to accuse Antipas.

c Two only, according to A. xviii. 262 (and so Philo, Leg. ad Caium 31, § 207 "half his army"; there were four legions in Syria at this time).
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φήμας, οἱ δὲ πιστεύοντες ἦσαν ἐν ἀμηχάνῳ πρὸς τὴν ἀμυναν· ταχὺ δ' ἐχώρει διὰ πάντων τὸ δέος ἡδὴ παρούσης1 εἰς Πτολεμαίδα τῆς στρατιάς.

188 (2) Πόλις δ' ἐστὶν αὐτῇ τῆς Γαλιλαίας παράλιος κατὰ τὸ μέγα πεδίον ἐκτισμένη, περιέχεται δὲ ὄρεσιν ἐκ μὲν τοῦ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν κλίματος ἀπὸ σταδίων ἐξήκοντα τῷ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ τῷ ᾿Καρμήλῳ διέχουσι σταδίους ἐκατὸν εἶκοσὶ, τῷ δ' ψηλοτάτῳ κατ' ἄρκτον, ὁ καλοῦσαν κλίμακα Τυρίων οἱ ἐπιχώριοι· καὶ τούτο

189 δὲ σταδίους ἀφέστηκεν ἐκατὸν. τοῦ δ' ἀστεος ὅσον ἀπὸ δύο σταδίων ὁ καλοῦμενος Βῆλεος ποταμὸς παραρρεῖ παντάπασιν ὀλύγος, παρ' ὦ τὸ Μέμνονος μνημείον ἐστὶν ἐχὼν ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ τόπον

190 ἐκατονταπήχθη θαῦματος ἄξιον: κυκλοτερῆς μὲν γάρ ἐστὶν καὶ κοίλος, ἀναδίδωσιν δὲ τὴν ὑελίνην ψάμμων, ἣν ὅταν ἔκκενωσή πολλὰ πλοία προσσχόντα,2 πάλιν ἀντιπληροῦται τὸ χωρίον, κατασυρόντων μὲν ὑσπερ ἐπίτηδες τότε τῶν ἀνέμων εἰς αὐτὸ τὴν ἐξωθεὶν ἀργὴν ψάμμων, τοῦ δὲ μετάλλου πάσαν εὐθέως μεταβάλλοντος εἰς ὕελον. θαυμασιώτερον [δὲ]3 τούτου μοι δοκεῖ τὸ τὴν ὑπερ- χυθείςν ὕελον ἐκ τοῦ τόπου πάλιν ψάμμων γίνεσθαι εἰκαίαιν. τὸ μὲν οὖν χωρίον τοῦτο τοιαύτῃ εἶληξεν φύσιν.

191 (3) Ἰουδαίοι δὲ μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων ἀδροισθέντες εἰς τὸ πεδίον τὸ πρὸς Πτολεμαίδι καθικέτευον τὸν Πετρώνιον ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίων νόμων πρώτον, ἐπειτα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τε τὸ πλήθος καὶ τὰς δεήσεις ἐνδοὺς τοὺς μὲν

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1 Dindorf: γὰρ οὕτως mss.
2 Dindorf: προσχώντα mss.
3 om. most mss.

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rumours of war, others believed, but saw no means of defence; alarm, however, soon became universal, the army having already reached Ptolemais.

(2) Ptolemais is a maritime town in Galilee, built at the entrance to the Great Plain, and encompassed with mountains. To the east, at a distance of 60 furlongs, is the Galilaean range; to the south, 120 furlongs off, lies Carmel; to the north is the highest chain of all, called by the natives the "Ladder of the Tyrians," 100 furlongs away. At a distance of about two furlongs from the town runs the diminutive river Beleus; on its bank stands the tomb of Memnon, and close to it is a very remarkable region, a hundred cubits in extent. It consists of a circular basin which produces vitreous sand. Numerous boats put in to this spot and empty the basin of its sand, whereupon it is filled up again by the action of the winds, which, as if by design, drift into it the common sand outside, the latter being all promptly converted by this mine into vitreous matter. But the phenomenon which, to my mind, is even more remarkable, is that the excess particles of glass which overflow from the cavity become ordinary sand as before. Such are the curious properties of this spot.

(3) The Jews assembled with their wives and children in the plain of Ptolemais and implored Petronius to have regard first for the laws of their fathers, and next for themselves. Yielding so far to this vast multitude and their entreaties, he left the

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duSpLavrag Kal ra? arpa~La<;^ iv YlroXeiiatSi AetVet,
Se ei? tyju VaXiXatav Kal ouyKaXeoa?
ro T€ TrXrjOo'; Kal tous" yvajplpLov? TrdvTag et?
TtjSeptaSa ri'-ju re 'Pajfiaicov 8te^r]6t hvvapLLV Kal

193 TrpoeXdojv^

Kaioapog

Toi?

194 i(j)aLvev
p.€vojv

aTreiAds-,

dyfajfiova'
idvayv

Kara

eVt

7rdvTa)V
ttoXlv

he

rr]v

yap

d^lcooLv

tojv

drr-

vTToreray-

ovyKaOiSpuKorcDV rots

dAAot? deoLS Kal ra? Kaioapog elKovas, ro fjLOvovg
€K€Lwoug dvTirdoueoBaL Ttpos rovro ox^hov d<f)Lorafievafv eli'ac Kal /xe^' v^peojg.
Ta»i^ 8e rov v6p.ov Kal to Trdrptov edog
195
(4-)
TTporeivopLevajv Kal c6? ovhk Oeov tl hcLKT^Xov, ovx
0770)? dvbpo?, ov Kara rov vaov fiovov dAA' ou8e
cV eiVat'cu rLvl tottoj rrjg )(copag deodai depurov
" dAAd jjltjv Kal ifiol
elrj, vrroXa^dju 6 YlerpcovLog
d
heoTTorov
e<j>-q'
rovfiov
(f)vXaKr€Os
vofiog,"
yap avrdv Kal (^eiod^evos vjjlojv
Trapa^ds
TToXeiirjoeL 8' i3^a? d Treijupag
Kal OVK eya'j- Kal ydp avros, worrep Vfieis,
196 inLrdcrGopLaL."
rrpog
ravra ro ttXtjOos Trdur*
rov vopiov Trdoxeiv iroipLw? ^X^^^'
e/Sda
77p6

dTToXovfjiai hiKaiajs.

IJ.€

]9~

KaraareiXas 8'
" TToXepLTjoere ,"
Satot

198

pL€u

TTtpt

'Pa>p.aLojv

6lg

avrwv

6

Uerpcuvios

rrjv

^ot'^v,

eiTrev, "

dpa Kaioapt;" Kal 'louKaloapos Kal rov h-qp-ou row

rr^s

rjp.epa';

dveiv

€<f)aGav,

€t

he

^ovXerat rd? eLKOvas eyKaOihpveLv, nporepov avrdv
he'iv
dvav rd ^Xovhaiujv edvos -npoBvoaaOai'
TrapexeLv he o(j)ds avrov? eroipLovg els rr]v a<l)ayr]V
dp.a reKi-OLS Kal yvvai^iv. errl rovroLS ^aO/ixa Kal
OLKrog elofjei rov Y\erpdjviov rrjs re. dvvTTep^Xi^rov
*

So

PAM

:

rrji-

*

S98

uff ffTpariay Kal roij<i di-opia^ras the rest.
C: -npoaiXduiv the rest.


JEWISH WAR, II. 192-198 (cf ANT. xviii. 269-271)

statues and his troops at Ptolemais and advanced into Galilee, where he summoned the people, with all persons of distinction, to Tiberias. There he dwelt upon the power of the Romans and the emperor's menaces, and, moreover, pointed out the recklessness of their request; all the subject nations, he urged, had erected in each of their cities statues of Caesar, along with those of their other gods, and that they alone should oppose this practice amounted almost to rebellion, aggravated by insult.

(4) When the Jews appealed to their law and the custom of their ancestors, and pleaded that they were forbidden to place an image of God, much more of a man, not only in their sanctuary but even in any unconsecrated spot throughout the country, Petronius replied, "But I too must obey the law of my master; if I transgress it and spare you, I shall be put to death, with justice. War will be made on you by him who sent me, not by me; for I too, like you, am under orders." At this the multitude cried out that they were ready to endure everything for the law. Petronius, having checked their clamour, said, "Will you then go to war with Caesar?" The Jews replied that they offered sacrifice twice daily for Caesar and the Roman people, but that if he wished to set up these statues, he must first sacrifice the entire Jewish nation; and that they presented themselves, their wives and their children, ready for the slaughter. These words filled Petronius with astonishment and pity at the spectacle of the incomparable

a Cf. Ap. ii. 77 with note. From the present passage we may infer that the daily sacrifice for the Emperor was offered partly at the morning, partly at the evening service.
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θρησκείας τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ πρὸς θάνατον ἐποίμου παραστήματος. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀπρακτοὶ διελύθησαν.

199 (5) Ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἀθρόους τε τοὺς δυνατοὺς κατ' ἱδιαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐν κοινῷ συνλέγων1 ποτὲ μὲν παρεκάλει, ποτὲ δὲ συνεβούλευεν, τὸ πλέον μὲντοι διηπείλει, τὴν τε Ἦρωμαῖων ἐπανατεινόμενος ἴσχυν καὶ τοὺς Γαίου θυμοὺς τὴν τε ἱδιαν πρὸς τούτοις ἀνάγκην. πρὸς δὲ μηδεμίαν πείραν ἐνδιδόντων, ὥς εὖρα καὶ τὴν χώραν κινδυνεύουσαν ἀσπορον μείναι, κατὰ γὰρ ἄραν σπόρου πεντήκοντα ἡμέρας ἀργά προσδιέτριβεν αὐτῷ τὰ πλῆθη, τελευταίον

201 ἀθροίσας αὐτοὺς καὶ "παρακινδυνεύτεον ἐμὸι μᾶλλον," εἰπὼν, " quam τοῦ θεοῦ συνεργοῦντος πείσας Καίσαρα σωθήσομαι μὲθ' ὑμῶν ἥδεως, ἡ παροξυνθέντος ὑπὲρ τοσοῦτον ἐτοίμως ἐπιδώσω τὴν ἐμαυτῷ ψυχῆν," διαφῆκεν τὸ πλῆθος πολλὰ κατευχόμενον2 αὐτῷ, καὶ παραλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς Πτολεμαῖδος ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν 'Αντιό-

202 χειαν. ἐνθεὶ εὐθέως ἐπέστελλεν Καίσαρι τὴν τε ἐμμολὴν τὴν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἐαυτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἰκεσίας τοῦ ἔθνους, ὅτι τε, εἰ μὴ βούλεται πρὸς τοῖς ἀνδράσιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀπολέσαι, δεύοι φυλάττειν τε αὐτοῖς3 τὸν νόμον καὶ παρέναι τὸ πρόσταγμα.

203 ταῦτας ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς οὐ σφόδρα μετρίως ἀντ- ἐγραψεν ὁ Γάιος, ἀπειλῶν Πετρωνίων θάνατον, ὅτι τῶν προσταγμάτων αὐτοῦ βραδὺς ὑπηρέτης ἐγί- νετο.4 ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν τούτους γραμματοφόρους σινέθη χειμασθήναι τρεῖς μήνας ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ.

1 συλλέγετων PA, whence syllēγειν Destinon.
2 κατευχομένων PA*. 3 Niese: αὐτοῖς MSS.
4 PA: εγένετο the rest.
devotion of this people to their religion and their unflinching resignation to death. So for the time he dismissed them, nothing being decided.

(5) During the ensuing days he held crowded private conferences with the aristocracy, and public meetings with the people; at these he had recourse alternatively to entreaty, to advice, most often, however, to threats, holding over their heads the might of the Romans, the fury of Gaius, and the necessity which circumstances imposed upon himself. As, however, none of these efforts would induce them to yield, and as he saw that the country was in danger of remaining unsown—for it was seed-time and the people had spent fifty days idly waiting upon him—he finally called them together and said: "It is better that I should take the risk. Either, God aiding me, I shall prevail with Caesar and have the satisfaction of saving myself as well as you, or, if his indignation is roused, I am ready on behalf of the lives of so many to surrender my own." With that he dismissed the multitude, who rained blessings on his head, and collecting his troops left Ptolemais and returned to Antioch. From that city he hastened to report to Caesar his expedition into Judaea and the entreaties of the nation, adding that, unless he wished to destroy the country as well as its inhabitants, he ought to respect their law and revoke the order. To this dispatch Gaius replied in no measured terms, threatening to put Petronius to death for his tardiness in executing his orders. However, it so happened that the bearers of this message were weather-bound for three months at sea, while others, who brought

\[a\] These later conferences were held at Tiberias, A. xviii. 269 ff.

\[b\] 40 according to A. xviii. 272.
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ton de' Gaioν thanaτoν ἄλλοι καταγγέλλοντες εὐπλούον. ἔφθη γοῦν τᾱς περὶ τούτων Πετρώνιος λαβὼν ἑπιστολάς ἐπτὰ καὶ εἶκοσιν ἡμέραις ἦ τὰς καθ' έαυτοῦ.

204 xi. (1) Gaioν de' ἡγεμονεύοντος ἐτη τρία καὶ μῆνας Οκτώ καὶ δολοφονηθέντος ἀρπάζεται μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν 'Ρώμῃ στρατευμάτων [εἰς τὴν ἄρχην]' 1

205 Κλαύδιος, ἦ de' σύγκλητος, ἐξηγομένων τῶν ὑπάτων Σεντίου Σατορνίνου καὶ Πομπωνίου Σεκουνδου, τρισὶν ταῖς συμμενούσαις σπείραις ἐπιτρέψασα φυλάττεν τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον ἡθροίσθη, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑμότητα τῆς Γαίου Κλαύδιον πολεμεῖν ἐψηφίζετο: καταστησθεὶς γὰρ δὲ ἀριστοκρατίας, ὥσπερ οὖν πάλαι διωκείτο, τὴν ἄρχην ἦ κρινεῖν ψῆφῳ τοῦ ἄξιον τῆς ἡγεμονίας.

206 (2) Συνέβη [de'] 2 τηνικαῦτα πρὸς ἐπιδημοῦντα τὸν 'Αγρίππαν τὴν τε σύγκλητον καλοῦσαν εἰς συμβουλίαν πέμψαι καὶ Κλαύδιον ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς, ὅπως πρὸς τὴν εἰς τὴν χρήσιμος αὐτοῖς γένοιτο. [κάκειος] 2 συνιδὼν τὸν ἤδη τῇ δυνάμει Καίσαρα 207 πρὸς Κλαύδιον ἀπείσου. ὁ δ' αὐτὸν πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀναπέμπει δηλοῦντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσιν, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἄκων ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀρπαγείη, καὶ οὕτε τὴν ἐκεῖνων

1 om. P. 2 om. P.A.

a In the account of this affair of Petronius A. xviii. again enters much more into detail than B. ii. ; outstanding additions are the providential rainfall and the intercession of Agrippa with Gaius at Rome on behalf of the Jews.

b So A. xix. 201; in reality just over 3 years and 10 months (16 March 37 to 24 January 41 a.p.)

c The story of the assassination is told at length from some
the news of the death of Gaius, had a fortunate passage. So Petronius received this last information twenty-seven days earlier than the letter conveying his own death-warrant.\textsuperscript{a}

(xi. 1) When Gaius, after a reign of three years and eight months,\textsuperscript{b} was assassinated,\textsuperscript{c} the troops in Rome\textsuperscript{d} carried off Claudius by force to make him emperor. But the senate, on the motion of the consuls, Sentius Saturninus and Pomponius Secundus, after entrusting the protection of the city to the three\textsuperscript{e} cohorts that remained loyal to them, assembled in the Capitol and, on the ground of the savagery of Gaius, decreed war on Claudius; they were determined either to revert to their former constitution as an aristocracy, or to elect by suffrage a leader worthy of the empire.

(2) Agrippa was at the time in Rome, and, as chance would have it, he received a summons alike from the senate, calling him into consultation, and from Claudius in the camp\textsuperscript{f}; both parties solicited his services in this pressing emergency. Agrippa, reflecting that Claudius was already virtually emperor with the power at his back, repaired to him. Claudius, thereupon, sent him off as his envoy to inform the senate of his sentiments. He was to state, in the first place, that it was against his will that he had been carried off by the soldiers; at the same time he considered it both unjust to betray first-hand authority in \textit{A. xix.}, where it fills more than half the book. In the accession of Claudius, Agrippa plays a larger part in \textit{B.} than in \textit{A.}

\textsuperscript{a} The praetorian guard.\textsuperscript{b} Four according to \textit{A. xix. 188.}\textsuperscript{c} The praetorian camp established by Sejanus in A.D. 23 on the N.E. of Rome, outside the ancient city, but afterwards included within the Aurelian walls; the site is used to-day for barracks for the Italian army.
σπουδήν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν δίκαιον οὔτε ἀσφαλές τὴν ἐαυτοῦ τύχην κρίνον· καὶ γὰρ τὸ τυχεῖν τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς κλήσεως ἐπικίνδυνον εἶναι· ἐπειθ' ὅτι διοικήσει τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑσπερ ἁγαθὸς προστάτης, οὐχ ὡς τύραννος· ἀρκείσθαι γὰρ τῇ τιμῇ τῆς προσηγορίας, τὴν δ' ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ τῶν πραγμάτων βουλὴν πᾶσιν ἀποδώσει· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ φύσει μέτριος ἦν, ἵκανον ὑπόδειγμα σωφροσύνης αὐτῷ προκείσθαι τὸν Γαϊον θάνατον.

209 (3) Ταῦτ' ἀπήγγειλεν Ἀγρίππας. ἢ δὲ βουλὴ ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ στρατῷ καὶ γνώμαις ἁγαθαῖς πεποιθεῖα βουλεῖαν ἐκούσιον οὐχ ὑπομενεῖν. καὶ Κλαύδιος ὃς ἦκουσεν τὰ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, πάλιν ἐπεμεθανὼν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἀπαγγελοῦντα αὐτοῖς ὅτι προδοθεῖ μὲν τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν ὁμονοίσαντας οὐχ ὑπομένοι, πολεμήσειν δ' ἀκών πρὸς οὓς ἥκιστα

210 βούλοιτο. δεῖν μέντοι προαποδειχθῆναι τῷ πολέμῳ χωρίον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως· οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον διὸ τῆς αὐτῶν κακοβουλίαν ὀμοφύλῳ φόνῳ μιαίνεσθαι τὰ τεμένη τῆς πατρίδος. ὃ μὲν οὖν ἀκούσας ταῦτα τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἀπῆγγειλεν.

211 (4) Μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν μετὰ τῆς συγκλήτου στρατιωτῶν τις σπασάμενος τὸ ἔφος "ἄνδρες," ἐβόησεν, "συστρατιῶται, τι παθόντες ἀδελφοκτονεῖν βουλόμεθα καὶ κατὰ τῶν μετὰ Κλαύδιοι συγγενῶν ὀρμᾶν, ἔχοντες μὲν αὐτοκράτορα μηδέι μεμφθῆναι δυνάμενον, τοσαῦτα δὲ τὰ δίκαια πρὸς

212 οὐς μετὰ τῶν ὁπλῶν χωρεῖν μέλλωμεν;" ταῦτα

1 διοικήσει LVR.
2 ὀμόσαντας LVRC.

There is no verb in the Greek; Reinach suspects the text.

Or, with the other reading, "had sworn fidelity to him."
such devoted supporters and unsafe (to abandon) the fortune which had befallen him, for the mere fact of having received the imperial title entailed risks. Agrippa was further to state that he would govern the empire as a virtuous ruler and not as a tyrant; he would be content with the honour of the title, and on all public affairs would consult the whole people; indeed, were he not by nature inclined to moderation, the fate of Gaius would serve as a sufficient warning to him to act with discretion.

(3) To this message, delivered by Agrippa, the senate replied that, relying on the army and the wisdom of their own resolutions, they would not submit to voluntary servitude. When Claudius heard this answer of the senate, he again sent Agrippa to tell them that he would not consent to betray those who had unanimously elected him, and must therefore reluctantly fight those who were the last persons in the world he wished to have as his enemies. It would, however, he said, be necessary to select for the conflict some spot outside the city, as it would be monstrous that their obstinate perversity should cause the sacred precincts of their country to be polluted with her children's blood. Agrippa noted and delivered this message to the senators.

(4) In the midst of these negotiations one of the soldiers who had adhered to the senate, drawing his sword, cried out: "Comrades in arms, what has possessed us that we should wish to murder our brothers and to rush upon our kinsmen in the ranks of Claudius, when we have an emperor with whom no fault can be found and are united by such close ties with those against whom we propose to take the
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eἰπὼν διὰ μέσης ὁφρησεν τῆς θουλής πάντας τοὺς συστρατιώτας ἐφελκόμενος. οἱ δὲ εὐπατρίδαι παραχρῆμα μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἀπόλευψιν περιδεῶς ἔσχον, αὖθις δὲ ὡς ἀποστροφὴ σωτήριος οὐ κατεφαίνετο, τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὅδὸν ἥπειροντο 213 πρὸς Κλαύδιον. ὑπήντων δὲ αὐτοῖς πρὸ τοῦ τείχους γνώμοις τοῖς ἐξῆσθαι οἱ σφοδρότεροι κολακεύοντες τὴν τύχην κἀν συνέβη κινδυνεύσαν τοὺς προάγοντας πρὶν γνώναι τὴν ὀρμὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν Κλαύδιον, εἰ μὴ προσδραμὼν Ἀγρίπ- πας αὐτῷ τὸ κινδύνευμα τῆς πράξεως ἐδήλωσεν, ὅτι τε εἰ μὴ κατάσχοι τὴν ὀρμὴν τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς εὐπατρίδας λελυσσηκότων, ἀπολέσασι δι᾽ οὓς τὸ κρατεῖν ἐστὶ περίποτον ἐρημίας ἐσοτερ βασιλεὺς.

214 (5) Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας Κλαύδιος κατέσχεν τὰς ὀρμὰς τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ, προσδέχεται τε τὴν σύγκλητον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ φιλοφρονησά- μενος ἔξηγε σὺν αὐτοῖς αὐτικὰ θύσων τῷ θεῷ 215 τὰ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας χαριστήρια. καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν εὐθέως ἐδωρεῖτο τῇ πατρῴᾳ βασιλείᾳ πάση, προστιθεὶς ἐξωθεὶ καὶ τὰς ὑπ᾽ Αὐγούστου δοθείσας Ἡρώδη Τραχωνίτων καὶ Αὐρανίτων, χωρίς δὲ τούτων ἐτέραν βασιλείαν τὴν Λυσάνιον 216 καλουμένην. καὶ τῷ μὲν δήμῳ διατάγματι τὴν δωρεὰν ἐδήλου, τοῖς ἀρχοὺσιν δὲ προσέταξεν ἐγχαράξαντας δέλτοις χαλκαῖς τὴν δόσιν εἰς τὸ 217 Καπετώλιον ἀναθεῖναι. δωρεῖται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ

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field?" With those words he rushed through the midst of the senate, with all his fellow-soldiers at his heels. At this desertion the patricians were momentarily struck with dismay; then, perceiving no other refuge to which to turn, they followed the soldiers and hastened to Claudius. Outside the walls they found themselves faced by the more hot-headed courtiers of fortune, with bared swords, and the lives of the leaders of the party would have been imperilled before Claudius even knew of the fury of the soldiers, had not Agrippa run to him and told him of the perilous situation and that unless he checked the impetuosity of the troops, who were mad against the patricians, he would lose the very men who lent lustre to his sovereignty and be left monarch of a wilderness.

(5) On receiving this message, Claudius repressed the fury of the soldiers, admitted the senators to his camp, and, after warmly greeting them, went off with them without delay to sacrifice thank-offerings to God on his accession to the empire. Upon Agrippa he forthwith conferred the whole of his grandfather's kingdom, annexing to it from over the border not only the districts of Trachonitis and Auranitis of which Augustus had made a present to Herod, a but a further principality known as the kingdom of Lysanias. b This donation he announced to the people by an edict, and ordered the magistrates to have it engraved on brazen tablets to be deposited in the Capitol. He, moreover, presented Herod,

a B. i. 398.

b i.e. Abila (north-west of Damascus) and parts of Lebanon (A. xix. 275). Caligula had already given Agrippa "the tetrarchy of Lysanias" (A. xviii. 237); Claudius merely confirms this gift.
Bernice was Herod's second wife; he had previously married Mariamme, grand-daughter of Herod the Great (A. xviii. 134).

On the north of the city, to enclose the suburb Bezetha or "new city" (B. v. 151 ff., A. xix. 326).

The work was stopped, before Agrippa's death, by Marsus, the governor of Syria, under orders from Claudius (B. v. 152, A. xix. 326 f.)

A more precise statement is given in A. xix. 351. He reigned four years in all under Gaius (37-41) and three under Claudius (41-44); for the first three years under Gaius he
who was at once the soner and, by his marriage with Bernice, the son-in-law of Agrippa, with the kingdom of Chalcis.

(6) From so extensive a realm wealth soon flowed in to Agrippa, nor was he long in expending his riches. For he began to surround Jerusalem with a wall on such a scale as, had it been completed, would have rendered ineffectual all the efforts of the Romans in the subsequent siege. But before the work had reached the projected height, he died at Caesarea, after a reign of three years, to which must be added his previous three years' tenure of his tetrarchies. He left issue by his wife Cypros, three daughters—Bernice, Mariamme, and Drusilla—and one son, Agrippa. As the last was a minor, Claudius again reduced the kingdoms to a province and sent as procurators, first Cuspius Fadus, and then Tiberius Alexander, who by abstaining from all interference with the customs of the country kept the nation at peace. Subsequently Herod, king of Chalcis, died; he left by his marriage with his niece Bernice, two sons, Bernicianus and Hyrcanus, and by his previous wife, Mariamme, a third, Aristobulus. He held the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, for the fourth he held that of Herod Antipas as well. His "reign" in the present passage is limited to his tenure of the whole kingdom of Herod the Great.

d Daughter of Phasael, the nephew, and of Salampsio, the daughter of Herod the Great (A. xviii. 130 f.)
f He was seventeen years old (A. xix. 354).
g c. A.D. 44-45.
h c. A.D. 46-48. Of a distinguished Jewish family of Alexandria, son of the Alabarch Alexander and nephew of Philo; renounced Judaism to take service under the Romans, as procurator of Judaea, as prefect of Egypt (ii. 309), and as chief of the general staff of Titus at the siege of Jerusalem (vi. 237).
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θηήκει δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ ἔτερος ἀδελφὸς Ἀριστόβουλος

222 ἰδιώτης καταλιπὼν Ἰωτάπην θυγατέρα. οὗτοι

μὲν οὖν ἦσαν, ως προεῖπον, Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ

Ἡρώδου παῖδες, Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ Μαριάμμης Ἡρώδη γεγονείσαν υἱές, οὐς οὐ πατήρ ἀνείλεν. ἢ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον γενεὰ τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας ἐβασίλευσεν.

2:3 (xii. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἡρώδου τελευτήν, ὅς ἦρχε τῆς Χαλκίδος, καθίστησαν Κλαύδιος εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θείου τὸν Ἀγρίππαν υἱὸν Ἀγρίππα. τῆς δ’ ἄλλης ἐπαρχίας διαδέχεται τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἀπὸ Ἀλέξανδρου Κουμανός, ἐφ’ οὗ θόρυβοι τε ἤρξαντο καὶ φθορά πάλιν Ἰουδαίων

224 ἐγένετο. συνεληλυθότος γὰρ τοῦ πλῆθους ἐπὶ τὴν ἐορτὴν τῶν ἀζύμων εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς σπείρας ύπὲρ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοὰν ἐφεστώσης, ἐνοπλοί δ’ ἀεὶ τὰς ἐορτάς παραφυλάττουσιν, ὡς μὴ τι νεωτερίζου τὸ πλῆθος ἠθροισμένον, εἰς τὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνασυρμένος τὴν ἐσθήτα καὶ κατακύψας ἀσχημόνως προσπάθεστρεψεν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὴν ἐδραν καὶ τῷ σχήματι

225 φωνῆν ὀμοίαν ἐπεθρέξετο. πρὸς τοῦτο ἀπαν 

μὲν τὸ πλῆθος ἤγανάκτησεν, καὶ κατεβόων τοῦ Κουμανοῦ κολάζειν τῶν στρατιώτην, οἱ δὲ ἤτοι 

νήφοντες τῶν νέων καὶ τὸ φύσει στασιώδεσ ἐκ τοῦ ἐθνος ἀχώρουν ἐπὶ μάχην, λίθους τε ἄρπα- 

226 σαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐβαλλον. καὶ Κου-

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a i.e. of Agrippa.
b Called after her mother, a princess of Emesa (1. xviii. 133).
c Agrippa, Herod of Chalcis, Aristobulus.
d Alexander II and Tigranes. Tigranes was made king of Armenia by Augustus, but was soon deposed; another 410
Another brother, Aristobulus, died in private station, leaving a daughter Jotape. These three, as I have previously stated, were the children of Aristobulus, son of Herod; Aristobulus and Alexander were the issue of Herod's marriage with Mariamme and were put to death by their father. The posterity of Alexander became kings of Greater Armenia.

(xii. 1) After the death of Herod, sovereign of Chaleis, Claudius presented his kingdom to his nephew Agrippa, son of Agrippa. As procurator of the rest of the province (Tiberius) Alexander was succeeded by Cumanus; under his administration disturbances broke out, resulting in another large loss of Jewish lives. The usual crowd had assembled at Jerusalem for the feast of unleavened bread, and the Roman cohort had taken up its position on the roof of the portico of the temple; for a body of men in arms invariably mounts guard at the feasts, to prevent disorders arising from such a concourse of people. Thereupon one of the soldiers, raising his robe, stooped in an indecent attitude, so as to turn his backside to the Jews, and made a noise in keeping with his posture. Enraged at this insult, the whole multitude with loud cries called upon Cumanus to punish the soldier; some of the more hot-headed young men and seditious persons in the crowd started a fight, and, picking up stones, hurled them at the Tigranes, son of Alexander II, was given the same kingdom by Nero (A. xviii. 139 f., cf. Tac. Ann. ii. 3).

\[\text{Cf. B. ii. 51.}\]

\[\text{We cannot infer from the present tense, as Reinach does, the use of a source anterior to A.D. 70; cf. the similar use of this tense in Ap. ii. 193 (note).}\]

\[\text{Reinach appositely quotes Horace, Sat. i. 9. 69 "hodie sicesima sabbata: vin tu | curtis Iudaeis oppedere?"}\]
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μανὸς δείσας, μὴ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὀρμῇ γένοιτο, πλείους ὀπλίτας μεταπέμπεται. 
tῶν δὲ ταῖς στοιχὶς ἐπιχειρεμένων φόβος ἐμπίπτει 
tοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀκατάσχετος, καὶ τραπέντες ἐκ 
227 τοῦ ἱεροῦ διέθευσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. τοσαῦτη δὲ 
περὶ τὰς ἔξοδους βία συνωθομένων ἐγένετο, 
ὡστε πατηθέντας ὑπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ συντριβέντας 
ὑπὲρ τρισμυρίου ἁποθανεῖν, γενέσθαι δὲ τὴν 
ἐορτὴν πένθος μὲν ὅλω τῷ ἐθνεῖ, θρήνον δὲ καθ' 
ἐκάστην οἰκίαν.

228 (2) Μετελάμβανεν δὲ ταύτην τῇς συμφοράν 
[άλλος] 2 λῃστρικὸς θόρυβος. κατὰ γὰρ τῇν Βαι-
θωρὼ δημοσίαν ἀνεδον 3 Στεφάνου τινὸς δούλου 
Καίσαρος ἀποσκευὴν κομιδομένην διήρπασαν λῃ-
229 σταὶ προσπεσόντες. Κομμανὸς δὲ περιπέμψας τοὺς 
ἐκ τῶν πληθίων κωμῶν δεσμότας ἐκελευσέν 
ἀνάγεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἐπικαλών ὃτι μὴ διώξαντε 
τοὺς ληστὰς συλλάβοιεν. ἐνθα τῶν στρατιωτῶν 
τῶν εὐρών ἐν τινὶ κώμῃ τὸν ἱερὸν νόμον διέρρηξέν 
230 τε τὸ βιβλίον καὶ εἰς πῦρ κατέβαλεν. Ἰουδαῖοι 
δὲ ὃς ὁλῆς αὐτοῖς τὴς χώρας καταφλεγεῖσθις 
συνεχύθησαν, καὶ καθάπερ ὀργάνῳ τινὶ τῇ 
δεσι-
dαιμονίᾳ συνελκόμενοι πρὸς ἐν κήρυγμα πάντες 
eis Καίσαρειαν ἐπὶ Κομμανὸν συνέδραμον, ἐκετεύον-
tes τὸν οὐτῶς εἰς τὸν θεοῦ καὶ τὸν νόμον αὐτῶι 
231 ἐξυβρίσαντα μὴ περιδείν ἀτιμώρητον. ὁ δὲ 
οὐ γὰρ ἤρέμει τὸ πλῆθος, εἰ μὴ τύχων παρα-

1 PAM Lat. (Eus.): τοὺς μῦρος the rest: ὄνο μυρίαδες A. ||. 
2 om. M Lat. 
3 PA Lat.: ὄνον the rest.

a 20,000 according to A. xx. 112.
b The two Bethhorons (Upper and Lower), some ten and 
twelve miles respectively north-west of Jerusalem, on th
412
troops. Cumanus, fearing a general attack upon himself, sent for reinforcements. These troops pouring into the porticoes, the Jews were seized with irresistible panic and turned to fly from the temple and make their escape into the town. But such violence was used as they pressed round the exits that they were trodden under foot and crushed to death by one another; upwards of thirty thousand a perished, and the feast was turned into mourning for the whole nation and for every household into lamentation.

(2) This calamity was followed by other disorders, originating with brigands. On the public road leading up to Bethhoron some brigands attacked one Stephen, a slave of Caesar, and robbed him of his baggage. Cumanus, thereupon, sent troops round the neighbouring villages, with orders to bring up the inhabitants c to him in chains, reprimanding them for not having pursued and arrested the robbers. On this occasion a soldier, finding in one village a copy of the sacred law, tore the book in pieces and flung it into the fire. d At that the Jews were roused as though it were their whole country which had been consumed in the flames; and, their religion acting like some instrument e to draw them together, all on the first announcement of the news hurried in a body to Cumanus at Caesarea, and implored him not to leave unpunished the author of such an outrage on God and on their law. The procurator, seeing that the multitude would not be pacified unless they obtained main road to Joppa, famous in history: the defile was the scene of the defeat of Cestius described below (B. ii. 546 ff.).

a A. xx. 114, "the notables."

b The burning of the book is not mentioned in A.

c Or, as we should say, a magnet.
μυθίας, ἡζίου τε προάγει τὸν στρατιώτην καὶ διὰ μέσων τῶν αἰτιωμένων ἀπαχθῆναι τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ κελεύει, καὶ Ἰουδαίοι μὲν ἀνεχώρουν.

232 (3) Ἀδήθεις δὲ Γαλιλαίων καὶ Σαμαρείων γίνεται συμβολή. κατὰ γὰρ Γῆμαν καλομενήν κώμην, ἡτίς ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ κεῖται τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος, πολλῶν ἀναβαίνοντων Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ τὴν ἔορτήν ἀναρεῖται τις Γαλιλαίος. 1 πρὸς τούτο πλείστοι μὲν ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας συνέδραμον ὡς πολεμώσοντες τοῖς Σαμαρεύσις, οἱ γυνῶριμοι δ' αὐτῶν ἐλθόντες πρὸς Κομμανὸν ἤπτυβόλου, πρὶν ἀνηκέστου πᾶθους εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν διαβάντα τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ φόνου μόνως γὰρ ἀν οὕτως διαλυθῆναι πρὸ πολέμου τὸ πλήθος. Κομμανὸς μὲν οὖν ἐν δευτέρῳ τὰς ἐκείνους ἱκεσίας τῶν ἐν χεραί 2 πραγμάτων θέμενοι ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμψεν τοὺς ἱκέτας.

234 (1) Ἀγγελθεν δὲ εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα τὸ πάθος τοῦ πεθονεμένου τὰ πλήθη συνετάρριξεν καὶ τῆς ἔορτῆς ἀφέμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαμάρειαν ἐξώριμων ἀστρατήγητοι καὶ μιθεῖν τῶν ἄρχοντων κατέχοντι πειθόμενοι. τοῦ λιστρικοῦ δ' αὐτῶν καὶ στασιώδους Δευλαίον τις υἱὸς Ἐλεάζαρος καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξηρχον, οἱ τοῖς ὅμοροις τῆς Ἀκραβατηνῆς τοπο- αρχίας προσπεσόντες αὐτοὺς τε ἄνγρουν μηδεμᾶς ἕλικιας φειδω ποιούμενοι καὶ τὰς κώμας ἐνεπίμπ- πρασαν.

1 For πολλῶν . . . ἀναρ. τις Γαλιλαίος P.A.M have πολλῶν . . . ἀναρεῖται (accommodation to A. xx. 118). 2 χερί P.A.M.

a Tacitus, Ann. xii. 54, gives a different account of the events recorded in (3)-(7) (Reinach). According to him Cumanus was governor of Galilee and Felix of Samaria.

b Gnae (A. xx. 115), Gnaea (B. iii. 48), where it is namec
satisfaction, thought fit to call out the soldier and ordered him to be led to execution through the ranks of his accusers. On this the Jews withdrew.

(3) Next came a conflict between the Galilaeans and the Samaritans. At a village called Gema, situate in the great plain of Samaria, a Galilaean, one of a large company of Jews on their way up to the festival, was murdered. Thereupon, a considerable crowd assembled in haste from Galilee with the intention of making war on the Samaritans; meanwhile, the notables of the country went off to Cumanus, and entreated him, ere any irreparable mischief was done, to repair to Galilee and punish the perpetrators of the murder, as that was the only means of dispersing the crowd before they came to blows. Cumanus, however, treating their request as less important than other affairs on his hands, dismissed the petitioners without any satisfaction.

(4) When the news of the murder reached Jerusalem, the masses were profoundly stirred, and, abandoning the festival, they dashed off to Samaria, without generals and without listening to any of the magistrates who sought to hold them back. The brigands and rioters among the party had as their leaders Eleazar, son of Deinaeus, and Alexander, who, falling upon the borderers of the toparchy of Acrabatene, massacred the inhabitants without distinction of age and burnt the villages.

Battle between Jews and Samaritans arising out of murder of a Galilaean.


According to A. xx. 118 several pilgrims were murdered.

A. says "bribed by the Samaritans."

Alexander is not mentioned in A.

South-east of Shechem.
236 (5) Κουμανός δὲ ἀναλαβὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Καισαρείας μίαν ὑλὴν ἵππεων καλουµένην Σεβαστηνῶν ἐξε-βοήθει τοῖς πορθοµένοις, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν 'Ελεά-ζαρον πολλοὺς μὲν συνέλαβεν, πλείστους δὲ ἀπ-237 ἐκτεινεν. πρὸς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τῶν πολεμεῖν τοῖς Σαµαρεύσις ὁρµηµένων οἱ ἀρχοντες τῶν Ιεροσολύµων ἐκδραµόντες σάκκους ἀµπεχόµενοι καὶ τέφραν τῶν κεφαλῶν καταχέοντες ἐκέτευν ἀναχωρεῖν, καὶ µὴ διὰ τὴν εἰς Σαµαρεῖς ἀµυναν ἐπὶ Ιεροσολύµα Ρωµαιοὶ παραζύνειν, ἐλεησάι τε τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸν ναὸν, τέκνα τε καὶ γυναίκας ἱδίας, ἀ πάντα κυνδυνεύειν δι᾽ ἐνός ἐκδικίαν Γαλι-238 λαίου παραπολέσθαι. τούτοις πεισθέντες Ἰουδαῖοι διελύθησαν. ἔτραποντο δὲ πολλοὶ πρὸς ληστεῖαν διὰ τὴν ἁδειαν, καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν ἀρπαγαί 239 τε ἰσαν καὶ τῶν θρασυτέρων ἐπανασάσεις. καὶ τῶν Σαµαρεύσις οἱ δυνατοὶ πρὸς Οὐµµίδιον Κονα-δράτον, δο ἡ ἡγεµόν τῆς Συρίας, εἰς Τύρον παρα-γενόµενοι δίκην τινὰ παρὰ τῶν πορθησάντων τὴν 240 χώραν ἵξιον λαβεῖν. παρόντες δὲ καὶ οἱ γνω-ριµοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰωνάθης νῦν Ἐπάνου κατάρχει µὲν ἐλευν τῆς παραχῆ Σαµαρεάς διὰ τὸν φόνον, αἰτιον δὲ τῶν ἀποβεβη κῶσιν Κουµανόν γεγονέναι, µὴ θελήσαντα τούτων αὐθεντάς τοῦ σφαγέντος ἐπεξελθείν.

241 (6) Κοναδράτος δὲ τότε µὲν ἐκατέρους ὑπὲρ τίθεται φήσας, ἐπειδὴν εἰς τούς τόπους παρα γείηται, διερευνήσεις ἐκαστα, αὐθις δὲ παρελθόω

a L.at. ala.
b See ii. 52 (note): A. adds "and four companies (τάτα µατα, ἀ πορχώτα, αὐθις) of infantry."
c Later the first victim of the sicarii, § 256.
(5) Cumanus, taking with him from Caesarea a troop of cavalry known as "Sebastenians," now set off to the assistance of the victims of these ravages; he made prisoners of many of Eleazar's companions and killed a yet larger number. As for the rest of the party who had rushed to war with the Samaritans, the magistrates of Jerusalem hastened after them, clad in sackcloth and with ashes strewn upon their heads, and implored them to return home and not, by their desire for reprisals on the Samaritans, to bring down the wrath of the Romans on Jerusalem, but to take pity on their country and sanctuary, on their own wives and children; all these were threatened with destruction merely for the object of avenging the blood of a single Galilaean. Yielding to these remonstrances the Jews dispersed. Many of them, however, emboldened by impunity, had recourse to robbery, and raids and insurrections, fostered by the more reckless, broke out all over the country. The leading Samaritans, accordingly, went off to Tyre to see Ummidius Quadratus, the governor of Syria, and urged him to punish the authors of these depredations. The Jewish notables, including the high-priest Jonathan, son of Ananus, also presented themselves, and maintained that it was the Samaritans, by the murder in question, who had originated the disturbance, but that the responsibility for all that ensued lay with Cumanus for refusing to take proceedings against the assassins.

(6) Quadratus, at the moment, deferred giving a reply to either party, telling them that when he visited the district he would investigate the particulars; subsequently he proceeded to Caesarea,"
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εἰς Καισάρειαν τοὺς ὑπὸ Κουμανοῦ ζωγρηθέντας
242 ἀνεσταύρωσεν πάντας. ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Λύdda παρα-
γενόμενοι πάλιν διήκουσεν τῶν Σαμαρέων, καὶ
μεταπεμφάμενοι ὁκτωκαίδεκα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οὕς
ἐπέπυστο μετεσχηκέναι τῆς μάχης, πελέκει δι-
243 εχειρίσατο. δύο δ' ἐτέρους τῶν δυνατωτάτων καὶ
τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς Ἰωνάθην καὶ Ἀνανίαν, τὸν τε
τούτου παῖδα Ἀνανον καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους Ἰουδαίων
γνωρίμους ἀνέπεμψεν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα, ὅμοιως δὲ
244 καὶ Σαμαρέων τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους. παρῆγγειλεν
δὲ καὶ Κουμανῷ καὶ Κέλερι τῷ χυλιάρχῳ πλείν
ἐπὶ Ῥώμης δώσοντας Κλαυδίῳ λόγον ὑπὲρ τῶν
γεγενημένων. ταῦτα διαπραξάμενοι ἀπὸ Λύδδων
ἀνέβαινεν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα, καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸ
πλῆθος ἄγον τὴν τῶν ἀξύμων ἔορτην ἀθορύβως
eἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπανήγει.

245 (7) Κατὰ δὲ τῆν Ῥώμην Καίσαρ ἀκούσας
Κουμανοῦ καὶ Σαμαρέων, παρῆν δὲ καὶ Ἀγρίππας
ἐκθύμως ὑπεραγωνιζόμενος Ἰουδαίων, ἐπειδὴ καὶ
Κουμανῷ πολλοὶ τῶν δυνατῶν παρίσταντο, Σαμα-
ρέων μὲν καταγνοῦσ τρεῖς ἀνελεῖν προσέταξεν τοὺς
246 δυνατωτάτους, Κουμανὸν δὲ ἐφυγάδευσεν. Κέλερα
dὲ δεσμώτην ἀναπέμψας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παρα-
δοθήναι Ἰουδαίους πρὸς αἰκίαν ἐκέλευσεν καὶ
περισυρέντα τὴν πόλιν οὕτω τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπο-
κοπῆναι.

247 (8) Μετὰ ταῦτα Ἰουδαίας μὲν ἐπίτροπον Φήλικα
τὸν Πάλλαντος ἀδελφὸν ἐκπέμπει τῆς τε Σαμα-
ρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας καὶ Περαιάς, ἐκ δὲ τῆς
where he crucified all the prisoners taken by Cumanus. From there he went on to Lydda, where he gave another hearing to the Samaritans. He then sent for eighteen Jews, who, as he was informed, had taken part in the combat, and had them beheaded. He sent up to Caesar, along with two other persons of the highest eminence, the high-priests Jonathan and Ananias, Ananus, the son of the latter, and some other Jewish notables, together with the most distinguished of the Samaritans. He also directed Cumanus and Celer, the tribune, to take ship for Rome and to render an account of their conduct to Claudius. Having taken these measures, he left Lydda and went up to Jerusalem; and, finding the people peaceably celebrating the feast of unleavened bread, he returned to Antioch.

(7) At Rome Caesar gave his hearing to Cumanus and the Samaritans in the presence of Agrippa, who made a spirited defence on behalf of the Jews, while Cumanus on his side was supported by many eminent persons. The emperor condemned the Samaritans, ordered three of their most prominent men to be executed, and banished Cumanus. Celer he sent back in chains to Jerusalem, with orders that he was to be delivered over to Jewish outrage: after being dragged round the city, he was then to be beheaded.

(8) After this Claudius sent out Felix, the brother of Pallas, as procurator of Judaea, Samaria, Galilee, Claudius gives judgment for Jews and banishes Cumanus.

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\textsuperscript{a} A certain Doetus with four others (\textit{A. xx. 130}).
\textsuperscript{b} "Ananus the captain" (? of the temple) in \textit{A. xx. 131}, where Jonathan's name is omitted.
\textsuperscript{c} "A national feast" (unspecified), \textit{A. xx. 133}. According to B, the disturbances described in this chapter must have extended over a whole year from one Passover (§ 224) to the next.
JOSEPHUS

Xalkídos Ἀγρίππαν εἰς μείζονα βασιλείαν μετα-
τίθησιν, δοὺς αὐτῷ τὴν τε Φιλίππου γενομένην ἐπαρχίαν, αὕτῇ δ’ ἦν Τραχωνίτις καὶ Βατανέα καὶ
Γαυλανίτις, προσέθηκεν δὲ τὴν τε Δυσαίου βασι-
λείαν καὶ τὴν Οὐάρου γενομένην τετραρχίαν
248 αὐτὸς δὲ διοικήσας τὴν ἰγεμονίαν ἔτεσι τρισ-
καίδεκα, πρὸς δὲ μησίν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις
tελευτᾷ καταλίπων Νέρωνα τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον
249 ὁν ταῖς Ἀγριππίνης τῆς γυναικὸς ἀπάταις ἐπ
κληρονομία τῆς ἀρχῆς εἰσεποίησατο, καίπερ νῦν
ἐχῶν γνήσιον Βρεττανικόν ἐκ Μεσσαλίνης τῆς
προτέρας γυναικὸς καὶ Ὁκταουίαν θυγατέρα τῆς
ἢ’ αὐτοῦ ζευκθείσαν Νέρων ἔγενει δ’ αὐτῷ
καὶ ἐκ Πετίνης Ἀντωνία.

250 (xiii. 1) Ὅσα μὲν οὖν Νέρων δι’ ὑπερβολὴ
eὐδαιμονίας τε καὶ πλούτου παραφρονήσας ἐξ
ὔβρισεν εἰς τὴν τύχην, ἥ τίνα τρόπον τὸν τε ἄδελ
φὸν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν μητέρα διεξῆλθεν
ἀδ’ ὃν ἐπὶ τοὺς εὐγενεστάτους μετήνεγκεν τῇ
251 ὑμότητα, καὶ ὅσ τελευταῖον ὑπὸ φρενοβλαβεῖα
ἐξώκειλεν εἰς σκηνὴν καὶ θέατρον, ἐπειδὴ δ’
ὀχλον πᾶσιν ἔστω, παραλείψω, τρέψομαι δὲ ἐτ
τα Ἰουδαίοις κατ’ αὐτὸν γενόμενα.

252 (2) Τὴν μὲν οὖν μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν δίδωσι
βασιλεύειν Ἀριστοβούλῳ τῷ Ἡρώδου, τῇ ἀ
Ἀγρίππα βασιλεία τέσσαρας πόλεις προστίθησι,
sonian ταῖς τοπαρχίαις, Ἀβελα μὲν καὶ Ἰουλιάδ

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a Antonius Felix (Tac. Hist. v. 9; the reading Κλαύδι
Φύλικα in A. xx. 137 is doubtful) was probably, like h
influential brother Pallas, a freedman of Antonia, mother
Claudius. According to Tacitus (here probably untrust-
worthy) he had already been procurator of Samaria (§ 2:
note).

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and Peraea. And Agrippa he transferred from Chalcis to a larger kingdom, assigning to him Philip's former province, namely Trachonitis, Batanaea, and Gaulanitis; to this he added the kingdom of Lysanias and the old tetrarchy of Varus. After governing the empire for thirteen years eight months and twenty days, Claudius died, leaving Nero as his successor. Yielding to the artifices of his wife Agrippina, he had adopted this prince as heir to the throne, although he had by his former wife, Messalina, a legitimate son, Britannicus, besides a daughter, Octavia, whom he had given in marriage to Nero; he had also, by Petina, another daughter, Antonia.

(xiii. 1) All the outrageous acts in defiance of fortune of which Nero was guilty, when excess of prosperity and riches drove him mad; how he successively made away with his brother, wife, and mother; how his cruelty then found fresh victims in the highest of the nobility; how his infatuation inally landed him on the stage and the boards of the theatre—all these subjects, being so hackneyed, I propose to pass over and to turn to the events of Jewish history under his reign.

(2) He presented the kingdom of the lesser Armenia to Aristobulus, son of Herod; he annexed Agrippa's kingdom four cities with their districts.

Varus is identified by Schürrer with the minister of Agrippa II, mentioned in Vita 48 ff., where he is described as a descendant of Soemus who had been a tetrarch in the Lebanon district (ib. 52); it is assumed that he inherited at a time a part of this tetrarchy.

The calculation, repeated in A. xx. 148, is here correct: Claudius reigned from 24th January 41 to 13th October 54.

Of Chalcis, grandson of Herod the Great.

Greek "toparchies."
κατὰ τὴν Περαιάν, Ταριχαίας δὲ καὶ Τιβεριάδα τῶν Γαλιλαίων, εἰς δὲ τὴν λοιπὴν Ἰουδαίαν Φήλικα
253 κατέστησεν ἐπίτροπον. οὕτος τῶν τε ἀρχιληστὴν Ὁλεάζαρον ἔτεσιν εἰκοσι τὴν χώραν λησάμενον καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν συν αὐτῶ ξωγρήσας ἀνέπεμψεν εἰς Ὁρώμην τῶν δ' ἀνασταυρωθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ληστῶν καὶ τῶν ἔπι κοινωνία φωραθέντων δημοτῶν, οὐς ἐκόλασεν, ἀπειρόν τι πλῆθος ὢν.
254 (3) Καθαρθείσης δὲ τῆς χώρας ἑτερον εἴδος ληστῶν ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωι ἐπεφύετο, οἱ καλοῦμενοι σικάριοι, μεθ' ἤμεραν καὶ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει
255 φονεύοντες ἀνθρώπους. μάλιστα [δὲ]¹ εἰς ταῖς ἐορταῖς μισογόμενοι τῷ πλῆθει καὶ ταῖς ἐσθήσιν ὑποκρύπτοντες μικρὰ ξυφίδια, τούτους ἐνυπτο τοὺς διαφόρους, ἐπειτά πεσόντων μέρος ἐγύνοντο τῶν ἐπαγαγκτοῦντων οἱ πεφονευκότες, διὸ καὶ παντάπασιν ὑπὸ ἀξιοπιστίας ἦσαν ἀνεύρετοι. 
256 πρῶτος μὲν οὐν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἰωνάθης ο ἀρχιερεὺς ἀποσφάττεται, μετὰ δ' αὐτὸν καθ' ἤμεραν ἀνηροῦντο πολλοί· καὶ τῶν συμφορῶν ὁ φόβος ἦν χαλεπώτερος, ἐκάστου καθάπερ ἐν πολέμῳ καθ'
257 ὦραν τῶν θάνατον προσδεχομένου. προεσκοποῦντε
 dehydration of the name and the exact position of this one is doubtful. For Julius = Livia see § 168 (note).
258 (4) Συνέστη δὲ πρὸς τούτοις στίφος ἑτερον πονηρῶν, χειρὶ μὲν καθαρώτερον, ταῖς γνώμαις

1 om. PALV: γὰρ Eus.
2 + eti LVRC.

¹ Abila is not mentioned in A. xx. 159: there were several places of the name and the exact position of this one is doubtful. For Julias = Livias see § 168 (note).
namely, Abila and Julias in Peraea, and Tarichaeae and Tiberias in Galilee; he appointed Felix to be procurator of the rest of Judaea. Felix took prisoner Eleazar, the brigand chief, who for twenty years had ravaged the country, with many of his associates, and sent them for trial to Rome. Of the brigands whom he crucified, and of the common people who were convicted of complicity with them and punished by him, the number was incalculable.

(3) But while the country was thus cleared of these pests, a new species of banditti was springing up in Jerusalem, the so-called sicarii, who committed murders in broad daylight in the heart of the city. The festivals were their special seasons, when they would mingle with the crowd, carrying short daggers concealed under their clothing, with which they stabbed their enemies. Then, when they fell, the murderers joined in the cries of indignation and, through this plausible behaviour, were never discovered. The first to be assassinated by them was Jonathan the high-priest; after his death there were numerous daily murders. The panic created was more alarming than the calamity itself; every one, as on the battlefield, hourly expecting death. Men kept watch at a distance on their enemies and would not trust even their friends when they approached. Yet, even while their suspicions were aroused and they were on their guard, they fell; so swift were the conspirators and so crafty in eluding detection.

(4) Besides these there arose another body of illains, with purer hands but more impious intentions,
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δὲ ἀσεβεστεροὶ, ὀπερ οὐδὲν ἦττον τῶν σφαγέων
259 τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τῆς πόλεως ἐλυμήνατο. πλάνοι
gὰρ ἀνθρωποὶ καὶ ἀπατεῶνες, [ὑπὸ]1 προσχήματι
θειασμοῦ νεωτερισμοὺς καὶ μεταβολὰς πραγ-
ματεύμονες, δαιμονὰν τὸ πλῆθος ἐπειθοῦ2 καὶ
προῆγον εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν, ὡς ἐκεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ δείξοντος
260 αὐτοῖς σημεία ἐλευθερίας. ἐπὶ τούτοις Φήλιξ,
ἐδόκει γὰρ ἀποστάσεως εἶναι καταβολή, πέμψας
ἵππείς καὶ πεζοὺς ὀπλίτας πολὺ πλῆθος διέφθειρεν.

261 (5) Μεῖζον δὲ [τούτου]3 πληγὴ Ἰουδαίους
ἐκάκωσεν ὁ Αιγύπτιος ψευδοπροφήτης. παρα-
γενόμενος γὰρ εἰς τὴν χώραν ἀνθρωπος γόης καὶ
προφήτου πίστων ἐπιθείς ἑαυτῷ περὶ τρισμυρίους
262 μὲν ἀθροίζει τῶν ἡπατημένων, περιαγαγὼν δὲ
αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐρημίας εἰς τὸ ἐλαιὸν καλούμενον
ὄρος, ἐκείθεν οἰός τε ἦν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παρελθεῖν
βιάζεσθαι καὶ κρατήσας τῆς [τὲ]4 Ῥωμαίικῆς
φρουρᾶς [καὶ]5 τοῦ ἰησοῦ τυραννεῖν, χρώμενος
263 τοῖς συνεισπεσοῦσιν δορυφόροις. φθάνει δ' αὐτοῦ
τὴν ὁμὴν Φήλιξ ὑπαντήσας6 μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίικῶν
ὀπλιτῶν, καὶ πᾶς οἱ δῆμοι συνεφήματο τῆς ἁμύνης,
ὡστε συμβολῆς γενομένης τοῦ μὲν Αιγύπτιον
φυγεῖν μετ' ὁλίγων, διαφθαρῆται δὲ καὶ ζωγρη-
θῆται πλείστους τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν
πλῆθος σκεδασθὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐκαστὸν δια-
λαθεῖν.

1 om. VRC. 2 ἀνέπειθον VRC.
3 om. Lat.: τούτων Eus.: ταύτης VRC.
4 om. PAM. 5 om. Lat.
6 PA Eus.: ὑπαντάσας the rest.

omnia. VRC. 2 anepieithon VRC.
2 anepieithon VRC.
3 om. Lat.: τούτων Eus.: ταύτης VRC.
4 om. PAM. 5 om. Lat.
6 PA Eus.: ὑπαντάσας the rest.

Cf. Matt. xxiv. 24 ff. "There shall arise . . . false
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who no less than the assassins ruined the peace of the city. Deceivers and impostors, under the pretence of divine inspiration fostering revolutionary changes, they persuaded the multitude to act like madmen, and led them out into the desert under the belief that God would there give them tokens of deliverance. Against them Felix, regarding this as but the preliminary to insurrection, sent a body of cavalry and heavy-armed infantry, and put a large number to the sword.

(5) A still worse blow was dealt at the Jews by the Egyptian false prophet. A charlatan, who had gained for himself the reputation of a prophet, this man appeared in the country, collected a following of about thirty thousand dupes, and led them by a circuitous route from the desert to the mount called the mount of Olives. From there he proposed to force an entrance into Jerusalem and, after overpowering the Roman garrison, to set himself up as tyrant of the people, employing those who poured in with him as his bodyguard. His attack was anticipated by Felix, who went to meet him with the Roman heavy infantry, the whole population joining him in the defence. The outcome of the ensuing engagement was that the Egyptian escaped with a few of his followers; most of his force were killed or taken prisoners; the remainder dispersed and stealthily escaped to their several homes.

prophets and shall show great signs . . . they shall say unto you, Behold he is in the wilderness." Theudas was an earlier impostor of this type, and met with a similar fate, A. xx. 97.

4000 according to Acts xxi. 38; S. Paul was mistaken for this impostor.
Κατεσταλμένων δὲ καὶ τούτων ὀσπέρ ἐν νοσούντι σώματι πάλιν ἔτερον μέρος ἐφλέγμαινεν. οἱ γὰρ γόρτες καὶ ληστρικοὶ συναχθέντες πολλοὺς εἰς ἀπόστασιν ἐνήγον καὶ πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν παρεκρότουν, θάνατον ἐπιτιμώντες τοῖς πειθαρχοῦσιν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίᾳ καὶ πρὸς βιαν ἀφαίρησεσθαί λέγοντες τοὺς ἐκουσίως δουλεύειν προαιροῦν μένουσι. μεριζόμενοι δὲ εἰς τὴν χώραν κατὰ λόχους διήρπαξον τε τὰς τῶν δυνατῶν οἰκίας καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνήγον καὶ τὰς κώμας ἐνεπίμπρασαν, ὥστε τῆς ἀπονοίας αὐτῶν πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀναπήμπλασθαι. καὶ οὕτως μὲν ὁ πόλεμος καθ' ἡμέραν ἀνερριπίζετο.

Ἐτέρα δὲ ταραχὴ συνίσταται περὶ Καισάρειαν τῶν ἀναμεμιγμένων Ἰουδαίων πρὸς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ Σύρους στασιασάντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἥξιοιν σφετέραν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν Ἰουδαίον γεγονέναι τὸν κτίστην αὐτῆς λέγοντες· ἦν δὲ Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς· οἱ δὲ ἐτεροὶ τὸν οἰκιστὴν μὲν προσωμολόγουν Ἰουδαίον, αὐτὴν μὲντοι γε τὴν πόλιν Ἐλλήνων ἔφασαν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἀνδριάντας καὶ ναοὺς ἐγκαθιδρύσαι Ἰουδαίοις αὐτὴν ἀνατιθέντα. διὰ ταῦτα διημφισβήτουν ἑκάτεροι, προχείρισε δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸ φιλόνεικον εἰς ὁπλα καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν οἱ ἀθραυστεροὶ παρ' ἀμφοῖν προεπήδων ἐπὶ μάχην· οὔτε γὰρ Ἰουδαίων οἱ γεραῖοι τοὺς ἱδίους στασιασάς κατέχειν οἴοι τε ἦσαν καὶ τοῖς Ἐλληνσιν αἰσχος ἐδόκει  Ἰουδαίων ἐλαττοῦσθαι. προείχοι δὲ οἱ μὲν πλοῦτῳ καὶ σωμάτων ἀλκη, τὸ δὲ Ἐλληνικὸν τῇ παρὰ

1 Destinon: δὲ ἡμφισβήτους mss.  
2 οὐδὲ PAML.

a Where S. Paul then probably lay a prisoner.
(6) No sooner were these disorders reduced than the inflammation, as in a sick man's body, broke out again in another quarter. The impostors and brigands, banding together, incited numbers to revolt, exhorting them to assert their independence, and threatening to kill any who submitted to Roman domination and forcibly to suppress those who voluntarily accepted servitude. Distributing themselves in companies throughout the country, they looted the houses of the wealthy, murdered their owners, and set the villages on fire. The effects of their frenzy were thus felt throughout all Judaea, and every day saw this war being fanned into fiercer flame.

(7) Another disturbance occurred at Caesarea, where the Jewish portion of the population rose against the Syrian inhabitants. They claimed that the city was theirs on the ground that its founder, King Herod, was a Jew. Their opponents admitted the Jewish origin of its second founder, but maintained that the city itself belonged to the Greeks, since Herod would never have erected the statues and temples which he placed there had he destined them for Jews. Such were the points at issue between the two parties, and the quarrel eventually led to an appeal to arms. Every day the more venturesome in either camp would rush into combat; for the older members of the Jewish community were incapable of restraining their turbulent partisans, and the Greeks considered it humiliating to give way to the Jews. The latter had the advantage of superior wealth and physical strength, the Greeks that of the

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b In *A. xx.* 173 their argument is that the older city, strato's Tower, had not a single Jewish inhabitant.
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tων στρατιωτῶν ἀμύνης τὸ γὰρ πλέον Ρωμαίους τῆς ἐκεῖ δυνάμεως ἐκ Συρίας ἤν κατειλεγμένου καὶ καθάπερ συγγενεῖς ἦσαν πρὸς τάς βοηθείας 269 ἐτοιμοί. τοῖς γε μὴν ἐπάρχοις φροντὶς ἦν ἀναστέλλειν τὴν παραχήν καὶ τοὺς μαχιμωτέρους ἀεὶ συλλαμβάνοντες ἐκόλαζον μάστιξι καὶ δεσμοῖς. οὐ μὴν τὰ πάθη τῶν συλλαμβανομένων ἐνεποίει τοῖς καταλειπομένοις ἀνακοπὴν ἡ δέος, ἀλλ' ἐτι μάλλον
270 παρωξύνοντο πρὸς τὴν στάσιν. νικῶντας δὲ ποτὲ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους προελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἁγορὰν ὁ Φήλιξ μετ' ἀπειλῆς ἐκέλευσεν ἀναχωρεῖν. τῶν δὲ μὴ πειθομένων ἐπιπέμψας τοὺς στρατιωτὰς ἀναρεῖ συχνοὺς, ὥν διαρπαγῆναι συνεβή καὶ τὰς οὐσίας. μενοῦσις δὲ τῆς στάσεως ἐπιλέξας ἐκατέρωθεν τοὺς γνωρίμους ἐπεμψεν πρέσβεις ἐπὶ Νέρωνα διαλεξομένους περὶ τῶν δικαίων.
271 (xiv. 1) Διαδεξάμενος δὲ παρὰ τούτου τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ὁ Φήστος τὸ μάλιστα λυμανόμενον τὴν χώραν ἐπεξῆγε τῶν γοῦν ληστῶν συνέλαβεν τε
272 πλείστους καὶ διεφθείρεν οὐκ ὀλίγους. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ μετὰ Φήστον Ἀλβίνος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐξηγήσατο τῶν πραγμάτων, οὐκ ἔστω δὲ ἤτοι κα- 273 κουργίας ἰδέαν παρέλειπεν. οὐ μόνον γοῦν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς πράγμασιν ἐκλεπτεν καὶ διήρημαζεν τὰς ἐκάστων οὐσίας, οὐδὲ τὸ πᾶν ἐθνὸς ἐβαρεὶ ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ ληστεία δεδεμένους ὑπὸ τῆς παρ' ἐκάστοις βουλῆς ἢ τῶν προτέρων ἐπιτρόπων ἀπελύτρου τοῖς συγγενέσιν, καὶ μόνος

1 P.M: παρελθὼν (-eiv C) the rest.

Porcius Festus died in office (A. xx. 200). A more favourable estimate of his successor (Lucceius) Albinus is given in A. xx. than in the War. There he begins by putting
support of the military; for the troops stationed here were mainly levied by the Romans from Syria, and were consequently always ready to lend aid to their compatriots. The magistrates, indeed, were at pains to repress these disorders, and constantly arrested the more pugnacious offenders and punished them with the scourge and imprisonment; but the sufferings of those arrested, so far from checking or intimidating the remainder, only served as a stimulus to sedition. On one occasion when the Jews had been victorious, Felix came forward into the marketplace and ordered them in menacing tones to retire; on their refusing to obey, he set his troops upon them, when many were killed, their property being subsequently plundered. The quarrel, nevertheless, continuing, Felix selected the notables of the two parties and sent them to Nero as deputies to discuss before him their respective rights.

(xiv 1) Festus, who succeeded Felix as procurator, proceeded to attack the principal plague of the country: he captured large numbers of the brigands and put not a few to death.

The administration of Albinus, who followed Festus, was of another order; there was no form of villainy which he omitted to practise. Not only did he, in his official capacity, steal and plunder private property and burden the whole nation with extraordinary taxes, but he accepted ransoms from their relatives on behalf of those who had been imprisoned or robbery by the local councils or by former procurators; and the only persons left in gaol as own the sicarii, though he ends, on hearing of his supersession, by opening the prisons and thus filling the country with brigands.

The last three procurators, A.D. 60-62.

Albinus, A.D. 62-64.

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ο μη δοὺς τοῖς δεσμωτηρίοις ώς πονηρός ἐγκατ-274 ἐλείπετο. τηνικαύτα καὶ τῶν νεωτερίζειν βουλο-
µένων ἐν Ἰεροσολύμοις ἐθάρσησαν αἰ τόλμαι, καὶ
χρήµασιν μὲν οἱ δυνατοὶ τὸν Ἀλβίνον προσελµ-275 ὑπετοῦ στασιάζειν αὐτοῖς παρέχειν ἀδειαν,
τοῦ δηµοτικοῦ δὲ τὸ μη χαῖρον ἡσυχία πρὸς τοὺς
276 μετρίων κατεχρήτω. συνέβαινεν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἄφ-
ηµιµένους ὑπὲρ δὲν ἀγανακτεῖν ἐχρῆν συωτὰν,
tουσ ἀπλήγας δὲ, δέει τοῦ μή τὰ αὐτὰ παθεῖν,
καὶ κολακεύειν τῶν ἄξιων κολάσεως. καθόλου δὲ
ἡ μὲν παρησία πάντων περικέκοπτο, τυραννὶς δὲ
ἡν διὰ πλειόνων, καὶ τὰ σπέρματα τῆς μελλονῆς
ἀλώσεως ἐκτοτε τῇ πόλει κατεβάλλετο.
277 (2) Τοιούτων δὲ ὡντα τὸν Ἀλβίνον ἀπεδειξεν
ὁ μετ’ αὐτῶν ἔλθων Γέσσιος Φλώρος ἀγαθώτατον
κατὰ σύγκρισιν. ὁ μὲν γε λάθρα τὰ πολλά καὶ
μεθ’ ὑποστολῆς ἐκακούργησεν, Γέσσιος δὲ τὰς
eis τὸ ἔθνος παρανοµίας ἐπόµπευσεν, καὶ ὡσπερ
ἐπὶ τυµωρία κατακρῆτων πεµφθεὶς δήµιος οὔτε
278 ἀρπαγῆς τινα τρόπου οὗτε αἰκίας παρέλιπεν. ἢν
de ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἔλεευνοις ωµότατος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς
αἰσχροῖς ἀναιδέστατος· οὔτε δὲ πλεῖω τις ἀπιστίαν
τῆς ἀληθείας κατέχεεν οὔτε ἐν τῷ πανουργείῳ
δολιωτέρας ὀδοὺς ἐπενόησεν. ὥ το μὲν κατ’
αὐτρα κερδαίνεων µικρὸν ἔδοκε, πόλεις δ’ ὄλας
ἐξεδίδυσκε καὶ δήµιος ἀθρόος ἐλυµαίνετο, καὶ

a Literally “unbelief”; “was more successful in smothering the truth” (Traill).

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malefactors were those who failed to pay the price. Now, too, the audacity of the revolutionary party in Jerusalem was stimulated; the influential men among their number secured from Albinus, by means of bribes, immunity for their seditious practices; while of the populace all who were dissatisfied with peace joined hands with the governor's accomplices. Each ruffian, with his own band of followers grouped around him, towered above his company like a brigand chief or tyrant, employing his bodyguard to plunder peaceable citizens. The result was that the victims of robbery kept their grievances, of which they had every reason to complain, to themselves, while those who escaped injury cringed to wretches deserving of punishment, through fear of suffering the same fate. In short, none could now speak his mind, with tyrants on every side; and from this date were sown in the city the seeds of its impending fall.

(2) Such was the character of Albinus, but his successor, Gessius Florus, made him appear by comparison a paragon of virtue. The crimes of Albinus were, for the most part, perpetrated in secret and with dissimulation; Gessius, on the contrary, ostentatiously paraded his outrages upon the nation, and, as though he had been sent as hangman of condemned criminals, abstained from no form of robbery or violence. Was there a call for compassion, he was the most cruel of men; for shame, none more shameless than he. No man ever poured greater contempt on truth; none invented more crafty methods of crime. To make gain out of individuals seemed beneath him: he stripped whole cities, ruined entire populations, and almost went the
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μόνον οὐκ ἐκήρυξεν ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν πάσων ἐξεῖναι ληστεύειν, ἐφ’ ὧν μέρος αὐτὸς λήψεται τῶν λαφύ-279 ρων. διὰ γοῦν τὴν ἑκείνου πλεονεξίαν πάσας ἐρημωθήναι συνεβή τὰς πόλεις\(^1\) καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πατρίων ἥθων\(^2\) ἐξαναστάντας φυγεῖν εἰς τὰς ἄλλο-φύλους ἑπαρχίας.

280 (3) Μέχρι μὲν οὖν ἐν Συρίᾳ Κέστιος Γάλλος ἦν διέπων τὴν ἑπαρχίαν, οὐδὲ πρεσβεύσασθαι τις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐτόλμησεν κατὰ τοῦ Φλώρου: παρα-γενόμενον δέ εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα τῆς τῶν ἄξιμων ἐφτῆς ἐνεστώσης περιστάς ὁ δῆμος, οὐκ ἐλάττους τριακοσίων μυριάδων, ἴκετευον ἔλεησαι τὰς τοῦ ἑθνοῦς συμφορὰς καὶ τὸν λυμεώνα τῆς χώρας

281 Φλώρον ἐκεκράγεσαν· δὲ παρὼν καὶ τῷ Κεστίῳ παρεστὼς διεκλεύαζεν τὰς φωνάς. ὁ γε μὴν Κέστιος τὴν ὄρμην τοῦ πλήθους καταστείλας καὶ δοῦς ἐμφασιν ὡς πρὸς τὸ μέλλον αὐτοῖς τὸν Φλώρον κατασκευάσειν μετριώτερον, ὑπέστρεφεν

282 εἰς 'Ἀντιόχειαν. προεπεμπε δ’ αὐτὸν μέχρι Και-σαρείας Φλώρος ἐξαπατῶν καὶ πόλεμον ἠδη τῷ ἑθνει σκοπούμενος, ὁ μόνω συγκρύψεις τὰς ἐκατο-283 θεματικά ὑπελάμβανεν· εἰρήνης μὲν γὰρ οὐσίς κατηγόρους ἔξειν ἐπὶ Καίσαρας Ἰουδαίους προσ-εδόκα, πραγματευσάμενος δὲ ἀπόστασιν αὐτῶν τῷ μεῖζον κακῶν περισπάσεων τῶν ἐλεγχὸν ἀπὸ τῶν μετριωτέρων. ὁ μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἀν ἀπορραγεῖ τὸ ἑθνος, καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐπέτεινεν αὐτοῖς τὰς συμφορὰς.

284 (4) 'Εν δὲ τούτω καὶ οἱ Καισαρεῖν "Ἐλληνες, νικήσαντες παρὰ Νέρων τῆς πόλεως ἄρχειν, τὰ

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\(^1\) τοπαρχίας LVRC Exc.
\(^2\) Destinon from \textit{A. xx. 256} and Lat.: ἔθων mss.
length of proclaiming throughout the country that all were at liberty to practise brigandage, on condition that he received his share of the spoils. Certainly his avarice brought desolation upon all the cities, and caused many to desert their ancestral haunts and seek refuge in foreign provinces.\(^a\)

(3) So long as Cestius Gallus remained in Syria discharging his provincial duties, none dared even to send a deputation to him to complain of Florus; but when he visited Jerusalem on the occasion of the feast of unleavened bread, the people pressed round him, and a crowd of not less than three millions \(b\) implored him to have compassion on the calamities of the nation, and loudly denounced Florus as the ruin of the country. Florus, who was present at Cestius's side, scoffed at their outcry. Cestius, for his part, having quieted the excitement of the crowd, pledged himself to secure for them greater moderation on the part of Florus in future, and so returned to Antioch. Florus escorted him as far as Caesarea, playing upon his credulity, and already contemplating the prospect of war with the nation—his only hope of covering up his own enormities. For, if the peace were kept, he expected to have the Jews accusing him before Caesar; whereas, could he bring about their revolt, he hoped that this larger crime would divert inquiry into less serious offences. In order, therefore, to produce an outbreak of the nation, he daily added to their sufferings.

(4) Meanwhile the Greeks of Caesarea had won their case at Caesar's tribunal,\(^c\) and obtained from him the government of that city; they brought back

\(^a\) Here the parallel narrative in the Antiquities ceases.
\(^b\) An impossible figure.
\(^c\) See § 270.
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τῆς κρίσεως ἐκόμισαν γράμματα, καὶ προσελάβανεν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ πόλεμος δωδεκάτω μὲν ἔτει τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας, ἐπτακαιδεκάτῳ δὲ τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας, Ἀρτεμισίου μηνὸς. πρὸς δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ συμφορῶν οὐκ ἀξιὰν ἔσχεν πρόφασιν. οὐ γὰρ ἐν Καισαρείᾳ Ἰουδαίων, συναγωγὴν ἔχοντες παρὰ χωρίον, οὐ δεσπότης ἦν τις Ἑλλην Καισαρεὺς, πολλάκις μὲν κτήσασθαι τοῦ τόπου ἐσποῦδαν τιμὴν πολλαπλασίονα τῆς.

286 ἀξίας διδόντες· ὡς δ’ ὑπερορῶν τὰς δεήσεις πρὸς ἐπήρειαν ἔτι καὶ παρωκοδόμει τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνος ἐργαστήρια κατασκευάζομεν, στενὴν τε καὶ παντάπασιν βιαίαν πάροδον ἀπέλειπεν αὐτοῖς, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ θερμότεροι τῶν νέων προπηδῶντες οἰκοδομεῖν ἐκώλυνον. ὡς δὲ τούτους ἐγρευν τῆς βίας Φλώρος, ἀμηχανοῦντες οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, σὺν οἷς Ἰωάννης ὁ τελώνης, πείθουσι τὸν Φλώρον ἀργυρίου ταλάντοις οκτὼ διακωλύσαί τοῦ ἐργοῦ. ὁ δὲ πρὸς μόνον τὸ λαβεῖν ὑποσχόμενος πάντα συμπράξειν, λαβὼν ἐξεισὼν τῆς Καισαρείας εἰς Σεβαστὴν καὶ καταλείπει τὴν στάσιν αὐτοῦ ἐξουσίαν, ὥσπερ ἄδειαν πεπρακὼς Ἰουδαίους τοῦ μάχεσθαι.

287 (5) Τῆς δ’ ἐπιούσις ἡμέρας ἐβδομάδος οὔσης, τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν συναθροισθέντων, στασιαστὴς τις Καισαρεὺς γάστραν καταστρέφας καὶ παρὰ τὴν εἴσοδον αὐτῶν θέμενος

1 προσωκοδομεῖ VRC.
2 Niese ingeniously conjectures καταστέψας "wreathed like an altar"; cf. B. i. 378 where the words are confused, but here no correction seems necessary.

Nero’s decision must have been given some years

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with them the text of the decision, and it was now that the war opened, in the twelfth year of the principate of Nero, and the seventeenth of the reign of Agrippa, in the month of Artemisius.\(^a\) The ostensible pretext for war was out of proportion to the magnitude of the disasters to which it led. The Jews in Caesarea had a synagogue adjoining a plot of ground owned by a Greek of that city; this site they had frequently endeavoured to purchase, offering a price far exceeding its true value. The proprietor, disdaining their solicitations, by way of insult further proceeded to build upon the site and erect workshops, leaving the Jews only a narrow and extremely awkward passage. Thereupon, some of the hot-headed youths proceeded to set upon the builders and attempted to interrupt operations. Florus having put a stop to their violence, the Jewish notables, with John the tax-collector, having no other expedient, offered Florus eight talents of silver to procure the cessation of the work. Florus, with his eye only on the money, promised them every assistance, but, having secured his pay, at once quitted Caesarea for Sebaste,\(^b\) leaving a free field to sedition, as though he had sold the Jews a licence to fight the matter out.

