JOSEPHUS

VI
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## THE JEWISH ANTIQUITIES—

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PREFATORY NOTE

In this volume, with Book XI, we reach the second half of Antiquities which, as Dr. Thackeray stated in the Introduction to Volume IV, was anciently bisected (or divided into pentads) in the mss. The authorities on which the text of Ant. xi.-xx. is based are as follows.

P Codex Palatinus bibl. Vat. nr. 14, cent. ix or x; it contains Ant. xi.-xvii. and Vita.
F Codex Laurentianus plut. 69, cod. 20, cent. xiv; it contains Ant. i.-xv. (cited as L in the first half of Ant.).
L Codex Leidensis F 13, cent. xi or xii; it contains Ant. xi.-xv.
A Codex bibl. Ambrosianae F 128, cent. xi; it contains Ant. xi.-xx. and Vita (with lacunae).
M Codex Medicaeus bibl. Laurentianae plut. 69, cod. 10, cent. xv; it contains Ant. i.-xx. and Vita (the text of Ant. i.-x., dating from cent. xiv, was not used by Niese).
V Codex Vaticanus gr. nr. 147, cent. xiv; it contains Ant. iii.-xv. (originally i.-xv.; there are also lacunae in xiii.-xv.).
W Codex Vaticanus gr. nr. 984, dated 1354 A.D.; it contains Ant. xi.-xx. (also B.J. and an epitome of Ant. i.-x.).
PREFATORY NOTE

E  Epitome (see Introduction to Volume IV).
Lat.  Latin version (see Introduction to Volume IV).
Zon.  Zonaras's Chronicle (see Introduction to Volume IV).
Exc.  Excerpta Peiresciana et Ursiniana (see Introduction to Volume IV).

The Greek mss. may be grouped into two families: one is made up of PFV, the other of AMW; L agrees now with one group, now with the other. As in the case of the mss. of Ant. i.-x., so here the two modern editors, Niese and Naber, differ concerning the relative merits of P and A, the two best representatives of each group, Niese preferring P to A (except where P agrees with AMW against FV), and Naber preferring A to P. But here, as in Ant. i.-x., the Loeb text is based upon a careful and independent study of the ms. evidence, with the result that it does not agree entirely with either Niese's or Naber's. On occasion a reading has been taken from the Latin or the Epitome or the editio princeps; or an emendation has been adopted (my own are very few). It may be noted that Niese has discovered a subdivision in the group AMW; in Ant. xi.-xv. he finds two sub-groups, A^W and A corr. M; in Ant. xvi.-xx. he finds three sub-groups, A^ and MW and A corr.

The present volume completes Josephus's paraphrase of Scripture (in its Greek version), and relates the history of the Jews under the later kings of Israel and Judah, during the exile and under the kings of Persia. The post-biblical sources for the end of the period of Persian rule are briefly dealt with in Appendices B and C. A comprehensive discussion of Josephus's
PREFATORY NOTE

sources for the history of the Jews in the Hellenistic and Roman period will be found in an appendix to the last volume of this series.

In concluding this prefatory note I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Mrs. Thackeray who has generously permitted me to make continued use of her husband’s rough draft of a translation of the later books of Antiquities. In several passages I have adopted a felicitous rendering made by Dr. Thackeray; and while the responsibility for the present translation is mine alone, and its shortcomings chargeable solely to me, I cannot refrain from again acknowledging my debt to Dr. Thackeray’s previous labours on Josephus.

It is a matter of regret to me that the editors of the Loeb Classical Library will not permit me to thank them adequately for their careful and helpful criticism of my manuscript. I make this brief acknowledgement in the hope that it will not be deleted as was a similar one originally appearing in the Preface to Volume V.

RALPH MARCUS

April 15, 1937
ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE EXPLANATORY NOTES AND APPENDICES

ABAW = Abhandlungen der Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Albright = Albright, W. F., various articles in BASOR.


A.V. = Authorized Version of Scripture.

BASOR = Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.

CAH = Cambridge Ancient History.


HUCA = Hebrew Union College Annual.


JBL = Journal of Biblical Literature.

JRS = Journal of Roman Studies.

Luc. = Lucianic recension of Septuagint.

PEF = Palestine Exploration Fund.

Rappaport = Rappaport, S., Agada und Exegese bei Flavius Josephus. 1930.

Reinach = Reinach, T., editor of Œuvres Complètes de Flavius Josèphe.

RB = Revue Biblique.

REJ = Revue des Études Juives.

Weill = Weill, J., translator of Ant. i.-x. in Œuvres Complètes etc., vol. i. 1900, vol. ii., 1926.
LIST OF JOSEPHUS' WORKS
SHOWING THEIR DIVISION INTO VOLUMES
IN THIS EDITION

VOLUME
I. The Life. Against Apion
II. The Jewish War, Books I-III
III. The Jewish War, Books IV-VII
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IX. Jewish Antiquities, Books XVIII-XX
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES
ΙΟΥΔΑΪΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Θ

(i. 1) Ἰωσαφάτῳ δὲ τῷ βασιλεὶ παραγενομένῳ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀπὸ τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς πρὸς Ἀχαβον τὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέα, ἣν Ἀδάδων σύρων βασιλεῖ πολεμοῦντι παρασχὼν ἤσπερ προειρήκαμεν, Ἰσραήλ ὁ προφήτης συντυχὼν ὑτίάτο τῆς πρὸς Ἀχαβον συμμαχίας ἀνθρωπων ἁσβήν καὶ πονηρῶν τὸν γὰρ θεον ἄγιδωσ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ διατεθήναι, ῥύσασθαι μὲντοι καίπερ ἠμαρτηκότα διὰ τὴν ἱδίαν αὐτοῦ φύσιν οὐσαν ἁγαθήν, ἐλεγεν, ἐκ 2 τῶν πολεμῶν, καὶ τότε μὲν ἐπὶ εὐχαριστίας καὶ θυσίας ὁ βασιλεὺς τρέπεται τοῦ θεοῦ· μετά ταῦτα δὲ τὴν χώραν ὁρμήσεις περιερχόμενος ἐν κύκλω πᾶσαν ὡσεὶ αὐτὸς ἐπηρχεὶ τὸν λαὸν ἐκδιδάσκεις τὰ τε νόμιμα τὰ διὰ Μωυσέος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δοθέντα 3 καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν. καὶ δικαστὰς ἀποδείξας ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει τῶν βασιλευομένων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ παρεκελεύσατο μηδενὸς οὕτως ὡς τοῦ δικαίου προνοομένους κρίνειν τοῖς ὀχλοῖς μήτε δῶρων

1 ex Lat. edd.: Ἄδερε, Ἀδδέρει codd. hic et infra.
2 ὑπηρχε MS: ὑπηρχε κύριος RO: ἤρχε ed. pr.

b Ant. viii. 400 ff.
(i. 1) Now when King Josaphat returned to Jerusalem after having made an alliance with Achab, the king of the Israelites, and furnished him help in the war with Adados, the Syrian king, as we have previously related, the prophet Jeus met him and found fault with him for making an alliance with an impious and wicked man like Achab. For, he said, God was displeased at this act but would, nevertheless, despite his having sinned, deliver him from his enemies because of his own good character. And thereupon the king betook himself to giving thanks and offering sacrifices to God. And after this he set out to make a circuit of all the country which he governed, to teach the people thoroughly both the laws given by God through Moses and the piety to be shown Him. And, after appointing judges in each city of the territory ruled by him, he urged them not to take thought for anything so much as for justice in judging the multitude, without regard to gifts or the rank of those

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4 Bibl. “in that thou hast taken away the groves (‘ashéróth) from the land and hast prepared thine heart to seek God.”
5 This sentence is an addition to Scripture.
6 Scripture specifies “from Beer-sheba to mount Ephraim.”
μήτε ἀξιώματος τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ διὰ πλοῦτον ἢ διὰ γένος εἶναι δοκοῦντων, βραβεύων δὲ ἀπασί τὸ ἱσον, ἐπισταμένους ὦτι καὶ τῶν κρύφα πραττομένων
4 ἐκαστὸν ὁ θεὸς βλέπει. τάυτα διδάξας κατὰ πόλιν ἐκάστην τῶν δύο φυλῶν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς 'Ἱερο-
σόλυμα, κατέστησε δὲ καὶ ἐν τούτοις κρυτᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν Λησοντῶν καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ πλῆθους φερομένων, παρανέσας ἐπιμελείς καὶ
5 δικαιὰς ποιεῖσθαι πάσας τὰς κρίσεις· ἂν δὲ περὶ μειζόνων διαφορὰν ἔχοντες τῶν ὁμοφύλων τινὲς ἐκ τῶν ἀλλων πρὸς αὐτοὺς πέμψωσι πόλεων, τούτως δὲ μετὰ πλείωνος σπουδῆς ἀποφαίνεσθαι δικαίως περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων· μάλιστα γὰρ τὰς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει κρίσεις, ἐν ἔτος τε ναὸν ἐνιαὶ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβεβηκε καὶ δίαιταν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦχει, προσήκε
6 σπουδαίας εἶναι καὶ δικαίωτά τας. ἄρχοντας δ' αὐτῶν ἀποδείκνυσιν 'Ἀμασίαν3 τόν ἱερέα καὶ Ζα-
βαδίαν, ἐκ τῆς 'Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἐκατέρους. καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς τοῦτον τὸν πρόπον διέτασσε τὰ πράγματα.
7 (2) Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἐστράτευον ἐπ' αὐτῶν Μωαβίται καὶ 'Ἀμμανίται, συμπαραλαβόντες καὶ Ἀράβων μεγάλην μοῦραν, καὶ καταστρα-
pεδεύονται πρὸς 'Εγγάθη3 πόλει κειμένη πρὸς τῇ 'Ἀσφαλτιτίδι λίμνη τριακοσίων ἀπεχούσῃ σταδίους τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων· γεννᾶται δ' ἐν αὐτῇ φοίνιξ ὁ

1 προσήκει MSP: προσήκειν Lat. (vid.).
2 'Ἀμαρίαν ex lxx conj. Hudson.
3 Niese: 'Ἐπαθαὶ RO: 'Εγγάδι MS: 'Ἰταὶ P: Gaddi Lat.: 'Εγγάδι Naber cum Hudson.

a The reference to the importance of Jerusalem is an un-
scriptural detail.
b Bibl. Amariah ('Ἀmaryāhú), lxx 'Ἀμαρίας.
who were held to be superior by reason of wealth or birth; but to deal equal justice to all in the knowledge that God sees everything that is done even in secret. After giving these instructions in every city of the two tribes, he returned to Jerusalem, in which place also he appointed judges from among the priests and Levites and those holding the chief places among the people, and exhorted them to decide all cases with care and justice; and if any of their fellow-citizens, having differences about matters of great importance, should send to them from other cities, they were to take very great pains to render them a just decision concerning these matters, for it was proper that in the city in which was the temple of God and where the king had his residence, judgment should be given with special care and with the utmost justice. Then as their officers he appointed Amasias, the priest, and Zabadias, both from the tribe of Judah. In this fashion, then, did the king order affairs.

(2) At this same time there marched against him the Moabites and Ammanites, who had taken along a large division of Arabs, and they encamped at Engadē, a city situated on Lake Asphaltis, three hundred stades distant from Jerusalem. In this city

\footnote{Bibl. Zebadiah (Zêbadîahû), LXX Zabdēias.}

\footnote{According to Scripture, only Zebadiah was of the tribe of Judah. Amariah was presumably of the tribe of Levi.}

\footnote{Heb. “(others) of the Ammonites,” LXX ἕκ τῶν Μεναιῶν, Luc. τῶν νιὼν Σηείρ. The following verses in Scripture (cf. vs. 10) show that the Edomites (=Seir in Luc.) are meant. Jewish commentators suggest that the second occurrence of “Ammonites” here is a transposition of “Maonites,” who are mentioned together with Arabs in 2 Chron. xxvi. 7.}

\footnote{Emended text; bibl. En-gedi, cf. Ant. vi. 282 note.}
JOSEPHUS

8 κάλλιστος καὶ ὀποβάλλαμον. ἀκούσας δ' Ἰωσά-
φατος ὅτι τὴν λίμνην διαβάντες οἱ πολέμωι ἐμ-
βεβλήκασιν ἢδη εἰς τὴν βασιλευομένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
χώραν, δείσας εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συνάγει τὸν δήμον τῶν
Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν, καὶ στὰς κατὰ
πρόσωπον τοῦ ναοῦ ἤξυκτο καὶ ἐπεκαλεῖτο τὸν
θεὸν παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ δύναμιν καὶ ἰσχύν, ὡστε
9 τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς ἐπιστατεύσαντας· καὶ γὰρ
τοῦτο δεηθήμεν τοὺς τὸ ἱερὸν κατασκευασμένους
αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ὑπερμάχηται τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης καὶ
toὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸ τολμήσαντας ἐλθεῖν ἁμῖνθαι, οἱ τὴν
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δοθεῖσαν γῆν εἰς κατοίκησιν ἀφελέσθαι
πάρεισιν αὐτοῦ. ταῦτ' εὐχόμενος ἐδάκρυε καὶ
σύμπαν δὲ τὸ πλήθος γυναιξὶν ἁμά καὶ τέκνοις
10 ἰκέτευεν. Ἰαζήλος de τις προφήτης παρελθὼν εἰς
μέσην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀνεβόση, τῷ τε πλῆθει λέγων
καὶ τῷ βασιλεί, τὸν θεὸν ἐπακούσαι τῶν εὐχῶν, καὶ
πολεμήσειν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπαγγέλλονται. 
προσέταξε δὲ τῇ ἐπιουσίᾳ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐξελάσαντα
11 τοῖς πολέμιοις ὑπαντῶν· εὐρήσεις γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ
tῆς μεταξὺ Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ Ἑγγάδης ἀναβάσεως
λεγομένης δ' Ἐξοχῆς3 καὶ μὴ συμβαλεῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς.
στάντας δὲ μόνον ὀρᾶν πῶς αὐτοῖς μάχεται τὸ θεῖον.

1 κατάσχεσαι MSP.
2 ἰκέτευεν. Ἰαζήλος ed. pr.: ἰκέτευν Ἰαζήλος MSPE:
ἰκέτευν πόν θεον ἢν ὑπερμάχησιν αὐτοὺς Ζηῖλος ῬΩ: suplicabant.
quo facto quidam Iazel Lat.
3 λεγομένης δ' Ἐξοχῆς cod. Vat. ap. Hudson: λεγομένη δ' Ἐξοχῆ codd.

a The note about the trees is an addition to Scripture; cf.
Ant. viii. 174 note b.
b Josephus omits the proclamation of a fast (vs. 3).
c Variant "possession."
d Unscriptural detail, perhaps based on the phrase (vs. 12)
are grown the finest palm-trees and opobalsamum." Now when Josaphat heard that the enemy had crossed the lake and had already invaded the country ruled by him, he was afraid and called together the people of Jerusalem to meet in the temple, and standing before the sanctuary he began to pray and call upon God to grant him power and strength to punish those who had marched against him; for, he said, this had been the prayer of those who had built His temple, that He should protect this city and should repel those who dared to come against the temple and were now there to take away from them the land He had given them for a habitation. Having made this prayer, he began to weep, and the entire multitude, together with their wives and children, made supplication. But a certain prophet, Jahaziel, came into the midst of the assembly and, addressing both the people and the king, cried out that God had hearkened to their prayers and promised that He would fight against their foes. The prophet also instructed him to lead out his army on the morrow to meet the enemy, saying that he would find them on the ascent between Jerusalem and Engadè, called Prominence (Exochê); they were not, he added, to engage the enemy, but only to stand still and see how the Deity would fight "our eyes are upon thee," as if it meant "we implore Thee with tears."

* Bibl. Jahaziel (Yahazi‘el), i.xx Ὀξείη, Luc. Ἰεώη. Scripture adds that he was a Levite.

† Bibl. "they shall come up by the ascent (A.V. "cliff") of Ziz (Siš, Lxx Ἀσὰ, v.l. Ἀσαίς) and you shall find them at the end of the brook before the wilderness of Jeruel." Josephus's ἐξοχῆ is apparently derived from Luc.'s rendering of "ascent."

‡ So Heb. and Luc. (ἀντίπε); Lxx has σύνετε "look on."

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IX. 8-11
JOSEPHUS

tοῦ δὲ προφήτου ταῦτ’ εἰπόντος ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς καὶ
tὸ πλῆθος πεσόντες ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἡγχαρίστων τε
tῷ θεῷ καὶ προσεκώνουν, οἶ δὲ Λησυται τοὺς
dρόγανοις διετέλουν ὑμνοῦντες.

12 (3) Ἄμα δ’ ἧμέρα προελθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν
ἐρημον τὴν ὑποκάτω Θεκώας πόλεως ἐλεγε πρὸς
tὸ πλῆθος ὡς δεὶ πιστεύειν τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου
eἰρημένοις καὶ μὴ παρατάσσεσθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς εἰς
μάχην, προστησάμενοι δὲ τοὺς ἑρεῖς μετὰ τῶν
sαλπίγγων καὶ Λησυτας μετὰ τῶν ὑμνοῦστων ἑνχαριστεῖν ὡς ἤδη ῥυσαμένῳ τὴν χώραν ἰμῶν

13 παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων. ἤρες δὲ τὴν βασιλέως
gνώμην, καὶ ἀπερ συνεβούλευσε ταῦτ’ ἐπραττόν.
ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἰς φόβον ἐνέβαλε καὶ παραχὴν τοῦς
Αμμανίτας; οἱ δὲ δόξαντες ἀλλήλους πολεμίους ἀπέκτεινον, ὡς ἐκ τῆς τοσαύτης στρατιᾶς ἀνα-

14 σωθήναι μηδένα. Ἰωσάφατος δὲ ἀποβλέψας εἰς
tὴν φάραγγα, ἐν ἧ συνεβαίνει ἑστρατοπεδεύκειν τοὺς
πολεμίους, καὶ πλήρη νεκρῶν ἱδών, ἦσθη μὲν ἐπὶ
tῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας, ὅτι μηδὲ
pονήσασιν αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς δι’ αὐτοῦ τὴν νῖκην ἐδωκεν,
ἐπέτρεψε δὲ τῇ στρατιᾷ διαρτάσαι τὴν παρεμβολὴν

15 τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ σκυλεύσαι τοὺς νεκροὺς. καὶ οἱ
μὲν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἧμερας σκυλεύοντες ἐκαμον ἑσοῦντον
ἡν τὸ τῶν ἀνηρχμένων πλῆθος. τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ

1 Λησυτας μετὰ τῶν ὑμνοῦστων] Λησυτῶν ῬΟ.

8 Bibl. “with a loud voice (or “sound”) on high.”
against them. When the prophet had said these things, the king and the multitude, falling upon their faces, gave thanks to God and did obeisance to Him, while the Levites continued praising God with their instruments.\(^a\)

(3) As soon as it was day the king went out into the wilderness below the city of Tekoa\(^b\) and told the people that they must have faith in what the prophet had said, and not draw themselves up for battle, but place at their head the priests with their trumpets and the Levites with the singers, and give thanks to God as if He had already delivered our country from the enemy. The king’s plan met with their approval, and they did just as he had counselled them. Then God sent fear and confusion into the midst of the Ammonites, and they, mistaking one another for the enemy, killed (their own men), so that out of so great an army not one escaped alive. And when Josaphat looked out over the valley in which the enemy had encamped and saw it full of corpses, he rejoiced at the wonderful way in which God had helped (his side) and that, with no effort on their part, He had by Himself given them the victory; then he gave his army leave to plunder the camp of the enemy and strip the dead bodies. And so for three days they stripped them until they were weary, so great was the number of the slain. But on the fourth day all the people were gathered in a certain hollow place like a valley, and blessed the power of God and His assistance, from which circumstance the place received the name of “Valley of Blessing.”\(^c\)

\(^a\) Josephus uses the same word as the LXX to render Heb. brakah “blessing.”

\(^b\) Bibl. Tekoah (\(T\)eq\(\dot{a}\)a), LXX \(\Theta\)ek\(\dot{a}\)e: cf. Ant. viii. 246.

\(^c\) As soon as it was day the king went out into the wilderness below the city of Tekoa and told the people that they must have faith in what the prophet had said, and not draw themselves up for battle, but place at their head the priests with their trumpets and the Levites with the singers, and give thanks to God as if He had already delivered our country from the enemy. The king’s plan met with their approval, and they did just as he had counselled them. Then God sent fear and confusion into the midst of the Ammonites, and they, mistaking one another for the enemy, killed (their own men), so that out of so great an army not one escaped alive. And when Josaphat looked out over the valley in which the enemy had encamped and saw it full of corpses, he rejoiced at the wonderful way in which God had helped (his side) and that, with no effort on their part, He had by Himself given them the victory; then he gave his army leave to plunder the camp of the enemy and strip the dead bodies. And so for three days they stripped them until they were weary, so great was the number of the slain. But on the fourth day all the people were gathered in a certain hollow place like a valley, and blessed the power of God and His assistance, from which circumstance the place received the name of “Valley of Blessing.”
16 (4) Ἐκείθεν δὲ ἀναγαγών τὴν στρατιὰν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τρέπεται πρὸς εὔωχίας καὶ θυσίας ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας. μετὰ μὲντοι γε τὴν τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοῦ διαφθορὰν ἀκουσθεῖσαν τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις ἔθνεσι πάντες οὕτωι κατεπλάγγεσαν αὐτὸν, ὡς φανερῶς αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν συμμαχοῦντος. καὶ Ἰωσάφατος μὲν ἐκτοτε μετὰ λαμπρὰς δόξης ἐπὶ τε δικαιοσύνη καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸ 17 θεῖον εὐσεβεία διηγεῖν. ἦν δὲ φίλος καὶ τῷ τοῦ Ἀχάβου παιδί βασιλεύνοντι τῶν Ἰσραήλιτῶν, πρὸς ὑπὸ κοινωνίας ἐπὶ κατακεκυκλοφοροῦν ἐἰς τῆς Πόντου πλεονεκρῶ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης ἐμπόρια διήμαρτε τοῦ κτήματος ὑπὸ γὰρ μεγέθους ἀπώλετο τὰ σκάφη καὶ διὰ τούτο οὐκέτι περὶ ναὸς ἐφιλοτυμήσατο. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν Ἱεροσόλυμων βασιλείας Ἰωσάφατον οὕτως εἶχεν.

18 (ii. 1) Ὁ δὲ Ἀχάβου παῖς Ὁχοζίας ἐβασίλευε τῶν Ἰσραήλιτῶν, ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ ποιούμενος τὴν διαμαντῆς, πονηρός ὡν καὶ πάντα ὅμοιος τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἀμφοτέρους καὶ Ἰεροβοάμῳ τῶν πρῶτων παρανομής 19 σαντι καὶ τὸν λαὸν ἀπατάν ἀρξαμένῳ. τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν ἐτὸς ἦδη δεύτερον ἠχοντος ὅ ὑτῶν Μωαβίτων ἀφίσταται βασιλεὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς φόρους, οὓς ἐμπροσθεν ἐτέλει τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀχάβῳ, χρησάντων ἐπαύσατο. συνέβη δὲ τῶν Ὁχοζίαν κατα-

1 Niese: τηών codd.

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^a Ahaziah, see below, § 18.
^b 2 Chron. “to make ships to go to Tarshish, and they made the ships in Ezion-geber”; 1 Kings xxii. 48 “Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold, but they went not, for they were wrecked at Ezion-geber.” Possibly Josephus connects (or confuses) Tarshish with bibl. Tiras (Gen. x. 2), which in Ant. 1. 127 is identified with
(4) From there the king led his army back to Jerusalem, where he gave himself up to feasting and offering sacrifice for many days. Moreover, when the news of his destruction of the enemy came to the ears of the foreign nations, they were struck with terror of him, as though it were clear that God would henceforth fight on his side. And so from that time on Josaphat enjoyed splendid fame because of his righteousness and his piety toward the Deity. And he was also friendly with Achab’s son, who ruled over the Israelites, and joined with him in building ships to sail to Pontus and the trading-stations of Thrace, but he suffered the loss of his property, for the vessels were destroyed because of their great size; and for this reason he was no longer keen about ships. Such, then, was the state of affairs under Josaphat, the king of Jerusalem.

(ii. 1) Now Achab’s son Ochozias reigned over the Israelites, having his residence in Samaria; he was a wicked man and in all respects like both his parents and like Jeroboam, who was the first to transgress the laws and who began the leading astray of the people. But after he had been reigning for two years, the king of the Moabites revolted from him and ceased to pay the tribute which he had formerly been paying to his father Achab. Now it happened

Thrace, while in the same passage Tarshish is identified with Tarsus in Cilicia, as also in Ant. ix. 208.

According to Scripture (2 Chron.), Jehoshaphat’s ships were wrecked by God as a punishment for his alliance with Ahaziah.


Scripture does not indicate in what year of Ahaziah’s reign (which lasted only two years) the Moabites revolted. It dates the revolt “after the death of Ahab,” presumably at the beginning of Ahaziah’s reign.
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βαίνοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους τῆς οἰκίας κατενεχθήναι καὶ νοσήσαντα πέμψαι πρὸς τὸν Ἀκκάρων θεὸν Μυίαν, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῷ θεῷ, πυνθάνεσθαι 20 περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας. φανεῖς δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἑβραίων θεοῦ Ἡλία τῷ προφήτῃ προσέταξεν αὐτῷ τοῖς πεμφθείσιν ἀγγέλοις ὑπαντήσαντι πυνθάνεσθαι αὐτῶν εἰ θεὸν ὁ Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸς ὤδιον οὐκ ἔχει, ὅτι πέμπει πρὸς τὸν ἄλλοτρον ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας έρημομένους, κελεῦσαι τε αὐτοὺς ὑποστρέψαι καὶ φράσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ ὦτι μὴ δια- 21 φεύγεται τὴν νόσον. τοῦ δὲ Ἡλία ποιήσαντος ὁ προσέταξεν ὁ θεός, ἀκοῦσάντες οἱ ἀγγέλοι τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ παραχρῆμα ὑπέστρεψαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. θαυμάζοντος δὲ τὸ τάχος τῆς ἐπανόδου καὶ τῆν αὐτίαν ἐπερωτήσαντος ἐφασαν ἀπαντήσαι τινα αὐτοῖς ἁνθρωπον καὶ κωλύσαι μὲν προσωτέρω χωρεῖν, "ἀναστρέψαντας δὲ σοι λέγειν ἐξ ἐντολῆς τοῦ Ἰσραηλιτῶν θεοῦ, ὦτι κάκιον ἔξει ἡ νόσος." 22 τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως σημαίνειν αὐτῷ τὸν ταύτ᾽ εἰρηκότα κελεύσαντος, ἁνθρωπὸν ἔλεγον δασὺν καὶ ζώνην περιελημμένον δερματίνην. συνειδὸς δὲ ἐκ τούτων Ἡλίαν εἶναι τὸν σημαίνόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων πέμψας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ταξιάρχον καὶ πεντήκοντα 23 ὀπλίτας ἀχθηναί αὐτόν ἐκέλευσεν. εὐρών δὲ τὸν Ἡλίαν ὁ πεμφθεῖς ταξιάρχος ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ

1 Μ Lat.: τὴν rell. 2 Μ Lat.: τῆ rell. 3 πρὸς ROE. 4 πρὸς αὐτὸν (αὐτὸν F²) MSP.

α Josephus uses the same word as the 1xx to render the latter part of the Heb. Baal-Zebub, traditionally supposed to mean "Fly-God.”
that Ochozias, while descending from the roof of his house, fell down, and, becoming ill, sent to the Fly-God (Muia) — this was the god’s name — to inquire about his chances of recovery. But the God of the Hebrews appeared to the prophet Elijah and bade him go to meet the messengers sent (by the king) and inquire of them whether the people of Israel did not have their own God, that their king sent to this foreign god to ask about his chances of recovery; and to command them to return and tell the king that he would not recover from his illness. So Elijah did as God had ordered, and, when the messengers heard his words, they at once returned to the king. And he wondered at the speediness of their return, and, when he inquired the reason, they told him that a certain man had met them and prevented them from going farther, bidding them “return and tell you by the command of the God of Israel that your illness will grow worse.” Then, when the king bade them describe to him the man who had said this, they told him it was a hairy man girt with a girdle of leather. From these words the king understood that the man described by the messengers was Elijah, and sent an officer after him with fifty soldiers, ordering that he be brought to him. And, when the officer who had been sent found Elijah sitting on the top of a hill, he ordered him to


b According to Scripture, it was an angel of the Lord who spoke to Elijah. Josephus generally avoids mentioning angels as intermediaries between God and the prophets; cf. A. Schlatter, “Die Theologie des Judentums nach dem Bericht des Josefus” (Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie, 2. Reihe, 26 Band), 1932, pp. 55 ff.

c Bibl. “thou shalt surely die.”
όρους καθεξόμενουν, καταβάντα ἢκειν ἐκέλευε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα: κελεύεις γὰρ τούτων ἢκειν; εἰ δὲ μὴ θελήσεις, ἀκοντα βιάσεσθαι. 1 ο δὲ εἰπὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πείρα τοῦ προφήτης ἄληθῆς ὑπάρχειν εὐξεσθαι 2 πῦρ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ πεσὼν ἀπολέσαι τοὺς τε στρατιῶτας καὶ αὐτὸν, εὐχέται, καὶ προστήρ κατενεκθεῖς διαφθείρει τὸν τε ταξιάρχον καὶ τοὺς σὺν 24 αὐτῶ. τῆς δὲ ἀπωλείας τῆς τούτων ἀναλυθείσης τῶν βασιλεί τοις παροξυνθεῖς ἄλλον πέμπει ταξιάρχον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡλίαν σὺν ὅπλαίς τοῖς ὅσοις καὶ τὸν πρότερον συναπέστηκεν. ἀπειλήσαντος δὲ καὶ τούτου τῷ προφήτῃ βίᾳ λαβόντα ἢζεν αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ κατέλθοι θεῦλομενος, εὐξαμένου κατ' αὐτοῦ 3 πῦρ διεχρήσατο καθὼς καὶ τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ταξιάρχον.

25 πυθανόμενος δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς τρίτον ἢπείμψεν. δὲ δὲ φρόνιμος ἦν καὶ λίαν ἐπιεικῆς τῷ ἢθος, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον οὗ συνεβαίνει ἐναι τὸν Ἡλίαν, φιλοφρόνως προσεῖπεν αὐτῶν· γνώσκειν δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι μὴ θεῦλομενος βασιλικῷ δὲ διακονῶν προστάγματι παρείπρος αὐτῶν, καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντες οὐχ ἐκόντες ἑλάκατα τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἢθον· ἔλεγεν τοιγαροῦν αὐτὸν ἢζίου τοὺς τε σὺν αὐτῶ παρόντας ὅπλαίς, καὶ καταβάντα ἐπέσθαι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.

26 ἀποδεξάμενος δὲ τὴν δεξιότητα τῶν λόγων καὶ τὸ ἀστείον τοῦ ἢθος ὁ Ἡλίας καταβὰς ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῶ. παραγενόμενος δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα προεφή-

1 Dindorf: βιάσασθαι codd. E.
2 Dindorf: εὐξασθαί codd. E.
3 κατ' αὐτοῦ] καὶ τούτων E.
4 δὲ add. Boysen.

a These threats of the king’s officers are unscriptural details.
come down and go to the king, saying that he had so ordered, and, if he refused, he would force him to go against his will. But Elijah said to him that to prove whether he was a true prophet he would pray for fire to fall from heaven and destroy both his soldiers and himself; and, when he prayed, a whirlwind of fire came down and consumed both the officer and those with him. When the destruction of these men was reported to the king, he became very angry and sent against Elijah another officer with the same number of soldiers as he had sent with the first one. And when this one also threatened the prophet that he would seize him by force and take him away if he did not come down willingly, Elijah prayed against him, and a fire destroyed him as it had the officer before him. When the king learned also of this man’s fate, he sent out a third, but he, being a prudent man and of a very mild disposition, when he came to the place where Elijah was, addressed him in a friendly way; he said that Elijah knew that it was not of his own will but in obedience to the king’s command that he had come to him, and that those who had been sent before him had come not willingly but for this same reason. He begged him, therefore, to have pity on him and on the soldiers who were with him, and to come down and accompany him to the king. So Elijah, approving of his words and the courtesy of his manner, came down and followed him; and, when he came before the king,

This characterization is an addition to Scripture.

The officer’s explanation of his predecessors’ motives is unscriptural.

Josephus omits the scriptural reference to the angel of the Lord who instructed Elijah to accompany the officer; cf. note on § 20 above.
JOSEPHUS

teusen autô kai toû theôn edhîlon lêgein: "êpeidhê katêgnwos men autôôi Ïs oûk Ïntos theôn kai peri têis nósoû ou têlithês proeiteîn dunaménon, prôs de toû 'Akkarwnitôn êpempes, par' autôôi pûnëanômevos potapôn êstai soi têis nósoû têlos, gínwskê òti teuthîhêi."

27 (2) Kai Ï mnê olîgou sôôdra chrônou dielthîontos, kathôs proeîpen 'Hllias, àpêthane, diadochetai Ï autôôi tîn bâsilieían Ï adelphos 'Iôramos: Ïpâis gar katêstrêfe toû bîon. Ï de 'Îrâmos Ïntos îwî patri 'Akhâbî tîn pònhria paraplhîsios genvômenoîs êbasileuwen êttê dôdeka, pâsun paranoimia xrhêsâmênos kai âsebeia prôs ton theôn. pâreis gar toûton òrëskëuein, tous ëxunikous ësebetê. Ïn de tâllâ drafsthrîos. kat' ëkeînon de toû kairop 'Hllias ex anthetaîpwn Ïfanisîthê, kai oudeis ëgnw mécxri têis sêmêren autôôi tîn têleutînh. madhtênh de 'Elûsaoiôn katêlithein, wôs kai prôteron ëdhlwasmên. peri méntoi ge 'Hllia kai 'Ênûchou toû genvomênou prô têis êpombrías en taîs ieraiês ãanagýrrapta biblois òti ëgynwâsou afaneis, thánaton d' autôi oudeis oidein.

28 tâllâ drafsthrîos. kat' ëkeînon de toû kairop 'Hllias ex anthetaîpwn Ïfanisîthê, kai oudeis ëgnw mécxri têis sêmêren autôôi tîn têleutînh. madhtênh de 'Elûsaoiôn katêlithein, wôs kai prôteron ëdhlwasmên. peri méntoi ge 'Hllia kai 'Ênûchou toû genvomênou prô têis êpombrías en taîs ieraiês ãanagýrrapta biblois òti ëgynwâsou afaneis, thánaton d' autôi oudeis oidein.

29 (iii. 1) Paralabôn de tîn bâsilieían 'Iôramos êpî tôîn Mwabiotôn ëgnô strataneîn bâsilêa Meisâv. Ïnamoî toû gar adelphôi autôôi, kathôs proeîpamein, êtuxen àpostastês, fôrous têlôn 'Akhâbî tê patri autôi múriâdas eîkosi probatôn sun toîs

1 E: podatôn codd.
2 Mwâv MSP: Misa Lat.

Gr. Jôramos; bibl. Jehoram (Y'ôrâm), lxx 'Îôrâm. In Scripture the name is sometimes found in the contracted form Joram.

b Scripture, however, says that he "wrought evil... but
he prophesied to him and revealed that God had said, "Because you have scorned me as though I were not God and were not able to foretell the truth concerning your illness, but have sent to the god of Akkarôn to inquire of him what the end of this illness will be, know that you shall die."

(2) A very short time thereafter, as Elijah had foretold, the king died and was succeeded in the kingdom by his brother Joram, for he had died childless. Now this Joram, who was very like his father Achab in wickedness, reigned twelve years, showing every form of lawlessness and impiety toward God, for he neglected His service and worshipped strange gods; he was also a man of bold action in other respects. Now about that time Elijah disappeared from among men, and to this day no one knows his end. He left behind him a disciple Elisha, as we have already related. However, concerning Elijah and Enoch, who lived before the Flood, it is written in the sacred books that they became invisible, and no one knows of their death.

(iii. 1) When Joram took over the throne, he decided to march against the Moabite king named Meisa, for, as we have said before, he had revolted from Joram's brother after paying tribute to his father Achab amounting to two hundred thousand not like his father and mother, for he removed the image of Baal that his father had made."

Josephus, in accordance with his rationalizing tendency, passes over the miraculous ascension of Elijah, 2 Kings ii. 1 ff. Ant. viii. 352 ff. Cf. Ant. i. 79 (Gen. v. 24).

Bibl. Mesha (Mēša'), lxx Mōσā. The biblical account of Mesha has been supplemented by the famous Moabite Stone, discovered in 1868, which is written in a language almost identical with biblical Hebrew.

§ 19.
30 πόκοις. συναθροίσας οὐν τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἐπεμψε1 πρὸς Ἰωσάφατον παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπήρχεν αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρί, συμμαχῆσαι πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοὺς Μωαβίτας ἐκφέρεω μέλλοντι ἀποστάντας αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας. ὃ δ' οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς βοηθήσειν ὑπέσχετο, ἄλλα καὶ τὸν Ἰδουμαίων βασιλέα συναναγκάσειν ὄντα γι' ἑαυτὸν
31 συντρατεύσασθαι. Ἰώραμος δὲ τοιούτων αὐτῶν τῶν παρὰ Ἰωσάφατον περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας κοιμοθέτων ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατιάν ἦκεν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα, καὶ ἑενυθεῖς λαμπρῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων, δοξάν αὐτοῖς διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου τῆς Ἰδουμαίας πονησάθηκε τὴν πορείαν2 ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐ γὰρ προσδοκήσειν αὐτοὺς ταύτην πονησάθαι3 τὴν ἑφοδόν, ὁρμησάν τις τρεῖς βασιλεῖς ἐκ τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων, ὃ τε τούτων αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ τῶν
32 Ἰσραηλίτων4 καὶ ὃ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, καὶ κυκλέωντας5 ἐπτὰ ἡμερῶν οἰς ἀποριάν ὑδατος τοῖς τε κτήνεσι καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ περιεστῆσαν πλανηθέντων τὰς ὅδους αὐτοῖς τῶν ἡγουμένων, ὡς ἀγωγιὰν μὲν ἂπαντας, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Ἰώραμον καὶ ὑπὸ λύπης ἐκβοήσαι πρὸς τὸν θεόν, τί κακὸν αἰτιασάμενος ἁγάγοι τοὺς τρεῖς βασιλεῖς ἀμαχητὶ
33 παραδοσῶν αὐτοὺς6 τῷ Μωαβιτῶν βασιλεί]; παρεθάρρυνε δ' αὐτὸν ὃ Ἰωσάφατος δίκαιος ὄν καὶ πέμψαντα εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκέλευσε γνώναι εἰ

1 + καὶ MSPE Lat.
2 ὀδοιπορίαν MSP.
3 ταύτην πονησάθαι Niese: ταύτην πονησάθαι codd.
4 τῶν Ἰσρ.] τῆς Σαμαρείας MSP.
5 κυκλώσαντες MSP.
6 παραδώσων αὐτοὺς ex cod. Vat. Hudson: παραδώσων ἑαυτοὺς (αὐτοὺς Μ) ROM: παραδώσων αὐτούς S: παραδώσων αὐτοὺς P.
sheep with their wool. And so, collecting his own force, he sent to Josaphat, asking him, since he had from the first been his father's friend, to be his ally in the war which he was about to wage on the Moabites who had revolted from his rule. Then Josaphat not only promised himself to assist him but also to compel the Idumaean king, who was under his authority, to join in the campaign. And Joram, after receiving such assurances of assistance from Josaphat, took his army and came to Jerusalem and was splendidly entertained by the king of Jerusalem; it was then decided by them to make their advance upon the enemy through the wilderness of Idumaea, for these would not expect them to attack by this road. So the three kings set out from Jerusalem, namely the king of that city, the king of the Israelites and the king of Idumaea. And, after taking a circuitous route for seven days, they found themselves without sufficient water for their beasts and soldiers, because their guides had lost the way; and so they were all in torment, Joram most of all, and in his distress he cried out to God, asking what bad deed He charged them with that He had led out the three kings to deliver them without a fight into the hands of the Moabite king. But Josaphat, who was a righteous man, comforted him and told him to send to the camp

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*a* Bibl. 100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams.

*b* The reference to the compulsion of the Edomite king is an addition to Scripture which says merely that Jehoshaphat advised Jehoram to go through Edom and that the Edomite king accompanied them on the campaign. See also below, § 97 note.

*c* Scripture does not mention the reception of Jehoram at Jerusalem.

*d* The detail about the guides is unscriptural.
JOSEPHUS

tis autou tov theou prophfti tis suneleluthen, 'iva di' autou madoimene para tov theou, ti poihten estin hmiw.' oiketou de tinos twn 'Iowramou fhsantos idein autbhi tov 'Hlia mabhthn 'Elyssonaiou Saphaton paida, pros auton apiasin ois treis
34 basileis 'Iwshelfato paraneesantos elhontes de' epi twn skhnhn tov prophfton (etuche de' exw tis parembolhs katekinkwn) epierotwn to mello en epi tis stratias, malista de' o 'Iwramos. tov de' mi diouchlein autw fahaontos alla pros tous tov patros autou kai tis mepros badiwen prophasis, eina gar ekineous altheis, edeito propheteun kai
35 souzen autous. de de omposas ton theon ouk an apokrithenai autw eli mi dhlia 'Iwshelfato osion onta kai dikaiou, akhventos anbropou tinos phallwn eidoos (epexehtise gar autos) pros ton psalmw2 evtheos genvmenon prossetaxe tois basileusin en
36 tw chermarrw pollois oruzai borthous. "ou te gar nefous oute pneumatos genvmenou oute uteto katarragentos ofesethi' plhri twn potamwn idatou, ws an kai twn stratwn kai ta upoqynia diasswthi neiwn apw twn potou. estai de' ymiw ou touto monon para theou, alla kai krateiaste twn ethrwn kai kalistes kai ethwstata pollies lyesethi twv Mwabtwvn, kai dendra men autwn ymtera kofete, twn de chwrw dhamwste, phegas de kai potamous emphaxeite.'
37 (2) Tausta elpontos tov prophfton tis epioush

1 dienouchlein SP. 2 phallonta MSPE. Lat. fort. recte. 3 ofesethai RSPE.
to find out whether any prophet of God had come along with them, "in order that through him we may learn from God what we must do." And, when one of Joram's servants said that he had seen there Elijah's disciple Elisha, the son of Saphatēs, the three kings, at Josaphat's urging went to him. When they came to the prophet's tent—he had, as it happened, pitched his tent outside the camp—a—they inquired what would befall the army, Joram in particular asking this. And, when he told him not to trouble him but to go to the prophets of his father and mother, for they, he said, were true prophets, the king begged him to prophesy and save them. Then he swore before God that he would not answer him if it were not for the sake of Josaphat who was a holy and righteous man, and, when there had been brought to him a man who could play the harp—the prophet himself had asked for him—he became divinely inspired at the playing of the harp and ordered the kings to dig many pits in the bed of the stream. "For," he said, "though there will be neither cloud nor wind nor downpour of rain, you shall see the stream full of water, so that both your army and your beasts of burden will be saved by drinking. Nor will this be the only thing you shall receive from God, but you shall also conquer your enemies and take the fairest and strongest cities of the Moabites, cut down their fruit-bearing trees, lay waste their country and stop up their springs and rivers."

(2) So spoke the prophet, and, on the following day

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a Unscriptural detail.

b Josephus uses the same word as the lxx to render Heb. nahal (A.V. "valley"); cf. Ant. vi. 135 note.
priν ἥλιον ἀνασχεῖν ὁ χειμάρρους πολὺς ἐρρύῃ, σφοδρῶς γὰρ ἀπὸ τριῶν ἁμερῶν ὀδοὺ ἐν τῇ Ἰδου-μαίᾳ τὸν θεὸν ὑσαι συνέπεσεν, ὡστε εὐρεῖν τὴν 38 στρατιὰν καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια ποτὸν ἄφθονον. ὃς δ’ ἦκουσαν οἱ Μωαβῖται τοὺς τρεῖς βασιλείας ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς βαδίζοντας καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου ποιομένους τὴν ἐφοδον, ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν εὐθὺς συλλέξας στρατιῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρων1 βάλλοντι τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἵνα αὐτοὺς μὴ λάθωσιν εἰς τὴν χώραν 39 ἐμβαλόντες οἱ πολέμιοι. θεωσάμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀνατολὴν τοῦ ἥλιου τὸ ἐν τῷ χειμάρρῳ ὕδωρ, καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ μακρὰν ἦν τῆς Μωαβίτιδος, αἱματὶ τὴν χροὶν ομοίων, τότε γὰρ μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν αὐγήν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐρυθραίνεται, ψευδὴ δόξαν περὶ τῶν πολε-μίων ἐλάμβανον ὡς ἀπεκτονότων2 εαυτοὺς διὰ δίφος 40 καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ αἰμα αὐτοῖς Ρέοντος. τοῦτο τῶν ὀυτοὺς ἑχειν ὑπολαβόντες ἤξιόσως αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ διαρπαγή τῶν πολεμίων ἐκπέμψας τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ πάντες ἐξορμήσαντες ὡς ἐπὶ ἑτοίμην ὠφέλειν ἤλθον εἰς τὸ τῶν ἑχθρῶν στρατόπεδον ὡς ἀπολω-λότων. καὶ διαψευδεῖται μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡ ἑπίς αὐτή, περιστάντων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν κατ- εκόπησαν οἱ δὲ διεσπάρθησαν εἰς τὴν ἱδαν χώραν 41 φεύγοντες. ἐμβαλόντες δὲ εἰς τὴν Μωαβιτῶν οἱ βασιλεῖς τὰς τε πόλεις κατεστρέφαντο3 τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τοὺς ἄγρους αὐτῶν διήρπασαν καὶ ἥφανσαν πληροῦντες τῶν ἐκ τῶν χειμάρρων λίθων καὶ τὰ

1 Niese: ὄρων codd.
2 ἀπεκτονηκότων MSP fort. recte.
3 κατεσκάψαντο M.

"Bibl. " in the morning when the minḥah (A.V. "meat offering") was offered."
before the sun rose, the stream flowed with much water, for it came about that in this region of Idumaea, which was three days’ journey away, God had sent a heavy rain, so that the army and the beasts of burden found an abundance of water to drink. But, when the Moabites heard that the three kings were marching against them and making their advance through the wilderness, their king at once collected an army and ordered them to pitch camp on the frontier in order that the enemy might not invade their country unperceived. But, when at sunrise they saw that the water in the stream, which was not, indeed, far from Moabite territory, was the colour of blood—for just at this time the water looks especially red in the rays of the sun—they received a false impression concerning the enemy, supposing that they had slain one another because of thirst, and that the river was running with their blood. And so, imagining this to be the case, they asked their king to send them out to plunder the enemy, and, all rushing out as if upon booty that waited to be seized, they came to the camp of the supposedly dead enemies. And then their hopes proved false, for the enemy surrounded them, and some of them were cut down, while others were dispersed and fled to their own country. But the kings invaded the Moabites’ land, demolished the cities in it, ravaged their fields and covered them over by filling them with stones from the streams.

The last part of the sentence (“for it came about,” etc.) is an addition to Scripture. Rabbinic tradition gives a similar explanation of the filling of the pits.

Text amended in agreement with Scripture; mss. “mountains.”

Scripture does not specify where the stones were obtained.
JOSEPHUS

κάλλιστα τῶν δένδρων ἐκοψαν ¹ καὶ τὰς πηγὰς ἐνέφραξαν τῶν υδάτων καὶ τὰ τείχη καθείλον ἐως 42 ἐδάφους. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῶν Μωαβίτων συνδικό-μενος τῇ πολιορκίᾳ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅρων κυνυ- νεύουσαν ἀρεβήναι κατὰ κράτος, ὠρμησε μεθ’ ἐπτακοσίων ἐξελθὼν διὰ τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἐξ- ὑπάσασθαι στρατοπέδου, καθ’ ὁ μέρος αὐτοῦς ἐνόμιζεν τὰς φυλακὰς ἀνείσθαι. καὶ πειραθεὶς οὐκ ἦδυνήθη φυγεῖν: ἐπιτυχώχνει γὰρ ἐπιμελῆς φρου- 43 ρουμένω τῷ τόπῳ. ὑποστρέφας δ’ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔργον ἀπογινώσκεις καὶ δεινὴς ἀνάγκης διεπράξατο τῶν νεῶν τῶν πρεσβύτατον, ὁς μετ’ αὐτὸν βασι- λεύειν ἤμελλεν, ἀναγαγὼν ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος ὡστε ἀπασι φανερὸν γενέσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἱεροῦργησεν εἰς ὀλοκαῦτος τῷ θεῷ. θεσαμένοι δ’ αὐτοὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς κατώκτειραν τῆς ἀνάγκης καὶ παθόντες ἀνθρώπινον τι καὶ ἑλευνόν διέλυσαν τὴν πολιορκίαν 44 καὶ ἑκαστὸς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀνέστρεψεν. Ἰωσά- φατος δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα καὶ μετ’ εἰρήνης διαγαγὼν, ὀλύγον ἐπιβιώσας χρόνον μετὰ τὴν στρατεύματι ἐκείνην ἀπέθανε, ζήσας μὲν ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐξῆκοντα, βασιλεύσας δ’ εἰς αὐτῶν πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι. ταφῆς δ’ ἐτυχε μεγαλοπρεποῦς ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωι καὶ γὰρ ἧν μιμητὴς τῶν Δαυίδου ἔργων.

¹ ἐκοψαν MSP.
² αὐτοὶ ἐνομίζεν RO) ROSP: αὐτοῖς Naber.
³ S²: τὸν νῦν rell. E Lat. ⁴ E: πρεσβύτερον codd.

¹ So the ixx (ἐως τοῦ καταλιπεῖν τοὺς λίθους τοῦ τοίχου) renders the Heb. of vs. 25 which reads “until they left stones only in Kir Haraseth,” evidently taking the Moabite Kir (qir = “city”) as Heb, qir = “wall,” and Haraseth (harāseth) as if from the root hrs “destroy”; the Targum renders 24
cut down the best of their trees, stopped up their springs of water and razed their walls to the ground. But the Moabite king, being hard pressed by the siege and seeing the city in danger of being taken by storm, sallied out with seven hundred men to ride through the enemy's camp at a place where he thought the guards would let them get through. And he made the attempt, but was unable to escape, for he happened on a place that was carefully guarded. Then he returned to the city and performed an act of despair and terrible necessity. His eldest son, who was to reign after him, he led up on to the wall, so that he was visible to all his enemies, and consecrated him as a whole burnt-offering to his god. And, when the kings saw him, they felt pity for him in his necessity, and, being moved by a feeling of humanity and compassion, they raised the siege and returned, each to his home. So Josaphat came to Jerusalem and dwelt in peace, but lived on only a little while after that campaign, dying at the age of sixty years, for twenty-five of which he had reigned. And he received a magnificent burial in Jerusalem, for he had, indeed, been emulous of the acts of David.

similarly. Kir Haraseth (also called Kir of Moab) is the modern Kerak, about 12 miles E. of the southern end of the Dead Sea.

Kir Haraseth is meant; it is not mentioned at this point (vs. 26) in Scripture, which says that the king of Moab "saw that the battle was too sore for him."

Bibl. "to break through to the king of Edom."

This reference to the kings' compassion is based on the lxx which renders by μετάμελος "repentance" the Heb. qeseph "anger" (A.V. "indignation") in vs. 27, "and there was great anger upon Israel," which probably refers to the anger of the Moabite god and implies a subsequent defeat of the Israelites.
JOSEPHUS

45 (iv. 1) Κατέλυπε δὲ καὶ παίδας ἰκανοὺς, διάδοχον δ' ἀπέδειξε τὸν πρεσβύτατον1 Ἰώραμον· ταύτῳ γὰρ εἶχεν ὄνομα τῷ τῆς γυναικὸς2 ἀδελφῷ, βασιλεύσατι δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλίτων, Ἀχάβου3 παιδί. παραγενόμενος δ' εἰκ τῆς Μωαβίτιδος ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλίτων βασιλεὺς εἰς Σαμάρειαν εἶχε σὺν αὐτῷ τὸν προφήτην Ἑλισσαίον, οὗ τὰς πράξεις βουλομαι διελθεῖν, λαμπραί γὰρ εἰσὶ καὶ ἱστορίας ἀξίαι, καθὼς εἰς ταῖς ἱεραῖς βιβλίοις ἑπεγνώκαμεν.

47 (2) Προσελθοῦσαν γὰρ αὐτῶι φασὶ τὴν Ὁβεδίου τοῦ Ἀχάβου οἰκονόμου γυναῖκα εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ πῶς ὁ ἀνήρ αὐτῆς τοὺς προφήτας περιέσωσεν, ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀχάβου γυναικὸς Ἱεζαβέλας ἀναρουμένως· ἐκατόν γὰρ ἠλεγεν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δαινεισμένου τραφήναι κεκρυμμένους· καὶ μετὰ τὴν τάνδρος τελευτὴν ἀγέσθαι νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν δανειστῶν αὐτῆς τε καὶ τέκνα πρὸς δουλεῖαν, παρεκάλει τε διὰ ταύτην τὴν ευθεργεσίαν4 τάνδρος ἠλεησάτε τε καὶ παρασχεῖν τινα βοήθειαν. πυθομένω δ' αὐτῶι τί ἔχει5 ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας, ἀλλὸ μὲν οὖν ἐφή, ἐλαμιν δὲ βραχὺ λίαν ἐν κεραμίῳ. ὁ δὲ προφῆτης ἀπελθοῦσαν ἐκέλευσεν ἀγγεία χρήσασθαι πολλὰ παρὰ τῶν

1 πρεσβύτερον MSP: seniorem Lat.
2 μητρὸς MSPE I.at. Zonaras.
3 Ἀχάβου δὲ ROM.
4 Ern esti: ἐργασίαν codd.
5 ἔχοι MSP.

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a Bibl. Jehoram (Yehóram), lxx Ἰωράμ.
b The variant “mother’s” is in disagreement with Scripture.
c Jehoram of Israel.
d Bibl. “a certain woman of the wives of the sons of the prophets.” The Targum and rabbinic tradition also identify the woman as the wife of Obadiah (on whom cf. Ant. viii 26
(iv. 1) Now he left behind a good number of sons, but as his successor he had named the eldest, Joram, who thus had the same name as his wife's brother, the ruler of the Israelites and the son of Ahab. And, when the king of the Israelites came from Moab to Samaria, he had with him the prophet Elisha, whose acts I wish to relate—for they are glorious and worthy of record—as we discover them in the sacred books.

(2) It is said that there came to him the wife of Obedias, the steward of Ahab, saying that he was not ignorant of how her husband had saved the lives of the prophets who were to have been slain by Ahab's wife Jezabel, for, she said, a hundred of them had been fed by him with money he had borrowed and had been kept in hiding; now, after her husband's death, both she and her children were being taken away into slavery by her creditors, and she besought him, because of this good deed of her husband, to pity her and give her some assistance. When he inquired what she had in the house, she replied that there was nothing but a very little oil in a jar. But the prophet bade her go and borrow from her neighbours many empty vessels and

329 ff.). The identification is probably based on the similarity of the woman's statement to Elisha (2 Kings iv. 1), "thou knowest that thy servant did fear the Lord" to Obadiah's statement to Elijah (1 Kings xviii. 12), "but I, thy servant, fear the Lord from my youth."

Rabbinic tradition also adds the unscriptural detail that Obadiah borrowed the money to feed the prophets.

Scripture does not include the woman herself.

Emended text; mss. "action."

"Oil in a jar" agrees with the Luc. text; Heb. and LXX "oil with which to anoint myself." A.V., taking 'āsūk "anoint" as a noun, also has "pot of oil."
JOSEPHUS

eytovn kevà, kai tás thuras apokleisasaun tou
dwmatiouv metaxev1 eis apanta to 'elaion. tòn gar
49 theòn plheóseun autà. tis de gyvaikos ta kelev-
shenta pouhási2 kai tois tèknois promfereun
ékastou twn aggeiwv prostatatpoish, épeie pànta
épplhóthi kai ou'den hìn kevôn, elthousa pro's tòn
50 prophiêthi tauta3 apygeileven. ó de suneboulwe4
toùlaiou apeltheousa apoodósathai kai tois dàneistaís
apodoudh tì tìrefiòmena. gevnsèsthai de ti kai
perisouv5 ek tìs tìmhs toù 'elaion, i pro's dia-
trophi tìn tòv tèkwn kataxhrísetai. kai 'Elíss-
saios men ou'tos apèllalaje tòv chrwv tìn dynai-
ka kai tìs apò tòv dàneistón ùbreus hleuthrèvson.
51 (3) 6 'Elíssaios de tachëwv pro's 'Iwramon éx-
apéstelé phulástethai tòn topon ékeivn autò
paraiwv: einai gar èn autò 'Swrouvs tivás tois
èkei loxwntas autòn aneleiw. kai ò men basileus
oukèt' èpi tìn thura éxwrmie tò prophiêthi peitho-
52 mevov: 'Adados de tìn èstiboulh diamarwv wòs
tòv idív au'tou katalimnusánton pròs tòn 'Iwra-
mov tìn énèbran, àrryjëto te kai metapevémeneos
autòs proódastas èblege tòv aporrihstov au'tou kai
thàvaton hpeilei, fanerás tòs èstichrísèsews, hè
mównou èkeiwv épistèusthe, tò polémiov gevenhménhs.
53 fíhsantos de tivos tòv parwntov veyndodoxen7

1 metaxev ROP: meteghevin S. 2 pioúvhs ROM.
3 pànta OP: touto Bekker. 4 suneboullevei MSP.
5 perissoteroon MSP.
6 ante 'Elíssaios lacunam esse docet Hudson.
7 ou' veyndodoxen MSPE Lat.

a There is a lacuna in Josephus's text corresponding to the
then shut the doors of her chamber and pour some of the oil into all of them, for God, he said, would fill them. And the woman did as he had bidden, and instructed her children to bring every one of the vessels; and, when all were filled and not a single one was left empty, she came to the prophet and told him of these things. Then he advised her to go and sell the oil and pay her creditors what was owing, saying that something would be left over from the price of the oil which she could use for the maintenance of her children. In this way, then, did Elisha free the woman of her debts and deliver her from the harsh treatment of her creditors.

(3) "Then Elisha hastily sent word to Joram, warning him to beware of that place, for, he said, there were some Syrians there lying in wait to kill him. And so the king did not again start out for the hunt, in obedience to the prophet's word. Then Adados, having been unsuccessful in his plot, and thinking that his own men had betrayed the plan of the ambush to Joram, was enraged, and, having sent for them, called them betrayers of his secrets, and threatened them with death for having let the attempt (on Joram's life), which he had entrusted to them alone, become known to the enemy. But one of those present said that he was under a false biblical narrative extending from 2 Kings iv. 8 to vi. 8, which tells of the Shunammite woman, the poisoned pottage, the miracle of the loaves, the leprosy of Naaman the Syrian, the rescue of the iron axe-head from the water, and the beginning of the Syrian war (vi. 8 reads, "Then the king of Syria warred against Israel and took counsel with his servants, saying, In such and such a place shall be my camp"). Josephus's text resumes at this point.

There is no mention of a hunt in Scripture.
αὐτῶν, μηδὲ ὑπονοεῖν ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῦ κατευρηκότας τὴν ἐκπεμψιν τῶν ἀναιρησόντων αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ γινώσκειν ὅτι Ἕλισσαίδος ἔστιν ὁ προφήτης ὁ πάντα μηνύών αὐτῷ καὶ φανερὰ ποιῶν τὰ ύπ’ αὐτοῦ βουλευόμενα, προσέταξε πέμψας μαθεῖν 54 ἐν τῷ πόλει τυγχάνει διατρίβων Ἕλισσαίδος. οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες ἦκον ἀγγέλλοντες αὐτῶν ἐν Δωθαείνῳ ὑπάρχοντα. πέμπει τοιαροῦν ὁ Δαδαὸς εἶπ’ τὴν πόλιν δύναμιν πολλὴν ἰππῶν καὶ ἀρμάτων, ὅτι τὸν Ἕλισσαίδον λάβωσιν. οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν πάσαν περιλαβόντες εἶχον ἐν φρούρα. ἀμα δὲ ἐω τοῦτο μαθῶν ὁ τοῦ προφήτου διάκονος καὶ ὁτι ἦτούσι οἱ πολέμιοι λαβεῖν Ἕλισσαίδον, ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῷ μετὰ βοῆς καὶ ταραχῆς δραμὼν πρὸς 55 αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ τοῦ θεράποντα μὴ δεδιέναι παρεθάρρυσε, καὶ τὸν θεόν, ὁ συμμάχω καταφρονών ὅδεης ἦν, παρεκάλει τῷ διάκόνῳ πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ εὐελπὶ θάρσος ἐμφανίσαι τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ παρουσίαν, ὡς δυνατὸν. ὁ δὲ θεός ἐπήκοος τῶν εὐχῶν τοῦ προφήτου γενόμενος πλῆθος ἀρμάτων καὶ ἰππῶν τῷ θεράποντι περὶ τὸν Ἕλισσαίδον κεκυκλωμένιον θεάσασθαι παρέσχεν, ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφίειν μὲν τὸ δέος, ἀναθαρσήσω δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὅψιν τῆς 56 νομίζομενής συμμαχίας. Ἕλισσαίδος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ὦσεις ἀμαυρώσας τὸν θεὸν παρεκάλει, ἀχλῶν αὐταῖς ἐπιβαλόντα ἄφ’ ἢς ἀγνοήσειν αὐτῶν ἐμελλὼν. γενομένου δὲ καὶ τοῦτον παρελθὼν εἰς μέσους τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπηρώτησε τῶν

1 αὐτοὺς O.
2 RO: Δωθαίμ, Δωθαείμ rell.: Dothaim Lat.
3 κεκυκλωμένω καταφρονῶν RO: χρώμενος καταφρονῶν S: χρώμενος P.
4 Niese: αὐτοῦ codd. E.
impression and that he should not suspect them of having told his enemy of the sending out of the men who were to kill him, but should know that it was Elisha the prophet who had informed him of everything and had revealed to him the things plotted by Adados. Thereupon he gave orders to send men to learn in what city Elisha might then be dwelling. And the men who were sent came back with the report that he was in Dothaein. Accordingly, Adados sent to that city a great force with horses and chariots in order to take Elisha. These surrounded the whole city by night and kept it under guard. And when, at break of dawn, the prophet's servant learned of this and that the enemy were seeking to take Elisha, he came running to him with cries of alarm and informed him of these things. But the prophet encouraged his servant, telling him not to be afraid, and besought God, with whom as ally he was scornful of danger and without fear, to reveal, so far as was possible, His power and presence to his servant, in order that he might take hope and courage. Then God, hearkening to the prophet's prayers, permitted his servant to behold a host of horses and chariots in a circle around Elisha, so that he lost his fear and took new courage at the sight of what seemed a host of allies. But Elisha after that besought God also to blind the eyes of the enemy and throw a mist about them through which they would be unable to see him. And, when this too was done, he came into the midst of the foe and

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a Variant Dothaeim as in LXX; bibl. Dothan, modern Tell Dothan, about 6 miles S.W. of the modern Jenin, which is at the southern end of the Plain of Esdraelon.

b Bibl. "chariots of fire."

c The mist is a rationalistic detail added by Josephus.
ἐπιζητοῦντες ἦλθον· τῶν δὲ τὸν προφήτην Ἑλίσσαιον ἐπόντων παραδόσεων ὑπέσχετο, εἰ πρὸς τὴν 57 πόλιν ἐν ᾗ τυχάνει ὃν ἀκολουθήσειαν αὐτῷ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡγουμένων τῷ προφητῇ τὰς ὀψεις ὑπὸ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἑπεσκοτημένοι σπουδάζοντες εἰποντο, ἀγαγῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ 'Ελισσαιος εἰς Σαμάρειαν Ἰωράμων μὲν τῷ βασιλεί προσέταξε κλείσαι τὰς πύλας καὶ περιστήσαι τοὺς Σύρους τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν, τῷ θεῷ δὲ ἡμῖν τὸν καθάρα τὰς ὀψεις τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὴν ἀχλάνναν αὐτῶν ἀνελέιν. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἁμαρτώσεως ἑκέννης ἀφεθέντες ἐώρων αὐτοὺς 58 ἐν μέσοις τοὺς ἑχθροὺς ὑπάρχοντας. ἐν ἑκπλήξει δὲ δεινή καὶ ἁμηχανία τῶν Σύρων οἷον εἰκὸς ἐφ' οὔτως θείω καὶ παράδοξῳ πράγματι κειμένων καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωράμου πυθομένου τὸν προφήτην εἰ κελεύσειν αὐτοὺς κατακοντυσθῆναι, τούτο μὲν ἐκώλυσε ποιεῖν 'Ελίσσαιος· τοὺς γὰρ νόμῳ πολέμου ληφθέντας ἀποκτείνειν εἶναι δίκαιον ἔλεγε, τούτοις δὲ μηδὲν κακόν ἑργάσασθαι τὴν ἑκέννην χώραν, θεία δὲ δυνάμει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὦν εἰδότας ἐλθεῖν. 59 συνεβούλευε τε ἐξενῶν αὐτοῖς μεταδόντα καὶ τραπέζης ἀπολύειν ἀβλαβείς. Ἰωράμος μὲν οὖν τῷ προφήτῃ πειθόμενος ἑστισάς λαμπρῶς πάνιν καὶ φιλοτῆμος τοὺς Σύρους ἀπέλυσε πρὸς Ἀδαδον τὸν αὐτῶν βασιλέα.

60 (4) Τῶν δὲ ἄθεκομένων καὶ δηλωσάντων αὐτῶ τὰ συμβεβηκότα δαμάσας δ Ἄδαδος τὸ παράδοξον καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν Ἰσραηλίτῶν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ δύναμιν καὶ τὸν προφήτην, ὡς τὸ θεῖον οὕτως

1 θύρας MSP.
asked them whom they had come in search of. When they said it was the prophet Elisha, he promised to deliver him if they would follow him to the city where he happened to be. And so, with their eyes and understanding beclouded by God, they eagerly went with the prophet, who led the way. When Elisha had brought them to Samaria, he ordered King Joram to shut the gates and place his own army around the Syrians; then he prayed to God to clear the eyes of the enemy and remove the mist from before them. And, when they were freed from their blindness, they saw that they were in the midst of their foes. Then, while the Syrians, as was natural, were in dire consternation and helplessness at so divine and marvellous an event, King Joram asked the prophet whether it was his bidding that they be shot down, but Elisha prevented him from doing this, saying that it was right to kill those who were captured by the law of war, but that these men had done no harm to his country and, without knowing it, had come to them by the power of God. He also counselled him to offer them hospitality and food and send them away unhurt. And so Joram, in obedience to the prophet’s advice, entertained the Syrians very splendidly and lavishly and then sent them back to Adados their king.

(4) But, when they came and informed him of what had happened, Adados was amazed at the marvel and at the manifestation of the God of the Israelites and His power, and also at the prophet, with whom the Deity was so evidently present; and so, be-

a The Syrians’ consternation is an unscriptural detail.

The contrast between “secret attempts” and the decision “to fight openly” is made to reconcile vs. 23, “the bands of Syria came no more into the land of Israel,” with vs. 24, “And it came to pass after this that Ben-hadad, king of Syria; gathered all his host and went up and besieged Samaria.”

Unscriptural detail.
cause of his fear of Elisha, he determined to make no more secret attempts on the life of the Israelite king, but decided to fight openly, in the belief that he would overcome the enemy by the numbers and strength of his army. So he marched with a great force against Joram, who, not thinking himself a match for the Syrians, shut himself up in Samaria, relying on the strength of its walls. But Adados, who counted on capturing the city, if not by engines, at any rate by bringing the Samarians to terms through famine and the lack of provisions, moved up his men and besieged the city. And Joram's supply of necessities was reduced to such an extent that through the excessive lack of food an ass's head was sold for eighty pieces of silver in Samaria, and the Hebrews paid five pieces of silver for a *sextarius* (xestē) of dove's dung to be used for salt. And Joram was in constant fear that, because of the famine, someone might betray the city to the enemy, and every day he would walk all around the walls to the guards, spying out whether any of the enemy were within the city, and by his appearance and precautions preventing any (citizen) even from wishing such a thing, or from acting on it if he had already formed such a plan.

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*c "Samaritans" is a term more appropriate to the inhabitants of Samaria after the Babylonian Exile.
*d So Heb.; lxx 50.
*e Bibl. "a fourth part of a cab (qab)"; this would equal a log, approximately a pint. The log is equated with the sextarius also in *Ant.* viii. 57 (cf. note ad loc.).
*f "Used for salt" is an unscriptural detail. Some Jewish commentators assume that the dung was used for fuel.
*g This explanation of Jehoram's motives in walking around the walls is an addition to Scripture, which says merely that "as he was walking by on the wall, a woman cried out," etc.
γυναικός "δέσποτα ἐλέησον" νομίζας αυτεῖς τι μέλλειν αὐτήν τῶν πρὸς τροφῆν, ὄργισθεὶς ἐπηρά-
σατο αὐτῇ τὸν θεὸν καὶ μὴτε ἄλως αὐτῇ μὴτε
ληνοὺς ὑπάρχειν ἔλεγεν, θεν τι καὶ παράσχοι ἄν 65 αὐτῇ δεομένῃ. τῆς δὲ οὐδενός μὲν τούτων χρήζειν εἰπούσης οὐδὲ ἐνοχλεῖν τροφῆς ἕνεκα, κριθῆκαί δ’ ἀξιούσης πρὸς ἅλλην γυναίκα, κελεύσαντος λέγειν καὶ διδάσκειν περὶ ὧν ἐπιζητεῖ, συνθήκας ἐφ’
ποιήσασθαι μετά τῆς ἐτέρας γυναικὸς γειτνιώσης καὶ φίλης αὐτῇ τυγχανούσης, ὅπως ἐπεὶ τὰ τοῦ
λιμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐνδείας ἣν ἀμήχανα διαχρησάμεναι τὰ τέκνα (δὲ ἄρρεν ἐκατέρα παιδίον) ἀνὰ μίαν
66 ἤμεραν θρέψωμεν ἀλλήλας. κἀγὼ μὲν," φησίν,
"πρώτῃ τοῦτον κατέσφαξα καὶ τὴν παρελθοῦσαν ἤμεραν τοῦτον ἐτράφημεν ἀμφότεροι: νῦν δὲ οὗ
βούλεται ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἅλλα παραβαίνει τὴν συν-
67 θήκην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀφανῆ πεποίηκε." τούτ’
ἐλύπησε σφοδρῶς Ἰώραμον ἀκούσαντα, καὶ περιρρη-
ξάμενος τὴν ἐσθήτα καὶ δεινὸν ἐκβοήσας ἑπεῖτα ὀργῆς ἐπὶ τὸν προφήτην Ἐλίσσαίῳν πληρωθεὶς ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν ὁρμήσειν, ὅτι μὴ δεῖται τοῦ θεοῦ
pόρον τ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ διαφυγή τῶν περιεχόντων
κακῶν δοῦναι: τὸν τε ἀποτεμοῦντα αὐτοῦ τὴν
68 κεφάλήν εὐθὺς ἐξέστησε. καὶ ὃ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἠπείγετο τοῦ προφήτου· τὸν δ’ Ἐλι-
σσαίῳν οὐκ ἠλάθεν ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργῆ, καθεξό-
μενος δὲ οὐκάδε παρ’ αὐτῷ σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς
ἐμήνυσεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι Ἰώραμος ὁ τοῦ φονέως υἱὸς

1 + κύριε MSP. 2 Niese: ἄλως codd. E.
3 παράσχοι αὖ Niese: παράσχοιν RMSP: παράσχειν O:
παράσχοι Bekker. 4 ἡ MSPE Lat. Zonaras.
5 πόρον τ’ Niese: πόρον MSP: παρόντα R: παρόντος O.
36
cried out, "Have pity, my lord," he was angered, thinking that she was about to beg for food or the like, and he called down God's curse upon her, saying that he had neither threshing-floor nor wine-press from which he might give her something at her entreaty. But she said that she needed none of these things nor was she troubling him about food; she begged, however, that her case against another woman be judged, and, when he bade her speak and inform him of what she wanted, she said that she had made an agreement with the other woman, who was her neighbour and friend, that, since the conditions of famine and need had become impossible to bear, they should make an end of their children—each had a son—and "we were each in turn to feed the other for one day. And I first slaughtered my son, and we both made a meal of him yesterday; and now she will not do the same, but has broken the agreement and has put her son out of sight." This grieved Joram sorely when he heard it, and he tore his garment in pieces and cried out fearfully; then, being filled with wrath against the prophet Elisha, he was bent on doing away with him because he did not ask God to give them a way out and an escape from the ills that surrounded them, and he at once sent out a man to cut off his head. And so this man hurried off to make away with the prophet. But Elisha was not unaware of the king's wrath; sitting in his own house with his disciples, he warned them that Joram, the son of the murderer, had sent

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\( ^a \) So Heb. and lxx, "may the Lord not save thee; how should I save thee?" A.V. renders, "If the Lord do not help thee, whence should I help thee?"

\( ^b \) Unscriptural details.

\( ^c \) Bibl. "the elders."

\( ^d \) Ahab is meant.
JOSEPHUS

πέμψεις τὸν ἀφαιρήσοντα αὐτοῦ τῇν κεφαλῇν.

69 "ἀλλ’ ὑμεῖς," φησίν, "ὅταν οὗ τοῦτο προσταχθεῖς ἀφίκεσαι, παραβιλάζαντες εἰσίνει μέλλοντα προσ- ἀποτλύσατε τῇ θύρᾳ καὶ κατάσχετε· ἀκολουθήσει γὰρ αὐτῷ πρὸς ἐμὲ παραγινόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς μεταβεβουλευμένος." καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ κελευθέν ὦς ἦκεν ὁ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῇν

70 ἀναίρεσιν τῇν Ἔλισαίου ἐποίησαν· Ἰώραμος δὲ καταγγείλει τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ προφήτην ὀργῆς καὶ δείκεις μὴ φθάσῃ κτείνας αὐτοῦ ὁ τοῦτο προσταχθεῖς, ἐσπευσε κωλύσαι γενέσθαι τὸν φόνον καὶ διασώσαι τὸν προφήτην. ἀφικόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἠτικὸ ὅτι μὴ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λύσιν αὐτοῖς τῶν παρόντων αἰτεῖτα κακῶν, ἀλλ’ οὕτως ὑπ’ αὐτῶν φθειρομένους

71 ὑπεροφανεία. Ἔλισασίῳ δὲ εἰς τῇν ἐπιοίκασιν ἐπηγαλέλετο κατ’ ἐκείνην τῇν ὠραν, καθ’ ἦν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀφίκετο τὸς αὐτοῦ, ἐσεβοῦς πολλὴν εὐπορίαν προφήτης καὶ πραθήσεσθαι μὲν ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ σίκλου δύο κριθῆς σάτα, ὀνήσεθαι δὲ σεμιδάλεως σάτων σίκλου. ταύτα τὸν τε Ἰώραμον καὶ τοὺς παρόντας εἰς χαρὰν περιέτρεψε· πυτεύειν γὰρ τῷ προφήτῃ διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς προπεπειραμένους ἀλλήθειαν οὐκ ὤκνουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐπ’ ἐκείνης ἐνδεές τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ταλαιπωρών ἢ προσδοκιμένη κούφον αὑτοῖς

1 ἀφίκητο Naber.

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a The meaning of Heb. ἱσθαστε ὀθλὸ ἐβδολεθ (A.V. "hold him fast at the door") is not quite clear. Josephus's rendering προσαποθέλωσε τῇ θύρᾳ is similar to lxx παραθηλώσατε αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ θύρᾳ "press him close in the door."

b Bibl. "is not the sound of his master's feet behind him?"

c The preceding is an amplification of the obscure verse (2 Kings vi. 33), "And while he (Elisha?) yet talked with
someone to take off his head. "But you," he said, "when the man arrives who has been given this order, be on guard as he is about to enter, and press him back against the door and hold him there, for the king will follow him and come to me, having changed his mind." So, when the man came who had been sent by the king to make away with Elisha, they did as he had ordered. But Joram, repenting of his wrath against the prophet and fearing that the man who had been ordered to kill him might already be doing so, hastened to prevent the murder and save the prophet. And, when he came to Elisha, he reproached him for not having asked of God a deliverance from their present misfortunes, and for looking on so indifferently while they were being destroyed by them. But Elisha promised that on the morrow at the very same hour at which the king had come to him there would be a great abundance of food, and that two sata of barley would be sold in the market for a shekel, while a saton of fine flour would be bought for a shekel. These words changed the feelings of Joram and those present to one of joy, for they did not hesitate to believe the prophet, having been convinced of his truthfulness by earlier experiences; moreover the expected day (of plenty) made the want and distress of that day seem light to them. But the commander

them, the messenger came down to them: and he (the king?) said, Behold, this evil is from the Lord; why should I wait for the Lord any longer?"

a Heb. śt‘ăh (A.V. "measure"), lxx μέτρον. In § 85 the saton is equated with 1½ Italian modii (= 24 sextarii): the śt‘ăh would thus equal 24 Heb. logs or pints (cf. § 62 note); this agrees with other ancient estimates.

b This sentence is an addition to Scripture.
73 ἐποίει. δ’ δὲ τῆς τρίτης μοίρας ἤγειμὼν τῷ βασιλείῳ φίλος ὦν καὶ τότε φέρων αὐτὸν ἐπερημερισμένον "ἀπίστα," εἶπε, "λέγεις, ὃ προφῆτα· καὶ ὥσπερ ἀδύνατον ἐκχεῖ τὸν θεόν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταρράκτας κριθῆς ἡ σεμιδάλεως, οὕτως ἅμηχανος καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ σοῦ νῦν εἰρημένα γενέοθαι." καὶ ὁ προφήτης πρὸς αὐτὸν "ταῦτα μέν," εἶπεν, "ὅμει τούτῳ λαμβάνοντα τὸ τέλος, οὐ μεταλήψῃ δ’ οὐδενὸς τῶν υπαρξόντων."  

74 (5) Ἐξέβη τοίνυν τούτον τὸν τρόπον τὰ ὑπὸ Ἑλισσαίου προειρημένα· νόμος ἦν ἐν τῇ Σαμαρείᾳ τοῦς λέπραν ἔχοντας καὶ μὴ καθαροὺς ἀπὸ τῶν τοσοῦτοι τὰ σώματα μένειν ἐξώ τῆς πόλεως. ἀνδρεὶς οὖν τὸν ἄριθμὸν τέσσαρες διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν μένοντες, μηκέτι μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ λυμοῦ τροφῆν ἐκ-75 φέροντος, εἰσελθεὶν μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸν νόμον κεκωλυμένου, κἂν ἐπιτραπῇ δ’ αὐτοῖς διαφθαρήσθαι κακῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ λυμοῦ λογισάμενοι, τοῦτο2 δὲ πείσεσθαι κἂν αὐτόθι μείνωσιν ἀπορία τροφῆς, παραδοῦνα τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτοὺς ἔκριναν ὡς εἰ μὲν φείσαιντο αὐτῶν ἔξωσόμενοι, εἰ δ’ ἀναφεθὲν 76 εὐθανατήσοντες. ταύτην κυρώσαντες τὴν βουλὴν νυκτὸς ἦκον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν πολεμίων. ἤρχετο δ’ ἦδη τοὺς Σύρους ἐκφοβεῖν καὶ ταράττειν ὁ θεὸς καὶ κτύπον ἁρμάτων καὶ ἵππων3 ὡς ἔπερχο-

1 ὑπαρξάντων ROMP.  
2 ταῦτο Naber.  
3 ὀπλῶν MSPE Lat.: ἵππων τε καὶ ὀπλῶν Zonaras.

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a Cf. lxx τριστάτης, rendering Heb. šāliḵ (A.V. "lord"); the Targum has "warrior."  
b Heb. "if the Lord made windows in heaven," lxx 40
of the third division, who was a friend of the king and who was just then supporting the king as he leaned on him, said, “Incredible are the things you are saying, O prophet. And, as impossible as it is for God to rain down from heaven torrents of barley or fine flour, just so impossible is it for the things of which you have now spoken to happen.” And the prophet said to him, “You shall see these things come to pass in this way, but you shall have no share in any of the things that are to be.”

(5) And, indeed, the things which had been foretold by Elisha came to pass in this manner. There was a law in Samaria that those who had leprosy and whose bodies were not clean from such diseases should stay outside the city. Now there were four men who for this reason were dwelling before the gates; but, as no one any longer brought food out to them because of the extremity of the famine, and as they were prevented by law from entering the city, they reflected that even if it were permitted them to enter they would perish miserably through the famine, and that they would suffer the same fate if they remained there, and so they decided to give themselves up to the enemy, in the hope that if these spared their lives they would be able to live, and that if they were put to death they would die without suffering greatly. Having firmly agreed on this plan, they went by night to the enemy’s camp. Now God had already begun to frighten and disturb the Syrians, and to cause the noise of chariots and

\[\text{ Amplification of Scripture.}\]
μένης στρατιάς ταῖς ἄκοιντας αὐτῶν ἐνηχεῖν καὶ
tαύτην ἐγγυτέρω προσφέρειν αὐτοῖς τὴν ὑπόνοιαν.
77 ἀμέλει τούτον τῶν τρόπων ὑπ’ αὐτῆς διετέθησαν,
ὡστε τὰς σκηνὰς ἐκλιπόντες συνέδραμον πρὸς τὸν
"Αδαδον, λέγοντες ὡς Ἰώραμος ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν
βασιλεὺς μισθωσάμενος συμμαχός τὸν τε τῶν
Ἀγιουπτῶν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν τῶν νῆσων ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς
ἀγεῖ προσόντων γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐπακούειν τοῦ κτύπου.
78 ταῦτα λέγοντος ὁ "Αδαδος (καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς περι-
εφοβεῖτο ἕδη τὰς ἄκοινς ὕμως τῷ πλῆθει) προσ-
έσχε, καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀταξίας καὶ ἥροιβοι,
kαταλιπόντες ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ τοὺς ἱπποὺς καὶ
tὰ ὑποξύγια καὶ πλοῦτον ἀφθονον, εἰς φυγὴν
79 ἐξώρησαν. οἱ δὲ λεπροὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Σαμαρείας
ἀναχωρήσαντες εἰς τὸ τῶν Σύρων στρατόπεδον,
ὅπως μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν ἐπεμνήσθημεν, ὡς γενόμενοι
πρὸς τῇ παρεμβολῇ πολλῆν ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἀφωνίαν
ἔθλεπον οὕσαν καὶ περαλθόντες δὲ εἶσω καὶ ὁρμή-
σαντες εἰς μίαν σκηνὴν οὐδένα ἔωρων, ἐμφαγόντες
καὶ πιόντες εξάστασαν ἐσθήτα καὶ πολύν χρυσὸν
80 κομίσαντες τ’ ἐξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς ἐκρυβάν. ἔπειτ’
eἰς ἔτεραν σκηνὴν περαλθόντες ὕμως τα ἐν αὐτῇ
πάλιν ἐξεκόμισαν, καὶ τοῦτ ἐποίησαν τετράκις
μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς ὤλως ἐντυγχάνοντος. οἴδεν εἰκά-
sαντες ἀνακεχυρίκεινα τοὺς πολεμίους κατεγώνω-
sκον αὐτῶν μὴ ταῦτα δηλούντων τῷ Ἰωράμῳ καὶ
81 τοῖς πολίταις. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸ τῆς

1 ἐν μέσῳ φαγώντες MSP.
2 κομίσαντες τ’ ex Lat. Niese: κομίσαντες codd.: καὶ κομί-
sαντες Naber.
3 πόλεως PE.
horses, as if an army were advancing, to resound in their ears, and this suspicion He brought ever closer to them. Finally they were so much affected by this means that they left their tents and ran to Adados,\(^a\) saying that Joram, the Israelite king, had hired as allies both the king of Egypt and the king of the islands,\(^b\) and was leading these against them, for, they said, they could hear the noise they made as they approached. As they were speaking, Adados listened carefully—their own ears, indeed, were already being assailed by the same sounds as were those of the people—and then, abandoning their horses and beasts of burden and uncounted wealth in their camp, they turned to flee in great disorder and confusion. But the lepers who had left Samaria for the camp of the Syrians, as we mentioned a little while ago, came to the camp and observed the great quiet and silence; and, when they had gone inside, they hastened to one of the tents, but, seeing no one there, they hurriedly ate and drank and carried off garments and much gold from the camp, which they buried. Then they went to another tent and again in the same way carried out what was in it; and this they did four times\(^c\) without meeting anyone at all. Surmising, therefore, that the enemy had withdrawn, they reproached themselves for not having reported this to Joram and the citizens. And so they came to the wall of

\(^a\) Bibl. "they arose and fled in the darkness." Benhadad is not mentioned in the biblical account following.

\(^b\) Bibl. "Hittites." Josephus has confused LXX \(\text{Χετταίων}\) (\(=\) Heb. \(\text{Ḥittim} \) "Hittites") with \(\text{Χεττείμ} \) or the like (\(=\) Heb. \(\text{Κιττίμ} \), representing Cyprus or the Greek islands generally; cf. LXX Jer. ii. 10 \(\text{εἰς ἑτούς} \) \(\text{Χεττείμ} \).

\(^c\) Unscriptural detail.
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Σαμαρείας τείχος καὶ ἀναβοήσαντες πρὸς τοὺς φύλακας ἐμήνυνον αὐτοῖς τὰ περὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ταῦτ' ἀπήγγειλαν τοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως φύλαξι, παρ' ὧν μαθὼν Ἰώραμος μεταπέμπεται τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἤγεμόνας. πρὸς οὖς ἐλθόντας ἐνέδραν καὶ τέχνην ὑπονοεῖν ἐλεγεν τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τοῦ τῶν Σύρων βασιλέως "ἀπογνώντος ἡμᾶς τῷ λιμῷ διαφθαρῆσθαι, ἵνα ὡς πεφευγότων εἰς διαρπαγήν ἐξελθόντων τῆς παρεμβολῆς αἰφνιδίως ἐπιπέσῃ καὶ κτείνῃ μὲν αὐτοὺς, ἀμαχτὶ δὲ ἐλή τὴν πόλιν· ὅθεν ὡμῖν παραίω διὰ φυλακής ἑχειν αὐτὴν καὶ μηδαμῶς προϊέναι καταφρονήσαντας τῶν τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνακεχωρηκέναι." φήσαντος δὲ τυος ὡς ἀριστα μὲν καὶ συνετῶτα ὑπονοήσει, πέμψας γε μὴν συμβουλευσάντος δύο τῶν ἵππεων τοὺς τὴν ἄχρι Ἰορδάνου πᾶσαν ἐξερευνήσεται, ἵν' εἰ ληφθέντες ὑπὸ λοχώντων τῶν πολεμίων διαφθαρεῖν φυλακὴ τῇ στρατιᾷ γένωνται τοῦ μηδὲν ὁμοῦν παθεῖν αὐτὴν ἀνυπόπτως προελθοῦσαν· "προσαρμόσασθε δὲ," φησι τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ τεθνήκοι τους ἱππεῖς, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ληφθέντες ἁπόλυνται," ἀρεσθεὶς δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ τότε τοὺς κατοικομένους ἐξέστησεν· οὶ δὲ κεὶνὴν μὲν πολεμίων τὴν ὄδον ἤνυσαν, μεστήν δὲ σιτίων καὶ ὀπλῶν εὑρον, ἀ διὰ τὸ κοῦφον πρὸς τὸ φεῦγεν εἰπάμενος κατέλυμαν· ταῦτ' ἄκοινας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ διαρπαγὴν τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὸ πλῆθος ἐξαφήκεν.

1 ed. pr.: ἀπογνώντας (-νώντας Ο) codd.
2 καὶ . . . καταφρονήσαντας ὑπὸ καταφρονήσαντας RO: φρονήσαντας Μ.
3 τότε om. SP.

* Scripture, 2 Kings vii. 13, speaks of "five horses"
Samaria and, shouting up to the guards, informed them of what had become of the enemy, whereupon these announced this news to the king's guards, from whom Joram learned of it and summoned his friends and commanders. And, when they came, he told them that he suspected the retreat of the Syrian king to be a snare and a trick; "giving up hope that we shall perish through famine, he has done this in order that, when we go out to plunder their camp in the belief that they have fled, he may suddenly fall upon our men and kill them and take the city without a battle. Wherefore I urge you to keep it well guarded and by no means to attack, being careless of danger because of the enemy's withdrawal." But someone said that, while the king was suspicious with the best reason and most wisely, he would at least advise him to send two of his horsemen to search all the country as far as the Jordan in order that, if they were captured by the enemy lying in ambush and were slain, they might be a protection to the army against suffering a like fate through an incautious advance. "And," he added, "if they are captured by the foe and put to death, you will (merely) be adding the horsemen to those who have perished in the famine." Thereupon the king, approving of this plan, sent out the scouts. And these found the road which they covered bare of enemies but full of abandoned provisions and arms which they had thrown away in order to be unimpeded in their flight. When the king heard of this, he let the people loose to plunder

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Footnotes:
1. a: Hebrew.
2. Heb. has סע תבש סיסים "two chariots of horses," LXX, reading ῥόκηβ or ῥάκκαβ, "rider," has δύο ἐπιβάτας ἵππων, which reading Josephus follows.
85 εὐτελὴς δ’ οὐδὲν οὐδ’ ὅλιγον ὑφελοῦντο; ἀλλὰ πολὺν μὲν χρυσὸν, πολὺν δ’ ἄργυρον, ἀγέλας δὲ παινοδαπῶν κτημῶν ἐλάμβανον.  

86 καὶ ἡμισὺ Ἰταλικῶν. μόνος δὲ τούτων οὐκ ἦν ἀντί τῶν ἀγαθῶν δ’ τῆς τρίτης μοῖρας ἡγεμῶν: κατασταθεῖς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἵνα τὸ πλῆθος ἐπέκχῃ τῆς πολλῆς ὀρμῆς καὶ μὴ κινδυνεύσωσιν ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων ὁδούμενοι συμπατηθέντες ἀπολέσθαι, τοῦτ’ αὐτὸς ἔπαθε καὶ τοῦτον ἀποθνῄσκει τὸν τρόπον, τὴν τελευτήν αὐτῷ προφητεύσαντος Ἐλισαιῶν, ὅτε τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἐσομένης εὐπορίας τῶν ἐπιτηδεύων λεγομένους μόνος εὗ ἀπάντων οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν.

87 (6) Ο̃ δὲ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς Ἀδαδος διασωθεὶς εἰς Δαμασκὸν καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι τὸ θεῖον αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν εἰς τὸ δέος καὶ τὴν ταραχὴν ἐκείνην ἐγένετο, ἀλλ’ οὐκ εὗ ἐφόδου πολεμίων ἐγένετο, σφόδρα τῷ δυσμενῆ τὸν θεὸν ἐχειν ἀθυμήσας εἰς νόσον κατέπεσεν. ἐκδημησάντος δὲ κατ’ ἐκείνου τὸν καιρὸν εἰς Δαμασκὸν Ἐλισαιῶν τοῦ προφήτου γνοὺς δ’ Ἀδαδος, τὸν πιστότατον τῶν οἰκετῶν Ἀζάηλον ἐπεμψεν ὑπ’ αντηρόμενον αὐτῷ καὶ δῶρα κομίζοντα, κελεύσας

1 ἐλάμβανον om. ROM. 2 ὡς om. ROE.

a Cf. § 71 note.

b Josephus omits the episode of the Shunammite woman’s return after the famine, 2 Kings viii. 1-6.
the things in the camp. And they acquired no slight or small amount of gain, but took much gold and much silver and herds and flocks of all kinds; moreover they came upon such untold quantities of wheat and barley as they had not even dreamed of, and so they were delivered from their former sufferings and had such plenty that two *sata* of barley could be bought for a shekel, and a *saton* of fine flour for a shekel, in accordance with the prophecy of Elisha. Now the *saton* is equal to one and a half Italian *modii.*

The only one who did not enjoy any of these good things was the commander of the third division, for, having been stationed by the king at the gate to hold back the rush of the crowd and prevent the danger of their being pushed around by one another and trampled to death, he himself suffered this fate and died in this way, as Elisha had prophesied when this man alone of them all had refused to believe what he said concerning the abundance of provisions that was to be.

(6) Now, when the Syrian king Adados, who had escaped to Damascus, learned that it was the Deity who had thrown both him and all his army into all that terror and confusion, and that it had not arisen from the advance of the enemy, he was greatly disheartened at having incurred God's displeasure, and fell ill. But at that very time the prophet Elisha had left home for Damascus, and, when Adados knew of it, he sent Azaélos, the most trusted of his servants, to meet him, bringing him gifts, and he ordered him

Scripture does not connect Ben-hadad’s illness with his defeat.

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Bibl. Hazael (Hazâ’ēl), lxx Ἀζαήλ.

Unscriptural detail.

So Luc. (δώρον) renders Heb. minḥah, which lxx transliterates as μααβά.
JOSEPHUS

ἐρεσθαὶ περὶ τῆς νόσου καὶ εἰ διαφεύγεται τὸν ἐξ
89 αὐτῆς κύδυνον. Ἦ' Ἀζάηλος δὲ μετὰ καμῆλων τεσσαράκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν, αἰ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τι-μώτατα τῶν ἐν Δαμασκῷ γινομένων καὶ ὄντων ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ ἐφέρον δῶρα, συμβαλὼν τῷ Ἐλισαίῳ καὶ προσαγορεύοντα αὐτὸν φιλοφρόνως ἐλέγεν ὑπὸ Ἄδαδον τοῦ βασιλέως πεμφθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν δῶρα τε κομίσαι καὶ πυθέσθαι περὶ τῆς νόσου εἰ1 ρᾶχων ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐσοιτο. ὁ δὲ προφήτης τὸν μὲν Ἦ' Ἀζάηλον ἐκέλευσε μηδὲν ἀπαγγέλλειν τῷ βασιλεὶ κακὸν, ἐλέγε- δ' ὦτι τεθνήξεται. καὶ ὁ μὲν οἰκέτης τοῦ βασιλέως ἐλυπεῖτο ταῦτ' ἀκόουσα, ὁ δ' Ἐλισαῖος ἐκλαίε καὶ πολλοῖς ἔρρειτο δακρύοις, προορώμενος ἀ πάσχειν ὁ λαὸς ἐμέλλε κακὰ μετὰ τῆς Ἄδαδου τελευτήν.

90 ἀνακρίναντος δ' αὐτῶν Ἦ' Ἀζάηλου τὴν αὐτίαν τῆς συγχύσεως "κλαίω," φησί, "τὸ πλήθος τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἔλεων, ὃν ἐκ σοῦ πείσεται δεινῶν ἀποκτενεῖς γὰρ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ τὰς ὀχυρωτάτας πόλεις ἐμπρήσεις, καὶ παιδία μὲν ἀπολεῖσ προσρηγνύς πέτραις τὰς δ' ἐγκύους ἀν-

91 ἀρρήξεις γυναικῶν." τοῦ δ' Ἦ' Ἀζάηλου λέγοντος: "τινὰ γὰρ ἱσχὺν ἐμοὶ2 τηλικαύτην εἶναι συμβεβηκέν, ὡστε ταῦτα ποιῆσαι;" τὸν θεὸν ἔφιμεν αὐτῷ δεδηλωκέναι τοῦθ', ὦτι τῆς Συρίας μέλλου βασιλεύειν. Ἦ' Ἀζάηλος μὲν οὖν παραγενόμενος πρὸς τὸν Ἄδαδον τῷ μὲν τὰ βελτίων περὶ τῆς νόσου κατ'-ήγγελε, τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ δίκτυον ἐπιβαλὼν αὐτῷ1 καὶ εἰ RO.

1 Scripture (2 Kings viii. 11) seems to mean that Hazael kept the expression of his features unmoved; the Targum's rendering, "lengthened it greatly," may have suggested Josephus's interpretation.

2 ἐν ἐμοὶ MSP.
to inquire of the prophet about his illness and ask whether he would escape the danger it threatened. Thereupon Azaëlos, with forty camels bearing the most beautiful and costly gifts to be found in Damascus and in the palace, went to meet Elisha and, after greeting him in a friendly manner, said that he had been sent to him by King Adados to bring him gifts and to inquire about his illness, whether he would recover from it. Then the prophet bade Azaëlos not to announce the bad news to the king, but said that he would die. And, while the king’s servant was grieving at what he had heard, a Elisha began to cry and shed many tears, foreseeing the great ills which the people was to suffer after the death of Adados. And, when Azaëlos asked him the reason of his distress, he said, “I am crying out of pity for the Israelite people because of the misfortunes which it will suffer at your hands. For you will slay their best men and burn their strongest cities, and you will kill their children by dashing them against the rocks and will rip up their women with child.” Then, when Azaëlos asked, “What power has been given to me, so great that I can do these things? b” he replied that God had revealed to him that Azaëlos was to be king of Syria. So Azaëlos came to Adados and gave him a good report as to his illness, but the next day he spread a mesh-cloth c dipped in water over him and

b Bibl. “What is thy servant, the dog (lxx “ dead dog ”), that he should do this great thing?”

c Heb. makbër (A.V. “ thick cloth”) is of uncertain meaning; Targum and Luc. render “ bed-covering,” lxx transliterates as χαβδά (v.l. μαχαί). Josephus’s rendering, δίκτυον “mesh,” would seem to fit better Heb. mikmar or mikmereth, less probably (as Weill suggests) Heb. mikbar “ network” (of metal, wood, etc.; cf. lxx Ex. xxvii. 4).
JOSEPHUS

93 διάβροχον τὸν μὲν στραγγάλη διέφθειρε, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς παρέλαβε δραστήριός τε ὑπ' ἀνήρ καὶ πολλὴν ἐχὼν παρὰ τῶν Σύρων εὐνοιαν καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Δαμασκηνῶν, ὧν' οὐ μέχρι νῦν αὐτὸς τε ὁ Αδαδὸς καὶ Αζάηλος ο μετ' αὐτὸν ἄρξας ὡς θεοὶ τιμῶνται διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας καὶ τῶν ναῶν οἰκοδομίας, οὗ ἔκοσμησαν τὴν τῶν Δαμασκηνῶν πόλιν. πομπεύοιτο δ' αὐτοὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ σεμνύνονται τὴν τούτων ἀρχαιότητα, οὕτω εἰδότες ὅτι νεώτεροὶ εἰσὶ καὶ οὕτω ἔχουσιν οὕτωι οἱ βασιλεῖς ἔτη χίλια καὶ ἐκατόν. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς Ἰώραμος ἄκοισας τῇ Ἀδάδου τελευτήν ἀνέπνευσεν ἐκ τῶν φόβων καὶ τοῦ δέους ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν εἶχεν, ἀσμένως εἰρήνης λαμβανόμενος.

94 (v. 1) Ἰώραμος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων βασιλεὺς (καὶ τούτω γὰρ ἦν ταυτό, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν ἐμπροσθεν, ὄνομα) παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ σφαγὴν τῶν ἄδελφῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν πατρὼν φίλων οἱ καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν ἐχώρησε, τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπίδειξιν τῆς πονηρίας ἐνυπεθέν ποιησάμενος καὶ μηδὲν διενεχόμεν τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ βασιλέων, οἱ πρῶτοι παρημόχησαν εἰς τὰ πάτρια τῶν Ἐβραίων ἔθη καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν. ἐδιδάξει δ' αὐτὸν τά τ' ἄλλα εἶναι κακῶν καὶ δὴ καὶ ἔξωκος θεοὺς προσκυνεῖν ὑπὸλα ὑπογάτηρ μὲν Ἀχάβου συν-

1 οὗτοι ROSP.
2 εἴχοντες RO.
3 'Ἰσραήλ (Ἰσλ) MSP.
4 Niese: Πονῆλία codd.

a Unscriptural detail.
b Nicolas of Damascus may be the source of this addition to Scripture. T. Reinach refers to Justinus xxxvi. 2, 3, a passage on the early kings of Damascus, which reads, "Post Damas Azelus, mox Adores et Abrahames et Israel reges

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killed him by suffocation. Then he took over the royal power himself, being a man of action and in great favour with the Syrians and the people of Damascus, by whom Adados and Azaēlos who ruled after him are to this day honoured as gods because of their benefactions and the building of temples with which they adorned the city of Damascus. And they have processions every day in honour of these kings and glory in their antiquity, not knowing that these kings are rather recent and lived less than eleven hundred years ago. Now, when Joram, the Israelite king, heard of Adados’s death, he breathed again more freely after the alarms and the terror which he had felt on his account, and gladly welcomed peace.

(v. 1) But Joram, the king of Jerusalem—he bore this same name, as we stated earlier—no sooner came into power than he proceeded to slay his brothers and his fathers’ friends who were also chiefs, making this the beginning and the outward sign of his wickedness; and in no way did he differ from the kings of the people who first transgressed against the ancient customs of the Hebrews and the worship of God. The one who taught him to do wrong in so many ways, and especially in worshipping foreign gods, was Achab’s daughter Othlia, who was married to Jehoram of Judah and his queen, Athalial (Othlia). Ben-hadad and Hazael reigned about 850 B.C., i.e. less than 1000 years before Josephus’s time of writing (c. A.D. 100).

The remarks on Jehoram’s feeling are an addition to Scripture. Josephus (or his source) is evidently thinking of the god Hadad, the chief deity of the Aramaeans, cf. S. A. Cook, The Religion of Ancient Palestine, etc. (Schweich Lectures), 1930, pp. 130 ff. A god Hazael seems to be unknown.

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Scripture says merely that they revolted from Judah and made themselves a king, implying that they had had no independent king during Jehoshaphat’s reign, cf. 1 Kings xxii. 47 (Heb. 48), “There was then (in Jehoshaphat’s reign) no
to him. But God because of His covenant with David did not wish utterly to destroy his line, although Joram did not let a day go by without devising some new form of impiety and violation of his country’s traditions. Now, when, about that time, the Idumaeans revolted from him and, after killing their former king who had been submissive to Joram’s father, set up a king of their own choosing, Joram, with his own body of horsemen and chariots, invaded Idumaea by night and destroyed those people who were near the borders of his kingdom, but did not proceed farther. By this act, however, he gained nothing at all, for they all revolted from him, including those who inhabited the region called Labina. And he was so far out of his mind that he forced the people to go up to the highest parts of the mountains and worship strange gods.

(2) While he was acting in this fashion and completely disregarding his country’s laws, a letter was brought to him from the prophet Elijah, which informed him that God would inflict severe punishment on him because, instead of having imitated his own fathers, he had followed the impious example of the Israelite kings and had compelled the tribe of Judah and the citizens of Jerusalem to give up the king in Edom; a governor (A.V. “deputy”) was king.”

Josephus, however, follows the contradictory account in 2 Kings iii. 9 ff. (see above, § 30), which speaks of a “king of Edom” accompanying Jehoshaphat in the war against the Moabites.

Bibl. Libnah, lxx 2 Kings Λοββανά (v. l. Λοββάνα, cod. B Σεννά), Luc. Λοββά, 2 Chron. Λοββά (v. l. Λοββά). It has been tentatively identified by Albright with mod. Tell Bornat on the eastern border of the Philistine plain in the latitude of Bethlehem.

Elijah’s prophecy of Jehoram’s fall.

2 Chron. xxi. 12.
JOSEPHUS

ἐπιχωρίου θεοῦ θρησκείαν1 σέβειν τὰ εἴδωλα, καθὼς καὶ Ἀχαβος τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἐβιάσατο, 100 ὅτι τε τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς διεχρήσατο καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας καὶ δικαίους ἀπέκτενεν· τὴν τε τιμωρίαν ἤν ἀντὶ τούτων ύφέξεν ἐμελλεν ἐσήμαινε τοῖς γράμμασιν ὁ προφήτης, ὀλεθρον τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ 101 φθοράν γυναικῶν αὐτοῦ2 καὶ τέκνων, καὶ ὅτι τεθνή-ξεται νόσῳ τῆς νηδύου ἐπὶ πολὺ βασανισθεὶς, καὶ τῶν ἐντέρων αὐτοῦ3 δι’ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τῶν ἐντὸς διαφθορᾶς ἐκρυνέτων, ὅστ’ αὐτὸν ὀρῴντα4 τὴν αὐτοῦ συμφορὰν καὶ μηδὲν βοηθήσαι δυνάμενον ἐπειθ’ οὐτως ἀποθανεῖν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐδήλων διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ὁ Ῥηλίας.

102 (3) Μετ’ οὐ πολὺ δὲ στρατὸς Ἀράβων τῶν ἔγνιστα τῆς Ἀθηναίας κατοικοῦντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλοφυλῶν εἰς τὴν Ἱωράμου βασιλείαν ἐνέβαλε καὶ τὴν τε χώραν διήρπασαν καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς νῦν αὐτοῦ κατέσφαξαν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας. εἰς δὲ αὐτῷ περιλείπεται τῶν παίδων διαφυγῶν τῶν πολεμίων Ὁχοζίας5 ὀνόμα.

103 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτην τὴν συμφορὰν αὐτοῦ τὴν προερη-μένην ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου νόσου ἐπὶ πλείστου νοσή-σας χρόνων (ἐπέσκηψε γὰρ εἰς τὴν γαστέρα τὸ θείον αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀργήν), ἐλεεινῶς ἀπέθανεν ἐπὶ διὸν αὐτοῦ6 τὰ ἐντὸς ἐκρυνέτα. περιβρισε δ’ αὐτοῦ

1 θρησκείαν om. RO.
2 + τοῦ βασιλέως codd. Lat.
3 αὐτῷ cod. Vat. ap. Hudson.
4 ἐπιδόντα SP.
5 Ὁχοζίας M Lat.
6 Dindorf: αὐτῷ R: αὐτοῦ rel.

a Or “after great torment.”
b Josephus uses the lxx word ἀλλόφυλοι “foreigners” to
holy service of their national God and to worship idols just as Achab had forced the Israelites to do, and also because he had done away with his brothers and had slain the good and righteous men. And the penalty which he was to pay for these offences the prophet indicated in his letter, namely the destruction of his people and the death of his wife and children, and that he should die of a disease of the intestines after a long period of torment, when, from the excessive corruption of his inward parts, his bowels would fall out, so that he would look on at his own misery without being able to help himself at all, and finally would die in this manner. Such were the things which Elijah told him in his letter.

(3) Not long after, an army of those Arabs who lived nearest Ethiopia, and the Philistines invaded the kingdom of Joram; they plundered the country and the king's residence, and moreover slew his sons and wives. Only one of his sons, named Ochozias, was left to him, having escaped from the enemy. And after this misfortune he himself for a very long time suffered from the disease which the prophet had foretold to him—for the Deity had struck at his stomach in His wrath, and so perished miserably, looking on while his entrails fell out. And the populace treated designate the Philistines, but follows the Heb. in speaking of the Philistines and the Arabs living near Ethiopia, while lxx has "Philistines and Arabs and the neighbours of the Ethiopians."

Bibl. "captured (lxx "carried away") . . . his sons and his wives (lxx "daughters")."

Bibl. Ahaziah (ʼAhazyāhû), lxx ʼOχοζεᾶς. In 2 Chron. xxi. 17 he is called Jehoahaz (יהוהָאָֽז), which is the same name as Ahaziah except that the two elements (Yāhū = the tetragram, and ʼāhaz "has taken") are transposed.
104 καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ὁ λαὸς· λογισάμενος γὰρ οἶμαι τὸν οὐτως ἀποθανόντα κατὰ μὴν θεοῦ μηδὲ κηδείας τῆς βασιλείας πρεπούσης ἄξιον εἶναι τυχεῖν, οὕτε ταῖς πατρώαις ἐνεκήδευσαν αὐτὸν θήκαις οὕτε ἄλλης τιμῆς ἥξιωσαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἰδιώτην θαῦμαν, βιώσαντα μὲν ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα, βασιλεύσαντα δὲ ὅκτω. παραδίδωσι δὲ τὴν ἄρχην ὁ δήμος ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ Ὀχοζία.

105 (vi. 1) Ἰώραμος δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλίτων βασιλεύς μετὰ τὴν Ἀδάδου τελευτὴν ἔλπιδας Ἀραμάθην1 πόλιν τῆς Γαλααδίτιδος ἀφαίρησεθαυ τοὺς Σύρους στρατεύει μὲν ἐπ' αὐτὴν μετὰ μεγάλης παρασκευῆς, ἐν δὲ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τοξευθεῖς ὑπὸ τινὸς τῶν Σύρων οὐ καριώς ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Ἰεζαρῆλην αὐτὴ τὸ τραίμα, καταλυπῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραμάθῃ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπασάν καὶ ἠγεμόνα τὸν Νεμεσαίον3 παίδα Ἰηοῦν· ἡδὴ γὰρ αὐτὴν ἰρήκει κατὰ κράτος. προύκειτο δ' αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν θεραπείαν πολεμεῖν τοῖς Σύροις. Ἂλυσαίοις δ' ὁ προφητής ἐνα τῶν αὐτοῦ15 μαθητῶν, δοὺς αὐτῷ τὸ ἄγιον ἐλαιον, ἑπεμψεν εἰς Ἀραμάθην χρίσοντα τὸν Ἰηοῦν καὶ φράσοντα ὅτι τὸ θεῖον αὐτῶν Ἰησοῦν βασιλεά· ἀλλὰ τε πρὸς τούτοις εἶπεν ἐπιστείλας

1 Ἀραμάθα RO: Ἀραμώθ E: Aramath Lat.
4 Niese: αὐτῶν codd. E.

a Bibl. "and the people made no burning (lxx ἐκφοράν " burial ") for him like the burning of his fathers.”
b Bibl. "he departed without being missed (lxx οὐκ ἐν ἐπαίνῳ “ not with praise ”)."
even his dead body with indignity\(^a\); as they reasoned, I suppose, that one who had died in this manner through the wrath of God was not worthy to obtain a form of burial befitting kings, they neither laid him to rest in the sepulchres of his fathers nor did they grant him any other honour, but buried him like a commoner,\(^b\) at the age of forty years and after a reign of eight years. And the people of Jerusalem gave the royal power over to his son Ochozias.

(vi. 1) Now Joram, the king of the Israelites, hoped, after the death of Adados, to take the city of Aramathē in Galaaditis\(^c\) from the Syrians, and marched against it with a great array,\(^d\) but in the siege he was shot by one of the Syrians, and, though not mortally wounded, withdrew to the city of Jezreēl\(^e\) to have his wound healed there, and left his whole army behind in Aramathē with their commander Jehu,\(^f\) the son of Nemesaios,\(^g\) for he had already taken it by storm. And it was his intention, after being cured, to continue the war with the Syrians.\(^h\)

But the prophet Elisha sent one of his disciples,\(^i\) to whom he gave the holy oil, to Aramathē to anoint Jehu and tell him that the Deity had chosen him king; and, having instructed him to say other things

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\(^a\) Bibl. Ramoth-gilead, cf. Ant. viii. 399 note.

\(^b\) Scripture adds that Ahaziah accompanied him.


\(^e\) Bibl. Nimshi, cf. ibid. note g. At this point in Scripture (2 Kings ix. 2) Jehu is called “the son of Jehoshaphat the son of Nimshi,” but Luc. has “the son of Nimshi the son of Jehoshaphat,” which reading Josephus follows as agreeing with the earlier reference, 1 Kings xix. 16.

\(^f\) Unscriptural detail.

\(^g\) The prophet Jonah, according to Jewish tradition, cf. § 139 note f.
JOSEPHUS

ἐκέλευε τρόπῳ φυγῆς ποιήσασθαι τῇν πορείαν,
107 ὅπως λάθη πάντας ἐκεῖθεν ἀπεῖπ. ὃ δὲ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει τοῦ μὲν Ἰησοῦν εὐρίσκει καθεξόμενον μετὰ τῶν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἥγεμόνων μέσον αὐτῶν, καθὼς Ἐλυσαίος αὐτῷ προεῖπε, προσελθὼν δὲ
108 ἐφὴ βούλεσθαι περὶ τινῶν αὐτῷ διαλεχθῆναι. τοῦ δὲ ἀναστάντος καὶ ἀκολουθήσαντος εἰς τὸ ταμεῖον, λαβὼν ὁ νεανίσκος τὸ ἔλαιον κατέχεεν αὐτὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐφὴ βασιλέα χειροτονεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ὀλέθρῳ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Ἀχάβου, καὶ ὅπως ἐκδικήσῃ τὸ αἷμα τῶν προφητῶν τῶν ὑπὸ
109 Ἰεζαβέλας παρανόμως ἀποθανόντων, ἦν ὁ τούτων οἶκος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅπερ Ἰεροβοάμου τοῦ Ναβαταίου παιδὸς καὶ Βασάν ἐπάρριζος διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν αὐτῶν ἀφανισθῇ καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολειφθῇ σπέρμα τῆς Ἀχάβου γενεᾶς. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἐξεπήδησεν ἐκ τοῦ ταμείου, σπουδάζων μηδὲν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὀραθῆναι.

110 (2) Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς προσελθὼν ἤκεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἐνθὰ μετὰ τῶν ἥγεμόνων ἐκαθέζετο. πυθανόμενοι δὲ καὶ φράζεων αὐτοῖς παρακαλοῦντων τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοιτο ὁ νεανίσκος, καὶ προσέτι μαίνεσθαι λεγόντων αὐτῷ, "ἀλλὰ ὥρθως γε εἰκάσατε," εἶπε, "καὶ γὰρ τοὺς λόγους μεμνήτως
111 ἐποιήσατο." σπουδαζόντων δ᾽ ἀκούσας καὶ δεο-

1 ἐκδικήσει Μ.
2 Ἀβασά SP: Βαάσα Μ: Βασάν O: Abisa Lat.

a Bibl. "flee and tarry not."
b On the lxx ταμεῖον ἐν ταμεῖῳ, translating the Heb
in addition, he told him to make the journey as if he were a fugitive, in order that he might get away from there without being seen by anyone. And so, when he came to the city, he found Jehu seated in the midst of the officers of the army, as Elisha had foretold to him, and, going up to him, he said that he wished to speak with him about certain matters. Then, when Jehu got up and followed him into an inner chamber, the youth took the oil and poured it over his head, saying that God had elected him king to destroy the line of Ahab and to avenge the blood of the prophets who had unlawfully been put to death by Jezebela, in order that their house, like that of Jeroboam, the son of Nabataios, and that of Basa, might be destroyed root and branch and that no seed might be left of Ahab's family. And, when he had said these things, he darted out of the inner chamber, taking care not to be seen by any of those in the army.

(2) But Jehu went out and came to the place where he had been sitting with the officers. And, when they questioned him and urged him to tell them why the youth had come to him, adding that he was a madman, he replied, "You have, indeed, guessed right, for the words he spoke were those of a madman." But they were eager to hear them and idiom heder beheder, lit. "chamber in chamber," cf. Ant. viii. 410 note.

* Called Basanēs in Ant. viii. 288; bibl. Baasha, lxx Baasād.

A Josephus omits the scriptural statement (2 Kings ix. 10), "and the dogs shall eat Jezebel," etc.

* Bibl. "and he opened the door and fled."

B Bibl. "you know the man and his talk (lxx ἄδολεσχίαν "idle talk")."
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μένων ἐφη τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν ἤρησθαι βασιλέα τοῦ πλῆθους εἰρηκέναι. ταῦτ' εἰπόντος ἔκαστος περι-
δύων αὐτὸν ὑπεστρώννετο1 αὐτῷ τὸ ἵμάτιον καὶ σαλπίζοντες τούς κέρασιν ἐσήμανον Ἰησοῦν εἶναι

112 βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ ἄθροίσας τὴν στρατιὰν ἐμελλεν ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ Ἰωραμον εἰς Ἰεζάρηλαν πόλιν, ἐν ᾧ, καθὼς προείπομεν,2 ἐθεραπεύετο τὴν πληγὴν ἡν ἠλαβε πρὸς τῇ Ἀραμάθης πολυρκία. ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἰεροσολυμίτων βασιλεὺς Ὀχοζίας ἀφυγμένος πρὸς τὸν Ἰωραμον· νῦς γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀδέλφης, ὡς καὶ προερήκαμεν, ἐπισκέφθησαν δὲ πῶς ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἔχοι διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν

113 ἐληλύθει. Ἰησοῦς δὲ βουλόμενος αἱρυδίως τοις περὶ τὸν Ἰωραμον προσπεσεῖν3 ἦξιον μηδένα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποδράντα μηνῦσαι ταύτα τῷ Ἰωράμῳ τούτῳ γὰρ ἐσεσθαί λαμπρὰν ἐπίδειξιν αὐτῷ τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ τοῦ διακειμένου οὐτῶς ἀποδείξει αὐτὸν βασιλέα.

114 (3) Οἱ δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἡσθέντες4 ἐφύλαττον τὰς ὅδους μὴ τις εἰς Ἰεζάρηλαν διαλαθῶν μηνύσῃ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐκεῖ. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰησοῦς τῶν ἅπερ εἰς τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους παραλαβῶν καὶ καθίσας ἐφ' ἀρματος εἰς τὴν Ἰεζάρηλαν ἐπορεύετο, γενομένουν

1 ex Lat. Cocceji: ἐπεστρώννυεν RSPE(O): ἐπεστῶρευν M. 2 προείπον RO. 3 ἐμπεσεῖν MSP. 4 πεισθέντες Naber.

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1 Emended text. The Heb. (2 Kings ix. 13) is obscure, “and put it under him at the gerem (A.V. “top” of the steps”); LXX transliterates gerem, Targum renders dērag ša'ayā “smooth step” (not “grade of the sun-dial” as some Jewish commentators explain) and similarly later commentators. Josephus apparently takes gerem, which regularly means “bone” in Aramaic (and occasionally in Heb.), in the sense of “foot.”
begged him to speak, whereupon he said that the youth had told him that God had chosen him king of the people. When he had said this, every man took off his cloak and spread it under Jehu's feet, and, sounding the trumpets, they proclaimed him king. Then he collected the army and prepared to set out against Joram to the city of Jezarela, where, as we have said before, he was being healed of the wound which he had received in the siege of Aramathē. Now it happened also that Ochozias, the king of Jerusalem, had come to Joram, for he was, as we have said before, the son of his sister and, because of their kinship, had come to see for himself how his wound was doing. But Jehu, wishing to fall suddenly upon Joram and his men, asked that none of his soldiers run off and inform Joram of these plans, saying that if they observed this request it would be a clear proof of their loyalty to him and that they had declared him king because of their friendly feeling toward him.

(3) And so, approving of what he said, they guarded the roads in order that no one might escape to Jezarela and betray him to those who were there. Then Jehu, taking along the pick of his horsemen, took his seat in his chariot and set out for Jezarela;
Jospehus

δὲ ἐγγὺς ὁ σκοτὸς ὃν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωράμως καθεστάκει τοὺς ἐρχομένους εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφορὰν, ἵδιων μετὰ πλήθους προσελαύνοντα τὸν Ἰηοῦν ἀπήγγειλεν Ἰωράμως προσελαύνουσαν ἐπίπειν ἔλην. 115 ὁ δὲ εὐθὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἐκπεμφθῆναι των τῶν ἐπιπέων ὑπαντησόμενον καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ προσῶν γνωσόμενον. ἐλθὼν οὖν πρὸς τὸν Ἰηοῦν ὁ ἱππεὺς ἐπηρώτα περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατόπεδῳ πυνθάνεσθαι γὰρ ταῦτα τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ μηδὲν μὲν περὶ τούτων πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, ἐπέσθαν ὦ δ' αὐτῷ.

116 ταῦτα ὁ σκοτὸς ὅρων ἀπήγγειλεν Ἰωράμως τὸν ἐπιπέα συγκαταμεγέντα τῷ πλῆθει τῶν προσόντων σὺν ἐκείνως παραγίνεσθαι. πέμψατος δὲ καὶ δεύτερον τοῦ βασιλέως ταῦτο ποιεῖν προσέταξεν

117 Ἰηοῦς. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἔδήλωσεν ὁ σκοτὸς Ἰωράμως, τελευταῖον αὐτὸς ἐπιβᾶς ἅρματος σὺν Ὀχοζίᾳ τῷ τῶν Ἰεροσολυμίτων βασιλεῖ (παρῆ γὰρ αὐτός ὡς ἐφαμεν' ἐμπροσθεν ὄψιμον αὐτον πῶς ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἔχοι διὰ συγγένειαν) ἐξῆλθεν ὑπαντησόμενος. σχολαίτερον δὲ καὶ μετ'

118 εὐταξίας ὥδεθεν Ἰηοῦς. καταλαβὼν δὲ ἐν ἄγρῳ Ναβώθου τοῦτον Ἰωράμως ἐπηνθάνετο εἰ πάντα ἔχοι καλῶς τὰ κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον· βλασφημήσατος δὲ πικρῶς αὐτοῦ Ἰηοῦδος, ὡς καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ φαρμακοὶ καὶ πόρνην ᾠποκαλέσαι,

1 Naber: ἐφημεν codd.; ἐφη Niese.
2 καὶ πόρνην om. RO.
but, as he came near, the look-out whom King Joram had stationed to watch for those entering the city saw Jehu advancing with a host of men, and informed Joram that a troop of horsemen was advancing. Thereupon he at once ordered one of his own horsemen to meet them and find out who it was that was coming. So the horseman came to Jehu and asked him about the state of things in the camp, saying that the king wanted to know. But Jehu told him not to trouble himself about these matters, but to follow him. When the look-out saw this, he reported to Joram that the horseman had joined himself to the host of men approaching, and was coming with them. And, when the king sent a second man, Jehu ordered him to do the same (as the first). But, when the look-out informed Joram of this also, he himself mounted his chariot with Ochozias, the king of Jerusalem—he too was there, as we said before, because of their kinship, to see how Joram's wound was getting on—and went out to meet him. Now Jehu was going along rather slowly and in good order. And Joram, coming upon him in the field of Naboth, inquired whether all was well with the camp. But Jehu reviled him bitterly, going so far as to call his mother a witch and a harlot, whereupon the king,

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\[\text{Jehu slays Jehoram and wounds Ahaziah.} \]

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\[\text{ix. 18.} \]
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dείσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς φρονεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπονοήσας, στρέψας ὡς εἶχε τὸ ἁρμα ἑφυγε, φήσας πρὸς Ὀχοζίαν ἐνέδρα καὶ δόλῳ κατεστρατηγήσας. Ἰηοὺς δὲ τοξεύσας αὐτὸν καταβάλλει, τοῦ βέλους διὰ τῆς καρδίας ἐνέχθετος.