(5) On the following day, which was a sabbath, when the Jews assembled at the synagogue, they found that one of the Caesarean mischief-makers had placed beside the entrance a pot, turned bottom earlier, since the decisive part in the matter was played by Pallas (\(A. xx. 182\)), who died in 62 (Tac. Ann. xiv. 65). But the decision led to increased trouble at Caesarea and ultimately to war (\(A. xx. 184\)). Artemisius is a month in spring or early summer in the Macedonian calendar which is followed throughout the War. \(^a\) Samaria.
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ἐπέθυεν ὅρνεις. τούτο τοὺς 'Ἰουδαίους ἀνηκέστως παρώξυνεν ὡς ύβρισμένων [μὲν]¹ αὐτοῖς τῶν 290 νόμων, μεμιασμένοι δὲ τοῦ χωρίου. τὸ μὲν οὖν εὐσταθές καὶ πράον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἀναφεύγειν ὥστο χρῆναι, τὸ στασιῶδες δὲ καὶ ἐν² νεότητι φλεγμαίνον ἐξεκαίετο πρὸς μάχην. παρεσκευασμένοι δὲ εἰστήκεσαν οἱ τῶν Καίσαρέων στασιασταί, τὸν γὰρ ἐπιθύμοντα προπεπόμφεσαν ἐκ συντάγματος, καὶ παχέως ἐγένετο συμβολή. προσελθὼν δὲ Ἰουκοῦνδος ὁ διακολύεων τεταγμένοι ἵππάρχης τὴν τε γάστραν αἴρει καὶ κατασφάειν ἐπειράτο τὴν στάσιν. ἤπτωμένοι δὲ αὐτοῖς τῆς τῶν Καίσαρέων βίας Ἰουδαίοι τοὺς νόμους ἀρπάσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς Νάρβατα: χώρα τις αὐτῶν οὗτω καλεῖται 291 σταδίους ἐξήκοντα διέχουσα τῆς Καίσαρειας: οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην δυνατοὶ δώδεκα πρὸς Φλώρου ἐλθόντες εἰς Σεβαστὴν ἀπωδύροντο περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ βοηθεῖν ἱκέτευον, αἰδημόνως ὑπομιμησκόντες τῶν ὁκτὼ ταλαντῶν. ὁ δὲ καὶ συλλαβῶν ἐδήσεν τοὺς ἀνδρας, αἰτιώμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοὺς νόμους ἑξενεγκεῖν τῆς Καίσαρειας.

293 (6) Πρὸς τούτο τῶν ἐν Ἰεροσολυμοῖς ἀγανάκτησις ἦν, ἐτὶ μὲντοι τοὺς θυμοὺς κατείχον. ὁ δὲ Φλώρος ὠσπέρ ἡργολαβηκὼς ἐκριπτίζειν τῶν πόλεμων, πέμψας ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν θησαυρὸν ἐξαιρεῖ δεκαεπτὰ τάλαντα, σκηφάμενος εἰς τὰς Καίσαρος

¹ C: om. the rest.
² om. ἐν Niese.

An insinuation as acutely suggested by Reland, that the Jews were lepers, for whom, under the Law, birds were to 436
upwards, upon which he was sacrificing birds. This spectacle of what they considered an outrage upon their laws and a desecration of the spot enraged the Jews beyond endurance. The steady-going and peaceable members of the congregation were in favour of immediate recourse to the authorities; but the factious folk and the passionate youth were burning for a fight. The Caesarean party, on their side, stood prepared for action, for they had, by a concerted plan, sent the man on to the mock sacrifice; and so they soon came to blows. Jucundus, the cavalry commander commissioned to intervene, came up, removed the pot and endeavoured to quell the riot, but was unable to cope with the violence of the Caesareans. The Jews, thereupon, snatched up their copy of the Law and withdrew to Narbata, a Jewish district sixty furlongs distant from Caesarea. Their leading men, twelve in number, with John at their head, waited upon Florus at Sebaste, bitterly complained of these proceedings and besought his assistance, delicately reminding him of the matter of the eight talents. Florus actually had them arrested and put in irons on the charge of having carried off the copy of the Law from Caesarea.

(6) This news roused indignation at Jerusalem, though the citizens still restrained their feelings. But Florus, as if he had contracted to fan the flames of war, sent to the temple treasury and extracted seventeen talents, making the requirements of the be killed in an earthen vessel (Lev. xiv. 4 f.). The charge that Moses and the Israelites whom he led out of Egypt were lepers occurs constantly in the Contra Apionem (e.g. i. 279 ff.).

\[\text{§ 287.}\]

\[\text{§ 287.}\]
294 Χρείας. σύνχυσις δ' εὐθέως εἰχεν τὸν δήμον, καὶ συνδραμόντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν βοᾷς διαπροσίον τὸ Καϊσάρος ἀνεκάλουν ὄνομα καὶ τῆς Φλώρου τυραννών ἑλευθεροῦν σφᾶς ἱκέτευν. Ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν στασιαστῶν λοιδορίας αἰσχύστους εἰς τὸν Φλώρον ἐκεκράγεσαν καὶ κανοῦν περιφέροντες ἐπήτουν· αὐτῷ κέρματα καθάπερ ἀκλήρῳ καὶ ταλαπώρῳ, τούτους οὐκ ἀνετράπη τῇ φιλαργυρίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ μᾶλλον χρηματίσασθαι παρωργίσθη. Δέον γοῦν εἰς Καϊσάρειαν ἐλθόντα σβέσαι τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πῦρ ἐκείθεν ἀρχόμενον καὶ τῆς παραχής ἀνελεῖν τὰς αἰτίας, ἐφ' ὃ καὶ μισθὸν ἔλαβεν, ὥς μὲν ἐπιτιθαμμένα ἰππικῆς τε καὶ πεζικῆς ἐπὶ Ιεροσολύμων ὤρμησαι, ἵνα τοῖς Ἰωρμαίων ὀπλοῖς ἐργάσηται καὶ τῷ δέει καὶ ταῖς ἀπελαίσι περιδύσῃ τὴν πόλιν. 

297 (7) 'Ο δὲ δήμος προδυσωπήσαι τὴν ὀρμήν αὐτοῦ βουλόμενος ὑπαντά τοῖς στρατιώταις μετ' εὐφημίας καὶ τὸν Φλώρον θεραπευτικῶς ἐκδέχεται παρεσκευάσατο. κάκεινος προπέμψασις σὺν ἐπιπέδων πεντήκοντα Καπίτωνα ἐκατοντάρχην ἀναχωρεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν, καὶ μὴ πρὸς ὅν οὔτως ἐλοιδόρησαν αἰσχρῶς εἰρωνεύοντες τὰς νῦν φιλοφιλονόμους· δεῖν γὰρ αὐτούς, εἰπήρ γενναίοι εἰσιν καὶ παρρησιασταῖ, σκώπτειν μὲν αὐτοῦ καὶ παρόντα, φαίνεσθαι δὲ μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὀπλοῖς φιλελευθέρους. τοῦτος καταπλαγὼν τὸ πλήθος, ἀμα καὶ τῶν περὶ Καπίτωνα ἐπέειν εἰς μέσον φερομένων, διεκεκάσθη πρῶς ἀπάσασθαι τὸν Φλώρον ἡ τοῖς στρατιώταις

1 απ' ἄποιαν Ρ.Α.Μ.
2 ἐν τῷ Βουλόμενον C: cf. "ad quod uolebat uteretur" Lat. and for τὸ β. A. xvi. 396, 438
imperial service his pretext. Instantly fired by this outrage, the people rushed in a body to the temple and with piercing cries invoked the name of Caesar, imploring him to liberate them from the tyranny of Florus. Some of the malecontents railed on the procurator in the most opprobrious terms and carrying round a basket begged coppers for him as for an unfortunate destitute. These proceedings, however, far from checking his avarice, only provoked him to further peculation. Accordingly, instead of betaking himself, as he should have done, to Caesarea, to extinguish the flames of war, there already breaking out, and to root out the cause of these disorders—a task for which he had been paid—he marched with an army of cavalry and infantry upon Jerusalem, in order to attain his object with the aid of the Roman arms, and by means of intimidation and menaces to fleece the city.

(7) The citizens, anxious to forestall and make him ashamed of his intention, went to meet the troops with acclamations, and prepared to give Florus an obsequious reception. He, however, sent on ahead a centurion, Capito, with fifty horsemen, and ordered the Jews to retire and not to mock with this show of cordiality one whom they had so grossly abused; if they were courageous and outspoken persons (so ran his words) they ought to jeer at him in his very presence and to show their love of liberty not only in words but with arms in hand. Dismayed by this message and by Capito’s cavalrymen charging into their ranks, the crowd dispersed, before they had a chance of saluting Florus or giving the soldiers proof

\[a\] Perhaps because their payment of tribute was in arrear, § 403 (Reinach).
\[b\] Apparently he had only a single cohort (§ 332).
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φανερὸν ποιῆσαι τὸ πειθὴνιον. ἀναχωρῆσαντες δὲ εἰς τὰς οἰκίας μετὰ δέους καὶ ταπεινώτητος ἐνυπτέρευσαν.  1

301 (8) Φλώρος δὲ τότε μὲν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείσι αὐλίζεται, τῇ δ’ ύστερᾳ βῆμα πρὸ αὐτῶν θέμενος καθέζεται, καὶ προσελθόντες οἳ τε ἄρχουν ερείς καὶ δυνατοὶ τὸ τε γνωριμώτατον τής πόλεως 2

302 παρέστησαν τῷ βῆματι. τοῦτοι δ’ Φλώρος ἐκέλευσεν τοὺς λοιδορῆσαντας αὐτὸν ἐκδοῦναι, φάμενοι αὐτοὺς ἀπολαύσειν τῆς ἀμύνης, εἰ μὴ προϊόντως αὐτίκους. οἳ δὲ τὸν μὲν δῆμον ἀπεφηναν 3 εἰρηνικὰ φρονοῦντα, τοῖς δὲ παραφθεγξαμένοις

303 ἢτοίντο συγγνώμην· ἐν γὰρ τοσοῦτῳ πλῆθει θανμαστὸν μὲν οὐδὲν εἶναι τινας θρασύτερους καὶ δι’ ἡλικίαν ἄφρονας, ἀμήχανον δὲ τῶν ἠμαρτηκότων τὴν διάκρισιν ἐκάστοτος μετανοοῦντος καὶ δέει 4 ἃ

304 δέδρακεν ἄρνομένου. δεῖν μέντοι γε ἐκεῖνον, εἰ προνοεῖ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἔθνος εἰρήνης καὶ βούλεται ὅρωμαίοις περισσῶσιν τὴν πόλιν, μᾶλλον διὰ τούς πολλοὺς ἀκατατιστῶς συγγνώοι καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις πλημμελήσασιν ἢ δι’ ὀλίγοις πονηροῦς ταράξα φημοῦν ἄγαθον τοσοῦτον.

305 (9) Πρὸς ταῦτα μᾶλλον παροξυνθεῖς ἐμβοᾷ τοῖς στρατιώταις διαρπάζειν τὴν ἀνω καλουμένην ἄγοραν καὶ κτείνειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας. οἳ δ’ ἐπιθυμίᾳ κέρδους προσπλαβόντες ἡγεμονικὴν παρακέλευσιν οὐ μόνον ἐφ’ ὅν ἐπέμφθησαν τόπον ἤρπαζον, ἀλλ’ εἰς πάσας ἐμπηδώντες τὰς οἰκίας

1 ἐνυπτέρευσαν VRC (the usual word in Josephus).
2 + πάν VRC.  
3 ἀπεφηναν VRC.
4 Destinon: δι’ μός.
of their obedience. They retired to their homes and passed the night in terror and dejection.

(8) Florus lodged at the palace, and on the following day had a tribunal placed in front of the building and took his seat; the chief priests, the nobles, and the most eminent citizens then presented themselves before the tribunal. Florus ordered them to hand over the men who had insulted him, declaring that they themselves would feel his vengeance if they failed to produce the culprits. The leaders, in reply, declared that the people were peaceably disposed and implored pardon for the individuals who had spoken disrespectfully. It was not surprising, they said, that in so great a crowd there should be some reckless spirits and foolish youths; but to pick out the delinquents was impossible, as everyone was now penitent and would, from fear of the consequences, deny what he had done. If, then, Florus cared for the peace of the nation and wished to preserve the city for the Romans, he ought to pardon the few offenders for the sake of the many innocent, rather than, because of a few rascals, to bring trouble upon such a host of good citizens.

(9) This speech merely increased the exasperation of Florus, who now shouted to the soldiers to sack the agora known as the "upper market," and to kill any whom they encountered. The troops, whose lust for booty was thus backed by their general's order, not only plundered the quarter which they were sent to attack, but plunged into every house and

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a The upper city or upper agora, viz. the south-west quarter of the town. See B. v. 137 f. for the city hills: (1) upper city [S.W.], (2) lower city or Akra [S.E.], (3) a third which had disappeared in the time of Josephus [probably N.E.]; with G. A. Smith, Jerusalem, ii. 448 note.
306 ἔσφαξον τοὺς οἰκήτορας. φυγὴ δὲ ἦν ἐκ τῶν στενωπῶν καὶ φόνος τῶν καταλαμβανομένων, τρόπος τε ἁρπαγῆς οὐδεὶς παρελείπετο, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν μετρίων συλλαβόντες ἐπὶ τὸν Φλώρον ἀνήγον. οὕς μάστιξιν προαιρεσμένος ἀνεσταύρωσεν. ὁ δὲ σύμπας τῶν ἐκείνης ἀπολομένων τῆς ἡμέρας ἄριθμὸς σὺν γυναιξίν καὶ τέκνοις, οὔδὲ γὰρ νηπίων ἀπέσχοντο, περὶ τρισχιλίους καὶ ἕξα-
308 κοσίους συνήχθη. Βαρυτέραν τε ἐποίη τὴν συμφοράν τὸ καῖνον τῆς Ῥωμαίων ὁμότητος. ὁ γὰρ μηδεὶς πρότερον τὸτε Φλώρος ἐτόλμησεν, ἀνδρᾶς ἵππικού τάγματος μαστιγώσαε τῇ πρὸ τοῦ βήματος καὶ σταυρῷ προσηλώσα, ὦν εἰ καὶ τὸ γένος Ἰουδαίων ἄλλα γοῦν τὸ ἄξιόμα Ῥωμαίκων ἦν.
309 (XV. 1) Κατὰ τούτον τὸν καῖρον ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς Ἀργίππας ἐστυχεν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πεπορευμένος, ὅπως Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνηθείᾳ πεπιστευμένῳ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὑπὸ Νέρωνος καὶ πεμ-
310 φθέντι διέπειν. τὴν ἄδελφὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ Βερνίκην παροῦσαν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ τὴν παρανομίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν θεωμένην δεινὸν εἰσήγη πάθος, καὶ πολλάκις τοὺς τε ἵππικοι βαρύν ἐαυτῆς καὶ σωματοφυλακας πέμποντα πρὸς Φλώρον ἐδείτο παύσασθαι τοῦ φόνου. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτε εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀναρριωμένων οὐτε εἰς τὴν εὐγένειαν, τῆς παρακαλοῦσας, ἀλλ’ εἰς μόνον τὸ λυσιτελὲς
311 παύσασθαι τοῦ φόνου. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτε εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀναρριωμένων οὐτε εἰς τὴν εὐγένειαν, τῆς παρακαλοῦσας, ἀλλ’ εἰς μόνον τὸ λυσιτελὲς
312 τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἁρπαγῶν ἀποβλέπων παρήκουσεν. ἦ δ’ ὄρμη τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐλύσσεσαν καὶ κατὰ τῆς βασιλίδος· οὐ μόνον γοῦν ἐν ὁμμασιν αὐτῆς ἥκι-
ζυντο τοὺς ἀλησκόμενους καὶ διεφθειρον, ἀλλά

1 o γούν VRC. 2 VRC: τριάκοντα PAM. 3 ML: 'Ἰουδαίων or 'Ἰουδαίοι the rest.
slaughtered the inmates. There ensued a stampede through the narrow alleys, massacre of all who were caught, every variety of pillage; many of the peaceable citizens were arrested and brought before Florus, who had them first scourged and then crucified. The total number of that day's victims, including women and children, for even infancy received no quarter, amounted to about three thousand six hundred. The calamity was aggravated by the unprecedented character of the Romans' cruelty. For Florus ventured that day to do what none had ever done before, namely, to scourge before his tribunal and nail to the cross men of equestrian rank, men who, if Jews by birth, were at least invested with that Roman dignity.

(xv. 1) King Agrippa, at this moment, was absent, having gone to Alexandria to offer his congratulations to Alexander, a recently sent to take over the government of Egypt, with which he had been entrusted by Nero. Agrippa's sister Bernice, however, who was at Jerusalem, witnessed with the liveliest emotion the outrages of the soldiers, and constantly sent her cavalry-commanders and life-guards to Florus to implore him to put a stop to the carnage. But he, regarding neither the number of the slain nor the exalted rank of his suppliant, but only the profit accruing from the plunder, turned a deaf ear to her prayers. The mad rage of the soldiers even vented itself upon the queen. Not only did they torture and put their captives to death under her eyes, but

* Tiberius Alexander, previously procurator of Judaea (§ 220 note), and brother-in-law of Bernice (A. xix. 276 f.).
καὶ αὐτὴν ἀνείλον, εἰ μὴ καταφυγεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν αὐλὴν ἐφθη, κακεὶ διενυκτέρευσεν μετὰ φυλακῆς δεδουκυία τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔφοδον.

313 ἐπεδήμει δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἰεροσολύμοις εὐχὴν ἔκτελεύσα τῷ θεῷ τοὺς γὰρ η νόσω καταπονουμένους ἢ τισιν ἄλλαις ἀνάγκαις ἔθος εὐχέσθαι πρὸ τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν ἢ ἀποδώσεις μέλλοιεν θυσίας οὗν

314 τε ἀφέξεσθαι καὶ ἐυρήσεσθαι τὰς κόμας. ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸτε τελοῦσα Βερνίκη γυμνόπους τε πρὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐκέτευ τὸν Φλώρον, καὶ πρὸς τῷ μὴ τυχεῖν αἴδοις αὐτῆς τὸν περὶ τοῦ ζην κίνδυνον ἐπείρασεν.

315 (2) Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐξκαίδεκάτη μηνὸς Ἀρτεμισίου συνηνέχθη, τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ὑπερπαθήσαν εἰς τὴν άνω συνέρρευσεν ἀγοράν καὶ βοάς ἐξαισίους περὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀνωδύνετο· τὸ πλέον δὲ ἦσαν εἰς τὸν Φλώρον ἐπίφθονοι φωναί.

316 πρὸς δὲ δείσαντες οἱ δυνατοὶ σὺν τοῖς ἀρχιερεύσων τὰς ἐσθήτας περιερρήξαντο, καὶ προσπίπτοντες ἐκάστοις ἐδέοντο παῦσασθαι καὶ μὴ πρὸς οῖς πεπόνθασιν εἰς ἀνήκεστόν τι τὸν Φλώρον ἐρεθίζειν.

317 ἐπείσθη δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ταχέως αἴδοι τε τῶν παρακαλοῦντων καὶ κατ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ μηδὲν ἐτὶ τὸν Φλώρον εἰς αὐτοὺς παρανομήσειν.

318 (3) ὁ δὲ σβεσθείσης τῆς ταραχῆς ἡχθετο καὶ πάλιν αὐτὴν ἀνάψει πραγματεύομενος τοὺς τε ἀρχιερεῖς σὺν τοῖς γνωρίμοις μεταπέμπεται καὶ μόνον ἐφη τεκμήριον ἐσεβάθαι τοῦ μηδὲν ἐτὶ τὸν

1 Dindorf: ξυρήσασθαι (ἠσασθαι) mss.
2 Destinon: αὐτὴν mss.
3 VRC (Lat. ?): ἐκάστοις the rest.

a A Nazirite vow, cf. Acts xxii. 23-26. Thirty days was

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they would have killed her also, had she not hastened to seek refuge in the palace, where she passed the night surrounded by guards, dreading an attack of the troops. She was visiting Jerusalem to discharge a vow to God; for it is customary for those suffering from illness or other affliction to make a vow to abstain from wine and to shave their heads during the thirty days preceding that on which they must offer sacrifices. These rites Bernice was then undergoing, and she would come barefoot before the tribunal and make supplication to Florus, without any respect being shown to her, and even at the peril of her life.

(2) These events took place on the sixteenth of the month Artemisius. On the following day the multitude, overcome with distress, flocked to the upper agora, uttering terrific lamentations for the dead, but the shouts of imprecation upon Florus preponderated. Alarmed at this outburst, the leading men and the chief priests rent their clothes and, falling at the feet of one after another of the mob, implored them to desist, and not to provoke Florus, after all they had endured, to some new and irreparable outrage. The multitude promptly complied, alike out of respect for their petitioners, and in the hope that Florus would spare them further enormities.

(3) The procurator was vexed at the extinction of the tumult, and, with the object of relighting the flames, sent for the chief priests and leading citizens and told them that the people had but one way of proving that they intended to refrain from any the period of purification prescribed by the school of Shamai for Nazirites completing a vow in Palestine; the school of Hillel was apparently more severe (Mishna, Nasir, iii. 6, quoted by Schürer).

* According to Niese's calculation.
δήμον νεωτέρισεν, εἰ προελθόντες ὑπαντήσουσιν τοῖς ἀπὸ Καίσαρείας ἀνισοῦσι στρατιώταις. παρεγί-

19 νοντο δὲ δύο σπείραι. τῶν δ’ ἐτι συγκαλοῦντων
tο πλῆθος προπέμψας διεδήλου τοῖς τῶν σπειρῶν
ekατοντάρχοις, ὅπως παραγγείλωσιν τοῖς ὑφ’
ἐαυτοὺς μήτε ἀντασπάσασθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους,
kαὶ τι κατ’ αὐτοῦ φθέγξωσαί χρῆσασθαι τοῖς

320 ὀπλοῖς. οἱ δ’ ἀρχιερεῖς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὴν πλῆθον
sυναγαγόντες ὑπαντάν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παρεκάλον
καὶ πρὸ ἀνηκέστον πάθους τὰς σπειρὰς δεξιοῦσθαι.
tούτους τὸ στασιῶδες ἦπείθει, καὶ διὰ τούς
ἀπολωλότας τὸ πλῆθος ἔρρεπεν πρὸς τοὺς θραυ-
tέρους.

321 (4) "Ενθα δὴ πᾶς μὲν ἱερεὺς πᾶς δ’ ὑπηρέτης
τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ ἅγια σκεύη προκομίσαντες καὶ τὸν
κόσμον, ἐν ὃς λειτουργεῖν ἔθος ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἀνα-
λαβόντες, κιθαρισταὶ τε καὶ ὑμνώδοι μετὰ τῶν
ὀργάνων προσέπιπτον καὶ κατηντηβόλουν φυλάξαι
τὸν ἱερὸν κόσμον αὐτοῖς καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἀρταγήν

322 τῶν θείων κειμηλίων Ῥωμαίους ἐρεθίσαι. τοὺς
δ’ ἀρχιερεῖς αὐτοὺς ἢ ἰδεῖν καταμωμένους μὲν
τῆς κεφαλῆς κόσμον, 1 γυμνοὺς δὲ τὰ στέρνα τῶν
ἐσθήτων διερρηγμένον. 2 ὀνομαστὶ δ’ ἐκαστὸν τῶν
γνωρίμων καὶ κοινῇ τὸ πλῆθος ἐκέτευν μὴ δι’
ἐλαχίστης πλημμελείας προδούματι τὴν πατρίδα

323 τοῖς ἐπιθυμοῦσιν πορθῆσαι: τίνα γὰρ ἦ τοῖς
στρατιώταισι φέρειν ὑφέλειαν τὸν ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων
ἀσπασμὸν ἢ διόρθωσιν αὐτοῖς τῶν συμβεβηκότων

324 τὸ μὴ νῦν προελθεῖν; εἰ δὲ δὴ δεξιώσαιτο τοὺς

1 LVRC (cf. § 601): τῆς κεφαλῆς κόσμον PAM.
2 περιερρηγμένον LVRC.
further revolutionary proceedings, namely to go out and meet the troops coming up from Caesarea—two cohorts being at the time on their way. Then, while the leaders were still convening the people for the purpose, Florus sent word to the centurions of the cohorts to instruct their men not to return the salute of the Jews, and if they uttered a word in disparagement of himself, to make use of their arms. The chief priests, meanwhile, having assembled the multitude in the temple, exhorted them to meet the advancing Romans and to prevent any irremediable disaster by giving a courteous reception to the cohorts. To this advice the factious party refused to listen, and the crowd, influenced by their memory of the fallen, inclined to the bolder policy.

(4) Then it was that every priest and every minister of God, bearing in procession the holy vessels and wearing the robes in which they were wont to perform their priestly offices, the harpers also and the choristers with their instruments, fell on their knees and earnestly implored the people to preserve for them these sacred ornaments, and not to provoke the Romans to pillage the treasures of the house of God. Even the chief priests might then have been seen heaping dust upon their heads, their breasts bared, their vestments rent. They appealed by name to each of the notables individually and to the people as a whole not, by offending in so trifling a matter, to deliver up their country to those who were eager to sack it. "After all," they asked, "what would the troops profit by receiving a salute from the Jews? What reparation for past events would they themselves obtain by now refusing to go out? If, on the contrary, they welcomed these new-comers
προσιόντας ὑς ἑθος, Φλώρω μὲν ἀποκοπήσεσθαι τὴν ἁφομήν τοῦ πολέμου, κερδήσειν δ' αὐτοῦς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν πλέον. Ἀλλως τε καὶ τὸ πείθεσθαι στασιάζουσιν ὅλγοις, δέον αὐτοὺς δῆμον ὅντας τοσοῦτον συναναγκάζειν κα-κείνους συνευγνωμονεῖν,1 δεινῆς ἀκρασίας εἶναι.

325 (5) Τούτως μειλισσόμενοι τὸ πλῆθος ἀμα καὶ τῶν στασιαστῶν οὐς μὲν ἀπελαῖς, οὐς δὲ αἰδοῖ κατέστειλαν. ἔπειτα ἐξηγούμενοι μεθ’ ἡσυχίας τε καὶ κόσμου τοῖς στρατιῶταις ὑπήντων καὶ πλησίων γενομένους ἡσπάσαντο· τῶν δὲ μηδὲν ἀποκριναμένων οἱ στασιασταῖ Φλώρου κατεβοῦν.

326 τούτ’ ἦν σύνθημα κατ’ αὐτῶν δεδομένον· αὐτικὰ γοῦν οἱ στρατιώται περισχόντες αὐτοὺς ἐπαινοῦν ἔντολοι, καὶ φεύγονται οἱ ἱππεῖς καταδιώκοντες συνεπάτουν. ἔπιπτον δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ Ῥω-μαίων τυπτόμενοι, πλέον γὰρ ὑπ’ ἄλληλων βια-327 ζόμενοι. δευνὸς δὲ περὶ τὰς πυλὰς ὀθισμὸς ἦν, καὶ φθάνειν ἐκάστου σπεύδοντος βραδυτέρα μὲν ἡ φυγὴ πᾶσιν ἑγώνετο, τῶν δὲ σφαλέντων ἀπώλεια δευνὴ· πυγόμενοι γὰρ καὶ κλώμενοι πλῆθει τῶν ἐπιβανόντων ἡφαιστοῦ, καὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς ταφὴν 328 τῶν γνώριμοι τοῖς ἱδίοις κατελείπετο. συνεισ- ἐπιπτοῦν2 δὲ καὶ στρατιῶται παῖδες ἀνέδην τοὺς καταλαμβανομένους καὶ διὰ τῆς Βεζέθα καλού-μένης ἀνεῶθον τὸ πλῆθος, βίαιζόμενοι παρελθεῖν καὶ κρατήσαι τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς 'Αντωνίας

1 συνειδαμονεῖν PAL.
2 Bekker: συνέπιπτον mss.

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a Or “New city,” the northernmost suburb, include within the unfinished wall of Agrippa I (B. v. 151 ff.).

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with their customary courtesy, they would cut away from Florus all ground for hostilities and gain for themselves their country and freedom from further molestation. And then, above all, what utter feebleness it showed to be guided by a handful of rebels, when they ought instead with their numerous body to coerce even these malcontents to join in their own rational policy!"

(5) By these remonstrances they succeeded in soothing the multitude, while they quelled the rebels partly by menaces, partly by appealing to their feelings of respect. Then, taking the lead, they advanced in quiet and orderly fashion to meet the troops, and on the approach of the latter saluted them. The cohorts making no response, the rebels started clamouring against Florus. This was the given signal for falling upon the Jews. In an instant the troops were round them, striking out with their clubs, and on their taking flight the cavalry pursued and trampled them under their horses' feet. Many fell beneath the blows of the Romans, a still larger number under the pressure of their own companions. Around the gates the crush was terrible; as each strove to pass in first, the flight of all was retarded, and dreadful was the fate of any who stumbled; suffocated and mangled by the crowds that trod them down, they were obliterated and their bodies so disfigured that their relatives could not recognize them to give them burial. The troops pushed in with the fugitives, mercilessly striking anyone who fell into their hands, and so thrust the crowd back through the quarter called Bezetha," trying to force their way through and occupy the temple and the castle of

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δόν καὶ Φλώρος ἐφιέμενος ἐξῆγε τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς τὸ φρούριον ἐλθεῖν
329 ἡγωνίζετο. διήμαρτέν γε μὴν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, 1 ὁ γὰρ δῆμος ἀντικρὺς ἐπιστραφεὶς εἰργεν τὴν ὀρμὴν, 2 καὶ διαστάντες ἐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν τοὺς Ρωμαίους ἔβαλλον. καταπονούμενοι δὲ τοῖς ὑπερθεὶν βέλεσιν καὶ διακόψαι τὸ τοὺς στενωποὺς ἐμφράζαν πλῆθος ἀσθενήσαντες, ἀνεχώρουν εἰς τὸ πρὸς τοῖς βασιλείοις στρατόπεδον.

330 (6) Οἳ δὲ στασιαστὰί δεῖσαντες μὴ πάλιν ἐπελθὼν οἱ Φλώρος κρατήσας τοῦ ἱεροῦ διὰ τῆς 'Αντωνίας, ἀναβάντες εὐθέως τὰς συνεχεῖς στοάς τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρὸς τὴν 'Αντωνίαν διέκοψαν. τοὺτ' ἐφυέπαν τὴν Φλώρου πλεονεξίαν. τῶν γὰρ τοῦ θεουργοῦ ἐφιέμενος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρελθεῖν ἐπιθυμῶν εἰς τὴν 'Αντωνίαν, ώς ἀπερράγησαν αἱ στοάι, τὴν ὀρμὴν ἀνετράπη, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς τε ἄρχιερεῖς καὶ τὴν βουλὴν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξεναι τῆς πόλεως ἐφη, φρουράν δὲ ἐγκαταλείψειν
331 αὐτοῖς ὅσην ἢν ἀξιώσωσιν. τῶν δὲ πάντα περὶ ἀσφαλείας καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν νεωτερίσεων ὑποσχομένων, εἰ μίαν αὐτοῖς καταλείποι σπείραν, μὴ μέντοι τὴν μαχεσαμένην, πρὸς γὰρ ταύτην ἀπεχθῶς δι' ἀ πέπονθεν ἐχειν τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλὰς τὴν σπείραν, ὡς Ἱερού, μετὰ τῆς λουτῆς δυνάμεως ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Καίσαρειαν.

332 (xvi. 1) Ἐπέραν δὲ ἐπιβολὴν3 τῶν πολέμων ποριζόμενος ἐπέστελλεν Κεστίῳ Ἰουδαίων ἀπό-

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1 L Lat.: ἐπιβολῆς the rest. 2 τῆς ὀρμῆς P: om. Lat. 3 ἐπιβολῆν PAM and second hand of L.

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*a i.e. the cohort which Florus himself had brought into the city (§ 296) and which had sacked the Upper Market.
Antonia. Florus, with the same object in view, led his men out from the court of the palace and struggled to reach the fortress. But he was foiled in this purpose; for he found himself faced by the people, who turned upon him and checked his advance, while others, posting themselves along the roofs, kept the Romans under continuous fire. Overwhelmed by the missiles from above and incapable of cutting their way through the crowds that blocked the narrow alleys, the soldiers beat a retreat to their camp adjoining the palace.

(6) Fearing, however, that Florus might return to the attack and capture the temple by way of the fortress Antonia, the Jewish revolutionaries instantly mounted the porticoes which connect the two buildings and cut the communication. This manœuvre cooled the cupidithy of Florus; for it was God’s treasures that he coveted and that had made him so eager to reach Antonia, and now that the porticoes were broken down, his ardour was checked; he sent for the chief priests and the council, and told them that he intended to quit the city, but would leave them whatever garrison they desired. In reply, they undertook to maintain perfect order and to prevent any revolution, provided that he left them a single cohort, but not the one which had fought, as the people bore it a grudge on account of what they had suffered from it. He, accordingly, changed the cohort, as they requested, and with the remainder of his forces returned to Caesarea.

(xvi. 1) With a view to providing further ground for hostilities, Florus now sent a report to Cestius.

Florus leaves one of the two cohorts which had just arrived from Caesarea.
στασιν καταψευδόμενος, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τῆς μάχης
περιθείς αὐτοῖς, καὶ δράσαι λέγων ἐκείνους ἀ
pεπόνθησαν. οὐ μὴν οὖδ’ οἱ τῶν Ἐρωσολύμων
ἀρχοντες ἐσίγησαν, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ τε καὶ Βερνίκη
τῷ Κεστίῳ περὶ ὧν Φιλώρος εἰς τὴν πόλιν παρηνο-
334 μησεν ἐγραφον. ὁ δὲ τὰ παρ’ ἀμφοῖν ἀναγνώ
μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐβουλεύητο. τοῖς μὲν οὖν
αὐτοῖν ἐδόκει Κέστιον μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἀναβαίνειν
ἡ τιμωρημένου τὴν ἀπόστασιν, εἰ γέγονεν, ἡ
βεβαιότερος καταστήσοντα Ἰουδαίους καὶ συμ-
mένοντας, αὐτῶ δὲ προπέμψαι τῶν ἐταίρων τὸν
κατασκευόμενον τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὰ φρονήματα
335 τῶν Ἰουδαίων πιστώς ἀναγγελοῦντα. πέμπει δὴ
tινα τῶν χιλιάρχων Νεαπολιτανόν, δς ἀπὸ τῆς
Ἀλεξανδρείας ὑποστρέφοντι περιτυχῶν Ἀγρίππα
τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ Ἰάμνειαν τὸν τε πέμψαντα καὶ
tὰς αἰτίας ἐδήλωσεν.

336 (2) Ἔνθα καὶ Ἰουδαίων οἱ τε ἀρχιερεῖς ἀμο
τοῖς δυνατοῖς καὶ ἡ βουλή παρῆν δεξιομένη τῷ
βασιλείᾳ. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εἰς ἐκείνων θεραπείαν ἀπ-
ωδύροντο τὰς ἐαυτῶν συμφοράς καὶ τὴν Φιλώροι
337 διεξήσαν ὁμότητα. πρὸς ἦν ἡγανάκτει μεί
'Ἀγρίππας, στρατηγικῶς δὲ τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς οὐ
ἡλεῖ Ἰουδαίους μετέφερεν, ταπεινοῦν αὐτῶν βου
λόμενος τὰ φρονήματα καὶ τῷ μὴ δοκεῖν ἄδικω
338 τι παθεῖν τῆς ἀμύνης ἀποστρέψων. οἱ μὲν οὖν, ὥ

1 LC: αὐτῶν the rest: om. Lat.
2 P: + τίνα the rest.
3 Cardwell: δὲ or οὖν ὅτι mss.
4 Νεοπολιτανόν here and below VRC (as in Vita 121).
falsely accusing the Jews of revolt, representing them as the aggressors in the recent fighting, and charging them with crimes of which in fact they were the sufferers. However, the magistrates of Jerusalem, on their side, did not remain silent: they, too, wrote to Cestius, as did also Bernice, on the subject of the iniquities perpetrated upon the city by Florus. Cestius, having read the dispatches from both parties, took counsel with his officers. They were of opinion that Cestius should go up in person to Jerusalem with an army, either to punish the authors of the revolt, if it was a fact, or to confirm the Jews in their allegiance, if they still remained loyal to Rome. The governor, however, decided first to send one of his colleagues to investigate the position of affairs and to present a faithful report to him of the temper of the Jews. He accordingly dispatched the tribune Neapolitanus, who fell in at Jamnia with king Agrippa as he was returning from Alexandria, and informed him who it was that had sent him on this mission and what was its object.

(2) To Jamnia also came the chief priests of the Jews, the leading citizens and the council, to welcome the king. After paying homage to him, they proceeded to deplore the calamities which had befallen them and to recount the brutalities of Florus. Agrippa was indignant at their narrative, but diplomatically turned his resentment upon the Jews whom at heart he pitied, wishing to humiliate their pride and, by appearing to disbelieve that they had been at all ill-treated, to divert them from revenge.

* Jamnia (Yebnah) in Philistia not being on the direct route to Jerusalem from Caesarea (or Antioch), it is supposed that Neapolitanus went out of his way to meet Agrippa.
JOSEPHUS

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They indeed, being men of position, and as owners of property desirous of peace, understood the benevolent intention of the king's reprimand. But the people of Jerusalem also came out to a distance of sixty furlongs from the city to welcome Agrippa and Neapolitanus; the widows of the slain ran on in advance uttering piercing cries, and to their shrieks the people responded with lamentations, entreatings Agrippa to succour them, and loudly declaiming to Neapolitanus all that they had suffered from Florus. When they entered the city the Jews showed them the **agora** a scene of desolation, and the houses plundered. Then, through the agency of Agrippa, they induced Neapolitanus to make the tour of the city as far as Siloam, with a single attendant, in order to assure himself that the Jews were duly subordinate to all the Roman officials, Florus alone excepted, whom they hated for the excessive cruelty with which he had treated them. Having traversed the city and satisfied himself as to the amenable temper of the inhabitants, Neapolitanus went up to the Temple. Here he called the multitude together, highly commended them for their loyalty to the Romans and earnestly exhorted them to keep the peace; then, after paying his devotions to the sanctuary of God from the permitted area, he returned to Cestius.

(3) The Jewish populace now turning to the king and the chief priests pressed them to send an embassy to Nero to denounce Florus, and not to remain silent after so frightful a massacre, thereby leaving the Jews under the suspicion of revolt; as they would be

court, entry to the latter being forbidden to Gentiles under pain of death (*B. v. 193 f.*).
katάρξαι των ὄπλων, εἰ μὴ φθάσαντες ἐνδείξαντο
343 τοῦ κατάρξαντα. φανεροὶ δὲ ἦσαν οὐκ ἢρεμήσοντες,
εἰ τὴν πρεσβείαν τις ἀποκωλύοι. 'Αγρίππα δὲ
τὸ μὲν χειροτονεῖν Φλώρου κατηγόρους ἐπίφθονον,
τὸ περιδεῖν δὲ Ἰουδαίους εἰς πόλεμον ἐκριπτο-
σθέντας οὐδὲν αὑτῶν λυσιτελές κατεφαίνετο. προσ-
καλεσάμενος δὲ εἰς τὸν ἑυστὸν τὸ πλήθος καὶ
παραστησάμενος ἐν περιόπτῳ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Βερ-
νίκην ἐπὶ τῆς 'Ασαμωναίων οἰκίας, αὖτὶ γὰρ ἦν
ἐπάνω τοῦ ἑυστοῦ πρὸς τὸ πέραν τῆς ἄνω πόλεως,
καὶ γέφυρα τῷ ἑυστῷ τὸ ἱερὸν συνήπτεν, 'Αγρίπ-
πας ἔλεξεν τοιάδε.

345 (4) "Εἰ μὲν ἐωρῶν πάντας ὑμᾶς πολεμεῖν
Ῥωμαίοις ὄρμημένους καὶ μὴ τοῦ δήμου τὸ
καθαρóτατον καὶ εἰλικρινέστατον εἰρήνην ἀγεν
προητημένους, οὔτ' ἂν παρήλθον εἰς ὑμᾶς οὕτε
συμβουλεύειν ἐθάρρησα· περισσός γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ
δέοντα ποιεῖν πᾶς λόγος, ὅταν ἦ τῶν ἀκοινώνων
346 πάντων πρὸς τὸ χείρον ὁμόνοια. ἐπεὶ δὲ τυνᾶς
μὲν ἡλικία τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ κακῶν ἀπείρατος, τυνᾶς
δὲ ἐλπὶς ἀλόγιστος ἐλευθερίας, εἴνους δὲ πλεονεξία

1 ἀποκωλύει P.A.M. 2 C: οὕτε the rest.

a The meaning of πρὸς τὸ πέραν τῆς ἄνω πόλεως is un-
certain; Reinach renders "et sa façade regardait les
terrains qui font vis-à-vis à la ville haute."

b The Xystus, perhaps the gymnasium originally built by
Jason (2 Macc. iv. 9), was a place of exercise, apparently
mainly open to the air, with "polished" flag-stones from
which it took its name. Its exact position is uncertain;
it seems to have lain on the lower slopes of the western hill
(the upper city) above the Tyropoeon valley, which separated
the west and the east hills, or (G. A. Smith) in the valley
itself. The palace of the Hasmonaeans was to the west of it,
higher up the western hill; in this palace Agrippa I had
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regarded as having commenced hostilities, unless prompt measures were taken to denounce the real aggressor. It was clear that they did not intend to submit quietly to any opposition to the proposed embassy. Agrippa saw how odious would be the task of electing a body to accuse Florus, but realized also the danger, even to himself, of letting the flames now smouldering in Jewish breasts break out into war. He, accordingly, summoned the people to the Xystus and placed his sister Bernice in a commanding position on the roof of the palace of the Hasmonaeans, which stood above the Xystus on the opposite side of the upper town \(^a\); the Xystus was connected with the Temple by a bridge.\(^b\) Agrippa then delivered the following speech \(^c\) :

"Had I found you all bent on war with the Romans, instead of seeing that the most honest and single-minded members of the community are determined to preserve the peace, I should not have presented myself before you, nor ventured to offer advice; for any speech in support of the right policy is thrown away when the audience unanimously favours the worse. But seeing that the stimulus to war is for some of you mere youthfulness which lacks experience of its horrors, for others an unreflecting hope of regaining independence, for yet others constructed an apartment which commanded a view of the interior of the Temple (A. xx. 189 f.).

\(^c\) On the accuracy of the information given in the following speech, and apparently derived from some official source, monographs have been written by Friedländer, *De fonte quo Josephas*, B.J. ii. 16. 4, *usus sit* (Königsberg, 1873), and Domaszewski, "Die Dislokation des römischen Heeres im Jahre 66 n. Chr." (*Rheinisches Museum*, 1892, pp. 207-218). I owe these references to Drs. Th. Reinach and E. Schürer.
JOSEPHUS

tis paroξyni ka\i to para t\wn \asthe\nestep\wn, ein t\a pr\\'amata svghvth\', k\erdos, opws aut\oi te
so\fronisth\ntes meta\balwntai kai mh t\h enwn
kakoboulia o\i agadoi parapola\sosin, v\thn
dei\ ein e\pi to aut\o p\\'antas \ym\as svnagagwn e\pe\n347 \a nomi\xexw svmp\per\en. th\rbythse d\\i mo\i mhdeis,
\'ein mh t\a pr\\os \h\donh\' akou\h\; tois \\%en gar \\'anhe-
k\\'estois e\pi t\h \ap\\'ostasin \\frmhm\\'noi \\'ene\st\i kai
meh\a t\h \\em\h\ para\i\n\seis ta\\'\ta frone\\i\', \\xmoi \\d\i
dia\xiptet\i kai pr\\os to\\udt akou\\i\'en \\'ethel\ntas \\'o l\\g\os,
348 \\'ein mh para p\\'ant\wn \\su\xhia g\v\n\ntai. o\\da \\\%en
\n\udh \\ti polloi t\a\x e\k t\wn \\epitrop\\wn \\v\brei\i kai
t\a t\h \\leu\tha\i\a \\gk\w\mi\a tragw\dbo\i\i\', \\g\\w
\\d\i \\p\i\n \\'exet\\'\xein \t\i\nes om\\i\tes t\i\n\i \\epixeirete
pol\\rmei\', pr\\wton\ \dia\xhe\i\'\xexw t\h \\sumpl\lo\khn t\wn
349 \prof\\as\seon. ei \\\%en gar \\am\\v\n\nse\the to\\udt \\\di\kou\\nt\as,
ti \se\mn\vn\noi t\h \\leu\tha\i\a; ei \\d\i \\\t\d\ou\l\unei\n\af\or\h\\\nt\on \\gh\e\i\the, \\p\ri\s\se\the \\\p\ro\s to\\udt \\\gh\e\m\\\n\\h\n \\m\\eft\psi\i\', kai gar ek\\i\n\i\'n \\metria\z\'\nt\wn \\\i\sxh\\rn
350 \\omoi\o\w to \\d\ou\l\unei\n. \xko\p\\xeit\i \\\d\i kai ka\\% \\ekak-
st\\noi to\\udt \\w\s \\\ez\\i\n \\mikra to\\udt pol\\rmei\n \\\w\p\\o-
\\seis, kai pr\\wta ge t\a t\\w \\epitrop\\w\w \\g\k\l\\h\ma\ta.
th\\r\p\\xpe\\i\e\i\n gar, \\xu\k \\r\xre\\i\zei\n \xri\h t\a\x \\g\\xou\si\a\n.
351 \\\tsan \\\d\i t\a\x \\mik\\w\w \\am\r\thm\\a\t\w\w to\\udt \\g\\"\\nei-
di\xsm\o\w \\pi\\i\se\the \xme\\\l\w\n, ka\% \\\\\e\\i\tu\\udt to\\udt
458
perhaps avarice and the prospect of enriching themselves at the expense of the weak in the event of a general convulsion, I, in order to bring these misguided persons to reason and a better frame of mind, and to prevent virtuous citizens from reaping the consequences of the errors of a few, have thought it my duty to call you all together and to tell you what I conceive to be to your interest. If my remarks are not to the liking of any of my audience, pray let him not create a disturbance. For those who have irrevocably determined to rebel will still be at liberty, after my exhortation, to retain their sentiments; but my words will be lost even upon those who are anxious to hear them, unless you all give me a quiet hearing.

"Now, I know that there are many who wax eloquent on the insolence of the procurators and pronounce pompous panegyrics on liberty; but, for my part, before examining who you are and who are this people whom you are undertaking to fight, I would first consider apart two distinct pretexts for hostilities which have been confused. For, if your object is to have your revenge for injustice, what good is it to extol liberty? If, on the other hand, it is servitude which you find intolerable, to complain of your rulers is superfluous; were they the most considerate of men, servitude would be equally disgraceful.

"Consider then these arguments apart and how weak, on either ground, are your reasons for going to war; and first the charges against the procurators. The powers that be should be conciliated by flattery, not irritated; when you indulge in exaggerated reproaches for minor errors, you only injure your
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όνειδιζομένους ἀπελέγχετε, καὶ παρέντες τὸ λάθρα καὶ μετ’ αἴδος υμᾶς βλάπτειν πορθοῦσι φανερῶς. οὐδὲν δὲ οὕτως τὰς πληγάς ὡς τὸ φέρειν ἀναστέλλει, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἡσύχιον τοῖς

352 ἀδικοῦσι γίνεται διατροπὴ. φέρε δ’ εἶναι τοὺς Ἡρωμαίων ὑπηρέτας ἀνηκέστως χαλεποὺς. οὕτω Ἡρωμαῖοι πάντες ἀδικοῦσιν υμᾶς οὐδὲ Καίσαρ, πρὸς οὓς αἱρεσθε1 τὸν πόλεμον οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔξ ἐντολῆς ἦκεν τις πονηρὸς ἀπ’ ἐκείνων, οὐδὲ γε τοὺς ύπὸ τὴν ἀναστολὴν οἱ ἀδ’ ἐσπέρας ἐπιβλέπουσιν. ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἀκούειν ταχέως τα ἐντεύθεν ἐκεῖ

353 ράδιον. ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ δι’ ἕνα πολλοῖς καὶ διὰ μικρὰς αὐτίας τηλικοῦτος καὶ μηδὲ γυνώσκουσιν

354 ὁ μεμφόμεθα πολεμεῖν. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἡμετέρων ἐγκλημάτων ταχείᾳ γένοιτ’ ἄν [ἡ]2 διορθώσισ. οὔτε γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπίτροπος μενεῖ3 διὰ παντός, καὶ τοὺς διαδεξομένους εἰκός ἐλευθεραθεὶς μετρωτέρους κυνηγέντα δ’ ἄπαξ τὸν πόλεμον οὕτ’ ἀποθέσθαι

355 ράδιον δίχα συμφορῶν οὔτε βαστάζειν. ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ γε νῦν ἐλευθερίας ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀρων, δεὸν ὑπέρ τοῦ μηδὲ ἀποβαλεῖν αὐτὴν ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸτερον. ἡ γὰρ πείρα τῆς δουλείας χαλεπῆ, καὶ περὶ τοῦ

356 μηδ’ ἀρέσαθαι ταύτης ὁ ἁγών δίκαιος. ὁ δ’ ἄπαξ χειρωθεὶς, ἐπειτὰ ἁφιστάμενος, αὐθάδης δουλός ἐστιν, οὐ φιλελευθερος. τότε χαλαρωμένος ἐχρημάτων πάνθ’ ὑπέρ τοῦ μὴ δέξασθαι Ἡρωμαίους ποιεῖν.

357 ὥστε4 ἐπέβαινεν τῆς χώρας Πομπηίως. ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ἡμετέροι5 πρόγονοι καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ

1 Cobet (cf. e.g. B. ii. 638): αἱρεῖσθε mss.
2 om. PAL.
3 μένει PAL.
4 + τὴν ἀρχὴν MVRC.
5 ἡμετέροι AL Lat.

α Or "turns the wrongdoer aside."
selves by your denunciation of those whom you incriminate; instead of maltreating you, as before, in secret and with a sense of shame, they will now despoil you openly. There is nothing to check blows like submission, and the resignation of the wronged victim puts the wrongdoer to confusion. Granted that the Roman ministers are intolerably harsh, it does not follow that all the Romans are unjust to you any more than Caesar; yet it is against them, against him, that you are going to war. It is not by their orders that an oppressive governor comes from them to us, and they cannot see in the west their officers in the east; it is not easy even promptly to hear yonder the news from these parts. How absurd it were, because of one man to make war on a whole people, for trifling grievances to take arms against so mighty a power, which does not even know the nature of our complaints! The wrongs which we lay to their charge may be speedily rectified; for the same procurator will not remain for ever, and it is probable that the successors of this one will show greater moderation on taking office. But war once set on foot cannot be lightly either broken off or carried through without risk of disaster.

"Passing to your present passion for liberty, I say that it comes too late. The time is past when you ought to have striven never to lose it. For servitude is a painful experience and a struggle to avoid it once for all is just; but the man who having once accepted the yoke then tries to cast it off is a contumacious slave, not a lover of liberty. There was, to be sure, a time when you should have strained every nerve to keep out the Romans; that was when Pompey invaded this country. But our forefathers and their
χρήμασιν καὶ σώμασιν καὶ ψυχαῖς ἄμεινον ὑμῶν πολλῶν διακεῖσθαι, πρὸς μοῦραν ὀλίγην τὴς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως οὐκ ἀντέσχον· ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ τὸ μὲν ὑπακούειν ἐκ διαδοχῆς παρειληφότες, τοῖς πράγμασιν δὲ τῶν πρώτων ὑπακουοῦσάντων τοσοῦτον ἐλαττοῦσιν, πρὸς ἐκ τῆς ἀνθίστασθε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν; καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οἱ περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἕλληνων ἐλευθερίας παραδόντες ποτὲ καὶ πυρὶ τῆς πόλις, οἱ τὸν ὑπερήφανον Ξέρξην διὰ γῆς πλεύσαντα καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης ὑδεύσαντα καὶ μὴ χωροῦσαν μὲν τοῖς πελάγεσιν, πλατυτέραν δὲ τῆς Ἕλληνικῆς τὴν στρατιὰν ἀγωνία, οία δραπέτην ἐπὶ μᾶς νεός διώξαντες, περὶ δὲ τῇ συμβρακεῖ Σαλαμινί ὁ τὸν τοσαῦτην Ἄσιαν κλάσαντες ὑπὸ δουλεύονσιν Ῥωμαίους, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίδα τῆς Ἕλλαδος πόλιν διοικεῖ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας προσ-

359 τάγματα. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μετὰ Θερμοπύλας καὶ Πλαταιάς καὶ τῶν ἐρευνήσαντα τὴν Ἄσιαν

360 Ἀγησίλαον ἀγαπῶσιν τοὺς αὐτοὺς δεσπότας, καὶ Μακεδόνες ἔτι φανταζόμενοι Φιλιππον καὶ τὴν σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παρασπείρουσαν αὐτοῖς τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡγεμονίαν ὁρῶντες, φέρουσι τὴν τοσαῦτην μεταβολήν καὶ πρὸς ὅσον μεταβέβηκεν ἡ τύχη προσκυνοῦσιν. ἄλλα τε ἑθνὶ μνημί πλείων γεμοῦντα πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν παρρησίας ἑίκει. μόνον δ' ὑμεῖς ἀδοξεῖτε δουλεύειν ὅσα ὑποτέτακται τὰ πάντα;

1 Dindorf's conjecture παρασπαίρουσαν is unnecessary; the noun τίχην must be understood, but need not be inserted, as it is by Destinon.

359 Alluding to the canal of Athos and the bridge across the Hellespont.

360 His campaigns in Asia against Tissaphernes and Pha-
kings, though in wealth and in vigour of body and soul far your superiors, yet failed to withstand a small fraction of the Roman army; and will you, to whom thraldom is hereditary, you who in resources fall so far short of those who first tendered their submission, will you, I say, defy the whole Roman empire?

"Look at the Athenians, the men who, to maintain the liberty of Greece, once consigned their city to the flames; the men before whose pursuit the haughty Xerxes, who navigated the land and trod the sea, Xerxes for whom the deep was too narrow and whose army overflowed Europe, fled like a fugitive slave on a single galley; the men who, off the coast of little Salamis, broke the immense might of Asia. Those men today are the servants of the Romans and the city that was queen of Greece is governed by orders from Italy. Look at the Macedonians, who still cherish Philip in their imagination, still have before their eyes the vision of her who with Alexander scattered broadcast for them the seeds of the empire of the world; yet they submit to endure such a reversal of fate and bow before those to whom Fortune has transferred her favours. Myriads of other nations, swelling with greater pride in the assertion of their liberty, have yielded. And will you alone disdain to serve those to whom the universe is subject?

nabazus in 396–394 B.C. were cut short by his recall to war at home.

* The goddess Fortune.
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ποία στρατιά, ποίους πεποιθότες ὄπλοις; ποῦ μὲν ὁ στόλος ὑμῖν διαληψόμενος τὰς Ῥωμαίων θαλάσσας; ποῦ δ' οἱ ταῖς ἐπιβολαίς ἐξαρκέσοντες

362 θησαυροί; πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους ἀρα καὶ πρὸς Ἀραβας οἴσεθε κινεῖν τὸν πόλεμον; οὐ περισκέψεθε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν; οὐ μετρήσετε τὴν ἔαυτῶν ἀσθένειαν; οὐ τὰ μὲν ἡμέτερα1 καὶ τῶν προσοικῶν ἑθνῶν ἡττήθη πολλάκις, ἡ δὲ ἑκεῖνων ἰσχύς διὰ

363 τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀνίκητος; μάλλον δὲ καὶ ταύτης ἐξήτησάν τι πλέον. οὐ γὰρ ἐξήρκεσεν αὐτοίς ὅρος2 Εὐφράτης ὑπὸ τὴν ἀνατολήν, οὐδὲ τῶν προσαρκτίων ὁ Ἰστρός, ἦ τε μεσημβρία μέχρι τῶν ἀοικήτων ἐρευνηθεῖσα Λιβύη καὶ Γάδειρα πρὸς ἑσπέραν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὦκεανὸν ἑτέραν ἐξήτησαν οἰκουμένην καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἀνιστορητῶν πρότερον

364 Βρεττανῶν διήνεγκαν τὰ ὀπλα. τί οὖν; ὑμεῖς πλουσιώτεροι Γαλατῶν, ἱσχυρότεροι Γερμανῶν, Ἕλληνων συνετῶτεροι, πλείους τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐστὶ πάντων; τί τὸ πεποιθὸς ὑμᾶς

365 κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπαίρει; χαλεπὸν τὸ δουλεύειν, ἐρεὶ τις. πόσῳ μάλλον Ἕλλησιν, οἱ τῶν υφ' ἡλίῳ πάντων προύχοντες εὐγενείᾳ3 καὶ σοσαύτην νεμόμενοι χώραν ἐξ Ῥωμαίων ὑπείκουσιν ράβδοις, σοσαύταις δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνες οἱ δικαιότερον ὑμῶν

366 ὀφείλοντες ἑλευθερίας ἀντιποιεῖσθαι. τί δ' αἶ

1 ἡμέτερα MLC Lat.
2 Niese, Destinon: ὅλος mss.
3 προύχοντες εὐγενείᾳ P: προύχειν εὐγενεία δοκοῦντες καὶ ὑπετὲς A: προύχειν εὐγενεία (or εἰγ. προύχ.) δοκοῦντες the rest.

* The Danube.

b Greek "Gadeira"; Cadiz.

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What are the troops, what is the armour, on which you rely? Where is your fleet to sweep the Roman seas? Where is your treasury to meet the cost of your campaigns? Do you really suppose that you are going to war with Egyptians or Arabs? Will you shut your eyes to the might of the Roman empire and refuse to take the measure of your own weakness? Have not our forces been constantly defeated even by the neighbouring nations, while theirs have never met with a reverse throughout the whole known world? Nay, even that world has not sufficed for their ambition. For, not content with having for their frontiers on the east the Euphrates, on the north the Ister, on the south Libya explored into desert regions, on the west Gades, they have sought a new world beyond the ocean and carried their arms as far as the Britons, previously unknown to history. I ask you, then, are you wealthier than the Gauls, stronger than the Germans, more intelligent than the Greeks, more numerous than all the peoples of the world? What is it which inspires you with confidence to defy the Romans?

"'It is hard to serve,' you will tell me. How much harder for Greeks who, though noblest of all races under the sun and occupants of so vast a territory, are yet subservient to six rods of a Roman magistrate! A like number suffices to curb the Macedonians, who with better right than you might claim their liberty. And then the five hundred cities

\[c\] The lictor's fasces. Achaea, since 27 B.C. (except under Tiberius, when it was an imperial province, and for a short period under Nero, when Greece was proclaimed free) was a senatorial province governed by a proconsul of praetorian rank, who was attended by six lictors.

\[d\] Another senatorial province.
The number agrees with that named by Philostratus (Lives of Sophists, ii. 1. 4): the geographer Ptolemy reckons only 140 (Reinach). Asia was senatorial with a governor of consular rank.

b The Colchians, of whom the Heniochi were a tribe, were settled on the east and south-east of the Black Sea.

c Inhabiting the Tauric Chersonese, the modern Crimea.

d The sea of Azov.
of Asia\(^a\): do they not, without a garrison, bow (\(d\) Asia, before a single governor and the consular \textit{fasces}? Need I speak of the Heniochi, the Colchians,\(^b\) the race of the Taurians,\(^c\) the people of the Bosphorus, the nations bordering on the Euxine and Lake Maeotis\(^d\)? These peoples, who formerly recognized no master, not even one from their own ranks, are now in subjection to three thousand soldiers, while forty battle-ships bring peace to that once un navigated and savage sea.\(^e\) What strong claims to liberty might be advanced by Bithynia, Cappadocia, the Pamphylian nation, Lycians and Cilicians? Yet they pay their tribute without resort to arms.\(^f\) Then, what of the Thracians, who are \(^e\) Thrac spread over a country five days' march in breadth and seven in length, a country more rugged and far stronger than your own, the rigour of whose icy climate repels an invader: do they not obey the orders of two thousand Roman guards?\(^g\) The Illyrians, their neighbours, who inhabit the region extending from Dalmatia to the frontier of the Ister, are they not kept in check by no more than two legions,\(^h\) with whom they themselves unite to repel the incursions of the Dacians? The Dalmatians, \(^g\)Dalmat too, who have so often reared their heads \(^i\) for liberty,

\(^a\) The numbers of troops and ships here mentioned cannot be checked; the military occupation of these districts appears to date from the annexation of the kingdom of Pontus on the deposition of Polemon II c. A.D. 63.

\(^b\) Or perhaps "without constraint of arms" (Reinach).

\(^c\) Detached from the two legions stationed in Moesia; Thrace, after several risings, was finally converted into a Roman province in 46 A.D.

\(^d\) The two legions of Moesia (not Illyria) are intended: viz. VIII Augusta and VII Claudia (Tac. \textit{Hist.} ii. 85).

\(^e\) Greek "manes."
JOSEPHUS

συλλεξάμενοι 1 τὴν ἰσχὺν πάλιν ἀποστήναι, νῦν οὖν ὁ πολιτικὸς
371 ὅφει ἔν τὰ γλυκαὶ Ῥωμαίων ἄσυσταν ἁγιον, ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἀπόστασιν ὁφείλον ἀφορμαί
καὶ ἑγεῖς παρατηρούμεν, μάλιστα Γαλάτας ἔχρην, τοὺς ὀμούσῃ Ἡ니다 ἡς φύσεως τετειχισμένους, εἰς ἀνατολὴν
μὲν ταῖς Ἀλπεῖσιν, πρὸς ἀρκτῶν δὲ Ἡρίῳς ποταμῶν, μεσημβρίων δὲ τοῖς Πυρηναῖοις ὀρεσίν, ὠκεανῷ
372 δὲ πρὸς δυσμῶν. 2 ἀλλὰ καὶ τηλικαίᾳ μὲν ἔρκῃ περιβαλλομένοι, πέντε δὲ καὶ τριακοσίους
πληθύνοντες ἐθνεσιν, τὰς δὲ πηγάς, ὡς ἀν τις εἴποι, τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐπιχειρίους ἔχοντες καὶ τοῖς ἁγα-
θοῖς σχέδου ὀλην ἐπικλύζοντες τὴν ὀικουμένην, ἀνέχονται Ῥωμαίων πρόσοδος ὄντες καὶ ταμενό-
373 μενο παρ’ αὐτῶν τὴν ὀικείαν εὐδαιμονίαν. καὶ
tοῦθ’ ὑπομένουσιν οὐ διὰ φρονημάτων μαλακίαν,
οὔτε ὃν μὲν ἀγένειαν, οἷον διήγεγκαν ὁγδοήκοντα ἐτῆ
πόλεμον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῆς
δυνάμεως Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῆς τύχης καταπλαγέντες,
ητος αὐτοῖς κατορθοὶ πλείονα τῶν ὀπλῶν. τοι-
γαροῦν ὑπὸ χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων στρατιώτας
δουλεύουσιν, ὃν ὁλίγον δεῖν πλείους ἔχουσιν πόλεις
374 οὔτε Ἰβηραίον ὁ γεωργούμενος χρυσὸς εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ
τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐξήρκεσεν πόλεμον, οὔτε τὸ το-
σοῦτον ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης διάστημα

1 Text emended by Niese: πρὸς τὸ μῶνον ἀεὶ χειρ. τότε.
2 δυσμαίσ MVRC.

a Apparently XI Claudia (cf. Tac. Hist. iii. 50).
b 400 according to Appian, Celt. i. 2, 300 according to
Plutarch, Caes. 15: the "nations" intended are the pagi or
“cantons,” a subdivision of the civitates (Reinach).
c From the campaign of M. Fulvius Flaccus (125 b.c.)
which led to the foundation of the Provincia Narbonensis
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whose constant defeats have only led them to muster their forces for a fresh revolt, do they not now live in peace under a single Roman legion?

"But if there is one people above all others which should be tempted by its grand opportunities to raise the standard of revolt, it is surely the Gauls with their magnificent natural ramparts, on the east the Alps, on the north the river Rhine, on the south the chain of the Pyrenees, on the west the ocean. But, though encompassed by such formidable barriers, though swarming with a population of three hundred and five nations, possessing, so to say, in their native soil the springs of prosperity and irrigating well-nigh the whole world with the overflow of their products, the Gauls are yet content to be treated as a source of revenue to the Romans and to have their own prosperous fortune meted out to them at their hands. And this they tolerate, not from any lack of spirit or because they are an ignoble race, they who for full eighty years fought for their independence, but because they are overawed at once by the power of Rome and by her fortune, which brings her more triumphs even than her arms. That is why they submit to the orders of twelve hundred soldiers, they who have cities enough almost to outmatch that number. Then the Iberians—neither the gold which their soil produces, nor the vast extent of land and sea which separates them from the Romans, nor up to the end of Caesar's campaigns was a period of about seventy-five years.

\textsuperscript{a} Two cohortes urbanae established at Lyons, one of which (the eighteenth) is mentioned in Tac. \textit{Hist.} i. 64, and the other (the seventeenth) in an inscription, Mommsen, \textit{Hermes}, xvi. 645 (Reinach).

\textsuperscript{b} "More than 800 cities" (App. \textit{Celt.} i. 2; Plut. \textit{Caes.} 15),
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φύλα τε Λουσιτάνων καὶ Καντάβρων ἀρειμάνια, οὐδὲ γείτων ὦκεανὸς φοβερὰν καὶ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις 375 ἀμπωτών ἑπάγων, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἡρακλείους στῆλας ἐκτείναντες τὰ ὀπλα καὶ διὰ νεφῶν ὀδεύσαντες τὰ Πυρηναίαν ὄρη, καὶ τούτοις ἐδουλώσαντο 'Ρωμαίοι: φρουρὰ δ’ ἤρκεσεν τῶν οὕτως δυσμάχων καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπωκισμένων ἐν τάγμα. 376 τίς υἱῶν οὐκ ἀκοῇ παρείληφεν τὸ Γερμανῶν πλῆθος; ἀλκήν μὲν γὰρ καὶ μεγέθη σωμάτων εἴδετε δῆπον πολλάκις, ἐπεὶ πανταχοῦ 'Ρωμαίοι 377 τοὺς τούτων αὐχμαλώτως ἔχουσιν. ἀλλ’ οὕτοι γήν μὲν ἀπειρον νεμόμενοι, μείζω δὲ τῶν σωμάτων ἔχοντες τὰ φρονήματα καὶ τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν θανάτου καταφρονοῦσαν, τοὺς δὲ θυμοὺς τῶν ἀγριωτάτων θηρίων σφοδροτέρους, 'Ρηνὸν τῆς ὀρμῆς ὅρον ἔχουσιν καὶ 'Ρωμαίων ὅκτω τάγμασιν δαμαζόμενοι δουλεύουσιν μὲν ἄλοντες, τὸ δ’ ὅλον αὐτῶν 378 ἔθνος φυγῇ διασώζεται. σκέψασθε δὲ καὶ τὸ Βρεττανῶν τεῖχος οἱ τοῖς 'Ἰεροσολύμων τείχεσιν πεποιθότες καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι περιβεβλημένοι ὦκεανὸν καὶ τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης οὐκ ἐλάσσονα νῆσον οἰκοῦντας πλεύσαντες ἐδουλώσαντο 'Ρωμαίοι, τέσσαρα δὲ τάγματα τῆς τοσαύτην 379 νῆσον φιλάσσει. καὶ τί δεῖ πολλὰ λέγειν, ὅπου

1 Πυρηνίων Ρ.ΑΜ.

a VI Victrix, the legion which proclaimed Galba emperor (Tac. Hist. v. 16; Suet. Galba, 10).

b Four in Upper, four in Lower Germany. In A.D. 69 (when the upper army numbered only three) the seven legions were IV, XXI, XXII; I, V, XV, XVI. The eighth
the tribes of the Lusitanians and Cantabrians with their fever for war, nor the neighbouring ocean, the ebb and flow of whose tides terrifies the very inhabitants, none of these sufficed in their struggle for independence; no, the Romans carrying their arms beyond the Pillars of Hercules, traversing through clouds the mountains of the Pyrenees, have reduced even them to servitude; to guard this nation of fighters, so stubborn, so remote, a single legion now suffices. Which of you has not heard tell of the horde of Germans? Nay, you have surely often seen their stalwart and burly figures, for the Romans have captives from that nation everywhere. This people occupies an immense country, their hearts are even greater than their stature, their souls disdainful of death, their rage fiercer than that of the most savage of beasts; yet the Rhine sets a bound to their impetuosity and, tamed by eight Roman legions, the captured are reduced to slavery, while the rest of the nation has found safety in flight. Again, consider what a wall of defence had the Britons, you who put your trust in the walls of Jerusalem: the ocean surrounds them, they inhabit an island no less in extent than the part of the world in which we live; yet the Romans crossed the sea and enslaved them, and four legions now secure that vast island. But

in A.D. 66 is thought to have been X Gemina. Mommsen, Provinces, i. 118 f., 132, Domaszewski, op. cit. (§ 344 note).

i.e. Palestine. Or possibly 'the whole of our inhabited continent'; for before Agricola's campaign of A.D. 84 the Romans had a very imperfect conception of the size of Britain (Merivale, Romans under Empire, vii. 90).

καὶ Πάρθοι, τὸ πολεμικῶτατον φύλον, τοσοῦτων ἀρχοντες ἔθνων καὶ τηλικαῦτην περιβεβλημένοι δύναμιν, ὀμήρους πέμπουσιν Ὀρωμαίοις, καὶ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τής Ἰταλίας ἱδεῖν ἐν εἰρήνης προφάσει δου-

380 λεύουσαν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς εὐγένειαν. πάν-

των δὴ σχεδὸν τῶν υφ’ ἥλιῳ τὰ Ὀρωμαίων ὀπλα

προσκυνοῦτων ὑμεῖς μόνοι πολεμήσετε, μηδὲ τὸ

Καρχηδονίων τέλος σκοποῦντες, οἱ τὸν μέγαν

ἀυχοῦντες Ἀννίβαν καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Φοινίκων εὐ-

γένειαν ὑπὸ τὴν Σκιπύρωνος δεξιὰν ἔπεσον; οὕτε δὲ

Κυνηγαῖοι, τὸ Λακώνων γένος, οὕτε Μαρμαρίδαι,

tὸ μέχρι τῆς δυσάδος ἐκτεταμένον φύλον, οὐθ’ αἱ

φοβεραὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν Σύρτεις, Νασαμώνες

tε καὶ Μαύροι καὶ τὸ Νομάδων ἀπειρον πλῆθος

382 τὰς Ὀρωμαίων ἀνέκοψαν ἀρετάς. τὴν δὲ τρίτην

τῆς οἰκουμένης μοῖραν, ἦς οὐδὲ ἔξαριθμήσασθαι

tὰ ἔθνη ράδιον, ὀριζομένην Ἀτλαντικῷ τε πελάγει

καὶ στῆλαι Ἡρακλείοις καὶ μέχρι τῆς Ἑρυθρᾶς

θαλάσσης τοὺς ἀπείρους νεμοῦσαν Αἰθίοπας ἐχει-

383 ρώσαντο μὲν ὄλην, χωρὶς δὲ τῶν ἐτησίων καρπῶν,

οὶ μησίν ὅκτω τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ὀρώμην πλῆθος τρέ-

φουσιν, [καὶ] 1 ἔξωθεν παντοῖς φορολογοῦνται καὶ

ταῖς χρείαις τῆς ἡγεμονίας παρέχουσιν ἐτούμους

tὰς εἰσφοράς, οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων ὦσπερ

ὑμεῖς ὑβριν ἡγούμενοι, καίπερ ἐνὸς τάγματος

384 αὐτοῖς παραμένοντος. καὶ τί δεὶ πόρρωθεν ὑμῖν

τὴν Ὀρωμαίων ὑποδεικνύναι δύναμιν, παρὸν ἐξ

1 om. P.A.L.

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1 Reinach instances Tiridates I (king of Armenia and brother of the king of Parthia), who in A.D. 63 did homage to Nero and left his daughter in Rome as a hostage (Tac. Ann. xv. 29 f.).
why enlarge, when the Parthians themselves, that Parthian race of finest warriors, lords of so many nations, provided with so vast an army, send hostages to the Romans, and the nobility of the east may be seen in Italy, under the pretext of peace, bending to the yoke? 

Thus, when almost every nation under the sun does homage to the Roman arms, are you alone to defy them, regardless of the fate of the Carthaginians, who, for all their pride in the great Hannibal and in the nobility of their Phoenician descent, fell beneath the hand of Scipio? Neither Cyrenians, of Spartan breed, nor Marmaridae, that race that stretches to the regions of drought, nor Syrtes, whose very name strikes terror, Nasamons, Maurians, Numidians in their countless hosts, none have checked the valour of Rome. This third part of the inhabited world, the mere enumeration of whose nations is no easy task, bounded by the Atlantic ocean and the pillars of Hercules, and supporting right up to the Red Sea Ethiopians innumerable, they have subdued it all; and these peoples, besides their annual produce, which feeds for eight months of the year the populace of Rome, over and above this pay tribute of all kinds and ungrudgingly devote their contributions to the service of the empire, far from seeing, as do you, an outrage in the orders which they receive, although but one legion is quartered among them.

But why seek so far afield for proofs of the power of Rome, when I can find them at your very door, in

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b Africa.

e έιαφόρα in Attic Greek is a sort of super-tax.

d III Augusta, stationed in the senatorial or western portion of the province of Africa.
385 Α’γύπτου τῆς γευτινώσης, ἂτις ἐκτενομένη μέχρις Αἴδιόπων καὶ τῆς εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας, ὄρμος ὁ τε οὖσα τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, πεντήκοντα πρὸς ταῖς ἐπτακοσίαις ἔχουσα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων δίχα τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κατοικοῦσσαν, ὡς ἕνεστιν ἐκ τῆς καθ’ ἐκάστην κεφαλὴν εἰσφοράς τεκμήρισθαι, τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἤγεμονίαν οὐκ ἀδοξεῖ, καίτοι πηλίκον ἀποστάσεως κέντρον ἔχουσα τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πλῆθους τε ἀνδρῶν ἕνεκα καὶ πλουτοῦ, πρὸς δὲ 386 μεγέθους· μῆκος μὲν γε αὐτῆς τριάκοντα στάδίων, εὔρος δ’ οὐκ ἔλαττον δέκα, τοῦ δὲ ἐνιαυσιαίου παρ’ ύμων φόρου καθ’ ἕνα μῆνα πλέον Ῥωμαίων παρέχει καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἐξωθεὶ τῇ Ῥώμη σίτου μηνῶν τεσσάρων· τετείχισται δὲ πάντοθεν η ὑπαράτους ἐρημίας η θαλάσσαις ἀλιμένους ἢ 387 ποσαμοῖς ἢ ἔλεσιν. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν τούτων ἰσχυρότερον εὐρέθη τῇ Ῥωμαίων τύχῃ, δύο δ’ ἐγκαθήμενα τῇ πόλει τάγματα τῇ βαθείᾳ Ἀ’γυπτον 388 ἀμα τῇ Μακεδόνων εὐγενεία χαλινοῦ. τίνας οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦ πόλεμου ἐκ τῆς ἀσιατικῆς παραλήπτες συμμάχους; οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης πάντες εἰσὶν Ῥωμαίοι, εἰ μὴ τὸς ὑπὲρ Ἐὐφράτην ἐκτείνει τὰς ἐλπίδας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀδιαβηνῆς ἀμφότερος 389 οἷον ταῖς προσαμυνεῖν.· οἱ δ’ οὐτε δ’ αὐτίαν ἀλογον

1 δυορος VC Lat. 2 συνεισφοράς P. 3 Niese from Lat.: προσαμυνειν ορ ἐπαμυνειν mss.

Diodorus Siculus, writing some seventy years earlier gives the population of Egypt as seven millions (i. 31 Reinach), that of Alexandria as 300,000 (xvii. 52).

Or, perhaps, “a centre for revolt.”

"Seven or eight," Strabo xvii. 1. 8 (Reinach); Strabo agrees with Josephus as to the length.
Egypt? This country, which extends as far as Ethiopia and Arabia Felix, which is the port for India, which has a population of seven million five hundred thousand souls,\(^a\) exclusive of the inhabitants of Alexandria, as may be estimated from the poll-tax returns, this country, I say, does not disdain to submit to Roman domination; and yet what an incentive to revolt\(^b\) she has in Alexandria, so populous, so wealthy, so vast! The length of that city is thirty furlongs, its breadth not less than ten\(^c\); the tribute which she yields to Rome in one month surpasses that which you pay in a year; besides money she sends corn to feed Rome for four months;\(^d\) she is protected on all sides by trackless deserts, by seas without ports, by rivers or lagoons. Yet none of these assets proved a match for the fortune of Rome, and two legions\(^e\) stationed in the city curb this far-reaching Egypt and the proud nobility of Macedon.

“What allies then do you expect for this war? Will you recruit them from the uninhabited wilds? For in the habitable world all are Romans—unless, maybe, the hopes of some of you soar beyond the Euphrates and you count on obtaining aid from your kinsmen in Adiabene.\(^f\) But they will not, for any

\(^a\) The corn for the capital for the other eight months of the year being furnished by Africa (§ 383).

\(^b\) These in a.d. 69 were III and XXII (Tac. Hist. v. 1); under Augustus there had been a third legion, Mommsen, Provinces. ii. 273.

\(^c\) Cf. B. i. 5 for these expectations. “Proselytes” would have been a more correct term than “kinsmen”; the dynasty of Adiabene, a region east of the Tigris on the Parthian frontier, had under Claudius been converted to Judaism (A. xx. 17 ff.). Some members of the royal family fought on the side of the Jews (B. ii. 520, vi. 356).
τηλικούτω πολέμω συνεμπλέξουσιν έαυτούς, ούτε 
βουλευσαμένοι κακῶς ὁ Πάρθος ἐπιτρέψει· πρό-
νοια γάρ αὐτῷ τῆς πρὸς Ὀρωμαίων ἐκεχειρίας, 
καὶ παραβαίνειν οἴησεται τὰς σπούδας, ἃν τις τῶν 
390 ύπ’ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Ὀρωμαίως ἤ. λοιπὸν οὐν ἐπὶ τὴν 
τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχίαν καταφεύγετον. ἀλλὰ καὶ 
τούτο παρὰ Ὀρωμαίους τέστακται· δίκα γάρ θεοῦ 
391 συστήναι τηλικαύτην ἥγεμονίαν ἀδύνατον. σκέ-
ψασθε δ’ ὡς ύμιν τὸ τῆς θρησκείας ἄκρατον, εἰ 
καὶ πρὸς εὐχειρώτους πολεμοῦτε, δυσδικητον, 
καὶ δ’ ἀ μᾶλλον τὸν θεον ἐλπίζετε σύμμαχον, 
ταῦτ’ ἀναγκαζόμενοι παραβαίνειν ἀποστρέψετε. 
392 πηροῦντες γε μὴν τὰ τῶν ἐβδομάδων ἔθη καὶ 
πρὸς μηδεμίαν πράξειν κυνούμενοι ῥαδίως ἀλώσεσθε, 
καθάπερ οἱ πρόγονοι Πομπηίων, ταύτας μάλιστα 
τὰς ἡμέρας ἐνεργοὺς ποιησαμένοι τῆς πολιορκίας, 
393 εν αἰσ ἢργουν οἱ πολιορκούμενοι παραβαίνοντες δ’ 
ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τὸν πάτριον νόμον οὐκ οἴδ’ ὑπὲρ 
ὅτου λοιπὸν ποιήσεσθε τὸν ἀγώνα· σπουδὴ γάρ 
394 ύμῖν μία τὸ μῆ τῶν πατρίων τι καταλύσαι. πῶς 
δ’ ἐπικαλέσεσθε τὸ θεῖον πρὸς τήν ἄμυναν οἱ 
παραβάντες ἐκουσίως τήν εἰς αὐτό θεραπείαν; 
ἐπαναφέρονται δὲ ἐκαστοὶ πόλεμον ἡ θεία πεποι-
θότες ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη βοηθεία· σοι δὲ τὴν παρ’ 
ἀμφοῖν τὸ εἰκός ἀποκόπτῃ, φανερὰν ἀλώσιν οἱ 
395 πολεμοῦντες αἱροῦνται. τί δ’ κωλύει ταῖς ἐαυτῶι 
χερσίν διαχρήσασθαι τέκνα καὶ γυναίκας καὶ τῆς 
περικαλλεστάτην πατρίδα ταύτην καταφλέξαι; μα-

*a Cf. B. i. 146: A. xiv. 63 ff.*

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frivolous pretext, let themselves be embroiled in so serious a war, and, if they did contemplate such folly, the Parthian would not permit it; for he is careful to maintain the truce with the Romans, and would regard it as a violation of the treaty if any of his tributaries were to march against them.

"The only refuge, then, left to you is divine assistance. But even this is ranged on the side of the Romans, for, without God's aid, so vast an empire could never have been built up. Consider, too, the difficulty of preserving your religious rules from contamination, even were you engaging a less formidable foe; and how, if compelled to transgress the very principles on which you chiefly build your hopes of God's assistance, you will alienate Him from you. If you observe your sabbath customs and refuse to take any action on that day, you will undoubtedly be easily defeated, as were your forefathers by Pompey, who pressed the siege most vigorously on the days when the besieged remained inactive; a if, on the contrary, you transgress the law of your ancestors, I fail to see what further object you will have for hostilities, since your one aim is to preserve inviolate all the institutions of your fathers. How could you invoke the aid of the Deity, after deliberately omitting to pay Him the service which you owe Him?

"All who embark on war do so in reliance on the support either of God or man; but when, in all probability, no assistance from either quarter is forthcoming, then the aggressor goes with his eyes open to certain ruin. What is there, then, to prevent you from dispatching with your own hands your children and wives and from consigning this surpassingly beautiful home of yours to the flames?\n
nor from God, who on the side of Rome. Your religion will ham you in w
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νέντες γὰρ οὕτως τὸ γε τῆς ἥττης ὁνειδὸς κερ-396 δήσετε. καλὸν, ὦ φίλοι, καλὸν, ἕως ἐτί ἐν ὅρμῳ
tὸ σκάφος, προσκέπτεσθαί1 τὸν μέλλοντα χειμώνα
μηδ’ εἰς μέσας τὰς θυέλλας ἀπολολυμένους2 ἀναχθή-
ναι. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἄδηλων ἐμπεσοῦσιν3 δενοῖς
tὸ γοῦν ἐλεείσθαι περίεστιν, ὅ δ’ εἰς πρόδηλον
397 ἀπώλειαν ὀρμήσας καὶ προσονειδίζεται. πλὴν εἰ
μὴ τις ὑπολαμβάνει κατὰ συνήθεις πολεμήσεις
καὶ Ἄρμαίους κρατήσαντας ὑμῶν μετρίασεν, ἀλλ’
οὐκ εἰς ὑπόδειγμα τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν καταφλέξειν
μὲν τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν, ἀναιρήσειν δὲ πὰν ὑμῶν τὸ
φῦλον. οὐδὲ γὰρ περιλειψθέντες φυγής εὑρήσετε
tοπον, ἀπάντων ἔχοντων Ἄρμαίων δεσπότας ἡ
398 δεδοικότων σχεῖν. ὁ δὲ κίνδυνος οὐ τῶν ἐνθάδε
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας κατοικούσων
πόλεις: οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης δήμος ὁ
399 μὴ μοὸραν ἠμετέραν ἔχων. οὗς ἀπάντας πολεμι-
σάντων ὑμῶν κατασφάξουσι οἱ διάφοροι, καὶ δι’
ὁλίγων ἀνδρῶν κακοβουλίαν πᾶσα πλησθήσεται4
πόλις Ἰουδαϊκοῦ φόνου. καὶ συγγνώμη μὲν τοῖς
tοῦτο πράξασιν: ἃν δὲ μὴ πραχθῇ, λογίσασθε πῶς
πρὸς οὕτως φιλανθρώπους ὀπλα κινεῖν ἀνόσιον.
400 εἰσελθέτω δ’ οίκτος ὑμᾶς εἰ καὶ μὴ τέκνων καὶ
γυναικῶν, ἀλλὰ τῆς γε μητροπόλεως ταύτης καὶ
tῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλων. φείσασθε τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ
tὸν ναὸν ἑαυτοῖς μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων τιρήσατε: ἀφ-
έξονται γὰρ οὐκέτι Ἄρμαιοι τούτων κράτησαντες,

1 περισκέπτεσθαι Ρ.  
2 Ρ.Α.: ἀπολλυμένους L: ἀπὸ λιμένος MVRC (perhaps right).  
3 M: ἐπιπεσοῦσιν the rest.  
4 P: πληρωθήσεται the rest
By such an act of madness you would at least spare yourselves the ignominy of defeat. It were well, my friends, it were well, while the vessel is still in port, to foresee the coming storm, and not to put out into the midst of the hurricane to meet your loom. For to the victims of unforeseen disaster there is left at least the meed of pity; but he who rushes to manifest destruction incurs opprobrium to boot.

"There may be some who imagine that the war will be fought under special terms, and that the Romans, when victorious, will treat you with consideration; on the contrary, to make you an example to the rest of the nations, they will burn the holy city to the ground and exterminate your race. Even the survivors will find no place of refuge, since all the peoples of the earth either have, or dread the thought of having, the Romans for their masters. The peril, moreover, threatens not only us Jews here, but also all who inhabit foreign cities; for there is not a people in the world which does not contain a portion of our race. All these, if you go to war, will be butchered by your adversaries, and through the folly of a handful of men every city will be drenched with Jewish blood. Such massacre would be excusable; but, should it not take place, think what a crime it were to take up arms against such humane opponents! Take pity, then, if not on your children and your wives, at least on your mother city and its sacred precincts. Spare the temple and preserve for yourselves the sanctuary with its holy places; for the Romans, once masters of these, will refrain their

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a Or, with the other reading, "put out from harbour into the midst of the hurricane."


c Or "treasures."
401 ὁν φεισάμενοι πρότερον ἠχαριστηταί. μαρτύρο-
μαι δὲ ἐγὼ μὲν ὕμων τὰ ἁγια καὶ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀγγέλους τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρίδα τὴν κοινὴν, ὡς οὐδὲν τῶν σωτηρίων ὕμιν καθυφηκάμην, ὑμεῖς δὲ βουλευσάμενοι μὲν τὰ δέοντα κοινὴν σὺν ἐμοὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἔξετε, προαχθέντες δὲ τοῖς θυμοῖς χωρὶς ἐμοῦ κινδυνεύσετε.''

402 (5) Τοσαῦτα εἶπον ἐπεδάκρυσέν τε μετὰ τῇ:
ἀδελφῆς καὶ πολὺ τῆς ὅρμης αὐτῶν ἔπαινεν τοῖς δακρύοις. ἀνεβόων δὲ οὐ 'Ῥωμαιοίς, ἀλλὰ Φλώρῳ δι' ἀ πεπόνθασιν πολεμεῖν. πρὸς τοῦτο βασιλέως Ἀγρίππας "ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔργα," ἐφη, "'Ῥωμαιίοι ἦδη πολεμοῦντων ἐστίν" οὐτε γὰρ Καίσαρι δεδω κατε τὸν φόρον καὶ τὰς στοὰς ἀπεκόψατε τῆς

403 'Ἀντωνίας. ἀποσκευάσασθε2 δ' ἂν τὴν αὐτία τῆς ἀποστάσεως, εἰ ταῦτα τε συνάψετε πάλι καὶ τελέσετε τὴν εἰσφοράν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ γε Φλώρῳ τὸ φρούριον ἐστὶν ἡ Φλώρῳ τὰ χρήματα δώσετε.

404 (xvii. 1) Τούτοις ο δήμος ἐπείθετο, καὶ μετ
τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς τε Βερνίκης ἀναβάντες εἰς τὸ
ἱερὸν κατηρξάντο τῆς τῶν στοῶν δομήσεως, εἰ
de τὰς κώμας οἱ τε ἄρχοντες καὶ βουλευταὶ με
ρισθέντες τοὺς φόρους συνέλεγον· ταχέως δὲ τ
τεσσάροκαντα τάλαντα, τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἔλειπε

406 ἡθροίσθη. καὶ τοῦ μὲν πολέμου τότε οὔτω τι
ἀπειλὴν κατείχεν Ἀγρίππας, αὕτης δὲ ἐπειρά
tείθεν τὸ πλῆθος ὑπακούειν Φλώρῳ, μέχρις ἀν
αυτοῦ πέμψει3 Καίσαρ διάδοχον· πρὸς ο παρ
οξυθέντες ἐβλασφήμουν εἰς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τ

1 τὰς PAL (cf. Lat. Antonianas).
2 Dindorf: ἀπεσκευάσασθε or the like mss.
3 M: πέμψῃ the rest.
hands no more, seeing that their forbearance in the past met only with ingratitude. As for me, I call your sanctuary and God’s holy angels and our common country to witness, that I have kept back nothing which could conduce to your preservation; as for you, if you decide aright, you will enjoy with me the blessings of peace, but, if you let yourselves be carried away by your passion, you will face, without me, this tremendous peril.’

(5) Having spoken thus, he burst into tears, as did also his sister; and his emotion much restrained the passion of his hearers. Still they began to cry out that they were not taking up arms against the Romans, but against Florus, because of all the wrong that he had done them. To this king Agrippa replied: ‘But your actions are already acts of war against Rome: you have not paid your tribute to Caesar, and you have cut down the porticoes communicating with Antonia. If you wish to clear yourselves of the charge of insurrection, re-establish the porticoes and pay the tax; for assuredly the fortress does not belong to Florus, and it is not Florus to whom your money will go.’

(xvii. 1) Acting on this advice, the people went up to the temple, with the king and Bernice, and began the reconstruction of the porticoes, while the magistrates and the members of the council dispersed to the various villages and levied the tribute. The arrears, amounting to forty talents, were rapidly collected. Thus for the moment Agrippa dispelled the menace of war. Subsequently, he endeavoured to induce the people to submit to the orders of Florus until a successor was sent by Caesar to replace him. But this exasperated the Jews, who heaped abuse upon
πόλεως αὐτού ἔξεκχρυσσον, ἔτολμων δὲ τινὲς τῶν
στασιαστῶν καὶ λίθους ἔπ' αὐτοῦ βάλλειν. ὁ δὲ
βασιλεὺς ἵδιν τὴν ὀρμήν ἡδη τῶν νεωτεριζόντων
ἀκατάσχετον καὶ χαλεπὴνας ἐφ' οἷς προπεπηλά-
κιστο,¹ τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν ἁμα τοῖς δυνα-
τοῖς ἔπεμπτε πρὸς Φλώρων εἰς Καισάρειαν, ἵν' ἐκεῖνος ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποδείξῃ τοὺς τὴν χώραιν
φορολογήσοντας, αὐτὸς δ' ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν
βασιλείαν.

Καὶ τοῦτω τινές τῶν μάλιστα κινούντων
tῶν πόλεμου συνελθόντες ὄρμησαν ἐπὶ φρούριον
tι καλούμενον Μασάδαν, καὶ καταλαβόντες αὐτὸ
λάθρα τοὺς μὲν Ὁρμαιῶν φρουροὺς ἀπέσφαξαν,
ἐπέρους δ' ἐγκατέστησαν ἱδίους. ἀμα δὲ καὶ κατα
tὸ ἱερὸν Ἔλεαζαρος υἱὸς Ἀνανία τοῦ ἀρχιερέως,
νεανίας θρασύτατος, στρατηγῶν τότε τοὺς κατὰ
tὴν λατρείαν λειτουργοῦντας ἀναπείθει μηδενὸς
ἀλλοτρίου δῶρον ἢ θυσίαν προσδέχεσθαι. τοῦτο
d' ἦν τοῦ πρὸς Ὁρμαιοὺς πολέμου καταβολή.
τὴν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τούτων θυσίαν καὶ Καίσαρος ἀπ-
ἐρρισαν. καὶ πολλὰ τῶν τε ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῶν
gνωρίμων παρακαλοῦντων μὴ παραλίπειν τὸ ὑπὲρ
tῶν ἡγεμόνων ἔθος οὐκ ἐνέδοσαν, πολὺ μὲν καὶ
tῶν σφετέρων πλῆθει πεποιθότες, καὶ γὰρ τὸ
ἀκμαίοτατον τῶν νεωτεριζόντων συνήγγει, μά-

1 προπεπηλάκισται PA.  2 om. καὶ VRC.

a As opposed to the tribute already collected from Jeru-
salerm and the environs (§ 405).
b Close to the Dead Sea, more than half-way down the
west coast, modern Sebheh.
c i.e. "captain of the Temple" (Acts iv. 1, etc.), or Sagan,
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the king and formally proclaimed his banishment from the city; some of the insurgents even ventured to throw stones at him. The king, seeing that the passions of the revolutionaries were now beyond control, and indignant at the insults which he had received, sent the magistrates and principal citizens to Florus at Caesarea, in order that he might appoint some of their number to collect the tribute in the country; he then withdrew to his own dominions.

(2) And now some of the most ardent promoters of hostilities banded together and made an assault on a fortress called Masada; and having gained possession of it by stratagem, they slew the Roman guards and put a garrison of their own in their place. Another incident occurred at the same time in the Temple. Eleazar, son of Ananias the high-priest, a very daring youth, then holding the position of captain, persuaded those who officiated in the Temple services to accept no gift or sacrifice from a foreigner. This action laid the foundation of the war with the Romans; for the sacrifices offered on behalf of that nation and the emperor were in consequence rejected. The chief priests and the notables earnestly besought them not to abandon the customary offering for their rulers, but the priests remained obdurate. Their numbers gave them great confidence, supported as they were by the stalwarts of the revolutionary official who in the hierarchy ranked next to the high priest.

These sacrifices, offered twice daily (B. ii. 197), were instituted by Augustus and consisted of two lambs and a bull (Philo, Leg. ad Caïum, 157, 317 Cohn). The expense, according to Philo, was borne by the Emperor (ἐκ τῶν ἱδίων προσόδων), according to Josephus (Ap. ii. 77) by the Jewish nation.
JOSEPHUS

λιστα δ' ἀφορώντες εἰς τὸν Ἔλεαζαρον στρατηγοῦντα.

411 (3) Συνελθόντες γοῦν ὁ δυνατὸι τοῖς ἀρχιερεύσιν εἰς ταύτο καὶ τοῖς τῶν Φαρισαίων γνωρίμους ὡς ἐπὶ ἀνηκέστοις ἥδη συμφορᾶς ἐξουλεύνοντο περὶ τῶν ὀλων καὶ δόξαν ἀποπειράθηκας τῶν στασιαστῶν λόγους, πρὸ τῆς χαλκῆς πύλης ἀθροίζουσι τὸν δῆμον, ήτις ἂν τοῦ ἐνδο

412 ἑροῦ τετραμμένη πρὸς ἀνατολᾶς ἧλιον. καὶ πρῶτον αὐτῶν πολλὰ πρὸς τὴν τόλμαν τῆς ἀποστάσεως χαλεπήμαντες καὶ τὸ τηλικοῦτον ἐπισέειν τῇ πατρίδι πόλεμον, ἐπειτα τὸ τῆς προφάσεως ἄλογον διήλεγχον, φάμενοι τοὺς μὲν προγόνους αὐτῶν κεκοσμηκέναι τῶν ραόν ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων τὸ πλέον, ἀεὶ προσδεχομένους τας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξωθεὶς ἐθνῶν δωρεᾶς, καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐ διακεκωλυκέναι θυσίας τινῶν, τοῦτο γὰρ ἀσεβέστατον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ βλεπόμενα καὶ παραμένοντα [τὸν] τοσοῦτον χρόνου ἀναθήματα περὶ τῷ ἑρῷ καθηκο

413 τῶν ἰδρυκέναι. αὐτοὺς δὲ νῦν ἐρεθίζοντας τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὀπλα καὶ μυγδευμένους τὸν ἀπ' ἐκεῖνων πόλεμον καινοτομεῖν θρησκεύαν ἕξενην, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ κυνὸν καταψηφίσασθαι τῆς πόλεως αὐτας ἁσβήναν, εἰ παρὰ μόνοις Ἰουδαίοις οὔτε θύσει τῷ ἀλλότριῳ οὔτε προσκυνήσει. κἂν μὲν ἐπὶ ἰδιώτωι τις ἐνὸς τοῦτον εἰσφέρῃ τὸν νόμον, ἀγανακτεὶ ὡς ὀριζομένης ἀπανθρωπίας, περιορᾶν δ' ὅτι Ῥωμαίωι καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐκποιώδος γίνεται. δεδο
textual_1:

1 o'ν VRC. 2 + τὰ υἱᾶς. 3 om. PAML.

a The gate of Corinthian bronze (B. v. 201), probably of

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party; but they relied above all on the authority of
the captain Eleazar

(3) Thereupon the principal citizens assembled
with the chief priests and the most notable Pharisees
to deliberate on the position of affairs, now that they
were faced with what seemed irreparable disaster.
Deciding to try the effect of an appeal to the revolu-
tionaries, they called the people together before the
bronze gate—that of the inner Temple facing east-
ward. They began by expressing the keenest
indignation at the audacity of this revolt and at their
country being thus threatened with so serious a war.
They then proceeded to expose the absurdity of the
alleged pretext. Their forefathers, they said, had
adorned the sanctuary mainly at the expense of
aliens and had always accepted the gifts of foreign
nations; not only had they never taken the sacri-
legious step of forbidding anyone to offer sacrifice,
but they had set up around the Temple the dedicatory
offerings which were still to be seen and had remained
there for so long a time. But now here were these
men, who were provoking the arms of the Romans
and courting a war with them, introducing a strange
innovation into their religion, and, besides endanger-
ing the city, laying it open to the charge of impiety,
if Jews henceforth were to be the only people to allow
no alien the right of sacrifice or worship. Should
such a law be introduced in the case of any private
individual, they would be indignant at so inhumane
a decree; yet they made light of putting the Romans
and Caesar outside the pale. It was to be feared,

the east of the women's court and identical with "the
Beautiful gate" of Acts iii. 2 and "Nicanor's gate" of the
Mishna.
κέναι μέντοι μὴ τὰς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἀπορρύθματες θυσίας κωλυθῶσι θύειν καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν, γενηταί τε ἐκ σπονδοῦς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἡ πόλις, εἰ μὴ ταχέως σωφρονήσατες ἀποδώσουσιν τὰς θυσίας, καὶ πρὶν ἐξελθεῖν ἐφ’ οὕς ὑβρίκασιν τὴν φήμην διορθώσονται τῇν ὑβριν.

417 (4) Ἀμα ταῦτα λέγοντες παρῆγγον τοὺς ἐμ- πείρους τῶν πατρίων ἱερεῖς, ἀφηγουμένους ὅτι πάντες οἱ πρόγονοι τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἀλλογενῶν θυσίας ἀπεδέχοντο. προσεῖχεν δὲ οὐδεὶς τῶν νεωτεριζόντων, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ προσήσαν· οἱ λει- τουργοὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου καταβολήν ἐνσκευαζό- 

418 μενοί. συνιδόντες οὖν οἱ δυνατοὶ τὴν τε στάσιν ἦδη δυσκαθαίρετον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν οὐσαν καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ Ἠρωμαίων κινδυνὸν ἐπὶ πρὸτοὺς αὐτούς ἀφ- ϊσμένου, ἀπεσκευάζοντο τὰς αὐτίας, καὶ πρέσβεις οὐς μὲν πρὸς Φλώρων ἐπεμπον, ὃν ἦρχεν καὶ ἀνανίου Σήμων, οὕς δὲ πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν, ἐν οῖς ἦσαν ἐπίσημοι Σαῦλος τε καὶ Ἀντίπας καὶ Κοστόβαρος προσήκοντες τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ γένος.

419 ἐδέοντο δὲ ἀμφοτέρων ἀναβῆναι μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ πρὶν γενέσθαι δυσκαθαίρετοι ἡσικοίπισαν τὴν στάσιν. Φλώρω μὲν οὖν δεινὸν εὐαγγέλιον ἦν, καὶ προηγημένος ἐξάπτειν τοῖς πολέμου οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς. Ἀγρί- ππας δὲ κηδόμενος ἐπίσης τῶν τοὺς ἀφισταμένων καὶ πρὸς οὖς ὁ πόλεμος ἥγειρετο, βουλόμενος τε

1 MLC: προσήσαν the rest.
2 ἡστρικοὶ PAM* + καὶ PAL; the text is doubtful.
3 τὸ δεινόν C "the dire news was a godsend": τοῦτο δεινὸν MVR.

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however, that, once they rejected the sacrifices for the Romans, they might not be allowed to offer sacrifice even for themselves, and that their city would be placed outside the pale of the empire, unless, with a speedy return to discretion, they restored the sacrifices and made amends for the insult before the report reached the ears of those whom they had insulted.

(4) In the course of these remonstrances they produced priestly experts on the traditions, who declared that all their ancestors had accepted the sacrifices of aliens. But not one of the revolutionary party would listen to them; even the Temple ministers failed to come to their support and were thus instrumental in bringing about the war. Thereupon, the leading citizens, perceiving that it was now beyond their power to suppress the insurrection and that they would be the first victims of the vengeance of Rome, took steps to exonerate themselves from blame, and dispatched two deputations, one to Florus, headed by Simon, son of Ananias, and another to Agrippa, including some eminent persons, Saul, Antipas and Costobar, all members of the royal family. They besought them both to come up to the city with troops and to crush the revolt before it became insuperable. To Florus the news was a wonderful godsend; determined as he was to kindle the war, he gave the emissaries no reply. Agrippa, on the other hand, equally solicitous for the rebels and for the nation against which they were rising in arms, anxious that the Romans should

a Saul and Costobar were brothers who, after the defeat of Cestius, made a timely exit from Jerusalem; Antipas, who remained, was slain by the insurgents (B. ii. 556 f., iv. 140).
Jerome

The subsequent adventures of Philip, "lieutenant"

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not lose the Jews nor the Jews their Temple and mother city, conscious, moreover, that he had nothing to gain from this disorder, dispatched to the aid of the citizens two thousand horse from Auranitis, Batanaea, and Trachonitis, under Darius, as cavalry commander, and Philip, a son of Jacimus, as general.

(5) Encouraged by these reinforcements, the leading men, the chief priests and all the people who were in favour of peace occupied the upper city; for the lower city and the Temple were in the hands of the insurgents. Stones and slings were incessantly in action; from one quarter and from the other there was a continuous hail of missiles; sometimes companies even sallied out and there was a hand-to-hand engagement, the insurgents having the superiority in daring, the king’s soldiers in skill. The objective of the royal troops was to capture the Temple and to expel those who were polluting the sanctuary; Eleazar and the rebels strove to gain the upper city in addition to the ground which they held already. So for seven days there was great slaughter on both sides, neither of the combatants surrendering the portion of the town which he occupied.

(6) The eighth day was the feast of wood-carrying, when it was customary for all to bring wood for the altar, in order that there might be an unfailing supply (επαρχος) of Agrippa II, are narrated at length in the Life (46, etc.). His father Jacimus had held a high position (according to one text as “tetrarch”) under Agrippa (probably I); his grandfather Zamaris had been placed by Herod the Great in charge of a colony of Babylonian Jews in Batanaea (A. xvii. 23-29). Waddington’s supposed discovery of the name Darius on an inscription in Trachonitis referring to Agrippa has been shown to be erroneous (Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscr. Sel. i. 422 Reinach).
According to the Mishna, Taanith, iv. 5, the wood was carried by respective families on nine separate days in the year, but the principal day was the 13th of Ab (July-August). Josephus, however (see § 430), appears to place the feast on the preceding day, 14th Ab.

Probably additions of Agrippa II to the old palace of the Hasmonaeans (cf. A. xx. 189 f.).
of fuel for the flames, which are kept always burning.\textsuperscript{a} The Jews in the Temple excluded their opponents from this ceremony, but along with some feeble folk numbers of the \textit{sicarii}—so they called the brigands who carried a dagger in their bosom—forced their way in; these they enlisted in their service and pressed their attacks more boldly than before. The royalists, now outmatched in numbers and audacity, were forced to evacuate the upper city. The victors burst in and set fire to the house of Ananias the high-priest and to the palaces of Agrippa and Bernice \textsuperscript{b}; they next carried their combustibles to the public archives,\textsuperscript{c} eager to destroy the money-lenders' bonds and to prevent the recovery of debts, in order to win over a host of grateful debtors and to cause a rising of the poor against the rich, sure of impunity. The keepers of the Record Office having fled, they set light to the building. After consuming the sinews of the city in the flames, they advanced against their foes; whereupon the notables and chief priests made their escape, some hiding in the underground passages,\textsuperscript{d} while others fled with the royal troops to the palace situated higher up,\textsuperscript{e} and instantly shut the gates; among the latter were Ananias the high-priest, his brother Ezechias and the members of the deputation which had been sent to Agrippa. Satisfied with their victory and incendiary proceedings, the insurgents paused for that day.

\textsuperscript{a} The Archives building was finally burnt down by the Romans (\textit{B.} vi. 354); it is there spoken of as adjoining the Akra (or citadel, thought to be the old city of David) and the council-chamber (of the Sanhedrin).

\textsuperscript{b} Or "sewers."

\textsuperscript{c} The palace of Herod the Great on the highest terrace of the upper city, described in \textit{B.} v. 176 ff.
430 (7) Τῇ δ’ ἐξῆς, πεντεκαιδεκάτη δ’ ἦν Ἀρσου 
μηνός, ὄρμησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρμονίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ φρουροὺς δυσὶν ἦμέρας πολιορκήσαντες 
αὐτοὺς τε ἐιλον καὶ κατέσφαξαν καὶ τὸ φρούριον
431 ἐνέπρησαν. ἔπειτα μετέβαινον εἰς τὴν αὐλήν, εἰς ἦν οἱ βασιλικοὶ κατέφυγον, καὶ διανεμητες σφάς 
αὐτοὺς εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη τῶν τειχῶν ἐπειρώντο. 
τῶν δ’ ἐνδον πρὸς ἕκδρομήν μὲν οὐδεὶς ἑθάρρει 
διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐφεστώτων, διοιστάμενοι δὲ 
ἐπὶ τὰ θωράκια καὶ τοὺς πύργους ἐβαλλον τοὺς 
προσώντας, καὶ συχνῶ τῶν λῃστῶν ὑπὸ τοῖς
432 τείχεσιν ἐπιπτον. οὔτε δὲ νυκτὸς οὔτε ἦμέρας 
πειράτευν ἡ συμβολή, τῶν μὲν στασιαστῶν ἀπ-
αγορεύσεως τοὺς ἐνδον οἰωνείνων ἐνδεῖα τροφῆς, τῶν 
δ’ ἐνδοθεν καματῶ τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας.

433 (8) Καὶ τούτω Μανάμιος τις, νῦν Ἰουδα τοῦ 
καλουμένου Γαλιλαίου, σοφιστῆς1 δεινότατος, οὐ 
καὶ ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου ποτὲ Ἰουδαίους ονειδίσας οτι 
Ῥωμαίοις ὑπετάσσοντο μετὰ τὸν θεόν, ἀναλαβὼν
434 τοὺς γνωρίμους ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Μασάδαν, ἔνθα 
τὴν Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως ὀπλοθηκὴν ἀναρρήξας 
καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δημότας ἐτέρων ληστὰς καθ-
οπλίσας, τούτοις τε χρώμενος δορυφόρους, οὰ δὴ 
βασιλεὺς ἐπάνεισιν εἰς ἑροσολύμα καὶ γενόμενοι 
ἡγεμῶν τῆς στάσεως διέτασεν τὴν πολιορκίαν.

435 ἀπορία δ’ ἦν ὁργάνων, καὶ φανερῶς ὑπορύπτει 
το τείχος οὐχ οἶον τε ἦν ἀνωθεν βαλλομένους: 
ὑπόνομον δὴ πόρρωθεν ἐφ’ ἐνα τῶν πύργων ὑπ-
ορύξαντες ἀνεκρήμυναν αὐτὸν, ἐπειτὰ τὴν ἀνέχουσαν

1 ὁς ἦν σοφιστής VRC: Destinon suggests σοφιστής <ἡν> or that the whole clause (to θεόν) is a gloss.

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(7) On the next day, being the fifteenth of the month Lous, they attacked Antonia, and, after a siege of two days, captured the garrison, put them to the sword and set fire to the fortress. They then repaired to the palace, in which the king’s followers had taken refuge, and forming themselves into four sections made repeated assaults on the walls. None of the blockaded party ventured on a sally because of the large number of their assailants; but, posted along the breastworks and towers, they showered missiles upon all who approached, and numbers of the brigands fell beneath the walls. The combat continued incessantly day and night, the insurgents hoping to exhaust the besieged through failure of supplies, the defenders to wear down the besiegers by fatigue.

(8) At this period a certain Menahem, son of Judas surnamed the Galilaean—that redoubtable doctor who in old days, under Quirinius, had upbraided the Jews for recognizing the Romans as masters when they already had God—took his intimate friends off with him to Masada, where he broke into king Herod’s armoury and provided arms both for his fellow-townsmen and for other brigands; then, with these men for his bodyguard, he returned like a veritable king to Jerusalem, became the leader of the revolution, and directed the siege of the palace. The besiegers, however, lacked engines, and, exposed as they were to missiles from the wall, found it impossible to undermine it under the enemy’s eyes; they accordingly started digging a mine at a distance, continued it as far as one of the towers, which they

\(^a\) Roughly the equivalent in the Macedonian calendar of the Hebrew Ab and of our August.

\(^b\) See § 118.

\(^c\) § 408.
436 ὑλὴν ἐμπρήσαντες ἐξῆλθον. ὑποκαέντων δὲ τῶν στηριγμάτων ὁ μὲν πύργος ἐξαίφνης κατασείεται, 
πείχος δὲ ἐπέρου ἐνδοθεὶς ἀντικοδομημένον" δι- 
εφάνη τὴν γὰρ ἐπιβουλὴν2 αὐτῶν προαισθόμενοι, 
τάχα καὶ τοῦ πύργου κινηθέντος ώς ὑπωρύπτετο, 
437 δεύτερον έαυτοῖς ἔρμα κατεσκεύασαν. πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἀδοκίτως ἱδόντων καὶ κρατεῖν ἢδη πεπεισμένων 
κατάπληξις ἦν. οἱ δὲ ἐνδοθεὶς πρὸς τε τὸν Μα- 
νάμημον καὶ τοὺς ἐξάρχοντας τῆς στάσεως ἐπεμπὸν 
ἀξιωντες ἐξελθείν ὑπόσπονδοι, καὶ δοθέν μόνοις 
τοῖς βασιλικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις οἱ μὲν ἔξησαν. 
438 ἀθυμία δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καταλειψθέντας μόνους 
ὑπέλαβεν οὔτε γὰρ βιάσασθαι τοσοῦτον πλῆθος 
ἐδύναντο καὶ τὸ δεξίας αἰτεῖν ὑπελάμ- 
439 βανον, πρὸς τῷ μηδὲ πιστεύειν, εἰ διδοίτο. κατα- 
λιπόντες δὴ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὡς εὐάλωτον ἐπὶ 
τοὺς βασιλικοὺς ἀνέφυγον πύργοις, τόν τε ᾽Ιπ- 
pικόν καλούμενον καὶ Φασάληλον καὶ Μαριάμμην. 
440 οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Μανάμημον ἐισπεσόντες οθὲν οἱ 
στρατιώται διέφυγον ὅσους τε αὐτῶν κατ- 
elάμβανον μὴ φθάσαντας ἐκδραμεῖν διεφθείραν, 
καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς διαρπάσαντες ἐνέπρησαν τὸ 
στρατόπεδον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐκτη Γορπιάιον 
μηνὸς ἐπράξθη. 
441 (9) Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ὁ τε ἀρχιερεὺς 
῾Ανανίας περὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς εὐρίποι 
dialανθάνων ἅλισκεται καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἱησοῦν 
ἀναρέται σὺν ᾽Εζεκία τῷ ἄδελφῳ, καὶ τοὺς 
pύργους περισχόντες3 οἱ στασιαστὰ παρεφύλαττον,

1 ἀνακοδομημένον PA. 2 ἐπιβολὴν Niese. 
3 Naber after Lat. "circumsidentes" : ἐπισχόντες mss.
shored up, and then, after setting light to the supports retired. When the props were consumed, the tower suddenly collapsed, but only to reveal another wall constructed in its rear; for the besieged, foreseeing their stratagem, perhaps warned by the tower shaking during the mining operations, had provided themselves with a second rampart. This unexpected sight dismayed the assailants who believed that victory was already theirs. However, the garrison now sent to Menahem and the leaders of the insurrection a request for permission to quit the fortress under treaty. This was granted, but only to the king's troops and natives of the country, who came out accordingly. The Romans, left alone, were now despondent; they despaired of forcing their way through such a multitude and were ashamed to sue for terms; besides, even were they granted, they could put no faith in them. They, accordingly, abandoned their camp, as untenable, and retired to the royal towers, known as Hippicus, Phasael and Mariamme.¹ Menahem's followers, rushing into the quarters just deserted by the soldiers, killed all the stragglers whom they could lay hands on, rifled the baggage and set fire to the camp. These events took place on the sixth of the month Gorpiaeus.²

(9) On the following day the high-priest Ananias was caught near the canal in the palace grounds, where he was hiding, and, with his brother Ezechias, was killed by the brigands; while the rebels invested and kept strict watch on the towers, to prevent any

¹ These towers, built by Herod the Great and described in B. v. 161 ff., were on the old city wall (173) on the north side of the palace enclosure (176).
² =Hebrew Elul (August-September).
³ For the canals in the palace gardens see B. v. 181.
442 μὴ τις τῶν στρατιωτῶν διαφύγων· τὸν δὲ Μανάρημον ἢ τε τῶν ὁχυρῶν καταστροφῆς χωρίων καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἁρχιερέως Ἄνανίου θάνατος ἐστύφωσεν εἰς ὁμότητα, καὶ μηδένα νομίζων ἔχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς

443 πράγμασιν ἀντίπαλον ἀφόρητος ἢ τύραννος. ἐπικυρίων ἀποστάνται δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον αὐτῶ, καὶ λόγον ἀλλήλους δόντες. ὡς οὐ χρῆ Ἰωρμαίων ἀποστάντας δι᾽ ἐλευθερίας πόθον καταπροέσθαι ταύτην οἰκείω δημώδης καὶ δεσπότην φέρειν, εἰ καὶ μηδεναῖον πράσσοντος ἀλλ’ οὖν ἄνωτάν ταπεινότερον εἰ γὰρ καὶ δέοι τινὰ τῶν ὁλῶν ἀφηγείσθαι, παντὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνῳ προσήκειν, συντίθενται καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπεχειροῦν αὐτῶ.

444 σοβαρός γὰρ ἀναβεβήκει προσκυνήσων ἐσθήτι τε βασιλικῇ κεκοσμημένος καὶ τοὺς ζηλωτὰς ἐν-

445 ὀπλός ἐφελκόμενος. ὡς δ’ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ὁμηγησαν, ὃ τε λοιπὸν δῆμος [ἐπὶ τὰς ὀργὰς]3 λίθους ἀρπάσαντες τὸν σοφιστὴν ἐβαλλον, οἴκουν τούτου καταλυθέντος διατρέψειν ὅλην

446 τὴν στάσιν, πρὸς ὄλιγον4 οἱ περὶ τὸν Μανάρημον ἀντισχόντες ως εἰδον πᾶν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς τὸ πλῆθος ὀρμήσαν, ἐφυγον ὅπῃ τις ἵσχυσεν, καὶ φόνοι μὲν ἢ τῶν καταληφθέντων, ἐρευνα δὲ τῶν ἀπο-

447 κρυπτομένων. καὶ διεσώθησαν ὄλιγοι λάθρα διαδράντες εἰς Μασάδαν, σὺν οἷς Ἐλεάζαρος υῖος Ἰαείρου, προσήκοι τῷ Μανάρημῳ κατὰ γένος,

448 ὡς υστεροῦ ἐπιράνθησεν τῆς Μασάδας. αὐτῶν τε τὸν Μανάρημον εἰς τὸν καλούμενον Ὀφλάνν συμ-

φυγόντα κακεὶ ταπεινῶς ὑπολαμβάνοντα ζωγρή-

1 Naber: διαφύγω mss. 
2 Destinon: δῆμω mss. 
3 om. L Lat. 
4 C: + δὲ the rest.

a Greek “zealots.” b Text and meaning doubtful.
soldier from escaping. But the reduction of the strongholds and the murder of the high-priest Ananias inflated and brutalized Menahem to such an extent that he believed himself without a rival in the conduct of affairs and became an insufferable tyrant. The partisans of Eleazar now rose against him; they remarked to each other that, after revolting from the Romans for love of liberty, they ought not to sacrifice this liberty to a Jewish hangman and to put up with a master who, even were he to abstain from violence, was anyhow far below themselves; and that if they must have a leader, anyone would be better than Menahem. So they laid their plans to attack him in the Temple, whither he had gone up in state to pay his devotions, arrayed in royal robes and attended by his suite of armed fanatics. When Eleazar and his companions rushed upon him, and the rest of the people to gratify their rage took up stones and began pelting the arrogant doctor, imagining that his downfall would crush the whole revolt, Menahem and his followers offered a momentary resistance; then, seeing themselves assailed by the whole multitude, they fled whithersoever they could; all who were caught were massacred, and a hunt was made for any in hiding. A few succeeded in escaping by stealth to Masada, among others Eleazar, son of Jairus and a relative of Menahem, and subsequently despot of Masada. Menahem himself, who had taken refuge in the place called Ophlas and there ignominiously concealed himself, was

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* B. vii. 275 ff. The siege of Masada ended the war in Palestine.

* The ‘Ophel (=“protuberance”), a region in the lower city, “either the whole of the east hill south of the Temple or some part of it” (G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 154).
σαντες εἰς τὸ φανερὸν ἐξειλκυσαν καὶ πολλαῖς αἰκισάμενοι βασάνοις ἀνείλλον, ὡμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἠγεμόνας τὸν τε ἐπισημότατον τῆς τυραννίδος ὑπηρέτην Αἰβαλώμου.

449 (10) Ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος, ὡς ἔφην, εἰς ταῦτα συνήργησεν ἐλπίζων τινὰ τῆς ὀλίγης στάσεως διόρθωσιν· οἱ δ’ οὐ καταλύσασι τὸν πόλεμον σπεύδοντες, ἀλλ’ ἀδεέστερον πολεμεῖν, Μανάημον ἀνηρῆκεσαν. ἀμέλει πολλὰ τοῦ δήμου τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀνείναι τὴν πολιορκίαν παρακαλοῦντος, οἱ δὲ προσέκειντο χαλεπῶτερον, μέχρι μηκέτι ἀντέχοντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Μετίλιον, οὗτος γὰρ ἦν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔπαρχος, διαπέμπονται πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἑλεάζαρον ἐξαιτούμενοι μόνας τὰς ψυχὰς ὑποσπόνδους, τὰ δ’ ὀπλα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν κτῆσιν παραδώσεων λέγοντες. οἱ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἱκεσίαν ἀρπάσαντες ἀνέπεμψαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς Γωρίονα τε Νικομήδους1 νιὸν καὶ Ἀνανίαν Σαδούκι καὶ Ἰουδαν Ἰωνάθου δεξιάν2 τε καὶ ὀρκοὺς δῶσοντας. ὧν γενομένων κατῆγεν τοὺς στρατιώτας οὗ τιν ditch τινὶ ὁμώς πλοῖοι, οὔτ’ ἐπεχείρει τις τῶν στασιαστῶν αὐτοῖς οὔτ’ ἐνέφαυς ἐπιβουλὴν. ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἀπαίτες ἀπέθεντο τοὺς θυρεοὺς καὶ τὰ ἔφιθε καὶ 451 Μετίλιος. οἱ δὲ μέχρι μὲν ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς, οὔτ’ ἐπεχείρει τις τῶν στασιαστῶν αὐτοῖς οὔτ’ ἐνέφαυς ἐπιβουλὴν. ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἀπαίτες ἀπέθεντο τοὺς θυρεοὺς καὶ τὰ ἔφιθε καὶ 452 μηδὲν ἔτι ὑποπτεύοντες ἀνεχόμεν, ὁρμήσαν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἑλεάζαρον καὶ περισχόντες ἀνύριον οὔτε ἀμυνομένους οὔτε ἱκετεύοντας, μόνας δὲ τὰς συνθήκας καὶ τοὺς ὀρκοὺς ἀναβοῦντας. 453 οἱ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ὠμῶς ἀπεσφάγησαν ἀπαίτες πλὴν Μετίλιου, τοῦτον γὰρ ἱκετεύσαντα καὶ μέχρι περιτομῆς ἱουδαῖσειν ὑποσχόμενοι διέσωσαν μόνον,

1 Nicodemi Lat. 2 δεξιας LVRC.
caught, dragged into the open, and after being subjected to all kinds of torture, put to death. His lieutenants, along with Absalom, his most eminent supporter in his tyranny, met with a similar fate.

(10) The people, as I said, co-operated in this plot in the hope of its producing some radical cure for the revolt; but the conspirators, in killing Menahem, had no desire to end the war, but only to prosecute it at greater liberty. In fact, though the civilians urgently entreated the soldiers to abandon the siege, they, on the contrary, only pressed it more vigorously; until Metilius, the commander of the Roman garrison, unable to prolong his resistance, sent envoys to Eleazar, asking, under terms of capitulation, for no more than their lives, and offering to surrender their arms and all their belongings. The besiegers, grasping at this petition, sent up to them Gorion son of Nicomedes, Ananias son of Sadok, and Judas son of Jonathan, to give a pledge of security and to take the necessary oaths. That done, Metilius marched his men down. So long as the soldiers retained their arms, none of the rebels molested them or gave any indication of treachery; but when, in accordance with the covenant, they had all laid down their bucklers and swords and, with no suspicion remaining, were taking their departure, Eleazar's party fell upon them, surrounded and massacred them; the Romans neither resisting nor suing for mercy, but merely appealing with loud cries to "the covenant" and "the oaths." Thus, brutally butchered, perished all save Metilius; he alone saved his life by entreaties and promises to turn Jew, and even to be circumcised. To the

\[a \S 445.\]
The day of the month was perhaps 17th Elul (Gorpiaeus), if we may identify the massacre as the event referred to in the old Jewish calendar *Megillath Taanith*: “On the 17th of Elul the Romans evacuated Judah and Jerusalem” (vi. (b) in Zeitlin’s edition, Philadelphia, 1922); Zeitlin’s identification is not certain.
Romans this injury—the loss of a handful of men out of a boundless army—was slight; but to the Jews it looked like the prelude to their ruin. Seeing the grounds for war to be now beyond remedy, and the city polluted by such a stain of guilt as could not but arouse a dread of some visitation from heaven, if not of the vengeance of Rome, they gave themselves up to public mourning; the whole city was a scene of dejection, and among the moderates there was not one who was not racked with the thought that he would personally have to suffer for the rebels' crime. For, to add to its heinousness, the massacre took place on the sabbath, a day on which from religious scruples Jews abstain even from the most innocent acts.

(xviii. 1) The same day and at the same hour, as it were by the hand of Providence, the inhabitants of Caesarea massacred the Jews who resided in their city; within one hour more than twenty thousand were slaughtered, and Caesarea was completely emptied of Jews, for the fugitives were arrested by orders of Florus and conducted, in chains, to the dockyards. The news of the disaster at Caesarea infuriated the whole nation; and parties of Jews sacked the Syrian villages and the neighbouring cities, Philadelphia, Heshbon and its district, Gerasa, 

501
459 Σκυθόπολυν. ἑπείτα Γαδάροις καὶ Ἰππῷ καὶ τῇ Γαυλανίτιδι προσπεσόντες τὰ μὲν καταστρεφόμενοι, τὰ δὲ ὑποπρήσαντες ἐξώρουν ἐπὶ Κάδασα τὴν Τυρίων καὶ Πτολεμαίδα Γάβαν⁵ τε καὶ

460 Κασάρειαν. ἀντέσχεν δὲ οὕτε Σεβαστὴ ταῖς ὀρμαῖς αὐτῶν οὕτε Ἀσκάλων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ταύταις πυρποληθείσαις Ἄνθηδόνα καὶ Γάζαν κατέσκαστον. πολλαὶ δὲ περὶ ἑκάστην τούτων τῶν πόλεων ἀνηρπάξαντο κἂμαι, καὶ τῶν ἀλισκομένων ἁνδρῶν φόνος ἢ ἄπειρος.

461 (2) Οὐ μὴν οἱ Σύροι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔλαττον πλῆθος ἀνήρουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι λαμβανομένους ἀπέσφαττον οὐ μόνον κατὰ μῖσος, ώς πρότερον, ἀλλ' ἡδη καὶ τὸν ἐφ' ἐαυτοῖς

462 κύνδυνον φθάνοντες. δεινὴ δὲ ὅλην τὴν Συρίαν ἐπείχεν ταραχῇ, καὶ πᾶσα πόλις εἰς δύο διήρητο στρατόπεδα, σωτηρία δὲ τοῖς ἐτέρους ἢ τὸ τοὺς

463 ἐτέρους φθάσαι. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐν αἰματι διήγον, τὰς δὲ νύκτας δέει χαλεπωτέρας καὶ γὰρ ἀπεσκευάσθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους δοκοῦντες ἐκαστοῖς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους δοκοῦντας εἰς ἐκποίημα, καὶ τὸ παρ' ἑκάστοις ἀμφίβολον οὐτε ἀνελεῖν τις προχείρως ὑπέμενεν, καὶ μεριμνόν ὡς βεβαιός ἀλλόφυλον

464 ἐφοβεῖτο. προωκαλεῖτο δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς σφαγὰς τῶν διαφόρων καὶ τοὺς πάλαι προστάτους πάνω δοκοῦντας ἡ πλεονεξία. τὰς γὰρ οὐσίας τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων ἠδὲ διήρπαξον καὶ καθάπερ ἐκ παρατάξεως τὰ σκῦλα τῶν ἀνηρμένων εἰς τοὺς σφετέρους οἰκους μετέφερον, εὐδοξός τε ἢν ὁ

1 Many mss. read τάς.
2 Γάβαλαν PAM.
JEWISH WAR, II. 459-464

Pella, and Scythopolis. Next they fell upon Gadara, Hippos, and Gaulanitis, destroying or setting fire to all in their path, and advanced to Kedasa, a Tyrian village, Ptolemais, Gaba, and Caesarea. Neither Sebastè nor Ascalon withstood their fury; these they burnt to the ground and then razed Anthedon and Gaza. In the vicinity of each of these cities many villages were pillaged and immense numbers of the inhabitants captured and slaughtered.

(2) The Syrians on their side killed no less a number of Jews; they, too, slaughtered those whom they caught in the towns, not merely now, as before, from hatred, but to forestall the peril which menaced themselves. The whole of Syria was a scene of frightful disorder; every city was divided into two camps, and the safety of one party lay in their anticipating the other. They passed their days in blood, their nights, yet more dreadful, in terror. For, though believing that they had rid themselves of the Jews, still each city had its Judaizers, who aroused suspicion; and while they shrank from killing offhand this equivocal element in their midst, they feared these neutrals as much as pronounced aliens. Even those who had long been reputed the very mildest of men were instigated by avarice to murder their adversaries; for they would then with impunity plunder the property of their victims and transfer to their own homes, as from a battle-field, the spoils of the slain, and he who gained the most

a Kedesh-Naphtali, north-west of Lake Merom, "always at war with Galilee" (iv. 105).

b A pro-Roman town in Galilee, built by Herod the Great for his veteran cavalry (B. iii. 36, Vita 115).

c Samaria.

d Or rather the surrounding villages (Reinach).
465 πλείστα κερδάνας ως κατισχύσας πλειόνων. ἂν
de ἰδεῖν τὰς πόλεις μεστὰς ἀτάφων σωμάτων καὶ
νεκροὺς ἀμα νηπίων γέροντας ἐρρυμένους, γύναια
τε μηδε τής ἐπ' αἰδοὶ σκέψις μετειληφότα, καὶ
πάσαν μὲν τὴν ἐπαρχίαν μεστὴν ἀδινηγήτων
συμφορῶν, μείζονα δὲ τῶν ἐκάστοτε τολμώμενων
τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπειλομένωις ἀνάτασιν. 2

466 (3) Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων Ἰουδαίων πρὸς τὸ
ἀλλόφυλον ἦσαν προσβολαῖ, κατατρέχοντες δὲ εἰς
Σκυθόπολιν τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνων Ἰουδαίων ἐπείρα-
σαν πολέμιους· ταξάμενοι γὰρ μετὰ τῶν Σκυθο-
πολίτων καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλείας ἐν δευτέρῳ
θέμενοι τὴν συγγένειαν, ὁμόσε τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις
ἐχώρουν. ὑποπτεύθη δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ λίαν πρό-
θυμον· οἱ γοῦν Σκυθοπολίται δείσαντες μή νῦκτωρ
ἐπιχειρήσωσι τῇ πόλει καὶ μετὰ μεγάλης αὐτῶν
συμφορᾶς τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀπολογήσονται περὶ τῆς
ἀποστάσεως, ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς, εἰ βούλονται τὴν
ὁμόνοιαν βεβαιώσαι καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοεθνεῖς
πιστῶν ἐπιδείξασθαι, μεταβαίνειν ἀμα ταῖς γενεαῖς
εἰς τὸ ἄλσος. τῶν δὲ ποιησάντων τὸ προσταχθὲν
χωρὶς ὑποψίαν, δύο μὲν ἡμέρας ἴρημήσαν οἱ
Σκυθοπολίται τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν δελεάζοντες, τῇ
de τρίτη νυκτὶ παρατηρήσαντες τοὺς μὲν ἀφυλά-
κτους, οὓς δὲ κομμωμένους, ἀπανταὶ ἀπέσφαξαν
ὅτας τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὑπὲρ μυρίων καὶ τρισχίλιων,
tὰς δὲ κτήσεις διήρπασαν ἀπάντων.

469 (1) Ἀξίων δ' ἀφηγηθασθαί καὶ τὸ Σιμώνος

1 I.: aiō the rest.
2 Eus.: ἀνάστασιν (μετάστασιν) mss.

The Biblical Bethshan, modern Beisan, the one town of
504
covered himself with glory as the most successful murderer. One saw cities choked with unburied corpses, dead bodies of old men and infants exposed side by side, poor women stripped of the last covering of modesty, the whole province full of indescribable horrors; and even worse than the tale of atrocities committed was the suspense caused by the menace of evils in store.

(3) Thus far the Jews had been faced with aliens only, but when they invaded Scythopolis they found their own nation in arms against them; for the Jews in this district ranged themselves on the side of the Scythopolitans, and, regarding their own security as more important than the ties of blood, met their own countrymen in battle. However, this excess of ardour brought them under suspicion: the people of Scythopolis feared that the Jews might attack the city by night and inflict upon them some grave disaster, in order to make amends to their brethren for their defection. They, therefore, ordered them if they wished to confirm their allegiance and demonstrate their fidelity to their foreign allies, to betake themselves and their families to the adjoining grove. The Jews obeyed these orders, suspecting nothing. For two days the Scythopolitans made no move, in order to lull them into security, but on the third night, watching their opportunity when some were off their guard, and others asleep, they slaughtered them all to the number of upward of thirteen thousand and pillaged all their possessions.

(4) Mention may here be made of the tragic fate of the ten cities of Decapolis which lay west of the Jordan, between it and Mt. Gilboa.

a This incident is referred to again in the *Life*, § 26.
πάθος, ος υίος μεν ἢν Σαούλου τινός τῶν οὐκ ἀσήμων, ρώμη δὲ σώματος καὶ τόλημ διαφέρων ἐπὶ κακοὶ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἀμφοτέροις κατεχρήσατο. 470 προίον γονὴν ὅσημέραι πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνήρει τῶν πρὸς τῇ Σκυθοπόλει Ἰουδαίων, τρεπόμενος δὲ πολλάκις αὐτοὺς ἀπαντασ μόνος ἢν ῥοπή τῆς παρατάξεως. περιέρχεται δ' αὐτοῦ ἄξια ποιητῇ τοῦ συγγενικοῦ φόνου· ἔπει γὰρ περισχόντες οἱ Σκυθοπολίται κατακόντιζον αὐτοὺς ἀνὰ τὸ ἄλος, σπάσαμενος τοῦ ξίφος ἐπὶ οὐδένα μὲν ὀρμησεν τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ γὰρ ἑώρα τὸ πλῆθος ἁνήνυτον, 472 αἰναβοήσας δὲ μᾶλα ἐκπαθῶς ἀξία γε ἢν ἔδρασα πάσχω, Σκυθοπολίται [καθ' ὑμῖν], 1 οἱ τοσοῦτω φόνῳ συγγενῶν τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὔνοιαν ἐπιστῶσά- μεθα. 4 τοιγαροῦν ο isize ἀπιστον μὲν εὐλόγως εὐρήται τὸ ἄλλοφυλον, ἔσεβται δὲ εἰς ἐσχατα τὸ οἰκεῖον, θυνᾶκωμεν ὡς ἔναγεῖς χερσίν ἱδίαις· οὐ γὰρ πρέπον ἐν5 ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων. τὸ αὐτὸ δ' ἂν εἰς μοι καὶ ποιῆ τοῦ μιᾶσματος ἄξια καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρεῖαν ἐπαινοῦ, ἐνα μηδεὶς τῶν ἑκερῶν τὴν ἐμὴν αἴχηση σφαγῆν μηδ' ἐπαλαξονεύσηται πεσόντι. 474 ταῦτ' εἴπων ἐλεοῦσιν ἄμα καὶ τεθυμομένοις ὀμ- μασιν περισκέπτεται τὴν ἐαυτοῦ γενεάν· ἦν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ γυνῇ καὶ τέκνα καὶ γηραιοὶ γονεῖς. 475 ὁ δ' ἂρτοπον μὲν6 τὸν πατέρα τῆς πολίας ἐπι- στασάμενος διελαύη τῷ ξίφει, μεθ' δ' ὅν οὐκ ἀκουσαν τὴν μητέρα, κατ' τούτοις τὴν τε γυναίκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα, μόνον οὐχ ὑπαπαντῶντος ἐκάστου τῶ ξίφει καὶ σπεύδουτος φθάσαι τοὺς πολεμίους.

1 om. Lat. Heg.: -αρ' ἐμών Hudson. 2 δ'-1 ML.VRC. 3 ὑος Lat.: uobis Heg. 4 Π Λ.: ἐπιστῶσάμεν the rest. 5 ἐν Bekker. 6 P Lat.: om. the rest.
of Simon, whose father, Saul, was a man of some distinction. Endowed with exceptional physical strength and audacity, he abused both gifts to the detriment of his countrymen. Day by day he had marched out and slain large numbers of the Jews who were attacking Scythopolis; often had he put their whole force to flight, his single arm turning the scale in the engagement. But now this slaughter of his kind met with its due penalty. For when the Scythopolitans had surrounded the grove and were shooting down its occupants with their javelins, he drew his sword, and then, instead of rushing upon one of the enemy, whose numbers he saw were endless, he exclaimed in a tone of deep emotion: "Justly am I punished for my crimes, men of Scythopolis, I and all who by such a slaughter of our kinsmen have sealed our loyalty to you. Ah! well, let us who have but naturally experienced the perfidy of foreigners, us who have been guilty of the last degree of impiety towards our own people, let us, I say, die, as cursed wretches, by our own hands; for we are not meet to die at the hands of the enemy. This, God grant, shall be at once the fit retribution for my foul crime and the testimony to my courage, that none of my foes shall be able to boast of having slain me or glory over my prostrate body." With these words he cast a glance of mingled pity and rage over his family: he had wife, children, and aged parents. First seizing his father by his hoary hair, he ran his sword through his body; after him he killed his mother, who offered no resistance, and then his wife and children, each victim almost rushing upon the blade, in haste to anticipate the enemy. After slaying every member
ο δε διελθων πασαν την γενεαν και περιοπτον
επιστασ τοις σωμασιν την τε δεξιαν ανατεινας,
ως μηδενα λαθειν οιον εις την έαυτου σφαγην
εδαπτισεν το ξιφος οξιος μεν έλεους [δ']
νεανιας
dι' άλκην σωματος και ψυχης παραστημα, της
dε προς άλλοφυλους πιστεως ένεκεν άκολουθους
παθεις χρησαιμον.

(5) Προς δε την εν Σκυθοπόλει φθοραν αι
λοιπαι πολεις επανίσταντο τοις καθ' έαυτην
Ιου-
dαιους εκαστη και πεντακοσίους μεν έπι δισ-
χιλιους Άσκαλωνιται, Πτολεμαεις δε δισχιλιους

478 άνειλον, έδησαν τ' ουκ ολίγους και Τύριοι
συχνους μεν διεχειρισαντο, πλειους² οι αυτων
dεσμωτας έβρουρον, Άππηνοι τε και Γαδαρεις
δμοίως τους μεν θρασυτέρους άπεσκενασαντο,
toις δε φοβερους δια φυλακης ειχον, αι τε λοιπαι
πολεις της Συριας, οπως εκαστη προς το Ιου-

479 δαικον η μίσους η δεοσ ειχον, μόνοι δ' Αν-
tioχεις και Σιδωνιωι και Άπαμεις εφεισαντο των
μετοικουντων και ουτε ανελειν ινας Ιουδαιων
ιπεμειναν ουτε δησαι, ταχα μεν και δια το
σφέτερον πληθος ιπερορωντες αυτων προς τα
kυματα, το πλεον δ' έμουγε δοκειν³ ουκτω προς

480 ους ουδεν εωρων νεωτεριζοιτας. Γερασηνοι τε
ουτε εις τους έμμειναντας έπλημμέλησαν και τους
εξελθειν έθελησαντας προηπεμψαν μεχρι των ορων.

481 (6) Συνέστη δε και κατα την 'Αγρίππα βασι-
λειαν έπιβουλη κατα Ιουδαιων, αυτως γαρ έπεπό-
ρευτο προς Κέστιον Γάλλον εις 'Αντιοχεια, κατα-

¹ om. L.
² Lat. (plures): πλείστους PAML: το πλείον or το πλείστου
the rest.
³ Niese: δοκει MSS.
of his family, he stood conspicuous on the corpses, and with right hand uplifted to attract all eyes, plunged the sword up to the hilt into his own throat. So perished a youth who, in virtue of his strength of body and fortitude of soul, deserves commiseration, but who by reason of his trust in aliens met the consequent fate.

(5) As a sequel to the holocaust at Scythopolis, the other cities rose against the Jews in their respective territories. The inhabitants of Ascalon slew 2500, those of Ptolemais 2000, besides putting multitudes in irons. The Tyrians dispatched a considerable number, but imprisoned the majority in chains; similarly the people of Hippos and Gadara made away with the more daring of their enemies and kept the timid folk in custody; and so with the remaining cities of Syria, the action of each being governed by their feelings of hatred or fear of their Jewish neighbours. Only Antioch, Sidon and Apamea \(^a\) spared the residents and refused either to kill or to imprison a single Jew; perhaps, with their own vast populations, these cities disdained the possibility of Jewish risings, but what mainly influenced them, in my opinion, was their pity for men who showed no revolutionary intentions. The people of Gerasa \(^b\) not only abstained from maltreating the Jews who remained with them, but escorted to the frontiers any who chose to emigrate.

(6) Even within Agrippa's dominion a plot was formed against certain Jews. The king himself had gone to visit Cestius Gallus at Antioch, leaving in

\(^a\) On the Orontes, south of Antioch.

\(^b\) In the south-east of Decapolis, north of the river Jabbok.
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λέλειπτο δὲ διοικεῖν τὰ πράγματα τοῦτον τῶν ἑταῖρων τις τούνομα Νόαρος, Σοαίμω τῷ βασιλεῖ
482 προσήκων κατὰ γένος. ἦκον δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς Βαταναίας ἐβδομήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἄνδρες, οἱ κατὰ
gένος καὶ σύνεσιν τῶν πολιτῶν δοκιμώτατοι, στρατιάν αὐτοῦντες, ἵνα, εἰ τι γένοιτο κῑνημα καὶ
περὶ σφὰς, ἔχουν αἵνεκρεων φυλακῆν κωδυέων
483 τοὺς ἐπανισταμένους. τούτους ὁ Νόαρος ἐκπέμψας νύκτωρ τῶν βασιλικῶν τίνας ὁπλῖτῶν ἅπαντας
ἀναρεῖ, τολμήσας μὲν τούργον δίχα τῆς 'Αγρίππα
γνώμης, διὰ δὲ φιλαργυρίαν ἀμετρον εἰς τοὺς
ὀμοφύλους ἐλόμενος ἁσβεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν δι-
ἐθειρέων. διετέλει τε ὡμῶς εἰς τὸ ἔθνος παρανομῶν,
μέχρι πυθόμενος 'Αγρίππας ἀνελεῖν μὲν αὐτὸν
ẖδεσθή διὰ Σώσιῶν, ἐπαυσεν δὲ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς.
484 οἱ δὲ στασιασταὶ καταλαβόμενοι τι φρούριον, ὁ
καλεῖται μὲν Κύπρος, καθ' ὑπὲρθεν δ' ἢν Ἰερι-
χοῦντος, τοὺς μὲν φρουρῆς ἁπέσφαξαν, τὰ δὲ
485 εὑρῆται κατέρριψαν εἰς γῆν. κατὰ δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς
ἡμέρας καὶ τῶν ἐν Μαχαιρώντι Ἰουδαίων τὸ
πλῆθος ἐπειθὲν τοὺς φρουροῦντας 'Ρωμαίους ἐκ-
486 λείπειν τὸ φρούριον καὶ παραδίδοναι σφίσιν. οἱ
δὲ τὴν ἐκ βίας ἀφαίρεσιν εὐλαβηθέντες συντίθενται
πρός αὐτῶς ἐκχωρῆσειν ὑπόσπονδοι καὶ λαβόντες
tὰ πιστὰ παραδίδοσι τὸ φρούριον, όπερ φυλακῆ
κρατουμένου κατείχον οἱ Μαχαιρίται.

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\[\text{\textsuperscript{a}}\text{Called Varus in the parallel account in \textit{Vita}, 48 ff. and}
\text{possibly in \textit{B. ii.} 247.}

\[\text{\textsuperscript{b}}\text{King of Emesa (\textit{Homs}, in N. Syria), mentioned in \textit{B. ii.}
501 as furnishing a contingent to the Romans, and else-
where. In \textit{Vita 52} Varus is called a descendant (? grand-
son) of another Soemus, who had been "a tetrarch in the}
510
charge of the government one of his friends named Noarus, a relative of King Soaemus. At this juncture here arrived from Batanaea a deputation of seventy persons, pre-eminent among their fellow-citizens by birth and ability, to ask for a body of troops in order, in the event of trouble arising in their district, to be in a position to repress the insurgents. Noarus sent out by night some of the king's heavy infantry and massacred the whole deputation. This outrageous action he took without consulting Agrippa; unbounded avarice led him thus deliberately and impiously to murder his countrymen, to the great injury of the kingdom. He continued this brutal maltreatment of the nation until Agrippa, being informed of his conduct, but withheld by respect for Soaemus from putting him to death, deposed him from is regency. It was now that the insurgents took the fortress called Cypros, which dominated Jericho, massacred the garrison and levelled the defences. About the same time the Jewish population of Machaerus succeeded in inducing the Roman garrison to evacuate that fortress and to hand it over to them. The Romans, fearing that it would be carried by assault, agreed to retire under treaty, and having received the necessary pledges surrendered the fort, which the people of Machaerus thereupon occupied and garrisoned.

Machraerus, with the same name as the fortress, is probably identical with the "king Ituraea" mentioned in Tac. Ann. xii. 23 (died A.D. 49).

The story of Varus's aspirations to supplant Agrippa, is further massacres of Jews, and his supersession is told in tail in Vita 52-61.

Built by Herod the Great and named after his mother, i. 417).

Above the east coast of the Dead Sea.
487 (7) Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀεὶ μὲν ἦν στάσις πρὸς τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἀφ’ οὗ χρησάμενος προθυμοτάτοις κατὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Ἰουδαίως Ἀλεξάνδρος γέρας τῆς συμμαχίας ἔδωκεν τῷ μετοικεῖν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐξ ἰσομοιρίας’ πρὸς 488 τοὺς Ἕλληνας. διέμεινεν δ’ αὐτοῖς ἡ τιμή καὶ παρὰ τῶν διαδόχων, οἱ καὶ τόπον ἵδιον αὐτοῖς ἀφώρισαν, ὅπως καθαρωτέραν ἔχοιεν τὴν δίαιταν, ἤτον ἐπιμισγομένων τῶν ἀλλοφύλων, καὶ χρηματίζειν ἐπέτρεψαν Μακεδόνας· ἐπεὶ δὲ 'Ῥωμαίοι κατεκτήσαντο τὴν Αἰγυπτίων, οὔτε Καίσαρ ὁ ἀρχιτέκτονος ὑπὲρ τῶν μετ’ αὐτοῦ τις ὑπέμεινεν τὰς ἁπ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου τιμὰς Ἰουδαίων ἐλαττώσαι. 489 συμβολαὶ δ’ ἦσαν αὐτῶν ἀδιάλειπτοι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων πολλοὺς ὁσμηναῖς παρ’ ἀμφοῖ τὸ κολαζόντων ἡ στάσις μᾶλλον παρ’ 490 ὁμόνοια. τότε δ’ ὅς καὶ ἡ τὰ 2 παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπετάρακτο, μᾶλλον ἐξήφθη τὰ παρ’ ἐκεῖνοις καὶ δὴ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρεων ἐκκλησιαζόντων περὶ ἡς ἐμέλλον ἐκπέμπειν προσβείας ἐπὶ Νέρωνα συνερρύσασαν μὲν εἰς τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον ἅμα τοῖς 491 Ἕλληνων συνχωρίων Ἰουδαίων, κατιδόντες δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ διάφοροι παραχρήμα [μὲν] 3 ἀνεβόων πολεμίου καὶ κατασκόπους λέγοντες· ἐπείτα ἀναπηδῆσαντε ἐπέβαλλον τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς. οἱ μὲν οὖν λοιποὶ φεύγοντες διεσπάρθησαν, 4 τρεῖς δὲ ἀνδρας συλ 492 λαβόντες ἐσυρον ὡς ἐξωτάς καταφλεξοντες. ἦρθ—

1 Destinon: εἰς ἰσομοιρίας (sic) PA: εἰς ἰσομοιρίας the rest.
2 ins. Destinon.
3 A: om. the rest.
4 Naber with Lat.: διεφθαρμασαν mss.

* Josephus elsewhere states that this quarter was give them by Alexander (Ap. ii. 35 with note). The privilege 512
(7) At Alexandria there had been incessant strife between the native inhabitants and the Jewish settlers since the time when Alexander, having received from the Jews very active support against the Egyptians, granted them, as a reward for their assistance, permission to reside in the city on terms of equality with the Greeks. This privilege was confirmed by his successors, who, moreover, assigned them a quarter of their own, in order that, through mixing less with aliens, they might be free to observe their rules more strictly; and they were also permitted to take the title of Macedonians. Again, when the Romans took possession of Egypt, neither the first Caesar nor any of his successors would consent to any diminution of the honours conferred on the Jews since the time of Alexander. They were, however, continually coming into collision with the Greeks, and the numerous punishments daily inflicted on the rioters of both parties by the authorities only served to embitter the quarrel. But now that disorder had become universal, the riots at Alexandria broke out more furiously than ever. On one occasion, when the Alexandrians were holding a public meeting on the subject of an embassy which they proposed to send to Nero, a large number of Jews flocked into the amphitheatre along with the Greeks; their adversaries, the instant they caught sight of them, raised shouts of "enemies" and "spies," and then rushed forward to lay hands on them. The majority of the Jews took flight and scattered, but three of them were caught by the Alexandrians and dragged off to be burnt alive. Thereupon the whole Jewish

bespoke on the Alexandrian Jews by the Ptolemies and the Romans are stated more fully in *Ap. ii.* 42-64.
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dē pān to 'Ioudaïkōn ἐπὶ την ἀμμαναν, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λίθος τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐβαλλον, αὖθις δὲ λαμπάδας ἄρπασάμενοι πρὸς τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον ἀρμίσαν, ἀπείλοντες ἐν αὐτῷ καταφλέξειν τὸν ὄμον αὐτανδρόν. καὶ ἐφθησαν τούτῳ δράσαντες, εἰ μὴ τοὺς θυμοὺς αὐτῶν ἄνεκοψεν Τιβέριος

493 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἠγεμόν. οὐ μὴν οὖτός γε ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων ἤρξατο σωφρονίζειν, ἀλλ' ὑποπέμψας τοὺς γυνώριμους αὐτοῖς παύσασθαι παρεκάλει καὶ μὴ καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἔρεθιές τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις στράτευμα. καταχλεύαζοντες δὲ τῆς παρακλήσεως οἱ στασιώδεις ἐβλασφήμησον τοῖς Τιβέριοι.

494 (8) Κάκεινος συνιδὼν ὡς χωρίς μεγάλης συμφορᾶς οὐκ ἂν παύσαντο νεωτερίζουν, ἔπαθήσειν αὐτοῖς τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν Ῥωμαίων δύο τάγματα καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς δισχιλίους1 στρατιώτας κατὰ τύχην παρόντας εἰς τῶν 'Ιουδαίων ὀλέθρων ἐκ Λιβύης ἐπέτρεψεν δ' οὐ μόνον ἀναίρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς κτήσεις αὐτῶν διαρράξειν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας κατα.

495 φλέγειν. οἱ δ' ὀρμήσαντες εἰς τὸ καλοῦμενον Δέλτα, συνώκιστο γὰρ ἐκεῖ τὸ 'Ιουδαϊκόν, ἐτέλου τὰς ἐντολὰς, οὐ μὴν ἀναμιτὶ: συστραφέντες γὰρ οἱ 'Ιουδαῖοι καὶ τοὺς ἀμεινον ὁπλισμένους ἑαυτῶι προταξάμενοι μέχρι πλείστου μὲν ἀντέσχον, ἀπαί

496 δ' ἐγκλίναντες2 ἀνέδην διεφθείροντο. καὶ παν τοῖος ἦν αὐτῶν ὀλέθρος, τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καταλαμβανομένων, τῶν δ' εἰς τὰς οἰκίας συνωθοῦ μένων. ὑπεπίμπρασαν δὲ καὶ ταύτας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι

1 πεντακισχίλιοι LVRC Lat.
2 Bekker: δέ ἐκκλίναντες or δε κλίναντες miss.

And prefect (viceroy) of the whole province of Egypt see B. ii. 220 note and iv. 616.

514
colony rose to the rescue; first they hurled stones at the Greeks, and then snatching up torches rushed to the amphitheatre, threatening to consume the assembled citizens in the flames to the last man. And this they would actually have done, had not Tiberius Alexander, the governor of the city,\(^a\) curbed their fury. He first, however, attempted to recall them to reason without recourse to arms, quietly sending the principal citizens to them and entreatling them to desist and not to provoke the Roman army to take action. But the rioters only ridiculed this exhortation and used abusive language of Tiberius.

(8) Understanding then that nothing but the infliction of a severe lesson would quell the rebels, he let loose upon them the two Roman legions stationed in the city,\(^b\) together with two thousand soldiers, who by chance had just arrived from Libya to complete the ruin of the Jews; permission was given them not merely to kill the rioters but to plunder their property and burn down their houses. The troops, thereupon, rushed to the quarter of the city called “Delta,”\(^c\) where the Jews were concentrated, and executed their orders, but not without bloodshed on their own side; for the Jews closing their ranks and putting the best armed among their number in the front offered a prolonged resistance, but when once they gave way, wholesale carnage ensued. Death in every form was theirs; some were caught in the plain, others driven into their houses, to which the Romans set fire after stripping

\(^a\) Cf. § 387 note.
\(^b\) The five quarters of Alexandria were called after the first five letters of the alphabet, two being occupied by Jews (Philo, \textit{In Flaccum}, § 55 Cohn; quoted by Reinach).

515
Τοιούτον μὲν τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλέξανδρείαν πάθος συνηνέχθη. Κερτίω δὲ οὐκέτι ἤρεμειν ἐδόκει πανταχὸς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκπεπολεμώμενων. 

500 ἀναλαβὼν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας τὸ μὲν δωδέκατον τάγμα πλῆρες, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνὸς δισχιλίων ἐπιλέκτους, πεζῶν τε ἐς σπέιρας κατέσσαρας ἵλας ἱππεῖων, πρὸς αῖς τὰς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων συμμαχίας, Ἀντιόχου μὲν δισχιλίους ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοὺς τρισχιλίους, τοξότας πάντας Ἀγρίππα δὲ πεζοὺς μὲν τοὺς ἱσσαὶς ἱππεῖς δὲ δισχιλίων ἔλαττους, ἐπετο δὲ καὶ Σόαμος μετὰ τετρακισχιλίων, δὲν ἴσαν ἱππεῖς ἢ τρίτη μοίρα καὶ τὸ πλέον τοξόται, προῆλθεν εἰς Πτολεμαίδα πλείστοι δὲ κάκτων πόλεων ἐπίκουροι συνελέγη.
them of their contents; there was no pity for infancy, no respect for years: all ages fell before their murderous career, until the whole district was deluged with blood and the heaps of corpses numbered fifty thousand; even the remnant would not have escaped, had they not sued for quarter. Alexander, now moved to compassion, ordered the Romans to retire. They, broken to obedience, ceased massacring at the first signal; but the Alexandrian populace in the intensity of their hate were not so easily called off and were with difficulty torn from the corpses.

(9) Such was the catastrophe which befell the Jews of Alexandria. Cestius, now that on all sides war was being made upon the Jews, decided to remain inactive no longer. He accordingly left Antioch, taking with him the twelfth legion in full strength, two thousand picked men from each of the other legions, and in addition six cohorts of infantry and four squadrons of cavalry; besides these he had the auxiliary contingents furnished by the kings, of which Antiochus supplied two thousand horse and three thousand foot, all archers, Agrippa an equal number of foot and rather less than two thousand horse, Soaemus following with four thousand, of which one-third were cavalry and the majority archers. With these troops he advanced upon Ptolemais. Further auxiliaries in very large numbers were viz. III Gallica, VI Ferrata, X Fretensis, XII Fulminata; Mommsen, Provinces, ii. 63 note.

Cestius Gallus takes the field.

a Antiochus IV, king of Commagene (in N. Syria) from A.D. 38 to 72, when he was deprived of his kingdom on the charge of conspiracy (B. vii. 219 ff.).

b King of Emesa, § 481 note.
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503 οδού καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων ἐξηγούμενος, ἀναλαβὼν δὲ μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως Κέστιος ὤρμησεν ἐπὶ πόλιν καρτερὰν τῆς Γαλιλαίας, Χαβουλῶν 2 κα- λεῖται, διορίζει δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους τὴν Πτολεμαίδα. 504 καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτὴν ἔρημον μὲν ἀνδρῶν, ἀνα- πεφυγεί γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὰ ὅρη, πλήρη δὲ παντοίων κτημάτων, τὰ μὲν ἔφηκεν τοῖς στρατιω- ταῖς διαρπάζειν, τὸ δὲ ἀστύ καίτοι θαυμάσας τοῦ κάλλους, ἔχον τὰς οἰκίας ὀμοίως ταῖς ἐν Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι καὶ Βηρυτῷ δεδομημένας, ἐνέπρησεν. 505 ἔπειτα τὴν χώραν καταδραμὼν καὶ διαρπάζας μὲν πάν τὸ προσπίπτον καταφλέξας δὲ τὰς πέριξ κόμας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν Πτολεμαίδα. πρὸς δὲ ταῖς ἁρπαγαῖς ἔτι τῶν Σύρων ὄντων καὶ τὸ πλέον Βηρυτῶν ἀναθαρσήσαντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ γὰρ ἀποκεχωρηκότα συνίσαν Κέστιον, τοῖς ἀπο- λειφθέισοι ἀδοκήτως ἐπέπεσον καὶ περὶ δισχιλίως αὐτῶν διέφθειραν.

506 (10) Ὅ δὲ Κέστιος ἀναζεύγας ἀπὸ τῆς Πτο- λεμαίδος αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς Καισάρειαν ἄφικενται, μοίραν δὲ τῆς στρατιάς προέπεμψεν εἰς Ἰὸππην, προστάζας, εἰ μὲν καταλαβέσθαι δυνηθεῖν τὴν πόλιν, φουρεῖν, εἰ δὲ προαιροῦντο τὴν ἔφοδον, 507 περιμένειν αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν. τῶν δ' οἱ μὲν κατὰ θάλασσαν οἱ δὲ κατὰ γῆν ἐπει-

1 συμπαρὴν MVRC. 2 Niese (cf. iii. 38): Ζαβουλῶν mss. 3 ἡ (or ᾧ) καλεῖται ἀνδρῶν mss.: ἀνδρῶν has probably come in from the next sentence (Niese). 518
collected from the towns; these, though lacking the experience of the regulars, made good their deficiency in technical training by their ardour and their detestation of the Jews. Agrippa personally accompanied Cestius, to guide and to provide for the interests of the army. With a detachment of these troops, Cestius marched against a fortified city of Galilee, called Chabulon, on the frontier of Ptolemais and Jewish territory. He found it deserted by its inhabitants, who had all fled up into the hills, but stocked with goods of all kinds, which he allowed his soldiers to pillage; the town itself, although he admired its beauty, with its houses built in the style of those at Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus, he set on fire. He next overran the district, sacking everything in his path and burning the surrounding villages, and then returned to Ptolemais. But while the Syrians and in particular those of Berytus were still occupied in pillage, the Jews, understanding that Cestius had departed, recovered courage, and, falling unexpectedly on the troops which he had left behind, killed about two thousand of them.

(10) Leaving Ptolemais and resuming his march, and Joppa, Cestius himself proceeded to Caesarea, but sent forward a detachment of his force to Joppa, with orders to garrison the town, if they succeeded in taking it by surprise, but if the inhabitants obtained previous intelligence of their approach, to await his arrival with the main body. These troops advancing rapidly in two parties, by sea and land, easily carried

a Called Chabolo in the Life, 213, etc., modern Kabul; it probably gave its name to the district presented by Solomon to Hiram (1 Kings ix. 13).
χθέντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν αἱροῦσιν τὴν πόλιν βαδίσας καὶ μηδὲ φυγεῖν φθασάντων τῶν οἰκητῶν, οὕτως παρασκευάσασθαι πρὸς μάχην, ἐμπεσόντες ἀπαντᾶς ἀνείλον σὺν ταῖς γενεαῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν διαρτασάντες ἐνέπρησαν: οὐ δὲ ἀριθμὸς τῶν φοινικοῦ ἄνεντων τετρακόσιοι πρὸς ὀκτακισχίλιοι. ὡμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν ὦμορον τῆς Καισαρείας Ναρβατηνὴν τοποποιῶν ἐπεμψεν συχνοὺς τῶν ἰππέων, οἱ τὴν τε γῆν ἔτεμον καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος διέφθειραν τῶν ἐπιχυρίων, τὰς τε κτήσεις διήρπασαν καὶ τὰς κωμὰς κατέφελεν.