119 καὶ Ἰώραμος μὲν εὐθὺς πεσὼν ἐπὶ γόνυ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφήκεν, Ἰηοὺς δὲ προσέταξε Βαδάκρω1 τῷ τῆς τρίτης μοίρας ἧγεμόνι· ἥμας τὸν Ἰωράμου νεκρὸν εἰς τὸν ἄγρον τὸν Ναβώθου ἀναμνήσας αὐτοῦ τῆς 'Ηλία προφητείας, ἢν Ἀχάβῳ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν Νάβωθθον ἀποκτείνατι προεφήτευσεν ὡς ἀπολεῖται αὐτός τε καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἑκείνῳ χωρίῳ.

120 παῦτα γὰρ καθεξόμενος ὁπισθὲν τοῦ ἀρματος Ἀχάβου λέγοντος ἀκούσα τοῦ προφήτου. καὶ δὴ τοῦτο συνεβή γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν πρόρρησιν τὴν ἑκείνου. πεσόντος δὲ Ἰωράμου δείσας περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας Ὀχοζίας τὸ ἁρμα εἰς ἑτέραν ὅδον 121 ἐξείσευσε, λήσεσθαι τὸν Ἰηοῦν ὑπολαβών. ὁ δ' ἐπιδιώξας καὶ καταλαβὼν ἐν τούτῳ προσβάσει τοξεύσας ἐτρώσε, καταληπτὸν δὲ τὸ ἁρμα καὶ ἐπιβᾶς2 ὑπ' ὕππω φεύγει τὸν Ἰηοῦν εἰς Μαγεδῶν3 κάκει θεραπεύμενος μετ' ὀλίγον ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς τελευταί. κομισθεὶς δ' εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα τῆς ἐκεῖ ταφῆς τυγχάνει βασιλεύσας μὲν ἐναυτὸν ἑνα, πονηρὸς δὲ καὶ χείρων τοῦ πατρὸς γενόμενος.

1 Βαδάκρω ex Lat. (Vadacro) Hudson.
2 ἀναβᾶς RO.
3 Hudson: Μαγαδών codd.: Mageddon Lat.

a The phrase μηδὲν ὑγιὲς φρονεῖν (occurring also in B.J. v. 326) is Sophoclean, cf. Phil. 1006.

b So Heb. and lxx: A.V. (inaccurately) "sunk down."


d Cf. § 73 note a.
fearing his intentions and suspecting that he meant no good, turned his chariot where it was and fled, telling Ochozias that they had been manœuvreed into a trap and tricked. But Jehu shot at him and hit him, the arrow going through his heart. And Joram immediately fell on his knees and breathed his last. Then Jehu ordered Badakos, the commander of the third division, to throw Joram’s corpse into the field of Naboth, reminding him of Elijah’s prophecy which he had made to Joram’s father Achab who had killed Naboth, when he said that both he and his line should perish in Naboth’s field. These things, said Jehu, he had heard the prophet say, when seated behind Achab’s chariot. And indeed it fell out in accordance with Elijah’s prophecy. When Joram fell, Ochozias, being fearful for his own safety, turned his chariot aside to another road, thinking to elude Jehu. But he pursued him closely and, overtaking him at a certain rise of ground, shot and wounded him; thereupon Ochozias abandoned his chariot and, mounting a horse, fled from Jehu to Mageddo, where, although he received treatment, he died from the wound shortly after. Then he was brought to Jerusalem and there received burial; he had reigned only a year, but had been a bad king, even worse than his father.

* Bibl. “at the ascent of Gur which is near Ibleam.”

† According to Heb. and Luc. of 2 Kings ix. 27 Jehu commands his men (lxx has the command in the sing., ἀπαξ δὴ ῥόφων) to shoot Ahaziah; but according to the Luc. addition after 2 Kings x. 36 it was Jehu who shot Ahaziah, and, finally, according to lxx of 2 Chron. xxii. 9 when Ahaziah was caught at Samaria and brought to Jehu, Jehu killed him (Heb. “and they killed him”).


§ So lxx 2 Chron.; Heb. “lay hid in Samaria.”
122 (4) Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦδος εἰσελθόντος εἰς Ἰεζάρηλαν κοσμησαμένη Ἰεζαβέλα καὶ στᾶσα ἐπὶ τοῦ πύργου "καλὸς," εἶπε, "δούλος ὁ ἀποκτείνας τὸν δεσπό- την." οὗ ἀναβλέψας πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπυνθάνετο τὸς εἶπ καὶ καταβᾶσαν ἦκειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν καὶ τέλος τοῖς εὐνούχοις προσέταξεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου βαλεῖν. καταφερομένη δὲ ἦδη τὸ τείχος περιέρρανε τῷ αἵματι καὶ συμπαθηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππῶν οὕτως ἀπέθανεν. τούτων δὲ γενομένων παρ- ελθὼν Ἰηοῦς εἰς τὰ βασίλεια σὺν τοῖς φίλοις ἐαυτοῦ ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεκτάτο τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τραπέζῃ. προσέταξε δὲ τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀνελομένοις τὴν Ἰεζαβέλαν θάψαι διὰ τὸ γένος ἢ γὰρ ἐκ βασιλέων. εὗρον δ' οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος αὐτῆς οἱ προσταχθέντες τὴν κηδείαν ἦν μόνα τὰ ἀκρωτηρία, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πᾶν ὑπὸ κυνῶν ἢ δεδαπανημένον ταῦτ' ἀκούσας δὲ Ἰηοῦς ἐθαύμαζε τὴν Ἡλίου προ- φητείαν οὕτος γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐν Ἰεζαρῆλα προεῖπε τοῦτον ἀπολείσθαι τὸν τρόπον.

123 (5) "Οντων δ' Ἀχάβοι παῖδων ἐβδομήκοντα τρεφομένων δ' ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ πέμπει δυὸ ἐπιστολὰς Ἰηοῦς τὴν μὲν τοῖς παιδαγωγοῖς τὴν δ' ἐτέραν τοῖς ἀρχούσι τῶν Σαμαρεών, λέγων τὸν ἀνδρειότατον τῶν Ἀχάβου παῖδων ἀποδείξαι βασιλεᾶ (καὶ γὰρ ἀρμάτων αὐτοῖς εἶναι πλήθος καὶ ἱππῶν καὶ

1 ὁ ἀποκτείνας ME: ὁς ἀποκτείνας SP1: ὁς ἀπέκτεινε P2: ὁς ἀποκτείνει Ω: qui occidit Lat.
2 πλὴν SP.
3 δ' αὐτῶν RO.
4 αὐτῷ RO.

a Bibl. "Is it well with Zimri (A.V. "had Zimri peace ")", 66
(4) Now as Jehu entered Jezarēla, Jezabela, who had adorned herself and was standing on the tower, cried, "A fine servant, who has killed his master!" But he looked up at her and asked who she was, and commanded her to come down to him; finally he ordered the eunuchs to throw her from the tower. And, behold, as she fell, the wall was spattered with her blood, and she was trampled by the horses, and so died. After these happenings, Jehu came to the palace with his friends, and refreshed himself after his ride with food and other things. He also ordered the servants who had sent Jezabela to her death to bury her, out of respect for her lineage, for she came of a line of kings. But the men who had been ordered to bury her found nothing more of her body than the extremities alone; all the rest had been devoured by dogs. When Jehu heard this, he marvelled at the prophecy of Elijah, for he had foretold that she would perish in this manner at Jezarēla.

(5) Now Achab had seventy sons, who were being brought up in Samaria, and Jehu sent two letters, one to their tutors, and the other to the magistrates of Samaria, telling them to appoint the bravest of Achab's sons as king, for, he said, they had an abundance of chariots, horses, arms, soldiers and who killed his master?" Jezebel alludes ironically to the regicidal deed of Zimri, the successor of Elah, 1 Kings xvi. 9 ff. (Ant. viii. 307 ff.).

So lxx, ισ ει σοι; renders Heb. mi 'itti mi, lit. "who is with me, who?"; lxx evidently read 'att "thou" for 'itti "with me." The Heb. phrase is traditionally rendered "who is on my side?"

Scripture says merely that Jehu sent letters (lxx βιβλίων "a letter") to the elders of Samaria and to the guardians of the princes, not specifying "two letters": cf. § 127 note b.
Δὴ πλων καὶ στρατιάς καὶ πόλεως ὁχυρᾶς ἔχειν) καὶ τούτῳ ποιήσωντας εἰσπράττεσθαι δίκην ὑπὲρ τοῦ 126 δεσπότου. ταῦτα δὲ γράφει 1 διάπειραν βουλό-μενος λαβεῖν τῆς τῶν Σαμαρέων διανοίας. ἀνα-γνώτες δὲ τὰ γράμματα οὐ τε ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ παιδαγωγοὶ κατέδεικνυαν, καὶ λογισάμενοι μηδὲν δύνασθαι ποιῶν πρὸς τούτον, δύο γὰρ 2 μεγίστων ἐκράτησε βασιλέως, ἀντέγραψαν ὠμολογοῦντες αὐτὸν ἐχειν δεσπότην καὶ ποιῆσεν ὦτι ἂν κελεύῃ. 127 ο δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντέγραψεν, αὐτῶ 4 τε ὑπακούειν κελεύων καὶ τῶν Ἀχάβου παιδών τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποτεμώντας πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτῶν. οὶ δὲ ἄρχοντες μεταπεμψάμενοι τοὺς τροφεῖς τῶν παιδῶν προσ-έταξαν ἀποκτείνας αὐτοὺς τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπο-τεμεῖν καὶ πέμψαι πρὸς Ἰησοῦν. οὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ὅλως φεισάμενοι τοῦτο ἐπράξαν καὶ συνήθεντες εἰς τινὰ πλεκτὰ ἄγγεια τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπέπεμψαν εἰς 128 Ἰεζάρηλαν. κομισθεισῶν δὲ τούτων ἀγγέλλεται μετὰ τῶν φίλων δειπνοῦντι τῷ Ἰησοῦ ὦτι κομισθεῖεν αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀχάβου παιδῶν 5 κεφαλαί. ο δὲ πρὸ τῆς πῦλης ἐξ ἐκατέρου μέρους ἐκέλευσεν ἐξ αὐτῶν 129 ἀναστήσαε 6 βουνοῦς. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ἂμα ἢμέρα πρόεισιν ὁφόμενος, καὶ θεοσάμενος ἥρξητο πρὸς τὸν παρόντα λαὸν λέγων ὦ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν δεσπότην στρατεύσωμαι τὸν αὐτοῦ κάκεινον ἀποκτείνει, τούτους δὲ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀνέλοι. γινώ-

1 δὲ γράφει F: δ' ἐγεγράφει RO: ἐγράφει P: δ' ἐφη MS: autem scripsit Lat.: ἐγραφε ταῦτα Ζονάρας.
2 τοῦτο RO.
3 δύο γὰρ RO: ος δύο MSP Lat.
4 Niese: αὐτῶ codd. E.
5 τέκνων MSP.
6 S: ἀναστήναι rell. E.  δὲ πάντας MSPE Lat.
fortified cities, and, when they had done this, to take vengeance for their master's death. This he wrote because he wished to test the feelings of the Samarians toward himself. But, when they read the letters, the magistrates and the tutors were terrified and, reflecting that they could do nothing against one who had overcome two very great kings, they wrote back, agreeing to have him for their master and to do whatever he commanded. He thereupon wrote back, commanding them to obey him and to cut off the heads of Achab's sons and send them to him. So the magistrates summoned the sons' tutors and ordered them to kill them and cut off their heads and send them to Jehu. And they did so, showing no mercy at all, and, putting their heads in woven baskets, sent them off to Jezarela. When they had been brought there, it was announced to Jehu, as he was dining with his friends, that the heads of Achab's sons had been brought. He thereupon commanded that they be set up before the gate in two heaps, one on either side. And, after this was done, he went out at dawn to see them, and, when he had looked at them, he began to speak to the people there present, saying that he had indeed marched against his master and killed him, but these youths he himself had not slain. He also asked them to recog-

a “Fortified cities” are mentioned in lxx; Heb. “fortified city” (collective?). Neither text specifically mentions soldiers.

b Unscriptural detail. Scripture seems not to distinguish between the elders of the city and the tutors of the princes, cf. 2 Kings x. 6 f. “And the sons of the king were with the great men (lxx ἀρχηγοὺς “chiefs”) of the city, who brought them up. And it came to pass, when the letter came to them, they took the king's sons and slew seventy persons.” etc.

c Heb. ὀδυμ (A.V. “baskets”), lxx καρπάλωις.

d “Dining with his friends” is an unscriptural detail.
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σκευὶ δὲ αὐτοῦς ἥξιον περὶ τῆς Ἀχάβου γενεάς, ὅτι πάντα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προφητεῖαν γέγονε καὶ ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ, καθὼς καὶ Ἡλίας προείπεν,

130 ἀπόλωλε. προσδιαφθείρας δὲ καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς Ἰεζαρηλίταις εὑρεθέντας ἐκ τῆς Ἀχάβου συγ-γενεάς ἰππείςἐ ἐῖς Σαμάρειαν ἐπορεύετο. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὄδὸν τοῖς Ὀχοζία συμβαλὼν οἶκείως τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἰεροσολυμίτων ἀνέκρινεν αὐτοῖς τὶ δὴ ποτὲ παρεγένοντο. οἱ δ’ ἀσπασόμενοι τε Ἰώραμον καὶ τὸν αὐτῶν βασιλέα Ὀχοζίαν ἥκειν ἐφασκόν (οὐ γὰρ ὤδεσαν αὐτοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πεφονευμένους). Ἰηοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῦτος συλληφθέντας ἀναρεθήναι προσέταξε, οὕτας τῶν ἄριθμῶν τεσσαράκοντα δύο.

132 (6) Συναντᾶ δ’ αὐτῶ μετὰ τούτους ἀνήρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος Ἰωνάδαβος ὄνομα φίλος αὐτῶ πάλαι γεγονός, δὴ ἀσπασόμενος αὐτῶν ἐπαινεῖν ἤρξατο τῷ πάντα πεποιηκέναι κατὰ βουλήν τοῦ θεοῦ,

133 τὴν οἴκειαν ἕξαφανίσας τῇ Ἀχάβου. Ἰηοὺς δ’ ἀναβάντα ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρμα συνεσελθεῖν αὐτῶν εἰς Σαμάρειαν παρεκάλει, λέγων ἐπιδιέξειν πῶς οὖ-δενὸς φείσεται πονηρόν, ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς ψευδο-προφήτας καὶ τοὺς ψευδερεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐξαιτη-ςαντας τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς τὴν μὲν τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ θρησκείαν ἐγκαταλείπειν τοὺς δὲ ἔξικοις προσ-

1 καὶ om. MSPE.
2 ἰππεῖς om. M: cum equis Lat.
3 ἕξαφανίσαντα ed. pr. fort. recte.

* Gr. “knights”; bibl. “all his great men (lxx ἀδρόους “chief’s”) and kinsmen and priests.”
nize that all these things had happened to Achab's family, in accordance with God's prophecy and his house had perished, just as Elijah had foretold. Then, having also destroyed the nobles\(^a\) related to Achab, who were found among the people of Jezarela, he set out for Samaria. But on the way he fell in with some relatives of Oehozias, the king of Jerusalem, and he asked them what they might have come for. Thereupon they replied that they had come to greet Joram and their own king, Oehozias\(^b\)—they were not aware that both kings had been done to death by him. Then Jehu ordered that they too should be seized and slain, being forty-two in number.

(6) After these men (had been disposed of), there met him a good and just man named Jonadab,\(^c\) who had long been his friend,\(^d\) and, after greeting him, he began to commend him for having done everything in accordance with the will of God in extirpating the house of Achab.\(^e\) Then Jehu asked him to come up into his chariot and come along with him to Samaria, saying that he would show him how he would spare no wicked man, but would punish the false prophets and the false priests and those who had seduced the people into abandoning the worship of the Most High God and bowing down to strange gods; it was, he

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\(^a\) Bibl. "We are going to greet the sons of the king and the sons of the queen" (or "queen-mother," Heb. \(g\)\(\text{bir\=ah}\), Lxx \(τ\)\(γ\)\(s\ \delta\)\(i\)\(n\)\(a\)\(s\)\(a\)\(t\)\(e\)\(n\)\(o\)\(u\)\(n\)\(s\)). Presumably the sons (or descendants) of Ahab and Jezebel are meant, but Josephus's correction is quite natural.

\(^b\) Gr. Jonadabos; bibl. Jehonadab (\(Y\)\(h\)\(n\)\(a\)\(d\)\(a\)\(b\)). Scripture adds that he was the son of Rechab (\(R\)\(k\)\(\=a\)\(b\)).

\(^c\) Unscriptural detail, perhaps derived from Jehu's question, "Is your heart right as my heart is with your heart?"

\(^d\) Scripture says merely that Jehonadab gave Jehu his hand (as a token that his heart was "right with" him).
κυνεῖν, τιμωρησεται: κάλλιστον δ’ εἶναι θεαμάτων καὶ ἡδιστον ἄνδρι χρηστῷ καὶ δικαίω κολαξομένους
134 ποιηρούς ἰδεῖν.¹ τούτοις πεισθεῖς ὁ Ἰωνάδαβος ἀναβὰς εἰς τὸ ἅρμα εἰς Σαμαρέιαν παραγίνεται. ἀναζητήσας δὲ πάντας τοὺς Ἀχάβου συγγενεῖς Ἰηοὺς ἀποκτείνει. βουλόμενος δὲ μηδένα τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν μηδ’ ἱερέων τῶν Ἀχάβου θεῶν τὴν τιμωρίαν διαφυγεῖν, ἀπάτη καὶ δόλῳ πάντας
135 αὐτοὺς συνελαβεῖν. ἀθροίσας γὰρ τὸν λαὸν ἐφ’ ἔφη βούλεσθαι διπλασίονας ἀνὶ Ἀχάβου εἰσηγήσατο θεῶν προσκυνεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνων ἱερεῖς καὶ προ-
φῆτας ἥξιον καὶ δούλους αὐτῶν παρεῖναι. θυσίας γὰρ πολυτελεῖς καὶ μεγάλας ἐπιτελεῖν μέλλειν τοῖς Ἄχάβου θεοῖς. τὸν δ’ ἀπολειφθέντα τῶν ἱερέων θανάτῳ ζημιώσειν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς Ἀχάβου Βαάλ
136 ἐκαλείτο. τάξας δὲ ἡμέραν καθ’ ἣν ἐμελλε πομή-
σειν τὰς θυσίας διέπεμπεν³ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰσραή-
λιτῶν χώραν τοὺς ἄξοντας πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς ἱερεῖς
tοῦ Βαάλ. ἐκέλευσε δ’ Ἰηοὺς τῷ ἱερείοτοι δοῦνα
πᾶσιν ἐνδύματα: λαβόντων δὲ παρελθὼς εἰς τὸν
οἶκον μετὰ τοῦ φίλου Ἰωναδάβου, μὴ τις ἐν
αὐτοῖς ἄλλοφυλος εἰὴ καὶ ξένος ἐρευνῆσαι προσ-
έταξεν: οὐ βούλεσθαι γὰρ τοῖς ἱερεῖς αὐτῶν
137 ἄλλοτριον παρατυχάνειν. τῶν δὲ εἰπόντων μὲν

¹ ἰδεῖν om. ROM.
² αὐτῶ RMS: αὐτοῦ O.
³ διέπεμπεν MSP.
⁴ τοῖς ἱερεῖσι MSPE et fort. Zonaras.

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¹ Amplification of Jehu’s brief statement, “Come with me and see my zeal for the Lord.”
² Bibl. “Ahab served Baal a little, but Jehu shall serve him much.”
said, the most desirable and pleasant of sights for a good and upright man to see the wicked punished. Being persuaded by these arguments, Jonadab got up into Jehu's chariot and came to Samaria. There Jehu sought out all of Achab's relatives and killed them. Then, resolving that none of the false prophets or priests of Achab's gods should escape punishment, he caught them all by deceit and cunning; having gathered the people together, he told them that he wished to worship twice as many gods as Achab had introduced, and he asked the priests of these gods and their prophets and servants to be present, for, he said, he intended to offer costly and great sacrifices to Achab's gods, and he would punish with death any of the priests who might be absent. Now the god of Achab was called Baal. And so, having set a day on which he intended to offer the sacrifices, Jehu sent men throughout the Israelites' country to bring to him the priests of Baal; he also ordered the (chief) priest to give vestments to all. And, when they had taken them, he went into the temple with his friend Jonadab, and ordered a search to be made that there might be no foreigner nor stranger among them, saying that he did not wish any outsider to be present at their rites. And, when they said that there was no

Cf. § 138 note d.  
Bibl. " and he said to him who was over the melṭāḥāh (A.V. "vestry," ἵκον μεθαὰλ, Targum and Jewish tradition "clothes-chest"), Bring forth vestments for all the priests of Baal."  
Of Baal.  
Bibl. " Search and look out that there be here with you none of the worshippers of the Lord, but the worshippers of Baal only." Josephus evidently thinks that the biblical version of Jehu's stratagem to trap the worshippers of Baal needs an extra twist.

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οὐδένα παρεῖναι εξένοι, καταρφαμένων δὲ τῶν θυσιῶν περιέστησεν ἐξωθέν̄ οὐδόκουσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀνδρας, οὓς ὤδει πιστοτάτους τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, κελεύσας αὐτοῖς ἀποκτείναι τοὺς ψευδοπροφήτας καὶ τὸν τοὺς πατρίοις ἔθει τιμωρεῖν πολὺν ἥδη χρόνον ἀληθημένους, ἀπειλήσας ύπέρ τῶν δια-

138 φυγόντων τὰς ἔκεινων ἀφαίρεσεσθαῑ ψυχάς. οἳ δὲ τοὺς τε ἀνδρας ἀπαντᾶς κατέσφαξαν καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Βααλ ἐμπρήσαντες ἐκάθηραν οὕτως ἀπὸ τῶν ξενικῶν ἑθισμῶν̄ τὴν Σαμαρειαν. οὕτως ὁ Βααλ Τυριών ἦν θεός. "Ἀχαβος δὲ τῷ πενθερῷ βουλόμενος χαρίσασθαι Θωβάλως Τυριῶν ὄντι βασιλεὶ καὶ Σιδώνιων ναὸν τ' αὐτῷ κατεσκεύασεν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ καὶ προφήτας ἀπέδειξε καὶ πάσης

139 θρησκείας ἴξιόν. ἀφαιρεθέντος δὲ τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς χρυσὰς δαμάλεις προσκυνεῖν τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις Ἰηοὺς ἔπετρέψε. ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξαμένω καὶ προνοῆσαντι τῆς κολάσεως τῶν ἄσεβῶν ο θεος διὰ τοῦ προφήτου προεῖπεν ἐπὶ τέσσαρας γενεὰς τῶν παίδας αὐτοῦ βασιλεύσειν̄ τῶν Ἰσραηλίτων. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἰηοὺν ἐν τούτοις ὑπήρχεν.

140 (vii. 1) Ὄθλια δ' ἡ Ἀχάβον θυγάτηρ ἀκούσασα τῆν τ' Ἰωράμου τάδελφον τελευτήν καὶ τὴν Ὀχοζία

1 ἐξωθέν om. RO.

2 ἀφαίρεσεσθαι MSP et fort. Lat.: ἐφαρμησθαι Naber.

3 θεοί̄ ROM.

4 ex Lat. (vid.) Hudson: βασιλεύσειν codd. E.

"a Unscriptural detail. The phrase "whom he knew to be most faithful to him" is a conventional one occasionally added by Josephus; here, however, it may have been suggested by the following verse (x. 25) in Scripture, "And Jehu said to the runners and šâlîšîm (A.V. "guards and
stranger present and began the sacrifices, he placed outside the temple some of his men, eighty in number, whom he knew to be most faithful to him, and commanded them to kill the false prophets and now avenge their fathers’ customs which had for so long a time been set at naught, and he threatened that their own lives should be forfeit for any who escaped. So they slew all the men and burnt down the temple of Baal, thus purging Samaria of strange rites. This Baal was the god of the Tyrians, to whom Achab, wishing to please his father-in-law Ithōbalos, king of the Tyrians and Sidonians, had built a temple in Samaria and had appointed prophets and honoured him with every manner of cult. When this god had been removed, Jehu permitted the Israelites to bow down before the golden heifers. But, since he had carried out these reforms, and had provided for the punishment of those impious men, God foretold to him through the prophet that his sons should rule over the Israelites for four generations. Such, then, was the state of affairs under Jehu.

(vii. 1) When Othlia, the daughter of Achab, heard of the death of her brother Joram and her son captains”), Go in and slay them.” Josephus evidently considers these men to have been Jehu’s picked guard.  

b Josephus omits the carrying out and burning of the images in the Baal temple (x. 26).  

c Variant “ gods.”  

d Cf. Ant. viii. 317 ff. on 1 Kings xvi. 31 ff.  

e Made by Jeroboam, as Scripture adds (x. 29).  

f Rabbinic tradition, like Josephus, assumes that it was a prophet (Jonah) who gave God’s message to Jehu, while in Scripture (x. 30) God speaks to him directly. It was also Jonah, according to rabbinic tradition (cf. Ginzberg iv. 216), whom Elisha had sent to anoint Jehu.  

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τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ τοῦ γένους τῶν βασιλέων τῆν ἀπώλειαν ἐσπούδαζε μηδένα τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Δαυίδου καταλιπεῖν οὖκν, πάν δὲ ἔξαφνώσα τὸ γένος, ὑστάτω ὁ Ὀχοζίων, τρόπῳ δὲ τοιούτῳ τῆν τελευτήν διέφυγεν ἢν Ὀχοζία ὁμοστάτρος ἄδελφη Ὀσαβεθῆ

141 ὁμομαία τινὴς συνήν ὁ ἄρχιερεύς Ἰώδας. εἰσελθοῦσα δὲ εἰς τὸ βασιλείου καὶ τοὺς ἀπεσφαγμένους τὸν Ἰώασον (τοῦτο γὰρ προσηγορεύετο τὸ παιδίον ὁν ἐπηλαίωσεν) ἐγκεκρυμμένον εὑρόδα μετὰ τῆς τρεφούσης, βαστάσασα μετ’ αὐτῆς εἰς τὸ ταμεῖον ἀπέκλεισε τῶν κληρῶν καὶ λανθάνοντες ἀνέθρεφαν αὐτὴ τε καὶ ὁ ἄνηρ αὐτῆς Ἰωδας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἔτεσιν εξ, οίς ἐβασιλεύσεν Ὀθλία τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων καὶ τῶν δύο ἰουλίων.

142 (2) Τῷ δὲ ἔβδομῳ κοινολογησάμενός τισιν Ἰωδας πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐκατοντάρχοι καὶ πείσας αὐτοὺς συνεπιθέσθαι μὲν τοῖς κατὰ τῆς Ὀθλίας ἐγχειρουμένοις, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν τῷ παιδὶ περιποίησαι, λαβὼν ὅρκους οίς τὸ ἄδειες παρὰ τῶν συνεργούντων βεβαιοῦται τὸ λουπὸν ἔθαρρει ταῖς κατὰ τῆς Ὀθλίας ἐλπίσιν. οἱ δ’ ἄνδρες, οւς ὁ ἱερεύς Ἰωδας κοινωνοῦς τῆς πράξεως παρειλήφητε, περιποιηθέντες ἀπασαν τὴν χώραν, τοὺς ἱερείς καὶ τοὺς Ἀρουίτες ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀθροίσαντες καὶ τοὺς τῶν

2 Ἰωδάνης MSP: Ἰωδάνης E: Iodam Lat.
3 ἐν add. Niese.
5 συμπείσας MSP.
6 συμπείσας MSP.
7 ex Lat. Niese: πορευθέντες codd.
Ochozias and of the destruction of the royal family, she took steps to leave no one of the house of David alive and to extirpate his family, in order that there might never again be a single king of his line. And this plan, as she thought, she carried out, but one son of Ochozias was saved, and this was the way in which he escaped death. Ochozias had a sister by the same father, whose name was Osabelthe, and who was married to the high priest Jödas. When she entered the palace and found Joas—this was the name of the child, who was a year old—concealed with his nurse among those who had been slain, she carried him with her to a private bedchamber and shut him up there; and secretly she and her husband brought him up in the temple for six years, during which time Othlia ruled over Jerusalem and the two tribes.

(2) But in the seventh year Jödas took into his confidence some of the captains of hundreds, five in number, and persuaded them to join in the plot formed against Othlia and to secure the royal power for the child, and, having obtained oaths by which he was assured that in future he would have nothing to fear from the conspirators, he felt hopeful of success in the attempt against Othlia. Then the men whom the priest Jödas had taken as his partners in the deed went out through the entire country and, having gathered together the priests and Levites therein and

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a Bibl. 2 Kings Jehosheba (Y'hošēba'), 1.xx 'Iwosābe (v.l. 'Iwosābeth), Luc. 'Iwosābea; 2 Chron. Jehoshabeath (Y'hošab-ath).

b Bibl. Jehoiada (Y'hōyāda'), i.xx 'Iwdaē.

c Gr. Jōasos; bibl. Joash (Yō'āš) and Jehoash (Y'ho'āš), i.xx 'Iwds.

d Some i.xx mss. in 2 Chron. have "eighth."

* Their names are given in 2 Chron.
Josephus

φυλῶν προστηκότας ἥκον ἄγοντες εἰς Ἱεροσό-

145 λυμα πρὸς τὸν ἄρχερεά. ὅ δὲ πίστιν ἦτησεν
αὐτοῦς ἔνορκόν, ἢ μὴν φυλάξειν ὅπερ ἄν μᾶθωσιν
ἀπόρρητον παρ’ αὐτοῖς, σωπηγή αμα καὶ συμπράξεως
δεόμενον. ὡς δ’ ἴσφαλές αὐτῷ λέγειν ὠμομο-
κότων ἐγένετο, παραγαγὼν ὅν ἐκ τοῦ Δαυίδου
γένους ἔτρεφεν “οὗτος ὑμῖν,” εἶπε, “βασιλεὺς
ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς οἰκίας, ἦν ἵπτε τὸν θεὸν ἧμῖν προ-
φητεύσαντα βασιλεύσειν ἀχρι τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου.

146 παραμὴ δὲ τὴν τρίτην ὑμῶν μοῖραν φυλάττειν
αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, τὴν δὲ τρίτηνταίς πύλαις ἐφ-
εστάναι τοῦ τεμένους ἀπάσας, ἢ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτην
ἐχέτω τῇ τῆς ἀνοιγμένης καὶ φεροῦσης εἰς τὸ
βασιλείου πύλης φυλακῆς τὸ δ’ ἄλλο πλήθος
ἀπολοῦν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τυνχανέτων μηδένα δ’ εἰσελθεῖν

147 ὀπλύτην ἐάσητε ἡ μόνον ἱερέα.” προσδιέταξε δὲ
τούτοις μέρος τι τῶν ἱερέων καὶ Λησωτάς περὶ
αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν βασιλέα, ταῖς μαχαίραις ἐςπα-
σμέναις αὐτὸν δορυφοροῦντας, τὸν δὲ τολμήσαντα
παρελθεῖν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ὑπλισμένον ἀναρέεσθαι
παραιτήκα: δείσαντας δὲ μηδὲν παραμείνατι τῇ

148 φυλακῇ τοῦ βασιλέως. καὶ οἱ μὲν οίς ὁ ἄρχερεὺς

1 ἧμῖν RO. 2 τετάρτην MSP I. Lat.

a Variant “fourth.” Josephus omits some of the details in the rather obscure biblical passage describing the disposition of the guards. It would seem from this that on the Sabbath, when the guards were changed, there were more men on duty at the temple than at the palace, but that on this occasion Jehoiada planned to have the full strength of the guard stationed at the temple while the palace remained unguarded. The disposition of the three companies of guards according to Scripture was as follows:

(1) 2 Kings “A third part of you that come on the sabbath
the chiefs of the tribes, brought them to the high priest when they returned to Jerusalem. Thereupon he demanded of them a sworn pledge that they would surely guard whatever secret they might hear from him which required equally their silence and their co-operation. And, when they had sworn and it was safe for him to speak, he brought forward the child of David's line whom he had raised, and said, "This is your king from that house, which, as you know, God foretold to us should rule for all time to come. I now advise that a third of your force guard him in the temple, and that another third be stationed at all the gates of the sacred precinct, while the remaining third keeps watch over the gate that opens and leads into the palace. And let the rest of the people stay unarmed in the temple. But allow no soldier to enter, nor anyone but a priest." He also arranged that in addition to these a body of priests and Levites should be with the king himself and with drawn swords serve as his bodyguard and immediately kill anyone who should venture to enter the temple armed; and he told them to fear nothing and remain on guard over the king. So these men followed the

and keep the watch of the king's house" (lxx adds "in the gateway"); 2 Chron. "A third part of you that come on the sabbath as (?) priests and Levites, as porters of the threshold."

(2) 2 Kings "And a third part shall be at the gate of Sur" (lxx "at the gate of roads"); 2 Chron. "A third part shall be at the king's house."

(3) 2 Kings "And a third part at the gate behind the guard" (lit. "runners"); 2 Chron. "And a third part at the gate of the foundation" (lxx "middle gate").

This refers to a fourth division, apparently corresponding to "All the people in the courts of the house of the Lord" in 2 Chron. xxiii. 5.
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ςυνεβούλευσεν, τούτους πεισθέντες ἐργὼ τὴν προ-
αίρεσιν ἐδήλων· ἀνοίξας δὲ Ἰωάδας τὴν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ὀπλοθήκην, ἦν Δαυί-
δης κατεσκεύασε, διεμέρισε τοῖς ἐκατοντάρχοις ἁμα καὶ ἤρευσι καὶ Λητουίταις ἀπανθ’ ὅσ’ εὑρέν ἐν αὐτῇ δόρατα τε καὶ φαρέτρας καὶ εἰ τι ἔτερον εἴδος ὀπλου κατέλαβε, καὶ καθ-
ωπλισμένοις ἐστησὲν ἐν κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν συν-
αφαμένους τὴν χεῖρα καὶ τὴν εἰσόδουν τοῖς οὐ

προσήκοσαν οὕτως ἀποτείχισοντας. συναγαγόντες
dὲ τὸν παῖδα εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐπέθεσαν αὐτῷ τὸν
στέφανον τὸν βασιλικὸν, καὶ τῷ ἠλαίῳ χρίσα
Ἰωάδας ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος χαίρων καὶ
κροταλίζων ἔβδο σώζεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα.

149 (3) Τοὺς δὲ θερύβου καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων Ὄθλία
παρ’ ἐλπίδας ἀκούσασα, τεταραγμενή σφόδρα τῇ
dιανοίᾳ μετὰ τῆς ἴδιας ἐξεπήδησε στρατιάς ἐκ τοῦ
βασιλείου. καὶ παραγενομένη εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτῇ
οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς εἰσδέχονται, τοὺς δὲ ἐπομένους ὀπλίτας
εἴρξαν εἰσελθεῖν οἱ περιστώτες ἐν κύκλῳ τῶν ὑπὸ
tοῦ ἀρχιερέως τοῦτο προστεθαγμένων. Ἰδοῦσα δὲ
Ὅθλία τὸν παῖδα ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἕστώτα καὶ
tὸν βασιλικὸν περικείμενον στέφανον περιρρῆξα-

1 στήλης RO: tribunal Lat.
2 βασιλικὸν περικείμενον] βασιλείου ἐπικείμενον RO.

a So Luc. in 2 Kings; Heb. 2 Kings “spears and shields” (σ'λατίμον), 2 Chron. “spears and shields (magninóth) and σ'λατίμ (shields?)”; lxx 2 Kings σερομάστας καὶ τρισσοῦς “barbed spears and threefolds” (? reading σαλιτίμ for σ'λατίμον), 2 Chron. μαχαίρας καὶ θυρεοὺς καὶ ὅπλα “swords and long shields and arms”; Luc. 2 Chron. δόρατα καὶ ἀσπίδας “spears and round shields.” For φάρετρας “quivers” as a rendering of σ'λατίμ “shields” (?) cf. Ant. vii. 104 note b, also Ant. viii. 259 note a.

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counsel which the high priest gave them, and made plain their intentions by their deeds. Then Jōdas opened the armoury in the temple, which David had built, and distributed to the captains of hundreds and, at the same time, to the priests and Levites all the spears and quivers a he found in it and whatever other kind of weapon he came upon, and, when they were armed, he placed them in a circle round the temple with their hands joined b so as to bar entrance to any who did not belong there. Then they set the boy in their midst and placed the royal crown c on his head, and Jōdas, having anointed him with oil, proclaimed him king, whereupon the multitude with rejoicing and clapping of hands cried out, "Long live the king!"

(3) When Othlia heard the tumult and the acclamations, which were so unexpected, she was thrown into great confusion of mind, and jumped up and ran out of the palace with her private force of soldiers. And, when she came to the temple, the priests admitted her, but the armed men accompanying her were prevented from entering by those stationed around in a circle, who had been given this order by the high priest. d But Othlia saw the boy standing on the platform e and wearing the royal crown, and, rending

b Bibl. " and the guard stood every man with his weapons in his hand, from the right shoulder (A.V. "corner") of the temple to the left shoulder of the temple," etc. Josephus seems to have misunderstood the biblical text.

c Bibl. "the crown (nēzer) and the testimony," lxx 2 Kings τὸ ἐξερ καὶ τὸ μαρτύριον, Luc. τὸ ἄγιασμα καὶ τὸ μαρτύριον, lxx 2 Chron. τὸ βασιλείου καὶ τὰ μαρτύρια.

d Unscriptural details.

e Lit. "stage"; variant "pillar" as in Scripture (except lxx 2 Chron. στάσεως). It is not clear from the Heb., however, whether Joash stood on the pillar (so lxx) or by the pillar (so Jewish tradition and A.V.).
μένη καὶ δεινὸν ἀνακραγοῦσα φονεύειν¹ ἐκέλευε τὸν ἐπιβουλεύσαντα αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφελέσθαι σπουδᾶσαντα. Ἱώδας δὲ καλέσας τοὺς ἐκατοντάρχους ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀπαγαγόντας² τὴν Ὀθλίαν εἰς τὴν φάραγγα τὴν Κεδρώνος ἀνελεῖν 152 αὐτὴν ἐκεί· μὴ γὰρ βουλεσθαί μᾶναι τὸ ἱερὸν, αὐτόθι τῇν ἀλτηρίῳν τιμωρησάμενον.³ προσέταξε δὲ καὶ βοηθῶν τις προσέλθηνα κάκεινον ἀνελεῖν. ἔλλαβόμενοι τοῖνυν τῆς Ὀθλίας οἱ προστεταγμένοι τὴν ἀναίρεσιν αὐτής, ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην τῶν ἱμιόνων τοῦ βασιλέως ἤγαγον κάκει διεχρήσαντο.

153 (4) Ὡς δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ὀθλίαν τούτον ἐστρατηγήθη τὸν τρόπον, συγκαλέσας τὸν τε δήμον καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας ὦ Ἱώδας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐξώρκωσεν εὐνοεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ προνοεῖν αὐτοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ πλείων ἀρχῆς· ἐπειτ' αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα τιμήσειν τὸν θεὸν καὶ μὴ παραβῆναι τοὺς Μωσεῖος⁵ 154 νόμους δοῦναι πίστιν ἧνάγκασε. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εἰσδραμόντες τὸν τοῦ Βαάλ οἶκον, ὄν Ὀθλία τε καὶ ὦ ἀντίρα ἀυτῆς Ἰώραμος κατεσκεύασεν ἐφ' ὤβρει μὲν τοῦ πατρίου θεοῦ τιμῆ δὲ τοῦ Ἀχάβου κατέσκιψεν καὶ τὸν ἐχοντα τὴν ἱερωσύνην αὐτοῦ 155 Μάθαν⁶ ἀπέκτειναν. τὴν δ' ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ φυ-

¹ E.: φονεύειν codd.
² ἀγαγόντας MP.
⁴ Dindorf: προσέλθοι codd.
⁵ Naber: Μωσήους RO; Μωσέως M; Μωσεῖος SPE: Mosaecos Lat.; Μωσείους Niese.
⁶ ex Lat. Niese: Νάθαν RO; Μααθαν MSP.
her garments and with a fearful outcry, she commanded her men to take the life of the man who had plotted against her and had worked to deprive her of the royal power.\(^{a}\) Thereupon Jōdas called the captains of hundreds and commanded them to lead Othlia away to the valley of Kedron\(^{b}\) and there put her to death, saying that he did not wish to defile the temple by punishing the guilty wretch on the spot. He also ordered them to put to death anyone who might come forward to help her. Accordingly those who had been ordered to put Othlia to death took hold of her and led her to the gate of the king’s mules,\(^{c}\) where they made an end of her.

(4) When the fate of Othlia had skilfully been determined in this manner, Jōdas summoned the people and the soldiers to the temple and made them take an oath to be loyal to the king and watch over his safety and the continuance of his rule. He then compelled the king himself to honour God and give his pledge not to transgress the laws of Moses. And after that they ran to the temple of Baal, which Othlia and her husband Joram had built in contempt of the nation’s God and in honour of the god of Achab,\(^{d}\) and razed it to the ground and killed Mathan\(^{e}\) who held the office of priest of Baal. The care and watch of

\(^{a}\) Scripture says merely, “And Athaliah rent her clothes and cried, Conspiracy, Conspiracy!” (A.V. “Treason, Treason”).

\(^{b}\) Bibl. “to within the /sweetalerted” (\(=\) “between the rows”; A.V. “without the ranges”), lxx 2 Kings ἐσωθεν τῶν σαδηρῴδ, 2 Chron. ἐκτὸς τοῦ ὀικου “outside the temple.” Jewish commentators explain /sweetalerted to mean the “ranks” of the guard. “Kedron” seems to be based on a corruption of /sweetalerted or σαδηρώθ.

\(^{c}\) Bibl. “horses.”

\(^{d}\) Cf. § 138.

\(^{e}\) So most lxx ms. (v.l1. Μαγδάν, Μαθᾶν κτλ.); bibl. Mattan.
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λακὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῖς ἱερεῖσι καὶ Λησουῖταις ἐπ᾽ ἐτρεπήν Ἰώδας κατὰ τὴν Δαυίδον τοῦ βασιλέως διάταξεν, κελεύσας αὐτούς δις τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιφέρεν τὰς νεομισμένας τῶν ὅλοκαυτώσεων θυσίας καὶ θυμίαν ἀκολούθως τῷ νόμῳ. ἀπέδειξε δέ τινας τῶν Λησουῖτῶν καὶ πυλωροῦς ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τοῦ τεμένους, ὡς μηδένα μεμισμένον παρεῖναι λανθάνοντα.

156 (5) Τούτων δ᾽ ἐκαστα διατάξας, μετὰ τῶν ἐκατοντάρχων καὶ ἡγεμόνων καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παραλαβὸν ἄγει τὸν Ἰώασον εἰς τὸ βασιλείον, καὶ καθίσαντος ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλικὸν θρόνον ἐπευφήμησε τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πρὸς εὐχίαιν τραπέντες ἔπι πολλὰς ἐώρτασαν ἡμέρας. ἢ μέντοι ἐγε πόλις ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς Ὀθλίαν ἀποθανεὶν ἡσυχίαν

157 ἐγαγεν. ἢν δὲ Ἰώασος ὁτε τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν ἔτου ἐπτά, μὴν δὲ ἤν αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν ὄνομα Σαβία πατρίδος δε Βηρσαβεε. πολλὴν δὲ ἐπούησατο τῶν νομίμων φυλακῆν καὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν φιλοτημίαν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ὁν

158 Ἰωάσης ἐβίωσεν. ἐγνήμε δε καὶ γυναίκας δύο παρελθὼν εἰς ἡλικίαν δόντος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ἔξ ὠν καὶ ἀρρενες αὐτῷ καὶ θήλεια παιδες ἐγένοντο. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωάσου, ὡς τὴν τῆς Ὀθλίας ἐπιθυμήλην διέφυγε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, ἐν τούτοις δεδηλώκαμεν.

1 eis MSP. 2 νομίμων MSP Lat.

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a Bibl. “offices” (cf. lxx 2 Chron. ἐργα “duties”), lxx 2 Kings ἐπισκόπονς “supervisors,” Luc. τὴν ἐπισκόπην “supervision.”

b So 2 Chron.; 2 Kings omits “priests and Levites” as well as the details following.

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the temple Jódas committed to the priests and Levites in accordance with the ordinance of King David, and ordered them to offer the customary sacrifice of the whole burnt-offerings twice a day and burn incense in conformity with the law. He also appointed some of the Levites and porters to guard the sacred precinct, that no impure person might enter it unseen.

(5) When he had arranged these several matters, he and the captains of hundreds and the officers and all the people conducted Joas from the temple to the palace; and, when he had taken his seat on the royal throne, the multitude acclaimed him with shouts, and then turned to feasting and celebrated for many days. The city, on the other hand, had been calm at the death of Othlia. Now Joas was seven years old when he took over the kingship, and his mother’s name was Sabia, her birthplace being Bërsabee. He kept strict observance of the ordinances and was zealous in the worship of God all the time that Jódas lived. And, when he came of age, he married two women whom the high priest had given him. This much, then, concerning King Joas and how he escaped the plot of Othlia and succeeded to the throne is all that we have to relate at this point.

* Bibl. “offer up . . . with rejoicing and song.”
* So Luc. (vid.); bibl. Zibiah (Sibyāh), LXX ‘Aḇiā.
* Josephus omits the scriptural detail (2 Kings xii. 3) that Joash did not remove the idolatrous high-places.
* The Heb. of 2 Chron. xxiv. 3 says, “And Jehoiada married to him (ló) two wives,” presumably meaning Joash by “him,” as Josephus renders; LXX, however, takes ló to mean “himself,” kai ἐλαβεν ἑαυτῷ γυναῖκας δύο, with which interpretation some Jewish commentators agree.
JOSEPHUS

159 (viii. 1) 'Αζάνλοσ δ' ὁ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς πολεμῶν τοῖς 'Ισραηλίταις καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν Ἰησοῦ διέφθειρε τῆς πέραν Ἰορδάνου χώρας τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολὴν τῶν 'Ρουβηνίτων καὶ Γαδιτῶν' καὶ Μανασσιτῶν ἔτη δὲ καὶ τὴν Γαλααδίτων καὶ Βαταναίαν, πυρπολῶν πάντα καὶ διαρπάζων καὶ τοὺς εἰς χείρας ἀπαντῶσι βίαν προσφέρων. οὐ γὰρ ἔφθη αὐτῶν Ἰησοῦς ἀμύνασθαι κακοῦντα τὴν χώραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸ θείον υπέροπτης γενόμενος καὶ καταφρονήσας τῆς ὁσίας καὶ τῶν νόμων ἀπέθανε βασιλεύσας ἐτη τῶν 'Ισραηλίτων ἐπτὰ καὶ εἰκοσι. ἐτάφη δὲ ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον Ἰωάζου τὸν υἱὸν καταληπτῶν.

160 (2) Τὸν δὲ τῶν Ἰεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλέα Ἰώσαου ὀρμή τις ἐλαβε τὸν ναὸν ἀνακαινίσαι τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα καλέσας Ἰώδαν εἰς ἀπασάν ἐκέλευσεν πέμψαι τὴν χώραν τοὺς Λησοῖς καὶ ἑρείας αὐτὴς σοντας υπὲρ ἐκάστης κεφαλῆς ἡμίσικλον ἀγρύρου εἰς ἐπισκευήν καὶ ἀνανέων τοῦ ναοῦ καταλυθέντος ὑπὸ Ἰωράμου καὶ Ὀθλίου καὶ τῶν παϊδῶν αὐτῆς. δ' ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦτο μὲν ὡς ἐποίησε συνεις ὡς οὐδεὶς εὐγνωμόνως προῆςται τάργύριον, τρίτω δὲ καὶ εἰκοστῷ τῆς βασιλείας ἐτεὶ μεταπεμψαμένου τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Λησοίς καὶ ὡς παρακουσάντας ὄν προσέταξεν

1 ed. pr. Lat.: Γαλα(α)διτῶν codd.
2 Iochazan Lat.
3 'Ιεροσολυμων MSP Lat.

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a Amplification of Scripture.
b Unscriptural detail.
(viii. 1) Now Azaelos, the king of Syria, made war on the Israelites and their king Jehu, and ravaged the eastern parts of the country across the Jordan belonging to the Reubenites and Gadites and Manassites, and also Galaaditis and Batanaia, spreading fire everywhere and plundering everything and inflicting violence on all who fell into his hands. For Jehu had not been prompt to oppose him when he began to devastate the country, but had become careless of his duties toward the Deity and contemptuous of holiness and the laws; he died after ruling over the Israelites for twenty-seven years, and was buried in Samaria, after leaving his son Joazos as his successor on the throne.

(2) As for Joas, the king of Jerusalem, he was seized by a strong desire to renovate the temple of God, and, summoning the high priest Jodas, he commanded him to send the Levites and priests throughout the entire country to ask half a shekel of silver for each person for the repairing and renovation of the temple, which had been left crumbling by Joram and Othlia and her sons. The high priest, however, did not do this, realizing that no one would be well affected enough to offer the money, but, when in the twenty-third year of his reign the king summoned him and the Levites and, after charging them

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* Bibl. Jehoahaz (Yšōh'āhāz), lxx Ἰωαχάς (v.l. Ἰωάχας), Luc. Ἰωάχας.
* In Scripture, Joash addresses the priests directly.
* The sum is not specified in Scripture, but in 2 Chron. xxiv. 6 the "tax (A.V. "collection") of Moses" is mentioned, meaning the half-shekel temple tax prescribed in Ex. xxx. 13 and still in force in Josephus's time (at least up to A.D. 70).
* Lit. "broken down," cf. 2 Chron. xxiv. 7 "For the sons of Athaliah, that wicked woman, had broken down the house of God."
* Unscriptural detail.
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αἰτωμένου καὶ κελεύσαντος εἰς τὸ μέλλον προ-
νοεῖσθαι τῆς ἐπισκευής τοῦ ναοῦ, στρατηγήματι
χρήται πρὸς τὴν συλλογὴν τῶν χρημάτων ὁ ἀρχ-

163 ἰερεὺς ὁ τὸ πλῆθος ἥδεως ἐσχε τοιούτως ἡμῖν
κατασκευάζας θησαυρὸν καὶ κλείσας πανταχόθεν
ὅπῃ ἐν αὐτῷ μίαν ἤνοιξεν. ἔπειτα θείς εἰς τὸ
ἰερόν παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐκαστὸν ὅσον
βούλεσται βάλλειν2 εἰς αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς ὁπῆς εἰς τὴν
ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ ναοῦ. πρὸς τούτο πᾶς ὁ λαὸς εὐ
dιετέθη, καὶ πολὺν ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν φιλο-

164 τμοίμηνοι καὶ συνεισφέροντες ἡθροίσαν. κενοῦντες
dὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν καὶ παρόντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἀριθ-
μοῦντες τὸ συνελεγμένον ὁ τε γραμματεὺς καὶ
ἰερεὺς τῶν γαζοφυλακείων ἐπείτε εἰς τὸν αὐτόν
ἐτίθεσαν τόπον. καὶ ταῦτ' ἐποίουν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας.
ὡς δ' ἀποχρώντως τὸ πλῆθος ἔδοκει βαλεῖν3
tῶν χρημάτων, ἐπεμβαν μισθοὺμενοι λατόμους καὶ
οἰκοδόμους ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰώδας καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς
Ἰώασος καὶ ἐπὶ ἔνα μεγάλα καὶ τῆς καλλίστης

165 ὕλης. ἐπισκευασθέντος δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ, τὸν ὑπο-
λειφθέντα χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον (οὐκ ὀλύγος δὲ ἤν)
eῖς τε κρατήρας καὶ ὀίνοχος καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ
tὰ λοιπὰ σκεῦη κατεχρήσαντο, θυσίας τε πολυ-
tελέσαν ὁσσιέρα τὸν βωμὸν πιαίνοντες διετέλουν.
καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐφ' ὅσον Ἰώδας χρόνον ἐξῆ τῆς
προσκύνησις ἐτύγχανε σπουδῆς.

166 (3) Ὁ δὲ ἔτελεύτησεν οὕτως ἐνὶ μὲν βιόσας
ἐκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα δίκαιος δὲ καὶ πάντα χρήστος
γενόμενος, ἐτάφη δ' ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς θῆκαις ἐν
Ἰεροσολύμωι, ὅτι τῷ Δαυίδου γένει τὴν βασιλείαν

1 ὑμ. ROM. 2 βαλείν cod. Vat. ap. Hudson E.
3 ἀποχρώντως . . . βαλείν] ἀποχρών τὸ πλῆθος ἔδοκει RO.
with having disobeyed his orders, commanded them in future to look after the repair of the temple, the high priest employed the following device for collecting the money, which the people willingly accepted: he made a wooden chest and, having closed it on all sides, made a single opening in it. Then he placed it in the temple beside the altar and told everyone to throw into it, through the opening, as much as he wished, for the repair of the temple.\(^a\) To this request all the people were well disposed, and they collected much silver and gold, vying with one another in bringing it in. Then, when the scribe and priest of the treasury had emptied the chest and in the presence of the king had counted the sum that had been collected, they put the chest back in the same place. And this they would do every day. When the people had put in what seemed a sufficient amount of money, the high priest Jōdas and King Joas sent and hired stone-cutters and carpenters, and ordered great timbers of the finest wood. And, when the temple had been repaired, they spent the money that was left over—it was no small amount—for bowls and pitchers and cups and other vessels, and they continued day by day to enrich the altar with costly sacrifices.\(^b\) Thus, so long as Jōdas lived, these things were done with the required care.

(3) But, after Jōdas died at the age of one hundred and thirty years, having been an upright man and good in all ways, and was buried in the royal sepulchres at Jerusalem because he had restored the kingdom to

\(^a\) So 2 Chron.; in 2 Kings it is the priests who take the money from the people and put it in the box.

\(^b\) So 2 Chron.; according to 2 Kings it was expressly forbidden to use the money for temple vessels, etc.


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ἀνεκτῆσατο, προέδωκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰώασος τὴν
167 ἐπιμέλειαιν τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν. συνδιεφθάρησαν
δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ τοῦ πλῆθους προσεύνοντες, ὡστε
πλημμελεῖν εἰς τὰ δίκαια καὶ νεομισμένα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἄριστα εἶναι. δυσχεράνας δ' ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ
τῇ μεταβολῇ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, πέμπει
tους προφήτας διαμαρτυρησομένους τε τὰ πραττό-

168 μενα καὶ παύσοντας τῆς πονηρίας αὐτούς. οἱ δ' ἱσχυρὸν ἔρωτα καὶ δεινὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ᾗρα ταύτης
εἶχον, ὡς μήτε οἷς οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐξυβρίσαντες εἰς
tὰ νόμιμα πανοικί κολασθέντες ἐπαθον, μὴν οἷς
οἱ προφήται προύλεγον πεισθέντες μετανοήσαι καὶ
μετελθεῖν ἐξ ὧν εἰς ἐκεῖνα παρανομήσαντες ἑτρά-

πησαν· ἀλλὰ καὶ Ζαχαρίαν ὕιόν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως
Ἰώδα λίθως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσε βληθέντα ἀπο-
θανεῖν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς εὐεργεσίαν

169 αὐτοῦ λαθόμενος, ὅτι τοῦ θεοῦ προφητεύειν αὐτῶν
ἀποδείξαντο στὰς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ πλῆθει συν-

168 εβουλευν αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῷ βασιλεί τὰ δίκαια

169 πράττειν, καὶ τιμωρίαν ὅτι μεγάλην ὑφέξουσι μὴ

170 πειθόμενοι προύλεγε. τελευτῶν μέντοι Ζαχαρίας

μάρτυρα καὶ δικασθῆν ὃν ἐπασχε τὸν θεὸν ἐποιεῖτο,

παρέσχεν Ἰωάσῳ πικρῶς καὶ βιαίως ἀπολλύμενος.

(4) Ἔδωκε μέντοι γ' οὐκ εἰς μακράν ὁ βασιλεὺς

δίκην ὑπ παρηνόμησεν· ἐμβαλόντος γὰρ Ἀζαήλου

τοῦ Σύρων βασιλέως εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν

170 Γίτταν καταστρεψαμένου καὶ λεηλατήσαντος καὶ

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the line of David, King Joas proved faithless in the service of God. And together with him were corrupted the leaders of the people so that they transgressed against what was right and held among them to be the highest good. Thereupon God, being displeased at this change of heart in the king and the others, sent the prophets to protest solemnly against their actions and to make them leave off their wrongdoing. But they indeed were seized with so strong a love and so terrible a desire for it that, heeding neither the punishment which those before them had suffered together with all their house for outraging the ordinances, nor what the prophets had foretold, they refused to repent and turn back from the lawless course which they had taken. Moreover the king even ordered Zacharias, the son of the high priest Jōdas, to be stoned to death in the temple, unmindful of the good works of his father, because, when God appointed him to prophesy, he stood in the midst of the people and counselled both them and the king to do right, and warned them that they would suffer heavy punishment if they disobeyed. As he died, however, Zacharias made God the witness and judge of what he had suffered in being so cruelly and violently put to death in return for his good counsel and for all that his father had done for Joas.b

(4) It was not long, however, before the king paid the penalty for his unlawful acts. For Azaēlos, the king of Syria, invaded his country and, after subduing Gitta c and despoiling it, he prepared to march (Heb. 18):

a So most Lxx mss. (v.l. Ἀζαήλου); bibl. Zechariah (Z'karyāh).

b Bibl. “And when he died, he said, The Lord look upon it and require it” (Lxx “judge”).

c Bibl. Gath, Lxx Γέθο.
171 περὶ τῶν ὄλων. ὁ δὲ πεισθεῖς ἡ τῆς τῶν χρημάτων ὑπερβολὴ τῆς στρατιὰς οὐκ ἐπήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. νόσῳ μέντοι χαλεπὴ περιπέτειαν ὁ Ἰώασος, ἐπιθεμένων αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων οἱ τῶν Ζαχαρίου θάνατον ἔκδικοντες τοῦ Ἰώδα παιδὸς ἐπεβούλευσαν τῷ βασιλείς, διεφθάρη πρὸς αὐτῶν· καὶ 172 θάπτεται μὲν ἐν Ἱεροσόλυμοι, οὐκ ἐν ταῖς θήκαις δὲ τῶν προγόνων, ἀσεβῆς γενόμενος. ἐβίωσε δ᾽ ἐπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, τῆς δὲ βασιλείαν αὐτὸς διαδέχεται Ἀμασίας ὁ παῖς.

173 (5) Εἴκοστῶ δὲ καὶ πρῶτω τῆς Ἰωάσου βασιλείας παρέλαβε τὴν τῶν Ἰσραήλιτῶν ἡγεμονίαν Ἰωάζος· ὁ τοῦ Ἰηοῦ υἱὸς ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ καὶ κατέσχεν αὐτὴν ἐτεσιν ἐπτὰ καὶ δέκα τοῦ μὲν πατρὸς οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸς μυθῆς γενόμενος, ἀσεβῆς δ᾽ ὁσα καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι 174 τοῦ θεοῦ καταφρονήσαντες. ἐταπείνωσε δ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ συνετειλεν ἐκ τῆς τοσαύτης δυνάμεως ὁ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς εἰς ὀπλίτας μυρίους καὶ πεντῆ-κοντα ἐππεῖς, στρατεύσας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ πόλεις

1 καὶ μέλλοντος ex Lat. add. Naber.
2 βασιλέων NSPE.
3 οὐκ ἐπήγαγεν] οὐκέτ᾽ ἐγαγεν RO.
4 οἱ τῶν Ζαχαρίου] τοῦ Ζαχαρίου οἱ τῶν M: τῶν (τῶν S²)
5 Ζαχαρίου οἱ τῶν SP.

'Ἰωάζος ME: 'Ἰωάζος SP ('Ἰωάζος infra): Iocha Lat.

a Variant "kings." These details are from 2 Kings; 2 Chron. omits them.
against him to Jerusalem; Joas, fearing this, emptied all the treasuries of God and of the palace and, taking down the dedicatory offerings, sent them to the Syrian to buy himself off with these from being besieged and endangering his entire power. Accordingly the other, being persuaded by the very large amount of money, did not lead his army against Jerusalem. But Joas, being stricken by a very severe illness, was attacked by some of his friends, who had plotted against the king to avenge the death of Zacharias, the son of Jōdas, and was done to death by them. And, though he was buried in Jerusalem, it was not in the sepulchres of his forefathers, because of his impiety. He had lived forty-seven years, and was succeeded on the throne by his son Amasias.

(5) In the twenty-first year of the reign of Joas, the government of the Israelites was taken over at Samaria by Jōazos, the son of Jehu, and he held it seventeen years; although he was no imitator of his father, he committed as many impieties as did the first (kings) who held God in contempt. But the king of Syria humbled him and reduced his force from the very great one it was to ten thousand foot-soldiers and fifty horsemen when he marched against him.

Joash's illness is mentioned in 2 Chron., but not in 2 Kings.

Variant "the friends of Zacharias." According to Scripture they were friends of the king. Their names are given in 2 Chron.

So 2 Chron.; according to 2 Kings he was buried "with his fathers."

So LXX 2 Chron. (2 Kings 'Amasias); bibl. Amaziah ('Amasyāh).

Bibl. 23rd.


Josephus omits the ten chariots mentioned in Scripture.
175 τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῦ διαφθείρας. ταῦτα δ’ ἔπαθεν ὁ τῶν Ἰσραήλιτῶν λαὸς ἧλίκος κατὰ τὴν Ἐλισαβαίου προφητείαν, ὅτε Ἀζάηλον βασιλεύσεις προείπε τῶν Σύρων καὶ Δαμασκηνῶν ἀποκτεῖναι τῶν δεσπότην. ἐν δὲ ἐν ἀπόροις οὕτω κακοῖς Ἰωάζος ἐπὶ δέκα ἐκεῖναν τοῦ θεοῦ κατέφυγεν, ῥῦσασθαι τῶν Ἀζάηλου χειρῶν αὐτοῦ παρακαλῶν
176 καὶ μὴ περιώδεις ὑπ’ ἐκείνῳ γενόμενον. ὁ δὲ θεὸς καὶ τὴν μετάνοιαν ὡς ἀρετὴν ἀποδεχόμενος, καὶ νουθετεῖν μᾶλλον τὸν δυναμένου, τελέως μὴ ἀπολλυόν ἀκοῦν αὐτῷ, δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν κινδύνων ἄδειαν. εἰρήνης δ’ ἡ χώρα λαβομένη ἀνέδραμε τε πάλιν εἰς τὴν προτέραν κατάστασιν καὶ εὐθύνησεν.

177 (6) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰωάζου τελευτήν ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ νῦν αὐτοῦ Ἰώάσως. ἐβδομον ἦδη καὶ τριακοστὸν ἔτος βασιλεύσεις Ἰωάσου τῆς Ἰουδα φυλῆς, παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν οὕτος ὁ Ἰώάσως ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ τῶν Ἰσραήλιτῶν (καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτήν εἶχε προσηγορίαν τῷ τῶν Ἰερουσαλημιτῶν βασιλεί) καὶ κατέσχεν αὐτὴν ἔτεσιν ἐκκαθέκα.
178 ἀγαθὸς δ’ ἦν καὶ οὐδὲν ὀμοιός τῷ πατρὶ τῆς φύσιν. κατ’ ἐκείνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν Ἐλισαβαίου τοῦ προφήτου γνήσιον μὲν ἡδὴ τυχάνοντος εἰς δὲ νόσον ἐμπεπτωκότος ἦκεν ὁ τῶν Ἰσραήλιτῶν βασιλεὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπισκεφθόμενος. καταλαβὼν δ’ αὐτὸν ἐν ἱσχάτοις οὕτα κλαίειν ήρξατο βλέποντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ποτινασθαι καὶ πατέρα τε ἀποκαλεῖν καὶ ὀπλον· δι’ αὐτὸν γὰρ μηδέποτε χρήσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς

1 βασιλεὺς SP. 2 ἀρίστην MSP. 3 βλέποντος αὐτοῦ om. M: αὐτοῦ om. RO.
and took from him many great cities and destroyed his army. These misfortunes the Israelite people suffered in accordance with the prophecy of Elisha, who had foretold that Azaelos would kill his master and become king of Syria and Damascus. But Joazos, being helpless before such great difficulties, had recourse to prayer and supplication to God and begged Him to save him from the hands of Azaelos and not suffer him to fall into his power. Thereupon God accepted his repentance as a virtue and, because He saw fit rather to admonish the powerful and not completely destroy them, gave him security from war and its dangers. And so, when the country had obtained peace, it was restored to its former condition and began to flourish.

(6) After the death of Jōazos, the royal power came to his son Joas. In the thirty-seventh year of Joas’s reign over the tribe of Judah, this Joas—he had the same name as the king of Jerusalem—took over the government of the Israelites at Samaria and held it for sixteen years. He was a good man and in no way like his father in character. Now about this time the prophet Elisha, who was now an old man, fell ill, and the Israelite king came to visit him. But, finding him near his end, he began to lament, as Elisha looked on, and to wail and call him “Father” and “armour.” Because of him, he said, they had

a Unscriptural detail.
b Variant “king.”
c Cf. §§ 91 ff.
d The foregoing (from “Thereupon God accepted his repentance”) is an amplification of 2 Kings xiii. 23 (rather than of xiii. 5).
e Bibl. Jehoash (Yēhō'āš) or Joash (Yō'āš), LXX 'Iwās.
f Bibl. “he did evil in the sight of the Lord.”
g Bibl. “O my father, my father, the chariot of Israel and its horsemen.”
JOSEPHUS

ἔχθροὺς ὄπλοις, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἐκείνου προφητείας ἀμαχητὶ κρατεῖν τῶν πολεμίων· νῦν δὲ ἀπεναι1 μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ζην, καταλείπειν2 δ' ἐξωπλισμένον3 180 τοῖς Σύροις καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν πολεμίοις. οὐδ' αὐτῷ τοῖνυν ζην ἔτι ἀσφαλὲς ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ καλῶς ἔχειν συνεξορμᾶν αὐτῷ καὶ συναπαίρειν ἐκ4 τοῦ βίου. ταῦτ' ὀδυρόμενον Ἐλισαίος παρεμυθεῖτο τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τόξον ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ κομισθέν ἐντείναι τοῦτο. ποιήσαντος οὖν έὐτρεπές τοῦ βασι- λέως τὸ τόξον, ἐπιλαβόμενος5 τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ 181 ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν τοξεύειν. τρία βέλη δ' αὐτοῦ προεμένον εἶτα δ' ἀναπαυσαμένου "πλείω μὲν," εἶπεν, "ἀφεῖς ἐκ μιζών ἀν τὴν τῶν Σύρων βασι- λείαιν ἐξεῖλες, ἔπει δὲ τρισὶν ἱρκέσθης μόνοις, τοσαύταις καὶ μάχαις κρατήσεις συμβαλῶν τοῖς Σύροις, ἵνα τὴν χώραν ἢν ἀπέτεμον τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς ἀνακτήσῃ." καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ταύτ' ἀκούσας 182 ἀπηλλάγη. μετ' οὖν πολὺ δὲ καὶ ὁ προφήτης ἀπέθανεν, ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ δικαίωσιν διαβότος καὶ φανερῶς σπουδασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ· θαυμαστὰ γὰρ καὶ παράδοξα διὰ τῆς προφητείας ἐπεδείξατο ἔργα καὶ μνήμης λαμπρᾶς παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἀξιω- θέντα. ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ ταφῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς καὶ 183 οἷς εἰκὸς ἢν τὸν οὖτω θεοφιλῆ μεταλαβεῖν. συνεβη δὲ καὶ τότε, ληστῶν τινῶν ῥυμάντων εἰς τὸν Ἐλισ- σαίου τάφον ὄν ἦσαν ἀνηρηκότες, τὸν νεκρὸν τῷ

1 Coccceji: ἀπείναι codd.
2 Bekker: καταλείπειν codd.
3 ἐξωπλισμένοις (M)SP.
4 ἐκ om. MSP.
5 ἐπιλαβόμενον RMSP.
never had to use arms against the foe, but through his prophecies they had overcome the enemy without a battle. But now he was departing this life and leaving him unarmed before the Syrians and the enemies under them. It was, therefore, no longer safe for him to live, but he would do best to join him in death and depart this life together with him. As the king was bemoaning in these words, Elisha comforted him and told him to have a bow brought to him and to bend it; when the king had made the bow ready, the prophet took hold of his hands and bade him shoot. He then let fly three arrows and ceased, whereupon the prophet said, “If you had sent more arrows, you would have destroyed the kingdom of Syria to its foundations, but, since you were satisfied with only three, you shall meet the Syrians in as many battles and defeat them, that you may recover the territory which they cut off from your father’s possessions.”

And the king, having heard these words, departed. But not long afterward the prophet died; he was a man renowned for righteousness and one manifestly held in honour by God; for through his prophetic power he performed astounding and marvellous deeds, which were held as a glorious memory by the Hebrews. He was then given a magnificent burial, such as it was fitting for one so dear to God to receive. Now it happened just at that time that some robbers threw into the grave of Elisha a man whom they had

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\(^a\) Variant “leaving him to the fully armed Syrians.”

\(^b\) The last three sentences are an addition to Scripture, to explain the curious epithets given to Elisha by the king. The Targum amplifies similarly.

\(^c\) The magnificence of the burial is an unscriptural detail.
σώματι αυτοῦ προσκολληθέντα ἀναξωπυρήσαι. καὶ
tὰ μὲν περὶ Ἑλισαίου τοῦ προφήτου, ζῶν τε
όσα προείπε καὶ ὡς μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐτὶ δύναμιν
eἴχε θείαν, ἢδη δεδηλώκαμεν.

184 (7) Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Σύρων βασιλέως
'Αζαήλου εἰς 'Αδαδων1 τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἡ βασι-
λεία παραγίνεται· πρὸς τοῦτον2 συνάπτει πόλεμον
'Ιώασος ὁ τῶν Ἰσραήλιτῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ τρισὶ
μάχαις νικήσας αὐτὸν ἀφείλετο τὴν χώραν ἀπασαν
καὶ ὡσα ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ 'Αζάηλος πόλεις καὶ

185 κάμως τῆς Ἰσραήλιτῶν βασιλείας παρέλαβε. τοῦτο
μέντοι κατὰ τὴν Ἑλισαίου προφητείαν ἐγένετο.
ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέβη καὶ Ἰώασον ἀποθανεῖν, ὁ μὲν ἐν
Σαμαρεία κηδεύεται, καθικῇ δὲ εἰς Ἰεροβόαμον3
ἡ ἁρχὴ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ.

186 (ix. 1) Δευτέρω δὲ ἐτεί τῆς Ἰωάσου βασιλείας
tῶν Ἰσραήλιτῶν ἐβασιλεύσεν Ἀμασίας τῆς Ἰουδα-
φυλῆς ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωις μητρὸς ὁν Ἰωάδης4 τοῦ-
νομα πολίτιδος δὲ τὸ γένος· θαυμαστῶς δὲ τοῦ
dικαίου προνόει καὶ ταῦτα νέος ὁν. παρελθὼν
δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν ἁρχὴν ἑγνω δεῖν
πρῶτον Ἰωάσον τιμωρήσαι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοὺς

187 ἐπιθεμένους αὐτῶν φίλους κολάσαι. καὶ τούτους
μὲν συλλαβῶν ἀπαντᾶς ἐφόνευσε, τοὺς δὲ παιδᾶς
αὐτῶν οὐθὲν εἰργάσατο δεινὸν ἀκόλουθα ποιῶν τοῖς

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1 Hudson: 'Ἀδαδων RO Lat.: Ἀνδᾶν Μ: Βέραν P: Ἀνβεράν
4 Ἰουδᾶ Μ: Ἰωδᾶδῆς S: Ἰωδᾶδῆς P: Ioadin Lat.

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According to Scripture the band of Moabite robbers
surprised some Israelites who were burying a man, and these

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murdered, and, when the corpse came into contact with his body, it was restored to life. This much, then, concerning Elisha, both as to what he foretold in his lifetime and how after death he still had divine power, we have now related.

(7) On the death of Azaelos, the king of Syria, the kingship came to his son Adados. Against him a war was begun by Joas, the Israelite king, who defeated him in three battles and got back from him all the territory which his father Azaelos had taken from the Israelite kingdom. This, moreover, came about in accordance with the prophecy of Elisha. And, when the time came for Joas to die, he was buried in Samaria, and the royal power fell to his son Jeroboam.

(ix. 1) In the second year of the reign of Joas over Israel, Amasias began to reign over the tribe of Judah in Jerusalem; the name of his mother, a native of that city, was Joade. Now he was remarkably observant of justice, even though a youth. When he came into office and held power he decided first to avenge his father Joas and to punish his friends who had laid violent hands on him; and, having seized them, he put them all to death, but did no harm to their children, for he was acting in accordance with

in terror threw the corpse into Elisha's grave. The Heb. text (2 Kings xiii. 20-21), however, is not clear and might seem to mean, as Josephus thought, that it was the robbers who threw the corpse of a man whom they had murdered into Elisha's grave.

b Bibl. Ben-hadad, lxx νιός Αδέρ; he was the third of that name. On the name cf. Ant. viii. 363 note e.

c Bibl. Amaziah, cf. § 172 note e.

d Bibl. Jehoadan (Y'ho'adda'yyn, 2 Chron. -ān), lxx 2 Kings 'Iωδεῷ (v.l. 'Iωδεῖν κτλ.), 2 Chron. 'Iωνά (v.l. 'Iωνᾶκτλ.).
Μωσεός νόμοις, δε οὐκ ἐδικαίωσε διὰ πατέρων 188 ἀμαρτίας τέκνα κολάζειν. ἔπειτα στρατιῶν ἐπιλέξας ἐκ τῆς Ἰουώδα φυλῆς καὶ Βεναμίτιδος τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ καὶ περὶ εἶκοσι ἐστὶ γεγονότων καὶ συναθροίσας ὡς τριάκοντα μυριάδας τούτων μὲν ἐκατοντάρχους κατέστησε, πέμψας δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέα μισθοῦτα δέκα μυριάδας ὀπλιτῶν ἐκατον ἀργυρίου ταλάντων. διεγνώκει γὰρ τοῖς Ἀμαλχιτῶν ἔθνεσι καὶ Ἰδομαιῶν καὶ Γαβα- 189 λιτῶν ἐπιστρατεύσασθαι. παρασκευασμένον δὲ πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν καὶ μέλλοντος ἐξορμῶν ὁ προφήτης τῶν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν στρατοῦ ἀπολύσαι συνεβούλευσε· εἶναι γὰρ ἄσβην, καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἦτταν αὐτῶ τρολείν χρησαμένω τούτους συμμάχους· περιέσεθαι δὲ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ μετὸλγὼν αὐτῶς ἀγωνιζόμενον βουλομένου τοῦ θεοῦ. 190 δυσφοροῦντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῷ φθίναι τὸν μισθὸν δεδωκέναι τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις παρήνει ποιεῖν ὁ προφήτης ὁ τῷ θεῷ δοκεῖ, χρήματα δὲ αὐτὸ πολλὰ παρ’ αὐτοῦ γενήσεσθαι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπολύει, χαρίζεσθαι τὸν μισθὸν εἰπών, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς οἰκείας δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὰ προερημένα τῶν 191 ἐθνῶν ἐστράτευσε· καὶ κρατήσας αὐτῶν τῇ μάχῃ μυρίους μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τοσοῦτος δὲ ζῶντας ἐλαβεν, οὐς ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην ἀγαγῶν πέτραν, ἦπερ

1 ὑπὲρ ex lxx (2 Paral) conj. Niese.

a Cf. Deut. xxiv. 16.
b So Heb. and Luc. (2 Chron.); lxx “Judah and Jerusalem.”
c Bibl. “from twenty years old and above.”
d Scripture adds “and captains of thousands.”
e 2 Kings “He smote Edom in the valley of Salt (ἡ ham-melah, lxx Γεμέλα) ten thousand,” 2 Chron. “And Amaziah went to the valley of Salt and smote of the Seirites
the laws of Moses, who declared it unjust to punish children for the sins of their fathers. Thereafter he raised an army from the tribes of Judah and Benjamin of such as were in their prime and about twenty years of age, and, having collected some three hundred thousand, appointed captains of hundreds over them; then he sent to the Israelite king and hired a hundred thousand of his soldiers for a hundred talents of silver; for he had decided to undertake a campaign against the nations of the Amalekites and Edomites and Gabalites. When he had made his preparations for the campaign and was about to set out, the prophet advised him to dismiss the Israelite army, saying that they were impious men and that God foretold a defeat for him if he employed them as allies, but that he would overcome the enemy, even if he fought with only a few men, if God so willed. But the king objected to this because of already having given the Israelites their pay, whereupon the prophet exhorted him to do what was pleasing to God, and said that he should have much wealth from Him. And so he dismissed the Israelites, saying that he would make them a present of their pay; but he himself with his own force marched against the aforementioned nations. And, having defeated them in battle, he killed ten thousand of them and took alive as many more, whom he then led to the great rock

(Edomites) ten thousand.” Gabalites and Amalekites are connected with Edomites in Ant. iii. 40, cf. note ad loc.

The prophet (bibl. “man of God”) is not named in Scripture.

Bibl. “and Amaziah separated them (LXX διεκόρισεν) to (lit.) the army that had come to him from Ephraim.” Did Josephus perhaps read διεξαρίσατο “distributed presents” for LXX διεκόρισεν?


192 τῶν ἔθνων. Ἀμασίου δ' ἐν τούτοις ὑπάρχοντος οἱ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν οὐσ ἀπέλυσε μισθωσάμενος ἀγανακτῆσαντες ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ νομίσαντες ὀβρων εἶναι τὴν ἀπόλυσιν, οὐ γὰρ ἂν τούτῳ παθεῖν μὴ κατεγνωσμένους, ἐπῆλθον αὐτοῖς τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ μέχρι Βηθσεμήρων2 προελθόντες διήρπασαν τὴν χώραν καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐλαβον ὑποζύγια, τρισχιλίους δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἀπέκτειναν.

193 (2) Ἀμασίας δὲ τῇ νίκῃ καὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασιν ἐπαρθεῖς τὸν μὲν τούτων αὐτῶν αὐτῷ θεόν γενόμενον ὑπερορᾶν ἥρξατο, οὐς δ' ἐκ τῆς Αμαληκτῶν χώρας ἐκόμισε, τούτους σεβόμενος διετέλει. προσελθὼν δ' ὁ προφήτης αὐτῷ θαυμάζεσαι ἔλεγεν, εἰ τούτους ἤγεται θεοὺς, οἱ τοὺς ἰδίους παρ' οίς ἐτυμώντο μηδὲν ὤνησαν μηδ' ἐκ κειρῶν ἔρρεσαν τῶν ἐκείνου, ἀλλ' ὑπερείδον πολλοὺς τε αὐτῶν ἀπολλυμένους καὶ αὐτοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας· κεκομίσθαι γὰρ εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα τοῦτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ, καθὼς ἂν τὸς τῶν πολεμίων τυώς3 ζωγρήσας ἤγαγεν. τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ ταῦτ' ὀργὴν ἐκώσε, καὶ προσέταξεν ἕσουσιν ἁγενὸν τὸν προφήτην, ἀπειλήσας αὐτὸν κολάσεων ἂν πολυπραγμονῇ. καὶ δ' μὲν

1 πάντων MSP: τούτων ex Lat. Hudson.
2 Βηθσεμήρων R: Bethoron Lat. 3 τυώ ΡΟ.

a Bibl. Sela (A.V. "the rock"; possibly Sela is thus to be taken as "the rock," a common noun, not a name, here), LXX 2 Kings τὴν πέτραν, 2 Chron. κρημνον, "precipice." But the site of the later Petra is probably meant, cf. Ant. iv. 82.

b Unscriptural detail.

c Amplification of 2 Chron. xxv. 10, "and their anger was
which is over against Arabia, and hurled them from it; he also carried off much booty and untold wealth from these nations. While Amasias was so engaged, the Israelites whom he had dismissed after hiring them showed resentment at this act and, considering their dismissal an insult—for, they said, they would not have experienced this treatment had they not been held in contempt—they fell upon his kingdom and, advancing as far as Bethsemēra, ravaged the country and took many cattle and killed three thousand men.

(2) But Amasias, elated at his victory and achievements, began to neglect God, who had been the cause of them, and persisted in worshipping the gods whom he had brought from the country of the Amalekites. Then the prophet came to him and said that he wondered how he could consider those beings as gods who had neither given any help to their own people, by whom they were honoured, nor had saved them from his hands, but had looked on while many of them were perishing, and had allowed themselves to be taken captive, for they had, he said, been brought to Jerusalem in the same manner as one might bring enemies whom one had taken alive. But these words moved the king to anger, and he ordered the prophet to hold his peace, threatening to punish him if he meddled in these affairs. And greatly kindled against Judah and they returned to their home in wrath.”

A Bibl. “from Samaria (spathron) even unto Beth-horon,” LXX ἀπὸ Σαμαρείας ἔως Βαιτωρῶν. Probably, as Weill suggests, Bethsemēra in Josephus’s text is a conflation of the two names. Moreover, the occurrence of the name Beth-shemesh (2 Kings xiv. 11 = 2 Chron. xxv. 21) as the battlefield of Judah and Israel may have added to the confusion.

B Bibl. “much spoil.”

C “Prophets” in LXX (but sing. is used further on).
196 νεωτερίζων τὸν θεον προύλεγεν. 'Αμασίας δὲ κατέχειν ἕαυτον ἐπὶ ταῖς ευπραγίαις οὐ δυνάμενος, ἃς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβὼν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξύβριζεν, ἀλλά φρονηματισθεὶς ἐγραφεὶν 'Ἰώασῳ τῷ τῶν Ἰσραήλ ἰτῶν βασιλεῖ κελεύων ὑπακούειν αὐτῷ σὺν ἀπαντῷ τῷ λαῷ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ὑπήκουε τοῖς προγόνοις αὐτοῦ Δανίδη καὶ Σολομῶν, ἢ μὴ βουλόμενον εὐγνωμονεῖν, εἰδέναι πολέμῳ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς διακριθησόμενον. ἀντέγραψε δ' ὁ 'Ἰώασος τάδε: "βασιλεὺς Ἰώασος βασιλεῖ Ἀμασία. ἤν ἐν τῷ Διβάνῳ ὅρι τυπάρισσος παμμεγέθης καὶ ἀκανος, αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν κυπάρισσον ἐπεμφίσε μνησευμένη στὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῆς πρὸς γάμον τῷ παιδί. μεταξὺ δὲ ταύτα λέγουσαν θηρίον τι παραρχόμενον κατ- επάτησε τὴν ἀκανον. τοῦτο ὃν ἔσται σοι παρά- δειγμα τοῦ μὴ μειζόνων ἐφέσθαι, μηδ' ὅτι τὴν πρὸς Ἀμαληκίτας μάχην εὐτύχησας ἐπὶ ταὐτή γαυρούμενος σαυτῷ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ σοι κυνδύνους ἐπιστὼ." 198 (3) Ταύτα δ' ἀναγνώστει Ἀμασίας ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὴν στρατεύμαν παροξύνθη, τοῦ θεοῦ παρορμώντος αὐτῶν, οἴμαι, πρὸς αὐτήν, ἵνα τῶν παρανομήθεντοις εἰς αὐτὸν δίκην ἀπολάβῃ. ὡς δ' ἐξήγαγε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰώασον καὶ συνάπτειν μάχην ἐμελλόν, τῷ Ἀμασίου στράτευμα φόβοις αἰφνιδίος

1 νεωτερίζων MS.

2 Ε.: μνησευμένη codd.

a Lit. "innovating"; νεωτερίζων, moreover, usually has a political connotation.

b Scripture says merely, "And Amaziah sent messengers to Jehoash... saying, Come let us meet face to face (i.e. in battle)."

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the other, though he said that he would hold his peace, foretold that God would not overlook the strange and unlawful practices to which he had set his hand. Amasias, however, was not able to contain himself at his good fortune, but outraged God from whom he had received it, and in his presumption wrote to Joas, the king of the Israelites, commanding him to submit to him with all his people, just as formerly they had submitted to his forefathers David and Solomon; if he refused to be reasonable, let him understand that the question of supremacy would have to be decided by war.

Thereupon Joas wrote back as follows, "King Joas to King Amasias. There was once on Mount Libanos a very great cypress and a thistle. The thistle sent to the cypress to ask the latter's daughter in marriage for her son. But meanwhile, as she was asking this, a wild beast came by and trampled on the thistle. Let this, therefore, be an example to you not to reach for what is beyond you, nor, because you were lucky in battle against the Amalekites, need you take so much pride in that and bring down danger upon yourself and your kingdom."

(8) When Amasias read this letter, he was still further provoked into making war; it was God, I think, who urged him on to it, in order that he might suffer punishment for his transgressions against Him. But, after he had marched out with his force against Joas, and they were about to join battle, there came upon the army of Amasias such a

\[\text{Amaziah's challenge to Jehoash of Israel.}
2 Kings xiv. 8;
2 Chron. xxv. 17.\]

\[\text{Bibl. "cedar" ('erez), LXX κέδρον.}\]

\[\text{Bibl. "Edomites," cf. § 188 note e.}\]

\[\text{Although this statement reads like an addition made by Josephus, it is found in Scripture, 2 Chron. xxv. 20.}\]
The account of the battle is amplified. Josephus, however, seems rightly to have recognized that the Heb. verb yinnāgeph (A.V. "was put to the worse"), applied to Judah, really means "was seized by divinely inspired terror in battle."
sudden terror and consternation as God inspires when He is unpropitious, and turned them to flight. And, when they dispersed in alarm before even a blow was struck, the result was that Amasias, being left alone, was taken captive by the enemy. And Joas threatened him with death unless he persuaded the people of Jerusalem to open their gates to him and admit him with his army into the city. And so Amasias from necessity and fear for his life caused the enemy to be admitted. Joas then broke down the wall for a distance of about four hundred cubits and in his chariot rode through the breach into Jerusalem, leading Amasias captive. And, having become master of Jerusalem in this way, he carried off the treasures of God, and took out all the gold and silver that Amasias had in his palace; then, having released him from captivity under these conditions, he departed for Samaria. These things happened to the people of Jerusalem in the fourteenth year of the reign of Amasias; and when, after these events, his friends conspired against him, he fled to the city of Lacheisa but was put to death by the men whom the conspirators had sent to Jerusalem.

1 Scripture says merely that Amaziah was captured and brought to Jerusalem.
2 The last clause ("in his chariot," etc.) is an addition to Scripture.
3 "Under these conditions" or "circumstances" (οὕτως) may, less plausibly, be taken with the verb "he departed."
4 According to 2 Kings xiv. 2 = 2 Chron. xxv. 1, Amaziah reigned 29 years, and according to 2 Kings xiv. 17 = 2 Chron. xxv. 15, he lived for 15 years after Jehoash’s death, which puts the capture of Jerusalem in the 14th year of his reign, if we assume that Jehoash’s death took place in the same year.
5 Bibl. Lachish (Lask), Ἀξέι: cf. Ant. viii. 246 note l.
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πεμφάντων ἐκεῖ τοὺς ἀποκτενοῦντας αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα κομίσαντες εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα βασιλικῶς ἐκῄδευσαν· κατέστρεψε δὲ οὖτως Ἀμασίας τὸν βίον διὰ τὸν νεωτέρον τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὀλυγωρίας, βιώσας μὲν ἐτῆς τέσσαρα καὶ πεντήκοντα βασιλεύσας δὲ ἐννέα καὶ εἰκοσι. διαδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς Ὀζίας τούνομα.

205 (x. 1) Πεντεκαὶδεκάτω ἐτεί τῆς Ἀμασία βασιλείας ἐβασιλέυσε τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ὁ Ἰωάσου υἱὸς Ἰεροβάμως ἐν Σαμαρεία ἐτή τεσσαράκοντα, οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ μὲν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ὑβριστῆς καὶ παράνομος δευτέρῳ ἐγένετο ε몃δωλὰ τε σεβόμενος καὶ πολλοῖς ἀτόποις καὶ ἔξων ἐγχειρῶν ἔργοι, τῷ δὲ λαῷ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν μυρίων ἀγαθῶν, αἰτίος ὡς ἐπήρξε. τοῦτῳ προεφήτευσε τις Ἰωνᾶς, ὡς δεῖ πολεμῆσαντα τοῖς Σύροις αὐτὸν κρατῆσαι τῆς ἐκεῖνων δυνάμεως καὶ πλεῖναι τὴν αὐτὸν βασιλεία τοῖς μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀρκτον μέρεσιν ἔως Ἀμάθου πόλεως, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ τὴν μεσημβρίαν ἑως τῆς Ἀσφαλτιτίδος λίμνης· τὸ γὰρ ἄρχαίον οὶ ὄροι τῆς Χαναάνας ἦσαν οὕτωι, καθὼς ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἰσροὺς περιώρισε. στρατεύσας οὖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Σύρους ὁ Ἰεροβάμος καταστρέφεται πάσαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν, ὡς προεφήτευσεν Ἰωνᾶς.

208 (2) Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἦγησάμην, τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῶν

1 καὶ διὰ ῬΩ.
2 τῆς ... ὀλυγωρίας καὶ τῆν ... ὀλυγωρίαν ex Lat. Hudson.
3 κακῶν MSP Exc. Suidas.
4 Niese: αὐτῶν codd. E.

a Scripture adds "on horses."

b According to 2 Kings xiv. 21 = 2 Chron. xxv. 1, he was 25 years old at his accession; adding 29 years for his reign, we get 54 years.

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there to kill him. Then they brought his body to Jerusalem and gave him a royal burial. Thus, then, did Amasias meet his end because of his innovations, which led him to show contempt of God; he had lived fifty-four years and reigned twenty-nine. He was succeeded by his son, named Ozias.

(x. 1) In the fifteenth year of the reign of Amasias, Jeroboam, the son of Joas, began to reign over the Israelites and reigned in Samaria forty years. This king was shockingly arrogant and lawless in his conduct toward God, worshipping idols and adopting many unseemly foreign practices, but to the people of Israel he was the cause of innumerable benefits. Now a certain Jonah prophesied to him that he should make war on the Syrians and defeat their forces and extend his realm on the north as far as the city of Amathos and on the south as far as Lake Asphaltitis—for in ancient times these were the boundaries of Canaan as the general Joshua had defined them. And so, having marched against the Syrians, Jeroboam subdued their entire country, as Jonah had prophesied.

(2) But, since I have promised to give an exact

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* So lxx 2 Chron.; bibl. Uzziah (‘Uzzîyâhû); also called Azariah (‘Azaryâhû), lxx ‘Aζαρίας.  
* The variant “evils” is probably a scribal correction to fit the context; the reading “benefits” is supported by what Josephus says in § 215, and by Scripture, 2 Kings xiv. 25, 27, which speaks of Jeroboam’s conquests.  
* Bibl. “the sea of the plain” (‘Arâbâh), lxx τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς Ἀραβάς; for Ἀραβά Luc. has πρὸς ἑσπέραν “toward the west” (lit. “evening,” reading ἑρέβ), reading ἑρέβ. The scriptural “sea of the plain” is the Dead Sea, for which Lake Asphaltitis is the Hellenistic name, cf. Ant. i. 174.
πραγμάτων παραδώσεων ὑπεσχημένος, ὡς καὶ περὶ τούτου τοῦ προφήτου εὐροῦ ἐν ταῖς Ἑβραϊκαῖς βίβλοις ἀναγεγραμμένα διεξελθεῖν· κελευσθεῖς γὰρ οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πορευθῆναι μὲν εἰς τὴν Νίνου βασιλείαν, κηρύξας δ’ ἐκεῖ γενόμενον ἐν τῇ πόλει ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολέσει, δεῖσας οὐκ ἀπῆλθεν, ἀλλ’ ἀποδιδράσκει τὸν θεὸν εἰς Ἱόπην ἡ πόλις καὶ πλοῖον εὐρών ἐμβάς εἰς Ταρσόν ἐπελεῖ τῆς Κιλικίας. ἐπί- γενομένου δὲ χειμῶνος σφοδροτάτου καὶ κινδυ- νεύοντος καταδύναι τοῦ σκάφους οἱ μὲν ναῦται καὶ οἱ κυβερνήται3 καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ γαύκληρος εὐχάς ἐποιοῦντο χαραστηρίους, εἰ διαφύγοιει τὴν θάλασ- σαν, δ’ ἔρισεν γυγαλυπάσας αὐτὸν ἐβέβλητο, μηδὲν ὅτι τοὺς ἄλλους ἑώρα ποιοῦτας μιμούμενος.

210 αὖξωντος δ’ ἔτι μᾶλλον τοῦ κλύδωνος καὶ βιαιο- τέρας γενομένης ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς θαλάσσης, ὑπονοήσαντες, ὡς ἐνδέχεται, τινὰ τῶν ἐμπλεόντων αἴτιον αὐτοῖς εἶναι τοῦ χειμῶνος, συνέθεντο κλήρῳ τούτῳ ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν μαθεῖν. κληρωσαμένων οὖν ὁ προφήτης λαγχάνει, πυνθανομένων δὲ πόθεν τε εἰη καὶ τί μετέρχεται τὸ μὲν γένος ἐλεγεν Ἑβραῖος εἶναι προφήτης δὲ τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ.4 συνεβού- λευσεν οὖν αὐτοῖς, εἰ θέλουσιν ἀποδράναι τοῖς παρόνταις κύνδυνον, ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ πέλαγος· 212 αἴτιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἶναι τοῦ χειμῶνος. οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν

1 Νινῶν RO; Νιναίου E; Niniae Lat.
2 'Ιόπην RMP.
3 ὁ κυβερνήτης MSP Lat.
4 post θεοῦ lacunam statuit Niese.

a Bibl. Nineveh, lxx Νινεύ.
 b Bibl. Joppa (Ὑάφδο), lxx 'Ιόπη, modern Jaffa, the chief port of Palestine.
account of our history, I have thought it necessary to recount what I have found written in the Hebrew books concerning this prophet. This man, then, hav- ing been commanded by God to go to the kingdom of Ninos and, when he arrived there, to preach in that city that it would lose its power, was afraid and did not set out, but fled from God to the city of Jopedia where he found a boat and embarked in it to sail to Tarsus in Cilicia. But a very severe storm came up and, as the vessel was in danger of sinking, the sailors and pilots and even the shipmaster began to pray and vow thank-offerings if they escaped the sea. Jonah, however, covered himself up and lay there, not imitating any of the things that he saw the others doing. Then, when the waves rose still higher and the sea became more violent in the wind, they began to suspect, as is natural, that one of the passengers was the cause of the storm that had come upon them, and they agreed to draw lots to see who it might be. Accordingly they drew them, and it was the prophet on whom the lot fell. And, when they asked him where he came from and what his business was, he said that he was a Hebrew race, and a prophet of the Most High God. He advised them, therefore, if they wished to escape their present danger, to throw him into the water, for, he said, he was the cause of the storm that had come upon them. At

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* Bibl. Tarshish, lxx Θαρσείς, cf. Ant. i. 127.
* Bibl. “Jonah went into the sides of the ship and lay there and went to sleep” (lxx ἐπέγχετο “snored”).
* So Heb. consonantal text 'bry = 'ibri ; lxx, reading consonantal text as 'bd y = 'ebed Y(HWH), has δούλος Κυρίου “servant of the Lord.”
* Bibl. “and I fear the Lord God of heaven who has made the sea and the dry land.”

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πρῶτον οὐκ ἔτόλμων, κρίναντες ἁσέβημα εἶναι ἥν εἰς άνθρωπον καὶ πεπιστευκότα αὐτοῖς τὸ ζῆν εἰς φανερὰν οὕτως ἀπώλειαν ἐκρήψαι, τελευταίον δ' ὑπερβιαζομένου τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ ὅσον οὕτω μέλλοντος βαπτίζεσθαι τοῦ σκάφους, ὑπὸ τε τοῦ προφήτου παρορμηθέντες αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους τοῦ περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας ρίπτουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν χειμών ἐστάλη, τὸν δὲ λόγον ὑπὸ τοῦ κήτους καταποθέντα τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τοσαύτας νῦκτας εἰς τὸν Εὐξεινὸν ἐκβρασθῆναι πόντον, ζῶντα καὶ μηδὲν τοῦ σῶματος λελυμένον. ἔνθα τοῦ θεοῦ δειθεὶς συγγνώμην αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Νίνου πόλιν καὶ σταθεὶς εἰς ἑπόκοον ἐκήρυσσεν ὡς μετ' ὁλίγον πάνω χρόνον ἀποβαλόντος τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἁσίας, καὶ ταῦτα δηλώσας ὑπέστρεψε. διεξῆλθον δὲ τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ διήγησιν, ὡς εὕρον ἀναγεγραμμένην.

215 (3)[ 'Ιεροβώαμος δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ πᾶσης εὐδαιμονίας τῶν βιῶν διαγαγῶν καὶ ἁρξάς ἐς τεσσαράκοντα ἐτελεύτησε καὶ θάπτεται μὲν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, διαδέχεται δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ νῖός Ζαχαρίας. 

216 τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ 'Οζίας δ' τοῦ Ἀμασία νιὸς,

1 αὐτοῦς RO.
2 πάνω χρόνον] πάλιν M ed. pr.

a Amplification of Scripture.
first they did not dare to do so, regarding it as an impious act to take a man who was a stranger and had entrusted his life to them, and cast him out to so certain a death; but finally, as their distress pressed more heavily upon them and the vessel was on the point of sinking, and since they were driven to it both by the prophet himself and by fear for their own lives, they cast him into the sea. And so the storm was stilled; as for Jonah, the story has it that he was swallowed by a whale and after three days and as many nights was cast up on the shore of the Euxine sea, still living and unharmed in body. Then, having prayed to God to grant him pardon for his sins, he went to the city of Ninos and, standing where all could hear him, proclaimed that in a very short time they would lose their dominion over Asia; after giving them this message, he departed. And I have recounted his story as I found it written down.

(3) Now King Jeroboam died after a life of complete prosperity and a reign of forty years; he was buried in Samaria and was succeeded on the throne by his son Zacharias. In the same way Ozias, the son of Amasias, (succeeded his father, and) in the
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έτος ἡδη τέταρτον πρὸς τοὺς δέκα βασιλεύοντος Ἰεροβοάμου, τῶν δύο φυλῶν ἐβασιλεύσεν ἐν Ἰεροσολύμων μητρὸς ὦν Ἁχίας¹ μὲν τοῦνόμα ἀστής δὲ τὸ γένος. ἀγαθὸς δὲ ἦν καὶ δίκαιος τὴν φύσιν καὶ μεγαλόφρων καὶ προνοήσαι τῶν πραγμάτων φιλο-217 πονῶτατος. στρατευσάμενος δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνους καὶ νικήσας μάχη póleis αὐτῶν ἔλαβε κατὰ κράτος Γίτταν καὶ Ἰάμνειαν² καὶ κατέσκαψεν αὐτῶν τὰ τείχη. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν ἐπῆλθε τοὺς τῆς Ἁγινπτῶν γειτνιώσων Ἀραψι, καὶ πόλιν κτίσας ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ἐγκατ-218 ἐστησεν αὐτῇ φρουράν. ἔπειτα τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας καταστρεψάμενος καὶ φόρους αὐτοὺς ὅρισας τελεῖν καὶ πάντα τὰ μέχρι τῶν Ἀγινπτῶν ὅρων χειρωσά-μενος, τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων ἥρχετο ποιεῖσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν· ὥσα γὰρ τῶν τειχῶν ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου κατεβέβλητο ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς ὅλιγωρίας τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων, ταύτα τε ἀνωκοδόμει καὶ κατεσκεύαζεν, ὥσα τε ἦν κατεσκαμμένα³ ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέως, ὦτε τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ λαβὼν αἰχμάλωτον τὸν Ἀμασίαν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν 219 póλιν. προσωκοδόμησε δὲ καὶ πῦργους πολλοὺς

¹ Ἁχίας SP; Achelamas Lat.
³ M Exc.: καταβεβλημένα rell.

a Bibl. 27th. As rabbinic commentators early recognized, the biblical figure here is at variance with those indicated earlier; Amaziah reigned for 15 years after Jeroboam’s accession (2 Kings xiv. 17 = 2 Chron. xxv. 25, cf. § 203 note b), so that Uzziah must have become king in the 14th (by pre-dating) year of Jeroboam’s reign, as Josephus states. Some 114
fourteenth year of Jeroboam's reign began to rule over the two tribes in Jerusalem; the name of his mother, a native of that city, was Achia. He was a good and just man by nature and was both magnanimous and most industrious in providing for the state. He also made war on the Philistines and, having defeated them in battle, took by storm their cities Gitta and Jamneia and razed their walls to the ground. After this campaign he went out against the Arabs living on the borders of Egypt and, having founded a city on the Red sea, stationed a garrison there. Next he subdued the Ammanites and, having imposed a tribute upon them and made himself master of all the country as far as the borders of Egypt, he began to take thought thereafter for Jerusalem; whatever parts of the walls had fallen either through age or through the neglect of the kings before him, he rebuilt or repaired, as well as those parts which had been thrown down by the king of Israel when, after taking his father Amasias captive, he entered the city. In addition he built many Jewish authorities, however, resolve the chronological difficulties by assuming that Uzziah was co-regent with Amaziah during the last 15 years of the latter's reign. Variant Achiala; bibl. Jecholiah (Y*kołyăhu), lxx 2 Kings Xaleiá, 2 Chron. 1caeliá, v.l. Xaaá. Bibl. Gath, cf. § 170 note c. Bibl. Jabneh (Yabnéh), lxx 'Ibařñ, cf. Ant. v. 87 note f. Scripture adds Ashdod. Bibl. "the Arabs that dwelt in Gur-baal (lxx ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας) and the Meunim" (lxx Mevaións "Minaeans"). The site of Gur-baal has not been identified. The Meunim were probably the inhabitants of Maon, S.E. of Petra. At Eloth (2 Chron. xxvi. 2). So Heb. (bibl. Ammonites), probably meaning the Meunim; here again lxx has Mevaión. The reference to Amaziah is an addition to Scripture.
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πεντήκοντα πηχών ἐκαστον.  
καὶ φρουρῶς δε ἐνετείχισε τοῖς ἐρήμοις χωρίοις, καὶ πολλοὺς ὥχετος ὁμιζειν ὑδάτων. ᾧν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θρεμμάτων ἀπειρόν τι πλῆθος.

220 εὐφυὴς γὰρ ἦν ἡ χώρα πρὸς νομᾶς. γεωργικὸς δὲ ὁν σφόδρα τῆς γῆς ἐπεμελεῖτο, φυτοῖς αὐτήν καὶ παντόδαποῖς τιθηγὼν σπέρμα. στρατιάς δ' εἶχεν ἐπιλέκτου περὶ αὐτοῦ μυριάδας ἕπτα καὶ τριάκοντα, ἣς ἤγεμόνες ἦσαν καὶ ταξίαρχοι καὶ χιλιάρχοι γενναῖοι καὶ τὴν ἀλκήν ἀνυπόστατον, τὸν ἀριθμὸν

221 δισθίλιου. διέταξε δ' εἰς φάλαγγας τὴν ολὴν στρατιὰν καὶ ὠπλίσε κομφαίαν δοὺς ἐκάστῳ καὶ θυρεός καὶ θύρακας χαλκοῖς καὶ τόξα καὶ σφενδόνας. ἐτὶ δὲ πρὸς τούτους μηχανήματα πολλὰ πρὸς πολιορκίας κατεσκέψατε πετρόβολα τε καὶ δορύβολα καὶ ἀρπαγας καὶ οὐκ αὐτοὺς ὑμοῖα.

222 (4) Γενόμενος δ' ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ συντάξει καὶ παρασκευῇ διεφθάρη τὴν διανομὴν ὑπὸ τύφου, καὶ χαυνωθεὶς θυγητῇ περιουσίᾳ τῆς ἀθανάτου καὶ πρὸς ἀπαντα διαρκοῦς τὸν χρόνον ὁχύρος ὅλως ὠλυγώρησεν (αὐτῇ δὲ ἦν ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβεια καὶ τὸ τηρεῖν τὰ νόμιμα). ὠλισθε δὲ ὑπ' εὐπραξίας καὶ κατημέρεζο ἐνιάτ' ἐν τὸ πατρὸς ᾧ ἀμαρτηματα, πρὸς ἀ κάκεινον ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν λαμπρότης καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ δυνηθέντα προστίθηναι καλῶς αὐτῶν ἠγαγεν. εὐστάσης δ' ἡμέρας ἐπισήμου καὶ

1 ἐκαστον] καὶ ἐκατὸν MSP Exc. Suidas: singulis quibusque
CL cubitos habentibus Lat.  

2 + καὶ ἀρτῆρας SP.

a Variant “a hundred and fifty”; no figure is given in Scripture.

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towers, each fifty cubits high. He also built fortified posts in desert regions and dug many canals for water. And of beasts of burden and other cattle he had an unlimited number, for the country was naturally good for pasture. And, being interested in farming, he took the greatest care of the soil and cultivated it with plants and all kinds of seed. He also had under him a picked army of three hundred and seventy thousand men, over which were commanders and officers and captains of thousands who were men of valour and irresistible prowess, two thousand in number. He disposed his entire army into phalanxes and armed them, giving each a sword, a shield and breastplate of bronze, a bow and a sling. Beside this he also built many engines for sieges, such as rock-throwers and spear-throwers and grappling-irons, and the like.

(4) But, after he had made these arrangements and preparations, he was corrupted in mind through pride and, being filled with vanity on account of his mortal prosperity, he became contemptuous of the power that is immortal and endures for all time, that is, piety toward God and observance of the laws. And so, because of his successes, he slipped and became involved in the same sins as those of his father, who had also been led into them by his brilliant good fortune and the greatness of his power, which he had not been able to direct rightly. Thus, on the occasion of a notable day which was a public
πάνδημον ἐφορτῆν ἐχοῦσης, ἑνδὺς ἱερατικὴν στολὴν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ τέμενος θυσιάσων· ἔπι τοῦ χρυσοῦ 224 βωμοῦ τῷ θεῷ. τοῦ δ' ἀρχιερέως Ἀζαρία, ὅταν ἵνα ἑκατέρα ὁγδοήκοντα, κωλύσας αὐτὸν (οὐ γὰρ ἐξόν ἐπιθύμει εἰπον, μόνοις δ' ἐφείσθαι τοῦτο ποιεῖν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ Ἅρωνος γένους), καταβοῦντων δ' ἐξείναι καὶ μὴ παρανομεῖν εἰς τὸν θεόν, ὅργυσθείς ἥπειλησεν αὐτοῖς θάνατον, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἰσχύν 225 ἄξουσι. μεταξὺ δὲ σεισμὸς ἐκλύνησε τὴν γῆν μέγας, καὶ διαστάντος τοῦ ναοῦ φέγγος ἥλιον λαμπρὸν ἐξέλαμψε καὶ τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄψει προσέπεσεν, ὡς τῷ μὲν εὐθέως λέπραν ἐπιδραμεῖν, πρὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τῇ καλουμένῃ Ἐρωγῇ τοῦ ὅρους ἀπορραγήναι τὸ ἄμμον τοῦ κατὰ τὴν δύσιν καὶ κυλισθέν τέσσαρας σταδίους ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνατολικὸν ὄρος στῆναι, ὡς τὰς περὶοδικοὺς ἐμφραγήναι καὶ τοὺς παραδείσους τοὺς βασιλικοὺς. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατ- 226 ἐλημμένην τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὸ τῆς λέπρας εἶδον οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἐφραζόν τε αὐτῷ τὴν συμφορὰν καὶ ἐκέλευον ἐξείναι τῆς πόλεως ὡς ἐναγη. οὔ δ' 1 ἐπιθυσιάσων Μ Ἑὐσ. Suidas; ἐπιθυμάσων SP Λατ., θυμάσων Ἐ Ζωναρᾶς. 2 Ε: ἐφείται codd. Ἑὐσ. Suidas.

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1 Variant "offer incense," as in Scripture; but cf. ἐπιθύμει below.
2 Scripture says merely, "he transgressed against the Lord his God and went into the temple of the Lord to burn incense upon the altar of incense."
3 So LXX: bibl. Azariah (חאריה). According to the Hebrew, it is Azaryahu.
4 The threat of death is an unscriptural detail.
5 Like Josephus, the rabbis connect with Uzziah’s act the earthquake mentioned in the prophecy of Zechariah, xiv. 5, "As you fled from before the earthquake in the days of Uzziah, King of Judah" (as well as the vision of Isaiah, ch. vi.), cf. Ginzberg iv. 262, vi. 358 note 30.
festival, he put on the priestly garment and entered the sacred precinct to offer sacrifice to God on the golden altar. And, when the high priest Azarias, with whom there were eighty priests, tried to prevent him—for, they said it was not lawful for any one to offer sacrifice, but to do so was allowed only to those of the line of Aaron,—and they all clamoured for him to go out and not transgress against God, he became angry and threatened them with death if they did not hold their peace. But, while he spoke, a great tremor shook the earth, and, as the temple was riven, a brilliant shaft of sunlight gleamed through it and fell upon the king's face so that leprosy at once smote him, while before the city at a place called Erōgē half of the western hill was broken off and rolled four stades till it stopped at the eastern hill and obstructed the roads and the royal gardens. When the priests saw the king's face smitten with leprosy, they explained to him the cause of his misfortune, and told him to go out of the city as an unclean person. And so, in his shame.

It is generally (and probably correctly) assumed that the reference to the "brilliant shaft of sunlight" is based on the Heb. ḫas-gara'ath zārēḥāh b'mishō "the leprosy blossomed (A.V. "rose up") in his forehead," as zārēḥāh commonly means "shine" (of the sun); for another possible explanation cf. Ginzberg vi. 358 note 30, and Rappaport, p. 133 note 258.

Possibly En-rogel, S.E. of Jerusalem, cf. Ant. vii. 223 note a. Rappaport, following S. Rapoport (cf. also Petit ap. Hudson-Havercamp), suggests that it is derived from the Heb. text of Zech. xiv. 5, where, instead of ṭōnastem ǧē hāray "and you shall flee to the valley of the mountains" (?), Josephus read ṭōnīstam ǧē hāray "and Ge haray was stopped up," the name Ge hāray being further corrupted to Erōgē.

Bibl. "they hurried him out from there"; cf. following note.
υπ’ αἰσχύνης τε τοῦ συμβεβηκότος δενοῦ καὶ τοῦ μηκέτ’ αὐτῷ παρρησίαν εἶναι τὸ κελευόμενον ἐποίει, τῆς ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπον διανοίας καὶ τῶν διὰ τοῦτ’ εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἀσεβημάτων ταλαίπωρον οὕτως 227 καὶ οἰκτρῶν ὑπομείνας δίκην. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τῶν διήγεν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἰδιώτην ἀποξών βίον, τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῷ Ἰωσάμου τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντος, ἐπειτα ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ ἄθυμίας τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενν.-μένοις ἀπέθανεν ἐτή μὲν βιώσας ὠκτῶ καὶ ἐξήκοντα, τούτων δὲ βασιλεύσας πεντήκοντα δύο. ἐκηδεύθη δὴ μόνος ἐν τοῖς έαυτοῦ κήποις.

228 (xi. 1) ὁ δὲ τοῦ Ἰεροβάμου παῖς Ζαχαρίας ἐξ μήνας1 βασιλεύσας τῶν Ἰσραηλίτων δολοφονθείς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ φιλοῦ τινὸς Σελλήμου2 μὲν τοῦνομα Ἰαβήσου δὲ νιοῦ, ὃς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν μετ’ αὐτὸν παραλαβὼν οὐ πλείονα χρόνον ἦμερῶν αὐτὴν 229 κατέσχε τριάκοντα. ὁ γὰρ στρατηγὸς Μαναήμος κατ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ὡς ἐν Θαρσῆ πόλει καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ζαχαρίαν ἄκουσας, ἀρας μετὰ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς ἤκεν εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν, καὶ συμβαλὼν εἰς μάχην ἀναρεῖ τὸν Σέλλημον καὶ βασιλεά κατα-

1 μηνοi ROSPE.

* So the Targum renders Heb. wayyēzēb bĕbeth ha-hopḥēṯ (A.V. “and dwelt in a several [i.e. separate] house ”); lxx 2 Kings, transliterating the obscure word hopḥēṯ (usu. “free”), has καὶ ἐβασιλεύσεν ἐν οἴκῳ ἀφφουσῶθ, 2 Chron. ἐν οἴκῳ ἀφφουσῶν ἐκάθητο.

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at the terrible thing that had happened to him and because he no longer had the right to speak out, he did as he was told; so miserable and pitiable a penalty did he pay for thinking to reach a station higher than man's and for the impieties toward God which were caused thereby. And so for a time he dwelt outside the city, a living the life of a private citizen, b for his son Jotham had taken over the government; and then, from grief and despondence at what had happened to him, he died at the age of sixty-eight years, c of which he had reigned fifty-two. He was buried alone in his own gardens. d

(xi. 1) Now Zacharias, the son of Jeroboam, had reigned over the Israelites six months when he was treacherously put to death by one of his friends, named Sellēmos, e the son of Jabēsos, f who took over the royal power after him but held it no longer than thirty days. For, when Manaēmos, g the general, who was at that time in the city of Tharse, h heard of Zacharias's fate, he set out with his entire army and came to Samaria, and, engaging Sellēmos in battle, slew him and made himself king; from there he

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a A medieval Jewish commentator (cited by Rappaport, p. 63) uses Heb. ḫeydyl "private citizen," derived from Gr. ἴδωτης, to render hopḥsīth, as Josephus does here.

b According to 2 Kings xv. 2 = 2 Chron. xxvi. 3 he was 16 years old at his accession; adding 52 years for his reign, we get 68 years.

c 2 Kings "with his fathers in the city of David"; 2 Chron. "with his fathers in the field of burial belonging to the kings, for they said, He is a leper."

d Cf. Luc. Σελλήμ; bibl. Shallum, lxx Σαλλουμ.

e Bibl. Jabesh (Yāḇēṣ), lxx Ḫaḇēṣ.

f Cf. lxx Μαναήμ; bibl. Menahem (Mēnāhēm).

g Bibl. Tirzah (Tīrāh), lxx Θερσιλά (v.l. Θερσιλά), Luc. Θερσίλα; cf. Ant. viii. 299 note a.
στήσας ἐαυτὸν ἐκείθεν εἰς Θαψάν παραγίνεται πόλιν. 230 οἱ δ' ἐν αὐτῇ τὰς πύλας μοχλῶ κλείσαντες οὐκ εἰσεδέχαντο τὸν βασιλέα. οἱ δ' ἀμυνόμενοι αὐτοὺς τὴν πέριξ ἐδήμου χώραν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος 231 λαμβάνει πολιορκία. φέρων δὲ χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὕπὸ τῶν Θαψάτων¹ πραχθεῖσι πάντας αὐτοὺς διεχρήσατο μηδὲ νηπίων φεισάμενος, ὦμότητος ὑπερβολὴν οὐ καταλιπτῶν οὐδὲ ἀγριότητος. ἀ γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων τινὰς συγνωστὸν διαθέιναι γενομένους ὑποχειρίους, ταῦτα τοὺς ὁμοφύλους 232 οὕτος εἰργάσατο. βασιλεύσας οὖν τῷ τρόπῳ τοῦτῳ ὁ Μαναήμος ἐπ' ἐτη μὲν δέκα σκαῖος καὶ πάντων ὦμότατος διέμενεν ὁν. στρατεύσαντος δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν Φούλου² τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως εἰς μὲν ἀγώνα καὶ μάχην οὖν ἀπαντᾷ τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις, πείσας δὲ χλια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου λαβόντα ἀναχωρήσαι δια- 233 λύεται τὸν πόλεμον. τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον τοῦτο συν- ἱνεγκε τὸ πλῆθος Μαναήμων πραχθὲν κατὰ κεφαλὴν δραχμάς πεντήκοντα. τελευτήσας δὲ μετὰ ταύτα κηδεύεται μὲν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, καταλεῖπε δὲ τῆς βασιλείας τὸν νῦν Φακέαν διάδοχον, ὀς τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς κατακολουθήσας ὦμότητι δυσῖν ἔτεσι μόνοις 234 ἦρξεν. ἔπειτα δολοφονηθεὶς ἐν συμποσίῳ μετὰ

¹ Θαψάν RO. ² Φούλου MSP: Φίλου O: Phoiulus Lat.

¹ Bibl. Tiphsah (Tiphsah), LXX Θερσά (v.l. Θαιρά), Luc. Taphī. On the basis of the Luc. reading, many scholars assume that the bibl. text should read Tappuah on the boundary of Ephraim and Manasseh (Joshua xvii. 8).

² Amplification of 2 Kings xv. 16, "Then Menahem smote Tiphsah and all that were therein ... and all the women with child he ripped up."

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went to the city of Thapsa. But those within the city shut their gates with bars and refused to admit the king. Thereupon he avenged himself upon them by ravaging the country round about, and after a siege took the city by storm. Then, resenting the actions of the inhabitants of Thapsa, he did away with all of them, not sparing even infants and not stopping short of the utmost extremes of cruelty and savagery; those things which it would be unforgivable to do even to aliens if taken captive, such things did he do to those of his own race. Having become king in this way, Manaēmos continued to reign for ten years as a perverse and excessively cruel man. However, when Phūlos, the king of Assyria, came against him with an army, he would not meet the Assyrians in the contest of battle, but persuaded the king to accept a thousand talents of silver and retire, and so brought the war to an end. This sum was contributed to Manaēmos by the people, who were taxed at fifty drachmas a head. After this he died and was buried in Samaria; he left as his successor on the throne his son Phakeas, who followed his father’s example of cruelty but ruled only two years, for he was then treacherously put to death, while at a banquet with his friends, through a con-

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*(Footnotes: a Scripture does not represent him as worse than his predecessors.

b Bibl. Pul, LXX Φουά; this was Tiglath-Pileser III (746–728 B.C.), the latter name being given further on in Scripture, 2 Kings xv. 29 (§ 235).

c Bibl. “shekels,” LXX σικλοὺς. Josephus elsewhere equates the shekel with the tetradrachm, e.g. Ant. iii. 195, viii. 189.

d Bibl. Pekahiah (Pēqahyâh), LXX Φακειάς, Luc. (vid.) Φαχεία.)*
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φίλων ἀπέθανε, Φακέου τινός, ὃς ἦν χιλιάρχος, ἐπιβουλεύσαντος αὐτῷ, παιδὸς δὲ Ἰορμελία. κατασχὼν δὲ καὶ οὗτος ὁ Φακέας τὴν ἀρχήν ἔτεσιν 235 εὔκοσιν ἁσεβὴς τῇ ἑῳ καὶ παράνομος. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς Θαγλαθφαλλάσσαρτούνομα ἐπιστρατευσάμενος τοῖς Ἰσραήλιταῖς καὶ τὴν τε Γαλατῆν ἄπασαν καταστρεψάμενος καὶ τὴν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου χώραν καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτῇ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν καλουμένην καὶ Κύδισαν καὶ Ἀσσωρ, τοὺς οἰκήτορας αἰχμαλωτίσας μετέστησεν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως εν τούτοις ἦμῖν δεδηλώσθων.

236 (2) Ἰώθαμος δὲ Ὁξία παῖς ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Ἰουδαίας φυλῆς ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωι ἐκ μητρὸς μὲν ἀστής γεγονὼς καλουμένης δὲ Ἰεράσης. οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρετῆς ἀπελεύσετο, ἀλλ' εὐσεβῆς μὲν τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, δίκαιος δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους υπήρχεν, ἐπιμελής δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅσα γὰρ ἔπισκευῆς ἐδείτο καὶ κόσμον, ταῦτα φιλοτήμως ἐξειργάσατο, στοὰς μὲν τὰς ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἱδρύσας καὶ προπύλαια, τὰ δὲ καταπεπτυκότα τῶν τειχῶν ἀνέστησε, πύργους παμμεγέθεις καὶ δυσαλώτους οἰκοδομήσας, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, εἰ τί κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν

1 Θαγλαθφαλλάσσαρ Μ: Θαγλαθφαλλάσσαρος Ε: Theglaphaassar Lat. : Θαγλαθφαλλάσσαρ (et -φαλασάρ) Ζονάρας.
2 Κύδισα ΡΟ.
3 Bekker: καὶ τοὺς codd. Ε Lat.
4 ἐπιμελητὴς MSP.

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a Bibl. Pekah (Peqah), lxx Φακεέ, Luc. Φακεά.
b So lxx; bibl. Remaliah (R'malyāhū).
c Heb. ṣālīṭ “commander of a third part” (A.V. “captain”), lxx τριστάτης; cf. § 73 note a.
d Bibl. Tiglath-Pileser, lxx Θαγλαθφαλλάσσαρ (with many v.l.l.); cf. § 232 note d.

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spionage formed against him by a certain Phakeas,\textsuperscript{a} the son of Romelias,\textsuperscript{b} who was the captain of a thousand.\textsuperscript{c} This Phakeas, who also held power for twenty years, was an impious and lawless man. Now the king of Assyria, named Thaglathphallasar,\textsuperscript{d} marched against the Israelites and subdued all of Galadène\textsuperscript{e} and the country across the Jordan and the adjoining country, called Galilee, and Kydisa\textsuperscript{f} and Asôra\textsuperscript{g}; and, having taken the inhabitants captive, he transported them to his own kingdom. With these words, then, let us end our account of the king of Assyria.

(2) And Jotham,\textsuperscript{h} the son of Ozias, reigned over the tribe of Judah in Jerusalem, his mother, a native of that city, being called Jerase.\textsuperscript{i} This king lacked no single virtue, but was pious toward God and just toward men; he also took care of the needs of the city, for all the places that were in need of repair or adornment he completely reconstructed at great expense; he erected porticos and gateways in the temple area, and set up those parts of the walls that had fallen down, and built very large and impregnable towers,\textsuperscript{j} and to any other matters which had been neglected throughout his entire kingdom

\textsuperscript{a} Bibl. Gilead, cf. Ant. i. 324.
\textsuperscript{b} Bibl. Kedesh, lxx Kéveţ; cf. Ant. v. 63 note c.
\textsuperscript{c} Bibl. Hazor (Hâsôr), lxx 'Asôp; cf. Ant. v. 199 note d.

Scripture mentions three other cities.
\textsuperscript{d} Gr. Jôthamos; lxx 'Iwadâμ (v.l. 'Iwadâv).
\textsuperscript{e} Bibl. Jerushah (Yerûsâh), lxx 2 Chron. 'Ierousâ, 2 Kings 'Ierousâ.
\textsuperscript{f} Bibl. (2 Chron.) “He built the high gate of the house of the Lord, and on the wall of Ophel he built much. And he built cities in the hills of Judah, and in the forests he built castles and towers.”