510 (11) Εἰς δὲ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἀπέστειλεν Καὶ- σέννιον Θάλλον ἡγεμόνα τοῦ δωδεκάτου τάγματος, παραδοὺς δύναμιν ὧσπερ ἀρκέσειν πρὸς τὸ έθνος υπελάμβανεν. τούτον ἡ καρτερωτάτη τῆς Γαλι- λαίας πόλις Σεσφωρίς μετ' εὐφημίας δέχεται, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ταῦτης εὐβουλίαν αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις ἄρρεμων. τὸ δὲ στασίωδες καὶ ληστρικόν πᾶν ἐφυγεν εἰς τὸ μεσαίτατον τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὄρος, δὲ κεῖται μὲν ἀντικρὺ τῆς Σεσφώρεως, καλεῖται δὲ Ἀσαμών. τούτοις δὲ Γάλλος ἐπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν.

512 οἱ δ' έως μὲν ἦσαν ὑπερδεξοί, βαδίσας τοὺς 'Ρω- μαίους ἠμύραντο προσιόντας καὶ πρὸς διακοσίους αὐτῶν ἀνείλον, περιελθόντων δὲ καὶ γενομένων ἐν τοῖς ὑψηλοτέροις ἡττῶντο ταχέως, καὶ οὕτε γυμ- νῆτες ὀπλίταις συστάδην ἐφερον οὕτε ἐν τῇ τροπῇ τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐξέφευγον, ὥστε ὀλίγους μὲν ἐν ταῖς δυσχυρίαις διαλαμβεῖν, ἀναιρεθήναι δὲ ὑπὲρ δισ- χιλίους.

513 (xix. 1) Γάλλος μὲν οὖν ὡς οὐδὲν ἐτι ἐώρα κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν νεωτερίζομεν, ὑπέστρεφεν μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰς Καισαρείαν. Κέστιος δὲ 520
the town by an attack on both elements; the inhabitants had no time to fly, much less to prepare for defence, and the Romans, bursting in, slew them all with their families, and sacked and burnt the town; the victims numbered eight thousand four hundred. Cestius likewise dispatched a strong force of cavalry into the toparchy of Narbatene, which borders on Caesarea; these ravaged the country, killed a large number of the inhabitants, pillaged their property and burnt their villages.

(11) To Galilee he sent Caesennius Gallus, commander of the twelfth legion, with such forces as he considered sufficient for the reduction of that province. Sepphoris, the strongest city in Galilee, received Gallus with open arms, and, following the sage advice of this city, the rest remained quiet. All the rebels and brigands in the district fled to the mountain in the heart of Galilee, which faces Sepphoris and is called Asamon; against these Gallus led his troops. So long as the enemy held the superior position, they easily beat off the attacks of the Romans and killed some two hundred of them, but when the Romans turned their flank and gained the higher ground, they were quickly defeated; being lightly armed, they could not sustain the charge of the heavy-armed legionaries, nor when routed outdistance the cavalry; consequently a few only succeeded in concealing themselves in broken ground, while more than two thousand perished.

(xix. 1) Gallus, seeing no further signs of revolt in Galilee, returned with his troops to Caesarea; where-

a Cf. ii. 291.  
\( ^\text{b} \) Unidentified.  
\( ^\text{c} \) Or perhaps "escaping over."

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In the plain of Sharon, north-east of Joppa.

Or perhaps "called after Aphek." Several places of the name are mentioned in the O.T.; this may be the Aphel.
upon Cestius resumed his march with his entire army and entered Antipatris. Learning that a considerable body of Jews had assembled in a tower called Apheku, he sent on a detachment to attack them. Fear, however, dispersed the Jews before any engagement took place; and the Romans, on invading their camp, found it evacuated, and burnt it and the neighbouring villages. From Antipatris Cestius advanced to Lydda and found the city deserted, for the whole population had gone up to Jerusalem for the Feast of Tabernacles. Fifty persons who showed themselves he put to the sword, and after burning down the town resumed his march; and, ascending through Beth-horon, pitched his camp at a place called Gabao, fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem.

(2) The Jews, seeing the war now approaching the capital, abandoned the feast and rushed to arms; and, with great confidence in their numbers, sprang in disorder and with loud cries into the fray, with no thought for the seventh day of rest, for it was the very sabbath which they regarded with special reverence. But the same passion which shook them out of their piety brought them victory in the battle; for with such fury did they fall upon the Romans that they broke and penetrated their ranks, slaughtering the enemy. Had not the cavalry, with a body of infantry which was not so hard pressed as in Sharon (Jos. xii. 18, some LXX mss.), doubtfully identified with el Mejdel, south-east of Caesarea, Ludd, south of Antipatris, at the point where the road from the north joins the route from Joppa via Beth-horon to Jerusalem.

The O.T. Gibeon, modern el Jib, five or six miles northwest of Jerusalem; the distance given in A. vii. 283 is only 40 furlongs (stadia). For Beth-horon see § 547 note. Falling within the week of the Feast of Tabernacles.
JOSEPHUS

ἐκπεριελθόντες ἐπήμυναν καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ μὴ σφόδρα κάμνον, κἂν ἐκινδύνευσεν ὄλῃ τῇ δυνάμει Κέστιος. ἀπέθανον δὲ 'Ῥωμαῖων πεντάκοσιοι δεκαπέντε: τούτων ἦσαν οἱ πετρακόσιοι πεζοὶ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἵππεις: τῶν δὲ 'Ιουδαίων δύο πρὸς τοῖς 520 εἴκοσι. γενναίοτατοί δ' αὐτῶν ἐδοξαζεν οἱ Μονοβάζου τοῦ τῆς 'Αδιαβήνης βασιλέως συγγενεῖς, Μονοβάζος τε καὶ Κενεδαῖος, μεθ' οὗς ο Περαίτης Νίγερ καὶ Σίλας ο Βαβυλώνιος αὐτομολήσας εἰς τοὺς 'Ιουδαίους ἀπ' Ἀγρίππα τοῦ βασιλέως.

521 ἐστρατεύετο γὰρ παρ' αὐτῷ. κατὰ πρόσωπον μὲν οὖν ἀνακοπέντες 'Ιουδαῖοι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὑπέστρεφον, κατόπιν δὲ τοῖς 'Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ τὴν Βεθὼραν' ἀνοίξαν προσπέσσον ὁ τοῦ Γιώρα Σίμων πολὺ τῆς οὐραγίας ἐσπάραξεν καὶ συχνὰ τῶν σκευοφόρων ἀποσπάσας ἤγαγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. 522 μένοντος δὲ τοῦ Κεστίου κατὰ χώραν τρυσίν ἡμέρας οἱ 'Ιουδαῖοι τὰ μετέωρα κατεληφότες ἐπετήρουν τὰς παρόδους, δῆλοι τε ἦσαν οὐκ ἠρμήσοντες ἀρξαμένων τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων ὀδεύειν.

523 (3) Ἔνθα δὴ κατιδὼν Ἀγρίππας οὔδε τὰ 'Ῥωμαίων ἀκίνδυνα, πλήθους ἀπείρου πολεμίων τὰ ὁρη περισχόντος, ἔκρυνεν ἀποπειραθήναι τῶν 'Ιουδαίων λόγοις. ἢ γὰρ πάντας πείσεων καταθέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἢ τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων ἀποστήσειν τὸ 524 μὴ συμφρονοῦν. ἐπεμήνει δὲν τῶν παρ' ἑαυτῷ τοὺς μάλιστα γνωρίμους ἐκείνους, Βόρκιον τε καὶ Φοῖβον, δεξιάς τε παρὰ Κεστίου καὶ συγγνώμην παρὰ 'Ῥωμαίοις ἀσφαλῆ περὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων

1 PAL: Βαθωρῶν the rest.

a King Monobazus, like his brother Izates, whom he had 524
the rest, wheeled round to the relief of the broken line, Cestius and his whole army would have been in jeopardy. The Roman killed were five hundred and fifteen, of whom four hundred were infantry and the rest cavalry; the Jews lost but two and twenty. In the Jewish ranks the most distinguished for valour were Monobazus and Cenedaeus, kinsmen of Monobazus, a king of Adiabene; next to them came Niger of Peraea and Silas the Babylonian, b a deserter to the Jews from the army of King Agrippa. The Jews, when their frontal attack was checked, retired to the city; but from the back of their lines Simon, son of Gioras, fell upon the Romans as they were mounting towards Beth-horon, cut up a large part of their rearguard, and carried off many of the baggage mules, which he brought with him into the city. While Cestius for three days remained in his former quarters, the Jews occupied the heights and kept guard on the defiles, clearly not intending to remain inactive, should the Romans begin to move.

(3) At this juncture, Agrippa, perceiving that, with the enemy in such countless numbers in possession of the surrounding mountains, even a Roman army was in a perilous position, decided to try the effect of parley with the Jews; he hoped either to prevail on all to abandon hostilities, or at least to detach from their opponents those who did not share the views of the war party. He accordingly sent his two friends, whom the Jews knew best, Borcius and Phoebus, with an offer of a treaty on the part of Cestius and of sure pardon for their misdoings on the recently succeeded, and his mother Helena, was a convert to Judaism; cf. § 388 note.

b Probably one of the colony of Babylonian Jews settled in Batanaea (Vita 54 note).
JOSEPHUS

υπισχυόμενος, εἰ τὰ ὁπλα ῥίβαντες πρὸς αὐτοὺς
525 μεταβάλετο. δείκται ἴδιοι οἱ στασιασταῖ, μὴ
πάν τὸ πλῆθος ἁδείας ἐλπίδι πρὸς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν
μεταβάληται, τοὺς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ προσβεύοντας ὥρ-
526 μῆςαν ἀνελείν. καὶ πρὶν ἡ φθέγξασθαι τῶν μὲν
Φοίβων διέφθειραν, ὁ δὲ Βόρκιος τρωθεὶς ἑφθη
διαφυγεῖν τοῦ δήμου δὲ τοὺς ἀγανακτήσαντας
λίθους κἀκεχύλως παῖντες εἰς τὸ ἄστυ συνήλασαν.

527 (4) Κέστιος δὲ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτῶν τα-
ραχὴν εὐκαριοὺν ἵδων εἰς ἐπιθέσεν, ἅπασαν ἐπῆγεν
τὴν δύναμιν κἀκεῖνος μέχρι Ἂσεσολύμων
528 κατεδίωξεν. στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ κα-
λομέμενον Σκοποῦ, διέχει ὁ οὕτος ἔπτα τῆς πόλεως
σταδίους, τρισὶ μὲν ἡμέραις οὐκ ἐπεχείρη τῇ
πόλει, τάχα τι παρὰ τῶν ἐνδοχθήσεθαι
προσδοκῶν, εἰς δὲ τὰς πέριξ κώμας ἐφ’ ἀραπαγή
σίτου πολλοὺς διαφήκεν τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῇ
tετάρτῃ δὲ, ἡτίς ἦν τριακᾶς ἑπερβερεταῖον
μηνός, διατάξας τὴν στρατιὰν εἰσῆγεν εἰς τὴν
529 πόλιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν δήμος ὑπὸ τοὺς στασιασταῖς
ἐμφρούρος ἦν, οἱ δὲ στασιασταὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν τῶν
Ῥωμαίων καταπλαγέντες τῶν μὲν ἐξώ τῆς πόλεως
μερῶν ἐκκο, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐνδοτέρῳ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν
530 ἀνεχώρουν. Κέστιος δὲ παρελθὼν ὑποπύμπησιν
τὴν τε Βεζεθαν προσαγορευμένην τὴν καὶ
1 Κανό-
πολιν καὶ τὸ καλομέμενον Δοκῶν ἄγοραν, ἔπειτα
πρὸς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἔλθων ἀντικρύ τῆς βασιλικῆς
531 αὐλῆς ἐστρατοπεδεύετο. καὶ εἰπερ ἠθέλησεν κατ’

1 τὴν καὶ Ṛ eland: καὶ τὴν mss.

a A hill to the north-west and commanding a "view"

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part of the Romans, if they would lay down their arms and return to their allegiance. But the insurgents, fearing that the prospect of an amnesty would induce the whole multitude to go over to Agrippa, made a murderous assault upon his emissaries. Phoebus was slain before he had uttered a syllable; Borcius was wounded but succeeded in escaping. Any citizens who raised indignant protests were assailed with stones and clubs and driven into the town.

(4) Cestius, seeing that these internal dissensions offered a favourable opportunity for attack, brought up his whole force, routed the enemy, and pursued them to Jerusalem. Having pitched his camp in the region called Scopus, a distant seven furlongs from the city, for three days he suspended all attack upon it, expecting perhaps that the defenders would show signs of surrender; but he sent out to the surrounding villages numerous foraging parties to collect corn. On the fourth day, the thirtieth of the month Hyperberetaeus, he deployed his forces and led them into the city. For the people were at the mercy of the rebels, and the latter, overawed by the orderly discipline of the Romans, abandoned the suburbs and retired upon the inner city and the Temple. Cestius, on entering, set fire to the district known as Bezetha or “New City” and the so-called Timber Market; he then proceeded to the upper city and encamped opposite the royal palace. Had he, at that particular (whence its name) of the city (A. xi. 329, where it is called Saphein).

b November 17, according to Niese’s reckoning.

c They abandoned the unfinished third wall (that of Agrippa I, see § 218) as untenable: Cestius advanced to the second wall, enclosing the upper city; for the northern suburb Bezetha between the two walls cf. § 328.
Josephus

άυτήν ἐκείνην τὴν ὀραν ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν βιάσασθαι, παραυτικά τὴν πόλιν ἔσχεν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον συνέβη καταλεύσθαι1. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ τε στρατο-πεδάρχης Τυράννιος Πρίσκος καὶ τῶν ἐπίπαρχων οἱ πλείστοι χρήμασιν ὑπὸ Φλώρου δεκασθέντες2 ἀπέστρεψαν αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως. καὶ παρὰ τὴν αὐτίαν ταύτην ὁ τε πόλεμος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μήκος προὔβη καὶ ἀνηκέστων Ιουδαίων συμφορῶν ἀναπλησθῆναι συνέπεσεν.

533 (5) Ἕν δὲ τούτῳ πολλοὶ τῶν γυνώρίων δημο-τῶν, Ἀνάων τῷ Ἰωνάθου παϊδὶ πεισθέντες, ἐκάλουν τὸν Κέστιον ὡς ἀνοίξοντες αὐτῷ τὰς πύλασι. 534 ο δὲ καὶ πρὸς ὅργην ὑπεριδὼν καὶ μὴ πάνυ πι-στεύσας διεμέλλεσεν, ἕως οἱ στασισταὶ τὴν προ-δοσίαν αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἀνανον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους κατέβαλον καὶ λίθοι πάιοντες συν-ήλασαν εἰς τὰς οἰκίας, αὐτοὶ δὲ διαστάντες ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων τοὺς ἀποπειρωμένους τοῦ τείχους 535 ἔβαλλον. πέντε μὲν οὖν ήμέραις πάντοθεν ἐπι-χειροῦσιν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀμήχανος ἢ τῇ προσβολῇ, τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ ἀναλαμβάνων ὁ Κέστιος τῶν τε ἐπι-λέκτων συνχυού καὶ τοὺς τοξότας κατὰ τὸ προσ-536 ἀρκτικόν ἐπεχείρει κλίμα τῷ ἵερῳ. Ἰουδαίοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς στοὰς εἰργοῦ, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἀπε-κρούσαντο τοὺς τῷ τειχεῖ προσελθόντας, τέλος δὲ τῷ πλήθει τῶν βελῶν ἀνακοπέντες ἀνεχώρησαν. 537 τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ὁ πρῶτος τοὺς θυρεοὺς ἐξερεί- σαντες εἰς τὸ τείχος καὶ κατὰ τούτων οἱ κατόπιν ἄλλους οἱ τῇ ἐξῆς ὁμοίως τὴν καλουμένην παρ' αὐτοῖς χελώνην ἐφράζαντο, καθ' ὅς τὰ βέλη

καταλέυσθαι P.A.M.L. 2 L: δελεασθέντες the rest. 3 ἐπὶ Bekker, Naber.

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moment, decided to force his way through the walls, he would have captured the city forthwith, and the war would have been over; but his camp-prefect a Tyrannius Priscus, with most of the cavalry commanders, bribed by Florus, diverted him from the attempt. Hence it came about that the war was so long protracted and the Jews drained the cup of irretrievable disaster.

(5) Many of the leading citizens, at the instance of Ananus, son of Jonathan, b now sent an invitation to Cestius, promising to open the gates to him. These overtures, however, partly from anger and disdain, partly because he did not wholly credit them, he hesitated to accept, until the insurgents, discovering the treason, pulled down Ananus and his confederates from the wall and drove them, with showers of stones, into their houses; then, posting themselves on the towers, they kept up a fire on the enemy who were attempting to scale the wall. For five days the Romans pressed their attack on all sides without success; on the sixth Cestius led a large force of picked men with the archers to an assault on the north side of the Temple. The Jews from the roof of the portico resisted the attack and time after time repulsed those who had reached the wall, but at length, overpowered by the hail of missiles, gave way. The front rank of the Romans then planted their bucklers against the wall, those behind them placed theirs upon the first row of shields, and the rest did likewise, forming a screen which they call "the tortoise," c from which the

a Quartermaster-general.
b Jonathan, probably the high-priest and first victim of the sicarii (§ 256).
c testudo.
ferómeva periwliástavēn áprrakta, μηδὲν δ’ οἱ στρατιώται κακούμενοι τὸ τείχος ὑπέσυρον καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὴν πύλην ὑποπιμπράναι παρεσκευάζοντο.

538 (6) Δεινὴ δὲ τοὺς στασιαστὰς ἐκπλήξις κατ-έλαβεν, ήδη τε ἁπλοὶ διεδίδρασκον ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ὡς ἀλωσομένης αὐτίκα. τὸν δὲ δήμου ἐπὶ τούτοις συνέβανεν θαρρεῖν, καὶ καθ’ παρείκοιεν οἱ πονηροὶ, προσῆσαν αὐτοὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξοντες καὶ δεξόμενοι τὸν Κέστιον ὡς εὐεργέ

539 την. ὅς εἰ βραχὺ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ προσελπάρησεν, κἀν εὐθέως τὴν πόλιν παρέλαβεν· ἀλλ’ οἶμαι διὰ τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀπεστραμμένος ὁ θεὸς ήδη καὶ τὰ ἁγια, τέλος λαβεῖν ἐπ’ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκώλυσεν τὸν πόλεμον.

540 (7) Ὅ γονι Κέστιος, οὔτε τὴν τῶν πολιορκου-μένων ἀπόγνωσιν οὔτε τοῦ δήμου τὸ φρόνημα συνιδὼν, ἔξαίφνης ἀνεκάλεσεν τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ καταγνώς ἐπ’ οὐδεμία πληγῇ τῶν ἐλπίδων παραλογώτατα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀνέξευξεν. πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀδόκητον αὐτοῦ τροπήν ἀναθαρσήσαντες οἱ λησταὶ κατὰ τῶν ὑστάτων ἐπέξεδραμον καὶ 541 συνχῶν τῶν ἐππέων καὶ πεζῶν διέθειραν. τότε μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν Σκοπὸν αὐλίζεται στρατο-πέδω Κέστιος, τῇ δ’ ἐπινούσῃ προσωτέρῳ κωρι-ζόμενος μᾶλλον ἐξεκαλέσατο τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τοὺς ὑστάτους αὐτοὶ προσκείμενοι διέθειραν καὶ καθ’ ἐκάτερον τῆς ὁδοῦ περιώντες ἰκόντιζον εἰς πλαγίους. οὔτε δὲ ἐπιστραφὴν πρὸς τοὺς κατ-όπιν τιτρώσκοντας θάρρους οἱ τελευταῖοι, ἀπειρόν τι πλῆθος οἰόμενοι διώκειν, καὶ τοὺς κατὰ πλευρὸν ἐγκειμένους ἀναστέλλειν οὐχ ὑπέμενον,

1 Destinon: δὲ mss.
missiles, as they fell, glanced off harmlessly, while the soldiers with immunity undermined the wall and prepared to set fire to the gate of the Temple.

(6) A terrible panic now seized the insurgents, many of whom were already slinking out of the city in the belief that it was on the verge of capture. The people\(^a\) thereupon took heart again, and the more the miscreants gave ground, the nearer did these advance to the gates, to open them and welcome Cestius as a benefactor. Had he but persisted for a while with the siege, he would have forthwith taken the city; but God, I suppose, because of those miscreants, had already turned away even from His sanctuary and ordained that that day should not see the end of the war.

(7) At any rate, Cestius, realizing neither the despair of the besieged nor the true temper of the people, suddenly recalled his troops, renounced his hopes, without having suffered any reverse, and, contrary to all calculation, retired from the city. On this unexpected retreat, the brigands, plucking up courage, sallied out upon his rear and killed a considerable number of cavalry and infantry. Cestius passed that night in his camp at Scopus. The following day, by continuing his retreat, he invited further opposition from the enemy; hanging upon his heels they cut up his rear, and enclosing the troops on either side of the route poured their missiles on the flanks of the column. The rear ranks did not dare to round upon those who were wounding them from behind, supposing that they were pursued by an innumerable host; nor did the rest venture to beat off those who were pressing their flanks, being heavily

\(^a\) i.e. the moderates.
JOSEPHUS

αυτόι μὲν οὖν βαρεῖς καὶ δεδοικότες τῷν τάξιν διασπάν, τοὺς δὲ Ἰουδαίους ὄρωντες κοῦφους καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς εὐκόλους· ώστε συνέβαινεν αὐτοῖς πολλὰ κακοῦσθαι μηδὲν ἀντιβλάπτουσιν τούς ἐχθροὺς. παρ’ ὅλην δὲ τὴν ὄδον παιόμενοι καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος ἐκσειόμενοι κατέπιπτον, μέχρι πολλῶν διαφθαρέντων, ἐν οἷς ἦν Πρίσκος μὲν στρατάρχης τάγματος ἐκτού, Λογγύνος δὲ χιλιαρχός, ἔπαρχος δὲ ᾽Ιλής Λιμίλιος Ἰουκουνδος ὄνομα, μόλις εἰς Γαβαὼν1 κατήντησαν ἐπὶ τὸ πρότερον στρατόπεδον, τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν σκευῶν ἀποβα- λόντες. ἐνθα δύο μὲν ἡμέρας ἐπέμεινεν ὁ Κέστιος ἀμηχανῶν, ὁ τι χρή ποιεῖν, τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ πολλῶν πλείους τοὺς πολεμίους θεασάμενος καὶ πάντα τὰ κύκλῳ μεστὰ Ἰουδαίων, ἔγνω καθ᾿ ἐαυτοῦ τε βραδύνας κἂν ἐπὶ μείνῃ πλείοσιν χρησόμενοι ἐχθροῖς.

546 (8) "Ἰνα δὴ" συντονωτέρα 3 χρήσαιτο φυγῇ, τὰ τὴν στρατιάν ἀνθέλκοντα περικόπτειν προσέταξεν. διαφθαρέντων δὲ τῶν τε ὅρεων καὶ τῶν ὄνων ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων, πλὴν ὥσα βέλη παρεκόμιζεν καὶ μηχανάς, τούτων γὰρ διὰ τὴν χρεῖαν περιείχοντο καὶ μάλιστα δεδοικότες μὴ Ἰουδαῖοις κατ᾿ αὐτῶν ἀλῶ, προῆγε τὴν δύναμιν κατὰ 4 Βαιθώρων. 547 οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι κατὰ μὲν τὰς εὐρυχωρίας ἤττον ἐπέκειστο, συνελήθεντων δὲ εἰς τὰ στενὰ καὶ τῆς κατάβασιν οἱ μὲν φθάσαντες εἰργὸν αὐτοὺς τῆς

1 Γαβαὼν PA (cf. § 516). 2 L Lat. (itaque): δὲ the rest. 3 Dindorf: συντονωτέρα mss. 4 ἐπὶ VRC.

— Perhaps identical with Jucundus, the cavalry commander at Caesarea, § 291.
— From Upper Beth-horon (1730 feet) to Lower Beth-horon (1240 feet); this famous pass has been the scene of numerous defeats (G. A. Smith, Historical Geography of the

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armed themselves and afraid of opening out their ranks, while the Jews, as they saw, were light-armed and prepared to dash in among them. The result was that they suffered heavily, without any retaliation upon their foes. All along the route men were continually being struck, torn from the ranks, and dropping on the ground. At length, after numerous casualties, including Priscus, the commander of the sixth legion, Longinus, a tribune, and Aemilius Jucundus,⁠a commander of a troop of horse, with difficulty the army reached their former camp at Gabao, having further abandoned the greater part of their baggage. Here Cestius halted for two days, uncertain what course to pursue; but, on the third, seeing the enemy’s strength greatly increased and all the surrounding country swarming with Jews, he decided that the delay had been detrimental to him and, if further prolonged, would but increase the number of his foes.

(8) To accelerate the retreat, he gave orders to retrench all impedimenta. So the mules, asses, and all the beasts of burthen were killed, excepting those that carried missiles and engines of war; these they clung to for their own use, and, still more, from fear of their falling into Jewish hands and being employed against themselves. Cestius then led his army on down the road to Beth-horon. On the open ground their movements were less harassed by the Jews, but, once the Romans became involved in the defiles and had begun the descent,⁠b one party of the enemy went ahead of them and barred their egress, another Holy Land, 210 f.). It was down this same road from Gibeon on the plateau (2300 feet), through the two Beth-horons, to the maritime plain that Joshua pursued the five Canaanite kings (Jos. x. 10 f.).
εξόδου, ἀλλοι δὲ τοὺς ὑστάτους κατεώθουν εἰς τὴν φάραγγα: τὸ δὲ πάν πλῆθος παρεκταθὲν ὑπὲρ τὸν αὐχένα τῆς ὁδοῦ κατεκάλυπτε τὴν φάλαγγα τοῖς 548 βέλεσιν. ἔνθα καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ἀμηχανοῦντων προσαμύνειν ἐαυτοῖς ἐπισφαλέστερος τοῖς ἵππεσιν ὁ κίνδυνος ἦν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν ταξιν κατὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ βαδίζειν ἐδύναντο βαλλόμενοι, καὶ τὸ πρόσαντες 549 ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰππάσμιον οὐκ ἦν· τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα κρήμνοι καὶ φάραγγες, εἰς οὓς ἀποσφαλεύτες κατεφθείροντο. καὶ οὔτε φυγῆς τις τόπον οὔτε ἀμύνης εἴχεν ἐπίνοιαν, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ ἀμηχανίας ἐπὶ οἰμωγῆν ἐτράποντο καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἀπογνώσεσιν ὀδυρμοὺς· ἀντίχεις δ’ αὐτοῖς τὸ παρὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐγκέλευσμα καὶ κραυγὴ χαιρόντων ἁμα καὶ τεθυ-550 μωμένων. ὄλιγον δὲ δειν πᾶσαν ἃν ἥρπασαν τὴν ἁμα Κέστιος δύναμιν, εἰ μὴ νῦξ ἐπέλαβεν, ἐν ἦ 'Ρωμαίοι μὲν εἰς τὴν Βεθλέεμ κατέφυγον, Ἰου-δαίοι δὲ πάντα τὰ κύκλῳ περισχόντες ἐφρούρων αὐτών τὴν ἐξόδουν.

551 (9) "Ενθα δὴ Κέστιος τὴν φανερὰν ὁδὸν ἀπο-γινόμεν δραμόν ἐβουλεύετο, καὶ διακρίνας τοὺς εὐψυχότατους στρατιώτας ὑσεῖ τετρακοσίους ἐπέ-έστησεν τῶν δωμάτων, προστάξας ἀναβοάν τὰ σημεία τῶν ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις φυλάκων, ὅπως [οἱ 1] Ἰουδαίοι πᾶσαν οἰωναὶ τὴν δύναμιν κατὰ χώραν μέειν· αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀναλαβὼν 552 ἱσυχῇ τριάκοντα πρόεισιν σταδίους. ἐσθεν δὲ Ἰουδαίοι κατιδόντες ἐρήμον τὴν ἔπαυλιν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐξαπατήσαντας τετρακοσίους ἐδραμόν, κακεύνους μὲν ταχέως κατηκόντισαν, ἐδίωκον δὲ 553 τὸν Κέστιον. ο δὲ τῆς τε νυκτὸς οὐκ ὄλιγον

1 om. P.
drove the rearguard down into the ravine, while the main body lined the heights above the narrowest part of the route and covered the legions with showers of arrows. Here, while even the infantry were hard put to it to defend themselves, the cavalry were in still greater jeopardy; to advance in order down the road under the hail of darts was impossible, to charge up the slopes was impracticable for horse; on either side were precipices and ravines, down which they slipped and were hurled to destruction; there was no room for flight, no conceivable means of defence; in their utter helplessness the troops were reduced to groans and the wailings of despair, which were answered by the war-whoop of the Jews, with mingled shouts of exultation and fury. Cestius and his entire army were, indeed, within an ace of being captured; only the intervention of night enabled the Romans to find refuge in Beth-horon. The Jews occupied all the surrounding points and kept a lookout for their departure.

(9) Cestius, now despairing of openly pursuing his march, laid plans for secret flight. Selecting about four hundred of his bravest men, he posted them upon the roofs, with orders to shout out the watchwords of the camp-sentinels, that the Jews might think that the whole army was still on the spot; he himself with the remainder then stealthily advanced another thirty furlongs. At daybreak the Jews, discovering that the enemy's quarters were deserted, rushed upon the four hundred who had deluded them, rapidly dispatched them with their javelins, and then hastened in pursuit of Cestius. He had gained much

* The lower Beth-horon at the foot of the pass.
προειλήφει καὶ συντονώτερον ἐφευγεν μεθ' ἡμέραν, ὡστε τοὺς στρατιώτας ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως καὶ δέονς τὰς τε ἐλεπόλεις καὶ τοὺς ὀξυβελεῖς καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὀργάνων καταλιπέιν, ἀ τότε Ἰουδαίοι λαβόντες αὕθες ἔχρησαντο κατὰ τῶν ἀφέντων.

554 προῆλθον δὲ τοὺς 'Ρωμαίους διώκοντες μέχρις Ἀντιπατρίδος. ἐπειθ' ὡς οὐ κατελάμβανον, ὑποστρέφοντες τὰς τε μηχανὰς ἤρων καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐσύλων, τὴν τε ἀπολειφθείσαν λείαν συνήγον καὶ μετὰ παιᾶνων εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν ἐπαλινδρόμουν,

555 αὐτοὶ μὲν ὀλίγους ἀποβεβλημένου παντάπασιν, τῶν δὲ 'Ρωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων πεζοὺς μὲν πεντακυσχίους καὶ τριακοσίους ἀνήρικότες, ἐπεῖς δὲ ὀγδοϊκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίους. τάδε μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη Δίου μηνὸς ὀγδόη, δωδεκάτω τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας ἔτει.

556 (xx. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Κεστίου συμφοράν πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν Ἰουδαίων ὡσπερ βαπτιζομένης νεῶς ἀπενίχοντο τῆς πόλεως. Κοστόβαρος γοῦν καὶ Σάουλος ἀδελφοὶ σὺν Φιλίππῳ τῷ Ἰακίμῳ, στρατοπεδάρχης δ' ἐν οὕτος �&nbsp;Ἀγρίππα τοῦ βασιλέως, διαδράντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑχοντο πρὸς

557 Κέστιον· οδὲ σὺν τούτοις κατὰ τὴν βασιλικὴν αὐλὴν πολιορκηθεὶς Ἀντίπασ ὑπεριδὼν τὴν φυγὴν αὕθες ως ὠπὸ τῶν στασιαστῶν διεφθάρη δηλώθησομεν. Φ. Κέστιος δὲ τοὺς περὶ Σάουλον ἀξιῶσαντας ἀνέπεμψεν εἰς Ἀχαϊαν πρὸς Νέρωνα τὴν τε αὐτῶν

1 PL: τριακοσίους the rest and Heg.: nongentis Lat.

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α November 25 (Nie5e).
upon them during the night, and, when day came, quickened his flight to such a pace that the men in consternation and terror abandoned the battering-rams, catapults, and most of the other machines, which the Jews then captured and afterwards employed against those who had relinquished them. The Jews continued the pursuit as far as Antipatris, and then, failing to overtake the Romans, turned and carried off the machines, plundered the corpses, collected the booty which had been left on the route, and, with songs of triumph, retraced their steps to the capital. Their own losses had been quite inconsiderable; of the Romans and their allies they had slain five thousand three hundred infantry and four hundred and eighty of the cavalry. This action took place on the eighth of the month Dius in the twelfth \(^b\) year of Nero’s principate.

(xx. 1) After this catastrophe of Cestius many distinguished Jews abandoned the city as swimmers desert a sinking ship. Thus the brothers Costobar and Saul\(^c\) with Philip,\(^d\) son of Jacimus, prefect of king Agrippa’s army, fled from Jerusalem and joined Cestius. We shall tell later\(^e\) how Antipas, who had been besieged with them in the royal palace and disdained to fly, was killed by the rebels. Cestius dispatched Saul and his companions, at their request, to Nero in Achaia, to inform him of the straits to

\(^b\) As the date of the accession of Nero was 13 October 54, it appears probable that Josephus is slightly in error, and that the battle of Beth-horon took place early in his thirteenth year.  
\(^c\) § 418. 
\(^d\) Philip had escaped from Jerusalem after the siege of the palace (\emph{Vita} 46 ff.), and we are not told that he had returned. 
\(^e\) iv. 140.
δηλώσοντας ἀνάγκην καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου τρέψοντας εἰς Φλώρουν τὴν γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐκείνων ὀργὴν κουφίσειν καὶ τοὺς έαυτοῦ κινδύνους ἤλπισεν.

559 (2) Καὶ τοῦτῳ Δαμασκηνοὶ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων φθοράν πυθόμενοι τοὺς παρ’ έαυτοῖς 'Ιουδαίους ἀνελεῖν ἐσπούδασαν. καὶ καθὸ μὲν εἶχον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ συνηθροισμένους πάλαι, διὰ τὰς ὑποψίας τοῦτο πραγματευσάμενοι, ῥάστην τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐδόκοκεν, ἐδεδοικείοσαν δὲ τὰς έαυτῶν γυναῖκας ἀπάσας πλὴν ὀλίγων ὑπηγμένας τῇ

560 'Ιουδαϊκῇ θρησκείᾳ: διὸ μέγιστος αὐτοῖς ἁγών ἐγένετο λαθεῖν ἐκείνας, τοὺς δὲ 'Ιουδαίους ὡς ἂν ἐν στενῷ χωρίῳ, τὸν ἁρίθμον μυρίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, πάντας ἀνόπλους ἐπελθόντες ὑπὸ μίαν ὥραν ἄδειος ἀπέσφαξαν.

562 (3) Οἳ δὲ διώξαντες τὸν Κέστιον ὡς ὑπεστρεψαν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, τοὺς μὲν βία τῶν ἐπὶ ρωμαίζόντων τοὺς δὲ πειθοὶ προσήγοντο, καὶ συναθροισθέντες εἰς τὸ ίερὸν στρατηγοὺς ἀπεδείκνυσαν τοῦ πολέμου πλείονας. ἢρέθη δὲ Ἰωσηπός τε νῦν Γωρίνος καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς 'Ανανος τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀπαίτων αὐτοκράτορες καὶ μάλιστα τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως ἀνεγείρειν τὸν γὰρ τοῦ Σίμωνος νῦν Ἐλεάζαρον, καὶ περ ὑπὲρ έαυτῶν πεποιθεμένου τὴν Ῥωμαίων λείαν καὶ τὰ ἀρπαγέντα Κέστιον χρήματα, πρὸς οἷς πολλὰ τῶν δημοσίων θησαυρῶν, ὀμοι ὡς οὖν ἐπέστησαν ταῖς χρείαις.

α i.e. ex-high priest. Ananus, son of Ananus (the father seems to be the Annas of the N.T.), a Sadducee, was appointed high priest by Agrippa II and deposed after three months on account of his action in punishing James the brother of "Jesu-called Christ" (A. xx. 19ff.). The harsh character there given of him forms a strange contrast to the
which they were reduced, and to lay upon Florus the responsibility for the war; for he hoped, by exciting Nero's resentment against Florus, to diminish the risk to himself.

(2) Meanwhile, the people of Damascus, learning of the disaster which had befallen the Romans, were fired with a determination to kill the Jews who resided among them. As they had for a long time past kept them shut up in the gymnasium—a precaution prompted by suspicion—they considered that the execution of their plan would present no difficulty whatever; their only fear was of their own wives who, with few exceptions, had all become converts to the Jewish religion, and so their efforts were mainly directed to keeping the secret from them. In the end, they fell upon the Jews, cooped up as they were and unarmed, and within one hour slaughtered them all with impunity, to the number of ten thousand five hundred.

(3) The Jews who had pursued Cestius, on their return to Jerusalem, partly by force, partly by persuasion, brought over to their side such pro-Romans as still remained; and, assembling in the Temple, appointed additional generals to conduct the war. Joseph, son of Gorion, and Ananus the high priest were elected to the supreme control of affairs in the city, with a special charge to raise the height of the walls. As for Eleazar, son of Simon, notwithstanding that he had in his hands the Roman spoils, the money taken from Cestius, and a great part of the public treasure, they did not entrust him with office, picture drawn of him in the War. Here he is a leader of the moderate party, opposes the Zealots, and on being murdered by the mob receives an encomium worthy of a Pericles (B. iv. 319 ff.).
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αὐτὸν τε τυραννικὸν ὀρῶντες καὶ τοὺς ὑπ᾿ αὐτῷ
565 ξηλωτὰς δορυφόρων ἔθεσι χρωμένους. κατ᾿ οὖν
γε μὴν ἢ τε χρεία τῶν χρημάτων καὶ γοητεύων
Εἰλεάζαρος ἐκπεριήλθε τὸν δήμον ὡστε αὐτῷ
πειθαρχεῖν περὶ τῶν ὄλων.

566 (4) Εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἑτέρους ἐπελέξαντο
στρατηγοὺς Ἰησοῦν υἱὸν Σαμφά1 τῶν ἀρχιερέων
ἐνα καὶ Ἐἰλεάζαρον ἀρχιερέως υἱὸν Νέου2. τῷ δὲ
ἀρχινύτο τότε τῆς Ἰδουμαίας Νίγερι, γένος δ᾿ ἦν
ἐκ τῆς ὑπὲρ3 Ἰορδάνην Περαιάς, διὸ καὶ Περαιῆς
ἐκαλεῖτο, προσέταξαν ὑποτάσσεσθαι τοῖς στρα-
567 τηγοῖς. ἦμελουν δὲ οὐδὲ τῆς ἄλλης χώρας, ἄλλ᾿
eis μεν Ἰεριχοῦν Ἰώσηπος ὁ Σίμωνος, εἰς δὲ τὴν
Περαιὰν Μανασσῆς, Θαμνᾶ δὲ τοπαρχίας Ἰωάννης
ὁ Ἑσσᾶίος στρατηγῆσαι ἐπέμφθη: προσκεκλήρωτο
568 δ᾿ αὐτῷ Λῦδδα καὶ Ἰοππη καὶ Ἀμμαοῦς. τῆς δὲ
Γοφνιτίκης καὶ Ἀκραβέτσησι ὁ Ἀνανίῳ Ἰωάννης
ηγεμὼν ἀποδείκνυται καὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἑκατέρας
Ἰώσηπος Μαθίου: προσώριστο δὲ τῇ τούτων
στρατηγία καὶ Γάμαλα τῶν ταύτη πόλεων ὀχυ-
ρωτάτη.

569 (5) Τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν ἑκαστος ὡς
εἰχεν προθυμίας ἦ συνέσεως διώκει τὰ πεπι-
στευμένα: Ἰώσηπος δὲ εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐλθών

1 Niese: Σαμφά or Σαμφάν mss.: Σαμφία Hudson (cf.
§ 599).
2 Ἀνανίων Hudson.
3 Niese: περὶ mss.

a No high priest of this name is known; if we read
Ananias with Hudson, Eleazar will be the son of Ananias
already mentioned as mainly responsible for the war (§ 409).
b § 520.
c i.e. his province was the north and west of Judaea.
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because they observed his despotic nature, and that his subservient admirers conducted themselves like his bodyguard. Gradually, however, financial needs and the intrigues of Eleazar had such influence with the people that they ended by yielding the supreme command to him.

(4) Other generals were selected for Idumaea, namely, Jesus son of Sapphas, one of the chief priests, and Eleazar, son of the high-priest Neus; and the existing governor of Idumaea, Niger, called the Peraean because he was a native of Peraea beyond Jordan, received instructions to act under the orders of these officers. Nor were the other districts neglected; Joseph, son of Simon, was sent to take command at Jericho, Manasseh to Peraea, John the Essene to the province of Thamna, with Lydda, Joppa and Emmaus also under his charge. John, son of Ananias, was appointed commanding officer of the provinces of Gophna and Acrabetta; Josephus, son of Matthias was given the two Galilees, with the addition of Gamala, the strongest city in that region.

(5) Each of these generals executed his commission to the best of his zeal or ability. As for Josephus, on his arrival in Galilee, he made it his first care to

Thamna is in the region of Mt. Ephraim; for Emmaus see § 71 note.

\[i.e.\] of the N.E. of Judaea.

The historian. In his *Life* § 29, he tells us that his commission was of a purely pacific nature—to disarm the disaffected. There is a noticeable change in the character and style of the narrative where the historian turns to his personal history and seems to take the pen into his own hand; the marks of the skilled assistant whose services he has hitherto employed (*Ap. i. 50*) are less conspicuous.

In Gaulanitis, east of the sea of Galilee.
πρώτον ἐφροντίσεν τής εἰς ἑαυτὸν εὐνοίας τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, εἰδὼς ὅτι ταύτη πλείστα κατορθώσει, 570 καὶ τὰλλα διαμαρτάνη. συνιδὼν δ' ὅτι τοὺς μὲν δυνατοὺς οἰκεῖωσεται μεταδίδουσ τῆς ἐξουσίας αὐτοῖς, τὸ δὲ πᾶν πλῆθος, εἰ δὲ ἐπιχωρίων καὶ συνήθων τὰ πολλὰ προστάσσοι, τῶν μὲν γηραιῶν ἐβδομήκοντα τοὺς σωφρονεστάτους ἐπιλέγας ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους κατέστησεν ἀρχοντὰς ὅλης τῆς Γαλι- 571 λαίας, ἐπτὰ δ' ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει δικαστὰς τῶν εὐτελεστέρων διαφόρων, τὰ γὰρ μείζων πράγματα καὶ τὰς φονικὰς δίκας ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἀναπέμπειν ἐκέλευσεν καὶ τοὺς ἐβδομήκοντα.

572 (6) Καταστησάμενος δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους νόμμα τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξωθεῖν αὐτῶν ἀσφάλειαν ἐχώρει. καὶ γυνώσκων Ἐρωμαίους προεμβαλοῦντας εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαϊὰν τάπιτηδεία τῶν χωρίων ἐπεἰξῆς, Ἰωτάπατα μὲν καὶ Βήρσαβε καὶ Σελάμην, ἔτι δὲ Καφαρεκχῶ καὶ Ἰαφα καὶ Σιγωφ τὸ πε Ἰταβύρων καλομένου ὅρος καὶ Ταρχαίας καὶ Τιβεριάδα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὰ περὶ Γεννησάρ τὴν λίμνην σπῆλαια κατὰ τὴν κάτω καλομένην Γαλιλαϊάν ἐπεὶχήσατο, τῆς δὲ ἄνω Γαλιλαίας τὴν πε προσαγορευμένην Ἀκχαβάρων ἅπτραν καὶ Σεπφ καὶ Ἡσενεθ καὶ Μηρῳ. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Γαυλαντικὴν Σελεύκειαν τε καὶ Ἡσυγαναίαν καὶ Γάμμαλαν ὑξύρωσεν· μόνοις δὲ Σεπφωρίταις ἐφήκε ἐὰν τοὺς τεῖχος ἀναδείμαιναι, χρη- μάτων τε εὐπόρους ὀρῶν ὄντας καὶ προθυμούσ

1 Bekker: ἔφη PAL: ἀφήκε the rest (Josephus uses ἐφιέναι, not ἀφίέναι, in this sense).

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win the affection of the inhabitants, knowing that this would be of the greatest advantage to him, however he might otherwise fail. He realized that he would conciliate the leaders by associating them with him in his authority, and the people at large, if his orders were in the main given through the medium of their local acquaintances. He, therefore, selected from the nation seventy persons of mature years and the greatest discretion and appointed them magistrates of the whole of Galilee, and seven individuals in each city to adjudicate upon petty disputes, with instructions to refer more important matters and capital cases to himself and the seventy.

(6) Having established these principles for the internal regulation of the various towns, he proceeded to take measures for their security from external attack. Foreseeing that Galilee would bear the brunt of the Romans' opening assault, he fortified the most suitable places, namely, Jotapata, Bersabe, Selame, Caphareccho, Japha, Sigoph, the mount called Itabyrion, Tarichaeae, and Tiberias; he further provided with walls the caves in Lower Galilee in the neighbourhood of the lake of Genesareth and in Upper Galilee the rock known as Acchabaron, Seph, Jamnith, and Mero. In Gaulanitis he fortified Seleucia, Soganaea and Gamala. The inhabitants of Sepphoris alone were authorized by him to erect walls on their own account, because he saw that they were in affluent circumstances and,

\[\textit{\textsuperscript{a}}\] Cf. \textit{Vita} 79. \hspace{1cm} \textit{\textsuperscript{b}} Mt. Tabor.

\[\textit{\textsuperscript{c}}\] This enumeration of fortified places is repeated, with some variations, in \textit{Vita} 187 f.; the "caves" are there identified as those of Arbela (see B. i. 304 f.).
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575 ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον δίχα προστάγματος. ὄμοιως δὲ καὶ Γίσχαλα Ἰωάννης ὁ Λητὸν καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἔτειχιζεν Ἰωσήπου κελεύσαντος· τοῖς δ’ ἄλλοις ἐρύμασιν ἀπασιν αὐτὸς συμπονών ἀμα καὶ προσ-
576 τάσσαν παρῆν. κατέλεξεν δὲ καὶ δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὑπὲρ δέκα μυριάδας νέων ἀνδρῶν, οὓς πάντας ἐκ τῶν συλλεγομένων παλαιῶν ὀπλῶν ἐγκατασκευάζομενος ὠπλίζεν.

577 (7) Ἐπειτα συνιδὼν ἀʹττητον τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἱσχύν γεγενημένην εὐπειθείᾳ μάλιστα καὶ μελέτη τῶν ὀπλῶν, τὴν μὲν διδασκαλίαν ἀπέγνω τῇ χρείᾳ διωκομένην, τὸ δ’ εὐπειθεῖς ὄργῳ περιγνο-
578 μεν εἰς τὸν πλήθους τῶν ἡγεμόνων Ῥωμαίων ἐκτεμνε τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ πλείους καθίστατο
579 ταξιάρχους. στρατιωτῶν τε γὰρ ἀπεδείκνυεν δια-
580 φοράς, καὶ τούτων μὲν ὑπέτασσεν δεκαδάρχαις καὶ ἐκατοντάρχαις, ἐπειτα χιλιάρχους, κατὶ τού-
τους ἡγεμόνας ταγμάτων ἁδροτέρων ἀφηγοῦν
581 μένους. ἐδίδασκεν δὲ σημείων παραδόσεις καὶ
582 σάλπιγγος προκλήσεις τε καὶ ἀνακλήσεις, προσ-
583 βολάς τε κεράτων καὶ περιαγωγάς, καὶ πῶς δὲ
584 πρὸς μὲν τὸ κάρμον ἐπιστρέφειν ἐκ τοῦ περίοντος
585 εἰς δὲ τῷ πονοῦντι συμπαθεῖν. ὃσα τε εἰς παρὰ
586 στασιν ὑψηλὴ ἡ καρτερίαν συνετέλει σώματο
587 ἀφήγειτο· μάλιστα δ’ αὐτοὺς ἤσκει πρὸς τὸ τὸ
588 πόλεμον παρ’ ἐκαστὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων εὐταξίαν
589 διηγοῦμενος, καὶ ὡς πολεμήσουσιν πρὸς ἄνδρας
586 οἱ δ’ ἀλκήν σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς παράστημι

1 C: most mss. add τε.

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This conflicts with the account in the Life (§§ 30, etc. which represents Sepphoris as consistently pro-Roman; cf. B. ii. 511 (the welcome given to the Romans).
even without orders, eager for hostilities. Similarly, John, son of Levi, fortified Gischala at his own expense, on the instruction of Josephus. The other fortresses were all built under the personal superintendence of Josephus, who both assisted in and directed the operations. He, moreover, levied in Galilee an army of upwards of a hundred thousand young men, all of whom he equipped with old arms collected for the purpose.

(7) Another task remained. He understood that the Romans owed their invincible strength above all to discipline and military training; if he despaired of providing similar instruction, to be acquired only by long use, he observed that their discipline was due to the number of their officers, and he therefore divided his army on Roman lines and increased the number of his company commanders. He instituted various ranks of soldiers and set over them decurions and centurions, above whom were tribunes, and over these generals in command of more extensive divisions. He taught them the transmission of signals, the trumpet-calls for the charge and the retreat, attacks by the wings and enveloping manoeuvres, how relief should be sent by the victorious portion to those who were hard pressed and aid extended to any in distress. He expounded all that conduces to fortitude of soul or bodily endurance; but above all he trained them for war by continually dwelling upon the good order maintained by the Romans and telling them that they would have to fight against men who by their vigour and intrepidity

\[b\] On the contrary the Life states that John was the enemy of Josephus and fortified Gischala without consulting him (§§ 45, 189).
581 πάσης ὀλίγον δεῖν τῆς οἰκουμένης κρατοῦσιν. ἔφη
dὲ πείραν αὐτῶν λήψεσθαι τῆς κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον
πειθαρχίας καὶ πρὸ παρατάξεως, εἰ τῶν συνήθων
ἀδικημάτων ἀπόσχιστο, κλοπῆς τε καὶ ληστείας
καὶ ἀρπαγῆς, τούτῳ τε ἐξαπατάν τὸ ὀμόφυλον, τούτῳ
τε κέρδος οἰκεῖον ἥγεσθαι τὴν βλάβην τῶν συν-
582 ἱθεστάτων. διουκείονται γὰρ κάλλιστα τοὺς πο-
λέμους παρ᾽ οἷς ἄν ἀγαθὸν τὸ συνείδος ἔχωσιν
[πάντες]² οἱ στρατευόμενοι, τοὺς δὲ οὐκοθεν φαύ-
λους οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἐπικούσιν ἐχθροῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ
θεῷ χρῆσθαι πολεμῖς.

583 (8) Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα παραινέω διετέλει. καὶ τὸ
μὲν ἔτοιμον εἰς παράταξιν αὐτῷ συνεκεκρότητο
πεζῶν μὲν ἔξις μυριάδες, ἵππεῖς δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ
τριακόσιοι,³ χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, οἷς ἐπεποίθει
μάλιστα, μισθοφόροι περὶ πετρακισχύλιοι καὶ
πεντακόσιοι: ἐπιλέκτους δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν εἴχεν
584 ἔξακοσίους φύλακας τοῦ σώματος. ἔτρεφον δὲ
πλὴν τῶν μισθοφόρων τῆς ἄλλης στρατιάν αἱ
πόλεις ῥαδίως: τῶν γὰρ καταλεγέντων ἐκάστη
tους ἡμίσεις ἔπι τὴν στρατείαν⁴ ἐκπέμπουσα τοὺς
λοιποὺς ἐπὶ συμπορισμὸν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων
κατείχεν, ὡς τοὺς μὲν εἰς ὀπλὰ, τοὺς δὲ εἰς
ἐργασίαν διηρήσατο, καὶ τοῖς τὰ σίτα πέμπουσιν
ἀντιχωρηγεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.

585 (xxi. 1) Διοικοῦντι δ᾽ οὕτως τῷ Ἰωσήφῳ τὰ
cατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν παρανίσταται τις ἐπίβουλος
ἀνήρ ἀπὸ Γισχάλων, υἱὸς Λησίου, Ἰωάννης ὄνομα,
pανουργότατος μὲν καὶ δολιώτατος τῶν ἐπισήμων

¹ τοῦ τε Dindorf: τὸ, τοῦ or τὸ τε the best mss.
² om. VRC Lat. and placed after στρατευόμενοι by AM: perhaps a gloss.
³ διακόσιοι καὶ πεντήκοντα VRC Lat.
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had become masters of well-nigh the whole world. He told them that he should test their military discipline, even before they went into action, by noting whether they abstained from their habitual malpractices, theft, robbery and rapine, and ceased to defraud their countrymen and to regard as personal profit an injury sustained by their most intimate friends. For, he added, the armies that are most successful in war are those in which every combatant has a clear conscience; whereas those who were depraved at heart would have to contend not only with their adversaries but also with God.

(8) Such was the tenor of his unceasing exhortations. He had now mustered an army, ready for action, of sixty thousand infantry and three hundred and fifty cavalry, besides some four thousand five hundred mercenaries, in whom he placed most confidence; he had also a bodyguard of six hundred picked men about his person. These troops, the mercenaries excepted, were maintained without difficulty by the towns: each town sent out on service only one half of its levy and kept back the remainder to provide them with supplies; thus one party was told off for military, and the other for fatigue duty, and in return for the corn which their comrades sent them the men under arms assured them protection.

(xxi. 1) While Josephus was thus directing affairs in Galilee, there appeared upon the scene an intriguer, a native of Gischala, named John, son of Levi, the most unscrupulous and crafty of all who have ever

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\(^a\) Contrast § 576, "over 100,000"; presumably the rest were not yet "ready for action."

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\(^4\) Destinon: \(\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\iota\iota\nu\) mss.
en tois de tois ponhreumaios apantwn, penis de

ta prwta kai mekri pollooi koulmia skwn tis
586 kakis twn aportian, etoomos mev fousasbai, deinos
d' epiteivna pitin tois efseuimeneis, aretis

587 chrumevos, upokritis filanvratpiai kai di' elpida
kerdous fonikwtopatos, aei mev epithumias megalos,
trepwos de tas elpida ek twv tapanwv koukury

588 prokopwv de' aei pleiona. frontis de' hyn autw
mhedena prosplambanein eualwton, alla tois evezia

589 vygades hsanv' di' own pasan elygeito twn Galv

590 (2) 'Ondi' auton stratgwnota kai meizoun
efiemvenon evdeia chrmatwn kateixen. epiei
dei
ton 'Iwspwv owpw'1 autou [sphdra]2 charwnto
to dрастhri, peithi prwton mev autw

591 epieita svndeis skhyn pannurretan, ws are

1 M: owpw (without construction, reading H as N?) the
rest.
2 om. PM Lat.

*a This portrait of John (blacker than any drawn of him
in the Life) recalls Sallust's description of Catiline: "animus
audax, subdolus, varius, cuius rei lubet simulator ac dis
simulator . . . nimis alta semper cupiebat . . . agitabatur.
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gained notoriety by such infamous means. Poor at the opening of his career, his penury had for long thwarted his malicious designs; a ready liar and clever in obtaining credit for his lies, he made a merit of deceit and practised it upon his most intimate friends; while affecting humanity, the prospect of lucre made him the most sanguinary of men; always full of high ambitions, his hopes were fed on the basest of knaveries. For he was a brigand, who at the outset practised his trade alone, but afterwards found for his daring deeds accomplices, whose numbers, small at first, grew with his success. He was, moreover, careful never to take into partnership anyone likely to fall an easy prey to an assailant, but selected good, strapping fellows, with stout hearts and military experience. He ended by mustering a band of four hundred men, for the most part fugitives from the region of Tyre and the villages in that neighbourhood. With their help he plundered the whole of Galilee and harried the masses, whose minds were already distracted by the impending war.

(2) He was already aspiring to the command and had yet higher ambitions, but was checked by impecuniosity. Perceiving that Josephus was delighted at his energy, John first induced him to entrust him with the rebuilding of the walls of his native town, in undertaking in which he made a large profit at the expense of the wealthy citizens. He next contrived to play a very crafty trick: with the avowed
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592 πέμπεν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν μεθορίαν ἐξηγήσατο. συνωνούμενος δὲ τοῦ Τυρίου νομίσματος, ὁ τέσσαρας Ἀττικᾶς δύναται, τέσσαρας ἀμφορεῖς, τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπὶ πρόσκεν τιμής ἦμιαμφόριον. οὕσης δὲ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐλαιοφόρου μάλιστα καὶ τότε εὐφορηκύιας, εἰς σπανίζοντας εἰσπέμπων πολὺ καὶ μόνος ἀπειρὸν τι πλήθος συνήγεν χρημάτων, οἰς εὐθέως 593 ἐχρήτῳ κατὰ τοῦ τῆς ἐργασίαν1 παρασχόντος. καὶ ὑπολαβῶν, εἶ καταλύσειν τὸν Ἰώσηπον, αὐτὸς ἡγήσεσθαι τῆς Γαλιλαίας, τοῖς μὲν ὑφ’ ἑαυτοῦ λησταῖς προσέταξεν εὑτονώτερον ἐγχειρεῖν ταῖς ἀρπαγαῖς, ὅπως πολλῶν νεωτεριζομένων κατὰ τῇ χώρᾳ ἡ διαχρήσατο που τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐκβοήθουντα λοχήσαι ἢ περιορώντα τοὺς ληστὰς 594 διαβάλλοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. ἐπειτα διεφήμιζε πόρρωθεν ως ἀρα προδιδοῖς2 τὰ πράγματα Ὄρω μαίοις Ἰώσηπος, καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς κατὰ λυσιν τάνδρος ἐπραγματευότοι.

(3) Καθ’ δὲν καιρὸν ἀπὸ Δαβαρίθθων κώμη νεανίσκοι τινὲς τῶν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ καθ εξομένων φυλάκων, ἐνεδρέσαντες Πτολεμαίον τὸ Ἀγρίππα καὶ Βερνίκης ἐπίτροπον, αφείλοντι

1 εἰςεργεσίαν PAM Lat.: the text finds a parallel in Acts xvi. 16.
2 Dindorf: προδιδόη mss.

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* In the account in *Vita* (74 f.) there are again slight differences. The persons to be protected from the forbidden use of foreign oil are there not “all the Jews of Syria,” but only those who had been confined by order in Caesarea Philippi. In the *Life* John makes a profit of 10:1 (buying...
object of protecting all the Jews of Syria from the use of oil not supplied by their own countrymen, he sought and obtained permission to deliver it to them at the frontier. He then bought up that commodity, paying Tyrian coin of the value of four Attic drachms for four amphorae and proceeded to sell half an amphora at the same price. As Galilee is a special home of the olive and the crop had been plentiful, John, enjoying a monopoly, by sending large quantities to districts in want of it, amassed an immense sum of money, which he forthwith employed against the man who had brought him his gains. Supposing that, if he could get rid of Josephus, he would himself become governor of Galilee, he directed his band of brigands to push their raids more vigorously than ever; in the anarchy thus produced throughout the district, either the governor would go to the rescue, in which case he would find means of laying an ambush and making away with him, or if Josephus neglected to take measures against the brigands, he would calumniate him to his countrymen. Lastly, he had long since been spreading a report that Josephus intended to betray the country to the Romans, and in numerous similar ways he was scheming to ruin his chief.

(3) About this time some young men of the village of Dabarittha, units of the guard posted in the great plain, laid an ambush for Ptolemy, the overseer of Agrippa and Bernice, and robbed him of all the 80 sextarii for 4 drachms and selling 2 sextarii for 1 drachm), here of 8 : 1.

*b O.T. Daberath, modern Deburieh, under the western slopes of Mt. Tabor; the “great plain” is that of Esdraelon. Cf. the parallel account in Vita 126 ff.

*c Ptolemy’s wife, Vita 126.

*d Or “finance officer.”

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πάσαν ὅσην ἦγεν ἀποσκευήν, ἐν ἡ πολυτελεῖς τε ἔσθήτες οὐκ ὀλίγαι καὶ πλῆθος ἐκπωμάτων
596 ἀργυρῶν χρυσοὶ τε ἦσαν ἐξακόσιοι, μὴ δυνάμενοι δὲ διαθέσθαι1 κρύφα τὴν ἀρπαγήν πάντα
597 πρὸς Ἰώσηπον εἰς Ταριχαίας ἐκόμισαν. ὃ δὲ μεμψάμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλικοὺς
βίαιον τίθησιν τὰ κομισθέντα παρὰ τῷ δυνατῶτά των Ταριχαιατῶν Ἄνναίῳ, πέμψας κατὰ
καιρὸν τοῖς δεσπόταις προαιρούμενος· ὃ δὲ μέγιστον
598 αὐτῷ κύδωνον ἐπήγαγεν. οἱ γὰρ ἀρπάσαντες ἅμα
μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ μηδεμίᾳς τυχεῖν μερίδος ἐκ τῶν
κεκομισμένων ἀγανακτοῦντες, ἀμα δὲ καὶ προ-
σκευάσμενοι τοῦ Ἰωσήπου τὴν διάνοιαν, ὅτι
μέλλον τὸν πόνον αὐτῶν τοῖς βασιλεύσιν χαρί-
ζοντα, νῦκτωρ εἰς τὰς κόμας διέδραμον καὶ
πάσιν ἐνεδείκνυτο τὸν Ἰωσήπου ως προδότην·
ἐνέπλησαν δὲ καὶ τὰς πλησίων πόλεις ταραχῆς,
ὥστε ὑπὸ τὴν ἐως δέκα μυρίάδας ὀπλιτῶν ἐπ᾽
599 αὐτὸν συνδραμεῖν καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐν τῷ
κατὰ Ταριχαίας ἐπιποδρόμῳ συνηθροισμένου πολλά
πρὸς ὀργήν ἀνεβόα καὶ2 καταλευκές οἱ δὲ καίει
τοῦ προδότην ἐκεκράγεσαν· παρώξυνεν δὲ τοὺς
πόλλους ὁ Ἰωάννης καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἰησοῦς τις
600 νῦος Σαπφία, τότε ἄρχων τῆς Τιβεριάδος. οἱ μὲν
οὖν φίλοι καὶ σωματοφύλακες τοῦ Ἰωσήπου, κατα-
πλαγέντες τὴν ὄρμην τοῦ πλῆθους, ἐφυγον πλη
tεσσάρων πάντες, αὐτὸς δὲ κοιμώμενος ἦδη προσ-
601 φερομένου τοῦ πυρὸς διανίσταται, καὶ παρανοῶν-
tῶν φεῦγειν τῶν τεσσάρων, οἱ παρέμειναν, οὗτοι
πρὸς τὴν καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἐρημίαν οὕτε πρὸς τὸ

1 διελέσθαι PAML. 2 + οἱ μὲν Hudson (after Lat.)
JEWISH WAR, II. 595-601

baggage which he was convoying, including a large number of rich vestments, a quantity of silver goblets and six hundred \(^a\) pieces \(^b\) of gold. Being unable to dispose secretly of such booty, they brought the whole to Josephus, then at Tarichaeeae. He censured them for this act of violence to servants of the king, and committed the goods to the keeping of Annaeus,\(^c\) the most important citizen of Tarichaeeae, intending to return them to their legitimate owners when an opportunity presented itself. This action brought him into the greatest peril. For the plunderers, indignant at receiving no portion of the spoil, and divining the intention of Josephus to present the king and queen with the fruits of their labours, ran round the villages by night, denouncing Josephus to all as a traitor; they also created a ferment in the neighbouring cities, with the result that at daybreak a hundred thousand men in arms had collected against him. The multitude, assembled in the hippodrome at Tarichaeeae, made loud and angry demonstrations; some clamoured for the stoning of the traitor, others to have him burnt alive; the mob was instigated by John,\(^d\) who was seconded by Jesus, son of Sapphias, then chief magistrate of Tiberias. The friends and bodyguard of Josephus, terrified at the assault of the crowd, all fled, with the exception of four \(^e\); he himself was asleep and awoke only at the moment when his enemies were about to set fire to the house. His four faithful companions urged him to fly \(^f\); but he, undaunted by the general

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\(^{a} 500, \textit{Vita} 127.\)

\(^{b}\) Unspecified: “staters” (Reinach).

\(^{c}\) Dassion and Jannaeus, friends of Agrippa, according to \textit{Vita} 131.

\(^{d}\) John is not mentioned in \textit{Vita}.

\(^{e}\) One (Simon), \textit{Vita} 137.

\(^{f}\) Simon advises Josephus to kill himself, \textit{Vita} \textit{ib}.
πλήθος τῶν ἑφεστῶτων καταπλαγεὶς προπηδᾶ, περιρρηξάμενος μὲν τὴν ἔσθητα, καταπασάμενος δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς κόνων, ἀποστρέψας δὲ ὀπίσω τὰς χειρὰς καὶ τὸ ἵδιον ἕξος ἐπιδήσας τῷ τένοντι. 602 πρὸς ταῦτα τῶν μὲν οἰκείως ἔχοντων καὶ μάλιστα τῶν Ταριχαιατῶν οίκτος ἦν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν πλησίων ὅσοι ἐδόκει φορτικὸς ἐβλασφήμουν, προφέρειν τε τὰ κοινὰ χρήματα θάττων ἔκελευν καὶ τὰς προδοτικὰς συνθήκας ἐξομολο- 603 γείσθαι: προειλήφθεσαν ὡρ ἐκ τοῦ σχήματος οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἀρνήσεσθαι τῶν ὑπονοηθέντων, ἀλλʼ ἐπὶ συγγνώμης πορισμῶν πάντα πεποιηκέναι τὰ 604 πρὸς τὸν ἑλεον. τῶν δὲ ἦν ἡ ταπείνωσις προ- παρασκευὴ στρατηγήματος, καὶ τεχνιτεύοντος τοὺς ἀγανακτοῦντας καθʼ αὐτοῦ κατʼ ἄλληλων στα- σίασαι, ἐφʼ οἷς ἠργίζοντο πάνθρο ὑμολογήσων; 605 ἐπειτα δοθὲν αὐτῷ λέγειν, "ἐγὼ ταῦτα," ἐφή, "τὰ χρήματα οὐτε ἀναπέμπειν Ἀγρίππα προ- πορούμην οὐτε κερδαίνειν αὐτός· μὴ γὰρ ἡγησάμην ποτε ἡ φίλον τῶν ὑμίν διάφορον ἡ κέρδος τὸ 606 φέρον τῷ κοινῷ βλάβην. ὅρων δὲ, ὃ Ταρι- χαιάται, μάλιστα τὴν ύμετέραν πόλιν ἀσφαλείας δεσμένην καὶ πρὸς κατασκευήν τείχους χρήξουσαν ἀργυρίου, δεδοκιάς δὲ τῶν Τιβερείων δήμου καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἐφεδρευόμενας τοῖς ἡρπαγμένοις, κατασχεῖν ἡσυχῆ τὰ χρήματα προειλόμην, ἦν 607 ὑμῖν περιβάλλωμαι τείχος. εἰ μὴ δοκεῖ, προφέρω τὰ κεκομισμένα καὶ παρέχω διαρπάζειν, εἰ δὲ 1 καταπασάμενος L Suid. 2 Bekker: προειλήφθεσαν μss. 3 ὑμολογήσεις υπειχεῖτο C: Destinon and Niese suspect a lacuna. 554
desertion or by the number of his assailants, rushed out with raiment rent and ashes sprinkled on his head, his hands behind his back and his sword suspended from his neck. At this spectacle his familiar friends, the Tarichaeans in particular, were moved to compassion, but the country-folk and those of the neighbourhood who regarded him as a nuisance, railed at him and bade him instantly produce the public money and confess his treasonable compact; for they concluded from his demeanour that he would deny none of the crimes of which they suspected him, and had only made all this pitiable exhibition of himself in order to procure their pardon. But, in reality, this pose of humiliation was merely part of a stratagem; with the design of producing dissension among his indignant opponents he promised to make a full confession on the subject which had roused their ire, and on obtaining permission to speak, thus addressed them: "About this money— I had no intention of either sending it to Agrippa or appropriating it myself; far be it from me ever to reckon as a friend one who is your foe, or as personal gain anything involving loss to the community. But as I saw, citizens of Tarichaeae, that your city above all needed to be put in a state of defence and that it was in lack of funds to construct ramparts; as, moreover, I feared that the people of Tiberias and of the other cities had their eyes on these spoils, I decided quietly to keep this money in order to encompass you with a wall. If this does not meet your approval, I am prepared to produce what was brought to me and eave you to plunder it; if, on the contrary, I have

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καλῶς ὑμῖν ἐβουλευσάμην, <μὴ> κολάξετε τὸν εὐεργέτην.''

608 (4) Ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ταριχαίαται μὲν αὐτῶν ἀνευφήμουν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Τιβεριάδος σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκάκουσιν καὶ διηπείλουν· καταλιπόντες δὲ ἐκάτεροι τὸν Ἰώσητον ἄλληλοις διεφέροντο. καὶ 
κεῖνος θαρρῶν ἢδη τοῖς ἀκειωμένοις, ἤσαν δὲ εἰς τετρακισμυρίους Ταριχαιάται, παντὶ τῷ πλήθει 609 παρρησιαστικώτερον ὁμίλει. καὶ πολλὰ τὴν προ-
πέτειαν αὐτῶν κατονεμίσας ἐκ μὲν τῶν παρόντων 
Ταριχαίας ἐφη τείχίσεων, ἀσφαλεῖσθαι δὲ ὀμοίως 
καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις· οὐ γαρ ἀπορήσεως χρη-
μάτων, ἐάν ὀμονοίωσιν ἐφ' οὐς δὲι πορίζειν καὶ 
μὴ παροξύνωνται κατὰ τοῦ πορίζοντος.

610 (5) Ἕνθα δὴ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλῆθος τῶν ἡπατη-
μένων ἀνεχώρη καὶ τοίς διωργιμένοις, δισχίλιοι δ' 
ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὁρμησάν ἐνοπλοί, καὶ φθάσαντος εἰς 
τὸ δωμάτιον παρελθεῖν ἀπειλοῦντες ἐφεστήκεσαν.

611 ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἰώσηπος ἀπάτῃ δευτέρα χρήται· 
ἀναβὰς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ τέγος καὶ τῇ δεξίᾳ κατα-
στειλας τὸν θόρυβον αὐτῶν ἄγνοειν ἐφη, τίνων 
ἀξιοῦσιν τυχεῖν· οὐ γὰρ κατακομβεῖν διὰ τὴν 
τῆς βοῆς σύγχυσιν· ὥσα δ' ἀν κελεύσωσαν πάντα 
ποιῆσειν, εἰ τοὺς διαλεξομένους ἡσυχὴ πέμψειαν.

612 εἰσώ πρὸς αὐτῶν. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ γνώριμοι 
σὺν τοῖς ἄρχοντιν εἰσῆγεσαν. ὦ δὲ σύρας αὐτοὺς

1 Text as emended by Hudson and Cobet, partly 
supported by Lat.: ἐι (or ἐι δε) μὴ καλῶς ἐμῖν ἐβουλ., κολάζετε 
mss.: the negative appears to have been misplaced.

α Or, perhaps, "unite with him in opposing the enemy 
who ought to provide it" (from whom they should extract 
it, viz. the Romans).

600, Vita 145.

556
consulted your best interests, do not punish your benefactor.”

(4) At these words the people of Tarichaeae applauded, but those from Tiberias and elsewhere vilified and threatened him; and the two parties let Josephus alone and fell to quarrelling with each other. He, now relying on the supporters he had won—the Tarichaeans numbered as many as forty thousand—proceeded to address the whole multitude more freely. He severely censured them for their precipitance, promised to fortify Tarichaeae with the funds at his disposal, and undertook to provide similar protection for the other cities as well; money, he added, would be forthcoming, would they but agree who was the enemy against whom its provision was necessary, instead of furiously attacking the man who provided it.

(5) Thereupon the majority of the deluded crowd withdrew, though still highly excited; but two thousand men in arms made a rush upon him. He was too quick for them and succeeded in regaining his lodging, which they beset with menacing cries. Josephus now had recourse to a second ruse. He mounted to the roof, quelled their clamour with a motion of his hand and said that he had no idea what they wanted, as their confused shouts prevented him from hearing them; he would, however, comply with all their demands, if they would send in a deputation to confer quietly with him. On hearing that, the leaders of the party, with the magistrates, entered the house. He then haled them to the most

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In *Vita 147* only one delegate is sent in; he, besides being scourged, has one of his hands severed and suspended to his neck.
613 Ο δὲ τὰς θύρας ἔξαψεν ἀνοίξας ἤμαχον ἐξειδήκεν τοὺς ἀνδρας καὶ τοσαύτην τοῖς ἀπειλοῦσιν ἐνεργάσατο κατάπληξιν, ὥστε ῥύσατας τὰ ὀπλα φεῦγειν.

614 (6) Πρὸς ταῦτα Ἰωάννης ἐπέτευκεν τὸν φθόνον καὶ δευτέραν ἤρτουσεν ἐπιβουλὴν κατὰ τοῦ Ἰωσή-που. σκηψάμενος δὴ νόσον ἱκέτευεν δι' ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ Ἰωσήπου ἐπιτρέψαι πρὸς θεραπεῖαν αὐτῷ χρήσασθαι τοὺς ἐν Τιβεριάδι θερμοὺς ὦδασιν.

615 ο δὲ, οὕτω γὰρ ὑπώπτευεν τὸν ἐπιβουλον, γράφει τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὑπάρχοις ξενίαν τε καὶ τὰς πιτήδεια Ἰωάννης παρασχεῖν. ὄν ἀπολαύσας μετὰ δύο ήμέρας ἐφ' ὁ παρὴν διεπράττετο, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπάταις τοὺς δὲ χρήσασι διαφθείρων ἀνέπειθεν ἀποστήμια Ἰωσήπου. καὶ γνοὺς ταῦτα Σίλας ὁ φυλάσσει τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ Ἰωσήπου καθεσταμένος γράφει τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτῷ κατὰ τάχος. ο δὲ Ἰωσήπος ὃς ἔλαβεν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, νυκτὸς ὀδεύσας συντόνως ἐσωθίως παρῆν πρὸς τὴν Τίβε-ριάδα. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλήθος αὐτῷ ὑπῆντα, Ἰωάννης δὲ, καὶ τοῖς τὴν παρουσίαν ὑποπτεύσας ἐπ' αὐτὸν, ὄμως πέμψας τινὰ τῶν γνωρίμων ὑπεκρίνατο τὴν ἀσθενείαν καὶ κλινήρης ὃν ύστε-

1 κατὰ ΝVRC.

a Or “envy.” The incidents at Tiberias in this and the following chapter (§§ 614-623) are placed before the Taricheae affair (§§ 595-613) in the parallel narrative (Vita 84-103). In the Life the “envy” (ἐφθόνησε 85) of John is 558
secluded portion of the building, closed the outer door, and had them scourged till he had flayed them all to the bone. The mob, meanwhile, remained standing round the house, supposing their delegates to be engaged in a prolonged parley. Suddenly Josephus had the doors thrown open and the men dismissed, all covered with blood, a spectacle which struck such terror into his menacing foes that they dropped their arms and fled.

(6) These proceedings intensified John’s malice and he devised a second plot against Josephus. Feigning sickness, he wrote to Josephus to request his permission to take the hot baths at Tiberias for the good of his health. Thereupon Josephus, whose suspicions of the conspirator were not yet aroused, wrote to his lieutenants in the town to give John hospitality and to provide for his needs. He, after enjoying these benefits for two days, proceeded to carry into effect the object of his visit: by deception or bribery he corrupted the citizens and endeavoured to induce them to revolt from Josephus. Hearing of this, Silas, whom Josephus had appointed to guard the town, hastened to inform his chief of the conspiracy. Josephus, on receipt of his letter, set off and, after a rapid night march, reached Tiberias at daybreak. The whole population came out to meet him except John; he, though suspecting that this visit boded ill for himself, sent one of his acquaintances with a message, pretending to be indisposed and bedridden, and so prevented from paying his

explained by the popularity of Josephus: here the context supplies no such link. This suggests that the Life has preserved the true connexion of events and lends support to Laqueur’s theory that it is the older work.

\[559\]
618 ρήσαι τῆς θεραπεῖας ἔλεγεν. ὡς δὲ εἰς τὸ στά-
διον τοὺς Τιβεριεὶς ἀθροίσας ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἔπειράτῳ
διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐπεσταλμένων, ὑποπέμψας
619 ὀπλίτας προσέταξεν αὐτῶν ἀνελείν· τούτους τὰ
Εἴφη γυμνοῦντας ὁ δῆμος προϊδὼν ἀνεβόησεν· πρὸς
dὲ τὴν κραυγὴν ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐπιστραφεὶς καὶ θεασά-
μενος ἐπὶ τῆς φαγητῆς ἢδη τὸν σίδηρον ἀπεπήδησεν
eἰς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν· εἰστήκει δὲ δημηγορῶν ἐπὶ Βου-
νοῦ πυρὸς ἐξαπήχους τὸ υψὸς· καὶ παρορμοῦντος
ἐπιπηδήσας σκάφους σὺν δυσίν σωματοφύλαξιν
eἰς μέσην τὴν λίμνην ἀνέφευγεν.1

620 (7) Ὅι στρατιώτατοί δὲ αὐτοῦ ταχέως ἀρπάσαντες
tὰ ὀπλα κατὰ τῶν ἐπιβούλων ἑχώρουν· ἐνθα
deίσας ὁ Ἰώσηπος, μὴ πολέμου κινηθέντος ἐμ-
φυλίου δὲ ὀλίγων φθόνον παραναλώσῃ τὴν πόλιν,
pέμπει τοῖς σφετέροις ἀγγελον μόνης προνοεῖν
tῆς ἐαυτῶν ἀσφαλείας, μήτε δὲ κτείνειν τινὰ
621 μήτ' ἀπελέγχειν τῶν αἰτίων. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν
παραγγέλματι πεισθέντες ἡρέμησαν, οἱ δ' ἀνὰ
tὴν πέριξ χώραν πυθόμενοι τὴν τ' ἐπιβούλην καὶ
tὸν συσκευάσαντα συνηθροίζοντο κατὰ Ἰωάννου
φθάνει δ' ἑκείνος εἰς Γίσχαλα φυγῶν τὴν πατρίδα.
622 συνέρρεον δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἰώσηπον οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι κατὰ
πόλεις, καὶ πολλαὶ μυριάδες ὀπλιτῶν γενομέναι
παρεῖναι σφᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν κοινῶν ἐπί-
βουλον ἐβόων· συγκαταφλέξειν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ
623 ὑποδεξαμένην πόλιν. ὁ δὲ ἀποδέχεσθαι μὲν αὐτῶν
έφασκεν τὴν εὐνοιαν, ἀνείργην δὲ τῆν ὀρμήν,
1 ἀνέφυγεν L.
respects. But when Josephus had assembled the Tiberians in the stadium and was endeavouring to address them on the subject of the news which he had received, John secretly sent out some soldiers with orders to kill him. The people, seeing these men drawing their swords, raised a shout; at their cries Josephus turned round, beheld the blade actually at his throat, leapt down to the beach—he had been standing, to harangue the people, on a hillock six cubits high—and jumping with two of his guards into a boat that was moored hard by, escaped to the middle of the lake.

(7) His soldiers, however, hastily seized their arms and advanced against the conspirators. Thereupon Josephus, fearing that the outbreak of civil war might bring ruin upon the city, all for the misdeeds of a few envious individuals, sent instructions to his men to restrict themselves to providing for their own safety, to kill nobody and to call none of the culprits to account. In accordance with these orders they took no further action; but the inhabitants of the district, on learning of the plot and the contriver of it, mustered in force to attack John, who hastily made his escape to Gischala, his native place. The Gali- laeans from one town after another flocked to Josephus; myriads of men in arms came and protested that they were there to punish John, the public enemy, and that they would burn him alive with the city that harboured him. Josephus thanked them for their goodwill, but checked their im-

a In Vita 91 John comes in person to meet Josephus, but hastily retires.

b James, his bodyguard, and Herod, a citizen of Tiberias, are his two companions in Vita 96.

c This sentence and the preceding have no parallel in Vita.
JOSEPHUS

χειρώσασθαι συνέσει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μᾶλλον ἢ

κτείναι προαιρούμενος. ἐκλαβῶν δὲ τοὺς ἀφ’ ἐκάστης πόλεως 'Ἰωάννη ςυναφεστῶτας κατ’ ὀνόμα, προθύμως δὲ ἐνεδείκνυστο τοὺς σφετέρους οἱ δημόται, καὶ διὰ κηρύκων ἀπειλήσας ἐντὸς ἡμέρας πέμπτης τῶν μὴ καταλιπόντων 'Ἰωάννην τὰς τε οὐσίας διαρπάσειν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἀμα ταῖς

625 γενεαῖς καταφλέξειν, τρισχιλίους μὲν ἀπέστησεν εὐθέως, οἱ παραγενόμενοι τὰ ὅπλα παρὰ τοῖς ποσίν ἔρριψαν αὐτοῦ, σὺν δὲ τοῖς καταλειφθεῖσιν, ἦσαν δὲ ὅσον εἰς δισχιλίους Σύρων φυγάδες, ἀνέστελλεν Ἡ Ἰωάννης τά πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς λαθραίους

626 ἐπιβουλάς ἐκ τῶν φανερωτέρων. κρύφα γοῦν ἐπέμπευεν ἀγγέλους εἰς Ἰεροπόλημα διαβάλλων τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐπὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς δυνάμεως, φάσκων ὅσον οὐδέπω τραίναν ἔλευσεσθαι τῆς μητρο-

627 πόλεως, εἰ μὴ προκαταληφθεῖσα. ταῦθ’ ο μὲν δήμος προειδῶς οὐ προσείχαν, οἱ δυνατοὶ δὲ κατὰ φθόνον καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τυνὲς λάθρα τῷ Ἰωάννῃ χρήματα πρὸς συλλογὴν μισθοφόρων ἐπεμίσαν, ὅπως πολεμῆ ἀπὸ Ἰώσηπον ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καθ’ ἐαυτοὺς καὶ μετακαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατηγίας.

628 οὐ μὴν ἤξιόν τινος ἀποχρῆσειν τὸ δόγμα, δισχιλίους δὲ καὶ πεντακοσίους ὀπλίτας καὶ τέσσαρας τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐστειλαν, τὸν τε τοῦ Νομικοῦ

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1 A (margin): ἀπειλήσαντων (-αυτός L) the rest.
2 ἀνέστειλεν L.
3 Niese: Ἰωάννης mss.
4 πολεμήσωσιν PAM.

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a "20 days," Vita 370.  
b "4000," Vita 371.  
c We should probably read "Tyrian" as in Vita 372 (cf. § 588 above).  
d This episode (§§ 624 f.) is placed, probably correctly

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petuosity, preferring to overcome his enemies by diplomacy rather than by slaughter. Instead, he obtained from each city a list of names of those who had joined in John’s revolt, this information being readily given by their fellow-citizens, and then issued a public proclamation that all who within five days had not abandoned John would have their property seized and their houses burnt to the ground, along with their families. This threat immediately produced the desertion of three thousand of his followers, who came to Josephus and threw down their arms at his feet; with the remainder, some two thousand Syrian fugitives, John, abandoning open hostilities, was again driven to resort to clandestine plots.

He accordingly now sent secret emissaries to Jerusalem to denounce Josephus as growing too great, declaring that he might at any moment appear at the capital as its tyrant, unless he were checked in time. The people, who foresaw these calumnies, attached no importance to them; but their leaders, with some of the magistrates, from motives of envy, secretly supplied John with money to enable him to collect mercenaries and make war on Josephus. They further took it upon themselves to pass a decree recalling him from his command. As, however, they did not regard this decree as sufficient, they sent out a force of two thousand five hundred men with four men of mark, namely, Joesdrus, son of Nomicus, much later in the other narrative, after the conflict with the deputies from Jerusalem (Vita 368-372).

The story of the attempt to supersede Josephus is narrated at much greater length in Vita 189-332.

Only 600 soldiers and 300 citizens in Vita 200.

Called Joazar or Jozar in Vita.
'Ιωσήφον δὲ λοιπὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ Γίσχάλων τείχους ὁ παρὰ 'Ιωσήφου φόβος ἐφρούρει. καὶ μετ' ὄλυγας ἡμέρας πάλιν ἀπέστη Τιβερίας ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τῶν ἐνδον Ἀγρίππαν τὸν βασιλέα.

καὶ τοῦ μὲν μὴ καταντήσαντος ἐφ' ἡν συντετάκτο προθεσμίαι, 'Ρομαϊκῶν δ' ὄλγων ἱππέων κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν παραφανέντων, τὸν 'Ιωσήφου ἐξεκήρυσσον. τῶν δ' ἡγγέλη μὲν εἰς Ταριχαῖας ἡ ἀπόστασις εὐθέως, ἐκπεπομφῶς δὲ πάντας τοὺς

1 Destinon with Lat. and Vita 203: Γάδαρα or Γάμαλα mss.
2 R (corrector): τῶν the rest. VRC preserve the true text in this clause.

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Ananias, son of Sadok, Simon and Judas, sons of Jonathan, all very able speakers, with the object of undermining the popularity of Josephus; if he were prepared to leave without demur, they were to allow him an opportunity of rendering an account of himself, if he insisted on remaining, they were to treat him as a public enemy. Friends of Josephus had, meanwhile, sent him word that troops were on their way to Galilee, but gave no hint of the reason, as his adversaries had planned their scheme in secret conclave. Consequently he had taken no precautions and four cities went over to his opponents as soon as they appeared, namely, Sepphoris, Gabara, Gischala, and Tiberias. These, however, he soon reclaimed without recourse to arms, and then by stratagem got the four leaders into his power with the best of their troops and sent them back to Jerusalem. The citizens were highly indignant at these individuals, and would have killed them, as well as their employers, had they not promptly taken flight.

(8) John from this time forth was confined by fear of Josephus within the walls of Gischala. A few days later Tiberias again revolted, the inhabitants having appealed to King Agrippa for aid. He did not arrive on the agreed date, but on that same day a small body of Roman cavalry happening to appear, the Tiberians issued a proclamation excluding Josephus from the city. Their defection was immediately reported to him at Tarichaeae. He had

* For Judas, son of Jonathan, *Vita* 197 etc. has Jonathan.

+ Gischala excepted.
στρατιώτας ἐπὶ αὐτὸν συλλογὴν οὕτε μόνος ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποστάντας οὕτε μένειν ὑπέμενεν, δεδοικὼς μὴ βραδύναντος αὐτοῦ φθάσωσιν οἱ βασιλικοὶ παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν· οὖνδὲ γὰρ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἦμεραν ἐνεργὸν ἔξειν ἐμελλὲν ἐπέχοντος 635 σαββάτου. δόλῳ δὴ περιελθεῖν ἐπενοεῖ τοὺς ἀποστάντας. καὶ τὰς μὲν πύλας τῶν Ταριχαίων ἀποκλείσας κελεύσας, ὥς μὴ προεξαγγεῖλεί τις τὸ σκέμμα τοῖς ἐπιχειροῦμένοις, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης σκάφη πάντα συναθροίσας, τριάκοντα δὲ εὐρέθησαν καὶ διακόσια, 2 καὶ ναῦται τεσσάρων οὐ πλείους ἦσαν ἐν ἐκάστῳ, διὰ τάχους ἔλαυνε πρὸς 636 τὴν Τιβεριάδα. καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀποσχῶν τῆς πόλεως ἐξ ὅσον συνιδεῖν οὐ βάδιον ἢν, κενὰς τὰς ἄλαδας μετεώρους σαλεύειν ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μόνους ἐπτὰ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἐνόπλους 3 ἔχων ἐγγυον 637 ὥθηναι προσήει. θεασάμενοι δ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἔτι βλασφημοῦντες οἱ διάφοροι καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐκπλήξιν πάντα τὰ σκάφη γέμειν ὑπλιτῶν νομίσαντες ἐρρυσαν τὰ ὀπλα καὶ κατασέιοντες ἱκετηρίας ἐδέοντο φείσασθαι τῆς πόλεως.

638 (9) Ἄρα Ἰώσηπος πολλὰ διαπειλησάμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ κατονεώτισας, εἰ πρῶτον μὲν ἀράμενοι τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον εἰς στάσεις ἐμφυλίους προαναλίσκοις τὴν ἱσχὺν καὶ τὰ εὐκταιότατα δρῶσιν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἐπειτα τὸν κηδεμόνα τῆς ἀσφαλείας αὐτῶν ἀναρπάσαι σπεύδουσιν καὶ κλείειν

1 L: δὲ the rest. 2 τριακόσια PA. 3 Destinon and others (a correction required by the sequel, § 642): αὐτόπλοις mss.

"I had dismissed my soldiers to their homes because,
just sent all his soldiers on a foraging excursion; he could neither go out alone to face the rebels nor afford to remain idle, for fear that the king’s troops, profiting by his delay, might forestall him in occupying the town; on the following day, moreover, he could take no action owing to the restrictions of the sabbath. In this dilemma the idea occurred to him of circumventing the rebels by a ruse. After ordering the gates of Tarichaeae to be closed, in order that no hint of his project might reach the city which was the objective of his attack, he collected all the boats which he could find on the lake—there were two hundred and thirty, with no more than four sailors on board each—and with this fleet sailed at full speed for Tiberias. Keeping far enough from the town to prevent the inhabitants from detecting that his ships were unmanned, he let them ride in the offing, while he, with no more than seven of his armed guards, advanced within view of all. On perceiving him from the walls, where they were still heaping invectives upon him, his adversaries, imagining that all the boats were filled with troops, were terrified, threw down their arms and, waving suppliants’ olive-branches, implored him to spare the city.

(9) Josephus severely threatened and reproached them, first for their folly, after taking up arms against Rome, in wasting their strength beforehand upon civil strife and so fulfilling their enemies’ fondest wishes; next for their eagerness to make away with their guardian and protector, and their shamelessness the next day being the sabbath, I desired to spare the Tarichaeans annoyance from the presence of the military” (Vita 159).
οὐκ αἰδοῦντα τὴν πόλιν αὐτῷ τῷ τειχίσαντι, προσδέχεσθαί τοὺς ἀπολογησομένους ἐφάσκεν καὶ δὲ
639 ὃν βεβαιωθεῖται1 τὴν πόλιν. κατέβαινον δ' εὐθέως δέκα τῶν Τιβερίεων οἱ δυνατώτατοι καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀναλαβὼν μιᾶ τῶν ἀλιάδων ἀνήγαγεν πορρωτέρω, πεντήκοντα δ' ἐτέρους τῆς βουλῆς τοὺς μάλιστα γνωρίμους κελεύει προελθεῖν, ὡς καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων
640 πίστιν τινὰ βουλὸμενος λαβεῖν. ἔπειτα καινοτέρας σκῆψεις ἐπινοῶν ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλους ὡς ἐπὶ συνθήκαις προκαλεῖτο. τοῖς δὲ κυβερνηταῖς ἐκέλευσεν τῶν² πληρομένων διὰ τάχους εἰς Ταριχαίας ἀναπλεῖν καὶ συγκλείειν τοὺς ἀνδρας εἰς τὸ δεσμωτηρίου, μέχρι πάσαν μὲν τὴν βουλὴν οὐσαν ἑξακοσίων, περὶ δὲ δισχιλίους τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου συλλαβῶν ἀνήγαγεν σκάφεσιν εἰς Ταριχαίας.

642 (10) Βοώντων δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτίων εἶναι μάλιστα τῆς ἀποστάσεως Κλείτών τινα καὶ παρακαλοῦντων εἰς ἐκείνον ἀπερείδεσθαι τὴν ὀργήν, ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἀνέλειν μὲν οὐδένα προήρητο. Λευίν δὲ τις τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φυλάκων ἐκέλευσεν ἐξελθεῖν, ἦν ἀποκόψῃ τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ Κλείτου. δείσας δὲ ἐκείνοις εἰς ἐχθρῶν στίφος ἀποβήσεσθαι μόνος οὐκ ἐφη. σχετλιάζοντα δὲ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐπὶ τοῦ σκάφους ὁ Κλείτος ὅρων καὶ προθυμομένον αὐτοῦ ἐπιπεδάν ἐπὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐκέτευεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκτῆς τῆς ἑτέραν τῶν χειρῶν καταλιπεῖν. κακείνου κατανεύσαντος ἐφ' ὧ τὴν ἑτέραν αὐτὸς ἀποκώμειεν ἑαυτοῦ, σπασάμενος τῇ δεξιᾷ τὸ ἔφος ἀπέκοψεν τὴν λαιάν· εἰς τοσοῦτον δέους ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου
645 προήχθη, τότε μὲν δὴ κενὸς σκάφεσιν καὶ δορυφόροις ἐπτὰ τῶν δήμου αἵμαλωτισάμενοι πάλιν

1 Destinon: βεβαιώσθηται ορ -ώσαιτο mss.
in closing their city to him, who had built its walls; he declared himself ready, notwithstanding, to receive deputies who would offer an apology and assist him to secure the town. At once ten citizens, the principal men of Tiberias, came down; these he took on board one of the vessels and conveyed some distance from the land. Next he required fifty more, the most eminent members of the council, to come forward, ostensibly to give him their word as well. And so, always inventing some new pretext, he called up one party after another, presumably to ratify the agreement. As the boats were successively filled, he gave orders to the skippers to sail with all speed to Tarichaeae and to shut the men up in prison. Thus, in the end, he arrested the whole council of six hundred members and some two thousand other citizens, and shipped them off to Tarichaeae.

(10) Those who were left indicated, with loud cries, a certain Cleitus as the prime mover of the revolt, and urged the governor to vent his wrath upon him. Josephus, being determined to put no one to death, ordered one of his guards, named Levi, to go ashore and cut off Cleitus's hands. The soldier, afraid to venture alone into the midst of a host of enemies, refused to go. Cleitus, thereupon, seeing Josephus on the boat fuming with anger and prepared to leap out himself to chastise him, implored him from the beach to leave him one of his hands. The governor consenting to this, on condition that he cut off the other himself, Cleitus drew his sword with his right hand and severed the left from his body; such was his terror of Josephus. Thus, with empty ships and seven guards, he captured, on that occasion, an

\[ +\sigma\kappa\alpha\phi\omega\nu \] Bekker (after Lat.).
Τιβεριάδα προσηγάγετο, μετά δ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας Σεπφωρίταις συναποστάσαν εὐρών ἐπέτρεψε μὲν διαρράσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, συναγαγὼν μέντοι πάντα τοῖς δημόταις ἐδωκεν, τοῖς τε κατὰ Σεπφωρίν ὁμοίως· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους χειρωσάμενος νοοθετήσαι διὰ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς ἠθέλησεν, τῇ δ' ἀποδόσει τῶν χρημάτων πάλιν εἰς εὐνοιαν προσηγάγετο.

647 (xxii. 1) Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Γαλιλαίαν ἐπέπαυσαν κινήματα, καὶ τῶν ἐμφυλίων παυσάμενοι θορύβων ἐπὶ τὰς πρὸς Ἦρωμαίους ἐτράποντο παρασκεύας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμωις Ἀνανός τε ὁ ἀρχιερεύς καὶ τῶν δυνατῶν ὡσοι μὴ τὰ Ἦρωμαίου ἐφρόνουν τὸ τε σείχος ἐπεσκέφαζον καὶ πολλὰ τῶν πολε-
649 μισθηρίων ὀργάνων. καὶ διὰ πάσης μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἐχαλκεύτο βέλη καὶ πανοπλία, πρὸς ἀτάκτοις2 δὲ γυμνασίας τὸ τῶν νέων πλήθος ἦν, καὶ μεστὰ πάντα θορύβου, δεινὴ δὲ κατήφεια τῶν μετρίων, καὶ πολλοὶ τὰς μελλούσας προορώμενοι 650 συμφοράς ἀπωλοφύροντο. θειασμοὶ τε τοῖς εἰρή-
νην ἀγαπῶσιν δύσφημοι, τοῖς δὲ τῶν πόλεμον ἐξ-
ἀψαν ἐσχεδιάζοντο πρὸς ἡδονήν, καὶ τὸ κατά-
στημα τῆς πόλεως πρὶν ἐπελθείν Ἦρωμαίους ἦν 651 οίον ἀπολομμένης. Ἀνάνω γε μὴν φροντίς ἦν κατὰ μικρὸν ἀφισταμένω τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῶν κάμψαι πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τούς τε στασιαστάς καὶ τήν τῶν κληθέντων ζηλωτῶν

1 PA: ἐλὼν the rest.
2 iussis Lat., i.e. τακταὶ "regular."
entire population, and once more reduced Tiberias to submission. But a few days later, discovering that the city had revolted again along with Sepphoris, he delivered it over to his soldiers to plunder it. However, he collected all the spoil and restored it to the townsfolk. He followed the same procedure at Sepphoris; for that town also was subdued by him, and he wished to give the inhabitants a lesson by pillaging it, and then by restoring their property to regain their affection.

(xxii. 1) The disturbances in Galilee were thus quelled; and, their civil strife now ended, the Jews turned to preparations for the struggle with the Romans. In Jerusalem Ananus the high-priest and all the leading men who were not pro-Romans busied themselves with the repair of the walls and the accumulation of engines of war. In every quarter of the city missiles and suits of armour were being forged; masses of young men were undergoing a desultory training; and the whole was one scene of tumult. On the other side, the dejection of the moderates was profound; and many, foreseeing the impending disasters, made open lamentation. Then, too, there were omens, which to the friends of peace boded ill, although those who had kindled the war readily invented favourable interpretations for them. In short, the city before the coming of the Romans wore the appearance of a place doomed to destruction. Ananus, nevertheless, cherished the thought of gradually abandoning these warlike preparations and bending the malcontents and the infatuated so-called zealots to a more salutary policy; but he

\[a\] A description of these is given later, vi. 288-315.
ἀφροσύνην, ἠττήθη δὲ τῆς βίας, καлев τοῖς ἐξῆς οἶου τέλους ἔτυχεν δηλώσομεν.

652 (2) Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀκραβατηνὴν1 τοπαρχίαν ὁ Γιώρα Σίμων πολλοὺς τῶν νεωτεριζόντων συ-στησάμενος ἐφ’ ἀρπαγάς ἐτράπετο καὶ οὐ μόνον τὰς οἰκίας ἐσπάρασσεν2 τῶν πλουσίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σώματα κατηκίζετο, δῆλος τε ἦν ἡ ἡδὴ πόρρωθεν

653 ἀρχόμενος τυραννεῖν. πεμφθεὶς δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ὑπ’ Ἀνάνου καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων στρατιῶν, πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Μαςάδα ληστᾶς μεθ’ ὅν εἶχεν κατέφυγεν, κἀκεῖ μέχρι τῆς Ἀνάνου καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἐχθρῶν αναίρεσεως μένων συνελήξετο τὴν Ἰδου-μαίαν, ὡστε τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοῦ ἔθνους διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν φονευμένων καὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς ἀρ-παγάς στρατιῶν ἀθροίσατας ἐμφρούρους τὰς κόμις ἕχειν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰδουμαιάν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

1 Ἀκραβατηνὴν PA.
2 ἐτάρασσεν PAML Lat.
succumbed to their violence, and the sequel of our narrative will show the fate which befell him.a

(2) In the toparchy of Acrabatene Simon, son of Gioras, mustering a large band of revolutionaries, devoted himself to rapine; not content with ransacking the houses of the wealthy, he further maltreated their persons, and plainly showed, even at that early date, that he was entering on a career of tyranny. b When Ananus and the magistrates sent an army against him, he fled with his band to the brigands at Masada, c and there he remained until Ananus and his other opponents were killed. Meanwhile, with his brigand friends, he worked such havoc in Idumaea, that the local magistrates, in consequence of the number of the slain and the continuous raids, raised an army and garrisoned the villages. Such was the condition of affairs in Idumaea.

a B. iv. 315 ff.; for Ananus see the note on § 563 above.

b He becomes a prominent figure in the siege of Jerusalem.

c §§ 408, 433, 447.
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Γ

1 (ι. 1) Νέρωνι δ’ ὃς ἢγγέλη τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πταίσματα, λεληθυία μὲν ὃς εἰκὸς ἐκπληξίς ἔμπιπτει καὶ δέος, φανερῶς δ’ ὑπερηφάνει καὶ προσωργίζετο, στρατηγῶν 1 μὲν ῥαστώνη μᾶλλον ἡ ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἁρεταῖς γεγονέα τὰ συμβάντα λέγων, πρέπειν δ’ ἡγούμενος έαυτῷ διὰ τὸν ὅγκον τῆς ἡγεμονίας κατασοβαρεύεσθαι τῶν σκυθρωπῶν καὶ δοκεῖν δεινὸν παινὸς ἐπάνω τῆς ψυχῆς ἕχειν. διηλέγχετο γε μὴν ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς θόρυβος ὑπὸ τῶν φροντίδων (2) σκεπτομένου 2 τῶι πιστεύει κινουμένη τὴν ἀνατολήν, ὡς τιμωρήσεται μὲν τὴν τῶι Ἰουδαίων ἐπανάστασιν, προκαταλήψεται δ’ αὐτοῖς ἡδὴ καὶ τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη συννοσώντα, μόνον [οὖν] 3 εὐρίσκει Οὐεσπασιανὸν ταῖς χρείαις ἀναλογοῦντα καὶ τηλικοῦτον πολέμου μέγεθος ἀναδέξασθαι δυνάμενον, ἀνδρὰ ταῖς ἀπὸ νεότητος στρατείαις ἐγγεγηρακότα καὶ προερημεύσαντα μὲν πάλαι Ὡρμαίοις τὴν ἐσπέραν ὑπὸ Γερμανῶν ταρασσομένην, προσκητήσαμεν δὲ τοῖς ὄπλοις Βρεττανίαν τέως λανθάνουσαν, ὃθεν αὐτοῦ

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1 ΡΑ: στρατηγοῦ the rest (perhaps rightly).
2 σκεπτόμενος δὲ C.
3 MA (corrector) Lat.: om. the rest.

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BOOK III

(i. 1) The news of the reverses sustained in Judaea grieved Nero, as was natural, with secret consternation and alarm, but in public he affected an air of disdain and indignation. "These unfortunate incidents," he said, "were due to remiss generalship rather than to the valour of the enemy;" and the majesty of empire made him think it became him to treat black tidings with lofty contempt and to appear to possess a soul superior to all accidents. His inward perturbation, however, was betrayed by his anxious reflection.

(2) He was deliberating into whose hands he should entrust the East in its present commotion, with the double task of punishing the Jewish rebels, and of suppressing a revolt of the neighbouring nations, which were already catching the contagion. He could find none but Vespasian a match for the emergency and capable of undertaking a campaign on so vast a scale. Vespasian was one who had been soldier from his youth and grown grey in the service; he had already earlier in his career pacified and restored to Roman rule the West when consulsed by the Germans; he had by his military genius added to the Empire Britain, till then almost unknown, and thus afforded Claudius, Nero's father, a

a Step-father; he adopted Nero (cf. B. ii. 249).
καὶ τῷ πατρὶ Κλαυδίῳ παρέσχε χωρίς ἵδρωτος ἰδίου θρίαμβον καταγαγεῖν.

6 (3) Ταύτα τε δὴ προκληδονιζόμενος καὶ σταθερὰν μετ’ ἐμπειρίᾳ τὴν ἥλικίαν ὅρῶν, μέγα δὲ πίστεως αὐτοῦ τοὺς ύιοὺς ὦμηρον καὶ τὰς τοῦτων ἀκμὰς χείρα τῆς πατρῴας συνέσεως, τάχα τι καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἦδη τοῦ θεοῦ προοικονομοῦν, πέμπει τὸν ἄνδρα ληψόμενον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν ἐπὶ Συρίας στρατευμάτων, πολλὸ πρὸς τὸ ἔπειγον οἷα κελεύουσιν αἰ ἀνάγκαι μειλικάμενον τοῖς ἑπεταίροις, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τὸ πέμπτον καὶ δέκατον ἐκείθεν ἀναστήσοντα τάγμα, περάσας δ’ αὐτὸς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον πεζὸς εἰς Συρίαν ἀφικνεῖται, κάκει τάς τε Ἑρμαῖκας δυνάμεις συνήγαγε καὶ συνχόνις παρὰ τῶν γειτνιώντως βασιλέως συμμάχους.

9 (ii. 1) Ἰουδαῖον δὲ μετὰ τὴν Κεστίου πληγῆς ἐπηρμένου ταῖς ἀδοκίτοις εὐπραγίαις ἀκρατεὶ ἴσαν ὀρμῆς καὶ ὠσπερ ἐκριπτιζόμενοι τῇ τὰς προσωτέρω τῶν πόλεμον ἐξῆγον· πάν γοῦν εὐθέως ὅσον ἦν μαχιμῶτατον αὐτοῖς ἀδροισθέντες ὃρμα μὴν ἐπὶ Ἀσκάλωνα, πόλις ἐστὶν ἀρχαία τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων εἰκοσι πρὸς τοῖς πεντακοσίοις ἀπό

1 Destinon: μετὰ mss.
2 καὶ δέκατον Niese, etc., cf. B. iii. 65 (and Tacit. Hist. v. 1).

He was sent by Claudius to Germany and subsequently 576
the honours of a triumph which cost him no personal exertion.\(^a\)

(3) Regarding, therefore, this record as of happy augury, seeing in Vespasian a man with the steadiness resulting from years \(^b\) and experience, with sons who would be a sure hostage for his fidelity, and whose ripe manhood would act as the arm of their father’s brain, moved, may be, also by God, who was already shaping the destinies of empire, Nero sent this general to take command of the armies in Syria, lavishing upon him, at this urgent crisis, such soothing and flattering compliments as are called for by emergencies of this kind. From Achaia, where he was in attendance on Nero, Vespasian dispatched his son Titus to Alexandria to call up the fifteenth legion from that city; he himself, after crossing the Hellespont, proceeded by land to Syria, where he concentrated the Roman forces and numerous auxiliary contingents furnished by the kings of the neighbouring districts.

(ii. 1) The Jews, after the defeat of Cestius, elated by their unexpected success, could not restrain their ardour, and, as though stirred into activity by this gust of fortune, thought only of carrying the war further afield. Without a moment’s delay their most effective combatants mustered and marched upon Ascalon. This is an ancient city, five hundred and twenty furlongs from Jerusalem,\(^c\) but the hatred

in A.D. 43 (aet. 34), to Britain, where his career of victory, which included the reduction of the Isle of Wight, was “the beginning of his fortune” (Tac. Agric. 13; Suet. Vesp. 4).

\(^b\) Vespasian, born in A.D. 9, was now 57.

\(^c\) About fifty-nine miles (the stade being rather longer than our “furlong”); the distance as the crow flies is just over forty miles.
έχουσα σταδίους, ἀεὶ διὰ μίσους Ἰουδαίοις γεγενημένη, διὸ καὶ τότε ταῖς πρώταις ὅρμαις ἐγγίων 11 ἐδοξείν. ἦξῆγοντο δὲ τῆς καταδρομῆς τρεῖς ἀνδρεῖς ἀλκήν τε κορυφαίοι καὶ συνέσει, Ἡγερ τε ὁ Περαιτῆς καὶ ὁ Βαβυλώνιος Σίλας, πρὸς οίς 12 Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἐσσαῖος. ἦ δὲ Ἀσκάλων ἐπετείχηστο μὲν καρτερῶς, βοηθείας δὲ ἢν σχεδὸν ἔρημος ἐφρουρεῖτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τε σπείρας πεζῶν καὶ ὑπὸ μιᾶς ἔλης ἐπίπεων, ἢς ἐπήρχεν Ἀντώνιος. 13 (2) Οἱ μὲν οὖν πολὺ ταῖς ὅρμαις 3 συντόνωτερον ὁδεύσαντες ὡς ἐγγύθεν ὅρμημένου καὶ δὴ παρῆσαν. 14 ο δὲ Ἀντώνιος, οὐ γὰρ ἦγονει μέλλουσαν ἐτὶ τὴν ἐφοδοῦν αὐτῶν, προεξῆγαγε τοὺς ἐπίπεις, καὶ οἴδειν οὔτε πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος οὔτε τὴν τόλμαν ὑποδείγας τῶν πολεμίων καρτερῶς τὰς πρώτας ὅρμας ἀνεδέξατο καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος ὅρμημένους ἀν. 15 ἐστειλεν. τοῖς δὲ πρὸς ἐμπείρους πολέμων ἀπειροὺς καὶ πεζοῖς πρὸς ἐπίπεις, ἀσυντάκτους τε πρὸς ἠνωμένους καὶ πρὸς ὄπλεται ἐξηρτυμένους εἰκαίτερον ὁπλισμένους, θυμῷ τε πλέον ἡ βουλή στατηγούμενους πρὸς εὐπειθεῖς καὶ νεύματι πάντως 16 πράττοντας ἀντιτασσόμενους πόνος ἢν ράδιος 4 ὡς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀπαξ ἦδη συνεπαράχθησαν αἱ πρῶται φάλαγγες, ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιπο τρέπονται, καὶ τοὺς κατόπιν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος βιαζομένους περι- 1 PA: σύνεσιν the rest. 2 + ἔγεμων (ὁ Ἠγ., P) PAM. 3 PAL (corr.): ὅρμαις the rest with Lat. (perhaps rightly). 4 I retain with hesitation the text of PAM (Lat.): for πόνος ἢν ράδιος the rest have πονοῦσιν ραδίως, beginning the sentence with οἱ δὲ and replacing the subsequent datives by nominatives.
with which the Jews had always regarded it \(^a\) made the distance of this, the first objective selected for attack, seem less. The expedition was led by three men of first-rate prowess and ability, Niger of Peraea, Silas the Babylonian,\(^b\) and John the Essene.\(^c\) Ascalon had solid walls, but was almost destitute of defenders, its garrison consisting of but one cohort of infantry and one squadron \(^d\) of cavalry under the command of Antonius.

(2) The ardour of the Jews so accelerated their pace that they reached the spot as though they had just issued from a neighbouring base. But Antonius was ready for them; informed of their intended attack he led out his cavalry and, undaunted either by the numbers or the audacity of the enemy, firmly sustained their first charge and repulsed those who were rushing forward to the ramparts. It was a case of novices against veterans, infantry against cavalry, ragged order against serried ranks, men casually armed against fully equipped regulars, on the one side men whose actions were directed by passion rather than policy, on the other disciplined troops acting upon the least signal from their commander. Thus outmatched, the Jews were soon in difficulties. For, once their front ranks were broken by the cavalry, a rout ensued, and, the fugitives falling foul of those in their rear who were pressing forward to the wall,

\(^a\) Philo, \textit{Legat. ad Gaium}, 205 (Cohn), mentions this irreconcilable feud; the Jews had recently devastated the town (\textit{B. ii. 460}). It had since 104 B.C. been independent.

\(^b\) Both these distinguished themselves in the first engagement with Cestius, \textit{ii. 520}; Niger was the governor, or ex-governor, of Idumaea, \textit{ii. 566}.

\(^c\) Recently appointed general for N.W. Judaea, \textit{ii. 567}.

\(^d\) \textit{ala}, a body of auxiliary cavalry.
πιπτοντες ἀλλήλων ἦσαν πολέμιοι, μέχρι πάντες ταῖς τῶν ἱππέων ἐμβολαῖς εἰξαντες ἐσκεδάσθησαν ἀνὰ πάν τὸ πεδίον· τὸ δὲ ἦν πολύ καὶ πὰν ἵπ·

17 πάσιμον. Ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συνεργῆσαν πλείστον εἰργάσατο τῶν Ἰουδαίων φόνων· τοὺς τε γὰρ φεύγοντας αὐτῶν φθάνοντες ἐπέστρεφον καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δρόμου συνειλουμένων διεκπαίοντες ἀπείρους ἁνήρουν, ἀλλοὶ δὲ ἄλλους ὅτη τρέποντο κυκλούμενοι καὶ περιελαύνοντες κατηκόντιζον βα·

18 δίως. καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἰουδαίοις τὸ ἢδον πλῆθος ἐρημία παρὰ τὰς ἀμηχανίας κατεφαίνετο, Ῥω·

19 μαίοι δ’ ἐν ταῖς εὐπραγίαις, καίπερ ὄντες ὀλίγοι, τῶν πολεμίων καὶ περισσεύειν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑπ·

ελάμβανον. καὶ τῶν μὲν προσφιλονεικοντῶν τοῖς πταῖσμασιν αἴδοι τε φυγῆς ταχείας καὶ μετα·

βολὴς ἐλπίδι, τῶν δὲ μὴ κοπιῶντων ἐν οἷς εὕ·

τύχοιν, παρέτευνεν ἡ μάχη μέχρι δείλης, ἐως ἀν·

ηρέθησαν μὲν μύριοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸν ἄριθμὸν ἀνδρῶ ν καὶ δύο τῶν ἡγεμόνων, Ἰωάννης τε καί

20 Σίλας· οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ τραυματία τοῦ πλέον σὺν τῷ περιελειπομένῳ τῶν ἡγεμόνων Νίγερι τῆς Ἰδου·

μαίας εἰς πολίχνην τινά, Χάλλις2 καλεῖται, συν·

21 ἐφυγον. ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ τῆς δεπατάξεως ἐτρώθησαν.

22 (3) Ὄθυ μὴν οἱ Ἰουδαίοι τηλικαύτη συμφορὰ κατεστάλησαν τὰ φρονήματα, μάλλον δ’ αὐτῶν τὸ πάθος ἤγειρε τὰς τόλμας, ὑπερορώντες τε τοὺς ἐν ποσὶ νεκροὺς ἐδελεάζοντο τοῖς προτέροις3 κατορθώμασιν ἐπὶ πληγήν δευτέραν. διαλιπόντες

1 Coni. Niese: τῶν πολέμων miss.
2 PAM Lat. (Challis): Σάλλις the rest.
3 προγενεστέρος PAM.

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they became their own enemies, until at length the whole body, succumbing to the cavalry charges, were dispersed throughout the plain. This was extensive and wholly adapted to cavalry manoeuvres, a circumstance which materially assisted the Romans and caused great carnage among the Jews. For the cavalry headed off and turned the fugitives, broke through the crowds huddled together in flight, slaughtering them in masses, and, in whatever direction parties of them fled, the Romans closed them in and, galloping round them, found them an easy mark for their javelins. The Jews, notwithstanding their multitude, felt themselves isolated in their distress; while the Romans, few as they were, imagined, in their unbroken success, that they even outnumbered their enemies. However, the former continued to struggle on under their reverses, ashamed of being so quickly routed, and in hopes of a return of fortune, while the latter were indefatigable in pushing their success; so that the combat was prolonged till evening, when ten thousand of the Jewish rank and file, with two of the generals, John and Silas, lay dead upon the field. The remainder, most of them wounded, took refuge with Niger, the one surviving general, in a country town of Idumaea, called Chaallis.\(^a\) The Romans, on their side, had but a few wounded in this engagement.

(3) Far, however, from the spirit of the Jews being crushed by such a calamity, their discomfiture only redoubled their audacity; and, disregarding the dead bodies at their feet, they were lured by the memory of former triumphs to a second disaster.

\(^a\) Unidentified.
γοῦν ουδ’ ὁσον ἰάσασθαι τὰ τραύματα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν πάσαν ἐπισυνεξάντες ὀργιλωτέρον καὶ πολλῷ πλείους ἐπαλινδρόμουν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσκάλωνα.

24 παρεῖπετο δ’ αὐτοῖς μετά τε τῆς ἀπειρίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς πόλεμον ἔλασσομάτων οὐδ’ ἐπρότερα

25 τύχη: τοῦ γὰρ Ἀντωνίου τὰς παρόδους προ- λοχίσαντος ἀδόκητοι ταῖς ἐνέδραις ἐμπεσόντες καὶ υπὸ τῶν ἵππεων πρὶν εἰς μάχην συντάξασθαι κυκλωθέντες, πάλιν πιττουσὶ μὲν ὑπέρ ὀκτακισ- χιλίους, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ πάντες ἐφύγον, σὺν οἷς καὶ Νίγερ, πολλὰ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν εὐτολμίας ἐπι- δειξάμενος ἔργα, συνελαύνονταί <τε> 1 προσκειμένων τῶν πολεμίων εἰς τινα πύργων ὄχρων κώμης Βελ-

26 ζεδέκ καλουμένης. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ὡς μήτε τρίβουσοι περὶ τὸν πύργων ὄντα δυσ- ἄλωτον μήτε ζωτα τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ γενναίοτατον τῶν πολεμίων περιόδουν, ὑποπιπράσι τὸ τείχος.

27 φλεγομένου δὲ τοῦ πύργων Ἄρωμαίοι μὲν ἀνα- χωροῦσι γεγηθότες ὡς διεθθαρμένου καὶ Νίγερος, ὁ δὲ εἰς τὸ μυχαίτατον τοῦ φρουρίου σπῆλαιον καταπηδήσας ἐκ τοῦ πύργου 2 διασώξεται, καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέρας τρεῖς τοῖς μετ’ ὀλοφυρμῷ πρὸς

28 κηδείαν αὐτὸν ἐρευνῶσιν ὑποθέγγεται. προελθὼν δὲ χαρᾶς ἀνελπίστου πάντας ἐπιλήφσεν Ἰουδαίους ὡς προνοία θεοῦ σωθεὶς αὐτοῖς στρατηγὸς εἰς τὰ μέλλοντα.

29 (1) Ὀδεσσαπασιανὸς δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας, ἥ μητρόπολις ἐστὶ τῆς Συρίας, μεγέθους τε ἐνεκα καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐδαιμονίας

1 ins. Destinon (after Lat.): om. mss.
2 πρός conj. Destinon and Niese.
Without even leaving time for wounds to heal, they reassembled all their forces and, more furious and in far greater strength, returned to the assault on Ascalon. But, with the same inexperience and the same military disqualifications, the same fortune attended them as before. Antonius had placed ambuscades in the passes; into these traps they inconsiderately fell, and before they could form up in battle order they were surrounded by the cavalry and again lost upwards of eight thousand men. All the remainder fled—including Niger, who distinguished himself in the retreat by numerous feats of valour—and, hard pressed by the enemy, were driven into a strong tower in a village called Belzedek. The troops of Antonius, unwilling either to expend their strength upon a tower that was almost impregnable, or to allow the enemy's general and bravest hero to escape alive, set fire to the walls. On seeing the tower in flames, the Romans retired exultant, in the belief that Niger had perished with it; but he had leapt from the tower and found refuge in a cave in the recesses of the fortress, and three days later his lamenting friends, while searching for his corpse for burial, overheard his voice beneath them. His reappearance filled all Jewish hearts with unlooked-for joy; they thought that God's providence had preserved him to be their general in conflicts to come.

(4) Vespasian had now set in motion his forces assembled at Antioch, the capital of Syria, and a city which, for extent and opulence, unquestionably ranks

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\(^a\) Unidentified.

\(^b\) He was murdered by the Zealots during the siege of Jerusalem (B. iv. 359).
τρίτον ἀδηρίτως ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους οἰκουμένης ἐξουσα τόπον, ἐνθά μετὰ πάσης τῆς ἱδίας ἰσχύος ἐκδεχόμενον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀφίξην καὶ Ἀγρίπ-παν τὸν βασιλέα κατειλήφει, ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίδος

30 ἦπειρετο, καὶ κατὰ ταύτην ὑπαντώσων αὐτῷ τῇ πόλιν οἴ τῆς Γαλιλαίας Σέφφωρν νεμόμενοι

31 μόνοι τῶν τῇ δε εἰρηνικὰ φρονοῦντες· οὐ καὶ τῆς ἐαυτῶν σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἰσχύος οὐν ἀπρονοθετοῦν πρὸν ἀφικέσθαι Θυεσπασιανόν Καί σενίῳ Γάλλω πίστεις τε ἔδοσαν καὶ δεξιᾶς ἐλαβοι

32 καὶ παρεδέξαντο φρουράν. τότε γε μην φιλο φρόνως ἐκδεχόμενοι τὸν ἕγεμόνα προθύμως σφαῖρος αὐτούς ὑπέσχοντο κατὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων συμμάχων· οἷς ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀξιώσασι τέως πρὸ ἀσφάλειαν ἰππεῖς τε καὶ πέζους παραδίδωσιν ὅσους ἀνθέξειν ταῖς καταδρομαῖς, εἰ τί Ἰουνδαιον

33 παρακινοῦντο, ὕπελάμβανεν καὶ γὰρ οὐ μικρὸ ἔδόκει τὸ κυδῶνεμα πρὸς τὸν μέλλοντα πόλεμον ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὴν Σέφφωρν, μεγίστην μὲν οὖσα τῆς Γαλιλαίας πόλιν, ἐρυμοστάτω δὲ ἐπιτετειχισμένην χωρίῳ καὶ φρουράν ὁλον τοῦ ἐθνοῦς ἐσομένην.

35 (iii. 1) Δύο δὲ οὐσας τὰς Γαλιλαίας, τῆν τὰ ἀνω καὶ τὴν κάτω προσαγορευμένην, περισσεῖ μὲν ἡ Φαουνίκη τε καὶ Συρία, διορίζει δὲ ἀπὸ μὲ δύσεως ἠλίου Πτολεμαίς τοῖς τῆς χώρας τέρμαις καὶ Κάρμιλοσ, τὸ πάλαι μὲν Γαλιλαίων, νῦν δὲ

36 Τυρίων ὄρος· ὃ προσοσχέει Γάβα, πόλις ἰππεῶν οὖτω προσαγορευμένη διὰ τὸ τοὺς υφ᾽ Ἡρώδου

1 So Lat. (cf. A. xv. 294, Vita 113): Γαβάα, Γαβάλα etc ἀ' ἔρους.
third among the cities of the Roman world. Here he had found, among others, king Agrippa awaiting his arrival with all his own troops. From Antioch Vespasian pushed on to Ptolemais. At this city he was met by the inhabitants of Sepphoris in Galilee, the only people of that province who displayed pacific sentiments. For, with an eye to their own security and a sense of the power of Rome, they had already, before the coming of Vespasian, given pledges to Caesennius Gallus, received his assurance of protection, and admitted a Roman garrison; now they offered a cordial welcome to the commander-in-chief, and promised him their active support against their countrymen. At their request, the general provisionally assigned them for their protection as large a force of cavalry and infantry as he considered sufficient to repel invasions in the event of the Jews causing trouble; indeed, it appeared to him that the loss of Sepphoris would be a hazard gravely affecting the impending campaign, as it was the largest city of Galilee, a fortress in an exceptionally strong position in the enemy's territory, and adapted to keep guard over the entire province.

(iii. 1) Galilee, with its two divisions known as Upper and Lower Galilee, is enveloped by Phoenicia and Syria. Its western frontiers are the outlying territory of Ptolemais and Carmel, a mountain once belonging to Galilee, and now to Tyre; adjacent to Carmel is Gaba, the "city of cavalry," so called from the cavalry who, on their discharge by King Herod...
βασιλέως ἀπολυμένους ἵππεῖς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικεῖν
37 ἀπὸ δὲ μεσημβρίας Σαμαρείτις τε καὶ Σκυθό
πολίς μέχρι τῶν Ἰορδάνου ναμάτων. πρὸς ἔστιν
δ' ἑπειγή τε καὶ Γαδάροις ἀποτείμενεται καὶ τῇ
Γαυλανίτιδι· ταύτη καὶ τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείᾳ
38 ὀροῖ. τὰ προσάρκτια δ' αὐτῆς Τύρῳ τε καὶ τῇ
Τυρίων χώραν περατοῦται, καὶ τῆς μὲν κατὰ
καλουμένης Γαλιλαίας ἀπὸ Τιβεριάδος μέχρι
Χαβουλῶν, ἢς ἐν τοῖς παραλίοις Πτολεμαί
39 γειτῶν, τὸ μῆκος ἐκτείνεται. πλατύνεται δ' ἀπὸ
τῆς ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ κειμένης κώμης, Ξαλῶθ
καλεῖται, μέχρι Βηρσάβης, ἢ καὶ τῆς ἄνω Γαλι
λαίας εἰς εὐρός ἄρχῃ μέχρι Βακά κώμης· αὕτη
40 δὲ τὴν Τυρίων γην ὁρίζει. μηκύνεται δὲ μέχρι
Μηρώθ ἀπὸ Θελλά κώμης Ἰορδάνου γείτονος.
41 (2) Ἑλληνικῶς δ' οὖσα τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τοσοῦ
τοις ἐθνεσίν ἀλλοφύλοις κεκυκλωμέναι πρὸς πᾶσα
42 ἀεὶ πολέμου πείραν ἀντέσχον μάχμοι τε γὰρ ἐν
νηπίων καὶ πολλοὶ Γαλιλαίων πάντοτε, καὶ οὖν
δειλία ποτὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας οὐτε λιπανδρία τὴν χώρα
κατέσχεν, ἑπειδὴ πίων τε πᾶσα καὶ εὐβοτος καὶ
déndresi παντοῖοι κατάφυτος, ὡς ύπὸ τῆς εὖ
πετείας προκαλέσωσαι καὶ τὸν ἤκιστα γῆς φιλὸ
43 πονον. προσηκῆθη γοῦν ὕπο τῶν οἰκητῶρο
πᾶσα, καὶ μέρος αὐτῆς ἄργον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
πόλεις πυκναὶ καὶ τὸ τῶν κωμῶν πλῆθος πανταχοῦ
pολυανθρωπον διὰ τὴν εὐθηνίαν, ὡς τὴν ἐλαχιστην

Γαυλανίτιδι ΡΑ.

a Cf. A. xv. 294; called Geba by Pliny, Nat. Hist. v. 19
75.
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settled in this town.\(^a\) On the south the country is bounded by Samaria and the territory of Scythopolis up to the waters of Jordan; on the east by the territory of Hippos, Gadara, and Gaulanitis, the frontier-line of Agrippa's kingdom; on the north Tyre and its dependent district mark its limits. Lower Galilee extends in length from Tiberias to Chabulon, which is not far from Ptolemais on the coast; in breadth, from a village in the Great Plain called Xaloth \(^b\) to Bersabe. At this point begins Upper Galilee, which extends in breadth to the village of Baca, the frontier of Tyrian territory; in length, it reaches from the village of Thella, near the Jordan, to Meroth.

(2) With this limited area, and although surrounded by such powerful foreign nations, the two Galilees have always resisted any hostile invasion, for the inhabitants are from infancy inured to war, and have at all times been numerous; never did the men lack courage nor the country men. For the land is everywhere so rich in soil and pasturage and produces such variety of trees, that even the most indolent are tempted by these facilities to devote themselves to agriculture. In fact, every inch of the soil has been cultivated by the inhabitants; there is not a parcel of waste land. The towns, too, are thickly distributed, and even the villages, thanks to the fertility of the soil, are all so densely populated

\(^a\) Mentioned as on the southern frontier in \textit{Vita} 227, "I ought to have gone to Xaloth or beyond" (to meet a deputation coming from Jerusalem to Galilee); lying on the "flanks" of Mt. Tabor, it is the O.T. Chisloth-tabor, Jos. xix. 12, modern Iksal. Josephus by "length" here means the measurement from east to west, by "breadth" that from south to north.

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υπὲρ πεντακισχίλιους πρὸς τοῖς μυρίωσ ἐχειν οἰκήτορας.

44 (3) Καθόλου δ’, εἰ καὶ τῶ μεγέθει τις ἐλαττώ­
σεις τῆς Περαιάς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, προέλθατο δ’ ἄν τῇ δυνάμει ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐνεργὸς ὅλη καὶ συνεχές¹
ἐστιν καρποφόρος, ἡ Περαιά δὲ πολὺ μὲν μείζων,
ἐρημὸς δὲ καὶ τραχεία τὸ πλέον, πρὸς τε καρπῶν
45 ἡμέρων αὐξησιν ἀγριωτέρα (τὸ γε μην μαλθακὸν
αὐτῆς καὶ πάμφορον, καὶ τὰ πεδία δενδρεί ποι-
κίλοις κατάφυτα τὸ πλεῖστον τε ἐλαιάν [τε]² καὶ
ἀμπελον καὶ φοινικώνας ὕσκηται) διαρδομένη
χειμάρροις τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρων καὶ πηγαῖς
ἀνενάοις ἅλις, εἰ ποτ’ ἐκεῖνοι σειρῶ φθίνοιεν.

46 μῆκος μὲν [οὐν]³ αὐτῆς ἀπὸ Μαχαιρώντος εἰς
Πέλλαν, εὔρος δ’ ἀπὸ Φιλαδελφείας μέχρι Ἰορδά-

47 νου. καὶ Πέλλῃ μὲν, ἡν προειρήκαμεν, τὰ πρὸς
ἀρκτον ὀρίζεται, πρὸς ἐσπέραν δὲ Ἰορδάνης· μη-
σμβρινον δ’ αὐτῆς πέρας ἡ Μωαβίτης, καὶ πρὸς
ἀνατολὴν Ἀραβία τε καὶ Ἑσεβωνίτιδι,⁴ πρὸς δὲ
Φιλαδελφήνῃ καὶ Γεράσοις⁵ ἀποτέμνεται.

48 (4) Ἢ δὲ Σαμαρείτις χώρα μέση μὲν τῆς Γαλι-
λαίας ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας· ἀρχομένη γὰρ ἀπὸ
tῆς ἐν τῷ [μεγάλῳ]⁶ πεδίῳ κειμένης Γιναίας⁷

1 Destinon, cf. Lat. assidue: συνεχῆς mss.
2 ἐλαιαν (om. τε) PAL: eis ἐλαιαν τε the rest.
3 om. PAL.
4 Reinach alter Schürer (Σεβωνίτιδι): Σιλωνίτιδι or Σιλ-
βωνίτιδι mss.
5 V R: Γεράσοι the rest. ⁶ om. PAL.
7 C: Γηνεὼς or Γηνέας the rest: the place is called Γῆμα(ν)
B. ii. 232, Γιναίας) A. xx. 118.

—we may suspect exaggeration. There were 204 towns 588
that the smallest of them contains above fifteen thousand inhabitants.\(^a\)

(3) In short, if Galilee, in superficial area, must be reckoned inferior to Peraea, it must be given the preference for its abundant resources; for it is entirely under cultivation and produces crops from one end to the other, whereas Peraea, though far more extensive, is for the most part desert and rugged and too wild to bring tender fruits to maturity. However, there, too, there are tracts of finer soil which are productive of every species of crop; and the plains are covered with a variety of trees, olive, vine, and palm being those principally cultivated. The country is watered by torrents descending from the mountains and by springs which never dry up and provide sufficient moisture when the torrents dwindle in the dog-days. Peraea extends in length from Machaerus to Pella,\(^b\) in breadth from Philadelphia \(^c\) to the Jordan. The northern frontier is Pella, which we have just mentioned, the western frontier is the Jordan; on the south it is bounded by the land of Moab, on the east by Arabia, Heshbonitis, Philadelphia, and Gerasa.

(4) The province of Samaria lies between Galilee and Judaea; beginning at the village of Ginaea \(^d\) situate in the Great Plain, it terminates at the and villages in Galilee (\textit{Vita} 235); the largest village was Japha (\textit{ib.} 230), the largest town Sepphoris (\textit{ib.} 232).

\(^a\) Including Machaerus, but excluding Pella (mod. \textit{Fahil}) which was in Decapolis; Peraea is the Jewish province, not comprising the northern trans-Jordanic region (Decapolis).

\(^b\) The O.T. Rabbah of Ammon, called Philadelphia after Ptolemy II Philadelphus, modern Amman; it was in Decapolis, but a neighbouring village was the scene of a bloody boundary dispute between its citizens and the Peraean Jews (\textit{A. xx.} 2).

\(^c\) Cf. B. ii. 232 (Gema).
South-east of Shechem.

The Lat. has "Anunath which is also called Borceas". Borceaus is the modern Berkit, nine miles due south of Shechem.

Or, perhaps, "at its greatest length."

Or Iarda: perhaps the modern Tell Arad, sixteen mile nearly due south of Hebron.

Strictly, rather to the north-east of the centre of Judaea. The usual Rabbinic tradition, however, was that (like Delphi to the Greek) Jerusalem was the navel (tabur) of the whole world, a position assigned to it in some mediaeval maps. See the Book of Jubilees, viii. 19, "Mount Zion, the centre of
toparchy of Acrabatene. Its character differs in no wise from that of Judaea. Both regions consist of hills and plains, yield a light and fertile soil for agriculture, are well wooded, and abound in fruits, both wild and cultivated; both owe their productivity to the entire absence of dry deserts and to a rainfall for the most part abundant. All the running water has a singularly sweet taste; and owing to the abundance of excellent grass the cattle yield more milk than in other districts. But the surest testimony to the virtues and thriving condition of the two countries is that both have a dense population.

(5) On the frontier separating them lies the village Judaea called Anuath Borcaeus, the northern limit of Judaea; its southern boundary, if one measures the country lengthwise, is marked by a village on the Arabian frontier, which the local Jews call Iardan. In breadth it stretches from the river Jordan to Joppa. The city of Jerusalem lies at its very centre, for which reason the town has sometimes, not inaptly, been called the "navel" of the country. Judaea is, moreover, not cut off from the amenities of the sea, because it slopes down towards the coast on a ridge extending as far as Ptolemais. It is divided into the navel of the earth," Talm. Bab. Sanhedrin, 37 a, with other passages cited by Charles (on Jub. viii. 12); the idea was based, inter alia, on Ezek. xxxviii. 12.

A difficult clause. Not "having a coast extending as far as Ptolemais," for the maritime plain was not in Jewish possession; and Ptolemais, in Phoenician territory, was far north, not only of Judaea, but of Samaria. The reference, it seems, is to the central mountain chain, which, sloping westwards to the Mediterranean and extending northwards through the Judaean plateau and Mt. Ephraim, terminates in Mt. Carmel, a little south of Ptolemais; perhaps also to the view obtainable therefrom.
JOSEPHUS

ἀρχεὶ μὲν βασιλείων τὰ Ἰεροσόλυμα προανίσχουσα τῆς περιοίκου πάσης ὁπερ ἡ κεφαλὴ σώματος·
αἱ λοιπαὶ δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτῆς διήρηται τὰς τοπορχίας,
55 Γόφνια δευτέρα καὶ μετὰ ταῦτην Ἀκράβετα, Θάμνα πρὸς ταῦτας καὶ Λύδδα, Ἀμμαοῦς καὶ
Πέλλη καὶ Ιδομεία καὶ Ἐνγαδδαί καὶ Ἡρώδειον
καὶ Ἰεριχώς· μεθ᾽ ἂς Ἰάμνεια καὶ Ἰόππη τῶν
περιοίκων ἀφηγοῦνται, κατὶ ταῦτας ἡ τε Γαμα-
λιτικὴ καὶ Γαυλανίτις Βασανία τε καὶ Τραχω-
νῖτις, αἱ καὶ τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας εἰςὶ μοῖραι.
57 ἀρχομένη δὲ ἀπὸ Λιβάνου όρους καὶ τῶν Ἰορδάνου
πηγῶν ἡ χώρα μέχρι τῆς πρὸς Τιβερίαδος ἐκ
μνήμης ευρύνεται, ἀπὸ δὲ κόμης καλουμένης Ἀρφᾶς
μέχρι Ἰουλιάδος ἐκτείνεται τὸ μῆκος. ὀικοῦσι
58 δὲ αὐτὴν μεγάδες Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ Σύρων. τὰ μὲν
δὴ περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ πέρις χώρας ὡς
ἐνήν μάλιστα συντόμως ἀπηγγέλκαμεν.

59 (iv. 1) Ἡ δ’ ὑπὸ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ περιθείσα
Σεπφωρίταις βοήθεια, χίλιοι μὲν ἅπεις ἐξακισ-
χίλιοι δὲ πεζοῖ, Πλακίδου χιλιαρχούντος αὐτῶν,
ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι δι-
αροῦνται, καὶ τὸ μὲν πεζὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρὸς
φυλακῆς αὐτῆς, τὸ δ’ ἰππικόν ἐπὶ τῆς παρεμβολῆς

1 κατὰ has possibly dropped out.
2 πρὸς Τιβερίαδο Niese: πρὸς Τιβερίαδα or Τιβερίάδος the rest.

a Or "allotments." Viewed from the Jewish standpoint
they are κληρονομία (cf. B. v. 160 Ἡ Ἑβραίων κληρονομία and
often in A. of the allotments of the tribes in Canaan), from
the Roman standpoint, for administrative and revenue-
collecting purposes, τοπορχία. Pliny, Hist. Nat. v. 14. 70,
mentions the division of Judaea into ἑν to toparchies; he omits
Idumaea and Engaddi, inserts Joppa (incorrectly), and sub-
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eleven districts, among which Jerusalem as the capital is supreme, dominating all the neighbourhood as the head towers above the body; in the case of the other minor districts the divisions coincide with the toparchies. Gophna is the second, then come Acrabeta, Thamna, Lydda, Emmaus, Pella, Idumaea, Engaddi, Herodion, and Jericho. To these must be added Jamnia and Joppa, which have jurisdiction over the surrounding localities, and lastly the territories of Gamala, Gaulanitis, Batanaea, and Trachonitis, which form, moreover, part of Agrippa's kingdom. That kingdom, beginning at Mount Libanus and the sources of the Jordan, extends in breadth to the lake of Tiberias, and in length from a village called Arpha to Julias; it contains a mixed population of Jews and Syrians. Such, in briefest possible outline, is my description of the country of the Jews and of their neighbours.

(iv. 1) The supports sent by Vespasian to the people of Sepphoris consisted of a thousand cavalry and six thousand infantry under the command of the tribune Placidus; the troops at first camped in the Great Plain and then divided, the infantry taking up quarters in the town for its protection, the cavalry constitutes (correctly) for Pella Betholethephene (= Bethlephetha, B. iv. 445).

See previous note.

Josephus here appends to the four main provinces of Jewish territory (1) the only two maritime towns whose population was predominantly Jewish, (2) Agrippa's kingdom in the north, also containing a large Jewish element.

From north to south.

From east to west.

Unidentified (east of Trachonitis).

Bethsaida Julias at the head of the Sea of Galilee.

Resuming the narrative of §§ 33 f.
60 αὐλίζεται. προϊόντες δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν συνεχῶς καὶ
tὰ πέρι τῆς χώρας κατατρέχοντες μεγάλα τοὺς
περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐκάκουν, ἀτρεμοῦντας τε κατὰ
πόλεις ἐξωθεὶν ληξόμενοι καὶ προθέοντας ὅποτε
61 θαρρήσειαν ἀνακόπτοντες. ὦρμησὲ γε μὴν Ἰώ-
σηπος ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν αἱρήσεων ἐλπίσας, ἣν αὐτὸς
πρὶν ἀποστῆναι Γαλιλαίων ἐτείχισεν, ὡς καὶ
Ῥωμαίοις δυσάλωτον εἶναι διὸ καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος
αἱμάρτεν, τοῦτο ζηγίζουσι καὶ τοῦ μεταπεθεῖν
62 Σεπφωρίτας ἀσθενέστερος εὑρεθεὶς. παρώξυνεν
dὲ μᾶλλον τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, καὶ οὔτε
νῦκτωρ οὔτε μεθ' ἡμέραν ὀργῆ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς οἱ
Ῥωμαίοι διέλιπον δηοῦντες αὐτῶν τὰ πεδία καὶ
dιαρπάζοντες τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας κτήματα, καὶ
κτείνοντες μὲν αἰὲ τὸ μάχιμον, ἀνδραποδίζόμενοι
63 δὲ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς. πυρὶ δὲ ἡ Γαλιλαία καὶ αἵματι
πεπλήρωτο πᾶσα, πάθους τε οὐδενὸς ἡ συμφορᾶς
ἀπείρατος ἢ μία γὰρ καταφυγὴ διωκόμενοι αἴ
ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰώσηπον τείχισθεὶσα πόλεις ἦσαν.
64 (2) 'Ο δὲ Τίτος περαιώθεις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀχαίας
eἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὥκυτερον ἡ κατὰ χειμῶνος
ὡραν, παραλαμβάνει μὲν ἐφ' ἢν ἐστάλτο δύναμιν.
συντόνω δὲ χρώμενος πορεία διὰ τάχους εἰς
65 Πτολεμαίδα ἀφικνεῖται. καὶ καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸν
πατέρα δυσὶ τοῖς ἀμα αὐτῶ τάγμασιν, ἢν δὲ τὸ
ἐπισημότατα τὸ πέμπτον καὶ τὸ δέκατον, ζεύγυνη
66 τὸ ἀχθὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεντεκαίδεκατον. τούτοις

1 text Niese: ἀτρεμοῦντα τὰς τε πόλεις most mss.
2 Destinon: ἐπιβολῆς mss.
remaining in camp. Both divisions made constant
allies and overran the surrounding country, causing
serious trouble to Josephus and his men: if the latter
remained stationary in their cities, the Romans
avaged the surrounding district; whenever they
entured out, the Romans beat them back. Josephus
had, in fact, attempt an assault on the city in hopes
of capturing it, although he had himself, before it
abandoned the Galilaean cause, so strongly fortified
as to render it practically impregnable even to the
Romans; consequently his hopes were foiled and he
bund it beyond his power either to compel or to
persuade Sepphoris to surrender. Indeed he drew
own fiercer hostilities upon the country; for the
Romans, enraged at his enterprise, never ceased,
ght or day, to devastate the plains and to pillage
property of the country-folk, invariably killing
capable of bearing arms and reducing the in-
cient to servitude. Galilee from end to end
came a scene of fire and blood; from no misery,
calamity was it exempt; the one refuge for
hunted inhabitants was in the cities fortified
Josephus.
(2) Meanwhile Titus, after a swifter passage from
Jhaia to Alexandria than is usual in the winter
ason, had taken command of the forces which he
d been sent to fetch, and by a forced march soon
ached Ptolemais. There he found his father with
two legions, the most distinguished of all, the
th and the tenth, and now united to them the
eenth which he had brought himself. These

A similar, though apparently distinct, attack of Josephus
Sepphoris (before the arrival of Vespasian) is recorded in
Tac. 395 ff.  
b § 8.
The cohort was the tenth part of a legion, normal numbering about 600 men.

Antiochus IV, king of Commagene; Soemus, king of Emesa (B. ii. 500 f.).

The items supplied work out at not far short of the figure. An exact computation is impossible owing to...
regions were accompanied by eighteen cohorts; five more cohorts with one squadron of cavalry came to join them from Caesarea, and five squadrons of cavalry from Syria. Of the twenty-three cohorts, ten numbered each a thousand infantry, the remaining thirteen had each a strength of six hundred infantry and a hundred and twenty cavalry. A further considerable force of auxiliaries had been mustered by the kings Antiochus, Agrippa, and Boaemus, each of whom furnished two thousand unmounted bowmen and a thousand cavalry; the Arab Malchus sent a thousand cavalry and five thousand infantry, mainly bowmen. Thus the total strength of the forces, horse and foot, including the contingents of the kings, amounted to sixty thousand, without counting the servants who followed in vast numbers and may properly be included in the category of combatants, whose military training they shared; for, taking part in peace time in all their masters' manoeuvres and in war time in their dangers, they yielded to none but them in skill and prowess.

(v. 1) One cannot but admire the forethought shown in this particular by the Romans, in making their servant class useful to them not only for the administrations of ordinary life but also for war. If he goes on to study the organization of their army certainty as to the strength of the squadrons (alae) of cavalry. The legion = about 6120 men. If the alae are reckoned at 90 men each, the total is 55,720; if at 1000 men, it amounts to 58,720.

This remarkable chapter, a first-rate authority on the Roman army in the first century, should be compared with the passage which probably suggested it—the more detailed digression of Polybius (vi. 19-42) on the army of three centuries earlier.
JOSEPHUS

άπιδοι, γυώστεται τὴν τοσήμως ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῦ
72 ἄρετῆς κτῆμα ἔχοντας, οὐ δώρων τύχης. οὐ γὰρ
αὐτοὶς ἀρχῇ τῶν ὀπλῶν [ὅ] πόλεμος, οὐδ' ἐπ
μόνας τὰς χρείας τῶ χειρὶ κινοῦσιν ἐν εἰρήν
προηγηκότες, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ συμπεφυκότες τοῖς
ὀπλοῖς οὐδέποτε τῆς ἁσκήσεως λαμβάνουσιν ἐκε
73 χειρίαν οὐδὲ ἀναμένουσιν τοὺς καίροὺς. αἱ μελέτε
δ' αὐτοῖς οὐδέν τῆς κατὰ ἀληθείαν εὐτονία
ἀποδέουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκαστὸς δισμεραὶ στρατιώτη,
πάση προθυμία καθάπερ ἐν πολέμῳ γυμνάζετα
74 διὸ κουφότατα τὰς μάχας διαφέρουσιν: οὔτε γὰρ
ἀταξία διασκίδησιν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν ἑθεὶ συν
τάξεως, οὔτε δέος ἐξίστησιν, οὔτε δαπανὰ πόνον
ἐπεται δὲ τὸ κρατεῖν ἀεὶ κατὰ τῶν οὕς ὀμοία
75 βέβαιον. καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι τις εἰπὼν τὰς με
μελέτας αὐτῶν χωρὶς αἵματος παρατάξεις, τὸ
76 παρατάξεις δὲ μεθ' αἵματος μελέτας. οὐδὲ γὰρ
ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς εὐάλωτοι πολεμίοις: ὅτι δ' ἐ
ἐμβάλωσιν εἰς ἑχθρὸν γῆν, οὐ πρὶν ἀποτοντι
77 μάχης ἢ τειχίσαι στρατόπεδον. τὸ δὲ οὐκ εἰκαί
οὐδὲ ἀνώμαλον ἑγείρουσιν, οὐδὲ πάντες ἢ ἀτάκτα
dιαλαβόντες, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἀνώμαλος ὦν τῆς
χώρας, ἐξομαλλίζεται: διαμετρεῖται δὲ παρεμβολ
78 τετράγωνως αὐτοὶς. καὶ τεκτόνων πλήθος ἐπετε
τῶν τε πρὸς τὴν δόμησιν ἐργαλείων. 1
79 (2) Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐνδον εἰς σκηνάς διαλαμβά

1 τὰ τε . . . ἐργαλεῖα MVRC.

a Polybius, vi. 42, contrasts the practice of Greeks ar
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as a whole, it will be seen that this vast empire of theirs has come to them as the prize of valour, and not as a gift of fortune.

For their nation does not wait for the outbreak of war to give men their first lesson in arms; they do not sit with folded hands in peace time only to put them in motion in the hour of need. On the contrary, as though they had been born with weapons in hand, they never have a truce from training, never wait for emergencies to arise. Moreover, their peace manoeuvres are no less strenuous than veritable warfare; each soldier daily throws all his energy into his drill, as though he were in action. Hence that perfect ease with which they sustain the shock of battle: no confusion breaks their customary formation, no panic paralyses, no fatigue exhausts them; and as their opponents cannot match these qualities, victory is the invariable and certain consequence. Indeed, it would not be wrong to describe their manoeuvres as bloodless combats and their combats as sanguinary manoeuvres.

The Romans never lay themselves open to a surprise attack; for, whatever hostile territory they may invade, they engage in no battle until they have fortified their camp. This camp is not erected at random or unevenly; they do not all work at once or in disorderly parties; if the ground is uneven, it is first levelled; a site for the camp is then measured out in the form of a square. For this purpose the army is accompanied by a multitude of workmen and of tools for building.

(2) The interior of the camp is divided into rows Romans in constructing a camp; the former follow the lie of the ground and spare themselves the trouble of entrenching. 599
νουσιν, ἐξώθεν δ' ὁ κύκλος τείχους ὅψιν ἐπέχει,
πύργοις ἐξ ἰσου διαστήματος κεκοσμημένος. ἔπι
dὲ τῶν μεταπυργίων τοὺς τε ὀξυβελεῖς καὶ κατα-
pέλτας καὶ λιθοβόλα καὶ πᾶν ἀφετήριον ὀργανον
τιθέασιν, πάντα πρὸς τὰς βολᾶς ἐτομα. πῦλα
dὲ ἐνοικοδομοῦνται τέσσαρες καὶ ἐκαστὸν τοῦ
περίβολον κλίμα, πρὸς τε εἰσόδους τῶν ὑποζυγίων
εὐμαρεῖς καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκδρομὰς αὐτῶν, εἰ κατ-
επείγοι, πλατεῖαι. ῥυμοτομοῦσί δ' ἐνδιαθέτως εἶσω
τὸ στρατόπεδο, καὶ μέσας μὲν τὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων
σκηνὰς τίθενται, μεσαίτατον δὲ τούτων τὸ στρατή-
γιον ναῦν παραπλήσιον: ὥσπερ δὲ ἐν σχεδίῳ πόλις
καὶ ἀγορά τις ἀποδείκνυται καὶ χειροτέχναις
χωρίον, θώκοι τε λοχαγοῖς καὶ ταξίάρχοις, ὅπη
δικάζοιεν, εἰ τινὲς διαφέροιτο. τειχίζεται δὲ ὁ
περίβολος καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα βάττον ἐπινοιας
πλήθει καὶ ἐπιστήμη τῶν πονοῦντων: εἰ δ' ἐπείγοι,
καὶ τάφρος ἐξώθεν περιβάλλεται, βάθος τετρά-
πηχὺς καὶ εὔρος ἴση.
(3) Φράξαμενοι δ' αὐλίζονται κατὰ συντάξεις
ἐκάστοι μεθ' ἱσυχίας τε καὶ κόσμου. πάντα δ' ἄυτοις καὶ τάλλα μετ' εὐταξίας ἀνύεται καὶ ἀσφα-
λείαις, ἐυλεία τε καὶ ἐπιστημός, εἰ δέοιτο, κα
ὑδρεία κατὰ συντάξεις ἐκάστοις. οὔδε γὰρ δεῖπνοι
ἡ ἀριστον, ὅποτε θελήσειαν, αὐτεξούσιον ἐκάστω
πάσιν δ' ὁμοῦ, τούς τε ὑπνοὺς αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς
φυλακὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξεγέρσεις σάλπιγγες προ-

a ὀξυβελεῖς and καταπέλται, species of calopullae, mechanica contrivances for discharging arrows by means of a windlass: Ναθοβάλα, ballistae, for discharging stones with high angle fire.
b The praetorium.
of tents. The exterior circuit presents the appearance of a wall and is furnished with towers at regular intervals; and on the spaces between the towers are placed "quick-firers," catapults, "stone-throwers," and every variety of artillery engines, all ready for use. In this surrounding wall are set four gates, one on each side, spacious enough for beasts of burden to enter without difficulty and wide enough for sallies of troops in emergencies. The camp is intersected by streets symmetrically laid out; in the middle are the tents of the officers, and precisely in the centre the headquarters of the commander-in-chief, resembling a small temple. Thus, as it were, an improvised city springs up, with its market-place, its artisan quarter, its seats of judgement, where captains and colonels adjudicate upon any differences which may arise. The outer wall and all the buildings within are completed quicker than thought, so numerous and skilled are the workmen. In case of need, the camp is further surrounded by a fosse, four cubits deep and of equal breadth.

(3) Once entrenched, the soldiers take up their quarters in their tents by companies, quietly and in good order. All their fatigue duties are performed with the same discipline, the same regard for security: the procuring of wood, food-supplies, and water, as required—each party has its allotted task. The hour for supper and breakfast is not left to individual discretion: all take their meals together. The hours for sleep, sentinel-duty, and rising, are announced

Cf. Polyb. vi. 31 ὁ μὲν εἰς ἀγορὰν γίνεται τόπος ὁ δὲ ἔτερος ὑπ' ἡμείς... πόλει παραπλησίαν ἔχει τὴν διάθεσιν.

Perhaps centurions (λόχος = a century ii. 63) and ribunes (Reinach). But παξτίσαρχοι appear to be distinguished from χελιαρχοί in § 87 and in A. vii. 26.
семаиновиа, оуд' εστιν ὦ τι γίνεται δίχα παρ-
87 αγγέλματος. υπό δὲ τὴν ἔω το στρατιωτικὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκατοντάρχας ἐκαστοί, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς χιλιάρχους οὗτοι συνίασιν ἀσπασόμενοι, μεθ' ὧν πρὸς τὸν ἥγεμόνα τῶν ὅλων οἱ ταξιάρχοι πάντες.
88 ὁ δ' αὐτοῖς τὸ τε ἔξ έθους σημείον καὶ τάλλα παραγγέλματα διαδίδωσιν1 διαφέρειν εἰς τοὺς ύποτεγμένους. ὁ δὴ κατ' παρατάξεις πράτ-
tontes ἐπιστρέφονται [τε] ταχέως, ἵνα2 δέοι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐφόδους αὐτοῖς3 καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀνακλήσεις ύποχωροῦσιν ἀθρόοι.
89 (4) 'Εξείναι δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου δέον ὑπο-
89 σημαίνει μὲν ἡ σάλπιγξ, ἥρεμει δ' οὔδεὶς, ἀλλ' άμα νεύματα τὰς μὲν σκηνᾶς ἀναιροῦσιν, πάντα δ' ἐξαρτύνονται πρὸς τὴν ἐξοδον. καὶ πάλιν τὰ
90 σάλπιγγες ὑποσημαίνουσιν παρεσκευάσθαι. οἱ δὲ εὖ τάχει τοῖς τε ὀρείσιν καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἐπιβεντεῖ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἐστάσιν ὑπὸ ἐφ' ὑσπληγος ἕξορμαν ἐτοιμοι, ὑποπμπράσιν τε ἢδη τὴν παρεμβολήν, ὡς αὐτοὶς μὲν ὅν ῥάδιον ἐκεὶ πάλιν τείχίσασθαι, μὴ γένοιτο δ' ἐκεῖνο ποτὲ τοι
91 πολεμίους χρήσιμον. καὶ τρίτον δ' ὅμοιως6& a
91 σάλπιγγες προσημαίνουσι τὴν ἐξοδον, ἐπισπερ χουσαί τοὺς δ' αἰτίαν των θαρδύναντας, ὡς μὴ τῆς ἀπολειφθείη [τῆς]7 τάξεως. ὁ τε κήρυξ δεξιο

1 PAM: οὐδὼσιν the rest.
2 RC = "where": + εί the rest.
3 Text doubtful.
4 υφ' P: ἀφ' Naber.
5 om. Destinon (so apparently Lat.).
6 Havercamp with one ms.: συμως the rest.
7 ins. Bekker with one ms.

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by the sound of the trumpet; nothing is done without word of command. At daybreak the rank and file report themselves to their respective centurions, the centurions go to salute the tribunes,\(^a\) the tribunes with all the officers \(^b\) then wait on the commander-in-chief, and he gives them, according to custom, the watchword and other orders to be communicated to the lower ranks. The same precision is maintained in the battle-field: the troops wheel smartly round in the requisite direction, and, whether advancing to the attack or retreating, all move as a unit at the word of command.

(4) When the camp is to be broken up, the trumpet sounds a first call; \(^c\) at that none remain idle: instantly, at this signal, they strike the tents and make all ready for departure. The trumpets sound a second call to prepare for the march: at once they file their baggage on the mules and other beasts of burden and stand ready to start, like runners breasting the cord on the race-course. They then set fire to the encampment, both because they can easily construct another [on the spot], and to prevent the enemy from ever making use of it. A third time the trumpets give a similar signal for departure, to hasten the movements of stragglers, whatever the reason for their delay, and to ensure that none is out of his place in the ranks. Then the herald, standing on

\(^a\) Cf. Polyb. vi. 36. 6 (at daybreak the inspectors of night-ntries report to the tribunes).

\(^b\) \(\tau\alpha\xi\iota\alpha\rho\chi\omega\) = either "officers" generally, including centurions and tribunes (Reinach), or perhaps "legates," \(i.e.\) commanders of the legions, for which, however, \(\epsilon\pi\alpha\rho\chi\omega\) is ed in § 310.

\(^c\) Polybius, vi. 40, similarly describes three trumpet-calls fore the march: (1) lower tents and collect baggage, (2) load beasts of burden, (3) march.
τῷ πολεμάρχῳ παραστάς, εἰ πρὸς πολέμῳ εἰσὶν ἐτοιμοὶ, τῇ πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ τρὶς ἀναπυνθάνεται κάκεῖνοι τοσαυτάκις ἀντιβοῶσιν μέγα τι καὶ πρὸ θυμοῦ, ἐτοιμοὶ λέγοντες εἶναι, φθάνουσιν δὲ τὸ ἐπερωτώντα, καὶ τυφὼς ἀρῆτον πνεύματος ὑπὸ πιπλάμενοι τῇ βοὴν συνεξαίρουσιν τὰς δεξιάς.