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238 ἡμέλητο, πολλὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ἐποιεῖτο. στρατευόμενος δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας καὶ κρατήσας αὐτῶν τῇ μάχῃ προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς φόρους κατὰ πᾶν ἔτος αὐτῶ τελεύων ἐκατόν τάλαντα καὶ σίτου κόρους μυρίων τοσούτους1 δὲ καὶ κριθῆς. ἤψισε δ' οὖτω τῇ βασιλείᾳ, ὅπως ἀκαταφρόνητον μὲν αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων εἶναι, τοῖς δ' οἰκείοις εὐδαιμόνα.

239 (3) Ἡν δὲ τις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν προφήτης Ναοῦμος ὄνομα, ὡς περὶ τῆς Ἀσσυρίων καταστροφῆς καὶ τῆς Νίνου προφητεύων ἐλέγεν ὡς2 ἐσται Νιευνή3 κολυμβήθρα ὕδατος κινοῦμενη. "οὖτως καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀπας ταρασσόμενος καὶ κλυσανιζόμενος οἰχήσεται φεύγων λεγόντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους 'στήτε καὶ μείνατε καὶ κρυσόν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀργυρον ἄρπά-240 σατε.' ἐσται δ' οὐδεὶς βουλησόμενος· σώζειν γὰρ αὐτῶν4 ἐθελήσουσι τὰς ψυχὰς μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ κτήματα· δεινὴ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἔρις ἔξει καὶ θρήνος πάρεσις τε τῶν μελῶν, αἱ τε ὅφεις ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου 241 μελαιναί τελέως αὐτοῖς γενήσονται. ποῦ δὲ ἐσται

1 E Lat.: τοὺς αὐτοὺς codd.
2 οὖτως ὡς R: οὖτως MSP: haec Lat.
3 ex Lat. Hudson: Νινά P: Ννιᾶς rell. (Νιευνή infra MSP).
4 Niese: αὐτῶν codd.

* Scripture says that they paid tribute “in that year . . . the second year and the third.”
* Bibl. adds “of silver.”
* The kor was about 11 bushels, cf. Ant. viii. 40 note a.
* The Targum also seems to bring Nahum fairly close in time to Jonah, as does Josephus, cf. § 242 note b. One rabbinic tradition places Nahum in the reign of Manasseh and makes his prophecy apply to the descendants of Sennacherib.

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he gave his constant attention. He also marched against the Ammanites and, having defeated them in battle, imposed a yearly a tribute upon them of a hundred talents b and ten thousand kors c of wheat and as many of barley. So greatly did he strengthen his kingdom that it was not lightly regarded by his enemies, while to his own people it brought happiness.

(3) d There was at that time a certain prophet, named Naûm, e who prophesied the downfall of Assyria and Nineveh, saying that Nineveh would be a troubled pool of water f; "so also all the people, being disturbed and agitated, shall go away and flee, one saying to another, 'Stop and remain and seize gold and silver for yourselves.' But there will be no one willing, for they will wish to save their own lives rather than their possessions." For terrible strife of one with another will come upon them, and lamentation and loosening of their limbs, and their eyes h will be darkened with fear. i Where will be the habita-

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a Gr. Naûmos; bibl. Nahum (Nahûm), lxx Naûm. 
b Lit. "moving pool of water"; Heb. "like a pool of water from of old" (?), lxx, reading mêmêhā "its waters" for mêmê hî' "from of old" (?), has ṣê kolvmâbêbâ ýdâtos tâ ýdatha avtîs. Weill assumes that κνουμένη in Josephus's text is an attempt to render the obscure mêmê hî', which Targum and A.V. translate as above.
c This last sentence is based on the obscure Heb. phrase 'ên maphnêh "there is no one turning" (?; A.V. "none shall look back"), lxx oûk ëv o ἐπιβλέπων. Josephus apparently takes it, as the Targum does, to mean "none takes time to stand still."
d Or "faces." 
e Bibl. "and the faces of them all gather redness" (?; Targum "blackness"), lxx kai tô próswnon pántwn ṣê próskavma xútras "and the face of all is like a fire-blackened pot" (reading pâruby "pot" for pâruby "redness" or "blackness").
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τὸ κατοικητήριον τῶν λεόντων καὶ ἡ μήτηρ σκύμνων; λέγει δὲ σοι ὁ θεὸς, Νινεῦ, ὅτι 'ἀφανὶ σε καὶ οὐκέτι λέοντες ἐκ σοῦ πορευόμενοι ἐπιτάξουσι 242 τῷ κόσμῳ.' καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις προεφήτευσεν οὕτως ὁ προφήτης περὶ Νινεύς, ἃ λέγειν οὐκ ἀναγκαίον ἡγησάμην, ἵνα δὲ μὴ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ὀχληρῶς δοκῶ παρέλπον. συνέβη δὲ πάντα τὰ προειρημένα περὶ Νινεύς μετὰ ἔτη ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀποχρῶντως ἢμῖν δεδήλωται.

243 (xii. 1) 'Ο δὲ Ἰωάθαμος μετήλλαξεν ἔτη βιώσας ἐν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα βασιλεύσας δὲ εἰς αὐτῶν ἐκκαίδεκα, θάπτεται δὲ ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς θήκαις. ἔρχεται δὲ εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀχάζην ἡ βασιλεία, ὅς ἀσεβέστατος εἰς τὸν θεὸν γενόμενος καὶ τοὺς πατρίους παραβᾶς νόμους, τοὺς Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὰς ἐμμησατο, βωμοὺς ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωι ἀναστήσας καὶ θύων ἐπ' αὐτῶν τοῖς εἰδώλοις, οἷς καὶ ἰδιον ὥλοκαυτώσε παῖδα κατὰ τὰ Χαναάνων έθε, καὶ 244 τούτως ἄλλα παραπλήσια διεπράσσετο. ἔχοντος δὲ οὕτως καὶ μεμηνότως ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὁ τῶν Σύρων καὶ Δαμασκηνῶν βασιλεὺς Ἄρασῆς καὶ Φακέας τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν (φίλοι γὰρ ἤσαν), καὶ συνελάσαντες αὐτῶν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα ἐπὶ πολὺν ἐπολιόρκουν χρόνον, διὰ τὴν τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρότητα

1 Ραασῆς RO: Rasen Lat.

a Bibl. pasturage (A.V. "feeding-place"), lxx νομή.

b Nineveh fell in 607/6 B.C. Josephus thus dates the prophecy in the last year of the Israelite kingdom (722 B.C.).
tion of lions and the mother $a$ of young lions? God says to thee, Nineveh, 'I will blot thee out, and no more shall lions go forth from thee to rule the world.'" And many more things beside did this prophet prophesy about Nineveh, which I have not thought it necessary to mention, but have omitted in order not to seem tiresome to my readers. But all the things that had been foretold concerning Nineveh came to pass after a hundred and fifteen years.$b$ And now, concerning these matters, what we have written may suffice.

(xii. 1) And Jotham passed away at the age of forty-one years,$c$ of which he had reigned sixteen, and was buried in the royal sepulchres. The kingdom then came to his son Achaz,$d$ who in acting most impiously toward God and violating his country's laws imitated the kings of Israel, for he set up altars in Jerusalem and sacrificed on them to idols,$e$ to which he even offered his own son as a whole burnt-offering according to the Canaanite custom, and he committed other offences similar to these. But, while he was thus acting like a madman, there came against him Arasēs,$f$ the king of Syria and Damascus, and Phakeas,$g$ the king of Israel—for they were friends,—and, after driving him into Jerusalem, they besieged it for a long time, but because of the strength of its

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$a$ According to 2 Kings xv. 33 = 2 Chron. xxvii. 1 he was 25 years old at his accession; adding 16 years for his reign, we get 41 years.

$b$ Bibl. Rezin (Ῥεζῖν), lxx Ρεζίν (Ῥεζῖν) (cf. § 234 note a.)

$c$ Scripture (2 Chron.) mentions an altar of incense set up in the valley of Hinnom, as well as molten images to the Baalim (lxx γλυπτὰ ἐν τοῖς εἰδώλοις).

$d$ Bibl. Ahaz (Ἄχαζ), lxx Αχάζ.

245 μηδὲν ἀνύοντες. ὁ δὲ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς λαβὼν τὴν πρὸς τῇ Ἕρωδα θαλάσσῃ πόλιν Ἡλαθοῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἀποκτείνας ἐγκατώκισεν αὐτῷ Σύρους. τοὺς δὲ ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς πέριξ Ἰουδαίους διαφθείρας καὶ λείαν πολλὴν ἀπελάσας εἰς Δαμασκὸν μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀν- 246 ἐζευξεν. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων βασιλεὺς γνοὺς τοὺς Σύρους ἐπὶ οἶκον κεχωρηκότας καὶ νομίσας ἀξιόμαχος εἶναι τῷ τῶν Ἰσραηλίτων βασιλεί τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἐξήγαγε, καὶ συμβαλὼν ἐνικήθη κατὰ μῆνιν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἂς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀσεβήμασιν αὐτοῦ 247 πολλῶν ἕμα καὶ μεγάλως εἶχεν. δῶδεκα γὰρ μυριάδες κατ᾽ ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ τὴν ἠμέραν ύπὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλίτων ἀνηρέθησαν, ὅπερ ὁ στρατηγὸς Ζαχαρίας 3 τὸν υἱὸν ἀπέκτενεν ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ τοῦ βασιλέως Αχαζίου Ἀμασίαν 4 ὄνομα, καὶ τὸν ἐπίτροπον τῆς βασιλείας ἀπάσης Ἐρικάμ 5 καὶ τὸν τῆς Ἰουδα ψυλῆς στρατηγὸν Ἔλικάν 6 αἰχμάλωτον ἔλαβεν, 7 καὶ ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος ψυλῆς γυναικάς καὶ παιδὰς ἀπήγαγον, καὶ πολλὴν λείαν διαρράσατες ἀνεχώρησαν 8 εἰς Σαμάρειαν.

1 Αἴλάθ ex Lat. Hudson. 2 Ἰεροσολύμων PE Lat. 3 Cocceji: Ζαχαρίαν (v ex o corr.) M: Ζαχαρίων vel Ζαχάρων rell. 4 Naber: Ἀμιᾶς M: Ἀμασίας rell. 5 Ἐρκᾶμ RO. 6 Ἐλκάν M: Ἐλικάν O: Helicam Lat. 7 Ἐλαβὸν ΡΟ 8. 8 ἀνεχώροντων MSP.

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b So Heb.; lxx, reading 'Edömim "Edomites" for 'Arümim "Syrians," has Ἰδομαιοῖο.  
d Bibl. Maaseiah, lxx Μαασίας, v.II. Ἄμασιας (as in Josephus), Μαασίας.  

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walls accomplished nothing. However, the king of Syria took the city of Elathüs on the Red Sea and, after killing its inhabitants, settled Syrians therein. And, when he had in like manner done away with the Jews in the garrisons and in the surrounding country, and had carried off much spoil, he withdrew with his army to Damascus. But the king of Jerusalem, on learning that the Syrians had returned home, and thinking himself a match for the king of Israel, led out his force against him and, after joining battle, was defeated because of the anger which God felt at his many great impieties. One hundred and twenty thousand of his men were slain that day by the Israelites, whose general Zacharias killed in the battle the son of King Achaz, named Amasias, and took captive Erikam, the governor of the entire kingdom, and Elikan, the chief officer of the tribe of Judah; they also carried off the women and children of the tribe of Benjamin, and, having seized much spoil, retired to Samaria.

*Bibl. "killed." Josephus apparently takes the verb "captured" in the Heb. of 2 Chron. xxviii. 8 with the preceding sentence, as if referring to the two officers as well as the women and children.

† Bibl. Azrikam, lxx 'Εζρικάν, v.ll. 'Εζρικαμάν, 'Εγδρεικάν κτλ.

‡ Bibl. Elkanah, lxx 'Ελκανά, v.l. Ελκανά.

§ Bibl. "next to the king," lxx διάδοχον (Luc. δεύτερον) τοῦ βασιλέως.

¶ Bibl. "And the Israelites carried away captive of their brethren 200,000 women, sons and daughters." Josephus appears to have read Binyāmin "Benjamin" for bānim "sons." Perhaps, however, he includes Benjamin because further on in Scripture (vs. 15), the captives are said to have been escorted to Jericho (a Benjamite city, cf. Joshua xviii. 11-12), "to their brethren."
248 (2) Ὅδηδάς¹ δὲ τις, ὃς κατ᾽ ἐκείνῳ καυρῷ προφήτης ὑπῆρχεν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, τῷ στρατῷ πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀπαντήσας μεγάλη βοὴ τὴν νίκην αὐτοῖς ὅλη τὴν οἰκείαν ἱσχὺν αὐτῶν ἐδήλου γενέσθαι, διὰ δὲ τὸν θεοῦ χόλον, ὃν ἐπέ Αχάζην τὸν 249 βασιλέα. καὶ κατεμέμφετο τῇ μὲν ἐπιφραγµία τῇ κατ’ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἀρκεσθῆνας, ἀλλὰ τολμήσαντας τούς ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαία φυλῆς καὶ Βενιαµῖνδος συνγενείς ὄντας αἵµαλωτίσαι. συνεβούλευε τε αὐτοῖς ἀπολύσαι τούτους εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπαθεῖς· ἀπειθη- 250 σαντας γὰρ τῷ θεῷ δίκην υφέξειν. ο δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συνελθὼν ἐπισκόπησεν περὶ τούτων. ἀναστὰς δὲ τις Βαραχίας ὅνοµα² τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ἄλλοι μετ’ αὐτοῦ τρεῖς ἔλεγον οὐκ ἐπιτρέψειν τοῖς ὀπλῖταις εἰσαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν, „ἴνα μὴ πάντες ἀπολώμεθα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ· μόνον γὰρ ἀπόχρη τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμᾶς ἐξαµαρτεῖν, ὡς οἱ προφήται λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ κανόντερα τούτων 251 ἀσεβήµατα δρᾶν.” ταῦτ’ ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται συνεχόµεθαν ἐκεῖνος ποιεῖν ὃ ἐδόκει συµφέρειν. παραλαβόντες οὖν οἱ προειρήµένοι ἄνδρες τοὺς αἵµαλωτοὺς ἐλυσάν τε καὶ ἐπιµελείας ἡξίωσαν καὶ δόντες ἐφόδια εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπέλυσαν ἀβλαβεῖς, οὐδὲν δ’ ἤττον καὶ τέσσαρες³ αὐτοῖς συνήλθον καὶ μέχρις Ἰερουσαλήμ τοὺς προπέµψαντες οὐκ ἀπωθῆν τῶν Ἰερουσαληµῶν ἀνέστρεψαν εἰς Σαµαρείαν.⁴

¹ Ὅδηδάς SP: Ὅβῆλας M: Ὅδῖδας E Lat.
² ὅνοµατι MSP.
³ τέσσαρας σταδίους RO.
⁴ τὴν Σαµαρείαν(-eiας ex -eiαν corr. P: -εων O) χώραν ROSP.
(2) But a certain Odedas, a who was at that time a prophet in Samaria, met the army before the walls, and in a loud voice declared that their victory had come about, not through their own might, but through the wrath which God felt at King Achaz. And he rebuked them because they had not been content with their success against Achaz, but had dared to take captive people of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, b who were their kinsmen. He also advised them to let the captives go and return to their homes unharmed, saying that, if they disobeyed, they should suffer punishment at the hands of God. Thereupon the people of Israel came together in assembly and deliberated about these matters. And there arose one of the men most respected in the state, named Barachias, c and three others d with him, who said that they would not allow the soldiers to bring the captives into the city, “lest we should all be destroyed by God; for we have committed quite enough sins against Him, as the prophets say, without committing fresh impieties in addition.” On hearing these words, the soldiers agreed to let them do what they thought expedient. And so the aforementioned men took over the captives and released them; and they treated them with care and gave them provisions for their homeward journey, after which they sent them away unharmed. And, what was more, the four men went with them, escorting them as far as Jericho, which is not far from Jerusalem, and then returned to Samaria.

a Bibl. Oded, lxx 'Ωδῆδ.
b Benjamin is not mentioned in Scripture, cf. § 247 note i.
c So most lxx mss. (cod. B Zαχαρίας); bibl. Berechiah (Berekyahú).
d Named in Scripture.
252 (3) ‘Αχάζης δ’ ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα παθὼν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν πέμψας πρὸς τὸν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέα Θαγλαθφαλλασάρην συμμαχίαν αὐτῷ\(^1\) παράσχειν παρεκάλει πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας καὶ Σύρους καὶ Δαμασκήνους, χρήματα πολλὰ δώσειν ὑπισχυομένος, ἐπεμψε δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ λαμπρὰς δωρεάς. ὁ δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων ἀφικομένων ὡς αὐτὸν ἦκε σύμμαχος ‘Αχάζη, καὶ στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τοὺς Σύρους τὴν τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπόρθησε καὶ τὴν Δαμασκὸν κατὰ κράτος εἶλε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Ἀράσην ἀπέκτενε. τοὺς δὲ Δαμασκήνους ἀπώκισεν εἰς τὴν Ἀνω Μηδίαν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων μεταστήσας τινὰς εἰς τὴν Δαμασκὸν

253 κατάκισε. τὴν δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν γῆν κακώσας πολλοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς αἰχμαλώτους συνέλαβε. ταῦτ’ αὐτοῦ διαπραγματεύουσα λέγεται τοὺς Σύρους ὁ βασιλεὺς\(^2\) ἀρας τὸν χρυσὸν ὄσος\(^3\) ἦν ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς θησαυροῖς καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον τὸν\(^4\) ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἰ τὶ κάλλιστον ἀνάθημα, τοῦτο βαστάσας ἤκεν ἐξων εἰς Δαμασκὸν καὶ ἔδωκε τῷ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεί κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας· καὶ πάντων αὐτῶν χάρων ἐξεν

254 ὁμολογήσας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα. ἦν δ’ οὕτως ἀνόητος καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀσυλλογίστος οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς, οὕτ’ οὐδὲ πολεμούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Σύρων ἐπαύσατο τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν προσκύνων, ἀλλὰ διετέλει τούτους σεβόμενος ὡς παρεξομένους

\(^1\) αὐτὸν RO.
\(^2\) Ἀχάζης E: rex Hierosolymorum Lat.: βασιλεὺς Ἀχάζης Hudson.
\(^3\) οὗ ROM.
\(^4\) καὶ τὰ MSP Lat.; καὶ E.

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(8) a But King Achaz, after suffering this defeat at the hands of the Israelites, sent to Thaglathphalasarēs, the king of Assyria, asking him to give aid as an ally in the war against the Israelites, the Syrians and Damascenes, and promising to give him much money; he also sent him splendid gifts. And so, after the envoys had come to him, he went to the help of Achaz, and, marching against the Syrians, ravaged their country, took Damascus by storm, and killed their king Arasēs. He then transported the Damascenes to upper Media, b and brought over some of the Assyrian tribes and settled them in Damascus. c He also did much damage to the country of the Israelites and took many of them captive. After he had inflicted these things on the Syrians, King Achaz took all the gold that was in the royal treasuries and the silver that was in the temple of God and the finest dedicatory-offerings and, carrying them with him, came to Damascus and gave them to the Assyrian king in accordance with their agreement, d and, after acknowledging his thanks for everything, returned to Jerusalem. But so stupid and unmindful of his own good was this king that not even when he was at war with the Syrians did he cease to worship their gods, but, on the contrary, continued to reverence them as

a Josephus omits the Edomite and Philistine invasions of Judah, 2 Chron. xxviii. 17-18.
b Bibl. “to Kir” (Qirāh); some LXX mss. read “to Cyrene”;
Luc., reading qiryāh “city,” has ἀπωκλεῖσατο τὴν πόλιν “removed the city.”
c Addition to Scripture.
d In Scripture Achaz sends these gifts to Tiglath-Pileser before the latter’s capture of Damascus: moreover it mentions only the silver and gold found in the temple and the royal treasury.
256 αὐτῷ τὴν νίκην. ἦττηθεὶς δὲ πάλιν τοὺς Ἀσσυρίων ἡρῴατο τιμᾶν θεοὺς καὶ πάντας ἐώκει μᾶλλον τιμήσων ἢ τὸν πατρῴον καὶ ἀληθῶς θεού, ὃς αὐτῷ 257 καὶ τῆς ἦττης ὅργιζόμενος ἢν αὐτίος. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δὲ ὀλιγωρίας καὶ καταφρονήσεως ἠλθεν ὡς καὶ τέλεον ἀποκλείσαι τὸν ναόν καὶ τὰς νεομισμένας ἀπαγορεύσαι θυσίας ἐπιφέρειν, καὶ περιδύσαι τῶν ἀναθημάτων αὐτῶν. ταῦθ' ὑβρίσας τὸν θεὸν ἐτελεύτησεν ἐτη μὲν βιώσας ἐξ καὶ τριάκοντα, βασιλεύσας δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκκαλιδεκα, τὸν δ' υἱὸν Ἑζεκίαν 1 διάδοχον καταλιπών.

258 (xiii. 1) Ἀπέθανε δ' ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν καίρον καὶ ὃ τῶν Ἰσραήλιτῶν βασιλέως Φακέας ἐπιβουλεύσαντος αὐτῷ φίλου τυνὸς Ὁσῆν τοῦνομα, ὃς κατασχὼν τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπ' ἐτη ἐννέα πονηρός τε ἢν καὶ τῶν 259 πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὀλιγώρος. στρατεύει δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὃ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως Σαλμανάσσαρις 2 καὶ κρατήσας αὐτοῦ (τὸν γάρ θεὸν ὡς εἰχεν Ὁσῆος 3 εὑμενῆ καὶ σύμμαχον) ὑπήκουον 4 ἐποιήσατο καὶ 260 φόρους ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ τελεῖν ὁρισμένους. ἔτει δὲ

1 Ἑζεκίαν RO.
2 Σαλμανάσσαρις MSP: Σαλμανάσσας M marg.: Σαλμανάσσας E: Salamanassar Lat.
3 Ὁσῆ M1SP.
4 ὑπήκουον om. RO.

a Josephus freely paraphrases the scriptural account (2 Kings xvi. 10-11) of the altar at Damascus, of which Ahaz sent a copy to Urijah the priest for imitating at Jerusalem.

b An unscriptural detail probably based on 2 Kings xvi. 18, which says that Ahaz made certain changes in the temple “for the king of Assyria.”

c Josephus loosely combines 2 Kings and 2 Chron. According to 2 Chron. Ahaz gathered together and cut in pieces the temple vessels and shut up the doors of the temple; the passage in 2 Kings seems to mean that he set aside the former bronze altar for occasional use, and used the new Syrian altar.
if they would grant him victory. And, after being defeated a second time, he began to honour the gods of the Assyrians, and seemed ready to honour any god rather than his fathers’ God, the true one, who in His wrath had been the cause of his defeat. To such lengths of contempt and despite of God did he go that he shut up the temple completely and forbade the offering of the customary sacrifices, and stripped it of its dedicatory-offerings. After outraging God in this way, he died at the age of thirty-six years, of which he had reigned sixteen, leaving his son Hezekiah as his successor.

(xiii. 1) At the same time also died Phakeas, the king of Israel, the victim of a conspiracy formed against him by one of his friends, named Osēos, who held the royal power for nine years; he was a wicked man and contemptuous of his duty to God. And there came against him Salmanassēs, the king of Assyria, who defeated him—for Osēos did not have God propitious to him or as his ally,—and made him subject and imposed a fixed tribute for the sacrifices of the people, and also dismantled the lavers and the “Sea” in the temple court.

* According to 2 Kings xvi. 2 = 2 Chron. xxviii. 1 he was 20 years old at his accession; adding 16 years for his reign, we get 36 years.
* Gr. Ezekias as in lxx; Heb. Ḥizqiyāhū.
* Unscriptural detail.
* Or Osēes, cf. § 277; bibl. Hoshea, lxx ’Ωσῆ.
* Scripture adds that he was less wicked than his predecessors.
* Variant Salmanassaris; bibl. Shalmaneser, lxx Σαλ-

-μανασσάρ κτλ.
* This reflection replaces the scriptural statement that Shalmaneser came against Hoshea because the latter had allied himself with Egypt and refused to pay the yearly tribute to Assyria.
JOSEPHUS

tetártos tῆς βασιλείας Ὄσην ἐβασιλεύον Ἑζε-
κίας ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωι, Ἀχάζου υἱὸς καὶ Ἀβιας
ἀστῆς τὸ γένος. φύσει δ' ἦν αὐτῷ χρηστὴ καὶ
dikaiα καὶ εὐσεβής1 οὔδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο πρῶτον εἰς τὴν
βασιλείαν παρελθὼν οὔτε ἀναγκαίοτερον οὔτε συμ-
φορότερον αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ὑπέλαβε
tοῦ θρησκευών τὸν θεόν, ἀλλὰ συγκαλέσας τὸν λαὸν
καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς λατρεύτας ἐδημηγόρησεν ἐν
261 αὐτοῖς λέγων· ‘‘οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε μὲν ὡς διὰ τὰς τοῦ
πατρὸς ἀμαρτίας τούμου, παραβάντος τὴν πρὸς
θεόν δόσιν καὶ2 τιμὴν, πολλῶν ἐπειράθητε καὶ με-
γάλων κακῶν, διαφθαρέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν
καὶ ἀναπεισθέντες οὕς αὐτὸς ἐδοκίμαζεν εἴναι θεοῦ
262 τούτοις προσκυνεῖν· παρανιν δὲ ὑμῖν ἔργῳ μεμαθη-
κόσιν ὡς ἐστὶ δεινὸν τὸ ἀσέβειν, τούτῳ μὲν ἦδη
λήθην ποιήσασθαι, καθάραι δ' αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν
προτέρων μισομάτων, τοὺς τε ἱερεῖς καὶ Λατρεύτας
συνελθόντας3 οὕτως ἀνοίξας τὸ ἱερὸν, καὶ καθάραν-
tας αὐτὸ ταῖς ἐξ ἔθους θυσίας εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ
πάτριον ἀνακαλέσασθαι τιμὴν. οὕτως γὰρ τὸν θεόν
εὑμενὴ ποιήσαμεν ἀφέντα τὴν ὀργήν.‘‘

263 (2) Ταῦτ' εἰπόντος τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ ἱερεῖς
ἀνοίγοντι τε τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ ἀνοίξαντες τὰ σκεύη τοῦ
θεοῦ ηὐτρέπισαν,4 καὶ τὰ μισόματα ἐκβαλόντες τὰς
ἐξ ἔθους τῷ βωμῷ θυσίας ἐπέφερον. διαπέμψας

1 θεοσεβής MSPE: religiosa Lat.
2 καὶ om. MSP.
3 καὶ συνελθόντας RO.
4 ηὐτρέπισαν om. ROM Lat.

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1 Bibl. “‘shut him up and bound him in prison.””
2 Bibl. 3rd.
3 Bibl. 2 Kings Abi, lxx 'Aboû, Luc. 'Aboûθ; 2 Chron.
Abijah (‘Abiyâh), lxx 'Abbâ, v.l. 'Abiâ κτλ.
4 Unscriptural detail.
In the fourth year of the reign of Osæos, Hezekiah began to reign in Jerusalem; he was the son of Achaz and of Abia, a native of that city. His character was that of a kindly, upright and pious man. And therefore, on his first coming into power, he considered nothing more necessary or profitable to himself and his subjects than the worship of God, and, so he called together the people and the priests and the Levites, and addressed them in the following words: "You are not ignorant that it is on account of the sins of my father, who transgressed against the religion and worship of God, that you have experienced many great misfortunes, having been corrupted in mind by him and persuaded to bow down to those beings which he himself admitted as gods. But now that you have learned by experience how terrible a thing impiety is, I urge you to put it out of your minds from now on and to purify yourselves from your former pollutions; and in this manner let the priests and Levites come together and open the temple and, by purifying it with the accustomed sacrifices, restore it to the ancient service of our country, for in this way we might make God put aside His anger and become gracious."

(2) When the king had spoken these words, the priests opened the temple and, after opening it, made ready the vessels of God, and, having got rid of all the pollutions, they offered up the accustomed sacrifices on the altar. Then the king sent messen-
δ' ο̄ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χώραν ἐκάλει τὸν λαὸν εἰς Ἴεροσόλυμα τὴν τῶν αἰζύμων ἐορτὴν ἀξοντα· πολὺν γὰρ ἐκλελοίπει χρόνον διὰ τὰς τῶν 264 προειρημένων βασιλέων παρανομίας. ἔξαπέστειλε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τούς Ἰσραήλιτας, προτρέπομενος αὐτοὺς ἀφέντας τὸν ἅρτι βίον εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐπανελθεῖν συνήθειαν καὶ σέβειν τὸν θεὸν· καὶ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς παραγενομένοις εἰς Ἴεροσόλυμα τὴν τῶν αἰζύμων ἐορτὴν ἀγεν καὶ συμπανηγυρίζειν αὐτοὺς. ταῦτα δ' ἐλεγε παρανεῖν,1 οὐν ὅπως ὑπακούσωσιν αὐτῷ εἰ μὴ θέλουσι, τοῦ δ' ἐκεῖνοις2 265 συμφέροντος ἐνεκα· μακαρίους γὰρ ἔσεθαι. οἱ δὲ Ἰσραήλιται παραγενομένων τῶν πρέσβεων καὶ δηλωσάντων αὐτοῖς τὰ παρὰ τοῦ ἱδίου βασιλέως οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐπείσθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ὡς ἀνούτους ἔχλεύασαν,3 καὶ τοὺς προφήτας δ' ὁμοίως ταῦτα παρανυόντας καὶ προλέγοντας ἐπέστρεφαν μὴ μεταθέμενοι πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν τοῦ θεοῦ, διεπτυον καὶ τελευταίοις συλλαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἀπ- 266 ἐκτεναν. καὶ οὐδὲ μέχρι τούτων αὐτοῖς ἤρκεσε παρανομοῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χείρῳ τῶν προειρημένων ἐπενοούντο καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο πρὶν ἡ τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτοῖς ἀμνόμονεος τῆς ἀσέβειας ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν ὑποχειρίως. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἂθις 267 δηλώσομεν. πολλοὶ μέντοι τῆς Μανασσίτιδος φυλῆς καὶ Ζαβουλῶν καὶ Ἰσσαχάρου πεισθέντες οἰς

1 παρανεῖν MSP Lat.
2 ἐκεῖνοις MSP.
3 διεχλεύασαν MSP.

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a Bibl. Passover (Passah), lxx Φάσεκ, v.l. Φάσεχ; cf. § 271. The festival of Unleavened Bread immediately follows the Passover, cf. Ant. iii. 249.

b Or “fellowship” (with Judah).
gers throughout his realm, summoning the people to Jerusalem to celebrate the festival of Unleavened Bread (Azyma), which had for a long time been allowed to lapse through the lawless action of the kings previously mentioned. He also sent messengers to the Israelites, exhorting them to give up their present manner of life and return to their ancient custom and reverence God, for, he said, he would permit them to come and celebrate the festival of Unleavened Bread and join in their festal assembly. This, he said, he was proposing, not that they might become subject to him against their will, but because it was for their own good and would, he added, make them happy. However, when the envoys came and brought them this message from their king, the Israelites were not only not persuaded, but even laughed at his envoys as fools; and, when their prophets exhorted them in like manner and foretold what they would suffer if they did not alter their course to one of piety toward God, they poured scorn upon them and finally seized them and killed them. And not stopping even at these acts of lawlessness, they devised things still worse than those mentioned, and did not leave off until God punished them for their impiety by making them subject to their enemies. But of these things we shall write farther on. However, many of the tribes of Manasseh, Zabulon and Issachar

* Addition to Scripture.
* Lit. "spat."
* The killing of the prophets and the unmentioned acts are unscriptural details.
* In §§ 277 ff.
* Josephus omits those from Asher (2 Chron. xxx. 11) and Ephraim (vs. 18).
According to Scripture the sacrifices here described were offered on the occasion of purifying the temple, before the celebration of Passover, cf. § 263 note f.
heeded the prophets' exhortations and were converted to piety. And all these flocked to Jerusalem to Hezekiah that they might worship God.

(3) When they came, a Hezekiah went up to the temple with the chiefs and all the people, and sacrificed as his own offering seven bullocks and as many rams, and seven lambs and as many kids. Then the king himself and the chiefs placed their hands on the heads of the victims and allowed the priests to complete the sacrifice auspiciously. b And so, while these sacrificed and offered up whole burnt-offerings, the Levites, who stood round about with their musical instruments, sang hymns to God and played their harps as they had been instructed by David, and the other priests blew the trumpets they carried, and accompanied those who sang. After this was done, the king and the people threw themselves on their faces and did obeisance to God. Then he sacrificed seventy oxen, a hundred rams and two hundred lambs, and presented the people c with six hundred oxen and three thousand cattle of other kinds, for them to feast on. And the priests performed all things in accordance with the law. With this the king was well pleased, and feasted with the people, acknowledging his thanks to God. Then, when the festival of Unleavened Bread came round, they sacrificed the Phaska, d as it is called, and offered the other sacrifices for seven days. To the people, beside the sacrifices which they themselves had brought as auspicious

a It is not clear why Josephus sometimes (cf. § 271) uses καλλυφεῖν where LXX has θύειν "sacrifice."

b Scripture seems to mean that these latter offerings (bibl. "consecrated offerings ") were brought by the people themselves.

d Variant Pascha; cf. § 263 note a.
λιέρησαν αυτοί, ταύρους μὲν δισχιλίους θρέμματα δὲ ἐπτακισχίλια ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔχαρισατο. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ ἤγεμόνες ἐποίησαν· χιλίους μὲν γὰρ ταύρους ἔδοσαν αὐτοὺς θρέμματα δὲ χίλια καὶ τεσσαράκοντα.

272 καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀπὸ Σολομώνος τοῦ βασιλέως οὐκ ἀχθεῖσα ἡ ἐορτή τότε πρῶτον λαμπρῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐπετελέσθη. ὥστε τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐορτήν αὐτοῖς πέρας εἶχεν, ἐξελθόντες εἰς τὴν 273 χώραν ἦγνυσαν αὐτὴν· καὶ τὴν πόλιν δὲ παντὸς ἐκάθαραν μιᾶςματος εἰδώλων, τάς τε καθημερινὰς θυσίας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῶν ἴδιων ἐπιτελείσθαι δι'-


d' ἐταξεῖ1 κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῖσι καὶ Λησυταῖς τὰς δεκάτας ώρισε παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους δίδοσθαι καὶ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῶν καρπῶν, ἵνα ἀιεὶ τῇ θρησκείᾳ παραμένωσι καὶ τῆς θεραπείας ὧσιν ἀχώριστοι τοῦ 274 θεοῦ. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλήθος συνειέσθερε παντοδαπῶν καρπῶν τοῖς ἱερεῖσι καὶ Λησυταῖς, ἀποθήκας δὲ καὶ ταμεία τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς κατασκευάζας ἐκάστῳ διένειμε τῶν ἱερεῶν καὶ Λησυτών καὶ παισὶν αὐτῶν καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ οὕτωι πόλιν εἰς τὴν 275 ἀρχαίαν θρησκείαν ἐπανήλθον. ταῦτα δὲ τὸν προ-

eρημμένον τρόπον ὁ βασιλεὺς καταστρήσαμενος πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκε πρὸς τοὺς Παλαιστίνους καὶ νυκήσας κατέσχεν ἀπάσας τὰς ἀπὸ Γάζης μέχρι Γίττης πόλεις τῶν πολεμίων. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς πέμψας ὑπειλεῖ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ καταστρέ-


ϕεσθαι2 τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ μὴ τοὺς φόρους, οὐς ὁ πατὴρ 276 αὐτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ἐτελεί, τούτους ἀποδώσει. 'Εξε-


κίας δὲ3 τῶν μὲν ἀπειλῶν οὐκ ἐφρόντισεν, ἐθάρρει

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1 ἐνταξεὶ MSP. 2 Νiese: καταστρέφασθαι codd. E. 3 ὁ βασιλεὺς MSP.

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* Cf. § 268 note b.  b Bibl. 1000.  c Bibl. 10,000.
offerings, the king presented two thousand bullocks and seven thousand small cattle; the chiefs did the same and gave them a thousand bullocks and a thousand and forty small cattle. And the festival, which had not been kept in this manner since the time of King Solomon, was then for the first time splendidly and magnificently celebrated. After the observance of the festival had come to an end, they went throughout the country and sanctified it. And the city also they purified of all pollution from idols; and the king decreed that the daily sacrifices should be offered at his own expense in accordance with the law, and ordained that the tithes and first-fruits should be given by the people to the priests and Levites in order that they might always apply themselves to their divine office and be uninterrupted in the service of God. And so the people brought in to the priests and Levites all kinds of fruit, for which the king built storerooms and chambers, and distributed them among the priests and Levites and their children and wives. And thus did they once more return to their ancient form of religion. When the king had arranged these things in the manner described above, he waged war with the Philistines and, after defeating them, seized all the enemy’s cities from Gaza to Gitta. Thereupon the king of Assyria sent and threatened to subdue his entire realm unless he would render the tribute which his father formerly paid. But Hezekiah gave no thought to these threats, for

\[a\] Scripture adds “in the temple.”
\[b\] Bibl. Gath, cf. § 170 note c. Gath is not mentioned here in Scripture, which says, “he smote the Philistines unto Gaza and its borders.”
\[c\] So 2 Chron.; according to 2 Kings Hezekiah submitted and paid the tribute demanded.
JOSEPHUS

δ' ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸ θείον εὔσεβεία καὶ τῷ προφήτῃ Ὁσαία, παρ' οὗ πάντ' ἀκριβῶς τὰ μέλλοντα ἐπινυθάνετο. καὶ ὥδε μὲν ἢ μὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐχέτω τὰ περὶ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως.

277 (xiv. 1) Σαλμιανάσσης δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς, ἐπεὶ ἡγγέλῃ αὐτῷ ὁ τῶν Ἰσραήλιτῶν βασιλεὺς Ὁσήης1 πέμψας κρύφα πρὸς Σωαίν2 τὸν τῶν Ἀγυπτίων βασιλεὰ παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν τῇ κατ' αὐτοῦ, παροξυνθεὶς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαμάρειαν ἐτεί ἐβδόμῳ τῆς Ὁσήην βασιλείας. οὐ δεξαμενοῦ δ' αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐτεσι πολυρκήσας τρισὶν εἰς κατὰ κράτος τῆς Σαμάρειαν, ἐνατον μὲν ἐτος Ὁσήην βασιλεύοντος ἐβδομον δ' Ἑξεκίου τοῦ τῶν Ἰεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλέως, καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰσραήλιτῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἀρδὴν ἡφάνισα καὶ πάντα τὸν λαὸν μετάκισεν εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν καὶ Περσίδα, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Ὁσήην ζώντα 279 ἔλαβε. καὶ μεταστήσασ3 ἀλλὰ ἔθνη ἀπὸ Χοῦθον τόπου τινὸς (ἐστὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Περσίδι ποταμὸς τοῦτ' ἔχων τούνομα), κατάκισεν εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν καὶ 280 τῆς τῶν Ἰσραήλιτῶν χώραν. μετάκισαν οὖν αἱ δέκα φυλαὶ τῶν Ἰσραήλιτῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας μετὰ ἐτῶν ἄριθμῶν ἐνακοισίων τεσσαράκοντα ἐπὶ αἷς οὖ

1 ex Lat. Zonara Niese: ὃς εἰς codd. E.
3 + ἐκ ταύτης MSPE Zonaras (vid.).

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a Bibl. So, lxx Σωά (v.ll. Σωβάδα, Σηγώρ), Luc. Ἀδραμέλεχ.
b Bibl. (2 Kings xviii. 10) 6th.
c Bibl. "into Assyria, and placed them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes."
d In Scripture Hoshea is imprisoned before the siege of Samaria.
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he had confidence in his piety toward God and in the prophet Isaiah, by whom he was accurately informed of future events. And so, for the present, this is all that we have to say about this king.

(xiv. 1) Now when Salmanasses, the king of Assyria, was informed that Osēēs, the king of Israel, had secretly sent to Soas, a the king of Egypt, inviting him to make an alliance against the Assyrian king, he was filled with wrath, and marched upon Samaria in the seventh year of the reign of Osēēs. But the Israelite king would not admit him, whereupon he besieged Samaria for three years and took it by storm in the ninth year of the reign of Osēēs and in the seventh b year of Hezekiah, king of Israel; and he utterly destroyed the government of Israel, and transported all its people to Media and Persia, c and along with them carried off Osēēs alive. d And, after removing other nations from a region called Chūthos e—there is a river by this name in Persia— f he settled them in Samaria and in the country of the Israelites. So the ten tribes of Israel emigrated from Judaea nine hundred and

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**Notes:**

a 2 Kings xvii. 4.

b 2 Kings xvii. 24.

c Bibl. Cuthah (Kūthāh), lxx Xουθᾶ, Luc. Χωθᾶ. Scripture says, “from Babylon and from Cuthah and from Ava and from Hamath and from Sepharvaim.”

d Unscriptural detail. Cuthah was situated in Mesopotamia, not far from Babylon, according to most modern scholars. But, according to Stenning in Hastings’s Dictionary of the Bible, i. 537, “Cuthah has been identified as the name of a country near Kurdistan ... while others consider ‘Cuthaeans’ to be another form of ‘Cossaeans,’ a tribe dwelling in the Persian province Jutipa, the modern Khuzistan, E. of the Tigris.” Possibly, however, Josephus connects Cuthah with the cities mentioned earlier in Scripture, 2 Kings xvii. 6, “by the river of Gozan and in the cities of the Medes.”
JOSEPHUS

χρόνον τὴν Ἀγυπτίων ἐξελθόντες¹ αὐτῶν οἱ πρόγονοι τήνδε² κατέσχον τὴν χώραν³ στρατηγοῦντος Ἰησοῦν.⁴ ἂφ' ὦ δ' ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ Ῥοβοάμου τοῦ Δαυίδου νῦνον τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰεροβοάμος παρέδωσαν, ὡς μοι καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται, ἐτη ἐστὶ διακόσια 281 τεσσαράκοντα μῆνες ἐπτὰ ἡμέραι ἐπτά. καὶ τέλος μὲν τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας τοιοῦτο κατέλαβε παραβάντας τοὺς νόμους καὶ παρακούσαντας τῶν προφητῶν, οἱ προύλεγον ταύτην αὐτοῖς τὴν συμφορὰν μὴ παυσά- 282 μένοις τῶν ἀσεβημάτων. ήρεξε δ' αὐτοῖς τῶν κακῶν ἡ στάσις ἡν ἐστασίασαν πρὸς Ῥοβόαμον τὸν Δαυίδου νῦνον, Ἰεροβοάμον τὸν τούτου δοῦλον αὐτῶν ἀποδείξαντες βασιλέα, ὡς εἰς τὸ θείον ἔξ- αμαρτών ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῖς τοῦτ' ἐποίησε μυστηριαμένως τὴν ἐκείνου παρανομίαν. ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν ἡν ἡν ἄξιος δίκης ταύτην ὑπέσχεν.

283 (2) Ὠ δὲ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς ἐπήλθε πολέμων τῇν τῇν Συρίαν πάσαν καὶ Φοινίκην τὸ δὲ⁵ ὀνόμα τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τοῖς Τυρίων ἀρχείοις

¹ ἐξηλθοῦν RO Chronicon Paschale.
² ὅν ὦ δὲ RO: ἂφ' ὦ δὲ Chron. Pasch.
³ + ταύτην RO: + ἡ δὲ M¹: + ὄν ὦ M²: + ἀπὸ δὲ ed. pr.
⁴ + ἐστιν ἐτῶν ὀκτακοσίων codd.
⁵ ἐν τῇ RO.

¹ Text uncertain; variant (after "Judaea") "after 947 years. From the time when their forefathers went out of Egypt and they occupied this country under the command of Joshua it was (an interval) of 800 years." The last figure is undoubtedly a scribal addition. In any case the chronology here is inconsistent with that given elsewhere in Josephus. According to Ant. viii. 61 Solomon began to build the temple 592 years after the exodus; adding 76 years for the rest of his reign (Ant. viii. 211) and 240 years, etc. (cf. note c) for the Israelite kingdom, we get 908 years, etc. instead of 947 years.

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forty-seven years after their forefathers went out of Egypt and occupied this country under the command of Joshua; and from the time when they revolted from Roboamos, the grandson of David, and gave the kingdom over to Jeroboam, as I have previously related, it was an interval of two hundred and forty years, seven months and seven days. To such an end, then, did the Israelites come because they violated the laws and disregarded the prophets who foretold that this misfortune would overtake them if they did not cease from their impious actions. The beginning of their troubles was the rebellion they undertook against Roboamos, the grandson of David, when they chose as their king his servant Jeroboam, who sinned against the Deity and thereby made Him their enemy, for they imitated his lawless conduct. But such was the punishment which he deservedly suffered.

(2) And the king of Assyria came with an army and invaded Syria and all of Phoenicia. Now the name of this king is recorded in the Tyrian archives, Tyrian records of the Assyrian invasion.

This is the actual total of the regnal years of the Israelite kings as given by Josephus, reckoned as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King</th>
<th>Years (Ant. viii. 257)</th>
<th>Years (Ant. ix. 173)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jeroboam</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadab</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baasha</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elah</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimri</td>
<td>7 days</td>
<td>6 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omri</td>
<td>-12 years</td>
<td>1 month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahab</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahaziah</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vid.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jehoram</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jehu</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total, 240 years 7 months 7 days.

* Apparently Jeroboam is meant.
\(\text{JOSEPHUS}\)

\[\text{ἀναγέγραπται: ἐστράτευσε γὰρ ἐπὶ Τύρων βασιλεύοντος αὐτῆς Ἑλουλαίου. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τούτους καὶ Μενανδρός ὁ τῶν χρονικῶν ποιησάμενος τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὰ τῶν Τυρίων ἀρχεῖα μεταφράσας εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν γλῶτταν, ὥς οὕτως ἐδήλωσε·}

284 "καὶ Ἑλουλαίος θεμένων αὐτῶ Πύλας 1 ὦνομα ἐβασίλευσεν ἐτη τριάκοντα ξ. οὗτος ἀποστάντων Κυτιέων 2 ἀναπλεύσας προσηγάγετο αὐτοὺς πάλιν. ἐπὶ τούτου Σελάμψας 3 ὁ τῶν 'Ασσυρίων βασιλέως ἐπῆλθε Φοινίκῃ πολεμῶν ἀπασαν, ὅσιος ὀπεσά-μενος εἰρήνην μετὰ πάντων ἀνεχώρησεν ὀπίσω. 285 ἀπέστη τε Τυρίων Σιδῶν καὶ Ἀρκη καὶ ἡ πάλαι Τύρος καὶ πολλὰ ἄλλα πόλεις, αἱ τῳ τῶν 'Ασ-συρίων ἐαυτὰς βασιλεὶ παρέδοσαν. διὰ 4 Τυρίων οὐχ ὑποταγέντων πάλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπέστρεψε, Φοινίκων συμπληρωσάντων αὐτῷ ναὸς 286 ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἔπικώπους ἀκτακοσίους. αἰς ἐπι- πλεύσαντες οἱ Τύριοι ναυσὶ δεκαδύῳ τῶν νεῶν τῶν ἀντιπάλων διασπαρισάν ταμβάνουσιν αἰχμαλώτους ἀνδρὰς εἰς πεντακοσίους· ἐπετάθη δὴ πάντων 287 ἐν Τύρῳ τιμή διὰ ταῦτα· ἀναζεύξας δ’ 5 ὁ τῶν

1 Πύλας (M)SP.
2 Niese: Κιτταίων codd.: Cetuteis Lat.
3 τούτου Σελάμψας Niese: τούτους ἑλαμψάς θ: τούτους
4 δὲ ἡ RO.
5 διὰ ταῦτα· ἀναξεύξας δ’] διὰ ταῦτα· ἀναξεύξας RO.

\[\text{a The name appears as Luli in Assyrian sources, cf. A. T. Olmstead, History of Assyria, p. 265 and Cambridge Ancient History, iii. 382.}

\[\text{b Cf. Ant. viii. 144, Ap. i. 116 note c.}

\[\text{c Variant Pylas.}

\[\text{d Emended text; one ms. "In these circumstances}
for he marched upon Tyre in the reign of Elulaios. This is also attested by Menander, the author of a book of Annals and translator of the Tyrian archives into the Greek language, who has given the following account: "And Elulaios, to whom they gave the name of Pyas, reigned thirty-six years. This king, upon the revolt of the Kitieis (Cyprians), put out to sea and again reduced them to submission. During his reign Selampsas, the king of Assyria, came with an army and invaded all Phoenicia and, after making a treaty of peace with all (its cities), withdrew from the land. And Sidon and Arke and Old Tyre and many other cities also revolted from Tyre and surrendered to the king of Assyria. But, as the Tyrians for that reason would not submit to him, the king turned back again and attacked them after the Phoenicians had furnished him with sixty ships and eight hundred oarsmen. Against these the Tyrians sailed with twelve ships and, after dispersing the ships of their adversaries, took five hundred of their men prisoners. On that account, in fact, the price of everything went up in Tyre. But the king of Elampsas; other mss. "Against them sent (the king of Assyria, etc.)." Whether or not Menander so wrote the name is open to question, and Niese's emendation is to be accepted with hesitancy. Josephus, at any rate, has failed to comment on the form Selampsas and its connexion with the name Salmanasses used earlier in his text (§ 277) and directly after the excerpt (§ 287). Shalmaneser is evidently meant.

* Lit. "backwards."

† Probably Arke in Lebanon; cf. Ant. i. 139 note b.

‡ It is the merit of Grotius (ap. Hudson-Havercamp) to have seen the correct meaning of the phrase ἐπετάθη τιμῆ, translated by others as "the glory increased." But, as T. Reinach has further noted, the sentence belongs at the end of the quotation from Menander, since it states the results of the scarcity of water caused by the Assyrians.
"Ασσυρίων βασιλεὺς κατέστησε φύλακας ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ὕδραγωγεῖν, οἱ διακωλύσαντοι Τυρίους ἀρέσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο ἔτεσι πέντε γενόμενον ἐκαρτέρησαν πίνοντες ἐκ φρεάτων ὀρυκτῶν." καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς Τυρίων ἀρχείους γεγραμμένα κατὰ Σαλμανάσσου τοῦ 'Ασσυρίων βασιλέως ταῦτ' ἐστὶν.

288 (3) Οἱ δὲ μετοικισθέντες εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν Χου-
θαίοι (ταύτη γὰρ ἐχρῶντο μέχρι δεῦρο τῇ προσ-
ηγορίᾳ διὰ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Χουθᾶ καλομένης χώρας 
μεταχηθῆναι, αὐτὴ δ’ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Περσίδι καὶ ποτα-
μὸς τούτ’ ἔχων ὄνομα) ἐκαστοὶ κατὰ ἔθνος ἰδιων 
θεὸν εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν κομίσαντες (πέντε δ’ ἤσαν), 
καὶ τούτους καθὼς ἦν πάτριον αὐτοῖς σεβόμενοι 
παροξύνοντο τὸν μέγιστον θεὸν εἰς ὀργήν καὶ χόλον. 

289 λοιμὸν1 γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐνέσκησεν, ύφ’ οὗ φθειρόμενοι 
καὶ μηδεμίαν τῶν κακῶν θεραπείαν ἐπινοούντες, 
χρησμῷ θρησκεύειν τὸν μέγιστον θεὸν, ὡς τοῦτο 
σωτήριον αὐτοῖς ὄν, ἐμαθον. πέμψαντες οὖν πρὸ 
τὸν 'Ασσυρίων βασιλέα πρέσβεις ἐδέων ἱερεῖς 
αὐτοῖς ὅν ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτων τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας 
290 πολεμήσας ἀποστείλας. πέμψαντος δὲ, τὰ τε2 νό-
μιμα καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον ὅσιάν διὰ-
θέντες3 ἐθρήσκευον αὐτὸν φιλοτίμως καὶ τοῦ λοιμοῦ 
παραχρῆμα ἐπαύσαντο. χρώμενοι τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς 
ἐτι καὶ νῦν ἔθεσι διατελοῦσι οἱ κατὰ μὲν τὴν 
'Εβραίων γλώτταν Χουθαίοι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἐλ-

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1 λοιμὸς MSP Lat.
3 E Lat. Zonaras (vid.): ταχθέντες codd.

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* Cf. § 279 note f. 
* Cf. ibid. note e.
Assyria, on retiring, placed guards at the river and the aqueducts to prevent the Tyrians from drawing water, and this they endured for five years, and drank from wells which they had dug." This, then, is what is written in the Tyrian archives concerning Salmanasses, the king of Assyria.

(3) As for the Chûthaioi who were transported to Samaria—this is the name by which they have been called to this day because of having been brought over from the region called Chûtha, which is in Persia, as is a river by the same name,—each of their tribes—there were five—brought along its own god, and, as they reverenced them in accordance with the custom of their country, they provoked the Most High God to anger and wrath. For He visited upon them a pestilence by which they were destroyed; and, as they could devise no remedy for their sufferings, they learned from an oracle that they should worship the Most High God, for this would bring them deliverance. And so they sent envoys to the king of Assyria, asking him to send them some priests from the captives he had taken in his war with the Israelites. Accordingly, he sent some priests, and they, after being instructed in the ordinances and religion of this God, worshipped Him with great zeal, and were at once freed of the pestilence. These same rites have continued in use even to this day among those who are called Chûthaioi (Cuthim) in the Hebrew tongue, and Samareitai (Samaritans) by the Greeks; but they alter their

\[\text{Bibl.} \text{ "and the Lord sent lions against them."} \]

\[\text{Josephus rationalizes, as usually.} \]

\[\text{The reference to an oracle is unscriptural.} \]

\[\text{Bibl. } \text{ "one of the priests."} \]

\[\text{The Samaritans.} \]
291 λήμνων Σαμαρείται, οἱ πρὸς μεταβολὴν συγγενεῖς\(^1\) μὲν ὅταν εὑ̂ρῄσκοντας\(^2\) βλέπωσι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους\(^3\) ἀποκαλοῦσιν ὡς εἴς Ἰωσήφου φύντες καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκεῖθεν τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντες οἰκειότητος, ὅταν δὲ πταῖσαντας ἵδωσιν, οὐδαμόθεν αὐτοῖς προσήκειν λέγουσιν οὐδὲ εἶναι δίκαιον οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς εὔνοιας ἡ γένους, ἀλλὰ μετοίκους ἀλλοεθνεῖς ἀποφαίνουσιν αὐτοὺς. περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐξομεν εὐκαιρότερον εἰπεῖν.

\(^1\) καὶ συγγένειαν ROSPV.
\(^2\) εὑ̂ρῄσκοντας Μ\(^2\)SP: εὑ̂ρῄσκοντας rell.
\(^3\) + συγγενεῖς Hudson (qui supra καὶ συγγένειαν leg.).
attitude according to circumstance and, when they see the Jews prospering, call them their kinsmen, on the ground that they are descended from Joseph and are related to them through their origin from him, but, when they see the Jews in trouble, they say that they have nothing whatever in common with them nor do these have any claim of friendship or race, and they declare themselves to be aliens of another race. Now concerning these people we shall have something to say in a more fitting place. α

α Ant. xi. 19 ff., 84 ff., 114 ff., 174 ff., 340 ff., xii. 257 ff.
(i. 1) 'Εζεκίου δὲ τοῦ τῶν δύο φυλῶν βασιλέως τέταρτον ἥδη καὶ δέκατον ἕτος τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐχόντος ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς Σεναχείριμος ὅνομα στρατεύει μετὰ πολλῆς παρασκευῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν κατὰ κράτος τε ἀπάσας αἱρεῖ τὰς πόλεις τὰς 2 τῆς Ἰουδαία φυλῆς καὶ Βενιαμίτιδος. μέλλοντος δ᾽ ἀγεῖν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἐπὶ Ἰεροσόλυμα φθάνει προσβενεάμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπακούσεσθαι καὶ φόρον ὅν ἀν τάξῃ τελέσειν ὑπισχυόμενος. Σεναχείριμος δὲ μαθῶν τὰ παρὰ τῶν πρέσβεων ἐγνώ μὴ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀξίωσιν προσδέχεται, καὶ ἀργυρίον μὲν τάλαντα τριακόσια χρυσίου δὲ τριάκοντα λαβῶν φίλος ἀναχωρήσεις ὑμολόγει, πίστεις δοὺς τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἐνόρκους ἢ μὴν ἀδικησαι 3 μηδὲν αὐτὸν οὕτως ἀναστρέψειν. δ᾽ δ᾽ 'Εζεκίας πεισθεῖς καὶ κενώσας τοὺς θησαυροὺς πέμπει τὰ χρήματα, νομίζων ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου 4 καὶ τοῦ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀγώνος. δ᾽ δ᾽ Ἀσσύριος λαβῶν ταῦτα τῶν μὲν ὑμολογημένων οὐδὲν ἐφρόν-

1 Βαβυλωνίων RO.
2 Niese: Σενάχειρίμος RO: Σανάχειρίμος M¹: Σανάχθρίμος M²: Σανάχθρίμος SP¹: Σεναχθρείμ P² Lat.: Σεναχθρείμος VE.
3 πολεμίου MSP.

* Variant “ Babylonia.”
BOOK X

(i. 1) Now Hezekiah, the king of the two tribes, had occupied the throne for fourteen years when the king of Assyria, named Senacheirimos, marched against him with a great armament and took by storm all the cities of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. And he was about to lead his force against Jerusalem also, but, before he could do so, Hezekiah sent envoys to him and promised to submit to him and pay whatever tribute he should impose. When Senacheirimos heard what the envoys had to say, he decided not to continue with the war, but acceded to the request and, on receiving three hundred talents of silver and thirty of gold, agreed to withdraw amicably, and gave sworn pledges to the envoys that he would do him no harm at all but would retire under these terms. So Hezekiah, being persuaded by this offer, emptied his treasuries and sent the money in the belief that he would be rid of the war and the struggle for his throne. But, when the Assyrian received the money, he paid no regard to the agreement he had made; instead,
Josephus

tiœn, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' Ἀἰγυπτίους καὶ Αἰθίοπας, τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν Ῥαβάκην μετὰ πολλῆς ἱσχύος σὺν καὶ δυσὶν ἄλλοις τῶν ἐν τέλει κατέλυτε πορθήσοντας τὰ Ἰεροσόλυμα. τούτων δὲ τὰ ὄνοματα Θαρατά καὶ Ἀράχαρις ἦν.

5 (2) Ὡς δὲ ἐλθόντες πρὸ τῶν τείχων ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν Ἑβεκίαν ἥξιον αὐτοῦ ἐλθείν εἰς λόγους. οὐ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπὸ δειλίας οὐ πρόειν, τρεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους φίλους αὐτῷ ἐξέπεμψε, τὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἐπίτροπον Ἑλιακίαν ὅνομα καὶ Σουβαναῖον καὶ Ἱωάχου

6 τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν προελθόντες ἀντικρύ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῆς στρατιάς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἐστησαν, θεασάμενος δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ στρατηγὸς Ῥαβάκης ἐκέλευσεν ἀπελθόντας Ἑβεκία λέγειν ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας Σεναχείριμος πυνθάνεται αὐτοῦ τίνι θαρρῶν καὶ πεποίθως φεύγει δεσπότην αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκροάσασθαι μὴ θέλει καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν οὔ δέχεται τῇ πόλει; ἢ διὰ τοὺς Ἀἰγυπτίους τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἐλπίζων ὑπ' ἐκείνων αὐτῶν κατ-

1 Σομανάν MSP: Σωμανάν V: Σομανάν L marg.: Sobaneam
2 Ἰωάνον R: Ἰωάνον O: Ἰω(α)σαφάτην LV: Ioan Lat.
3 ex Lat. Hudson: ἐλθόντες O: προσελθόντες rell.
4 εαυτοῦ MSP.
5 αὐτὸν SPLV.

* Scripture does not mention Sennacherib’s attack on the Egyptians at this point; it is found further on in 2 Kings xix. 8.

* So LXX; bibl. Rab-shakeh (in Assyrian a title, not a personal name, so also the two following).

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while he himself took the field against the Egyptians and Ethiopians, \( \text{a} \) he left behind his general Rapsakēs \( \text{b} \) with a large force, and also two other commanding officers, to sack Jerusalem. The names of these men were Tharata \( \text{c} \) and Aracharis \( \text{d} \).

(2) When they arrived, they encamped before the walls \( \text{e} \) and sent to Hezekiah and asked him to parley with them. He, however, out of cowardice \( \text{f} \) did not himself come out but sent out three of the friends who were closest to him, the steward of the kingdom, \( \text{g} \) named Eliakias, \( \text{h} \) and Sūbanaios \( \text{i} \) and Jōachos \( \text{j} \) who was in charge of the records. So these three came forward and stood facing the commanders of the Assyrian army; and, when the general Rapsakēs saw them, he told them to go back to Hezekiah and say that the great king Senacheirimos was inquiring of him on what he so confidently relied that he avoided his master and was unwilling to listen to him and would not admit his army into the city. Was it perhaps, he asked, because of the Egyptians, and in the hope that the Assyrian army had been beaten by them? If this

\( \text{c} \) Bibl. Tartan, lxx cod. B Θανθάν, cod. A et al. Θαρθάν, Luc. Ταρθάν.

\( \text{d} \) Bibl. Rab-saris, lxx Ῥάφείς, Luc. Ῥαφείς.

\( \text{e} \) Scripture specifies “by the conduit of the upper pool which is in the highway of the fuller’s field.”

\( \text{f} \) Hezekiah’s “cowardice” is an unscriptural detail.

\( \text{g} \) Bibl. “who was over the house” (A.V. “household”), LXX ὁ οἰκονόμος “the steward.”

\( \text{h} \) Bibl. Eliakim (Ἑλιακήμ), lxx Ἑλιακῆμ; Josephus, like Luc., omits “the son of Hilkiiah.”

\( \text{i} \) Variant Somnaias; bibl. Shebna, lxx Σομνας; Scripture adds his title, “the scribe.”

\( \text{j} \) Variants Joan(n)os, Jo(a)saphates; bibl. Joah, son of Asaph (יוֹאָב בן 'אסָף), lxx Ἰωσαφάτ (v.l. Ἰωάς υἱός Σαβάτ), Luc. Ἰωάχ υἱὸς Σαβά. The

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7 ἀγωνίσασθαι; ει δὲ τοῦτο προσδοκᾷ, δηλοῦν ἃ ὑμὸς ἀνθρώπῳ ὅσοι καλάμου ἐπερειδόμενος τεθλασμένῳ πρὸς τῷ καταπεσεῖν ἐτί καὶ τὴν χείρα διαπαρεῖς ἰδιὸτε ἡς βλάβης. εἰδέναι δ' ὅτι καὶ βουλήσῃ θεοῦ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῶν στρατείαν πεποίηται, ὅσοι αὐτῶ καταστρέφασσαθαι καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἱσραηλιτῶν βασιλείαν δέδωκεν, ἢν τὸν αὐτῶν τρόπον καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ὡς αὐτοῦ 8 διαφεύγῃ. ταῦτα δὲ τὸν Ῥαββάκην ἐβραίστι λέγοντα, τῆς γὰρ γλώσσης εἰχεν ἐμπείρως, ὁ Ἑλιακεῖα, φοβούμενος μὴ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπακούσαν εἰς ταραχὴν ἐμπέσῃ, συνυστὶ φράζειν ἡξίουν. συνεῖς δ' ὁ στρατηγὸς τὴν ὑπόνοιαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῶν δέος, μεῖζον καὶ διατόρυν τῇ φωνῇ χρώμενος ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῶ ἐβραίστι λέγειν, ὡς ἄκουσαν τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως προστάγματα πάντες τὸ συμφέρον 9 ἑλώντα παραδόντες αὐτὸς ἦμῖν. δῆλον γὰρ ὡς τὸν λαὸν ὑμεῖς τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλπίζῃ παρακρούσεως μενοι ματαιάς ἀντέχειν πειθετε. ει δὲ βαρητείτε καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἦμῖν ἀπώσεσθαι νομίζετε, δισχίλιος ἐκ τῆς ἐμοὶ παρούσης ἱππὸς ἐτοίμος εἰμὶ ἡμῖν παρέχειν, οἷς ἱσαρίθμοις ἐπιβάτας δόντες ἐμφανίσατε τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν ἀλλ' ὀυκ ἂν οὐς γε 10 μὴ ἔχετε τούτους δοῦτε. τί τοιγαροῦν βραδύνετε

1 δηλοῦε SP: δῆλον LV.
2 Dindorf: λέγον codd. E Lat.
3 έτοιμός εἰμι ὑμῖν παρέχειν Niese: έτοιμος εἰς ὑμῖν παρέχειν RO: εἰς έτοιμασίαν ὑμῖν παρέχειν ετοιμός εἰμι MSP: έτοιμασίαν παρέχει ὑμῖν LV.
4 Dindorf: δῶτε codd.

α Βιβλ. "thou trustest upon the staff of this broken (A.V. "bruised") reed, upon Egypt, on which if a man lean, it will go into his hand and pierce it."

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was what he expected, they should, he said, make clear to him that he was very foolish and like a man who leans upon a broken reed and not only falls but also has his hand pierced, and feels the hurt. They should know, he said, that by the will of God, who had granted him to overthrow the kingdom of the Israelites also, he had made this expedition against Hezekiah in order that he might in the same way destroy those ruled by him. As Rapsakēs spoke these words in Hebrew, with which language he was familiar, Eliakias was afraid that the people might overhear them and be thrown into consternation, and so asked him to speak in Aramaic. But the general, perceiving what was in the back of his mind and the fear that held him, spoke in a very loud and clear voice and replied that he was speaking to him in Hebrew "in order that all may hear the king's commands and choose a course to their advantage by surrendering to us. For it is clear that both you and the king are beguiling the people with vain hopes in persuading them to resist. If, however, you are confident and think you can repulse our force, I am ready to furnish you with two thousand of the horses that are with me, in order that you may mount on them the same number of riders and so show your strength. But you cannot furnish riders whom you do not have. Why, then,

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1 Josephus, like the lxx, uses συριατί "in the Syrian language" (so A.V. renders), "Syria" and "Syrian" being the Greek names for Aram and Aramaean or Aramaic.
3 In Scripture this proposal is made earlier (vs. 23), before the Jews request Rab-shakeh to speak Aramaic (vs. 26).
11 (3) Ταύτ’ ἀκούσαντες ὁ τε δῆμος καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων λέγοντος ἀπήγ-γειλαν Ἠσεκία. ὁ δὲ πρὸς ταύτα τὴν βασιλικήν ἀποδὺς ἔσθήτα, ἀμφισάμενος δὲ σάκκους καὶ σχήμα ταπεινῶν ἀναλαβὼν, τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τὸν θεὸν ἴκετεν καὶ βοήθησαι τῷ μηδεμίῳ ἄλλην ἐλπίδα ἔχοντι σωτηρίας ἤντιβόλει.  
12 πέμψας δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων τινὰς καὶ τῶν ιερέων πρὸς Ἡσαίαν τὸν προφήτην ἥξιον δεηθῆναι τὸν θεοῦ καὶ ποιησάμενον θυσίας ύπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν νεμεσθῆσαι μὲν ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐλπίσιν ἔλεησαι δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ λαὸν.  
13 ὁ δὲ προφήτης ταύτα ποιήσας χρηματίσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ παρεθάρρυνεν αὐτὸν τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ φίλους, προλέγων ἀμαχητί τοὺς πολεμίους ἢττηθέντας ἀναχωρήσειν αἰσχρῶς καὶ ὁ ÿχὶ μεθ’ οἴου νῦν εἰσὶν θράσους· τὸν γὰρ θεὸν προνοεῖν ὡς διαφθαρὼν καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀσσυρίων Σεναχείριμον διαμαρτύροντα τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτοῦ πραγμάτων καὶ ἐπανερχόμενον3 εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπολείσθαι σιδῆρῳ προφέρειν.  
15 (4) Ἔτυχε δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτὸν καθὼς καὶ γεγραφῶς

1 φαίνεται MSP.
2 Ναβερ: αὐτοῦ codd.
3 Ερενστί: παρερχόμενον codd. Ε: remearet Lat.
do you hesitate to surrender to those who are stronger than yourselves and will take you whether you like it or not? Nevertheless a voluntary surrender means safety for you, while an involuntary one after your defeat will prove to be dangerous and the cause of misfortunes."  

(3) When the people and the envoys had heard these words of the Assyrian general, they reported them to Hezekiah. And he thereupon took off his royal garments, put on sackcloth and assumed an attitude of humility; then, falling on his face in the manner of his country, he supplicated God and entreated Him to help one who had no other hope of salvation. He also sent some of his friends and some of the priests to the prophet Isaiah and asked him to pray to God and, when he had offered sacrifices for the common safety, to exhort Him to show His wrath at the hopes of the enemy, but to take pity on His own people. And, when the prophet had done these things and received an oracle from God, he encouraged both the king himself and the friends who were with him by foretelling that the enemy would be defeated without a battle and retire ignominiously, with none of the self-confidence which they now showed, for God would see to it that they should be destroyed; and he also foretold that Senacherim, the king of Assyria, would himself fail in his attempt against Egypt and on his return to his own land would perish by the sword.  

(4) Now it happened that about this time the king Hezekiah defies

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*a* Josephus greatly shortens Rab-shakeh’s speech.  
*b* Bibl. "he rent his clothes and covered himself with sackcloth and went into the house of the Lord."  
*c* Sacrifices are not mentioned in Scripture.
JOSEPHUS

tω 'Εζεκία ὁ 'Ασσύριος ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αἷς ἀνόητον μὲν αὐτὸν έλεγεν ὑπολαμβάνοντα τὴν ὑπ’ αὐτῷ διαφήμισθαι δουλεῖαν, ἐθνη πολλά καὶ μεγάλα κεχειρωμένω, ἥπειρε δὲ πανωλεθρία διαφθείρειν αὐτὸν παραλαβὼν, εἰ μὴ τὰς πῦλὰς ἀνοίξας ἐκὼν αὐτοῦ δέσχεται τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα.

16 ταύτ’ ἀναγνοῦσι καταφρονεῖ διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πεποίθησιν, τὰς δ’ ἐπιστολὰς πτύξας εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἔσω κατέθετο. πάλιν δὲ τῷ θεῷ τὰς εὐχὰς αὐτοῦ ποιησαμένου περὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἀπάντων σωτηρίας, ὁ Ησαίας ὁ προφήτης ἐπήκοον αὐτὸν ἐφασκε γεγονέναι καὶ κατὰ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν μὴ πολιορκηθήσεθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ 'Ασσυρίου, τῷ δὲ μέλλοντι πάντων ἀδεείς τούς ὑπ’ αὐτῶ γενομένους γεωργήσειν μετ’ εἱρήνης καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμελησθαὶ κτημάτων οὐδὲν φοβουμένους. ὁλίγου δὲ χρόνου διελθόντος καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλείας διαμαρτών τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐπιβολῆς ἄπρακτος ἀνεξώρησεν ἐπ’ οἷκον δ’ αἰτίαν τουαύτην πολὺς αὐτῷ χρόνος ἑτρίβετο πρὸς τὴν Πηλονίου πολιορκίαν, καὶ τῶν χωμάτων ἣδη μετεώρων οίντων, ἀ πρὸς τοῖς τείχεσι πήγειρε, καὶ ὅσον οὕτω μέλλοντος προσβάλειν αὐτοῖς, ἀκούει τῶν τῶν

1 Niese: διαφθείρεω codd. E.
2 SE: δέχται rell.
3 MSP: Σύρου rell.: Assyriis Lat.
4 τῷ δὲ μέλλοντι MSP: μέλλοντι ROL: μέλλοντα V: μέλλειν τε Niese.
5 M: ἀνεῖς RO: ἄν εἶναι ἀδεείς SP: ἀνεῖαι LV Lat.
6 τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτῷ Niese: τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ codd.
7 M: γενομένων rell.
8 + τε SPLV: ἀνοργητὶ RO.
9 ex Lat. Dindorf: ἐπιβολὴς codd.
of Assyria had written a letter to Hezekiah, in which he said that he was foolish to suppose that he would escape being made his servant, since he had subdued many great nations, and he threatened to destroy him utterly and completely after capturing him, unless he opened the gates and willingly admitted his army into Jerusalem. When Hezekiah read these words, he made light of them because of his confidence inspired by God, but he folded up the letter and laid it away within the temple. And, when he offered a second prayer to God on behalf of the city and the safety of all, the prophet Isaiah told him that He had hearkened to his prayer, and that at the present time he would not be besieged by the Assyrian,\(^a\) while in the future his subjects, relieved of all apprehension, would till their land in peace and look after their own possessions without fear of anything.\(^b\) A little while after this the king of Assyria failed in his attack upon the Egyptians and returned home without accomplishing anything for the following reason. After he had spent a great deal of time on the siege of Pelusium,\(^c\) and the earthworks which he was raising against the walls had already reached a great height,\(^d\) and he was on the point of attacking, he heard that Thar-

\(^a\) Variant "Syrian."
\(^b\) Text slightly uncertain.
\(^c\) Pelusium is substituted by Josephus for bibl. Libnah (cf. § 81 note) from the text of Herodotus who is quoted directly below. (According to the Assyrian records Sennacherib defeated the Egyptians and Ethiopians at Elteqeh in the Philistine plain.)
\(^d\) Unscriptural detail.
Αἰθιόπων βασιλέα Θαρσίκην πολλὴν ἄγοντα δύναμιν ἐπὶ συμμαχία τοῖς Ἀιγυπτίοις ἤκεν διεγνωκότα ποιήσασθαι τὴν πορείαν διὰ τῆς ἔρημου καὶ ἐξαίφνης εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἐμβαλεῖν. 18 ταραχθεῖς οὖν ὑπὸ τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς Σεναχείριμος ἄπρακτος, ὡς ἔφη, ἀνεχώρησε, καταλιπὼν τὸ Πηλούσιον. περὶ τούτου τοῦ Σεναχείριμου καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἱστοριῶν αὐτοῦ φησὶν ὡς οὖτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων ἔλθος βασιλέα ἵπέρα ὄντα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, πολυορκῶν δὲ τὸ Πηλούσιον ἔλυσε τὴν πολυορκίαν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης· ἥξισατο ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων τῷ θεῷ, ὡς γενόμενος ἐπήκοος ὁ θεὸς πληγήν 19 ἐνσκύπτει τῷ Ἀραβί (πλανᾶται γὰρ καὶ τούτω ὀυκ Ἀσσυρίων λέγων τὸν βασιλέα ἀλλ᾽ Ἀράβων) μυών γὰρ πληθῶς φησί μιᾶ νυκτὶ τὰ τόξα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὀπλα διαφαγεῖν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, καὶ διὰ τούτο μὴ ἔχοντα τόξα τὸν βασιλέα τὴν στρατιὰν 20 ἀπάγεων ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλούσιον. καὶ Ἡρόδοτος μὲν οὖτως ἱστορεῖ, Βηρωςος δὲ ὁ τὰ Χαλδαϊκὰ συγγραφάμενος μνημονεύει τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Σεναχείριμου, καὶ ὡτὶ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἦρχε καὶ ὡτὶ πᾶσῃ ἐπεστρατεύσατο τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῇ Ἀιγύπτῳ λέγων οὖτως. 4

1 ἄπρακτος, ὡς ἔφη... φησὶν] ἐπὶ τὸν ἱερέα τὸν Ἡφαίστου στρατεύσαι ἔλεγεν ROM Lat.; quae in codd. SPLV extant a librariis ex coniectura inventa esse putat Niese.
2 + Ἡρόδοτος SPLV.
3 καὶ τῇ Ἀιγύπτῳ om. RO.
4 λέγων οὖτως om. LV fort. recte.

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α Bibl. Tirhakah, ΙξΕ Θαρά (v.l. Θαράκα), Luc. Θαράκ.  
β Herod. ii. 141. For “without accomplishing anything
sikēs, the king of Ethiopia, was coming to the aid of the Egyptians with a large force and had decided to make the journey through the desert and fall upon the Assyrians suddenly. And so, being alarmed at this news, King Senacheirimos left Pelusium and withdrew, as I said, without accomplishing anything. Concerning this Senacheirimos, Herodotus also tells us, in the second book of his History, that this king came against the king of Egypt, who was a priest of Hephaestus, and besieged Pelusium, but he abandoned the siege for the following reason. The king of Egypt prayed to God, and God hearkened to his prayer and visited a plague upon the Arab—at just this point he is in error, calling him king of the Arabs instead of king of the Assyrians—for, he says, in one night a host of mice ate through the bows and other weapons of the Assyrians, and, as the king on that account had no bows, he withdrew his army from Pelusium. This, then, is the account which Herodotus gives. But Berosus, who wrote the History of Chaldaea, also mentions King Senacheirimos and tells how he ruled over the Assyrians and how he made an expedition against all Asia and Egypt; he writes as follows...

... in the second book of his History" the variant in Josephus reads "to march against the priest of Hephaestus; he says," etc. Niese suspects that there was a lacuna at this point in Josephus's text and that the words translated above have been interpolated by a scribe.

On first mentioning Sennacherib, however, Herodotus calls him "king of the Arabs and Assyrians."

The variant omits "and Egypt."

The variant omits "he writes as follows." It is more likely, however, that a quotation from Berosus originally followed and has been lost from Josephus's text.
21 (5) ἤποστρέψας δ' ὁ Σεναχείριμος ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἀγγειών πολέμου εἰς τὰ Ἰεροσολύμα, κατέλαβεν1 ἐκεῖ τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ στρατηγῷ Ῥαψάκη δύναμιν διὰ λοιμοῦ κυνδυνεύονσαν2 τοῦ γὰρ3 θεοῦ λοιμικήν ἐνσκήπαντος4 αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατῷ νόσουν, κατὰ τὴν πρώτην νύκτα τῆς πολυρκίας διαφθείροντας μυριάδες ὀκτωκαίδεκα καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι 22 σὺν ἡγεμόνι καὶ ταξιάρχοις.5 ὑπὸ ταύτης δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς εἰς φόβον καὶ δεινὴν ἀγωνίαν καταστάς καὶ δείσας περὶ τῶν στρατῶν παντὶ φεύγει μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ6 βασιλείαν τὴν 23 Νίνον προσαγορεύθησαν. καὶ διατρίβας ἐν αὐτῇ ὀλίγον χρόνον δολοφονηθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων παίδων Ἀνδρομάχου1 καὶ Σελευκάρου3 τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον καὶ ἀνετέθη6 τῷ ἱδίῳ ναῷ Ἀράσκη λεγομένῳ, καὶ οἱ μὲν φυγαδευθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀπῆραν, δια-δέχομαι δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ κατα-

1 Zonaras: καταλαβὼν codd. E.
2 διὰ λοιμοῦ κυνδυνεύουσαν ex Lat. add. Hudson.
3 γὰρ ex Lat. add. Hudson.
4 M Zonaras: εἰκπέμψαντος ROSPLV: πέμψαντος E.
5 Dindorf: ταξιάρχας codd.
6 Niese: αὐτοῦ codd. E.
7 'Αδραμελέχου LV: Adramelech Lat.
8 Σαρασάρου LV: Selensaro Lat.
9 ἀνηρήθη LV Zonaras.

a The words "in danger from a plague," omitted from the mss., have been supplied by Hudson from the Latin.

b Variant "sent down."

c Josephus, as usual, rationalistically interprets the scriptural expression, "the angel of the Lord went out and smote in the camp of the Assyrians," etc., as a reference to 168
(5) When Senachirimos returned to Jerusalem from his war with Egypt, he found there the force under Rapsakes in danger from a plague,\(^a\) for God had visited \(^b\) a pestilential sickness upon his army,\(^c\) and on the first night of the siege one hundred and eighty-five thousand men had perished with their commanders and officers. By this calamity he was thrown into a state of alarm and terrible anxiety, and, fearing for his entire army, he fled with the rest of his force to his own realm, called the kingdom of Ninos.\(^d\) And, after remaining there a short while, he was treacherously attacked by his elder sons Andromachos\(^e\) and Seleukaros,\(^f\) and so died; and he was laid to rest\(^g\) in his own temple, called Araskē.\(^h\) And these two were driven out by their countrymen for the murder of their father, and went away to Armenia\(^i\); and the successor to the throne was the (bubonic) plague, also indicated in Herodotus’s story of the mice. But cf. B.J. v. 388 (Josephus’s speech to the Jews of Jerusalem), where he speaks of the “angel of the Lord” destroying the Assyrian host. There he retains the biblical expression for rhetorical effect, or perhaps, as Rappaport thinks, because “he avoids rationalizing when addressing the Jews.”


\(^b\) Bibli. Adrammelech, LXX Ἀδραμέλεχ (cf. v.l. in Jos.).

\(^c\) Bibli. Sharezer, LXX Σαράσαρ (cf. v.l. in Jos.), Luc. Σαράσα.

\(^d\) Or perhaps “his image was set up”; the variant “he was slain” is probably a scribal alteration based on Scripture, which says that he was killed in the temple, but says nothing of his burial.

\(^e\) Bibli. Nisroch, LXX Ἕσσράχ (v.l. Νεσσράχ κτλ.), Luc. Ἀσράχ. Scripture gives this as the name of Sennacherib’s god. The bibli. form Nisroch is undoubtedly a corruption of an Assyrian name, the original of which is not certain.

\(^f\) Heb. and LXX Ararat, Targum Qardu, A.V. Armenia.
JOSEPHUS

24 (ii. 1) 'Εξεκλίας δ' ο βασιλεύς παραδόξως ἀπ- 
αλλαγείς τῶν φόβων χαριστηρίως σὺν ἀπανταί τῷ
λαῷ θυσίας ἔπετελεσε τῷ θεῷ, μηδεμίας ἄλλης
αἰτίας τῶν πολεμίων τούς μεν διαφθείρας τοὺς
δὲ φόβω τῆς ὁμοίας τελευτῆς ἀπαλλαξάσης ἀπὸ
tῶν Ιεροσολυμιτῶν ή τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ
25 θεοῦ. πάση δὲ χρησάμενος σπουδῆ καὶ φιλοτιμία
περὶ τῶν θεῶν, μετ' οὐ πολὺ νόσω χαλεπῆ περι-
πεσὼν ἀπέγνωστο μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ιατρῶν, χρηστὸν δὲ
περὶ αὐτοῦ3 οὐδὲν προσεδόκων4 οὐδ'5 οἱ φίλοι. τῇ
δὲ νόσῳ προσετίθετο καὶ ἀθυμία δεινὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ
βασιλέως αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἀπαίδιαν λογιζόμενον, καὶ ὅτι
μέλλοι τελευτᾶν ἔρημοι καταλυτῶν τὸν οἶκον καὶ
26 τὴν ἀρχήν γνησίας διαδοχῆς. κάμινον οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς
ἐννοίας μάλιστα καὶ ἀδυρόμενος ἰκέτευε τὸν θεὸν
αὐτῷ ἦρης ὅλιγον χρόνον προσεπιδούναι μέχρι
τέκνων γονιᾶς, καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἡ πατὴρ γένηται.
27 τὴν ψυχήν αὐτὸν ἐσάσα καταλιπείν. ἐλεήσας δ' 
αὐτοῦ δ' θεὸς καὶ τῆς αἰτήσεως ἀποδεξάμενος, ὦτι

1 τῶν . . . Σεναχείρίμου om. Lat., haud dubie corrupta.
2 Ναχορδᾶς (-as P) SPL marg.: νῖὸς Ἀσαχαδᾶς V.
3 αὐτοῦ ὌΠ2.
4 προσδοκούν ROMSP.
5 οὐδ' Naber: οὐδὲ γὰρ codd.

a Bibl. Esarhaddon, lxx Ἀσορδᾶν (v.l. Ἀσοραδᾶν κτλ.).
b The text is obscure. According to Scripture, Esar- 
haddon was a son of Sennacherib, but it is not known where 
Josephus derived his information about the "sons of 
Senacheirimos next in line," or even that Adrammelech 
and Sharezer were the two elder sons. The passage from 
Berosus (in Alexander Polyhistor, ap. Eusebius, Chronicle) 
cited by Reinach does not throw light on the matter. 
Josephus, however, is right in indicating that Esarhaddon 
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Asarachoddas, a who disregarded the rights of the sons of Senacheirimos next in line. b To such an end was the Assyrian expedition against Jerusalem fated to come.

(ii. 1) Having been thus wonderfully delivered from the fate which he feared, King Hezekiah together with all the people offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, for the destruction of some of the enemy and the removal of the rest from Jerusalem had had no other cause than the aid given by their ally God. c But, though he showed all zeal and devotion in the worship of God, he was smitten by a severe illness, and all hope for him was given up by the physicians, nor did his friends have any expectation of a change for the better in his condition. d And the illness was aggravated by the dreadful despair of the king himself when he considered his childlessness and that he was about to die leaving his house and his realm unprovided with a legitimate successor. e And so, suffering chiefly from this thought and lamenting it, he supplicated God to give him a little longer time to live, until he should beget children, and not let him depart this life before becoming a father. Then God took pity on him and granted his request, since was a younger son, cf. A. Olmstead, History of Assyria, pp. 337 f.

The preceding is an addition to Scripture.

d Text slightly uncertain. The detail about Hezekiah’s friends and physicians is not found in Scripture, which says merely, “And the prophet Isaiah, the son of Amoz, came to him and said, Thus saith the Lord, Set thine house in order for thou art about to die and shalt not live.”

e Hezekiah’s concern about a successor is an unscriptural detail; it has a parallel in rabbinic tradition, according to which Isaiah rebuked Hezekiah for failing to beget children, cf. Ginzberg iv. 273.

Hezekiah’s illness and its miraculous cure.

2 Kings xx. 1; Isaiah xxxviii. 1.
According to Scripture (and rabbinic tradition) God prolonged Hezekiah's life for the sake of his ancestor David. Josephus apparently extends this to mean God's care for the continuance of David's line.
he bewailed the death of which he had a presentiment, and had prayed to Him to give him yet a little while to live, not because he was about to be deprived of the benefits of the kingship, but because he wished sons to be born to him who should succeed to his royal power; and so He sent the prophet Isaiah and told him to inform the king that within three days he should be rid of his illness and should live another fifteen years, and that sons would be born to him. When the prophet at God’s command told him these things, he would not believe him because of the severity of his illness and because the news brought to him surpassed belief, and so he asked Isaiah to perform some sign or miracle in order that he might believe in him when he said these things, as in one who came from God. For, he said, things that are beyond belief and surpass our hopes are made credible by acts of a like nature. When the prophet inquired what sign he wished to have performed, he asked him to cause the sun, which in declining had already cast a shadow of ten degrees in the house, to return to the same place and again cast one there.

And, when the prophet exhorted God to show this sign to the king, he saw what he wished and was at

* Variant "the things promised him."
* That is, incredible statements can be accepted only when supported by equally incredible acts.
* What house (or chamber?) is meant is not clear. Scripture reads "let the shadow return backward ten degrees," apparently referring to a sun-dial. Josephus’s text (which, incidentally, seems to be corrupt) may refer to the shadow cast by the sun on the steps of Hezekiah’s palace. Too much importance, however, should not be given to the word βαθμοὺς (usually = "steps"), which Josephus has taken from the LXX where it renders Heb. ma’aloth presumably meaning "degrees" (marked on a sun-dial).
Hezekiah’s prayer is an addition to Scripture (unless possibly based on 2 Chron. xxxii. 26 describing his self-humbling). On the other hand, Josephus omits the scriptural detail of his cure by means of a “cake of figs” applied to the boil (2 Kings xx. 7).
once freed from his illness; then he went up to the temple and did obeisance to God and offered prayers to Him.\(^a\)

(2) Now it happened at this time that the empire of the Assyrians was destroyed by the Medes, but I shall write about this in another place.\(^b\) And the king of Babylon, named Baladas,\(^c\) sent envoys bearing gifts to Hezekiah and invited him to become his ally and friend.\(^d\) Thereupon he gladly received the envoys and feasted them; he also showed them his treasures and his array of arms and the rest of his wealth, all that he had in precious stones and in gold; then, having given them gifts to bring to Baladas,\(^e\) he sent them back to him. But the prophet Isaiah came to him and inquired where the visitors were from, and he said that they had come from Babylon on behalf of their master,\(^f\) and that he had showed them everything in order that they might surmise his power from what they saw of his wealth and be able to report it to their king.\(^g\) The prophet however replied, "Know that in a short time this wealth of yours shall be taken away to Babylon and your offspring shall be made eunuchs and, after losing its wealth, shall be attended in Babylon by eunuchs who will instruct you in that which you must do for your emperor".\(^h\)

\(^a\) The reference seems to be to § 74 where there is brief mention of the fall of Assyria, but no detailed account.


\(^c\) The proposed alliance is an unscriptural detail. Scripture says that Baladan sent presents "for he heard that Hezekiah was ill."

\(^d\) The feast of the envoys is an unscriptural detail.

\(^e\) The presents for Baladan are also an unscriptural detail.

\(^f\) Variant (for "on behalf of their master") "from God," possibly correct if there is an allusion to 2 Chron. xxxii. 31.

\(^g\) The reason given by Hezekiah is an addition to Scripture.
Andras einaiv to Baubulwvov douleuvonta basilei’

ταῦτα γὰρ προλέγειν τὸν θεόν. ὁ δ’ 'Εζε-

κίας λυπηθεὶς ἐπὶ τοὺς εἰρημένους ἔφη μὲν ὁυκ ἂν

βουλεσθαί τοιαύτας συμφορὰς τὸ ἔθνος αὐτοῦ

περιπεσεῖν, ἐπεὶ δ’ ὁυκ ἐνία τυν αὐτῶ τῇ τῶ θεῷ

dedogyména metabalein, ἡχυκτε μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ

ζωῆς εἰρήνην ὑπάρξαι. μημονεεί δε τοῦ τῶν

35 Baubulwvovn basilewos Baláda Βηρωσός. οὐν δ’

οὗτος ὁ προφήτης ὁμολογουμένως θείος καὶ θεα-

μάσιος τὴν ἀλήθειαν, πεποίθως τῷ μηδὲν ὁλως

ψευδὲς ἐπείν ἀπανθ’ ὁσα προεφήτευσεν ἔγγραψας

βίβλοις κατέλιπεν ἐκ τοῦ τέλους γνωρισθήσομεν

tois aubits anbropoiois. kai oux ouatos monos o

prophētēs, allá kai állooi dōdeka tov ārithmōn to

avtō ἐποίησαν, kai pán eite ágadon eite faín

yneytai par’ ἡμῖν kate tīn ākeinon ápobaini

prophētēian. allá touvtōn mēn aubits ezaugge

loumev ēkastovn.

36 (iii. 1) ’Επιβιοῦς δ’ ὅν προεφήκαμεν χρόνον ὁ

basileus ’Εζεκίας καὶ πάντα τούτων ἐν εἰρήνη

diagagow teleneta pendentōv men kai tētartov

1 γένος M1SP: gentem Lat.
2 post Βηρωσός lacunam statuit Niese.
3 eite ágadon eite] eite O: e t R.
their manhood, be servants to the king of Babylon." For God, he said, foretold these things. Thereupon Hezekiah, being grieved at his words, said that he would be unwilling to have his nation meet with such misfortunes, but, since it was not possible to alter God's decrees, he prayed that there should be peace during his own lifetime. Now Berosus also mentions Baladas, the king of Babylon. As for the prophet, he was acknowledged to be a man of God and marvellously possessed of truth, and, as he was confident of never having spoken what was false, he wrote down in books all that he had prophesied and left them to be recognized as true from the event by men of future ages. And not alone this prophet, but also others, twelve in number, did the same, and whatever happens to us whether for good or ill comes about in accordance with their prophecies. But of each of these we shall give an account hereafter.

(iii. 1) Now Hezekiah lived on for the length of time we stated above and passed all of it in peace, and died after completing the fifty-fourth year of his reign. Subsequent to Moses wrote the history of their own times in thirteen books," cf. Dr. Thackeray's note ad loc. It must, of course, be further assumed that Josephus is inexact in saying "of these we shall give an account hereafter," if he is here referring to these "prophetic" books, since he has already dealt with the "prophetic" books, Joshua to Chronicles, included in the 13. But there seems to be no other explanation of the "other 12 prophets."

**Cf. preceding note. Jeremiah and Ezekiel are mentioned in §§ 79 ff.**

**§ 27.**

According to 2 Kings xviii. 2 = 2 Chron. xxix. 1, he was 25 years old at his accession, added to which the 29 years of his reign give 54.
ἔτος τῆς ζωῆς διανύσας, εἰκοσι δὲ βασιλεύσας καὶ 37 ἐννέα. διαδεξάμενος δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Μανασσῆς ἐκ μητρὸς μὲν Ἕβιβας¹ τούνομα πολιτίδος δὲ γεγονός, ἀπέρρηξεν ἕαυτόν τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐτράπητο, πάντως μὲν ᾿Ισραήλτων παρανομίας, αῖς² εἰς τὸν θεοῦ ἐξ- αμαρτόντας ἀπώλοντο· μᾶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐτολμήσε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν 38 ἀπασαν. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς εἰς τὸν θεοῦ καταφρονήσεως ὁρμώμενος πάντας³ τοὺς δυκαῖους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἕβραιοις ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τῶν προφητῶν ἐσχὲ φείδω καὶ τούτων δὲ τινας καθ’ ἣμέραν ἀπέσφαξεν, ὥστε αὐτοῖς ῥείσθαι τὰ ῾Ιεροσόλυμα.

39 λαβὼν οὖν ὀργὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ θεὸς πέμπει προφήτας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος, δι’ ὃν αὐτοῖς ἥπειρησε τὰς αὐτὰς συμφοράς, αἰς συνέβη περιπεσεῖν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῶν ῾Ισραήλτας εἰς αὐτὸν ἔξυβρίζοντας. οἱ δὲ τοῖς μὲν λόγοις οὐκ ἐπίστευν, παρ’ ὅν ἠδύναντο κερδῆσαι τὸ μηδενὸς πειράθηναι κακοῦ, τοῖς δ’ ἔργοις ἐμαθοῦν ἀληθὴ τὰ παρὰ τῶν προφητῶν.

¹ Conj.: Αἴξιβας RO: ᾿Αἴξιβας (-ᾶς M) MSP: ᾿Εχείβας L: ᾿Εχιβας V: Echib Lat.
² oii ROM.
³ πάντας ὁμός MSP Exc.: καὶ πάντας LV.

ᵃ Gr. Manassēs (as in most lxx mss.); Heb. מֶנָאֵש.  
ᵇ Conjectured form (cf. Luc.); mss. Aichiba, Achiba, etc.;
his life and reigning for twenty-nine years. But, on
succeeding to his throne, his son Manasseh, whose
mother, a native of that city, was named Epsiba,
broke away from his father's practices and took the
opposite course, exhibiting every form of wickedness
in his conduct and leaving no impious act undone,
but imitating the lawless deeds of the Israelites
wherein they sinned against God and so perished.
He even dared to pollute the temple of God as well
as the city and the entire country. For, setting
out with a contempt of God, he killed all the
righteous men among the Hebrews, nor did he spare
even the prophets, some of whom he slaughtered
daily, so that Jerusalem ran with blood. There-
upon God, being wrathful at these things, sent
prophets to the king and the people, and through
these threatened them with the same calamities
which had befallen their Israelite brothers when they
outraged Him. They were not, however, persuaded
by these words, from which they might so have
profited as not to experience any misfortune, but
had to learn from deeds the truth of what the
prophets said.

bibl. Hephzibah (Ἡφεζίμα), lxx 'Οψειβά (v.l. 'Αψειβά,
'Οψαβά), Luc. 'Εψαβά.

* Josephus omits the bibl. details of his practice of magic,
   passing his son through fire, etc.

* The variant adds " cruelly."

* Scripture says, 2 Kings xxi. 16, that Manasseh shed much
   innocent blood until he filled Jerusalem from one end to the
   other, but does not specifically include the prophets. It is
   probable that Josephus is alluding to a tradition, similar
to those found in the apocryphal Martyrdom of Isaiah (cf.
R. Charles ed., Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old
Testament, ii. 155 ff.) and in rabbinic literature (cf. Ginzberg
iv. 278 ff.) concerning the killing of Isaiah "by sawing him
in two" (cf. Ep. Heb. xi. 37) at the order of Manasseh.

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40 (2) 'Ως γὰρ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔπέμενον, πόλεμον ἐπ' αὐτούς ἐκίνησε παρὰ τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ Χαλδαίων βασιλέως, δὲς οὕτως πέμψας εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τὴν τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἔληγάτησε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Μανασσήν δόλῳ ληφθέντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀχθέντα πρὸς ἥν ἠρνήθη τιμωρίαν ἐβέθεν ὑπο-41 χείριον. ὁ δὲ Μανασσής τότε συνεῖς ἐν οἷς κακοὶς ἔστε καὶ πάντων αἰτίων ἐαυτοῦ νομίζων ἐδείτο τοῦ θεοῦ παρέχειν1 αὐτῷ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ ἐλεήμονα τὸν πολέμον. χαρίζεται δὲ τούτῳ τῆς ἰκεσίας ἐπακούσας ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ, καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὁ Μανασσής ἀπολυθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων
42 βασιλέως ἀνασώζεται. γενόμενος δ' εἰς τὰ Ἰερο-
σόλυμα τῶν μὲν προτέρων ἀμαρτημάτων περὶ τὸν θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μνήμην ἐσπούδαζεν, εἰ δυνατόν αὐτῶ γένοιτο, τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκβαλεῖν, ὃν μεταβουλεύειν2 ἀφίσθησε καὶ πάσῃ χρήσθαι περὶ αὐτὸν δεσιδαιμονίας: καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἴδοισε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκάθηρε καὶ πρὸς μόνω τὸ λοιπὸν ἢν τῶ ἀρχῶν τοῖς σωτηρίας ἐκτίνευ3 τῷ θεῷ καὶ διατηρεῖν αὐτὸν εὐμενῆ παρ'4
43 ὁλον τῶν βίου. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ πράττει καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐδίδασκε μεμαθηκὸς οἷα παρὰ μικρὸν ἐχρῆσατο συμφορά διὰ τὴν ἐναντίαν πολιτείαν. ἐπισκευάζει σε καὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὰς νομίμους θυσίας ἐπετέλει,
44 καθὼς διέταξε Μωυσῆ. διοικησάμενος δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν θρησκείαν ὅν δὲι τρόπον καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰερο-
sολύμων ἀσφαλείας προενόησεν, ὡστε τὰ παλαιὰ τείχη μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπισκευάσας σπουδής καὶ ἔτερον

1 parašeivc MSPLVE Exc.
2 òw metabouleueiv ed. pr.: òw epibouleueiv codd.: theò ðe doulueiv ex Lat. conj. Niese.
3 ekteineiv ROM. 4 Niese: ðros codd.: in Lat.
For, as they persisted in their ways, God stirred up the king of Babylonia and Chaldaea to make war upon them, and, sending an army into Judaea, he ravaged their country and got their king, Manasseh, who had been captured by cunning and brought to him, into his power to punish in whatever way he wished. Then at last did Manasseh realize in what a bad plight he was, and, believing himself to be the cause of it all, he prayed to God to make the enemy humane and merciful to him. And God hearkened to his supplication and granted this, and so Manasseh was set free by the king of Babylonia and was safely restored to his own land. When he came to Jerusalem, he strove to cast from his mind, if that were possible, the very memory of his former sins, of which he was anxious to repent, and to show God the utmost reverence; and he sanctified the temple and purified the city, and thereafter his only care was to show his gratitude to God for having been saved, and to keep His favour throughout his whole life. And he taught the people to do the same, having learned how close he had been to disaster because of following the opposite way of life. He also repaired the altar and offered up the customary sacrifices, as Moses had ordained. And, when he had regulated the form of worship in the proper manner, he also provided for the security of Jerusalem, and so repaired the old walls with great care and added a new one to them; he also

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a Bibl. "king of Assyria." Josephus's alteration to "king of Babylonia and Chaldaea" is based on the scriptural statement that the Assyrian king took Manasseh to Babylon. (Actually it must have been the Assyrian king Esarhaddon.)

b Text uncertain.
JOSEPHUS

αὐτοῖς ἐπιβαλεῖν ἀναστήσαι τε καὶ πύργους ὕψηλο-
tάτους τὰ τε πρὸ τῆς πόλεως φρούρια τοῖς τ ἁλλοῖς καὶ ἐν καὶ σιτίων καὶ ἐν πάντων τῶν εἰς αὐτὰ 45 χρησίμων συγκομιδής ὀχυρώτερα πούσαι. ἀμέλει 
δὲ τῇ πρὸς ταύτα μεταβολῇ χρησίμων οὕτω τὸν 
μεταξὺ διήγει βίων, ὥς μακαριστὸς εἶναι καὶ ζηλω-
tὸς ἐκείνῳ τοῦ χρόνου λογιζόμενος. ἀφ' οὗ τὸν 
46 θεόν εὐσεβείν ἥρατο. ζήσας οὖν ἔτη ἐξήκοντα 
ἐπὶ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίων βασιλεύσας ἐτη πέντε 
καὶ πεντήκοντα. καὶ θάπτεται μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς 
αὐτοῦ παραδείσοις, ἡ βασιλεία δὲ εἰς τὸν νῦν 
αὐτοῦ παραγίνεται Ἀμμώδα μητρὸς Ἐμασέλμης μὲν 
όνομα τετυχήκοτα ἐκ δὲ πόλεως Ἰαταβάτης ὑπαρχούσης.

47 (iv. 1) Όυτος μνησάμενος τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἑργα, 
ἀ νέος ὃν ἐκείνος ἐτόλμησεν, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ 
τῶν ἰδίων οἰκετῶν ἀπέθανεν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς 
αὐτοῦ βιώσας ἐτη τέσσαρα καὶ εἴκοσι, βασιλεύσας 
48 δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν δύο. μετήλθε δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος τοὺς

1 καὶ add. Niese.
3 λογιζομένου Niese.
4 Ἀμωσον M.
5 Ἐμασέλμης M: Ἐμασέλμης SP: Maselmis Lat.
6 Ἰαταβάτης R: Ἰαβάτης MSP: Iecabath Lat.

a The words “by bringing in” are added conjecturally.
b Text uncertain; if we adopt Niese's emendation, it 
would read (after “such a way”) “as to be blessed and 
envious, counting from the time,” etc.
c According to 2 Kings xxi. 1 = 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1, he was 
12 years old at his accession, added to which the 55 years of 
his reign give 67.
d 2 Kings “and he was buried in the garden of his house, 
in the garden of Uzzah”; 2 Chron. “and they buried him 
in his house” (lxx “in the garden of his house”).

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erected very high towers and made the fortresses before the city stronger in various ways, especially by bringing in provisions and all sorts of things needed in them. In fact he underwent such a change of heart in these respects and lived the rest of his life in such a way as to be accounted a blessed and enviable man after the time when he began to show piety toward God. And so he departed this life at the age of sixty-seven years, after reigning fifty-five. And he was buried in his own gardens, and the kingdom passed to his son Ammon, whose mother, named Emaselmē, was a native of the city of Jabatē.

(iv. 1) This king imitated those deeds of his father which he had recklessly committed in his youth, and, after a plot was formed against him by his own servants, was put to death in his house at the age of twenty-four years, of which he had reigned for two. But the people punished his murderers.

* Bibl. Amon ('Āmōn), LXX 'Αμῶς (v.l. 'Αμων), Luc. (2 Kings) 'Αμών.

† Bibl. Meshullemeth, LXX Μεσολλάμ (v.l. Μασσαλάμειθ κτλ.), Luc. Μασσαλάμ (vid.).

‡ Variants Jazabatē, Jabatē; bibl. Jotbah (Ŷāt'bāh), LXX 'Iṣebāl, v.l. 'Iṣebāl, 'Iṣebā, Luc. 'Etebā. The site has not been identified, but is commonly assumed to have been in Judaea. I suggest that Heb. Ŷāt'bāh is the original of the name of the Galilaean city Jotapata (cf. B.J. iii. 158 ff.), and that the Talmudic form of this name, Jodephath, reflects the Greek and not the original Heb. form. This does not necessarily mean that Jotbah here is to be identified with Jotapata, as there may have been two cities by this name. Such duplication of place-names is not infrequent in ancient Palestine.

§ According to 2 Kings xxi. 19 = 2 Chron. xxxiii. 21, he was 22 years old at his accession, added to which the 2 years of his reign give 24.
JOSEPHUS

Φόνείς καὶ τῷ πατρὶ συνθάπτουσι τὸν Ἀμμώνα, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ Ἰωσία παραδόοσιν ὀκταετεῖ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὄντι, ὥ μήτηρ ἐκ 49 πόλεως μὲν ὑπὸ Βοσκέθ, Ἐδης δὲ τούνομα. τὴν δὲ φύσιν αὐτὸς ἀριστος ὑπήρχε καὶ πρὸς ἁρετὴν εὐ
gεγονός, τῶν Δαυίδου τοῦ βασιλέως ζηλωτῆς ἐπι-
tηδευμάτων καὶ σκοποῦ καὶ κανόνας τῆς ὅλης περὶ 50 τῶν βίων ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἐκείνως κεχρημένον. γενό-
μενος δὲ ἐτῶν δυνακαίδεκα τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν
dικαιοσύνην ἐπεδείξατο· τὸν γὰρ λαὸν ἐσωφρόνιζε
καὶ παρῆνε τῆς περὶ τῶν εἰδώλων δόξης ὡς οὐχὶ
θεῶν ὄντων ἀποστάντας σέβει τὸν πάτριον θεῶν,
tὰ τὲ τῶν προγόνων ἐπισκοπῶν ἔργα τὰ μὲν
ἀμαρτηθέντα διώρθων συνετῶς ωσανεὶ προσβύτατος
καὶ νοῆσαι τὸ δέον ικανότατος, ὡσα δὴ εὑρίσκεν εὖ
γεγονότα καὶ κατὰ χῶραν ἐφύλαττε τε καὶ ἐμ-
51 μείτο. ταῦτα δ' ἐπραττε, σοφία καὶ ἐπινοία τῆς
φύσεως χρώμενος καὶ τῇ τῶν προσβυτέρων πειθό-
μενος συμβουλία καὶ παραδόσει· τοῖς γὰρ νόμοις
κατακολοθῶν, οὕτως περὶ τὴν τάξιν τῆς πολιτείας
καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ θείον εὐσέβειας ευδοεῖν τε συν-
έβαλε καὶ διὰ τὸ 11 τὴν τῶν πρώτων 12 παρανομίαν

1 Βοσκέθ (ε-εβί LV) SPLV Lat.
2 Ἐδης M: Ἐδης SP1: Ἐδις P2: Ἐδεῖς, in marg. Βαδουρό
3 Ἐδις L: Ἐδεῖς V.
5 Niese: ὡς ἀν ὁ ROM: ὡς ἀν rell. καὶ om. SP.
6 καὶ τῇ... πειθόμενος om. ROLV.
7 ὡς ROLV: ὄντως SP: velut Lat.
8 πόλεως ROLV: civitatis Lat.
9 τῆς om. RO. καὶ addidi. 10 το om. RO.
11 τοῦτων SPL1V: priorum rerum Lat.: τῶν προγόνων conj.
Niese.

a Gr. Ἰοσίας; Heb. יְדֵיָיָהוּ, lxx Ἰωσείας.

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and buried Ammon with his father; then they gave
the kingship to his son Josiah, a boy of eight years,
whose mother, named Jedis, came from the city
of Bosketh. He was of an excellent character and
well-disposed to virtue and emulous of the practices
of King David, whom he made the pattern and rule
of his whole manner of life. Now, when he was
twelve years old, he gave proof of his piety and
righteousness, for he sought to bring the people to
their senses and urged them to give up their belief
in idols, which he said were not really gods, and to
worship the God of their fathers; and, reviewing the
acts of his forefathers, he wisely corrected the errors
they had made, just as if he were a very old man and
quite competent to see what needed to be done;
but whatever practices he found that were good
and in place he kept and imitated. These things
he did by using his natural wisdom and discernment
and being guided by the counsel and traditions of
the elders; for it was by following the laws that
he succeeded so well in the ordering of his govern-
ment and in piety toward the Deity, and also
because the lawlessness of the former (kings) no

Accession
of Josiah.
2 Kings xxii.
1; 2 Chron.
xxxiv. 1.

Bibl. Jedidah (Yədidāh), lxx 'Iēdēia, v.l. 'Iēdēia.
Bibl. Boscath, lxx Bασουρόθ. It is grouped with
Lachish and Eglon (i.e. near the Philistine border) in Jos.
xv. 39, but the exact site has not been identified.
“Emulous” is supplied conjecturally. Niese believes
that there is a lacuna in the text after “virtue.”
Bibl. (2 Chron.) “In the eighth year of his reign, while
he was yet young, he began to seek the God of David his
father, and in the twelfth year (lxx adds “of his reign”) he
began to purge Judah and Jerusalem from the high places”
etc. Josephus’s “twelve years old” is apparently based on
a misunderstanding of this verse.
The variant omits “being guided by the (counsel of) the
elders.”
Variant “city.”

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52 μὴ τυγχάνειν ἀλλ' ἐξηφανίσθαι: περιών γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀπασαν τὰ τε ἀλητὰ τὰ τοῖς ἑξενικοῖς ἀνεμένα θεοὶ ἔζεκομε καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς αὐτῶν κατέσκαψαν, εἵ τις δ' ἀνάθημα τούτως ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων ἀνέκειτο περιφρίζων
53 κατέσπα. καὶ τοῦτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν λαῶν ἀπὸ τῆς περί αὐτῶς δόξης εἰς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν ἐπιστρεφε καὶ τὰς συνήθεις ἐπέφερε· θυσίας αὐτοῦ τῷ βωμῷ καὶ τὰς ὀλοκαυτώσεις. ἀπέδειξε δὲ τινὰς κριτάς καὶ ἐπισκόπους, ὅσον διοικοῦν τὰ παράκατοι πράγματα, περὶ παντὸς τὸ δίκαιον ποιοῦντος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ύπὸ ἔλασσον αὐτὸ περιέποντο. 54 διαπέμψας δὲ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν, χρυσὸν καὶ ἀργυρὸν τοὺς βουλομένους ἐκέλευσε· κομίζειν εἰς ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ ναοῦ ὅσον τις ἡ προαιρέσεως ἦν δυνάμεως ἔχει. κομισθέντων δὲ τῶν χρημάτων, τῆς ἐπιμελείας τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰς τοῦτο δαπάνης προέστησε τὸν τ' ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως Αμασίαν καὶ τὸν γραμματέα Σαφᾶν καὶ τὸν γραφέα τῶν ὑπομνήματων Ἰωάννης καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἑλακίαν, οἱ μηδὲν ὑπερβέθει μηδὲ ἀναβολή δόντες, ἀρχιτέκτονας καὶ πάνθ᾽ ὅσα πρὸς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν χρήσιμα παρασκευάζοντες εἰόχοντο τῶν ἔργων. καὶ ὅ μὲν

1 ἐπέφερον MSP. 
2 ἐκέλευσε MSP.

Text slightly uncertain.

The sacrifices and offerings are not mentioned in Scripture.

Nothing is said in Scripture about Josiah's appointment of judges. Has Josephus here confused him with Jehoshaphat? Cf. Ant. ix. 2 ff. (= 2 Chron. xix. 5 ff.).
longer existed but had been rooted out.\(^a\) Going round the city and the entire country, the king cut down the groves dedicated to foreign gods and razed their altars, and whatever dedicatory-offerings to them had been set up by his forefathers he treated with contempt and pulled down. And in this way he turned the people away from their belief in these gods to the service of God, and he offered up on His altar the customary sacrifices and the whole burnt-offerings.\(^b\) He also appointed certain judges and overseers who, in administering the affairs of individuals, were to put justice above everything else and treat it no less carefully than their own lives.\(^c\) Then he sent throughout the entire country, bidding those who wished to bring gold and silver for the repair of the temple to do so, each according to his inclination or ability. When the money was brought, he gave the superintendence of the temple and the expenses connected with it in charge to Amasias,\(^d\) the governor of the city, Sapha,\(^e\) the scribe, and Jōatēs,\(^f\) the keeper of the records, and the high priest Eliakias,\(^g\) who, without allowing any postponement or delay,\(^h\) took hold of the work by providing master-builders and all things necessary for the repairing. And so the temple, having been

\(^a\) So Luc. (vid.); bibl. Maaseiah (Ma'aséyāhū), lxx Maassá, v.ll. Maassías.

\(^b\) Bibl. Shaphan, lxx 2 Kings Σαφφάν (v.ll. Σεφφάν, Σαπφάν), Luc. 2 Kiñgs and lxx 2 Chron. Σαφάν.

\(^c\) Bibl. Joah (Yô'āh), lxx 'Iouáx, v.l. 'Iowás.

\(^d\) Bibl. Hilkiah (Hīlqīyāhū), lxx Χελκελας.

\(^e\) The phrase μηδε ἀναβολη δόντες "without allowing any delay" is reminiscent of Thucydides vii. 15 and, with variations, appears several times in Ant. xvii.-xix.; cf. Dr. Thackeray's preface to Vol. IV. pp. xiv ff.
νοὸς οὕτως ἐπισκευασθείς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εὐσέβειαν φανερὰν ἐποίησεν.

57 (2) "Ογδοος δ' ἡδη καὶ δέκατον τῆς βασιλείας ἔτος ἔχων πέμπτη πρὸς Ἐλιακίαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα, κελεύων τὸ περισσὸν τῶν χρημάτων χωνεύσαντα ποιῆσαι κρατῆρας καὶ σπονδεία καὶ φιάλας εἰς τὴν διακονίαν, ἐτι δὲ καὶ ὁσοί ἃν ἡ χρυσὸς ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς καὶ ἀργυροῖς καὶ τούτον προκομίζαστα· εἰς τοὺς κρατήρας ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σκεύη ἀπανθίσαι. προκομίζουν δὲ τὸν χρυσὸν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐλιακίας ἐντυγχάνει ταῖς ἱεραῖς βιβλίοις ταῖς Μουσείοις ἐν τῷ ναῷ κειμέναι καὶ προκομίζαστα διδώσω τῷ γραμματεῖ Σαφᾶ. ὁ δὲ ἀναγνώσα παραγίνεται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πάντα ὁσα κελεύειε γενέσθαι τέλος ἔχοντα ἐθήλου, παρανέγω δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς βιβλίους. ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ περιρρηξάμενος τὴν ἐσθήτα, τὸν ἀρχιερέα καλέσας Ἐλιακίαν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν γραμματέα καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων φίλων τινὰς ἐπεμβὰ πρὸς τὴν προφήτην Ὁλδά, γυναῖκα δὲ Ἑλλούμου τῶν ἐν δόξῃ τινὸς καὶ δι᾽ ἡ MSPLV.

1 2 Bekker: προσκομίζας vel προσκομίζαστας codd.
3 βιβλίου Hudson: βιβλίου αὐτῶν codd.
4 Ὅλδα O: Ὅλδαν LVE Zonaras: Oldam Lat.
5 Σαλλάμου R: Σελούμου LVE: Salomi Lat.

a Variant "or."
b Or "use it," cf. following note.
c This reference to the purchase (or fashioning) of temple vessels may be based on a misunderstanding of 2 Kings xxii. 9 where the lxx reads "they smelted (the Heb. may mean "they poured out"); A.V. "they have gathered together," and so Targum) the silver found in the temple." 188
repairs in this fashion, made clear the piety of the king.
(2) Now he had already been reigning eighteen years when he sent to the high priest Eliakias, telling him to melt what was left over of the money and with it make mixing-bowls and libation-cups and bowls for the temple service, and, in addition, bring out whatever gold and silver might be in the treasuries and spend it similarly for mixing-bowls and such vessels. But, in bringing out the gold, the high priest Eliakias came upon the sacred books of Moses, which had been placed in the temple, and he brought them out and gave them to Sapha, the scribe. And, when he had read them, he came to the king and informed him that everything which he had ordered to be done had been brought to completion. Then he also read the books aloud to him. When the king had heard them read, he rent his garments and, calling the high priest Eliakias, sent him and the scribe himself and some of his closest friends to the prophetess Oolda, the wife of Sallūmos, a man of high repute and illustrious.

Scripture says explicitly, however, that the money (or silver) was used for buying stone and timber.

The Pentateuch. Most modern scholars, however, assume that the book of Deuteronomy is here meant, and that in substantially its present form it was written not long before the reign of Josiah, as the religious reforms prescribed in Deuteronomy seem to have been accepted by Josiah as a program of action.

Scripture throughout this chapter speaks of "a book" of the law of Moses (or "of the Lord"), not of "books." Josephus evidently understands Scripture to mean the entire Pentateuch. Most modern scholars, however, assume that the book of Deuteronomy is here meant, and that in substantially its present form it was written not long before the reign of Josiah, as the religious reforms prescribed in Deuteronomy seem to have been accepted by Josiah as a program of action.

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JOSEPHUS

evγένειαν ἐπιφανοῦς, ἐκέλευσε λέγειν ἵλασκέσθαι τὸν θεὸν καὶ πειράσθαι ποιεῖν εὐμενῆς δεός γὰρ εἶναι, μὴ παραβάντων τοὺς Μωυ-σέως νόμους τῶν προγόνων αὐτῶν κινδυνεύσωσιν ἀνάστατοι γενέσθαι καὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἐκπεσόντες ἐπὶ ἀλλοτρίας ἐρήμου πάντων καταστρέψωσιν οἰκτρῶς τὸν βίον. ἀκούσασα δὴ ἡ προφήτις παρὰ τῶν πεμφθέντων ταύτα αὐτῶν δι’ ὄν ἐπέστειλεν οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς ἀπελθόντας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα λέγειν ὅτι τὸ μὲν θεόν ἤδη καὶ αὐτῶν ψήφον ἤνεγκεν, ἢν οὐχ ἰκεσίας ἢ τὰς ἀκύρων ποιήσειν, ἀπολέσαι τὸν λαὸν καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐκ-βαλεῖν καὶ πάντων ἀφελέσθαι τῶν νῦν παρόντων ὁγαθῶν, παραβάντας τοὺς νόμους καὶ τοσούτω μεταξὺ χρόνῳ μὴ μετανοήσαντας, τῶν τε προφη-τῶν τούτων παρανοῦντων σωφρονεῖν καὶ τὴν ἔπι τοῖς ἀσεβήμασιν τιμωρίαν προλεγόντων ἢν, ἢν πεισθῶσιν ὅτι θεός ἐστι καὶ οὐδὲν ἐφεύρετο τούτων ὅν αὐτοῖς διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κατηγγείλε, πάντως αὐτοῖς ποιήσεων. δὲ αὐτὸν μέντοι δίκαιον γενό-μενον ἐφέξειν ἔτι τὰς συμφοράς, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτήν τὰ κατερωμένα πάθη τοῖς ὁχλοῖς ἐπιτέμψειν.

62 (3) Οἱ μὲν οὖν τῆς γυναικὸς προφητευσάσης ἐλθόντες ἀπῆγγειλαν τῷ βασιλεί. ὁ δὲ περιπέμψας

1 ἐπιφανῶν LVE. 2 αὐτοὶ conj. Niese. 3 αὐτῶν δὲ ὄν M corr.: δὲ αὐτῶν ἃν codd. 4 ἐπέστειλεν SPL. 5 γε Bekker. 6 ἐποίσεαι Naber.

* Scripture says merely that he was “keeper of the wardrobe.”

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family, commanding them to go to her and tell her to appease God and attempt to win His favour, for, he said, there was reason to fear that, since their forefathers had transgressed against the laws of Moses, they themselves might be in danger of being driven away, and, after being cast out of their own country into a foreign land where they would be destitute of all things, might there miserably end their lives. When the prophetess heard these things from the men through whom the king had sent the message, she told them to go back to the king and say that the Deity had already given His sentence against them and that no one could make it ineffective even by supplications; this sentence was to destroy the people and drive them out of their country and deprive them of all the good things which they now had, because they had transgressed against the laws and during so long an interval of time had not repented, although the prophets exhorted them to act thus wisely and foretold the punishment for their impious deeds, which, she said, He would certainly inflict on them in order that they might believe that He was God and was not speaking falsely about any of the things which He had announced to them through the prophets. However, she said, for the sake of Josiah, who was a righteous man, He would put off these calamities for a time, but after his death would send down on the multitude the sufferings He had decreed against them.

(3) And so, after the woman had prophesied, they came and reported her words to the king. There-

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The reference to Josiah's fear of exile is an addition to Scripture.

Text uncertain.

Josephus amplifies the scriptural text of Huldah's reply.
πανταχοῦ τὸν λαὸν ἔκέλευεν εἰς Ἰεροσολύμα τοὺς θ' ἐρεῖς καὶ τοὺς Λησοῦτας, πᾶσαν
63 ἡλικίαν προστάξας παρείναι. ἀθροισθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀνέγυν τὰς ἑρᾶς βιβλίους,
ἐπειτα στὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ βῆματος ἐν μέσῳ τῷ πλήθει ὀρκοὺς ποιήσασθαι καὶ πίστεις ἡνάγκασεν ἢ μὴν
θρησκεύσειν τὸν θεὸν καὶ φυλάξειν τοὺς Μωυσέως
64 νόμους. οἱ δὲ προθύμως τ' ἐπήνεσαν καὶ τὰ παρανεθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ποιήσαν ὑπέστησαν,
θύμοντές τε παραχρήμα καὶ καλλιεροῦντες ἤδη τὸν
θεὸν ἑκέτευν εὐμενῆ καὶ ἢελὼν αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν.
65 τὸν δὲ ἀρχιερέα προσέταξεν εἰ τι περισσόν ὑπὸ τῶν
προγόνων σκεύος τοῖς εἰδώλοις καὶ ἕνικοῖς θεοῖς
cataståthēn ἤν ἐν τῷ ναῷ, τοῦτο έκβαλεῖν. συν-
αθροισθέντων δὲ πολλῶν καταπρῆσας αὐτὰ τὴν
σποδὸν αὐτῶν διέσπειρε καὶ τοὺς ἑρεῖς τῶν
eidώλων οὐκ ὄντας ἐκ τοῦ 'Αρωνος γένους
ἀπέκτεινε.