93 (5) "Επείτα προϊόντες οὐδεύουσιν ἥσυχῇ κἂν μετ' κόσμου πάντες, ὡσπερ ἐν πολέμῳ τῇ ἴδιᾳ τάξιν ἐκαστός φυλάσσων, οἱ μὲν πεζοὶ θώραξιν [τε] πεφραγμένοι καὶ κράνεσιν καὶ μαχαιροφοροῦντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν. μακρότερον δ' αὐτῶν τὸ λαὸς ἐίσοδος πολλῷ τὸ γὰρ κατὰ [τὸ]1 δεξιόν σπιθαμῇ οὐ πλέον ἔχει τὸ μῆκος. φέροντι δ' οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπίλεκτον πεζοὶ λόγχην καὶ ἀσπίδα ἡ δὲ λοιπὴ φάλαγξ ἐξυστὸν τε καὶ θυρεὸν ἐπιμελήτη πρὸς οἷς πρίονα καὶ κόψινον, ἀμην τε καὶ πέλεκυ πρὸς ἡμάντα καὶ δρέπανου καὶ ἄλυσιν, ἠμερῶ τε τρῶν ἐφόδιον· ὡς ὄλγον ἀποδείχτων ἄλλως ἀχθοὺ φοροῦντων ὀρέων τοῦ πεζοῦ. τοῖς δὲ ἱππεύσαι μάχαιρα μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν μακρὰ καὶ κοντὸς ἐπί μῆκης ἐν χειρὶ, θυρεὸς δὲ παρὰ πλευρὸν ἵππῳ πλάγιος, καὶ κατὰ γιωρτοῦ παρήρηται τρεῖς πλείους ἄκοντες, πλατείς μὲν αἰχμάς, οὐκ ἀπὲ δέοντες δὲ δορᾶτων μέγεθος· κράνη δὲ καὶ θώρακε ὁμοίως τοῖς πεζοῖς ἀπασιν. οὐδενὶ δὲ ὕπλα διαλάττουσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐκκριτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἑλαίας ἱππεῶν. κλήρῳ δὲ τῶν ταυτάτων ἀεὶ τὸ λαχὸν ἤγεῖται.

1 P: om. the rest.

a About 9 inches. On the monuments this order reversed, the poniard (pugio) being on the left; similar
he right of the war-lord, inquires three times in their native tongue whether they are ready for war. Three times they loudly and lustily shout in reply, "We are ready," some even anticipating the question; and, worked up to a kind of martial frenzy, they along with the shout raise their right arms in the air.

(5) Then they advance, all marching in silence and a good order, each man keeping his place in the ranks, as if in face of the enemy.

The infantry are armed with cuirass and helmet and carry a sword on either side; that on the left is far longer of the two, the dagger on the right being longer than a span. The picked infantry, forming the general's guard, carry a lance and round shield, the regiments of the line a javelin and oblong buckler; the equipment of the latter further includes a saw, a basket, a pick and an axe, not to mention a strap, a bill-hook, a chain and three days' actions, so that an infantry man is almost as heavily laden as a pack-mule.

The cavalry carry a large sword on their right side, a long pike in the hand, a buckler resting obliquely on the horse's flank, and in a quiver slung beside them three or more darts with broad points and as long as spears; their helmets and cuirasses are the same as those worn by all the infantry. The select valry, forming the general's escort, are armed in exactly the same manner as the ordinary troopers. The legion which is to lead the column is always selected by lot.

Lybius, who omits the poniard, states that the sword is worn on the right (vi. 23. 6).

According to Polyb. vi. 40. 9 the order of march was revolved by a daily rotation.
Τοιαύται μὲν οὖν αἱ Ῥωμαίοι πορείαι τοι ἐναλαμβάνουσι τα σφάλματα. Ἰδιαίτερα, ὕστερα ὅτε ὁ πρὸς τὸν μέν αὐτὸν καλὸν δελεάζοντος εἰς ἀπρομήθειαν, τοιαύτα μὲν οὖν ἐναλαμβάνοντο τὰ σφάλματα. ῾Ηγούμενος οὖν ἐν τῷ ἀπὸ τὸν μέν αὐτὸν μάτων ἀγαθῶν ὡς τὸν λαβόντα αὐτὸν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ παρὰ γνώμην προσπεσόντων σκυθρωπῶν παρεμβάλλειν τὸ γε προσηκόντως βεβουλεύσθαι.

Παρασκευάζοντες μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς μελεταῖς τῶν ὁπλῶν ὡς τὰ σώματα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ψυχῶν ἀλκίμους, προσασκοῦνται δὲ καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ὕστερα, τοῖς δὲ παρὰ γνώμην προσπεσόντων σκυθρωπῶν παρεμβάλλειν τὸ γε προσηκόντως βεβουλεύσθαι.

οἱ τοῦ γὰρ νόμου παρὰ αὐτοῖς ὁ λιποταξίαί τὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ ῶπερτόν ὅλης ὑποτεχνίας, οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν νόμων φοβερῶτεροι, ταῖς γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τιμαῖς ῥύονται τὸ δοκεῖν ῥήματα καὶ τὰ παρατάξεως ἐν σώμα τὸν ὁλην στρατιάν. οὕτως αὐτῶν συναφείς μὲν τὰξεις, εὐστροφοὶ δὲ εἰσιν αἱ περιαγωγαί, οὓς δὲ ἀκοι αἱ παραγγέλμασιν, οὓς δὲ καὶ σημειοῦμεν ἐργοῖς δὲ χείρεσ. Ὁθεν δράσαι μὲν ἀεὶ ταχεῖα βραδύταται δὲ παθεῖν εἰσιν, οὗτ' ἐστιν ὔπου στό

1 τοῦ Dindorf.

2 Ср. lat. copulati: áσφαλείς or ἀφελεῖς the rest.

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Such is the routine of the Roman army on the march and in camp, such are the various arms which they bear. In battle nothing is done unadvisedly or left to chance: consideration invariably precedes action, and action conforms to the decision reached. Consequently the Romans rarely err, and, if they do make a slip, easily repair their error. They consider, moreover, that a well-concerted plan, even if it ends in failure, is preferable to a happy stroke of fortune, because accidental success is a temptation to improvidence, whereas deliberation, though occasionally followed by misfortunes, teaches the useful lesson now to avoid their recurrence. They further reflect that one who profits by a happy accident can take no credit for it, while disasters which occur contrary to all calculations leave one at least the consolation that no proper precautions were neglected.

By their military exercises the Romans instil into their soldiers fortitude not only of body but also of soul; fear, too, plays its part in their training. For they have laws which punish with death not merely desertion of the ranks, but even a slight neglect of duty; and their generals are held in even greater awe than the laws. For the high honours with which they reward the brave prevent the offenders whom they punish from regarding themselves as treated cruelly.

This perfect discipline makes the army an ornament of peace-time and in war welds the whole into a single body; so compact are their ranks, so alert their movements in wheeling to right or left, so quick their ears for orders, their eyes for signals, their hands to act upon them. Prompt as they consequently ever are in action, none are slower than they

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107  αὐτοῖς τὸ κρατεῖν βεβαιότερον, οἷς οὖν βουλή μὲν ἄρχει πράξεως, ἔπεται δὲ τοῖς βεβουλευμένοις στρατοὶς οὕτω δραστήριος, τι θαυμαστόν εἰ πρὸς ἕω μὲν Εὐφράτης, ὁκεανὸς δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν, μεσημβρινὸν δὲ Λιβύης τὸ πιότατον καὶ πρὸς ἄρκτον Ἰστρός τε καὶ Ἡρνος τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ ὁροί; δεόντως γὰρ ἀν τις εἶποι τὸ κτῆμα τῶν κτησαμένων ἔλασσον.

108  (8) Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν διεξῆλθον οὐ 'Ρωμαίου ἐπαινέσαι προαιρούμενος τοσοῦτον, ὅσον εἰς το παραμυθίαν τῶν κεχειρωμένων καὶ εἰς ἀποτροπή τῶν νεωτεριζόντων: εἰ θ' ἀν τοῖς ἄγνοοις τῷ φιλοκαλούντων καὶ πρὸς ἐμπειρίας ἢ ἀγωγῆ τῇ 'Ρωμαίων στρατιάς. ἐπάνεμι δ' ὅθεν ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἐξέβην.

110  (vi. 1) Οὐσσπασιανὸς μὲν ἀμα τῷ παιδὶ Τίτ διατρίβων τέως ἐν τῇ Πτολεμαίδι συνέτασσεν τῷ δυνάμεις, ὃ δὲ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν κατατρέχων Πλεικὸς ἐπεὶ πολὺ μὲν πλῆθος ἀνηρήκει τῶν καταλαμβανομένων, τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ ἀσθενεστέρου Γαλλάλαίων καὶ ταῖς φυγαῖς ἐναποκάμον, ὁρῶν ἐνυφεθέν οἵ τε μάχιμον εἰς τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωσὴ

1  PAL: συνάστηντες the rest.
2  παραταξῶς PAL.
3  M (margin): φιλακαίς or Ψυχαίς the rest.

"The motive here admitted is significant. As has been said elsewhere (vol. i. Introd. p. xi), the Jewish War," penn in Vespasian's former palace by his pensioner, was probable of the nature of a manifesto inspired by his imperial patron.
n succumbing to suffering, and never have they been known in any predicament to be beaten by numbers, by ruse, by difficulties of ground, or even by fortune; or they have more assurance of victory than of fortune. Where counsel thus precedes active operations, where the leaders’ plan of campaign is followed up by so efficient an army, no wonder that the Empire has extended its boundaries on the east to the Euphrates, on the west to the ocean, on the south to the most fertile tracts of Libya, on the north to the Ister and the Rhine. One might say without exaggeration that, great as are their possessions, the people that won them are greater still.

(8) If I have dwelt at some length on this topic, my intention was not so much to extol the Romans as to console those whom they have vanquished and to deter others who may be tempted to revolt. Perhaps, too, any cultured readers who are unacquainted with the subject may profit by an account of the organization of the Roman army. I will now resume my narrative at the point where I digressed.

(vi. 1) Vespasian was detained for some time with his son Titus at Ptolemais, consolidating his forces. Meanwhile Placidus was scouring Galilee and had begun by killing large numbers of those who fell into his hands, these being weak civilians who were exhausted by flight; afterwards, observing that the inhabitants always took refuge in the cities which intended as a warning to the East of the futility of further position.” The danger of a rising of the Parthians or of the Jews of Babylon (ii. 388 f.) was a constant menace.

\[\text{Unsuccessful attack on Placid 13, 0 Jotapata.}\]

\[\text{Unsuccessful attack on Placid 13, 0 Jotapata.}\]

\[\text{Unsuccessful attack on Placid 13, 0 Jotapata.}\]

\[\text{Unsuccessful attack on Placid 13, 0 Jotapata.}\]
πον τειχισθείσας πόλεις ὁρμήσεν ἐπὶ τὴν ὀχυρω
tάτην αὐτῶν Ἰωταπάταν, οἰόμενος ἐξ ἐφόδου μὲ
αιρήσειν ραδίως, μέγα δὲ κλέος αὐτῶ παρὰ τοῖν
ἡγεμόνιν κάκεινοι ὄφελος εἰς τά λουπά παρ
ἐξει' προσχωρήσειν γὰρ δέει τάς ἄλλας πόλεις
112 τῆς καρτερωτάτης οἰχομένης. 1 πολὺ γε μὴν δι
ήμαρτεν τῆς ἐλπίδος: ἐπιώντα γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰωτα
πατημοὶ προαιροθέμενοι πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐκ
δέχονται, καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συνραγεύτες ἀδοκήτου
πολλοὶ καὶ πρὸς μάχην ἔστομιν, πρόθυμοι τε ὡ
ἀν ὑπὲρ κυνδυνεύοντος πατρίδος καὶ γυναικῶν κα
113 τέκνων, τρέπονται ταχέως. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲ
πτερόσκοιν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἐπτὰ δὲ ἀναργύρη
diὰ τὸ μῆτε ἀτακτὸν αὐτῶν τὴν ὑποχώρησι
γενέσθαι καὶ τὰς πληγὰς ἐπιπολαίους πεφραγ
μένων πάντοθεν τῶν σωμάτων, τοὺς τε Ἰουδαίοι
πόρρωθεν βάλλειν πλέουν ἡ συμπλέκεσθαι ϑαρρεῖ
114 γυμνῆται ὀπλίταις. ἐπεσοῦν δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων
τρεῖς ἄνδρες καὶ ἐτρώθησαν ὅλγοι. Πλάκιδος μὲ
οὐν τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀρμῆσαν ἄτονωτος εὐθῆθε
φεύγει.
115 (2) Οὐσπασιανῶς δὲ ὀρμημένος αὐτὸς ἐμβαλε
εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐξελαύνει τῆς Πτολεμαίδο
dιατάξας τὴν στρατιὰν ὀδεύει καθα Ῥωμαίο
116 ἑθος. τοὺς μὲν γε ψυλοὺς τῶν ἐπικούρων κε
τοξότας προάγει ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς ἀνακόπτοιεν τὲ
ἐξαπιανοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδρομας καὶ δὲ
ερευνῶν τὰς ὑπόπτους καὶ λοχάσθαι δυναμένα
ύλας, οἰς εἰπεστο καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὀπλιτικὴ μοῖρ
117 πεζοῖ τε καὶ ἱππεῖς. τούτοις ἀφ' ἐκάστης ἐκατον

1 MVRC, cf. iv. 128: ἐχομένης PAL.
Josephus had fortified, he proceeded to attack the most formidable of them, Jotapata. He expected to have no difficulty in capturing it by a sudden assault, and thus to procure for himself a high reputation with his chiefs and for them a considerable advantage for the future campaign; for, once the strongest town had fallen, terror would induce the rest to surrender. In this hope, however, he was greatly deceived. Forewarned of his approach, the people of Jotapata awaited his coming outside the town and burst unexpectedly upon the Romans. Being a large body, well prepared for battle, and kindled by the thought of the danger threatening their native city, their wives and their children, they quickly routed their opponents and wounded a large number of them. They killed no more than seven, because the Romans retired in good order and, their bodies being completely protected, received only superficial wounds, while their Jewish assailants, lightly equipped and opposed to heavy-armed regulars, kept their distance and did not venture to come to close quarters with them. The Jews on their side had three killed and a few wounded. Tacitus, thus finding himself too feeble for an assault on the town, beat a retreat.

(2) But Vespasian, impatient to invade Galilee himself, now set out from Ptolemais, after drawing up his army for the march in the customary Roman order. The auxiliary light-armed troops and archers were sent in advance, to repel any sudden incursions of the enemy and to explore suspected woodland suited for the concealment of ambuscades. Next came a contingent of heavy-armed Roman soldiers, infantry and cavalry. They were followed by a detachment
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αρχίας ἡκολούθουν δέκα τὴν τε ἑαυτῶν σκευὴν
118 καὶ τὰ μέστρα τῆς παρεμβολῆς φέροντες, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς ὀδοποιοὶ τὰ σκολιὰ τῆς λεωφόρου κατευθύνειν καὶ χθαμαλῶν τὰ δύσβατα καὶ τὰς ἐμποδίους ὕλας προαικόπτειν, ὡς μή ταλαιπω-
119 ροίτο δυσποροῦν τὸ στράτευμα. κατόπιν δὲ τούτων τὰς τε ἱδίας καὶ τὰς τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνων ἔταξεν ἀποσκευᾶς καὶ συχνῶς ἐπὶ τούτοις πρὸς
120 ἀσφάλειαν τῶν ἱππεῶν. μεθ' όυς αὐτοὺς ἐξήλανει
tούς τε ἐπιλέκτους τῶν πεζῶν καὶ ἱππεῶν κα
tοὺς λογχοφόρους ἔχων. εἶπετο δ' αὐτῷ τὸ ἱδιο
tὸν τάγματος ἱππικὸν· ἱδιοὶ γὰρ ἐκάστου τάγματος
121 εἶκοσι πρὸς τοὺς ἐκατόν ἱππεῖς. τούτους δ' ἡ
cολούθουν οἱ τὰς ἑλεπόλεις φέροντες ὀρείς κα
122 τὰ λοιπὰ μηχανήματα. μετὰ τούτους ἡγεμόνε
tε καὶ σπειρῶν ἔπαρχοι σὺν χιλιάρχοις, ἐπιλέκτου
123 περὶ σφᾶς στρατιώτας ἔχοντες· ἐπεὶτα ἀι σχημα
pερίσσχουσα τῶν ἀετῶν, ὦς παντὸς ἄρχει Ῥω
μαίοις τάγματος, βασιλεὺς τε οἰωνῶν ἀπάντω
καὶ ἀλκιμώτατος ὅν· ὦ δὴ καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονία
tεκμήριων αὐτοῖς καὶ κληρῶν, ἐφ' όυς ἃν ἐσσε
124 τοῦ κρατήσεως δοκεῖ. τοῖς δὲ ἱεροῖς ἡκολούθου
οί σαλπιγκταῖ, καὶ κατόπιν αὐτῶν ἡ φάλαγξ τ
στῖφος εἰς ἐξ πλατύνασα. τούτους παρείπετο τ.
ἐκατόνταρχος ἐξ ἑθοὺς τῆς τάξιν ἐπισκοποῦμενο
125 τὸ δ' οἰκετικὸν ἐκάστου τάγματος ἀπαν το
πεζῶς εἶπετο, τὰς ἀποσκευὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶ
ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρείσι καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἀγοντε

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composed of ten men from each century, carrying their own kit and the necessary instruments for marking out the camp; after these came the pioneers to straighten sinuosities on the route, to level the rough places and to cut down obstructing woods, in order to spare the army the fatigues of a toilsome march. Behind these Vespasian posted his personal equipage and that of his lieutenants with a strong mounted escort to protect them. He himself rode behind with the pick of the infantry and cavalry and his guard of lancers. Then came the cavalry units of the legions; for to each legion are attached a hundred and twenty horse. These were followed by the mules carrying the siege towers and the other machines. Then came the legates, the prefects of the cohorts and the tribunes, with an escort of picked troops. Next the ensigns surrounding the eagle, which in the Roman army precedes every legion, because it is the king and the bravest of all the birds: it is regarded by them as the symbol of empire, and, whoever may be their adversaries, an omen of victory. These sacred emblems were followed by the trumpeters, and behind them came the solid column, marching six abreast. A centurion, according to custom, accompanied them to superintend the order of the ranks. Behind the infantry the servants attached to each legion followed in a body, conducting the mules and other beasts of burden which carried the soldiers' kit. At the end of the

*For carrying battering-rams: in iii. 230 the word *λεπόλις* seems to mean the battering-ram itself.

*Reinach thinks that a centurion for each legion must be intended.*
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126 κατόπιν δὲ πάντων τῶν ταγμάτων ὁ μίσθιος ὁχλος, οἷς οὕραγοι πρὸς ἁσφάλειαν ἥκολούθουν πεζοὶ τε καὶ ὀπλίται καὶ τῶν ἱππέων συχνοί.

127 (3) Οὕτως ὁδεύσας Οὐδεσποσιανῶς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τοὺς ὄρους ἀφικνεῖται τῆς Γαλιλαίας, ἐνθα καταστρατοπεδευσάμενος ὑρμημένους εἰς πόλεμον τοὺς στρατιώτας κατείχεν, ἐπι- δεικνύμενός τε τὴν στρατιάν εἰς κατάπληξιν τοῖς πολέμιοις καὶ μετανοίας καυρὸν δίδον, εἰ πρὶ μάχης μεταβάλοντο· ἀμα δὲ καὶ πρὸς πολιορκίαι

128 τῶν ἐρυμάτων ἔξηρτύετο. μετάνοιον μὲν οὖν τῇ ἀποστάσεως ὄφθεις ὁ στρατηγὸς πολλοῦς ἐνειρ.

129 γάσατο, κατάπληξιν δὲ πᾶσιν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ περ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐστρατοπεδευκότες οὐκ ἀπώθεν τῇ Σεπφώρεως [παρὰ πόλιν Γαρίν καλομένην], 1 ἐπε πλησιάζοντα τὸν πόλεμον ἤκουσαν ὅσον τε οὕτω τοὺς Ῥωμαίους συμμίξοντας σφίσιν, οὐ μόνο πρὸ μάχης, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρῶ ἱδεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺ

130 διασκίδανται φυγῇ. καταλείπεται δ' ὁ Ἰὼση πος μετ ὀλίγων, καὶ κατιδὼν ὠς οὔτε δέχεσθα τοὺς πολέμιους ἀρκετὴν ἔχοι 2 δύναμιν καὶ πε πτῶκοι τὰ φρονήματα τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἁσμενοί τ άιν, εἰ πιστεύοντο, χωροῖεν οἱ πλείους ἐπὶ σπονδάς

131 ἐδεδέει μὲν ἡδῆ περὶ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου, τὸτ δ' ὡς πορρωτάτῳ χωρίζεσθαι τῶν κινδύνων ἐκρ

1 om. PAL Lat.; perhaps a gloss from Vita 395, 412.

2 ἔχει P.M.

a Apparently the rest of the auxiliary cohorts, of whom

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column came the crowd of mercenaries, and last of all for security a rearguard composed of light and heavy infantry and a considerable body of cavalry.

(3) Proceeding with his army in this order Vespasian reached the frontiers of Galilee. Here he established his camp and restrained the ardour of his soldiers, who were burning for the fray, being content to parade his forces before the enemy, with a view to intimidating them and giving time for reconsideration, if they wished, before an engagement, to desert their friends. At the same time he made preparations for besieging the strongholds. The general's appearance on the scene in fact aroused in many regret for their revolt, and in all alarm. The troops under the command of Josephus, who were camping beside a town called Garis, not far from Sepphoris, discovering that the war was upon them, and that they might at any moment be attacked by the Romans, dispersed and fled, not only before any engagement, but before they had even seen their foes. Josephus was left with a few companions; he saw that he had not sufficient forces to await the enemy, that the Jews were crestfallen, and that the majority of them, if they could gain the enemy's confidence, would gladly capitulate. Already he had fears for the ultimate issue of the war; for the moment he decided to remove as far as possible from portion only has been mentioned in §116. Similarly, in olyb. vi. 40. 6-8, "the left wing of the auxiliaries" bring up the rear; if an enemy attack in the rear is expected the picked auxiliaries are transferred to that quarter from the van.

b Or, perhaps, "come to a better frame of mind."

c Twenty furlongs from Sepphoris (Vita 395, where Garis called a village).
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vev, ἀναλαβόν τε τοὺς συμμείναντας εἰς Τιβεριάδα καταθεύγει.

132 (vii, 1) Οὐσπασιανὸς δὲ τῇ πόλει τῶν Γαβάρων ἐπελθὼν αἱρεῖ τε κατὰ πρώτην ἔφοδον αὐτήν.

133 μαχίμου πλήθους ἔρημου καταλαβὼν, καὶ παρατηθὼν εἰσὶν πάντας ἦβηδὸν ἀναίρει μηδεμιὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡλικίας ἐλευς ποιομένων μίσει τῷ πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος καὶ μνήμη τῆς κατὰ τὸν Κέστιον

134 αὐτῶν παρανομίας. ἐμπιμπρησίνος δ’ οὐ μόνον αὐτῇ τῇ πόλιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πέρικε κώμας πάσας τε καὶ πολίχνιας, ἃς μὲν παντελῶς ἐκθέλειμενας, ἐστι δ’ ἃς αὐτοῖς ἐξαιρετοδιόμενοι.

135 (2) Ὁ δ’ Ἰώσηπος ᾣν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν εἰλεῖ τῇ πόλιν αὐτὸς ἐνέπλησεν δέος καταθυγάων. οἱ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Τιβεριάδος οὐκ ἦν, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ πάντα ἀπεγκυκτεί τὸν πόλεμον, τραπέζην ποτε αὐτὸ ὕφιστο. καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο γε οὐ διημαρτανούν αὐτὸ τῆς γνώμης· ἐώρα μὲν γὰρ ποί ῆβεῖ τὰ Ἰουδαίων τέλους, καὶ μίαν αὐτῶν ἦδει σωτηρίαν, εἰ μετὰ

136 βάλοντο. αὐτὸς δὲ καίπερ συγγνωσθῆσθαι παρ’ Ῥωμαίως προσδοκοῦν, ὅμως τεθύναι μᾶλλον εἰλεῖτο πολλάκις ἢ καταπροδοῦς τὴν πατρίδα κεὶ τὴν ἐμπιστευθῆσαι αὐτῷ στρατηγίαν ὑβρίσα

138 εὐτυχεῦν παρ’ οἷς πολεμώμενοι ἐπέμφθη. γράφει οὖν τοῖς ἐν τέλει τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων διέγνω μετ’ ἀκριβείας τὰ πράγματα, ὡς μὴ ἐπὶ μείζον ἐξάρας τὴν τῶν πολεμών ἰσχύν αὖθις εἰς δεῖλα κακίζοιτο, μήτε ἐνδειεστερον ἀπαγγείλας καὶ μετο

1 Niese after Lat.: ὅ τις καὶ Bekker.
2 Giffone: Γαδάρας οὐτος Γαδάρεων ms. Gadara was in Decapolis and pro-Roman (B. iv. 113); Gabara was principal city of Galilee, due east of Ptolemais (Vita 123).
3 From Lat.: ὅ τις καὶ mss.

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the risk of a conflict. Accordingly, with the remnant of his troops, he took refuge in Tiberias.

(vii. 1) Vespasian's first objective was the city of Gabara, which he carried at the first assault, finding it deprived of effective combatants. Entering the city he slew all males who were of age, the Romans showing no mercy to old or young, so bitter was their hatred of the nation and their memory of the affront which had been done to Cestius. Not content with setting fire to the city, Vespasian burnt all the villages and country towns in the neighbourhood; some he found completely deserted, in the others he reduced the inhabitants to slavery.

(2) The arrival of Josephus filled with alarm the city which he had chosen as his refuge, for the people of Tiberias felt that he would never have fled, had he not abandoned all hope of success in the contest. In this they correctly interpreted his opinion; for he foresaw the final catastrophe for which the fortunes of the Jews were heading, and recognized that their only hope of salvation lay in submission. For himself, although he might look for pardon from the Romans, he would have preferred to suffer thousand deaths rather than betray his country and disgracefully abandon the command which had been entrusted to him, in order to seek his fortune among those whom he had been commissioned to fight. He decided therefore to write to the authorities at Jerusalem an exact statement of the position of affairs, neither exaggerating the strength of the enemy, which might subsequently lead to his being shunted with cowardice, nor underrating it, for fear

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139 νοήσαντας ίσως θρασύνειν, ἵνα τε ἣ σπονδάς αἱροῦμενοι ταχέως ἀντιγράψωσιν, ἡ πολεμεῖ ἐγνωκότες πρὸς Ὀρωμαίους ἄξιομαχον αὐτῷ πέμψι
140 ὑποί δύναμιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν ταῦτ' ἐπιστείλας πέμπε διὰ τάχους ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων τοὺς τὰ γράμματα κομίζοντας.

141 (3) Οὐσπασιανὸς δὲ ὁρμημένος ἐξαιρεῖν τῇ Ἱωταπάταν, πέπυστο γὰρ εἰς αὐτὴν πλείστον τῶν πολεμίων συμπεφυγέαναι καὶ ἄλλως ὀρμητὴ
ριον ἱσχυρόν οὖσαν αὐτῶν, πέρπει πεζοὺς τε καὶ
ιππεῖς τοὺς προεξομαλιοῦντας τὴν ὁδὸν ὀρεινὴ
ὑπάρχουσαν καὶ πετρώδη, δύσβατον δὲ καὶ πεζοῖς
142 ιππεὺσιν δ' ἀμήχανον. οὶ μὲν οὖν τέσσαρις
ημέραις ἐξειργάσαντο καὶ πλατεῖαν ἦνοιξαν τ
στρατιὰ λεωφόρον: τῇ πέμπτῃ δ' ὁ Ἰώσηπο
αὐτῇ δ' ἦν Ἀρτεμισίου μηνὸς μία καὶ εἰκά
φθανε παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν Ἱωταπάταν ἐκ τῷ
Τιβεριάδος καὶ πεπτωκότα τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐγείρ
τὰ φρονήματα. Οὐσπασιανὸς δὲ τις εὐαγγελίζετε
τὴν μετάβασιν τοῦ ἄνδρὸς αὐτόμολος καὶ κατ
ἡπειγεν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ως μετ' ἐκείνης αἰρήσοντ
πάσαν Ἰουδαίαν, εἰ λάβοι τὸν Ἰώσηπον ὑποχείριο
144 ὁ δ' ἀρπάσας ωσπερ μέγιστον εὐτύχημα τι
ἀγγελίαν καὶ προνοίᾳ θεοῦ τὸν συνετῶταν εἰν
δοκοῦντα τῶν πολεµίων οἰόμενοι εἰς εἱρκτῇ
ἀυθαίρετον παρελθεῖν, εὐθέως μὲν σὺν χιλίο

1 L.C: θρασύνειν the rest.

a The distance from Gabara to Jotapata seems to b 618
of encouraging them to hold out when possibly inclined to repent. If the magistrates intended to negotiate, they were asked to reply to that effect without delay; if they decided to continue the war, they should send him a force capable of coping with the Romans. Having written a letter to this effect, he sent it by express messengers to Jerusalem.

(3) Vespasian was impatient to make an end of Jotapata, having heard that it was the refuge to which most of the enemy had retired, and that it was, moreover, their strong base; he accordingly sent a body of infantry and cavalry in advance to level the road leading to it, a stony mountain track, difficult for infantry and quite impracticable for mounted troops. In four days their task was completed and a broad highway opened for the army. On the fifth, which was the twenty-first of the month Artemisius, Josephus hurriedly left Tiberias and entered Jotapata, his arrival raising the dejected spirits of the Jews. A deserter brought to Vespasian the welcome intelligence of the general's movement, and urged him to hasten to attack the city, because, if fall, could he but secure Josephus, would amount to the capture of all Judaea. Vespasian caught at this information as a godsend, regarding it as by God's providential ordering that the man who was reputed to be the most sagacious of his enemies had deliberately entered a prison; he instantly

lightly underestimated in Vita 234 as "about 40 stades"; is six miles due south.

There is some doubt about this figure, which it is difficult to reconcile with the statement that Jotapata was taken on the first of Panemus (§ 339) after a siege of forty-seven days (316). The 21st of Artemisius, according to Niese's calculation, was the 8th of June, A.D. 67.
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ίππευσιν πέμπει Πλάκιδον καὶ δεκαδάρχην Αἰβούτιον, ἀνδρὰ τῶν ἐπισήμων κατὰ χείρα καὶ
σύνεσιν, περικατασχείν κελεύσας τὴν πόλιν, ὡς μὴ λάθοι διαδράσῃ ο Ἰώσηπος.

145 (4) Αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν ἀναλαβὼν
πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν εἶπετο καὶ μέχρι δείλῃ
146 ὀδεύσας πρὸς τὴν 'Ἰωταπάταν ἀφικνεῖται. ἀνα
λαβὼν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὸ προσάρκτιον αὐτῆς
μέρος ἐν τινὶ λόφῳ στρατοπεδεύεται διέχοντ
σταδίους ἐπτὰ τῆς πόλεως, πειρώμενος ὡς μά
λιστα τοὺς πολεμίους εὐσύνοπτος εἶναι πρὸς ἐκ
147 πληξίν. ἥ καὶ παραχρήμα τοσαύτη τοὺς 'Ἰουδαίου
κατέσχεν, ὡς μηδένα τοῦ τείχους τολμήσαι πρὸ
148 ελθεῖν. 'Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ εὐθὺς μὲν ἀπώκησαν πρὸς
βαλεῖν, δι' ὅλης ὀδευκότες ἡμέρας, διπλῆ δὲ τ
φάλαγγι κυκλοῦνται τὴν πόλιν καὶ τρίτην ἔξωθε
περιστάσαστιν τὴν ἱππον, πάσας ἀποφράσσοντε
149 αὐτοῖς τὰς ἔξοδους. τοῦτ' ἐν ἀπογνώσει σωτη
ρίας παρώξυνε τοὺς 'Ἰουδαίους πρὸς τόλμαν ὦν
δὲ γὰρ ἀνάγκης ἐν πολέμῳ μαχιμώτερον.

150 (5) Γενομένης δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν προσβολῆς τ
μὲν πρώτον 'Ἰουδαῖοι κατὰ χώραν μένοντε
ἀντείχου, ἀντικρὺ τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων ἐστρατοπεδεύει
151 κότες1 πρὸ τοῦ τείχους: ὡς δὲ Ὀυσπασιάνιν
tούτοις μὲν τοὺς τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ
πᾶν τὸ τῶν ἐκβόλων πλῆθος ἐπιστήσας ἔπε
τρεφεῖν βάλλει, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν εἰς τ

1 The Lat. translates ἐστρατοπεδευκότων.

* Aebutius, in the service of Agrippa, had at an ear stage of the war been entrusted with the oversight of th
dispatched Placidus and the decurion Aebutius, a
man of marked energy and ability, with a thousand
horse, with orders to invest the town and prevent
Josephus from escaping secretly.

(4) Vespasian followed them the next day with all
his army and, marching until evening, arrived before
Jotapata. Leading his troops up to the north side
of the city he encamped on a hill seven furlongs
distant from it, seeking a position as conspicuous as
possible to the enemy in order to intimidate them.
In fact the spectacle had such an instantaneous effect
on the Jews that none ventured outside the walls.
The Romans, after their full day's march, were not
prepared to make an immediate attack, but they
surrounded the city with a double cordon of infantry,
and posted outside these a third line of cavalry,
blocking all means of exit. This manœuvre, cutting
off hope of escape, stimulated the Jews to deeds of
gallantry; for nothing in war so rouses the martial
spirit as necessity.

(5) Next day an attack was made. At first those
of the Jews who were encamped opposite the Romans
outside the walls merely held their ground against
the enemy; but when Vespasian brought up his
archers, slingers, and all his other marksmen in full
force and gave orders to shoot down these opponents,
while he himself with the infantry pushed up the
Great Plain and had an encounter with Josephus (Vita
14 ff.); his previous acquaintance with Josephus doubtless
accounts for his selection on this occasion.

b The Jews may well have had a camp extra muros in the
early days of the siege; this must have been rapidly driven
n as we hear no more of it. The Latin has, "the Jews
merely held their ground opposite the Romans who were
encamped outside the walls."
πρόσαντες ἀνεώθει· καθ' ὁ τὸ τείχος ἢν εὐάλωτον, δείσας ὁ Ἰωσήφος περὶ τῇ πόλει προπηδα καὶ
152 σὺν αὐτῷ πάν τῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πλῆθος. συμ-
πεσόντες δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀθρόοι τοῦ μὲν τείχους
ἀνέστειλαν αὐτούς, πολλὰ δ' ἐπεδείκνυστο χειρῶν
ἐργα καὶ τόλμης. οὐκ ἐλάσσω ² γε μὴν ὁν ἐδρων
153 ἀντεπασχον· ὅσον γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἡ τῆς σωτηρίας
ἀπόγνωσις, τοσοῦτο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους αἰδὸς παρ-
ekρότει, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐμπειρία μετ' ἀλκῆς, τοὺς
dὲ θράσος ὁπλίζε τῷ θυμῷ στρατηγομένους.
154 παραταξάμενοι δὲ δὲ ἡλικ ἡμέρας νυκτὶ δια-
lύονται, πρόσαντες μὲν πλείστους Ῥωμαίων
dεκατρεῖς δ' ἀνελόντες· αὐτῶν δ' ἔπεσον μὲν
dεκαεπτά, τραυματιαί δ' ἐγένοντο ἐξακόσιοι.
155 (6) Τῇ δ' ὑπεραία [ἡμέρα] πάλιν προσβάλ-
lουσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεξελθόντες καὶ πολὺ καρ-
terωτερον ἀντιπαρετάξαντο, θαρραλεώτεροι μὲν ἐκ
τοῦ παρὰ λόγον ἀντισχεῖν τῇ προτέρᾳ ³ γεγενημένοι
χρώμενοι δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις μαχιμωτέροις
156 ὑπὸ γὰρ αἰδοὺς εἰς ὅργην ἐξεκαίουτο, τὸ μί
157 παχέως νυκὰν ἤπταν ἡγούμενοι. καὶ μέχρι πέμπτης
ἡμέρας προσβολαί μὲν ἐγίνοντο τῶν Ῥωμαίων
αἰδίαλειπτοι, ἐκδρομαὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰωταπατημῶν κα
πειχομαχία καρτερώτεραι, καὶ οὔτε Ἰουδαῖοι τῇ
tῶν πολεμίων ἰσχὺν κατωρρώδους οὔτε Ῥωμαίο
πρὸς τὸ τῆς πόλεως δυσάλωτον ἀπέκαμνον.
158 (7) "Εστίν δ' Ἰωταπάτα πλῆθν ὀλίγον πᾶσ

¹ conj. with Naber: ἀνεώθει (sic) mss.: ἀνεώθει Niese.
² ἐλάσσων PL.
³ προτεραία Niese.

α The phrase θράσος ὁπλίζειν comes from Soph. El. 995 f.
a play of which there are other reminiscences in Josephus
cf. Ῥ. ². ἰδ. ἀφείδειν B. iii. 212, Soph. El. 980.
622
slope at the point where the wall offered little difficulty, Josephus, alarmed for the fate of the town, made a sally with the whole multitude of the Jews. Falling in a body upon the Romans they drove them from the ramparts and performed many signal feats of prowess and daring. However, they suffered as much loss as they inflicted, for if the Jews were emboldened by despair, the Romans were no less roused by shame; on the one side were skilled experience and strength, the other had recklessness for its armour, and passion for its leader. The battle lasted all day, and night alone parted the combatants. Of the Romans very many were wounded and thirteen killed. The Jewish casualties were seventeen killed and six hundred wounded.

(6) On the following day, when the Romans returned to the attack, the Jews made a fresh sally and offered a much more stubborn resistance, from the confidence inspired by their unexpectedly successful resistance on the previous day. But the Romans on their side proved more resolute opponents, being enflamed to fury by shame and regarding a lack of instant victory as tantamount to defeat. So for five days the Romans incessantly renewed their assaults, and the garrison of Jotapata their sallies and their yet more stubborn defence from the ramparts, the Jews undaunted by their enemy’s strength, the Romans undeterred by the difficulties which their objective presented.

(7) The town of Jotapata is almost entirely built in the hills to the north of the plain of Asochis, midway between Gabara (N.) and Sepphoris (S.).
κρημνος, εκ μεν των άλλων μερων πάντοθεν φάραγξιν ἀπειροις ἀπότομοι, ως των κατιδειν
περιπομένων τας ὄψεις προεξασθενεῖν τού βάθους,
ἀπὸ θορακοῦ δὲ προσιτὴ μόνον, καθ’ ὁ λήγουτι
159 τῷ όρει πλαγίως1 προσέκτισται.2 καὶ τούτῳ δ’ ὁ
Ἰώσηπος ἐμπεριελῆφη τειχίζων τὴν πόλιν, ως
ἀκατάληπτων εἶναι πολεμίως τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς
160 ἀκρώρειαι. κυκλόθεν δὲ ἄλλοις ὄρεσιν καλυπτο-
μένη, πρὶν εἰσαθίκοιτό τις εἰς αὐτήν, παντελῶς
άφρατος ἦν. εἰχε μὲν οὖν οὕτως όχυρότητος
Ἰωταπάτη.
161 (8) Οὐσπασιανός δὲ τῇ τε φύσει τοῦ χωρίου
καὶ ταῖς τολμαίς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀντιφιλονεικῶν
ἐγνω καρτερῶτερον ἀπεσθαί τῆς πολιορκίας, καὶ
προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνας ἔβουν.
162 λεύετο περὶ τῆς προσβολῆς. δόξαν δὲ χώσαι τε
προσιτον τοῦ τείχους, ἐπὶ συγκομιδὴν ὤλης
ἐκπέμπει πάν τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ κοπέντων τῶν
περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅρων, συναλίσθεις τε ἁμα τοῖς
163 ἐύλοις ἀπείρου χερμάδος, οἱ μὲν πρὸς ἀλεωρά
tῶν ὑπέρθεν ἀφιεμένων βελῶν γέρρα διατείναντες
ὑπὲρ χαρακμάτων ἐχοῦν ὑπ’ αὐτοῖς, οὐδέν η
μικρὰ βλαπτόμενοι ταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους βολαῖς.
164 οἱ δὲ τούς πλησίον ὀχθοὺς ἀνασπῶντες γην αὐτοῖς
ἀδιάλειπτως προσέφερον, καὶ τριχῇ διηρημένων
165 ἀργῶς ἢ οὔδείς. οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι πέτρας τε
μεγάλας ἀπὸ τῶν τείχων τοῖς σκεπάσμασιν αὐτῶν
ἐπηφίεσαν καὶ πάν εἶδος βελῶν. ἦν δὲ καὶ μὴ
dικυνομένων πολὺς ὁ ψόφος καὶ φοβερὸς ἐμπόδιον
tοῖς ἐργαζομένοις.

1 ML: πλαγίω the rest.
on precipitous cliffs, being surrounded on three sides by ravines so deep that sight fails in the attempt to fathom the abyss. On the north side alone, where the town has straggled sideways up a descending spur of the mountains, is it accessible. But this quarter, too, Josephus, when he fortified the city, had enclosed within his wall, in order to prevent the enemy from occupying the ridge which commanded it. Concealed by other mountains surrounding it, the town was quite invisible until one came right up to it. Such was the strong position of Jotapata.

(8) Vespasian, pitting his strength against the nature of the ground and the determination of the Jews, resolved to press the siege more vigorously; he accordingly summoned his principal officers to deliberate with him on the plan of attack. It was decided to erect earthworks against the accessible portion of the wall, whereupon the whole army was sent out to procure the necessary materials. The mountain forests surrounding the town were stripped, and, besides timber, enormous masses of stones were collected. Then one party of soldiers spread screens of hurdles over palisades, as a cover from missiles from above, and thus protected constructed the earthworks, suffering little or no injury from their assailants on the ramparts; while others pulled to pieces the adjacent mounds and kept their comrades constantly supplied with earth. With this triple division of labour not a man was idle. The Jews, meanwhile, launched from the walls great boulders upon the enemy's shelters with all sorts of projectiles, the crash of which, even when they failed to penetrate, was so loud and terrific as to impede the workers.

Or "continuous."
166 (9) Ovespasionos de en kyklw tas aphethiroous mehvanas episthmas, ta pantta de' hine ekaton exe-konta orghana, ballev ekleusen touz ep'i tou
167 teixous. omoi de o'i te katapeltai tas loghaz anerpoizoun kai talantiaioi lithoi mege ethos ek ton petroboloun eballontu, pwer te kai plithos athrwn oistwv, apere ou monon to teixos anepibatov tois 'Ioudaiow evopises, alila kai t'ine entos osis
168 efikneito chora: kai gar kai to toon 'Arabwv toxostow plithos akoutiastai te kai sfevdonhtai
169 pantes ama tois mehvanismis ebballon. ou meh eirgomynei thyis kathuperthen amwnis hermou. ekter- chontes gar thetrikwteron kata loghous periespwn te ton ergaizomenwv tas skpasa kai toui gyminou-
menous epaiow, kai kath o parrekioi en ekwv diepismoun te to chwma kai ta xarakaomata sun
170 tois geirrou einemiprasan, mekhi syneis Ovespasiwnos thn diarreswn ton ergon aitian eina tis
blabhs, ta gar diastthimata tois 'Ioudaiow pros-
bolh parxeihe tonv, eno tis skepasma, kai
synaphthrsis ama autois tis dynameis eneirhthsan
ai ton 'Ioudaiow paradvswes.

171 (10) 'Egeiroumenou de toon chwmatos 7'dha kai ta'is
epalexeuv osou ouwv plhsmazontos, deunon o
Iwsonos nomyas ei myde antrimhvanhssato thy
polei swthrimo, synathroizei tektonas kai to teixos
172 ekleusen usfown. tono de aduatov einai fahmenwv
oikodomiein tosovois blesi ballemenous, skphtwn
173 autois epinwsei toivan: drufaktous thxasvai

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a Vegetius ii. 25 reckons 55 catapults to a legion in his
time (end of 4th century); this would give 165 of these
ingines to Vespasian's army of 3 legions (Reinach).
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Vespasian now had his artillery engines—numbering in all one hundred and sixty $^a$—brought into position round the spot and gave orders to fire upon the defenders on the wall. In one tremendous volley the catapults sent lances hurtling through the air, the stone-projectors discharged blocks of the weight of a talent,$^b$ fire-brands flew, and there was a hail of arrows, with the effect not only of driving the Jews from the ramparts, but of rendering untenable all the space behind them which came within range of the missiles. For the artillery fire was reinforced by a simultaneous volley from a host of Arab archers, javelin-men, and slingers. Though checked in their defence of the ramparts, the Jews did not remain inactive. Parties of them sallied out in guerilla fashion, stripped off the enemy's shelters and assailed the workmen thus exposed; and, wherever the latter fell back, they demolished the earthworks and set fire to the palisades and hurdles. At length Vespasian, on tracing the cause of this injury to the separation of the earthworks (as the intervals afforded the Jews a loophole for attack) united the various shelters and simultaneously closed up his troops, with the result that further Jewish incursions were repressed.

(10) The embankment was now rising and almost on a level with the battlements, when Josephus, thinking it shameful if he could not devise some counter-measures to save the town, summoned masons and directed them to increase the height of the wall. On their protesting that building was impossible under such a hail of missiles, he invented the following protection for them. Palisades were, by his

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$^a$ About three quarters of a hundredweight, if the Attic commercial standard is followed.
JOSEPHUS

κελεύσας ἐμπετάσαι τε βύρσας νεοδόρους βοῶν, ως ἀναδέχουτο μὲν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πετροβόλων λίθους κολπούμεναι, περιολισθάνοι δ’ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν [καὶ] τὰ λοιπὰ βέλη καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὕπο τῆς ἱκμάδος

174 εἰργοῦτο, προανίστησιν τῶν τεκτόνων. ὡς οὖσ ἄσφαλῶς ἐργαξόμενοι δι’ ἥμερας τε καὶ νυκτὸς το τείχος ἤγειραν εἰς εἴκοσι πηχεῖς τὸ ψυσ, καὶ συχνοὺς μὲν πῦργους ἐνωκοδόμησαν αὐτῷ, καρ-

175 τεράν δὲ ἐπαλέξω ἐφημοσαντο. τοῦτο τοῖς Ἡρω-

μαίοις ἡ δὴ τῆς πόλεως ἐντὸς οἰομένοις εἶναι πολλὴν ἐποίησαν ἀθυμίαν, καὶ πρὸς τε τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τοῦ Ἰωσήφου καὶ τὸ παράστημα τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως κατεπλάγησαν.

176 (11) Ὡνέσπασιναν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ πανοῦργον τοῦ στρατηγήματος καὶ πρὸς τὰς τόλμας παρ-

177 ὧξύνετο τῶν Ἰωπαπατημῶν: πάλιν γὰρ ἀναθαρσή-

σαντες ἐπὶ τῶ τειχισμῶ τοῖς Ἡρωμαίοις ἐπεξέθεον, καὶ καθ’ ἥμεραν ἐγύνουτο συμπλοκαὶ κατὰ λόχους ἐπίνοια τε ληστρικὴ πᾶσα καὶ τῶν προστυχόντων

178 ἀρπαγαὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων πυρπολήσεις, ὡς Ὡνέσπασιναν ἀπαύασας τὴν στρατιὰν μάχης δύναμι προσκαθεξόμενος σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων

179 αἵρειν τὴν πόλιν· ἡ γὰρ ἀναγκαζόμενος ταῖς ἀπορίαις ἱκετεύειν αὐτὸν ἡ μέχρι παντὸς ἀπανθα-

180 δισαμένους διαφθαρῆσεθαί λιμῷ· πολὺ τε ράσου αὐτῶι ήξίον χρήσεθαι κατὰ τὴν μάχην, εἰ δια-

λιπῶν αὕθις ἐκτετραχωμένους ἐπιπέσοι. φονερεῖν δὴ πᾶσας αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν τὰς ἐξόδους.

181 (12) Τοῖς δὲ σίτου μὲν πλῆθος ἤν ἐνδον καὶ τῶν

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a Reinach quotes Vegetius iv. 15, showing that this method of defence was known to the Romans.

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orders, fixed to the wall, and over these were spread hides of oxen that had just been flayed, to catch in their folds the stones hurled by the engines, while the other projectiles would glance off their surface and their moisture would extinguish the flaming brands. Under this screen the builders, working in security day and night, raised the wall to a height of twenty cubits, erected numerous towers and crowned the whole with a stout parapet. At this spectacle the Romans, who imagined themselves already masters of the town, were greatly disheartened; the ingenuity of Josephus and the perseverance of the inhabitants astounded them.

(11) Vespasian was no less provoked both at the cleverness of this stratagem and at the audacity of the people of Jotapata; for, emboldened by their new fortification, they recommenced their sallies against the Romans. Every day parties of them came into conflict with the besiegers, employing all the ruses of guerilla warfare, pillaging whatever fell in their way and setting fire to the rest of the Roman works. This continued until Vespasian, ordering his troops to cease fighting, resolved to resort to a blockade and to starve the city into surrender: the defenders, he reckoned, would either be reduced by their privations to sue for mercy or, if they remained obdurate to the last, would perish of hunger. Moreover, if it came to a battle, he counted on obtaining a far easier victory, if, after an interval, he renewed his attack upon exhausted opponents. He accordingly gave orders to keep a strict guard on all the exits from the city.

(12) The besieged had abundance of corn and of

\(^{620}\) i.e. apparently other than the embankments which had been protected by the method described in § 170 (Reinach).
άλλων πλὴν ἀλὸς ἀπάντων, ἐνδεια δ’ ὑδατος ὡς ἂν τηγής μὲν οὐκ οὕσῃ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, τῷ δ’ ὁμβρίῳ διαρκουμένων τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ὑπάνοιον δ’ εἰ 182 ποτε τὸ κλίμα’ θέρους ὑπεται. καὶ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ὄραν πολιορκουμένων ἀθυμία δεινή πρὸς τὴν τοῦ δύσως ἐπίνοιαν ἦν, ἀσχαλλόντων ἡδη ως 183 καθάπαν ἐπιελεοιπότοις ὑδατος· ὁ γὰρ Ἰώσηπος τὴς πόλις ὤρων τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων εὑρόπον καὶ τὰ φρονήματα γενναία τῶν ἀνδρῶν, βουλόμενός τε παρ’ ἑλπίδα τοῖς Ρωμαίοις ἐκτείναι τὴν πολιορκίαν, μέτρῳ τὸ ποτὸν αὐτοῖς διενεμεῖν [ἐνθέως]. 2

184 οἱ δὲ τὸ ταμιεύεσθαι χαλεπώτερον ἐνδεια υπελάμβανον, καὶ τὸ μῆ αὐτεξούσιον αὐτῶν πλέον ἐκίνη τὴν ὄρεξιν, καὶ καθάπερ εἰς ἐσχατὸν ἤδη δύσως προήκοντο ἀπέκαμνον. διακείμενοι δ’ οὐτως οὐκ 185 ἐλάνθανον τοὺς Ρωμαίους· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ κατάντους ἑώρων αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τὸ τείχος ἐφ’ ἐνα συρρέοντας τόπον καὶ μετρομενοὺς τὸ υδώρ, ἐφ’ ὃν καὶ τοῖς ἐξεβελέσιν ἐξικνούμενοι πολλοὺς ἀνήροις.

186 (13) Καὶ ὸνεσπασιανὸς μὲν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τῶν ἐκδοχείων κενωθέντων ἥλπιζεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης 187 αὐτῶ παραδοθησθαι τὴν πόλιν· ο’ δε Ἰώσηπος κλάσαι τὴν ἑλπίδα ταύτην αὐτῶ προαιροὺμενος ἐμβρέξαι κελεύει πλείστους τὰ ἰμάτια καὶ κατακρεμάσαι περὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις, ὥστε περιρρεῖσθαι 188 πάν ἐξαπίνῃς τὸ τείχος. πρὸς τοῦτ’ ἀθυμία τῶν Ρωμαίων καὶ κατάπληξις τῆς θεσσαμένων εἰς χλεύη τοσοῦτον παραναλισκοντας ὑδατος οὐς οὐδὲ ποτὸν ἔχειν υπελάμβανον, ὥστε καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀπογνώντα τὴν δι’ ἐνδείας ἄλωσον τρέπεσθαι πάλιν

1 + τοῖτο Hudson with one ms. (Lat. illo tractu).
2 διένεμεν εὐθέως PA: διένεμεν εὐθέως L: διένεμεν the rest.
all other necessaries, salt excepted, but they lacked water, because, there being no springs within the town, the inhabitants were dependent on rain-water; but in this region rain rarely, if ever, falls in summer, which was precisely the season at which they were besieged. The mere idea of thirst filled them with dire despondency, and already they were chafing, as though water had entirely failed. For Josephus, seeing the abundance of the city’s other supplies and the courageous spirit of its defenders, and desirous to prolong the siege beyond the expectation of the Romans, had from the first put them on water rations. This control system appeared to them harder than actual want; the constraint of their liberty only increased their craving and they became as limp as though they had already reached the last extremity of thirst. The Romans were not ignorant of their plight: from the slopes above they could see over the wall the Jews flocking to one place and having their water doled out to them, and, directing their catapults upon the spot, killed numbers of them.

(13) Vespasian expected that the water in the cisterns would ere long be exhausted and the city reduced to capitulate. To crush this hope, Josephus had a number of dripping garments hung round the battlements, with the result that the whole wall was suddenly seen streaming with water. The Romans were filled with dismay and consternation at the spectacle of all this water being wasted as a jest by those who they supposed had not even enough to drink. The general himself, despairing of reducing the place by famine, reverted to armed measures and

ά Greek “quick-firers” (§80).
189 πρὸς ὄπλα καὶ βιαν ὁ δὴ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις δὲ ἔπιθυμίας ἦν· ἀπεγνωκότες γὰρ ἕαυτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν πρὸ λιμοῦ καὶ δίψης τὸν ἐν πολέμῳ θάνατον ἤροιτο.

190 (14) Ὅ μὲντοι γε Ἰώσηπος πρὸς τῶν στρατηγημάτα καὶ ἔτερον ἐπενόησεν εἰς περιουσίαν
191 αὐτῶν διὰ τινὸς χαράδρας δυσβάτου καὶ διὰ τοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάκων ἀμελουμένης κατὰ τὰ πρὸς ὅσον μέρη τῆς φάραγγος ἐκπέμπου τινάς γραμματά τε πρὸς οὓς ἤβούλετο τῶν ἔξω Ἰουδαίων διεπέμψατο καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐλάμβανεν, παντὸς τε ἐπιτηδείου τῶν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιλειπότων εὐπόρησεν.

192 ἔρπευ τὰ πολλὰ παρὰ τὰς φυλακὰς κελεύσας τοῖς ἐξιούσιοι καὶ τὰ νώτα καλύπτει τάκεσιν, ὡς εἰ καὶ κατίδοι τις αὐτοῦς νύκτωρ, φαντασίαι παρέχοιεν κυνῶν, μέχρι συναισθόμενοι τὴν ἐπίνοιαν οἱ φρουροί περίσχουσιν τὴν χαράδραν.

193 (15) Καὶ τὸθ' Ὅ Ἰώσηπος μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐις μακρὰν ὅρων αἰθέζειν, ἐν ἀπόρῳ δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν εἰ μένοι, ὅρασιν ἀμα τοὺς δυνατοῖς ἐβουλεύετο. συναισθόμενοι δὲ τὸ πλήθος καὶ περικυθεῖν αὐτῶν κατηντιβόλουν μὴ σφάζεις περιδεῖν
194 ἐπ' αὐτῶν μόνῳ κειμένους εἶναι γὰρ τὴν πόλει καὶ σωτηρίας μὲν ἐλπίς παραμένων, παντὸς ἀγωνισομένου δι' αὐτῶν προθύμως, κἂν ἄλωσιν δὲ.
195 παραμυθῆναι, πρέπειν δ' αὐτῶ μήτε φυγεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μὴ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τοὺς φίλους μὴ ἀποπηδῶν ωσπερ χειμαζομένης νεώς, εἰς ἡν ἐν γαληνή
196 παρῆλθεν ἐπιβαπτίσεων γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὴν πόλιν.

1 'αυτῶν Ρ.Α.
2 Text uncertain: Herwerden reads ἐπιφώς παραμένοντα.
That was just what the Jews desired; for, having given up all hope for themselves and the city, they preferred death in battle to perishing of hunger and thirst.

(14) After this stratagem, Josephus devised yet another to procure himself supplies in abundance. There was, leading down to the ravine on the west side, a gully so difficult to traverse that it had been neglected by the enemy’s outposts; by this route Josephus succeeded in sending letters, by some of his men, to Jews outside the city with whom he wished to communicate, and receiving replies from them; by the same means he stocked the town with all necessaries when its supplies began to fail. The messengers sent out had general orders to creep past the sentries on all fours and to wear fleeces on their backs, in order that, if they were seen at night, they might be taken for dogs. However, the guards eventually detected the ruse and blocked the gully.

(15) Josephus, now recognizing that the city could not long hold out and that his own life would be endangered if he remained there, took counsel with the principal citizens about the means of flight. The people discovered his intention and crowded round him, imploring him not to abandon them, as they depended on him alone. If he remained, they urged, he would be their one hope of the town being saved, as everyone, because he was with them, would put his heart into the struggle; were capture in store for them, even then he would be their one consolation. Moreover, it would be unworthy of him to fly from his foes, to desert his friends, to leap in the storm from the vessel on which he had embarked in a calm. For his departure would wreck...
μηδένος ἐτὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις τολμῶντος ἀνθίστασθαι, δι’ ὧν ἀν ἑαρσοῖεν οἰχομένου.

197 (16) "Ο de Ἰώσηπος τὸ καθ’ αὐτὸν ἄσφαλές ὑποστελλόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐφασκεν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἔξοδον. μένων μὲν γὰρ ἐώς οὗτ ἄν ὄφελήσαι τι μέγα σωζόμενος, καὶ ἀλίσκωνται, συναπολείσθαι περιπτῶς, ἐκδός de τῆς πολιορκίας ἐξωθεθείν αὐτοὺς ὄφελήσει μέγιστα; τοὺς τε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς χώρας Γαλλαίους συναθροίσειν ἢ τάχος καὶ Ἦρωμαίους ἐτέρῳ πολέμῳ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν ἀντιπεριπάσειν. οὐχ ὅραν de, τί παρακαθεξόμενοι αὐτοῖς χρῆσιμος <ἀν> ἐίη νῦν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ Ἦρωμαίους παροξύνων μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας, οὐς περὶ πλείστων ποιεῖσθαι λαβεῖν αὐτόν· εἰ de ἐκδράντα πῦθουντο, πολὺ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀρμῆς ἀνήσειν. οὐκ ἔπειθεν δὲ τούτοις, αὐτῶν ἐξέκασεν τὸ πλήθος αὐτοῦ περιέχεσθαι· παιδία γονῶν καὶ γέρων καὶ γυναικα· μετὰ νηπίων ὀδυρόμενα προσέπιπτον αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ποσῶν ἐμπλεκόμενοι πάντες εἰχοντο, καὶ μετὰ κωκυτῶν κοινωνίαν σφίζει τῆς τύχης μὲνειν ἴκέτενου, οὐ φθόνῳ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας, ἐμοιγε δοκείν, ἀλλ’ ἐλπίδι τῆς ἐαυτῶν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἥξιον πείσεσθαι δεινὸν Ἰωσῆπον μένοντος.

201 (17) "Ο de πειθομένων μὲν ἱκετηρίαν ταύτα νομίσας, βιαζομένω δέ φρουράν, πολὺ δ’ αὐτοῦ

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1 ins. Niese.  2 L Lat. : τούτοις or αὐτοῖς the rest.

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*a εἰχοντο καὶ μετὰ κωκυτῶν: a reminiscence of Hom. II. xxii. 408 (the mourning over Hector) ἀμφι δὲ λαοὶ κωκυτῷ τ’ εἰχοντι καὶ οἰμωγῇ κατά ἄστε. There is a similar scene in Vita 210 ff.*

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as none would have the heart to resist the enemy any longer, when he whose presence would have given them courage was gone.

(16) Josephus, suppressing any allusion to his own safety, assured them that it was in their own interests that he had contemplated departure; for his presence in the town could not materially assist them if they were saved, and if they were taken what end would be served by his perishing with them? Were he, on the contrary, once clear of the siege, he could from outside render them the greatest service, for he would promptly muster the Galilaeans from the country and, by creating a diversion elsewhere, draw off the Romans from their city. He failed to see how his presence at their side could assist them in present circumstances, or have any other effect except to spur the Romans to press the siege more vigorously than ever, as they attached so much importance to his capture; whereas, if they heard that he had fled, they would considerably relax the ferocity of their attack. Unmoved, however, by these words, the multitude only clung to him more ardently: children, old men, women with infants in their arms, all threw themselves weeping before him; they embraced and held him by his feet, they implored him with sobs to stay and share their fortune. All this they did, I cannot but think, not because they grudged him his chance of safety, but because they thought of their own; for, with Josephus on the spot, they were convinced that no disaster could befall them.

(17) Josephus suspected that this insistence would not go beyond supplication if he yielded, but meant that watch would be kept upon him if he opposed their wishes. Moreover, his determination to leave
τῆς εἰς τὴν ἀπόλειψιν ὁρμῆς καὶ ὁ τῶν ὀδυρομένων
204 ἐκλασεν οἶκτος, μένεν τε ἐγνώ, καὶ τὴν κοινὴν τῆς
πόλεως ἀπόγνωσιν ὀπλισάμενος, "enuous καιρός,"
eἰπὼν, "ἀρχεσθαι μάχης, ὅτ' ἐλπὶς οὐκ ἐστὶ
σωτηρίας; καλὸν εὐκλειαν ἀντικαταλλαξάμενον τοῦ
βιοῦ καὶ δράσαντα τι γενναῖον εἰς μνήμην ὄψινενῶν
205 πεσεῖν," ἐπ' ἔργα τρέπεται. καὶ προελθὼν μετὰ
τῶν μαχιμωτάτων διεσκίδια τε τοὺς φρονοῦντικαὶ
μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατέτρεχεν,
καὶ τάς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν χωμάτων δέρρεις, αἰς ὑπε-
εσκήνουν, διέσπα, τοῖς δὲ ἔργοις ἐνέβαλλεν πῦρ.
206 τῇ θ' ἔξης ὄμοιώς καὶ τῇ τρίτη καὶ ἐπὶ συχνὰς
ήμερας καὶ νύκτας πολεμῶν οὐκ ἐκαμνὲν.

207 (18) Ὠνεσπασιανὸς δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κακου-
μένων ταῖς ἐκδρομαῖς, τρέπεσθαι τε γὰρ ὑπὸ
Ἰουδαίων ἕδούντο καὶ τραπέντων ἐπιδιώκειν
βάρει τῶν ὀπλῶν ἦσαν βραδεῖς, οἳ τε Ἰουδαίοι
πρὶν τι παθεῖν ἀεὶ δρόμων ἄνεφευγον εἰς τὴν
208 πόλιν, τοῖς μὲν ὅπλιταις τὰς ὀρμάς αὐτῶν ἐκ-
κλίνεις ἐκέλευσεν καὶ μὴ συμπλέκεσθαι θανάτῳ
209 ἀνθρώποις· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀλκιμῶτερον εἶναι τῆς
ἀπογνώσεως, περισβέννυσθαι δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς ὀρμᾶς
210 σκοπῶν ἀπορουμένας, ὡσπερ ύλῆς τὸ πῦρ προσ-
ήκειν γε μὴν καὶ Ῥωμαίοις μετ' ἀσφαλείας κα-
tὸ νικᾶν, ὥσ ἄν οὐκ ἔξε ἀνάγκης πολεμοῦσιν, ἀλλὲ
211 προσκτώμενοις. τοῖς δὲ τῶν Ἀράβων τοξόταις
καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας σφενδονήταις καὶ λιθο-
βόλοις τὰ πολλὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀνέστελλεν
ηρέμει δ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἀφετηρίων ὄργανων τὸ πλῆθος
212 οἳ δὲ τούτως μὲν εἶκον κακούμενοι, τῶν δὲ πόρρω

1 + τε μss.: om. Lat.

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them was greatly shaken by compassion for their distress. He therefore decided to remain, and, making the universal despair of the city into a weapon for himself, a "Now is the time," he exclaimed, "to begin the combat, when all hope of deliverance is past. Fine is it to sacrifice life for renown and by some glorious exploit to ensure in falling the memory of posterity!" Suiting his action to his words, he sallied out with his bravest warriors, dispersed the guards, and penetrating to the Romans' camp, tore up the tents of skin under which they were sheltered on the embankment, and set fire to the works. This he repeated the next day, and the day after that, and for a series of days and nights indefatigably continued the fight.

(18) The Romans suffered from these sallies, for they were ashamed to fly before Jews, and when they put the latter to flight the weight of their arms impeded them in the pursuit, while the Jews always did some mischief before the enemy could retaliate, and then took refuge in the town. In view of this, Vespasian ordered his legionaries to shun these attacks and not to be drawn into an engagement with men who were bent on death. "Nothing," he said, "is more redoubtable than despair, and their impetuosity, deprived of an objective, will be extinguished, like fire for lack of fuel. Besides, it becomes even Romans to think of safety as well as victory, since they make war not from necessity, but to increase their empire." Thenceforth he relied mainly on his Arab archers and the Syrian slingers and stone-throwers to repel the Jewish assaults; the greater part of his artillery was also constantly in action. Severely handled by the engines, the Jews

a Cf. § 153 note.
βαλλομένων ἐνδότερω γινόμενοι προσέκειντο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις χαλέποι καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἀφειδούντες ἐμάχοντο, ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐκάτεροι τὸ κεκηκὼς εαυτῶν ἀναλαμβάνοντες.

213 (19) ὄνεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἱγούμενος τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τὰς ἐκδρομαίς ἀντιπολιορκεῖσθαι, τῶν χωμάτων ἡδὴ τοῖς τείχεσι πελαζόντων προσάγειν

214 ἐγνω τὸν κριόν. ὃ δ' ἐστὶν υπερμεγέθης δοκός ἵστω νεῶς παραπλήσιος· ἕστομωται δὲ παχεὶ σιδήρῳ κατ' ἀκρον εἰς κριόν προτομήν, ἀφ' οί

215 καὶ καλεῖται, τετυπωμένω. καταιωρεῖται δὲ κάλοις μέσος ὦσπερ ἀπὸ πλάστιγγος ἑτέρας δοκοῦ, σταυροῖς ἐκατέρωθεν ἐδραίοις ὑπεστηριγμένης.

216 ἀνωθούμενος δὲ ὑπὸ πλήθους ἄνδρων εἰς τὸ κατόπιν, τῶν αὐτῶν ἄθροώς πάλιν εἰς τοῦμπροσθεν ἐπιβρισάντων τύπτει τὰ τείχη τῷ προανέχοντι σιδήρῳ

217 καὶ οὐδεὶς οὕτως καρτερὸς πύργος ἢ περίβολος πλατύς, ὅς καὶ τὰς πρῶτας πληγὰς ἐνέγκη κατ-

218 ἵσχυσεν τῆς ἐπιμονῆς. ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν πείραν ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων μετέβαινεν βία τῇ πόλιν ἔλειν σπεῦδων, ὡς τὸ προσκαθέξεσθαι

219 βλαβερὸν ἢν Ἰουδαίων οὐκ ἠρεμούντων. οἱ μὲν οὖν τοὺς τε καταπέλτας καὶ τα λοιπὰ τῶν ἀφετηριῶν, ὡς ἐξικνοῦτο τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους κω-

220 λύειν πειρωμένων, ἐγγυον προσαγαγόντες ἐβαλλον ὀμοίως δὲ συνήγγυον οἱ τοξόται καὶ σφενδονήται. διὰ δὲ ταύτα μηδενὸς τῶν περιβόλων ἐπιβηναι τολμῶντος, προσήγων ἐτεροὺ τὸν κριόν γέρρως τε διηνεκέσι καὶ καθύπερθεν πεφραγμένον δέρρει

1 Niese: ἐνεγκείν or ἐνέγκαι mss. 2 κατισχύει VRC.

gave way, but once past the reach of their adversaries' long-range projectiles they flung themselves furiously on the Romans and fought desperately, prodigal of life and limb, one party after another relieving their exhausted comrades.

(19) The length of the siege and the sallies of the enemy made Vespasian feel that the position was reversed and himself the besieged; so, now that the earthworks were approaching the ramparts, he decided to bring up the "ram." This is an immense beam, like the mast of a ship, reinforced at its extremity with a mass of iron in the form of a ram's head, whence the machine takes its name. It is suspended at its middle point by ropes, like the beam of a balance, to another beam which is supported at either end by posts fixed in the ground. A large body of men first draw the ram backward and then, all pushing together with all their weight, heave it forward so that it batters the wall with the projecting iron. And there is no tower so strong, no wall so thick, as, even though it sustain the initial impact, to withstand the repeated assaults of this engine. Such was the expedient to which the Roman general had recourse, being impatient to carry the city by storm, as the long blockade, coupled with the activity of the Jews, was proving injurious. The Romans now brought forward the catapults and the rest of their artillery within range of the Jews on the ramparts who were endeavouring to beat them off, and put these engines into action; the archers and slingers simultaneously advanced. While the fire of these troops would not permit any to venture on the ramparts, another party brought up the ram, protected by a long line of hurdles, over which was a covering

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πρὸς τε αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ μηχανήματος ἀσφάλειαν.

221 καὶ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην πληγήν διεσείσθη μὲν τὸ τείχος, κραυγὴ δὲ μεγίστη παρὰ τῶν ἐνδον ἡρθη καθάπερ ἐαλωκότων ἤδη.

222 (20) Πολλάκις δὲ εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν παίοντος ὁ πόρος ἠσθη τῶν καταρριφθησόμενον τῷ τείχῳ, σοφίζεται πρὸς ὁλίγον τὴν βίαιν τοῦ μηχανήματος. σάκκοις ἀχύρων πληρώσαντας ἐκλευσὶν καθιμαί τῷ ἀνεβομένῳ καθ' ὁ φερόμενον ἀεὶ τῶν κριῶν ὁρῇ, ὡς πλάζοιτο τῇ ἐμβολῇ καὶ δεχόμενοι τὰς πληγὰς ἐκκενοῖεν τῇ χαυνότητι. τοῦτο πλείοντα τὴν διατριβὴν παρέσχεν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, καθ' ὁ μὲν τρέποιεν τὴν μηχανὴν ἀντιπαραγόντων τοὺς σάκκους τῶν ὑπέρθεν, ὑποβαλλόντων τῇ ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς, ὡς μηδὲν κατ' ἀντιτυπίαν βλάπτεσθαι τὸ τείχος· ἐςκ ἀντεπινοῆσαις κοντοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μακροῦς καὶ δρέπανα δήσαντες ἐπ' ἀκρων τοὺς σάκκους ἀπετέμειν. ἐνεργοῦ δὲ ὦτῳ τῆς ἐλεπόλεως γενομένης καὶ τοῦ τείχους, νεοπαγές γὰρ ἢν, ἐνδιδόντος ἢδη, τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκ πυρὸς ἀμμαναν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ὁρμησαν. ἀμφαμενοὶ δὲ ὅσον αὐτὴς εἴχον ύλὴς τριχόθεν ἐπεκθέουσιν, καὶ τὰ πε μηχανήματα καὶ τὰ γέρρα καὶ τὰ χώματα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπεπίμπρασαν. οἱ δὲ κακῶς ἐπεβοήθουν, πρὸς τῇ τῶν τόλμαν αὐτῶν καταπεπληγόστες καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς τᾶς ἁμύνας

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1 Niese: παίοντες, παίοντα s, or παίονται mss.
2 κατ' Π.Α. 3 Niese: δ' mss.

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a Sacks of rags (centones) were used by the Romans (Veget. iv. 23, quoted by Reinauch).
b Or "continually."

c The ἔλεπολε, here used for the ram, was originally the 640
skin for the greater security of themselves and of their engine. At the first blow the wall was shaken and a piercing cry arose from the interior of the town, though it had already been taken.

(20) Josephus, seeing that under the repeated counter-ows constantly directed upon the same spot the all was on the verge of collapsing, devised a method paralysing for a while the force of the machine. He directed that sacks filled with chaff \( a \) should be t down by ropes at the place which the ram was seen om time to time \( b \) to be battering, with the object of deflecting the head and deadening the force of the low by the soft cushion which received it. This riously retarded the Romans, for, wherever they used their engine, those above retorted by opposing their sacks beneath the strokes, and so the wall suffered no injury from the impact; until the Romans vented a counter-device of long poles to the ends which were attached scythes, with which they at the cords supporting the sacks. The engine having thus recovered its efficacy, and the newly built wall already showing signs of giving way, Josephus and his comrades, as a last resort, had recourse to fire. Snatching up \( d \) all the dry wood which they could find, they rushed out from three quarters of the town and set fire to the engines, icker shelters, and props of the enemy's earthworks. The Romans did little to save them, stupefied y their opponents' audacity and outstripped by the

counter-devices of the besieged; they set fire to the Roman engines.

\( a \) \( \alpha \phi \lambda \alpha \mu \epsilon \omega \eta: \) cf. \( \alpha \rho \alpha \mu \epsilon \omega \circ \pi \upsilon \circ \pi \alpha \lambda \iota \nu, \) § 234. The meaning kindle" (so Reinach) is usually expressed by the active \( \tau e \nu \), though the middle is used for "set fire to" (a build-
g). B. v. 287 \( \tau \circ \nu \epsilon \rho \gamma \omega \upsilon \eta \pi \tau \epsilon \tau \alpha \circ \tau \circ \pi \upsilon \circ \pi \nu \circ \nu \).
JOSEPHUS

(6) θανόμενοι· ἔηράς γὰρ ὕλης, πρὸς δὲ ἀσφάλτῳ τε καὶ πίσσης, ἔτι δὲ θείου, διάπτατο τὸ πῦρ ἑπινοιας τάχιον, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ καμάτω πεπονημένα τοῖς Ὠρωμαίοις ἐπὶ μιᾶς ὥρας ἐνέμετο.

229 (21) "Ενθα καὶ ἀνήρ τις ἔξεφανη Ἰουδαίων λόγου καὶ μνήμης ἄξιος· Σαμαίων μὲν παῖς ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἄρησας δ' ἐκαλεῖτο, Σαβάς δὲ πατρὶς αὐτῷ.

230 τῆς Γαλιλαίας· οὗτος ὑπερμεγέθη πέτραν ἀρομενὸς ἀφίησιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλέπολιν μετὰ τοσαύτης βίας, ὡστε ἀπορρίξας τὴν κεφαλήν τοῦ μηχανήματος, ἤν καὶ καταπιθήκας ἐκ μέσα αἰρεται τῶν πολεμίων καὶ μετὰ πολὴς ἀδείας

231 ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος ἐφερεν. σκοπὸς δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γενόμενος καὶ γυμνῶ τῶν σώματι τῷ πληγάς δεξαμενὸς πέντε μὲν διαπείρεται βέλεσι.

232 πρὸς οὐδὲν δὲ τοιῶν ἐπιστραφεῖς, ὅτε τὸ τείχος αἰέβη καὶ περίποτος πᾶσιν τῆς εὐτολμίας ἐστὸ τότε ἰλυσσώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων μετὰ τοῖς κρισι κατέπεσεν. ἀριστοὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐφάνησεν ἀδελφοὶ δύο Νετείρας καὶ Φιλίππος, ἀπὸ Ρούμι κόμης, Γαλιλαιοὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ, [οἱ] ἑτεροθείῳς καὶ βίᾳ τοῖς Ὠρωμαίοις συνέπεσον, ὡς δὲ αρρήξατε τὰς τάξεις καὶ τρέψασθαι καθ᾽ ὦς ἐκ ομηρήσεων ἀπαντας.

233 (22) Μετὰ τοῦτους δὲ τοῖς Ἰουσηππος καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πλήθος ἀράμενοι πῦρ πάλιν τὰ μηχανήματα καὶ τὰς ὑποδύσεις ἀμα τῶν ἔργων ὑφήξας τοῦ τε πέμπτου καὶ τοῦ δεκάτου τραπείντος τὰς

^1 Σαμίων Ι. Α. Ι.
^2 So or Σαβάς or Σαβᾶ the mss.: Niese suggests Γάβα, known town of Galilee.
lames in their efforts to rescue them; for fed by dry
inder, with the addition of bitumen, pitch, and
ulphur, the fire flew in all directions quicker than
hought, and works which had cost the Romans such
evere labour were consumed in a single hour.

(21) On this occasion one Jew who made his mark
Jewish
heroes.

reserves record and remembrance; his name was
Eleazar, son of Sameas, a native of Saba in Galilee.
Lifting an enormous stone, he hurled it from the wall
the wall with such force that he broke off its head;
hen, leaping down, he carried off this trophy from
he midst of the enemy and bore it with perfect
omposure to the foot of the ramparts. Now become

universeless body, he was pierced by five arrows.
s without a thought for these, he scaled the wall
and there stood conspicuous to all the admirers of his
ravery; then, writhing under his wounds, he fell
eadlong with the ram's head in his hands. Next
o him those who most distinguished themselves
ere two brothers, Netiras and Philip, also Galileans,
from the village of Ruma: dashing out
gainst the lines of the tenth legion, they charged
he Romans with such impetuosity and force that
hey broke their ranks and put to flight all whom
hey encountered.

(22) Following in the wake of these men, Josephus
nd the rest of the people, with fire-brands in their
ands, again sallied out and set fire to the machines,
elters and earthworks of the fifth legion and of

a Modern Ramah, a few miles from Jotapata on the south
the Plain of Asochis.
ματος, οἳ λοιποὶ δὲ φθάσαντες καὶ τὰ ὀργανὰ καὶ
235 πᾶσαν ὤλην κατέχωσαν. περὶ δὲ δείλην πάλιν ἀναστήσαντες προσῆγον τὸν κριὸν ἡ προπεπηνήκει
236 τυπτόμενον τὸ τείχος. ἔνθα τις τῶν ἀμυνομέ-
νων ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ βάλλει τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν βέλει
cατὰ τὸν ταρσὸν τοῦ ποδὸς καὶ τιτρώσκει μείν
ἐπιπολαίως, προεκλύσαντος τὸ βληθὲν τοῦ δια-
στήματος, μέγιστον δὲ θόρυβον ἐνεποίησεν τοῖς
237 'Ῥωμαίοις: πρὸς γὰρ τὸ αἷμα παραχθέντων τῶν
πλησίων φήμη διὰ παντὸς ἐπήει τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ
tῆς πολυρκίας οἱ πλείους ἀφέμενοι μετ’ ἐκπλή
238 ἔσως καὶ δέους ἐπὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν συνέθεον. πρὶ
dὲ πάντων Τίτος δεῖσας περὶ τῶν πατρὶ παρῆν
ὡς τὸ πλήθος καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸν ἡγούμενον εὐνοῦ
cαὶ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀγωνία συγχυθῆναι. ράστε
μέντοι τὸν τε νῦν ὁ πατὴρ δεδιότα καὶ τὴν στρα
239 τινὰ ἔπαισεν τοῦ θορύβου· τῶν γὰρ ἀληθῶν
ἐπάνω γενόμενος καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐπτυπημένοις δι
αὐτὸν ὀφθηναι σπουδάσας χαλεπῶτερον 'Ιουδαῖοι
ἐπήγειρε1 τὸν πόλεμον· ἐκαστὸς γὰρ ὡς τιμωρ
τοῦ στρατηγοῦ προκινδυνεύειν ἤθελεν, καὶ θο
παρακροτοῦντες ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος ὄρμων.
240 (23) Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἱώσηπον, καῖπερ έπ’
ἀλλήλους πίπτουντες ὑπὸ τῶν καταπελτικῶν κα
τῶν πετροβόλων, ὢμως οὐκ ἀπετρέποντο το
τείχους, ἀλλὰ πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ πέτρωι τοὺ
ὑπὸ2 τὰ γέρρα τὸν κριὸν ἐπιβρίθοντας ἐβάλλος

1 ἐπῆγειρε Ρ.Α.: for text cf. B. v. 98.
2 Destinon, Holwerda: ἐπὶ mss.