66 (4) Ταῦτα δ' ἐν τοῖς Ιεροσολύμοις διαπραξά-
μενος ἦκεν εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰ κατασκευα-
σθέντα ἐν αὐτῇ ὑπὸ 'Ιεροβοάμου τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς
tiμὴν τῶν ἕνικῶν θεῶν ἡφάνισε καὶ τὰ ὀστὰ τῶν
ψευδοπροφητῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ, ὅν κατασκεύασε
67 πρῶτος 'Ιεροβόαμος, κατέκαυσε.5 ταῦτα δὲ προ-
φήτην κατελθόντα πρὸς 'Ιεροβόαμον, θυσιάζοντος

1 ἔκέλευσε MSPLVE.
2 θ' ex Lat. add. Niese.
3 πᾶσαν τε MSP Lat.
4 θρησκεύσειν . . . φυλάξειν Niese: θρησκεύσαι . . . φυλάξαι
codd. E.
5 κατέσκαψε M: πυρὶ παραδέδωκε RO.

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upon he sent round to all parts, commanding the people to gather in Jerusalem, as also the priests and Levites, and ordering those of every age to be present. When these had been assembled, he first read them the sacred books and then, standing on the tribune in the midst of the people, he compelled them to take an oath and pledge that they would truly worship God and keep the laws of Moses. And they eagerly assented and undertook to do what the king urged upon them, and straightway sacrificed and, while singing the sacred hymns, supplicated God to be favourable and gracious to them. Then he ordered the high priest to cast out any vessels that were left of those that had been set up in the temple by their forefathers to the idols and strange gods. And, when many of these had been collected, he burnt them and scattered their ashes; he also killed the priests of the idols, who were not of the family of Aaron.

(4) When he had carried out these reforms in Jerusalem, he went into the country and utterly destroyed everything that had been built there by King Jeroboam in honour of the foreign gods, and he burnt the bones of the false prophets upon the altar which Jeroboam had been the first to build. Now a prophet had come to Jeroboam and foretold,

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* Bibl. "by (Heb. 'al can mean either "by" or "on") a pillar."*

* The exact meaning of καλλυερούτες (usually = "sacrifice auspiciously ") is uncertain here, cf. Ant. ix. 268 note.

* Bibl. (2 Kings) "he made an end of (A.V. "put down"); LXX κατέκαυσε "burned"—a corruption of κατέπαυσε "made an end of ") the idolatrous priests." Josephus in the foregoing account of Josiah's reforms omits many of the details given in 2 Kings xxiii. 4 ff.
aυτὸς καὶ παντὸς ἀκούοντος τοῦ λαοῦ, προκαταγείλαι γενησόμενα, ὅτι τις ἐκ τοῦ Δαυίδου γένους Ἰωσίας τούνομα ποιήσει τὰ προειρημένα. συνέβη δὲ ταῦτα λαβεῖν τέλος μετὰ ἔτη τριακόσια καὶ ἐξηκονταέν.

68 (5) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωσίας πορευθεῖς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους τῶν Ἰσραηλίτων, ὁσοὶ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν καὶ τὴν δουλείαν τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἄσσυρίων διέφυγον, ἀφεῖναι μὲν τὰς ἀσεβείας πράξεις καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους θεοὺς ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ἐπεισε, τὸν δὲ πάτριον καὶ μέγιστον θεὸν εὑσεβεῖν καὶ τοῦτῳ προσανέχειν τὰς οἰκίας τε καὶ τὰς κόμας ἤρευνησε καὶ τὰς πόλεις, μή τις ἐνδον ἔχοι τι τῶν εἰδώλων ὑπονοῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τοῖς βασιλευμένοις ἐφεστῶτα ἄρματα, ἀ κατεσκεῦασαν οἱ πρόγονοι, καὶ εἰ τι ἀλλο τοιοῦτον ἤν ὁ

69 τοῦτῳ προσεκύνουν ὡς θεῷ ἐβάστασε· καὶ καθαρίσας οὗτῳ τὴν χώραν ἀπασάν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα τὸν λαὸν συν-

1 γενησόμενα Cocceji: τὰ γενησόμενα codd.
2 post προειρημένα deesse verba τοῖς ἀνω δεδηλώκαμεν aut sim. conj. Cocceji.

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* Ant. viii. 231 ff. (1 Kings xiii. 1 ff.).
* The actual period of time, according to modern reckoning, is nearer 300 years. Josephus’s figure, moreover, is not consistent with the chronology given earlier. According to Ant. ix. 280, the kingdom of Israel, from the accession of Jeroboam until its end in the 7th year of Hezekiah (Ant. ix. 277), lasted 240 years (+7 months, 7 days). Josephus reckons 22 years more to Hezekiah’s reign (Ant. x. 36), 55 to Manasseh’s (Ant. x. 46), 2 to Amon’s (Ant. x. 47), and 18 to Josiah’s up to the discovery of the Mosaic law (Ant. x. 57). Thus we get 97 added to 240, which equals 194
as he was sacrificing and in the hearing of all the people, that these things would come to pass, namely that someone of the line of David, named Josiah, would do the things described above. And, as it happened, these prophecies were fulfilled after three hundred and sixty-one years.

(5) After these events King Josiah went also to the other Israelites, those who had escaped from captivity and servitude under the Assyrians, and persuaded them to give up their impious practices and abandon their worship of foreign gods and, instead, to show piety toward the Almighty God of their fathers and remain faithful to Him. He also searched the houses and villages and cities, suspecting that someone might have some idolatrous object within. Furthermore he removed the chariots placed for the king’s officers, which his forefathers had built, and many other such things which they worshipped as gods; and having thus purified the entire country, he called the people together at Jerusalem 337 years for the interval between the beginning of Jeroboam’s reign and the fulfilment of the prophesy about the altar.

The foregoing is an amplification of Scripture, which says merely that he cleansed the cities of Manasseh, Ephraim and Simeon with their surroundings and cut down all the idols in Israel. But the house-to-house search for idols is mentioned also in rabbinic tradition, cf. Ginzberg iv. 282.

Lit. “for those ruled over”; the translation of βασιλευομένου given in the text is based on the supposition that Josephus is carelessly paraphrasing 2 Kings xxiii. 11 which reads, “And he made an end of (lxx “burned”) the horses which the kings of Judah placed for the sun at the entrance of the house of the Lord near the chamber of Nathan-melech the eunuch (A.V. “chamberlain”).” It is unnecessary to suppose, with Weill, that βασιλευομένου is a corruption of βασιλείου “palace.”
JOSEPHUS

ekálese kákei tìn ažúmovn eorthín kai tìn¹ páscha legeoménhn ēγagenv. eúdoρhíata te tò lai ei's to páscha² nêgonous éρíhous kai árnas trismoρvions;³
71 boûs d' eis ólokautwímaτa⁴ trísχulíous. parèichon ðe kai tòvν ieréwv⁵ oi prwtoi ðià to páscha tois ieréwvν árnas disχulíous èξakosíous, kai tois Lhnuítais penteρakiaρχuliouν árnas èdósoan oi pro-
72 estwtes autòvν, boûs ðe penteρakosíous. kai gevo-
mévns oûtwv aφhónou tís tòvν ieréwvn èυπoríαs tás thuvías èpetéllon tois Mwuoσéos nómuos, èkástv⁶ tòvν ieréwvν èξηγoumévνn kai diakoumévνn tois óχlous, kai toj miδemían állhn oûtwv áxhínav tois 'Èβraíovs eorthín ãpto tòvν Samoùhλou toj pròφtovn chrónwv aùtioν ÷vn to pánṭa kata νómuνs kai kata τìn árχaian paratírmhνν tís pátrión svnthεiαs
73 èpitelleσèthínav. ÿσas d' èn eìρíhν metà tauta ó 'Iwosía èti ðe kai plóútw kai τῇ parà pásín èvdosíα kàtéseterhe τòutò tòv τrópov tòn bìov.
74 (v. 1) Neχaov⁷ ð tòvn Aǵunπtístovn basilevs èγeir̓p̓as

¹ kai τήν] kai LVE Lat.: τήν καὶ Dindorf fort. recte.
³ δισχυρίουs RO. ⁴ ólokautwíswv SP.
⁵ 'Ioudaíovn ex Lat. conj. Hudson: Ἐβραῶν Naber.
⁶ èkástov MSPV Lat.
⁷ Neχaovs Ο (et R infra): Neχaovs M: Neχaovs LV: Neχaòs E.

⁴ Or possibly (reading τήν καὶ) “also called,” cf. Ant. xx. 106 where the two festivals are identified. On the other hand, in Ant. iii. 249 Josephus more accurately distinguishes between the Festival of Unleavened Bread and the Passover which immediately precedes it. Both festivals are mentioned in 2 Chron. = 1 Esdras, while the Passover alone is mentioned
and there celebrated the festival of Unleavened Bread and that called a Passover (Pascha). He also presented gifts to the people for the Passover (consisting of) thirty b thousand young kids and lambs, and three thousand oxen for the whole burnt-offerings. And the chief priests c as well furnished to the (other) priests for the Passover two thousand six hundred lambs, d and to the Levites their leaders gave five thousand lambs and five hundred oxen. And so, there being such an abundance of victims, they performed the sacrifices in accordance with the laws of Moses, the priests directing each step e and ministering to the multitude. No other festival had been celebrated by the Hebrews in such a manner since the time of the prophet Samuel, which was due to the fact that everything was carried out in accordance with the laws and with the observance of their fathers' ancient customs. Now Josiah after this lived in peace and, moreover, enjoyed wealth and the good opinion of all men, but ended his life in the following manner.

(v. 1) Nechaô, f the king of Egypt, having raised in 2 Kings. The details of the sacrifice in Josephus are based on the account in 2 Chron. = 1 Esdras.

a Variant 20.
b Cfr. 2 Chron. xxxv. 8 = 1 Esdras i. 8 which speaks of the victims given to the people and the priest’s by Josiah’s “princes,” including Hilkiah and other priests in charge of the temple. It is therefore unnecessary to emend “chief priests” (lit. “first of the priests”) in Josephus’s text to “chief Jews” or “chief Hebrews,” as Hudson and Naber propose.
c Scripture adds “and 300 oxen.”
d Or “expounding to everyone”; variant “each of the priests expounding” etc. This detail seems to be based on the Luc. reading (kata τὴν διαίρεσιν) in 1 Esdras i. 10.
e So LXX; variants Nechaüs, Nechaös, etc.; bibl. Necho.
Josephus's correction is in accord with historical fact, since the Medes and Babylonians together had practically destroyed the Assyrian power a few years before Necho's invasion of Syria (608 B.C.). On this occasion, moreover, the Egyptians were probably aided by the remnants of the Assyrian army, cf. A. Olmstead, History of Assyria, p. 639.

1 Medin O: Medin Lat. 2 + ἀλαζονείας ROM. 3 ἐκεῖνης SPLV Lat.

* Bibl. (Heb. 2 Chron. and lxx 1 Esdras) "against Carchemish on the Euphrates"; cf. § 84 note b.

* Bibl. (2 Kings and lxx 2 Chron.) "the king of Assyria."
an army, marched toward the Euphrates river to make war on the Medes and Babylonians who had overthrown the Assyrian empire, for he had the desire to rule Asia. When he came to the city of Mendē—this was in Josiah’s kingdom—the latter came with an army to prevent him from marching against the Medes through his country. So Nechaō sent a herald to him, saying that he was not taking the field against him, but was making for the Euphrates, and he bade Josiah not provoke him into making war on him by preventing him from going where he had made up his mind to go. Josiah, however, paid no attention to Nechaō’s request, but acted as though he would not permit him to traverse his territory; it was Destiny, I believe, that urged him on to this course, in order to have a pretext for destroying him. For, as he was marshalling his force and riding in his chariot from one wing to another, an Egyptian archer shot him and put an end to his eagerness for battle, and, being in great pain from his wound, he ordered the call to be sounded for the army’s retreat, and he returned to Jerusalem. There he died from his wound.

Josephus’s form Mendē is puzzling. The only city by this name (a Greek form) was in Egypt, as Josephus himself knew (cf. B.J. iv. 659); and it is, moreover, difficult to believe that he could have been mistaken about the reading of Megiddo—a well-known name—in his bibl. text. Herodotus (ii. 159) speaks of a victory of Necho over the Syrians in Magdolos (cf. Migdal, an Egyptian border-city mentioned in Jer. xliv. 1 and xlvi. 14), but it is hardly likely that Josephus confused this with Mendē. We must, it seems, assume that Mendē is a scribal corruption of Megiddo.

* The variant, “fated boastfulness,” hardly makes sense.
* Unscriptural details.
* Variant “and he died from that wound.”
JOSEPHUS

tον βίον καὶ κηδεύεται ἐν ταῖς πατρῴαις θήκαις μεγαλοπρεπῶς, βιώσας μὲν ἑτη τριακονταετέα, 
78 βασιλεύσας δὲ τούτων ἐν καὶ τριάκοντα. πένθος 
δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ μέγα τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἤχθη, πολλαῖς 
ἡμέραις ὀδυρομένου καὶ κατηφοῦντος. Ἦερεμίας 
δ’ οἱ προφήτης ἐπικήδειον αὐτοῦ συνέταξε μέλος 
79 θρηνητικόν, ὁ καὶ μέχρι νῦν διαμένει. οὗτος οἱ 
προφήτης καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα τῇ πόλει δεινὰ προ-
εκήρυξεν, ἐν γράμμασι καταλιπὼν καὶ τὴν νῦν ἐφ’ 
ἡμῶν γενομένην ἁλωσιν τὴν τε Βαβυλῶνος αἴρεσιν. 
οὐ μόνον δὲ οὗτος προεθέτασε ταῦτα τοῖς ὀχλοῖς, 
αλλὰ καὶ οἱ προφήτης Ἦερεμίας ὁ πρῶτος ἐπὶ 
80 τούτων δύο βίβλους γράφας κατέλυπεν. ἦσαν δὲ 
οἱ δύο τῷ γένει ἴερεῖς, ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν Ἦερεμίας ἐν 
Ἦερεμοῦμας διήγεν ἀπὸ τρισκαιδεκάτου ἔτους τῆς 
Ἦωσίου βασιλείας ἐώς οὐ κατεσκάφη ἡ πόλις καὶ 
ὁ ναὸς. τὰ μέντοι γε συμβάντα περὶ τούτον τὸν 
προφήτην κατὰ χώραν δηλώσομεν.

81 (2) Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἦωσίου, καθὼς προειρή-
kαμεν, τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ διαδέχεται

1 θρηνητικόν seei. Niese, Naber.
2 βιβλία MSPLVE Zonaras.

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a According to 2 Kings xxii. 1 = 2 Chron. xxxiv. 1 he was 8 years old at his accession, added to which the 31 years of his reign give 39.
b This statement is based on 2 Chron. xxxv. 25, “And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah, and all the singing men and women spake of Josiah in their lamentations to this day . . . and behold, they are written in the lamentations.” Josephus, like the rabbis (cf. Ginzberg vi. 378), regarded this verse as a reference to the book of Lamentations, traditionally ascribed to Jeremiah.
c This reference to the capture of Jerusalem by Titus is suspected by Ussani (cited by R. Eisler, The Messiah Jesus, p. 609) of being an interpolation. This suspicion, however, 200
and was buried magnificently in the tombs of his fathers, having lived thirty-nine years,\textsuperscript{a} of which he reigned thirty-one. Great was the mourning for him observed by all the people, who bewailed him and grieved for many days. And the prophet Jeremiah composed a song of lament for his funeral, which remains to this day.\textsuperscript{b} This prophet also announced the misfortunes that were to come upon the city, and left behind writings concerning the recent capture of our city,\textsuperscript{c} as well as the capture of Babylon. And not only this prophet predicted these things to the multitude, but also the prophet Ezekiel,\textsuperscript{d} who left behind two books which he was the first to write about these matters.\textsuperscript{e} These two men were both priests by birth, but Jeremiah lived in Jerusalem from the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign\textsuperscript{f} until the city and the temple were demolished. What happened to this prophet, however, we shall relate in the proper place.\textsuperscript{g}

(2) When Josiah died, as we have already said, his son, Jōachazos\textsuperscript{h} by name, succeeded to the king-

is hardly justified. Josephus naturally thought of the book of Lamentations (which, like his contemporaries, he regarded as Jeremiah's work) as a prophecy of the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans as well as of that by the Babylonians.

\textsuperscript{a} Gr. Ἰζεκιήλ; Heb. יֶהֶזֶקֶל.

\textsuperscript{d} Josephus probably thought of the book of Ezekiel as composed of two distinct parts of 24 chapters each. Cf. H. St. J. Thackeray, The Septuagint and Jewish Worship, p. 37, "This distinction of subject matter is well known to the rabbis who observed that Ezekiel opens with desolation and ends with consolation." Less probably he alludes to a pseudepigraphic book of Ezekiel, now lost, cf. Fabricius, Codex Pseudep. Vet. Test., 1713, i. 1117 f.

\textsuperscript{f} Jer. i. 2.  
\textsuperscript{g} §§ 112, 116 ff.

\textsuperscript{a} Variants Jōazos, Jōchazos; bibl. Jehoahaz (Yehō'āhāz), lxx Ἰωάχαζ, v.l. Ἰωάχαζ.
IOSEPHUS

'Ἰωάχαζος τούνομα τρίτων καὶ εἶκοστὸν ἡδὴ ἔτος γεγονός. καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωι ἐβασιλεύει μητρὸς Ἀμιτάλης ἐκ τοῦ ἕπολεως Λοβάνης

82 ἀσεβῆς δὲ καὶ μιαρὸς τοῦ τρόπον ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀγνυπτίων βασιλεὺς ὑποστρέφας ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης μεταπέμπται τὸν Ἰωάχαζον πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀμαθὰ καλουμένην πόλιν, ἦτες ἐστὶ τῆς Συρίας, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐλθόντα ἔδησε, τῷ δὲ πρεσβυτέρῳ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῷ ὄμοπατρῷ ὁντὶ Ἑλιακείμων τοῦνομα τὴν βασιλείαν παραδίδωσι μετονομάσας αὐτοῦ Ἱωάκειμον. τῇ δὲ χώρᾳ ἐπέταξεν ἐκατὸν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα, ἐὰν δὲ χρυσίου. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ἔτελει ὁ Ἱωάκειμος τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων, τὸν δὲ Ἱωάχαζον ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Ἀγνυπτὸν, ὅς καὶ ἔτελευτησεν ἐν αὐτῇ βασιλεύσας μήνας τρεῖς ἡμέρας δέκα. ἥ δὲ τοῦ Ἑλιακείμου μὴτρ ἑκαλείτο Ζαβοῦδα, ἐκ πόλεως δ' ἦν Ἀβουμᾶς. ἐτύγχανε δ' ὃν τὴν φύσιν ἁδίκος καὶ κακοῦργος καὶ μήτε πρὸς θεοῦ ὅσιος μήτε πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιεικῆς.

84 (vi. 1) Ἔτος δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας τέταρτον

1 Ἱωάζος RO: Ἱωάχαζος SP.
2 περὶ τρίτων MSP fort. recte.
3 ἐκ ex Lat. Niese: καὶ codd.
5 Ἑλιακείμων R2OMSP: Eliachim Lat.
6 Ἱωάκειμον RMSPV: Ioachim Lat.

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1 Cf. lxx (most mss.) Ἀμιτάλ (Cod. B 2 Kings Ἀμιταῖος 2 Chron. Ἀβειτάλ); bibl. Hamutal (Ḥamūṭāl).
2 Emended form; mss. Tomanė, Tomianė; bibl. Libnah, lxx Λοβενά, v.lli. Λημνά, Λοβνά, κτλ. The name appears as Labinah in Ant. ix. 98, cf. note ad loc.
dom in his twenty-third year. And so he reigned in Jerusalem, his mother being Amitalēa of the city of Lobanēb; he was of an impious and corrupt nature. Now the king of Egypt, returning from the battle, summoned Jōachazos to him at the city called Amatha,c which is in Syria, and, when he came, put him in chains and gave the kingdom over to his elder brother by the same father, after changing his name, which was Eliakeimos,d to Jōakeimos.e He also imposed on the country a tribute of one hundred talents of silver and one talent of gold.f And this sum of money Jōakeimos paid. As for Jōachazos, he carried him off to Egypt, which was where he died after reigning three months and ten days.g Now the mother of Jōakeimos was called Zabūda,h and she came from the city of Abūma.i He proved to be unjust and wicked by nature, and was neither reverent toward God nor kind to man.

(vi. 1) In the fourth year of his reign someonej

a Cf. lxx 'Ελιακείμ; bibl. Eliakim ('Ελιακίμ).
b Cf. lxx 'Ιωακείμ; bibl. Jehoiakim (Ιηοιακίμ).
c So Heb.; lxx 2 Kings 100 talents of silver and 100 talents of gold, Luc. 2 Kings and 1 Esdras 100 talents of silver and 10 talents of gold.
d Bibl. 3 months. Weill plausibly suggests that Josephus has here confused Jehoahaz with Jehoiachin who reigned 3 months and 10 days, according to 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, cf. § 98.
e Bibl. Zebudah (Z'budddh), lxx 'Ιελλά, v.l. 'Ιελδάφ, Luc. 'Αμιτάλ (vid.).
f Bibl. Rumah, lxx 'Ρουμά, Luc. Λοβεννά. The Luc. readings here show confusion of Jehoiakim's mother with that of Jehoahaz.
g Josephus appears to use τις "someone" as a tacit apology to Greek readers for the uncouth form of the Babylonian king's name.
85 but the king of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates all that belonged to the king of Egypt."
called Nebuchadnezzar\(^a\) became ruler of the Babylonians and at the same time went up with a great armament against the city of Karchamissa\(^b\)—this is on the Euphrates river—with the determination to make war on the Egyptian king Nechaö, to whom all Syria was subject. When Nechaö learned of the Babylonian king's purpose and of the expedition against him, he himself did not show indifference but set out for the Euphrates with a large force to oppose Nebuchadnezzar. In the engagement that took place he was defeated and lost many myriads in the battle.\(^c\) Then the Babylonian king crossed the Euphrates and occupied all Syria, with the exception of Judaea, as far as Pelusium.\(^d\) In the fourth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, which was the eighth year of Jöakeimos's rule over the Hebrews,\(^e\) the Babylonian king marched against the Jews with a large force, demanding tribute of Jöakeimos under threat of war. And so he, being alarmed at this threat, purchased peace by paying the money, and for three years brought him the tribute which he had imposed.\(^f\)

\(^a\) According to 2 Kings xxiv. 1, Jehoiakim rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar after being subject to him for 3 years. Scripture implies that the rebellion took place at the end of Jehoiakim's 11 year reign and, therefore, that he had become subject to Nebuchadnezzar in the 8th (or 9th) year of his reign. However in § 84 Josephus has equated Nebuchadnezzar's 1st year with Jehoiakim's 4th. Therefore the 4th year of Nebuchadnezzar would be the 7th rather than the 8th of Jehoiakim. Moreover, according to Jer. xxvi. 1 ff., which Josephus follows below, Jehoiakim's defiance of the Babylonians seems to have come at the beginning of his reign.

\(^b\) Scripture does not mention the payment of tribute specifically but implies it in the phrase "became his servant."
According to Scripture, the priests, the false prophets and the people opposed Jeremiah, while the nobles and elders supported him.

Text and meaning uncertain.
(2) But in the third year, having heard that the Egyptians were marching against the Babylonian king, he did not pay him tribute. However, he was disappointed of his hopes, for the Egyptians did not venture to undertake the campaign. And this was what the prophet Jeremiah foretold day after day, how that it was vain for them to cling to their hope of help from the Egyptians and that the city was destined to be overthrown by the king of Babylon, and King Joakeimos to be subdued by him. These things, however, he spoke to no avail, since there were none who were destined to be saved, for both the people and their rulers disregarded what they heard; and, being angered by his words, they accused Jeremiah of having as prophet used divination against the king, and, bringing him to trial, demanded that he be sentenced to punishment. And so all the others cast votes against him, thereby rejecting the advice of the elders, but these, being of wise understanding, released the prophet from the prison-hall and advised the others to do Jeremiah no harm. For, they said, he was not the only one to foretell what would befall the city, but Michaias before him had announced these things, as had many others, and none of them had suffered anything at

Josephus is here evidently alluding to the αὐλὴ τῆς φυλακῆς as the LXX translates Heb. ḥaṣar ham-maffārāh "court of the prison" (in Zedekiah's palace) in Jer. xxxii. 2. It should not be surprising that Josephus seems to confuse some of the events of Jehoiakim's reign with those of Zedekiah's, since the chronology in both Heb. and Gr. texts of Jer. is confused, e.g. the narrative of Jehoiakim's reign is resumed after a passage dealing with that of Zedekiah. Weill understands by αὐλὴς here the court of the temple, cf. Jer. xxvi. (LXX xxxiii.) 7 ff., but this is unlikely.

So LXX (v.l. Meîxaias); bibl. Micah.
τῶν τότε βασιλέων οὐδὲν ἔπαθεν, ἀλλ' ως προφήτης
93 τού θεοῦ τιμής ἔτυχε. τούτους καταπράφαντες τὸ
πλήθος τοῖς λόγοις ἔρρυσαντο τῆς κατεφησυμένης
αὐτοῦ κολάσεως τὸν Ίερεμίαν, ὅς ἀπάσας τὰς
αὐτοῦ1 προφητείας συγγραφαμένου νηστεύοντος τοῦ
dήμου καὶ ἐκκλησιάζοντος ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μην ἑνάτῳ
tοῦ πέμπτου ἔτους τῆς Ἰωακίμου βασιλείας ἀνέγνω
τὴν βίβλον, ἣν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων συμβῆσεσθαι
τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ ναῷ καὶ τοῖς ὀχλοῖς ἣν συντεταχώς.
94 ἀκούσατε δ' οἱ ἤγεμόνες λαμβάνουσι παρ' αὐτοῦ
τὸ βιβλίον καὶ κελεύουσιν αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν γραμ-
ματέα Βαρούχον2 ἐκποδῶν αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι, μὴ τοῖς
dήλοι γένωνται, τὸ δὲ βιβλίον αὐτοὶ φέροντες τῷ
βασιλεὶ διδόσαιν. ὃ δὲ παρόντων αὐτῶν τῶν φίλων
ἐκέλευσε τὸν αὐτοῦ γραμματέα λαβόντα ἀναγνώραι.
95 ἀκούσας δὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ καὶ ὀργισθεὶς ὁ
βασιλεὺς διέρρηξε τε καὶ βαλὼν εἰς πῦρ ἡφάνισε,
ζητηθέντας δὲ τὸν τε 'Ἰερεμίαν καὶ τὸν γραμματέα
Βαρούχον ἐκέλευσεν ἀχθῆναι3 πρὸς αὐτοῦ κολασθη-
σομένους. οὖτοι μὲν οὖν διαφεύγουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν
ὄργην.
96 (3) Μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον στρατευόμενον ἐπ'
aὐτοῦ τῶν τῶν Ἱαβυλωνίων βασιλεὰ δέχεται κατὰ
δέος4 τῶν προειρημένων ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου τοῦτοῦ,5
οὐδὲν νομίζων πείσεσθαι δεινὸν μήτε6 ἀποκλείσας
97 μήτε7 πολεμήσας, εἰσελθὼν7 δ' εἰς αὐτὴν8 ὁ Βαβυ-

1 Niese: αὐτοῦ codd. E. 2 Βάρουχον MSPE.
3 ἀναγκαθήναι SPL: adduci Lat.
4 τὸ δέος τὸ παρά (τὸ 1ο om. L) MSPLV.
5 τούτους M: τούτου ὡς SPLV.
6 μήτε ... μήτε Dindorf: μηδὲ (μηδ’) vel μή ... μηδὲ codd.:
oūtē ... oūtē E.
7 εἰσελθὼν ML. Lat.: ἀπελθὼν rel. 6 αὐτοῦ ROL².
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the hands of those who were then kings, but had received honour as prophets of God. With these words they mollified the people and saved Jeremiah from the punishment to which he had been condemned. He then wrote down all his prophecies and, while the people kept a fast and were assembled in the temple, in the ninth month of the fifth year of the reign of Jōakeimōs, he read the book which he had composed concerning the things which were to befall the city and the temple and the people. But, when the leaders heard it, they took the book from him and ordered both him and his scribe Baruch to take themselves off and not let themselves be seen by anyone; as for the book, they carried it off and gave it to the king. And he, in the presence of his friends, ordered his scribe to take it and read it aloud. But, when he heard what was in the book, the king became angry and destroyed it by tearing it apart and throwing it into the fire. Then he ordered that a search be made for both Jeremiah and his scribe Baruch and that they be brought to him for punishment. So then they escaped his wrath.²

(3) But not long after, when the king of Babylonia brought an army against him, Jōakeimōs, in fear of what had been foretold by this prophet, received him, thinking that he would suffer no harm, as he had neither shut him out nor made war on him. On entering the city, however, the Babylonian king did...
Josephus, like the rabbis, here connects with the reign of Jehoiakim the deportation mentioned in Jer. lii. 28, "This is the people whom Nebuchadnezzar carried away captive in the seventh year, three thousand and twenty-three Jews." No deportation of Jews in the reign of Jehoiakim is mentioned in 2 Kings or 2 Chron.

Cf. Jer. xxii. 19, "He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem." According to 2 Kings Jehoiakim was buried with his fathers,
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not keep his pledges but killed the most vigorous and best favoured of the inhabitants of Jerusalem together with King Joakeimos, whom he ordered to be cast out unburied before the walls, and appointed his son Joachimos as king of the country and the city. Those in power, three thousand in number, he took captive and carried away to Babylon. Now among them was the prophet Ezekiel, then a boy. Such, then, was the end that overtook King Joakeimos at the age of thirty-six years, of which he had reigned eleven. Joachimos, who succeeded him on the throne, had a mother named Noostē, a native of the city, and reigned three months and ten days.

(vii. 1) But after the Babylonian king had given the kingdom to Joachimos, a sudden fear seized him, for he was afraid that Joachimos might bear him a grudge for the killing of his father, and lead his country to revolt. He therefore sent a force which besieged Joachimos in Jerusalem. But he, being nothing being said of the manner of his death; according to 2 Chron. he was carried in chains to Babylon. For rabbinic traditions, harmonizing these differences (which Josephus ignores), see Ginzberg iv. 285.

Accession of Jehoachin (Joachimos) and deportation of Jews to Babylon. 
2 Kings xxiv. 6; 
2 Chron. xxxvi. 8.

Nebuchadnezzar deports more Jews to Babylon.
2 Kings xxiv. 10.

c Bibl. Jehoiachin (Ἰωάκημ), lxx 2 Kings Ἰωακάθμ (v.l. Ἰωακείμ), 2 Chron. Ἰεκούιας. The mss. of Josephus have Ἰεκούιας in § 229.

d Cf. note a above. (Possibly the variant, adding αὐτοῦ "his" in Josephus’s text, is a scribal note indicating that the number is an addition to Scripture made by Josephus.)

e Cf. Ezekiel i. 1.

f According to 2 Kings xxiii. 36 = 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5 Jehoiakim was 25 years old at his accession, added to which the 11 years of his reign give 36.

g Bibl. Nehushta (Νέκυστά), lxx Νεκοῦ, Luc. Νεκοῦσεν.

h So 2 Chron.; 2 Kings 3 months.

i Nebuchadnezzar’s motive is an unscriptural detail, to which there is a parallel in rabbinic tradition.

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100 'Ierousolûmos. ὁ δὲ φύσει χρηστὸς ὄν καὶ δίκαιος οὐκ ἦξιον τὴν πόλιν κυνωνεύσαν δι' αὐτῶν περι- ὁρᾶν, ἀλλ' ἀπάρασ ἐν μητέρα καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς παραδίδωσι τοῖς πεμφθείσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου στρατηγοῖς, ὄρκους παρ' αὐτῶν λαβῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν μὴ τ' αὐτοὺς παθεῖν μήτε τὴν πόλιν. οἷς ὁδ' ἐναιτὶν ἡ πίστις ἐμεινευ· οὐ γὰρ ἐφύλαξεν αὐτὴν ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεύς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐπέστειλεν ἀπαντὰς τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει λαβόντας αἰχμαλώτους νέους τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ τεχνῖτας δεδεμένους ἀγεῖν πρὸς αὐτῶν (ἣσαν δὲ ὁτοί πάντες εἰς μυρίους ὀκτακοσίους τριακοντα- δύο) καὶ τὸν 'Ιωάχιμον μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῶν φίλων. τούτους δὴ κομισθέντας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐἰχεν ἐν φυλακῇ· τὸν δὲ θεῖον τοῦ 'Ιωάχιμον Σααχίαν ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα, ὄρκους παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβῶν ἡ μὴν φυλάξειν αὐτῷ τὴν χώραν καὶ μὴδὲν νεωτερίσειν μηδὲ τοῖς Ἀιγυπτίοις εὐνοῆσεν.

103 (2) Σααχίας δ' ἢν μὲν ἑτῶν εἰκοσι καὶ ἑνός, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν παρέλαβεν, ὁμομήτριος μὲν 'Ιωακείμου

1 ἐπάρας MSPLVE: sumens Lat.
2 ὡς δ' ROSPLV.
3 οὐδ' ένιαυτόν οὐδενὶ (οὐδ' εἰς SP) αὐτῶν ROSPLV.
4 Niese: αὐτῶν codd.
5 Σεδεκίαν L²V Lat.

a According to Scripture Jehoiachin was a wicked king like his father, but rabbinic tradition states that through suffering he became pious.
b Unscriptural details; bibl. (2 Kings) "And Jehoiachin, the king of Judah, went out to the king of Babylon, he and
kind and just," did not think it right to suffer the
city to be endangered on his account, and removed
his mother and his relatives and delivered them to
the commanders sent by the Babylonian king, after
receiving their oath that neither these nor the city
should suffer any harm. But their pledge was not
kept for even as long as a year," for the Babylonian
king did not observe it, but commanded his men to
take captive all the young men and craftsmen in the
city and bring them in chains to him—these came to
ten thousand eight hundred and thirty-two in all —
as well as Jōachimōs with his mother and friends.
And, when they had been brought to him, he kept
them under guard, and appointed Jōachimōs's uncle
Sacchias e as king, after receiving his oath that he
would surely keep the country for him and attempt
no uprising nor show friendliness to the Egyptians.f

(2) Now Sacchias was twenty-one years old when
he took over royal power, and he was a brother of
his mother and his servants and his princes and his eunuchs
(A.V. "officers"), and the king of Babylon took him in the
eighth year of his reign."

Accession of
Zedekiah
(Sacchias).
2 Kings
xxiv. 17;
2 Chron.
xxxvi. 10.

Variant "was not kept to any of them." The detail "for even a year" is based on 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10 "at the
return of the year (A.V. "when the year was expired")
King Nebuchadnezzar sent and brought him to Babylon," etc.

According to 2 Kings xxiv. 14-16 Nebuchadnezzar took
10,000 captives, as well as the king, his family and retinue,
and 8000 warriors and craftsmen, that is more than 18,000 in
all. Josephus here combines the 10,000 first mentioned with
the 832" captives, mentioned in Jer. lii. 29, who were taken in the
18th year of Nebuchadnezzar (that is, in the reign of
Zedekiah, not Jehoiachin). Josephus omits the carrying off
of the treasures of temple and palace, 2 Kings xxiv. 13.

Bibl. Zedekiah (Ṣidqiyāhū), lxx Σεδεκία (v.l. -iā).
Scripture (2 Chron.) says merely that Nebuchadnezzar
"made him swear by God."
JOSEPHUS

τοῦ ἄδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ δικαίων καὶ τοῦ δέοντος ὑπερόπτης· καὶ γὰρ οἱ κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἦσαν ἀσεβεῖς περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ πᾶς ὀχλός ἐπ' ἔξοισίας ὑβρίζεν· ἤ ἠθελεν· διὸ καὶ ὁ προφήτης Ἰερεμίας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθὼν πολλάκις ἐμαρτύρατο, κελεύων τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀσεβείας καὶ παρανομίας καταλιπεῖν, προνοεῖν δὲ τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ μήτε τοὺς ἡγεμόνι, τῷ εἶναι ἐν αὐτοῖς πονηροῖς, προσανέχειν μήτε τοῖς ψευδοπροφήταις ἀπατῶσιν αὐτὸν πεπιστευκέναι, ὡς οὐκέτι πολεμήσει τὴν πόλιν ὁ Βαβυλώνιος καὶ ὁς Αἰγύπτιος στρατεύσουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ νικήσουσι· ταῦτα γὰρ οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγειν οὐδὲ

105 οὕτως ὀφείλοντα γενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ Σαχχίας ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν ἡκούσε τοῦ προφήτου ταῦτα λέγοντος ἐπειθέτο αὐτῷ καὶ συνῆνει πάσιν ὡς ἀληθεύουσι καὶ συμφέρον ἀυτῷ πεπιστευκέναι· διέφθειρα δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸν οἱ φίλοι καὶ διήγην απὸ τῶν τοῦ προφήτου

106 πρὸς ἀπερ ἠθελον· προεφήτευσε δὲ καὶ Ἰεσκιήλος ἐν Βαβυλώνι τὰς μελλούσας τῷ λαῷ συμφοράς καὶ γράψας ταῦτα ἐπεμήνει εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ταῖς δὲ προφητείαις αὐτῶν Σαχχίας ἡπίστησεν ἐκ τοιαῦτης

1 οἱ κατὰ τὴν ed. pr.: τὴν codd.: νέοι τὴν conj. Niese.
2 ἔξοισίας ROLV.
3 τῷ εἶναι εἶναι γὰρ MSPLV Exc.
4 Bekker: συνήδει codd.
5 συμφέρειν MSP Exc.: quasi prodesset Lat.
6 διέφθειρον RO.
7 Ὁ Zonaras: ἀκούσας rel.: om. E Lat.

*a i.e. Jehoiachin’s uncle; so Heb. and Luc. 2 Kings and Lxx 2 Chron.; according to Lxx 2 Kings Zedekiah was Jehoiachin’s son; according to Heb. 2 Chron. he was Jehoiachin’s brother.

b Josephus forgets that he has already (§ 83) given Jehoiakim’s mother’s name as Zabudah (bibl. Zebudah), 214*
Josakeimos\footnote{a} by the same mother,\footnote{b} but he was contemptuous of justice and duty,\footnote{c} for those of his own age about him were impious, and the entire multitude had licence to act as outrageously as it pleased.\footnote{d}

It was for this reason that the prophet Jeremiah came to him and solemnly\footnote{e} protested, bidding him leave off his various impieties and lawless acts, and watch over justice and neither pay heed to the leaders, because there were wicked men among them, nor put faith in the false prophets who were deceiving him by saying that the Babylonian king would never again make war on the city and that the Egyptians would take the field against the Babylonian king and conquer him. For in this, he said, they spoke falsely and these things were not to be. Now Sacchias, so long as he listened to the prophet saying these things, believed him and agreed to everything as true and that it was to his interest to have faith in him; but his friends once more corrupted him and, winning him away from the prophet, led him wherever they pleased. Ezekiel too, in Babylon, prophesied the misfortunes that were to befall the people and wrote them down and sent them to Jerusalem. But Sacchias disbelieved their prophecies for the following reason.\footnote{f} Although while according to 2 Kings Zedekiah’s mother’s name was Hamutal. He confuses Jehoiakim with his brother Jehoahaz whose mother’s name (cf. § 81 = 2 Kings xxiii. 31) was the same as Zedekiah’s mother’s.\footnote{c} Cf. § 120 note c.

\footnote{d} Cf. “2 Chron. xxxvi. 14, “And also the chiefs of the priests (xxx “the nobles and the priests”) and the people transgressed very much,” etc.

\footnote{e} Or “frequently”; but πολλάκις here seems to have the force of πολλά which, with verbs of protesting, etc., means “solemnly” in Jos.

\footnote{f} This motivation is, of course, an invention of Josephus.

not to rebel against Nebuchadnezzar.

2 Kings xxiv. 18;
2 Chron. xxxvi. 11;
Jer. xxxvii. 1 (LXX xliv. 1).
JOSEPHUS

ai'tias: tā mēn ālla pānta syμφωνούντας toūs
proφήτας ἀλλήλους⁴ εἰπεῖν συνεβη, ὡς ἦ τε πόλις
ἀλώσεται καὶ Σαχχίας αὐτὸς αἰχμάλωτος ἦσται,
dieφώνησε δὲ Ἰεζεκίλης εἰπών οὐκ ὄψεσθαι Βαβυ-
lῶνα τὸν Σαχχίαν τοῦ Ἰερεμίου φάσκοντος αὐτῷ
ὅτι δεδεμένον αὐτὸν ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἄξει βασιλεὺς.

107 καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ταὐτὸν αὐτοὺς ἑκατέρους λέγειν καὶ
περὶ ἄν συμφωνεῖν ἕδοκον ὡς οὐδ’ ἐκεῖνα ἀληθῆ
λέγουσι καταγγούσ ἡπίστησε,² καὶ τοῖς πάντες αὐτῶ
κατὰ τὰς προφητείας ἀπήντησεν, ἀπερ εὐκαιρό-
tερον δηλώσομεν.

108 (3) Τὴν συμμαχίαν δὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Βαβυ-
lωνίους ἐπ’ ἐτη ὁκτώ κατασχῶν διέλυσε τὰς πρὸς
αὐτοὺς πίστεις καὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις προστίθεται,
katalύσεις τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους ἐλπίσας, εἰ³ μετ’

109 ἑκεῖνων γένοιτο.⁴ μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ τῶν Βαβυ-
lωνίων βασιλεὺς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν
χώραν κακώσας αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ φρούρια λαβὼν ἐπ’
αὐτὴν ἤκε τὴν τῶν Ἰεροσολυμώτων πόλιν πολι-

110 ὁρκήσων αὐτὴν. ὁ δ’ Αἰγύπτιος ἄκουσας ἐν οἷς
ἐστιν ὁ σύμμαχος αὐτοῦ Σαχχίας, ἀναλαβὼν πολλὴν
dύναμιν ἤρκεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὡς λύσων
τὴν πολιορκίαν. ὁ δὲ Βαβυλώνιος ἁφίσταται τῶν
Ἰεροσολύμων, ἀπαντήσας δὲ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ

¹ συμφωνοῦντα ... ἀλλήλοις S: συμφωνοῦντα R: συμφω-

νοῦντα τοὺς προφήτας O: συμφωνοῦντα τοῖς προφήταις ἀλλήλοις
M: συμφωνοῦντα τοὺς προφήτας ἀλλήλοις P: σύμφωνα τοὺς

προφήτας ἀλλήλοις LV: consone a prophetis Lat.

² καταγγούσ ἡπίστησε Hudson: καταγγοῦς SP: γνωσ

ROMLV: ἡπίστηση Ἔ.

³ Cocceji: à M: ai rell.: àν Hudson.

⁴ Cocceji: ἐγένοντο codd.: om. Lat.
in all other respects it appeared that the prophets agreed with each other in what they said, namely that the city would be taken and Sacchias himself be made captive, still Ezekiel, in saying that Sacchias would not see Babylon, differed from Jeremiah who told him that the king of Babylon would take him there in chains. And, because they did not both say the same thing, he condemned as untrue even their statements about those things in which they seemed to agree, and refused to believe them. Nevertheless everything happened to him in accordance with their prophecies, as we shall show in a more fitting place.

(3) After maintaining his alliance with the Babylonians for eight years, Sacchias broke his treaty with them and went over to the Egyptians, hoping to overthrow the Babylonians if he joined the other side. And, when the Babylonian king heard of this, he marched against him and, after ravaging his country and taking his fortresses, he came against the city of Jerusalem itself to besiege it. But, when the Egyptian king heard of the plight of his ally Sacchias, he raised a large force and came to Judaea to end the siege. Thereupon the Babylonian king left Jerusalem and went to meet the Egyptians and,

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*a* Ezek. xii. 13 “... and I will bring him to Babylon, to the land of the Chaldaeans, yet shall he not see it though he shall die there”; Jer. xxxiv. 3 “And thou shalt not escape out of his hand but shalt surely be taken and delivered into his hand; and thine eyes shall behold the king of Babylon and thy mouth shall speak to his mouth and thou shalt come to Babylon.”

*b* Text slightly uncertain.

*c* § 141, where the two passages are harmonized.

*d* Text slightly uncertain.
The defeat of the Egyptians is an addition to Scripture, but probably based on Jer. xxxvii. 7, "... Behold, Pharaoh’s army, which is come to help you, shall return to Egypt," etc.
encountering them in battle, defeated and put them to flight and drove them out of the whole of Syria. Now, when the Babylonian king withdrew from Jerusalem, the false prophets deceived Sacchias by saying that the Babylonian king would not make war on him again and that his countrymen, whom the king had removed from their own land to Babylonia, should come back with all the vessels of the temple, of which the king had despoiled it. But Jeremiah came forward and prophesied the truth, which was the contrary of this, namely that they were doing the king a wrong and deceiving him, and that no good would come to them from the Egyptians, but that, when the Babylonian king had defeated them, he would lead an army against Jerusalem and besiege it and destroy the people by famine, carry off the survivors into captivity, plunder their possessions and, after carrying off the wealth in the temple, burn this itself and raze the city, "and we shall be slaves to him and his descendants for seventy years. At that time, by overthrowing the Babylonians, the Persians and Medes will free us from servitude to them, and, when we have been sent back by them to this land, we shall once more build the temple and restore Jerusalem." In saying these things Jeremiah was believed by most of the people, but their leaders and the impious men ridiculed him as though he

b Emended text; mss. "and would not remove his countrymen."

c The return of the vessels is an unscriptural detail.

d The Medes and Persians are not mentioned in the prophecy of Jeremiah; this detail is probably based on 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20, "... and they were servants to him [Nebuchadnezzar] and his sons until the reign of the kingdom of Persia" (lxx "the Medes").
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αυτὸν οὕτως ἐξεφαύλιζον. δόξαν δὲ αὐτῷ ποὺ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα παραγενέσθα λεγομένην Ἀναθῶθ σταδίους δὲ ἀπέχουσαν τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων εἰκοσι, συντυχὼς κατὰ τὴν οὖν τῶν ἁρχόντων τις συλλαβῶν κατέσχε, συκοφαντῶν ὡς πρὸς τοὺς Βαβυ-

115 λωνίους αὐτομολούντα. οὐ δὲ ψευδὴ μὲν ἐκεῖνον ἐλέγεν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρειν αὐτῷ, βαδίζειν δ' αὐτὸν ἐφασκέν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα. οὐ δ' οὐ πεισθέις ἀλλὰ λαβῶν2 αὐτὸν ἤγαγεν εἰς δίκην πρὸς τοὺς ἁρχόντας, ὡς ὅν πᾶσαν αἰκίαν καὶ βασάνους ὑπομείνας ἐφυλάττετο πρὸς τιμωρίαν. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα διήγεν οὕτως, ἀδίκως πάσχων τὰ προειρήμενα.

116 (4) ἔστει δ' ἐνάτῳ τῆς Σαξχίου βασιλείας καὶ ἡμέρα δεκάτη τοῦ δεκάτου μηνὸς στρατεύει τὸ δεύτερον οὗ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεύς ἐπὶ τὰ Ἰερο-

σόλυμα καὶ προσκαθίσας αὐτῇ μῆνας δικαίδεκα μετὰ πάσης πολιορκεῖ φιλοτιμίας. συνεπέθετο δὲ εἰς ταύτῳ πολιορκουμένου τοὺς Ἰεροσολύμους δύο τὰ μέγιστα τῶν παθῶν, λιμὸς καὶ φθορὰ λοιμική,

1 + καὶ RO.

2 συλλαβῶν MSPLV : vinetum Lat.

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1 Scripture at this point has "the land of Benjamin," but cf. Jer. i. 1, "The words of Jeremiah, the son of Hilkiah, of the priests who were in Anathoth in the land of Benjamin."


3 Bibl. "in the gate of Benjamin" (in Jerusalem).

4 Heb. "master of the watch" (A.V. "captain of the ward"), lxx "a man with whom he lodged." His name is given in Scripture as Irijah (Yir'iyāh).

5 This last detail is unscriptural.

6 So lxx translates Heb. sārîm (A.V. "princes"); cf. § 129 note b.

7 Or (punctuating differently) "he remained, so unjustly suffering," etc.

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were out of his mind. Now once, when he had decided to go to his native place, called Anathoth, which is twenty stades distant from Jerusalem, there met him on the road one of the magistrates, who seized and held him, falsely charging him with deserting to the Babylonians. But Jeremiah said that he was bringing a false accusation against him and asserted that he was travelling to his home. The other, however, was not convinced and took him and brought him to trial before the magistrates, at whose hands he suffered every form of indignity and ill-treatment and was kept under guard for punishment. And for some time he remained thus, suffering the unjust treatment here described.

(4) In the ninth year of the reign of Sacchias, on the tenth day of the tenth month, the king of Babylon marched a second time against Jerusalem and, encamping before it, besieged it with the utmost energy for eighteen months. And, as the inhabitants of Jerusalem were under siege, they were attacked by two of the greatest of calamities, famine and pestilence, which fell upon them severely.

* So Heb. and lxx Jer. lii. and Heb. 2 Kings; the day of the month is not given in Heb. Jer. xxxix. or in lxx Jer. xxxix. (xlvi.) and 2 Kings.

* So Heb. in all passages and most lxx mss. in 2 Kings (v. li. 12th month, 2nd month); lxx Jer. lii. 9th month.

Josephus forgets that he has already written about two campaigns against Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, the first in Jehoiakim's reign (§ 96), the second in Jehoiachin's reign (§ 99).

* Scripture states that the siege lasted from the 10th month of Zedekiah's 9th year to the 4th month of his 11th year (which equals 18 months).

* Both famine and pestilence are mentioned in Jer. xxxviii. 2, only the famine in Jer. lii. and 2 Kings.
117 ἐνσκῆψαντα σφοδρῶς. ἐν δὲ τῇ εἰρκτῇ τυχχάνων ὁ προφήτης Ἰερεμίας οὐχ ἦσύχαζεν, ἀλλ’ ἐκεκράγει καὶ ἐκήρυσσε παραιῶν τῷ πλήθει δέξασθαι τὸν Ἄβαυλώνιον ἀνοίξαντας τὰς πύλας· σωθήσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς πανοκὶ τούτο πράξαντας, εἰ δὲ μὴ, δια-

118 φθαρῆσθαι. προύλεγεν δ’ ὃς εἰ μὲν ἐπιμένοι τις ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντως ἀπολεῖται βαθέρω ἡ λιμῷ δαπανήθεις ἡ σιδήρῳ τῷ τῶν πολεμίων, εἰ δὲ φύγοι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, διαδράσεται τὸν θάνατον.

119 οὖν δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ ὄντες τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐπίστευον οἰ ταύτ’ ἀκούοντες τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ἀλλὰ μετ’ ὀργῆς ἀπῆγγελλον ἐλθόντες πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέα καὶ κατ-ηγοροῦντες ἥξιον κτείναι τὸν προφήτην ὡς μεμη-νότα καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν προκατακλώντα καὶ ταῖς τῶν χειρών καταγελαίας τὸ πρόθυμον ἐκλῦοντα τοῦ πλήθους· ἐτομον γὰρ ἐναι αὐτὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος κινδυνεύσαι, ὁ δὲ παρῆκεν’ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους φεύγειν, ἀλώσεσθαι λέγων τὴν πόλιν καὶ πάντας ἀπολεῖσθαι.

120 (5) Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπὸ χρηστότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν ἰδία παρωξύνθη, ἦν δὲ μὴ τοὺς ἡγεμόνων ἀπεχθάνεται παρὰ τοιοῦτον καμῶν ἀντιπράττων αὐτῶν τῇ προαιρέσει, τὸν προφήτην ἐφήκεν αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν ὅτι ἄν ἕλθωσιν. οἰ δὲ τούτο

1 οὖνδὲ καὶ οἱ μὲν οὖν (οὖν’ LV) SPLV: καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦ πλῆθους οὐκ Ε.
2 δὲ om. MSP: τοῦ πλῆθους LV.
3 οἱ om. LV.
4 τῶν ἡγεμόνων] οἱ δὲ (δ’ E) ἡγεμόνες LVE.
5 ἥξιον ex Lat. (poseebant) Niese: καὶ ἡτίωντο ROM: κατηκτιῶντο rell.
6 Niese: κινδυνεύσειν SPLV: pugnare Lat.: om. ROM.
7 ex Lat. Niese: ἀπειλεὶ codd.
8 πάντως MSPLV.
9 ὡς ROM.

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The prophet Jeremiah, however, who was in prison, did not remain quiet but cried his message aloud and urged the people to open the gates and admit the Babylonian king; for, he said, if they did so, they would be saved together with their families, but if not, they would be destroyed. He also foretold that anyone who remained in the city would certainly perish in one of two ways, being made an end of either by famine or by the sword of the enemy, but that anyone who fled to the enemy would escape death. Nevertheless not even though they were in these straits did those of the leaders who heard his words believe him, but went in anger and reported them to the king and, denouncing Jeremiah, asked him to put the prophet to death as a madman who was breaking down their spirit beforehand and by his predictions of disaster was weakening the ardour of the people, who, they said, were ready to risk their lives for him and their country, while the prophet was urging them to flee to the enemy, saying that the city would be taken and they would all perish.

(5) Now the king himself, because of his goodness and sense of justice, was in no way personally resentful but, in order not to incur the hostility of the leaders by opposing their wishes at such a time, he gave them leave to do as they liked with the

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*a* Emended text; mss. "threatened."

*b* Variant "certainly."

*c* Cf. § 103 where Josephus, in agreement with Scripture, describes Zedekiah as a wicked king. According to rabbinic tradition "he was so good and pious that for his sake God relinquished his purpose of returning the world to its original chaos as a punishment for the evil-doing of a wicked generation" (Ginzberg iv. 294).
έφέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν εἰρκτὴν εἰσελθόντες καὶ παραλαβόντες αὐτὸν εἰς τινα λάκκον βορβόρου πλήρη καθίσμασαν, ὅπως ἴδιω θανάτω πνυγεῖς ἀποθάνῃ. οὐ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ αὐχένος ὑπὸ τοῦ

122 πηλοῦ² περισχεθεὶς ἐν τούτοις ἦν. τῶν δ' οικετῶν τις τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τιμῇ τυγχάνων Αἰθίου τὸ γένος τὸ περὶ τὸν προφήτην πάθος ἀπήγγειλε τῷ βασιλεί, φάσκων οὐκ ὀρθῶς ταῦτα τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἤγεμόνας αὐτοῦ πεποιηκέναι καταποντίσαντας εἰς βόρβορον τὸν προφήτην καὶ τὸν διὰ τῶν δεσμῶν θανάτου πικρότερον οὔτως ἐσόμενον ἐπινοῆσαντας

123 κατ' αὐτοῦ. ταύτ᾽ ἀκούσας ο βασιλεὺς καὶ μετανοήσας ἐπὶ τῷ παραδοῦναι τὸν προφήτην τοῖς ἤγεμόσιν ἐκέλευσε τὸν Αἰθίοπα τριάκοντα τῶν βασιλικῶν παραλαβόντα καὶ σχοινία καὶ πᾶν ὁ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ προφήτου σωτηρίαν⁴ ἐπινοεῖν⁵ χρήσιμον μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀνελκύσαι τὸν 'Ιερεμίαν. ὅ δ' Αἰθίοψ παραλαβῶν οὕς ἐπετάγῃ ἀνεσπασεν ἐκ τοῦ βορβόρου τὸν προφήτην καὶ διαφήκειν ἀφύλακτον.

124 (6) Μεταπεμψαμένου δ' αὐτὸν κρύφα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὶ δύναται φράζειν αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα σημαίνεις ἐρομένου, ἔχειν μὲν ἑλεγεν, οὐ πιστευθήσεσθαι δ' εἰπὼν οὐδὲ παραινέσας

¹ usque ad Lat.: πρὸς Cocceji: ἀπὸ Niese.
² ex Lat. Cocceji: πλῆθος codd. E.
³ Ernesti: ἐν codd.
⁴ τὴν . . . σωτηρίαν ed. pr.: τῇ . . . σωτηρία codd.
⁵ ἐπινοεῖ MSP.

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ᵃ Lit. "die by his own death."
ᵇ Emended text; the ms. reading, "held fast by the multitude," is obviously corrupt.
ᶜ Josephus, unlike the lxx, takes the Heb. Ebed-melech ("servant of the king") as a noun phrase instead of a 224.
prophet. As soon as the king had given them this leave, they went into the prison, took him away and let him down by ropes into a pit full of mud in order that he might suffocate and die by his own hand, as it were. And so he remained there, held fast in the mud up to his neck. But one of the king's servants, an Ethiopian by race, who enjoyed his favour, reported the sad plight of the prophet to the king and argued that his friends and the leaders had done wrong to sink the prophet in mud and devise for him a death that would be so much more painful than one by imprisonment in chains. When the king heard this, he repented of having delivered the prophet to the leaders, and ordered the Ethiopian to take thirty of the king's men with ropes and whatever he might think of use in rescuing the prophet, and draw up Jeremiah with all haste. So the Ethiopian took the men as instructed and pulled the prophet up out of the mud and released him from confinement.

(6) Now, when the king sent for him secretly and asked him what message he could give him from God and what course he could indicate in the present circumstances, the prophet replied that he had something to say but would not be believed if he spoke personal name. Scripture adds that he was a eunuch (LXX, however, omits this detail).

* Amplification. In Scripture the Ethiopian says merely that the nobles have done wrong to leave Jeremiah to starve.
* According to Scripture the king does not instruct the Ethiopian how to release Jeremiah, but the Ethiopian takes "old cast clouts and old rags" and lets them down to Jeremiah in order that he may put them under his armpits when he is drawn up.
* Bibl. "And Jeremiah remained in the court of the prison."
ἀκουσθήσεσθαι, ""ἀλλὰ τί δὴ με¹ κακόν² εἰργασμένον ἀπολέσαι διέγνωσαν οἱ σοὶ φίλοι,"" φησί, ""καὶ ποῦ νῦν εἰσίν οἱ τὸν Βαβυλῶνιν οὐκέθ᾽ ἢμῶν ἐπιστρατεύσειν³ φάσκοντες καὶ ἀπατώντες ὑμᾶς; εὐλαβοῦμαι δὲ νῦν γε τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰπεῖν, μή με 125 κατακρίνῃς θανάτω."" τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ὅρκοις αὐτῷ δόντος ὡς ὦτε αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἀναρήσει ὦτε τοῖς ἥγεμοσιν ἐκδώσει, θαρσήσας τῇ διδομένην πίστει συνεβούλευσαν αὐτῷ παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν 126 τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις· ταῦτα δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν δι᾽ αὐτοῦ προφητευεῖν ἔλεγεν, εἰ γε βούλεται σώζεσθαι καὶ τὸν ἐφεστῶτα κίνδυνον διαφυγεῖν καὶ μήτε τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἐδαφὸς πεσεῖν, μήτε τὸν ναὸν ἐμπρησθῆναι μὴ πεισθέντα⁵ γὰρ αὐτὸν τούτων παραίτιον ἔσεσθαι τῶν κακῶν τοῖς πολίταις καὶ αὐτῷ πανοικί 127 τῆς συμφορᾶς. ὦ δὲ ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας βούλεσθαι μὲν αὐτὸς ἐφή ποιεῖν διὰ παραίνει καὶ λέγει συννοίσεων αὐτῷ γινόμενα, δεδείναι δὲ τοὺς αὐτομολήσαντας τῶν ὁμοφύλων πρὸς τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους, μὴ δια- 128 βληθεὶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ κολασθῆ. παρε-θάρσουν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ προφήτης καὶ μάτην ὑπονοεῖν τὴν τιμωρίαν ἔλεγεν· οὐδὲνος γὰρ κακοῦ πειραθῆ- σεσθαι παραδόντα⁶ τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις οὐτ᾽ αὐτὸν

¹ ἀλλὰ τί δὴ με Naber: ἀλλ᾽ ὡς δὴ μέγα M: ἀλλὰ δὴ μέγα RO: ἀλλὰ τί δὴ μέγα SPV: ἀλλὰ τὸ δὴ μέγα L.
² κακόν τι ROM.
³ ex Lat. Hudson: ἐπιστρατεύσειν codd.
⁴ ex Lat. Niese: λεγομένη codd.
⁵ ἐμπρησθῆναι μὴ πεισθέντα ex seqq. in Lat. (quod si non fieret) Hudson: ἐμπρησθέντα codd.: ἐμπρησθῆναι E: concemari Lat.
⁶ traderet civitatem Lat.
nor would his advice be listened to. "But what wrong have I done," \(a\) he asked, "that your friends have determined to destroy me, and where now are those who asserted that the Babylonian king would not march against us again, and so deceived you? \(b\) I am, indeed, afraid now to speak the truth lest you condemn me to death." But, as the king gave him his oath that he himself would neither put him to death nor deliver him to the leaders, he was encouraged by the pledge thus given \(c\) and advised him to surrender the city to the Babylonians. This, he said, God prophesied to the king through him, if, indeed, he wished to be saved and to escape the impending danger and not have the city brought down to the ground and the temple burned; for, if he disobeyed (this warning), \(d\) he would be the cause of these calamities to the inhabitants of the city and of the disaster to himself and all his house. The king, upon hearing this, said that he himself wished to do what Jeremiah advised and what he said it would be to his interest to have done, but that he was afraid of those who had deserted to the Babylonians, for he might be denounced by them to the king and punished. The prophet, however, bade him take courage, and said that his apprehension of punishment was groundless, for he should suffer no harm by surrendering to the Babylonians, neither

\(a\) Emended text; the best ms. reading, "But what great wrong have I done," omits the subject \(\mu\varepsilon\).

\(b\) This reference to the false prophets is an addition to Scripture.

\(c\) Emended text; mss. "spoken."

\(d\) The words "for if he disobeyed" are conjecturally supplied from the Lat. by Hudson. Niese suspects a lacuna after "burned."
ouτe τα τεκνα ουτε τας γυναικας, μενειν1 δε και τον
129 ναον ἀπαθη. και τον μεν Ἰερεμιλαν ταυτ εἰπόντα ὁ
βασιλεὺς ἀπέλυσε, προστάξας αὐτῷ πρὸς μηδενα
τῶν πολιτῶν ἐξενεγκεῖν τὰ δόξαντ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλα
μηδὲ τοῖς ἡγεμόνις, εἰ μαθόντες αὐτὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
μεταπεμπτον γεγονέναι πυνθάνονται τί κληθεῖσ
εἴποι πρὸς αὐτόν, φράζεω τι τούτων, ἀλλα σκηπτε-
σθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅτι δεσθείη μη ἐν δεσμῷ
130 τυγχάνειν καὶ φυλακῇ. και δὴ τούτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς
ἔλεγεν· ἐπυνθάνοντο γὰρ ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸν προ-
φήτην τί περὶ αὐτῶν ἁφίκοιτο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα
σκῆπτεσθαι.2 ταῦτα μὲν οὖντες ἑλέχθη.3
131 (viii. 1) Τῆς δὲ πολυρκίας τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων ὁ
Βαβυλώνιος ἐντεταμένος σφόδρα καὶ προθύμως
ἐκχετο· πύργους τε γὰρ μεγάλων οἰκοδομῆσας
χωμάτων, ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀνείργη τοὺς τοῖς τείχεσιν
ἐφεστῶτας, καὶ πολλὰ περὶ τὸν κύκλον ὄλον ἦγειρε
132 χώματα τοῖς τείχεσι τὸ ύψος ήσα. καρτερῶς δὲ
καὶ προθύμως ἔφερον οἱ ἐντὸς τὴν πολυρκίαν·
ἐκαμνον γὰρ οὐτε πρὸς τὸν λιμον οὔτε πρὸς τὴν
νόσον τὴν λομικήν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἐνδον ὑπὸ τούτων
ἐλαυνόμενον τῶν παθῶν, τὰς ψυχὰς ἐρρωντο πρὸς
tὸν πόλεμον, μηδὲ πρὸς τὰς ἐπινοιας τῶν ἐχθρῶν
καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα καταπληττόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἀντι-
μηχανήματα πρὸς πάντα τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων ἀντ-
133 επινοοῦντες· ώς εἰναι τὸν ὄλον ἀγώνα καὶ τοῖς
Βαβυλωνίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἰεροσολυμίταις τῆς ἄξυρτος

1 Dindorf: μένειν codd. E. 2 σκήπτεσθαι LV.
4 τε ROLV. 5 Dindorf: μήτε codd.

* The temple is not mentioned at this point (Jer. xxxviii. 17) in Scripture.

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he himself nor his children nor his wives, and that
the temple, moreover, should remain unharmed.\(^a\)
And so, after Jeremiah had spoken in this way, the
king dismissed him, ordering him not to divulge to
any of the citizens what they had decided on and
not even to say anything about these matters to the
leaders\(^b\) if they should learn that he had been sum-
moned by the king and should ask what Jeremiah
had said to him when he was called, but should pre-
tend to them that he had pleaded not to be kept in
chains and under guard. And this, in fact, was what
he did tell them. For they came to the prophet
and asked what kind of story he had made up about
them\(^c\) when he came to the king. This, then, is
what was said.\(^d\)

(viii. 1) Now the Babylonian king applied himself
very strenuously and zealously to the siege of Jeru-
salem; he built towers on great earthworks from
which he kept back those stationed on the walls,
and also erected round the whole circuit (of the city)
many earthworks equal in height to the walls. But
those within bore the siege with courage and spirit,
for they did not weaken under either famine or
disease, but, although plagued internally by these
afflictions, opposed stout hearts to the war; neither
were they dismayed at the devices and engines of
their foes, but on their side devised engines to check
all those used by the enemy, so that the contest
between the Babylonians and the people of Jeru-
salem was wholly one of cleverness and skill, one

\(^a\) Josephus here renders differently from the LXX the Heb.
sārim (A.V. "princes") which above (§ 114) he followed the
LXX in translating by δρυόντες "magistrates."

\(^b\) Text uncertain; Lat. "this is what was done."
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καὶ συνέσεως, τῶν μὲν πλέον ἐν ταύτῃ δυνηθῆναι τὴν αἰρεσιν  ὁιομένων εἶναι τῆς πόλεως, τῶν δὲ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐν  ὁυκ ἄλλω τιθεμένων ή ἐν τῷ μὴ καμεῖν μηδ’ ἀπειπεῖν ἀντεφευρίσκοντας οἴς μάταια

134 τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπελευχθῆσαι μηχανήματα. καὶ ταῦθ’ ὑπέμειναν ἐπὶ μῆνας οἰκτωκαίδεκα ἐως οὗ διεφθάρησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμου καὶ τῶν βελῶν, ἀπερ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων εἰς αὐτοῦς ἰκόντιζον οἱ πολέμιοι.

135 (2) 'Ἡρέθη δ’ ἡ πόλις ἐνδεκάτῳ ἐτεὶ τῆς Σαχχίου βασιλείας τοῦ τετάρτου μηνός τῆς ἑνάτῃ ἡμέρα. ηλλὸν δ’ οὖν οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, οῖς ἐπίστευσε τὴν πολορκίαν ὁ Ναβουχοδονόσορος· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐν 'Αραβλαθάδι διέτριβε πόλει. τὰ δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ὄνομα, εἰ τις ἐπιζητήσει γνώσα οίτινες τὰ Ἰεροσόλυμα πορθήσαντες ὑπέταξαν, ἢν Νηρεγάλασαρος, ἢ Ἀρέμαντος, Σεμέγαρος, Ναβώ-

136 σαρίς, Ἀχαράμψαρις. ἀλουσὶς δὲ τῆς πόλεως

1 τὸ πλέον Ernesti.
2 ἀναίρεσιν MSP.
3 εὐν οὐκ ἄλλω τιθεμένων] οὐκ ἐν ἄλλω τινὶ θεμένων LV.
4 ἀντεφευρίσκοντες LV: ἀντεφευρίσκοντας Naber.
5 δ’ οὖν] γοῦν SPLV.
7 ἢν Νηρεγάλασαρος conj.: ἢν Ἡρεγάλασαρος RO: Ἡρ Ἐδα-
9 Ἀρέμαντος SPLV: Arrematus Lat.
9 Ἑμέγαρος ROM: Σεμέγαρος L.
10 Ναβωσαρίς O: Μαβώσαρις M: Μαβωσάρις S: Ναβο-
11 σαρίς L: Nabusar Lat.
11 Ἀχαράμψαρις O: Ἐχαράμψαρις MV: Ἐχαράμψαρις SPL: Charamsaris Lat.

a Variant “destruction.”
b Josephus greatly amplifyes the bibl. account of the siege, probably, as Weill suggests, having in mind the siege of Jerusalem by Titus.

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side thinking that the capture of the city could be more easily effected in this way, while the other placed its hope of deliverance solely in not wearying or giving up the search for counter-devices by which the engines of their foes might be rendered useless. And thus they held out for eighteen months until they were exhausted by the famine and by the missiles which the enemy hurled at them from the towers.b

(2) The city was taken in the eleventh year of the reign of Sacchias, on the ninth day of the fourth month. And those who captured it were the commanders of the Babylonian army, to whom Nebuchadnezzar had entrusted the siege, for he himself was staying in the city of Arablatha.c As for the names of the commanders to whom the sack of Jerusalem was assigned, if anyone should desire to know them, they were Nēregalsaros, Aremantos, Semegaros, Nabōsaris and Acharampsaris.d Now the city was

e Conjectured form; mss. Arabatha, Aramathe; bibl. Riblah, lxx Ἐβλαθά, v.l. Δεβλαθά. Scripture adds (Jer. xxxix. 5) that it was in the land of Hamath. It is the modern Riblah in the valley between Mt. Lebanon and Mt. Hermon, on the right bank of the Orontes river, c. 50 miles S.W. of Hamath.

d It seems hopeless to conjecture the original forms of these names in Josephus's text in view of the confusion both in the Heb. and Gr. texts of Scripture. It may suffice to transcribe the (six) names as given in Heb. and lxx (Josephus's forms, like those of lxx, indicate that the names were divided differently in the way in which our present Heb. text gives them): Nērgal-sar'ēsēr, Samgar-nēbbō, Sars'kim, Rab-sārīs, Nērgal-sar'eṣēr (bis), Rab-mag; Μαργανασάρ καὶ Σαμαγώθ (Cod. A Νηργαλ Σασάραρ Ἐιωσαμαγώθ) καὶ Ναβοσαχάρ καὶ Ναβοσαρίς, Ναγαργανασάρ, Ῥαβαμᾶθ (cod. A Ῥαβαμάκ). According to S. Feiglin, Journal of Biblical Literature, xlv. (1926) 155, the text of Jer. xxxix. 3 should read, "... Nebuzardan, the cook, Nebushazban, the omen-priest i.e. inspector of omens), Nērgal-saresēr, the high priest (?)."
137 τῆς ἐρήμου. φρασάντων δὲ τούτῳ τινων αὐτομόλων τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις, ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον ὧρμησαν διώκειν αὐτὸν, καταλαβόντες δὲ οὐκ ἀπώθεν Ἰεριχοῦντος ἐκυκλώσαντο αὐτὸν. οἱ δὲ φίλοι καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες οἱ συμφυγόντες τῷ Σαξχίᾳ ἐπεὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐγγὺς ὄντας εἶδον, καταλιπόντες αὐτὸν διεσπάρθησαν ἄλλος ἀλλαχοῦ καὶ σώζεις ἑαυτὸν ἐκαστὸς ἐγγῷ. περι-
λειψάντα δ’ αὐτὸν σὺν ὅλιγοις ζωγρήσαντες οἱ πολέμιοι μετὰ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἒγαγον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. παραγενόμενον δ’ αὐτὸν ὁ Ναβουχοδόντος ἀσεβῆ καὶ παράσπονδον ἀπο-
kαλεῖν ἥρξατο καὶ ἀμνήμονα τῶν πρόσω πόλων, οὐς ἐποιήσατο σῶζεις αὐτῷ τὴν χώραν ὑποσχό-
139 μενος. ὥνείδιζε δὲ καὶ ἀχαριστίαν παρ’ αὐτοῦ μὲν λαβόντι τὴν βασιλείαν (Ἰωαχίμου γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐδόθην ἀφαλάμενον ἐκείνῳ δούλαι) χρησάμενος δὲ τῇ δυνάμει κατὰ τοῦ παρασχόντος: “ἄλλα μέγας,” εἶπεν, “ὁ θεός, ὅς μισήσας σοι τὸν τρόπον ὑπο-

1 τε RO. 2 ἀγνώμονα SPLV. 3 πρὸ τοῦ Cocceji. 4 ὡσεῖν Niese. 5 Naber: Ἰωακίμου ROE: Ἰακίμου M: Ἰαωάκημου SP: Ἰωακίμου L: Ἰεχωνίου L marg.: Ἰεχωῦν V: ab eius fratre Lat. 6 E: χρησάμενοι M: χρησάμενον rell.

* Or “steep valley” (?). The above translation is preferable if we assume that Josephus has in mind the scriptural detail “by way of the gate between the two walls.” According to rabbinic tradition Zedekiah tried to escape through a
taken about midnight and when Sacchias learned that the enemy commanders had entered the temple, he took his wives and children and his officers and friends and fled with them from the city through the fortified valley and through the wilderness. But, when some deserters told the Babylonians of this, they started out at dawn in pursuit of him and overtook him not far from Jericho, where they surrounded him. And, when the friends and officers of Sacchias who had fled with him saw the enemy close upon them, they abandoned him and scattered in different directions, each one determined to save himself. So Sacchias was left with only a few men round him, and the enemy captured him alive and brought him with his children and wives to the king. And, when he came before him, Nebuchadnezzar began to denounce him as an impious wretch and a violator of treaties who had forgotten the words which he had spoken earlier when he had promised to keep the country safely for him. He also reproached him for his ingratitude in having first received the kingdom from him—for Nebuchadnezzar had taken it away from Jœachim, to whom it belonged, and given it to him—and then used his power against the one who had bestowed it on him. "But," he said, "great is God who in His abhorrence of your conduct has made you fall into cave extending from his house to Jericho, cf. Ginzberg iv. 293.

Unscriptural detail. Rabbinic tradition explains that the Babylonians stumbled on Zedekiah while hunting a deer sent by God, cf. Ginzberg, ibid.

Amplification of Jer. lii. 8, "... and all his army was scattered from him."

Variant "ignored."
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140 χείριον ἡμᾶς ἔθηκε." χρησάμενος δὲ τούτοις πρὸς Σαχχίαν τοὺς λόγους τοὺς ύποὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἄνελεῖν καὶ τοὺς φίλους παραχρῆμα,1 αὐτοῦ2 τε Σαχχίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰχμαλώτων βλεπόντων, ἔπειτα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκκόψας τοῦ Σαχχίου δῆσας ἤγαγεν εἰς

141 Βαβυλώνα. καὶ ταῦτ’ αὐτῷ συνέβη, ἃ Ἱερεμίας τε καὶ Ἰεζεκίηλος προεφήτευσαν αὐτῷ, ὅτι συλληφθείς ἄχθησετι πρὸς τὸν Βαβυλώναν καὶ λαλήσει αὐτῷ κατὰ στόμα καὶ ὤψεται τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἱερεμίας εἶπε, τυφλωθεῖς δὲ καὶ ἄχθεις εἰς Βαβυλώνα ταῦτην οὐκ εἶδε, καθὼς Ἰεζεκίηλος προείπε.

142 (3) Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἰκανώς ἐμφανίσα τυναίμενα τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ φύσιν τοῖς ἁγνοούσιν εἰρήκαμεν, ὅτι ποικίλη τε ἐστι καὶ3 πολύτροπος καὶ καθ' ὄραν ἄπαντα4 τεταγμένως, ἀ τε δεὶ γενεσθαι προλέγει, τὴν τε τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἁγνοιαν καὶ ἀπιστίαν, ὥστε οὐδέν προϊδεῖν εἰάθησαν τῶν ἀποβησμένων, ἀφύλακτοι δὲ ταῖς συμφοραῖς παρεδόθησαν, ὡς ἀμήχανον αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν πείραν διαφυγεῖν.

143 (4) Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τοῦ Δαυίδου γένους βασιλεύσαντες οὕτως κατέστρεψαν τὸν βίον, εἰκοσὶ μὲν καὶ εἰς γενόμενοι μέχρι τοῦ τελευταίου βασιλέως, ἔτη δὲ πάντες βασιλεύσαντες πεντακόσια καὶ δεκατέσσαρα καὶ μήνας ἐξ καὶ ἡμέρας δέκα ἐξ5 ὄν

1 ἐκέλευσεν . . . παραχρῆμα] ἐκέλευσε καὶ τοὺς φίλους παραχρῆμα (παραχ. κ. τ. φίλους τρ. MS) δύοις MSPLVE.
2 ὀρώντος αὐτοῦ (αὐτοῦς LV) SPLVE.
3 καὶ πάντα MSPLV.
4 ἄπαντα ROL Lat.
5 δέκα ἐξ] ἐξ' VE: δέκα ἐξ L Zonaras.

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our hands." After addressing Sacchias in these terms, he ordered his sons and his friends to be put to death on the spot while Sacchias himself and the other captives looked on, and then, having put out Sacchias's eyes, he bound him in chains and took him off to Babylon. And thus there befell him what both Jeremiah and Ezekiel had prophesied to him, namely that he would be captured and brought to the Babylonian king and speak to him to his face and with his own eyes look into his eyes, which is what Jeremiah had said; furthermore, being blinded and taken to Babylon, he did not see it, as Ezekiel had foretold.

(3) These things, then, which we have related should make sufficiently clear to those who do not know, how varied and manifold is the nature of God and how those things which He foretells must come to pass, duly take place at the appointed hour, and should also make clear the ignorance and disbelief of these men, by which they were prevented from foreseeing any of these future events and, when they were delivered over to disaster, were taken off their guard, so that any attempt to escape from it was impossible for them.

(4) Thus, then, did the kings of David's line end their lives; there were twenty-one of them including the last king, and they reigned altogether for five hundred and fourteen years, six months and

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a These remarks on Nebuchadnezzar's behaviour and speech are an addition to Scripture.

b Variant "his sons to be put to death and his friends to be slaughtered (lit. "sacrificed ") on the spot."

c Cf. § 106 note a.

d Excluding Queen Athaliah (who was not of David's line).

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εἰκοσι τὴν ἀρχήν κατέσχεν ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν βασιλεὺς Σαούλος οὐκ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς φυλῆς ὑπάρχων.

144 144 (5) 'Ὁ δὲ Βαβυλώνιος πέμπει τὸν αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν Ναβουχαρδάνην¹ εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα συλήσοντα τὸν ναὸν, προστάξας ἀμα καὶ καταπρῆσαι αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὰ βασιλεία τὴν τε πόλιν εἰς ἔδαφος καθελεῖν καὶ τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν μεταστῆσαι. Ὁς γενόμενος ἐν τοῖς Ἰεροσολύμων ἐνδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Σαχχίου βασιλείας συλὰ τὸν ναὸν καὶ βαστάζει τὰ σκεῦη τοῦ θεοῦ χρυσὰ τε καὶ ἀργυρὰ καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν μέγαν λουτῆρα ὧν Σολομῶν ἀνέθηκεν, ἔτι γε μὴν τοὺς στύλους τοὺς χαλκοὺς καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν τὰς τὰ χρυσὰς τραπέζας καὶ τὰς λυχνίας. 146 βαστάσας δὴ ταῦτα ἀνέμυ τὸν ναὸν μηνὶ πέμπτῳ τῇ νομιμίᾳ ἐνδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Σαχχίου βασιλείας,

¹ Ναβουχαδάνην RO: Ναβουχαδάρνη M¹: Nabuzardan Lat.

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¹ Variant 16 days.
² Probably we should read πάρεξ ἀν εἰκοσι "exclusive of the 20 years during which," etc. If we exclude the 20 years of Saul's reign (cf. Ant. vi. 378 note f), we have here 514 years 6 months 10 days for the period between David and the destruction of the temple, which agrees with the chronology given below (§ 147) for the period between the building of the temple and its destruction, i.e. 470 years 6 months 10 days, by adding to this figure the 4 preceding years of Solomon's reign and the 40 years of David's. But the actual total of the regnal years of the kings of Judah from David to Zedekiah, as given by Josephus, appears to be 507 years 6 months 20 days reckoned as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>(Ant. vii. 389)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomon</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>(viii. 211)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehoboam</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>(viii. 264)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abijah</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(viii. 286)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asa</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>(viii. 814)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jehoshaphat</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>(ix. 44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jehoram</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(viii. 121)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahaz</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(vi. 227)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amaziah</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>(vi. 204)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzziah</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>(vi. 227)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jotham</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>(vi. 243)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahaz</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>(vi. 257)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hezekiah</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>(ix. 36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manasseh</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>(vi. 46)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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ten days; for twenty years of which time their first king Saul held the royal power though he was not of the same tribe.

(5) Then the Babylonian king sent his general Nabûzardanêš to Jerusalem to despoil the temple, and ordered him at the same time to burn down both it and the palace and to raze the city to the ground and transplant the people to Babylonia. And, when he came to Jerusalem in the eleventh year of Sacchias's reign, he despoiled the temple and carried out the gold and silver vessels of God, in particular the great laver which Solomon had set up and even the bronze pillars and their capitals, as well as the golden tables and the lampstands. And, when he had carried these out, he set fire to the temple on the new moon of the fifth month in the eleventh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ammon</th>
<th>2 years</th>
<th>(Ant. ix. 47)</th>
<th>Jehoiakim</th>
<th>11 years</th>
<th>(Ant. ix. 98)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Josiah</td>
<td>31 m.</td>
<td>(&quot;&quot;, 77)</td>
<td>Jehoiachin</td>
<td>3 mo. 10 d.</td>
<td>(&quot;,&quot;, &quot;&quot;, &quot;&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jehoaahaz</td>
<td>3 mo. 10 d.</td>
<td>(&quot;,&quot;, &quot;&quot;, 83)</td>
<td>Zedekiah</td>
<td>11 years</td>
<td>(&quot;,&quot;, 133)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total, 507 years 6 months 20 days.

Thus there is a discrepancy of about 7 years between the dead reckoning of regnal years and the summarized chronology given above. If, however, we assume that Josephus inconsistently (cf. § 143 note d) counted in the 6 years of Athaliah (Ant. ix. 142) the discrepancy is reduced to about a year. Possibly Josephus would have accounted for the remaining period by explaining that to the dead reckoning we must add 6 months for David (Ant. vii. 389) and about 5 months for Zedekiah (Ant. x. 135).

Bibl. Nebuzaradan, lxx Naḇouḏarδáv.

The golden tables are not specifically mentioned in Scripture. Moreover in Scripture the burning of the temple precedes the carrying off of the vessels.

2 Kings (Heb. and lxx) "on the 7th (Luc. 9th) day of the month"; Jer. "on the 10th day of the month." Franz Kugler, Von Moses bis Paulus, pp. 474 f., assuming Josephus to have been an expert on the calendar, gives an elaborate mathematical explanation of this discrepancy.
οκτωκαιδεκάτω δὲ τῆς Ναβουχοδονοσόρου ἐν-
ἐπρησθε δὲ καὶ τὰ βασιλεία καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατέ-
147 στρεψεν. ἕνεπρήσθη δὲ ὁ ναὸς μετὰ τετρακόσια ἐτη
καὶ ἔβδομήκοντα καὶ μήνας ἔξι καὶ δέκα ἡμέρας, ἀφ'
οὗ κατεσκενάσθη: τῇ δ' ἔξι Αἰγύπτου μεταναστάσει
tου λαοῦ τότε ἦν ἐτὴ χίλια ἐξηκονταδόυ, μήνες ἔξι,
ἡμέραι δέκα: τῷ δὲ κατακλυσμῷ μέχρι τῆς τοῦ
ναοῦ πορθήσεως χρόνος ἦν ὁ πᾶς ἐτῶν χιλίων
ἐνακοσίων πεντηκονταεπτά, μηνῶν ἔξι, ἡμερῶν
148 δέκα: ἔξι οὗ δ' ἐγεννήθη ὁ Ἄδαμος μέχρι τῶν περὶ
tοῦ ναὸς συμβάντων ἐτῆ ἐστὶ τετρακισχίλια2 πεντα-
kόσια δεκατρία,3 μήνες ἔξι, ἡμέραι δέκα. τοσοῦτον
μὲν οὖν τὸ τούτων τῶν ἔτων πλῆθος· ὅσα γε μὴν
ἐπράξῃ καθ' ἐκαστὸν τῶν συμβεβηκότων δεδηλώ-
149 καμεν. ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τοῦ Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως
κατασκάψας τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν λαὸν μετανα-
στήσας ἐλαβεν αὐχμαλώτους τὸν ἀρχιερέα Σα-

1 κατέσκαψεν (-ςε L) LVE.
2 τριακισχίλια LVE Lat. Zonaras.
3 δέκα RO.
4 γε μὴν Niese: μὴν ROLV: δὲ MSP.

a Bibl. 19th.
b Cf. § 143 note b. But according to Ant. xx. 232 the high
priesthood from Sadok to Josadak lasted 466 years. In the
latter passage Josephus has carelessly subtracted 4 years from
the 470 years of the temple's duration instead of adding 4,
since Sadok was high priest in the first year of Solomon's
reign, and the temple was built in the 4th year of his reign.
c This chronology agrees with that given in Ant. vii. 68
and viii. 61 where the interval from the Exodus to the building
of the temple is reckoned as 592 years (592 + 470 = 1062).

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year of Sacchias's reign, the eighteenth of Nebuchadnezzar's. He also burnt the palace and demolished the city. Now the temple was burned four hundred and seventy years, six months and ten days after it was built; from the migration of the people from Egypt it was an interval of one thousand and sixty-two years, six months and ten days; from the flood to the sacking of the temple the whole period of time was one thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven years, six months and ten days; and from the birth of Adam to the time when these things happened to the temple it was an interval of four thousand five hundred and thirteen years, six months and ten days. This, then, is the number of years in question; as for the events that took place (during this time), we have related them severally, each in its place. Now, when the general of the Babylonian king had demolished Jerusalem and removed the people, he took captive the high

But, as noted earlier (loc. cit.), it disagrees with the chronology given in Ant. xx. 230 and Ap. ii. 19 where the interval between the Exodus and the building of the temple is reckoned as 612 years. According to this latter figure, the interval between the Exodus and the destruction of the temple would be 1082 years.

According to this reckoning the interval from the Flood to the building of the temple would be 1487 years (1957 - 470 = 1487), which differs from the figure of 1440 years given in Ant. viii. 61. But, as noted earlier (loc. cit.), it disagrees with the chronology given in Ant. xx. 230 and Ap. ii. 19 where the interval between the Exodus and the building of the temple is reckoned as 612 years. According to this latter figure, the interval between the Exodus and the destruction of the temple would be 1082 years.

Variant 3000.

Variant 10.

Neither this figure nor the variant 3513 can be reconciled with that of 3102 years given in Ant. viii. 62 as the interval between Adam and the building of the temple (this in turn varies from the chronology given in Ant. i. 82), for, if we add to 3102 the sum of 470 years as the duration of the temple, we get 3572 years as the total interval from Adam to the destruction of the temple.

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rhoion\(^1\) kai ton met\(^2\) auton\(^2\) ierēa Sefevian\(^3\) kai touς
philasostantas to ierōn ëgmemōnas (tреiς de ësan
ouτoι) kai ton ἑπι των ὁπλιτῶν εὐνοῦχον kai touς
filous tou Σαξχίου ἑπτά kai ton γραμματέα αὐτοῦ
kai ἄλλους ëgmemōnas ἑξήκοντα, ὅσα ἀπαντᾶς meθ'
δὲν ἐσύλησε σκευῶν ἐκόμισε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα εἰς
150 'Αραβλαθαν\(^4\) πόλιν τῆς Συρίας. ὃ de βασιλεὺς τοῦ
μὲν ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐκέλευσεν ἐκεὶ
tas kefalas ἀποτεμεῖν, αὐτὸς de πάντας τοὺς
ainakalwous kai ton Σαξχίαν ἤγαγεν\(^5\) eis Baβυ-
λῶνα δέσμιον δ'' ἐπήγετο καὶ Ἰωσάδακον' τὸν
ἀρχιερέα ὄντα νῦν Σαραία τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ὃν ἀπ-
ἐκτείνει ὁ Baβυλώνιος ἐν 'Αραβλαθῆ πόλει τῆς
Συρίας, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἡμῖν δεδήλωται.
151 (6) Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ γένος διεξῆλθομεν τὸ τῶν βασι-
λέων καὶ τίνες ἦσαν δεδηλώκαμεν καὶ τοὺς χρόνους
αὐτῶν, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην καὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων
eπείν τὰ ὄνοματα καὶ τίνες ἦσαν οἱ τὴν ἀρχιερω-

\(^1\) Σὲβεον MSP: Σεβαίον RO: Σαβαίων E Zonaras: Saream Lat.
\(^2\) αὐτοῦ MSP.
\(^3\) Σοφονίαν LV: Iosadach Lat.
\(^4\) Niese: Σαλάβαθα (-av R) RO: Σαλαμαθᾶ MSP: Σαβο-
λαθᾶ LV: Arabatha Lat.: 'Ρεβλαθᾶ ed. pr.
\(^5\) ἤγαγεν om. RO.
\(^6\) δ'' om. RO.
\(^7\) Ἰωσάδακον SP: Ἰωσάδακον ML: Iosadach Lat.

\(^a\) Variants Sebeos, Sebaios (the mss. read Saraios or Sareos
below); bibl. Seraiah (Schayāh), lxx Σαραίας; cf. § 153
note e.
\(^b\) Bibl. Zephaniah (ṣephanāhû), lxx Σοφονίας, Luc.
Σαφανίας.
\(^c\) Variant “the priest with him”; the reading adopted
above agrees more closely with Scripture where Zephaniah
is called “the second priest.”
priest Saraios a and Sephenias, b the priest next to him in rank, c and the officers who guarded the temple there were three of these d—and the eunuch in charge of the soldiers and seven e friends of Sacchias and his scribe and sixty other officers, all of whom he carried off, together with the vessels he had taken as spoil, to the king at Arablatha, f a city in Syria. As for the high priest and the officers, the king ordered their heads to be cut off there, while he himself took all the captives and Sacchias to Babylon; he also carried off in chains the high priest Jōsadakos, g a son of the high priest Saraios, whom the Babylonian king had killed in Arablatha, a city in Syria, as we have already related.

(6) Since we have enumerated those who were of the royal line and have told who they were and what were the years (of their reigns), I have thought it necessary also to give the names of the high priests and tell who founded h the high priesthood in the

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a Heb. "three keepers of the threshold" (A.V. "door"; LXX "doorpost"). Josephus’s phrase, "officers who guarded the temple," may reflect the Targum’s rendering amarkelayyā "temple-trustees."

b So Jer. ; 2 Kings 5.

c Conjectured form; MSS. Salabatha, Salamatha, Sabolatha; bibl. Riblah, cf. § 135 note c.

d Bibl. Jehozadak (Yehošādaq), LXX Ἰωσαδάκ, v.l. Ἰωσαδέκ.

e Text and meaning doubtful; suggested reading “held” or “received.” But according to 1 Chron. vi. 10 (Heb. v. 36) Azariah, in the fourth generation after Zadok, “was priest in the temple which Solomon built,” apparently meaning that he was priest in Solomon’s time. This is probably why Josephus says that he will write of those “who founded the high priesthood” (if katadeιγματε here means “founded”), thus vaguely including the first four priests from Zadok, the contemporary of Solomon, to Azariah.

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2 Kings xxv. 18; Jer. lii. 24.
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152 σύνην καταδείξαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς βασιλεύσι. πρώτος μὲν οὖν Σάδωκος ἄρχιερεὺς ἐγένετο τοῦ ναοῦ, ὁν Σολομὼν ἤκοδόμησε· μετ’ αὐτόν δ’ ὁ νεός Αχιμᾶς διαδέχεται τὴν τιμήν καὶ μετὰ Αχιμᾶν Αζαρίας, τούτου δὲ Ἰωάμος, τοῦ δὲ Ἰωράμον Ἰως, μετ’ αὐτὸν δὲ Ἀξιώραμος, τοῦ δὲ Ἀξιωράμου Φιδέας, τοῦ δὲ Φιδέα Σουδαίας, τοῦ δὲ Σουδαία Ἰουνήλος, τοῦ δὲ Ἰωθάμος, Ἰωθάμου δὲ Οὔριας, Οὔρια δὲ Νηρίας, Νηρία δὲ Ωδαίας, τοῦ δὲ Σαλλούμος, Σαλλούμου δὲ Ελκίας, Ελκία δ’ Ἀζαρος, τοῦ δὲ Ἰωσάδακος ὁ αἰχμαλωτισθεῖς εἰς Βαβυλώνα. οὗτοι πάντες παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς διεδέχαντο τὴν ἁρχ-ιερωσύνην.

153 (7) Παραγενόμενος δ’ εἰς Βαβυλώνα ὁ βασιλεύς Σαχχίαν μὲν εἰχεν, ἄχρις οὖ καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐν ἑἴρκτη, θάψας δ’ αὐτὸν βασιλικῶς τὰ σκεῦη τὰ ἐκ

1 κατασχόντες ex Lat. (habuerunt) Cocceji.
2 Ἰσώ SP: Ἰσός L: Ἰσός V: Ἰσός Ε.
3 Σουδέας MLVE.
4 Ἰουνήλος MSP: Ἰουνήλος LV: Ἰουνήλος E: Hilus Lat.
5 Ωδαίας SPVE: Οὖδέας Μ.
6 Σαλλούμος RO: Σάλλουμος M: Σάλλουμως LV: Σάλ-λούμος Ε.
7 Ἀζαροακχώρ (-άκχωρ LV) E'LV: Σαβαῖος Ε²: Zaroch Lat.: post Ἀζαρος lacunam statuit Niese.
8 παιδες ROMSP.

b Bibl. Ahimaaz (‘Αχιμα’ας), Ι.Χ. Ἀχιμᾶς.
c So Ι.Χ.; bibl. Azariah (‘Αζαριά). 
d From here on Josephus’s list diverges considerably from Scripture (both Heb. and Ι.Χ.), where, after Azariah, the following names are given:

Johanan (Ἰοβανᾶν), Ἰωανᾶς
Azariah (‘Αζαριά), Ἀζαρίας
Amariah (‘Αμαριά), Ἀμαρίας

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period of the kings. The first to become high priest of the temple which Solomon built was Sadok; after him his son Achimas succeeded to the office, and after Achimas, Azarias, then his son Jōramos, next Jōramos’s son Iōs, after him Axioaramos, then Axioaramos’s son Phideas, then Phideas’s son Sūdaios, then Sūdaios’s son Jūēlos, then Jūēlos’s son Jōthamos, then Jōthamos’s son Ūrias, then Ūrias’s son Nērias, then Nērias’s son Ōdaias, then Ōdaias’s son Sallūmos, then Sallūmos’s son Elkias, then Elkias’s son Azaros, and finally Azaros’s son Jōsadakos, who was taken captive to Babylon. In every case the son succeeded his father in the high priesthood.

(7) Now, when the king came to Babylon, he kept Sacchias in prison until he died and then buried him royally, after which he dedicated to his own gods:

Ahitub (‘Aḥiṭūḥ), 'Aχειτωβ
Zadok (Ṣādōq), Σαδώκ
Shallum, Σαλώμ (v.l. Σελλούμ)
Hilkiah (Ḥilqiyāḥ), Χέλκειάς
Azariah (‘Azaryāḥ), Αζαριάς
Seraiah (Ṣeṟāyāḥ), Σαραίας
Jehozadak (Yəḥoṣāḏāk), Ἰωσαδάκ.

Still other names appear in the list given in the rabbinic chronological work Seder Olam.

* In Ant. xx. 231 Josephus mentions 18 high priests of the first temple. In the present list there are only 17. Possibly the name Saraias (bibl. Seraiah) has been accidentally omitted after Azaros (bibl. Azariah) because of the similarity.

' Scripture does not tell explicitly how Zedekiah died and was buried, but cf. the prophecy in Jer. xxxiv. 5, “But thou shalt die in peace, and with the burnings of thy fathers . . . they shall burn (A.V. adds “odours”) for thee and they shall lament thee” etc. Rabbinic tradition agrees with Josephus in stating that Zedekiah received royal burial in Babylonia, though the rabbis do not all agree as to whether Zedekiah was released from prison before or after Nebuchadnezzar’s death, cf. Ginzberg vi. 383, 428.
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tοῦ Ἰεροσολύμων συληθεύτα ναοῦ ἀνέθηκε τοῖς ἱδίοις θεοῖς, τὸν δὲ λαὸν κατώκισεν ἐν τῇ Βαβυ-
λωνίτιδι χώρα, τὸν δ' ἄρχιερεὰ ἀπέλυσε τῶν δεσμῶν.

155 (ix. 1) 'Ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς Ναβουζαρδάνης αἰχ-
μαλωτίσας τὸν τῶν Ἑβραίων λαὸν τοὺς πένητας
καὶ αὐτομόλους ἐκεῖ κατέλιπεν, ἀποδείξας αὐτῶν
ἡγεμόνα Γαδαλίαν¹ ὄνομα 'Αϊκάμου² παῖδα τῶν εὗ
γεγονότων ἐπιεικῆ καὶ δίκαιον, ἐπέταξε δ' αὐτοῖς
τὴν χώραν ἐργαζόμενοις³ τῷ βασιλεῖ τελείων⁴ φόρον
156 ὁρισμένον. 'Ιερεμίαν δὲ τὸν προφήτην λαβὼν ἐκ
τῆς εἰρκτῆς ἐπείθεν⁵ εἰς Βαβυλώνα σὺν αὐτῷ παρα-
γενέσθαι· κεκελεύθη γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως πάντ'
αὐτῷ χορηγεῖν· εἰ δὲ τούτῳ μὴ βούλεται, δηλοῦν
αὐτῷ ποὺ μένειν διέγνωκεν, ἵνα τούτῳ ἐπισταλῇ⁶
157 τῷ βασιλεί. οὗ δὲ προφήτης οὐθ' ἐπεσθαὶ ἦθελεν
οὔτ' ἀλλαχόσε που μένειν, ἡδὲς δ' εἶχεν ἐπὶ τοῖς
ἐρειπίοις τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῖς ταλαιπώροις αὐτῆς
διαζήσαι λειψάνοις. γνοὺς δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν προαίρεσιν
ὁ στρατηγός, τῷ Γαδαλίᾳ προστάξας, ὅν κατέλιπεν,
αὐτίκα πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν καὶ χορη-

1 Γαδαλίαν SP: Γοδαλίαν LVE Zonaras Lat.
2 ed. pr.: 'Ικάμου ROM: Ἰκάμου SP: Ἀχικάμου L:
'Ελικάμου V: 'Ιακώβου E: Ican Lat.
3 ἐργασαμένοις ROM.
4 τελέσειν ROMSP: om. L.
5 E: ἐπείθεν codd. ⁶ ἐπιστείλη MSP Lat.
7 Dindorf: οὔδ' MSP: οὔδὲ ROLE: οὔδ' V.

¹ Unscriptural detail (Jehozadak is meant).
² Bibl. Gedaliah (G'dalyahu), lxx Γοδολιας (cf. v.l. in
Josephus).
³ Variants Ikamos, Achikamos, etc.; bibl. Ahikam
('Aḥiqām), lxx Ἀχεικάμ.
⁴ Unscriptural details.
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the vessels taken as spoil from the temple in Jerusalem, and settled the people in the territory of Babylonia, while he released the high priest from confinement.¹

(ix. 1) As for the general Nabûzardanēs, after taking captive the Hebrew people, he left behind the poor and the deserters in the country and, appointing a governor over them, named Gadalias,² son of Aīkamos,³ who was of noble family and kind and just,⁴ he imposed upon them the payment of a fixed tribute to the king from the cultivation of the soil.⁵ Then he took the prophet Jeremiah out of prison ⁶ and tried to persuade him to go with him to Babylon, for, he said, he had been ordered by the king to provide him with everything; but, if he were unwilling, he should let him know where he had decided to remain, in order that word of this might be sent to the king. The prophet, however, neither wished to accompany him nor to dwell anywhere else, but was content to live on among the ruins of his native land and its miserable remains.⁷ When the general learned of his resolve, he commanded Gadalías, whom he left behind, forthwith to take all possible care of him and provide him with everything he might

² So Josephus interprets the bibl. phrase “serve (lxx “work for”) the king of Babylon.”
³ Cf. Jer. xl. 1, “... after Nebuzaradan, the captain of the guard, sent him (A.V. “let him go”) from Ramah (lxx “the captain of the guard from Daman,” cf. § 158 note b) where he had taken him bound in chains” etc.
⁴ Jeremiah’s refusal to leave Palestine is implied but not directly stated in Scripture. According to one rabbinic tradition Jeremiah went with the captives and accompanied them as far as the Euphrates where he left them to return to Palestine, cf. Ginzberg iv. 310 ff., vi. 390 ff.
According to Scripture (Jer. xl. 5) Nebuzaradan himself provides Jeremiah with food.

The variant which (after "remained") adds "to Dana" is obviously corrupt; it seems to be derived from the lxx reading of Ramah in Jer. xl. 1, cf. § 156 note f.
need, and, having presented him with valuable gifts, he let him go. And so Jeremiah remained in the country, in a city called Masphatha, and urged Nabûzardanes to release, at the same time as himself, his disciple Baruch, the son of Nēros, who came of a very distinguished family and was exceptionally well instructed in his native tongue.

(2) Then Nabûzardanes, having disposed of these matters, set out for Babylon. But, when those who had fled from Jerusalem while it was being besieged and had scattered throughout the country, heard that the Babylonians had withdrawn, leaving behind some few survivors in the country round Jerusalem and some people to cultivate this land, they gathered together from all parts and came to Gadalias at Masphatha. Their leaders were Jōadhēs, the son of Karias, and Sareas and Jōazanias and some others in addition to these, while there was one from the royal family, a certain Ismaēlos, a wicked and very crafty man, who had fled from Jerusalem during the siege to Baaleim, the king of the Ammanites, and had stayed with him during all that time. Accord-
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161 τούτοις τοῖς γενομένοις αὐτοῦ Γαδαλίας ἔπεισε μένειν αὐτίκα μηδὲν δεδιότας τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους: γεωργοῦντας γὰρ τὴν χώραν οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι δεινόν. ταῦτα ὀμνὺς αὐτοῖς διεβεβαιοῦτο καὶ προστάτην αὐτὸν ἔχειν λέγων, ὥστε εἰ τις ἐνοχλοῦτε τεῦξεσθαι

162 τῆς προθυμίας: καὶ συνεβούλευε κατοικεῖν εἰς ἧν ἔκαστος βουλεῖν πόλιν ἀποστέλλειν τε μετὰ τῶν ἱδίων καὶ ἀνακτίζειν τὰ ἑδάφη καὶ κατοικεῖν· προεῖπε τε παρασκευάζεσθαι αὐτοὺς, ἦς ἐτι καίρος ἐστι, σίτον2 καὶ ὅμοι καὶ ἔλαιον, ὅπως ἔχωσι διὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος τρέφεσθαι. ταῦτα διαλεχθεῖσ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπέλυσε3 τῆς χώρας εἰς ὁν ἔκαστος ἐβούλετο τόπον.

163 (3) Διαδραμοῦσης δὲ φήμης εἰς τὰ περὶ τῆν 'Ιουδαίαν ἔθνη, ὅτι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς παρ' αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας Γαδαλίας ἐδείξατο φιλανθρώποις καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτοῖς γεωργοῦσι κατοικεῖν ἐφῆκεν, ἐφ' ὧν τελείω4 φόρον τῷ Βαβυλώνῳ, συνέδραμον αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸν Γαδαλίαν καὶ τὴν χώραν κατώκησαν.

164 κατανοήσαντες δὲ τὴν χώραν5 καὶ τὴν τοῦ Γαδαλίου χρηστότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν 'Ἰωάννης καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἑγεμόνες ὑπερηγάτησαν αὐτὸν καὶ Βαάλιμον

2 + τε SP.
3 + διὰ ROM: + διάγειν SP: + διάγει διὰ LVE.
4 Niese: τελέσειν ROMSPE: τελέσωσι L: τελέσουσι V.
5 καὶ αὐτοὶ MSP: omnes Lat.

Text slightly uncertain. The detail (sending others) is unscriptural.
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ingly, when they arrived there, Gadalias persuaded them to remain there for the present without any fear of the Babylonians, for, he said, if they worked the land they would suffer no harm. These assurances he confirmed by giving them his oath and telling them that they should have him as their protector, so that, if anyone molested them, they would find him ready to help. And he advised them to settle down in the cities, each wherever he chose, and to send others a along with their own men and rebuild on the foundations and live there; he also warned them, while there was still time, to prepare stores of grain, wine and oil in order to have food throughout the winter. Having spoken to them in this manner, he dismissed them, each to whatever place in the country he chose.

(3) Now, when a rumour was spread among the nations round Judaea that Gadalias had received with friendliness those of the fugitives who came to him, and had permitted them to settle down and work the land on condition of paying tribute to the Babylonian king, they b too came together to Gadalias and settled on the land. And, when they observed (the nature of) the land c and the kindness and friendliness of Gadalias, Joannes d and the leaders with him came to feel a very great affection for him e and

b Josephus's language is decidedly careless; by "they" he means the Jewish fugitives among the surrounding nations, not these nations themselves.

Text uncertain; Lat. renders "observed that the land was ruled in peace." For χώραν "land" Naber conjectures χάριν "graciousness" (of Gedaliah).

c Bibl. Johanan: he is called Jôadèh above, §160; cf. ote ad loc.

d Unscriptural detail.
τὸν τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλέα ἔλεγον πέμψαι· Ἰσμάήλου ἀποκτενοῦντα αὐτὸν δόλῳ καὶ κρυφώς, ὡς αὐτὸς ἀρχὴ τῶν Ἰσραηλίτῶν· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὸν
165 ἐκ τοῦ γένους τοῦ βασιλικοῦ. Ῥύσεσθαι γε μὴν ἔλεγον αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐφὴ κτείναι τὸν Ἰσμάήλου, ὡς οὐδενὸς γνωσμομένου· δεδιέναι γὰρ ἐφασκόν μὴ φονευθεῖς αὐτὸς ὑπ’ ἐκείνου παντελῆς ἀπώλεια γένηται τῶν ὑπολειμμένων τῆς
166 τῶν Ἰσραηλίτῶν ἱσχύος. ὁ δ’ ἀπιστεῖν αὐτοῖς ὤμολογεὶ κατ’ ἀνδρός εἰπε πεπονθότος ἐπιβουλὴν τουαῦτην ἐμφανίσασιν· οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς εἶναι παρὰ τηλικαύτην ἐρημίαν ὃν ἠχρηζε μὴ διαμαρτόντα οὖτως πονηρὸν εἰς τὸν εὐρεγετήσαντα καὶ ἀνόσιον εὐρεθήναι, ώσθ’ ὡς μὲν ἄδικημα τὸ μὴ ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἐπιβουλεύσασθαν σώσασθαι σπουδάζειν, αὐτὸν αὐτό-
167 χειρα Ἰησοῦν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ εἰ ταῦτ’ ἀληθῆ δεὶ δοκεῖν, ἀμενον ἐφασκέν ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου μᾶλλον, ἡ καταφύγοντα πρὸς αὐτόν ἀνθρωπόν καὶ πιστεύσαντα τὴν ἰδιὰν σωτηρίαν καὶ παρακαταθέμενον αὐτῷ διαφθείραι.
168 (4) Καὶ ὃ μὲν Ἰωάννης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν ἑγεμόνων μὴ δυνηθέντες πείσαι τὸν Γαδαλίαν ἀπῆλθον. χρόνων δὲ διελθόντος ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα παραγίνεται πρὸς Γαδαλίαν εἰς Μασφαθαν πόλιν Ἰσμάήλος μετ’ ἀνδρῶν δέκα, οὓς λαμπρὰ τραπέζῃς

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1 E: πέμψεως ROMSP Lat.: πέμψεως LV.
3 LV: μὲν τῷ rell.: ἦν Dindorf.
4 + δὲ codd., om. Dindorf.

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b Baalis’s motive is an unscriptural detail.
told him that Baalimos, the king of the Ammanites, had sent Ismaelos to kill him by treachery and in secret, in order that Ismaelos might rule over the Israelites, for he was of the royal line. They would, however, save him from the plot, they said, if he allowed them to kill Ismaelos, as no one would know of it. For they were afraid, they declared, that, if he were murdered by Ismaelos, it would mean the complete destruction of what remained of the Israelites' strength. But he confessed that he did not believe them when they accused a man who had been well treated of forming such a plot, for, he said, it was not likely that a man who had not wanted for anything in the midst of so great a scarcity should be found so base and ungrateful to his benefactor as to seek to kill him with his own hands when it would be a wicked thing in itself for Ismaelos not to be anxious to save him if he were plotted against by others. In any case, he said, even if he must believe their words to be true, it was better for him to die by the hands of Ismaelos than to put to death a man who had taken refuge with him and had entrusted his very life into his hands for safe keeping.

(4) And so Joannēs and those of the leaders who were with him went away without being able to convince Gadalias. But, when a period of thirty days had elapsed, Ismaelos came with ten men to Gadalias at the city of Masphatha, where he enter-

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* In the preceding passage Josephus greatly amplifies the brief statement of Gedaliah in Scripture, "Thou shalt not do this thing; for thou speakest falsely of Ishmael."

* Bibl. "in the 7th month." The medieval Jewish commentator Kimchi, like Josephus, takes this to mean a month after Gedaliah's statement to Johanan, although Scripture does not indicate how long the interval was.
kaι εξενίοις υποδεξάμενος εἰς μέθην προήχθη, φιλο-
φρονούμενος τὸν Ἰσμάήλον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ.
169 θεασάμενος δ' αὐτὸν οὖτως ἐχοντα καὶ βεβαιτι-
σμένον εἰς ἀναισθησίαν καὶ ὑπον ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης,
ὁ Ἰσμάήλος ἀναπηδήσας μετὰ τῶν δέκα φίλων
ἀποσφάτει τὸν Γαδαλίαν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κατα-
κειμένους ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ. καὶ μετὰ τὴν τούτων
ἀναίρεσιν ἐξελθὼν νυκτὸς ἀπαντας φονεύει τοὺς ἐν
τῇ πόλει Ἰουδαίους καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων
170 καταλειφθέντας ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ μετὰ δῶρων ἥκον πρὸς Γαδαλίαν τῶν ἀπὸ
tῆς χώρας ὀγδοίκοντα, μηδενὸς τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν
ἐγνωκότος. ἱδὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἰσμάήλος εἰσω τε
αὐτοὺς1 καλεὶ ως πρὸς2 Γαδαλίαν, καὶ παρελθόντων
ἀποκλείσας τὴν αὐλὴν3 ἐφόνευσε καὶ τὰ σάματα
αὐτῶν εἰς λάκκων τινὰ βαθὺν, ὡς ἀν ἀφανῆ γένοιτο,
171 κατεπόντισε. διεσώθησαν δὲ τῶν ὀγδοίκοντα τοῦ-
tων ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὴ πρότερον ἀναίρεθαιν παρεκά-
λεσαν πρὶν ἡ τὰ κεκρυμμένα ἐν τοῖς ἄγροις αὐτῷ
παραδώσων4 ἐπιπλά τε καὶ ἐσθήτα καὶ σῖτον. τεῦτ
ἀκούσας ἐφείσατο τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων Ἰσμάήλος.
172 τοῦ δ' ἐν τῇ Μασσαφαθα' λαὸν σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ νηπίοις
ἡχιμαλώτισεν, ἐν ὦς καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Σαχχίου

1 αὐτοὺς om. LVE.
2 ως πρὸς ex Lat. Niese: πρὸς codd. E.
3 αὐλὴν E: αὐλεῖν Niese.
4 παραδώσων ROSPL.

a Scripture says nothing of a splendid banquet or the
intoxication of Gedaliah; cf. Jer. xli. 1-2, "... they ate
bread together in Mizpah. Then arose Ishmael, the son of
Nethaniah, and the ten that were with him and smote
Gedaliah" etc.

b Josephus omits the scriptural detail that they were in

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tained them with a splendid banquet and presents and, in his cordial reception of Ismaëlos and those with him, went so far as to become drunk. Seeing him in this condition, sunken into unconsciousness and a drunken sleep, Ismaëlos sprang up with his ten friends and slaughtered Gadalias and those reclining with him at the banquet table; after slaying them, he went out by night and murdered all the Jews in the city and the soldiers who had been left there by the Babylonians. But on the following day eighty of the people of the country came with gifts for Gadalias, for no one of them knew what had happened to him. And, when Ismaëlos saw them, he invited them in as if to see Gadalias; then, when they were inside, he closed the gates of the court and murdered them and cast their bodies into the bottom of a deep pit, that they might not be seen. But of these eighty men some were saved by pleading that they might not be killed before they should deliver to him the implements and clothing and grain that were hidden in their fields. When Ismaëlos heard their plea, he spared these men. But the people in Masphatha he took captive with their wives and young children; among them were the daughters of King Sacchias himself, whom mourning; moreover Scripture says that they brought gifts for the temple, not for Gedaliah.

* "as if" is supplied conjecturally.

* Lit. "closed off the court," but this implies closing the gates, as in the variant. Scripture says that he slew them "when they came into the midst of the city."

* Josephus omits the scriptural detail that this pit had been dug by Asa to prevent Baasha's invasion of Judah.

* 10, according to Scripture.

* Bibl. "treasures in the field, of wheat, barley, oil and honey."
Ουγατέρας, ὁ Ναβουζαρδάνης ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων στρατηγὸς παρὰ Γαδαλία καταλείπει. τἀῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸν Ἀμμαντῶν βασιλεὰ.

173 (5) Ἀκούσας δ’ ὁ Ἰωάννης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἡγεμόνες τὰ ἐν τῇ Μασσαφάν πεπραγμένα ὑπὸ Ἰσμαήλου καὶ τοῦ Γαδαλίου θάνατον ἡγανάκτησαν, καὶ τοὺς ἵδιους ἐκαστὸς παραλαβὼν ὁπλίτας ὀρμησαν πολεμήσοντες τὸν Ἰσμαήλου καὶ καταλι-174 βάνους αὐτὸν πρὸς τῇ πηγῇ ἐν Ἰβρώνι. οἱ δ’ ἀἴχμαλωτισθέντες ὑπὸ Ἰσμαήλου τὸν Ἰωάννην ἱδόντες καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας εὐθύμως διετέθησαν, βοήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἥκειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες, καὶ κατα- λιπόντες τὸν αἴχμαλωτισάντα πρὸς Ἰωάννην ἀν- εχώρησαν. Ἰσμάήλους μὲν οὖν μετ’ ἀνδρῶν ὅκτω 175 φεύγει πρὸς τὸν τῶν Ἀμμαντῶν βασιλεὰ. δ’ ὁ Ἰωάννης παραλαβὼν οὐς ἀνέσωσεν ἐκ τῶν Ἰσμαή- λου χειρῶν καὶ τοὺς εὐνούχους καὶ τὰς γυναίκας καὶ τὰ νῆσια εἰς τινα τόπον Μάνδρα λεγόμενον παραγίνεται. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐπ-έμεινεν αὐτοῦ, διεγνώκειαν δ’ ἐκείθεν ἀραντες εἰς Ἀγυπτοῦ ἐλθεῖν, φοβούμενοι μὴ κτείνωσυν αὐτοὺς οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι μείναντας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ὑπὲρ Γαδαλία τοῦ κατασταθέντος ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνος ὀργε- σθέντες πεφονευμένου.

176 (6) ὁ Οὐντών δ’ ἐπὶ ταῦτας τῆς βουλῆς προσίστω Ἰερεμία τῷ προφήτῃ Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ Καριοῦ καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ παρακαλοῦντες δεηθῆναι

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1 τὰ ἐν τῇ om. ROE. 2 τὰ πεπραγμένα ROSP.
4 Niese: αὐτοῖς codd.
5 Μάνδραν LVE: caulas Lat.
6 ὑπέμεινεν SP.

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Nabūzardānēs, the Babylonian general, had left with Gadāliās. Having carried out these crimes, he came to the king of the Ammanites.

(5) When Jōannēs and the leaders with him heard of the things done at Masphatha by Ismaēlos and of the death of Gadāliās, they were very indignant and, each taking his own soldiers, they set out to make war on Ismaēlos, and came upon him at the spring in Ibrōn. But, when those who had been taken captive by Ismaēlos saw Jōannēs and the leaders, they were filled with joy at the thought that they had come to help them and, deserting their captor, they went over to Jōannēs. And so Ismaēlos fled with eight men to the king of the Ammanites. But Jōannēs took those whom he had saved from Ismaēlos’s hands and the eunuchs and women and young children, and came to a certain place called Mandra. And there he remained for that day until they decided to depart from there and go to Egypt, fearing that the Babylonians might kill them, if they remained in the country, in their wrath over the murder of Gadāliās who had been appointed by them as governor.

(6) While they were considering this plan, Jōannēs, the son of Karias, and the leaders with him approached the prophet Jeremiah and urged him to

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*Variant Chebrôn; bibl. Gibeon, lxx Γαβαών. A similar slip of Ibrōn or Chebrôn (=bibl. Hebron) for Gabaōn (=bibl. Gibeon) occurs in Ant. viii. 22.

b The name means “cattle-pen.” Dr. Thackeray, Josephus, the Man, etc., p. 89 note, suggests that Josephus read Ταγρόθ Κιμχαμ “cattle-pens of Kimham” in the Heb. of Jer. xli. 17 where our Masoretic text reads “Gerōth Kimham (Targum and A.V. “habitation of Kimham”) near Bethlehem”; lxx transliterates the Heb. name as Γαβαρω-χαμάα, v.l. γῇ Βηρωθχαμάαμ.
JOSEPHUS

tou theou opws amhxanovous autouis peri tou ti xrei poiein toui autois ypodeixi, ompsantes poijseun
177 o ti an autois 'Iereimias eipt. ypoxomemon de tou prophyton diakonisein autois pros ton theon synevhei metata deka himeras autou fanenta ton theon eitein dhlwsai 'Iwann kai tois allois hgemosi kai tw laoi panti oti menein me autous en ekeini th chora parestein kai pronoian exei kai thrissi para toin Babelonin ouis dediason aptheis, poroeumenois de eis Aignpton apoleiwei1 kai tauata2 diathisei3 orgyytheis, 'a kai touto adelphous auton4
178 emproothen oidaite pepoibotas.'5 tauata eiwn twi 'Iwann kai twi laoi ton theon autois prolegenin prophythis ouk epistheineto, hos kai etonothi thn ekewn mouein autous en thi chora kellein, charizomenon de Baroukhoi twi idioi maththi katiameude- sthai men toin theou, peithein de meinein autodi, ws an 179 upo toin Babelonin diaspharwsi. parakoynas oin o te laos kai 'Iwannh ths ton theou sum- boulias,6 hno autois dia tov prophyton parhnevein, aperein eis thn Aignpton anwv kai ton 'Iereimian kai ton Baroukhon.

180 (7) Genomewn de auton ekiei simaivei to theiwn twi prophythi melonta stratevnein epi tous Aignu- ptious ton basildea ton Babelonin, kai proeipein ekelleu7 twi laoi thn te alwson ths Aignpton, kai

1 P2: apoltheiow R: apoleiheiv rell. Lat.
2 Niese: tauta codd. Lat.
3 P2: diathseiv rell. Lat.
4 Niese: autwn codd. E Lat.
5 patontas SPLV.
6 sumpaxias SP.
7 ekelleue LVE.

a This last clause is apparently based on Jer. xlii. 18, "... as mine anger and my fury have been poured forth
entreat God to reveal to them what they should do, for they were unable to decide this, and they swore that they would do whatever Jeremiah told them. The prophet thereupon promised to use his good offices with God on their behalf, and after ten days it happened that God appeared to him and told him to announce to Joannēs and the other leaders and all the people that if they remained in that country He would be with them and take care of them and preserve them unharmed from the hands of the Babylonians whom they feared; but, if they set out for Egypt, He would abandon them and in His anger visit upon them the same treatment "which, as you know, your brothers suffered before you." These things, said the prophet to Joannēs and the people, God foretold to them; however they did not believe that it was at God's command that he bade them remain in the country but that to please Baruch, his own disciple, he was belying God and trying to persuade them to remain there in order that they might be destroyed by the Babylonians. And so the people and Joannēs disregarded the counsel of God, which He had given them through the prophet, and departed for Egypt, taking both Jeremiah and Baruch.

(7) But, when they came there, the Deity revealed to the prophet that the king of Babylonia was about to march against the Egyptians, and He bade the prophet foretell to the people that Egypt upon the habitants of Jerusalem, so shall my fury be poured forth upon you," etc.

b Variant "alliance."

c To the city of Tahpanhes, according to Scripture.

d Josephus omits the symbolism of the stones which God commands Jeremiah to hide, Jer. xliii. 9 ff.
JOSEPHUS

ὅτι τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποκτενεῖ, τοὺς δὲ αἰχμαλώτους
181 λαβὼν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἡγεί. καὶ ταῦτα συνέβη· τῶν
gὰρ πέμπτω τῆς Ἰεροσολύμων πορθήσεως ἦτει, ὦ
ἔστι τρίτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν τῆς Ναβουχοδονοσόρου
βασιλείας, συμπεριέχει Ναβουχοδονόσορος ἐπὶ τὴν
κοίλην Συρίαν, καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτὴν, ἐπολέμησε
182 καὶ Μωαβίταις καὶ Ἀμμανίταις. 2 ποιησάμενος δὲ
ὑπῆκοα ταῦτα τὰ ἐθνή ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Αἰγυπτον
καταστρεψόμενος αὐτὴν, καὶ τὸν μὲν τὸτε βασιλέα
κτείνει, καταστήσας δὲ ἐτερον τους ἐν αὐτῇ πάλιν
Ἰουδαίους αἰχμαλωτίσας ἤγαγεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα.
183 καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἐβραίων γένος ἐν τουτῶν τελεί γενό-
μενον παρελήφαμεν δῖς ἐλθὼν3 πέραν Ἑβρατοῦ·
ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων μὲν γὰρ ἔξεπεσεν ὁ τῶν δέκα φυλῶν
λαὸς ἀπὸ Σαμαρείας βασιλεύοντος αὐτῶν4 ὤσον,
ἐπείτα ὁ τῶν5 δύο φυλῶν ὑπὸ Ναβουχοδονοσόρου
τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλώνων καὶ Χαλδαίων βασιλέως, δὲ
184 ὑπελείφθη τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων ἀλόντων. Σαλμα-
νάσσης6 μὲν οὖν ἀναστῆσας τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας κατ-
ἀκισσεν ἀντ’ αὐτῶν τὸ τῶν Χουθαίων ἔθνος, οἱ
πρότερον ἐνδοτέρῳ τῆς Περσίδος καὶ τῆς Μηδίας
ἥσαν, τότε μείνοι Σαμαρείς εκλήθησαν τὴν τῆς
χώρας εἰς ἣν κατωκίσθησαν προσηγοριαν ἀνα-
λαβόντες· ο ὁ δὲ τῶν Βαβυλώνων βασιλεὺς τὰς δύο

1 Ναβουχοδονόσορος om. SP: ο αὐτός V.
2 Μωαβίταις καὶ Ἀμμανίταις RO: Μωαβίταις καὶ Ἀμμανίταις
(΄Αμμ. κ. Μωαβ. transp. LVE Latin Zonaras) rell. E Lat.
Zonaras.
3 δ DISCLAIMS] δἰελθὼν ME: εἰσελθὼν δὲ RO: transisse Lat.:
μετενεχθὲν Zonaras.
4 αὐτῶν om. Hudson.
5 ὁ τῶν Cocceji: τῶν codd.
6 ex Lat. (Salamanass) Niese: Σαλμανασάρης ROMPVE:
Σαλμανασάρης SL.
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would be taken and that the Babylonian king would kill some of them and would take the rest captive and carry them off to Babylon. And so it happened; for in the fifth year after the sacking of Jerusalem, which was the twenty-third year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuchadnezzar marched against Coele-Syria and, after occupying it, made war both on the Moabites and the Ammanites. Then, after making these nations subject to him, he invaded Egypt in order to subdue it, and, having killed the king who was then reigning and appointed another, he again took captive the Jews who were in the country and carried them to Babylon. And so, as we have learned from history, the Hebrew race twice came to such a pass as to go beyond the Euphrates. For the people of the ten tribes were driven out of Samaria by the Assyrians in the reign of Osēēs, and, once again, the people of the two tribes who survived the capture of Jerusalem were driven out by Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylonia and Chaldaea. Now, when Salmanassēs removed the Israelites, he settled in their place the nation of Chuthaeans, who had formerly lived in the interior of Persia and Media and who were then, moreover, called Samaritans because they assumed the name of the country in which they were settled. But the king of

* According to Scripture it was Nebuzaradan who carried off the last group of captives in the 23rd year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. Josephus's statement about the conquest of the Moabites and Ammonites is based on the prophecies of Jeremiah, cc. xlv-xlil (lx i, xxvi-xxx). For Nebuchadnezzar's conquest of Egypt he probably used Berosus as a source, cf. §§ 220 ff.

* Conjectured form; mss. Salmanas(s)arēs; bibl. Shalmaneser; cf. Ant. ix. 259 note i.

* Cf. Ant. ix. 288 ff.
JOSEPHUS

φυλάς εξαγαγὼν οὐδὲν ἐθνὸς εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν κατόκισε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔρημος ἡ Ἰουδαία πάσα καὶ Ἰεροσόλυμα καὶ ο ναὸς¹ διέμεινεν ἐτεσίν 185 ἐβδομήκοντα. τὸν δὲ σύμπαντα χρόνον, δ'² ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν αἰχμαλωσίας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν δύο φυλῶν ἀνάστασιν διελήλυθε,³ ἐκατὸν ἐτη καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ μήνας ἐξ καὶ δέκα ήμέρας συνεβη γενέσθαι.

186 (x. 1) Ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἁβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς Να-βουθοδονόσορος τοὺς εὐγενεστάτους λαβὼν τῶν Ἰουδαίων παῖδας καὶ τοὺς Σαχχίου τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν συγγενεῖς, οἱ καὶ ταῖς ἀκμαῖς τῶν σωμάτων καὶ ταῖς εὐμορφίαις τῶν ὑφεων ἦσαν περίβλεπτοι, παιδαγωγοὶ καὶ τῇ δ' αὐτῶν θεραπείᾳ παρα- 187 δίδωσι, ποιήσας τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐκτομίας· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τοὺς ἕκ τῶν⁴ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ὅσα κατεστρέψατο ληφθέντας ἐν ὠρᾷ τῆς ἡλικίας διαθεῖς, ἔχορηγει μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης αὐτοῦ εἰς δίαιταν, ἐπαιδευὲ δὲ καὶ ἐπιχώρια καὶ τὰ τῶν Χαλδαίων ἐξεδίδασκε γράμματα· ἦσαν δὲ οὕτωι σοφίαν ἴκανοι

¹ λαὸς ROMSP.
² ὅσοι SP.
³ Niese: ἐληλύθει codd. E.
⁴ ἐκ τῶν om. ROM: ἐκ om. SP.

¹ Whether we reckon the lower limit of this interval as the deportation in the 11th year of Zedekiah’s reign (§ 135) or that which took place 5 years later (§ 181) the chronology is inconsistent with that implied earlier (cf. § 143 note b). According to Ant. ix. 278 the Israelite deportation took place in the 7th year of Hezekiah. The sum of regnal years for the rest of Hezekiah’s reign and those of his successors is 132 years 6 months 20 days. There is thus a discrepancy of about 2 years (or 7 years if we take the last deportation, mentioned in § 181, as the lower limit). For various
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Babylonia, when he carried off the two tribes, did not settle any nation in their place, and for this reason all of Judaea and Jerusalem and the temple remained deserted for seventy years. Now the entire interval of time from the captivity of the Israelites until the deportation of the two tribes amounted to one hundred and thirty years, six months and ten days. 

(x. 1) Then Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian king, took the Jewish youths of noblest birth and the relatives of their king Sacchias who were remarkable for the vigour of their bodies and the comeliness of their features, and gave them over to tutors to be cared for by them, making some of them eunuchs; this same treatment he also gave to those taken in the flower of their age from among the other nations which he had subdued. And he supplied them with food from his own table and had them educated and taught the learning of both the natives and the Chaldaes. 

And these youths theories as to the source of Josephus's chronology here see Weill's note ad loc. (which is not very helpful). It may be added that according to modern reckoning the interval between the two great deportations is about 135 years (722/1–587/6 B.C.).

b Bibl. "certain of the Israelites of the king's seed."

c Josephus, like the rabbis (cf. Ginzberg vi. 415), bases this statement (not found in the book of Daniel) on the prophecy of Isaiah xxxix. 7 =2 Kings xx. 18 (cf. § 33). Rabbinic tradition adds that Daniel and his companions mutilated themselves to prove their chastity in the face of false charges brought against them by enemies.

d Josephus here uses "Chaldaes" not as an ethnic name but as the name of a class of wise men. Weill, however, renders "the native traditions and the Chaldaean literature." Scripture has "the learning (lit. "book") and language of the Chaldaes."
JOSEPHUS

188 peri ἦν ἐκέλευε διατρίβειν. ἦσαν δ' ἐν τούτοις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Σαχχίου γένους τέσσαρες καλοὶ τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τὰς φύσεις, ὅτι δὲ μὲν Δανίηλος ἐκαλεῖτο, ὁ δὲ Ἀνανίας, ὁ δὲ Μισάηλος, ὁ δὲ τέταρτος Ἀζαρίας. τούτους ὁ Βαβυλώνιος μετωνόμασε καὶ χρῆσαντι προσέταξεν ἑτέροις ὁνόμασι. καὶ τὸν μὲν Δανίηλον ἐκάλουν Βαλτάσαρον, τὸν δ' Ἀνανίαν Σεδράχην, Μισάηλον δὲ Μισάχην, τὸν δ' Ἀζαρίαν Ἀβδεναγώ. τούτους ὁ βασιλεὺς δι' ὑπερβολὴν εὐφυίας καὶ σπουδῆς τῆς περὶ τὴν παϊδευσιν τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ σοφίας ἐν προκοπῇ γενομένους εἰχεν ἐν τιμῇ καὶ στέργων διετέλει.

189 (2) Δόζαν δὲ Δανίηλω μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν σκληραγωγεὶν ἐαυτὸν καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης ἐδεσμάτων ἀπέκειταὶ καὶ καθὸλου πάντων τῶν ἐμψύχων, προσελθὼν Ἀσχανὴ τῷ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτῶν ἐμπεπιστευμένῳ εὐνοῦχῳ, τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτοῖς κομιζόμενα παρεκάλεσε αὐτοῖς ἀναλίσκειν λαμβάνοντα, παρέχειν δ' αὐτοῖς ὀστρια καὶ φοίνικας εἰς διατροφὴν καὶ εἰ τῷ τῶν ἐμψύχων ἐτερον βούλουστο πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τοι-

1 Μίσαχην Μ: Μίσαχον SP Exc.: Μισάχην Ε.
2 τῶν γραμμάτων om. RO.
3 ἐπιτετραμμένῳ LVE.

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a Cf. § 186 note b. According to some rabbis Daniel's companions were not of the royal line, cf. Ginzberg vi. 414. Of both Daniel and his companions Scripture here (Dan. i. 6) says that they were "of the sons of Judah."

b Gr. Δανιήλ; Heb. Dani'el, lxx and Theod. Δανιήλ.

c So lxx and Theod.; bibl. Hananiah (Hananyâh).

d Bibl. Mishael, lxx Μισαήλ, Theod. Μεισαήλ.

e So lxx and Theod.; bibl. Azariah (Azaryâh).

f According to Scripture it was the chief eunuch who changed their names, but cf. Dan. iv. 8 (Aram. iv. 5) and § 212 note d.

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became proficient in the wisdom which he had ordered them to study; among them were four of the family of Sacchias, the first of whom was named Daniel, the second Ananias, the third, Misaēlos and the fourth, Azarias. But the Babylonian king changed their names and commanded them to use others. And so they called Daniel Baltasaros, Ananias Sedraches, Misēlos Misachēs, and Azaraias Abdenagō. And these youths, because of their surpassing natural gifts, their zeal in learning letters and their wisdom, made great progress, wherefore the king held them in esteem and continued to cherish them.

(2) Now, as Daniel together with his relatives had resolved to live austerely and abstain from the dishes which came from the king's table and in general from all animal food, he went to Aschanēs, the eunuch who had been entrusted with their care, and requested him to take the food brought to them from the king and consume it himself and give them pulse and dates for nourishment and whatever other kind of non-animal food he chose, for, he said, they

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Bibl. Belteshazzar, lxx and Theod. Βαλτασάρ.
Bibl. Shadrach, lxx and Theod. Σεδράχ.
Bibl. Meshach, lxx Μεσάχ, Theod. Μεσάχ (v. l. Μεσάκ).
So lxx and Theod. ; bibl. Abed-nego.
The variant omits "letters."
Bibl. "the king's food and wine."
Bibl. Ashpenaz, Theod. 'Ασφανέζ, lxx 'Αβεισάδρι.
According to Scripture (vs. 10) Daniel seems to have made a preliminary request for a change of diet to the chief eunuch Ashpenaz, and then to have asked certain kinds of food of another officer appointed by the chief eunuch; this second officer is called in the Heb. Melṣar, which according to Jewish tradition means "steward" or the like. The Greek versions transliterate this as a proper name, as does A.V. (Melzar).
αὕτην διαίταν αὐτοὺς κεκινήσθαι, τῆς δὲ ἐτέρας
191 περιφρονεῖν. ὃ δὲ εἶναι μὲν ἐτομος ἐλεγεν ὑπηρετεῖν αὐτῶν τῇ προαιρέσει, ὑφοράσθαι δὲ μὴ κατάδηλοι τῷ βασιλεῖ γενηθέντες ἐκ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἰσχυότητος καὶ τῆς τροπῆς τῶν χαρακτήρων (συμμεταβάλλειν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκη τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς χρόας ἀμα τῇ διαίτῃ), καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων παίδων εὐπαθοῦντων ἐλεγχθέντες, αὐτοὶ
192 κινδύνου καὶ τιμωρίας αὐτῶ καταστῶσιν. ἔχοντα τοίνυν πρὸς τούτ' εὐλαβῶς τὸν Ἀσχάνην πείθουσιν ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας ταῦτα παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς πείρας ἕνεκα καὶ μὴ μεταβαλούσης μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἐξεως ἐπιμένειν τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ὡς οὐδὲν ἐτί εἰς αὕτην βλαβησομένων, εἰ δὲ μειωθέντας ίδοι καὶ κάκιον τῶν ἄλλων ἔχοντας, ἐπὶ τὴν προτέραν
193 αὐτοὺς διαίταν ἀνάγειν.1 ὡς δὲ οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἔλυπε τὴν τροφὴν ἐκείνην προσφερομένους, ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εὐτραφέστεροι τὰ σώματα καὶ μείζονες ἐγίνοντο, ὡς τοὺς μὲν ἐνδεισετέρους ὑπολαμβάνειν οἶς τὴν βασιλικὴν συνέβαινεν εἶναι χορηγίαν, τοὺς δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Δανιῆλου δοκεῖν ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ καὶ τρυφῇ τῇ πάσῃ βιοῦν, ἐκτοτε μετ' ἀδείας ὁ Ἀσχάνης ὁσα2 μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου καθ' ἡμέραν σωνήθως ἐπεμπε τοὺς παιινὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς αὗτος ἐλάμβανεν, ἔχορήγει δ' αὐτοῖς τὰ προειρήμενα. οἱ δὲ ὃς καὶ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦτο καθαρῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν παideiαν ἀκραυφών γεγενημένων καὶ τῶν σωμάτων πρὸς φιλοποιίαν εὐτονωτέρων (οὔτε γὰρ ἐκείνας ἐφελκοντο3 καὶ βαρείας εἶχον ὑπὸ

1 ἀνάγεων ex Lat. Niese: ἀγεον codd.: διάγειν E.
2 ἀ ROLVE.
3 ἐφελκοντο ROM: ἐλωβούντο L.V.
were attracted to such a diet but felt distaste for any other.\(^a\) Aschanēs then said that he was ready to comply with their request but was somewhat afraid that they might be detected by the king through the leanness of their bodies and the alteration of their features—for, he said, their bodies and complexions would necessarily change with their diet—and they would be especially marked because of the healthy condition of the other youths and so would be the cause of his being placed in danger and punished. Accordingly, \(\text{as Aschanēs was apprehensive about this matter, they persuaded him to give them these foods for ten days by way of trial and, if their bodily condition did not change, to continue in the same way, as no further harm would be likely to come to them; but, if he saw that they were growing thin and were weaker than the others, he should put them back on their former diet. And not only did they not suffer from taking that kind of food but they were better nourished in body than the others, so that one supposed that those to whom the king's provisions were given were worse off, while Daniel and his friends were living in the greatest abundance and luxury; and so from that time on Aschanēs without any qualms took for himself\(^b\) what the king regularly sent to the youths from his table day by day, and he supplied them with the foods mentioned above. Thus these youths, whose souls were in this way kept pure and fresh for learning and their bodies more vigorous for arduous labour—for they did not oppress and weigh

\(^a\) Josephus here amplifies Scripture (\(\text{vs. 12}\)).
\(^b\) Bibl. "took away."
τροφής¹ ποικίλης οὔτε ταύτα μαλακώτερα διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν² αὔτάν), πάσαν ἑτοίμως ἐξέμαθον παιδελαν, ἢτος ήν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις³ καὶ τοῖς Χαλδαίοις. μάλιστα δὲ Δανίηλος ἰκανὸς ἦδη σοφίας ἐμπείρως ἔχων περὶ κρίσεις ὀνείρων ἐσπουδάκει καὶ τὸ θεῖον αὐτῷ φανερὸν ἐγίνετο.

195 (3) Μετὰ δ' ἐτος δεύτερον τῆς Ἀιγύπτου πορθήσεως ὁ βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονόσορος ὄναρ ἰδῶν θαυμαστόν, οὐ τῆν ἐκβασιν κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνους αὐτὸς αὐτῷ ἐδήλωσεν ὁ θεός, τούτου μὲν ἐπιλανθάνεται διαναστάς ἐκ τῆς κοίτης, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τοὺς Χαλδαίους καὶ τοὺς μάγους καὶ τοὺς μάντεις, ὡς εἰη τὶ⁴ ὄναρ ἐωρακὼς ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ συμβεβηκός περὶ τὴν λήθην ὄν εἰδε μηνύων ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς λέγειν ὅ τι τε ἢν τὸ ὄναρ καὶ τὶ⁵ τὸ σημείον.⁶

196 τῶν δὲ ἀδύνατον εἰναὶ λεγόντων ἀνθρώποις τοῦθ' εὑρεῖν, εἰ δ' αὐτοῖς ἐκθοιτο τὴν ὄμων τοῦ ἐνυπνίου φράσεων τὸ σημεῖον⁷ ὑποσχομένων, θάνατον ἢπειλήσειν αὐτοῖς, εἰ μή τὸ ὄναρ εἴποιεν, προσέταξε δὲ⁸ πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀναφεβηναι, ποιήσας τὸ κελευσθὲν 197 ὁμολογήσαντας μὴ δύνασθαι. Δανίηλος δ' ἀκούσας ὅτι προσέταξε πάντας τοὺς σοφοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποθανεῖν, ἐν τούτους δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν

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down the former with a variety of food nor did they soften their bodies by the same means—readily mastered all the learning which was found among the Hebrews and the Chaldaeans. In particular Daniel, who had already acquired sufficient skill in wisdom, devoted himself to the interpretation of dreams, and the Deity manifested Himself to him.

(3) Two years after the sacking of Egypt King Nebuchadnezzar had a wonderful dream, the outcome of which God Himself revealed to him in his sleep, but, when he arose from his bed, he forgot it; he therefore sent for the Chaldaeans and the Magi and the soothsayers and told them he had had a certain dream and, informing them how he had happened to forget it, bade them tell him both what the dream was and what its meaning might be. When they said that it was impossible for any man to discover this but promised that, if he would describe to them the appearance of the dream, they would tell him its meaning, he threatened them with death unless they told him what the dream was, and commanded that they should all be put to death when they confessed that they could not do as they were ordered. Now, when Daniel heard that the king had commanded all the wise men to be killed and that among

* The foregoing is an addition to Scripture.

b Variant "barbarians"; bibl. "God gave them knowledge and skill in all learning (Heb. "books") and wisdom."

c Bibl. "in the second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar." The medieval Jewish commentators, like Josephus, have noted the chronological difficulty in this scriptural statement (since the 2nd year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign long preceded the events described in the book of Daniel) and, by exegesis, have explained it to mean the 2nd year after the destruction of the temple.
JOSEPHUS

συγγενῶν κινδυνεύειν, πρόσεισιν 'Αριόχην τῷ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τοῦ βασιλέως ἀρχήν πε-198 πιστευμένως. δεηθεὶς δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν μαθεῖν δι' ἃν ὁ βασιλεὺς πάντας εἶνα προστετάχθως ἀναιρεθήναι τοὺς σοφοὺς καὶ Χαλδαίους καὶ μάγους, καὶ μαθῶν τῷ περί τὸ ἐνύπνιον καὶ ὅτι κελευ-σθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦτ' αὐτῶ δηλοῦν ἐπιλεπησμένως, φήσαντες μὴ δύνασθαι παρώξυναν αὐτοῦ, παρεκάλεσε τὸν 'Αριόχην εἰσελθόντα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μίαν αὐτήσασθαι νῦκτα τοῖς μάγοις καὶ ταῦτης τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἐπισχεῖν ἐλπίζειν γὰρ δι' 199 αὐτῆς δεηθεὶς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώσεσθαι τὸ ἐνύπνιον. ὁ δὲ 'Αριόχης ταῦτ' ἀπήγγειλε τῷ βασιλεὶ Δανίηλον ἀξιοῦν, καὶ ὁ μὲν κελεύει τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν μάγων ἐπισχεῖν ἐως γνῶ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν τὴν Δανίηλου· ὁ δὲ παῖς μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ὑποχωρήσας πρὸς ἐαυτὸν δι' ὅλης ἱκετεύει τὸν θεὸν τῆς νυκτὸς γνωρίσαι, καὶ τοὺς μάγους καὶ τοὺς Χαλδαίους, οἷς δεῖ καὶ αὐτοὺς συναπολέσθαι, ρύσασθαι τῆς τοῦ 200 βασιλέως ὀργῆς ἐμφανίσαντα τὴν ὦν αὐτῷ καὶ ποιήσαντα δήλην ἢς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπελελήστο διὰ τῆς παρελθούσης νυκτὸς ἢδον κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνούς. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἀμα τοὺς τε κινδυνεύοντας ἐλέησας καὶ τὸν Δανίηλον τῆς σοφίας ἀγασάμενος τὸ τε ὄναρ αὐτῶ γνώριμον ἐποίησε καὶ τὴν κρίσιν, ὡς ἂν καὶ τὸ 201 σημαινόμενον ὁ βασιλεὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ μάθοι. Δανίη-

1 'Αριόχη MP. Exc.: 'Αριώχη E: quendam Ariochim Lat.
2 δεηθεὶς τε (sic) M. Exc.: καὶ δεηθεὶς LV.
4 σώσαι MSP. Exc.: ἐλέησαι E: ut ei somnium indicaret Lat.
5 ρύσασθαι LV: ρύσασθαί δὲ rell. Exc. Lat.: καὶ ρύσασθαί E.
them he and his relatives were in danger, he went to Ariochēs, a to whom was entrusted the command of the king’s bodyguard, and asked him to let him know the reason why the king had commanded all the wise men and Chaldaeans and Magi to be put to death; and, on learning about the dream and how, when they were ordered to relate it to the king who had forgotten it, they had made him angry by saying that they were unable to do so, he requested Ariochēs to go in to the king b and ask him to give the Magi one night c and to put off their execution only so long, d for, he said, he hoped within that time to learn the dream by praying to God. Ariochēs, therefore, reported to the king this request of Daniel, and so he ordered the execution of the Magi to be put off until he should learn what Daniel had promised (to disclose). e Then the youth returned to his house with his relatives and throughout the whole night besought God to enlighten him f and to save the Magi and the Chaldaeans, together with whom they too must perish, from the king’s wrath by revealing and making clear to him the vision which the king had seen in his sleep on the preceding g night and had forgotten. Thereupon God, taking pity on those who were in danger and at the same time admiring Daniel’s wisdom, h made known to him both the dream and its interpretation so that the king too might learn from him what it signified. When

a So lxx; bibl. Arioch (’Aryŏk), Theod. ’Aρυώκ.
b In Scripture Daniel himself goes to the king on learning the cause of his anger.
c Bibl. “give him time.”
d Variant “and put off this execution.”
e Unscriptural detail.
f Variants “save,” “pity.”
g Unscriptural detail, cf. note c.
h Unscriptural detail.
JOSEPHUS

λὸς δὲ γνοὺς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ταύτα περιχαρῆς ἀνισταταὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς δηλώσας, τοὺς μὲν ἀπεγνωκότας ὥδη τοῦ ξῆν καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεθνάαι τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχοντας, εἰς εὐθυμίαν καὶ τὰς περὶ τοῦ βίου διήγειρεν ἐλπίδας, εὐχαριστήσας δὲ τῷ θεῷ μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐλεόν λαβόντι τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῶν, γενομένης ἡμέρας παραγίνεται πρὸς Ἀριόχην καὶ ἄγειν αὐτὸν ἡξίου πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. δηλώσας γὰρ αὐτῷ βούλεσθαι τὸ ἐνύπνιον ὁ φησὶν ἰδεῖν πρὸ τῆς παρελθούσης νυκτὸς.

203 (4) Ἐισελθὼν δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Δανιήλος παρητείτο πρῶτον μὴ σοφώτερον αὐτὸν δόξαι τῶν ἄλλων Χαλδαίων καὶ μάγων, ὅτι μηδενὸς ἐκεῖνων τὸ ὄναρ εὑρεῖν δυνηθέντος αὐτὸς αὐτῷ μέλλοι λέγειν· οὐ γὰρ κατ’ ἐμπειρίαν οὔδ’ ὅτι τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἐκπεπόνηται τούτῳ γίνεται, ἂν ἐλεήσας ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς κινδύνευσας ἀποθανεῖν, δειθέντι περὶ τε τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῶν ὀμοεθνῶν καὶ τὸ ὄναρ καὶ τὴν κρίσιν αὐτοῦ φανερὰν ἐποίησεν.3 οὐχ ἦττον γὰρ τῆς ἐφ’ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς καταδικασθείσων ύπὸ σοῦ μὴ ξῆν λύπης περὶ τῆς σῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης ἐφροντιζόν, ἀδίκως οὔτως ἀνδρας καὶ ταύτα καλοὺς καγαθοὺς ἀποθανεῖν κελεύσαντος, οἷς οὐδὲν μὲν ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας ἐχόμενον προσέταξας, ὁ δ’ ἦν ἔργον4 θεοῦ τοῦτο ἀπήτεις παρ’ αὐτῶν. σοὶ τοίνυν φροντίζων περὶ τοῦ τῆς ἄρξει τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς μετὰ σέ, κατακομηθέντι βου

204 αὐτῷ RLV. 2 γίνεσθαι LVE. 3 Πεποίηκεν LVE. 4 ἔργον om. ROME: παρὰ Exc.

α Daniel’s encouragement of his companions is an addition to Scripture.

b Josephus omits the contents of Daniel’s prayer, vss. 20-23.

c Variant “it.”

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Daniel received this knowledge from God, he joyfully arose and told his brothers and, though they were already in despair of their lives and had their thoughts fixed on death, he aroused them to cheerfulness and to hope of life; then together with them he gave thanks to God who had taken pity on their youth, and, when day came, he went to Ariochēs and asked him to lead him to the king, for he said, he wished to reveal to him the dream which he said he had had on the night before the preceding one.

(4) Then Daniel went in to the king and first begged that he might not be thought wiser than the others, that is, the Chaldaeans and Magi, merely because, while no one of them had been able to find out what his dream was, he was about to tell him; for this was not due to his skill nor to his having through his own effort acquired a better understanding than they but to God who took pity on us when we were in danger of death and, in answer to my prayer for my own life and the lives of my countrymen, has made clear to me both the dream and its interpretation. For no less than my sorrow for ourselves who had been condemned to death by you was my concern for your good name, seeing that you had unjustly ordered these men to be put to death, especially such fine and excellent men, on whom you had imposed a task which is by no means within the limits of human wisdom, and demanded of them something which only God can do. Now then, when you were anxious about who should rule the whole world after you, God wished

λόμενος δηλώσαι πάντας ὁ θεός τοὺς βασιλεύσοντας
206 ὁναρ ἐδείξε τοίουτον· ἐδοξάσας ὁρᾶν ἀνδριάντα μέγαν ἑστώτα, οὐ τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν συνέβαινεν εἶναι χρυσήν, τοὺς δὲ ωμοὺς καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας ἀργυροὺς, τὴν δὲ γαστέρα καὶ τοὺς μηροὺς χαλκέους,
207 κυῆμας δὲ καὶ πόδας σιδηροῦσι. ἔπειτα¹ λίθων εἰδες² εξ ὀρους ἀπορραγέντα ἐμπεσεῖν τῷ ἀνδριάντι καὶ τούτον καταβαλόντα συνθρύψαι³ καὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῦ μέρος ὅλοκληρον ἀφεῖναι, ὡς τὸν μὲν χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ τὸν χαλκὸν καὶ τὸν σιδήρον ἀλεύρων λεπτότερον γενέσθαι, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνέμου πνεύσαντος σφοδροτέρον ὑπὸ τῆς βίας ἀρπαγέντα διασπαρῆναι, τὸν δὲ λίθον αὐξῆσαι τοσοῦτον ὡς 208 ἀπασαν δοκεῖν τὴν γῆν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πεπληρώσατοι. τὸ μὲν οὖν ὁναρ, ὅπερ εἰδες, τοῦτ’ ἐστιν, ή δὲ κρίσις αὐτοῦ τούτον ἐχει τὸν τρόπον· ή μὲν χρυσὴ κεφαλὴ σε τε ἐδήλου καὶ τοὺς πρὸ σοῦ βασιλέας Βαβυλωνίων ὄντας· αἴ δὲ δύο⁵ χεῖρες καὶ οἱ ωμοὶ σημαίνουσιν ὑπὸ δύο καταλυθησθεὶν βασιλέων τὴν 209 ἡγεμονίαν ὑμῶν· τὴν δὲ ἐκεῖνων ἐτερός τις ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως καθαρήσει χαλκὸν ἡμιφεισμένος, καὶ ταῦτην ἅλλη παύσει τὴν ἴσχυν ὁμοία σιδήρῳ καὶ κρατήσει

¹ εἶτα ROM. ² εἰδες om. ROM. ³ συνθρύψαι SPLV Exc. Zonaras. ⁴ ὡς τὸν μὲν] τὸν de SPLVE Exc. ⁵ δύο om. ROM.

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¹ Bibl. “breast” (Aram. “breasts”; lxx and Theod. στήθος; Theod. adds “hands”).
² Bibl. “its legs of iron, its feet partly iron and partly clay” (or “tile,” cf. J. A. Montgomery, A Commentary on Daniel, ad loc.). On the alteration of Scripture cf. § 209 note a.
³ Cf. Theod. ἀποσχίσθη (lxx ἐτμήθη) λίθος εξ ὀρους “a stone was severed from a mountain”; Aram. “a stone was severed without hands.”
to reveal to you in your sleep all those who are to reign and sent you the following dream. You seemed to see a great image standing up, of which the head was of gold, the shoulders and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of bronze and the legs and feet of iron. Then you saw a stone break off from a mountain and fall upon the image and overthrow it, breaking it to pieces and leaving not one part of it whole, so that the gold and silver and bronze and iron were made finer than flour, and, when the wind blew strongly, they were caught up by its force and scattered abroad; but the stone grew so much larger that the whole earth seemed to be filled with it. This, then, is the dream which you saw; as for its interpretation, it is as follows. The head of gold represents you and the Babylonian kings who were before you. The two hands and shoulders signify that your empire will be brought to an end by two kings. But their empire will be destroyed by another king from the west, clad in bronze, and this power will be ended by still another, like iron, that will have dominion for ever through

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4 According to Scripture the stone first struck the image on the feet and broke them, after which the whole image was shattered.

6 Aram. and Theod. "like chaff (Theod. "dust") of the summer threshing-floor": LXX "lighter than chaff on the threshing-floor."

7 The latter part of this sentence ("and the Babylonian kings," etc.) is an addition to Scripture.

9 The variant omits "two."

8 Bibl. "another kingdom inferior to thee."

4 Bibl. "a third kingdom of bronze which shall rule over all the earth." Josephus's addition "from the west" indicates that, like the rabbis, he identified the third kingdom with the empire of Alexander.
JOSEPHUS

dè eis ἄπαντα διὰ τὴν τοῦ σιδήρου φύσιν"· εἶναι
gὰρ αὐτὴν στερροτέραν τῆς τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ τοῦ
210 ἀργύρου καὶ τοῦ χαλκοῦ. ἔδήλωσε δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ
λίθου Δανίηλος τῷ βασιλεί, ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἐδοξῆ
tοῦτο ιστορεῖν, τὰ παρελθόντα καὶ τὰ γεγενημένα
ςυγγράφειν οὐ τὰ μέλλοντα οφείλοντι, εἰ δὲ τις
τῆς ἀκριβείας γλυχόμενος οὐ περισταται πολυ-
πραγμονείν, ὃς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἁδήλων τι γενήσεται
βούλεσθαι μαθεῖν, σπουδασάτω τὸ βιβλίον ἀνα-
γνώναι τὸ Δανίηλου· εὑρίσκει δὲ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς
γράμμασιν.

211 (5) 'Ο δὲ βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονώσορος ἀκηκοώς
ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιγνοῦν τὸ ὄναρ ἐξεπλάγη τὴν τοῦ
Δανίηλου φύσιν, καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, ὃ τρόπῳ
τὸν θεόν προσκυνοῦσι, τούτω τὸν Δανίηλον ἠσπά-
212 ζετο. καὶ θύειν δὲ ὃς θεῷ προσέταξεν, οὐ μὴν
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἱδίου θεοῦ
θέμενος, ἀπάσης ἐπίτροπον τῆς βασιλείας ἐποίησε
καὶ τους συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ, οὕς ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ
βασκανίας εἰς κίνδυνον ἐμπεσεῖν συνέβη τῷ βασιλεί
213 προσκρούσαντας ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης· ὁ βασιλεὺς
κατασκευάζας χρύσεον ἀνδριάντα, πηχῶν τὸ μὲν
ὕψος ἐξήκοντα τὸ πλάτος δὲ ἔξ, στήσας αὐτὸν ἐν
τῷ μεγάλῳ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος πεδίω καὶ μέλλων

1 ἀληθείας PLVF.
2 ἀκούσας LV(E).
3 θύειν δὲ Exc.: θύειν δεῖν RO: θύειν δῇ SPL: θύειν δὲ
V: θύειν E.
4 Βαβυλωνίας O Lat.

*a Josephus has omitted the scriptural detail about the division of the fourth kingdom and its composition of iron

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its iron nature," which, he said, is harder than that of gold or silver or bronze. And Daniel also revealed to the king the meaning of the stone, but I have not thought it proper to relate this, since I am expected to write of what is past and done and not of what is to be; if, however, there is anyone who has so keen a desire for exact information that he will not stop short of inquiring more closely but wishes to learn about the hidden things that are to come, let him take the trouble to read the Book of Daniel, which he will find among the sacred writings.

(5) When King Nebuchadnezzar had heard these things and recognized his dream, he was amazed at Daniel’s natural gifts and, falling on his face, hailed him in the manner in which men worship God. He also commanded that they should sacrifice to him as to a god, and not only that, but he even gave him the name of his own god and made him and his relatives governors of the kingdom; but these, as it happened, fell into great danger from envy and jealousy when they offended the king for the following reason. The king had an image made of gold, sixty cubits high and six broad, and set it up in the great plain of Babylon; and, when ready to consecrate and clay (cf. § 206 note b), probably because, like the rabbis, he identified it with Rome and did not wish to offend Roman readers; cf. next note but one.

b Variant "truth."

c Josephus’s evasiveness about the meaning of the stone which destroyed the kingdom of iron (vs. 44 f.) is due to the fact that the Jewish interpretation of it current in his day took it as a symbol of the Messiah or Messianic kingdom which would make an end of the Roman empire.

d "i.e. Belteshazzar, cf. Dan. iv. 8 (Aram. iv. 5). Josephus forgets that he has already written (in § 189) that Nebuchadnezzar changed Daniel’s name to Belteshazzar.
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καθιεροῦν αὐτὸν συνεκάλεσεν ἐξ ἀπάσης ἢς ἥρχε γῆς τοὺς πρῶτους, πρῶτον αὐτοῖς προστάξας, οταν σημαινοῦσα ἀκούσωσι τῆς σάλπιγγος, τότε πε-
σόνται προσκυνεῖν τὸν ἀνδριάντα· τοὺς δὲ μὴ ποιήσαντας ἥπειλησεν εἰς τὴν τού πυρὸς ἐμβληθή·
214 σεσθαι κάμινον. πάντων οὖν μετὰ τὸ σημαινούσης ἐπακούσαι τῆς σάλπιγγος προσκυνοῦντων τὸν ἀν-
δριάντα, τοὺς Δαυιήλου συγγενείς οὐ ποιήσαι τοῦτό φασι μὴ βουληθέντας παραβήναι τοὺς πατρίους νόμους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἑλεγχθέντες εὐθὺς¹ εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐμβληθέντες θεία σώζονται προνοία καὶ παραδόξως διαφεύγουσι τοῖς θάνατον. οὐ γὰρ ἦπατο τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν² ἀλλὰ κατὰ λογισμὸν οἶμαι τῷ μηδὲν ἀδική-
σαντας εἰς αὐτὸ βληθῆναι οὐχ ἦπατο, καλεῖν δὲ ἀσθενεῖς ἢν ἔχον ἐν εαυτῷ τοὺς παίδας, τοῦ θεοῦ κρείττονα τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ὡστε μὴ δαπανη-
θήναι ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς παρασκευάσαντος.³ τοῦτο συνέστησεν αὐτοὺς τῷ βασιλεῖ ὡς δικαίους καὶ 
θεοφιλεῖς, διὸ μετὰ ταῦτα πάσης ἀξιοῦμενοι παρ’ αὐτοῦ τιμῆς διετέλουν.

215 (6) Ὁλίγω δ’ ύστερον χρόνῳ πάλιν ὅρα κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑσιν ἑτέραν, ὡς ἐκπεσόν 
τῆς ἀρχῆς μετὰ θηρίων ἐξεῖ τὴν δίαιταν καὶ δια-
ζήσας οὕτως ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας ἐτεσίν ἐπὶ αὖθις τὴν 
ἀρχὴν ἀπολήμεται. τοῦτο θεοσάμενος τοῦναρ πάλιν 
τοὺς μάγους συγκαλέσας ἀνέκρινεν αὐτοὺς περὶ

¹ εὐθὺς SPLVE. ² οὐ γὰρ ... αὐτῶν om. ROM. ³ κατασκευάσαντος cum E Hudson, Naber.

³a Josephus omits the other musical instruments mentioned in Scripture.
³b The variant omits “for the fire did not touch them.”
³c Josephus here considerably abridges Scripture. It is

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it, he summoned the chief men from all the lands over which he ruled, having first commanded that at the moment when they heard the trumpet sound they should fall down and worship the image, and those who would not do so he threatened to have thrown into a fiery furnace. Accordingly all who heard the trumpet sound worshipped the image, but it is said the relatives of Daniel did not do so because they were unwilling to transgress their fathers' laws. And so they were convicted and straightway thrown into the fire, but were saved by divine providence and miraculously escaped death, for the fire did not touch them; and indeed it was, I believe, in consideration of their being thrown into it without having done any wrong that it did not touch them, and it was powerless to burn the youths when it held them, for God made their bodies too strong to be consumed by the fire. This proved to the king that they were righteous and dear to God, and so they continued thereafter to be held worthy by him of the highest honour.

(6) A little while afterward the king again had another vision in his sleep, which was that he would fall from power and make his home with beasts and, after living in this way in the wilderness for seven years, would again recover his royal power. After beholding this dream, he again summoned the Magi and inquired of them about it and asked them noteworthy that he does not refer to the "Prayer of the Three Youths" found in the Greek versions and included in the Apocrypha.

\[ \text{Nebuchadnezzar's second dream. Dan. iv. 4} \]

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217 αὐτοῦ καὶ τί σημαίνοι λέγειν ἡξίου. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων οὐθέν ἡδυνήθη τὴν τοῦ ἐνυπνίου διάνοιαν εὑρεῖν οὐδὲ ἐμφανίσαι τῷ βασιλεί, Δανύλος δὲ μόνος καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐκρινε καὶ καθὼς οὗτος αὐτῷ προείπεν ἀπέβη. διατρίβας γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας τὸν προειρημένον χρόνον οὐδενὸς τολμήσαντος ἐπι-
θέσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι παρὰ τὴν ἐπταετίαν, δεηθεῖς τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολαβεῖν πάλιν εἰς αὐτὴν
218 ἐπανέρχεται. ἐγκαλέσῃ δὲ μοι μηδεὶς οὕτως ἔκαστα τούτων ἀπαγγέλλοντι διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαῖοι εὑρίσκω βιβλίων. καὶ γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐν ἄρχῃ τῆς ἱστορίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιζητήσοντάς τι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἡ μεμβραμένος ἁσφαλισάμην, μόνον τε μεταφράζειν τὰς Ἑβραίων βιβλίων εἰπὼν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλώτταν καὶ ταῦτα δηλώσειν μήτε προσπιθεῖς τοῖς πράγμασι αὐτὸς ἱδία1 μήτ’ ἀφαι-
ρῶν2 ὑπεσχῆμένος.

219 (xi. 1) Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονόσορος ἔτη τρία καὶ τεσσαράκοντα βασιλεύσας τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον ἀνὴρ δραστήριος καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων εὐτυχέστεροις γενόμενος. μέμνηται δ’ αὐτὸν τῶν πράξεων καὶ Βηρωσὸς3 ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Χαλδαίκῶν ἱστοριῶν λέγων οὕτως ‘‘ἀκούσας δ’ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Ναβοπαλάσαρος4 οτι ὁ τεταγμένος σατράπης ἐν τῇ Ἀιγύπτῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Συρίαν τὴν κούλην καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην τόποις ἀποστάτης αὐτοῦ γέγονεν, οὐ δυνάμενος αὐτὸς ἐτι κακοπαθεῖν συντήσας τῷ νῦν Ναβουχοδονοσόρῳ ὃντι ἐν ἡλικίᾳ μέρη τινὰ τῆς

1 ήδία SPL: ήδιον V. 2 Niese: ἀφαιρὲω codd.
3 Βηρωσος RP2 VE2.

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to tell him what it signified. Now none of the others could discover the import of the dream or make it known to the king, but Daniel alone interpreted it, and as he foretold to him so it came to pass. For the king spent the forementioned period of time in the wilderness, none venturing to seize the government during these seven years, and, after praying to God that he might recover his kingdom, he was again restored to it. But let no one reproach me for recording in my work each of these events as I have found them in the ancient books, for at the very beginning of my History I safeguarded myself against those who might find something wanting in my narrative or find fault with it, and said that I was only translating the books of the Hebrews into the Greek tongue, promising to report their contents without adding anything of my own to the narrative or omitting anything therefrom.

(xi. 1) Now King Nebuchadnezzar's life came to an end after a reign of forty-three years; he was a man of bold action and more fortunate than the kings before him. His deeds are also mentioned by Berosus in the third book of his History of Chaldaea, where he writes as follows. "When his father Nabopolassar\(^a\) heard that the satrap appointed over Egypt and the districts of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia had revolted from him, being no longer himself able to endure hardships, he placed a part of his force at the disposal of his son Nebuchadnezzar, who was in his prime, and sent him out against this

\(^a\) Cf. Ap. i. 146. He reigned from 604 to 562 B.C. The rabbinic reckoning varies between 40 and 45 years, cf. Ginzberg iv. 339, vi. 430.

\(^b\) Conjectured form (cf. Ap. and below, § 221); mss. Nabuchodonosoros, etc.
221 δυνάμεως εξέπεμψεν ἐπ' αὐτόν. συμμίξας δὲ Να-
βουχοδονόσορος τῷ ἀποστάτῃ καὶ παραταξάμενος
αὐτὸν τε ἐκράτησε1 καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκ ταύτης τῆς
ἀρχῆς2 ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ3 βασιλειάν ἐποίησατο. τῷ
tε πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ναβοπαλασάρω4 συνέβη καὶ αὐτὸν
tὸν καίρον ἀρρωστήσαντι ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ πόλει
μεταλάξαι τὸν βίον ἐτή βασιλεύσαντι εἰκοσί καὶ ἑν.5
222 αἰσθόμενος δὲ μετ' οὐ πολύν χρόνον τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς
tελευτὴν Ναβουχοδονόσορος6 καὶ καταστήσας τὰ
cκατὰ τὴν Αἰγύπτου πράγματα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν
χώραν, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους 'Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ Φοι-
vίκων καὶ Σύρων καὶ τῶν κατ' Αἰγύπτου ἑθνῶν
συντάξας τοῖς τῶν φίλων μετὰ τῆς βαρυτάτης δυνά-
μεως καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ὥφελείας ἀνακομίζειν εἰς τὴν
Βαβυλωνίαν, αὐτὸς ὀρμήσας ὀλυγοστὸς διὰ τῆς
223 ἐρήμου παραγίνεται εἰς Βαβυλώνα. παραλαβὼν7
dὲ τὰ πράγματα διοικούμενα ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων καὶ
διατηρομένην τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου
αὐτῶν, κυριεύσας ὀλοκλήρου τῆς πατρικῆς ἀρχῆς
tοῖς μὲν αἰχμαλώτοις παραγενομένοις συνέταξε
κατοικίας ἐν τοῖς ἔπιτηθειοτάτοις τῆς Βαβυλωνίας
224 τόποις ἀποδεῖξαι,8 αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου
λαφύρων τὸ τε τοῦ Βηθλέου ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ
κοσμήσας φιλοτίμως, τὴν τε ὑπάρχονσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς
πόλιν ἀνακαίνισας9 καὶ ἑτέρα10 κατοχυρώσας11 πρὸς12

2 ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς] ἐξ ἀρχῆς cont. Apion., Eusebius Chron.;
ἐξαίθες Eusebii Praep. Ev.: ἐξ αὐτῆς Gutschmid.
4 cf. annot. 4, p. 278.
5 εἰκοσί καὶ ἑν] εἰκοσενεῖα cont. Apion.
6 ex Lat., cont. Apion. conj. Naber: Ναβουχοδονοσάρου (-αρου RO) ROLV: Ναβουχοδονοσάρου SP.
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satrap. Then Nebuchadnezzar engaged the rebel, defeated him in a pitched battle and brought the country which was under the other's rule into his own realm. As it happened, his father Nabopolassar fell ill at about this time in the city of Babylon and departed this life after reigning twenty-one years. Being informed, not long after, of his father's death, Nebuchadnezzar settled the affairs of Egypt and the other countries and also gave orders to some of his friends to conduct to Babylon the captives taken among the Jews, Phoenicians, Syrians and peoples of Egypt with the bulk of his force and the rest of the booty, while he himself set out with a few men and reached Babylon through the desert. There he found the government administered by the Chaldaeans and the throne preserved for him by the ablest man among them; and, on becoming master of his father's entire realm, he gave orders to allot to the captives, when they came, settlements in the most suitable places in Babylonia; he himself magnificently decorated the temple of Bel and the other temples with the spoils of the war; he also restored the originally existing city and fortified it

a Variant (in Ap.) 29. He reigned from 625 to 605 B.C.

b T. Reinach emends to "men."
τὸ μὴκέτι δύνασθαι τοὺς πολυροκοῦντας τὸν πο-
ταμὸν ἀναστρέφοντας ἡπὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασκευά-
ζειν? περιεβάλετο3 τρεῖς μὲν τῆς ἐνδον πόλεως
περιβόλους, τρεῖς δὲ τῆς ἐξω, τούτων δὲ τοὺς μὲν
ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλήθου καὶ ἀσφάλτου, τοὺς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς
225 τῆς πλάθου.4 καὶ τείχίσας ἀξιολόγως τὴν πόλιν
καὶ τοὺς πυλῶνας κοσμῆσας ἔρεπτρεπὼς, κατε-
σκεύασεν5 ἐν τοῖς πατρικοῖς βασιλείοις ἔτερα βασι-
λεια ἐχόμενα αὐτῶν, ὅταν τὸ μὲν ἀνάστημα καὶ τὴν
λοιπὴν πολυτέλειαν περισσόν ἦσος ἂν εἵη λέγειν,6
πλὴν ὡς ὄντα7 μεγάλα καὶ ὑπερήφανα συνεπελέσθη
226 ἡμέραις πεντεκαίδεκα. ἐν δὲ τοῖς βασιλείοις τοὺ-
τοις ἀναλήμματα λίθων8 ἀνψκόδομής, τὴν ὄψιν
ἀποδοὺς ὁμοιότάτην τοῖς ὀρεσί, καταφυτεῦσας δὲ9
dειδρεσι παντοδαποῖς εξειργάσατο καὶ κατεσκεύασε
τὸν καλούμενον κρεμαστὸν παράδεισον διὰ τὸ τὴν
γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς οἰκείας10 διαθέσεως ὡς
227 τεθραμμένην ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Μηδίαν τόποις.11 καὶ
Μεγαθένης δὲ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν 'Ἰνδικῶν μνημο-

1 ex cont. Apion. Hudson: ἀναστρέφοντας ROLV: ἀνα-
streýas SP: ἀποστρέφοντας Ernesti.
2 κατασκευάζειν om. RO: alíquō modo praevalere Lat.
3 ed. pr.: ύπερεβάλετο (-ἐβάλετο L) codd., cont. Apion.:
erexit Lat.
4 τοὺς μὲν ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλήθου . . . ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πλήθου ex
5 προσκατασκεύασεν cont. Apion.: addidit Eusebius Armen.:
προκατασκεύασεν Synellus.
6 περισσόν . . . λέγειν] μακρὰ δέ ὣς ἐσται εάν τις ἐξηγήται
cont. Apion.
7 πλὴν ὡς ὄντα Dindorf: πλὴν ὄσον τὰ SP: πλησίον τὲ τὰ
RO: πλὴν ὄσον τὲ τὰ L.V: verum tamen hoc sciendum quia
dum essent Lat.: πλὴν ὄντα γε ὑπερβολῆν ὡς cont. Apion.:
πλὴν ὄντα ὑπερβολῆ Synellus.
8 + ὑψηλὰ cont. Apion.
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with another one, and, in order that besiegers might no longer be able to divert the course of the river and direct it against the city, he surrounded the inner city with three walls and the outer one with three, those of the inner city being of burnt brick and bitumen, while those of the outer city were of brick alone. After walling about the city in this remarkable way and adorning the gate-towers as befitted their sacred character, he built, where his father’s palace was, another palace adjoin- ing it, of the height of which and its magnificence in other respects it would perhaps be extravagant of me to speak, except to say that in spite of its being so great and splendid it was completed in fifteen days. In this palace he erected retaining walls of stone, to which he gave an appearance very like that of mountains and, by planting on them trees of all kinds, he achieved this effect, and built the so-called hanging garden because his wife, who had been brought up in the region of Media, had a desire for her native environment. Megas- thenes also mentions these facts in the fourth

a— The text here is very difficult and in part corrupt; in emending it I have in part followed earlier scholars.

b Text emended after Ap.


d Meaning uncertain; Dr. Thackeray in Ap. translates “terraces.”

e Paradiisos “garden” is a loan-word from Persian, originally meaning “hunting-park.” As Dr. Thackeray notes in Ap., this hanging garden was regarded as one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, cf. Diodorus ii. 7 ff.


g Cf. Ap. i. 144 note c.

9 ἑ ἑ ins. Niese.

10 ὀρείας cont. Apion.
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νεύει αὐτῶν, δι’ ἦς ἀποφαινεῖν πειράται τούτον τὸν βασιλέα τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πράξεων ὑπερβεβληκότα’ τὸν Ἰηρακλέα· καταστρέφασθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν φησὶ Λιβύης τὴν πολλὴν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν. 228 καὶ Διοκλῆς δ’ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Περσικῶν μνημονεύει τούτον τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ Φιλόστρατος ἐν ταῖς Ἰνδικαῖς καὶ Φωικικαῖς ἱστορίαις, ὅτι οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπολύρηκησε τὴν Τύρου ἐστει τρισὶ καὶ δέκα βασιλεύοντος κατ’ ἐκείνου τὸν καιρὸν Ἰθωβάλῳ τῆς Τύρου. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων ἰστορούμενα περὶ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως ταῦτα ἤν. 229 (2) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ναβουχοδονοσόρου τελευτήν Ἀβιλμαθαδάχος ὅ παῖς αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαμβάνει, ὅσ εὗρες τὸν τῶν Ἰεροσόλυμων βασιλέα Ἰεχονίαν τῶν δεσμῶν ἀφεὶς ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκασμάτοις τῶν φίλων εἶχε, πολλὰς αὐτῶ δωρεὰς δοὺς καὶ ποιήσας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ βασιλεῶν· 230 ο γὰρ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τὴν πίστιν ὤκ ἑφύλαξεν Ἰεχονία παραδόντι μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων καὶ τῆς συγγενείας ὅλης ἑκουσίως αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, ὥς ἄν μὴ κατασκαφεῖ λήφθείσα ὑπὸ τῆς πολιορκίας, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀβιλ- μαθαδάχου μετὰ ἑτῆ ὀκτωκαίδεκα τῆς βασιλείας,

1 Niese: ὑπερβεβληκότα codd.
3 Iechoniam qui et Ioachim Lat.
4 ἐντιμον P²: αὐτῶν ἐντιμον Hudson.

a Nothing is known of a Diocles who wrote a History of Persia. There were, however, several ancient historians of this name.
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book of his History of India, where he attempts to show that this king surpassed Heracles in bravery and in the greatness of his deeds, saying that he subdued the greater part of Libya and Iberia. And Dioecles, as well, mentions this king in the second book of his History of Persia; and Philostratos in his History of India and of Phoenicia writes that this king besieged Tyre for thirteen years at the time when Ithobalos was king of Tyre. This, then, is what has been written about this king by all the historians.

(2) After the death of Nebuchadnezzar his son Abilmathadachos, who took over the royal power, at once released Jechonias, the king of Jerusalem, from his chains and kept him as one of his closest friends, giving him many gifts and setting him above the kings in Babylonia. For his father had not kept faith with Jechonias when he voluntarily surrendered himself with his wives and children and all his relatives for the sake of his native city, that it might not be taken by siege and razed, as we have said before.

When Abilmathadachos died after reigning eighteen years, Evil-merodach (Abilmathadachos) succeeds Nebuchadnezzar and frees Jechonias (Jehoiachin). 2 Kings xxv. 27; Jer. lii. 31.

Weill emends to "Judaea" (Ἰουδαία). As Philostratos is known to us only through these excerpts in Josephus, there is no way of determining whether we should read "India" or "Judaea."

The same statement is made in the excerpt from the Phoenician records (probably Menander of Ephesus) in Ap. i. 156.

Conjectured form; mss. Abiamathadachos, Abelma(r)thachos, etc.; variant in Ap. Eveilmaraduchos; bibl. Evil-merodach. Scripture does not mention the (historical) fact that he was the son of Nebuchadnezzar.


§ 97. This explanation of Evil-merodach's motive is an addition to Scripture.
'Hyglíasaros\textsuperscript{1} ο παῖς αυτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαμβάνει, καὶ κατασχῶν αὐτὴν ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα καταστρέφει τὸν βίον. μετὰ δ’ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀλβοσόρδαχον\textsuperscript{2} ἀφικνεῖται τῆς βασιλείας ἢ διαδοχή, καὶ μήνας ποιήσασα παρ’ αὐτῷ τοὺς πάντας ἐννέα τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ μεταβαίνει πρὸς Βαλτασάρην\textsuperscript{3} τὸν καλούμενον Ναβοάνδηλον\textsuperscript{4} παρὰ τοῖς Βαβυ-232 λωνίοις. ἐπὶ τούτον στρατεύουσι Κύρος τε ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ Δαρείος ὁ Μήδων. καὶ πολιορκουμένω αὐτῶν ἤ ἤ Βαβυλών θαυμασίῳ τι καὶ τεράστιῳ θέαμα συνέβη· κατέκειτο δειπνῶν καὶ πίνον\textsuperscript{5} ἐν οἷκω μεγάλῳ καὶ πρὸς\textsuperscript{6} ἐστιάσεις πεποιημένω βασιλικάς μετὰ τῶν παλλακίδων καὶ τῶν φίλων. δόξαν δὲ αὐτῶ, κομισθήναι κελεύει ἐκ τούτῳ ἰδίῳ ναοῦ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ σκεῦ, ἀ συλήσας Να-

\textsuperscript{1} Ἰγλίσαρος SP: Νιγλίσαρος LVE: Helesarius, Egresarius Lat. codd.  
\textsuperscript{2} Αλβοσόρδαχον SP.  
\textsuperscript{3} Βαλτάσαρον (-άρν O) OSP: Βαλτάσαρον L.V.  
\textsuperscript{4} Ναβοαν Ιατ.  
\textsuperscript{5} πολιορκουμένω αὐτῶ Ε: πολιορκουμένων τοὺς codd.  
\textsuperscript{6} καὶ πίνων om. SPLVE Lat.  
\textsuperscript{7} καὶ πρὸς SP: καὶ γυρῷ Ε: καὶ ἄργυρῳ εἰς Ο: καὶ ἄργυρος εἰς L: καὶ σκευῶν ἵπ πολὺς ἄργυρος εἰς V: evan. R.

\textsuperscript{a} The excerpt from Berosus in \textit{Ap. i.} 147 gives only 2 years to Evil-merodach (Bab. Amel-Marduk), which agrees with historical fact. According to rabbinic tradition he reigned 23 years, \textit{cf.} Ginzberg iv. 344, vi. 430 (with corrections).  
\textsuperscript{b} Variants here Iglisaros, Niglisaros, in \textit{Ap.} Nériglisaros, etc. His name in Babylonian was \textit{Nergal-sar-ušur}, which appears as \textit{Nergal-sarseger} in Jer. xxxix. 3, \textit{cf. § 135 note d}. He was not a son of Evil-merodach.  
\textsuperscript{c} Variant here Labrosodachos, in \textit{Ap.} Laborosoardochos. His name in Babylonian was \textit{Labasí-Marduk}.  
\textsuperscript{d} From March to the end of summer, 556 B.C., according to R. Campbell Thompson in the \textit{Cambridge Ancient History}, iii. 218.
years, his son Eglisaros took over the royal power and held it for forty years until the end of his life. After him the succession to the throne fell to his son Labosordachos and, after holding it nine months in all, he died; it then passed to Baltasarès, who was called Naboandélos by the Babylonians. It was against him that Cyrus, king of Persia, and Darius, king of Media, took the field; and, while he was being besieged in Babylon, there appeared to him a wonderful and portentous vision as he reclined at table, feasting and drinking in a great hall made for royal entertainments, with his concubines and friends, for, as it pleased him to do so, he ordered that there be brought from his own temple the vessels of God which Nebuchadnezzar had taken

* Variants Baltasaris, -aros: bibl. Belshazzar, lxx Balτασάρ. He is not mentioned in the parallel in Ap. or in the excerpts from Berosus and Alexander Polyhistor preserved in Eusebius’s Chronicon.

† Variant in Ap. Nabonnedos. His Babylonian name was Nabu-na’id. Belshazzar was actually the son and co-ruler of Nabonidus (the usual modern form derived from Gr.), although he is called the son of Nebuchadnezzar in Scripture (which some ancient Jewish authorities explained as meaning “grandson”). Josephus probably identifies Belshazzar (the last Babylonian king according to Scripture) with Nabonidus because in the Greek sources (e.g. Herodotus and Berosus) the last Babylonian king is called Nabonidus (Labynètos, son of Labynètos, in Herodotus).

Darius the Mede is mentioned here (his name does not occur in the parallel in Ap.) because of the bibl. statement, Dan. v. 31, that he “took the kingdom” (of Babylon). So too rabbinic tradition associates Darius with Cyrus in the capture of Babylon, cf. Ginzberg vi. 431. Actually there was no Median king Darius contemporary with Cyrus, cf. 248 note d.

* The variant omits ‘and drinking.’

† Variant “in a great silver hall.”
JOSEPHUS

βουχοδονόστορος ἐκ τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων οὐκ ἔχρητο μὲν, εἰς δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ ναὸν κατέθηκεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ θράσους προαχθεῖς ὡστε αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι, μεταξὺ πίσων καὶ βλασφημῶν εἰς τὸν θεόν, ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ὅρα χείρα προϊόνσαν καὶ τῷ τοίχῳ

234 τινάς συλλαβᾶς ἔγγραφοσαν. παραχθεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ὀψεως συνεκάλεσε τοὺς μάγους καὶ τοὺς Χαλδαίους καὶ πᾶν τοῦτο τὸ γένος ὅσον ἦν ἐν τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις τὰ τε σημεῖα καὶ τὰ οὐνείρατα κρίνειν δυνάμενον, ὡς ἂν αὐτῷ δηλῶσαι τὰ γεγραμμένα. τὸν δὲ μάγων οὐδὲν εὐρίσκειν δυναμένων οὐδὲ συνέναι λεγόντων, ὧπ' ἀγωνίας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πολλῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ λύπης κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐκήρυξε τῇ χρόνῳ, τῷ τὰ γράμματα καὶ τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῶν δηλουμένην διάνοιαν σαφὴ ποιήσαντι δώσειν ὑπαιτούμενος στρεπτὸν περαιούμενον χρύσου καὶ πορφυρῶν ἐσθῆτα φορεῖν, ὡς οἱ τῶν Χαλδαίων βασιλείς, καὶ τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς ἱδίας ἀρχῆς.

235 τοῦτον γενομένου τοῦ κηρύγματος ἐτὶ μᾶλλον οἱ μάγοι συνδραμόντες καὶ φιλοτιμήσαμεν πρὸς τὴν εὑρέσιν τῶν γραμμάτων οὐδὲν ἐλαττὼν ἡπόρησαν. 236 ἀδυμοῦντα δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ θεασάμενη τὸν βασιλέα ἡ μάμιμη αὐτοῦ παραθαραόνειν ἤρειον καὶ λέγειν ὡς ἐστὶ τις ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ἰουδαίας αἰχμάλωτος ἐκείθεν τὸ

1 Niese: αὐτοῦ SPLVE: αὐτὸν O: evan. R.
3 βαρβάροις LV Lat.
4 ἐκ LVE.

a The references to the private temples of Belshazzar and Nebuchadnezzar are unscriptural details.

b It is not clear why Josephus distinguishes here between τείχος (usu. = “city-wall”) and τοίχος (usu. = “house-wall”). Scripture says, “there came forth fingers of a man’s hand and wrote opposite the candelabrum on the plaster of the wall (lxx and Theod. τοίχου) of the king’s palace.” Possibly
as spoil from Jerusalem but instead of using them had deposited in his own temple. Baltasarès, however, went so far in his audacity as to use them, and, while drinking and blaspheming God, he saw a hand coming out of the wall and writing certain syllables on (another) wall. Being troubled by this vision, he summoned the Magi and Chaldaean and all of that class who were in Babylonia and could interpret signs and dreams, in order that they might inform him what the writing meant. But, when the Magi were unable to read anything and said that they did not understand it, the king felt great anxiety and distress about the miraculous vision and made a proclamation throughout the entire country, promising to give to anyone who would make plain the writing and the meaning contained therein a necklace of linked gold and purple dress to wear like the kings of Chaldea, and the third part of his own realm. When this proclamation was made, the Magi gathered in still greater numbers and made still greater efforts to read the writing, but were no less at a loss than before. Seeing the king despondent over this, his grandmother began to console him by saying that there was a certain captive from Judaea, a native of that country, who Josephus's reference to the two (?) walls is based on Theod.'s reading "on the plaster of the wall and of the king’s palace."

The variant "among the barbarians" is evidently corrupt.

Aram. *hamnika* (A.V. "chain") and LXX-Theod. *μανάκης* are both derived from Persian *hanyānak*, the exact meaning of which is uncertain but is some kind of necklace.

Bibl. "the queen." Many ancient commentators assumed that this was the wife of Nebuchadnezzar and so the grandmother (according to rabbinic tradition, cf. § 231 note f) of Belshazzar.
γένος ἁχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ναβουχοδονωσόρου πορθήσατος Ἰεροσόλυμα Δανίηλος ὄνομα, σοφὸς ἀνήρ καὶ δεινὸς εὑρεῖν τὰ ἁμήχανα καὶ μόνω τῷ θεῷ γνώριμα, ὁ Ναβουχοδονωσόρῳ τῷ βασιλεὶ μηδενὸς ἀλλού δυνηθέντος εἰπεῖν περὶ ὁν ἔχρηζεν εἰς φῶς 238 ἡγαγε τὰ ζητούμενα. μεταπεμφάμενον oὐν αὐτὸν ἥξιον παρ’ αὐτοῦ πυνθάνεσθαι περὶ τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ τὴν ἁμαθίαν τῆς τῶν οὐχ εὑρόντων αὐτὰ κατακρίνειν, κἂν σκυθροπῶν ἦ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σημαινόμενον.

239 (3) Ταῦτ’ ἀκούσας καλεῖ τὸν Δανίηλον ὁ Βαλτασάρης καὶ διαλεξθεῖς ὡς πῦθον περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς σοφίας ὅτι τὸ ἑκεῖν αὐτῶ πνεῦμα συμπαρέστη καὶ μόνος ἐξευρεῖν ἰκανότατον ἢ μὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰς ἐπινοιαν ἐρχεται, φράζειν αὐτῶ τὰ γεγραμμένα καὶ τί σημαινεῖ μηνύειν ἥξιον τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῆσαι πορφύραν δῶσειν ἐνδεδύσθαι καὶ χρύσεων περὶ τῶν αὐχένα στρεπτῶν καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ μέρους τιμῆν καὶ γέρας τῆς σοφίας, ὡς ἄν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπισημότατος γένοιτο τοῖς ὀρῶσι καὶ τὴν αἰτίαιν ἔφο
240 ἦ τούτων ἐτυχε πυθανομένους. Δανίηλος δὲ τὰς μὲν δωρεὰς αὐτῶν ἐχειν ἥξιον (τὸ γὰρ σοφὸν καὶ θείον ἀδωροδόκητον εἶναι καὶ πρὸκει τοὺς δεομένους ὦφελεῖν) μηνύσειν 4 ὦ αὐτῷ τὰ γεγραμμένα σημαίνοντα καταστροφὴν αὐτῶ τοῦ βίου, ὅτι μηδ’ οίδ’ ὃ πρόγονος αὐτῶ διὰ τὰς εἰς τὸν υβρεῖς ἐκολάσθη τούτοις ἔμαθεν εὑσεβείν καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὲρ

1 ἐξευρεῖν LVE.
2 ed. pr.: μεταπεμφάμενος codd. E.
3 τὸ om. RO.
4 P3 Lat.: μηνύειν rell.: μηνύει Dindorf.

* The reference to the "dark outlook" is an unscriptural detail.
had been brought from there by Nebuchadnezzar when he sacked Jerusalem; his name was Daniel and he was a wise man and skilful in discovering things beyond man's power and known only to God, and he had brought to light what King Nebuchadnezzar had tried to find, when no one else was able to tell him what he wanted to know. She therefore begged the king to send for him and inquire of him concerning the writing and so condemn the ignorance of those who could not read it, even though a dark outlook might be indicated by God. 

(3) On hearing this, Baltasarès called Daniel and, after telling him that he had learned of him and his wisdom and of the divine spirit that attended him and how he alone was fully able to discover things which were not within the understanding of others, he asked him to tell him what the writing was and to explain its meaning; for, he said, if Daniel did this, he would give him purple to wear and put a chain of linked gold about his neck and give him a third of his realm as an honour and reward for his wisdom, so that through these he might become most illustrious to all who saw him and asked the reason why he had obtained them. Then Daniel begged him to keep his presents—for, he said, that which was wise and divine could not be bought with gifts but freely benefited those who asked for help—and said that he would explain the writing to him; it signified that his life would come to an end because not even from the punishment which his ancestor had suffered for his insolence to God had he learned to be pious and

b The last part of this sentence ("so that through these," etc.) is an addition to Scripture.

c Bibl. "Let thy gifts be to thyself and give thy rewards to another."
242 την ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν μηχανᾶςα ταλλα καὶ Ναβουχοδονοσόρου μεταστάντος εἰς δίαταν θηρίων ἐφ’ οίς ἦσέβησε καὶ μετὰ πολλάς ἱκεσίας καὶ δεήσεις ἐλεηθέντος ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ διὰ ταύτα τὸν θεόν ὡς τὴν ἀπασαν ἔχοντα δύναμιν καὶ προνοούμενον τῶν ἀνθρώπων μέχρις οὐ καὶ ἐπελεύσθησαν ἐμνοῦντος, λήθην αὐτὸς ἔλαβε τούτων καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐβλασφήμησε τὸ τ’ θεόν, τοῖς δὲ σκεύεσιν αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν παλλακίδων διηκονεῖτο. ταύτ’ οὖν ὧρῶν τὸν θεόν ὀργισθήναι αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ τῶν γεγραμμένων προκαταγγέλλων εἰς οἶνον αὐτὸν καταστρέψαι δεὶ τέλος. ἐδήλου δὲ τὰ γράμματα τάδε· “μάνη· τούτῳ δέ,” ἐλεγεν, “’Ελλάδα γλώσσῃ σημαινοί ἃν ἀριθμόν, ὥσπερ τῆς ζωῆς σου τὸν χρόνον καὶ τῆς ἁρχῆς ἠρθήκην ο’ θεὸς καὶ περισσεύειν ἐτῶν Βραχύν χρόνον. θεκελ· σημαινεί τούτο τὸν σταθμὸν· στήσας οὖν σου,” λέγει, “’ τὸν χρόνον τῆς βασιλείας ο’ θεὸς ἡδη καταφερμένην δηλοί. φαρέσ· καὶ τούτο κλάσμα δηλοὶ καθ’ ’Ελλάδα γλώτταν κλάσει τογαροῦν σου τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ Μῆδοις αὐτὴν καὶ Πέρσας διανεμεῖ.”

243 (4) Δαυιδίου δὲ ταύτα τῷ βασιλεί της σημαινεῖανεν ωςσαντος τὰ ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ γράμματα τὸν μὲν Βαλτασάρνι, οἶνον εἰκὸς ἐφ’ οὕτω χαλεποῖς τοῖς δεδηλουμένων, λύπη καὶ συμφορὰ κατέλαβεν· οὐ μὴν ὡς προφήτη αὐτῷ κακῶν γενομένω τὰς δωρεὰς ἃς ὑπέσχετο δώσειν οὐ δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ πάσας παρ’

1 εἰς τὸ V. 2 οὖν om. RO.

3 γεγραμμένα LVE. 4 Dindorf: τοῦτο codd. E.

5 σου τὸν] τοσοῦτον SP1: σου τοσοῦτον L.V: οὕτως σου τὸν E.

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not to attempt things beyond the natural power of man; on the contrary, though Nebuchadnezzar's way of living had been changed to that of beasts because of his impieties, and only on obtaining (God's) mercy after many supplications and entreaties had he been restored to a human way of living and to his kingdom and had therefore until the day of his death praised God as the possessor of all power and the guardian of men, Baltasarēs had forgotten these things and had grievously blasphemed the Deity and had allowed himself with his concubines to be served from His vessels. Seeing these things, he said, God had become wrathful with him and was making known beforehand through this writing to what an end he must come. Now the meaning of the letters was as follows. "Manē: this," he said, "would in the Greek tongue signify 'number'; that is to say, God has numbered the time of your life and reign, and there still remains for you a brief while. Thekel: this means 'weight'; for God has weighed the time of your kingship and shows that it is already declining. a Phares: this means 'a break' in the Greek tongue; accordingly He will break up your kingdom and divide it between the Medes and the Persians." b

(4) When Daniel told the king that this was what the writing on the wall signified, Baltasarēs, as was natural upon the revelation of such dread news, was seized with grief and unhappiness. Nevertheless he did not, on the ground that Daniel was a prophet of evil to him, withhold from him the gifts he had promised, but gave him all of them, reasoning, in the

a Bibl. "wanting."

b For a summary of modern interpretations of the writing see J. A. Montgomery's Commentary on Daniel, pp. 261 ff.
Text uncertain; possibly we should render, "and so he (Daniel) had interpreted." This explanation of Belshazzar's motive in rewarding Daniel is an addition to Scripture.

b Bibl. "in the same night."

c Where Josephus derived the above figure is unknown. Curiously enough it is supported by the Babylonian records which give 17 years for the reign of Nabonidus with whom Josephus identifies Belshazzar (cf. § 231). Nabonidus reigned from 556–539 B.C., cf. R. Campbell Thompson in the Cambridge Ancient History, iii. 224 note 1. According to 294.
first place, that the things for the prophesying of which they were to be given were peculiar to himself and his destiny and in no way attributable to the one who had prophesied them, and judging, in the second place, that they had been promised to a man who was good and just, even though the future should turn out to be dark for himself; this, then, was his decision. And not long afterwards both he and the city were captured when Cyrus, the king of Persia, marched against it. For it was in the time of Baltasaros that the capture of Babylon took place, in the seventeenth year of his reign. Such, then, as we learn from history, was the end to which the descendants of King Nebuchadnezzar came. Now Darius, who with his relative Cyrus put an end to the Babylonian sovereignty, was in his sixty-second year when he took Babylon; he was a son of Astyages but was called by another name among the Greeks.

rabbinic tradition Belshazzar reigned only 2 years, cf. Ginzberg vi. 430.

The identity of "Darius the Mede" (a son of Ahasuerus = Xerxes, according to Dan. ix. 1; cf. lxx reading Artaxerxes for Darius in v. 31) has long been a puzzle. The various identifications proposed—with Cambyses II, with Gobryas, the Median general assisting Cyrus, with Cyaxares or Astyages, Median kings—are discussed and rejected by H. H. Rowley in a recent book, Darius the Mede. He observes, p. 15, note 3, that "Josephus’s statement is inspired, of course, by the same harmonistic purpose as the modern arguments with which we are dealing. He found no place in his secular sources for the Darius the Mede of his biblical source, and so he resorted to this vague statement to mask the difficulty." To this I might add that the medieval Jewish commentators say that Darius the Mede (whom they distinguish from the later Persian Darius) was a father-in-law of Cyrus, but this statement does not seem to be based on very old rabbinic sources.
Δανίηλον τὸν προφήτην λαβὼν ἦγαγεν εἰς Μηδίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ πάσης αὐτῷ τιμῆς μεταδίδον πείρας σὺν αὐτῷ. τῶν τριῶν γὰρ σατραπῶν ἤν, οὗς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξῆκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων σατραπείων κατεστησεν, τοσούτους γὰρ ἐποίησε Δαρείος εἰς αὐτὴν.  

250 (5) Δανίηλος τοῖνυν ἄν ἐν τοιαύτῃ τιμῇ καὶ λαμπρᾷ σπουδῇ παρὰ τῷ Δαρείῳ καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν μόνος, ὡς ἂν ἔχων τὸ θεῖον πεπιστευμένος ἐν αὐτῷ, παραλαμβανόμενος ἐφθονήθη· βασκαίνουσι γὰρ οἱ μάλλον αὐτῶν ἐτέρους ἐν πλείον τιμῇ παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεὺσι βλέποντες.  

251 ξητούντων δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἀφοριμὴν διαβολὴς καὶ κατηγορίας τῶν ἀχθομένων ἐπὶ αὐτῷ εὐδοκιμοῦντι παρὰ τῷ Δαρείῳ παρείχεν αὐτίναν οὐδεμίαν· ὥν γὰρ καὶ χρημάτων ἐπάνω καὶ παντὸς λῆμματος περι- ὅρων, αἰσχύστον αὐτῷ δοκῶν καὶ ὑπέρ ἄν δοθεῖ καλῶς τι προσλαβεῖν, οὖν ἠγιστάσαν τοὺς ξηλο-  

252 τυποῦσιν αὐτὸν ἐγκλημάτων εὕρεσιν παρείχεν. οἱ  

οὖν ὡς οὐδὲν εἶχον, ὦ κατειπόντες αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ξημιώσουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τιμὴν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ διαβολῆς, τρόπον ἄλλον ἐξήτουν  

1 εἰς ταύτην SPL: om. V: τοσούτους ... αὐτήν om. E Lat.  

2 ἐν αὐτῷ παραλαμβανόμενος om. Lat., ed. pr.  

3 ed. pr.: δοκεῖν codd.: δοκοῦν Cocceji.  

4 καλῶς τι προσλαβεῖν Naber: καλῶς πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν codd.  

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Text uncertain. What Josephus means by “so many rulers in each (satrapy)” is a puzzle, since he gives only the number of satraps in all. In any case he differs from Scripture which says, “It pleased Darius to set over the kingdom a hundred and twenty satraps (A.V. “princes”), who should be over the whole kingdom. And over these three sārēkīn (A.V. “presidents,” lxx ἰγουμένους “governors,” Theod. τακτικοῦς “officers”) of whom Daniel was one” (A.V. 296
And he took the prophet Daniel to his own palace in Media and kept him by his side, bestowing every honour on him. For Daniel was one of the three satraps whom he appointed over the three hundred and sixty satrapies; so many rulers did Darius create in each satrapy.\textsuperscript{a}

(5) And so Daniel, being held in such great honour and such dazzling favour by Darius and being the only one associated with him in all matters because he was believed to have the divine spirit in him, became a prey to envy, for men are jealous when they see others held by kings in greater honour than themselves. But, although those who were resentful of the esteem in which he was held by Darius sought some pretext for slander and accusation against him, he never gave them a single cause, for, being superior to considerations of money and scorning any kind of gain and thinking it most disgraceful to accept anything even if it were given for a proper cause,\textsuperscript{b} he did not let those who were envious of him find a single ground for complaint; since these men, therefore, had nothing to bring against him before the king and so injure him in the king's esteem by their abuse and slander, they sought other means of getting him

\* Text and meaning slightly uncertain. The preceding is an amplification of Scripture which says merely that "he was faithful and no error or corruption" (A.V. "fault") was found in him."
καθ’ δὲ αὐτῶν ἑκποδῶν ποιήσονται. ὀρῶντες οὖν τὸν Δανίηλον τρίς τῆς ἡμέρας προσευχόμενον τῷ θεῷ, πρόφασιν ἐγνωσαν εὐρηκέναι δι’ ἣς ἀπολέσασθαι αὐτὸν. καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δαρείου ἐλθόντες ἀπ’ ἡγγελλὸν αὐτῷ ὡς τοὺς σατράπας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόνις δόξεσθαι ἐπὶ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας ἀνεῖναι τὸ πλήθος, ὅπως μὴ αὐτῷ τῖς μῆτε τοῖς θεοῖς δεόμενοι αὐτῶν καὶ εὐχόμενοι εἶναι, τόν μὲν τού γε αὐτῶν παραβάντα ταύτην τήν γνώμην εἰς τὸν τῶν λεόντων ἔκριναν ῥέψαι λάκκον ἀπολούμενον.

254 (6) 'Ο δὲ βασιλεὺς οὐ συνιδὼν τὴν κακουργίαν αὐτῶν οὐδ’ ἐπὶ τὸν Δανίηλον ταῦτα κατεσκευασμένους ὑπονοήσας ἀρέσκεσθαι τοῖς υπ’ αὐτῶν ἐφι δεδογμένοις, καὶ κυρώσεων τὴν προάρεσιν αὐτῶν ἐπαγγελλόμενος προτιθησθεὶ πρόγραμμα δηλοῦν τῷ 255 πλήθει τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς σατράπαις. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες φυλαττόμενοι τὰ προστεταγμένα μὴ παραβιάναι ἄρειμοι, Δανίηλω δὲ φροντὶς οὐδ’ ἠτυσοῦν τούτων ἦν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἔθος εἰχεν ἰστάμενος 256 ἡμέρα ἡ τῇ θεῷ πάντων ὀρῶντων. οἱ δὲ σατράπαι τῆς ἀφορμῆς αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐσπούδαζον λαβεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Δανίηλον παραφανείης εὐθὺς ἦκον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ κατηγόρουν ὡς παραβαίνοντος μόνου τοῦ Δανίηλου τὰ προστεταγμένα. μηδὲν δ’ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων τολμῶντος προσεύχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τούτ’ οὐ δὶ’ ἀσέβειαν, ἀλλ’ διὰ φυλακῆς καὶ 257 διατήρησιν … ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου ἀπὸ γὰρ μείζονος

1 εὐσέβειαν L.
2 post διατήρησιν lacunam statuit Holwerda: sed propter custodiam fieret praeceptorum, ille contemnens praecepta ad suum oraret deum Lat.

α According to Scripture prayers addressed to the king were excepted from the prohibition.

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out of the way. Accordingly, when they saw Daniel praying to God three times a day, they realized that they had found a pretext for destroying him. And, going to Darius, they informed him that his satraps and governors had resolved to give the people a respite for thirty days during which no one should address a petition or prayer either to him or to their gods, and they had, moreover, decided that anyone who transgressed this decree of theirs should be thrown into the lions' den to perish.

(6) Thereupon the king, who did not see through their wicked scheme or suspect that they had framed this measure against Daniel, said that he approved of their decree, and, undertaking to ratify their proposal, issued an edict announcing to the people what had been decreed by the satraps. Accordingly, while all the rest of the people took care not to transgress these orders and remained quiet, Daniel took no thought of them whatever but, as his custom was, stood up and prayed to God in the sight of all. Thereupon the satraps, being presented with the opportunity to act against Daniel which they had looked for, straightway went to the king and accused Daniel of being the only one to transgress his orders. For, they said, though no one else had dared to pray to the gods—and this not because of impiety but in order to observe and preserve . . .

out of envy. For, imagining that Darius might

\[ b \text{ Amplification of Scripture which says, "Wherefore King Darius signed the writing and the decree."} \]

\[ c \text{ Bibl. "his windows being open in his upper chamber toward Jerusalem, he kneeled upon his knees and prayed," etc.} \]

\[ d \text{ The text is in disorder here, probably because of the loss of some words after "preserve," less probably because of a conflation of variant readings.} \]
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ης προσεδόκων ευνοίας τοῦτον ποιεῖν τὸν Δαρείου ύπολαμβάνοντες, ὡς καὶ καταφρονώντα τῶν ἐκείνου προσταγμάτων συγγνώμην ἐτοίμως νέμειν, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο βασκαίνοντες τῷ Δανηῆλῳ, οὔτε μετεβάλλοντο πρὸς τὸ ἦμερῶτερον, ῥήπτειν δ’ αὐτὸν ἥξιον κατὰ τὸν νόμον εἰς τὸν λάκκον τῶν λεόντων.

258 ἑλπίσας δ’ ὁ Δαρείου ὅτι ῥύσεται τὸ θείον αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐδὲν μὴ πάθῃ δεινὸν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ εὐθύμως φέρειν τὰ συμβαίνοντα· καὶ βληθέντος εἰς τὸν λάκκον σφραγίσας τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ στομίου κείμενον ἀντὶ θύρας λίθον ἀνεχώρησε, δι’ ὅλης δ’ ἄστυς τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἄνων διήγειν ἁγω- 

259 νυῶν περὶ τοῦ Δανηῆλου· μεθ’ ἡμέραν δὲ ἀναστὰς ἐπὶ τὸν λάκκον ἦλθε καὶ σωζομένην τὴν σφραγίδα εὑρών, ἢ σημινάμενος τὸν λίθον κατελείπει, ἀνοίξας ἀνεβόησε, καλῶν τὸν Δανηῆλον καὶ πυθα- νόμενος εἰ σῶζεται. τοῦ δὲ ἐπακούσαντος τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ μηδὲν παθεῖν εἰπόντος, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀνελκυσθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου τοῦ τῶν θηρίων. οἱ δὲ ἐχθροὶ θεασάμενοι τὸν Δανηῆλον μηδὲν πεποινθότα δεινὸν, διὰ μὲν τὸ θείον καὶ τὴν τοῦτον πρόνοιαν ὅπι ήξιον αὐτὸν σώζεσθαι, πεπληρω- μένους δὲ τοὺς λέοντας τροφῆς μὴ ἀφασθαί μηδὲ προσελθεῖν τῷ Δανηῆλῳ νομίζοντες, τοῦτο ἔλεγον

261 πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. δ’ δὲ μισοῦσας αὐτοὺς τῆς πονηρίας παραβληθήναι μὲν πολλὰ κελεύης τοῖς λέουσι κρέα, κορεσθέντων δ’ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς

1 cong.: toûto codd.
2 αὐτὸν SPLVE.
3 ὑπακούσαντος Ibbetson.

a Emended text. mss. “might do this.”
b So Theod. and lxx, Aram. “with a mournful voice.”

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treat him with greater favour than they had expected, so as readily to pardon him even after he had shown contempt for the king's orders, and for this very reason being envious of Daniel, they would not adopt a milder course but demanded that he be cast into the lions' den in accordance with the law. So Darius, hoping that the Deity would save Daniel and that he would suffer no harm from the beasts, bade him bear his fate with good courage. Then, when he had been cast into the den, the king sealed the stone that was placed over the entrance as a door, and withdrew; and he went without food or sleep the whole night in his anxiety for Daniel. But, when day came, he arose and went to the den, where he found the seal intact which he had left to mark the stone, and, opening it, he called to Daniel with a shout and asked whether he was safe. Daniel, on hearing the king, said that he had not been harmed, whereupon he ordered him to be drawn up from the beasts' den. Daniel's enemies, however, on seeing that he had suffered no harm, did not choose to believe that it was through the Deity and His providence that he had been saved, but held that the lions had been stuffed with food and therefore had not touched Daniel nor come near him, and so they told the king. But he, in his de
testation of their wickedness, ordered a large quantity of meat to be thrown to the lions and, when they had eaten their fill, commanded Daniel's enemies
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tοῦ Δανιήλου προσέταξεν εἰς τὸν λάκκον ἐμβληθη-ναι, ὡς ἐι διὰ κόρον αὐτοῖς οὗ προσήξουσιν οἱ 262 λέοντες μάθοι. σαβές δ' ἐγένετο τῷ Δαρείῳ, τῶν σατραπῶν παραβληθέντων τοῖς θηρίοις, ὅτι τὸ θεῖον ἔσωσε τὸν Δανιήλον· οὐδενὸς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐφείσαντο οἱ λέοντες, ἀλλὰ πάντας διεσπάρατον ὡσανεὶ σφόδρα λιμωττοντες καὶ τροφής ἐνδεείς. ἠρέθιες δ' αὐτοὺς οὐ τὸ πενήν, οἶμαι, μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν ἀφθόνων κρεών ἐμπεπλησμένους, ἄλλῃ ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακίας, δήλη γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ἀλόγοις ἄν αὐτῇ ζώοις πρὸς τιμωρίαν γένοιτο, τοῦ θεοῦ προαιρουμένου.

263 (7) Διαφθαρέντων δὲ τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων Δανιήλω τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ὁ βασιλεὺς Δαρείος καθ' ὅλην ἐπεμψε τὴν χώραν ἐπαίνῳ τὸν θεὸν ὅν Δανιήλος προσκυνεῖ, καὶ μόνον αὐτὸν εἶναι λέγων ἀληθῆ καὶ τὸ πάντων5 κράτος ἔχοντα· ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὸν Δανιήλον ἐν ὑπερβαλλούσῃ τιμῇ, πρῶτον αὐτὸν 264 ἀποδείξας τῶν φίλων. ὡς δὲ οὕτως ἐπίσημοι καὶ λαμπρὸς ἐπὶ δόξης τοῦ θεοφιλῆς εἶναι Δανιήλος ὕκοδόμησεν ἐν Ἑκβατάνοις τῆς Μηδικῆς7 βάρυν εὐπρεπέστατον τι κατασκεύασμα καὶ θαυμασίως πεποιημένον, ἡ μέχρι δεύρῳ μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ σῶζεται,

1 προσέξουσιν P: προσέξουσιν V: προσέξουσιν E: προσ-ϕαίσουσι Ζωναρας: accederent Lat.
2 PLV: πεπληρωμένου rell.
3 αὐτῇ ζώοις ed. pr.: εν αὐτῇ ζώοις LV: ζώοις ἠν αὐτῇ rell.
4 γένοιτο LV ed. pr.: ἢ γένοιτο rell.
5 πᾶν LVE.
6 ὑπὸ δόξης SPLV.
7 LE Lat.: τοῖς Μηδικοῖς rell.
to be cast into the den in order that he might discover whether the lions would refuse to come near them because of satiety. When the satraps were thrown to the beasts, it became evident to Darius that it was the Deity who had saved Daniel, for the lions spared no one of them but tore them all to pieces as though they were terribly famished and in need of food. And it was not, I think, the beasts' hunger that aroused them, for they had been satisfied a little while before with an abundance of meat, but the wickedness of the men—for this would be apparent even to irrational animals—which resulted in their being punished, as was the intention of God.

(7) Now after those who had plotted against Daniel had perished in this manner, King Darius sent throughout the entire country, praising the God whom Daniel worshipped and saying that He alone was the true and Almighty God. He also showed Daniel extraordinarily high honour by designating him the first of his Friends. And Daniel, being now so renowned and distinguished because of his reputation as a man dear to God, built at Ecbatana in Media a fortress which was a very beautiful work and wonderfully made, and remains and is preserved to this day; it appears to those

a The preceding passage on the testing of the lions' hunger is an addition to Scripture, to which there is a rabbinic parallel, cf. Ginzberg iv. 349.

b Josephus, I think, here uses "friends" in the Hellenistic sense of nobles of the court. Scripture (Aram. and Theod.) says merely that Daniel "prospered in the reign (or "kingdom") of Darius," but lxx has "he was appointed over the kingdom of Darius."

c Cf. Dan. vii. 2, "I was at Shushan (Susa) in the fortress (bīrāh) A.V. "palace," Theod. βάρη = "fortress," lxx "city," etc. Cf. next note but one, and § 269 note c.
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τοῖς δ’ ὄργοι δοκεῖ προσφάτως κατεσκευάσθαι καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ἐκείνης ἦς ἐκαστὸς αὐτὴν ἡμέρας ἱστορεῖ γεγονέναι· οὕτως νεαρόν αὐτῆς καὶ ἀκμαῖον τὸ κάλλος καὶ μηδαμοῦ γεγρακός ὑπὸ τοσοῦτον χρόνον·

265 πάσχει γὰρ καὶ τὰ κατασκευάσματα ταύτων ἀνθρώπων καὶ πολιούται1 καὶ τὴν ἵσχυν λυόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐτῶν καὶ τὴν εὐπρέπειαν μαρανόμενα. θάπτουσι δ’ ἐν τῇ βάρει τοὺς τε Μήδων βασιλεὰς καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Πάρθων ἄχρι τοῦ δεύρου, καὶ οἱ ταύτην πεπιστευμένος Ἰουδαῖος ἐστιν ἱερεὺς καὶ τοῦτο 266 γίνεται μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας. ἂξιον δὲ τάνδρος τούτου καὶ δ’ οὐλοστα θαυμᾶσαι τις ἂν ἀκούσας διελθεῖν· ἀπαντὰ2 γὰρ αὐτῷ παραδέξεις ὡς ἐνὶ τινὶ τῶν μεγίστων εὐτυχῆθη προφητῶν,3 καὶ παρὰ τὸν τῆς ξωῆς χρόνον τιμὴ τε καὶ δόξα ἡ παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους, καὶ τελευ-

267 τῆςς ἐν μνήμην αἰώνιον ἤχει. τὰ γὰρ βιβλία, ὅσα δὴ συγγραφάμενος καταλέλοιπεν, ἀναγινώσκεται παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐτὶ καὶ νῦν καὶ πεπιστεύκαμεν εἰς αὐτῶν ὅτι Δανίηλος ὡμίλει τῷ θεῷ· οὐ γὰρ τὰ μέλλοντα μόνον προφητεύων διετέλει, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προφήται, ἀλλὰ καὶ καιρὸν ὠρίζει εἰς ὅν ταῦτα

1 παλαιοῦται SPLV Lat.
2 ἀπαντᾷ Niese.
3 εὐτυχῆθη προφητῶν om. Niese cum RO.

a Variant “grow old.”

b The medieval Jewish travellers, Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela and Rabbi Pethachya, who visited Mesopotamia and Persia in the 12th century, also mention the mausoleum of Daniel at Susa. Ginzberg vi. 437, citing them and older Christian sources, thinks that these medieval legends may be based on the present passage in Josephus. Rappaport also suggests that Josephus may have read about the supposed tomb of Daniel in an apocryphal addition to the
who view it to have been recently constructed and to have been completed on the very day on which the visitor sees it, so fresh and radiant is its beauty, which has in no way aged in this long period of time—for buildings suffer the same changes as men; they turn grey and lose their strength with the years, and their beauty fades. In this fortress they bury the kings of Media, Persia and Parthia even now, and the person to whose care it is entrusted is a Jewish priest; this custom is observed to this very day. Now it is fitting to relate certain things about this man (Daniel) which one may greatly wonder at hearing, namely that all things happened to him in a marvellously fortunate way as to one of the greatest prophets, and during his lifetime he received honour and esteem from kings and people, and, since his death, his memory lives on eternally. For the books which he wrote and left behind are still read by us even now, and we are convinced by them that Daniel spoke with God, for he was not only wont to prophesy future things, as did the other prophets, but he also fixed the time book of Daniel. Some Jewish sources agree with Josephus in making Daniel end his life at Susa, but Ginzberg says, "there can be no doubt that the old rabbinic sources quoted were of the opinion that Daniel died in the Holy Land, where he spent the remainder of his life."

text uncertain.

For the varying rabbinic opinions as to whether Daniel was a prophet or not see Ginzberg vi. 413. It may be added that in the Hebrew canon of Scripture the book of Daniel is found among the Hagiographa and not the Prophets.

Why Josephus uses the plural is not clear. Possibly he is thinking of various apocryphal additions to the book of Daniel current in his time, either in Heb.-Aram. or Greek, although he has not made use of any such apocryphal additions as are still extant.
268 ἀποβήσεται καὶ τῶν προφητῶν τὰ χείρω προλεγόντων καὶ διὰ τούτο δυσχεραινομένων ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους, Δανίηλος ἀγαθῶν ἐγνέτο προφήτης αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς εὐφημίας τῶν προλεγομένων εὐνοιαν ἐπισπάσθαι παρὰ πάντων, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ τέλους αὐτῶν ἀληθείας πίστιν καὶ δόξαν ὁμοί θειότητος παρὰ τοῖς όχλοις ἀποφέρε-269 σθαι. ¹ κατέλυπε δὲ γράφας, θεν ἦμιν τὸν τής προφητείας αὐτοῦ ἀκριβῆς καὶ ἀπαράλλακτον ἐποίησε δῆλον: φησὶ γὰρ αὐτοῦ γενομένου ² ἐν Σοῦσοι ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει τῆς Περσίδος, ὡς ἐξήλθεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον μετὰ ἑταίρων αὐτοῦ, σειμοῦ δὲ καὶ κλόνου τῆς γῆς ἔξαφνης γενομένου καταλειφθείς μόνος φευγόντων τῶν φίλων καὶ πέσοι μὲν ἐπὶ στόμα ταραχθεῖς ⁵ ἐπὶ τὰς δύο χεῖρας, τινὸς δ’ ἀφαμένου αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταξὺ κελεύοντος ἀναστήναι καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα συμβήσεσθαι τοῖς πολίταις ἴδειν 270 μετὰ πολλὰς γενεάς. ἀναστάντι δ’ αὐτῷ δειχθῆναι κριὸν ἐσήμανε μέγαν, πολλὰ μὲν ἐκπεφυκότα κέρατα, τελευταῖον δ’ αὐτῶν ύψηλότερον ἔχοντα. ἑπετ’ αναβλέψας μὲν εἰς τὴν δύσιν, θεάσασθαι δὲ

¹ ἀποφαίνεσθαι RO.
² ὁ LVE Chrysostomus et fort. Lat.: ἀληθὲς τὸ rel.
³ αὐτοῦ γενομένοι ex Lat. Hudson: αὐτῶν γενόμενον codd.
⁴ δὲ καὶ L Chrysostomus: καὶ rel.
⁵ ταράχθεις S: καταρῥαχθεῖς P: καὶ στηριχθῆναι Chrysostomus.

¹ Lit. “indistinguishableness” (from truth).
² Josephus omits Daniel’s vision of the beasts, ch. vii. He also ignores the chronological difficulty presented by the bibl. statement, viii. 1, that the vision in the plain of Susa occurred in the 3rd year of Belshazzar’s reign.
at which these would come to pass. And, whereas the other prophets foretold disasters and were for that reason in disfavour with kings and people, Daniel was a prophet of good tidings to them, so that through the auspiciousness of his predictions he attracted the goodwill of all, while from their realization he gained credit among the multitude for his truthfulness and at the same time won their esteem for his divine power. And he left behind writings in which he has made plain to us the accuracy and faithfulness to truth of his prophecies. For he says that when he was in Susa, the metropolis of Persia, and went out into the plain with his companions, there was a sudden shaking and trembling of the earth, and he was left alone by his friends, who fled, and in confusion he fell on his face and his two hands, whereupon someone touched him and at the same time bade him arise and see what was to happen to his countrymen in the future after many generations. When he arose, there was shown to him, he reveals, a great ram with many horns growing out of him, the last of which was higher than the rest. Then he looked toward the

Daniel's vision at Susa. Dan. viii. 2.
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τράγον ἀπ’ αὐτῆς δι’ ἀέρος φερόμενον συρράξαντα τῷ κριῷ καὶ τοῖς κέρασι πλήξαντα 1 δίς καταβαλεῖν 271 αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πατῆσαι. εἰτὰ τὸν τράγον ἰδεῖν ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου μέγιστον ἀναφύσαντα 2 κέρας, οὗ κλασθέντος ἀναβλαστῆσαι 3 τέσσαρα καθ’ ἔκα- στον τῶν ἀνέμων τετραμμένα. ἦς αὐτῶν δ’ ἀνα- σχεῖν καὶ ἅλλο μικρότερον ἀνέγραψε, δ’ αὐξήσαν ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ ὁ ταῦτα ἐπιδεικνύωσθαι θεός πολεμήσειν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐθνὸς καὶ τὴν πόλιν αἰρήσειν κατὰ κράτος, καὶ συνχεῖεν τὰ περὶ τὸν ναόν, καὶ τὰς θυσίας κωλύσειν γενόμεθα ἐπὶ ἠμέρας χιλίας διακοσίας 272 ἐνενήκοντα ἦς. ταῦτα μὲν ἰδεῖν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῷ ἐν Σοῦσσοι ν ο Δανίηλος ἔγραψε, κρίναι δ’ αὐτῷ 4 τὴν ὀψιν τοῦ φαντάσματος ἐδήλου τὸν θεὸν οὕτως· τὸν μὲν κριόν βασιλείας τᾶς Μηδών καὶ Περσῶν 5 σημαίνειν ἠφασκε, τὰ δὲ κέρατα τοὺς βασιλεύειν μέλλοντας, τὸ δὲ ἐσχατὸν κέρας σημαίνει τὸν ἐσχατὸν βασιλέα· τοῦτον γὰρ διοίκειν ἀπάντων 273 πλούτῳ τε καὶ δόξῃ. τὸν δὲ τράγον δηλοῦν ὡς ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τις βασιλεύων ἔσται, ὅς τῷ Πέρσῃ συμβαλὼν διὸς κρατήσει τῇ μάχῃ καὶ παραλήψεται 274 τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπασαν. δηλοῦσθαι δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου κέρατος τοῦ εν τῷ μετώπῳ τοῦ τράγου

2 L. (?) Chrysos.: ἀναφύντα rell.: produxisse Lat.
3 ἄλλα ἀναβλαστῆσαι Chrysos. 4 αὐτῶν RO.
5 Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων tr. LVE. Lat. Chrysos.

a Emended text; mss. “broke” or “butted.”
b According to Scripture the goat had a great horn before he attacked the ram.
c So Heb.; lxx and Theod. “strong.”
d Cf. Dan. xii. 11, “And from the time that the daily

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west and beheld a goat borne through the air from that quarter, which rushed upon the ram, struck him twice with his horns, and, hurling him to the ground, trampled on him. Thereupon he saw a very great horn sprouting up from the goat's forehead and, when this was broken off, four horns came up, facing each of the four winds. From these, he writes, there arose another smaller horn which God, who revealed these things to him, told him would grow and make war on his nation, take their city by force, disrupt the temple service and prevent the sacrifices from being offered for one thousand two hundred and ninety-six days. This, Daniel writes, is what he saw in the plain of Susa, and he relates that God interpreted to him the form of the vision as follows. The ram, he declares, signified the kingdoms of the Medes and Persians, and the horns those who were to reign, the last horn signifying the last king, for this king would surpass all the others in wealth and glory. The goat, he said, indicated that there would be a certain king of the Greeks who would encounter the Persian king twice in battle and defeat him and take over all his empire. The great horn in the forehead of the goat indicated sacrifice shall be taken away ... a thousand two hundred and ninety days.” In the present passage, viii. 14, Scripture has “two thousand and three hundred evening-mornings (lxx, Theod., A.V. “days”),” apparently meaning 2300 half-days or 1150 days, which approximately equals the 3½ years (lit. “time, times and half a time”) mentioned in vii. 25 as well as the number given in xii. 11. Cf. J. A. Montgomery, Commentary, etc., p. 343.

* The last part of this sentence (“the last horn,” etc.) is an addition to Scripture.

† The last part of this sentence also (“who would encounter,” etc.) is an addition to Scripture.
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tὸν πρῶτον βασιλέα καὶ τὴν τῶν τεσσάρων ἀναβλάστησιν ἐκπεσόντος ἐκεῖνον, καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ τέσσαρα κλίματα τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν ἀποστροφὴν ἐκάστου τοὺς διαδόχους μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ πρῶτον βασιλέως ἐμφανίζεσθαι καὶ διαμερισμὸν εἰς αὐτοὺς τῆς βασιλείας, οὕτε δὲ παίδας αὐτοῦ τούτους ὄντας οὕτε συγγενεῖς, πολλοὺς ἔτεσιν 275 ἀρξείν τῆς οἰκουμένης. γενήσεσθαι ἐὰν ἐκ τούτων τινά βασιλέα τὸν ἐκπολεμήσοντα τὸ τε ἔθνος καὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν κατὰ τούτους ἀφαιρησόμενον πολιτείαν καὶ συλήσοντα τὸν ναόν καὶ 276 τὰς θυσίας ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία κωλύσοντα ἐπιτελεσθήσῃ, καὶ δὴ ταῦτα ἧμῶν συνέβη παθεῖν τῷ ἔθνει ύπὸ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἑπιφανοῦς, καθὼς εἶδεν ὁ Δανίηλος καὶ πολλοὶς ἔτεσιν ἔμπροσθεν ἄνεγραψε τὰ γεγονόμενα. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον Δανίηλος καὶ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ἄνεγραψε καὶ ὅτι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀφεθῇσται τὰ Ἰεροσόλυμα καὶ ὁ ναὸς ἐφημω-277 θήσεται. ταῦτα πάντα ἐκεῖνος θεοῦ δεξιὰντος αὐτῶς συγγράψας κατέλειψεν· ὡστε τοὺς ἀναγνώρισκοντας καὶ τὰ συμβαίνοντα σκοποῦντας θαυμάζειν ἐπὶ τῇ παρὰ θεοῦ τῷ Δανίηλον καὶ τοὺς Ἐπικουρείους ἐκ τούτων εὐρύσκειν πεπλανημένους, 278 οἱ τῇ περὶ πρῶον ἐκβάλλον τῷ βίῳ καὶ θεον ὑπ’ αξιοῦσιν ἐπιτροπεῖν τῶν πραγμάτων, οὐδ’

1 Niese: γενέσθαι codd. E.: oriri Lat.: ἔσεσθαι Chrysos.  
2 αἱρεθῆσεται ... ναὸς add. Chrysos.  
3 τὸν αὐτὸν ... ἐρημωθῆσεται om. Lat., secl. Niese.  
4 τοῦ θεοῦ SLE.  
5 τὸν θεὸν LVE.

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a Here again Josephus amplifies Scripture.

b Cf. § 271 note d.

c “Jerusalem ... laid waste” is conjecturally added.
the first king, and the growing out of the four horns after the first horn fell out, and their facing each of the four quarters of the earth denoted the successors of the first king after his death, and the division of the kingdom among them and that these, who were neither his sons nor his relatives, would rule the world for many years.\(^a\) And there would arise from their number a certain king who would make war on the Jewish nation and their laws, deprive them of the form of government based on these laws, spoil the temple and prevent the sacrifices from being offered for three years.\(^b\) And these misfortunes our nation did in fact come to experience under Antiochus Epiphanes, just as Daniel many years before saw and wrote that they would happen. In the same manner Daniel also wrote about the empire of the Romans and that Jerusalem would be taken by them and the temple laid waste.\(^c\) All these things, as God revealed them to him, he left behind in his writings, so that those who read them and observe how they have come to pass must wonder at Daniel’s having been so honoured by God, and learn from these facts how mistaken are the Epicureans, who exclude Providence from human life and refuse to believe that God governs its affairs or

\(^a\) The fulfillment of Daniel’s prophecy proves God’s providence.

from the excerpt in Chrysostomus. Here as in an earlier reference (§ 78) to the prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, R. Eisler, \textit{The Messiah Jesus}, p. 609, and some other scholars suspect an interpolation in Josephus’s text. But as Josephus is here summarizing the contents of Dan. xi.-xii., which his rabbinic contemporaries interpreted as a prophecy of Roman conquest, there is no reason why he should not have mentioned Rome, or to suppose that a mere reference to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans would have been avoided as likely to offend Roman readers.
υπὸ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ἀφθάρτου πρὸς διαμονὴν τῶν ὁλων οὐσίας κυβερνᾶσθαι τὰ σύμπαντα, ἀμοιρον δὲ ἠνιχοῦ καὶ ἀφρόντιστον τὸν κόσμον αὐτομάτως

279 φέρεσθαι λέγουσιν. ὃς εἰ τούτων ἀπροστάτητον ἦν τῶν τρόπων, καθάπερ καὶ τὰς ναῖς ἐρήμους κυβέρνητῶν καταδυναμένας δρῶμεν υπὸ πνευμάτων ἢ καὶ τὰ ἁρμάτα περιτρεπόμενα μὴ ἔχοντα τοὺς ἦμιο-

χοῦντας, συντριβεῖς ἃν υπὸ τῆς ἀπρονοήτου φορᾶς ἀπωλάλει καὶ διεφθείρετο. τοὺς οὖν προειρημένους υπὸ Δανηλὸν δοκοῦσί μοι σφόδρα τῆς ἀληθοῦς δόξης διαμαρτάνειν οἱ τῷ θεῷ μηδεμίαν εἶναι περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀποφαινόμενοι πρόνοιαν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου προφητείαν, εἰ συνεβαινείν αὐτοματισμῷ τῶν τὸν κόσμον διάγειν, πάντα ἐω-

280 ῥώμεν ἀποβαίνοντα. ἐγὼ μὲν4 περὶ τούτων ὡς εἴρον καὶ ἀνέγνων οὕτως ἐγραφαί· εἰ δὲ τις ἄλλως δοξάζειν βουλήσεται περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀνέγκλητον ἐχέτω τὴν ἐτερογνωμοσύνην.

1 O Lat.: φροντιστοῦ rell.
2 Niese: ἀπὸ codd.
3 συμφορᾶς O.
4 μὲν οὖν SPV.

"blessed and immortal being" is a phrase attributed to Epicurus, cf. Usener, Epicurea, p. 71.
that the universe is directed by a blessed and immortal Being\(^a\) to the end that the whole of it may endure, but say that the world runs by its own movement without knowing a guide or another's care.\(^b\) If it were leaderless in this fashion, it would be shattered through taking a blind course\(^c\) and so end in destruction, just as we see ships go down when they lose their helmsmen or chariots overturn when they have no drivers. It therefore seems to me, in view of the things foretold by Daniel, that they are very far from holding a true opinion who declare that God takes no thought for human affairs. For if it were the ease that the world goes on by some automatism, we should not have seen all these things happen in accordance with his prophecy.\(^d\) Now I have written about these matters as I have found them in my reading; if, however, anyone wishes to judge otherwise of them, I shall not object to his holding a different opinion.

\(^b\) Or "uncared for." The variant means practically the same as the above.

\(^c\) Variant "through unforeseen misfortune."

\(^d\) Cf. the anti-Epicurean passage in \textit{Ap. ii.} 180 ff., and with Josephus's argument here cf. that in Plutarch, \textit{De Pythiae Orac.} 8 (Usener, p. 355). Josephus's older contemporary Philo was no less antagonistic to the Epicureans. In rabbinic literature the word \textit{Apikoros}, derived from "Epicurus," is used in the general sense of "unbeliever."
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΙΑ

(i. 1) Τῷ δὲ πρῶτῳ τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας ἔτει (τοῦτο δ’ ἦν ἐβδομηκοστὸν ἄφ’ ἦς ἡμέρας μεταναστήναι τὸν λαὸν ἧμῶν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας εἰς Βαβυλῶνα συνεπέσεν) ἥλεγεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν καὶ τὴν συμφορὰν ἐκείνων τῶν ταλαιπώρων, καὶ καθὼς προείπεν αὐτοῖς διὰ Ἰερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου 2 πρὶν ἡ κατασκαφήναι τὴν πόλιν, ὡς μετὰ τὸ δουλεύσαι Ναβουχοδονοσόρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ταύτην ὑπομείναι τὴν δουλείαν ἐπὶ ἐτή ἐβδομήκομεν πάλιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πάτριον ἀποκαταστήσει γῆν καὶ τὸν ναὸν οἰκοδομήσουσι καὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀπολαύσουσι εὐδαιμονίας, ταῦτ’ αὐτῶν παρέσχεν. παρορμήσας γὰρ τὴν Κύρου ψυχὴν ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν γράψαι κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἁσιαν ὅτι Κύρος ὁ βασιλεύς λέγει: "ἐπεὶ μὲ ὁ θεὸς ὁ μὲν γιστός τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπέδειξε βασιλεά, πείθομαι τούτων εἶναι διὸ τὸ τῶν Ἰσραήλτων ἔθνος προσκυνεῖ. καὶ γὰρ τούμουν προείπεν ὅνομα διὰ τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ ὅτι τὸν ναὸν αὐτοῦ οἰκοδομήσον ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωις ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ χώρᾳ." 5 (2) Ταῦτα δ’ ἔγνω Κύρος ἀναγνώσκων τὸ βιβλίον ὅ τὸς αὐτοῦ προφητείας ὁ Ἡσαίας κατέλιπεν πρὸ ἐτῶν διακοσίων καὶ δέκα· οὗτος γὰρ ἐν ἀπορήσει.
In the first year of Cyrus’s reign—this was the seventieth year from the time when our people were fated to migrate from their own land to Babylon—God took pity on the captive state and misfortune of those unhappy men and, as He had foretold to them through the prophet Jeremiah before the city was demolished, that, after they should have served Nebuchadnezzar and his descendants and endured this servitude for seventy years, He would again restore them to the land of their fathers and they should build the temple and enjoy their ancient prosperity,\(^a\) so did He grant it them. For he stirred up the spirit of Cyrus and caused him to write throughout all Asia,\(^b\) "Thus says King Cyrus. Since the Most High God has appointed me king of the habitable world, I am persuaded that He is the god whom the Israelite nation worships, for He foretold my name through the prophets \(^c\) and that I should build His temple in Jerusalem in the land of Judaea."

(2) These things Cyrus knew from reading the book of prophecy which Isaiah had left behind two hundred and ten years earlier. For this prophet had

\(^a\) Jer. xxv. 11 ff., xxix. 10 ff.
\(^b\) Bibl. "throughout all his kingdom."
\(^c\) There is no reference to the prophets in 1 Esdras = Ezra.
This figure is obtained by subtracting the 70-year period of the exile from the 210-year interval (cf. above § 5), between Isaiah's prophecy and the first year of Cyrus. It is not wholly consistent, however, with the chronology given earlier by Josephus. Isaiah's prophecy concerning the exile was made 15 years before the end of Hezekiah's reign, according to Int. x. 27 ff. The interval between this prophecy and the 316
said that God told him in secret, "It is my will that Cyrus, whom I shall have appointed king of many great nations, shall send my people to their own land and build my temple." Isaiah prophesied these things one hundred and forty years before the temple was demolished. And so, when Cyrus read them, he wondered at the divine power and was seized by a strong desire and ambition to do what had been written; and, summoning the most distinguished of the Jews in Babylon, he told them that he gave them leave to journey to their native land and to rebuild both the city of Jerusalem and the temple of God, for God, he said, would be their ally and he himself would write to his own governors and satraps who were in the neighbourhood of their country to give them contributions of gold and silver for the building of the temple and, in addition, animals for the sacrifices.

(3) When Cyrus had made this announcement to the Israelites, the leaders of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin and the Levites and priests set out for Jerusalem, but many remained in Babylon, being unwilling to leave their possessions. On the Israelites' arrival all the king's friends helped them and brought their share for the construction of the temple, some beginning of the exile or the fall of Jerusalem in the 11th year of Zedekiah's reign was 125 years, not 140 years, according to the regnal figures given by Josephus (cf. Ant. x. 143 note b). Actually the passage in Is. xlv. about the restoration under Cyrus was made, not by the prophet Isaiah who was a contemporary of Hezekiah in the late 8th century, but by a later prophet (whom modern scholars call Deutero-Isaiah for convenience) living in the 6th (or 5th) century.

b Unscriptural detail.

c According to Scripture it was the Jews' neighbours in Babylon, not in Judaea, who helped them in this way.
JOSEPHUS

catastheuyevn oi mên xrhoiôn oi ò' árnyvnon oi ò' bòskhmyatôn plêthos svn 'ppoios. kai tás te evxha ápexdidosan toj thev kai tás nymzoménas kata to palaión thevas épetelouv, óusper ánaktizoménhs autóis tis pólèwos1 kai ánabivousis tis árkhias

10 peri tìn thriotkeían svnthetías. ápeteperis ò' autóis Kúros kai tá skeitê tou theov à sullásas tou naon ó basileus Nàbouschodónsoros eis tìn Bàbulôna

11 ekómmenv. paraedwken de tauta fèrein Mìthridátì tòv gaçofoylakì autòi, proostaxas doûnai autà 'Àbassaráw, ópws fyláttì méxri tis oikodómías tou naou, telesbèntos de autòi paraðò tois íreuyvn kai ãrchousi tou plêthous, eis tov naon ápo-

12 dothhsména.2 pémpiei de kai énivsotíhyn pròs touvs en ßyria satrátas Kúros tâde légyvousan. "basí-

leus Kúros Sìsính3 kai Sàrassánìh xàiwev. 'Ioudaiwv toûs en tô émi' ùrov katóku'mòv ëpê-
trepìa tois boulovévous eis tìn ìdían ápèluxous patrida4 tìn te pòlin ánaktizai kai tov naon oikodómìsa toû en 'Ierovolýmuoi tou theov êpi tou

1 tis pólèwos] pálw LAW: om. Lat.
2 ápoodhstoménous FL: ápoothsménoi P.
3 Sìsínìh LAW.
4 eis . . . patrida om. PFLAV.

a Variants (§§ 93, 100) Sanabasaros, Sanabasarès, etc.;
1 Esdras cod. A ßanabássaros, cod. B ßanamássaros, Luc. ßasabalássaros; Ezra Sheshbazzar (Shùbazzar), Ixx cod. A ßasabássaros, cod. B ßabanaasár, Luc. ßasabássárìs. It is not clear from the various references to Sheshbazzar in Ezra whether he was the Persian governor of Judaea (he is called "prince of Judah" in Ezra i. 8) or the Jewish leader of the returning exiles. In the latter case he may be identified with Zerubbabel, as is implicitly done by Josephus in § 13 (and also by some modern scholars), 318
giving gold, others silver, and still others a great many cattle and horses. And they made the offerings vowed to God and performed the customary sacrifices in accordance with ancient custom, as if their city were being rebuilt and the ancient form of worship revived. Cyrus then sent them the vessels of God which King Nebuchadnezzar had taken as spoil from the temple and carried off to Babylon; these he gave to his treasurer Mithridates to carry, instructing him to give them to Abassaros to keep until the temple should be built, and upon its being completed to turn it over to the priests and leaders of the people to be deposited in the temple. Cyrus also sent a letter to the satraps in Syria, which read as follows: “King to Sisinês and Sarabasanês, greeting. To those among the Jews dwelling in my country, who so wished, I have given permission to return to their native land and to rebuild the city and build the

although they are clearly distinguished in 1 Esdras vi. 17 (18). Rabbinic tradition, on the other hand, identifies Zerubbabel with Nehemiah, cf. Ginzberg iv. 352.

Josephus here alters the scriptural account and anticipates the reference to Cyrus’s letter. In 1 Esdras vi. = Ezra vi. Scripture says that Darius at the request of the Jews had a search made in the archives and thereupon found Cyrus’s letter authorizing the rebuilding of the temple, with specification of its height, materials, etc.: Scripture goes on to say that Darius then ordered his western satraps Tatnai and Shethar-boznai (cf. following notes) to carry out the commands of Cyrus. Thus Josephus supplies, in its proper place, the decree of Cyrus which is mentioned retrospectively in Scripture.

1 Esdras Σισινης; Ezra Tatnai (Tatt’na), l.xx cod. A ὶαθαβαι, cod. B Ταυδαβαι.
1 Esdras Σαθραβοζάν; Ezra Shethar-boznai, l.xx Σαθραβοζάν (-ava).

The variant omits “to return to their native land and.”
JOSEPHUS

13 αὐτοῦ τόπου ἐφ’ οὗ καὶ πρῶτον. κατέπεμψε δὲ μου καὶ τὸν γαζοφυλάκα Μιθριδάτην καὶ Ζορο-
βαῆλον τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἵνα θεμελίων
βάλωνται τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ οἰκοδομήσωσιν αὐτὸν ύφος
μὲν ἐξήκοντα πηχῶν τῶν δ’ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ εἴδρος,
λίθου μὲν ἕξατοι τρεῖς ποιησάμενοι δόμους καὶ ένα
ἐξόλον ἑγχώριον, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ θυσιαστήριον ἐφ’

14 οὗ θύσουσιν τῷ θεῷ. τὴν δὲ εἰς ταύτα δαπάνην ἐκ
τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ γενέσθαι βουλομαι. καὶ τὰ σκεύη δὲ,
ἀ ἐσύλησεν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ Ναβουδοδόνσορος ὁ
βασιλεὺς, ἐπεμψα paraδοὺς Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ γαζο-
φυλακί καὶ Ζοροβαβήλῳ τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν Ἰουδαίων,
ἵνα διακομίσωσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἀποκατα-

15 στήσωσιν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. ὁ δ’ ἀριθμὸς
αὐτῶν ἐστιν τοσοῦτος: ψυκτήρες χρύσεοι πεντή-
κοντα, ἀργύρεοι τετρακόσιοι, θηρίκλεια χρύσεα
πεντήκοντα, ἀργύρεα τετρακόσια, κάδοι χρύσεοι
πεντήκοντα, ἀργύρεοι πεντακόσιοι, σπονδεία χρύσεα
τεσσαράκοντα, ἀργύρεα τριακόσια, φιάλαι χρυσαί
τριάκοντα, ἀργύρεαι δισχίλιαι τετρακόσιαι, σκεύη

16 τε ἅλλα μεγάλα χίλια. συγκχωρῷ δὲ αὐτῶς καὶ τὴν
ἐκ προγόνων εἰθισμένην τιμὴν κτητῶν καὶ οἶνον καὶ
ἐλαιὸν δραχμάς εἰκοσιν μυριάδας καὶ πεντακοσ-
χιλίας πεντακοσίας καὶ εἰς σεμίδαλιν πυρῶν ἄρ-

1 V: θύσωι vel θύσωι rell.
2 πεντακόσιοι W Lat. (P2 vid.).
3 τριάκοντα A: τεσσαράκοντα WE.
4 πεντακόσια Hudson, Naber.
5 τριάκοντα AME Lat.

a Cf. lxx (1 Esdras and Ezra) Zoroβαβέλ; bibl. Zerubbabel. On the confusion of Zerubbabel with Sheshbazzar, cf. § 11 note a.
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temple of God in Jerusalem on the same spot on which it formerly stood. And I have sent there my treasurer Mithridates and Zorobabelos, a the leader of the Jews, to lay the foundations of the temple and build it to a height of sixty cubits and the same breadth and to make the walls of three courses of polished stone and one of the wood of that country, and similarly an altar whereon they may sacrifice to God. b The expense for these things I wish to come out of my treasury. I have also sent the vessels which King Nebuchadnezzar took as plunder from the temple, giving them over to my treasurer Mithridates and to Zorobabelos, the leader of the Jews, to carry to Jerusalem and place them once more in the temple of God. Now the number of these vessels is as follows: fifty wine-coolers of gold and four hundred of silver, fifty Theri-cleian cups of gold and four hundred of silver, fifty jars of gold and five hundred of silver, forty libation-bowls of gold and three hundred of silver, thirty cups of gold and two thousand four hundred of silver, and a thousand other large vessels. c I also grant them the honorary gift which their forefathers used to receive, for cattle, wine and oil two hundred and five thousand five hundred drachmas and twenty thousand.

b The altar is not mentioned in Scripture.

c Josephus's list of vessels is longer than those in 1 Esdras and Ezra, and agrees with them only in two of the last three items. The scriptural lists are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 Esdras</th>
<th>Ezra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1000 gold libation-bowls (A.V. “cups”)</td>
<td>30 gold chargers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000 silver libation-bowls</td>
<td>1000 silver &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 silver censers</td>
<td>29 knives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 gold cups (A.V. &quot;vials&quot;)</td>
<td>30 gold basins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2410 silver &quot;</td>
<td>410 silver &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000 other vessels</td>
<td>1000 other vessels</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
JOSEPHUS

tάβας δισμυρίας πεντακοσίας. κελεύω δὲ τὴν
tούτων χορηγίαν ἐκ τῶν Σαμαρείας γίνεσθαι
17 φόρων. ἐποίσουσι δὲ τὰ ίερεῖα ταύτα κατὰ τοὺς
Μωσεέως νόμους οἱ ίερεῖς ἐν Ἰεροσολύμως καὶ
προσφέροντες εὑξονται τῷ θεῷ περὶ σωτηρίας τε
tοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ἡ Περ-
σῶν βασιλεία διαμείνῃ. τοὺς δὲ παρακούσαντας
tούτων καὶ ἀκυρώσαντας ἀνασταυρωθήναι βούλομαι
18 καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν εἶναι βασιλικὰς." καὶ ἡ μὲν
ἐπιστολὴ ταύτ' ἐδήλου· τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας
συνελθόντων εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα μυριάδες ἦσαν τέσ-
σαρες καὶ δισχίλιοι πετρακόσιοι1 ἑξήκοντα δύο.2
19 (ii. 1) Βαλλομένων δὲ τοὺς θεμελίους τοῦ ναοῦ
καὶ περὶ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν αὐτοῦ λιᾶν ἔπονδικότων,
tὰ πέριξ ἕθην καὶ μάλιστα τὸ Χουθαίων, οὐδὲ ἐκ τῆς
Περσίδος καὶ Μηδικῆς ἀγαγὼν Σαλμανάσσης3 ὁ
τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς κατάκυσεν ἐν Σαμαρεία,
ότε τῶν τῶν Ἰσραηλίτων λαὸν ἀνάστατον ἐποίησεν,
pαρεκάλου τοὺς σατράπας καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελομένους
ἔμποδίζειν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους πρὸς τε τὴν τῆς πόλεως
20 ἀνάστασιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευήν. οἱ δὲ καὶ
χρήμασι διαφθαρέντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπημπόλησαν τοὺς
Χουθαίους τὸ περὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀμέλει καὶ βά-
θυμον τῆς οἰκοδομίας. Κύρις γὰρ περὶ τὸ ἄλλοις

1 τριακόσιοι Clericus, Naber.
2 δύο om. A Lat.
3 ex libr. non. Niese: Σαλ(α)μανάσ(σ)άρης codd.

a In 1 Esdras and Ezra salt is included. The exact sum
of money for cattle and the measure of grain are details
invented by Josephus.

b 1 Esdras "out of the tribute of Coele-Syria (here = Pale-
stine and Syria; cf. § 25 note) and Phoenicia"; Ezra "out
of the king’s revenues from beyond the river" (i.e. Palestine
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five hundred artabae of wheat for fine flour.\(^a\) I order these to be furnished out of the tribute from Samaria.\(^b\) And the priests in Jerusalem shall offer these sacrifices in accordance with the laws of Moses and, when they bring them, shall pray to God for the well-being of the king and his family and that the kingdom of Persia may long endure. And it is my will that those who disobey these commands or set them aside shall be crucified and that their possessions shall become the property of the king.” These were the contents of the letter. Now the number of those who came to Jerusalem from the land of their captivity was forty-two thousand four hundred and sixty-two.\(^c\)

(ii. 1) While they were laying the foundations of the temple and very busily engaged in building it, the surrounding nations, especially the Chuthaeans, whom the Assyrian king Salmanassēs\(^d\) had brought from Persia and Media and settled in Samaria when he deported the Israelite people, urged the satraps and those in charge to hinder the Jews in the rebuilding of the city and the construction of the temple. And so, being corrupted by their bribes, they sold their services to the Chuthaeans by showing neglect and indifference toward the Jews in their building. For Cyrus, because of his preoccupation with other

\(^a\) Bibl. 42, 360 (cf. § 69 note c). According to Scripture this was the number of exiles (exclusive of children, servants, etc.) returning with Zerubbabel and Jeshua, presumably in the reign of Cyrus (cf. 1 Esdras v. 70 (lxx 67) ff. = Ezra iv. 3 ff.); however in §§ 64 ff. Josephus follows 1 Esdras in connecting the return under Zerubbabel and Jeshua with Darius.