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* § 233.*
the tenth which had been routed; the other legions hastily buried their machinery and all combustible materials. Towards evening the Romans re-erected the ram and brought it up to the spot where the wall had been weakened by its previous blows. At this moment, one of the defenders of the ramparts hit Vespasian with an arrow in the sole of the foot. The wound was slight, the distance having broken the force of the missile, but the incident created a vast commotion among the Romans: the sight of blood alarmed those immediately surrounding Vespasian, the news at once spread through the whole army, and most of the soldiers, abandoning the siege, came running towards their general in consternation and terror. The first on the spot was Titus, with grave fears for his father, so that the troops were doubly agitated, both by their affection for their chief and by the sight of his son’s anguish. However, Vespasian found little difficulty in allaying both the fears of his son and the tumult of the army. Mastering his pain, he hastened to show himself to all who had trembled for his life, and so roused them to fight the Jews more fiercely than ever. Each vished to be the first to brave danger in avenging his general, and, with shouts of mutual encouragement, they rushed for the ramparts.

(23) Josephus and his men, though falling one upon another under the hail of missiles from the catapults and stone-projectors, still were not driven from the battlements, but with fire, iron, and stones continued to assail the soldiers who, under cover of their wicker shelters, were propelling the ram. How-

\[b\] Usually = “sword-blade”; here probably iron arrow-heads are meant (Hom. Il. iv. 123).
JOSEPHUS

241 καὶ ἦνον μὲν οὒδὲν ἡ μικρόν, αὐτοὶ δ' ἀδιά-
λείπτως ἔπιπτον ὑπὸ μὴ βλεπομένων καθορώ.
242 μενού: αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς σφετέρας περι-
λαμπόμενοι φλογὸς σκοποὺς ἦσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις
εὐσύνοπτος, ὥσπερ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ τῶν ὄργανων
πόρρωθεν μὴ βλεπομένων δυσφύλακτον ἦν τὸ
243 βαλλόμενον. ἡ γοῦν1 τῶν οὔββελῶν καὶ κατα-
pελτῶν βία πολλοὺς ἀμα διῆλαυνεν, καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ
tῆς μηχανῆς ἀφιεμένων πετρῶν ὁ ροῦζος ἐπάλξεις
tε ἀπέσυρεν καὶ γωνίας ἀπέθρυπτε πύργων.
244 ἄνδρών μὲν γὰρ <οὔδεν>2 οὐτῶς ἱσχυρὸν στῦφος
ὁ μὴ μέχρις ἐσχάτης στρωνυται φάλαγγος βίς
245 τε καὶ μεγέθει τοῦ λίθου. μάθοι δ' ἄν τις τῇ
τοῦ μηχανῆματος ἀλκῆν ἐκ τῶν ἑπὶ τήσδε τῆς
νυκτὸς γενομένων: πληγεῖς γὰρ τις ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωσηπὸν ἐστῶτων ἀνὰ τὸ τείχος
ἀπαράσσεται τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑπὸ τῆς πέτρας, κα
τὸ κραιόν ἀπὸ τριῶν ἐσφένδωνήθη σταδίων.
246 γυναικός τε μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐγκύμονος πληγείση
τὴν γαστέρα, προῆι δὲ νέον ἐξ οἰκίας, ἐξέσεισε
ἐδ' ἡμιστάδιον τὸ βρέφος: τοσαύτη ἦν ἡ τὸ
247 λιθοβόλου βία. τῶν οὖν ὄργανων φοβερότερος
248 ροῖζως, τῶν δὲ βαλλομένων ἦν ὁ ψόφος. ἐπ
ἀλληλοὺ ἐκτύπουν οἱ νεκροὶ κατὰ τοῦ τείχου
ρίπτωμεν, καὶ δεινῷ μὲν ἐνδοθεν κραυγῇ γυναικῶ
ἡγείρετο, συνήξουν δ' ἐξωθεν οἰμωγαὶ φοινεν
μένων. αἵματι δ' ἐρρείτο πᾶς ὁ πρὸ τῆς μάχη

1 Niese: τε οὖν μss.
2 Niese: om. P A* L: A2 has οἵδενι, the other mss. ins. οἸν before or after οἰτῶς.

a § 50.
b i.e. the λιθοβόλον, Lat. ballista, § 50; Reinach identifies 646
however, their efforts had little or no effect, and they were incessantly falling, because the enemy saw them without being seen; for, with the glare of their own lights all round them, they formed as conspicuous a mark for the enemy as in broad daylight, while they found difficulty in avoiding the projectiles from the engines which they could not see in the distance. Thus the missiles from the "quick-firers" and catapults came with such force as to strike down whole files, and the whizzing stones hurled by the engine carried away the battlements and broke off the angles of the towers. Indeed, there is no body of troops, however strong, which the force and mass of these stones cannot lay low to the last rank. Some incidents of that night will give an idea of the power of this engine. One of the men standing on the wall beside Josephus had his head carried away by a stone, and his skull was shot, as from a sling, to a distance of three furlongs; a woman with child was struck on the belly just as she was leaving her house at daybreak, and the babe in her womb was flung half a furlong away. So mighty was the force of these stone-projectors. More alarming even than the engines was their whirring drone, more frightful than the missiles the crash. Then there was the thud of the dead falling one after another from the wall. Fearful shrieks from the women within the town mingled with the moans of the dying victims without. The whole surrounding area in front of the fight- the "engine" as the onager, another form of stone-projector, but apparently not invented till later.

Josephus is prone to exaggeration.

It seems unnecessary to correct φοβερότερος to φοβερός or φοβεροτάτος with Reinach, who renders "Terrible aussi tait le sifflement des machines et le fracas de leur ravage."
JOSEPHUS

περίβολος, καὶ προσβατὸν ὑπὸ πτωμάτων τοιὸν τείχος ἐγίνετο. φοβερωτέραν δ’ ἐποίουν τὴν βοηθώ
περιχώνοντα τὰ ὀργῆ, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ ἐκείνης τῆς
νυκτὸς οὐτε εἰς ἀκοῆς οὕτε εἰς ὀψεως κατάπληξιν
251 ἀπελείπτετο. πλείστοι μὲν γε τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰωτᾶ
πάτῃς ἀγωνιζόμενοι γενναίως ἔπεσον, πλείστοι δὲ
ἐγένοντο τραυματίαι, καὶ μόλις περὶ τὴν ἐωθινὴ
φυλακὴν ἐνδίδωσι τοῖς μηχανῆσαι τὸ τείχος
252 ἀδιαλείπτως τυπτόμενον· οἱ δὲ φραξάμενοι τοῖς
σώμασι καὶ τοῖς ὀπλοῖς τὸ καταρριφθέν τὸν
ωχυρωσαν, πρὶν βληθῆναι τὰς ἐπιβατηρίους ὑπὸ τῶ
Ῥωμαίων μηχανὰς.

253 (24) Ἄπο δὲ τῆς ἔως Ὀλεσπασιανὸς ἐπὶ τῇ
κατάληψιν τῆς πόλεως συνήχεν τὴν στρατιάν
ὁλίγον ἀπὸ τοῦ νυκτερινοῦ πόνου διαναπαύσας
254 βουλόμενος δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν καταρριφθέντων περὶ
οπάσα τοὺς ἐνεγκόντας, τοὺς μὲν γενναίοτάτους
τῶν ἰππέων ἀποθήκας [τῶν ἰππῶν] 1 τριχῇ διέταξε
κατὰ τὰ πεπτωκότα τοῦ τείχους, πάντοθεν πεφραγ
μένους τοῖς ὀπλοῖς καὶ τοὺς κομτοὺς προσχοντας
ὡς ὀπότε τὰς ἐπιβατηρίους βάλλοιέν μηχανὰ
255 κατάρχοντο τῆς εἰσόδου· κατόπιν δὲ αὐτῶν ἔταξε
τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ ἀκμαίοτατον, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἰππικό
ἀντιπαρέδειπνεν τῷ τείχει κατὰ πάσαν τὴν ὅρειν
πρὸς τὸ μηδένα τῶν ἀναφευγόντων ἐκ τῆς ἀλώσεως
256 διαλαθεῖν. κατόπιν δὲ τούτων περιέστησεν τοῦ
τοξότας ἔχειν κελεύσας ἔτοιμα τὰ βέλη πρὸ
ἀφεσιν, ὡμοίως δὲ καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τοὺς ἐπ
257 τῶν μηχανημάτων, ἔτερους δὲ κλίμακας ἁρμανόν
προσφέρεν ἐπάνω τοῖς ἀκεραίοις τείχεσιν, ἐν ὁ

1 om. as gloss Destinon; cf. iii. 449.

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ng line ran with blood, and the piles of corpses formed a path to the summit of the wall. The echo from the mountains around added to the horrible din; in short nothing that can terrify ear or eye was wanting on that dreadful night. Multitudes of the defenders of Jotapata fell in valiant fight, multitudes were wounded; and not till towards the hour of the morning watch did the wall, after incessant battering, succumb to the machines. The besieged, however, locking the breach with their persons and their weapons, threw up a makeshift defence before the Romans could lay the gangways for the escalade.

(24) Vespasian, having allowed his troops a brief respite after the fatigues of the night, reassembled them soon after daybreak for the final assault. His object was to draw off the defenders from the breach. With this intention, he ordered the bravest of his cavalry to dismount and marshalled them in three divisions opposite the ruined portions of the wall; protected by armour from head to foot and with maces couched, they were to be the first to enter the town the moment the gangways were laid; behind these he placed the flower of the infantry. (The rest of the cavalry were deployed all along the mountain de facing the ramparts, to prevent the escape of a single fugitive when the town was taken.) Further in the rear he posted the archers in a semicircle, with directions to have their arrows ready to shoot, along with the slingers and the artillery, under similar orders. Other parties were then told off to bring upadders and plant them against the wall where it was

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a Or "three deep."
b As Reinach suggests, § 255 appears to be a parenthesis, and § 256 follows, in the order of battle, immediately after 254.
μὲν τούτους κωλύειν πειρώμενοι καταλίποιεν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς καταρριφθείσων φυλακῆς, οἱ λοιποὶ δ᾽ υπ’ ἀθρόων βιαζόμενοι τῶν βελῶν εἰξωσι τῆς εἰσόδου.

258 (25) Ἰώσηπος δὲ συνεις1 τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ μένοντος τείχους σὺν τοῖς κεκμηκόσιν ἵστησι τοὺς γηραιοὺς ώς μηδὲν ταύτῃ βλαβησομένους. εἰς δὲ τὰ παρερρωγότα2 τοῦ τείχους τοὺς δυνατώτατοι καὶ πρὸ πάντων ἀνὰ ἐξ ἀνδρας, μεθ᾽ ὅν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ προκυδυνευένε ἐκληρώσατο

259 ἐκέλευσεν τε πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἀλαλαγμὸν τῶν ταγματῶν ἀποφράξαι τὰς ἀκοὰς, ὡς ἂν μὴ καταπλαγεῖν πρὸς δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βελῶν συνοκλάσαντας καλύψαθαι καθύπερθεν τοῖς θυρεοῖς, ὑποχωρήσα τε πρὸς ὀλίγον,3 ἔως τὰς φαρέτρας κενώσωσιν οἱ

260 τοξόται: βαλλόντων δὲ τὰς ἐπιβατηρίους μηχανὰ: αὐτοὺς προπηδᾶν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἰδίων ὀργάνω ἀπαντῶν τοῖς πολεμίωσι, ἀγωνίζονται τε ἐκαστὸ οὐχ ώς υπὲρ σωθησομένης, ἄλλ᾽ ὡς υπὲρ ἀπ

261 ολωλυίας Ἦδη τῆς πατρίδος ἀμοινόμενον, λαμβάνει τε πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν σφαγησομένους γέροντας κο τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ἀναφθησομένας4 ύπό τῶ ἐχθρῶν ὅσον οὐδέπω, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς μελλούσαι συμφοραῖς θυμὸν προαλάσαντας ἐναφείναι τοῖς δρό σουσιν αὐτᾶς.

262 (26) Ἐταξεν μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐκάτερον· τὸ δὲ ἄργον ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως πλῆθος, γύναια καὶ παιδες

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1 συνείς MVRCL. 2 καταρρωγότα PAML. 3 πρὸς ὀλίγον] κατ᾽ ὀλίγον “little by little” L Lat. (perhad rightly). 4 εὐρεθησομένοις (-μένα) P(AL): capi Lat. 650
still intact, in order that some of the besieged, in the attempt to repel them, might be induced to abandon the defence of the breach, and the remainder, overwhelmed by a hail of missiles, be forced to give way. (25) Josephus, penetrating this design, entrusted the protection of the intact portions of the wall to the fatigued and older men, expecting that there they would come to no harm; but he placed at the breach the most vigorous of his men, and at the head of each group six men,\(^a\) drawn by lot, among whom he himself drew for his place \(^b\) to bear the brunt of the battle. He instructed his men, when the legions raised their war-cry, to stop their ears, so as not to be frightened; when the volley of missiles came, to crouch down and cover their bodies with their bucklers, and to fall back for a while, until the archers had emptied their quivers; but, the instant the gangways were laid, to spring on to them themselves and confront the enemy by means of his own instruments. \(^c\) "Let each man fight," he continued, 'not as the saviour of his native place, but as its avenger, as though it were lost already. Let him picture to himself the butchery of the old men, the fate of the children and women at the hands of the foe, momentarily impending. Let the anticipation of these threatened calamities arouse his concentrated fury, and let him vent it upon the would-be perpetrators."

(26) Such was the disposition of his two divisions. But when the crowd of non-combatant townsfolk,

\(^{a}\) Meaning a little doubtful. These leaders are the \(\rho θυ α χ οι\) mentioned in § 270.

\(^{b}\) Cf. § 263 (\(\gamma θ ια α χ ου\)).

\(^{c}\) "The engineer hoist with his own petard" (Hamlet, u. iv.).
ος έθεασαντο τριπλη μεν φαλαγγι την πολιν έξωσμενην, ουδεν γαρ εις την μαχην μετακεκινητο των παλαι φυλακων, προς δε τοις βεβλημενοις τειχεσιν τους πολεμους ξιφίρεις και την καθ- ύπερθεν ορεινην λαμπομενην οπλοις, τα τε βελη τοις τοξοταις υπερανεχοντατι των 'Αραβων, υστα- των τινα κωκυτον αλοσεως συνηχησαν, ως ουκ άπειλομενων έτι των κακων άλλη ήδη παροντων.

263 ο δε 'Ιωσηπος τας μεν γυναικας, ως μη θηλυνουειν οικτω τας ορμας των σφετερων, κατακλειει ταις οικιαις μετ' άπειλης ησυχαξει κελευσας· αυτως
264 δε έπι των έρευθεντων η έλαχεν παρηιει. τοις μεν ουν καθ' έτερα προσφεροντα τας κλιμακας ου προσειχεν, άπεκαραδοκει δε την ορμην των βελων.

265 (27) 'Ομοι δ' οι τε σαλπκηται των ταγματων άπαντων συνηχησαν και δεινον έπηλαλαξεν ή στρατια, και παντοθεν άφιεμενων απο συνθήματος
266 των βελων το φως ιπτεμέντο. μεμημονοι γε μην των του 'Ιωσηπου προσταγματων οι συν αυτω τας τε άκοας προς την βοην και τα σωματα
267 προς τας άφεσεις έφραζαντο, και βαλλοντων τας μηχανας έπεξέδραμον δι' αυτων πριν έπιβηναι τους
268 βαλλουτας, συμπλεκόμενοι τε τοις άνιουσιν παν- τοια και χειρων έργα και ψυχής έναπεδεικνυτο, πειραμενοι παρα τας έσχατας συμφορας μη χει- ρους φαίνεσθαι των εν άκινδυνω τω κατα σφας
269 άνδριζομενων· ωστε ου πρότερον άπερρηγυνντε
270 των 'Ρωμαιων πριν η πεσειν η διαφθειραι. ως δ' οι μεν έκαμφων διηνεκως άμυνόμενοι και τους

1 conj.: επανέχοντα mss. 2 6ε μην LVRC.
women and children, beheld the city encircled by a triple cordon of troops—for the Romans had not shifted for the battle any of the guards which they had posted at the outset,—when they saw, moreover, at the foot of the ruined walls the enemy sword in hand, and above them the mountain-side gleaming with arms and higher still the arrows of the Arab archers pointed at the town, they shrieked aloud, a last shriek, as it were, at their capture, as though the catastrophe were no longer imminent but already upon them. Josephus, fearing that the wailing of the women might unman the combatants, had them shut up in their houses, ordering them with threats to hold their peace. He then took up his allotted position at the breach, and, regardless of the ladders which were being brought up elsewhere, breathlessly awaited the hail of arrows.

(27) And now the trumpeters of all the legions simultaneously sounded, the troops raised a terrific shout, and at a given signal arrows poured from all quarters, intercepting the light. Mindful of the injunctions of Josephus, his comrades screened their ears from the shout and their bodies from the volleys; and, as the planks were laid, they dashed out across them, before those who had laid them could set foot on them. In the ensuing hand-to-hand fight with their mounting enemy, they displayed all manner of feats of strength and gallantry, endeavouring in the depth of calamity to prove themselves not inferior to men who, without the same interests at stake, were so courageous. None relaxed his struggle with a Roman until he had killed him or perished. But whereas the Jews, now becoming exhausted by the incessant combat, had none
προμάχους ἀμείβειν οὐκ ἔχοντες, τὸ κεκμηκὸς
de τῶν ἮΡωμαιῶν ἀκραιφνεῖς διεδέχοντο καὶ
tαχέως ἀντὶ τῶν ἀποβιάσθεντων ἐπέβαινον ἐτεροι,
παρακελευσάμενοι τε ἀλλήλους καὶ πλευρὰν μὲν ἐνωσάντες, τοῖς δὲ θυρεοῖς καθύπερθεν φραξά-
μενοι στίφος ἀρρηκτοῦ ἐγένοντο, καὶ καθάπερ ἐνὶ
σώματι πάσῃ τῇ φάλαγγι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀν-
ωθοῦντες ἦδη τοῦ τείχους ἐπέβαινον.

271 (28) Ὅ δὲ Ἰωσήφος ἐν ταῖς ἀμηχανίαις σύμ-
βουλον λαβὼν τὴν ἀνάγκην, ἢ δ’ ἐστιν δεινὴ πρὸς ἐπίνοιαν, ὅταν αὐτὴν ἀπὸγνωσις ἑρεθίζῃ, ζέον

272 ἕλαιον ἐκέλευσεν καταχέιν τῶν συνησικότων. οἱ
d’, ὡς παρεσκευασμένοι ἔχοντες, μετὰ τάχους
πολλοὶ καὶ πολὺ πάντοθεν τῶν ἮΡωμαιῶν κατέχεον
συνεπαφήντες καὶ τὰ ἀγγεία βρασάσμενα τῇ θέρμῃ.

273 τούτῳ καιροῖς τῶν ἮΡωμαιῶν διεσκέδασεν τὴν
tάξιν, καὶ μετὰ δεινῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἀπεκυλινδώντο

274 τοῦ τείχους· ῥάστα μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἐλαίον ἀπὸ κορυφῆς
μέχρι ποδῶν ὑπὸ τὰς πανοπλίας διέρρει τοὺς σώμα-
tος ὅλου, καὶ τὴν σάρκα φλογὸς οὐδὲν ἔλασσον
ἐπεβόσκετο, θερμαίνομενόν τε φύσει ταχέως καὶ

275 ψυχόμενον βραδέως διὰ τὴν πιότητα. τοῖς δὲ
θωραξίν καὶ τοῖς κράνεσιν ἐνδεδεμένων ἀπαλλαγῇ
tῆς καύσεως ὡς ἢ, πτήνωτες δὲ καὶ συνει-
λούμενοι ταῖς ἀλγηδόσιν ἀπὸ τῶν γεφυρωμάτων
ἐπιπτον· οἱ δὲ τραπέντες εἰς τοὺς σφετέρους πρόσω
βιαζόμενους εὐχείρωτοι τοῖς κατόπιν τιτρώσκουσιν

276 (29) Ἐπέλειψεν1 δ’ οὔτε ἮΡωμαιοι ἐν ταῖς
κακοπραγίαις ἱσχὺς οὔτε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους σύνεσις,

1 Ἐπέλειψεν Ῥ.Α.

See § 255.
to replace their foremost champions, in the Roman ranks the exhausted men were relieved by fresh troops, and when one party was driven back another instantly took its place; the assailants cheered each other on, and, side linked to side, with their bucklers protecting them above, they formed an invulnerable column, which with its united mass, like one solid body, pushed the Jews before them and was even now mounting the ramparts.

(28) In this critical situation, Josephus, taking counsel from necessity,—ready as she is in invention when stimulated by despair,—ordered boiling oil to be poured upon this roof of close-locked shields. His men had it ready, and at once from all quarters deluged the Romans with large quantities, flinging after it the vessels, still scalding hot. This broke their formation; the Romans, burning and in excruciating agony, rolled headlong from the ramparts. For the oil instantaneously penetrated beneath their armour from head to foot, spreading over the whole surface of their bodies and devouring the flesh with the fierceness of a flame, this liquid being, from its nature, quick in absorbing heat and, from its fatty properties, slow in cooling. Encumbered with their cuirasses and their helmets, the victims had no escape from the scalding fluid: leaping and writhing in anguish, they dropped from the scaling-bridges. Those who turned to fly were blocked by their comrades pressing forward to the assault and became an easy mark for Jewish assailants in their rear.

(29) But, in the midst of these trials, the Romans showed no lack of fortitude, nor yet the Jews of

\[ b \] The testudo formation (cf. B. ii. 537).
JOSEPHUS

ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν καὶ περὶ ὀκτὼ πάσχοντας ὀρῶντες τοὺς καταχωθέντας ὄμως εἰς τοὺς καταχείνοντας ἐφέροντο, τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ κακίζων ἐκαστὸς ὡς 277 ἐμπόδιον οὐτα τῆς ρύμης1 οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαίοι δόλῳ δευτέρῳ τὰς προσβάσεις2 αὐτῶν ἐπέσφαλλον τῇ λύν ἐφθην ὑποχέοντες3 ταῖς σαινίσι, ἣς4 ἐπολισθάνοντες 278 ὑπεσύροντο. καὶ οὔτε τῶν τρεπομένων οὔτε τῶν προσβαίνοντων5 τις ορθὸς ἠμενεν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὑπνιαζόμενοι τῶν ἐπιβατηρίων μηχανῶν συνεπατοῦντο, πολλοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τὸ χῶμα κατέπιπτον. 279 ἐπαίνοντο δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ πεσόντες6 ἐσφαλμένων γὰρ τῶν Ἦρωμαίν οὗτοι, τῆς κατὰ χειρὰ συμπλοκῆς ἐλευθερώθηντες, εἰς τὰς βολὰς 280 εὐπτόχουν.7 πολλὰ δὲ κακομεμένους ἐν τῇ προσβολῇ τοὺς στρατιῶτας ὁ στρατηγὸς περὶ δείλην ἀνεκάλει. 281 ἐπεσον δὲ τοῦτων μὲν οὐκ ὀλύνοι καὶ πλείους ἐπρώθησαν, τῶν δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωταπάτης ἀπέθανον μὲν ἐξ ἄνδρες, τραυματίαι δ' ὑπὲρ τριακοσίους 282 ἀνεκομίσθησαν. εἰκάδι μὲν Δαίσιον μηνὸς ἡ παράταξις ἦν. 283 (30) Ὀνεοπασιανὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι τὴν στρατιὰν παραμυθούμενος, ὡς θυμομεμένους ἐώρα 284 καὶ οὐ προτροπῆσ άλλ' ἐργον δεομένους, προσ- υψώσαι μὲν τὰ χωμάτα, πύργους δὲ τρεῖς, πεντήκοντα ποδῶν τὸ υψὸς ἐκαστὸν, κατασκευᾶσαι κελεύσας πάντοθεν σιδήρῳ κεκαλυμμένους, ὡς ἐδραίοι τε εἰὲν ὑπὸ βρίθους καὶ δυσάλωτοι πυρί, 285 τῶν χωμάτων ἐπέστησαν, συνεπιβήσας αὐτοῖς

1 Destinon (cf. A. vii. 239 φερόμενοι μετὰ ρύμης): ρύμης mss. 2 προσάσεις PALM.
3 επιχέοντες Hudson with one ms.
4 αἱ MVRC. 5 προσβαίνοντων PAL.
5 εἶδον "had leisure to take good aim" LVRC.
The former, though they saw their comrades in tortures from the drenching oil, none the less rushed on against those who poured it, each cursing the man in front of him for impeding the charge. The Jews, on their side, invented a second ruse to trip their assailants, by pouring over the gangway-planks boiled fenugreek, on which the Romans slipped and stumbled backward. Whether attempting to retreat or to advance, not a man could remain erect: some collapsed on their backs on the gangways and were crushed under foot, many fell off on to the earthworks, where they were pierced by the arrows of the Jews; for, in consequence of this prostration of the Romans, the defenders, relieved from hand-to-hand fighting, showed good marksmanship. After severe losses sustained in this assault the troops, towards evening, were called off by the general. The Romans had many dead and more wounded. The defenders of Jotapata lost only six dead, but upwards of three hundred wounded were brought back to the town. This combat took place on the twentieth of the month Daesius.

(30) Vespasian at first sought to console his troops for their recent experiences. But when he found them in sullen mood and calling, not for encouragement, but for action, he ordered them to raise the height of the embankments and to construct three towers, each fifty feet high, entirely covered with sheet-iron, both to ensure their stability by their weight and to render them fire-proof. He then had these erected on the earth-works and mounted upon

 Foenum Graecum; Reinach remarks that this plant would be in flower precisely at this season (June-July).

 8 July (Niese's reckoning).
The father of the future emperor of that name.

b Japhia of the O.T. (Joshua xix. 12), modern Yafa, some ten miles south of Jotapata and two miles south-west of...
them, besides the lighter artillery, the javelin-men, archers, and the most robust of the slingers. These troops, being screened from view by the height of the towers and their breastworks, opened fire on the besieged who were plainly visible to them on the wall. The Jews, finding no means of avoiding the projectiles directed at their heads or of avenging themselves on an invisible foe, seeing these lofty towers inaccessible to missiles thrown by hand and protected against fire by their iron casing, abandoned the wall and made sallies against any who attempted to renew the escalade. Thus did Jotapata continue to hold out; day by day many of its defenders fell; powerless to retaliate on the enemy, they could only hold them at bay at peril of their lives.

(31) In the course of these days Vespasian dispatched Trajan, the commander of the tenth legion, with a thousand horse and two thousand foot, against a town in the vicinity of Jotapata, called Japha, which had revolted, encouraged by the surprising resistance of their neighbours at Jotapata. Trajan found a city presenting formidable difficulties, for in addition to its naturally strong situation, it was protected by a double ring of walls. However, its inhabitants ventured to advance to meet him, prepared, as he saw, for action; he charged them and, after a brief resistance, routed them and started in pursuit. They burst into the first enclosure, whither the Romans, following hard on their heels, penetrated with them. But when the fugitives rushed on to the

Nazareth, here called a "city," but elsewhere described as "the largest village in Galilee," Vita 230; at one time the headquarters of Josephus (ib. 270).
τείχος ἀποκλείουσιν τῆς πόλεως οἱ σφέτεροι, δεί-

293 σαντεῖς μὴ συνεισβάλωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι. θέος δ' ἢν ἄρα ὁ 'Ῥωμαίων τὰ Γαλιλαίων πάθη χαριζό-

μενος, δό καὶ τότε τὸν τῆς πόλεως λαὸν αὐτανδρον, χερσίν οἰκείας ἐκκλεισθέντα, πρὸς ἀπώλειαιν ἔκ-

294 δοτον φονώσων ἔχθροις παρέστησεν. ἐμπιπτοντες γὰρ ἄθροι ταῖς πύλαις καὶ πολλὰ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐ-

τῶν ὁνόμαστὶ καλοῦντες έν μέσαις ἀπεσφάττον-

295 το ταῖς ἱκεσίαις. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοῖς τείχος οἱ πολέμιοι, τὸ δεύτερον δ' ἐκλείσαν οἱ

296 σφέτεροι. μέσοι δὲ τοῖς δυνῶν κατειλύμενοι περι-

βόλων βύξην,1 πολλοὶ μὲν τοῖς ἀλλήλων, πολλοὶ δὲ τοῖς ἱδίοις περιπείροντο ἔίφεσιν, ἄπειροι δὲ ὑπὸ ὁ 'Ῥωμαίων ἐπιπτον οὐδὲ οὖν εἰς ἄμυναι

ἀναθαρροῦντες. πρὸς γὰρ τῷ καταπεπλήξαι τοὺς πολεμίους τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἐκλάσειν ἴ τῶν οἰκείω

297 προδοσία. πέρας ἐθνησκον οὐ ὁ 'Ῥωμαίων ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἱδίοις2 καταρώμενοι, μέχρι πάντες ἀπώλοντο μύριοι

298 καὶ δυσχίλιοι τὸν ὀριθμὸν οἴντες. κενὴν δὲ μαχύμωι

λογιζόμενοι εἰναι τὴν πόλιν ὁ Τραϊανός, εἰ δὲ καὶ τως ἐνδον εἰς ν, οἱ χισμοὺς μηδὲν αὐτοὺς τολμή-

σεως ὑπὸ δέους, ἀνετίθει τῷ στρατηγῷ τὴν ἀλωσιν καὶ στείλας ἁγγέλους πρὸς Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἥτειτη

πέμψῃ τὸν νῖον αὐτοῦ3 Τίτον ἐπιθήσοντα τῇ νίκῃ

299 τέλος. ο δὲ συμβαλῶν ὑπολείπεσθαι τινα πόλιν μετὰ στρατάς τὸν νῖον ἐπιπέμπει πεντακοσίωι

300 μὲν ἅπαν, χιλίων δὲ πεζών. ο δὲ πρὸς τῇ

πόλιν ἐλθὼν διὰ τάχους καὶ διατάξας τὴν στρατιάι

1 om. PL: the word recurs in B. vi. 326.
2 oixeious P.
3 C: παντοδ VR, suum Lat.: αὐτῷ the rest.

* Cf. the message of Joab to David at the siege of Rabbah
second wall, their own fellow-citizens shut them out, for fear of the enemy forcing their way in at the same time. God, and no other, it was who made a present to the Romans of the wretched Galilaeans; it was He who now caused the population of the town to be excluded by the hands of their own people and delivered them to their murderous foes, to be exterminated to a man. Vainly did the swarming crowds batter the gates and implore the sentinels by their names to let them in: while their supplications were on their lips they were butchered. The first wall was closed to them by the enemy, the second by their friends. Cooped up and huddled together between the two ramparts, they fell, many impaled on their comrades' swords, many on their own, while prodigious numbers were slain by the Romans, without even having the heart to defend themselves; for to their terror of the enemy was added the perfidy of their friends, and that broke their spirit. Cursing, in their dying moments, not the Romans but their own people, in the end they all perished, to the number of twelve thousand. Trajan, judging that the city was bereft of combatants or that any who still remained within would be paralysed by fear, decided to reserve for his chief the credit of capturing the place. He accordingly dispatched a message to Vespasian, requesting him to send his son Titus to complete the victory. The general, conjecturing that some work still remained to be done, sent with his son reinforcements consisting of five hundred cavalry and a thousand infantry. Titus rapidly marched to the city, drew up his troops for battle,
ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ λαιοῦ κέρως τὸν Ῥαϊανὸν ἱστησιν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν ἥχων ἐξηγεῖτο πρὸς τὴν πολι- 301 ορκίαν. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν κλίμακας πάντοθεν τῷ τείχει προσφερόντων πρὸς ὅλην οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι καθύπερθεν ἀμυνάμενοι' λείπουσιν τὸν περίβολον, 302 ἐπιπηδήσαντες δ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Τίτον τῆς μὲν πόλεως ἐκράτησαν ταχέως, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἔνδον αὐτοῖς συστραφέντας καρτερὰ μάχη συρρήγνυται· 303 καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς οἱ δυνατοὶ προσέπιπτον καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκίων αἱ γυναῖκες ἐβαλλον πὰν τὸ 304 προστυχὸν αὐταῖς. καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἐκ ὦρῶν ἀντείχον μαχόμενοι, δαπανηθέντων δὲ τῶν μαχίμων τὸ λοιπὸν πλήθος ἐν τε τοῖς ὑπαίθροις καὶ κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας ἀπεσφάττοντο, νέοι τε ὠμοὶ καὶ γέροντες· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄρρεν ὑπελείφθη δίχα νηπίων, ἀ μετὰ 305 γυναικῶν ἐξηνυθραποδίσαντο. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἀν- αρεθέντων ἀνά τε τὴν πόλιν κατὶ τῆς προτέρας παρατάξεως ἀριθμὸς μῦρου πρὸς τοῖς πεντα- κισχυλίοις ἤν, τὰ δ' αἰχμάλωτα δισχίλα ἐκατὸν 306 καὶ τριάκοντα. τοῦτο συνέβη τὸ πάθος Γαλιλαίων πέμπτη καὶ εἰκάδι Δαισίου μηνός.

307 (32) "Εμείναν δὲ οὐδὲ Σαμαρείς ἀπείρατοι συμ- φορών· ἀθροισθέντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ Γαριζεῖν καλοῦ- μενον ὅρος, ὅπερ αὐτοῖς ἐστίν ἁγιον, κατὰ χώραν μὲν ἐμενον, πολεμοῦ δ' εἶχεν ἀπειλῆν ἢ τε σύνοδος 308 αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ φρονήματα. καὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς γειτνιώσι κακοῖς ἐσωφροίζοντο, πρὸς δὲ τὰς 'Ρωμαίων εὐπραγίας ἐν ἀλογίστῳ τὴν κατὰ σφᾶς ἀσθένειαν

1 Destinon: ἀμυνόμενοι mss.
2 P.A: τῇ κατὰ σφᾶς ἀσθένεια the rest; text doubtful.
posting Trajan on the left wing, and himself taking command of the right, and led them to the assault. As the soldiers were bringing up ladders to every portion of the wall, the Galilaeans, after a brief defence from that quarter, abandoned it; the troops of Titus thereupon scaled the ramparts and were instantly masters of the town. But within the walls, where the inhabitants had rallied to meet them, a desperate struggle ensued: the able-bodied fell upon the Romans in the narrow alleys, while from the houses the women pelted them with whatever missiles came to hand. For six hours the contest was maintained; the more efficient combatants were at length exterminated, and the rest of the population was then massacred in the open or in their houses, young and old alike. For no males were spared, except infants; these, along with the women, the Romans sold as slaves. The slain, whether in the city or in the previous action, amounted in all to fifteen thousand; the captives numbered two thousand one hundred and thirty. This disaster befell the Galilaeans on the twenty-fifth of the month Daesius.a

(32) The Samaritans, too, did not escape their share of calamity. Assembling on their sacred mountain called Garizim, they did not move from the spot, but this mustering of the clan and their determined attitude contained a menace of war. They had learnt nothing from their neighbours' calamities; the successes of the Romans only made them ridiculously conceited of their own feebleness, and they were

a 13 July, A.D. 67 (according to Niese's reckoning).
309 ἔδοκει δὲ Ὡνεσπασιανῷ φθάσαι τὸ κίνημα καὶ τὰς ὄρμας αὐτῶν ὑποτείμενεσθαι καὶ γὰρ εἰ φρουραῖς ἡ Σαμαρείτις ὅλη διείληπτο, τὸ γε ² πλῆθος τῶν 310 ἑλπιθότων καὶ ἡ σύνταξις ἡ φοβερά. Κερεάλιον οὖν ἔπαρχον ὄντα τοῦ πέμπτου τάγματος μεθ᾽ ἐξακοσίων ἵππεων καὶ πεζῶν τρισχιλίων πέμπτει.
311 τούτῳ προσβαίνειν μὲν τὸ ὅρος καὶ συνάπτειν μάχην οὐκ ἀσφαλές ἐδοξεῖν πολλῶν καθύπερθεν τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων, κυκλωσάμενος δὲ τῇ δυνάμει πάσαν τὴν ὑπόρειον δι᾽ ὅλης αὐτοὺς εἰφρούρει τῆς 312 ἡμέρας. συνέβη δὲ ὦδατος ἀπορομμένων τῶν Σαμαρεῶν ἐκφλεγῆναι τότε καὶ καῦμα δεινῶν· ὡρα δ᾽ ἦν θέρους καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τὸ πλῆθος 313 ἀπαράσκευν. ως τινὰς ³ μὲν αὐθημερὸν ύπὸ ⁴ τοῦ δύσφων ἀποθανεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀπωλείας τὸ δουλεύειν προαιρομένους Ῥωμαίοις 314 προσφυγεῖν. ἔξ ὦν συνεῖς ὁ Κερεάλιος καὶ τοὺς ἐτὶ συμμένοντας ύπὸ τῶν δεινῶν κατεαγότας ἐπαναβαίνει τῷ ὀρεί, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐν κύκλῳ περιστήμας τοῖς πολεμίωσ ἐμὲ πρῶτον ἐπὶ δεξιάς προφαλαίτο καὶ σῶξεσθαι παρεκάλει, δια-
315 βεβαιούμενος ἀσφάλειαν τὰ ὀπλὰ ῥήμασιν. ως δ᾽ οὐκ ἔπειθεν, προσπεσων ἰάκτευνεν πάντας, χεῖλιος ἐξακοσίων ἐπὶ μυρίοις ὄντας· ἐβδόμη καὶ εἰκάδι Δαισίου μηνὸς ἐπράξθη. καὶ τοιαύτας μὲν συμ-φοραῖς Σαμαρεῖται ἐχρήσαντο.
316 (33) Τῶν δ’ ἀνὰ τὰ Ἰωτάπατα καρτεροῦντων

¹ M (Lat. etsi): om. P.A: ἀεὶ the rest.
² M (Lat. tamen): τε the rest.
³ τούς P.
⁴ Bekker: ἀπὸ mss.
eagerly contemplating the prospect of revolt.\(^a\) Vespasian accordingly decided to anticipate the movement and to curb their ardour; for, although the whole district of Samaria was already occupied by garrisons, this large assemblage and their confederacy gave ground for alarm. He therefore dispatched to the spot Cerealius,\(^b\) commander of the fifth legion, with a force of six hundred cavalry and three thousand infantry. This officer, considering it hazardous to ascend the mountain and engage in battle, as the enemy were in such strength on the summit, confined himself to surrounding the entire base of Garizim with his troops and kept strict guard during the whole day. The Samaritans happened to be short of water just at the period of a terrific heat-wave; it was the height of summer and the multitude had not laid in provisions. The result was that several died of thirst that very day, while many others, preferring slavery to such a fate, deserted to the Romans. Cerealius, concluding therefrom that the rest, who still held together, were broken down by their sufferings, now ascended the mountain and, having disposed his troops in a circle round the enemy, began by inviting them to treat, exhorting them to save their lives and assuring them of security if they laid down their arms. These overtures proving ineffectual, he attacked and slew them to a man, eleven thousand six hundred in all; this was on the twenty-seventh of the month Daesius\(^c\) Such was the catastrophe which overtook the Samaritans.

\(^{(33)}\) Meanwhile the defenders of Jotapata were The fall of Jotapata.

\(^a\) The historian's animus against the Samaritans appears elsewhere, notably in A. ix. 290 f.
\(^b\) Sextus Cerealis Vettulenus. \(^c\) 15 July, A.D. 67 (Niese).
JOSEPHUS

καὶ παρ’ ἐλπίδα τοὺς δεινοὺς ἀντεχόντων τεσσαρακοστῇ μὲν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐβδόμη τὰ χῶματα 317 τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπερήφανο τὸ τείχος, αὐτομολεῖ δέ τις πρὸς τὸν Οὐθεσπασιανόν τὴς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας τὴν τε ὀλγότητα τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐξαγγέλλων καὶ 318 τὴν ἀσθένειαν, καὶ οὐ ἄγρυπνὰ διηνεκεῖ καὶ μάχαις ἐπαλήλουσι δεδαπαγημένοι δυνατοὶ μὲν εἶν ὀυδὲ βιαζομένους ἐτὶ φέρειν, καὶ δόλω δ’ ἂν 319 ἀλοίπεν, εἴ τις ἐπιθύμητο· περὶ γὰρ τὴν ἐσχάτην φυλακήν, καθ’ ἧν ἀνεσίν τε τῶν δεινῶν ἐδόκων ἔχειν καὶ καθάπτεται μάλιστα κεκοπωμένων ἐωθινὸς ὑπνός, καταδαρθάνειν ἐφασκεν τοὺς φύλακας, συνεβούλευεν τε κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ὦραν ἐπελθεῖν. 320 τῷ δ’ ὧν μὲν δι’ ὑπονοίας ὁ αὐτόμολος, τὸ τε πρὸς ἀλλήλους πιστὸν εἰδότει τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ 321 τὴν πρὸς τὰς κολάσεις ὑπερωβήναν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πρότερον ληφθείς τις τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωσπάτης πρὸς πᾶσαν αἰκίαν βασάνων ἀντέσχεν καὶ μηδὲν διὰ πυρὸς ἐξερευνῶσι τοὺς πολεμίους περὶ τῶν ἐνίδου εἰπὼν ἀνεσταυρώθη τοῦ θανάτου κατα- 322 μειδιῶν· τὰ γε μὴν εἰκότα πιστὸν ἑποίει τὸν προδότην, καὶ τάχα μὲν ἀληθεύειν ἐκεῖνον, μηδὲν δ’ αὐτὸς ἔξ ἐνέδρας πείσεσθαι μέγα προσδοκῶν, τοῦ μὲν φυλάσσῃς ἐκέλευσεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν καταληψιν τῆς πόλεως παρεσκευάξε τὴν στρατιάν. 323 (34) Κατὰ δὲ τὴν μηνυθείσαν ὦραν ἤσαν ἱσχυρὴ 324 πρὸς τὸ τείχος. καὶ πρῶτος ἐπιβαίνει Τίτος σὺν ἐν τῶν χιλίαρχων Δομετίῳ Σαβίνῳ, τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πέμπτου καὶ δεκάτου τάγματος ὀλίγους ἄγωνν

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*a The writer possibly has a more famous siege in mind, that of Troy; cf. "tempus erat quo prima quies mortalibus aegris incipit," Virg. Aen. ii. 268, and just before "inuadunt 666"
still holding out and beyond all expectation bearing up under their miseries, when on the forty-seventh day of the siege the earthworks of the Romans overtopped the wall. That same day a deserter reported to Vespasian the reduced numbers and strength of the defence, and that, worn out with perpetual watching and continuous fighting, they would be unable longer to resist a vigorous assault and might be taken by stratagem, if the attempt were made. He stated that about the last watch of the night—an hour when they expected some respite from their sufferings and when jaded men easily succumb to morning slumber—a—the sentinels used to drop asleep; and that was the hour when he advised the Romans to attack. Vespasian, knowing the Jews’ loyalty to each other and their indifference to chastisement, regarded the deserter with suspicion. For on a former occasion a man of Jotapata who had been taken prisoner had held out under every variety of torture, and, without betraying to the enemy a word about the state of the town, even under the ordeal of fire, was finally crucified, meeting death with a smile. However, the probability of his account lent credit to the traitor; and so, thinking that the man might be speaking the truth, and that, even if his story were a trap, no serious risk would be run by acting upon it, Vespasian ordered him into custody and made ready his army for the capture of the city.

(34) At the hour named they advanced in silence to the walls. The first to mount them was Titus, with one of the tribunes, Domitius Sabinus, followed by a few men of the fifteenth legion. They cut down urbem somno uinoque sepultam; caeduntur uigiles” 265 f. with § 325 (ἀποσφάξαντες δὲ τοὺς φίλακας εἰς σίασιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν) and § 327 (ὑπερ διαλέλυτο).
325 ἀποσφάξαντες δὲ τοὺς φύλακας εἰσίασιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. μεθ’ οὐς Σέξτος τις Καλούνιος χιλιάρχης καὶ Πλάκιδος τοὺς ὑπὸ σφίσι τεταγμένους εἰσήγον.
326 κατειλημμένης δὲ τῆς ἀκρᾶς καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν μέσῳ στρεφομένων, ἦδη δὲ καὶ ἡμέρας οὕσης, ὅμως οὗτω τῆς ἀλώσεως τοῖς κρατουμένοις αἰ-
327 σθῆσις ἥν καμάτω τε γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ὑπ' υπνῳ διαλέλυτο, καὶ τῶν διανισταμένων ὀμίχλῃ τὰς ὀψεῖς ἀπήμβλυνεν πολλῇ κατὰ τύχῃ τότε τῇ
328 πόλει περιχυθείσα, μέχρι πάσης τῆς στρατιάς εἰσπεσούσης πρὸς μόνην τὴν τῶν κακῶν αἰσθήσιν ἐξανέστησαν καὶ τὴν ἀλώσιν ἐπίστευον ἀναιρού-
329 μενοι. Ῥωμαίοις δὲ κατὰ μνήμην δὲν ἐκ' τῆς πολιορκίας ἔπαθον οὔτε φειδώς εἰσήγη τινὸς οὔτ' ἔλεος, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ κάταντες2 ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρᾶς τῶν
330 λεων συνωθοῦντες ἐφόεινον. ἔνθα καὶ τῶς ἔτι μάχεσθαι δυναμένοις ἢ δυσχωρία τὴν ἀμυναν ἀφείλετο. θλιβόμενοι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς καὶ κατὰ τὸ πρανοὶς ὑπολισθάνοντες ἴναιντι κατ'
331 ἀκρᾶς ἐκαλύπτοντο τῷ πολέμῳ. τοῦτο πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν περὶ τοῦ Ἴωσηπον ἐπιλέκτων ἐπ' αὐτο-
χειρίαν παρόξυνεν. κατιδόντες γὰρ ὅσον οὐδένα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄνελεῖν δύνανται, τὸ γε πεσεῖν αὐτοὺς3 ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων προέλαβον καὶ συναθροί-
σθέντες ἔπι τὰ καταλήγοντα τῆς πόλεως σφάζαι αὐτοὺς ἄνειλον.
332 (35) Ὄσοι γε μὴν ὑπὸ πρώτην τῆς καταλήψεως αἰσθησία τῶν φυλάκων διαφυγεῖν ἐφθασαν ἀνα-
βάντες εἰς τινὰ τῶν προσαρκτίων πύργων μέχρι
μὲν τινος ἀπημύναντο, περισχεθέντες δὲ πλήθει

1 επὶ Niese: the inferior mss. have περὶ (τὴν πολιορκίαν).
2 + ἄπαντες PAML.
3 Text doubtful.
the sentries and entered the city. Behind them came Sextus Calvarius, a tribune, and Placidus with the troops under their command. The citadel had actually been taken, the enemy was ranging through the heart of the town, and it was now broad daylight, before the vanquished inhabitants were aware of the capture. Most of them were worn out with fatigue and asleep, and if any awoke, a thick mist, which happened at the time to envelop the city, obscured their vision. At length, when the whole army had poured in, they started up, but only to realize their calamity; the blade at their throat brought home to them that Jotapata was taken.

The Romans, remembering what they had borne during the siege, showed no quarter or pity for any, but thrust the people down the steep slope from the citadel in a general massacre. Even those still able to fight here found themselves deprived of the means of defence by the difficulties of the ground: crushed in the narrow alleys and slipping down the declivity, they were engulfed in the wave of carnage that streamed from the citadel. The situation even drove many of Josephus's picked men to suicide; seeing themselves powerless to kill a single Roman, they could at least forestall death at Roman hands, and, retiring in a body to the outskirts of the town, they there put an end to themselves.

(35) Those soldiers of the guard who, the moment it was known that the town was taken, had succeeded in escaping, took refuge in one of the northern towers, where for some time they held their own; but, being surrounded by large numbers of the

a The Romans had entered from the north (§§ 158, 162).
τών πολεμίων ὅψε παρείσαν τὰς δεξίας καὶ τοῖς
333 ἐφεστῶσιν τὴν σφαγὴν εὐθὺμοι παρέσχον. ἀναί-
μακτον δ' ἂν ἦν αὐχήσαι Ἡρωμαῖος τὸ τέλος τῆς
πολιορκίας, εἰ μή κατὰ τὴν ἁλωσιν εἰς ἐπεσέν
τις ἐκατοντάρχης ἦν Ἀντώνιος, θυνήσκει δ' ἐξ
334 ἐνέδρας. τῶν γὰρ εἰς τὰ σπήλαιά τις συμ-
πεφευγότων, πολλοὶ δ' οὔτοι πλῆθος ἦσαν, ἱκετεύει
τὸν Ἀντώνιον δρέξαι δεξιὰν αὐτῶ, πίστιν τε
335 σωτηρίας καὶ βοήθειαν πρὸς ἄνωδον: ὁ δ' ἀ-
φυλάκτων ὤρεγε τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ φθάσας αὐτὸν
ἐκεῖνος νῦττει κάτωθεν ὑπὸ1 τὸν βουβώνα δόρατι
καὶ παραχρῆμα διεργάζεται.
336 (36) Κατ' ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν τὸ
φανερὸν πλῆθος ἄνειλον οἱ Ἡρωμαῖοι, ταῖς δ' ἐπι-
ποῦσαις ἀνερευνώμενοι τὰς καταδύσεις τοὺς ἐν
τοῖς υπονόμους καὶ τοῖς σπηλαίοις ἐπεξήγασαν καὶ
dia πάσης ἑχώρουν ἡλικίας πλὴν νηπίων καὶ
337 γυναικῶν. καὶ τὰ μὲν αἰχμάλωτα χίλια πρὸς τοῖς
dιακοσίοις συνήχθη, νεκροὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἁλωσιν
cαὶ τὰς πρότερον μάχας συνεργάσθησαν τετρα-
338 κυσμύριοι. Οὐδεπασιανὸς δὲ τὴν τε πολὺν κατα-
σκάψαι κελεύει καὶ τὰ φρούρια πάντα προσεμ-
339 πίπρησιν αὐτῆς. Ἰωτάπατα μὲν οὖν οὔτως ἐάλω
τρισκαϊδεκάτῳ τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας ἔτει Πανέ-
μου νυμηνία.
340 (viii. 1) Ἡρωμαίοι δὲ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀναζητοῦν-
tes κατὰ τε ὄργην σφετέραν καὶ σφόδρα τοῦ
στρατηγοῦ φιλοτιμομένου, μεγίστη γὰρ ἦν μοῖρα
τοῦ πολέμου ληφθεῖς, τοὺς τε νεκροὺς διηρεύνων
1 ἐπὶ PAL.
enemy, they at length surrendered and cheerfully extended their throats to their assailants. The Romans might have boasted that this last phase of the siege had cost them no loss of life, had not one of them, the centurion Antonius, fallen when the town was captured. He was killed by treachery. One of the many fugitives who had taken refuge in the caverns besought Antonius to extend his hand to him, as a pledge of protection and to assist him to rise; the centurion incautiously complied, whereupon the Jew from below instantly stabbed him with his spear beneath the groin, and killed him on the spot.

(36) On that day the Romans massacred all who showed themselves; on the ensuing days they searched the hiding-places and wreaked their vengeance on those who had sought refuge in subterranean vaults and caverns, sparing none, whatever their age, save infants and women. The prisoners thus collected were twelve hundred; the total number of the dead, whether killed in the final assault or in the previous combats, was computed at forty thousand. Vespasian ordered the city to be razed and had all its forts burnt to the ground. Thus was Jotapata taken in the thirteenth year of the principate of Nero, on the new moon of Panemus.a

(viii. 1) A search for Josephus was then instituted by the Romans, to satisfy both their own resentment and the keen desire of their general, who considered that the issue of the war depended largely on his capture. So the bodies of the slain and the men in

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a 20 July, A.D. 67 (Niese).
JOSEPHUS

341 καὶ τοὺς ἀποκρύφους. 1 ο δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀλισκομένης, δαμομύῳ τινὶ συνεργίᾳ χρησάμενος, μέσον μὲν ἕαυτὸν ἐκκλέπτει τῶν πολεμίων, καθάλληται δὲ εἰς τινα βαθὺν λάκκον, ὃ πλατὺ σπῆλαιον
dieζευκτὸν κατὰ πλευράν τοῖς ἀνωθέν ἀόρατον. ἐνθα τεσσαράκοντα μὲν τῶν ἐπισήμων ἄνδρας καταλαμβάνει λανθάνοντας, παρασκευὴν δὲ ἐπιτηδείων
342 οὐκ ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις διαρκείν δυναμεῖν. μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν οὖν ὑπεστέλλετο τῶν πολεμίων πάντα διειληφότων, νυκτὸς δ' ἄνιων ἐξήτει δραμοῦ διάδυσιν καὶ τὰς φυλακὰς κατεσκέπτετο. φρουρομένων δὲ πάντοθεν πάντων δι' αὐτῶν, ὡς λαθεῖν
343 οὐκ ἦν, αὕτης εἰς τὸ σπῆλαιον κατῆγε. δύο μὲν οὖν ἡμέραις διαλαμβάνει, τῇ δὲ τρίτη γυναικὸς ἁλούσης τῶν ἀμα αὐτῶς μηνύεται, καὶ Οὐσεπσίανὸς αὐτίκα μετὰ σπουδῆς πέμπει δύο χιλιάρχους. Παυλίνων καὶ Γαλλικανών, δεξιάς τε τῷ Ἰωσὴπῳ δοῦνα κελεύσας καὶ προτρεψομένους ἀνελθεῖν.

344 (2) Ἀφικόμενοι γοῦν παρεκάλουν οὕτῳ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ πίστεις περὶ σωτηρίας ἐδίδοσαν, οὐ
346 μήν ἐπειθοῦν· ἐκ γὰρ ὃν εἰκός ἦν τοσαῦτα δράσαντα παθεῖν, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ φύσει τῶν παρακαλοῦντων ἡμέρου τὰς ὑποψίας συνέλεγεν, ἐδείξει τε ὡς ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν προκαλομένους, ἐφ' Οὐσεπσίανὸς τρίτου ἐπιπέμπει χιλιάρχου Νικάνορα, γνώριμον

1 + τῆς πόλεως μιχοὺς MVRC. "the secret recesses of the city." 2 + ἀρτί MVRC.

2 Probably, as Reinach suggests, a relative of M. Valerius Paulinus, a friend of Vespasian, and in A.D. 69 governor of Galba Narbonensis (Tac. Hist. iii. 43).
hiding were closely examined. But Josephus, when
the city was on the point of being taken, aided by
some divine providence, had succeeded in stealing
away from the midst of the enemy and plunged into
a deep pit, giving access on one side to a broad
cavern, invisible to those above. There he found
forty persons of distinction in hiding, with a supply
of provisions sufficient to last for a considerable time.
During the day he lay hid, as the enemy were in
occupation of every quarter of the town, but at night
he would come up and look for some loophole for
escape and reconnoitre the sentries; but, finding
every spot guarded on his account and no means of
eluding detection, he descended again into the cave.
So for two days he continued in hiding. On the
third, his secret was betrayed by a woman of the
party, who was captured; whereupon Vespasian at
once eagerly sent two tribunes, Paulinus and
Gallicanus, with orders to offer Josephus security
and to urge him to come up.

(2) On reaching the spot they pressed him to do
so and pledged themselves for his safety, but failed
to persuade him. His suspicions were based not on
the humane character of the envoys, but on the
consciousness of all he had done and the feeling that
he must suffer proportionately. The presentiment
that he was being summoned to punishment per-
sisted, until Vespasian sent a third messenger, the
tribune Nicanor, an old acquaintance and friend of

A friend of Titus, who was afterwards wounded while
endeavouring, in company with Josephus, to parley with the
Jews of Jerusalem, by whom he was known, B. v. 261. It
has been suggested that he may have served under Agrippa
and so become acquainted with Josephus (Kohout).
347 τῷ Ἰωσήφῳ καὶ συνήθη πάλαι. παρελθὼν δὴ οὖτος τὸ τε φύσει Ῥωμαίων χρηστὸν πρὸς οὐς ἀν ἀπαξ ἐλωσι διεξή, καὶ ὡς δ᾽ ἀρετὴν αὐτὸς θαυμάζοιτο μάλλον ἡ μισοῖτο πρὸς τῶν ἡγεμόνων,
348 ὀποῦν ἐπεξεέρχεται ἀναγενέσθων αὐτῶν, ἐνείηνα γὰρ ταύτην καὶ παρὰ μὴ προϊόντος λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ σώσαν προαιροῦμενοι
349 ἁνδρὰ γενναίον. ἐπεσετίθει δ᾽ ὡς οὔτ᾽ ἂν Ὅυε-σπασιανὸς ἐνεδρεύων φίλον ἑπεμπεῖν, ἵνα τοῖς κακίστους πράγματος προστήσηται τὸ κάλλιστον. ἀπιστίας φιλίαν, οὐδ᾽ ἂν αὐτός ἁπαθήσων ἁνδρὸς φίλον ὑπῆκουσεν ἐλθεῖν.
350 (3) Ἔνδοιαζοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰωσήφου καὶ πρὸς τὸν Νικάνορα, τὸ μὲν στρατιωτικὸν ὑπ᾽ ὀργῆς ἐκκαίειν τὸ σπῆλαιον ὄρμητο, κατείχεν δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸ πολέμαρχος ζωγρήσαι τὸν ἁνδρὰ φιλοτιμοῦμενος
351 ως δ᾽ ὅ τε Νικάνωρ προσέκειτο λιπαρῶν καὶ τὰ ἀπειλᾶς τοῦ πολεμίου πλήθους ὃ Ἰωσῆφος ἐμαθὲν ἀνάμνησις αὐτῶν τῶν διὰ νυκτὸς ὀνείρων εἰσέρχεται δι᾽ ὅτι ὃς τάς τε μελλούσας αὐτῶς συμφόρα προεσήμανεν Ιουδαίων καὶ τὰ περὶ τούς Ῥωμαίων
352 βασιλεῖς ἐσόμενα. ἦν δὲ καὶ περὶ κρίσεις ὀνείρων ἰκανὸς συμβαλεῖν τὰ ἀμφιβολῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ λεγόμενα· τῶν γε μὴν ἑρέων βιβλίων οὐκ ἠγιός тάς προφητείας ὃς ἂν αὐτός τε ὃν ἑρεύς καὶ
353 ἑρεύων ἡγγονος. ὃν ἔπι τῆς τότε ὃρας ἐνθοῦ γενόμενος καὶ τὰ φρυκώδῃ τῶν προφάτων ὀνείρων ἐπάσας φαντάσματα προσφέρει τῷ θεῷ
354 λελυθύνων εὐχήν, καὶ ἤπειδὴ τῷ Ιουδαίων, ἐφη

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b Did he claim kinship with his namesake, the patriarch?
Josephus He, on his arrival, dwelt on the innate generosity of the Romans to those whom they had once subdued, a assuring him that his valour made him an object rather of admiration, than of hatred, to the commanding officers, and that the general was anxious to bring him up from his retreat, not for punishment—that he could inflict though he refused to come forth—but from a desire to save a brave man. He added that Vespasian, had he intended to entrap him, would never have sent him one of his friends, thus using the fairest of virtues, friendship, as a cloak for the foulest of crimes, perfidy; nor would he himself have consented to come in order to deceive a friend.

(3) While Josephus was still hesitating, even after Nicanor’s assurances, the soldiers in their rage attempted to set fire to the cave, but were restrained by their commander, who was anxious to take the Jewish general alive. But as Nicanor was urgently pressing his proposals and Josephus overheard the threats of the hostile crowd, suddenly there came back into his mind those nightly dreams, in which God had foretold to him the impending fate of the Jews and the destinies of the Roman sovereigns. He was an interpreter of dreams and skilled in divining the meaning of ambiguous utterances of the Deity; b a priest himself and of priestly descent, he was not ignorant of the prophecies in the sacred books. At that hour he was inspired to read their meaning, and, recalling the dreadful images of his recent dreams, he offered up a silent prayer to God. ‘Since it pleases thee,’ so it ran, ‘who didst create

Joseph b For his interest in dreams cf. B. ii. 112-116; he tells us of another dream at a crisis in his life, Vita 208 ff.
JOSEPHUS

"φίλον κλάσαι ἔσοι τῷ κτίσαντι, μετέβη δὲ πρὸς Ἡρωμαίους ἡ τύχη πάσα, καὶ τὴν ἐμῆς ὕψη ἐπελέξω τὰ μέλλοντα εἰπεῖν, διδωμι μὲ Ἡρωμαίοις τάς χείρας ἐκὼν καὶ ζῷ, μαρτύρωμα δὲ ὡς οὖ προδότης, ἀλλὰ σὸς ἀπειμὶ διάκονος."

355 (4) Ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἐνεδίδου τῷ Νικάνορι. καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ συγκαταφυγόντες ὅς τὸν Ἰώση πον συνίεσαν εἶκοντα τοῖς παρακαλοῦσιν, ἄθροο

356 περιστάντες, "ἡ μεγάλα γ’ ἂν στενάξειαν, ἑβόων, "οἱ πάτριοι νόμοι, καὶ κατηφήσαι τοιούτῳ καταφρονούσας

357 φιλοζωεῖς, "Ἰώσηπε, καὶ φῶς ὑπομένεις ὅρα δοῦλος; ὡς ταχεώς ἐπελάθου σαυτοῦ πόσου

358 ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἀποθηγόνεις ἔπεισας. θευνὴ μὲ ἁρα δόξαν ἀνδρείας, ἠθευνὴ δὲ καὶ συνέσεως εἰχες εἰ γε σωτηρίαν μὲν ἔχειν ἐλπίζεις παρ’ οίς οὕτω ἐπολέμησας, σώζεσθαι δ’ ὑπ’ ἐκείνων, καὶ

359 βέβαιον, θέλεις. ἀλλ’ εἰ καὶ σοὶ λήθην σεαυτὸ κατέχεσα τοῦ Ἡρωμαίων τύχη, προ νοητέον ἠμῖν το πατρίου κλέους. χρῆσομεν σοι δηξίαν καὶ ξίφος σῷ δ’ ἂν μὲν ἐκὼν θυσίκης, Ἰουδαίων στρατηγός

360 ἀν δ’ ἀκών, προδότης τεθνήξῃ. ταῦθ’ ἄμι λέγοντες ἐπανετέιναντο τὰ εἰσὶ καὶ διηπείλου ἀναρήσειν αὐτόν, εἰ τοῖς Ἡρωμαίοις ἐνδιδοίη.

361 (5) Δείσας δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον ὁ Ἰώσηπος καὶ προ δοσίαν ἠγούμενος εἶναι τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ προστατα μάτων, εἰ προαποθάνοι τῆς διαγγελίας, ἔρχετ

362 πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλοσοφεῖν ἔπι τῆς ἀνάγκης: "τ

1 A Leyden ms. quoted by Naber: κολάσαι PAML ὀσιάσας the rest (followed by Niese and Naber), “that should sink into the dust.”

2 καὶ κατηφήσαι MVRC: οὐς κατέφησεν the rest.

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the Jewish nation, to break thy work, since fortune
has wholly passed to the Romans, and since thou
hast made choice of my spirit to announce the things
that are to come, I willingly surrender to the Romans
and consent to live; but I take thee to witness that
I go, not as a traitor, but as thy minister.”

(4) With these words he was about to surrender to Nicanor. But when the Jews who shared his retreat understood that Josephus was yielding to entreaty, they came round him in a body, crying out, ' Ah! well might the laws of our fathers groan aloud and God Himself hide His face for grief—God who implanted in Jewish breasts souls that scorn death! life so dear to you, Josephus, that you can endure to see the light in slavery? How soon have you forgotten yourself! How many have you persuaded to die for liberty! False, then, was that reputation or bravery, false that fame for sagacity, if you can hope for pardon from those whom you have fought bitterly, or, supposing that they grant it, can deign to accept your life at their hands. Nay, if the fortune of the Romans has cast over you some strange forgetfulness of yourself, the care of our country's honour evolves on us. We will lend you a right hand and sword. If you meet death willingly, you will have died as general of the Jews; if unwillingly, as traitor." With these words they pointed their words at him and threatened to kill him if he surrendered to the Romans.

(5) Josephus, fearing an assault, and holding that would be a betrayal of God's commands, should he in the crime of suicide.

\[\quad + \omega \text{ P.} \quad \quad \quad \quad 4 \text{ εὐδιδώ} \text{ Dindorf: εὐδιδώ} \text{ mss.} \]
γάρ τοσούτον," ἐφη, "σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἑταίρου φονῶμεν; ἡ τί τὰ δίλτατα διαστασιάζομεν, σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν; ἡλλάχθαι τις ἐμὲ φησιν. ἀλλ’ οἴδαςιν Ἦρωμαίοι τοῦτό γε, [καὶ] καλὸν ἐι πολέμῳ θυνήσκειν, ἀλλὰ πολέμου νόμῳ, τούτεστι ύπὸ τῶν κρατοῦντων. εἰ μὲν οὖν τὸν Ἦρωμαίων ἀποστρέφομαι σίδηρον, ἄξιος ἀληθῶς εἰμὶ τούμοι ἐξόφους καὶ χειρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς; εἰ δ’ ἐκεῖνους εἰσέρχεται φειδῶ πολεμίου, πόσω δικαίωτερον ἂν ἡμᾶς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν εἰσέλθου; καὶ γὰρ ἡλίθιον ταῦτα δράν σφᾶς αὐτοῖς, περὶ ὃν πρὸς ἐκεῖνους δι’ ἵσταμεθα. καλὸν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑλευθερίας ἀπὸ θυνήσκεων φημὶ κἀγὼ, μαχομένους μέντοι, καὶ ύπ’ τῶν ἀφαιρομένων αὐτῆς. νῦν δ’ οὔτ’ εἰς μάχη ἀντιἀξοῦσιν ἡμῖν οὔτ’ ἀναιροῦσιν ἡμᾶς. δειλὸ δὲ ὀμοίως ὁ τε μὴ βουλόμενος θνήσκειν ὅταν δέ καὶ ὁ βουλόμενος, ὅταν μὴ δέχῃ. τί δὲ καὶ δεδοικό τες πρὸς Ἦρωμαίους οὐκ ἄνιμεν; ἃρ’ οὐχὶ θάνατον εἰθ’ δὲν δεδοίκαμεν ἐκ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑποπτευόμενοι ἐαυτοῖς βέβαιοι ἐπιστήσομεν; ἀλλὰ δουλείαι ἐρεί τις. πάνω γοῦν νῦν ἐσμέν ἐλεύθεροι. γεν ναῖον γὰρ ἀνέλειν ἐαυτόν, φήσει τις. οὐ μεν οὐ δὲν ἀγενέστατον, ὡς ἔγνωκε καὶ κυβερνητὴν ἡγοῦ μαι δειλότατον, ὅστις χειμῶνα δεδοικός πρὸ τῆ θυελλῆς ἐβάπτισεν ἐκών τὸ σκάφος. ἀλλὰ μὴν αὐτοχειρία καὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἀπάντων ζῶων φύσεως ἀλλότριων καὶ πρὸς τὸν κτίσαντα θεοῦ ἡμᾶς ἔστι ἀσέβεια. τῶν μὲν γε ζῶων οὐδὲν ἐστιν ὃ θυνήσκε μετὰ προνοίας ἡ δ’ αὐτοῦ· φύσεως γὰρ νόμο

1 διηλλάχθαι PAML
“Why, comrades,” said he, “this thirst for our own blood? Why set asunder such fond companions as soul and body? One says that I am changed: well, the Romans know the truth about that. Another says, ‘It is honourable to die in war’: yes, but according to the law of war, that is to say by the hand of the conqueror. Were I now flinching from the sword of the Romans, I should assuredly deserve to perish by my own sword and my own hand; but if they are moved to spare an enemy, how much stronger reason have we to spare ourselves? It would surely be folly to inflict on ourselves treatment which we seek to avoid by our quarrel with them. ‘It is honourable to die for liberty,’ says another: I concur, but on condition that one dies fighting, by the hands of those who would rob us of it. But now they are neither coming to fight us nor to take our lives. It is equally cowardly not to wish to die when one ought to do so, and to wish to die when one ought not. What is it we fear that prevents us from surrendering to the Romans? Is it not death? And shall we then inflict upon ourselves certain death, to avoid an uncertain death, which we fear, at the hands of our foes? ‘No, it is slavery we fear,’ I shall be told. Much liberty we enjoy at present! ‘It is noble to destroy oneself,’ another will say. Not so, I retort, but most ignoble; in my opinion there could be no more arrant coward than the pilot who, for fear of a tempest, deliberately sinks his ship before the storm.

“No; suicide is alike repugnant to that nature which all creatures share, and an act of impiety towards God who created us. Among the animals there is not one that deliberately seeks death or kills itself; so firmly rooted in all is nature’s law—the
JOSEPHUS

...ἐσχύρος ἐν ἀπασίᾳ τὸ ζῆν ἐθέλειν: διὰ τούτο καὶ τοὺς δανερώς αφαίρουμένους ἡμᾶς τούτου πολεμίους ἡγούμεθα καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἐνέδρας τιμωροῦμεθα.

371 τὸν δὲ θεόν οὐκ οἴσεθε ἀγανακτεῖν, ὅταν ἀνθρώπος αὐτοῦ τὸ δῶρον ὑβρίς; καὶ γὰρ εἰλήφαμεν παρ᾽ ἐκείνου τὸ εἶναι καὶ τὸ μηκέτι εἶναι πάλιν ἐκεῖνῳ.

372 διδόμενον. τὰ μὲν γε σώματα θυντα πᾶσιν καὶ ἐκ φθαρτῆς θλησις δεδημιοῦργηται, ψυχῆ δὲ ἀθάνατος αἀὶ καὶ θεοῦ μοῖρα τοῖς σώμασιν ἐνοικίζεται εἰτ᾽ ἐὰν μὲν ἀφανίσῃ τις ἀνθρώπου παρακαταθήκην ἡ διαθήται κακῶς, ποιηρὸς εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ ἀπιστος, εἰ δὲ τις τοῦ σφετέρου σώματος ἐκβάλλει τὴν παρακαταθήκην τοῦ θεοῦ, λεηθέναι δοκεῖ τὸν.

373 ἀδικούμενον; καὶ κολάζειν μὲν τοὺς ἀποδράντας οἰκέτας δίκαιον νεομίσται, κἂν ποιηροὺς καταλείπωσι δεσπότας, αὐτοὶ δὲ κάλλιστον δεσπότην ἀποδιδράσκοντες τὸν θεοῦ οὐ δοκοῦμεν ἁσβεῖν;

374 ἀρ’ οὐκ ἦστε, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἐξίοντων τοῦ βίου κατὰ τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον καὶ τὸ ληφθὲν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χρέος ἐκτινύτων, ὅταν ὁ δοὺς κομίσασθαι θέλῃ, κλέως μὲν αἰώνιον, οἶκοι δὲ καὶ γενεῖ βέβαιοι, καθαραὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπήκουν μένουσιν αἱ ψυχαί, χώρων οὐράνιον2 λαχοῦσαι τὸν ἀγωτατον, ἐνθεῦν ἐκ περιπτοπῆς αἰώνων ἀγνοῖς πάλιν ἀντενοικί.

375 ξονται σώμασιν ὅσοις δὲ καθ’ ἕαυτων ἐμάνησαν αἱ χεῖρες, τούτων ἄθης μὲν δέχεται τὰς ψυχὰς σκοτεινότερος, ὁ δὲ τούτων πατήρ θεὸς εἰς ἐγ-

1 Niese: διδόμενον, διόμενον or διδόμεν (sic) mss.
2 P: οὐράνιον the rest.

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will to live. That is why we account as enemies those who would openly take our lives and punish as assassins those who clandestinely attempt to do so. And God—think you not that He is indignant when man treats His gift with scorn? For it is from Him that we have received our being, and it is to Him that we should leave the decision to take it away. All of us, it is true, have mortal bodies, composed of perishable matter, but the soul lives for ever, immortal: it is a portion of the Deity housed in our bodies. If, then, one who makes away with or misapplies a deposit entrusted to him by a fellow-man is reckoned a perjured villain, how can he who casts out from his own body the deposit which God has placed there, hope to elude Him whom he has thus wronged? It is considered right to punish a fugitive slave, even though the master he leaves be a scoundrel; and shall we fly from the best of masters, from God Himself, and not be deemed impious? Know you not that they who depart this life in accordance with the law of nature and repay the loan which they received from God, when He who lent is pleased to reclaim it, win eternal renown; that their houses and families are secure; that their souls, remaining spotless and obedient, are allotted the most holy place in heaven, whence, in the revolution of the ages, they return to find in chaste bodies a new habitation? But as for those who have laid mad hands upon themselves, the darker regions of the nether world receive their souls, and God, their

a With this passage cf. Ap. ii. 218 "... to those who observe the laws and, if they must needs die for them, willingly meet death, God has granted a renewed existence and in the revolution (of the ages) the gift of a better life."
Josephus apparently refers to some Rabbinical tradition; the Pentateuch is silent on the subject of suicide. For the burial at sunset of the hanged criminal see Deut. xxii. 22 f., and of the slain enemy, Joshua viii. 29, x. 27.

Such was the Athenian custom, as appears from Aeschines,
father, visits upon their posterity the outrageous acts of the parents. That is why this crime, so hateful to God, is punished also by the sagest of legislators. With us it is ordained that the body of a suicide should be exposed unburied until sunset, although it is thought right to bury even our enemies slain in war. In other nations the law requires that a suicide’s right hand, with which he made war on himself, should be cut off, holding that, as the body was unnaturally severed from the soul, so the hand should be severed from the body.

"We shall do well then, comrades, to listen to reason and not to add to our human calamities the crime of impiety towards our creator. If our lives are offered us, let us live: there is nothing dishonourable in accepting this offer from those who have had so many proofs of our valour; if they think fit to kill us, death at the hands of our conquerors is honourable. But, for my part, I shall never pass over to the enemy’s ranks, to prove a traitor to myself; I should indeed then be far more senseless than deserters who go over to the enemy for safety, whereas I should be going to destruction—my own destruction. I pray, however, that the Romans may prove faithless; if, after pledging their word, they put me to death, I shall die content, for I shall carry with me the consolation, better than a victory, that their triumph has been sullied by perjury."

*For this piece of erudition, comparable to other instances in the *Contra Apionem*, Josephus is doubtless indebted to his Greek assistants (*Ap. i. 50).*

""The consciousness of such treachery would be my ruin." seems to be the meaning."
383 (6) 'Ο μὲν οὖν ἤσησας πολλὰ τοιαύτα πρὸς
384 ἀποτροπὴν τῆς αὐτοχειρίας ἐλεγεν οἱ δὲ πεφραγ-
μέναις ἀπογνώσει τὰς ἀκοὰς ἔχοντες, ὡς ἄν πάλαι
καθοσιώσαντες ἐαυτοὺς τῷ θανάτῳ, παρωξύνοντε
πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ προστέρχων ἄλλοις ἀλλοθεὶ
ξιφήρεις ἐκάκιζόν τε εἰς ἀνανδρίαν καὶ ὡς ἐκαστὸς
385 αὐτικὰ πλήξων δῆλος ἦν. ὦ δὲ τὸν μὲν ὀνομαστὶ
καλὼν, τῷ δὲ στρατηγικῶτερον ἐμβλέπων, τοῦ δὲ
δρωσομένου τῆς δεξιάς, ὃν δὲ δεήσει δυσωπῶν
καὶ πουκίλους διαιρομένους πάθειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνάγ-
κης εἰργεν ἀπὸ τῆς σφαγῆς πάντων τὸν σίδηρον
ἀμπερ τὰ κυκλωθέντα τῶν θηρίων ἀεὶ πρὸς τοῖς
386 καθαπτόμενον ἀντιστρέφομεν. τῶν δὲ καὶ παρε
τὰς ἐσχάτας συμφορὰς ἐτὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν αἰών
μένων παρελύσατο μὲν αἰ δεξιά, περιῳλίσθανε
δὲ τὰ ξίφη, καὶ πολλοὶ τὰς ρουφαίας ἐπιφέροντε
αὐτομάτως παρεῖσαν.¹

387 (7) 'Ο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀμηχανίαις οὐκ ἦπόρησε
ἐπινοίας, ἀλλὰ πιστεύων τῷ κηδεμόνι θεῷ τῇ
388 οὐσιορίαν παραβάλλεται, καὶ "ἐπεὶ δέδοκται τῷ
θυμίσχειν," ἐφι, "φέρε κλήρῳ τὰς ἀλλήλων σφαγὰ
ἐπιτρέψωμεν, ὁ λαχὼν δ' ὕπο τοῦ μετ' αὐτὸ
389 πιπτέτω, καὶ διῳδεύσει πάντων οὕτως ἡ τύχῃ
μηδ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας κείσθω δεξιάς ἐκαστὸς· ἀδικο
γὰρ οἰχομένων τινὰ τῶν ἀλλῶν μετανοήσαντι
σωθῆναι," πιστὸς [δ'] ἐδοξεῖν ταῦτα εἰσὼν κα
390 συνεκληροῦτο πείσας. ἐτοίμην δ' ὁ λαχὼν τῷ μεθ
αὐτόν παρείχεν τὴν σφαγήν, ὥς αὐτικὰ τεθυν
ξομένου καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ· ζωῆς γὰρ ἢδιώ τὸ
391 μετὰ τοῦ ἤσησαν θανατον ἕγοντο κατὰ

¹ παρεῖσαν "were paralysed" MVRC.
(6) By these and many similar arguments Josephus sought to deter his companions from suicide. But desperation stopped their ears, for they had long since devoted themselves to death; they were, therefore, infuriated at him, and ran at him from this side and that, sword in hand, upbraiding him as a coward, each one seeming on the point of striking him. But he, addressing one by name, fixing his general's eye of command upon another, clasping the hand of a third, shaming a fourth by entreaty, and torn by all manner of emotions at this critical moment, succeeded in warding off from his throat the blades of all, turning like a wild beast surrounded by the hunters to face his successive assailants. Even in his extremity, they still held their general in reverence; their hands were powerless, their swords glanced aside, and many, in the act of thrusting at him, spontaneously dropped their weapons.