\(^b\) Emended form (cf. Ant. ix. 259 ff.): mss. Sal(a)manassēs; Ezra Esar-haddon; 1 Esdras cod. A Ἀσβασαρέθ, cod. B Ἀσβακαφάθ, Luc. Ἀχορόδαν.
JOSEPHUS

αὐχοληθέντι πολέμους ἁγνοία τούτων ἦν καὶ στρατευσαμένως γε ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας εὐθὺς¹ συνέβη τε-
21 λευτῆσαι τὸν βίον. Καμβύσου δὲ τοῦ Κύρου παιδὸς τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος οἱ ἐν Συρία καὶ
Φωική καὶ Ἀμμανίτιδι καὶ Μωσαίτιδι καὶ Σαμαρείᾳ γράφουσιν ἐπιστολήν Καμβύσης δηλοῦσιν τάδε: 22 ἂν
dέσποτα, οἱ παῖδεσ² οὐ τὸ πάντα τὰ πραττόμενα γράφων καὶ Σεμέλιος ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ οἱ τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ἐν Συρία καὶ Φωική κριτικεῖ, γνωστοὶν σε δεῖ, βασιλεῦ, ὅτι Ἰουδαῖοι οἱ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἀναχεῖντες ἐληλύθασιν εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ τὴν τε πόλιν τὴν ἀποστάτων καὶ πονηρῶν οἰκο-
δομῶν καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐπισκενάζοντι 23 τὰ τείχη καὶ ναὸν ἀνεγείρονσιν. ἦσθι μὲντοι γε
tούτων γενομένων οὐτε φόρους αὐτοὺς τελεῖν ὑπο-
μενοῦντας οὐτε δὲ ὕπακονειν ἐθελήσοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ
βασιλεῶν ἀντιστήσονται καὶ ἄρχειν μᾶλλον ἢ 24 ὕπακονειν ἐθελῆσον. ἐνεργουμένων οὖν τῶν
περὶ τὸν ναὸν καὶ σπουδαζομένων καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξεν ἦμιν γράψας σοι, βασιλεῦ, καὶ μὴ περισεῖν,
ὅπως ἐπισκεψίῃ τὰ τῶν πατέρων σου βιβλία· εὐ-
ρήσεις γὰρ ἐν αὐτῶι ἀποστάτας καὶ τῶν βασιλέων

¹ έκεὶ PWE. ² δούλου Λ.Α.

— Cf. Herodotus i. 214.
— Here Josephus quietly corrects the bibl. chronology of the Persian kings. According to Scripture, the letter which follows (the first letter quoted in the book of Ezra) was written to Artaxerxes. The bibl. account, moreover, makes it appear that Xerxes (Heb. 'Αχασιερός) and Artaxerxes preceded Darius, and passes over Cambyses entirely. Josephus's corrections here and elsewhere result in presenting the proper historical sequence, Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius (cf. § 30), Xerxes (cf. § 120) and Artaxerxes (cf. § 184).

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wars, was in ignorance of these matters and, as it happened, died soon after making war on the Massagetae. But, when Cyrus's son Cambyses took over the royal power, the people in Syria, Phoenicia, Amman, Moab and Samaria wrote a letter which read as follows: "To our sovereign from his servants Rathymos, the recorder of all things that happen, Semelios, the scribe, and the judges of the council in Syria and Phoenicia. You should know, O King, that the Jews who were carried off to Babylon have come to our land and are building their rebellious and mischievous city and its market-places, and are repairing the walls and erecting a temple. Know, therefore, that, if these things are done, they will neither consent to pay tribute nor be willing to obey, but will oppose the kings and seek rather to rule than to obey. Since, then, work is being done on the temple and zealously carried forward, we have thought it proper to write you, O King, and not to overlook these things, in order that you may examine the records of your fathers, for you will find in them that the Jews have been rebels and enemies of the *Bibl. Artaxerxes. By omitting the name Josephus avoids the awkwardness of openly correcting Scripture. d So 1 Esdras (cod. B and Luc.; cod. A Ραούμος); Ezra Rehum (Ῥεχώμ). e Cf. § 26 note c. f Cf. 1 Esdras cod. A Σεμελίους, cod. B Σαμέλιος; Ezra Shimshai, lxx cod. A Σαμαάι, cod. B Σαμασώ. g So Luc. 1 Esdras (cod. A has κραταιοί "rulers" for κραταί "judges," while cod. B omits the word); in Ezra we have what seems to be a mixed list of titles and ethnic names, the Aram. being corrupt. A.V. renders "the Dinaites, the Apharsathchites, the Tarpelites, the Apharsites, the Archevites, the Babylonians, the Susanchites, the Dehavites and the Elamites."
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έχθρους Ἰουδαίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν, ἡ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ἡρμομέθη. ἔδοξε δ’ ἦμιν καὶ τούτῳ σοι δηλώσαι ἀγνοούμενον ἵσως, ὅτι τῆς πόλεως οὕτως συνοικισθεῖσα καὶ τὸν κύκλον τῶν τειχῶν ἀπολαβοῦσαν ἀποκλείεται σοι ἡ ὀδὸς ἡ ἐπὶ κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην.’’

26 (2) Ἄναγνωσθέντα πολὺς ἡμῶν γράφει τάδε λέγων: ’’βασιλεὺς Καμβύς ὁ Ραθύμων τῷ γράφοντι τὰ προσπίπτοντα καὶ Βεηθέμω καὶ Σεμελίῳ γραμματεῖ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς συντασσόμενοι καὶ οἴκοις ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ καὶ Φοινίκῃ τάδε λέγει. Ἄναγνωσθέντα παρ’ ὑμῶν γράμματα ἐκέλευσα ἐπισκέψασθαι τὰ τῶν προγόνων μου βιβλία, καὶ εὐρέθη ἡ πόλις ἔχθρα βασιλεύσαι ἀεὶ γεγενημένη, καὶ στάσεις καὶ πολέμους οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες πραγματευσάμενοι, καὶ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ἐγνώμεν δυνάτους καὶ βιαίους φορολογήσαντας κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην. Ἐγὼ τοῖς προσέταξα μὴ συγχωρεῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀνοικοδομεῖν τὴν πόλιν, μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον αὐξηθῇ τὰ τῆς κακίας αὐτῶν, ἢ χρώμενοι πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς διατετελέ-
kings, as also their city, which for that reason has been laid waste until now. We have also thought it proper to make this known to you, lest you may perhaps be ignorant of it, namely that, if the city is thus refounded and has its circuit of walls restored, the road to Coele-Syria and Phoenicia will be closed to you.”

(2) When Cambyses read this letter, being naturally bad, he was aroused by its contents and wrote as follows: “Thus says King Cambyses to Rathymos, the recorder of events, and Beelzemos and Semelios, the scribe, and the rest of their colleagues resident in Samaria and Phoenicia. After reading the letter sent by you, I ordered the records of my forefathers to be examined, and it was found that that city has always been hostile to the kings and that the inhabitants have been engaged in rebellions and wars; and we have learned that their kings, being powerful and violent men, have levied tribute on Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. I have therefore given orders that the Jews shall not be permitted to rebuild the city, lest the amount of mischief which they have continually contrived against the kings be further increased.”


b Unscriptural detail.

c Cf. 1 Esdras Ραθυμός τῷ γράφοντι τὰ προσπίπτοντα καὶ Βεελτεήμω (v.l. Βεελτεήμω). The Aramaic text of Ezra gives בֶּּקְּלְּלְּהַּ as a title of Rehum (Rathymos), meaning something like “chancellor.” Josephus, following 1 Esdras here, both translates it and transliterates it as a personal name (“Rathymos, the recorder of events, and Beelzemos”), with the result that we have three persons addressed by Artaxerxes (Cambyses) instead of the two named in Scripture (namely Rehum and Shimshai) and in § 22.

d 1 Esdras adds “and Syria.”
29 κασιν.” τούτων ἀναγνωσθέντων τῶν γραμμάτων ὁ Ράθυμος καὶ Σεμέλιος ὁ γραμματεύς καὶ οἱ τούτοις συντεταγμένοι παραχρήμα ἐπιτηδήσαντες ἵπποις ἐσπευσαν εἰς 'Ἰεροσόλυμα πλῆθος ἐπαγόμενοι πολὺ, καὶ διεκώλυσαν οἰκοδομεῖν τοὺς 'Ἰουδαίους τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ναὸν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπεσχέθη τὰ ἔργα μέχρι τοῦ δευτέρου έτους τῆς Δαρείου βασιλείας τῶν' Περσῶν ἐπ' ἄλλα ἐτη ἐννέα. Καμβύσης γὰρ εξ ἑτη βασιλεύσας καὶ καταστρεφόμενος εἷν τούτοις τὴν Αἰγυπτίου ὑποστρέφας ἐπελεύθησεν ἐν Δαμασκῷ.

31 (iii. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν μάγων ἀναίρεσιν, οἱ μετὰ τὸν Καμβύσου βάνατον τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν ἐνιαυτῷ κατέσχον, οἱ λεγόμενοι ἐπὶ τὰ οἶκοι τῶν Περσῶν τὸν Ὀστάσπου παῖδα Δαρείου ἀπεδείξαν βασιλέα. οὗτος ἄνωθεν ὄν ἦν τῷ θεῷ, εἰ γένοιτο βασιλεύς, πάντα τὰ σκεύη τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡσά ἦν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, σέμβαςιν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τὸν έν 'Ἰεροσόλυμοι. ἐτυχε δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἀφικόμενος πρὸς Δαρείου εἰς 'Ἰεροσόλυμαν Ζοροβάβηλος, δι' τῶν αἰχμαλώτων 'Ἰουδαίων ἡγεμόνων ἀπεδείκτο τὰλα γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ φιλία πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, δι' ἦν καὶ σωματοφυλακεῖν αὐτὸν μετ' ἄλλων δύο κριθεὶς ἄξιος ἀπέλαυν ὑπ' ἡλπισε τιμῆς.

32 (2) Τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ τῆς βασιλείας ἔτει Δαρείου ὑποδέχεται λαμπρῶς καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς παρασκευῆς

1 V: τοῦ rell. 2 ἥλπιζε AWE.

On the death of Cambyses (not, of course, mentioned in Scripture) cf. Herodotus iii. 64, according to whom it occurred at Agbatana (= Hamath ?) in Syria: cf. further E. Herzfeld in Indian and Iranian Studies Presented to George A. Grierson (Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, viii.), 1936, pp. 589-597.

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When this letter was read by them, Rathymos and Semelios, the scribe, and their colleagues immediately leaped on their horses and, accompanied by a large number of people, hastened to Jerusalem and prevented the Jews from building the city and the temple. And so these works were stopped for nine years more until the second year of Darius's reign over Persia. For Cambyses after a reign of six years, during which he conquered Egypt, returned from there and died in Damascus.

(iii. 1) After the killing of the Magi who held power in Persia for the year following the death of Cambyses, the so-called “seven houses” of the Persians appointed Darius, the son of Hystaspes, king. While still a private citizen, he had vowed to God that, if he became king, he would send all the vessels of God which were still in Babylon to the temple in Jerusalem. Now at that time there happened to come to Darius from Jerusalem Zerubbabelos, who had been appointed governor of the Jewish captives, for there was an old friendship between him and the king, and having been on that account judged worthy of a place in the king’s bodyguard together with two others, he was enjoying an honour for which he had hoped.

(2) In the first year of his reign Darius gave a splendid entertainment with great display for his guards. The contest of Darius's guards. 1 Esdras iii. 1.

b Cf. Herodotus iii. 71.

c Cf. 1 Esdras iv. 43 f.

d The preceding section, on Zerubbabel’s visit to Darius, is the invention of Josephus, written to reconcile the scriptural account of Zerubbabel’s activity as leader of the Jews in Jerusalem (Ezra ch. iv.) with the Apocryphal story of Zerubbabel at the court of Darius (1 Esdras ch. iii. ff.), which Josephus relates in what follows.

* Detail not found in 1 Esdras.
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tōus te perī autōn kai toûs oîkoi geγonótas kai
tōus tōn Mýdōn ἡγεμόνας kai saturaπas tῆs
Pērsiōdos1 kai topárχas tῆs2 Ἰνδικῆs ἄχρι tῆs
Aithiopías kai toûs stratēγους tōn ēkatōn éikosai
34 kai ἐπτὰ satraπeιwōn. ἔπει δὲ κατευνωχεῖντες
ἄχρι κόρου kai plēsmoνῆs ἀνέλυσαν κοιμηθησό-
μενοι παρ’ autōis ēkastoi, Dāreios ὁ basileus
ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τῆν κoίτηn kai brαχῦ tῆs νυκτὸs ἀναπαυ-
sάμενοι ἐξυνπὸs γίνεται, kai mēkēti kатаκομμη-
θῶνai ὑναμένουeis οἱ ὀμίλιαν τρέπεται μετὰ τῶν
35 τριῶν σωματοφυλάκων, kai τῷ λόγῳ ἐροῦντι περὶ
ἀν autōs ἀνακρίνειν μέλλει tῶν ἀληθεστατον kai
sunetwótaτon,3 τὕτω γέραs δῶσειν ὑπισχεῖται
nυκητῆριον πορφύραν ἐνδύεσθαι4 kai ἐν ἐκπόμασι
χρυσοίς πίνειn kai ἐπὶ χρυσίον καθεύδειn kai ἀρμα
χρυσοχάλινον kai κιδαριν βυσσίνηn kai περιαν-
χένιον χρύσεον, kai μετ’ autōn ἐξεῖn προεδριᾶν διὰ
tῆν σοβίαν ‘’kai συγγενής μου,’’ ἔφη, ‘’κληθῆ-
36 σεται.5’’ ταύτας ἐπαγγειλάμενος autōis παρέξειν
tὰs δωρεὰs ἐρωτὰ μὲν tῶν πρῶτων eι ὁ οἶνος
ὑπερισχύει, tῶν δεύτερων δὲ, eι ὁ basileis, tῶν
τρίτων δὲ, eι aί γυναῖκεs ἡ τούτων μᾶλλον ἡ ἀλή-

1 tῶν Pērsōn WE Lat.
2 ἀπὸ tῆs ex lxx Naβer.
3 ἀληθεστατον kai sunetwótaτon WE: ἀληθεστερων kai sun-
eτερον refl.
4 ἐνδύεσθαι PF: ἐνδύεσθαι LV.
5 καὶ περίοπτοι διαδόξαν ἐσεται P.

a Or “governors,” cf. 1 Esdras, “to all the satraps and
governors (stratēgos) and toparchs under him from India to
Ethiopia in the 127 satrapies.”

b So 1 Esdras. The 127 satrapies are also mentioned in
the book of Esther (i. 1), of which this section in 1 Esdras is
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court and those born in his house and the governors of Media, the satraps of Persia and the toparchs of the countries from India to Ethiopia, and the generals of the one hundred and twenty-seven satrapies. And, when they had feasted to satiety and repletion, they departed, each one going to his own house to sleep; and King Darius went to his bed, but, after resting a brief part of the night, he awoke and, being unable to sleep any longer, fell to talking with his three bodyguards. To him who should give the truest and most intelligent speech on the subject about which he would question them, he promised to give as the prize of victory purple garments to wear, gold cups to drink from, a gold bed to sleep on and a chariot with a bridle of gold, a head-dress of fine linen and a necklace of gold, and also to have the chief place after the king because of his wisdom, "and," he said, "he shall be called my Kinsman." After offering to bestow these gifts, he asked the first whether wine was the strongest thing, and the second whether kings were, and the third whether women were, or whether truth was strongest of all. When he had reminiscent. Actually there were only some 20 satrapies in the reign of Darius, cf. G. B. Gray, CAH iv. 195. T. Reinach, in his note on this passage in Josephus, remarks that the Seleucids inaugurated a system of smaller provinces, and refers to the 120 satraps (A.V. "princes") mentioned in Daniel vi. 1. It is doubtful, however, whether there was anything like so large a number of provinces (in the sense of large administrative units) in the Seleucid empire, cf. M. Rostovtzeff in CAH vii. 166 note 1, "Appian, Syr. 62, gives the number of satrapies as seventy-two, but if we put together the data of historians and inscriptions we cannot make up more than twenty-five. We must assume that Appian has counted as satrapies smaller units properly called hyparchiae in Asia Minor and Media Atropatene, merides in Coele-Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine."
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θεια. ταύτα προθείς αυτοίς ζητεῖν ἡσύχασεν 37 ὁ ὀρθροῦ δὲ μεταπεμφόμενος τοὺς μεγιστάνας καὶ σατράπας καὶ τοπάρχας τῆς Περσίδος καὶ Μηδικῆς καὶ καθίσας ἐν ὧν χρηματίζειν εἰώθει τόπων, τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἐκαστον ἐκέλευσε πάντων ἀκούόντων ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν προκειμένων.

38 (3) Καὶ ὁ πρώτος ἦρξατο λέγειν τὴν τοῦ οἴνου δύναμιν, οὔτως αὐτὴν ἐμφανίζον. "Ἀνδρείς," γὰρ εἶπεν, "ἐγὼ τὴν ἰσχύν τοῦ οἴνου τεκμαίρομενος, πάντα ὑπερβάλλουσαν εὐρίσκω τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ.

39 σφάλλει τε γὰρ τῶν πινόντων αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπατᾷ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τῇ τοῦ ὅρφανος καὶ δεομένου κηδεμόνος ὁμοίαν τίθησιν, καὶ τὴν τοῦ δούλου διεγείρει πρὸς παρρησίαν τοῦ ἐλευθέρου, ἢ τε τοῦ πέντε ὁμοία γίνεται τῇ τοῦ πλουσίου.

40 μεταποιεῖ γὰρ καὶ μεταγεννᾷ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐν 'αυταῖς ἐγγενόμενοι, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐν συμφορᾷ καθεστηκότων οβέννυσι τὸ λυποῦν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλοτρια χρέα λαβόντας εἰς λήθην ἀγεί καὶ ποιεῖ δοκεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀπάντων πλούσιωτάτους, ὡς μηδὲν μικρὸν φθέγγεσθαι, ταλάντως δὲ μεμνήσθαι καὶ τῶν τοῖς 41 ευδαιμοσι προσηκόντων ὄνομάτων. ἦτι γε μὴν στρατηγῶν καὶ βασιλέως ἀναστηθέουσι ἀπεργάζεται καὶ φίλων καὶ συνήθων ἔξαιρει 2 μνήμην ὁπλίζει γὰρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ κατὰ τῶν φιλτάτων καὶ 42 δοκεῖν ποιεῖ πάντων ἀλλοτριωτάτους. καὶ ὅταν νῆσαντες τύχωσι καὶ καταλήπτη διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ οἶνος κοιμώμενος, ἀνίστανται μηδὲν ὃν

1 τόπῳ om. PFW.          2 ἔξαιρει P1FLAV.

a Josephus's version of the contest differs from that of 332
set these questions for them to examine, he took his rest. Then in the morning he summoned the nobles, satraps and toparchs of Persia and Media, and, taking his seat in the place where he was wont to give judgement, he bade each of the bodyguards give his opinion on the matters in question in the hearing of all.\(^a\)

(3) And the first began to speak on the power of wine, describing it as follows. "Sirs," he said, "when I estimate the strength of wine, I find that it surpasses all things in the following way. It misleads and deceives those who drink it, and causes the king's understanding to be like that of an orphan or one who needs a guardian. It stirs up the mind of the slave to the outspokenness of the free man, while that of the poor man becomes similar to the rich man's. For it remakes and regenerates their souls when it enters them, and drowns the sorrow of those overtaken by misfortune, while to those who are in debt to others it brings forgetfulness and makes them think themselves the richest of all men, so that they do not mention any small sum but speak only of talents and such denominations as are familiar to the prosperous. Moreover, it makes men unaware of commanders and kings, and takes away their memory of friends and companions. For it arms men against even their best friends, and makes these seem more complete strangers than any others. Then, when they become sober and the wine has left them during their night's sleep, they arise knowing nothing of what

1 Esdras (iii. 4-17), according to which the three guards arrange the terms of the contest while Darius is asleep, and themselves suggest what the prize shall be, and write down their answers for Darius to read when he awakes; on awaking, he reads their answers and summons his nobles to hear each of the guards speak in support of his answer.
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ἐπράξαν παρὰ τὴν μέθην εἰδότες. τοῦτοις ἐγὼ τεκμαίρόμενος εὑρίσκω τὸν οἶνον ὑπερκρατοῦντα πάντων καὶ βιαίοτατον.''

43 (4) Ὡς δὲ ὁ πρῶτος ἀποφημάνεος περὶ τῆς ἴσχύος τοῦ οἴνου τὰ προειρημένα ἐπαύσατο, ὁ μετὰ αὐτὸν ἦρεατο λέγειν περὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως δυνάμεως, ταύτην ἀποδεικνύτε ἴσχυρότατην καὶ πλέον τῶν ἄλλων δυναμένην, ὅσα βιαν ἔχειν ἢ σύνεσιν δοκεῖ. τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς ἀποδείξεως ἐντεῦθεν

44 ἐλάμβανεν ἀπάντων μὲν εἶπεν ἀνθρώπους περικρατεῖν, οἱ καὶ τὴν γῆν καταναγκάζουσι καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν εἶναι χρησίμην αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἀ θέλουσι, 'τούτων δὲ ἄρχουσι οἱ βασιλεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσιν οἱ δὲ τοῦ κρατίστου καὶ ἰσχυρότατον ζῶου δεσπόζουτε ἀνυπέρβλητοι τὴν δύναμιν οὕτω καὶ 45 τὴν ἴσχυν εἰκότως ἄν εἶν. ἀμέλει πολέμους ἐπιτάττοντες καὶ κινδύνους τοῖς ἄρχομενοι ἄκούονται, καὶ πέμποντες αὐτοὺς ἐπ᾽ ἐχθροὺς καταπείθεις διὰ τὴν ἴσχυν τὴν αὐτῶν ἔχουσι, καὶ ὅρη μὲν κατεργαζόται καὶ τείχη καταστῶν καὶ πῦροις κελεύουσι, καὶ κτείνονται δὲ οἱ κελευσθέντες καὶ κτείνειν ὑπομένουσιν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως δόξως παραβάινειν προστάγματα, νικήσαντες δὲ τὴν ὕφελειαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τῶν βασιλεί κομίζουσιν. 46 καὶ οἱ μὴ στρατευόμενοι δὲ, ἅλλα γῆν ἑργαζόμενοι καὶ ἀροῦντες, ὅταν πονησαντες καὶ ἀπασαν τὴν ἐργαν τάλαπωρίαν ὑπομείναντες θερίσωσι καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς συνέλωσι, τοὺς φόρους τῶν βασιλεί κομί- 47 ζουσιν. ὁ δὲ ἄν οὕτως εἶπεν καὶ κελεύσῃ τοῦτο εἰς ἀγάγης οὐδὲν ὑπερβαλλομένων γίνεται. ἐπειθ' ὁ μὲν τρυφῆς ἀπάσης καὶ ἴδονῆς ἀναπιμπλάμενος
they have done during their drunkenness. Judging by these things, I find that wine is the strongest and most forceful of all things.

(4) When the first had given the above views on the strength of wine and ceased speaking, the next began to speak on the power of the king, showing that it was the strongest and most powerful of all things that seem to have force or sense. He took the following line of demonstration. Men have power over all things, he said, for they compel the earth and the sea to be of use to them in whatever way they wish, "and they, in turn, are ruled by kings, since these have the authority. Now, that those who are masters of the strongest and mightiest of living things should therefore be of unsurpassed power and strength is only reasonable. Certain it is that when they impose war and danger upon their subjects they are obeyed and, when they send them against the enemy, they obtain obedience through their strength. They order them to level mountains and pull down walls and towers. When men are ordered to be killed and to kill, they submit, in order that they may not seem to transgress the king's commands, and, when they have won a victory, they bring the spoils of war to the king. And as for those who are not soldiers but till the soil and plough, when, after toiling and enduring all the hardships of their work, they have reaped and gathered in the fruits, they bring their tribute to the king. Whatever he says and commands is done of necessity without any delay. Furthermore, when he goes to sleep after taking his fill of every luxury and

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1 την ἱαωροτάτην codi.
2 εν Α: εν θ' Niese.
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καθεύδει, φυλάσσεται δὲ ὑπ’ ἐγρηγοροτών καὶ

48 ὦσαι τε δεδεμένων ύπ’ τοῦ φόβου. καταλαμβάνει γὰρ

οὐδὲ εἰς τολμᾷ κοιμώμενον οὐδὲ τῶν ἤδη ἀνα-

χωρήσαι ποιεῖται πρόνοιαν, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἔργων ἡγοῦ-

μονος ἀναγκαῖον τὸ φυλάττειν τῶν βασιλεία, τούτῳ

προσμένει. πώς οὖν οὐκ ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς δόξειε

τὴν πάντων ἴχθυν ὑπερβάλλειν, ὃ τοσοῦτον πλῆθος

πειθεῖται κελεύοντι;’

49 (5) Σιωπώσαντος δὲ καὶ τούτου, περὶ τῆς τῶν

γυναικῶν καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ τρίτος Ζοροβάβηλος

dιδάσκειν αὐτούς ἦρξατο, λέγων οὖτως: “ἀισχυρὸς

μὲν καὶ ὁ οἶνος καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὃ πάντες ὑπ-

ακούουσιν, ἀλλὰ κρείττους τὴν δύναμιν τοῦτων αἱ

50 γυναῖκες· τὸν τε γὰρ βασιλέα γυνῆς παρῆγαγεν εἰς

τὸ φῶς, καὶ τοὺς φυτεύσαντας ἀμπέλους αἰ ποιοῦσι

τὸν οἶνον γυναίκες εἰσὶν αἱ τίκτουσαι τε καὶ τρέ-

φουσαι. καθὸ λοιπὸν οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ὁ μὴ παρὰ τοῦτον

ἐχομεν· καὶ γὰρ τὰς ἐσθήτας αὐταὶ ὑφαίνουσιν

ἦμῖν καὶ τὰ κατ’ οἶκον διὰ ταύτας ἐπιμελεῖας

51 καὶ φυλακῆς ἑξισοῦται. καὶ οὖν ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἀπο-

ζευχθῆναι γυναικῶν, ἀλλὰ χρυσὸν πολὺν κτησάμενοι

καὶ ἀργυρὸν καὶ ἀλλο τὸν πολυτελῶν καὶ

σπουδῆς ἀξίων, ὅταν ἰδοὺς ἐμοῖρον γυναῖκα,

πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἀφέντες τῷ ἐδει τῆς ὀραθείσης

προσκεκλήμαμεν καὶ ὑπομένομεν παραχωρήσαι τῶν

ὄντων ἠμῖν, ἵνα τοῦ κάλλους ἀπολαύσωμεν καὶ

52 μεταλάβωμεν. ἐγκαταλείπομεν δὲ καὶ πατέρας καὶ

μητέρας1 καὶ τὴν θρεψαμένην γῆν καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων

πολλάκις λήθην ἐχομεν διὰ τὰς γυναίκας, καὶ τὰς

καὶ μητέρας om. PFWE Lat.

1 It is generally recognized by biblical scholars that the

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pleasure, he is guarded by men who keep awake and are, as it were, chained to their post by fear, for while he sleeps no one dares to leave him or withdraw to attend to his own affairs but, holding only one task to be imperative, namely that of guarding the king, he devotes himself to that. How, then, should the king not seem to surpass all others in strength when so great a number of men obey his commands?

(5) When this one too was silent, the third, Zerubbabel, began to discourse on women and truth, speaking as follows: "Wine and the king, whom all obey, are, to be sure, very strong, but greater in power than these are women. For it is a woman who brings a king into the world, and it is women who bear and bring up those who plant vines which produce wine. In short, there is nothing which we do not get from them. For it is they who weave our clothes for us, and it is through them that the affairs of the household receive due care and attention. And it is impossible for us to be separated from women, for when, after acquiring a large sum of gold and silver and other things of great value and importance, we see a beautiful woman, we let all these things go at the appearance of such a person and stare at her open-mouthed and submit to yielding our possessions, in order to enjoy and partake of her beauty. We even leave our fathers and mothers and the land which nourished us, and often become forgetful of our best friends for the sake of women, and we have

original of the story in 1 Esdras must have made "women" the third (and correct) answer to the question "What is most powerful of all things?", and that the pious writer of the Apocryphal account has given this popular tale a moral by bringing in Truth.

a The variant omits "and mothers."
JOSEPHUS

ψυχὰς ἀφίεναι μετ᾽ αὐτῶν καρτεροῦμεν.1 οὕτως δ’ ἄν μάλιστα τὴν ἵσχυν τῶν γυναικῶν κατανοήσατε. 53 οὐχὶ πονοῦντες καὶ πάσαν ταλαπωρίαν ὑπομένοντες καὶ διὰ γῆς καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης, οὐταν ἦμιν ἐκ τῶν πόνων περιγένηται τινα, αὐτὰ φέροντες ὡς δεσποί- 54 ναις ταῖς γυναιξί διδόμενες; καὶ τὸν βασιλέα δὲ τῶν τοσούτων κύριον εἶδόν ποτε ὑπὸ τῆς Ἄραβεζάκου τοῦ Θεμασίου2 παιδὸς Ἀπάμης παλλακῆς δ’ αὐτοῦ ῥαπιζόμενον, καὶ τὸ διάδημα ἁφαιρουμένης καὶ τῇ ἴδιᾳ κεφαλῇ περιτιθείσῃ ἀνεχόμενον καὶ μειδώσης μὲν μειδιώντα ὅργιζομένης δὲ σκυθρωπάζοντα καὶ τῇ τῶν παθῶν μεταβολῇ κολακεύοντα τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ διαλλάττοντα αὐτὴν3 ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα ταπεινῶν αὐτὸν ποιεῖν, εἰ ποτε δυσχεραίνουσαν ἐβλεπεν.’’ 55 (β) Εἰς ἀλλήλους δὲ ἀφορώντων τῶν σάτραπῶν καὶ ἡγεμόνων, περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἡρξατο λέγειν “ἀπέδειξα μέν,” εἰπῶν, “ὁσον ἵσχυσον αἰ γυ- ναίκες, ἀσθενέστεραι δ’ ὀμως καὶ αὐταί καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπάρχοισιν. εἰ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ γῆ μεγίστη καὶ ύψηλος οὐρανός καὶ ταχὺς ὁ ἢλιος,4 ταῦτα δὲ πάντα κινεῖται κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀληθῶς δὲ ἐστίν οὕτως καὶ δίκαιος, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀληθείαν ἵσχυροτάτην ἡγεῖσαι καὶ μὴ δέν πρὸς αὐτὴν τὸ ἀδικον δυνά- 56 μενον. ἐτὶ γε μὴν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα θητὰ καὶ ὄκυμορα

1 ἀξιοῦμεν καὶ καρτεροῦμεν I.A.  
2 Θαμασίου LA: Θαμασίου WE: Themasi Lat.  
3 αὐτὴν om. FLAV.  
4 ταχὺς ο ἢλιος E: ταχὺς FVW Lat. et P1 vid.: ταχὺς τῷ ὄρῳ ὁ ἢλιος LA (cf. lx).  

* Variants Thaimasios, Thaumasios; 1 Esdras τοῦ Θαμα- 

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the courage to lose our lives by their side. But you may most clearly perceive the strength of women from the fact that when, after labouring and enduring all kinds of hardship both by land and by sea, we have gained something from these labours, we bring it to women as to our mistresses and give it to them. Even the king, who is the lord of so many men, I once saw being slapped by his concubine Apame, the daughter of Rabezakos \(^a\) Themasios,\(^b\) and putting up with it when she took the diadem away from him and placed it on her own head, smiling when she smiled, and looking serious when she was angry, flattering the woman according to her change of feelings,\(^c\) and, if he happened to see her displeased, appeasing her by making himself very humble.”

(6) Then, while the satraps and governors looked at one another, he began to speak on truth, saying, “I have now shown how great is the strength of women, but none the less both they and the king are weaker than truth. For, although the earth is very great and the heavens high and the sun swift, yet all these move in accordance with the will of God, and, since He is true and just, we must for the same reason believe truth also to be the strongest thing, against which no injustice can prevail. Furthermore, all other things that possess strength are by nature \(\sigma\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron\nu\) (which may be either a personal name or an epithet—“the illustrious Bartakos”). For various conjectures as to the identity of this possibly historical figure cf. C. C. Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, 1910, pp. 40 ff., and S. A. Cook in R. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O.T.* i. 31 note 29. It may be added that a similar name, Thanasios, occurs in Herodotus vii. 194.

\(^a\) Or, less probably, “flattering the woman by his change of feeling.”
εἶναι συμβέβηκε τῶν ἵσχυν ἔχοντων, ἀδάνατον δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια χρῆμα καὶ ἄδικον. παρέχει δὲ ἡμῖν οὖ κάλλος χρόνῳ μαρανόμενον οὐδὲ περιουσιάν ἀφ- αιρετὴν ὑπὸ τύχης ἀλλὰ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ νόμιμα, διακρίνουσα ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τὰ ἄδικα καὶ ἀπελέγχουσα.

57 (7) Κατασκευασμένοι ὑπὸ τὸν Ζωροβάχθηλον, τοῦ πειράτης, ἀλήθειας λόγον, ἐπιβούλησαν τοῦ πλῆθους ὡς ἄριστα εἰπόντος, καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἄλλος ἀλήθειας ἵσχυν ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀγήρω μόνον ἔχου, προσέπαξαν αὐτὸν ὁ βασι- λεὺς αἰτήσασθαι τι πάρεξ ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν ἕπεμβατον ἐναντίον μᾶλλον φανέρως συνετώς. "συγκαθασθήσῃ δὲ μοι," φησίν, καὶ κεκλησθήσῃ συγγενὴς ἐμὸς, ταῦτ' εἰπόντος ὑπέμνησεν αὐτὸν τῆς εὐχῆς ἢ ἐποιήσατο, εἰ λάβοι τὴν βασιλείαν· αὐτὴ δ’ ἢ ἄνωκοδομήσαι μὲν Ἱεροσόλυμα, κατασκευάσαι δ’ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ναὸν, ἀποκαταστήσαι δὲ καὶ τὰ σκεῦη ὅσα συλήσας Ναβουχοδόντος εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἐκό- μισε. "καὶ τοῦτο," ἐφη, "τούτῳ αὐτήμα ἐστιν, ὃ μοι νῦν ἐπιμένεις αἰτήσασθαι κριθέντι σοφῷ καὶ συνετῶς." 4

58 (8) Ἡσθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναστὰς κατ- εφίλησε τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς τοπάρχας καὶ σατρά- παις γράφει κελεύων προσεῖμαι τὸν Ζωροβάχθηλον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μελλόντας ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκοδομὴν εὐξεῖναι τοῦ ναοῦ. ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Συρία

1 + ἐν καιρῷ LA.  
2 καὶ praem. LAVW.  
3 κληθήσῃ FLAV.  
4 συνετωτάτω PFVW.

Details ("beauty ... nor wealth") not found in 1 Esdras.

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mortal and short-lived, but truth is a thing immortal and eternal. And it gives us, not beauty, that fades with time, nor wealth, of which fortune may rob us, but what is just and lawful, and from this it keeps away injustice and puts it to shame."

(7) And so Zorobabelos ended his speech on truth, whereupon the assembly acclaimed him as the best speaker, saying that it was truth alone which had unchanging and unaging strength. And the king directed him to ask for something beyond what he himself had promised, for, he said, he would give it to him for being wise and showing himself more intelligent than the others. "You shall," he added, "be seated next to me and be called my Kinsman." When the king had said this, Zorobabelos reminded him of what he had vowed to do if he obtained the throne; this was to rebuild Jerusalem and construct the temple of God there and restore the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had taken as spoil to Babylon. "And this," he said, "is the request which you have just permitted me to make for being judged wise and intelligent." 

(8) Being pleased with these words, the king arose and kissed him; and he wrote to the toparchs and satraps, ordering them to escort Zorobabelos and those who were to go with him to build the temple. He also wrote to those in Syria and Phoenicia, order-

b 1 Esdras, "Great is truth and it prevails" (this famous sentence is often misquoted as "Great is truth and it will prevail"); A.V. renders "Great is truth and mighty above all things."

c Variant "most intelligent." This detail is not found in 1 Esdras.

d Josephus omits the "stewards (oikovômos) and governors (straptygos)" mentioned in 1 Esdras.
καὶ Φωική ξύλα κέδρινα κατακομβίζειν ἐκ τοῦ Λιβάνου τεμόντας εἰς Ἰεροσολύμα καὶ συγκατα-
σκευάζειν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πάντας ἐγγραφεῖν ἐλευθέρους εἶναι τοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τῶν αἴχμα-
61 λώτων ἀπελθόντας. καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους τοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ σατράπας ἐκώλυσεν ἐπιτάττειν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὰς βασιλικὰς χρείας, ἀνὴκε τε πᾶσαν ἡν ἁν κατασχεῖν δυνηθῶσι τῆς χώρας ἀτελῆ φόρων αὐτοῦς νέμεσθαι. προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἰδου-
μαίους καὶ Σαμαρείτας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς κούλης Συρίας ἀφεῖναι τὰς κώμας¹ ἃς τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατείχον, καὶ προσέτι τάλαντα πεντήκοντα εἰς τὴν
62 οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ δοθῆναι, θύειν τε αὐτοῖς τὰς νεομυσμένας ἐπέτρεψε θυσίας· ἐπέτρεψε δὲ² καὶ τὴν χορηγίαν ἀπασαν καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν στολήν, ἡ θερα-
πεύουσι τὸν θεὸν ὧ τε ἄρχερεν καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἕκ τῶν ἰδίων γίνεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς Λευίταις τὰ ὀργάνα
63 οἷς ὑμνοῦσι τὸν θεόν, καὶ τοῖς φύλαξι τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ προσέταξε κλήρους γῆς δοθῆναι, καὶ κατὰ ἕκαστον ἐτὸς ὑρισμένον τι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βίου χρείαν ἀργύριον, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ τὰ σκεύη, καὶ πάντα ὁσα Κύρος πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐβούλησθη περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀποκαταστάσεως, ταῦτα καὶ Δαρείος διετάξατο.

¹ χώρας Π¹Β³.
² ἐπέτρεψε θυσίας· ἐπέτρεψε δὲ Α· θυσίας ἐπέτρεψε δὲ (δὲ ὁμ. Π)
PFLV : ἐπέτρεψε θυσίας Ε.

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¹ 1 Esdras “stewards.” Josephus’s term ἐπίτροπος is commonly used in the Greek literature of the Roman period to translate Latin procurator, the title of the emperor’s financial representative in the provinces. In the earlier (Hellenistic) period it is sometimes used as a synonym of διοικητὴς, the title of the finance-minister in Ptolemaic Egypt.
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ing them to cut cedar wood from Lebanon and send it down to Jerusalem and aid him in building the city. And he decreed that all those captives returning to Judaea should be free. He also forbade his procurators a and satraps to require of the Jews any services to the king, and he gave permission for them to live, without payment of tribute, on as much of the land as they could occupy. And he also commanded the Idumaeans and Samaritans and those in Coele-Syria b to give up the villages c which they had taken from the Jews and now held, and that an additional fifty d talents should be given for the building of the temple. He allowed them to offer the customary sacrifices, and allowed all the charges, including that of the sacred vestments in which the high priest and the priests worshipped God, to come out of his own treasury; he commanded that the Levites should be given the instruments with which they sang the praises of God, e and the guards of the city and the temple allotments of land as well as a fixed sum of silver yearly f for the necessities of life, and also that the vessels for the temple should be sent. Whatever Cyrus before him had wished to be done for the restoration of the temple, all this did Darius decree.

b Only the Idumaeans are mentioned in most mss. of 1 Esdras (for “Idumaeans” cod. B has “Chaldaeans”). On Josephus’s motive in adding the Samaritans cf. § 16 note b.

c Variant “countries” or “territories.”

d 1 Esdras 20. Josephus, moreover, omits the “10 talents yearly for the daily burnt-offerings” mentioned in the next verse in 1 Esdras.

e The instruments are not mentioned in 1 Esdras, which has “provisions” (χορηγίαν).

f For “fixed sum of silver yearly” 1 Esdras has “wages” (φορία).
(9) Τυχών οὖν τούτων παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ζοροβάβηλος ἐξελθὼν ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλείων καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐυχαριστεῖν ἤρεπτο τῷ θεῷ τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς ἐπί αὐτῆς νίκης, ἦν Δαρείου παρόντος ἔλαβεν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τούτων ἀξιωθῆναι "μὴ σοῦ," φησί, "δέσποτα, τυχών εὐμενοῦς." ταῦτ' οὖν περὶ τῶν παρόντων εὐχαριστήσας τῷ θεῷ καὶ πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα δεθεῖς αὐτὸν παρέχειν ὄμοιον, ἦκεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα καὶ τοῖς ὀμοφύλοις εὐγγελίσατο τὰ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες εὐχαριστοῦσι μὲν τῷ θεῷ πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδόντι τὴν πάτριον γῆν, εἰς δὲ πότον καὶ κώμους τραπέντες ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἐπτα διήγαγον εὐποροῦμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀνάκτησιν καὶ παλιγγενεσίαν τῆς πατρίδος ἐορτάζοντες. ἔπειτα τοὺς ἀναβησομένους εἰς τὰ Ἰεροσόλυμα ἤγεμόνας ἐκ τῶν πατρῶν καὶ φιλῶν σὺν γυναιξί καὶ τέκνοις καὶ ύποζυγίους ἐπελέξαντο, οἳ Δαρείου συμπέμψαντος ἔως τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων ὠδενον μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ τρυφῆς, ψαλλόμενοι καὶ καταυλοῦμενοι καὶ περιψοφοῦμενοι τοῖς κυμβάλοις. προεπεμβεί δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον τῶν Ἰουδαίων πλῆθος μετὰ παιδιᾶς.

(10) Καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀπῆσαν ἐξ ἐκάστης πατριᾶς ἀρδυμὸς ὄντες ὁρισμένοι. ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔδοξέ τα τῶν πατρῶν καταλέγειν ὅνομα, ἵνα μὴ τὴν τῶν ἀναγνωσκόντων διάνοιαν τῆς συναφῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποσπάσας δυσπαρακολούθητον αὐτοῖς ποιῆσαι τὴν διήγησιν. τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον τῶν ἀπερχο-

1 ἐκ WE.
2 Zonaras, ed. pr.: peri codd. E.
3 πατριῶν καὶ φιλῶν conj.: πατρίων φιλῶν codd.: tribuum Lat.: πατριῶν Niese.
And so, having obtained these favours from the king, Zerobabaël went out from the palace and, looking up to heaven, began to return thanks to God for his wisdom and for the victory which he had obtained through it in the presence of Darius. For, he said, he would not have been granted these things, "if I had not, O Lord, found favour with Thee." And so, having thus returned thanks to God for His present favours and besought Him to show Himself similarly favourable in the future, he came to Babylon and brought to his countrymen the good news from the king. When they had heard it, they returned thanks to God for giving them back the land of their fathers, and gave themselves up to drinking and revelry, and spent seven days in feasting and celebrating the recovery and rebirth of their native land. Then they selected from the families and tribes the leaders who were to go up to Jerusalem with their wives and children and beasts of burden, and these, with an escort sent by Darius to take them as far as Jerusalem, went their way with joy and ease to the sound of harps and flutes and the clashing of cymbals. They were also sent on their way with merriment by a crowd of those Jews who were left behind.

Thus, then, did they depart, from each family a fixed number. But I have thought it better not to give a list of the names of the families lest I distract the minds of my readers from the connexion of events and make the narrative difficult for them to follow. However, the total number of those who went from

\[ a \] Variant "about."

\[ b \] Emended text; mss. "from the country's tribes."

\[ 4 \] V: προέπεμη rell.
JOSEPHUS

μένων περὶ ἕτη διώδεκα τῆς ἡλικίαν γεγονότων ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδα φυλῆς καὶ Βεναμίτιδος ἢν μυριάδες τέσσαρες τετρακόσιαι ἔξήκοντα δύο καὶ ὀκτακισ-
χύλιοι, Λευίται δὲ τέσσαρες καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα, γυναικῶν δὲ ἀναμικὲς καὶ νηπίων σώματα ἦν τε-

70 τρακισμύραι ἐπτακόσια τεσσαράκοντα δύο. πάρεξ δὲ τούτων Λευίται μὲν ἦσαν ύμνῳ διὸ ἐκατὸν εἰκοσι ὀκτώ, πυλωρὸς δὲ ἐκατὸν δέκα, δούλοι δὲ ἱεροὶ τριακόσιοι ἑνεκήκοντα δύο, ἄλλοι τε πρὸς τούτοις λέγοντες μὲν εἶναι τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν οὐ δυνάμενοι δὲ ἐπιδείξας τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἐξακόσιοι

71 πεντήκοντα δύο. ἔξεβλήθησαν δὲ τινες καὶ τῶν ἱερέων ἐκ τῆς τιμῆς ἡγμένου γυναικας ὧν οὔτ' αὑτοὶ τὸ γένος εἶχον εἰπείν οὔτ' ἐν ταῖς γενεα-

72 λογίαις τῶν Λευίτων καὶ ἱερέων εὑρέθησαν ὡς πεντακόσιοι καὶ πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι. τὸ δὲ τῶν θεραπόντων πλῆθος εἴπετο τοῖς ἀναβαίνουσιν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα ἐπτακισκίλιων τριακόσιων τριάκοντα ἔπτα, ψάλται δὲ καὶ ψάλτριαι διακόσιοι τεσσα-

73 πάντες, κάμηλοι τετρακόσιαι τριάκοντα πέντε, ὑποζύγια δὲ πεντακισκίλια πεντακόσια εἰκοσι

1 ὑπὲρ Hudson.
2 μυριάδες τέσσαρες ex lxx Ernesti: μυριάδες codd.
3 quattuor milia Lat.
4 δεκαδύο Λ.Α.
5 ἔξηκοντα WE.
6 WE: ἦσαν δὲ ὡς rell.

a Cf. § 133.
b Lit. “about”; Hudson reads ὑπὲρ “above” (cf. 1 Esdras “from”).
c Emended text; mss. read literally “myriads four hundred sixty-two and eight thousand” which apparently is to 346
the tribes of Judah and Benjamin and were at least twelve years of age was forty-eight thousand four hundred and sixty-two. There were also seventy-four Levites and a mixed number of women and children amounting to forty thousand seven hundred and forty-two. Beside these there were one hundred and twenty-eight Levite singers, one hundred and ten porters, three hundred and ninety-two temple servants and, in addition, six hundred and fifty-two others, who said that they were of Israelite stock but were unable to prove their descent. Some of the priests also were expelled from office for having married wives whose descent they themselves could not tell and who could not be found in the genealogies of Levites and priests; of these there were some five hundred and twenty-five. The number of servants who accompanied those going up to Jerusalem was seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven, and there were two hundred and forty-five men and women musicians, four hundred and thirty-five camels and five thousand five hundred and twenty-five beasts of burden. The leaders of the host here enumerated were Zorobabelos, son of Salathielos, who was of the tribe of Judah, being one of the

be summed as 4,628,000 (multiplying 10,000 by 462 and adding 8000). But even the emended text differs from 1 Esdras and Ezra, which have 42,360.

a No number is given for the women and children in 1 Esdras or Ezra.

b 1 Esdras and Ezra 139. 

c So Ezra: 1 Esdras 372.

d No such number is given for the rejected priests in 1 Esdras or Ezra.

So 1 Esdras; Ezra 200.

So 1 Esdras; Ezra 6720 asses. 1 Esdras and Ezra, moreover, add 736 (1 Esd. v.l. 7036) horses and 245 mules.

c Cf. 1 Esdras Σαλαθιήλ; Ezra Shealtiel (S'alti'el).
Ων ὑπὸ τῶν Δαυίδου γεγονὼς ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαία φυλῆς, καὶ Ἰσσοὺς ὑίος Ἰωσεδέκου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως. πρὸς τούτους δὲ καὶ ὁ Μαρδοχαῖος καὶ Σερεβαῖος ἐκ τοῦ πλῆθους κεκριμένοι ἀρχοντες ἦσαν, οἱ καὶ συνεβάλοντο μνᾶς μὲν χρυσίον ἐκατόν ἀργύρου δὲ 74 πεντακισχιλιάς. οὖτως μὲν οὖν οἱ τε ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευὶται καὶ μέρος τι τοῦ παντὸς λαοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡσον ἦν ἐν τῇ Βαβυλώνι, μετωκίσθησαν εἰς τὰ Ἰεροσόλυμα· τὸ δὲ ἀλλο πλῆθος εἰς τὰς ἱδίας ἀνεχώρησε πατρίδας.

75 (iv. 1) Ἐβδόμῳ δὲ μηνὶ τῆς ἀπὸ Βαβυλώνι αὐτῶν ἑξοδοὺ περιπέμψαντες οἱ τε ἱερεῖς Ἰσσοὺς καὶ Ζοροβάβηλος ὁ ἀρχων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας συνήγαγον εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα πανημεῖ μηδὲν προθυμίας ἀπολιπόντες, κατεσκεύασάν τε θυσιαστήριον ἐφ' οὐ καὶ πρότερον ἦν ὕκοδομημένον τόπου, ὡς τὰς νομίμους ἀναφέρωσι θυσίας ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τοὺς Μωσέως νόμους. ταῦτα δὲ ποιοῦντες οὐκ ἦσαν ἐν ἠδονῇ τοῖς προσχωρίοις 77 ἕθεσιν πάντων αὐτοῖς ἀπεχθανομένων. ἦγαγον δὲ καὶ τὴν σκηνοπηγίαν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν,

1 νιὼν ὑπὸ P1LA: νιὼν P2VW: νιὼν FOE.
2 κεκριμένοι WE. 3 Naber: κωτωκίσθησαν codd. 4 ἀπολιπόντας Hudson: ἀπολειπόντας FW.

a So 1 Esdras; Ezra does not mention his Davidic lineage.
b So 1 Esdras; Ezra Jeshua (Yēšū̂a'). The Heb. name is a contraction of Y'hōšū̂a'.
c Cf. 1 Esdras 'Ιωσεδέκ; bibl. Jozadak (Yōzādāq), cf. Ant. x. 150 note g.
d So 1 Esdras; Ezra Mordecai.
e 1 Esdras cod. A Zareou, cod. B Zaraiov, Luc. Sapaio̊v: Ezra Seraiah (S'rāyāh). Other names are added in both books.

1 Esdras 1000 minae of gold and 5000 minae of silver; 348
descendants of David, and Jesus, son of the high priest Josedekos. In addition to these, Mardo-chaio and Serebaios were selected from the host as officers, and they also contributed one hundred minae of gold and five thousand of silver. Thus, then, did the priests and Levites and a portion of the entire Jewish people in Babylon emigrate to Jerusalem, while the rest of the people went off, each to his native place.

The festival of Tabernacles observed at Jerusalem. 1 Esdras v. 45; Ezra i. 69.

In the seventh month after the departure from Babylon, the high priest Jesus and Zorobabelos, the governor, sent round and, showing no lack of zeal, brought the country people together in a body at Jerusalem. And they constructed an altar on the spot where the former one had been built, in order that they might offer on it the customary sacrifices to God in accordance with the laws of Moses. But in doing this they incurred the displeasure of the neighbouring nations, all of whom were hostile to them. They also celebrated the festival of Tabernacles at that time, in the manner

Ezra 61,000 drachmae (dark'mónim) of gold and 5000 minae (mānim) of silver (A.V. renders dark'mónim by "dram" and mānim by "pound"). Josephus omits the 100 priestly garments mentioned in both books. These contributions were made by "some of the heads of families" according to 1 Esdras and Ezra, not necessarily by the leaders named here, as Josephus implies.

a 1 Esdras and Ezra have merely "when the seventh month was come." Both books, moreover, state that the work on the temple was begun in the reign of Cyrus and continued until the reign of Darius. Josephus simplifies the chronological problem by passing over the connexion of Jeshua and Zerubbabel with Cyrus, cf. § 78.

b The phrasing here is Thucydidean, cf. Thuc. viii. 22.

c This phrase (οὐκ ἦσαν ἐν ἡδονῇ) also is Thucydidean, cf. Thuc. i. 99.
ßς ὁ νομοθέτης περὶ αὐτῆς διετάξατο, καὶ προσφορὰς μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους ἐνδελεχίσκει καὶ τὰς θυσίας τῶν σαββάτων καὶ πασῶν τῶν ἁγίων ἑορτῶν, οἷς τε πεποιημένοι τὰς εὐχὰς ἀπεδίδοσαν θύοντες ἀπὸ νομηματίας τοῦ 78 ἔβδομου μηνὸς. ἦρξαντο δὲ καὶ τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ, πολλὰ τοῖς τε λατόμοις καὶ τέκτοσι χρήματα δόντες καὶ τὰ πρὸς τροφὴν τῶν εἰσαγομένων, τοῖς τε Σιδωνίωις ἦδυ καὶ κοῦφον ἦν τὰ τε κέδρινα κατάγουσιν ἕκ τοῦ Λιβάνου ξύλα, δῆσαν αὐτὰ καὶ σχεδίαν πηγαμένους, εἰς τὸν τῆς Ἰότης κομίζειν λιμένα· τούτῳ γὰρ πρῶτον 2 μὲν Κῦρος ἐκέλευσεν, τότε δὲ Δαρείου κελεύσαντος 3 ἐγώνετο.

79 (2) Ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα καθόδου τῶν Ἰουδαίων μηνὶ δευτέρῳ παραγεγομένων συνείχετο 5 ἢ τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευή· καὶ τοὺς θεμελίων ἐγείραντες τῇ νομηματίᾳ τοῦ δευτέρου μηνὸς τοῦ δευτέρου ἐτῶν ἐπικοδόμοι, προστησάμενοι τῶν ἔργων Δευτῶν τε τοὺς εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἢδη γεγονότας καὶ Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοὺς νῦν αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ Ζωδμῆλον 6 τὸν

1 εργαζόμενων ex Lat. (operantibus) Cocceji.
2 πρῶτος PA.
3 γράφαντος AW.
4 Ων FLAV.
5 συνῆχετο Cocceji: ἤπειγέτο conj. Naber sed συνείχετο retin. in edd.: cf. § 171.

a So Ezra and most mss. of 1 Esdras; cod. B “first.”
b “Pleasant and easy” (ἡδὺ καὶ κοῦφον) reflects the reading χάρα “joy” found in some mss. of 1 Esdras; the other mss. have κάρρα “carts” or κάρρα “nuts” or καρποὺς “fruits” in the list of supplies furnished the workmen, cf. 350.
which the lawgiver had ordained, and after that they brought the offerings and the so-called continual burnt-offerings and the sacrifices of the sabbaths and all the sacred festivals; and those who had made vows paid them by sacrificing, from the new moon of the seventh * month on. They also began the building of the temple, giving large sums of money to the stone-cutters and carpenters and the sums needed for the sustenance of the workmen who were brought in; and it was pleasant and easy * for the Sidonians to bring down cedar wood from Lebanon, bind the logs together and fasten them into rafts to convey them to the harbour of Jopé. * This had first been ordered by Cyrus but was now being carried out at the order of Darius. d

(2) In the second year * after the return of the Jews to Jerusalem, in the second month when they came there, the construction of the temple was undertaken f; after raising the foundations on the new moon of the second month of the second year, they began to build on them and placed in charge of the work those of the Levites who had reached the age of twenty years, and Jesus and his sons and brothers, and Zodmielos, g the

Ezra iii. 7, "They gave... food and drink and oil to the Sidonians and Tyrians."


d Cf. § 75 note g.

* Luc. 1 Esdras adds "of Darius," cf. § 106 note e.

f This rendering of ανείχετο is supported by the chronology implied in § 106, but in § 171 ανείχενω seems to mean "continue." Perhaps, in view of the statement in Ezra iv. 24 that the work "ceased unto the second year of the reign of Darius," we should here render "resumed."

g Variants Zolimielos, Obdoilos, etc.: Ezra Kadmiel; 1 Esdras cod. A Καδμιήλ, cod. B Δαμαδίηλ, other mss. Καδμιήλ, Luc. Κεδμιήλ.
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ādelphōn 'Iounā toû 'Amwadabou' kai toûs vións 80 autōu. kai ó méν vados pásē chrēsômēnôn spoudhē tωn tihn épimélēian ēgkecheirismēnôn bāttou ἦ̂ prosegdokhēsen àn tis élaben tēlos. ἀparhtishēntos dē toû ierōu mētα sαlptiγγων oĩ iereis tais sūnῆθεισi stolais kekosmēmēnou kai oĩ Leuwītai kai oĩ 'Ασάφου paideis ānastάntes ūμňου tōn theōn, ὡς tihn eis autōn euλoγiah Dauḯdηs kateδeixē prōtōs. 81 oĩ dē iereis kai Leuwītai kai twn patriwōn oĩ presbūteroi tōn prōteron vadn tais mnēmias ānapoloũntes mégisτōn te kai polυtelēstastōn, kai tōn γεγενημένon drōntes ūpō pτωχēiās ēnδe- ēsteroν tōu pálai kατασκευαζόμενον, ὀσoν eîn tihn ārhxaias euδaimōνiās ūpobēβhktōtēs kai tihn ἀξίas tōu vaoũ lογιζόμενοι kατήθουν, kai tihn ēpī tōuτoũ lῆpηs κratēîn oũ duṇάμενoι mékhri thḗnōn 82 kai dακrůwn prōγynxto. ὁ dē laðs ἑγάπα tōis paroušwn kai tōi müonon oikodōμhētai tō ierōn, tōu prōteron ōntos ouddēna lόgōn poioûmēnos oud' ānāmnēsen, ouddē prōs tihn sūγkrivn tihn ēkeînou basanίζων autōn ὡς épî elάttosun ἢ ois 3 ὑπ- 83 elάmbαnev. ūpereφwnei dē tōn tōwn salptiγγων ἡχον kai tihn tōu plήbouς xaraṇ ē tōwn presβυ- tērōn kai ierewōn, ἐφ' ois ēdōkōn elαttōσhθai tōn vado tōu kατασκαφέντos, oimwgh." 84 (3) Tῆs dē boῆs tōwn salptiγγων ἀκούσαντεs oĩ

1 'Amwadabou PW. 2 ek Naber. 3 ἢ ois Dindorf; ois codd.
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XI. 79–84

brother of Judas, son of Aminadabos, and his sons. And so, because those into whose hands the superintendence of the work was given, carried it out with all zeal, the temple was completed sooner than one would have expected. And, when the sanctuary was finished, the priests with trumpets, robed in their customary vestments, and the Levites and the sons of Asaph arose and sang the praises of God as David had first shown how to bless Him. But the priests and Levites and the elders of the families, recalling to mind the former temple which had been very great and costly, and seeing that the one recently constructed fell short of the old one because of their poverty, and considering how far they had fallen below their ancient prosperity and a state worthy of the temple, were downcast, and being unable to master their grief at this thought, were moved to laments and weeping. The people, however, were content with the present state of things and the mere building of the temple, and had no thought nor memory of the former one, nor did they torment themselves by comparing this one with the other as being less than what they had supposed. But louder than the sound of the trumpets and the joy of the multitude was heard the wailing of the elders and priests because the temple seemed to them inferior to that which had been destroyed.

(3) On hearing the sound of the trumpets, the

a Ezra “Kadmiel and his sons, the sons of Judah together ... and the sons of Henadad, their sons and their brothers, the Levites”; the mss. of 1 Esdras have confused texts. Josephus’s Aminadabos corresponds to bibl. Henadad (Ḥēnādād).

b This sentence is an addition to Scripture.

c Josephus here amplifies somewhat.
Samaraetai (ētūγχανον γὰρ ἀπεχθανόμενοι τῇ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φυλῇ καὶ τῇ Βενιαμίτιδι) συνέδραμον, τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ θορύβου μαθεῖν θέλοντες. γνώντες δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας εἰς Βαβυλῶνα τῶν Ἰουδαιῶν ἀνακτίζοντας τὸ ἱερὸν, προσίσαν τῷ Ζωροβαβήλῳ καὶ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις τῶν πατριῶν ἄξιοντες αὐτοῖς ἐπιτραπέζην συγκατασκεύασαι τὸν ναὸν καὶ κοινωνῆσαι τῆς οἰκοδομίας· 85ς σεβόμεθα γὰρ οὐκ ἔλαττον ἐκείνων τὸν θεόν,” ἔφασκεν, “καὶ τούτων ὑπερευχόμεθα καὶ τῆς θρησκείας ἐσμὲν ἐπιθυμηταί ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἀφ’ οὗ Σαλμανάσσησα ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῆς Χουθίας ἡμᾶς μετήγαγεν καὶ Μηδίας ἐνθάδε.” τούτων αὐτῶν ποιησμένων τοὺς λόγους Ζωροβάβηλος καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀρχιερεύς καὶ οἱ τῶν πατριῶν ἡγεμόνες τῶν Ἰσραηλίτων πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔφασαν τῆς μὲν οἰκοδομίας αὐτοῖς ἀδύνατον εἶναι κοινωνεῖν, αὐτῶν προσταχθέντων κατασκευάσαι τὸν ναὸν πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Κύρου νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ 87Δαρείου προσκυνεῖν δ’ αὐτοῖς ἐφείναι καὶ τούτῳ μόνῳ εἶναι κοινόν, εἰ βούλονται, πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ πάσιν ἀνθρώποις, ἀφικνουμένοι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν σέβειν τὸν θεόν.

1 τούτων P1: τούτω Ernesti.
2 υπερχόμεθα Naber.
3 ex libr. non. Niese: Σαλ(α)μανάσ(σ)άρης codd.

a 1 Esdras and Ezra “the enemies of Judah and Benjamin.” Further on in both books we read that these “enemies” were the people settled in Samaria by the Assyrians.
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Samaritans, who were, as it happened, hostile to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, came running there, for they wished to learn the reason for the disturbance. And, when they found that the Jews who had been taken captive to Babylon were rebuilding the sanctuary, they approached Zorobabelos and Jesus and the chiefs of the families, and asked to be allowed to join in constructing the temple and to have a share in the building. "For we worship God no less than they," they asserted, "and pray fervently to Him and have been zealous in His service from the time when Salmanasses, the king of Assyria, brought us hither from Chuthia and Media." Such was the speech they made, but Zorobabelos and the high priest Jesus and the chiefs of the Israelite families told them that it was impossible for them to have a share in the building since none but themselves had been commanded to build the temple, the first time by Cyrus and now by Darius. They would, however, allow them to worship there, they said, but the only thing which they might, if they wished, have in common with them, as might all other men, was to come to the sanctuary and revere God.

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b Emended form: mss. Sal(a)manas(s)ares; bibl. Esar-haddon; 1 Esdras cod. A 'Ασβασαρέθ, cod. B 'Ασβακαφάθ, Luc. 'Αχορδάν. The form Asbasareth in cod. A is probably due to confusion with the name Sheshbazzar, and Achordan in Luc. is probably a corruption of Asorchadan (=bibl. Esar-haddon), cf. C. C. Torrey, Ezra Studies, p. 169. Josephus has altered Esar-haddon to Salmanasses (=bibl. Shalmaneser), in order to make the reference consistent with the earlier bibl. account in 2 Kings ch. xvii., cf. Ant. ix. 277 ff.

c The reference to Darius is an addition to Scripture, cf. § 75 note n.

d This sentence is an addition to Scripture.
88 (4) Ταύτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ Χουθαῖοι (τὴν γὰρ προσηγορίαν οἱ Σαμαρεῖται ταύτῃν ἔχουσιν) ἤγανάκτησαν καὶ πείθουσιν τὰ ἐν Συρίᾳ ἔθνη τῶν σατραπῶν δεηθῆναι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὃπερ ἐπὶ Κύρου πρότερον εἰτ' ἐπὶ Καμβύσου μετ' αὐτῶν, ἐπισχεῖν τὴν τῶν ναοῦ κατασκευῆν, καὶ σπουδαζουσιν περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀναβολήν καὶ
89 τρυβὴν πραγματεύσασθαι. κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τούτον ἀναβάντων εἰς Ἱεροσολύμα Σισίνῳ τοῦ τῆς Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης ἐπάρχου καὶ Σαραβαζάνου μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἐτέρων καὶ τοὺς ἥγεμόνας τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔρομένων τίνος αὐτοῖς συγχωρήσαντος οὕτως οἰκοδομοῦσιν τὸν ναόν, ὡς φρούριον αὐτὸν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἡ ἱερόν, καὶ τὶ δῆποτε τὰς στοὰς καὶ τὰ τείχη περιβεβλήκασι τῇ πόλει οφόδρα ὀχυρά, 90 Ζοροβάβηλος καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεύς Ἰησοῦς δυόλους μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐφασαν εἶναι τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ, τὸν δὲ ναὸν τούτον αὐτῷ κατασκευασθέντα ὑπὸ βασιλέως αὐτῶν εὐδαιμόνος καὶ πάντας ὑπερβάλλοντος ἀρετῆς
91 πολὺν διαμεῖναι χρόνον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν πατέρων

1 αὐτὴν FLAVW.
2 Σαραβαζάνου PF: Σαραβαζάνου L: Σαραβαζάνου WE: Sarobazanes Lat.

a Josephus, to preserve the chronological order of events, here follows 1 Esdras as against Ezra, in passing over the references in the latter (iv. 6 ff.) to complaints made by the Jews’ adversaries to Xerxes (bibl. Ahasuerus) and Artaxerxes, which interrupt the narrative of events in Darius’s reign, resumed in Ezra v. 3=1 Esdras vi. 3, cf. § 97 note d. Both books, moreover, in the verses following those dealing with the Jews’ refusal of Samaritan help, state that the “people of the land” interfered with the work of building the temple all the days of Cyrus until the reign of Darius (1 Esdras 356
On hearing this, the Chuthaeans—it is by this name that the Samaritans are called—were indignant and persuaded the nations in Syria to request the satraps, in the same way as they had formerly done under Cyrus and again, after his reign, under Cambyses, to stop the building of the temple and put hindrances and delays in the way of the Jews as they busied themselves about it. At the same time Sisinēs, the governor of Syria and Phoenicia, and Sarabazanēs together with certain others went up to Jerusalem and asked the leaders of the Jews who it was that had given them permission to build the temple in such a way that it was more like a fortress than a sanctuary, and why indeed they had built porticoes round the city, as well as very strong walls. Thereupon Zorobabēlos and the high priest Jēsūs said that they were servants of the Most High God and that this temple, which had been built for Him by one of their kings, a fortunate man who surpassed all others in virtue, had stood for a long time. But, "they were prevented from building for two years until the reign of Darius ").

The leaders here mentioned in 1 Esdras and Ezra are (beside Jeshua and Zerubbabel) the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, cf. § 96.

The reference to "porticoes" and "strong walls" is a detail invented by Josephus; in 1 Esdras the officials speak of "this temple (lit. "house") and this roof and all the other things," in Ezra of "this temple . . . and this wall."

In 1 Esdras and Ezra the following statements by Zerubbabel and Jeshua are introduced as quotations into the letter written to Darius by Tatnai and Shethar-boznai.

1 Esdras "a great and mighty king"; Ezra "a great king."
ἀσεβησάντων εἰς τὸν θεὸν Ναβουχοδονόσσορος ὁ Βαβυλωνίων καὶ Χαλδαίων βασιλεὺς ἔλθεν τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος αὐτῆν τε καθελὼν καὶ τὸν ναὸν συλήσας ἐνέπρησεν καὶ τὸν λαὸν μετάκισεν

92 αἰχμάλωτον μεταγαγόν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, Κύρος ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν τῆς Βαβυλωνίας καὶ Περσίδος βασιλεὺς ἐγραψεν οἰκοδομηθήναι τὸν ναὸν, καὶ πάνθ' ὦσα μετήνεγκεν1 ἐκ αὐτοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσσορος ἀναθήματα καὶ σκεύη Ζοροβαβήλῳ παραδόσει καὶ Μιθριδάτη τῷ γαζοφύλακι προσέταξε κομίσαι εἰς 'Ἰεροσόλυμα καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὸν ἵδιον ἀποκαταστήσαι2

93 ναὸν οἰκοδομηθέντα. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπέστειλεν ἐν τάχει γενέσθαι, Σαναβάσαρον3 κελεύσας ἀναβάντα εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ ποιήσας πρόνοιαν. δό μετὰ τὸ λαβεῖν τὰ παρά4 Κύρου γράμματα παραγενόμενος εὐθὺς τοὺς θεμέλιοις κατεβάλετο, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου κατασκευαζόμενος μέχρι καὶ τοῦ δευτερο διά τῆν τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακοθειῶν ἐστίν ἀτελῆς. "ἐι τοῖνυν βουλεύει καὶ δοκιμάζετε, γράψατε ταῦτα Δαρείῳ, ὅπως ἐπισκειφάμενος τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ὑπομνήματα εὐρίθ μηδὲν ἤμᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν γέννων καταφευγαμένους."

95 (5) Ταῦτ' εἰσόντων τοῦ τε Ζοροβαβήλου καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὁ Σισίνης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τῇ μὲν οἰκοδομίαν ἐπισχεῖν οὐ διέγνωσαν ἐως ἂν ταῦτα

1 μετήγαγεν P.
2 ἀποκαταστάθηναι PF.
3 Σαβάσαρον P; Σαβανάσαρον AEP marg.; Ἀβάσαρον V (cf. supra § 11); Σαπανάσαρον W; Sabassirum Lat.
4 τὰ παρὰ Naber: τὰ ὕπο LAW: παρὰ rell.

a Zerubbabel is mentioned here in 1 Esdras but not in Ezra.

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because their fathers had acted impiously toward God, Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylonia and Chaldaea, had taken the city by force and destroyed it and, after despoiling the temple, had burned it and had taken the people captive to Babylon where he settled them. Then Cyrus, who was king of Babylonia and Persia after him, had written that the temple should be built, and had given over to Zorobabelos \(^a\) and his treasurer Mithridates \(^b\) all the dedicatory offerings and vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had taken from it, commanding them to carry these to Jerusalem and put them back in the temple, where they belonged,\(^c\) after it should have been built. This he had instructed them to have speedily done, and had ordered Sanabasarios \(^d\) to go up to Jerusalem and see to the building of the temple. On receiving this letter from Cyrus, he had, soon after his arrival, laid the foundations, but, though he had been constructing it from that time on, it had not been completed down to the present because of the malice of their enemies. "If, therefore, you so desire and see fit, write these things to Darius in order that he may examine the archives of the kings and find that we have not spoken falsely in anything which we have said."\(^e\)

\(^{b}\) Neither book mentions Mithridates at this point, but cf. § 11 on 1 Esdras ii. 10 = Ezra i. 8.

\(^{c}\) Lit. "their own temple."

\(^{d}\) Bibl. Sheshbazzar, cf. § 11 note a.

\(^{e}\) According to 1 Esdras and Ezra it is the satraps, not the Jews, who ask that Darius have a search made for Cyrus's decree.
The Jews' fear and anxiety are not mentioned in 1 Esdras or Ezra.

According to 1 Esdras and Ezra, Haggai and Zechariah merely "prophesied . . . in the name of the Lord God of Israel." This detail about their encouraging the Jews is based on the contents of the bibl. books ascribed to them.

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reported these things to Darius, but they at once wrote to him about them. Now, as the Jews were trembling with fear that the king might change his mind about the building of Jerusalem and the temple, Haggai and Zechariah, two prophets who were among them at that time, urged them to take courage and not be apprehensive of any untoward action by the Persians, for God, they said, foretold this to them. And so, having faith in the prophets, they applied themselves vigorously to the building, without relaxing for a single day.

(6) But the Samaritans wrote to Darius and in their letter accused the Jews of fortifying the city and constructing the temple so as to resemble a fortress rather than a sanctuary, and said that what was being done would not be to his advantage and, in addition, cited the letter of Cambyses in which he had forbidden them to build the temple. And so, when Darius heard from them that the restoration of Jerusalem would not be safe for his government, and also read the letter that came from Sisinēs and those with him, he commanded that a search be made in the royal archives concerning these matters. And there was found at Ecbatana, a fortress in Media, a document in which the following was written. “In the first year of his reign King Cyrus ordered the

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*a* No such letter from the Samaritans to Darius, referring to a decree of Cambyses, is mentioned in 1 Esdras or Ezra. Josephus here alludes to the letters written by Bishlam, Mithridath, Tabeel and others to Artaxerxes, Ezra iv. 7 ff.—a passage which (like 1 Esdras) he does not reproduce in detail because of the chronological difficulty involved in the bibl. account, namely that Artaxerxes precedes Darius, cf. § 88 note a.

* So 1 Esdras; Ezra Aehmetha (‘Ăhmeṯā). It was the summer residence of the Persian kings.
Κύρος ὁ βασιλεύς ἐκέλευσε τὸν ναὸν οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὸν ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωι καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, Υφος μὲν πηχών ἔζηκοντα εὑρός δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν, διὰ δόμων λιθίνων εὐξεστῶν1 τριῶν καὶ ξυλίνου δόμου 100 ἑνὸς ἐγχωρίου. καὶ τὴν εἰς ταύτα δαπάνην ἐκ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως γίνεσθαι διετάξατο, καὶ2 τὰ σκεύη, ἀ συλήσας. Ναβουχοδονώσορος εἰς Βαβυλώνα ἐκομίσεν, ἀποδοθήκα τοὺς Ἰεροσολυμίτας, 101 τὴν δὲ ἐπιμέλειαν τούτων εἶναι Σαναβασσάρου τοῦ ἐπάρχον καὶ τῆς Συρίας τε καὶ Φωνίκης θηγεμόνος καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ, ὅπως αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀφέξωνται3 τοῦ τόπου, τοῖς δὲ δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰουδαίως τε καὶ θηγεμόσων αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέψουσιν4 οἰκοδομηθῆναι 102 τὸν ναὸν. καὶ συλλαβέσθαι δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον διετάξατο, κάκ τοῦ φόρου τῆς χώρας ἃς ἐπετρόπευεν τελεῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις εἰς θυσίας λόγον ταύρους καὶ κριός καὶ ἄρνας καὶ ἐρίφους καὶ σεμίδαλυν καὶ ἕλαιον καὶ ὀίνον καὶ τάλλα ὡς ἂν οἱ ἱερεῖς ὑπαγορεύσωσιν, εὑχόνται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς 103 σωτηρίας τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Περσῶν. τοὺς δὲ παραβάντας τι τῶν ἐπεσταλμένων συλληφθέντας ἐκέλευσεν ἀνασταυρωθῆναι, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν κατασταγῆναι κτῆσιν. καὶ κατ-

1 ed. pr.: βία τε ἔστων P; διά τε ἔστων FLAV: ἀξέστων W.
2 καὶ] προσέταξε δὲ καὶ LAV.
3 ἀφέξωνται FLAVWE.
4 ἐπιτρέψωσιν P2L2AVWE.

Text slightly uncertain.
Josephus apparently confuses Sanabassares = bibl. Shesh-bazzar (cf. § 11 note a) with Sarabazanes = bibl. Shethar-362
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temple in Jerusalem to be built with its altar, to a height of sixty cubits and the same breadth, its walls to be made of three courses of well-polished stone and one of wood of the country. And the costs of this he decreed should come out of the king's treasury, and that the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had taken to Babylon should be given back to the people of Jerusalem, and that the supervision of these matters should be undertaken by Sanabassarēs, the eparch and governor of Syria and Phoenicia, and his companions, but that they themselves should keep away from the (sacred) place and should leave the building of the temple to the servants of God, the Jews and their leaders. He also decreed that they should assist in the work and from the tribute of the territory which they governed should pay for the expenses of the Jews in sacrificing bullocks, rams, sheep and kids and fine flour, oil and wine and whatever other things the priests might suggest, in order that they might pray for the well-being of the king and the Persians. But those who should transgress any of these commands he ordered to be seized and crucified and their possessions to be confiscated to the royal

boznai (cf. § 12 note d). Moreover it was Tatnai (Sisinēs), and not Shethar-boznai, who was governor of Syria and Phoenicia according to 1 Esdras and Ezra, followed by Josephus in §§ 89, 104; cf. following note.

According to 1 Esdras and Ezra, Sisinēs (bibl. Tatnai), the governor of Syria and Phoenicia (bibl. “beyond the river”), and Sathrabūzanēs (bibl. Shethar-boznai) and their companions are told to keep away from the temple, which is to be built under the direction of the governor of the Jews (1 Esdras “Zorobabēlos, eparch of Judaea”).

Kids are not mentioned in 1 Esdras and Ezra.

1 Esdras and Ezra add “salt.”

1 Esdras and Ezra “for the king and his children.”

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ηύξατο πρὸς τοὺς τῷ θεῷ, ὅπως εἰ τις ἐπιχειρήσει διακωλύσαι τὴν ὀικοδομίαν τοῦ ναοῦ, βαλὼν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς ἐπίσχη τῆς ἀδικίας."

104 (7) Ταῦθε εὗρὼν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν τοῖς Κύρου Δαρείους ἀντιγράφει τῷ Σισίνη καὶ τοῖς ἑτάροις αὐτοῦ τάδε λέγων: "βασιλεὺς Δαρείους Σισίνη τῷ ἐπάρχῳ καὶ Σαραβαζάνη καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις αὐτῶν χαίρειν. τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ύμῖν ἦς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν εὗρον τοῖς Κύρου ἀπέσταλκα καὶ βούλομαι γίνεσθαι πάντα καθὼς ἐν αὐτῇ περιέχει.

105 ἔρρωσθε," μαθόντες οὖν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ὁ Σισίνης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως προάρτεσιν, ταύτῃ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀκόλουθα ποιεῖν διέγνωσαν. ἐπεστάτουν οὖν τῶν ἱερῶν ἔργων συλλαμβανόμενοι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τῶν γερόντων ἀρχουσίν. καὶ ἧμετερο κατὰ πολλὴν σπουδὴν ἤ κατασκευὴ τοῦ ναοῦ, προφητευόντων Ἀγγαίον καὶ Ζαχαρίον, κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μετὰ βουλήσεως Κύρου τε καὶ Δαρείου τῶν βασιλέων.

106 ὁκοδομήθη δ' ἐν ἑτέσιν ἑπτά. τοῦ δ' ἑνάτου τῆς Δαρείου βασιλείας ἔτους εἰκάδι καὶ τρίτη μηνὸς

1 Hudson: ὑπάρχῃ L: ἰππάρχῃ rell. Lat.

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1 This reference to confiscation is based on the interpretation in 1 Esdras of the Aram. phrase baythēh n'wālū yith"abed, which Jewish commentators and A.V. render "let his house be made a dunghill.” Confiscation is expressly mentioned in the similar decree of Artaxerxes, Ezra vii. 26.

2 Emended text; mss. "hipparch." 

3 In place of the letter quoted here, 1 Esdras and Ezra have "I, King Darius, have made a decree. Let it be done with diligence (A.V. "speed ")."

4 1 Esdras and Ezra add “and Artaxerxes, king of Persia.” Josephus, of course, omits this name because of the anachronism.

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treasury. Furthermore he prayed to God that, if anyone should attempt to prevent the building of the temple, He should strike him down and restrain him from his wicked deed.”

(7) Darius on finding these things in the archives of Cyrus wrote an answer to Sisinēs and his companions, which read as follows. “King Darius to the eparch b Sisinēs and Sarabazanēs and their companions, greeting. I have sent to you a copy of the letter which I found in the archives of Cyrus, and it is my will that everything should be done as is stated therein. Farewell.” c And so, when Sisinēs and those with him learned the king’s wishes from this letter, they decided to act accordingly. They therefore began to superintend the sacred works and assisted the Jewish elders and the chiefs of the senate. And the construction of the temple was carried out with great zeal, while Haggai and Zechariah were prophets, in accordance with the command of God and with the consent of Kings Cyrus and Darius. d Thus it was built in seven years. e Then, in the ninth f year of the reign of Darius, on the twenty-third g day

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This reckoning is based on the assumption that the statement in 1 Esdras v. 56 ff., “In the second year after his coming to the temple of God in Jerusalem, in the second month, began Zorobabelos . . . and the Jews . . . and they laid the foundation,” etc. refers to the second year of Darius (so Luc. expressly states). Since, according to Josephus (in the following sentence), the temple was completed in the 9th year of Darius, the building must have taken 7 years.

f Variant 11th; 1 Esdras and Ezra 6th. In Ap. i. 154 Josephus writes, “in the second year of the reign of Cyrus its foundations were laid, and, lastly, in the second year of the reign of Darius it was completed” (cf. Dr. Thackeray’s note ad loc.).

g So 1 Esdras; Ezra 3rd.
108 ὑπὲρ οὖν ἡμαρτεν ἐκάστη. ἐστησάν τε κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέος νόμους οἱ τε ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευίται θυρωροὺς ἐφ' ἐκάστοι τυλώνοι· ὡκοδομήκεσαν γὰρ οἱ Ἰουδαίοι καὶ τὰς ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ ναοῦ στοάς τοῦ ἐνδοθεν ἱεροῦ.

109 (8) Ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς τῶν ἀξύμων ἐορτῆς μηνὶ τῷ πρώτῳ, κατὰ μὲν Μακεδόνας Σανθίκω λεγομένω κατὰ δὲ ἡμᾶς Νισάν, συνεργὴ πάσα ὁ λαὸς ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὴν ἐορτὴν ἤγαγον ἀγνεύοντες μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ, καὶ τὴν πάσχα προσαγορευμένην θυσίαν τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς ἐπιτελέσαντες κατευχήθησαν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἐπτά, μηδεμιᾶς φειδόμενοι πολυτελείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ὀλοκαυτώσεις ἐπιφέροντες τῷ θεῷ καὶ χαρωτηρίους θυσίας ἱερουργοῦντες ἀνθ' οὖν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐνδεκάτου PF(L)AV Lat.  

2 + ποθοῦν PFL¹V: + ποθοῦντας L².

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1 1 Esdras and Ezra omit the detail of Adar being the 12th month.
2 Roughly March in the Julian calendar. The equation of Adar with Dystros is made in Ant. iv. 327, xi. 286, xii. 412.
3 The porters are mentioned in 1 Esdras but not in Ezra. Neither book mentions porticoes.
4 Both 1 Esdras and Ezra first mention the festival of
of the twelfth month, which is called by us Adar \(^{a}\) and by the Macedonians Dystros, \(^{b}\) the priests and Levites and the rest of the Israelite people brought sacrifices to celebrate the renewal of their former prosperity after their captivity and in token of having a sanctuary once more after it had been rebuilt, the sacrifices being a hundred bullocks, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs and twelve he-goats, one for each tribe—this is the number of Israelite tribes—to atone for the sins of each. And in accordance with the laws of Moses the priests and Levites set porters at each gateway, for the Jews had built porticoes round the temple within the sacred precincts.\(^{c}\)

(8) When the festival of Unleavened Bread \(^{d}\) came round in the first month, which by the Macedonians is called Xanthikos and by us Nisan, \(^{e}\) all the people streamed from their villages to the city and celebrated the festival in a state of purity with their wives and children, according to the law of their fathers; and, after offering the sacrifice called Pascha \(^{f}\) on the fourteenth of the same month, they feasted for seven days, \(^{g}\) sparing no expense but bringing the whole burnt-offerings to God and performing the sacrifices of thanksgiving because the Deity had Passover (which immediately precedes the festival of Unleavened Bread).

\(^{a}\) Roughly April in the Julian calendar. The equation of Nisan with Xanthikos is made in *Ant.* i. 81, ii. 311, iii. 201, 248.

\(^{b}\) Cf. note \(^{d}\) above.

\(^{c}\) The two festivals of Passover and Unleavened Bread together are observed for 8 days, Nisan 14-21 incl. In 1 Esdras and Ezra the 7-day celebration is referred to the festival of Unleavened Bread alone. Josephus is here writing carelessly, cf. *Ant.* x. 70 note.
111 διάνοιαν εὐμενὴ κατέστησεν αὐτοῖς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐπιδαπεδεύομενοι ταῖς θυσίαις καὶ τῇ περὶ τὸν θεὸν φιλοτιμία κατώκησαν ἐν τοῖς Ἰεροσολύμοις, πολιτείᾳ χρώμενοι ἀριστοκρατικὴ μετ' ὀλιγαρχίας. οἱ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖς προεστήκεσαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἅρις οὐ τοὺς Ἀσαμωναίου συνέβη

112 βασιλεύειν ἐγκόνους. πρὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐβασιλεύσετο ἀπὸ Σαούλου πρῶτον ἀρξάμενοι 1 καὶ Δαυίδου ἕπι ἐτη πεντακόσια τρίακοντα 2 δύο μήνας ἐξ ἡμέρας δέκα; πρὸ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων τούτων ἀρχομένους αὐτοὺς διείπον οἱ προσαγορευόμενοι κριταὶ καὶ μοναρχοὶ, καὶ τούτους πολιτεύομενοι τὸν τρόπον ἔτεσιν πλέον ἡ πεντακόσιος διήγαγον μετὰ Μωυσῆν ἀποθανόντα.

113 καὶ Ἰησοῦν τὸν στρατηγὸν. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν ἀνασωθέντων ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας Ἰουδαίων ἐν τοῖς Κύρου καὶ Δαρείου χρόνοις ἐν τούτοις ὑπήρχεν.

114 (9) Ὁ δὲ Σαμαρεῖς 3 ἀπεχθῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ βασκάνως διακείμενοι πολλὰ κακὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους

1 ἀρξάμενοι PWE Lat. (vid.).
2 εἴκοσι Ernesti, cf. x. 143.
3 Σαμαρεῖται Α (et infra, 117, Σαμαρεῖτῶν pro Σαμαρέων hab.).

a 1 Esdras and Ezra “king of Assyria.” The medieval Jewish commentators, like Josephus, assume that the king of Persia is meant.
b Cf. Ant. x. 143 where the figure 514 years, 6 months, 10 days is given for the interval between David and the end of the kingdom of Judah. If we add 20 years for Saul’s reign (cf. note ad loc.) we get 534 years, 6 months, 10 days.

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brought them back to the land of their fathers and to its laws, and had disposed the mind of the Persian king a favourably to them. And so, with lavishness of sacrifice in return for these favours and with magnificence in their worship of God, they dwelt in Jerusalem under a form of government that was aristocratic and at the same time oligarchic. For the high priests were at the head of affairs until the descendants of the Asamonean family came to rule as kings. Before the captivity and deportation they were ruled by kings, beginning first with Saul and David, for five hundred and thirty-two years, six months and ten days b; and before these kings the rulers who governed them were the men called judges and monarchs, and under this form of government they lived for more than five hundred years after the death of Moses and the commander Joshua. c Such, then, was the condition of the Jews who had been delivered from captivity in the time of Cyrus and Darius.

(9) d But the Samarians, who regarded them with feelings of hostility and envy, inflicted many injuries. I am unable to suggest an explanation of the discrepancy of 2 years except the obvious ones of a scribal error or carelessness on Josephus’s part. Ernesti’s correction of 32 to 22 years makes the discrepancy greater.

c For earlier reckonings of the interval between the Exodus and the beginning of the kingdom cf. Ant. x. 147 note.

d Almost the whole of the following section, §§ 114-119, is an addition to 1 Esdras and Ezra in which (1 Esdras viii. 1 = Ezra vii. 1) the account of the festival celebration is followed by that of Ezra’s appearance in the reign of Artaxerxes (cf. §§ 120 ff.). The interpolated section is modelled in part on the account in 1 Esdras vi. 27 ff., which Josephus has already reproduced in §§ 100 ff. He takes special delight in describing the various rebuffs suffered by the Samaritans.
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eἰργάσαντο, πλοῦτω τε πεποιθότες καὶ συγγένειαιν προσποιούμενοι τὴν Περσῶν, ἐπειδήπερ ἐκεῖθεν
115 ἤσαν. οὐσα τε γὰρ ἐκελεύοντας ἐκ τῶν φόρων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὰς θυσίας τελείν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, παρέχειν οὐκ ἦθελον, τοὺς τε ἐπάρχους ἐπουδάζοντας αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ συνεργοῦντας εἰχον, ἀλλα τε οὐσα βλάπτειν ἢ δι’ ἑαυτῶν ἢ δι’ ἑτέρων ἤδυναντο τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οὐκ ἀπόκνουν.
116 ἔδοξεν οὖν πρεσβευσμένοις τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Δαρείου κατηγορῆσαι τῶν Σαμαρείτῶν, καὶ πρεσβεύονσι Ζοροβάβηλος καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἀρχόντων τέσσαρες. ὡς δὲ τὰ ἐγκλῆματα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ὑπὸ κατὰ τῶν Σαμαρέων ἐπέφερον ἤγινο παρὰ τῶν πρέσβεων ὁ βασιλεύς, δοὺς αὐτοῖς κομίζειν ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπάρχους τῆς Σαμαρείας καὶ τῆν βουλὴν ἀπέπεμψεν. τὰ δὲ γεγραμμένα ἴν τοιάδε: ἂν βασιλεὺς Δαρείος Ταγανᾶ καὶ Σαμβαβά καὶ Σαμβαβά 3 τοῖς ἐπάρχοις Σαμαρειτῶν καὶ Σαδράκη καὶ Βούηδων καὶ τοῖς λουποῖς συνδούλοις αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ. Ζοροβάβηλος καὶ Ἰαννίας καὶ Μαρδοχαῖος Ἰουδαίων πρεσβευταὶ ἥτιῶντο ὡμᾶς ὡς ἐνοχλοῦντας αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ μὴ χορηγοῦντας ἀ προσ-

1 Hudson: ἐπάρχος (-ous F) codd. Lat., sic et in seqq.: ὑπάρχος Gutschmid.
2 δύο Gutschmid.
3 Σαβαά F: Σαβαά LA: Σαβά V: Sambalae Lat.
4 Σαμαρειτῶν καὶ conj.: καὶ Σαμαρειτῶν codd. Lat.
5 Βούηδων F: Βούηδων LAW: Βούηδων V: Βοβήδων ed. pr.: Veloni Lat.
6 συμβούλους hand recte conj. Naber.

a Emended text; mss. “hipparchs,” cf. § 104 note.
b Perhaps a corruption of Tatāval = bibl. Tatnai.

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on the Jews, for they relied on their wealth and pretended to be related to the Persians, since they had come from their country. And the sums which they had been ordered by the king to pay to the Jews out of their tribute for the sacrifices, they refused to furnish, and they had the eparchs a zealously aiding them in this; and whatever else they could do to injure the Jews either by themselves or through others, they did not hesitate to try. The people of Jerusalem therefore resolved to send an embassy to King Darius to accuse the Samaritans; the envoys were Zorobabêlos and four other leaders. When the king learned from these envoys the complaints and charges which they brought against the Samaritans, he gave them a letter and sent them off to bring it to the eparchs of Syria and the council. It was written as follows. "King Darius to Taganas b and Sambabas,c the eparchs of the Samaritans, and Sadrakès and Bûëdön d and the rest of their fellow-servants e in Samaria. Zorobabêlos, Ananias and Mardochaios,f the envoys of the Jews, have charged you with hampering them in building the temple and with failing to provide them with the sums which I

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a Variants Sambas, Sab(b)as, Sambalas, etc.; these forms appear to be corruptions of Ἀναβαλλέττες (or the like) = bibl. Sanballat, a Samaritan name familiar from the book of Nehemiah and Jewish or Samaritan tradition, cf. §§ 302 ff.

b Variants Bûëlôn, Bûtëlôn, etc.; the names Sadrakês and Bûëdôn seem to be a corrupt division of Ἀπραζοντάι = bibl. Shethar-boznai.

c Naber's conjecture συμβούλους "counsellors" is hardly needed: σύνδουλοι is used of the Samaritan leaders in lxx 2 Esdras vi. 13.

d These two names (=bibl. Hananiah and Mordecai) are given in Scripture (Ezra ii. 2, Neh. vii. 2) as those of leaders associated with Zerubbabel and Nehemiah.
étαξα υμὲν εἰς τὰς θυσίας τελείν αὐτοῖς ἀναλώματα. 119 βούλομαι οὖν ὑμᾶς ἀναγνώρισα τὴν ἐπιστολῆν χορηγεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γαζοφυλακείου τῶν φόρων τῆς Σαμαρείας πάνθ' ὥσα πρὸς τὰς θυσίας ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς χρήσιμα, καθὼς οἱ ἑρεῖς ἀξιόσων, ὑνα μὴ διαλείπωσι καθ' ἡμέραν θύσιντες μηδ' ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ Περσῶν εὐχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ." καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπιστολὴ ταῦτα περείχειν.

120 (v. 1) Δαρείου δὲ τελευτήσαντος παραλαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Σέρχης ἐκλήρωσεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν τε καὶ τυμήν· ἀπαντὰ γὰρ ἀκολούθως τῷ πατρὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν θρησκείαν ἐποίησε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς 'Ιουδαίους ἐσχε φιλοτιμότατα. κατ' ἐκείνου δὲ τὸν καυρὸν ἀρχιερεὺς ἢν Ἰησοῦ παῖς Ἰωάκειμος ὄνομα. ὑπήρχε δὲ καὶ ἐν Βαβυλώνι δῖκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ δόξης ἀπολαύων ἀγαθῆς παρὰ τῷ πλῆθει πρώτος ἱερεὺς τοῦ λαοῦ ἑαυτοῦ καλοῦμενος 'Ἐσόρας; δὲ τῶν Μωσείων νόμων ἰκανῶς ἐμπειρός ὢν γίνεται φίλος τῷ 121 βασιλεί τῆς Σέρχης. γνώσε δὲ ἀναβήσαι εἰς τὰ 'Ἰεροσόλυμα καὶ ἐπαγαγεῖσαι τινὸς τῶν ἐν Βαβυλώνι πυγανόντων 'Ιουδαίων παρεκάλεσε τὸν βασιλέα δοῦναι αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς σατράπας τῆς Συρίας ἐπιστολὴν ἀφ' ἢς αὐτοῖς γνωρισθῆσαι τῖς εἰς. 122 δὲ βασιλεὺς γράφει πρὸς τοὺς σατράπας ἐπιστολὴν τοιάνδε· "βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Σέρχης 'Ἐσόρα ἱερεὶ καὶ ἀναγνώστη τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ νόμων τῷ θεῷ νόμων" χαίρειν. τῆς

1 θεοῦ Ρ. 2 Ἐξόρας Ρ: Ἐξόρας Ε.
3 υφ' LWE: per Lat.
4 τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ νόμων Ρ: τοῦ θεού (θεοῦ) νόμων rel.: legis dei Lat.

*Here again Josephus corrects the chronological order of Scripture, in which Artaxerxes follows Darius.*
commanded you to pay them for the expenses of the sacrifices. It is my will, therefore, that, when you have read this letter, you shall furnish them out of the royal treasury, from the tribute of Samaria, everything which they may need for the sacrifices as the priests request, in order that they may not leave off their daily sacrifices or their prayers to God on behalf of me and the Persians." These were the contents of the letter.

(v. 1) When Darius died, his son Xerxes, who took over the royal power, inherited also his piety toward God and his way of honouring Him. For he followed his father in all the things which he had done for His service, and he held the Jews in the highest esteem. Now the high priest at that time was named Joakeimos, the son of Jēsūs. And there was also in Babylon a righteous man who enjoyed the good opinion of the masses, called Ezra; he was the chief priest of the people and, being very learned in the laws of Moses, became friendly with King Xerxes. Now, having decided to go up to Jerusalem and take with him some of the Jews who were then living in Babylon, he requested the king to give him a letter to the satraps of Syria, which would inform them who he was. The king, therefore, wrote the following letter to the satraps. "Xerxes, king of kings, to Ezra, the priest and reader of the laws of God, greeting. As I

\[\text{Xerxes (bibl. Artaxerxes) and Ezra. 1 Esdras viii. 1; Ezra vii. 1.}\]

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έμαυτοῦ φιλανθρωπίας ἔργον εἶναι νομίσας τὸ τοὺς
βουλομένους ἐκ τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους καὶ Λευτών
ὀντων ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ βασιλείᾳ συναπαίρειν εἰς τὰ
124 Ἰεροσόλυμα, τούτῳ προσέταξα, καὶ ὁ βουλόμενος
ἀπίτω, καθάπερ ἔδοξε καμέλοι καὶ τοῖς ἐπτά μου
συμβούλους, ὅπως τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπι-
σκέψωμαι τῶν νόμων τοῦ θεοῦ ἀκολούθως καὶ ἀπ-
enéγκωσι2 δώρα τῷ Ἰσραήλιτῶν θεῷ, ἀπερ χυζάμην
125 ἐγὼ τε καὶ οἱ φίλοι. καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον
ὀσον ἂν εὐθυνῇ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων
ἀνομασμένον τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ πάν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα
κομισθήναι τῷ θεῷ εἰς τὰς θυσίας, πάντα τε ὅσα
βούλει εἷς ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσόν κατασκευάσαι,
126 ποιεῖν ἐξέστω σοι μετά τῶν ἄδελφῶν. καὶ τὰ
dedομένα σοι ἑρεία σκευῆ ἀναθήσεις καὶ ὅσων ἂν
ἐπίνουν λάβης καὶ ταῦτα προσεξεργάσῃ, τὴν εἰς
αὐτὰ δαπάνην ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ποιούμενος γαζο-
127 φυλακεῖν. ἔγραψα δὲ καὶ τοῖς γαζοφυλαξίν τῆς
Συρίας καὶ τῆς Φοινίκης, ἵνα τῶν ὑπὸ Ἔσδρα τοῦ
ἰερέως καὶ ἀναγνώστου τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ νόμων
ἐπισταλέντων ἐπιμεληθῶσιν. ὅπως δὲ μηδεμίαν
ὁργῆν ἐπ' ἐμὲ λάβη τὸ θείον ή τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐκγόνους,
pάντ' ἄξιω καὶ μέχρι τοῦ πυρὸς κόρων ἑκατὸν
128 ἐπιτελείσθαι τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ ὑμῖν
dὲ λέγω ὅπως τοῖς ἱερεύσι καὶ Λευτίτας καὶ ἱερο-
ψάλταις καὶ θυρωρίων καὶ ἱεροδούλοις καὶ γραμ-
ματεύσι τοῦ ἱεροῦ μήτε φόρους ἐπιτάξῃς μήτ'
ἀλλο μηδὲν ἐπίβουλον ἢ φορτικὸν εἰς αὐτοὺς
129 γένηται. καὶ σὺ δὲ, Ἔσδρα, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ
1 καὶ ἱερέων καὶ Λευτών Hudson.
2 ἀνενέγκωσι Niese.

a i.e. the Jews.
consider it a part of my friendliness to mankind to allow those of the Jewish nation and the Levites in our kingdom who may so desire to go up with you to Jerusalem, I have given the command for this, and whosoever desires may depart; for it has seemed good both to me and my seven counsellors that they should look after matters in Judaea in accordance with the law of God, and bring to the God of the Israelites the gifts which I and my friends have vowed to send. And all the gold and silver dedicated to God which may be found in the country of the Babylonians shall be taken to Jerusalem for the sacrifices to God, and whatever vessels you may wish to fashion out of the gold and silver, it shall be permitted you and your brothers to make. And you shall dedicate the sacred vessels which have been given you, and may, in addition, make as many as you have a mind to make, taking the expenses for these out of the royal treasury. I have also written to the treasurers of Syria and Phoenicia that they shall see to it that the orders of Ezra, the priest and reader of the laws of God, are carried out. And in order that the Deity may not conceive any anger against me or my descendants, I grant that all things up to a hundred kors of wheat shall be offered to God in accordance with the law. And to you I say that on the priests, Levites, temple-musicians, porters, temple-servants and scribes of the sanctuary you shall impose no tribute, nor shall any other thing be done which is designed to hurt them or be a burden to them. And as for you, Ezra, you shall in

b The kor equalled about 370 litres or 11 bushels.

c 1 Esdras and Ezra also mention 100 talents of silver and quantities of wine, oil and salt.
JOSEPHUS

σοφίαν ἀπόδειξον κριτάς, ὅπως δικάσωσιν ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ Φουνίκῃ πάσῃ, 1 τοὺς ἐπισταμένους2 σου τὸν νόμον, καὶ τοὺς ἀγνοοῦσιν δὲ παρέξεις αὐτὸν

130 μαθεῖν, ἵν’ ἂν τις τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν σου παραβαίνῃ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ νόμον ἢ τὸν βασιλικόν, ὑπόσχετι τιμωρίαν ὡς οὐ κατ’ ἀγνοιαν αὐτὸν παραβαίνων, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐπιστάμενος μὲν τολμηρῶς δὲ παρακούων καὶ καταφρονῶν. κολασθήσονται δ’ ἦτοι θανάτῳ ἢ ζημία χρηματικῆ. ἔρρωσο.”

131 (2) Λαβῶν δὲ Ἑσδρας ταῦτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὑπερήφανθα καὶ τῷ θεῷ προσκυνεῖν ἡρέω, τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν χρηστότητος ἐκείνον αὖτιν ὁμολογῶν γεγενήθηκαί, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτὸν3 χάριν ἐλεγεν εἰδέναι.4 ἀναγνοὺς δ’ ἐν Βαβυλῶν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τούς αὐτόθι παρουσίᾳ Ἰούδαίοις αὐτῆν μὲν κατέσχεν, τὸ δ’ ἀντίγραφον αὐτῆς πρὸς ἀπαντας ἔπεμψε τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Μηδίαν ὄντας. μαθόντες δὲ οὕτω τὰ πορὰ5 τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεοῦ εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἑσδραν εὐνοιαν ἀπαντες μὲν ὑπερηγάπησαν, πολλοὶ δ’ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἀνα-

132 λαβόντες ἦλθον εἰς Βαβυλῶν ποθοῦντες τὴν εἰς τὰ Ἰεροσόλυμα καθόδουν.6 δ’ ἐδὲ πᾶς λαὸς τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν κατὰ χώραν ἐμείνεν διὸ καὶ δυὸ φυλὰς εἶναι συμβέβηκεν ἐπὶ τε τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης Ῥωμαίοις ὑπακοουσάς;7 αἱ δὲ δέκα φυλαὶ πέραν εἰσὶν Εὐφράτου ἐως’ δεύρο, μυριάδες

1 πάσῃ καὶ FLAV.
2 τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις PFLAV.
3 αὐτὸν P.
4 εἶναι P4FL.

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accordance with your God-given wisdom appoint as judges to hold court in all of Syria and Phoenicia men who know the law, and to those ignorant of it you shall give an opportunity to learn it, in order that if any of your countrymen transgresses the law of God or the king, he may suffer punishment as one who transgresses it not through ignorance but as one who, in spite of knowing it, boldly disobeys and shows contempt for it. Such men shall be punished either with death or with the payment of a fine.¹ Farewell.”

(2) When Ezra received this letter, he was overjoyed and began to do obeisance to God whom he acknowledged to have been the cause of the king’s kindness to him, for which reason, he said, he rendered Him all his thanks. Then he read the letter in Babylon to the Jews who were there, and, while he kept the letter itself, sent a copy of it to his countrymen who were in Media. When they learned of the king’s orders and of his piety toward God as well as his goodwill toward Ezra, they were all greatly pleased, and many of them, taking along their possessions also, came to Babylon out of longing to return to Jerusalem. But the Israelite nation as a whole remained in the country. In this way has it come about that there are two tribes in Asia and Europe subject to the Romans, while until now there have been ten tribes beyond the Euphrates—count-

¹ 1 Esdras and Ezra add banishment and imprisonment to the penalties threatened.

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5 τὰ παρὰ FL: τὴν παρὰ P: om. AV.
6 τὴν ... καθοδοὺ] τῆς ... καθόδου PFWAT.
7 ὑπηκόους LAWE.
JOSEPHUS

ἀπειροι καὶ ἀριθμῷ γνωσθῆναι1 μὴ δυνάμεναι.

134 ἔδει ὡς Ἑσδραν ἀφικνούνται ἱερέων καὶ Λευτών καὶ ἥρωρῶν καὶ ἱεροψαλτῶν καὶ ἱεροδούλων πολλοί τῶν ἀριθμῶν. συναγαγών δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ Εὐφράτου καὶ τρεῖς ἐπιδιατρίψας ἐκεί ἡμέρας, νηστείαν αὐτοὺς παρήγγειλεν ὅπως εὐχὰς ποιήσονται τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν κατὰ τὴν ὅδον παθεῖν ἄτοπον ἡ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἡ τυχὸς ἄλλο

135 δυσκόλου προσπεράντων αὐτοῖς· φθάσας γὰρ ὁ ῾Εσδρας εἶπεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ ὅτι διασώσει αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς, οὐ κατηξίωσεν ἐπιεῖς αὐτὸν αἰτήσας τοὺς προσέμυντας. ποιησάμενοι δὲ τὰς εὐχὰς, ἀραντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐφράτου δωδεκάτη τοῦ πρώτου μηνὸς τοῦ ἐβδόμου ἐτοὺς τῆς Ξέρξου βασιλείας παρεγένοντο εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα μηνὶ πέμπτων τοῦ αὐτοῦ2 ἐτῶν. καὶ παραχρῆμα τοῖς γαζοφύλαξιν ὁ ῾Εσδρας ὁδοὺν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ἱερέων γένους παρέστησε τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα, ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἐξακόσια πεντηκοντα, σκεῦη ἀργυρᾶ ταλάντων ἑκατόν, καὶ χρύσεα σκεῦη ταλάντων εἴκοσι, καὶ χαλκᾶ σκεῦη χρυσοῦ κρέιττων σταθμοῦ ἕχουσα τριαντάνων δώδεκα· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐδωρήσατο ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ

1 γνωρισθῆναι Λ. 2 ἐβδόμον P.

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1 The foregoing details about the public reading of the king's letter and the sending of it to Media, as well as the statement about the number of those remaining in Babylonia, are additions to 1 Esdras and Ezra. For the later history of the Babylonian Jews see Ant. xviii. 310 ff.
2 1 Esdras, "to the river called Theras (Luc. Eeia)," Ezra "to the river that comes to Ahava ('Ah'wā)." It has been conjectured by Lupton (cited by S. A. Cook in R. Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha etc. i. 50 note) that πέραν in 378
less myriads whose number cannot be ascertained. And so there came to Ezra a great number of priests, Levites, porters, temple-musicians and temple-servants. And he assembled those from the captivity in the country beyond the Euphrates, where he tarried for three days and proclaimed a fast for them in order to offer prayers to God for their safety and that they might not suffer any harm on the way either from their enemies or from any other mischance that should befall them. For, as Ezra had already told the king that God would preserve them, he did not think it proper to ask him for horsemen to escort them. And so, when they had offered up prayers, they set out from the Euphrates on the twelfth day of the first month in the seventh year of the reign of Xerxes and arrived at Jerusalem in the fifth month of the same year. Thereupon Ezra immediately turned over to the treasurers who were of priestly descent the sacred property consisting of six hundred and fifty talents of silver, silver vessels weighing one hundred talents, gold vessels weighing twenty talents and vessels of bronze more precious than gold, weighing twelve talents. These were the gifts presented by the king and his counsellors.

Josephus is a corruption of Θερα in 1 Esdras, but this is unlikely.

The preceding is an abridgement of the account of the preparations given in 1 Esdras and Ezra.

Lit. "of."

The dating of the arrival in Xerxes' 7th year, in the 5th month, is based on an earlier passage, 1 Esdras viii. 6 = Ezra vii. 8.

1 Esdras and Ezra 100.

1 Esdras and Ezra "twelve (Ezra "two") bronze vessels of fine bronze, gleaming like gold." Josephus omits the 20 gold bowls mentioned in both books.
οἱ σύμβουλοι αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν Βαβυλώνι

137 μένοντες Ἰσραήλ· ὅταν δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς ἱερεύσαι ὁ Ἑσδράς ἀπέδωκε τῷ θεῷ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ὀλοκαυτώσεων νεομισμένας γίνεσθαι θυσίας, ταῦτα δὲ δώδεκα ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τοῦ λαοῦ σωτηρίας, κριοῦς ἐνενήκοντα, ἄρνας ἐβδομῆκοντα δύο, ἐρίφου εἰς παραίτησιν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων δώδεκα. τοὺς δὲ τού βασιλέως ὁικονόμους καὶ τοὺς ἐπάρχους τῆς κοίλης Συρίας καὶ Φωικής τὰ γράμματα τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπέδωκεν. οἱ δὲ τὸ προσταχθὲν ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν ἀνάγκην ἔχοντες ἐτίμησαν τὸ ἔθνος καὶ πρὸς πάσαν αὐτὸν χρείαν συνήργησαν.

138 (3) Ταῦτα μὲν οὐν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐβουλεύσατο Ἑσδράς, προεχώρησε δὲ αὐτῷ κρίναντος αὐτὸν ἄξιον, οἷμαι, τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν βουληθέντων διὰ χρηστότητα καὶ δικαιοσύνην. Χρόνως δὲ ὑποτέρον προσελθόντων αὐτῶ τῶν κατηγοροῦντων ὡς τινος τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῶν ἱερεῶν καὶ Λευιτῶν παραβεβήκασι τὴν πολυτείαν καὶ λελύκασι τόσον πατρίος νόμους, ἀλλοεθνεῖς ἡμένους γυναῖκας καὶ τὸ ἱερατικὸν γένος συγκεκύκασιν, δεομένων τε βοηθήσαί τοῖς νόμοις, μὴ κοινῆν ἐπὶ πάντας ὅργῃ λαβὼν ἑαυτὸς εἰς συμφόρας ἐμβάλῃ, διέγραψε μὲν εὐθὺς ὑπὸ λύσθη τὴν ἐσθήτα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐσπάρασσε τὰ γένεια υβρίζων καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐαυτὸν ἐρρυσαν ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς αἰτίαν ταύτην

141 λαβέων τοὺς πρῶτους τοῦ λαοῦ. λογιζόμενος δὲ ὅτι ἐὰν ἐκβάλειν αὐτοὺς τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ ἔξ τῶν ἱερατικῶν προστάξει τέκνα, οὐκ ἀκοουθήσεται, δι—

1 δὲ FLVW. 2 λαβὼν ὁ θεὸς Hudson.

* 1 Esdras and Ezra 96.
* So 1 Esdras (most mss.); Ezra 77.
and all the Israelites remaining in Babylon. And when he had given these over to the priests, Ezra rendered to God the sacrifices of whole burnt-offerings customarily made, twelve bullocks on behalf of the well-being of the whole people, ninety\textsuperscript{a} rams, seventy-two\textsuperscript{b} lambs, and twelve kids as an atonement for sins.\textsuperscript{c} And to the stewards of the king and the eparchs of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia he delivered the letter of the king. Whereupon, being compelled to carry out his commands, they honoured the Jewish nation and assisted it in all necessary ways.

(3) These things, then, were what Ezra himself had planned, but that they turned out well for him was, I think, due to God, who judged him worthy of obtaining his desires because of his goodness and righteousness. But some time afterwards there came to him certain men who accused some of the common people as well as Levites and priests of having violated the constitution and broken the laws of the country by marrying foreign wives and mixing the strain of priestly families, and they besought him to come to the aid of the laws lest God conceive anger at all of them alike and again bring misfortune upon them.\textsuperscript{d} No sooner did he hear this than he rent his clothes for grief, tore the hair from his head, disordered his beard and threw himself upon the ground because the chief men among the people were guilty of this charge. And as he reasoned that, if he commanded them to put away their wives and the children born to them, he would not be listened

\textsuperscript{a} So Ezra; 1 Esdras “twelve goats for a peace-offering” (\textgreek{υπέρ σωτηρίου; σωτήριον} in LXX = Heb. \textit{šelem} “peace-offering”).

\textsuperscript{b} The appeal to Ezra to enforce the law is a detail added by Josephus.
143 ἀναστὰς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ὁ Ἑσδρᾶς καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, αἰσχύνεσθαι μὲν ἐλεγεν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναβλέψας διὰ τὰ ἡμαρτήματα τῶν λαῶν, ὦς τῆς μνήμης ἐξέβαλε τὰ τοὺς πατράσιν ἦμῶν διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν αὐτῶν συμπεσόντα, παρεκάλει δὲ τὸν θεὸν σπέρμα τι καὶ λεύψανον ἐκ τῆς τότε συμφορᾶς αὐτῶν καὶ αἰχμαλωσίας περισσῶσαντα καὶ πάλιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὴν οἴκειαν γῆν ἀποκαταστήσαντα καὶ τοὺς Περσῶν βασιλέας ἀναγκάσαντα λαβεῖν ὅκτον αὐτῶν, συγγνωμονήσαι καὶ τοῖς νῦν ἡμαρτήμενοι, ἄξια μὲν θανάτου πεποιηκόσιν, ὦν δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ χρηστότητι καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους ἀφεῖναι τῆς κολάσεως.

144 (4) Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπαύσατο τῶν εὐχῶν· θρηνοῦντων δὲ πάντων ὅσοι πρὸς αὐτὸν σὺν γυναιξίν καὶ τέκνοις συνήλθον, Ἀχόνιος τις ὄνοματι πρῶτος τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν προσελθὼν αὐτοὺς μὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἐλεγεν ἄλλοθενεὶς ἐνοικίσαμένους γυναῖκας, ἐπειθεὶς δ' αὐτῶν ἐξορκίσαι πάντας ἐκβαλέων αὐτὰς καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν γεγενημένα, κολασθήσεσθαι δὲ τοὺς οὖχ ὑπακούσαντας τῷ νόμῳ. πεισθεὶς οὖν

1 δὲ AWE Exc.
2 καὶ τοὺς . . . ἀναγκάσαντα om. PFV.
4 τοὺς τοιούτους Exc. Lat.: τούτους codd.
5 Ἀχόνιος PVE: Achanonius Lat.
6 γεγενημένα L² AVWE.

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This added detail is perhaps due to a misunderstanding of 1 Esdras viii. 90 = Ezra ix. 15 (Heb. 16) in which Ezra
to, he remained lying on the ground. And so there ran to him all the honest citizens who were themselves also weeping and sharing his grief over what had happened. Then Ezra arose from the ground and, stretching his hands toward heaven, said that, although he was ashamed to look up at it because of the sins committed by the people, who had put out of their minds all the things that had befallen our fathers because of their impiety, yet he besought God, who had preserved a seed and remnant out of their recent misfortune and captivity and had once more restored them to Jerusalem and their own country and had compelled the kings of Persia to take pity on them, to forgive also the sins which they had now committed, for though they had done things deserving of death, it was in keeping with the kindness of God to exempt even such sinners from punishment.

(4) With this he ceased praying, whereupon, amid the lamentations of all those who had gathered to him with their wives and children, a man named Achonios, the head of the people of Jerusalem, came up to him and said that they had sinned by taking foreign women as wives, but he tried to persuade Ezra to adjure them all to put them away with the children born of them and to have those men punished who would not obey the law. So Ezra concludes his prayer to God (alluded to by Josephus below) with the phrase "for we cannot stand any longer before Thee because of these things."

b The variant omits this last phrase.

c 1 Esdras 'Iexovías, Luc. Σεχενίας, Ezra Shechaniah (Shekanyâh).

d In 1 Esdras he is called "son of Jeelos, of the sons of Israel," in Ezra "son of Jehiel of the sons of Elam."
JOSEPHUS

toútois ó Ἐσδρας ἐποίησεν ὁμόσαι τοὺς φυλάρχους τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν Λευιτῶν καὶ Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀποστέμψασθαι τὰς γυναίκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα κατὰ
147 τὴν Ἀχονίου συμβουλίαν. λαβὼν δὲ τοὺς ὄρκους εὐθὺς ἀφημησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἰς τὸ παστοφόριον τὸ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἑλιασίβου καὶ μηδενὸς ὅλως διὰ τὴν λύπην γευσάμενος ἐκεῖνην τὴν ἡμέραν1 δι-
148 ἤγαγεν αὐτόθι. γενομένου δὲ κηρύγματος ὅστε πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας συνελθεῖν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα, ὡς τῶν ἐν δυσὶν ἦ τρισὶν ἡμέραις οὐκ ἀπαντησάντων ἀπαλλοτριωθησομένων τοῦ πλή-
θους καὶ τῆς αἰσίας αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν τῶν πρεσβυ-
tέρων κρίσιν ἀφιερωθησομένης, συνήλθον ἐκ τῆς Ἰουῦδα φυλῆς καὶ Βενιαμίτιδος ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις εἰκάδι τοῦ ἐνατοῦ μηνός, ὃς κατὰ μὲν Ἐβραίους Χασλεύς,2 κατὰ δὲ Μακεδόνας Ἀπελλαίος καλεῖται.
149 καθισάντων δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ3 τοῦ ἱεροῦ, παρόντων ἁμα καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρύους ἄγδῶς διακειμένων, ἀναστὰς Ἐσδρας ἢτιάτῳ ἐκεῖ-
nous, λέγων παρανομήσαι γῆμαντας οὐκ ἐξ ὀμο-
φύλων· νῦν μέντοι γε ποιήσεις αὐτοὺς τῷ μὲν
θεῷ κεχαρισμένα συμφέροντα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπο-

1 V: ἐκεῖνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ rel.  
3 W (Exc.): ὑπερώῳ rel. Lat.

a Or simply “from the temple.” (ἱερὸν in Josephus can mean either); 1 Esdras ἀπὸ τῆς αὐλῆς τοῦ ἱεροῦ, Ezra “from before the temple.”

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followed this advice, and made the chiefs of the priests, Levites and Israelites swear to send away their wives and children in accordance with the counsel of Achonios. And, as soon as he had received their oaths, he hastened from the temple court to the chamber of Joannēs, the son of Eliasib, and there spent all of that day, not tasting a thing because of his grief. Then a proclamation went forth that all those of the captivity should gather at Jerusalem and that those who did not meet there within two or three days should be separated from the community and have their property confiscated to the temple in accordance with the decision of the elders. Accordingly, within three days those of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin gathered there, on the twentieth day of the ninth month, which is called Chasleus by the Hebrews and Apellaios by the Macedonians. And as they sat in the court of the temple, the elders also being present, and suffered discomfort from the cold, Ezra arose and accused them of having broken the law by marrying outside their own nation; nevertheless, he said, they would now do what was pleasing to God and beneficial to themselves if they sent away their

b 1 Esdras 'Iwarāv (cod. B 'Iwarā), Ezra Johanan (Yĕhōhānān).

c Bibl. Eliashib ('Elyāšīb).

d Neither 1 Esdras nor Ezra specifies the length of time he spent there.

e Emended form (=Heb. Kislew); mss. Xenios, Xelios, Tebeth. Kislew corresponded roughly to December in the Julian calendar. The equation of Kislew with Apellaios is made also in Ant. xii. 248 and 319 ff.

f The variant "upper chamber" is certainly corrupt; 1 Esdras and Ezra "in the broad place before the temple."

g Added detail.
150 πεμψαμένους τάς γυναίκας. οἱ δὲ ποιήσειν μὲν τούτο πάντες ἔξεβόησαν, τὸ δὲ πλήθος εἶναι πολὺ, καὶ τὴν ὁμον ὑμῶν ἔτους χειμέριον, καὶ τὸ ἔργον οὐ μιᾶς οὐδὲ δευτέρας ὑπάρχειν ἡμέρας. ἡλίον εἶναι τοῖς καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ταῖς ἀλλοφύλους παραγενέσθωσαν λαβόντες χρόνον καὶ πρεσβυτέρους ἐξ ὄφειν 2 οὖν θελήσωσι τόπουσ τοὺς συνεπισκεψομένους τοῦ τῶν γεγαμηκότων πλήθος. καὶ τούτο δόξαν αὐτοῖς, ἀρξάμενοι τῇ νομημαίᾳ τοῦ δεκάτου μηνὸς ἀναζητεῖν τοὺς συνοικούντας ταῖς ἀλλοεθνεῖς εὑρὸν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ ἔχομένοι νουμηνίας ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἔρευναν, πολλοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐκγόνων τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν Λευιτῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰσραήλιτῶν, οἱ καὶ τὰς γυναίκας καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν γεγενημένα τῆς τῶν νόμων φυλακῆς ἡ τῶν πρὸς αὐτὰ φίλτρων ποιούμενοι πλείονα λόγου, εὐθὺς ἔξεβαλον, καὶ θυσίας ἐξευμενίζοντες τὸν θεόν ἐπήνεγκαν, κριοῦς καταθύσαντες αὐτῷ. τὰ δὲ ὅνοματα αὐτῶν λέγειν οὐκ ἔδοξεν ἢμῖν ἀναγ- 

151 καὶ τῶν Ἰσραήλιτῶν, οἱ καὶ τὰς γυναίκας καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν γεγενημένα τῆς τῶν νόμων φυλακῆς ἡ τῶν πρὸς αὐτὰ φίλτρων ποιούμενοι πλείονα λόγου, εὐθὺς ἔξεβαλον, καὶ θυσίας ἐξευμενίζοντες τὸν θεόν ἐπήνεγκαν, κριοῦς καταθύσαντες αὐτῷ. τὰ δὲ ὅνοματα αὐτῶν λέγειν οὐκ ἔδοξεν ἢμῖν ἀναγ- 

153 καὶ τῶν Ἰσραήλιτῶν, οἱ καὶ τὰς γυναίκας καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν γεγενημένα τῆς τῶν νόμων φυλακῆς ἡ τῶν πρὸς αὐτὰ φίλτρων ποιούμενοι πλείονα λόγου, εὐθὺς ἔξεβαλον, καὶ θυσίας ἐξευμενίζοντες τὸν θεόν ἐπήνεγκαν, κριοῦς καταθύσαντες αὐτῷ. τὰ δὲ ὅνοματα αὐτῶν λέγειν οὐκ ἔδοξεν ἢμῖν ἀναγ- 

154 (5) Τῷ δ’ ἐβδόμῳ μηνὶ τὴν σκηνοπηγίαν ἔστα-
wives. Thereupon they all cried out that they would do this, but said that their number was great and it was the wintry season of the year and it was a work of not merely one or two days. "But let the leaders and, in addition, those who are married to foreign wives come here at a fixed time and bring elders from whatever place they wish, to examine with them the number of those so married." When they had resolved on this, they began, on the new moon of the tenth month, to search out those who were married to foreign wives and, continuing the inquiry until the new moon of the following month, they found many of the descendants of the high priest Jesus and of the priests, Levites and Israelites who, having more regard for the observance of the laws than for the objects of their affection, at once put away their wives and the children born of them, and brought sacrifices to propitiate God, the victims being rams. We have not, however, thought it necessary to give their names. So then, having rectified the wrongdoing of the forementioned men in marrying, Ezra purified the practice relating to this matter so that it remained fixed for the future.

(5) In the seventh month they celebrated the

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a Emended text. Reinach, following 1 Esdras, which reads στήτοσαν δὲ οἱ προηγούμενοι τοῦ λαοῦ, suggests ἀλλ’ οἱ γε ἡγεμόνες μενότων "let the chiefs remain." But both 1 Esdras and Ezra state further on in the verse that the elders and judges are to come to Jerusalem together with those married to foreign women. I assume that by ἡγεμόνες Josephus means these judges.

b According to 1 Esdras and Ezra the inquiry was terminated on the new moon of the first month (of the following year).
ζοντες καὶ σχεδὸν ἀπαντος τοῦ λαοῦ συνεληλυθότος ἐπ’ αὐτὴν, ἀνελθόντες εἰς τὸ ἀνεμένον τοῦ ναοῦ πρὸς τὴν πύλην τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνατολήν ἀποβλέπουσαν, ἐδείχθησαν τοῦ Ἐσδρα τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς 155 ἀναγνώρια1 τοὺς Μωυσεός. ὁ δὲ μέσος τοῦ πληθοὺς σταθεὶς ἀνέγγυς, καὶ τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ἀπ’ ἀρχομένης ἥμερας ἐως μεσημβρίας. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἀναγινωσκομένων τῶν νόμων δίκαιοι μὲν πρὸς τὸ παρόν καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐδιδάσκοντο εἶναι, περὶ δὲ τῶν παρωχημένων ἐδυσφόρουν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δακρύειν προῆχθησαν ἐνθυμούμενοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅτι μηδὲν ἂν τῶν πεπειραμένων κακῶν ἔπαθον, 156 εἰ τὸν νόμον διεφύλαττον. ὁ δὲ Ἐσδρας οὕτως ὄρων αὐτοὺς ἐχοντας ἐκέλευσεν ἀπιέναι2 πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ δακρύειν· εἶναι γὰρ ἐορτὴν καὶ μὴ δεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ κλαίειν· οὐ γὰρ ἔξειν· προετρέπετο δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸς εὐωχίαν ὁρμήσαντας ποιεῖν τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ ἐορτῇ καὶ κεχαρισμένα, καὶ τὴν μετάνοιαν καὶ λύπην τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν ἐξημαρτημένους ἀσφαλείαν τε ἐξεῖν καὶ φυλακὴν τοῦ 388

1 ἀναγνωσθῆναι PFLVE.
2 ed. pr. Lat.: ἀπεῖναι codd. E.

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* In 1 Esdras and Ezra the people gather for the reading of the law on the 1st day of the 7th month, and on the 2nd day, according to Neh. (1 Esdras ends here), they read in the laws of Moses that the festival of Tabernacles is to be observed in the 7th month; only after this—on what day is not specified—do they celebrate the festival. The natural
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festival of Tabernacles and, when almost all the people had gathered for it, they went up to the open court of the temple near the gate which faced the east, and asked Ezra to read to them the laws of Moses. So he stood up in the midst of the multitude and read them, taking from early morning until noon. And, as they listened to the laws being read, they learned how to be righteous for the present and the future, but they were troubled about the past and were moved to tears as they bethought themselves that they would not have suffered any of the evils which they had experienced if they had observed the law. But, when Ezra saw them so affected, he bade them return to their homes and shed no tears, for, he said, it was a festival, on which it was not right to weep nor was it lawful. He exhorted them rather to turn to feasting and do what was in keeping with the festival and was pleasant, for in their repentance and sorrow over the sins which they had formerly committed, they would have a security and safeguard.

Inference from this passage in Neh. is that on this occasion the festival began on the 3rd day of the 7th month, although in the laws ascribed to Moses (Lev. xxiii. 34, Num. xxix. 12, cf. Ant. iii. 244) the festival’s beginning is set on the 15th of the month (on the development of the religious calendar and the date of Tabernacles cf. J. Morgenstern in Hebrew Union College Annual x., 1935, pp. 56 ff.). This apparent conflict between Neh. and the Pentateuch is probably the reason why Josephus omits to state on what day of the month Ezra began to read the law.

Cf: 1 Esdras “in the broad place of the temple gateway toward the east”; Neh. “before the broad place (A.V. “street”) that was before the water-gate.” In Neh. iii. 26 the water-gate is located in the eastern part of the city. On the topographical problems involved in Neh. ch. iii. cf. M. Burrows in Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research xiv., 1933/34, pp. 130 ff.
Josephus

157 μηδὲν ὄμοιον συμπεσεῖν. οἷς δὲ, ταῦτα Ἑσδρα παραινοῦντος, ἐορτάζειν ἥρξαντο καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες ἐφ' ἡμέρας ὡκτῶ ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς, ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὰ οἶκεια μετὰ ύμνων τοῦ θεοῦ, τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως τῶν περὶ τὸ πολιτεύμα παραγομηθέντων

158 Ἑσδρα χάριν εἴδότες. ὃ συνέβη μετὰ τὴν παρὰ τῷ λαῷ1 δόξαν γηραιῶ τελευτήσαι τῶν βιῶν καὶ ταφῆναι μετὰ πολλῆς φιλοτιμίας ἐν Ἰεροσολύμοις. ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καὶρὸν καὶ Ἰωακήμου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀποθανόντος παῖς αὐτοῦ Ἔλιασίβω τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην διεδέχατο.

159 (6) Τῶν δ' αἰχμαλωτισθέντων τις Ἰουδαίων, οἶνοχόος τοῦ βασιλέως Εέρξου, Νεεμίας οἴνομα περιπατῶν πρὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως τῶν Περσῶν Σοῦσων, ξένων τινῶν ἀπὸ μακρὰς ὀδοιπορίας εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσιόντων ἐπακούσας ἐβραϊστὴ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμιλούντων, προσελθὼν αὐτοῖς ἐπικαλέσθαι ἡμᾶς εἰς ἔπονθαντεῖν εἰς ἔπονθεν ἦκείν εἰς τῆς Ἰουδαίας, τῶς αὐτῶν ἔχει τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἡ μητρόπολις Ἰεροσολύμα πάλιν 161 ήρξατο πυνθανόεσθαι. κακῶς δ' ἔχειν εἰπόντων,

1 θεῷ Lat.

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a In the preceding Josephus omits certain scriptural details and adds others. It is noteworthy that he passes over “Nehemiah the Tirshatha” who is mentioned in Neh. viii. 9 as one of the leaders associated with Ezra in expounding the law (1 Esdras omits Nehemiah’s name). Most modern biblical scholars recognize that the name of Nehemiah is an intrusion in this chapter which originally formed part of the story of Ezra.

b Josephus here omits some scriptural details and adds others.

c Variant “God.”
that the like would not happen again. Accordingly, at this reassurance from Ezra, they began to celebrate the festival and kept it in their tabernacles for eight days, after which they returned to their homes, singing hymns to God and expressing thanks to Ezra for rectifying the offences against the laws of the state. And it was his fate, after being honoured by the people, to die an old man and to be buried with great magnificence in Jerusalem. About the same time also died the high priest Joakeimos, whom his son Eliasib succeeded in the high priesthood.

(6) Now one of the Jewish captives, named Nehemiah, who was cup-bearer of King Xerxes, was walking about before the walls of Susa, the capital of Persia, when he overheard some strangers, who were entering the city after a long journey, speaking Hebrew to one another, and so he went up to them and inquired where they had come from. When they replied that they had come from Judaea, he began to inquire further how the people and the metropolis Jerusalem were getting on. They said that these were in a bad way, for the walls


Cf. § 121 note b.

In the following section, §§ 159-183, Josephus's account of Nehemiah's history differs in so many details from Scripture that most scholars assume, with some reason, that he had before him a text differing considerably from the extant Heb. and Gr. texts.

Gr. Neemias (as in LXX), Heb. ὁ ἱημαῖος.

Artaxerxes in Scripture, modern scholars not being agreed as to whether Artaxerxes I (464–424 B.C.) or Artaxerxes II (404–359 B.C.) is meant. Cf. Appendix B.

Unscriptural details; cf. Neh. i. 2 "Hanani, one of my brethren, came, he and certain men from Judah, and I asked them concerning the Jews," etc.
καθηρήσθαι εἰς ἑδαφὸς τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη πολλὰ διατιθέναι κακὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ἡμέρας μὲν κατατρεχόντων τὴν χώραν καὶ διαρπαζόντων, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς κακῶς ἀπεργαζομένων, ὡς πολλοὺς ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ εἰς αὐτῶν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων αἰχμαλώτους ἀπῆχθαι καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς πλήρεις εὐρίσκεσθαι καθ’ ἡμέραν νεκρῶν, ἐδάκρυσεν ὁ Νεεμίας ἐλεήσας τῆς συμφορᾶς τοὺς ὀμοφυλοὺς, καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, ἀχριτόνος, εἶπεν, ὃ δὲ εὐθὺς ως εἶχεν μηδὲ ἀπολοουσάμενος διακονήσων ἐσπευσαν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν ἔπι τοῦ πότου διακονίαν.

163 μενον” διατρίβουσας δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ καὶ ταῦτ’ ἀποδυρμεῖον προσελθὼν τις ἠγγειλεν αὐτῷ μελέτων ἢ ἡ κατακλύσεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ εὐθὺς ως εἶχεν μηδὲ ἀπολοουσάμενος διακονήσων ἐσπευσαν τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆν ἐπί τοῦ πότου διακονίαν.

164 ὡς δὲ μετὰ τὸ δείπνον τὸ βασιλεῖς διεκύθη καὶ ἠδῶν αὐτοῦ γενόμενος ἀπέβλεψεν εἰς τὸν Νεεμίαν, κατεσκυθρωπακότα θεασάμενος, διὰ τὴν κατηφῆς εἰτ’ ἀνέκρυνεν. ὁ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ δεηθεὶς χάριν τινὰ καὶ πειθὼ παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ λέγομεν, πῶς, φησίν, ὃ βασιλεύ, δύναμαι σοι μὴ βλέπεσθαι τοιοῦτος μηδὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀλγεῖν, ὅπου τῆς πατρίδος μου Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐν ἢ τάφοι καὶ μνήματα προγόνων τῶν ἐμῶν εἰςω, ἀκοῦν βεβλήσθαι κατὰ τῆς γῆς

1 βεβλήσθαι W.
2 + αὐτῶν FLAVWE.
3 γεγόναμεν PV Lat.
4 προσελθὼν PFVW(L4).

a Josephus here amplifies Scripture.
b In Scripture Nehemiah mourns and fasts for several days after hearing the sad news about Jerusalem. Josephus, moreover, greatly shortens the prayer of Nehemiah.

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had been torn down to the ground, and the surrounding nations were inflicting many injuries on the Jews, overrunning the country and plundering it by day and doing mischief by night, so that many had been carried off as captives from the country and from Jerusalem itself, and every day the roads were found full of corpses. Then Nehemiah burst into tears out of pity for the misfortunes of his countrymen, and looking up to heaven, said, “How long, O Lord, wilt thou look away while our nation suffers these things, having thus become the prey and spoil of all?” And, as he lingered near the gate, lamenting these things, someone came up to him and informed him that the king was now about to recline at table. Thereupon, just as he was and without bathing, he at once hastened to perform the service of bringing the king his drink. But after dinner, when the king, who was relaxed and in a more pleasant mood than usual, looked at Nehemiah and saw his gloomy face, he asked him why he was downcast. Then, after praying to God to give his words some measure of grace and persuasiveness, Nehemiah said, “How, O King, can I appear to you otherwise and not suffer pain of spirit when I hear that the walls of my native city Jerusalem, where the graves and monuments of my forefathers are, have been thrown to the ground, and its

* Unscriptural detail; according to Scripture Nehemiah hears the news in the month of Kislev and resumes his service in the month of Nisan (=4 months later).

* Unscriptural detail.

* Bibl. “and I prayed to the God of heaven.” In Scripture, moreover, this prayer comes after Nehemiah’s explanation of his sadness and before his request to leave for Jerusalem, which Josephus here combines.
JOSEPHUS

tα τείχη καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐμπεπρησμένας αὐτης; ἀλλὰ χάρισαι μοι πορευθέντι τὸ τείχος ἀνεγείραι
166 καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ λείπον2 προσοκοδομήσαι.”’ ὁ δὲ 
βασιλεὺς διδόναι τε αὐτῷ τὴν διωρέαν κατένευσε 
καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σατράπας κομίσαι γράμματα, ὅπως 
tιμῆς τε αὐτὸν ἀξιώσωσι καὶ πᾶσαν παράσχωσι 
χορηγίαν εἰς ἀπερ βουλεται. “πέπαυσο δὴ,” 
φησι, · λυπούμενος καὶ χάρων ἡμῖν τοῦ λοιποῦ 
167 διακόνει.” ὁ μὲν οὖν Νεεμίας προσκυνήσας τῷ 
θεῷ καὶ τῷ βασιλεί τῆς ὑποσχέσεως εὐχαριστήσας, 
tὸ κατηφές τοῦ προσώπου καὶ συγκεκυμένον 
ἀπεκάθηρε τῇ περὶ τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων ἡδονῆ. 
καλέσας δὲ αὐτόν τῇ ἐπιούσῃ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ πρὸς 
'Αδδαίων3 ἐπιστολὴν κομίσαι τὸν τῆς Συρίας καὶ 
Φοινίκης καὶ Σαμαρείας ἔπαρχον, ἐν ἧ περὶ τῇ 
tιμῆς τοῦ Νεεμίου καὶ χορηγίας τῆς εἰς τὴν 
οἰκοδομίαν ἐπεστάλκει.

168 (7) Γενόμενος οὖν ἐν Βαβυλώνι καὶ πολλοὺς 
tῶν ὁμοφύλων ἔθελοντι4 ἀκολουθοῦντας αὐτῷ παρα-
λαβών ἤκεν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα πέμπτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν 
ἐτος ἡδη βασιλεύνοντος Ἑρέξου, καὶ δείξας τῷ θεῷ5 
tὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀποδίδωσι τῷ Ἀδδαίῳ καὶ τοῖς

1 ἀπελθόντι AW.
2 πλείστον PFA marg.: partem cadentem Lat.
3 Σαλέων P: Σαλ(λ)αίον FL: Σαδαίων V: Αδdeo Lat.
4 έθελόντων PF: έθελοντάς V: sponte Lat.
5 τῷ λαῷ L: om. Lat.

a Variant “complete the greatest part of the temple.”
The temple is not mentioned in Scripture.
Josephus omits the scriptural detail that these letters 
were given to Nehemiah at his own request.
Unscriptural details.
Scripture (Neh. vii. 7-8) mentions letters “to the governors 
(lxx “eparchs”) beyond the river” and to “Asaph, the 
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Do but graciously permit me to go there and raise up the wall and complete the building that remains to be done on the temple." Thereupon the king indicated that he granted him this favour and would let him carry letters to the satraps that they should pay him due honour and furnish him whatever supplies he wished for. "Cease grieving, therefore," he said, "and be cheerful hereafter in serving us." And so Nehemiah, after worshipping God and giving thanks to the king for his promise, cleared his face of its downcast and troubled expression in his joy at the things offered him. And on the following day the king called him and gave him a letter to carry to Addaios, the eparch of Syria, Phoenicia and Samaria, in which he had given orders concerning the honour to be paid Nehemiah and the supplies for the building.

(7) And so, after going to Babylon and taking along many of his countrymen who followed him voluntarily, he came to Jerusalem in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Xerxes; and, when he had showed the letters to God, he delivered them to the keeper of the king's forest. The name Addaios is apparently a corruption of Asaph, while his title of eparch must be due to carelessness on Josephus's part (if we assume that he had before him a text like ours).

The 20th year (of Artaxerxes) according to Scripture; moreover, by substituting Xerxes for Artaxerxes Josephus has involved himself in a chronological difficulty, inasmuch as Xerxes reigned only 20 years (485-465 B.C.).

Variant "to the people." Chamonard freely translates δείξας τῷ θεῷ as "returned thanks to God," but the more literal translation given above is, as noted long ago in Hudson-Havercamp, supported by the parallel in Ant. x. 16 (on 2 Kings xix. 14) where Josephus says that Hezekiah placed the letters of the Assyrian general "within the temple" (bibl. "before the Lord").
JOSEPHUS

" ἂλλοις ἐπάρχοις,¹ καὶ συγκαλέσας πάντα τὸν λαὸν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα στὰς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ ἱερῷ τουούτος

169 ἐποιήσατο πρὸς αὐτοὺς λόγους· "ἀνδρεὶς Ἰουδαῖοι, τὸν μὲν θεὸν ἵστε μνήμη τῶν πατέρων Ἀβράμου² καὶ Ἰσαάκου³ καὶ Ἰακώβου παραμένοντα καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων δικαιοσύνης οὐκ ἐγκαταλείποντα τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν⁴ πρόνοιαν ἀμέλει συνήργησέ μοι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως λαβεῖν ἐξουσίαν ὅπως ἦμων τὸ τείχος ἀναστήσω καὶ τὸ λείψανον τοῦ ἱεροῦ τελευῶσι.

170 βούλομαι δ’ ἦμᾶς τὴν τῶν γειτονευόντων ἡμῶν ἐθνῶν δυσμένειαν σαφῶς εἰδότας, καὶ ὅτι πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν, εἰ μάθοιεν περὶ ταύτην ἡμᾶς φιλοτιμούμενους, ἐνστήσονται καὶ πολλὰ πραγματεύσονται πρὸς αὐτὴν ἡμῶν ἐμπόδια, θαρρεῖν μὲν τῷ θεῷ πρῶτον ὡς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπέχθειαν στηρισμένους,⁵ μήτε δ’ ἡμέρας μήτε νυκτὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνενεὶ τῆς οἰκοδομίας, ἀλλὰ πάση σπουδὴ χρωμένους συνέχειν τὸ ἔργον, ὅσο γε⁶ καιρὸς τοῦτον⁸ ἰδιός ἐστίν.⁷ ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἐκέλευσεν εὐθὺς τοὺς ἁρχοντας μετρῆσαι τὸ τείχος καὶ διανείμαι τὴν ἔργασίαν αὐτοῦ τῷ λαῷ κατὰ κόμας τε καὶ πόλεις, κατὰ τὸ ἐκάστοις δυνατόν, ύποσχόμενος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν συλλήψεσθαι πρὸς τὴν 173 οἰκοδομίαν διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς τὸ ἔργον παρεσκευάζοντο. ἐκλήθησαν δὲ τὸ

¹ Dindorf: ἵππαρχας (-ois E) codd. E Lat.
² Hudson: Ἀβραὰμ P: Ἀβραάμου vel Ἀβραάμου rell.
³ Hudson: Ἰσαὰκ P: Ἰσαάκου FAVW: Ἰσαάκου L.
⁴ ἦμων AV.
⁵ στηρισμένου V Lat.: στηρισμένου A³W.
⁶ ἐως ex Lat. Niese.
⁷ ἦτι LAWE.
⁸ τοῦτον om. P.

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Addaios and the other eparchs. Then he summoned all the people to Jerusalem and, standing in the middle of the temple court, addressed them in the following words. "Fellow Jews, you know that God cherishes the memory of our fathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and because of their righteousness does not give up His providential care for us. What is more, He has helped me to obtain authority from the king to put up your wall and complete what remains to be done on the temple. And so, although you plainly know the ill-will borne us by the neighbouring nations and that they will oppose the building if they learn of our eager efforts on behalf of it, and will put many obstacles to it in our way, it is my wish first that you have confidence that with God's help you will withstand their hostility, and then that you do not relax in building either by day or night but show all zeal in continuing the work since the time is favourable thereto." With these words he told the officers to measure the wall at once and assign work on it to the people by villages and cities, according to the ability of each; and, after promising that he himself would help in the building together with his servants, he dismissed the assembly. And the Jews prepared for the work. This name, by

* Scripture (Neh. ii. 17) does not tell us in what part of the city Nehemiah addressed the people. Josephus, on the other hand, omits the preceding section, vss. 12-16, describing Nehemiah's secret inspection of the walls by night.

b On the various meanings of συνέχεια cf. § 79 note b.

c Josephus amplifies Nehemiah's speech.

d In these few words Josephus summarizes the contents of Neh. ch. iii.

* Ισραήλ in Gr. This detail is, of course, an addition to Scripture.
ὁνομα εξ ὡς ἡμέρας ἀνέβησαν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαία φυλῆς, ὡς πρώτης ἐλθούσης εἰς ἐκεῖνους τοὺς τόπους αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ἡ χώρα τῆς προσηγορίαν αὐτῆς μετέλαβον.

174 (8) Ἀκούσαντες δὲ τὴν τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομῆν σπευδομένην Ἀμμανίται καὶ Ὑμαβίται καὶ Σαμαρείται καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ κοίλῃ Συρία νεμόμενοι χαλεπῶς ἔφερον καὶ διετέλου ἐπιβουλάσ αὐτοῖς συντιθέντος, τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῶν ἐμποδίζοντες, πολλοὺς τε τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπέκτειναν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐξήτον τὸν Νεεμίαν διαφθείρα, μισθούμενοι τινας τῶν ἀλλοφύλων, ἦν αὐτὸν ἀνέλαβον. εἰς φόβον δὲ καὶ ταραγῇ αὐτοῖς ἐνέβαλλον καὶ φήμας αὐτοῖς διεστέλλον ὡς πολλῶν ἐπιστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς μελλόντων ἐθνῶν, ὡς δὲν ἐκταρασθομένοι μικροῦ τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἀπέστησαν. τὸν δὲ Νεεμίαν οὐδὲν τούτων ἐξέστησε τῆς σπουδῆς τῆς περὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ στυφὸς τι φυλακῆς ἐνεκα τοῦ σώματος περιβαλλόμενος ἀτρύτως ὑπέμενεν, ὡς τῆς περὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐπιθυμίας ἀνασθητῶν καὶ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας. οὕτως δὲ καὶ συντεταμένως καὶ προνοητικῶς αὐτοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας εἶχεν οὐχὶ φοβοῦμενος τὸν θάνατον, ἀλλὰ πεπεισμένος ὅτι μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευτην οὐκ ἔσται αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολίταις ἀναστήσαι.
which they have been called from the time when they went up from Babylon, is derived from the tribe of Judah; as this tribe was the first to come to those parts, both the people themselves and the country have taken their name from it.

(8) When the Ammanites, Moabites, a Samaritans and all those living in Coele-Syria heard that the building of the walls was being pressed, they were angry and continually contrived plots against the Jews to hinder their purpose; they killed many of the Jews b and sought to make an end of Nehemiah himself by hiring some foreigners to do away with him. c They also instilled fear and alarm into them and spread rumours among them that many nations were about to attack them, by which the Jews were so alarmed that they very nearly gave up building. None of these things, however, deterred Nehemiah from being zealous in the work, but, surrounding himself with a company of men to guard his person, he held out unwearyingly and in his eagerness about the work was insensible of the hardship. This intentness and forethought for his own safety he showed, not because he feared death, but because he was convinced that after his death it would not be possible for his fellow-citizens to put up the walls. d

a The Moabites are not mentioned in Scripture, which, on the other hand, includes the Arabians and the Ashdodites, and names the three leaders, Sanballat, Tobiah and Geshem.
b According to Scripture (Neh. iv. 11 = Heb. iv. 5) the enemies of the Jews threatened to kill them, but the threat was not carried out.
c Cf. Neh. vi. 1, 10 ff.
d Emended text. This unscriptural detail about Nehemiah's motive seems to be based on a misunderstanding of Neh. iv. 14 (Heb. 8) end, “fight for your brethren, your sons and your daughters, your wives and your houses.”
177 τὰ τεῖχη. ἐκέλευσε δὲ ἐξῆς τοὺς οἰκοδομοῦντας ὁπλα περιζωνυμένους ἐργάζεσθαι, καὶ ὁ μὲν οἰκοδόμος μάχαιραν εἰχὲ καὶ ὁ τὴν ύλὴν παρακομίζων, θυρεοὺς δὲ ἐγγύστα αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν κεῖσθαι καὶ σαλπιγκτᾶς ἀπὸ πεντακοσίων ἔστησεν ποδῶν προστάξας, ἥν ἐπιφανῶς οἱ πολέμιοι, τοῦτο σημῆναι τῷ λαῷ, ἵν’ ὦπλισμένοι μάχωνται
178 καὶ μὴ γυμνοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιπέσωσον. αὐτὸς δὲ νύκτωρ περιήρχετο τῆς πόλεως τὸν κύκλου, οὐδὲν κάμμων οὔτε τοὺς ἔργους οὔτε τῇ διαίτῃ καὶ τοῖς ὑπνοις· οὐδενὶ γὰρ τούτων πρὸς ἴδον ἄλλα πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἔχρητο. καὶ ταύτῃ ὑπέμενε τὴν ταλαντωρίαν ἐπὶ ἐκ τῶν μέγας τέσσαρας· ἐν τοσοῦτῳ γὰρ χρόνῳ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμωις ἀνωκοδομήθη τὸ τεῖχος, ὕδωρ καὶ εἰκοστῷ τῆς Έξρξου βασιλείας
179 ἔτει μηνὶ ἐνατῶ. τέλος δὲ τῶν τειχῶν λαβόντων Νεεμίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐθύσαν τῷ θεῷ ύπὲρ τῆς τούτων οἰκοδομίας καὶ διήγον ἐφ’ ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ εὐωχούμενοι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐθνῆ τὰ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ κατοικοῦντα τῆς τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομίας πέρας
180 ἔχειν ἀκουσθεῖσις ἐδυσφόρει. Νεεμίας δὲ τὴν πόλιν ὅρων ὀλγανθρωπομένην, τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευίτας παρεκάλεσε τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπόντας μετέλθειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ μένειν ἐν αὐτῇ, κατασκευά-

1 ὀπλισμένεοι PL;ΑWE: ὀπλισμένοι Naber.
2 κατοικημένα P; κατοικευτικά ΑW.

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a The specification of the distance is an unscriptural detail.
b According to this reckoning the work must have been begun in the 5th month of the 26th year of Xerxes (=2 yrs. and 4 mos. previously), which is at variance with the statement in § 168 (in itself incorrect, cf. note ad loc.) that it was 400.
He therefore ordered that for the future the builders should be equipped with arms when they worked, and so the masons had swords, as also those who carried the materials; and he ordered shields to be placed very near them, and stationed trumpeters at intervals of five hundred feet with the command to give the signal to the people if the enemy appeared, in order that they might be armed when they fought and not let the enemy fall on them unprepared. He himself made the rounds of the city by night, never tiring either through work or lack of food and sleep, neither of which he took for pleasure but as a necessity. And these hardships he endured for two years and four months, for this was the length of time in which the wall of Jerusalem was built, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Xerxes, in the ninth month. And, when the walls were finally ready, Nehemiah and the people sacrificed to God in token of their being built and continued feasting for eight days.

Now when the nations settled in Syria heard that the building of the walls was finished, they were angry. But Nehemiah, seeing that the city had a small population, urged the priests and Levites to leave the countryside and move to the city and remain there, for he had begun the 25th year of Xerxes. Moreover, according to Scripture, the work took only 52 days, being finished on the 25th day of Ellul (the 6th month). This would indicate that Josephus had before him a text of the books of Nehemiah, whether Hebrew or Greek, rather different from ours (cf. § 159 note f), unless we assume with J. Bewer, JBL xliii, 1924, pp. 224 ff., that the text is corrupt.

Cf. Neh. viii. 18; the festival here mentioned has already been mentioned, §§ 154 ff., as part of the Ezra story (cf. § 156 note a). In what follows Josephus with the greatest possible brevity summarizes Neh. chs. v, vii-xiii.
182 σας τὰς οἰκίας αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἱδίων ἀναλωμάτων·
tὸν τε γεωργοῦντα λαὸν τὰς δεκάτας τῶν καρπῶν
ἐκέλευσε φέρειν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα ἵνα τρέφθαι
dιημερῶς ἔχοντες οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ Ἰεούται μὴ κατα-
λείπωσι τὴν θησαυρᾶν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡδεῖς ὑπ-
ηκοῦσαν οῖς Νεεμίας διετάξατο, πολυανθρωπότεραν
dὲ τὴν τῶν Ἰεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν οὐτῶς συνέβη.

183 γενέσθαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα καλὰ καὶ ἔπαινων
ἀξία φιλοτιμησάμενος ὁ Νεεμίας ἔτελευτησεν εἰς
γῆρας ἀφικόμενος. ἀνὴρ δὲ ἐγένετο χριστὸς τὴν
φύσιν καὶ δίκαιος καὶ περὶ τοὺς δρομεθείς φιλο-
τιμότατος, μιμημένον αἰώνιν νῦν καταληπτῶν τὰ
tῶν Ἰεροσολύμων τεῖχη. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ
Εὔριβου βασιλεῖς ἐγένετο.

184 (vi. 1) Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Εὔριβου τὴν βασιλείαν
eἰς τὸν ὑιὸν Ἀσύηρον, ὁ Αρταξέρξης Ἑλληνί
cαλοῦσιν, συνέβη μεταβῆναι. τούτῳ τῇ Περσῶν
ἔχοντος ἡγεμονίαν ἐκυψύνευσε τὸ τῶν Ιουδαίων
ἐθνὸς ἀπαν σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀπολέσθαι.

185 τὴν δ’ αἰτίαν μετ’ οὐ πολὺ δηλώσομεν πρέπει γὰρ
τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως διηγεῖσθαι πρῶτον, ὡς ἐγγεμίη
Ἰουδαίαν γυναῖκα τοῦ γένους οὕσιν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ,
186 ὥς καὶ σώσαι τὸ ἔθνος ἦμῶν λέγουσιν. παρα-
λαβὼν γὰρ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ Ἀρταξέρξης καὶ

1 καταλέπωσι FLAV.
2 Gutschmid: Ἰώρων codd. E Lat.
3 ἐπειδὴ ὡς LA.

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a Unscriptural detail. Neh. ch. xi. states plainly that only
a certain portion of priests and Levites settled in Jerusalem;
the others remained "in the cities of Judah" (vss. 1, 3, 20).

b This characterization of Nehemiah is an addition to
Scripture.
prepared houses for them at his own expense; he also told the people who cultivated the land to bring tithes of their produce to Jerusalem in order that the priests and Levites, having a perpetual source of livelihood, might not abandon the temple service. And so, as they gladly obeyed Nehemiah’s ordinance, the city of Jerusalem came to have a larger population in this way. Then, after performing many other splendid and praiseworthy public services, Nehemiah died at an advanced age. He was a man of kind and just nature and most anxious to serve his countrymen; and he left the walls of Jerusalem as his eternal monument. These, then, were the things that took place in the reign of Xerxes.

(vi. 1) On the death of Xerxes the kingdom passed to his son Asuēros, whom the Greeks call Artaxerxes. During the time when he ruled the Persian empire, the entire nation of the Jews, with their wives and children, was in danger of being destroyed. The reason for this we shall explain presently, for it is in place first to relate the history of this king and how he married a Jewish woman of royal family, who is also said to have saved our nation. Now, after Artaxerxes took over the royal power and appointed

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"Cyrus" (Asuēros is also found in Luc., as a transliteration of Heb. 'Ahašīārōš = bibl. Ahasueros). The Heb. 'Ahašīārōš is, in reality, a rendering of the Persian Khāyarāṣa of which the Greek form is Xerxes, but the lxx here has Artaxerxes, hence Josephus’s equation of 'Ahašīārōš with Artaxerxes.

According to Scripture (Est. ii. 5) Mordecai, Esther’s uncle (cf. § 198 note d), was a descendant of “Shimei, the son of Kish, a Benjamite,” on the basis of which rabbinic tradition makes him a descendant of King Saul, cf. Ginzberg iv. 381 ff., vi. 458.
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catastήσας ἀπὸ Ἰνδίας ἄχρι Αἰθιοπίας τῶν σατραπεῖων ἐκατόν καὶ εἰκοσιεπτά οὐσῶν ἁρχοντας, τῶν τρίτων τῆς βασιλείας ἔτει τούς τε φίλους καὶ τὰ Περσῶν ἔθνη καὶ τοὺς ἤγεμόνας αὐτῶν ὑποδεξάμενος εἰσέλθα τοὺς πολυτέλος, οὗν εἰκὸς παρὰ βασιλεῖ τοῦ πλοῦτον παρασκευαζομένω τῇ ἐπὶ- δειξῃ ποιήσασθαι, ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἐκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα.

187 ἔπειτα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς αὐτῶν ἐν Σοῦσοι ἐπὶ ἡμέρας κατευχήσεν ἐπτά. τὸ δὲ συμπόσιον ἦν αὐτῶς τὸν τρόπον τούτον γεγε- νημένον· σκήνωμα πηγάμενος ἐκ χρυσών καὶ ἀργυρών κιόνων ὑφη λίνεα καὶ πορφύρα κατ’ αὐτῶν διεπέτασεν, ἃς τε πολλὰς μυρίάδας κατα-

188 κλίνεσθαι. διηκονοῦντο δὲ ἐκπώμαιν δραχμαῖς καὶ τοὺς διὰ λίθου πολυτέλος εἰς τέρψιν ἁμα καὶ θέαν πεποιημένοις. προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις μὴ βιάζεσθαι τίνειν, τὸ ποτὸν αὐτῶς συνεχῶς προσφέροντας, ὡς καὶ παρὰ Πέρσας γίνεται, ἀλλ’ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς ὁ βούλεται τῶν κατα-

189 κειμένων ἐκαστος φιλοφρονεῖσθαι. διαπέμψας δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν χώραν παρήγγειλε πάντες ἀνείσθαι τῶν ἔργων ἀφιμένως καὶ ἐορτάζειν ύπέρ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶ διαολαὶ ἡμέραις. ὅμοιος τε τῶν γυναικῶν ἡ βασιλεύσα “Ἀστή” συνήγαγε συμπόσιον ἐν τοῖς

1 V: ἐπέτασεν PFLAW.
2 ex seqq. in codd. PF Niese: αὐτή PF (hic) LA: Οὐαστή VWE et infra LA Lat.

a So Heb. and Luc.; lxx “in the city.”
b So Heb. and Luc.; lxx 6.
c Cf. lxx “cubes of gold and silver, on pillars of Parian marble and stone”; Heb. “rings of silver and pillars of marble”; Luc. “cubes of silver and pillars of Parian marble and with gilding.”

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officers over the hundred and twenty-seven satrapies from India to Ethiopia, in the third year of his reign he welcomed his friends and the Persian tribes and their governors, and entertained them lavishly, as became a king who wished to make a display of the wealth which he had acquired, for one hundred and eighty days. Then he feasted the nations and their envoys at Susa for seven days. Now the banquet was served in the following manner. They set up a pavilion on gold and silver pillars, over which they spread linen and purple cloth so that many myriads could recline at table. And they were served out of bowls made of gold or precious stones for the pleasure of those who beheld them. The king also commanded his servants not to force them to drink by bringing them wine continually, as is the custom among the Persians, but to permit each of the banqueters to use his own judgement in satisfying his desires. He also sent throughout the country and proclaimed to the people that they might give up their work and rest and celebrate for many days in honour of his reign. And Queen Astē similarly brought together the women for a banquet in her

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4 Josephus here omits several scriptural details.
* So LXX and Luc.; Heb. "vessels of gold and various vessels."
† Cf. LXX "And the drinking was not according to the established law; so the king wished, and ordered the stewards to do his wish and the men's"; Heb. "And the drinking was according to law; no one compelled (them), for so the king instructed every noble of his household, to do the wish of each man" (or "that each man do as he wished"); Luc. "And the drinking was according to law, for so the king ordered, to do the wish of the men."
* This sentence is an addition to Scripture.
† Variant Ouaste (= Wastē).
basileioi, ἵνα ἐπιδείξαι βουλόμενοι τοῖς ἑστιωμένοιστοῖς βασιλεῖς πέμψας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ἥκειν, καλλεῖ τὰς γυναίκας ἀπάσας 191 ὑπερβάλλουσαν. ἦ ἐὰν φυλακῇ τῶν παρὰ Πέρσαις νόμων, οἴ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις βλέπεσθαι τὰς γυναίκας ἀπηγορεύσασιν, οὐκ ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ πολλάκις τοὺς εὐνούχους ἀποστέλλοντος πρὸς αὐτὴν, οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐνέμενεν παραιτομένη τῇν 192 ἄφιξιν, ὡς εἰς ὅργὴν παροξυνθέντα τὸν βασιλέα λῦσα μὲν τὸ συμπόσιον, ἀναστάντα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἑπτὰ τῶν Περσῶν, οἳ τὴν τῶν νόμων ἐξήγησαν ἔχουσι παρ’ αὐτοῖς, καλέσαντα κατηγορεῖν τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ λέγειν ὡς ὑβρισθεὶ τρὸς αὐτῆς κληθείσα γὰρ πολλάκις ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ὑπῆκουσαν οὐδ’ ἀπαξ. προσέπεσαν οὖν δῆλον τόνα κατ’ αὐτῆς νόμον ὀρίζοντον. ἐνὸς δ’ ἐξ αὐτῶν Μουχαίου ὅνομα εἰπόντος οὐκ αὐτῷ μόνῳ ταύτην γεγονέναι τὴν ὑβρίν, ἄλλα καὶ 3 πάσι Πέρσαις οἴς κινδυνεύεται καταφρονομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν αἰσχύτα διαγεγονέναι τὸν βιον 194 (‘’οὐδεμία γὰρ τοῦ συνοικοῦντος ἄνδρος αἰδῶ ποιῆσαι, παράδειγμα τῇ τῆς βασιλείας ὑπερθερφαίαν πρὸς σὲ τὸν κρατοῦντα ἀπάντων ἔχουσα’’) παρακελευμένοι δὲ 4 τὴν οὕτω ἐνυβρίζουσαν

1 E: ἀνέμενε codd. 2 Μουχαίου WE: Nochens Lat. 3 ἄλλα καὶ E: ἄλλα codd. 4 τε VWE.

a Bibl. “in the palace of King Ahasuerus.”

b Scripture gives no reason for Vashti’s refusal. The Targum adds that she was ordered to appear naked before the king’s guests. For the curious rabbinic legends about Vashti’s behaviour on this occasion see Ginzberg iv. 374 ff., vi. 455.

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palace, but the king, wishing to show her to his guests, for she surpassed all women in beauty, sent and ordered her to come to his banquet. She, however, in observance of the laws of the Persians, which forbid their women to be seen by strangers, did not go to the king and though he repeatedly sent the eunuchs to her, none the less persisted in her refusal to come, until the king, being provoked to anger, broke up the banquet and, arising and calling the Seven Persians, who have charge of the interpretation of the laws among them, accused his wife and said that he had been insulted by her, for though she had repeatedly been called by him to the banquet, she had not once obeyed. He therefore commanded them to declare what law they would make against her. Thereupon one of them, named Muchaios, said that this insult affected not only himself but all the Persians, for they were in danger of having to lead a shameful life because of being contemnuously treated by their wives. "No woman," he said, "will show any respect for her husband, since she will have an example in the arrogance of the queen toward you, who have power over all men." He therefore urged him to inflict severe punishment on the woman.

\[\text{The queen refuses to attend the banquet. Esther i. 12}\]

\[\text{Esther i. 12}\]

\[\text{Esther i. 12}\]

\[\text{Esther i. 12}\]

\[\text{Esther i. 12}\]

\[\text{Esther i. 12}\]
Scripture does not tell what happened to Vashti after she was dethroned. According to rabbinic tradition she was executed, cf. Ginzberg iv. 378, vi. 456.

The preceding is an amplification of Scripture.

According to Scripture Esther was then in Susa with Mordecai. Josephus’s reference to Babylon is apparently based on Est. ii. 6, which says that Mordecai was one of the Jews whom Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, had
who had so grievously insulted him and, when he had done this, to announce to the nations what had been decreed against the queen; and so it was decided to send Astē away and to give her high position to another woman.

(2) Now, although the king was in love with her and could not bear the separation, he could not, because of the law, be reconciled to her, and so he continued to grieve at not being able to obtain his desire. But, when his friends saw him in this unhappy state, they advised him to cast out the memory of his wife and his love for her, which was doing him no good, and to send throughout the entire habitable world in search of beautiful virgins and take as his wife the one who pleased him best, for, they said, his passion for his former wife would be quelled by replacing her with another, and his affection for her would gradually be diverted to the woman living with him. Following this advice, therefore, he commanded some of his men to select those virgins in the kingdom who were most esteemed for beauty, and bring them to him. Now, among the many who were gathered together, there was found in Babylon a girl who had lost both parents and was being brought up in the home of her uncle, his name being Mordecai. He was of the tribe of Benjamin and was one of the chief men among the Jews. And

The Jew Mordecai and his niece Esther. Esther ii. 5

Scripture says that Esther was the daughter of Mordecai’s uncle, i.e. his cousin, but rabbinic tradition, like Josephus, makes her his niece.

Gr. Mardochoaios, as in lxx.

Cf. § 185 note e.
'Εσθήρα συνέβαινε (τούτο γὰρ ἦν αὐτὴ τοῦνομα) τῷ κάλλει διαφέρειν καὶ τὴν ἵππα τοῦ προσώπου τῶν θεωμένων μᾶλλον ἔπαγεσθαι. παραδοθεῖσα δὲ αὐτῇ τινὶ τῶν εὐνούχων εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν πάσης ἐτύγχανε προνοίας, ἀρωμάτων ἀφθονία καὶ πολυτελείᾳ τῶν ἀλειμμάτων ὄν χρήζει τὰ σώματα καταρδομένη, καὶ τούτων ἀπέλανον ἐπὶ μήνας ἐξ τετρακόσια τὸν ἄρθρον οὐσαί. ὅτε δὲ ἐνόμιζεν ἀποχρώντος τῷ προειρημένῳ χρόνῳ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐξεν ταῖς παρθένοις καὶ τοῦ βαδίζων αὐτᾶς ἐπὶ κοίτην βασιλέως ἄξιάς ἤδη γεγονόναι, καθ’ ἐκάστην ἤμεραν μίαν ἐπεμπῃ τῷ βασιλεῖ συνεσομένην. ὁ δὲ πλησίαζων εὐθὺς ἀπέσημπῃ πρὸς τὸν εὐνοῦχον. ἀφικομένης δὲ τῆς 'Εσθήρας πρὸς αὐτόν, ἥσθεῖς αὐτῇ καὶ πεσὼν τῆς κόρης εἰς ἑρωτα νομίμως αὐτὴν ἀγεταὶ γυναῖκα καὶ γάμους αὐτῇ ποιεῖται δωδεκάτῳ μηνὶ ἐβδόμον ἔτους τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας, ἀδάρω καλομένου. διέπεμψε δὲ τοὺς ἀγγάρους λεγομένους εἰς πάν ἐθνος, ἑορτάζειν τοὺς γάμους παραγγέλλων, αὕτος δὲ Πέρσας καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἐθνῶν ἔστι ἐπὶ μῆνα ὅλον ὑπὲρ τῶν γάμων

1 διὰ τὴν Cocceji.
2 παραδοθεῖσα δὲ αὐτῇ . . . ἐτύγχανον . . . καταρδομέναι
ex Lat. Niese.
3 Niese: τὰς παρθένους codd.
4 ex Lat. Naber: 'Ἀδέρω ΛΑ: 'Ἀδέρου PFV: Δεραίου W.
5 + καὶ τοὺς Μηδίους ΛΑWW.

a Josephus does not comment on the fact that in Scripture she is also called Hadassah.
b Lit. "sprinkled."
c 12, according to Scripture.
d Scripture does not specify the number of maidens.
e So lxx (Adar is approximately March); Heb. "in the

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Esther—this was her name—a surpassed all women in beauty, and the grace of her countenance greatly attracted the eyes of all who beheld her. Being, therefore, given over to one of the eunuchs to be cared for, she received every attention and was anointed with an abundance of spices and costly unguents, such as women's bodies need. This was the treatment enjoyed for six months by the maidens, who were four hundred in number. Then, when he thought that the virgins had had sufficient care in the forementioned period of time and were now fit to come into the king's bed, he sent one every day to lie with the king, who, after having intercourse with her, at once sent her back to the eunuch. But, when Esther came to him, he was pleased with her and then, having fallen in love with her, made her his lawful wife and held their wedding in the twelfth month, called Adar, in the seventh year of his reign. He also sent out messengers called angaroi to every nation, inviting them to celebrate the wedding, while he himself entertained the Persians and the chief men of the nations for a whole month in honour of his marriage; and, when
tenth month, which is the month of Tebeth (approximately January)." Strictly speaking, this was not the date of the wedding but when Esther was taken to King Ahasuerus, into his palace." Scripture does not specify how long afterward the wedding was celebrated.

Unscriptural detail, cf. Herodotus iii, 126. The Gr. angaros, derived from Persian, is ultimately of Babylonian origin.

The variant adds "and the Medes."

For 7 days, according to lxx; Heb. does not say how long the feast lasted. Josephus, moreover, omits the scriptural detail of the royal amnesty then proclaimed.
JOSEPHUS

αυτοῦ, εἰσελθοῦσης δὲ εἰς τὸ βασίλειον περιτίθησι αὐτῇ τὸ διάδημα, καὶ συνώκησεν οὕτως Ἰσσωρ, μὴ ποιῆσασα φανερὸν αὐτῷ τὸ ἔθνος ἐξ οὔπερ εἰὶς τυγχάνουσα. μεταβὰς δὲ καὶ ὁ θεῖος αὐτῆς ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλὼνος εἰς Σοῦσα τῆς Περσίδος αὐτῷ διήγεν, ἕκαστης ἡμέρας πρὸς τοῖς βασιλείοις διατριβῶν καὶ πυνθανόμενος περὶ τῆς κόρης τίνα διάγει τρόπων ἐστεργεν γὰρ αὐτὴν ὡς αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα.

205 (3) Ἐθηκε δὲ καὶ νόμον ὁ βασιλεὺς ὡστε μηδένα τῶν ἑδίων αὐτῇ προσιέναι μὴ κληθέντα, ὀπληρία ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καθέζομεν. περιστηκέσαν δὲ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ πελέκεις ἔχοντες ἀνθρώποι πρὸς τὸ κολάζειν τοὺς προσιόντας ἀκλήτως τῷ θρόνῳ. καθήστο μέντοι λύγον χρυσέαν ἔχων αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεύς, ἣν ὀτε2 τινὰ σῶζειν ἤθελε τῶν ἀκλήτως προσιόντων ἔξετευε πρὸς αὐτῶν· δὲ ἀπτόμενος αὐτῆς ἀκίνδυνος ἦν. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀρκοῦντως ἡμῖν δεδήλωται.

207 (4) Χρόνῳ δ᾿ ύστερον ἐπιβουλευσάντων τῷ

1 ἑδίωτων conj. Chamonard.
2 Dindorf: ὀταν codd. E.

\[\text{a} \text{ Cf. § 198 note c.} \]
\[\text{b} \text{ In Est. ii. 19 Heb. has the puzzling statement, “And} \]

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Esther entered the palace, he placed the diadem on her head, and so she lived with him but did not reveal to him the nation from which she came. Then her uncle moved from Babylon to Susa in Persia and dwelt there; every day he lingered about the palace, inquiring about the girl and how she fared, for he loved her as his own daughter.

(3) Now the king had made a law that none of his people should approach him whenever he sat on the throne, unless he were summoned. And round his throne stood men with axes to punish any who approached the throne without being summoned. The king himself, however, as he sat held a golden wand which he extended to anyone whom he wished to save of those who approached without being summoned; and whoever touched this was out of danger. But of these things we have now said enough.

(4) Some time afterward Bagathōos and Theos—when the virgins were gathered a second time, Mordecai sat in the king's gate,” while LXX merely reads “And Mordecai was in attendance (εὐθεράπευεν) in the court.” Josephus’s statement above is apparently based on the LXX text of this verse, although he may have connected the Heb. here with the earlier verse, ii. 11, which says that Mordecai came to the women’s palace every day to inquire about Esther—this being during the period before she was chosen queen.

For ἴδιων “his own (people)” Chamonard suggests ἴδιωτῶν “commoners.”

The preceding is an amplification of Est. v. 2, cf. § 238. The detail about the “men with axes” is an invention of Josephus. For rabbinic traditions concerning the difficulties of approaching the king cf. Ginzberg iv. 427 ff.

Bibl. Bigthan; most LXX mss. omit this and the following name, but cod. Sin. corr. has Βαγαθάν, and the LXX in apocr. add. A has Γαβαθά, Luc. 'Αστα(γ)ής.
JOSEPHUS

βασιλεὺς Βαγαθώνου καὶ Θεοδέστου,¹ Βαρνάβαζος² τῶν εὐνούχων οἰκέτης τοῦ ἐτέρου, τὸ γένος ὃν Ἰουδαῖος, συνεῖς τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τῷ θείῳ κατ- εμήνυσε τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ βασιλέως Μαρδοχαίω, ὁ δὲ διὰ τῆς Ἑσθήρας φανεροῦς ἐποίησε τῷ βασιλεί 208 τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας. ταραχθείς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τάληθες ἐξεύρεν καὶ τοὺς μὲν εὐνούχους ἀνεσταυρώσεν, τῷ δὲ Μαρδοχαίῳ τότε μὲν οὐδὲν παρέσχεν ὡς αἰτίῳ τῆς σωτηρίας γεγονότι, μόνον δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ ὅνομα τοῖς τὰ ὑπομνήματα συγγραφομένους ἐκέλευσε σημειώσασθαι καὶ προσμενεῖν αὐτὸν τοῖς βασιλείοις, ὅντα φίλον ἀναγκαίοτατον τῷ βασιλεί 209 (5) Ἀμάνην δὲ ὁ Ἀμαδάθου ³ μὲν νῦν τὸ γένος δὲ ὁ Ἀμαληκίτην εἰσόντα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα προσεκύνου οἱ τε γένοι καὶ Πέρσαι, ταύτην αὐτῷ τὴν

¹ Θεωδοσίου Ρ.F.V. ² Φαρνάβαζος conj. Hudson. ³ Ἀμαθάδου FLA: ὁ Ἀμαθάδου W.

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¹ Variant Theodosiēs; bibl. Teresh, lxx cod. Sin. corr. Θαρᾶς, lxx apocr. add. A Θάρρα, Luc. Θεδυτός. Josephus’s form, Theodestēs, seems to be based on the Luc. reading in the apocr. add., which, in turn, may be a corruption of Heb. Tērēṣ, as r and d are very much alike in Heb. script, as Reinach notes. H. Willrich (cited by C. Emmet in R. Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, i. 160 n. 8) connects the names Theodestēs in Josephus and Thedevutos in Luc. with the Theodotos mentioned in 3 Maccabees i. 2 as an Egyptian deserter who attempted to kill King Ptolemy IV. The suggestion is ingenious but not convincing.

² Suggested variant Pharnabazos (the Greek form of a common Iranian name). Barnabazos is an invention of Josephus (or his non-biblical source). According to Scripture Mordecai was sitting in “the gate of the king” when the eunuchs were plotting, and “the thing became known to Mordecai”; according to the lxx apocr. add. A Mordecai himself overheard the plot. For rabbinic legends about 414
destēs a plotted against the king, but Barnabazos, b the servant of one of these eunuchs, who was a Jew by race, discovered their plot and revealed it to Mordecai, the uncle of the king’s wife, and he in turn through Esther exposed the plotters to the king. The king, being alarmed, investigated and found out the truth and crucified the eunuchs; as for Mordecai, at the time he gave him no reward for saving his life but only ordered the keepers of the archives to note his name and let him remain in the palace as a very close friend of the king. e

(5) Now whenever Haman, d the son of Amadathos, e who was of Amalekite descent, f went in to the king, the foreigners and Persians g prostrated them-Mordecai’s part in detecting the conspiracy cf. Ginzberg iv. 391 ff.

This last detail about Mordecai’s remaining in the palace “as a very close friend of the king” seems to be based on apocr. add. A (xii. 25) which reads, “and the king commanded that Mardochaios should be in attendance in the court, and he gave him gifts for these things,” Luc. “and the king commanded concerning Mardochaios that he should be in attendance in the king’s court and openly (ἐπιφανῶς) watch every door.” The Heb. text of Est. ii. 23 says nothing as to Mordecai’s position after the eunuchs were executed, while LXX reads “the king ordered a memorial to be written in the royal library in praise of Mardochaios’s loyalty.”

a Gr. Ἀμανής, LXX Ἀμάν.  
b So LXX; bibl. Hammedatha.  
c So Targum and rabbinic tradition explain the Heb. gentilic ḫā-gāgī (A.V. “Agagite”; LXX Bouγαῖος, Luc. Ἔωγαῖος,—in apocr. add. A Luc. has “Macedonian”), making Haman a descendant of Agag, “the king of the Amalekites” in the time of Saul (1 Sam. xv. 8). For rabbinic traditions concerning the complete genealogy of Haman cf. Ginzberg vi. 462 ff.

d Heb. “all the servants of the king who were in the king’s gate,” LXX “all those in the court,” Luc. “all (men).”
Josephus

τιμὴν παρ' αὐτῶν 'Αρταξέρξου κελεύοντος γενέσθαι.

210 Μαρδοχαίον δὲ διὰ σοφίαν καὶ τὸν οἴκοθεν αὐτοῦ νόμον οὐ προσκυνοῦντος ἀνθρωπον, ἐπαραφυλάξας ὅ Ἀμάνης ἐπυνθάνετο πόθεν εἴη. μάθών δὲ αὐτὸν ὅντα Ἰουδαίον ἡγανάκτησε καὶ πρὸς ἐαυτὸν εἶπεν ὡς οἱ μὲν ἐλεύθεροι Πέρσαι προσκυνοῦσιν αὐτῶν,

211 οὕτως δὲ δοῦλος ὡς οὐκ ἄξιοι τούτο ποιεῖν, καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι θελήσας τὸν Μαρδοχαίον, αὐτὸν μὲν αἰτήσασθαι πρὸς κόλασιν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως μικρὸν ἡγήσατο, τὸ δὲ ἔθνος αὐτοῦ διέγνω πᾶν ἀφανίσας· καὶ γὰρ φύσει τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀπηχθάνετο, ὅτι καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν Ἀμαλκητῶν, ἐξ ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτός,

212 ὑπ' αὐτῶν διέφθαρτο. προσελθὼν οὖν τῷ βασιλεί κατηγόρει λέγων ἔθνος εἶναι τι ποιητῶν, διεσπάρθαι δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βασιλευομένης οἰκουμένης, ἀμικτὴν ἀσύμφολον οὗτο θρησκεύα τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔχον οὐτε νόμοις χρώμενον ὁμοίως, "ἐχθρὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦς ἔθεσι καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν τῷ σῷ λαῷ καὶ ἀπασιν ἀνθρώποις τούτο τὸ ἔθνος, εἰ τινὰ θέλει τοῖς ὑπηκόοις εὐεργεσίαν καταθέσαι, κελεύσεις πρόρριζον ἀπ-

1 τὸν ἀνθρωπον Bekker.

* Scripture gives no explanation of Mordecai’s refusal to bow down.
* Suggested variant “the.”
* This explanation of Haman’s hatred of the Jews is an unscriptural detail, but also found in the Targum to this verse (iii. 6). Josephus here passes over the confused statement in vs. 7 of which the Heb. text reads, “In the first month, which is the month of Nisan, in the twelfth year of King Ahasuerus, he cast Pur, that is, the lot before Haman from day to day and from month to month, which is the month of Adar.” lxx reads more intelligibly, “And
selves before him, for Artaxerxes had ordered that he should receive this honour from them. But Mordecai because of his wisdom and his native law\(^a\) would not prostrate himself before any\(^b\) man, and Haman, having observed this, inquired from what people he came. And when he learned that he was a Jew, he became indignant and remarked to himself that whereas the free-born Persians prostrated themselves before him, this man, who was a slave, did not see fit to do so. And although he wished to be avenged on Mordecai, he considered it too little to ask that he alone be punished by the king, but decided to exterminate his whole nation, for he naturally hated the Jews because his own race, the Amalekites, had been destroyed by them.\(^c\) Accordingly, he went to the king and brought a charge, saying that there was a certain wicked nation scattered throughout the habitable land ruled by him, which was unfriendly and unsocial and neither had the same religion nor practised the same laws as others, "but both by its customs and practices it is the enemy of your people and of all mankind. If you wish to lay up a store of good deeds\(^d\) with your subjects, you will give orders to destroy this nation he made a decree in the twelfth year of the reign of Artaxerxes, and he cast lots day by day and month by month, to destroy the race of Mardochaios in one day; and the lot fell on the fourteenth day of the month which is Adar"—meaning that the massacre was set for the 14th day of Adar (the 12th month): This is the date given in apocr. add. B (xiii. 6) which is followed by Josephus below, § 219; but according to Scripture (iii. 13 Heb. and Luc,—lxx omits the day) the massacre was to take place on the 13th of Adar. Josephus ignores this discrepancy in his sources.

\(^{a}\) έυεργεσίαν καταβέσθαι is a Thucydidean phrase, cf. Thuc. i. 128.
oleóthai µηδε τι αυτοι λείψανον καταλιτείν μητ’
eis douleian tivn phulachéntovn mhite aichmalosian.’’
214 ἵνα μέντοι μη ζημιωθῇ τούς φόρους τούς πάρ’
autων γινομένους, ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας αὐτῶς
επηγγείλατο μυριάδας δῶσειν ταλάντων ἀργυρίου
téssaras, ὅπου ἀν κελεύσῃ. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ χρήματα
παρέχειν ἤδεως ἔλεγεν, ἵν’ ἀπὸ τούτων εἰρηνευθῇ
tῶν κακῶν ἡ βασιλεία.
215 (6) Ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀμάνου ἄξιωσαντος ὁ βασιλεὺς
καὶ τὸ ἄργυρον αὐτῶ χαρίζεται καὶ τοὺς ἄνθρω-
pous, ὡστε ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς ὃ τι βούλεται. τυχών
dὲ ὅν ἐπεδύμει Ἀμάνης παραχρήμα πέμπει διά-
tagma ὡς τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς ἄπαντα τὰ ἔθνη
216 περιέχον τούτων τὸν τρόπον. "βασιλεὺς μέγας
Ἀρταξέρξης τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰνδικῆς ἐως τῆς Ἀλθιπίας
ἔπτα καὶ ἐίκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σατραπεῖων ἀρχουσί
tάδε γράφει. πολλῶν ἐθνῶν ἀρξας καὶ πάσης ἥς
ἐβουλήθην κρατήσας οἰκουμένης καὶ µηδὲν ὑπὸ
tῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπερῆφανον µηδὲ σκαίν εἰς τοὺς
ἀρχοµένους ἀναγκασθεὶς ἀµαρτεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐπιεικῆ
καὶ πρᾶον ἐμαυτὸν παρασχὼν καὶ προνοησάµενος
εἰρήνης καὶ εὐνοµίας² αὕτως, ἔξητον πῶς εἰς
217 ἄπαντα τούτων ἀπολαύειν αὐτοὺς γένοιτο. τοῦ δὲ
diā σωφροσύνην καὶ δικαιοσύνην παρ’ ἐμοὶ τῆν
πρώτην μοῖραν δόξης καὶ τιµῆς ἐχοντος καὶ µετ’

1 ζηµιωθῆς PFLA.
2 εὐνοµίας ἀφορµᾶς LA: εὐνοµίαν W.

¹ Bibl. 10. Scripture adds that the money was to be paid
into the royal treasury.
² This sentence is an addition to Scripture.
⁻ On the 13th day of the 1st month (Nisan), according to
Scripture (iii. 12). Josephus also omits the scriptural detail
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root and branch and leave not a remnant of them to be kept either in slavery or in captivity." Lest the king, however, suffer the loss of the tribute collected from them, he offered to give out of his own property forty thousand talents of silver whenever the king should give the order. This sum of money he said he would gladly furnish in order that the kingdom might be rid of this plague and have peace.

(6) After Haman had made this request, the king presented him with both the money and the men to do as he pleased with them. And, on obtaining his desire, Haman immediately sent out an edict in the king's name to all the nations, of which the contents were as follows. "The decree of the great king Artaxerxes to the rulers of the one hundred and twenty-seven satrapies from India to Ethiopia: While I have ruled over many nations and have had dominion over all the habitable land which I could wish, I have not been compelled because of my power to wrong my subjects by any arrogant or brutal act, but have shown myself considerate and mild and have looked out for their peace and good government, seeking how they might enjoy these things for ever. But Haman, who because of his prudence and uprightness receives the first share of glory and honour from me and because of his (vs. 10) that the king gave Haman his seal-ring (as a symbol of authority).

The following decree is a close paraphrase of the text given in the apocr. Esther, xiii. 1 ff. Scripture here (iii. 12-13) says briefly that the king's letter was sent to all the officers throughout the kingdom and ordered them to kill all the Jews on the 13th day of the 12th month (Adar), cf. above, note c, p. 416.
JOSEPHUS

ἐμὲ δευτέρου διὰ πίστιν καὶ βέβαιον εὐνοιαν Ἄμανου κηδεμονικῶς ὑποδείξαντος μοι παντά-
πασιν ἀνθρώποις ἀναμεμήχανε δυσμενές ἔθνος καὶ τοῖς νόμοις ἀλλόκοτον καὶ τοῖς βασιλεύσιν
ἀνυπότακτον καὶ παρηλλαγμένον τοὺς ἔθεσι καὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν μισοῦν καὶ δύσοιν τοὺς ἥμετέρους

218 πράγμασι, κελεύω τοὺς δηλουμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ
dευτέρου μοι πατρὸς Ἄμανον πάντας σὺν γυναιξὶ
καὶ τέκνοις ἀπολέσαι μηδεμίαν φειδώ ποιησάμενοι,

μηδ’ ἐλέω πλέον ἡ τοῖς ἐπεσταλμένοις πεισθέντας.

219 παρακοῦσαι τῶν γεγραμμένων. καὶ τοῦτο γενέσθαι
βούλομαι τῇ τετράδι καὶ δεκάτῃ τοῦ δωδεκάτου

μηνὸς τοῦ ἑνεστῶτος ἐτους, ἄπωσ οἱ πανταχόθεν

ήμιν πολέμιον μιᾶ ἡμέρα διαφαρείτες τοῦ λοιποῦ

μετ’ εἰρήνης ἡμῖν τὸν βίον διάγει παρέχωσι.’

220 τούτον κομισθέντος τοῦ προστάγματος εἰς τὰς πόλεις
καὶ τῆς χώραν ἔτοιμοι πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Ἰου-

νδαίων ἀπόλειαι2 εἰς τὴν προειρημένην ἡμέραν

ἐγώνοτος ἐσπεύδετο δὲ τούτο καὶ ἐν τοῖς Σοῦσοις.3

ό μὲν σὺν βασιλεύς καὶ ὁ Ἄμανης πρὸς εὐχώσιας

καὶ πότοις ἥσαν, ἐν ταραξῇ δ’ ἦν ἡ πόλις.

221 (7) Ὁ δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος μαθὼν τὸ γυνόμενον,

περιρρηξάμενος τὴν ἐσθήτα καὶ σάκκον ἐνυσάμενος

καὶ καταχεῶν σποδιὰν διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐφέρετο

βοῶν ὅτι μηδὲν ἀδικήσαν ἔθνος ἀναρεῖται, καὶ

tοῦτο λέγων ἔως τῶν βασιλείων ἥλθε καὶ πρὸς

αὐτοῖς ἔστη; οὐ γάρ ἐξῆν εἰσελθεῖν αὐτῷ τοιοῦτον

222 περικεμένῳ σχῆμα. τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ πάντες

ἐποίησαν οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν Ἰουνδαίου, ἐν αἷς τὰ

περὶ τούτων προετέθη γράμματα, θρηνοῦντες καὶ
faithfulness and steadfast loyalty is second after myself, has solicitously shown me that there is an unfriendly nation mingled with all mankind, which has peculiar laws, is insubordinate to kings, is different in its customs, hates monarchy and is disloyal to our government, wherefore I order you to destroy all those who are pointed out by Haman, my second father, with their wives and children, without sparing anyone or disobeying my written orders by giving more heed to pity than to my instructions. It is my will that this shall take place on the fourteenth day of the twelfth month of the present year, in order that our enemies everywhere may be destroyed in one day and so let us lead our lives in peace thereafter.” When this decree was brought to the cities and the country districts, they all made themselves ready for the destruction of the Jews on the forementioned day. And haste was made in Susa as well. And so the king and Haman were busy with feasting and drinking, while the city was in commotion.

(7) When Mordecai learned what had been done, he rent his clothes, put on sackcloth, sprinkled ashes on his head and went about the city, crying that a nation which had done no wrong was to be destroyed; still saying this, he came as far as the palace but stopped there, for it was not lawful for him to enter it clothed in such attire. And the same was done by all the Jews in the cities in which the decree concerning these matters had been published, they also wailing and lamenting

"The words “that a nation which had done no wrong,” etc. are taken from the lxx; Heb. has merely “cried out with a loud and bitter cry.”
JOSEPHUS

tas kataγγελμένας αὐτοῖς συμφορὰς ὄδυρόμενοι. ὡς δ᾽ ἀπήγγειλάν τινες τῇ βασιλίσσῃ τὸν Μαρ-
doxaion ἐν οὕτως οὐκτρῷ σχήματι πρὸ τῆς αὐλῆς ἐστώτα, ταραχθείσα πρὸς τὴν ἀκοὴν ἐξέπεμπτε
223 τοὺς μεταμφιάζοντας αὐτὸν. οὐ πεισθέντος δὲ ἀποδύσασθαι τὸν σάκκον (οὐ γὰρ ἐφ᾽ χωρίς
ἀναγκασθεῖ λαβεῖν δεινῷ πεπαύσαθαι τούτω) προσ-
calēsαμένη τὸν εὐνοῦχον Ἀχράθεων (καὶ γὰρ
ἐτυχεν αὐτῇ παρών) ἀπέστειλε πρὸς Μαρδοχαίων
γνωσόμενον τίνος συμβεβηκότος αὐτῷ σκυθρωτού
πενθεὶ καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τούτο περικείμενος οὐδ'
224 αὐτῆς παρακαλοῦσης ἀπέθετο. δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος
ἐπέδειξε τῷ εὐνοῦχῳ τὴν αἰτίαν, τὸ τε γράμμα
τὸ κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς ἀπασαν τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ
βασιλεῖ χώραν διαπεμφθέν καὶ τὴν τῶν χρημάτων
ὑπόσχεσιν ἢ τὴν ἀπώλειαν τοῦ ἔθνους ὁνείτο
225 παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀμάνης. δοὺς δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ
τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῶν ἐν Σοῦσοι προτεθέντων
κομίσαι τῇ Ἐσδηρί, περὶ2 τούτων δειηθήναι τοῦ
βασιλέως ἐνετέλεστο καὶ σωτηρίας ἕνεκα τοῦ
ἔθνους μὴ ἀδοξῆσαι λαβεῖν σχῆμα ταπεινόν, ὥς
παραιτήσει τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κινδυνεύοντας ἀπο-
λέσθαι. τὸν γὰρ τὴν δευτέραν ἔχοντα τῷ βασιλεῖ
τιμὴν Ἀμάνην κατηγορήσαντα τῶν Ἰουδαίων
226 παραψινεύκεναι κατ᾽ αὐτῶν τὸν βασιλέα. ταῦτα
γνοὺσα πέμπει πάλιν πρὸς Μαρδοχαίον δηλοῦσα
ὅτι μήτε κληθεὶ πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ὁ εἰσ-

1 ὁνέιτο ed. pr.; ἢτείτο P; comparaverat Lat.
2 E: καὶ peri codd.

a Mordecai's explanation is an unscriptural detail. For
a rabbinic parallel cf. Ginzberg iv. 419.
b Cf. LXX Ἀχραθάιος; bibl. Hatach.

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the disaster which had been announced to them. But, when certain persons reported to the queen that Mordecai was standing before the court in this miserable attire, she was troubled by what she heard and sent out men to dress him differently. As he could not, however, be persuaded to take off his sackcloth—for the danger which had compelled him to wear it, he said, was not yet over—a—she called to her the eunuch Achratheos, who happened to be nearby, and sent him to Mordecai to find out what depressing thing had happened to him that he was in mourning and clothed in that attire, which he would not take off even at her request. Thereupon Mordecai explained the reason to the eunuch, which was the decree against the Jews sent throughout the entire country ruled by the king, and the promise of the money with which Haman had bought from the king the destruction of their nation. Then he gave him a copy of the decree published in Susa to take to Esther, and instructed her to petition the king concerning these matters, and for the safety of her nation not to consider it beneath her dignity to put on humble attire in which to intercede for the Jews who were in danger. For, he said, Haman, who held a place of honour second to the king, had accused the Jews and provoked his anger against them. When she learned these things, she again sent to Mordecai, informing him that she had not been summoned by

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c So LXX; Heb. "whom he (the king) had set before her" (A.V. "had appointed to attend upon her").

a Variant "asked."

The details about Esther's humble attire and Haman's action are based on the LXX addition to Est. iv. 8; Heb. has merely "that she should go into the king to make supplication to him and to make request before him for her people."
ερχόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀκλήτος ἀποθνήσκει, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τινα σώζειν βουλόμενος προτείνειε τὸν χρυσὴν ῥάβδον. ὁ γὰρ τοῦτο ποιῆσειν ὁ βασιλεύς ἀκλήτω πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰσελθόντι, οὗτος οὐκ ἀποθνήσκει 227 μόνος, ἀλλὰ συγγνώμης τυχῶν σώζεται. Μαρ- δοχαῖος δὲ τούτους κομίσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ εὐνούχου παρὰ τῆς Ἐσθήρος τοὺς λόγους ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῇ μὴ τὴν ἰδίαν οὖτω σκοπεῖν σω- τηρίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν κομίσαν τοῦ ἔθνους: εἰ γὰρ ἀμελήσει τοῦτον νῦν, ἐσσεθαί μὲν αὐτῷ βοήθειαν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πάντως, αὐτὴν δὲ καὶ τὸν πατρῶν οἶκον αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ὅλιγωρηθέντων διαθαρή- 228 σεσαθαί. ἥ δὲ Ἐσθήρ ἐπέστειλε μὲν τῷ Μαρ- δοχαίῳ, τὸν αὐτῶν πέμψασα διάκονον, εἰς Σοῦσα πορευθέντι τοὺς ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίοις εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγεῖν καὶ νηστεύσαι πάντων ἀποσχομένους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ ποιῆσασα μετὰ τῶν θεραπανίδων τότε προσελεύσθησαν τῷ βασιλεῖ παρὰ τὸν νόμον ὑποσχείτο, κἂν ἀποθανεῖν δὲν τούτο ὑπομενεῖν. ³

229 (8) Καὶ Μαρδοχαῖος μὲν κατὰ τὰς τῆς Ἐσθήρος ἐντολὰς τὸν τῇ λαὸν ἐποίησε νηστεύσαι, καὶ τὸν θεοῦ αὐτῶς ἰκέτευσεν μὴ δὲ νῦν ὑπεριδεῖν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔθνος ἀπολλύμενον, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ πρότερον αὐτοῦ πολλάκις προενόησε καὶ ἀμαρτόντι συνέγνω, καὶ νῦν αὐτὸ ῥύσασθαι τῆς κατηγγελμένης ἀπωλείας.

1 γὰρ ἄν FLAVW.
2 πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰσελθόντι ΓΒΒ Lat.: πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντι LA: προσελθόντι P.
3 Niese: ὑπομενεῖν codd. E.
4 E: αὐτῶν PF: οὖν αὐτοῖς LAW: om. V.
5 W: ἰκέτευσεν rell. E Lat.

a Chamonard and Reinach believe that this last sentence, 424
the king and that whoever went in to him without being summoned would die, unless the king, wishing to save him, extended the golden staff to him. For only one to whom the king did so, on his coming in to him without being summoned, obtained pardon and was saved from death. Thereupon Mordecai ordered the eunuch who had brought this message to him from Esther to tell her not to look out for her own safety so much as the common safety of their nation; for if she now neglected them, they would surely receive help from God, while she and her father's house would be destroyed by those who had been neglected. Thereupon Esther sent the same attendant and instructed Mordecai to go to Susa and gather the Jews there in assembly, adding that they should fast on her behalf and abstain from all food for three days; and she promised to do the same together with her maids, and then approach the king in spite of the law and, if she must die, to bear this bravely.

(8) And so Mordecai in accordance with Esther's instructions made the people fast, and himself supplicated God not to turn away now from His nation, which was perishing, but, just as He had often before provided for them and forgiven them when they sinned, so now also to deliver them from the destruction with which they had been threatened.

which seems superfluous, is interpolated from § 206. But Josephus is not seldom guilty of needless repetition.

Josephus forgets that he has already indicated that Mordecai was in Susa, cf. § 221. In Scripture Esther says, "gather together all the Jews that are present in Susa."

The following section, down to § 242, is based on the apocryphal additions, Est. xiii. 8-xv. 16.

Variant "with them."
230 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀμαρτών τι κυνδυνεύειν ἀκλεώς ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸν γὰρ εἰδέναι τῇν αὐτίαν τῆς Ἀμάνου ὀργῆς, "ὅτι μὴ προσεκύνησα μηδ’ ἦν σοι, δε-σποτα," φησίν, "τιμὴν παρείχον, ταύτην ἐκεῖνῳ παρασχεῖν ὑπέμενον, ὀργισθεὶς ταῦτα κατὰ τῶν μὴ παραβανόντων τοὺς σοὺς νόμους ἐμηχανήσατο."

231 τὰς δ’ αὐτὰς ἠφίει καὶ τὸ πλήθος φωνᾶς, παρακαλοῦν προνοῆσαι τὸν θεὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ γῆ Ἰσραηλίτας ἐξελέσθαι τῆς μελλούσης συμφορᾶς καὶ γὰρ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῆς εἶχον ἡδὴ καὶ προσεδόκων. ἢκέτευε δὲ καὶ Ὑσθήρ τὸν θεὸν τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ, ῥίφασα κατὰ τῆς γῆς ἐαυτὴν καὶ πενθικὴν ἐσθήτα περιθεμένη, καὶ τροφῇ καὶ ποτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἤδεισιν ἀποταξαμένη: τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἤτει τὸν θεὸν ἔλεηθήναι μὲν αὐτῆς, δόξαι δ’ ὀφθείσαι τῷ βασιλεί πιθανήν μὲν τοὺς λόγους παρακαλοῦσαν, τὸ δὲ εἰδῶς εὐπρεπεστέραν τάχιον οὖσαν, ὅπ’ ἀμφοτέρους καὶ πρὸς τὴν παραίτησιν ὀργῆς, εἰ τι παροξυνθεὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεύς, χρῆσαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν συνηγορίαν τῶν ὄμοεθῶν ἐν τοῖς ἑσχάτοις σαλευόντων, μίσος τε γενέσθαι τῷ βασιλεί πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τῶν

1 εἴναι LAW.
2 τῇ γῇ P: γῇ rell.
3 καὶ τροφῇ . . . ἀποταξαμένη om. PFV.

a Variant "he (Mordecai) was."
b Variant "every."
c The variant omits "and refusing . . . comforts"; these words are, moreover, an addition by Josephus.
d Or, punctuating differently, as other translators do, we
For, he said, it was not for any sin that they were in peril of being ingloriously put to death, but He knew the cause of Haman's anger—"because I did not prostrate myself before him nor bring myself to give him the honour which I have given Thee, O Lord, he was angered and has devised these measures against those who would not transgress Thy laws."

The same cry went up from the multitude, who besought God to provide for their safety and deliver the Israelites in all the land from the disaster which was about to befall them; for they saw it already before their eyes and were awaiting it. And Esther too supplicated God in the manner of her country, throwing herself on the ground and putting on a mourner's dress and refusing all food and drink and comforts; and for three days she begged God to take pity on her and grant that, when she appeared before the king, her words might seem persuasive as she pleaded, and her person be more beautiful than ever before, in order that she might use both these means to turn aside the king's anger if he should be provoked by her in any way, and be an advocate for her countrymen who were tottering on the brink of disaster, and that the king might be made to feel hatred toward the enemies of the Jews and those might render, "refusing all food... for three days, she begged God," etc. This rendering might seem to be supported by the earlier passage, § 228, in which Esther promises to fast for 3 days. But here Josephus is probably thinking of the apocr. verse, xv. 1, which says that Esther prayed for 3 days,—so also Josephus writes in § 234. The matter is of no great consequence, perhaps, since the fasting and praying were synchronous, but I believe that here Josephus is laying emphasis on the length of her praying.

According to apocr. Esther, she asks for boldness and eloquence.
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'Ιουδαίων καὶ τὴν ἀπόλειαν αὐτοῖς τὴν μέλλουσαν, ἐὰν ὀλγωρηθῶσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, κατασκευάσοντας.¹

234 (9) Ταῦθ' ἰκετεύονσα τὸν θεον ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀποδύτεται μὲν τὴν ἐσθήτα ἐκείνην καὶ τὸ σχῆμα μεταβάλλει, κοσμησάμενη δ' ὡς ἐχρήν τὴν βασιλίσσαν σὺν δυσὶν θεραπαίναις, ὅτι ἡ μὲν ἑπερειδομένη αὐτὴν κούφως ἐφερεν, ἢ δὲ ἐπομένῃ τὸ βασιλεία τοῦ ἐνδύματος καὶ μέχρι τῆς γῆς κεχυμένον ἀκροις ἀπηρώρει τοῖς δακτύλοις, ἤκει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, μεστῇ μὲν τὸ πρόσωπον ἐρυθήματος, προσηκεὶ δὲ καὶ σεμνῶν ἐπικειμένη τὸ κάλλος.

235 εἰσῆκε δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν μετὰ δέος. ὡς δὲ κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καθεξομένου ἐπὶ τοῦ βρόντου γίνεται τὸν βασιλικὸν περικειμένον κόσμον (οὗτος δ' ἧν ἐκ ποικίλης μὲν ἐσθήτος, χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ λίθου 236 πολυτελοῦς), φοβερώτερον καὶ δι' αὐτὰ μάλλον θεασαμένη καὶ τι κάκεινον προσιδόντος αὐτὴν ἀπηνεστερον καὶ διακεκαυμένως² ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς τῷ προσώπῳ, πάρεσις αὐτὴν εὐθὺς ὑπὸ δέους λαμβάνει 237 καὶ τοῖς παρὰ πλευρὸν ὦς ἂν ἀχανῆς ἐπέπεσεν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς κατὰ βουλήν ὦμα τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν μετέβαλε καὶ δείσας περὶ τῇ γυναικί, μὴ καὶ πάθη τι τῶν χειρόνων ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου, 238 ἀνεπήδησεν ἐκ τοῦ βρόντου, καὶ ταῖς ἀγκάλαις αὐτὴν ὑπολαβῶν ἀνεκτάτο, κατασπαζόμενος τε καὶ προσομιλῶν ἢδέως καὶ θαρρεῖν παρακαλῶν καὶ

¹ κατασκευάσοντος Λ: κατασκευάσατος Ρ: κατασκευάσατος
² διακεκαυμένω ΠΦΒ.
³ ταῖς . . . οὐδαίς ex Lat. conj. Hudson.

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who would, if the Jews were treated disdainfully by
him, bring about the destruction that threatened
them.\footnote{Josephus greatly abridges Esther's prayer as
given in the apocrypha.}

(9) When she had supplicated God in this manner
for three days, she took off the dress which she was
wearing and changed her attire, adorning herself
as became the queen, and with her two maids, of
whom one lightly supported her as she leaned on her,
and the other, following, lifted with the tips of her
fingers the train of her robe which fell in folds on the
ground, she came to the king; and, although her
face was covered with blushes, she was adorned with
a sweet and dignified beauty. It was with fear,
however, that she went in to him. For, when she
came into his presence, he was sitting on the throne
in his royal apparel—this consisted of a variegated
robe adorned with gold and precious stones—which
made him seem to her more terrible; and also
because he looked at her rather forbiddingly and
with a countenance burning\footnote{The variant "uncovered" is obviously corrupt, cf. lxx πεπυρωμένον "flaming."} with anger, she sud-
denly became faint with fear and fell senseless at the
feet of those who stood beside her. But the king,
by the will of God, I believe,\footnote{Josephus's expression "I believe" is curious in view of the plain statement of his source (apocr. Est.) that "God changed the spirit of the king into mildness."} changed his feeling
and, fearing that his wife might have suffered some
very serious injury through her fear, he leaped from
his throne and raised her in his arms and brought her
back to consciousness, embracing her and speaking
to her endearingly and urging her to take heart and

\begin{align}
\text{Esther} & \text{ beautifies herself for the king.} \\
\text{Apocr. Esther xv. 4} & \text{(Add. D 1).}
\end{align}
JOSEPHUS

μηδὲν ὑποπτεύειν σκυθρωπῶν, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀκλήτος ἐλθοῦ· τὸν γὰρ νόμον τούτον πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους κείσθαι, τὴν δὲ ὡμοίως αὐτῷ βασι-
239 λεύσωσαν πᾶσαν ἔχειν ἄδειαν. ταῦτα λέγων τὸ ἀκηπτρον αὐτῆς ἐνετίθει τῇ χειρὶ καὶ τὴν πάθδουν ἐξετεινεν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐχένα αὐτῆς διὰ τὸν νόμον,
240 εὐλαβείας αὐτὴν ἀπολύων. ἡ δὲ ὑπὸ τούτων ἀνα-
ξωπυρήσασα, "δέσποτα," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἔχω σοι τὸ αὐθεντικὸν τοῦ συμβεβηκότος μοι ράδιως εἴπεῖν· ᾧς γὰρ εἶδόν σε μέγαν καὶ καλὸν καὶ φοβερὸν, εὐθὺς ὑπεκώρει μοι τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ καταλειπόμην
241 ὑπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς." μόλις δ' αὐτῆς καὶ ταῦτα φθεγγομένης καὶ μετὰ ἀσθενείας, αὐτὸν τε ἀγωνία καὶ ταραχὴ κατελάμβανε καὶ τὴν Ἑσθῆρα εὐ-
ψυχεῖν καὶ τὰ κρείττων προσδόκαν παρεθάρρυνεν, ὡς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἡμίσι τῆς βασιλείας, εἶ δέοιτο
242 τούτων, παραχωρήσοντος αὐτῆ. ἡ δὲ Ἑσθῆρ ἐφ' ἐστίασιν αὐτὸν μετὰ Ἄμανου τοῦ φίλου πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐλθειν ἥξισθεν· παρεσκευακέναι γὰρ αὐτὴν δεῖπνον ἐλεγεν. ὡς δ' ἔπενευσε καὶ παρῆσαν, μεταξὺ πάνω τῆς Ἑσθῆρα ἐκέλευσε δηλοῦν αὐτῷ τί
243 βουλεῖται· μηδὲν γὰρ ἀτυχήσειν, μηδ' ἂν τὸ μέρος τῆς βασιλείας ἐθελήσῃ λαβεῖν. ἡ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἀνεβάλετο1 φράζειν αὐτῷ τὴν αὐτῆς βουλήσιν, εἰ πάλιν ἠλθοὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν μετὰ Ἄμανου ἐφ' ἐστίασιν.

244 (10) Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ὑποσχομένου ὁ Ἄμανη 
εξῆλθε περιχαρῆς ἐπὶ τῷ μόνῳ ἥξισθαι συν-
δεεπνεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ παρὰ τῇ Ἑσθῆρι, καὶ ὡς μηδεῖς τοσαύτης ἄλλος τυγχάνει παρὰ τοῖς βασι-

1 Niese: ἀνεβάλλετο codd. E.
not to apprehend a gloomy fate because she had come to him without being summoned; for this law, he said, applied to his subjects, but she, who ruled equally with himself, had complete security. So saying he placed his sceptre in her hand and held out his staff over her bowed head in accordance with the law, and thus freed her from anxiety. Through these acts she revived and said, “My Lord, it is not easy for me to tell you what suddenly came over me, for, so soon as I saw you looking so great and handsome and terrible, my spirit failed me and I was left without life.” But, as she uttered these words with difficulty and weakly, anguish and alarm seized him, and he encouraged Esther to be of good cheer and to hope for the best, for, he said, he would grant her even half of the kingdom if she desired it. Thereupon Esther requested him to come to her with his friend Haman to be entertained, for, she said, she had prepared a banquet. He consented, and so they came; and, while he was drinking, he asked Esther to tell him what it was that she wished, for there was nothing, he said, which she could not obtain, even if she wished to have half the kingdom. But she put off telling him her wish until the following day, if he would come to her again with his friend Haman to be entertained.

(10) When the king had promised this, Haman went out rejoicing that he alone had been thought worthy to dine with the king at Esther’s palace and that no one else had obtained a similar honour from

It is not clear why Josephus distinguishes between a sceptre and a staff, since the apocr. Est. mentions only one golden staff (or sceptre, so Luc.) which the king “laid on her neck.”
JOSEPHUS

λεύσι τιμῆς. ἵδων δ' ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ Μαρδοχαίον ὑπερηγανάκτησεν, οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ παρ' αὐτοῦθεασαμένου πρὸς τιμῆν ἐγένετο. καὶ παρελθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν τῇ γυναικῇ Ζάρασαν2 ἐκάλεσε καὶ τοὺς φίλους. ὥν παρόντων διηγεῖτο τῇ τιμῇ ἦς οὐ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπολαυοί μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῆς βασιλίσσης: καὶ γὰρ σήμερον ὡς δειπνήσει παρ' αὐτῇ μόνος σὺν τῷ βασιλεί, καὶ κληθεὶ

246 πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν. ἔλεγε τε μὴ ἀρέσκεσθαι Μαρδοχαίον ὄρωντα ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τῶν ᾿Ιουδαίων. τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Ζαράσας εἰπούσης κελεύσας ἔξυλον κοπήναι πηχῶν ἐξῆκοντα3 καὶ προὶ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως αἰτησάμενον ἀνασταυρῶσαι τὸν Μαρδοχαίον, ἐπαινέσας τὴν γυνώμην προσέταξε τοῖς οἰκέταις ἔξυλον ἐτοιμασάμενους στῆσαι τοῦτο ἐν

247 τῇ αὐλῇ πρὸς τιμωρίαν Μαρδοχαίον. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἦν ἔτοιμον· ο δὲ θεὸς κατεγέλα τῆς ᾿Αμάνου πονηρᾶς· ἐλπίδος καὶ τὸ συμβιβάσμα τοῦ ἐδὼς ἐτέρπετο τῷ γεννησομένῳ τοῦ γὰρ βασιλέως διὰ

248 νυκτὸς ἐκείνης ἀφαιρεῖται τὸν ὑπνον. ο δ' οὐ βουλόμενος ἁργῶς ἀπολέσαι τὴν ἀγρυννίαν, ἀλλ' εἰς τι τῶν τῆς βασιλείας διαφερόντων αὐτὴν ἀναλώσαι, τὸν γραμματέα κομίσαντα καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων τὰ ὑπομνήματα καὶ τῶν ἱδίων

249 πράξεων ἀναγινώσκειν αὐτῷ προσέταξεν. κομί-

σαντος δὲ καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντος εὑρέθη τις δι'

1 πρὸς αὐτὸν Hudson: ἔσω πρὸς αὐτὸν LAW: πρὸς αὐτὸν rel.: ἔσω E.
2 WE Lat.: Γάζαγαν P: Γάζασαν rel.
3 πεντηκοντα WE Lat.

* Amplification of Scripture.
* Variants Gazasa, Gazaga; bibl. Zeresh, lxx Zωσάρα.
* Variant 50, as in Scripture.

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any of the kings.\textsuperscript{a} But, when he saw Mordecai in the court, he was highly indignant, for no honour was shown him by Mordecai when he saw him. And, when he came home, he called Zarasa,\textsuperscript{b} his wife, and his friends, and in their presence told of the honour which he enjoyed not only from the king but from the queen as well, for, he said, he had that day dined at her palace alone with the king and had been invited again for the following day. He also said that he was not pleased at seeing the Jew Mordecai in the court. Then Zarasa, his wife, told him to order a tree sixty\textsuperscript{c} cubits high to be cut down, and in the morning ask the king for leave to crucify Mordecai; and he praised her plan and ordered his servants to make the gallows ready and set it up in the court for the punishment of Mordecai. And so it was prepared. But God mocked Haman's wicked hopes, and knowing what was to happen, rejoiced at the event.\textsuperscript{d} For that night He deprived the king of sleep,\textsuperscript{e} and, as he did not wish to waste his wakeful hours in idleness but to use them for something of importance to his kingdom,\textsuperscript{f} he commanded his scribe to bring him both the records of the kings who were before him and those of his own deeds,\textsuperscript{g} and read them to him. And so, when he had brought them and was reading them, it was found that a certain man as a reward for his bravery on one occa-\textsuperscript{a} This sentence is an addition to Scripture, probably suggested by the LXX of Est. vi. 1, cf. following note. 
\textsuperscript{b} So LXX; Heb., not mentioning God, has "That night the king could not sleep." For rabbinic legends about the curious means used by God to keep the king awake see Ginzberg iv. 433. 
\textsuperscript{c} Unscriptural detail. 
\textsuperscript{d} Bibl. "The book of records (lit. "memorial") of the chronicles."
ἀριστείαν ἐν τινι γέρας εἰλήφως χώραν, ἢς καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐγέγραπτο. ἔτερον δὲ διὰ πίστιν τετυχηκότα δωρεᾶς μηνύων ἤλθε καὶ ἐπὶ Βαγαθῶν1 καὶ Θεοδέστην τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντας εὐνούχον τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅπως Μαρδοχαῖος ἦν γεγενημένος.

250 φράσαντος δὲ τοῦτο μόνον τοὺς γραμματέως καὶ μεταβαίνοντος εἰς ἑτέραν πρᾶξιν ἐπέσχεν ὁ βασιλεὺς πυθονόμενος εἰ μὴ ἔχει γέρας αὐτῷ δοθὲν ἀναγεγραμμένον. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἔφη μηδὲν εἶναι, κελεύσας ἁσυχάζειν, τίς εἴη τῆς νυκτὸς ὄρα παρὰ τῶν ἑπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένων ἐπιθάνετο. μαθὼν δὲ ὡς ὄρθρος ἐστὶν ἡδῆ, προσέταξε τῶν φίλων ὅν ἂν πρὸ τῆς αὐλῆς εὕρωσιν ἡδῆ παρόντα τοῦτον αὐτῷ δηλοῦν. ἔτυχε τε ὡστε Ἀμάνης εὐρεθήσαι: θάττον γὰρ τῆς συνήθους ὥρας ἐληλύθει περὶ τοῦ Μαρθ.

251 δοχαίον θανάτου δεησόμενος αὐτοῦ. τῶν οὖν θεραπόντων εἰπόντων ὅτι Ἀμάνης εἴη πρὸ τῆς αὐλῆς, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν εἰσκαλέσαι. εἰσελθόντος δὲ, ἡ δὲ, "φίλον," ἐἶπεν, "εἰδὼς ἐμαυτῷ σὲ μόνον εὕρος συμβουλεύσαι μοι παρακαλῶ πῶς ἂν τιμῆσαι τινα στεργόμενον ὑπερεύθυνοι ἡμῶν σφόδρα τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ μεγαλοφροσύνης ἄξιός." ὁ δὲ Ἀμάνης λογισάμενος ἦν ἂν δῶ γνώμην ταύτην δώσειν ὑπερ αὐτοῦ (φιλεῖσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως μόνον), ἦν ὡς ἐπεὶ ἀρίστην εἶναι ταύτην φανερὰν.

1 LV (cf. supra § 207): Γαβαθῶν FW: Γαβαταίον rel.: Gabathem Lat.

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a The reading of these two instances of merit is an unscriptural detail.

b Variants Gabathōos, Gabataios; bibl. Bigthana, cf. § 207 note e.

c Bibl. Teresh, cf. § 207 note a.

d The preceding (from "whereupon the king told him to be quiet") is an amplification of Est. vi. 4, "And the king
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sion had received some land, the name of which was also written. Then, in mentioning another who had received a gift for his loyalty, he also came to Bagathōos and Theodestēs, the eunuchs who had plotted against the king and against whom Mordecai had informed. As the scribe merely said so much and was passing on to another incident, the king stopped him and inquired whether he did not find it written down that a reward had been given to this man. The scribe said that there was nothing, whereupon the king told him to stop, and inquired of those who were charged with this duty what hour of the night it was. And, when he learned that it was already morning, he commanded them to announce to him any of his friends whom they might find already waiting before the court. Now it happened that Haman was found there, for he had come before the usual hour to make his request of him concerning the death of Mordecai. And so, when the servants said that Haman was before the court, he ordered them to call him in, and, when he came, said, “Knowing that you are the only friend loyal to me, I beg you to advise me how in a manner worthy of my magnanimity I should honour one greatly cherished by me.” Thereupon Haman, reflecting that whatever opinion he gave he would be giving in his own behalf, since, he thought, he was the only one loved by the king, expressed that opinion said, who is in the court,” probably suggested by the Luc. additions to this verse and vs. 2, which mention the king’s silent reflections on his treatment of Mordecai and the fact that it was morning.

*Cf. Luc. (Ἀμαν δὲ ὥρθηκεν λαλῆσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ); Heb. and Lxx do not specify the time of day when Haman appeared. This statement is an addition to Scripture.
254 ἐποίησεν. εἶπεν γὰρ, “εἰ βουλοῦτον τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν φῆς ἀγαπᾶν δόξῃ περιβαλεῖν, ποίησον ἑφ' ἵππου βαδίζειν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσθήτα σοι φοροῦντα καὶ περιαυχένιον χρυσοῦν ἔχοντα καὶ προάγοντα τῶν ἀναγκαίων φίλων ἕνα κηρύσσειν δι' ὅλης τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι ταύτης τυγχάνει τῆς τιμῆς ὃν ἂν ὁ
255 βασιλεὺς τιμήσῃ.” ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀμάνης ταῦτα συνεβούλευσεν, οἰόμενος εἰς αὐτὸν ἥξειν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἡσθεὶς τῇ παρανέσει ἁρελθών, ἡγοῦν, “ἐχεῖς γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὸν στρεπτὸν, ἐπιζήτησον Μαρδοχαίον τὸν Ἰουδαῖον καὶ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνω δῶς κήρυττε προάγων αὐτοῦ τὸν ἵππον, σὺ γὰρ,” ἐφή, “μοι φίλος ἀναγκαῖος, ἵσθι διάκονος ὑπὸ χρηστός σύμποιους ἐγένον. ταῦτα δὲ αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμῶν
256 ἐσται σώσαντί μου τὴν ψυχήν.” τούτων ἀκούσας παρὰ πάσαν ἑπίδα τὴν διάνοιαν συνεσχέθη καὶ πληγεῖς ὑπὸ ἀμηχανίας ἔξεισιν ἄγων τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὴν πορφυρὰν καὶ τὸ χρυσὸν περιαυχένιον, καὶ τὸν Μαρδοχαίον εὑρὼν πρὸ τῆς αὐλῆς σάκκον ἐνδεδυμένον ἐκελευσέν ἀποθέμενον ἐνδύσασθαι τὴν
257 πορφυραν. ὁ δὲ οὖν εἰδὼς τάληθες, ἀλλὰ χλευάζεσθαι νομίζων “ὁ κάκιστε πάντων ἄνθρωπον,” εἶπεν, “οὕτως ἡμῶν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἐπεγγέλεης;” πεισθεὶς δὲ ὅσον ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῷ γέρας τοῦτο εἶη
1 κήρυττε om. PF Lat.
2 Niese: συνεχέθη W: συνεχύθη rell.
3 ἐπιγελᾶς FLAVE: ἐγγελᾶς W Ζοναρας.

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1 The “necklace of gold” is a substitution for the “royal crown” of Scripture (Heb.; lxx and Luc. omit), Est. vi. 8. Possibly it is a reminiscence of the gold necklace given to Daniel as a reward, cf. Ant. x. 240. For rabbinic amplifications of this passage in Scripture cf. Ginzberg iv. 435.

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which he believed to be the best and said, "If you wish to cover with glory the man whom you say you love, let him ride on horseback wearing the same dress as yourself, with a necklace of gold, and let one of your close friends precede him and proclaim throughout the whole city that this is the honour shown to him whom the king honours." Such, then, was the advice that Haman gave in the belief that this reward would come to him. But the king, being pleased with his counsel, said, "Go forth, for you have the horse and the robe and the chain, and look for the Jew Mordecai and give him these things and walk before his horse, proclaiming your news;" he added, "since you are my close friend, you shall be the one to carry out those things about which you have given good counsel. This shall be his reward from us for having saved my life." When Haman heard these words, which were contrary to all his expectations, he was oppressed in spirit and stricken with helplessness, but went out, taking the horse and the purple robe and the necklace of gold; and, when he found Mordecai before the court clothed in sackcloth, he told him to take it off and put on the purple robe. But the other, not knowing the true state of things and thinking that he was being mocked, said, "O basest of all men, is this the way you make sport of our misfortunes?" But, when he was convinced that the king had given him this

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\(^a\) The variant omits "proclaiming your news."

\(^b\) Josephus here amplifies somewhat.

\(^c\) "confused."

\(^d\) So Luc.; Heb. and lxx do not describe Haman's state of mind. Rabbinic tradition naturally dwells on his disappointment at some length, cf. Ginzberg iv. 436 f.
Mordecai's suspicion of Haman's intentions is a detail found in Luc. but not in Heb. or lxx, Est. vi. 11. For rabbinic parallels to the Luc. addition cf. Ginzberg iv. 437 ff.

a Mordecai's suspicion of Haman's intentions is a detail found in Luc. but not in Heb. or lxx, Est. vi. 11. For rabbinic parallels to the Luc. addition cf. Ginzberg iv. 437 ff.

b Bibl. “through the square (A.V. “street”) of the city.”

c Heb. “hastened to his home, mourning and with covered head,” lxx . . . λυπούμενος κατὰ κεφαλῆς “dis-

1 potē LAW: om. PE.
2 Holwerda: ἐν codd.: τῷ ὑπὸ E.
3 'Αβουχάδας LV: Ἐρμωνᾶς Σαβουχάνης E.
reward for having saved his life by revealing the eunuchs' earlier conspiracy, he put on the purple robe which the king always used to wear, placed the chain round his neck and, mounting the horse, went the round of the city with Haman going before him and proclaiming that this should be the reward given by the king to him whom he cherished and held worthy of honour. And, when they had gone the complete round of the city, Mordecai went in to the king, while Haman went home in disgrace, and with tears related to his wife and friends what had happened. But they said that he would no longer be able to avenge himself on Mordecai, for God was with him.

(11) While they were still talking together of these things, the eunuchs of Esther came to hasten Haman's coming to the banquet. But Sabūchas, one of the eunuchs, seeing the cross that had been set up at Haman's house and prepared for Mordecai, inquired of one of the servants for whom they had made this ready, and, learning that it was for the queen's uncle, for the time being held his peace. pressed in his head," Luc. . . . ἐκυθρωπωμένος "with downcast features."

So lxx and Luc.; Heb. omits the reference to God, thereby leaving Haman's predicted failure unexplained.


f Variant (in § 266) Sabūzanēs; bibl. Harbonah (Ἡρβόνα), lxx Bouyadāv, Luc. Γασουθάς. Josephus's form is apparently a further corruption of the Luc. form. The eunuch is not mentioned at this point (vi. 14) in Scripture, but farther on in vii. 9, after Haman is denounced by Esther and the king is ready to execute him. Josephus's rearrangement necessitates the addition of the detail "for the time being held his peace," as well as that of the eunuch's inquiry of Haman's servant.
Jospehus

βασιλεὺς μετὰ τοῦ Ἀμάνου εὐωχηθεὶς ἥξιον τὴν βασιλισσάν λέγειν αὐτῷ τίνος βούλεται παρ' αὐτοῦ
dωρεὰς ἐπιτυχεῖν, ὡς ληψομένην οὕτερ ἢν ἐπι-
θυμίαν ἔχῃ, τὸν τοῦ λαοῦ κύνδυνον ἀποδύρετο καὶ
πρὸς ἀπώλειαν ἐλεγε μετὰ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐκδεδόθαι,
263 διὸ καὶ ποιεῖσθαι περὶ τούτων τοὺς λόγους. οὗ γὰρ
ἂν ἤνωχθηκέναι αὐτῷ, εἰ πρὸς δουλείαν πικρὰν
ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀπεμποληθῆναι. μέτριον γὰρ
τοῦτο τὸ κακὸν παρεκάλει τε τούτων ἀπαλλαγῆναι.
264 ἐρωτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὸ τίνος εἰς ταῦτα
gεγενημένα, κατηγόρει τὸ λοιπὸν ἥδη φανερῶς
τοῦ Ἀμάνου καὶ τοῦτον ὤντα πονηρὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ
265 κατεσκευάσκει τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἥλεγχεν. 1 ταραχ-
θέντος δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἀνατηθ-
σαντος εἰς τοὺς κήπους ἐκ τοῦ συμποσίου, τῆς
'Εσθήρος ὁ Ἀμάνης ἤρξατο δεῖσθαι καὶ παρακαλεῖν
συγγνώναι τῶν ἡμαρτημένων· συνήκε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν
κακοῖς ὄν· ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ πεσόντος καὶ
τὴν βασιλίσσαν παρακαλοῦντος ἐπεισελθῶν ὁ βασι-
λεὺς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἔτι μᾶλλον παροξυνθεῖς
εἶπεν, "ὡς κάκιστε πάντων, 2 καὶ βιαζομαι μοι τὴν

1 παρ' αὐτοῦ om. PFVE. 2 ἥλεγχθαι LAW. 3 πάντων ἀνθρώπων W.

a Scripture states that the king made this offer on the
2nd day of the banquet.

b This is Josephus's original interpretation of the obscure
latter part of Est. vii. 4 (after "But if we had been sold
for bondmen and bondwomen"), which A.V. translates,
"I had held my tongue although the enemy could not
countervail the king's damage"; lxx "I have disregarded
it, for the adversary is not worthy of the king's court";
Luc. "I did not wish to report it that I might not grieve
my lord, for it has happened that the man who wronged us

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Now, when the king, as he was feasting with Haman, asked the queen to tell him what gift she wished to obtain from him, saying that she should receive whatever she had a desire for, she began to lament the danger in which her people were placed and said that she had been marked for destruction together with her nation, and for this reason she was addressing him on these matters; for, she added, she would not have troubled him if he had ordered them to be sold into bitter slavery—that would be an endurable evil—and she begged to be delivered from this fate. When the king asked by whom these things had been done, it only remained for her to accuse Haman openly and show that he in his wickedness had formed the plot against them. But after the king in his perturbation at this statement had rushed from the banquet-hall into the garden, Haman began to beg and entreat Esther to pardon his offences, for he perceived that he was in serious trouble. And he fell on the queen's couch and was entreating her when the king came in upon him and, being still more incensed at this sight, exclaimed, "O basest of all men, are you even trying to violate

has been removed (μεταπέσεως); Targ. "I would have been silent, for the oppressor is not of value and profit to the damage of the king," which seems to mean, as Ibn Ezra explains, that Esther considered the enslavement of the Jews endurable so long as the king did not suffer thereby.

The king's perturbation at this point is mentioned in Heb. and Luc. but not in LXX, which, however, uses the same word (εταράχθη) as does Josephus here, to describe Haman's state of mind. The Targum explains that the king rushed into the garden in a fury because he saw Haman's sons (really angels impersonating them) cutting down his trees.

This epithet is an unscriptural detail.
266 γυναίκα ἐπιχειρεῖς;" Ἄμανον δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο καταπλαγέντος καὶ μηδὲν ἐτί φθέγγασθαὶ δυνηθέντος, καὶ Σαβουχάδας ὁ εὐνοῦχος παρελθὼν κατηγόρει τοῦ Ἄμανον ὡς εὑροὶ σταυρὸν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ παρεσκευασμένον ἐπὶ Μαρδοχαίου τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ πυνθανομένῳ τὸν οἰκέτην εἰπεῖν, ὅτε καλέσων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἔλθοι πρὸς αὐτὸν. εἶναι δὲ τὸν σταυρὸν ἔλεγεν ἐξήκοντα1 πήχεων τὸ 267 ὑψός. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας οὐκ ἄλλη τιμωρία περιβάλλειν ἐκρίνε τὸν Ἄμανθὴ τῇ κατὰ Μαρδο-
χαίου2 νενομημένη, καὶ κελεύει παραχρήμα αὐτὸν ἔξ3 ἔκεινον τοῦ σταυροῦ κρεμασθέντα ἀποθανεῖν. δὴν ἐπέρχεται μοι τὸ θείον θαυμάζειν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ δικαιοσύνην καταμανθάνειν, μὴ μόνον τὴν Ἄμανθον κολάσαντος πονηρίαν, ἄλλα καὶ τὴν κατ᾽ ἄλλου μεμηχανημένην τιμωρίαν ταῦτην ἐκείνου ποιήσαντος εἶναι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μαθεῖν οὕτως καὶ γνῶναι4 παρασχηκότος ὡς ἃ καθ’ ἐτέρου τις παρ-
εσκεύασε ταῦτα λανθάνει καθ’ ἐαυτοῦ πρῶτον ἐτοιμασάμενοι.

269 (12) Ἄμανθης μὲν οὖν ἀμετρήτως τῇ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως χρώμενος τιμῇ τοῦτον διεφθάρῃ τὸν τρόπον, τὴν δὲ οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ ἔχαρισα τῇ βασι-
λίσσῃ. Μαρδοχαίον δὲ προσκαλεσάμενος (καὶ γὰρ ἐδηλώσεν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν συγγένειαν Ἐσθήρ) ὃν ἐδωκεν Ἄμανθη δακτύλιον τοῦτον Μαρδοχαίω

1 πεντήκοντα PFWVE Lat., cf. § 246.
2 ed. pr.: Μαρδοχαίου codd.
3 ἐπ’ LAWE.
4 καὶ γνῶναι conj. Hudson: γνῶναι codd.
my wife?" At this Haman was overcome and unable to utter any further sound, and then came the eunuch Sabuchadas and accused Haman, saying that he had found a cross at his house prepared for Mordecai. For this was what the servant had told him in answer to his inquiry, when he had come to Haman to summon him to the banquet. And the cross, he said, was sixty cubits in height. When the king heard this, he decided to inflict on Haman no other punishment than that which had been devised against Mordecai, and ordered him at once to be hanged on that very same cross till he was dead. Wherefore I am moved to marvel at the Deity and to recognize His wisdom and justice, for not only did He punish Haman's wickedness but also caused the penalty which had been contrived against another to fall upon Haman himself, and thus He has given others an opportunity to learn and know that whatever mischief a man prepares against another, he has, without knowing it, first stored up for himself.

(12) In this manner, then, was Haman destroyed through having made unconscionable use of his position of honour with the king; as for his property, the king presented it to the queen. Then he summoned Mordecai—for Esther had revealed to the king her kinship to him—and gave him the ring which he had formerly given to Haman. And the

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*a* Heb. "And Haman's face was covered" (Targ. adds "with shame"), lxx "his face changed"; Luc. has something quite different, "let Haman be led away and not live."

*b* Bibl. Harbonah, cf. § 261 note f.

*c* Variant 50, cf. § 246 note c.


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Haman's punishment. Esther vii. 9

Artaxerxes honours Esther and Mordecai. Esther viii. 1.
270 δίδωσι. οὐκ ἐπεί δὲ καὶ ἡ βασίλεισσα Μαρδοκαίῳ τὴν Ἀμάνου κτήσιν καὶ δεῖται τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπαλλάξαι τοῦ περὶ τῆς ζωῆς φόβου τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐθνος, δηλοῦσα τὰ γραφέντα κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν ὑπὸ Ἀμάνου τοῦ Ἀμαδάθου· τῆς γὰρ πατρίδος αὐτῆς διαφθορείσης καὶ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἀπολογομένων 271 ὑπὸ τοὺς βασιλεὺς ὑπέσχετο μηδὲν ἀχαίρι αὐτῇ μηδ᾽ ὀς ἐσπούδακεν ἐναντίον ἑσεσθαι, γράφειν δὲ ἀ βούλεται προσέταξε περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκείνην ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄνοματος καὶ σημηναμένην αὐτοῦ τῇ σφαγῇ πέμπειν εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλείαν· τοὺς γὰρ ἀναγνωσμένους τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ σημαντήρως ἡσφαλισμένας ἐπιστολὰς οὐδὲν περὶ τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων 272 ἐναντίωσεις. μεταπεμφθέντας οὖν τοὺς βασιλικοὺς γραμματεῖς ἐκέλευσε γράφειν τοῖς ἐθνείσι ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοῖς τε οἰκονόμοις καὶ ἀρχοισι ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἐως τῆς Ἀθηναίας ἐκατον ἐκοσιεπτά σατραπεῖων ἡγουμένων. τὰ δὲ γραμματεῖα τούτων ἐχεῖ τῶν τρόπων· ὁ βασιλεὺς μέγας Ἀρταξέρξης τοῖς ἀρχοισι καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα φρονοῦσι χαίρειν. πολλοὶ δὲ μέγεθος εὐεργεσίας καὶ τιμῆς, ἦν δὲ ὑπερβολὴν χρηστότητος τῶν παρεχόντων

1 αὐτῇ LAVW.
2 αὐτῇ μηδ᾽ οἷς ἐσπούδακεν Naber: αὐτὴν μηδ᾽ (μη δ᾽ L) οἷς ἐσπούδακεν LAV: αὐτοῖς ἐσπούδακέναι μηδ᾽ ois Γ: αὐτῇ ἐσπούδακέναι, μηδ᾽ ois bouleta V.
3 perὶ F.

α Scripture does not say that Esther showed Haman’s letter to the king.
β Text slightly uncertain and emended.
γ Josephus omits the date of the writing of the proclamation, given in Est. viii. 9.
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queen also made a present to Mordecai of Haman's possessions, and begged the king to deliver those of the Jewish nation from fear for their lives, as she showed him the letter sent throughout the whole country by Haman, the son of Amadathos. For, she said, if her native land were destroyed and her countrymen perished, she could not bear to live. Thereupon the king promised that nothing should be done to distress her nor any opposition be made to what she strove after, and he commanded her to write what she pleased concerning the Jews in the king's name, mark it with his seal and send it throughout the whole kingdom. For, he said, those who read the letters secured by the royal seal would in no way oppose what was written in them. Accordingly, he sent for the royal scribes and ordered them to write on behalf of the Jews to the nations and stewards and governors who ruled over the hundred and twenty-seven satrapies from India to Ethiopia. Now the letters read as follows. "Arta-xerxes the great king to the governors and those who are friendly to us, greeting. Many men, because of the greatness of the benefits and honour which they have enjoyed through the exceeding
JOSEPHUS

εκαρποῦντο, οὐκ εἰς τοὺς ὑποδειστέρους μόνον
274 ἐξυβρίζουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτοὺς ἀδικεῖν ἤκινησαν τοὺς
εὐεργετοῦντας, τὸ εὐχάριστον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀν-
αροῦντες, καὶ δι' ἀπειροκαλιὰν τῶν οὐκ ἔξ ὧν1 προσ-
edόκησαν ἀγαθῶν, κόρον εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους ἁφέντες,
λήσεσθαι τὸ θείον ἐπὶ τούτοις νομίζουσι καὶ τὴν ἔξ
275 αὐτοῦ διαφεύξεσθαι δίκην. ἔνοι δὲ ἐκ τούτων προ-
stasίαν πραγμάτων ἐπιτραπέντες παρὰ τῶν φίλων
καὶ μέσος ἰδιον ἔχοντες πρὸς τινας, παραλογισάμενοι
τοὺς κρατοῦντας ψευδέσιν αἰτίας καὶ διαβολαίς
ἐπείσαν κατὰ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντων ὀργήν ἀναλαβεῖν,
276 ὡς ἣς ἐκινδύνευσαν ἀπολέσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐκ
τῶν ἁρχαίοτέρων οὐδ' ἀκοὴ γνωρίμων ἡμῖν οὔτως
ἰδεῖν ἐστιν ἔχον, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν παρὰ τὰς ἴμετέρας
ὁμιᾶς τετολμημένων, ὡς διαβόλαις μὲν καὶ κατ-
ηγορίαις μὴ προσέχειν ἑτὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδ' οἷς ἐτεροὶ
πείθειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν, κρίνειν δ' ὀσα τοῖς αὐτῶς οἴδε
πεπραγμένα, καὶ κολάζειν μὲν ἃν ἥ τοιαῦτα, χαρι-
ζεσθαι δ' ἃν ἐτέρως ἔχει, τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ
277 μὴ τοῖς λέγοντι προστιθέμενον. ὡς νῦν Ὁμάνης,
'Αμαδάθου μὲν παῖς Ὄμαιληκίτης δὲ τὸ γένος,
ἀλλότροις ὃν τοῦ Περσῶν αἰματὸς, ἐπιξενθεῖς
ὅμως ἀπέλαυσε τῆς πρὸς ἀπαντας χρηστότητος ἐπὶ
tοσοῦτον ὡς πατέρα μου τὸ λοιπὸν προσαγορεύει-

1 τῶν οὐκ ἔξ ὧν] ὧν οὐ Lowth: τὸν ἔξ ὧν οὐ Herwerden.

1 Text and meaning uncertain; lxx has τοῖς τῶν ἀπειρ-
αγάθων κόμπως ἐπαρθέντες "lifted up with the ostentation of men
ignorant of good (A.V. renders ἀπειραγάθων by "lewd"; G. Gregg in R. Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha
of the Old Testament, i. 680, explains that the word here
has the general meaning of "foolish"); Luc. has τοῖς τῶν
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kindness of those who bestow them, have not only acted outrageously toward their inferiors but have not hesitated to wrong even their benefactors, thus making an end of gratitude among men, and, in their vulgar lack of appreciation of these blessings from unexpected sources, they have turned their insolence against those responsible for them, and think that in so doing they will elude the Deity and escape punishment from Him. And some of them, who have been entrusted by their friends with the administration of the government, have, because of a private grudge against certain persons, misled their masters by false charges and slanders and persuaded them to vent their anger on people who have done no wrong, as a result of which they were in danger of perishing. That such a state of affairs exists we can see, not from ancient history or incidents known by report, but from the bold attempts made before our very eyes, so that in future we must not pay attention to slanders and accusations or to those things of which others attempt to persuade us, but must judge from what we ourselves know to have been done, and to punish when necessary or show favour when the case is otherwise, addressing ourselves to the deeds themselves and not to what people say. As a present instance, Haman, the son of Amadathos, of the Amalekite race, an alien among those of Persian blood, received hospitality from us and so far enjoyed the kindness which we show to all, that since that time he has been called my father and ἀπειροπαθῶν κόμποις παρελθόντες "transgressing with the ostentation of those unused to suffering."

b lxx here adds that he was a Macedonian; also in Est. ix. 24, where Heb. has "Agagite," lxx has "Macedonian."
This last phrase is added by Josephus; a similar expression to "husbanded . . . good fortune" is found in Dionysius Halicarn. i. 65 ταμιεύεσθαι τὴν τύχην.

lxx and Luc. "to the Macedonians."
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has continually made the people prostrate themselves before him and from all has received royal honours second to our own; he has not, however, borne his good fortune wisely nor has he husbands the abundance of his prosperity with prudence and reason, but has plotted to take from me, the author of his power, my kingdom and my life, after treacherously and deceitfully demanding the destruction of Mordecai, my benefactor and saviour, and Esther, who shares my life and throne. For he wished to deprive me in this manner of my loyal friends and to transfer the kingship to others. But, since I have observed that the Jews, who were marked for destruction by this accursed fellow, are not evil-doers but live under the most excellent kind of government and are attached to the God who has preserved the kingdom for me and our forefathers, not only do I release them from the penalties set forth in the letters sent by Haman, which you will do well to disregard, but it is also my will that they be shown every honour, and I have crucified the one who devised these things against them, together with his family, before the gates of Susa, for the all-seeing God has brought this punishment upon him. I also order you to display a copy of this letter throughout the entire kingdom and to permit the Jews to live in peace under their own laws, and to help them in

* Josephus omits the epithets given God in the apocryphal Esther. (LXX "the most high, most great, living"; Luc. "the only, true").
  * The variant omits "sent by Haman."
  * The command that the Jews "be shown every honour" is a detail added by Josephus.
  * So LXX; Luc. omits "together with his family."
  * Cf. Luc. (τοῦ τὰ πάντα κατοπτεύοντος); LXX "all-powerful" or "all-ruling" (τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐπικρατοῦντος).
JOSEPHUS

μετ’ εἰρήνης καὶ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς, ὅπως τοὺς ἐν οἷς ἦτοχθησαν καυροῖς ἀδικήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἀμύνωνται, τῇ τρισκαίδεκάτῃ τοῦ δωδεκάτου μηνός, ὃς ἐστιν
282 'Αδαρ, τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτην γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἀντὶ ὀλεθρίας σωτηρίων πεποίηκεν. ἔστω δ’ ἄγαθή μὲν τοῖς εὐνοοῦσιν ἡμῖν, ὑπόμνησις δὲ τῆς τῶν
283 ἐπιβουλευσάντων κολάσεως. εἰδέναι μέντοι γε βούλομαι καὶ πόλιν καὶ πᾶν ἑθνός, ἐὰν τῶν γεγραμμένων τινὸς παρακούσῃ, ὅτι καὶ πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ
dαπανηθήσεται. τὰ μέντοι γεγραμμένα προτεθήκων καθ’ ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπηκόου χώρας, καὶ παρα-
sκευαζέσθωσαν πάντως εἰς τὴν προγεγραμμένην ἡμέραν, ἵνα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μετέλθωσιν.”

284 (13) Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἅπεις οἱ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς διακομί-
ζοντες εὐθὺς ἐξορμῆσαντες τὴν προκειμένην ὧδεν ἡμῖν. ὁ δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος ὡς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν βασι-
lικὴν στολὴν καὶ τὸν στέφανον τὸν χρυσοῦν καὶ τὸν στρεπτὸν περιθέμενος προῆλθεν, ἵδοντες αὐτὸν
οὕτως πετυμμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως οἰ ἐν Σουσίοις
285 οὔντες Ἰουδαίοι κοινὴ ὑπέλαβον τὴν εὐπραγίαν αὐτοῦ. χαρά δὲ καὶ σωτήριον φέγγος, ἐκτιθεμένων
tῶν τοῦ βασιλέως γραμμάτων, καὶ τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν
tῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τοὺς κατὰ χώραν ἐπείχεν, ὡς
πολλά καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑθνῶν, διὰ τὸν ἐκ τῶν Ἰου-
daίων φόβον περιτεμνόμενα τὴν αἰώνα, τὸ ἀκίνδυνον
286 αὐτοῖς ἐκ τούτου πραγματεύσασθαι. καὶ γὰρ τοῦ

1 εἴχει Λ.Α.Ω.: περείχεν ex Lat. Hudson.

⁠*⁠*⁠*⁠*

a lxx and Luc. “spear.”
b Instead of “necklace” Scripture has “garment”
requiting those who did them wrong in the times of their misfortune, on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which is Adar—on that very day. For God has made it a day of salvation for them instead of a day of destruction. Let it be a good day for those who are well-disposed toward us, but a reminder of the punishment that overtakes those who have plotted against us. Furthermore, I wish every city and nation to know that if it disobeys any of the orders here written, it shall be laid waste with fire and sword. This letter, moreover, shall be published throughout the whole of the country subject to us, and they shall by all means prepare themselves against the appointed day to fall upon their enemies."

(13) And so the horsemen who carried the letters set out at once and travelled the road laid out for them. And Mordecai, after assuming the royal robe and putting on the crown of gold and the necklace, came forth, and, when the Jews living in Susa saw him so greatly honoured by the king, they regarded his good fortune as common to themselves. And, when the letter of the king was published, joy and the light of salvation came upon the Jews both in the city and in the provinces, so that many of the other nations also, from fear of the Jews, had themselves circumcised and thereby managed to avoid danger. For the bearers of the king’s letter (LXX "diadem") of fine linen and purple.” The Targum expands these details into an elaborate description of his dress.

So Luc. translates Heb. mithyahdim "became Jews"; LXX has "became circumcised" in addition to lōvdaïcov "became Jews"; Targ. "were converted."

Josephus’s phrasing resembles that in Thucydides vi. 15 ὁ δὲ ἀκινδυνὸν . . . παρέχειν.
JOSEPHUS

δωδεκάτου μηνὸς τῇ τρισκαίδεκάτῃ, ὁς κατὰ μὲν Ἑβραίος "Αδαρ καλεῖται κατὰ δὲ Μακεδόνας Δύστρος, οἱ κομίσαντες τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως γράμματα ἑδήλουν, ὅπως καθ᾽ ἦν ἠμέραν αὐτοὶ κυνδυνεύσειν

287 ἥμελλον εἰς ταύτῃ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀπολέσωσιν. οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες τῶν σατραπεῖων καὶ οἱ τύραννοι καὶ οἱ βασιλικοὶ γραμματεῖς εἶχον ἐν τῷ Του Ἰουδαίους. ο γὰρ ἐκ Μαρδοχαίου φόβος ἤναγκαζεν

288 αὐτοὺς σώφρονείν. τοῦ δὲ γράμματος τοῦ βασιλικοῦ διὰ πάσης τῆς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν χώρας γενομένου συνέπεσεν ὡστε καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σοῦσι Ιουδαίους

289 ἀποκτείναι τῶν ἐχθρῶν περὶ πεντακοσίους. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως τῶν τῶν ἀπολωλῶτων ἐν τῇ πόλει3 δηλώσαντος τὸν ἄριθμον Ἐσθήρι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας τί ποτ᾽ εἰπ γεγονός διαποροῦντος, καὶ εἰ τι πρὸς τούτοις ἐτ᾽ αὐτὸ γενέσθαι βούλεται πυνθανομένου, πραχθήσεσθαι γάρ, παρεκάλεσεν ἐπιτραπῆναι τοῖς Ιουδαίοις καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἠμέραν οὔτως χρήσασθαι τοῖς ὑπολειπομένοις τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ

290 τοὺς δέκα τοὺς Ἀμάνου παῖδας ἀνασταυρῶσαι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν προσέταξε τοῖς Ιουδαίοις ὁ βασιλεύς, μηδὲν ἀντιλέγειν Ἐσθήρι βουλόμενος4. οὶ δὲ πάλιν

1 τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτη Λ.·
2 βασιλικοὶ ex lxx Bekker: βασιλεῖς καὶ οἱ (οἱ om. PFV) codd.
3 ἐν τῇ πόλει om. P.
4 δυνάμενος P.