(7) But, in his straits, his resource did not forsake him. Trusting to God's protection, he put his life to the hazard, and said: "Since we are resolved to die, come, let us leave the lot to decide the order in which we are to kill ourselves; let him who draws the first lot fall by the hand of him who comes next; fortune will thus take her course through the whole number, and we shall be spared from taking our lives with our own hands. For it would be unjust that, when the rest were gone, any should repent and escape." This proposal inspired confidence; his advice was taken, and he drew lots with the rest. Each man thus selected presented his throat to his neighbour, in the assurance that his general was forthwith to share his fate; for sweeter to them than life was the thought of death with Josephus. He,
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λείπεται δ' οὗτος, εἴτε ύπό τύχης χρή λέγειν, εἴτε ύπό θεοῦ προνοίας, σὺν ἑτέρω, καὶ σπουδάζων μήθ', ύπό τοῦ κλήρου καταδικασθῆναι μήτε, εἰ τελευταῖος λείποιτο, μάναι τὴν δεξιάν ὄμοφύλω φόνω πείθει κάκεινον ἐπὶ πίστει ζῆν

392 (8) 'Ο μὲν οὖν οὔτως τὸν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον διαφυγὼν πόλεμον ἐπὶ Οὐησπασιανὸν

393 ἠγετο ύπὸ τοῦ Νικάνορος οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίοι πάντες ἐπὶ θέαν αὐτοῦ συνέτρεχον, καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους συνθλιβομένου περὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ θόρυβος ἢν ποικίλος, τῶν μὲν γεγονότων ἐπὶ τῷ ληθέντι, τῶν δὲ ἀπειλοῦντων, τῶν δὲ ἐγγύθει ἰδεῖν βιαζο-

394 μένων. καὶ οἱ μὲν πάρρωθεν κολάζειν ἐβόων τὸν πολέμιον, τοὺς δὲ πλησίον ἀνάμνησις αὐτοῦ τῶν ἔργων εἰσήγει καὶ πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν θάμβος, τῶν τε ἡγεμόνων οὐδείς ἢν ὁς, εἰ καὶ πρότερον ὑργίζετο, τότε πρὸς τὴν ὄδιν οὐκ ἐνεδωκεν αὐτοῦ.

395 μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Τίτον ἐξαιρέτως τὸ τε καρτερίκον ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἦρει τοῦ Ἰωσήφου καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡλικίαν ἔλεος, ἀναμμηνησκομένῳ τε τὸν πάλαι μαχόμενον καὶ τὸν ἐν χερσὶν ἑχθρῶν ἀρτί κείμενον ὑράντες παρὴν [δέ]6 νοεῖν, ὅσον δύναται τύχη, καὶ ὡς οἷεία μὲν πολέμιον ῥοπῆ, τῶν δ' ἀνθρωπίνων

397 οὐδεὶς θεϊκων, παρὸ καὶ τότε συνδιέθηκεν μὲν πλεῖστος ἐαυτῷ καὶ πρὸς οἴκτον τοῦ Ἰωσήφου, πλείστη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ μοῖρα σω-

1 εἴτε ύπὸ τύχης χρή λέγειν, εἰτε om. PAL.
2 τοῦ οἰκεῖον L: τῶν οἰκείων most MSS.: τῶν τῶν οἰκείων Naber.
3 MC: τῶν the rest.
4 εἶ διοικήτης LVRC and in the margin of PA.
5 τῶν οὐ VRC, mistaking the use. frequent in Josephus, of ταία = "formerly," "recently."
6 om. Lat.

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however (should one say by fortune or by the providence of God?), was left alone with one other; and, anxious neither to be condemned by the lot nor, should he be left to the last, to stain his hand with the blood of a fellow-countryman, he persuaded this man also, under a pledge, to remain alive.a

(8) Having thus survived both the war with the Romans and that with his own friends, Josephus was brought by Nicanor into Vespasian’s presence. The Romans all flocked to see him, and from the multitude crowding around the general arose a hubbub of discordant voices: some exulting at his capture, some threatening, some pushing forward to obtain a nearer view. The more distant spectators clamoured for the punishment of their enemy, but those close beside him recalled his exploits and marvelled at such a reversal of fortune. Of the officers there was not one who, whatever his past resentment, did not then relent at the sight of him. Titus in particular was specially touched by the fortitude of Josephus under misfortunes and by pity for his youth.b As he recalled the combatant of yesterday and saw him now a prisoner in his enemy’s hands, he was led to reflect on the power of fortune, the quick vicissitudes of war, and the general instability of human affairs. So he brought over many Romans at the time to share his compassion for Josephus, and his pleading with his father was the

a The historian’s veracity in this narrative is not above suspicion; his inconsistency in other autobiographical passages, doubly reported, does not inspire confidence. That his companions would have tolerated the rhetorical speech on suicide is incredible.

b Josephus, born in a.d. 37 (Vita 5), was now thirty years old.
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398 τριάς ἐγένετο. ο μέντοι Οὐσπασιανὸς φρουρεῖν αὐτὸν μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας προσέταττεν ὡς ἀναπέμψων αὐτίκα Νέρωνι.

399 (9) Τούτο ἀκούσας ὁ Ἰώσηπος μόνῳ τι διαλεχθῆναι θέλειν ἐλεγεν αὐτῶ. μεταστηθησαμένου δ’ ἐκείνου πλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς Τίτου καὶ δυνὼν φίλων τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντᾷς ὡς μέν, ἐπεν, ὁ Οὐσπασιανὲ, νομίζεις αἰχμαλώτων αὐτὸ μόνον εἰληφέναι τὸν Ἰώσηπον, ἐγὼ δ’ ἀγγελος ἤκουσοι τοῖς μειζόνων μὴ γὰρ ὑπὸ θεοῦ προπεμπόμενοι ἑδειν τὸν Ἰουδαίων νόμον, καὶ πῶς στρατηγοῖς ἀποθνῄσκειν πρέπει. Νέρωνι μὲ πέμπεις; τι γὰρ; • •' οἱ μετὰ Νέρωνα μέχρι τοῦ διάδοχοι μενοῦσιν; σὺ Καῖσαρ, Οὐσπασιανὲ, καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ, σὺ καὶ παῖς ὁ σὸς υἱός. δέσμης δὲ με νῦν ἀσφαλεστερον καὶ τήρησι σεαυτῷ δεσπότης μὲν γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἔμοι σὺ. Καῖσαρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ γῆς καὶ βαλάττης καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους, ἐγὼ δ’ ἐπὶ τιμωρίαι δέομαι φρουρᾶς μειζόνος, εἰ κατασχεδιάζω καὶ θεοῦ.’ ταῦτ’ εἰπόντος παραχρῆμα μὲν Οὐσπασιανὸς ἀπιστεῖν ἐδόκει καὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ὑπελάμβανεν ταῦτα περὶ σωτηρίας πανουργεῖν, κατὰ μικρὸν δὲ εἰς πίστιν ὑπῆγετο, τοῦ θεοῦ διεγερτοὺς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἡδὴ καὶ τὰ σκῆπτρα δι’ ἑτέρων σημείων προδεικνύντως.

405 ἀπεκάθισε δὲ τὸν Ἰώσηπον καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις κατ-

1 A mention of Nero’s impending death seems to have dropped out.

2 κατασχεδιάζω PAML Sud.

For the sending of prisoners of importance to be tried by the Emperor cf. B. ii. 243 f. (Cumanus the procurator and the leading rebels). Vita 405 f. (Philip ben Jacimus), and in the N.T the case of S. Paul (at his own appeal).

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main influence in saving the prisoner's life. Vespasian, however, ordered him to be guarded with every precaution, intending shortly to send him to Nero.\(^a\)

(9) On hearing this, Josephus expressed a desire for a private interview with him. Vespasian having ordered all to withdraw except his son Titus and two of his friends, the prisoner thus addressed him: "You imagine, Vespasian, that in the person of Josephus you have taken a mere captive; but I come to you as a messenger of greater destinies. Had I not been sent on this errand by God, I knew the law of the Jews and how it becomes a general to die. To Nero do you send me? Why then? Think you that [Nero and] those who before your accession succeed him will continue? You will be Caesar, Vespasian, you will be emperor, you and your son here. Bind me then yet more securely in chains and keep me for yourself; for you, Caesar, are master not of me only, but of land and sea and the whole human race. For myself, I ask to be punished by stricter custody, if I have dared to rifle with the words of God." To this speech Vespasian, at the moment, seemed to attach little credit, supposing it to be a trick of Josephus to save his life. Gradually, however, he was led to believe it, for God was already rousing in him thoughts of empire and by other tokens foreshadowing the throne.\(^b\) He found, moreover, that Josephus had

\(^a\) These omens and oracles are mentioned by Tacitus, \textit{Hist.} i. 10 ("ostentis ac responsis destinatum Vespasiano perisque eius imperium"), ii. 1 ("praesaga responsa"), and in other passages cited by Reinach. The widespread belief that "persons proceeding from Judaea were to become masters of the world," is reported in almost identical terms by Tacitus (\textit{Hist.} v. 13) and Suetonius (\textit{Vesp.} 4).
elâμβανεν τῶν γὰρ τοις ἀπορρήτους παρατυχόντων φίλων [ὁ] ἔτερος θαυμάζειν ἐφη πῶς οὔτε τοις ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰωταπάτων περὶ ἀλώσεως οὔθ' ἐαυτῷ προ-μαντεύσατο αἰχμαλωσίαν, εἰ μὴ ταύτα λήρος εἰη

diaκρονομένου τὰς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ὀργάς. ὁ δὲ Ἰώση-πος καὶ τοῖς Ἰωταπατηνοῖς ὅτι μετὰ τεσσαρακοστῆν ἐβδόμην ἠμέραν ἀλώσονται προειπεὶν ἐφη, καὶ

ὁτι πρὸς Ρωμαίων αὐτὸς ξωγρηθήσεταί. ταύτα παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων κατ’ ἰδίαν ὁ Οὐδεσπασιανὸς ἐκπυθόμενος ὡς εὐρισκεν ἀληθῆ, οὔτω πιστεύειν

περὶ τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν ἤρκτο. φρουρᾶς μὲν οὖν καὶ δεσμῶν οὐκ ἀνίει τὸν Ἰώσηπον, ἐδωρεῖτο δ’ ἐσθῆτι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κειμηλίοις, φιλοφρονοῦ-μενὸς τε καὶ περιέπων διετέλει τὰ πολλὰ Τίτοι τῇ τιμῇ συνεργοῦντος.

409 (ix. 1) Τετάρτῃ δὲ Πανέμου μηνὸς ἀναζεύξα: εἰς Πτολεμαίδα κάκειθεν εἰς τὴν παράλιον ἀφ' ἱκνεῖται Καισάρειαν, μεγίστην τῆς τε Ἰουδαία πόλιν καὶ τὸ πλέον2 ὑφ’ Ἐλλήνων οἰκουμένην

410 ἐδέχοντο δὲ καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸ μετὰ πάσης εὐφημίας καὶ φιλοφροσύνης οἱ ἐπι

1 + καὶ Niese. 2 πλεῖστον PAML.

a The fact of this prediction of Josephus to Vespasian confirmed by Suet. Vesp. 5 “unus ex nobilibus captiu Josepshus, cum coiceretur in uincula, constantissime asseu
rauuit fore ut ab eodem breui solueretur, uerum iam impera
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proved a veracious prophet in other matters. For one of the two friends in attendance at the private interview remarked: "If these words are not a nonsensical invention of the prisoner to avert the storm which he has raised, I am surprised that Josephus neither predicted the fall of Jotapata to its inhabitants nor his own captivity." To this Josephus replied that he had foretold to the people of Jotapata that their city would be captured after forty-seven days and that he himself would be taken alive by the Romans. Vespasian, having privately questioned the prisoners on these statements and found them true, then began to credit those concerning himself. While he did not release Josephus from his custody or chains, he presented him with raiment and other precious gifts, and continued to treat him with kindness and solicitude, being warmly supported by Titus in these courtesies.a

(ix. 1) On the fourth of the month of Panemus,b Vespasian led off his troops to Ptolemais and from there to Caesarea-on-sea, one of the largest cities of Judaea with a population consisting chiefly of Greeks.c The inhabitants received the army and its general with blessings and congratulations of tore," and by Dio Cassius (epitome, lxvi. 1) who instead of breui ("shortly") writes more precisely μετ' ἐναυτῶν. Reinach, who quotes these passages, refers also to the curious Rabbinic attribution of this prophecy to Johanan ben Za'kkai, on the occasion of his escape from the siege of Jerusalem.

b 23 July A.D. 67 (Niese's reckoning).

c Notwithstanding its predominant Greek population the city from the time of its refoundation by Herod the Great "always continued united with Judaea" (Schürer).
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κυριοί, καὶ κατ’ εὐνοιαν μὲν τὴν πρὸς ’Ῥωμαίους, τὸ δὲ πλέον ἔχθει τῶν καταστραμμένων διὸ καὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀθρόου καταβοῶντες ἥξιον κολάζειν. 411 Ὡσεπασιανὸς δὲ τὴν [μὲν] περὶ τούτων δέσων ὡς ὑπ’ ἀκρίτου γυνομένην πλήθους ἐξέλυεν 412 ἑσυχία: τῶν δὲ ταγμάτων τὰ μὲν δύο χειμερίσοντα ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τῆς Καισαρείας, ἐπιτήδειον ὄρον τὴν πόλιν, τὸ δέκατον δὲ καὶ πέμπτον εἰς Σκυθόπολιν, ὡς μὴ θλίβου παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ τὴν 413 Καισάρειαν. ἂλεεινή δ’ ἦν κακεῖνη χειμώνος ὑμα, καθ’ ὅσον πυγώδης θέρους ὑπὸ καυματῶν, πεδίας οὔσα καὶ παράλιος.

414 (2) 'Εν δὲ τούτῳ συναθροισθέντες οἱ τε κατὰ στάσιν ἐκπίπτοντες τῶν πόλεων" καὶ οἱ διαφυγόντες ἐκ τῶν καταστραμμένων, πλῆθος οὐκ ὁλίγον, ἀνακτίζουσιν Ἰόππην ὀρμητήριον σφίσιν, 415 ἐρημωθείσαν ὑπὸ Κεστίου πρότερον, καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐκπεπολεμωμένης ἀνειργόμενοι μεταβαίνειν 416 ἐγνώσαν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. πηξάμενοι τε πειρατικὰ σκάφη πλείστα τὸν τε Συρίας καὶ Φωνίκης καὶ τὸν ἐπ’ Αἰγύπτου πόρον ἐλήστευν, ἀπλωτά 417 τε πᾶσιν ἐποίουν τὰ τῆς πελάγης. Ὡσεπασιανὸς δὲ ὡς ἐγνω τὴν σύνταξιν αὐτῶν, πέμπει πεζοὺς τε καὶ ἰππεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰόππην, οἱ νῦκτωρ ὡς ἀ- 418 φύλακτον εἰσέρχονται τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δ’ ἐν αὐτῇ προήσθοντο μὲν τὴν εἰσβολὴν καὶ καταδείσαντες τοῦ μὲν εἰργεῖν τοὺς ’Ῥωμαίους ἀπετρέποντο,

¹ Ν: πολεμίων the rest.

* The 5th and 10th (§ 65).

* Bethshan, thirty-five miles due east of Caesarea.

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every description, prompted partly by goodwill towards the Romans, but mainly by hatred of the vanquished. This feeling showed itself in a loud and universal demand for the punishment of Josephus; but Vespasian by his silence quashed this petition emanating from an incompetent crowd. Of his three legions he established two in winter quarters at Caesarea, finding the city suitable for the purpose; the fifteenth legion he sent to Scythopolis, in order not to burden Caesarea with his whole army. The climate of the last-named city is, like Scythopolis, as genial in winter as it is suffocatingly hot in summer, from its situation in the plain and on the coast.

(2) Meanwhile, the Jews who had been driven by sedition from the towns and the refugees, whose homes had been destroyed, had united their not inconsiderable forces, and, to provide themselves with a base, rebuilt Joppa, recently devastated by Cestius; and then, finding themselves cut off from the country, which had passed into the enemy’s hands, they resolved to take to the sea. They accordingly built themselves a fleet of piratical ships and made raids on the traffic along the coast of Syria and Phoenicia and the route to Egypt, rendering navigation in those seas quite impossible. Vespasian, on learning of this gang, dispatched to Joppa a body of infantry and cavalry, who entered the city by night, finding it unguarded. The inhabitants had received news of the coming attack, but in their alarm made no attempt to

\[\text{κάκεινη : Reinach, referring the pronoun to Scythopolis, reduced to correcting παράλιος to παραποτάμιος.}\]

\[\text{B. ii. 507 f.}\]
The localization of this legend at Joppa is widely attested. Reinach quotes Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 69 (marks of the chains shown on a projecting rock), Strabo xvi. 2. 28 (*εἶταῖδα μιθεύοις τινες τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν ἐκτεθήναι τῷ κήπῳ*), Pausanias iv. 35. 9 (a blood-red spring where Perseus washed himself after slaying the monster), Jerome, *In Jon.* i. 694.
oppose the Romans and sought refuge in their ships, where they passed the night out of bowshot.

(3) Nature has not provided Joppa with a port. It terminates in a rugged shore, which runs for nearly its whole length in a straight line, but is slightly curved at its two extremities in crescent fashion; these horns consist of steep cliffs and reefs jutting far out into the deep; here are still shown the impressions of Andromeda's chains, to attest the antiquity of that legend. The north wind, beating full upon the coast, dashes the waves high against the face of the rocks and renders this roadstead more perilous to sailors than the watery waste. It was here that the people of Joppa were tossing, when, towards dawn, a furious blast burst upon them, the wind called by navigators in those parts the "Black Norther." Some of the ships were dashed to pieces against each other on the spot, others were shattered upon the rocks. Many from dread of this rock-strewn coast and the enemy that occupied it, strove to gain the open sea in the teeth of the gale, and foundered among the towering billows. There was neither means of flight, nor hope of safety if they remained where they were: the fury of the wind repelled them from the sea, that of the Romans from the town. Piercing were the shrieks as the vessels collided, terrific the crash as they broke up. Of the crews who perished, some were engulfed in the waves, many crushed by the holes through which had passed the rings of the chains were still shown in his day). Cf. G. A. Smith, Hist. Geog. of Holy Land, 163 f.

b Literally "than a desert": I adopt the late Dr. R. Traill's happy paraphrase, and see no reason to suspect he text.
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pont. polloi de tois nausagios emplekomevontai. tois se koufoterw twn thalassan ethanov to 426 sidhriw safas autous anarrontes. to ge mi' plesiston upo twv kumarwv eikferomenov periegeto tais aporrawo, ws aimakhinai mev eti plesiston to pelaigos, plhromh na de nekrow twn paralwv kai gar toous eti toon aigmalwv eikferomenous efestotites oi 'Rwmaiou diefeireon. 427 arithmos [de] twv eikhrashten twv oswmatwn tetra- kiskiloi pros tois diakosiois hnv. 'Rwmaiou de labontes amaxhitei twn polivn kataskaptoiswv.

428 (4) 'Ioppih mev otn en oligw xorwn deuterov upo 429 'Rwmaiou evalw. Ousastasinocos de' ws mi' palw oi peiratai synalisteiv ein avthn, stratompedoi te eti tis akropolews egeirei kai to ipikon ei 430 autw kataleipie metap pezwv oligon, in' otnoi mei kata charwv mewontes phourwsi to stratompedon oti de' ippeis proonomeusai twn perix kai tais perioikous kwmias te kai polichnas exairwsw tis.

431 'Ioppih. oti mev otn kata ta prostaichentat charwv katanterontes kath emeran etemnon te ka hrmwv apasan.

432 (5) 'Ose de eis ta 'Ierosolyma to kata tis 'Iwtagatwn pados hgyelh, to mev prwtov hip stooun oti polloi kai dia to megevhs tis symfora kai dia to miwvna twv legeomwv autoptthi 433 pareinai dieiswthi gar oide angelos, all autw mati diekhrusen fymh twn alwswv, oikeia fysse twv skubhropotervn. kath oligon de dia twi proskwron odhne talhthes kai parapaasw amphi.

1 automati PA.
wreckage from which they could not extricate themselves; others, regarding the sword as a lighter evil than the sea, anticipated drowning by suicide. The majority, however, were swept to shore by the waves and their bodies hurled and mangled against the cliffs. A wide area of sea was red with their blood, and the coast was covered with corpses; for the Romans, lining the beach, massacred those who were cast up. The number of bodies washed up amounted to four thousand two hundred. The Romans took the town without opposition and razed it to the ground.

(4) Thus was Joppa, after a brief interval, for the second time a captured by the Romans. Vespasian, in order to prevent the pirates from congregating here again, established a camp on the acropolis and left in it the cavalry with a small body of infantry. The latter were to remain on the spot and guard the camp, the cavalry to ravage the neighbourhood and destroy the villages and small towns around Joppa; in obedience to these orders, they daily scourèd the country, pillaging and reducing it to an utter desert.

(5) When the news of the fate of Jotapata reached Jerusalem, it was received at first with general incredulity, both because of the magnitude of the calamity and because no eyewitness had come to confirm the report. In fact, not a man had escaped to tell the tale; rumour, with its natural propensity to black tidings, b spontaneously spread the news of the city’s fall. Little by little, however, the truth made its way from place to place, and was soon a ii. 507 f.

boslias ἤν ἥδη βεβαιότερον. προσεσχεδιάζετο γε μὴν τοῖς πεπραγμένοις καὶ τὰ μὴ γενόμενα, τεθνεὼς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως καὶ ὁ Ἰοσήπος
435 ἤγγελλετο. τούτω μεγίστων τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πένθοις ἐπλήρωσεν. κατὰ μὲν γε οίκους καὶ κατὰ συγγενείας οἷς προσήκον έκατος ἡν τῶν ἀπολω-
436 λότων ἐθρηνεῖτο, τὸ δ’ ἐπὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ πένθος εἴδημενθη, καὶ οἱ μὲν ξένους, οἱ δὲ συγγενεῖς, οἱ
δὲ φίλους [οἱ δὲ ἀδελφοὺς] εἴθρησιν, τὸν Ἰω.
437 σηπον δὲ πάντες ὡς ἐπὶ τριακοστὴν μὲν ἡμέραι μὴ διαλητεῖν τάς ὀλοφύρασεις ἐν τῇ πόλει, πλεὐ-
στος δὲ μισθοῦσαί τους αὐλητάς, οἱ θρήνωι αὐτοῖς ἐξήρχον.
438 (6) Ὁσ δὲ τάληθεν διεκαλύπτετο τῷ χρόνῳ κα
τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰωσήπατην ὦσπερ εἰχὲν, ἐσχείδια
συμένον δὲ τὸ κατὰ τὸν Ἰωσήπου πάθος εὐρύσκετο
ζήν δ’ αὐτὸν ἐγνωσαν καὶ παρὰ Ἡρωμαίοις ὄντι
καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἡγεμόνων πλέον ἡ κατ’ αἰχμαλώτῳ
tύχην περιέπεσθαι, τοσοῦτον ὀργῆς ἐπὶ ζῶντο
ὸσον εὐνοιας ἐπὶ τεθνάναι δοκοῦντος πρότερο
439 ἀνελάμβανον. καὶ παρ’ οἷς μὲν εἰς ἀνανδρία
παρ’ οἷς δ’ εἰς προδοσίαν ἐκακίζετο, πλήρης τ
ἀγανακτῆσεως ἢν καὶ τῶν κατ’ αὐτοῦ βλασφημῶ
440 ἡ πόλις. παρωξύνοντο δὲ ταῖς πληγαῖς καὶ πρὸς
ἐξεκαίνοντο ταῖς κακοπραγίαις. τὸ γε μὴν πταίει
ὁ γίνεται τοῖς εὐ φρονοῦσιν ἀσφαλείας καὶ τῷ
ὀμοίων φυλακῆς αἰτίον, ἐκείνοις κέντρον ἑτέρῳ
ἐγίνετο συμφορῶν, καὶ τὸ τέλος ἀεὶ τῶν κακῶ
1 om. PA.

ο Or “guest-friend.”
1 The period, as Reinach remarks, of the mourning fe
regarded by all as established beyond doubt. But the facts were embroidered by fiction; thus Josephus himself was reported to have fallen when the city was taken. This intelligence filled Jerusalem with the profoundest grief; whereas in each household and family there was mourning of the relatives for their own lost ones, the lamentation for the commander was national. While some mourned for a host, others for a relative, some for a friend, others for a brother, all alike wept for Josephus. Thus for thirty days the lamentations never ceased in the city, and many of the mourners hired flute-players to accompany their funeral dirges.

(6) But when time revealed the truth and all that had really happened at Jotapata, when the death of Josephus was found to be a fiction, and it became known that he was alive and in Roman hands and being treated by the commanding officers with a respect beyond the common lot of a prisoner, the demonstrations of wrath at his being still alive were as loud as the former expressions of affection when he was believed to be dead. Some abused him as a coward, others as a traitor, and throughout the city there was general indignation, and curses were heaped upon his devoted head. The citizens were, moreover, exasperated by their reverses, and their misfortunes only added fuel to the flames. A defeat, which with the wise induces precaution and care to provide against similar misadventures, only goaded them to further disasters; and the end of one calamity was always the beginning of the next.

men such as Moses (Deut. xxxiv. 8) and Aaron (Numb. xx. 29). The normal period was seven days (Ecclus. xxii. 12).

Such funeral flute-players are mentioned in Matt. ix. 23.
JOSEPHUS

441 αὖθις ἀρχή: μᾶλλον γοῦν ὄρμων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥω-

μαίους ὡς καὶ Ἰώσηπουν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἁμυνούμενοι.

442 τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τοιοῦτοι

θόρυβοι κατεῖχον.

443 (7) Οὐσπασιανὸς δὲ καθ' ἱστορίαν τῆς Ἀγρίπ-

πα βασιλείας, ἐνήγεν γὰρ βασιλεὺς αὐτόν,1 ἀμα
[δὲ] καὶ δεξιώσασθαι τὸν ἤγειμόνα σὺν τῇ στρα-
τιᾷ τῷ κατὰ τὸν οἶκον ὀλβῷ προαιρούμενος καὶ
καταστείλαι δι' αὐτῶν τὰ νοσοῦντα τῆς ἀρχῆς,
ἀρας ἀπὸ τῆς παράλοιπος Καισαρείας εἰς τὴν Φιλ-

444 ἱππον καλομένην μεταβαίνει Καισαρείαν. ένθα
μέχρι μὲν ἡμερῶν εἰκοσὶ τῆς στρατιάς διαναπαύων
καὶ αὐτῶς ἐν εὐωχίαις ἢν, ἀποδίδοις τῷ θεῷ

445 χαριστήρια τῶν κατωρθομένων. ὡς δ' αὐτῷ
Τιβερίας μὲν νεωτερίζειν, ἀφεστάναι δ' ἡγεῖλλουτο
Ταρχαίας, μοίρα δὲ τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας ἦσαν
ἀμφότεραν, πάντοθεν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καταστρέ-
φεσθαι διεγνωκὼς τὴν ἐπὶ τούτους2 στρατεῖαν
εὐκαιρὸν ἡγεῖτο καὶ δι' Ἀγρίππαν, ὡς εἰς ἔξοιας

446 ἁμοιβὴν σωφρονίσων αὐτῷ τᾶς πόλεις. πέμπει

δὴ τὸν νῦν Τίτον εἰς Καισαρείαν μετάξοντα τὴν
ἐκεῖθεν στρατιὰν εἰς Σκυθόπολιν ἢ δ' ἐστὶν
μεγίστη τῆς Δεκάπολεως καὶ γειτῶν τῆς Τιβε-

447 ριάδος εἴναι καὶ αὐτῶς παραγενόμενος ἐκδέχεται

τὸν νῦν, καὶ μετὰ τριῶν ταγμάτων προελθὼν
στρατοπεδεύεται μὲν ἀπὸ τριάκοντα τῆς Τιβεριά-

448 νεωτερίζουσιν. Σενναβρίς ὄνομαζεται. πέμπει δὲ3

1 PA: αὐτὸs the rest.

2 Nies: τοῦτον or τούτοις mss.

3 δή PAL.

ο Or rather a part of them (§ 446).

b ii. 168.
They were now animated with greater fury against the Romans by the thought that, in having their revenge on them, they would also be avenged on Josephus. Such was the state of agitation prevailing in Jerusalem.

(7) Vespasian, however, had gone to visit Agrippa's kingdom, to which the king had invited him with the double object of entertaining the general and his troops with all the wealth of his royal household and of quelling, by their aid, the disorders within his realm. Leaving Caesarea-on-sea, Vespasian, accordingly repaired to the other Caesarea called Caesarea Philippi. There for twenty days he rested his troops, while he was being fêted himself and rendering thankofferings to God for the successes which he had obtained. But when he learnt that Tiberias was disaffected and Tarichaeae already in revolt—both cities formed part of Agrippa's realm—he thought that now was the time to march against these rebels, in pursuance of his fixed intention of crushing the Jews wherever they rose, and also to oblige Agrippa and to repay his hospitality by recalling these cities of his to their allegiance. He accordingly sent his son Titus to Caesarea to fetch the troops quartered there and march them to Scythopolis, the largest city of Decapolis and in the neighbourhood of Tiberias. Thither he proceeded himself to receive his son, and then, advancing with three legions, encamped thirty furlongs from Tiberias at a station, well within view of the rebels, called Sennabris. From there he sent the decurion

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* Scythopolis is some twenty miles south of Tiberias.

* Modern Sinn en-Nabrah, on the south-west side of the Lake of Gennesareth, near Tarichaeae.
δεκαδάρχην Ούαλεριανὸν σὺν ἵππεύσων πεντήκοντα διαλεχθησόμενον εἰρηνικὰ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ προτρεψόμενον ἐπὶ πίστεις· ἀκηκόει γάρ, ὡς ἐπιθυμοῖ οἷς εἰρήνης ὁ δῆμος, καταστασίαξοιτο δ' ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμεῖν βιαζομένων.

449 προσελάσας δ' Ούαλεριανὸς ἐπέι πλησίον ἦν τοῦ τείχους, αὐτὸς τε καταβαίνει καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν ἵππων ἀπέβησεν, ὡς μὴ δοκοίεν ἀκροβολιζόμενον παρεῖναι, καὶ πρὶν εἰς λόγους ἔλθει ἐπεκθέουσιν αὐτῷ τῶν στασιαστῶν οἱ δυνατῶν, τατοὶ μεθ' ὀπλων. ἐξηγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν Ἰησοῦς τοῖς ὄνομα, παίς Σαφάτου, τοὺς ληστρικοῦ στίφους κορυφαίοτατος. Οὐαλεριανὸς δὲ οὔτε παρὰ τάς ἐντολάς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ συμβαλεῖν ἀσφαλεῖς ἱγρομενός, εἰ καὶ τὸ νικᾶν εἴη βέβαιον, καὶ σφαλερῶν τὸ μάχεσθαι πολλοῖς μετ' ὀλίγων ἀπαρασκευάστου

450 ταυτάτω καὶ τέτοιοι, καὶ ἄλλως ἐκπλαγεῖς τῇ ἀδόκητον τῶν Ἰουδαίων τόλμαν, φεύγει πεζὸς ἐτεροί τε ὀμοίως πέντε τοὺς ἵππους ἀπέλυσον, οὐ δ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν γεγενθάτε ὡς μάχη ληφθέντας, οὐκ ἐνέδρα.

452 (8) Τούτῳ καταδέσαντες οἱ γηραιοὶ τοῦ δήμο καὶ προύχεν δοκοῦντες φεύγουσιν μὲν εἰς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον, ἐπαγόμενοι δὲ τὸν βασιλέα προσπίπτουσιν ικέται Οὔεσπασιανῷ, μὴ σφαλερῶν ἐπερυθεῖν δεόμενοι, μὴδὲ τὴν ὀλίγων ἀπόνοια

453 ἤγγισασθαι τῆς πόλεως ὀλής, φείσασθαι δὲ τῷ δήμῳ Ῥωμαίοις φίλα φρονοῦντος ἀεὶ, καὶ τοῦ αἰτίους τιμωρήσασθαι τῆς ἀποστάσεως, ψεύτων αὐτοῖ φρουρηθήσεται μέχρι νῦν, ἐπὶ δεξιάς ἐπ'

1 MC (cf. ii. 599, Vita 66, 134, where he is called son of Σαπφίας): most mss. have Τούφα.
Valerianus with fifty horsemen to make peaceful proposals to the townsfolk and to urge them to treat; for he had heard that the people in general desired peace, but were overruled and being driven to hostilities by some seditious individuals. Valerianus advanced on horseback and, on approaching the wall, dismounted and directed his troop to do the same, to prevent any suspicion that they had come to skirmish. But before any parley had taken place, the principal promoters of the rising dashed out in arms to meet him, headed by a certain Jesus, son of Saphat, the ringleader of this band of brigands. Valerianus thought it both imprudent to fight them in defiance of his general's orders, however certain of victory, and, moreover, dangerous with a small and unprepared force to face a large army equipped for battle. In short, he was taken aback by the unexpected daring of the Jews, and fled on foot, while his companions likewise abandoning their horses. The troops of Jesus brought back these deeds in triumph to the town, as jubilant as if they had taken them in battle and not by a surprise attack.

(8) Dreading the consequences of this incident, the elders and the more respected of the citizens ed to the Roman camp and, after obtaining the king's support, threw themselves as suppliants at espasian's feet, entreating him not to disregard them nor to impute to the whole city the madness of a few; let him spare a people who had always shown themselves friendly to the Romans and punish the authors of the revolt, under whose power they themselves had been kept to this day, long as they

a Chief magistrate of Tiberias, B. ii. 599.
456 eiygömenoi palai. Oautais evedidou tais ikesiai o stratigros, kaioi dia tinh arpagiin twv eipwv ef' olhn ogrismenov tin polin kai gar agwniwtic
457 peri autis ton 'Agrippian euora. labonton do tuvtov tw 'deimw' deziias o peri ton Ihsodin ouketo asfiales hyounmenoi meineiv eti tis Tibe
458 miados eis Tarixiaias apodidorasqousin. ka me th hmeran Ovespasianos sun ispeusin proptemppe pros tin akropeiav Traianon apopeirathinai to
459 plithous, ei pantes eirnuka frenoiven. ws ef' einw ton deimou omoefronynta tais iketais, ana labon tin dunamin yei pros tin polin. oj de ta te pula anoiyousin autw kai met' eufenia uphteow synthra kai enerygetin anakalounte
460 tis de stratiai triboemeni peri tin ton eidosu stenotita pararrijai to katw mesymbrion te xous Ovespasianos keleusas platunie tin eisbolh
461 auteis arpagiis menoi kai ibrewn apexeosai par' hgeilein, tw basilei charizomenos, twv te teixi dia tovtov efieisato, sumnevein proso to loipw egnwmmenov tous en autois, kai polla kakekophi
462 (x 1) 'Epieita proelhovn autis te metaxu k Tarixiaiow stratopedewetai, teixeis te tin pa, eimboiwn ochurwteran, uforwmenos ekei polem

1 VR Lat.: tou deimou the rest.

a The meaning must surely be "to proceed along the ridge" (shown in Smith and Bartholomew's Map of Galil on the west of the lake) and to enter the town.

b Ordinarily identified with the modern Kerak at the south-west corner of the lake (cf. Pliny, Hist. Nat. v. 71).
had been anxious to sue for terms. The general, hough indignant at the whole city on account of the capture of the horses, none the less yielded to these entreaties, because he saw that Agrippa was seriously concerned for the town. The delegates thus secured terms on behalf of their fellow-citizens, whereupon Jesus and his party, thinking themselves no longer safe at Tiberias, fled to Tarichaeae. The next day Vespasian sent forward Trajan to the ridge of the hill to discover whether the whole multitude were peaceably disposed. Having assured himself that the people were of one mind with the petitioners, he then advanced with his army to the city. The population opened their gates to him and went out to meet him with acclamations, ailing him as saviour and benefactor. As the troops were incommoded by the narrowness of the entrances, Vespasian ordered part of the south wall to be thrown own and so opened a broad passage for his soldiers. However, as a compliment to the king, he strictly forbade any pilage or violence, and for the same reason spared the walls, after receiving from Agrippa a guarantee for the future fidelity of the inhabitants.

He thus brought new life to a city which had sorely suffered from the effects of sedition.

(x. 1) Vespasian, then continuing his march, pitched his camp between Tiberias and Tarichaeae, fortifying it with more than ordinary care, in anticipa-

and spared for Agrippa's sake.

Vespasian advances upon Tarichaeae, the centre of revolution.

Reinach, however, with others, argues from the word προελθων, and the previous line of march om south to north, that Tarichaeae lay to the north of Tiberias. The ordinary identification is supported by the et that Vespasian's camp was at Ammathus ("warm thes," B. iv. 11), undoubtedly the modern Hammam south of Tiberias.
This flatly contradicts Vita 156, where it is said that the people of Tiberias pressed Josephus to build walls for the city 'having heard that Tarichaeae had already been fortified.'
tion of prolonged hostilities. For the whole body of revolutionaries was flocking into Tarichaeae, relying upon the strength of the place and its proximity to the lake, which the native inhabitants call Gennesar. The city, built like Tiberias at the foot of the hills, had in fact been completely surrounded by Josephus, except on the side washed by the lake, with solid ramparts, though not so strong as those at Tiberias; for the fortifications there had been built by him at the outbreak of the revolt in the plenitude of his resources and his power, whereas Tarichaeae only obtained the earnings of his bounty. The inhabitants, moreover, had ready on the lake a considerable fleet, to serve as a refuge if they were defeated on land, and equipped for naval combat, if required for that purpose. While the Romans were intrenching their ramp, Jesus and his companions, undeterred by the strength and orderly discipline of the enemy, made sally, and at the first onset dispersed the workmen and pulled down a portion of the structure. However, when they saw the legionaries mustering, they hastily fell back upon their own party, before sustaining any loss; the Romans pursued and drove them o their ships. Putting out into the lake just far enough to leave the Romans within bowshot, they hen cast anchor and, closing up their vessels one against another like an army in line of battle, they ept up as it were a sea-fight with their enemy on hore. However, Vespasian, hearing that the main ody of the Jews was assembled in the plain outside he town, sent thither his son with six hundred icked cavalry.
471 (2) 'Ο δ' ὑπέρογκον εὑρὼν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων πληθὺν πρὸς μὲν τὸν πατέρα πέμπει, πλείονος δυνάμεως αὐτῶ δεῖν λέγων, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν ἐππέων ὁρμημένους ὅρων καὶ πρὶν ἀφικέσθαι βοήθειαν, ἔστιν δ' οὐς ἥσυχῇ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων καταπεπληγότας, ἐν ἑπηκώπω

472 στὰς [ἐλεξεν ὦδε] 1. "Ἀνδρεῖς," ἐφη, "Ῥωμαίοι, καλὸν γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν λόγων ὑπομνήσαι τοῖς γένους ὑμᾶς, ἵν' εἴδητε, τίνες ὁντες 2 πρὸς τίνας μάχεσθαι μέλλομεν. τὰς μὲν γε ἡμετέρας χειρὰς οὐδὲν εἰς τοῦτο τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης δια- πέφευγεν, Ἰουδαίοι δέ, ἵν' εὗπωμεν καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. μέχρι νῦν οὐ κοπιῶσιν ἡττώμενοι, καὶ δεινον ἐκείνων ἐστώτων ἐν ταῖς κακοπραγίαις, ὑμᾶς τοῖς ἐυτυχήσασιν ἐγκάμειν. προθυμίας μὲν εἰς τὰ φανερὸν ὑμᾶς εἰ δέχοντας χαίρω βλέπων, δὲδοικο δὲ μὴ τινὶ τῶν πολεμίων τὸ πλῆθος κατάπληξιν

475 λεληθθοῦν ἐνεργάσηται. λογισάθω δὴ πάλιν οἷων πρὸς οἶους παρατάξεται, καὶ διότι Ἰουδαίοι μὲν εἰ καὶ σφόδρα τολμῆται καὶ θανάτου κατα- φρονοῦντες, ἀλλ' ἀσύντακτοι τε καὶ πολέμων ἀπειροῦντες, ἄλλα ἀσύντακτοι τε καὶ πολέμων ἀπειροῦντες, ἀλλ' ἀσύντακτοι τε καὶ πολέμων ἀπειροῦντες, ἄλλα ἀσύντακτοι τε καὶ πολέμων ἀπειροῦντες, ἦν δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐμπειρίας καὶ τάξεως τί δεί καὶ λέγειν; ἐπὶ τοῦτο μέντοι γε μόνοι καὶ κατ' εἰρήνην ἁσκούμεθα τοῖς ὀπλοῖς, ἵν' ἐν πολέμῳ

476 μὴ πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἀριθμῶμεν ἑαυτοὺς. ἐπεὶ τίς ὁνήσις τῆς διηνεκοῦσ στρατείας, ἀν ἦσοι πρὸς ἰσοτατατόπους ἀντιπασσώμεθα; λογίζεσθε δὲ οὐτὶ καὶ πρὸς γυμνῆτας ὀπλίται καὶ ἐπείς πρὸς πε- 1 PA: om. the rest. 2 + καὶ mss.: om. Bekker.

708
(2) Titus, finding the enemy in prodigious strength, sent word to his father that he required more troops. For his own part, observing that, although most of his cavalry were burning for action without waiting for the arrival of the reinforcements, there were others who betrayed secret dismay at this immense number of Jews, he took up a position where he was audible to all and spoke as follows:

"Romans—it is well at the outset of my address to remind you of the name of your race, that you may bear in mind who you are and whom we have to fight. Our hands to this hour no nation in the habitable world has succeeded in escaping; though the Jews, to give them their due, so far staunchly refuse to accept defeat. If they in their disasters still stand fast, would it not be disgraceful for our courage to flag in the full tide of success? I rejoice to see in your faces such admirable ardour; but I fear that the multitude of our enemies may have inspired some of you with a lurking alarm. Let such an one reflect once more who he is and against whom he is going into battle. Let him remember that the Jews, however dauntless and reckless of life they may be, are yet undisciplined and unskilled in war and deserve to be called a mere rabble, rather than an army. Of our experience and our discipline is there any need to speak? If, alone of all nations, we exercise ourselves in arms in peace-time, it is for this very object, that in war-time we need not contrast our numbers with those of our opponents. What would be the use of this perpetual training, if we must be equal in numbers to an untrained foe before we face them? Consider again that you will contend in full armour against men that have scarcely
JOSEPHUS

ξούς καὶ στρατηγούμενοι πρὸς ἀστρατηγῆτους δι-
αγωνίζεσθε, καὶ ως ύμᾶς μὲν ταῦτα πολλαπλασίους
ποιεῖ τά πλεονεκτήματα, πολὺ δὲ τούτων πολε-
478 μίων ἀριθμοῦ παραρέιται τὰ ἐλαττώματα. κατ-
ορθοὶ δὲ τοὺς πολέμους οὐ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων, κἂν
ἡ μάχιμοι,¹ ἄνδρεῖα δὲ, κἂν ἐν ὀλίγοις, οἱ μὲν γε²
καὶ τάξασθαι³ βάδιοι καὶ προσαμύνειν ἑαυτοῖς, αἱ
δ' ὑπέρογκοι δυνάμεις ύπ' ἑαυτῶν βλάπτονται
479 πλέον ἡ τῶν πολεμίων. Ἰουδαίων μὲν οὖν τόλμα
καὶ θράσος ἦγεῖται καὶ ἀπόνοια,⁴ πάθη κατὰ μὲν
τὰς εὐπραγίας εὔτονα, σβεννύμενα δ' ἐν ἐλαχίστοις
σφάλμασιν ἦμῶν δ' ἀρετῇ καὶ εὑπείθεια καὶ τὸ
γενναίον, δ' καὶ τοῖς [άλλοις]⁵ εὐτυχήμασιν ἀκμάζει
καὶ τοῖς πταίσμασιν μέχρι τέλους οὐ σφάλλεται.
480 καὶ ὑπὲρ μειζόνων δὲ ἦ Ἰουδαῖοι διαγωνιζότας
καὶ γὰρ εἰ περὶ ἥλενθερίας καὶ πατρίδων ἑκείνοις
ὁ πόλεμος κυδυνεύεται, τί μείζων ἡμῖν εὐδοξίας
καὶ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν μετὰ τήν τῆς οἰκομένης ἡγε-
481 μονίαν ἐν ἀντιπάλω τὰ Ἰουδαῖων τίθεσθαι; σκε-
πτόν δ' ὅτι καὶ παθεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον ἡμῖ
φόβος: πολλοὶ γὰρ οἱ βοηθήσοντες καὶ πλησίον
ἀρπάσαι δὲ τὴν νίκην δυνάμεθα, καὶ χρῆ τοὺς ὑπὲ
τοῦ πατρὸς πεπομένους ἡμῖν συμμάχους φθάνειν
ἐν ἀκοινωνίαν τῷ ἡ τοῦ κατόρθωμα καὶ μείζων
482 νομίζω δ' ἐγὼν ἐπὶ πήδει τῆς ὄρας καὶ τοῖς
πατέρας τὸν ἐμὸν κρίνεσθαι καὶ καὶ ύμᾶς, εἰ τῶι
μὲν προκατωρθωμένων ἄξιος ἑκείνος, ἐγὼ δ' ἑκείνου
παῖς, στρατιώται δ' ύμεῖς ἐμοῦ καὶ γὰρ
ἑκείνῳ τὸ νικᾶν ἔθος, κάγω πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπο-

¹ ἄφθανον Destinon, “however huge,” but this sense is
unparalleled in Josephus.
² μὲν γὰρ ML.
³ παρατάξασθαι MVRC.
any, that you are cavalry against infantry, that you have generals and they have none; these advantages greatly multiply your effective strength, as the enemy’s disadvantages greatly detract from his. Wars are not won by numbers, however efficient the soldiers, but by courage, however few the men: small forces are easily manoeuvred and brought up to each other’s support, whereas unwieldy armies do themselves more injury than they receive from the enemy. The Jews are led on by audacity, temerity and despair, emotions which are bracing in the flush of success but are damped by the slightest check; we, by valour, discipline, and a heroism which, though doubtless seen to perfection when favoured by fortune, in adversity also holds on to the last. Again, you will contend for a higher cause than the Jews; for, though they face war for liberty and country in jeopardy, what higher motive could there be for us than glory and the determination, after having dominated the world, not to let the Jews be regarded as a match for ourselves? Nor should you forget that we have no irretrievable disaster to fear. Our supports are numerous and at hand; yet we can snatch a victory, and we ought to anticipate the arrival of the reinforcements now on their way from my father. Our triumph will be more glorious if unshared. For myself, I believe that in this hour my father and I and you are all on our trial; it will be seen whether he is really worthy of his past successes, whether I am worthy to be his son, and you to be my soldiers. Victory to him is habitual; how

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4 ἀπὸνοια] + καὶ PA: ἀπὸνολας (omitting preceding καὶ) the rest.  
6 om. LVR.
ο με εις τον πρώτον ἐμφανίσατο τοις ἄνδράσι, καὶ προσγενομένου πρὸς συμβαλεῖν Τραίανον μετὰ πετρακοσίων ἐπεισων ῥόχαλλον ὡς μειούμενης τῆς νίκης αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν. ἔπεμψεν δὲ Οὐσπασιανὸς καὶ Ἀντώνιον Σίλωνα σὺν δισχίλιοις τοξόταις, κελευσάς καταλαθῶντας τὸ ἀντίκρυ τῆς πόλεως ὅρος τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἀνείργεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν, ὡς προσετέκτο, τοὺς ταύτη πειρωμένους ἐκβοήθειν περιέσχον, ὁ δὲ Τίτος πρῶτος τὸν ἱππον ἠλαυνεν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ σὺν κραυγῇ μετ' αὐτὸν οἱ λοιποὶ παρεκτείναντες ἑαυτοὺς εἰς ὅσον ἐπείχον οἱ πολέμιοι τὸ πεδίον, παρὸ καὶ πολὺ πλείους ἐδοξαν. οἱ δὲ Ἰουνδαῖοι, καὶ τὴν τὴν ὁμὴν καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν αὐτῶν καταπλαγέντες, πρὸς ὁλίγον μὲν ἀντέσχον ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς, νυσσόμενοι δὲ τοῖς κοντοῖς καὶ τῷ ροῖῳ τῶν ἐπείων ἀνατρεπόμενοι συνεπατοῦντο. πολλῶν δὲ πανταχοῦ φοινομένων διασκίνανται καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἐκαστος εἶχεν τάχους ἐφευγον. Τίτος δὲ τοὺς μὲν κατόπιν προσκείμενος ἀνήρει, τῶν δὲ διεκπαίων ἀρθῶν, οὐς δὲ φθάνων κατὰ στόμα διήλαυνεν, πολλοὺς

* Or "if you abandoned me."
could I dare return to him if defeated? And you, surely you would be ashamed to be surpassed when your chief leads the way to danger. For lead I will, be sure of it, and will charge the enemy at your head. Do you then not fail me, have confidence that God is on my side and supports my ardour, and be assured that, beyond mere victory in this battle outside the walls, we shall achieve some further success."

(3) As Titus thus harangued them a supernatural frenzy took possession of his men, and when, before the engagement, Trajan joined them with four hundred cavalry, they chafed as though these partners had come to detract from their own credit for the victory. Vespasian at the same time sent Antonius Silo with two thousand archers to occupy the hill opposite the town and beat off the enemy on the ramparts; these troops, in accordance with their instructions, prevented any attempts from that quarter to assist the Jewish army outside. Titus now led the charge, spurring his horse against the enemy; behind him, with loud shouts, came his men, deploying across the plain so as to cover the whole of the enemy's front, thereby materially increasing their apparent strength. The Jews, though dismayed by the impetuosity and good order of this attack, for a while sustained the Roman charges; but pierced by the lances and overthrown by the rush of cavalry they fell and were trampled under foot. When the plain on all sides was covered with corpses, they dispersed and fled to the city, as fast as each man's legs could carry him. Titus, hotly pursuing, now cut down the laggards in the rear, now made lanes through their bunched masses; here rode ahead of them and charged them in front, there
491 δὲ συνηλοία περὶ ἀλλήλως πεσόντας ἐμπηδών, 
492 δὲ τὰς πρὸς τὸ τείχος φυγάς ὑπετέμνετο καὶ πρὸς τὸ πεδίον ἀπέστρεφεν, ἐως τῶ πλῆθει βιασάμενοι καὶ διεκπεσόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν συν-έφευγον.
493 Ἐκδέχεται δὲ αὐτοὺς πάλιν στάσις εἰσω χαλεπῆς. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐπιχωρίοις διὰ τε τὰς κτήσεις καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἔδοκει πολέμεων ἀπ' ἄρχής, καὶ τότε διὰ τὴν ἠτταν πλέον· ο δ' ἐπηλυκ' 
494 πολὺς ὄν πλεῖον ἐβιάζετο, καὶ διωργισμένων ἐπ' ἀλλήλως κραυγῆ τε ἣν καὶ θόρυβος ὡς ὁσον οὕπω

492 (4) 'Εκδέχεται δὲ αὐτοὺς πάλιν στάσις εἰσω χαλεπῆς. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐπιχωρίοις διὰ τε τὰς κτήσεις καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἔδοκει πολέμεων ἀπ' ἄρχής, καὶ τότε διὰ τὴν ἠτταν πλέον· ο δ' ἐπηλυκ' πολὺς ὄν πλεῖον ἐβιάζετο, καὶ διωργισμένων ἐπ' ἀλλήλως κραυγῆ τε ἣν καὶ θόρυβος ὡς ὁσον οὕπω

494 φερομένων εἰς ὁπλα. κατακούσας δὲ τῆς ταραχῆς Τίτος, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀπώθεν τοῦ τείχους, "οὔτος ἦν ο καιρός," ἐκβοᾷ, καὶ "τί, συστρατιώται, μέλλομεν ἐκδιδόντος ἡμῖν Ἰουδαίους θεοῦ; δέ-

495 ξασθε τὴν νίκην. οὐκ ἀκούετε βοής; στασιά-ζουσιν οἱ τὰς χειρᾶς ἡμῶν διαφυγόντες. ἐξομέν τὴν πόλιν, έαν ταχύνωμεν' δεὶ δὲ πόνου πρὸς τῶ τάχει καὶ λήματος' οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν μεγάλων

496 φιλεὶ δίχα κυνδύνον κατορθοῦσαι. φθάνειν δ' οὐ μόνον χρή τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ὁμόνοιαν, οὐς ἀνάγκη διαλλαξει ταχέως, ἀλλ' καὶ τὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων βοήθειαν, ἵνα πρὸς τῶ νικήσαι τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ὀλίγοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλώμεν μόνοι.'

1 PA: διεκπαιδαστες L (improbable repetition of verb already used).
2 διεκπετόντες P (for text cf. § 473).

a Probably, as suggested by Reinach, the incident recorded in Suet. Tit. 4 took place on this occasion: "Tari-cheas et Gamalam (the latter was really taken by Vespasian, iv. 4 ff.) . . . in potestatem redegit, equo quadem acie sub feminibus amissi alteroque incensino, cuius rector circa se dimicicans occubuerat."
dashed into groups which had fallen foul of each other and trampled them to pieces. For all, in short, he sought to intercept retreat to the walls and to head them off into the plain, until at length, by superior numbers, they succeeded in forcing a way through and flinging themselves into the town.\(^a\)

(4) But there a new and terrible contention awaited them. The indigenous population, intent on their property and their city, had from the first disapproved of the war, and after this defeat were now more opposed to it than ever. But the crowd from outside, a numerous body, were only the more determined to hold them to it. There were mutual angry recriminations, shouts and uproar; the two parties seemed on the point of coming to blows. From his position not far from the wall, Titus overheard this commotion. "Now is the time," he cried; "why tarry, comrades, when God himself delivers the Jews into our hands? Hail the victory that is given you. Do you not hear that clamour? They are at strife with each other—those men who have just slipped through our hands. The town is ours if we are quick. But besides haste we need effort and resolution; great successes never come without risks.\(^b\) We must not wait till concord is re-established among our enemies: necessity will reconcile them all too soon. But neither let us wait for assistance from our friends: after defeating such a multitude with our small force, let us have the further honour of taking the city unaided."

\(^a\) Capture of Tarichaea by Titus.

\(^b\) A reminiscence of Soph. Electra 945 ὅρα πόνον τοι χωρίς υδέν εὐτυχεῖ, similarly paraphrased elsewhere (B. ν. 501 ἵχα πόνον κατορθῶν τι τῶν μεγάλων οὗδεν ῥάδιον, cf. A. iii. 58 ὅ πονεῖν . . . πάντα ληπτα). We have already had other phrases drawn from the same context (B. iii. 153, 212).
497 (5) Ταῦθ' ἀμα λέγων ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππον ἀναπηδᾷ καὶ καθηγεῖται πρὸς τὴν λίμνην, διήσε ἔλασας πρῶτος εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέρχεται καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν 498 οἱ λοιποί. δέος δὲ πρὸς τὴν τόλμαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν πειχῶν ἐνέπεσεν, καὶ μάχεσθαι μὲν ἡ διακωλύειν οὕδεις ὑπέμεινεν, λιπόντες δὲ τὴν φρουρὰν οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν διὰ τῆς χώρας 499 ἐφευγον, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην καταθέοντες ὑπο- αντιάξουσιν τοῖς πολεμίοις περεπιπτον ἐκτείνοντο δ' οἱ μὲν ἐπιβάϊντες τῶν σκαφῶν, οἱ δὲ τοῖς 500 ἀναχθείσιν προσνεὶ1 πειρώμενοι. πολὺς δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἤ τοὺς θόνος, τῶν μὲν ἐπηλύδων ὅσοι μὴ διαφυγεῖν ἑθασαν ἀντιτασσομένων, ἀμαχητί 501 ἀπετρέποντο, μέχρι Τίτος τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους ἀνελὼν, οὐκτείρας δὲ τοὺς ἐπιχώριους ἀνεπαύσατο φόνου. 502 καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν λίμνην καταφυγόντες ἐπεὶ τὴν πόλιν εἶδον ἔαλωκυῖαν, ὡς πορρωτάτω τῶν πολε- μίων ἀνήχθησαν.

503 (6) Τίτος δ' ἐκπέμψας τινὰ τῶν ἵππων ευ- 504 αγγελίζεται τῷ πατρὶ τὸ ἔργον. ο δ', ὡς εἰκός, ὑπερησθεὶς τῇ τε τοῦ παιδὸς ἅρτῃ καὶ τῷ κατ- ὁρθώματι, μεγίστῃ γὰρ ἑδόκει καθηρήσθαι μοῖρα 505 τοῦ πολέμου, τότε μὲν ἔλθὼν περισχώντας τὴν πόλιν φρουρεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς μὴ διαλάθων τὶς ἔξ 506 αὐτῆς, καὶ κτείνειν προσέταξεν4**, τῇ δ' ὕστεραια

1 Destinon from Lat. natando assequi: προσμένειν L: προσπήττειν most mss.
2 Βεβολήθαται R 3 Hudson from Lat.: πόνου mss.
4 P: ἐκέλευσεν the rest; there is apparently a lacuna.
(5) As he spoke he leapt on his horse, led his troops to the lake, rode through the water and was the first to enter the town, followed by his men. Terror-struck at his audacity, none of the defenders on the ramparts ventured to fight or to resist him; all abandoned their posts and fled, the partisans of Jesus across country, the others down to the lake. The latter ran into the arms of the enemy advancing to meet them; some were killed while boarding their boats, others endeavouring to swim out to their companions, who had previously gained the open water. In the town itself there was great slaughter, without discrimination between the strangers who had not succeeded in escaping and now made some resistance, and the residents who offered none, their hope of pardon and their consciousness of having discountenanced the war leading them to lay down their arms. At length, Titus, after the real culprits had been slain, took pity on the natives of the place and stopped the massacre. Those who had taken refuge on the lake, seeing the city taken, sailed off and kept as far as possible out of range of the enemy.

(6) Titus dispatched a trooper to convey the gratifying news of this achievement to his father. Vespasian, as was to be expected, was highly delighted at his son’s valour and at the success of his enterprise, which seemed like the termination of a serious portion of the war. Repairing instantly to the spot he gave orders to keep a strict guard round the city, to prevent any from escaping, and to kill any who attempted to do so. The next day he

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a The town was unwalled on the side facing the lake (§ 464).

b § 469.
prods thn limnyn katabas schedias ekleusesen
pi'sosev' ep'tous katapheveugostas. ai d' eginonton
tachews aphodia te ulhs kai plhthei tekhvton.

506 (7) 'H de limnyn Gevnyasar men ap'do ths proso-
ecous xwras kaloita, stadiwn d' eudros owsa
tesapanka kai prqs tou'tous et erwv ekaton
th mkos, glykexia te omws esti kai potimwta'th.

507 kai gar ths elwous parxhtitos exhe to ndma
leptoteron, katharw th' estin pantoben aigialois
epiljousa kai fasmw, prors de eukratos aru-
sasbai, potamou mewn h khrhns prokynestera,
psiroptera de h kat th limnhs diaxusw aei menousa.

508 to mewn ge wdr wu apadei xinon exaihriasthen,
oper therous nuktos poiein ethos tois epichwriois.

509 lachou genwv te kai idew. mesi d' upo tou
'isodanou temetai. kai dokei mewn 'isodanou
thn to Paveion, fevetai d' upo xyn eis tou'to

510 krouptovs ek ths kaloumeneis FYalh. h d' estin
anionton eis thn Trachxwtn apo stadiwn ekaton
ekosi Kaisar-eias, ths odou kata to dexiou meros

511 ouk apwthn. ek mewn ouv ths perifereias etumw
FYalh kaloita prokoeidhs owsa limnyn, mevai d'

1 + ws P. 2 Hudson after Lat.: etoimwss.

* i.e. about 16 miles long by 4 1/2 broad; the Greek stade,
rendered "furlong", = 606 3/4 English feet. The real measure-
ments on a modern map are about 12 1/2 miles by 7 miles (at
its broadest part). Josephus possibly intends to give the
average breadth (the breadth at Tiberias is about 5 miles):
but the length is, anyhow, overstated, and there is no authority
for regarding (with Reinach) the words prods tou'tous et erwv
as interpolated, thus reducing it to 100 stades (= about 11 1/2
miles).
descended to the lake and gave directions for the construction of rafts for the pursuit of the fugitives. With an abundance of wood and of workmen, the flotilla was soon ready.

(7) The lake of Gennesar takes its name from the adjacent territory. It is forty furlongs broad and a hundred and forty long.\(^a\) Notwithstanding its extent, its water is sweet to the taste and excellent to drink: clearer than marsh water with its thick sediment, it is perfectly pure, the lake everywhere ending in pebbly or sandy beaches. Moreover, when drawn it has an agreeable temperature, more pleasant than that of river or spring water, yet invariably cooler than the great expanse of the lake would lead one to expect. It becomes as cold as snow when one has exposed it to the air, as the people of the country are in the habit of doing during the summer nights. The lake contains species of fish different, both in taste and appearance, from those found elsewhere. The Jordan runs through the middle of the lake. This river has its apparent source at Panion\(^b\); in reality it rises in the pool called Phiale from which it passes by an unseen subterranean channel to Panion. Phiale will be found at a distance of a hundred and twenty furlongs from Caesarea (Philippi), on the right of and not far from the road ascending to Trachonitis; the pool derives its name Phiale\(^c\) from its circular form;

\(^a\) Notwithstanding its extent, its water is sweet to the taste and excellent to drink: clearer than marsh water with its thick sediment, it is perfectly pure, the lake everywhere ending in pebbly or sandy beaches. Moreover, when drawn it has an agreeable temperature, more pleasant than that of river or spring water, yet invariably cooler than the great expanse of the lake would lead one to expect. It becomes as cold as snow when one has exposed it to the air, as the people of the country are in the habit of doing during the summer nights. The lake contains species of fish different, both in taste and appearance, from those found elsewhere.

\(^b\) "Pan’s grotto" (cf. B. i. 404 ff.), in the neighbourhood of which Philip the Tetrarch built Paneas (Caesarea Philippi, Banias), B. ii. 168.

\(^c\) Meaning "saucer." The pool is probably the modern Birket Ram, some four miles south-east of Caesarea Philippi; but the possibility of any connexion between this pool and Panion is denied by modern geographers (Reinach).
J o s e p h u s

ἐπὶ χείλους αὐτῆς ἀεὶ τὸ ὑδωρ μῆθ᾿ ὑπονοστοῦν μήθ᾿ ὑπερχεόμενον. ἄγνοουμενος δὲ τέως ὁ Ἰορ-

δάνης ἐντεύθεν ἀρχεσθαι δια τοῦ τετραρχήσαντος

513 Τραχνωτῶν ἡλέγχθη Φιλίππου. Βαλὼν γὰρ ὀὔτως εἰς τὴν Φιάλην ἄχυρα κατὰ τὸ Πάνειον, ἔθεθεν ἐδόκοιν οἱ παλαιοὶ γεννᾶσθαι τὸν ποταμόν, εὑρεν ἀνενεχθέντα. τοῦ μὲν οὖν Πανείου τὸ φυσικὸν κάλλος ύπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς προσεζησκηται πολυ-
tελείας, τῷ 1 Ἀγρίππα πλούτω κεκοσμημένον

515 ἀρχόμενος δὲ φανεροῦ βεῦματος ὁ Ἰορδάνης ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀντρού κόπτει μὲν τὰ τῆς Σεμε-

χωνίτιδος λίμνης ἐλη καὶ τέλμαται, διαμεῖβας δ᾿ ἐτέρους ἐκατον εἴκοσι σταδίους μετὰ πόλιν Ἰου-

λιάδα διεκπαιέ τήν Γεννησάρ μέσην, ἔπειτα πολ-
lήν ἀναμετρούμενος ἐρημίαν εἰς τὴν Ἀσφαλτίτων ἐξεισὶ λίμνην.

516 (8) Παρατείνει δὲ τὴν Γεννησάρ ὅμώνυμος χώρα, θαυμαστὴ φύσιν τε καὶ κάλλος· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτῆς τι φυτῶν ἀρνεῖται διὰ τὴν πιὸτητα, καὶ πᾶν πεφυτεύκασιν οἱ νεμώμενοι, τοῦ δ᾿ ἀέρος τὸ εὐκρατοῦ ἀρμόζει καὶ τοῖς διαφόροις. καρυαί μὲν χειμεριώτατον, ἀπειρο τεθήλαις, ἐνθα φοίνικες, οἱ καύματι τρέφονται, συκαὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκλαῖ πλῆσιον τοῦτων, αἰς μαλθακῶτερος ἄηρ ἀποδέδεικται. φιλοτιμίαν ἀν τις εἰπον τῆς

518 φύσεως βιοσαμένης εἰς ἐν συναγαγεῖν τὰ μάχιμα, καὶ τῶν ύδρῶν ἀγαθὴν ἔριν, ἐκάστης ὃσπερ ἀντι-

1 Bekker: τοῦ (or τῶν) mss. with subsequent πλοίων in most.

Modern Baheiret el Huleh (perhaps the "waters of Merom" of Josh. xi. 5).
the water always fills the basin to the brim without ever subsiding or overflowing. It was for long unknown that this was the true source of the Jordan, but the fact was proved by Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis: he had chaff thrown into the pool of Phiale and found it cast up at Panion, where the ancients believed that the stream had its origin. The natural beauties of Panion have been enhanced by royal munificence, the place having been embellished by Agrippa at great expense. After issuing from this grotto the Jordan, whose course is now visible, intersects the marshes and lagoons of Lake Semechonitis, then traverses another hundred and twenty furlongs, and below the town of Julias cuts across the Lake of Gennesar, from which, after meandering through a long desert region, it ends by falling into the Lake Asphaltitis.

(8) Skirting the lake of Gennesar, and also bearing that name, lies a region whose natural properties and beauty are very remarkable. There is not a plant which its fertile soil refuses to produce, and its cultivators in fact grow every species; the air is so well-tempered that it suits the most opposite varieties. The walnut, a tree which delights in the most wintry climate, here grows luxuriantly, beside palm-trees, which thrive on heat, and figs and olives, which require a milder atmosphere. One might say that nature had taken pride in thus assembling, by a tour de force, the most discordant species in a single spot, and that, by a happy rivalry, each of the seasons wished to claim this region for her own.

*B. ii. 168.

The Dead Sea.

d The plain of Gennesaret (el Ghuweir) on the north-west of the lake between Capernaum and Magdala.
ποιομενης του χωρίου· καὶ γὰρ οὐ μόνον τρέφει
παρὰ δόξαν τὰς διαφόρους ὀπώρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ
διαφυλάσσει. τὰ μὲν γε βασιλικώτατα, σταφυλήν
tε καὶ σύκον, δέκα μησιν ἀδιαλείπτως χορηγεῖ,
τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς καρποὺς δι’ ἔτους ὅλου περιγνηρά-
σκοντας ἑαυτοῖς· πρὸς γὰρ τῇ τῶν ἄερων εὐκρασίᾳ
cαι πηγῇ διάρδεται γονιμωτάτη, Καφαρναοῦμ
520 αὐτὴν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καλοῦσιν. ταύτην φλέβα τοῦ
Νείλου τυνὲς ἔδοξαν, ἔπει γεννᾶ τῷ κατὰ τὴν
521 Ἀλεξανδρέων λίμνην κορακίνω παραπλῆσιον. μή-
κος δὲ τοῦ χωρίου παρατίνει κατὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν
tῆς ὀμωνύμου λίμνης ἐπὶ σταδίους τριάκοντα
cαι εὗρος εἰκοσι. ταύτα μὲν [οὖν] οὖτως φύσεως
ἐχει.
522 (9) Ὀνεσπασιανὸς δ’, ἔπει παρεσκευάσθησαν αἱ
σχεδίαι, τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιβήσασι ὅσον ἠμέτο τοῖς
κατὰ τὴν λίμνην ἀνταρκέσεων ἐπανήγετο. τοῖς
dὲ συνελαυνομένοις οὔτ’ ἐπὶ γῆν διαφεύγειν ἢν
ἐκπεπολεμομένων πάντων οὔτ’ ἐξ ὰσον δια-
523 ναυμαχεῖν· τὰ τε γὰρ σκάφη μικρὰ οὖντα καὶ
ληστρικά πρὸς τὰς σχεδίας ἡν ἁσθενῆ, καὶ καθ’
ἐκαστὸν ἐμπλέοντες ὀλίγοι πρὸς ἀθρόους ἐφ-
estῶτας τοὺς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγγίζειν ἐδεδοίκεισαν.
524 ὀμοις δ’ οὖν ἐκπερπλέοντες τὰς σχεδίας, ἐστιν δ’
ὁ ποταὶ πλησιάζοντες, πόρρωθεν τοὺς Ῥωμαίοις
ἐβαλλον λίθους καὶ παραξύοντες ἐγγύθεν ἔπαιον.

1 L.: om. Lat.: αὐτοῖς the rest: text doubtful.

α Capernaum (Kepbar-Nahum, village of Nahum) has
For not only has the country this surprising merit of producing such diverse fruits, but it also preserves them: for ten months without intermission it supplies those kings of fruits, the grape and the fig; the rest mature on the trees the whole year round. Besides being favoured by its genial air, the country is watered by a highly fertilizing spring, called by the inhabitants Capharnaum; some have imagined this to be a branch of the Nile, from its producing a fish resembling the coracin found in the lake of Alexandria. This region extends along the border of the lake which bears its name for a length of thirty furlongs and inland to a depth of twenty.

Such is the nature of this district.

(9) Vespasian, when his rafts were ready, put on board as many troops as he considered necessary to cope with the fugitives on the lake and launched his flotilla. The Jews, thus rounded up, could neither escape to land, where all were in arms against them, nor sustain a naval combat on equal terms. For their skiffs, being small and built for piracy, were no match for the rafts, and each was manned by no more than a handful of men who were afraid to close with the dense ranks of their Roman assailants. However, they hovered round the rafts, occasionally even approaching them, now flinging stones from a distance at the Romans, now scraping alongside and attacking them at close

been identified either with Khan Minyeh (more probable) or with Tell Hum, farther north. The latter is a waterless site (G. A. Smith); above the former rises a copious spring which communicates by a canal with the plain.

b The Lake Mareotis. The coracin, so called from its raven-black colour, seems to have resembled an eel; Martial, xiii. 85, calls it "princeps Niliaci macelli."
JOSEPHUS

525 ἐκακοίητο δ' αὐτοὶ πλέον κατ' ἀμφότερα· ταῖς τε γάρ χερμάσιν οὐδὲν δρώντες ὅτι μὴ κτύπων ἐπι- ἀλληλον, εἰς γὰρ πεφραγμένους ἐβαλλον, ἐφικτοὶ τοῖς Ἱούμαίων ἐγίνοντο βέλεσιν, καὶ πλησιάζειν τολμῶντες πρὶν δράσαι τι παθεῖν ἐφθανον καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐβαπτίζοντο τοῖς σκάφεσιν. τῶν δὲ διεκπαίειν πειρωμένων πολλοὺς μὲν ἐφικνούμενοι κοντοῖς διέπειρον, οὐδὲ δὲ ἐξιθηρεῖς ἐπιτηδεύοντες εἰς τὰ σκάφη, τινὰς δὲ συντρεχούσας ταῖς σχε- δίαις ἐναποληθέντας μέσους εἶλον ἀμα ταῖς ἀλιάσιν. τῶν δὲ βαπτισθεῖτων τοὺς ἀνανεύοντας

[ἡ] βέλος ἐφθανεν ἡ σχεδία κατελάμβανεν, καὶ προσβαίνειν ὑπ' ἀμηχανίας εἰς τοὺς ἐκθροὺς πειρωμένων ἡ κεφαλὰς ἡ χείρας ἀπέκοπτον οἱ Ἱούμαιοι. πολλὴ τε ἦν αὐτῶν καὶ ποικίλῃ φθορᾷ πανταχοῦ, μέχρι τραπέντες εἰς γῆν ἐξεωσθησαν οἱ λοιποὶ κεκυκλωμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀλιάδων.

ἐκχεύμενοι δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ κατηκοντίζοντο τῇ λίμνῃ, πολλοὺς δ' ἐκπετάνας οἱ Ἱούμαιοι διέφθειραν ἐπὶ γῆς. ἦν δ' ἴδειν κεκραμένην μὲν αἵματι, πεπληρωμένην δὲ νεκρῶν τὴν λίμνην ἀπασαν· διεσώθη γὰρ οὐδείς. δεινὴ δὲ ταῖς ἐξῆς ἡμέραις περιείχε τὴν χώραν ὀδὴν τε καὶ ὄψις· οἱ μὲν γὰρ αἰγιαλοὶ ναυαγίων ἄμα καὶ διοικοῦντων ἐγερον σωμάτων, ἐκκαίομενοι δὲ καὶ μυδώντες οἱ νεκροὶ τὸν ἁέρα διέφθειρον, ὡς μὴ μόνον οἰκτρῶν Ἰούδαιοις γενέσθαι τὸ πάθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ μίσους τοῖς δράσασιν ἐλθεῖν. τούτο μὲν ἐκείνης τῆς ναυμαχίας τὸ τέλος, ἀπέθανον δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἐπὶ

1 MVRC Lat.: ἦθων PA: (τιν)ηθῶν Destinon.
2 PAL Lat. (cf. B. viii. 69, 101): ἐκκλείομενοι the rest.
range. But in both these manoeuvres they sustained greater injury themselves; their stones produced nothing but a continuous rattle in striking men well protected by armour, while they were themselves exposed to the arrows of the Romans; on the other hand, when they ventured to approach, before they had time to do anything they instantly came to grief and were sent to the bottom with their skiffs. If they tried to break through the line, the Romans could reach them with their lances and transfixed numbers of them, or leaping upon the barks passed their swords through their bodies; sometimes the rafts closed in and caught their enemies between them, capturing men and vessels. When any who had been sunk rose to the surface, an arrow quickly reached or a raft overtook them; if in their despair they sought to board the enemy's fleet, the Romans cut off their heads or their hands. Thus perished these wretches on all sides in countless numbers and countless manners, until the survivors were routed and forced to the shore, their vessels surrounded by the enemy. As they streamed forth from them many were speared in the water; many sprang on land, where they were slain by the Romans. One could see the whole lake red with blood and covered with corpses, for not a man escaped. During the following days the district reeked with a dreadful stench and presented a spectacle equally horrible. The beaches were strewn with wrecks and swollen carcases: these corpses, scorched and clammy in decay, so polluted the atmosphere that the catastrophe which plunged the Jews in mourning inspired even its authors with disgust. Such was the issue of this naval engagement. The dead, including those who
This naval engagement was, it seems, commemorated in the triumphal procession at Rome by the "numerous ships" which accompanied it (B. vii. 147). Reinach refers 726.
fell in the previous defence of the town, numbered six thousand seven hundred.\footnote{10}

After the battle Vespasian took his seat on his tribunal at Tarichaeae, and separating the native population from the crowd of immigrants who had evidently given the signal for hostilities, consulted with his lieutenants whether the lives of the latter also should be spared. All unanimously declared that their liberation would be pernicious; once let loose, these expatriated men would never keep quiet, and would, moreover, be capable of forcing into revolt those with whom they sought refuge. Vespasian recognized that they were undeserving of pardon and that they would only abuse their liberty to the detriment of their liberators, but he asked himself how he could make away with them: if he killed them on the spot, he suspected that he would bitterly alienate the residents, who would not tolerate the massacre in their city of all these refugees who had sued for mercy; on the other hand, he could not bring himself to let them go, and then, after pledging his word, to fall upon them. However, in the end his friends overcame his scruples by telling him that against Jews there could be no question of impiety, and that he ought to prefer expediency to propriety when the two were incompatible. Vespasian accordingly granted these aliens an amnesty in equivocal terms, but permitted them to quit the city by only one route, that leading to Tiberias. Prompt to believe what they earnestly desired, the wretches set out in complete confidence, carrying their effects without any disguise, in the 

to bronzes of Vespasian and his sons bearing the legend \textit{VICTORIA NAVALIS}. 

727
ρούντων, διαλαμβάνουσιν μὲν οἱ Ἦρωμαίοι τὴν
méχρι Τιβεριάδος πάσαν, ὡς μὴ τις ἀποκλίνειν,
539 συγκλείουσι δ' αὐτούς εἰς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ Οὖνεσπα-
siανὸς ἐπελθὼν ἵστηκε πάντας ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ,
kαὶ γηραιοὺς μὲν ἁμα τοῖς ἀχρήστοις διακοσίους
540 ἐπὶ χιλίοις ὄντας ἁνελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, τῶν δὲ νέων
ἐπιλέξας τοὺς ἱσχυροτάτους ἐξακισχιλίους ἐπем-
ψεν εἰς τὸν ἱσθμὸν Νέρωνι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος
eἰς τρισμυρίους καὶ τετρακοσίους ὄντας πιπράσκειν
541 χωρίς τῶν Ἀγρίππα χαρισθέντων τοὺς γὰρ ἐκ
τῆς τούτου βασιλείας ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῶ ποιεῖν εἰ
ti' βούλοιτο: πιπράσκει δὲ καὶ τούτους ὁ βασιλεὺς.
542 ο μέντοι γε ἂλλος ὥχλος Τραχωνίται καὶ Γαυ-
λανίται καὶ Ἰππηνὸι καὶ ἕκ τῆς Γαδαρίτιδος τὸ
πλέον ὡς2 στασιασταί καὶ φυγάδες καὶ οἱς τὰ
tῆς εἰρήνης3 ὀνείδη τὸν πόλεμον προκεῖναι. ἐάλω-
σαν [δε] Γορπιαίου μηνὸς ὀγδόη.

1 eι τι] ὁ τι VRC.
2 ήσαν Havercamp with one ms.
3 τῆς εἰρήνης] ἐν εἰρήνῃ PAML.

a i.e. of Corinth, to be employed on the work of the canal,
prescribed direction. The Romans, meanwhile, lined the whole road to Tiberias, to prevent any deviation from it, and on their arrival shut them into that town. Vespasian followed in due course and had them all removed to the stadium. He then gave orders for the execution of the old and unserviceable, to the number of twelve hundred; from the youths he selected six thousand of the most robust and sent them to Nero at the isthmus.\(^a\) The rest of the multitude, numbering thirty thousand four hundred, he sold, excepting those of whom he made a present to Agrippa, namely the former subjects of his realm; these Vespasian permitted him to deal with at his discretion, and the king in his turn sold them. The remainder of this mob consisted, for the most part, of people from Trachonitis, Gaulanitis, Hippos, and Gadara, a crowd of seditious individuals and fugitives, to whom their infamous careers in peace-time gave war its attractions. Their capture took place on the eighth of the month Gorpiaeus.\(^b\)

for which Nero himself had recently dug the first sod (Suet. Nero, 19).

\(^a\) 26 September A.D. 67 (Niese’s reckoning).
THE HERODIAN FAMILY

- Herod (Philip) (11) = Herodias (10) = Phaedra (15) = Salome (15)
- Antipas (12) = Olympias (12) = Phileus (11)
- Archelaus (10) = Glyphia (1)
- Malthace (the Samaritan)
- Salome (15)
- Titus (10) = Silvia (10) = Aristobulus (16)
- Drusilla (8) = Azizus (8) = Felix (8)
- Agrippina (8) = Agrippa (8)

- Executed 31 B.C.
- Salome (15)

- mentioned more than once on this page are followed by figures in brackets for cross-reference.
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Gaulanitis, Batanae etc - Kingdom of Agrippa II. Decapolis independent. The rest under Roman Procurators.
CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN PALESTINE (50-70 A.D.)

Been Sheba.
JERUSALEM

Existing walls.

Approximate line of first (old) wall
Supposed line of second wall
Alternative supposed lines of third, Agrippa's wall.

Supposed ancient streets.

Sites of ancient buildings

The lines of the second and third walls are uncertain.
Remains recently (1926) discovered favour the more northerly position for the third wall: the line of the second wall is identified by same with the existing north wall.

English Feet

Hebrew Cubits

Contour lines are drawn at intervals of 100 ft.
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