—a Variant 14th; Scripture has 13th.
—b Cf. § 107 note b.
—c Text emended from lxx; mss. "the kings and the scribes." Josephus’s 3 classes of officials (as emended) agree literally with those of lxx; Heb. mentions 4—"rulers of the provinces, satraps (A.V. "lieutenants"), governors

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announced that on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which is called Adar by the Hebrews, and Dystros by the Macedonians, they should destroy their enemies—on the very same day, that is, on which they themselves were to have been placed in danger. Now the rulers of the satrapies and the tyrants and the royal scribes began to hold the Jews in honour, for their fear of Mordecai compelled them to act prudently. And it so happened that at the same time when the king's letter reached the whole country ruled by him, the Jews in Susa killed about five hundred of their enemies. Thereupon the king informed Esther of the number of those slain in the city, and, when he expressed uncertainty about what had happened to those in the provinces and inquired whether she wished anything more of him, saying that it would be done, she begged him to permit the Jews on the following day also to treat in the same manner those of their enemies who remained and to crucify the ten sons of Haman. And so the king, being unwilling to oppose Esther in anything, commanded the Jews to do so, and they (A.V. "deputies") and officers of the king; cf. § 272 note e.

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συστραφέντες τὴν τετράδι καὶ δεκάτη τοῦ Δύστρου μηνὸς ἀπέκτειναν τῶν ἑναντίων ως τριακοσίους,1 καὶ οὐδὲνος τῶν ἑκείνως ὑπάρχοντων ἡμείς κτη- 291 μᾶτων. ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν Ἰουδαίων τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοίς ἐπτακισμύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ἀπέκτειναν τῇ τρισκαϊδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς, 292 τῇ δὲ ἐχομένη ἑορτάσμοι ἐποίησαν. ὡμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς Σούσοις Ἰουδαίοι τῇ τετράδι καὶ δεκάτην καὶ τῇ ἐχομένῃ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς συν- αθροισθέντες εὐαχήθησαν. ὅθεν καὶ νῦν πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ Ἰουδαίοι τὰς ἥμερας ταύτας 293 ἑορτάζουσιν, διαπεμπόμενοι μερίδας ἄλληλοις. ἐ- γραφεὶ δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀρταξέρξου βα- σιλείᾳ ζώσιν Ἰουδαίοις ταύτας παραφυλάσσειν τὰς ἥμερας καὶ ἑορτὴν ἀγείναι αὐτάς καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις παραδοῦναι τοῦ πρὸς πάντα διαμεῖναι τὸν χρόνον τὴν ἑορτὴν ἕνεκα καὶ μὴ λήθη παραπολέσθαι. 294 μεταχυσάντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν ταύτας διαφθείρεσθαι ταῖς ἥμεραις ὑπὸ Ἀμάνου, δικαία ποιήσειν εἰ διαφυγόντες μὲν ἐν αὐταῖς τῶν κίνδυνον τούς δ’

1 tetrakosioi AW.

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a Bibl. Adar ; cf. § 286.
b So Heb. ; lxx 15,000 ; Luc. 70,100.
c Josephus is slightly inaccurate here. According to Scripture (Est. ix. 17 ff.) the Jews of Susa attacked their enemies on the 13th and 14th of Adar, and celebrated on the 15th (not the 14th and 15th as Josephus states), while the Jews in the provinces attacked their enemies on the 13th and celebrated on the 14th—in other words, the Jews of the provinces celebrated on the 14th of Adar, and the Jews of Susa on the 15th. To be sure, farther on (ix. 20 ff.) Scripture specifies the 14th and 15th of Adar as festival days, but the rabbinic authorities of Josephus’s time (cf. 454
again banded themselves together on the fourteenth day of the month of Dystros and killed some three hundred of their adversaries but touched none of the possessions which they had. And seventy-five thousand of their enemies were slain by the Jews in the provinces and the other cities also. These they slew on the thirteenth of the month, and they kept the next day as a festival. Similarly did the Jews in Susa also gather together and feast on the fourteenth and the following day of the same month.

Whence it is that even now all the Jews in the habitable world celebrate these days by sending portions to one another. For Mordecai wrote to all the Jews living in the kingdom of Artaxerxes, telling them to observe these days and keep them as a festival and hand them down to their descendants in order that the festival might remain for all time and not fall into disuse through forgetfulness. For, he said, since they had been marked for destruction on those days by Haman, but had escaped danger on them and had even avenged themselves on their enemies, Mishnah, Megillah, i. 1), observing the distinction of date in Scripture between the celebration at Susa and that in the provinces, specify that the festival is to be observed on the 14th in smaller cities and on the 15th in larger cities. It is noteworthy, on the other hand, that the early rabbinic treatise Megillath Ta'anith, like Josephus, merely makes the general statement that the 14th and 15th of Adar are festival days. Josephus does not mention the Fast of Esther, still observed by pious Jews on the 13th of Adar, for the very good reason that it was not known until the post-Talmudic period (cf. A. Schwarz in Festschrift Simonsen, 1923, pp. 188-205, and H. Lichtenstein in Hebrew Union College Annual, vii-ix, 1931/32, p. 280). Instead of observing a fast day on the 13th of Adar, the Jews in Josephus's time celebrated the Maccabean victory over Nicanor, cf. Ant. xii. 412 (on 1 Macc. vii. 43 ff.) and Megillath Ta'anith under that date.

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έχθρος τιμωρησάμενοι, παρατηρήσουσιν αὐτὰς 295 εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ θεῷ, διὰ ταῦτα μὲν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὰς προειρημένας ἁμέρας ἐορτάζουσιν, προσαγο-ρεύσαντες αὐτὰς φρουραίους. 1 ο δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος μέγας τε ἦν καὶ λαμπρὸς παρὰ τῷ βασιλεί καὶ συνδείπτειν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀπολαύσει ἂν καὶ τής 296 κοινωνίας τοῦ βίου τῇ βασιλίσσῃ. ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὰ πράγματα δι' αὐτοῦς 2 ἀμείνων πάσης ἔλπίδος. καὶ τὰ μὲν τούτων βασιλεύσαντος Ἀρτα-ξέρξου συμβάντα τούτον εἰχε τὸν τρόπον.

297 (vii. 1) Ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ ἀρχιερεὼς Ἑλια-σίβου τῆς ἀρχιερευσώνης Ἰώδας 3 δο παῖς αὐτοῦ διεδέξατο. τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ τούτου τῆς τιμῆς Ἰωάννης νῖός ὡν αὐτοῦ παρέλαβεν, δι' ὅν καὶ Βαγγείως 4 δο στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἄλλου 5 Ἀρταξέρξου τὸν ναὸν ἐμίανε καὶ φόρους ἐπέταξε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις,

1 φρουρεὼς P: φρουρέους W: φουραίους Grotius: conservatores Lat.
2 αὐτὸν E.
3 'Ἰωάχας P: 'Ἰουδας V Lat.: 'Ἰοχάς W: 'Ἰωάδας E.
4 Βαγγείως LA (Zonaras).
5 τοῦ ἄλλου ex Lat. (alterius) Hudson: τοῦ PAW: τοῦ λαοῦ rell.: τοῦ Ἀχοῦ Scaliger.

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b Josephus here resumes the narrative of events in Palestine, from § 183.

c Bibl. Eliashib (Ἐλγάσιβ), lxx Ἐλ(ε)σοῦβ; his succession to the high priesthood is mentioned earlier in § 158.

d Bibl. Joiada (Ὑγαδά), lxx Ἰω(α)δά.

e Bibl. Johanan (Ὑγανάν), lxx Ἰωανάν (in Neh. xii. 11 the name appears as Jonathan (Ὑναθάν), lxx Ἰωανάν). On the historicity and sources of the following section see Appendix B.

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enemies, they would do right to observe them by giving thanks to God. For this reason, therefore, the Jews celebrate the forementioned days, which they call Phrūraiōi. Now Mordecai was a great and illustrious man in the eyes of the king and shared the royal power with him, at the same time enjoying the companionship of the queen. And through them the condition of the Jews also was better than anything they had hoped for. Such, then, were the things that befell them in the reign of Artaxerxes.

(vii. 1) On the death of the high priest Eliasib, his son Jōdas succeeded him in the high priesthood. And, when he also died, Jōannēs, who was his son, assumed this office; it was through him that Bagosēs, the general of the second Artaxerxes, defiled the sanctuary and imposed tribute on the Jews, so that

Variant Bagoas (as in Diodorus Siculus); in the Aramaic papyri of Elephantinē this common Persian name is written Bagō(h)i, in the Heb. of Ezra and Nehemiah, Bigēai. The Persian original is explained by F. Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, pp. 59 f., as the abbreviation of a "full-name" with Bagū "God" as its first element. On the identity of Bagoses see next note.

i.e. Artaxerxes II. Mnemon (404–359 B.C.); if, however, the word "second" (ἄλλος) is bracketed as an interpolation, as Niese and several other scholars suggest, the king meant might be Artaxerxes III. Ochus (359–338 B.C.). The reading here adopted is more likely to be correct, and Bagoses is probably to be identified with the Bagoses who was Persian governor of Judaea at the end of the reign of Darius II. and is mentioned in the Elephantinē papyri of the year 408 B.C.; presumably he continued in office through the early part of the reign of Artaxerxes II. If ἄλλος is removed as spurious, Bagoses is probably to be identified with the Persian general of Artaxerxes III. mentioned in Diodorus xvi. 47. For a fuller discussion of this point see Appendix B.
πρὶν ἡ τὰς καθημερινὰς ἐπιφέρειν θυσίας ὑπὲρ ἄρνος ἐκάστου τελείων αὐτοὺς δημοσίᾳ δραχμάς 298 πεντήκοντα. τούτου δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν τουαύτην συνέβη γενέσθαι ἀδελφῶς ἦν τῷ 'Ἰωάννῃ 'Ἰησοῦς· τούτῳ φίλῳ τυγχάνοντι ὁ Βαγώης ὑπέσχετο τὴν ἀρχ-299 ἐρωτούνην παρέξειν. ἀπὸ ταύτης οὖν τῆς πεποι-θήσεως 'Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῷ ναῷ διενεχθεὶς τῷ 'Ἰωάννῃ παρώξυνε τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡστ' αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν διὰ¹ τὴν ὀργήν. τηλικοῦτο δὲ² ἀσέβημα δράσαι κατὰ τάξελον τὸν 'Ἰωάννην ἐρώμενον³ δεινὸν⁴ ἦν, καὶ τὸ δεινότερον,⁵ ὃς μὴτε παρ' 'Ελλησίν μὴτε παρὰ βαρβάρους ὑμὸν οὕτως καὶ ἀσέβες ἔργον γεγονέναι. 300 τὸ μέντοι θείον οὐκ ἡμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ λαὸς διὰ ταύτην⁶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐδουλώθη καὶ ὁ ναὸς ἐμιάνθη ὑπὸ Περσῶν. Βαγώης δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς 'Αρ-ταξέρζου γνώσι ὁτι 'Ἰωάννης ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν 'Ιουδαίων τὸν ἰδιὸν ἀδελφὸν 'Ἰησοῦν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐφόνευσεν, εὑρὸς ἐπιστάσας τοὺς 'Ιουδαίους μετὰ θυμοῦ ἠρέστο λέγειν: "ἔτολμησατε ἐν τῷ ὡμετέρῳ 301 ναῷ' φόνον ἐργάσασθαι." πειρωμένου δ' αὐτοῦ εἰσελθείν εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἐκώλυσον αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔφη: "πῶς οὐκ έγὼ καθαρώτερός εἰμι τοῦ ἀνήρμενον⁸ ἐν τῷ ναῷ:" καὶ τοῦτος ποιησά-μενος τοὺς λόγους εἰς τὸν ναὸν εἰσέρχεται. ταύτη μὲν οὖν χρησάμενος τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ Βαγώης τοῦς

1 διὰ FOV: καὶ διὰ rell. 2 τηλ. δὲ FOV: τηλ. rell. 3 ἐρώμενον FOV: ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ rell.: ἐν τῷ ναῷ E. 4 ὃς δεινὸν P. 5 τὸ δεινότερον] πρότερον PF. 6 Niese: αὐτὴν codd. 7 ύμετέρῳ ναῷ] ἱερῷ P 8 ἀνηρμενὸς P²LE.
before offering the daily sacrifices they had to pay from the public treasury fifty drachmae for every lamb. The reason for this was the following happening. Jōannēs had a brother named Jēsūs, and Bagōsēs, whose friend he was, promised to obtain the high priesthood for him. With this assurance, therefore, Jēsūs quarrelled with Jōannēs in the temple and provoked his brother so far that in his anger he killed him. That Jōannēs should have committed so impious a deed against his brother while serving as priest was terrible enough, but the more terrible in that neither among Greeks nor barbarians had so savage and impious a deed ever been committed. The Deity, however, was not indifferent to it, and it was for this reason that the people were made slaves and the temple was defiled by the Persians. Now, when Bagōsēs, the general of Artaxerxes, learned that Jōannēs, the high priest of the Jews, had murdered his own brother Jēsūs in the temple, he at once set upon the Jews and in anger began to say, "You have dared to commit murder in your own temple." But, when he attempted to enter the temple, they sought to prevent him, whereupon he said to them, "Am I, then, not purer than he who was slain in the temple?" and, having spoken these words, he went in to the temple. This, then, being the pretext which he

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*a* Hellenized form of Heb. *Yēšū’a*.

*b* Text uncertain.

*c* Emended text; mss. "this very."

*d* The variant "he who slew" is preferred by some scholars, but it is obviously a *lectio facilior*, introduced by a scribe who missed the point of Bagoses’ ironical remark. A dead body makes the temple unclean, according to Jewish law.
JOSEPHUS

'Ιουδαίους ἔτεσιν ἕπτὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰησοῦ τελευτῆς μετῆλθεν.

302 (2) Καταστρέφαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰωάννου τὸν βίον διαδέχεται τὴν ἄρχιερωσύνην ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰαδδοῦς. ἢ δὲ καὶ τοῦτω ἀδελφός Μανασσῆς ὄνομα, ὁ Σαναβαλλῆτης ὁ περιφθεὶς εἰς Σαμάρειαν ὑπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ τελευταίου βασιλέως 2 σατράπης Χουθαίος τὸ γένος, ἐξ ὧν καὶ οἱ Σαμαρεῖς εἰσίν, εἰδὼς λαμπρὰν οὐσαν πόλιν τὰ Ἴεροσόλυμα καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ κοιλῇ Συρία κατοικοῦσιν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ βασιλείᾳ πράγματα παρασχόντας, ἀσμένως συνυκσίζει τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα Νικασῳ καλουμένην, οἴομενος τὴν ἐπιγαμίαν ὀμηρίων αὐτῶ γεννησθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐθνὸς παντὸς εὐνοιαν.

303 (viii. 1) Κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν καιρὸν καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἐν Αἰγαῖς 3 ὑπὸ Παυσανίου τοῦ Κεράστου ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τῶν Ὀρεστῶν γένους δολοφονηθεῖς ἀπέθανεν. παραλαβὼν δ ’ ὁ παῖς

1 'Ιωαδδοῦς LAWE.
2 τοῦ τελευταίου βασιλέως om. Lat.
3 Αἰγαῖας P; Αἰγαῖας FLVW: Αἰγείς Lat.

a Variant Joaddus; bibl. Jaddua (Yaddâ'ʿa), lxx 'Ιαδού.
b Hellenized form of Heb. Μενασσῆ (bibl. Manasseh); Scripture does not mention any such person in this connexion.
c Bibl. Sanballat (San ambush), lxx Σαναβαλλάτ. On the relation of the Sanaballethes here mentioned to the Sanballat of the book of Nehemiah and the Sanballat of the Elephantinē papyri see Appendix B. Here it may suffice to note that according to Scripture (Neh. xiii. 28) it was one of the "sons of Joiada" (i.e. a brother of Joiada's son Johanan, not a brother of Johanan's son Jaddua, as Josephus says) who married Sanballat's daughter. Ae-460
used, Bagōsēs made the Jews suffer seven years for the death of Jesus.

(2) When Jōannēs departed this life he was succeeded in the high priesthood by his son Jaddūs. He too had a brother, named Manassēs, to whom Sanaballetēs—he had been sent to Samaria as satrap by Darius the last king, and was of the Cuthaean race from whom the Samaritans also are descended,—knowing that Jerusalem was a famous city and that its kings had given much trouble to the Assyrians and the inhabitants of Cœle-Syria, gladly gave him his daughter, called Nikasō, in marriage, for he believed that this alliance by marriage would be a pledge of his securing the goodwill of the entire Jewish nation.

(viii. 1) Now it was just about this time that Philip, king of Macedon, died at Aegae, being treacherously slain by Pausanias, the son of Kerastes, of the family of the Orestae. And his son

cording to Heb. usage, however, “one of the sons” might mean “a grandson” or “descendant” generally, in which case Josephus would agree with Scripture in making Sanballat’s son-in-law a brother of Jaddua.

Darius III. Codomannus (338–331 B.C.). Scripture (Neh. xii. 22) agrees with Josephus to the extent of making Jaddua a contemporary of Darius III., whom it calls “Darius the Persian.”

In his note ad loc. T. Reinach remarks that Josephus has given the Persian governor of Samaria a daughter with a Greek name “contre toute vraisemblance.” The name Nikasō, however, may not be Greek at all, but the hellenized form of a Semitic name, possibly Aram. nikēsā “sacrifice” (?).

Josephus’s sources for Greek, as well as Roman, Parthian and Hellenistic Jewish history will be treated in an appendix to the last volume of this translation.

In Macedonia. Philip was slain in 336 B.C.
JOSEPHUS

αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἄλεξανδρος καὶ διαβάς τῶν Ἐλλησποντιον, νικᾶ μὲν τοὺς Δαρείου στρατηγοὺς ἐπὶ Γραικῷ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς, ἐπελθὼν δὲ τὴν Λυδίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν δουλωσάμενος καὶ τὴν Καριάν ἐπιδραμὼν τοῖς ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ τόποις ἐπέβαλεν, καθὼς ἐν ἄλλοις δεδῆλωται.

306 (2) Οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἰεροσολυμιτῶν πρεσβύτεροι δευτεροπαθοῦντες ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν Ἰαδδοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀδελφὸν ἀλλοφύλω συνοικοῦντα μετέχειν τῆς ἀρ-

307 χιερωσύνης ἐστασίαζον πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἥγουντο γὰρ τὸν τοῦτον γάμον ἐπιβάθραν τοῖς παρανομεῖν περὶ τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν συνοικήσεις βουλησομένους γενεσθαι καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους αὐτοῖς κοινο-

308 νίας ἀρχὴν τοῦτο έσεσθαι. ὑπάρχαι μέντοι καὶ τῆς προτέρας αὐχεμιλωσίας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν κακῶν αὐτῶν τὸ περὶ τοὺς γάμους πλημμελήσαι τινας καὶ ἀγαγε-

309 σθαι γυναίκας οὕν ἐπιχωρίας. ἐκεῖνον οὖν τὸν Μανασσῆν διαζεύγνυσθαι τῆς γυναικὸς ἢ μὴ προσ-

ιέναι τῷ θυσιαστήριῳ. τοῦ δὲ ἀρχιερέως τῷ λαῷ συναγανακτοῦντος καὶ ἐγροντος τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ βωμοῦ, παραγενομένος ὁ Μανασσῆς πρὸς τὸν πενθέρον Σαναβάλλετην στέργεις μὲν ἔλεγεν αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα Νικασσᾶ, τῆς μέντοι γε ἱερατικῆς τιμῆς μεγίστης οὕσης ἐν τῷ ἔθνει καὶ τῷ γένει

1 Syriam aut Cyriam Lat.
2 γενεσθαι AW.
3 γε om. FLAVWE.

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α A river in Hellespontine Phrygia, emptying into the Sea of Marmora.

"Elsewhere" may mean the brief passage about Alexander’s conquest of Asia Minor in Ant. ii. 348 or, what is more likely, the works of other historians. The formula καθὼς ἐν ἄλλοις δεδῆλωταί and similar ones which give cross-
Alexander took over the royal power and, after crossing the Hellespont, defeated the generals of Darius in a battle at the Granicus; he then invaded Lydia, and after subjugating Ionia and overrunning Caria, fell upon the region of Pamphylia, as has been related elsewhere.

(2) Now the elders of Jerusalem, resenting the fact that the brother of the high priest Jaddūs was sharing the high priesthood while married to a foreigner, rose up against him, for they considered this marriage to be a stepping-stone for those who might wish to transgress the laws about taking wives and that this would be the beginning of intercourse with foreigners. They believed, moreover, that their former captivity and misfortunes had been caused by some who had erred in marrying and taking wives who were not of their own country. They therefore told Manasses either to divorce his wife or not to approach the altar. And, as the high priest shared the indignation of the people and kept his brother from the altar, Manasses went to his father-in-law Sanaballetēs and said that while he loved his daughter Nikasō, nevertheless the priestly office was the highest in the nation and had always belonged to his references not readily identifiable in Josephus's extant writings will be discussed in an appendix to the last volume.

It is not clear in what way Manasses was “sharing the high priesthood,” except in the general sense that he was a member of the high priest’s family, as was the case with the “high priests” mentioned in the Gospels. Possibly, however, Josephus means that Manasses occupied the position of sāgān (Aram. s'gan); although this term appears to denote a member of the aristocracy of Jerusalem in the Persian period (as in Ezra ix. 2), in later rabbinic usage it means an assistant of the high priest, cf. Mishnah, Yoma vi. and Bab. Talmud, Yoma 39a.
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310 τοῦ δὲ Σαναβαλλέτου μὴ μόνον τηρήσειν αὐτῷ τὴν ἱερωσύνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν παρέξειν δύναμιν καὶ τιμὴν ὑπισχυνομένου, καὶ πάντων ἀποδείξειν ὅν ἄυτος ἐπήρχε τῶποιν ἥγεμόνα βουλόμενον συνοικεῖν αὐτού τῇ θυγατρὶ, καὶ λέγοντος οἰκοδομήσειν ναὸν ὀμοιον ὡντα τῷ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαρίζειν ὅρους, τῷ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σαμαρίαν ὄρον ἐστὶν ὑψηλότατον, καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσειν ἐπαγγελλομένου μετὰ τῆς Δαρείου γνώμης τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐσπαρθεὶς ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν ὁ Μανασσῆς παρέμενε τῷ Σαναβαλλέτῃ, τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην οἴόμενος ἐξείν Δαρείου δόντος· καὶ γὰρ συνέβαινε τὸν Σαναβαλλέτην ἡδη πρεσβύτερον εἶναι. 312 πολλών δὲ ἱερέων καὶ Ἰσραηλιτῶν τοιούτως γάμοις ἐπιτεπληγμένων κατείχεν οὐ μικρὰ ταραχὴ τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας· ἀφίσταντο γὰρ ἀπαντες πρὸς τὸν Μανασσῆν τοῦ Σαναβαλλέτου χορηγοῦντος αὐτοῖς καὶ χρήματα καὶ χώραν εἰς γεωργίαν καὶ κατοίκησιν ἀπομερίζοντος καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ τῷ γαμβρῷ συμφιλοκαλοῦντος. 313 (3) Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καίρον Δαρείου ἀκούσας ὅτι τὸν Ἐλλησπόντου διαβάς Αλέξανδρος καὶ τοὺς σατράπας αὐτοῦ τῇ κατὰ Γράνικον μάχῃ κρατήσας προσωτέρω χωρεῖ, στρατιάν ἵππικὴν τε καὶ πεζικὴν

1 αὐτὸν PFLAW Lat.  
2 Γαρίζειν FVE Syncellus.  
3 κατέμενε para AWE.

a Of the Samaritans, of course, cf. § 324. According to M. Gaster, The Samaritans, 1925, pp. 30 f., "No trace of such a fact can be found in the Samaritan chronicles, nor
family, and that therefore he did not wish to be deprived of it on her account. But Sanaballetēs promised not only to preserve the priesthood for him but also to procure for him the power and office of high priest and to appoint him governor of all the places over which he ruled, if he were willing to live with his daughter; and he said that he would build a temple similar to that in Jerusalem on Mount Garizein—this is the highest of the mountains near Samaria—, and undertook to do these things with the consent of King Darius. Elated by these promises, Manassēs stayed with Sanaballetēs, believing that he would obtain the high priesthood as the gift of Darius, for Sanaballetēs, as it happened, was now an old man. But, as many priests and Israelites were involved in such marriages, great was the confusion which seized the people of Jerusalem. For all these deserted to Manassēs, and Sanaballetēs supplied them with money and with land for cultivation and assigned them places wherein to dwell, in every way seeking to win favour for his son-in-law.

(3) Now about this time Darius heard that Alexander had crossed the Hellespont and defeated his satraps in the battle at the Granicus and was advancing further, and so he collected an army of

is the intermarriage mentioned between the house of the high priest of Jerusalem and any of their governors or rulers: in one chronicle, however, Sanballat is mentioned as 'Cohen Levi,' 'the Priest, the Levite,' and in another as 'Levite' only, but he is never identified in any way with the High Priest."

b Or "enthusiastically supporting," as Dr. Thackeray translates συμψυκτοκαλεῖν in Ant. i. 9.

Cf. § 304 note f.
συνήθροιζεν, ἀπαντήσαι διαγνώστι τοῦ Ἑλλήνων πρὸν ἥ πάσαν αὐτοὺς ἐπιόντας καταστρέφασαι τὴν 314 Ἀσίαν. περαισώμενος οὖν τὸν Εὐθράτην ποταμὸν καὶ τὸν Ταύρον τὸ Κιλίκιον ὅρος ὑπερελθὼν ἐν Ἰσσῷ2 τῆς Κιλικίας τοὺς πολέμιους, ὡς ἐκεῖ 315 μαχητῶμενοι αὐτοῖς, ἐξευδέχετο. ἡσθεὶς δὲ τῇ Δα- ρείου καταβάσει ὁ Σαναβαλλέτης εὐθὺς ἔλεγε τῷ Μανασσῆ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις τελέσειν, ὡς3 ἄν Δαρείους κρατήσας τῶν πολέμιων ὑποστρέψη· πέπειστο γὰρ οὐκ αὐτὸς μόνος ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ μὴ4 εἰς χείρας τοὺς Πέρσας ἦσεν τοὺς Μακεδόνας 316 διὰ τὸ πλῆθος. ἀπέβη δ' οὖν ὡς προσεδόκων· συμβαλὼν γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἡττηθη καὶ πολλὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπολέσας, ληφθέντων αἰχμαλώτων αὐτοῦ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ 317 τῶν τέκνων, ἐφυγεν εἰς Πέρσας. Ἀλέξανδρος δ' εἰς Συρίαν4 παραγεγομένος Δαμασκὸν αἱρέι καὶ Σιδῶνος κρατήσας ἐπολιόρκησε Τάρου, ἦσιον τε ἀπο- στειλας γράμματα πρὸς τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα συμμαχία τε αὐτῷ πέμπειν καὶ ἁγορᾶν τῶν στρα- τεύματι παρασχεῖν καὶ ὅσα Δαρείω πρότερον ἑτέ-

1 διεγνωκὼς ΛΑΒΕ.
2 ἐν Ἰσσῷ E: εἰςον ΠΦΛΟΒΑ2: ἐν Ἰσ(ο)ῳ πόλει Α' W: ἰπσον Κιλικίον Λατ.
3 ἐως conj. Niese.
4 Πέρσας ΠΦΟΒΕ.

a More accurately, Mount Amanus by the Amanic Gates (Arrian ii. 7. 1), where the coast of North Syria bends into that of Cilicia.

b The same statement is made by Diodorus, xvii. 32. 4 (cf. Arrian ii. 6. 4 f.). Arrian, ii. 8. 8, estimates Darius's army as 600,000 men; Diodorus, xvii. 31. 2, as 500,000; Justinus, xi. 9, and Curtius, iii. 2. 4, as 400,000.

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horsem en and foot-soldiers, being determined to meet the Macedonians before they should invade and conquer all Asia. Accordingly, he crossed the Euphrates river, passed over Taurus, the mountain in Cilicia, and awaited the enemy at Issus in Cilicia, intending to give battle there. Then Sanaballetēs, who was glad that Darius had come down, told Manassēs that he would fulfil his promises as soon as Darius should return from conquering the enemy. For not only he himself but all those in Asia were convinced that the Macedonians would not even come to grips with the Persians because of their great number. But the event proved other than they expected, for the king did engage the Macedonians and was beaten, and lost a great part of his army, his mother and wife and children being taken captive, while he fled to Persia. And Alexander, coming to Syria, took Damascus, became master of Sidon and besieged Tyre; from there he dispatched a letter to the high priest of the Jews, requesting him to send him assistance and supply his army with provisions and give him the gifts which they had formerly sent as tribute to Darius, thus

\[e\] The battle took place in October 333 B.C.
\[d\] The capture of Damascus and Sidon took place shortly after the battle of Issus, cf. B. Niese, Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten, i. 81 n. 2.
\[c\] From January to July, 332 B.C., cf. § 325 note e.
\[f\] On the historicity and sources of Josephus's (legendary) account of Alexander's relations with the Jews and Samaritans see Appendix C. Here it may suffice to note that none of the extant non-Jewish sources mentions the Jews in connexion with Alexander; on the other hand, rabbinic tradition preserves a similar story (Bab. Talmud, Yoma 69a and Scholion, Megillath Ta'anith ix, "The Day of Mount Garizim"), which is given in the Appendix.
JOSEPHUS

λον δώρα ταύτ' αυτῷ¹ διδόναι τὴν Μακεδόνων
φιλίαν ἐλομένους· οὗ γὰρ μετανοήσευ ἐπὶ τούτοις.
318 τοῦ δ' ἀρχιερεῖως ἀποκριναμένου τοῖς γραμματο-
φόροις ώς ὀρκουσ εἰς Δαρείῳ δεδωκὼς μὴ βαστά-
ζειν ὁπλα κατ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦτος ἔως ἂν ἦ Δαρεῖος
ἐν τοῖς ξώσιν μὴ παραβρήσεσθαι φήσαντος, ἀκούσας
319 'Ἀλέξανδρος παρωξύνθη, καὶ τὴν μὲν Τύρων οὐκ
ἐκρίνεν καταλιπεῖν ὅσον οὐδέπω² μέλλουσαν αἰρεῖ-
σθαι, παραστησάμενος δὲ ταύτην ἦπείλει στρατεύ-
σευν ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν 'Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα καὶ διδάξειν
πάντας δι' αὐτοῦ³ πρὸς τίνας δὴ αὐτοῖς φυλακτέον
320 τοὺς ὀρκοὺς· ὅθεν πονηκότερον χρησάμενος τῇ
πολιορκία λαμβάνει τὴν Τύρων. καταστησάμενος
dὲ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Γαζαιῶν πόλιν ἦλθε
καὶ τὴν τε Γάζαν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ φρουραρχὸν ὄνομα
Βαβημιάου⁴ επολιόρκει.
321 (4) Νομίσας δὲ καυρὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἐχειν ὡς
Σανα-
βαλλέτης τῆς ἐπιβολῆς,⁵ Δαρείῳ μὲν ἀπέγνω,
λαβὼν δὲ' ὀκτακυκλίους τῶν ἀρχομένων ὡς' αὐτοῦ
πρὸς 'Ἀλέξανδρον ἤκε καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτῶν ἀρχο-
μενον τῆς Τύρου πολιορκίας, ὅν τε αὐτὸς ἄρχει

¹ ταύτ' αυτῷ Niese: τούτω codd.: αυτῷ ex Lat. Cocceji.
² οὕτω LAWE. ³ δ' αὐτῷ om. PV.
⁴ Βαβιμίαου F: Βαβημίαου P: Βαβισιὼν A marg.: Βαβιμίαου O:
Babymasin Lat.: Batis Arrian.: Betis Qu. Curtius.
⁵ ἐπιβολῆς L.W.
⁶ λαβὼν δὲ] καὶ λαβὼν δις PFO(V).

¹ The variant omits “through him.”
² In the summer of 332 B.C., cf. § 325 note d.
³ Variants Babemasis, etc. The name appears as Batis in Arrian ii. 25. 4, as Betis (v.l. Batis) in Curtius iv. 6. 7.
⁴ F. Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, pp. 65 f. connects Batis with Iranian Vata (so also Prof. Louis H. Gray of Columbia, 468
choosing the friendship of the Macedonians, for, he said, they would not regret this course. But the high priest replied to the bearers of the letter that he had given his oath to Darius not to take up arms against him, and said that he would never violate this oath so long as Darius remained alive. When Alexander heard this, he was roused to anger, and while deciding not to leave Tyre, which was on the point of being taken, threatened that when he had brought it to terms he would march against the high priest of the Jews and through him a teach all men what people it was to whom they must keep their oaths, and for this reason continuing the siege with greater effort, he took Tyre. After he had settled affairs there, he advanced against the city of Gaza and besieged it b together with the commander of its garrison, named Babemésis. c

(4) Now Sanaballetēs, believing that he had a favourable opportunity for his design, abandoned the cause of Darius and came, along with eight d thousand of the people under his rule, to Alexander, whom he found beginning the siege of Tyre, and said that he in a private communication), while he considers Babemésis a Semitic form. It seems to me that the similarity to one another of the variants in Josephus points to the survival of a genuine Iranian form. I suggest that the second element in the name, mēsis, is the same as that found in the Iranian name Waumisa (a general of Darius II., cf. F. Weissbach, Die Keilschriften der Achämeniden, 1911, pp. 34 ff.), this, in turn, being a dialectal development of the name Mithra (cf. Justi s.v.). The first element, babē may be a corruption of Iranian Baga “God” (this word being usually hellenized as Mega, cf. Megaphernes and similar names). To summarize, I suggest that the original name of the (presumably Persian) commander of Gaza was Bagamisa “Mithra is God.”

a Variant 16 (lit. “twice eight”).
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tótpov ελέγεν αὐτῷ παραδιδόναι τούτοις, καὶ δεσπότης αὐτὸν ἢδέως ἔχειν ἀντὶ Δαρείου τοῦ βασι-
λέως. ἀσμένως δ’ αὐτὸν προσδεξαμένου θαρρῶν ἢδη περὶ τῶν προκειμένων ο Σαναβαλλήτης αὐτῷ λόγους προσέφερε, δηλών ὡς γαμβρὸν μὲν ἔχοι Μανασσην τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέως Ἰαδδοῦ ἀδελφόν, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους αὐτῷ συμπαράντας τῶν ὁμοθνῶν θελεν ἵερον ἐν τοῖς ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνω
323 τόποις ἦδη κατασκευάσαι. τούτο δ’ εἶναι καὶ τῷ βασιλεί συμφέρον, εἰς δύο διηρήσας την Ἰουδαίων δύναμιν, ἵνα μὴ ὁμογνωμονοῦ τὸ ἔδνος μηδὲ συνεστός, εἰ νεωτέρεστε ποτε, χαλεπὸν ἤ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, καθὼς καὶ πρότερον τοῖς Ἀσσυρίων
324 ἀρξασιν ἐγένετο. συγχωρήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου, πᾶσαν εἰσενεγκάμενον σπουδὴν ὕκοδόμησεν ὁ Σα
ναβαλλήτης τὸν ναὸν καὶ ἵερα τὸν Μανασσῆν κατέστησεν, μέγιστον γέρας ἡγησάμενος τοῖς ἐκ
325 τῆς θυγατρὸς γεννησάμενος τοῦτ’ ἐσεθαί. μηνὼν δ’ ἔπτα τῇ Τύρου πολυρκία διεληλυθότων καὶ δύο τῇ Γάζης2 ὁ μὲν Σαναβαλλήτης ἀπέθανεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρος ἐξέλων την Γάζαν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Ἰερο-
326 σολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἀναβαίνειν ἐσπούδακε. ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰαδδοῦς τοῦτ’ ἀκούσας ἦν ἐν ἁγιασμὶ κα
δέει, πῶς ἀπαντήσῃ τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἁμηχανῶν, ὄργιζομένου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῇ πρότερον ἀπει-

1 E ed. pr.: -άμενος FLAW: -άμενος P: -άμενοι OV.
2 Cocceji: Γάζη codd. E Lat.

a One variant makes Sanaballethes the subject, and Alexander the object, of the verb "received."

b Cf. the charges made against the Jews by the Samaritans in the Persian period, §§ 97 ff.

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was giving up to him the places under his rule and gladly accepted him as his master in place of King Darius. As Alexander received him in friendly fashion, Sanaballetēs now felt confident about his plan and addressed him on that subject, explaining that he had a son-in-law Manassēs, who was the brother of Jaddūs, the high priest of the Jews, and that there were many others of his countrymen with him who now wished to build a temple in the territory subject to him. It was also an advantage to the king, he said, that the power of the Jews should be divided in two, in order that the nation might not, in the event of revolution, be of one mind and stand together and so give trouble to the kings as it had formerly given to the Assyrian rulers. When, therefore, Alexander gave his consent, Sanaballetēs brought all his energy to bear and built the temple and appointed Manassēs high priest, considering this to be the greatest distinction which his daughter’s descendants could have. But Sanaballetēs died after seven months had been spent on the siege of Tyre and two on that of Gaza, and Alexander, after taking Gaza, was in haste to go up to the city of Jerusalem. When the high priest Jaddūs heard this, he was in an agony of fear, not knowing how he could meet the Macedonians, whose king was angered by his former disobedience. He therefore

\[\text{Cf. § 317 note e. The seven-month duration of the siege is mentioned in Diodorus xvii. 46. 5, Curtius iv. 4. 19 and Plutarch, \textit{Vita Alex. xxiv}.}
\]

\[\text{Cf. § 320 note b. The two-month duration of this siege is also mentioned in Diodorus xvii. 48. 7.}
\]

\[\text{The extant non-Jewish sources state that Alexander left for Egypt almost immediately after taking Gaza, cf. Appendix C.}
\]
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327 λάξαι. κατακομμηθέντι δὲ μετὰ τὴν θυσίαν ἐχρημάτισεν αυτῷ κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνους ὁ θεὸς βαρρὺν καὶ στεφανοῦντας τὴν πόλιν ἀνοίγει τὰς πύλας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους λευκὰς ἔσθησιν, αὐτὸν δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων ταῖς νομίμοις στολαῖς ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ὑπάντησιν, μηδὲν προσδοκῶντας πείσεσθαι δεινὸν

328 προνοομένου τοῦ θεοῦ. διαναστὰς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὑπνου ἔχαρεν τε μεγάλως αὐτός, καὶ τὸ χρηματισθέν αὐτῷ πᾶσι μηνύσας καὶ ποιήσας ὡσα κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνους αὐτῷ παρηγγέλη, τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως παρουσίαν ἑξεδέχετο.

329 (5) Πυθόμενος δ’ αὐτὸν οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως ὅντα πρόεισι2 μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους, ἱεροπρεπῆ καὶ διαφέρουσαν τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ποιούμενος τὴν ὑπάντησιν εἰς τὸ ποιν των Ἴσεφείν3 λεγόμενον. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦτο μεταφερόμενον εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν γλώσσαν σκοποῦν4 σημαίνει τά τε γὰρ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐκείθεν 330 συνεβαίνειν ἀφοράσθαι. τῶν δὲ Φοινίκων καὶ τῶν

1 ἰκεσίαν LAW: ἰκεσίας V.
2 πρόεισι (P)ŁAE.
3 Σαφίν FLE: Σαφᾶν (-ἀν W) A1VW.
4 σκοπῆν FL1A1VW: σκοπῆν A marg.: scopulum Lat.

a Cf. the description of the high priest’s distress on a somewhat similar occasion in 2 Maccabees iii. 14 ff.
ordered the people to make supplication, and, offering sacrifice to God together with them, besought Him to shield the nation and deliver them from the dangers that were hanging over them. But, when he had gone to sleep after the sacrifice, God spoke oracularly to him in his sleep, telling him to take courage and adorn the city with wreaths and open the gates and go out to meet them, and that the people should be in white garments, and he himself with the priests in the robes prescribed by law, and that they should not look to suffer any harm, for God was watching over them. Thereupon he rose from his sleep, greatly rejoicing to himself, and announced to all the revelation that had been made to him, and, after doing all the things that he had been told to do, awaited the coming of the king.

(5) When he learned that Alexander was not far from the city, he went out with the priests and the body of citizens, and, making the reception sacred in character and different from that of other nations, met him at a certain place called Saphein. This name, translated into the Greek tongue, means “Lookout.” For, as it happened, Jerusalem and the temple could be seen from there. Now the hill called Σκοπός mentioned in B.J. ii. 528 et al. (so also, earlier, G. Boettger, Topographisch-historisches Lexicon zu . . . Josephus, p. 219). It is the modern Mount Scopus, about a mile N. of Jerusalem, where the Hebrew University now stands. According to the rabbinic version (see Appendix C) the meeting between Alexander and the high priest took place at Antipatris, some 20 miles N.E. of Joppa (Jaffa); this city was called Kephar Saba in pre-Herodian times (Καφάραςαβα in Ant. xvi. 142), and Reland apud Hudson-Havercamp therefore suggests that a confusion between Saba and Sapha is responsible for the substitution of Antipatris for Saphein (or Sapha) in the rabbinic version.
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άκολουθούντων Χαλδαιών 1 ὡςα βασιλέως ὀργήν εἰκὸς ἦν ἐπιτρέψειν αὐτοῖς τὴν τε πόλιν διαρπάσειν καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα μετ' ἀκίας ἀπολέσειν λογίζο-331 μένων, τὰ ἑναντία τούτων ἐγένετο. Ὁ γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτι πόρρωθεν ὑδὸν τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐν ταῖς λευκαῖς ἐσθήσαν, τοὺς δὲ ἱερεῖς προσεύχοντας ἐν ταῖς βυσσίναις αὐτῶν, τὸν δὲ ἀρχιερέα ἐν τῇ υακιν-θίνῳ καὶ διαχρύσῳ στολῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχοντα τὴν κίδαρῳ καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦ ἐπὶ αὐτῆς ἔλαμμα, ὦ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγγέγραπτο 2 ὅνομα, προσ-ελθὼν μόνος προσεθύλησε τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸν ἀρχι-332 ἱερέα πρῶτος ἰσπάσατο. τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων ὁμοί-πάντων μιὰ φωνῇ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀσπασμένων καὶ κυκλωσαμένων αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν τῆς Συρίας βασιλείας καὶ οἱ λουποὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντος κατ-επλάγησαν, καὶ διεφθάρθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν διάνοιαν 333 ὑπελάμβανον, Παρμενίωνος δὲ μόνου προσελθόντος αὐτῶ καὶ πυθομένου τί δήποτε προσκυνοῦντων αὐτῶν ἀπάντων αὐτὸς προσκυνήσειε τὸν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα; “οὐ τούτον,” εἶπεν, “προσεκύνησα,

1 Χουδαίων Schotanus.
2 Cocceji: ἐγγέγραπτο codd.: ἐπεγέγραπτο Ε.

a Suggested variant Cuthaeans. This might seem to find support in the rabbinic version, according to which the Cuthaeans (Samaritans) intended to destroy the temple in Jerusalem. I think it more probable, however, that “Chaldaeans” is correct (cf. “the kings of Syria” below in § 332) and that Josephus (or his source) is thinking of a later incident, referred to in 1 Maccabees iii. 41, when Syrian merchants accompanied the Seleucid general Lysias to Judea in the hope of buying captured Jews as slaves.
b That is, Alexander greeted the high priest before being greeted by him.

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Phoenicians and the Chaldaeans who followed along thought to themselves that the king in his anger would naturally permit them to plunder the city and put the high priest to a shameful death, but the reverse of this happened. For when Alexander while still far off saw the multitude in white garments the priests at their head clothed in linen, and the high priest in a robe of hyacinth-blue and gold, wearing on his head the mitre with the golden plate on it on which was inscribed the name of God, he approached alone and prostrated himself before the Name and first greeted the high priest. Then all the Jews together greeted Alexander with one voice and surrounded him, but the kings of Syria and the others were struck with amazement at his action and supposed that the king's mind was deranged. And Parmenion alone went up to him and asked why indeed, when all men prostrated themselves before him, he had prostrated himself before the high priest of the Jews, whereupon he replied, "It was not before him that I prostrated myself but the God..."
τὸν δὲ θεὸν, οὗ τῇ ἀρχιερωσύνη οὗτος τετίμηται. 334 τούτον γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς εἶδον ἐν τῷ νῦν σχῆματι ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Μακεδονίας τυγχάνων, καὶ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν διασκεπτομένῳ μοι πώς ἂν κρατήσαμι τῆς Ἀσίας, παρεκελεύτερο μὴ μέλλειν ἀλλὰ θαρσοῦντα διαβαίνειν αὐτὸς γὰρ ἡγήσεσθαι· μου τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τῆς Περσῶν παραδόσεων ἀρχήν.

335 οἶδαν ἄλλον μὲν οὐδένα θεασάμενος ἐν τοιαύτῃ στολῇ, τούτον δὲ νῦν ἰδὼν καὶ τῆς κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς ἀναμνησθεὶς ὀφεῖς τε καὶ παρακελεύσεως, νομίζω θεία πομπῇ τὴν στρατείαν πεποιημένος Δαρείον νικήσει καὶ τῆς Περσῶν καταλύσειν δύναμι καὶ πάνθρωπον ὑπὸ κατὰ νοῦν ἐστὶ μοι προχωρήσατ' εἰπὼν πρὸς τὸν Παρμενίωνα καὶ δεξιωσάμενος τὸν ἀρχιερέα, τῶν Ἰουδαίων παραθεόντων, εἰς τὴν πόλιν παραγίνεται. καὶ ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν θύει μὲν τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υφήγησιν, αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦ ἀρχιερέα καὶ 336 τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἀξιοπρεπῶς ἐτίμησεν. δειχθεὶσας δ' αὐτῷ τῆς Δαννήλου βιβλίου, ἐν ᾧ τινα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καταλύσειν τῆς Περσῶν ἀρχὴν ἔδηλον, νομίζας αὐτὸς εἶναι ὁ σημαινόμενος τότε μὲν ἡσθεὶς ἀπέλυσε τὸ πλῆθος, τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ προσκαλεσάμενος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς αἰτεῖσθαι δωρεᾶς ἅν ἂν αὐτοὶ θέ- 337 λωσιν. τοῦ δ' ἀρχιερεῖς αἰτησάμενον χρήσασθαι

1 μένειν PFLV: neglegere Lat.
2 ἡγήσεσθαι PFV.
3 νικήσαι .. καταλύσαι Lat.
4 ἱερέων FAVW: reliquis sacerdotibus Lat.
5 καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς om. PFVE.
of whom he has the honour to be high priest, for it was he whom I saw in my sleep dressed as he is now, when I was at Dium in Macedonia, and, as I was considering with myself how I might become master of Asia, he urged me not to hesitate but to cross over confidently, for he himself would lead my army and give over to me the empire of the Persians. Since, therefore, I have beheld no one else in such robes, and on seeing him now I am reminded of the vision and the exhortation, I believe that I have made this expedition under divine guidance and that I shall defeat Darius and destroy the power of the Persians and succeed in carrying out all the things which I have in mind." After saying these things to Parmenion, he gave his hand to the high priest and, with the Jews running beside him, entered the city. Then he went up to the temple, where he sacrificed to God under the direction of the high priest, and showed due honour to the priests and to the high priest himself. And, when the book of Daniel was shown to him, in which he had declared that one of the Greeks would destroy the empire of the Persians, he believed himself to be the one indicated; and in his joy he dismissed the multitude for the time being, but on the following day he summoned them again and told them to ask for any gifts which they might desire. When the high priest asked that they might observe their

\[\text{Variant " remain."}\]

\[\text{b Variant " priests."}\]

\[\text{c The variant omits " to the priests and " (in the Greek the words " to the high priest himself " precede " to the priests ").}\]

\[\text{d Cf. Ant. x. 273 on Dan. viii. 21. The latter part of the book of Daniel (chs. vii.-xii.) is generally held by biblical scholars to have been written after 165 B.C.}\]

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τοῖς πατρίοις¹ νόμοις καὶ τὸ ἐβδομὸν ἔτος ἀνείσφορον εἶναι, συνεχώρησε πάντα. παρακαλεσάντων δὲ αὐτοῦ² ἴνα καὶ τοὺς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ Μηδίᾳ Ἰουδαίους τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐπιτρέψῃ νόμοις χρῆσθαι,

339 ἀσμένως υπέσχετο³ ποιῆσει ἀπερ ἀξιοῦσιν. εἰ- πόντοι δὲ αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, εἰ πτερεῖς αὐτῷ βούλονται συζυγεύσει τοῖς πατρίοις ἐθέσιν ἕμ- μένοντες καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ἥμνησε, ἐτοίμως ἔχειν ἔπαγγεσθαι, πολλοὶ τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατείαν ἐγάνησαν.

340 (6) 'Ο μὲν οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος ταῦτα διουκησάμενος ἐν τοῖς Ἰεροσολύμοις ἤξεστατευόταν ἐπὶ τὰς ἑχο- μένας πόλεις. πάντων δὲ αὐτὸν πρὸς οὓς ἀφίκοιτο φιλοφρόνως ἐκδεχομένων, Σαμαρεῖται μητρόπολιν τότε τὴν Σίκιμαν ἤχοντες κειμένην πρὸς τῷ Γαρι- θείν ὁρεί καὶ κατωκημένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστατῶν τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους, ἴδοντες ὅτι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους Ἀλέξα- ανδρός οὕτω λαμπρῶς τετίμηκεν, ἑγώνουσαν αὐτοῦς

341 Ἰουδαίους ὁμολογεῖν. εἰςιν γὰρ οἱ Σαμαρεῖς τοιούτοι τὴν φύσιν, ὡς ἤδη ποὺ καὶ πρότερον δεδηλώκαμεν. ἐν μὲν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ὄντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀρνοῦνται συγγενεῖς ἔχειν,⁴ ὁμολογοῦντες τότε τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὅταν δὲ τὶ περὶ αὐτοὺς λαμπρὸν ἰδωσιν ἐκ τύχης, ἔξαιφνης⁵ ἑπιτηδέως αὐτῶν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ, προσήκειν αὐτοῖς λέγοντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἰωσήπου γενεαλογοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἑκγόνων Ἐφραί- 342 μου καὶ Μανασσοῦ. μετὰ λαμπρότητος οὖν καὶ πολλῆς ἐνδεικνύμενοι τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν προθυμίαν ἀπήνηταν τῷ βασιλεὶ μικρῷ δεῖν ἐγγύς

¹ E: πατρίωις codd.
² αὐτῶν FA ὉVW.
³ υπέδέχετο FLOV.
⁴ ἔχειν V: om. rell.
⁵ ἐξαίφνης om. PFLE.

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country’s laws and in the seventh year be exempt from tribute, he granted all this. Then they begged that he would permit the Jews in Babylon and Media also to have their own laws, and he gladly promised to do as they asked. And, when he said to the people that if any wished to join his army while still adhering to the customs of their country, he was ready to take them, many eagerly accepted service with him.a

(6) And so, having regulated these matters at Jerusalem, Alexander marched off against the neighbouring cities. But all those peoples to whom he came received him in a friendly spirit, whereupon the Samaritans, whose chief city at that time was Shechem,b which lay beside Mount Garizein and was inhabited by apostates from the Jewish nation, seeing that Alexander had so signally honoured the Jews, decided to profess themselves Jews. For such is the nature of the Samaritans, as we have already shown somewhere above.c When the Jews are in difficulties, they deny that they have any kinship with them, thereby indeed admitting the truth, but whenever they see some splendid bit of good fortune come to them, they suddenly d grasp at the connexion with them, saying that they are related to them and tracing their line back to Ephraim and Manasseh, the descendants of Joseph. So, then, with splendour and a show of great eagerness on his behalf, they met the king when he was hardly out of Jerusalem.

a Cf. Josephus’s citation from Hecataeus of Abdera in Ap. i. 192 ff. The genuineness of these citations from Hecataeus has been recently reaffirmed by H. Lewy in Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 31, 1932, pp. 117-132.

b Greek Sikima, cf. Ant. v. 69 note d.

c Cf. Ant. ix. 291 and note.

d The variant omits “suddenly.”
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τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων. ἐπαινέσαντος δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου οἱ Σικυώνιοι προσήλθον αὐτῶι προσ-παραλαβόντες καὶ οί Σαναβαλλέτης πρὸς αὐτὸν στρατιώτας ἀπέστειλε καὶ παρεκάλουν παραγενόμενον εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶι τιμῆσαι καὶ τὸ παρ’ 343 αὐτοῖς ἱερὸν. ὁ δ’ ἐκεῖνο1 μὲν αὕθις ὑποστρέφων παρέξειν2 ὑπέσχετο πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἀξιούντων δὲ ἀφείναι3 τὸν φόρον αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἐβδοματικοῦ ἔτους, οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοὺς σπείρειν ἐν αὐτῷ, τινες ὄντες 344 ταὐτα παρακαλοῦσιν ἐπινιθάνετο. τῶν δ’ εἰπόντων Ἐβραῖοι μὲν εἶναι, χρηματίζειν δ’ οἱ ἐν Σικύμων Σιδώνιοι,4 πάλιν αὐτοὺς ἐπηρώτησεν εἰ τυγχάνουσιν Ἰουδαίοι. τῶν δ’ οὐκ εἶναι φαμένων ἀλλ’ ἐγώγε ταῦτα,” εἶπεν, “Ἰουδαίοις ἐδωκα, ὑποστρέψας μέντοι γε καὶ διδαχθεὶς ὑφ’ ὑμῶν ἀκριβέστερον ποιήσω τὰ δόξαντα.” τοῖς μὲν οὖν Σικυώταις 345 οὕτως ἀπετάξατο. τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Σαναβαλλέτου στρατιώτας ἐκέλευσεν ἐπεσθάι εἰς Ἀἰγύπτων· ἐκεὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς δώσειν κλήρους γῆς· δ’ καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγον ἐποίησεν ἐν τῇ Θηβαιδὶ, φρουρεῖν τὴν χώραν αὐτοῖς προστάξας.

1 ἐκεῖνοι V.  
2 ξεῖν FVE Lat.: ξεῖν W: ιδεῖν P.  
3 ἀφείναι FLOV.  
4 χρηματίζειν ἦν Σιδώνιοι] Sichimitas autem a Sidoniis nuncupari Lat.

— Or “commended.”
— The variant (after “promised”) “to come” is obviously corrupt.

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And, when Alexander encouraged them, the Shechemites approached him, bringing along the soldiers whom Sanaballetēs had sent to him, and invited him to come to their city and honour the temple there as well. Thereupon he promised to grant this request another time when he should come back to them, but, when they asked him to remit their tribute in the seventh year, saying that they did not sow therein, he inquired who they were that they made this request. And, when they said that they were Hebrews but were called the Sidonians of Shechem, he again asked them whether they were Jews. Then, as they said that they were not, he replied, “But I have given these privileges to the Jews. However, when I return and have more exact information from you, I shall do as I think best.” With these words, then, he sent the Shechemites away. But the soldiers of Sanaballetēs he ordered to accompany him to Egypt; there, he said, he would give them allotments of land, as in fact he did shortly afterwards, in the Thebaid, and this territory he ordered them to guard.

We must bring this into relation with the well-known exchange of letters between Antiochus and the Sidonians at Shechem. . . . Such semi-Greeks from the Phoenician cities were probably scattered in groups throughout Judaea and Samaria.” But Josephus must not be understood to mean that the Jews recognized Sanballat and his friends even as semi-Greeks.

* In Ptolemaic Egypt there was a village in the Fayum (about 65 miles S. of the apex of the Delta) called Samareia. There seems to be no other ancient reference to Samaritans in the Thebaid, which, in Josephus’s time, could hardly have included the Fayum district, cf. Strabo, xvii. 3 (c. 787). Niese, GGMS ii. 112 n. 2, thinks this statement “ganz unzuverlässig.” On the Samaritans in Alexandria cf. Ant. xiii. 74 ff., and in Egypt generally, Ant. xii. 7 ff.
JOSEPHUS

346 (7) Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἄλεξάνδρου ἢ μὲν ἀρχὴ
eis tous diadiúdeous ἢ ἐμερίσθη, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαρι-
ζεῖν ὄρους ἱέρων ἔμενεν. εἰ δὲ τὶς αὐτίαν ἔσχε
παρὰ τοῖς Ἰεροσολυμίταις κοινοφαγίας ἢ τῆς ἐν
tois sαββάτοις παρανομίας ἢ τινος ἄλλου τοιούτου
347 ἀμαρτήματος, παρὰ τοὺς Σικυμίτας ἔφευγε, λέγων
ἀδίκως ἐκβεβλήσθαι. τετελευτήκει δὲ κατ’ ἐκεῖνον
ἡδη τὸν καιρὸν καὶ ο ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰαδδοῦς καὶ τὴν
ἀρχιερωσύνην Ὀνίας ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ παρειλήφει. τὰ
μὲν δὴ περὶ τοὺς Ἰεροσολυμίτας ἐν τούτοις ἐτύγ-
χανεν ὄντα.

1 διαφόρους PFV. 2 διεμερίσθη AWE. 3 ἔμενεν LAWE.
4 ἐγκεκλήσθαι WE: ἐκκεκλήσθαι V: culpari Lat.
When Alexander died, his empire was partitioned among his successors (the Diadochi); as for the temple on Mount Garizein, it remained. And, whenever anyone was accused by the people of Jerusalem of eating unclean food or violating the Sabbath or committing any other such sin, he would flee to the Shechemites, saying that he had been unjustly expelled. Now by that time the high priest Jaddūs was also dead, and his son Onias succeeded to the high priesthood. This, then, was the way things were with the people of Jerusalem at that time.

\* In June, 323 B.C.
\* Variant "accused."
\* The first of several high priests of that name in the pre-Hasmonaean period, cf. Appendix B in Vol. VII.
APPENDIX A

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BIBLION Θ

\(\alpha'.\) 'Ως στρατευομένος ὁ 'Αχάβου παῖς 'Ἰώ-ραμος ἐπὶ Μωαβίτας ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν.

\(\beta'.\) 'Ως ὁ ὁμώνυμος αὐτῷ 'Ἰώραμος βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰεροσολυμιτῶν τῆν ἀρχήν πᾶσαν λαβὼν\(^2\) τούς τε ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τοὺς πατρώους φίλους ἀπέκτεινεν.

\(\gamma'.\) Ῥατί τῆς Ἰδομαιᾶς ἀποστάσης καὶ στρα-νευσάντων\(^4\) ἐπ' αὐτὸν Ἀράβων ἤ τε δύναμις αὐτὸι πᾶσα διεφθάρη καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοὶ πάρεξ ἐνὸς ὄντος ἐπὶ νηπίου καὶ πρὸς τούτοις αὐτὸς ἁσεβῆς γενόμενος κακῶς τῶν βιῶν κατέστρεφεν.

\(\delta'.\) Στρατεύει τοῦ Σύρων καὶ Δαμασκοῦ βασι-λέως ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰσραήλιτῶν βασιλέα Ἰώραμον, καὶ πῶς πολυρκηθεῖς οὕτως ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ παρα-δόξως τὸν κίνδυνον διεφύγεν.

\(\epsilon'.\) 'Ως αὐτὸς Ἰώραμος ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Ἰηοῦ

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\(^1\) numeros om. MSP.
\(^3\) III Lat. in quo hoc caput post quartum exhibetur.
\(^4\) στρατοπεδευσάντων MSP.

\(^a\) Several mss. omit the section numberings in Books IX-XI.

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## APPENDIX A

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#### BOOK IX

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<td>(v) How Joramos met a violent death at the hands of Jeus (Jehu), the com-</td>
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*b* The table omits to mention Jehosaphat, Ahaziah and Elijah, §§ 1-28.

*c* This section belongs before section iii.
ἀναρεθεὶς τοῦ ἵππαρχου, καὶ ἡ γενεὰ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων βασιλεὺς Ὁχοζίας.

ζ'). Ὁσ γυνὴ τὸς Ὁθλία1 τούνομα τῶν Ἰεροσολυμικῶν ἐβασίλευσεν ἐπὶ ἑτη πέντε, καὶ ἀνελὼν αὐτὴν ὁ ἄρχιερεὺς Ἰώδας2 τὸν Ὁχοζίου παῖδα Ἰωάσην ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα.

η'). Ἀζαήλου τοῦ Δαμασκηνῶν βασιλέως ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας στρατεύε ταῖς πόλλα κακὰ τὴν τε χώραν αὐτῶν διαθεῖς καὶ τὴν Σαμαρέων3 πόλιν, ὁλίγων πάλιν4 ὡστερον χρόνων στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰεροσολυμικῶς καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα λαβῶν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἀνέζευξεν.

θ'). Ὁσ Ἀμασίας ὁ τῶν Ἰεροσολυμικῶν βασιλεὺς στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Ἰδουμαίους καὶ Ἀμαλκίτας ἐνίκησεν.

ι'). Ὁσ αὐτὸς οὕτος πολεμῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἰσραήλιτῶν βασιλέα Ἰώασον ἠπατᾶται μὲν, ληφθεὶς δὲ αἰχμάλωτος καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα δους ἀπελύθη πάλιν εἰς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείαν, καὶ ὅ5 ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Ὁζίας τὰ πέριξ ἐθνι ἐχειρώσατο.

1 Τοθολά MSP Lat.
2 Ἰωάδας RO: Ioahdas Lat.
3 Σαμαρειτῶν MSP.
4 ολίγων πάλιν om. MSP.
5 καί ὅσ κτλ. decimo cap. ascribit Lat., undecimo codd.
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* The variant omits "a little while thereafter."
ia'. Στρατεία τοῦ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέως Ἰεροβάμου ἐπὶ Συρίαν καὶ νίκη.

ib'. Ὡς ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Σαμάρειαν, καὶ πολλὰ χρῆματα παρὰ Φακέα τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν εἰσπράξάμενος εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπέστρεψεν.

ig'. Ὄσι στρατευσάμενος 'Ραασείν ὁ Δαμασκοῦ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ Ιεροσολυμίτας ἥγακασεν Ἀχά-ζην τὸν βασιλέα πέμψαντα χρῆματα πολλὰ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἀσσυρίων πείσαι τούτους αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Δαμασκὸν στρατεύσασθαι.

id'. Ὡς κατὰ κράτος εἶλεν ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς Δαμασκὸν καὶ διέφθειρε μὲν αὐτῶν τὸν βασιλέα, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἀναστήσας εἰς Μηδίαν ἔτερα ἔθνη κατάψυσεν ἐν Δαμασκῷ.

ie'. Ὡς Σαλιμανάσαρ ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Σαμάρειαν καὶ πέντε πολυρ-κῆσας ἐτεσίν ἐν αὐτῷ τῶν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέα Ὡσῆν παραστησάμενος τὴν πόλιν ἁπέκτεινεν.

is'. Καὶ ὃς ὁ Ἀσσύριος τὰς δέκα τῶν Ἰσραη-λιτῶν φυλὰς εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν κατοικίσας, ἐκ τῆς Περσίδος τὸ τῶν Χοῦθαίων ἔθνος εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων μετήγαγε χῶραν, οὐς Ἑλλήνες Σαμαρεῖος καλοῦσιν.

Περιέχει ἡ βιβλίος χρόνον ἐτῶν ἐκατόν καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ τοῦ μηνῶν.

1 'Ιωράμου MP: 'Ιωράβου S.
2 ig' RO, sic et in seqq. diff. codd.
3 'Αρασίν Μ: 'Αρασῆν Ρ: 'Αρασῆς S: Rasin Lat.

* From King Menahem, according to Josephus and Scripture.

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(xi) The campaign of Jeroboam, the king of Israel, against Syria, and his victory ........................ 205 109
(xii) How the king of Assyria marched against Samaria, and after taking a great sum of money from Phakeas (Pekah), its king, returned to his own country .................................................. 232 123
(xiii) How Raassein (Rezin), the king of Damascus, marched against the people of Jerusalem, and forced Achazes (Ahaz), their king, to send a great sum of money to the king of Assyria in order to persuade him by this means to march against Damascus ................................. 244 129
(xiv) How the king of Assyria, after taking Damascus by storm, put its king to death, and removing its inhabitants to Media, settled other peoples in Damascus .......................................................... 252 135
(xv) How Salmanasar, the king of Assyria, marched against Samaria, and on forcing the city to surrender after a siege of five years, killed Oses (Hosea), the king of Israel, therein ................................. 277 147
(xvi) And how the Assyrian king settled the ten tribes of Israel in Media, and transported from Persia to their country the Chuthaean nation, whom the Greeks call Samarians (Samaritans) .......................... 279 147

This book covers a period of a hundred and fifty years and seven months.

- According to Josephus and Scripture Hosea was imprisoned, not killed.
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X

BIBLAION I

α'. Στρατεύμα τοῦ 'Ασσυρίων βασιλέως Σεναχειρίβου ἐπὶ 'Ιερουσάλημα, καὶ πολιορκία τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν Ἑζεκίου.

β'. 'Ως ἐφθάρη τὸ τῶν 'Ασσυρίων στρατευματικὸς λοιμικὸς ἐν μᾶί νυκτὶ, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ἀναζευγάζεις οὐκάδε εἰς ἑπιβουλής τῶν τέκνων ἀπεθανεν.

γ'. 'Ως τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνων μετ' εἰρήνης Ἑζεκίας διαγαγῶν ἐτελεύτησε, διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας Μανασσῆν καταλιπὼν.

δ'. "Ὅτι στρατεύουσαντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν οἱ Xαλδαῖοι καὶ Βαβυλωνιών βασιλεῖς καὶ νικήσαντες αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον λαβόντες ἣγαγον εἰς Βαβυλώνα, καὶ κατασχόντες αὐτὸθι πολὺν χρόνον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν πάλιν ἀπέλυσαν.

ε'. 'Ως τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα Νεκαὺνα στρατευσάμενον ἐπὶ Βαβυλωνίων καὶ ποιούμενον διὰ τῆς Ιουδαίας τὴν ὀδὸν κωλύων ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωσίας ὑπαντᾶ· μάχης δὲ γενομένης τραυμάτων κομμαθεὶς εἰς Ιερουσάλημα τελευτᾷ, καὶ τὸν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννην ἀπέδειξαν οἱ τῆς Ἱερουσαλημίται βασιλεία.

1 numeros om. MSPLV.
2 Σεναχειρίμοι O : Σεναχειρίβου MS(P) : Σεναχειρίβου LV: Sennacherib Lat. 3 eis MSPLV.
4 αὐτῶν om. MLV Lat. fort. recte. 5 + δὸν SPLV.
6 τὴν βας. ex Lat. Niese: τὴν αὐτὴν βας. codd.: τὴν αὐτοῦ βας. ed. pr. 7 δίῳν ROSPLV.

α' Νατονομ "the entire."

β' Against the Medes and Babylonians, according to Josephus; against the king of Assyria, according to Scripture.

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### BOOK X

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\*The table omits to mention the discovery of the Book of the Law in the reign of Josiah.*
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, X

s'. 'Ως συμβαλών ὁ Νεχαώς τῷ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἐυφράτεν ποταμὸν καὶ ὑποστρέφων εἰς Αἰγυπτόν ἤκεν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα, καὶ τὸν μὲν 'Ιωάζην ἤγαγεν εἰς Αἰγυπτόν, τὸν δ' ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ 'Ιωάκειμον ἀπεδείξει βασιλέα τῶν Ἰεροσολυμίων.

ξ'. Ναβουχοδονοσάρου τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως στρατεία εἰς Συρίαν, καὶ ὡς πᾶσαν αὐτὴν καταστρεφάμενος ἁρχὰ τῶν ὁρων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀνέβη εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν 'Ιωάκειμον φιλὸν ἤναγκασεν εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον.

η'. 'Ως μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τῆς τοῦ Βαβυλονίου πάλιν ὁ 'Ιωάκειμος ἐφρόνησε τὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ στρατεύσας ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ναβουχοδονόσαρος καὶ πολυρχήσας τῆς πόλεως παραδούσης ἐαυτὴν μετὰ χρόνον, τὸν μὲν 'Ιωάκειμον ἀπέκτεινεν, 'Ιωάκειμον2 δὲ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ3 κατέστησε βασιλέα· καὶ ὡς πολλὰ χρήματα λαβὼν ἐκ τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων εὐθέως εἰς Συρίαν ὑπέστρεψεν.

θ'. ὁμιμοῦσας ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν 'Ιωάκειμον πνεύσας βασιλέα καὶ στρατεύσας, ἐπὶ Ἰεροσόλυμα ἐγκρατῆς τοῦ 'Ιωακείμου γίνεται παραδόντος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῶν φίλων, ὡς4 τ' ἔλαβε πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους οὐ Βαβυλῶνος, καὶ ἀναθήματα

1 ἀνεδείξε RO.

2 'Ιωάχυμον Μ1SP: 'Ιωάκυμον Μ2: 'Ιωαχημον L: Ioach Lat.
3 + ὁμώνυμον αὐτῶ ὑπάρχοντα (τυχάνοντα LV) SPLV.
4 ὡς cap. Χ incip. codd., IX contin. Lat.

a Necho carried off Jehoahaz to Egypt (§ 83) before his battle with Nebuchadnezzar at the Euphrates (§ 84). Possibly the author of the table confuses this campaign with Necho’s earlier march to the Euphrates against the Medes and Babylonians (cf. note b, p. 490).

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(vi) How Nechaos engaged the king of Babylonia at the Euphrates river, and on his return to Egypt came to Jerusalem and took Joazes (Jehoahaz) to Egypt, and appointed his brother Joakeimos (Jehoiakim) as king of Jerusalem.

(vii) The campaign of Nabuchodonosaros (Nebuchadnezzar), king of Babylonia, against Syria, and how, after subduing the entire country as far as the border of Egypt, he went up to Jerusalem and forced its king Joakeimos to be his friend and ally.

(viii) How, after the withdrawal of the Babylonian king, Joakeimos (Jehoiakim) again took the side of the Egyptians, and how Nabuchodonosaros marched against him and besieged the city (of Jerusalem), and when after a time it surrendered to him, killed Joakeimos and made his son b king; and how, after taking a great sum of money from Jerusalem, he speedily returned to Syria c.

(ix) How Nabuchodonosaros, repenting of having made Joakeimos (Jehoiachin) king, marched against Jerusalem and got Joakeimos into his power after he had given himself up together with his mother and his friends; and how the Babylonian king, after taking many captives and carrying off the dedicatory-
The table omits the story of Gedaliah's governorship and assassination.

b The story of Daniel is meant.
offerings from the temple, returned to Babylon, making Sedekias (Zedekiah), the uncle of Jechonias (Jehoiachin), king of Jerusalem . . . . .

(x) How Nabuchodonosaros, on hearing that this king also wished to make an alliance of friendship with the Egyptians, marched against Jerusalem and forcibly took it by siege, and after burning the temple, transported Sedekias and the people of Jerusalem to Babylon a . . . . . .

(xi) How Nabuchodonosaros at his death left his son to succeed to his throne, and how the power of the Babylonians was destroyed by Cyrus, the king of Persia . . . . . .

(xii) What things befell the Jews in Babylonia during this time b . . . . .

This book covers a period of a hundred and eighty-two years, six months and ten days.

BOOK XI

(i) How Cyrus, the king of Persia, sent back the Jews from Babylon to their own country, and permitted them to build their temple, giving them money therefor . . . . .

(ii) How the officers of the king c pre-

\[c \text{ i.e. the Samaritans.}\]
Ηγεμόνες κατασκευάσαι τὸ ἱερόν, ἐμποδών γενόμενοι τοῖς ἔργοις.

γ'. ὡς Κύρου τελευτήσαντος Καμβύσης ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ παραλαβῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἐκ παντὸς ἀπηγόρευσε τοῖς Ἰουδαίως οἰκοδομήσα τὸν ναὸν.

δ'. Ὁτι Δαρέιος ὁ Ὑστάσπεως βασιλεύσας Περσῶν ἐτίμησεν τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος καὶ τὸν ναὸν αὐτῶν ἀνωκοδόμησεν.

ε'. ὡς μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Εἰρέξης οἰκείως πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους διετέθη.

ζ'. Ὁτι βασιλεύσατος Ἀρταξέρξου Ἰουδαίων πᾶν τὸ ἔθνος ἐκινδύνευσεν.3

η'. ὡς Βαγώσης ὁ Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ νεωτέρου στρατηγὸς πολλὰ εἰς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐξύβρισεν.

Περιέχει ἡ βιβλίος χρόνου ἑτῶν σμί χρόνων ε'.

1 Ὑστάσπεως Γ: Ὑστάσπο, ὡς ὑπο τοι ἐκτιστιου Λάτ.  Ὑστάσπεως Ζ: Ἰουδαίων πᾶν Λάτ.  Ἰουδαίων πᾶν Β: Ἰουδαίων πᾶν Λάτ.

2 Ἐπιοῦ παῖ παῖ Ιουδαίων πᾶν Β: ὑπο χρόνο Λάτ.  Ἐπιοῦ παῖ Π: ὑπο χρόνο Λάτ.  Ἑπιοῦ παῖ Π: ὑπο χρόνο Λάτ.

3 + δι' Ἀλμαν δολο Λάτ.  Ὑστασπίου Λάτ.  Λας Ὑστασπίου Λάτ.

4 σα ΑΒΛ Λάτ.

a The table omits to mention Zerubbabel.
b The story of Ezra and Nehemiah is meant.
c Variant "almost the entire."
vented them from constructing the sanctuary, by interfering with their work. . . . . . 19 323

(iii) How on Cyrus’s death his son Cambyses assumed sovereign power, and strictly forbade the Jews to build their temple . . . . . . 26 327

(iv) How Darius, the son of Hystaspes, on becoming king of Persia, honoured the Jewish nation and rebuilt their temple a . . . . . . 31 329

(v) How after him his son Xerxes was also kindly disposed toward the Jews b . 120 373

(vi) How during the reign of Artaxerxes the entire c (Jewish) nation was in danger d . . . . . . 184 403

(vii) How Bagoses, the governor of Artaxerxes the Younger (II), inflicted many outrages on the Jews . . . . . . 297 457

(viii) How Alexander, the king of Macedon, took Judaea and conferred benefits on the Jews . . . . . . 304 461

This book covers a period of two hundred and forty-three years and five months.

a The variant adds “through the plotting of Haman.” The story of Esther is meant.
APPENDIX B

JOSEPHUS ON THE SAMARITAN SCHISM

(ANT. XI. 297-347)

Selected literature:


Cowley, A., Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century. 1913.

Eissfeldt, O., Einleitung in das Alte Testament. 1934.

Gaster, M., The Samaritans (Schweich Lectures). 1925.

Hölscher, G., Palästina in der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit. 1903.


Kittel, R., Geschichte des Volkes Israel. iii. 2. 1929.


Montgomery, J., The Samaritans. 1907.

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Spak, I., Der Bericht des Josephus über Alexander den Grossen. 1911.


Book XI of the Antiquities relates the history of the Jews under Persian rule, from the first Achaemenid king, Cyrus, to the last, Darius III. The narrative, up to § 297, is based on three biblical books, 1 Esdras, the Greek version of Nehemiah (perhaps in an abbreviated form or in a recension somewhat different from the extant texts, but see below), and the Greek version of Esther. From § 297 on Josephus makes use of extra-biblical sources and relates two incidents otherwise unknown to us; the first is the conflict between the high priest Joannes (bibl. Johanan) and his brother Jesus (Jeshua) supported by the Persian governor Bagoses; the second is the conflict between the high priest Jaddus (bibl. Jaddua) and his brother Manasses (bibl. Manasseh) supported by his father-in-law, the Samaritan leader Sanballat, who is later brought into relation with Alexander the Great.

As we have seen (§ 297 note g), the text of the passage in which Bagoses is introduced is not certain. One reading (plausibly emended) has "Bagoses, the general (or "governor") of the second Artaxerxes"; the variant has simply "Bagoses, the general of Artaxerxes," not specifying which king of that name...
is meant. Even if the former reading contains a gloss in the words "the second," it may quite well be a correct gloss. The context is not decisive; the preceding section deals with the story of Esther, whom Josephus places in the reign of Artaxerxes I (464-424 B.C.); if, therefore, we read "Artaxerxes" instead of "the second Artaxerxes," we should suppose that the same king is meant. On the other hand the section following introduces Johanan's immediate successor Jaddua who is said to be a contemporary of Darius III and Alexander the Great; this would indicate that Bagoses lived in the reign of Artaxerxes III Ochus (359-338 B.C.). But it is unlikely that Josephus would pass from Artaxerxes I in the Esther story to Artaxerxes III without some intimation that a different king is meant. It is therefore probable that we should accept the reading "the second Artaxerxes" and place Bagoses in the reign of Artaxerxes II Mnemon (404-359 B.C.). The fact that a Persian general of the same name is mentioned in connexion with Artaxerxes III by Diodorus Siculus, xvi. 47, is hardly of significance; the name is not uncommon and there may well have been several Persian generals or governors of that name; moreover, the Bagoses of Diodorus is not connected with Judaea.

The evidence of the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine (Aram. Yeb) in Upper Egypt makes it even more probable that Bagoses belongs to the reign of Artaxerxes II. We learn from them that the Persian governor of Judaea in 408 B.C. (near the end of the reign of Darius II, the predecessor of Artaxerxes II) was Bigwai (of which Bagoses is the hellenized form, cf. § 297 note f) and that he was a contemporary of the high priest Johanan. Now it is extremely unlikely
that fifty years later there was another Persian governor named Bigwai contemporary with a high priest named Johanan. We may therefore safely assume that Josephus's Bagoses is the Bigwai of the papyri. Moreover, the political situation indicated by the papyri helps us understand the conflict between the Persian governor and the high priest much better than the fanciful story told by Josephus enables us to do.

The following was, in brief, the situation in Palestine in the last decade of the 5th century B.C. In 408 B.C., the leaders of the Jewish community at Elephantine in Upper Egypt wrote to Bigwai, complaining that the Egyptians, in league with the local Persian official Waidrang, had destroyed their temple, and they appealed to Bigwai to help them rebuild it and resume the offering of grain, incense and animal sacrifice or burnt-offering (*aln*-*thā*). Their letter (No. 30 ed. Cowley) also states that three years previously they had written to "Johanan the high priest and his colleagues the priests who are in Jerusalem . . . and the nobles of Jerusalem," asking them for help, but had received no answer. They now appeal to Bigwai, adding, "Also the whole matter we have set forth in a letter in our name to Delaiah and Shelemiah, the sons of Sanballat, governor of Samaria." Subsequently Bigwai and Delaiah replied (No. 32) that the Jews of Elephantine might rebuild their temple and offer "the meal-offering and incense upon that altar as formerly was done." On this Cowley remarks, "Note that *'aln*-*thā* is omitted—no doubt intentionally. It is generally supposed that the animal sacrifices had offended the Egyptians, and that this was sufficient to make Bigwai discountenance them, apart from any
view which the priests at Jerusalem might hold and with which Bigvai might or might not sympathize. But, as Ed. Meyer points out (Papyrusfund p. 88), the Egyptians did themselves sacrifice certain animals, and he thinks that the prohibition was due to the Zoroastrian view that fire was profaned by contact with dead bodies." But the latter objection might apply equally to the animal sacrifices at Jerusalem. More plausible is the explanation offered by Mitterwoch. He believes that the Jerusalem priests opposed animal sacrifices at a temple outside Jerusalem, while the Samaritans, who were opposed to the Jerusalem priesthood, probably looked with favour on such a rival temple and cult; as for Bigvai, he found himself in a difficult position between the conflicting views of the Samaritans and the priests at Jerusalem, and so effected a compromise by allowing the Jews of Elephantine to rebuild their temple and make the usual offerings with the exception of the burnt-offering. A more detailed reconstruction of the political situation is offered by Morgenstern, which seems to me to account most satisfactorily for the attitude of Bigvai as indicated both in the papyri and in Josephus. There are some points in his theory which take a great deal for granted, but what he has to say concerning our immediate problem is worth quoting at some length. "The murder of Jesus by Johanan must have been far more than a mere personal incident. Josephus states very plainly that Jesus too was an aspirant for the high-priesthood, and that in this ambition he enjoyed the support of Bagoas, the then Persian governor of Palestine. This Bagoas must have been the successor of Nehemiah in this high office, though whether the immediate successor, lack of evidence
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forbids us to determine. Josephus represents him as pursuing a policy of oppression of the Jews of Palestine, but this probably overstates the case. Josephus wrote, of course, from the standpoint of the extreme particularism of Ezra and Nehemiah which came in time, and with only comparatively slight amelioration, to dominate the spirit of Judaism for centuries. But Josephus does record that this Bagoas supported Jesus in his candidacy for the high-priesthood; and this was certainly the same Bagoas to whom in 408 B.C. the Jews of Elephantine addressed their petition for permission to rebuild their temple of Yahweh. Moreover, it is significant that not only did Bagoas grant the desired permission, but also that in so doing he associated himself with Delaiah, the son of Sanballat, the Samaritan. It seems clear, therefore, that Bagoas was not so much an enemy and oppressor of the entire Jewish community of Palestine as that he sought to play a role of partisan politics in their affairs. Obviously too his affiliations were with the native and against the pro-Babylonian Jewish party, as his association with Delaiah, the son of Sanballat, indicates. Particularly important in this connexion is the footnote which Morgenstern appendes to the statement about the grant of permission to the Jews of Elephantine to rebuild their temple, which we have touched on above. "It is an additional matter of interest and perhaps also of significance that the order of Bagoas permitted the offering of grain-sacrifices and incense upon the altar of the Yahweh temple at Elephantine, but was altogether silent with regard to animal sacrifices. Undoubtedly this silence implied that the sacrifice of animals was not permitted, perhaps as Cowley suggests (op. cit. 503}
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124), following Ed. Meyer, because such sacrifices would have done violence to the religious scruples of a zealous Zoroastrian. However, whatever the motive for this prohibition may have been, it is impossible not to correlate it with the fact recorded by Josephus, that Bagoas levied upon the Jews of Palestine a tax of fifty shekels for every lamb slaughtered for the daily sacrifice in the Temple. A tax so extreme must have been almost prohibitive. This may, therefore, well have been a superficially diplomatic means by which Bagoas sought to abrogate the offering of animal sacrifices also in the Temple at Jerusalem."

We may now, as briefly as possible, consider the problem of the more or less final break between the Judaeans and the inhabitants of the region round Shechem or Samaria. We must remember that there had long been hostility between Jerusalem and the North (bibl. Ephraim)—as early as the reign of David. We should also bear in mind the possibility that even after Nehemiah's time there may have been friendly relations between at least some of the leaders of the Jerusalem community and the Samaritans. But that there was a definite separation between the Judaeans as a whole and the people of Samaria in the time of Nehemiah can hardly be questioned. The problem remains whether the schism took place in the 5th century, as Scripture seems to indicate, or at the time of Alexander the Great, as Josephus states. We must, therefore, attempt to determine the relation of the Sanballat of Josephus's narrative to Sanballat the Horonite of the book of Nehemiah.

First, a word about the books of Ezra and Nehemiah as sources for the history of the Persian period. These two books, originally one book, are now found before
the last two books of the Hebrew Bible, the books of Chronicles; these were also one book originally, preceeding Ezra-Nehemiah. The resemblances of style between the larger part of Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles show that both books are part of a single work compiled by a writer with a special interest in the cult of the temple at Jerusalem and a strong prejudice against the Samaritans, whom he regards as the descendants of the eastern peoples settled in Samaria by the Assyrians and therefore as not true Israelites. This writer, now generally known among biblical scholars as the Chronicler, probably published his work c. 300 B.C., although some scholars date it a century earlier, assuming that the references to the period following Nehemiah are later additions to the Chronicler's book. The Chronicler is generally supposed to have based his history of Nehemiah's period on the memoirs of Nehemiah himself; these form the basis of Neh. i.-vii.; the following chapters, viii.-x. are out of place, as they clearly belong to the story of Ezra; chs. xi.-xiii. contain a good deal of material which dates from a period subsequent to Nehemiah's. Almost all scholars accept the Nehemiah narrative as substantially historical. There is, however, no general agreement as to the dates of Nehemiah's two visits to Palestine.

According to Neh. ii. 1 ff. Nehemiah first came to Jerusalem in the 20th year of Artaxerxes, but Scripture does not indicate which Artaxerxes is meant (the fact that one consonant in the spelling of the name is a phonetic variant of the consonant used in the name Artaexerxes mentioned in the Aramaic documents in the book of Ezra does not necessarily mean that the Chronicler or a later scribe meant to
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distinguish two Persian kings of that name; and even if it did, the distinction throws no light on the chronology of Nehemiah). If the king meant is Artaxerxes I (464–424 B.C.), Nehemiah came to Jerusalem in 444 B.C.; if Artaxerxes II (404–359 B.C.) is meant, he came in 384 B.C. There are, however, historical considerations of a general nature, excellently presented by Hoonacker, which make it probable, apart from the evidence of the Elephantine papyri, that Nehemiah served under Artaxerxes I, though it is only fair to note that many biblical scholars believe that the Chronicler meant Artaxerxes II. But if we take into account the evidence of the papyri, as well as the historical background and the succession of high priests, we may fairly claim much greater probability for the view that Nehemiah came to Jerusalem in 444 B.C. Nehemiah was a contemporary of the high priest Eliashib, who was succeeded by his son Joiada, and he in turn by Johanan (read “Johanan” for “Jonathan” in Neh. xii. 11, as in xi. 22). As there was only one high priest named Johanan in the Persian period, this Johanan must be identical with the Johanan of the papyri who was high priest in 411 B.C. Furthermore, according to Neh. xiii. 28 a son of Joiada, and therefore a brother of Johanan, was a son-in-law of Sanballat the Horonite. It seems clear, therefore, that Nehemiah, a contemporary of Johanan’s grandfather, came to Jerusalem in the reign of Artaxerxes I, and that his adversary, Sanballat the Horonite, was the same person as the Sanballat mentioned in the papyri; since the latter’s son Delaiah was obviously a mature person in 411 B.C., we may assume that Sanballat himself was a mature person thirty years earlier
when Nehemiah came to Jerusalem. And if the preceding argument is correct, the Samaritan schism must have taken place in the second half of the 5th century B.C., not in the second half of the 4th century as Josephus has it. Now it has been argued, by Torrey among others (see below), that the fact that the Jews of Elephantine appealed to the Samaritan leaders as well as to Bigwai in 408 B.C. shows that there was not yet a break between the people of Jerusalem and the Samaritans. But no such inference need be drawn. On the contrary, the fact that the Jews of Elephantine appealed to the Samaritans after they had been ignored by the priests of Jerusalem, the high priest Johanan, and "the nobles of the Jews," and the fact that Bigwai, the Persian governor, was allied with the Samaritans and hostile to Johanan (according to Josephus's story), would indicate that there was a break between Judaeans and Samaritans, which the Jews of Elephantine learned about some time before 408 B.C. They may or may not have known about it when they first appealed to Johanan in 411 B.C. But it is likely that the schism had taken place soon after Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem in 432 B.C.

If, then. Nehemiah and Sanballat the Horonite belong to the 5th century B.C., the only way to vindicate the historicity of Josephus's narrative about Jaddua, Manasses and Sanballat, at least in part, is to assume with Spak that the Sanballat of Josephus was not the adversary of Nehemiah, but his grandson, Sanballat II, who, Spak further assumes, succeeded his father Delaiah as governor of Samaria and Bagoses as governor of Judaea (!). This, of course, makes it necessary, as Spak himself recognizes, to correct
Josephus’s statement (§ 302) that Sanballat was sent to Samaria as “satrap” by Darius III, the last Persian king. But the best answer to Spak’s argument is that made by Cowley: “The view that there were two Sanballats, each governor of Samaria and each with a daughter who married a brother of a High Priest, is a solution too desperate to be entertained.” There remains the somewhat different theory proposed by Torrey, which, while accepting Josephus’s story that the Samaritan schism occurred at the time of Alexander the Great’s arrival in Palestine, and assuming the existence of two Sanballats, gets rid of the remarkable coincidence involved in Spak’s theory by assuming that Nehemiah came to Jerusalem under Artaxerxes II in 384 B.C. when there was not yet any schism, Torrey thinks, according to the evidence of the papyri (see above, for the answer to this argument) and that the Sanballat of Nehemiah was not the Sanballat of the papyri who lived in the 5th century, but Sanballat II about whom Josephus writes. Torrey does not, however, offer a single compelling reason to make us believe that Nehemiah came to Jerusalem under Artaxerxes II. Moreover, even if we were to grant that Nehemiah came in 384 B.C., there would be a chronological difficulty in the way of Torrey’s theory that it was Sanballat II who gave his daughter in marriage to the brother of the high priest; for the Sanballat who opposed Nehemiah must have been a mature person, perhaps forty years old, in 384 B.C., and must therefore have been a very old man, as indeed Josephus says he was, when Alexander arrived in 332 B.C. Now it is extremely unlikely that so old a man would have had a daughter young and attractive enough to
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hold the love of the high priest’s brother (cf. § 309), for in ancient Palestine men married young and had children young. The story of Manasses and Sanballat is further weakened by the fact that it is not to be found in extant Samaritan traditions although these mention Alexander.

It seems justifiable, therefore, to conclude that Josephus is mistaken in placing the Samaritan schism c. 330 B.C. rather than c. 430 as Scripture indicates. This conclusion does not, however, apply to the date of the building of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim, which may have been in the 4th century B.C. It is not unlikely that for a good many years after the serious break c. 430 B.C. the Samaritans for one reason or another refrained from building a temple of their own, possibly because they continued to hope that one day they would secure at least partial control of the temple at Jerusalem.

The problem remains why Josephus or his immediate—as opposed to his ultimate—source brought Sanballat into connexion with Alexander the Great. If the immediate source of Josephus’s Sanballat narrative is Alexander Polyhistor, as Hölscher supposes (PW art. Josephus), it is possible that the latter took over a Samaritan story which glorified the temple on Mount Gerizim by attributing its founding to the favour of Alexander the Great. Büchler, who has made an analysis of the composition of the latter part of Ant. xi., which is adopted by Tscherikower, also believes that the Manasses-Sanballat story is of Samaritan origin, while the story of Jaddua’s meeting with Alexander and the references to Persian and Macedonian history are from different sources of Jewish origin, combined with the Sanballat story by
Josephus's immediate source with the purpose of countering the Samaritan claims by showing that Alexander favoured the Jews over against the Samaritans. It is true that there are certain inconsistencies in Josephus's narrative which seem to support Büchler's differentiation of Samaritan and Jewish sources; for example, as Tscherikower points out, from one passage (§§ 322 ff.) it appears that Sanballat received permission from Alexander to build the temple on Mount Gerizim, while from another (§ 342) one gathers that the Samaritan temple had been in existence for some time before Alexander's coming; again, in § 343 Alexander is represented as being in ignorance of who the Samaritans may be, while in an earlier passage, § 321, it is said that Sanballat sent soldiers to help Alexander besiege Tyre. Motzo, however, argues that all of Ant. xi. and xii. and part of xiii. are taken from a single anti-Samaritan source glorifying the temple and priesthood of Jerusalem in opposition to those of Samaria and Leontopolis, which book Motzo believes was composed between 100 and 63 B.C. I strongly doubt whether Motzo is right in holding that Josephus has made use of such a single comprehensive source in Ant. xi.-xiii. instead of consulting the biblical and apocryphal books, 1 Esdras, Nehemiah, 1 Maccabees, etc., directly; as I have tried to point out in the notes, Josephus consulted Scripture whenever he could make use of it for his historical narrative. It is puzzling, to be sure, that in § 174 he fails to mention Sanballat as one of Nehemiah's adversaries and that he almost ignores the contents of Neh. chs. v., vii.-xiii. But it may be that having a tradition about a Sanballat who lived in the time of Darius III and Alexander and played a
part similar to that ascribed to Nehemiah's adversary, he took the simplest way out of the chronological difficulty by omitting the Sanballat story as told in the book of Nehemiah. To this procedure there is a parallel in his unobtrusive correction of the chronology of the Persian kings in Ezra-Nehemiah, to which attention has been called in the notes (§ 21 note b, § 88 note a, § 97 note d). There are also several passages where Josephus's narrative of Ezra amplifies or alters the text of 1 Esdras to get in an extra dig at the Samaritans, but in view of his earlier references to the objectionable Samaritans (cf. Ant. ix. 288 ff.), I see no reason to suppose that it was Josephus's "anti-Samaritan source" rather than Josephus himself who combined these later traditions with Scripture. The question of the source of the story of Alexander and Jaddua is further discussed in Appendix C.
APPENDIX C

ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND THE JEWS

(\textit{Ant. xi. 317-345})

Selected literature:


Lévi, I., "La Légende d'Alexandre dans le Talmud et le Midrasch," \textit{REJ} vii, 1883, pp. 78-93.

"La Dispute entre les Égyptiens et les Juifs," \textit{REJ} lxiii, 1912, pp. 211-215.


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Radet, G., Alexandre le Grand. 1931 (ch. xi, pp. 130-136).
Spak, I., Der Bericht des Josephus über Alexander den Grossen. 1911.
Tarn, W. W., CAH vi, ch. xii.
Willrich, H., Juden und Griechen vor der makkabäischen Erhebung. 1895 (ch. i).

There are several passages in Josephus which deal with the civic rights supposedly conferred by Alexander the Great on the Jews in Alexandria, but these will be considered in an appendix devoted to that subject in the last volume of this translation. Here we are concerned with the historicity and sources of the story in Ant. xi. 317 ff. which tells of Alexander’s meeting with the Jews of Jerusalem and of his favourable treatment of them in contrast with his negative attitude toward the Samaritans.

Before critically examining Josephus’s narrative, however, we may consider the ancient parallels to this section. One of these is found in Recension C of the Greek Alexander Romance by Pseudo-Callisthenes. This work is a collection of legends inserted in a largely historical narrative drawn from literary sources. Recension C of this Romance contains a number of additions to the story of Alexander’s adventures which were obviously made by Hellenistic Jewish writers, as Pfister has shown from resemblances of style to the Septuagint; the purpose of these Jewish interpolations was to support the claims of Alexandrian Jews to equality of civic rights by representing the
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great Macedonian conqueror as a friend of the Jews and a worshipper of the Jewish God. These Jewish additions to Pseudo-Callisthenes are plausibly dated by Pfister in the first century A.D.; thus they are earlier than the recension edited by W. Kroll (Historia Alexandria Magni, 1926) as the recensio vetusta, if he is right in dating the latter c. A.D. 300. The passage in question reads as follows, according to the text of C. Müller (Paris, 1877), Pseudo-Callisthenes ii. 24.

"Alexander conquered the country of the Jews, and these, wishing to resist him, sent out spies in the guise of envoys. But this stratagem did not deceive Alexander. He therefore commanded some of the very bravest young men of the Macedonian phalanx to hurl themselves into a nearby ravine; and they conscientiously carried out his command, for the Macedonian troops were very prompt to obey Alexander’s orders. Then turning to the would-be spies, he said, ‘You see, envoys of the Jewish nation, what a trifle death is considered by the Macedonian army. Return therefore and do what is best for you. For to-morrow I shall come to you and do what Providence may please.’ So they returned to their rulers (αρχοντες) and said, ‘We must submit to Alexander and so save ourselves. We have no other hope of safety, for the Macedonian army has a power more than human. While death seems terrible to us, it does not seem so at all to the Macedonians, but, on the contrary, something to be held in great contempt. We perceive that they have so great a love of death that one might say they meet it as though it were an everyday matter. The Macedonian youths amazed us by throwing themselves into the great ravine as though diving into the sea. And no sooner did Alexander
order them to do this than they carried out his order. It was not so much their daring in the face of death that astonished us as the fact that they did not expect any profit therefrom, so readily did they volunteer to die. Now if they were to hope for any profit therefrom, no one could resist them. But do what you think best before Alexander conquers us and all our plans are made ineffective and doubtful.' When their rulers heard this, they decided to submit to Alexander, and so their priests put on their priestly robes and went out to meet Alexander with all their host. When Alexander saw them, he was awed by their appearance and told them not to come any nearer to him but to remain in the city. Then he summoned one of the priests and said to him, 'How divine is your appearance! Tell me, I pray, what god you worship. For I have never seen so seemly an array of priests among those of our gods.' The priest then said, 'We serve one God who created heaven and earth and all things in them. But no man is able to tell His name (αὐτὸν ἐρμηνεύσαι).' Thereupon Alexander said, 'As servants of the true God go in peace, go. For your God shall be my God. And I will make peace with you and will not invade your country as I have done those of other nations, because you have served a living God.' Then the Jews took an abundance of money in gold and silver and brought it to Alexander. But he refused to take it, saying, 'Let this, together with the sum set apart by me, be tribute to the Lord God. But I will not take anything from you.'"

The legendary character of this narrative is so obvious as to require no comment. It may be of interest, however, to quote Pfister's comments on the relation of this Jewish interpolation in Pseudo-Calli-
sthenes to another passage of similar origin which represents Alexander as becoming a worshipper of the Jewish God at the time of his founding Alexandria. "Above we saw that the Jewish κτίσις Ἀλεξανδρείας, which we have considered, was composed on the analogy of other ancient foundation-stories which are found in the Romance, and in particular that the introduction of the Yahweh-cult has its counterpart in the founding of the Serapis-cult at Alexandria by Alexander. Furthermore we saw that the Jeremiah-episode [in which Alexander brings the bones of the prophet Jeremiah to Alexandria] also corresponds to an ancient story. Now the founding of Alexandria and especially the establishment of the Serapis-cult are motivated by Alexander's visit to the temple of Ammon and the oracle of this god. According to the Jewish tradition the founding of the city is preceded by the story of the king's visit to Jerusalem and his becoming a follower of the Jewish religion. And just as the Jewish κτίσις is conceived after the pattern of the ancient [pagan] one, so the legend of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem is formed on the tradition of his journey to the oasis of Ammon."

The other parallel to Josephus's story of Alexander and the Jews of Jerusalem is found in rabbinic literature. Here it may be parenthetically remarked that there are about a dozen more Alexander-stories in the Talmuds and Midrashim (homiletic commentaries on Scripture) but they are obviously folk-legends; most of them are probably derived from accretions to the popular version of Pseudo-Callisthenes; the interested reader will find an account of them in the first of the articles by Lévi cited in the bibliography above. The rabbinic story which here concerns us is found in the 516
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scholion to the early rabbinic work *Megillath Ta'anith*, which is a list of days on which fasting is forbidden, in celebration of some joyful event. The scholion (also found with slight variants in Bab. Talmud *Yoma* 69a) comes under the date of the 21st day of Kislev, "the day of Gerizim," and reads as follows in Lichtenstein's text. "This is the day when the Cuthim (Samaritans) asked Alexander of Macedon (for permission to destroy) our temple, saying to him, 'Give us five *kurs* of land on Mount Moriah.' These he gave to them. But when they came, the inhabitants of Jerusalem went out and beat them off with sticks. They then informed Simon the Just of this. He thereupon put on his priestly garments and wrapped himself in his priestly garments (*sic*) and went out, accompanied by the nobles of Jerusalem and a thousand counsellors (*bouleutai*) dressed in white and young priests who made the sacred instruments resound. As they marched through the hills, the Macedonians saw their lighted torches, and when the king asked what this meant, the informers replied, 'These are the Jews who have rebelled against you.' When they arrived at Antipatris, the sun was shining, and when they came to the first station, the Macedonians asked them, 'Who are you?' The Jews replied, 'We are the people of Jerusalem, who have come to greet the king.' But when Alexander of Macedon saw Simon the Just, he descended from his chariot and prostrated himself before him. Thereupon his men exclaimed, 'Do you prostrate yourself before this man who is only a mortal?' And he replied, 'I see his image whenever I go to war and am victorious.' Then the king asked him, 'What do you wish?' The priest replied, 'The gentiles have deceived you concerning
the temple in which we pray for the welfare of your reign, and you have given it to them.' The king then asked, 'Who deceived me?' Simon answered, 'It was these Cuthim, who stand before you.' Thereupon Alexander said, 'They are herewith given into your hands.' The Jews then pierced the heels of the Cuthim and tied them to the tails of their horses and dragged them over thorns and briers until they came to Mount Gerizim. And when they came to Mount Gerizim, they ploughed it under and sowed it with vetch, just as the Cuthim had intended to do to our temple. And the day on which they did this was made a festival.'

Several anachronistic details in this story call for brief comment. The high priest who meets Alexander is not Jaddua, as in Josephus's narrative, but Simon the Just, who held this office c. 200 B.C., more than a century after Alexander's death (see Appendix B in Vol. VII.). Next, the name of the city where Alexander meets the Jews is Antipatris, although this name was first given to the place in question (Kephar Saba, cf. § 329 note b) by Herod the Great. Josephus gives Saphein (Mt. Scopus outside of Jerusalem) as the name of the meeting-place. Possibly, as we have noted, the author of the rabbinic version confused Saphein with Saba, and then the latter name was replaced by the Herodian name familiar to the later Jews. Or it may be that Josephus himself mistook Saba for Saphein. In any case, either site is geographically suitable, as we shall see below. The third anachronism is the reference to the ploughing under of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim which actually took place c. 110 B.C. in the last years of the reign of John Hyrcanus (cf. Ant. xiii. 281 = B.J.
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i. 65; this event seems to be referred to in another passage of Megillath Ta'anith under the date of the 25th day of Marheshwan). Finally we may note Spak's suggestion that the curious punishment administered by the Jews to the Samaritans has some connexion with the torture inflicted by Alexander on Batis, the Persian governor of Gaza (cf. § 320), according to Qu. Curtius iv. 6 "per talos enim spirantis lora traiecta sunt, religatumque ad currum traxere circa urbem equi."

A second rabbinic story is of slight importance in this connexion but is here reproduced because it tells of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem and also mentions the Samaritans. This story appears in the scholion to Megillath Ta'anith under the date of the 25th day of Siwan when "the demosionai (tax-collectors ?) were removed from Judah and Jerusalem." The Aramaic rubric itself, which probably refers to an incident in the Roman period, does not here concern us. As for the provenance of the Hebrew scholion, Lévi is probably right in supposing that it derives from the apologetic literature of the Jews in Alexandria, to which we shall return below. The first part of the scholion, omitted here, relates to the controversies between the Jews on one hand and the Canaanites, Ishmaelites and Egyptians on the other concerning the Jews' right to Palestine and to the property taken by them from the Egyptians at the time of the Exodus; Alexander the Great is represented as the judge in these disputes. In each controversy the legendary Gebiha ben Pesisa, who appears as the spokesman of the Jews, confounds his gentile opponents by cleverly applying a scriptural verse to the matter in dispute. The last part of the scholion, which is here translated,
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is not found in ms. Parma of Megillath Ta'anith or in the parallel passage, Bab. Talmud Sanhedrin 91 a; it is, however, found (with slight variants) in the Midrash, Bereshith Rabba xli. 6. The text, as edited by Lichtenstein, reads as follows. "Alexander of Macedon sought to go up to Jerusalem. But the Cuthim (Samaritans) said to him, 'The nobles of Judah will not allow you to enter their Holy of Holies because you are uncircumcised (i.e. a gentile).’ What did Gebiha ben Pesisa (Bereshith Rabba : Gebi’a ben Qosem = "Hunchback, son of Sorcerer") do? He made two slippers of gold (thread) and placed on them two precious stones worth fifty thousand manehehs of silver, and when Alexander came to the temple mount, Gebiha said to him, ‘My lord king, take off your shoes and let me put these slippers on your feet, for the pavement is slippery.’ But when Alexander came to the Holy of Holies, Gebiha said to him, ‘Here it is forbidden to enter.’ Then Alexander said, ‘I will enter, and when I come out, I will straighten your hump (gebihah).’ And Gebiha said to him, ‘If you do so, you shall be called a skilled physician and receive a great reward.’ And they say that they did not move from there until a serpent bit him (Alexander). And the sages said to him (Gebiha), ‘Concerning you it is written (Prov. xxiii. 25), Thy father and mother shall be glad, and she who bore thee shall rejoice, and it is written (Prov. xxvii. 11), My son, be wise and make my heart glad, that I may answer him that reproacheth me.’"

From these Jewish legends we must turn to the accounts of Alexander’s conquests in Syria and Palestine during the years 332–331 B.C. given by the Greek and Roman historians, Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Curtius, Plutarch, Justinus and, in fragment-
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tary form, by later Christian writers such as Eusebius, Jerome and Syncellus.

After his victory over Darius at the battle of Issus in Cilicia in October 333 B.C., which was followed by Darius’s flight and the capture of the women of his family, Alexander proceeded down the coast of Syria and Phoenicia to Marathus. From here he sent Parmenion to take Damascus; here too he received letters from Darius asking for the release of the royal Persian family and proposing an alliance, which Alexander refused except on his own terms. From Marathus Alexander went to Byblus and Sidon, both of which cities readily received him. A Tyrian delegation also offered to submit to the Macedonians but refused to admit Alexander to their city in order that he might sacrifice to Heracles-Melkart. Alexander therefore prepared to attack Tyre; this was in December 333 B.C. After a seven months’ siege by sea, in which the Phoenician ships took a prominent part, he forced the city to surrender, in July 332 B.C. During the siege he made a brief excursion against the Arabs of the Anti-Lebanon district; it was about this time too that all of Palestine submitted to him according to Arrian ii. 25. 4 καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἡς Παλαιστίνης καλουμένης Συρίας προσκεχωρηκότα ἑτο. Père Abel suggests that during the siege of Tyre Alexander sent his soldiers into the interior of Palestine as far as Jericho, referring to a passage in Pliny, Hist. Nat. xii. 25. 117, describing the balsam plantations of Jericho, “Alexandro Magno res ibi gerente toto die aestivo unam concham impleri iustum erat,” and also into Transjordan, on the basis of references in Byzantine sources to the founding of Hellenistic cities there by Alexander. It is unlikely,
however, that the older sources would have passed these incidents over in silence if they were historical, and Willrich is probably right in dismissing these statements as unauthentic. After the fall of Tyre Alexander determined to go to Egypt and left Parmenion to govern Syria and Palestine from Damascus. How long Parmenion remained at Damascus is not clear; the references to him in Arrian are inconsistent in themselves and at variance with the statements of Curtius and Plutarch; it is not certain how long before the spring of 331 b.c. he left for Thapsaeus on the Euphrates where Alexander sent him to check the Persian satrap Mazaeus. But it does seem fairly certain that during part of the time between the fall of Tyre in July 332 b.c. and Alexander's return from Egypt in the spring of 331 b.c. Parmenion left Andromachus as prefect of Coele-Syria and that after the latter's death (on which see below) Menon succeeded to this office (Curtius iv. 5, against Arrian ii. 13. 7, which says that Menon was appointed to this office before Alexander besieged Tyre). From Tyre Alexander marched along the coast of Palestine unopposed until he came to Gaza in September 332 b.c. This city, which was under the command of the Persian governor Batis (on the name cf. § 320 note), was strongly fortified, and Alexander was obliged to besiege it for two months before it surrendered. Some time after the fall of Gaza Alexander set out for Egypt and reached Pelusium in seven days (Arrian iii. 1; Plutarch, Alex. xxvi.; Diodorus xvii. 49; Curtius iv. 7). No ancient source (except Josephus of course) mentions any march elsewhere at this particular time. Alexander remained in Egypt until the spring of 331 b.c., visiting among other places the
famous oracle of Ammon in the oasis of Siwah. (Perhaps it is not altogether fanciful to see in the account of his visit to this temple given by Diodorus, xvii. 50-51, a resemblance to the story of Alexander’s meeting with the Jewish priests in Josephus and Megillath Ta’anith; but the resemblance is so slight that it hardly deserves more than passing mention.) From Egypt Alexander returned to Tyre, where he appointed various officials to govern the conquered territories in Asia Minor, Syria and Phoenicia; no incident between his departure from Memphis and his arrival in Tyre is mentioned by Arrian, Diodorus or Plutarch. According to Curtius, however, it was during his absence in Egypt that the Samaritans rose against Andromachus, the prefect of Coele-Syria, and burned him alive, and on his return from Egypt Alexander punished the rebellious Samaritan leaders. To this story the late writers Eusebius, Jerome and Syncellus add that Alexander took Samaria and settled Macedonians in the city. This incident has, of course, some bearing on Josephus’s account of Alexander’s relations with the Jews and Samaritans, and it is worth while to quote the sources mentioned. Curtius, iv. 8. 9, writes: “Oneravit hunc dolorem nuntius mortis Andromachi quem praefecerat Syriae. Vivum Samaritae cremaverunt. Ad cuius interitum vindicandum quanta maxima celeritate potuit contendit, advenientique sunt traditi tanti sceleris auctores. Andromacho deinde Memnona substituit, affectis supplicio qui praetorem interemerant.” The Armenian text of Eusebius’s Chronicon, ii. 223 ed. Aucher (=ii. 114 ed. Schoene), has: “Alexander besieged Tyre and conquered Judaea, and being received with honour, he sacrificed to God and honoured
the high priest (καθαναγαπετ), and as governor (lit. "overseer," τεσουχ) of the district he appointed Andromachus, whom the inhabitants of the city of the Samaritans killed; and on his return from Egypt Alexander punished them, and having taken the city, settled (bnakeçouç) Macedonians therein”; similarly Jerome, “urbem captam Macedonibus ad inhabitandum tradit,” and Syncellus, p. 496 ed. Bonn, τὴν Σαμάρειαν πόλιν ἐλών Ἁλέξανδρος Μακεδόνας ἐν αὐτῇ κατῴκισεν. However in another passage of Eusebius’s Chronicon, ii. 229 ed. Aucher (=ii. 118 ed. Schoene), we read that in Olympiad 121 (296/5 B.C.) “Demetrius Polioretetes, king of Asia, captured all of the Samaritan city which had been settled (bnakeçouçal) by Perdiccas” (here Jerome has, “urbem vastat quam Perdicca ante construxerat”). From this passage Willrich infers that it was Perdiccas and not Alexander who originally settled the Macedonians in Samaria; against him Spak argues that Alexander himself settled the Macedonians in the city, while Perdiccas later built the city into a fortress, adding in a note, “So kann nur construere übersetzt werden; constructam (Eusebius nach Petermann und Aucher), construxerat (nach Hieronymus) ist doch ganz etwas anderes als κατῴκισεν (nach Syncellus) und colocavit (Eusebius nach Aucher und Petermann).” Unfortunately Spak has been misled by the modern Latin translations of Eusebius’s Armenian text. In both passages the verb bnakeçouçanem is used, meaning “to cause to inhabit”; it is used in the Armenian Bible to translate κατοικίζειν. There is, therefore, a contradiction between the two passages in Eusebius; in one he says that Alexander settled the Macedonians in Samaria; in the other that Perdiccas did so. The
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historicity of the former fact must therefore be judged on the basis of the statements of Curtius and Synecellus alone. Now Synecellus is not a particularly trustworthy source for this period, while Curtius merely says that Alexander appointed Menon as prefect in place of Andromachus. We cannot be certain that Alexander was in Samaria for any length of time. But we shall return to this point again.

In the light of the information yielded by the sources cited above what opinion shall we hold of the historicity of Josephus’s story of Alexander’s meeting with the Jews and his favourable attitude toward them, apart from the obviously legendary details such as Alexander’s dream of Jaddua at Dium and the reading of the book of Daniel? Of the scholars mentioned in the bibliography given above only Israel Abrahams argues that Josephus is correct in saying that Alexander visited Jerusalem after the fall of Gaza. He contends that the argument advanced by most scholars that there was no time for such a detour after Gaza fell is based on “a complete misreading of Arrian and the rest of the authorities. . . . But Arrian tells us no such thing. When he moved his army from Gaza to Egypt, Alexander’s march was rapid, but he did not leave Gaza immediately on its fall. On the contrary there was much to be done before he left the place, and there is nothing in Arrian or Curtius to imply that time failed for such an experience as Josephus describes.” Abrahams is right in denying that the sources imply that Alexander left for Egypt immediately after the surrender of Gaza; but he is hardly right in saying that “there is nothing in Arrian or Curtius to imply that time failed for such an experience as Josephus describes.” It is true that
Alexander had certain things to attend to before he left for Egypt, such as the refounding of Gaza and the sending of Amyntas with triremes to Macedonia, but the sources plainly indicate that he delayed his march to Egypt only long enough to do what had to be done on the spot; he would hardly have gone out of his way to visit Jerusalem at this time; cf. Arrian iii. 1. 1 ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἑναπερ τὸ πρῶτον ὄρθοθη ἐστέλλετο, and Curtius iv. 6 "regis qui Aegyptum adire festinans Amyntam cum decem tiremibus in Macedoniam misit." Incidentally, the incense which Alexander sent to Leonidas, presumably from Gaza (but possibly earlier), according to Plutarch, Alex. xxv., may very well have been found there, since Gaza was the chief centre of export of eastern luxuries to the West during the Persian period. One point made by Abrahams, however, is well taken; he insists that Josephus is not guilty of a "howler" when he says that Alexander in coming from Gaza approached Jerusalem from the north. "What was probably the normal route was to advance up the familiar coast and to turn in eastwards from the neighbourhood of Jaffa." Nevertheless, in view of the clear implications of the ancient authorities, we may safely conclude that Alexander probably did not visit Jerusalem after the fall of Gaza and before his journey to Egypt.

The question remains whether Alexander may have had personal dealings with the Jews at some other time, presumably on his return from Egypt in the spring of 331 B.C. when he learned of the Samaritan uprising. Such a theory is proposed by Spak, who reconstructs the course of events as follows. On leaving Egypt Alexander made for Samaria to crush the rebellion which was the first serious opposition
encountered in these parts by the Macedonians. On his way he heard about the Jews and went to Jerusalem from Gaza (his second visit to Gaza, not his first, as Josephus has it). His anger was directed, not against the Jews for their refusal to help him during the siege of Tyre, but against the leaders of the Samaritan rebellion; his settlement of 8000 Samaritan soldiers in Egypt had occurred earlier, and they were now forced to remain in Egypt. Spak also supposes that it was on this occasion that Alexander presented to the Jews some of the Samaritan territory, as Josephus states, not in *Ant.* xi., but in *Ap.* ii. 43, where he quotes Hecataeus to the effect that Alexander "in recognition of the consideration and loyalty shown to him by the Jews added to their territory the district of Samaria free of tribute." We do not know whether this statement actually comes from Hecataeus (fl. early 3rd century B.C.) and is therefore presumably authentic or whether it is taken from a Hellenistic Jewish writer, the so-called Pseudo-Hecataeus, who invented the story for apologetic purposes. Dr. Thackeray writes in his note *ad loc.*: "This statement (of Pseudo-Hecataeus) is certainly exaggerated, and perhaps an anachronism. Three small districts of Samaria (not the whole country) were ceded to the Jews, free of tribute, by Demetrius II c. 145 B.C. (1 Macc. xi. 34; cf. x. 30, 38); but the language of 1 Macc. suggests that Demetrius may have been confirming some concession of earlier date." Büchler's suggestion (see below) that the passage in *Ap.* ascribes to Alexander a privilege actually conferred by Julius Caesar seems to me more convincing than Spak's plea for its authenticity. Somewhat similar to Spak's theory is that of Tscherikower, who, while he does not
believe that Alexander actually visited Jerusalem, thinks that he may have heard of the Samaritan uprising on his return from Egypt to Tyre and sent Perdiccas to suppress it (cf. the passages from Curtius and Eusebius cited above), and that the Jews may have sent a small auxiliary force to help Perdiccas subdue the Samaritans, as a result of which friendly relations were established between them and Alexander. The trouble with this theory is that Curtius states that it was Alexander himself who suppressed the Samaritan rebellion and makes it fairly clear that he did so without difficulty and without help from the natives of Palestine. However it is not impossible that Spak and Tscherikower are right in supposing that Alexander may have had some personal dealings with the Jews (somewhere in Palestine) at the time of the Samaritan rebellion.

But as for Alexander's actual visit to Jerusalem, I believe that the balance of the evidence is against it, though I should hesitate to deny it as categorically as do Niese, Willrich, Tscherikower and others. For in addition to the strong negative argument that the oldest Greek and Latin sources do not mention it (Eusebius's brief reference to the visit is of course based on Josephus), as we might reasonably expect them to do, in spite of the comparative unimportance of the Jews to the Greeks in the time of Alexander (which, by the way, is another reason for doubting that Alexander would have been interested in Jerusalem and its temple, pace Abrahams), we have the positive argument that the Hellenistic Jewish sources on which Josephus drew in this portion of his History may justly be suspected of having brought Alexander the Great into connexion with Jerusalem for apologetic pur-
poses. We have seen that this was done by the interpolators of the Jewish stories in Pseudo-Callisthenes (cf. Pfister) and by the authors of the Alexander stories in rabbinic literature (cf. Lévi). A priori, therefore, there is reason to suspect that Josephus’s story of Alexander’s visit to Jerusalem and his sacrificing in the temple is a legend originating in the apologetic literature of the Jews of Alexandria.

A final consideration remains—the date of the composition of the Alexander story which Josephus (or his immediate source) has combined with the Sanballat story. Willrich supposes that it was composed after the visit of Marcus Agrippa to Jerusalem in the reign of Herod the Great, and that Agrippa’s sacrificing in the temple at Jerusalem was the basis of the legend of Alexander’s sacrificing in the temple, while Agrippa’s favourable decisions concerning the civic rights of the Jews in Asia Minor and elsewhere were the basis of Alexander’s legendary grant of privileges to the Jews of Media and Babylon. Willrich further supposes that the allusions in Josephus to Alexander’s dealings with the Samaritans are based on the events of A.D. 52 (Ant. xx. 118 = B.J. ii, 232); at this time the Jews were roused to violence by the murder of some Galilaeans on their way to Jerusalem by the Samaritans, and when the leaders of the Jews failed to get satisfaction from the procurator Cumanus, they appealed to the legate of Syria, Ummidius Quadratus, as did the Samaritan leaders, at Tyre; Quadratus postponed his decision until he should have obtained more information about the affair in Judaea. At first sight Willrich’s explanation seems plausible, but there are serious objections to both parts of it. So far as the Agrippa-Alexander
parallel is concerned, the resemblances between the two figures in their dealings with the Jews are rather slight, as Büchler has shown; and as for the parallel between the Samaritan-Jewish quarrel in the time of Alexander and that of A.D. 52, it is most improbable that the authentic report of an event that occurred in Josephus's lifetime and was described in his earlier work the Jewish War should have been converted into an apologetic fiction and combined with older traditions about Jaddua and Alexander before Josephus wrote Antiquities.

More satisfying and probably correct on the whole is Büchler's theory of the composition of the Alexander story, which I believe is worth quoting at some length. In discussing the exemption from taxes during the sabbatical year allegedly granted by Alexander, and the historical parallel in Ant. xiv. 202 ff. in the time of Hyrcanus II and Julius Caesar, he writes: "Comme cette disposition ne fut renouvelée nulle part autant que nos sources permettent de le constater, on est porté à admettre que la conduite de César vis-à-vis les Juifs a inspiré l'idée des privilèges qu'aurait accordés Alexandre le Grand. Dans ce cas le grand-prêtre qui représentait devant lui les Juifs serait Hyrcan II qui apparaît en effet comme le représentant de tous les Juifs ; sous la désignation de Juifs de la Babylone et de la Médie seraient compris tous les Juifs du dehors que visaient les rescripts de César, ceux de l'Ionie auxquels il garantit le libre exercice de leur religion (Ant. xiv. 10, 8 et 10, 20-24), aussi bien que ceux d'Égypte dont il confirma expressément les droits civiques à Alexandrie . . . La garantie de tous les droits du pontificat et du sacerdoce, accordée par César, garantie qui suppose la liberté de pratiquer la
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religion, correspondrait à l’autorisation donnée par Alexandre aux Juifs de Palestine d’observer librement les lois de leurs pères. . . . Il est donc clair que César a aussi tenu compte dans son ordonnance des fêtes des Juifs et que la lettre du roi Demetrius [1 Macc. x. 36], qui se réfère à ce privilège, appartient à l’époque de César. Ceci admis il en résulte une autre conséquence pour fixer l’époque de cette particularité mentionnée par Josphe (C. Ap. ii. 4) qu’Alexandre le Grand en récompense de la vaillance et de la fidélité des Juifs exempté d’impôts le territoire de Samarie. On chercherait vainement dans toute l’histoire une occasion où se seraient révélées ces qualités des Juifs à moins d’admettre qu’ils les ont manifestées sous les yeux de ses fonctionnaires lorsqu’Andromaque, préfet de Syrie en Samarie, fut brûlé vif . . . ce qui est plus qu’invraisemblable. Or, nous avons vu qu’effectivement César accorda au territoire samaritain l’exemption des impôts et que cette mesure fut provoquée par la fidélité et la vaillance des Juifs durant la campagne d’Égypte. Il devient donc manifeste que par Alexandre il faut entendre César.”

Less plausible but worthy of consideration is Büchler’s explanation of how the Samaritan story came to be combined with the Alexander-Jaddua story in the Alexandrian source of Josephus’s narrative: “Peut-être l’apparition des soldats du grand-prêtre [Hyrcanus II, in 47 B.C.] sur le territoire égyptien éveilla-t-elle l’intérêt de la population pour les Juifs et Jérusalem, et l’écrivain samaritain profita-t-il de ces dispositions favorables pour placer sur premier plan le temple de Sichem.”

In conclusion I cannot do better perhaps than to quote Büchler’s admirable summary of his findings.
concerning the composition of Josephus's narrative in 

*Ant.* xi. 302 ff. "La relation de Josèphe sur le séjour d'Alexandre en Palestine et ses rapports avec les Samaritains et les Juifs est composée de trois parties différentes, qui peuvent facilement être séparées l'une de l'autre, parce qu'elles sont, en grande partie, juxtaposées. Il en est deux qui sont d'origine juive, la troisième est samaritaine. La première traitait des Samaritains, la seconde des Juifs, sans tenir compte de leurs voisins du même pays; la troisième est hostile aux Samaritains et rapporte avec une joie maligne le refus qui fut opposé à ceux-ci par Alexandre. La première relation juive est probablement une réponse à celle des Samaritains qui pour une raison quelconque voulaient montrer aux Alexandrins, en rattachant à l'histoire de Sanballat de la Bible des détails d'ailleurs exacts sur la lutte de Darius avec Alexandre, que le temple de Garizim devait son origine à Alexandre le Grand. Le récit juif fut composé immédiatement après l'expédition de César en Égypte et attribue les nombreuses marques de bienveillance de ce prince à Alexandre; il est donc sans valeur pour l'époque plus reculée. Le récit samaritain et la seconde relation juive pourraient aussi être de cette époque. On ne peut déterminer si l'assemblage a été fait par Josèphe ou s'il existait avant lui. En tout cas l'historien a ajouté beaucoup de détails concernant les expéditions d'Alexandre et les Samaritains. Les renseignements qu'il donne nous permettent de jeter un regard sur les rapports entre les Juifs et les Samaritains en Égypte et sur le laboratoire littéraire des Judéo-hellénistes du milieu du 1er siècle avant l'ère chrétienne."
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